THE JEWISH NEO-ARAMAIC DIALECT OF SANANDAJ

Geoffrey Khan

For Danny Avrahami

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PREFACE

This volume is a description of the Neo-Aramaic dialect spoken by the Jews of Sanandaj in western Iran. This belongs to a subgroup of Jewish dialects in Iran that were spoken from Bokan in the North to Kerend in the South. The volume, therefore, complements my previous book in this series on the Jewish Neo-Aramaic dialect of Urmi, which is the main dialect in the subgroup of Jewish dialects in Iran that were spoken to the North of Bokan.

The data for the volume were gathered in a series of fieldtrips to Israel over the last four years. On some occasions I conducted fieldwork sessions together with Hezy Mutzafi, the co-editor of the Gorgias Neo-Aramaic series, who has also gathered a considerable amount of data on the dialect, especially on its lexicon. I should like to thank Hezy for reading an earlier draft of the book and for giving me many important comments.

The fieldtrips were undertaken as a component of a project at the University of Cambridge that aims to document systematically the North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic dialect group. This project was funded from 2004 until 2009 by the Arts and Humanities Research Council, whose support is gratefully acknowledged.

My work would not have been possible without the kind cooperation of numerous people from among the surviving speakers of the dialect. I should like to express my gratitude to all of my informants, who include Dr. Bahruz Qamran, Ḥabib Nurani, Victoria Amini, Eli Avrahami, David Avrahami, Dr. Yeskel Paz and his wife Negar Paz.

I would like to register my particular gratitude to Danny (Daryuš) Avrahami and his sister Sarah. Danny and Sarah, who came to be my close friends, offered me warm hospitality in Rehovot and enthusiastically helped me at all stages of the project. Danny arranged for me many recording sessions with other speakers of the dialect from Sanandaj. He is passionately devoted to the preservation of his native Neo-Aramaic dialect. He runs a radio phone-in programme every week for speakers of the dialect, which has attracted considerable interest. Danny is an accomplished poet and has composed numerous poems in Neo-Aramaic. He has kindly agreed for me to

include in this volume a poem he has written concerning his language, which makes an emotional plea for it to be preserved for future generations. It is hope that this volume will help to keep the knowledge of it alive in the years to come.

Geoffrey Khan
Cambridge, October 2009

INTRODUCTION

THE JEWS OF SANANDAJ

The town of Sanandaj, or Səna as it is known in Kurdish, is the capital of the mountainous province of Kurdistan in Iran. There was a small village on the site until the 17th century, when the governor of the region, Suleyman Khan Ardalan, built a castle known as Səna-dij ('Səna fortress'), which became the basis of the town. The region remained a semi-autonomous frontier province ruled by the Ardalan dynasty down to the middle of the 19th century.

A Jewish community moved to the town in the 17th century from a village known as Qalʿat Ḥasan-ʾābād. As in many of the Jewish communities of the region, the learned Jews in Sanandaj practiced Qabbala and many were followers of Sabbatai Zevi (Ben-Yaʿqov 1980: 148). At the beginning of the twentieth century the Alliance Israélite Universelle came to the region and established a school in the town in 1903. According to the Alliance there were approximately 1,800 Jews (480 families) in Sanandaj at this period (Tsadik 2007: 9).

In 1916 there was a famine in the town, exacerbated by hoarding of grain (McDowall 1996: 108; O'Shea 2004: 217), which resulted in the deaths of thousands of inhabitants including many from the Jewish community. A large number of the Jews fled the town at this difficult period to Hamadan and Kermanshah or to Iraq. In 1936 there were approximately 1,000 Jews in Sanandaj (Ben-Yaʿqov 1980: 148).

By the beginning of the 1950s the community had increased to 4,000 (Ben-Yaʿqov 1980: 149). In 1952 about 1,000 Jews emigrated to the newly founded State of Israel. Over the subsequent two decades there was a gradual emigration of the Jews from the town either to Tehran or abroad, mostly to Israel. After the Iranian Revolution in 1979 most of the remaining Jews left Sanandaj, the majority settling in Los Angeles in the USA and the remainder in Israel or Europe. Today only about half a dozen elderly Jews are reported to be still living in the town.
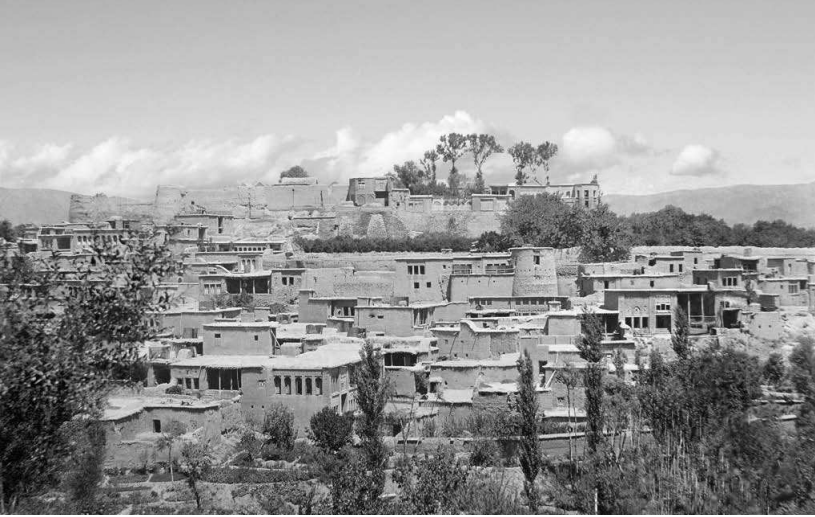
Fig. 1 Sanandaj

Fig. 2 Pupils and teachers of the Jewish schools, Sanandaj, January 1947

In the twentieth century the majority of the Jews of Sanandaj were small merchants, such as cloth-sellers, grocers and haberdashers. Some were peddlers of goods who travelled around the local villages. There were some merchants who imported goods from abroad. A few educated Jews were medical doctors or dentists.

The homes of the Jews were concentrated in a special quarter of the town, though some of the merchants' shops were interspersed with those of the Muslims. The relations of the Jews with the Sunni Muslim Kurds of the town were excellent. Informants tell of the warm friendship between Muslim and Jewish families. In addition to a rabbinical school (*qăraula*), there were Jewish schools in the town for boys and girls.

THE DIALECT OF THE JEWS OF SANANDAJ

The Affiliation of the Dialect

The Neo-Aramaic dialect of the Jews of Sanandaj belongs to the North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic (NENA) group of dialects, which is a linguistically very diverse group spoken by Jews and Christians East of the Tigris river in south-eastern Turkey, northern Iraq and western Iran. It is a general feature of NENA that the dialects spoken by the Jews differ from those spoken by the Christians, even where the two communities lived in modern times in the same geographical location. This applies to the NENA dialects of the Jewish and Christian communities of Sanandaj, which exhibit fundamental differences in their structure. Recognition of this is reflected by the fact that the Jews referred to their dialect as *lišana nošan* 'our language' or *hulaula* 'Jewish'. The following comparative list illustrates some selected divergences in phonology, morphology and lexicon:[1]

J. Sanandaj	C. Sanandaj	
belá	*bésa*	'house'
ʾilá	*ʾída*	'hand'
laḥmal	*latəmal*	'the day before yesterday'
ʾāt (c.)	*ʾayət* (m.), *ʾayat* (f.)	'you (sing.)'
bronăxun	*ʾəbroxən*	'your (pl.) son'
kéna	*kasen-yen*	'I (m.) am coming'
hiya-y	*gi-ʾisele*	'He has come'
qəṭlale	*təm-qaṭəlla*	'He killed her'
pəma	*kəma*	'mouth'
zbota	*ṣpesa*	'finger'
roxa	*poxa*	'wind'

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[1] Here and in the following lists the abbreviations J. = Jewish and C. = Christian are used. The data on C. Sanandaj are taken from Panoussi (1990).

rába	*kabíra*	'very, much'
ʾăta	*da*	'now'
gny	*dmx*	'to sleep'

The Jewish Sanandaj dialect is more closely related to the NENA dialects of other Jewish communities in the region than to the speech of the Christians of Sanandaj. It shares a number of features not found in Christian NENA with the Jewish dialects spoken East of the Great Zab river, the so-called trans-Zab dialects (Mutzafi 2008). Two conspicuous distinctive features of the Jewish trans-Zab group are the shift of the interdental consonants **t̲* and **d̲* to /l/ and the general placement of the stress in word-final position. These are illustrated in the following:

*bayt̲ā 'house', **ʿed̲ā* 'festival'

Trans-Zab Jewish NENA

J. Sanandaj	*belá*	*ʾelá*
J. Urmi	*belá*	*elá*
J. Arbel	*belá*	*ʾelá*

Jewish dialects West of the Zab

J. Amedia	*béθa*	*ʾéda*
J. Dohok	*béθa*	*ʾéða*
J. Zakho	*bésa*	*ʾéza*

Another distinctive feature of trans-Zab Jewish NENA that is found in Jewish Sanandaj is the collapse of gender distinction in the 3rd person singular independent pronoun, with the 3rd person singular masculine pronoun being used to express also the 3rd person feminine singular, e.g.

Trans-Zab Jewish NENA

J. Sanandaj	*ʾo*	(3c.)
J. Urmi	*o*	(3c.)
J. Arbel	*ʾo*	(3c.)

Jewish dialects West of the Zab

J. Amedia	*ʾawa* (3ms.)	*ʾaya* (3fs.)
J. Zakho	*ʾawa* (3ms.)	*ʾaya* (3fs.)

Despite such shared features, the trans-Zab Jewish dialects differ from one another in a number of respects. Some general remarks will here be made concerning the affiliation of Jewish Sanandaj within the trans-Zab subgroup.

The Iranian Sub-groups of NENA

The closest relatives of Jewish Sanandaj are the Jewish dialects of western Iran spoken in an area ranging from Kerend in the South up to Bokan in the North and extending East as far as Bijar. This is a distinct sub-group of Jewish NENA, which exhibits a considerable degree of homogeneity. It includes also the Jewish dialect of the town of Khanaqin, which is situated in the adjacent region of Iraq close to the Iranian border. The dialects of this sub-group differ noticeably from the Jewish dialects spoken further North in Iran in the region ranging from Sablaġ to Salmas, which themselves form a considerably homogeneous sub-group. These two clusters of dialects may be termed the western Iranian (WI) subgroup and the north-western Iranian (NWI) subgroup respectively. In the region of the western Iranian subgroup Kurdish is spoken by the Muslim population whereas the predominant language of the Muslims in the region of the north-western Iranian subgroup is Azeri Turkish.[2]

The dialects of these subgroups for which data are available include:

Western Iranian	North-Western Iranian
Bijar	Sablaġ
Bokan	Salmas
Kerend	Solduz
Khanaqin	Šəno
Qarah Hasan	Urmi
Qasr-e Širin	
Sainqala	
Sanandaj	
Săqəz	
Tikab	

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[2] Hopkins (1999: 313) refers to these groups as Kurdistan Jewish and Azerbaijan Jewish respectively.

Fig. 3. Jewish NENA dialects

Some linguistic research has already been carried out on the dialects of the western Iranian subgroup. These include a series articles by Simon Hopkins that concern general features of the Iranian NENA dialects (Hopkins 1989, 1993, 1999) or treat specifically features of the dialect of Kerend (Hopkins 2002; 2005: 74-77). Yafa Yisrael wrote a Ph.D. dissertation on the phonology and morphology of the spoken dialect of Săqəz (Yisraeli 1998) and has published some articles relating to the traditional written form of this dialect (Yisraeli 1997, 2003, 2009). Some aspects of the dialects have been described by Hezy Mutzafi in his work on the classification of the trans-Zab dialects (Mutzafi 2008). The only publication relating specifically to the Jewish dialect of Sanandaj, as far as I know, is a short and faulty word-list appearing in the fifth volume of J. de Morgan's *Mission scientifique en Perse* (de Morgan 1904). It appears that de Morgan was not even aware that the dialect was Aramaic, but rather represented it as a degenerate Iranian dialect (Hopkins 1999: 320).

Some of the conspicuous differences between the western Iranian (WI) and north-western Iranian (NWI) subgroups of NENA are as follows:

(i) Intransitive Preterite

WI	NWI	
qímna	*qə́mli*	'I rose'
qimét	*qə́mlox*	'You (ms.) rose'
qim	*qə́mle*	'He rose'

In WI the subject of the preterite of intransitive verbs is expressed by S-suffixes, i.e. the suffixes that are used to express the subject of present base verbs (*qemna* 'I rise', *qemet* 'You rise', *qem* 'He rises'). In NWI such verbs are inflected with L-suffixes.

(ii) Intransitive Perfect

WI	NWI	
qimá-y	*qim*	'He has risen'
qimtá-ya	*qíma*	'She has risen'
qimtá-yat	*qímat*	'You (fs.) have risen'

In WI the perfect of intransitive verbs is formed by inflecting the resultative participle with the copula. In NWI this is expressed by the past base inflected with S-suffixes.

(iii) Progressive Present

WI	NWI	
gắrəš	*garošle/garoše*	'He is pulling'
garšena	*garošlen/garošen*	'I am pulling'

In WI the progressive is expressed by the present base of the verb, whereas NWI uses a construction consisting of the infinitive inflected with the copula, which exhibits various degrees of contraction.

(iv) Direct Object of Perfect

WI

šwawi baxti nšəqta-ya

'My neighbour (m.) has kissed my wife'

(*nšəqta-ya* = fs. resultative participle + 3fs. copula)

NWI

šwawi baxti nšiqella

'My neighbour (m.) has kissed my wife'

(*nšiqella* = ms. resultative partciple + 3ms. copula + 3fs. object suffix)

In both dialect groups a transitive perfect is expressed by a resultative participle inflected by the copula. The alignment of the components of the clause, however, is different. In WI the resultative participle and copula agree with the undergoer of the action, whereas in NWI these agree with the agent.

(v) Present Copula

	WI	NWI
3ms.	*-ye*	*-ile*
2ms.	*-yet*	*-ilet*
1ms.	*-yena*	*-ilen*

In NWI the present copula has an /l/ element throughout the paradigm, whereas this is lacking in WI.

(vi) Reflexes of *ḏ and *ṯ

Although both WI and NWI share the feature of the shift of the interdental fricatives *ḏ and *ṯ to /l/, there are exceptions to this process in a few lexical items. WI and NWI differ in the distribution of these exceptions:

	WI	NWI	
*ʾiḏā	ʾila	ida	'hand'
*ʾəḏmā	ʾəlma	ədma	'brother of husband'
*k-awəḏ	kol	god	'He does'
*la-ṯəmmal	laḥmal	lalummal	'the day before yesterday'

(vii) Lexical differences

Some lexical differences that are consistent throughout the two subgroups are illustrated below:

WI	NWI	
ṱhy	*mštx*	'to find'
gny	⁺*dmx*	'to sleep'
poxa	*kolga*	'shade'

roxa	*poxa*	'wind'
čəkma	*kəmma*	'how much?'
doka	*loka*	'there'

Differences within the Western Iranian Sub-group

Although the WI sub-group to which J. Sanandaj belongs exhibits a general homogeneity, a few small differences among these dialects can be identified.

Some differences relate to phonetic processes. In most such cases the J. Sanandaj dialect tends to have undergone some kind of phonetic weakening in comparison with other dialects. A few examples are as follows:

(i) *xzy

In the verb 'to see', which has the historical form *xzy, the consonant *z has been weakened to zero in J. Sanandaj but is retained in other dialects of the sub-group:

*xăze 'He sees'

J. Sanandaj	*xăe*
J. Bijar	*xăze*
J. Săqəz	*xăze*
J. Bokan	*xăze*
J. Kerend	*xăze*
J. Qasr-e Širin	*xăze*
J. Khanaqin	*xăze*

(ii) *xdr

The verb *xdr 'to become', which had an original *d in the trans-Zab dialects of NENA, has lost this consonant in J. Sanandaj:

*xădər 'He becomes'

J. Sanandaj	*xar*
J. Bijar	*xar*
J. Săqəz	*xar*
J. Kerend	*xăər*
J. Qasr-e Širin	*xăər*
J. Bokan	*xădər*

As can be seen, the 3ms. of the present base contracts also the short *ə vowel of the second syllable, resulting in a monosyllabic form. It shares this

degree of contraction with J. Bijar and J. Săqəz, but other dialects of the sub-group exhibit lesser degrees of contraction. In J. Kerend and J. Qasr-e Širin the *d is elided but the following short vowel is not contracted. In J. Bokan the original medial consonant has been retained.

(iii) Consonant Gemination

In J. Sanandaj there is a general weakening of the gemination of consonants that can be reconstructed as existing in proto-NENA. This is the case, for example, with the gemination of a consonant after the short vowel /ə/, which is preserved in other dialects of the WI sub-group:

*ləbba 'heart'

J. Sanandaj	ləba
J. Săqəz	ləbba
J. Bokan	ləbba
J. Kerend	ləbba
J. Qasr-e Širin	ləbba
J. Khanaqin	ləbba

(iv) Contraction of Diphthongs

In all dialects of the WI sub-group there is a general contraction of the original diphthongs *aw and *ay to /o/ and /e/ respectively. In a few contexts, however, J. Sanandaj exhibits contraction of the sequence *aw and *ay where they have been preserved in other dialects of the sub-group. This applies, for example, to the independent demonstrative pronouns. J. Sanandaj and dialects spoken further North exhibit contraction, whereas dialects spoken South of Sanandaj have uncontracted forms:

*ʾawa 'that one', *ʾaya 'this one'

J. Sanandaj	ʾoa	ʾea
J. Săqəz	ʾoa	ʾea
J. Bokan	ʾoya	ʾaya
J. Kerend	ʾawa	ʾaya
J. Qasr-e Širin	ʾawa	ʾaya
J. Qarah Hasan	ʾawa	ʾaya
J. Khanaqin	ʾawa	ʾaya

Genitive Particle

J. Kerend and the closely related dialect spoken by the small Jewish community of Qarah Hasan differ from J. Sanandaj and all other dialects of the sub-group in the complete loss of the genitive particle *d. This particle is preserved in most dialects in genitive pronominal constructions. In J. Kerend and J. Qarah Hasan constructions are used with the independent pronoun without explicit genitive marking:

	'his house'	'my house'
J. Sanandaj	*bela d-o*	*bela didi*
J. Săqəz	*bela d-o*	*bela didi*
J. Bokan	*bela d-o*	*bela didi*
J. Tikab	*bela d-o*	*bela didi*
J. Qasr-e Širin	*bela d-o*	*bela didi*
J. Khanaqin	*bela d-o*	*bela didi*
J. Kerend	*bela ʾo*	*bela ʾana*
J. Qarah Hasan	*bela ʾo*	*bela ʾana*

THE INFLUENCE OF KURDISH AND PERSIAN

The Jewish Sanandaj Neo-Aramaic dialect is extensively influenced by Kurdish and Persian (Farsi). Kurdish was spoken in and around the town of Sanandaj by the Muslim population. The Jews would have been exposed to Persian as an official language in schools and government administration. Most Jews were able to communicate fluently in Kurdish and Persian as well as in Neo-Aramaic. The results of this influence are found in all levels of the grammar and in the lexicon.

Chapter 13 presents statistics for the proportion of loanwords in lists of the core vocabulary. Outside of the core vocabulary the extent of influence from Kurdish and Persian is greater, especially in the categories of nouns and adjectives. Many speakers prefer to employ Persian numerals in conversation, although the original NENA equivalents are still in use.

Due to the lack of any systematic research on the Kurdish dialect of Sanandaj, it is not possible at the moment to make a detailed study of the impact of the Kurdish dialect on the grammatical structure of the NENA dialect. Some features of the NENA dialect that have clearly been induced by contact with Kurdish and/or Persian may, nevertheless, be noted here:

(i) The general placement of stress in word-final position and the retraction of stress in vocative nouns (§1.6.1.).

(ii) The lack of gender distinctions in personal and demonstrative pronouns.

(iii) The use of the Iranian *izafe* particle in nominal annexation constructions between a head and dependent noun, e.g. *ʾasər-e šăbat* 'the eve of Sabbath' (§4.19.), and in attributive constructions between a noun and an adjective, e.g. *bela-e rŭwa* 'a big house' (§8.8.1.).

(iv) The Kurdish definite article affix *–ăke* (§8.2.).

(v) The extensive use of the Kurdish postverbal suffix *–o* (< *-awa* §9.12.).

(vi) The existence of two past tense conjugations, a simple past consisting of a past stem and inflectional endings and a compound perfect consisting of a resultative participle and an enclitic form of the verb 'to be', as is found in Kurdish and Persian.

(vii) The ergative type alignment of these past tense conjugations (§9.13.2., §9.13.3.), which is a feature of Kurdish.

(viii) The normal placement of the direct object before the verb, as in Kurdish and Persian.

INFORMANTS AND TEXTS

The material for this grammar was gathered in the course of various rounds of fieldwork conducted in Israel over the last four years. The text corpus in this volume contains transcriptions of the speech of the following informants, all of whom were born in Sanandaj in the 1930s or 1940s and are native speakers of the dialect:

Ḥabib Nurani	Informant A
Yeskel Paz	Informant B
Negar Paz	Informant C
Victoria Amini	Informant D
Danny Avrahami	Informant E

These texts are largely free of interferences from Israeli Hebrew. In the rare cases where this occurs, the Hebrew words are marked by enclosing them by the superscribed letters [H] …. [H]. The numerous loanwords from Kurdish and Persian are not marked, but sections of speech in these languages, which occasionally occur, are indicated by the superscribed letters [K] …. [K] and [P] …. [P] respectively. Some informants who were educated in the school of the Alliance Israélite Universelle on some isolated occasions use French words,

which are marked by the superscribed letters $^{F\,....\,F}$. The original recordings of the texts can be heard at the website of the NENA database project in Cambridge (nena.ames.cam.ac.uk).

The principal data regarding the morphology of the dialect were established by means of a questionnaire, for which the main informants were Danny Avrahami and his sister Sarah. These two informants were the main source of the supplementary vocabulary that does not appear in the recorded texts.

THE GRAMMAR

The grammatical description follows the general format of my previous grammars of NENA dialects. Sections are devoted to the phonology, morphology and syntax of the dialect. The chapter on phonology makes greater use of instrumental acoustic measurements than is the case in my other grammars, especially with regard to vowel quality. The syntax is largely based on material published in the text corpus that is placed after the grammar. As in my previous grammars, the transcription of the texts indicates intonation group boundaries and distinguishes between nuclear and non-nuclear stress. In many cases these details are necessary to understand the syntax fully. The volume contains a chapter on the lexicon. The main purpose of this is to arrange a selection of the recorded lexicon into semantic fields to facilitate future comparative research on the lexicon of the NENA dialects. Full glossaries of all recorded lexical items are included at the end of the volume. These include all material that was gathered during the fieldwork. Verbs are presented in a glossary arranged by root and the remaining lexical items are put in a general glossary arranged alphabetically. Where possible, the origin of loanwords is indicated. In some cases, however, their origin cannot be verified.

1. PHONOLOGY

1.1. CONSONANT PHONEMES

1.1.1. Phoneme Inventory

	Labials	Dental/ Alveolar	Palato- alveolar	Velar	Uvular	Pharyngal	Laryngal
Stops							
Unvoiced	p	t		k	q		ʾ
Voiced	b	d		g			
Emphatic		ṭ					
Affricates							
Unvoiced			č				
Voiced			j				
Fricatives							
Unvoiced	f	s	š	x		ḥ	h
Voiced	w	z	ž	ġ		ʿ	
Emphatic		ṣ					
		ẓ					
Nasal	m	n					

Lateral						
Plain	*l*					
Emphatic	*ḷ*					
Rhotic						
Trill/Tap	*r*					
Trill	*ř*					
Emphatic	*ṛ*					
Approximant		*y*				

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

/č/, e.g. *parča* (Kurd.) 'material, fabric', *čamča* 'spoon' (Kurd.), *čəngāḷ* 'fork' (Kurd.), *čqy* 'to dig' (Kurd.).

/f/, e.g. *səfra* 'cloth' (Pers. < Arab.), *făqaṭ* 'only' (Pers. < Arab.), *fhm* 'to understand' (Pers. < Arab.).

/ġ/, e.g. *šoġḷ* 'profession' (Pers. < Arab.), *ġer* 'other (than)' (Pers. < Arab.).

/j/, e.g. *jəle* 'clothes' (Kurd.), *jgər* 'anger' (Kurd.), *jəns* 'material' (Pers. < Arab.).

/ř/, e.g. *řang* 'colour' (Kurd./Pers.), *řag* 'vein' (Kurd./Pers.).

/ž/, e.g. *pžgn* 'to scatter' (Kurd.), *žān* 'pain' (Kurd.).

/ẓ/, e.g. *ẓolm* 'injustice' (Kurd./Pers. < Arab.)

1.1.2. Notes on the Phonetic Realization of the Consonants

1.1.2.1. /p/, /t/, /k/

These unvoiced stops are generally pronounced with some aspiration before vowels, e.g. *pex-ó* [pʰeːˈxoː] 'It cools', *tărá* [tʰaˈra] 'door', *kól* [kʰoːl] 'He does'. There is no aspiration when they follow an unvoiced fricative in a cluster, e.g. *skitá* [skiːˈta], *baxtá* [baxˈta] 'woman'. The consonants may be pronounced aspirated also in word-final position, particularly at the end of an intonation group, e.g. *wardé ḥafšè-yat*| [yatʰ] 'You are a flower of the courtyard'.

1.1.2.2. /ṭ/, /ṣ/

The consonants /ṭ/ and /ṣ/ are historically emphatics and were originally pronounced with pharyngalization, i.e. the retraction of the back of the tongue into the pharynx. In the current state of the dialect, however, the consonants /ṭ/ and /ṣ/ are in most cases realized without any clear pharyngalization. This can be demonstrated by instrumental acoustic analysis. Pharyngalization of a consonant segment is reflected in spectographs by the lowering ('flatting') of high frequency energy, specifically by the lowering of the second formant (Ladefoged and Maddieson 1996: 360-363), in the transition to the adjacent vowels and also, if the consonant is voiced, in the consonantal segment. In most environments there is no significant difference in the second formant (F2) frequency between sequences of /ṭ/ or /ṣ/ and adjacent vowels, on the one hand, and equivalent sequences containing the corresponding non-emphatic consonants /t/ and /s/. In what follows the mean F2 frequency is given for the transition points between these sets of unvoiced consonants and the following vowels:

ṣiwa	'wood'	/ṣi/ F2 = 2245
ʾəsiri-o	'They were tied'	/si/ F2 = 2255
xaṣe	'backs'	/ṣe/ F2 = 1898
serăke	'the moon'	/se/ F2 = 1941
mə́ṭe	'He arrived'	/ṭe/ F2 = 2072
tema	'It (f.) finishes'	/te/ F2 = 2037
pliṭa	'It (f.) came out'	/ṭa/ F2 = 1618
tlita	'hung'	/ta/ F2 = 1603
ṭura	'mountain'	/ṭu/ F2 = 1523
xăetun	'You see'	/tu/ F2 = 1557

The stop /ṭ/ is pronounced with aspirations before vowels in the same environments as /t/ is aspirated, e.g. *ṭurá* [tʰuˈra] 'mountain'.

Occasionally syllables containing /ṭ/ or /ṣ/ are realized with a significant lowering of F2 frequency compared to corresponding syllables with /t/ and /s/. This is encountered mainly in the environment of /l/ or /m/, e.g.

ṭălăbe	'seeking'	/ṭăl/ F2 = 1408
talga	'snow'	/tal/ F2 = 1818

zmaṭela	'It (f.) is full'	/aṭ/ F2 = 1202
bate	'houses'	/at/ F2 = 1653
qăṭəl	'He (m.) kills'	/ṭəl/ F2 = 1460
təlyen	'They are hung'	/təl/ F2 = 2124
ṣalmax	'Your (fs.) face'	/ṣa/ F2 = 1579
săroqe	'to comb'	/sa/ F2 = 2023

This suggests that the historical pharyngalization of the consonants /ṭ/ and /ṣ/ remains as a potential feature that may be conditioned by certain phonetic environments but generally remains unrealized. It has been decided to represent /ṭ/ and /ṣ/ consistently in the transcription according to their historical distribution, despite the fact that in the majority of cases they are phonetically indistinguishable from non-emphatic /t/ and /s/. An exception to this transcription practice is made in cases where the word contains a pharyngal consonant /ʿ/ or /ḥ/. In such words a historical *ṭ or *ṣ is never pronounced with pharyngalization, e.g. *taʿna* 'load' (< *ṭaʿnā*), *thy* 'to find' (< *ṭʿy*). This neutralization of emphasis appears to have arisen by a process of dissimilation from the pharyngal.[3]

Minimal pairs can be identified that are distinguished only by one of these historically emphatic consonants, e.g.

   təpla 'She sneezed' : *ṭəpla* 'drop'

1.1.2.3. /ḷ/

Unlike the historical emphatics /ṭ/ and /ṣ/, which have largely lost their emphatic quality, the innovative emphatic /ḷ/ is regularly realized with pharyngalization. This emphatic is phonemically distinct from /l/, as is demonstrated by several minimal pairs, e.g.

lala	'maternal uncle'	*ḷaḷa*	'lung'
mala	'village'	*maḷa*	'trowel'
mila	'dead'	*miḷa*	'circumcision'
năqole	'to extract (forbidden parts of an animal)'	*năqoḷe*	'to dance'
pela	'radish'	*peḷa*	'eyelash'

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[3] Cf. the remarks of Hezy Mutzafi regarding emphasis neutralization in the Jewish Koy Sanjak dialect (Mutzafi 2004: 27).

The pharyngalization of /ḷ/ is demonstrated instrumentally by the fact that it consistently has a significantly lower second formant than /l/. This lowering of F2 is discernible also in the surrounding vowels, especially /a/ and back vowels. Adjacent high front vowels generally do not exhibit a significant difference in the mean frequency of F2, although it tends to be lower in the onset phase. This is shown in the following F2 readings for one of the minimal pairs:

năqole   /o/ F2 = 1050, /l/ F2 = 1690, /e/ F2 = 1378
năqoḷe   /o/ F2 = 878, /ḷ/ F2 = 1099, /e/ F2 = 1471

1.1.2.4. /m/

In some words this labial consonant is realized with pharyngalization, which is reflected acoustically by the lowering of the second formant. Since no minimal pairs are available, this emphatic /m/ is not distinguished in the transcription, e.g.

tămā́m [taˈmˤɑːˤmˤ] 'all'   /ma/ F2 = 1013
xmála [xmɑːˈla]   'porter'   /ma/ F2 = 1342

1.1.2.5. /w/

The phoneme /w/ is realized as a labio-dental [v] in most cases, e.g. *ṣiwa* [siːˈva] 'wood', *hăwe* [haˈveː] 'May he be', *hewalé* [heˑvaːˈleː] '(that) he could'. The friction is sometimes reduced and it is pronounced as a labio-dental approximant [ʋ]. This is heard mainly after back consonants, e.g. *dóqwa* [ˈdoˑqʋa] 'He used to hold', *gwǝrté-ya* [gʋǝrˈteːja] 'He has married her'. It tends to be realized as a bilabial continuant [w] when in contact with a sibilant, e.g. *šwawá* [ʃwɔːˈwʌ] 'neighbour', when it is between two instances of the low vowel /a/, e.g. *šatăwáe* [ʃaˑtʰaˈwaːe] 'years', or when it is adjacent to back rounded vowels, e.g. *rŭwá* [ruˈwa] 'big', *yătúwa* [yaˈtʰuːwa] 'He used to sit'.

1.1.2.6. /r/

The /r/ phoneme is generally realized as a voiced alveolar trill [r]. There is a certain degree of variation in the number of periods of vibration of the tongue tip. In word-internal position, however, it is sometimes realized as a single tap [ɾ] with no vibration, e.g. *ʾǝsiri-ó* [ˈʾǝsiˑɾiːˈjoː] 'They were tied', or even an alveolar approximant [ɹ], e.g. *baṣirtá* [basiɹtʰa] 'grape'.

1.1.2.7. /ř/

This phoneme, which occurs only in loanwords from Kurdish, is a voiced alveolar trill that has a greater number of periods of vibration than is typical for /r/, e.g. *řangú* [r:aŋˈguː] 'their colour', *řag* [r:ag] 'vein'.

1.1.2.8. /ṛ/

This emphatic phoneme has only been identified in the word *zoṛa* 'water jar', which has an Aramaic etymology. It has apparently developed in this word to distinguish it from the adjective *zora* 'small'.[4] The emphatic quality of /ṛ/ in *zoṛa* is discernible acoustically. It is a voiced alveolar trill that is realized with a certain degree of pharyngalization. This causes a significantly lower F2 in the consonantal segment and in the adjacent vowel transitions. In the following, the F2 reading of the transition from /o/ to /ṛ/ and from /ṛ/ to /a/ is given together with the F2 at the equivalent points in the word *zora*:

z	o	ṛ	a
	1131		1206

z	o	r	a
	1526		1770

In some realizations of the word *zoṛa*, moreover, speakers pronounce the trilled /ṛ/ with a greater number of periods of vibration than /r/.

1.1.2.9. /n/

Normally this is realized as an alveolar nasal [n]. Before velar consonants it is a velar nasal [ŋ], e.g. *řangú* [r:aŋˈguː] 'their colour', *mangól* [maŋˈgoːl] 'like'.

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[4] The phenomenon whereby an /r/ or other consonant in one of a pair of homophones is pronounced emphatic in order to distinguish meaning has been found in other NENA dialects; cf. Khan (2008b: 59).

1.1.2.9. /q/

This is normally realized as an unvoiced uvular stop, e.g. *baqá* [bɑˈqɑ] 'to'. After a vowel or */w/*, it is occasionally realized as an unvoiced uvular fricative, e.g. *qoqé* [qoːˈχeː] 'pots', *šǝwqá-y* [ʃɪfˈχaj] 'He has left'.

1.2. PHONETIC PROCESSES RELATING TO VOICING

The voiced consonants have a tendency to be devoiced when in contact with unvoiced consonants, e.g.

rabtá [rapˈta] 'big'	cf. *raba* [ˈrɑːba] 'much'
năwagta [nawakˈta] 'granddaughter'	cf. *năwaga* [nawaːˈga] 'grandson'
ʿayzta [ʕajsˈta] 'good' (fs.)	cf. *ʿayza* [ʕajˈza] 'good' (ms.)
šwawta [ʃwʌfˈta] 'neighbour (fs.)'	cf. *šwawa* [ʃwʌːˈwʌ] 'neighbour (ms.)'

An original voiced affricate **j* [ʤ] in some words loses its stop onset when devoiced in contact with a following unvoiced consonant. This applies regularly to the following, in which the devoiced consonant is represented as */š/* in the orthography:

haḷušta 'a plum'	cf. *haḷuje* 'plums'
ḥašta 'job, work'	cf. *ḥajyale* 'jobs'

All unvoiced consonants have a tendency to be voiced when in contact with a voiced consonant across a word boundary in the same intonation group in fast speech, e.g.

> *šarbàt mélu baqí*⌐ [ʃarˈbad ˈmeːluˑ] (A:23) 'They brought sherbet'
> *xá năfar-ɔ́č mangál* [nafaˈrɪʤ maŋˈgal] (A:16) 'A person like ...'

Voiced consonants tend to be devoiced at the end of words, e.g.

> *šoḷtáli d-o-làg*⌐ [doˈˈlak] (A:24) 'I threw it on that side'

This is regularly the case with the 3ms. and 3fs. suffixes *–ef* and *–af* (< **-ew, *-aw*) and the devoicing is represented in the transcription. This devoicing is retained when particles with the form of a vowel are attached after the suffix, e.g. *doqnef-ó* 'I hold it again'.

1.3. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE CONSONANTS

1.3.1. The *BGDKPT* Consonants

1.3.1.1. **b*

The reflex of the fricative allophone of **b* in earlier Aramaic is the conso-
nant */w/*, which is generally realized as a labio-dental [v] (see §1.1.2.5.).
This is found after both vowels and consonants, e.g.

dənwe	'flies'	< **dinḇē*
gwənye	'eyebrows'	< **gḇīnyē*
hiwlox	'you gave'	< **hīḇ-lox*

The diphthong */aw/* that developed from **aḇ* has contracted to */o/*,
e.g.

gora	'man'	< **gaḇrā*

When **ḇ* was preceded by a high vowel, the sequence has contracted to
/u/, e.g.

duša	'honey'	< **diḇšā*

1.3.1.2. **p*

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

kepa	'stone'	< **kēp̄ā*

The form *noš*–, which acts as the base of the reflexive pronoun (§2.5.)
is related etymologically to the form *nap̄šā* 'soul' of earlier Aramaic. It is
easier, however, to regard its immediate background as being the form
*naḇšā with the voiced fricative **ḇ*. The *p̄* in the form *nap̄šā* would have de-
veloped by devoicing of an original **ḇ*.

1.3.1.3. **t*

The usual reflex of the original fricative allophone of this consonant **ṯ* is the
lateral */l/*, e.g.

mala	'village'	< **māṯā*
bela	'house'	< **bayṯā*

In a few words the reflex of *ṯ is the unvoiced pharyngal fricative /ḥ/, e.g.

ʾaḥra	'town'	< *ʾaṯrā
təlḥa	'three'	< *tlāṯā
láḥmal	'the day before yesterday'	< *lā ṯimmal
năḥale	'ears'	< *nāṯāṯā

Such words must have been originally pronounced with suprasegmental pharyngalization, originating no doubt from the consonants *r, l* or *m*. The pharyngalization was subsequently lost as a suprasegmental feature but left a vestige in the pharyngal segment /ḥ/: ʾaḥra < ˤaṯra < ʾaṯrā.

In some plural forms of nouns the reflex of *ṯ is zero, e.g.

malăwáe	'villages'	< *māṯawāṯā

1.3.1.4. *ḏ

The usual reflex of the original fricative allophone of this consonant *ḏ is the lateral /l/, e.g.

ʾila	'hand'	< *ʾīḏā
qlila	'key'	< *qḏīlā

In some words the reflex of the consonant is /z/. This has developed from the stop *d in post-vocalic position, e.g.

koza	'liver'	< *koda
guza	'wall'	< *guda
šeza	'almond'	< *šeda

The articulation of the consonant has been further weakened in a few cases to zero, e.g.

xar	'He becomes'	< *xădər
šar	'He sends	< *šădər
bi-zóa	'more'	< *bi-zoda
qóme	'tomorrow'	< *qădome
Kursān	'Kurdistan'	< *Kurdəstān

1.3.1.5. *k

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

băxe	'He weeps'	< *bāḵē

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

kəxwa	'star'	< **kawkḇā*

1.3.1.6. **g*

The velar fricative allophone of **g* has in most cases been weakened to zero, e.g.

pela	'radish'	< **paḡlā*
šrata	'lamp'	< **šrāḡtā*
reš-o	'He wakes'	< **rāḡiš* + Kurd. suffix

This process of weakening of the velar fricative **ḡ* is likely to have involved an intermediate stage in which the velar shifted to the pharyngal **ꜥ*. The pharyngal is preserved in the word *loꜥa* 'inside', the development of which can be reconstructed as *loꜥa* < **l-ꜥoya* (by metathesis, this being the form of the word in J. Amedia) < **l-ḡoya*. The preservation of the pharyngal would have been conditioned by a pharyngalized pronunciation of the word, no doubt facilitated by the /l/, though this has now been lost. The word is still pronounced with suprasegmental emphasis in J. Urmi (+*lwa*).

1.3.2. Emphatic Consonants

1.3.2.1. /ṣ/ and /ṭ/

As remarked in §1.1.2.2., the original pharyngalization of the emphatic consonants /ṣ/ and /ṭ/ is generally weakened. This is reflected by the fact that a word-final historical **-ṭa* is sometimes interpreted as the feminine ending *-ta*, as shown by the following words, in the plural forms of which the *-ta* is replaced by a plural ending:

xmata f.	*xmaye* pl.	'needle'	**mḥaṭa* m.
sita f.	*siye* pl.	'span'	**siṭa* m.

In at least one case an original emphatic sibilant **ṣ* has become affricated:

ꜥyč	'to knead'	< **ꜥṣṣ*

The pharyngalization of the original **ṣ* has here conditioned the preservation of the initial pharyngal consonant (§1.3.3.4.).

1.3.2.2. /ḷ/

Emphatic /ḷ/ occurs mainly in loanwords from Kurdish and Persian, e.g.

ʾaspāḷ	'goods, merchandise'
ʾăwaḷ	'first, beginning'
băxeḷi	'jealousy'
gaḷa	'leaf'
haḷwa	'sweets'
ḥămaḷa	'porter'
jangāḷ	'forest'
mangaḷ	'brazier'
păṭiḷa	'container'
puḷe	'money'
qaḷi	'carpet'
zuxāḷ	'coals'

It is found in a number of words of NENA origin. In such cases it corresponds to /r/ in other dialects, e.g.

pšiḷa	'melted'	< pšira
joḷe	'urine'	< jore
ḷaḷa	'lung'	< rala
nuqḷe	'sweets'	< nuqre
maḷa	'trowel'	< mara
tuḷa	'twig'	< tura

Note also its occurrence in the following Hebrew word:

miḷa	'circumcision'	< mila

1.3.3. Laryngals and Pharyngals

1.3.3.1. *ʾ

The reflex /ʾ/ of a historical laryngal stop is found only in word initial position:

ʾăxəl	'He eats'	< *ʾāxəl
ʾăra	'land'	< *ʾarʿā

An initial laryngal stop *ʾ in some words shifts to a laryngal fricative /h/, e.g.

hămər	'(that) he says'	< ʾămər

hezəl	'(that) he goes'	< *ʾezəl*
he	'(that) he comes'	< *ʾe* < *ʾate*
hol	'(that) he does'	< *ʾol* > *ʿābeḏ*
hit	'there is'	< *ʾiṯ*
hema	'which?'	< *ʾema*
heka	'where?	< *ʾeka*

The verbs in which this development is attested belong to the class of verbs that distinguish the realis from the irrealis by attaching an initial *k-/g-* prefix. This realis marking prefix is used also with some verbs that have a historical initial /h/, e.g. *hwy* 'to be'. The /h/ in the initial /ʾ/ verbs may, therefore, have arisen by analogy with such initial /h/ verbs:

| *hwy* | *hăwe* | *kwe* |
| *ʾmr* | *hămər* | *kmər* |

The shift of /ʾ/ > /h/ is not, however, attested in all initial /ʾ/ verbs that take the realis suffix, e.g.

| *ʾăxəl* | '(that) he eats' | *kxəl* | 'He eats' |
| *ʾăle* | '(that) he knows' | *kā́e* | 'He knows' |

This suggests that the shift has been lexicalized for certain lexical items only.

In non-initial position a historical laryngal *ʾ has been elided, e.g.

| *huláe* | 'Jews' | < *huḏaʾe* | < *yhūḏāʾē* |
| *máe* | 'water' | < *maʾe* | |

1.3.3.2. *h

A historical laryngal fricative *h is preserved in word initial position,

| *huláe* | 'Jews' | < *huḏaʾe* | < *yhūḏāʾē* |

In non-initial position it is generally elided, e.g.

sala	'witness'	< *sahḏā*
dewa	'gold'	< *dehwa*
băura	'bright'	< *băhura*

1.3.3.3. *ḥ

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

| *xmara* | 'ass' | < *ḥmārā* |

qamxa	'flour'	< **qamḥā*
xamša	'five'	< **ḥamšā*

The original pharyngal has been preserved in words and verbal roots of Aramaic stock that contain /q/ or a historical emphatic or emphaticized consonant, e.g.

ḥnq	'to be throttled, to drown'

In the words *ṭḥy* 'to find' and *tsḥ* 'to stuff, pack' the /ḥ/ has developed from the voiced pharyngal *ˤ:

ṭḥy	'to find'	< **ṭˤy*
tsḥ	'to stuff, pack'	< **dˤṣ*

Elsewhere the pharyngal occurs in loanwords from Kurdish and Arabic, e.g.

ḥăqe	'He speaks'	< Arab.
ḥašta	'work'	< Kurd. < Arab.
ḥaywān	'animal'	< Kurd. < Arab.
na-raḥati	'discontent'	< Kurd. < Arab.
ḥawša	'courtyard'	< Kurd. < Arab.
ḥămām	'bath'	< Kurd. < Arab.
ḥăna	'henna'	< Kurd. < Arab.
zaḥamta	'trouble'	< Kurd./Pers.

Hebrew and Rabbinic Aramaic words in the dialect also preserve the pharyngal pronunciation of the consonant *ḥet*, e.g.

šoḥet	'ritual slaughterer'
məšpaḥa	'family'
ḥoxma	'wisdom'
ta-ḥayme	'cemetery'
ḥănukae	'Hanukkah'
ḥameṣ	'leaven'
pəsḥa	'Passover'
psḥ	'to celebrate Passover'
ḥaliq	*ḥaroset*

1.3.3.4. *ˤ

In word initial position the reflex of an historical *ˤ is normally the laryngal stop /ʾ/, e.g.

ʾapra	'soil'	< **ˤaṗrā*

ʾela   'festival'   < *ʿēḏā

In word-internal or word-final position the voiced pharyngal *ʿ has been weakened to zero in most cases, e.g.

    beta   'egg'   < *bēʿtā
    tăra   'door'   < *tarʿā
    zăra   'wheat'   < *zarʿā
    šăme   'he hears'   < *šāmaʿ
    bée   'eggs'   < *bēʿē
    šoá   'seven'   < *šoʿa < *šaḇʿā

The pharyngal has been retained in some words of Aramaic stock that contain /q/ or a consonant that was historically emphatic, e.g.

    ʿaqəwra   'scorpion'   < *ʿaqəḇrā < *ʿaqərbā
    taʿna   'load'   < *ṭaʿnā
    tamʿa   'She tastes'   < *ṭāmʿā

In words that preserve the pharyngal the historically emphatic consonant is never pronounced with pharyngalization (§1.1.2.2.).

This retention of the pharyngal does not regularly occur in words containing /q/ or a historical guttural, as shown by forms such as:

    ʾărəq   'He runs'   < *ʿārəq
    ʾapṣa   'gallnut'   < *ʿapṣā
    ʾaqla   'leg'   < *ʿaqlā
    ʾaqubra   'mouse'   < *ʿaqubrā

The occurrence of /ʿ/ in the loanword ʿaql 'mind, intelligence' produces a minimal pair demonstrating the phonemic opposition between /ʾ/ and /ʿ/:

    ʾaqlef 'his leg'   :   ʿaqlef 'his mind'

Pharyngals are also preserved in environments where a consonant adjacent to the pharyngal became emphaticized at some stage of development. This is found especially in the environment of the sonorant consonants /m/, /b/, /l/ and /r/, e.g.

    dəmʿe   'tears'   < *dəṃʿe   < *dəmʿe
    gulʿa   'kernel of fruit'   < *guḷʿa   < *gulʿā
    maḷela   'eve of festival'   < ṃaḷela   < *maḷē ʿeḏā
    pərtaʿna   'flea'   < *pərtaʿna   < *purtaʿnā
    zaʿra   'barley'   < *zaʿṛa   < *sʿārā
    blʿ   'to swallow'   < *bḷʿ   < blʿ
    ʾəčʿa   'nine'   < *ʾəčʿa   < *tšʿā

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

ṭmaʿnisar	'eighteen'	< ṭmanisar
ṭmaʿni	'eighty'	< ṭmani

This pharyngal is absent in the form ṭmanya 'eight'. The explanation may be that the pharyngal developed from an original laryngal in the sequence Vʾ, which replaced an original long vowel V̄. Since the first /a/ in ṭmanya is short, the laryngal did not arise:

ṭmaʿnisar	<	*ṭmaʾnisar	<	*ṭmānisar
ṭmaʿni	<	*ṭmaʾni	<	*ṭmānī

The alternation of /V̄/ with /Vʾ/ is attested in other NENA dialects, e.g. Qaraqosh (Khan 2002a: 43):

šata ~ šaʾta	'year'
šaθa ~ šaʾθta	'fever'

In the cases described above of the preservation of the pharyngal /ʿ/, it would be more accurate to state that the /ʿ/ is potentially realized as a pharyngal. In some cases it is realized with less muscular tension as a laryngal [ʾ]:

tamʿa [tʰamʿa ~ tʰamʾa]	'She tastes'
ʾəčʿa [ʾəčʿa ~ ʾəčʾa]	'nine'

The same allophonic alternation [ʿ] ~ [ʾ] applies to pharyngals in loanwords, e.g.

maʿlem [maʿləm ~ maʾləm]	'teacher'
ʿayza [ʿayza ~ ʾayza]	'good'

The phoneme /ʿ/, therefore, may be said to have the allophones [ʿ] and [ʾ]. In the transcription it will be regularly represented as a pharyngal /ʿ/.

In a few cases the reflex of a historical pharyngal *ʿ in initial or medial position is the laryngal fricative *h. This is found in a few verbs, e.g.

hol	'(that) he does'	< *ʿābəḏ
pāhər	'He yawns'	< *pāʿər
šāhəl	'He coughs'	< *šāʿəl
māhe	'He churns'	< *māʿē

1.3.4. Weakening of *z

It has been remarked in §1.3.1.4. that a post-vocalic *d is weakened to zero in some words. The intermediate stage of this weakening is likely to be *z (cf. *koza* 'liver' < *koda*):

>   *xar*   < *xăzər*   < *xădər*   'he becomes'

This is demonstrated by the fact that etymological *z is sometimes weakened to zero in the same way, e.g.

>   *xa̋e*   'he sees'   < *xāzē*

1.3.5. /č/

Most cases of the affricate /č/ are found in loanwords from Kurdish or Persian. It is, however, found in a few words of Aramaic etymology. These include ʿyč 'to knead', in which the /č/ has developed from an original emphatic /ṣ/. It can be assumed that at some stage the affricate was emphatic *ʿyč. The presence of the pharyngal /ʿ/ has neutralized its emphasis (§1.1.2.2.). The affrication of emphatic sibilants is attested in other NENA dialects. In Barwar, for example, /š/ has developed into an emphatic /č/ in environments that induce emphasis, such as pharyngal and labial consonants, or /l/, e.g. *čuwa* 'smooth' < *šʿūʿā, *čita* 'cream of yoghurt' < *šʿīʿtā, *măčoye* 'to smooth' (< *mašʿōyē), all of which are connected historically with the root *šʿᶜ (cf. Syriac *šaʿ* 'to smooth'); *pčala* 'to be crooked', *pčila* 'crooked', which are derived from *pšl (cf. Syriac *pšal* 'to twist'); *člapa* 'to tear off (meat)' < *šlp (cf. Syriac *šlap̄* 'to pull out', Jewish Babylonian Aramaic *šallep̄* 'to tear off') (Khan 2008b: 61-62).

Some cases of the affricate /č/ have developed from a fusion of *t and *š. This is the case in numeral ʾəčʿa 'nine' < ʾətšʿa < *təšʿā. The preservation of the historical pharyngal /ʿ/ must have been conditioned by suprasegmental emphasis at some stage of the word's development. Indeed, in the some NENA dialects the affricate in this word is pronounced emphatic, e.g. Barwar ʾəčča (Khan 2008b: 60).

The verb *čyr* 'to go around' may have developed by affrication of *k > č from *kyr (derived ultimately from *krr, cf. Heb. *kirker* 'to go around, to whirl'). Such affrication of *k is not found elsewhere in J. Sanandaj, although it is attested in numerous other NENA dialects. If the assumption is correct that the verb *čyr* has an Aramaic etymology, it is possible that the affrication has arisen by assimilation to the phonetic form of the semantically related Kurdish verb *čarxān* 'to go around, to turn'. The historical derivation of *čyr*, however, remains unresolved.

A /č/ is found in the particle *čəkma* 'how much?', 'a few'. This is derived historically from the combination of the elements *čə* + *kəmma*. Although the *kəmma* element is clearly Aramaic, the initial *čə-* may be identified as the Kurdish element *č(i)*, which occurs in various interrogative particles, e.g. *či* 'what', *čand* 'how many'.

1.3.6. /j/

The phoneme /j/ occurs in a few words of Aramaic etymology. It is found in the verb *jnw* 'to snatch away, to kidnap', which is derived from Aramaic **gnb*. The palatalization of the **g* has apparently arisen to differentiate it semantically from its doublet *gnw* 'to steal'. The root *jhy* 'to become tired' is also of Aramaic origin, deriving from **šhy* with an initial palato-alveolar fricative. Elsewhere /j/ occurs only in loanwords.

1.4. CONSONANT GEMINATION

Consonant gemination has been completely lost. All NENA dialects have lost historical consonantal gemination in some contexts, but in J. Sanandaj this loss is systematic and occurs in contexts where other NENA dialects preserve it.

As in other NENA dialects, gemination is lost after /a/ and /u/ vowels occurring within words of Aramaic stock. The forms in the closely related dialects of J. Sulemaniyya and J. Săqəz are given for comparison:

J. Sanandaj	J. Sulemaniyya/J. Săqəz		
kaka	*kaka*	'tooth'	< **kakkā*
raba	*raba*	'much'	< **rabba*
guza	*guda* ~ *guza*	'wall'	< **guddā*

We may say that the gemination in these contexts was weakened in Proto-NENA. Unlike other documented NENA dialects, however, consonant gemination is lost within a word also after /ə/. The gemination may be considered to have been preserved in this context in Proto-NENA and its loss to have been subsequent to this stage of development. The /ə/ vowel remains short, e.g.

J. Sanandaj	J. Sulemaniyya/J. Săqəz	
šəne	*šənne*	'years'
šəra	*šərra*	'navel'
dəma	*dəmma*	'blood'
ləba	*ləbba*	'heart'

tǝna	*tǝnna*	'smoke'
xǝma	*xǝmma*	'father-in-law; heat'

The /ǝ/ vowel may be stressed, as is the case in the following adverbial form:

J. Sanandaj	J. Sulemaniyya/J. Săqǝz	
tǝ́mal	*tǝ́mmal*	'yesterday'

Short /a/ and /u/ vowels before a consonant that was geminated in proto-NENA likewise remain short when the gemination of the consonant is weakened, e.g.

J. Sanandaj	J. Sulemaniyya/J. Săqǝz	
lăxa	*laxxa*	'here'
xălu	*xallu*	'I (f.) wash them'
kŭle	*kulle*	'all'

In other NENA dialects, and presumably in Proto-NENA, consonant gemination occurs when the initial consonant of a verbal suffix assimilates to the final radical of a verbal root or when the initial consonant of the suffix /l/ is identical to the final radical. In J. Sanandaj the gemination is weakened also in this context:

J. Sanandaj	J. Sulemaniyya/J. Săqǝz		
garšéte	*garšǝ́tte*	'you pull him	< *garšet–le*
garšắte	*garšátte*	'you pull her	< *garšat–le*

In verbal forms, the weakening of gemination that arose historically by the attachment of affixes in some circumstances results in resyllabification of the word. This applies specifically to the patterns *CăCǝC:V* and *CCǝC:V*, which resyllabify as follows:

CăCǝC:V	>	*CăCǝCV*	>	CaCCV
CCǝC:V	>	*CCǝCV*	>	CǝCCV

The stress in the resyllabified form is placed either on the penultimate or on the final syllable, e.g.

maqlé	'He burns it'	< *mǎqǝle*	< *mǎqǝlle*
kawlí	'He gives me'	< *kǎwǝli*	< *kǎwǝlli*
zábna	'I sell'	< *zăbǝna*	< *zăbǝ́nna*
šǝqlí	'I bought'	< *šqǝli*	< *šqǝlli*

When a geminated consonant is weakened after the long, or semi-long, vowels /i/ and /o/, the vowel is retained and pronounced long, e.g.

wilé	'He made'	< **wille*
kpína	'I have become hungry'	< **kpinna*
kóna	'I do'	< **konna* < *kolna*

Gemination is preserved across a word boundary in stress groups such as the following:

har-reṭ	'He just trembles'

Loanwords preserve original gemination, e.g.

maṣṣa (Heb.)	'matzo'
kalla (Kurd.)	'head of an animal'

1.5. VOWELS AND SYLLABLE STRUCTURE

1.5.1. Vowel Phoneme Inventory

The following vowel qualities are phonemically distinct:

$$/i/ \qquad\qquad\qquad /u/$$

$$/e/ \quad /ə/ \qquad /o/$$

$$/a/$$

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

/i/ : /e/	*grəšli*	'I pulled'
	grəšle	'He pulled'
	qim	'He rose'
	qem	'He is rising'
/i/ : /ə/	*grišta*	fs. passive resultative participle
	grəšta	fs. active resultative participle
	míre	'He said'
	mə́re	'It ached'
/e/ : /ə/	*qeṭa*	'summer'
	qəṭa	'piece'

/e/ : /a/	*grəšle*	'He pulled'
	grəšla	'She pulled'
	mela	'She dies'
	mala	'village'
/a/ : /o/	*mala*	'village'
	mola	'death'
/o/ : /u/	*goran*	'our man'
	guran	'our men'
/o/ : /ə/	*zmorta*	'song'
	zmərta	'turban'
/u/ : /ə/	*grušle*	'Pull him!'
	grəšle	'He pulled'

1.5.2. The Quality of Vowels

The quality of the allophonic realizations of each vowel phoneme in a variety of environments was measured by establishing their first and second formant frequencies with the acoustic software Praat. Formant values were converted from Hertz to Barks. Barks are units of perceptual discriminability of frequency. The results were plotted on charts with the first formant (F1) on the y axis and the second formant (F2) on the x axis. The height of the vowels in auditory terms corresponds inversely to the F1 frequency, the higher the F1 the lower the vowel. The back-front relationship of vowels in auditory terms is indicated by the F2 frequency, the higher the F2 the more front the vowel. As is customary, the axes of the charts are inverted to produce a representation that corresponds to that of the traditional auditory space.

The mean acoustic quality of each of the vowel phonemes across samples of ten words for each vowel is represented in the chart below:

F2 (Bark)
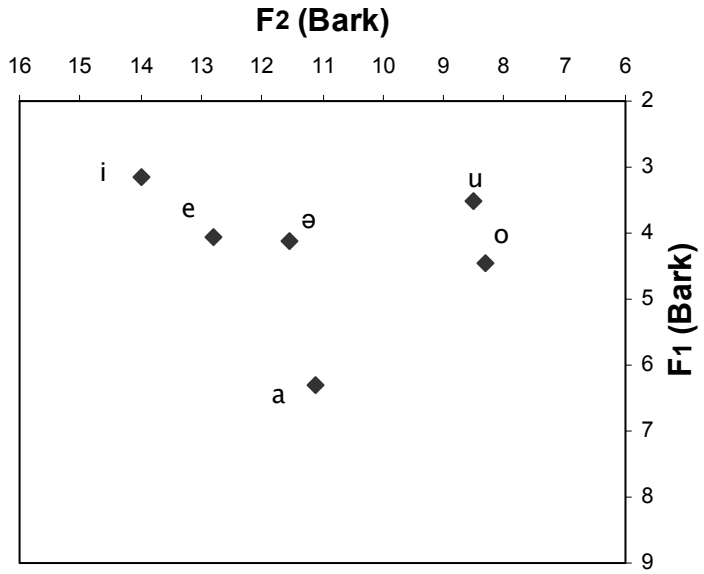
Fig. 1 Mean acoustic quality of the vowel phonemes

The acoustic scatter of the allophones for each phoneme in the sample is represented in the following sections.

1.5.2.1. /a/
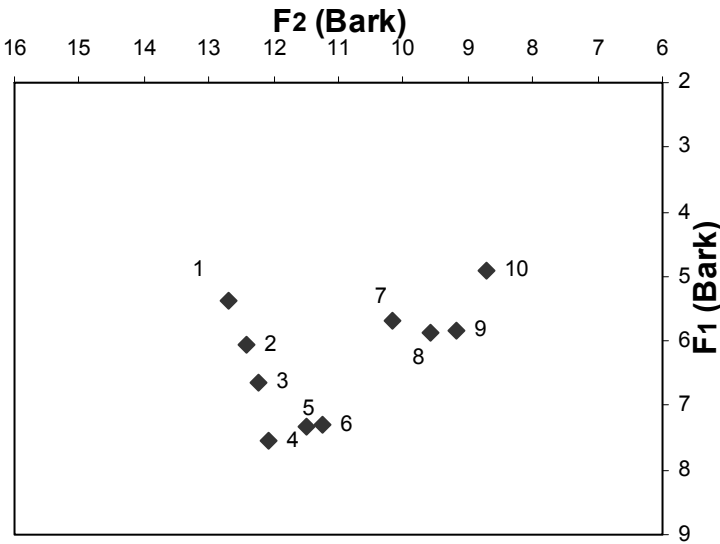
Fig. 2 Acoustic variation of */a/*

1	*šắména* 'I hear'
2	*didán* 'our'
3	*ʾắra* 'land'
4	*ʾaná* 'I'
5	*tatắwalán* 'our fathers'
6	*ḥắqén* 'They speak'
7	*tatắwalán* 'our fathers'
8	*báqef* 'to him'
9	*balé* 'wings'
10	*šwawá* 'neighbour'

It can be seen from the chart that the allophones of */a/* have a wide scatter. They cluster in a front group and a back group. The front group contains both short and long vowels. The highest realizations in the front group, in the region of [æ], occur in syllables containing */š/* and/or where the adjacent syllable has one of the high front vowels */e/* or */i/*, viz. *šăména* [ʃæˈmeːna] (1), *didan* [diˈdæn] (2). The other front realizations are in the region of [a]. The back realizations are long vowels. Most of these are in the region of [ʌ], which occur adjacent to the labials */w/*, */b/*, the uvular */q/* and the laterals */l/* and */ḷ/*, viz. *tatăwalán* [tʰaːtʰawʌˈlan] (7), *báqef* [ˈbʌːqef]

(8), *baḷé* [bʌːˈlˤeː] (9). The highest back quality, in the region of [ɔ], is found between two labial /w/ glides, viz. *šwawá* [ʃwɔːˈwʌ] (10).

1.5.2.2. /i/
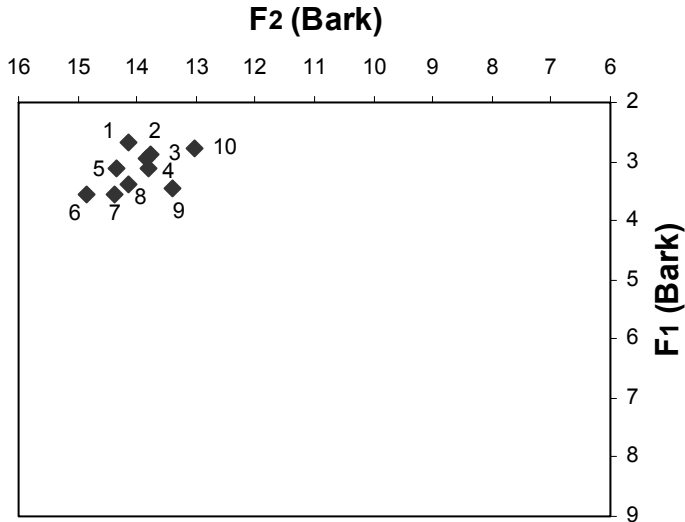
Fig. 4 Acoustic variation of /i/

1	*liẕšaní*	'my tongue'
2	*məndéli̱*	'I threw'
3	*qarwí*	'They approach'
4	*qărizrtá*	'cold'
5	*pli̱tá*	'She went out'
6	*lišaní̱*	'my tongue'
7	*di̱dán*	'our'
8	*ṣiwá*	'wood'
9	*măqímna*	'I raise'
10	*tlitá*	'hung'

The realizations of this vowel cluster in the region of the close front quality [i]. These include both long vowels and short vowels, e.g. *qărirta* [qarirˈta] 'cold'.

1.5.2.3. /e/
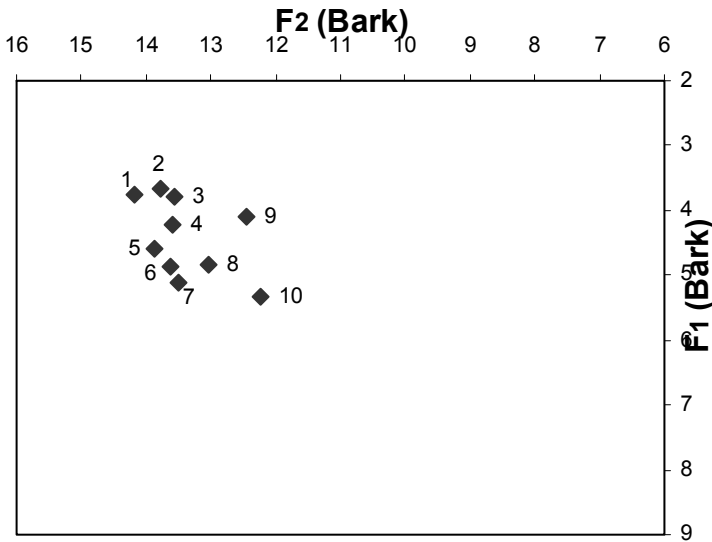
Fig. 3 Acoustic variation of */e/*

1	*léka?*	'where?'
2	*gezál*	'He goes'
3	*məndéli*	'I threw'
4	*măté*	'He arrives'
5	*qoqé*	'pots'
6	*šăména*	'I hear'
7	*ʾorxéf*	'his way'
8	*ʾaqléf*	'his foot'
9	*kəxwé*	'stars'
10	*xét*	'other'

Most realizations of this phoneme are in the region of [e] or slightly higher [e̝]. The more centralized qualities are the realizations of */e/* in closed syllables, viz. *ʾorxéf* [ʾorˈxe̝ːf] (7), *xét* [xe̝ˑt] (10), and after the labial */w/*, viz. *kəxwé* [kʰə̝xˈve̝ː] (9). It is pronounced with lowered on-glides and/or off-glides in contact with pharyngalized consonants, as in *baḷé* 'wings', although the centre of the vowel segment has the normal quality.

1.5.2.4. /ə/

F2 (Bark)
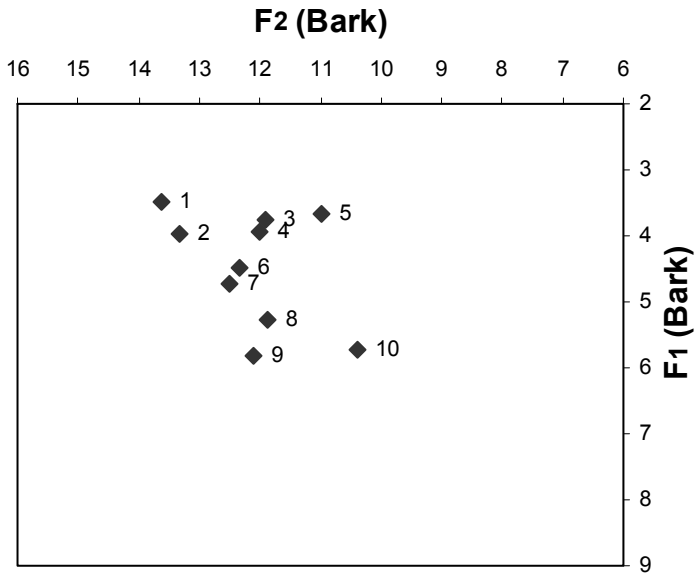
Fig. 5 Acoustic variation of /ə/

1	*tᵊlyén* 'They are hung'
2	*gezə́l* 'He goes'
3	*pᵊrčé* 'hair'
4	*zăbə́nu* 'He sells them'
5	*lᵊbáf* 'Her heart'
6	*zăbə́nwa* 'He used to sell'
7	*lᵊbá* 'heart'
8	*ʾărə́qna* 'I flee'
9	*măqə́l* 'It burns'
10	*qătə́l* 'He kills'

The majority of realizations of /ə/ are in the region of the close-mid qualities of [ɪ] or [ə], i.e. broadly speaking centralized forms of [e]. This explains why /ə/ alternates with /e/ in a stressed syllable of some forms, e.g. the 3ms. verbal pattern *qătə́l ~ qătél*.

The lower points in the cluster in the region of central [ə] occur in the environment of the uvular /q/, viz. *ʾărəqna* [ʔaˈrəqna] (8) and *măqə́l*

[maˈqəl] (9). The furthest back of the lower points (10) occurs after a pharyngalized consonant, viz. *qătə́l* [qʌtˤəl].

The points in the chart for /e/ that are most centralized, i.e. (8)–(10) of Fig. 3, overlap in quality with the allophonic scatter of /ə/. In such cases the two phonemes are distinguished phonetically only by length, in that in the words in question the /e/ vowel is pronounced long whereas all occurrences of /ə/ are short.

It should be noted that there is a marked tendency for an unstressed short vowel /ə/ to be devoiced, e.g.

qəṭá [qʰə̥ˈtʰa]		'piece'
šəmá [ʃɪ̥ˈma]		'heaven'
kəxwé [kʰə̥xˈveː]		'stars'
qəṭmá [qʰə̥tʰˈma]		'ash'
šəmšá [ʃə̥mˈša]		'sun'
ptəltá [pʰɪ̥tʰlˈta]		'tress'
məndéli [mə̥nˈdeːliˑ]		'I threw'

If a consonant following /ə/ in a word initial *CəC* syllable is unvoiced, a historically voiced consonant before the /ə/ tends to be devoiced together with the vowel, e.g.

təqna	< *dəqna	'beard'

This devoicing, however, is not completely regular and short /ə/ sometimes has a vocalic realization in unstressed syllables, e.g.

ləbá [lɪˈba]		'heart'
təlyén [tʰɪlˈjeːn]		'They are hung'
nəxlá [nəxˈla]		'rain'
ləxmá [ləxˈma]		'bread'

Due to the aforementioned variations in the realization of /ə/, an abstract morpho-phonemic transcription has been adopted whereby all words in question are transcribed with the symbol /ə/. This is justifiable on the grounds that it has a potential vocalic realization, although in many cases it is phonetically devoiced and not audible, and that the /ə/ can be identified as part of the morphological pattern of the word.

1.5.2.5. /o/
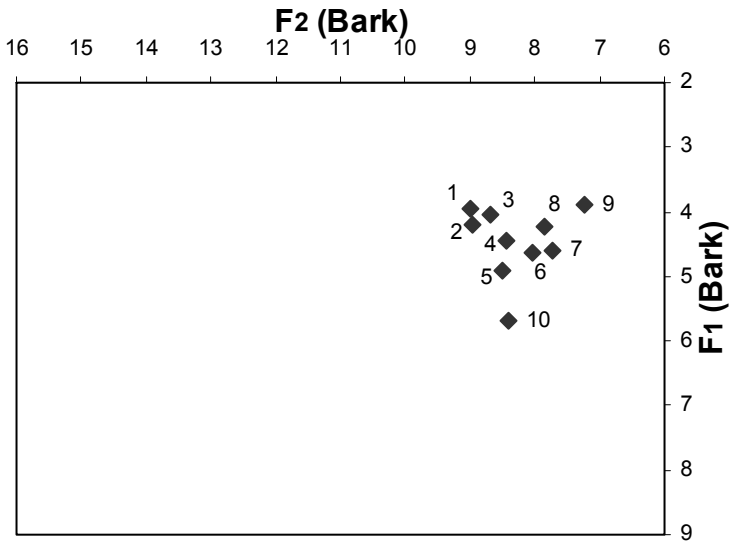
Fig. 6 Acoustic variation of */o/*

1	*gorá*	'man'
2	*ʾəsiri-ó*	'There were tied'
3	*zorá*	'small'
4	*baṣoré*	'small amount'
5	*ʾo-roxá*	'that spirit'
6	*ʾo-roxá*	'that spirit'
7	*qoqé*	'pots'
8	*qomá*	'stature'
9	*tex-ó*	'It diminishes'
10	*ʾorxéf*	'his way'

Long */o/* vowels cluster around the region of [o], e.g. *gorá* [goːˈra] (1), *qoqé* [qoːˈχeː] (7). The lowest point, which is in the region of [ɔ], is attested in a short */o/*, viz. *ʾorxéf* [ʔɔrˈxe·f] (10).

1.5.2.6. /u/

F2 (Bark)
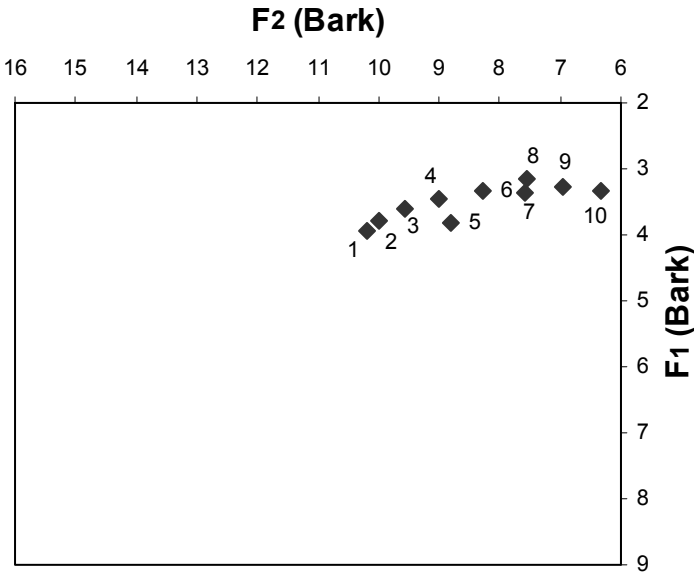
Fig. 7 Acoustic variation of /u/

1	*nuqlé* 'sweets'
2	*rŭwá* 'big'
3	*kűle* 'big'
4	*ṭurá* 'mountain'
5	*mirwálu* 'They had said'
6	*guzé* 'walls'
7	*guptá* 'cheese'
8	*huláe* 'Jews'
9	*řangú* 'their colour'
10	*ʾaxtún* 'you (pl.)'

The realizations of /u/ occur in the region of close-mid [u] and the more centralized quality [ʊ]. The centralized [ʊ] tends to occur in short vowels, where stressed, e.g. *kűle* (3), or unstressed, e.g. *nuqlé* (1), *rŭwá* (2). Some short /u/ vowels, however, are realized further back, e.g. *guptá* (7). The realizations that are furthest back are found in stressed long /u/ in final syllables, viz. *řangú* (9) and *ʾaxtún* (10).

We should also mention here the words *tʷka* 'place', *tʷkana* 'shop', *sʷka* 'knitting needle/booth (at festival of Tabernacles)', *geraqʷše* 'rainbow'. These are reflexes of the historical forms **dukka*, **dukkana*, **sukka* and **gera-quše* The unstressed **u* is regularly devoiced, as well as the initial **d* in the case of *tʷka* and *tʷkana*. As a result, voice does not begin in these words before the vowel of the following syllable. A vestige of the original short **u* is retained in the presence of lip-rounding in the articulation of the consonant before the devoiced /u/. This labialization is represented by a superscribed *w* in the transcription.

In some cases an original **u* has been reduced to /ə/ when short. This applies to the word *təla* 'mulberry' < **tūṯā*. The form *təla* could be explained as a back-formation from **tutta* 'a mulberry' with a singularizing feminine suffix (§4.13.2.), i.e. **tūṯā + ta > tuṯta > təṯta > təlta* (sing.) > *təle* (pl. by back-formation from singular). The singular *təla* would then have been formed from the plural *təle*.

1.5.3. Syllabic Patterns

The following syllabic patterns are attested:

CV	e.g. **be.la**	'house'
CCV	e.g. **smi.**xa	'standing'
CVC	e.g. să.**məx**	'He stands'
CCVC	e.g. **grəš.**le	'He pulled'
CVCC	e.g. **tarz**	'method'

At the beginning of a word a syllable must begin with at least a laryngal stop /ʾ/ consonant:

ʾăra	'land'
ʾăxəl	'He eats

A word initial /ʾ/ is generally elided when it is in contact with a prefixed particle that ends in a consonant, e.g. *b-áy* (< *b-ʾay*) 'in this' (A:56), *ba-d-éa* 'in this' (A:98); *g-o-belà* (< *g-ʾo*) 'in that house' (A:74).

Within a word two vowels may follow one another without an intervening glottal stop /ʾ/. Such sequences should be analysed as diphthongs (VV̯, V̯V) rather than two separate syllable nuclei, e.g.

| băurá [CVV̯.CV] | 'bright' |
| deará [CV̯V.CV] | 'tambourine' |

In such words this syllabification is reflected by the fact that the non-nuclear vowel of the diphthong has a tendency to be realized as a glide.

In word-final sequences of vowels the existence of the diphthong is reflected by the fact that stress that would normally be expected to be put on a final vowel nucleus (§1.6.) is retracted to the vowel preceding it, indicating that the final vowel is treated as non-syllabic, e.g.

huláa [CV.CVV̯]	'Jew'
huláe [CV.CVV̯]	'Jews'
xắe [CVV̯]	'He sees'
bée [CVV̯]	'eggs'
ʾóa [CVV̯]	'that one'
ʾéa [CVV̯]	'this one'

In cases where stress is put on the second vowel of the sequence in word-final position, the diphthong should be interpreted as rising V̯V. This is found in sequences where the first of the two vowels is /o/. The non-syllabic status of /o/ is reflected by the fact that it is often realized as a semi-vowel [w], e.g.

čắroé [tʃarˈwe]	'to search'
šoá [ʃwa]	'seven'
ntoá [ntwa]	'high'

Sequences of three vowels with a medial /o/ occur in some infinitive forms. These should be interpreted as VV̯V, the medial vowel being the on-glide of a diphthong, the phonetic realization of which is often the semi-vowel [w], e.g.

xăoé [xawe]	'to see'

All of these diphthongs in word-internal position have arisen by elision of segments, usually pharyngals or laryngals, between vowels, e.g.

băura	<	**băhura*	'light'
huláe	<	**hulaʾe*	'Jews'
bée	<	**beʿe*	'eggs'

The original word-internal diphthongs in words of Aramaic stock **ay* and **aw* have contracted to /e/ and /o/ respectively, e.g.

bela	'house'	< **baytā*
qeṭa	'summer'	< **qayṭā*
mola	'death'	< **mawtā*
yoma	'day'	< **yawmā*

They are preserved, however, in loanwords, e.g.

škayta	'complaint' (Kurd. < Arab.)

ḥawša   'courtyard' (Kurd. < Arab.)

When the single vowel particles *o* 'again' and *u* 'and' are cliticized to the end of a word that has a final vowel, they become non-syllabic if the final vowel is the low vowel /a/. This is reflected by the placement of stress in the case of *o*, since this particle is normally stressed but the stress is retracted to the preceding vowel when the word ends in –*a*, e.g.

gezəlwá-o   'He would go back' (A:101)
bráta-u   'the girl and …' (A:1)

If these cliticized particles are preceded by the high vowels /i/, /e/ or /u/, they remain syllable nuclei, but are preceded by the glide [j] or [w], which function as the syllable onset. This glide is not represented in the orthography of the transcription, e.g.

pašri-ò [paʃriˈjoː]   'They would melt' (A:70)
tărəṣwalu-ò [tʰarəsvaːluːˈwoː]   'He used to repair them'
kalwìwale-u [kʰalˈviːvaːleˑju]   'They would write it and …' (A:48)

Most combinations of consonants are possible in the initial *CC-* cluster at the onset of syllable patterns, though clusters of homorganic stops are avoided (e.g. *bp, dt, gk*) within morphological units. Clusters at the beginning of a word consisting of combinations of morphemes, such as a vowelless preposition and a noun, may, however, contain homorganic stops, e.g.

b-puḷe   'with money'

A cluster of two consonants in the coda of a syllable is found only in loanwords, e.g. *taxtaband* 'bed', *dars* 'lesson'.

In principle, the coda of the open syllables *CV* and *CCV* may be any vowel except /ə/. There are a few apparent exceptions to this. These include nouns with an originally geminated second radical such as *ləbá* 'heart' (< *ləbba*) and *támal* 'yesterday' (< *támmal*). The explanation seems to be that these forms have underlying patterns in which the syllables in question are closed. In the case of *ləbá* and *támal* the underlying patterns are *ləbbá* and *támmal*, which correspond to the historical forms, i.e. the vocalism and syllable structure have dragged behind the process of gemination loss and behave as if the middle radicals were still geminated. A similar situation is found in words such as *tăra* 'door' and *ʾăra* 'land', which contain a short /a/ vowel in the first syllable rather than a long vowel according to the normal principles of vowel lengthening (§1.5.5.2.1.) since the vocalism and syllable structure reflect those of an underlying form *CaCCa* corresponding to the historical forms *tarʿa* and *ʾarʿa*.

Another case where a */ə/* occurs in an apparently open syllable is the intransitive stem I imperative, which has bi-syllabic forms such as *sə́mux* 'Stand!' as well as monosyllabic forms such as *smux*. Here again the vocalism and syllabification reflect not the surface form but the underlying pattern. The underlying pattern in this case can be identified not with the historical form of stem I imperatives but rather with the pattern of imperatives of intransitive stem III and quadriliteral verbs, which have four consonants, viz. *Cə́CCuC*, e.g. *mə́skur* 'Get lost!', *gə́ndur* 'Roll!'. This is one aspect of a general process of morphological levelling across verbal forms (§3.1.). The pattern *Cə́CCuC*, in which the */ə/* occurs in a closed *CəC* syllable is imposed on a base of three consonants *smx*.

As remarked in §1.5.2.4., short */ə/* is often devoiced in unstressed syllables. This results in phonetic realizations such as the following in which the */ə/* vowel is inaudible:

> *qəṭmá* [qʰə̥tʰˡma]   'ash'
> *šəmšá* [ʃə̥mˡša]   'sun'

The syllabification and the transcription of such words must be on an abstract level taking account of the morphemic pattern to which the word is assigned and its alternant forms in which the */ə/* has a vocalic realization. The word [qʰə̥tʰˡma], for example, should be represented phonemically as */qəṭ.ma/* on the grounds that it is to be assigned to the underlying morphemic pattern *CəCCá*. This is the historical pattern and is attested phonetically in a number of other nouns.

1.5.4. Word-Internal Syllable Boundaries

The syllable boundary in a word-internal sequence such as *VCCV* with a cluster of two consonants falls between the two consonants, e.g.

> *xal.wá*   'milk'
> *dug.lá*   'lie'
> *maš.té*   'He causes to drink'
> *gə́n.dur*   'Roll!'

This is confirmed by the intuition of informants who syllabify words in this way when asked to utter them slowly.

The syllable division in a word internal sequence *VCCCV* with a cluster of three consonants can be either *VCC.CV* or *VC.CCV*, the *CC* cluster at the end or beginning of the syllable respectively being optionally broken by an epenthetic.

The division *VCC.CV* occurs when one of the first two consonants of the cluster is a sonorant that is followed and/or preceded by a fricative or a different sonorant, e.g.

marxšále	[marəx.ˈʃaː.le]	'She makes him walk'
maxlpále	[maxəl.ˈpaː.le]	'She exchanges it'
mayrxále	[majər.ˈxaː.le]	'She stretches it out'

The division *VC.CCV* is found elsewhere, e.g.

maskrí	[mas.kʰəˈri]	'They will get lost'
mabṣrále	[mab.səˈraː.le]	'She reduces it'

1.5.5. Vowel Length

The length of vowels is conditioned to a large extent by phonotactic context and stress position.

1.5.5.1. The Vowels /i/, /e/, /o/, /u/

1.5.5.1.1. In Penultimate Open Syllables

A vowel of this group in a penultimate open syllable tends in principle to be pronounced long, both when it is stressed and also when the stress is put on the final syllable and the penultimate syllable is, therefore, pretonic. Examples:

léka?	[ˈleːkʰa]	'where?'
belá	[beˈla]	'house'
zíla	[ˈziːla]	'She went'
didán	[diˈdan]	'our'
nóšan	[ˈnoːʃan]	'ourselves'
doká	[doˈkʰa]	'there'
klúmu	[ˈkluːmuˑ]	'write (pl.)!'
ṭurá	[tʰuˈra]	'mountain'

There are very few exceptions to this principle of vowel lengthening in penultimate syllables in this group of vowels. One case is the word *kŭle* 'all', in which the */u/* vowel was followed by a geminated consonant in Proto-NENA:

     kŭlé [kʰuˈleˑ]   'all'   < **kullé*

1.5.5.1.2. In Final Open Syllables

The length of a vowel in a word-final open syllable depends in principle on the position of the word in the intonation group in which it is uttered. When the word occurs at the end of an intonation group, the vowel tends to be long, irrespective as to whether it is stressed or not. When the word occurs within an intonation group, the vowel tends to be short. In what follows the boundaries of intonation groups are marked in the transcription by a short vertical sign ᴵ (not to be confused with the mark of the stress ˈ in the IPA narrow phonetic transcription). The nuclear stress, which is the most prominent stress of the intonation group and typically occurs at its end, is marked by a grave accent (*v̀*) and the non-nuclear stress is marked by an acute accent (*v́*):

    tatí [taˈti]   *tatìᴵ* [taˈtiː]   'my father'
    malú [maˈlu]   *malùᴵ* [maˈluː]   'their village'
    grə́šle [ˈgrəʃle]   *grə̀šleᴵ* [ˈgrəʃleː]   'He pulled'
    grə́šli [ˈgrəʃli]   *grə̀šliᴵ* [ˈgrəʃliː]   'I pulled'
    grə́šlu [ˈgrəʃlu]   *grə̀šluᴵ* [ˈgrəʃluː]   'They pulled'

1.5.5.1.3. In Closed Syllables

When the vowels in this group occur in closed syllables, their length is generally determined by stress and the position of the word in the intonation group. There is a greater tendency to shorten the vowel when it is followed by two consonants than there is when it is followed by a single consonant and word boundary.

    As a general rule, the vowels are pronounced long when they are followed by a single consonant at a word boundary, e.g.

    pél [ˈpʰeːl]   'He falls'
    kól [ˈkʰoːl]   'He does'
    kúš [ˈkʰuːʃ]   'Come down!'
    qím [ˈqiːm]   'He arose'

    When the vowels are stressed and followed by two consonants, there is a tendency to shorten them, though at the end of an intonation group the length is sometimes retained, e.g.

    déqwa [ˈdeqva]   'He used to pound'
    dèqwaᴵ [ˈdeːqvaː] ~ [ˈdeqvaː]   'He used to pound'

kólwa [ˈkʰoːlva]		'He used to do'
kòlwa⏐ [ˈkʰoːlvaː] ~ [ˈkʰolvaː]		'He used to do'
kúšmun [ˈkuʃmun]		'Come down (pl.)!'
kùšmun⏐ [ˈkuːʃmun] ~ [ˈkuʃmun]		'Come down (pl.)!'
qímwa [ˈqimva]		'He had arisen'
qìmwa [ˈqiːmva] ~ [ˈqimva]		'He had arisen'

In unstressed syllables the vowel is usually pronounced short, e.g.

deqwále [deqˈwaːle]		'He used to pound it'
kolwále [kolˈwaːle]		'He used to do it'
duqle-ó [duqleˈjoː]		'Take it away!'

1.5.5.2. The Vowel /a/

1.5.5.2.1. In Penultimate Open Syllables

The vowel /a/ in a penultimate open syllable tends in principle to be pronounced long, both when it is stressed and also when the stress is put on the final syllable and the penultimate syllable is, therefore, pretonic. Examples:

rába [ˈraːbɑ]	'much'
kasá [kaːˈsa]	'stomach'

There are some exceptions to this principle of vowel lengthening in penultimate syllables. These include the following:

(i) In the present base of verbs the /a/ vowel of the first syllable is regularly pronounced short even when it is open, e.g.

gărə́š [gaˈrəʃ]	'He pulls'

(ii) Vowels that are in origin epenthetics generally remain short, e.g.

belăxun [beˑlaˈxuːn]	'your (pl.) house'

(iii) Vowels that were originally in a closed syllable in Proto-NENA but are now in an open one. This applies to cases where a vowel was followed by a geminated consonant in Proto-NENA, e.g.

garšắte [garˈʃatʰe]	'You (fs.) pull her	< *garšátte	< *garšat–le
ʾătá [ʔaˈtʰa]	'now'	< *ʾatta	

The /a/ vowel of a syllable that was originally followed by a consonant and a voiced pharyngal remains short even after the elision of the pharyngal resulting in the opening of the preceding syllable, e.g.

tăra   < *tarˤa   'door'
zăra   < *zarˤa   'wheat'

Other cases include where an augment vowel has been added to a form that originally ended in a consonant, e.g.

susyăni   'our horse'   < *susyan-i

(iv) The /a/ vowel before the /w/ in the nominal plural ending –*ăwáe* is regularly pronounced short, e.g.

malăwáe

(v) Short vowels in penultimate syllables are often found in loanwords or loaned affixes that preserve the phonological system of the source language, e.g.

kălăka [kʰalaˈkʰa]   'side, flank'
gor-ăke [goːraˈkeː]   'the man'

An /a/ vowel in an antepenultimate or earlier open syllable in the base form of a word is generally pronounced short, e.g.

ˀăxoná [ʔaxoːˈna]   'brother'

When, however, the number of syllables in a word has been increased by the addition of inflectional or derivational elements, an /a/ vowel that was long in the base form in principle remains long in the inflected or derived form even though it is now antepenultimate or further back from the end of the word, e.g.

*tatà*ˈ [tʰaːˈtʰaː] 'father' *tatăwalàn*ˈ [tʰaːtʰawʌˈlan] 'our fathers'
           tatulà ˈ [tʰaːtʰuːˈla] 'fatherhood'
*malà*ˈ [maːˈlaː] 'village' *malăwàe*ˈ [maːlaˈwae] 'villages'
           malăke [maːlaˈkʰe] 'the village'

1.5.5.2.2. Final Open Syllable

The length of an /a/ vowel in a word-final open syllable depends in principle on the position of the word in the intonation group in which it is uttered. When the word occurs at the end of an intonation group, the vowel tends to be long, irrespective as to whether it is stressed or not. When the word occurs within an intonation group, the vowel tends to be short:

belá [beːˈla]	*belà⌐* [beːˈlaː]	'house'
baté [baːˈte]	*batè⌐* [baːˈte]	'houses'
grášla [ˈgrəʃla]	*gràšla⌐* [ˈgrəʃlaː]	'She pulled'

1.5.5.2.3. Closed Syllables

As a general rule an /a/ vowel in a closed syllable in a word of Aramaic stock is pronounced short, e.g.

belán [beːˈlan]	'our house'
qamxá [qɑmˈxa]	'flour'

Some loanwords preserve a long /a/ from the source language in these contexts. The vowel in such words is written with a macron, e.g.

jwānqa	'young man'
gāz	'bite'
ˤăkās	'photographer'
burtăqāl	'orange'
čəngāḷ	'fork'

1.5.5.3. The Vowel /ə/

The vowel /ə/ is regularly pronounced short in all contexts. It is the reflex of an originally short front high vowel or of an originally long front high vowel that has been shortened, e.g.

găráš	'He pulls'	< *gāriš*
grášle	'He pulled'	< *grišlē*
garšáte	'You pull him'	< *garšēt-le*

It is not, however, in completely complementary distribution with the vowels /i/ and /e/ in the current state of the dialect, as shown by the following phonemic contrasts:

/i/ : /ə/   *grəštá* 'pulled' (fs. transitive resultative participle)
          grištá 'pulled' (fs. passive resultative participle)

/ə/ : /e/   *qeṭa* 'summer'
          qəṭa 'piece'

1.5.5.4. The Transcription of Vowel Length

The transcription that is used in this volume aims to be phonemic and as economical as possible. Most of the vowel length distinctions that are de-

scribed above are either predictable from the phonotactic context and the position of the stress or are results of communicative strategies expressed in the division of speech into intonation groups. In such circumstances the length of a vowel does not have phonemic status since it is not crucial for expressing semantic distinctions between words. In the transcription, therefore, the length of vowels will generally be left unspecified by a diacritical mark. Diacritics will only be used in words that regularly go against the aforementioned tendencies. These have been listed above as exceptional cases. Such vowels will be marked by a breve sign in contexts where they would normally be expected to be short. Verbal forms with short vowels in an open penultimate syllable such as *šătéx* 'we drink' can, in fact, form minimal pairs with homophonous noun forms that differ only in the length of the vowel. In this environment, therefore, there are grounds for regarding short /ă/ as a phoneme in its own right, which further justifies distinguishing it in the transcription:

Minimal pairs:

/ă/ : /a/	*kăse*	'He covers'
	kase	'stomachs'
	găre	'He shaves'
	gare	'roof'

Similar oppositions between /ă/ and /a/ are found in loanwords, e.g.

| | *păro* | 'rag' |
| | *paro* | 'snow shovel' |

A phonemic contrast in length occurs also in word-final position in the following pair:

| | *la* | negator |
| | *lā* | 'by the side of' |

This has arisen, it appears, due to the fact that *lā* has developed from the form *laga* by elision of the /g/. In *laga* the first /a/ is always long on account of its occurrence in an open syllable. The vowel in the negator *la*, on the other hand, follows the normal rules of vowel lengthening in final open syllables (§1.5.5.2.2.). Since the negator in the vast majority of cases occurs in non-pausal position, the vowel is in principle short.

1.6. WORD STRESS

The place of stress is marked in the transcription of the recorded texts on all words that bear it. The transcription also marks the boundaries of intonation groups by a short vertical sign [|]. Intonation contours are not represented, but a distinction is made between the nuclear stress of the intonation group and non-nuclear stress. The nuclear stress, which is the most prominent stress of the intonation group, is marked by a grave accent (*v̀*) and the non-nuclear stress is marked by an acute accent (*v́*). In principle, there is only one nuclear stress in an intonation group. Occasionally, however, two intonation groups are linked together without any perceptible boundary by a process of sandhi and two nuclear stresses occur in what appears to be a single intonation group (cf. Cruttenden 1986: 43).

There is a certain degree of variability in the position of stress in words. It is determined to a large extent by the relations between words on the level of syntax and discourse. The same applies to the choice of where the speaker places the nuclear stress and the intonation group boundaries. In what follows the predominant position of the stress in the various categories of word are described.

1.6.1. Nominals

In nouns and pronouns word-final stress position, which is found in most words in all contexts, may be regarded as the basic one. It is the usual position in nominals that occur in pause before an intonation group boundary and also in the citation form of nominals:

belà^{|}	'house'
tatà^{|}	'father'
yalè^{|}	'children'
ʾanà^{|}	'I'

Retraction of the stress occurs in various non-pausal contexts within an intonation group, e.g.

(1) *xá **ʾăxóna** xetàf*^{\|} *čəkmá šoǧ̀lè hité.*^{\|} 'Another brother of hers has various jobs'. (A:6)

(2) ***tắra** mə́zra ba-réša nòšaf.*^{\|} 'She closed the door behind her.' (A:22)

(3) *ʾéa **bróna** Jăhằn-ye.*^{\|} 'This is the son of Jăhān.' (A:17)

(4) *ʾána mătúna ba-réš ʾenì.*ǀ 'I agree to it (literally: I put it on my eye).' (A:18)

As noted in §1.5.3., the stress is retracted when a noun or pronoun ends in two adjacent vowels, reflecting the fact that the sequence is a diphthong (VV̯) with the first vowel functioning as the syllable nucleus and the second as the syllable boundary, e.g.

*hulàe*ǀ	'Jews'
*malăwàè*ǀ	'villages'
*ʾèa*ǀ	'this'
*ʾòa*ǀ	'that'

The word *noš-* 'self' (§2.5.) is regularly stressed on the penultimate syllable when it has a pronominal suffix, e.g.

*nòši*ǀ	'myself'
*nòšan*ǀ	'ourselves'

When a noun is used vocatively, the stress is also regularly retracted:

*tàta!*ǀ	'Father!'
*bàxta!*ǀ	'Wife!'
*gyàni!*ǀ	'My soul!'

1.6.2. Adverbials

Some adverbials exhibit the same stress patterns as nominals, in that the stress falls on either the final or the penultimate syllable, word-final stress predominating in pausal position at the end an intonation group, e.g.

*lăxà*ǀ	'here'
*dokà*ǀ	'there'
*waryà*ǀ	'outside'
*loʿà*ǀ	'inside'

The stress is sometimes retracted in these forms in non-pausal position, e.g.

(1) *ga-dóka ʾorxél reš-kepè-yelu.*ǀ 'There the (grinding by) mill was on two stones.' (A:59)

(2) *našé gezíwa wárya ba-talgà-č.*ǀ 'People would go outside even in the snow.' (A:81)

In several adverbials, however, the stress regularly falls on the penultimate syllable, e.g.

*ràba*ˈ	'much, many'
*làᶜel*ˈ	'above'
*qăme*ˈ	'forwards'
*xăre*ˈ	'backwards'
*bəqăta*ˈ	'in the morning'

If the word is trisyllabic, like *bəqā́ta*, the stress may be retracted onto the antepenultimate syllable in non-pausal position, e.g.

(3)   *bə́qăta ʾásər gezə̀lwa.*ˈ 'Morning and evening he would go.' (A:105)

1.6.3. Verbs

(i) The basic position of the stress in verb forms derived from the present base (§3.3.) is on the final syllable of the root or, if the vowel of this syllable is elided when an inflectional suffix is added, on the first syllable of the suffix:

*gărə̀š*ˈ	'He pulls'
*gărə̀š-na*ˈ	'I pull'
*garš-ì*ˈ	'They pull'
*garš-èt*ˈ	'You (ms.) pull'
*garš-ètun*ˈ	'You (pl.) pull'

Resyllabification and stress shift due to weakening of gemination can result in stress having phonemic significance in the present base paradigm of some verbs, in that the 1s and 3fs. are distinguished only by stress, as in the verb *zbn* 'to sell':

zabná	'She sells'
zábna	'I sell' (< *zăbənna)

(ii) In verb forms derived from the past base (§3.4.–§3.6.), the placement of the basic stress follows the same principle:

*grə̀š-le*ˈ	'He killed'
grə̀š-lox	'You (ms.) killed'
grə̀š-lăxun	'You (pl.) killed'
*smìxet*ˈ	'You stood'

The distinction between some past base verbal forms and homophonous nominal forms depends uniquely on stress position, e.g.

*mìla*ˈ	'She died'
*milà*ˈ	'dead (ms.)'

(iii) The basic position of the stress in the imperative, on the other hand, is on the first syllable of the root:

    màxwe[|]   'Show! (sing.)'
    màxwemun[|]   'Show! (pl.)'

This stress placement has phonemic significance in the singular imperative, since its non-final position contrasts with the final position of the stress in the otherwise homophonous 3ms. present form:

    maxwè[|]   'He shows'

(iv) When further pronominal suffixes are added to the verbal forms just described, the basic position of stress remains the same, e.g.

Present base

    gằrə̀š-lu[|]   'He pulls them'
    gằrə̀š-wa-lu[|]   'He used to pull them'
    gằrə̀š-n-ef   'I pull him'
    garš-ì-le[|]   'They pull him'
    garš-ètu-le[|]   'You (pl.) pull him'

Past base

    grə̀š-wa-le[|]   'He had killed'
    smìxən-wa[|]   'I had stood'

Imperative

    màxweli[|]   'Show (sing.) me!'
    màxwe-mu-le[|]   'Show (pl.) him!'

As indicated above, the addition of further suffixes to a verb form does not usually affect the position of the stress, e.g. *garší* 'They pull', *garšíwa* 'They used to pull', *garšíwalu* 'They used to pull them'. On some occasions, however, the stress is shifted onto the suffix at the end of the word. This is mainly found at the end of an intonation group where the vowel of the suffix is lengthened, e.g.

(1) *ʾằwáḷ lelé gezəlwá-o belà,*[|] *xálef* **kxəlwalè,**[|] *yằtúwa ta-saʿằtè*[|] *tré bár pálga lelè.*[|] 'In the early evening he would go back home, eat his food and sit until two o'clock in the morning.' (A:101)

(2) *ʾáy našé ya-ga-ʾáy kují yelù*[|] *kừle*[|] *qalá d-áy zorná* **šằmenwalè**[|] *kénwa waryà.*[|] 'All the people who were in the lane and heard the sound

of the pipe would come outside and stand at the door of their courtyard.' (A:45)

(3)   *ḥămamăke **mašxniwalà**.*| 'They used to heat the bath.' (A:37)

1.7. STRESS GROUPS

Occasionally a short word is combined with another word in a single stress group and only one of the words bears stress. The stress may fall on either the first or second word, depending on the nature of the component words and on their relative informational importance. Such stress groups occasionally consist of three words. In most cases each of the component words can bear its own stress and examples of this can be found in other contexts. If the stress falls on the final word of the group, its position in this word normally exhibits the same variability as it would if the word stood independently. If, on the other hand, the stress falls on the first word of the group and this word consists of more than one syllable, the stress is regularly placed in its basic position for that particular word (cf. §1.6.).

Some of the most common types of words that are combined with other words in stress groups are as follows.

1.7.1. Numeral + Counted Nominal

The stress falls either on the nominal following the numeral or on the numeral. The stress is regularly put on the final syllable of the numeral:

Stress on the nominal: *xa-bratá* 'a girl' (A:6), *xa-šatá* 'one year' (A:8), *xa-taxtá rŭwà*| 'a big box' (A:9), *tre-képe* 'two stones' (A:59).

Stress on the numeral: *xá-gora* 'a man' (A:21), *xá-šata* 'one year' (A:30), *tré-yome* 'two years' (A:39), *trè-yarxe*| 'two months' (A:30), *təlḥá-šane* 'three years' (A:19).

Examples of the occurrence of stress on both components: *xá ʾambár* 'a storeroom' (A:7), *xá ḥămalá* 'a porter' (A:87), *tré xălǝsyè*| 'two sisters' (A:91), *təlḥà yarxé* 'three months' (A:30).

1.7.2. Negator + Verb/Nominal/Adverbial

In the majority of cases the stress is placed on the negated item, though on several occasions it falls on the negator.

Stress on the negated item:

(1)   *bronăké həl-bratăké la-xewále ba-ʿamrèf.*| 'The boy had never seen the girl in his life.' (A:2)

(2) *la-kǎ́yan mǎ̀ni-ye.*| 'I do not know who he is.' (A:21)

(3) *ʾaná ʾo-lelé la-zìna-o belá.*| 'I did not go back home that night.' (A:26)

Stress on the negator:

(4) *xor-ʾay-bratá lá-xar ʾay-broná xǎ́ya x-kàr.*| 'Now, the girl should not yet see the boy.' (A:24)

(5) *rasí rajə̀ʾ ba-ḥǎná-č là-ḥqelan.*| 'In fact we have not talked yet about henna.' (A:38)

(6) *lá-gban ʾáy-ḥǎsǎ́b-u ktàbe.*| 'I don't want these accounts and books.' (A:107)

Stress on both components:

(7) *daǎ̆ká lá qoràlox!*| 'May your mother not bury you!' (A:103)

(8) *čún ʾáxni nóšan là kewalán*| *xalwǎ̆ké hǎ̆mèxile*| 'because we could not fetch milk ourselves' (A:63)

(9) *là šóqwa xét ẓólm holì-lef.*| 'He did not allow him to suffer further injustice.' (A:109)

1.7.3. Demonstrative + Nominal

The stress falls either on the demonstrative or on the nominal following it. The placement of the stress on the nominal is more common.

Stress on the demonstrative: *g-ò-lele*| 'on that night' (A:88), *g-ày-lag,*| *g-ò-lag*| 'on this side and on that side' (A:108).

Stress on the nominal: *ʾo-lelé* 'that night' (A:26), *ʾo-našé* 'those people' (A:42), *ʾo-kepé* 'those stones' (A:59), *ʾay-bratá* 'this girl' (A:8), *ʾay-otáx* 'this room' (A:13), *ʾay-ʾǎ̆xonì* 'this brother of mine' (A:19).

Stress on both items: *ʾó pəsrǎ̆ké* 'that meat' (A:74), *ʾó waxtǎ́ra* 'at that time' (A:84), *ʾáy našé* 'these people' (A:45).

2. PRONOUNS

2.1. INDEPENDENT PERSONAL PRONOUNS

3s.	ʾo
3pl.	ʾoni
2s.	ʾāt
2pl.	ʾaxtu
1s.	ʾana
1pl.	ʾaxni

2.2. DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS

Two types of demonstrative are used to point out referents in a speech situation, viz. near deixis and far deixis forms. Both of these types can also be used anaphorically, generally to refer back to a referent that has been mentioned earlier in the discourse. When used anaphorically, its reference is internal to the discourse and it does not point to a referent that is visible in the speech situation.

Near deixis and far deixis demonstrative pronouns either stand independently or are used attributively to modify a head noun.

2.2.1. Independent Near Deixis Pronouns

These exist in short and long forms. The long forms have a suffixed unstressed /a/ or /xa/ element.

ms.	ʾay, ʾe	ʾéa	ʾexa
fs.	ʾay, ʾe	ʾéa	ʾexa
pl.	ʾayni	ʾənye	ʾənyexáe

The uncontracted form ʔay is used predominantly by informant A whereas the contracted form ʔe is used by informant B.

2.2.2. Independent Far Deixis Pronouns

These also exist in short and long forms with an unstressed /a/ or /xa/ element.

ms.	ʔo	ʔóa	ʔóxa
fs.	ʔo	ʔóa	ʔóxa
pl.	ʔoni/ʔonye		ʔonyexáe

2.2.3. Attributive Near Deixis Pronouns

Only the short form ʔay/ʔe is used when the pronoun is attributive, and this is generalized also to plural nouns:

ms.	ʔay, ʔe
fs.	ʔay, ʔe
pl.	ʔay, ʔe

Examples: ʔay gora 'this man', ʔay baxta 'this woman', ʔay naše 'these people', ʔay ənše 'these women'. The uncontracted form ʔay is used predominantly by informant A whereas the contracted form ʔe is used by informant B.

2.2.4. Attributive Far Deixis Pronouns

Short and long forms are used. In the short form paradigm, the singular form ʔo has been generalized to use with plural nouns:

ms.	ʔo
fs.	ʔo
pl.	ʔo

Examples: ʔo gora 'that man', ʔo baxta 'that woman', ʔo naše 'those people', ʔo ənše 'those women'.

2.3. PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES ON NOUNS AND

PREPOSITIONS

3ms.	*-ef*
3fs.	*-af*
3pl.	*-u, -un*
2ms.	*-ox*
2fs.	*-ax*
2pl.	*-ăxun*
1s.	*-i*
1pl.	*-an, -ăni*

The variant form of the 3pl. suffix *–un*, which preserves the original final /n/ of the pronoun (< *-hun*), is used only before the co-ordinative enclitic *–u*, e.g. *xa-dána mə̀nun-u*ˈ 'one of them and …' (D:2).

These suffixes replace the final inflectional vowel of nouns, as illustrated by the following, which presents the suffixed forms of the noun *bela* 'house':

3ms.	*belef*
3fs.	*belaf*
3pl.	*belu*
2ms.	*belox*
2fs.	*belax*
2pl.	*belăxun*
1s.	*beli*
1pl.	*belan, belăni*

These suffixes are also attached to nouns that end in a consonant, e.g.

ktab 'book'   *ktabef*   'his book'.

When the noun ends a vowel that is not an inflectional vowel, this is retained before the suffixes. In most cases it shifts to a glide that is homorganic with it, e.g.

susi 'horse'	*susyef*	'his horse'
	susyaf '	'her horse'
	susyu	'their horse', etc.

qaṭu 'cat'	*qaṭwef*	'his cat'
	qaṭwaf	'her cat'
	qaṭwu	'their cat', etc.

kau 'lettuce'	*kawef*	'his lettuce'
	kawaf	'her lettuce'
	kawu	'their lettuce', etc.

If the noun is a loanword that has a final –*a* belonging to its base in the source languages, this –*a* may be retained when a suffix is added, e.g.

| *miḻa* 'circumcision' | *miḻaef* | 'his circumcision' |
| *ḥoxma* 'wisdom' | *ḥoxmaef* | 'his wisdom' |

Pronominal suffixes may also be attached to some adverbs and quantifiers. In such cases the final –*a* vowel is retained before the suffix, e.g.

| *lăxa* 'here' | *lăxáu* | 'their here (= this place here on them)' |
| *rába* 'many' | *rábau* | 'their majority (= most of them)' |

The 3ms. suffix –*ef* has developed from **-ew* by devoicing of the final **w*, the normal realization of which being a labio-dental. This in turn is derived historically from **-ayhu*, which is the form of the suffix that was originally added only to plural nouns. Its use has been extended also to singular nouns. The 3fs. suffix -*af* has arisen, it appears, by adding a /f/ element to an original -*a* by analogy with the 3ms. form. There are a few cases that may be interpreted as fossilized vestiges of the original form of the 3ms. suffix that was attached to singular nouns **-eh*. This applies, for example, to phrases containing the word *pəlga* 'half', e.g. *yarxá-u pə́lge* 'a month and a half' (B:62), the original meaning being 'one month and its half'. Another case may be the –*e* ending in the quantifier *kŭle* 'all', e.g. *kŭle ʾapra* 'all the soil' (< **kull-eh bela* 'all of it—the soil'). The –*e* on *kŭle* was subsequently extended to all syntactic contexts (§8.9.2.). The final –*e* in the formulaic phrase *ʾəlha la holane* 'God forfend' may also be a 3ms. suffix in origin, literally: 'God [be] not the doer of it (*holana* + *e*)'.

The 3pl. suffix -*u* is derived historically from **-hun* or **-hon*, the final /n/ being preserved in the variant form –*un*.

The variant 1pl. suffix –*ăní* appears to have development by analogy with the independent 1pl. personal pronoun *axní*.

2.4. Independent Genitive Pronoun

There is a distinction in paradigm between the 3ʳᵈ person forms, which are formed by combining the particle *d-* with the independent pronouns, and the 1ˢᵗ and 2ⁿᵈ person forms, which have the base *did-*:

3ms.	*d-o*
3fs.	*d-o*
3pl.	*d-oni*
2ms.	*didox*
2fs.	*didax*
2pl.	*didăxun*
1s.	*didi*
1pl.	*didan, didăni*

2.5. Reflexive and Reciprocal Pronouns

The word *noša* with pronominal suffixes is used in various contexts to express the sense of 'oneself'. The full paradigm is as follows:

3ms.	*nóšef*
3fs.	*nóšaf*
3pl.	*nóšu*
2ms.	*nóšox*
2fs.	*nóšax*
2pl.	*nóšăxun*
1s.	*nóši*
1pl.	*nóšan, nošăní*

Note that the stress is regularly placed on the initial syllable throughout the paradigm, with the exception of the variant 1pl. form *nošaní*.

The reciprocal pronoun has the form *xle*, which is used in combination with the prepositions *l-* (*láxle*) and *b-* (*báxle*), e.g.

(1) *dằen lə̀xle.⏐* 'They are hitting each other'.

(2) *ʾoni-híyen bə̀xle⏐* 'They came together'.

2.6. INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS

> *mắni*   'who?'
> *ma*   'what?'
> *hema*   'which?'

The final *–i* of *mắni* often coalesces with the /y/ of the copula enclitic, e.g. *mắni + ye? > mánye?* 'Who is it?'

The form *ma* may take pronominal suffixes, in which case it has the sense 'What (is it) to …?' The suffixes are separated from the base of the pronoun by the glide /y/ and the syllable /ay/ is reduplicated, resulting in the following forms:

> 3ms.   *mayayef*   'What (is it) to him?'
> 3fs.   *mayayaf*   'What (is it) to her?'
> 3pl.   *mayayu*   'What (is it) to them?' etc.
>
> 2ms.   *mayayox*
> 2fs.   *mayayax*
> 2pl.   *mayayăxun*
>
> 1s.   *mayayi*
> 1pl.   *mayayan, mayayăni*

The form *hema* is invariable for gender and number, e.g. *hema gora?* 'which man?', *hema baxta?* 'which woman?', *hema naše?* 'which people?'

3. VERBS

3.1. Verbal Stems

Verbs with triliteral roots are used in one of three stems with distinctive patterns of inflection. In addition to these there are a number of quadriliteral verbs, which belong to a single stem with the same pattern of inflection. We present below for each of these categories the various parts that are used in the formation of verbal forms. A distinction must be made between the bases of transitive active verbs, on the one hand, and those of intransitive and passive verbs, on the other, since intransitive and passive verbs have forms of the past base and resultative participle that are different from those of the transitive active verbs. There are also differences between transitive and intransitive verbs in the imperative bases. In other bases (present and infinitive) intransitive verbs are identical in pattern to transitive verbs. There are no passive bases apart from the past base and resultative participle.

Stem I

grš I 'to pull' (transitive)', *smx* 'to stand' (intransitive)'

	Transitive Active	Intransitive	Transitive Passive
Present base	*gărəš-*	*săməx-*	—
Past base	*grəš-*	*smix-*	*griš-*
Resultative participle	*gərša*	*smixa*	*griša*
Imperative	*gruš ~ gárəš*	*smux*	—
Infinitive	*găroše*	*sămoxe*	—

Stem II

zbn I 'to sell' (transitive)'

	Transitive Active		Transitive Passive
Present base	*zăbən-*		—
Past base	*zbən-*		*zbin-*
Resultative participle	*zəbna*		*zbina*
Imperative	*zắbən*	—	
Infinitive	*zăbone*	—	

Stem III

m-ršx 'to cause to walk' (transitive), *m-skr* 'to become lost' (intransitive)

	Transitive Active	Intransitive	Transitive Passive
Present base	*marxəš-*	*maskər-*	—
Past base	*mərxəš-*	*məskir-*	*mərxiš-*
Resultative participle	*məršxa*	*məskira*	*mərxiša*
Imperative	*márxəš*	*mə́skur*	—
Infinitive	*marxoše*	*maskore*	—

Quadriliteral

brbz 'to scatter' (transitive and intransitive)

	Transitive Active	Intransitive	Transitive Passive
Present base	*barbəz-*	*barbəz-*	—
Past base	*bərbəz-*	*bərbiz -*	*bərbiz-*
Resultative participle	*bərbza*	*bərbiza*	*bərbiza*
Imperative	*bárbəz*	*bárbuz*	—
Infinitive	*barboze*	*barboze*	—

The verbal stems of earlier Aramaic have undergone considerable level-ling. Stem I is derived historically from the *pəʿal* stem of earlier Aramaic, stem II from the *paʿʿel* and stem III from the *ʾap̄ʿel*. Stem II has virtually merged in form with stem I, but the distinct pattern of imperative justifies identifying it as a separate stem. While the imperative patterns *CCuC* and *CăCəC* are used interchangeably in stem I verbs, the former being the more common, stem II verbs only have the imperative pattern *CăCəC*. This corre-

sponds to the historical pattern of the *pa⁽⁽el* imperative, while *CCuC* is the historical pattern of the *pəˤal* imperative. The set of historically *pa⁽⁽el* verbs that exhibit this feature of the imperative are identical to stem I in all other patterns.

Stems I and III are distinguished by their consonantal pattern, but the vocalic patterns of the bases have been largely levelled across the two stems. The proto-NENA vocalism of the infinitive of stem I can be reconstructed as *CCaCa*. The pattern *CăCoCe* has arisen by analogy with that of stems II and III.

The distribution of the imperative patterns across the stems has undergone a certain amount of analogical change from the historical situation. As remarked, the *CăCəC* pattern is occasionally used with stem I verbs. This occurs as an optional alternative to the *CCuC* pattern and is restricted in principle to transitive verbs. Conversely, the historical stem I imperative pattern is normally used with intransitive stem III verbs with the addition of an epenthetic /ə/ vowel between the first two consonants (*mə́CCuC*). The historical stem III imperative pattern *máCCəC* is the only one used with transitive verbs. In quadriliteral verbs the imperative pattern *Cə́CCuC* is, in principle, used for intransitive verbs and *CáCCəC* for transitive verbs. In verbs that are used both transitively and intransitively, however, the imperative pattern *Cə́CCuC* is sometimes used also when the verb is transitive. This has arisen, presumably, by analogy with the *CCuC* pattern in transitive stem I verbs, e.g. *gruš*.

There are no direct descendants of the intransitive stems *ʾetpəˤel, ʾetpa⁽⁽al* and *ʾettap̄ˤal*, the functions of which are now expressed by other verbal constructions. Some verbal roots, however, may preserve the /t/ element of these stems reanalysed as the initial radical of stem I, e.g. *tnx* 'to enjoy' (cf. Syriac *ʾettənīḥ* 'to be at rest, to be contented', the *ʾetpəˤel* of *nwḥ*).

The *m-* prefix occurs in all forms of stem III, although in the *pa⁽⁽el* and *ʾap̄ˤel* stems of earlier Aramaic it was a feature of the participles, the forebears of the present and past bases of the modern dialect, but did not occur in the imperative, nor did it regularly occur in the infinitive. In the modern dialect the prefix has been extended by analogy to all parts of the verb in stem III.

The lack of a prefixed *m-* in all parts of stem II and the quadriliteral verb is also an innovation of the J. Sanandaj dialect. Its elision is likely to be the result of a phonetic process due to its contact with the following consonant without an intervening vowel (*mzăbən > zăbən, *mbarbəz > barbəz*).

3.2. INFLECTIONAL SUFFIXES

The present and past bases are inflected with two sets of suffixes, which may be termed S-suffixes and L-suffixes.

3.2.1. S-suffixes

These inflectional suffixes are attached to the present base of all verbs and to the intransitive and passive past bases in order to express the grammatical subject (S). They are used as inflections of the transitive past base in order to express the undergoer of the action.

	Default
3ms.	*-∅*
3fs.	*-a*
3pl.	*-i*
2ms	*-et*
2fs.	*-at*
2pl.	*-etun*
1ms.	*-en*
1fs.	*-an, -ā́na*
1pl.	*-ex, -éxin*

3.2.2. L-suffixes

These suffixes, which are historically a combination of the preposition *l-* and a pronominal suffix, are attached to the transitive past base in order to express the grammatical subject.

3ms.	*-le*
3fs.	*-la*
3pl.	*-lu, -lun*
2ms.	*-lox*
2fs.	*-lax*
2pl.	*-lăxun*
1s.	*-li*
1pl.	*-lan*

When the 3pl. suffix is followed by the conjunctive clitic –*u*, an /*n*/ element is sometimes inserted between the two vowels, i.e. –*lun-u*. This is a vestige of the final consonant of the original form of the suffix **-lhun* or **-hon*.

3.3. INFLECTION OF THE PRESENT BASE WITH S-SUFFIXES

This construction has a wide functional range including present progressive, present habitual, future and irrealis. These functions are examined in greater detail in §9.2.

3.3.1. Stem I Verbs

3ms.	*gărəš ~ găreš*	'He pulls'
3fs.	*garša*	'She pulls'
3pl.	*garši*	'They pull,' etc.
2ms	*garšet*	
2fs.	*garšat*	
2pl.	*garšétun*	
1ms.	*gărášna*	
1fs.	*garšan, garšána*	
1pl.	*garšex, garšéxin*	

Note that the /*a*/ vowel in the open syllable of the 3ms. and 1ms. forms is short. This is by analogy with the shortness of the /*a*/ vowels in closed syllables in the rest of the paradigm.

3.3.2. Stem II Verbs

3ms.	*păləṭ ~ păleṭ*	'He takes out'
3fs.	*palṭa*	'She takes out'
3pl.	*palṭi*	'They take out,' etc.
2ms	*palṭet*	
2fs.	*palṭat*	
2pl.	*palṭétun*	

1ms.	*palə́ṭna*	
1fs.	*palṭan, palṭä́na*	
1pl.	*palṭex, palṭéxin*	

3.3.3. Stem III Verbs

3ms.	*marxəš ~ marxéš*	'He makes walk'
3fs.	*marxša*	'She makes walk'
3pl.	*marxši*	'They make walk,' etc.

2ms	*marxšet*	
2fs.	*marxšat*	
2pl.	*marxšétun*	

1ms.	*marxə́šna*	
1fs.	*marxšan, marxšä́na*	
1pl.	*marxšex, marxšéxin*	

3.3.4. Quadriliteral Verbs

3ms.	*barbəz ~ barbéz*	'He scatters'
3fs.	*barbza*	'She scatters'
3pl.	*barbzi*	'They scatter,' etc.

2ms	*barbzet*	
2fs.	*barbzat*	
2pl.	*barbzétun*	

1ms.	*barbə́zna*	
1fs.	*barbzan, barbzä́na*	
1pl.	*barbzex, barbzéxin*	

3.3.5. Verbs with Bases Ending in /n/ or /l/

When the last radical of the verbal base is /n/ or /l/, this is assimilated by the /n/ of the 1ms. suffix and the resulting gemination of /n/ is weakened in accordance with the usual rule (§1.4.). In stems I and II there is a conse-quent resyllabification and shift of stress to the first syllable, e.g.

kápna	'I hunger'	< *kapə́nna* (*kpn*)
šámna	'I become fat'	< *šamə́nna* (*šmn*)
šáxna	'I become hot'	< *šaxə́nna* (*šxn*)

ṭáxna	'I grind'	< *ṭaxə́nna* (*txn*)
zábna	'I sell'	< *zabə́nna* (*zbn*)
šáqna	'I buy'	< *šăqəlna* (*šql*)

The uncontracted form *šăqəlna* from the final */l/* verb *šql* is also used.

In stem III and quadriliteral verbs the original vowel and stress remain in place before the */n/*, e.g.

makpə́na	'I make hungry'	< *makpə́nna* (*m-kpn*)
mašmə́na	'I make fat'	< *mašmə́nna* (*m-šmn*)
mašxə́na	'I make hot'	< *mašxə́nna* (*m-šxn*)
pažgə́na	'I scatter'	< *pažgə́nna* (*pžgn*)

3.4. INFLECTION OF THE INTRANSITIVE AND PASSIVE PAST BASE WITH S-SUFFIXES

The S-suffixes are used to express the grammatical subject of intransitive or passive past bases. Such constructions express a preterite with perfective aspect (§9.3.). Unlike in the inflection of the present base, the stress remains on the vowel of the base before inflectional endings that are monosyllabic. Compare *sămə́x* 'He stands', *samxá* 'She stands' with *smíx* 'He stood', *smíxa* 'She stood'.

3.4.1. Stem I Verbs

In the 3ms. the stress is optionally retracted onto an epenthetic vowel after the first radical.

Intransitive

3ms.	*smix, sə́mix*	'He stood up'
3fs.	*smíxa*	'She stood up'
3pl.	*smíxi*	'They stood up,' etc.
2ms.	*smíxet*	
2fs.	*smíxat*	
2pl.	*smíxetun*	
1ms.	*smíxna*	
1fs.	*smíxan, smíxăna*	
1pl.	*smíxex, smíxexin*	

Passive

3ms.	*griš, gə́riš*	'He was pulled'
3fs.	*grı́ša*	'She was pulled'
3pl.	*grı́ši*	'They were pulled,' etc.

2ms.	*grı́šet*
2fs.	*grı́šat*
2pl.	*grı́šetun*

1ms.	*grı́šna*
1fs.	*grı́šan, grı́šăna*
1pl.	*grı́šex, grı́šexin*

3.4.2. Stem III Verbs

Intransitive

3ms.	*məskı́r*	'He got lost'
3fs.	*məskı́ra*	'She got lost'
3pl.	*məskı́ri*	'They got lost,' etc.

2ms.	*məskı́ret*
2fs.	*məskı́rat*
2pl.	*məskı́retun*

1ms.	*məskı́rna*
1fs.	*məskı́ran, məskı́răna*
1pl.	*məskı́rex, məskı́rexin*

Passive

3ms.	*mərxı́š*	'He was made to walk'
3fs.	*mərxı́ša*	'She was made to walk'
3pl.	*mərxı́ši*	'They were made to walk', etc.'

2ms.	*mərxı́šet*
2fs.	*mərxı́šat*
2pl.	*mərxı́šetun*

1ms. *mərxíšna*
1fs. *mərxíšan, mərxíšăna*
1pl. *mərxíšex, mərxíšexin*

3.4.3. Quadriliteral Verbs

Intransitive

3ms. *gəndír*   'He rolled'
3fs. *gəndíra*   'She rolled'
3pl. *gəndíri*   'They rolled,' etc.

2ms. *gəndíret*
2fs. *gəndírat*
2pl. *gəndíretun*

1ms. *gəndírna*
1fs. *gəndíran, gəndírăna*
1pl. *gəndírex, gəndírexin*

Passive

3ms. *bərbiz*   'He was scattered'
3fs. *bərbíza*   'She was scattered'
3pl. *bərbízi*   '   They were scattered', etc.'

2ms. *bərbízet*
2fs. *bərbízat*
2pl. *bərbízetun*

1ms. *bərbízna*
1fs. *bərbízan, bərbízăna*
1pl. *bərbízex, bərbízexin*

3.5. Inflection of the Transitive Past Base with

S-suffixes

The transitive past base of verbs may be inflected with S-suffixes in order to express the undergoer of the action. These are restricted to the 3rd person suffixes (3ms. -∅, 3fs. –*a*, 3pl. –*i*). The agent is expressed by L-suffixes. The form has the basic function of a preterite with perfective aspect (§9.3.).

3.5.1. Stem I

The syllabification of the inflected transitive past base with S-suffix inflec-
tions differs from that of the inflected intransitive/passive past base:

3ms.	*gráš-le* (= *grəš-∅-le*)	'He pulled him'
3fs.	*gəršá-le*	'He pulled her'
3pl.	*gərší-le*	'He pulled them'

3.5.2. Stem II

3ms.	*pláṭ-le* (= *pləṭ-∅-le*)	'He brought him out'
3fs.	*pəlṭá-le*	'He brought her out'
3pl.	*pəlṭí-le*	'He brought them out'

3.5.3. Stem III

3ms.	*mərxáš-le* (= *mərxəš-∅-le*)	'He made him walk'
3fs.	*mərxšá-le*	'He made her walk'
3pl.	*mərxší-le*	'He made them walk'

3.5.4. Quadriliteral Verbs

3ms.	*bərbáz-le* (= *bərbəz-∅-le*)	'He scattered him'
3fs.	*bərbzá-le*	'He scattered her'
3pl.	*bərbzí-le*	'He scattered them'

3.6. INFLECTION OF THE TRANSITIVE PAST BASE WITH
L-SUFFIXES

This inflection is used to express the agent of transitive verbs. The form has
the basic function of a preterite with perfective aspect (§9.3.).

3.6.1. Stem I Verbs

3ms.	*grášle*	'He pulled'
3fs.	*grášla*	'She pulled'
3pl.	*grášlu*	'They pulled,' etc.

2ms. *grə́šlox*
2fs. *grə́šlax*
2pl. *grə́šlăxun*

1s. *grə́šli*
1pl. *grə́šlan*

3.6.2. Stem II Verbs

3ms. *plə́ṭle*   'He brought out'
3fs. *plə́ṭla*   'She brought out'
3pl. *plə́ṭlu*   'They brought out,' etc.

2ms. *plə́ṭlox*
2fs. *plə́ṭlax*
2pl. *plə́ṭlăxun*

1s. *plə́ṭli*
1pl. *plə́ṭlan*

3.6.3. Stem III Verbs

3ms. *mərxə́šle*   'He caused to walk'
3fs. *mərxə́šla*   'She caused to walk'
3pl. *mərxə́šlu*   'They caused to walk,' etc.

2ms. *mərxə́šlox*
2fs. *mərxə́šlax*
2pl. *mərxə́šlăxun*

1s. *mərxə́šli*
1pl. *mərxə́šlan*

3.6.4. Quadriliteral Verbs

3ms. *bərbə́zle*   'He scattered'
3fs. *bərbə́zla*   'She scattered'
3pl. *bərbə́zlu*   'They scattered,' etc.

    2ms.   *bərbázlox*
    2fs.   *bərbázlax*
    2pl.   *bərbázlăxun*

    1s.   *bərbázli*
    1pl.   *bərbázlan*

3.6.5. Verbs with bases ending in /l/, /n/ or /r/

When the final radical of the verbal root is /l/, the gemination resulting from the combination of this with the L-suffix is reduced. In stems I and II the syllabification of the form is changed (§1.4.), e.g.

    šql 'to buy':

    3ms.   *šə́qle*   < **šqə́le* < **šqə́lle*
    3fs.   *šə́qla*
    3pl.   *šə́qlu*

    2ms.   *šə́qlox*
    2fs.   *šə́qlax*
    2pl.   *šə́qlăxun*

    1s.   *šə́qli*
    1pl.   *šə́qlan*

    When the last radical of the verbal base is /n/ or /r/, the /l/ of the L-suffix assimilates to this and the gemination resulting from this is similarly reduced. In stems I and II there is consequential resyllabification of the vocalism of the stem:

    zbn 'to sell'

    3ms.   *zə́bne*   < **zbə́ne* < **zbə́nne*
    3fs.   *zə́bna*
    3pl.   *zə́bnu*

    2ms.   *zə́bnox*
    2fs.   *zə́bnax*
    2pl.   *zə́bnăxun*

    1s.   *zə́bni*
    1pl.   *zə́bnan*

phr 'to yawn'

3ms.	*pắhre*	< **phəre* < **phərre*
3fs.	*pắhra*	
3pl.	*pắhru*	
2ms.	*pắhrox*	
2fs.	*pắhrax*	
2pl.	*pắhrăxun*	
1s.	*pắhri*	
1pl.	*pắhran*	

In stem III and quadriliteral verbs ending in these consonants the gemination resulting from the assimilation of the /l/ of the L-suffix is reduced without any resyllabification, e.g.

məšxắne	'He heated (tr.)'	< **məšxənne* (*m-šxn*)
məpšắre	'He melted (tr.)	< **məpšərre* (*m-pšr*)

3.7. COMPARATIVE EXCURSUS

The use of different inflectional suffixes for the past bases of transitive and intransitive verbs is a feature that is shared by neighbouring Jewish NENA dialects in western Iranian Kurdistan and eastern Iraqi Kurdistan, e.g. the dialects of Kerend, Săqəz, Bokan and Sulemaniyya.[5] This represents an ergative type of syntax since in the expression of the same tense and aspect the subject of an intransitive verb has the same inflection as the object of a transitive verb (S-suffixes). The agent of transitive clauses, on the other hand, has a different inflection, namely by L-suffixes containing the preposition *l-*.

Another distinctive feature of this sub-group of NENA dialects is the existence of two past verbal bases with a different inflection and function (stems I and II *qṭəl-, qṭil-*; stem III *məqṭəl-, maqṭil-*). Both are derived historically from the passive participles of earlier Aramaic **qṭīl* (stem I), **muqṭəl* < **muqṭal* (stem III). The short vowel /ə/ in the stem I *qṭəl-* base is likely to have arisen by analogy with the vowel in the corresponding position of the stem III *məqṭəl-* base, which is historically short. Conversely, the long /i/ in

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[5] The sub-group of dialects with this type of verbal inflection was first brought to the attention of scholars by Simon Hopkins (1989) and Gideon Goldenberg (1992).

the stem III *maqṭil-* base is likely to have developed by analogy with the vowel in the stem I *qṭil-* base. The forms of past bases of stem II subsequently became assimilated to those of stem I. Some weak verbs have only one form of past base in each stem, which has a general function of expressing both the transitive active and the intransitive/passive.

In most NENA dialects the inflection with L-suffixes was extended to all verbs of the lexicon as a means of expressing the preterite. In some NENA dialects in which the L-suffix inflection has been generalized in the preterite, the S-suffix inflection of past bases has been retained to express the resultative perfect of intransitive verbs. This is the case, for example, in Jewish Urmi, in which a distinct intransitive past base inflected with S-suffixes has shifted from preterite to resultative perfect. As a result intransitive verbs have two past bases, one expressing the preterite, which is inflected with L-suffixes, and one expressing the resultative perfect, which is inflected with S-suffixes.

Jewish Urmi

	Transitive	Intransitive
	Transitive	Intransitive
Preterite	*grəšle* 'He pulled'	⁺*dmɔxle* 'He went to sleep'
Perfect		⁺*dmix* 'He has gone to sleep'

A similar survival of an intransitive past base with S-suffix inflection as an expression of a resultative perfect is found in some Jewish dialects in north-eastern Iraq, such as Rustaqa (Khan 2002b: 403-404) and Koy Sanjaq (Mutzafi 2004: 82, 105).

The same development has occurred in the north-western periphery of the NENA area. In Hertevin the S-suffix inflection of past bases is used to express the resultative perfect in intransitive verbs, as in Jewish Urmi, e.g. *dmeḥ* 'He has gone to sleep' (Jastrow 1988: 58–59). In the Bohtan dialect this resultative perfect construction has been extended by analogy to transitive verbs, e.g. *dmix* 'He has gone to sleep', *ptix* 'He has opened' (Fox 2009: 64).

The J. Sanandaj dialect and the neighbouring dialects with intransitive preterites inflected with S-suffixes use this construction also to express the preterite passive of transitive verbs. This type of passive usage of the intransitive past base is not found in the aforementioned dialects in which the base is used to express the intransitive resultative perfect rather than the preterite. In these dialects alternative periphrastic constructions are used to express the passive, e.g. J. Urmi ⁺*qtila xdəre* 'He was killed (literally: he became killed)' (Khan 2008a: §4.8.1.5., §10.11.1).

3.8. INFLECTION OF THE IMPERATIVE

The imperative has a singular and a plural form. The plural is formed by attaching the suffix –*mu* or its variant –*mun* to the singular. The stress is placed on the initial syllable in all forms.

3.8.1. Stem I Verbs

grš 'to pull', *smx* 'to stand'

	Transitive	Intransitive
sing.	*gruš ~ gə́ruš*	*smux ~ sə́mux*
	gắrəš	
plural	*grúšmu(n) ~ gə́rušmu(n)*	*smúxmu(n) ~ sə́muxmu(n)*
	gắrəšmu(n)	

The pattern *gruš-* is the historical pattern of the *pəʿal* stem. The imperative pattern *CăCəC-* has been extended by analogy with that of other stems. In the pattern with /u/, an alternative pattern with the /ə/ between the first two radicals has been transferred by analogy from the pattern of stem III and quadriliteral verbs, viz. *Cə́CCuC* (§3.1.).

3.8.2. Stem II Verbs

Verbs in stem II are derived historically from *paʿʿel* forms (§3.1.). Their distinctive feature is that their imperative has only the pattern *CăCəC-* and never *CCuC-*. This applies, for example, to the verb *zbn* 'to sell', which is historically a *paʿʿel* form.

sing.	*zắbən*
plural	*zắbənmu(n)*

3.8.3. Stem III Verbs

m-rxš 'to make walk', *m-skr* 'to get lost'

	Transitive	Intransitive
sing.	*márxəš*	*máskur*
plural	*márxəšmu(n)*	*máskurmu(n)*

3.8.4. Quadriliteral Verbs

brbz 'to scatter'

	Transitive	Intransitive
sing.	*bárbəz*	*bə́rbuz*
plural	*bárbəzmu(n)*	*bə́rbuzmu(n)*

3.9. INFLECTION OF THE RESULTATIVE PARTICIPLES

Each stem of verbs with strong radicals has two types of resultative participle, one being used with a transitive active function and the other with an intransitive or passive function. These correspond in vocalic pattern to the two corresponding past bases, e.g.

Stem I

	Past base	Resultative Participle
Transitive active	*gərš-*	*gərša*
Intransitive	*smix-*	*smixa*
Passive	*griš-*	*griša*

These resultative participles derive historically from the determined state of the passive participle in earlier Aramaic, whereas the past bases derive from the passive participles in the absolute state. The feminine singular is formed by attaching the ending *–ta* and the plural by attaching the ending *–e*, which are historically the endings of nominal forms in the determined state. In the case of the transitive participle, the attachment of the feminine suffix involves the rearrangement of the syllable structure. The vocalic pattern of the participles of stem II and III and of the quadriliteral participles has developed by analogy with that of the stem I participle. Some weak verbs have only one form of resultative participle in each stem, which has the general function of expressing both the transitive active and the intransitive/passive.

The transitive, intransitive and passive resultative participles are used in compound verbal forms expressing the resultative perfect (§3.12.). The intransitive and passive resultative participles may also be used as adjectival forms (§5.2. (6))

3.9.1. Stem I Verbs

grš 'to pull' (transitive), *smx* 'to stand' (intransitive)

Transitive Active

ms.	*gərša*
fs.	*grəšta*
pl.	*gərše*

Intransitive

ms.	*smixa*
fs.	*smixta*
pl.	*smixe*

Passive

ms.	*griša*
fs.	*grišta*
pl.	*griše*

3.9.2. Stem II Verbs

zbn 'to sell' (transitive)

Transitive Active

ms.	*zəbna*
fs.	*zbənta*
pl.	*zəbne*

Passive

ms.	*zbina*
fs.	*zbinta*
pl.	*zbine*

3.9.3. Stem III Verbs

m-rxš 'to make walk' (transitive), *m-skr* 'to become lost' (intransitive)

Transitive Active

ms.	*məršxa*
fs.	*mərxəšta*
pl.	*mərxše*

Intransitive

ms.	*məskira*
fs.	*məskirta*
pl.	*məskire*

Passive

ms.	*mərxiša*
fs.	*mərxišta*
pl.	*mərxiše*

3.9.4. Quadriliteral Verbs

brbz 'to scatter' (transitive), *gndr* 'to roll' (intransitive)

Transitive Active

ms.	*bərbza*
fs.	*bərbəzta*
pl.	*bərbze*

Intransitive

ms.	*gəndira*
fs.	*gəndirta*
pl.	*gəndire*

Passive

ms.	*bərbiza*
fs.	*bərbizta*
pl.	*bərbize*

3.10. PARTICLES COMBINED WITH VERBAL FORMS

3.10.1. Indicative Particle

An indicative particle with the form *k-*, or occasionally its voiced variant *g-*, is prefixed to some verbs derived from the present base. This construction is restricted to a set of stem I verbs with /ʾ/ or /h/ as their first radical that includes *ʾxl* 'to eat', *ʾmr* 'to say' (§3.14.1.), *ʾwl* 'to do' (§3.14.8.), *ʾzl* 'to go' (§3.18.1.), *ʾby* 'to want' (§3.18.2.), *ʾly* 'to know' (§3.18.3.), *hwl* 'to give' (§3.18.4.), *hyy* 'to come' (§3.18.5.) and *hwy* 'to be' (§3.18.7.).

3.10.2. Deontic Particles

A wish may be expressed by combining the deontic particles *mar* or *ba-* with a present base verb, e.g.

mar-gărəš	'May he pull, let him pull'
ba-šăqəl	'May he buy, let him buy'

In the set of verbs that mark a formal distinction between realis and irrealis, these particles are followed by the irrealis form, e.g.

mar-ʾăxəl	'May he eat, let him eat' (*ʾxl* 'to eat').
ba-ʾăxəl	

3.10.3. Past Converter Suffix -*wa*

The particle –*wa*, a fossilized form of the verb form **hwā* in earlier Aramaic, is suffixed to verbs derived from present and past bases. For more details concerning the function of these verbal constructions see §9.2.2. and §9.3.2.

3.10.3.1. Present Base Verbs

The /e/ of the inflectional endings –*et* (2ms.), -*en* (1ms.) and –*ex* (1pl.) is sometimes centralized to the region of /ə/ when this suffix is attached. The alternative long form of 1pl. suffix –*exin* is not used before –*wa.*

3ms.	*gărə́šwa*	'He used to pull'
3fs.	*garšáwa*	'She used to pull'
3pl.	*garšíwa*	'They used to pull,' etc.

2ms   *garšétwa ~ garšə́twa*
2fs.   *garšátwa*
2pl.   *garšétunwa*

1ms.   *gărə́šnawa*
1fs.   *garšánwa*
1pl.   *garšéxwa ~ garšə́xwa*

3.10.3.2. Transitive Past Base Verbs

The particle is placed between the base and the L-suffix inflectional ending.

3ms. *grə́šwale*   'He had pulled'
3fs. *grə́šwala*   'She had pulled'
3pl. *grə́šwalu*   'They had pulled,' etc.

2ms. *grə́šwalox*
2fs. *grə́šwalax*
2pl. *grə́šwalăxun*

1s.   *grə́šlwali*
1pl. *grə́šwalan*

3.10.3.3. Intransitive/Passive Past Base Verbs

Intransitive

3ms. *smíxwa*   'He had stood up'
3fs. *smíxawa*   'She had stood up'
3pl. *smíxiwa*   'They had stood up,' etc.

2ms. *smíxətwa*
2fs. *smíxatwa*
2pl. *smixétunwa*

1ms. *smíxnawa*
1fs. *smíxanwa*
1pl. *smíxəxwa*

Passive

3ms.	*grîšwa*	'He had been pulled'
3fs.	*grîšawa*	'She had been pulled'
3pl.	*grîšiwa*	'They had been pulled,' etc.

2ms.	*grîšətwa*
2fs.	*grîšatwa*
2pl.	*grišétunwa*

1ms.	*grîšnawa*
1fs.	*grîšanwa*
1pl.	*grîšəxwa*

3.11. THE COPULA

3.11.1. Present Copula

Clauses with a predicate that is a nominal or preposition phrase generally contain a copula that is cliticized to the end of the predicate item. This has a base consisting of the element /y/. The dialect uses a present and past copula. The present copula has the inflectional endings of final /y/ verbs (§3.14.5.):

3ms.	*-ye*
3fs.	*-ya*
3pl.	*-yen*

2ms.	*-yet*
2fs.	*-yat*
2pl.	*-yetun*

1ms.	*-yena*
1fs.	*-yan*
1pl.	*-yex*

Informant B sometimes uses a variant of the 3pl. form with final *–yeni*.

The forms of the copula in the paradigm above are used when the predicate to which they are attached ends in a consonant, e.g.

3ms.	*năxóš-ye*	'He is ill'
3fs.	*năxóš-ya*	'She is ill'
3pl.	*năxóš-yen*	'They are ill', etc.

2ms.	*năxóš-yet*	
2fs.	*năxóš-yat*	
2pl.	*năxóš-yetʊn*	

1ms.	*năxóš-yena*	
1fs.	*năxóš-yan*	
1pl.	*năxóš-yex*	

The full forms of the copula enclitics are also retained when the predicate ends in the high vowels /i/ or /u/, e.g.

| *băruxí-ye* | 'He is my friend' |

baxtí-ya	'She is my wife'
yalí-yen	'They are my children'
băruxú-ye	'He is their friend'
xăləstú-ya	'She is their sister'

The /i/ at the end of the predicate in such contexts is occasionally elided, especially when unstressed, e.g.

| *mánye?* | 'Who is it?' (< *mắni-ye*) |

When the copula is attached to a word ending in /e/, the /y/ of the copula is usually completely contracted when it is followed by an inflectional ending beginning with /e/, but remains uncontracted when the copula contains the vowel /a/, e.g.

ʾana reša garena	'I (m.) am on the roof' (< *gare-yena*)
ʾāt reša garet	'You (ms.) are on the roof' (< *gare-yet*)
ʾana reša gare-yan	'I (f.) am on the roof' (< *gare-yena*)
ʾāt reša gare-yat	'You (fs.) are on the roof' (< *gare-yet*)

The 3ms. form is exceptional, in that in such circumstances it is replaced by the form –*le*. This preserves the original /l/ element of the copula in order to prevent its complete elision, e.g.

| *ʾo reša garele* | 'He is on the roof' |
| *ʾo băšolele* | 'That is cooking' (*băšole*) |

The /l/ element appears in the 3ms. copula also after a predicate end-ing in –o, e.g.

> ʾay bela d-ole   'This house is his' (d-o)

When the predicate ends in the vowel /a/, the /y/ of the enclitic is contracted when the first vowel of the copula is /e/. This applies to the mas-culine singular and plural enclitics. The only exception is the 3ms. form, in which the /y/ is not contracted, but the following /e/ is generally elided. The /y/ is not contracted in the sequence /aya/ that arises from the attach-ment of the feminine forms. The /a/ vowel before the /y/ is, however, gen-erally raised to the region of /e/ under the influence of the following /y/. The full paradigm of the copula enclitics attached to the word *lăxa* 'here' is as follows:

3ms.	*lăxá-y*	'He is here'
3fs.	*lăxé-ya*	'She is here'
3pl.	*lăxén*	'They are here', etc.
2ms.	*lăxét*	
2fs.	*lăxé-yat*	
2pl.	*lăxétun*	
1ms.	*lăxéna*	
1fs.	*lăxé-yan*	
1pl.	*lăxéx*	

3.11.2. Past Copula

The past equivalent of this enclitic copula is formed from the base *ye-* in-flected by the L-series suffixes:

3ms.	*-yele*
3fs.	*-yela*
3pl.	*-yelu*
2ms.	*-yelox*
2fs.	*-yelax*
2pl.	*-yelăxun*
1s.	*-yeli*
1pl.	*-yelan*

This past form, like the present form, is attached to the end of the predicate complement as an enclitic, e.g.

năxóš-yele	'He was ill'
băruxí-yele	'He was my friend'
băruxú-yele	'He was their friend'
lăxá-yele	'He was here'
ᶜayzé-yelu	'They were good'

The form is sometimes contracted when the predicate ends in the vowel /e/, in that the sequence /eye/ is reduced to /e/, e.g.

ᶜayzélu	'They were good' (< *ᶜayze-yelu*)

3.11.3. Dative Copula

In addition to the regular copula, a further type of copula can be identified in phrases containing L-suffixes. In such phrases the copula element has the invariable form *la-*, which is not inflected for person or number:

3ms.	*lale*
3fs.	*lala*
3pl.	*lalu*
2ms.	*lalox*
2fs.	*lalax*
2pl.	*lalăxun*
1s.	*lali*
1pl.	*lalan*

The past of this copula expression is formed by inserting the particle *wa* before the L-suffix. The *la-* element is optionally omitted:

3ms.	*lawale*	*wale*
3fs.	*lawala*	*wala*
3pl.	*lawalu*	*walu*
2ms.	*lawalox*	*walox*
2fs.	*lawalax*	*walax*
2pl.	*lawalăxun*	*walăxun*
1s.	*lawali*	*wali*
1pl.	*lalan*	*walan*

This copula phrase with L-suffixes has a restricted functional distribution. It is used after the interrogative *m-leka* 'from where?' in constructions such as the following:

> *ʾaná puḷé mən-lèka lalí háwna ta-didóx?|* 'From where do I have money to give to you?'

> *ʾaná puḷé mən-lèka walí háwna ta-didóx?|* 'From where did I have the money to give to you?'

The phrase is used also with the resultative participle of the verb *x∅r* 'to become' *xira + lale > xírlale*, the final /a/ of the participle being elided:

> *xírlale* 'It has become to him' (= He has acquired it, he has experienced it)

> *xírlawale* 'It had become to him' (= He had acquired it, he had experienced it)

Examples from the text corpus:

(1) *bratulà xirlála|* 'She had girlness (= she was a virgin girl).' (A:50)

(2) *híč-kas ʿáql-e Šlómo ha-mélex lá xìrlale.|* 'Nobody had acquired the intelligence of King Solomon.' (A:92)

The copula element in these constructions has a realis modality, either in the present or the past. In order to express irrealis it must be replaced by forms of the verb *hwy*, e.g.

> *ʾaná puḷé mən-léka hăwéwali háwna ta-didóx?|* 'From where would I have money to give to you?'

A special irrealis form of the dative copula is, however, used when it is attached to the resultative participle of *x∅r*:

> *xirlắwelale* 'It may have become to him (= he may have acquired)'
> *xirlắwelala* 'It may have become to her (= she may have acquired)'
> *xirlắwelalu* 'It may have become to them (= they may have acquired)'

The element *la-* is likely to be a fossilized form of a 3fs. copula form *ila*. 3rd person copulas with /l/ are commonly attested in the NENA dialects. The form *la-* can be compared to the fossilized 3fs. copula particle *lā* which is used before verbal bases in some Jewish NENA dialects that were spoken in north-eastern Iraq. In the J. Arbel and J. Ruwanduz dialects, the *lā* particle is combined with the present and past bases. These compound forms are

used predominantly to express the progressive and present perfect (Khan 1999: 111-114):

  lā gărəš   'He is pulling'
  lā grəšle   'He has pulled'

  In Jewish Rustaqa and Jewish Ruwanduz the particle is used before an infinitive base to express the progressive (Khan 2002b: 407):

  lā găroša   'He is pulling'

  In Jewish Rustaqa the particle is combined with an intransitive past base inflected with S-suffixes to express a present perfect, the preterite being inflected with L-suffixes without the particle:

  lā qim   'He has arisen'
  qəmle   'He arose'

  The *lā* particle is also found in the Christian dialect of Bədyəl (north-eastern Iraq), where it functions as an invariable 3rd person copula:

  ʾawən lā kpina   'He is hungry'
  ʾayən lā kpinta   'She is hungry'
  ʾani lā kpine   'They are hungry'

  In C. Bədjəl the *lā* copula is combined with the resultative participle to form present perfect constructions:

  lā ʾəčča   'He has come'
  lā čita   'She has come'
  lā ʾəčče   'They have come'

3.12. COMPOUND VERBAL FORMS CONTAINING THE VERB 'TO BE'

3.12.1. Realis Perfect

The realis resultative perfect is expressed by a compound construction consisting of the resultative participle combined with the present enclitic copula. This construction is available for all persons in intransitive or passive verbs, expressed by the intransitive/passive base:

Intransitive

3ms.	*smixá-y*	'He has stood up'
3fs.	*smixté -ya*	'She has stood up'
3pl.	*smixén*	'They have stood up', etc.

2ms.	*smixét*
2fs.	*smixté-yat*
2pl.	*smixétun*
1ms.	*smixéna*
1fs.	*smixté-yan*
1pl.	*smixéx*

Passive

3ms.	*grišá-y*	'He has been pulled'
3fs.	*grišté -ya*	'She has been pulled'
3pl.	*grišén*	'They have been pulled', etc.

2ms.	*grišét*
2fs.	*grišté-yat*
2pl.	*grišétun*

1ms.	*grišéna*
1fs.	*grišté-yan*
1pl.	*grišéx*

Note that the stress position alone distinguishes the 2ms and 1pl. forms from the corresponding inflections of the intransitive/passive past base with S-suffixes:

smixét	'He has stood up'	*smíxet*	'He stood up'
smixéx	'We have stood up'	*smíxex*	'We stood up'

With transitive active resultative participles this perfect construction is only available where the agent of the transitive action is 3rd person. The copula cliticized to the resultative participle does not agree with this agent, but rather with the undergoer of the action, analogously to the inflection of the transitive past base with S-suffixes (§3.5.). However, unlike the construction with the transitive past base, in which the agent is marked by L-suffixes, in the resultative perfect construction the agent has zero marking. There is, therefore, no specific marking of the agent as ms., fs. or pl.

gəršá-y	'He has pulled (him)'
	'She has pulled (him)'
	'They have pulled (him)'
grə́š-le	'He pulled (him)'
grəšté-ya	'He has pulled her'
	'She has pulled her'
	'They have pulled her'
gəršále	'He pulled her'
gəršén	'He has pulled them'
	'She has pulled them'
	'They have pulled them'
gəršíle	'He pulled them'

As is the case with the 3ms. transitive past base, the construction with the ms. resultative participle and 3ms. copula *gərša-y* may either express specifically a ms. undergoer that is anaphorically bound to the context or may be used in a neutral sense without denoting any specific undergoer.

The resultative participle is not combined with the past copula.

For further details concerning the syntax of compound verbal constructions see §9.8.

3.12.2. Irrealis Perfect

An irrealis resultative perfect may be formed by combined the irrealis form of the verb *hwy* 'to be' (§3.18.7.) with the resultative participle. The final vowel of the participle and the initial */h/* of the inflected form of *hwy* are elided when the two forms are bonded together. This construction is available for all persons with intransitive/passive compound forms with intransitive/passive resultative participles. The stress remains on the final syllable of the participle:

Intransitive

3ms.	*smixā́we*	'He may have stood up'	< *smixá-hăwe*
3fs.	*smixtáwya*	'She may have stood up'	< *smixtá-hawya*
3pl.	*smixā́wen*	'They may have stood up'	< *smixé-hăwen*, etc.

2ms. *smixắwet*
2fs. *smixtáwyat*
2pl. *smixắwetun*

1ms. *smixắwena*
1fs. *smixtáwyan*
1pl. *smixắwex*

Passive

3ms. *grišắwe* 'He may have been pulled'
3fs. *grištáwya* 'She may have been pulled'
3pl. *grišắwen* 'They may have been pulled', etc.

2ms. *grišắwet*
2fs. *grištáwyat*
2pl. *grišắwetun*

1ms. *grišắwena*
1fs. *grištáwyan*
1pl. *grišắwex*

In constructions with transitive active resultative participles the inflected forms of *hwy* agree with the undergoer of the action and they are restricted to the 3rd person. Unlike the realis form of the transitive perfect, however, the agent is explicitly marked in the irrealis form with L-suffixes. This has arisen by analogy with the L-suffix inflection of the past base. As is the case with the past base inflection, the L-suffixes mark the agent of all persons:

gəršắwele 'He may have pulled (him)' < *gərša-hăwe-le*
grəštáwyale 'He may have pulled her' < *grəšta-hawya-le*
gəršắwenile 'He may have been pulled them' < *gərše-hăweni-le*

gəršắwela 'She may have pulled (him)'
grəštáwyala 'She may have pulled her'
gəršắwenila 'She may have pulled them'

gəršắwelu 'They may have pulled (him)'
grəštáwyalu 'They may have pulled her'
gəršắwenilu 'They may have pulled them'

gəršắwelox   'You (ms.) may have pulled (him)'
grəštáwyalox 'You (ms.) may have pulled her'
gəršắwenilox 'You (ms.) may have pulled them'

gəršắwelax   'You (fs.) may have pulled (him)'
grəštáwyalax 'You (fs.) may have pulled her'
gəršắwenilax 'You (fs.) may have pulled them'

gəršắwelăxun   'You (pl.) may have pulled (him)'
grəštáwyalăxun 'You (pl.) may have pulled her'
gəršắwenilăxun 'You (pl.) may have pulled them'

gəršắweli   'I may have pulled (him)'
grəštáwyali 'I may have pulled her'
gəršắwenili 'I may have pulled them'

gəršắwelan   'We may have pulled (him)'
grəštáwyalan 'We may have pulled her'
gəršắwenilan 'We may have pulled them'

Summary of the alignment of the inflectional elements:

	Undergoer		Agent
Realis Perfect	*gərša-y*	Unspecified ~ Specified 3ms	∅
Irrealis Perfect	*gəršăwe-*	Unspecified ~ Specified 3ms	L-suffix
Past Base	*grəš-*	Unspecified ~ Specified 3ms	L-suffix
Realis Perfect	*grəšte-ya*	Specified 3fs	∅
Irrealis Perfect	*grəštawya-*	Specified 3fs	L-suffix
Past Base	*gərša-*	Specified 3fs	L-suffix
Realis Perfect	*gəršen*	Specified 3pl	∅
Irrealis Perfect	*gəršeni-*	Specified 3pl	L-suffix
Past Base	*gərši-*	Specified 3pl	L-suffix

3.12.3. Evidential Perfect

A further type of perfect construction is available, which may be termed the evidential perfect. This is used to express a situation that the speaker has heard by report but has not witnessed directly (§9.8.2., §9.9.3.). It is formed by replacing the copula of the realis perfect construction by the compound form of the verb $x\varnothing r$.

Intransitive

3ms.	*smixá-xira-y*	'He has stood up (reportedly)'
3fs.	*smixtá-xirte-ya*	'She has stood up (reportedly)'
3pl.	*smixé-xiren*	'They have stood up (reportedly)'
2ms.	*smixá-xiret*	
2fs.	*smixtá-xirte-yat*	
2pl.	*smixé-xiretun*	
1ms.	*smixá-xirena*	
1fs.	*smixtá-xirte-yan*	
1pl.	*smixé-xirex*	

Passive

3ms.	*grišá-xira-y*	'He has been pulled (reportedly)'
3fs.	*grištá-xirte-ya*	'She has been pulled (reportedly)'
3pl.	*grišé-xiren*	'They have been pulled (reportedly)'
2ms.	*grišá-xiret*	
2fs.	*grištá-xirte-yat*	
2pl.	*grišé-xiretun*	
1ms.	*grišá-xirena*	
1fs.	*grištá-xirte-yan*	
1pl.	*grišé-xirex*	

Transitive

3ms.	*gəršá-xira-y*	'He has pulled (him) (reportedly)'
		'She has pulled (him) (reportedly)'
		'They have pulled (him) (reportedly)'

3fs.	*grəštá-xirte-ya*	'He has pulled her (reportedly)'
		'She has pulled her (reportedly)'
		'They have pulled her (reportedly)'
3pl.	*gəršé-xiren*	'He has pulled them' (reportedly)'
		'She has pulled them' (reportedly)'
		'They have pulled them' (reportedly)'

3.13. NEGATION OF VERBAL FORMS

All verbal forms are negated by the particle *la*:

Present base verbs

lá găráš	'He is not pulling'
lá gărášwa	'He was not pulling'

Past base verbs

lá grášle	'He did not pull'
lá smíx	'He did not stand'
lá gríš	'He was not pulled'
lá grášwale	'He had not pull'
lá smíxwa	'He had not stood'
lá gríšwa	'He had not been pulled'

Imperatives

lá grúš!	'Do not pull (sing.)!'
lá grúšmu(n)!	'Do not pull (pl.)!'

The negative particle *la* is combined with preverbal particles that are used before verbs derived from the present base, viz. the indicative particle *k-* and the deontic particle *mar*. The negator precedes the *k-*, which is closely bonded to the verbal base, e.g.

la kmər	'He does not say'

It is, however, placed after the deontic particle, e.g.

mar la gărəš	'May he not pull'

The present and past copula are likewise negated with *la*. There is no special 'negative' copula as is found in some NENA dialects. When the particle *la* is combined with the present copula, the sequence */aye/* contracts to */e/*, as is the general rule when the present copula is cliticized to a word

ending in /a/ (§3.11.1.). The sequence /aya/ remains uncontracted, but the first /a/ is usually raised to the quality of /e/:

3ms.	*la-y*
3fs.	*lé-ya*
3pl.	*len*
2ms.	*let*
2fs.	*lé-yat*
2pl.	*létun*
1ms.	*léna*
1fs.	*lé-yan*
1pl.	*lex*

The negation of the past copula does not involve contractions:

3ms.	*lá-yele*
3fs.	*lá-yela*
3pl.	*lá-yelu*
2ms.	*lá-yelox*
2fs.	*lá-yelax*
2pl.	*lá-yelăxun*
1s.	*lá-yeli*
1pl.	*lá-yelan*

Compound verbal forms consisting of a resultative participle and a cliticized copula or a form of the verb *hwy* (§3.18.7.) are negated by placing the particle *la* before the entire unit rather than before the part of the verb 'to be':

la smixa-y	'He has not stood up;
la griša-y	'He has not been pulled'
la gərša-y	'He has not pulled (him)'
	'She has not pulled (him)'
	'They have not pulled (him)'
la smixǻwe	'He may not have stood up;
la grišǻwe	'He may not have been pulled'

la gəršăwele	'He may not have pulled (him)'
	'She may not have pulled (him)'
	'They may not have pulled (him)'
la smixá-xira-y	'He has not stood up (reportedly)'
la grišá-xira-y	'He has not been pulled (reportedly)'
la gəršá-xira-y	'He has not pulled (him) (reportedly)'
	'She has not pulled (him) (reportedly)'
	'They have not pulled (him) (reportedly)'

3.14. WEAK VERBS IN STEM I

3.14.1. Verba Primae /ʾ/ (1)

Verbs in this category that have stable second and third radicals include *ʾxl* 'to eat' and *ʾmr* 'to say'. Other verbs in this category that have additional weak radicals or exhibit irregularities include *ʾwl* 'to do' (§3.14.8.), *ʾzl* 'to go' (§3.18.1.), *ʾby* 'to want' (§3.18.2.), *ʾly* 'to know' (§3.18.3.) and 'to come' (§3.18.5.).

A feature that is exclusive to primae /ʾ/ (1) verbs and the initial /h/ verb *hwy* (§3.18.7.) is the survival of the initial indicative particle *k-* in the present base. In the verbs *ʾxl* and *ʾmr* it replaces the initial vowel of the base, e.g. *kxəl* 'He eats' < **k-ʾaxəl*. The form without the prefix expresses the irrealis mood. Another distinctive feature of the class is the elision of the first radical in patterns where this clusters with the second radical (i.e. *ʾC-* > *C-*).

3.14.1.1. Present

(i) Irrealis

The initial laryngal stop /ʾ/ in these inflections of the verb *ʾmr* has shifted to the laryngal fricative /h/, whereas it is retained in the verb *ʾxl*.

3ms.	*ʾăxəl*	*hămər*
3fs.	*ʾaxla*	*hamra*
3pl.	*ʾaxli*	*hamri*

The initial /h/ in *ʾmr* has apparently arisen by analogy with historically initial /h/ verbs that elide the /h/ before a *k-* prefix, e.g.

kwǝl	'He gives'	*kmǝr*	'He says'
hăwǝl	'May he give'	*hămǝr*	'May he say'

The final radical of these verbs assimilates to the /n/ of the 1ms. inflection –*na*. The gemination of the /n/ arising from this is reduced and there is consequential resyllabification resulting in the forms:

1ms.	*ʾaxna*	< *ʾamǝna* < *ʾamǝnna < *ʾamǝrna*
	hamna	< *ʾamǝna* < *ʾamǝnna < *ʾamǝrna*

(ii) Realis

3ms.	*kxǝl*	*kmǝr*
3fs.	*kǝxla*	*kǝmra*
3pl.	*kǝxli*	*kǝmri*
1ms.	*kǝxna*	*kǝmna*

3.14.1.2. Past Base

Both verbs are treated as transitive verbs and so the active subject inflection of their past base is expressed by L-suffixes. The initial syllable of the past base is elided. Unlike strong transitive verbs, there is no formal distinction between the active and passive base. One past base is used for both active and passive preterite, the subject of the former expressed by L-suffixes and the subject of the latter by S-suffixes. The vowel after the second radical of this past base has a long /i/:

3ms.	*xil-*	*mir-*
3fs.	*xila-*	*mira-*
3pl.	*xili-*	*miri-*

When L-suffixes are attached to the 3ms. form of the base, the /l/ of the suffix assimilates to the final radical of each of the verbs. The gemination arising from this assimilation is reduced, resulting in the forms:

xile	'He ate'	< *xille*
xila	'She ate'	< *xilla*
xilu	'They ate'	< *xillu*
mire	'He said'	< *mirre*
mira	'She said'	< *mirra*
miru	'They said'	< *mirru*

Examples of the use of the past base to express the passive:

xil	'He was eaten'	<	**xille*
xíla	'She was eaten'	<	**xilla*
xíli	'They were eaten'	<	**xillu*

3.14.1.3. Resultative Participle

One form of resultative participle is used to express the transitive active and passive. As in the past base, the vowel after the second radical is /i/:

ms.	*xila*	*mira*
fs.	*xilta*	*mirta*
pl.	*xile*	*mire*

3.14.1.4. Imperative

The imperative of ʾxl has the regular pattern for stem I with elision of the first syllable:

sing.	*xul*
pl.	*xúlmun*

The verb ʾmr has /a/ instead of /u/ in its imperative forms:

sing.	*mar*
pl.	*máru(n)*

3.14.1.5. Infinitive

The infinitive has the regular pattern:

ʾăxole	*ʾămore*

Variant forms of the infinitive exist with the initial syllable replaced by *k-* by analogy with the indicative inflection of the present base:

kxole	*kmore*

These are only used in combination with the indicative *k-* form of the verb in constructions such as *kxole kxəl* 'He is eating', *kmore kmər* 'He is saying', which express a progressive aspect (§9.16.2.1.).

3.14.2. Verba Primae /ʾ/ (2)

A second class of initial /ʾ/ verbs conforms to the patterns of strong verbs. They do not exhibit the distinctive features of the first class, namely the inflection of the indicative with a prefixed *k-/g-* particle and the elision of the

/ʾ/ in initial clusters. The initial cluster ʾC- is regularly split by an epenthetic vowel, which is not indicated in the transcription.

Verbs in this category include ʾrq 'to flee, to run' (intr.), ʾsq 'to go up' (intr.), ʾsr 'to bind, to close' (tr.) and ʾzl 'to spin (wool)' (tr.).

3.14.2.1. Present

The initial /ʾ/ does not interchange with /h/ as in initial /ʾ/ verbs of class (1):

ʾsr 'to bind' (tr.), ʾsq 'to go up' (intr.)

3ms.	ʾăsər	ʾăsəq
3fs.	ʾasra	ʾasqa
3pl.	ʾasri	ʾasqi
1ms.	ʾăsərna	ʾăsəqna

3.14.2.2. Transitive Active Past Base

3ms.	ʾsər-
3fs.	ʾəsra-
3pl.	ʾəsri-

Examples: ʾəsrali 'I bound her', ʾəsrili 'I bound them'.

When L-suffixes are attached to the 3ms. form of the base of the verbs ʾsr and ʾzl, the /l/ of the suffix assimilates to the final radical. The gemination arising from this assimilation is reduced with consequential resyllabification, resulting in the forms:

ʾəsre	'He bound'	< *ʾsərre	ʾəzle	'He span'	< *ʾzəlle
ʾəsra	'She bound'	< *ʾsərra	ʾəzla	'She span'	< *ʾzəlla
ʾəsru	'They bound'	< *ʾsərru	ʾəzlu	'They span'	< *ʾzəllu

3.14.2.3. Intransitive and Passive Past Base

ʾsiq-   ʾsir-

Examples:

ʾsiq	'He went up'	ʾsir	'He was bound'
ʾsíqa	'She went up'	ʾsíra	'She was bound'
ʾsíqi	'They went up'	ʾsíri	'They were bound'
ʾsíqna	'I went up'	ʾsírna	'I was bound'

In the verb ʾrq 'to run' the initial /ʾ/ is elided in the past base:

riq   'He ran'
ríqa   'She ran'
ríqi   'They ran'
ríqna 'I ran'

3.14.2.4. Transitive Active Resultative Participle

ms.   ʾəsra
fs.   ʾsərta
pl.   ʾəsre

3.14.2.5. Intransitive and Passive Resultative Participle

ms.   ʾsiqa   ʾsira
fs.   ʾsiqta   ʾsirta
pl.   ʾsiqe   ʾsire

3.14.2.6. Imperative

The stress is generally retracted to the epenthetic vowel after the first radical, which is marked here in the transcription:

sing.   ʾə́sur   ʾə́suq
pl.   ʾə́surmu(n)   ʾə́suqmu(n)

3.14.2.7. Infinitive

ʾăsore   ʾăsoqe

3.14.3. Verba Primae /y/

This category includes the verb *ylp* 'to learn' (tr. and intr.), *yql* 'to burn' (intr.), *yrq* 'to become green' and *yrx* 'to become long, tall' (intr.).

3.14.3.1. Present

ylp 'to learn' (tr.), *yrx* 'to become long' (intr.)

3ms.   yăləp   yărəx
3fs.   yalpa   yarxa
3pl.   yalpi   yarxi
1ms.   yăləpna   yărəxna

3.14.3.2. Transitive Active Past Base

3ms.	*yləp-*
3fs.	*yəlpa*
3pl.	*yəlpi-*

Examples: *yləpli* 'I learnt (it)', *yəlpili* 'I learnt them'.

3.14.3.3. Intransitive Past Base

yrix-   -

Examples:

yrix ~ yə́rix	'He became tall'
yríxa	'She became tall'
yríxi	'They became tall'

3.14.3.4. Transitive Active Resultative Participle

ms.	*yəlpa*
fs.	*yləpta*
pl.	*yəlpe*

3.14.3.5. Intransitive Resultative Participle

ms.	*yrixa*
fs.	*yrixta*
pl.	*yrixe*

3.14.3.6. Imperative

sing.	*yə́lup*
pl.	*yə́lupmu(n)*

3.14.3.7. Infinitive

yălope   *yăroxe*

The initial */y/* of the verb *yql* 'to burn' is elided in the past base, resultative participle and imperative, as a consequence of which these forms are identical to the corresponding forms of middle */y/* verbs (§3.14.4.).

Present

3ms.	*yăqəl*
3fs.	*yaqla*
3pl.	*yaqli*
1ms.	*yăqəlna*

Intransitive Past Base

qil	'He burnt'
qíla	'She burnt'
qíli	'They burnt'

Intransitive Resultative Participle

ms.	*qila*
fs.	*qilta*
pl.	*qile*

Imperative

sing.	*qul*
pl.	*qulmu(n)*

Infinitive

yăqole

3.14.4. Verba Mediae */y/*

This category includes the verbs *ʿyč* 'to knead', *čym* 'to close (eye) (intr.)', *čyr* 'to go around', *dyq* 'to crush', *gyp* 'to boil over', *kyp* 'to bow', *lys* 'to chew', *myl* 'to die', *myṣ* 'to suck', *pyš* 'to remain', *pyx* 'to cool (intr.)', *qym* 'to rise (human)', *qyr* 'to cool (intr.)', *qyṣ* 'to cut (with scissors, shears)', *ryq* 'to spit', *ryš* 'to wake (tr.)', *ryṭ* 'to tremble', *šyk* 'to rub', *tym* 'to finish (intr.)', *tyx* 'to die down (fire)', *wyš* 'to dry (intr.)', *xyk* 'to rub', *xyp* 'to bathe', *xyṭ* 'to sew', *zyz* 'to increase'.

Some verbs are derived historically from final geminate roots, e.g. *ʿyč* 'to knead' < *ʿṣṣ*, *qyr* 'to cool' < *qrr*. The medial */y/* is contracted in all inflections.

3.14.4.1. Present

dyq 'to crush' (tr.), *qym* 'to rise' (intr.)

3ms.	*deq*	*qem*
3fs.	*deqa*	*qema*
3pl.	*deqi*	*qemi*
1ms.	*deqna*	*qemna*

3.14.4.2. Past Base

A single base with the pattern *CiC-* is used to express both the transitive active and the intransitive/passive:

Transitive active

3ms.	*diqle*	'He crushed (it)'
3fs.	*diqale*	'He crushed her'
3pl.	*diqile-*	'He crushed them'

Intransitive

3ms.	*qim*	'He arose'
3fs.	*qima*	'She arose'
3pl.	*qimi-*	'They arose'
1ms.	*qimna*	'I arose'

Passive

3ms.	*diq*	'He was crushed'
3fs.	*díqa*	'She was crushed'
3pl.	*díqi-*	'They were crushed'
1ms.	*díqna*	'I was crushed'

3.14.4.3. Resultative Participle

A single resultative participle is used to express both the transitive active and the intransitive/passive:

	Active/Passive	Intransitive
ms.	*diqa*	*qima*
fs.	*diqta*	*qimta*
pl.	*diqe*	*qime*

3.14.4.4. Imperative

    sing.   *duq*
    pl.   *dúqmu(n)*

The final radical is elided in the imperative singular of the verb *qym* 'to rise' and L-suffixes are optionally added to distinguish genders:

    sing.   *qu*
              ms. *qúlox*
              fs. *qúlax*
    pl.   *qúmu(n)*

3.14.4.5. Infinitive

Two variant forms of infinitive are used. One has the pattern *CCaCa*, which is the original form of the stem I infinitive in NENA, and the other has the vocalic pattern of the strong verb *CăCoCe*:

    dyaqa ~ dăqoe
    qyama ~ qămoe

3.14.5. Verba Tertiae /y/

This category includes the verbs *bʿy* 'to bleat', *bxy* 'to weep', *bzy* 'to burst (intr.)', *čqy* 'to dig', *dmy* 'to imagine', *dʿy* 'to pray', *dry* 'to put', *gny* 'to sleep', *ḥqy* 'to speak', *jhy* 'to become tired', *kry* 'to become short', *mʿy* 'to bleat (goat)', *mhy* 'to churn', *mly* 'to be enough', *mry* 'to ache', *mṭy* 'to arrive', *mxy* 'to play (music)', *nqy* 'to aim and throw', *nty* 'to rise/to take', *pqy* 'to burst (intr.)', *pšy* 'to fart (without noise)', *qly* 'to fry', *qry* 'to read', *qṭy* 'to cut', *rmy* 'to collapse', *rpy* 'to be abandoned', *šhy* 'to become thirsty', *sny* 'to hate', *ṣpy* 'to be filtered', *sry* 'to bray (donkey)', *sxy* 'to bathe', *šky* 'to move (intr.)', *šmy* 'to hear', *špy* 'to rub', *šty* 'to drink', *ṭpy* 'to destroy', *ṭšy* 'to hide (intr.)', *tḥy* 'to find', *tly* 'to hang', *try* 'to become wet', *xly* 'to wrap around', *xmy* 'to leaven (intr.)', *zdy* 'to fear.

Some of these verbs originally had a voiced pharyngal *ʿ as final radical, e.g. *gry* 'to shave' (< *grʿ), *mry* 'to ache' (< *mrʿ), *pqy* 'to burst' (< *pqʿ), *qṭy* 'to cut' (< *qṭʿ), *šmy* 'to hear' (< *šmʿ), *xly* 'to wrap around' (< *xdʿ), *xmy* 'to leaven' (< *xmʿ), *zdy* 'to fear' (< *zdʿ). Although these original final *ʿ verbs have become assimilated to the final /y/ paradigm, some of them exhibit a few isolated features in their inflection which distinguish them from originally final /y/ verbs and are vestiges of the earlier inflec-

tional pattern. In the verb *tmʿ* 'to taste' (< *ṭmʿ*) the original pharyngal has been preserved due to the historical presence of the emphatic in the root.

3.14.5.1. Present

šty 'to drink' (tr.), *zdy* 'to fear' (intr.)

3ms.	*šăte*	*zăde*
3fs.	*šatya*	*zadya*
3pl.	*šăten*	*zăden*
2ms.	*šătet*	*zădet*
2fs.	*šatyat*	*zadyat*
2pl.	*šătétun*	*zădétun*
1ms.	*šăténa*	*zădéna*
1fs.	*šatyan, šatyắna*	*zadyan, zadyắna*
1pl.	*šătex, šătéxin*	*zădex, zădéxin*

The 3fs. form of the verb *mry* 'to ache' is attested in two alternative forms:

3fs.	*marya*	*măra*

The form *măra* is a vestige of the original final **ʿ* inflection (*măra* < **marʾa* < **marʿa*), which corresponds to the form of inflection that is found in other NENA dialects that preserve a distinct inflection for verbs of this group, e.g. C. Barwar *măra*, C. Qaraqosh *marʾa*. This feature of the 3fs. inflection has not been identified in other verbs that are derived historically from final pharyngal roots.

3.14.5.2. Past Base

A single base with the pattern *CCe-* (ms.), *CəCya-* (fs.), *CCen(i)-* (pl.) is used to express both the transitive active and the intransitive/passive:

Transitive active

3ms.	*štéle*	'He drank (it m.)'
3fs.	*šətyále*	'He drank it (f.)'
3pl.	*šténile-*	'He drank them'

The verb *šmy* 'to hear' deviates from the usual pattern, in that it has */i/* rather than */e/* in its inflectional endings of this base:

3ms.	*šmíle*	'He heard (him)'
3fs.	*šəmyále*	'He heard her'
3pl.	*šmínile-*	'He heard them'

This vocalism is a conservative feature that was originally distinctive of verbs with a final pharyngal (*šmile* < **šmiʿle*). A similar distinction is exhibited by some NENA dialects after the loss of the pharyngal, e.g. C. Barwar *štele* 'He drank', *xzele* 'He saw' but *šmile* (< **šmiʿle*) 'He heard', *mrile* (< **mriʿle*) 'He became ill'. In J. Sanandaj this vocalism is restricted to the past base of the verb *šmy* and is not found in other final */y/* verbs that historically had a final pharyngal.

Intransitive

In the feminine singular forms the stress falls on the epenthetic after the first radical. In the 3ms. form the stress is optionally retracted to an epenthetic after the second radical.

3ms.	*zde ~ zə́de*	'He feared'
3fs.	*zə́dya*	'She feared'
3pl.	*zdén* -	'They feared', etc.
2ms.	*zdet*	
2fs.	*zə́dyat*	
2pl.	*zdétun*	
1ms.	*zdéna*	
1fs.	*zə́dyan*	
1pl.	*zdéx(in)*	

3.14.5.3. Resultative Participle

A single resultative participle is used to express both the transitive active and the intransitive/passive:

	Active/Passive	Intransitive
ms.	*šətya*	*zədya*
fs.	*štita*	*zdita*
pl.	*šətye*	*zədye*

3.14.5.4. Imperative

The imperative has either /e/ or /u/ after the second radical, the latter by analogy with the /u/ in the imperative of strong verbs. The distribution of /e/ and /u/ in the imperative of final /y/ verbs of the lexicon is unpredictable. According to informants, some verbs have variant forms with /e/ and /u/ while other verbs have either /e/ or /u/ exclusively. This is illustrated by the verbs *šty* 'to drink', *nty* 'to take' and *ṭšy* 'to hide (intr.)':

sing.	*šte, šə́te*	*ntu, nə́tu*	*ṭše, ṭə́še ~ ṭšu, ṭə́šu*
pl.	*štému(n)*	*ntúmu(n)*	*ṭšému(n) ~ ṭšúmu(n)*

There is a tendency for originally final pharyngal verbs to have /u/ in the imperative, e.g.

qṭu	'cut!'	< **qṭuʾ* < **qṭuʿ*
šmu	'listen!'	< **šmuʾ* < **šmuʿ*

3.14.5.5. Infinitive

šătoe   *zădoe*

The original stem I infinitive pattern *CCaCa* is attested in the form *ḥqaa* 'speaking, speech', which functions as a verbal noun derived from the verb *ḥqy* 'to speak'. This verb also has a regular infinitive form *ḥăqoe*.

3.14.6. Verba Primae /ʾ/, Tertiae /y/

The verb *ʾry* 'to thicken, to freeze' (intr.) falls into this category. It has the properties of final /y/ verbs and initial /ʾ/ of class (2), in that it preserves the /ʾ/ throughout all inflections and does not have the indicative particle *k-* prefixed to the present base.

3.14.6.1. Present

3ms.	*ʾăre*
3fs.	*ʾarya*
3pl.	*ʾăren*
1ms.	*ʾărena*

3.14.6.2. Intransitive Past Base

3ms.	*ʾə́re*
3fs.	*ʾə́rya*

      3pl.   ʾə́ren
      1ms.   ʾréna

3.14.6.3. Intransitive Resultative Participle

      ms.   ʾərya
      fs.   ʾrita
      pl.   ʾərye

3.14.6.4. Imperative

The stress is generally retracted to the epenthetic vowel after the first radical:

      sing. ʾə́re
      pl.   ʾə́remu(n)

3.14.6.5. Infinitive

      ʾăroe

3.14.7. Verba Mediae /w/

This category includes the verbs *bwr* 'to low (cattle)', *dwq* 'to hold', *gwr* 'to marry', *kwš* 'to descend', *lwš* 'to dress', *nwx* 'to bark', *twr* 'to break (tr. and intr.)'.

3.14.7.1. Present

dwq 'to hold' (tr.), *kwš* 'to descend' (intr.),

The medial */w/* is contracted throughout the paradigm of the present base inflection, resulting in the occurrence of the vowel */o/* between the first and third radicals.

      3ms.   *doq*   *koš*
      3fs.   *doqa*   *koša*
      3pl.   *doqi*   *koši*
      1ms.   *doqna*   *košna*

3.14.7.2. Transitive Active Past Base

3ms.	*dwəq-*
3fs.	*dəwqa-*
3pl.	*dəwqi-*

Examples: *dwəqli* 'I held (him)', *dəwqali* 'I held her', *dəwqili* 'I held them'.

3.14.7.3. Intransitive and Passive Past Base

kwiš	*dwiq-*

Examples:

kwiš	'He descended'	*dwiq*	'He was held'
kwíša	'She descended'	*dwíqa*	'She was held'
kwíši	'They descended'	*dwíqi*	'They were held'
kwíšna	'I descended'	*dwíqna*	'I was held'

3.14.7.4. Transitive Active Resultative Participle

ms.	*dəwqa*
fs.	*dwəqta*
pl.	*dəwqe*

3.14.7.5. Intransitive and Passive Resultative Participle

ms.	*kwiša*	*dwiqa*
fs.	*kwišta*	*dwiqta*
pl.	*kwiše*	*dwiqe*

3.14.7.6. Imperative

sing.	*duq*	*kuš*
pl.	*dúqmu(n)*	*kúšmu(n)*

3.14.7.7. Infinitive

The infinitive regularly has the pattern *CCaCa*, which is the original vocalism of stem I infinitives in NENA:

dwaqa	*kwaša*

3.14.8. Verba Primae /ʾ/ (1), Mediae /w/

This category includes ʾwl 'to do' (< *ʿḏd).

3.14.8.1. Present

As in other primae /ʾ/ verbs (1), the realis is distinguished from the irrealis by prefixing the particle *k*-

(i) Irrealis

The original initial laryngal stop /ʾ/ in these forms has shifted to the laryngal fricative /h/:

3ms.	*hol*
3fs.	*hola*
3pl.	*holi*

The final radical /l/ of the verb assimilates to the /n/ of the 1ms. inflection –*na*. The gemination of the /n/ arising from this is reduced:

1ms.	*hona*	< *honna < *holna*

(ii) Realis

3ms.	*kol*
3fs.	*kola*
3pl.	*koli*
1ms.	*kona*

3.14.8.2. Past Base

The initial syllable of the past base is elided. The vowel after the second radical of this past base has a long /i/:

3ms.	*wil-*
3fs.	*wila-*
3pl.	*wili-*

When L-suffixes are attached to the 3ms. form of the base, the /l/ of the suffix assimilates to the final radical. The gemination arising from this assimilation is reduced, resulting in the forms:

wile	'He did'	< *wille*
wila	'She did'	< *willa*
wilu	'They did'	< *willu*

3.14.8.3. Resultative Participle

The resultative participle is used to express the transitive active. As in the past base, the vowel after the second radical is */i/*:

ms.	*wila*
fs.	*wilta*
pl.	*wile*

3.14.8.4. Imperative

sing.	*wul*
pl.	*wúlmu(n)*

3.14.8.5. Infinitive

wala

3.14.9. Verba Primae /ʾ/ (2), Mediae /w/

This category includes *ʾwr* 'to pass, to enter' (< *ʿwr). This exhibits the features of other primae /ʾ/ (2) verbs, in that the /ʾ/ is retained in all inflections and the present base does not take the indicative *k-/g-* prefix.

3.14.9.1. Present

3ms.	*ʾor*
3fs.	*ʾora*
3pl.	*ʾori*

3.14.9.2. Intransitive Past Base

3ms.	*ʾwir*
3fs.	*ʾwíra*
3pl.	*ʾwíri*

3.14.9.3. Resultative Participle

ms.	*ʾwira*
fs.	*ʾwirta*
pl.	*ʾwire*

3.14.9.4. Imperative

sing.	*ʾwur*
pl.	*ʾwúrmu(n)*

3.14.9.5. Infinitive

ʾwara

3.14.10. Verba Mediae /w/, Tertiae /y/

This category includes *rwy* 'to grow', *swy* 'to be sated', *šwy* 'to spread out' and *xwy* 'to drop (voice)'.

3.14.10.1. Present

rwy 'to grow' (intr.)

3ms.	*răwe*
3fs.	*rawya*
3pl.	*răwen*
1ms.	*răwéna*

3.14.10.2. Past Base

In the feminine singular forms the stress falls on the epenthetic after the first radical. In the 3ms. form the stress is optionally retracted to an epenthetic after the second radical.

3ms.	*rwe ~ rə́we*	'He grew'
3fs.	*rə́wya*	'She grew'
3pl.	*rwen*	'They grew'
1ms.	*rwéna*	'I grew'

3.14.10.3. Resultative Participle

ms.	*rəwya*
fs.	*rwita*
pl.	*rəwye*

3.14.10.4. Imperative

sing.	*rə́we*
pl.	*rə́wemu(n)*

3.14.10.5. Infinitive

    răwoe

3.14.11.Verba Tertiae /w/

Verbs in this category include *ʾrw* 'to be destroyed', *gnw* 'to rob' (tr.), *jnw* 'to kidnap', *klw* 'to write', *qlw* 'to clean', *tnw* 'to become numb', *rkw* 'to ride' and *xlw* 'to milk'.

    The conjugation follows that of the strong verb, except that the sequence /əw/ contracts to /u/ when stressed.

3.14.11.1. Present

klw 'to write' (tr.), *rkw* 'to ride' (intr.)

3ms.	*kălu*	(< *kălə́w*)	*răku*	(< *răkə́w*)
3fs.	*kalwa*		*rakwa*	
3pl.	*kalw*		*rakwi*	
1ms.	*kălúna*	(< *kălə́wna*)	*răkúna*	(< *răkə́wna*)

3.14.11.2. Transitive Active Past Base

3ms.	*klu-*
3fs.	*kəlwa-*
3pl.	*kəlwi-*

Examples: *klúli* 'I wrote (it m.)', *kəlwáli* 'I wrote it (f.)', *kəlwíli* 'I wrote them'.

3.14.11.3. Intransitive and Passive Past Base

    rkiw   *kliw-*

    Examples:

rkiw	'He rode'	*kliw*	'It (m.) was written'
rkíwa	'She rode'	*klíwa*	'It (f.) was written'
rkíwi	'They rode'	*klíwi*	'They were written'
rkíwna	'I rode'	*klíwna*	'I was written'

    When the past converter particle –*wa* is attached to the 3ms. form ending in /w/, the gemination resulting from the combination of the two /w/ segments is weakened, in accordance with the usual process:

    rkíwa   'He had ridden'   < *rkiwwa*

3.14.11.4. Transitive Active Resultative Participle

ms.	*kəlwa*
fs.	*kləwta*
pl.	*kəlwa*

Note that the sequence /əw/ in *kləwtá* is not contracted since it is not stressed.

3.14.11.5. Intransitive and Passive Resultative Participle

ms.	*rkiwa*	*kliwa*
fs.	*rkiwta*	*kliwta*
pl.	*rkiwe*	*kliwe*

3.14.11.6. Imperative

sing.	*klu*	*rku*
pl.	*klúmu(n)*	*rkúmu(n)*

3.14.11.7. Infinitive

kălowe   *răkowe*

3.15. WEAK VERBS IN STEM II

Very few weak verbs assignable to stem II by the form of their imperative can be identified.

3.15.1. Verba Tertiae /y/

This category includes *bzy* 'to make a hole', *gby* 'to sort/to clean (rice)', *gry* 'to shave', *ksy* 'to cover', *mḥy* 'to erase', *ply* 'to divide/to share', *pqy* 'to burst (tr.)', *ṣpy* 'to filter', *šly* 'to sow (seed)', *ṭšy* 'to hide (tr.)', *xpy* 'to cover food', *zry* 'to sow (wheat seed)'.

Some of these verbs originally contained a final pharyngal *ˤ, *bzy* 'to make a hole' < *bzˤ, *gry* 'to shave' < *grˤ. In *ply* 'to divide/to share' the historical pharyngal developed ultimately from the velar fricative *ḡ (< *plˤ < *plḡ).

3.15.1.1. Present

ṭšy 'to hide' (tr.)

3ms.	*ṭăše*
3fs.	*ṭašya*
3pl.	*ṭăšen*
1ms.	*ṭăšéna*

3.15.1.2. Past Base

3ms.	*ṭšéle*	'He hid (him)'
3fs.	*ṭəšyále*	'He hid her'
3pl.	*ṭšénile* -	'He hid them'

3.15.1.3. Resultative Participle

ms.	*ṭəšya*
fs.	*ṭšita*
pl.	*ṭəšye*

3.15.1.4. Imperative

sing.	*ṭắše*
pl.	*ṭắšemu(n)*

3.15.1.5. Infinitive

ṭăšoe

3.15.2. Verba Mediae /w/, Tertiae /y/

This category includes *šwy* 'to spread out', *ṭwy* 'to roast'.

3.15.2.1. Present

ṭwy 'to roast' (tr.)

3ms.	*ṭăwe*
3fs.	*ṭawya*
3pl.	*ṭăwen*
1ms.	*ṭăwéna*

3.15.2.2. Past Base

3ms.	ṭwéle	'He roasted (it m.)'
3fs.	ṭəwyále	'He roasted it (f.)'
3pl.	ṭwénile-	'He roasted them'

3.15.2.3. Resultative Participle

ms.	ṭəwya
fs.	ṭwita
pl.	ṭəwye

3.15.2.4. Imperative

sing.	ṭắwe
pl.	ṭắwemu(n)

3.15.2.5. Infinitive

ṭắwoe

3.16. WEAK VERBS IN STEM III

3.16.1. Verba Primae /ʾ/ (1)

This category includes the verb *m-xl* 'to feed' (tr.), the stem I form of which belongs to the Verba Primae /ʾ/ (1). In the stem III form, the historical initial /ʾ/ has been elided from all forms. The patterns of conjugation, furthermore, are identical to those of stem III middle /y/ verbs (§3.16.4.) in all bases except the infinitive.

3.16.1.1. Present

3ms.	măxil
3fs.	măxila
3pl.	măxili
1ms.	măxilna

3.16.1.2. Past Base

A single base with the pattern *mCiC-* is used to express both the transitive active and the passive:

3ms.	*mxil-*
3fs.	*mxila-*
3pl.	*mxili-*

The /l/ of L-suffixes in the active inflection combines with the final /l/ in 3ms. form and the resulting gemination is then weakened:

mxile	'He fed him'	< **mxille*
mxilale	'He fed her'	
mxilile	'He fed them'	

mxil	'He was fed'
mxíla	'He was fed'
mxíli	'He were fed'

3.16.1.3. Resultative Participle

A single resultative participle is used to express both the transitive active and the passive:

ms.	*mxila*
fs.	*mxilta*
pl.	*mxile*

3.16.1.4. Imperative

sing.	*mãxil*
pl.	*mãxilmu(n)*

3.16.1.5. Infinitive

mãxole

3.16.2. Verba Primae /ʾ/ (2)

Verbs of this category include: *m-ʾrq* 'to cause to run, to kidnap' and *m-ʾsq* 'to cause to go up', which correspond to the stem I forms *ʾrq* 'to run' and *ʾsq* 'to go up'. The initial /ʾ/ is elided and the forms of the verb are identical to the patterns of the strong verb of stem I.

3.16.2.1. Present

3ms.	*mãrəq*
3fs.	*marqa*

3pl.   *marqi*
1ms.   *mărəqna*

3.16.2.2. Transitive Active Past Base

3ms.   *mrəq-*
3fs.   *mərqa-*
3pl.   *mərqi-*

Examples: *mrəqli* 'I made (him) run', *mərqali* 'I made her run'.

3.16.2.3. Passive Past Base

mriq-

Examples:

mriq   'He was kidnapped'
mríqa   'She was kidnapped'
mríqi   'They were kidnapped'
mríqna   'I was kidnapped'

3.16.2.4. Transitive Active Resultative Participle

ms.   *mərqa*
fs.   *mrəqta*
pl.   *mərqe*

3.16.2.5. Passive Resultative Participle

ms.   *mriqa*
fs.   *mriqta*
pl.   *mriqe*

3.16.2.6. Imperative

sing.   *mắrəq*
pl.   *mắrəqmu(n)*

3.16.2.7. Infinitive

măroqe

3.16.3. Verba Primae /y/

The verbs *m-yrx* 'to make long' and *m-yrq* 'to make green' belong to this category. The stem III of some initial /y/ stem I verbs do not have /y/ in the stem III. These include *m-lp* 'to teach' (cf. *ylp* 'to learn') and *m-ql/m-lq* 'to burn (tr.)' (cf. *yql* 'to burn intr.'). The inflectional pattern of these two verbs is identical to stem II strong verbs.

3.16.3.1. Present

m-yrx 'to make long' (tr.), *m-lp* 'to teach' (tr.)

3ms.	*mayrəx*	*măləp*
3fs.	*mayrxa*	*malpa*
3pl.	*mayrxi*	*malpi*
1ms.	*mayrəxna*	*măləpna*

3.16.3.2. Transitive Active Past Base

3ms.	*məyrəx-*	*mləp-*
3fs.	*məyrxa-*	*məlpa-*
3pl.	*məyrxi-*	*məlpi-*

Examples: *məyrəxli* 'I made (him) long', *məyrxali* 'I made her long'.

3.16.3.3. Passive Past Base

məyrix-   *mlip-*

Examples:

məyrix	'He was made long'
məyríxa	'She was made long'
məyríxi	'They were made long'
məyríxna	'I was made long'

3.16.3.4. Transitive Active Resultative Participle

ms.	*məyrxa*	*məlpa*
fs.	*məyrəxta*	*mləpta*
pl.	*məyrxe*	*məlpe*

3.16.3.5. Passive Resultative Participle

ms.	*məyrixa*	*mlipa*
fs.	*məyrixta*	*mlipta*
pl.	*məyrixe*	*mlipe*

3.16.3.6. Imperative

sing.	*máyrəx*	*mā́ləp*
pl.	*máyrəxmu(n)*	*mā́ləpmu(n)*

3.16.3.7. Infinitive

Note the vocalic pattern of the infinitive of *m-yrx*, which has the characteristic vowel sequence /oe/ of the infinitive after the third radical:

   mayrxoe   *mălope*

3.16.4. Verba Mediae /y/

This category includes the verbs *m-ˤyn* 'to look', *m-čyr* 'to cause to turn', *m-kyp* 'to bend (tr.)', *m-nyx* 'to cause to rest', *m-pyx* 'to cool (tr.)', *m-qym* 'to raise', *m-ryš* 'to wake (tr.)', *m-ryṭ* 'to cause to tremble', *m-ryx* 'to smell', *m-ṣyl* 'to listen', *m-šyš* 'to rock (child in cradle)', *m-tym* 'to finish (tr.)', *m-tyx* 'to put out (fire)', *m-wyš* 'to dry (tr.)', *m-zyz* 'to add (tr.)'.

3.16.4.1. Present

m-šyš 'to rock'

3ms.	*mắšiš*
3fs.	*mắšiša*
3pl.	*mắšiši*
1ms.	*mắšišna*

3.16.4.2. Past Base

A single base with the pattern *mCiC-* is used to express both the transitive active and the passive:

3ms.	*mšíšle*	'He shook (him)'
3fs.	*mšišále*	'He shook (her)'
3pl.	*mšišíle*	'He shook (them)'

3ms.	*mšiš ~mə́šiš*	'He was shaken'
3fs.	*mšíša*	'She was shaken'
3pl.	*mšíši*	'They were shaken'

3.16.4.3. Resultative Participle

A single resultative participle is used to express both the transitive active and the passive:

ms.	*mšiša*
fs.	*mšišta*
pl.	*mšiše*

3.16.4.4. Imperative

| sing. | *mə́šiš* |
| pl. | *mə́šišmu(n)* |

3.16.4.5. Infinitive

The infinitive vocalism of the strong verb /a–o–e/ is imposed on the weak root resulting in the form:

   mǎšišoe

3.16.5. Verba Tertiae /y/

This category includes *m-bxy* 'to cause to weep', *m-kry* 'to make short', *m-ndy* 'to throw', *m-nty* 'to raise', *m-nty* 'to grant (God)', *m-qny* 'to bruise', *m-qry* 'to make read', *m-qry* 'to cool', *m-spy* 'to deliver', *m-sry* 'to stink', *m-šky* 'to move (tr.)', *m-šty* 'to cause to drink', *m-zdy* 'to frighten'.

   The verb *m-qry* 'to cool' is derived historically from a final geminate roots (< *m-qrr).

3.16.5.1. Present

m-šty 'to cause to drink'

3ms.	*mašte*
3fs.	*maštya*
3pl.	*mašten*
1ms.	*maštena*

3.16.5.2. Past Base

Transitive active

3ms.	*məštele*	'He made (him) drink'
3fs.	*məštyale*	'He made her drink'
3pl.	*məštenile*	'He made them drink'

3.16.5.3. Resultative Participle

A single resultative participle is used to express both the transitive active and the intransitive/passive:

ms.	*məštya*
fs.	*məštita*
pl.	*məštye*

3.16.5.4. Imperative

sing.	*mášte*
pl.	*máštemu(n)*

This is the normal pattern for the imperative, but a few verbs form an imperative with the pattern *CəCu*, which has arisen by analogy with one of the patterns used in the imperative of stem I final /y/ verbs. One verb that exhibits this pattern is *m-nty* 'to raise'

sing.	*mə́ntu*
pl.	*mə́ntumu(n)*

3.16.5.5. Infinitive

maštoe

3.16.6. Verba Primae /ʾ/, Tertiae /y/

This category includes *m-ʾby* 'to inflate' (tr. and intr.) and *m-ʾry* 'to freeze (tr.)'. The initial /ʾ/ is elided throughout the inflections.

3.16.6.1. Present

3ms.	*măbe*
3fs.	*mabya*
3pl.	*măben*
1ms.	*măbena*

3.16.6.2. Past Base

A single base is used to express both the transitive active and the intransitive/passive:

Transitive active

3ms.	*mbele*	'He inflated (it m.)'
3fs.	*məbyale*	'He inflated it (f.)'
3pl.	*mbenile*	'He inflated them'

Intransitive

3ms.	*mə́be*	'He became inflated'
3fs.	*mə́bya*	'She became inflated'
3pl.	*mbén*	'They became inflated'

3.16.6.3. Resultative Participle

A single resultative participle is used to express both the transitive active and the intransitive/passive:

ms.	*məbya*
fs.	*mbita*
pl.	*məbye*

3.16.6.4. Imperative

sing.	*mə́be*
pl.	*mə́bemu(n)*

3.16.6.5. Infinitive

măboe

3.16.7. Verba Mediae /w/

This category includes the verb *m-kwš* 'to bring down'.

3.16.7.1. Present

3ms.	*măkuš*
3fs.	*măkuša*

    3pl.   *măkuši*
    1ms.   *măkušna*

3.16.7.2. Transitive Active Past Base

    3ms.   *mkušle*   'He brought (him) down'
    3fs.   *mkušale*   'He brought her down'
    3pl.   *mkušile*   'He brought them down'

3.16.7.3. Resultative Participle

A single resultative participle is used to express both the transitive active and the passive:

    ms.   *mkuša*
    fs.   *mkušta*
    pl.   *mkuše*

3.16.7.4. Imperative

    sing.   *mắkuš*
    pl.   *mắkušmu(n)*

3.16.7.5. Infinitive

    măkoše

3.16.8. Verba Mediae /w/, Tertiae /y/

This category includes the verbs *m-qwy* 'to make fast, to lock', *m-rwy* 'to bring up (child)' and *m-xwy* 'to show'. Unlike medial */w/* verbs with otherwise strong consonants (§3.16.7.), the */w/* is retained in all the inflections.

3.16.8.1. Present

m-qwy 'to lock'

    3ms.   *maqwe*
    3fs.   *maqwya*
    3pl.   *maqwen*
    1ms.   *maqwéna*

3.16.8.2. Past Base

3ms.	*məqwele*	'He locked (it m.)'
3fs.	*məqwyale*	'He locked it (f.)'
3pl.	*məqwenile-*	'He locked them'

3.16.8.3. Resultative Participle

ms.	*məqwya*
fs.	*məqwita*
pl.	*məqwye*

3.16.8.4. Imperative

sing.	*máqwe*
pl.	*máqwemu(n)*

3.16.8.5. Infinitive

maqwoe

3.16.9. Verba Tertiae /w/

This category includes *m-klw* 'to cause to write', *m-rkw* 'to cause to mount'

3.16.9.1. Present

3ms.	*maklu*
3fs.	*maklwa*
3pl.	*maklwi*
1ms.	*makluna*

3.16.9.2. Transitive Active Past Base

3ms.	*məklule*	'He made (him) write'
3fs.	*məklwale*	'He made (her) write'
3pl.	*məklwile*	'He made (them) write'

3.16.9.3. Resultative Participle

A single resultative participle is used to express both the transitive active and the passive:

ms.	*məklwa*
fs.	*məkləwta*
pl.	*məklwe*

3.16.9.4. Imperative

sing.	*máklu*
pl.	*máklumu(n)*

3.16.9.5. Infinitive

maklowe

3.16.10. Verba Primae /ʾ/, Tertiae /w/

This category includes *m-ʾrw* 'to ruin, to mix'. The initial /ʾ/ is elided throughout the inflections. The sequence /əw/ is contracted to /u/ when stressed, as in other final /w/ verbs.

3.16.10.1. Present

3ms.	*mă̆ru*
3fs.	*marwa*
3pl.	*marwi*
1ms.	*mă̆rúna*

3.16.10.2. Transitive Active Past Base

3ms.	*mrule*	'He ruined it (m.)'
3fs.	*mərwale*	'He ruined it (f.)'
3pl.	*mərwile*	'He ruined them'

3.16.10.3. Transitive Active Resultative Participle

ms.	*mərwa*
fs.	*mrəwta*
pl.	*mərwe*

3.16.10.4. Passive Resultative Participle

ms.	*mriwa*
fs.	*mriwta*
pl.	*mriwe*

3.16.10.5. Imperative

sing.	*mə́rəw*
pl.	*mə́rəwmu(n)*

3.16.10.6. Infinitive

mərowe

3.17. Weak Quadriliteral Verbs

3.17.1. Verbal Quartae /y/

This category includes the verb *nndy* 'to jump', *nnty* 'to rise', *šršy* 'to let down (a rope)'.

3.17.1.1. Present

šršy 'to let down (a rope)' (tr.), *nndy* 'to jump' (intr.)

3ms.	*šarše*	*nande*
3fs.	*šaršya*	*nandya*
3pl.	*šaršen*	*nanden*
2ms.	*šaršet*	*nandet*
2fs.	*šaršyat*	*nandyat*
2pl.	*šaršétun*	*nandétun*
1ms.	*šaršéna*	*nandéna*
1fs.	*šaršyan, šaršyə́na*	*nandyan, nandyə́na*
1pl.	*šaršex, šaršéxin*	*nandex, nandéxin*

3.17.1.2. Transitive Past Base

3ms.	*šəršele*	'He let it (m.) down'
3fs.	*šəršyale*	'He let it (f.) down'
3pl.	*šəršenile*	'He let them down'

3.17.1.3. Intransitive Past Base

3ms.	*nənde*
3fs.	*nəndya*
3pl.	*nənden*
2ms.	*nəndet*
2fs.	*nəndyat*
2pl.	*nəndétun*
1ms.	*nəndéna*
1fs.	*nəndyan, nəndyăna*
1pl.	*nəndex, nəndexin*

3.17.1.4. Resultative Participle

ms.	*šəršya*	*nəndya*
fs.	*šəršita*	*nəndita*
pl.	*šəršye*	*nəndye*

3.17.1.5. Imperative

sing.	*šárše*	*nə́ndu*
pl.	*šáršemu(n)*	*nə́ndumu(n)*

3.17.1.6. Infinitive

nandoe

3.18. IRREGULAR AND DEFECTIVE VERBS

3.18.1. 'to go'

In the present the realis is distinguished from the irrealis by the voiced prefix *g-*. The final /l/ of the 3ms. form is elided in the rest of the paradigm.

3.18.1.1. Present

(i) Irrealis

The initial laryngal stop /ʾ/ in these forms has shifted to the laryngal fricative /h/:

3ms.	*hezəl ~ hezel*
3fs.	*heza*
3pl.	*hezi*
2ms.	*hezet*
2fs.	*hezat*
2pl.	*hezetʊn*
1ms.	*hezna*
1fs.	*hezan*
1pl.	*hezex(in)*

(ii) Realis

3ms.	*gezəl ~ gezel*
3fs.	*geza*
3pl.	*gezi*
2ms.	*gezet*
2fs.	*gezat*
2pl.	*gezetʊn*
1ms.	*gezna*
1fs.	*gezan*
1pl.	*gezex(in)*

3.18.1.2. Intransitive Past Base

3ms.	*zil*	'He went'
3fs.	*zíla*	'She went'
3pl.	*zíli*	'They went'

3.18.1.3. Resultative Participle

ms.	*zila*
fs.	*zilta*
pl.	*zile*

3.18.1.4. Imperative

sing.	*se*
pl.	*sému(n)*

These forms may be combined with 2nd person L-suffixes. In the singular, genders are distinguished by these suffixes. In the plural a form of suffix is used that is a hybrid of the 2pl. L-suffix and the pl. imperative ending *-mu(n)*:

ms.	*sélox*
fs.	*sélax*
pl.	*sélaxmun*

3.18.1.5. Infinitive

zala

There is an additional infinitive form with initial *g*-:

gzala

This is used only in combination with the realis present form of the verb with the *g*- prefix in constructions expressing the progressive aspect (§9.16.2.1.), e.g.

gzala gezəl   'He is going'

3.18.2. 'to want'

In the present the realis is distinguished from the irrealis by the voiced prefix *g*-. The initial /a/ vowel of the irrealis is not historical, the original root being *b ʿy*, but has evolved by analogy with initial /ʾ/ roots thus:

*kxəl—ʾaxəl : gbe (< *k-baʿe)—ʾabe*

3.18.2.1. Present

(i) Irrealis

3ms.	ʾăbe
3fs.	ʾăba, ʾabya
3pl.	ʾăben
2ms.	ʾăbet
2fs.	ʾăbat
2pl.	ʾăbetʋn
1ms.	ʾăbena
1fs.	ʾăban, ʾăbā́na
1pl.	ʾăbex, ʾabéxin

(ii) Realis

3ms.	gbe
3fs.	gba
3pl.	gben
2ms.	gbet
2fs.	gbat
2pl.	gbetʋn
1ms.	gbna
1fs.	gban
1pl.	gbex(in)

3.18.2.2. Transitive Active Past Base

3ms.	ʾəbele	'He wanted (him)'
3fs.	ʾəbyale	'He wanted her'
3pl.	ʾəbenile	'He wanted them'

3.18.2.3. Resultative Participle

ms.	ʾəbya
fs.	ʾbita
pl.	ʾəbye

3.18.2.4. Imperative

    sing.   *ʾə́bu*
    pl.   *ʾə́bumu(n)*

3.18.2.5. Infinitive

    ʾăboe

3.18.3. *ʾly* 'to know'

In the present the realis is distinguished from the irrealis by the unvoiced prefix *k-*. The medial radical */l/* of the irrealis is lost in the realis paradigm. Although the historical root **yḏˤ* has initial **y*, the verb is now initial */ʾ/*.

3.18.3.1. Present

(i) Irrealis

    3ms.   *ʾăle*
    3fs.   *ʾalya*
    3pl.   *ʾălen*

    2ms.   *ʾălet*
    2fs.   *ʾalyat*
    2pl.   *ʾăletun*

    1ms.   *ʾălena*
    1fs.   *ʾalyan, ʾalyä́na*
    1pl.   *ʾălex, ʾăléxin*

(ii) Realis

    3ms.   *kăe*
    3fs.   *kăya*
    3pl.   *kăen*

    2ms.   *kăet*
    2fs.   *kăyat*
    2pl.   *kăetun*

1ms.	*kăena*
1fs.	*kăyan, kăyä́na*
1pl.	*kăex, kăéxin*

3.18.3.2. Transitive Active Past Base

3ms.	*ʾlile*	'He knew (him)'
3fs.	*ʾəlyale*	'He knew her'
3pl.	*ʾlenile*	'He knew them'

3.18.3.3. Resultative Participle

ms.	*ʾəlya*
fs.	*ʾlita*
pl.	*ʾəlye*

3.18.3.4. Imperative

| sing. | *ʾś́lu* |
| pl. | *ʾś́lumu(n)* |

3.18.3.5. Infinitive

ʾăloe

3.18.4. *hwl* 'to give'

In the present the realis is distinguished from the irrealis by the unvoiced prefix *k-*, which replaces the initial syllable *ha-* of the irrealis form. An unhistorical final /l/ appears in the 3ms. form of the present and in the imperative but not in other inflections.

3.18.4.1. Present

(i) Irrealis

3ms.	*hăwəl*
3fs.	*hăwa*
3pl.	*hăwi*

2ms.	*hăwet*
2fs.	*hăwat*
2pl.	*hăwetun*

1ms.	*hawna*
1fs.	*hăwan*
1pl.	*hăwex(in)*

(ii) Realis

3ms.	*kwəl*
3fs.	*kwa*
3pl.	*kwi*

2ms.	*kwet*
2fs.	*kwat*
2pl.	*kwetun*

1ms.	*kəwna*
1fs.	*kwan*
1pl.	*kwex(in)*

3.18.4.2. Transitive Active Past Base

This transitive active base has a medial long */i/*, like medial */y/* verbs:

3ms.	*hiwle*	'He gave (it m.)'
3fs.	*hiwale*	'He gave it (f.)'
3pl.	*hiwile*	'He gave them'

3.18.4.3. Resultative Participle

ms.	*hiwa*
fs.	*hiwta*
pl.	*hiwe*

3.18.4.4. Imperative

sing.	*hol*
pl.	*húlmu(n)*

3.18.4.5. Infinitive

hăwoe

3.18.5. *hyy* 'to come'

This verb is derived historically from the root **ʾty. In all inflections the original medial **t* has been elided.

3.18.5.1. Present

In the present the realis is distinguished from the irrealis by the prefix *k-*.

(i) Irrealis

The initial radical is */h/* rather than the laryngal stop */ʾ/* of the historical form of the root:

3ms.	*he*
3fs.	*hiyá*
3pl.	*hen*
2ms.	*het*
2fs.	*hiyát*
2pl.	*hétun*
1ms.	*héna*
1fs.	*hiyán*
1pl.	*héx(in)*

(ii) Realis

3ms.	*ke*
3fs.	*kya*
3pl.	*ken*
2ms.	*ket*
2fs.	*kyat*
2pl.	*kétun*
1ms.	*kéna*
1fs.	*kyán*
1pl.	*kéx(in)*

3.18.5.2. Past Base

3ms.	*híye*	'He came'
3fs.	*híya*	'She came'
3pl.	*híyen*	'They went'

3.18.5.3. Resultative Participle

ms.	*hiyá*
fs.	*hitá*
pl.	*hiyé*

3.18.5.4. Imperative

sing.	*hal*
pl.	*hálmu(n)*

These forms may be combined with 2nd person L-suffixes. The resulting gemination of the final /l/ is weakened. In the singular genders are distinguished by these suffixes. In the plural a form of suffix is used that is a hybrid of the 2pl. L-suffix and the pl. imperative ending –*mu(n)*:

ms.	*hálox*
fs.	*hálax*
pl	*hálaxmun*

3.18.5.5. Infinitive

hyaa	*hăoe*

An infinitive form *kyaa* with the realis *k*- prefix is used when the infinitive is combined with realis present forms in progressive constructions such as *kyaa kena* 'I am coming' (§9.16.2.1.).

3.18.6. *hmy* 'to bring'

This is historically the *ʾap̄ʿel* of the root *ʾty*. The **t,* however, has been lost and a letter /m/, which was originally a participial prefix has come to be treated as a radical. The root may be represented as *hmy*.

3.18.6.1. Present

In the present the realis is distinguished from the irrealis by the prefix *k*-:

(i) Irrealis

The initial radical is */h/*:

3ms.	*hăme*
3fs.	*hamya*
3pl.	*hămen*
2ms.	*hămet*
2fs.	*hamyat*
2pl.	*hămétun*
1ms.	*hăména*
1fs.	*hamyan*
1pl.	*hămex(in)*

(ii) Realis

3ms.	*kme*
3fs.	*kəmya*
3pl.	*kmen*
2ms.	*kmet*
2fs.	*kəmyat*
2pl.	*kmétun*
1ms.	*kména*
1fs.	*kəmyan, kəmyắna*
1pl.	*kméx, kméxin*

3.18.6.2. Past Base

The past base is used to express the transitive active. It is not used to express the passive. The initial */h/* is optionally elided:

3ms.	*hméle*	*méle*	'He brought (it m.)'
3fs.	*həmyále*	*myále*	'He brought it (f.)
3pl.	*hménile*	*ménile*	'He brought them'

3.18.6.3. Resultative Participle

ms.	*miya*
fs.	*mita*
pl.	*miye*

3.18.6.4. Imperative

sing.	*me*
pl.	*mému(n)*

3.18.6.5. Infinitive

hămoe

3.18.7. *hwy* 'to be'

This replaces the copula in certain functional contexts (§10.8.). It is defective in that it lacks a past base, imperative and resultative participle.

3.18.7.1. Present

In the present the realis is distinguished from the irrealis by the unvoiced prefix *k-*, which replaces the initial syllable of the irrealis.

(i) Irrealis

3ms.	*hăwe*
3fs.	*hawya*
3pl.	*hăwen*

2ms.	*hăwet*
2fs.	*hawyat*
2pl.	*hăwétʋn*

1ms.	*hăwéna*
1fs.	*hawyán*
1pl.	*hăwéx(in)*

(ii) Realis

3ms.	*kwe*
3fs.	*kəwya*
3pl.	*kwen*

2ms.	*kwet*
2fs.	*kəwyat*
2pl.	*kwétʋn*

1ms.	*kwéna*
1fs.	*kəwyan*
1pl.	*kwéx(in)*

3.18.7.2. Infinitive

hăwoe

3.18.8. *d∅y* 'to hit, to place'

3.18.8.1. Present

3ms.	*dăe, dăel*
3fs.	*dăya*
3pl.	*dăen*

2ms.	*dăet*
2fs.	*dăyat*
2pl.	*dăétʋn*

1ms.	*dăéna*
1fs.	*dăyan*
1pl.	*dăéx(in)*

3.18.8.2. Transitive Active Past Base

3ms.	*dile*	'He hit (him)'
3fs.	*diyale*	'He hit her'
3pl.	*dinile*	'He hit them'

A passive of this verb cannot be expressed with a past base.

3.18.8.3. Resultative Participle

A single resultative participle is used to express both the transitive active and the passive:

ms.	*diya*
fs.	*dita*
pl.	*diye*

3.18.8.4. Imperative

  sing.   *du*
  pl.   *dúmu(n)*

3.18.8.5. Infinitive

  dăoe

3.18.9. *šwlṭ* 'to throw'

This verb is conjugated like a quadriliteral, but has the weak radical */w/*, realized as */o/*, in the place of a strong second radical.

3.18.9.1. Present

  3ms.   *šoləṭ*
  3fs.   *šolṭa*
  3pl.   *šolṭi*

  2ms.   *šolṭet*
  2fs.   *šolṭat*
  2pl.   *šolṭétun*

  1ms.   *šolə́ṭna*
  1fs.   *šolṭan*
  1pl.   *šolṭéx(in)*

3.18.9.2. Transitive Active Past Base

  3ms.   *šoləṭle*   'He threw (it m.)'
  3fs.   *šolṭale*   'He threw it (f.)'
  3pl.   *šolṭile*   'He threw them'

3.18.9.3. Transitive Active Resultative Participle

  ms.   *šolṭa*
  fs.   *šolṭa*   (< **šolətta*)
  pl.   *šolṭe*

3.18.9.4. Passive Resultative Participle

ms.	*šoliṭa*	
fs.	*šoliṭa*	(< *šoliṭṭa*)
pl.	*šoliṭe*	

3.18.9.5. Imperative

sing.	*šólaṭ*
pl.	*šólaṭmu(n)*

3.18.9.6. Infinitive

The vocalism of the infinitive has the *CCaCa* pattern with the */o/* after the second radical:

  šolaṭa

3.18.10. *mwmy* 'to swear'

This is conjugated like a stem III final */y/* verb, but has the weak radical */w/*, realized as */o/* or */u/*, after the initial */m/*. It is treated as a transitive verb and so has a transitive past base and resultative participle.

3.18.10.1. Present

3ms.	*mome*
3fs.	*momya*
3pl.	*momen*
2ms.	*momet*
2fs.	*momyat*
2pl.	*mométun*
1ms.	*moména*
1fs.	*momyan/momyăna*
1pl.	*momex/momexin*

3.18.10.2. Transitive Active Past Base

mome-

Examples: *momele* 'He swore', *momela* 'She swore', *momelu* 'They swore'.

3.18.10.3. Transitive Active Resultative Participle

mumya

Examples: *tati mumya-y* 'My father has sworn', *baxti mumya-y* 'My wife has sworn' (§9.13.3.).

3.18.10.4. Imperative

sing.	*móme*
pl.	*mómemu(n)*

3.18.10.5. Infinitive

The */w/* is not reflected in the vocalism of the infinitive, which has the regular pattern *CăCoCe*:

mămoe

3.18.11. *lwly* 'to beseech'

This is conjugated like a stem I final */y/* verb, but has the weak radical */w/*, realized as */o/*, after the initial radical. It is treated as a transitive verb and so has a transitive past base and resultative participle.

3.18.11.1. Present

3ms.	*lole*
3fs.	*lolya*
3pl.	*lolen*
2ms.	*lolet*
2fs.	*lolyat*
2pl.	*lolétun*

1ms.	*loléna*
1fs.	*lolyan/lolyǎna*
1pl.	*lolex/lolexin*

3.18.11.2. Transitive Active Past Base

   lole-

 Examples: *lolele* 'He beseeched', *lolela* 'She beseeched', *lolelu* 'They beseeched'.

3.18.11.3. Transitive Active Resultative Participle

ms.	*lolya*
fs.	*lolita*
pl.	*lolye*

3.18.11.4. Imperative

sing.	*lóle*
pl.	*lólemu(n)*

3.18.11.5. Infinitive

The */w/* is not reflected in the vocalism of the infinitive, which has the regular pattern *CǎCoCe*. The third radical, however, is treated as */l/* rather than */y/*:

  lǎlole

3.18.12. *mṣṭwr* 'to curse'

This verb is conjugated like a quadriliteral, but has the weak radical */w/*, realized as */o/*, intervening between the last two radicals.

3.18.12.1. Present

3ms.	*maṣṭor*
3fs.	*maṣṭora*
3pl.	*maṣṭori*

2ms.   *maṣṭoret*
2fs.   *maṣṭorat*
2pl.   *maṣṭorétun*

1ms.   *maṣṭorna*
1fs.   *maṣṭoran*
1pl.   *maṣṭoréx(in)*

3.18.12.2. Transitive Active Past Base

3ms.   *məṣṭor-*
3fs.   *məṣṭora-*
3pl.   *məṣṭori-*

When the 3ms. form is combined with L-suffixes, the /l/ assimilates to the /r/ and the resulting gemination of the /r/ is weakened:

məṣṭóre   'He cursed (him)'
məṣṭoróle   'He cursed her'
məṣṭoríle   'He cursed them'

3.18.12.3. Transitive Active Resultative Participle

ms.   *məṣṭora*
fs.   *məṣṭorta*
pl.   *məṣṭore*

3.18.12.4. Passive Resultative Participle

3ms.   *məṣṭira*
3fs.   *məṣṭirta*
3pl.   *məṣṭire*

3.18.12.5. Imperative

sing.   *máṣṭor*
pl.   *máṣṭormu(n)*

3.18.12.6. Infinitive

maṣṭore

3.18.13. *ytw* 'to sit'

In the conjugation of the present base of this verb, the */w/* radical often assimilates to the medial */t/* radical when in contact with it. The resulting gemination of the */t/* is subsequently lost. Uncontracted forms that preserve the sequence */tw/* are also used by speakers. The sequence */əw/* contracts to */u/* when it is stressed, as is the general rule in final */w/* verbs (§3.14.11.). The initial */y/* of the root is elided when clustering with the following */t/* in the past base, resultative participle and imperative.

3.18.13.1. Present

3ms.	*yătu*		
3fs.	*yăta*	< *yatta*	< *yatwa*
3pl.	*yăti*	< *yatti*	< *yatwi,* etc.
2ms.	*yătet*		
2fs.	*yătat*		
2pl.	*yătétʊn*		
1ms.	*yătúna*		
1fs.	*yătan*		
1pl.	*yătéx(in)*		

3.18.13.2. Intransitive Past Base

3ms.	*tiw*	'He sat'
3fs.	*tíwa*	'She sat'
3pl.	*tíwi*	'They sat'

3.18.13.3. Resultative Participle

ms.	*tiwa*
fs.	*tiwta*
pl.	*tiwe*

3.18.13.4. Imperative

sing.	*tu*
pl.	*túmu(n)*

3.18.13.5. *Infinitive*

    yătowe

3.18.14. *m-tw* 'to place'

This verb is the stem III causative of *ytw*. The initial /y/ is elided in all forms. The /w/ often assimilates to the /t/ when in contact with it in the present base, as in the verb *ytw*, and the resulting gemination of the /t/ is subsequently lost.

3.18.14.1. *Present*

3ms.	*mătu*		
3fs.	*măta*	< **matta*	< *matwa*
3pl.	*măti*	< **matti*	< *matwi,* etc.
2ms.	*mătet*		
2fs.	*mătat*		
2pl.	*mătétun*		
1ms.	*mătúna*		
1fs.	*mătan*		
1pl.	*mătéx(in)*		

    The /w/ is occasionally preserved, e.g. *matwíwale* 'They would place it' (B:24).

3.18.14.2. *Transitive Active Past Base*

In the 3fs. and 3pl. forms the /w/ is optionally assimilated to the preceding /t/:

3ms.	*mtu-*	
3fs.	*mətwa-*	*məta-*
3pl.	*mətwi-*	*məti-*

    Examples: *mtuli* 'I placed (it m.)', *mətwali/mətali* 'I placed (it f.)', *mətwili/mətili* 'I placed (them)'.

3.18.14.3. Transitive Active Resultative Participle

ms.	*mətwa*
fs.	*mtəwta*
pl.	*mətwe*

3.18.14.4. Passive Resultative Participle

ms.	*mtiwa*
fs.	*mtiwta*
pl.	*mtiwe*

3.18.14.5. Imperative

sing.	*mā́tu*
pl.	*mā́tumu(n)*

3.18.14.6. Infinitive

mătowe

3.18.15. *x∅y* 'to see'

In this verb an original medial *z* has been reduced to zero (< *xzy*).

3.18.15.1. Present

3ms.	*xăe*
3fs.	*xăya*
3pl.	*xăen*
2ms.	*xăet*
2fs.	*xăyat*
2pl.	*xăétun*
1ms.	*xăéna*
1fs.	*xăyan*
1pl.	*xăéx(in)*

3.18.15.2. Past Base

The past base is used to express the transitive active. It is not used to express
the passive:

3ms.	*xéle*	'He saw (him)'
3fs.	*xiyále*	'He saw her'
3pl.	*xiyénile*	'He saw them'

3.18.15.3. Resultative Participle

ms.	*xiya*
fs.	*xita*
pl.	*xiye*

3.18.15.4. Imperative

sing.	*xe*
pl.	*xému(n)*

3.18.15.5. Infinitive

xăoe

3.18.16. *x∅r* 'to become'

In this verb an original medial **d* has been reduced to zero (< **xdr*)

3.18.16.1. Present

3ms.	*xar*
3fs.	*xăra*
3pl.	*xări*
2ms.	*xăret*
2fs.	*xărat*
2pl.	*xărétun*
1ms.	*xarna*
1fs.	*xăran*
1pl.	*xăréx(in)*

3.18.16.2. Intransitive Past Base

3ms.	*xir*	'He became'
3fs.	*xíra*	'She became'
3pl.	*xíri-*	'They became'

3.18.16.3. Intransitive Resultative Participle

ms.	*xira*
fs.	*xirta*
pl.	*xire*

3.18.16.4. Imperative

sing.	*xur*
pl.	*xúrmu(n)*

3.18.16.5. Infinitive

xăroe

3.18.17. *š∅r* 'to send'

In this verb an original medial **d* has been reduced to zero (< **šdr*)

3.18.16.1. Present

3ms.	*šar*
3fs.	*šăra*
3pl.	*šări*
2ms.	*šăret*
2fs.	*šărat*
2pl.	*šărétun*
1ms.	*šarna*
1fs.	*šăran, šărăna*
1pl.	*šărex, šăréxin*

3.18.16.2. *Transitive Active Past Base*

3ms.	*šər-*
3fs.	*šəra*
3pl.	*šəri-*

The */l/* of L-suffixes assimilates to the */r/* of the 3ms. form of the base and the resulting gemination of the */r/* is subsequently weakened:

3ms.	*šəre*	'He sent (it m.)'	< **šərre* < **šərle*
3fs.	*šərále*	'He sent it (f.)'	
3pl.	*šəríle*	'He sent them'	

3.18.16.3. *Transitive Active Resultative Participle*

ms.	*šəra*
fs.	*šərta*
pl.	*šəre*

3.18.16.4. *Passive Resultative Participle*

ms.	*šira*
fs.	*širta*
pl.	*šire*

3.18.16.5. *Imperative*

sing.	*šar*
pl.	*šármu(n)*

3.18.16.6. *Infinitive*

šăroe

3.19. PHRASAL VERBS

The dialect contains numerous 'phrasal verbs', which consist of a finite in-flected verb and a nominal element. These are calques from parallel constructions in Persian and Kurdish. The nominal element is generally retained from the source language with the finite verb being exchanged for an equivalent Aramaic verb. In the majority of cases the verbal element is the 'light verbs' *ʾwl* 'to do' or *x∅r* 'to become', e.g.

ʾarz ʾwl	'to say (polite)'	Pers. *arz kardan*
		Kurd. *arz kirdin*
bawař ʾwl	'to believe'	Kurd. *bawař kirdin*
daʿwat ʾwl	'to invite'	Pers. *daʾwat kardan*
ḥāz ʾwl	'to desire'	Kurd. *haz kirdin*
komak ʾwl	'to help'	Pers. *komak kardan*
qănaʿat ʾwl	'to be content'	Pers. *qănaʿat kardan*
tămaša ʾwl	'to observe'	Kurd. *tămaša kirdin*
tahdid ʾwl	'to threaten'	Pers. *tahdid kardan*
weḷ ʾwl	'to stop'	Kurd. *weḷ kirdin*
zəndəgi ʾwl	'to live'	Pers. *zendegi kardan*
ʾaxər x∅r	'to come to an end'	Pers. *axer šodan*
ḥali x∅r	'to understand'	Pers. *ḥali šodan*
hazm x∅r	'to be digested'	Pers. *hazm šodan*
jamʾ x∅r	'to gather (intr.)'	Pers. *jamʾ šodan*
pea x∅r	'to be born'	Pers. *peda šodan*
rad x∅r	'to pass by'	Pers. *rad šodan*
răwana x∅r	'to set off'	Pers. *răwane šodan*
warəd x∅r	'to enter'	Pers. *wared šodan*

In some cases other phrasal verbs occur with other verbal elements, e.g.

hăwa ʾxl	'to breathe'	Pers. *hăwa xordan*
taṣmim dwq	'to decide'	Pers. *taṣmim gereftan*
ṭul grš	'to last'	Pers. *ṭul kašidan*
ḥasrat lbl	'to envy'	Pers. *ḥasrat bordan*

Occasionally the nominal element of the source language is calqued with an Aramaic equivalent, e.g.

ʾila ʾwl	'to begin'	Kurd. *dast pe-kirdin*
reša d∅y	'to visit'	Kurd. *sar dān*
ʾena d∅y	'to wink'	Pers. *čašm zadan*

There are various other calqued idiomatic verbal phrases, e.g.

qăbul hiti	'I accept, I agree'	Pers. *qăbul daram*
mən-bayn ʾzl	'to be destroyed'	Pers. *az bayn raftan*

3.20. PRONOMINAL OBJECTS

3.20.1. Pronominal Direct Objects on Present Base Verbs

The pronominal direct object of a verb form derived from the present base may be expressed by L-series suffixes in all persons except the 1ms. and 1fs., which take the set of pronominal suffixes that are attached to nouns and prepositions, without the /l/ element. The forms attached to a 3ms. verb are as follows:

	Object Suffix	3ms. verb	
3ms.	*gărə́šle*	'He pulls him'
3fs.	*gărə́šla*	'He pulls her'
3pl.	*gărə́šlu*	'He pulls them', etc.
2ms	*gărə́šlox*	
2fs.	*gărə́šlax*	
2pl.	*gărə́šlăxun*	
1s.	*gărə́šli*	
1pl.	*gărə́šlan*	

Note that the stress remains on the verbal base throughout the paradigm. When the final radical of a verb is /l/, /r/ or /n/, the /l/ of the L-suffix that is in contact with this assimilates to it. The gemination of the final radical arising from this assimilation is weakened, according to the usual process. In strong stem I verbs there is usually a consequential resyllabification, e.g.

šáqle	'He buys it'	< *šăqəlle*
zábne	'He sells it'	< *zăbənne < *zăbənle*
báqre	'He asks it'	< *băqərre < *băqərle*

Occasionally the /ə/ before the final radical is retained and bears the stress, e.g. *zăbə̀nu* 'He sells them' (< *zăbə́nnu*) (A:102).

The /l/ of the suffix assimilates to the /t/ of the 2ms. and 2fs. forms and the resulting gemination of /t/ is weakened. Pronominal suffixes are generally added to the 2pl. form without a change to the verbal base:

Verb   3ms. Object Suffix

2ms.	*garšéte*	'You (ms.) pull him'	< *garšette*	< *garšetle*
2fs.	*garšā́te*	'You (fs.) pull him'	< *garšatte*	< *garšatle*
2pl.	*garšétule*	'You (pl.) pull him'		

Note that the stressed /e/ in the 2ms. suffix in the open syllable result-ing from the loss of gemination of the following /t/ is pronounced long, whereas the stressed /a/ in the corresponding position in the 2fs. form is short.

When the L-suffixes are added to a 1pl. verb, an additional /i/ vowel is inserted before the suffix:

garšexile   'We pull him'

The 1st person singular verb forms express the pronominal object with the series of pronominal suffixes that are attached to nouns and prepositions (§2.3.). The final /a/ of the 1ms. subject suffix –*na* is elided before the pro-nominal object suffix:

Object Suffix   1ms. verb

3ms.	*gărəšnef*	'I (m.) pull him'
3fs.	*gărəšnaf*	'I (m.) pull her'
3pl.	*gărəšnu*	'I (m.) pull them'
2ms.	*gărəšnox*	'I (m.) pull you (ms.)'
2fs.	*gărəšnax*	'I (m.) pull you (fs.)'
2pl.	*gărəšnăxun*	'I (m.) pull you (pl.)'

With the 1fs. three variant forms are attested, one retaining the –*an* subject suffix, one reduplicating the suffix and a third eliding the suffix alto-gether before the object suffix:

3ms.	*garšā́nef*	*garšā́nanef*	*garšef*	'I (f.) pull him'
3fs.	*garšā́naf*	*garšā́nanaf*	*garšaf*	'I (f.) pull her'
3pl.	*garšā́nu*	*garšā́nanu*	*garšu*	'I (f.) pull them', etc.

The inflection of the present form of final /y/ verbs with pronominal object suffixes is as follows:

m-šty 'to cause to drink'

Verb   3ms Object Suffix

3ms.	*maštéle*	'He causes him to drink'
3fs.	*maštyála*	'She causes him to drink'
3pl.	*mašténilu*	'They cause him to drink', etc.

2ms	*maštéte*
2fs.	*maštyắte*
2pl.	*maštétule*
1ms.	*mašténef*
1fs.	*maštyắne, maštyef*
1pl.	*maštéxile*

Note here the addition of the /i/ vowel between the 3pl. subject inflection and the pronominal object suffix: *mašten+ le > maštenile.*

Attachment of pronominal object suffixes to present base forms with the past tense enclitic -*wa*:

3ms.	*gắrə́šwale*
3fs.	*garšáwale*
3pl.	*garšíwale*
2ms	*garšétwale*
2fs.	*garšátwale*
2pl.	*garšétunwale*
1ms.	*gắrə́šnawalef, gắrə́šnawalaf*
1fs.	*garšánwalef, gắrə́šnawalaf*
1pl.	*garšéxwale*

The 3rd person singular pronominal suffixes on 1st person singular verb forms are -*lef* and -*laf* by analogy with the suffixes –*ef* and –*af* that are attached to the 1st person forms in the present.

An alternative means of expressing the pronominal direct object is by a prepositional phrase. Such a prepositional phrase is not bonded to the verb like L-suffixes and may be placed either after or before it. When the pronominal object is fronted before the verb, the object pronoun is typically an information focus, which typically expresses contrast.

Prepositional phrases containing the preposition ˀ*əl-* with pronominal suffixes are placed either after or before the verb:

gắrə́š ˀəlèf˺	'He pulls him'
gắrə́š ˀəlòx˺	'He pulls you'
ˀəlèf gắrə́š˺	'He pulls HIM'
ˀəlòx gắrə́š˺	'He pulls YOU'

When the pronominal suffix is fronted before the verb, it may also be expressed by morphologically 'heavier' phrases in which the pronominal element is combined with the preposition by means of the genitive particle. When used independently of pronominal suffixes the preposition has the form *həl-* with an initial */h/*. Such direct object phrases do not necessarily have narrow focus:

həl-didi gărə̀š⌐	'He pulls me'
həl-didan gărə̀š⌐	'He pulls us'
həl-didóx gărə̀š⌐	'He pulls you (ms.)'
həl-didáx gărə̀š⌐	'He pulls you (fs.)'
həl-didăxún gărə̀š⌐	'He pulls you (pl.)'
həl-d-ó gărə̀š⌐	'He pulls him/her'
həl-d-óni gărə̀š⌐	'He pulls them'

The *həl-* preposition may be optionally omitted before the genitive particle. This is particularly common before the *did-* phrase with 1st and 2nd person objects:

didí gărə̀š⌐	'He pulls me'
didán gărə̀š⌐	'He pulls us'
didóx gărə̀š⌐	'He pulls you (ms.)'
didáx gărə̀š⌐	'He pulls you (fs.)'
didăxún gărə̀š⌐	'He pulls you (pl.)'
d-ó gărə̀š⌐	'He pulls him/her'
d-óni gărə̀š⌐	'He pulls them'

3.20.2. Pronominal Direct Objects on Past Base Verbs

If the pronominal object is 3rd person., it can be expressed by the number and gender agreement of the past base of the verbal form. The default masculine form of the base can always potentially express a 3ms. object, in which case it can be considered to realize the pronominal reference as zero ($\varnothing$):

3ms.	*grəš-le* (= *grəš-$\varnothing$-le*)	'He pulled him'
3fs.	*gəršá-le*	'He pulled her'
3pl.	*gərší-le*	'He pulled them'

As shown above (§3.14.5.2.), the plural form of the past base of final /y/ verbs has the inflection *-eni* with /i/ before the L-suffix, e.g. *plénile* 'He divided them', *ménilox* 'You brought them'.

The 3rd person pronominal objects may be expressed in this way also when the particle *wa* is attached to the past base:

gréšwale	'He had pulled him'
gəršáwale	'He had pulled her'
gəršíwale	'He had pulled them'

When this particle is added to the past base of final /y/ verbs, the plural form has the ending *-eni*, e.g.

xéniwale	'He had seen them'

1st and 2nd person pronominal objects are expressed by suffixes. To avoid accumulating two sets of L-series suffixes, the pronominal object is attached to the preposition *ʾəl-/həl-*. When placed before the verb, this prepositional phrase is optionally replaced by a morphologically 'heavier' phrase containing the genitive particle. 3rd person pronominal objects may also be expressed in this way rather than by gender and number agreement of the base. The full paradigm of pronominal objects expressed in this way is as follows:

3ms.	*grəšle ʾəlef*	*ʾəlef grəšle*	*həl-d-o grəšle*	'He pulled him'
3fs.	*grəšle ʾəlaf*	*ʾəlaf grəšle*	*həl-d-o grəšle*	'He pulled her'
3pl.	*grəšle ʾəlu*	*ʾəlu grəšle*	*həl-d-oni grəšle*	'He pulled them'
2ms.	*grəšle ʾəlox*	*ʾəlox grəšle*	*həl-didox grəšle*	'He pulled you (ms.)'
2fs.	*grəšle ʾəlax*	*ʾəlax grəšle*	*həl-didax grəšle*	'He pulled you (fs.)'
2pl.	*grəšle ʾəlăxun*	*ʾəlăxun grəšle*	*həl-didăxun grəšle*	'He pulled you (pl.)'
1s.	*grəšle ʾəli*	*ʾəli grəšle*	*həl-didi grəšle*	'He pulled me'
1pl.	*grəšle ʾəlan*	*ʾəlan grəšle*	*həl-didan grəšle*	'He pulled us'

In fast speech these pronominal object phrases are often phonetically reduced. The initial syllable of the phrase with the preposition *ʾəl-* may be elided after the vowel of the L-suffix, e.g.

grəšle-lef	'He pulled him'	< *grəšle ʾəlef*
grəšlu-laf	'They pulled her'	< *grəšlu ʾəlaf*
grəšli-lox	'I pulled you (ms.)'	< *grəšli ʾəlox*

The *həl-* element before forms with the genitive particle may be dropped, e.g.

>   *d-o grəšle*   'He pulled him'
>   *didi grəšlu*   'They pulled me'
>   *didox grəšli*   'I pulled you (ms.)'

In the text corpus two cases occur of a 1fs. undergoer of the action being expressed by inflection of the past base:

(1) *ləblắnanu bimaristắn-e Hădăsà.*ꞁ *ʾăxonì ləblắnanef.*ꞁ 'They took me to Hadasa hospital. My brother took me.' (C:2)

The inflection of these forms for undergoer + agent parallels the inflection on present base verbs for agent + undergoer, as is the case when the undergoer is 3rd person:

ləblắnanef	'He took me'	*lablắnanef*	'I take him'
ləblắnanu	'They took me'	*lablắnanu*	'I take them'
gəršale	'He pulled her'	*garšale*	'She pulls him'
gəršalu	'They pulled her'	*garšalu*	'She pulls them'

When, however, attempts were made to elicit further forms of undergoers that are not 3rd person expressed in the inflection of the past base, informants did not accept their grammaticality.

3.20.2. Pronominal Direct Objects on Imperatives

On imperatives the pronominal object may be expressed by L-suffixes. The plural imperative has the ending *–mu* rather than *–mun* before the L-suffix. The stress is placed on the initial syllable:

Stem I

sing.	*grúšle*	'Pull him!'
plural	*grúšmule*	'Pull him!'

Stem II

sing.	*bắsəmle*	'Cure him!'
plural	*bắsəmmule*	'Cure him!'

Stem III

sing.	*márxəšle*	'Make him walk!'
plural	*márxəšmule*	'Make him walk!'

Quadriliteral

sing.	*bárbəzle*	'Scatter it!'
plural	*bárbəzmule*	'Scatter it!'

When the final radical of the verb is /n/ or /r/, the /l/ of the L-suffix assimilates to this in the singular imperative. The resulting gemination of the final radical is weakened:

šqúle	'Buy it!'	< **šqulle*
bqúre	'Ask it!'	< **bqurre*

In verbs that have the pattern *CăCəC-* in the imperative, the weakening of gemination results in resyllabification, e.g.

zábne	'Sell it!'	< **zắbənne*
láble	'Take it!'	< **lắbəlle*

Alternatively, the pronominal object may be expressed by prepositional phrases. These follow the pattern of the corresponding constructions with present base and past base verbs. Phrases with the preposition *ʾəl-/həl-* are used after the verb, or before to express narrow focus. A fronted pronominal object may also be expressed by a phrase containing the genitive particle:

grúš ʾəlef	*ʾəlef gruš*	*həl-d-o gruš*	'Pull him!'
grúšle ʾəli	*ʾəli gruš*	*didi gruš*	'Pull me!'

3.20.4. Pronominal Direct Objects on Phrasal Verbs

In phrasal verbs, which consist of collocations of a finite verb and a nominal element, pronominal direct objects may be expressed in one of the following ways. The first two are identical to the constructions that are used with simple verbs. The third is particular to phrasal verbs.

3.20.4.1. Suffixes on Verb

The pronominal object may take the form of an L-suffix, e.g.

(1) *tahdìd koliwalán.* 'They would threaten us.' (B:23)

(2) *hàr ʾáṣər xa-našá daʿwát holàn.* (< *hol-lan*) 'Every evening a person would invite us.' (D:6)

(3) *pirè gbéwa ʾemzà holiwalá.* 'The elders had to sign it.' (A:48)

(4) *ʾóa lá-xárwa gyaná holìl-o.* 'They could not extinguish that.' (B:72)

In the case of past base verbs, the pronominal may have the form of an S-suffix inflection of the past base agreeing with the object nominal, e.g.

(5) *tahdíd wilàle.* 'He threatened her.'

3.20.4.2. Independent Pronominal Object Phrase

In the text corpus these take the form of phrases consisting of the independent genitive particle, e.g.

(1) *kū̆le ʾáṣər didán daʿwàt kolí.*| 'Every evening they will invite us.' (D:6)

(2) *hár-lele xa-našá daʿwát didí kòl.*| 'Each night a person will invite me.' (D:3)

(3) *ʾaxtú tămà didí-u daăkí daʿwát lá kolétun?*| 'Why do you not invite me and my mother?' (D:8)

3.20.4.3. A Suffix on the Nominal Element

(1) *híč kăsí daʿwătóx lá wilè.*| 'Nobody has invited you.' (D:7)

(2) *bašká daʿwătèf holí.*| 'Perhaps they would invite him.' (D:7)

(3) *xá-yoma kwè*| *ʾanà*| *daʿwătì kolí.*| 'A day will come when they will invite me.' (D:8)

(4) *náše ʾo-belá nóšu komăkáf kolìwa.*| 'The people of the house themselves helped her.' (A:66)

In (5) the object is expressed by an independent genitive particle annexed to the nominal element:

(5) *ʾanà*| *daʿwắt-e didăxún wilì.*| 'I invited you.' (D:8)

3.21. PRONOMINAL INDIRECT OBJECT

A pronominal indirect object of a present base or imperative verb form is expressed by an L-suffix, so long as there is no pronominal direct object in the same verb phrase:

> *kwílan*   'They give us'
> *húlmulan*   'Give (pl.) us!'

1st person singular verbs derived from the present base do not take L-suffixes but rather have the series of pronominal suffixes that are attached to nouns and prepositions, as they do when expressing direct pronominal objects, e.g.

kəwnef	'I (m.) shall give him'
kəwnaf	'I (m.) shall give her'
kwănef, kwef	'I (f.) shall give him'
kwănaf, kwaf	'I (f.) shall give her'

A pronominal indirect object may also be expressed by a phrase containing the preposition *baq-* or *ʾəl-* with the appropriate pronominal suffix:

kwi baqef	'They will give to him'
kwi ʾəlef	

This is obligatory when the verb has a pronominal direct object expressed by an L-suffix:

kwile baqef	'They will give it to him'
kwile ʾəlef	

When a verb has a past base inflected with L-suffixes, the indirect object is normally expressed by the preposition *baq-* or *ʾəl-*, the former being the more common:

hiwle baqef	'He gave (it) to him'
hiwle ʾəlef	
hiwale baqef	'He gave her to him'
hiwale ʾəlef	

When the past base verb has a 1st or 2nd person object, which cannot be expressed by the inflection of the past base, the pronominal object is expressed by a *ʾəl-* phrase and the indirect object by a *baq-* or *ʾəl-* phrase:

hiwli ʾəlax baqef	'I gave you (fs.) to him'
hiwli ʾəlax ʾəlef	
məždə́re ʾəli baqox	'He sent me to you'
məždə́re ʾəli ʾəlox	

3.22. THE EXISTENTIAL PARTICLES

3.22.1. Positive

The existential particle exists in a present and past form:

hit	'There is/are'
hitwa	There was/were'

The initial */h/* has arisen by the shift of an initial pharyngal stop *ˀ to a pharyngal fricative (§1.3.3.1.).

3.22.2. Negative

The present and past negative forms of the particle are as follows:

lit	'There is/are not'
litwa	'There was/were not'

3.23. POSSESSIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

Possessive constructions are formed by combining the existential particles with the L-suffixes. In the present forms the */l/* of the suffixes is regularly assimilated to the final */t/* and the resulting gemination of the */t/* is weakened according to the usual process:

hite	'He has'	< *hitte < *hitle*
lite	'He has not'	< *litte < *litle*
hitwale	'He had'	
litwale	'He had not	

3.24. GENERAL REMARKS ON THE VERBAL STEMS

In a few cases a verbal root has an intransitive stem I and a transitive causative stem II, e.g.

plṭ I 'to go out'	*plṭ* II 'to cause to go out'
bsm I 'to recover'	*bsm* II 'to cause to recover, to cure'
ṣpy I 'to be filtered'	*ṣpy* II 'to filter'
ṭšy I 'to hide (intr.)'	*ṭšy* II 'to hide (tr.)'

This is a marginal historical vestige of the semantic opposition of the original *pəˤal* and *paˤˤel* stems. Stem II is not used productively in the present state of the dialect.

Stem III, on the other hand, is used productively to form causatives of stem I verbs, e.g.

ˀrw 'to be destroyed'	*m-ˀrw* 'to destroy'
ˀry 'to freeze (intr.)'	*m-ˀry* 'to cause to freeze'
ˀsq 'to go up'	*m-ˀsq* 'to cause to go up'
bhr 'to shine'	*m-bhr* 'to make shine, brighten'
bxy 'to weep'	*m-bxy* 'to cause to weep'

čyr 'to turn'	*m-čyr* 'to cause to turn'
fhm 'to understand'	*m-fhm* 'to make understand'
gxk 'to laugh'	*m-gxk* 'to make laugh'
ḥnq 'to be asphyxiated'	*m-ḥnq* 'to asphyxiate, to throttle'
kry 'to become short'	*m-kry* 'to make short'
phr 'to yawn'	*m-phr* 'to cause to yawn'
qlb 'to turn over'	*m-qlb* 'to cause to turn over'
rxš 'to walk'	*m-rxš* 'to cause to walk'
smx 'to stand, stop'	*m-smx* 'to cause to stand, stop'
šxn 'to become hot'	*m-šxn* 'to make hot'
xlṭ 'to err'	*m-xlṭ* 'to cause to err'
yrx 'to become long'	*m-yrx* 'to cause to become long'
zyz 'to increase (intr.)'	*m-zyz* 'to add, to increase (tr.)'

If the second radical belongs to the historical set of **bgdkpt* consonants, the stem III form generally retains the reflex of this that appears in stem I, e.g.

    băxe 'He weeps'   *mabxe* 'He causes to weep'

In the case of the verb **lbš*, however, the stem I form exhibits the fricative reflex of **b* whereas stem III has the stop reflex:

    loš (< **lawəš* < **laḇəš*)   'He dresses'
    malbəš   'He causes to dress'

A few stem III verbs have an intransitive sense in addition to a transitive sense, e.g.

    m-skr 'to become lost (intr.)—to lose (tr.)'
    m-ʾby 'to inflate, swell (intr. and tr.)'

Some are used only with an intransitive sense, e.g.

    m-sry 'to stink; to go off (food)'
    m-šṭx 'to give birth'

A stem I form is not available for all stem III verbs. This applies, for example, to the following:

    m-ndy 'to throw'
    m-ṣyl 'to listen'

4. NOUNS

4.1. PRELIMINARY REMARKS

Most nouns of Aramaic stock and loanwords that have been adapted to Aramaic morphology have in the singular one of the following endings: (i) -*a,* which is the reflex of the masculine singular determined state inflection of earlier Aramaic, (ii) -*ta* or its variants -*da* and -*la,* which are the reflexes of the feminine singular determined state inflection of earlier Aramaic. A classification is given below of the various morphological patterns of nouns in the dialect that have one of these inflectional endings in the singular.

4.2. NOUNS WITH -*a* INFLECTION

4.2.1. Bisyllabic Patterns

(1) CăCa

ʾăra	'land'
qăra	'gourd'
tăra	'door'
tăpa	'hill'

(2) CəCa

bəza	'hole'
ləba	'heart'
qəna	'kernel'
qəṭa	'piece'
šəra	'navel'

tǝna	'smoke'
xǝma	'father-in-law'

Nouns of this pattern had a geminated second radical at some earlier period (§1.4.).

(3) CaCa

dana	'seed'
kaka	'tooth'
kasa	'stomach'
qala	'voice'
sala	'witness'
xala	'food'
xaṣa	'back'
yala	'young boy'

(4) CeCa

ʾewa	'cloud'
bela	'house'
dewa	'gold'
lesa	'chewing gum'
leša	'dough'
pela	'radish'
sema	'silver'
sera	'moon'

(5) CiCa

ʾila	'hand, arm'
bira	'well'
rixa	'smell'
ṣiwa	'wood'
ṭina	'clay, mud'
xiwa	'snake'

(6) CoCa

goza	'walnut'
koza	'liver'
mola	'death'

poxa	'shade'
qoḷa	'upper arm'
qoqa	'water pot'
roxa	'wind'
toqa	'skin'
xola	'rope'
yoma	'day'

(7) CuCa

duša	'honey'
guṣa	'ball of dough'
guza	'wall'
kura	'kiln'
nura	'fire'
ṣura	'shirt'
tuna	'straw'
ṭura	'mountain'

(8) CCaCa

glala	'thread'
pyaḷa	'glass'
ptara	'stand for cooking pot'
šwawa	'neighbour'
xmara	'ass'

(9) CCiCa

qlila	'key'
xmira	'yeast, leaven'

(10) CCuCa

xlula	'wedding'
xzura	'pig'

(11) CaCCa

ʔapra	'soil'
garma	'bone'
kalba	'dog'

talya	'trunk of an animal'
xalwa	'milk'
yarxa	'month'

(12) CəCCa

bərka	'knee'
bərqa	'lightning'
dəmʿa	'tear'
gərza	'rat'
məlxa	'salt'
nəxla	'rain'
pəsra	'meat'
pəṣla	'onion'
qəṭra	'drop'
səkḷa	'hiccup'
sətwa	'winter'
ṭəpra	'fingernail'
xəška	'darkness'
xətna	'son-in-law'

Several forms of this pattern are verbal nouns derived from verbal roots, e.g.

gəxka	'laughter'
šəxna	'warmth'
zəmra	'song'

(13) CoCCa

| *ʾorxa* | 'road, way' |

(14) CuCCa

dugla	'lie'
gulʿa	'kernel'
gurma	'burning coal'
kulya	'kidney'
qulba	'bracelet'
xumra	'bead, ring of necklace'
xumṣa	'pungency, sourness'
xupna	'handful (with two hands)'

4.2.2. Trisyllabic Patterns with Three Radicals

(1) CăCaCa

> *dălaka*   'barber'
> *gănawa*   'thief'
> *šămaka*   'palate'

(2) CăCăCa

This pattern with a short /ă/ in the penultimate open syllable, is found only in loanwords, e.g.

> *ṭăbăqa*   'floor, storey'

(3) CăCeCa

> *tăḥela*   'spleen'

(4) CăCiCa

> *pătiḷa*   'cooking pot'

(5) CăCuCa

> *tănura*   'oven'
> *băruxa*   'friend'
> *yătuma*   'orphan'

(6) CiCaCa

> *ʾilana*   'tree'
> *lišana*   'tongue'

(7) Other Patterns

> *tʷkana*   'shop'
> *boʿina*   'blockage'

4.2.3. Trisyllabic Patterns with Four or Five Radicals

These have a variety of patterns:

ʾaqubra	'mouse'
ʾaspagla	'quince'
ʾərbala	'sieve'
ʾurədxa	'long needle'
darmana	'drug'
panjăra	'window'
pərtaʿna	'flea'
pəšpara	'omelette'

4.3. NOUNS WITH THE FEMININE ENDING –*ta*

In words of Aramaic stock the -*ta* ending is preceded either by a consonant or a vowel. It should be noted, however, that the patterns in which the ending is preceded by a vowel originally had a consonant before the feminine ending at an earlier historical period: *šata* < **šattā* 'year', *beta* < **beʿtā* 'egg', *rota* < **ʿarabtā* 'Friday', *skita* < **skintā* 'knife', *ʾarmota* < **ʾarmontā* 'pomegranate'.

4.3.1. Bisyllabic Patterns

(1) Cata

šata	'year'

(2) Ceta

beta	'egg'

(3) Cota

rota	'Friday'
ṭota	'goodness'

(4) CaCta

ʾamta	'paternal aunt'
ḥašta	'work'
karta	'load'
yalta	'young girl'

(5) CəCta

kəsta	'bag'
məsta	'hair'
qəwta	'strength'

(6) CoCta

dolta	'wealth'
molta	'delay, moratorium'
nopta	'fever'
tolta	'worm'
tomta	'seed (eaten as a snack)'

(7) CuCta

gupta	'cheese'
nuqta	'spot'

(8) CCata

brata	'girl'
šrata	'lamp'
xmata	'needle'

(9) CCita

skita	'knife'

(10) CCota

zbota	'finger'

(11) CCaCta

gwarta	'sock'
škayta	'complaint'
syamta	'shoe'
šwawta	'neighbour'
zyarta	'cemetery'

(12) CCəCta

skəḷta	'hiccup'
sqəlta	'ring'
tkəlta	'trouser cord'
xšəlta	'jewelry'
zmərta	'turban'

(13) CCiCta

klifta	'amulet'
kništa	'synagogue'

(14) CCoCta

ṭloxta	'lentil'
zmorta	'song'

(15) CCuCta

xmurta	'small bead'

(16) CCeCta

gwenta	'eyebrow'

4.3.2. Trisyllabic Patterns Containing Two Radicals

(1) CăCeta

xăleta	'gift'

(2) CăCota

bălota	'throat'
mărota	'courage'

4.3.3. Trisyllabic Patterns Containing Three Radicals

(1) CăCaCta

ʾasarta	'festival of Shavuot'
gănawta	'thief' (f.)
zāḥamta	'trouble'

(2) CăCəCta

qăləmta	'louse'
mărəmta	'trouble'

(3) CăCiCta

băṣirta	'grape'

(4) CăCoCta

ʾăqolta	'ankle'
năšoqta	'kiss'
mărorta	'bile, gall-bladder'

(5) CăCuCta

băruxta	'friend (f.)'
hăḷušta	'plum'
qănušta	'broom'
yătumta	'orphan girl'

(6) CaCCeta

sanʿeta	'profession, craft'

(7) CaCCota

ʾarmota	'pomegranate'

4.3.4. Trisyllabic Patterns Containing Four Radicals

These have various patterns, the most common being *CVCCVCta*:

hangəlta	'armpit'
pərsaxta	'sweet pastry'
qorqorata	'Adam's apple'

4.4. NOUNS WITH THE FEMININE ENDING -*da*

The ending -*da*, which is a voiced variant of -*ta*, is found in nouns whose base ends in one of the sonorant consonants /*l*/, /*n*/ or /*r*/, e.g.

ʾarməlda	'widow'
kalda	'bride'
qarda	'cold'
šənda	'sleep'

This variant of the feminine marker is found only in a limited number of words. In the majority of words where the aforementioned phonetic condition exists, the regular -*ta* form is found, e.g. *xšəlta* 'jewelry', *gwenta* 'eyebrow', *torta* 'cow'.

4.5. NOUNS WITH THE FEMININE ENDING -*la*

The ending -*la* is derived historically from *-*t̠ā*. It is found in nouns whose base ends in a vowel or the sonorant consonants /*w*/ and /*m*/, e.g.

ʾaklela	'hen'
ʾilamla	'wife of husband's brother'
dəmʿela	'a tear'
dnəwla	'fly'
ksila	'hat'
ktəwla	'a thorn'
kxəwla	'star'
lila	'fat of a sheep's tail'
šala	'fever'
šwila .	'bed'
ṭəpla	'drop'
xmala	'mother-in-law'
zătila	'flat bread'
zdela	'fear'

The fact that many of the nouns listed above form plurals by replacing only the final –*a* with a plural ending suggests that the /*l*/ in these cases has come to be interpreted as a radical, e.g. *šwile* 'beds', *ṭəple* 'drops' (§4.15.1.1.). Indeed some words have acquired an additional –*ta* feminine ending in the singular as a consequence of the re-interpretation of the /*l*/ as a radical, e.g.

tkəlta	'belt'	cf. Barwar *təkθa*
sqəlta	'ring'	cf. Barwar *ʾisəqθa*
ṣălolta	'prayer'	cf Barwar *ṣloθa*
ʾaklelta	'hen'	cf. Barwar *kθɛθa*

Conversely the feminine gender of words such as *ʾela* 'festival', *xlula* 'wedding' and *pəṣla* 'onion' may have resulted from the interpretation of the /*la*/ as the feminine ending, although historically part of the root. The same applies to *ptiḷa* 'wick', in which a historical *l is now pronounced emphatic.

4.6. NOUNS WITH THE ENDINGS –*ila* and –*ilta*

These affixes are variants of the feminine ending –*la* and have arise by analogy with forms from final weak roots such as *ksila* 'hat' and *šwila* 'bed', e.g.

> *nunila*   'fish'

The ending –*ilta* has evolved by combining the –*ila* ending with the normal allomorph of the feminine ending –*ta*, e.g.

> *nunilta*   'fish'

4.7. THE ENDING -*e*

A few singular nouns of Aramaic stock end in –*e*:

lele	'night'
gare	'roof'
geraqʷše	'rainbow'

The final –*e* in the forms *gare* and *geraqʷše* (< *gera-quše) was historically a plural ending, but now the forms are treated as singulars.

4.8. THE ENDING -*i*

One noun of Aramaic stock falling into this category has been identified:

> *susi*   'horse'

4.9. THE ENDING *-u*

One noun of Aramaic stock falling into this category has been identified:

> *qaṭu*   'cat'

4.10. NOUNS OF ARAMAIC STOCK WITH NO

INFLECTIONAL ENDING

Nouns falling into this category include:

> *ʾorxel* f.   'water-mill'
> *məndix* m.   'thing'

Also the names of the days of the week Monday–Thursday:

> *trúšab*   'Monday'
> *təlḥúšab*   'Tuesday'
> *ʾarbúšab*   'Wednesday'
> *xamšúšab*   'Thursday'

4.11. LOANWORDS

A large proportion of nouns in the dialect are loanwords. Most of these come from Kurdish or Persian, some originating ultimately from Arabic. They are sometimes adapted to Aramaic morphology by adding the *-a* ending, e.g.

> *masta*   'yoghurt'   < Kurd. *māst*
> *păra*   'feather'   < Kurd. *pař*
> *sărina*   'pillow, cushion'   < Kurd. *sarīn*
> *zăḥamta*   'trouble'   < Kurd./Pers. *zaḥmat*

If the Kurdish/Persian word ends in *-u* or *-i*, these are replaced by the glides */w/* and */y/* respectively before the *-a* ending, e.g.

> *šwətya*   'watermelon'   < Kurd. *šūtī*

When the loanword ends in *-a* in the source language, this vowel is treated in one of two ways:

(i) The final *–a* vowel is treated as part of the base of the word and the Aramaic plural inflectional ending is added after it, e.g.

> *ʾašna*   *ʾašnae* (pl.)   'acquaintance'   < Pers. *ʾašnā*
> *darya*   *daryae* (pl.)   'sea'   < Pers. *daryā*

(ii) The *-a* is treated as if it were an Aramaic singular inflectional ending and is replaced by the Aramaic plural ending, e.g.

maška	*maške* (pl.)	'churn'	< Kurd. *maška*
panjăra	*panjăre* (pl.)	'window'	< Kurd./Pers. *panjăra*

The ending *-ta* is attached to some loanwords that are of feminine gender, both those that end in a consonant and those that end in a vowel, e.g.

xiyarta	'cucumber'	< Kurd. *xayār*
ḥălušta	'plum'	< Kurd. *ḥalūja*

Conversely, a */t/* that belongs to the original form of the loanword in the source language has sometimes come to be interpreted as part of the Aramaic feminine ending *-ta*. This is reflected by the fact that the */t/* is elided in the plural, e.g.

dašta	*dašyale* (pl.)	'field'	< Kurd. *dašt*

Many loanwords are unadapted to Aramaic nominal morphology and are left in their original form without a final Aramaic inflectional ending, e.g.

ʾasən (Pers.)	'iron'
kāsbi (Kurd./Pers. < Arab.)	'earning, gain'
kawšdoz (Kurd.)	'cobbler'
ḳălašer (Kurd.)	'cock, rooster'
fəšār (Pers.)	'pressure'
saxtmani (Pers.)	'construction'
tarẓ (Pers.)	'method'

4.12. GENDER

4.12.1. Feminine Nouns of Aramaic Stock Ending in *-a*

Nouns of Aramaic stock that end in *-ta* or its phonetic variants are feminine and most words that end in *-a* are masculine. Several nouns ending in *-a*, however, are feminine in gender. Some of these can be classified into semantic categories as follows:

4.12.1.1. Parts of the Body

ʾaqla	'leg, foot'
ʾila	'hand'

bərka	'knee'
bqara	'neck'
kasa	'stomach'
koza	'liver'
kulya	'kidney'
ḷaḷa	'lung'
mămona	'breast'
šămaka	'palate'
šəra	'navel'
šərma	'buttocks'
tăḥela	'spleen'
ṭəpra	'finger nail'
təqna	'beard'
quṭa	'vagina'
xana	'lap'
xupna	'handful'

Parts of the body ending in -*a* that are masculine include *garma* 'bone', *kaka* 'tooth', *kăpana* 'shoulder', *ləba* 'heart', *lišana* 'tongue', *moxa* 'brain', *pəma* 'mouth', *poqa* 'nose', *reša* 'head', *ṣalma* 'face', *xaṣa* 'back', *măra-mila* 'penis', *guna* 'penis of young boy'.

4.12.1.2. Locations

ʾaḥra	'town'
ʾăra	'land'
ʾorxa	'road, way'
bira	'well'
tʷka	'place'
tʷkana	'shop'
karma	'vineyard'
kura	'kiln'
mala	'village'
qora	'grave'
ṭura	'mountain'

4.12.1.3. Insects and small animals

ʾaqubra	'mouse'
ʾərba	'sheep'
pərtaʿna	'flea'
qaṭu	'cat'

4.12.1.4. Fruits and Vegetables

ʾapṣa	'gallnut'
goza	'walnut'
qăra	'gourd'
təla	'mulberry'
šeza	'almond'
maša	'black lentil'

4.12.1.5. Verbal Nouns

ḥqaa	'speech'
šəxna	'warmth'
zəmra	'song'

4.12.1.6. Other Nouns

There is a residue of feminine nouns that cannot be grouped together into clear semantic categories. These include the following:

ʾərbala	'sieve'
ʾurədxa	'long needle'
gərsa	'groat'
gulʿa	'kernel'
guṣa	'ball of dough'
kepa	'stone'
maḷa	'trowel'
msərqa	'comb'
pəsra	'meat'
pəšpara	'omelette'
ptara	'stand for a cooking pot'
qəna	'kernel'
qoqa	'water pot'
roxa	'wind'
sera	'moon'
ṣura	'shirt'
šəmša	'sun'
talga	'snow'
tănura	'oven'
taʿna	'load'
təna	'smoke'

Some feminine nouns lacking a feminine morpheme end in the syllable /ta/ or /la/, the /t/ and /l/ being a radical. The feminine gender may have arisen due to the resemblance of this final syllable to the feminine ending, e.g.

ʾela	'festival'
pəṣla	'onion'
qlila	'key'
xlula	'wedding'
xmata	'needle'

The names of Jewish festivals are treated as feminine, no doubt due to the feminine gender of the word ʾela 'festival'. These include names that are plural in form, which take feminine singular agreement:

ḥănukáe	'Hanukkah'
lelange	'Purim'
pătire	'Passover'
reša šata	'New Year'
təšʿa ba-ʾAb	'Ninth of Ab'

Some nouns are used with both genders. This applies, for example, to the following:

qəṭma m./f.	'ash'
lele m./f.	'night'

4.12.2. The Gender of Loanwords

The dialect contains numerous loanwords from Sorani Kurdish and Persian. These source languages do not have grammatical gender distinctions in nouns, so the gender assignment of these loans is internal to the Neo-Aramaic dialect. Some of the loans from Kurdish and Persian are ultimately derived from Arabic, which has grammatical gender in nouns. The original historical gender of the words in Arabic, however, is not relevant for their gender assignment in the Neo-Aramaic dialect.

The majority of Kurdish and Persian loanwords referring to inanimate objects, body parts, small animals and flora are assigned to the feminine gender. These include words of ultimately Arabic origin that were originally masculine in Arabic, e.g.

ʾotaxa f. (Pers.)	'room'
bayaquš f. (Kurd.)	'owl'
burtăqāl f. (Kurd./Pers.)	'orange'

čort f. (Pers.)	'abacus'
čuča f. (Kurd.)	'sweet pastry'
dasta f. (Kurd./Pers.)	'handle'
gaḷa f. (Kurd.)	'leaf'
gəlka f. (Kurd.)	'index finger'
haḷwa f. (Kurd.)	'pockmark'
hanga f. (Kurd.)	'bee'
jām f. (Kurd./Pers.)	'mirror, glass'
joga f. (Kurd.)	'stream'
kaḷăka f. (Kurd.)	'melon'
kuzi f. (Pers.)	'pot container for meat'
maška f. (Kurd.)	'churn'
qaspa f. (Kurd.)	'date'
qurbaqa f. (Kurd.)	'frog'
roxana f. (Pers.)	'river'
sandali f. (Pers.)	'chair'
sărina f. (Kurd.)	'pillow, cushion'
štāḷwa f. (Kurd.)	'peach'
tăla f. (Pers.)	'mouse trap'
taxtaband f. (Kurd.)	'wooden bed'
zardena f. (Pers.)	'yoke'

Many loanwords that originated as masculine nouns in Arabic are treated as feminine after having been transmitted to the Neo-Aramaic dialect through Kurdish or Persian, e.g.

ḥămām f. (Kurd./Pers. < Arab.)	'baths'
ktāb f. (Kurd./Pers. < Arab.)	'book'
kursi f. (Pers. < Arab.)	'(heated) seat'

The grammatical gender of nouns referring to humans or large animals correspond to natural gender, e.g.

ṣiġa f. (Pers.)	'temporary wife, concubine'
kawšdoz m. (Kurd.)	'cobbler'
čarči m. (Kurd.)	'peddler'
ʕăkās m. (Pers.)	'photographer'
sarbāz m. (Pers.)	'soldier'
qalašer m. (Kurd.)	'cock'
zargar m. (Pers.)	'goldsmith'
nokar m. (Kurd./Pers.)	'servant'
tajər m. (Pers. < Arab.)	'merchant'

There is a residue of inanimate loans that are construed as masculine in gender. The gender assignment of these appears to have a semantic basis, in that most of the nouns in question either denote (i) a long, thin entity, (ii) fabrics, (iii) a collective or non-solid entity or (iv) a non-tangible, abstract entity:

(i) Long, Thin Entities

čin m. (Kurd.)	'lock of hair'
danda m. (Kurd.)	'rib'
darz m. (Kurd./Pers.)	'chink'
dăsa m. (Kurd.)	'handle'
dawri m. (Kurd.)	'plate'
dujka m. (Kurd.)	'tail'
gogərd m. (Kurd.)	'match'
klum m. (Kurd.)	'beam used to lock door'
lula m. (Pers.)	'pipe'
păra m. (Kurd.)	'feather'
qayči m. (Kurd.)	'scissors'
qfəl m. (Kurd./Pers. < Arab.)	'lock'
řag m. (Kurd.)	'vein, artery'
saqa m. (Pers. < Arab.)	'trunk (of tree); shin'
saqf m. (Pers. < Arab.)	'ceiling'
sim m. (Pers.)	'wire'
stun m. (Pers.)	'pillar'
šăbuba m. (Kurd.)	'pipe, flute'
tăši m. (Kurd.)	'spindle'
ṭăbaq m. (Kurd./Pers. < Arab.)	'tray, platter'
xat m. (Pers.)	'line'
zanjir m. (Kurd./Pers.)	'chain'

(ii) Fabrics

čačaw m. (Kurd.)	'woman's head cover'
dămaqopān m. (Kurd.)	'baggy trousers'
došak m. (Kurd.)	'mattress'
farš m. (Pers. < Arab.)	'bedding'
fret m. (Kurd.)	'thread (on fringe of carpet)'
grawa m. (Kurd.)	'sacking material'
ḥăṣir m. (Pers. < Arab.)	'mat'
jəns m. (Pers. < Arab.)	'material, stuff'

lă ͨefa m. (Kurd.)	'quilt'
ləfka m. (Kurd.)	'loofah'
parča m. (Kurd.)	'cloth'
păro m. (Kurd.)	'rag'
səfra m. (Kurd. < Arab.)	'cloth spread on ground'
tor m. (Pers.)	'net'
yaraq m. (Kurd.)	'decorative cover of a horse'

(iii) Collectives or Non-solid Entities

ʾalat m. (Kurd.)	'pepper'
darai m. (Pers.)	'property'
buq m. (Kurd.)	'steam'
gaj m. (Pers.)	'chalk'
gard-u-xāk (Pers.)	'dust'
hăwa m. (Kurd./Pers. < Arab.)	'air, weather'
kăra m. (Pers.)	'butter'
mewa m. (Kurd./Pers.)	'fruit'
naft m. (Pers. < Arab.)	'oil'
parəšt m. (Kurd.)	'cracked wheat'
šăkar m. (Kurd./Pers.)	'sugar'
šawnam m. (Kurd.)	'fog'
xorma m. (Pers.)	'dates'
xoša m. (Pers.)	'bunch, cluster'
zoxāḷ m. (Pers.)	'coal'

(iv) Non-tangible, Abstract Entities

ͨaql m. (Kurd./Pers. < Arab.)	'mind, intelligence'
bad-baxti m. (Pers.)	'ill-fortune'
be-čarăgi m. (Pers.)	'desperation'
čara m. (Kurd.)	'solution'
fəkr m. (Pers. < Arab.)	'thought'
ḥāl m. (Kurd./Pers. < Arab.)	'condition'
nāz m. (Kurd.)	'indulgence, coquetry'
rās m. (Kurd./Pers.)	'truth'
saxti m. (Pers.)	'difficulty'
šoġl m. (Pers.)	'profession'
talxi m. (Pers.)	'bitterness'
xarman m. (Pers.)	'harvest'
xăṭăʾ m. (Pers. < Arab.)	'sin'

xiyāḷ m. (Kurd./Pers. < Arab.)   'thought'
xoš m. (Kurd./Pers.)   'goodness'
zwān m. (Kurd.)   'language'

4.13. Function of the Feminine Marker Suffixes

When a corresponding masculine form of a word exists, the addition of the feminine endings *-ta* or *–da* and *–la* serves various functions.

4.13.1. Marking Female Gender

In the case of animate referents, it may designate the female counterpart of the masculine form, e.g.

tora	'ox'	*torta*	'cow'
yala	'young boy'	*yalta*	'young girl'
šwawa	'neighbour (m.)'	*šwawta*	'neighbour (f.)'
gănawa	'thief (m.)'	*gănawta*	'thief (f.)'
băruxa	'friend (m.)'	*băruxta*	'friend (f.)'

In the pair of kinship terms *ʾəlma* : *ʾilamla* the relationship is more complex:

ʾəlma   'husband's brother'   *ʾilamla*   'wife of husband's brother'

4.13.2. Marking the Singular of Collectives

The feminine ending may be used to express a single item of an entity that is usually referred to as a collectivity in the plural, e.g.

ʾaklela	'a hen'	*ʾakle*	'hens'
băṣirta	'a grape'	*băṣire*	'grapes
gwarta	'a sock'	*gware*	'socks'
haḷušta	'a plum'	*haḷuje*	'plums'
kălanta	'a pastry'	*kălane*	'pastries'
kămerta	'a pear'	*kămere*	'pears'
məzdanta	'a gift'	*məzdane*	'gifts'
pəlkanta	'a stair'	*pəlkane*	'stairs'
pərsaxta	'a pastry'	*pərsaxe*	'pastries'
qăləmta	'a louse'	*qalme*	'lice'
qăložta	'a rubber shoe'	*qălože*	'rubber shoes'
skəḷta	'a hiccup'	*səkḷe*	'hiccups'
syamta	'a shoe'	*syame*	'shoes'

šiḷanta	'an apricot'	*šiḷane*	'apricots'
tolta	'a worm'	*tole*	'worms'
tomta	'a seed'	*tome*	'seeds'
tkəlta	'a trouser cord'	*təkle*	'trouser cords'
ṭloxta	'a lentil'	*ṭloxe*	'lentils'
xămušta	'an apple'	*xămuše*	'apples'
xuṭmanta	'a chickpea'	*xuṭmane*	'chickpeas'

In a few cases the feminine ending *–ta* is added onto a plural ending, e.g.

| *năḥalta* | 'an ear' | *năḥale* | 'ears' |
| *šukyalta* | 'a testicle' | *šukyale* | 'testicles' |

The form *dəmʿela* 'a tear' appears to have been derived from the plural form in *–e* by adding the feminine suffix *–la* without replacing the plural ending:

| *dəmʿela* | 'a tear' | *dəmʿe* | 'tear' |

In some cases the singular form with the feminine ending exhibits syllabic restructuring:

kxəwla	'a star'	*kəxwe*	'stars'
ktəwla	'a thorn'	*kətwe*	'thorns'
dnəwla	'a fly'	*dənwe*	'flies'

Some of the nouns listed above also have singular masculine singular forms with the ending *–a*, e.g.

| *năḥala* | 'an ear' | *năḥale* | 'ears' |

4.13.3. Verbal Nouns

In some cases the feminine ending is added to an infinitive to form a verbal noun that expresses a specific perfective occurrence of the action denoted by the verbal root, e.g.

ʾăroqta	'fleeing'	< *ʾăroqe (ʾrq)*
maqlobta	'vomiting'	< *maqlobe (m-qlb)*
masṭorta	'curse'	< *masṭorta (msṭwr)*
maxlopta	'exchange'	< *maxlope (xlp)*
năšoqta	'kiss'	< *năšoqe (nšq)*
šwaqta	'permission'	< *šwaqa (šwq)*
tăpolta	'sneeze'	< *tăpole (tpl)*

The root *bxy* 'to cry' has a verbal noun with the ending *–ila*, which can be interpreted as a variant of the feminine ending *-la*:

    băxila   'crying'   < *băxoe (bxy)*

It appears that verbal nouns cannot be derived productively from all verbal roots.

4.13.4. Diminutive

In a few isolated cases a form with the feminine ending is used to express the diminutive of the entity expressed by the corresponding form without the ending, e.g.

    xumra   'bead'   *xmurta*   'small bead'

4.14. DERIVATIONAL AFFIXES OF ARAMAIC

BACKGROUND

4.14.1. *m-, ma-*

Derivational prefixes beginning with *m-* can be identified in some words, e.g.

    magreta   'shaving knife'
    momyanta   'oath'
    msərqa   'comb'

In the word *xmata* 'needle' the *m-* has metathesized with the following /x/ (< *mxaṭa*; cf. *xyṭ* 'to sew').

4.14.2. *–ula*

This suffix is derived historically from *-ūṯā* and nouns with the suffix are feminine in gender. It generally expresses an abstraction or an intangible phenomenon. Such abstract nouns are derived in principle from existing nouns, adjectives or particles, including loanwords, e.g.

    ʾăxonula   'brotherhood'   < *ʾăxona* 'brother'
    ʿayzula   'goodness'   < *ʿayza* 'good'
    băruxula   'friendship'   < *băruxa* 'friend'
    băsimula   'goodness, joy'   < *băsima* 'fine, pleasant'
    băṣorula   'dearth, lack'   < *băṣor* 'a few, less'

băurula	'brightness, light'	< *băura* 'bright'
komula	'blackness'	< *koma* 'black'
kpinula	'hunger'	< *kpina* 'hungry'
salula	'testimony'	< *sala* 'witness'
tatula	'fatherhood'	< *tata* 'father'
xwarula	'whiteness'	< *xwara* 'white'
yalula	'childhood'	< *yala* 'child'
zorula	'smallness'	< *zora* 'small'

The ending –*ula* may be extended by combining it with the element /*an*/. This is attested in forms with weak or elided radicals, e.g.

səḥyanula	'thirst'	< *səḥya* 'thirsty'
rŭwanula	'bigness'	< *rŭwa* 'big'
xəlyanula	'sweetness'	< *xəlya* 'sweet'
zoanula	'excess'	< *bi-zoa* 'more'

The ending –*ula* is used to express concepts such as a language, a profession and an institution, e.g.

hulaula	'the Jewish language'	< *hulaa* 'Jew'
maʕləmula	'profession of teacher'	< *maʕləm* 'teacher'
qăraula	'Rabbinic school'	< *qara* (Heb.) 'Rabbinic teacher'

The ending is occasionally used to refer to a concrete mass or collectivity, e.g.

denula	'fat'	< **dehna + ula*
xwarula	'white of an egg'	< *xwara* 'white'
yăruqula	'vegetation'	< **yăruqa* 'green'

Note also the following forms, where the base to which the –*ula* ending is added is a phrase:

ʾela-brixula 'festival blessing' < *ʾela brixa* 'blessed festival'

băraxa toranjula 'the ceremony of blessing the etrog'
< *băraxa toranj* 'the blessing of the etrog'

ʾəlha-hiwula 'divinely given produce' < *ʾəlha hiwa* 'God given'

4.14.3. –*ana*

This suffix is used productively to form active participles from the present base of verbs. The feminine form is -*anta*, e.g.

ʾaxlana	'(big) eater'	< *ʾxl* 'to eat'
ʾaxlanta	'(big) eater (f.)'	

qaryana	'reader'	< *qry*	'to read'
yalpana	'learner'	< *ylp*	'to learn'
malpana	'teacher'	< *m-lp*	'to teach'
maqryana	'teacher'	< *m-qry*	'to teach'
maxlpana	'exchanger'	< *m-xlp*	'to exchange'
maxlṭana	'one causing to err'	< *m-xlṭ*	'to cause to err'

The form *zalana* 'goer' is irregular, in that it is derived from the infinitive (*zala*) rather than the present base (*gezəl, hezəl*) of the verb:

zalana	'goer'	< *ʾzl*	'to go'

Such participles may refer to abstract entities, e.g.

momyanta	'oath'	< *mwmy*	'to swear'

In the case of the following, the derivative form has an idiomatic meaning

gaxkana, gaxkanta	'dimple'	< *gxk*	'to laugh'

The suffix *–ana (-anta)* is occasionally found also in other nouns, e.g.

tʷkana	'shop'
kăpana	'shoulder'
bšəlmana	'Muslim'
bšəlmanta	'Muslim woman'
mšəlmana	'Muslim convert from Judaism'
mšəlmanta	'Muslim woman convert from Judaism'
xălifanta	'picnic'
məzdanta	'gift'

The affix has the form *–na* after a vowel in the following word:

zardena	'yoke'	< *zarde* (Pers.)	

4.14.4. *–ona*

This suffix, which is a diminutive in origin, is found in the following kinship terms:

brona	'son'
ʾăxona	'brother'
ʾat-xona	'wife of brother'
bar-ʾamona	'paternal cousin (m.)'
temona	'wife of paternal uncle'

It also occurs in the following word:

mămona	'breast'	cf. Barwar *maməkka*

4.14.5. *-əsta*

The suffix *-əsta*, which is also a diminutive in origin, is found in the following kinship term:

     xălǝsta   'sister'   cf. Barwar *xaθa*

4.14.6. *-aa*

This is a gentilic ending found in the words for 'Jew' and 'Christian'. The nuclei of the two contiguous vowels merge to a certain extent and the stress is usually placed on the first nucleus (*-áa* cf. §1.5.3.). Its feminine form is *-alta*, which has developed by the combination of the two feminine morphemes *–la* and *–ta*:

     huláa m.   *hulalta* f.   'Jew'
     suráa m.   *suralta* f.   'Christian'

4.15. PLURAL FORMS

The plural of most nouns is formed by replacing the singular inflections *-a* and *–ta* (and its allomorphs *–da* and *–la*) with a plural inflection without any other changes to the morphology of the noun. There is no one-to-one correspondence between singular inflections and plural inflections and so the plural form of a singular noun is not predictable. Some nouns have more than one plural form.

4.15.1. Plural Ending *-e*

This is the most common plural ending and is attached to a variety of singular forms.

4.15.1.1. *Plurals in -e from Singulars in –a*

The singulars are of both genders:

Singular	Plural	
ʾăra f.	*ʾăre*	'land'
ʾila f.	*ʾile*	'hand'
ʾilana m.	*ʾilane*	'tree'
ʾurǝdxa f.	*ʾurǝdxe*	'long needle'
bela m.	*bele*	'house'
brona m.	*brone*	'son'

dəmʿa m.	dəmʿe	'tear'
goza m.	goze	'walnut'
guza m.	guze	'wall'
kalba m.	kalbe	'dog'
mala f.	male	'village'
pătiḷa m.	pătiḷe	'cooking pot'
pela m.	pele	'radish'
qoqa f.	qoqe	'water pot'
qulba f.	qulbe	'bracelet'
sala m.	sale	'witness'
sărina f.	sărine	'pillow'
tăra m.	tăre	'door'
ṭura m.	ṭure	'mountain'
xiwa m.	xiwe	'snake'

In the following nouns the –e replaces the final –a of the feminine marker –ta, as if the /t/ of this marker were a radical:

ʾamta f.	ʾamte	'paternal or maternal aunt'
bălota f.	bălote	'throat'
gupta f.	gupte	'cheese'
kništa f.	knište	'synagogue'
magreta f.	magrete	'shaving knife'
srota f.	srote	'ladle'
xăleta f.	xălete	'gift'

Likewise the /l/ of the variant feminine ending –la is in many cases treated like a radical and retained in the plural, e.g.

ksila f.	ksile	'hat'
kxəwla f.	kxəwle	'star'
šwila f.	šwile	'bed'
xmala f.	xmale	'mother-in-law'
zdela f.	zdele	'fear'

Some of these words have other plurals, in which the feminine ending –la is replaced by a plural ending, e.g. kəxwe, ksiye.

4.15.1.2. Plurals in –e from Singulars in –ta

Singular	Plural	
škayta	škaye	'complaint'
skita	skiye	'knife'

šrata	*šrae*	'lamp'
tqənta	*təqne*	'beard'
xălifanta	*xălifane*	'picnic'

To be included here are also nouns referring to entities that are usually referred to as a collectivity in the plural (§4.13.2.):

băṣirta	*băṣire*	'grape'
kămerta	*kămere*	'pear'
năḥalta	*năḥale*	'ear'
tolta	*tole*	'worm'
xămušta	*xămuše*	'apple'

4.15.1.3. Plurals in –e from Singulars in –la

This is found in the following two nouns:

Singular	Plural	
ʾaklela	*ʾakle*	'hen'
dəmʿela	*dəmʿe*	'tear'

In *ʾaklela* the /e/ is originally part of the base (cf. Syriac *kḏaytā*) but is treated as a plural ending after the removal of the singular feminine marker –*la*. The singular form *dəmʿela*, conversely, has been formed by adding the feminine morpheme –*la* to the plural ending.

4.15.1.4. Plurals in –e from Singulars in –u or -i

In such cases the plural ending is attached without replacing the final vowel of the singular. A glide /w/ or /y/ occurs between the two vowels

Singular	Plural	
qaṭu	*qaṭuwe*	'cat'
susi	*susiye*	'horse'

4.15.2. The Plural Ending -*ale*

4.15.2.1. Plurals in –ale from Singulars in –a

In all case the noun is feminine in gender. The ending –*ale* has developed historically from the plural ending *-āṯā*.

Singular	Plural	
ʾaḥra f.	*ʾaḥrale*	'town'

ʾila f.	ʾilale	'hand'
ʾorxa f.	ʾorxale	'way, road'
bərka f.	bərkale	'knee'
karma f.	karmale	'vineyard'
ṣura f.	ṣurale	'shirt'

4.15.2.2. Plurals in –ale from Singulars in –da

| Singular | Plural | |
| kalda | kălale | 'bride' |

4.15.2.3. Plurals in –ale from Singulars in –ela or -el

Singular	Plural	
ʾaklela	ʾaklale	'hen'
ʾorxel f.	ʾorxale	'water-mill'

4.15.3. The Plural Ending –áe

This is a rare alternative historical reflex of the original ending *-āṯā, which has developed by the elision of the consonant between the vowels: -ae < *-ale < -āṯā, e.g.

| Singular | Plural | |
| loʿa | loʿáe | 'room' |

4.15.4. The Plural Ending -ăwae

4.15.4.1. Plurals in –ăwae from Singulars in –a

This is found predominantly with nouns containing two strong radicals referring to inanimate entities. The nouns may be of either gender.

Singular	Plural	
ʾela f.	ʾelăwae	'festival'
bela m.	belăwae	'house'
mala f.	malăwae	'village'
maška f.	maškăwae	'churn'
šata f.	šatăwae	'year'
yoma m.	yomăwae	'day'

4.15.4.2. Plurals in –ăwae from Singulars in –e

Singular	Plural	
lele	*lelăwae*	'night'
gare	*garăwae*	'roof'

4.15.5. The Plural Ending *-ăwale*

This is found in masculine kinship terms ending in -*a*:

Singular	Plural	
ʾăxona	*ʾăxonăwale*	'brother'
băruxa	*băruxăwale*	'friend'
tata	*tatăwale*	'father'

4.15.6. The Plural Ending *-ane*

This is found in nouns ending in –*a* of either gender that refer to inanimate entities:

Singular	Plural	
ʾaḥra f.	*ʾaḥrane*	'town'
ʾăra f.	*ʾărane*	'land'
ʾasər	*ʾaṣrane*	'evening'
bəqăta f.	*bəqătane*	'morning'
guza	*guzane*	'wall'
qora f.	*qorane*	'grave'
ṣura f.	*ṣurane*	'shirt'
tăra	*tărane*	'door'
təqna f.	*təqnane*	'beard'
ṭura f.	*ṭurane*	'mountain'
xabra	*xabrane*	'word'

This plural ending is used also with the noun *məndix* 'thing', which has no singular inflectional ending:

məndix	*məndixane*	'thing'

An exception to the normal restriction of this plural ending to nouns referring to inanimate entities is the nominalized adjective *rŭwa* 'dignitary, important person':

rŭwa	*rŭwane*	'dignitary'

Many nouns forming plurals in –*ane* may form plurals also in –*e*.

4.15.7. The Plural Ending *-ye*

4.15.7.1. *Plurals in –ye from Singulars in –ta*

This is the normal plural ending for singulars ending in the feminine marker:

Singular	Plural	
ʾắqolta	*ʾắqolye*	'ankle'
bắruxta	*bắruxye*	'friend (f.)'
bšəlmanta	*bšəlmanye*	'Muslim woman'
dargušta	*dargušye*	'cradle'
gwenta	*gwenye*	'eyebrow'
hangəlta	*hangəlye*	'armpit'
hulalta	*hulalye*	'Jewish woman'
kəsta	*kəsye*	'bag'
sqəlta	*sqəlye*	'ring'
torta	*torye*	'cow'
xăləsta	*xăləsye*	'sister'

In some words the plural ending is preceded by an /n/, which does not appear in the singular form:

ʾarmota	*ʾarmonye*	'pomegranate'
zbota	*zbonye*	'finger'

In *ʾamota* the original /n/ in the singular has been assimilated to the /t/ of the feminine marker. In *zbota*, on the other hand, the /n/ is non-etymological, in that the singular derives historically from **ṣboʾta* rather than *ṣbonta* (cf. J. Amedia, J. Betanure *ṣắboʾta*, Qaraqosh *ṣubəʾθa*). The /n/ must have arisen by analogy with forms such as *ʾamota*.

In some cases the plural ending *–ye* replaces a final *–ta* in a noun in which the /t/ is historically a radical but has been interpreted as part of the feminine marker. This applies to the following, in which, moreover, the /t/ is a weakened reflex of an original emphatic **ṭ*:

xmata	*xmaye*	'needle'	< **mḥaṭa* m.
sita	*siye*	'span'	< **siṭa* m.

4.15.7.2. Plurals in –ye from Singulars in –la

The –*ye* plural also replaces the variant of the feminine marker –*la*, e.g.

Singular	Plural	
zătila	*zatiye*	'flat bread'
ksila	*ksiye*	'hat'

4.15.7.3. Plurals in –ye from Singulars in –a

The ending is used with a few feminine nouns that end in –*a* rather than a feminine marker:

Singular	Plural	
ṣura f.	*ṣurye*	'shirt'
xlula f.	*xlulye*	'wedding'

4.15.8. The Plural Ending –yale

This ending has arisen by a coalescence of the endings –*ye* and –*ale* and is used to express the plural of some feminine singulars in –*ta*:

Singular	Plural	
dašta	*dašyale*	'field'
ḥašta	*ḥajyale*	'work'

In the loanword *dašta* the /*t*/, in fact, belongs historically to the base of the word in the source language (Kurd. *dašt*) but has come to be interpreted as part of the feminine marker.

4.15.9. The Plural Ending –yane

This ending is attested in a variant plural of *ḥašta*:

Singular	Plural	
ḥašta	*ḥajyane*	'work'

4.15.10. Plural of Unadapted Loanwords

When a loanword is not adapted to Aramaic morphology in the singular by the addition of a singular inflectional ending, the plural is generally formed by adding the plural ending –*e* directly to the base of the word, e.g.

Singular	Plural	
ʾaskuk	*ʾaskuke*	'thimble'
čin	*čine*	'lock of hair'
ġărib	*ġăribe*	'foreigner'
markan	*markăne*	'pot for kneading dough'
bayaquš	*bayaquše*	'owl'
k̭ălašer	*k̭ălašere*	'cock'
mez	*meze*	'table'
xat	*xăte*	'line'

In some cases the base of the loanword may itself be a plural form in the source language, e.g.

məšnayote	Mishnas	< Heb. *mišnayot*

If the singular base ends in a vowel, this vowel is generally retained.

Singular	Plural	
gă̭la	*gă̭lae*	'leaf'
ga	*gae*	'poor'
paro	*paroe*	'snow shovel'
mlăgo	*mlăgoe*	'bud'

In some cases a final *–a* that occurs in the singular of the source form is interpreted as the Aramaic inflectional ending and is replaced by *–e* in the singular, e.g.

tika	*tike*	'piece' (Kurd. *tika*)

If the base ends in *–i*, a glide /y/ is inserted before the plural inflection *–e*, e.g.

gari	*gariye*	'cart'
kuzi	*kuziye*	'container for meat'
mriči	*mričiye*	'small bird'
qori	*qoriye*	'teapot'

4.15.11. Irregular Plurals

Singular	Plural	
baxta	*ʾənše*	'woman'
bela	*bate*	'house'
brata	*blane*	'daughter'
gora	*gure*	'man'
šata	*šəne*	'year'

Some of these nouns also form regular plurals, e.g. *bela* (pl. *bele, belă-wae*), *šata* (pl. *šatăwae*).

4.15.12. Pluralia Tantum

bole	'nasal mucus, snot'
ḥănukae	'Hanukkah'
joḷe	'urine'
lelange	'Purim'
máe	'water'
miye	'intestines'
mone	'cracked wheat'
pătire	'Passover'
puše	'straw'
šəme	'sky'
šišme	'sesame'
xəre	'excrement'

4.16. THE DEFINITE ARTICLE

As is the case with most other trans-Zab Jewish Neo-Aramaic dialects, the Kurdish suffix *-ăke* is used as a definite article. When this suffix is attached, the final inflectional vowel of the noun is removed. In cases where the singular and plural forms are distinguished only by the final vowels, this distinction is lost, e.g.

kalba	'dog'	*kalbăke*	'the dog'
kalbe	'dogs'	*kalbăke*	'the dogs'

If the noun ends in *–i*, this is replaced by the glide */y/* before the definite article suffix, e.g.

susi	'horse'	*susyăke*	'the horse'

4.17. THE INDEFINITE SUFFIX

The Kurdish indefinite suffix *–ek* is attested in a few isolated cases, e.g.

(1) *ʾăjáb bronèk-ye.*ˈ 'He is a wonderful boy' (A:17)

(2) *bróna rába ʿayzèk-yele.*ˈ 'He was a very fine lad.' (A:14)

4.18. NOUNS IN THE ABSOLUTE STATE

There are a few isolated cases of a noun being used without the nominal inflectional ending -*a* outside of annexation constructions. We shall refer to these as nouns in the absolute state. They are mostly nouns that occur in adverbial phrases. The attested cases are the following:

ʾay-šo	'this week'	< šoa	'week'
xa-šo	'a week'	< šoa	'week'
ʾəzyo	'today'	< yoma	'day'

Examples from the text corpus:

(1) *xá-šo qā́me Purìm| šatá Mošé Răbénu ʿalaw ha-šalòm-yela.|* 'A week before Purim was the birthday of Moses our Lord, peace be upon him.' (B:52)

(2) *čún ʾə́zyo šalòm la-xár hamrét.|* 'because today you must not make a greeting' (B:48)

We may also perhaps include here the form *lag* 'side' in adverbial expressions such as the following:

(3) *gezə́lwa mắʿínwa g-ày-lag,| g-ò-lag.|* 'He would go and look this side and that side.' (A:108)

(4) *šoḷtáli l-d-o-làg.|* 'I threw it to one side.' (A:24)

This should be contrasted with the form *laga* with the inflectional vowel, which is used as a preposition.

The noun *naša* 'man, person' is occasionally used in the absolute form *nāš* when indefinite, e.g.

(5) *xá-nāš lága màe|* 'One man (went) to the water (= sea shore)' (E:15)

(6) *mà kéle hól| xa-nā́š ké gənè?|* 'What can a man who is asleep do?' (E:66)

4.19. ANNEXATION OF NOUNS

The most common way of annexing one nominal to another in a genitive relationship is simply to juxtapose the two. The Aramaic particle *d-*, which regularly occurs in such constructions in some NENA dialects, is rarely used in the J. Sanandaj dialect. Examples:

bela băruxi	'the house of my friend'
šəma ʾăxonaf	'the name of her brother'
brona Jăhān	'the son of Jăhān'
lišana bšəlmane	'the language of the Muslims'
pəsra reša	'the meat of the head'
bəqăta šăbat	'the morning of Sabbath'
lele xlula	'the night of the wedding'
hulae Kurdəstān	'the Jews of Kurdistan'

In many cases the stress of the head nominal is retracted, which is a prosodic feature characteristic of non-final position (§1.6.1.), e.g.

(1) *ʾéa bróna Jăhằn-ye.*| 'This is the son of Jăhān'. (A:17)

On many occasions the Iranian *izafe* particle with the form *–e* connects the head noun to the dependent noun in annexation constructions. In the text corpus this is found most frequently when the head noun is an unadapted loanword that ends in a consonant rather than in a nominal inflectional vowel. The stress remains on the head noun and is not moved onto the suffixed particle, e.g.

ʾásər-e šăbàt|	'the eve of Sabbath' (A:51)
šămáš-e kništà|	'the beadle of the synagogue' (A:43)
ráb-e kništàn|	'the rabbi of our synagogue' (A:73)
háft-e xlulà|	'the week of the wedding' (A:34)
ʿáql-e Šlómo ha-mélex	'the intelligence of King Solomon' (A:92)
xa-mŭdất-e trè-yarxe|	'a period of two months' (A:30)
ʾaxə́r-e páyiz	'the end of autumn' (A:81)

In fast speech the /e/ vowel is sometimes pronounced centralized in the region [ə], e.g. *maʿlə́m-e* [maʿlɪm-ə] *kništá* 'the rabbi of the synagogue' (B:51). The transcription of the particle has, however, been normalized as *-e*.

The *izafe* particle is also used to mark a connection of apposition between two nominals, e.g.

ʾaġá-e Dáryuš Xằn|	'the honourable Mr Daryuš'

The *izafe* particle is occasionally used also when the head noun has an Aramaic nominal inflectional vowel. In careful speech the particle follows the final inflectional vowel without coalescence, e.g.

belá-e băruxi	'the house of my friend'
baté-e băruxi	'the houses of my friend'

In fast speech, however, the particle often coalesces with an /a/ or /e/ inflectional vowel. When the head noun ends in –e, therefore, this is indistinguishable from simple juxtaposition, e.g.

bele băruxi	'the house of my friend'
bate băruxi	'the houses of my friend'

The Aramaic genitive particle *d* is used only when the dependent component of an annexation construction contains a demonstrative pronoun. The *d* is attached to the demonstrative rather than to the preceding head noun, e.g.

bela d-o naša	'the house of that man'
qalá d-áy zorná	'the sound of this pipe' (A:45)

The head noun in such cases may have the *izafe* particle. This is found particularly when the head noun is an unadapted loanword, e.g.

fəšár-e d-o-màe[|]	'the pressure of the water' (A:59)

The use of the *d* particle before a demonstrative used attributively at the beginning of the dependent component is not obligatory and it may be omitted, e.g.

bela ʾo naša	'the house of that man'
náše ʾo-belá	'the people of that house' (A:66)

When, however, the demonstrative is an independent pronoun, the *d* particle is obligatory:

bela d-o	'the house of that one (= his house)'
bela d-ay	'the house of this one'

Constructions such as these stand in a paradigmatic relationship with phrases containing the independent genitive particle *did-* with 1st or 2nd person suffixes:

bela d-o	'his house'
bela didox	'your (ms.) house'
bela didi	'my house'

The head noun may take the *izafe* particle:

belá-e d-o	'his house'
belá-e didox	'your (ms.) house'
belá-e didi	'my house'

In a few closely-knit phrases the Aramaic nominal inflectional ending -*a* is removed from the first nominal. This applies to the phrase *reš-šata* 'beginning of the year (= New Year)'. In such cases the word *bela*

'beginning of the year (= New Year)'. In such cases the word *bela* 'house, family' is further shortened to *be*, e.g.

be-xəme	'house/family of his parents-in-law'
be-kalda	'house/family of the bride'

The first and, sometimes, also the second component in such contracted constructions in several cases does not correspond to a noun that can be used independently in the dialect. Some of these are fossilized archaic components that are now found only in these fixed phrases, e.g.

ʾat-xona	'wife of a brother' (cf. *baxta* 'wife', *ʾăxona* 'brother')
temona	'wife of paternal uncle' (cf. *baxta* 'wife', *mama* 'uncle')
ʾat-e baba	'step-mother' (cf. *baxta* 'wife', *tata* 'father')
bab-ena	'door of the eye, forehead' (cf. *tăra* 'door')
bar ʾamona	'son of uncle' (cf. *brona* 'son', *mama* 'uncle')
bat ʾamona	'daughter of uncle' (cf. *brata* 'daughter')
maʿlela	'eve of a festival' (*maʿle* + *ʾela* 'festival')

Note also the form *mare* 'owner', which corresponds to the construct form of the word in earlier Aramaic and is used only in annexation constructions, e.g.

mare bela	'householder'
mare tʷkana	'shopkeeper'

4.20. NOUN + ADJECTIVE COMPOUND

A compound phrase may be formed from an inseparable sequence of a noun and an adjective. This applies to the following:

təqna-xwara	'old man'	< *təqna* 'beard' + *xwara* 'white'

The plural is formed by attaching the plural inflection to the end of the phrase only: *təqna-xware* 'old men'.

5. ADJECTIVES

5.1. PRELIMINARY REMARKS

Adjectives of Aramaic stock and loanwords that have been adapted to Aramaic morphology are inflected for gender and number. In addition to the basic masculine singular form they are inflected for the feminine singular and the plural. They exhibit a relatively small number of morphological patterns. Many of the loanwords, however, are not adapted to Aramaic morphology and are invariable in form, without inflection for gender or number.

Adjectives are closely related morphologically to nouns and most can, indeed, stand independently and function as nouns, in which case they become referential rather than attributive expressions.

5.2. ARAMAIC ADJECTIVAL PATTERNS

(1) CaCa, fs. CaCta, pl. CaCe

      xala   'new'   *xalta* (fs.)   *xale* (pl.)

The adjective *rŭwa* 'big' is irregular, in that the fs. has the pattern of *CaCta*, whereas the ms. and pl. are formed on the base *rŭw-*. Judging by other NENA dialects, the fs. form is more conservative of the original form of the adjective:

      rŭwa   'big'   *rabta* (fs.)   *rŭwe* (pl.)

(2) CoCa, fs. CoCta, pl. CoCe

koma	'black'	*komta* (fs.)	*kome* (pl.)
koša	'low'	*košta* (fs.)	*koše* (pl.)
zora	'small'	*zorta* (fs.)	*zore* (pl.)

(3) CCaCa, fs. CCaCta, pl. CCaCa

    xwara   'white'   *xwarta* (fs.)   *xware* (pl.)

(4) CCoCa, fs. CCoCta, pl. CCoCe

    smoqa   'red'   *smoqta* (fs.)   *smoqe* (pl.)

(5) CCoa, fs. CCota, pl. CCoe

This is the equivalent of pattern (4) from final weak roots:

    ntoa   'high'   *ntota* (fs.)   *ntoe* (pl.)

(6) CCiCa, fs. CCiCta, pl. CCiCe

This is the pattern of the intransitive or passive resultative participle and can be used productively from verbal roots to create attributive expressions denoting a resultant property:

    kpina   'hungry'   *kpinta* (fs.)   *kpine* (pl.)
    qṭila   'killed'   *qṭilta* (fs.)   *qṭile* (pl.)
    skira   'inebriated' *skirta* (fs.)   *skire* (pl.)
    twira   'broken'   *twirta* (fs.)   *twire* (pl.)
    xmiṣa   'pickled'   *xmiṣta* (fs.)   *xmiṣe* (pl.)
    xriwa   'bad'   *xriwta* (fs.)   *xriwe* (pl.)

(7) CiCa, fs. CiCta, pl. CiCe

This is the equivalent of pattern (6) from middle /y/ and initial /ʾ/ (1) (§3.14.1.) roots:

    ʾiqa   'narrow'   *ʾiqta* (fs.)   *ʾiqe* (pl.)
    kipa   'bent'   *kipta* (fs.)   *kipe* (pl.)
    mila   'dead'   *milta* (fs.)   *mile* (pl.)
    wiša   'dry'   *wišta* (fs.)   *wiše* (pl.)
    xila   'eaten'   *xilta* (fs.)   *xile* (pl.)

(8) CəCCa, fs. CCita, pl. CCiCe

This is the equivalent of pattern (6) from final /y/ roots. In the ms. and pl. forms the original syllabification **CCiya* and **CCiye* has been restructured. The occurrence of the stop /t/ after the vowel in the feminine pattern *CCita*

seems to have arisen by analogy with the occurrence of the stop in adjectival patterns that end in a consonant.

ʾəwya	'thick'	ʾwita (fs.)	ʾəwye (pl.)
jəḥya	'tired'	jḥita (fs.)	jəḥye (pl.)
kərya	'short'	krita (fs.)	kərye (pl.)
qənya	'blue'	qnita (fs.)	qənye (pl.)
rəpya	'thin (liquid)'	rpita (fs.)	rəpye (pl.)
səḥya	'thirsty'	sḥita (fs.)	səḥye (pl.)
ṭəmya	'unclean'	ṭmita (fs.)	ṭəmye (pl.)
xəlya	'sweet'	xlita (fs.)	xəlye (pl.)

The word *xəlya* 'sweet' has the variant fs. form *xəlta*.

(9) CəCCa, fs. CCəCta, pl. CəCCe

The pattern *CəCCa* is attested in strong roots only marginally:

nəqla	'thin'	nqəlta (fs.)	nəqle (pl.)

(10) CăCiCa, fs. CăCiCta, pl. CăCiCe

băsima	'pleasant'	băsimta (fs.)	băsime (pl.)
dăqiqa	'thin, fine'	dăqiqta (fs.)	dăqiqe (pl.)
mărira	'bitter'	mărirta (fs.)	mărire (pl.)
păšixa	'merry'	păšixta (fs.)	păšixe (pl.)
qărira	'cold'	qărirta (fs.)	qărire (pl.)
răkixa	'soft'	răkixta (fs.)	răkixe (pl.)
šămina	'fat'	šăminta (fs.)	šămine (pl.)
šăxina	'hot'	šăxinta (fs.)	šăxine (pl.)
tălila	'wet'	tălilta (fs.)	tălile (pl.)
yărixa	'long'	yărixta (fs.)	yărixe (pl.)

(11) CăCuCa, fs. CăCuCta, pl. CăCuCe

ʾăquša	'thick (liquid)'	ʾaqušta (fs.)	ʾăquše (pl.)
gărusa	'broad; coarse'	gărusta (fs.)	găruse (pl.)
jămuza	'cold'	jămuzta (fs.)	jămuze (pl.)
măluxa	'salty'	măluxta (fs.)	măluxe (pl.)
păṭuxa	'wide'	păṭuxta (fs.)	păṭuxe (pl.)
qălula	'light'	qălulta (fs.)	qălule (pl.)
răduxa	'boiling'	răduxta (fs.)	răduxe (pl.)

| *xămuṣa* | 'sour' | *xămuṣta* (fs.) | *xămuṣe* (pl.) |
| *yăqura* | 'difficult' | *yăqurta* (fs.) | *yăqure* (pl.) |

(12) CăuCa, fs. CăuCta, pl. CăuCe

This is equivalent to pattern (11) and is found in the following form, which is derived historically from a root with an original medial laryngal *h:

| *băura* | 'bright' | *băurta* (fs.) | *băure* (pl.) |

(13) CayCa, fs. CayCta, pl. CayCe

This pattern is attested in the following loanwords that have adapted to Aramaic inflectional morphology:

| *ʿayza* | 'good; | *ʿayzta* ~ *ʿasta* (fs.) | *ʿayze* (pl.) |
| *zayra* | 'yellow' | *zayrta* (fs.) | *zayre* (pl.) |

5.3. ADJECTIVES WITH AFFIXES

5.3.1. *-ana* (fs. *-anta*, pl. *-ane*)

Adjectives with this affix include:

| *ʾəlyana* | 'upper' | *ʾəlyanta* (fs.) | *ʾəlyane* (pl.) |
| *texana* | 'lower' | *texanta* (fs.) | *texane* (pl.) |

Forms ending in –*ana* listed in §4.14.3. as active participles often function as attributes of nouns and may be included here, e.g.

baxyana	'weepy'	< *bxy* 'to weep'
fahmana	'understanding'	< *fhm* 'to understand'
maqlana	'burning'	< *m-ql* 'to burn'

Several adjectives are derived from nouns by means of this affix, e.g.

dewana	'made of gold'	< *dewa* 'gold'
jəgrana	'angry'	< *jəgr* 'anger'
řangana	'colourful'	< *řang* 'colour'
semana	'made of silver'	< *sema* 'silver'
ṭinana	'earthenware'	< *ṭina* 'earth, clay'

The –*ana* affix is sometimes added to a passive resultative participle. The effect is to add a greater intensity to the attribute, with regard to its extent or its permanence, e.g.

| *bəzyana* | 'riddled with holes' | < *bəzya* (*bzy* 'to make a hole') |

5.4. ADJECTIVES OF INVARIABLE FORM

5.4.1. Forms with final –a

Some adjectives with a final –a vowel are of invariable form, in that they have the same form irrespective of gender and number. This applies to *qarwa* 'near, nearby' and *zmaṭa* 'full':

bela (m.) *qarwa*	'a nearby house'
mala (f.) *qarwa*	'a nearby village'
malăwae (pl.) *qarwa*	'nearby villages'

bela (m.) *zmaṭa*	'a full house'
karma (f.) *zmaṭa*	'a full vineyard'
karmale (pl.) *zmaṭa*	'full vineyards'

5.4.2. *xet*

The category of invariable adjectives include the non-attributive modifier *xet* 'other':

ʾo gora xet (ms.)	'the other man'
ʾo baxta xet (fs.)	'the other woman'
ʾo naše xet (pl.)	'the other people'

5.4.3. Unadapted Loanwords

Many adjectives that are loans from Kurdish or Persian are unadapted to Aramaic morphology and are of an invariable form. Some examples of these are as follows:

ʾabi	'blue'
gwərj	'fast'
kwər	'blind'
qaway	'brown'
quḷ	'deep'
qurs	'heavy'
ṛut	'naked'
sāf	'smooth'
səft	'hard'
šet	'mad'
xošhāl	'happy'
zyadi	'excessive'

This category includes gentilic adjectives ending in –*i*, e.g.

sanandaji	'from Sanandaj'
bijari	'from Bijar'
săqəzi	'from Săqəz'

5.5. COMPOUNDS

Some attributive expressions are compound forms consisting of two components. The most common types of compounds are those that begin with the elements *mare-* (literally: 'master of') or *be-* 'without'. These are all invariable in form, even when the second element has an Aramaic nominal ending, e.g.

mare-qəwta	'strong'
mare-dolta	'rich'
be-ʿaql	'stupid
be-čara	'with no solution, hopeless, desperate
be-ḥaya	'shameless'
be-mara	'ownerless, abandoned'
be-təmʿa	'tasteless'
be-qəwta	'weak'

Other attested forms have a preposition or numeral as their first component, e.g.

ba-təmʿa	'tasty'
tre gyane	'pregnant' (literally: two souls)

6. NUMERALS

6.1. CARDINALS

6.1.1. Numerals 1-10

These numerals are of invariable form and are not inflected for gender. They derive historically from the form used with masculine nouns in earlier Aramaic:

1	*xa*
2	*tre*
3	*təlḥa*
4	*ʾarba*
5	*xamša*
6	*ʾəšta*
7	*šoa*
8	*tmanya*
9	*ʾəčʿa*
10	*ʾəsra*

The pharyngal /ḥ/ in *təlḥa* has developed from an original *$\underline{t}$. This must have been conditioned by the original presence of suprasegmental pharyngalization in the word (*ˤ*$tl\bar{a}\underline{t}\bar{a}$ cf. J. Urmi $^+$*taha*, C. Urmi $^+$*tla*). After the weakening of the pharyngalization elsewhere in the word a vestige was left in the form of the pharyngal segment /ḥ/. The preservation of the historical pharyngal /ʿ/ in *ʾəčʿa* must, likewise, have been conditioned by a suprasegmental pharyngalization at some stage of its development.

6.1.2. Numerals 11-19

These also are invariable and derive historically from the form that was originally used with masculine nouns:

11   *xesar*
12   *tresar*
13   *təlḥasar*
14   *ʾarbasar*
15   *xamsar*
16   *ʾəštasar*
17   *šoasar*
18   *tmaʿnisar*
19   *ʾəčʿasar*

The presence of the unetymological pharyngal /ʿ/ in *tmaʿnisar* was conditioned by the present of suprasegmental pharyngalization in the word at an earlier period (§1.3.3.4.), which is still found in some NENA dialects, e.g. J. Urmi ⁺*tmanessar*, C. Urmi ⁺*tmanissar*. The form *xamsar* has arisen by syncope of the first of two syllables beginning with a sibilant (< *xamšasar*)

6.1.3. Tens

20   *ʾəsri*
30   *ṭlai*
40   *ʾarbi*
50   *xamši*
60   *ʾəšti*
70   *šoi*
80   *tmaʿni*
90   *ʾəčʿi*

The pharyngal /ḥ/, which is found in *təlḥa* and *təlḥasar*, is absent in *ṭlai*. The form *tmaʿni* contains an unetymological /ʿ/ as in *tmaʿnisar*, reflecting the original pharyngalization of the word.

6.1.4. Hundreds

100   *ʾəma*
200   *tre ʾəme, tré-me*
300   *təlḥa ʾəme, təlḥá-me*
400   *ʾarba ʾəme, ʾarbá-me*
500   *xamša ʾəme, xamšá-me*
600   *ʾəšta ʾəme, xamšá-me*
700   *šoa ʾəme, šoá-me*
800   *tmanya ʾəme, tmanyá-me*
900   *ʾəčʿa ʾəme, ʾəčʿá-me*

The form *ʾəma* lacks the gemination of the */m/* that is found in other NENA dialects (*ʾəmma*). This is due to the general weakening of consonant gemination in J. Sanandaj. In fast speech the 'hundred' element is combined with the preceding numeral in the same stress group, with the stress falling on the first numeral.

6.1.5. Thousands

1,000	*ʾalpa*
2,000	*tre ʾalpe*
3,000	*təlḥa ʾalpe*
4,000	*ʾarba ʾalpe*
5,000	*xamša ʾalpe*

6.1.6. Combination of Numerals

The numerals are combined in descending order, with each item linked by the conjunction *u*, e.g. *ʾəsri-u ʾarba* '24', *ʾarbi-u xamša* '45', *ʾəma-u ʾəsri-u təlḥa* '123', *ʾalpa-u ʾəčʿá-me-u ʾəčʿi-u xa* '1991'.

6.1.7. Cardinal Numerals with Pronominal Suffixes

Pronominal suffixes may be attached to the cardinals 2–10 to form partitive expressions. In such cases the numerals have the following forms:

1pl. Suffix

xayan, xắnan	'one of us'
tə́rnan, tə́nan	'two of us'
təlḥắnan	'three of us'
ʾarbắnan	'four of us'
xamšắnan	'five of us'
ʾəštắnan	'six of us'
šoắnan	'seven of us'
tmanyắnan	'eight of us'
ʾəčʿắnan	'nine of us'
ʾəsrắnan	'ten of us'

2pl. Suffix

xayắxun	'one of you'
tərnắxun, tənắxun, trắxun	'two of you'

tə́lḥăxun	'three of you'
ʾárbăxun	'four of you'
xámšăxun	'five of you'
ʾə́štăxun	'six of you'
šóăxun	'seven of you'
tmányăxun	'eight of you'
ʾə́čʿăxun	'nine of you'
ʾə́srăxun	'ten of you'

3pl. Suffix

xayu, xayau	'one of them'
tə́nu, tráu, trawau	'two of them'
tə́lḥau, təlḥawau	'three of them'
ʾárbau, ʾarbawau	'four of them'
xámšau, xamšawau	'five of them'
ʾə́štau, ʾə́štawau	'six of them'
šóau, šoawau	'seven of them'
tmányau, tmanyawau	'eight of them'
ʾə́čʿau, ʾəčʿawau	'nine of them'
ʾə́srau, ʾəsrawau	'ten of them'

The forms with 1pl. suffixes may be contractions of phrases consisting of the cardinal and the preposition *mən* 'from'. The stress is placed on the final syllable of the cardinal, preceding the pronominal suffix. This would correspond to the stress pattern of the original stress group:

> *təlḥə́nan*   < **təlḥá-mənan*   cf. J. Urmi +*tahamnan*

In the form *xayan* the 1pl. suffix is attached to the numeral base with a separating glide /y/.

The forms with 2pl. suffixes have the suffixes attached directly to the numeral base, the numeral *xa* having a separating glide.

The paradigm with 3pl. suffixes has the 3pl. suffix –*u* attached directly to the numeral but with retention of the final –*a*. Alternative forms are used for most items in which the final syllable is reduplicated. The –*a* vowel of the numerals 1 and 3–10 has been extended by analogy to the numeral 2.

6.2. ORDINALS

Ordinals are formed by attaching the ending –*min* to the cardinal forms. These forms either remain invariable or are inflected for gender and number

in agreement with the noun they qualify. The cardinal *xa* 'one' is an exception in that it does not usually form an ordinal in this way but rather is replaced by the invariable loan form *ʾăwaḷ*. The numeral *tre* 'two' is optionally replaced by the loan form *du-*. The ordinal is placed either before or the head noun. When following the noun, the noun may connected to it by the *izafe* particle.

'The first man'	*ʾăwaḷ gora*	*gora ʾăwaḷ*	*gorá-e ʾăwaḷ*
'The first woman'	*ʾăwaḷ baxta*	*baxta ʾăwaḷ*	*baxtá-e ʾăwaḷ*
'The first people'	*ʾăwaḷ naše*	*naše ʾăwaḷ*	*našé-e ʾăwaḷ*
'The second man'	*tremin gora*	*gora tremin*	*gorá-e tremin*
	dumin gora	*gora dumin*	*gorá-e dumin*
'The second woman'	*tremin baxta*	*baxta tremin*	*baxtá-e tremin*
	treminta baxta	*baxta treminta*	*baxtá-e treminta*
	dumin baxta	*baxta dumin*	*baxtá-e dumin*
'The second people'	*tremin naše*	*naše tremin*	*našé-e tremin*
	tremine naše	*naše tremine*	*našé-e tremine*
	dumin naše	*naše dumin*	*našé-e dumin*
'The third man'	*təlḥamin gora*	*gora təlḥamin*	*gorá-e təlḥamin*
'The third woman'	*təlḥamin baxta*	*baxta təlḥamin*	*baxtá-e təlḥamin*
	təlḥaminta baxta	*baxta təlḥaminta*	*baxtá-e təlḥaminta*
'The third people'	*təlḥamin naše*	*naše təlḥamin*	*našé-e təlḥamin*
	təlḥamine naše	*naše təlḥamine*	*našé-e təlḥamine*
'The fourth man'	*ʾarbamin gora*	*gora ʾarbamin*	*gorá-e ʾarbamin*
'The fourth woman'	*ʾarbamin baxta*	*baxta ʾarbamin*	*baxtá-e ʾarbamin*
	ʾarbaminta baxta	*baxta ʾarbaminta*	*baxtá-e ʾarbaminta*
'The fourth people'	*ʾarbamin naše*	*naše ʾarbamin*	*našé-e ʾarbamin*
	ʾarbamine naše	*naše ʾarbamine*	*našé-e ʾarbamine*

6.3. FRACTIONS

Special words for fractions exist only for 'half' and 'quarter':

'half'	*pəlga*
'quarter'	*čarak, robʾ*

When combined with a cardinal numeral, the word *pəlga* has the ending *–e*, which is a vestige of an archaic form of the 3ms. pronominal suffix, e.g. *tre-u pəlge* 'two and a half' (originally: 'two and its half').

6.4. DAYS OF THE WEEK

xšaba	'Sunday'
trúšab	'Monday'
təlḥúšab	'Tuesday'
ʾarbúšab	'Wednesday'
xamšúšab	'Thursday'
rotá	'Friday'
šăbát	'Saturday'

The days Sunday—Thursday are derived historically from the phrases *xa b-šaba 'the first in the week', *tre b-šaba 'the second in the week', etc. The words for 'Monday'—'Thursday' are in the absolute state without the final nominal inflectional vowel *-a*.

6.5. SEASONS

sətwa	'Winter'
bahār	'Spring'
qeṭa	'Summer'
payiz	'Autumn'

7. PARTICLES

7.1. PRELIMINARY REMARKS

The term 'particle' is used in a broad sense to include all items that do not fall into the categories of noun, pronoun, adjective or verb. Some of the particles take nouns as their complement to express relations between elements in a clause, others take clauses as their complement to express relations between clauses. These two classes of particle are termed 'prepositions' and 'clausal conjunctions' respectively. The large residue of particles that do not fall into one of these two classes have various disparate functions, including adverbs, quantifiers, determiners, connectives and interrogative particles. Apart from the prepositions, most particles are uninflected.

7.2. ADVERBS

There is no productive adverbial inflectional ending that can be used freely to create adverbs from nouns or adjectives.

A feature that is exhibited by some adverbs is the default position of the stress on the penultimate syllable, e.g. *rába* 'much', *qóme* 'tomorrow', *xắre* 'backwards, afterwards', *qắme* 'forwards'. If such a form is trisyllabic, the stress may be retracted to the antepenultimate syllable in non-pausal contexts, e.g. *bəqắta* (default)—*bə́qăta* (non-pausal) 'in the morning'. Many adverbs, however, exhibit the stress patterns of nouns, with the default position on the final syllable and retraction in non-pausal contexts (§1.6.2.).

Some adverbials of Aramaic origin are nouns in the absolute state without a nominal inflectional ending. This applies, for example, to *ʾə́zyo* (< **ʾəd-yom*), *ʾay-šo* 'this week'.

We present below a list of the adverbial particles that are used in the dialect.

7.2.1. Spatial Adverbs

lăxa	'here'
doka	'there'
láʕel, m-láʕel	'above'
tex, m-tex	'below'
warya	'outside'
loʕa	'inside'
qä́me	'forwards'
xä́re	'backwards'

7.2.2. Temporal Adverbs

ʾăta	'now'
ʾə́zyo	'today'
tə́mal	'yesterday'
láḥmal	'the day before yesterday'
batal-láḥmal	'three days ago'
batal-batal-láḥmal	'four days ago'
tə́mal lele	'last night'
qóme, qáwme	'tomorrow'
báro	'the day after tomorrow'
bóro	'in two days time'
batal-bóro	'in three days time'
bəqä́ta, bəqătef-o	'in the morning'
sălāt	'early'
bəqä́ta sălāt	'early in the morning'
drága	'late'
kora	'(at) midday'
qä́me-o	'formerly, in the past'
qabla	'formerly, in the past'
bár-d-o	'afterwards, then'
xăráe	'in the end, afterwards'
šə́tqa, šata qămaynta	'last year'
tálda	'two years ago'
taltálda	'three years ago'
la-ʕolam	'never'
hič ka	'never'
ʾáy-ka	'this time'

7.2.3. Interrogative Adverbs

léka, lekane	'where? whither?'
m-léka	'whence?'
héka	'where' (rare)
lə́ma	'when?'
dax, ma-jor	'how?'
čəkma	'how many? how much?'
tá-ma, baqa ma	'why?'
mo	'why?' (used when the opposite is expected)

7.2.4. Adverbs of Manner

ʾăxa	'thus'
háya, gurj	'quickly'
yăwāš, yăwāš yăwāš	'slowly'
ʿayza	'well'
zăe	'badly'

7.3. QUANTIFIERS

rába	'much, many'
kŭle	'all'
kul	'each, every'
xanči	'a little quantity of'
xan	'a little quantity of'
xašti	'a little quantity of'
xa-baṣor	'a little quantity of'
xa-riza	'a little quantity of'
xa-ʿəda	'a few (from a group)'
hič	'no, none'

7.4. PREPOSITIONS

Prepositions are combined with nominals or pronominal suffixes. In some cases they may also be attached to adverbs. They are often combined with their complement in the same stress group, especially when they are mono-syllabic. This is obligatory in the case of vowelless prepositions such as *b-* and *m-*.

When the complement of a preposition is a demonstrative pronoun or a nominal phrase with an initial demonstrative, it is the norm in the case of several prepositions for them to be connected to the complement with the annexation particle *d-* attached to the demonstrative. This annexation particle is not used when there is no demonstrative. In some cases prepositions are connected to a noun with the *izafe* particle *–e*. The pronominal suffixes that are attached to prepositions are the same as those that are attached to nouns (§2.3.). Examples of prepositions include the following.

7.4.1. *ba-, b-* 'in, at, with'

These are variants of the same preposition. The long form *ba-* is combined with *d-* when the complement opens with a demonstrative pronoun:

ba-pătiré[|] (A:67)	'at Passover'
ba-tănurà[|] (A:67)	'in the oven'
ba-d-ó mudătà[|] (A:68)	'at that period'
ba-d-áy jóra (A:103)	'in that way'

It does not take pronominal suffixes. A pronominal complement must be expressed by an independent demonstrative (3rd person) or the independent genitive particle with a suffix (1st, 2nd person):

ba-d-o	'in it'
ba-d-onye	'in them'
ba-didi	'in me'
ba-didox	'in you'

The short form *b-* is generally not combined with *d-* when followed by a demonstrative:

b-šǝmá (A:41)	'by the name (of)'
b-Israyél (A:62)	'in Israel'
b-ay-kujǎwáe (A:45)	'in these streets'
b-o skita	'with that knife'

The short form *b-* is not used before independent demonstratives or the independent genitive particle.

7.4.2. *bar* 'after, behind'

This is used in both a temporal and a spatial sense. It is combined with *d-* before demonstratives:

bár pə́lga-lele (A:100)	'after midnight'
bar xa-šo	'after a week'
bar d-o gora	'behind that man'
bar-d-o	'after that'
bar d-éa	'after this'
bar d-ənyexáe	'after these'
bar didi	'after me'

It may take pronominal suffixes:

baref	'behind him'
baraf	'behind her'

It may be combined with the preposition *m-*:

m-bàraf⌐ (A:46)	'behind her'

7.4.3. *baqa* 'to, for'

This is combined with *d-* before demonstratives and may take pronominal suffixes:

baqa tati	'to, for my father'
baqa d-o gora	'to, for that man'
baqa d-o	'to, for him'
baqa d-onye	'to, for them'
baqa d-éa	'to, for this'
baqa didi	'to, for me'
baqef	'to, for him
baqi	'to, for me'

7.4.4. *bayn* 'between'

This particle is regularly connected to its complement by the *izafe* element *-e*:

bayn-e tati-u daǎki	'between my father and my mother'
bayn-e ʾo gora-u ʾo-baxta	'between that man and that woman'

It may take plural pronominal suffixes:

baynan	'between us'

7.4.5. *be* **'without'**

> *be-puḷe*   'without money'

Before demonstratives it is combined with the particle *d-*:

> *be d-o*   'without that'
> *be d-o puḷe*   'without that money'

7.4.6. *dawr, ba-dawr* **'around'**

This particle is regularly connected to its complement by the *izafe* element *-e*. The annexation particle *d-* is added before an independent demonstrative but not normally before an attributive demonstrative.

> *dawr-e mez*   'around the table'
> *ba-dawr-e qat*   'around the bed'
> *ba-dawr-e ʾo bela*   'around that house'
> *ba-dawr-e d-o*   'around that one, around him'
> *ba-dawr-e didi*

It may take pronominal suffixes:

> *dawran*   'around us'

A variant form is used that exhibits reduplification of the base of the preposition:

> *dawrandawr-e Sanandāj*   'around Sanandaj'

7.4.7. *ga-, g-* **'in (spatial)', 'at, on (temporal)'**

Before nouns that are not preceded by demonstratives and before pronominal suffixes the preposition has the long form *ga-*:

> *ga-bela*   'in the house'
> *gaef*   'in it'
> *gau*   'in them'

When it takes an independent demonstrative as its complement, it has the long form *ga-* and is connected to the demonstrative by the annexation particle *d-*:

> *ga-d-óa*   'in that'
> *ga-d-éa*   'in this'

When the complement is a nominal phrase opening with an attributive demonstrative, the preposition may have the long form followed by the annexation particle *d-*:

> *ga-d-o tʷka*   'in that place'

In most cases in the text corpus, however, the annexation particle is omitted in this context and the */a/* vowel of the preposition is elided before the vowel of the demonstrative, e.g.

> *g-o-belà*ˈ (A:74)   'in that house'
> *g-ay-belá*ˈ (A:71)   'in this house'
> *g-ò-lele*ˈ (A:88)   'on that night'
> *g-ó waxtắra-č*ˈ (A:29)   'at that time'

7.4.8. *ġer ʾaz* 'apart from'

This is a loan from Persian. It is combined with *d-* before demonstratives. It may be combined with the independent genitive particle but not with pronominal suffixes:

> *ġer ʾaz tati*   'apart from my father'
> *ġer ʾaz d-o gora*   'apart from that man'
> *ġer ʾaz d-o*   'apart from him'
> *ġer ʾaz d-onye*   'apart from them'
> *ġer ʾaz d-éa*   'apart from this'
> *ġer ʾaz didi*   'apart from me'

7.4.9. *həl-, ʾəl-* 'to, for; object marker'

This preposition has the basic form *həl-* before nouns and *ʾəl-* before pronominal suffixes. The form *həl* is used before a demonstrative pronoun, combined with *d-*, and before the independent genitive particle. In principle the form *həl-* has the meaning of object marker, whereas *ʾəl-* may have the sense of 'to, for' and object marker:

> *həl-tati gắrəš*   'He pulls my father'
> *həl-d-o gora gắrəš*   'He pulls that man'
> *həl-d-o gắrəš*   'He pulls him/her'
> *həl-d-onye gắrəš*   'He pulls them'
> *həl-didi gắrəš*   'He pulls me'
>
> *kwile ʾəlef*   'They give it to him'
> *kwile ʾəli*   'They give it to me'

The form *həl-* is sometimes phonetically reduced. After vowels the initial *hə-* may be elided. In such cases the preposition is still represented as *həl-* in the transcription for the sake of orthographic consistency, e.g.

(1) *markwíwala həl-d-ó* [l-d-oː] *susì.*[|] 'They would cause her to mount the horse'. (A:46)

(2) *ʾáy baxtá-u ʾáy gorà*[|] *băxeḷì lablíwa həl-d-áy* [l-d-aj] *góra xét* 'The woman and man envied the other man' (A:103)

Before demonstratives and the independent genitive particle *həl-* may be omitted altogether, e.g.

> *d-o gărəš*   'He pulls him/her'
> *didi gărəš*   'He pulls me'

(3) *šoḷtáli d-o-làg.*[|] 'I threw it to that side.' (A:24)

7.4.10. *laga* 'at the home of, by the side of, with'

> *laga tati*   'at my father's home'
> *laga d-o gora*   'at the home of that man'
> *laga d-o*   'at the home of that one, at his/her home'
> *lagef*   'at his home'

Before a noun, the preposition *laga* is sometimes shortened to *lā*. Note that this has a long final vowel, which distinguishes it from the negative particle *la*, e.g.

(1) *kűle hulaé lā-làxle yelú.*[|] 'All the Jews were close to one another.' (A:44)

(2) *dasgiraní yătá lā-ʾilì.*[|] 'My betrothed sits by my side.' (A:25)

(3) *lā-ʾəlhá lolenawa-ò.*[|] 'I was beseeching God' (literally: in the presence of God).

7.4.11. *mangal, mangol* 'like'

> *mangal tati*   'like my father'
> *mangal d-o*   'like that one, like him'
> *mangal d-o gora*   'like that man'
> *mangalef*   'like him'

This particle is occasionally used with the *izafe* particle:

> *mangol-e tati*   'like my father'

7.4.12. *mən, m-* 'from'

Before nouns without a demonstrative it normally has the full form *mən*, the short form *m-* being only marginally attested:

mən-bela	'from the house'
m-ṯurane	'from the mountains'

Before a noun with a demonstrative or before an independent demonstrative, the preposition in most cases has its full form and is connected to the demonstrative by the annexation particle *d-*:

mən d-o-tʷka	'from that place'
mən-d-óa	'from that one'
mən-d-éa	'from this one'

Occasionally a demonstrative is combined with the short form *m-* without the *d* particle, e.g. *m-éa* 'from this' (B:51).

The preposition may take pronominal suffixes. With suffixes the form *mən-* may have the sense of 'with' in addition to 'from'. Before nouns 'with' is expressed by the extended form *məntằke* (§7.4.13.):

mənef	'from/with him'
mənaf	'from/with her'

7.4.13. *məntằke* 'with'

The annexation particle *d-* is obligatory before an independent demonstrative, but is optional before an attributive demonstrative qualifying a noun:

məntằke tati	'with my father'
məntằke ʾo naša ~ d-o naša	'with that man'
məntằke d-o	'with that one'
məntằke d-onye	'with those'
məntằkef	'with him'

7.4.14. *pliyaw, ga-pliyaw* 'amid, between'

pliyaw tati-u daăki	'between my father and my mother'
pliyaw d-o gora-u d-o-baxta	'between that man and that woman'
pliyaw d-oni	'between them'
pliyawan	'between us'

7.4.15. *qã́me, qam* 'before, in front of'

This is used in both a temporal and a spatial sense. The annexation particle *d-* is obligatory before an independent demonstrative, but is optional before an attributive demonstrative qualifying a noun:

qã́me/qam molef	'before his death'
qã́me/qam tati	'in front of my father'
qã́me/qam ʾo naša ~ d-o naša	'in front of that person'
qã́me/qam d-o	'in front of that one, in front of him'
qã́mef	'in front of him'

It may be combined with the preposition *m-*:

m-qã́məf	'in front of him'

7.4.16. *reša, reš* 'upon'

This preposition is used either with or without the nominal inflectional vowel *–a*. The annexation particle *d-* is obligatory before an independent demonstrative, but is optional before an attributive demonstrative qualifying a noun:

reša mez, reš mez	'on the table'
reša ʾo-mez, reš ʾo-mez	'on that table'
reša d-o mez, reš d-o mez	'on that table'
reša d-o, reš d-o	'on that one, on it'
rešef	'on him, on it'

7.4.17. *ta* 'to, for; at (time); until'

The annexation particle *d-* is obligatory before an independent demonstrative, but is not used before an attributive demonstrative qualifying a noun. The preposition does not take pronominal suffixes:

ta-broni	'to, for my son'
ta ʾo naša	'for that man'
ta-d-o	'to, for him'
ta-didan	'to, for us'

When used in the sense of 'until' a period of time, it may be followed by the subordinating particle *ge*, e.g.

(1) *bə́qắta gezéxwa kništà˺ xét là kexwá-o belá˺ har-tá-ge lelè.˺* 'In the morning we went to the synagogue and we did not come back home again until night.' (B:74)

7.4.18. *tʷka* 'in place of, instead of'

This is a noun used adverbially. It is combined with *d-* before demonstratives and may take pronominal suffixes:

tʷka tati	'instead of my father'
tʷka d-o gora	'instead that man'
tʷka d-o	'instead him'
tʷka d-onye	'instead them'
tʷka didi	'instead me'
tʷkef	'instead him
tʷki	'instead me'

7.4.19. *txela, txel* 'under'

The preposition is used either with or without the nominal inflectional vowel *–a*. The annexation particle *d-* is obligatory before an independent demonstrative, but is optional before an attributive demonstrative qualifying a noun:

txela mez, txel mez	'under the table'
txela d-o mez, txel d-o mez	'under that table'
txela ʾo mez, txel ʾo mez	'under that table'
txela d-o, txel d-o	'under that one'
txelaf	'under it (f.)'

7.5. MISCELLANEOUS UNINFLECTED PARTICLES

These may operate within a clause or may function as clausal conjunctions. The majority are loanwords.

ʾăgar	'if'
ʾăgar-nam	'if not'
ʾaṣlan	'in particular'
ʾăwălan	'at first'
ʾăyane	presentative particle
ʾenṣafan	'indeed, in truth'
-əč, -č (after vowel)	'too, also; as for'
ʾəqra	'so much; so many'
ʾi	'yes'
ʾinke	subordinating particle
ba-	deontic particle
baʿdan	'afterwards, then'
baška, baškam	'perhaps'

bāz, bāz-ham	'still, again'
biš	'more (preceding adjectives)'
čănānče	'if, whether'
čun	'because; when'
da	'now (combined with imperative)'
daxom	'even, even if'
dubára	'again'
făqat	'only'
ġer ʾaz	'apart from'
ha	'presentative particle'
halbăta	'of course'
ham	'also'
ham-čonin	'also the same'
hămeša	'always'
har	'just; still; each'
har-či	'everything that; although'
heštan	'still, yet'
hič, hiči	'none, nothing'
ja	'now (connective)'
jya	'on one side; separate'
ke	subordinator (§12.1.1.2., §12.5.1.)
la	'no, negator'
maᶜmulan	'generally'
mǻgar	'perhaps'
mar	deontic particle
măsălan	'for example'
maxṣuṣan	'especially'
pas	'then, so'
rajəʾ ba-	'concerning'
rasi	'in truth, in fact'
šayad	'perhaps'
tanha	'alone, only'
wa	presentative particle
wǻle	'but'
xan	'a little'
xéta	filler for word not remembered
xor	'still, yet'
ya	'or'; relative particle
yani	'that means, that is'
zoa	'more'

8. THE SYNTAX OF NOMINALS

8.1. THE EXPRESSION OF INDEFINITENESS

The cardinal numeral 'one' (*xa*) is often used as an indefinite article that is a grammatical signal of the indefinite status of the nominal, i.e. when the speaker assumes that the hearer is not able to identify the referent of the nominal. The particle *xa* is not used with all nominals that have indefinite status on the pragmatic level. Certain general tendencies can be discerned in its usage, though there are no categorical rules. The English indefinite article has a far wider distribution among nouns with indefinite status and it is often appropriate to use the indefinite article in an English translation where no *xa* particle appears in the dialect.

The particle *xa* may also be combined with the word *dana*, a Kurdish word literally meaning 'grain', to express indefiniteness, e.g. *xa-dána tórta* 'a cow' (A:81).

The distribution of the indefinite marker *xa* in comparison with zero marking will first be examined and subsequently the motivation for the use of the marker *xa-dana* rather than *xa* will be considered.

8.1.1. *xa*

In general, the marker *xa* tends to occur with an indefinite countable nominal with a referent that is individuated and salient in some way, whereas it tends to be omitted when these features are absent.

One factor that determines the individuation or salience of an indefinite nominal is whether the speaker is using it to refer to a specific referent in the class of items denoted by the word or whether it is being used in a less specific sense to refer to any item in the class. Referentially specific usages of indefinite nominals occur more frequently, as one would expect, in narratives than in expositional discourse concerning general customs.

In narrative and other contexts the specific referents of such indefinite nominals introduced by *xa* often play an important role in the following

context, which is reflected by the fact that they are referred to in subsequent clauses. This, therefore, is a factor that further enhances the salience of the referent. Examples:

(1) *xa-gorà hitwá.ǀ ˀéa gezə́lwa ga-pliyáw jangàḷ.ǀ ˀilanè gardə́qwa-uǀ kmèwaluǀ ga-ˀaḥrá zăbə̀nwalu.ǀ* 'There was a man. He used to go to the woods. He used to gather (branches from) trees, bring them back and sell them in the town.' (A:98)

(2) *xà šwáwa hítwaleǀ ràba dawlamán-yele.ǀ tajə̀r-yele.ǀ* 'He had a neighbour, who was very rich. He was a merchant.' (A:100)

(3) *xa-bratá mətwali-ó baqòxǀ rába zằrìf,ǀ rába ˤayztà,ǀ mən-xanăwadè ˤayztá.ǀ familù rába ˤayzá-yǀ ˀaxonəf ˤayzá.ǀ* 'I have arranged a girl for you, very pretty, very good, from a good family. Their family is very good. Her brother is good.' (A:6)

An indefinite nominal referring to a period that functions as an adverbial is typically combined with the particle *xa* when the reference is to one specific time. This is often found at the beginning of a narrative section, where the adverbial sets the temporal frame of what follows, e.g.

(4) *xá-yoma zíl lagèf-uǀ mìre báqefǀ míre flànakasǀ ˀất ba-d-áy zəndəgí ba-kár mayayòx kxə́l?ǀ* 'One day he went to him (the neighbour). He said to him, he said "So-and-so, what use is this life to you?"' (A:103)

(5) *xà yomáǀ ˀay-baxtí ˀătá ya-xăetàǀ xiyàli.ǀ* 'One day I saw this wife of mine whom you see (now).' (A:8)

A nominal with a specific referent that is described further in an adjacent relative clause typically has the particle, e.g.

(6) *ˀáy gbéwa hezə́l baqá xá-tʷka kəmríwala qắṣābxanà.ǀ* 'He had to go to a place called the "butcher's shop."' (A:73)

The particle tends to be omitted before a nominal with a specific referent when this referent plays an incidental role in the text and is not the centre of concern of the speaker. In (7), for example, the 'horse' does not have a central role in the following foreground narrative, but is only a component of the preliminary background. In (8) the 'pharmacy' is, likewise, part of a section giving background information about the bride's brother and is not central to the foreground narrative about the wedding. Example (9) is from

a section concerning butchers and butchers shops in general and not concerning the Jewish butcher in particular:

(7) *ʾaná xa-yomá réša susì-yeli.ˈ* 'One day I was on a horse.' (A:17)

(8) *ʾăxoní dawaxanè-hitwale.ˈ* 'My brother had a pharmacy.' (A:27)

(9) *qăṣắb hítwalan b-šǝmá ʾAziz-Xằn.ˈ hulàa-yele.ˈ* 'We had a butcher by the name of Aziz Khan. He was a Jew.' (A:74)

There is a tendency to omit the particle when the nominal does not refer to a specific referent but rather to an unspecified representative of the class designated by the nominal, e.g.

(10) *čarčí ʾò-yeleˈ ya-ʾaspắḷ mătúwa réša xmarà.ˈ* 'A peddler was somebody who put goods on a donkey.' (A:70)

(11) *ja-ʾătàˈ ba-rajɔ́ ba-xlulà hámna báqa didòx.ˈ* 'Now, let me tell you about a wedding.' (A:30)

(12) *jắm kménwa ba-qám kaldá-u xǝtnà.ˈ* 'They brought a mirror to the bride and groom.' (A:45)

(13) *pǝštì hítwalanˈ dăéxwalu ba-guzà.ˈ* 'We had a back-support, which we put on the wall.' (A:56)

(14) *yomá ʾǝmá šéqel puḷé tăḥèt.ˈ* 'You will make 100 shekels in money a day (= on any particular day).' (A:104)

Contrast (15) in which the nominal 'story' without the particle does not refer to a specific story with (16) in which the nominal 'story' with the particle refers specifically to the story that the speaker goes on to narrate:

(15) *tatí yătìwaˈ ʾǝlhá mănixàˈ dāstắn ḥăqéwa baqàn.ˈ* 'My father, may he rest in peace, would sit and tell us a story.' (A:92)

(16) *xa-waxtǎrá tatí yătìwaˈ xá ḥăkayát ḥăqéwa baqàn.ˈ hítwa-u lìtwaˈ* 'Once my father sat and told us a story. There was, there was not …' (A:98)

In certain circumstances, however, nominals with unspecified referents are combined with the particle. This is found in the following contexts where the referent has some kind of individuation or prominence.

The particle often occurs before a nominal with an unspecified referent but one whose description is specified by an adjective, e.g.

(17) *mən-taxtá trə̀ṣwalu,[|] xa-taxtá rŭwà.[|]* 'They made it out of a board, a large board.' (A:9)

(18) *léle reš-šatá xa-səfrá šăwénwa rŭwà,[|] mən-d-ày-lag reš-ay-belá[|] ta-reš-o-belá.[|]* 'On New Year's Eve we spread out a large cloth, from this side, on this (side of) the house, to that (side of) the house.' (A:65)

(19) *gbéwa xa-párča zayrá dăén ba-lăxàu[|] b-lắ səngù[|] ké ʾắlén ʾənyexáe hulaèn.[|]* 'They had to put a yellow patch here, on their chest so that they (the Muslims) knew that they were Jews.' (A:78)

(20) *xa-xwắn rába rabtá tarṣéxwa* 'We made a big tray.' (A:87)

Likewise the particle occurs in contexts where the nominal is specified by an adjacent relative clause, e.g.

(21) *ʾay-bšəlmanè[|] ke-xálwa zábni ta-didàn[|] ʾay-xalwà[|] mən-d-ó tortà[|] yá mən-d-ó ʾərbá dəwqà-y[|] ga-xa-pătiḷà dəwqá-y[|] ké pătiḷăké mumkán-ye pəsrá bəšla-hăwélu gàef.[|]* 'Those Muslims, who sell milk to us, have taken the milk from the cow or from the sheep and have kept it in a container in which they may have cooked meat.' (A:64)

A nominal with an unspecified referent is sometimes marked with the particle when the referent has discourse prominence and is the centre of concern in what follows, e.g.

(22) *xa-pašór képa komtà-yela.[|] kménwala ga-txéla-ʾaqlù[|] ke-ʾaqlú sằf xắri.[|]* 'A "foot washer" was a black stone. They applied it to the bottom of their feet so that they would become smooth.' (A:38)

A nominal with an unspecified referent may be given heavier morphological coding by adding the particle to act as end-weighting at the closure of a discourse section. This appears to be the motivation for the occurrence of the particle in (23) with the noun *jām* ('mirror') at the end of the passage but not with the noun *yaraq* 'decorative cover' in the preceding discourse:

(23) *šămáš-e kništà[|] gezólwa susì kméwa.[|] ʾay-susí qăšáng marzənwale-ò.[|] yaráq dăèlwa báef.[|] parčané ʿayzé dăélwa ba-susiyăkè.[|] qăšáng marzənwale-wò.[|] xa-jắm dăélwa qám babenèf.[|]* 'The beadle of the synagogue went to fetch a horse. He decorated the horse beautifully. He put a decorative cover on it. He put fine materials on the horse. He decorated it beautifully. He put a mirror in front of its forehead.' (A:43)

Likewise in (24) the use of the particle with the second mention of the nominal *tʷka* 'place' but not the first is a strategy to add end-weighting to the closure of the passage. The coding of the second mention of the nominal is made even heavier by expressing the attribute as a relative clause rather than an adjective:

(24) *kəmríwale qawurmà.ˈ nătènwaleˈ ga-tʷká qărirá mătìwale.ˈ yaxčắl lìtwalan xor-o-waxtắrá.ˈ mătíwale ga-xá-tʷka qărirà hăwéˈ péš ta-sətwà.ˈ* 'They called this *qawurma*. They took it and placed it in a cool place. We still did not have a fridge at that time. They put it in a place that was cool for it to remain until winter.' (A:83)

An indefinite nominal that is predicative, the function of which is to assign the subject of the clause to a class rather than refer to a specific referent, generally lacks *xa*, e.g.

(25) *hulàa-yele.ˈ* 'He was a Jew.' (A:74)

(26) *tajə̀r-yele.ˈ* 'He was a merchant.' (A:100)

(27) *wa-maxwíwala našé xét-či ke-ga-dokènˈ ke-ʾălén ʾay-bratàˈ bătulà xirté-ya.ˈ* 'They would show them to other people who were there so that they would know that the girl was a virgin' (A:50)

The particle is occasionally used to give the predicate particular prominence. In (28), for example, the speaker wishes to draw particular attention to the fact that the proposed bride's brother is a doctor, which is presented as powerful grounds for marrying her:

(28) *ʾăxonáf xa-duktə̀r-ye.ˈ* 'Her brother is a doctor.' (A:6)

The particle is regularly used when functioning as a cardinal numeral (29–30) and when combined with units of measure as in (31–32):

(29) *ga-ʾIrànˈ ya-ga-tămắm̥-e mamlăkăté ke-xarə̀j m-Israyel-yénˈ lelé pătiré trè lelé-ya.ˈ b-Israyél xà lelé-ya.ˈ* 'In Iran, or in all the countries that are outside of Israel, the night of Passover is two nights, but in Israel it is one night.' (A:62)

(30) *hár-kas gezə́lwa ba-ʾănazé nòšef,ˈ xa-năfàr-ye,ˈ trè năfărén,ˈ təlḥà năfărén,ˈ ʾarbà năfărén g-o-belàˈ ba-ʾănazé nóšu pəsrá šaqlìwa.ˈ* 'Everybody went and according to his own requirements, whether he was one person, or there were two people, or there were three people, or there were four people in the house, they would buy meat according to their requirements.' (A:74)

(31) *xá kílo xéta holì,*ǀ *mastà holí.*ǀ 'Give me one kilo of such-and-such a thing, give me yoghurt.' (A:79)

(32) *xăletéf xa-dăsá ləbằs-yele.*ǀ 'His gift was a set of clothes.' (A:51)

8.1.2. Pronominal Use of *xa*

The particle *xa* may be used independently with the function of an indefinite pronoun with specific reference, e.g.

(1) *xá ʾlile-ò*ǀ *xá lá ʾlile-ò*ǀ 'One recognized him and another did not recognize him.' (D:14)

8.1.3. *xa dana*

The phrase *xa-dana* expresses individuation with heavier morphological coding than the particle *xa* alone. It tends to be used to express a greater degree of distinctness of the referent of the nominal.

One context in which it is typically used is where the nominal marked by the phrase has a referent that has particular discourse prominence, in that it plays an important role in what follows, e.g.

(1) *xa-dána lăčăgá rabtá ba-rešàf-yela.*ǀ *rešáf ksèwala-u*ǀ *yăwắš mən-rešáf gəršàli*ǀ *šoḷtáli d-o-làg.*ǀ 'A large veil was on her head. She had covered her head. I slowly pulled it from her head and threw it to one side.' (A:24)

(2) *hár xanăwadé ta-nòšef,*ǀ *hár məšpaḥá ta-nòšef,*ǀ *gezə̀lwa*ǀ *xa-dána tórta šăqə̀lwala.*ǀ *kmewal-ó ga-béla nòšef.*ǀ *rában kéwa dăbəḥwal-ó baqèf.*ǀ *tămís kòlwala.*ǀ 'Each family, each family went in their turn and bought a cow. They would bring it back to their home. Our rabbi would come and slaughter if for them.' (A:81-82)

In (3) the metal can plays a central role in the narrative as an emblem of good life of the protagonist before he became a merchant:

(3) *xa-dána pút ḥălabí dóqwala ba-ʾilèf-u*ǀ *dăélwa gàaf-u*ǀ 'He would hold a metal can in his hand and beat it (like a drum).' (A:99)

In (4) the *xa-dana* expression is used before the nominal *mangaḷ* 'brazier' but not before *lăʿefa* 'quilt' since the 'brazier' is the crucial distinctive feature of the warm seat known as the *kursi*:

(4) *ʾaxní măsălàn*ǀ *xá-mdi hitwalán b-šəmá kursì.*ǀ *mangál d-áy šulḥằn*ǀ *təlḥà kắrăte d-éa,*ǀ *ʾarbà kắrăte d-éa,*ǀ *bíš ntóta xančì.*ǀ *xá lăʿéfa*

dăénwa ba-rešàf.⸥ *txelàf*⸥ *xá-dana mangàḷ-yela,*⸥ *har-ga-ʾărá*
čəqyàwalu.⸥ *ga-dóka zoxáḷ dărènwa.*⸥ *zoxáḷ dărénwa gàaf.*⸥ *gogə́rd*
dăenwa ba-zuxaḷăkè⸥ *malqíwale ga-dokà*⸥ *ʾo-kursí šaxnàwa.*⸥ 'We had
something called a *kursi* "seat," like this table, three times (the
size) of this, four times (the size) of this, it was a bit higher. We
would put a quilt on top of it. Under it there was a brazier, which
they had dug in the ground. They put coals there. They put coals
in it. They put a match to the coals and they ignited them there
and the seat became warm.' (A:90)

The phrase may be used independently of a noun with the function of
an indefinite pronoun, e.g.

(5) *mangól lăxá là-yele*⸥ *hezí xa-dána šaqlì.*⸥ 'It was not the case that
they went to buy one, as (they do) here.' (B:76)

(6) *ga-doká hár kništá xà-dana hitwalá.*⸥ 'There every synagogue had
one.' (B:80)

Elsewhere the expression *xa dana* is used with the literal sense of 'a
seed of' before nouns denoting grains, such as *xa dana gərsa* 'a groat seed/a
single groat'.

8.1.4. Indefinite Suffix *–ek*

In a few isolated cases a nominal is given the Kurdish indefinite inflectional
ending *–ek*. This is found mainly on nominals in predications expressing ex-
clamation. It may be compared to the use of *xa* in predications to express
prominence (see §8.1.1. example 28):

(1) *bróna rába ʿayzèk-yele.*⸥ 'He was a very fine lad.' (A:14)

(2) *ʾăjáb bronèk-ye.*⸥ 'He is a wonderful boy.' (A:17)

It is occasionally used elsewhere, e.g.

(3) *qoqé xa-zárf, zrúfek-yelu mə́n ʾápre smoqà.*⸥ 'Pots were a container,
containers made of red clay.' (A:84)

8.1.5. Indefinite Suffix *–e*

There are sporadic occurrences of an indefinite suffix with the form *–e*,
which is presumably a shortened form of *–ek*, e.g.

(1) *gurané qărèxin*⌐ *ga-har-čì belé*⌐ 'We shall sing songs in every house.' (E:67)

(2) *báqa ʾáy xăṭăʾì*⌐ *hìt xá jwabé*⌐ 'For this fault of mine I have an answer.' (E:62)

8.2. THE DEFINITE ARTICLE –*ăke*

The Kurdish definite suffix -*ăke* is used extensively in the dialect. It does not occur, however, on all nouns that are definite in status. Many nouns whose referents the speaker considers to be identifiable by the hearer do not have the suffix. Just as is the case with the indefinite article *xa*, the definite article -*ăke* tends to be restricted to definite nouns that have some kind of textual salience.

One reflection of this textual salience is that a noun with the -*ăke* suffix has usually been mentioned previously in the preceding context, e.g.

(1) *rásm ga-doká ʾăxà-yele.*⌐ *ga-yomà*⌐ *reš-šatà,*⌐ *baqa-xətnà*⌐ *mən-be-kaldá* **xwằn** *kwíwa.*⌐ … **xwanăké** *kmenwalà-u*⌐ *gezíwa báqa béla nòšu.*⌐ 'The custom there was like this. On New Year's day they would give a table (of gifts) to the groom on behalf of the family of the bride. … They delivered the table, then went to their homes.' (A:9–11)

(2) *ʾafsărè*⌐ *ʾartèš*⌐ *rakwíwa susì.*⌐ **susì** *kwiwálu.*⌐ *xa-nắfar-əč mangál nokàr,*⌐ *xa-sarbằz,*⌐ *lăpə́lwa ba-šonéf réša susí xèt.*⌐ **susyăké** *mən-sarbāzxané kméwale qam-tằrà.*⌐ 'Officers, in the army, would ride on a horse. They would give them a horse. Somebody like a servant, a soldier, would, moreover, follow him on another horse. He would bring the horse (for the officer) from the barracks to the door.' (A15–16)

(3) *xaləstá rábta* **šarbàt** *méla baqì.*⌐ … *bár-d-o xét yăwắš yăwằš*⌐ *hìya,*⌐ **šarbătăké** *méla baqì*⌐ 'The elder sister brought me sherbet. … Then after a while, she slowly came and brought the sherbet to me.' (A:23–24)

(4) **ḥămắm**-*e turkí mà-jor-ila?*⌐ … **ḥămamăké** *mašxniwalà.*⌐ 'What is a Turkish bath like? … They used to heat the bath.' (A:37)

(5) *bàr-d-o*⌐ *gbéwa hezíwa* **zărá** *šaqlì,*⌐ **zărăké** *hămènwale-o*⌐ *ga-béla dána dána găbènwale,*⌐ *tămíz holìwale.*⌐ 'Afterwards they had to go and buy wheat, bring the wheat back, sort it grain by grain in the house, clean it.' (A:58)

Previous mention does not automatically condition the suffix *–ăke*. Consider the passage in (6):

(6) ***ləxmà*** *hàr-kas˺ ga-təlḥà xanăwadé,˺ ˀarbà xanăwadé˺ ḥatmán ga-belèf˺* ***tănurà-hitwa.*** *čəkmá lelé qắme pătirè˺ baxtá hulálta hìtwa˺ kyàwa˺* ***ləxmăké*** *kolawalè-o.˺ náše ˀo-belá nóšu komăkáf kolìwa.˺* ***ləxmăké*** *koliwàle-o,˺ xa-báxta xét dăyáwale ba-**tănurà**.˺* ***tănurăké*** *ba-ṣiwè malqíwala.* 'As for bread—in (every) three families, in (every) four families there was sure to be somebody who had an oven in his house. A few days before Passover, there was a Jewish woman who came and opened out the bread (dough). The people of the house helped her. They opened out the bread and another woman put it onto (the sides of) the oven. They heated the oven with wood.' (A:66-67)

The nouns *ləxma* 'bread' and *tănura* 'oven' are introduced with indefinite status at the beginning of this passage. Both subsequent occurrences of *ləxma* have the *–ăke* suffix, whereas the second occurrence of *tănura* is without the suffix. The explanation appears to be that down to the second mention of *tănura* it is the bread that is the main concern rather than the oven. This is reflected by the fact that the passage opens with the noun *ləxma* '(as for) bread'. In the last clause of the passage, however, the noun *tănura* has the suffix. This clause supplies an elaboration on the functioning of the oven and so expresses background to the foreground of the discourse. In this background section, it is the oven that is the centre of concern. So, topical prominence in a particular section of discourse is also a factor that conditions the use of the suffix.

On some occasions the *–ăke* suffix is attached to a noun that is definite in status due to its association with the situation described in the preceding discourse without it being explicitly mentioned. This applies to examples such as the following:

(7) *ˀərqála zíla tíwa ga-xa-ˀotằq.˺ ta-nóšaf* ***tărăké*** *mə́zra ba-réša-nòšaf.˺ tắra mə́zra ba-réša nòšaf˺ zílawa tíwa ga-dokà.˺* 'She fled and sat in a room. She closed the door behind her (literally: upon her). She closed the door behind her and went and sat there.' (A:22)

(8) *lelăwáe sətwá yătèxwa˺ dáwre lə̀xle.˺ lelé sətwá ga-doká yărixà-yele˺ qardè-č-yela.˺ báqa d-óa* ***belăké*** *mašxniwalè.˺ xa-ˤədá buxarì hitwálu˺ ba-ṣiwè malqiwalá,˺ ˀo-béla mašxnìwale.˺* 'During the winter nights we would sit together in a circle. A winter night was long there and it was cold. For this reason they heated the house. Some peo-

ple had a stove, which they would fuel by wood and they would heat the house.' (A:89)

In (7) the 'door' is definite since the speaker assumes that the hearer can identify this as the door of the room mentioned in the preceding clause. In (8) the 'house' is definite since it is inferable from the situation described in what precedes. The speaker assumes that the hearer can infer that the act of sitting together was taking place in a house. The crucial motivating factor for the use of the definite suffix in these examples appears to be the prominence which the speaker wishes to give to the clause in which it is used. This is reflected by the fact that the contents of the clause are reiterated in the subsequent discourse.

In some cases the clause is given prominence by the additional coding of the suffix not primarily on account of the clause's intrinsic content but rather due to its occurrence at a boundary in the discourse. In (9) and (10), for example, the clause in which the heavily coded noun is used occurs at a point where there is a shift of subject:

(9) *mírwala Mə́rza Xǎnǎká xá-gora gbelòx.*ǀ *la-ká̆yan mằni-ye.*ǀ *Xǎnǎká-č mən-panjǎrǎké mʿine-ò*ǀ *həl-didí xèle.*ǀ 'She said "Mərza Xǎnǎka, a man wants you. I do not know who it is." Xǎnǎka looked from the window and saw me.' (A:21)

(10) *bə́qǎtef-o qímna zína dokà.*ǀ *híya ga-balkonǎkè,*ǀ *kəmrá baqì*ǀ *ba-lišaná bšəlmanè*ǀ 'The next morning I went there. She came onto the balcony and said to me in the language of the Muslims …' (A:20)

In tightly knit phrases consisting of two conjoined nouns the suffix *–ǎke* is attached only to the second noun, e.g. *tate-ú daǎkǎkè*ǀ (A:2) 'the fathers and mothers'. If the noun is qualified by an attribute, the suffix is placed on the attribute rather than on the head noun, e.g. *báxta bšəlmantǎkè* 'the Muslim woman' (B:22).

8.3. DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS

8.3.1. Deictic Function

The demonstratives may be used deictically to point out referents that are visible in the speech situation. In principle the near deixis form is used to refer to items near to the speaker and the far deixis form to refer to items

distant from the speaker. Physical distance, however, is not the alone factor that conditions the choice between these two sets of demonstrative. Close emotional engagement or interest in a referent can motivate the use of a near deixis form to point out a referent that is spatially distant from the speaker. This is seen in the direct speech of (1) and (2) in which the near deixis demonstrative is most idiomatically translated by a far deixis demonstrative in English:

(1)   *mən-lăḥ̄ắl ʾo-xiyàli.⌉ míru ʾéa xăləstá Xanăkè-ya.⌉* 'I saw her from afar. They said "That is the sister of Xanăka."' (A:14)

(2)   *ʾána xa-yomá réša susì-yeli⌉ ʾáy-u xaləstáf rád xărì,⌉ xaləstáf kəmrá baqàf⌉ ʾéa bróna Jăh̄ằn-ye.⌉* 'One day I was on a horse. She and her sister passed by and her sister said to her "That is the son of Jăhān."' (A:17)

8.3.2. Anaphoric Function

In the text corpus the majority of the demonstrative pronouns have an anaphoric function. They do not point to a referent in the extralinguistic situation but rather signal that the referent of the nominal is identifiable in the surrounding context, typically in what precedes. Such anaphoric demonstratives are often translated most idiomatically by the English definite article. Both the near deixis and the far deixis sets of pronouns are used anaphorically.

In some cases, particularly in expository discourse, the two degrees of deixis may be used to express different degrees of textual distance of their anaphor in the preceding discourse, the near deixis pronoun referring to the nearer anaphor, e.g.

(1)   *ʾăgár ṣomá ṣəhyón lăpə́l yomá šăbàt⌉ lá doqèxile.⌉ mandéxile yomá xšabà.⌉ ʾăgár ṣomá Lelangè,⌉ Purìm,⌉ lăpə́l yomá šăbàt,⌉ là doqéxile.⌉ xamšùšab doqéxile.⌉ tá-ma ʾé xamšùšab doqéxile⌉ ʾó xšabà?⌉* 'If the fast of Zion (9ᵗʰ of Ab) falls on a Sabbath, we do not keep it. We postpone it to the Sunday. If the fast of *Lelange*, Purim, falls on a Sabbath, we do not keep it. We keep it on the Thursday. Why do we hold this one on Thursday but that one on Sunday?' (B:73)

In the majority of cases, however, textual distance is not the crucial factor that conditions the choice between the two sets of demonstratives.

The near deixis forms are generally used with nominals whose referents are the centre of attention at a particular point in the discourse, e.g.

(2) *xà| bronà| híye ba-ʿolằm| kắčằl-yele.| … ʾáy bronà| bắruxá lìtwale.|* 'A boy came into the world who was bald. … This boy (the protagonist of the story) did not have a friend.' (D:1)

(3) *šằmáš-e knìštà| gezᵊ́lwa susì kméwa.| ʾay-susí qắšáng marzᵊnwale-ò.| yaráq dằèlwa báef.| parčané ʿayzé dằélwa ba-susiyằkè.| qắšáng marzᵊnwale-wò.| xa-jắm dằélwa qám babenèf.| mᵊntắke d-áy našé ba-dohól-u zornà| gezíwa baqá kaldá hằmeníla be-xᵊtnà.|* 'The beadle of the synagogue went to fetch a horse. He decorated the horse beautifully. He put a decorative cover on it. He put fine materials on the horse. He decorated it beautifully. He put a mirror in front of its forehead. The people went with it with drum and pipe to the bring the bride to the house of the groom.' (A:43–44)

(4) *gbé het-ó ʾay-bratá goretà.|* 'You must go back and marry the girl.' (A:18)

(5) *dušà mắtíwa.| kằrà mắtíwa.| guptà mắtíwa.| mastà mắtíwa.| ʾᵊnyexáe kᵘ́le mắtíwalu tắmắm-e réša sᵊfrá zamṭíwa mᵊn-d-ay-jóra mᵊndixàne.|* 'They put out honey. They put out butter. They put out cheese. They put out yoghurt. They put all these things out and filled the whole surface of the cloth with such things.' (A:65)

A speaker may use near deixis forms anaphorically to express some kind of emotional engagement with referents, as in (6), in which the demonstratives convey negative attitude:

(6) *má kul-yóma gezét ʾay-jangàl| ʾay-kᵘ́le zahamtá garšèta-u?|* 'Why do you go to the woods everyday and take all this trouble?' (A:105)

The far deixis demonstrative is used anaphorically in a more neutral sense, without expressing a prominent near perspective, e.g.

(7) *málka Šằbà gwirté-ya.| ʾó-č rába dawlamàn xirté-ya.|* 'He married the Queen of Sheba. She also became very rich.' (A:97)

(8) *qằṣắb hítwalan b-šᵊmá ʾAziz-Xằn.| hulàa-yele.| ʾó pᵊsrắké kméwale ga-tʷkanè.|* 'We had a butcher by the name of Aziz Khan. He was a Jew. He brought meat to the shops.' (A:74)

(9) *čᵊkmá ʿaksé ntenìlan.| ʾonyexáe píšen báqa yādgarì.|* 'We took a few photographs. They have remained as a reminder (of the event).' (A:29)

(10) *gbéwa xá-ʿəda mən-náše pìre│ xanăwadà│ hezí baqà│ xosté xlulà,│ yáni hamrí ʾijazá húlmu báqa xanăwadé kaldà│ hamrí ʾijazá hùlmu│ ke-ʾaxní xlulà holéx.│ ʾóni-č xa-basór kəmríwa hàya-u│* 'A few senior people of the family had to go to request the marriage, that is to say to the family of the bride "Give permission, give permission for us to hold the wedding." They (the family of the bride) would say "It is a little too soon."' (A:30–31)

(11) *gogə́rd dǎenwa ba-zuxaḷăkè│ malqíwale ga-dokà│ ʾo-kursí šaxnàwa.│* 'They struck a match to the coals and they ignited them there and the seat became warm.' (A:90)

(12) *náše ʾo-belá nóšu komăkáf kolìwa.│* 'The people of the house helped her.' (A:66)

The neutral anaphoric demonstrative may be used with nouns whose referent has not been explicitly invoked in the preceding discourse but is only associated with it. This is the case in (13) in which the 'house' is associated with the people buying the meat and in (14), where the 'burnt ash' (*qila*) is associated with the act of burning of the rags:

(13) *hár-kas gezə́lwa ba-ʾănazé nòšef,│ xa-năfàr-ye,│ trè năfărén,│ təḷhà năfărén,│ ʾarbà năfărén g-o-belà│ ba-ʾănazé nóšu pəsrá šaqlìwa.│* 'Everybody went and according to his own requirements, whether he was one person, or there were two people, or there were three people, or there were four people in the house, they would buy meat according to their requirements.' (A:74)

(14) *xór darmanè-č lítwa ʾo-waxtắra darmáne dǎen.│ păroé maqlìwa│ ʾo-qilà,│ qilé păroè│ mătíwa réša ʾo-miḷà.│* 'They did not have medicines at that time to apply. They would burn rags and they would put on the circumcision the burnt ash, burnt rags.' (A:76)

The neutral demonstrative is frequently used with anaphoric adverbials, e.g.

(15) *ʾo-waxtắra ʾaráq rába rasmì-yela.│* 'At that time arak was legal' (A:11)

(16) *ʾo-lelé xa-šǻm mfăṣál híwlu baqàn-u│* 'That night they gave us a copious dinner.' (A:26)

(17) *ʾóni-č qemí hár ʾo-yomà│ sangăkì,│ ləxmá sangăkí tarṣìwa.│* 'On that same day they would make loaves of bread.' (A:88)

(18) *ba-d-ó mudắtà⌐ ga-d-ó šoa-yomè⌐ lá guptà,⌐ lá mastà⌐ hár-či ké mən-xalwá-yele lá kəxlèxwale.*⌐ 'At that period, on those seven days (of Passover), we did not eat cheese, yoghurt or anything that was made from milk.' (A:68)

(19) *bàr-d-o⌐ kénwa tănurà.*⌐ 'After that they would come to the oven.' (B:18)

(20) *lelắăwae sətwá yătèxwa⌐ dáwre lɜ̀xle.⌐ lelé sətwá ga-doká yărixà-yele⌐ qardè-č-yela.⌐ báqa d-óa belăké mašxniwalè.*⌐ 'During the winter nights we would sit together in a circle. A winter night was long there and it was cold. For this reason they heated the house.' (A:89)

(21) *tănurá gbèwa⌐ qắme-o⌐ maqlìwala⌐ ké tănurá ḥaméṣ là hawyá.*⌐ 'They had to heat the oven beforehand so that the oven did not contain leaven.' (B:18)

Apparently by analogy with expressions such as *bar-d-o* 'afterwards' and *qắme-o* 'beforehand', a demonstrative is also suffixed to other anaphoric temporal expressions such as the following:

(22) *zílex dokà-u⌐ širiní híwlu baqàn⌐ ʾu-xét xíra ba-dasgiranì.⌐ xíra ba-dasgiranì,⌐ bə́qătef-o qímna zína dokà.*⌐ 'We went there and they gave us sweets and then she became my betrothed. After she became my betrothed, the next morning I went there.' (A:20)

(23) *leléf-o zílex baqà⌐ širinì hămex-ó.*⌐ 'On that night we went to fetch the sweets.' (A:19)

(24) *mən-ʾàṣref-o⌐ sáʿət xamšà bar-korá⌐ xalà kəxlíwa.*⌐ 'That evening at five o'clock in the afternoon they would eat food.' (B:45)

(25) *wắle g-áy ʾaxər-ò⌐ bár qrawá-e benulmălălí ʾăwàḷ,⌐ našé máre doltá xìri-u*⌐ 'But in recent times, after the First World War, people became rich.' (B:56)

In (26) contrast the use of the neutral pronoun in the anaphoric adverbial *qắme d-o* 'before that' with the near deixis pronoun in the adverbial *qắme d-ea*, which refers deictically to the present moment of the speech situation:

(26) *ʾána tatí mən-ʿolắm zìlwa⌐ qắme təlḥá-šəne **qắme d-ò**.⌐ tatí-u ʾăxoná rüwì,⌐ ʾay-ʾăxonì,⌐ ya-xáet ʾakséf ga-lăxà-ay,⌐ ʾó ʾəštá šoá šəné **qắme-d-ea** mən-ʿolằm zíl.*⌐ 'My father had passed away three years previ-

ously, my father and my elder brother—this brother of mine whose picture you see here, he passed away six or seven years ago.' (A:19)

The neutral anaphoric demonstrative is used on the head of a relative clause to bind its reference to the identifying description of the following subordinate clause rather than to the preceding context, e.g.

(27) *lelé xlulà⌇ mən-be-xətnà⌇ ʾo-našé ya-daʿwàt kolíwalu,⌇ familù yelú,⌇ bărúxù-yelu.⌇* 'The people whom they invited on the night of the wedding from the family of the groom were relatives, were friends.' (A:42)

(28) *ʾonyexáe ya-ga-golà-yen⌇ yáni xárəj m-ʾIsráyəl-yen trè lelé doqíla.⌇* 'Those who are in the exile, that is outside of Israel, celebrate it for two nights.' (A:62)

(29) *zargàr rába hitwalán,⌇ zargàr,⌇ ʾonyexáe ya-dewà⌇ pašri-ò,⌇ déwa tarṣì.⌇* 'We had many goldsmiths—goldsmiths, those people who would smelt gold and make gold.' (A:70)

(30) *ʾonyexáe ya-šiʿà-yelu⌇* 'those who are Shiʿites' (A:77)

In narrative contexts the near deixis anaphoric demonstratives may be used with all protagonists to express equal prominence, as in (31):

(31) *ʾáy baxtá-u ʾáy gorà⌇ băxeḷì lablíwa l-d-áy góra xét.⌇* 'The woman and the man were jealous of the other man.' (A:103)

The participants are sometimes distinguished by the use of different types of demonstratives, expressing different degrees of perspective. Consider the following:

(32) *mìre báqef⌇ … ʾó míre ṭòb.⌇ zíl lagèf-u⌇ méle mtùle-u⌇ ʾay-zíl jə́ns ləblè,⌇ jənsăké ləblé mătúle ga-xá tʷkaná zabnè.⌇ ʾáy-əč xír mangàl d-ó.⌇* 'He (the neighbour) said to him … He (the neighbour) said "Fine (that is agreed)." He went to him, brought it (the cloth) and put it down (for him). He (the family man) went and took the cloth, he took the cloth away to put it in a shop and sell it. He (the family man) became like him (the neighbour).' (A:105)

In this passage there are two participants, the neighbour and the family man. It is the family man who is the main protagonist and the centre of attention of the narrative and it is he who is referred to by the near deixis

pronoun. The neighbour, on the other hand, is referred to by the neutral form.

This strategy is used to express spatial separation in constructions such as (33):

(33) *gezə́lwa mă⁽ínwa g-ày-lag,| g-ò-lag.|* 'He would go and look this side and that side.' (A:108)

8.3.3. Demonstratives with *xa* element

The independent demonstrative pronouns may be combined with a *xa* element. This can be identified as the cardinal numeral 'one'. The original meaning of *xa* is clear in the singular forms, which are used in a speech situation to pick out one referent from a set that is given in the speech situation or discourse. If, for example, there are two people in the distance, you may point to them in turn and say to your interlocutor:

(1) *ʾóxa băruxì-ye| wắle ʾóxa băruxí là-y.|* 'That one is my friend, but that one is not my friend.'

The same applies to the near deixis form *ʾéxa*:

(2) *ʾéxa băruxì-ye| wắle ʾéxa băruxí là-y.|* 'This one is my friend, but this one is not my friend.'

Note the use of the form *ʾóxa* to mark a distinction between referents in (3) and (4):

(3) *xá-naša m-d-ày-lag| mən-ʾaprá-e ʾIrằn| ʾóxa m-d-ò-lag| mən-ʾaḥrá-e Temằn|* 'One person (came) from this direction from the dust of Iran. That (other) one from that side from the city of Yemen.' (E:3)

(4) *xá ʾáqla qắpì| ʾóxa ba-syamè.| xá ba-dămaqopằn| ʾóxa ba-šərwalè.|* 'One (came) barefooted, that one with shoes. One with baggy pants, one with trousers.' (E:5)

The form *ʾexa* is used idiomatically in a related way to express the sense of 'and other things', 'and so forth', e.g.

(5) *ʾáy ʾăsasiyà-u| ʾèxa-u| kắle mèlan.|* 'This furniture and so forth—we brought it all.' (C:10)

This usage occurs frequently in the narrative of informant D, e.g.

(6) *ba-xá dăsá jəle zìl-u| ga-pə́lga našăké tìw-u| ḥqéle mə́nun-u ʾexà-u|* 'He went in a suit and sat among the people and spoke to them, and so forth.' (D:16)

The plural forms *ʾənyexáe* and *ʾonyexáe* are used anaphorically without the implication of extraction from a given set, e.g.

(7) *duxwà tarṣíwa.| haḷwà tarṣíwa.| xurma-u-rùn tarṣíwa.| dušà mătíwa.| kărà mătíwa.| guptà mătíwa.| mastà mătíwa.| ʾənyexáe kűle mătíwalu tămắm-e réša səfrá zamţíwa mən-d-ay-jóra məndixàne.|* 'They made *duxwa*. They made sweets. They made dates and egg. They put out honey. They put out butter. They put out cheese. They put out yoghurt. They put all these out and filled the whole surface of the cloth with such things.' (A:65)

(8) *xá ţăbắqa xèt-əč xirén| bíš tex-ò,| ʾonyexàe| təjarát xírlalu məntắke xaràj.|* 'There was another class, which was lower. Those had business abroad.' (B:6)

8.3.4. Demonstratives with *dana*

A demonstrative pronoun may be combined with the individuating element *dana.* This construction is found in (1) below, where the effect appears to be to give the descriptive content of the nominal prominence

(1) *dáx zíla mənằni| ʾáy-dana fri*š*tà?|* 'How did this angel (= this language of ours) escape from us?' (E:29)

8.3.5. Demonstratives with Pronominal Suffixes

A noun with a demonstrative may take a pronominal suffix, e.g. *ʾáy ʾăxonì|* 'this brother of mine' (A:27); *ʾáy jə́lan* 'these clothes of ours' (C:11).

8.4. PRESENTATIVE PARTICLES

In addition to demonstrative pronouns, the dialect uses a number of presentative particles to draw attention to referents or situations.

8.4.1. *wa*

The presentative particle *wa*, which is combined with the far deixis demonstrative pronouns, is used to draw attention either to a referent or to a situation in the extralinguistic environment, e.g.

Referent

(1) *wá ʾòa.*[|] 'There he is.'

(2) *wá ʾonyè.*[|] 'There they are.'

(3) *wá ʾó našè.*[|] 'There are those people.'

(4) *wá ʾăxonì.*[|] 'There is my brother.'

(5) *wá ʾăxonăwalì.*[|] 'There are my brothers.'

Situation

(6) *wá ʾoà-y.*[|] 'Look it is him.'

(7) *wá ʾó răxàš.*[|] 'Look he is walking.'

(8) *wá ʾoní raxšĩ.*[|] 'Look they are walking.'

(9) *wá măṭèxin.*[|] 'Look we are arriving' (= 'We are about to arrive')

8.4.2. *ʾayane*

Referent

(1)   *ʾăyané ʾăxonawalì.*[|] 'There are my brothers.'

Situation

(2) *ʾăyané ʾăxoní hìye.*[|] 'Look my brother has come.'

(3) *ʾăyané hiyèna.*[|] 'Look I have come.'

8.4.3. *ha*

This presentative particle is combined with the copula in constructions such as the following:

(1) *ga-lăxá xa-našà há-y.*[|] 'There is somebody here.'

(2) *ʾay-tărá hulef-ò,*[|] *xá našà há-y.*[|] 'Open the door, there is somebody there.'

(3) *ʾó lăxá hà-ya.*[|] 'It (fs.) is here.'

(4) *há-ya ga-lăxè-ya.*⌉ 'Here, it (fs.) is here.'

(5) *našé baṣór ga-lăxà háen.*⌉ 'There are a few people here.'

(6) *čəkmá šəné ga-Sanandàj ha-yélox?*⌉ 'How many years were you in Sanandaj?'

8.4.4. Near Deixis Demonstrative

The independent near deixis demonstrative *ʾea* may be used as a discourse presentative in constructions such as (1):

(1) *ʾéa xábra ḥăqènox.*⌉ 'Now, I shall tell you a story.' (B:60)

8.5. THE REFLEXIVE PRONOUN

The reflexive pronoun *noš-*, which is inflected with pronominal suffixes, occurs in various syntactic positions in the clause.

8.5.1. Subject

When used in subject position or extraposition at the front of the clause, the reflexive pronoun either expresses contrastive assertion ('he himself', etc.) or exclusive assertion denoting that the subject referent is acting alone ('by himself', etc.). The pronoun either stands independently or is used in apposition to a noun or personal pronoun (e.g. *ana noši* 'I myself'):

(1) *nóšu lablíwale ʾorxèl.*⌉ 'They would themselves take it to the mill.' (A:58)

(2) *gbé zărà*⌉ *nóšu tarṣìle,*⌉ *nóšu tamíz holìle,*⌉ *nóšu ṭaxnìle.*⌉ 'They had to make flour themselves, clean it themselves, grind it themselves.' (A:60)

(3) *čún ʾáxni nóšan là kewalán*⌉ *xalwăké hămèxile*⌉ 'because we could not fetch milk ourselves' (A:63)

(4) *gbéwa hezə́lwa ga-dóka nóšef dăbəḥwalu-ò.*⌉ 'He had to go there and slaughter them himself.' (A:73)

(5) ᴴᵒ*ázᴴ zìlawa*⌉ *mírwala baqá ʾăxonàf-u*⌉ *nóšaf là halbắta,*⌉ *xa-năfar-xét šə́rwala baqá ʾăxonàf*⌉ 'Then she (my mother) went and said to her (the girl's) brother—of course not her herself, she sent somebody else to her brother.' (A:18)

8.5.2. Direct Object Complement

The reflexive pronoun may be used to express a pronominal object that is co-referential with the subject of the verb. The verb typically has a 3fs. pronominal element that agrees with the reflexive pronoun:

(1) *xánči nóšu doqìwala.*ˈ 'They held themselves a little (= they were rather reluctant).' (A:31)

(2) *zíl nóšef ga-pliyáw kaštiăké t̠əšyale-ò.*ˈ 'He went and hid himself in the boat.' (B:77)

(3) *ʾất nóšax hazə̀r hulá.*ˈ (< *hul-la*) 'Prepare yourself.' (D:6)

In (4) the pronoun is the object complement of an infinitive:

(4) *ʾíla wîli băxòe*ˈ *nóša qăt̠òle.*ˈ 'I began to cry and beat myself (in grief).' (C:10)

8.5.3. Complement of a Preposition

When the reflexive pronoun is the complement of a preposition, it denotes the co-referentiality of the pronominal suffix with the subject of the clause, e.g.

(1) *tắra mázra ba-réša nòšaf.*ˈ 'She closed the door behind her (literally: upon her). (A:22)

(2) *ʿáyza kắsbi hùl ta-nóšox.*ˈ 'Take the good earnings for yourself.' (A:103)

8.5.4. Genitive Complement

The pronoun may be in dependent position in a genitive annexation construction, e.g.

(1) *gezíwa báqa béla nòšu.*ˈ 'They went to their (own) homes.' (A:11)

(2) *ʾắgar ʾay-mastá dărenaf-ó tʷká nošăf*ˈ *nəjàs xắrá.*ˈ 'If I pour this yoghurt back into its own place (i.e. back in the same container), it will become unclean.' (A:80)

(3) *galglíwale ga-pliyáw məšxá nòšef*ˈ 'They would stir it round in its own oil.' (A:84)

(4) *kălúwala ba-xắt-e nòšef.*ˈ 'He wrote it with his own hand.' (A:48)

(5) *hár-kăsu pəška-nóšef hìtwale.*| 'Every one of them had enough for himself.' (A:55)

8.5.5. Pronominal Suffix in Place of Reflexive Pronoun

The reflexive pronoun is not obligatory when the pronominal reference that is co-referential with the subject is a complement of a preposition or a genitive complement of a noun, e.g.

(1) *máe dărénwa ba-rešù.*| 'They poured the water over themselves.' (A:37)

(2) *mətále rešèf-u*| 'He put it (the wig) on him.' (D:13)

(3) *kǘle náše ḥáz kolíwale belù*| *ʾilané băṣirè hăwé.*| 'Everybody wanted there to be grape vines in their home.' (A:72)

8.6. RECIPROCAL PRONOUN

The reciprocal pronoun *ləxle* (§2.5.) may occur in various syntactic positions

8.6.1. Complement of a Preposition

(1) *məntắke lə́xle hezíwa waryá čəkmá mŭdătè-u*| 'They went out with each other for some time.' (A:1)

(2) *lelăwáe sətwá yătèxwa*| *dáwre lə̀xle.*| 'During the winter nights we would sit around one another (= we would sit in a circle).' (A:89)

(3) *ga-dóka ʾorxél reš-kepè-yelu,*| *tre-képe réša lə̀xle.*| 'There the (grinding by) mill was on two stones, two stones on top of one another.' (A:59)

(4) *kǘle hulaé lā-lə̀xle yelú.*| 'All the Jews were by the side of one another (= were living side by side).' (A:44)

8.6.2. Genitive Complement of Noun

(1) *ʾəqrá ʾəhtərám-e lə́xle doqìwa.*| 'They had such respect for one another.' (A:45)

8.6.3. Direct Object Complement

(1) *rába baṣòr lə́xle xắenwa.*| 'They saw each other very little.' (A:3)

(2) *ga-ʾaḥrá didàn*| *ga-Sanandàj*| *bráta-u broná mə̆́gar xášti waxtằrè*| *ga-xášti tʷkè lə́xle xǽenwa.*| 'In our town, in Sanandaj, a girl and a boy perhaps sometimes, in some places would see each other.' (A:1)

The form *bəxle* is used exclusively with the sense of 'with each other', 'together':

(3) *bəxlé ḥaštá wilàn-u*| 'We worked together.' (A:28)

(4) *ba-mŭdằt-e kέ*| *bəxlé dasgiràn-yelu*| 'when they became betrothed …' (A:3)

8.7. PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES AND THE INDEPENDENT GENITIVE PARTICLE

8.7.1. The Distribution of the Independent Genitive Particle

The use of the independent genitive particle paradigm (*didi, didox, d-o*, etc.) is a heavier type of morphological coding than the use of a suffix attached directly to a noun or preposition. The motivation to use the heavier coding is often to express a contrast or parallelism between two or more referents, e.g.

(1) *ʾána šarbát mən-ʾíla didáx là šăténa.*| *gbén dasgiranì šarbát hámya baqí.*| 'I shall not drink sherbet from your hand. I want my betrothed to bring sherbet to me.' (A:23)

(2) *béla Daryúš gằn,*| *mă̆sălàn,*| *xamsàr ʿomeré gbé.*| *béla didì*| *tresàr gbé.*| *béla d-ó ʾəsrì gbé.*| 'The family of dear Daryuš, for example, needs fifteen ʿomers. My family needs twelve. His family needs twenty.' (B:17)

(3) *ʾáy-əč xír mangàl d-ó.*| 'He became like him.' (A:105)

(4) *ʾána šárnawa báqa béla Daryuš-xằn*| *tabrík kəmnáwa baqèf.*| … *dubára ʾò-č šárwa báqa didí d-èa.*| 'Then I would send (some dried fruit) to the house of Daryuš-khan and convey to him good wishes ... then he also would send to me that (= the same, i.e. dried fruit).' (B:50–51)

In (5) the independent pronoun is used with the particle *-əč*, which expresses here inclusive focus:

(5) *ʾəlhá xà⎹ tắra báqa didán-əč kol-ò.*⎹ 'God will open a door also for us.' (D:9)

The 1pl. form of the independent genitive particle occurs frequently when referring to the community of the speaker. This may express a contrastive opposition with another referent in the discourse, e.g.

(6) *ʾăxá kəmríwa ʾonyexàe,⎹ wắle ga-ʾáḥra didán ʾăxá là-yele.*⎹ 'They would say things like that, but in our town it was not like that.' (A:80)

(7) *lá ga-ʾaḥrá didàn⎹ ga-ʾaḥranè-xet*⎹ 'not in our town in other towns' (A:79)

The contrastive force in such cases often expresses exclusivity, stressing that something belongs to 'us' but not an interlocutor who does not belong to the community, e.g.

(8) *kŭlé kují-u măḥălè-yelu⎹ ga-pliyáw maxṣuṣàn⎹ măḥălé didàn,⎹ măḥălé yahudì,⎹ hulaé ga-dokà-yelu.*⎹ 'They were all lanes and streets, especially within our streets, the Jewish streets, where the Jews were.' (A:44)

(9) *ga-ʾaḥrá didàn⎹ ga-Sanandàj*⎹ 'In our town, in Sanandaj ...' (A:1)

(10) *xá ṭáyfa xét xirén Ḥắkim Bašì,⎹ ṭayfá-e didàn.*⎹ 'Another family was Ḥakim Baši, our family.' (B:5)

(11) *pas-ʾéa baqa-dídan kašér là-y.*⎹ 'So this for us was not kosher' (A:64)

On some occasions the heavier coding of the genitive particle is used to contrast the nominal as a whole with another nominal, as in (12) where the referent 'our neighbour' (*šwawa didan*) and not the 1pl. pronominal element is contrasted with 'you' (*ʾāt*):

(12) *ʾàt⎹ b-áy kŭle daraiòx⎹ xor-ʾắt hămešá ḥărík-e d-èa.⎹ ʾáy šwáwa didàn⎹ gezắl ṣiwé mən-jangáḷ kmé zăbànu.*⎹ 'You, with all your property, you are always busy with this. This neighbour of ours goes and brings branches of wood from the woods and sells them.' (A:102)

Elsewhere the heavy coding of the genitive particle is used not to set up semantic oppositions between referents but rather to mark a discourse boundary. This is clearly seen in (13), where the content of the first clause is reiterated at the close of the discourse unit with heavier coding, this includes both the use of the phrase *bela didan* in place of the lighter form *belan* and also the use of the independent subject pronoun *ʾonyexae*:

(13) *ʾaxní kénwa belán yắtìwa.ˌ ḥắz kolíwa hén béla didán yắtì ʾonyexáe.ˌ*
'They would come to our house and sit. They wanted to come to our house and sit.' (A:80)

In (14) the use of the heavily coded form *baqa didox* 'to you' rather than *baqox* coincides with the onset of a section of discourse:

(14) *ja-ʾắtàˌ ba-rajə́ʾ ba-xlulà hámna báqa didòx.ˌ* 'Now, let me tell you about a wedding.' (A:30)

In (15) the heavy form *laga didi* occurs in a sentence that is off-line from the foreground narrative, supplying a background comment. This discontinuity with what precedes is likely to be the main motivation for using the form:

(15) *ta-ʾắxá míre baqàfˌ ʾáy ʾərqàla.ˌ xét ṣalmé lìtwala samxá lága didí ʾána xắènaf.ˌ ʾərqála zíla tíwa ga-xa-ʾot̃àq.ˌ* 'When he said this to her, she fled. She no longer had confidence to stand by me, whilst I could see her. She fled and sat in a room.' (A:22)

8.7.2. The long 1pl. suffix *–ắni*

The 1pl. suffix is attested in two forms, short (*-an*) and long (*-ắni*). The long form is attested in the text corpus in prosodic pause at intonation group boundaries, e.g.

(1) *bšəlmané ḥắz kolíwaˌ ʾaxní məndíx šắrex baqú ga-lelé reš-šatà,ˌ šwawắnìˌ ʾašnắnì,ˌ ʾənyexáe rába ʾašnàe-yelu.ˌ* 'The Muslims wanted us to send them something on New Year's Eve, our neighbours and acquaintances—many of them were our acquaintances.' (A:86)

8.7.3. Pronominal Suffixes on Adverbials

Several adverbial expressions have a 3rd person singular suffix, which refers anaphorically to the situation in the preceding context. This is normally the 3ms. suffix *–ef*, though sporadically the 3fs. suffix *–af* is used, e.g.

(1) *leléf daˁwatàn wilú.ˌ* 'That evening they invited us.' (A:26)

(2) *ʾaxréf ba-zór miyàlun-uˌ* 'In the end they brought her by force.' (A:23)

(3) *bàr-d-oˌ lelèf-oˌ daˁwát wílu mən-familànˌ* 'Then, in the evening, they invited our family.' (A:26)

(4)   *ʾé m-ʾawaḷàf.*ˌ 'This (is what happened) at first.' (A:32)

8.8. ATTRIBUTES

8.8.1. Adjectives

Attributive adjectives are normally placed after the head noun, e.g. *bela rŭwa* 'big house'. On some occasions the Iranian *izafe* particle –*e* connects the head to the modifying adjective. This is used after both nouns with an Aramaic nominal inflectional ending and also unadapted loanwords. The *izafe* combined with the inflectional ending –*a* forms a diphthong –*ae*, but in fast speech this normally contracts to –*e*, e.g. *belá-e rŭwa* ~ *belé rŭwa* 'big house'. Examples from the text corpus:

(1)   *qoqé xa-zárf, zrúfek-yelu mán ʾápre smoqà*ˌ 'Pots were a container, containers made of red clay.' (A:84)

(2)   *ləbā́s-e xărā́b lòšwa.*ˌ 'He wore ragged clothes.' (A:108)

(3)   *kólwale ba-lešá ga-pliyáw xa-ṭášt-e mesì.*ˌ 'He made it into dough in a copper bowl.' (B:19)

On some occasions the adjective is separated from its head by intervening material. In such cases the *izafe* is not used on the head, e.g.

(4)   *léle reš-šatá xa-səfrá šăwénwa rŭwà.*ˌ 'On New Year's Eve we spread out a large cloth.' (A:65)

(5)   *xa-bratá mətwali-ó baqòx*ˌ *rába zărìf,*ˌ *rába ʿayztà.*ˌ 'I have arranged a girl for you, very pretty, very good.' (A:6)

A pronominal suffix is placed on the adjective rather than the head noun, e.g. *ʾăxoná rŭwì*ˌ 'my elder brother' (A:19).

In some isolated cases the adjective is placed before the head. This is found where the adjective is evaluative, i.e. expressing the subjective evaluation by the speaker rather an objective description of the referent, e.g.

(6)   *ʿáyza kā́sbi hùl ta-nóšox.*ˌ 'Take the good earnings for yourself.' (A:103)

8.8.2. Adverbial Modifiers

Nouns may be modified by a following adverbial phrases, e.g.

(1) *ʾo-gorá ga-lăxá băruxì-ye.*| 'The man here is my friend.'

(2) *ʾo-ktắb réša mezá didì-ya.*| 'The book on the table is mine.'

(3) *xá ṭăbắqa xèt-əč xirén*| *bíš tex-ò.*| 'There was another, lower, class.' (B:6)

In (4) the head noun before the adverbial modifier has the *izafe* connective particle:

(4) *tănurá-e ʿăla-ḥădá maxṣúṣ baqà*| *pătirè hítwalu.*| 'They had a separate oven especially for Passover.' (B:18)

8.8.3. Modifiers of Active Participles

An active participle may be modified by a noun expressing the undergoer of the activity it relates to. This noun is regularly placed before the participle, e.g.

> *xola garšana*   'rope puller'
> *syame tarṣana*   'maker of shoes'

8.9. NON-ATTRIBUTIVE MODIFIERS

Nouns are also modified by a number of words that do not denote attributes. These include quantifiers and determiners. Many of these are invariable in form. We bring together a variety of words of this nature, many of which can also be used in other syntactic positions.

8.9.1. *kul* 'each, every'

The particle is used before a singular indefinite noun and has a distributive sense ('each one of the items of the set named by the noun'). This is attested in the text corpus only in the expression *kul yoma* 'every day', e.g.

(1) *ga-dokà*| *kúl yomá pəsrà-hitwa.*| 'There, every day there was meat.' (A:73)

(2) *má kul-yóma gezét ʾay-jangàl*| *ʾay-kűle zaḥamtá garšèta-u?*| 'Why do you go to the woods everyday and take all this trouble?' (A:104)

8.9.2. *kŭle*

This quantifier is used with plural or singular head nouns with the sense of 'all'. It is placed either before or after the head.

8.9.2.1. *With a Plural Head Noun*

(1) *kǘle hulaé lā-làxle yelú.* 'All the Jews were (living) side by side.' (A:44)

(2) *kǘle našé ʾăgadà qărénwala.* 'All the people (= everybody) read the Aggadah.' (A:61)

In (3) the quantifier is placed between a demonstrative pronoun and the head noun:

(3) *ʾáy kǘle puḷé xərjìlox.* 'You have spent all this money.' (D:7)

Examples of the placement of the quantifier after the head include:

(4) *našé kǘle tìwi-u* 'All the people sat down.' (D:3)

(5) *ʾáy-xala kǘle xìlu.* 'They ate all the food.' (D:5)

(6) *ʾənyexáe kǘle mătíwalu* 'They put all these things out.' (A:65)

In (7) the quantifier is separated from the head by a verb and placed at the end of the clause:

(7) *hulaé ʾáḥra Sanandàj,* *mangól hulaé sáer-e tʷké xèṭ,* *ʾelăwaè* *doqìwalu kŭlé.* 'The Jews of the town of Sanandaj, like the Jews of other places, observed all the festivals.' (B:13)

8.9.2.2. *With a Singular Head Noun*

When the singular noun is definite, the quantifier has the sense of 'the whole of, all (of)', e.g.

(1) *ʾătá kǘle ʿolắm xirté-ya puḷè.* 'Now the whole world has become money.' (A:55)

(2) *dáx ʾay-kǘle ḥoxmá ʾəlhá hiwté-ya báqa d-áy bronà?* 'How is it that God has given all this wisdom to this young man?' (A:97)

(3) *b-áy kǘle daraiòx* *xor-ʾắt hămešá ḥărík-e d-èa.* 'With all your property, you are always busy with this.' (A:102)

When the following singular noun is indefinite, the quantifier has the sense of 'every' (i.e. the entire set of items named by the noun).

(4) *kűle məndíx kè-*ˈ … *xəlyà-hăwe*ˈ 'Everything that is sweet' (A:33)

(5) *kűle náša béla jyà hítwale.*ˈ 'Everybody had a separate house.' (A:71)

(6) *kűle ʾáṣər didán daʿwàt kolí.*ˈ 'Every evening they will invite us.' (D:6)

8.9.2.3. *Independent*

The particle may be used without any nominal being directly dependent on it. It most cases it has 3pl. reference, e.g.

(1) *kűle daʿwát kolìwalu.*ˈ 'They invited them all.' (A:42)

(2) *kűle kalwìwale-u*ˈ 'They would write everything.' (A:48)

(3) *kűle màst-yelu.*ˈ 'They were all drunk.' (A:54)

(4) *kűle maṣṣáe belà kolíwa.*ˈ 'Everybody made unleavened bread at home.' (A:67)

In (5) the particle quantifies a 1pl. referent:

(5) *kűle yătéxwa b-dáwre lə̀xle.*ˈ 'We all sat together.' (A:91)

When it has 1pl. reference, a 1pl. pronominal suffix may be attached, e.g.

(6) *mə́ṭex ta-lăxà*ˈ *kűlan gaxkanè.*ˈ 'We arrived there, all of us merry.' (E:14)

8.9.3. *tămām* 'all'

This loanword from Persian, ultimately of Arabic origin, is used before definite singular nouns with the sense of 'the whole of' or plural definite nouns with the sense of 'all'. It is normally connected to the noun by the *izafe* particle, e.g.

(1) *tămā́m-e ʿolàm*ˈ *ḥasratèf ləblá-y.*ˈ 'The whole world became envious of him.' (A:97)

(2) *tămā́m-e réša səfrá zamṭíwa mən-d-ay-jóra məndixàne.*ˈ 'They filled the whole surface of the cloth with such things.' (A:65)

(3) *ga-tămắm ʾay-haftà* 'the whole of the week' (A:63)

(4) *ga-ʾIrằn‖ ya-ga-tămắm-e mamlăkăté ke-xarə̀j m-Israyel-yén‖ lelé pătiré trè lelé-ya.‖* 'In Iran, or in all the countries that are outside of Israel, the night of Passover is two nights.' (A:62)

It may be placed after the head, e.g.

(5) *belăké gbé tămắm tamíz holìle.‖* 'They had to make the whole house clean.' (A:57)

In (6) and (7) it is used in combination with *kŭle*:

(6) *tămắm-e hulaé kŭle gezíwa báqa sahrà.‖* 'All the Jews used to go to the fields.' (B:35)

(7) *tămắm-e duktə́re kŭle zìlan‖ là kéwalu mă'alijí hòliwa.‖* 'I went to all the doctors but they could not cure me.' (C:1)

8.9.4. *rába* 'much, many

This modifies a singular noun of mass or a plural noun. It is placed either before or after the head noun, e.g.

Before head noun:

(1) *rába náše da'wàt kolíwa.‖* 'They would invite many people.' (A:75)

(2) *rába tomè kəxlə́xwa.‖* 'We ate a lot of nut kernels.' (A:91)

(3) *rába hə́rs-u jáw litwálu báqa puḷè.‖* 'They did not have much yearning for money.' (A:55)

(4) *mən-d-óa rába ʾəstəfáda kolìwa.‖* 'They derived much enjoyment form this.' (A:84)

(5) *ba-d-áy zəndəgí rába qăna'àt kólwa.‖* 'He had much contentment with this life.' (A:99)

After head noun:

(6) *duktərè rába hítwalan.‖* 'We had many doctors.' (A:69)

(7) *băṣíre ràba hítwa ga-ḥáwša našé.‖* 'There were many grapes in the courtyard of people.' (A:72)

(8) *tʷkané ràba hítwale‖* 'He had many shops.' (A:7)

(9) *dāstané rába hítwale ke-ʾaná fəkrí lèn.*| 'He (my father) had many stories that I do not remember.' (A:97)

(10) *ʾaxnì*| *fàrš rába hítwalan.*| 'We had a lot of bedding.' (A:56)

(11) *heštàn*| *wəskí rába lìtwa.*| 'There was not yet much whisky.' (A:12)

The quantifier may occur in predicate position, e.g.

(12) *xor-səní rába là-yele.*| 'My age was still not much (= I was still not very old).' (A:5)

(13) *ʾəqrà ḥoxméf rába xirté-ya*| 'so great had his wisdom become' (A:93)

(14) *qudrătéf ràba xírwa.*| 'His power had become very great.' (A:109)

It may take a pronominal suffix (§2.3.). This is usually a plural suffix and the particle has the sense of 'many of them' or 'most of, the majority of', e.g.

(15) *rábau parča-fròš-yelu.*| 'Most of them were cloth-sellers.' (A:69)

(16) *ʾənyexáe rábau mən-graní mən-báyn zìli.*| 'Many of them (the Jews) passed away due to famine.' (B:10)

The particle is often used as the intensifier of an adjective, e.g.

(17) *xá ʾambár rába rabtà hítwale.*| 'He had a very large warehouse.' (A:7)

(18) *xa-bratá mətwali-ó baqòx*| *rába zằrìf,*| *rába ʿayztà.*| 'I have arranged a girl for you, very pretty, very nice.' (A:6)

(19) *zəndəgí rába rába băsimà-yele.*| 'Life was very very pleasant.' (A:55)

8.9.5. *xet* 'other'

This is used to express 'other' both in the sense of 'different' and in the sense of 'additional'. It is an invariable particle that is used with singular or plural nouns. When combined with singular nouns, the indefinite particle *xa* is generally used (1–2), but this is not obligatory (3):

(1) *xa-năfar-xét šə́rwala baqá ʾăxonàf.*| 'She sent another person to her brother.' (A:18)

(2) *ləxmăké koliwàle-o,ˈ xa-báxta xét dăyáwale ba-tănurà.ˈ* 'They opened out the bread and another woman put it onto (the sides of) the oven.' (A:67)

(3) *xa-nắfar-ə̆č mangál nokàr,ˈ xa-sarbằz,ˈ lăpə́lwa ba-šonéf réša susí xèt.ˈ* 'Somebody like a servant, a soldier, would, moreover, follow him on another horse.' (A:16)

(4) *dūrbíne xét-ə̆č lìtwa.ˈ* 'There were no other cameras.' (A:29)

(5) *wa-maxwíwala našé xét-ə̆č ke-ga-dokèn.ˈ* 'They would show it to other people who were there.' (A:50)

The head noun may be separated from *xet* by intervening material, e.g.

(6) *yalé hulaé kurdəstanìˈ zíli báqa madrăsá ga-dóka xèt.ˈ* 'The Jewish children of Kurdistan went (until that time) to another school there.' (B:12)

The modifier *xet* may be combined with a pronominal suffix, e.g.

(7) *xa-ʾă̆xóna xetàfˈ čə́kma šoġ̀lè hité.ˈ* 'Another brother of hers has several jobs.' (A:6)

(8) *ʾă̆xonà xétiˈ* 'my other brother' (A:26)

The form *xet* is often used adverbially in constructions such as the following:

(9) *xét ṣalmé lìtwala samxá lága didí ʾána xằenaf.ˈ* 'She no longer had confidence to stand by me, whilst I could see her.' (A:22)

(10) *xét lá zàrb dăélwa ʾəláf-uˈ lá ba-putăkè dăélwaˈ ʾu-la yálef naql̀ìwa.ˈ* 'He no longer played on the drum, he did not beat the can and his children did not dance.' (A:107)

(11) *là šóqwa xét z̧ólm holì-lef.ˈ* 'He did not allow him any more to suffer injustice.' (A:109)

8.9.6. *har, har či* 'each, every'

The Iranian particle *har* is occasionally used as a modifier of singular nouns with the sense of 'each', e.g.

(1) *hár xanăwadé ta-nòšef,ˈ hár məšpaḥá ta-nòšef,ˈ gezə̀lwaˈ xa-dána tórta šăqə̀lwala.ˈ* 'Each family, each family went in their turn and bought a cow.' (A:81)

It is most frequently attested in the phrase *har-kas* 'everybody', which is loaned from Persian, e.g.

(2) *hàr-kas⌋ ga-təlḥà xanăwadé,⌋ ʾarbà xanăwadé⌋ ḥatmán ga-belèf⌋ tă-nurà-hitwa.⌋* 'Everybody, in three families, in four families, there was sure to be an oven.' (A:66)

(3) *hár-kas bi-zóa hăwéle bíš ʿayzà-y.⌋* 'Everybody who has more is (considered) better.' (A:55)

The phrase *har-či* is also used as a quantifier with the same sense, e.g.

(4) *har-čí məltè⌋ ḥasràt ləblá-y báef⌋* 'Every nation became jealous of him.' (A:95)

The particle *har* may be combined with the particle *dana*, e.g.

(5) *ga-hár daná čín xa-ləbà xéli.⌋* 'In each lock (of hair) I saw a heart.'

(6) *har-dánu píl qằmef.⌋* 'Each one of them fell before him.'

8.9.7. *čəkma* 'how much/many? several'

The quantifier *čəkma* is used interrogatively 'how much/many?', e.g.

(1) *čəkmà šəné ga-dóka xirèn?⌋* 'How many years were they there?' (B:1)

It can also be used as a non-interrogative quantifier with the sense of 'some', 'several', e.g.

(2) *xa-ʾăxóna xetàf⌋ čə́kma šoǵlè hité.⌋* 'Another brother of hers has several jobs.' (A:6)

(3) *čəkmá ʿaksé ntenìlan.⌋* 'We took some photographs'. (A:29)

(4) *čəkmá lelé qằme pătirè.⌋* 'Several nights before Passover …' (A:66)

(5) *ga-šəndà-yelan⌋ ʾày čəkmá šəné.⌋* 'We were sleeping these several years.' (E:66)

When used as a non-interrogative quantifier, it is sometimes combined with *xa*, e.g.

(6) *xá čəkmá yomé xét hál baqàf.⌋* 'In a few more days come for it.' (D:12)

(7) *bár xa-čəkmá yomé xèt⏐ kén dána dána tắra dăèn-u⏐ daʿwắtèf kolí.*⏐ 'After a few more days they came one by one and knocked on the door, and invited him.' (D:15)

8.9.8. *xašti* 'some, a few'

(1) *ga-ʾaḥrá didàn⏐ ga-Sanandàj⏐ bráta-u broná mắgar xášti waxtắrè⏐ ga-xášti tʷkè lə́xle xắenwa.*⏐ 'In our town, in Sanandaj, a girl and a boy perhaps sometimes, in some places would see each other.' (A:1)

(2) *xášti báte hìtwa⏐ tănurá-e ʿăla-ḥădá maxṣúṣ baqà⏐ pătirè hítwalu.*⏐ 'There were a few families who had a separate oven especially for Passover.' (B:18)

(3) *kŭ́le béla là tarṣíwa,⏐ xàšti báte.*⏐ 'They did not make it in every family, (only in) a few families.' (B:25)

8.9.9. *xanči* 'some, a little'

(1) *xánči ʾaràq šăténwa.*⏐ 'They drank some arak.' (A:10)

(2) *xánči puḷé pas-andắz wilìwale.*⏐ 'He had saved some money.' (D:12)

It is also used adverbially, e.g.

(3) *xánči nóšu doqìwala.*⏐ 'They held themselves back a little.' (A:31)

(4) *ga-doká xánči naqḷìwa-u*⏐ 'They danced there a little.' (A:52)

8.9.10. *baṣor, xa baṣor* 'a little'

This quantifier may be placed either before or after the nominal, e.g.

(1) *xa-baṣór púḷ píl ga-ʾilù.*⏐ 'A little money fell into their hands.' (B:56)

(2) *ʾasfanáj baṣòr hítwa ʾo-waxtắra.*⏐ 'There was only a little spinach at that time.' (B:31)

It is also used adverbially, e.g.

(3) *ba-mŭdằt-e ké⏐ bəxlé dasgiràn-yelu,⏐ bắz-ham rába baṣòr lə́xle xắenwa.*⏐ 'When they became betrothed, they still saw each other very little.' (A:3)

8.9.11. *hič*

This Iranian particle is used as a negative modifier in constructions such as the following:

(1) *ga-Sanandàj-yela,ˈ ga-hìč-t^wka xét ʾéa lìtwa.ˈ* 'It was in Sanandaj but was not found in any other place.' (B:53)

(2) *híč məndíx xét là kəxlexwa.ˈ* 'We did not eat anything else.' (B:29)

It is found in the loaned phrase *hič-kas* 'nobody', e.g.

(3) *híč-kas ləxmá bazā́r là šăqə́lwa ba-pătiré.ˈ* 'Nobody bought bread from the market at Passover.' (A:67)

(4) *híč-kas šratá lìtwale.ˈ* 'Nobody had a lamp.' (B:45)

The particle may be used without any nominal being directly dependent on it, e.g.

(5) *ʾağlă̆b-eˈ təqna-xwarèˈ ke-híč-mənu lá pišiwàˈ kằewalu-o.ˈ* 'He knew most of the old folk, none of whom were alive (by that time).' (B:63)

8.9.12. *flān* 'such-and-such'

(1) *sé flā́n t^wkà.ˈ* 'Go to such-and-such a place.' (D:11)

8.10. COMPARATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

8.10.1. biš

Comparative constructions are generally formed by placing the particle *biš* before an adjective or adverb. The item with which it is compared, if this is mentioned, is introduced by the preposition *mən* or *ta-*, e.g.

(1) *ʾă̆xoní mən-xăləstí biš-rŭwà-y.ˈ* 'My brother is bigger than my sister.'

(2) *ʾáy xămuštá ta-d-o xămuštá biš-rabtè-ya.ˈ* 'This apple is bigger than that apple.'

(3) *miḷáef-əč kòlwale,ˈ rába rába ʿayzà,ˈ rába mən-duktəré ya-kolìleˈ rába biš-ʿayzà-yele.ˈ* 'He circumcised him very well. He was much better than the doctors who do it.' (A:76)

(4) *mən-ʾəlhá biš-pìr│ hìč-kas lítwa│* 'There was nobody more senior than
God.' (A:98)

The superlative is expressed by constructions such as (5):

(5) *ʾăxoní mən-kū́le biš-rŭwà-y.│* 'My brother is the greatest (literally: is
greater than everybody).

8.10.2. *biš-zoa, bi-zoa*

The modifier *zoa* is combined with the comparative particle *biš* or the con-
tracted form *bi-*. This is placed either before or after nouns. When placed
before nouns it has the sense of 'more of' the quantity expressed by the
nominal, e.g.

(1) *bíš-zoa našé ʾəstəqbā́l kolíwa ta-lăxà.│* 'More people used to accept
(this) than here.'

When the modifier is placed after the noun it has the sense of 'more of',
'more than' or 'more by' the quantity expressed by the nominal, e.g.

(2) *dărèwa│ ʾó ya-šaqlá puḷé bi-zòa hăwə́l.│* 'He would pour it out and
the person buying it had to give more money.' (A:80)

(3) *ʾā́gar kiló bi-zóa xăráwa mastăkè,│ là dărewal-ó tʷkàf.│* 'If the yoghurt
turned out to be more than a kilo, he did not pour it back.' (A:79)

The phrase may be used independently without a head noun, e.g.

(4) *hár-kas bi-zóa hăwéle bíš ʿayzà-y.│* 'Everybody who has more is
(considered) better.' (A:55)

It may also be used adverbially in the sense of 'mostly', 'generally', e.g.

(5) *xá-ʿəda mən-našè̀│ qawmàn ké│ bi-zóa sənú ràba-yele│* 'a group of
people, our relatives, who were mostly elderly' (A:19)

(6) *ga-dokà│ táte-u daăkè│ bì-zoa│ ʾəntəxằb kolíwa│ mằni│ gorí ta-bronù.│*
'There, the fathers and mothers would generally choose who they
married to their son.' (A:2)

The opposite of *bi-zoa* is *biš baṣor* 'less', which has a similar syntax, e.g.

(7) *ʾay-šatá ʾalpá šéqel bíš basór ḥə́sli ta-šə̀tqal.│* 'This year I earned
1,000 shekels less than last year.'

The phrase *biš baṣor* may be used also in the sense of 'very little', e.g.

(8) *bíš baṣór náše hítwa ṣomá la-doqìwa.*| 'There were only a very few people who did not keep the fast. ' (B:44)

8.11. CONJOINING OF PHRASES

Nominal phrases are normally conjoined by the particle *u*, which is typically cliticized to the end of the first nominal, e.g.

(1) *jắm kménwa ba-qám kaldá-u xətnà*| 'They brought a mirror to the bride and groom.' (A:45)

(2) *Mordăxáy-u ʾEstér ga-dóka yelù.*| 'Mordechai and Esther were there.' (B:53)

(3) *ləbí jarḥanà*| *ba-kắrd-u šəmšèr.*| 'My heart is wounded with knife and sword.' (E:37)

(4) *ʾáy-u xăləstáf rád xărì.*| 'She and her sister passed by.' (A:17)

In lists of more than two items, the conjunctive particle is often attached to each item, e.g.

(5) *ʾꟻstàxr-u*| *ʾꟻsfăhằn-u*| *Golpayăgằn-u*| *Hămădằn,*| *ʾənyexáe paetaxtè*| *Kureš-e Kăbìr xirén.*| 'Istakhr, Isfahan, Golpayagan and Hamadan, these were the capitals of Cyrus the Great.' (B:1)

On some occasions the particle is attached also to the final item in the list, which gives a sense of open-endedness, e.g.

(6) *jwanqé-u piré-u ʾənšé-u guré-u ʾaméta kắle naqlìwa.*| 'Young and old, women and men all danced together.' (A:54)

(7) *ga-d-èắč*| *širìn mătíwa-u*| *klučè-u la-kắena,*| *ʾābnăbatè-u*| *nuqlè-u.*| 'In this they put sweets, cakes and I don't know what, sugar candies, confectionary.' (A:33)

Alternatively the open-endedness of the list may be expressed by using the expression *ʾexa* at the end, e.g.

(8) *mewá-u širní-u ʾexá kắle mtúlu rešá mèz-u*| 'They laid out on the table fruit, sweets and so forth.' (D:26)

A further means of expressing open-endedness is for a noun to be repeated with the replacement of the first consonant by */m/*. The effect of this is to make the class denoted by the noun more general, e.g.

(9) *ʾo-năqolé-u măqolè-u* | *măqolè-u* | *ʾonyexáe yá* ^H*gdidìm*^H*-yen* | *xărằb-yen,* | *lá kəxlilù* | *doqwalú-u šoḷətwalù* | 'He would take out the ritually un-clean parts and the like that had to be removed, those parts that were sinews and were polluted, which they did not eat, and threw them away.' (A:82)

Note the grammatical subject agreement of the conjoined phrase in (10), in which the tightly-knit phrase 'drum and pipe' is treated as singular:

(10) *dohól-u zorná lapláwa qằme.* | 'The drum and pipe went in front.' (A:10)

8.12. NUMERALS

Numerals above 'one' are combined with plural nouns. When a noun has more than one plural form, the shorter one is favoured when used with a numeral, e.g. *šata* (pl. *šəne, šatăwae*):

(1) *yála trèsar šəné,* | *xámsar šəné dòqwale.* | 'A boy twelve years old (and one) fifteen years old would observe it (the fast).' (B:44)

(2) *šatăwáe wìri.* | 'The years passed.' (E:21)

When phrases consisting of a numeral and a pronominal suffix is com-bined with the particle *har*, the sense is 'each one of …', e.g.

tə́nan	'the two of us'
har tə́nan	'each one of us two'
təlḥắnan	'the three of us'
har təlḥắnan	'each one of us three'

Numerals may be combined with the word *dana* (pl. *dane*) (literally: 'seed', 'item'), e.g.

tre dane kxəwle	'two stars'

For the distribution of *xa-dana* see §8.1.3.

Further numerical expressions:

xa ba-tre	'twofold'
tre ʾəqra	'two times (the size, quantity)'
ʾarbi mən ʾəma	'forty percent'
baqa ʾawaḷ kărat	'for the first time'
yarxa xa kărat	'once a month'
tre hafte qằme d-ea	'two weeks ago'

Expressions relating to the clock:

*sa'at čəkmè-ya?*ˈ	'What time is it?'
*sa'at xè-ya*ˈ	'It is one o'clock'
*sa'at trè-ya*ˈ	'It is two o'clock'
*sa'at tré-u pəlgè-ya*ˈ	'It is half past two'
xa-rob' qắme tre	'a quarter to two'
xa-rob' ba-tre	'a quarter to two'
tre-u xa-rob'	'a quarter past two'
xa-rob' bar tre	'a quarter past two'
xamša qắme tre	'five to two'
xamša ba-tre	'five to two'
xamša bar tre	'five past two'
xamša-u tre	'five past two'

Expressions relating to age:

brati 'əsri-u xa šateya	'My daughter is twenty-one years old'
broni tma'nisar šənele	'My son is eighteen years old'

8.13. GENDER

We shall draw attention here to some uses of the feminine gender.

8.13.1. Impersonal Pronominal Reference

A 3fs. subject of a verb may be used impersonally to refer to the general temporal situation rather than to a specified subject referent in constructions such as the following:

(1) *'o-waxtắra xăráwa bár 'arbìt*ˈ *šərú' kolíwa gəḷà čăqénwa.*ˈ 'Then, (when) it became after evening prayers (= when evening prayers were over), they began to pick grass.' (B:32)

(2) *bàr-d-o*ˈ *kyáwa ta-yomà*ˈ *hošá'na rabbà.*ˈ 'Then it came to the day of Hoshana Rabba (= then came the day of Hoshana Rabba).' (B:79)

8.13.2. Propositional Content

In various constructions pronominal and inflectional elements referring to the propositional content of the preceding or succeeding discourse are 3fs., e.g.

(1) *kəmríwa ʾéa qără mangól qắrá-e ké baqà˥ Yóna ha-nàbì,˥ baqá Yóna ha-nabì˥ wáxt-e ʾəlhá šắre baqá Babàl,˥ míre Babàl˥ sé mar-baqù˥ ʾaná Babál mărùnaf,˥ ké ʾāt-xór qəryàlox.˥* 'They would say that this was like the gourd which (appeared) for Jonah the prophet, for Jonah the prophet, when God sent him to Babylon and said "Go and tell Babylon that I shall destroy Babylon," which you surely have read about.' (B:77)

(2) *ʾó-waxtăra mangól lăxá là-yela˥ har-năfár xá toránj-u xá luláv šăqàl.˥* 'At that time it was not like here whereby everybody buys an etrog and palm frond.' (B:80)

8.14. ADVERBIAL EXPRESSIONS

Several nominals are used with the function of adverbials without an explicit marking of their relation by a preposition.

The majority of these are temporal expressions, e.g. *xa-yomá* 'one day' (A:17), *ʾo-yomà* 'on that day' (A:88), *ʾo-lelé* 'that night' (A:26), *léle reš-šatá* 'on New Year's Eve' (A:65), *lelăwáe* 'in the evenings' (A:99), *lelăwáe sətwá* 'on winter evenings' (A:89).

The noun *bela* 'house' is often used as a spatial adverbial, e.g.

(1) *belá yătùwa.˥* 'He would sit at home.' (A:99)

(2) *kửle maṣṣáe belà kolíwa.˥* 'Everybody made unleavened bread at home.' (A:67)

(3) *kửle náše ḥẩz kolíwale belù˥ ʾilané băṣirè hăwé.˥* 'Everybody wanted there to be grape vines in their home.' (A:72)

In some cases parallel temporal or spatial adverbial expressions are used with prepositions, e.g. *ga-lelé reš-šatà˥* 'on New Year's Eve' (A:86), *ga-yomà˥ reš-šatà˥* 'on the day of New Year' (A:9), *ga-yomăwáe nəxlà˥* 'on days of rain' (A:78), *ga-belá* 'at home' (A:36). It should be noted that the spatial adverbs *lăxa* 'here' and *doka* 'there' can themselves take the locative prepositions *ga-* and *ba-*, e.g. *ga-lăxá* (A:50), *ba-lăxá* (A:107), *ga-dokà˥* (A:51).

On some occasions nominals without prepositions occur with verbs of movement to express the place of destination, e.g.

(4) *našé gezíwa-o belà-u˥* 'The people went back home.' (A:49)

(5) *ʾaxní kénwa belán yătìwa.˥* 'We would return to our home and sit.' (A:80)

(6) *bə́qăta šăbát gbé famíl hé belá xətnà.*ˈ 'On Sabbath morning the family had to go to the home of the groom.' (A:53)

(7) *bár-d-o kenwá-o be-kaldà.*ˈ 'Afterwards they would come back to the house of the bride.' (A:39)

(8) *məntắke d-áy našé ba-dohól-u zornà*ˈ *gezíwa baqá kaldá hămeníla be-xətnà.*ˈ 'The people went with it with drum and pipe to the bring the bride to the house of the groom.' (A:44)

(9) *nóšu lablíwale ʾorxèl.*ˈ 'They would themselves take it to the mill.' (A:58)

(10) *tămắm-e duktóre kắle zìlan.*ˈ 'I went to all the doctors.' (C:1)

(11) *píl ʾărà.*ˈ 'He fell to the ground.'

Some adjectives are used adverbially to express the manner of action. This applies especially to *ʿayza* 'well', e.g.

(12) *ḥaštăké ʿayzà wílalox.*ˈ 'You have done the job well.'

9. THE SYNTAX OF VERBS

9.1. PRELIMINARY REMARKS

The verbal forms are categorized here according to their structure. The categories include the forms derived from the present base (*gărəš, gărəšwa*), the forms derived from past bases (*grəšle, grəšwale, smix, smixwa*) and the compound forms containing a resultative participle and copula (*gərša-y, smixa-y*). For convenience of reference, these designations, which are the patterns of stem I forms of the strong root *grš* 'to pull' (tr.)[6] and *smx* 'to stand' (intransitive) are used to refer also to equivalent structures in weak and irregular verbs and to stem II, stem III and quadriliteral verbs.

9.2. THE FUNCTION OF VERB FORMS DERIVED FROM THE PRESENT BASE

9.2.1. *gărəš*

This form expresses both the realis and irrealis moods. Some weak verbs, including verba primae /ʾ/ and commonly occurring irregular verbs, make a formal distinction between realis *gărəš* and irrealis *gărəš* by prefixing to the realis form the particle *k-* or its voiced counterpart *g-*, e.g. *kxəl* 'He eats' (*ʾxl*), *kwəl* 'He gives' (*hwl*), *kol* 'He makes' (*ʾwl*), *gbe* 'He wants' (*ʾby*). In the majority of verbs, however, no such particle is attached to the form *gărəš* when it expresses realis so there is no structural distinction between the moods.

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[6] The root *qṭl*, which is generally used, is avoided due to the fact that it undergoes various resyllabifications in paradigms with L-suffixes.

9.2.1.1. Irrealis *gărəš*

As remarked, the irrealis *gărəš* form is formally distinct from the realis form only in a few verbs with an initial weak consonant and in some irregular verbs. The following description of its function, therefore, is based primarily on the distribution of formally distinct irrealis forms. In general terms, it can be said that the irrealis *gărəš* expresses an action that has not been realized in the perception of the speaker but is only potential or an action whose reality is not fully asserted by the speaker. It is used in a variety of contexts. Most of its occurrences are found in syntactically subordinate clauses, though it is also used in main clauses. It expresses either a perfective aspect, referring to one punctual event, or an imperfective aspect, referring to an unbounded situation.

(i) Deontic Modality in Main Clauses

When the form occurs in main clauses, it usually expresses deontic modality, i.e. it contains an element of will, and in most cases the verb has a volitive ('I wish to …') or an exhortative sense ('Let me, let us,' etc.). Such verbs can be used in all persons:

(1) *ja-ʾătà⸣ ba-rajə́ʾ ba-xlulà hámna báqa didòx.⸣* 'Now, let me tell you about a wedding.' (A:30)

(2) *ba-ʾána hezn-ó báqa Fărànsa.⸣* 'Let me go back to France.' (B:62)

(3) *ba-lăxá zəndəgì holét.⸣* 'May you live a life here.' (A:107)

(4) *kasábe ʾomdé lìtwalan ga-Kurdəstä́n⸣ hamrét xà.⸣* 'We did not have big traders in Kurdistan at all (literally: say one [if you can]).' (B:12)

(5) *hezéx dokà.⸣* 'Let us go there.'

(6) *ʾarzóx hòna.⸣* 'Let me tell you (literally: let me make your petition).' (B:26)

This deontic use of *gărəš* is found in prayer formula expressions such as the following:

(7) *ʾəlhá mănìxle.⸣* 'May God grant him rest.' (A:14)

(8) *ʾəlhá šóqla ta-daăkèf.⸣* 'May God preserve his mother.' (A:17)

(9) *ʾəlhà manté,| ba-zăxút ʾo-sefarè| na-raḥătí ta-híč băné ʿolä́m là-hăwəl.|* 'May God grant (this), by the virtue of the Torah scrolls, may He not give distress to any person.' (C:14)

(10) *ʾəlhá kǎ́ram hól ba-kǜle ʾómte ʿolä́m.|* 'May God give grace to all the nations of the world.' (C:14)

The form is used in some main clause questions expressing deontic necessity (must, ought to, should) or deontic possibility, i.e. permission (may, might, can, could), e.g.

(11) *mà honá?|* 'What should I do?' (C:11)

(12) *hezan-ò?|* 'Should I go back?' (C:12)

(13) *léka heznà?|* 'Where should I go?' (D:11)

(14) *ba-mà-jor hezná belú?|* 'How should I go to their house?' (D:15)

A number of particles are optionally used before the irrealis *gǎrəš* form to express deontic modality. These include *mar* and *ba*, e.g.

(15) *mar-hè.|* 'Let him come.'

(16) *ba-ʾaxə̀l.|* 'Let him eat.'

Examples from the text corpus:

(17) *ba-ʾənyaxáe ʾǎlètun.|* 'You should know these things.' (B:73)

(18) *dú ga-pulǎké ba-naqlèx!|* 'Beat on the drum and let us dance!' (A:107)

(19) *qeméx-u hezèx| ba-là lapléx xǎ́re|* 'Let us set off and go, let us not be left behind.' (E:2)

Note the combination of a 2nd person deontic verb and an imperative in (20):

(20) *ʾàt gezét se-ó.| ʾána là gezán.|* '*You* go back. I shall not go.' (C:12)

When 2nd person irrealis *gǎrəš* verb forms are negated they express prohibitions, e.g.

(21) *mən-d-áy ləxmá là ʾaxlétun!|* 'Do not eat any of this bread!' (B:23)

Such prohibitions may be combined with a deontic particle, e.g.

(22) *lá báda mən-d-áy ləxmá ʾaxlètun!|* 'Do not eat any of this bread!' (B:23)

(ii) Epistemic Modality

In some contexts a irrealis *gằrəš* form has epistemic modality, indicating that the speaker is not fully committed to the truth of what the verb is expressing. This is the case, for example, after the particle *baškam/baška* 'perhaps':

(1) *baškám lišanán lá-hela qằṭè.*⌇ 'Perhaps our language will not become extinct.' (E:75)

(2) *báška ʾəlhà-y*⌇ *ʾənyexáe bằruxéf xằrì wá*⌇ *hélu daʿwatèf holí.*⌇ 'Perhaps, God willing, they would become his friends and would be able to invite him.' (D:5)

(3) *xá bratá mằʿarəfì wilálu báef*⌇ *kè*⌇ *báška xlulà-č hól*⌇ 'They introduced a girl to him, whom he could perhaps marry.' (D:17)

      In (4) the modality of the verb reflects the lack of full conviction on the part of the speaker that her son (her interlocutor) will indeed go to work:

(4) *ʾanà*⌇ *rába paṣxắna ʾ ất hezét ḥaštà-u*⌇ 'I am very happy if you go to work.' (D:23)

      It is also found in the interrogative construction in (5) where the speaker is expressing disbelief in the idea of abandoning her children:

(5) *ʾanà*⌇ *šoqú ba-tʷkà-u*⌇ *hiyán ga-lằxá yằtàn?!*⌇ 'Should I leave them (my children) there and come to live here?!' (C:6)

      Similarly in (6), the speaker describes a situation in the future from the possibility of which she wishes to distance herself:

(6) *nằwagí hén-u hezí ga-garè-u*⌇ *ʾəlhá la holanè*⌇ *laplì.*⌇ 'My grandchildren would come and go onto the roof and, God forfend, fall off.' (C:6)

(iii) Habitual

The irrealis *gằrəš* form is occasionally used to express a habitual situation. This is attested in negated clauses as in (1) below. Here, as often in other contexts, the verb has past time reference, taking the past reference of verbs in the surrounding discourse as its deictic centre, e.g.

(1) *lá-hezi qámxa šaqlì.*⌇ 'They would not go and buy flour.' (A:60)

(iv) Conditional Constructions

The irrealis *gắrəš* form is sometimes used in the protasis and/or the apodosis of conditional sentences, which refer to possible rather than real situations, e.g.

(1) *ʾắgar mən-d-áy ləxmá ʾaxlètuṇ,¹ kasăxún bazyà.¹* 'If you eat any of this bread, your stomach will burst.' (B:23)

(2) *ʾắgar hét belì¹ ləxmà kəwnóx.¹* 'If you come to my house, I shall give you bread.'

(3) *ʾắgar kiló bi-zóa xăráwa mastăkè,¹ là dărewal-ó tᵂkàf,¹ dărèwa¹ ʾó ya-šaqlá puḷé bi-zòa hăwál.¹* 'If the yoghurt turned out to be more than a kilo, he did not pour it back, but he would pour it out and the person buying it would give more money.' (A:79)

(4) *wa-ʾắgar čănắnče xa-našá na-raḥătí hăwèle,¹ ʾắle báef.¹* 'If a person had a grievance, he would know about it.' (A:108)

Note also the idiomatic usage of the irrealis *gắrəš* in constructions with the verb *ʾmr* 'to say' such as (5), which express a possible rather than a real event:

(5) *ga-dokà¹ rába našè¹ rába hamrét dawlamán hăwèn,¹ dawlamán là-yelu.¹* 'There you would say that many people were rich, but they were not rich.' (A:55)

(v) Generic Relative Clauses

The irrealis *gắrəš* form is used in relative clauses qualifying heads that have generic reference rather than specific referents, e.g.

(1) *har-kás hé lăxá puḷè kə́wnef.¹* 'I shall give money to whomsoever comes here'.

(2) *ba-tăfawót-e našăkè,¹ čəkmá năfăre-hítwalu xála ʾaxlì¹* 'according to the different (numbers) of people, how many people they had who eat food' (B:17)

(vi) Subordinate Complements

The irrealis *gắrəš* occurs in subordinate clauses that are complements of various verbs and expressions when the action of the verb in the subordinate clause is as yet unrealized relative to the time of the main verb. The form is

used not only with present tense main verbs, but also with main verbs that have past time reference, in which the form takes the past reference of the main verb as its deictic centre.

In a number of cases the clause expresses some kind of deontic modality (wish, intention, permission, obligation), e.g.

(1) *gbén dasgiranì šarbát hámya baqí.ǀ* 'I want my betrothed to bring sherbet to me.' (A:23)

(2) *gbén xlulà holí.ǀ* 'They want to hold the wedding.' (A:30)

(3) *ḥáz kolíwa hén béla didán yătì ʾonyexáe.ǀ* 'They wanted to come to our house and sit.' (A:80)

(4) *kə́mna ta-roxàǀ lăxà hamyaláx.ǀ* 'I shall tell the wind to bring you here.' (E:49)

Deontic necessity is often expressed by the impersonal verbal expression *gbe* 'it is necessary' or its past form *gbewa* 'it was necessary', e.g.

(5) *gbé het-ó baqá ʾaḥrà.ǀ* 'You must come back to the town.' (A:6)

(6) *gbé het-ó məntắke d-ó komák holèt.ǀ* 'You must come back and help him.' (A:27)

(7) *gbé xlulà holí.ǀ* 'They must marry'. (A:31)

(8) *bəqắtà-čǀ gbé paxasùǀ hezàǀ ʾay-stačé băkarắt-eǀ d-ay-kaldàǀ lablálu báqa tata-u-daăkàǀ* 'In the morning the "woman inspector" has to go and take the "sheets of virginity" of the bride to the father and mother.' (A:50)

(9) *gbéwa xətná hezl-ó be-kaldăkè.ǀ* 'The groom had to go back to the bride's home.' (A:51)

(10) *gbéwa ham-dàrs qăréna-uǀ ham-ḥaštà-hona ga-bánk.ǀ* 'I had both to study and to work in a bank.' (A:27)

(11) *gbéwa xá-ʿəda mən-náše pìreǀ xanăwadàǀ hezí baqàǀ xosté xlulà.ǀ* 'A few senior people of the family had to go to request the marriage.' (A:30)

Similarly the form is used to express deontic possibility (permission), e.g.

(12) *ʾijazá hùlmuǀ ke-ʾaxní xlulà holéx.ǀ* 'Give permission for us to hold the wedding.' (A:31)

(13) *ḥălăl-ye baqóx ga-béla huláa ʾaxlét xalà.*⎮ 'It is permitted for you to eat food in the house of Jew.' (B:65)

(14) *là šóqwa xét ẕólm holì-lef.*⎮ 'He did not allow them to harm him any more.' (A:109)

(15) *là šoqét ʾazyătú holí.*⎮ 'Do not allow them to disturb them.' (B:85)

It is used also in complements of expressions of prohibition, e.g.

(16) *ʾasúr-ile báqa didàn*⎮ *m-širinè ʾaxléx.*⎮ 'It is forbidden for us to eat any sweets.' (B:29)

The irrealis form is used in clauses expressing purpose. In some cases these are introduced by subordinating particles and expressions such as *ke* and *baqa*, though in many cases purpose clauses are placed after the clause on which they are dependent without a linking conjunction, e.g.

(17) *leléf-o zílex baqà*⎮ *širinì hămex-ó.*⎮ 'On that very night we went to fetch the sweets.' (A:19)

(18) *məntắke d-áy našé ba-dohól-u zornà*⎮ *gezíwa baqá kaldá hămeníla be-xətnà.*⎮ 'The people went with it with drum and pipe to the bride to bring her to the house of the groom.' (A:44)

(19) *wa-maxwíwala našé xét-či ke-ga-dokèn*⎮ *ke-ʾălén ʾay-bratà*⎮ *bătulà xirté-ya.*⎮ 'They would show them to other people who were there so that they would know that the girl was a virgin.' (A:50)

(20) *gbéwa xa-párča zayrá dăén ba-lăxàw*⎮ *b-lá səngù*⎮ *ké ʾălén ʾənyexáe hulaèn.*⎮ 'They had to put a patch of yellow here, on their chest so that they (the Muslims) knew that they were Jews.' (A:78)

(21) *báqa d-ó ʾălè*⎮ *ké raʿyăté, našèf,*⎮ *našé ʾáy mamlăkătà*⎮ *dàx zəndəgí kolí*⎮ *dàx lá kolí,*⎮ *gezál lelăwàe ləbā́s-e dawreší lóšwa.*⎮ 'In order that he might know how his subjects, his people, the people of his kingdom lived, he would go at night wearing the clothes of a beggar.' (A:108)

(22) *tór mătə́xwa ba-dawré qàt*⎮ *ké păšá là hé loʿá.*⎮ 'We would put a net around the bed so that mosquitoes did not come inside.'

The irrealis form is also used in a variety of other subordinate complement clauses in which the action or situation expressed in the subordinate clause is potential in relation to the main verb rather than one that actually exists. It is commonly attested, for example, in clauses that are the comple-

ment of expressions of ability formed by the verb 'to come' and L-suffixes (*keli* 'I am able', *kewali* 'I was able' etc.):

(23) *kéli hèna.*ˈ 'I can come.'

(24) *ˀò kéwalan ˀaxléx.*ˈ '*That* we could eat.' (B:29)

(25) *ˀáxni nóšan là kewalán*ˈ *xalwăké hămèxile.*ˈ 'We could not fetch milk ourselves.' (A:63)

It is used in complements of expressions of 'fearing' before the conjunction *la-ba*, which consists of the negator *la* and the deontic particle *ba*, e.g.

(26) *ˀaná zădéna lá-ba hè.*ˈ 'I fear lest he come.'

The form is used after the temporal conjunctions with the sense of 'before' or 'until' in clauses describing an event that has not yet happened from the perspective of the main clause, e.g.

(27) *qắme d-ó-č xlúla holì*ˈ *kắle be-bătulà-yen.*ˈ 'Before they marry, they are all non-virgins.' (A:50)

(28) *qắme d-óa ˀána b-ʕolắm henà,*ˈ *hulaé wáxt-e zilén waryà,*ˈ *maxṣuṣán ga-yomăwáe nəxlà,*ˈ *gbéwa xa-párča zayrá dăén ba-lăxàu*ˈ *b-lắ səngù.*ˈ *ké ˀalén ˀənyexáe hulaèn.*ˈ 'Before I was born, when the Jews went outside, especially on rainy days, they had to put a patch of yellow here, on their chest.' (A:78)

(29) *susyăké mən-sarbāzxané kméwale qam-tắrà,*ˈ *həl-didí markùwa*ˈ *ta-hezn-ó báqa sarbāzxanè.*ˈ 'He would bring the horse from the barracks to the door, he would mount me (on the horse), (and wait for me) until I went back to the barracks.' (A:16)

Further cases of the irrealis include constructions such as (30)–(32) in which the complement describes an event that is not realized:

(30) *ṣalmé lìtwala*ˈ *qắme xəmá-u xmalá ya-ˀaxóne dasgiranáf hiyá waryà.*ˈ 'She was shy to come out before her father-in-law and mother-in-law or the brother of her betrothed.' (A:4)

(31) *mangól lăxá là-yele*ˈ *hezí xa-dána šaqlì.*ˈ 'It was not the case that they went to buy one, as (they do) here.' (B:76)

(32) *dáx famóx zilà*ˈ *məntăkóx hămèta?!* 'How did you forget to bring it with you?!' (E:33)

9.2.1.2. Realis *gărəš*

(i) Progressive

The realis form may express an imperfective progressive aspect, i.e. an activity that is taking place in the present or, in the case of stative verbs, a state that holds at the present moment ('actual present'), e.g.

(1) *ʾătá kxəl.* ⌐ 'Now he is eating.'

(2) *léka gezèt?* ⌐ 'Where are you going?'

(3) *xá-gora gbelòx.* ⌐ 'A man wants (to see) you.' (A:20)

(4) *mălé!* ⌐ 'That is enough!' (A:77)

(5) *mà baxyát?* ⌐ 'Why are you crying?' (C:4)

 The verb may express an action that is in progress at the time of the occurrence of another event, overlapping with it temporally. Very often the event in question has past time reference, and the progressive *gărəš* form takes this past reference as its deictic centre, e.g.

(6) *xét ṣalmé lìtwala samxá lága didí ʾána xăènaf.* ⌐ 'She no longer had confidence to stand by me, whilst I could see her.' (A:22)

(7) *tá pəlgà-lele* ⌐ *xa-sáʿat bár pólga-lele yătùwa.* ⌐ *hár qằre.* ⌐ 'He would sit until midnight, an hour after midnight, still reading.' (A:100)

 When the *gărəš* form expresses the progressive, it is sometimes preceded by the infinitive of the verbal root in question (§9.16.2.1.), e.g.

(8) *šătoé šătèna.* ⌐ 'I am drinking.'

(ii) Habitual

The realis form may express an imperfective habitual aspect, presenting an activity as a characteristic property of the subject referent, it being either an iterative or permanent situation. In principle it has present tense reference, i.e. the deictic centre of the tense is the time of speaking, e.g.

(1) *ʾáy šwáwa didàn* ⌐ *gezə́l ṣiwé mən-jangáḷ kmé zăbə̀nu.* ⌐ 'This neighbour of ours goes and brings branches of wood from the woods and sells them.' (A:102)

(2) *Lelangè kəmrex-ʾàxni.* ⌐ 'We say *Lelange* (for Purim).' (A:57)

(3) *xa-məndìx-ye� ké pərčé komà kolú.�* 'It is a thing that makes hair
     black.' (A:40)

(4) *šìʿá hulàe ba-nằjəs kằelu.�* 'A Shiʿite considers Jews unclean.' (B:64)

It is used with this aspect also to express the persistence of a habitual
situation in constructions such as (5), which would be rendered in English
by a perfect:

(5) *ḥāqéx b-áy lišanà� mən-dawrá-u dawrằn.�* 'We have been speaking in
     this language for many generations.' (E:7)

The form may take the past time reference of an adjacent past verb as
its deictic centre. This is often the case in subordinate clauses, where the
main clause has a past verb form, e.g.

(6) *ʾáy baxtá-u ʾáy gorà� băxeḷì lablíwa l-d-áy góra xét ké� ba-d-áy jóra
     zəndəgí kòl.�* 'The woman and the man were jealous of the other
     man who lived in this way.' (A:103)

(iii) Narrative Present

The realis *gărəš* form may be used to denote foreground events in a narra-
tive. In such cases it presents the events as punctual with a perfective aspect
and with their deictic temporal centre in the present. This type of 'present
historic' construction typically occurs after the past time reference has been
established by a preceding past verb form. It is particularly commonly used
with verbs of 'saying', e.g.

(1) *daăkí híya Tarằn⌍ kəmrá ta-lə́ma ləbá hitóx baxtá gorèt?⌍* 'My mother
     came to Tehran and says …' (A:5)

(2) *ʾána xa-yomá réša susì-yeli⌍ ʾáy-u xaləstáf rád xărì,⌍ xaləstáf kəmrá
     baqàf⌍* 'One day I was on a horse. She and her sister pass by and
     her sister says to her …' (A:17)

(3) *báxtef zíla ṭălắbè.⌍ kə́mra …* 'His wife went and criticized (him).
     She says …' (A:102)

(4) *ḥqeli-ó báqa tatí ʾəlhá mănixà.⌍ tatí kmə̀r⌍ ʾì⌍ kằenef-o.⌍* 'I told this to
     my father, may God grant him rest. My father says "Yes, I know
     him."' (B:61)

(5) *bar-xa-mŭdát-xet daăkí híya ba-šoní ʾắxa kòla⌍* 'After a while my
     mother came after me and says (literally: does) thus … ' (A:27)

In (6) the narrative shifts into the *gărəš* form at a climactic point when a long awaited event finally occurred:

(6) *bár xa-čəkmá yomé xèt⌐ kén dána dána tắra dăèn-u⌐ daʿwătèf kolí.⌐*
'After a few more days they came one by one and knocked on the door, and invited him.' (D:15)

(iv) Performative

Another perfective use of the realis *gărəš* form is to express the performative present, i.e. the action denoted by the verb is performed by the act of uttering it, e.g.

(1) *ʾaná daʿwát konóx lelé pătiré hál lăxà!⌐* 'I invite you to come here on the eve of Passover!' (A:57)

(v) Future

The realis *gărəš* form may be used with a future tense reference. In such cases it may have a perfective or imperfective aspect. Most cases attested in the text corpus are perfective and refer to a single specific event, e.g.

(1) *ʾána kéna báqa ʾIsràyəl.⌐* 'I shall come to Israel.' (C:3)

(2) *morăxăṣ̀ì šaqná-u,⌐ ken-ò.⌐* 'I shall take leave and shall come back.' (A:7)

(3) *ʾaná jə́ns kəwná ba-ʾilòx.⌐* 'I shall give to you some cloth.' (A:103)

(4) *ʾaná ga-ʾIrä́n là gezan-ó.⌐* 'I shall not go back to Iran.' (C:12)

The future verb in (5) has an imperfective iterative aspect:

(5) *kū́le ʾáṣər didán daʿwàt kolí.⌐* 'Every evening they will invite us.' (D:6)

9.2.2. *gărəšwa*

As is the case with *gărəš*, the past form *gărəšwa* has both a realis and an irrealis function. This distinction is formally marked in the same group of verbs as mark it in the *gărəš* form.

9.2.2.1. Irrealis *gărəšwa*

The irrealis *gărəšwa* form may be used in main or subordinate clauses. As is the case with the *gărəš* irrealis, the *gărəšwa* irrealis expresses either a perfective aspect, referring to one punctual event, or an imperfective aspect, referring to a continuous activity.

(i) Main Clauses

In main clauses the irrealis *gărəšwa* form is used to express a counterfactual situation in the past, generally expressing deontic modality , e.g.

(1)   *már hèxwa.*| 'Let us suppose we had come.'

(2)   *maḥnəqnàwa-lef!*| 'I could have throttled him!'

In some contexts it has epistemic modality, indicating the fact that the speaker is not fully committed to the truth of what the verb is expressing. It is attested, for example, after the particle *mãgar* 'perhaps' in (3):

(3)   *mãgar xášti jwané heziwà-o,*| *xà-saʿat,*| *trè-saʿate,*| *ga-béla gănénwa-u*
      henwà-o.| 'Perhaps a few youngsters went back, slept for an hour
      or two at home and then came back.' (B:74)

Note also the epistemic modality of the verb *ʾmr* 'to say' in contexts such as (4), where it has present rather than past time reference. The past form, therefore, is being used here to express distance from reality rather than distance from the temporal present. The form is used here to introduce by way of illustration the range of jobs the brother used to do, though, no doubt since he cannot remember exactly, he is cautiously not asserting that these were the jobs he really did:

(4)   *xa-ʾăxóna xetàf*| *čákma šoğlè hité.*| *măsălàn*| *hamrə́nwa baqòx*| *nàft*
      zăbə́nwa,| *mašrùb zăbə́nwa.*| 'Another brother of hers has several
      jobs. For example, I would say to you, he used to sell oil, he used
      to sell drinks.' (A:6–7)

The form may be used to express an impossible situation in the future in constructions such as (5):

(5)   *kaškáqóme henàwa!*| 'If only I were coming tomorrow (but I am
      not able to do so).'

(ii) Conditional Constructions

The irrealis *gằrəšwa* form is used in conditional constructions referring to a habitual situation in the past, e.g.

(1) *ʾằgár xa-năfár hezə́lwa ... báqa máre tʷkaná hằmə̀rwa⌐ xá kílo xéta hol̀ì,⌐ mastà holí.⌐ ʾằgar kiló bi-zóa xằráwa mastằkè,⌐ là dằrewal-ó tʷkàf.⌐* 'If somebody went ... and said to a shop owner "Give me a kilo of such-and-such a thing, give me yoghurt," if the yoghurt turned out to be more than a kilo, he did not pour it back.' (A:79)

The form is used also in counterfactual conditional constructions relating to the past, e.g.

(2) *ʾằgár ʾằlénawa ʾằt ga-lằxèt,⌐ ʾaná dernawa-ò.⌐* 'If I had known that you were here, I would have returned.'

(iii) Generic Relative Clause

The irrealis form is used in relative clauses that qualify heads with generic reference, e.g.

(1) *hár-kas hewalè⌐* 'whoever was able ...' (A:57)

(iv) Subordinate Complements

The past irrealis is most commonly attested in subordinate clauses that are complements of past tense verbs and express actions that are unrealized at the time referred to by the main verb. The various type of irrealis function in this context parallel those of the *gằrəš* form.

It is used after deontic main verbs or expressions, e.g.

(1) *bàr-d-o⌐ gbéwa hezíwa zằrá šaqlì,⌐ zằrằké hằmènwale-o⌐ ga-béla dána dána gằbènwale,⌐ tằmíz holìwale.⌐* 'Afterwards they had to go and buy wheat, bring the wheat back, sort it grain by grain in the house and clean it.' (A:58)

(2) *pirè⌐ gbéwa ʾemzà holiwalá.⌐* 'The elders had to make a signature.' (A:48)

(3) *gbéwa hezə́lwa ga-dóka nóšef dằbəḥwalu-ò.⌐* 'He had to go there and slaughter them himself.' (A:73)

(4) *lelằwáe gbéwa hezə́lwa belà.⌐* 'In the evenings he had to go home.' (A:106)

The irrealis form is used after negative expressions denying the reality of a situation in the past, as in (5):

(5) ʾáy lá-yele blané-u broné mangál ʾătà˭ ʾăzàd hăwén-u˭ lóxle xằen-u,˭
     lóxle pasnì-u˭ məntắke lóxle hezíwa waryá čəkmá mŭdătè-u˭ 'It did
     not happen that, like now, the girls and boys were free to see one
     another and become fond of one another, or that they went out
     together for some time.' (A:1)

9.2.2.2. Realis gằrəšwa

(i) Progressive

The realis form may be used to express an imperfective progressive aspect in the past. This is the case in (1) where the act of 'looking' is circumstantial and temporally overlapping with the actions expressed by the following perfective verbs:

(1) har-ʾăxá tămašà kolóxwa.˭ … mən-lăḥằl ʾo-xiyàli.˭ míru ʾéa xăləstá
     Xanắkè-ya.˭ 'We were just looking on. … I saw her from afar. They
     said "That is the sister of Xanăka."' (A:12–14)

In (2) the first clause with the gằrəšwa form is circumstantial to the habitual action expressed in the second clause:

(2) syamé là lošíwa kénwa kništá.˭ 'They came to the synagogue (while)
     they were not wearing shoes.' (B:46)

(ii) Habitual

The form is most commonly used in the text corpus to refer to habitual or iterative actions in the past, e.g.

(1) gezíwa báqa ḥằmằm.˭ 'They would go to the bath.' (A:36)

(2) rába famíl daʿwát kolìwale.˭ 'They would invite a lot of family.'
     (A:33)

(3) ʾafsărè˭ ʾartèš˭ rakwíwa susì.˭ susì kwiwàlu.˭ 'Officers, in the army,
     would ride on a horse. They would give them a horse.' (A:15)

Verbs with this function may be linked to express a series of sequential events, e.g.

(4) *ʾéa gezə́lwa ga-pliyáw jangàḷ.|* *ʾilanè gardə́qwa-u| kmèwalu| ga-ʾaḥrá zắbə̀nwalu.|* 'He used to go to the woods. He used to gather (branches from) trees, bring them back and sell them in the town.' (A:98)

(5) *gezə́xwa be-kaldà.|* *kaldá kménwala tèx.|* 'We would go to the house of the bride. They brought the bride down.' (A:46)

(6) *bár-d-o kenwá-o be-kaldà.|* *ga-dokà| nằhằr kwíwalu.|* 'Afterwards they came back to the house of the bride. There they gave them lunch.' (A:39)

(7) *xwanăké kmenwalà-u| gezíwa báqa béla nòšu.|* 'They delivered the table, then went to their homes.' (A:11)

9.2.3. The Distribution of *gắrəš* and *gắrəšwa*

It has been noted that the *gắrəš* form, when having either realis and or irrealis functions, is often used with the past time reference of the surrounding context. The use of the *gắrəšwa* form with the heavier morphological coding than the simple *gắrəš* form is often motivated by the position of the verbal form in a section of discourse. In a number of cases in the text corpus the heavier form tends to be used at the end of a discourse unit. This can be seen clearly in examples such as (1) and (2):

(1) *g-o-dimàf| kaldá-u xətná **samxì**| g-ay-lág-əč našé **samxìwa**.|* 'On one side stood the bride and groom and on the other side stood the people.' (A:47)

(2) *ʾáy gbéwa **hezə́l** baqá xá-tʷka kəmríwala qắṣābxanà.|* *yáni ga-d-ó-tʷka ya-toryú ʾərbú ʾonyexáe dabḥi-ò,|* *gbéwa **hezə́lwa** ga-dóka nóšef dăbəḥwalu-ò.|* 'He had to go to a place called the "butcher's shop." That is in that place where they slaughtered their cows and sheep, he had to go there and slaughter them himself.' (A:73)

9.3. THE FUNCTION OF VERB FORMS DERIVED FROM PAST BASES

9.3.1. *grəšle* (transitive), *smix* (intransitive)

(i) Preterite

These forms are functionally equivalent, the split between the two being determined by the transitivity of the verb. They are most commonly used in the text corpus as preterites to refer perfectively to specific events at a particular time in the past. They are typically used to express the sequential events of a narrative, e.g.

(1)   *ʾərqála zíla tíwa ga-xa-ʾotằq.| ta-nóšaf tărăké mə́zra ba-réša-nòšaf.| tằra mə́zra ba-réša nòšaf.|* 'She fled and sat in a room. She closed the door behind her (literally: upon her).' (A:22)

(2)   *zíl lagèf-u| méle mtùle-u| ʾay-zíl jə́ns ləblè.|* 'He went to him, brought it (the cloth) and put it down (for him).' (A:105)

(3)   *ʾo-lelé xa-šắm mfằṣál híwlu baqàn-u| ʾaná ʾo-lelé la-zìna-o belá,| ga-doká gnèna.|* 'That night they gave us a copious dinner. I did not go back home that night but rather I slept there.' (A:26)

(4)   *daăkí-č híya báqa Tarằn,| míra baqì|* 'My mother came to Tehran and said to me ...' (A:18)

The form may express a single event that had an inception and an end in the past but had a duration that extended over a period of time. This applies, for example, to the event 'we worked together' in (5) which would have lasted several weeks:

(5)   *hiyen-ó zína tíwna lagèf-u| bəxlé ḥaštá wilàn-u| ḥaštán ʿayztà-yela-u| rába ʿayztà-yela-u.|* 'I went back and stayed with him. We worked together. Our work (together) was good, very good.' (A:28)

In (6) the form is used to express a habitual situation that had an endpoint at the reference time of the surrounding narrative:

(6)   *yalé hulaé kurdəstanì| zíli báqa madrăsá ga-dóka xèt.|* 'The Jewish children of Kurdistan went (until that time) to another school there.' (B:12)

The extended period may overlap with other events described in the surrounding discourse. In (7), for example, the adverbial clause 'when I got married' is intended to set the temporal frame for the period of all the events relating to the wedding that are narrated in the subsequent discourse:

(7)   ʾaná wáxt-e xlulá wilì˥ ga-Taràn-yeli nóši.˥ daăkí híya Taràn˥ kəmrá … 'When I married, I myself was in Tehran. My mother came to Tehran and said …' (A:5)

In (8)–(11) the preterite is used to express a completed event that sets the frame for a following habitual action:

(8)   bar-d-èa˥ ʾay-mărasə́m tìm,˥ našé gezíwa-o belà-u˥ 'After that, when the ceremony had finished, people went home.' (A:49)

(9)   ʾo-lelè-č˥ pəsrá tìm,˥ məšxà kəxlíwa.˥ 'On that night (when) the meat was finished, they used to eat dairy food.' (A:63)

(10) pătiré ʾəwìra.˥ kyáwa ʾăṣàrta.˥ '(When) Passover passed, Pentecost came.' (B:37)

(11) ʾéa qəryàlu,˥ qemíwa-u kenwá-o belà.˥ '(When) they had read it, they got up and went home.' (B:53)

Such frame setting clauses may be explicitly subordinated syntactically in a temporal clause, e.g.

(12) wáxt-e ṣomá kipúr fəṭran-ò,˥ maˤlə́m kéwa belà.˥ 'When we had broken the fast of the Atonement, a rabbi would come to the house.' (B:76)

(13) wáxt-e tămíz wililè,˥ kewá-o kmərwà˥ 'When he had cleaned them, he would come back and say …' (B:16)

An event expressed by grəšle or smix can be in the recent past and its endpoint may, indeed, coincide with the present. If you see somebody arrive at the door, you would say híye, which is most idiomatically translated by the English perfect of recent past 'He has come'. In such cases the verb expresses a perfective event with an implicature of a resultant state in the present. The verbal form is used with this function in the direct speech of (14), which reports an event that took place in the immediate past:

(14) ʾanà˥ fawrì˥ bəqătef-ò˥ telefòn wíli baqá˥ Bàhram gyắn.˥ mìri˥ Bàhram˥ xắran saqòx˥ bsiman-ò˥ ʾarằm xirán.˥ 'Immediately in the morning I telephoned my dear Bahram. I said "Bahram, my dear (literally:

may I become your cleansing [of sins]), I have been cured, I have been relieved (of my pain)."' (C:3)

This function can be identified also in (15), where the *grəšle* form verb *bəqróx* refers to a question that the informant has just been asked:

(15) *bəqróx mən-didì| kəmrèt| hulaé Kurdəstȁn| čəkmà-yelu?| wa-čəkmà šəné ga-dóka xirèn?|* 'You have asked me saying "The Jews of Kurdistan—how many were they? How many years were they there?" (B:1)

(ii) Present Perfect

The expression of the present perfect, i.e. a present state resulting from a prior action, is the basic function of the compound verbal form consisting of the resultative participle and the copula (transitive *gərša-y*, intransitive *smixa-y*). The intransitive compound form is used in all persons but the transitive form is restricted to constructions with 3rd person subjects. On account of this, in clauses with transitive verbs with 1st or 2nd person subjects the functional range of the past base form *grəšle* includes present perfect in addition to preterite:

	Transitive		Intransitive	
Subject	*grəšle*	*gərša-y*	*smix*	*smixa-y*
3rd	Preterite	Perfect	Preterite	Perfect
2nd	Preterite Perfect	——	Preterite	Perfect
1st	Preterite Perfect	——	Preterite	Perfect

The present perfect usage of the *grəšle* form with a 1st person subject is illustrated by the following example from the text corpus:

(1) *gbé het-ó baqá ʾaḥrà.ˈ xa-bratá mətwali-ó baqòxˈ rába zărìf,ˈ rába ʿayztà,ˈ mən-xanăwadè ʿayztá.ˈ* 'You must return to the town (Sanandaj). I have arranged a girl for you, very pretty, very nice, from a good family.' (A:6)

9.3.2. *grəšwale, smixwa*

(i) Past Perfect

The most common function of these past base forms with the *wa* affix is to express a state that held in the past as a result of a prior action remoter in the past. Such past perfect constructions are used to present a resultant state as the background of a past action or situation, perfective or imperfective, in the adjacent context.

(1) *xəmé-u xmalèˈ həl-kaldú la-xắenwa ʾəqrà,ˈ yáni kaldăké hăméša réšaf ksèwala.ˈ* 'The fathers-in-law and mothers-in-law did not see their bride very much, because the bride had always covered her head.' (A:3)

(2) *xa-dána lăčăgá rabtá ba-rešàf-yela.ˈ rešáf ksèwala-uˈ yăwắš mən-rešáf gəršàliˈ šoḷtáli d-o-làg.ˈ* 'A large veil was on her head. She had covered her head. I slowly pulled it from her head and threw it to one side.' (A:24)

(3) *pás ʾijazá xlulá kwìwa.ˈ … bar-d-èaˈ ʾijazá wilwalù,ˈ gbéwa xa-širní xorắn-e mfăṣàl doqíˈ širní hăwi-ò.ˈ* 'Then they gave permission for the wedding. … After they had given their permission, they had to hold a big ceremony of "eating the sweets" and distribute sweets.' (A:32)

(4) *ʾéa timàwa,ˈ bár-d-o xálu kəxlìwale-uˈ gezíwa ba-šon-ḥaštù.ˈ* '(When) this had finished, then they ate the food and went to get on with their work.' (B:69)

(5) *ʾárba xamšá năfăré pílex ʾorxà-uˈ zílex dokà,ˈ məntắke daăkì.ˈ ʾána tatí mən-ʿolắm zìlwaˈ qắme təlḥá-šəne qắme d-ò.ˈ* 'We set off, four or five people (in all) and went there, with my mother. My father had passed away three years previously.' (A:19)

(6) *t*ʷ*kané ràba hítwale*| *híwale ba-ʾijarà.*| 'He had many shops, which he had rented out.' (A:7)

(7) *kólwale ba-lešá ga-pliyǻw xa-ṭǻšt-e mesì*| *ke-qǻme-o xwartá wila-wale-ò.*| 'He made it into dough in a copper bowl, which he had made white beforehand.' (B:19)

The past perfect is used in the syntactic frame *heštan la* 'not yet', e.g.

(8) *heštán mən-ʿolǻm la-zìlwa.*| 'He had not yet passed away from the world'. (A:15)

If an intransitive verb expresses a non-dynamic state or a telic actionality, i.e. one that expresses an action with an inherent non-dynamic endpoint, the past perfect is used to express an enduring state in the past that is an observable property of the subject of the verb. This is seen in (9)–(12), which contain past perfects of the verbs *pyš* 'to remain, to remain alive' (non-dynamic state) and *smx* 'to stand up' (telic with non-dynamic endpoint). These enduring states typically overlap temporally with other actions in the surrounding context:

(9) *našé gezíwa-o belà-u*| *hár-kas-u gezólwa béla nòšef-u*| *kaldá-u xətná pišìwa*| *gezíwa ga-pardà.*| 'People went home, each person going to his own home. The bride and groom remained and went behind the curtain.' (A:49)

(10) *ʾo-waxtǻra Xanǎká pìšwa.*| 'At that time Xanǎka was alive.' (A:15)

(11) *ʾaġlǎb-e*| *təqna-xwarè*| *ke-híč-mənu lá pišìwà*| *kǎewalu-o.*| 'He knew most of the old folk, none of whom were alive (by that time).' (B:63)

(12) *ʾaxní jwanqé smíxəxwa ga-ḥawšà.*| *xá-ʿəda jwanqé, bǎruxǎwalí, smíxəxwa ga-ḥawšà.*| *har-ʾǻxá tǎmašà kolóxwa.*| *xá-ʿəda blanè*| *smìxiwa.*| ... *mən-laḥǻl ʾo-xiyàli.*| 'We youngsters were standing in the courtyard. We, a few youngsters, my friends, were standing in the courtyard. We were just looking. A few girls were standing there. ... I saw her from afar.' (A12–14)

As remarked in §9.3.1. ii, the present perfect of intransitive verbs and transitive verbs with a 3rd person subject is expressed by a compound form consisting of a resultative participle and present copula. It is not possible to express the past perfect by replacing the present copula with the past copula in such compound constructions.

(ii) Evidential

In a number of cases the *grəšwale* or *smixwa* forms express a past perfective action, i.e. a preterite, rather than an enduring resultant state. Such a perfective action, as is the case in principle with a preterite, may be sequential to a preceding action. The *grəšwale* or *smixwa* forms are used in this way in contexts where the speaker has not directly witnessed the action in question but has only received a report about it, i.e. they are evidential in function. This is seen, for example, in (1) in which the speaker narrates a conversation between his future wife and her sister which he himself did not hear but must have been reported to him later, e.g.

(1) *kə́mra báqa baxtì˺ kə́mra ʾéa bróna Jăhǎ̀n-ye.˺ xirá-y ba-ʾafsàr.˺ ʾáy-əč mírwala ʾəlhá šóqla ta-daăkə̀f˺ ʾăjáb bronèk-ye.˺ ʾăjáb zarìf-ye.˺* 'She said to my wife, she said "That is the son of Jəhān. He has become an officer". She (I am told) said "May God preserve his mother, he is a wonderful boy, he is wonderfully handsome."' (A:17)

In (2) the speaker reports a series of events that took place in Sanandaj while he himself was in Tehran. He would not, therefore, have witnessed them directly:

(2) *ᴴʾázᴴ zìlawa˺ mírwala baqá ʾăxonàf-u˺ nóšaf là halbắta,˺ xa-năfar-xét šə́rwala baqá ʾăxonàf˺ hǎmər kè˺ ʾay-bronà˺ həl-d-áy bratá gbè.˺ ᴴʾázᴴ ʾoní-č qăbùl wílwalu.˺* 'Then she (my mother) went and said to her (the girl's) brother—of course not her herself, she sent somebody else to her brother to say that the boy loves the girl. Then they agreed.' (A:18)

The passage in (3) narrates an episode in which the speaker went to visit the home of his future wife. The speaker remains outside while the girl goes inside to speak to her brother. The actions of the girl are not directly witnessed by the speaker and so he uses the evidential preterite. He did observe, however, the actions of the brother at the end of the passage and so he uses the plain preterite form (*grəšle/smix*). Note that the unexpected use of the transitive *grəšwale* form rather than the intransitive *smixwa* form for the verb 'to go' in the sequence *zílwala mírwala* in this passage seems to have arisen by attraction to the pattern of the following *mírwala*:

(3) *ʾay-zílwala mírwala báqa Mə́rza Xănăkà,˺ mírwala Mə́rza Xănăká xágora gbelòx.˺ la-kə́yan mằni-ye.˺ Xănăká-č mən-panjărăké mˁine-ò˺ həl-didí xèle.˺* 'She went and said to Mərza Xănăka, she said "Mərza

Xănăka, a man wants you. I do not know who it is." Xănăka looked from the window and saw me.' (A:21)

In (4) the speaker likewise uses the *grəšwale* forms to indicate that he had not directly witnessed the exchange between the Shah and his army commander but only heard about it by report:

(4) *rába huláe ga-doká mórəd ʾəhtəramèf-yelu⸴ rába gbèwalun-u⸴ məspéwale l-farmandé laškàr⸴ mìrwale⸴ huláe ga-lăxá gbe-raḥàt hăwén⸴ ʾazyătú là holétun.⸴ là šoqét ʾazyătú holí.⸴ ʾó-č mírwale là qorbắn,⸴ lăxá sŭnì-yeni.⸴ rába məntắke huláe ʿayzèni⸴ ʾazyătù lá kolí.⸴* 'The Jews there greatly commanded his respect. He liked them very much. He sent to the army commander and said "The Jews here must be at ease and you must not disturb them. Do not allow people to disturb them." He (the army commander) said "No, your honour, here they are Sunni. They are very good with the Jews. They do not disturb them."' (B:85)

9.4. THE IMPERATIVE

The imperative form is typically used perfectively to command a particular action to be undertaken or, with the negator, prohibits a particular action to be undertaken, e.g.

(1) *mastà holí.⸴* 'Give me yoghurt!' (A:79)

(2) *ʾijazá hùlmu⸴ ke-ʾaxní xlulà holéx.⸴* 'Give permission for us to hold the wedding.' (A:30)

(3) *lá škè!⸴* 'Don't move!'

(4) *kəmríwa hàya-x-kar,⸴ palăpál la-holmù.⸴* 'They would say "It is still too soon, do not rush."' (A:31)

An imperative may be given added immediacy by combining it with the particle *da-/də-*, e.g.

(5) *da-már xằena!⸴* 'Now tell (me), let me see!' (B:63)

(6) *də-mắʿin-ò!⸴* 'Look!' (B:82)

The imperative form is used also to command iterative or habitual events, e.g.

(7) *se-báqa jangàḷ,⸴ ʾilanăkè mélu,⸴ zàbnu!⸴* 'Go to the woods. Bring pieces of wood and sell them!' (A:107)

(8) *ləxmá huláa xùl*ˈ ... *ga-belá huláa là gné.*ˈ *ga-belá suràa gə́ne.*ˈ 'Eat the food of a Jew … Do not sleep in the house of a Jew. Sleep in the house of Christian.' (B:65)

Commands and prohibitions relating to iterative or habitual activities are also expressed by 2ⁿᵈ person irrealis *gằrəš* forms, e.g.

(9) *ba-lằxá zəndəgì holét.*ˈ 'Live a life here!' (A:107)

(10) *mən-d-áy ləxmá là ʾaxlétun!*ˈ 'Do not eat any of this bread!' (B:23)

The imperative is used as the complement of some deontic expressions, such as 'inviting' in (11):

(11) *ʾaná daʿwát konóx lelé pằtiré hál lằxà!*ˈ 'I invite you to come here on the eve of Passover!' (A:57)

Note also the use of the imperative in the embedded indirect question in (12):

(12) *két má hùl.*ˈ 'You know what you should do.' (C:11)

9.5. THE COPULA

The copula is defective in that it is not used in all the morphological forms that are available for other verbs. The present copula is conjugated with the inflectional endings of the present base forms and the past copula is inflected with L-suffixes, which are characteristic of the past base *grə́šle* form. The copula is not used in any other form.

9.5.1. The Present Copula

Predicates with the present copula express a state in the present. This may be a state that is a permanent property of a subject or a state that is a contingent property, i.e. one that is observable at the present moment but is not a permanent characteristic of the subject. The boundary between these two categories is often not clear-cut and depends on the subjective judgement of the speaker. In all cases the predication is indicative in that it refers to a real situation. Examples:

(1) *ʾéa bróna Jăhằn-ye.*ˈ 'That is the son of Jəhān.' (A:17)

(2) *ʾéa xăləstá Xanằkè-ya.*ˈ 'That is the sister of Xanăka.' (A:14)

(3) *ʾăjáb bronèk-ye.*ˈ *ʾăjáb zarìf-ye.*ˈ 'He is a wonderful boy. He is won-
     derfully handsome' (A:17)

(4) *bšəlmané trè jorén.*ˈ *xá šíˤá xá sunnì-ye.*ˈ 'Muslims are of two kinds,
     one is Shiˤite and the other Sunni.' (A:77)

(5) *familù rába ˤayzá-y.*ˈ 'Their family is very good.' (A:6)

(6) *ʾăxonáf xa-duktòr-ye.*ˈ 'Her brother is a doctor.' (A:6)

(7) *talgá xwartè-ya.*ˈ 'Snow is white.'

(8) *Mərzá Xănăká ga-belà-y?*ˈ 'Is Mərza Xănăka at home?' (A:20)

     Such predicates correspond temporally and aspectually to stative
predicates expressed by the verbal form *gărəš.*

     In past contexts the present copula is sometimes used to express a state
in the past. Here, as is the case with the *gărəš* form, the copula has a rela-
tive tense and takes the past reference of the adjacent verbs as its deictic
centre. The copula clause in such cases is syntactically subordinate to a main
clause with a past verb (9–11) or is dependent by some discourse connection
as in (12):

(9) *ʾoní là kắenwa ma-yén.*ˈ 'They did not know what they were.'
     (A:87)

(10) *maxwíwala našé xét-əč ke-ga-dokèn.*ˈ 'They would show it to other
     people who were there.' (A:50)

(11) *gbéwa xa-párča zayrá dăén ba-lăxàu*ˈ *b-lắ səngù*ˈ *ké ʾălén ʾənyexáe
     hulaèn.*ˈ 'They had to put a yellow patch here, on their chest so
     that they (the Muslims) knew that they were Jews.' (A:78)

(12) *gezálwa mă ˤínwa g-ày-lag,*ˈ *g-ò-lag,*ˈ *xắe náše mà kəmrí,*ˈ *našé dàx-
     yen,*ˈ *zəndəgíu dàx-ye*ˈ 'He would go and look this side and that
     side, seeing what people were saying, how people were, how their
     life was.' (A:108)

9.5.2. Past Copula

Predicates with the past copula express a state in the past. This may have an
imperfective aspect expressing a state that was permanently in existence in
the past without the connotation of inception and end, e.g.

(1) *ʾăxonáf duktór kakèle.*ˈ 'Her brother was a dentist.' (A:6)

(2) *šəmá ʾăxonáf Xanăkè-yele.*ˈ 'The name of her brother was Xanăka.'
     (A:14)

(3) *baté ntòe-yelu.*ˈ 'Houses were high.' (A:12)

(4) *xa-pašór képa komtà-yela.*ˈ 'A "foot washer" was a black stone.'
     (A:38)

The state is, in some cases, intermittent and so has a habitual, iterative
sense, e.g.

(5) *bar-ḥănabandán xlulà-yela.*ˈ 'After the *ḥănabandan* the wedding
     took place (literally: was).' (A:42)

(6) *xăletéf xa-dăsá ləbằs-yele.*ˈ 'His gift was (habitually) a set of
     clothes.' (A:51)

(7) *rásm ga-doká ʾăxà-yele.*ˈ 'The custom there was like this.' (A:9)

The past copula may, however, express a contingent action in the past
that is delimited in its duration, e.g.

(8) *ʾaná xa-yomá réša susì-yeli.*ˈ 'One day I was on horseback.' (A:17)

(9) *ʾaná wáxt-e xlulá wilì*ˈ *ga-Tarằn-yeli nóši.*ˈ 'When I married, I myself
     was in Tehran.' (A:5)

(10) *ʾanà*ˈ *ʾəsrí-u təlḥà šné-yeli*ˈ *xlulá wilì.*ˈ 'I was still not very old. I was
     twenty-three when I married.' (A:5)

(11) *ba-mŭdằt-e ké*ˈ *bəxlé dasgiràn-yelu,*ˈ *băz-ham rába başòr lə́xle
     xắenwa.*ˈ 'When they became betrothed, they still saw each other
     very little.' (A:3)

(12) *hăméša xa-čačằw ba-rešáf-yele*ˈ *yá lăčăgà ba-rešàf-yela,*ˈ *ta-zămắn-e
     ke-ʾanà xlulá wilí.*ˈ 'There was always a robe on her head or there
     was a veil on her head, until the time that I married.' (A:4)

9.6. THE EXISTENTIAL PARTICLE

The existential particle (*hit, hitwa*) generally expresses permanent, continu-
ous existence or at least an existence that the speaker wishes to present as
being permanent. The corresponding negative form (*lit, litwa*) expresses the
lack of this.

(1) *măwád-e tăbiʕ-ye*ˈ *lá mangál d-áy rangé ya-ʾắta hìt.*ˈ 'It is a natural
     substance, not like the colours that there are nowadays.' (A:40)

(2) *ḥ̆áwəš hìtwa.* ǀ 'There was a courtyard.' (A:54)

(3) *bắṣíre ràba hítwa ga-ḥáwša našé.* ǀ 'There were many grapes in the courtyard of people.' (A:72)

(4) *g-ó waxtằra-č̆* ǀ *tanhá xà ʿăkás̆ hítwa.* ǀ 'At that time there was only one photographer.' (A:29)

(5) *t̆ʷkané ràba hítwale.* ǀ 'He had many shops.' (A:7)

(6) *ʾo-waxtắra xor-ḥămằm lítwa ga-belá.* ǀ 'At that time there was still no bathroom in the house.' (A:36)

(7) *ʾaxní nóšan dūrbín ʿăkasì lítwalan.* ǀ 'We ourselves did not have a photography camera.' (A:29)

On some occasions it denotes a recurrent habitual situation rather than one that is permanent, e.g.

(8) *hítwa xá-šata t̪ùl gắróšwa ké* ǀ *gbén xlulà holí.* ǀ 'There were (some cases in which) a year would pass before they wanted to hold the wedding.' (A:30)

(9) *hìtwa* ǀ *bronăké l-bratăké la-xewále ba-ʿamrèf.* ǀ 'There were (some cases in which) the boy had never seen the girl in his life.' (A:2)

It is also used in contexts where it describes a temporally delimited situation, e.g.

(10) *xét ṣalmé lìtwala samxá lága didí ʾána xằenaf.* ǀ 'She no longer had confidence to stand by me, whilst I could see her.' (A:22)

(11) *ʾo-yomá rába našé ga-belàn hítwa.* ǀ 'That day there were many people in our house.'

The present form *hit/lit* may take past time reference from the surrounding context, particularly in subordinate clauses, e.g.

(12) *xà* ǀ *məndí xét hìtwalan* ǀ *ke-ga-t̆ʷke-xét lìt.* ǀ 'We had something else, which was not found elsewhere.' (B:53)

9.7. The Verb *hwy*

The verb *hwy* is conjugated in the present base *gắrəš* and *gắrəšwa* forms (§3.18.7.). A morphological distinction is made between the realis with a *k-* prefix (*kwe, kəwya,* etc.) and the irrealis that lacks this (*hăwe, hawya,* etc.).

The uses of this verb are suppletive to those of the copula and existential particle. They may be classified as follows:

9.7.1. *kwe*

This is used to express the future, e.g.

(1) *ʾána-č băruxăwalé kwèli.*ǀ 'I shall have friends.' (D:6)

(2) *xá-yoma kwè*ǀ *ʾanà*ǀ *daʿwătì kolí.*ǀ 'A day will come when they will invite me.' (D:8)

9.7.2. *hăwe*

This form expresses irrealis. It is found in both main and subordinate clauses in the same contexts as the irrealis *gărəš* form of other verbs is used (§10.2.1.1.).

(i) Deontic Modality in Main clauses

(1) *ʾelóx hawyá brixtà.*ǀ 'May your festival be blessed.' (B:50)

(2) *ʾéla-u reš-šatóx hăwén brixè.*ǀ 'May your festival and New Year be blessed.' (B:33)

(3) *taʿnitóx hăwé qăbùl.*ǀ 'May your fast be accepted.' (B:54)

(4) *ʾárz hăwé ba-xzəmtòx.*ǀ 'May a petition be for your service (= Let me tell you).' (A:70)

(ii) Conditional Constructions

(1) *wa-ʾắgar čănắnče xa-našá na-raḥătí hăwèle,*ǀ *ʾắle báef.*ǀ 'If a person had a grievance, he would know about it.' (A:108)

(iii) Generic Relative Clauses

The irrealis form is used in relative clauses that qualify heads with generic reference, e.g.

(1) *mătíwale ga-xá-tʷka qărirà hăwé.*ǀ 'They put it in a place that was cool.' (A:83)

(2) *kŭ́le məndíx kè-*ǀ … *xəlyà-hăwe.*ǀ 'Everything that is sweet'. (A:33)

(3) *hár-kas bi-zóa hăwéle bíš ᶜayzà-y.*| 'Everybody who has more is (considered) better.' (A:55)

(4) *lá-hezi qámxa šaqlì,*| *qámxa ké kašér la-hăwè.*| 'They could not go and buy flour, flour that was not kosher.' (A:60)

(5) *našá-e hăwèle,*| *xa-karxàna hăwéle*| *ya-xá moᵓăsăsà hăwéle*| 'a man who had a factory or who had an institution' (B:12)

(iv) Subordinate Complements

The form occurs in subordinate clauses that are complements of various verbs and expressions when the action of the verb in the subordinate clause is as yet unrealized relative to the time of the main verb:

(1) *kŭle náše ḥắz kolíwale belù*| *ᵓilané băsirè hăwé.*| 'Everybody wanted there to be grape vines in their home.' (A:72)

(2) *nimašorà dăenwa ba-salmù,*| *báqa salmú ᶜayzà hăwé.*| 'They put cleansing mud on their face, in order for their face to be good (= to cleanse their face).' (A:38)

(3) *xăéwa ṭărefà lá-hawya,*| *xărằb lá-hawya.*| 'He checked lest it be ritually unclean, lest it be polluted.' (A:82)

The irrealis form is used after negative expressions denying reality such as (4):

(4) *ᵓáy lá-yele blané-u broné mangál ᵓătà*| *ᵓăzằd hăwén-u*| 'It did not happen that, like now, the girls and boys were free.' (A:1)

It is found after negative expressions with the sense of 'lest', e.g.

(5) *yatwíwa ᵓənšè*| *dána ba-dána găbènwale,*| *lá-bada xá-mdi xarəjí gáef hăwè.*| 'The women would sit and sort it grain by grain, lest there be something extraneous in it.' (B:14)

In (6) the irrealis form of *hwy* is used to convey an epistemic modality, in that it expresses a lack of commitment to the truth of the proposition:

(6) *ga-dokà*| *rába našè*| *rába hamrét dawlamán hăwèn,*| *dawlamán là-yelu.*| 'There you would think that many people were rich, but they were not rich.' (A:55)

9.7.3. *kwewa*

This form generally has an imperfective aspect with past tense reference and tends to be used when the predicate expresses a property that is characteristic of the subject or when it describes a habitual situation. It overlaps with the function of the past copula and the past existential particle (*hitwa, litwa*), which, as remarked above (§9.6.), may be used with either an imperfective or a temporally delimited perfective aspect, e.g.

(1) *xá-yarxá bár ʾilanè,ˈ ʾənyexáe ga-fkə́r kwénwa ké báqa pătiré má lazə́m-ye tahyà holí.ˈ* 'A month after Tu bə-Shvat, they considered (literally: they were in thought) what they should prepare for Passover.' (B:14)

(2) *ʾó kwéwale katuwăkè.ˈ* 'He would have (on the occasion of every marriage) the marriage contract.' (A:48)

It is also used with future time reference, as is the case with the *gărəš* form *kwe*. The addition of the affix *wa* expresses the improbability or impossibility of the situation in the future, e.g.

(3) *ʾaná puḷé mən-léka kwéwali háwna ta-didòx?ˈ* 'From where would I have money to give to you.'

9.7.4. *hăwewa*

This form is attested in conditional constructions referring to a past situation, e.g.

(1) *ʾăgar-əč kpiná hăwèwa,ˈ ʾixala là xilá-y.ˈ* 'Even though he was hungry, he has not eaten the food.'

9.8. COMPOUND VERBAL FORMS CONTAINING THE VERB 'TO BE'

9.8.1. Present Perfect

The compound forms consisting of the resultative participle and the copula (*gərša-y, smixa-y*) generally have a present perfect function. This expresses a state in existence in the present that has come about as the result of a previous action. It is the resultant state of an action that is the focus of the verb rather than the action itself, e.g.

(1) *bronăké rəwyà-y,*⸾ *bratăké rwitè-ya-u*⸾ *gbé xlulà holí.*⸾ 'The boy has grown-up and the girl and grown-up. They must marry.' (A:31)

(2) *ʾắt taḥṣilóx timà-y*⸾ *gbé het-ò.*⸾ 'Your studies are finished, you must return to your brother.' (A:27)

(3) *čəkmá ʿaksé ntenìlan,*⸾ *ʾonyexáe píšen báqa yādgarì.*⸾ 'We took a few photographs and they have remained as a reminder (of the event).' (A:29)

(4) *ʾay-bšəlmanè*⸾ *ke-xálwa zábni ta-didàn*⸾ *ʾay-xalwà*⸾ *mən-d-ó tortà*⸾ *yá mən-d-ó ʾərbá dəwqà-y*⸾ *ga-xa-pătiḷà dəwqá-y*⸾ *ké pătiḷăké mumkə́n-ye pəsrá bəšla-hăwélu gàef.*⸾ 'Those Muslims, who sell milk to us, have taken the milk from the cow or from the sheep and have kept it in a container in which they may have cooked meat.' (A:64)

The form may be used to express 'experiential perfects', i.e. events that are part of the speaker's life experience, e.g.

(5) *ʾarbà-kărat ziltè-yan Fărā̃nsa.*⸾ 'I have gone to France four times.' (C:13)

9.8.2. Evidential

(i) Reports of Past Events

The compound form may be used to express perfective events in the past that are presented as reported to the speaker but not directly witnessed by him.[7] It should be noted that when the form has this evidential function it does not express a resultative state, e.g.

(1) *xaṭrắte nóšef ḥqèle baqán*⸾ *ke-dàx hiyá-y báqa ʾIrằn.*⸾ *ʾó ga-zamán-e Mozắfar-din Šằh.*⸾ *hiyá-y báqa ʾIrắn báqa tasís-e madrăsá ʾaliằns.*⸾ 'He told us his reminiscences as to how he came to Iran. He came to Iran in the time of Mozafaredin Shah in order to found the school of the Alliance.' (B:61)

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[7] In many languages present perfect verb forms have developed this evidential function. This is due to the fact that it does not present an event directly but only through its results (Comrie 1976: 108-110; Aikhenvald 2004: 112-115). For the use of the perfect as a narrative form characteristic of fictitious narrative in other NENA dialects see Khan (2008b: 669-677).

(ii) Legends

The compound form is used throughout the passage concerning King Solomon (A:92–97) to express both imperfective situations and also perfective events. This also can be identified as an evidential function, expressing legendary events that the speaker has heard about only from reports, e.g.

(1) *šáta zilá-y lā́ xà baxtéf.│* 'He went to one of his wives (once) in a year.' (A:94)

(2) *har-čí məltè│ ḥasràt ləblá-y báef.│* 'Every nation became jealous of him.' (A:95)

(3) *zilà-y│ ṭǎlǎbá málka Šǎ̀bà.│ málka Šǎ̀bà gwirté-ya.│* 'He went and sought the hand of the Queen of Sheba. He married the Queen of Sheba.' (A:97)

(iii) Remote Past

A related usage of the perfect is to express perfective events and imperfective situations in the remote past, before the lifetime of the speaker. This is an evidential type function, in that the speaker has not directly witnessed the events and situations but only heard reports concerning them, e.g.

(1) *qǎ́me d-óa ʾána b-ʿolǎ́m henà,│ hulaé wáxt-e zilén waryà,│ maxṣuṣán ga-yomǎwáe nəxlà,│ gbéwa xa-párča zayrá dǎen ba-lǎxàw│ b-lá səngù│ ké ʾalén ʾənyexáe hulaèn│* 'Before I was born, when the Jews went outside, especially on rainy days, they had to put a patch of yellow here, on their chest so that they (the Muslims) knew that they were Jews.' (A:78)

(2) *zilén baqá Rusìya,│ zilén báqa Turkìya.│ jə̀ns šəqlá-y,│ miyá-y ga-Kurdəstǎ́n zəbnà-y.│* 'They went to Russia, they went to Turkey. They bought goods, brought them to Kurdistan and sold them there.' (B:6)

9.8.3. Irrealis Compound Form

The irrealis compound form (§3.12.2.) is attested as a present perfect in constructions such as (1), where it occurs as the complement of the express 'it is possible that' and so expresses a possible rather than an asserted resultant state:

(1) *ʾay-bšəlmanè| ke-xálwa zábni ta-didàn| ʾay-xalwà| mən-d-ó tortà| yá mən-d-ó ʾərbá dəwqà-y| ga-xa-păṭiḷà dəwqá-y| ké păṭiḷăké mumkán-ye pəsrá bəšlăwélu gàef.|* 'Those Muslims, who sell milk to us, have taken the milk from the cow or from the sheep and have kept it in a container in which they may have cooked meat.' (A:64)

Likewise, the construction is used as a present perfect that is the complement of expressions denying possibility such as (2):

(2) *lá xirá-y ké həl-d-ó xilắweli.|* 'It is not possible that I have eaten it.'

It is found in conditional constructions referring to a possible situation in the past, as in (3):

(3) *ḥămắm ʿămumì-yela| mangál ḥămắm-e turkì-ya| ʾắgar xiyăwelòx.|* 'The bath was public, like a Turkish bath, if you have seen (one).' (A:36)

9.9. THE VERB *x∅r*

The verb *x∅r* is used in predicates corresponding to the types that occur with the copula, the existential particle and the verb *hwy*. It may be conjugated in the full range of verbal forms that are available to regular verbs. All of these except the compound perfect form have the ingressive sense of entering a state ('becoming, coming into existence') which is not, in principle, expressed by the copula, existential particle or verb *hwy*. The compound perfect form (*xira-y*) may be used with this ingressive sense, but is also used suppletively to express the present perfect of the verb *hwy*, which itself cannot form a perfect with a resultative participle.

9.9.1. 'to become'

(1) *našé máre doltá xìri-u|* 'People became rich.' (B:56)

(2) *kménwala ga-txéla-ʾaqlù| ke-ʾaqlú ṣằf xắri.|* 'They applied it to the bottom of their feet so that they would become smooth.' (A:38)

(3) *ʾắgar ʾay-mastá dărenaf-ó tʷká nošằf| nəjàs xără.|* 'If I pour this yoghurt back into its container (literally: its place), it will become unclean.' (A:80)

(4) *ʾo-pəsrá qălènwale| xárwa ba-čokè.|* 'They would fry meat and it would become *čoke*.' (A:86)

(5) *ləxmá koliwale-ò,ˈ šaṭxiwale-ò,ˈ ráq xàrwa.ˈ* 'They opened out and spread out the bread, and it became stiff.' (A:67)

(6) *rába xoš-ḥǎ̀l xǎráxwa-u.ˈ* 'We became very happy.' (B:33)

(7) *xirá-y ba-ʾafsàr.ˈ* 'He has become an officer.' (A:17)

(8) *ʾǎtá kǔ́le ʿolǎ́m xirté-ya puḷè.ˈ* 'Now the whole world has become money.' (A:55)

9.9.2. 'to come into existence, to happen'

This sense is found in the expression of the onset of time periods such as (1)–(2)

(1) *yóma xarwà-uˈ kǔ́le gezíwa báqa kništà.ˈ* 'When day came, everybody would go to the synagogue.' (B:40)

(2) *gezéxwa báqa sahrá tá-ge ʾarbìt xǎráwa.ˈ* 'We would go into the fields until the time for evening prayers came.' (B:32)

Note in (3) the 3fs. form of the verb is used to refer to the general temporal situation rather than to a specific subject referent:

(3) *ʾo-waxtǎ́ra xǎráwa bár ʾarbìtˈ šərúʾ kolíwa gəḷà čǎqénwa.ˈ* 'Then, (when) it became after evening prayers (= when evening prayers were over), they began to pick grass.' (B:32)

It is also found in constructions such as (4) and (5), which express what is customary to happen, or permitted to happen:

(4) *xor-ʾay-bratá lá-xar ʾay-broná xǎ́ya x-kà.ˈ* 'Now, it is does not happen (= it is not acceptable) that the girl should ever see the boy.' (A:24)

(5) *lá-xar ʾíla táqra báu ta-léle pǎtiré baraxà hamrí.ˈ* 'It does not happen (= it is not permissible) that people touch it until Passover.' (B:23)

9.9.3. Compound Form Suppletive to *hwy*

As remarked, the range of functions of the compound form (*xira-y*) include non-ingressive as well as ingressive predications. The function of the compound form has been extended to include non-ingressiveness due to the fact that it is suppletive to the verb *hwy*, which does not have a compound form.

(i) Perfect

The non-ingressive uses that are attested in the text corpus include perfect functions as in (1) and (2). The forms express a continuing relevance of a past situation. In both cases the continuing relevance is not to the present but rather to a section of discourse referring to the past. The perfects, therefore, take the past tense reference of the context as their deictic centre and they should be translated as past perfects, e.g.

(1) *bəqắtà-č⌐ gbé paxasù⌐ hezà⌐ ʾay-stačé băkarằt-e⌐ d-ay-kaldà⌐ lablálu báqa tata-u-daăkà⌐ wa-maxwíwala našé xét-əč ke-ga-dokèn⌐ ke-ʾắlén ʾay-bratà⌐ bătulà xirté-ya,⌐ bratulà xirlála.*⌐ 'In the morning the "woman inspector" had to go and take the "sheets of virginity" of the bride to the father and mother. They would show it to other people who were there so that they would know that the girl had been a virgin, she had been a (virgin) girl.' (A:50)

(2) *ga-tămắm ʾay-haftà⌐ ké pătiré xirtè-ya,⌐ šóa yomè⌐ hìč-kas⌐ ᴴdəvréᴴ xalwá là kxálwa.*⌐ 'During the whole of the week in which Passover had taken place (= during the whole week of Passover), seven days, nobody ate dairy products.' (A:63)

A similar usage with an irrealis compound form of *x∅r* is attested in the conditional construction in (3):

(3) *mắgar rába naxòš xírăwe⌐ yá rába na-raḥàt xírăwe⌐ w-elá kŭle doqìwa.*⌐ 'Even if somebody had been very ill or had been very unwell (up until the Ninth of Ab), nevertheless they all observed (the fast).' (B:44)

(ii) Evidential Past

Numerous cases of non-ingressive evidential uses of the compound form of *x∅r* are attested in the text corpus. Many of these are found in the legend of King Solomon (A:92–97), e.g.

(1) *tatí yătùwa⌐ ʾəlhá mănixà⌐ dāstán ḥăqéwa baqàn⌐ măsălán rájə b-Šlómo ha-mèlex,⌐ reš-Šlómo ha-mèlex⌐ ʾəqrá ʿaqál xirà-y⌐ ga-ʿolám mangaléf là xirá-y.*⌐ 'My father, may he rest in peace, would sit and tell us a story, for example concerning King Solomon, about King Solomon that his intelligence was so great that there was nobody like him in the whole world.' (A:92)

(2) *ʾó-č rába dawlamàn xirté-ya.*⸢ 'She also (the Queen of Sheba) was very rich.' (A:97)

(3) *rába-č ḥ̆arìṣ xirá-y.*⸢ 'He was also very lustful.' (A:94)

In (4) and (5) the evidential compound forms are used to express situations in the remote past:

(4) *Širā̃z ʾo-waxtā̃ra ba-šəme ʾƏstàxr xirté-ya.*⸢ 'Shiraz at that time was (known) by the name of Istakhr.' (B:1)

(5) *ʾənyexáe paetaxtè⸢ Kuréš-e Kă̆bìr xirén.*⸢ 'These were the capital cities of Cyrus the Great.' (B:1)

(iii) Evidential Perfect

The compound form of *x∅r* is used with a resultative participle to express an evidential perfect. This is found in (1), which is a section from the report of reminiscences which were not directly witnessed by the speaker:

(1) *yarxá-u pólge ga-Tarán **nəṭrà-xira-y**⸢ ba-wăsàṭ d-éa ʾorxá šŭlùq xirté-ya.*⸢ *là-məhre šă̆re báqa Kurdəstằn,*⸢ *báqa Hamằn.*⸢ *ta-bəlʾaxərá gezól lagèf⸢ kmór ʾaná là-keli yă̆tunà.*⸢ 'For a month and a half he had kept him in Tehran—on account of the fact that there were disturbances on the road, he (the Grand Vizier) did not dare send him to Kurdistan, to Hamadan—until in the end he goes to him and says "I cannot sit (idly)."' (B:62)

9.9.4. Compound Form with Dative Copula

The resultative participle of *x∅r* may be combined with the dative copula (§3.11.3.) *xira* + *lale* > *xirlale*, the final /a/ of the participle being elided. This is used to supply the compound form of possessive constructions that elsewhere would be expressed by the existential particle or verb *hwy* with L-suffixes.

It is attested in (1) with a perfect function with past time reference in a past context and so should be translated as a past perfect. It parallels the use of the compound form of *x∅r* with the plain copula in an adjacent clause:

(1) *wa-maxwíwala našé xét-əč ke-ga-dokèn⸢ ke-ʾălén ʾay-bratà⸢ bă̆tulà xirté-ya,*⸢ *bratulà xirlála.*⸢ 'They would show it to other people who were there so that they would know that the girl had been a virgin, she had had virginity.' (A:50)

Elsewhere in the text corpus the form is attested as an evidential form used either in legends (2–3) or to express the remote past in historical accounts (4–5):

(2) *híč-kas ʿáql-e Šlómo ha-mélex lá xìrlale.ˈ kəmrìwaˈ xa-jä́m xírlale Šlómo ha-mèlex,ˈ mangál sinəmà xirté-ya.ˈ* 'Nobody had acquired the intelligence of King Solomon. They said King Solomon had a mirror, which was like a cinema.' (A:92–93)

(3) *ʾarbì ʾənšè xírlale.ˈ* 'He (King Solomon) had forty wives.' (A:94)

(4) *ʾó waxtä́ra kəmrí ga-ʾIrà̀n Nádər Šä́h ʾAfšä̀rˈ ràba qudréf xirlále.ˈ* 'At that time, they say, in Iran, Nadir Shah Afšar had a lot of power.' (A:108)

(5) *ʾonyexàeˈ təjarát xírlalu məntä̌ke xarə̀j.ˈ* 'They had business abroad.' (B:6)

The form may be used to express an 'experiential perfect', e.g.

(6) *ʾaná hä̆mešá puḷè xírlali.ˈ* 'I have always had money.'

The combination of the resultative participle and the irrealis form of the dative copula (§3.11.3.) is attested in a conditional construction in a legendary context:

(7) *xa-nä̆fà̀rˈ mä̆sälán fárz holéx xa-šä̆hˈ xá-mdi na-raḥä̆ti xirlä̆welalèˈ zilá-y mən-d-ó xéta ṭəlbà-y,ˈ mšurtà̀ˈ wilá-y baqèf.ˈ* '(If) a person, for example, let's suppose a king, (if) something unpleasant had happened to him, he went and requested from him (King Solomon) a thing and he (King Solomon) gave him advice.' (A:95)

An alternative form of the irrealis construction is attested in (8), in which the normal irrealis compound form *xirä̆we* is combined with the dative prepositional phrase *(ə)lef*:

(8) *ä́gar čănä́nče xá-nä̆far ẓòlm xirä̆we-lèf,ˈ gezə̀lwaˈ jobrà̀n kolwalé-uˈ* 'If a person had suffered some injustice, he would go and make amends to him.' (A:109)

9.10. Morphological Coding of Transitivity

Past bases and resultative participles fall into two sets, which have been labelled as 'transitive' and 'intransitive'. Whereas this characterization captures the functional distinction between the two sets of forms in broad

terms, the distribution of the forms is not wholly predictable. Crucially the use of a transitive form is not restricted to clauses that have an explicit direct object complement.

Verbs that frequently occur without a specified direct object complement but that could, nevertheless, take one are generally conjugated with transitive forms, e.g.

ʾxl	'to eat'	xíle	'He ate'
šty	'to drink'	štéle	'He drank'
lwš	'to dress'	lwә́šle	'He dressed'
šlx	'to undress'	šláxle	'He undressed'
gry	'to shave'	gréle	'He shaved'
m-qlb	'to vomit'	mәqlәble-ó	'He vomited'
qnš	'to sweep'	qnә́šle	'He swept'
qry	'to read, to study'	qrele	'He studied'
xlp	'to win'	xlәple	'He won'

With object complements:

xala xíle	'He ate food'
máe štéle	'He drank water'
jәlef lәwšíle	'He put on his clothes'
jәlef šәlxíle	'He took off his clothes'
tәqnef gәryale	'He shaved his beard'
xala mәqlәble-ó	'He vomited food'
hawša qәnšále	'He swept the yard'
hulaula qәryále	'He studied Judaism'
puḷe xәlpíle	'He won the money'

The use of the transitive inflection for these verbs, therefore, can be explained by the fact that there is an implied 'latent' affectee of the action, although this is not necessarily specified. Note, further, the distinctions such as the following:

(1) šәmša mәbhә́ra (transitive coding)

(2) šәmša bhíra (intransitive coding)

Both of these may be translated 'The sun shone'. The transitive form mәbhә́ra, however, implies that the sun shone and cast light on something, typically the earth during daytime. The intransitive form bhíra, on the other hand, does not have this implication of the existence of an affectee.

If the affectee of an action is expressed by a prepositional phrase, the verb is in some cases encoded as intransitive, e.g.

(3)   *xmatá nqísa ga-ʾilì.*ǀ 'The needle pricked my hand.'

We may infer from this that the existence of an affectee of an action is by itself not a necessary condition for transitive coding. Examples such as (3) indicate that the degree of affectedness is a determining factor. Referents in prepositional complements such as above can be said to be only partially affected by the action, i.e. affected in only one point of their physical extension.

In (3) the grammatical subject is an inanimate referent. If a subject with a human referent is used in the same construction, the verb is given transitive coding, e.g.

(4)   *baxtắké nqə́sla ga-ʾilì.*ǀ 'The woman pricked my hand.'

The degree of affectedness of the referent in the prepositional phrase is not different from in (3). The transitive coding is conditioned by the properties of the subject, crucially the agent properties of the subject as controller and instigator of the action. These properties of the subject are in some cases relevant for the transitivity coding of verbs with direct object complements. Consider (5) and (6):

(5)   *ʾó rába məndixané yəlpà-y.*ǀ (transitive coding) 'He has learnt many things.'

(6)   *ʾó rába məndixané ylipà-y.*ǀ (intransitive coding) 'He has learnt many things.'

Example (5), which has a transitive compound verb, implies that the subject referent learnt the things at his own instigation and under his own control, by himself. By contrast the intransitive coding of (6) implies that the subject lacks these properties of control and instigation and is typically used to describe a situation where the subject learnt more passively by being taught by somebody else.

Examples such as (3)–(6) indicate that the transitivity coding of a verb is not conditioned exclusively by the actionality of the verb, i.e. the type of action it expresses by virtue of its lexical meaning. Rather the transitivity is a feature of the clause as a whole resulting from the role of the subject referent. This corresponds to the notion of transitivity in the broader sense of the term that was proposed by Hopper and Thompson (1980). These linguists proposed that transitivity is a continuum rather than an absolute category. There are different degrees of transitivity according to a variety of parameters. The existence of an object participant in the clause is only one parameter. Another parameter identified by Hopper and Thompson that

conditions high transitivity is the extent to which the subject has properties characteristic of an agent, i.e. the extent to which the subject referent is the controller and instigator of the action rather than the affectee. We can understand in this light why the verb 'to want' (*ʾby*) is coded as transitive (*ʾəbele*), since a subject referent who 'wants' typically has the agent property of instigator rather than affectee.

According to recent theoretical work on verbal events, such transitive clauses express complex events consisting of an outer and an inner event. The outer event is associated with causation and agency and an inner event is associated with change of state and affectedness of the affectee (Tenny and Pustejovsky 2002: 7ff.; Perlmutter 1978). Clauses with verbs with intransitive morphological coding may be said to express non-complex events denoting change of state and affectedness of the subject referent without a causative or agentive outer event. The subject of an intransitive verb is typically the affectee of the event and undergoer of a change in state rather than the cause or instigator of the event. This helps us to understand the transitive coding of a further set of verbs in the dialect, namely verbs expressing an emission of sound or speech. Such verbs are not generally used with an explicit object complement, but nevertheless are widely coded as transitive, e.g.

ʾmr	'to say'	*məre*	'He said'
ḥqy	'to speak'	*ḥqele*	'He spoke'
dʿy	'to pray'	*dʿele*	'He prayed'
mwmy	'to utter an oath'	*momele*	'He swore'
nwx	'to bark'	*nwəxle*	'It barked'
srp	'to slurp'	*srəple*	'He slurped'
bʿy	'to bleat'	*ʾərba bʿela*	'The sheep bleated'
mʿy	'to bleat'	*ʾəza mʿela*	'The goat bleated'
sry	'to bray'	*xmara srele*	'The donkey brayed'
m-krz	'to crow'	*kălăšer məkrəzle*	'The cock crowed'
šhl	'to cough'	*šəhle*	'He coughed'
tpl	'to sneeze'	*təple*	'He sneezed'

Such verbs may be analysed as expressing complex events with an outer event of causation and an inner event of change of state. The subject is the instigator rather than the affectee undergoing change, so is associated with the outer event. This is the profile of transitive predicates and it is for this reason that the verb is coded as transitive. The subject need not be in control of the event, as in the verbs 'to cough', 'to sneeze', but is still the cause. Events of emission of sound that do not have an animate instigator

may be coded as intransitive with the subject referent being presented as the affectee of the event, e.g.

(7)   *ʾewá gərgìm*| 'The cloud thundered.'

In reality it is not always possible to establish an objective dividing line between the concepts of instigator and affectee, in that, in principle, in an event involving the emission of sound the subject referent could be viewed as being affected by or undergoing the event. This no doubt explains why the coding of transitivity of verbs of sound emission in neighbouring Jewish NENA dialects is sometimes different from what is found in J. Sanandaj. For a discussion of this issue relating to J. Urmi and J. Sulemaniyya see Khan (2004: 300; 2008a: 266). We present here some cross-dialectal variations by way of illustration:

	Transitive	Intransitive
šhl 'to cough'	J. Sanandaj (*šəhle*)	J. Qar Hasan (*šhil*)
	J. Sulemaniyya (*šhəlle*)	J. Bokan (*šhil*)
	J. Tikab (*šhəlle*)	
	J. Kerend (*šhəlle*)	
tpl 'to sneeze'	J. Sanandaj (*təple*)	J. Bokan (*tpil*)
	J. Sulemaniyya (*tpəlle*)	J. Qar Hasan (*tpil*)
	J. Tikab (*tpəlle*)	J. Urmi (*tpil*)
	J. Kerend (*tpəlle*)	
nwx 'to bark'	J. Sanandaj (*nwəxle*)	J. Urmi (*nwix*)
	J. Sulemaniyya (*nwəxle*)	
	J. Qar Hasan (*noxle*)	
	J. Kerend (*noxle*)	
phr 'to yawn'	J. Sanandaj (*pəhre*)	J. Urmi (*phir*)
	J. Sulemaniyya (*phərre*)	
	J. Kerend (*phərre*)	

Note also that in J. Urmi 'to dance' is coded morphologically as transitive, presenting the 'dancer' as the instigator of the action, whereas in other dialects the 'dancer' is presented as the undergoer of the action and the verb is coded as intransitive:

	Transitive	Intransitive
rql 'to dance'	J. Urmi (*rqile*)	J. Sanandaj (*nqiḷ*)
		J. Sulemaniyya (*rqil*)

Note, further, the intransitive coding of the verbs *m-štx* 'to give birth' and *mšlm* 'to convert to Islam':

(8) *baxtăké məštìxa.ᶦ* 'The woman gave birth.'

(9) *baxtăke məšlìma.ᶦ* 'The woman converted to Islam.'

The intransitive coding in these cases arise from the fact that the subject is conceived as the undergoer rather than the instigator of the event. This is self-explanatory in (8). In (9) the intransitivity implies that the woman converted against her will rather than by her initiative, which was the typical process of conversion.

Although agentive properties of the grammatical subject of a verb on the semantic level may condition its encoding as transitive, it should be pointed out that if verbs typically take a grammatical object complement, they are encoded as transitive irrespective of the semantic properties of the subject participant. This applies, for example, to verbs of perception such as *x∅y* 'to see' (*xele* 'He saw' tr.) and *šmy* 'to hear' (*šmele* 'He heard' tr.), the subjects of which are not instigators of the event, but on the grammatical level they are typically constructed with a grammatical object expressing the item perceived. The characteristic grammatical object may be a propositional complement. This is the case, for example, with verbs such as *mhr* 'to dare' (*məhre* 'He dared' tr.) and *dmy* 'to think, to imagine', which typically take clausal complements, e.g.

(10) *là məhré păláṭ.ᶦ* 'He did not dare go out.'

(11) *là-məhre šắre báqa Kurdəstằn.ᶦ* 'He did not dare send (him) to Kurdistan.' (B:62)

(12) *ʾaná dméli máe drèlu réša nurá.ᶦ* 'I thought that they put water on the fire.' (C:2)

In a few verbs the agentive/causative property of the subject is expressed by giving the verb an impersonal 3fs. pronominal object element, e.g.

ʾərqale	'He fled'
gəxkale	'He laughed'
mərṭale	'He farted'

Some of these verbs may also be coded as intransitive without an object suffix:

riq	'He ran'
gxik	'He laughed'

In the case of *ʾərqale—riq,* the transitive form puts more focus on the purposiveness of the subject ('He fled') whereas in the intransitive form the focus is on the affectedness of the subject referent ('He ran').

The distinction between *gəxkale* and *gxik* is not primarily one of agentivity but rather discourse prominence. The intransitive form *gxik* is typically used to express an event of laughing that is incidental to another activity, e.g.

(13) *g-áy ḥaštá gxìk*⏐ 'He laughed in the course of this job.'

The transitive form *gəxkale,* on the other hand, is used, in principle, to refer to an independent event in its own right and not incidental to another event.

9.11. EXPRESSION OF THE PASSIVE

9.11.1. Passive Past Base

In principle transitive verbs that inflect a past base with L-suffixes may form a past perfective passive with a past base inflected with S-suffixes. In such cases the undergoer object of the active transitive construction is made the grammatical subject of the passive construction. In strong verbs and some categories of weak verb distinct transitive and passive past bases are employed (§3.1.), e.g.

trəṣ-le	'He built (it)'	*triṣ*	'It was built'
tərṣi-le	'He built them'	*tríṣi*	'They were built'

In practice, however, past perfective passives are not formed from all verbs of the lexicon that are coded as transitive in the past perfective active. The passive form tends to be restricted to constructions in which the grammatical subject of the passive is the affectee of the action and has been caused to undergo a change of state. In such cases the verb has telic actionality with an inherent stative endpoint., e.g.

mamí qṭìl⏐	'My uncle was killed'
kništăké trìṣa⏐	'The synagogue was built'

Examples from the text corpus:

(1) *wắle kništá ᴴḥadàšᴴ| ga-hăzắr-u no-ṣà trišá.|* 'But a new synagogue was built in 1900.' (B:58)

(2) *híye-u zìl-u| híye-u zìl| ta-ʔìnke| ʔáy ksilá trišà.|* 'He came and went, came and went, until the wig was made.' (D:13)

The passive of the past base tends to be avoided with verbs that in the active form take grammatical objects that are not direct affectees of the action and are not caused to undergo a change of state. This applies, for example, to verbs of perception (e.g. *x∅y* 'to see'). A verb such as *d∅y* 'to hit' is not used in the passive, since the act of hitting does not necessarily produce a change of state in the undergoer. Such verbs are also in principle non-telic. So telic actionality with an inherent endpoint constituting a change of state appears to be a condition for passive construction formation. If the speaker wishes to express a change of state resulting from the act of hitting, he must use a telic verb such as *dyq* 'to batter (resulting in damage); to crush', e.g.

(3) *gorăké yaléf dìnile.| yalăke dìqi.|* 'The man hit his children. The children were battered.'

In light of these remarks, verbs in expressions such as *mamí qṭìl|* 'My uncle was killed' and *kništăké trìṣa|* 'The synagogue was built' should strictly be termed anticausative intransitive rather than passive. They are not simply syntactic transformations of active constructions but depend on the nature of the event.

The cause of the event is implied, but is not normally expressed. Periphrastic constructions such as (4) indicating the source of the cause by a prepositional phrase are possible, but are rarely used:

(4) *mamí qṭíl mən-lága sarbazè.|* 'My uncle was killed by the soliders.'

9.11.2. Passive Resultative Participle

The distribution of passive constructions with resultative participles is wider than with past base verbs. The explanation is likely to be that the resultative participle of all verbs in principle expresses a state, whereas in past base forms only telic verbs have a stative component.

A passive construction expressing a resultant state may be formed by combining the passive resultative participle of both telic and non-telic verbs with the copula or verb *hwy*, e.g.

Telic

qṭila-y	'He has been killed'
triṣa-y	'It has been built'
qṭila-yele	'He had been killed'
triṣa-yele	'It had been killed'
qṭila hăwe	'He may have been killed'
triṣa hăwe	'It may have been built'

Non-telic

xiya-y	'He has been seen'
diya-y	'He has been hit'
xiya-yele	'He had been seen'
diya-yele	'He had been hit'
xiya hăwe	'He may have been seen'
diya hăwe	'He may have been hit'

Example from the text corpus:

(1) *gbé maqrəxiwale-ò⌋ lá bàda⌋ xoràka⌋ ḥaméṣ ga-d-éa xila-hăwè.⌋* 'They had to coat it with white lest leaven had been eaten in the food.' (B:19)

When the verb has telic actionality, another compound construction is available to express the passive, in which the copula/verb *hwy* is replaced by the ingressive verb $x\varnothing r$ 'to become'. When the auxiliary $x\varnothing r$ is in the past base or present base forms (*xir, xar*), the construction expresses an event with a stative endpoint rather than a resultant state, e.g.

qṭila xir	'He was killed'
qṭila xar	'He will be killed'

The compound construction with the past base form of $x\varnothing r$, viz. *qṭila xir*, is equivalent in meaning to the simple passive (anticausative) past base construction *qṭil*.

The verb *hwy* is replaced suppletively by the verb $x\varnothing r$ in the present perfect compound form, so $x\varnothing r$ in such a construction may be used with both telic or non-telic verbs:

heštan qṭila la xira-y   'He has not yet been killed'
heštan xiya la xira-y   'He has not yet been seen'

9.11.3. Impersonal 3pl. Subject

Another method of expressing an action without specifying the agent is to use an active construction with an impersonal 3pl. subject. This is rendered idiomatically by an English passive, e.g.

(1) *ga-televizyón mˤínwale xá-năfar mən-d-áy ʾaˤyanè‖ malə̀k-yele‖ qṭə̀lwalu.‖* 'On the television he saw that one of the dignitaries who was a landlord had been killed (literally: they had killed one of the dignitaries …).' (C:9)

(2) *mən-Taràn šăríwa báqa didán toránj-u luláv.‖* 'Etrogs and palm fronds were sent to us (literally: they sent) from Tehran.' (B:80)

A compound perfect construction such as (3) may also fall into this category. The verb has a transitive resultative participle without any coding of the subject, as is usual in the compound perfect. The subject can be understood to be the impersonal 3pl.

(3) *ʾəqrá qəṭlà-y‖ ta-milà-y.‖* 'They have beaten him so much that he has died.'

9.11.4. Unaccusative

Several verbs exhibit an alternation of transitive and unaccusative intransitive usage. These can be used transitively with a volitional subject and an object complement that is the undergoer of the action or alternatively can be used intransitively with the non-volitional undergoer being made the grammatical subject. Unlike passive constructions, such unaccusative intransitive alternants of transitive verbs are not restricted to past bases and resultative participles but include also inflections of the present base. In general the grammatical subject of such unaccusative constructions is an inanimate object, e.g.

pyaḷăke torila   'They will break the glass'
pyaḷăke tora   'The glass will break'

ləxma parčəkile   'They will crumble the bread'
ləxma parčək   'The bread will crumble'

bela ṭăpele	'He will destroy the house'
bela ṭăpe	'The house will collapse'
măbele	'He will inflate it'
măbe	'It will inflate'

In a number of cases the unaccusative alternant is idiomatically translated by an English passive, e.g.

lišanef qăṭele	'He will cut off his tongue'
lišanef qăṭe	'His tongue will be cut off'
băloti doqla	'He will block my throat'
băloti doqa	'My throat will be blocked'
šəmef măhele	'He will erase his name'
šəmef măḥe!	'May his name be erased!'

With such unaccusative intransitives there is no necessarily implied external agent, whereas there is in principle the implication of an external cause in passive (anticausative) constructions:

Passive

mami qṭila xar	'My uncle will be killed (by somebody)'

Unaccusative

băloti doqa	'My throat will be blocked (not necessarily by an external cause)'

Unaccusative intransitives overlap in form with passive (anticausative) constructions in the past base and compound perfect, e.g.

pyaḷăke twíra	'The glass broke'
pyaḷăke twirte-ya	'The glass has broken'
băloti dwíqa	'My throat became blocked'
băloti dwiqte-ya	'My throat has become blocked'
ʾamti qṭíla	'My aunt was killed'
ʾamti qṭilte-ya	'My aunt has been killed'

9.12. THE POST-VERBAL PARTICLE -*o*

The Kurdish post-verbal particle –*o* (< -*awa*) is widely used in the dialect. In principle it takes the stress, e.g. *kénwa* + *o* > *kenwa-ó* 'They used to come back.' A vowel preceding it is sometimes elided, e.g. *dirna* + *o* > *dirn-ó* 'I returned'. The particle has a variety of functions.

9.12.1. 'again, back'

In some cases the particle expresses the sense of 'returning back', 'restoring' or 'repetition':

(1)   *lelăwáe kewa-ò.* 'He would return in the evenings.' (A:99)

(2)   *gbé het-ó baqá ʾaḥrà.* 'You must come back to the town.' (A:6)

(3)   *halox-ó ʾaḥrà.* 'Come back to the town.'

(4)   *ʾăwáḷ lelé gezəlwa-ó belà.* 'In the early evening he would go back home.' (A:101)

(5)   *kmewal-ó ga-béla nòšef.* 'He would bring it back to his house.' (A:81)

(6)   *puḷè ṭălabkắr kwiwale-ó baqù.* 'They would give the money of the creditors back to them.' (B:9)

(7)   *lelăwáe gbéwa hezə́lwa belà tajərăkè ḥăsabéf hawle-ó baqèf.* 'In the evenings he had to go home and give back to the merchant his accounts.' (A:106)

(8)   *dirn-ò.* 'I returned.'

(9)   *mădirnox-ò.* 'I shall take you back.'

(10)   *ʾắgar kiló bi-zóa xăráwa mastăkè, là dărewal-ó tʷkàf.* 'If the yoghurt turned out to be more than a kilo, he did not pour it back in the place (it came from).' (A:79)

(11)   *labnox-ò.* 'I shall take you back.'

(12)   *pìlna, rkiwn-ò.* 'I fell (from a horse) and I mounted again.'

(13)   *syamè tărə̆swá-o.* 'He used to repair shoes (literally: make back).'

(14)   *ḥqeli-ó báqa tatí ʾəlhá mănixà.* 'I told back/recounted (what I had been told) to my father, may God give him rest.' (B:61)

(15) *hĭč-kas*⌐ *daʿwătí lá wile-ò.*⌐ 'I held a party and nobody invited me back.' (D:10)

The particle is used with the verb *ʾly* 'to know' in the sense of 'recognizing' or 'being acquainted with' a person. This may be classified as a type of 'returning':

(16) *ʾay naša kăete-ò?*⌐ 'Do you recognize/know this person?'

(17) *tatóx kăenef-ò.*⌐ 'I know your father.'

9.12.2. Telicity

In many cases the particle expresses simply that the action has an endpoint, which is not necessarily a point of return. The action, therefore, is marked as telic, i.e. it contains a dynamic component and an endpoint (*telos*) attained by the completion of the event, rather than being a homogeneous state or durative activity, e.g.

(1) *maqləblox-ò*⌐ 'He will turn you over (ending up in a static position)' vs. *maqləblòx*⌐ 'He will turn you over and over.'

(2) *ʾăra pexa-ò*⌐ 'The ground will cool down (completely)' vs. *ʾăra pexà*⌐ 'The ground will cool (but not necessarily reach an endpoint of being totally cool).'

(3) *jəlé weši-ò*⌐ 'The clothes will dry (completely)' vs. *jəlé wešì*⌐ 'The clothes will dry (but not necessary reach the point of becoming completely dry).'

(4) *talgá pašra-ò*⌐ 'The snow will melt (and completely disappear)' vs. *talgá pašrà*⌐ 'The snow will melt (but not necessary completely).'

(5) *nurăke tix-ò*⌐ 'The fire died down (completely)' vs. *nurăke tìx*⌐ 'The fire died down (but not necessarily completely).'

(6) *jəlé ʾazli-ò*⌐ 'They will knit clothes (with a complete product at the end)' vs. *ʾazlì*⌐ 'They will knit (but not necessary have a final product).'

(7) *yalé didí ləblile-ó baqá madrasà*⌐ 'He took my children to the school' vs. *yalé didí ləblìle*⌐ 'He took my children (without necessarily taking them to a specific endpoint).'

(8) *ḥăná doqi-ò*⌐ 'They will obtain henna' vs. *ḥăná doqì*⌐ 'They will hold/keep henna.'

(9) *fkə̀r wili-ó.*ˈ 'I thought it over (and reached a decision) (C:6) vs.
     *fkə̀r wı̃́li*ˈ 'I thought (without necessarily coming to a decision).'

(10) *mătíwalu ga-xá tiká parčà,*ˈ *ʾasriwalu-ò.*ˈ 'They put them into a piece
     of cloth and tied them up (resulting in the endpoint of a bundle).'

(11) *ʾaspáw krəxlan-ò*ˈ *bastá ba-bastà.*ˈ 'We wrapped up our belongings,
     (resulting in the endpoint of) bundle, by bundle.' (E:10)

     Many verbs are telic by virtue of their lexical meaning and so would
normally take the –*o* particle as a matter of course, e.g.

(12) *reš-ò.*ˈ 'He will wake up.'

(13) *ḥaywắn dăbəḥle-ò.*ˈ 'He will slaughter the animal.'

(14) *wáxt-e ṣomá kipúr fəṭran-ò,*ˈ *maʿlə́m kéwa belà.*ˈ 'When we had bro-
     ken the fast of the Atonement, a rabbi would come to the house.'
     (B:76)

     Note that the verb *ṭhy* 'to find' is derived historically from *ṭ ˤy 'to seek'.
The natural endpoint of 'seeking' is 'finding' and now the verb is used only
with the meaning of 'to find'. The –*o* particle may be omitted in cases where
the 'finding' lacks finality, e.g.

(15) *belá tă̆ḥele-ò.*ˈ 'He will find the house.'

(16) *yomá ʾəmá šéqel pulé tă̆ḥèt.*ˈ 'You will find (i.e. earn) 100 shekels in
     money a day.' (A:104)

     In some case where a verb expresses telicity by virtue of its lexical
meaning, the –*o* particle adds some kind of intensity by reinforcing the telic-
ity. The precise sense of this intensity varies idiomatically from one verb to
another. In (17), for example, the use of the particle conveys a sense of
greater permanence:

(17) *xa-bratá mətwali-ó baqòx.*ˈ 'I have set aside (reserved) a girl for
     you.' (A:6)

     In (18) the use of the enhanced telicity expressed by the particle con-
veys the sense that there would be multiple affectees of the action:

(18) *bar-d-èa*ˈ *ʾijazá wilwalù,*ˈ *gbéwa xa-širní xorắn-e mfăṣàl doqı̃́*ˈ *širní
     hăwi-ò.*ˈ 'After they had given their permission, they had to hold a
     big ceremony of "eating the sweets" and distribute sweets.' (A:32)

In (19) the telicity expressed by the particle on the verb *m-ʿyn* 'to look' is purposive, i.e. the man looked out of the window with the specific purpose of seeing who was there:

(19) *mírwala Mə́rza Xănăká xá-gora gbelòx.| la-kə́yan mə̀ni-ye.| Xănăká-č mən-panjărăké mʿine-ò| həl-didí xèle.|* 'She said "Mərza Xănăka, a man wants you. I do not know who it is." Xănăka looked from the window and saw me.' (A:21)

9.12.3. 'opening'

It is used in combination with the verb *ʾwl* 'to do' to express the sense of 'to open', which is a calque on the Kurdish *kirdin-awa*, e.g.

(1) *tărá konef-ò.|* 'I am opening the door.'

(2) *ləxmăké kolawalè-o.|* 'She opened out the bread (dough).' (A:66)

The intransitive is expressed by the replacing *ʾwl* with *x∅r*, e.g.

(3) *wardé xări-ò.|* 'The flowers are opening.'

9.12.4. Combination with Other Verbal Affixes

The particle *–o* is always placed at the end of a verbal form, after all other affixes such as pronominal suffixes or the enclitic copula:

(1) *ʾaná panjărăké konaf-ò.|* 'I shall open the window.'

(2) *tatóx Məsyúr Basán kăele-ò?|* 'Does your father know Monsieur Basan?' (B:60)

(3) *ʾágar ʾay-mastá dărenaf-ó tʷká nošăf| nəjàs xărá.|* 'If I pour this yoghurt back into its container (literally: its place), it will become unclean.' (A:80)

(4) *se-lox-ó ba-šonàf!|* 'Go back after it!' (E:35)

(5) *heštán baxtéf la ṭhite-ya-ò.|* 'He has not found his wife yet.'

(6) *daăkí tatí xiya-y-ò.|* 'My mother has seen my father again.'

It is, however, placed before a prepositional phrase that is not an affix of the verb as in (7):

(7) *ṭheli-ò-ʾəlef.|* 'I found him.'

9.12.5. On Adverbials

The particle *-o* is found on spatial adverbs such as *tex-ó* 'below', which may have been motivated by its usage with the cognate verb *tyx-o* 'to go down', *reš-o* 'again' (literally: 'back to the head') and *lắḥal-o* 'into the distance', e.g.

(1) *xá ṭăbắqa xèt-əč xirén⌷ bíš tex-ò.⌷* There was another class, (which was) lower down.' (B:6)

(2) *mən-d-áy reš-ó ken-ò,⌷ ʾonyexáe təqnú lá pešà.⌷* 'When I come back again, the beard of those people must not remain (unshaven).' (B:81)

(3) *xmarăké mən-pliyáw ó daštá lắḥál-o mrɜ̀qlu.⌷* 'They made the ass run from the field into the distance.'

9.13. DIRECT OBJECT

The expression of pronominal direct objects as suffixes on the various verbal forms has been described in §3.20. When the direct object is an independent nominal or pronominal phrase various types of syntactic construction are used. The verb forms from the various verbal bases will be considered separately.

9.13.1. Present Base Verbs and Imperatives

9.13.1.1. No Grammatical Marking

The object has no grammatical marking either on the nominal or on the verb in the form of a pronominal suffix. This is the usual construction when the object nominal is indefinite, e.g.

(1) *xa-waxtărá tatí yătùwa⌷ xá ḥăkayát ḥăqéwa baqàn.⌷* 'Once my father sat and told us a story.' (A:98)

(2) *jắm kménwa ba-qám kaldá-u xətnà.⌷* 'They brought a mirror to the bride and groom.' (A:45)

(3) *šămáš-e kništà⌷ gezə́lwa susì kméwa.⌷* 'The beadle of the synagogue went to fetch a horse.' (A:43)

(4) *léle reš-šatá xa-səfrá šăwénwa rŭwà.⌷* 'On New Year's Eve we spread out a large cloth.' (A:65)

(5)   *mastà holí!*⏐ 'Give me yoghurt!' (A:79)

This construction is found also with a definite nominal object in an embedded relative clause in (6):

(6)   *ʾáy gbéwa hezə́l baqá xá-tʷka kəmríwala qăṣābxanà,*⏐ *yáni ga-d-ó-tʷka ya-toryú ʾərbú ʾonyexáe dabḥi-ò.*⏐ 'He had to go to a place called the "butcher's shop," that is to that place where they slaughtered their cows and sheep.' (A:73)

The verb also has no grammatical marking when the direct object item is a demonstrative pronoun in clauses that cohere closely with what precedes. Such clauses typically function as supplementary statements tagged onto the end of a discourse section, e.g.

(7)   *ʾéa matwíwa rešá səfrà-u*⏐ 'They placed this on the cloth.' (B:31)

(8)   *ʾò kéwalan ʾaxléx.*⏐ 'We could eat that.' (B:29)

(9)   *ʾənyexáe mătìwa gáaf*⏐ *ʾu-šăríwa báqa béla didàn.*⏐ 'They would put these on it (the tray) and send them to us.' (A:88)

9.13.1.2. Pronominal Copy On Verb

In such cases the verb has a pronominal direct object suffix that is co-referential with the object nominal. This construction is used when the object nominal is definite, e.g.

(1)   *xwanăké kmenwalà-u*⏐ 'They delivered the table.' (A:11)

(2)   *susyăké mən-sarbāzxané kméwale qam-tărà.*⏐ 'He would bring the horse from the barracks to the door.' (A:16)

(3)   *gbé het-ó ʾay-bratá goretà.*⏐ 'You must go back and marry that girl.' (A:18)

(4)   *xətná kménwale-o béla nošù.*⏐ 'They brought the groom to their house.' (A:54)

(5)   *ʾay-zărằ*⏐ *ṭaxnìwale.*⏐ 'They grind the wheat.' (A:59)

(6)   *se-báqa jangàḷ,*⏐ *ʾilanăkè mélu,*⏐ *zàbnu!*⏐ 'Go to the woods. Bring pieces of wood and sell them!' (A:107)

A pronominal copy is also used with some indefinite objects. This occurs where the indefinite object plays a prominent role in the immediately succeeding discourse. Indefinite nominals with this prominent discourse

status are typically marked by the indefinite marker *xa dana* or at least by *xa* (§8.1.1., §8.1.3.), e.g.

(7) *hár xanăwadé ta-nòšef,ˈ hár məšpaḥá ta-nòšef,ˈ gezə̀lwaˈ xa-dána tórta šăqə̀lwala.ˈ kmewal-ó ga-béla nòšef.ˈ rában kéwa dăbəḥwal-ó baqèf.ˈ* 'Each family, each family went in their turn and bought a cow. They would bring it back to their home. Our rabbi would come and slaughter it for them.' (A:81-82)

(8) *xa-dána pút ḥălabí dóqwala ba-ʾilèf-uˈ dăélwa gàaf-uˈ* 'He would hold a metal can in his hand and beat it (like a drum).' (A:99)

(9) *bàr-d-oˈ xá-dana betàˈ băzèxwala.ˈ ʾo-betá-č koléxwala ba-glalà-uˈ ʾasréxwala ba-təqrà,ˈ təqrá swkăkè.ˈ* 'Then we would prick an egg. We put the egg on a thread and tied it to the roof, the roof of the booth.' (B:78)

The construction is also attested when the nominal has generic reference, e.g.

(10) *huláa ba-năjə́s là kắenwale.ˈ šiʿá huláe ba-năjə̀s kắelu.ˈ* 'They (the Sunnites) did not consider a Jew unclean. A Shiʿite considers Jews unclean.' (B:64)

9.13.1.3. Preposition *həl-* Without Pronominal Copy

In such cases the object nominal is marked with the preposition *həl-* but the object referent is not coded on the verb by a co-referential pronominal suffix. This construction is attested with object nominals that have human referents, e.g.

(1) *xəmé-u xmalèˈ həl-kaldú la-xắenwa ʾəqrà.ˈ* 'The fathers-in-law and mothers-in-law did not see their bride very much.' (A:3)

(2) *ʾay-bronàˈ həl-d-áy bratá gbè.ˈ* 'The boy loves the girl.' (A:18)

It is found where the object is an independent pronominal phrase, e.g.

(3) *susyăké mən-sarbāzxané kméwale qam-tărà,ˈ həl-didí markùwa.ˈ* 'He would bring the horse from the barracks to the door and would mount me (on it).' (A:15–16)

In such pronominal phrases the *həl-* is sometimes elided, e.g.

(4) *năšəqnàwale-uˈ ʾó-č didí năšəqwà-uˈ* 'I would kiss him and he would kiss me.' (B:33)

(5)   ʾaxtú tămà didí-u daăkí daˤwát lá kolétun?ˈ 'Why do you not invite
      me and my mother?' (D:8)

   A pronominal copy is absent on a verb that takes the reciprocal pro-
noun ləxle as its object. The initial l- element of this pronoun may have been
interpreted as an prepositional object marker associated with həl-, e.g.

(6)   rába başòr láxle xắenwa.ˈ 'When they became betrothed, they still
      saw each other very little.' (A:3)

9.13.1.4. Zero Pronominal Objects

When a clause is closely connected to preceding clause, a pronominal object
is sometimes left without explicit expression. This is the case, for example,
in (1) below, where two clauses are bound closely to the initial temporal
clause:

(1)   čún-ge tazá mən-txél talgá plíṭwa waryàˈ čăqénwa-u kmenwa-ó belà.ˈ
      'When it had just sprouted out of the snow, they would pick (it)
      and bring (it) home.' (B:32)

9.13.2. Past Base Verbs

The expression of pronominal direct objects of past base verbs has been de-
scribed in §3.20.2. The pronominal object of all persons may be expressed
by prepositional phrases. When the pronominal direct object is 3rd person, it
may alternatively be expressed by the number and gender inflection of the
past base. This corresponds to the S-suffix inflection that is used to express
the subject of intransitive past bases and may be identified as 'ergative' syn-
tax:

Ergative

grášle	'He pulled him'
gəršále	'He pulled her'
gəršíle	'He pulled them'

   Examples from the text corpus:

(1)   bár-d-o məndélu pliyawà.ˈ 'Then they threw him in (the sea).'
      (B:77)

(2)   yăwā́š mən-rešáf gəršàliˈ šoḷtáli d-o-làg.ˈ 'I slowly pulled it (the veil)
      from her head and threw it to one side.' (A:24)

(3)   ʾaxréf ba-zór miyàlun-u⌐ 'In the end they brought her by force and
       …' (A:23)

(4)   ga-ʾIrán šəwqìwali-u⌐ 'I left them in Iran.' (C:10)

   In the ergative construction, the 3ʳᵈ person pronominal object may be
expressed in addition by an independent pronoun in its direct form, without
any object marker:

            ʾo grášli   'I pulled him'
            ʾo gəršáli   'I pulled her'
            ʾoni gəršíli   'I pulled them'

   The 3ms. inflection is the unmarked form of the base, which may have
the specific function of expressing the 3ms. object or may be used neutrally
without marking any specific object. The 3fs. and 3pl. forms, on the other
hand, are marked, in that they express exclusively the 3fs. and 3pl. pro-
nominal objects.
   When a verb that is treated as transitive and inflected with L-suffixes
does not have a specific object, the past base is in the neutral 3ms. form, e.g.

      šəhle   'He coughed'   < *šhəlle
      təple   'He sneezed'   < *tpəlle
      mire   'He said'   < *mirle
      momele   'He swore'

   When the pronominal object is an independent phrase that marks the
direct object with a preposition, the past base always has the 3ms. form
used neutrally, without agreeing specifically with the object. The marking of
the object is expressed only by the prepositional phrase. This construction,
therefore, may be identified as 'accusative' syntax:

Accusative

            grášle ʾəlef   'He pulled him'
            grášle ʾəlaf   'He pulled her'
            grášle ʾəlu   'He pulled them'

   When the direct object is a definite full nominal, the past base agrees
with this so long as the nominal is in its direct form, without any object
marker. This agreement is only distinguishable with fs. and pl. objects:

            gorăke grášli   'I pulled the man'
            baxtăke gəršáli   'I pulled the woman'
            băruxăwali gəršíli   'I pulled my friends'

Example from the text corpus:

(5) *ja-qắme d-éa ꞌay-bráta daăkí hamrà̧| xa-šatá ga-Kursàn-yeli| xà yomá|
ꞌay-baxtí ꞌătá ya-xặetà| xiyàli.|* 'Now, before my mother told (me
about) this girl, one year when I was in Kurdistan, one day I saw
this wife of mine whom you see (now).' (A:8)

(6) *ga-dóka madrăsá ꞌAliắns tǝrş̣àle.|* 'The Alliance built the school
there.' (B:12)

(7) *qímex zǝbnìlan belăké.|* 'We sold the houses.' (C:8)

(8) *ꞌắt ꞌáy ḥaštá wilàlox,| ꞌáy kŭle puḷé xǝrjìlox.|* 'You have done this
work, you have spent all this money.' (D:7)

(9) *ꞌéa qǝryàlu.|* 'They read that.' (B:53)

The past base agrees also with an indefinite object with a specific refer-
ent that plays a prominent role in the immediately following discourse.
Such nominals are typically marked by the indefinite particles *xa* or *xa
dana,* when singular, and *čǝkma,* when plural:

> *xa baxta gǝršáli*   'I pulled a certain woman'
> *čǝkma ꞌǝnše gǝršíli*   'I pulled some women'

Examples from the text corpus:

(10) *xa-bratá mǝtwali-ó baqòx| rába zărìf,| rába ꞌayztà,| mǝn-xanăwadè
ꞌayztá.| familì rába ꞌayzá-y| ꞌăxonàf ꞌayzá.|* 'I have arranged a girl
for you, very pretty, very good, from a good family. Their family
is very good. Her brother is good.' (A:6)

(11) *xá bratá mă꞊arǝfì wilálu báef| kè| báška xlulà-č hól.|* 'They intro-
duced a girl to him, whom he could perhaps marry.' (D:17)

(12) *čǝkmá ꞌaksé ntenìlan,| ꞌonyexáe píšen báqa yādgarì.|* 'We took a few
photographs and they have remained as a reminder (of the
event).' (A:29)

(13) *xá xlulá rába mojălàl dǝwqále baqáf tatăké.|* 'The father arranged a
very grand wedding for her.' (D:27)

If an indefinite object nominal does not have a referent that has promi-
nence in the succeeding discourse, the base is in all cases in its neutral 3ms.
form and does not agree with the object:

> *baxta nšǝqli*   'I kissed a woman'
> *raba ꞌǝnše nšǝqli*   'I kissed many women'

This distinction between the status of indefinite objects is reflected by pairs such as the following:

baxta gəwri	'I married'
xa baxta gəwrali	'I married a certain woman'

In the first of these, without agreement of the base (*gəwri* < *gwərri* < *gwərli*), the object is unspecified. The second construction, with agreement, would only be used if the speaker is referring to a specific woman who, typically, will be referred to in what follows.

A definite object nominal may optionally have the preposition *həl-* prefixed to it. This functions as a direct object marker. When the definite object has this explicit object marking, the past base is always in the neutral 3ms. form and does not agree with the object nominal:

həl-gorăke gráŝli	'I pulled the man'
həl-baxtăke gráŝli	'I pulled the woman'
həl-băruxăwali gráŝli	'I pulled my friends'

The object in such constructions typically has a human referent. Example from the text corpus:

(14) *hìtwa˺ bronăké həl-bratăké la-xewále ba-ʿamrèf.˺* 'Sometimes the boy had never seen the girl in his life.' (A:2)

9.13.3. Compound Verbal Forms

As described in §3.12. and §9.3.1., the transitive compound verbal form consisting of a resultative participle and copula is only available in constructions where the agent of the activity is 3rd person. The resultative participle and its copula enclitic agree with the referent that is the undergoer of the action or remains in the unmarked form with the 3ms copula (*gərša-y*). The agreement patterns of the transitive resultative participle + copula phrase correspond to those of the transitive past base described in §3.20.2. As is the case with the unmarked *grəš-* form of the transitive past base, the unmarked *gərša-y* form with the 3ms. copula either agrees specifically with a 3ms. undergoer or is used as a default neutral form that is not referentially bound to any specific undergoer referent.

As with the past base, the compound verbal forms can be used in ergative or accusative type constructions. In the ergative type of construction, the resultative participle + copula phrase agrees with a 3rd person undergoer. There is no coding of the 3rd person agent in the verbal phrase corresponding to the L-suffixes of the past base construction:

Ergative

băruxăwali gərša-y	'My friends have pulled him'
băruxăwali grəšte-ya	'My friends have pulled her'
tati gəršen	'My father has pulled them'

    Accusative type syntax can be identified in constructions where the pronominal object is an independent phrase that marks the direct object with a preposition. Here the compound verb always has the 3ms. form used neutrally, without agreeing with the undergoer. The marking of the object is expressed only by the prepositional phrase. The agent must be 3ʳᵈ person but still has no coding on the verb. The undergoer, which in such constructions is not referentially bound to the compound verb, may be any person:

Accusative

tati həl-d-o gərša-y	'My father has pulled him'
tati gərša-y ʾəlef	
brati həl-d-o gərša-y	'My daughter has pulled him'
brati gərša-y ʾəlef	
băruxăwali həl-d-o gərša-y	'My friends have pulled him'
băruxăwali gərša-y ʾəlef	
həl-d-oni gərša-y	'He/she/they has/have pulled them'
gərša-y ʾəlu	
həl-didox gərša-y	'He/she/they has/have pulled you (ms.)'
gərša-y ʾəlox	
həl-didax gərša-y	'He/she/they has/have pulled you (fs.)'
gərša-y ʾəlax	
həl-didăxun gərša-y	'He/she/they has/have pulled you (pl.)'
gərša-y ʾəlăxun	
həl-didi gərša-y	'He/she/they has/have pulled me'
gərša-y ʾəli	
həl-didan gərša-y	'He/she/they has/have pulled us'
gərša-y ʾəlan	

Similarly when a verb has any other type of prepositional phrase as its complement, the compound verb always has the 3ms. form used neutrally, e.g. *d∅y b-* 'to touch':

tati baef diya-y	'My father has touched him'
brati baef diya-y	'My daughter has touched him'
băruxăwali baef diya-y	'My friends have touched him'
bau diya-y	'He/she/they has/have touched them'
baox diya-y	'He/she/they has/have touched you (ms.)'
baax diya-y	'He/she/they has/have touched you (fs.)'
baăxun diya-y	'He/she/they has/have touched you (pl.)'
bai diya-y	'He/she/they has/have touched me'
baan diya-y	'He/she/they has/have touched us'

When a verb that is treated as transitive does not have a specific object, the neutral 3ms. form of the compound verb is used. Since there is no coding of the agent in the verbal phrase, the neutral 3ms. form is used with all types of agent, e.g.

šhl 'to cough'

tati šəhla-y	'My father has coughed'
baxti šəhla-y	'My wife has coughed'
băruxawali šəhla-y	'My friends have coughed'

ʾmr 'to say'

tati mira-y	'My father has said'
baxti mira-y	'My mother has said'
băruxawali mira-y	'My friends have said'

qry 'to study'

broni qərya-y	'My son has studied'
brati qərya-y	'My daughter has studied'
băruxawali qərya-y	'My friends have studied'

xlp 'to win'

tati xəlpa-y	'My father has won'
baxti xəlpa-y	'My mother has won'
băruxawali xəlpa-y	'My friends have won'

mwmy 'to swear'

tati mumya-y	'My father has sworn'
baxti mumya-y	'My mother has sworn'
băruxawali mumya-y	'My friends have sworn'

When the direct object is a definite full nominal, the compound verb agrees with this so long as the nominal is in its direct form, without any object marker. This agreement is only distinguishable with fs. and pl. objects:

tati gorăke gərša-y	'My father has pulled the man'
tati baxtăke grəšte-ya	'My father has pulled the woman'
tati băruxawali gəršen	'My father has pulled my friends'

As with constructions with past base verbs, the participle also agrees with an indefinite object with a referent that has prominence in the following discourse. This typically occurs where the object is a human participant:

| *tati xa baxta nšəqte-ya* | 'My father has kissed a certain woman' |

If the object is an indefinite full nominal that does not have prominence in the succeeding discourse, the compound form is in all cases in its neutral 3ms. form and does not agree with the object:

| *tati baxta nəšqa-y* | 'My father has kissed a woman' |
| *tati raba ʾənše nəšqa-y* | 'My father has kissed many women' |

Note the distinction between two constructions such as the following:

| *tati baxta gəwra-y* | 'My father has married' |
| *tati xa baxta gwərte-ya* | 'My father has married a certain woman' |

If a definite object nominal is marked as the direct object by the object marker preposition *həl-*, the compound form is always in the neutral 3ms. form and does not agree with the object nominal:

tati həl-gorăke gərša-y	'My father has pulled the man'
tati həl-baxtăke gərša-y	'My father has pulled the woman'
tati həl-băruxawali gərša-y	'My father has pulled my friends'

The compound verb is in the neutral 3ms. form when it takes a clause as its object complement, as is seen in constructions with the verb *ʾby* 'to want':

tati ʾəbya-y he	'My father wanted to come'
brati ʾəbya-y hiya	'My daughter wanted to come'
băruxawali ʾəbya-y hen	'My friends wanted to come'

9.13.4. Direct Objects of Expressions with *fam-* ('to remember')

The syntax of constructions formed with the element *fam-* denoting 'remembering' require some attention. The referent corresponding to the grammatical subject in the corresponding English clause 'X remembers Y' is expressed by a pronominal suffix on the *fam-*. If the referent is a full nominal it is extraposed in initial position and resumed by a suffix. The referent corresponding to the English object is expressed by the personal reference of the copula enclitic, so long as this is 3rd person, e.g.

famef-ye	'He remembers him'
tati famef-ye	'My father remembers him'
famef-ya	'He remembers her'
tati famef-ya	'My father remembers her'
ʾana fami-ye	'I remember him'
ʾana fami-ya	'I remember her'
ʾāt baxti famox-ya	'You remember my wife'

If the referent corresponding to the English object is 1st or 2nd person, this is expressed by an independent pronominal phrase and the copula is in the neutral 3ms. form, e.g.

ʾana didox fami-ye	'I remember you'
ʾāt didi famox-ye	'You remember me'

Parallel constructions expressing 'remembering' are used with the element *fəkr-* in place of *fam-*.

9.14. COMPARATIVE EXCURSUS

The types of constructions for the expression of the direct object that have been described in §9.13. are found in the neighbouring Jewish NENA dialects in Western Iran, such as Kerend, Bokan and Săqəz.

In the Jewish dialect of Sulemaniyya in the adjacent region of North Eastern Iraq, the syntax of the direct object is essentially similar to that of J. Sanandaj in constructions with the past base (Khan 2004: 324-328) but there are differences in constructions with the compound verbal form (Khan 2004: 137-138). In J. Sulemaniyya, unlike in J. Sanandaj, the copula element of the compound form agrees with the agent rather than with the undergoer and so corresponds in syntactic position to the L-suffixes of the past

base inflection. There is, consequently, coding of the agent in the verbal phrase and, as with L-suffixes, this allows agents of any person to be expressed. The resultative participle agrees with a definite or pronominal undergoer, as in J. Sanandaj, but there is, in addition, a pronominal object suffix on the resultative participle exhibiting the same agreement:

    tati gərš-ew-ye   'My father has pulled him'
    ʾana gərš-ew-yena   'I (m.) have pulled him'
    ʾat gərš-ew-yet   'You (ms.) have pulled him'

    tati grəšt-aw-ye   'My father has pulled her'
    ʾana grəšt-aw-yena   'I (m.) have pulled her'
    ʾat grəšt-aw-yet   'You (ms.) have pulled her'

It would be expected that the resultative participle would also agree in number with a 3pl. pronominal object. When the 3pl. pronominal suffix is attached, however, the plural ending of the participle is elided and so is identical in form to the masculine singular form (*gərš-u < gəršе + u*):

    tati gərš-u-ye   'My father has pulled them'
    ʾana gərš-u-yena   'I (m.) have pulled them'
    ʾat gərš-u-yet   'You (ms.) have pulled them'

The participle is in the fs. form not only when the undergoer is fs. but also when the agent is fs., e.g.

    baxti grəšt-ew-ya   'My wife has pulled him'
    baxti grəšt-u-ya   'My wife has pulled them'

    ʾana grəšt-ew-yan   'I (f.) have pulled him'
    ʾana grəšt-u-yan   'I (f.) have pulled them'

    ʾat grəšt-ew-yat   'You (fs.) have pulled him'
    ʾat grəšt-u-yat   'You (fs.) have pulled them'

It can be seen that a fs. participle is always used when the agent is fs. irrespective of the gender or number of the undergoer. Agreement with a feminine singular subject, therefore, overrides agreement with the undergoer.

In general, therefore, the syntax of the compound construction in J. Sulemaniyya exhibits a greater degree of agent orientation than in J. Sanandaj, which is reflected by the agreement of the participle and copula with the agent. The undergoer orientation that is characteristic of J. Sanandaj has

not, however, been completely given up, in that there is some degree of agreement between the participle and the undergoer.

The Jewish dialect of Urmi in north-western Iran exhibits a syntax of the direct object that is typologically more distant still from J. Sanandaj. There are differences both in constructions with the past base and in compound verbal constructions.

The past base agrees with definite undergoers even when the undergoer is marked by an object marker in the form of the preposition *əl-* (Khan 2008a: 312-313). This coding on the verb of explicitly marked objects (*əl-d-o brata gəršale*) can be considered to be a property of accusative syntax, e.g.

dadi əl-o-brata gəršale	'My father pulled that girl'
dadi əl-une-naše gəršile	'My father pulled those people'

The undergoer may also be expressed by object L-suffixes attached to the past base construction rather than by agreement of the past base (Khan 2008a: 152). This is a further manifestation of accusative syntax, e.g.

dadi əl-o-brata grəšle-la	'My father pulled that girl'
dadi əl-une-naše grəšle-lu	'My father pulled those people'

In constructions with compound verbal forms consisting of the resultative participle and the copula, the participle agrees only with the agent and never with the undergoer. Definite undergoers, furthermore, are marked on the verb with L-suffixes (Khan 2008a: 153), e.g.

dadi əl-o-brata griš-e-lla	'My father has pulled that girl'
dadi əl-une naše griš-e-llu	'My father has pulled those people'
amti əl-o-brata grəšt-a-lla	'My aunt has pulled that girl'
amti əl-une naše grəšt-a-llu	'My aunt has pulled those people'

These features reflect the fact that the compound verbal construction in J. Urmi has a completely accusative syntax.

9.15. THE DISTRIBUTION OF LONG S-SUFFIXES

The long variant of the 1pl. S-suffix *–exin* is used by informant B in the introductory clause of new sections of discourse, e.g.

(1)   *ʾătá kéxin baqá Lelangè.ˈ* 'Now we come to Purim.' (B:52)

(2)   *ʾătá hiyéxin baqàˈ ḥănukaè.ˈ* 'Now we have come to Hanukkah.' (B:48)

9.16. THE INFINITIVE

9.16.1. Nominal Function

In various constructions the infinitive occupies the position of a nominal in the clause. These include the following.

9.16.1.1. Complement of a Preposition

This is most frequently attested where the infinitive is the complement of an expression of 'beginning' such as *šəruʿ ʾwl ba-* 'to make a start at, to begin to' or *ʾila d∅y ba-, ʾila hwl ba-, ʾila ʾwl* 'to put a hand to, to begin', e.g.

šəruʿ wile ba-ʾăxole	'He began to eat'
ʾila dile ba-găroše	'He began to pull'
ʾila hiwle ba-čăqoe	'He began to dig'

In (1) from the text corpus the preposition *ba-* is omitted before the infinitive *băxoe*:

(1)   *ʾíli wíli băxoè.*ˈ 'I began to cry.' (C:4)

If there is a direct object nominal, this is usually placed between the preposition and the infinitive, in conformity with the normal placement of objects before the verb in clauses (§10.4.1.1.):

šəruʾ wili ba-mewa ʾaxole	'I began to eat fruit
ʾila hiwli ba-xola găroše	'I began to pull the rope'

The object is occasionally placed after the infinitive. This occurs in the same conditions as the object constituent is postposed after a finite verb (§10.4.1.2.). In (2) the object expresses a newly introduced referent:

(2)   *šərúʾ wílu ba-yălopé hulaulà-u*ˈ *yălopé făransà-u*ˈ *ʿəbrì,*ˈ *fàrsi.*ˈ 'They began to learn Judaism and to learn French, Hebrew and Persian' (B:12)

In (3) the postposed object is definite and the clause is pragmatically bound to what precedes in that it expresses an event that takes place in the spatio-temporal frame set by what precedes:

(3)   *băraxà kmə́rwa*ˈ *nišán-e sʷkăke mătùwa*ˈ *g-è-tʷka sʷká dăeni-ó*ˈ … *ʾo-waxtà̀ra*ˈ *bəqà̀tef-o*ˈ *šərúʿ koléxwa ba-tăroṣé sʷkăkè.*ˈ 'He (the rabbi) would say a blessing, mark out (the place) of the booth and they would place the booth in that place … Then, in the morning, we

would begin to make the booth (in the place marked by the rabbi).' (B:76)

Prepositional phrases expressing pronominal objects are placed in the same position as they are relative to a finite verb, either before or after the infinitive, e.g.

>ila dili ba-găroše >əlef   'I began to pull him'
>ila dili ba->ələf găroše   'I began to pull him'
>ila dili ba-həl-d-o găroše   'I began to pull him'
>ila dili ba-didox găroše   'I began to pull you (ms.)'
>ila dile ba-didi găroše   'He began to pull me'

A pronominal object may be expressed by pronominal suffixes of the series that is attached to nouns and prepositions, e.g.

>ila dili ba-gărošef   'I began to pull him'
>ila dili ba-gărošaf   'I began to pull her'
>ila dili ba-gărošox   'I began to pull you (ms.)'
>ila dile ba-găroši   'He began to pull me'

9.16.1.2. Complement of a Nominal

The infinitive may be a complement of a preceding nominal in an annexation relationship. This is found in (1), in which the infinitive expresses a transitive event with a direct object constituent placed before it:

(1) >aná ḥawṣălá-e >ắra tăroṣè líti-u˺ 'I do not have the patience to build (on) the land.' (C:6)

Note also the construction in (2), in which the infinitive is the complement of the adjective ḥărik 'busy':

(2) >o-tré ḥăriké šyakà-yelu.˺ 'The two of them were busy wrestling.'

9.16.1.3. Components in Copula or Existential Clauses

In such constructions, the infinitive is treated as either masculine or feminine in gender. Nominals that are the complement of the infinitive are placed before it, e.g.

(1) >éa >ilá dwaqà-yela.˺ 'This was "the joining of hands."' (A:35)

(2) >éa ḥămắm zalù-yele.˺ 'That was (the custom of) their going to the baths.' (A:38)

(3) *qála mi̱lá šămoé maṣwà hité.* ǀ 'To hear the cry (of the baby) at cir-
     cumcision had (the status of) a good deed (= It was a good deed
     to …).' (A:75)

9.16.2. Verbal Functions

9.16.2.1. Placement Before a Finite Verb

The infinitive may be placed before a realis present base form of the same
verb to reinforce the function of the verb in some way. This strategy of
'heavy coding' is often used when the verbal form has a progressive function
(§9.2.1.2.), e.g.

šătoe šătena	'I am drinking'
ʾăroqe ʾărəqna	'I am running'
ʾwara ʾor	'He is entering'
čyara čerex	'We are going around'
šăhole šăhəl	'He is coughing'
kalba nwaxa nox	'The dog is barking'
mae dălope dalpi	'Water is leaking'
zboti ʾăroe ʾarya	'My finger is freezing'

When the present base verbal form has the realis prefixed particle
k-/g-, this particle is attached also to the infinitive, e.g.

kxole kəxna	'I am eating'
kmore kəmna	'I am saying'
gzala gezna	'I am going'
kyaa kena	'I am coming'

The heavy coding resulting from the combination of an infinitive with
a finite verb may also be used to express some kind of discourse promi-
nence. This is the case in (1) from the text corpus where it is combined with
a present base verb form that is used with habitual aspect. Its purpose is to
draw particular attention to the merriment of the neighbours, which con-
trasts with the boring life style of the speaker's husband. Note that the nu-
clear stress of the intonation group is placed on the infinitive:

(1) *xa-rezá ləxmá-u guptá šăqə́l báqa yalèf-u* ǀ *g-ay-pút dăél naqòḻe naqlí*
     baqèf. ǀ *ʾàt ma-kolét?* ǀ 'He buys a little bread and cheese for his
     children. He drums on the tin and they dance to it. What do you
     do?' (A:102)

9.16.2.2. *Placement After a Finite Verb*

An infinitive may be placed after a finite verb to modify the event expressed by the verb in some way. In such cases the infinitive is typically from a different verbal root. It may elaborate on the event by expressing other activities that were circumstantial to it, as in (1):

(1) *ga-dóka našé yatwìwa| ʾáraq šătoè-u| mašrúb šătoè-u|* 'People would sit there, drinking arak, drinking drink.' (B:32)

It is sometimes used to express the purpose of an action, especially that of a verb of movement, e.g.

(2) *ʾáṣər kenwa-ò| ʾáraq šătoè-u| kéf walà| tá geziwa-ó belà.|* 'In the evening they would come back in order to drink arak and make merry, until (the time came for them) to go back home.' (B:43)

The purpose function may be explicitly marked by a subordinating particle, e.g.

(3) *zíl ta-čáy šătoè.|* 'He went to drink tea.'

9.17. RESULTATIVE PARTICIPLES IN ADVERBIAL PHRASES

The resultative participle is sometimes used in adverbial phrases that can be interpreted as reduced predications, such as in (1):

(1) *ʾay-našè| xá-ʿəda píle m-qàmaf| xá-ʿəda píle m-bàraf,| ba-dohól-u zorná lablíwala be-xətnà.|* 'The people took her to the house of the groom with the drum and pipe, some having placed themselves (literally: fallen) in front of her and some having placed themseves behind her.' (A:46)

10. THE CLAUSE

10.1 THE COPULA CLAUSE

10.1.1. Preliminary Remarks

The present and past copulas are placed after the predicate of the clause. They are used to form ascriptive and equative clauses. Ascriptive clauses ascribe a certain property to the referent of the subject. The property may be a quality, membership of a class or a spatio-temporal location. Equative clauses identify the referent of one expression with the referent of another.

In ascriptive clauses the copula is regularly placed after the item that expresses the property thus marking it as the predicate.

(1) *šwawán tajàr-ye.*⌐ 'Our neighbour is a merchant.'

(2) *šwawán kpinà-y.*⌐ 'Our neighbour is hungry.'

(3) *šwawán ga-belà-y.*⌐ 'Our neighbour is in the house.'

This syntax of ascriptive copula clauses is invariable and is not affected by changes in the information structure of the clause. The subject of an ascriptive clause typically expresses given information whereas the property that is ascribed to it typically expresses new information. This is the case in the vast majority of such clauses that are attested in the text corpus. The focus of new information is signalled by the nuclear stress, which is typically placed on the item expressing the property. If the property is expressed by a phrase, the nuclear stress is placed on the last item of the phrase.

In some contexts, however, ascriptive copula clauses may have a different information structure, whereby the subject item is the focus of new information and the item expressing the property expresses given information. In such cases the copula remains in its position after the property item. The syntactic structure of the clause, therefore, does not change and from a syntactic point of view the property item should still be regarded as the

predicate. The nuclear stress, however, is placed on the subject rather than on the predicate. This is demonstrated by clauses in which the subject is a contrastive focus. In such cases the speaker wishes to correct a misunderstanding by strongly asserting that one particular referent should be selected for the role in question rather than the one currently entertained by the hearer, e.g.

(4)   A: *broní belà-y?* B: *bratòx belá-ya,*ˈ *bronóx belá là-y.*ˈ 'A: Is my son at home? B: *Your daughter* is at home, your son is not at home.'

(5)   A: *bronóx jəhyà-y?*ˈ B: *bratì jhité-ya,*ˈ *broní jəhyá là-y.*ˈ 'A: Is your son tired? B: *My daughter* is tired, but my son is not tired.'

(6)   A: *ʾə́t kpinèt?* B: *bronì kpiná-y.*ˈ *ʾaná kpiná lèn.*ˈ 'A: Are you hungry? B: *My son* is hungry. I am not hungry.'

(7)   A: *tatóx tajə̀r-ye?*ˈ B: *mamì tajə́r-ye*ˈ *lá tatì.*ˈ 'A: Is your father a merchant? B: *My uncle* is a merchant, not my father.'

The movement of the nuclear stress onto the subject is attested in the text corpus in listing constructions such as (8), in which the predicate is repeated but the subject is a newly introduced referent:

(8)   *xa-bratá mətwali-ó baqòx*ˈ *rába zǎrìf,*ˈ *rába ʿayztà,*ˈ *mən-xanǎwadè ʿayztá.*ˈ *familù rába ʿayzá-y*ˈ *ʾăxonàf ʿayzá.*ˈ 'I have arranged a girl for you, very pretty, very good, from a good family. Their family is very good. Her brother is good.' (A:6)

These remarks apply also to the structure of clauses with compound verbal forms containing a copula combined with a resultative participle (*smixa-y, gərša-y*). The verbal form constitutes the predicate and the copula remains bonded to the participle or infinitive, whatever the information structure of the clause:

(9)   A: *broní hiyà-y?*ˈ B: *là,*ˈ *tatòx hiyá-y,*ˈ *bronóx là hiyá-y.*ˈ 'A: Has my son come? B: No, *your father* has come, but your son has not come.'

(10) A: *šwawa broní xiyà-y?*ˈ B: *là,*ˈ *ʾo tatòx xiyá-y,*ˈ *bronóx là xiyá-y.*ˈ 'A: Has the neighbour seen my son? B: No, he has seen *your father*, but has not seen your son.'

(11) A: *xămušyé miyèn?*ˈ B: *băṣirè miyén,*ˈ *xămušyé là.*ˈ 'A: Has he brought the apples? B: He has brought the grapes but not the apples.'[8]

When a copula clause is equative, on the other hand, the item that supplies the new information is regularly made the predicate by placing the copula after it. The nuclear stress is always placed on the predicate:

(12) A: *ʾo-gorá mằni-ye?*ˈ B: *ʾo-gorá šwawàn-ye.*ˈ 'A: Who is that man? B: That man is *our neighbour*.'

(13) A: *hóle báqa šwawàn!*ˈ B: *šwawăxún mằni-ye?*ˈ A: *šwawán ʾo-gorà-y.*ˈ 'A: Give it to our neighbour. B: Who is your neighbour? A: Our neighbour is *that man*.'

The remarks that have been made concerning the syntax of clauses containing the positive copula apply also to clauses which contain the negative copula or a form of the verb *hwy* 'to be'.

10.1.2. Basic Predicate Nexus

The simplest predicate consists of *predicate + copula/hwy*. The clause is uttered in a singled intonation group with the nuclear stress falling on the last item of the predicate:

(1) *hulàa-yele.*ˈ 'He was a Jew.' (A:74)

(2) *tajɘ̀r-yele.*ˈ 'He was a merchant.' (A:100)

(3) *rába razì-yele.*ˈ 'He was very content.' (A:99)

(4) *tré xălɘsyè-yelan.*ˈ 'We were two sisters.' (A:91)

(5) *yalè-yelan.*ˈ 'We were children.' (B:23)

(6) *ga-ʾáḥra didán ʾăxá là-yele.*ˈ 'In our town it was not like that.' (A:80)

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[8] This immovability of the copula component in ascriptive predicates and compound verbal forms differs from what is found in many NENA dialects, in which the copula is moved and placed on the item that is the focus of new information. See Khan (2002a: 396–402) and Khan (2008b: 677–691, 824–827) for descriptions of the situation in the Christian dialects of Qaraqosh and Barwar respectively.

If the predicate of a copula clause with an impersonal grammatical subject is a 1st or 2nd person independent pronoun, the copula agrees with it in person, gender and number: *ʾanéna* 'It is me', *ʾā́t-yet* 'It is you.'

10.1.3. Subject Constituents

If the subject of the clause is referred to by a nominal or independent pronoun, it is generally placed before the predicate. In most cases the subject is uttered in the same intonation group as the predicate and the nuclear stress is on the final element of the predicate:

(1)   *ʾằxonáf xa-duktə̀r-ye.*⌐ 'Her brother is a doctor.' (A:6)

(2)   *šəmá ʾằxonáf Xanằkè-yele.*⌐ 'His name was Xanăke.' (A:14)

(3)   *rásm ba-d-áy jorà-yela.*⌐ 'The custom there was like this.' (A:9)

(4)   *zəndəgí rába rába băsimà-yele.*⌐ 'Life was very very pleasant.' (A:55)

(5)   *ʾéa bróna Jăhằn-ye.*⌐ 'That is the son of Jəhān.' (A:17)

(6)   *ʾonyexáe šiʿà-yelu.*⌐ 'They were Shiʿite.' (A:79)

(7)   *ʾé ʾòa-y?*⌐ 'Is that him?' (D:14)

(8)   *ʾaná ʾòena.*⌐ 'I am he.' (D:14)

The subject is given nuclear stress when the speaker wishes to give it particular prominence. In (9) the subject has the nuclear stress since it is newly introduced and is more informative than the remainder of the clause, which is a repeated predicate frame:

(9)   *familù rába ʿayzá-y.*⌐ 'Their family is very good.' (A:6)

Nuclear stress is put on demonstrative elements to strengthen the anaphoric connection with what precedes, without any contrastive force. This is found particularly in clauses that conclude a discourse section such as (10):

(10) *ʾòa moḥkám-yela.*⌐ 'That was strong.' (B:56)

10.1.4. Postposing of Subject Constituent

The subject nominal in a predication is occasionally placed after the predicate resulting in the order *predicate—copula/hwy—subject*. In the attested examples the postposed subject has a referent that has been evoked previously or is at least anchored to a previously evoked referent by means of a pronominal suffix. The construction typically occurs when there is some

type of close semantic connection between the clause and what precedes. The construction binds the clause to what precedes, generally as an evaluative or supporting supplement. In (1), for example, the clause supplies information that is supplementary to the main point that the speaker is making in the preceding clause, viz. that the rooms in Sanandaj were high, by specifying how high they were. In (2) and (3) the postposition of the independent demonstrative pronominal subject occurs in clauses that are final tags at the end of a section of discourse:

(1) ʾo-waxtắra baté mangal-lăxá kəryé là-yelu.⏐ baté ntòe-yelu.⏐ ʾay-ʾotaqà⏐ ʾəqrá koštá là-yela.⏐ tre-ʾəqrà-yela ʾotaqáf.⏐ 'At that time houses were not low like here. Houses were high. The room there was not as low as this. A room there (literally: its room) was twice (the height).' (A:12)

(2) xá provèrb-yele ʾéa.⏐ 'That was a proverb.' (B:65)

(3) ba-ʾənyaxáe ʾălètun.⏐ ʾənyaxàe⏐ masòret-yen.⏐ ga-hălaxá-č kliwà-y ʾéa.⏐ 'You should know these things. These things are tradition. It is also written in the *halakha*.' (B:73)

10.1.5. Preposing of Predicate

On some rare occasions the predicate may be preposed before the subject constituent with the copula remaining at the end of the clause after the subject. This is used to give the copula particular prominence. In (1) the importance of the prominent predicate 'two days (duration)' is reflected by the fact that it is the centre of concern in the succeeding discourse:

(1) trè-yome ʾelá-yela,⏐ yomá ʾăwàḷ-u⏐ yomá duwóm gezə́xwa báte làxle⏐ baqà⏐ ʾela-brixulà.⏐ 'The festival was two days, the first day and the second day we would go to each other's houses to give festival blessings.' (B:78)

In (2) prominence is given to an anaphoric adverbial predicate to bind it more tightly with what precedes:

(2) ga-dokà hošáʿna rabbá-yela.⏐ 'Hoshana Rabba was (held) there.' (B:80)

10.1.6. Postposing of Predicate

The predicate is occasionally placed after the irrealis *gărəš* form of the verb *hwy* in deontic constructions, e.g.

(1)   ʾéla-u reš-šatóx hăwén brixè. ˈ 'May your festival and New Year be
      blessed.' (B:33)

(2)   ʾárz hăwé ba-xzəmtòx. ˈ 'May a petition be for your service (= Let
      me tell you).' (A:70)

10.1.7. Splitting of Copula Clause

When the predicate is a long phrase, the copula is placed after the head of
the phrase rather than at the end. This is the case in (1) and (2), where it
occurs on the head of a relative phrase:

(1)   ʾé hár ʾó broná kăčalăkéle daʿwătàn wílwale? ˈ 'Is this the same bald
      boy who invited us?' (D:14)

(2)   čarčí ʾò-yele ˈ ya-ʾaspâ̄ḷ mătúwa réša xmarà ˈ rešá susì ˈ maxṣuṣán par-
      čanè, ˈ lablíwalu ga-malăwàe ˈ zabnìwalu. ˈ 'A peddler was somebody
      who put goods on a donkey or on a horse, especially fabrics, and
      took them to the villages to sell them.' (A:70)

10.1.8. Omission of Copula

The copula is omitted in a number of contexts. Omission occurs, for exam-
ple, in clauses that are closely bound semantically with a copula predication
in an adjacent clause with a parallel structure, e.g.

(1)   bšəlmané trè jorén. ˈ xá šíʿá xá sunnì-ye. ˈ 'Muslims are of two kinds,
      one is Shiʿite and the other Sunni.' (A:77)

(2)   familù rába ʿayzá-y ˈ ʾăxonàf ʿayzá. ˈ 'Their family is very good. Her
      brother is good.' (A:6)

The copula is omitted in clauses that express a situation that is circum-
stantial to an event, e.g.

(3)   hulàe ˈ gezíwa qằmef ˈ kűle təqnú har-tá lăxà. ˈ 'Jews went before him,
      all with their beards down to here.' (B:81)

The clauses in (4)–(6) are closely bound to what precedes in that they
supply background comments on what precedes rather than advancing the
discourse:

(4)   ʾéa ʾăwằḷèf. ˈ 'This is its first (stage).' (A:57)

(5)   ʾéa-č mawzóʿ-e pəsrà. ˈ 'This is the subject of meat.' (B:25)

(6) *ʾéa ʾèa.*| 'That is that (B:66)

The copula is omitted also in exclamatory predicates, e.g.

(7) *ʾàt*| *b-áy kŭle daraiòx*| *xor-ʾát hămešá ḥărík-e d-èa!*| 'You, with all your property, you are always busy with this!' (A:102)

10.1.9. Existential Function of the Copula and *hwy*

The copula or the verb *hwy* may be used to express the existence of a newly introduced referent, e.g.

(1) *txelàf*| *xá-dana mangàl̥-yela.*| 'Under it there was a brazier.' (A:90)

(2) *xa-ʾəstáxr ga-ḥafšàn-yela.*| 'There was a pool in our courtyard.' (C:8)

(3) *bar-ḥănabandán xlulà-yela.*| 'After the *ḥănabandan* the wedding took place (literally: was).' (A:42)

(4) *hăméša xa-čačàw ba-rešáf-yele*| *yá lăčăgà ba-rešàf-yela.*| 'There was always a robe on her head or there was a veil on her head.' (A:4)

(5) *qardè-č-yela.*| 'It was also cold (literally: there was cold).' (A:89)

(6) *kŭle náše ḥáz kolíwale belù*| *ʾilané băṣirè hăwé.*| 'Everybody wanted there to be grape vines in their home.' (A:72)

(7) *Ḥáji ʾIsḥàq-yele lā-ʾiléf.*| 'Ḥaji ʾIsḥāq was next to him.' (B:84)

10.1.10. Interrogative Predicates

When the predicate is an interrogative particle, the copula or the verb *hwy* is placed immediately after this particle, in accordance with the regular syntax of copula clauses. If the subject of the clause is a nominal or independent pronoun, it is normally placed before the predicate phrase, e.g.

(1) *ʾáy mà-ye?*| 'What is this?' (B:81)

(2) *ḥaštóx mà-ya?* 'What is your work?' (D:19)

(3) *xwán mà-yele?*| 'What was a "table"?' (A:9)

(4) *hămám-e turkí mà-jor-ila?*| 'What is a Turkish bath like?' (A:37)

(5) *hulaé Kurdəstàn*| *čəkmà-yelu?*| 'How many were the Jews of Kurdistan?' (B:1)

(6) *băraxá ma-jòr-yela?*⎟ 'How was the blessing? (= What was the blessing like?)' (B:67)

10.2. PREDICATIVE COMPLEMENTS OF THE VERB *x∅r*

The predicative complement of *x∅r* when used in the sense of 'to become' or suppletive to the verb *hwy* (§9.9.) is generally placed before the verb if it is not introduced by a preposition, e.g.

(1) *kménwala ga-txéla-ʾaqlù*⎟ *ke-ʾaqlú ṣə̀f xǻri.*⎟ 'They applied it to the bottom of their feet so that they would become smooth.' (A:38)

(2) *ʾǻgar ʾay-mastá dărenaf-ó tʷká nošə̀f*⎟ *nəjə̀s xărắ.*⎟ 'If I pour this yoghurt back into its container (literally: its place), it will become unclean.' (A:80)

(3) *rába xoš-ḥə̀l xărắxwa-u*⎟ 'We became very happy.' (B:33)

    In (4) the complement is placed after the verb. The referent of the complement has already been introduced in the preceding context and the clause is closely bound to what precedes in that it functions as a supplementary tag to the point that is made, contrasting the situation that exists nowadays:

(4) *našé rába tăqalà lá dăénwa,*⎟ *rába hə́rs-u jáw litwálu báqa puḷè.*⎟ *ʾătá kǘle ʿolǻm xirté-ya puḷè.*⎟ 'People (then) did not exert themselves. They did not have much yearning for money. Now the whole world has become money.' (A:55)

    If the complement of *x∅r* is a prepositional phrase, it is the normal to place it after the verb, e.g.

(5) *ʾo-pəsrá qǎlènwale*⎟ *xárwa ba-čokè.*⎟ 'They would fry meat and it would become *čoke*.' (A:86)

(6) *xirá-y ba-ʾafsàr.*⎟ 'He has become an officer.' (A:17)

10.3. CLAUSES WITH THE EXISTENTIAL PARTICLES

10.3.1. Existential Clauses

The nominal complement of the existential particles (*hit, hitwa, lit, litwa*), i.e. the term whose existence is being asserted, is normally placed before the particle. The nuclear stress is generally placed on the nominal complement.

If this is a phrase, the nuclear stress falls on the last item of the phrase. In the text corpus the majority of examples contain the past forms of the particle:

(1) *šeré màe-hitwa.*⌐ 'There were water taps.' (A:37)

(2) *ṭăbăqé rŭwè hítwa.*⌐ 'There were big trays.' (A:33)

(3) *ga-dokà*⌐ *kúl yomá pəsrà-hitwa.*⌐ 'There, every day there was meat.' (A:73)

(4) *mằni hítwa?*⌐ *xa-gorà hitwá.*⌐ 'Who was there? There was a man.' (A:98)

(5) *ʾo-waxtắra mašiné ʾəqrá lìtwa.*⌐ 'At that time there were not so many cars.' (A:16)

(6) *heštàn*⌐ *wəskí rába lìtwa.*⌐ 'There was not yet much whisky.' (A:11)

A complement nominal consisting of a head and a modifier may be split by placing the existential particle immediately after the head, especially when the modifier is an attributive prepositional phrase or a relative clause, e.g.

(7) *guranì-hitwa b-šəmá ḥănabandàn.*⌐ 'There was a song called *ḥănabandan.*' (A:41)

(8) *băṣíre ràba hítwa ga-ḥáwša našé.*⌐ 'There were many grapes in the courtyard of people.' (A:72)

(9) *ʾo-waxtắra xor-ḥămằm lítwa ga-belá.*⌐ 'At that time there was still no bathroom in the house.' (A:36)

(10) *bíš baṣór náše hítwa ṣomá la-doqìwa.*⌐ 'There were only very few people who did not fast.' (B:44)

The existential particle may take a following proposition as its complement. In such constructions it has the sense of 'sometimes' (literally: 'there are/were cases of'), e.g.

(11) *hítwa xá-šata ṭùl găróšwa ké*⌐ *gbén xlulà holí.*⌐ 'Sometimes a year would pass before they wanted to hold the wedding.' (A:30)

(12) *hìtwa*⌐ *bronăké həl-bratăké la-xewále ba-ʿamrèf.*⌐ 'Sometimes the boy had never seen the girl in his life.' (A:2)

10.3.2. Possessive Constructions

Possession is expressed by existential constructions in which a pronominal suffix of the L-series is attached to the existential particle (§3.23.). As in other existential constructions, the nominal complement is normally placed before the particle with the nuclear stress on the nominal:

(1)   *tʷkané ràba hítwale.*⸽ 'He had many shops.' (A:7)

(2)   *xá ʾambár rába rabtà hítwale.*⸽ 'He had a big warehouse.' (A:7)

(3)   *pəštì hítwalan.*⸽ 'We had a back-support.' (A:56)

(4)   *sanʿát lìtwalu.*⸽ 'They did not a craft.' (B:4)

On some occasions the nominal is split, the particle being placed after the head noun and a modifier postposed after the particle, e.g.

(5)   *xa-ʾədá hitwalán ké kəmríwalu čarčì.*⸽ 'We had a few who were called "peddlers."' (A:70)

(6)   *qằṣằb hítwalan b-šəmá ʾAziz-X̀àn.*⸽ 'We had a butcher by the name of Aziz Khan.' (A:74)

10.4. VERBAL CLAUSES

The term verbal clause refers to clauses with a predicate that contains a finite verb. They include clauses with inflected verbs derived from the past and present bases and also compound verbal forms, which consist of a resultative participle combined with a copula or a form of the verb *hwy*. The compound verbal forms behave in the same way as other forms of finite verbs with regard to the order of components in the clause, which is the main concern of this section.

10.4.1. Direct Object Constituent

10.4.1.1. Object—Verb

The normal position for the placement of a direct object constituent is before the verb. The nuclear stress is generally placed on the object if it is indefinite with a newly introduced referent:

(1)   *ləbã́s-e dawrešì lóšwa.*⸽ 'He would wear clothes of a beggar.' (A:108)

(2) *mastà holí.*⌐ 'Give me yoghurt!' (A:79)

(3) *gáef širìn mătíwa,*⌐ *ləbā̀s mătíwa,*⌐ *jəlé ʿayzè mătíwa.*⌐ 'They put sweets in it, they put clothes in it, they put fine clothes in it.' (A:9)

(4) *xa-čày šăténwa-u*⌐ *xánči ʾaràq šăténwa.*⌐ 'They drank tea and they drank some arak.' (A:10)

If the object constituent is definite and refers to a referent that has been introduced in the preceding discourse, the nuclear stress is generally placed on the verb, e.g.

(5) *ḥămamăké mašxniwalà.*⌐ 'They used to heat the bath.' (A:37)

(6) *ləxmăké kolawalè-o.*⌐ 'She opened out the bread (dough).' (A:66)

(7) *xwanăké kmenwalà-u*⌐ 'They delivered the table.' (A:11)

(8) *xálef kxəlwalè.*⌐ 'He used to eat his food.' (A:101)

In phrasal verbs (§3.19.) the nominal object element is always placed before the verbal element, e.g. *daʿwat kol* 'He invites'. If a phrasal verb contains a direct object nominal complement it never separates the components of the phrasal verb. It is normally placed before the phrasal verb, as is the case with the objects of non-phrasal verbs, e.g.

(9) *rába náše daʿwàt kolíwa.*⌐ 'They invited many people.' (A:75)

10.4.1.2. Verb—Object

Occasionally an object constituent is placed after the verb. This construction is sometimes used to give prominence to an indefinite noun with a newly introduced referent that plays a role in the ensuing discourse, e.g.

(1) *rásm d-èele*⌐ *ʾafsărè*⌐ *ʾartèš*⌐ *rakwíwa susì.*⌐ 'It was the custom that officers, in the army, would ride on a horse.' (A:15)

(2) *kménwa xà năfár.*⌐ 'They brought somebody.' (B:17)

An object is also postposed after the verb when its referent is bound anaphorically to the preceding discourse, either by explicit mention or by association. The construction in this case is used in clauses that are closely connected in some way to what precedes. In (3), for example, the acts of going up to the people and listening to what they say are presented as aspects of the same overall event and not independent events:

(3) *gezə́lwa măsălán xá-ʿəda našé ke-ga-xá meydán smixèn*| *xábra ḥăqèn,*| *măṣílwa xabrù.*| 'He would go, for example, to a group of people who were standing in a square speaking and listening to what they said.' (A:109)

In (4) and (5) the construction with a postposed object is used in a clause that recapitulates the content of what precedes rather than advancing the discourse:

(4) *kwə́lwale taḥwíl-e nanawakằr.*| *ʾó yá ləxmà kolawà-o,*| *ʾó yá ləxmăké kolawale-ò,*| *kwə́lwale taḥwíl-e d-óa dána danà.*| *ʾó-č kolawale-ò*| *ba-gerà.*| *ba-géra kolawale-ó ləxmăkè.*| 'He handed it (the dough) over to the baker, the woman who opened out the bread (dough), the woman who opened out the bread (dough)—he delivered it (the dough) to her piece by piece. She opened it out with a rolling-pin. She opened the bread out with a rolling-pin.' (B:20)

(5) *ba-ʾaqlé ʾáy jəlé ʿùčlu.*| *ʿúčlu ʾe-jəlăkè,*| *ʾaná-č ʾasrằnanu.*| 'Trample the clothes with your feet. Trample the clothes and I shall wring them out.' (C:11)

A similar function can be identified in (6), in which the verb—object clause *méla bronăkè*| recapitulates the content of the preceding verb:

(6) *míru mà kól?*| *míra ga-xá tʷká xa-ḥaštà kól-u*| *rába broní ʿayzà-y*| *rába taʿrifèf hiwlá-u*| *míru gbé hamyắte xăexìle.*| *ləbla-u*| *méla bronăkè.*| 'They said "What does he do?" She said "He works in a certain place. My son is very good." She described him in glowing terms. They said "You must bring him for us to see." She took him. She brought the boy.' (D:25)

In (7) and (8) the clauses with the postposed object offer explanatory comments on what precedes:

(7) *ləxmá huláa xùl*| *báqa d-éa huláa pəsrá xzurá lá kxə̀l.*| *ʾắt kèlox*| *ḥălằl-ye baqóx ga-béla huláa ʾaxlét xalà.*| 'Eat the food of a Jew, because a Jew does not eat the meat of a pig. You can, it is permitted for you to eat food in the house of Jew.' (B:65)

(8) *ʾó-waxtăra mangól lăxá là-yela,*| *har-năfár xá toránj-u xá luláv šăqə̀l,*| *čún Kurdəstắn lìtwa gáaf.*| *mən-Taràn šăríwa báqa didán toránj-u luláv.*| 'At that time it was not like here, whereby everybody buys an etrog and a palm frond, since there were none (of these) in

Kurdistan. They sent etrogs and palm fronds to us from Tehran.'
(B:80)

In (9) the effect of pragmatically binding the final clause to what precedes is to force the hearer to interpret the event of the selling of the property against the background of the description of the prosperity described in the clauses that come before it. This results in a concessive type of meaning:

(9) *ba-ʾəlhá xà zəndəgí hítwalan ga-ʾIrā́n.| ba-ʾəlhà| xa-ʾəstáxr ga-ḥafšàn-yela.| tré karmalè-yelu.| ḥáli hár danù| hamrā́na čəkmà| ʾəlhá-hiwula gáu.| šóa tmánya ʾotaqè-hitwalan.| qímex zəbnìlan beláké.|* 'Indeed, we had a (good) life in Iran. Indeed, there was a pool in our courtyard. There were two vineyards. (You should) understand, in each of them, let me say, there was so much divinely given produce. We had seven or eight rooms. (Despite this) we sold all the properties.'(C:8)

10.4.1.3. Double Objects

When a verb takes two direct object complements, one of these is generally placed after the verb, e.g.

(1) *pyaḷăké zmə́ṭle màe.|* 'He filled the glass with water.'

(2) *markwíwala həl-d-ó susì.|* 'They would cause her to mount the horse'. (A:46)

(3) *ʾáy baxtá-u ʾáy gorà| băxeḷì lablíwa həl-d-áy góra xét* 'The woman and man envied the other man.' (A:103)

(4) *kolíwala xá ʾotáqa ḥăsabì-u.|* 'They would make it into a proper room.' (B:76)

10.4.1.4. Independent Object Pronouns

A pronominal object of a present base verb may be expressed either by the light coding of a pronominal suffix or by the heavy coding of an independent pronominal phrase:

Light coding	Heavy coding	
xăele	*həl-d-o xăe*	'He sees him'
xăelox	*həl-didox xăe*	'He sees you'
xăeli	*həl-didi xăe*	'He sees me'

In some cases the independent pronominal object phrase is a narrow focus, either contrastive or inclusive, and bears a nuclear stress, e.g.

(1) *năšəqnàwale-u[⌐] ʾó-č didì năšəqwá-u[⌐]* 'I would kiss him and he would kiss *me*.' (B:33)

(2) *ʾána didì-č qaṭlí.[⌐]* 'They will kill me also.' (C:9)

(3) *ʾána šárnawa báqa béla Daryuš-xằn[⌐] tabrík kəmnáwa baqèf.[⌐]* ... *dubára ʾò-č šárwa báqa didí d-èa.[⌐]* 'Then I would send (some dried fruit) to the house of Daryuš-khan and convey to him good wishes ... then he also would send to me that (= the same, i.e. dried fruit).' (B:50–51)

In some cases where the independent object phrase occurs there is no contrastive focus and the motivation to use it is to function as end-weighting to mark closure in a sequence of closely connected clauses. In (4) the two clauses in the sequence express aspects of a single event, e.g.

(4) *susyăké mən-sarbāzxané kméwale qam-tărà,[⌐] həl-didí markùwa.[⌐]* 'He would bring the horse from the barracks to the door and would mount me (on it).' (A:16)

In (5) the final clause is a prominent climactic statement:

(5) *dàyka[⌐] ʾất nóšax hazər hulá.[⌐] jəlé ʿayzé-č xùṭ,[⌐] jəlé ʿayzé hăwèlax,[⌐] kū̆le ʾáṣər didán daʿwàt kolí.[⌐]* 'Mother, prepare yourself, sew fine clothes, get some fine clothes, they will invite us every evening.' (D:6)

10.4.2. Subject Constituent

10.4.2.1. Subject—(Object)—Verb

If the clause has a subject nominal constituent, this is normally placed before the verb and before a direct object nominal:

(1) *daăkí híya Tarằn.[⌐]* 'My mother came to Tehran.' (A:5)

(2) *kaldăké hăméša réšaf ksèwala.[⌐]* 'The bride had always covered her head.' (A:3)

(3) *yaléf naqlìwa-u[⌐] baxtéf naqlàwa-u[⌐]* 'His children danced and his wife danced.' (A:99)

(4) *bronăké rəwyà-y,* | *bratăké rwitè-ya-u* | 'The boy has grown-up, the girl has grown-up.' (A:31)

(5) *tatóx Məsyúr Basán kăele-ò?* | 'Does your father know Monsieur Basan?' (B:60)

The nuclear stress is placed on the subject if the speaker wishes to give it particular focus, as in (6), where the subject is given contrastive focus:

(6) *hulaà lá kắewa.* | 'A Jew (as opposed to a Muslim) did not know.' (B:20)

The subject nominal is sometimes separated from the rest of the clause by an intonation group boundary, e.g.

(7) *ʾay-bronà* | *həl-d-áy bratá gbè.* | 'The boy loves the girl.' (A:18)

(8) *xá-ʿəda blanè* | *smìxiwa.* | 'A few girls were standing (there).' (A:12)

10.4.2.2. Object—Subject—Verb

The subject is occasionally placed after the object constituent. This construction may be use to put particular focus on the subject referent, in contexts such as (1) and (2). Here the remainder of the proposition is presupposed to be known but the identity of the subject referent in the proposition is new information:

(1) *ʾéa hulàe trəsté-ya.* | 'The Jews made this.' (B:83)

(2) *ʾé maṣṣaè* | *baxtá máre belăkè,* | *yá ʾo-baxtá-e ləxmăkè kolawale-ó,* | *tarṣàwalu.* | 'The mistress of the house or the woman who made the bread would make these matzos.' (B:22)

In some cases there is no such narrow focus on the postposed subject, as in (3). Here the construction is used to express the close cohesion of the clause with what precedes:

(3) *ga-hăzār-o no-sà* | *ʾAliắns híye báqa Kurdəstằn.* | *ga-dóka madrăsá ʾAliắns tərṣàle.* | 'In 1900 the Alliance came to Kurdistan. The Alliance built the school there.' (B:12)

10.4.2.3. Verb—Subject

In certain circumstances the subject constituent is postposed after the verb. This occurs when the subject is either definite or indefinite. When the subject is indefinite, the function of the postposition is to give added promi-

nence to a newly introduced referent that plays a role in the subsequent discourse, e.g.

(1) *pătiré ʾəwìra,*ǀ *kyáwa ʾằsàrta.*ǀ '(After) Passover was over, Pentecost came.' (B:37)

(2) *bár-d-o kyáwa lelé réša šatà.*ǀ 'Then came New Year's Eve.' (A:63)

When the subject is definite and is not an information focus, the effect of the postposition is to bind the clause closely with what precedes. In (3), for example, the clause with the postposed subject *kništa* is presented as a supplementary comment on what precedes. In (4) the statement that the Jews did not eat meat over a certain period is tagged on as an afterthought giving explanatory background to what is said at the beginning of the passage:

(3) *ʾéa tìma*ǀ *lelè*ǀ *kū́le ʾămadè,*ǀ *xalá kəxlìwa*ǀ *gezíwa baqá kništà.*ǀ *ga-kništà*ǀ *mənḥà-yela-u*ǀ *ʿarbìt-yela-u*ǀ *musáf-e ʿarbít qărènwala-u,*ǀ *ta-sáʿat ʾəsrá-u pəlgè,*ǀ *xesár ṭúl garšàwa kništá,*ǀ *lelé kipùr.*ǀ 'When this finished, in the evening, when they were all ready, they ate food and went to the synagogue. In the synagogue there were evening and night prayers. They read the Musaf for the night prayers. The synagogue service lasted until half past ten or eleven o'clock on the night of the Day of Atonement.' (B:72)

(4) *ʾà sər*ǀ *hár xăráwa qárwa mənḥà,*ǀ *xet-ʾo-waxtà̀ra*ǀ *mutā̀r-yele baqéf*ǀ *šă̆ḥiṭà kolíwa.*ǀ *tmanyà yomé*ǀ *ʾé-č tmánya yomé mən-yomà̀*ǀ *ṣəhyòn,*ǀ *mən-yomá reš-yarxé ʾÀ̀b*ǀ *ḥătá yóma ṣəhyòn*ǀ *pəsrà lá kəxlíwa huláe.*ǀ 'In the evening, just as it was getting near evening prayer, it was then again permitted to perform slaughtering. For eight days, for the eight days from the day of Zion, the day of the beginning of Ab until the day of Zion the Jews did not eat meat.' (B:47)

In (5), where the subject may be interpreted as having definite status, the function of the construction is to bind the clause closely with what precedes, presenting it as belonging to the same overall event:

(5) *béhtar-e zărà*ǀ *tă̆ḥènwale.*ǀ *kménwale ga-belà.*ǀ *yatwíwa ʾənšè*ǀ *dána ba-dána gă̆bènwale.*ǀ 'They would find the best wheat. They would bring it home. The women would sit and sort it grain by grain.' (B:14)

Postposition of the subject is used in two clauses in the passage in (6), which is the denouement of the foregoing narrative, and so relates to what precedes rather than what follows:

(6) *xolàṣa| xìra| băruxtèf-u| taṣmím dwə́qlu xlulá hóli baqèf.| xá xlulá rába mojằlàl dəwqále baqáf tatăké.| rába xoš-bàxt xír ʾáy brona-kắčằl.|* 'In short, she became his girl friend and they (the parents) decided to arrange a wedding for him. The father arranged a very grand wedding for her. The bald boy became very happy.' (D:27)

10.4.2.4. Subject Verb Agreement

In principle, the inflection of the verb agrees in number, gender and person with the subject nominal. A few exceptions to this are attested. This applies, for example, to some cases where the verbs *hwy* and *x∅r* are used existentially and have an indefinite subject nominal, e.g.

(1) *ʾána-č băruxăwalé kwèli.|* 'I shall have friends.' (D:6)

(2) *jəlé ʿayzé hăwèlax.|* 'May you have fine clothes.' (D:6)

(3) *kŭle náše ḥắz kolíwale belù| ʾilané băṣirè hăwé.|* 'Everybody wanted there to be grape vines in their home.' (A:72)

(4) *ʾalpá baté hulaé ga-Kurdəstằn xirà-y.|* 'There were a thousand families of Jews in Kurdistan.' (B:3)

In (5) the nominal phrase 'drum and pipe', although consisting of two conjoined nouns, has 3fs. agreement on the verb:

(5) *dohól ʾu-zorná lapláwa qằme.|* 'The drum and pipe went in front.' (A:10)

Note also the 3fs. agreement of the names of festivals that are grammatical plural, e.g.

(6) *bár d-ənyexàe| kyáwa ḥănukaè.|* 'After these came Hanukka.' (B:13)

In some temporal constructions, the 3fs. form of the verb is used to refer to the general temporal situation rather than to a specified subject referent, e.g.

(7) *ʾo-waxtắra xăráwa bár ʾarbìt| šərúʾ kolíwa gəlà čăqénwa.|* 'Then, (when) it became after evening prayers (= when evening prayers were over), they began to pick grass.' (B:32)

(8) *kyáwa réša lelé Lelangè.*ˈ 'The time came to the night of Purim.' (B:53)

In (9) a 1s. subject followed by a comitative expression takes 1pl. agreement on the verb, referring both to the subject and to the complement of the comitative preposition:

(9) *ʾána mənta̋ke tatí híyex baqàˈ ʾIsràyəl.*ˈ 'I came to Israel with my father.' (B:60)

A similar construction is found in (9), which lacks an independent 1s. pronominal subject constituent:

(10) *mənta̋ke d-èaˈ báxle qímex híyex baqá lăxà.*ˈ 'I came here together with him.' (C:5)

In (11) the clause opens with a plural subject nominal and the verb has 1pl. inflection in order to express the association of the speaker with the group:

(11) *xá-ʿəda jwanqé, băruxăwalí, smíxəxwa ga-ḥawšà.*ˈ 'We, a few youngsters, my friends, were standing in the courtyard.' (A:12)

10.4.2.5. Independent Subject Pronouns

Pronominal reference to the subject of a clause is expressed by inflectional elements on the verb and by independent pronouns. The constructions with independent pronouns exhibit a 'heavier' coding of the content of the clause. The pronouns are generally placed before the verb:

Light coding		Heavy coding	
ke	~	*ʾo ke*	'He is coming'
ket		*ʾāt ket*	'You are coming'
kéna		*ʾana kéna*	'I am coming'

An independent subject pronoun is used when the pronominal referent is a narrow contrastive focus marked by the nuclear stress, e.g.

(1) *ʾа̀t gezét se-ó.*ˈ *ʾána là gezán.*ˈ '*You* go back. I shall not go.' (C:12)

Where there is no narrow focus on the pronoun, the heavily coded constructions with an independent pronoun before the verb generally mark boundaries of some kind between sections of the discourse, signalling the onset a section.

An independent pronoun is used at the beginning of direct speech, e.g.

(1) *míre ʾanà˺ baxtà gəwrí.˺* 'He said "I have married."' (C:11)

(2) *míri ʾána šarbát mən-ʾíla didáx là šăténa.˺* 'I said "I shall not drink sherbet from your hand."'(A:23)

(3) *míru ròḷa˺ ʾất sarwatmànd-yet˺* 'They said "Dear boy, you are rich."' (D:9)

An independent pronoun is often used when there is a change in subject referent and the attention is shifted from one referent to another, e.g.

(4) *ʾó míre ṭòb.˺ zíl lagèf-u˺ méle mtùle-u˺ ʾay-zíl jóns ləblè,˺ jənsăké ləblé mătúle ga-xá tʷkaná zabnè.˺* 'He (the neighbour) said "Fine (that is agreed)." He went to him, brought it (the cloth) and put it down (for him). He (the family man) went and took the cloth, he took the cloth away to put it in a shop and sell it.' (A:105)

(5) *Xănăká-č mən-panjărăké mʕine-ò˺ həl-didí xèle.˺ ʾá kắle dasgiranàx-ye!˺ ta-ʾăxá míre baqàf˺ ʾáy ʾərqàla.˺* 'Xănăka looked from the window and saw me (and said) "Oh, it is none other than your betrothed!" When he said this to her, she fled.' (A:22)

(6) *šiʕá huláe ba-năjòs kắelu.˺ ʾóni ba-năjós là kắenwalan.˺* 'A Shiʕite considers Jews unclean. They (the Sunnites) did not used to consider us unclean.' (B:64)

(7) *ʾáy bxè-u˺ ʾána bəxyàn.˺* 'He wept and I wept.' (C:11)

A clause with an independent subject pronoun may also coincide with a shift from foreground to background, in that it expresses an activity that is circumstantial to the situation described in the preceding clause, e.g.

(8) *xét ṣalmé lìtwala samxá lága didí ʾána xăènaf.˺* 'She no longer had confidence to stand by me (whilst) I could see her.' (A:22)

On some occasions an independent subject pronoun occurs when there is no shift in subject referent, but there is a re-orientation on some other level of the discourse. In (9), for example, the pronoun occurs in a clause that marks a shift from an introductory section, which introduces the referent, to a foreground section that narrates his activities. Similarly in (10) and (11), the pronoun is used to mark the onset of a section describing the activities of the topical referent after preliminary clauses that present the referent into the discourse:

(9) *xà šwáwa hítwale˺ ràba dawlamán-yele.˺ tajòr-yele.˺ ʾó lelăwáe kewá-o belà,˺ gbéwa yătúwa ḥăsắb-u ktàbe holú.˺* 'He had a neighbour, who

was very rich. He was a merchant. He would return home in the evenings and had to sit and do the accounts and books.' (A:100)

(10) *qăṣáb hítwalan b-šəmá ʾAziz-Xằn.| hulaà-yele.| ʾó pəsrăke kméwale ga-tʷkanè.|* 'We had a butcher by the name of Aziz Khan. He was a Jew. He brought meat to the shops.' (A:74)

(11) *rabàn| rábe kništàn| ham-ràb-yele,| hám torà qăréwa,| hám miḷà kólwa,| wa-hám šoḥèṭ-yele.| ʾáy gbéwa hezə́l baqá xá-tʷka kəmríwala qăsābxanà.|* 'Our rabbi, the rabbi of our synagogue—he was a rabbi, he read the Torah, he performed circumcisions, and he was a *šoḥeṭ*. He had to go to a place called the butcher's shop.' (A:73)

In (12) from a narrative the pronoun is used in a clause that constitutes a disjunction from what precedes in that it offers an evaluative comment on the foregoing sequence of events:

(12) *ʾay-zíl jə́ns ləblè,| jənsăké ləblé mătúle ga-xá tʷkaná zabnè.| ʾáy-əč xír mangàl d-ó.|* 'He went and took the cloth, he took the cloth away to put it in a shop and sell it. He became like him (the neighbour).' (A:105)

In (13) the use of the independent pronoun at the front of each clause marks them off as separate events:

(13) *ʾána gézna ga-pəlgùn-u| ʾanà| băruxăwalé dòqna.|* 'I shall go among them. I shall make friends.' (D:3)

On some occasions independent subject pronouns are placed after the verb. In this case the clause is presented as having a closer connection with what precedes and does not mark the onset of a new section. Sometimes the motivation to use the pronoun in these constructions is to express a contrastive focus. The pronoun in such cases carries a nuclear stress, as in (14), where the behaviour of people in other towns is contrasted with the situation in Sanandaj ('our town'):

(14) *ʾay-mastá dărenaf-ó tʷká nošằf| nəjə̀s xărá,| yáni kăsìf,| xărằb.| ʾăxá kəmríwa ʾonyexàe.| wắle ga-ʾáḥra didán ʾăxá là-yele.|* '"If I pour this yoghurt back into its container, it will become unclean," that is dirty, bad. *They* would say things like that, but in our town it was not like that.' (A:80)

The pronoun has a contrastive function also in (15). Here the clause contains two nuclear stresses by a process of intonation group sandhi

(§1.6.). The first expresses a focus on the name 'Lelange' and the second a contrastive focus on 'we' (as opposed to other communities):

(15) *ᴴmən-axareᴴ Purìm,ˈ Lelangè kəmrex-ʾàxni,ˈ našè,ˈ ʾənšé-u gurèˈ hárkas hewalèˈ ga-belá yătìwaˈ tamisì dóqwa.ˈ* 'After Purim—*we* call it Lelange—people, women and men, everybody who could, would stay in the house and do cleaning.' (A:57)

In other cases the postposed pronoun is not contrastive and does not bear the nuclear stress. In constructions of this nature the heavy coding of the pronoun is exploited as end-weighting to mark closure. They are attested in the text corpus in the second member of pairs of units with overlapping content, e.g.

(16) *ʾaxní kénwa belán yătìwa.ˈ ḥắz kolíwa hén béla didán yătì ʾonyexáe.ˈ* 'They would come to our house and sit. They wanted to come to our house and sit.' (A:80)

(17) *míri ʾána šarbát mən-ʾíla didáx là šăténa.ˈ ... míri là šăténaf ʾána.ˈ* 'I said "I shall not drink sherbet from your hand." ... I said "I shall not drink it (from your hand)."' (A:23)

10.4.3. Prepositional Phrases

10.4.3.1. Verb—Prepositional Phrase

A prepositional phrase expressing an indirect object or some other complement of the verb is normally placed after the verb. If this phrase constitutes the end of the clause, it generally bears the nuclear stress. The nuclear stress in such cases typically expresses a broad focus that includes both the prepositional phrase and the verb:

(1) *kə́mra báqa baxtìˈ* 'She says to my wife …' (A:18)

(2) *gbé het-ó baqá ʾaḥrà.ˈ* 'You must come back to the town.' (A:6)

(3) *gezíwa báqa béla nòšu.ˈ* 'They delivered the table, then went to their homes.' (A:11)

(4) *xa-jắm dăélwa qám babenèf.ˈ* 'He put a mirror in front of its forehead.' (A:43)

(5) *ʾaxní jwanqé smíxəxwa ga-ḥawšà.ˈ* 'We youngsters were standing in the courtyard.' (A:12)

(6) *xirá-y ba-ʾafsàr.ˈ* 'He has become an officer.' (A:17)

10.4.3.2. Prepositional Phrase—Verb

On some occasions the prepositional phrase is placed before the verb. This construction is generally used when the phrase contains a referent that has some kind of prominence in the discourse, whereas the order verb—prepositional phrase is unmarked in this respect and is used for both prominent and also incidental referents.

Sometimes the referent is newly introduced into the discourse and it is marked as an information focus by the nuclear stress. In such cases the speaker may draw particular attention to it on account of its importance. In (1) the speaker wishes to draw special attention to the fuel of the oven. In (2) the 'board' is the essential distinctive feature of the object in question, which is given further salience by repeating it at the end of the clause:

(1) *tănurăké ba-ṣiwè malqíwala.*ˈ 'They heated the oven with wood.' (A:67)

(2) *xwắn mà-yele?*ˈ *mən-taxtà tróṣwalu,*ˈ *xa-táxta rŭwà.*ˈ 'What was a "table?" They made it out of board, a large board.' (A:9)

In (3) and (4) the focal prominence has a contrastive function, setting up oppositions between referents:

(3) *ʾaná xamšà təmné*ˈ *mən-Ḥăbìb gbéna.*ˈ *xamšá təmné mən-Jèfri gbéna.*ˈ *təlḥá təmné m-Sàra gbéna.*ˈ 'I want (i.e. am owed) five tmans from Habib. I want five tmans from Geoffrey. I want three tmans from Sarah.' (A:101)

(4) *tʷká d-éa ga-kništà matwìla*ˈ *ga-bèla matwíwala.*ˈ 'Instead of holding it in a synagogue they held it at home.' (B:37)

In (5) the fronted prepositional phrase is the main point of the question, the fact that the addressee has come is known from the speech situation:

(5) *məntắke tatòx híyet lắxa?*ˈ 'Have you come with your father?' (B:60)

In some cases referent may acquire discourse prominence by the fact that it has already been evoked in the immediately preceding context and so is topically bound to it. Referents with such topical prominence are typically not marked by the nuclear stress. These constructions are used when not only the referent of the prepositional phrase is bound to the foregoing discourse but also the proposition expressed by the clause as a whole has a

close connection to what precedes. In (6), for example, the statement that the peddlers lived in the villages is presented as an elaborative supplement to the statement that they would make commercial trips to the villages:

(6) *gezíwa báqa malăwaè.⏐ ga-malăwáe zəndəgì kolíwa.⏐* 'They (the peddlers) went to the villages. They lived in the villages.' (B:4)

In (7) the referent 'his mother' (*daăkef*) has been invoked in the previous discourse. The clause with the fronted prepositional phrase *m-daăkef* is closely connected to what precedes in that it is intended to express an event that took place immediately after the departure of the guests:

(7) *ta-saʕắt-e⏐ tresàr lelé⏐ dokà-yelun-u⏐ dána dána kűle zili-ò.⏐ tíw m-daăkéf ḥqèle⏐ míre dàyka⏐* 'They (the guests) were there until twelve o'clock at night. One by one they went away. He sat down and spoke with his mother and said "Mother" ...' (D:6)

In (8) the clause with the fronted pronominal prepositional phrase *mənu* expresses an event that overlapped with the preceding activities rather than being separate from them:

(8) *kűle xìlun-u⏐ rába mtùlun-u⏐ ḥqèlun-u⏐ gxìki-u⏐ pṣìxi-u⏐ ʾó-č rába xošḥằl xír-u⏐ mə́nu kűle ḥqèle.⏐* 'They all ate, served themselves a lot, spoke, laughed, made merry, and he was happy. He spoke with them all.' (D:5)

Contrast the construction in (9) with a pronominal prepositional phrase placed after the verb, which is bound closely to the act of speaking expressed in the following clause:

(9) *ḥqèle mə́nun-u⏐ míre mằʕin⏐* 'He spoke with them and said "Look ..."' (D:8)

In some cases the strategy of using prepositional phrase—verb with the verb at the end margin in order to express a tight connection of the clause with what precedes is used even where the prepositional phrase has an indefinite referent. This is seen in (10), which expresses a closely connected sequence of events expressed by clauses with the prepositional phrase before the verb. The endpoint of the sequence is marked by the clause *ḥqéle mə́nun-u ʾexà-u⏐*, in which the prepositional phrase is placed after the verb:

(10) *qím zìl⏐ mən-xá tʷkaná jəlé krà wilé-u⏐ hár ʾàṣər⏐ ta-hár-kas daʕwătéf wìle⏐ ba-xá dăsá jəlé zìl.⏐ ba-xá dăsá jəlé zìl-u⏐ ga-pólga našăké tìw-u⏐ ḥqéle mə́nun-u ʾexà-u.⏐* 'He went and hired clothes from a shop.

Each evening he went in a suit to each one who had invited him.
He went in a suit and sat among the people and spoke to them,
and so forth.' (D:16)

When the fronted prepositional phrase contains an independent de-
monstrative pronoun, this is sometimes given nuclear stress. The effect of
this is to strengthen the anaphoric connection with what precedes, e.g.

(11) *ʾəmrā́r-e mă̆ʿā́š ba-d-ò kolíwa*ˈ 'They made their livelihood in this
way.' (B:7)

(12) *ba-d-òa tarṣíwa.*ˈ 'They would build with that.' (B:56)

The fronted prepositional phrase in some cases may not have been ex-
plicitly evoked in the preceding context but is nevertheless associated in
some way with what precedes. This is the case in (13), where the fronted
referent 'the window' is typically associated with any house. This associative
anaphora is expressed also in the use of the definite article *–ăke* (§8.2.):

(13) *ʾána-č mìri*ˈ *Mərzá Xă̆nă̆ká ga-belà-y?*ˈ *kəmrá ʾì.*ˈ *ʾay-zílwala mírwala*
*báqa Mə́rza Xă̆nă̆kà,*ˈ *mírwala Mə́rza Xă̆nă̆ká xá-gora gbelòx.*ˈ *la-*
*kă̆yan mă̆ni-ye.*ˈ *Xă̆nă̆ká-č **mən-panjă̆ră̆ké mʿine-ò**ˈ *həl-didí xèle.*ˈ 'I
said "Is Mərza Xă̆nă̆ka at home?" She said "Yes." She went and
said to Mərza Xă̆nă̆ka, she said "Mərza Xă̆nă̆ka, a man wants you.
I do not know who it is." Xă̆nă̆ka looked from the window and
saw me.' (A:20-21)

10.4.4. Nominal Complements after Verbs of Movement

When a nominal without a preposition is used with a verb of movement to
express a destination, this is normally placed after the verb. The nuclear
stress is usually placed on the nominal, expressing broad information focus
that includes both the nominal and verb:

(1) *bár-d-o kenwá-o be-kaldà.*ˈ 'Afterwards they would come back to
the house of the bride.' (A:39)

(2) *nóšu lablíwale ʾorxèl.*ˈ 'They would themselves take it to the mill.'
(A:58)

(3) *má kul-yóma gezét ʾay-jangà̤ḷ?*ˈ 'Why do you go to the woods every-
day?' (A:104)

(4) *ʾaná ʾo-lelé la-zìna-o belá.*ˈ 'I did not go back home that night.'
(A:26)

Occasionally the nominal is fronted before the verb. In (5) a demonstrative pronoun that refers to destinations is placed before the verb. This is a recapitulatory statement that is tagged onto what precedes:

(5) *ʾənyexáe kū́le gezìwa.ˈ* 'They went to all of these.' (B:43)

In (6) the fronted nominal has topical prominence since its referent is subject in the following clause:

(6) *tămā́m-e duktə́re kū́le zìlanˈ là kéwalu măʿalijí hòliwa.ˈ* 'I went to all the doctors but they could not cure me.' (C:1)

10.4.5. Nominal Complements of Verbs of Naming

The name of referents may be expressed by a construction consisting of an impersonal 3pl. form of the verb *ʾmr* 'to say', with the named item marked by an L-suffix. The nominal complement of this construction is generally placed after the verb, e.g.

(1) *kəmríle pa-gošà.ˈ* 'It is called "stretching of the leg."' (A:26)

(2) *kəmríwale ʾilá dwaqà.ˈ* 'It was called "the joining of hands."' (A:34)

(3) *kəmríwalu čarčì.ˈ* 'They were called "peddlers."' (A:70)

(4) *ʾé kəmríwale xostè xlulá.ˈ* 'That was called "request of the wedding."' (A:32)

(5) *ṭăbăqé rŭwè hítwaˈ kəmríwalu xwằn.ˈ ba-kurdí bšəlmaná-č kəmríwale xwānčà.ˈ* 'There were big trays which they called (in Farsi) *xwān* ('table'). In the Kurdish of the Muslims it was called *xwānča*.' (A:33)

10.4.6. Interrogative Clauses

Interrogative particles are generally placed immediately before the verb, e.g.

(1) *mằni gbet?ˈ* 'Whom do you want?' (A:20)

(2) *mà kolíwa ga-pătiré?ˈ* 'What did they do at Passover?' (B:14)

(3) *ʾənšé ga-béla má kolìwa?ˈ* 'What did the women do in the house?' (B:40)

(4) *ʾằt ma-kolét?ˈ* 'What do you do?' (A:102)

(5) *má holèt?*⌐ *ʾay-ḥášta dáx hòləta?*⌐ *ʾay-ḥášta mà xărá?*⌐ 'What would
     you do? How would you do this thing? What will become of this
     affair?' (A:96)

(6) ^H*matsót*^H *má-jor tarṣiwà?*⌐ 'How did they make matzos?' (B:17)

10.4.7. Negated Clauses

10.4.7.1. Negator before Verb

The usual way to negate a verbal clause is to place the negative particle *la*
before the verb. This is either stressed or unstressed. When stressed, it takes
either the nuclear or non-nuclear stress, depending on the prominence that
the speaker wishes to give to the negator.

(i) Unstressed Negator

(1) *la-kǎyan mằni-ye.*⌐ 'I do not know who it is.' (A:21)

(2) *ʾaná ʾo-lelé la-zìna-o belá.*⌐ 'I did not go back home that night.'
     (A:26)

(3) *hìtwa*⌐ *bronăké həl-bratăké la-xewále ba-ʿamrèf.*⌐ 'Sometimes the boy
     had never seen the girl in his life.' (A:2)

(4) *heštán mən-ʿolắm la-zìlwa.*⌐ 'He had not yet passed away.' (A:15)

(5) *qắme didì*⌐ *hič-kás ʾay-ḥaštá la-wilawalè.*⌐ 'Before me nobody had
     done such a thing.' (A:25)

(ii) Negator with Non-nuclear Stress

(1) *rajắʾ ba-ḥănabandàn lá ḥqéli baqóx.*⌐ 'I have not told you about the
     henna ceremony.' (A:39)

(2) *našé rába tăqalà lá dăénwa.*⌐ 'People did not exert themselves.'
     (A:55)

(3) *xá-mdi lá míri baqòx.*⌐ 'One thing I did not tell you.' (A:77)

(iii) Negator with Nuclear Stress

One type of situation in which this occurs is where the negator has an adversative force, negating an event that the speaker assumes the hearer may expect to ensue from what precedes:

(1) *pás har-čí ʾəṣrā́r wĭlu là híya.*⌐ 'Then, however much they insisted, she did not come.' (A:23)

(2) *ʾā́gar kiló bi-zóa xăráwa mastăkè,*⌐ *là dărewal-ó tʷkàf.*⌐ 'If the yoghurt turned out to be more than a kilo, he did not pour it back (as you might expect).' (A:79)

(3) *ʾăwăḽán tʷkáne là ʾasríwa.*⌐ *našé gezíwa wárya ba-talgà-č.*⌐ 'First of all, they did not close the shops (as you might expect). People would go outside even in the snow.' (A:81)

The negator has the nuclear stress also where the negation is given prominence due to its being placed in contrastive opposition with an assertion in the adjacent context, e.g.

(4) *ʾána šarbát mən-ʾíla didáx là šăténa.*⌐ *gbén dasgiranì šarbát hámya baqí.*⌐ 'I shall not drink sherbet from your hand. I want my betrothed to bring sherbet to me.' (A:23)

(iv) Negated Verb with Nouns Negated by hič

The verb is negated with *la* when a nominal participant in the clause is modified by the negative particle *hič*, which denies the existence of referents of the class denoted by the nominal, e.g.

(1) *hìč-kas lá-hiye.*⌐ 'Nobody came.' (D:7)

(2) *híč-kas băruxèf lá xarwá.*⌐ 'Nobody became his friend.' (D:1)

10.4.7.2. Negator before other Elements in the Clause

The negative particle is placed before a nominal where this is one of a list of items that are presented over two or more adjacent clauses. The clauses usually share the same verb and the focus of information, which is expressed by the nuclear stress, is on the nominal:

(1) *hič məndíx xét là kəxlexwa,*⌐ *lá mastà,*⌐ *lá guptà,*⌐ *lá xalwà.*⌐ *híč men-ʾənyexàe*⌐ *ʾasúr-yele báqan tmánya yomè.*⌐ 'We did not eat anything

else, not yoghurt, not cheese, not milk. None of these (did we eat), they were forbidden to us for eight days.' (B:29)

(2) *lá guptà,⌐ lá mastà⌐ hár-či ké mən-xalwá-yele lá kəxlèxwale.*⌐ 'We did not eat cheese, yoghurt or anything that was made from milk.' (A:68)

(3) *xét lá zàrb dăélwa ʾəláf-u⌐ lá ba-putăkè dăélwa⌐ ʾu-la yálef naqlìwa.*⌐ 'He no longer played on the drum, he did not beat the can and his children did not dance.' (A:107)

Elsewhere a negator before an adjective negates the adjective rather than the predicate, e.g.

(4) *ʾéa là xárwa ʾo-lá qrixá hăwè.*⌐ 'It could not be unwhitened.' (B:19)

(5) *šišmé lá qliwè*⌐ 'uncleaned sesamed' (B:27)

10.4.7.3. Idiomatic Usage

A negative predicate is sometimes combined in parallel with a positive predicate as an idiomatic way of expressing an increase in generality, e.g.

(1) *báqa d-ó ʾălè⌐ ... našèf,⌐ našé ʾáy mamlăkătà⌐ dàx zəndəgí kolí⌐ dàx lá kolí.*⌐ 'In order that he might know how his people, the people of his kingdom lived.' (A:108)

10.5. EXTRAPOSITIONAL CONSTRUCTIONS

The structure of extraposition involves placing a nominal or independent pronoun in syntactic isolation in clause initial position and resuming it by an anaphoric pronominal element later in the clause.

A speaker sometimes opens a speech turn with a topic referent that is accessible to the hearer in the speech situation. If this is not the subject of the clause, it stands in extraposition. In conversation 1st and 2nd person pronouns referring to the participants of the current speech situation are often extraposed in this context, e.g.

(1) *bar-xa-mŭdát-xet daăkí híya ba-šoní ʾă̆xa kòla⌐ ʾằt taḥṣilóx timà-y⌐ gbé het-ò⌐ lagá ʾă̆xonòx.*⌐ 'After a while my mother came after me and says "You—your studies are finished, you must return to your brother."' (A:27)

(2) *míre ʾằt ḥaštóx mà-ya?*⌐ 'He said "What is your job?"' (D:20)

On some occasions a construction with an initial extraposed topic referent occurs at the onset of a section of discourse that is disjoined in some way from what precedes. In (3), for example, the construction marks the onset of a section of discourse about the professions of the Jews:

(3) *ʾənyexáe šoǵlù má xirá-y?*⌐ 'These—what was their profession?' (B:4)

In (4) the extrapositional clause coincides with a shift to background description after a narrative event:

(4) *m-zămàn-e*⌐ *Kuréš-e Kăbìr*⌐ *hiyén báqa Hămădằn,*⌐ *ʾAsfằhằn,*⌐ *Golpay-ăǵằn.*⌐ *ʾáy təlḥá tʷké hulaé ràba xirén gáu*⌐ 'At the time of Cyrus the Great, they came to Hamadan, Isfahan and Golpayagan. These three places—there were many Jews in them.' (B:1)

In (5) the extrapositional construction with the initial 1st person pronoun, which is topical from the speech situation, constitutes an explanatory supplement to what precedes:

(5) *ʾárba xamšá năfăré pílex ʾorxà-u*⌐ *zílex dokà,*⌐ *məntắke daăkì.*⌐ *ʾána tatí mən-ʿolắm zìlwa.*⌐ 'We set off, four or five people (in all) and went there, with my mother. My father had passed away three years previously.' (A:19)

In (6) the use of an extraposed independent subject pronoun at the front of the second clause disjoins the clause from what precedes in order to give the assertion of the proposition added prominence:

(6) *ʾána là yătúna.*⌐ *ʾána didì-č qaṭlí.*⌐ 'I shall not stay. They will kill also me.' (C:9)

A further usage of extraposition is found in (7), where the extraction of the nominal at the front creates a structural balance between the two items *xa-tikaf … xa-tikaf*, which are set up in opposition:

(7) *ʾáy ʾărà*⌐ *xá-tikaf ʾaxtù ntímu*⌐ *xá-tikaf ʾàxni.*⌐ 'This land—one piece of it you take, one piece of it we (shall take).' (C:5)

In possessive constructions consisting of an existential particle or the verb *hwy* combined with an L-suffix, a nominal or independent subject pronoun referring to the possessor is obligatorily extraposed:

(8) *ʾăxoní dawaxanè-hitwale.*⌐ 'My brother had a pharmacy.' (A:27)

(9) *kū́le náša béla jyà hítwale.*| 'Everybody had a separate house.' (A:71)

(10) *ʾaxnì*| *fàrš rába hítwalan.*| 'We had a lot of bedding.' (A:56)

(11) *xa-ʿədá buxarì hitwálu.*| 'Some people had a stove' (A:89)

(12) *kū́le náša béla jyà hítwale.*| 'Everybody had a separate house.' (A:71)

(13) *xa-ʾăxóna xetàf*| *čə́kma šoǵlè hité.*| 'Another brother of hers has several jobs.' (A:6)

(14) *ʾáy bronà*| *băruxá lìtwale.*| 'This boy did not have a friend.' (D:1)

The same applies to the expression of ability with the verb 'to come', in which the subject of the following main verb is expressed by L-suffixes and a nominal or independent pronoun must, therefore, be extraposed, e.g.

(15) *ʾaxní là-kelan xăléxilu.*| 'We cannot wash them. (C:11)

On some occasions the extraposed item is placed at the end of the clause. Such constructions are more cohesively bound with what precedes than constructions with an initial nominal, e.g.

(16) *ʾaṣlán na-raḥătí lìtwalu ʾo-našé.*| 'The people were not ill at ease.' (A:76)

(17) *gezíwa báqa malà.*| *čarčì kəmréxwa báqu ʾonyexáe.*| 'They would go to a village—we called them "peddlers."' (B:9)

Occasionally an extraposed nominal at the front of a clause announces the topical frame of what follows without being directly resumed in the clause, e.g.

(18) *knišyé Kurdəstằn,*| *təlḥá knišyé hìtwalan.*| 'The synagogues of Kurdistan—we had three synagogues.' (B:58)

10.6. PLACEMENT OF ADVERBIALS

The placement of adverbials in relation to other components in the clause is conditioned by a number of factors. The majority of adverbials that occur in the text corpus are temporal or spatial expressions. The various positions can be classified as follows:

10.6.1. In Clause Initial Position

Temporal or spatial adverbials that stand at the front of a clause and are given prominence by presenting them in a separate intonation group typically mark a new orientation or section in the discourse and set the temporal or spatial frame for what follows. This frame often incorporates a series of clauses, e.g.

(1) *xà-lele⌐ rába xàrj wíle⌐ rába xalà trə́ṣle.*⌐ 'One night he spent a lot of money and made a lot of food.' (D:3)

(2) *bəqătà-č⌐ gbé paxasù⌐ hezà⌐ ʾay-staċé băkarằt-e⌐ d-ay-kaldà⌐ lablálu báqa tata-u-daăkà.*⌐ 'In the morning the "woman inspector" had to go and take the "sheets of virginity" of the bride to the father and mother.' (A:50)

(3) *lelé šăbàt⌐ gbéwa xətná hezl-ó be-kaldăkè⌐ ga-dokà⌐ xăletèf holí.*⌐ 'On the eve of Sabbath the groom had to go back to the bride's home in order for them to give him there his gift.' (A:51)

(4) *bar-d-èa⌐ ʾay-mărasə́m tìm,⌐ našé gezíwa-o belà-u⌐ hár-kăsu gezə́lwa béla nòʂef-u⌐ kaldá-u xətná piʂ̃wa⌐ gezíwa ga-pardà.*⌐ 'After that, when the ceremony had finished, people went home, each person going to his own home. The bride and groom remained and went behind the curtain.' (A:49)

Initial adverbials that set the temporal or spatial frame for the following discourse section are sometimes incorporated into the intonation group of the clause, e.g.

(5) *xá-yoma zíl lagèf-u⌐ mìre báqef*⌐ 'One day he went to him (the neighbour) and said to him …' (A:103)

(6) *bə́qăta ʾáʂər gezə̀lwa⌐ jáns zăbə̀nwa-u⌐ kălùwale.*⌐ 'Morning and evening he would go and sell cloth and write down (what he had sold).' (A:105)

Adverbials in clause initial position that are not isolated in a separate intonation group, however, often do not express such a major spatial or temporal reorientation. This applies to the usage of the temporal adverbial *bár-d-o* 'afterwards' in (7):

(7) *šarbătăké méla baqì⌐ ʾu-bár-d-o tíwa lagì-u*⌐ 'She brought the sherbet to me and then sat by me.' (A:24)

10.6.2. At the End or in the Middle of a Clause

When the adverbial is placed after the subject constituent or at the end of the clause, the clause generally does not involve a major spatio-temporal break from what precedes. This applies, for example, to (1), in which the second clause with the adverbial after the subject pronoun occurs in the same temporal frame, viz. 'that night', as the preceding clause:

(1) *ʾo-lelé xa-šắm mfằṣál híwlu baqàn-u*ˈ *ʾaná ʾo-lelé la-zìna-o belá,*ˈ *ga-doká gnèna.*ˈ 'That night they gave us a copious dinner. I did not go back home that night but rather I slept there.' (A:26)

In (2) the clause with the postposed adverbial repeats the description of the situation expressed by what precedes and does not advance the discourse:

(2) *ʾó lelăwáe kewá-o belà,*ˈ *gbéwa yătúwa ḥằsắb-u ktàbe holú.*ˈ ... *ʾáy yătúwa lelè.*ˈ 'He would return home in the evenings and had to sit and do the accounts and books. ... He would sit at night.' (A:100–101)

The adverbial is placed within the clause also when it is the focus of new information and is restricted in scope to the clause in which it occurs, e.g.

(3) *ʾonyexáe ya-ga-golà-yen*ˈ *yáni xárəj m-ʾIsráyəl-yen trè lelé doqíla.*ˈ 'Those who are in the exile, that is outside of Israel, celebrate it for two nights.' (A:62)

(4) *kwíwale báqa dehatié ga-réša xarmàn.*ˈ 'They would offer it to the villagers at the time of the harvest.' (B:9)

(5) *híč məndíx xét là kəxlexwa,*ˈ *lá mastà,*ˈ *lá guptà,*ˈ *lá xalwà.*ˈ *híč men-ʾənyexàe*ˈ *ʾasúr-yele báqan tmánya yomè.*ˈ 'We did not eat anything else, not yoghurt, not cheese, not milk. None of these (did we eat), they were forbidden to us for eight days.' (B:29)

11. CLAUSE SEQUENCES

11.1. EXPRESSION OF CO-ORDINATIVE CLAUSAL CONNECTION

11.1.1. Asyndetic Connection

When main clauses are linked together co-ordinatively they are often combined asyndetically without any connective element. This applies both to series of clauses that express sequential actions and also to those that express temporally overlapping actions or situations.

11.1.1.1. Sequential Actions

(1) *gezə́xwa be-kaldà.� kaldá kménwala tèx.ᵖ markwíwala hɘl-d-ó susì.ᵖ* 'We would go to the house of the bride. They brought the bride down. They mounted the bride on the horse.' (A:46)

(2) *xíra ba-dasgiranì,ᵖ bə́qắtef-o qímna zína dokà.ᵖ híya ga-balkonăkè,ᵖ kəmrá baqì.ᵖ* 'She became my betrothed, the next morning I went there. She came onto the balcony and said to me … ' (A:20)

(3) *daăkí híya Tarằnᵖ kəmrá …ᵖ* 'My mother came to Tehran and said …' (A:5)

(4) *šămáš-e kništàᵖ gezə́lwa susì kméwa.ᵖ* 'The beadle of the synagogue would go and fetch a horse.' (A:43)

11.1.1.2. Temporally Overlapping Actions or Situations

(1) *ʾay-susí qăšáng marzənwale-ò.ᵖ yaráq dăèlwa báef.ᵖ parčané ʿayzé dăélwa ba-susiyăkè.ᵖ qăšáng marzənwale-ò.ᵖ xa-jä́m dăélwa qám ba-benèf.ᵖ* 'He decorated the horse beautifully. He put a decorative

cover on it. He put fine materials on the horse. He decorated it beautifully. He put a mirror in front of its forehead.' (A:43)

(2) *hár-kas hewalè˩ ga-belá yătùwa˩ tămisì dóqwa.˩* 'Everybody who could, would stay in the house and do cleaning.' (A:57)

(3) *duxwà tarṣíwa.˩ haḷwà tarṣíwa.˩ xurma-u-rùn tarṣíwa.˩ dušà mătíwa.˩ kărà mătíwa.˩ guptà mătíwa.˩* 'They made *duxwa*. They made sweets. They made dates and egg. They put out honey. They put out butter. They put out cheese.' (A:65)

11.1.2. The Co-ordinating Particle *u*

Main clauses are sometimes linked by the co-ordinating particle *u*. This is generally attached as an enclitic to the last item of a clause before an intonation group boundary, though on some occasions it occurs after an intonation group boundary at the onset a clause. A long variant form *unu* is sporadically used. This appears to have developed by false analogy with the sequence of 3pl. suffix + *u*, viz. *–un-u* (< *-hun-u*) (§2.3., §3.2.2.).

The particle may link series of clauses that express sequential actions and also those that express temporally overlapping actions or situations.

11.1.2.1. Sequential Actions

(1) *morăxặ̀ì šaqná-u,˩ ken-ò.˩* 'I'll take leave and come back.' (A:7)

(2) *xá-yoma zíl lagèf-u˩ mìre báqef˩* 'One day he went to him and said to him.' (A:103)

(3) *xwanăké kmenwalà-u˩ gezíwa báqa béla nòšu.˩* 'They delivered the table and went to their homes.' (A:11)

(4) *ʾárba xamšá năfăré pílex ʾorxà-u˩ zílex dokà,˩ măntăke daăkì.˩* 'We set off, four or five people (in all) and went there, with my mother.' (A:19)

(5) *ʾaxréf ba-zór miyàlun-u˩ míri là šăténaf ʾána.˩* 'In the end they brought her by force. I said "I shall not drink it."' (A:23)

In a series of more than two clauses expressing sequential events, the co-ordinating particle generally connects the final two clauses, e.g.

(6) *gezíwa be-kaldà.⌐ yătìwa.⌐ xa-čằy šăténwa-u⌐ xánči ʾaràq šăténwa.⌐* 'They went to the house of the bride and sat down. They drank tea and they drank some arak.' (A:10)

(7) *báqăta ʾáṣər gezʾlwa⌐ jóns zăbʾnwa-u⌐ kălùwale.⌐* 'Morning and evening he would go and sell cloth then write down (what he had sold).' (A:105)

Since the particle is typically associated with the end-boundary of a sequence, it also expresses a degree of prominence. When speakers wish to give particular prominence to all clauses of a connected sequence, they sometimes link each one with the *u* particle, e.g.

(8) *pàs⌐ gezíwa báqa dokà-u⌐ hár belà⌐ zărá-e béla nóšef mătúwa réša xá taʿná xmarà-u⌐ lăbʾlwale ga-dokà.⌐* 'Then they would go there. Every family put its own wheat on the back of a donkey and took it there.' (B:16)

In (9) the sequential clauses are all linked with the connective particle with the additional feature that the first clause exhibits a lengthened variant form of the particle –*unu*. The motivation for this 'heavy coding' may be to mark the onset boundary of the sequence:

(9) *mən-d-òa⌐ dóqwa ba-ʾilèf-unu⌐ dắewala ga-dušà-u⌐ ga-kără mătúwa gàaf-u⌐ kwʾlwala ba-ʾilèf⌐ kmʾr băraxà màr.⌐* 'He held this in his hand, he put it in honey, he would put butter on it. He would put it in his hand and say "Say a blessing."' (B:34)

Since the particle is a signal of the closure of a sequence, a following clause that is asyndetically connected would be expected to be less closely bound. This is seen, for example, in (10), in which 'they would pick it (the herb) and bring it home' form a closely-knit sequence, presented as aspects of the same overall event. The subsequent act of putting it on the cloth at home, on the other hand, which is asyndetically connected, is presented as a separate event. The fact that the last clause gives explicit expression to the pronominal object in the form of an L-suffix whereas in the previous clauses it is gapped (§9.13.1.4.) is also a reflection of the pragmatic independence of the final clause:

(10) *čún-ge tazá mən-txél talgá plíṭwa waryà⌐ čăqénwa-u kmenwa-ó belà.⌐ dărénwale ba-dáwr-e ʾé sofrà.⌐* 'When it had just sprouted out of the snow, they would pick it and bring it home. They put it around the cloth.' (B:32)

11.1.2.2. Temporally Overlapping Actions or Situations

(1) ʾóni-č xa-baṣór kəmríwa hàya-u│ xánči nóšu doqìwala.│ 'They would say "It is a little too soon" and would be rather reluctant.' (A:31)

In (2) the clause following the particle supplies background information about circumstances of the events narrated in what precedes:

(2) xlulà wilán-u│ g-ó waxtằra-č│ tanhá xà ʿằkắš hítwa.│ 'We held the wedding. At that time there was only one photographer.' (A:29)

If there is a series of temporally overlapping events, the particle is sometimes repeated and connects each of the events of the series, e.g.

(3) xá-ʾəda jwanqé daʿwát kolìwa│ məntằke xətnằké ta-yóma yằtìwa,│ naqlíwa-u nandènwa-u,│ dearà dắenwa ʾáĺef-u,│ šằbubà dắenwale,│ ta-yomà.│ 'They would invite several young men and they would sit with the groom for the day, dance and jig. They would beat the tambourine and play the pipe for a day.' (A:35)

(4) bar-d-èa│ ʾay-mằrasám tìm,│ našé gezíwa-o belà-u│ hár-kằsu gezáĺwa béla nòšef-u│ kaldá-u xətná pišìwa.│ 'After that, when the ceremony had finished, people went home. Each person went to his own home. The bride and groom remained.' (A:49)

11.1.3. The Co-ordinating Particle *wa*

Occasionally clauses are connected by the co-ordinating particle *wa*-, which is attached to the front a clause, generally after an intonation group boundary. It is typically placed before the final clause in a series, e.g.

(1) rabàn│ ráb-e kništàn│ ham-ràb-yele,│ hám torà qằréwa,│ hám miḷà kólwa,│ wa-hám šoḥèṭ-yele.│ 'Our rabbi, the rabbi of our synagogue—he was a rabbi, he read the Torah, he performed circumcisions, and he was a *šoḥeṭ*.' (A:73)

(2) bəqằtà-č│ gbé paxasù│ hezà│ ʾay-staččé bằkarằt-e│ d-ay-kaldà│ lablálu báqa tata-u-daằkà│ wa-maxwíwala našé xét-əč ke-ga-dokèn│ ke-ʾằlén ʾay-bratà│ bằtulà xirté-ya.│ 'In the morning the "woman inspector" had to go and take the "sheets of virginity" of the bride to the father and mother. They would show it to other people who were there so that they would know that the girl had been a virgin.' (A:50)

In (3) the particle is used before the final summarizing statement at the end of a section of discourse:

(3) *ba-d-áy jorà︱ gezə̀lwa,︱ ʾắgar čănáňče xá-năfar z̀ɔlm xirăwe-lèf,︱ gezə̀lwa︱ jobrằn kolwalé-u︱ là šóqwa xét z̀ɔlm holì-lef.︱ wa-ba-d-áy jorà︱ qudrătéf ràba xírwa.︱* 'In this way he would go and if a person had suffered some injustice, he would go and make amends to him and did not allow him to suffer further injustice. In this way his power had become very great.' (A:109)

In (4) the repeated use of the heavy form *wa* appears to be used to set off the clauses in order to give their content added prominence:

(4) *dàyka︱ ʾanà xét︱ mən-qóme-u xăré gbé hézna ḥaštà︱ wa-zəndəgí nòši︱ ʾədára hònef︱ wa-ba-xá zəndəgì măṭéna.︱* 'Mother, from tomorrow onwards I have to go to work to manage my own life and to make a livelihood for myself.' (D:23)

11.2. *-əč*

This particle, which is a loan from Kurdish, is suffixed to words. If the word ends in a vowel the /ə/ vowel is elided, e.g. *ʾana-č* (< *ʾana* + *-əč*). The particle has an incremental function that may be proposition orientated or constituent orientated.

11.2.1. Proposition Orientated Usage

When it relates broadly to the proposition as a whole, the item to which it is attached in principle has a non-nuclear stress. It is typically attached to a phrase at the beginning of a clause with the nuclear stress occurring later in the clause, usually at the end. In such constructions the particle functions as a clausal connective. It is used by speakers to mark boundaries of some kind in the discourse.

In several cases it is used when there is a change in subject referent and is attached to a nominal or independent pronoun expressing the subject at the front of the clause, e.g.

(1) *kə́mra báqa baxtì︱ kə́mra ʾéa bróna Jăhằn-ye.︱ xirá-y ba-ʾafsàr.︱ ʾáy-əč mírwala ʾəlhá šóqla ta-daăkèf.︱* 'She said to my wife, she said "That is the son of Jăhān. He has become an officer." She said "May God preserve his mother."' (A:17)

(2) *kəmrá baqì˥ ba-lišaná bšəlmanè˥ kèt gărăká?˥ yáni mắni gbet?˥ ʾána-č mìri˥ Mərzá Xănăká ga-belà-y?˥* 'She said to me in the language of the Muslims *kēt gărăka?*, i.e. "Whom do you want?" I said "Is Mərza Xănăka at home?"' (A:20)

(3) *gbéwa xá-ʿəda mən-náše pìre˥ xanăwadà˥ hezí baqà˥ xosté xlulà,˥ yáni hamrí ʾijazá húlmu báqa xanăwadé kaldà˥ hamrí ʾijazá hùlmu˥ ke-ʾaxní xlulà holéx.˥ ʾóni-č xa-başór kəmríwa hàya-u˥ xánči nóšu doqìwala.˥* 'A few senior people of the family had to go to request the marriage, that is to say to the family of the bride "Give permission, give permission for us to hold the wedding." They (the family of the bride) would say "It is a little too soon" and would be rather reluctant (to give their permission).' (A:30–31)

(4) *kwálwale taḥwíl-e d-óa dána danà.˥ ʾó-č kolawale-ò˥ ba-gerà.˥* 'He delivered it (the dough) to her piece by piece. She opened it out with a rolling-pin.' (B:20)

(5) *ʿúčlu ʾe-jəlăkè˥ ʾaná-č ʾasrănanu.˥* 'Trample the clothes and I shall wring them out.' (C:11)

It is used on an adverbial placed at the front of a clause that marks a spatio-temporal change of some kind, e.g.

(6) *g-o-dimàf˥ kaldá-u xətná samxì˥ **g-ay-lág-əč** našé samxìwa.˥* 'On one side of it stood the bride and groom and on the other side stood the people.' (A:47)

(7) ***bəqătà-č˥** gbé paxasù˥ hezà˥ ʾay-həstačé băkarằt-e˥ d-ay-kaldà˥ lablálu báqa tata-u-daăkà.˥* 'In the morning the "woman inspector" had to go and take the "sheets of virginity" of the bride to the father and mother.' (A:50)

(8) ***g-ó waxtằra-č˥** tanhá xà ʿăkắs hítwa˥ ʿáks nătéwa ga-Kursằn.˥* 'At that time there was only one photographer who took photographs in Kurdistan.' (A:28)

On some occasions the particle is used when there is a continuity of subject but a re-orientation on some other level of the discourse. In (9), for example, the clause in question does not continue the narrative chain, but rather presents an evaluative comment on what precedes and so constitutes a shift from narrative foreground to background:

(9) *ʾó míre ṭòb.│ zíl lagèf-u│ méle mtùle-u│ ʾay-zíl jóns ləblè,│ jənsăké ləblé mătúle ga-xá tʷkaná zabnè.│ **ʾáy-əč** xír mangàl d-ó.│* 'He (the merchant) said "Fine (we are agreed)." He went to him, brought it (the cloth) and put it down (for him). He (the family man) went and took the cloth, he took the cloth away to put it in a shop and sell it. He (the family man) became like him (the merchant).' (A:105)

11.2.2. Constituent Orientated Usage

When the particle *-əč* relates narrowly to one particular constituent in the clause, the constituent to which it is suffixed typically takes the nuclear stress, whether or not it is in a separate intonation group. There is a narrow information focus on this constituent, which is generally inclusive in nature and rendered in English by 'also' or 'even'. The speaker is asserting that the constituent in question is to be included in the same set as other items in the adjacent discourse, e.g.

(1) *ʾonyexáe ya-ga-golà-yen│ yáni xárəj m-ʾIsráyəl-yen trè lelé doqíla.│ ʾaxnì-č│ trè lelé doqə́xwala.│* 'Those who are in the exile, that is outside of Israel, celebrate it for two nights. We also celebrated it for two nights.' (A:62)

(2) *dubára ʾò-č šárwa báqa didí d-éa.│* 'Then he also would send that to me.' (B:51)

When the item with the particle is an information focus it is not restricted to clause initial position, but may occur later in the clause, as in (3) and (4):

(3) *našé gezíwa wárya ba-talgà-č.│* 'People would go outside even in the snow.' (A:81)

(4) *ʾána didì-č qaṭlí.│* 'They will kill me also.' (C:9)

In (5) the particle is used to expresses a contrastive focus:

(5) *nòšu dăyíwalu ba-tănurà.│ lá kwíwalu ba-ʾíla báxta bšəlmantăkè-č.│* 'They would put them in the oven themselves. They did not give them to the Muslim woman.' (B:22)

11.3. INTONATION GROUP BOUNDARIES

Independent clauses that present actions as separate events are generally uttered in separate intonation groups, e.g.

(1) *ʾéa gezə́lwa ga-pliyáw jangàl̩.*| *ʾilanè gardə́qwa-u*| *kmèwalu*| *ga-ʾaḥrá zăbə̀nwalu.*| 'He used to go to the woods. He used to gather (branches from) trees, bring them back and sell them in the town.' (A:98)

(2) *gezə́xwa be-kaldà.*| *kaldá kménwala tèx.*| 'We would go to the house of the bride. They brought the bride down.' (A:46)

A clause that has a close semantic connection with one that precedes, on the other hand, is frequently combined with the first clause in the same intonation group. This is found where the second clause is a subordinate complement or purpose clause:

(3) *gbén xlulà holí.*| 'They want to hold the wedding.' (A:30)

(4) *ḥə́z kolíwa hén béla didán yătì ʾonyexáe.*| 'They wanted to come to our house and sit.' (A:80)

(5) *là šóqwa xét ẓólm holì-lef.*| 'He did not allow them to harm him any more.' (A:109)

A clause that expresses a situation that is circumstantial to the action of another verb is typically kept in the same intonation group, e.g.

(6) *xét ṣalmé lìtwala samxá lága didí ʾána xăènaf.*| 'She no longer had confidence to stand by me, whilst I could see her.' (A:22)

(7) *syamé là lošíwa kénwa kništá.*| 'They came to the synagogue (while) they were not wearing shoes.' (B:46)

Clauses are sometimes linked in the same intonation group also where there is no grammatical dependency between them. In such cases the actions expressed by the clauses are presented as closely related, as if they were aspects of the same basic event. The first clause often contains a verb expressing some kind of movement, such as 'to go', 'to come', 'to rise', e.g.

(8) *ken-ó xàenaf.*| 'I'll come back and see her.' (A:7)

(9) *bə́qătef-o qímna zína dokà.*| 'The next morning I got up and went there.' (A:20)

(10) *ʾərqála zíla tíwa ga-xa-ʾotə̀q.*| 'She fled and sat in a room.' (A:22)

(11) *hiyen-ó zína tíwna lagèf-u*ᴵ 'I came back and went and stayed with him.' (A:28)

(12) *zíl nóšef ga-pliyáw kaštiăké ṭəšyale-ò.*ᴵ 'He went and hid himself in the boat.' (B:77)

(13) *qím zìl.*ᴵ 'He got up and went.' (D:16)

Note in (14) how the L-suffix coding of the verb 'to say' has been extended by attraction to the closely connected verb 'to go', which normally takes S-suffixes:[9]

(14) *ʾay-zílwala mírwala báqa Mə́rza Xănăkà.*ᴵ 'She went and said to Mərza Xănăka.' (A:21)

The close bonding of verbs in such sequences is reflected by the fact that the object constituent of the second verb is sometimes placed before the first verb, e.g.

(15) *ʾóa híye Mə́syur Panžèl tərṣále.*ᴵ 'Monsieur Pangel came and built that.' (B:58)

Note also (16) in which the pronominal copy of the object constituent occurs only on the second verb, reflecting the fact that the sequence 'they brought and they ate' is treated as a single unit:

(16) *ʾo-sawzí kménwa kəxlìwale.*ᴵ 'They brought and ate that vegetable.' (B:68)

In (17) the two clauses combined in the same intonation group express two closely related activities that took place simultaneously:

(17) *naqḷíwa-u nandènwa-u.*ᴵ 'They danced and jigged.' (A:35)

11.4. INCREMENTAL REPETITION

Speakers sometimes present sequences of clauses such as those exemplified in (1) and (2), in which a clause is repeated before the following clause is presented:

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[9] For a similar extension of transitive inflection to intransitive verbs of movement in Kurdish see Haig (2004:115).

(2) *zílex dokà-u*ˈ *širiní híwlu baqàn*ˈ *ʾu-xét xíra ba-dasgiranì.*ˈ *xíra ba-dasgiranì,*ˈ *báqătef-o qímna zína dokà.*ˈ 'We went there and they gave us sweets and then she became my betrothed. After she became my betrothed, the next morning I went there.' (A:20)

(2) *ʾərqála zíla tíwa ga-xa-ʾotàq.*ˈ *ta-nóšaf tărăké mázra ba-réša-nòšaf.*ˈ *tắra mázra ba-réša nòšaf*ˈ *zílawa tíwa ga-dokà.*ˈ 'She fled and sat in a room. She closed the door behind her (literally: upon her). She closed the door behind her and went and sat there.' (A:22)

12. SYNTACTIC SUBORDINATION OF CLAUSES

12.1. RELATIVE CLAUSES

Relative clauses take as their head a nominal, a pronoun or an adverbial, which they follow. In most cases they are syndetic, in that they are introduced by a subordinating particle. On some occasions, however, they are asyndetic without any such particle.

12.1.1. Syndetic Relative Clauses

Relative clauses of this type are most frequently introduced by the Iranian particles *ya* or *ke*.

12.1.1.1. *ya*

(i) Definite Nominal Head

This particle is used predominantly when the head nominal is definite. In the attested cases in the text corpus the relative clause is restrictive, i.e. it assists in the identification of the reference of the head. In all attested cases the head nominal is qualified by a demonstrative pronoun, which binds it anaphorically to the content of the relative clause:

(1) *ʾáy našé ya-ga-ʾáy kují yelù⏐ kǔle⏐ qalá d-áy zorná šămenwalè⏐ kénwa waryà.⏐* 'All the people who were in the lane and heard the sound of the pipe would come outside.' (A:45)

(2) *ga-d-ó-tʷka ya-toryú ʾərbú ʾonyexáe dabḥi-ò⏐* 'in that place where they slaughtered their cows and sheep' (A:73)

(3) *ʾay-ʾăxonì* *ya-xắet ʿakséf ga-lăxà-ay,* *ʾó ʾəštá šoá šəné qắme-d-ea mən-ʿolằm zíl.* 'This brother of mine whose picture you see here, he passed away six or seven years before that.' (A:19)

(4) *daʿwát wílu mən-familàn* … *mən-d-ó familí-č ya-hiyénwa baqá širní xoràn.* 'Then, in the evening, they invited … also my family members who had come to "eat the sweets."' (A:26)

(5) *ja-qắme d-éa ʾay-bráta daăkí hamrà* *xa-šatá ga-Kursằn-yeli* *xà yomá* *ʾay-baxtí ʾátá ya-xăetà* *xiyàli.* 'Now, before my mother told (me about) this girl, one year when I was in Kurdistan, one day I saw this wife of mine whom you see (now).' (A:8)

(6) *ʾo-našé ya-daʿwàt kolíwalu* 'the people whom they invited' (A:42)

(ii) Indefinite Nominal Head

Sporadically the *ya* particle follows an indefinite head. This is attested in (1), in which the head is a generic class term, and (2) in which the head is qualified by the universal qualifier *kŭle*. In both cases the relative clause is non-restrictive:

(1) *xá-qəta mən-ləxmá-e ḥamès dóqwa,* *zatyé ya-tarṣíwalu ga-béla bàr-d-o.* 'He would hold a piece of leavened bread, (the type known as) pitta breads, which they made in the house afterwards.' (B:33)

(2) *kŭle belà-č* *yá kénwa dòka* *mən-nóšu qawà-u* *ya-čày,* *yá dārčìn* *kménwa mànu.* 'Every family that came there would bring with them coffee, tea or cinnamon.' (B:39)

(iii) Pronominal Head

The head may be an independent pronoun. The most common construction consists of a demonstrative pronominal head followed by a restrictive relative clause. The anaphor of the demonstrative is the descriptive content of the relative, e.g.

(1) *dărèwa* *ʾó ya-šaqlá puḷé bi-zòa hăwə́l.* 'He would pour it out and the one who buys it had to give more money.' (A:80)

(2) *ʾonyexáe ya-ga-golà-yen* *yáni xárəj m-ʾIsráyəl-yen trè lelé doqíla.* 'Those who are in the exile, that is outside of Israel, celebrate it (Passover) for two nights.' (A:62)

(3) *zargàr rába hitwalán,� zargàr,� ʾonyexáe ya-dewà� pašri-ò,� déwa tarṣì.�*
     'We had many goldsmiths—goldsmiths, those people who would
     smelt gold and make gold.' (A:69)

(4) *ʾənyaxáe ya-Kursàn-yelu� čún kùrd-yen� sunnì-yen.�* 'The ones in Kur-
     distan, since they are Kurds, are Sunni.' (A:77)

(5) *ʾonyé yá ṭăbăqá ʾăwaḷ-yelù�* 'those who were the first class' (B:5)

     In (6) and (7) the pronominal head is separated from the relative
clause by a copula or verb:

(6) *čarčí ʾò-yele� ya-ʾaspáḷ mătúwa réša xmarà� rešá susì� maxṣuṣán par-
     čanè,� lablíwalu ga-malăwàe� zabnìwalu.�* 'A peddler was somebody
     who put goods on a donkey or on a horse, especially fabrics, and
     took them to the villages to sell them.' (A:70)

(7) *jóns mən-d-ənyexáe šaqlíwa yá kmènwa.�* 'They bought goods from
     those who brought (them).' (B:8)

(iv) Adverbial Head

In (1) the head of the relative clause is a temporal adverbial:

(1) *ʾătá ya-daꞌwătí wilà-yᵎ ba-mà-jor hezná belú?ᵎ* 'Now that they have
     invited me, how shall I go to their house?' (D:15)

12.1.1.2. ke

(i) Definite Nominal Head

A definite head nominal is qualified by the demonstrative pronoun *ʾay* in
many examples in the text corpus. The relative clause may be restrictive or
non-restrictive. When it is restrictive, the demonstrative pronoun binds the
head nominal anaphorically to the content of the relative clause, e.g.

(1) *ʾay-bšəlmanèᵎ ke-xálwa zábni ta-didànᵎ ʾay-xalwàᵎ mən-d-ó tortàᵎ yá
     mən-d-ó ʾərbá dəwqà-y.ᵎ* 'Those Muslims, who sell milk to us, have
     taken the milk from the cow or from the sheep.' (A:64)

(2) *xáewa ʾay-ḥaywä́n ké dabḥile-òᵎ ṭărefá là hăwé.ᵎ* 'He would see that
     the animal that they slaughtered was not unkosher.' (A:73)

     An example of a non-restrictive relative clause with *ke* is the following:

(3) *ʾáy baxtá-u ʾáy gorà băxeḷì lablíwa l-d-áy góra xét ké ba-d-áy jóra zəndəgí kòl.* 'The woman and the man were jealous of that other man, who lived in this way.' (A:103)

In (4) a definite head of a restrictive relative clause lacks a demonstrative pronoun:

(4) *dubára zíl ga-bazàr-u ga-našé ké daʿwàt wilíwale.* 'Then he went to the market among the people whom he had invited.' (D:13)

(ii) Indefinite Nominal Head

Unlike the relative particle *ya*, the particle *ke* frequently takes indefinite head nominals. In the majority of examples attested in the text corpus, the relative clause is restrictive:

(1) *gezə́lwa măsălán xá-ʿəda našé ke-ga-xá meydán smixèn xábra ḥăqèn, măṣílwa xabrù.* 'He would go, for example, to a group of people who were standing in a square speaking and listening to what they said.' (A:109)

(2) *wa-maxwíwala našé xét-či ke-ga-dokèn ke-ʾălén ʾay-bratà bătulà xirté-ya.* 'They would show them to other people who were there so that they would know that the girl had been a virgin.' (A:50)

The relative clause is often separated from the head nominal by a copula, existential particle or verb, e.g.

(3) *xa-məndìx-ye ké pərčé komà kolú.* 'It is a thing that makes hair black.' (A:40)

(4) *xa-ʿədá hitwalán ké kəmríwalu čarčì.* 'There were a few who were called "peddlers."' (A:63)

(5) *dāstané rába hítwale ke-ʾaná fəkrí lèn.* 'He had many stories that I do not remember.' (A:97)

(6) *ʾanà bratí ta-xá-nāš là kə́wnaf ké ḥaštá líte-u ʾexá.* 'I shall not give my daughter to a man who has no job, and so forth.' (D:20)

When the head refers to a generic class, the verb in the relative clause is in the irrealis form, e.g.

(7) *lá-hezi qámxa šaqlì, qámxa ké kašér la-hăwè.* 'They could not go and buy flour, flour that was not kosher.' (A:60)

(8) *kū́le məndíx kè-*⸌ … *xəlyà-hăwe.*⸌ 'Everything that is sweet'. (A:33)

The particle *ke* is occasionally used to express non-restrictive relative clauses, e.g.

(9) *kólwale ba-lešá ga-pliyáw xa-ṭášt-e mesì*⸌ *ke-qā́me-o xwartá wila-wale-ò.*⸌ 'He made it into dough in a copper bowl, which he had made white beforehand.' (B:19)

12.1.1.3. -e

On some sporadic occasions the *izafe* particle *–e* is attested on head nouns of relative clauses, e.g.

(1) *našá-e hăwèle,*⸌ *xa-karxàna hăwéle*⸌ *ya-xá moʾăsăsà hăwéle*⸌ 'a man who had a factory or who had an institution' (B:12)

(2) *ʾo-baxtá-e ləxmăkè kolawale-ó*⸌ 'the woman who opened out the bread' (B:22)

(3) *jā́m-e kăyá ke-...* 'a mirror that knows that …' (A:93)

(4) *ta-zămā́n-e ke-ʾanà xlulá wilí*⸌ 'until the time that I married' (A:4)

12.1.2. Asyndetic Relative Clauses

Relative clauses are sometimes asyndetic, with no connective particle. In the majority of cases the head noun is indefinite. On some occasions this has a non-specific referent and the relative clause is restrictive. The verb in such clauses is typically in the irrealis form, e.g.

(1) *mătíwale ga-xá-tʷka qărirà hăwé.*⸌ 'They put it in a place that was cool.' (A:83)

(2) *ba-tăfawót-e našăkè,*⸌ *čəkmá năfăre-hítwalu xála ʾaxlì*⸌ 'according to the different (numbers) of people, how many people they had who eat food' (B:17)

Generally, however, where an asyndetic construction corresponds to a relative clause in an idiomatic English translation, the relative clause is non-restrictive. The head noun may have a specific (3–6) or non-specific (7–8) referent, e.g.

(3) *xá ʾambár rába rabtà hítwale*⸌ *zmàṭela*⸌ *tir-ʾahằn.*⸌ 'He had a big warehouse, which was full of metal beams.' (A:7)

(4) *xà šwáwa hítwale*⎮ *ràba dawlamán-yele.*⎮ 'He had a neighbour, who was very rich.' (A:100)

(5) *xà*⎮ *bronà*⎮ *híye ba-ʿolằm*⎮ *kằčằl-yele.*⎮ 'A boy came into the world who was bald.' (D:1)

(6) *tʷkané ràba hítwale*⎮ *híwale ba-ʾijarà.*⎮ 'He had many shops, which he had rented out.' (A:7)

(7) *pəštì hítwalan*⎮ *dằéxwalu ba-guzà.*⎮ 'We had a back-support, which we put on the wall.' (A:56)

(8) *xa-ʿədá buxarì hitwálu*⎮ *ba-ṣiwè malqiwalá.*⎮ 'Some people had a stove, which they would heat by wood.' (A:89)

An asyndetic clause may have an indefinite pronominal head in the form of the indefinite particle *xa*, e.g.

(9) *bár kằle*⎮ *kyàwa*⎮ *xa-sawzì-ye,*⎮ *šaplultà kəmríwa baqéf.*⎮ 'After everything (else) there came something that is a vegetable, which is called *šaplulta*.' (B:68)

Another type of asyndetic structure is the construction in (10) which has a zero pronominal head:

(10) *ʾasúr-ile báqa didàn*⎮ *m-širinè ʾaxléx,*⎮ *ġér ʾáz ləxmà lá-hằwe-u*⎮ 'We are forbidden to eat sweets, with the exception of what did not have bread (in it).' (B:29)

In (11) and (12) the head of an asyndetic restrictive relative clause is a definite nominal. In both cases, however, the head phrase ends in –*e* and so it is possible that this has coalesced with the *izafe* particle –*e*:

(11) *ʾo-našé kằle daʿwát wiliwalè* 'all the people he had invited' (D:8)

(12) *ʾé hár ʾó broná kằčalằkéle daʿwằtàn wílwale?*⎮ 'Is this the same bald boy who invited us?' (D:14)

12.1.3. *har-či, har-kas*

The generic pronominal heads 'whoever/anybody who' or 'whatever/everything that' are expressed by the Iranian constructions *har-kas* and *har-či* respectively, e.g.

(1) *hár-kas bi-zóa hằwéle bíš ʿayzà-y.*⎮ 'Anybody who has more is (considered) better.' (A:55)

(2) *hár-kas hewalè˩ ga-belá yătùwa˩ tămisì dóqwa.˩* 'Anybody who could, would stay in the house and do cleaning.' (A:57)

(3) *ta-hár-kas daʿwătéf wìle˩ ba-xá dăsá jəlé zìl.˩* 'He went in a suit to each one who had invited him.' (D:16)

(4) *hár-či ʾắt kəmràt˩ ʾána mătúna ba-réš ʾenì.˩* 'Everything that you say, I am willing to do.' (A:18)

(5) *hár-či ʾắt kəmrát qăbùl hití.˩* 'Everything you say, I agree (to do).' (A:18)

(6) *hár-či ʾiléf doqàwa˩ kwə́lwa mătúiwa ga-dawriăkè-u˩* 'Whatever he could lay his hand on (literally: whatever his hand held) he would give and place on the plate.' (B:51)

In (7) and (8) the heads are connected to the clause by the relative particles *ke* and *ya* respectively:

(7) *lá guptà,˩ lá mastà˩ hár-či ké mən-xalwá-yele lá kəxlèxwale.˩* 'We did not eat cheese, yoghurt or anything that was made from milk.' (A:68)

(8) *hár-či ya-hiyèlan˩ dwə́qlan ba-ʾilè.˩* 'We held in our hands everything that we could.' (E:12)

The phrase *har-či* may modify a following noun in constructions such as (9):

(9) *pás har-čí ʾəṣrắr wìlu là híya.˩* 'Then, whatever insistence they made (= however much they insisted), she did not come.' (A:23)

12.1.4. The Internal Structure of Relative Clauses

When the referent of the head nominal is the subject of the relative clause, it is expressed by the subject inflection of the verb or copula. When the referent of the head has some other grammatical relation in the relative clause, this is expressed by coreferential pronominal suffixes in the appropriate syntactic position. This is illustrated in the foregoing examples. Some structures, however, require further comment.

When the referent of the head nominal has the role of direct object in the relative clause, the relative clause in principle has a resumptive element whether the head be definite or indefinite. A resumptive element tends to be omitted, however, after the generic pronominal heads *har-kas* and *har-či*, e.g.

(1) *hár-či ʾất kəmràt˺ ʾána mătúna ba-réš ʾenì.˺* 'Everything that you say, I am willing to do.' (A:18)

A resumptive pronominal element is sometimes omitted when the head nominal has an adverbial function, such as locative or temporal, within the relative clause. e.g.

(2) *ga-d-ó-tʷka ya-toryú ʾərbú ʾonyexáe dabḥi-ò˺* 'in that place where they slaughtered their cows and sheep' (A:73)

(3) *ta-zămā́n-e ke-ʾanà xlulá wilí˺* 'until the time that I married' (A:4)

(4) *ʾătá g-áy sə́ná didòx˺ ké xirèt˺ ʾəsrí šənè˺ ʾəsrí-u xamšá šənè,˺ dàx kélox ḥaštá yalpét?˺* 'Now at the age that you are, twenty years old, twenty-five years old, how can you learn a job?' (D:21)

12.2. CLEFT CONSTRUCTIONS

A cleft construction involves the splitting of a simple clause into two components that are linked in a predicative relationship, with part of the contents embedded in a subordinate clause. The purpose is to put particular focus on one constituent. This is attested in (1), which puts contrastive focus on the subject constituent of the first clause. The remainder of the clause is not introduced by any explicit subordinating conjunction, so the construction is best characterized as 'quasi-cleft':

(1) *ʾó bšəlmantè-ya ləxmá dăyáwa ba-tănurá.˺ hulaà lá kắewa.˺* 'It was a Muslim (not a Jew) who put the bread in the oven. A Jew did not know (how to do it).' (B:20)

In (2) a prepositional phrase with the embedded content clause is the information focus, while the contents of the following clause are presupposed to be known from the preceding context. Again the clause outside of the focus has no explicit subordinating particle:

(2) *ba-yād-e d-eà-y ké˺ bet-ha-məqdáš werằn xirté-ya˺ ʾaxní là-xar šratá hăwélan.˺* 'It was in memory of the fact that the Sanctuary had been destroyed, that we were not permitted to have a light.' (B:46)

12.3. MODIFIER CLAUSES

Non-restrictive deontic clauses such as ʾəlhá măníxle 'May God grant him rest' may be placed as an asyndetic modifier before or after a nominal head, e.g.

(1) ʾəlhá măníxle ʾAwlé săqəzí nòšef⌐ hám ʿèčwale⌐ hám dáʾewale ba-tănurà.⌐ 'ʾAwle from Săqəz, may God grant him rest, would himself both knead it and also put it into the oven.' (B:21)

(2) ḥqeli-ó báqa tatí ʾəlhá mănixà.⌐ 'I told my father, may God grant him rest.' (B:61)

12.4. INDIRECT QUESTIONS

Various subordinate clauses that are introduced by interrogative particles may be classified as indirect questions. These are embedded under verbs such as 'to know', 'to say', 'to ask', 'to see', 'to understand', e.g.

(1) la-kɑ́yan mằni-ye.⌐ 'I do not know who it is.' (A:21)

(2) lá kɑ́ena má honà.⌐ 'I do not know what I should do.' (D:2)

(3) kmɑ́rwa xətná čəkmá kwɑ́l báqa kaldăkè,⌐ kaldăké mà hitá.⌐ 'He would say how much the groom would give to the bride and how much the bride had.' (A:48)

(4) ʾoní là kɑ́enwa ma-yén.⌐ 'They did not know what they were.' (A:87)

(5) xɑ́e náše mà kəmrí,⌐ našé dàx-yen,⌐ zəndəgíu dàx-ye⌐ wa-ʾɑ́gar čănɑ́nče xa-našá na-raḥătí hăwèle,⌐ ʾɑ̀le báef.⌐ 'He would see what people were saying, how people were, how their life was and, whether a person had a grievance, to know about it.' (A:108)

(6) ḥaxám-e kništà ga-dokɑ́⌐ darùš kólwa⌐ Mošé Răbénu ʿalɑ́w ha-šalóm dàx m-ʿolɑ́m zíl,⌐ mà wíle,⌐ zăḥamtá mà grɑ́šle báqa hulàe.⌐ 'The rabbi of the synagogue there would give a homily concerning how Moses our Lord, peace be upon him, passed away from the world, what he did, what trouble he took for the Jews.' (B:52)

(7) lá bəqrán ʾaṣlàn⌐ dóka má kolèx⌐ ta-héma ʾaḥrà-u⌐ reš-ḥaštá gezèx.⌐ 'We did not at all ask what we would do there, to which town we would go for work.' (E:13)

Indirect polar questions are embedded without any introductory particle, e.g.

(8)   *maꜥlùm-la-y ʾất hulaét yá bšǝlmanèt.|* 'It is not known whether you are a Jew or you are a Muslim.' (B:25)

Sometimes an embedded constituent question is preceded by the subordinating particle *ke*, e.g.

(9)   *ʾǝnyexáe ga-fkə́r kwénwa ké báqa pătiré má lazə́m-ye tahyà holí.|* 'They considered what they should prepare for Passover.' (B:14)

(10) *ʾo kằewa ke-ta-má lá kǝmréte.|* 'He knew why you did not say (it) to him.' (B:46)

Indirect constituent questions and polar questions may be introduced by the particle *daxom*, e.g.

(11) *mꜥíni ga-dawràn| xǎena mà xirá-y| réša ʾay-qawmì| dáxom mà zilá-y.|* 'I looked around to see what had happened, what had become of my people.' (E:23)

(12) *bǝqrí mǝn-yalàn| daxóm là xiyá-y.|* 'I asked our children whether they had seen it (our language).' (E:26)

12.5. SUBORDINATE CONTENT CLAUSES

A variety of subordinate clauses that are embedded as components of a higher clause will be brought together in this section under the broad classification of 'content clauses'. These function either as subject or direct object complements of a verb or are governed by clausal conjunctions consisting of prepositions, adverbials and quantifiers.

12.5.1. *ke*

The particle *ke* without any other clausal conjunction introduces the following types of content clause.

12.5.1.1. *Factive Complement Content Clauses*

Clauses of assumed factual content that function as nominal constituents in the main clause are sometimes introduced by *ke*.

When functioning as object, they are typically complements of verbs such as 'to say' and 'to know', and follow the main verb, e.g.

(1) *xa-năfar-xét šə́rwala baqá ʾăxonàf| hămər kè| ʾay-bronà| həl-d-áy bratá gbè.|* 'She sent somebody else to her brother to say that the boy loves the girl.' (A:18)

In (2–4) the complement clause functions as an apposition to a nominal or demonstrative phrase:

(2) *qắme didì| hič-kás ʾay-ḥaštá la-wilawalè| ké lăčăgá ba-rešá dasgiraní nătènef-o.|* 'Before me nobody had done such a thing, namely that I should take away the veil from the head of my betrothed.' (A:25)

(3) *tárz-e qədúš ʾăxà-yele| ke-xá-dana pardá doqìwa-u|* 'The method of consecration was as follows, (namely) that they would draw a curtain.' (A:47)

(4) *ʾáy zoanulá ta-d-òa há-y| ké ba-lelé ḥaštà wilí.|* 'This excess is because of this—that I worked at night.'

On numerous occasions, however, the factual complement in such contexts is asyndetic without any connective particle, e.g.

(5) *kəmríwa băṣiré ʾaṣlán băraxà hitú.|* 'They would say that grapes in particular had blessing.' (A:72)

(6) *rába náše daʿwàt kolíwa,| čún kəmríwa qála miḷá šamoé maṣwà hité.|* 'They would invite many people, because they said that it was a good deed to hear the cry (of the baby) at circumcision.' (A:75)

(7) *ga-dokà| rába našè| rába hamrét dawlamán hăwèn.|* 'There you would say that many people were rich.' (A:55)

(8) *rásm d-èele| ʾafsărè| ʾartèš| rakwíwa susì.|* 'It was the custom that officers, in the army, would ride on a horse.' (A:15)

(9) *kắe ʾắt bšəlmanèt.|* 'He knows that you are a Muslim.' (B:65)

(10) *wa-maxwíwala našé xét-əč ke-ga-dokèn| ke-ʾălén ʾay-bratà| bătulà xirté-ya.|* 'They would show it to other people who were there so that they would know that the girl had been a virgin.' (A:50)

An asyndetic factive complement clause is used after the verb of perception $x\varnothing y$ 'to see' as an idiomatic means of presenting an important event or situation, e.g.

(11) *xéli Bahrám gyằn⎸ telefón wíle baqì⎸ yáni ta-Soqrát bronì⎸ míre ʾanà⎸ baxtà gəwrí.⎸* 'It happened (literally: I saw) that dear Bahram telephoned me, that is Soqrat my son, and said "I have married."' (C:4)

(12) *xéli hóš-u xyaḷí lága d-èele.⎸* 'My thoughts were indeed with him.' (C:7)

In (13) and (14) the purpose of subordinating a factual clause under *ke* is to present an explanation of its contents in the higher clause:

(13) *ʾò ʾé ke-ṣomá-e šằbát-e ṣəhyòn⎸ ga-xšằba doqéxwale.⎸* 'That is (the reason) that we kept the fast of the Sabbath of Zion on Sunday.' (B:73)

(14) *ʾất sarwatmànd-yet⎸ ké ʾằt⎸ puḷè rába hitóx ké ʾáy memaní dəwqàlox.⎸* 'You are rich, in that you have a lot of money and have offered that hospitality.' (D:9)

12.5.1.2. Non-factive Complement

The particle *ke* on some occasions introduces a complement clause expressing an activity that is as yet unfulfilled or only potential from the viewpoint of the main verb, e.g.

(1) *ʾijazá hùlmu⎸ ke-ʾaxní xlulà holéx.⎸* 'Give permission for us to hold the wedding.' (A:31)

(2) *hítwa xá-šata ṭùl gărášwa ké⎸ gbén xlulà holí.⎸* 'Sometimes a year would pass before they wanted to hold the wedding.' (A:30)

12.5.1.3. Purpose

A clause introduced by *ke* often expresses purpose, e.g.

(1) *wa-maxwíwala našé xét-əč ke-ga-dokèn⎸ ke-ʾálén ʾay-bratà⎸ bătulà xirté-ya.⎸* 'They would show it to other people who were there so that they would know that the girl had been a virgin.' (A:50)

(2) *gbéwa xa-párča zayrá dằén ba-lăxàu⎸ b-lá́ səngù⎸ ké ʾălén ʾənyexáe hulaèn.⎸* 'They had to put a yellow patch here, on their chest, so that they (the Muslims) knew that they were Jews.' (A:78)

12.5.2. *ta-*

12.5.2.1. *'when'*

When the particle *ta-* introduces a subordinate clause that is placed before the main clause, it has the sense of 'when', e.g.

(1) *ta-ʾăxá míre baqàf⌐ ʾáy ʾərqàla.⌐* 'When he said this to her, she fled.' (A:22)

(2) *ta-ʾaná hiyèna,⌐ tatí plìṭwa.⌐* 'When I came, my father had gone out.'

12.5.2.2. *'until'*

When the subordinate clause is placed after the main clause, it has the sense of 'until, e.g.

(1) *mən-belá xəmè,⌐ mən-belá xətnăkè,⌐ gezíwa ba-dohól ʾu-zorná mən-d- áy kují-u măḥălè⌐ deyáwa ʾəléf ta-gezíwa be-kaldà.⌐* 'From the house of the parents-in-law, the house of the groom, they went with drum and pipe through the lanes and streets, playing (the instruments) until they arrived at the house of the bride.' (A:10)

In (2) and (3) *ta* is connected to the clause by the subordinating particle *ge-*, a variant of *ke-*:

(2) *ʾé ʾajilé nătènwalu⌐ tá-ge qárwa pătirè⌐ kəmríwa báqa ʾənšè⌐ sằj matwéx.⌐* 'They would put the mixed nuts aside until close to Passover they would say to the women "Let's put out the griddle."' (B:28)

(3) *gezéxwa báqa sahrá tá-ge ʾarbìt xăráwa.⌐* 'We would go into the fields until it was time for evening prayers.' (B:32)

The subordinating particle *ge* is attested also in the phrase *ta-ge* before nominals denoting periods of time. Such constructions probably arose by analogy with embedded predications denoting time periods such as (2) and (3), e.g.

(4) *báqăta gezéxwa knìštà⌐ xét là kexwá-o belá⌐ har-tá-ge lelè.⌐* 'In the morning we went to the synagogue and we did not come back home again until night.' (B:74)

In (5) the preposition is combined with the Persian particle *ʾinke* before the subordinate clause:

(5)   *rə̀we,ˈ rə̀weˈ tá-ʾinke xìrˈ ba-xá bronàˈ taqribán ʾəsrì šəné.ˈ* 'He grew
       and grew until he became a boy about twenty years old.' (D:1)

       If the action of the verb in the subordinate clause is presented as unre-
alized from the perspective of the preceding clause, the verb is in the irrealis
form:

(6)   *susyăké mən-sarbāzxané kméwale qam-tărà,ˈ həl-didí markùwaˈ ta-
       hezn-ó báqa sarbāzxanè.ˈ* 'He would bring the horse from the bar-
       racks to the door, he would mount me (on the horse), (and stay
       with me) until I went back to the barracks.' (A:16)

(7)   *lá-xar ʾíla táqra báu ta-léle pătiré baraxà hamrí.ˈ* 'No hand could
       touch them until they said the blessing on the night of Passover.'
       (B:23)

       Such irrealis clauses may contain the negative particle, e.g.

(8)   *mən-lăxá lá gèznaˈ ta-là-hen məntăkí.ˈ* 'I shall not go from here until
       they come with me.'

12.5.2.3. Purpose

The preposition is used before a content clause to express purpose, e.g.

(1)   *mar-hé ta-labnăxún dóka lagèf.ˈ* 'Let him come so that I may take
       you there to him.' (B:60)

12.5.2.3. Result

A subordinate clause placed after the main clause may also express result,
e.g.

(1)   *ʾənyexáe ʾəqrá ṣorèr-yelu ta-ʾəlhà-hămər mălé!ˈ* 'They were so hostile
       (to the Jews) that God said "That is enough!"' (A:77)

12.5.3. *baqa*

12.5.3.1. Purpose

When connected to a subordinate clause with an irrealis verb form, this
preposition expresses purpose, e.g.

(1)   *leléf-o zílex baqàˈ širinì hămex-ó.ˈ* 'On that very night we went to
       fetch the sweets.' (A:19)

(2) *mǝntắke d-áy našé ba-dohól-u zornà| gezíwa baqá kaldá hămeníla be-xǝtnà.|* 'The people went with it with drum and pipe to the bride to bring her to the house of the groom.' (A:44)

In (3) and (4) the preposition takes a demonstrative pronoun as its immediate complement, which is bound anaphorically to the following content clause:

(3) *báqa d-ó ʾălè| ké raʿyăté, našèf,| našé ʾáy mamlăkătà| dàx zǝndǝgí kolí| dàx lá kolí,| gezál lelăwàe| lǝbắs-e dawrešì lóšwa.|* 'In order that he might know how his subjects, his people, the people of his kingdom lived, he would go at night wearing the clothes of a beggar.' (A:108)

(4) *báqa d-eà-y ke-hamrí| ya-rắbi škùr.|* 'This was in order for them to say "Thank you Oh Lord."' (B:47)

12.5.3.2. Cause

When the verb is realis, the preposition expresses cause. This is the case in (1) and (2), where the construction has an anticipatory demonstrative pronoun:

(1) *lǝxmá huláa xùl| báqa d-éa huláa pǝsrá xzurá lá kxǝl.|* 'Eat the food of a Jew, because a Jew does not eat the meat of a pig.' (B:65)

(2) *šratá xét ʾezafá là malqíwa,| báqa d-éa lá-xar ʾíla dắen ba-nurà.|* 'They did not light an additional lamp, because it was not permitted for them to touch fire, as on Sabbath.' (B:72)

12.5.4. *qắme, qam*

The preposition *qắme* 'before' may be combined with a content clause introduced by *ke*. Note that the verb is in the irrealis form (§9.2.1.1. vi), e.g.

(1) *ʾáy hawšá qǝnšáwali qắme ké hèt.|* 'I swept the yard before you came.'

In the text corpus the preposition generally takes a demonstrative pronoun as its immediate complement, which is bound anaphorically to the following content clause, e.g.

(2) *ja-qắme d-éa ʾay-bráta daăkí hamrà˺ xa-šatá ga-Kursằn-yeli˺ xà yomá˺ ʾay-baxtí ʾătá ya-xăetà˺ xiyàli.˺* 'Now, before my mother told (me about) this girl, one year when I was in Kurdistan, one day I saw this wife of mine whom you see (now).' (A:8)

(3) *qắme d-ó-č xlúla holì˺ kắle be-bătulà-yen.˺* 'Before they marry, they are all non-virgins.' (A:50)

(4) *qắme d-óa ʾána b-ʿolắm henà,˺ hulaé wáxt-e zilén waryà,˺ maxṣuṣán ga-yomăwáe nəxlà,˺ gbéwa xa-párča zayrá dăén ba-lăxàw˺ b-lá səngù˺ ké ʾalén ʾənyexáe hulaèn.˺* 'Before I was born, when the Jews went outside, especially on rainy days, they had to put a patch of yellow here, on their chest so that they (the Muslims) knew that they were Jews.' (A:78)

In (5) the combined preposition *m-qam* is used with a causal sense:

(5) *hìč-kas˺ daʿwătí lá wile-ò˺ wa-là kắena˺ m-qám d-éa ʾanà˺ pərčè lití,˺ kăčằl-yena˺ yá šəmà lití ʾexá.˺* 'I held a party and nobody invited me back. I don't know whether it was because I do not have any hair and am bald, or whether I am not well known and so forth.' (D:10)

12.5.5. *bar*

In the text corpus this preposition takes a demonstrative pronoun as its immediate complement, which is bound anaphorically to the following content clause, e.g.

(1) *bar-d-èa˺ ʾay-ḥášta wilàlu,˺ xá nắfar kéwa ga-belà.˺* 'After they had done this work, a person came to the house.' (B:17)

(2) *bar-d-èa˺ ʾijazá wilwalù,˺ gbéwa xa-širní xorắn-e mfằṣàl doqí.˺* 'After they had given their permission, they had to hold a big ceremony of "eating the sweets."' (A:32)

(3) *bár-d-ea ke-xostá xlulá wilwalù,˺ xèta kolíwa˺ .. kəmríwale ʾilá dwaqà.˺* 'After they had performed the "request of the wedding", they did something, … it was called "the joining of hands."' (A:34)

(4) *bár-d-ea kništà-č timá,˺ … kén-o béla bắz-ham ba-doholá-u zornà.˺* 'After the synagogue had finished … they go home again with the drum and pipe.' (A:53)

12.5.6. *tʷka*

The adverbial *tʷka* 'in place of, instead of' takes a content clause as its complement with the intermediary of a demonstrative pronoun, e.g.

(1) *tʷká d-éa ga-kništà matwìla*ˡ *ga-bèla matwíwala.*ˡ 'Instead of holding it in a synagogue they held it at home.' (B:37)

(2) *tʷká d-óa xoš-ḥằl xắrán,*ˡ *ʾíli wíli bằxoè.*ˡ 'Instead of being happy, I began to cry.' (C:4)

12.5.7. *qarwa*

The adjectival form *qarwa* is used adverbially before content clauses. It is attested in (1) and (2), where the subject of the subordinate clauses are raised and made the complements of *qarwa*:

(1) *qarwá pắtiré ké xarwà*ˡ *ʾorxèl*ˡ *ʾijàra kolíwa.*ˡ 'Close to when Passover took place (literally: close to Passover—that it takes place), they rented a watermill.' (B:15)

(2) *qarwá-e yomá ké xarwà,*ˡ *mewá kmènwa.*ˡ 'Close to when dawn broke, they brought fruit.' (B:80)

12.5.8. *mangol, dax*

Comparative content clauses may be introduced either by the preposition *mangol* or the interrogative particle *dax* without any subordinating particle, e.g.

(1) *xắmuštá dắénwa ga-dušà-u*ˡ *mangól ga-lắxà kolí.*ˡ 'They put an apple in honey, as they do here.' (B:67)

(2) *šratá har-dáx b-ay-jóra ga-lắxá malqì,*ˡ *kűle béla ga-doká šratá malqìwa.*ˡ 'Just as they light a lamp here, every family there used to light a lamp.' (B:48)

In (3) *dax* is repeated:

(3) *har-dáx-dax ʾana-nóši ba-xà tʷká mṭéna*ˡ *ʾày-brona-č mắṭe.*ˡ 'Just as I attained a place (in life), this boy also will attain a place.' (D:28)

12.6. TEMPORAL CLAUSES

Temporal 'when' clauses are expressed by constructions consisting of temporal adverbial phrases connected to a content clause by the *izafe* particle *–e*.

12.6.1. *waxt-e*

(1) *wáxt-e ṣomá kipúr fəṭran-ò,* | *maʿlə́m kéwa belà.* | 'When we had broken the fast of the Atonement, a rabbi would come to the house.' (B:76)

(2) *ʾaná wáxt-e xlulá wilì* | *ga-Tarã̀n-yeli nóši.* | 'When I married, I myself was in Tehran.' (A:5)

(3) *wáxt-e tămíz wililè,* | *kewá-o kmərwà* | 'When he had cleaned them, he would come back and say …' (B:16)

(4) *wáxt-e híye belàn,* | *ʾaná xalá híwli baqèf.* | 'When he came to the house, I gave him food.'

(5) *xor-ʾay-bratá lá-xar ʾay-broná xắya x-kàr,* | *maxṣuṣán wáxt-e ʾắxonăwaláf tiwèn.* | 'Now, it was the custom that the girl should not yet see the boy, especially when her brothers are sitting (in the room).' (A:24)

The subject of the 'when' clause may be extraposed in front of the adverbial particle, e.g.

(6) *qắme d-óa ʾána b-ʿolắm henà,* | *hulaé wáxt-e zilén waryà,* | *maxṣuṣán ga-yomăwáe nəxlà,* | *gbéwa xa-párča zayrá dắen ba-lắxàw* | *b-lắ səngù* | *ké ʾalén ʾənyexáe hulaèn.* | 'Before I was born, when the Jews went outside, especially on rainy days, they had to put a patch of yellow here, on their chest so that they (the Muslims) knew that they were Jews.' (A:78)

On some occasions the head adverbial is connected to the clause also by the particle *ke*, e.g.

(7) *wáxt-e ké mamí híye belàn,* | *ʾaná ga-ḥaštà yelí.* | 'When my uncle came to our house, I was at work.'

12.6.2. *ba-mŭdăt-e ke*

(1) *ba-mŭdằt-e ké[|] bəxlé dasgiràn-yelu,[|] bấz-ham rába basòr lɔ́xle xắenwa.[|]* 'When they became betrothed, they still saw each other very little.' (A:3)

12.6.3. *zăman-e ke*

(1) *hăméša xa-čačằw ba-rešǎf-yele[|] yá lăčăgà ba-rešằf-yela,[|] ta-zămấn-e ke-ʾanà xlulá wilí.[|]* 'There was always a robe on her head or there was a veil on her head, until the time that I married.' (A:4)

12.6.4. *čun*

Temporal 'when' clauses may also be introduced by the particle *čun*, e.g.

(1) *čún tate-ú daăkăkè[|] kəmríwa ʾéa ʿastè-ya?[|] bronăké-č qăbùl kólwa.[|]* 'When the father and mother would say "Is she good?," the boy would accept.' (A:2)

In (2) it is combined with the subordinating particle *ge-*, a variant of *ke-*:

(2) *čún-ge tazá mən-txél talgá plíṭwa waryà[|] čăqénwa-u kmenwa-ó belà.[|]* 'When it had just sprouted out of the snow, they would pick it and bring (it) home.' (B:32)

12.6.5. *Asyndetic Temporal Constructions*

In some cases a clause is not embedded under a temporal adverbial but is rendered idiomatically into English by a 'when'–clause. This includes clauses containing a perfective verb expressing a completed event that sets the frame for a following habitual action (§9.3.1.). e.g.

(1) *ʾéa timàwa,[|] bár-d-o xálu kəxlìwale-u[|] gezíwa ba-šon-ḥaštù.[|]* '(When) this had finished, then they ate the food and went to get on with their work.' (B:69)

(2) *ʾo-lelè-č[|] pəsrá tìm,[|] məšxà kəxlíwa.[|]* 'On that night (when) the meat was finished, they used to eat dairy food.' (A:63)

(3) *ʾéa qəryàlu,[|] qemíwa-u kenwá-o belà.[|]* '(When) they had read it, they got up and went home.' (B:53)

Asyndetic constructions are occasionally found elsewhere, e.g.

(4) *mən-d-áy reš-ó ken-ò,*ˈ *ʾonyexáe təqnú lá pešà.*ˈ '(When) I come back again, the beard of those people must not remain (unshaven).' (B:81)

12.7. CONDITIONAL CONSTRUCTIONS

12.7.1. Constructions with the Particle *ʾăgar*

Conditional constructions consist of a subordinate clause expressing the condition (protasis) and a main clause expressing the consequent (apodosis). The protasis is generally introduced by the particle *ʾăgar* 'if', which is of Iranian origin. The *ʾăgar* clause is in the majority of cases placed before the apodosis clause, though in some cases it is tagged on after the apodosis.

12.7.1.1. Form of the *ʾăgar* Clause

A variety of different verbal forms are used in protasis clauses introduced by *ʾăgar*. Many of these have been mentioned already in the descriptions of the functions of verbal forms. They are brought together here for the sake of convenience.

(i) ʾăgar gắrəš/copula (realis)

The realis *gắrəš* or the copula is used in protases referring to real situations that hold in the present, e.g.

(1) *ʾắgar xastèt*ˈ *ʾắt gbé gănèt.*ˈ 'If you are tired, you must sleep.'

(ii) ʾăgar gắrəš (irrealis)

This expresses a possible situation in the future:

(1) *ʾắgar mən-d-áy ləxmá ʾaxlètun,*ˈ *kasăxún bazyà.*ˈ 'If you eat any of this bread, your stomach will burst.' (B:23)

(2) *ʾắgar hét belì*ˈ *ləxmà kəwnóx.*ˈ 'If you come to my house, I shall give you bread.'

(iii) ă̆gar gắrəšwa (irrealis)

This is used in the protasis of conditional constructions denoting either a possible situation in the past (1), a counterfactual situation in the past (2–3), or an impossible situation in the future (4), e.g.

(1) *ắgar mən-d-áy ləxmá ʾaxlìwa,* | *kpiné là-yelu.* | 'If they ate some of this bread, they were not hungry.'

(2) *ắgar ʾắlenáwa ʾắt ga-lăxèṭ,* | *ʾaná dernawa-ò.* | 'If I had known that you were here, I would have returned.'

(3) *ắgar hétwa, geznàwa.* | 'If you had come, I would have gone.'

(4) *ắgar qóme henàwa,* | *konàwale,* | *wắle là-kena.* | 'If I were to come tomorrow, I would do it, but I shall not come.'

(iv) ʾắgar grəšle/smix

The past base forms *grəšle/smix* are sometimes used in the protasis of conditional constructions to express a possible event in the past, e.g.

(1) *ắgar tamắm-e yomá ḥaštà wílox,* | *ʾắt gbé ʾəstəraḥàt holét.* | 'If you have worked all day, you must rest.'

(v) ʾắgar gərša-y/smixa-y

This expresses a real resultant state in the present, e.g.

(1) *ắgar tamắm-e yomá ḥắrík ḥaštá xirèṭ,* | *pằḷ púl.* | 'If you have been busy all day, lie down (to rest).'

(vi) ʾắgar gəršắwele/smixắwe

This expresses a possible resultant state in the present, e.g.

(1) *ắgár xá-mdi lá mirắwelì,* | *gbe-bàxšeṭ.* | 'If I have not said something, you must forgive me.' (B:80)

In (2) it is attested in a protasis that is attached after the main clause as a tag:

(23) *ḥắmắm ʿắmumì-yela* | *mangál ḥắmắm-e turkì-ya* | *ʾắgar xiyắwelòx.* | 'The bath was public, like a Turkish bath, if you have seen (one).' (A:36)

It is also used to express a possible resultant state in the past, in constructions that have a past verb in the apodosis, as in (3):

(3) *ʾăgár xá năfărá milắwe,ˈ našé gezíwa baqá dokà.ˈ* 'If somebody had died, people would go there.' (B:79)

(vii) Gapped Apodosis

A negative alternative 'if not' with the remainder of the content of the apodosis gapped is expressed by *ʾăgar-nam*, e.g.

(1) *gbé hár ḥăqéx ga-lăxàˈ ga-lišaná-e ʿəbrìˈ ʾăgar-nam ʾòniˈ ḥáli lá xărì.ˈ* 'Here we must each speak in Hebrew, if not, they do not understand.' (E:64)

12.7.1.2. Clauses introduced by *ʾăgar čănānče*

On some occasions the two Iranian particles *ʾăgar* and *čănānče* are combined at the head of a protasis clause, e.g.

(1) *ʾăgár čănā́nče xá-năfar ẓòlm xirăwe-lèf,ˈ gezə̀lwaˈ jobrằn kolwalé-uˈ* 'If a person had suffered some injustice, he would go and make amends to him.' (A:109)

(2) *ʾăgar čănā́nče xa-našá na-raḥătí hăwèle,ˈ ʾắle báef.ˈ* 'If a person had a grievance, he would know about it.' (A:108)

12.7.1.3. Form of the Apodosis

The verb form in the apodosis clause is generally the one that would be expected in an independent clause with the same tense, aspect and mood. In counterfactual conditional constructions, however, the past *gărəšwa* form is used in the apodosis with functions that are not normal in independent main clauses, viz. a perfective action in the past (1) or the future (2):

(1) *ʾắgar hétwa, geznàwa.ˈ* 'If you had come, I would have gone.'

(2) *ʾắgar henàwa,ˈ qòme konáwa,ˈ wắle là-kena.ˈ* 'If I were to come, I would do it tomorrow, but I shall not come.'

12.7.2. Relative Clauses with Generic Heads

Relative clauses with generic nominals or pronouns as their head are functionally similar to protasis clauses. They may contain irrealis verb forms, e.g.

(1)   *hár-kas bi-zóa hăwéle bíš ʿayzà-y.* 'Anybody who has (= if anybody has) more, he is better.' (A:55)

Such initial relative phrases are sometimes not resumed by a pronominal element in the apodosis, reflecting the fact that they are interpreted as propositions rather than nominals, e.g.

(2)   *hár-či ʾắt kəmràt, ʾána mătúna ba-réš ʾenì.* 'Everything that you say, I am willing to do.' (A:18)

12.7.3. Asyndetic Conditional Constructions

Some clauses that are not introduced by subordinating conditional particles have a function equivalent to protasis clauses. In many cases they have irrealis verb forms, e.g.

(1)   *ʾắlnáwa ga-lăxèt, kenàwa.* '(If) I had known that you were, I would have gone to visit you.'

(2)   *ʾắt gezə́twa tʷkanà, ʾăxonóx dóka yelè, là kəmrə́twa báqef šalóm ʿălexém.* '(If) you went to a shop and your brother was there, you would not say to him "Greetings to you."' (B:46)

(3)   *ʾắt hulàet, hulàet.* '(If) you are a Jew, you are a Jew.' (B:82)

(4)   *xa-năfàr măsălán fárz holéx xa-šằh xá-mdi na-raḥắti xirlăwelalè zilá-y mən-d-ó xéta ṭəlbà-y, mšurtà wilá-y baqèf.* '(If) a person, for example, let's suppose a king, (if) something unpleasant had happened to him, he went and requested from him (King Solomon) a thing and he (King Solomon) gave him advice.' (A:95)

12.8. CONCESSIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

A concessive sense may be given to a clause by using the Persian expression *ba-wăjud-e ke*, the basic meaning of which 'despite the fact that', e.g.

(1)   *ba-wăjúd-e ké xastèna, ḥаštá kóna ta-pəlgá lelè.* 'Although I am tired, I shall work until midnight.'

(2) *ba-wăjúde ké ʾo kpinà-y,*| *là xíle.*| 'Although he was hungry, he did not eat.'

In these sentences, the truth of the situation expressed in the subordinate clause is not in question. The concessive sense is that the situation described in this clause might lead one to expect that the proposition of the main clause would be false but, in fact, this is not the case.

A conditional 'even if' construction is related, in that it indicates that the situation of the main clause is not expected to follow from the condition but nevertheless will do so. The difference from a concessive construction is that the truth of the protasis is not certain. In (3)–(4) this is expressed by an inclusive construction with the particle *-əč* (§11.2.):

(3) *ʾắgar-əč xastà hăwéna,*| *ḥastà kóna.*| 'Even if I were tired, I would work.'

(4) *ʾăgar-əč kpiná hăwèwa,*| *ʾixalá là xilá-y.*| 'Even if he was hungry, he did not eat the food.'

The Persian particle *măgar* 'perhaps' may be used to form concessive constructions, e.g.

(5) *mắgar rába naxòš xírăwe*| *yá rába na-raḥàt xírăwe*| *huláe kűle doqìwa.*| 'Even if somebody was very ill or was very unwell, all the Jews observed (the fast).' (B:44)

A concessive sense may be expressed by constructions with relative clauses containing generic heads such as (6)

(6) *pás har-čí ʾəṣrắr wílu là híya.*| 'Then, whatever insistence they made (= however much they insisted/although they insisted), she did not come.' (A:23)

13. THE LEXICON

The purpose of this chapter is to present inventories of lexical items arranged into various semantic fields in order to facilitate the comparison of the lexicon of Jewish Sanandaj with that of other NENA dialects.

The lexicon contains many loanwords from Kurdish and Persian, some of which are ultimately derived from other languages, especially Arabic. In the lists below the source language of the words are indicated insofar as this can be established. The proportion of loanwords in each semantic field is calculated on the basis of the lists.

13.1. THE HUMAN BODY

Total   80
Loanwords   15 (= 19%)

gyana (K)	'body'
reša	'head'
pərče	'hair (collective)'
məsta	'hair (individual item)'
ṣalma	'face'
babena	'forehead'
ʾena	'eye'
gəlke ʾena (K)	'pupil'
băurula ʾena	'white of the eye'
peḷa, pəḷka ʾena (K)	'eyelash'
xaṣa ʾena	'eyelid'
gwenya, gwenta (pl. *gwenye*)	'eyebrow'
poqa	'nose'
bəza poqa	'nostril'
bole	'nasal mucus, snot'
năḥala, năḥalta (pl. *năḥale*)	'ear'

laga/narma (K) *naḥala*	'earlobe'
gupa (pl. *gupe*)	'cheek'
pəma	'mouth'
spalta (pl. *spale*)	'lip'
səmbeḷe	'moustache'
kaka (pl. *kake*)	'tooth'
lišana	'tongue'
čănaga (K)	'jaw, chin'
balota	'throat'
qorqorata	'Adam's apple'
təf (K/P)	'spittle'
təqna, tqənta	'beard'
pqara, pqarta	'neck'
bar-pqara	'back of the neck
kăpana (pl. *kăpane*)	'shoulder'
kolaka-e ˀila (K), *qəṭra qoḷa* (K)	'elbow'
ˀila	'hand'
sita (pl. *siye*)	'span of the hand'
qoḷa (K)	'arm'
hangəḷta (K)	armpit
zbota (pl. *zbonye*)	'finger'
zbota rabta	'thumb'
gəlka (pl. *gəlke*) (K)	'index finger'
qənčəkla (pl. *qənčəkle*) (K)	'little finger'
təpra (pl. *təpre*)	'fingernail'
sənga (K)	'chest'
kasa	'stomach'
mămona	'breast'
kălăka (K)	'side, flank'
rana (pl. *rane*) (K)	'thigh'
xaṣa	'back'
šəra	'navel'
xana	'lap'
šərma	'fundament'
saqa	'shin'
bərka (pl. *bərke*)	'knee'
ˀaqla	'leg', 'foot'
txela ˀaqla	'bottom of the foot'
reša ˀaqla	'top of the foot'
garma ˀaqla	'ankle'

ʾăqolta	'heel'
məška	'skin'
ʾaraq (K < A)	'sweat'
čruk (P)*, xăte ṣalma*	'wrinkle'
garma	'bone'
tăpoqa reša (K)	'top of head'
moxa	'brain'
řag (K)	'vein'
dəma	'blood'
ləba	'heart'
dande (K)	'rib'
ḷaḷa	'lung'
koza	'liver'
kasa	'stomach'
miye	'long intestine'
maʿda (P < A)	'small intestine'
kulya (pl. *kulye*)	'kidney'
tăḥela	'spleen'
mărorta	gall-bladder
măra-mila	'penis'
guna	'penis of young boy'
quṭa	'vagina'
joḷe	'urine'
xəre	'excrement'

13.2. FAMILY RELATIONS

Total	43
Loanwords	9 (= 21%)

gora	'man, husband'
baxta	'woman, wife'
tata	'father'
daăka (K)	'mother'
ʾăxona	'brother'
xăləsta	'sister'
tata răwa	'grandfather'
daăka rabta (K)	'grandmother'
brona	'son, boy'
brata	'daughter, girl'

yala zora	'baby (m.)'
yalta zorta	'baby (f.)'
yale	'children'
mama	'paternal uncle'
ʾamta	'paternal aunt
lala	'maternal uncle'
ʾamta	'maternal aunt'
bar-ʾamona	'paternal cousin (m.)'
bar-ʾamta	'maternal cousin (m.)'
brata mama	'paternal cousin (f.)'
brata ʾamta	'maternal cousin (f.)'
temona	'wife of paternal uncle'
xəma	'father-in-law'
xmala	'mother-in-law'
xətna	'son-in-law'
kalda	'daughter-in-law'
ʾəlma	'brother of husband'
ʾilamla, ʾilalma	'wife of brother of husband'
seta	'sister of husband'
xətna, gora xăləsta	'husband of sister'
ʾat-xona	'wife of brother'
baxta lala	'wife of maternal uncle'
gora daăka, bawa pyara (K)	'step-father'
ʾat-e baba	'step-mother'
tayfa (P < A)	'family'
qawm-u kare (K/P < A)	'relatives, extended family'
jwānqa (K)	'young man'
brata jwān (K)	'young woman'
năwaga (pl. *năwage*) (K)	'grandson'
nawšar (pl. *nawšare*) (K)	'grandchildren'
ʾarməlda	'widow'
baxta la gəwra-y	'He is a bachelor'
gora la-wila-y	'She is a spinster'

13.3. NATURAL PHENOMENA

Total   13
Loanwords   5 (= 38%)

nəxla	'rain'
gargome	'thunder'
bərqa	'lightning'
talga	'snow'
yax (P)	'ice'
tarzăka (K)	'hail'
roxa	'wind'
tofān (P < A)	'storm'
šawnam (K)	'fog'
băurula	'light, brightness'
xəška	'darkness'
poxa	'shade'
zəlzəla (P)*, ryaṭa ʾăra*	'earthquake'

13.4. BASIC ATTRIBUTES

Total   35
Loanwords   10 (= 29%)

rŭwa	'big'
zora	'small'
yărixa	'long'
kərya	'short'
ntoa	'high'
koša	'low'
păṭuxa	'wide'
ʾiqa	'narrow'
šămina	'fat'
nəqla	'thin'
ʾəwya	'thick'
dăqiqa	'fine'
gurj, gwərj (K)	'fast'
yăwāš yăwāš (K)*, laqalaq* (K)	'slow'
ba-qəwta (K < A)	'strong'
be-qəwta (K < A)	'weak'

qurs (K)	'heavy'
qălula	'light'
răkixa	'soft'
səft (P)	'hard'
ʿayza	'good'
xriwa	'bad'
păṣixa, xoš-ḥāl (P)	'happy'
ləbef ʾiqa-y	'He is sad'
kpina	'hungry'
səḥya	'thirsty'
xəlya	'sweet'
mărira	'bitter'
ṣāf (P)	'smooth'
tălila	'wet'
wiša	'dry'
xămuṣa	'sour'
quḷ, qoḷa (K)	'deep'
jəhya	'tired'
tre gyane (K)	'pregnant'

13.5. COLOURS

Total   8
Loanwords   3 (= 38%)

xwara	'white'
koma	'black'
smoqa	'red'
yăruqa	'green'
zayra	'light yellow'
ʾabi (P)	'blue'
qənya	'turquoise'
qaway (K < A)	'brown'

13.6. VERBS RELATING TO BASIC ACTIVITIES

Total   22
Loanwords   5 (= 23%)

pea (K) *xira-y*	'He was born'
ryš I	'to wake up'
gny I	'to sleep'
pāḷ (K) *lpl* I	'to lie down'
xyp I	'to wash, bathe (man and woman)
sxy I	'to swim; to wash (total immersion)'
xll I	'to wash (an item, cothes)
jǝlef lǝwšile I	'He got dressed'
jǝlef šǝlxile I	'He undressed'
šql I	'to buy'
zbn II	'to sell'
mtw III	'to put (on solid surface)'
ʾila mtw III *b-, ʾila d⊘y b-, tqr b-*	'to touch'
dry I	'to put (into sth., onto liquid)'
nty I	'to take'
lbl II	'to take away'
fami-ye (P < A)	'I remember'
fami la-y, fami zil-o (P < A)	'I have forgotten'
čyr I	'to search'
tḥy I	'to find'
ḥqy I (K < A)	'to speak'
rwy I	'to grow up'

13.7. VERBS RELATING TO MOVEMENT

Total   18
Loanwords   0 (= 0%)

ʾzl	'to go'
hyy	'to come'
qym I	'to rise (human), to get up'
nty I, *nnty* Q	'to rise (inanimate, e.g. smoke)'
smx I	'to stand, to stop'
ʾsq I	'to ascend'
kwš I	'to descend'

ke loꜥa	'He enters, comes in'
mṯy I	'to arrive, to reach'
plṭ I	'to leave, to depart'
ꜣrq I	'to run'
ršx I	'to walk'
ꜣwr I, *prx* I	'to cross'
qarwa x∅r	'to approach, to get near'
prx I	'to fly'
nndy I	'to jump (up)'
prx I	'to jump (over)'
grš I	'to pull'

13.8. VERBS OF PERCEPTION

Total   8
Loanwords   2 (= 25%)

x∅y I	'to see'
m-ꜥyn I	'to look at'
tămaša (K) *ꜣwl*	'to watch
šmy I	'to hear'
m-ṣyl III	'to listen to'
tmꜥ I	'to taste'
ḥali (P < A) *xirna*	'I have understood'
m-ryx III	'to smell'

15.9. VERBS RELATING TO AGGRESSION

Total   11
Loanwords   4 (= 36%)

dbḥ I	'to slaughter'
qṭl I	'to kill, to beat'
dyq	'to crush, to beat, to injure'
d∅y I (K)	'to hit, to strike'
čăpala d∅y I (K)	'to slap'
ngz I	'to bite'
hanga dila bai/ꜣəli (K)	'a bee stung me'
črp I (K)	'to tear'
m-ndy III	'to demolish'

m-ʾrw III	'to destroy; to ruin'
ṭpy I	'to destroy

15.10 SOCIAL INTERACTION

*dàx-yet?*ˈ 'How are you?'
*ṭòb-yena,*ˈ *škùr*ˈ 'I am well, thanks.'
*brixà hăwét.*ˈ 'You are welcome.'
*brixà hiyét.*ˈ 'You are welcome.'
*ṭotà hiyét,*ˈ *rešá ʾenàn.*ˈ 'You are welcome, be our guest.'
*ʾəlhá manté pešét ta-ʾəmá-u ʾəsrì šəné.*ˈ 'God willing you will live to 120.'
*ʾəlhá manté ta-ʾəmá-u ʾəsrì šəné ʿámr holét.*ˈ 'God willing you will live to 120.'
*ʾəlhá hăwé mənòx.*ˈ 'God be with you.'
*ʾəlhá ʾəstòx dóq.*ˈ 'May God keep your (ms.) honour' (said to host after food).
*zaḥamtà grášlox.*ˈ 'You have taken trouble' (expression of thanks for a gift).
*pilét zaḥamtà.*ˈ 'You have taken trouble'.
*be-ʿenà hăwé.*ˈ 'May he be without the (evil) eye' (said of a beautiful child).

TEXTS

Informant A (Ḥabib Nurani)

A Wedding in Sanandaj

(1) ga-ʾaḥrá didàn⸌ ga-Sanandàj⸌ bráta-u broná mắgar xášti waxtărè⸌ ga-xášti tʷkè lóxle xắenwa.⸌ ʾáy lá-yele blané-u broné mangál ʾătà⸌ ʾazằd hăwén-u⸌ lóxle xắen-u,⸌ lóxle pasnì-u⸌ məntắke lóxle hezíwa waryá čəkmá mŭdắtè-u ta-ləxlé pasnì,⸌ ʾo-waxtắra xlulà holí. (2) ga-dokà⸌ táte-u daăkè⸌ bì-zoa⸌ ʾəntəxằb kolíwa⸌ mắni⸌ gorí ta-bronù.⸌ hìtwa⸌ bronăké həl-bratăké la-xewále ba-ʿamrèf,⸌ wắle čún tate-ú daăkăkè⸌ kəmríwa ʾéa ʿayztè-ya?⸌ bronăké-č qăbùl kólwa.⸌ (3) ba-mŭdằt-e ké⸌ bəxlé dasgiràn-yelu,⸌ bắz-ham rába baṣòr lóxle xắenwa.⸌ xəmé-u xmalè⸌ həl-kaldú la-xắenwa ʾəqrà,⸌ yáni kaldăké hăméša réšaf ksèwala.⸌ (4) ṣalmè doqáwa.⸌ ṣalmé lìtwala⸌ qắme xəmá-u xmalá ya-ʾăxóne dasgiranáf hiyá waryà.⸌ hăméša xa-čačằw ba-rešáf-yele⸌ yá lăčằgà ba-rešàf-yela,⸌ ta-zămắn-e ke-ʾanà xlulá wilí.⸌ (5) ʾaná wáxt-e xlulá wilì⸌ ga-Tarằn-yeli nóši.⸌ daăkí híya Tarằn⸌ kəmrá tá-ləma ləbá hitóx baxtá gorèt?⸌ xor-sərní rába là-yele.⸌ ʾanà⸌ ʾəsrí-u təlḥà šné-yeli⸌ xlùla wilí.⸌ ham-dárs qărènawa⸌ ham-ga-bánk ḥaštà konáwa.⸌ (6) daăkí hìya⸌ kəmrá gbé het-ó baqá ʾaḥrà.⸌ xa-bratá mətwali-ó baqòx⸌ rába zărìf,⸌ rába ʿayztà,⸌ mən-xanăwadè ʿayztá.⸌ familù rába ʿayzá-y⸌ ʾăxonàf ʿayzá.⸌ ʾăxonáf xa-duktàr-ye,⸌ ʾăxonáf duktár kakèle.⸌ xá ʾăxóna xetàf⸌ čəkmá šog̱l̥è hité.⸌ (7) măsălàn⸌ hamrónwa baqòx⸌ nàft zăbánwa,⸌ mašrùb zăbánwa.⸌ tʷkané rába hítwale⸌ híwale ba-ʾijarà.⸌ xá ʾambár rába rabtà hítwale⸌ zmằṭela tir-ʾahằn,⸌ ʾasèn⸌ zăbànwa.⸌ lùle zăbánwa.⸌ wăsáʾel-e saxtmanì zăbánwa.⸌ míri ṭòb⸌ morăxặ̣ṣi šaqná-u,⸌ ken-ò.⸌ ken-ó xằenaf.⸌

TEXTS

INFORMANT A (ḤABIB NURANI)

A Wedding in Sanandaj

(1) In our town, in Sanandaj, a girl and a boy perhaps sometimes, in some places would see each other. But it did not happen that, like now, the girls and boys were free to see one another and become fond of one another, or that they went out together for some time and chose one another, then got married. (2) There, the parents would generally choose who they married to their son. Sometimes the boy had never seen the girl in his life, but when the parents would say 'Is she good?', the boy would accept. (3) When they became betrothed, they still saw each other very little. The fathers-in-law and mothers-in-law did not see their bride very much, because the bride had always covered her head. (4) She was shy. She was shy to come out before her father-in-law and mother-in-law or the brother of her betrothed. There was always a robe on her head or there was a veil on her head, until the time that I married. (5) When I married, I myself was in Tehran. My mother came to Tehran and said 'When do you want to get married?', but I was still not very old. I was twenty-three when I married. I was both studying and also working in a bank. (6) My mother came and said 'You must return to the town (Sanandaj). I have arranged a girl for you, very pretty, very nice, from a good family. Their family is very good. Her brother is good. Her brother is a doctor.' Her brother was a dentist. 'Another brother of hers has several jobs.' (7) For example, I can tell you, he used to sell oil, he used to sell drinks. He had many shops, which he had rented out. He had a big warehouse, which was full of metal beams. He would sell iron. He sold pipes. He sold building materials. I said 'Fine, I'll take leave and come back. I'll come back and see her.'

(8) ja-qã́me d-èa ʾay-bratá daăkí hamrà꞊ xa-šatá ga-Kursằn-yeli꞊ xà yomá꞊ ʾay-baxtí ʾătá ya-xăetà꞊ xiyàli.꞊ (9) rásm ga-doká ʾăxà-yele.꞊ ga-yomà꞊ reš-šatà,꞊ baqa-xətnà꞊ mən-be-kaldá xwằn kwíwa.꞊ xwắn mà-yele?꞊ mən-taxtà trə́ṣwalu,꞊ xa-taxtá rŭwà.꞊ gáef širìn mătíwa,꞊ ləbằs mătíwa,꞊ jəlé ʿayzè mătíwa,꞊ kwíwalu baqá xətnăkè.꞊ rásm ba-d-áy jorà-yela.꞊ (10) dohól-u zorná lapláwa qằme.꞊ mən-belá xəmè,꞊ mən-belá xətnăkè,꞊ gezíwa ba-dohól ʾu-zorná mən-d-áy kují-u măḥălè,꞊ dăyáwa ʾəláf ta-gezíwa be-kaldà.꞊ gezíwa be-kaldà.꞊ yătìwa.꞊ xa-čằy šăténwa-u꞊ xánči ʾaràq šăténwa.꞊ (11) ʾo-waxtắra ʾaráq rába rasmì-yela.꞊ heštàn꞊ wəskí rába lìtwa.꞊ xwanăké kmenwalà-u꞊ gezíwa báqa béla nòšu.꞊ (12) ʾaxní jwanqé smíxəxwa ga-ḥawšà.꞊ xá-ʿəda jwanqé, băruxăwalí, smíxəxwa ga-ḥawšà.꞊ har-ʾăxá tămašà kolə́xwa.꞊ xá-ʿəda blanè꞊ smìxiwa.꞊ ʾo-waxtắra baté mangal-lăxá kəryé là-yelu.꞊ baté ntòe-yelu.꞊ ʾay-ʾotaqà꞊ ʾəqrá koštá là-yela.꞊ tre-ʾəqrà-yela꞊ ʾotaqáf.꞊ (13) ʾáy-ga xa-ṭăbăqá duwóm-yela šawyáwa măsălán ṭăbăqá haftóm-e lăxà.꞊ ʾay-ʾotáq čəkmá ntoté-ya ʾo-waxtắra ʾotaqé ʾəqrá ntòe-yelu.꞊ (14) mən-lằḥăl ʾo-xiyàli.꞊ míru ʾéa xăləstá Xanăkè-ya.꞊ šəmá ʾăxonáf Xanăkè-yele,꞊ ʾəlhá mănìxle.꞊ bróna rába ʿayzèk-yele,꞊ ràba.꞊ ʾéa xăləstá Xanăkè-ya.꞊ (15) ʾo-waxtắra Xanăká pìšwa,꞊ heštán mən-ʿolắm la-zìlwa.꞊ ʾaná mən-lằḥăl ʾo-xiyàli.꞊ ʾày-əč꞊ ʾo-waxtắra ʾaná ʾafsàr-yeli꞊ ga-Kurdəstằn.꞊ rásm d-èele꞊ ʾafsắrè꞊ ʾartèš꞊ rakwíwa susì.꞊ susì kwiwálu.꞊ (16) xa-náfar-əč mangál nokàr,꞊ xa-sarbàz,꞊ lăpə́lwa ba-šonéf réša susí xèt.꞊ susyăké mən-sarbāzxané kméwale qam-tărà,꞊ həl-didí markìuwa꞊ ta-hezn-ó báqa sarbāzxanè.꞊ ʾo-waxtắra mašiné ʾəqrá lìtwa,꞊ pás mən-susì ʾəstəfadá kolíwa.꞊ sarbāzxáne-č lằḥăl-yela,꞊ ga-ḥdúd təlḥà kilometré,꞊ ʾarbá kilometré ʾorxà-yela.꞊ (17) ʾaná xa-yomá réša susì-yeli꞊ ʾáy-u xăləstáf rád xằri,꞊ xăləstáf kəmrá baqằf꞊ ʾéa bróna Jằhằn-ye.꞊ šəmá daăkí Jằhằn-yele.꞊ kə́mra báqa baxtì꞊ kə́mra ʾéa bróna Jằhằn-ye.꞊ xirá-y ba-ʾafsàr.꞊ ʾáy-əč mírwala ʾəlhá šóqla ta-daăkèf꞊ ʾăjáb bronèk-ye꞊ ʾăjáb zărìf-ye.꞊ ʾo-waxtắra꞊ ʾána-č xiyalì.꞊

(8) Now, before my mother told (me about) this girl, one year when I was in Kurdistan, one day I saw this wife of mine whom you see (now). (9) The custom there was like this. On New Year's day they would give a table (of gifts) to the groom on behalf of the family of the bride. What was a 'table'? They made it out of a board, a large board. They put sweets in it, they put clothes in it, they put fine clothes in it, then gave it to the groom. The custom was like this. (10) The drum and pipe went in front. From the house of the parents-in-law, the house of the groom, they went with drum and pipe through the lanes and streets, (the music) playing until they arrived at the house of the bride. They went to the house of the bride and sat down. They drank tea and they drank some arak. (11) At that time arak was legal.[10] There was not yet much whisky. They brought the table (for the groom), then went to their homes. (12) We youngsters were standing in the courtyard. We, a few youngsters, my friends, were standing in the courtyard. We were just looking. A few girls were standing there. At that time houses were not low like here. Houses were high. The room there was not as low as this (room here). A room there[11] was twice (the height). (13) At that time what was the second floor was equivalent to, for example, the seventh floor here. While this room is as high as this, at that time the rooms were high like that. (14) I saw her from afar. They said 'That is the sister of Xanăka.' The name of her brother was Xanăka, may God grant him rest. He was a very fine lad. 'That is the sister of Xanăka.' (15) At that time Xanăka was alive, he had not yet passed away. I saw her from afar. She—once I was an officer in Kurdistan. It was the custom that officers, in the army, would ride on a horse. They would give them a horse. (16) Somebody like a servant, a soldier, would, moreover, follow him on another horse. He would bring the horse from the barracks to the door and would mount me (on the horse), (waiting) until I went back to the barracks. At that time there were not so many cars, so they would make use of a horse. The barracks were at a distance, around three or four kilometres away. (17) One day I was on a horse. She and her sister passed by and her sister said to her 'That is the son of Jăhān.' The name of my mother was Jăhān. She said to my wife, she said 'That is the son of Jăhān. He has become an officer.' She (I am told) said[12] 'May God preserve his mother, he is a wonderful boy, he is wonderfully handsome.' I saw her at that time.

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[10] Literally: official.

[11] Literally: its (i.e. of the Sanandaj) room.

[12] The *grašwale* form is used here with an evidential sense (§9.3.2. ii).

(18) daăkí-č híya báqa Tarᾱ̀n,│ míra baqì│ gbé het-ó ʾay-bratá goretà.│ míri ṭòb│ hár-či ʾắt kəmràt│ ʾána mătúna ba-réš ʾenì.│ hár-či ʾắt kəmrát qăbùl hití.│ ᴴʾázᴴ zìlawa│ mírwala baqá ʾăxonàf-u│ nóšaf là halbắta,│ xa-năfar-xét šᶜrwala baqá ʾăxonàf│ hămər kè│ ʾay-bronà│ həl-d-áy bratá gbè.│ ᴴʾázᴴ ʾoní-č qăbùl wílwalu.│ (19) ʾána xa-yomá hiyen-ò,│ zína dokà-u│ leléf-o zílex baqà│ širinì hămex-ó,│ xá-ᶜəda mən-našè│ qawmàn ké│ bi-zóa sənú ràba-yele,│ măsălàn│ ʾəšti-šᾱ̀nè,│ šoi-šᾱnè.│ ʾárba xamšá năfăré pílex ʾorxà-u│ zílex dokà,│ məntắke daăkì.│ ʾána tatí mən-ᶜolᾱ́m zìlwa│ qắme təlḥá-šəne qắme d-ò.│ tatí-u│ ʾăxoná rŭ̀wì,│ ʾay-ʾăxonì,│ ya-xắet ᶜakséf ga-lăxà-y,│ ʾó ʾəštá šoá šəné qắme-d-ea mən-ᶜolᾱ̀m zíl.│ (20) zílex dokà-u│ širiní híwlu baqàn│ ʾu-xét xíra ba-dasgiranì.│ xíra ba-dasgiranì,│ bóqătef-o qímna zína dokà.│ híya ga-balkonăkè,│ kəmrá baqì│ ba-lišaná bšəlmanè│ ᴷkèt gărăká?ᴷ│ yáni mᾱ̀ni gbet?│ ʾána-č mìri│ Mərzá Xănăká ga-belà-y?│ kəmrá ʾì.│ (21) ʾay-zílwala mírwala báqa Mórza Xănăkà,│ mírwala Mórza Xănăká xá-gora gbelòx.│ la-kắyan mᾱ̀ni-ye.│ Xănăká-č mən-panjărăkè mᶜine-ò│ həl-didí xèle.│ ʾá kŭ̀le dasgiranàx-ye!│ (22) ta-ʾăxá míre baqàf│ ʾáy ʾərqàla.│ xét ṣalmé lìtwala samxá lága didí ʾána xàènaf.│ ʾərqála zíla tíwa ga-xa-ʾotᾱ̀q.│ ta-nóšaf tărăké mázra ba-réša-nòšaf.│ tắra mázra ba-réša nòšaf│ zílawa tíwa ga-dokà.│ (23) bàr-d-o│ ʾána tìwna│ xa-čáy mélu baqì.│ là,│ šarbàt mélu baqí.│ xăləstá rábta šarbàt méla baqì.│ míri ʾána šarbát mən-ʾíla didáx là šăténa.│ gbén dasgiranì šarbát hámya baqì.│ pás har-čí ʾəṣrắr wílu là híya.│ ʾaxréf ba-zór miyàlun-u│ míri là šăténaf ʾána.│ (24) ja-rásm ʾăxà-yele│ xor-ʾay-bratá lá-xar ʾay-bronà xắya x-kà,│ maxṣuṣán wáxt-e ʾăxonăwaláf tiwèn.│ ṣalmè doqáwa.│ ᴴàzᴴ bár-d-o xét yăwᾱ̀š yăwᾱ̀š│ hìya,│ šarbătăké méla baqì│ ʾu-bár-d-o tíwa lagì-u│ xa-dána lăčăgá rabtá ba-rešàf-yela.│ rešáf ksèwala-u│ yăwᾱ́š mən-rešáf gəršàli│ šoḷtáli d-o-làg.│ (25) baqá-ʾawaḷ kăràt│ ʾána híyeli ga-Kursᾱ̀n.│ qắme didì│ hič-kás ʾay-ḥaštá la-wilawalè│ ké lăčăgá ba-rešá dasgiraní nătènef-o│ dasgiraní yătá lā-ʾilì.│

(18) My mother came to Tehran and said to me 'You must go back and marry this girl.' I said 'Fine. Whatever you say, I am willing to do. I agree (to do) whatever you say.' Then she (my mother) went and said to her (the girl's) brother—of course not she herself, she sent somebody else to her brother to say that the boy loves the girl. Then they agreed. (19) I returned one day and went there. On that very night we went to fetch the sweets,[13] a group of people, our relatives, who were mostly elderly, for example sixty or seventy years old. We set off, four or five people (in all) and went there, with my mother. My father had passed away three years previously, my father and my elder brother—this brother of mine whose picture you see here, he passed away six or seven years ago. (20) We went there and they gave us sweets, and then she became my betrothed. After she became my betrothed, the next morning I went there. She came onto the balcony and said to me in the language of the Muslims *kēt gărăka?*, i.e. 'Whom do you want?' I said 'Is Mərza Xănăka at home?' She said 'Yes.' (21) She went and said to Mərza Xănăka, she said 'Mərza Xănăka, a man wants you. I do not know who it is.' Xănăka looked out of the window and saw me. 'Oh, it is none other than your betrothed!' (22) When he said this to her, she fled. She no longer had confidence to stand by me, whilst I could see her. She fled and sat in a room. She closed the door behind her.[14] She closed the door behind her and went and sat there. (23) After that, I sat and they brought me tea. No, they brought me sherbet. The elder sister brought me sherbet. I said 'I shall not drink sherbet from your hand. I want my betrothed to bring sherbet to me.' Then, however much they insisted, she did not come. In the end they brought her by force. I said 'I shall not drink it (unless she serves me).' (24) Now, it was the custom that the girl should not yet see the boy, especially when her brothers are sitting (in the room). She was shy. Then after a while, she slowly came again, brought the sherbet to me and sat by me. A large veil was on her head. She had covered her head. I slowly pulled it from her head and threw it to one side. (25) I, for the first time, was able to do this in Kurdistan. Before me nobody had done such a thing, namely that I should take away the veil from the head of my betrothed and my betrothed should sit by my side.

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[13] Symbolic act signifying the agreement of the family of the bride to the betrothal.

[14] Literally: upon herself.

*(26) bàr-d-o˹ lelèf-o˹ daʿwát wílu mən-familàn˹ mən-xanăwadàn˹ mən-
ʾăxonì˹ mən-daăkì˹ ʾăxonà xéti,˹ mən-d-ó familí-č ya-hiyénwa baqá širní xoràn.˹
leléf daʿwatàn wilú,˹ ba-ʾəstá pa-gošà holì,˹ kəmríle pa-gošà.˹ ʾo-lelé xa-šắm
mfăṣál híwlu baqàn-u˹ ʾaná ʾo-lelé la-zìna-o belá,˹ ga-dokà gnèna.˹ (27) ta-
báqătef-o zina-ò.˹ qímna zína reš-Tarắn báqa réša ḥaštì,˹ čún gbéwa ham-dàrs
qăréna-u˹ ham-ḥaštà-hona ga-bánk.˹ bar-xa-mŭdát-xet daăkí híya ba-šoní ʾắxa
kòla˹ ʾắt taḥṣilóx timà-y˹ gbé het-ò˹ lagá ʾăxonòx.˹ ʾăxoní dawaxanè-hitwale,˹ ʾáy
ʾăxonì.˹ gbé het-ó məntăke d-ó komák holèt.˹ (28) tòb,˹ ʾána ḥášta bánk wèl
wilàli-u˹ hiyen-ó zína tíwna lagèf-u˹ bəxlé ḥaštá wilàn-u,˹ ḥaštán ʿayztà-yela-u˹
rába ʿayztà-yela-u.˹ ta-xlulà wilán. (29) xlulà wilán-u˹ g-ó waxtàra-č˹ tanhá xà
ʿăkắs hítwa˹ ʿáks nătéwa ga-Kursằn.˹ ʾaxní nóšan durbín ʿăkasì lítwalan.˹ ʾó ʿàkse
ntéle.˹ durbíne xét-əč lìtwa,˹ vìdyo.˹ ᴴʾázᴴ čəkmá ʿaksé ntenìlan,˹ ʾonyexáe píšen
báqa yādgarì.˹*

*(30) ja-ʾătà˹ ba-rajáʾ ba-xlulà hámna báqa didòx.˹ bar-d-áy širní xoràn˹ xa-
mŭdắt-e trè-yarxe,˹ təlḥà yarxé ṭùl gărəšwá.˹ hítwa xá-šata ṭùl gărə́šwa ké˹ gbén
xlulà holí.˹ gbéwa xá-ʿəda mən-náše pìre˹ xanăwadà˹ hezí baqà˹ xosté xlulà,˹ yáni
hamrí ʾijazá húlmu báqa xanăwadé kaldà˹ hamrí ʾijazá hùlmu˹ ke-ʾaxní xlulà
holéx.˹ (31) ʾóni-č xa-baṣór kəmríwa hàya-u˹ xánči nóšu doqìwala.˹ kəmríwa
hàya-x-kar,˹ palăpál la-holmù.˹ là,˹ xet-bronăké rəwyà-y,˹ bratăké rwitè-ya-u˹ gbé
xlulà holí.˹ (32) pás ʾijazá xlulá kwìwa.˹ ʾé kəmríwale xostè xlulá.˹ ʾé m-ʾawaḷàf.˹
bar-d-èa˹ ʾijazá wilwalù,˹ gbéwa xa-širní xorắn-e mfăṣàl doqí˹ širní hăwi-ò.˹ (33)
rába famíl daʿwát kolìwale.˹ gezóxwa báqa širní xoràn.˹ ṭăbăqé rŭwè hítwa˹
kəmríwalu xwằn.˹ ba-kurdí bšəlmané-č kəmríwale xwānčà.˹ ga-d-èəč˹ širìn
mătíwa-u˹ klučè-u la-kắena,˹ ʾābnăbatè-u˹ nuqlè-u.˹ kŭle məndixanè˹ kŭle məndíx
kè˹ širìn hăwé,˹ xəlyà-hăwe.˹ ʾéa mărasém-e širné xoràn-yela.˹*

(26) Then, in the evening, they invited our family, my brother, my mother, my other brother, my family members who had come to 'eat the sweets' (at the betrothal). In the evening they invited us to honour us by performing the 'stretching of the leg', they call it 'stretching of the leg.'[15] That night they gave us a copious dinner. I did not go back home that night but rather I slept there. (27) In the morning I went back. I set off and went to Tehran for my work, because I had both to study and to work in a bank. After a while my mother came after me and says[16] 'Your studies are finished, you must return to your brother.' My brother had a pharmacy—this brother of mine.[17] 'You must come back and help him.' (28) So, I stopped the work in the bank and I went back and stayed with him. We worked together. We worked together very well, very well. (This continued) until we held the wedding. (29) When we held the wedding, at that time there was only one photographer who took photographs in Kurdistan. We ourselves did not have a photography camera. He took photographs. There were no other cameras (and no) video. We took a few photographs and they have remained as a reminder (of the event).

(30) Now, let me tell you about a wedding. After the 'eating of sweets', a period of two months or three months would pass. Sometimes a year would pass before they wanted to hold the wedding. A few senior people of the family had to go to request the marriage, that is to say to the family of the bride 'Give permission, give permission for us to hold the wedding.' (31) They (the family of the bride) would say 'It is a little too soon' and would be rather reluctant (to give their permission). They would say 'It is still too soon, do not rush.' (The family of the groom would say) 'No, the boy is already grown-up, the girl is grown-up. They must marry.' (32) Then they gave permission for the wedding. They called that the 'request of the wedding.' This (is what happened) at first. After they had given their permission, they had to hold a big ceremony of 'eating the sweets' and distribute sweets. (33) They would invite a lot of family and we would go to the 'eating of the sweets.' There were big trays which they called (in Farsi) *xwān* ('table'). In the Kurdish of the Muslims it was called *xwānča*. In this they put sweets, cakes and I don't know what, sugar candies, confectionary. Everything, everything that was sweet. This was the ceremony of the 'eating of the sweets' (betrothal).

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[15] Giving the right of the groom to enter the house.
[16] Literally: She does thus.
[17] The informant points to a picture of his brother on the wall.

(34) bár-d-o gezìwa⎮ bár-d-ea ke-xostá xlulá wilwalù,⎮ xèta kolíwa⎮ mà kəmríwale⎮ háft-e xlulà?⎮ ʾilá dwaqà.⎮ kəmríwale ʾilá dwaqà.⎮ (35) xá-ʿəda jwanqé daʿwát kolìwa⎮ məntắke xətnăké ta-yóma yắtiwa,⎮ naqlíwa-u nandènwa-u.⎮ dearà dắenwa ʾálef-u,⎮ šắbubà dắenwale,⎮ ta-yomà.⎮ ʾéa ʾilá dwaqà-yela. (36) bár ʾilá dwaqà⎮ kaldá gbéwa lablíwa ḥămằm.⎮ ʾənšè.⎮ ʾo-waxtắra xor-ḥămằm lítwa ga-belá.⎮ ḥămắm ʿămumì-yela⎮ mangál ḥămắm-e turkì-ya⎮ ʾắgar xiyăwelòx.⎮ gezíwa báqa ḥămằm.⎮ (37) ḥămắm-e turkí mà-jor-ila?⎮ lăxà⎮ ʾotằq-ila,⎮ tré təlḥá ʾəqrá lăxà.⎮ šerè,⎮ šeré màe-hitwa,⎮ máe šăxinè.⎮ tùn hitwalá.⎮ ḥămamăké mašxniwalà.⎮ mən-d-ó šeré dărénwa ga-tằs.⎮ máe dărénwa ba-rešù.⎮ (38) ləfkà garšíwa,⎮ kəstà garšíwa.⎮ pašòr garšíwa ga-ʾaqlú.⎮ xa-pašór képa komtà-yela.⎮ kménwala ga-txéla ʾaqlù⎮ ke-ʾaqlú ṣằf xắri.⎮ nimašorà dắenwa ba-ṣalmù,⎮ báqa ṣalmú ʿayzà hăwé.⎮ ḥănà doqíwa ba-rešù.⎮ rasí rajáʾ ba-ḥăná-č là-ḥqelan.⎮ ʾéa ḥămắm zalù-yele.⎮ (39) bár-d-o kenwá-o be-kaldà.⎮ ga-dokà⎮ năhằr kwíwalu.⎮ rajáʾ ba-ḥănabandàn lá ḥqéli baqóx.⎮ ḥănabandàn-əč⎮ ʾarbá xamšá yomé qằme xlulá yelá.⎮ ya-trè-yome qằme xlulá yelá.⎮ tré-yome qằme xlulá yelá.⎮ (40) gbéwa xá-ʿəda mən-bé xətnà⎮ ḥắna doqi-ò.⎮ ḥăna xa-məndìx-ye⎮ xá mən-măwád-e giyahì-ye.⎮ mən-ʾilanà doqilé.⎮ xa-məndìx-ye⎮ ké pərčé komà kolú.⎮ măwád-e tăbiʾì-ye⎮ lá mangál d-áy rangé ya-ʾắta hìt.⎮ măwád-e tăbiʾí-ye doqíwale ga-rešù.⎮ (41) gbéwa be-xətnà⎮ xá-ʿəda ʾənšé-u jwanqé hezì⎮ ḥăná doqí ga-rešá kaldăkè.⎮ ga-rešá-e kaldà,⎮ ḥănabandàn qărénwala,⎮ guranì-hitwa b-šəmá ḥănabandàn.⎮ (42) bar-ḥănabandán xlulà-yela.⎮ lelé xlulà⎮ mən-be-xətnà⎮ ʾo-našé ya-daʿwàt kolíwalu,⎮ familù yelú,⎮ băruxù-yelu.⎮ hawkằr-yelu,⎮ kắle daʿwát kolìwalu.⎮ (43) šămáš-e kništà⎮ gezálwa susì kméwa.⎮ ʾay-susí qăšáng marzənwale-ò.⎮ yaráq dăèlwa báef.⎮ parčané ʿayzé dăélwa ba-susiyăkè.⎮ qăšáng marzənwale-ò.⎮ xa-jắm dăélwa qám babenèf.⎮

(34) Afterwards, after they had performed the 'request of the wedding', they did something, what was it called, the week of the wedding? — 'the joining of hands.' It was called 'the joining of hands.' (35) They would invite several young men and they would sit with the groom for the day, dance and jig. They would beat the tambourine and play the pipe for a day. This was 'the joining of hands.' (36) After 'the joining of hands,' they had to take the bride to the bath. At that time there was still no bathroom in the house. The bath was public, like a Turkish bath, if you have seen one. They would go to the bath. (37) What is a Turkish bath like? There is a room here, two or three rooms like this here. Taps, there were water taps, hot water. It had a furnace. They used to heat the bath. From the taps they put (the water) in a jug. They poured the water over themselves. (38) They scrubbed with a loofah. They scrubbed with a bag (of soap). They scrubbed with a *pašor* ('foot washer') on their feet. A 'foot washer' was a black stone. They applied it to the bottom of their feet so that they would become smooth. They put cleansing mud on their face, in order to treat[18] their face. They put henna on themselves. In fact, we have not talked yet about henna. This was (the custom of) their going to the bath. (39) Afterwards they came back to the house of the bride. There they gave them lunch. I have not told you about the henna ceremony. The henna ceremony was four or five days before the wedding, or it was two days before the wedding. It was two days before the wedding. (40) A group of people from the groom's family had to obtain henna. Henna is something, it is a herbal substance. They obtain it from a tree. It is a thing that makes hair black. It is a natural substance, not like the colours that there are nowadays. It is a natural substance that they put on their head. (41) The family of the groom, a group of women and young people, had to go and put henna on the head of the bride. (They put henna) on the head of the bride, and sang the *ḥǎnabandan* to her, there was a song called *ḥǎnabandan*. (42) After the *ḥǎnabandan* came the wedding. The people whom they invited on the night of the wedding from the family of the groom were relatives, were friends, were work colleagues—they invited them all. (43) The beadle of the synagogue went to fetch a horse. He decorated the horse beautifully. He put a decorative cover on it. He put fine materials on the horse. He decorated it beautifully. He put a mirror in front of its forehead.

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[18] Literally: be good to.

(44) mənt̆ắke d-áy našé ba-dohól-u zornà˺ gezíwa baqá kaldá hămeníla be-
xətnà˺ mən-d-áy kují-u mắ꜄ắlè˺ ˀo-waxtắra xór xiyabané ˀəqrà-litwa.˺ k̆ŭlé kují-u
mắ꜄ắlè-yelu˺ ga-pliyáw maxṣuṣàn˺ mắ꜄ắlé didàn,˺ mắ꜄ắlé yắhuɖì,˺ hulaé ga-
dokà-yelu.˺ k̆ŭle hulaé lā-lə̀xle yelú.˺ (45) ˀay-našé b-ay-kujắwáe gezìwa-u˺ dohól
ˀu-zorná dắyáwa ˀəlàf-u˺ ˀáy našé ya-ga-ˀáy kují yelù˺ k̆ŭle˺ qalá d-áy zorná
šắmenwalè˺ kénwa waryà.˺ ga-tắra ꜄awšú samxìwa.˺ jắm kménwa ba-qám
kaldá-u xətnà.˺ ˀəqrá ˀə̆htərắm-e lə́xle doqìwa.˺ (46) gezáxwa be-kaldà.˺ kaldá
kménwala tèx.˺ markwíwala həl-d-ó susì.˺ bằz-ham˺ ba-dohól-u zornà˺ ˀay-našè˺
xá-ʕəda píle m-qằmaf˺ xá-ʕəda píle m-bàraf,˺ ba-dohól-u zorná lablíwala be-
xətnà.˺ (47) ˀátá ga-be-xətnà˺ tárz-e qədúš ˀắxà-yele˺ ke-xá-dana pardá doqìwa-u˺
g-o-dimàf˺ kaldá-u xətná samxì g-ay-lág-əč našé samxìwa.˺ (48) ˀo-waxtằra˺
ʰxaxámʰ-e kništàn,˺ ˀəlhá mănìxle,˺ kəmrìwale Xắ꜄ifá Mixaˀèl,˺ Mixáˀel Dăyanì,˺
ˀəlhá mănìxle,˺ ˀó kwéwale kắtuwắkè,˺ kắlúwala ba-xắt-e nòšef.˺ kméwala ga-
dokà,˺ qárèwala-u˺ kmə́rwa xətná čəkmá kwə́l báqa kaldắkè,˺ kaldắké mà hitá.˺
k̆ŭle kalwìwale-u˺ pirè˺ gbéwa ˀemzà holiwalá.˺ (49) bar-d-èa˺ ˀay-mărasám tìm,˺
našé gezíwa-o belà-u˺ hár-kắsu gezálwa béla nòšef-u˺ kaldá-u xətná pišìwa˺
gezíwa ga-pardà.˺ (50) bəqàtà-č˺ gbé paxasù˺ hezà˺ ˀay-stačé băkarằt-e d-ay-
kaldà˺ lablálu báqa tata-u-daăkà˺ wa-maxwíwala našé xét-əč ke-ga-dokèn˺ ke-
ˀắlén ˀay-bratà˺ bătulà xirté-ya,˺ bratulà xirlála.˺ be-bătulá lá xirtè-ya.˺ rasmán
ˀắxà-yele.˺ ˀătá ga-lắxá lá bătulà baqrí-u˺ là-hitu.˺ qằme d-ó-č xlúla holì˺ k̆ŭle be-
bătulà-yen.˺ (51) bàr-d-o˺ léle ˀáʂər-e šăbàt.˺ léle rotá xlulá xărawà,˺ lelé šăbàt˺
gbéwa xətná hezl-ó be-kaldắkè˺ ga-dokà˺ xăletèf holí.˺ xăletéf xa-dăsá ləbằs-yele,˺
krawàt,˺ surà.˺ (52) ləbắs ʕayzé šaqlíwa baqèf-u˺ mătíwale ga-xa-xwằn-u˺ ga-
doká yằtìwa,˺ ˀaràq šătéwa-u˺ mazzà kəxlíwa-u˺ ˀáy-ka dolá-u zorná là lablíwa,˺
dearè lablíwa,˺ deará šằbubà.˺ ga-doká xánči naqlìwa-u,˺ har-kắsu gezálwa béla
nòšef.˺ (53) tá beqáta šăbàt.˺ bə́qata šăbát gbé famíl hé belá xətnà,˺ xətná lăbál
báqa kništà.˺ jám˺ xărìwa-u˺ ba-dolá-u zorná lablíwale kništà.˺ bár-d-ea kništà-č
timá,˺ băraxà mirú,˺ k̆ŭle zíli băraxá sefár mirù,˺ kníšta tèma,˺ kén-o béla bằz-
ham ba-dohól-u zornà.˺

(44) The people went with it with drum and pipe to the bride to bring her to the house of the groom, through the alleys and streets—at that time there were not so many roads. They were all lanes and streets, especially within our streets, the Jewish streets, where the Jews were. All the Jews were (living) side by side. (45) The people went along these lanes. The drum and pipe were played. All the people who were in the lane and heard the sound of the pipe would come outside and stand at the door of their courtyard. They brought a mirror to the bride and groom. They had such respect for one another. (46) We would go to the house of the bride. They brought the bride down. They mounted the bride on the horse. (Then) also with the drum and pipe, the people took her to the house of the groom with the drum and pipe, some in front of her and some behind. (47) Now, at the house of the groom, the method of consecration was as follows. They would draw a curtain. On one side of it stood the bride and groom and on the other side stood the people. (48) Then the rabbi of our synagogue—may God grant him rest, he was called Xălifa Mixaʾel, Mixaʾel Dăyani, may God grant him rest—he had the marriage contract which he wrote with his own hand. He would bring it there and read it and say how much the groom would give to the bride and how much the bride had. They would write everything down and the elders had to sign it. (49) After that, when the ceremony had finished, people went home, each person going to his own home. The bride and groom remained and went behind the curtain. (50) In the morning the 'woman inspector' had to go and take the 'sheets of virginity' of the bride to the parents. They would show it to other people who were there so that they would know that the girl had been a virgin, she had had virginity, she had not been a non-virgin. Our tradition was like that. Now here they do not require a virgin, they do not have (them). Before they marry, they are all non-virgins. (51) Afterwards, on the eve of Sabbath—the wedding took place on Friday—on the eve of Sabbath the groom had to go back to the bride's home in order for them to give him there his gift. His gift was a set of clothes, a tie, a shirt. (52) They bought fine clothes for him and put them in a chest. They sat there and drank arak. They ate snacks. At that time they did not bring the drum and pipe, they brought tambourines, the tambourine and flute. They danced there a little, then everybody went home. (53) Until the morning of Sabbath—on the morning of Sabbath the family had to come to the house of the groom and take the groom to the synagogue. They would gather and would take him to the synagogue with the drum and pipe. After the synagogue had finished and they had said the blessing, everybody had gone and said the blessing on the Torah—the synagogue finishes and they go home again with the drum and pipe.

(54) xətná kménwale-o béla nošù.│ ta-ʾàṣər│ ʾay-dohól-u zorná ga-ʾay-ḥawšá dăènwa.│ ḥắwəš hìtwa,│ ḥawšé rŭwè.│ g-áy ḥawšá dăénwa ʾəlàf-u│ jwanqé-u piré-u ʾənšé-u guré-u ʾăméta kŭle naqḷìwa.│ ʾaráq šătènwa-u│ naqḷìwa.│ kŭle màst-yelu.│ (55) zəndəgí rába rába băsimà-yele.│ ʾătá zəndəgí rába sadà xirá-y.│ našé rába tắqalà lá dăénwa,│ rába hə́rs-u jáw litwálu báqa puḷè.│ ʾătá kŭle ʿolắm xirté-ya puḷè.│ hár-kas bi-zóa hăwéle bíš ʿayzà-y.│ ga-dokà│ rába našè│ rába hamrét daw-lamán hăwèn,│ dawlamán là-yelu.│ hár-kăsu pəška-nóšef hìtwale.│ (56) zəndəgí ʿayzà kolíwa│ zəndəgyú xărắb là-yele.│ zəndəgí sadà-yele.│ ʾay-moblamán-u ʾasxá lìtwalan ʾáxni.│ ʾay-méz lìtwalan.│ ʾaxnì│ fàrš rába hítwalan,│ qaḷiyè.│ qaḷiyé mandéxwalu rešá ʾărà.│ pəštì hítwalan│ dăéxwalu ba-guzà.│ došăké ʿayzé mandéxwa rešá ʾărà,│ yătéxwa réš ằra│ b-áy jorà.│ ʾătá har-lá-giz la-kélox yắtət ʾăxà.│

Festivals

(57) pătirè│ ʾaná daʿwát konóx lelé pătiré hál lăxà!│ ᴴmən-axareᴴ Purìm,│ Lelangè kəmrex-ʾàxni,│ našè,│ ʾənšé-u gurè│ hár-kas hewalè│ ga-belá yătìwa│ tămisì dóqwa.│ belăké gbé tămắm tamíz holìle,│ gard-u-xakéf doqìle,│ qaḷiyé napṣì,│ došăké napṣì,│ belá holíle ba-jắm báqa pătirè.│ ʾéa ʾăwắlèf.│ (58) bàr-d-o│ gbéwa hezíwa zărá šaqlì,│ zărắké hămènwale-o│ ga-béla dána dána găbènwale,│ tămíz holìwale.│ nóšu lablíwale ʾorxèl.│ (59) ga-dóka ʾorxél reš-kepè-yelu,│ tre-képe réša lə̀xle.│ máe mən-láʿel kénwa tèx.│ păré ba-taxtè-hitwa.│ ʾay-păré măčiriwalu-ò,│ ba-fəšár-e d-o-màe│ ʾay-harà│ ʾo-kepé tre-kepé kəmríwalu harà,│ čeriwà-u│ ʾay-zărà│ ṭaxnìwale│ kolíwale ba-qamxà.│ (60) lá-hezi qámxa šaqlì,│ qámxa ké kašér la-hăwè.│ gbé zărà│ nóšu tarṣìle,│ nóšu tamíz holìle,│ nóšu ṭaxnìle,│ ləxmá ʰpèsaxʰ holí gaéf,│ maṣṣá tarṣì,│ kašèr hăwé.│

(54) They brought the groom to their house. Until evening they played the drum and pipe in the courtyard. There was a courtyard, (there were) big courtyards. They beat the drum[19] in the courtyard and young and old, women and men all danced together. They drank arak and danced. They were all drunk. (55) Life was very very pleasant. Now life has become very easy. People (then) did not exert themselves. They did not have much yearning for money. Now the whole world has become money. Everybody who has more is (considered) better. There you would think that many people were rich, but they were not rich. Every one of them had enough for himself. (56) They led a good life, their life was not bad. Life was simple. We did not have this furniture and the like. We did not have (things) like this table, etc. But we had a lot of bedding and carpets. We would spread out carpets on the floor. We had a back-support, which we put on the wall. We spread out good mattresses on the ground and sat on the ground in this way. Now you could never sit like that.

Festivals

(57) Passover—I invite you to come here on the eve of Passover! After Purim—we call it Lelange—people, women and men, everybody who could, would stay in the house and do cleaning. They had to make the whole house clean, remove the dust, shake the carpets, shake the mattresses, in order to make the house into a mirror for Passover.[20] This is the beginning.[21] (58) Afterwards they had to go and buy wheat, bring the wheat back, sort it grain by grain in the house and clean it. They would themselves take it to the mill. (59) There the (grinding by) mill was on two stones, two stones on top of one another. Water would come down from above. There were propellers made of wood. It (the water) would turn the propellers. By the pressure of the water, the grindstones—the stones, the two stones were called grindstones—would turn and grind the wheat, make it into flour. (60) They would not go and buy flour, flour that was not kosher. They had to make flour themselves, clean it themselves, grind it themselves, make Passover bread with it, make unleavened bread, so that it would be kosher.

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[19] Literally: They beat on it.
[20] I.e. as clean as a mirror.
[21] Literally: This is its beginning.

(61) léle pătirè,ˈ léle pătiré yătíwa baqá pəsḥà.ˈ pəsḥá pashìwa.ˈ kűle našé ʾăgadà qarénwala,ˈ ham-gurè,ˈ ham-yalè.ˈ bàr-d-oˈ yătìwaˈ ʾarbá băraxòtˈ ʾarbá pyaḷé šătènwa,ˈ băraxá kəmrìwa.ˈ čəkma məndixané ké gbé hamrí băraxà,ˈ pəsrá rešà-yele,ˈ ḥălìq-yela,ˈ ḥălìq tarṣíwa.ˈ (62) ga-ʾIrànˈ ya-ga-tămắm-e mamlăkăté ke-xarə̀j m-Israyel-yénˈ léle pătiré trè lelé-ya.ˈ b-Israyél xà lelé-ya.ˈ ʾonyexáe ya-ga-golà-yenˈ yáni xárəj m-ʾIsráyəl-yen trè lelé doqíla.ˈ ʾaxnì-čˈ trè lelé doqə́xwala.ˈ

(63) bár-d-o kyáwa lelé réša šatà.ˈ ʾo-lelè-čˈ pəsrá tìm,ˈ məšxà kəxlíwa.ˈ ga-tămắm ʾay-haftàˈ ké pătiré xirtè-ya,ˈ šóa yomèˈ hìč-kasˈ ᴴdəvréᴴ xalwá là kxə́lwa.ˈ hìč kas,ˈ čún ʾáxni nóšan là kewalánˈ xalwăké hămèxile,ˈ lá tarṣèxile.ˈ (64) kəmrèxwaˈ ʾay-našèˈ ʾay-bšəlmanèˈ ke-xálwa zábni ta-didànˈ ʾay-xalwàˈ mən-d-ó tortàˈ yá mən-d-ó ʾərbá dəwqà-yˈ ga-xa-pătiḷà dəwqá-yˈ ké pătiḷăké mumkə́n-ye pəsrá bəšlăwélu gàef.ˈ pas-ʾéa baqa-dídan kašér là-y.ˈ ʾaxní g-o-mŭdắt-e tămàmefˈ ᴴdəvré xaláwᴴ là kəxlóxwaˈ hìč,ˈ ta-lelé reš-šatà.ˈ (65) léle reš-šatá xa-səfrá šăwénwa rŭwà,ˈ mən-d-ày-lag reš-ay-belàˈ ta-reš-o-belá.ˈ xanăwadéˈ yătìwaˈ naší daʿwát kolìwa.ˈ duxwà tarṣíwa.ˈ haḷwà tarṣíwa.ˈ xurma-u-rùn tarṣíwa.ˈ dušà mătíwa.ˈ kărà mătíwa.ˈ guptà mătíwa.ˈ mastà mătíwa.ˈ ʾənyexáe kűle mătíwalu tămắm-e réša səfrá zamṭíwa mən-d-ay-jóra məndixàne.ˈ

(66) ləxmàˈ hàr-kasˈ ga-təlḥà xanăwadé,ˈ ʾarbà xanăwadè ḥatmán ga-belə̀fˈ tănurà-hitwa.ˈ čəkmá lelé qắme pătirèˈ baxtá hulálta hìtwaˈ kyàwaˈ ləxmăké ko-lawalè-o.ˈ náše ʾo-belá nóšu komăkáf kolìwa.ˈ (67) ləxmăké koliwàle-o,ˈ xa-báxta xét dăyáwale ba-tănurà.ˈ tănurăké ba-ṣiwè malqíwala.ˈ ləxmá koliwale-ò,ˈ šaṭxiwale-ò,ˈ ráq xàrwa ta-léle pătirè.ˈ hìč-kas ləxmá bazár là šăqə́lwa ba-pătiré.ˈ hìč-kas,ˈ kűle maṣṣáe belà kolíwa.ˈ (68) ba-d-ó mudàtàˈ ga-d-ó šoa-yomèˈ lá guptà,ˈ lá mastàˈ hár-či ké mən-xalwá-yele lá kəxlèxwale.ˈ

(61) On the eve of Passover, on the eve of Passover they would sit for the purpose of the Passover ceremony. They performed the Passover ceremony. Everybody read the Aggadah, both men and children. Then they would sit, four blessings—they would drink four cups and say the blessing. There were several things over which they had to say a blessing, whether it was the meat of the head, the *ḥaroset* (mixture of nuts, dates and sesame). (62) In Iran, or in all the countries that are outside of Israel, the night of Passover is two nights, but in Israel it is one night. Those who are in the exile, that is outside of Israel, celebrate it for two nights. We also celebrated it for two nights.

(63) After that came New Year's Eve. On that night the meat was finished and they used to eat dairy food. During the whole of the week of Passover,[22] seven days, nobody ate dairy products, nobody, because we could not fetch milk ourselves or prepare it. (64) We would say those people, those Muslims, who sell milk to us, have taken the milk from the cow or from the sheep and have kept it in a container in which they may have cooked meat. So this for us was not kosher. During the whole period we did not eat milk products, nothing, until New Year's Eve. (65) On New Year's Eve we spread out a large cloth, from this side, on this (side of) the house, to that (side of) the house. The family would sit, they would invite people. They made *duxwa*.[23] They made sweets. They made dates and egg. They put out honey. They put out butter. They put out cheese. They put out yoghurt. They put all these things out and filled the whole surface of the cloth with such things.

(66) As for bread—in (every) three families, in (every) four families there was sure to be somebody who had an oven in his house. A few days before Passover, there was a Jewish woman who came and opened out the bread (dough). The people of the house helped her. (67) They opened out the bread and another woman put it onto (the sides of) the oven. They heated the oven with wood. They opened out and spread out the bread, and it (dried and) became stiff (and was kept like this) until the eve of Passover. Nobody bought bread in the market at Passover. Nobody. Everybody made unleavened bread at home. (68) At that period, on those seven days (of Passover), we did not eat cheese, yoghurt or anything that was made from milk.

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[22] Literally: During the whole week in which Passover had taken place.
[23] Dish made from rice and yoghurt.

Professions of the Jews

(69) šoǧlé báqa hulaè⌐ rábau parča-frɔ̀š-yelu.⌐ rába ʿătarì hítwa.⌐ xărazi-frɔ̀š hítwa.⌐ dawaxanadằr hítwa.⌐ duktərè rába hítwalan.⌐ tajərè hítwalan⌐ jɔ̀ns kménwa⌐ zabníwa báqa parča-frɔ̀še.⌐ (70) ʾárz hăwé ba-xzəmtòx.⌐ duktəré kakè hitwalán.⌐ zargàr rába hitwalán,⌐ zargàr,⌐ ʾonyexáe ya-dewà⌐ pašri-ò,⌐ déwa tarṣì.⌐ xa-ʾədá hitwalán ké kəmríwalu čarčì.⌐ čarčí ʾò-yele⌐ ya-ʾaspằl mătúwa réša xmarà⌐ rešá susì⌐ maxṣuṣán parčanè,⌐ lablíwalu ga-malăwàe⌐ zabnìwalu.⌐

Houses

(71) belè⌐ kǔle náša béla jyà hítwale.⌐ mangál lăxà⌐ ʾapartmáne là-yela.⌐ hár-kas béla nòšef,⌐ ya-trè ṭăbăqé,⌐ ya-təlḥà ṭăbăqé,⌐ ya-xà ṭăbăqá.⌐ təlḥà-bate g-ay-belá,⌐ xámša báte g-ay-belà.⌐ ga-lăxá ʾəsrí-u ʾarbá belèn.⌐ (72) lìtwa ga-doká.⌐ kǔle⌐ xà ṭăbăqá⌐ yá trè ṭăbăqé,⌐ wằle⌐ kǔle-č ḥawšà hítwalu.⌐ ga-ḥawšú ʾilanè-hitwa,⌐ ʾilané mewà,⌐ yá xămušè,⌐ maxṣuṣàn⌐ băṣíre ràba hítwa ga-ḥáwša našé.⌐ kəmríwa băṣiré ʾaṣlán băraxà hitú.⌐ kǔle náše ḥắz kolíwale belù⌐ ʾilané băṣirè hăwé.⌐

Rabbis

(73) ga-dokà⌐ kúl yomá pəsrà-hitwa,⌐ pəsrá tazà.⌐ rabàn⌐ ráb-e kništàn⌐ ham-ràb-yele,⌐ hám torà qăréwa,⌐ hám miḷà kólwa,⌐ wa-hám šoḥèṭ-yele.⌐ ʾáy gbéwa hezə́l baqá xá-tʷka kəmríwala qă̆ṣābxanà,⌐ yáni ga-d-ó-tʷka ya-toryú ʾərbú ʾonyexáe dabḥi-ò,⌐ gbéwa hezə́lwa ga-dóka nóšef dăbəḥwalu-ò.⌐ xă̆ewa ʾay-ḥaywắn ké dabḥile-ò⌐ ṭărefá là hăwé.⌐ (74) qă̆ṣắb hítwalan b-šəmá ʾAziz-Xằn.⌐ hulàa-yele.⌐ ʾó pəsrăké kméwale ga-tʷkanè.⌐ hár-kas gezə́lwa ba-ʾănazé nòšef,⌐ xa-năfàr-ye,⌐ trè năfărén,⌐ təlḥà năfărén,⌐ ʾarbà năfărén g-o-belà⌐ ba-ʾănazé nóšu pəsrá šaqlìwa.⌐

Professions of the Jews

(69) As for the professions for the Jews, most of them were cloth-sellers. There were many grocers and haberdashers. There were owners of pharmacies. We had many doctors. We had merchants who brought clothes and sold them to the cloth-sellers. (70) Let me say to you,[24] we had dentists. We had many goldsmiths—goldsmiths, those people who would smelt gold and make gold. We had a few who were called 'peddlers.' A peddler was somebody who put goods on a donkey or on a horse, especially fabrics, and took them to the villages to sell them.

Houses

(71) As for houses, everybody had a separate house. It was not like here (where there are) apartments. Everybody was in his own house, with either two floors, three floors or one floor. (There were) three homes in this house, five homes in this house. But here (the buildings) consist of twenty-four homes. (72) There was (nothing like this) there. Everything was one floor or two floors, and they all had a courtyard. In their courtyard there were trees, fruit trees, either apple trees—there were especially many grapes in the courtyard of people. They would say that grapes in particular brought blessing.[25] Everybody wanted there to be grape vines in their home.

Rabbis

(73) There, every day there was meat, fresh meat. Our rabbi, the rabbi of our synagogue—he was a rabbi, he read the Torah, he performed circumcisions, and he was a *šoḥet*. He had to go to a place called the 'butcher's shop', that is to that place where they slaughtered their cows and sheep, he had to go there and slaughter them himself. He would see that the animal that they slaughtered was not unkosher. (74) We had a butcher by the name of Aziz Khan. He was a Jew. He brought meat to the shops. Everybody went and according to his own requirements, whether he was one person, or there were two people, or there were three people, or there were four people in the house, they would buy meat according to their requirements.

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[24] Literally: May a petition be made for your service. This is a formulaic filler calquing an idiom of Kurdish and Persian.

[25] Literally: had a blessing.

(75) ^Hbrit-milà^H⸢ maˤmulàn⸢ ya-ga-bèla kolíwale⸢ ya-ga-kništà.⸢ rába náše da‘wàt kolíwa,⸢ čún kəmríwa qála miḷá šămoé maṣwà hité.⸢ rabàn⸢ nòšef⸢ miḷà kólwa.⸢ (76) kéwa ga-belá ya-ga-kništà.⸢ băraxà kmə́rwa,⸢ miḷà kólwa.⸢ miḷáef-əč kòlwale,⸢ rába rába ‘ayzà,⸢ rába mən-duktəré ya-kolìle⸢ rába biš-‘ayzà-yele.⸢ ʾaṣlán na-raḥătí lìtwalu ʾo-našé,⸢ xór darmanè-č lítwa ʾo-waxtắra darmáne dằen.⸢ pằroé maqlìwa⸢ ʾo-qilà,⸢ qilé pằroè⸢ mătíwa réša ʾo-miḷà.⸢

Relations between Jews and Muslims

(77) xá-mdi lá míri baqòx⸢ bšəlmané ga-Kursằn⸢ sunnì-yelu.⸢ bšəlmané trè jorén.⸢ xá šíˤa xá sunnì-ye.⸢ ʾənyaxáe ya-Kursằn-yelu⸢ čún kùrd-yen⸢ sunnì-yen.⸢ sùnni-yen,⸢ məntắke huláe rába ‘ayzè-yelu.⸢ wắle ʾonyexáe ya-šiˤà-yelu⸢ mangál Hamằn,⸢ Tarằn,⸢ ʾƏsfahàn,⸢ Širằz,⸢ Kərmằn,⸢ Xorasằn,⸢ Balučəstằn,⸢ ʾənyexáe ʾəqrá ṣorèr-yelu⸢ ta-ʾəlhà-hămər mălé!⸢ (78) qắme d-óa ʾána b-‘olắm henà,⸢ huláe wáxt-e zilén waryà,⸢ maxṣuṣán ga-yomăwáe nəxlà,⸢ gbéwa xa-párča zayrá dằen ba-lăxàu⸢ b-lắ səngù⸢ ké ʾălén ʾənyexáe hulaèn,⸢ lá-ba bšəlmané taqri-bàu,⸢ ʾənyaxáe nəjằs-yen,⸢ hulaé nəjàs-yen.⸢ (79) ʾăgár xa-năfár hezə́lwa … lá ga-ʾaḥrá didàn⸢ ga-ʾaḥranè-xet,⸢ ʾonyexáe šiˤà-yelu,⸢ măsắlan hamréx … báqa máre t^wkaná hămə̀rwa⸢ xá kílo xéta holì,⸢ mastà holí.⸢ ʾăgar kiló bi-zóa xăráwa mastăkè,⸢ là dărewal-ó t^wkàf,⸢ dărèwa⸢ ʾó ya-šaqlá puḷé bi-zòa hăwə́l.⸢ (80) kmə́rwa ʾăgar ʾay-mastá dărenaf-ó t^wká nošằf⸢ nəjàs xărá,⸢ yáni kăsìf,⸢ xărằb.⸢ ʾăxá kəmríwa ʾonyexằe,⸢ wắle ga-ʾáḥra didán ʾăxá là-yele.⸢ ʾaxní kénwa belán yătìwa.⸢ ḥắz kolíwa hén béla didán yătì ʾonyexáe.⸢ yătì⸢ xàlan ʾaxlíle.⸢

(75) They would generally perform circumcision either in the house or in the synagogue. They would invite many people, because they said that it was a good deed to hear the cry (of the baby) at circumcision. Our rabbi would perform the circumcision himself. (76) He would come to the house or the synagogue. He would say a blessing and perform the circumcision. He circumcised him[26] very well. He was much better than the doctors who do it. The people were not ill at ease, yet they did not have medicines at that time to apply. They would burn rags and they would put on the circumcision the burnt ash, burnt rags.

Relations between Jews and Muslims

(77) One thing I did not tell you, the Muslims of Kurdistan are Sunni. Muslims are of two kinds, one is Shiʿite and the other Sunni. The ones in Kurdistan, since they are Kurds, are Sunni. They are Sunni and were very good to the Jews. But those who are Shiʿites, like (those of) Hamadan, Tehran, Isfahan, Shiraz, Kirman, Khorasan, Baluchistan, they were so hostile (to the Jews) that God said 'That is enough!' (78) Before I was born, when the Jews went outside, especially on rainy days, they had to put a yellow patch here, on their chest so that they (the Muslims) knew that they were Jews, lest the Muslims touched them, for they were unclean, the Jews were unclean. (79) If somebody went—not in our town, in other towns, where they were Shiʿites, for example let's say— and said to a shop owner 'Give me a kilo of such-and-such a thing, give me yoghurt', if the yoghurt turned out to be more than a kilo, he did not pour it back. He would pour it out and the person buying it would have to give more money. (80) He would say 'If I pour this yoghurt back into its container,[27] it will become unclean,' that is dirty, bad. They would say things like that, but in our town it was not like that. They would come to our house and sit. They wanted to come to our house and sit. They would sit and eat our food.

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[26] I.e. the child.
[27] Literally: its place.

Winter

*(81) ʾăwắḷán tʷkáne là ʾasríwa.ǀ našé gezíwa wárya ba-talgà-č.ǀ xor-tʷkané là
ʾasríwalu.ǀ wa-ba-ʿălawà-čǀ rásm ga-dokà-yeleǀ măsălán ga-ʾaxə́r-e páyiz qárwa
sətwàǀ hár xanăwadé ta-nòšef,ǀ hár məšpaḥá ta-nòšef,ǀ gezə̀lwaǀ xa-dána tórta
šăqə̀lwala.ǀ kmewal-ó ga-béla nòšef.ǀ (82) rában kéwa dăbəḥwal-ó baqèf.ǀ tămíz
kòlwala.ǀ xăéwa ṭărefà lá-hawya,ǀ xărằb lá-hawya.ǀ ʾo-waxtắra qăšàngǀ ... ʾo-
năqolé-u măqolè-uǀ ʾonyexáe yá ᴴgdidìmᴴ-yenǀ xărằb-yen,ǀ lá kəxlilùǀ doqwalú-u
šoḷə̀twalù.ǀ (83) pəsrăké kwə́lwale ba-ʾilá máre belăkè.ǀ máre belăké mən-d-áy
pəsràǀ mătíwale ga-tănurá băšə̀lwale.ǀ kəmríwale qawurmà.ǀ nătènwaleǀ ga-tʷká
qărirá mătìwale.ǀ yaxčắl lìtwalan xor-ʾo-waxtărá.ǀ mătíwale ga-xá-tʷka qăriràǀ
hăwéǀ péš ta-sətwà.ǀ (84) ʾáy qawurmá ʾăxà-yeleǀ galglíwale ga-pliyáw məšxá
nòšef,ǀ məšxá tortăkè,ǀ lá məšxà,ǀ denulà.ǀ ga-denulá nóšaf bašlíwala qăšàng.ǀ
mătíwale ga-xá ... ʾó waxtắra qoqè-hitwa.ǀ qoqé xa-zárf, zrúfek-yelu mə́n ʾápre
smoqà.ǀ ʾənyexáe mătíwalu ga-sətwà.ǀ mən-d-óa rába ʾəstəfáda kolìwa.ǀ*

(85) GK: qalyà hítwa?ǀ

*(86) qalyá qălènwale.ǀ ʾo-pəsrá qălènwaleǀ xárwa ba-čokè.ǀ bšəlmané ḥằz kolíwaǀ
ʾaxní məndíx šắrex baqú ga-lelé reš-šatà,ǀ šwawănìǀ ʾašnănì,ǀ ʾənyexáe rába
ʾašnàe-yelu.ǀ (87) qemə̀xwaǀ xá ḥămalá kmə̀xwa.ǀ xa-xwắn rába rabtá tarṣéxwa
... măsălán ʾaxní xá-mdi tarṣéxwa b-šəma dănăgazoè.ǀ ʾoní là kắenwa ma-yén.ǀ
širní mătéxwa baqùǀ šăréxwale baqùǀ ba-ʿonwán-e reš-šatà.ǀ ʾoni rába moʿtaqə̀d-
yeluǀ ké mən-xále réša šatá didán ʾaxlì.ǀ (88) ʾáxni măsălànǀ pəšpàra tarṣéxwaǀ
g-ò-lele.ǀ duxwà tarṣéxwa,ǀ qaysurón šăréxwa baqù.ǀ ʾóni-č qemí hár ʾo-yomàǀ
sangăkì,ǀ ləxmá sangăkí tarṣìwa,ǀ gezíwa šaqlìwa-uǀ mən-kărà-uǀ dušà-uǀ guptà-uǀ
mastà-uǀ ʾənyexáe mătìwa gáafǀ ʾu-šăríwa báqa béla didàn.ǀ*

Winter

(81) First of all, they did not close the shops. People would go outside even in the snow. Indeed they did not close the shops. In addition, there was a custom there, for example at the end of autumn just before winter[28] each family, each family went in their turn and bought a cow. They would bring it back to their home. (82) Our rabbi would come and slaughter it for them. He cleaned it. He checked lest it be ritually unclean, lest it be polluted. Then he carefully took out what had to be removed, those parts that were sinews and were polluted, which they did not eat, and threw them away. (83) He then gave the meat to the head of the household. The head of the household put out some of this meat and cooked it in an oven. They called this *qawurma*. They took it and placed it in a cool place. We still did not have a fridge at that time. They put it in a place that was cool for it to remain until winter. (84) This *qawurma* was like this, they would stir it round in its own oil, the oil of the cow. Not oil, fat, they cooked it well in its own fat. They put it in a—at that time there were pots. Pots were a container made of red clay. They would serve this in winter. They greatly enjoyed this.

(85) GK: Was there *qalya?*

(86) They would fry *qalya.* They would fry meat and it would become *čoke.* The Muslims wanted us to send them something on New Year's Eve, our neighbours and acquaintances—many of them were our acquaintances. (87) We would bring a porter and we made a big tray … for example we made something called *danagazoe.*[29] They did not know what they were. We put out such sweets for them and sent them to them, for New Year. They were determined to eat our New Year food. (88) For example we made an omelette on that night. We made *duxwa.*[30] We sent them *qaysuron.*[31] On that same day they would make loaves of bread, they would go and buy butter, honey, cheese, yoghurt. They would put these on it (the tray) and send them to us.

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[28] Literally: close to winter.

[29] A sweet made from sesame.

[30] A dish made of rice and yoghurt.

[31] A dish made of apricot.

(89) lelăwáe sətwá yătèxwa│ dáwre làxle.│ lelé sətwá ga-doká yărixà-yele│ qardèč-yela.│ báqa d-óa belăké mašxniwalè.│ xa-ꜥədá buxarì hitwálu│ ba-ṣiwè malqiwalá,│ ʾo-béla mašxnìwale.│ (90) ʾaxní măsălàn│ xá-mdi hitwalán b-šəmá kursì.│ mangál d-áy ᴴšulḥằnᴴ│ təlḥà kắrăte d-éa,│ ʾarbà kắrăte d-éa,│ bíš ntóta xančì.│ xá lăꜥéfa dăénwa ba-rešàf.│ txelàf│ xá-dana mangàl-yela,│ har-ga-ắră čəqyàwalu.│ ga-dóka zoxắ│ dărènwa.│ zoxắ│ dărénwa gàaf.│ gogárd dăenwa ba-zuxaḷăkè│ malqíwale ga-dokà│ ʾo-kursí šaxnàwa.│ (91) kắle yătéxwa b-dáwre làxle.│ ga-xá xanăwadé didàn,│ ʾaxní xamšá xonăwalè-yelan,│ tré xăləsyè-yelan,│ tatá daăkà,│ yătóxwa b-dáwre làxle.│ rába tomè kəxlóxwa,│ tomè.│

King Solomon

(92) *tatí yătùwa│ ʾəlhá mănixà│ dāstắn ḥăqéwa baqàn│ măsălán rájəʾ b-Šlómo ha-mèlex,│ reš-Šlómo ha-mèlex│ ʾəqrá ꜥaqál xirà-y│ ga-ꜥolắm mangaléf là xirá-y.│ híč-kas ꜥáql-e Šlómo ha-mélex lá xìrlale.│ (93) kəmrìwa│ xa-jám xírlale Šlómo ha-mèlex,│ mangál sinəmà xirté-ya.│ šəméf xirá-y jắm-e jăhānmà.│ yáni jắm-e kăyá ke-ga-ꜥolám ... xằel-o,│ ʾəqrà ḥoxméf rába xirté-ya.│ (94) rába-č ḥărìs xirá-y,│ xa-baṣór ... ʾarbì ʾənšè xírlale.│ ʾarbí ʾənšé ... ktúba xirèn,│ gér ʾaz-d-ó ya-xírlale│ ṣigà-u│ ᴴpilagšìmᴴ│ ʾonyexàe│ bè-ḥăsāb.│ măsălàn│ šáta zilá-y lá xà baxtéf.│*

(95) ḥoxmàef│ ga-ꜥolắm mašhùr xirté-ya.│ har-čí məltè│ ḥasràt ləblá-y báef.│ xa-năfàr│ măsălán fárz holéx xa-šằh│ xá-mdi na-raḥắti xirlăwelalè│ zilá-y mən-d-ó xéta təlbà-y,│ mšurtà│ wilá-y baqéf.│ (96) mirà-y│ má holèt?│ ʾay-ḥášta dáx hòləta?│ ʾay-ḥášta mà xărá?│ rába dólte ꜥolàm│ hăméša baqéf xèta ləblá-y,│ ᴴmătanàᴴ ləblà-y.│ xăzáne jăwahəratèf│ ga-ꜥolắm mašhùr xirté-ya.│ (97) xá waxtằra│ ʾəqrá ḥắriṣ xirà-y│ zilà-y│ ṭălăbá málka Šằbà.│ málka Šằbà gwirté-ya.│ ʾó-č rába dawlamàn xirté-ya.│ tămắm-e ꜥolàm│ ḥasratéf ləblá-y.│ mirà-y│ dáx ʾay-kắle ḥoxmá ʾəlhá hiwté-ya báqa d-áy bronà?│ dāstané rába hítwale ke-ʾaná fəkrí lèn.│

(89) During the winter nights we would sit together in a circle.[32] A winter night was long there and it was cold. For this reason they heated the house. Some people had a stove, which they would fuel[33] by wood and they would heat the house. (90) We had something called a *kursi* 'seat', like this table, three times (the size) of this, four times (the size) of this, it was a bit higher. We would put a quilt on top of it. Under it there was a brazier, which they had dug in the ground. They put coals there. They put coals in it. They put a match to the coals and they ignited them there and the seat became warm. (91) We all sat together. In our single family we were five brothers and two sisters, and together with father and mother, we sat together. We ate a lot of nut kernels.

King Solomon

(92) My father, may he rest in peace, would sit and tell us a story, for example concerning King Solomon, about King Solomon, that he was so intelligent that there was nobody like him in the whole world. Nobody had acquired the intelligence of King Solomon. (93) They said King Solomon had a mirror, which was like a cinema. Its name was 'Mirror of the World', that is a mirror that knows what is in the world. He would see this, so great was his wisdom. (94) He was also very lustful. He had at least forty wives—forty wives who were officially married to him[34]—in addition to those (wives) that he had, (there were also) temporary wives and concubines, who were without number. For example, he went to one of his wives (once) in a year.

(95) His wisdom became famous in the world. Every nation became jealous of him. (If) a person, for example, let's suppose a king, (if) something unpleasant had happened to him, he went and requested from him (King Solomon) a thing and he (King Solomon) gave him advice. (96) He (the other) said 'What would you do? How would you do this thing? What will become of this affair?' Many nations brought something to him, brought gifts. The treasury of his jewels was famous in the world. (97) Once he was so lustful that he went and sought the hand of the Queen of Sheba. He married the Queen of Sheba. She also was very rich. The whole world became envious of him. They said 'How is it that God has given all this wisdom to this young man?' He (my father) had many stories that I do not remember.

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[32] Literally: around each other.
[33] Literally: kindle.
[34] Literally: had become by marriage document.

The Tale of the Jealous Neighbour

(98) xa-waxtắrá tatí yătùìwa˞ xá ḥăkayát ḥăqéwa baqàn.˞ hítwa-u lìtwa˞ mən-ʾəlhá biš-pìr˞ hìč-kas lítwa.˞ mằni hítwa?˞ xa-gorà hitwá.˞ ʾéa gezálwa ga-pliyáw jangàḷ.˞ ʾilanè gardə́qwa-u˞ kmèwalu˞ ga-ʾaḥrá zăbə̀nwalu.˞ ba-d-éa zəndəgí kòlwale. (99) ba-d-áy zəndəgí rába qănaʿàt kólwa.˞ rába razì-yele.˞ rába xòš-yele.˞ lelăwáe kewa-ò˞ belá yătùìwa.˞ xa-dána pút ḥălabí dòqwala ba-ʾilèf-u˞ dăélwa gàaf-u˞ yaléf naqḷìwa-u˞ baxtéf naqḷàwa-u.˞ xòš-yela hăméša.˞ (100) xà šwáwa hítwale˞ rába dawlamán-yele.˞ tajàr-yele.˞ ʾó lelăwáe kewá-o belà,˞ gbéwa yătúwa ḥăsắb-u ktàbe holú.˞ tá pəlgà-lele˞ xa-sáʿat bár pólga-lele yătùìwa.˞ hár qằre˞ hár ʾay-ḥăsàb kólwale.˞ (101) ʾó waxtằra˞ ʾay-ᴴmaxširímᴴ lìtwa ke-ḥăsắb hóli bàaf.˞ čòrt-yela.˞ čórt xa-məndìx-yela˞ məndixáne gárd-yelu ga-pliyáw xa-sìm,˞ dána dána ʾənyexáe ḥăsằb kolíwalu.˞ ʾáy yătúwa lelè,˞ ʾăwáḷ lelé gezəlwa-ó belà,˞ xálef kxəlwalè,˞ yătúiwa ta-saʿằtè˞ tré bár pólga lelè.˞ ʾaná xamšà təmné˞ mən-Ḥăbìb gbéna.˞ xamšá təmné mən-Jèfri gbéna.˞ təlḥá təmné m-Sàra gbéna.˞ ʾarbá təmné ʾəzyó híwli baqàf,˞ báqa Šəmʿùn. (102) ʾənyexáe gbé yătú ba-ḥăsàb mătewà.˞ báxtef zíla ṭălằbè˞ kámra ʾằt˞ b-áy kǔle daraiòx˞ xor-ʾắt hămešá ḥărík-e d-èa!˞ ʾáy šwáwa didàn˞ gezál ṣiwé mən-jangàḷ kmé zăbənu.˞ xa-rezá ləxmá-u guptá šăqál báqa yalèf-u˞ g-ay-pút dăél naqòḷe naqḷí baqèf.˞ ʾằt ma-kolét?˞ (103) ʾáy baxtá-u ʾáy gorà˞ băxeḷì lablíwa l-d-áy góra xét kê˞ ba-d-áy jóra zəndəgí kòl.˞ míra daăká lá qoràlox!˞ xá-yoma zíl lagèf-u˞ mìre báqef˞ míre flànakas˞ ʾắt ba-d-áy zəndəgí ba-kắr mayayòx kxə́l?˞ hàlox.˞ ʾaná jáns kəwná ba-ʾilòx˞ láble zàbne˞ ʿáyza kắsbi hùl ta-nóšox.˞

The Tale of the Jealous Neighbour

(98) Once my father sat and told us a story. There was, there was not, there was nobody more senior than God. Who was there? There was a man. He used to go to the woods. He used to gather (branches from) trees, bring them back and sell them in the town. He would make himself a livelihood by this. (99) He was very content with this life. He was very satisfied and very happy. In the evening he would come home and sit. He would hold a metal can in his hand and beat it (like a drum). His children danced and his wife danced. Life was always happy.[35] (100) He had a neighbour, who was very rich. He was a merchant. He would return home in the evenings and had to sit and do the accounts and books. He would sit until midnight, an hour after midnight, still reading and doing the accounts. (101) At that time there were none of those machines with which one does accounts. It was an abacus (that one used). An abacus is something (containing) things that were round on a wire. One by one he would calculate them (the accounts). He would sit at night. In the early evening he would go back home, eat his food and sit until two o'clock in the morning.[36] 'I am owed five tmans by Ḥabib.[37] I am owed five tmans by Geoffrey. I am owed three tmans by Sarah. I gave her today eight tmans, (I gave also) to Šəmʕun.' (102) He had to sit and enter these things into the accounts. His wife went and criticized (him). She says 'You, with all your property, you are always busy with this! This neighbour of ours goes and brings branches of wood from the woods and sells them. He buys a little bread and cheese for his children. He drums on the tin and they dance to it. What do you do?' (103) The woman and the man were jealous of the other man who lived in this way. She said 'This cannot continue.'[38] One day he went to him (the neighbour). He said to him, he said 'So-and-so, what use is this life to you? I shall give you some cloth. Take it and sell it. Take the earnings for yourself.[39]

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[35] Literally: It was always good.

[36] Literally: after midnight.

[37] Literally: I want five tmans from Ḥabib. The toman was an Iranian unit of currency.

[38] Literally: Mother should not bury you. I.e. you should not go to the grave without changing things.

[39] Literally: Give the good business to yourself.

(104) *má kul-yóma gezét ʾay-jangàl̩,ˈ ʾay-kū́le zaḥamtá garšèta-u?ˈ kmet-ó xamšá qắrā́n kwilòx.ˈ ʾaná pùl̩ káwna ba-ʾilóx.ˈ jàns káwna ba-ʾilóx,ˈ se-zàbne!ˈ yomá ʾəmá šéqel pul̩é tằ̆ḥèt.ˈ (105) ʾó míre t̩òb.ˈ zíl lagèf-uˈ méle mtùle-uˈ ʾay-zíl jóns ləblè,ˈ jənsắké ləblé mằtúle ga-xá t̍ʷkaná zabnè.ˈ ʾáy-əč xír mangàl d-ó.ˈ báqăta ʾáṣər gezɔ̀lwa jóns zằbɔ̀nwa-uˈ kằlùwale.ˈ ʾéa xamšà qărané,ˈ ʾó təl̩hà qărané,ˈ ʾó ʾàrbà qărané,ˈ ʾó xamšà qărané.ˈ (106) lelằwáe gbéwa hezə́lwa belàˈ tajərằkèˈ ḥằsabéf hawle-ó baqèf,ˈ hằmár ʾəqrá zɔ̀bni,ˈ ʾəqrá-č pul̩èf-ye.ˈ (107) xét lá zàrb dằélwa ʾəláf-uˈ lá ba-putằkè dằélwaˈ ʾu-la yálef naql̩ìwa.ˈ baxtéf míra báqa gorằkè,ˈ mìraˈ lá-gban ʾáy ḥằsáb-u ktàbe.ˈ šòl̩ətle!ˈ se-báqa jangàl̩,ˈ ʾilanằkèˈ mélu,ˈ zàbnu!ˈ ba-lằxá zəndəgì holét,ˈ dú ga-pulằ̆ké ba-naql̩èx!ˈ

Nadir Shah

(108) ʾó waxtắra kəmrí ga-ʾIrằnˈ Nádər Šằ́h ʾAfšằ̀rˈ ràba qudréf xirlále.ˈ báqa d-ó ʾàlèˈ ké raʿyắté, našèf,ˈ našé ʾáy mamlằkằtàˈ dàx zəndəgí kolíˈ dàx lá kolí,ˈ gezál lelằwàeˈ ləbắs-e dawrešì lóšwa.ˈ ləbắs-e xắráb lòšwa,ˈ gezə́lwa mằ́ʿínwa g-ày-lag,ˈ g-ò-lag,ˈ xắe náše mà kəmrí,ˈ našé dàx-yen,ˈ zəndəgyú dàx-yeˈ wa-ắ̆gar čằnắ̆nče xa-našá na-raḥắtí hằwèle,ˈ ʾàle báef.ˈ (109) gezə́lwa bar-trè našéˈ sằmɔ̀xwa,ˈ mằṣìlwa.ˈ gezə́lwa mằsálán xá-ʿəda našé ke-ga-xá meydắn smixènˈ xábra ḥằqèn,ˈ mằṣílwa xabrù.ˈ ba-d-áy jorà gezɔ̀lwa,ˈ ʾắgar čằnắ̆nče xá-nằfar z̩ò̀lm xirằwe-lèf,ˈ gezɔ̀lwaˈ jobrằ̀n kolwalé-uˈ là šóqwa xét z̩ólm holì-lef.ˈ wa-ba-d-áy jorà qudrătéf ràba xírwa.ˈ

(104) Why do you go to the woods everyday and take all this trouble? You bring back (the wood) and they give you five qarans.[40] I shall give money into your hand. I shall give you cloth, go and sell it! You will make 100 shekels in money a day.' (105) He (the merchant) said 'Fine (that is agreed).' He went to him, brought it (the cloth) and put it down (for him). He (the other) went and took the cloth, he took the cloth away to put it in a shop and sell it. He became like him (the merchant). Morning and evening he would go and sell cloth and write down (what he had sold): this one five qarans, that one three qarans, that one four qarans, that one five qarans. (106) In the evenings he had to go home and give back to the merchant his accounts and say 'I have sold such-and-such' and (say) that his money was such-and-such. (107) He no longer played on the drum, he did not beat the can and his children did not dance. His wife said to the man, she said 'I don't want these accounts and books. Throw it away! Go to the woods. Bring pieces of wood and sell them. Live a life here. Beat on the drum and let us dance!'

Nadir Shah

(108) At that time, they say, in Iran, Nadir Shah Afšar was very powerful. In order that he might know how his subjects, his people, the people of his kingdom lived,[41] he would go at night wearing the clothes of a beggar. He would wear ragged clothes and would go and look this side and that side, to see what people were saying, how people were, how their life was and, if a person had a grievance, he would know about it. (109) He would go and stand behind two people and listen. He would go, for example, to a group of people who were standing in a square, speaking and listening to what they said. In this way he would go and if a person had suffered some injustice, he would go and make amends to him and did not allow him to suffer further injustice. In this way his power had become very great.

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[40] Unit of currency (= 1/10 of a toman).
[41] Literally: how they lived, how they did not live.

INFORMANT B (YESKEL PAZ)

The Historical Background of the Jews

(1) bəqróx mən-didì꞉ kəmrèt꞉ hulaé Kurdəstằn꞉ čəkmà-yelu?꞉ wa-čəkmà šəné ga-dóka xirèn?꞉ mən-làma hiyén báqa Kurdəstằn?꞉ ʾárz hòna,꞉ m-zămàn-e꞉ Kuréš-e Kăbìr꞉ hiyén báqa Hămădằn,꞉ ʾAsfăhằn,꞉ Golpayăgằn.꞉ ʾáy təlḥá tʷké hulaé ràba xirén gáu.꞉ čùn꞉ Širằz-u — Širáz ʾo-waxtắra ba-šəme ʾƏstàxr xirté-ya꞉ — ʾƏstàxr-u꞉ ʾƏsfăhằn-u꞉ Golpayăgằn-u꞉ Hămădằn,꞉ ʾənyexáe paetaxtè꞉ Kuréš-e Kăbìr xirén,꞉ səlsəlá-e ʾaxamanešì.꞉ (2) hulaé ke-hiyén báqa dòka꞉ bàr-d-o꞉ părăkandà xirén mən-doká꞉ hiyén báqa Kurdəstằn,꞉ xá ʿədà,꞉ lá kŭlè.꞉ xá-ʿəda mən-ʾƏsfăhằn hiyén. xá-ʿəda mən-Golpayăgằn hiyén.꞉ xá-ʿəda mən-Širăz hiyén.꞉ xá-ʿəda mən-Hămădằn hiyén꞉ báqa Kurdəstằn.꞉ (3) ʾó waxtắra ʾənyexáe ga-Kurdəstằn꞉ qărìb-e꞉ ʾalpà baté.꞉ ʾalpá baté hulaé ga-Kurdəstằn xirà-y,꞉ Kurdəstằn-u꞉ ʾaṭràf-e Kurdəstắn.꞉

Professions of the Jews

(4) ʾənyexáe šoġlù má xirá-y?꞉ trè ṭăbăqé xirén.꞉ xá ṭăbăqà꞉ ḥăkimè xirén.꞉ xá ṭăbăqà꞉ băzazè-u꞉ ʿătarè-u꞉ b-áy jóra xirén ga-ḥaštà.꞉ xá ʾədà-čʾ꞉ čarčiyè xirén.꞉ čarčí yáni gezíwa báqa malăwaè.꞉ ga-malăwáe zəndəgì kolíwa.꞉ ʾó-č hár kāsbì kolíwa.꞉ ṣan̄át lìtwalu.꞉ kāsbí kolíwa ga-dokà.꞉ ba-kāsbí puļé tăḥènwa-u꞉ kmenwa-ó ga-sətwá məntăke yalú-u baxtú kəxlìwalu.꞉ zəndəgí kolìwa.꞉ (5) ʾonyé yá ṭăbăqá ʾăwaḷ-yelù꞉ ḥăkimè-yelu,꞉ măgól ṭayfà-e꞉ Ḥắkim Rafaèl,꞉ babá-e daăká Daryùš,꞉ Ḥắkim Rafaèl,꞉ ʾăxoná Ḥắkim Šəmʿùn.꞉ xa-ṭáyfa Ḥắkim Šəmʿùn xirén.꞉ xá ṭáyfa xét xirén Ḥắkim Bašì,꞉ ṭayfá-e didàn.꞉ ʾaġá-e Dáryuš Xằn꞉ ᴴšošeletéfᴴ ga-lăxá kliwtè-ya,꞉ lága didí ha-yà.꞉ ʾənyexáe ga-Kurdəstằn꞉ ʾéa-ṭăbăqá-e ʾăwaḷ xirén.꞉ (6) xá ṭăbắqa xèt-əč xirén꞉ bíš tex-ò,꞉ ʾonyexàe꞉ təjarát xírlalu məntăke xarə̀j.꞉ zilén baqà꞉ Rusìya,꞉ zilén báqa Turkìya.꞉ jə̀ns šəqlá-y,꞉ miyá-y ga-Kurdəstắn zəbnà-y.꞉ ʾənyexáe ḥaštú xirtè-ya.꞉ náft miyá-y mən-dòka,꞉ ga-Kurdəstắn zəbnà-y.꞉ ʾó waxtắra nàft꞉ ga-buškè rŭwè-yele.꞉ buškè ʾəsrí putè.꞉

INFORMANT B (YESKEL PAZ)

The Historical Background of the Jews

(1) You have asked me saying 'The Jews of Kurdistan—how many were they? How many years were they there? When did they come to Kurdistan?' I tell you,[42] at the time of Cyrus the Great, they came to Hamadan, Isfahan and Golpayagan. In these three places there were many Jews. This was because Shiraz—at that time Shiraz was (known by) the name of Istakhr—Istakhr, Isfahan, Golpayagan, Hamadan, these were the capitals of Cyrus the Great, of the Achaemenid dynasty. (2) The Jews who came there were later scattered from there and came to Kurdistan, some of them, not all. Some came from Isfahan. Some came from Golpayagan. Some came from Shiraz. Some came from Hamadan to Kurdistan. (3) At that time those in Kurdistan were about one thousand families. The Jews of Kurdistan were one thousand families, Kurdistan and the surrounding districts.

Professions of the Jews

(4) What was their profession? There were two classes. One class were doctors. One class were cloth-merchants, grocers. They had work such as this. Some others were peddlers, peddler, that is they went to the villages. They lived in the villages. They would do business. They did not have a craft. They did business there. They made money in business, brought it back and used it to support their children and wife.[43] They lived (like this). (5) Those who were of the first class were doctors, like the family of Ḥakim Rafael, the father of the mother of Daryuš, Ḥakim Rafael, the brother of Ḥakim Šəmʿun. There was a family of Ḥakim Šəmʿun. Another family was Ḥakim Baši, our family. Mr Daryuš has here written down his family tree, here it is by me. This was the first class in Kurdistan. (6) There was another class, which was lower. They had business abroad. They went to Russia and they went to Turkey. They bought goods, brought them to Kurdistan and sold them there. This was their job. They brought oil from there and sold it in Kurdistan. Then oil was in large barrels. Barrels of twenty cans (in capacity).

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[42] Literally: May I make a petition.
[43] Literally: They ate it with their children and wife.

(7) xamsár puté kmènwale-u▒ ga-Kurdəstán zabnìwale.▒ dubára jéns lablíwa mən-Kurdəstằn,▒ kằtirà,▒ saʿlàb,▒ řewì,▒ dằlàq.▒ ʾənyexáe lablìwa▒ báqa dóka zabnìwale.▒ m-dóka jéns kmenwále-o Kurdəstằn-u▒ ga-dóka zabnìwale.▒ ʾəmrắr-e mắʿắš ba-d-ò kolíwa.▒ (8) xá-ʿəda-č bazarì-yelu.▒ ga-bazằr ḥášta kolíwa.▒ ʾənyexáe kasəbé zorè-yelu.▒ jéns mən-d-ənyexáe šaqlíwa yá kmènwa,▒ magòl▒ ʾága be-Ḥayìm,▒ ʾòni jéns kménwa,▒ be-Móše be-Sosanè jéns kménwa.▒ ʾənyexáe jèns kménwa.▒ ʾé-əč šaqlìwale mánu,▒ zabnìwale▒ ṭotà kolíwa-u▒ hàm púḷe d-óni kwíwalu▒ hám nóšu zəndəgí kolíwa bàef.▒ (9) pás ʾèa▒ ʾé ʾədà▒ ga-Kurdəstằn▒ baqyú-č ga-malăwàe-yelu.▒ gezíwa báqa malà▒ čarčì kəmréxwa báqu ʾonyexáe.▒ hár màla▒ trè báte,▒ təlḥà báte▒ xá-bela gàaf-yele▒ mən-d-áy hulaè.▒ kénwa jéns mən-ʾáḥra lablíwa báqa dokà,▒ mən-Sanandàj,▒ ʾaḥrà▒ jéns lablíwa báqa dokà.▒ kwíwale báqa dehatiyé ga-réša xarmàn.▒ jéns b-puḷé šaqlìwa mánu.▒ kenwá-o ʾaḥrà,▒ puḷè▒ ṭălabkắr kwiwale-ó baqù.▒ nóšu zəndəgí kolíwa ba-d-èa.▒

(10) ʾéa Kurdəstằn-ye▒ wa-ta-jáng-e benulmălălí ʾăwàl piš-ʾéa.▒ jáng-e be-nulmălălí ʾăwàl▒ wáxt-e piš-ʾèa,▒ ʾənyexáe rábau mən-graní mən-báyn zìli.▒ mìli.▒ rábau zíli baqà▒ Hămădán ʾu-Kərmanšằh.▒ ḥătá zíli baqá ʿĬràq▒ báqa Baġà.▒ xá-ʿədu qími híyen báqa ʾIsràyəl,▒ hár g-ó waxtărà.▒ ʾó waxtăra-č ʾIsrayél mangól ʾătá là-yela.▒

(11) xá-ʿəda-č hítwalan ga-Kurdəstằn▒ mən-maʿləmulà ləxmá kəxlíwa,▒ maʿlằm-yelu,▒ yàni▒ ḥaxàm-yelu,▒ ràb-yelu.▒ ʾənyexáe ga-dóka hìtwalan.▒ yalé hu-laé Kurdəstán gezíwa béla d-onyexàe,▒ qằrènwa,▒ hulaulà qărénwa.▒ (12) ta-bárd-o ʾAliằns híye báqa Kurdəstán.▒ ga-hằzār-o no-sà▒ ʾAliáns híye báqa Kurdəstán.▒ ga-dóka madrăsá ʾAliáns tərṣàle.▒ yalé hulaé kurdəstanì▒ zíli báqa madrăsá ga-dóka xèt.▒ šərúʾ wílu ba-yălopé hulaulà-u▒ yălopé făransà-u▒ ʾəbrì,▒ fàrsi.▒ ʾənyé ḥaštúʾ ʾèela.▒ kasébe ʾomdé lìtwalan ga-Kurdəstắn,▒ hamrét xà.▒ našá-e hăwèle,▒ xa-karxàna hăwéle▒ ya-xá moʾăsăsà hăwéle▒ xamšà-me năfăré,▒ trè-me năfăré▒ ʾəmà năfăré ga-dóka ḥaštá holì,▒ ʾó lìtwalu.▒

(7) They brought fifteen cans of it and sold it in Kurdistan. Then they took goods from Kurdistan, such as gum, fox (fur), fox, marten (fur). They took these there and sold them. They brought back goods from there to Kurdistan and sold them there. They made their livelihood in this way. (8) Another group were market stall keepers. They worked in the market. They were small merchants. They bought goods from those who brought them (from abroad), like Aġa be-Ḥayim, they would bring goods, and the family of Moše be-Sosane would bring goods. They would bring goods. They (the small merchants) would buy from them, sell the goods and make a profit. They would give them (the big merchants) their money and they would also make a livelihood by this themselves. (9) Now, the remainder of this class in Kurdistan was in the villages. They would go to a village—we called them 'peddlers.' In each village there was one house in every two or three (who bought) from these Jews. They would come and take goods there from the town, from the town of Sanandaj, they would take goods there. They would offer it to the villagers at the time of the harvest. They would buy the goods from them with money. They would come back to the town and give the money of the creditors back to them. They would make a livelihood in this.

(10) This was Kurdistan up until just before the First World War. Just before the First World War most of them (the Jews) perished from famine, they died. Many of them went to Hamadan and Kermanshah. They even went to Iraq, to Baghdad. Some went to Israel, already at that time. At that time Israel was not like now.

(11) We had a group of people in Kurdistan who earned their livelihood from the teaching profession, they were teachers, that is they were sages, they were rabbis. We had such people there. The Jewish children of Kurdistan went to the homes of these people and studied Judaism. (12) Later the Alliance (Israélite) came to Kurdistan. In 1900 the Alliance came to Kurdistan. The Alliance built the school there. The Jewish children of Kurdistan went (until that time) to another school there. They began to learn Judaism, learn French, Hebrew and Persian. This was their work. We did not have big traders in Kurdistan at all.[44] A person who had a factory or an institution with five hundred people, two hundred people, a hundred people who worked there—they did not have this there.

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[44] Literally: Tell me one (if you can).

Festivals

(13) hulaé ʾáḥra Sanandàj,ˈ mangól hulaé sáer-e tʷké xèt,ˈ ʾelăwaèˈ doqìwalu kŭlé.ˈ ʾawáḷ pătirè.ˈ duwóm ʾăṣartà.ˈ lā-la-ʿòmerˈ bár-d-o ʾăṣartà.ˈ pésaḥ šèniˈ bár-d-o ʾăṣartà.ˈ bár ʾăṣartá kèxwa,ˈ šoasár ba-tămìz-yele-uˈ bár-d-o təšʿá ba-ʾÀb.ˈ šăbát naḥamù.ˈ bár-d-o roš-ha-šanà.ˈ kipùr.ˈ bár d-ənyexàeˈ kyáwa ḥănukaè.ˈ bár ḥănukaé məzdané ʾilanè.ˈ bár-d-o lelangè.ˈ

(14) mà kolíwa ga-pătiré?ˈ pătiré ga-lága didànˈ rába moḥkàm doqíwala.ˈ xá-yarxá bár ʾilanè,ˈ ʾənyexáe ga-fkə́r kwénwa ké báqa pătiré má lazə́m-ye tahyà holí.ˈ béhtar-e zăràˈ tăḥènwale.ˈ kménwale ga-belà.ˈ yatwíwa ʾənšèˈ dána ba-dána găbènwale,ˈ lá-bada xá-mdi xarəjí gáef hăwè,ˈ ʿayzà la-hăwé,ˈ ḥamèṣ hăwé.ˈ bàr-d-oˈ ᴴód pàʾamᴴˈ bădiqà kolíwaleˈ ké dubara tămìz.ˈ (15) baʿdànˈ qarwá pătiré ké xarwà,ˈ ʾorxèlˈ ʾijàra kolíwa.ˈ ʾorxèl,ˈ ṭaxonà,ˈ ʾijará kolìwa,ˈ šămắš gezə́lwa báqa dokàˈ gbéwa hezə́lwa tămíz hòlwala,ˈ ké lá báda qamxàˈ ga-dóka hăwè.ˈ ʾay-ləxmá lá-xar ḥamèṣ xăzàr.ˈ (16) ʾó waxtàraˈ wáxt-e tămíz wililè,ˈ kewá-o kmərwàˈ ʾorxél Qasàmˈ yá ʾorxél Dărăqurdalè,ˈ yá ʾorxél Ḥaplùlˈ ʾéa ʾămadéni bàqaˈ hulaè.ˈ pàsˈ gezíwa báqa dokà-uˈ hár belàˈ zărá-e béla nóšef mătúwa réša xá taʿná xmarà-uˈ lăbálwale ga-dokà.ˈ kólwale qamxá ḥăsabì-uˈ kmewale-ó bèla.ˈ lá šóqwa bšəlmaná ʾíla dắe bàef,ˈ hár nòšu.ˈ bšəlmaná ḥáq lìtwale ʾíla dắe bàef.ˈ ʾéa rajə́ˈ ba-qamxà.ˈ (17) ʾătá xet-mà kolíwa?ˈ bàr-d-oˈ gbènwaˈ ləxmà tarṣí,ˈ ᴴmatsòtᴴ tarṣí.ˈ ᴴmatsótᴴ má-jor tarṣiwà?ˈ kménwa xà năfár.ˈ bar-d-èaˈ ʾay-ḥášta wilàlu,ˈ xá năfar kéwa ga-belà,ˈ tăqə̀lwale baqúˈ yáni ʿòmer kəmríwa baqéf.ˈ hár ʿòmerˈ xá kilo-u pəlgè.ˈ xá-kilo-u pə̀lge mən-d-áy qamxàˈ dărénwa ga-pliyáw xá kasá rabtà.ˈ mătíwale ga-pliyáw xá măsalà,ˈ tărazù,ˈ taqlìwale.ˈ ʾèa béla Daryúš gyàn,ˈ măsălàn,ˈ xamsàr ʿomeré gbé.ˈ béla didìˈ tresàr gbé.ˈ béla d-ó ʾəsrì gbé.ˈ béla d-ó ṭlài,ˈ ba-tăfawót-e našăkè,ˈ čəkmá năfăre-hítwalu xála ʾaxlì.ˈ b-ày-joraˈ ʾéa taqlìwale.ˈ ʾéa ba-ʿăla ḥădà matwíwale.ˈ

Festivals

(13) The Jews of the town of Sanandaj, like the Jews of other places, observed all the festivals. First Passover. Secondly Shavuot—Lag Ba-ʿOmer, then Shavuot, second Passover, then Shavuot. After Shavuot we came to the seventeenth of Tamuz. After that the Ninth of Ab. Sabbath *Naḥamu.* Then New Year. The Day of Atonement. After these came Ḥanukka. After Ḥanukka Tu bə-Shvat.[45] Then Purim.

(14) What did they do at Passover? In our community they observed Passover very strictly. A month after Tu bə-Shvat, they considered what preparations should be made for Passover. They would find the best wheat. They would bring it home. The women would sit and sort it grain by grain, lest there be something extraneous in it, whether it be something that is not good or whether it be leaven. Then they would make another inspection (to ensure) that it was clean again. (15) Afterwards, close to the time Passover took place, they hired a water-mill. A water-mill (that is) a mill. They hired it and a beadle would go there. He had to go and clean it, lest there was flour there. The bread must not become leavened. (16) Then, when he had cleaned them, he would come back and say 'The mill of Qasim, or the mill of Daraqurdale or the mill of Ḥaplul are ready for the Jews (to use).' Then they would go there. Every family put its own wheat on the back of a donkey[46] and took it there. They made flour as it should be made and brought it home. They did not allow a Muslim to touch it, only they themselves (were allowed). A Muslim was not allowed to touch it. This is what concerns the flour. (17) Now, what else did they do? After that they had to make bread, make matzos. How did they make matzos? They brought somebody. After they had done this work, a person came to the house and weighed (out the flour) for them, that is (he weighed out) what they call an ʿomer. Each ʿomer was a kilo and a half. They poured out a kilo and a half of the flour into a large bowl. They put it onto scales, scales. They weighed it. The family of dear Daryuš, for example, needs fifteen ʿomers. My family needs twelve. His family needs twenty, his family thirty, according to the different (numbers) of people, how many people they had to eat the food. In this way they weighed it out. They put it aside.

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[45] Literally: the gifts of the trees.
[46] Literally: on the load of a donkey.

(18) bàr-d-o⌐ kénwa tănurà.⌐ tănurá gbèwa⌐ qằme-o⌐ maqlìwala⌐ ké tănurá ḥaméṣ là hawyá.⌐ xášti báte hìtwa⌐ tănurá-e ʿăla-ḥădá maxṣúṣ baqà⌐ pătirè hítwalu.⌐ ʾáxni măsălàn⌐ tănurá ga-belà⌐ ʿăla-ḥădá báqa pătirè hítwalan.⌐ ʾilá lá dăénwa báaf ta-pătirè. (19) bár-d-o xá năfár kéwa dokà⌐ ʿòmer ʾéčwa.⌐ qamxà ʾéčwale.⌐ kólwale ba-lešà.⌐ kólwale ba-lešá ga-pliyáw xa-țášt-e mesì⌐ ke-qằme-o xwartá wilawale-ò⌐ xwaré xiriwà-u⌐ məqrəxiwalu-ò.⌐ maxṣuṣàn kmárna⌐ məqrəxiwalu-ò.⌐ ʾéa là xárwa ʾo-lá qrixá hằwè.⌐ gbé maqrəxiwale-ò⌐ lá bàda⌐ xoràka⌐ ḥaméṣ ga-d-éa xila-hằwè.⌐ (20) ʾéa kmènwale-u⌐ ʾèčwale.⌐ kwólwale taḥwíl-e nanawakằr.⌐ ʾó yá ləxmà kolawà-o,⌐ ʾó yá ləxmăké kolawale-ò,⌐ kwólwale taḥwíl-e d-óa dána danà.⌐ ʾó-č kolawale-ò⌐ ba-gerà.⌐ ba-géra kolawale-ó ləxmăkè,⌐ ʾó-ya ləxmăké dăyále ba-tănurà,⌐ ʾó bšəlmantè-ya ləxmá dăyáwa ba-tănurá.⌐ hulaà lá kằewa.⌐ (21) wằle ga-xaští tᵂkè⌐ hítwa fằqat hulaà-yele⌐ ʾəlhá măníxle ʾAwlé săqəzì.⌐ ʾəlhá măníxle ʾAwlé săqəzí nòšef⌐ hám ʾèčwale⌐ hám dăewale ba-tănurà.⌐ ʾó săqəzì-yele.⌐ ʾòa lá šóqwa bšəlmanà⌐ dằele ba-tănùra,⌐ nòšef dăewale ba-tănúra ləxmăkè.⌐ ʾéa ləxmà.⌐ (22) ʾó waxtằra⌐ kyáwa réša maṣṣaè.⌐ təlḥá dané maṣṣaè tarṣíwa.⌐ xá maṣṣà⌐ xá mămonà.⌐ xá maṣṣá tré mă-monè.⌐ xá maṣṣa təlḥá mămonè.⌐ léle pătirè⌐ băraxá tré təlḥà kəmréxile⌐ bàr-d-o kəmnóx.⌐ ʾé maṣṣaè⌐ baxtá máre belăkè,⌐ yá ʾo-baxtá-e ləxmăkè kolawale-ó,⌐ tarṣàwalu.⌐ nòšu dăyíwalu ba-tănurà.⌐ lá kwíwalu ba-ʾíla báxta bšəlmantăkè-č.⌐ nóšu dăyíwalu ba-tănurà.⌐ (23) ʾənyexáe maxṣùṣ-yeni⌐ lá-xar ʾíla táqra báu ta-léle pătiré baraxà hamrí.⌐ kəmríwa báqa didàn⌐ ʾamàn⌐ mən-d-áy ləxmá là ʾaxlétun.⌐ ʾăgar mən-d-áy ləxmá ʾaxlètun,⌐ kasăxún bazyà.⌐ yalè-yelan.⌐ tahdìd koliwalán.⌐ lá báda mən-d-áy ləxmá ʾaxlètun⌐ ta-léle pătiré baraxèf hamríla.⌐ ʾèa-č⌐ ba-d-áy jorà.⌐ ʾéa rájə ba-ləxmàn.⌐

(18) After that they came to the oven. They had to heat the oven beforehand so that the oven did not contain leaven. There were a few families who had a separate oven especially for Passover. We, for example, had a separate oven for Passover. People did not touch it until Passover. (19) Then a person would come and knead the ʿomer. He kneaded the flour and made it into dough. He made it into dough in a copper bowl, which he had covered in white beforehand.[47] They had become white, they had coated them with white. I say especially 'They had coated them with white.'[48] This could not be unwhitened. They had to coat it with white lest leaven had been eaten in the food. (20) They brought it and he kneaded it. He handed it over to the baker, the woman who spread out the bread (dough), the woman who opened out the bread (dough)—he delivered it (the dough) to her piece by piece. She opened it out with a rolling-pin. She spread the bread out with a rolling-pin—the one who puts the bread in the oven. It was a Muslim who put the bread in the oven. A Jew did not know (how to do it). (21) But in some places there was sometimes only a Jew (who did it, such as) ʾAwle from Săqəz, may God give him rest. ʾAwle from Săqəz, may God give him rest, would himself both knead it and also put it into the oven. He was from Săqəz. He did not allow a Muslim to put it in the oven. He put the bread into the oven himself. That is bread. (22) Then she (the baker) came to (make) matzos. They made three (types of) matzos. One matzo with one lump.[49] One matzo with two lumps. One matzo with three lumps. On the night of Passover we say a blessing, then two and three. I shall tell you later. The mistress of the house or the woman who made the bread would make these matzos. They would put them in the oven themselves. They did not give them to the Muslim woman. They themselves put them in the oven. (23) They were special. No hand could touch them until they said the blessing on the night of Passover. They would say to us 'Be careful, do not eat this bread. If you eat this bread, your stomach will split.' We were children. They used to threaten us. You must not eat this bread until they say its blessing on Passover night. This (was done) in this way. This concerns our bread.

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[47] Literally: made white.

[48] I.e. the verb *m-qrx* is used specifically to denote the covering of vessels used for Passover with a protective white coating.

[49] Literally: breast.

(24) ʾó waxtằra⌐ kménwa qawurmà kolíwa ba-payíz,⌐ qawurmá maxṣúṣ báqa pătirè.⌐ qawurmá nătènwa⌐ dărénwale ga-qoqé gəḷì,⌐ qoqé ṭinanè.⌐ qoqá săfằl kəmríwa baqéf,⌐ qoqé săfàli.⌐ dărénwale ga-d-òa,⌐ máe lilá dărénwa rešèf.⌐ matwíwale ga-tʷká rába qărirà⌐ ké báqa pătiré mən-d-èa ʾaxlí.⌐ (25) ʿăláwa ba-d-áy lóxma pătiré ké tarṣəxwalè,⌐ mən-tʷka maèf⌐ mən-bèe dăréxwa gáef.⌐ hár ʿómer xamsàr dáne,⌐ ʾəsrà dáne,⌐ trèsar dáne⌐ bée dăréxwa gàef⌐ tʷká maè.⌐ ʾéa matwìwale⌐ ləxmà kolíwa báef,⌐ ʾéa bíš hàya házm xárwa.⌐ kŭle béla là tarṣíwa,⌐ xàšti báte.⌐ ʾéa-č mawzóʿ-e pəsrà.⌐ (26) ʾò-waxtằra⌐ mən-ʾăwáḷ-e payìz,⌐ ʾé-ga guré gezíwa bazằr⌐ tomè šaqlíwa,⌐ ʾarzóx hòna,⌐ gozè šaqlíwa,⌐ šezè šaqliwa,⌐ štāḷwè šaqlíwa,⌐ ʾajíle šaqlìwa.⌐ báqa pătiré gbé tarṣìlu.⌐ (27) šišmè šaqlíwa,⌐ ga-belá gbéwa qalwìwalu,⌐ šišmé lá qliwè.⌐ šišmé dărénwalu bar-xá qaḷì,⌐ bar-xá qaḷí ḥăsabì.⌐ gbéwa ba-ʾilà ʾo-toqú doqiwalé-o.⌐ lá xár ba-xá-mdi xèt.⌐ bšəlmanè lá koliwa.⌐ hár hulaé ta-nòšu kolíwalu.⌐ doqiwalu-ò⌐ măwišíwalu-ó báqa pătirè,⌐ báqa ḥălìq.⌐ ʾéa xá mdìx.⌐ (28) ʾé ʾajílé nătènwalu⌐ tá-ge qárwa pătirè⌐ kəmríwa báqa ʾənšè⌐ sằj matwéx.⌐ sằj maxṣùṣ-yele,⌐ yóma maxṣùṣ.⌐ yatwìwa⌐ tămām-e ʾé ʾajílé qălènwalu.⌐ ʾíla lá táqra bàu,⌐ ʾíla ḥamès,⌐ ḥamès lá xărí.⌐ (29) ʾasúr-ile báqa didàn⌐ m-širinè ʾaxléx,⌐ ǧér ʾáz ləxmà lá-hăwe-u⌐ betà-u⌐ ʾó ləxmá pătirè-u⌐ məntắke ʾó qawurmà,⌐ ʾó pəsrá ya-məntắke lilà.⌐ lilằkè tráṣwalu.⌐ mən-d-óa ʾazằd-yele baqàn.⌐ ʾò kéwalan ʾaxléx.⌐ híč məndíx xét là kəxlexwa,⌐ lá mastà,⌐ lá guptà,⌐ lá xalwà.⌐ híč mən-ʾənyexàe⌐ ʾasúr-yele báqan tmánya yomè.⌐

(24) Then they brought *qawurma*, which they made in the autumn, *qawurma* specially for Passover. They took the *qawurma* and put it in earthenware pots, earthenware pots—they would call this a clay pot, clay pots. They put it in this and put liquid fat of a sheep's tail on top of it (to preserve it). They put it in a very cold place, so that they could eat it for Passover. (25) In addition to this Passover bread, which we used to make, we (made other bread in which) instead of water we put eggs. In every ʿomer we would put in fifteen, ten, or twelve eggs, instead of water. They put this in and made bread with it. This would be digested more quickly. They did not make it in every family, (only in) a few families. This is the subject of meat. (26) Now, from the beginning of autumn the men would go to the market and would buy seed snacks, I say to you,[50] they would buy walnuts, they would buy almonds, they would buy peaches, they would buy mixed nuts. They had to make them for Passover. (27) They bought sesame, which they had to clean in the house, (since it was) uncleaned sesame. They poured the sesame over a carpet, a suitable carpet. Then they had to take away their husks by hand. It was not possible to do it with something else. The Muslims did not do this. Only the Jews did it for themselves. They took them (the husks) away and dried them (the sesame) for Passover, to (make) *ḥăliq* paste.[51] This is one thing. (28) They would put the mixed nuts aside until close to Passover they would say to the women 'Let's put out the griddle.' The griddle was a special one, (for) a special day. They sat and fried all those mixed nuts. Nobody touched them, with a hand polluted with leaven, so that they did not become polluted with leaven. (29) We are forbidden to eat sweets, with the exception of what did not have bread (in it), egg, the Passover bread, together with the *qawurma* and the meat with the fat of the sheep's tail. They made the fat of the sheep's tail. It was permitted for us to eat any of this. We could eat this. We did not eat anything else, not yoghurt, not cheese, not milk. None of these (did we eat), they were forbidden to us for eight days.

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[50] Polite conversational filler, literally: I make your petition (= I present to you).

[51] A paste made of sesame, nuts and dates eaten at the Passover meal to represent the mud of Egypt.

(30) bár tmanyá yomé lelè⌐ réša šatá kyáwa qằme.⌐ ʾo-lelé moṣaé ᴴxàg.ᴴ⌐ lelé réša šatá kyáwa qằme,⌐ xá sǝfrá šăwèxwa⌐ mǝn-d-ày réše loʿá⌐ ḥătá ʾò réše loʿá.⌐ ga-belà⌐ nunyè tarṣíwa,⌐ nunyè.⌐ ʾarz-hòna-č⌐ dušà šaqléxwa.⌐ kărà šaqléxwa.⌐ maṣṣè šaqléxwa.⌐ guptè šaqléxwa.⌐ duxwá tarṣìwa.⌐ qārčè šaqléxwa.⌐ ʾóa sáwzi jàd⌐ kǝmríwa gilaxà,⌐ gilaxá tarṣíwa.⌐ (31) ʾasfanáj baṣòr hítwa ʾo-waxtằra.⌐ ʾasfanàj tarṣíwa.⌐ pǝšpàra tarṣíwa.⌐ qámxa-u bèta tarṣìwa.⌐ haḷwà tarṣíwa.⌐ har-xormá qălénwa-u tarṣìwa.⌐ ʾéa matwíwa rešá sǝfrà-u⌐ ʾáṣǝr-e ḥàg,⌐ yáni sáʾǝt ʾárba bàr korá,⌐ tǝlḥá bàr korá,⌐ xamšà bár korá,⌐ gezíwa báqa sahrà.⌐ (32) gezéxwa báqa sahrá tá-ge ʾarbìt xăráwa.⌐ ga-dóka našé yatwìwa⌐ ʾáraq šă-toè-u⌐ mašrúb šătoè-u⌐ mándi xalá-u ʾonyexàe-u⌐ ʾo-waxtằra xăráwa bár ʾarbìt⌐ šǝrú kolíwa gǝlà čăqénwa.⌐ čún-ge tazá mǝn-txél talgá plíṭwa waryà⌐ čăqénwa-u kmenwa-ó belà.⌐ dărénwale ba-dáwr-e ʾé sǝfrà.⌐ (33) ʾána géznawa be-Daryuš-xằn.⌐ gèznawa⌐ ʾéla brixulà hámna baqéf.⌐ jamăké ga-dóka nătènwale⌐ yá xa-mănorá b-d-ó jorà.⌐ har-mǝn-d-òa⌐ nătènawa⌐ doqnáwa ba-ʾilì-u⌐ kǝmnàwa⌐ ʾéla-u reš-šatóx hăwén brixè.⌐ năšǝqnàwale-u⌐ ʾó-č didì năšǝqwá-u⌐ rába xoš-ḥằl xăráxwa-u⌐ (34) yatwáxwa-u⌐ băraxá máre belăkè,⌐ xá-qǝta mǝn-lǝxmá-e ḥamès dóqwa,⌐ zatyé ya-tarṣíwalu ga-béla bàr-d-o.⌐ mǝn-d-òa⌐ dóqwa ba-ʾilèf-unu⌐ dăewala ga-dušà-u⌐ ga-kără mătúwa gàaf-u⌐ kwáólwala ba-ʾilèf⌐ kmár băraxà már.⌐ ʾo-č băraxá ha-moṣí kmǝrwa-u⌐ kxǝlwalà.⌐ ʾéa pătirè.⌐

(35) yóma reš-šáta bǝqătà-č⌐ tămắm-e hulaé kŭle gezíwa báqa sahrà,⌐ gezíwa sàyǝr.⌐ xá-năfar ga-béla lá yătùwa.⌐ kŭle gezíwa báqa sàyǝr-u⌐ mǝn-d-áy xála yá-lele trǝṣwalù,⌐ mǝn-d-éa lablíwa mǝnù.⌐ ʾo-waxtằra⌐ xá-ǝda xèt⌐ pǝsrá ʿăla-ḥădá ntèwalu⌐ naṭrìwale,⌐ kolíwale kăbằb.⌐ ʾàṣǝr⌐ guré kènwa⌐ dóka yatwíwa ba-ʾaràq-u⌐ ba-xamrà,⌐ ba-ʾaráq yatwìwa,⌐ ʾéa tarṣìwa báqu.⌐ kăbằb kolíwa-u⌐ ʾàraq šăténwa ga-doká-u⌐ kenwa-ò.⌐

(30) After eight days New Year's Eve came upon (us). That night was the end of the festival. New Year's Eve came and we spread out a cloth from this end of the room to that end of the room. At home they cooked fish. Moreover,[52] they bought honey. The bought butter. They bought unleavened bread. They bought cheese. They made *duxwa*.[53] We bought mushrooms. The mixed herbs called *gilaxa*—we would cook *gilaxa*. (31) At that time spinach was scarce—we cooked spinach. We made omelettes. We made flour and egg dishes. We made *haḷwa*.[54] They also fried dates and prepared them. They placed them on the cloth. In the evening of the festival, that is at four o'clock in the afternoon, three in the afternoon, five in the afternoon, they would go to the fields. (32) We would go into the fields until it was time for evening prayers. People sat there and drank arak, drank (other) drinks, (ate) some food and the like. Then, after evening prayers they began to pick herbs. When they had just sprouted out of the snow, they would pick them and bring them home. They put them around the cloth. (33) I would go to Mr Daryuš. I would go to wish him a happy festival. They would raise mirrors there or a candlestick in the same way. I would lift up such (a mirror), hold it in my hand and say 'May your festival and New Year be blessed.' I would kiss him and he would kiss me. We became very jolly. (34) We sat down. (Then came) the blessing of the head of the household—he would hold a piece of leavened bread, pitta breads, which they made in the house afterwards.[55] He held this in his hand, he put it in honey, he put butter on it. He would put it in his hand and say 'Say a blessing.' He then would say the (blessing) 'The One Who brings out (bread from the earth)' and eat it. This is Passover.

(35) On New Year's Day, in the morning, all the Jews went to the fields, they would go on a picnic. Nobody stayed in the house. Everybody went on a picnic. They took food that they had made (the previous) evening. Others who had put meat aside and preserved it made it into kebabs. In the evening the men would come and sit there with arak, with wine. They would sit with arak, which they made for themselves. They would make kebabs and they would drink arak there, then they would come back.

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[52] Literally: Let me make petition also (= let me say also).
[53] A dish consisting of yoghurt and rice.
[54] A sweet made of flour.
[55] I.e. after the end of Passover.

*(36) naqolè-yela-u*ˈ *nandoè-yela-u*ˈ *sàz-yela.*ˈ *zàrb-yela.*ˈ *ʾonyexáe kenwáwa tá … kenwáwa belà*ˈ *ʾazadí ḥăsabì hítwalu*ˈ *wa-bšəlmané mozaḥămù lá xăríwa ʾeṇṣafán.*ˈ *bšəlmané ʾaḥrà*ˈ *muzaḥămù lá xăriwá.*ˈ *kəmríwa jažnyanà,*ˈ *kəmríwa báqa d-éa jážn-e făṭìr.*ˈ *jážn-e făṭír yáni mà?*ˈ *yáni ləxmá fătìr,*ˈ *ləxmé ké là xəmyá-y.*ˈ

*(37) pătiré ʾwìra.*ˈ *kyáwa ʾăṣàrta.*ˈ *léle ʾaṣàrtà*ˈ *ʾó belá yá lăḥà m-ṣalma-ḥaliyé*ˈ *xá miléf milwà,*ˈ *yăšiwà mătúwa ga-beléf.*ˈ *tʷká d-éa ga-kništà matwìla*ˈ *ga-bèla matwíwala.*ˈ *ʾašxằṣ*ˈ *daʿwàt kólwa.*ˈ *gezíwa dòka*ˈ *yatwíwa ta-yomà*ˈ *torà-u*ˈ *məšnayotè-u*ˈ *xèta,*ˈ *kűle ʾənyexàe,*ˈ *zohàr-u*ˈ *ʾənyé kűle qărénwalu ta-qárwa-e yomà.*ˈ *(38) qarwá-e yomà*ˈ *šofàr măxénwa baqán.*ˈ *šofár măxènwa.*ˈ *ʾèa*ˈ *ʿălamắt-e xoš-ḥàli-yele.*ˈ *bàr-d-o*ˈ *xá-səfra kmènwa*ˈ *šăwènwa.*ˈ *ʾanwáʿe mewajăṭe bikùr,*ˈ *yáni mewajăṭe tazà*ˈ *măsălán mangól ᴴšèsekᴴ*ˈ *dáx ʾăta ga-lăxá táza məṭyá-y kmèn.*ˈ *méwa kménwa matwìwa.*ˈ *băraxá kəmrìwa*ˈ *ʾaškabà maždríwa.*ˈ *(39) kűle belà-č*ˈ *yá kénwa dòka*ˈ *mən-nóšu qawà-u*ˈ *ya-čằy,*ˈ *yá dārčìn*ˈ *kménwa mànu*ˈ *məntăke qànd.*ˈ *kwíwale bá-ʾila máre belăkè.*ˈ *ʾó máre belá-č ba-nobà*ˈ *tărə̀sle,*ˈ *ʾéa be-Daryuš-xằn-ye*ˈ *ʾóa be-Manawar-xanə̀m-ye,*ˈ *ʾóa be-Negàr-ye,*ˈ *ʾéa be-Ɛqbằl-ye,*ˈ *ʾéa be-didòx-ye.*ˈ *ʾéa kmènwale,*ˈ *kəmríwa baqù.*ˈ *ʾó waxtằra*ˈ *maʿalmăké ga-dokà*ˈ *ʾaškabá maždə̀rwa-u*ˈ *kűle băraxá kəmrìwa-u*ˈ *šătènwale.*ˈ *ʾéa ʾèa.*ˈ *(40) yóma xarwà-u*ˈ *kűle gezíwa báqa kništà.*ˈ *gezíwa báqa kništà-u*ˈ *bàr-d-o*ˈ *ʾənšé ga-béla má kolìwa?*ˈ *kălanè tarṣíwa-u*ˈ *šəlkenè,*ˈ *pərsaxè.*ˈ *ʾéa ga-belá tarṣìwalu.*ˈ *(41) kălané mà-yelu?*ˈ *qamxá kmènwa,*ˈ *kolíwale ba-lešà*ˈ *mangól ləxmà.*ˈ *ʾo-waxtằra*ˈ *ʾéa pəslè dărénwa gáef.*ˈ *pəslé yăruqé dărénwa gàef,*ˈ *mandénwalu réša sằj.*ˈ *ʾo-waxtằra*ˈ *mandénwalu pliyáw kărà,*ˈ *kăré pšìlà.*ˈ *ʾéa kmènwale-u*ˈ *šăkár dărénwa rešèf-u*ˈ *kəxlìwale.*ˈ *ʾéa kălanè-yelu.*ˈ

(36) There was dancing, there was jigging. There were musical instruments. There was a drum. Then they came home. It was a proper holiday and, indeed, the Muslims did not disturb them. The Muslims of the town did not disturb them. They said (in Kurdish) *jažnyana* [It is their festival].' They called it *jažn-e faṭir*. What does *jažn-e faṭir* mean? It means unleavened bread, bread that has not risen.

(37) Passover passed by and Pentecost came. On the eve of Pentecost, any household in whichsomebody had died—may it be far from the face of those present—would hold a gathering. Instead of holding it in a synagogue, they held it at home. He would invite people. They would go there and they would sit until dawn reading Torah, Mishnah, and all such things, Zohar, all of these until near dawn. (38) Near dawn they would blow the shofar for us. They would blow the shofar. This was a sign of happiness. Then they would bring a cloth and lay it out. They bring types of first fruits, that is fresh fruits, like loquat, which has just become ripe here. They would bring fruit and lay it down. They said a blessing and performed[56] a memorial of burial. (39) Every family that came there would bring with them coffee, tea or cinnamon, together with sugar. They would deliver it to the master of the house. The master of the house would make (presentations) in turn. 'This is (a gift of the) family of Daryuš-khan. This is (a gift of) the family of Manawar-xanəm. This is (a gift of) the family of Negar. This is (a gift of) the family of Iqbāl. This is (a gift of) your family. They would bring this and they would be announced.[57] Then, the rabbi there would perform the burial memorial. Everybody would say the blessing and they would drink to him. That is that. (40) The dawn came and they would all go to the synagogue. They went to the synagogue. Then what did the women in the house do? They would make *kǎlane* (onion pastries), *šəlkene* (cakes) and *pərsaxe* (sesame pastries). They made them in the house. (41) What are *kǎlane*? They would bring flour and make it into dough, like bread. Then they would put onions in it. They would put green onions in it and put them on a griddle. Then they put them in butter, melted butter. They brought it and put sugar on it and ate it. This is *kǎlane*.

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[56] Literally: send (i.e. to heaven)
[57] Literally: they would say to them.

(42) šəlkené mà-yelu?⌐ beé kmènwa.⌐ qamxá dărénwa ga-beăkè.⌐ ba-xalwà tarṣíwalun-u.⌐ ᶠsolusyònᶠ tarṣíwa.⌐ ᵓé ᶠsolusyónᶠ kménwale réša sàj.⌐ dărénwa réša sàj-u⌐ ᵓéa kolíwale xá ᴴṭaᶜìm.ᴴ⌐ xá xorak-e rába ᶜayzà.⌐ ᵓó-č dărénwale ga-pliyáw məšxà,⌐ šắkar dărénwa rešèf-u⌐ kəxlìwale.⌐ ᵓéa xorakù-yele⌐ rába ᶜayzá ᵓo-yomà.⌐ (43) yomá dowòm⌐ tămām-e hulaé kŭ́le gezíwa báqa sàyər,⌐ hár mangól yóme reš-šatà.⌐ kŭ́le gezíwa báqa sàyər.⌐ gezíwa ᵓAmanyà-u⌐ báqa ᵓAməlyà-u⌐ báqa Saqawà-u⌐ báqa Zafariyà-u⌐ Mowarakawà-u⌐ Xasràwa-u.⌐ ᵓənyexáe kŭ́le gezìwa.⌐ gezìwa,⌐ b-ᵓàṣər⌐ báxle kenwa-ò,⌐ hár ba-d-ó jorá yá ᵓarzòx wilí.⌐ yóma dowòm,⌐ ᵓáṣər kenwa-ò⌐ ᵓáraq šătoè-u⌐ kéf walà⌐ tá geziwa-ó belà.⌐ ᵓèa-č ᵓăṣartá.⌐

(44) ᵓătá hiyéxin réša .. tášᵛa ba-ᵓÀb.⌐ tášᶜa ba-ᵓÀb⌐ hulaé ràba yaqurtá doqíwala.⌐ ᴾnawád dar-ṣádeᴾ hulaé ṣomà-yelu,⌐ ṣomé ṣəhyòn.⌐ təšᶜa ba-ᵓÀb,⌐ kŭ́le hulaé doqìwale.⌐ bíš baṣór náše hítwa ṣomá la-doqìwa.⌐ mắgar rába naxòš xírăwe⌐ yá rába na-raḥàt xírăwe⌐ ᵓelá huláe kŭ́le doqìwa.⌐ bawằr-hul,⌐ yála trèsar šəné,⌐ xámsar šəné dòqwale.⌐ (45) mən-ᵓàṣref-o⌐ sáᶜat xamšà bar-korá⌐ xalà kəxlíwa,⌐ xét là kəxlíwa⌐ har-tá qáwme lelè.⌐ lélef-o gezíwa báqa kništà⌐ ga-dóka šratà lá malqíwa.⌐ tanhá xa-šratá matwíwa báqa xa-šàmᶜ.⌐ matwíwa kè⌐ ḥaxămăkè⌐ héle qằrè⌐ qam-ᵓenèf hawyá.⌐ wắle híč-kas šratá lìtwale.⌐ (46) kenwà-o-č béla,⌐ mən-kništá-č kenwà-o⌐ šratá lìtwalu.⌐ be-šratà-yelu.⌐ ba-yād-e d-eà-y kéᵓ bet-ha-məqdáš werằn xirté-ya⌐ ᵓaxní là-xar šratá hăwélan.⌐ ḥắta xášti ᵓašxáṣ-e ᴴqitsonìᴴ-hitwalan⌐ syamé là lošíwa kénwa kništá.⌐ syamé là lošī kénwa kništá,⌐ be-syamé gezíwa-o belà.⌐ ᵓaqlá qlăpì gezíwa-o belá.⌐ yomá ṣəhyón-e bàqata-č⌐ šalóm là dărénwa láxle.⌐ be-šalòm.⌐ ḥáli xărèt?⌐ šalòm lá dărénwa.⌐ ᵓát gezátwa tᵛkanà,⌐ ᵓăxonóx dóka yelè,⌐ là kəmrátwa báqef šalóm ᶜălexém.⌐ ᵓo kằewa ke-ta-má lá kəmréte,⌐ čún ᵓźzyo šalòm la-xár hamrét.⌐ ṣəhyòn-yela.⌐

(42) What are *šəlkane*? They would bring eggs. They put flour in the eggs. They mixed[58] them with milk. They made a solution (i.e. a mixture). They brought the solution and put it on a griddle. They put it on a griddle and made it into something tasty. It was a very delicious food. They put it in oil. They put sugar on it and ate it. This was their food, (and) very delicious (it was), on that day. (43) On the second day all the Jews went on a picnic, just like at New Year. They all went on a picnic. They went to Amanya, to Aməlya, to Saqawa, to Zafariya, to Mowarakawa, to Xasrawa.[59] They went to all of these. They went and returned together in the evening, in the same way as I said to you (before). On the second day, in the evening they would come back, drink arak and have fun, until they went home. This is Pentecost.

(44) Now we have come to the Ninth of Ab. The Jews would observe the Ninth of Ab very strictly. Ninety percent of the Jews fasted, the fast of Zion. All the Jews observed the Ninth of Ab. There were only very few people who did not fast. Even if somebody was very ill or was very unwell, all the Jews still observed (the fast). Believe me, a boy twelve years old (and one) fifteen years old would observe it. (45) That evening at five o'clock in the afternoon they would eat food, but did not eat again until the night of the next day. On that night they went to the synagogue and did not light a lamp there. They only placed one light in the form of candle. They placed it so that the rabbi could read and it could be before his eyes, otherwise nobody had a light. (46) Also (when) they came home, they came home from the synagogue, they did not have a light. They were without a light. It was in memory of the fact that the Sanctuary had been destroyed that we were not permitted to have a light. We even had a few extremists who did not wear shoes when they came to the synagogue. They did not wear shoes when they came to the synagogue. They went home without shoes. They went home barefoot. Also on the day of Zion in the morning they did not greet one another. (They met) without greeting. Do you understand? They did not offer a greeting. If you went to a shop and your brother was there, you would not say to him 'Greetings to you.' He knew why you did not say it to him, since on that day you could not say a greeting. It was (the day of) Zion.

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[58] Literally: made them.
[59] Names of places around Sanandaj.

(47) ʾàṣər˺ hár xăráwa qárwa mənḥà,˺ xet-ʾo-waxtằra˺ mutằr-yele baqéf˺ šăḥiṭà kolíwa.˺ tmanyà yomé˺ ʾé-əč tmánya yomé mən-yomà˺ ṣəḥyòn,˺ mən-yomá reš-yarxé ʾÀb˺ ḥătá yóma ṣəḥyòn˺ pəsrà lá kəxlíwa huláe.˺ híč pəsrá ḥáq lítwalu dabḥi-ò.˺ šăḥiṭà lá xăráwa ga-pliyáw huláe.˺ mən-yóma ṣəḥyòn˺ ke-xăràwa˺ bár kóra ṣəḥyón šăḥiṭà kolíwa.˺ ʾò-waxtăra˺ xàšti baté ké˺ morăfầh-yelu,˺ máre doltà-yelu˺ ʾərbá dabḥiwà-o˺ qorbằn kolíwa.˺ báqa d-eà-y ke-ḥamrí˺ ya-rằbi škùr.˺ šăbát naḥamù-ya˺ ătá.˺ xíra naḥamú bár korà,˺ wáxt-e šăbát naḥamù˺ kŭle doqìwala-u˺ mangól xá˺ ʾelá ḥăsabì˺ gezíwa báqa sáyər-u gardèš.˺ ʾea šăbát naḥamù.˺

(48) ʾătá hiyéxin baqà˺ ḥănukaè.˺ ḥănukàe,˺ tmanyà yomé˺ ḥănukàe doqíwala.˺ šratá har-dáx b-ay-jóra ga-lăxá malqì,˺ kŭle béla ga-dokà šratá malqìwa.˺ halbătá šámʿ là-yela ga-doká.˺ kŭle širà-yele.˺ ʾòa˺ kmèxwale-o.˺ ʾənšé pìr˺ plulyè tarṣíwa˺ ba-kətanà.˺ ʾənšé pìr˺ ba-maṣwá-e nòšu˺ kwìwa.˺ báqa hár-kas gezə́lwa kəmrìwa˺ xán hól baqán báqa šráe ḥănukàe˺ kwə́lwa baqù.˺ ʾóa matwə́xwale pliyáw ʾo-săfằl˺ ʾo-waxtăra šráe ba-d-áy jorá malqèxwa.˺ kŭlăni-č ʾo-lelè˺ məzmór šel-Ḥănukà qáréxwala,˺ ha-nisím-u nəflawotáf qárèxwalunu,˺ ba-xoš-ḥalí-u ba-šadì˺ mangól lăxà,˺ ᴴavalᴴ rába bíš ʿayzà.˺ ʾea-č ʾèa.˺ tmanyà lelé hítwalan.˺ lelé ʾăwằl˺ xà-dana malqéxwa,˺ lelé duwòm˺ trè-dane,˺ təlḥà-dane,˺ ta-léle xéta tmanyà-dane malqə́xwa.˺ ʾea-č ba-d-èele.˺

(49) ʾătá kéxwa réša bár Ḥănukaè.˺ xăràwa˺ məzdáne ʾilanè.˺ məzdáne ʾilané Ṭú la-Šwàṭ.˺ Ṭú la-Šwàṭ˺ xamsár-e Šăwàṭ.˺ mà koléxwa?˺ kŭle belà˺ ʾanwáʿ-u ʾaqsằme˺ mewà ga-belá,˺ ʾó-waxtăra sə̀twa-yele-u,˺ yaxčắl lìtwa,˺ mà kolíwa?˺ tălènwale˺ ga-belà.˺ ʾaspaglè tălénwa,˺ kămerè tălénwa,˺ ʾarmonyè tălénwa,˺ băṣirè tălénwa,˺ xămušè tălénwa.˺ báqa làma gbétulu?˺ báqa lelé məzdané ʾilanè.˺ xášti šwətyè năténwa˺ báqa lelé məzdané ʾilanè.˺ (50) ʾo-waxtăra lelé məzdané ʾilanè,˺ ga-réša kursì˺ xa-səfrá šăwènwa,˺ ʾonyexáe kŭle matwíwalu réša ʾay-kursì.˺ ʾo-waxtăra˺ ʾána šárnawa báqa béla Daryuš-xằn˺ tabrík kəmnáwa baqèf.˺ mən-d-ənyexáe kŭle hár-xa xa-dána mătunáwa ga-xá dawrì-u˺ kəwnáwale ba-ʾíla bronì,˺ ya-kəwnáwale ba-ʾíla nokarì,˺ kəwnáwalu lablíwalu məntắke d-éa báqa be-Daryuš-xằn˺ ʾelóx hawyá brixtà.˺

(47) In the evening, just as it was getting near evening prayer, it was then again permitted to perform slaughtering. For eight days, for the eight days from the day of Zion, the day of the beginning of Ab until the day of Zion the Jews did not eat meat. They were not permitted to slaughter any meat. Slaughtering was not permitted among the Jews. From the day of Zion, after noon of (the day) of Zion, they slaughtered. At that time a few families who were comfortable, who were rich, slaughtered a sheep and made a sacrifice. This was in order for them to say 'Thank you, oh Lord.' It is now Sabbath *Naḥamu*. When it was the afternoon of Sabbath *Naḥamu*, when it was Sabbath *Naḥamu*, everybody observed it like a proper festival and went on a picnic and an outing. This is Sabbath *Naḥamu*.

(48) Now we have come to Hanukkah. Hanukkah—they observed Hanukkah for eight days. Just as they light a lamp here, every family there used to light a lamp. Of course there was no wax there. Everything was vegetable oil. We brought that (from outside). Old women would make wicks out of flax. Old women would give them as their good deed. To everybody who went (to them) they would say 'Give us a little for the Hanukkah lamps' and he would give to them. We put it (the vegetable oil) in a pot. At that time we lit lamps in this way. All of us that night read the psalm of Hanukkah, we would read 'the miracles and His wonderful acts', with happiness and joy, like here, but much better. That is that. We had eight nights. On the first night we lit one (candle), on the second night two, three, until the night … we lit eight. That is that.

(49) Now we came to (the period) after Hanukkah. (The festival of) the Gifts of Trees took place. The Gift of Trees was Tu Bə-Shvat, Tu bə-Shvat, the fifteenth of Shvat. What did we do? Every family (had) all types of fruit in the house—at that time it was winter, there was no refrigerator, what did they do? They hung it (the fruit) in the house. They hung quinces, they hung pears, they hung pomegranates, they hung grapes, they hung apples. For when do you need them? For the night of the Gift of Trees. Some preserved watermelons for the night of the Gift of Trees. (50) Then on the night of the Gift of Trees they would spread a cloth on the seat and they would put all of them on the seat. Then I would send to the house of Daryuš-khan and convey to him good wishes.[60] I would put one of each of these on a plate and give it to my son, or I would give it to my servant, I would give them and they would take them with this (plate) in order (to say) 'May your festival be blessed' to the family of Daryuš-khan.

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[60] Literally: I would say 'blessings' to him.

(51) ʾó-č rába ḥàs kólwa-u| qémwa ʾó-č xa-məqdằr| m-éa nătèwale| dubára ʾò-č šárwa báqa didí d-èa.| ʾó-č šàrwa,| o-waxtằra| màʿəme má kolíwa,| maʿəmé kništà?| təlḥà kništé hítwalan.| təlḥà kništé hitwalán,| xá kništá rabtà-yela,| ʾu-xá kništá zortà-u| xá kništá ᴴḥadàš.ᴴ| maʿám-e kništá rabtà| báqa sakənìn-e kništá nošèf,| ʾăhalí-e kništá nošèf| mănorà maždárwa,| hár mangól d-òa.| mănorá maždàrwa| báqa d-èa| ʾelóx hawyá brixtà.| máre belăkè-č| ba-tăfawòt| pùḷ kwólwa| xán xamšà qărané,| trè qărané,| hár-či ʾiléf doqàwa| kwólwa mătúwa ga-dawriăkè-u| kwólwale ba-ʾilá šagərdèf| ʾu-lăbálwale báqa măḷăkè,| báqa maʿəmăkè.| ʾéa-č ʾèa.| məzdané ʾilanè| b-ày jorá wilán.| (52) ʾătá kéxin baqá Lelangè.| Purìm.| Lelangé ma-jòr-yela?| xá-šo qắme Purìm| šatá Mošé Răbénu ʿaláw ha-šalòm-yela.| kŭle gezíwa báqa kništà.| ga-kništá ʾo-lelè| ḥaxám-e kništà,| ḥaxám-e kništà ga-doká darùš kólwa| Mošé Răbénu ʿaláw ha-šalóm dàx m-ʿolắm zíl,| mà wíle,| zăhamtá mà grášle báqa hulàe.| ba-d-áy jorà šárḥ kwólwa báqa didàn,| ʾu-b-ày jorá-č mən-ʿolằm zíl.| ga-dóka kŭle na-raḥàt xăríwa-u| kenwá-o belà.|

(53) kyáwa réša lelé Lelangè.| yóm Lelangé kŭle ṣomà-yelu.| hulàe| rŭwé ta-zorè| kŭle ṣomá doqìwa.| ʾàṣər| ṣomá là faṭríwa.| gezíwa báqa kništà,| măgilà qărénwa ba-kništá,| măgilá-e ʾEstèr.| xà| məndí xét hìtwalan| ke-ga-tʷke-xét lìt| ba-šəmá tănu-širà.| tănu-širà| maʿəmé dokà| xá-mdi tráṣwalu maxṣúṣ-e nòšu-yela| ke-ba-ʾaramít kləwtè-ya.| ʾătá maxwénaf ʾálox ʾằt.| ʾèa| maxṣúṣ-e Kurdəstằn-yela.| ga-Sanandàj-yela,| ga-hìč-tʷka xét ʾéa lìtwa.| ḥătá ga-Hămadằn| ke-markắz-e Šúšan ha-birà-yela,| Mordăxáy-u ʾEstér ga-dóka yelù,| ʾána dóka xirèna,| ge-ga-dóka ʾéa là kắenwa qărénwala| ʾéa lìtwalu qărénwala.| ʾéa maxṣúṣ-e nòšan-yela.| ʾarz-hòna| ʾéa qărènwala.| ʾéa qəryàlu,| qemíwa kenwá-o belà.| qemíwa kenwá-o belà,| ga-doká ṣomà faṭríwa.| ʾèa Lelangè-yela.| (54) bəqáta gezíwa bazằr| kŭle kəmrìwa ta-ʿnitóx hăwé qằbùl.| ta-ʿnít dwằqlox.| ta-ʿnitóx hăwé qằbùl.| ʾelóx hawyá brixtà| ʾəlhá mantè.| kŭle šatá ba-ləbá băsimà-u| qáləb sằq doqéte.| bar Lelangè| pătirè-yela| ké ʾarzóx wìli,| qắme-o mìri baqóx.|

(51) He was very moved and he also would take some of the same and then he also would send that to me. He used to send it. Now, what did the rabbis do? We had three synagogues, one synagogue was large, one small and one new. The rabbi of the big synagogue would send a menora to the congregation of his synagogue, the people of his synagogue, like that one (over there). He would send a menora in order (to say) 'May your festival be blessed.' The householder would give money in varying amounts, a little, five qarans, two qarans—whatever he could lay his hand on he would give and place on the plate, give it to his servant and he would take it to the rabbi, to the rabbi. That is that. We held (the festival of) the Gift of Trees in this way.

(52) Now we come to *Lelange*, Purim. What was Lelange like? A week before Purim was the birthday of Moses our Lord, peace be upon him. Everybody went to the synagogue. In the synagogue that night, the rabbi of the synagogue, the rabbi of the synagogue there would give a homily concerning how Moses our Lord, peace be upon him, passed away from the world, what he did, what trouble he took for the Jews. In this way he gave us a sermon and (told us) how he (Moses) passed away from the world. Everybody there became sad and they went home. (53) The night of Purim came. On the day of Purim everybody fasted. The Jews, old and young, would all keep the fast. In the evening they did not break the fast. They would go to the synagogue and read the Scroll in the synagogue, the Scroll of Esther. We had something else, which was not found elsewhere, by the name of *Tănu-šira* ('Give a song').[61] *Tănu-šira*—the rabbis there created something that was special to them, which was written in Aramaic. I shall show it to you in a minute. It was a speciality of Kurdistan. It was in Sanandaj but was not found in any other place. Even in Hamadan, which was the centre of Shushan the capital—Mordechai and Esther were there, and I have been there (and found) that there they did not know how to read it (the Purim song). They could not recite it. It was special to us. I tell you, they used to read it. When they had read it, they got up and went home. They got up and went home, and broke their fast there. This was Purim. (54) In the morning they went to the market and everybody said 'May your fast be accepted. You have fasted. May your fast be accepted. May your festival be blessed, God willing. May you keep it (the fast) every year with a good heart and a healthy body.' After Purim was Passover, which I have told you about before.

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[61] A song specially composed for Purim.

Houses

(55) baté Kurdəstằn⌐ kŭle ʾajùr-yelu⌐ xə̀št.⌐ ᴴtəqrà ᴴ-č⌐ ga-doká kŭle ʾilanè-yelu.⌐ ʾilanè mandénwa réša garé.⌐ bàr-d-o⌐ pušè mandénwa rešéf,⌐ ya-ḥaṣìr mandénwa rešéf,⌐ ya-pušè,⌐ ya-gaḷaè.⌐ ʾilané xelapá mandènwa-u⌐ ṭiná dărénwa rešéf-u⌐ ṭiná ba-tunà.⌐ koliwále ʾămètef-u⌐ kménwa ba-rešèf.⌐ ʾòa⌐ zəndəgiyú ba-d-ò-yele.⌐ (56) batú rába moḥkám là-yelu.⌐ wắle g-áy ʾaxər-ò⌐ bár qrawá-e benulmălălí ʾawàḷ,⌐ našé máre doltá xìri-u⌐ xa-baṣór púḷ píl ga-ʾilù.⌐ hiyèn-u⌐ baté trə̀ṣlu,⌐ ʾajùr,⌐ ba-ʾajurkarì ḥaštá kolíwa.⌐ ʾajúr mà-yela?⌐ ʾé xə̀šta⌐ lablíwale matwíwale ga-kurà.⌐ kuré maqlìwa.⌐ mən-d-óa šaqlìwa.⌐ xet-ʾó lá toràwa.⌐ ʾòa moḥkám-yela.⌐ ba-d-òa tarṣíwa.⌐ binağắte batú-č ba-kepé čwarpaḷù kménwalu garé,⌐ kepé mən-maʿdắn-e ṭuranè.⌐ palṭìwalu,⌐ kmènwalu,⌐ zabnìwalu.⌐ mandénwa ga-pliyáw-e xéta ke-bănăké mandéwalu báqa d-èa.⌐ ʾay-guzá moḥkàm sămə́x rešéf.⌐ ʾèele.⌐ (57) lìtwalu baté ᴴrab-komótᴴ mangól ga-xárəj xắexin.⌐ doká fawqéf hítwa təḷhà ṭăbăqé.⌐ m-təḷhá ṭăbăqé bi-zóa lìtwa.⌐ ʾəstəqamát lìtwale,⌐ xéta lítwale năṭ̀re.⌐ là-kewale mən-təḷhá ṭăbăqé bi-zóa,⌐ mumkə́n-yele lăpə̀lwa.⌐ bănáe Kurdəstắn mən-təḷhá ṭăbăqé bi-zóa là tarṣíwa.⌐ ʾèele.⌐

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(58) ʾárz hònox,⌐ knišyé Kurdəstằn,⌐ təḷhá knišyé hìtwalan,⌐ kništá rabtà-u⌐ kništá zortà.⌐ ʾonyexáe šáyad ga-ḥdúd-e tré-me-u xamšì šəné⌐ tarìx hítwalu.⌐ tré-me-u ʾarbì, tré-me-u xamšì šəné⌐ tarìx-hitwalu,⌐ wắle kništá ᴴhadàšᴴ ga-ᴾhăzắr-u no-ṣàᴾ trišá.⌐ ᴾhăzắr-u no-ṣà-u⌐ pànj no-ṣá-u šèš.ᴾ⌐ ga-d-ò-waxtăra,⌐ ʾalpà-u⌐ ʾəčʿà-me-u⌐ xamšà,⌐ ʾóa híye Mə́syur Panžèl tərṣále.⌐ Mə́syur Panžél rắis-e madrăsá ʾaliắns-yele.⌐ mən-ṭărắf-e ʾaliằns hiyéwa báqa Kurdəstắn.⌐ (59) gbét ʾălét-əč ʾaliắns-e Kurdəstán mắni ʾəftətằḥ wilalè?⌐ Məsyúr Basàn,⌐ rằis-e madrăsá ʾaliằns-yele⌐ ké híye báqa ʾIràn⌐ ʾó madrăsá ʾaliắns-e Taràn⌐ tərṣàle-u.⌐ bàr-d-o⌐ híye báqa Hămằn-u⌐ híye báqa Kurdəstằn-əč.⌐

Houses

(55) The houses of Kurdistan were all of brick, mud brick. The roofs there were all (made of) trees. They put trees on the roof. Then they put straw matting on it, or they put mats on it, either straw matting or leaves. They laid out willow trees. They put mud on it, mud with straw. They mixed it up and put it on it. They lived like this.[62] (56) Their houses were not very strong. But in recent times, after the First World War, people became rich and some money fell into their hands. They came and built houses with brick, they worked in bricklaying. What is a brick? It is a mud brick, which they took and put in a kiln. They lit kilns. They bought this. It did not break anymore (once fired). It was very strong. They built with this. They raised the foundations of their houses to the roof with dressed stone, stones from a quarry in the mountains. They extracted them, brought them and sold them. They put them in things which the builder prepared for this purpose. The wall would stand firmly on this. That is it. (57) They did not have multistorey houses like we see abroad. There were three storeys at the most. There were (no houses with) more than three storeys. There was no reinforcement, they did have a thing to keep them (from falling). It could not (stand) more than three storeys high, since it could fall. The builders of Kurdistan did not build higher than three storeys. That is it.

Synagogues and the Alliance Israélite Universelle

(58) I tell you, the synagogues of Kurdistan—we had three synagogues, a large synagogue and a small synagogue. They are perhaps around two-hundred and fifty years old, but a new synagogue was built in 1900—1905 or 1906. At that time, 1905, Monsieur Pangel came and built it. Monsieur Pangel was the head of the school of the Alliance. He had come to Kurdistan on behalf of the Alliance. (59) Do you also want to know who opened the Alliance of Kurdistan? It was Monsieur Basan, the head of the school of the Alliance, who came to Iran and built the school of the Alliance of Tehran. Then he came to Hamadan and came to Kurdistan.

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[62] Literally: Their life was in this.

(60) ʾéa xábra ḥăqènox.⌐ ga-ᴾhăzắr-u no-ṣà-u panjà-u yák,ᴾ ʾána məntắke tatí híyex baqà ʾIsràyəl.⌐ Məsyúr Kohèn⌐ ké răís-e madrăsá ʾaliăns-e Hămằn-yele⌐ xírwa răís-e madrăsá ʾaliằns-e Yerušalàyəm.⌐ baxtéf didí xèla-u⌐ zína lagù.⌐ ʾó-waxtắra ga-doká míre baqì⌐ kmár məntắke tatòx híyet lắxa?⌐ míri ʾì.⌐ kmár tatóx Məsyúr Basán kăele-ò?⌐ míri là-kăena.⌐ kmár ʾágar kăele-ò,⌐ ga-lăxà-y.⌐ mar-hé ta-labnăxún dóka lagèf.⌐ (61) ḥqeli-ó báqa tatí ʾəlhá mănixà.⌐ tatí kmàr⌐ ʾì⌐ kăenef-o.⌐ qímex məntắke Məsyúr Kòhen zílex lagèf.⌐ zílex lagèf,⌐ xa-ᴾpír márd-e nawád-u šéš salà,ᴾ ʾəčʾí-u ʾəštà-šəne ʿamréf-yele.⌐ xaṭrắte nóšef ḥqèle baqán⌐ ke-dàx hiyá-y báqa ʾIràn.⌐ ʾó ga-zămắn-e Mozắfar-din Šằh.⌐ hiyá-y báqa ʾIrắn báqa tasís-e madrăsá ʾaliằns.⌐ (62) yarxá-u pólge ga-Tarán nəṭrà-xira-y,⌐ ba-wăsáṭ d-éa ʾorxá šŭlùq xirté-ya⌐ là-məhre šắre báqa Kurdəstằn,⌐ báqa Hamằn,⌐ ta-bəlʾaxərá gezál lagèf⌐ kmár ʾaná là-keli yătunà.⌐ báqa Ṣádr-e ʾAʿzám kmár baqèf⌐ wăzír ʾaná là-keli yătuná.⌐ ʾắgar la-xărà⌐ ba-ʾána hezn-ó báqa Fărànsa.⌐ ʾo-waxtắra ʾó-č zădè⌐ mən-Mozắfar-din Šằh.⌐ xá-ʿəda mandélu məntăkèf-u⌐ ba-gariyè mazdə́re báqa Hămắn.⌐ (63) ʾoa hiyéwa bàqa Kurdəstắn.⌐ ʾaǧlằb-e⌐ təqna-xwarè⌐ ke-híč-mənu lá pišiwà⌐ kăewalu-o.⌐ dána ba-dána m-tatí băqə̀rwa⌐ da-már xèena⌐ ʾaǧá Ben-Sasón pišà-y?⌐ ʾAwlé Săqəzí pišà-y?⌐ là-kăena.⌐ mằni pišá-y?⌐ mằni pišá-y?⌐ mằni pišá-y?⌐ kŭle băqə̀rwa.⌐ ḥắta bəqré Moše ben-Nəftali Xămanà pišá-y?⌐ ba-rešòx!⌐ ʾăxá dăména təmal-yè.⌐ kŭle ʾənyaxàe băqə́rwale.⌐

The Christians of Sanandaj

(64) ga-Sanandáj surăe hítwa.⌐ məntắke huláe xăráb là-yelu bəxlé.⌐ huláe-u suráe bóxle ʿayzè-yelu,⌐ čún hár-tənu ʾăqalyàt-yelu.⌐ bšəlmáne Kurdəstắn-əč sŭnì-yelu.⌐ šiʿá là-yelu.⌐ huláa ba-năjə́s là kắenwale.⌐ šiʿá huláe ba-năjə̀s kắelu.⌐ ʾóni ba-năjə́s là kắenwalan.⌐

(60) Now I shall tell you a story. In 1951 I came to Israel with my father. Monsieur Cohen, who was the head of the school of the Alliance of Hamadan, had become the head of the school of the Alliance of Jerusalem. His wife saw me and I went to their home. Then he said to me there, he says 'Have you come here with your father?' I said 'Yes.' He says 'Does your father know Monsieur Basan?' I said 'I do not know.' He says 'If he knows him, he is here. Let him come so that I may take you there to him.' (61) I told this to my father, may God grant him rest. My father says 'Yes, I know him.' We went to his home with Monsieur Cohen. We went to his home (and met) an old man ninety-six years old, his age was ninety-six. He told us his reminiscences as to how he came to Iran. He came to Iran in the time of Mozafaredin Shah in order to found the school of the Alliance. (62) For a month and a half he had kept him in Tehran—on account of the fact that there were disturbances on the road,[63] he (the Grand Vizier) did not dare send him to Kurdistan, to Hamadan—until in the end he goes to him and says 'I cannot sit (idly).' He says to the Grand Vizier 'Minister, I cannot sit (idly). If it is not possible, let me go back to France.' Then he (began to) fear Mozafaredin Shah. He commissions a group (to go) with him and sends him to Hamadan with carts. (63) He had come (in this way) to Kurdistan. He knew most of the old folk, none of whom were alive (by that time). He asked my father one by one 'Tell me, let me see, is Agha Ben-Sason alive? Is ʾAwle Săqəzi alive?' I do not know who (he asked whether he) was alive. He asked about them all. He even asked 'Is Moshe ben Nəftali Xămana[64] alive?' Really! I remember it as if it were yesterday.[65] He asked him about all these.

The Christians of Sanandaj

(64) In Sanandaj there were Christians. They did not get on badly with the Jews. The Jews and the Christians got on well together, because both were a minority. The Muslims of Kurdistan were Sunnites. They were not Shiʿites. They did not consider a Jew unclean. A Shiʿite considers Jews unclean, but they used not to consider us unclean.

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[63] Literally: The road had become a disturbance.
[64] The grandfather of a person present in the room.
[65] Literally: I imagine it thus (that) it is yesterday.

(65) ḥắta kəmrìwa| xá-*F*provérb*F* hìtwa ga-baynú.| ləxmá huláa xùl| báqa d-
éa huláa pəsrá xzurá lá kxə̀l.| ʾất kèlox| ḥắlằl-ye baqóx ga-béla huláa ʾaxlét
xalà.| ga-belá huláa là gné.| ga-belá suràa góne.| ta-mà?| hulàa| miḷá xirà-y.|
maʿlùm-la-y ʾất hulaét yá bšəlmanèt.| wắle suraắké là,| miḷá là xira-y.| ʾắgár ga-
bela-suráa melèt| kắe ʾất bšəlmanèt.| xá *F*provèrb*F*-yele ʾéa.| tăwăjòh farmnét?|
ʾéa-č ʾèa.|

New Year

(66) ʾắma| baqyá-e xéta là miráli baqóx,| ʾelè.| ʾéla roš-ha-šanà.| roš-ha-šanà,|
xá-yoma qắme roš-ha-šaná ʾaġlắb-e batè| ʾərbá dabḥìwa-o báqa qorbắn.| pắlen-
wal-ó ga-fắqir-u hăžắr.| ʾéa ʾèa. (67) bàr-d-o| lelé roš-ha-šaná kắle gezíwa báqa
kništà.| kenwá-o belà| băraxà kolíwa.| băraxá ma-jòr-yela?| ʾắwáḷ kărătà| băraxà
ha-gèfen.| bàr-d-ó| dušá dăénwa ba-xămuštà.| xămuštá dăénwa ga-dušá-u|
mangól ga-lăxà kolí.| dušá-u xămuštà| ʾó-ya băraxá kmə̀rwa| kwáʾlwa báqa kắlè.|
ʾənyaxáe ya-tíwiwa dokà,| ʾằt| băraxà már,| băraxà már,| băraxà már.| dána ba-
dána kxə̀lwale-u| kmə́rwa šatóx brixtà hawyá ʾəlhá manté ʾay-šatá,| báqa kắlè.|
(68) bàr-d-o| lạlà kménwa qắme.| bàr-d-o| pəsrá kallà kménwa qắme,| pəsrá rešá
tortá ʾərbà.| bàr-d-o| pəsrá ʾərbà| ʾarmotà kménwa qắme.| bàr-d-o| nunyè kménwa
qắme.| bár kắle| kyàwa| xa-sawzì-ye,| šaplultà kəmríwa baqéf.| ʾo-sawzí kménwa
kəxlìwale.| băraxà kəmríwa.| ʾéa băraxà-yela.| (69) ʾéa timàwa,| bár-d-o xálu
kəxlìwale-u| gezíwa ba-šon-ḥaštù.| bə́qata gezíwa kništà,| har-tà-ge| saʿằt-e| ʾəsrà-
u-pəlge| xesàr ga-kništá-yelu.| ga-Kurdəstắn tà-xesar,| bi-zóa là garšáwa.| ga-
dokà| sefár natyàwa-u| băraxá kəmrìwa-u| šăḥarìt-u| musàf qărénwa ga-kništá-u|
ʾarz-hòna| šaʿaré raṣòn qărénwale.| kắle yalé qărènwala bi-zóa-u.| ʾéa qărènwa-u|
kénwa-o belà.|

(65) They (the Sunnite Muslims) would even say—they had a proverb among themselves: 'Eat the food of a Jew, because a Jew does not eat the meat of a pig. You can, it is permitted for you to eat food in the house of Jew. Do not sleep in the house of a Jew. Sleep in the house of Christian.' Why? A Jew is circumcised. It is not known whether you are a Jew or you are a Muslim. But the Christian is not, he is not circumcised. If you die in the house of a Christian, he knows that you are a Muslim. That was a proverb. Are you paying attention? That is that.

New Year

(66) But I have not told you about the rest of the things, the festivals. The festival of New Year. New Year—one day before New Year, most families slaughtered a sheep as a sacrifice. They would distribute it to the poor and needy. That is that. (67) After that, on the night of New Year everybody went to the synagogue. They would come home and make a blessing. What was the blessing like? First, the blessing of the vine. Then, they put honey on an apple. They put an apple in honey, as they do here. The one making the blessing would give honey and apple to everybody. (He would say to) those who were sitting there 'You say a blessing, (you) say a blessing, (you) say a blessing.' Each in their turn would eat it and he would say 'May your year be blessed, God willing, this year', he said this to everybody. (68) Then they brought forward the lungs (of the sheep). Then they brought forward the meat of the head (of the animal), the meat of the head of an ox or sheep. After that, the meat of the sheep, they brought forward a pomegranate. After that they brought forward fish. After everything came something that is a vegetable, which is called *šaplulta*. They brought that vegetable and ate it. They said a blessing. That was (the ceremony of) the blessing. (69) When this had finished, then they ate the food and went to get on with their work.[66] In the morning they went to the synagogue. They were in the synagogue until half-past-ten or eleven. In Kurdistan (they stayed) until eleven, it did not last any longer. There, the Torah scroll was raised up and they said a blessing. They read *šaḥarit* and *musaf* in the synagogue. I tell you, they read the *šaʿare raṣon* prayer. All the children read it and more. They read it and went home.

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[66] Literally: They went after their work.

(70) ʾášər gezíwa baqà꞊ ꜥawún kăparà,꞊ ʾăgár šăbát là hawyáwa.꞊ gezíwa báqa ꜥawún kăparà.꞊ ꜥawún kăpará mà-yele?꞊ ga-lăxà-č hít꞊ tašlìx.꞊ gezíwa baqá qam-màe.꞊ xá roxanà,꞊ xa-jogá máe răwằn hawyáwa.꞊ gezíwa ta-dokà.꞊ tašlíx qắrènwa-u꞊ xa-sáꜥat mătimìwala-u꞊ kenwá-o belà.꞊ kenwá-o belà,꞊ qàwme-č dubára hám-čonin,꞊ yóma trè,꞊ ʾé tre-yòme.꞊ lelèf-o-č hár ba-d-ó jorá꞊ băraxà kəmríwa.꞊

The Day of Atonement

(71) bàr-d-o꞊ kipùr kyáwa qắme.꞊ maꜥlelá kipùr꞊ hár belà꞊ čəkmá năfăré jwằn hítwa gáef-u꞊ pìr꞊ fárq la-kól gorà꞊ xà-dana kằlắšér baqéf dabḥiwá-o.꞊ hár năfàr꞊ ga-béla didăxún xamšá năfăré hìtwa꞊ zŭkùr-yelu,꞊ xamšà kằlắšére dabḥiwá-o baqéf.꞊ zé ḥălifaténu qărénwale baqèf,꞊ ʾéa kwìwa.꞊ ʾó-waxtăra šărìwalu baqá făqiré.꞊ xayú yá tràu năténwalu ta-nóšu꞊ ʾéa kwíwalu báqa făqiré saqè.꞊ (72) ʾéa tìma꞊ lelè꞊ kŭle ʾămadè,꞊ xalá kəxlìwa꞊ gezíwa baqá kništà.꞊ ga-kništà꞊ mənhà-yela-u꞊ ꜥarbìt-yela-u꞊ musáf-e ꜥarbít qărènwala-u,꞊ ta-sáꜥat ʾəsrá-u pəlgè,꞊ xesár ṭúl garšàwa kništá,꞊ lelé kipùr.꞊ kenwá-o belà꞊ šratà lá malqíwa.꞊ tanhá ʾó šratá ya-hítwa ga-ʾotắq məlqàwalu,꞊ ʾóa lá-xárwa gyaná holìl-o꞊ gbéwa ʾó hawyàwa,꞊ šratá xét ʾezafá là malqíwa,꞊ báqa d-éa lá-xar ʾíla dắen ba-nurà,꞊ mangól šăbàt.꞊ (73) bíš Ꜥqitsonì-čꜤ-yela mən-šăbát,꞊ čún kəmrìwa꞊ har-gíz huláa ba-šăbát ṣomà lá dóq꞊ wále kipúr majbúr-ye ṣóma dòq.꞊ ʾaxní hulàe꞊ ʾăgár ṣomá ṣəhyón lăpál yomá šăbàt꞊ lá doqèxile.꞊ mandéxile yomá xšabà.꞊ ʾăgár ṣomá Lelangè,꞊ Purìm,꞊ lăpál yomá šăbàt,꞊ là doqéxile.꞊ xamšùšab doqéxile.꞊ tá-ma ʾé xamšùšab doqéxile꞊ ʾó xšabà?꞊ ṣomá-e šadì꞊ mandéxile qằme꞊ ṣomá-e ꜥăzà꞊ mandéxile xằre.꞊ ʾò ʾé ke-ṣomá-e šăbát-e ṣəhyòn꞊ ga-xšàba doqéxwale.꞊ ba-ʾənyaxáe ʾălètun.꞊ ʾənyaxàe꞊ masòret-yen.꞊ ga-hălaxá-č kliwà-y ʾéa.꞊ ʾé ʾèa.꞊ (74) ṣomá doqèxwa.꞊ báqăta gezéxwa kništà꞊ xét là kexwá-o belà꞊ har-tá-ge lelè.꞊ mắgar xášti jwané heziwà-o,꞊ xà-saꜥat,꞊ trè-saꜥăte,꞊ ga-béla gănénwa-u henwà-o.꞊ kŭle ga-kništà-yelu.꞊ hìč-kas lá gézwa-o belà.꞊ ta-lằma?꞊ ta-saꜥằt-e šoà,꞊ šóa-u pəlgè.꞊ ꜥarbít temàwa-u꞊ ʾo-waxtăra kexwá-o belà.꞊ kexwá-o báqa belà-u꞊ bərkát ha-lăbanà ga-wárya kəmréxwa.꞊ bərkát ha-lăbaná qărèxwala-u꞊ bàr-d-o kéxwa-o belá.꞊ ʾè-ya.꞊

(70) In the evening they went (to perform the ceremony of) 'the atonement of sins', if it was not Sabbath. They went (to perform the ceremony of) 'the atonement of sins.' What is 'the atonement of sins'? It (is performed) here also, *tašlix*. They went up to water, a river, a stream that was running water. They went there. They read (the prayer of) *tašlix*. They finished it in an hour and went back home. They went back home and also the next day the same, the second day—it was two days. That night in the same way they recited a blessing.

The Day of Atonement

(71) After that came the Day of Atonement. On the eve of the Day of Atonement, each family, however many people there were, young or old, it does not matter—they would slaughter a cock for each man. Every person— (if) there were in your family five people who were male, they would slaughter five cocks for him. They would recite 'This is our substitute' and would give it to him. Then they would send it to the poor. They would keep one or two for themselves and send them to the poor to cleanse them (of their sins). (72) When this finished, in the evening, when they were all ready, they ate food and went to the synagogue. In the synagogue there were evening and night prayers. They read the Musaf for the night prayers. The synagogue service lasted until half past ten or eleven o'clock on the night of the Day of Atonement. They came back home but did not light a lamp. Only the lamp that was in the room and they had (previously) lit— they could not extinguish that. That had to remain, but they did not light an additional lamp, because it was not permitted for them to touch fire, as on Sabbath. (73) It was more strict than on Sabbath, because they said that a Jew should never fast on Sabbath, but on the Day of Atonement he is obliged to fast. We Jews, if the fast of Zion (ninth of Ab) falls on a Sabbath, we do not keep it. We postpone it to the Sunday. If the fast of *Lelange*, Purim, falls on a Sabbath, we do not keep it. We keep it on the Thursday. Why do we hold this one on Thursday but that one on Sunday? The fast of joy we put forward and the fast of mourning we put back. That is why we kept the fast of the Sabbath of Zion on Sunday. You should know these things. These things are tradition. It is also written in the *halakha*. That is that. (74) We kept the fast. In the morning we went to the synagogue and we did not come back home again until night. Perhaps a few youngsters went back, slept for an hour or two at home and then came back. Everybody was in the synagogue. Nobody went back home. Until when? Until seven o'clock or half past seven. The evening prayer finished and then we went home. We went back home and said the blessing of the moon outside. We read the blessing of the moon and then went back home. That is it.

Tabernacles

(75) báqa ʾilanè.ˈ ʾilanèˈ hár mən-yóma bàr kipúr.ˈ mən-yóma bàr kipúrˈ gezə́xwa waryàˈ tuḷè šaqláxwa kəmrə́xwa baqéf tuḷèˈ ʾilanè xelapá.ˈ gezə́xwa baqá bazàr.ˈ gã̄ḷaé ʾilanèˈ bšəlmané čăqènwa.ˈ bšəlmané kmènwaˈ ʾaxní šaqlə̀xwalu mənú,ˈ kmə́xwa-o belà.ˈ sʷkà tarṣéxwa.ˈ (76) ja-lelèˈ wáxt-e ṣomá kipúr fəṭran-ò,ˈ maˤə́m kéwa belà.ˈ băraxà kmə́rwaˈ nišã́n-e sʷkăke mătùwaˈ g-è-tʷka sʷká dăeni-ó,ˈ g-e-tʷká.ˈ ʾo-waxtàraˈ bəqằtef-oˈ šərúˤ koléxwa ba-tăroṣé sʷkăkè.ˈ ʾarbà năfăré belà-yelu,ˈ təḷhà năfăré belà-yelu,ˈ hár šərúˤ kolíwa ba-tăroṣàf-uˈ xàˈ ʾalunàk tarṣíwa.ˈ mangól lăxá là-yeleˈ hezí xa-dána šaqlì.ˈ nòšu tarṣíwala-uˈ kolíwala xá ʾotáqa ḥăsabì-uˈ fárš šăwénwa gàaf-uˈ qaḷí mandènwa,ˈ došăké matwíwa gàaf-uˈ pardé dăénwa gàaf-uˈ ḥăsabì.ˈ (77) xa-dána qằrà kolíwa báaf.ˈ kəmríwa ʾéa qắrá mangól qắrá-e ké baqàˈ Yóna ha-nàbi,ˈ baqá Yóna ha-nabìˈ wáxt-e ʾəlhá šáre baqá Babə̀l,ˈ míre Babə̀lˈ sé mar-baqùˈ ʾaná Babál mărùnaf,ˈ ké ʾāt-xór qəryàlox.ˈ ʾána Babál mărùnafˈ wa-ʾó lá gezə̀lwa.ˈ zíl nóšef ga-pliyáw kaštiăké ṭəšyale-ò.ˈ bár-d-o məndélu pliyawà.ˈ míru ʾằtˈ gonāhkằr-yet-uˈ məndélu pliyáw daryà-uˈ zíl pliyáw kása xá nunilà.ˈ ʾòaˈ xá dastán-e ˤăla-ḥădà hitá-u,ˈ ʾaná kéli baqóx qăréna bàr-d-o.ˈ (78) ʾòaˈ koléxwale ba-sʷkăkèˈ kəmréxwa ʾéa qărà-eˈ Yoná ha-nabì-ya.ˈ bàr-d-oˈ xá-dana betàˈ băzèxwala.ˈ ʾo-betá-č koléxwala ba-glalà-uˈ ʾasréxwala ba-ᴴtəqrà,ᴴ ˈ ᴴtəqráᴴ sʷkăkè.ˈ harmonyè koléxwa báaf.ˈ băṣirè koléxwa báaf.ˈ xămušè koléxwa báaf.ˈ ʾaspaglè koléxwa báaf.ˈ koléxwala xá tazyìn,ˈ xá ᴴṣaˤṣuˤîmᴴ báqa kűle náše.ˈ ʾó-waxtăra,ˈ trè-yome ʾelá-yela,ˈ yomá ʾăwàḷ-uˈ yomá duwóm gezə́xwa báte lə̀xleˈ baqàˈ ʾela-brixulà.ˈ

Tabernacles

(75) (Now) to (the festival of) trees (Tabernacles). (Preparations for) Tabernacles began right after the Day after Atonement. From the day after Atonement we would go outside and buy shoots, we called them shoots of willow trees. We would go to the market. The Muslims picked leaves of trees. The Muslims brought them and we bought them from them. We would make a booth. (76) Now, at night, when we had broken the fast of the Atonement, a rabbi would come to the house. He would say a blessing, mark out (the place) of the booth and they would place the booth in that place, in that place. Then, in the morning, we would begin to make the booth. Whether there were four people in the family or there were three people in the family, everybody began to make it, they made a booth. It was not the case that they went to buy one, as (they do) here. They would make it themselves. They would make it into a proper room. They laid out bedding in it. They would put down a carpet. They put mattresses in it. They put proper curtains in it. (77) They put a gourd in it. They would say that this was like the gourd which (appeared) for Jonah the prophet, for Jonah the prophet, when God sent him to Babylon and said 'Go and tell Babylon that I shall destroy Babylon', as you surely have read. (God said) 'I shall destroy Babylon' and he (Jonah) hid in the boat. Then they threw him in. They said 'You are sinful' and threw him in the sea. He went into the stomach of a fish. That is a story by itself,[67] which I can tell you afterwards. (78) We used to put that in the booth. We would say 'This is the gourd of the prophet Jonah.' Then we would prick an egg. We put the egg on a thread and tied it to the ceiling, the ceiling of the booth. We put pomegranates on it. We put grapes on it. We put apples on it. We put quinces on it. We made it into a decoration, a delight for everybody. Now, the festival was two days, the first day and the second day we would go to each other's houses to give festival blessings.

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[67] Literally: That has a story by itself.

Hoshana Rabba

(79) bàr-d-o│ kyáwa ta-yomà│ hošáʿna rabbà.│ lelé hošáʿna rabbà│ hár belà│ lắḥá m-ṣálma ḥaliyé molèf,│ ʾằgár xá nắfắrá milằwe,│ našé gezíwa baqá dokà,│ ga-doká tá yomà,│ yatwíwa ga-dokà,│ torà qắrénwa-u│ nabiyím-u kằtubìm qắrénwa.│ ʾárz hòna,│ mǝšnayotè qắrénwa-u│ zohàr qắrénwa│ ta-qarwá-e yomà.│ qarwá-e yomà│ ʾó-waxtăra ṣắliḥòt kǝmríwa baqáf.│ ṣắliḥót hìtwalan.│ šoà ṣắliḥót hítwalu-u│ šoá ṣắliḥót qắrènwala-u│ bắraxá kǝmrìwa-u│ šofár mắxènwa-u│ tà yomá.│ (80) qarwá-e yomá ké xarwà,│ mewá kmènwa.│ ga-doká bắraxà kǝmríwa-u,│ m-doká qemíwa gezíwa baqá kništà.│ hošáʿna rabbá ga-kništà,│ ga-dokà hošáʿna rabbá-yela.│ ʾó-waxtăra mangól lắxá là-yela,│ har-nắfár xá toránj-u xá luláv šắqǝl,│ čún Kurdǝstắn lìtwa gáaf.│ mǝn-Taràn šăríwa báqa didán toránj-u luláv.│ ga-doká hár kništá xà-dana hitwalá.│ bắraxà kǝmríwa ga-dóka│ ga-kništà.│ ʾo-lelé ga-hošáʿna rabbà-č│ mắčiríwale ba-rešá kắle našè.│ bắraxá toranjulà kǝmríle.│ ʾéa-č ʾèa.│ ʾằgár xá-mdi lá mirăwelì,│ gbe-bàxšet.│

Raza Shah

(81) ᴴsipùrᴴ│ Rắzá Šằh ḥắqénox.│ Rắzá Šằh│ mǝn-Sắqǝz ké báqa Kurdǝstằn.│ zìlwa baqá│ Tawrèz.│ mǝn-Tawréz híye baqá Sắqǝz,│ mǝn-Sắqǝz híye Kurdǝstằn.│ ga-Sắqǝz│ gezíwa ʾǝstǝqbalèf│ tămắm-e rŭwanè.│ rŭwané bšǝlmanè,│ rŭwané suràe,│ rŭwané hulàe│ gezíwa qằmef.│ hulàe│ xá ʾǝsrá xamsàr nắfắré,│ hulàe│ gezíwa qằmef│ kắle tǝqnú har-tá lắxà.│ ʾáy-ǝč ke-qằme│ mắʿin-ò│ kmár ʾáy mà-ye?│ kǝmrí ʾaxní qorbằn│ tǝqnè-ya.│ bàr-o kol-ó│ ta-raís-e šahrbanì│ ta-raís-e polìs│ kmár baqèf│ mǝn-d-áy reš-ó ken-ò,│ ʾonyexáe tǝqnú lá pešà.│

Hoshana Rabba

(79) Then came Hoshana Rabba.[68] On the eve of Hoshana Rabba, every family—may death be far from the face of those present—if somebody had died, people would go there (to that home), (they would go) there for the day and sit there. They would read Torah. They would read the Prophets and Writings. I say to you,[69] they would read the Mishnayot and they would read the Zohar, until near dawn. Near dawn, then—we called it penitential prayers. We had penitential prayers. They had seven penitential prayers. They read seven penitential prayers. They said blessings and blew the shofar until dawn. (80) Close to when dawn broke, they brought fruit. They said a blessing there and got up from there and went to the synagogue. Hoshana Rabba was in the synagogue. Hoshana Rabba took place there. At that time it was not like here, whereby everybody buys an etrog and palm frond, since there were none (of these) in Kurdistan. They sent etrogs and palm fronds to us from Tehran. There every synagogue had one. They would say a blessing there in the synagogue. That night on Hoshana Rabba they would carry it (the etrog) round over the head of all the people. They call it blessing of the etrog. That is that. If I have not said something, you must forgive me.

Raza Shah

(81) I shall tell you the story of Raza Shah. Raza Shah came from Săqəz to Kurdistan. He had gone to Tabriz. From Tabriz he came to Săqəz, from Săqəz he came to Kurdistan. In Săqəz all the dignitaries went to receive him. The Muslim dignitaries, the Christian dignitaries, the Jewish dignitaries went before him. Some Jews, about ten or fifteen people, Jews went before him, all with their beards down to here. He comes forward 'Look' he says 'What is this?' They say 'With respect,[70] it is a beard.' He turns round to the head of police, the head of police and says to him 'When I come back again, the beard of those people must not remain (unshaven).'

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[68] Literally: Then it came to Hoshana Rabba.
[69] Literally: I make petition.
[70] Literally: We are a sacrifice.

(82) Răzá Šā́h gezàl│ ʾəstəraḥàt kól.│ ke-ó dokà.│ ʾənyexáe là šoqí│ ta-təqnú gărénila ga-doká b-gàu.│ ke-ò,│ xắe ʾənyexàe│ xà-dana təqná lítu.│ kmə́r da-măʿin-ò│ ʾătà ʿayza-y│ yá ʾo-waxtằra?│ ʾáy ʾəbyá-y ga-ʿayn-e-ḥằl│ hămə́r mazháb ʾəqrà rába xéta lá-y báqa təqná.│ ʾắt hulàet,│ hulàet.│ ʾáy təqná mà-ya?│ ʾắt bšəlmanèt,│ ʾáy təqná mà-ya?│ bar-ʿaléh-e dìn│ wắle là-ʾəbya-y│ róšan hole-ò.│ ʾéa hìč.│ (83) híye báqa Kurdəstằn.│ híye báqa Kurdəstằn,│ ga-Kurdəstằn│ huláe ʿăla-ḥàdà│ bšəlmané hár-xa ʿăla-ḥàdà│ suráe ʿăla-ḥàdà│ ṭáqa noṣràt trə́šlu báqef.│ ṭáqa noṣrát mà-yele?│ xá-tʷká tarṣìwa│ ké šáh m-txéla d-éa ʾòr│ ʾălé ʾéa hulàe trəsté-ya,│ ʾé jămáʿat hulàe hít ga-lăxá trəsté-ya.│ ʾèa│ tajərè trəsté-ya.│ ʾèa│ maʿləmè trəsté-ya.│ ʾèa│ ḥăkimè trəsté-ya.│ ba-d-áy jorá ṭaqá noṣràt hítwa.│ (84) hulàe│ tərṣawalù│ xá-sefar-əč mətwáwalu dóka rešàf.│ mətwáwalu rešàf,│ ké Răzá Šằh│ m-txéla d-òa│ ʿŭbùr wilè,│ míre ʾéa mà-ya?│ ʾéa mà-ya?│ mamì│ duktə́r Musà ʾəlhá mănixá│ híye qalè│ kmə́r qorbằn│ ʾó séfar torà-ya.│ ʾaxní mìran│ ke-ʾằt│ m-txéla séfar torá ʾorèt│ ké ʾáy séfar torà negahdaróx hawyá.│ míre ᴴkól ha-kavòd!ᴴ díle réša xaṣà│ ʾamu-jằn│ kmə́r ᴴkol ha-kavòd,ᴴ duktə́r Mùsa!│ ʾéa mằni-yele?│ Ḥáji ʾIsḥằq-yele lā-ʾiléf.│ kmə̀r│ ʾéa mằni-ye?│ kmə́r ʾèa│ mằlá didàn-ye.│ kmə̀r│ ᴾadam-e xùb-i-hasti.ᴾ│ ʾətəfaqán našá ʿayzèk-yet.│ ʾárz hònà,│ ʾéa ʾèa.│ (85) bàr-d-o│ mən-dóka zíl baqá lèka?│ Xosrawbằd.│ Xosrawbằd tʷkèf-yela.│ zíl baqá dokà│ tré təlḥà yomé ga-doká-yele-u.│ čĩr,│ rába huláe ga-doká mórəd ʾəhtəramèf-yelu│ rába gbèwalun-u│ məspéwale l-farmandé laškàr│ mìrwale│ huláe ga-lăxá gbe-raḥàt hăwén│ ʾazătú là holétun.│ là šoqét ʾazătú holí.│ ʾó-č mírwale là qorbắn,│ lăxá sŭnì-yeni.│ rába məntắke huláe ʿayzèni│ ʾazătù lá kolí.│ ʾèa│ Răzá Šằh│ báqa hulàe.│

(82) Raza Shah went and took a rest. He came back—They did not allow them (the Jews) to shave their beards there among them—He came back and saw that not one had a beard. He said 'Look, is it better now or before?' He wanted at that time to say that religion is not in such (need) of a beard. (If) you are a Jew, you are a Jew. What is this beard? (If) you are a Muslim, what is a beard? He was against religion but he did not want to make it explicit. But this (anecdote) is nothing.[71] (83) He came to Kurdistan. He came to Kurdistan and in Kurdistan the Jews by themselves, the Muslims each by themselves and the Christians by themselves made an arch of victory. What is an arch of victory? They made a place (in such a way) that the Shah would pass under and know that Jews made it, that there is a Jewish community here that made it. The merchants made one. The teachers made another. The doctors made another. There was an arch of victory (built) in this manner. (84) The Jews had made it and had put a Torah scroll there over it. They put it over it (the arch) and when Raza Shah passed under it, he said 'What is this? What is this?' My uncle, Doctor Musa, may God grant him rest, began to speak and said 'Your honour, that is a Torah scroll. We thought that you would pass under the scroll so that the Torah scroll would protect you. He said 'Well done!' He patted the back of my dear uncle and said 'Well done Doctor Musa!' Who was there? Ḥaji ʾIsḥāq was next to him. He said 'Who is this?' He said 'This is our rabbi.' He said 'You are a good man. You happen to be a good man.' Now, that is that. (85) Then, where did he go? Khosrawbad. Khosrawbad was his destination.[72] He went there and was there two or three days. He walked around. The Jews there greatly commanded his respect. He liked them very much. He sent to the army commander and said 'The Jews here must be at ease and you must not disturb them. Do not allow people to disturb them.' He said 'No, your honour, here they are Sunni. They are very good with the Jews. They do not disturb them.' This (is the account) of Raza Shah concerning the Jews.

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[71] I.e. it is not my main point.
[72] Literally: place.

INFORMANT C (NEGAR PAZ)

Reminiscences

(1) ga-ʾIrán na-raḥàt-yeli.⌐ pqartì măráwa.⌐ ga-ʾIrán na-raḥàt-yeli.⌐ tămắm-e duktóre kűle zìlan⌐ là kéwalu mă͑alijí hòliwa.⌐ Báhram gyắn mìre⌐ dày gyắn⌐ sé baqá ʾIsràyəl.⌐ Faršíd dokà-y.⌐ Dànəš doká-y.⌐ lablílax l-dokà.⌐ báška ʾəlhà-y⌐ mă͑alíja xărát.⌐ (2) ʾána hìyan.⌐ Bahrám ga-ʾIrằn-yele.⌐ Bahrám là-hyewa.⌐ hiyằna,⌐ ləblắnanu bimaristắn-e Hădăsà.⌐ ʾăxonì ləblắnanef,⌐ Dànəš ʾăxoní.⌐ ga-dokà⌐ xà-xmata dyálu ga-͑ăsắbe bar-reší-u⌐ ʾaná dméli máe drèlu réša nurá⌐ triṣan-ò.⌐ (3) ʾanà⌐ fawrì⌐ bəqátef-ò⌐ telefòn wíli baqá⌐ Bàhram gyắn.⌐ mìri⌐ Bàhram⌐ xắran saqòx⌐ bsiman-ò⌐ ʾarằm xirán.⌐ kmắr dày-gyān⌐ ʾəqrà ʾślu⌐ ʾanà⌐ ga-lăxá tăxăṣùṣ lá qăréna.⌐ ʾána kéna báqa ʾIsràyəl.⌐ ʾăzìzakam⌐ ʾaná ʾèa šmíli mən-Bahrám-u⌐ bár xá čəkmà-i⌐ tré təlḥà yarxé lăxà-yeli-u⌐ ʾaná mìri⌐ daxóm mắhanqìli.⌐ xor-ʾIsráyəl ʾăxá là-yela ʾó-waxtăra.⌐ ṭlái-u təlḥà-šəne qắme d-éa-yele.⌐ ʾaná ʾăgár Bahrám hé lăxá tăxăṣúṣ qărè,⌐ xét là-ke-o báqa ʾIsráyəl.⌐ ʾaná-č gbé hezắn-o lága belá-u yalì.⌐ (4) qìman⌐ zìlăn-o.⌐ míre dàyka⌐ ʾána gbèna⌐ tăxăṣuṣí qărènaf⌐ bár-d-o ken-ò.⌐ sé ròla⌐ ʾəlhá hăwé mànox.⌐ Bahrám qìm zìl.⌐ zìl-u⌐ bár xa-mŭdàt⌐ xa-tré təlḥà-šəne zíl gáef⌐ xéli Bahrám gyắn⌐ telefón wíle baqì⌐ yáni ta-Soqrát bronì⌐ míre ʾanà⌐ baxtà gəwrí.⌐ Soqrát zàng díle baqí⌐ míre dàyka⌐ Bahrám baxtà gəwrá-y.⌐ tʷká d-óa xoš-ḥàl xărán,⌐ ʾíli wíli băxoè.⌐ bəxyàn,⌐ bəxyàn.⌐ kmắr yătùmta⌐ mà baxyát?⌐ mìri⌐ tazà⌐ Bahràm⌐ ʾaná b-ʾenì la-xắef.⌐ zəndəgí dàx-ye!⌐ dàx čér!⌐ hìč⌐ rába na-raḥàt xíran-u⌐ xéli Bahram gyắn⌐ míre dày gyắn⌐ là-zdu,⌐ ʾaná ʾarbá yarxé xèt⌐ ʾaná kèn-o lágax.⌐ híye məntắke baxtèf⌐ báxle réša dìlu.⌐

INFORMANT C (NEGAR PAZ)

Reminiscences

(1) In Iran I was not well. My neck ached. In Iran I was not well. I went to all the doctors. They could not cure me. My dear Bahram said 'Mother dear, go to Israel. Farshid is there. Danəš is there. They will take you there. Perhaps it is (the will of) God that you will be cured.' (2) I came. Bahram was in Iran. Bahram had not yet come. I came. They took me to Hadasa hospital. My brother took me, Danəš my brother. There they injected a needle in the nerves behind my neck. I thought that they put water on the fire and I was cured. (3) Immediately in the morning I telephoned my dear Bahram. I said 'Bahram, my dear,[73] I have been cured, I have been relieved (of my pain).' He says 'Mother dear, you should know this, that I shall not study a specialism here. I shall come to Israel.' My dear, I heard this from Bahram, then after a little longer—I was here two or three months—I said 'Even if they strangle me (I shall not stay).' Israel was then not like this (as it is now). It was thirty-three years ago. 'If Bahram comes here to study a specialism, he will not come back to Israel afterwards.[74] But I must go back to my family and children.' (4) I went back. He (Bahram) said 'Mother. I want to study my specialism, then I shall come back.' 'Go, my dear. May God be with you.' Bahram went away. He went and after a period of two or three years had passed, it happened[75] that dear Bahram telephoned me, that is Soqrat my son, and said 'I have married.' Soqrat rang me and said 'Mother, Bahram has married.' Instead of being happy, I began to cry. I cried and cried. He says 'Poor woman,[76] why are you crying?' I said 'I shall not see Bahram with my own eyes again soon.' How life (is hard)! How it turns out to be! Well,[77] I was very sick and then dear Bahram said 'Mother, do not fear, I shall come back to you in another four months.'

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[73] Literally: May I become your cleansing (of sins).
[74] I.e. he will return to live in Iran.
[75] Literally: I saw.
[76] Literally: orphan girl.
[77] Literally: nothing.

*(5) ʾáy ʿolamà,ˌ ʿazìzakam,ˌ ràba zorté-ya.ˌ ʾəlhá ʾasxá wìleˌ čárx mčìre.ˌ
məntắke d-èaˌ bóxle qímex híyex baqá lăxà.ˌ híyex baqá diyaní yalăkè.ˌ Báhram
míre dày-gyān,ˌ hàlax!ˌ ʾáy belàˌ ʾáy ʾărá bayə̀r-yelaˌ xa-tíka ʾắrá ga-dóka ga-
Denyà-yelaˌ šaqlèxila.ˌ ʾáy ʾăràˌ xá-tikaf ʾaxtù ntúmuˌ xá-tikaf ʾàxni.ˌ (6) fkə̀r
wili-ó.ˌ míri làʾˌ fayà-lite.ˌ ʾaná ḥawṣắlá-eˌ ʾára tăroṣè líti-uˌ ʾanàˌ gezan-òˌ yalí ga-
Kursàn-yen-uˌ ʾanàˌ šoqú ba-tʷkà-uˌ hiyán ga-lăxá yătàn?!ˌ míre dày-gyān,ˌ mà
gbát?ˌ mìriˌ hezéx xa-béla šqùli,ˌ har-o-kăràt.ˌ hìyex,ˌ ṭăbăqá-e garé zìlex.ˌ ʾəqrá
ləbí ʾăxà-yele,ˌ ga-penhàws-yele.ˌ míre ʾèa šqúle.ˌ míri làʾˌ qáwme ʾána máre
năwagè-yan-uˌ năwagí hén-u hezí ga-garè-uˌ ʾəlhá la holanèˌ laplì.ˌ băšár xet-
ʾăxà-y.ˌ là šwə́qli. (7) híyex lăxà.ˌ ʾay-bèla xélan.ˌ míre dáy-gyān ʾèa gbắte?ˌ míri
ʾì Báhram gyắn,ˌ šqùle.ˌ wắle ʾána ʾătá là-kyăna.ˌ ʾaná gezan-ó báqa ʾIrằn.ˌ ʾò-
waxtăraˌ qáwe qúye Xomenìˌ pílwa-u là pílwa,ˌ heštán maʿlúm là-yele.ˌ qíman
məntắke d-èaˌ bóxle zilex-ò.ˌ ʿazìzakamˌ zílex-o baqá Kursằn.ˌ ʾày ləbíˌ čúnke
Báhram lăxà-yeleˌ tăxăṣúṣ qărèwaˌ xéli hóš-u xyaʾí lága d-èele.ˌ məntắke d-áy
bóxle zilex-ò.ˌ (8) béla trə̀ṣwalan.ˌ ᴴvilàᴴ hítwalan.ˌ ba-ʾəlhá xà zəndəgí hítwalan
ga-ʾIrắn.ˌ ba-ʾəlhàˌ xa-ʾəstáxr ga-ḥafṣàn-yela.ˌ tré karmalè-yelu.ˌ ḥáli hár danùˌ
hamrắna čəkmàˌ ʾəlhá-hiwula gáu.ˌ šóa tmánya ʾotaqè-hitwalan.ˌ qímex zəbnìlan
belăké.ˌ ʾéa ʾorxéf dəwqàleˌ míre hàlaxˌ šoqéx bá-tʷka-u hezèxin.ˌ ḥáli ba-harzànˌ
ba-ʾəlhàˌ ba-nurà,ˌ ba-nuràˌ mətílan belăkè.ˌ ba-ʾəštà-meˌ ʾəštá-me ʾalpè zəbnán.ˌ
míri ba-Tún jăhănàm.ˌ ba-ʾəlhàˌ malkàn,ˌ dărayàn,ˌ ʾəlha-hiwulàn,ˌ malàn,ˌ
ʾilanè,ˌ hàr-či hítwalanˌ míri jăhănám hezèx.ˌ*

(5) This world, my dear, is very small. God worked (our fate) in such a way and turned the wheel. I came here together with him.[78] We came to see the children. Bahram said 'Mother dear, come! This house, this land, which was waste ground, a plot of land that was there in Denya[79]—let's buy it. This land—you take a piece of it and we a piece.' (6) I thought about it. I said 'No. There is no point. I do not have the patience to build on the land. I shall go back. My children are in Kurdistan. Should I leave them there and come to live here?!' He said 'Mother dear, what do you want?' I said 'Let's go and you buy me a house, only then (will I come).' We came and went to the floor (under) the roof. My heart was so (shaken) like this, it was in the 'penthouse.' He said 'Buy this.' I said 'No. In the future[80] I shall have grandchildren. My grandchildren would come and go onto the roof and, God forfend, fall off.' Well, it is only human (to think like that).[81] I did not allow it. (7) We came here. We saw this house. He said 'Mother dear, do you want this one?' I said 'Yes, dear Bahram, buy it, but I shall not come now. I shall go back to Iran.' At that time the twittering of Khomeini, whether it had started or not, was still not widely known about. I set off with him (my husband) and we went back together. My dear, we went back to Kurdistan. As for my heart, since Bahram was here to study a specialism, all my thoughts were indeed with him. I went back together with him (my husband). (8) We had built a house. We had a villa. Indeed, we had a (good) life in Iran. Indeed, there was a pool in our courtyard. There were two orchards. (You should) understand, in each of them, let me say, there was so much divinely given produce. We had seven or eight rooms. (Despite this) we sold all the properties. He (my husband) set off and said 'Come, let us leave (it all) in its place and go.' You understand, (we sold) cheaply, indeed, we put the properties in the fire (so cheaply did we sell them). We sold for six hundred, for six hundred thousand. I said '(Let it be turned) into Tun,[82] to hell (with it).' Indeed, our property, our possessions, our divinely given produce, our village, trees, everything we had—I said 'To hell (with it)' let us go.

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[78] The speaker points to her husband.

[79] A district of Haifa.

[80] Literally: tomorrow.

[81] Literally: A human is like that.

[82] A city that was totally destroyed.

(9) ˀéa … xá-lele zíl be-bratì.| ga-televizyón mˤînwale| xá-năfar mən-d-áy
ˀaˤyanè| malək-yele| qṱəlwalu.| hiye-ò| kmə́r Negàr| ˀána là yătúna.| ˀána didì-č
qaṭlí.| fawrì| bə̀qàta| hăwapaymà,| xətní hăwapaymá dwə̀qle baqéf-u| ˀáy hiye-ó
baqá lága Taymùr,| baqá Fărə̃nsa,| zăminì| xor-hăwaì lìtwa.| *(10)* qím híye lăxà.|
ba-šón-e d-ày-əč| ˀána hìyan.| hìyan| wàle| tămám-e hòš-u| fəkrì,| ˀátà ˀalˀán
ḥaqyàn,| lága yalì-yele.| ga-ˀIrə́n šəwqìwali-u| xa-məqdáru ga-ˀIsrə̀yəl-yelu.| ˀíla
wíli băxòe| nóša qàṭòle.| har-dàx-yele xét?| bárux ha-šə̀m| ˀáy-bela hìtwalan,|
belăké hìtwalan.| bəxyàn.| ˀáy ˀăsasiyà-u| ˀèxa-u| kŭle mèlan| kŭle twìr| kŭle
pərtìx,| kŭle mən-báyn zìl.| *(11)* míri kèt má holéx.| măšín-e raxt-šurí mèwalan,|
ˀó-č twìra,| yaxčalàn,| kŭle twìri.| ga-ˀorxá kŭle mən-báyn zìli.| mìrì| jăhanàm|
hàlox| ˀáy jə́lan čaḷkə̀n-yen.| mandyắnanu ga-wanăkè.| xor-ˀaxní là-kelan
xăléxilu.| kmə́r mà honá?| míri ˀə̀t ba-ˀaqlè| sé réša ˀáy jəlè.| ba-ˀaqlé ˀáy jəlé
ˤùčlu| ˤúčlu ˀe-jəlăkè| ˀaná-č ˀasrắnanu.| ˀəlhà wilá-y.| ˀaná bəxyàn.| ˀáy bxè-u|
ˀána bəxyàn.| míri két má hùl.| hálox se-ò.| *(12)* hezan-ò?| ˤolám ˀaxə́r xărằ|
daxóm ga-ˀIràn.| ˀaná ga-ˀIrə́n là gezan-ó.| ˀanà| talxí grə̀šli ga-ˀIrə̀n.| zằḥamtà
gə́šli.| ba-ṣiwè nurá koléxwa-u| ba-tənà,| bad-baxtì,| be-čarăgì.| gáz lìtwalan.| ga-
ˀaxə̀r xirá-y máre gáz-u| yaxčə̀l.| xor-híči lìtwalan,| hìči.| kulfát lìtwalan.| nokár
lìtwalan.| wàle báqa didì| wŭjud-dídi xa-šahì lá šăwé.| míri ˀə̀t gezét se-ó,| ˀána là
gezán.| *(13)* xolàṣa| ba-ˀănazé kafì| zằḥamtà-u| bad-baxtì gə́šlan,| wàle barúx
ha-šə̀m,| barúx ha-šə̀m| ˀátà| ˀanà| xà saˤə́t-e Yəsráyəl lá … | ba-xamšì ˀIrə́n lá
kwán.| ˀOtríš ziltè-yan.| ˀarbà-kărat zilté-yan Fărə̃nsa.| ˀə̀štà-kărat ziltè-yan
ˀAmríka.| ˀəlhà kắe.| ḥáli xărèt,| wáxt-e kyanwà-o| báqa Yəsráyəl,| kəmránwa
ˀəlhá ya-rắbi škùr| ˀána hiyan-ó báqa Yəsrə̀yəl.| Yəsráyəl behtarín zəndəgí ya-mìri
baqóx.| ˀəqrà ˀaxní saxtì-u| bad-baxtì-u| be-čarăgì-u| gə́šlan ga-dóka ḥáli xărèt.|

(9) One night he (my husband) went to my daughter's house. He watched the television (and he saw that) one of the dignitaries who was a landlord had been killed. He came back and said 'Negar, I shall not stay. They will kill also me.' Immediately in the morning my son-in-law booked an airplane for him (my husband) and he went to Taymur,[83] to France—by land, there was no (possibility of travelling) by air. (10) He then came here. I came following him. I came but all my thoughts, now I am telling it, were with my children. I had left them in Iran, some were in Israel. I began to cry and to beat myself. How else could it be? Thank God, we had this house. We had the house. This furniture and so forth, we brought it all but it all broke, everything shattered, everything was destroyed. (11) I said 'Do you know what we shall do.' We had brought a washing-machine but it also was broken, also our refrigerator, all were broken. They were destroyed on the road. I said 'Hell, come, these clothes of ours are dirty. I shall throw them in the bath. Indeed, we cannot wash them.' He says 'What should I do?' I said 'You go onto the clothes with your feet. Trample the clothes with your feet. Trample the clothes and I shall wring them out. God has willed this.'[84] I wept. He wept and I wept. I said 'You know what you should do, go back (to Iran).' (12) Should I go back? The world will come to an end, even in Iran. I shall not go back to Iran. I suffered bitter hardship in Iran. I suffered a difficult life. We made fire with wood, with smoke. (We suffered) ill-fortune and desperation. We did not have gas. In the end he (my husband) acquired gas supply and a refrigerator. We had absolutely nothing, nothing. We did not have a maid. We did not have a servant. But as far as I was concerned, my life was not worth a penny (in Iran). I said '*You* go back. I shall not go.' (13) In short, we suffered enough[85] hardship and misfortune, but thank God, thank God, now I would not give one hour of Israel for fifty hours of Iran. I have been to Austria. I have been to France four times. I have been to America six times. God knows. You understand, when I was coming back to Israel, I said 'Oh thanks be to God. I have come back to Israel. The best life is in Israel, as I have said to you. We suffered such difficulty, misfortune and desperation there (in Iran), you understand.

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[83] A member of the family living in France.
[84] Literally: God has done (this).
[85] Literally: in a sufficient measure.

(14) yá răbí škùr⌐ *ba-ʾəlhá zəndəgiyán raḥàt-ye.*⌐ *yalí kűle ḥàšta kolí.*⌐ *kűle zəndəgí ʿayzà-hitu.*⌐ *ʾay-broní ya-kəmrán híye tăxăṣúṣ qrèle,*⌐ *mašằḷà,*⌐ *xa-šəmà-hite ga-tămắm-e Xáyfa.*⌐ *ʾəlhà manté,*⌐ *ba-zăxút ʾo-sefarè*⌐ *na-raḥătí ta-híč băné ʿolắm là-hăwəl*⌐ *ʾəlhá parḥəz ʾáy Yəsrayəlàn.*⌐ *ʾəlhá šóqla baqàn.*⌐ *bé bălá hawyà.*⌐ *ʾəlhá kắram hól ba-kűle ʾómte ʿolắm.*⌐ *ᴷdăs-e gùl-u*⌐ *dắs-e nargèz*⌐ *márgetān nà-binam har-géz.*ᴷ⌐

(14) Thanks be to God, indeed our life is comfortable. All my children are working. All have a good life. The son who I said came to study a specialism, by good fortune, is well known[86] in the whole of Haifa. May God grant (this), by the virtue of the Torah scrolls, may He not give distress to any person. May God protect this Israel of ours. May God preserve it for us. May it be without catastrophe. God grant grace to all the nations of the world. A bunch of flowers, a bunch of narcissus (I offer you), may I not ever see your death.

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[86] Literally: He has a name.

INFORMANT D (VICTORIA AMINI)

The Tale of the Bald Boy

(1) xà⌐ bronà⌐ híye ba-ʿolä̀m⌐ kǎčä̀l-yele.⌐ məstá lìtwa ba-rešéf.⌐ bár-d-o xǎràe⌐ ʾáy bronà⌐ bǎruxá lìtwale.⌐ híč-kas bǎruxèf lá xarwá.⌐ rə̀we,⌐ rə̀we⌐ tá-ʾinke xìr⌐ ba-xá bronà⌐ taqribán ʾəsrì šəné.⌐ ʾáy broná be-čará hìč-kas lítwale.⌐ (2) xá-yoma tíw məntǎke daǎkèf⌐ ḥqéle mìre⌐ dàyka⌐ ʾanà⌐ hìč bǎruxá líti⌐ wa-lá kǎ̀ena má honà.⌐ hàlax⌐ tǎmǎ́m ʾáy dawruwǎràn⌐ da-wàt honú⌐ baškấ ʾašná xa-dána mə̀nun-u⌐ bəxlé zəndəgì holéxin.⌐ (3) xà-lele⌐ rába xàrj wíle⌐ rába xalà trə́ṣle.⌐ xalà⌐ ga-ḥafšà⌐ réša ʾǎrá məndèle-u⌐ našé kǔle tìwi-u⌐ xalá ràba trə́ṣle.⌐ míre ʾàna,⌐ ta-daǎkèf míre,⌐ ʾána ʾay-xalá tǎrəṣnèf⌐ ʾaná kǎ̀ena⌐ bár-d-o xǎràe⌐ ʾáy čəkmá našè⌐ hár-lele xa-našá daʿwát didí kò̀l,⌐ ké ʾána gézna ga-pəlgù̀n-u⌐ ʾanà⌐ bǎruxǎwalé dòqna.⌐ (4) wà̀le⌐ ʾéa zìl-u⌐ našǎké ʾàṣər xílu,⌐ našé kǔle híyen dokà-u⌐ xalà⌐ rába trə̀ṣwale-u⌐ yaxní sǎqatà-u⌐ kǎčawè,⌐ yapragè̀,⌐ rəzzà xwará-u⌐ rəzzà yǎruqá-u⌐ kǔle jór trə́ṣwale báqa našé.⌐ (5) ʾáy-naše kǔle hìyen⌐ ʾáy-xala kǔle xìlu.⌐ kǔle xìlun-u⌐ rába mtùlun-u⌐ ḥqèlun-u⌐ gxìki-u⌐ psìxi-u⌐ ʾó-č rába xoš-ḥàl xír-u⌐ mə́nu kǔle ḥqèle⌐ báška ʾəlhà-y⌐ ʾənyexáe bǎruxéf xǎrì wá⌐ hélu daʿwatèf holí⌐ ke-hezə́l ga-pəlgá našè,⌐ hǎwé ga-pəlgá našè-u⌐ ʾǎlenile-ò.⌐ (6) ʾáy bronà⌐ daʿwatǎké wilàle-u⌐ ta-saʿà̀t-e⌐ tresàr lelé⌐ dokà-yelun-u⌐ dána dána kǔle zili-ò.⌐ tíw m-daǎkéf ḥqèle⌐ míre dàyka⌐ ʾà̀t nóšax hazə̀r hulá.⌐ jəlé ʿayzé-č xù̀ṭ,⌐ jəlé ʿayzé hǎwèlax,⌐ kǔle ʾáṣər didán daʿwàt kolí.⌐ hàr ʾáṣər⌐ xa-našá daʿwát holàn⌐ nóšef tré yarxé ṭúl gǎrè̀š.⌐ ʾána-č bǎruxǎwalé kwèli⌐ ʾána-č xoš-ḥà̀l xárna ʾexá.⌐

Informant D (Victoria Amini)

The Tale of the Bald Boy

(1) A boy came into the world who was bald. He did not have a hair on his head. Later (in his life) this boy did not have a friend. Nobody became his friend. He grew and grew until he became a boy about twenty years old. This unfortunate boy had nobody. (2) One day he sat with his mother, spoke and said 'Mother, I do not have any friend and I do not know what to do. Come, let me invite everybody around us, perhaps I shall become acquainted with one of them and we can spend time[87] together.' (3) One night he spent a lot of money and made a lot of food. He laid out the food in the courtyard on the ground and all the people sat down. He made a lot of food. He said 'I'—he said to his mother—'I shall make this food and I know that afterwards each night one of these people will invite me, since I shall go among them and I shall make friends.' (4) Now, he went (to make the preparations) and the people ate in the evening. The people all came there. He had made a lot of food—offal soup, rissoles, stuffed vine leaves, white rice, green rice. He made every kind (of food) for the people. (5) The people all came and ate all the food. They all ate, served themselves a lot, spoke, laughed, made merry, and he was happy. He spoke with them all, so that perhaps, God willing, they would become his friends and would be able to invite him, so that he could visit people[88] and be among people and they would become acquainted with him. (6) The boy held the party[89] and they were there until twelve o'clock at night. One by one they went away. He sat down and spoke with his mother and said 'Mother, prepare yourself, sew fine clothes, get some fine clothes, they will invite us every evening. Each evening for two months somebody will invite us.[90] I shall have friends. I shall be happy,' and so forth.

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[87] Literally: life.
[88] Literally: go among people.
[89] Literally: made the invitation.
[90] Literally: It will last for two months (that) every evening somebody will invite us.

(7) wắlè⸣ kŭ́le ʾaṣə̀r⸣ tíw ga-qam-tắrà-u⸣ muntăzə̀r xír⸣ bašká daˤwătèf holí.⸣ hìč-kas lá-hiye.⸣ xà yomá,⸣ trè yomé,⸣ tə́lḥà yomé,⸣ xír xà yarxá⸣ hič-kás daˤwătéf lá wilè.⸣ daăkéf míra xèlox?⸣ ʾắt ʾáy ḥaštá wilàlox,⸣ ʾáy kŭ́le puḷé xərjìlox⸣ híč kăsí daˤwătóx lá wilè.⸣ (8) míre dàyka⸣ ʾəlhá rŭwà-y⸣ ʾằt⸣ xắfàt la-xúl.⸣ bəlʾaxərà⸣ xá-yoma kwè⸣ ʾanà⸣ daˤwătì kolí.⸣ zíl bazàr-u⸣ ʾo-našé kŭ́le daˤwàt wiliwalè⸣ kŭ́le dubára šalòm drélu-ʾəlef-u⸣ ḥqèle mánun-u⸣ míre mằʾin⸣ ʾanà⸣ daˤwắt-e didăxún wilì⸣ ké hètun⸣ belí memaní wíli baqăxùn.⸣ ʾaxtú tămà didí-u daăkí daˤwát lá kolétun,⸣ ké ʾána-č héna ga-pəlgăxùn?⸣ (9) míru ròḷa⸣ ʾắt sarwatmànd-yet⸣ ké ʾằt⸣ puḷè ràba hitóx ké ʾáy memaní dəwqàlox.⸣ ʾaxní là kélan memaní ʾắxa doqéxin.⸣ hiye-ó belà-u⸣ ta-daăkéf mìre⸣ daăkéf-əč ràba nóšaf na-raḥát wilàla.⸣ mìra⸣ xắfàt la-xúl⸣ ʾəlhà rŭwá-y⸣ bəlʾaxərà⸣ xá-mdi xàr⸣ ʾəlhá xà⸣ tắra báqa didán-əč kol-ò.⸣ (10) xá-yoma tíwa ga-belà⸣ ʾexà-u⸣ xéle xà⸣ gorá tắrá dìle-u⸣ ḥalèf bəqrú⸣ míre dàx-yetu ʾexá-u?⸣ míre wắla ṭòb-yena.⸣ ʾanà⸣ ʾắxá memaní dwə̀qli-u⸣ hìc-kas⸣ daˤwătí lá wile-ò⸣ wa-là kắena⸣ m-qám d-éa ʾanà⸣ pərčè lití,⸣ kăčằl-yena⸣ yá šəmà litì ʾexá.⸣ (11) míre là⸣ ʾaná xá ḥaštá kə́wna baqòx.⸣ sélox xà⸣ ksilá pərčé mătù.⸣ ksilá pərčé mătù⸣ wa-sè⸣ nóšox ˤayzá trùṣla⸣ sé ga-pəlgáwa našé dubàra.⸣ míre léka heznà?⸣ rahnamaí wìle-u,⸣ míre sé flán tʷkà,⸣ salmaní ké pərčé tằṛəṣ,⸣ ʾòa hitè.⸣ (12) zíl dòka.⸣ xánči puḷé pas-andáz wiliwale⸣ hiwíle baqèf-u⸣ míre mằʾin⸣ ʾaná gbèna⸣ xà⸣ ksilá pərčé mătə́t baqá didì⸣ ké ʾaná hèli⸣ ga-pəlgá našé hăwèna⸣ našé xošú hé mənì.⸣ míre ṭòv.⸣ qìm⸣ ksilăké tə́rṣàle baqéf-u⸣ mìre⸣ xá čəkmá yomé xét⸣ hál baqàf.⸣ (13) čəkmá yomé muntăzə̀r xír-u⸣ híye-u zìl-u⸣ híye-u zìl⸣ ta-ʾìnke⸣ ʾáy ksilá trìṣà.⸣ mətále rešèf-u⸣ dubára zíl ga-bazàr-u⸣ ga-našé ké daˤwàt wilíwale,⸣ šalòm⸣ xèta wíle ʾexá.⸣ (14) míru ʾé ʾòa-y?⸣ ʾé hár ʾó broná kăčalăkéle daˤwătàn wílwale?⸣ xá ʾile-ò⸣ xá lá ʾile-ò⸣ ʾaxréf bəqrù mənèf⸣ mìre⸣ ʾì⸣ ʾaná ʾòena.⸣ (15) wà⸣ bár xa-čəkmá yomé xèt⸣ kén dàna dàna tắra dăèn-u⸣ daˤwătèf kolí.⸣ mìre⸣ ʾătá mà-hona?⸣ ʾătá ya-daˤwătí wilà-y⸣ ba-mà-jor heznà belú?⸣ (16) qìm zìl⸣ mən-xá tʷkaná jəlé krà wilé-u⸣ hár ʾằṣər⸣ ta-hár-kas daˤwătéf wìle⸣ ba-xá dăsá jəlé zìl.⸣ ba-xá dăsá jəlé zìl-u⸣ ga-pólga našăké tìw-u⸣ ḥqéle mánun-u⸣ ʾexà-u⸣ yăwằš⸣ yăwằš⸣ warə̀d xír-u⸣ wa-našé ʾlilu-ò-ʾəlef.⸣

(7) But, he sat outside, he waited hoping they would invite him, and nobody came. One day, two days, three days (went by), a month passed without anybody inviting him. His mother said 'Do you see? You have done this work, you have spent all this money, and nobody has invited you.' (8) He said 'Mother. God is great.[91] Don't worry. In the end, a day will come when they will invite me.' He went to the market. The people whom he had invited all greeted him again. He spoke to them and said 'Look, I invited you to come and I hosted you in my house. Why do you not invite me and my mother, so that I can visit you?' (9) They said 'Dear boy, you are rich, since you must have a lot of money to have offered that hospitality. We cannot offer such hospitality.' He came back home and told his mother. His mother became very upset. She said 'Don't worry. God is great. In the end something will happen. God will open a door also for us.' (10) One day he was sitting in the house and so froth, and he saw a man knock on the door. They asked after his health. He said 'How are you? and so forth.' He said 'I am well. But, I held a party and nobody invited me back. I don't know whether it was because I do not have any hair and am bald, or whether I am not well known and so forth.' (11) He said 'No, I'll sort something out for you. Go and put on a wig. Put on a wig and go and make yourself look good, then go and visit people again. He said 'Where should I go?' He guided him and said 'Go to such-and-such a place, a barber who makes hair, he has one.' (12) He went there. He had saved some money and gave it to him. He said 'Look, I want you to make a wig for me so that I can be among people and people will like me.' He said 'Fine.' He made the wig for him. He said 'In a few more days come for it.' (13) He waited for a few days. He came and went, came and went, until the wig was made. He put it on his head, then he went to the market among the people whom he had invited, and greeted them and so forth. (14) They said 'Is this him? Is this the same bald boy who invited us?' One recognized him and another did not recognize him. In the end they asked him. He said 'Yes, it is me.' (15) Then, after a few more days they came one by one and knocked on the door, and invited him. He said 'Now what should I do? Now that they have invited me, how shall I go to their house?' (16) He went and hired clothes from a shop. Each evening he went in a suit to each one who had invited him. He went in a suit and sat among the people and spoke to them, and so forth. Gradually he entered (into their circle) and people became acquainted with him.

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[91] I.e. there is still hope.

(17) ʾlilu-ò-ʾəlef-u⌇ xá bratá mǎʿarəfî wilálu báef⌇ kè⌇ báška xlulà-č hól⌇ ʾéa zəndəgiyéf biš-ʿayzá xàr.⌇ xá mən-băruxăwalèf⌇ ké băruxà xírwa-u⌇ daʿwătèf wíle dubára-u⌇ zíl dóka ʾexà⌇ míre xá bratá ʾăxà hít⌇ ʾaná kmènaf⌇ ʾất ʾəlula-ò⌇ šáyad hélăxun bàxle⌇ xlulá holètu.⌇ (18) bratăké hiyá-u⌇ ʾexà-u⌇ xèla⌇ ʾì⌇ broná ʿayzèk-ye-u⌇ xá čəkmá mǔdǎte⌇ híyen-u zìli.⌇ bratăkè⌇ míra gbé hét xāstgarí lá tatí-u daăkì.⌇ míre bàse.⌇ ʾaná daăkí kmènaf-u⌇ kéna xāstgarì.⌇ (19) qíma daăkèf⌇ həjbìyaf holá⌇ híya zíla həjbì bratăké.⌇ zíl lắ táta daăkàf-u⌇ mìre⌇ ḥaštóx mà-ya?⌇ ʾéxa⌇ míre wàlla⌇ ʾaná ta-ʾătá ḥaštá-e xa-b-ay-jóra lăxá lìti-u⌇ gbéna hézna ḥaštà yălópna ké⌇ ḥaštá ʿayzá dòqna.⌇ (20) tatăké míre là?!⌇ ʾanà⌇ bratí ta-xá-nāš là kównaf ké⌇ ḥaštá líte-u ʾexá.⌇ be-čarà⌇ na-raḥàt xír-u⌇ hiye-ó belà.⌇ hiye-ó belà,⌇ ta-daăkéf mìre⌇ dàyka⌇ ʾất zílat m-d-ənyexáe ḥqèlax⌇ lá mírax ʾaná ḥaští mà-ya.⌇ wàle⌇ táta bratăké bəqré mòni⌇ míre ʾất ḥaštóx mà-ya?⌇ míri ʾaná ḥaštá líti ta-ʾătà⌇ gbéna ḥašta tằhèna.⌇ (21) mìra⌇ ròḷa gyắn,⌇ ʾătá g-áy səná didòx⌇ ké xirèt ʾəsrí šənè⌇ ʾəsrí-u xamšá šənè,⌇ dàx kélox ḥaštá yalpét?⌇ hár-jor xirá-y yălòpna.⌇ (22) zíl ga-xá tʷká kè⌇ karxanà-yela,⌇ parčé ʾexá tarsìwa.⌇ zíl ga-dòka,⌇ xaìš wíle míre⌇ ʾaná ḥaštà gbéna čún⌇ gbèna⌇ zəndəgì tărósna-u⌇ baxtá gòrna-u⌇ ʾexá.⌇ ga-doká ʾlilu-ò-ʾəlef-u⌇ ḥaštá híwlu baqèf-u⌇ hiye-ò⌇ rába psìx-u⌇ (23) míre ta-daăkèf⌇ dàyka⌇ ʾanà⌇ xét⌇ mən-qóme-u xăré gbé hézna ḥaštà⌇ wa-zəndəgí nòši⌇ ʾədára hònef⌇ wa-ba-xá zəndəgì mằténa.⌇ míra ᴴṭòvᴴ⌇ sè⌇ ʾanà⌇ rába pasxắna ʾất hezét ḥaštà-u⌇ báška hélox-ăč xá baxtá-č gorót b-ày jorá.⌇ (24) xolàsa⌇ zíl ḥaštà⌇ baqá xá-yarxa-u tré-yarxe ḥaštá wìle-u⌇ dubára xa-bráta xét ʾəlyale-ò.⌇ ʾəlyale-ò,⌇ daăkéf šărále həjbì,⌇ həjbí bratăkè⌇ məntắke tatá-u daăkáf-u ʾexà.⌇ (25) míru mà kól?⌇ míra ga-xá tʷká xa-ḥaštà kól-u⌇ rába broní ʿayzà-y⌇ rába taʿrifèf hiwlá-u⌇ míru gbé hamyắte xăexìle.⌇ ləbla-u⌇ méla bronăkè.⌇ (26) lóbla lắ tata-u daăkàkè-u⌇ xá ʾásər zíli dokà-u⌇ mewá-u širní-u⌇ ʾexá kűle mtúlu rešá mèz-u⌇ ḥqèlun-u⌇ bráta-u bronăké mən-láxle ḥqèlun-u⌇ míra ᴴṭòvᴴ⌇ tónan láxle gbèxin.⌇ (27) xolàsa⌇ xìra⌇ băruxtèf-u⌇ tasmím dwóqlu xlulá hóli baqèf.⌇ xá xlulá rába mojălàl dəwqále baqáf tatăké.⌇ rába xoš-bàxt xír ʾáy brona-kăčàl.⌇ wa-ba-mrá-e nóšef mète⌇

(17) They became acquainted with him and introduced a girl to him, whom he could perhaps marry and so his life would become better. One of his friends, (somebody) who had (already) become his friend, invited him again and he went there (to his home) and so forth—he (the friend) said 'There is a girl (here), I shall bring her and you can get to know her, perhaps you can marry one another.' (18) The girl came and so forth. She saw that, yes, he was a fine boy. They came and went a few times. The girl said 'You must make your suit with my father and mother.' He said 'So be it. I shall bring my mother and I shall make suit.' (19) His mother went to act as intermediary to ask for the hand of the girl. He then went to her father and mother. He (the father) said 'What is your work?' and so forth. He said 'By God, up until now I have not had any particular job here, but I want to go and learn to work, so that I can hold down a job.' (20) The father said 'No! I shall not give my daughter to a man who has no job' and so forth. The unfortunate boy became upset and went back home. He went back home and said to his mother 'Mother, you went and talked to these people and did not say what my job is. But the father of the girl has asked me saying "What is your job?" I said "Until now I have no job. I want to find work."' (21) She said 'My dear boy, now at the age that you are, twenty years old, twenty-five years old, how can you learn a job?' 'Whatever the situation may be, I shall learn.' (22) He went to a place that was a factory, where they made material, and so forth. He went there and pleaded saying 'I need a job, since I want to build a life and get married' and so forth. They got to know him there and gave him a job. He came back and was very happy. (23) He said to his mother 'Mother, from tomorrow onwards I have to go to work to manage my own life and to make a livelihood for myself.' She said 'Fine. I am very happy if you go to work. Perhaps you will be able to marry a woman in this way.' (24) In short, he went to work and worked for one or two months, then he became acquainted with another girl. He became acquainted with her and he sent his mother to ask for her hand in marriage, to request the hand of the girl from her father and mother, and so forth. (25) They said 'What does he do?' She said 'He works in a certain place. My son is very good.' She described him in glowing terms. They said 'You must bring him for us to see.' She took him. She brought the boy. (26) She took him to the father and mother. One evening they went there. They laid out on the table fruit, sweets and so forth. They talked. The girl and boy talked together. She (the girl) said 'Fine, we both love each other.' (27) In short, she became his girl friend and they (the parents) decided to arrange a wedding for him. The father arranged a very grand wedding for her. The bald boy became very happy. He attained his heart's desire.

(28) wa-xá yalá-č xèle˺ hár mangól nóšef pərčé lìtwale.˺ míre mà honá?˺ ˀáy-əč mangól nóši xirá-y-u ˀexà.˺ bár-d-o xăràe˺ míre ˀəlhá rŭwà-y˺ har-dáx-dax ˀana-nóši ba-xà tʷká mṭéna˺ ˀày-brona-č mắṭe˺ ba-tʷkà.˺ xolàṣa˺ g-áy xèta˺ xoš-ḥằl xír-u˺ zəndəgìyef˺ šərừ wilé.˺ ráza ˀáy broná ˀày-yela tíma.˺

(28) He had a son who had no hair just like him. He said 'What shall I do? He has turned out to be like me' and so forth. Then he said 'God is great, just as I attained a place (in life), this boy also will attain a place.' In short, he was happy with the situation and he began to live his life. This is the story of this boy. It has ended.

INFORMANT E (DANNY AVRAHAMI)

An Ode to Our Language

(1) qãme čəkmá šənè| huláe ʿolamà|
tošqú ʾəsràlu| xíri răwanà|

(2) míru ta-nòšu| xét galút mãle|
qeméx-u hezèx| ba-là lapléx xãre|

(3) xá-naša m-d-ày-lag| mən-ʾaprá-e ʾIrằn|
ʾóxa m-d-ò-lag| mən-ʾaḥrá-e Temằn|

(4) xá mən-Rusiyà,| xá mən-ʾAmrikà|
xá mən-ʾUrupà| xá mən-ʾAfrikà|

(5) xá ʾáqla qãpì| ʾóxa ba-syamè.|
xá ba-dămaqopằn| ʾóxa ba-šərwalè.|

(6) xá-naša ba-vialòn| xá ba-dearà|
xá ba-sãz-u dohòl.| xá ba-năqarà|

(7) xá-naša ba-kaštì| ba-rešá-e daryà|
ṭəyaré nten-ò| ga-pliyáw-e hăwà|

(8) baqyú ba-măšìn| ba-ʾorxá-e ʾărà|
baqá kűle našè| xir-ó ʾay-tărà|

(9) ʾaxní-č mən-Kursằn| răwanà xiréx|
mən-d-áy qafəlà| xãre là piléx.|

INFORMANT E (DANNY AVRAHAMI)

An Ode to Our Language

(1) Several years ago, the Jews of the world
bound up their knapsack and went on their way

(2) They said to themselves 'Enough, no more exile!
Let us set off and go, let us not be left behind'

(3) One person from this direction from the dust of Iran
That (other) one from that side from the city of Yemen

(4) One from Russia, one from America
One from Europe, one from Africa

(5) One barefooted, that one with shoes
One with baggy pants, one with trousers

(6) One man with a violin, one with a tambourine
One with a saz[92] and hand-drum, one with a pipe

(7) One man by ship on the sea,
Airplanes rose up into the air

(8) The remainder of them by car overland
For everybody the door was opened

(9) We also set off from Kurdistan
We were not left behind the convoy

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[92] stringed instrument.

(10) ʾaspáw krəxlan-ò˺ bastá ba-bastà˺
Yerušaláyəm hìyex˺ dastá ba-dastà.˺

(11) ta-míru ta-didàn˺ tărăwáe xiri-ò˺
rešá-e măšinè˺ taʕné ʾsiri-ò˺

(12) hár-či ya-hiyèlan˺ dwə́qlan ba-ʾilè˺
mən-tašilokè˺ ta-ge pătịḷè.˺

(13) lá bəqrán ʾaṣlàn˺ dóka má kolèx˺
ta-héma ʾaḥrà-u˺ reš-ḥaštá gezèx.˺

(14) mə́ṭex ta-lăxà˺ kŭ́lan gaxkanè˺
jmanán zmìṭiwa˺ nuqḷé-u mdixanè˺

(15) mə́ṭex ta-lăxà˺ fawrí bərbìzex˺
máe mən-ʾawpə̀š˺ reš-karmá bzìrex˺

(16) xá ta-Yerušaláyəm˺ xá ta-Mắʕălòt˺
xá ʾorxá-e ʾElàt˺ xá ta-Roxovòt˺

(17) xá pliyáw biyabə̀n˺ xá-nāš lága màe˺
yarxá xà kărát˺ xílan xála dằe˺

(18) ga-dóka là kắexwa˺ mən-ḥaštá-e ʾărà˺
zílex ta-mošàv˺ ta-plíx ʾay-tărà.˺

(19) ga-dóka ga-belà-u˺ rešá-e zəndəgì˺
ga-lăxá ga-čằr-u˺ rabáef ba-saxtì.˺

(20) xá-kărat là mirán˺ ʾắxa mò wilán.˺
héken ʾo-karmàn-u˺ héka-y ʾo-belàn?˺

(10) We wrapped up our luggage, bundle by bundle
We came to Jerusalem, group by group

(11) Until they said to us the doors have been opened
On top of cars loads were bound

(12) We held in our hands everything that we could
From cotton spindles to metal pans

(13) We did not at all ask what we would do there
To which town we would go for work

(14) We arrived there, all of us merry
Our pockets were filled with sweets and goodies

(15) We arrived here and immediately we dispersed
We were poured out (like) water from a watering-can on a garden

(16) One to Jerusalem, one to Maʿalot
One on the road to Elat, one to Roḥovot

(17) One in the desert, one man by the water
(Only) once a month did we eat mother's food[93]

(18) There we did not know about work on the land
We went to a moshav (to work) until the door opened

(19) There (in Iran we were) in a house and had a (good) life[94]
Here (we were) in a tent, most of the time in hardship

(20) We did not say once 'Why have we done this?
Where are our gardens and where is our house?'

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[93] I.e. the families were separated.
[94] Literally: on a life.

(21) *šatăwáe wìri| ʾəsrí-u ʾarbì.|*
dawràn| našé xèt| là kắex má kəmrì.|

(22) *čírna ba-šòne| qáwm-u ʾašnàe|*
dméli ʾasằn-ye| mangól-e xa-kàe|

(23) *mˤíni ga-dawràn| xắena mà xirá-y|*
réša ʾay-qawmì| dáxom mà zilá-y|

(24) *g-ày-lag-u| g-ò-lag| kắle bərbizèn.|*
mangól-e xa-jòr| mən-nóšu rizèn|

(25) *čírna ba-šòne| lišána-e nòšan|*
šáyad b-áy jorà| ləbí xár ròšan|

(26) *bəqrí mən-yalàn| daxóm là xiyá-y|*
gxíki-u mìru| ba-rešèf diyá-y|

(27) *ba-šóne mà čerét?| héma lišanà?|*
mắni kắe mà-ye| ga-d-áy zămanà.|

(28) *reší dwàqli| ba-hár tənú ʾilì|*
dəmˤé mən-ʾenì| yăwắš bzirì|

(29) *tafsír-e torà| qrélan ga-kništà|*
dáx zíla mənằni| ʾáy-dana frištà?|

(30) *ʾămantá-e tatán-u tatăwalàn|*
là nṭíra baqán.| ḥàyf ke-təwrálan.|

(31) *čírna ba-šonàf| zína lắ-e pirè|*
ʾílu ṭərqìlu| dəmˤú ʾsirè|

(21) Twenty and forty years went by
Around us are other people, we do not know what they say

(22) I searched for family and friends
I imagined it to be easy like a game

(23) I looked around to see what had happened,
what had become of my people

(24) They were scattered on this side and that side
as if they were angry with themselves

(25) I searched for our language
Perhaps in this way my heart would become joyful[95]

(26) I asked our children whether they had seen it
They laughed and said he is out of his mind[96]

(27) What are you searching for? Which language?
Who knows what it is at this time

(28) I held my head with both my hands
Tears slowly were shed from my eyes

(29) We read the translation of the Torah in the synagogue
How did this angel (of a language) escape from us?

(30) This heirloom given in trust by our father and forefathers
Was not preserved for us. What a shame that we have broken it

(31) I searched for it and went to the old folk
They wrung their hands with their tears held back[97]

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[95] Literally: bright.
[96] Literally: He is struck on the head.
[97] Literally: tied, closed.

(32) ʾiléf nəšqàli⌐ ʾó táqna xwarà⌐
míre tú lagì⌐ tăḥènox čará.⌐

(33) dáx famóx zilà⌐ məntăkóx hămèta?!
taʿné pătiḷè⌐ hiyélox nătèta?!⌐

(34) dúqla ʾáy ʾorxà⌐ ta-ṭuré Kursằn.⌐
pišté-ya ba-tʷkà⌐ mát-u hărasằn⌐

(35) se-lox-ó ba-šonàf⌐ méla ga-belòx⌐
mangól-e torà⌐ nṭúra réš ʾenòx.⌐

(36) xó ʾaná là kelí⌐ ta-dóka dèrn-o⌐
tanhà ʿáyn dawrèš⌐ ga-kují čèrn-o⌐

(37) wá ʾsirén knišyè⌐ ba-qfál-u zanjìr⌐
ləbí jarḥanà⌐ ba-kárd-u šəmšèr⌐

(38) xét là čér šămáš⌐ ga-pəlgá-e lelè.⌐
qalé sliḥót ga-hár-či belè.⌐

(39) madrăsé ʾsirèn⌐ ta-yalé hulàe⌐
ga-ḥafšáf lá ʾarqì⌐ ba-šóne xa-kằe⌐

(40) xét huláe là gezí⌐ šóne kasəbì⌐
jwanqé là qărén⌐ gurané ʾašəqì.⌐

(41) wáxt-e pătirè⌐ kyáwa qam-tărà⌐
ʾorxèl maždróxwa⌐ ba-taʿné zărà.⌐

(42) lelé reš-šatà⌐ dāstằn hitwalé⌐
səfrá-e yărixà-u⌐ xále-u məndixàne⌐

(32) I kissed the hand of the old man
He said 'Sit by me, I shall find an solution for you

(33) How did you forget to bring it with you?!
Were you able to take loads of pans?!

(34) Take this road to the mountains Kurdistan.
She (the language) has remained there miserable and disgruntled

(35) Go back after it. Bring it to your home
Like a Torah scroll, keep it on your eyes'

(36) But I cannot return there
And wander around the streets alone like a beggar

(37) Look the synagogues are closed with locks and chains
My heart is wounded with knife and sword

(38) The beadle no longer goes around in the middle of the night
to call to every house '(Come to) penitential prayers!'

(39) The schools are closed for the Jewish children
In its courtyard they do not run after (one another in) a game

(40) The Jews no longer go after business
The young men do not sing songs of love

(41) When Passover came to our home[98]
We sent loads of wheat to the water-mill

(42) There was a story on the eve of New Year
A long cloth (spread with) food and goodies

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[98] Literally: came to the door.

(43) wáxt-e ʾilanè⌐ kyáwa ga-ḥafšân⌐
belá-u karmăkè⌐ xăríwa rošàn⌐

(44) ʾó hăwá-e Kursân-u⌐ zəndəgí-e sadà⌐
ba-xáṭər lăxà⌐ məndélan xa-lagà⌐

(45) mən-doká xét ʾanà⌐ ʾilà ntelí⌐
lišaní là kắena⌐ ta-má wèḷ wilí⌐

(46) xá ḥaštá kòna⌐ drága là xirá-y⌐
šáyad ʾó-č dokà⌐ ba-šonàn čirá-y⌐

(47) wá lelé tìm-u⌐ šəmšá tqirà⌐
wá xəšká zìl-u⌐ píla băurulà⌐

(48) wá ríšex kừlan⌐ mən-šəndá yărixtà⌐
ləbán ràba gbé⌐ b-áy ḥaštá ʿastà⌐

(49) kắmna ta-roxà⌐ lăxà hamyaláx⌐
mangól-e nuqḷè⌐ ga-pəmàn daryaláx⌐

(50) kắmna ta-šəmšà⌐ mašxnalax-ò⌐
ʿaynahú wardè⌐ mayrqalax-ò⌐

(51) kắmna ta-nəxlà⌐ ba-rešàx nandé⌐
tozá ġăribì⌐ m-rešàx mandé⌐

(52) kắmna ta-kəxwè⌐ ʾenà naqrílax⌐
mən-ʾorxá-e laḥầḷ⌐ brixà hamrílax⌐

(53) kắmna ta-serà⌐ zinàt hăwaláx⌐
ʿaynahú kaldè⌐ jəlé malbšàlax⌐

(43) When the festival of Tabernacles came to our courtyard
The house and garden became full of light

(44) That air of Kurdistan and its simple life
We threw aside because of (our life) here

(45) Moreover I removed myself from there[99]
But I do not know why I abandoned my language

(46) I shall do something. It is not too late.
Perhaps also she (my language) has been looking for us

(47) Look the night is over, the sun has (begun to) shine
Look the darkness has gone, the light has come

(48) Look we have all woken from a long sleep
Our heart very much wants (to do) this good work

(49) I shall tell to the wind to bring you (my language) here
And put you like sweets in our mouths

(50) I shall tell the sun to warm you
And make you grow like flowers

(51) I shall tell the rain to fall on your head
And remove the dust of foreign lands from your head

(52) I shall tell the stars to wink at you
And greet you from afar.

(53) I shall tell the moon to give you splendour
And dress you in clothes like brides

---

[99] Literally: I lifted my hand from there.

(54) kə́mna ta-ʾewà˺ sămə́x ba-rešàx˺
ga-qərčá-e qeṭà˺ hăwé ta-poxàx.˺

(55) kménax ta-lăxà˺ yătát ga-ləbì˺
baqáx qărèna˺ ʾawáze kurdì˺

(56) kménax ta-lăxà˺ ba-nə́̃z-u ʿəzàt˺
baqáx tărə́ṣna xá ṭáqa noṣràt˺

(57) là šóqna pešát˺ ga-ṭuré Kursàn˺
yatwát bar-tăràn˺ mə́̃t-u hărasàn˺

(58) lá šóqna dokà˺ ba-šonán čeràt˺
tə́̃ra dăyàte-u˺ našé xèt xăyát˺

(59) lá šóqna baxyàt˺ ba-šóne didàn˺
yála bár daăkèf˺ răšóx ba-šiwàn˺

(60) ba-rešá-e ʾilà˺ kménax belì˺
mən-jəláx mandèna˺ tóza ğăribí˺

(61) ʾaxní ga-lăxèx˺ belàn xlipá-y˺
kălām-e năbì˺ tămāmí triṣà-y˺

(62) kălúna baqàx˺ rába ktabè˺
báqa ʾáy xăṭăʾì˺ hìt xá jwabé˺

(63) xo-kə́̃yat nóšax ʾə̀t˺ kŭle ga-lăxà˺
ʾarqíla-u čerí ba-šóne xa-săpà˺

(64) gbé hár ḥăqéx ga-lăxà˺ ga-lišaná-e ʿəbrì˺
ʾə́̃gar-nam ʾòni˺ ḥáli lá xărì˺

(54) I shall tell the cloud to stand over you
To become a shade for you in the heat of summer

(55) I shall bring you here and you will sit in my heart
I shall sing to you Kurdish songs.

(56) I shall bring you here with indulgence and with honour
I shall make an arch of victory for you

(57) I shall not let you stay in the mountains of Kurdistan
And sit behind our doors miserable and disgruntled

(58) I shall not let you search for us there
(I shall not let you) knock on a door and find other people.

(59) I shall not let you weep (searching) after us
(As) a child walks after his mother wailing

(60) I shall bring you to my home in my arms
I shall clean the dust of far off places from your clothes

(61) We are here. Our home has changed.
The word of the prophet has been completely fulfilled.

(62) I shall write for you many books
For this fault of mine[100] I have an answer

(63) Indeed you yourself know that everybody here
Runs around seeking a crust of bread

(64) Here we must each speak in Hebrew
If not, they do not understand

---

[100] I.e. the fault of my neglecting you.

(65) gbé mằṣilèxin˺ ba-lišaná-e ʿəbrì˺
ta-ʾằlex ʾòni˺ baqàn má kəmrí˺

(66) ga-šəndà-yelan˺ ʾ ày čəkmá šəné˺
mà kéle hól˺ xa-nằš ké gənè?˺

(67) ḥằqéx məntằkax˺ mən-sằlằt ta-lelè˺
gurané qằrèxin˺ ga-har-čĩ belé.˺

(68) malpéxin ʿayzà˺ yalé-u ġằribè˺
ta-ʾằlén mằni-yen˺ kurdé nằjibè˺

(69) mašdréx ta-doltà˺ xá-nằš mən-nòšan˺
ta-ḥằsāb-e kurdè˺ ʿayzà xár róšan˺

(70) ta-doltá kəmrèx˺ ʾaxní kúrd zwằn˺
ḥằqéx b-áy lišanà˺ mən-dawrá-u dawrằn˺

(71) qằme ké ʿəbrì˺ ké hé ba-ʿolằm˺
g-áy ʾằra ḥằqènwa˺ lišaná-e ʾằrằm˺

(72) gbé tarṣí baqàx˺ ktằb-u rằsalè˺
pešát ta-qyamtà˺ ga-ləbé-u xaṭ ərè˺

(73) momèna ʾaná˺ məntằke jằmaʿtà˺
ga-d-áy béla ʿayzà˺ hár g-áy saʿằtà˺

(74) lá šóqna parxàt˺ mən-ləbá-u gyanàn˺
ta-ʾalpá šəné xèt˺ yằtàt ba-lagán˺

(75) Daryúš rằs miré˺ b-áy čəkmá xằtè˺
baškám lišanán lá-hela qằṭè˺

(76) malpéxin ʿayzà˺ yalé-u ġằribè˺
ta-ʾằlén mằni-yen˺ kurdé nằjibè˺

(65) We must listen to the Hebrew language
So we know what they are saying to us

(66) We were sleeping these years
What can a man who is asleep do?

(67) We shall talk to you from dawn until night
We shall sing songs in every house.

(68) We shall teach well children and strangers
So that they know who the noble Kurdish (Jews) are

(69) We shall send to the government a man of ours
So that the account of the Kurdish (Jews) will be shown favour[101]

(70) We shall say to the government we (speak) the Kurdish language
We have been speaking in this language for many generations

(71) Before Hebrew came into the world
In this land they spoke the Aramaic language

(72) They must write for you books and articles
So that you remain for ever[102] in hearts and minds

(73) I swear, together with the community
In this fine house, this very hour

(74) I shall not let you fly from our heart and soul
You shall sit by our side for another thousand years

(75) Daryuš has spoken the truth in these few lines
Perhaps our language will not become extinct

(76) We shall teach well children and strangers
So that they know who the noble Kurdish (Jews) are

---

[101] Literally: It will shine well on the account of the Kurds.
[102] Literally: until the resurrection.

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GLOSSARIES

Abbreviations Used in the Glossaries

I = stem I verb
II = stem II verb
III = stem III verb
Q = quadriliteral verb

A = Arabic
adj. = adjective
adv. = adverb
conj. = conjunction
E = English
f. = feminine
F = French
fs. = feminine singular
H = Hebrew
imper. = imperative
interj. = interjection

intr. = intransitive
invar. = invariable
K = Kurdish
m. = masculine
mod. = non-attributive modifier
ms. = masculine singular
n. = noun
num. = numeral
obj. = object
P = Persian (Farsi)
part. = particle
pl. = plural
pl. tantum = pluralis tantum
prep. = preposition
pron. = pronoun
T = Turkish

GLOSSARY OF VERBS

Verbs are arranged by roots. The 3ms. present, 3ms. preterite, singular imperative and infinitive forms are given for each root.

/ʾ/

ʾby I (ʾắbe irrealis/gbe realis, ʾəbele, ʾə́bu, ʾắboe) **to want; to love; to need** | gbén dasgiranì šarbát hámya baqíˈ I want my betrothed to bring sherbet to me (A:23); ləbán ràba gbéˈ b-áy ḥaštá ʿastàˈ Our heart very much wants (to do) this good work (E:48). gbe used impersonally: gbé het-ó baqá ʾaḥràˈ It is necessary that you come back to the town (A:6)

ʾly I (ʾắle irrealis/kắe realis, ʾlile, ʾə́lu, ʾắloe) **to know, to be acquainted with; to recognize** | ʾằle báefˈ so that he may know about it (A:108); huláa ba-nắjə́s là kắenwaleˈ They (the Sunnites) did not know a Jew as unclean (= did not consider a Jew unclean) (B:64). Combined with –o when taking a human object: tatóx kắe-nef-òˈ I know your father; láxle kắen-òˈ They know each other; ke-hezə́l ga-pəlgá našè,ˈ hắwé ga-pəlgá našè-uˈ ʾắlenile-òˈ so that he could visit people and be among people and they would become acquainted with him (D:5); našé ʾlilu-ò-ʾəlefˈ The people got to know him (D:16); xá ʾlile-òˈ xá lá ʾlile-òˈ One recognized him and another did not recognize him (D:14)

ʾmr I (hắmər irrealis/kmər realis, mire, mar, ʾắmore/kmore) **to say** (§3.14.1.) | kasə́be ʾomdé lìtwalan ga-Kurdəstắnˈ hamrét xàˈ We did not have big traders in Kurdistan at all (literally: say one [if you can]) (B:12). With L-suffix: to name: kəmríwale xostè xlulァˈ They called it the 'request of the wedding' (A:32); kmoré kmàrˈ He is saying

ʾrq I (ʾắrəq, riq, ʾə́ruq, ʾắroqe) **to run** | *ʾăroqé ʾắrə̀q*⌉ He is running; *ma-drăsé ʾsirèn*⌉ *ta-yalé hulàe.*⌉ *ga-ḥafšáf lá ʾarqì*⌉ *ba-šóne xa-kằe*⌉ The schools are closed for the Jewish children. In its courtyard they do not run after (one another in) a game (E:39). With impersonal 3fs. suffix (ʾắrəqla, ʾərqale, ʾə́ruqla) **to flee** | *ta-ʾăxá míre baqàf*⌉ *ʾáy ʾərqàla*⌉ When he said this to her, she fled (A:22). **III** *m-rq* (mắrəq, mrəqle, mắrəq, măroqe) **to cause to run, to cause to flee** | *xmarăké mən-pliyáw ó daštá lăḥál-o mrɑ̀qlu*⌉ They made the ass run from the field into the distance

ʾrw I (ʾắru, ʾə́riw, ʾắrowe) **to be destroyed, to collapse** | *beléf ʾə̀riw*⌉ His house collapsed. **III** *m-ʾrw* (mắru, mrule, mắru, mărowe) **to de-story, to ruin; to mix** | *ʾaná Babə́l mărùnaf*⌉ I shall destroy Babylon (B:77); *ʾəlhá belóx là mărúle*⌉ May God not destroy your house

ʾry I (ʾắre, ʾə́re, ʾắroe) **to freeze (intr.); to thicken (intr.)** | *zbotí ʾə̀rya*⌉ My finger froze; *zbotí ʾăroé ʾaryà*⌉ My finger is freezing. **III** *m-ʾry* (mắre, mrele, mắre, măroe) **to freeze (tr.); to thicken (tr.)**

ʾsq I (ʾắsəq, ʾə́siq, ʾə́suq, ʾắsoqe) **to go up, to ascend** | *ó pəlkané ʾắsə̀q*⌉ He is going up the stairs. **III** *m-ʾsq* (mắsəq, msəqle, mắsəq, măsoqe) **to cause to ascend**

ʾsr I (ʾắsər, ʾəsre, ʾə́sur, ʾắsore) **to bind; to tie; to wring; to close (tr. and intr.)** | *tošqú ʾəsràlu*⌉ They tied up their knapsack (E:1); *ʿúčlu ʾe-jəlăkè*⌉ *ʾaná-č ʾasrằnanu*⌉ Trample the clothes and I shall wring them out (C:11); *yằqa ʾsirta* closed collar; *dəm῾ú ʾsirè*⌉ Their tears (were) held back (E:31); *lišanèf ʾsirà-y*⌉ His tongue is tied; *t͉"káne là ʾasríwa*⌉ They did not close their shops (A:81). Combined with the particle –*o*: *wardé ʾasri-ò*⌉ The flowers are closing; *mătíwalu ga-xá tiká parčằ,*⌉ *ʾasriwalu-ò*⌉ They put them into a piece of cloth and tied them up

ʾwl I (hol/kol, wile, wul, wala) **to do, to make; to put; to say, to speak.** (1) **to do, to make** | *mà kolíwa ga-pătiré?*⌉ What did they do at Passover? (B:14); *kū̌le maṣṣáe belà kolíwa*⌉ Everybody made unleavened bread at home (A:67). (2) **to put** | *ʾòa*⌉ *koléxwale ba-s͉"kằkè*⌉ We used to put that in the booth (B:78). (3) **to say, to speak** | *bar-xa-mŭdát-xet daăkí híya ba-šoní ʾắxa kòla*⌉ After a while my mother came after me and says (to me) thus … (A:27). (4) With –*o* **to open** | *tărắ konef-ò*⌉ I am opening the door; *ʾəlhá xà*⌉

tắra báqa didán-əč kol-ò| God will open a door also for us (D:9); *ləxmăké kolawalè-o*| She opened out the bread (dough) (A:66)

ʾwr **I** (*ʾor, ʾə́wir, ʾwur, ʾwara*) **to pass; to cross; to enter** │ *xá-t̯ʷká tarṣ̣ìwa*| *ké šắh m-txéla d-éa ʾòr*| *ʾắlé ʾéa hulàe trəsté-ya*| They made a place (in such a way) that the Shah would pass under and know that Jews made it (B:83); *ʾilá ba-ʾilà ʾə̀wir*| It passed from hand to hand; *mən-dašyé-u jogé ʾəwìrna*| I crossed over fields and streams

ʾxl **I** (*ʾắxəl* irrealis/*kxəl* realis, *xile, xul, ʾắxole/kxole*) **to eat** (§3.14.1.) │ *kxolé kxə̀l*| He is eating; *ləxmá huláa xùl*| *báqa d-éa huláa pəsrá xzurá lá kxə̀l*| Eat the food of a Jew, because a Jew does not eat the meat of a pig (B:65); *mən-maʕ̌ləmulà ləxmá kəxlíwa*| They earned their livelihood from the teaching profession (B:11); *ʾonyexáe gbé hăwà ʾaxlí*| They must breathe (literally: eat air). *xắfat ʾxl* to worry: *ʾə̀t*| *xắfàt la-xúl*| Do not worry (D:8). *ba-kār ʾxl* to be worthwhile: *ʾə́t ba-d-áy zəndəgí ba-kắr mayayòx kxə́l?*| What use is this life to you? (A:103); *ba-kắr là kxə́l*| It is not worthwhile. **III m-xl** (*mắxil, mxile, mắxil, mắxole*) **to feed** (§3.16.1.).

ʾzl (i) **I** (*hezəl* irrealis/*gezəl* realis, *zil, se, zala*) **to go** (§3.18.1.) │ *tămắm-e duktáre kắle zìlan*| I went to all the doctors (C:1); *xá čəkmá mŭdằte*| *híyen-u zìli*| They came and went a few times (D:18); *wá xəšká zìl-u*| *píla băurulà*| Look the darkness has gone, the light has come (E:47); *mən-ʕolám zìl*| He quitted the world (He died). With *–o* to go back: *ʾắwál lelé gezəlwa-ó belà*| In the early evening he would go back home (A:101). *mən-bayn ʾzl* to pass away, to perish: *ʾənyexáe rábau mən-graní mən-báyn zìli*| Many of them went from the midst (= passed away) due to famine (B:10)

ʾzl (ii) **I** (*ʾắzəl, ʾəzle, ʾə́zul, ʾəzole*) **to knit, to spin (wool); to weave; to plait (hair)** │ Sometimes used with *–o* particle: *qalí ʾazlì-o*| They weave a carpet; *pərčé bratáf ʾəzlila-ò*| She plaited the hair of her daughter

/ʕ/

ʕyč **I** (*ʕeč, ʕičle, ʕuč, ʕyača*) **to knead (dough); to trample; to massage** │ *qamxà ʕéčwale*| He kneaded the flour (dough) (B:19); *ba-ʾaqlé ʾáy jəlé ʕùčlu!*| Trample the clothes with your feet! (C:11); *xaṣí ʕùčle!*| Massage my back!

/b/

bʿy I (*băʿe, bʿele, băʿoe*) **to bleat** | *ʾərbá bʿelà* The sheep bleated

bhr I (*bahər, bhir, băhore*) **to shine** | *šəmšá bahrà* The sun is shining. **III** *m-bhr* (*mabhər, məbhəre, mábhər, mabhore*) **to enlighten; to brighten (tr.), to shine on** | *šəmšá mabhrá ʾay-belà* The sun is shining on this house

blʿ II (*bălǝʿ, bləʿle, bắlǝʿ, băloʿe*) **to swallow**

bqr I (*băqər, bəqre, bqur, băqore*) **to ask** | Personal complement with *mən*: *bə́qrox mən-didì* You have asked me (B:1)

brbt Q (*barbət, bərbətle* tr./*bərbit* intr., *bárbət, barbote*) **to wave around** | *ʾiléf bərbtàle* He waved his hand around

brbz Q (*barbəz, bərbəzle* tr./*bərbiz* intr., *bárbəz* tr./ *bárbuz* intr., *barboze*) **to scatter, to disperse** | *mắtex ta-lăxà fawrí bərbìzex* We arrived here and immediately dispersed (E:15)

bsm I (*băsəm, bsim, bsum, băsome*) **to become well** | With the *-o* particle: *bsim-o* He recovered. **II** (*băsəm, bsəmle, bắsəm, băsome*) **to make well** | *ʾəlhá băsə̀mlox* thanks (literally: May God make you well). With the *–o* particle: *băsəmle-o* He will cure him

bṣr I (*băṣər, bṣir, bṣur, băṣore*) **to diminish** | *máe bṣìri* The water dropped. **III** *m-bṣr* (*mabṣər, məbṣəre*) **to cause to diminish, to reduce**

bwr I (*bor, bəwre, băwore*) **to low (cattle)** | *tortá borà* The cow is lowing

bxš II (*băxəš, bxəšle, bắxəš, băxoše*) (P) **to forgive, to pardon** | *ʾăgár xámdi lá mirăwelì, gbe-bàxšet* If I have not said something, you must forgive me (B:80); *bắxəšli* Forgive me, pardon me

bxy I (*băxe, báxe, báxe, băxoe*) **to weep** | *ʾíli wíli băxoè* I began to weep (C:4). **III** *m-bxy* (*mabxe, məbxele, mábxe, mabxoe*) **to cause to weep**

bzr I (*băzər, bəzre* tr./*bzir* intr., *bzur/bắzər, băzore*) **to shed (tears), to spill; to pour** | *baxtí dəmʿá bazrà* My wife is shedding a tear; *dəmʿé mən-ʾenì yăwắš bzirì* Tears slowly were shed from my eyes (E:28); *máe mən-ʾawpằš reš-karmá bzìrex* We were poured out (like) water from a watering-can on a garden (E:15)

bzy I (*băze, bə́ze, bə́zu, băzoe*) **to be punctured, to burst (intr.)** | *ʾắgar mən-d-áy ləxmá ʾaxlètun,ǀ kasăxún bazyàǀ* If you eat any of this bread, your stomach will burst (B:23); *ṣurí bzitè-yaǀ* My shirt has a hole in it. **II** (*băze, bzele, bắze, băzoe*) **to make a hole; to bore** | *xá-dana betàǀ băzèxwalaǀ* We made a hole in an egg (B:78)

č

čqy I (*čăqe, čqele, čə́qe/čə́qu, čăqoe*) (K) **to uproot; to dig, to dig out; to pick; to prize off** | *ʾilaná čăqèǀ* He uproots the tree; *băṣire čăqen* They pick grapes; *txelàfǀ xá-dana mangàḷ-yela,ǀ har-ga-ʾắrá čəqyàwaluǀ* Under it there was a brazier, which they had dug in the ground (A:90); *šərúʾ kolíwa gəlà čăqénwaǀ* They began to pick herbs (B:32). With the –o particle: *bár ləxmăké ṭ̀we,ǀ čăqenwale-òǀ* After the bread was baked, they took it off (the sides of the oven)

črp I (*čărəp, črəple, črup, čărope*) (K) **to tear**

črx I (*čărəx, črix, črux, čăroxe*) (K) **to turn, to rotate, to orbit** | *ʿolamá čarxàǀ* The world spins round; *será čarxàǀ* The moon rotates (around the world)

črz I (*čărəz, čriz, čăroze*) (K) **to be startled, to be shocked**

čym I (*čem, čim, čum, čyama*) **to close (eye) (intr.)** | *ʾenéf čìmiǀ* His eyes closed

čyr I (*čer, čir, čyara/čăroe*) **to go around; to search** | *zəndəgí dàx-ye!ǀ dàx čér!ǀ* How life (is hard)! How it turns out to be! (C:4); *čírna ba-šòneǀ qáwm-u ʾašnàeǀ* I searched for family and friends (E:22). With the –o particle: *čer-ó ba-dáwr-e nòšefǀ* He is spinning round. **III m-čyr** (*măčir, mčire, mắčir, măčiroe*) **to cause to turn** | *ʾəlhá ʾasxá wìleǀ čárx mčìreǀ* God worked (our fate) in such a way and turned the wheel (C:5). With the –o particle: *ʾay-păré măčiriwalu-òǀ* (The water) caused the propellers (of the water-mill) to turn (A:59)

/d/

d⊘y I (*dăe/dăel, dile, du, dăoe*) (K) **to hit; to knock; to put, to place.** (1) **to hit, to knock** | *maʿlám dìle ʾəlìǀ* The teacher hit me; *díle ga-xaṣèfǀ* He knocked him on his back; *tărá dằeǀ* He is knocking on the door; *xa-dána pút ḥălabí dóqwala ba-ʾilèf-uǀ dăélwa gàaf-uǀ* He would hold a metal can in his hand and beat it (like a drum)

(A:99); *gezíwa ba-dohól ʾu-zorná mən-d-áy kují-w mằḥằlè,ˈ dăyáwa ʾəláf ta-gezíwa be-kaldàˈ* They went with drum and pipe through the lanes and streets, (the music) playing for him until they arrived at the house of the bride (A:10). (2) **to put, to place** | *guṣăké dinílan ba-tănuràˈ* We put the balls of dough onto the oven; *gogórd dắenwa ba-zuxaḷăkèˈ* They put a match to the coals (A:90); *xà-xmata dyálu ga-ʿăsắbe bar-reší-uˈ* They injected a needle in the nerves behind my neck (C:2). (3) Idioms: *bšəlmaná ḥáq lìtwale ʾíla dắe bàefˈ* A Muslim was not allowed to touch it (B:16); *tăqaḷè dăyàˈ* She is knitting (literally: putting stitches); *ʾená díle ʾəlàfˈ* He winked at her; *ba-rešèf diyá-yˈ* He is queer in the head (E:26); *ʾắt ba-rešòx diyá-y?!ˈ* Are you mad?!

dʿy **I** (*dăʿe, dʿele, dắʿe, dăʿoe*) **to pray** | *tatăwalànˈ dʿêluˈ bàqata-u leléˈ lagá naṭranàˈ* Our ancestors prayed morning and night to (God their) Guardian

dbḥ **I** (*dăbəḥ, dbəḥle, dbuḥ, dăboḥe*) **to slaughter** | Regularly with the *–o* particle: *ga-d-ó-tᵂka ya-toryú ʾərbú ʾonyexáe dabḥi-ò,ˈ gbéwa hezắlwa ga-dóka nóšef dăbəḥwalu-ò.ˈ* In that place where they slaughtered their cows and sheep, he had to go there and slaughter them himself (A:73)

dlp **I** (*dăləp, dlip, dlup, dălope*) **to leak** | *mən-qoqá máe dălopé dalpìˈ* Water is leaking from the water pot; *loʿá dălopè kólˈ* The room is leaking (water from the roof)

dmy **I** (*dăme, dmeli, dme, dămoe*) **to estimate, to imagine, to think** | *ʾăxá dăména təmal-yèˈ* I imagine it thus (that) it is yesterday (= I remember it as if it were yesterday) (B:63); *ʾaná dméli máe drèlu réša nuráˈ* I thought that they poured water on the fire (C:2)

dry **I** (*dăre, drele, dắre, dăroe*) **to put; to pour.** (1) **to put (solid substance into sth.)** | *puḷé drélu ga-jmanòx!ˈ* Put the money into your pocket! *zoxắḷ dărénwa gàafˈ* They put coals in it (the warming chair) (A:90); *pəṣlé yăruqé dărénwa gàefˈ* They put green onions in it (B:41). (2) **to put (non-solid substance onto sth.)** | *šăkár dărénwa rešèf-uˈ* They put sugar on it (B:41); *šišmé dărénwalu bar-xá qaḷìˈ* They poured the sesame over a carpet (B:27); *ṭiná dărénwa rešèf-uˈ* They put mud on it (B:55); *dărénwale ba-dáwr-e ʾé səfràˈ* They put it (the herb) around the cloth (B:32). (3) **to pour (liquid)** | *máe dărénwa ba-rešùˈ* They poured the water over them

(A:37). With the *–o* particle: *ʾắgar ʾay-mastá dărenaf-ó tʷká nošằf˺ nəjə̀s xắrá˺* If I pour this yoghurt back into its own place (i.e. back in the same container), it will become unclean (A:80). (4) Idioms: *šalom dry* to greet | *šalòm drélu-ʾèlef-u˺* They greeted him (D:8), *šalóm là dărénwa láxle˺* They did not greet one another (B:46). *jiqe dry* to shout. *maṣṭorye dry* to curse | *ta-gănawé maṣṭoryè drélu˺* They cursed the thieves

dwq I (*doq, dwə́qle* tr./*dwiq* intr., *duq, dwaqa*) **to hold, to catch; to acquire, to keep; to celebrate; to bite; to apply, to put; to close, to block, to be blocked.** (1) **to hold, to catch, to acquire, to keep** | *xa-dána pút ḥălabí dóqwala ba-ʾìlèf-u˺ dăélwa gàaf-u˺* He would hold a metal can in his hand and beat it (like a drum) (A:99); *ʾay-bšəlmanè˺ ke-xálwa zábni ta-didàn˺ ʾay-xalwà˺ mən-d-ó tortà˺ yá mən-d-ó ʾərbá dəwqà-y˺ ga-xa-pătiḷà dəwqá-y˺ ké pătiḷăké mumkə́n-ye pəsrá bəšla-hăwélu gàef˺* Those Muslims, who sell milk to us, have taken the milk from the cow or from the sheep and have kept it in a container in which they may have cooked meat (A:64); *ga-káe dwiqà-y˺* He has been caught in the game (of hide and seek). (2) **to celebrate** | *ʾonyexáe ya-ga-golà-yen˺ yáni xárəj m-ʾIsráyel-yen trè lelé doqíla˺* Those who are in the exile, that is outside of Israel, celebrate it (Passover) for two nights (A:62); *tášʿa ba-ʾÀb˺ hulaé ràba yăqurtá doqíwala˺* The Jews would observe the Ninth of Ab very strictly (B:44). (3) **to bite** | *kalbí dwə́qle ʾəlèf˺* My dog bit him. (4) **to apply, to put** | *ḥănà doqíwa ba-rešù˺* They put henna on themselves (A:38). (5) **to close, to block, to be blocked** | *xá-dana pardá doqìwa-u˺* They would draw a curtain (A:47); *ʾăgár našoqtà la-hăwătí˺ bălotàx doqá˺* If you do not give me a kiss, may your throat be blocked. (6) Idioms: *ʾənšé-u gurè˺ hárkas hewalè˺ ga-belá yătùwa˺ tamisì dóqwa˺* Women and men, everybody who could, would stay in the house and do cleaning (A:57); *belăké gbé tămám tamíz holìle,˺ gard-u-xakéf doqìle˺* They had to make the house really clean and remove its dust (A:57); *ṣalmè doqáwa˺* She was shy (A4); *xánči nóšu doqìwala˺* They would be rather reluctant (to give their permission) (A:31); *ʾəqrá ʾəḥtərám-e láxle doqìwa˺* They had such respect for one another (A:45); *ʾéa ʾorxéf dəwqàle˺* He set off (C:8); *gāz dwq* to bite; *ʾila dwaqa* the joining of hands (part of marriage ceremony) (A:34); *rešá păloe-léf xabrú là dwə́qlu˺* They did not agree regarding its division (amongst themselves); *taṣmim dwq* to decide: *taṣmím dwə́qlu xlulá*

hóli baqèf| They decided to arrange a wedding for him (D:27). With the particle *-o*: **to obtain, to acquire; to take off** | *gbéwa xá-ʿəda mən-bé xətnà*| *ḥắna doqi-ò*| A group of people from the groom's family had to obtain henna (A:40); *gbéwa ba-ʾilà ʾo-toqú doqiwalé-o*| They had take away their husks by hand (B:27)

dyq I (*deq, diqle, duq, dyaqa/dăqoe*) **to crush, to beat, to shatter, to injure** | *ʾilí diqtè-ya*| My hand is injured

/f/

fhm I (*fắhəm, fhəmle, fhum, fắhome*) (P < A) **to understand. III** (*mafhəm, məfhəmle, máfhəm, mafhome*) **to make understand**

frmn Q (*farmən, fərməne, fármən, farmone*) (P) **to order; to give (polite)** | *tăwăjòh farmnét?*| Are you paying attention? (B:65)

fṭr I (*fắṭər, fəṭre, fṭur, fắṭore*) (P < A) **to break a fast** | *ṣomá là faṭríwa*| They did not break the fast (B:53); *wáxt-e ṣomá kipúr fəṭran-ò,*| *maʿlə́m kéwa belà*| When we had broken the fast of the Atonement, a rabbi would come to the house (B:76)

/g/

gby II (*găbe, gbele, gắbe, găboe*) **to sort, to clean (rice by removing stones and impurities)** | *zărăké hămènwale-o*| *ga-béla dána dána găbènwale*| (It was necessary for them) to bring bring the wheat back and sort it grain by grain in the house (A:58)

glgl Q (*galgəl, gəlgəle, gálgəl, galgole*) (H?) **to stir** | *galglíwale ga-pliyáw məšxá nòšef*| They would stir it round in its own oil (A:84)

gndr Q (*gandər, gəndəre* tr./*gəndir* intr., *gə́ndur/gándər, gandore*) **to roll (tr. and intr.)** | *kepăké gəndìra*| The stone rolled; *kepăké gandə̀rnaf*| I am rolling the stone

gnw I (*gănu, gnule, gnu, gănowe*) **to steal, to rob**

gny I (*găne, gə́ne, gə́ne, gănoe*) **to sleep** | *mà kéle hól*| *xa-nắš ké gənè?*| What can a man who is asleep do? (E:66)

grdq Q (*gardəq, gərdəqle, gárdəq, gardoqe*) **to gather** | *ʾilanè gardə́qwa-u*| *kmèwalu*| *ga-ʾaḥrá zăbə̀nwalu*| He used to gather (branches from) trees, bring them back and sell them in the town (A:98)

grgm **Q** (*gargəm, gərgim, gargome*) **to thunder** | *ʾewa gargəm* There is thunder (literally: the cloud is thundering)

grp **II** (*gắrəp, grəple, gắrəp, gắrope*) **to sweep, to shovel (snow off roof)** | *talgăké gərpále ba-parò*˩ He swept away the snow with a snow shovel

grš **I** (*gắrəš, grəšle, gruš, gắroše*) **to pull; to drag; to take for oneself; to suffer** | *rəzza gruš!* Take some rice! (said by host to a guest at a meal table); *zăḥamta grš* to suffer difficulty; to take trouble: *zaḥamta la gruš* Do not take trouble/Do not put yourself out; *mărəmta la gruš* Do not take trouble/Do not put yourself out; *kpinula grəšli* I am hungry; *năqaši grš* to draw; *ṭul grš* to last: *tasáʿat ʾəsrá-u pəlgè,*˩ *xesár ṭúl garšàwa kništá*˩ The synagogue (service) lasted until half past ten or eleven (B:72)

gry **II** (*gắre, grele, gắre, gắroe*) **to shave** | *təqnox gắrela!* Shave off your beard!

gwr **I** (*gor, gəwre, gur, gwara*) **to marry; to make marry** | *tatí baxtá gəwrà-y*˩ My father has married; *ga-dokà*˩ *táte-u daăkè*˩ *bì-zoa*˩ *ʾəntəxằb kolíwa*˩ *mằni*˩ *gorí ta-bronù*˩ There the fathers and mothers would generally choose who they married to their son (A:2)

gxk **I** (*gắxək, gxik, gxuk, gắxoke*) **to laugh** | Often combined with 3fs. pronominal element: *gəxkale* He laughed; *gəxkále gài*˩ He laughed at me; *guxkla!* Laugh! **III** *m-gxk* (*magxək, məgxəkle, mágxək, magxoke*) **to make laugh** | *ʾaná magxə̀knox*˩ I shall make you laugh

gyp **I** (*gep, gip, gắpoe*) **to swell, to boil over** | *yaxní gèp*˩ The soup is boiling over; *daryá gepà*˩ The sea is swelling up

/h/

hlhl **Q** (*halhəla* 3fs., *həlhəla* 3fs., *hálhəl, halhole*) **to ululate (women)**

hmy **I** (*hăme* irrealis/*kme* realis, *(h)mele, me, hămoe*) **to bring** | *susyăké mən-sarbāzxané kméwale qam-tărà*˩ He would bring the horse from the barracks to the door (A16); *má šəmí mèlox?*˩ How is it that you remembered me? With the *–o* particle: *gbéwa hezíwa zărá šaqlì,*˩ *zărăké hămènwale-o*˩ They had to go and buy wheat and bring the wheat back (A:58)

hwl **I** (*hăwəl* irrealis/*kwəl* realis, *hiwle, hol, hăwoe*) **to give** | *ba-ʾijara hwl* to rent out, to let; *ba-kra hwl* to rent out, to let; *samar hwl* to produce fruit; *kəxwé băurulà kwí* The stars emit light (= shine); *taʿrif hwl* to describe, to characterise: *rába taʿrifèf hiwlá-u* She described him in glowing terms (D:25); *hwl taḥwil* to deliver: *kwə́lwale taḥwíl-e nanawakằr* He handed it over to the baker (B:20). With the *-o* particle: **to give out, to distribute** | *gbéwa … širní hăwi-ò* They had to … distribute sweets (A:32)

hwy **I** (*hăwe* irrealis/*kwe* realis, *hăwoe*) **to be** (§3.18.7.) | *ʾəlhá hăwé mənòx* God be with you; *ʾelóx hawyá brixtà* May your festival be blessed (B:50)

hyy **I** (*he* irrealis/*ke* realis, *híye, hal, hyaa, hăoe*) **to come** | *ʾăyané ʾăxonì híye* Look my brother has come; *xà bronà híye ba-ʿolằm kăčằl-yele* A boy came into the world who was bald; *bar-xa-mŭdát-xet daăkí híya ba-šoní* After a while my mother came after me (A:27); *kăxătà híya baqí* I have received a letter; *híyet ba-ṭotà, ṭotà híyet* You are welcome; *šoltá híya baqì* I coughed (literally: A cough came to me); *maqlobtí kiyà* I feel like vomiting (literally: My vomiting is coming); *boʿiní kiyà* I want to vomit; *jəgrí ké mənèf* I am angry with him, I detest him. Used to express encouragement: *hálox se-ò* Come on go back (C:11). With the *-o* particle: to come back: *hiye-ó* He came back. With L-suffix: **to be able** | *kéli hèna* I can come; *lá híyeli gănèna* I could not sleep; *ʾáxni nóšan là ke-walán xalwăké hămèxile* We could not fetch milk ourselves (A:63)

/ḥ/

ḥnq **I** (*ḥănəq, ḥə́niq, ḥnuq, ḥănoqe*) **to be asphyxiated; to drown** | *ga-máe ḥə̀niq* He drowned in water. **III** *m-ḥnq* (*maḥnəq, məḥnəqle, máḥnəq, maḥnoqe*) **to asphyxiate, to throttle** | *maḥnəqnàwa-lef!* I could have throttled him!

ḥqy **I** (*ḥăqe, ḥqele, ḥə́qe, ḥăqoe*) (K < A) **to speak; to recount, to relate** | *mən-băruxí ḥqèli* I spoke with my friend; *ḥăqéx b-áy lišanà mən-dawrá-u dawrằn* We have been speaking in this language for many generations (E:70); *tatí yătùwa ʾəlhá mănixà dāstắn ḥăqéwa baqằn* My father, may he rest in peace, would sit and tell us a story (A:92)

ḥsl **I** (ḥăsəl, ḥəsle, ḥsul, ḥăsole) **to earn, to acquire** | ʾay-šatá ʾalpá šéqel biš-başór ḥásli ta-šətqàl‹ This year I earned 1,000 shekels less than last year; puḷé bi-zòa ḥaslét‹ You will make a profit (literally: more money)

/j/

jgr (i) **I** (jăgər, jə́gir, jăgore) (K) **to become angry**

jgr (ii) **I** (jăgər, jə́gir, jăgore) **to clear (liquid)** | máe jgìri‹ The water cleared (after the dirt settled on the bottom of the vessel)

jhy **I** (jăhe, jə́he, jăhoe) **to become tired**

jlx **I** (jăləx, jləxle, jlux, jăloxe) (K) **to scratch** | ʾilí jəlxàle‹ He scratched my hand

jmz **I** (jăməz, jmiz, jămoze) (K < A) **to become cold** | With the -o particle: máe jmizi-ò‹ The water became cold

jnw **I** (jănu, jnule, jnu, jănowe) **to snatch away; to kidnap, to elope (with a woman)** | baxtăké jənwàle‹ He snatched away the woman

jrḥ **I** (jărəḥ, jrəḥle, jruḥ, jăroḥe) (P < A) **to wound**

/k/

klw **I** (kălu, klule, klu, kălowe) **to write** | kălúwala ba-xə́t-e nòšef‹ He wrote it with his own hand (A:48). **III** m-klw (maklu, məklule, máklu, maklowe) **to cause to write**

kpn **I** (kăpən, kpin, kăpone) **to become hungry. III** m-kpn (makpən, məkpəne, mákpən, makpone) **to make hungry**

krx **I** (kărəx, krəxle, krux, kăroxe) **to wrap, to wrap up** | With the –o particle: ʾaspáw krəxlan-ò‹ We wrapped up our belongings (E:10); băsăké kărəxnaf-ò‹ I shall wrap up the parcel; jəlú karxi-ó ga-kăxətà‹ They are wrapping their clothes in paper; xiwá karx-ó ba-ʾilanà‹ The snake is wrapping itself around the tree

kry **I** (kăre, kə́re, kăroe) **to become short. III** m-kry (makre, məkrele, mákre, makroe) **to make short**

ksy **II** (kăse, ksele, kə́se, kăsoe) **to cover**

kwš **I** (*koš, kwiš, kuš, kwaša*) **to descend, to come down. III** *m-kwš* (*măkuš, mkušle, mắkuš, măkoše*) **to cause to come down**

kyp **I** (*kep, kip, kup, kyapa/kăpoe*) **to bow, to bend over (intr.). III** *m-kyp* (*măkip, mkiple, mắkip, măkipoe*) **to bend (tr.); to bend over (tr.)** | *xaṣéf mkìple*⌐ He bent his back. With *–o* particle: *măkiple-ò*⌐ He bends him over

/l/

lbl **II** (*lăbəl, ləble, lắbəl, lăbole*) **to take, to take away** | *beé láblu ta-šwawàn*⌐ Take the eggs to our neighbours; *mašinăké lbəltè-ya*⌐ He has taken the car; *sandaliăké ləblále waryà*⌐ He took the chair outside. With the *–o* particle: *yalé didí ləblile-ó baqá madrăsà*⌐ He took my children to the school

lpl **I** (*lăpəl, pil, pul, lăpole*) **to fall** | *xa-baṣór púl píl ga-ʾilù*⌐ A little money fell into their hands (B:56); *našé laplí ga-zdelà*⌐ The people are afraid; *dohól ʾu-zorná lapláwa qằme*⌐ The drum and pipe went in front (A:10). *lpl qam-/bar-/ba-šon-* to follow before/after: *ʾay-našè*⌐ *xá-ʿəda píle m-qàmaf*⌐ *xá-ʿəda píle m-bàraf,*⌐ *ba-dohól-u zorná lablíwala be-xətnà*⌐ The people took her to the house of the groom with the drum and pipe, some in front of her and some behind (A:46); *xa-nằfar-əč mangál nokàr,*⌐ *xa-sarbằz,*⌐ *lăpə́lwa ba-šonéf réša susí xèt*⌐ Somebody like a servant, a soldier, would, moreover, follow him on another horse (A:16)

lwly **Q** (*lole, lolele, lóle, lălole*) **to beseech, to entreat** (§3.18.11.) | With the *–o* particle: *lā-ʾəlhá lole-ó bronà háwle*⌐ He is beseeching God to give him a son; *tatí băruxăwaléf lolyen-ó puḷè hawíle*⌐ My father has beseeched his friends to give him money

lwš **I** (*loš, lwəšle, luš, lwaša*) **to dress** | *jəlí ləwšìli*⌐ I got dressed (literally: I dressed my clothes); *jəlóx lùšlu!*⌐ Get dressed! **III** *m-lbš* (*malbəš, məlbəšle, málbəš, malboše*) **to dress (tr.)**

lys **I** (*les, lisle, lus, lyasa/lăsoe*) **to chew**

/m/

m-ʾby **III** (*măbe, mbele, mắbe, măboe*) **to inflate (tr. and intr.), to swell** | *tatí măbè*⌐ My father is swelling (with anger); *tatí məbyá-y ba-tizàng*⌐ My father has blown into the balloon

mˤy **I** (*măˤe, mˤele, măˤoe*) **to bleat (goat)** | *ʾəzá maˤyà*ˈ The goat is bleating

mhr **I** (*măhər, məhre, mhur, măhore*) **to dare** | *là-məhre šắre báqa Kurdəstắn,*ˈ *báqa Hamằn*ˈ He did not dare send (him) to Kurdistan, to Hamadan (B:62)

mhy **I** (*măhe, mhele, máhe, măhoe*) **to churn**

mḥy **II** (*măḥe, mḥele* tr./*máḥe* intr.*, má̆ḥe, măḥoe*) **to erase; to be erased** | *šəméf măḥè!*ˈ May his name be erased!

m-krz **III** (*makrəz, məkrəzle, mákrəz, makroze*) **to crow (cock)** | *kǎ̆lǎšér məkrə̀zle*ˈ The cock crowed

m-lq → yql

m-ltx **III** (*maltəx, məltəxle, máltəx, maltoxe*) **to stick to (tr.)** | *lešá maltxíwale réš tănurà*ˈ They stuck the dough onto (the sides of) the oven

mly **I** (*mă̆le, mále, mă̆loe*) **to be enough** | *mă̆lè!*ˈ That is enough! *mă̆lèli!*ˈ It is enough for me! *ʾənyexáe ʾəqrá ṣorèr-yelu*ˈ *ta-ʾəlhà-hă̆mər mă̆lé!*ˈ They were so hostile (to the Jews) that God said 'That is enough!' (A:77); *xét galút mă̆lè!*ˈ Enough, no more, with exile! (E:2)

m-nyx **III** (*mă̆nix, mnixle, mắnix, mă̆noxe*) **to cause to rest** | *ʾəlha mă̆níxle* May God grant him rest: *ʾəlhá mă̆níxle ʾAwlé săqəzí nòšef*ˈ *hám ˤəčwale*ˈ *hám dǎewale ba-tănurà*ˈ ʾAwle from Săqəz, may God give him rest, would himself both knead it and also put it into the oven (B:21); *tatí yătùwa*ˈ *ʾəlhá mă̆nixà*ˈ *dāstắn ḥă̆qéwa baqàn*ˈ My father, may God grant him rest (literally: God [be] granting rest), would sit and tell us a story (A:92)

m-qrx **Q** (*maqrəx, məqrəxle, máqrəx, maqroxe*) **to whiten; to cover vessels used for Passover with a protective white coating**

mrṭ **I** (*mă̆rəṭ, mrəṭle, má̆rəṭ, mă̆roṭe*) **to fart** | *mərṭàle*ˈ He farted (with unspecified 3fs. pronominal object); *mă̆rə́ṭ ba-qorá tatèf*ˈ He farts on the grave of his father (= He does not show respect for his father)

mry **I** (*mă̆re,* 3fs. *mă̆ra, mə́re, mă̆roe*) **to ache** | *reší mă̆rèli*ˈ I have a headache; *kasí mă̆ràli*ˈ I have a stomach-ache; *ʾení mə́rya ba-žằn*ˈ I had a pain in my eye

m-ryx **III** (*mắrix, mrixle, mắrix, mărixoe*) **to smell**

m-rzn **III** (*marzən, mərzəne, márzən, marzone*) **to decorate** | With the *–o* particle: *ʾay-susí qašáng marzənwale-ò*᷆ He decorated the horse beautifully (A:43)

m-skr **III** (*maskər, məskəre* tr./*məskir* intr., *maskər, maskore*) **to lose; to become lost** | *məskìrna*᷆ I am lost; *ʾorxá məskràli*᷆ I have lost the way

m-spy **III** (*maspe, məspele, máspe, maspoe*) **to deliver; to send to** | *məspéwale l-farmandé laškàr*᷆ *mìrwale*᷆ *huláe ga-lăxá gbe-raḥàt hăwén*᷆ He sent to the army commander and said 'The Jews here must be at ease' (B:85)

m-sry **III** (*masre, mə́sre, masroe*) **to stink; to go off (food)** | *ʾo-xalá məsryà-y*᷆ The food has gone off

mṣṭwr **Q** (*maṣṭor, məṣṭore, máṣṭor, maṣṭore*) **to curse** (§3.18.12.)

m-ṣyl **III** (*mắṣil, mṣile, mắṣil, mắṣiloe*) **to listen** (*l-* to) | *ʾaná mṣíli ʾəlèf*᷆ I listened to him

mšlm **Q** (*mašləm, məšlim, mášləm, mašlome*) **to become a Muslim**

m-tw → *ytw*

mṭy **I** (*mằṭe, mə́ṭe, mə́ṭe, mằṭoe*) **to arrive at; to attain** | *ba-mrá-e nóšef mə̀ṭe*᷆ He attained his heart's desire (D:27)

mwmy **Q** (*mome, momele, móme, mămoe*) **to swear**

m-xwy **III** (*maxwe, məxwele* tr./*máxwe* intr., *máxwe, maxwoe*) **to show, to cause to be seen; to show up (intr.), to appear, to be seen** | *maxwénaf ʾə́lox* I shall show it to you (B:53); *maxwíwala našé xét-əč ke-ga-dokèn*᷆ They would show it to other people who were there (A:50); *broní tre-hafté qam-d-éa ga-xiyabắn mə̀xwe*᷆ My son was seen in the street two weeks ago

mxy **I** (*mắxe, mxele, mə́xe, mắxoe*) **to play (music), to blow (a horn)** | *qarwá-e yomà*᷆ *šofàr mắxénwa baqán*᷆ Near dawn they would blow the shofar for us (B:38)

myl **I** (*mel, mil, mul, myala/mắloe*) **to die**

m-ʿyn **III** (*mằʿin, mʿine, mắʿin, mắʿinoe*) **to look** | *ga-televizyón mʿìnwale*᷆ He had watched the television (C:9); *mʿíni ga-dawràn*᷆ I looked

around us (E:23). Used to attract attention to grounds of following argument or question: *mằʿin* ˈ *ˀanà* ˈ *daʿwắt-e didăxún wilì* ˈ *ké hètun* ˈ *belí memaní wíli baqăxùn.* ˈ *ˀaxtú tămà didí-u daăkí daʿwát lá kolétun?* ˈ Look, I invited you to come and I hosted you in my house. Why do you not invite me and my mother? (D:8). With the –*o* particle: *mằʿin-ò!* Look here! *Xănăká-č mən-panjărăké mʿine-ò* ˈ Xănăka looked out of the window (A:21)

myṣ **I** (*meṣ, miṣle, muṣ, myaṣa/mằṣoe*) **to suck**

m-ždr **III** (*maždər, məždəre, máždər, maždore*) **to send** | *ˀorxèl maždróxwa* ˈ *ba-taʿné zără* ˈ We sent loads of wheat to the water-mill (E:41). With the –*o* particle: *ṭurá qalí məždər-ò* ˈ The mountain echoed my voice

m-zr **III** (*măzər, məzre, mắzər, măzore*) **to close** | *tărăké màzre!* ˈ Close the door! *ˀaná tărăké mazə̀rnef* ˈ I am closing the door

/n/

ndy **III** *m-ndy* (*mande, məndele, mánde, mandoe*) **to throw; to throw down; to put down; to demolish; to postpone; to count** | *kepá mandèna* ˈ I throw a stone; *qaḷiyé mandéxwalu rešá ˀără* ˈ We would spread out carpets on the floor (A:56); *mandénwalu réša sằj* ˈ They put them down on a griddle (B:40); *belá məndèlu* ˈ They demolished the house; *ˀăgár ṣomá ṣəhyón lăpə́l yomá šăbàt* ˈ *lá doqèxile.* ˈ *mandéxile yomá xšabà.* ˈ If the fast of Zion (9th of Ab) falls on a Sabbath, we do not keep it. We postpone it to the Sunday. (B:73)

ngz **I** (*năgəz, ngəzle, nguz, năgoze*) **to bite**

nhr **I** (*năhər, nəhre, năhore*) **to burn (fire)**

nndy **Q** (*nande, nə́nde, nə́ndu, nandoe*) **to jump, to jump up; to jig, to dance** | *naqḷíwa-u nandènwa-u* ˈ They danced and jigged (A:35); *nəxlá nandè* ˈ The rain is dancing (on the ground). cf. *prx* to jump across, to jump over

nnty **Q** (*nante, nə́nte, nánte, nantoe*) **to rise** | *təná nantyà* ˈ Smoke is rising; *nurá nantè* ˈ The fire is rising up

npṣ **II** (*năpəṣ, npəṣle, nắpəṣ, năpoṣe*) **to shake, to shake off** | *qaḷiyé napṣì* ˈ They shake carpets (A:57)

nql **II** (*năqəl, nəqle, nắqəl, năqole*) **to extract ritually unclean parts of an animal (in the preparation of kosher meat)**

nqḷ **I** (*năqəḷ, nqiḷ, nquḷ, năqoḷe*) **to dance (spinning)** | cf. *nndy* to dance by jigging: *naqlíwa-u nandènwa-u*⌉ They danced and jigged (A:35). **III** *m-nqḷ* (*manqəḷ, mənqəḷe, mánqəḷ, manqoḷe*) **to cause to dance**

nqr **I** (*năqər, nəqre, nqur, năqore*) : *ʾena nqr* **to wink**

nqs **I** (*năqəs, nqis* intr./*nqəsle* tr., *nqus, năqose*) **to prick** | *xmatá nqísa ga-ʾili̇*⌉ The needle pricked my hand; *hangăké nqə́sla ʾəli̇*⌉ The bee stung me

nqy **I** (*năqe, nqele, nə́qe, năqoe*) **to aim and throw** | *kepá nqéli ba-rešèf*⌉ I aimed (and threw) a stone at his head

nšq **I** (*năšəq, nšəqle, nšuq, năšoqe*) **to kiss**

nty (i) **I** (*năte, nə́te* intr./*ntéle* tr., *ntu, nătoe*) **to rise; to take; to take away.** (1) **to rise** | *təná natyà*⌉ Smoke is rising; *nurá nătè*⌉ The fire is rising up. With the –*o* particle: *ṭəyaré nten-ò*⌉ *ga-pliyáw-e hăwà*⌉ Airplanes rose up into the air (E:7). (2) **to raise; to take, to take away** (+ -*o*)**; to put aside, to preserve** | *ʿáks nătéwa* He would take photographs (A:29); *lăčăgá ba-rešá dasgiraní nătènef-o*⌉ (that) I should take away the veil from the head of my betrothed (A:25); *nătènwale*⌉ *ga-tʷká qărirá mătìwale*⌉ They put it aside and placed it in a cool place (A:83). **III** *m-nty* (*mante, məntele, məntu, mantoe*) **to raise; to take away** | *qaléf məntèle*⌉ He raised his voice

nty (ii) **III** *m-nty* (*mante, məntele, mantoe*) **to grant, to permit (God)** | *ʾəlhá manté pešét ta-ʾəmá-u ʾəsrì šəné!*⌉ May God grant that you live for 120 years!

nṭr **I** (*năṭər, nəṭre, nṭur, năṭore*) **to preserve, to keep** | *xá-əda xèt*⌉ *pəsrá ʿăla-ḥădá ntèwalu*⌉ *naṭrìwale,*⌉ *kolíwale kăbằb*⌉ Others who had put meat aside and preserved it made it into kebabs (B:35)

nwx **I** (*nox, nwəxle, nux, nwaxa*) **to bark**

nxl **I** (*năxəl, nxil, nxul, năxole*) **to be sieved, to be sifted; to fall from a sieve; to rain; to sieve (tr.)** | *zărăké năxə́l mən-ʾərbalà*⌉ The wheat is falling from the sieve; *nəxlá năxə̀l*⌉ It is raining; *ʾərbalá zărăké naxlà*⌉ The sieve sieves the wheat

/p/

phmr **Q** (*pahmər, pəhmir, pahmore*) **to be surprised; to be astonished**

phr **I** (*păhər, pəhre, phur, păhore*) **to yawn. III** *m-phr* (*maphər, məphə́re, máphər, maphore*) **to cause to yawn**

plṭ **I** (*păləṭ, pliṭ, pluṭ, păloṭe*) **to go out. II** *plṭ* (*păləṭ, pləṭle, pắləṭ, păloṭe*) **to cause to go out, to take out**

plx **I** (*păləx, pləxle* tr./*plix* intr., *plux, păloxe*) **to open (tr. and intr.)** | *ta-plíx ʾay-tắrà* until the door opened (E:18). 'To open' is normally expressed by *x∅r-o*

ply **II** (*păle, plele, pắle, păloe*) **to divide; to share** | *rešá păloe-léf xabrú là dwə́qlu* They did not agree regarding its division (amongst them-selves). With the *–o* particle: *puḷé pălelu-ò* He distributes the money

pqy **I** (*păqe, pə́qe, pə́qe, păqoe*) **to burst (intr.), to explode (intr.). II** *pqy* (*păqe, pqele, pắqe, păqoe*) **to burst (tr.), to explode (tr.)**

prčk **Q** (*parčak, pərčəkle* tr./*pərčik* intr., *párčak, parčoke*) (K) **to crumble** | *baxtí ləxmá parčkàle* My wife is crumbling the bread; *ləxmá pərčĩk* The bread crumbled

prḥz **Q** (*parḥəz, pərḥəzle, párḥəz, parḥoze*) (K) **to protect; to preserve** | *ʾəlhá parḥə́z ʾáy Yəsrayəlàn* May God protect this Israel of ours (C:14)

prq **I** (*părəq, priq, pruq, păroqe*) **to finish** | *príqna mən-ḥaštăké ya-rắbi škùr!* I have finished the job, thank God! **III** *m-prq* (*maprəq, məprəqle, máprəq, maproqe*) **to save**

prtx **Q** (*partəx, pərtəxle* tr./*pərtix* intr., *pártəx, partoxe*) **to shatter**

prx **I** (*părəx, prix, prux, păroxe*) **to fly; to jump over, to jump across; to cross** | *garmá príx ga-bălotì* A bone got (stuck) in my throat

psḥ **II** (*păsəḥ, psəḥle, pắsəḥ, păsoḥe*) **to perform the Passover ceremony** | *pəsḥá pashìwa* They performed the Passover ceremony (A:61)

psn **II** (*păsən, pəsne, pắsən, păsone*) **to choose** | *lə́xle pasnì* They (the bride and groom) choose one another (A:1)

psx **I** (*pằsəx, pə́six, psux, pằsoxe*) **to rejoice**

pšr **I** (*pắšər, pəšre, pắšore*) **to melt (intr.)** | With the –*o* particle: *yáx pašr-ò* The ice will melt away. **II** (*pắšər, pəšre, pắšər, pắšore*) **to melt (tr.), to smelt** | With the –*o* particle: *pàšre-o* Melt it!; *zargàr rába hitwalán, zargàr, ʾonyexáe ya-dewà pašri-ò, déwa tarṣì* We had many goldsmiths—goldsmiths, people who would smelt gold and make gold (A:69). **III** m-*pšr* (*mapšər, məpšóre, mápšər, mapšore*) **to melt (tr.)**

pšy **I** (*pắše, pšele, pắše, pắšoe*) **to fart (without noise)**

ptl **II** (*pắtəl, pətle, pắtəl, pắtole*) **to spin round (tr.)** | *ʾamrá patlíle ba-tắṣì* They spin the wool with a spindle

pyš **I** (*peš, piš, puš, pyaša/pắšoe*) **to remain; to be alive** | *ʾağá Ben-Sasón pišà-y?* Is Agha Ben-Sason alive? (B:63); *ʾo-waxtắra Xanăká pìšwa* At that time Xanăka was alive (A:15)

pyx **I** (*pex, pix, pyaxa/pắxoe*) **to cool (intr.)** | With the –*o* particle: *ʾărá pex-ò* The ground cools down. **III** m-*pyx* (*mắpix, mpixle, mắpix, mắpoxe*) **to cool (tr.)**

pžgn **Q** (*pažgón, pəžgóne* tr./*pəžgín* intr., *pắžgən, pažgone*) **to scatter** | *maé pažgòna* I shall scatter water

/q/

qbl **I** (*qắbəl, qəble, qắbel/qbul, qắbole*) **to accept, to agree** | *la qabli ke hen* They do not agree to come

qlb **I** (*qắləb, qlib, qlub, qắlobe*) **to turn over (intr.). III** m-*qlb* (*maqləb, məqləble, máqləb, maqlobe*) **to turn over; to vomit** | With the –*o* particle: *xalá maqəlb-ò* He is vomiting up food

qlp **I** (*qắləp, qləple, qlup, qắlope*) **to peel** | *burtăqắl qəlpàle* He peeled the orange

qlw **I** (*qắlu, qlule, qlu, qắlowe*) **to clean** | *šišmè šaqlíwa, ga-belá gbéwa qalwìwalu* They bought sesame seeds, which they had to clean in the house (B:27)

qly **I** (*qắle, qlele, qóle, qắloe*) **to fry** | *ʾo-pəsrá qălènwale* They would fry the meat (A:86)

qnš **I** (*qắnəš, qnəšle, qnuš, qắnoše*) **to sweep** | *ʾáy ḥafšá qənšáwali qắme ké hèt* I swept the yard before you came

qny III *m-qny* (*maqne, məqnele, máqne, maqnoe*) **to make blue, to bruise**

qrⁿ Q (*qarⁿən, qərⁿin, qarⁿone*) **to go mouldy; to go bad** | *ləxmá sají lá qarⁿə̀n* Bread made on a griddle (and dried) does not go mouldy; *pəsrá qərⁿìna* The meat went off

qrṭ I (*qărəṭ, qrəṭle, qruṭ, qăroṭe*) **to bite, to crunch with teeth** | *xá tiká qán qărə̀ṭ* He is crunching a piece of sugar (in his mouth); *lišaní qrə̀ṭli* I bit my tongue

qry (i) I (*qăre, qrele, qə́re, qăroe*) **to read; to call; to sing; to crow (bird); to study** | *ⁿəbrìt qrélan* We studied Hebrew; *dày-gyān‖ ⁿəqrà ⁿálu‖ ⁿanà‖ ga-lăxá tăxăṣùṣ lá qaréna‖* Mother dear, you should know this, that I shall not study a specialism here (C:3); *xa-məndí qrè!‖ qaláx ⁿayzà-y* Sing something. You have a nice voice. III *m-qry* (*maqre, məqrele, máqre, maqroe*) **to make read, to teach** | *ⁿó dárs maqrè‖* He is teaching a lesson

qry (ii) III *m-qry* (imper. *máqre*) **to cool (tr.)** | variant of *m-qyr*, only used in imperative

qṭl I (*qăṭəl, qəṭle, qṭul, qăṭole*) **to kill; to beat** | *ⁿíla wíli băxòe‖ nóša qăṭòle‖* I began to cry and beat myself (in grief) (C:10); *ⁿəqrá qəṭlà-y‖ ta-milà-y‖* They beat him to death

qṭy I (*qăṭe, qṭele* tr./*qə́ṭe* intr., *qṭu, qăṭoe*) **to be cut; to cut** | *baškám lišanán lá-hela qăṭè‖* Perhaps our language will not be able to be cut off (E:75); *lišanéf qăṭè!‖* May his tongue be cut off! (said of a person who has said something bad)

qwr I (*qor, qəwre, qur, qwara*) **to bury**

qwy III *m-qwy* (*maqwe, məqwele, máqwe, maqwoe*) **to make fast, to lock** | *tărá məqwèle‖* He locked the door

qym I (*qem, qim, qu, qyama/qămoe*) **to rise (human).** III *m-qym* (*măqím, mqímle, mắqim, măqimoe*) **to raise; to kindle (a fire)** | *ⁿoní gbén nurà măqimí‖* They want to make a fire; *nurá là-măqim ga-belí‖* Do not light a fire in my house! *ⁿo-baxtá ga-ləbí nurà mqimá-y‖* That woman has kindled a fire in my heart

qyr I (*qer, qir, qyara/qăroe*) **to cool (intr.)** | With the *–o* particle: *xalá qir-ò‖* The food cooled down. III *m-qyr* (*măqir, mqire, mắqir, măqi-*

roe) **to cool (tr.)** | With the –*o* particle: *gbé xalăké măqirete-ò*ˈ You must let the food cool down

qyṣ **I** (*qeṣ, qiṣle, quṣ, qyaṣa/qăṣoe*) **to cut (with scissors, shears)** | *ʾamrá ʾərbá ba-qayčì qeṣíle*ˈ They cut the wool of a sheep with shears; *pərčéf qèṣlu*ˈ He is cutting his hair

/r/

rdx **I** (*rădəx, rdix, rădoxe*) **to boil (intr.)** | *maé rdìxi*ˈ The water boiled. **III** *m-rdx* (*mardəx, mərdəxle, márdəx, mardoxe*) **to boil (tr.)**

rkw **I** (*răku, rkiw, rku, răkowe*) **to mount, to ride (an animal)** | *ʾafsărè*ˈ *ʾartèš*ˈ *rakwíwa susì*ˈ The officers of the army used to ride horses (A:15). **III** *m-rkw* (*marku, mərkule, márku, markowe*) **to cause to mount** | *həl-didí markùwa*ˈ He would make me mount (the horse) (A:16)

rmy **I** (*răme, rə́me, rămoe*) **to collapse, to be destroyed** | *belăké rə̀me*ˈ The house collapsed

rpy **I** (*răpe, rəpye, răpoe*) **to be let go, to be abandoned, to disappear** | *lá gbéna lišanán răpè*ˈ I do not want our language to disappear. **III** *m-rpy* (*marpe, mərpele, márpe, marpoe*) **to let go; to abandon**

rwy **I** (*răwe, rə́we, rə́we, răwoe*) **to grow up. III** *m-rwy* (*marwe, mərwele, márwe, marwoe*) **to bring up (child)**

rxš **I** (*răxəš, rxiš, rxuš, răxoše*) **to walk. III** *m-rxš* (*marxəš, mərxəšle, márxəš, marxoše*) **to cause to walk**

ryq **I** (*req, riqle, ruq, ryaqa/răqoe*) **to spit**

ryš **I** (*reš, riš, ruš, ryaša/răšoe*) **to wake (tr.)** | Usually with the –*o* particle: *riš-ò*ˈ He woke up. **III** *m-ryš* (*măriš, mrišle, mắriš, mărišoe*) **to wake (tr.)** | Usually with the –*o* particle: *ʾoní didí mriša-y-ò*ˈ They have woken me

ryṭ **I** (*reṭ, riṭ, ruṭ, ryaṭa/răṭoe*) **to tremble; to shake** | *mən-qardá rèṭ*ˈ He is shaking with cold; *kakéf reṭì*ˈ His teeth are chattering; *ryaṭa ʾăra* earthquake. **III** *m-ryṭ* (*măriṭ, mriṭle, mắriṭ, măriṭoe*) **to cause to tremble**

/s/

sḥy **I** (*săḥe, sə́ḥe, săḥoe*) **to become thirsty**

skr **I** (*săkər, skir, săkore*) **to become drunk. III** *m-skr* (*maskər, məskəre, máskər, maskore*) **to make drunk** | *xamrá maskə̀r*⌐ Wine makes drunk

smq **I** (*săməq, smiq, sămoqe*) **to become red; to become brown** | With the *–o* particle: *rəzzá smiqa-y-ò*⌐ The rice has become brown

smx **I** (*sămə́x, smix, smux, sămoxe*) **to stand; to stop** | *g-o-dimàf*⌐ *kaldá-u xətná samxì*⌐ *g-ay-lág-əč našé samxìwa*⌐ On one side of it stood the bride and groom and on the other side stood the people (A:47); *ʾaxní jwanqé smíxəxwa ga-ḥawšà*⌐ We youngsters were standing in the courtyard (A12); *ʾay-guzá moḥkàm sămə́x rešéf*⌐ The wall would stand firmly on it (B:56). **III** *m-smx* (*masmə́x, məsmə́xle, másmə́x, masmoxe*) **to cause to stand, to cause to stop**

sny **I** (*săne, snele, sănoe*) **to hate**

sps **I** (*săpəs, spis, săpose*) **to rot; to wither; to fall apart (clothes)** | *ʾiláná spìs*⌐ The tree withered; *jəléf spìsi*⌐ His clothes fell apart; *qalí spìsa*⌐ The carpet became thread-bare

sqṭ **I** (*săqəṭ, sqiṭ, squṭ, săqoṭe*) **to fall down, to flop down** | *sqíṭ ga-tʷkèf*⌐ He flopped down into his seat

srp **I** (*sărəp, srəple, srup, sărope*) **to slurp**

srq **I** (*sărəq, srəqle, sruq, săroqe*) **to comb** | *pərčóx srùqlu!*⌐ Comb your hair!

sry **I** (*săre, srele, săroe*) **to bray (donkey)** | *xmará sărè*⌐ A donkey brays

swy **I** (*săwe, sə́we, sə́we, săwoe*) **to be sated** | *xalá xilì,*⌐ *swèna*⌐ I have eaten and am satisfied

sxy **I** (*săxe, sə́xe, sə́xe/sə́xu, săxoe*) **to bathe, to swim; to wash o.s. (with total immersion, especially referring to menstruating woman)**

/ṣ/

ṣpy **I** (*ṣăpe, ṣə́pe, ṣăpoe*) **to be filtered, to become pure** | *maé ṣə̀pen*⌐ The water was filtered. **II** (*ṣăpe, ṣpele, ṣə́pe, ṣăpoe*) **to filter**

ṣrx **I** (*ṣắrəx, ṣrə́xle, ṣrux, ṣắroxe*) **to call** | *həl-d-ó ṣắrə̀x⌐* He calls to him/He summons him; *ṣarxíli Ḥắbìb⌐* I am called Ḥabib; *ṣarxíle Daryùš⌐* He is called Daryuš

/š/

š∅r **I** (*šar, šəre, šar, šắroe*) **to send** | *xa-nắfar-xét šə́rwala baqá ʾắxonàf⌐* She sent another person to her brother (A:18); *mən-Taràn šaríwa báqa didán toránj-u luláv⌐* They sent etrogs and palm fronds to us from Tehran (B:80); *daăkéf šərále həjbì,⌐ həjbí bratăkè⌐ məntắke tatá-u daăkáf-u ʾexà⌐* He sent his mother to ask for her hand in marriage, to request the hand of the girl from her father and mother and so forth (D:24)

šky **I** (*šăke, šə́ke, šə́ke, šăkoe*) **to move (intr.)** | *là šké!⌐* Don't move! **III** *m-šky* (*maške, məškele, máške, maškoe*) **to move (tr.)**

šlx **I** (*šắləx, šləxle, šlux, šăloxe*) **to strip off, to undress** | *jəlí šə́lxìli⌐* I undressed myself (literally: I stripped off my clothes)

šly **II** (*šăle, šlele, šắle, šăloe*) **to sow (seed)** | *tomé šălè⌐* He is sowing seeds

šmn **I** (*šămən, šmin, šămone*) **to become fat. III** *m-šmn* (*mašmən, məšməne, mášmən, mašmone*) **to make fat**

šmṭ **I** (*šămaṭ, šmiṭ, šămoṭe*) **to get stuck; to flay, to peel off (skin)** | *ʾaqléf ga-ṭiná šmìṭa⌐* His foot got stuck in the mud; *toqá pəsréf šmìṭ⌐* The skin of his flesh peeled

šmy **I** (*šăme, šmile, šə́me, šămoe*) **to hear**

špy **I** (*šăpe, šə́pe, šə́pu, šăpoe*) **to rub, to smear, to spread** | *kărăké šăpèle⌐* He spreads the butter; *šə́pe bàef⌐* He rubbed against him (= He bumped into him)

šql **I** (*šăqəl, šəqle, šqul, šăqole*) **to buy; to take** | *morăxăṣ̀ì šaqná-u,⌐ ken-ò⌐* I'll take leave and come back (A:7)

šrp **I** (*šărəp, šrip, šrup, šărope*) **to slip; to slide** | *rešá yáx šrìpna⌐* I slipped on the ice

šršy **Q** (*šarše, šəršele, šárše, šaršoe*) **to let down (a rope)** | *xolăké šaršèle⌐* He is letting down the rope

šty **I** (*šăte, štele, šə́te, šătoe*) **to drink. III** *m-šty* (*mašte, məštele, máште, maštoe*) **to cause to drink**

šṭx **I** (*šăṭəx, šṭəxle, šṭux, šăṭoxe*) **to stretch out (tr.), to lay out; to hang out (washing)** | With the –*o* particle: *jəlé šaṭxexilu-ò*ˈ We shall hang out the clothes; *ləxmá koliwale-ò,*ˈ *šaṭxiwale-ò*ˈ They opened out and spread out the bread (A:67). **III** *m-šṭx* (*mašṭxa, məšṭíxa, mašṭoxe*) **to give birth** | *baxtí məšṭixtè-ya*ˈ My wife has given birth

šwlṭ **Q** (*šoləṭ, šoləṭle, šóləṭ, šolaṭa*) **to throw; to throw away** | *šoḷtáli l-d-o-làg*ˈ I threw it (the veil) on one side (A:24); *ʾo-năqolé-u măqolè-u*ˈ ... *doqwalú-u šoḷəṭwalù* He took out the ritually unclean parts and the like that had to be removed ... and threw them away (A:82); *nuqlá šoḷtàli*ˈ *tqíra g-o-jogà.*ˈ *ʾăgár našoqtà la-hăwătí*ˈ *balotàx doqá.*ˈ I threw a sweet, but it fell into the stream. If you do not give me a kiss, may you choke

šwy (i) **I** (*šăwe, šə́we, šə́we, šăwoe*) **to equal, to correspond to; to be worth** | *ʾáy-ga xa-ṭăbăqá duwóm-yela šawyáwa măsălán ṭăbăqa haftóm-e lăxà*ˈ At that time what was the second floor was equivalent to, for example, the seventh floor here (A:13); *wắle báqa didì*ˈ *wŭjud-dídi xa-šahì lá šăwé*ˈ But as far as I was concerned, my life was not worth a penny (in Iran) (C:12)

šwy (ii) **II** (*šăwe, šwele, šắwe, šăwoe*) **to spread out** | *léle reš-šatá xa-səfrá šăwénwa rŭwà*ˈ On New Year's Eve we spread out a large cloth (A:65)

šxn **I** (*šăxən, šxin, šăxone*) **to become hot, warm. III** *m-šxn* (*mašxən, məšxəne, máшxən, mašxone*) **to make hot; to heat, to warm** | *ḥămamăke mašxniwalà*ˈ They used to heat the bath (A:37). With the –*o* particle: *kə́mna ta-šəmšà*ˈ *mašxnalax-ò*ˈ I shall tell the sun to warm you (E:50)

šyk **I** (*šek, šikle, šuk, šyaka/šăkoe*) **to rub (in order to make smooth); to wrestle** | *ʾo-tré ḥăriké šyakà-yelu*ˈ The two of them were busy wrestling. **III** *m-šyk* (*măšik, mšikle, mắšik, măšoke*) **to rub to remove peel** | *šišmé măšikì*ˈ They are rubbing sesame seeds to remove the peel

šyš **III** *m-šyš* (*măšiš, mšišle, mắšiš, măšišoe*) **to rock (child in cradle); to shake**

/t/

tḥy **I** (*tăḥe, ṭḥele, tə́ḥu, tăḥoe*) **to find** | *ba-kāsbí puḷé tăḥènwa-u* They would make money in business (B:4); *yomá ʾəmá šéqel puḷé tăḥèt* You will make 100 shekels in money a day (A:104). With the *–o* particle: *lá ṭḥeli-ó ʾəlèf* I did not find him

tly **I** (*tăle, tlele, tə́le, tăloe*) **to hang**

tmˤ **I** (*tămə̆ˤ, tməˀle, tmuˤ, tămoˤe*) **to taste**

tnw **I** (*tănu, tniw, tănowe*) **to become numb** | *ʾaqlí tnìwa* My leg became numb

tnx **I** (*tănəx, tnix, tnux, tănoxe*) **to enjoy (food)** | *rába tníxna g-ay-xalà* I enjoyed the food a lot (said by guest to a host). **III** *m-tnx* (*matnəx, mətnəxle, mátnəx, matnoxe*) **to make enjoy**

tpl **I** (*tăpəl, təple, tpul, tăpole*) **to sneeze**

tql **II** (*tăqəl, təqle, tə̆́qəl, tăqole*) **to weigh** | *tăqə̀lwale baqú* He would weigh it (the flour) out for them (B:17)

tqr **I** (*tăqər, tqir* intr., *tqur, tăqore*) **to hit (by mistake), to knock into (by mistake); to touch; to break out; to come out (sun); to happen.** (1) **to hit, to knock** | *ʾó tqír ba-didì* He bumped into me; *ʾay-kepá tqirté-ya ga-rešì* The stone has hit my head; *nuqḷá šoltàli tqíra g-o-jogà* I threw a sweet, but it fell in the stream (literally: it hit the stream). (2) **to touch** | *lá-ba bšəlmané taqri-bàu* lest the Muslims touched them (A:78). (3) **to break out; to happen** | *šəmšá tqìra* The sun came out (literally: broke out); *ʾay-ḥaštá tqirtè-ya* This affair has happened

trṣ **I** (*tărəṣ, trəṣle* tr./*triṣ* intr., *truṣ, tăroṣe*) **to make (tr.); to prepare (tr.); to build (tr.); to be made (intr.), to be built (intr.); to cure (tr.); to be cured (intr.); to repair** (with *–o*) | *tatí ʾay-belé tərṣèn* My father has built these houses; *duxwà tarṣíwa* They made *duxwa* (dish of rice and yoghurt) (A:65); *gbé zărà nóšu tarṣìle* They had to prepare the wheat themselves (A:60); *ʾáxni nóšan là kewalán xalwăké hămèxile, lá tarṣèxile* We could not fetch milk ourselves or prepare it (A:63); *nóšox ˤayzá trùṣla!* Make yourself look good! (Tidy yourself up!) (D:11); *ṣalmáf tarṣàle* She is making up her face; *pərčáf tarṣàlu* She is doing her hair; *kălām-e năbì tămāmí triṣà-y* The word of the prophet has been completely ful-

filled (E:61); *ʾay-ḥaštá baqí là tarṣá*⌐ This thing will not be done for me. With the *-o* particle: *triṣan-ò*⌐ I was cured (C:2); *siyamé tărəṣwa-ò*⌐ He used to repair shoes

try I (*tăre, tóre, tăroe*) **to become wet**

tsḥ I (*tăsəḥ, tsəḥle, tsuḥ, tăsoḥe*) **to stuff, to pack; to drive into** | *tăsóḥle ga-guzà*⌐ He is driving it into the wall; *tsiḥá-y ga-ʾărà*⌐ It is driven into the ground

twr I (*tor, təwre* tr./*twir* intr., *tur, twara*) **to break (tr. and intr.)**

tym I (*tem, tim, tum, tyama/tămoe*) **to finish (intr.)** | *lə́ma ḥaštóx temà?*⌐ When does your work finish? **III** *m-tym* (*mătim, mtimle, mắtim, mătimoe*) **to finish (tr.)** | *ḥaští mtimàli*⌐ I have finished my work

tyx I (*tex, tix, tyaxa/tăxoe*) **to go down, to die down (fire)** | With the *–o* particle: *nurăké tix-ò*⌐ The fire died down. **III** *m-tyx* (*mătíx, mtíxle, mắtix, mătoxe*) **to put out (fire); to extinguish** | *ʾo-nurá mắtixle!*⌐ Put out that fire!

/ṭ/

ṭlb I (*ṭăləb, ṭləble, ṭlub, ṭălobe*) **to request**

ṭmš II (*ṭăməš, ṭməšle, ṭắməš, ṭămoše*) **to dip**

ṭpṭp Q (*ṭapṭəp, ṭəpṭəple, ṭápṭəp, ṭapṭope*) **to pat (somebody on the back)** | *ʾenéf ṭapṭə̀plu*⌐ He blinks

ṭpy I (*ṭăpe, ṭpele* tr./ *ṭəpe* intr., *ṭpu/ṭắpe, ṭăpoe*) **to destroy (tr.); to be destroyed (intr.)** | *tărá tatóx ṭăpè!*⌐ May the house (literally: door) of your father be destroyed! (curse)

ṭrq I (*ṭărəq, ṭrəqle, ṭruq, ṭăroqe*) **to pack (one thing inside another); to lock together** | *ʾílu ṭərqìlu*⌐ They wrang their hands (E:31); *kakéf ṭrìqi*⌐ His teeth locked together (= He could not speak out of shock)

ṭšy I (*ṭăše, ṭə́še, ṭə́še/ṭə́šu, ṭăšoe*) **to hide (intr.)** | Usually with the *–o* particle: *gbé ṭăše-ò*⌐ He wants to hide. **II** (*ṭăše, ṭšele, ṭắše, ṭăšoe*) **to hide (tr.)** | Usually with the *–o* particle: *nošáf ṭašyal-ò*⌐ She hides herself

ṭwy II (*ṭăwe, ṭwele* tr./*ṭə́we* intr., *ṭắwe, ṭăwoe*) **to roast; to bake** | *pəsra ṭwita* roasted meat; *ləxmá ṭăwè*⌐ He bakes bread; *bár ləxmăké ṭ̀əwe,*⌐

čăqenwale-ò| After the bread was baked, they took it off (the sides of the oven); *məškí ṭəwyà-y*| My skin is burnt (injury)

ṭxn **I** (*ṭăxən, ṭəxne, ṭxun, ṭăxone*) **to grind**

/w/

wyš **I** (*weš, wiš, wuš, wyaša/wăšoe*) **to dry (intr.)** | With the *–o* particle: *jəlé weši-ò*| The clothes will dry out (dry again). **III** *m-wyš* (*măwiš, mwišle, mắwiš, măwišoe*) **to dry (tr.)** | *măwišíwalu-ó báqa pătirè*| They dried them (the sesame seeds) for Passover (B:27)

/x/

x∅r **I** (*xar, xir, xur, xăroe*) **to become** | *kwə̀r xír*| He became blind. Nominal complement introduced by *ba-*: *xirá-y ba-ʾafsàr*| He has become an officer (A:17); *xár ba-qəṭmà*| It becomes ash; *ṣiwá màqna*| *xár ba-nurà*| I kindle wood and it sets on fire. With dative copula (§3.11.3.): *bratulà xirlála*| She had girlness (= she was a virgin girl) (A:50). *la xar* It is not possible, it is not permitted | *xor-ʾay-bratá lá-xar ʾay-broná xắya x-kà*| Now, it is does not happen (= it is not acceptable) that the girl should ever see the boy (A:24). With the *–o* particle: **to open (intr.)** | *wardé xări-ò*| The flowers are opening

x∅y **I** (*xăe, xeli, xe, xăoe*) **to see** | Used with a propositional complement to present important event: *xéli Bahrám gyần*| *telefón wíle baqì*| *yáni ta-Soqrát bronì*| *míre ʾanà*| *baxtà gəwrí*| It happened (literally: I saw) that dear Bahram telephoned me, that is Soqrat my son, and said 'I have married' (C:4)

xll **II** (*xăləl, xəle, xắləl, xălole*) **to wash** | *reší xəlì*| I washed my face; *ʾilalí gbé xalnù*| I (m.) must wash my hands; *ʾilalí gbé xălù*| I (f.) must wash my hands; *jəlé xəlìli*| I washed the clothes

xlp **I** (*xăləp, xlip, xlup, xălope*) **to win (especially money); to move home** | *ʾăxoní puɭé rába xəlpà-y*| My brother has won a lot of money; *xá gozá xəlpàli*| I have won a walnut (in the walnut game); *ʾoní heštán lá xelpà-y*| They have not yet won; *belàn xlipá-y*| We have moved home (E:61). **III** *m-xlp* (*maxləp, məxləple, máxləp, maxlope*) **to exchange; to change** | *ʾó didí məxlə̀ple*| He took my place

xlṭ **I** (*xăləṭ, xliṭ, xăloṭe*) **to err, to make a mistake. III** *m-xlṭ* (*maxləṭ, məxləṭle, máxləṭ, maxloṭe*) **to cause to err**

xlw **I** (*xalu, xluli, xlu, xălowe*) **to milk** | *ʾaná xalwá tortăké xlùli*ˈ I milked the cow; *daăká xalwá nóšaf xalwále báqa yalàf*ˈ The mother is drawing milk from herself for her child. **II** *m-xlw* (*maxlu, məxlula, máxlu, maxlowe*) **to give milk to** | *daăká yalá maxlwà*ˈ The mother is giving milk to the child

xly **I** (*xăle, xə́le, xə́le, xăloe*) **to wrap around** | *xălét gaì*ˈ You are not giving me any peace (literally: You are wrapping yourself around me)

xmṣ **I** (*xăməṣ, xmiṣ, xămoṣe*) **to become sour. III** *m-xmṣ* (*maxməṣ, məxməṣle, máxməṣ, maxmoṣe*) **to cause to become sour, to pickle**

xmy **I** (*xăme, xə́me, xămoe*) **to leaven (intr.), to rise (bread dough)** | *ləxmé ke là xəmyá-y*ˈ bread that has not been leavened (B:36)

xpy **II** (*xăpe, xpele, xắpele, xăpoe*) **to cover food (in pan so that steam does not escape)**

xrč (*xărəč, xrič, xruč, xăroče*) **to grind together (teeth)** | *kakí xarčì baqéf*ˈ I could eat him! (literally: My teeth are grinding for him—said when somebody feels affection for somebody, especially a baby)

xrj **II** (*xărəj, xrəjle, xắrəj, xăroje*) (K < A) **to spend, to disburse** | *ʾáy kű̆le puḷé xərjìlox*ˈ You have spent all this money (D:7)

xšx **I** (*xăšəx, xšix, xăšoxe*) **to become dark** | *yomá xšìx*ˈ The day has become dark; *ʾenéf xšìxi*ˈ His eyes have become dim (= He has become blind)

xwy **I** (*xăwe, xə́we, xăwoe*) **to drop (voice)** | *qaléf xə̀we*ˈ His voice dropped (He lost his voice)

xyk **I** (*xek, xikle, xuk, xyaka*) **to rub**

xyp **I** (*xăpe, xip, xə́pe, xăpoe*) **to wash o.s.; to bathe**

xyṭ **I** (*xeṭ, xiṭle, xuṭ, xyaṭa/xăṭoe*) **to sew** | *jəlé ʿayzé-č xùṭ!*ˈ Also sew some fine clothes! (D:6)

xzr **I** (*xăzər, xzir, xzur, xăzore*) **to become** (a variant of *x∅r*) | *ʾay-ləxmá lá-xar ḥamés xăzàr*ˈ The bread must not become leavened (B:15)

/y/

ylp **I** (*yălǝp, ylǝple* tr./*yǝ́lip* intr., *yǝ́lup, yălope*) **to learn** | *ʾó rába mǝndixané ylǝ̀ple* He learnt many things (by himself); *ʾó rába mǝndixané yǝ́lip* He learnt many things (when taught by somebody else) (§9.10.)

yql **I** (*yăqǝl, qil, qul, yăqole*) **to burn (intr.)** | *ʾilí qìla* My hand was burnt. **III** *m-ql* (*măqǝl, mǝqle, mắqǝl, măqole*) and *m-lq* (by metathesis) **to kindle** | *ṣiwá màqna* I kindle wood; *xa-ʿǝdá buxarì hitwálu* *ba-ṣiwè malqiwalá* Some people had a stove, which they would fuel by wood (A:89)

yrq **I** (*yărǝq, yǝ́riq, yăroqe*) **to become green; to grow (plant)** | *gaḷaé yarqì* The leaves become green/The leaves grow. **III** *m-yrq* (*mayrǝq, mǝyrǝqle, máyrǝq, mayroqe*) **to cause to become green, to cause to grow** | *kǝ́mna ta-šǝmšằ mašxnalax-ò ʿaynahú wardè mayrqalax-ò* I shall tell the sun to warm you and make you grow like flowers (E:50)

yrx **I** (*yărǝx, yǝ́rix, yǝ́rux, yăroxe*) **to become long, to become tall. III** *m-yrx* (*mayrǝx, mǝyrǝxle, máyrǝx, mayroxe*) **to lengthen, to stretch out** | With the –*o* particle: *lešá mayrxawale-ò* She would stretch out the dough

ytw **I** (*yătu, tiw, tu, yătowe*) **to sit; to stay** | *ʾána là yătúna* I shall not stay (C:9). **III** *m-tw* (*mătu, mtule, mắtu, mătowe*) **to place, to put, to store; to lose (in game)** | *matwíwale ga-tʷká rába qărirằ ké báqa pătiré mǝn-d-èa ʾaxlí* They put (stored) it in a very cold place, so that they could eat it for Passover (B:24); *hár-či ʾǝ́t kǝmràt ʾána mătúna ba-réš ʾenì* Everything that you say, I am willing to do (literally: I shall place on my eye) (A:18); *ʾaná ga-kaé tré gozé mtùli* I have lost two walnuts (in the walnut game). With the –*o* particle: *xa-bratá mǝtwali-ó baqòx* I have arranged a girl for you (A:6)

/z/

zʿr **I** (*zăʿǝr, zǝʿre, zʿur, zăʿore*) **to plant; to sow (seeds)** | *zărá zăʿǝ̀r* He is planting wheat

zbn **II** (*zăbǝn, zǝbne, zắbǝn, zăbone*) **to sell**

zdy **I** (*zăde, zə́de, zə́de/zə́du, zădoe*) **to fear** | *ʾo-waxtắra ʾó-č zădè[|] mən-Mozắfar-din Šằh[|]* Then he feared Mozafaredin Shah (B:62). **III** *m-zdy* (*mazde, məzdele, mázde, mazdoe*) **to frighten**

zmṭ **II** (*zămət̠, zmət̠le* tr./*zmiṭ* intr.*, zắmət̠, zămot̠e*) **to fill (tr. and intr.)** | *bəzá zămə̀tna[|]* I am filling a hole; *ʾó gbé zămə́t̠ pyaḷá maè[|]* He wants to fill a glass with water; *tămám-e réša səfrá zamt̠íwa mən-d-ay-jóra məndixàne[|]* They filled the whole surface of the cloth with such things (A:65); *belá zmít̠ tənà[|]* The house was filled with smoke; *jmanán zmìt̠iwa[|] nuqlé-u mdixanè[|]* Our pockets were filled with sweets and goodies (E:14)

znqr **Q** (*zanqər, zənqəre, zánqər, zanqore*) **to pour out (drink)** | *čáy zanqə̀r[|]* He is pouring out tea

zry **II** (*zăre, zrele, zắre, zăroe*) **to sow (wheat seed)** | *zărá zărèn[|]* They are sowing wheat

zyz **I** (*zez, ziz, zuz, zyaza/zắzoe*) **to increase; to become many. III** *m-zyz* (*mă̆ziz, mzizle, mắziz, mă̆zizoe*) **to increase (tr.), to add** | *ʾəlhá mă̆zìzle[|]* May God increase it (said by a guest to a host after eating food)

GENERAL GLOSSARY

/ʾ/

ʾabi adj. invar. (P) **blue**

ʾābnăbate n.pl. (K/P) **sugar candies**

ʾăgada n.f. (H) **Passover Aggadah** | *kŭ́le našé ʾăgadà qărénwala*ˌ All the people (= everybody) read the Aggadah (A:61)

ʾăgar part. (P/K) **if**

ʾăgar-nam part. (P/K) **if not** | *gbé hár ḥăqéx ga-lăxàˌ ga-lišaná-e ʿəbrìˌ ʾắgar-nam ʾòniˌ ḥáli lá xărìˌ* Here we must each speak in Hebrew, if not, they do not understand (E:64)

ʾağlab n.? (P < A) **the majority** | *ʾağlằb-eˌ təqna-xwarèˌ ke-híč-mənu lá pišiwàˌ kằewalu-oˌ* He knew the majority of the old folk, none of whom were alive (by that time) (B:63)

ʾăhali n.pl. (P < A) **people, community, congregation**

ʾaḥra n.f. (pl. *ʾaḥrale, ʾaḥrane*) **town**

ʾăjab n.m. (P < A) **wonder** | *ʾăjáb bronèk-ye*ˌ He is a wonderful boy (A:17)

ʾajile n.pl. (K) **mixed nuts**

ʾajur n.f. (P) **brick**

ʾajurkari n.? (P) **bricklaying** | *ba-ʾajur-karì ḥaštá kolíwa*ˌ They worked in bricklaying (B:56)

ʾalʾān (P < A) **now**

ʾalat n.m. (K) **pepper**

ʾalpa num. (pl. ʾalpe) **thousand** | *tre ʾalpe* two thousand, *təlḥa ʾalpe* three thousand

ʾalunak n.f. (P) **booth, sukkah**

ʾămade adj. invar. (P) **ready**

ʾamān interj. (P < A) **be careful** | *ʾamằn| mən-d-áy ləxmá là ʾaxlétun!|* Be careful, do not eat this bread! (B:23)

ʾămanta n.f. (P < A) **heirloom, item given in trust**

ʾambar n.f. (pl. ʾambare) (P) **warehouse**

ʾămeta n.? (P) **mixing, joining; together** | *ʾămetá d-oní xìrna|* I mixed with them; *jwanqé-u piré-u ʾənšé-u guré-u ʾăméta kǔle naqḷwa|* Young and old, women and men all danced together (A:54); *koliwále ʾamètef-u|* They mixed it up (B:55)

ʾamr n.m. (pl. ʾamre) (P < A) **command** | *ʾamre rǔwana* the commands of the Almighty

ʾamra n.m. **wool** | *ʾamrá ràng kolíwa|* They used to die wool

ʾamta n.f. (pl. ʾamte) **paternal or maternal aunt**

ʾamu n.m. (P) **uncle** | *ʾamu-jān* (P) my dear uncle

ʾana pron. **I**

ʾănaze n.? (P/K) **amount, measurement** | *ba-ʾănazé nóšu pəsrá šaqlìwa|* They bought meat according to their own requirements (A:74); *ba-ʾănazé kafi|* in sufficient measure (C:13)

ʾanwāʿ n.pl. (P < A) **types** | *ʾanwắ-u ʾaqsằme| mewà* all types of fruit (B:49)

ʾapartmān n.f. (pl. ʾapartmane) (P < E) **apartment**

ʾapra n.m. **soil, clay** | *qoqé xa-zárf, zrúfək-yelu mə́n ʾápre smoqà|* Pots were a container, containers made of red clay (A:84)

ʾapṣa n.f. **gallnut**

ʾăqalyat n.f. (P < A) **minority**

ʾaqla n.f. (pl. ʾaqle) **foot** | *ba-ʾaqle* on foot; *garma ʾaqla* ankle

ʾăqolta n.f. (pl. ʾăqolye) **heel; elbow**

ʾaqpa n.? **bottom** | ʾaqpa bira the bottom of a well; ʾaqpa năḥala the bottom of the ear; ʾaqpa rəzza the (fried) bottom of rice in a pan

ʾaqsăme n.pl. (P < A) **types** | ʾanwắⁿ-u ʾaqsăme‖ mewà all types of fruit (B:49)

ʾăqubra n.f. (pl. ʾăqubre) **mouse**

ʾăquša adj. (fs. ʾăqušta, pl. ʾăquše) **thick (liquid)**

ʾăra n.f. (pl. ʾăre, ʾărane) **land, ground** | píl ʾărà‖ He fell to the ground

ʾarām adj. invar. (K/P) **comfortable, relieved** | bsiman-ð‖ ʾarằm xirán‖ I have been cured and relieved (of my pain) (C:3)

ʾaraq (i) n.m. (K < A) **sweat** | ʾaraq ʾwl to sweat; ʾaraqèf ké‖ He is sweating

ʾaraq (ii) n.f. (K < A) **arak**

ʾarba num. **four** | ʾarbắnan four of us; ʾarbau, ʾarbawau four of them

ʾarbamin num. (fs. ʾarbaminta, pl. ʾarbmine) **fourth**

ʾarbasar num. **fourteen**

ʾarbi num. **forty**

ʾarbúšab n.m. **Wednesday**

ʾarməlda n.f. (pl. ʾarməlye) **widow**

ʾarmota n.f. (pl. ʾarmonye) **pomegranate**

ʾăroqta n.f. **fleeing**

ʾarteš n.f. (P) **army**

ʾarz n.m. (P < A) **petition** | ʾárz hăwé ba-xzəmtòx‖ Let me tell you (literally: May a petition be made to your service) (A:70); ʾarzóx hòna‖ Let me tell you (B:26); hár ba-d-ó jorá yá ʾarzòx wilí‖ in the same way as I said to you (B:43)

ʾasān adj. invar. (K/P) **easy**

ʾăsasiya n.m. (P < A) **furniture**

ʾasən n.m. (P) **iron**

ʾasfanaj n.f. (P) **spinach**

ʾaskuk n.f. (pl. ʾaskuke) **thimble**

ʾaspagla n.f. (pl. ʾaspagle) (K) **quince**

ʾaspāḷ n.pl. (K) **goods, merchandise** | *čarčí ʾò-yele*⌐ *ya-ʾaspā̰ḷ mătúwa réša xmarà*⌐ *rešá susì*⌐ *maxṣuṣán parčanè,*⌐ *lablíwalu ga-malăwàe*⌐ *zabnìwalu* A peddler was somebody who put goods on a donkey or on a horse, especially fabrics, and took them to the villages to sell them (A:70)

ʾaspaw n.m. (K < A) **luggage; belongings** | *ʾaspáw krəxlan-ò*⌐ We wrapped up our belongings (E:10)

ʾasur adj. invar. (H) **forbidden** | *ʾasúr-ile báqa didàn*⌐ *m-širinè ʾaxléx*⌐ It is forbidden for us to eat any sweets (B:29)

ʾasxa part. **thus** | *har-ʾasxa* just like that

ʾăṣarta n.f. **festival of Shavuot**

ʾaṣər n.m. (pl. ʾaṣrane) **evening**

ʾaṣlan part. (P < A) **fundamentally, in particular; at all** | *băṣiré ʾaṣlán băraxà hitú*⌐ Grapes in particular brought (literally: had) blessing (A:72); *lá bəqrán ʾaṣlàn*⌐ *dóka má kolèx*⌐ We did not at all ask what we would do there (E:13)

ʾašəqi n.f. **love-making, amorous behaviour** | *jwanqé là qărén*⌐ *gurané ʾašəqì*⌐ The young men do not sing songs of love (E:40); *qărén ta-làxle*⌐ *zəmré ʾašəqì*⌐ They sing love songs to one another

ʾaškaba n.f. (H) **memorial of burial**

ʾašna n.m. (pl. ʾašnae) (P) **acquaintance, friend** | *čírna ba-šòne*⌐ *qáwm-u ʾašnàe*⌐ I searched for family and friends (E:22); *bašká ʾašná xadána mànun-u*⌐ *bəxlé zəndəgì holéxin*⌐ Perhaps I shall became acquainted with one of them and we can spend time (literally: life) together (D:2)

ʾašxāṣ n.pl. (P < A) **people**

ʾāt pron. **you (sing.)**

ʾăta adv. **now**

ʾat-e baba n.f. **step-mother**

ʾat-xona n.f. **wife of brother**

ʾaṭrāf n.pl. (P < A) **surrounding districts** | ʾaṭrā̀f-e Kurdəstā́n| the districts surrounding Kurdistan (B:3)

ʾăwaḷ num./n. (P < A) **first; beginning** | ʾăwaḷ gora, gora ʾăwaḷ, gorá-e ʾăwaḷ the first man; ʾéa ʾăwăḷèf| That is its first (stage) (A:57); mən-ʾăwáḷ-e payìz| from the beginning of autumn (B:26)

ʾăwăḷan part. (P < A) **first, at first**

ʾawāz n.m. (pl. ʾawaze) (K) **music, song**

ʾawga n.m. (K) **fruit hung from the ceiling to preserve it for the winter**

ʾawpāš n.f. (K) **watering can; pail**

ʾăxa part. **thus, like this** | referring to what follows: rásm ga-doká ʾăxà-yele.| ga-yomà| reš-šatà,| baqa-xətnà| mən-be-kaldá xwằn kwíwa.| The custom there was like this. On New Year's day they would give a table (of gifts) to the groom on behalf of the family of the bride. (A:9)

ʾaxər n.? (P < A) **end** | ga-ʾaxə́r-e páyiz at the end of autumn (A:81); — x∅r to come to an end: ʿolä́m ʾaxə́r xărà| daxóm ga-ʾIrằn| The world will come to an end, even in Iran (C:12)

ʾaxəra → bəlʾaxəra

ʾaxlana n.m./adj. (fs. ʾaxlanta, pl. ʾaxlane) **(big) eater**

ʾaxni pron. **we**

ʾăxona n.m. (pl. ʾăxonăwale) **brother**

ʾăxonula n.f. **brotherhood**

ʾaxref adv. **in the end, finally** | ʾaxréf ba-zór miyàlun-u| In the end they brought her by force (A:23); ʾaxréf bəqrù mənéf| In the end they asked him (D:14)

ʾaxtu pron. **you (pl.)**

ʾay pron. **this (demonstrative pronoun)**

ʾaʿyane n.pl. (P < A) **dignitaries**

ʾăyane part. **look! (presentative particle)** | ʾăyané ʾăxonăwalì| There are my brothers; ʾăyané ʾăxonì híye| Look my brother has come

ʾayba n.f. (K/P < A) **shame, pity, scandal** | *ʾaybà-y*| It is shame (to do it = you should not do it); *ʾaybá-yele guré-u ʾənšé ʾămetà hăwén*| It was not permitted for men and women to be together

ʾayni pron. **these (demonstrative pronoun)**

ʾazād adj. invar. (P) **permitted; free** | *mən-d-óa ʾazằd-yele baqàn*| It was permitted to us (to eat) any of this (B:29); *ʾáy lá-yele blané-u broné mangál ʾătà*| *ʾazằd hăwén-u*| *lə́xle xằen-u*| But it did not happen that, like now, the girls and boys were free to see one another (A:1)

ʾazadi n.f. (P) **freedom, holiday**

ʾăzizakam n.m./f. (K) **my dear**

ʾazyat n.f. (K) **trouble, disturbance** | *ʾazyătú là holétun*| Do not disturb them (B:85)

ʾe pron. **this (demonstrative pronoun)**

ʾéa pron. **this (demonstrative pronoun)**

ʾela n.f. (pl. *ʾelăwae*) **festival**

ʾela-brixula → brixula

ʾemza n.f. (P < A) **signature** | *pirè*| *gbéwa ʾemzà holiwalá*| The elders had to make a signature (A:48)

ʾena n.f. (pl. *ʾene*) **eye.** (pl. *ʾenăwae*) **spring of water** | *xaṣa ʾena* eyelid; *gəlka ʾena* pupil of eye; *ʾena d∅y* to blink; to wink; *kxəwlé ʾenà dăén*| The stars twinkle; *hár-či ʾə́t kəmràt*| *ʾána mătúna ba-réš ʾenì*| Everything that you say, I am willing to do (A:18)

ʾena-zyoma n.f. (pl. *ʾena-zyome*) **sunflower**

ʾenṣafan part. (P < A) **indeed, in truth** | *wa-bšəlmané mozaḥămù lá xăríwa ʾenṣafán*| and, indeed, the Muslims did not disturb them (B:36)

ʾewa n.m. (pl. *ʾewe*) **cloud**

ʾéxa pron. **this one** | *-u ʾexa-u* (that one) and this one = and so forth: *ʾáy ʾăsasiyà-u*| *ʾèxa-u*| *kű́le mèlan*| This furniture and so forth—we brought it all (C:10); *ba-xá dăsá jəle zìl-u*| *ga-pə́lga našăké tìw-u*| *ḥqéle mə́nun-u ʾexà-u*| He went in a suit and sat among the people and spoke to them, and so forth (D:16)

ʾezafa part. (P < A) **in addition** | šratá xét ʾezafá là malqíwa˥ They did not light an additional lamp (B:72)

-əč, -č part. (K) **too, also; as for**

ʾəčʿa num. **nine** | ʾəčʿā́nan nine of us; ʾəčʿau, ʾəčʿawau nine of them

ʾəčʿasar num. **nineteen**

ʾəčʿi num. **ninety**

ʾədara (P < A) : — ʾwl **to manage** | ʾanà xét˥ mən-qóme-u xăré gbé hézna ḥaštà˥ wa-zəndəgí nòši˥ ʾədára hònef˥ From tomorrow onwards I have to go to work and manage my own life (D:23)

ʾəḥtərām n.? (P < A) **respect** | ʾəqrá ʾəḥtərā́m-e lə́xle doqìwa˥ They had such respect for one another (A:45); rába huláe ga-doká mórəd ʾəḥtəramèf-yelu˥ The Jews there were very much the source of his respect (= He very much respected the Jews) (B:85)

ʾəl- prep. (only with pronominal suffixes) **to, for, upon; object marker** | kwíle ʾəlèf; They will give it to him; gărə́š ʾəlèf˥ He pulls him; dohól ʾu-zorná dăyáwa ʾəlàf-u˥ The drum and pipe were beaten upon (= they were played) (A:45) → həl

ʾəlha n.m. **God** | ʾəlha mănixle May God grant him rest; ʾəlhá băsə̀mlox˥ thanks (literally: May God make you well); ʾəlhá hăwé mənòx˥ God be with you; ʾəlhá ʾəstòx dóq˥ May God keep your honour (said to host after eating food); ʾəlhá măzìzle˥ May God increase it (said to a host after eating food); ʾəlhá manté pešét ta-ʾəmá-u ʾəsrì šəné˥ May God grant that you live for 120 years; (ta-qomé) ʾəlhá rŭwà-y˥ God is great (until tomorrow) (= Don't worry, there is still hope); hítwa-u lìtwa˥ mən-ʾəlhá biš-pìr˥ hìč-kas lítwa˥ There was, there was not, there was nobody older than God (formula opening a story) (A:98); ʾəlhá šóqla ta-daăkèf˥ May God preserve his mother (A:17); báška ʾəlhà-y mă̆ʿalíja xărát˥ Perhaps it is (the will of) God that you will be cured (C:1); báška ʾəlhà-y˥ ʾənyexáe băruxéf xărì wá˥ hélu daʿwatèf holí˥ Perhaps, God willing, they would become his friends and would be able to invite him (D:5); ba-ʾəlha by God, indeed

ʾəlha-hiwula n.f. **divinely given (providence, produce)** | ḥáli hár danù˥ hamrắna čəkmà˥ ʾəlhá-hiwula gáu˥ (You should) understand, in each of them (the vineyards), let me say, there was so much divinely given produce (C:8)

ʾəlma n.m. (pl. ʾəlme) **brother of husband**

ʾəlyana adj. (fs. ʾəlyanta, pl. ʾəlyane) **upper**

ʾəma num. **hundred** | *tre ʾəme, tré-me* two hundred; *təlḥa ʾəme, təlḥá-me* three hundred

ʾəmrār mă̆ʿāš n.? (P < A) **livelihood** | *ʾəmrā́r-e mă̆ʿā́š ba-d-ò kolíwa*| They made their livelihood in this way (B:7)

ʾəntəxāb n.? (P < A) **choice** | — *ʾwl* to chose: *ga-dokà*| *táte-u daăkè*| *bì-zoa*| *ʾəntəxà̀b kolíwa*| *mằni*| *gorí ta-bronù*| The fathers and mothers would generally choose who they married to their son (A:2)

ʾənwe n.pl. **raisins; dried grapes**

ʾənye pron. **these (demonstrative pronoun)**

ʾənyexáe pron. **these (demonstrative pronoun)**

ʾəqra part. **so much, so many; thus** | *xəmé-u xmalè*| *həl-kaldú la-xă̆enwa ʾəqrà*| The fathers-in-law and mothers-in-law did not see their bride very much (A:3); *ʾo-waxtă̆ra mašiné ʾəqrá lìtwa*| At that time there were not so many cars (A:16); *dày-gyān*| *ʾəqrà ʾə́lu*| *ʾanà*| *ga-lă̆xá tă̆xăṣìṣ lá qă̆réna*| Mother dear, you should know this, that I shall not study a specialism here (C:3)

ʾərba n.f. (pl. ʾərbe) **sheep**

ʾərbala n.f. (pl. ʾərbale) **sieve (for wheat)**

ʾəsra num. **ten** | *ʾəsrắnan* ten of us; *ʾəsrau, ʾəsrawau* ten of them

ʾəsri num. **twenty**

ʾəsta n.f. (P < A) **honour** | *ʾəlhá ʾəstòx dóq*| May God keep your honour (said to host after eating food)

ʾəstaxr n.f. (P) **pool, swimming pool**

ʾəstəfada n.f. (P < A) : — *ʾwl* (— *mən*) **to make use of, to use** | *mən-susì ʾəstəfadá kolíwa*| They would make use of a horse (A:16)

ʾəstəqamat n.f. (P < A) **reinforcement**

ʾəstəqbāl n.f. (P < A) **reception** | *gezíwa ʾəstəqbalèf*| *tă̆mắm-e ră̆wanè*| All the dignitaries went to receive him (B:81). *ʾəstəqbāl ʾwl* to accept | *bíš-zoa našé ʾəstəqbắl kolíwa ta-lă̆xà*| More people used to accept (this) than here

ʾəstəraḥat (P < A) : —ʾwl **to rest**

ʾəṣrār (P < A) : — ʾwl **to insist**

ʾəšta num. **six** | ʾəštắnan six of us; ʾəštau, ʾəštawau six of them

ʾəštasar num. **sixteen**

ʾəšti num. **sixty**

ʾətəfaqan adv. (P < A) **by chance**

ʾəwya adj. (fs. ʾwita, pl. ʾəwye) **thick** | xola ʾəwya thick rope; glala ʾəwya thick thread

ʾəza n.f. (pl. ʾəze) **goat** | ʾəzá mʿèlaˈ The goat bleated

ʾəzla n.m. (pl. ʾəzle) **thread (of spun wool)**

ʾə́zyo adv. **today**

ʾi part. **yes**

ʾijara (P <A) : ʾijara ʾwl **to hire, to rent** | ʾorxèlˈ ʾijàra kolíwaˈ They hired a water-mill (A:15). ba-ʾijara hwl **to rent out, to let** | tʷkané ràba hítwaleˈ híwale ba-ʾijaràˈ He had many shops, which he had rented out (A:7)

ʾijaza n.f. **permission** | ʾijazá hùlmuˈ ke-ʾaxní xlulà holéxˈ Give permission for us to hold the wedding (A:31)

ʾila n.f. (pl. ʾile, ʾilale) **hand; arm** | ʾila ʾsirta a closed hand. ʾila m-tw b-to touch. ʾila ʾwl/d∅y to begin: ʾíli wíli băxoèˈ I began to weep (C:4)

ʾilamla n.f. **wife of brother of husband**

ʾilana n.m. (pl. ʾilane) **tree** | ʾilané mewàˈ fruit trees (A:72); duša ʾilane resin of a tree; ʾilane festival of Sukkot

ʾinke part. (P) **subordinating particle** | ràweˈ tá-ʾinke xìrˈ ba-xá bronàˈ taqribán ʾəsrì šənéˈ He grew until he became a boy about twenty years old (D:1)

ʾiqa adj. (fs. ʾiqta, pl. ʾiqe) **narrow** | ləbí ʾiqà-yˈ My heart is sad

ʾo pron. **he/she, that (demonstrative pronoun)**

ʾóa pron. **that (demonstrative pronoun)**

ʾomde adj. invar. (P < A) **main, principal** | *kasə́be ʾomdé lìtwalan ga-Kurdəstä́n*⌐ We did not have big traders in Kurdistan (A:12)

ʾomta n.f. (pl. ʾomte) (P < A) **nation**

ʾoni pron. **they, those (demonstrative pronoun)**

ʾonye pron. **those (demonstrative pronoun)**

ʾonyexáe pron. **those (demonstrative pronoun)**

ʾortye : — *dwq* **to scoff** | *ʾortyè doqí gái*⌐ They are scoffing at me

ʾorxa n.f. (pl. ʾorxe, ʾorxale) **way; road** | *árba xamšá nắfăré pílex ʾorxà-u*⌐ *zílex dokà*⌐ We set off, four or five people (in all) and went there (A:19)

ʾorxel n.f. (pl. ʾorxale) **water-mill**

ʾotāq, ʾotaqa n.f. (pl. ʾotaqe) (P) **room**

ʾóxa pron. **that one**

ʾurədxa n.f. (pl. ʾurədxe) **long needle used by cobbler**

/ʿ/

ʿăkās n.m. (P) **photographer**

ʿăkasi n.m. (P) **photography** | *dūrbin ʿăkasi* camera

ʾaklela, ʾaklelta n.f. (pl. ʾakle) **hen, chicken**

ʿaks n.m. (pl. ʿakse) (P) **photograph** | *ʾó ʿàkse ntéle*⌐ He took photographs (A:29)

ʿălamat n.f. (P < A) **sign**

ʿălawa ba- (P < A) **in addition to**

ʿamr n.m. (P < A) **life** | *ʾəlhá manté ta-ʾəmá-u ʾəsrì šəné ʿámr holét*⌐ God willing you will live to 120; *hìtwa*⌐ *bronắké həl-bratắké la-xewále ba-ʿamrèf*⌐ Sometimes the boy had never seen the girl in his life (A:2)

ʿămumi adj. invar. (P < A) **public** | *ḥămä́m ʿămumì-yela*⌐ The bath was public (A:36)

ʿaqəl adj. invar. (P < A) **intelligent, wise**

ʿaql n.m. (P/K < A) (with suffixes: ʿaqlef) **mind, intelligence**

ʿarbit n.f. (H) **evening prayer**

ʿăsắbe n.pl. (P < A) **nerves** | *xà-xmata dyálu ga-ʿăsắbe bar-reší-u* They injected a needle in the nerves behind my neck (C:2)

ʿătari n.m. (pl. ʿătare) (P < A) **grocer**

ʿăwon n.m. (H) **sin, crime**

ʿawun kăpara n.m. (H) **ceremony of atonement of sins**

ʿayn, ʿaynahu (K < A) **like** | *tanhà ʿáyn dawrèš̀ ga-kují čèrn-o* I wander around the streets alone like a beggar (E:36); *kə́mna ta-šəmšà mašxnalax-ò̀ ʿaynahú wardè̀ mayrqalax-ò̀* I shall tell the sun to warm you and make you grow like flowers (E:50); *ga-ʿayn-e-ḥằl* at that (very) time (B:82)

ʿayza adj. (fs. ʿayzta/ʿasta, pl. ʿayze) **good; fine** | *familù rába ʿayzá-y* Their family is very good (A:6); *jəlé ʿayzè mătíwa* They put (in it) fine clothes (A:9); *parčané ʿayzé dăélwa ba-susiyăkè* He put fine materials on the horse (A:43). adv. invar. **well** | *nóšox ʿayzá trùṣla!* Make yourself look good! (Tidy yourself up!) (D:11). With –*ek* suffix in exclamatory expressions: *bróna rába ʿayzèk-yele!* He was a very fine lad! (A:14)

ʿayzula n.f. **goodness**

ʿăza n.m. (P < A) **mourning** | *ṣomá-e ʿăzà* a fast of mourning (B:73)

ʿəda (P < A) : *xa-ʿəda* **a few, a small quantity** | *xá-ʿəda jwanqé* a few youths (A:12); *xá-ʿəda mən-našè* a few people (A:19)

ʿəzat n.f. (K/P) **honour**

ʿolām, ʿolama n.f. (H) **world** | *xà̀ bronà̀ híye ba-ʿolằm̀ kăčằl-yele* A boy came into the world who was bald (D:1); *mən-ʿolắm zìl̀* He quitted the world (He died); *ʾáy ʿolamà,̀ ʿazìzakam,̀ ràba zorté-ya* This world, my dear, is very small (C:5); *ʿolamá čarxà̀* The world spins round; *la-ʿolām* (H) ever, never

ʿomer n.m. (pl. ʿomere) (H) **ʿomer (measurement of flour)** | *lā-la-ʿomer* **festival of Lag ba-ʿOmer**

ʿonwān n.? (P) **topic, address** | *ba-ʿonwan-e* for, for the sake of: *širní mătéxwa baqùˈ šăréxwale baqùˈ ba-ʿonwán-e reš-šatàˈ* We put out such sweets for them and sent them to them, for New Year (A:87)

ʿŭbur (P < A) : — ʾwl **to pass** | *ké Răzá Šằhˈ m-txéla d-òaˈ ʿŭbùr wilè,ˈ míre ʾéa mà-ya?ˈ* When Raza Shah passed under it, he said 'What is this?' (B:84)

/b/

ba-, b- (i) prep. **in, into, at, on; with; (made) out of; by (oath); for (price), as (attributive)** | (1) temporal or spatial location within: *ba-pătiré* at Passover (A:67), *ba-d-ó mŭdătàˈ* at that period (A:68); *ba-tănuràˈ* in the oven (A:67); *b-ay-kujăwáe* in these streets (A:45). (2) on surface: *ba-rešáf* on her head (A:4); *lá ba-putăkè dăélwaˈ ʾu-la yálef naqlìwaˈ* He did not beat on the can and his children did not dance (A:107). (3) manner: *ba-d-áy jóra* in that way (A:103); *tănurăké ba-ṣiwè malqíwalaˈ* They heated the oven with wood (A:67); *kălúwala ba-xắt-e nòšefˈ* He wrote it with his own hand (A:48); *ba-lišaná bšəlmanèˈ* in the language of the Muslims (A:20); *tʷkané ràba hítwaleˈ híwale ba-ʾijaràˈ* He had many shops, which he had rented out (A:7); *b-šəmá* by the name (of) (A:41). (4) **into** (transfer): *pəsrăké kwálwale ba-ʾilá máre belăkèˈ* He gave the meat into the hand of the head of the household (A:83); into (transformation): *ʾay-zăràˈ ṭaxnìwaleˈ kolíwale ba-qamxàˈ* They would grind the wheat, make it into flour (A:59); *xirá-y ba-ʾafsàrˈ* He has become an officer (A:17). (5) material: *păré ba-taxtè-hitwaˈ* There were propellers of wood (A:59). (6) **with (object)**: *gezíwa ba-dohól ʾu-zorná* They would go with drum and pipe (A:10). (7) **by (oath)**: *ba-rešòx!ˈ* (I swear) by your head! (= It is really so!) (B:63). (8) **for (price)** | *ba-ʾəštà-meˈ ʾəštá-me ʾalpèˈ zəbnánˈ* We sold for six hundred, for six hundred thousand (C:8); *ba-harzànˈ* cheaply (C:8). (9) **as (attributive)** | *huláa ba-năjás là kắenwaleˈ* They (the Sunnites) did not know a Jew as unclean (= did not consider a Jew unclean) (B:64). (10) Combined with other prepositions: *tắra mázra ba-réša nòšafˈ* She closed the door onto herself (A:22); *jắm kménwa ba-qám kaldá-u xətnàˈ* They brought a mirror to the bride and groom (A:45); *hár-či ʾắt kəmràtˈ ʾána mătúna ba-réš ʾenìˈ* Whatever you say, I am willing to do (A:18); *ba-dáwr-e ʾo belàˈ* around that house

ba- (ii) part. (K) **deontic particle** | *ba-ʾắxɔ̀l*ˈ May he eat; *dú ga-pulăké ba-naqlèx!*ˈ Beat on the drum and let us dance! (A:107)

baʿa : — *ʾwl* **to bleat** | *ʾərbá baʿà kolá*ˈ A sheep bleats → *bʿy*

babena n.m. **forehead**

baʿdan part. (P < A) **afterwards, then**

bad-baxti n.m. (P) **ill fortune**

bădiqa n.f. (H) **inspection (for leaven at Passover)**

bahār n.m. (K) **Spring**

băkarat n.f. (P < A) **virginity**

băkeš (K) : *ʾzl băkeš-* **to drag, to force** | *zíl băkešì*ˈ He forced me, *zíla băkešòx*ˈ She forced you (ms.)

băla n.f. (K < A) **catastrophe**

balkon n.f. (P) **balcony**

bălota n.f. (pl. *bălote*) **throat**

baḷa n.f. (pl. *baḷe*) (K) **wing**

baḷuka n.f. (pl. *baḷuke*) (K) **cherry**

băna n.m. (pl. *bănae*) (P < A) **builder**

băne ʿolam (H) n.pl. **people** | *na-raḥătí ta-híč băné ʿolám là-hăwəl*ˈ May He (God) not grant distress to any people (C:14)

bangler n.f. (pl. *banglere*) (K) **roller for roof**

baqa prep. **to, for** | (1) destination, direction: *gezíwa báqa béla nòšu*ˈ They went to their home (A:11); *kmə́rwa xətná čəkmá kwə́l báqa kaldăkè*ˈ He would say how much the groom would give to the bride (A:48); *xa-rezá ləxmá-u guptá šăqə́l báqa yalèf-u*ˈ He buys a little bread and cheese for his children (A:102); *rába hə́rs-u jáw litwálu báqa puḷè*ˈ They did not have much yearning for money (A:55). (2) address: *kə́mra báqa baxtì*ˈ She says to my wife (A:17). (3) attribution: *zaḥamtè-ya baqí*ˈ It is difficult for me; *wắle báqa didì*ˈ *wŭjud-dídi xa-šahì lá šăwé*ˈ But as far as I was concerned, my life was not worth a penny (in Iran) (C:12). (4) purpose: *ʾonyexáe píšen báqa yādgarì*ˈ They have remained as a reminder (of the event) (A:29); *leléf-o zílex baqà*ˈ *širinì hămex-ó*ˈ On that very night

we went to fetch the sweets (A:19). (5) cause: *báqa d-óa belăké
mašxniwalè*⌐ For this reason they heated the house (A:89); *ləxmá
huláa xùl*⌐ *báqa d-éa huláa pəsrá xzurá lá kxəl*⌐ Eat the food of a
Jew, because a Jew does not eat the meat of a pig (B:65). (6) du-
ration: *baqá xá-yarxa-u tré-yarxe ḥaštá wìle-u*⌐ He worked for one
or two months (D:24). (7) Combined with other prepositions:
qímna zína reš-Tarā́n báqa réša ḥaštì⌐ I set off and went to Tehran
for my work (A:27)

baqəla n.f. (pl. *baqəle*) (P/K < A) **bean**

ba-qəwta adj. invar. **strong**

baqya n.f. (P < A) **remainder** | *baqyú-č ga-malăwàe-yelu*⌐ The remain-
der of them were in the villages (B:9)

bar prep. **after (spatial and temporal); behind; over.** conj. **before** |
bár-d-o after that, then; *bár-d-o xăráe* afterwards. Combined with
m-: *m-bàraf*⌐ behind her (A:46); *šišmé dărénwalu bar-xá qalì*⌐ They
poured the sesame over a carpet (B:27). Clausal conjunction: *bar-
d-èa*⌐ *ʾijazà wilwalù,*⌐ *gbéwa xa-širní xorắn-e mfăṣàl doqí*⌐ After they
had given their permission, they had to hold a big ceremony of
'eating the sweets' (A:32); *báro kol-ò*⌐ He turns away; *bàro kól,*⌐
qằme-o kól⌐ He turns around

bar n.? (K) **side** | *xa ʾay-bar … xa ʾay-bar* one on one side … one on the
other side

bar-ʾamona n.m. (pl. *bar-ʾamone*) **paternal cousin**

bar-ʾamta n.m. (pl. *bar-ʾamte*) **maternal cousin**

bar-ʿaleh-e part. (P < A) **against** | *bar-ʿaléh-e dìn*⌐ *wắle là-ʾəbya-y*⌐ *róšan
hole-ò*⌐ He was against religion but he did not want to make it ex-
plicit (B:82)

băraxa n.f. (H) **blessing** | *băraxà kolíwa*⌐ They would make a blessing
(B:67); *băraxa toranjula* n.f. the ceremony of blessing the etrog

báro adv. **the day after tomorrow**

bar-pqara n.m. **back of the neck**

băruxa n.m. (pl. *băruxăwale*) **friend** | *ʾanà*⌐ *băruxăwalé dòqna*⌐ I shall
make friends (D:3)

băruxta n.f. (pl. *băruxye*) **friend (f.)**

bărux̣ula n.f. **friendship**

bās : (K) — *x∅r* **to open (plant)** | *mlăgó bằs xir-ó⌐* The bud opened

băsa, basta n.f. (pl. *băse*) (K/P) **bundle** | *băsăké kărəx̣naf-ò⌐* I shall wrap up the parcel; *ʾaspáw krəx̣lan-ò⌐ bastá ba-bastà⌐* We wrapped up our belongings, bundle, by bundle (E:10)

băsima adj. (pl. *băsimta*, pl. *băsime*) **pleasant; well; tasty** | *zəndəgí rába rába băsimà-yele⌐* Life was very very pleasant (A:55); *ʾilóx̣ băsimè⌐* Thank you (literally: [May] your hands be well), said in gratitude for something given; *pəmóx̣ băsimà⌐* Thank you (literally: [May] your mouth be well), said after a conversation

băsimula n.f. **goodness, joy**

basta → *băsa*

bastula n.f. (pl. *bastule*) (K) **small barrel**

băṣire pl. (sing. *băṣirta*) **grapes** | *x̣a-boḷa băṣirta* a single grape; *băṣire yăquti* small round grapes

baṣor mod. **a few** adv. **little, rarely** | *x̣a-baṣor* a little, somewhat; *baṣor tome* a few seeds; *x̣a-baṣór púḷ píl ga-ʾilù⌐* A little money fell into their hands (B:56); *ba-mŭdằt-e ké⌐ bəx̣lé dasgiràn-yelu,⌐ bằz-ham rába baṣòr lóx̣le x̣ằenwa⌐* When they became betrothed, they still saw each other very little (A:3); *biš baṣor* **less; very few** | *ʾay-šátá ʾalpá šéqel biš-baṣór ḥósli ta-šətqàl⌐* This year I earned 1,000 shekels less than last year; *bíš baṣór náše hítwa ṣomá la-doqìwa⌐* There were only very few people who did not fast (B:44)

băṣorula n.f. **dearth, lack**

băšar n.m. (P < A) **man, human being** | *băšár x̣et-ʾăx̣à-y⌐* A human after all is like that (= it is only human) (C:6)

báše (P) **let it be so**

baška, baškam part. (K) **perhaps** | *baškám lišanán lá-hela qằṭè⌐* Perhaps our language will not become extinct (E:75); *muntăzằr x̣ír⌐ baškẚ daʿwătèf holí⌐* He waited hoping they would invite him (D:7); *báška ʾəlhà-y mă̆ʿalíja x̣arát⌐* Perhaps it is (the will of) God that you will be cured (C:1)

bat-ʾamona n.f. **daughter of uncle; paternal cousin (f.)**

batal-batal-láḥmal adv. **four days ago**

batal-bóro adv. **in three days time**

batal-láḥmal adv. **three days ago**

ba-təmʿa adv. invar. **tasty**

bătula n.f. (H) **virgin** | *qắme d-ó-č xlúla holì¦ kŭle be-bătulà-yen¦* Before they marry, they are all non-virgins (A:50)

băura adj. (fs. *băurta*, pl. *băure*) **bright** | *yoma băura* a bright day

băurula n.f. **light; brightness** | *băurulá laplà¦* It is getting light; *wá xəšká zìl-u¦ píla băurulà¦* Look the darkness has gone, the light has come (E:47); *kəxwé băurulà kwí¦* The stars shine; *băurula ʾena* white of the eye

bawa pyara (K) n.m. **step-father**

bawař (K) : — *ʾwl* **to believe** | *bawàř-hul,¦ yála trèsar šəné,¦ xámsar šəné dòqwale¦* Believe me, a boy twelve years old (and one) fifteen years old would observe it (the fast) (B:44)

bawreša n.f. (pl. *bawreše*) (K) **wicker fan**

băxeḷi n.? (K < A) **jealousy** | — *lbl* to be jealous: *ʾáy baxtá-u ʾáy gorà¦ băxeḷì lablíwa l-d-áy góra xét ké¦ ba-d-áy jóra zəndəgí kòl¦* The woman and the man were jealous of that other man who lived in this way (A:103)

băxila n.f. **weeping**

baxta n.f. (pl. *ʾənše*) **woman, wife**

baxyana adj. (fs. *baxyanta*, pl. *baxyane*) **weepy**

bayaquš n.f. (pl. *bayaquše*) (K) **owl**

bayər adj. invar. (K) **waste (land)**

bayn prep. **between** | *bayn-e tati-u daăki* between my father and my mother; *xá-provérb hìtwa ga-baynú¦* They had a proverb among themselves (B:64); *mən-bayn ʾzl* to pass away, to perish: *ʾənyexáe rábau mən-graní mən-báyn zìli¦* Many of them went from the midst (= passed away) due to famine (B:10)

bazār n.m. (P) **market**

bazari n.m. (P) **market stall keeper**

băzaza n.m. (pl. *băzaze*) **cloth merchant**

bāz, bāz-ham part. (P) **yet, still; also** | *ba-mŭdằt-e ké*⌐ *bəxlé dasgiràn-yelu,*⌐ *bā́z-ham rába başòr lə́xle xắenwa*⌐ When they became betrothed, they still saw each other very little (A:3)

be- n.m. (annexation form) **family** | *be-Daryuš-xān* the family of Daryuš-khan; *be-didox* your family; *be-babe* the family of one's parents | *kaldá zíla be-babàf*⌐ The bride went to her parent's family; *be-xəme* in-law family | *kaldá zíla be-xəmàf*⌐ The bride went to her in-law family (the family of the groom); *be-kalda* the family of the bride | *ga-yomà*⌐ *reš-šatà,*⌐ *baqa-xətnà*⌐ *mən-be-kaldá xwə̀n kwíwa*⌐ On New Year's day they would give a table (of gifts) to the groom on behalf of the family of the bride (A:9)

be- prep. **without** | *be-ʿaql* (K/P < A) stupid, *be-qəwta* weak, *be-mara* ownerless, abandoned, *be-ḥaya* (P < A) shameless, *be-čara* (K) with no solution, hopeless, desperate; *be-təmʿa* tasteless; *be-ʿenà hăwé*⌐ May he be without the (evil) eye (said of a beautiful child); *be-bătula* n.f. non-virgin | *be-bătulá lá xirtè-ya*⌐ She was not a non-virgin (on her wedding night) (A:50); *be-čarăgi* n.m. (P) desperation

behtar adj. invar. (P) **best** | *béhtar-e zărà*⌐ the best wheat (B:14)

bela n.m. (pl. *bele, belăwae, bate*) **house, home.** adv. **at home** | *kŭ́le maṣṣáe belà kolíwa*⌐ Everybody made unleavened bread at home (A:67); *ləxma bela* bread produced (on a griddle and preserved) at home; *máre belăkè*⌐ the householder (A:83); *ʾəlhá belóx lá mărùle*⌐ May God not destroy your house; *belàn xlipá-y*⌐ We have moved home (E:61)

benulmălălí adj. invar. (P) **international** | *jáng-e benulmălălí ʾăwàl*⌐ *wáxt-e piš-ʾèa*⌐ just before the First World War (B:10)

beta n.f. (pl. *bee*) **egg** | *ʾaklelá betà wilá-y*⌐ The hen has laid an egg

bə́xle pron. **with each other, together** | *ʾoni-híyen bə̀xle*⌐ They came together

bəlʾaxəra adv. (P < A) **in the end**

bənyām n.m. (H) **person**

bəqăta n.f. (pl. *bəqătane, bəqătăwáe*) **morning** | *bə́qăta ʾáṣər gezə̀lwa॑ jə́ns zăbə̀nwa-u॑* Morning and evening he would go and sell cloth (A:105); *bəqắta sălāt* early in the morning; *bəqắtef-o* the next morning

bərka n.f. (pl. *bərke, bərkale*) **knee**

bərqa n.m. **lightning** | *xá bərqá dìle॑* Lightning struck

bəza n.m. (pl. *bəze*) **hole** | *bəza poqa* nostril; *bəza xmata* hole in a needle

bəzyana adj. (fs. *bəzyanta*, pl. *bəzyane*) **riddled with holes**

bijari n./adj. invar. **from Bijar**

binaġat n.? (pl. *binaġăte*) (K) **foundation**

bira n.f. **well; cistern**

biš part. **more (preceding adjectives)** | *ʾăxoní mən-xăləstí biš-rŭwà-y॑* My brother is bigger than my sister; *ʾáy xămuštá ta-d-ó xămuštá biš-rabtè-ya॑* This apple is bigger than that apple; *ʾăxoní mən-kŭ́le biš-rŭwà-y॑* My brother is the greatest (literally: is greater than everybody)

biyabān n.f. (P) **desert**

bi-zoa → zoa

boʿina n.m. **blockage in throat; nausea, vomit** | *ʾó ga-pliyáw ḥqaéf boʿinà díle॑* When he was talking, he had a blockage in his throat; *boʿiní kiyà॑* I want to vomit

bola n.m. (pl. *bole*) **grape** | *xa bola băṣirta* a single grape

bole n.pl. **nasal mucus, snot**

bóro adv. **in two days time**

boryaw : — *ʾwl* **to low** | *tortá boryàw kolá॑* The cow is lowing

brata n.f. (pl. *blane*) **daughter; girl** | *brata mama* paternal cousin (f.); *brata ʾamta* maternal cousin (f.); *brata jwān* young woman

brixa adj. (fs. *brixta*, pl. *brixe*) **blessed** | *ʾéla-u reš-šatóx hăwén brixè!॑* May your festival and New Year be blessed! (B:33)

brixula n.f. **the act of blessing** | *ʾela-brixula* festival blessing: *gèznawa|* *ʾéla brixulà hámna baqéf|* I would go to wish him a happy festival (B:33)

brona n.m. (pl. *brone*) **son; boy**

bšəlmana n.m. (pl. *bšəlmane*) **Muslim**

bšəlmanta n.f. (pl. *bšəlmanye*) **Muslim woman**

bšila adj. (fs. *bšilta*, pl. *bšile*) **cooked**

buq n.m. (K) **steam**

buqča n.f. (pl. *buqče*) (K) **knapsack**

burtăqāl n.f. (pl. *burtăqale*) (K/P) **orange**

buška n.f. (pl. *buške*) (P) **barrel**

buxari n.f. (K/P) **stove**

byanke n.f. (K) **pretext, excuse** | *byankè dóq|* He is making excuses

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čačaw n.m. (pl. *čačawe*) (K) **woman's robe covering head**

čāl n.f. (K) **hole (in the ground)**

čalān n.pl. (K) **holes (game in which nuts were thrown into a hole)**

čaḷkən adj. invar. (K) **dirty** | *ʾáy jɘ́lan čaḷkɘ̀n-yen|* These clothes of ours are dirty (C:11); *ʾilaléf čaḷkɘ̀n-yen|* His hands are dirty

čamča n.f. (pl. *čamče*) **spoon**

čanaga n.m. (K) **chin; jaw**

čănānče part. (P) **if, whether** | *xắe … ʾắgar čănắnče xa-našá na-raḥătí hăwèle|* He would see whether a person had a grievance (A:108)

čăpala n.f. (K) **slap** | — *d∅y* to slap

čăpawana n.? (K) **contrary, opposite** | *čăpawanà kól|* He does the opposite

čaq (K) : — *d∅y* **to flick** | *gozá čàq díle|* He flicked the walnut (in the walnut game)

čaqu n.f. (pl. *čaquwe*) (P) **small knife**

čār n.f. (K) **tent**

čara n.m. (pl. *čare*) (K) **solution** | *be-čara* with no solution, desperate, unfortunate

čarak n.f. (K) **quarter; unit of measure (quarter of *manya* = 1 kilo)**

čarči n.m. (pl. *čarčiye*) (K) **peddler**

čarx n.m. (K/P) **wheel** | *ʾəlhá ʾasxá wìle ̀ čárx mčìre ̀* God work (our fate) in such a way and turned the wheel (C:5)

čay n.f. (K/P) **tea**

čəkma part. **how much? how many? some, several** | *čəkmà šəné ga-dóka xirèn? ̀* How many years were they there? (B:1); *xa-ʾăxóna xetàf ̀ čə́kma šoğlè hité ̀* Another brother of hers has several jobs (A:6). Combined with *xa*: *xá čəkmá yomé xét hál baqàf ̀* In a few more days come for it (D:12). *čəkma-i* a small amount: *bár xá čəkmà-i ̀* after a while (a small space of time) (C:3)

čəngāḷ n.f. (pl. *čəngaḷe*) (K) **fork**

čəza n.f. **sting (of insect)** (K) | — *dØy* to sting (insect): *hangá čəzá díla bài ̀* The bee stung me

čin n.m. (pl. *čine*) (K) **lock (of hair)**

činga n.f. (pl. *činge*) (K) **handful** | *xa činga nuqḷe* a handful of sweets

čoke n.pl. (K) **fried pieces of meat**

čort n.f. (P) **abacus**

čruk n.m. (pl. *čruke*) (P) **wrinkle** | *čruke ṣalma* wrinkles of the face

čuča n.f. (pl. *čuče*) (K) **round sweet pastry**

čun part. (P) **because; when.** (1) **because** | *ʾó lá zíl báqa ḥaštá čún năxòš-yele ̀* He did not go to work, because he was ill; *čún ʾát bă-ruxá didì-yet ̀ komăkòx kóna ̀* Because you are my friend, I shall help you. (2) **when** | *čún tate-ú daăkăkè ̀ kəmríwa ʾéa ʿastè-ya? ̀ bronăké-č qăbùl kólwa ̀* When the father and mother would say 'Is she good?', the boy would accept (A:2); *čún-ge tazá mən-txél talgá plíṭwa waryà ̀ čăqénwa-u kmenwa-ó belà ̀* When it had just sprouted out of the snow, they would pick it and bring (it) home (B:32)

čwargoš n.f. (K) **square**

čwarpaḷu adj. invar. (K) **dressed (stone)** | *binaġā́te batú-č ba-kepé čwarpaḷù kménwalu garé*ˈ They raised the foundations of their houses to the roof with dressed stone (B:56)

/d/

d- part. **genitive particle** | Attached to independent 3rd person pronouns: *d-o, d-oni*, which function as genitive complements of nouns and prepositions, e.g. *bela d-o* his house, *baqa d-o* to him, or as direct objects of verbs *d-ó xèli*ˈ I saw him

da part. (K) **now** | Used to give intensity to imperatives: *da-már xǎena!*ˈ Now tell (me), let me see! (B:63)

daǎka n.f. (pl. *daǎke*) (K) **mother** | *daǎka rabta* grandmother**;** *tatá daǎkà*ˈ father and mother (A:91); *daǎká lá qoràlox!*ˈ May your mother not bury you (i.e. you should not go to the grave without changing things) (A:103)

dáe n.f. (K) **mother! mummy! (vocative)**

dǎla n.m. (K/P) **marten**

dǎlaka n.m. (pl. *dǎlake*) **barber**

dǎmǎqopān n.m. (K) **Kurdish baggy trousers**

dana n.m (pl. *dane*) **seed; a single, a certain** | *xa-dána lǎčǎgá rabtá ba-rešàf-yela*ˈ A large veil was on her head (A:24); *zǎrǎké hǎmènwale-o*ˈ *ga-béla dána dána gǎbènwale*ˈ (It was necessary for them) to bring bring the wheat back and sort it grain by grain in the house (A:58); *dána dána ʾənyexáe ḥǎsàb kolíwalu*ˈ One by one he would calculate them (the accounts) (A:101); *dána dána kű́le zili-ò*ˈ One by one they would go (D:6); *har danu* each one of them

dǎnǎgazoe n.pl. (K) **sweets made of sesame**

danda n.m. (pl. *dande*) (K) **rib**

danduka n.f. (pl. *danduke*) (K) **beak (of bird)**

dǎqiqa adj. (fs. *dǎqiqta*, pl. *dǎqiqe*) **thin; fine** | *taqḷe dǎqiqe* thin threads

darai n.m. (P) **property**

dārčin n.m. (P) **cinnamon**

dargušta n.f. (pl. *dargušye*) **cradle**

darmana n.m. (pl. *darmane*) (K) **drug, medicine** | *darmanè-č lítwa ᵓo-waxtắra darmáne dằen*| They did not have medicines at that time to apply (A:76)

dars n.m. (P < A) **lesson** | *dars qry* to study: *ham-dárs qắrènawa*| *ham-ga-bánk ḥaštà konáwa*| I was both studying and also working in a bank (A:5); *dars m-qry* to teach

daruš n.m. (H) **homily** | *ḥaxám-e kništà ga-doká*| *darùš kólwa*| The rabbi of the synagogue there made a homily (B:52)

darya n.f. (pl. *daryae*) (P) **sea** | *səpla darya* the coast of the sea; *tiwa-y qam-darya* He is sitting by the sea

darz n.m. (pl. *darze*) (K/P) **crack, chink** | *mən-dárze ᵓo-tărá xắetun kništắxùn*| You will see your synagogue through the cracks in the door

dăsa, dasta n.f. (pl. *dăse*) (K) **handle; team, group; suit (of clothes); side (in a game)** | *dasta tăra* door handle; *dăsa hăwān* the pestle of a mortar; *Yerušaláyim hìyex*| *dastá ba-dastà*| We came to Jerusalem, group by group (E:10); *xa-dăsá ləbằs* a set/suit of clothes (A:51); *ta-hár-kas daᶜwătéf wíle*| *ba-xá dăsá jəlé zìl*| He went in a suit to each one who had invited him (D:16)

dasgiran n.m./f. (K) **betrothed** | *ba-mŭdằt-e ké*| *bəxlé dasgiràn-yelu,*| *bắz-ham rába başòr láxle xắenwa*| When they became betrothed, they still saw each other very little (A:3); *xíra ba-dasgiranì*| She became my betrothed (A:20)

dasta → *dăsa*

dāstān n.f. (pl. *dāstane*) (P) **story** | *dāstắn ḥăqéwa baqàn*| He would tell us a story (A:92)

dašta n.f. (pl. *dašyale*) (K) **field**

daᶜwat n.f. : — *ᵓwl* **to invite** | *bàr-d-o*| *lelèf-o*| *daᶜwát wílu mən-familàn*| Then, in the evening, they invited our family (A:26); *daᶜwatàn wilú* They invited us (A:26); *ᵓanà*| *daᶜwắt-e didăxún wilì*| *ké hètun*| *belí memaní wíli baqăxùn.*| *ᵓaxtú tămà didí-u daăkí daᶜwát lá kolétun?*|

Look, I invited you to come and I hosted you in my house. Why do you not invite me and my mother? (D:8)

dawaxanadār n.m. (P) **pharmacist**

dawaxane n.m. (P) **pharmacy**

dawlaman adj. invar. (K) **rich**

dawr- prep. **around** | *dawr-e mez* around the table. Combined with *ba-*: *ba-dawr-e ʾo bela* around that house

dawra n.m. (pl. *dawrān*) (K/P < A) **generation**

dawrandawr prep. **around** | *dawrandawr-e Sanandāj* around Sanandaj

dawreši adj. invar. (K/P) **relating to a dervish/beggar** | *ləbā́s-e dawreši̇̀* beggar's clothes (A:108)

dawri n.m. (pl. *dawriye*) (K) **plate**

dawruwar n.? (P) **surrounding, environment** | *tămā́m ʾáy dawruwărằn da'wàt honú* Let me invite everybody around us (D:2)

dax (i) adv. **how? as** | *dàx-yet?* How are you?; *šratá har-dáx b-ay-jóra ga-lăxá malqì,̀ kū̆le béla ga-doká šratá malqìwa* Just as they light a lamp here, every family there used to light a lamp (B:48); *har-dáx-dax ʾana-nóši ba-xà tʷká mṭéna ʾày-brona-č mā́ṭe* Just as I attained a place (in life), this boy also will attain a place (D:28)

dax (ii) adj. invar. **hot** | *tănurá dàx xăráwa* The oven would become hot

daxom part. (K) **even, even if** | *daxóm mă̆ḥanqìli* even if they strangle me (C:3); *'olā́m ʾáxər xărằ daxóm ga-ʾIrằn* The world will come to an end, even in Iran (C:12). Used in indirect questions: *bəqrí mən-yalàn daxóm là xiyá-y* I asked our children whether they had seen it (our language) (E:26); *m'íni ga-dawrà̀n xā́ena mà xirá-y réša ʾay-qawmì̀ dáxom mà zilá-y* I looked around to see what had happened, what had become of my people (E:23)

dáyka interj. (K) **mother! mummy! (vocative)**

deara n.f. (pl. *deare*) (P < A) **tambourine** | *dearà dā́enwa ʾə́lef-u* They would beat the tambourine (A:35)

dehati n.m. (pl. *dehatiye*) (P) **villager**

denula n.f. **fat** | *ga-denulá nóšaf bašlíwala qăšàng* They would cook it (the cow) well in its own fat (A:84)

dewa n.m. **gold**

dewana adj. (fs. *dewanta*, pl. *dewane*) **made of gold**

dǝma n.m. **blood**

dǝmʿa n.m. (pl. *dǝmʿe*) **tear**

dǝmʿela n.f. (pl. *dǝmʿe*) **tear**

did- part. **independent genitive particle** | Used with 1st and 2nd person suffixes: *didi, didan, didax, didox, didăxun*. These function as genitive complements of nouns and prepositions, e.g. *bela didi* my house, *baqa didi* to me, or as direct objects of verbs *didí xèle* He saw me

dim n.? (K) **side, one of two sides** | *xá-dana pardá doqìwa-u g-o-dimàf kaldá-u xǝtná samxì g-ay-lág-ǝč našé samxìwa* They would draw a curtain. On one side of it stood the bride and groom and on the other side stood the people. (A:47)

diwax n.f. (K) **red cloth put over the head of bride at a wedding**

diyani (K) **seeing** | *híyex baqá diyaní yalăkè* We came to see the children (C:5)

dnǝwla n.f. (*dǝnwe*) **fly**

doe n.pl. (K) **yoghurt water**

dohol n.f. (K) **drum** | *dohól ʾu-zorná lapláwa qàme* The drum and pipe went in front (A:10); *dohól ʾu-zorná dăyáwa ʾǝlàf-u* The drum and pipe were played (A:45)

doka adv. **there** | with the preposition *ga-*: *rásm ga-doká ʾăxà-yele* The custom there was like this (A:9); *ga-dokà kúl yomá pǝsrà-hitwa, pǝsrá tazà* There, every day there was meat, good meat (A:73)

dolta n.f. (pl. *dolte*) (P/K) **government; nation; wealth**

došak n.m. (pl. *došăke*) (K) **mattress**

drága adv. (K) **late** | *xălǝstí dràga híya* My sister came late

dubára part. (K) **then**

dugla n.m. (pl. *dulge*) **lie**

dujka n.m. (*dujke*) (K) **tail**

duktər n.m. (pl. *duktəre*) **doctor** | *tămắm-e duktə́re kű́le zìlan⌐* I went to all the doctors (C:1); *duktər kake* dentist

dumin num. (K) **second**

durbin n.f. (pl. *durbine*) (P) **binoculars** | *durbin ʿăkasi* camera

duša n.m. **honey** | *duša ʾilana* resin of a tree

duwom num. (P) **second**

duxwa n.m. **dish made of rice and yoghurt**

dyar- **seeing** (K) | *yătúna ba-dyaròx⌐* I shall wait for you/See you soon

/ʃ/

fahmana adj. (fs. *fahmanta*, pl. *fahmane*) (P < A) **understanding, wise**

fălăka (P < A) : — *ʾwl* **to beat**

fam- (P < A) + pronominal suffix **to remember** | with copula or verb lpl: *famef-ya* He remembers her (§9.13.4.); *ʾaná pil-ó famí ké …* I remember that …; *fam-* + negative copula or *ʾzl* to forget: *famí là-y,⌐ famí zil-ò⌐* I have forgotten; *dáx famóx zilà⌐ məntăkóx hămèta?!* How did you forget to bring it with you?! (E:33)

famil n.m. **family** | *familù rába ʿayzá-y⌐* Their family is very good (A:6)

făqaṭ part. (P < A) **only**

farmande n.m. (P) **commander** | *farmande laškar* army commander

farš n.m. (P < A) **bedding**

farz : (P < A) — *ʾwl* **to suppose** | *fàrz holéx⌐* Let's suppose

fawqef adv. (P < A) **at most, maximum** | *doká fawqéf hítwa təlhà ṭăbăqé⌐* There were three storeys at the most (A:57)

fawri adj. (P) **immediately**

faya n.f. **advantage** | *fayà-lite⌐* There is no advantage/There is no point (C:6)

fəkr- → *fkər-*

fərča n.f. (K) **brush**

fərya adj. (fs. *frita*, pl. *fərye*) **wide**

fəšār n.m. (P) **pressure** | *ba-fəšár-e d-o-màe*ˈ by the pressure of the water (A:59)

fkər n.m. (pl. *fəkre*) (P < A) **thought** | *ˀənyexáe ga-fkə́r kwénwa ké báqa pătiré má lazə́m-ye tahyà holíˈ* They considered what they should prepare for Passover (B:14); *fkə̀r wili-óˈ* I thought it over (C:6); *fəkr-* + pronominal suffix and copula: to remember | *dāstané rába hítwale ke-ˀaná fəkrí lènˈ* He had many stories that I do not remember (A:97); *ˀắt fəkróx là-ke Ḥáji ˀIsḥắq?*ˈ Don't you remember Ḥaji ˀIsḥāq?

flān mod. (P < A) **such-and-such** | *sé flắn tʷkà*ˈ Go to such-and-such a place (D:11)

fret n.m. (pl. *frete*) (K) **thick thread on fringe (of carpet)**

frəsta n.f. (P < A) **opportunity**

frišta n.f. (pl. *frišye*) (K) **angel**

/g/

ga-, g- prep. **in; at; among; on** | (1) spatial location: *ga-ˀaḥrá didàn*ˈ in our town (A:1); *ga-tắra ḥawšú samxìwa*ˈ They stood at the door of their courtyard (A:45); *ga-dokà* there (A:2); *ga-lăxà* here (A:19). (2) temporal location: *ga-yomà*ˈ *reš-šatà*ˈ on the day of New Year (A:9); *ga-d-ó šoa-yomè*ˈ in those seven days (A:68); *g-ó waxtằra-č*ˈ at that time (A:29); *g-ò-lele*ˈ on that night. (3) on surface: *ḥăná doqí ga-rešá kaldăkè*ˈ They put henna on the head of the bride (A:41); *dú ga-pulăké* Beat on the drum! (A:107); *pašòr garšíwa ga-ˀaqlú*ˈ They scrubbed with a *pašor* ('foot washer') on their feet (A:38). (4) ingressive: *mătíwale ga-xa-xwằn-u*ˈ They put them into a chest (A:52). After verbs of movement: *gezíwa ga-pardà*ˈ They went behind (literally: into) the curtain (A:49); *ˀaná ga-ˀIrắn là gezan-ó*ˈ I shall not go back to Iran (C:12); *dubára zíl ga-bazằr-u*ˈ *ga-našé ké daˁwàt wilíwale*ˈ Then he went to the market among the people whom he had invited (D:13)

ga n.f. (K) **time** | *ˀay-ga* at that time: *ˀáy-ga xa-ṭăbăqá duwóm-yela šawyáwa măsălán ṭăbăqa haftóm-e lăxà*ˈ At that time what was the

second floor was equivalent to, for example, the seventh floor here (A:13)

ga adj. invar. (K) **poor**

gaj n.m. (P) **chalk**

gă̄la n.f. (pl. *gă̄lae*) (K) **leaf**

gănawa n.m (pl. *gănawe*) **thief**

gănawta n.f. (pl. *gănawye*) **thief (f.)**

gărame n.pl. **heavens** | *ʾəlha-e gărame* God of the heavens

gard-u-xāk n.m. (P) **dust** | *belăké gbé tămä́m tamíz holìle,* *gard-u-xakéf doqìle* They had to make the house really clean and remove its dust (A:57)

gare n.m. (pl. *garăwae*) **roof**

gargome n.f. **thunder**

gari n.f. (pl. *gariye*) (P) **cart** | *ba-gariyè maždə́re báqa Hămä́n* He sends him to Hamadan with carts (B:62)

garma n.m. (pl. *garme*) **bone** | *garma ʾaqla* ankle

garmăwe n.f. (pl. *garmăwe*) (K) **small sieve**

gărusa adj. (fs. *gărusta*, pl. *găruse*) **thick, broad; big; coarse** | *taqle găruse* big stitches; *šìḷana gărusa* a big apricot; *ʾərbala gărusta* a big sieve

gawne n.pl. **twigs**

gaxkana n.m., *gaxkanta* n.f. (pl. *gaxkane*) **dimple**

gaxkana adj.m. (fs. *gaxkanta*, pl. *gaxkane*) **laughing, merry** | *mə́ṭex talăxà* *kű̄lan gaxkanè* We arrived there, all of us merry (E:14)

gāz (K) : — *dwq* **to bite** | *gä́z dwə́qli mən-pəsrà* I bit into the meat; *kalbá gä́z dwə́qle mən-ʾaqlì* The dog bit my leg

gaza n.f. (pl. *gaze*) (P/K) **unit of measure equivalent to a metre**

gbe part. **must** | *ʾilalí gbé xalnù* I must wash my hands

ge → *ke*

gera n.m. (pl. *gere*) **rolling pin**

geraqʷše n.f. **rainbow**

gežənga n.f. (K) **axle; shaft of door**

gəla n.m. **grass, herb** | *šərúʾ kolíwa gəlà čăqénwa*ˈ They began to pick herbs (B:32)

gəlka n.f. (pl. *gəlke*) (K) **index finger** | *gəka ʾena* pupil of the eye

gəḷi adj. invar. (K) **made of mud, earthenware** (K) | *qoqé gəḷì* earthenware pots (B:24)

gərd adj. invar. (P) **round**

gərse n.pl. (sing. *gərsa* f.) **groats** | *xa dana gərsa* a single groat

gərza n.m. (pl. *gərze*) **rat**

gəxka n.f. **laughter**

gilaxa n.f. **mixed herbs**

giyahi adj. invar. (P) **herbal, herbaceous** | *măwád-e giyahì* herbal substances (A:40)

giz (P)*: har-la-giz* **never** | *ʾătá har-lá-giz la-kélox yắtət ʾăxà*ˈ Now you could never sit like that (A:56)

glala n.m. (pl. *glale*) **thread**

glăran n.f. (K) **rolling (balls as a game)**

gḷaw (K) : *warda gḷaw* n.f. **rose**

gogərd n.m. (pl. *gogərde*) (K) **match** | *gogərd dắenwa ba-zuxaḷăkè*ˈ They put a match to the coals (A:90)

gonāhkār adj. invar. (P) **sinful; guilty**

gora n.m. (pl. *gure*) **man; husband** | *wáxt-e goràf-ye*ˈ It is time she got married; *gora daăka* step-father

gošware n.pl. (P) **earrings**

goza n.f. (pl. *goze*) **walnut**

gozala n.f. (pl. *gozale*) (K) **small pot**

grani n.m. (K) **hunger, starvation, famine** | *ʾənyexáe rábau mən-graní mən-báyn zìli*ˈ Most of them (the Jews) perished from famine (B:10)

grawa n.m. (K) **sacking material**

groḷi n.f. (pl. *groḷiye*) (K) **reel, spool (for thread)**

gulʿa n.f (pl. *gulʿe*) **kernel (of fruit); cobble stone**

guna n.m. **penis of young boy**

guni n.f. (K) **sack**

gupa n.f. (pl. *gupe*) **cheek**

gupta n.f. (pl. *gupte*) **cheese**

gurān n.m. (K) **hyena**

gurani n.f. (pl. *guranye*) (K) **song**

gurj, gwərj adv. (K) **quickly** | *gùrg xúr!* Hurry up!

guṣa n.f. (pl. *guṣe*) (1) **ball of dough.** (2) **support for cooking pot on top of a stove**

guza n.m. (pl. *guze, guzane*) **wall**

gware n.pl. (sing. *gwarta* f.) **socks**

gwenya, gwenta n.f. (pl. *gwenye*) **eyebrow**

gwərj → gurj

ġărib n.m. (pl. *ġăribe*) (P < A) **foreigner**

ġăribi adj. invar. (P < A) **foreign** | *kə́mna ta-nəxlà ba-rešàx nandé tozá ġăribì m-rešàx mandé* I shall tell the rain to fall on your head and remove the foreign dust (i.e. dust gathered in foreign lands) from your head (E:51)

ġer ʾaz part. (P < A) **apart from**

gyān, gyana (i) n.f. (pl. *gyane*) (K) **soul; body** | *Sara gyān* my dear Sarah; *tre gyane* pregnant, *baxta tre gyane* a pregnant woman

gyana (ii) : — *ʾwl* **to extinguish**

/h/

ha part. **presentative particle** | Combined with copula: *ga-lăxá xa-našà há-y* There is somebody here; *há-ya ga-lăxè-ya* Here, it (fs.) is here

hafta n.f. (pl. *hafte*) (P) **week**

haftom num. (P) **seventh**

hălaxa n.f. (H) **Jewish Rabbinic law**

halbăta part. (K/P) **of course**

haḷa adj. invar. (K) **sour, unripe**

hăḷušta n.f. (pl. *hăḷuje*) (K) **plum**

haḷwa (i) n.f. (P < A) **sweet porridge made from flour**

haḷwa (ii) n.f. (pl. *haḷwe*) (K) **spot, pockmark** | *haḷwè plíṭi*˺ Spots came out

ham part. (P) **also** | *hám torà qăréwa,*˺ *hám miḷà kólwa,*˺ *wa-hám šoḥèṭ-yele*˺ He read the Torah, he also performed circumcisions, and he also was a *šoḥeṭ* (A:73)

ham-čonin part. (P) **also the same**

hămeša part. (P) **always**

hanga n.f. (pl. *hange*) (K) **bee** | *xá hangá dìla bái/ʾáli*˺ A bee stung me

hangəḷta n.f. (pl. *hangəḷye*) (K) **armpit**

har part. **just; still; each, every.** (1) **just** | *har-ʾăxá tămašà koláxwa*˺ We were just looking (A:12); *hár mangól d-òa*˺ just like that one (B:51); *šratá har-dáx b-ay-jóra ga-lăxá malqì,*˺ *kűle béla ga-doká šratá malqìwa*˺ Just as they light a lamp here, every family there used to light a lamp (B:48); *ʾóni-č qemí hár ʾo-yomà˺ sangăkì,*˺ *ləxmá sangăkí tarṣìwa*˺ On that same day they would make loaves of bread (A:88); *hár nòšu*˺ all by themselves (B:16) (2) **still** | *tá pəlgà-lele*˺ *xa-sáʿat bár pálga-lele yătùwa,*˺ *hár qằre*˺ *hár ʾay-ḥăsàb kólwale*˺ He would sit until midnight, an hour after midnight, still reading and doing the accounts (A:100). (3) **each, every** | *hár belà˺ ... xà-dana kăḷăšér baqéf dabḥiwá-o*˺ each family ... would slaughter a cock (B:71). *har kas* everybody: *ta-hár-kas daʿwătéf wìle*˺ *ba-xá dăsá jəlé zìl*˺ He went in a suit to everybody who had invited him (D:16); *gbé hár ḥăqéx ga-lăxà˺ ga-lišaná-e ʿəbrì˺ ʾágar-nam ʾòni ḥáli lá xărì*˺ Here we must each speak in Hebrew, if not, they do not understand (E:64); *hár danù*˺ each one of them (C:8)

har-či (K/P) part. **every; everything (head of relative clause); however much, although** | *har-čí məltè*| *ḥasràt ləblá-y báef*| Every nation became jealous of him (A:95); *hár-či ʾắt kəmràt*| *ʾána mătúna ba-réš ʾeni*| Everything that you say, I am willing to do. (A:18); *pás har-čí ʾəṣrắr wílu là híya*| Then, however much they insisted/although they insisted, she did not come (A:23)

hara n.f. (pl. *hare*) **grindstone(s); handmill** | *hara ʾwl* to grind (in a water-mill): *zărá harà kolíle*| They grind the wheat

hărasān adj. invar. (K) **in a bad mood**

harzale n.pl. (sing. *harzal*) (K) **cow's dung**

harzan adj. invar. (K/P) **cheap** | *ba-harzàn*| (we sold) cheaply (C:8)

hăwa n.m. (K/P < A) **air, weather** | *ʾonyexáe gbé hăwà ʾaxlí*| They must breathe (literally: eat air); *hăwa ʾxl* to breath; *hăwá wišà-yele*| It (the weather) was dry

hăwai adj. invar. (P < A) **by air (travel)**

hăwān n.f. (*hăwane*) (K) **mortar** | *dăsa hăwān* pestle

hăwapayma n.? (P) **airplane**

hăwās (P) : — *qry* **to sing**

hawkār n.m. (K) **colleague**

háya adv. **quick, quickly; soon** | *kəmríwa hàya-u*| *xánči nóšu doqìwala*| They would say 'Its too soon' and would be rather reluctant (to give their permission) (A:31); *ʾéa bíš hàya házm xárwa*| This was digested more quickly (B:25)

hazər adj. invar. (K < A) **ready** | — *ʾwl* to prepare: *ʾắt nóšax hazə̀r hulá*| Prepare yourself (D:6)

hazm (P < A) : — *x∅r* **to be digested** | *ʾéa bíš hàya házm xárwa*| This was digested more quickly (B:25)

hăžār adj. invar. (K) **poor, needy, unfortunate** | *pălenwal-ó ga-făqir-u hăžằr*| They would distribute it among the poor and needy (B:66)

héka part. (rare) **where?** → *leka*

hema pron. **which?**

heštan part. (K) **still, yet** | *heštàn*ˈ *wəskí rába lìtwa*ˈ There was not yet much whisky (A:12); *heštán mən-ʿolä́m la-zìlwa*ˈ He had not yet passed away from the world (A:15); *heštán baxtéf la ṭḥite-ya-ò*ˈ He has not found his wife yet

həjbi n.f. **match making by intermediary** | *ʾoní baxtá šírte-ya həjbí báqa bratù*ˈ They have sent a women (intermediary) to arrange a match for their daughter; *qíma daăkèf*ˈ *həjbìyaf holá*ˈ *híya zíla həjbì bratăké*ˈ His mother went to act as intermediary to ask for the hand of the girl (D:19)

həl prep. (with nominal or independent pronoun) **object marker; to, belonging to** | *xəmé-u xmalè*ˈ *həl-kaldú la-xắenwa ʾəqrà*ˈ The fathers-in-law and mothers-in-law did not see their bride very much (A:3); *ʾay-bronà*ˈ *həl-d-áy bratá gbè*ˈ The boy loves the girl (A:18); *həl-didí markìwa*ˈ He would cause me to mount (on the horse) (A:16); *ʾay-belá həl-d-ò-ye*ˈ This house belongs to him. Elided before *d-* or *did-*: *d-ó xèli*ˈ I saw him, *didí xèle*ˈ He saw me; *šoḷtáli d-o-làg*ˈ I threw it to that side (A:24)

hərs n. (P < A) **coveting** | *rába hə́rs-u jáw litwálu báqa puḷè*ˈ They did not have much coveting and seeking after money (A:55)

hič part. **no (negating nominal), none** | *ga-Sanandàj-yela,*ˈ *ga-hìč-tʷka xét ʾéa lìtwa*ˈ It was in Sanandaj but was not found in any other place (B:53); *híč məndíx xét là kəxlexwa*ˈ We did not eat anything else (B:29); *híč-kas ləxmá bazä́r là šăqə́lwa ba-pătiré*ˈ Nobody bought bread from the market at Passover (A:67); *hič ka* never

hiči part. (P) **nothing** | *xor-híči lìtwalan,*ˈ *hìči*ˈ We had absolutely nothing, nothing (C:12)

hit part. **there is, there are; (it) sometimes (happens that …).** *hitwa* part. **there was, there were; (it) sometimes (happened that …)** | *hítwa-u lìtwa*ˈ *mən-ʾəlhá biš-pìr*ˈ *hìč-kas lítwa*ˈ There was, there was not, there was nobody older than God. Who was there? (opening of a story) (A:98); *hítwa xá-šata ṭùl gărə́šwa ké*ˈ *gbén xlulà holí*ˈ Sometimes a year would pass before they wanted to hold the wedding (A:30). Possessive construction: *hiti* I have (< *hit-li*); *talə́ma ləbá hitóx báxta gorèt?*ˈ When do you want to get married? (A:5); *hár-či ʾə́t kəmrát qăbùl hití*ˈ Everything you say, I agree (to do) (A:18)

hiwula n.f. **the act of giving** | *ʾəlha-hiwula* divinely given (providence, produce): *ḥáli hár danù॥ hamrắna čəkmà॥ ʾəlhá-hiwula gáu॥* (You should) understand, in each of them (the vineyards), let me say, there was so much divinely given produce (C:8)

hol (K) | — *d⊘y* **to push, to shove** | *hól dúle ga-maè!॥* Push him into the water!

holane : *ʾəlha la holane* **God forfend** | *năwagí hén-u hezí ga-garè-u॥ ʾəlhá la holanè॥ laplì॥* My grandchildren would come and go onto the roof and, God forfend, fall off (C:6)

hoš n.m. (K) **thought, consciousness** | *xéli hóš-u xyaḷí lága d-èele॥* My thoughts were indeed with him (C:7); *hòš hăwélox!॥* Be careful!

hulaa n.m. (pl. *hulae*) **Jew; Jewish** | *ʾənše hulae* Jewish women

hulalta n.f./adj. (pl. *hulalye*) **Jewish woman**

hulaula n.f. **Judaism, Jewishness; Jewish language** | *hulaulà qărénwa॥* They studied Jewish tradition (B:11); *lišana hulaula* Jewish language; *ʾaná hulaulà ḥaqéna॥* I speak the Jewish language

hulena n.f. (pl. *hulene*) (K) **chicken coop**

humba n.f. (pl. *humbe*) (K) **small pot for dry produce** | used mainly for storing wheat or cracked wheat

/ḥ/

ḥăda : *ʿăla ḥăda, ba-ʿăla ḥăda* (P < A) **aside** | *ʾéa ba-ʿăla ḥădà matwíwale॥* They put it aside (B:17); *tănurá-e ʿăla-ḥădá maxṣúṣ baqà॥ pătirè hítwalu॥* They had a separate oven especially for Passover (B:18)

ḥafša → ḥawša

ḥag n.m. (H) **festival**

ḥăkayat n.f. (P < A) **story**

ḥăkim n.m. (pl. *ḥăkime*) (P < A) **doctor** | *xá ṭăbăqà॥ ḥăkimè xirén॥* One class consisted of doctors (B:4)

ḥāl n.m. (K/P < A) **condition, health** | *ḥalèf bəqrú॥* They asked after his health (D:10); *ḥalóx dàx-ye?॥* How are you?

ḥălăbi n.m. **galvanized metal** | *put ḥălăbi* metal can

ḥali adj. invar. (P < A) **understanding, aware** | — *x⌀r* to understand: *ḥalí xărèt?* Do you understand? *ḥalí xìrna* I have understood. Without *x⌀r*: *ḥáli hár danù hamrằna čəkmà ʾəlhá-hiwula gáu* (You should) understand, in each of them (the vineyards), let me say, there was so much divinely given produce (C:8)

ḥăliq n.m. **paste of nuts, sesame, dates eaten at Passover**

ḥămaḷa n.m. (pl. *ḥămaḷe*) (P < A) **porter**

ḥămām n.f. (K/P < A) **bath** | *ḥămām-e turki* turkish bath

ḥănabandan n.f. (K) **ceremony of applying henna (in a wedding)**

ḥănukae n.f. (H) **Hanukkah**

ḥaq n.m. (P/K < A) **right** | *bšəlmaná ḥáq lìtwale ʾíla dắe bàef* A Muslim was not allowed to touch it (B:16)

ḥărik adj. invar. **busy** | *ʾaná ḥărík-yena ḥaštà hóna* I am busy working; *ʾo-tré ḥărìke šyakà-yelu* The two of them were busy wrestling; *tamắm-e yomá ḥărík ḥaštà xirá-y* All day he has been busy with work; *ʾắt hămešá ḥărík-e d-èa* You are always busy with this (A:102)

ḥăriṣ adj. invar. (P < A) **lustful**

ḥas (P < A) : — *ʾwl* **to feel, to enjoy oneself; to be happy** | *ḥàs kóna* I am happy; *ḥás wíli našé ʾlili-ò* I was happy to meet people

ḥăsāb n.m. (P < A) **account, number** | *be-ḥăsāb* without number

ḥăsabi adj. invar. (P < A) **appropriate, suitable, proper** | *kólwale qamxá ḥăsabì-u* They made it into flour as it should be made (B:16)

ḥăsərta n.f. **grief, longing**

ḥasrat n.f. (P < A) **envy** | *ḥasrat lbl ba-* to be envious of: *tamắm-e ʿolằm ḥasratèf ləblá-y* The whole world became envious of him (A:97)

ḥăṣir n.m. (K/P < A) **mat**

ḥašta n.f. (pl. *ḥajyane*) **work; thing, affair** | *ḥašta ʾwl* to work: *ga-bánk ḥaštà konáwa* I was working in a bank (A:5); *xá ḥaštá kòna, drága*

là xirá-y⌐ I shall do something, it is not too late (E:46); *ʾaná xá ḥaštá kə́wna baqòx*⌐ I'll sort something out for you (D:11)

ḥăta part. (P < A) **even; until** | *ḥătá zíli baqá ʿɅrằq*⌐ They even went to Iraq (B:10); *xá səfrá šăwèxwa‖ mən-d-ày réše loʿắ‖ ḥătá ʾò réše loʿắ*⌐ We spread out a cloth from this end of the room until that end of the room (B:30)

ḥatman adv. (P < A) **surely**

ḥăwəš → ḥawša

ḥawṣăla n.m. (P) **patience** | *ʾaná ḥawṣălá-e ʾắra tăroṣè líti-u*⌐ I do not have the patience to build on the land (C:6)

ḥawša, ḥăwəš, ḥafša n.f. (pl. *ḥawše, ḥafše*) (K < A) **courtyard**

ḥaxam n.m. invar. (H) **sage, scholar, rabbi** | *ḥaxám-e kništà*⌐ the rabbi of the synagogue (B:52)

ḥayf interj. (P) **what a pity!** | *ḥày̆f ke-təwrálan*⌐ It is a pity that we broke it (E:30)

ḥayme n.pl. (H) **cemetery**

ḥāz (K) : — *ʾwl* **to desire, to want** | *kű̆le náše ḥắz kolíwale belù‖ ʾilané bắṣirè hăwé*⌐ Everybody wanted there to be grape vines in their home (A:72)

ḥdud n.pl. (P < A) **boundaries** | *ga-ḥdud-e* approximately: *ʾonyexáe šáyad ga-ḥdúd-e tré-me-u xamšĩ šănè‖ tarìx hítwalu*⌐ They are perhaps around two-hundred and fifty years old (B:58)

ḥoxma n.f. (H) **wisdom**

ḥqaa n.f. (K < A) **talking, speaking; speech** | *ʾó ga-pliyáw ḥqaéf boʿinà díle*⌐ When he was talking, he had a blockage in his throat

ḥrəmta n.f. (P < A) **respect, reverence**

ḥuštər n.f. (*ḥuštəre*) (K) **camel**

/j/

ja part. (P) **now (connective particle)** | Introduces new discourse section or episode: *ja-qắme d-éa ʾay-bráta daăkí hamrà‖ xa-šatá ga-Kursằn-yeli‖ xà yomá‖ ʾay-baxtí ʾătá ya-xăetà‖ xiyàli‖* Now, before my

mother told (me about) this girl, one year when I was in Kurdi-
stan, one day I saw this wife of mine whom you see (now) (A:8)

jăhănam n.f. (P < A) **hell**

jăhānma n.? (P) **world** | *jám-e jăhānmà* the mirror of the world (A:93)

jām n.f. (P/K) **mirror, glass** | *belá holíle ba-jám báqa pătirè* (in order to)
make the house into a mirror for Passover (= make it spotlessly
clean) (A:57); *jám-e jăhānmà* the mirror of the world (A:93)

jam (P < A) : — *ʾwl* to gather (tr.); — *x∅r* to gather (intr.) | *jám*
xărìwa-u *ba-dolá-u zorná lablíwale knìštà* They would gather and
would take him to the synagogue (A:53)

jămaʿta n.f. (pl. *jămaʿte*) (P < A) **community** | *jămaʿat hulae* Jewish
community

jămuza adj. (f. *jămuzta*, pl. *jămuze*) **cold** | *mae jămuze* cold water

jān → *ʾamu*

jang n.m. (P) **war** | *jáng-e benulmălălí ʾăwàl* the First World War (B:10)

jangaḷ n.f. (pl. *jangăḷe*) (P) **forest**

janjāḷ n.f. (pl. *janjaḷe*) (P) **crowd**

jarḥana adj. (fs. *jarḥanta*, pl. *jarḥane*) (P < A) **wounded** | *ləbí jarḥanà*
ba-kárd-u šəmšèr My heart is wounded with knife and sword
(E:37)

jaw n.? (K) **seeking** | *rába hə́rs-u jáw litwálu báqa puḷè* They did not
have much coveting and seeking after money (A:55)

jăwahərāt n.pl. (P < A) **jewels**

jerm n.? (P) **scale (on vessel), incrustation**

jəgrana adj. (fs. *jəgranta*, pl. *jəgrane*) (K) **angry**

jəhya adj. (fs. *jhita*, pl. *jəhye*) **tired**

jəle n.pl. (K) **clothes** | *jəléf ləwšíle* He got dressed; *jəléf šəlxìle* He un-
dressed

jəns n.m. (P < A) **material, stuff**

jgər n.f. (K) **anger** | *jəgrí ké mənèf* I am angry with him, I detest him

jiqe (K) : — *dry* **to shout** | *jiqè dréle*ˌ He shouted

jmana n.f. (pl. *jmane*) (K) **pocket** | *puḷé drélu ga-jmanòx!*ˌ Put the money in your pocket!

jobrān (P < A) : — *ʾwl* **to make amends to, to compensate** | *ʾắgar čănắnče xá-năfar z̠òlm xirăwe-lèf,*ˌ *gez̠əlwa*ˌ *jobrăn kolwalé-u*ˌ If a person had suffered some injustice, he would go and make amends to him (A:109)

joga n.f. (pl. *joge*) (K) **stream** | *xa-jogá máe răwằn hawyáwa*ˌ a stream that was flowing water (B:70)

jolana n.f. (pl. *jolane*) (K) **nest (of bird); hammock**

joḷe n.pl. **urine**

jora, jor n.m. (pl. *jore*) (K) **type, kind; way** | *rásm ba-d-áy jorà-yela*ˌ The custom was like this (A:9); *tămắm-e réša səfrá zamṭíwa mən-d-ay-jóra məndixàne*ˌ They filled the whole surface of the cloth with such things (A:65); *ʾaná ta-ʾătá ḥaštá-e xa-b-ay-jóra lăxá lìti-u*ˌ Up until now I have not had any particular job here (D:19); *hár-jor xirá-y yălə̀pna*ˌ Whatever the situation may be, I shall learn (D:21); *bšəlmané trè jorén*ˌ Muslims are (one of) two types (A:77). *mangol-e xa jor* as if: *mangól-e xa-jòr*ˌ *mən-nóšu rizèn*ˌ as if they were angry with themselves (E:24) → *ma-jor*

jraʾta n.f. (P < A) **bravery; fierceness** | *šer jraʾta* fierce lion

juja, jujka n.f. (pl. *juje, jujke*) (K) **chick**

jwāb n.m. (pl. *jwabe*) (P < A) **answer** | *jwāb hwl* to answer

jwānqa n.m. (pl. *jwānqe*) (K) **young man**

jya adv. (K) **on one side; separate** | *suraé ʾaḥrá jyà-yelu*ˌ The Christians of the town were (living) separate (from the Jews); *kŭ́le náša béla jyà hítwale*ˌ Everybody had a separate house (A:71)

/k/

ka (K) : *ʾáy-ka* **this time**

kăbāb n.f. (K/P < T) **kebab**

kăčāl adj. invar. (K) **bald**

kăčawa n.f. (pl. *kăčawe*) (K) **rissole, cutlet (of meat)**

kae n.f. (pl. *kae*) (K) **game** | *dméli ʾasȁn-ye*| *mangól-e xa-kȁe*| I imagined it to be easy like a game (E:22); *kae goze* walnut game; — *ʾwl* to play

kafi adj. invar. (P < A) **sufficient** | *ba-ʾănazé kafi*| in sufficient measure (C:13)

kaka n.m. (pl. *kake*) **tooth** | *duktər kake* dentist

kălăka n.m. (pl. *kălăke*) (K) **side, flank**

kălam n.m. (pl. *kălăme*) (P) **cabbage**

kălanta n.f. (pl. *kălane*) **onion pastry**

kălăqan n.f. (K) **stick of sugar**

kalba n.m. (pl. *kalbe*) **dog**

kalda n.f. (pl. *kălale*) **bride; daughter-in-law** | *be-kalda* the family of the bride: *ga-yomȁ*| *reš-šatȁ,*| *baqa-xətnȁ*| *mən-be-kaldá xwȁn kwíwa*| On New Year's day they would give a table (of gifts) to the groom on behalf of the family of the bride. (A:9)

kalla n.m. (K) **head of an animal**

kaḷăka n.f. (pl. *kaḷăke*) (K) **melon**

kăḷăšer n.m. (pl. *kăḷăšere*) (K) **cock, rooster**

kămerta n.f. (pl. *kămere*) **pear**

kănasa n.f. (pl. *kănase*) **innards, gizzard (of chicken)** | *koze-u kănase ʾaklela* the innards of a chicken

kăpana n.m. (pl. *kăpane*) **shoulder**

kār : *ba-kār ʾxl* **to be worthwhile** | *ʾắt ba-d-áy zəndəgí ba-kắr mayayòx kxȃl?*| What use is this life to you? (A:103); *ba-kắr lá kxȁl*| It is not worthwhile

kăra n.m. (P) **butter**

kăram n.m. (P < A) **grace**

kărat, kărăta n.? (pl. *kărăte*) (K) **time, instance** | *baqá-ʾawaḷ kărȁt*| for the first time (A:25); *ʾăwáḷ kărătȁ*| the first time (B:67); *xá-kărat lȁ mirán*| *ʾắxa mò wilán?*| We did not say once 'Why have we done

this?' (E:20); *yarxá xà kằrát*⌐ *xílan xála dàe*⌐ (Only) once a month did we eat mother's food (E:17); *təlḥà kằrăte d-éa,*⌐ *ʾarbà kằrăte d-éa*⌐ three times (the size) of this, four times (the size) of this (A:90)

kārd n.f. (pl. *kārde*) (K/P) **knife** | *ləbí jarḥanà*⌐ *ba-kằrd-u šəmšèr*⌐ My heart is wounded with knife and sword (E:37)

kare → *qawm*

karma n.f. (pl. *karmale*) **vineyard; garden, orchard**

karta n.f. (K) **load; job**

karxana n.m. (P) **factory**

kas: har-kas (P) **everybody** | *har-kằsu gezálwa béla nòšef*⌐ Everyone of them went to his home (A:52)

kasa n.f. (pl. *kase*) (1) **stomach.** (2) **bowl**

kāsbi, kasəbi n.f. (K/P < A) **earning, gain; business** | *ʿáyza kằsbi hùl ta-nóšox*⌐ Take the good earnings for yourself (A:103); *kāsbì kolíwa*⌐ They did business (B:4)

kasəb n.m. (pl. *kasəbe*) (K < A) **trader, merchant**

kằsif adj. invar. (P) **dirty**

kašer adj. invar. (H) **kosher**

kašti n.f. (P) **boat**

kat n.f. (pl. *kằte*) (K) **bed (on roof)**

kằtira n.f. (pl. *kằtire*) (K/P) **gum tragacanth** | used for making clothes

kằtuwa n.f. (H) **marriage contract**

kau n.m. (pl. *kaue*) (P) **lettuce**

kawšdoz n.m. (K) **cobbler**

kằxăta n.f. (pl. *kằxaye*) (K/P) **letter** | *kằxătà híya baqí*⌐ I have received a letter

ke (variant *ge*) part. (P/K) **subordinating particle**

kepa n.f. (pl. *kepe*) **stone**

kəlša n.m. **whitewash**

kərya adj. (fs. *krita*, pl. *kərye*) **short** | *ʾó baxtá kritè-ya*| That woman is short; *ʾó gorá qoméf kəryà-y*| That man is short in stature

kəsta n.f. (pl. *kəsye*) **small bag; small bag containing soap used in bath** | *kəstà garšíwa*| They scrubbed with a bag (soap) (A:38)

kətana n.m. **flax, cotton**

kipa adj. (fs. *kipta*, pl. *kipe*) **bent** | *xaṣéf kipà-y*| He is hunchbacked

kipur n.f. **The Day of Atonement**

kləsya n.f. (pl. *kləsye*) **church**

klifta n.f. (pl. *klifye*) **amulet**

kluča n.f. (pl. *kluče*) (K) **cake**

klum n.m. (pl. *klume*) (K) **wooden beam used to lock door**

knif n.f. (pl. *knife*) (K) **ceramic potty placed under cradle of child**

kništa n.f. (pl. *knište, knišye*) **synagogue**

kolaka n.f. (pl. *kolake*) (K), *kolake ʾila* **elbow**

koma adj. (fs. *komta*, pl. *kome*) **black; dark** | *lele koma* a dark night; *koma twira ba-xwarta* black flecked with white

komak (P) : — *ʾwl* **to help** | *komăkòx kóna*| I shall help you; *gbé het-ó məntắke d-ó komák holèt*| You must come back and help him (A:27)

komanj n.f. (K) **steps leading onto a roof**

komula n.f. **blackness**

kora n.m. **midday** | *korá kexwa-ó belà*| At midday we used to return home; *sáʿat ʾárba bàr korá*| at four o'clock in the afternoon (B:31)

koša adj. (fs. *košta, koše*) **low**

koter n.f. (pl. *kotre*) (K) **dove, bird**

koza n.f. **liver**

kpina adj. (fs. *kpinta, kpine*) **hungry**

kpinula n.f. **hunger** | *kpinulà grášli*| I am hungry

kra n.? (K/P < A) **rent** | *kra hwl* to rent; *ba-kra hwl* to rent out, to let; *kra ʾwl* to hire: *mən-xá tʷkaná jəlé krà wilé-u*| He hired clothes from a shop (D:16)

krawat n.m. (pl. *krawăte*) (F) **neck-tie**

ksila n.f. (pl. *ksiye, ksile*) **hat** | *ksila pərče* wig

ktāb n.f. (pl. *ktabe*) (K/P < A) **book** | *gbéwa yătúwa ḥăsắb-u ktàbe holú*| He had to sit and do the accounts and books (A:100)

ktəwla n.f. (pl. *kətwe*) **thorn**

kuji n.f. (pl. *kujiye, kujăwae*) (K) **lane, alley**

kul mod. **each, every** (§8.9.1.) | *ga-dokà*| *kúl yomá pəsrà-hitwa*| There, every day there was meat (A:73)

kŭle mod. **all; the whole; each; everybody** (§8.9.2.) | *kŭ́le našé ʾăgadà qărénwala*| All the people (= everybody) read the Aggadah (A:61); *našé kŭ́le tìwi-u*| All the people sat down (D:3); *ʾătá kŭ́le ʿolắm xirté-ya puḷè*| Now the whole world has become money (A:55); *kŭ́le náša béla jyà hítwale*| Everybody had a separate house (A:71); *kŭ́le daʿwát kolìwalu*| They invited them all (A:42); *ʾá kŭ́le dasgiranàx-ye!*| Oh, it is none other than your betrothed! (A:21)

kulfat n.f. (P < A) **maid, maidservant**

kulya n.f. (pl. *kulye*) **kidney**

kunja n.f. (pl. *kunje*) (P) **corner**

kura n.f. (pl. *kure*) **kiln**

kurd n.m. (pl. *kurde*) **Kurd; Kurdish Jew**

kursi n.f. (P < A) **heated seat**

kuzi n.f. (pl. *kuziye*) (P) **ceramic container for cooked meat** (*qawurma*)

kwər adj. invar. (K) **blind** | *kwə̀r xír*| He became blind; *kwə̀r xíra*| She became blind

kxəwla n.f. (pl. *kəxwe, kxəwle*) **star** | *kxəwlé ʾenà dăén*| The stars twinkle

/l/

la part. **negative particle** | With final laryngal /ʾ/ when emphatic: *laʾ* no!: *tatăké míre làʾ!* The father said 'No!' (D:20)

la- **copula** | used with L-suffixes to form dative copula (§3.11.3.): *ʾaná puḷé mən-lèka lalí háwna ta-didóx?* From where shall I have money to give to you?

lā n.m. **side.** prep. **by the side of; at the home of** (< *laga*) | *zíl lā́ táta daăkàf-u* He went to (the home of) her father and mother (D:19); *xa lā ʾila rəza* half a handful of rice (literally: one side of a hand of rice); *gbéwa xa-párča zayrá dăén ba-lăxàw b-lā́ səngù* They had to put a patch of yellow on their (body) here, on (literally: by the side of) their chest (A:78); *šáta zilá-y lā́ xà baxtéf* He went to one of his wives (once) in a year (A:94); *kū́le hulaé lā-làxle yelú* All the Jews were close to one another (A:44) → *laga*. With *izafe* particle: *zína lā́-e pirè* I went to the old folk (E:31)

la-ʿolām → *ʿolām*

la-ba, la-bada part. **lest** | *lá-ba bšəlmané taqri-bàu* lest the Muslims touched them (A:78); *yatwíwa ʾənšè dána ba-dána găbènwale, lá-bada xá-mdi xarəjí gáef hăwè* The women would sit and sort it grain by grain, lest there be something extraneous in it (B:14)

lăčăga n.f. (pl. *lăčăge*) (K) **veil**

lăʿefa n.m. (pl. *lăʿefe*) (K) **quilt**

láʿel, m-láʿel, mən-láʿel adv. **above**

laga n.m. (K) **side** | *laga năḥala* earlobe; *lagí mărè* My side hurts. In adverbial expressions in absolute state: *šoḷtáli l-d-o-làg* I threw it (the veil) on one side (A:24). prep. **by the side of; at the home of; to the home of; in the community of** | *xét ṣalmé lìtwala samxá lága didí ʾána xăènaf* She no longer had confidence to stand by me, whilst I could see her (A:22); *pătiré ga-lága didàn rába moḥkàm doqíwala* In our community they observed Passover very strictly (B:14); *ta-ʾalpá šəné xèt yătàt ba-lagán* You shall sit by our side for another thousand years (E:74); *laga tati* at my father's home. Movement towards: *mar-hé ta-labnăxún dóka lagèf* Let him come so that I may take you there to him (B:60); *hóš-u xyaḷí lága d-èele* My thoughts were with him (C:7)

lahja n.f. (P < A) **accent, pronunciation** | *lahjóx băsimtè-ya*⌐ Your accent is good

lăḥāl, lăḥa adj. invar. **far, distant** | *mən-lăḥā́l ʾo-xiyàli*⌐ I saw her from afar (A:13); *ṭuré laḥāl* distant mountains; *lăḥá m-ṣalmá ḥalìye*⌐ May it be distant from the face of those present (said when death or something unpleasant is mentioned). With the *–o* particle: *xmarăké mən-pliyáw ʾó daštá lăḥál-o mràqlu*⌐ They made the ass run from the field into the distance

láḥmal adv. **the day before yesterday**

lala n.m. (pl. *lale*) **maternal uncle**

laqalaq adv. (K) **slowly**

laša n.f. (K) **body**

laškar n.f. (P) **army**

lăxa adv. **here** | *gbéwa xa-párča zayrá dăén ba-lăxàu*⌐ They had to put a patch of yellow on their (body) here (A:78)

léka, lekane adv. **where? whither?**

lelange n.f. **festival of Purim**

lele n.m./f. (pl. *lelăwae*) **night** | *lele šata* celebration at the end of Passover (literally: the night of the year)

lə́ma part. **when?** | *lə̀ma két?*⌐ When will you come? *báqa lə̀ma gbétulu?*⌐ For when do you need them? (B:49)

lesa n.m. **chewing gum**

leša n.m. **dough**

ləba n.m. **heart** | *ləbí ʾiqà-y*⌐ My heart is sad; *ta-lə́ma ləbá hitóx báxta gorèt?*⌐ When do you want to get married? (A:5); *ba-ləbí lìt*⌐ There is nobody in my heart (= There is nobody I love); *kŭ́le šatá ba-ləbá băsimà-u*⌐ *qáləb sàq doqéte*⌐ May you keep it (the fast) every year with a good heart and a healthy body (B:54)

ləbās n.m. (P < A) **clothing, clothes** | *ləbā́s-e dawrešì* beggar's clothes (A:108)

ləfka n.m. **loofah** | *ləfkà garšíwa*⌐ They scrubbed with a loofah (A:38)

lə́xle pron. **each other** | *məntắke lə́xle hezíwa waryá čəkmá mŭdắtè-u*⌐ They went out with each other for some time (A:1); *ʾəqrá ʾəḥtərám-e lə́xle doqìwa*⌐ They had such respect for one another (A:45); *rába baṣòr lə́xle xắenwa*⌐ They saw each other very little (A:3)

ləxma n.m. **bread** | *mən-maʿəmulà ləxmá kəxlíwa*⌐ They earned their livelihood from the teaching profession (B:11); *ləxma saji* bread made on a griddle; *ləxma tănuri* bread made in an oven; *ləxma bela* bread made (on a griddle) at home and dried to store

lila n.f. **fat of a sheep's tail** | *máe lilá* liquid fat of a sheep's tail (B:24)

limo n.f. **lemon**

lišana n.m. **tongue** | *lišanéf ʾsirà-y*⌐ His tongue is tied (He is dumb)

lit part. **there is not, there are not.** *litwa* part. **there was not , there were not** | *hítwa-u lìtwa*⌐ *mən-ʾəlhá biš-pìr*⌐ *hìč-kas lítwa*⌐ There was, there was not, there was nobody older than God (opening of a story) (A:98). Possessive construction: *liti* I do not have have (< *lit-li*); *ba-ləbí lìt*⌐ There is nobody in my heart (= There is nobody I love)

loʿa adv. **inside.** n.m. (pl. *loʿáe*) **room** | *xá səfrá šắwèxwa*⌐ *mən-d-ày réše loʿá*⌐ *ḥătá ʾò réše loʿá*⌐ We spread out a cloth from this end of the room until that end of the room (B:30)

lul adj. invar. (K) **curly (hair)**

lula n.m. (pl. *lule*) (K/P) **pipe** | *lula qori* the spout of a teapot

/ḷ/

ḷaḷa n.f. (pl. *ḷaḷe*) **lung**

/m/

ma part. **what; why?** | *mà kolíwa ga-pătiré?*⌐ What did they do at Passover? (B:14); *ʾáy mà-ye?*⌐ What is this? (B:81); *mà baxyát?*⌐ Why are you crying? (C:4); *má kul-yóma gezét ʾay-jangàḷ*⌐ *ʾay-kŭ́le zaḥamtá garšèta-u?*⌐ Why do you go to the woods everyday and take all this trouble? (A:104); *lá kắena mà-li*⌐ I do not know what the matter is with me; *mayayèf?*⌐ What is it to him? (§2.6.)

măʿalija n.? (P < A) : — *ʾwl* **to cure** | *tămắm-e duktɔ́re kŭ́le zìlan* là *kéwalu măʿalijí hòliwa* I went to all the doctors but they could not cure me (C:1). — *x∅r* **to be cured** | *báška m-ʾɔlhà-y măʿalíja xărát* Perhaps it is (the will of) God that you will be cured (C:1)

măʿarɔfi (P < A) : — *ʾwl* **to present, to introduce (person)** | *xá bratá măʿarɔfi wilálu báef* They introduced a girl to him (D:17)

maʿda n.f. (P < A) **small intestine**

maʿdan n.? (P < A) **quarry**

maʿlela n.f. **eve (of festival)** (*maʿle* + *ʾela* 'festival) | *maʿlelá kipùr* on the even of the Day of Atonement (B:71)

maʿlɔm n.m. (pl. *maʿlɔme*) (P/K < A) **teacher; rabbi**

maʿlɔmula n.f. **profession of teacher or of rabbi** | *xá-ʿɔda-č hítwalan ga-Kurdɔstằn* *mɔn-maʿlɔmulà lɔxmá kɔxlíwa* We had a group of people in Kurdistan who earned their livelihood from the teaching profession (B:11)

maʿmulan adv. (P < A) **generally**

maʿlum adj. invar. (P < A) **known** | *maʿlùm-la-y ʾắt hulaét yá bšɔlmanèt* It is not known whether you are a Jew or you are a Muslim (B:25), *maʿlùm!* Of course!

madrăsa n.f. (P < A) **school**

mae n.pl. tantum **water** | *mae raduxe* boiling water

măgar part. (P) **perhaps**

magreta n.f. (pl. *magrete*) **shaving knife; razor**

măġara n.f. (P < A) **cave**

măḥala n.f. (pl. *măḥale*) **street; district** | *mɔn-d-áy kují-u măḥălè* through the alleys and streets (A:44)

majbur adj. invar. (P < A) **obliged, forced** | *kipúr majbúr-ye ṣóma dòq* He is obliged to fast on the Day of Atonement (B:73)

ma-jor part. **how? like what?** | *ḥămắm-e turkí mà-jor-ila?* What is a Turkish bath like? (A:37)

mal n.f. (K) **bird**

mala n.f. (pl. *male, malăwáe*) **village**

mălaqa n.f. (pl. *mălaqe*) (K/P < A) **large spoon**

mălawani (K) : — *ʾwl* **to swim** | *ʾaná mălawanì kắena*⌐ I know how to swim; *ʾaná gbéna hézna mălăwanì hóna*⌐ I want to go swimming

mălaxa n.f. (pl. *mălaxe*) **instrument padded with a cushion used to stick bread dough to the sides of an oven**

malək n.m. (P < A) **landlord, owner**

malka n.f. (P < A) **queen**

malpana n.m. (pl. *malpane*) **teacher**

măluxa adj. (fs. *măluxta*, pl. *măluxe*) **salty**

maḷa n.f. (pl. *maḷe*) **trowel**

măḷa n.m. (P) **mullah; rabbi**

mănora n.f. (H) **menorah, candlestick (for festival of Hanukka)**

mama n.m. (pl. *mame*) **paternal uncle**

mamlăkăta n.f. (pl. *mamlăkăte*) (P < A) **kingdom, country**

mamnun adj.invar. (K < A) **thankful** | *ʾaná rába mamnùn-yena*⌐ Thank you very much

mămona n.f. (pl. *mămone*) **breast; lump of a matzo**

mamožna n.f. (K) **wife of paternal uncle** → *temona*

mangal, mangol prep. (*mangol d-o, mangol d-o gora*) **like**

mangaḷ n.f. (pl. *mangăḷe*) (K) **brazier** | *txelàf*⌐ *xá-dana mangàḷ-yela,*⌐ *har-ga-ʾărá čəqyàwalu*⌐ Under it there was a brazier, which they had dug in the ground (A:90)

mắni pron. **who?** | *la-kắyan mằni-ye*⌐ I do not know who it is (A:21); *ga-dokà*⌐ *táte-u daăkè*⌐ *bì-zoa*⌐ *ʾəntəxàb kolíwa*⌐ *mằni*⌐ *gorí ta-bronù*⌐ There, the fathers and mothers would generally choose who they married to their son (A:2)

mănixa adj. **granting rest (God)** | *tatí yătùwa*⌐ *ʾəlhá mănixà*⌐ *dāstắn ḥăqéwa baqàn*⌐ My father, may God grant him rest (literally: God [be] granting of rest), would sit and tell us a story (A:92)

mănora n.f. (H) **menora, candle-stick**

manya n.f. **unit of weight (4 kilos)**

maqlana adj. (fs. *maqlanta*, pl. *maqlane*) **burning** | *šəmša maqlanta* the burning sun

maqlobta n.f. **vomiting; vomit** | *maqlobtí kiyà*⌐ I feel like vomiting (literally: My vomiting is coming)

maqryana n.m. (pl. *maqryane*) **teacher**

mar part. (K) **deontic particle** | *mar-ʾăxə̀l*⌐ May he eat

măra-mila n.m. **penis**

mărasem n.f. (P < A) **custom, ceremony** | *ʾéa mărasém-e širné xorànyela*⌐ This was the ceremony of the 'eating of the sweets' (betrothal) (A:33)

mard n.m. (P) **man**

mare n.m. (only in annexation) **owner** | *mare tʷkana* a shopkeeper; *máre belăkè*⌐ the householder (A:83); *qáwme ʾána máre năwagèyan-u*⌐ In the future (literally: tomorrow) I shall have grandchildren (C:6); *mare dolta* rich; *mare qəwta* strong

mărəmta n.f. (P) **trouble** | *mărəmtá là grúš*⌐ Do not take trouble/Do not put yourself out; *mărəmtá-e ʿolám gəršàle*⌐ He took upon himself the troubles of the world

mărira adj. (fs. *mărirta*, pl. *mărire*) **bitter**

markan n.f. (pl. *markăne*) (K) **pot lined with ceramic used for kneading dough**

mărorta n.f. **bile, gall-bladder** | *mărortí pə̀qya*⌐ I am in distress (literally: My gall-bladder has burst)

măroṭa n.f. (*măroṭe*) **fart (with noise)** | *măroṭà díle*⌐ He farted

măsala n.f. **scales (for weighing)**

măsălan part. (P < A) **for example**

masoret n.f. (H) **tradition**

mast adj. invar. (P) **drunk, inebriated**

masta n.f. (K) **yoghurt** | *masta toraq* cream of yoghurt (made by draining off water)

maṣṣa n.f. (pl. *maṣṣae*) (H) **matzo, unleavened bread eaten at Passover**

maṣṭorta n.f. (pl. *maṣṭorye*) **curse** | *ta-gănawé maṣṭoryè drélu*| They cursed the thieves

maṣwa n.f. (H) **good deed, mitzvah** | *ʾənšé pìr*| *ba-maṣwá-e nòšu*| *kwìwa*| Old women would give as their good deed (B:48)

mašằḷa interj. (P < A) **what good fortune!**

maše n.pl. (sing. *maša* f.) **black lentils**

mašhur adj. invar. (P < A) **famous**

măšin n.f. (P < A) **machine; car** | *măšin-e raxt-šuri* washing-machine

maška n.f. (pl. *maške, maškăwae*) (K) **skin; leather; leather bag; leather churn** | *syame maška* leather shoes; *maška doe* churn for yoghurt water

mašrub n.f. (P < A) **drink, beverage**

māt adj. invar. (K) **miserable, morose**

măwād n.pl. (P < A) **substances** | *măwád-e giyahì* herbal substances (A:40)

mawzoʿ n.m. (P < A) **subject, topic** | *ʾéa-č mawzóʿ-e pəsrà*| This is the subject of meat (B:25)

maxlopta n.f. **exchange**

maxlpana n.m. (pl. *maxlpane*) **exchanger**

maxlṭana n.m. (pl. *maxlṭane*) **somebody who causes another to err, somebody who leads astray**

maxṣuṣ adj. invar. (P < A) **special** | *ʾéa maxṣúṣ-e nòšan-yela*| It was special to us (B:53)

maxṣuṣan part. (P < A) **especially**

mayay- → *ma*

mayta n.f. (K < A) **corpse**

mazhab n.m. (P < A) **religious party; religion**

mdi → *məndix*

memani n.f. (pl. *memanye*) (K) **party, celebration** | *ʾáy memaní dəwqàlox*| You held that party (D:9)

mesi adj. invar. (P) **made of copper** | *xa-ṭášt-e mesì*| a copper bowl (B:19)

mewa n.m. (K/P) **fruit; vine** | *ʾilané mewà*| fruit trees (A:72); *găḷae mewa* vine leaves

mewajat n.m. (pl. *mewajắte*) (K) **fruit** | *mewajắte bikùr*| first fruits (B:38)

meydān n.f. (pl. *meydane*) (P) **square (of town)**

mez n.f. (pl. *meze*) (K) **table**

məče n.pl. (K) **ticks**

məlk n.m. (P < A) **property**

məlte n.f. (P/K < A) **nation**

məlxa n.f. **salt**

mən, m- prep. **from; through; because of; with; at** (1) **from** | *susyăké mən-sarbāzxané kméwale qam-tărà*| He would bring the horse from the barracks to the door (A:16); *mən-lăḥắl ʾo-xiyàli*| I saw her from afar (A:14); *mən-xanăwadè ʿayztá* from a good family (A:6). Partitive: *mən-d-áy ləxmá là ʾaxlétun!*| Do not eat any of this bread! (B:23). Source: *mən-taxtà tráṣwalu*| They had made it from board (A:9); *ʾənyexáe kŭle mătíwalu tămắm-e réša səfrá zamṭíwa mən-d-ay-jóra məndixàne*| They filled the whole surface of the cloth with such things (A:65); *hár-či ké mən-xalwá-yele lá kəxlèxwale*| We did not eat anything that was made from milk (A:68). Comparative distance: *mən-ʾəlhá biš-pìr*| *hìč-kas lítwa*| There was nobody more senior than God (A:98). Relative position: *xá-ʿəda píle m-qằmaf*| *xá-ʿəda píle m-bàraf*| some positioned in front of her some behind her (A:46). (2) **through** | *gezíwa ba-dohól ʾu-zorná mən-d-áy kují-u măḥălè*| They went with drum and pipe through the lanes and streets (A:10). (3) **because of** | *mən-qardá rèṭ*| He is shaking because of the cold. (4) **with** | *tíw m-daăkéf ḥqèle*| He sat down and talked with his mother (D:6). (5) **at** (temporal or spatial location)

| *m-zămàn-e*| *Kuréš-e Kăbìr*| at the time of Cyrus the Great (B:1); *mən tex, m-tex* below, *m-lá ͨel, mən-lá ͨel* above

məndix, məndi n.m. (pl. *məndixane*) **thing** | contracted to *mdi* when combined with *xa* and not in pause: *xá-mdi lá míri baqòx*| I have not told you something (A:77); contracted to *mdix* when combined with *xa* in pause: *ʾéa xá mdìx*| This is one thing (B:27)

məntắke prep. (*məntăkef, məntăke d-o, məntăke d-o gora*) **with**

məqdār n.? (P < A) **quantity, amount**

məsta n.f. (K) **hair (individual item)**

məšnayote n.pl. (H) **Mishna extracts**

məšpaḥa n.m. (H) **family**

məšxa n.m. **oil**

mətya adj. (f. *mṭita*, pl. *mətye*) **ripe** | *băṣire mətye* ripe grapes

məzdanta n.f. (pl. *məzdane*) **gift** | *məzdane ʾilane* festival of Tu bə-Shvat (literally: gifts of trees)

məzgani n.m. (K) **good news; surprise**

məzgla n.f. (pl. *məzgle*) **mosque**

mfắṣal adj. invar. (P < A) **copious; large**

mila n.m./adj. **dead, dead person**

miḻa n.f. (H) **circumcision** | — *ʾwl* to circumcise; — *x∅r* to be circumcised: *hulàa*| *miḻá xirà-y*| A Jew is circumcised (B:65)

miye n.pl. **intestines** | *miye rŭwe* large intestine; *miye zore* small intestine

mlăgo n.f. (pl. *mlăgoe*) (K) **bud** | *mlăgó bằs xar-ó*| The bud opens

m-léka adv. **whence?**

mo part. **why?** | Used to express surprise: *mò híyet?*| Why have you come? (said when the speaker expected that the person would not come); *mò lá híyet?*| Why did you not come? (said when the person is expected to have come); *xá-kărat là mirán*| *ắxa mò wilán?*| We did not say once 'Why have we done this?' (E:20)

moʾăsăsa n.m. (P < A) **institution**

moblamān n.? (P < F) **furniture**

mohkam adj. invar. (P < A) **firm, strong** | *ʾay-guzá mohkàm sămə́x rešéf*| The wall would stand firmly on it (B:56); *pătiré ga-lága didàn*| *rába mohkàm doqíwala*| In our community they observed Passover very strictly (B:14)

mojălal adj. invar. (P < A) **grand, fine**

moji n.f. (K) **woven cloth**

mola n.m. **death**

molta n.f. (pl. *molte*) (P) **delay, moratorium** | *moltà hól baqí*| Give me more time (to pay my debt)

momyanta n.f. **oath** | *momyantà moména*| I swear an oath

mone pl. tantum **cracked wheat**

morăfah adj. invar. (P < A) **comfortable** | *xàšti baté ké*| *morăfàh-yelu,*| *máre doltà-yelu*| *ʾərbá dabhiwà-o*| A few families who were comfortable, who were rich, slaughtered a sheep (B:47)

morăxăṣi n.m. (P < A) **leave, vacation** | *morăxăṣ̀ì šaqná-u,*| *ken-ò*| I'll take leave and come back (A:7)

morəd n.? (P < A) **cause, source** | *rába huláe ga-doká mórəd ʾəhtəramèf-yelu*| The Jews there were very much the source of his respect (= He very much respected the Jews) (B:85)

moṣae xag (H) **end of a festival**

moʿtaqəd adj. invar. (P < A) **convinced, determined**

moxa n.m. **brain**

mozaham adj. invar. (P < A) **molesting, disturbing** | *wa-bšəlmané mozahămù lá xăríwa ʾenṣafán*| and, indeed, the Muslims did not disturb them (B:36)

mra n.m. (K < A) (with suffix: *mraef*) **request; desire** | *ba-mrá-e nóšef mə̀ṭe*| He attained his heart's desire (D:27)

mriči n.f. (pl. *mričiye*) (K) **a small bird**

mroča n.f. (pl. *mroče*) (K) **ant**

msərqa n.f. (pl. *msərqe*) **comb**

mšəlmana n.m. (pl. *mšəlmane*) **Muslim convert from Judaism** → *bšəlmana*

mšəlmanta n.f. (pl. *mšəlmanye*) **Muslim woman convert from Judaism**

mšurta n.f. (P < A) **advice** | *mšurtà॒ wilá-y baqèf॒* He gave him advice (A:95)

mtawj- : — *x∅r* **to care** | *mtawjıù xărá॒* She cares for them; *mtawjí didì xărá॒* She cares for me

mŭdat, mŭdăta n.f. (pl. *mŭdăte*) **time, period** | *ba-d-ó mudătà॒* at that time (A:68); *bar-xa-mŭdát-xet* after a while (A:27); *čəkmá mŭdătè॒* sometimes (A:1); *xá čəkmá mŭdằte॒ híyen-u zìli॒* They came and went a few times (D:18); *ba-mŭdằt-e ké॒ bəxlé dasgiràn-yelu,॒ bắz-ham rába bașòr lə́xle xắenwa॒* When they became betrothed, they still saw each other very little (A:3)

muntăzər (P < A) : — *x∅r* **to wait, to expect** | *muntăzə̀r xír॒ bašká da‘wătèf holí॒* He waited hoping they would invite him (D:7)

musaf n.m. (H) **additional prayer**

/n/

nabi n.m. (H) **prophet**

năfar n.m. (pl. *năfăre*) **person** | *xa-nắfar-əč mangál nokàr,॒ xa-sarbằz,॒ lăpə́lwa ba-šonéf réša susí xèt॒* Somebody like a servant, a soldier, would, moreover, follow him on another horse (A:16)

naft n.m. (P < A) **oil**

năhār n.m. (P) **lunch**

năḥala, năḥalta (pl. *năḥale*) **ear**

năjəs, nəjəs adj. invar. (P < A) **unclean** | *huláa ba-năjə́s là kắenwale॒* They (the Sunnites) did not know a Jew as unclean (= did not consider a Jew unclean) (B:64)

năjib adj. invar. (P < A) **noble**

nanawakār n.f. (P) **baker**

nandān n.m. (K) **baker**

năqara n.f. (P) (pl. *năqare*) **wind instrument, pipe**

năqaši n.m. (K/P < A) **drawing, sketching** | — *grš* to draw

năqole n.pl. **ritually unclean parts of an animal that have to be removed** | *ʾo-năqolé-u măqolè-u*⌐ *ʾonyexáe yá* ᴴ*gdidìm*ᴴ*-yen*⌐ *xărằb-yen,*⌐ *lá kəxlilù*⌐ *doqwalú-u šoḷətwalù*⌐ He would take out the ritually unclean parts and the like that had to be removed, those parts that were sinews and were polluted, which they did not eat, and threw them away (A:82)

năqorča n.m. **pinch** | *năqorčá dòqnox*⌐ I shall pinch you

na-raḥat adj. invar. (P/K) **uncomfortable, unwell; upset, sad** | *ga-dóka kū́le na-raḥàt xăríwa-u*⌐ Everybody there became sad (B:52); *ga-ʾIrā́n na-raḥàt-yeli*⌐ In Iran I was unwell (C:1); *daăkéf-əč rába nóšaf na-raḥát wilàla*⌐ His mother became very upset (D:9)

na-raḥăti n.m. (P/K) **discomfort, grievance** | *xắe ... ʾā́gar čănā́nče xa-našá na-raḥătí hăwèle*⌐ He would see whether a person had a grievance (A:108)

narma (P) : *narma naḥala* **soft part of ear, earlobe**

năṣəḥta n.f. (pl. *năṣəḥye*) (P < A) **advice; lesson**

naša n.m. (pl. *naše*) **man, person** | *nāš* (absolute state): *ʾanà*⌐ *bratí taxá-nāš là kə́wnaf ké ḥaštá líte-u ʾexá*⌐ I shall not give my daughter to a man who has no job and so forth (D:20); *mà kéle hól*⌐ *xa-nā́š ké gənè?*⌐ What can a man who is asleep do? (E:66)

năšoqta n.f. **kiss**

naṭrana n.m. (pl. *naṭrane*) **guardian (God)**

năwaga n.m. (pl. *năwage*) (K) **grandson, grandchild** | *qáwme ʾána máre năwagè-yan-u*⌐ In the future (literally: tomorrow) I shall have grandchildren (C:6)

nawe n.pl. **nits (in hair)**

nawrəsta n.f. (K) **middle (of hand)** | *nawrəsta ʾila* palm of hand

nawšar (pl. *nawšare*) (K) **grandchildren**

naxoš adj. invar. (K) **ill**

naxoši n.f. **illness**

nāz n.m. (K) **indulgence; coquetry**

negahdār adj. invar. (P) **protecting** | *ké ʾáy séfar torà negahdaróx hawyá*⌐ so that the Torah scroll would protect you (B:84)

nəjəs → *năjəs*

nəmro n.f. **fried egg**

nəqla adj. (fs. *nqəlta*, pl. *nəqle*) **thin** | *xola nəqla* thin rope; *g̱lal̤a nəqla* thin thread

nəxla n.m. **rain** | *nəxlá năxə̀l*⌐ It is raining; *nəxlá nandè*⌐ The rain is danc- ing (on the ground)

nəxpa n.f. **shyness** | *nəxpà doqá mən-didí*⌐ She is shy of me

nfixa adj. (fs. *nfixta*, pl. *nfixe*) **puffed up, conceited**

nimašora n.m. (K) **cleansing mud (made from small stones from river beds) used in baths**

nišān n.m. (K/P) **mark, sign** | *nišā́n-e sʷkăke mătùwa*⌐ He would mark out (the place) of the booth (A:76)

nita : — *ʾwl* **to swear, to make an oath**

noba (i) n.m. (P < A) **turn** | *ba-noba* in turn

noba (ii) n.m., *nopta* n.f. (P < A) **fever** | *nobà dwə́qle*⌐ He caught a fever

nokar n.m. (pl. *nokăre*) (P) **servant**

nopta → *noba*

noṣrat n.f. (P < A) **victory** | *ṭaqa noṣrat* arch of victory

noš- n.f. (with suffixes only) **self** | *nošef* himself, *nošaf* herself, etc. *ʾaná wáxt-e xlúla wilì*⌐ *ga-Tarằn-yeli nóši*⌐ When I married, I was by my- self in Tehran (A:5); *gezíwa báqa béla nòšu*⌐ They went to their (own) homes (A:11); *tắra mə́zra ba-réša nòšaf*⌐ She closed the door behind her (literally: upon her) (A:22); *gezíwa báqa béla nòšu*⌐ They went to their (own) homes (A:11); *xánči nóšu doqìwala*⌐ They held themselves a little (= they were rather reluctant) (A:31)

ntoa adj. (fs. *ntota*, pl. *ntoe*) **high; tall** | *ṭura ntota* a high mountain; *gora ntoa* a tall man; *baté ntòe-yelu*⌐ The houses were tall (A:12)

nunila n.f. **fish** | *zíl pliyáw kása xá nunilà*⌐ He (Jonah) went into the stomach of a fish (B:77)

nunilta n.f. **fish**

nuqḷa n.f. (pl. *nuqḷe*) **sweet, candy**

nuqta n.f. (pl. *nuqte*) **spot**

nura n.m. **fire**

nwua n.f. (H) **prophecy** | *nwuá-e ha-nabí ba-triṣà pliṭá*⸵ The prophecy of the prophet turned out to be true

/p/

paetaxt n.f. (pl. *paetaxte*) (P) **capital (city)**

pa-goša n.? (P) **stretching of the leg** | Symbolic act signifying the agreement of the family of the bride to the betrothal

palăpal (K) : — *ʾwl* **to rush** | *palăpál la-holmù!*⸵ Do not rush! (A:31)

pāḷ (K) : — *lpl* **to lie down** | *se pāḷ pul!* Go and lie down!

panjăra n.f (pl. *panjăre*) (K/P) **window**

paqa n.f. (pl. *paqe*) **top of the chest where child or bundle is carried** | *ʾaná yalí dóqnef paqì*⸵ I am carrying my child in my arms; *ʾaná tuḷé dóqna paqì*⸵ I am carrying twigs in my arms

par (K) : — *ʾwl* **to weave**

păra n.m. (pl. *păre*) (K.) **feather; propeller of water-mill** | *păré ba-taxtè-hitwa*⸵ There were propellers made of wood (A:59)

părăkanda (P) : — *x∅r* **to be scattered** | *părăkandà xirén mən-doká*⸵ They were scattered from there (B:2)

părasu n.f. (pl. *păraswe*) (K) **rib**

parča n.m. (pl. *parče, parčane*) (K/P) n.pl. **material, fabric** | *parčane dargušta* bands of material used to tie around child in a cradle

parča-froš n.m. (pl. *parča-froše*) (P) **seller of cloth** | *rábau parča-fròš-yelu*⸵ Most of them were cloth-sellers (A:69)

parda n.f. (pl. *parde*) (K/P) **curtain** | *xá-dana pardá doqìwa-u*⸵ They would draw a curtain (A:47)

părəšt n.m. (K) **cracked wheat**

paro n.f. (pl. *paroe*) (K) **snow shovel** | *talgăké gərpále ba-parò* He swept away the snow with a snow shovel

păro n.m. (pl. *păroe*) (K) **rag** | *păroé maqlìwa* *ʾo-qilà,* *ʾo-qilé păroè* *mătíwale réša ʾo-miḷà* They would burn rags and they would put on the circumcision the burnt ash, burnt rags (A:76)

pas part. (P) **then; so** | *pás ʾijazá xlulá kwìwa* Then they gave permission for the wedding (A:32); *ʾo-waxtăra mašiné ʾəqrá lìtwa,* *pás mən-susì ʾəstəfadá kolíwa* At that time there were not so many cars, so they would make use of a horse (A:16)

pas-andāz (P) : — *ʾwl* **to save (money)** | *xánči puḷé pas-andắz wilìwale* He had saved some money (D:12)

pasaxu n.f. (K) **woman who verifies virginity of bride** | *bəqătà-č gbé paxasù* *hezà* *ʾay-stačé băkărằt-e* *d-ay-kaldà* *lablálu báqa tata-u-daăkà* 'In the morning the 'woman inspector' had to go and take the 'sheets of virginity' of the bride to the father and mother' (A:50)

păṣixa adj. (fs. *păṣixta*, pl. *păṣixe*) **merry, happy**

păša n.m. (pl. *păše*) (P) **mosquito**

păšaban n.f. (pl. *păšabăne*) (K) **mosquito net**

pašor n.f. (pl. *pašore*) (K) **instrument consisting of black pumice for washing feet**

păšota n.f. (pl. *păšoye, păšote*) **fart** | *păšotà pəšyále* He farted

pătiḷa n.m. (pl. *pătiḷe*) **cooking pot; container; tin** | *ʾay-bšəlmanè* *ke-xálwa zábni ta-didàn* *ʾay-xalwà* *mən-d-ó tortà* *yá mən-d-ó ʾərbá dəwqà-y* *ga-xa-pătiḷà dəwqá-y* *ké pătiḷăké mumkə́n-ye pəsrá bəšla-hăwélu gàef* Those Muslims, who sell milk to us, have taken the milk from the cow or from the sheep and have kept it in a container in which they may have cooked meat (A:64)

pătire n.f. **Passover** | *ga-tămắm ʾay-haftà* *ké pătiré xirtè-ya,* *šóa yomè* *hìč-kas* *ᴴdəvréᴴ xalwá là kxálwa* During the whole of the week in which Passover took place, seven days, nobody ate dairy products (A:63)

patla n.m. **cooked husked wheat**

păṭuxa adj. (fs. *păṭuxta*, pl. *păṭuxe*) **wide**

paxasu n.f. (K) **woman inspector of sheets after consummation of marriage** │ *bəqătà-č⁆ gbé paxasù⁆ hezà⁆ ʾay-stačé băkărằt-e⁆ d-ay-kaldà⁆ lablálu báqa tata-u-daăkà⁆* In the morning the 'woman inspector' had to go and take the 'sheets of virginity' of the bride to the father and mother (A:50)

payiz n.? (K) **Autumn**

payja n.f. (pl. *payje*) (K) **ladder**

pea (K) : — *x⌀r* **to be born** │ *ga-Taràn peá xirá-y⁆* He was born in Tehran

pela n.m. (pl. *pele*) **radish**

peḷa n.f. (pl. *peḷe*) (K) **eyelash**

pəlga n.m. **half; middle** │ *pəlga yoma* midday; *pəlga lele* midnight; *ʾána gézna ga-pəlgùn-u⁆* I shall go among them (= I shall visit them) (D:3)

pəlkane n.pl. (sing. *pəlkanta*) (K/P) **stairs** │ *ʾó pəlkané ʾăsə̀q⁆* He is going up the stairs

pəḷka (K) *ʾena* n.f. **eyelash**

pəma n.m. (pl. *pəme*) **mouth** │ *pəmóx băsimà⁆* thank you (said after a conversation)

pəqya adj. (f. *pqita,* pl. *pəqye*) **cracked, split**

pərče n.pl. (K) **hair** │ *ksila pərče* wig: *sélox xà⁆ ksilá pərčé mătù!⁆* Go and put on a wig! (D:11)

pərsaxta n.f. (pl. *pərsaxe*) **sweet pastry** │ long pastry made of dough, egg, sugar and sesame

pərtaʿna n.f. (pl. *pərtaʿne*) **flea**

pəs adj. invar. (K) **dumb** │ *lišanéf pə̀s xír⁆* His tongue became dumb

pəsḥa n.m. (Rabbinic Aramaic) **Passover ceremony** │ *léle pătiré yătíwa baqá pəsḥà⁆* On the eve of Passover they would sit for the purpose of the Passover ceremony (A:61)

pəsra n.f. **meat** │ *pəsra kake* gum

pəṣla n.m. (pl. *pəṣle*) **onion**

pəšk, pəška n.m. (K) **share, lot; sufficiency** | *hár-kăsu pəška-nóšef hìtwale*᠊ Every one of them had enough for himself (A:55)

pəškaḷe n.pl. (K/P) **sheep's dung**

pəšpara n.f. (pl. *pəšpare*) **omelette**

pəšti (K) n.f. **back-support (on wall)**

pičyaw (K) : — *x∅r* **to twist around** | *xiwá pičyàw xír ʾaqléf*᠊ The snake twisted around his leg

pir n./adj.ms./fs./ (pl. *pire* or invar.) **old (person); senior** | *xá-ʿəda mən-náše pìre*᠊ a few senior people (A:30); *ʾənšé pìr*᠊ old women (B:48); *zína lā́-e pirè*᠊ I went to the old folk (B:31); *hítwa-u lìtwa*᠊ *mən-ʾəlhá biš-pìr*᠊ *hìč-kas lítwa*᠊ There was, there was not, there was nobody more senior than God (formula opening a story) (A:98)

piš part. (P) **before** | *jáng-e benulmălălí ʾăwàl*᠊ *wáxt-e piš-ʾèa*᠊ just before the First World War (B:10)

plixa adj. (fs. *plixta*, pl. *plixe*) **open** | *ṣalma plixa* aggressive

pliyaw, pliyawa part. **amid; between; within** | *galglíwale ga-pliyáw məšxá nòšef*᠊ They would stir it round in its own oil (A:84); *xá-kilo-u pàlge*᠊ *mən-d-áy qamxà*᠊ *dărénwa ga-pliyáw xá kasá rabtà*᠊ They poured out a kilo and a half of the flour into a large bowl (B:17); *ʾó ga-pliyáw ḥqaéf boʿinà díle*᠊ When he was talking, he had a blockage in his throat; *čórt xa-məndìx-yela*᠊ *məndixáne górd-yelu ga-pliyáw xa-sìm*᠊ An abacus is something (containing) things that were round on a wire. (A:101); *pliyaw d-o gora-u d-o-baxta* between that man and that woman; *bár-d-o məndélu pliyawà*᠊ Then they threw him in (the sea) (B:77)

plulta n.f. (pl. *plulye*) **gutter (of roof); wick**

popwana n.f. (pl. *popwane*) (K) **cock's comb**

poqa n.m. **nose**

poxa n.m. **shade**

pqara, pqarta n.f. **neck**

pšiḷa adj. (< *pšira*) **melted** | *kăré pšiḷà*᠊ melted butter (B:41)

ptara n.f. (pl. *ptare*) **stand for a cooking pot**

ptiḷa n.f. (pl. *ptiḷe*) **wick**

puče n.f. (K) **open hand**

puḷ, puḷe n.pl. (P) **money** | *ʾaná pùḷ kə́wna ba-ʾilóx*⌐ I shall put money into your hand (A:104); *xánči puḷé pas-andə́z wilìwale*⌐ He had saved some money (D:12)

puše n.pl. **straw, straw matting (put on roof beams)**

put n.f. (pl. *pute*) (K) **can, container** | *put ḥǎlǎbi* tin can; *buškḗ ʾəsrí putè*⌐ barrels of twenty cans (in capacity) (B:6)

pyaḷa n.f. (pl. *pyaḷe*) (K) **glass**

/q/

qabla adv. **formerly, in the past**

qablǎma n.m. (*qablǎme*) (P) **saucepan**

qǎbul adj. invar. (P < A) **accepted** | *taʿnitóx hǎwé qǎbùl*⌐ May your fast be accepted (B:54); *qǎbul ʾwl* to accept, to agree | *čún tate-ú da-ǎkǎkè*⌐ *kəmríwa ʾéa ʿastè-ya?*⌐ *bronǎkḗ-č qǎbùl kólwa* When the father and mother say 'Is she good?', the boy accepts (A:2). *qǎbul hit-* to accept, to agree | *hár-či ʾə́t kəmrát qǎbùl hití*⌐ Everything you say, I agree (to do) (A:18)

qača-šale (K) n.f. **crippled leg (name of game)** | In this game there were two opposing sides (*dǎse*) who attempted to touch each other while hopping: *qača-šalè kolí*⌐ They are playing the 'crippled leg' game

qǎdǎġan adj. invar. (P) **forbidden**

qafəla n.f. (P < A) **convoy; caravan**

qala n.m. (pl. *qale*) **voice, sound** | *híč qalá lá šmìli*⌐ I did not hear a sound; *híyena qalè*⌐ I started to speak; *xét là čér šǎmə́š*⌐ *ga-pəlgá-e lelè*⌐ *qalé sliḥót ga-hár-či belè*⌐ The beadle no longer goes around in the middle of the night to call to every house '(Come to) penitential prayers!' (E:38)

qaləb n.m. (P < A) **frame; (dead) body** | *kū́le šatá ba-ləbá bǎsimà-u*⌐ *qáləb sə̀q doqéte*⌐ May you keep it (the fast) every year with a good heart and a healthy body (B:54)

qăləmta n.f. (pl. *qalme*) **louse**

qălože n.pl. (sing. *qăložta*) (K) **rubber shoes; galoshes**

qalpa n.m. **peel, crust** | *qalpa ləxma* crust of bread

qălula adj. (fs. *qălulta*, pl. *qălule*) **light; easy** | *ḥašta qălulta* easy work

qalya n.m. **cooked meat and fat preserved for winter**

qaḷi n.f. (pl. *qaḷiye*) (K/P) **carpet**

qắme, qam prep. (with suffixes: *qắmef*) **before (spatial and temporal); in front of.** adv. **forward.** conj. **before (temporal); because** | *qắme xəmá-u xmalá ya-ʾăxóne dasgiranáf hiyá waryà* She was shy to come out before her father-in-law and mother-in-law or the brother of her betrothed (A:4); *bár tmanyá yomé lelè réša šatá kyáwa qắme* After eight days New Year's Eve came before (us) (B:30); *qam-tăra, ga-qam-tăra* in front of the door, outside: *susyăké mən-sarbāzxané kméwale qam-tărà* He would bring the horse from the barracks to the door (A:16); *tíw ga-qam-tărà-u* He sat outside (D:6). Adverb: *ḷaḷà kménwa qắme* Then they brought forward the lungs (of the sheep) (B:68); *ṣomá-e šadì mandéxile qắme* We put forward (to a day earlier) the fast of joy (B:73); *ʾáy-əč ke-qắme* He comes forward (B:81). Clausal conjunction: *ʾáy hawšá qənšáwali qắme ke-hèt* I swept the yard before you came; *qắme d-éa ʾay-bráta daăkí hamrà* before my mother told (me about) this girl … (A:8). Causal: *hìč-kas da'wắtí lá wile-ò wa-là kắena m-qám d-éa ʾanà pərčè lití, kăčăl-yena yá šəmà lití ʾexá* I held a party and nobody invited me back. I don't know whether it was because I do not have any hair and am bald, or whether I am not well known and so forth. (D:10). *qắme-o* adv. beforehand; forwards | *qắme-o kòl* He moves forward. Combined with *mən-/m-*: *xá-'əda píle m-qằmaf xá-'əda píle m-bàraf* some positioned in front of her some behind her (A:46)

qamxa n.m. **flour**

qan, qand n.? (K/P) **stick of sugar** | *xa tika qan* a piece of sugar

qăna'at n.f. (K/P < A) **contentment** | — *ʾwl* to be content: *ba-d-áy zəndəgí rába qăna'àt kólwa* He was very content with this life (A:99)

qănušta n.f. (pl. *qănušye*) **broom**

qăpan n.f. (K) **large scales (for weighing)**

qapčān n.pl. (K) **small stones (used in game)**

qăra n.f. (pl. *qăre*) **gourd**

qărān n.? (P) **unit of currency (= 1/10 of toman)**

qăraula n.f. **rabbinic school** | *gezə́l qăraulà* He goes to a rabbinic school

qārče n.pl. (K) **mushrooms**

qarda n.f. **cold** | *qardà-yela* It (the weather) was cold

qărib adv. (P < A) **nearly, approximately** | *qărìb-e* *ʾalpà baté* approximately a thousand families (B:3)

qărira adj. (fs. *qărirta*, pl. *qărire*) **cool, cold** | *talga qărirta* cold snow

qarwa adj. invar. **near** | *qarwá-yelu bə̀xle* They were close to one another; *qárwa sətwà* close to winter (A:81); *qarwá pătiré ké xarwà* close to when Passover took place (B:15). With the *izafe* particle: *məšnayotè qărénwa-u* *zohàr qărénwa* *ta-qarwá-e yomà* They would read the Mishnayot and they would read the Zohar, until near dawn (B:79); *hiyén ba-qarwì* They have come near to me. *qarwa x∅r* to approach, to get near

qaryana n.m. (pl. *qaryane*) **reader.** adj. (fs. *qaryanta*, pl. *qaryane*) **learned**

qaspa n.f. (pl. *qaspe*) (K) **date**

qăṣāb n.m. (P < A) **butcher**

qăṣābxana n.f. (P) **butcher's shop**

qăšang adv. (P) **beautifully** | *ʾay-susí qăšáng marzənwale-ò* He decorated the horse beautifully (A:43)

qat n.f. (pl. *qăte*) (K) **wooden bed**

qatər n.m. (P) **mule**

qaṭra n.f. (pl. *qaṭre*) (P < A) **drop** | *qaṭra mae* a drop of water

qaṭu n.f (*qaṭuwe*) **cat**

qawa n.f. **coffee**

qaway adj. invar. (K < A) **brown**

qawe quye n.f. (K) **twittering; chattering**

qawm n.m. (pl. *qawme*) (K/P < A) **family; relatives; people** | *qawm-u kare* relatives, the extended family; *čírna ba-šòneˈ qáwm-u ʾašnàeˈ* I searched for family and friends (E:22)

qawme → qome

qawurma n.m. (K < T) **cooked meat preserved in a pot**

qayči n.m. (pl. *qayčye*) (K) **scissors; shears** | *ʾamrá ʾərbá ba-qayč̌ì qeṣíleˈ* They cut the wool of a sheep with shears

qaymi adj. invar. (K/P < A) **ancient**

qaysuron n.f. (pl. *qaysurone*) (K) **dish made of apricot**

qeṭa n.m. **Summer**

qəna (i) n.f. (pl. *qəne*) **kernel**

qəna (ii) n.m. (K) **goldsmith**

qənč̌əkla n.f. (pl. *qənč̌əkle*) (K) **little finger**

qənya adj. (fs. *qnita*, pl. *qənye*) **blue; turquoise** | *šəme qənye* blue sky

qərč̌a n.f. (pl. *qərč̌e*) (K) **spark; burning heat** | *qərč̌á-e qeṭá* the burning heat of summer (E:53)

qərʿina adj. (fs. *qərʿinta*, pl. *qərʿine*) **mouldy**

qəṭa n.m. (pl. *qəṭe*) **piece**

qəṭma n.m./f. **ash**

qəṭra n.m. (pl. *qəṭre*) **knot** | *qəṭra qoḷa* elbow

qəwta n.f. (K < A) **strength** | *ba-qəwta* strong; *mare qəwta* strong; *be-qəwta* weak

qfəl n.m. (pl. *qəfle*) (P/K < A) **lock** | *wá ʾsirén knišyèˈ ba-qfə́l-u zanjìrˈ* Look the synagogues are closed with lock and chain (E:37)

qira n.f. (K/P < A) **tar**

qiz (K) : — *qizì dä́e bə́xleˈ* It disgusts me

qlăpi adj. invar. (K) **bare (foot)** | *b-aqla qlăpi* barefoot; *ʾaqlá qlăpì gezíwa-o belá*| They would go home barefoot (B:46)

qlila n.f. (pl. *qlile*) **key**

qliwa adj. (fs. *qliwta*, pl. *qliwe*) **cleaned, clean** | *šišmé lá qliwè*| uncleaned sesame (B:27)

qolaweš n.f. (K) **stick for extracting bread from the oven**

qoḷa n.f. (K) **upper arm**

qóme, qáwme adv. **tomorrow; the next day**

qoqa n.f. (pl. *qoqe*) **pot** | used for storing water, yoghurt or meat fat; *qoqé gəlì* earthenware pots (B:24)

qora n.f. (pl. *qore, qorane*) **grave**

qorbān n.m. (P < A) **sacrifice** | *xá-yoma qằme roš-ha-šaná*| *ʾaǧlắb-e batè*| *ʾərbá dabḥìwa-o báqa qorbắn*| One day before New Year, most families slaughtered a sheep as a sacrifice (B:66). Expression of respect: *ʾaxní qorbằn*| We are (your) sacrifice (B:81)

qori n.f. (pl. *qoriye*) (K/P) **teapot**

qorqorata n.f. **Adam's apple**

qot n.f. (pl. *qote*) (P) **jacket**

qrawa n.m. **war**

qrixa adj. (fs. *qrixta*, pl. *qrixe*) **covered in a white coating** | *ʾéa là xárwa ʾo-lá qrixá hăwè*| It (a vessel at Passover) could not be unwhitened (B:19)

qṭila adj. (fs. *qṭilta*, pl. *qṭile*) **killed; beaten**

qudra, qudrat n.m. (K/P < A) **power** | *ràba qudréf xirlále*| He has become very powerful (A:108)

quḷ (K) adj. invar. **deep**

qulăqu (K) : — *ʾwl* **to bubble up (liquid)** | *máe qulăqú kolí mən-ʾărà*| The water is bubbling up out of the ground

qulaša n.f. (pl. *qulaše*) (K) **earlobe**

qulba n.f. (pl. *qulbe*) **bracelet**

qurbaqa n.f. (pl. *qurbaqe*) (P) **frog**

qurs adj. invar. (K) **heavy**

quṭa n.f. (pl. *quṭe*) **vagina**

qyamta n.f. **resurrection** | *pešát ta-qyamtà˺ ga-ləbé-u xaṭərè˺* so that you remain for ever (literally: until the resurrection) in hearts and minds (E:72)

/r/

rab n.m. invar. (H) **rabbi**

rába mod./adv. **many, much** (§8.9.4.) | *rába náše daʿwàt kolíwa˺* They would invite many people (A:75); *duktərè rába hítwalan˺* We had many doctors (A:69). With pronominal suffix: *rábau parča-fròš-yelu˺* Most of them were cloth-sellers (A:69). Intensifier: *xa-bratá mətwali-ó baqòx˺ rába zărìf,˺ rába ʿayztà˺* I have arranged a girl for you, very pretty, very nice (A:6)

rad (P) : — *x∅r* **to pass** | *ʾáy-u xăləstáf rád xărì˺* She and her sister pass by (A:17); *mən-d-áy jogá máe ràd xúr!˺* Cross this stream of water!

răduxa adj. (fs. *răduxta*, pl. *răduxe*) **boiling** | *mae răduxe* boiling water

rahnamai (P) : — *ʾwl* **to guide, to direct** | *rahnamaí wìle-u,˺ míre sé flán t^wkà˺* He guided him and said 'Go to such-and-such a place' (D:11)

raḥat adj. invar. (P < A) **at ease** | *huláe ga-lăxá gbe-raḥàt hăwén˺* The Jews here must be at ease (B:85)

rajəʾ ba-, ba-rajəʾ ba- (P < A) part. **relating to, concerning** | *rajə́ʾ ba-ḥăná-č là-ḥqelan˺* We have not talked about hennah (A:38)

răkixa adj. (fs. *răkixta*, pl. *răkixe*) **soft**

rana n.m. (pl. *rane*) (K) **thigh**

rang n.m. (pl. *range*) (K/P) **colour**

rangana adj. (fs. *ranganta*, pl. *rangane*) (K/P) **colourful**

raq adj. invar. (K) **stiff** | *ləxmá koliwale-ò,˺ šaṭxiwale-ò,˺ ráq xàrwa˺ ta-léle pătirè˺* They opened out and spread out the bread, and it (dried and) became stiff (and was kept like this) until the eve of Passover (A:67)

răqata n.f. (pl. *răqate*) **patch (of fabric)** | *ṣurí bzitè-ya,*⸱ *ʾaná gbéna răqatà dăénaf*⸱ My shirt has a hole in it, I want to put a patch on it

rās n.m. (K/P) **truth** | *ràs miré*⸱ He spoke the truth (E:75)

răsala n.f. (pl. *răsale*) (P) **article, epistle**

rasi part. (K/P) **in truth, in fact**

rasm n.m./f. (P < A) **custom, practice** | *rásm ga-doká ʾăxà-yele*⸱ The custom there was like this (A:9); *rásm ba-d-áy jorà-yela*⸱ The custom was like this (A:9)

rasmi adj. invar. (P < A) **official, legal**

răwān adj. invar. (K) **flowing, moving** | *xa-jogá máe răwằn hawyáwa*⸱ a stream that was flowing water (B:70)

răwana (P): — *x∅r* **to set off**

raxt-šuri n.f. (P) **laundry; washing** | *măšin-e raxt-šuri* washing-machine

raʿyăte n.pl. (P < A) **subjects, citizens**

rāz n.m. (pl. *raze*) (P) **secret**

raza n.f. (K) **story**

razi adj. invar. (P < A) **satisfied, content**

rdixa adj. (fs. *rdixta*, pl. *rdixe*) **boiled** | *máe rdixe* boiled water

rek adj. invar. (K) **right, straight** | *rek ʾwl* to make straight

reša n.m. (pl. *reše*) **head; top; surface** | *reší mărèli*⸱ I have a head-ache; *ba-rešòx!*⸱ (I swear) by your head! (= It is really so!) (B:63); *ba-rešèf diyá-y*⸱ He is queer in the head (E:26); *ʾất ba-rešòx diyá-y?!* Are you mad?! *xà-xmata dyálu ga-ʿăsắbe bar-reší-u*⸱ They injected a needle in the nerves behind my neck (C:2); *tămắm-e réša səfrá zamṭíwa mən-d-ay-jóra məndixàne*⸱ They filled the whole surface of the cloth with such things (A:65); *reša ʾaqla* top of the foot; *reš-šata* New Year; *ba-reš-o* at first; *mən-d-ay reš-o* again: *mən-d-áy reš-ó ken-ò,*⸱ *ʾonyexáe təqnú lá pešà*⸱ When I come back again, the beard of those people must not remain (unshaven) (B:81); *reša d∅y* to visit, to make a tour: *mən-doká xa-rešá madrăsà dắexin*⸱ From there we make a tour of the school

reša, reš prep. **upon; to, for; about.** (1) **upon** | *rešá ʾărà* on the ground (A:56); *rešá susì* on horseback (A:70). (2) **to, for** | *qímna zína reš-Tarắn* I set off and went to Tehran (A:27). (3) **about** | *tatí yătùwa* *ʾəlhá mănixà dāstắn ḥăqéwa baqàn* … *reš-Šlómo ha-mèlex* My father, may he rest in peace, would sit and tell us a story … about King Solomon. (4) Combined with other prepositions: *báqa réša ḥaštì* for my work (A:27). *hár-či ʾất kəmràt ʾána mătúna ba-réš ʾenì* Whatever you say, I am willing to do (literally: I shall put on my eye) (A:18); *léle reš-šatá xa-səfrá šăwénwa rŭwà, mən-d-ày-lag reš-ay-belá ta-reš-o-belá* On New Year's Eve we spread out a large cloth, from this side, on this (side of) the house, to that (side of) the house (A:65)

reza mod. (K) **a little, a small amount** | *xa-rezá ləxmá-u guptá šăqə́l báqa yalèf-u* He buys a little bread and cheese for his children (A:102); *xa-rezá tomè năténa* I shall take a few seeds

rəpya adj. (fs. *rpita*, pl. *rəpye*) **thin (liquid)**

rəzza n.m. **rice** | *rəzza yăruqa* green rice (containing vegetables), *rəzza smoqa* red rice (containing tomatoes)

rixa n.m. **smell**

riza adj. (fs. *rista*, pl. *rize*) **angry** | *mən-nòšef rizá-y* He is angry with himself

roḷa interj. (K) **my dear (said to small child)** | *roḷa gyān* my dear

rošan adj. invar. (P) **bright, clear** | *bar-ʿaléh-e dìn wắle là-ʾəbya-y róšan hole-ò* He was against religion but he did not want to make it explicit (B:82); *šáyad b-áy jorà ləbí xár ròšan* Perhaps in this way my heart would become bright (= joyful) (E:25)

rota n.f. **Friday**

roxa n.f. **wind**

roxana n.f. (pl. *roxane*) (K) **river**

ršəfta n.f. (P < A) **bribe**

rŭwa adj. (fs. *rabta*, pl. *rŭwe*) **big.** n.m. (pl. *rŭwane*) **dignitary; important person**

rŭwana n.m. **the Almighty (God)** | *ʾamre rŭwana* the commands of the Almighty

rŭwanula n.f. **greatness**

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řag n.m. (pl. *řage*) (K) **artery, vein**

řewi n.m. (K) **fox, fox fur**

řex n.f. (pl. *řexe*) (K) **smooth stone (in stream)**

řut adj. invar. (K) **naked**

/s/

saʿat, saʿăta n.f. (pl. *saʿăte*) (K/P < A) **hour** | *saʿát čəkmè-ya?*⸢ What time is it?; *saʿát xè-ya*⸢ It is one o'clock; *saʿát trè-ya*⸢ It is two o'clock; *saʿát tré-u pəlgè-ya*⸢ It is half past two; *ta-saʿằt-e*⸢ *tresàr lelé*⸢ until twelve o'clock at night (D:6)

saʿlab n.f. (P < A) **fox, fox fur**

săbăta n.f. (pl. *săbăta*) (P) **bag, basket**

sada adj. invar. (P) **simple**

saer n.? (P < A) **remainder, rest** | *hulaé ʾáḥra Sanandằj,*⸢ *mangól hulaé sáer-e tʷké xèt,*⸢ *ʾelăwaè*⸢ *doqìwalu kŭlé*⸢ The Jews of the town of Sanandaj, like the Jews of other places, observed all the festivals. (B:13)

săfāl n.? (P) **earthenware**

săfali adj. invar. (P) **made of earthenware**

sahra n.f. (pl. *sahre*) (P < A) **field, plain** | *gezíwa báqa sahrà*⸢ They would go to the fields (B:31)

sāj n.m. (pl. *saje*) (K/P < A) **griddle**

saji adj. invar. (K/P < A) **of the griddle** | *ləxma saji* bread made on the griddle

sakənin n.pl. (P < A) **inhabitants; congregation**

sala n.m. (pl. *sale*) **witness**

sălāt n.f./adv. (P/K < A) **early morning (before sunrise); early** | *ḥăqéx məntằkax* *mən-sălā́t ta-lelè* We shall talk to you from early morning until night (E:67); *bəqắta sălāt* early in the morning

salmani n.m. (P) **barber**

salula n.f. **testimony**

samar (P < A) : — *hwl* **to produce fruit**

sanandaji n./adj. invar. **from Sanandaj**

sanˁat, sanˁeta n.f. (P < A) **profession, craft**

sandali n.f. (pl. *sandaliye*) (P) **chair**

sangăki n.f. (pl. *sangakye*) (K) **loaf of bread**

sangfănak n.f. (pl. *sangfănăke*) (K) **flint (used to ignite fires)**

santănur n.f. (pl. *santănure*) (K) **kitchen**

săpa n.f. (pl. *săpe*) **slice (of bread), small sandwich** | *xá săpà dúq baqí* Make me a sandwich

sāq adj. invar. (K < T) **healthy; cleansed of sin** | *kűle šatá ba-ləbá băsimà-u* *qáləb sằq doqéte* May you keep it (the fast) every year with a good heart and a healthy body (B:54); *ʾéa kwíwalu báqa făqiré saqè* They gave them (the cocks) to the poor to cleanse from sin (B:71); *ʾaná xárna saqòx* Let me be (the means of) cleansing your sin (expression of respect)

saqa n.m. **shin; trunk** | *saqa ʾila* bone of arm; *saqa ʾilana* the trunk of a tree

săqata n.f. **offal of cow** | *yaxni săqata* beef soup (made from offal)

săqəzi n./adj. invar. **from Săqəz**

saqf n.m. (pl. *saqfe*) (P < A) **ceiling**

sărand n.f. (K) **large sieve (for sieving earth)**

sarbāz n.m. (pl. *sarbaze*) (P) **soldier**

sarbāzxane n.f. (P) **barracks**

sărina n.f. (pl. *sărine*) (K) **cushion; pillow**

sarwatmand adj. invar. (P) **rich**

saṭla n.m. (pl. *saṭle*) (K/P < A) **bucket, can**

sawzi n.m. (K) **vegetable, herb** | *sawzi jad* mixed herbs

saxti n.m. (P) **difficulty, hardship**

saxtmani n.m. (P) **construction** | *wăsáʾel-e saxtmanì zăbə́nwa*ˡ He would sell building materials (A:7)

sayər n.f. (pl. *sayəre*) (K) **picnic** | *gezíwa sàyər*ˡ They would go on a picnic (B:35)

sāz n.f. (K) **stringed musical instrument**

sebzămini n.f. (pl. *sebzăminye*) (P) **potato**

sefar n.m. (H) **Torah scroll** | *kű́le zíli băraxá sefár mirù*ˡ Everybody went and said the blessing on the Torah (A:53)

sema n.m. **silver**

semana adj. (fs. *semanta*, pl. *semane*) **made of silver**

sera n.f. **moon**

seta n.f. **sister of husband**

səfra n.m. (K) **cloth spread on ground on which food was eaten** | *léle reš-šatá xa-səfrá šăwénwa rŭwà*ˡ On New Year's Eve we spread out a large cloth (A:65)

səft adj. invar. (P) **hard**

səḥya adj. (fs. *ṣḥita*, pl. *səḥye*) **thirsty**

səḥyanula n.f. **thirst**

səkḷa n.m., *skəḷta* n.f. (pl. *səkḷe*) **hiccup** | *səkḷe/skəḷta d∅y* to hiccup

səlsəla n.f. (P < A) **dynasty** | *səlsəlá-e ʾaxamanešì* the Achaemenid dynasty (B:1)

səmbeḷe n.pl. (K) **moustache**

sən, səna n.m. (P < A) **age** | *xor-səní rába là-yele*ˡ I was still not very old (A:5); *ʾătá g-áy səná didòx*ˡ *ké xirèt*ˡ *ʾəsrí šənè*ˡ *ʾəsrí-u xamšá šənè,*ˡ *dàx kélox ḥaštá yalpét?*ˡ Now at the age that you are, twenty years old, twenty-five years old, how can you learn a job? (D:21)

sənga n.m. (pl. *sənge*) (K) **chest** | *gbéwa xa-párča zayrá dăén ba-lăxàu b-lá̆ səǹgù* They had to put a patch of yellow on their (body) here, on their chest (A:78)

səpla n.m. (pl. *səple*) **edge** | *səpla gare* the edge of the roof; *səpla darya* the coast of the sea

sətwa n.m. **Winter**

sim n.m. (P) **wire**

simorġ n.f. (pl. *simorġe*) (P/K) **mythical giant bird**

sirāj n.f. (K) **cheese left after churning yoghurt**

sisərka n.f. (pl. *sisərke*) (K) **cricket, locust**

sita n.f. (pl. *siye*) **span of the hand**

six n.f. (pl. *sixe*) (P) **skewer**

skəlta → *səkla*

skira adj. (f. *skirta*, pl. *skire*) **drunk, inebriated**

skita n.f. (pl. *skiye*) **knife**

slaḥ (K < A) : — *ʾwl* **to shave**

slām n.m. (K/P < A) **greetings** | *slā̀m maždrílox* They send their greetings to you

smoqa adj. (fs. *smoqta*, pl. *smoqe*) **red** | *rəzza smoqa* red rice (cooked with tomatoes)

sopa n.f. (pl. *sope*) (K) **stove**

spalta n.f. (pl. *spale*) **lip**

sqəlta n.f. (pl. *sqəlye*) **ring**

srota n.f. (pl. *srote*) **ladle**

sta n.f. (pl. *ste*) **wooden mortar**

stača n.f. (pl. *stače*) (K) **sheet** | *bəqătà-č gbé paxasù hezà ʾay-stačé bă̆kă̆rằt-e d-ay-kaldà lablálu báqa tata-u-daăkà* In the morning the 'woman inspector' had to go and take the 'sheets of virginity' of the bride to the father and mother (A:50)

stun n.m. (pl. *stune*) (P) **pillar**

suja n.f. (pl. *sujae*) (K < A) **mat**

sunni adj. invar. (P < A) **Sunnite**

suraa n.m./adj. *suralta* n.f./adj. (pl. *surae*) **Christian**

susi n.m. (pl. *susiye*) **horse**

swaqta n.f. **permission, consent**

sʷka (i) n.m. (pl. *sʷke*) **knitting needle**

sʷka (ii) n.f. (H) **booth (at the festival of Tabernacles)**

syamta n.f. (pl. *syame*) **shoe** | *syame tarṣana* maker of shoes

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ṣāf adj. inv. (P) **smooth** | *lešá ṣā́f kolíwale ba-gerà*ˈ They made the
dough smooth with a rolling pin

ṣalma n.m. (pl. *ṣalme*) **face** | *ṣalmè doqáwa*ˈ She was shy (A4); *ṣalmé
lìtwala*ˈ *qā́me xəmá-u xmalá ya-ʾăxóne dasgiranáf hiyá waryà*ˈ She
was shy to come out before her father-in-law and mother-in-law
or the brother of her betrothed (A:4); *ṣalmáf tarṣàle*ˈ She is making
up her face; *ṣalma plixa* aggressive

ṣălolta n.f. (pl. *ṣălole*) **prayer** | *ṣăloltà ṣălé*ˈ He is praying

ṣaʕṣuwaʕ n.m. (pl. *ṣaʕṣuʕim*) (H) **delight**

ṣiġa n.f. (P) **temporary wife, concubine**

ṣiwa n.m. (pl. *ṣiwe*) **wood, piece of wood** | *tănurăké ba-ṣiwè malqíwala*ˈ
They heated the oven with wood (A:67)

ṣoma n.m. **fast** | *hulàe*ˈ *rŭwé ta-zorè*ˈ *kŭ́le ṣomá doqìwa*ˈ The Jews, old
and young, all kept the fast (B:53); *nawád dar-sáde hulaé ṣomà-
yelu*ˈ Ninety percent of the Jews fasted (B:44)

ṣorer n.m./adj. invar. (H) **enemy (of Jews); hostile (to Jews)** |
*ʾənyexáe ʾəqrá ṣorèr-yelu mălé!*ˈ They were so hostile (to the Jews)
that God said 'That is enough!' (A:77)

ṣura n.f. (pl. *ṣurale, ṣurane, ṣurye, ṣure*) **shirt**

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šăbát n.f. (H) Saturday

šăbăta n.f. (K) **bunch** | *šăbăta băṣire* a bunch of grapes

šăbuba n.m. (K) **pipe, flute** | *šăbubà dắenwale*⌐ They played the pipe (A:35)

šadi n.m. (P) **joy** | *ṣomá-e šadì*⌐ a fast of joy (B:73)

šagərd n.m. (P) **servant**

šāh n.m. (P) **king**

šahi n.m. (P) **coin; penny** | *wắle báqa didì*⌐ *wŭjud-dídi xa-šahì lá šăwé*⌐ But as far as I was concerned, my life was not worth a penny (in Iran) (C:12)

šăḥarit n.f. (H) **morning prayer**

šahrbani n.? (P) **police**

šăkar n.m. **sugar**

šal adj. invar. (K) **crippled** | *ʾaqléf šàl-ya*⌐ His leg is crippled

šala n.f. **fever**

šălomi n.m. (H + K) **safety; good health** | *šălomí lə̀ma hiyet-ó?*⌐ When did you return? (literally: When did you come back safely?)

šalšălăkān n.pl. (K) **hopping game (played at Passover)**

šalte (K) *xware* n.pl. **linen trousers**

šamᶜ n.f. (P < A) **candle**

šām n.m. (P) **dinner**

šămaka n.f. **palate**

šambalila n.m. (P) **fenugreek**

šămina adj. (fs. *šăminta*, pl. *šămine*) **fat**

šana (i) n.m. (pl. *šane*) (K) **shoulder** | *mɑ́ṭe reš-šaná-e šwaqtà*⌐ He ended up giving his consent (literally: He came to the shoulder of consent)

šana (ii) n.m. **coriander**

šaplulta n.f. **vegetable eaten at New Year**

šarbat n.m. (P < A) **sherbet**

šarḥ n.m. (P < A) **sermon; homily** | *šárḥ kwə́lwa báqa didàn*⌐ He gave us a sermon (B:52)

šăša n.f. (H) **party held on the sixth day after the birth of a child** | *šăšà doqíwa*⌐ They would hold a 'sixth day' party

šata n.f. (pl. *šəne, šatăwáe*) **year; birthday** | *šata qămaynta* last year, the previous year; *šatăxún brixtà hawyá*⌐ Happy New Year; *lele šata* celebration at the end of Passover (literally: the night of the year); *xá-šo qắme Purìm*⌐ *šatá Mošé Răbénu ʿalaw ha-šalòm-yela*⌐ A week before Purim was the birthday of Moses our Lord, peace be upon him (B:52); *šatăwáe wìri*⌐ The years passed (E:21)

šawnam n.m. (K) **fog**

šaxa n.m. (pl. *šaxe*) (P) **branch** | *šaxé ʾiláná palṭì*⌐ The branches of the tree are growing

šăxina adj. (fs. *šăxinta*, pl. *šăxine*) **hot, warm** | *mae šăxine* hot water

šáyad part. (P) **perhaps**

šer (i) n.m. (pl. *šere*) (P) **lion**

šer (ii) n.m. (pl. *šere*) (P) **water tap**

šet n./adj. invar. **madman; mad**

šeza n.f. (pl. *šeze*) **almond**

šəʾre n.pl. (P < A) **poems, poetry**

šəhe n.m. **neighing** | *susí šəhè kól*⌐ A horse neighs

šəlkena n.f. (pl. *šəlkene*) **small cake**

šəma n.m. (pl. *šəme*) **name** | *xa-šəmà-hite ga-tămắm-e Xáyfa*⌐ He is well known in the whole of Hayfa (C:14); *šəmà lití* I am not well known (D:10); *qăṣắb hítwalan b-šəmá ʾAziz-Xằn*⌐ We had a butcher by the name of Aziz-khan (A:74)

šəme pl. tantum **sky, heaven**

šəmša n.f. **sun**

šəmšer n.f. (pl. *šəmšere*) (K) **sword** | *ləbí jarḥanà ba-kā́rd-u šəmšèr* My heart is wounded with knife and sword (E:37)

šənda n.f. **sleep** | *šəndá pilté-ya ʾenèf* He has fallen asleep

šəra n.f. **navel**

šərma n.f. **buttocks**

šəršərota n.f. (pl. *šəršərote*) **lining of stomach of ruminant, tripe**

šəruʾ (P < A) : — *ʾwl* **to begin** | *šərúʾ kolíwa gəlà čăqénwa* They began to pick herbs (B:32); *zəndəgìef šərùʾ wilé* He began his life (= He happily ever after) (D:28); With *ba-*: *šərúʾ wíli ba-ḥaštà* I began work; *šərúʾ wíli ba-mewá ʾăxolè* I began to eat fruit; *šərúʾ wílu ba-yălopé hulaulà-u yălopé făransà-u ʿəbrì, fàrsi* They began to learn Judaism and to learn French, Hebrew and Persian (B:12)

šərwale n.pl. (K) **trousers**

šətqa adv. **last year**

šəxna n.m. **warmth, heat**

šḥora adj. (fs. *šḥorta*, pl. *šḥore*) (H) **black (character)** | *ʾáy baxtá komtá-u šḥortà!* That woman is the pits!

šiḷanta n.f. (pl. *šiḷane*) (K) **apricot**

šing n.f. (K) **edible herb**

šira n.m. **vegetable oil, syrop** (K) | burnt in lamps (*šrae*)

širini, širni n.f. (pl. *širinye*) (P) **sweets**

šiša n.f. (pl. *šiše*) (K) **bottle**

šišme n.pl. **sesame seeds** | *šišmé lá qliwè* uncleaned sesame (B:27)

šiwan n.f. (K) **weeping, wailing, mourning** | *lá šóqna baxyàt ba-šóne didàn yála bár daăkèf răšáx ba-šiwàn* I shall not let you weep (searching) after us (as) a child walks after his mother wailing (E:59); *našé tiwén ga-šiwàn* The people are sitting in mourning

škayta n.f. (pl. *škaye*) (K/P < A) **complaint** | *škaytá lábna ʾəlòx* ~ *škaytá kóna ʾəlòx* I shall make a complaint against you

škur (K < A) **thank you** | *ya-rắbi škùr* Thank you Oh Lord (B:47); *príqna mən-ḥaštăké ya-rắbi škùr!* I have finished the job, thank God! *dàx-yet?* *ṭòb-yena,* *škùr* How are you? I am well, thanks

šo n.m. (pl. *šoe*, absolute state of *šoa*) **week** | *ʾáy-šo xəmà kwé* This week will be hot; *xá-šo xét kéna lagòx* I shall come to you in a week's time

šoa num. **seven** | *šoắnan* seven of us; *šoau, šoawau* seven of them

šoasar num. **seventeen**

šofar n.m. (H) **ram's horn** | *qarwá-e yomà* *šofàr mănénwa baqán* Near dawn they would blow the shofar for us (B:38)

šoġḷ n.m. (pl. *šoġḷe*) (P < A) **job, profession** | *xa-ʾăxóna xètaf* *čắkma šoġlè hité* Another brother of hers has several jobs (A:6)

šoḥeṭ n.m. (H) **slaughterer**

šoi num. **seventy**

šolta n.f. **cough** | *šoltá híya baqì* I coughed (literally: A cough came to me)

šon- (K) : *ba-šon–* **in the footsteps of, behind, after** | *xa-nắfar-əč mangál nokàr,* *xa-sarbằz,* *lăpə́lwa ba-šonéf réša susí xèt* Somebody like a servant, a soldier, would, moreover, follow him on another horse. (A:16); *bar-xa-mŭdát-xet daắkí híya ba-šoní* After a while my mother came after me (A:27); *gezíwa ba-šon-ḥaštù* They went to get on with their work (B:69)

šrata n.f. (pl. *šrae*) **lamp**

štāḷwa n.f. (pl. *štāḷwe*) (K) **peach**

šukyale n.pl. (sing. *šukyalta*) **testicles**

šula n.f. **error, mistake** | *xá šulá là holét* Do not make a mistake

šura n.m. (K) **shame, scandal** | *ʾáyb-u šurà-y!* It is scandalous!

šŭluq n.f. (P) **riot, disorder** | *ba-wăsáṭ d-éa ʾorxá šŭlùq xirté-ya* *là-məhre šắre báqa Kurdəstằn,* *báqa Hamằn* On account of the fact that there were disturbances on the road, he (the Grand Vizier) did not dare send him to Kurdistan, to Hamadan (B:62)

šwaqta n.f. **permission**

šwawa n.m. (pl. *šwawe*) **neighbour**

šwawta n.f. (pl. *šwawye*) **neighbour (f.)**

šwawula n.f. **neighbourliness**

šwətya n.f. (pl. *šwətye*) (K) **watermelon**

šwila n.f. (pl. *šwile, šwəlye*) **bed, bedding**

/t/

ta- prep. (*ta d-o, ta-didan*) **to; for; until; at (time); object marker.** conj. **when, until.** (1) **to, for** | *táte-u daǎkè*ˈ *bì-zoa*ˈ *ʾəntəxǎb kolíwa*ˈ *mǎni*ˈ *gorí ta-bronù*ˈ The fathers and mothers would generally choose who they married to their son (A:2); *ʾay-bšəlmanè*ˈ *ke-xálwa zábni ta-didàn*ˈ those Muslims, who sell milk to us (A:64); *ta-ma?* why? (2) **until** | *péš ta-sətwà*ˈ so that it remains until winter (A:83); *ta-gezíwa be-kaldà*ˈ until they arrived at the house of the bride (A:10); *hǎméša xa-čačǎw ba-rešáf-yele*ˈ *yá lǎčǎgà ba-rešàf-yela,*ˈ *ta-zǎmán-e ke-ʾanà xlulá wilí*ˈ There was always a robe on her head or there was a veil on her head, until the time that I married (A:4). (3) **at, on, for (time)** | *ta-bə́qǎtef-o zina-ò*ˈ In the morning I went back (A:27); *yǎtúwa ta-saʿàtè*ˈ He would sit for hours (A:101); *ta-lóma ləbá hitóx baxtá gorèt?*ˈ When do you want to get married? (A:5), (4) **object marker** | *ʾəlhá šóqla ta-daǎkèf*ˈ May God preserve his mother (A:17). (5) **when** | *ta-ʾǎxá míre baqàf*ˈ *ʾáy ʾərqàla*ˈ When he said this to her, she fled (A:22)

taʿna n.m. (pl. *taʿne*) **load**

tǎbiʿi adj.invar. (P < A) **natural**

tabrik n.m. (P < A) **blessing, good wishes** | *tabrík kəmnáwa baqèf*ˈ I would convey to him good wishes (B:50)

tǎfawot n.m. (P < A) **difference** | *ba-tǎfawót-e našǎkè,*ˈ *čəkmá nǎfǎre-hítwalu xála ʾaxlì*ˈ according to the different (numbers) of people, how many people they had who eat the food (B:17); *máre belǎkè-č*ˈ *ba-tǎfawòt*ˈ *pùḷ kwólwa*ˈ *xá xamšà qǎrané,*ˈ *trè qǎrané*ˈ The householder would give money in varying amounts, five qarans, two qarans (B:51)

tafsir n.? (P < A) **translation of Bible** | *tafsír-e torà*ˈ *qrélan ga-kništà*ˈ We read the translation of the Torah in the synagogue (E:28)

tahdid n.? (P < A) **threat** | — ʾ*wl* to threaten

tahya n.? (P < A) :— ʾ*wl* **to prepare** | ʾ*ənyexáe ga-fkə́r kwénwa ké báqa pătiré má lazə́m-ye tahyà holí*| They considered what they should prepare for Passover (B:14)

ta-ḥayme n.f. (H) **cemetery**

tăḥela n.f. **spleen**

taḥsil n.m. (P < A) **studies** | ʾ*ə́t taḥsilóx timà-y*| Your studies are finished (A:27)

taḥwil n.? (P < A) **delivery** | Used adverbially after *hwl* to give: *kwə́lwale taḥwíl-e nanawakə̀r*| He handed it over to the baker (B:20)

tajər n.m. (pl. *tajəre*) (P < A) **merchant**

tăla n.f. (pl. *tăle*) (P) **mouse trap**

tálda adv. **two years ago**

talga n.f. **snow; ice**

tălila adj. (fs. *tălilta*, pl. *tălile*) **wet**

taltálda adv. **three years ago**

talxi n.m. (P) **bitterness, bitter hardship** | ʾ*anà*| *talxí grə̀šli*| I suffered bitter hardship (C:12)

talya n.m. (pl. *talye*) **trunk of an animal that is hung to dry** | *talyóx lá yăqə̀l!*| May you have a carefree life! (literally: May your trunk not burn!)

tá-ma part. **why?**

tămām mod. (P < A) **all** | *ga-tămə́m ʾay-haftà*| during all that week (A:63); *belăké gbé tămə́m tamíz holìle*| They had to make the house completely clean (A:57); *tămə́m-e mamlăkăté ke-xarə̀j m-Israyel-yén*| all the countries that are outside Israel (A:62); *g-o-mŭdə́t-e tămàmef*| during the whole of its period (A:64)

tămami adv. (P < A) **completely**

tămaša (K) : — ʾ*wl* **to look at, to watch** | *har-ʾăxá tămašà kolə́xwa*| We were just watching (A:12); *tămašá-e pərčàw wilí*| I looked at her hair

tămisi n.m. (K) **cleaning** | *ʾənšé-u gurè*⸾ *hár-kas hewalè*⸾ *ga-belá yătùwa*⸾ *tamisì dóqwa*⸾ Women and men, everybody who could, would stay in the house and do cleaning (A:57)

tămiz adj. invar. (K/P) **clean** | *belăké gbé tămắm tamíz holìle*⸾ They had to make the house really clean (A:57)

tanha part. (K) **alone; only** | *g-ó waxtằra-č*⸾ *tanhá xà ʿăkắs hítwa*⸾ *ʿáks nătéwa ga-Kursằn*⸾ At that time there was only one photographer who took photographs in Kurdistan (A:28)

taʿnit n.m. (H) **fast** | *taʿnitóx hăwé qăbùl*⸾ May your fast be accepted (B:54)

tănura n.f. (pl. *tănure*) **oven**

tănuri adj. invar. **of the oven** | *ləxma tănuri* bread made in the oven

tăpa n.f. (pl. *tăpe*) (K/P) **hill; peak of a mountain** | *tăpe-u ṭurane* hills and mountains

tăpolta n.f. **sneeze**

tăpoqa n.m. (pl. *tăpoqe*) (K) **top; summit** | *tăpoqa reša* top of the head; *tăpoqa ṭura* the summit of a mountain

tāq n.f. (pl. *taqe*) (K) **storage unit made of clay**

tăqala n.? (K) **attempt; exertion** | *našé rába tăqalà lá dăénwa*⸾ People did not exert themselves much (A:55)

tăqaḷ n.f. (pl. *tăqắḷe, taqle*) (K) **stitch** | *tăqắḷe găruse* big stitches; *Léya Léya maškě măyà,*⸾ *ga-tără ḥămắm tăqắḷé dăyà*⸾ Leya, Leya churns churns, she knits at the door of the baths

tăra n.m. (pl. *tăre, tărane*) **door; lid (of vessel)** | *qam-tăra* in front of the (house) door: *susyăké mən-sarbāzxané kméwale qam-tărà*⸾ He would bring the horse from the barracks to the door (A:16); *tăra qori* the lid of a teapot

tărazu n.f. (pl. *tărazue*) (P) **balance, scales**

taʿrif (P < A) : — *hwl* **to describe, to characterize** | *rába taʿrifèf hiwlá-u*⸾ She described him in glowing terms (D:25)

tarix n.? (P < A) **date, age** | *ʾonyexáe šáyad ga-ḥdúd-e tré-me-u xamšì šăné*⸾ *tarìx hítwalu*⸾ They are perhaps around two-hundred and fifty years old (B:58)

tarz n.? (P) **method, mode**

tarzăka n.f. (K) **hail**

tās n.f. (pl. *tase*) (K/P) **metal bowl**

tasbəḥ n.m. (K/P < A) **rosary**

tasis n.? (P < A) **foundation, establishment** | *hiyá-y báqa ʾIrắn báqa tasís-e madrăsá ʾaliắns*| He had come to Iran in order to found the school of the Alliance (B:61)

taṣmim (P < A) : — *dwq* **to decide** | *taṣmím dwə́qlu xlulá hóli baqèf*| They decided to arrange a wedding for him (D:27)

tăši n.m. (pl. *tašye*) (K) **spindle**

tašlix n.m. (H) **ceremony of throwing off sins (in water)**

tata n.m. (pl. *tate, tatăwale*) **father** | *tata rŭwa* grandfather; *ga-dokà*| *táte-u daăkè*| *bì-zoa*| *ʾəntəxằb kolíwa*| *mằni*| *gorí ta-bronù*| There, the parents would generally choose who they married to their son. (A:2); *ʾămantáe tatán-u tatăwalàn*| a trust given by our ancestors (E:30)

tatula n.f. **fatherhood**

tăwăjoh n.? (P < A) **attention; care** | *tăwăjòh farmnét?*| Are you paying attention? (B:65)

tăxăṣuṣ n.? (P < A) **specialism** | *dày-gyān*| *ʾəqrà*| *ʾə́lu*| *ʾanà*| *ga-lăxá tăxăṣùṣ lá qăréna*| Mother dear, you should know this, that I I shall not study a specialism here (C:3)

taxtaband n.f. (pl. *taxtabande*) (K) **wooden bed**

tayfa n.f. (P < A) **family; tribe**

taza adj. invar./adv. (K) **new, recent, fresh; recently; soon** | *pəsrá tazà*| fresh meat (A:73); *čŭn-ge tazá mən-txél talgá plíṭwa waryà*| *čăqénwa-u kmenwa-ó belà*| When it had just sprouted out of the snow, they would pick (it) and bring (it) home (B:32); *tazà*| *Bahràm*| *ʾaná b-ʾenì la-xắef*| I shall not see Bahram with my own eyes again soon (C:4)

tazyin n.? (P < A) **decoration**

telefon n.m. **telephone** | — *d∅y,* — *ʾwl* to telephone

tə́mal adv. **yesterday** | *tə́mal lele* last night

temona n.f. **wife of paternal uncle**

tex adv. **down, downwards, downstairs** | *kaldá kménwala tèx*⌐ We brought the bride down (A:46); *máe mən-lá‛el kénwa tèx*⌐ Water would come down from above (A:59). Combined with *mən*: *m-tex* below, from below. With the –*o* particle: *xá ṭăbằqa xèt-əč xirén*⌐ *bíš tex-ò*⌐ There was another, lower, class (B:6)

texana adj. (fs. *texanta*, pl. *texane*) **lower**

təf n.m. (K/P) **spittle** | — *ʾwl* to spit

təjarat n.f. (P < A) **trade, business** | *ʾonyexàe*⌐ *təjarát xírlalu məntắke xarə̀j*⌐ They had business abroad (B:6)

təla n.f. (pl. *təle*) **mulberry**

təlḥa num. **three** | *təlḥắnan* three of us; *təlḥau, təlḥawau* three of them

təlḥamin num. (fs. *təlḥaminta, təlḥmine*) **third**

təlḥasar num. **thirteen**

təlḥúšab n.m. **Tuesday**

təm‛a n.m. **taste; value** | *ba-təm‛a* tasty; *be-təm‛a* tasteless; *ḥašta ba-təm‛a* a good job

tən- → tərn-

təna n.f. **smoke**

təqna n.f. (pl. *təqnane*) **beard**

təqna-xwara n.m. (pl. *təqna-xware*) **old man** | *ʾağlằb-e*⌐ *təqna-xwarè*⌐ *ke-híč-mənu lá pišiwà*⌐ *kằewalu-o*⌐ He knew the majority of the old folk, none of whom were alive (by that time) (B:63)

tərn-, tən- num. **both, the two of** | *tə́rnan, tə́nan* the two of us

təšqəlta n.f. **problem**

tika n.f. (K) **piece** | *xa tika parča* a piece of cloth; *ʾarba tike ṣiwe* four pieces of wood; *ʾáy ʾărà*⌐ *xá-tikaf ʾaxtù ntúmu*⌐ *xá-tikaf ʾàxni*⌐ This land—one piece of it you take, one piece of it we (shall take) (C:5)

tir-ʾahān n.? (P) **metal beam**

tkəlta n.f. (pl. *təkle, tkəlye*) **trouser cord**

tman n.? (pl. *tmane*) (P) **toman (Iranian unit of currency)**

tmaʕni num. **eighty**

tmaʕnisar num. **eighteen**

tmanya num. **eight** | *tmanyắnan* eight of us; *tmanyau, tmanyawau* eight of them

tofān n.m. (P < A) **storm**

tolta n.f. (pl. *tole*) **worm**

tome n.pl. (sing. *tomta*) **nut kernels (eaten as snack)**

top n.f. (pl. *tope*) (K) **ball**

topawana n.f. (pl. *topawane*) (K) **stopper for a pot made of fabric**

toqa n.m. (pl. *toqe*) (K) **skin; peel, husk; crust of yoghurt; membrane;** | *toqa ʾili* the skin of my hand; *toqa pəsri šmiṭ* The skin of my flesh is broken

tor n.m. (P) **net** | *tór mătə́xwa ba-dáwre qát ké păšá lá hé loˤàˈ* We would put a net around the bed so that mosquitoes did not come inside

tora n.m. (pl. *tore*) **ox**

toranj n.m. (P) **etrog fruit**

toranjula → *băraxa toranjula*

toraq : *masta toraq* (K) **cream of yoghurt (made by draining off water)** → *toraqān*

toraqān n.f. (K) **skin for draining water from yoghurt**

torqa n.f. (pl. *torqe*) (K) **bag**

torta n.f. (pl. *torye*) **cow**

tošqa n.f. (K) **knapsack** | *tošqú ʾəsràluˈ* They tied up their knapsack (E:1)

toz n.m. (K) **dust** | *kə́mna ta-nəxlàˈ ba-rešàx nandéˈ tozá ğăribìˈ m-rešàx mandéˈ* I shall tell the rain to fall on your head and remove the foreign dust (i.e. dust gathered in foreign lands) from your head (E:51)

tqənta n.f. (pl. *təqnane*) **beard**

tre gyane adj. invar. **pregnant (literally: two souls)** | *baxta tre gyane* a pregnant woman

tre num. **two** | *trau, trawau* two of us

tremin num. (fs. *treminta*, pl. *tremine*) **second**

tresar num. **twelve**

trəšqa n.f. **loud bang** | *trəšqá pìlaˈ* a loud bang sounded (in sky)

triṣa adj. (fs. *triṣta*, pl. *triṣe*) **fulfilled, true** | *nwuá-e ha-nabí ba-triṣà pliṭáˈ* The prophecy of the prophet turned out to be true

trúšab n.m. **Monday**

tuḷa n.m. (pl. *tuḷe*) **twig, shoot** | used to build booth during festival of Tabernacles

tun n.f. (pl. *tune*) (P) **furnace of baths**

tuna n.m. **straw**

turki adj. invar. **Turkish**

twira adj. (fs. *twirta*, pl. *twire*) **broken**

tʷka n.f. (pl. *tʷke*) **place** | *ˀắgar kiló bi-zóa xăráwa mastăkè,ˈ là dărewal-ó tʷkàfˈ* If the yoghurt turned out to be more than a kilo, he did not pour it back in the place (it came from) (A:79); *tʷka tati* instead of my father; *kūlú nšúqlu ba-tʷkìˈ* Kiss them all for me (said when conveying greetings to absent people); *ˀiléf mən tʷkéf zìlaˈ* His arm was dislocated

tʷkana n.f. (pl. *tʷkane*) **shop**

txela, txel prep. **under** | *kaští ga-daryá píla txéla màeˈ* The ship in the sea sank under the water. Combined with *m-*: *xá-tʷká tarṣìwaˈ ké šẫh m-txéla d-éa ˀòrˈ ˀălé ˀéa hulàe trəṣté-yaˈ* They made a place (in such a way) that the Shah would pass under and know that the Jews made it (B:83). n.m. **bottom** | *ga-txelef* at its bottom; *kménwala ga-txéla ˀaqlùˈ* They applied it to the bottom of their feet (A:38)

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ṭăbaq n.m. (pl. *ṭăbăqe*) (P) **tray, platter**

ṭăbăqa n.f. (pl. ṭăbăqe) (P < A) **layer, class; storey (of house), floor** | *xá ṭăbăqà ̣ ḥăkimè xirén* One class consisted of doctors (B:4); *ʾonyé yá ṭăbăqá ʾăwaḷ-yelù* those who were the first class (B:5); *bănáe Kurdəstắn mən-təlḥá ṭăbăqé bi-zóa là tarṣíwa* The builders of Kurdistan did not build higher than three storeys (B:57)

ṭălăba n.? (pl. ṭălăbe) (P < A) **requesting (the hand of a woman in marriage); criticism** | *zilà-y ̣ ṭălăbá málka Šăbà* He went and sought the hand of the Queen of Sheba (A:97); *báxtef zíla ṭălăbè* His wife went and criticized (him) (A:102)

ṭălabkār n.m. (P) **creditor** | *puḷè ̣ ṭălabkắr kwiwale-ó baqù* They would give the money of the creditors back to them (B:9)

ṭăqa n.f. (P < A) **arch** | *ṭaqa noṣrat* arch of victory

ṭărăf : *mən-ṭărắf-e* (P < A) **on behalf of** | *mən-ṭărắf-e ʾaliǎns hiyéwa báqa Kurdəstắn* He had come to Kurdistan on behalf of the Alliance (B:58)

ṭărefa n.f. (H) **unkosher food** | *xắewa ʾay-ḥaywắn ké dabḥile-ò ̣ trefá là hăwé* He would see that the animal that they slaughtered was not unkosher (A:73)

ṭašt n.f. (P) **bowl** | *xa-ṭášt-e mesì* a copper bowl (B:19)

ṭaxona n.m. **mill**

ṭayfa n.m. (pl. ṭayfe) (P < A) **family, clan**

ṭəmya adj. (fs. ṭmita, pl. ṭəmye) **unclean**

ṭəpla n.f. (pl. ṭəple) **drop**

ṭəpra n.f. (pl. ṭəpre) **finger nail; toe nail**

ṭəyara n.f. (pl. ṭəyare) (P < A) **airplane**

ṭina n.m. **clay, mud**

ṭinana adj. (fs. ṭinanta, pl. ṭinane) **earthenware** | *qoqé ṭinanè* (B:23)

ṭlai num. **thirty**

ṭloxe n.pl. (sing. ṭloxta) **lentils (red and green)**

ṭota n.f. **goodness; profit.** adv. invar. **well** | *híyet ba-ṭotà, ̣ ṭotà híyet* You are welcome; *ṭotà hăwét, ̣ ṭotà hawyát, ̣ ṭotà hăwétun* Goodbye! *ba-ṭotà yatwét* I hope you will be well; *ṭotà kóna* I am earning

well, I am making a profit; *ṭotà mélox baqán*⌐ You have brought us goodness; *nəxlá năxə́l ba-ṭotà*⌐ It is raining heavily

ṭriqa adj. (fs. *ṭriqta,* pl. *ṭriqe*) **locked together** | *laplí reš-ʾărá ba-ʾaqlé ṭriqè*⌐ They fall on the ground with legs locked together

ṭul (P < A) : — *grš* **to pass (time)** | *xa-mŭdát-e trè-yarxe,*⌐ *təlḥà yarxé ṭùl gărəšwá*⌐ A period of two months or three months would pass (A:30)

ṭura n.f. (pl. *ṭure, ṭurane*) **mountain**

/**v**/

vialon n.f. **violin**

/**w**/

wa part. **look! (presentative particle)** | *wá ʾòa*⌐ There he is; *wá ʾoà-y*⌐ Look it is him; *wá ʾó răxə̀š*⌐ Look he is walking

wắle part. (P < A) **but**

wān n.f. (P) **bath**

wănătăqa n.f. (pl. *wănătăqe*) (K) **herb put in yoghurt**

warəd (P < A) : — *x∅r* **to enter** | *yăwằš*⌐ *yăwằš*⌐ *warə̀d xír-u*⌐ *wa-našé ʾəlilu-ò-ʾəlef*⌐ Gradually he entered (their social circle) and the people got to know him (D:16)

warya adv. **outside** | *ṣalmé lìtwala*⌐ *qắme xəmá-u xmalá ya-ʾaxóne dasgi-ranáf hiyá waryà*⌐ She was shy to come out before her father-in-law and mother-in-law or the brother of her betrothed (A:4); *lá ké mənáf wàrya*⌐ Nothing comes of it

wăsaʾel n.pl. (P < A) **means, materials** | *wăsáʾel-e saxtmanì zắbánwa*⌐ He would sell building materials (A:7)

wăsaṭ n.? (P < A) **middle, means** | *ba-wăsaṭ* on account of: *ba-wăsáṭ d-éa ʾorxá šŭlùq xirté-ya*⌐ *là-məhre šắre báqa Kurdəstằn,*⌐ *báqa Hamằn*⌐ On account of the fact that there were disturbances on the road, he (the Grand Vizier) did not dare send him to Kurdistan, to Hamadan (B:62)

waxt n.? (K/P) **time.** conj. **when** | *waxtí parxànwa*� I almost flew. Clausal conjunction: *ʾaná wáxt-e xlulá wilì*⎜ *ga-Tarằn-yeli nóši*⎜ At the time that (= when) I married, I myself was in Tehran (A:5)

waxtăra n.? (pl. *waxtăre*) **time** | *ʾo-waxtắra* at that time, then: *ʾo-waxtắra Xanăká pìšwa*⎜ At that time Xanăka was alive (A:15); *xa-waxtăra* once: *xa-waxtắra ʾána ʾafsàr-yeli*⎜ Once I was an officer (A:15); *xašti waxtăre* a few times, sometimes

wazna n.f. (P < A) **weight (used on scales)**

weḷ (K) : — *ʾwl* **to cease, to stop; to abandon** | *ʾána ḥášta bánk wéḷ wilàli-u*⎜ I stopped working at the bank (A:24); *lišaní là kắena*⎜ *tamá wèḷ wilí*⎜ I do not know why I abandoned my language (E:45); *wéḷ lá wilàle*⎜ He did not let her go

werān adj. invar. (K) **destroyed** | *ba-yād-e d-eà-y ké*⎜ *bet-ha-məqdáš werằn xirté-ya*⎜ *ʾaxní là-xar šratá hăwélan*⎜ It was in memory of the fact that the Sanctuary had been destroyed, that we were not permitted to have a light (B:46)

wiša adj. (fs. *wišta*, pl. *wiše*) **dry**

wŭjud n.m. (P < A) **existence, life** | *wắle báqa didì*⎜ *wŭjud-dídi xa-šahì lá šăwé*⎜ But as far as I was concerned, my life was not worth a penny (in Iran) (C:12)

/x/

xa num. **one; a (indefinite article)** (§8.1.1.) | *xa-gorà hitwá*⎜ There was (once) a (certain) man (A:98); *xayan, xắnan* one of us. With *dana* expressing individuation (§8.1.3.): *xa-dána lắčăgá rabtá ba-rešàf-yela*⎜ A large veil was on her head (A:24)

xabra n.m. (pl. *xabrane*) (K < A) **word, speech** | *xábra ḥăqèn*⎜ They are speaking (A:109); *ʾaná xabrá ḥăqenox* I am speaking to you; *rešá pắloe-léf xabrú là dwáqlu*⎜ They did not agree regarding its division (amongst themselves)

xăfat n.m. (K) **sorrow, worry** | *xăfát mabṣór sălamătì*⎜ Worry reduces my peace of mind. — *ʾxl* to worry: *ʾằt*⎜ *xăfàt la-xúl*⎜ Do not worry (D:8)

xaiš (K) : — *ʾwl* **to request, to plead**

xăjaḷat n.f. (P < A) **shame** | *xăjaḷàt gărə́š*⌉ He is shy

xala n.m. **food** | *mən-ʾàṣref-o*⌉ *sáʿət xamšà bar-korá*⌉ *xalà kəxlíwa,*⌉ *xét là kəxlíwa*⌉ *har-tá qáwme lelè*⌉ That evening at five o'clock in the afternoon they would eat food, but did not eat again until the night of the next day (B:45); *ḥăḷăl-ye baqóx ga-béla huláa ʾaxlét xalà*⌉ It is permitted for you to eat food in the house of Jew (B:65)

xala adj. (fs. *xalta*, pl. *xale*) **new**

xăleta n.f. (pl. *xălete*) (K < A) **gift** | *xăleta ba-xlula labna* I shall take a gift for the wedding; *ga-dokà*⌉ *xăletèf holí*⌉ in order that they give him there his gift (A:51)

xăləsta n.f. (pl. *xăləsye*) **sister**

xălifanta n.f. (pl. *xălifane*) **picnic** | *xălifanè doqí*⌉ They hold picnics

xălopta n.f. **exchange**

xalwa n.m. **milk**

xāḷ n.m. (K < A) **mole (on skin)**

xaḷi (K < A) adj. invar. **empty (hand)** | *dirn-ó ʾilalí xaḷì*⌉ I returned empty handed

xamra n.m. **wine**

xamsar num. **fifteen**

xamša num. **five** | *xamšắnan* five of us; *xamšau, xamšawau* five of them

xamši num. **fifty**

xamšúšab n.m. **Thursday**

xămuṣa adj. (f. *xămuṣta*, pl. *xămuṣe*) **sour**

xămušta n.f. (pl. *xămušye*) **apple**

xan part. **a little, slightly** | *xán hól baqán báqa šráe ḥănukàe*⌉ Give us a little for the Hanukkah lamps (B:48)

xana n.f. **lap**

xanăwade, xanăwada n.f. (P) **family** | *mən-xanăwadè ʿayztá*⌉ from a good family (A:6); *gbéwa xá-ʿəda mən-náše pìre*⌉ *xanăwadà*⌉ *hezí baqà*⌉ *xosté xlulà*⌉ A few senior people of the family had to go to request the marriage (A:30)

xanči mod. and adv. **a little, some** | *xánči ʾaràq šăténwa*⌋ They drank some arak (A:10); *ga-doká xánči naqlìwa-u*⌋ They danced there a little (A:52)

xărāb adj. invar. **bad** | *zəndəgiú xărā́b là-yele*⌋ Their life was not bad

xăráe adv. **afterwards; in the end** | *bár-d-o xăráe* then, afterwards

xărazi-froš n.m. (P < A) **haberdasher**

xắre adv. **back, backwards; behind; afterwards** | *ṣomá-e ʿăzà*⌋ *mandéxile xằre*⌋ We put back the fast of mourning (to the following day) (B:73); *ba-là lapléx xắre*⌋ Let us not be left behind (E:2); *ʾanà xét*⌋ *mən-qóme-u xăré gbé hézna ḥaštà*⌋ From tomorrow onwards I have to go to work (D:23); *ba-xắre* at last, finally

xarəj n.m./adv. (K/P < A) **abroad** | *ʾonyexàe*⌋ *təjarát xírlalu məntắke xarə̀j*⌋ They had business abroad (B:6)

xarəji adj. invar. (K/P < A) **extraneous** | *yatwíwa ʾənšè*⌋ *dána ba-dána gắbènwale,*⌋ *lá-bada xá-mdi xarəjí gáef hăwè*⌋ The women would sit and sort it grain by grain, lest there be something extraneous in it (B:14)

xarj (K/P < A) : — *ʾwl* **to spend, to disburse (money)** | *xà-lele*⌋ *rába xàrj wíle*⌋ *rába xalà trə́ṣle*⌋ One night he spent a lot of money and made a lot of food (D:3)

xarman n.m. (P) **harvest** | *ga-réša xarmàn*⌋ at the time of the harvest (B:9)

xasta adj. invar. (P) **tired**

xāstgari n.? (P) **suit (for a bride), wooing** | *gbé hét xāstgarí lắ tatí-u daăkì*⌋ You must make your suit with my father and mother (D:18)

xaṣa n.m. (pl. *xaṣe*) **back** | *xaṣa ʾena* eyelid

xašti mod. **some, a few** | *xášti báte hìtwa*⌋ *tănurá-e ʿăla-ḥădá maxṣúṣ baqà*⌋ *pătirè hítwalu*⌋ There were a few families who had a separate oven especially for Passover (B:18)

xat n.m. (pl. *xăte*) (P < A) **line; handwriting** | *ba-xắt-e nòšef*⌋ in his own handwriting (A:48); *Daryúš rằs miré*⌋ *b-áy čəkmá xătè*⌋ Daryuš has spoken the truth in these few lines (E:75); *xăte ṣalma* lines of the face, wrinkles

xăṭăʾ n.m. (pl. *xăṭăʾe*) (P < A) **sin, fault**

xăṭar n.? (P < A) **danger**

xaṭər n.? (pl. *xaṭəre*) (P < A) **memory; mind** | *pešát ta-qyamtàˈ ga-ləbé-u xaṭərèˈ* so that you remain for ever (literally: until the resurrection) in hearts and minds (E:72). *ba-xaṭər* part. **for the sake of, because of** | *ʾó hăwá-e Kursāǹ-uˈ zəndəgí-e sadàˈ ba-xáṭər lăxàˈ məndélan xa-lagàˈ* That air of Kurdistan and its simple life we threw aside because of (our life) here (E:44)

xaṭrat n.? (pl. *xaṭrăte*) (P < A) **memory** | *xaṭrắte nóšef ḥqèle baqánˈ* He told us his memories (B:61)

xăzana, xăzena n.f. (pl. *xăzane, xăzene*) (P < A) **treasure; cistern of water**

xelapa n.f. **willow** | *ʾilané xelapá* willow trees (B:55)

xesar num. **eleven**

xet adj. invar. **other; again; discourse particle** | *bar-xa-mŭdát-xet* after a while (A:27); *xá yarxá xét baxtí maštxàˈ* My wife will give birth in another month; *xét lá zàrb dăélwa ʾəláf-uˈ* He no longer played on the drum (A:107); *xét là kəxlíwaˈ har-tá qóme lelèˈ* They did not eat again until the night of the next day (B:45); *xét galút màle!ˈ* Enough, no more, with exile! (E:2). When used as a discourse particle, it expresses boundary and prominence, often with an adversative sense: *là,ˈ xet-bronăké rəwyà-y,ˈ bratăké rwitè-ya-uˈ gbé xlulà holíˈ* No, but the boy is already grown-up, the girl is grown-up, they must marry (A:31)

xéta part. **filler used when the speaker is searching for a word**

xəlṭa n.f. **dregs, lees**

xəlya adj. (fs. *xlita/xəlta, xəlye*) **sweet**

xəlyanula n.f. **sweetness**

xəma (i) n.m. (pl. *xəme*) **father-in-law (pl. parents-in-law)** | *be-xəme* in-law family; *mən-belá xəmè,ˈ mən-belá xətnăkè,ˈ gezíwa ba-dohól ʾu-zorná mən-d-áy kují-u măḥălèˈ* From the house of the parents-in-law, the house of the groom, they went with drum and pipe through the lanes and streets (A:10)

xəma (ii) n.m. **heat** | *ʾə́zyo xəmà-y*⌐ Today it is hot; *ʾáy-šo xəmà kwé*⌐ This week will be hot

xəmya n.m. **yeast**

xəre pl. tantum **excrement**

xəška n.m. **darkness**

xəšt, xəšta n.f. (K) **baked mud brick**

xətna n.m. (pl. *xətne*) **groom (at wedding), son-in-law; husband of sister**

xiwa n.m. (pl. *xiwe*) **snake**

xiyabān n.f. (pl. *xiyabane*) (P) **road**

xiyāḷ n.m. (K/P < A) **thought(s), imagination** | *xéli hóš-u xyaḷí lága d-èele*⌐ My thoughts were indeed with him (C:7)

xiyarta n.f. (pl. *xiyare*) (K < A) **cucumber**

x-kar (part.) (K) **once, ever; yet; still** | *ja-rásm ʾăxà-yele*⌐ *xor-ʾay-bratá lá-xar ʾay-broná xǎ́ya x-kàr*⌐ Now, it was the custom that the girl should not yet see the boy (A:24); *hàya-x-kar* It is still too early (for marriage) (A:31)

xlula n.f. (pl. *xlulye, xlule*) **wedding** | *xlula ʾwl* to hold a wedding, to get married: *šáyad hélăxun bə̀xle*⌐ *xlulá holètu*⌐ Perhaps you can marry one another (D:17)

xmala n.f. (pl. *xmale*) **mother-in-law**

xmara n.m. (pl. *xmare*) **ass**

xmarta n.f. (pl. *xmarye*) **ass (f.)**

xmata n.f. (pl. *xmaye*) **needle** | *xà-xmata dyálu ga-ʿăsǎ́be bar-reší-u*⌐ They injected a needle in the nerves behind my neck (C:2); *xmatá nqísa ga-ʾìlì*⌐ The needle pricked my hand

xmira n.m. **leaven.** adj. **leavened**

xmiṣa adj. (f. *xmiṣta*, pl. *xmiṣe*) **made sour, pickled** | *xyare xmiṣe* pickled cucumbers; *xmiṣà-y*⌐ It has become sour (said of food that has gone off)

xmurta n.f. (pl. *xumrye*) **small bead; small ring attached to necklace**

xo part. **indeed** | *be-xo* without meaning; vacuously: *be-xò lá mirá-y*ˈ He has not said this lightly

xola n.m. **rope**

xolášạ adv. (P < A) **in short**

xor part. (K) **still, yet; indeed** | *xor-sǝní rába là-yele*ˈ I was still not very old (A:5); *ja-rásm ʾắxà-yele*ˈ *xor-ʾay-bratá lá-xar ʾay-broná xắya x-kàr*ˈ Now, it was the custom that the girl should not see the boy yet (A:24); *xor-ʾaxní là-kelan xắléxilu*ˈ Indeed, we cannot wash them (C:11). With concessive sense: *ʾaslán na-raḥắtí lìtwalu ʾo-našé,*ˈ *xór darmanè-č lítwa ʾo-waxtắra darmáne dằen*ˈ The people were not ill at ease, yet they did not have medicines at that time to apply (A:76)

xorak, xoraka n.m. (P) **food** | *lá bàda*ˈ *xoràka*ˈ *ḥaméṣ ga-d-éa xila-hắwè*ˈ lest leaven was eaten in the food (B:19)

xoste n.? (K/P) **request** | *gbéwa xá-ʿǝda mǝn-náše pìre*ˈ *xanắwadà*ˈ *hezí baqà*ˈ *xosté xlulà*ˈ A few senior people of the family had to go to request the marriage (A:30)

xoš n.m. (K/P) **goodness.** adj. invar. **good; in good spirits, happy** | *ké ʾaná hèli*ˈ *ga-pǝlgá naše hắwèna*ˈ *naše xošú hé mǝnì*ˈ so that I can be among people and people will like me (D:12)

xoša n.m. (pl. *xoše*) (P) **bunch; cluster; necklace** | *xa xoša bắṣire* a bunch of grapes

xoš-baxt adj. invar. (P) **fortunate; happy**

xoš-ḥāl adj. invar. (P) **happy, merry**

xriwa adj. (fs. *xriwta*, pl. *xriwe*) **bad**

xšaba n.m. **Sunday**

xšǝlta n.f. **jewelry (of women)**

xumra n.m. (pl. *xumre*) **bead, metal ring attached to necklace**

xumṣa n.m. **pungency, sourness**

xupna n.f. (pl. *xupne*) **handful (with two hands)**

xurma n.f. (K/P) **date**

xurma-u-run (K) n.f. **dish made from dates and eggs**

xuṭmane n.pl. (sing. *xuṭmanta*) **chickpeas**

xwān n.f. (P) **table (containing gifts)** | *ga-yomà˺ reš-šatà,˺ baqa-xǝtnà˺ mǝn-be-kaldá xwằn kwíwa˺* On New Year's day they would give a table (of gifts) to the groom on behalf of the family of the bride (A:9)

xwara adj. (fs. *xwarta*, pl. *xware*) **white**

xwarula n.f. **whiteness** | *xwarula beta* the white of an egg

xzǝmta n.f. (K < A) **service** | *ʾárz hăwé ba-xzǝmtòx˺* Let me tell you (literally: May a petition be made to your service) (A:70)

xzura n.m. (pl. *xzure*) **pig**

/y/

y(e) **present copula** (§3.11.1.)

ya part. **or; relative particle** (§12.1.)

yād n.? (K/P) **memory** | *ba-yād-e d-eà-y ké˺ bet-ha-mǝqdáš werằn xirté-ya˺ ʾaxní là-xar šratá hăwélan˺* It was in memory of the fact that the Sanctuary had been destroyed, that we were not permitted to have a light (B:46)

yala n.m. (pl. *yale*) **boy; child** | *yala zora* baby (m.)

yalpana n.m. (pl. *yalpane*) **learner**

yalta n.f. **young girl** | *yalta zorta* baby (f.)

yalula n.f. **childhood**

yani part. (K/P < A) **that means, that is**

yapraġe n.pl. (K) **leaves stuffed with rice** | — *ba-kălam* stuffed cabbage leaves; — *ba-găḷae mewa* stuffed vine leaves

yăqa n.f. (K) **collar** | *yăqa ʾsirta* closed collar

yăqura adj. (fs. *yăqurta*, pl. *yăqure*) **difficult; oppressive** | *ḥašta yăqurta* difficult work; *táš˹a ba-ʾÀb˺ hulaé ràba yaqurtá doqíwala˺* The Jews would observe the Ninth of Ab very strictly (B:44)

yaqut n.m. (pl. *yaqute*) (P < A) **jewel**

yaraq n.m. (K) **decorative cover of a horse**

yărixa adj. (fs. *yărixta*, pl. *yărixe*) **long; tall**

yăruqa adj. (fs. *yăruqta*, pl. *yăruqe*) **green**

yăruqula n.f. **vegetation; greenness**

yarxa n.m. (pl. *yarxe*) **month**

yăšiwa n.f. (H) **session, gathering in home**

yătuma n.m. (pl. *yătume*) **orphan**

yătumta n.f. (pl. *yătumye*) **orphan girl** | *yătùmta⌇ mà baxyát?⌇* Poor woman, why are you crying (said to a mother whose son has just married) (C:4)

yăwāš, yăwāš yăwāš adv. (K/P) **slowly** | *xa-dána lăčăgá rabtá ba-rešàf-yela.⌇ rešáf ksèwala-u⌇ yăwā́š mən-rešáf gəršàli⌇ šoḷtáli l-d-o-làg.⌇* A large veil was on her head. She had covered her head. I slowly pulled it from her head and threw it to one side (A:24); *bár-d-o xét yăwā́š yăwā̀š⌇ hìya⌇* Then she slowly came (A:24)

yax n.m. (P) **ice** | *maé yàx wilá-y⌇* The water has frozen

yaxčāl n.f. (P) **refrigerator**

yaxni n.m. (pl. *yaxnye*) (K) **soup** | *yaxni săqata* soup made from offal of cows

yele **past copula** (§3.11.2.)

yoma n.m. (pl. *yome, yomăwae*) **day; dawn** | *qarwá-e yomà⌇ šofàr măxénwa baqán⌇* Near dawn they would blow the shofar for us (B:38)

yona n.f. (pl. *yone*) **dove**

/z/

zăe adj. invar. (K) **bad; gone off (food).** adv. **badly** | *ʾay-xalá zǎe xír⌇* This food has gone off; *ḥaštăke zǎe wilálox!⌇* You have done the job badly

zăḥamta n.f. (K/P) **trouble** | *má kul-yóma gezét ʾay-jangàḷ⌇ ʾay-kŭ́le zaḥamtá garšèta-u?⌇* Why do you go to the woods everyday and take all this trouble? (A:104); *zăḥamtá là grúš!* Do not take trouble/Do not put yourself out! *ḥaxám-e kništà ga-doká⌇ darùš kólwa⌇*

Mošé Răbénu ʿaláw ha-šalóm dàx m-ʿolắm zíl,ꞏ mà wíle,ꞏ zăhamtá mà grắšle báqa huláeꞏ The rabbi of the synagogue there would give a homily concerning how Moses our Lord, peace be upon him, passed away from the world, what he did, what trouble he took for the Jews (B:52)

zalana n.m. (pl. *zalane*) **goer**

zămān, zămana n.? (P < A) **time** | *ta-zămắn-e ke-ʾanà xlulá wilíꞏ* until the time that I married (A:4); *m-zămàneꞏ Kuréš-e Kăbìrꞏ hiyén báqa Hămădằnꞏ* At the time of Cyrus the Great, they came to Hamadan (B:1)

zămini adj. invar. (P) **by land (travel)**

zang n.f. (P/K) **bell** | — *d∅y* to ring, to telephone: *Soqrát zàng díle baqíꞏ* Soqrat gave me a ring (C:4)

zanguḷa n.f. (P/K) **bell**

zanjir n.m. (P/K) **chain** | *wá ʾsirén knišỳèꞏ ba-qfól-u zanjìrꞏ* Look the synagogues are closed with lock and chain (E:37)

zăra n.m. **wheat**

zărar n.? (P) **loss (financial)** | *zăràr kónaꞏ* I am making a loss

zaʿra n.m. **barley** | *xa zaʿra* a grain of barley

zarb n.f. (P < A) **drum, percussion instrument** | *xét lá zàrb dăélwa ʾəláf-uꞏ* He no longer played on the drum (A:107)

zardawaḷa n.f. (pl. *zardawaḷe*) (K) **hornet**

zardena n.f. (P) **yoke (of egg)** | *zardena beta* the yoke of an egg

zarf n.m. (pl. *zruf*) (P < A) **container** | *qoqé xa-zárf, zrúfək-yelu mán ʾápre smoqàꞏ* Pots were a container, containers made of red clay (A:84)

zargar n.m. (P) **goldsmith**

zărif adj. invar. (K/P < A) **fine, pretty, handsome** | *xa-bratá mətwali-ó baqòxꞏ rába zărìfꞏ* I have arranged a very pretty girl for you (A:6); *ʾăjáb zărìf-yeꞏ* He is wonderfully handsome (A:17)

zaryaw (K) : — *ʾwl* **to bray** | *xmará zaryàw kólꞏ* An ass brays

zătila n.f. (pl. *zatye*) **flat bread**

zayra adj. (fs. *zayrta*, pl. *zayre*) **light yellow**

zbota n.f. (pl. *zbonye*) **finger** | *zbota rabta* thumb

zdela n.f. (pl. *zdele*) **fear**

zəlzəla n.m. (P) **earthquake**

zəmra n.f. (pl. *zəmre*) **song** | *qằrén ta-lə̀xle*| *zəmré ʾašəqì*| They sing love songs to one another

zəndəgi n.m (P) **life; livelihood** | — *ʾwl* to live; *ba-d-éa zəndəgí kòlwale*| He would make himself a livelihood by this (A:98)

zinat n.f. (P < A) **decoration; splendour**

zmaṭa adj. invar. **full** | *karma* (f.) *zmaṭa warde* a garden full of flowers; *šămé* (pl.) *zmaṭá kəxwè-yelu*| The sky was full of stars; *baxtí kasáf zmaṭà-ya* My wife is pregnant

zmərta n.f. **turban**

zmorta n.f. **song**

zoa, bi-zoa part. **more; mostly**

zoanula n.f. **excess**

zor (K) n.m. **force** | — *ʾwl* to force; *ba-zor* by force: *ʾaxréf ba-zór miyàlun-u*| In the end they brought her by force (A:23)

zora adj. (fs. *zorta*, pl. *zore*) **small; young**

zoṛa n.f. (pl. *zoṛe*) **water jar (carried on shoulder)**

zorula n.f. **smallness**

zoxāḷ n.m. (P) **coal**

zruf → zarf

zŭkur n.pl. (P < A) **males**

zwān n.m. (pl. *zwane*) (K) **language**

zyadi adj. invar. (K/P < A) **excessive**

zyarta n.f. (K/P < A) **cemetery**

/z̧/

z̧olm n.? (K/P < A) **harm, injustice** | *là šóqwa xét z̧ólm holì-lef*⌐ He did not allow them to harm him any more (A:109)

/ž/

žān n.f. (K) **pain** | *ʾení márya ba-z̧ằn*⌐ I had pain in my eye

žerxān n.f. (pl. *žerxane*) (K) **basement**

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