

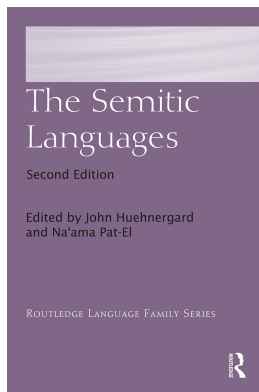
This article was downloaded by: 10.2.97.136

On: 31 May 2023

Access details: *subscription number*

Publisher: *Routledge*

Informa Ltd Registered in England and Wales Registered Number: 1072954 Registered office: 5 Howick Place, London SW1P 1WG, UK



The Semitic Languages

John Huehnergard, Na'ama Pat-El

Northeastern Neo-Aramaic

Publication details

<https://test.routledgehandbooks.com/doi/10.4324/9780429025563-27>

Eleanor Coghill

Published online on: 06 Mar 2019

How to cite :- Eleanor Coghill. 06 Mar 2019, *Northeastern Neo-Aramaic from: The Semitic Languages* Routledge

Accessed on: 31 May 2023

<https://test.routledgehandbooks.com/doi/10.4324/9780429025563-27>

PLEASE SCROLL DOWN FOR DOCUMENT

Full terms and conditions of use: <https://test.routledgehandbooks.com/legal-notices/terms>

This Document PDF may be used for research, teaching and private study purposes. Any substantial or systematic reproductions, re-distribution, re-selling, loan or sub-licensing, systematic supply or distribution in any form to anyone is expressly forbidden.

The publisher does not give any warranty express or implied or make any representation that the contents will be complete or accurate or up to date. The publisher shall not be liable for an loss, actions, claims, proceedings, demand or costs or damages whatsoever or howsoever caused arising directly or indirectly in connection with or arising out of the use of this material.

NORTHEASTERN NEO-ARAMAIC

The dialect of Alqosh¹

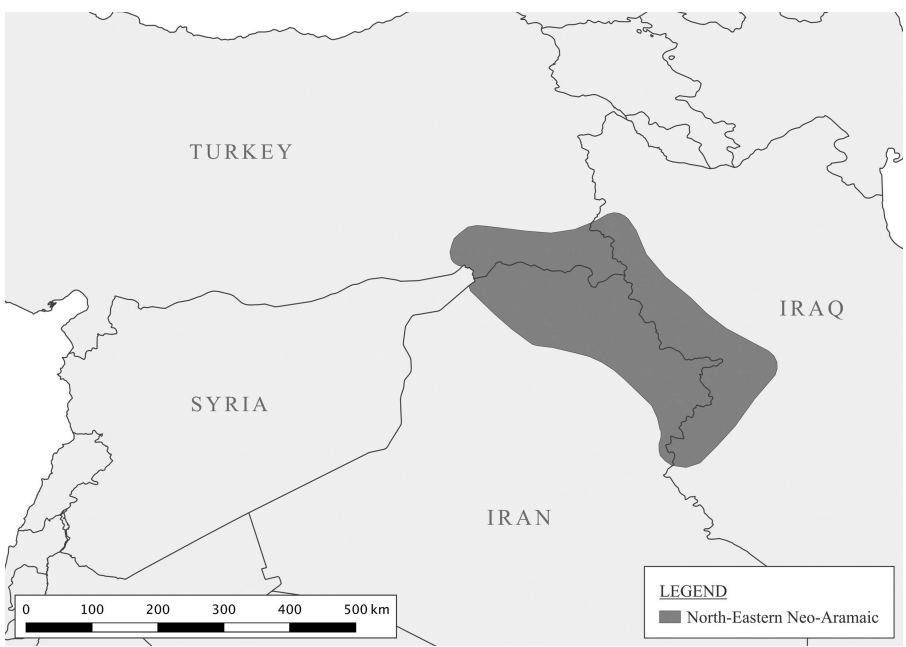
Eleanor Coghill

1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 The Northeastern Neo-Aramaic dialects

The Northeastern Neo-Aramaic dialects form the largest branch of the Aramaic language family surviving today (see Map 27.1). They are traditionally allocated to the eastern branch of the family. Northeastern Neo-Aramaic (NENA) is spoken by both Christian and Jewish communities, but not by Muslim communities.

The NENA branch is not only the largest Neo-Aramaic branch, but also by far the most diverse. Given that the dialects vary significantly even from village to village, one



MAP 27.1 THE SPEECH AREA OF THE NORTHEASTERN NEO-ARAMAIC DIALECTS BEFORE 1914

can count over 100 separate dialects. Over large geographical distances there is limited mutual comprehensibility. The NENA dialects vary at all levels of language, including phonology, morphology, syntax and lexicon. The factors behind this variation are not only geographical, but also communal: Jews and Christians have different dialects. In some areas they were similar and mutually comprehensible, such as in Zakho; in others, they were essentially different languages. No NENA dialect was spoken by both Jews and Christians as their mother tongue.²

An internal genetic classification of NENA is not yet available: in fact it is not certain that it is possible. While shared innovations can certainly be identified, it is not clear to what extent these will lead to discrete groupings. Given that the dialects have coexisted alongside each other for a long time, some of these shared innovations may be due not to shared inheritance but to later inter-dialectal borrowing. The NENA dialects may be grouped, for convenience, on a mixture of linguistic and geographical grounds. They must also be categorized by the religion of the speakers (Jewish or Christian, abbreviated here as J. and C.). It should be noted however, that the Jewish Lishana Deni dialects are linguistically more similar to neighboring Christian dialects than to other Jewish dialects.

Most dialects of NENA are severely endangered and some have already died out, due to the persecutions, wars and ethnic cleansing the various communities have endured, especially since the early 20th century; now there are most likely many more speakers in the world-wide diaspora than in the homeland.

1.2 Oral and written literature in Northeastern Neo-Aramaic

Most dialects of NENA have no written form and most linguistic research on them has been based on transcribed recordings. Thus a large part of the literature available in NENA is of this type and may be found in appendices to the dialectal grammars written by scholars. A very rich oral literature of folktales, poems and songs has been transmitted up to the present day but is increasingly endangered. There are also various religiously oriented literary traditions among both Christians and Jews of Iraq, the earliest going back at least to the 16th century (see, e.g., Mengozzi 2002a, 2002b and Sabar 1976 for samples). A new literary variety was developed in the 19th century at the instigation of American missionaries who had settled in Urmia in Iran (Murre-van den Berg 1999). Initially used for religious literature, including a Bible translation, it was extended to secular literature and works of a wide variety of genres continue to be published in it today.

1.3 The dialect of Alqosh

The NENA dialect of Alqosh is spoken by the inhabitants of the town of that name (known as Alqoshnaye [ʔalquʃna:jə]) and by the extensive diaspora of Alqoshnaye to be found in the cities of Iraq, as well as in the West. Like other dialects spoken by Christians it is known to its speakers as Surath [su:raθ].

Alqosh is located north of the city of Mosul, at the northern edge of the Mosul Plain (also known as the Nineveh Plains), just where the mountainous region of northern Iraq begins. The inhabitants of Alqosh belong mainly to the Chaldean Catholic Church, having converted over the past few centuries from the Church of the East.

The dialect of Alqosh is most closely related to the other dialects of the Mosul Plain, in particular neighboring Tisqopa. It is part of a dialect continuum, sharing some features with the more southerly dialects of the Mosul Plain (such as Telkepe), but others with the dialects further north.

The data in this chapter was gathered through recordings of Alqoshnaye in London, Damascus and Baghdad in the years 1999–2004. A full description of the phonology and morphology, along with some texts, can be found in Coghill (2004). The syntax has not been covered elsewhere, but areas of the syntax of a closely related dialect, Telkepe, are described in Coghill (2010a, 2010b, 2014).

2 WRITING SYSTEM

The scripts used for writing Northeastern Neo-Aramaic depend most of all on who is writing. Texts written within the Jewish community are generally in the Square Script (commonly known as the ‘Hebrew script’, but in fact originally used for ancient Aramaic), which they are accustomed to use for their heritage languages, Hebrew and Aramaic. Christians write their language in their own heritage script, the Syriac script, specifically the Eastern variant of that script or, occasionally, the older form, Estrangelo. Neo-Aramaic is sometimes written by Christians in Arabic or Roman script for the benefit of speakers who have not learned the Syriac script; such transcriptions can be found, for instance, in liturgical booklets produced for worshippers at Chaldean churches.

Some texts originating in the former Soviet Union also exist in a variant of the Roman script adapted specially for Neo-Aramaic, known as the New Alphabet. This was part of a policy of nation-building within the Soviet empire during the 1920s and 1930s. Some texts have been republished and studied by scholars, e.g., Friedrich (1959, 1960) and Pennacchietti and Tosco (1991).

3 PHONOLOGY

The inventory of consonant phonemes in the dialect of Alqosh is given in Table 27.1. Phonemes given in brackets have marginal or uncertain phonemic status. Plosives are unaspirated. The ‘emphatic’ consonants are realized as velarized/pharyngealized in Alqosh. Voiced plosives and fricatives are devoiced in word-final position, e.g., *mḏʒa:wəb* [mḏʒæ:up] ‘answer!’, *qapay* [qapɛx] ‘lid’. The glottal stop is a phoneme in this dialect, but is frequently elided, especially after a consonantal prefix, e.g., *b-alquf* ~ *b-ʔalquf* ‘in Alqosh’.

There are nine vowel phonemes, six of them long and three short (see Table 27.2). The distinction between long and short is not phonemic in all environments. The phonemes /i/, /e/, /ɛ/ and /o/ are usually realized as long but not marked as such, in order to minimize the number of diacritics.

The most common realizations of these vowels (in the environment of non-pharyngealized consonants) are as shown in Table 27.3. In a pharyngealized environment they may be backed and lowered, at least in the onset.

Within NENA, Alqosh is relatively conservative in its phonology, preserving, for instance, the /o/-/u/ distinction which has been lost in some dialects. Original diphthongs,

TABLE 27.1 CONSONANT INVENTORY

		<i>BILABIAL</i>	<i>LABIO-DENTAL</i>	<i>DENTAL</i>	<i>ALVEOLAR</i>	<i>POSTALVEOLAR</i>	<i>PALATAL</i>	<i>VELAR</i>	<i>UVULAR</i>	<i>PHARYNGEAL</i>	<i>LARYNGEAL</i>
Stops/Affricates											
Plain	Voiceless	p		t		tʃ		k	q		ʔ
	Voiced	b		d		dʒ		g			
Emphatic	Voiceless	(pʰ)		tʰ		tʃʰ					
	Voiced			(dʰ)							
Fricatives											
Plain	Voiceless		f	θ	s	ʃ		x		ħ	h
	Voiced		(v)	ð	z	(ʒ)		ɣ			
Emphatic	Voiceless				sʰ						
	Voiced			ðʰ							
Nasals											
Plain		m			n						
Emphatic		(mʰ)									
Lateral Approximant											
Plain					l						
Emphatic					(lʰ)						
Tap/Trill											
Plain					r [ɽ]						
Emphatic					rʰ						
Approximants											
		w					j			ʕ	

TABLE 27.2 VOWEL INVENTORY

Long	/i/ /e/ /ɛ/ /a:/ /o/ /u:/
Short	/ə/ /a/ /u/

TABLE 27.3 PHONETIC REALIZATIONS OF VOWEL PHONEMES

/i/	=	[i:]; in an unstressed syllable also short: [i] or [ɪ]
/e/	=	[e:]; in an unstressed syllable also mid-long or short: [eː], [e]
/ɛ/	=	[ɛː]; i.e. a high [ɛ:]
/a:/	=	[æ:]; in an unstressed syllable also mid-long: [æː]
/o/	=	[o:]; i.e. a fronted [o:]; in an unstressed or closed syllable also mid-long: [oː]
/u:/	=	[u:]; in an unstressed syllable also mid-long: [uː]
/ə/	=	[ə], i.e. a highish shwa, or a more fronted [ɛ] ~ [ɪ]
/a/	=	[ɛ] or a centralized [ɜ], or a lower [æ]
/u/	=	[u] or a more lax [ʊ]

however, have been monophthongized: **aj* > *ε* and **aw* > *o*. The latter shift also applies to any **aw* which goes back to original **ab* or **a:b*:

* <i>tawra</i>	>	<i>tora</i>	‘ox’
* <i>gabra</i>	>	<i>gora</i>	‘man’
* <i>bajta</i>	>	<i>bεθa</i>	‘house’
* <i>xa:zaj</i>	>	<i>xa:zε</i>	‘they may see’

Diphthongs /aw/, /aj/ and /ew/ are, however, found in loan words from Classical Syriac or other languages:

<i>surajtu:θa</i>	‘Christianity’	(< Syriac <i>surya.yu.ta:</i>) ⁵
ʕewr ^a :ja	‘Hebrew’	(< Syriac <i>ʕebra.ya:</i>)
ʔawwal	‘first’	(< Arabic)
t ^ʕ awlə	‘backgammon’	(< Arabic)

Syllables are generally of the following types, with rare exceptions:

Cv	e.g. <i>si</i> ‘go!’, <i>go.ra</i> ‘man’
CCv	e.g. <i>xzi</i> ‘see!’, <i>pli.ma</i> ‘bent’
CvC	e.g. <i>mor</i> ‘speak!’, <i>bax.ta</i> ‘woman’
CCvC	e.g. <i>pθox</i> ‘open!’, <i>smaq.ta</i> ‘red (FSG)’

Word stress is mostly penultimate, as is the case in most Christian NENA dialects and some Jewish ones, e.g., *xajá:t^ʕa* ‘tailor’ and *kəm-fa:qəl-lə* (PST.PFV-take.PRES.S.3MSG-L.3MSG) ‘he took it’. Non-penultimate stress can be found in some verbal forms, when certain suffixes or enclitics are added. As a result of this, stress is marginally phonemic:

1	a	<i>mápləx-lə</i>	b	<i>mapləx-lə</i>
		use.IMP.SG-L.3MSG		use.PRES.S.3MSG-L.3MSG
		‘use it!’		‘he may use it’

In this chapter, word stress will not be marked unless it is non-penultimate.

Anticipatory voicing assimilation is consistently applied in this dialect. When two consonants are adjacent, the first one assimilates in voicing to the second: for instance, *bfa:la* ‘to boil’ is realized as [p]a:la. All consonants undergo and trigger this assimilation except for /ʔ/, /h/, /ʕ/, /m/, /n/, /l/, /r/, /j/ and /w/, as well as any emphatic counterparts of these. Nasal assimilation occurs where /b/ or /d/ precede /m/ or /n/. The phoneme /b/ is consistently assimilated before /m/ and this is commonly seen with the future prefix *b-*, e.g., *b-mahkəx* (FUT-speak.PRES.S.1PL) > *mmahkəx* ‘we’ll speak’, and the preposition *b-*. Other kinds of nasal assimilation are sporadic, e.g., *kud=naqla* ~ *kun=naqla* ‘every time’. A very common type of assimilation is emphatic spread, where vowels and consonants close to an emphatic consonant are also realized with pharyngealization/velarization. Emphatic spread may affect a whole word, but frequently only affects a part:

<i>bəs^ʕla</i>	[b ^ʕ əs ^ʕ l ^ʕ a]	‘onion’
<i>pxals^ʕətta</i>	[pxal ^ʕ s ^ʕ ətta]	‘you’ll (MSG) finish it (F)’

A selection of the synchronic vowel alternations in this dialect is presented here. Syllable closure, through the addition of a suffix, usually results in the shortening of a vowel: /a:/ to /a/, /i:/ to /ə/, /u:/ to /u/ and /o/ to /a/~o/:

<i>r^əa:ba</i>	‘big (M)’	<i>r^əabθa</i>	‘big (F)’
<i>pθixa</i>	‘open (M)’	<i>pθəxta</i>	‘open (F)’
<i>su:sa</i>	‘stallion’	<i>susta</i>	‘mare’
<i>zora</i>	‘small (M)’	<i>zarta</i>	‘small (F)’

Vowel lengthening also takes place, either through a shift in stress or the opening of a syllable:

<i>k-xá:zə</i>	‘he sees’	<i>k-xa:zé-la</i>	‘he sees her (IND-SEE.PRES.3MSG-L.3FSG)’
<i>bánas</i>	‘fault’	<i>baná:s-i</i>	‘my fault (fault-1SG)’

Vowel shortening can take place when an open stressed syllable becomes pretonic:

<i>ɣixá:la</i>	‘food’	<i>ɣixal-éj</i>	‘their food (food-3PL)’
<i>já:ma</i>	‘sea’	<i>jam-a:θa</i>	‘seas (sea-PL)’

4 MORPHOLOGY

4.1 Pronouns

4.1.1 Personal pronouns

Table 27.4 shows the independent personal pronouns and the possessive suffixes. The latter are attached to the stems of nouns and prepositions.

Note that a final /n/ has a tendency to be elided in 2PL forms. In the 3rd person possessive suffixes, original */h/ has become a pharyngeal, /ħ/.⁶

The independent possessive pronouns are formed on the stem *dij-*, e.g., *dij-əħ* (POSS-3MSG) ‘his’, *dij-i* (POSS-1SG) ‘mine’ etc. These are typically used predicatively:

- 2 *dij-ux=ilə*.⁷
 POSS-2MSG=PRS.COP.3MSG
 ‘It is yours’.

TABLE 27.4 PERSONAL PRONOUNS AND PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES

		INDEPENDENT PERSONAL PRONOUNS	POSSESSIVE SUFFIXES			
1	SG	<i>ɣa:na</i>	I	-i	<i>bəθ-i</i>	my house
	PL	<i>ɣaxni</i>	we	-an	<i>bəθ-an</i>	our house
2	MSG	<i>ɣa:jət</i>	you	-ux	<i>bəθ-ux</i>	your house
	FSG	<i>ɣa:jat</i>	you	-ax	<i>bəθ-ax</i>	your house
	PL	<i>ɣaxtu(n)</i>	you	-oxu(n)	<i>bəθ-oxu(n)</i>	your house
3	MSG	<i>ɣa:w</i>	he	-əħ	<i>bəθ-əħ</i>	his house
	FSG	<i>ɣa:j</i>	she	-aħ	<i>bəθ-aħ</i>	her house
	PL	<i>ɣa:ni</i>	they	-éj	<i>bəθ-éj</i>	their house

TABLE 27.5 DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS

	NEAR DEIXIS			FAR/ABSENT DEIXIS	
	INDEPENDENT	ATTACHED		INDEPENDENT	ATTACHED
CSG	$\gamma a:\delta i \sim \gamma a:j$	$\gamma a\theta- \sim \gamma aj-$	MSG	$\gamma a:wa$	$\gamma o-$
			FSG	$\gamma a:ja$	$\gamma e-$
PL	$\gamma a:ni$	$\gamma an-$	PL	$\gamma a:ne$	$\gamma an\epsilon-$

4.1.2 Demonstratives

The demonstratives distinguish two degrees of deixis (Table 27.5), in contrast to many other NENA dialects which distinguish three: near-far-absent. The independent demonstratives stand alone as pronouns, while attached demonstratives are used attributively. It is the attached demonstratives which may form the head of a relative clause:

- 3 a $\gamma a:j$ $l\gamma el.$
 this above
 ‘This is upstairs’.
- b $\gamma e=\gamma ara$
 that.F=field(F)
 ‘that field’
- c $\gamma o-$ $d\partial=k-na:\gamma as-l\partial$ $xu:w\partial . . .$
 that.M- REL=IND-bite.PRES.3MSG-L.3MSG snake(M)
 ‘He whom a snake bites . . .’

Demonstratives usually take the genitive prefix *d-* when preceded by an independent (non-prefixed) preposition, e.g., *mən d-a:ni* (from GEN-these) ‘from among these’.

4.1.3 Other pronouns

The reflexive pronoun is formed from *gja:na* ‘soul, self’ with possessive suffixes attached to its stem:

- 4 *dri* *ba:la* *l\partial-gja:n-ux.*
 put.IMP.MSG attention to-self-2MSG
 ‘Take care of yourself’.

Reciprocity can be expressed with $\gamma\gamma\delta a:\delta\partial$ ‘each other’ or with the expression *xa:=xənna* [one.M=other.M]:

- 5 *k-faql-i* $\gamma\gamma\delta a:\delta\partial.$
 IND-accept.PRES-S.3PL RECP
 ‘They accept each other’.

Table 27.6 presents the main indefinite pronouns. Some are compounds, involving *xa*= ‘one, a’, *fū*= ‘no’, *kul*= ‘all’ or *kud*= ‘every’.

TABLE 27.6 INDEFINITE PRONOUNS

<i>xa=māndi</i>	‘something’
<i>xa=na:fā</i>	‘someone’
<i>fū=māndi</i>	‘nothing’
<i>fū=na:fā</i>	‘no-one’
<i>kul=māndi</i>	‘everything’
<i>kud=na:fā, kut=xa?</i>	‘everyone’

Table 27.7 presents the interrogative pronouns, along with some interrogative adverbs.

TABLE 27.7 INTERROGATIVES

<i>ma:, maha</i>	‘what?’
<i>man, ma:ni</i>	‘who?’
<i>ʔema</i>	‘which?’
<i>kma</i>	‘how many?’
<i>mā:qada, ma:qad, ma:qa,</i> <i>ma:=qadra</i>	‘how much?’, ‘how many?’
<i>ʔiman</i>	‘when?’
<i>dex</i>	‘how?’
<i>qa:j</i>	‘why?’
<i>ʔeka</i>	‘where?’, ‘whither?’
<i>meka</i>	‘whence?’

4.2 Nouns

4.2.1 Gender and noun morphology

Northeastern Neo-Aramaic has retained the two gender system of Semitic: masculine and feminine. These trigger gender agreement in pronouns, adjectives and verbs. Usually the gender is predictable from the form, but not in all cases. Masculine nouns usually end in *-a*, e.g., *gora* ‘man’, *kalba* ‘dog’ and *kθa:wa* ‘book’. Feminine nouns usually end in *-Ta*, i.e., either *-ta* (< **-ta*) or *-θa* (< **-ta*), e.g., *nunta* ‘fish’, *kalθa* ‘daughter-in-law’, *tanεθa* ‘word’. There are also some unmarked feminine nouns, which end in *-a*, e.g., *jamma* ‘mother’, *fəmfa* ‘sun’, *ja:ma* ‘sea’, *fmaija* ‘sky’, *ʔara* ‘field’, *gu:ba* ‘loom’. These mostly fall into the following semantic categories: females, place names, natural phenomena, circumscribed spaces, smaller animals and parts of the body (Coghill 2004: 199–203). Loan words from Kurmanji or Arabic mostly retain the gender of the donor language, resulting in further unmarked feminine nouns, e.g., *fā:ra* ‘solution’ (< Kurm. *ç’are* ♀).⁸

Nouns with other endings may be masculine or feminine, e.g., *ʔurxə* (♀) ‘watermill’, *ga:rə* ~ *ga:ra* (♀) ‘roof’, *lelə* (♂) ‘night’, *māndi* (♂) ‘thing’ and *ka:lu* (♀) ‘bride’. Naturally female beings (animals or humans) are always feminine, regardless of form, e.g., *baxta* ‘woman’ and *ʔwa:na* ‘ewe’, as are most place names, e.g., *ʔalquf* ‘Alqosh’, *baydad* ‘Baghdad’ and *za:xu* ‘Zakho’.

4.2.2 Noun patterns and derivational affixes

Alqosh, like other NENA dialects, preserves several templatic noun patterns from earlier Aramaic. Some also play a role in the verbal system. Some of the common ones are given in Table 27.8.

The feminine endings *-Ta* and *-iθa* are often used for derivations that, in relation to the source noun, are female (*kalba* ‘dog’, *kaləbθa* ‘bitch’), diminutive (*ʔalola* ‘street’, *ʔalalta* ‘alley’) or singulative (*ʔənwa* ‘grapes’, *ʔənwiθa* ‘grape’).

The suffix *-u* occurs as a diminutive suffix, e.g., *sota* ‘old woman’, *sotu* ‘little old lady’. It is frequently used with hypocoristic names, e.g., *mixa:ʒəl* ‘Michael’, *mixa* ‘Mike’, *mixu* ‘Mikey’. Female hypocoristic names, on the other hand, usually end in *-ə*, e.g., *ħabu:ba*, *ħabə*. The *-u* suffix, however, also has a femininizing function, being used as an alternative to the feminine *-Ta* and *-iθa* endings, e.g., *qa:tʰa* ‘male cat’, *qa:tʰu* ‘female cat’. In particular it may be used with active participles with this function (§4.5.3). Another diminutive suffix attested on a few nouns is Aramaic *-ona*, e.g. *kalba* ‘dog’, *kalbona* ‘little dog’.

Various other derivational affixes exist. Their functions can be broadly described as follows. The suffix *-u:θa* (< **-u:ʔa*) derives abstract nouns, e.g., *zoru:θa* ‘childhood’ (from *zora* ‘small, young’). The suffix *-a:ja* is used for gentilics, which serve both as adjectives and nouns, e.g., *qurða:ja* ‘Kurdish, Kurd’. A similar suffix, *-na:ja*, is used for

TABLE 27.8 ARAMAIC TEMPLATIC NOUN PATTERNS

*CaCCa	>	CaCCa	<i>jarxa</i>	‘month’	
*CeCCa	>	CəCCa	Includes verbal nouns of derivation I verbs:		
			<i>gəxka</i>	‘laughter’	<i>gɣk I</i> ‘to laugh’
			<i>gədfja</i>	‘accident’	<i>gdʃ I</i> ‘to happen’
	>	CuCCa	<i>ʔupra</i>	‘earth, soil’	Syriac <i>ʔapra:</i>
*CuCCa	>	CuCCa	<i>ʔurxa</i>	‘way, path’	Syriac <i>ʔurħa:</i>
*Ca:Ca	>	Ca:Ca	<i>qa:la</i>	‘voice’	Syriac <i>qa:la:</i>
*Cu:Ca	>	Cu:Ca	<i>nu:ra</i>	‘fire’	Syriac <i>nu:ra:</i>
*CeC:a	>	CəC:a	<i>ləbba</i>	‘heart’	Syriac <i>lebba:</i>
*CuC:a	>	Cu:Ca	<i>du:ka</i>	‘place’	Syriac <i>dukka:</i>
*CaC:a	>	Ca:Ca	<i>ka:ka</i>	‘tooth’	Syriac <i>kakka:</i>
*Ce:Ca	>	CeCa	<i>ʔeda</i>	‘festival’	Syriac <i>ʔe:ʔda:</i>
*CCa:Ca	>	CCa:Ca	Includes infinitives of derivation I verbs:		
			<i>fla:ma</i>	‘peace’	Syriac <i>fla:ma:</i>
			<i>kθa:wa</i>	‘book’	<i>kθw I</i> ‘to write’, Syriac <i>kta:ħa:</i>
			<i>gwa:ra</i>	‘marriage’	<i>gwr I</i> ‘to marry’
*CaC:a:Ca	>	CaCa:Ca	Active participles of derivation I verbs:		
			<i>xaja:tʰa</i>	‘tailor’	<i>xjʰ I</i> ‘to sew’
			<i>faða:ja</i>	‘wool-teaser’	<i>fðj I</i> ‘to tease (wool)’
*Ca:CoCa	>	Ca:CoCa	Alternative active participles of derivation I verbs:		
			<i>na:tʰora</i>	‘guard’	<i>ntʰr I</i> ‘to guard’
			<i>qa:tʰola</i>	‘killer’	<i>qtʰl I</i> ‘to kill’
*CuC:a:Ca	>	CuCa:Ca	Verbal noun of derivation II verbs:		
			<i>buʔa:la</i>	‘cooked food’	<i>bʔl II</i> ‘to cook’
			<i>buqa:ra</i>	‘question’	<i>bqr II</i> ‘to ask’

town of origin, e.g., *ʔalqufna:ja* ‘Alqoshi’: there is, however, some overlap between these two suffixes.

Some compounds are based on the original Aramaic apocopate construct state (now only existing as a relic). We see this in, for instance, *barzara* ‘seed’ (< **bar zarʕa*, son.CST seed/offspring) and *zaqarqoda* ‘spider’ (< **zaqqa:r qawda*, weaver.CST chain). Some of these former constructs can be used productively: the prefix *mar-* (from *ma:ra* ‘lord, owner’) expresses ‘owner of’, e.g., *mar-ʔarwe* [owner.of-sheep] ‘sheep-owner’ and *mar-pa:rə* [owner.of-money] ‘moneyed person’. The prefix *bi-* (< **be:ʔ*, house.CST) expresses ‘family of’, e.g., *bi-ʕamm-i* [family.of-paternal.uncle-1SG] ‘my paternal uncle’s family’.

4.2.3 Noun inflection

Nouns inflect for plurality. This inflection takes the form of a set of eight suffixes, whose distribution is for the most part lexically defined. Tendencies can however be identified, on the basis of gender, place in an animacy hierarchy, phonological or morphological shape and origin (inherited or borrowed). The suffixes are given in Table 27.9 along with examples.

Nouns taking the suffix *-a:nə* or *-a:Cə* often use the plural *-ə* when treated as countable (e.g., preceded by a numeral or *kma* ‘how many?’):

- 6 a *mʕaδr-ən-nux* *p-parʔf-a:ʔə*
(FUT-)send.PRES-S.1MSG-L.2MSG in-piece-PL
‘I’ll send you back in pieces!’
- b *kma=parʔf-ə?*
how.many=piece-PL
‘How many pieces?’

In some cases the stem of the noun undergoes irregular changes before the plural suffix: *gor-a* ‘man’, PL *gu:r-ə*; *bra:-ta* ‘girl, daughter’, PL *bn-a:θa*. Sometimes Arabic words are used in their original plural forms, e.g., *baha:rát* ‘spices’ and *ba:ra:mil* ‘barrels’.

The only other inflectional marker on nouns is the construct suffix, *-əd* (§5.3). If a noun, whether singular or plural, ends in *-a* or *-ə*, this ending is replaced by the construct suffix, e.g. *gupta* ‘cheese’, *gupt-əd=ʔarwə* (cheese-CST=sheep) ‘sheep’s cheese’; *lelə* ‘night’, *lel-əd=niʕan* (night-CST=sign) ‘Night of the Sign’. The /d/ of the suffix may assimilate to

TABLE 27.9 NOUN PLURALS

<i>-ə</i>	<i>ʕiva:na</i> (M)	‘shepherd’	pl. <i>ʕiva:nə</i>	<i>xabuʕta</i> (F)	‘apple’	pl. <i>xabu:ʕə</i>
<i>-a:nə</i>	<i>ʕamma</i> (M)	‘name’	pl. <i>ʕamma:nə</i>	<i>karma</i> (M)	‘vineyard’	pl. <i>karma:ne</i>
<i>-a:θa</i>	<i>tawərita</i> (F)	‘cow’	pl. <i>tora:θa</i>	<i>ʔurxa</i> (F)	‘road’	pl. <i>ʔurxa:θa</i>
<i>-a:Cə</i>	<i>parʕa</i> (M)	‘piece’	pl. <i>parʕa:ʔə</i>	<i>təlpə</i> (M)	‘eyelid’	pl. <i>təlpə:pə</i>
<i>-awa:θa</i>	<i>ba:ba</i> (M)	‘father’	pl. <i>babawa:θa</i>	<i>lelə</i> (M)	‘night’	pl. <i>təlpə:pə</i>
<i>-wa:θa</i>	<i>xa:θa</i> (F)	‘sister’	pl. <i>soja:θa</i>	<i>matʕamta</i> (F)	‘face’	pl. <i>paθwa:θa</i>
<i>-ja:θa</i>	<i>sota</i> (F)	‘old woman’	pl. <i>soja:θa</i>	<i>matʕamta</i> (F)	‘spoon’	pl. <i>matʕamja:θa</i>
<i>-aʔ</i>	<i>kufʕəkə</i> (F)	‘room’	pl. <i>kufʕəkət</i>	<i>qala:ma</i> (F)	‘pen’	pl. <i>matʕamja:θa</i>

the initial consonant of the following word (§3), unless this begins with a consonant cluster preceded by an epenthetic vowel: *nu:r-ət=ħada:da* (fire-CST=blacksmith) ‘the blacksmith’s fire’; *du:k-əd=əsxaxa:ja* [place-CST=swimming] ‘swimming place’.

4.3 Adjectives

Adjectives agree with the noun modified, whether in attributive or predicative position:

- 7 a *xze-lə* *yða=ka:wə* *kom-ta.*|
 see.PAST-L.3MSG INDF.F=window(F) black-FSG
 ‘He saw a black window’.
 b *ʔurxa* *jarəx-ta=wa:wa.*|
 road(F) long-FSG=PST.COP.3FSG
 ‘The road was long’.

Adjectives in Alqosh each follow one of the inflection patterns given in Table 27.10.

The native inflectional pattern, pattern 1, is the most common. Pattern 2, borrowed from vernacular Arabic, is found with a small group of borrowed adjectives, expressing mostly human/animal characteristics. Some other adjectives do not inflect at all. Pattern 3 is so far only attested with one word. Two loan adjectives are uninflected and placed before the noun: *xoš=* ‘good’ (< Kurm./Arab./Turk.) and *ʔawwal=* ‘first’ (< Arab.), e.g. *xoš=nāša* [good=person(M)] ‘good person’ and *ʔawwal=ga* [first=time(F)] ‘the first time’.

Comparatives are frequently expressed using the particle *bəf=* ‘more’ (apparently borrowed from Persian):

- 8 *gupt-əd=ʔərw-ə* *bəf=bassəm-t=εla=u*| *bəf=rxəf-ta.*|
 cheese(F)-CST=sheep-PL more=tasty-FSG=PRS.COP.3FSG=and more=common-FSG
 ‘Sheep’s cheese is tastier and more common’.

When the phrase is definite, the comparative may be expressed simply by a demonstrative and adjective: *ʔo=r^a:ba* (that.M=big.MSG) ‘the big(ger) one’. A superlative may be made explicit by annexing the adjective to *kulle* ‘all of them’:

- 9 *xze-li* *ʔaxona* *r^a:b-ət=kull-ε*
 see.PAST-L.1SG brother(M) big.M-CST=all-3PL
 ‘I saw the oldest brother’.

TABLE 27.10 ADJECTIVAL INFLECTIONS

PATTERN	MASCULINE	FEMININE	PLURAL
1	-a <i>xa:θa</i>	-ta, -θa <i>xaθta</i>	-ə <i>xa:θə</i> ‘new’
2	-a <i>karrā</i>	-ə <i>karrə</i>	-ə <i>karrə</i> ‘deaf’ < Kurm. <i>keṛ</i>
3	-Ø <i>brəndar</i>	-Ø <i>brəndar</i>	-ə <i>brənda:rə</i> ‘injured’ < Kurm. <i>birindar</i>
4	-Ø <i>nəppalax</i>	-Ø <i>nəppalax</i>	-Ø <i>nəppalax</i> ‘lazy’ < Kurm. <i>na</i> ‘not’, NENA <i>pala:xa</i> ‘worker’

As in many other Semitic languages, adjectives may also serve as nouns, i.e., as heads of noun phrases. In this function, they also inflect as nouns, thus we also see a distinct feminine plural. Compare the inflection of *sa:wa* ‘old’ with the inflection of *sa:wa* ‘old man, grandfather’ in Table 27.11.

Many Alqosh adjectives conform to specific templatic patterns, reflexes of patterns in earlier Aramaic (Table 27.12).

Some adjectives are derived from nouns by the addition of the suffix *-a:na* (e.g., *xə/ka:na* ‘dark’ < *xə/ka* ‘darkness’). Other adjectives are the active participles of verbs. Depending on the derivation of the verb, they have different templatic patterns (e.g., *zada:ʔa* ‘fearful’ < *zdʔ I* ‘to be afraid’; *maʔəhja:na* ‘tiring’ < *ʔhʃ III* ‘to tire’).

The active participle of derivation **III** verbs is used in a set of adjectives describing color. These are not the basic color words, but correspond to the English color adjectives ending in *-ish*, e.g., ‘blueish’, ‘blackish’ etc. They are formed from the root consonants of the basic adjective, for instance *smoqa* (\sqrt{smq}) ‘red’ is transformed into *masəmqa:na* ‘reddish’ and *jaru:qa* (\sqrt{jrq}) ‘green’ into *majərqa:na* ‘greenish’.

4.4 Numerals

4.4.1 Cardinal numerals

NENA, like earlier Aramaic, has a decimal system. Numerals above ten are compounds. When cardinal numerals occur with a noun, the numeral is preposed. Most commonly the numeral forms a stress group with the following noun, the number taking the stress, e.g., *tre=ʔalolə* (two.M=street(M):PL ‘two streets’).

TABLE 27.11 ADJECTIVAL VS. NOMINAL INFLECTION

ADJECTIVAL	MSG	<i>gora sa:wa</i>	‘old man’
	FSG	<i>baxta sota</i>	‘old woman’
	MPL	<i>gu:rə sa:wə</i>	‘old men’
	FPL	<i>ʔənfə sa:wə</i>	‘old women’
NOMINAL	MSG	<i>sa:wa</i>	‘old man, grandfather’
	FSG	<i>sota</i>	‘old woman, grandmother’
	MPL	<i>sa:wə</i>	‘old men, grandfathers’
	FPL	<i>soja:θa</i>	‘old women, grandmothers’

TABLE 27.12 ARAMAIC TEMPLATIC ADJECTIVE PATTERNS

*CaC:a	>	Ca:Ca	<i>rʔa:ba</i>	‘big’	
*CCiCa	>	CCiCa	Resultative participles of derivation I verbs:		
			<i>psʔixə</i>	‘happy’	<i>psʔx I</i> ‘to be happy’
*CaC:iCa	>	CaCiCa	<i>ʔatiqa</i>	‘old’	Syriac <i>ʕattiqa</i> :
			<i>xamima</i>	‘hot’	Syriac <i>ħammima</i> :
	>	CaC:iCa	<i>bassima</i>	‘tasty, nice’	Syriac <i>bassima</i> :
*CaC:uCa	>	CaCu:Ca	<i>xamu:sʔa</i>	‘sour’	Syriac <i>ħammu:sʔa</i> :
			<i>ʕamu:qa</i>	‘deep’	Syriac <i>ʕammīqa</i> : (sic)

Numerals 1–10, given in Table 27.13, are inflected to agree with the gender of the noun modified (10a–b):

- 10 a *xamfá*=*xu:rə*
five.M=friend(M):PL
'five friends'.
b *xamməf*=*ʔarmonə*
five.F=pomegranate(F):PL
'five pomegranates'.

If these numerals stand independently, they take normal penultimate stress, with the exception of *təttéʔ* ('two.F') which usually takes final stress. Before a noun the stress is usually shifted onto the final syllable, with some resultant phonological changes, e.g., *tʰlaθá*=*ba:rə* 'three sides', *ʔarbé*=*mđina:θa* 'four towns'. The attributive forms for 'one' undergo shortening: *xa=joma* 'one day', *ʔða=tawərtə* 'one cow'.

Numbers 11–19, given in Table 27.14, are not inflected for gender (which is restricted to numerals 1–10). They all end in *-sar*, apparently derived from *ʔəssar* 'ten.F'. The attached forms are identical to the independent forms. The stress may be shifted onto the

TABLE 27.13 CARDINAL NUMERALS 1–10

	INDEPENDENT FORMS		ATTACHED FORMS	
	M	F	M	F
1	<i>xa:ʔ</i>	<i>ʔða:ʔ</i>	<i>xa=</i>	<i>ʔða=</i>
2	<i>treʔ</i>	<i>təttéʔ</i>	<i>tré=</i>	<i>tətté=</i>
3	<i>tʰla:θa</i>	<i>tʰəllaθ</i>	<i>tʰlaθá=</i>	<i>tʰəlláθ=</i>
4	<i>ʔarba</i>	<i>ʔarbəʔ</i>	<i>ʔarbá=</i>	<i>ʔarbé=</i>
5	<i>xamja</i>	<i>xamməf</i>	<i>xamjá=</i>	<i>xamməf=</i>
6	<i>ʔəfta</i>	<i>ʔəffət</i>	<i>ʔəftá=</i>	<i>ʔəffət=</i>
7	<i>foʔa</i>	<i>ʔəfwaʔ</i>	<i>foʔá=</i>	<i>ʔəffət=</i>
8	<i>tmanja</i>	<i>tma:nəʔ</i>	<i>tmanjá=</i>	<i>tmané=</i>
9	<i>təʔʔa</i>	<i>təʔʔaʔ</i>	<i>təʔʔá=</i>	<i>təʔʔá=</i>
10	<i>ʔəsrʿa</i>	<i>ʔəssar</i>	<i>ʔəsrʿá=</i>	<i>ʔəssár=</i>

TABLE 27.14 CARDINAL NUMERALS 1–10

11	<i>xadesar</i>
12	<i>tresar</i>
13	<i>təltə:sar</i>
14	<i>ʔarba:sar</i>
15	<i>xamja:sar</i>
16	<i>ʔəfta:sar</i>
17	<i>ʔəfwa:sar</i>
18	<i>tmanesar</i>
19	<i>ʔəʔʔa:sar</i>

TABLE 27.15 CARDINAL NUMERALS 1–10

	INDEPENDENT	ATTACHED
20	<i>ʔəsri</i>	<i>ʔəsri=</i>
30	<i>tʰla:θi</i>	<i>tʰlaθi=</i>
40	<i>ʔarbi</i>	<i>ʔarbi=</i>
50	<i>xamfi</i>	<i>xamfi=</i>
60	<i>ʔəfti</i>	<i>ʔəfti=</i>
70	<i>ʃoʔi</i>	<i>ʃoʔi=</i>
80	<i>tma:na</i>	<i>tmanə=</i>
90	<i>təʔi</i>	<i>təʔi=</i>

final syllable but not consistently, e.g., *tresár=gu:rə* ‘twelve men’ and *xadésar=fənnə* ‘eleven years’.

All the tens end in *-i* (a reflex of the Aramaic MPL absolute state *-in*), except for *tma:na* ‘eighty’ (Table 27.15). The final syllable takes the stress in the attached form, e.g., *ʔarbi=jomə* (forty=day:PL) ‘forty days’.

The word for hundred is *ʔamma*. There are two ways of forming the series of hundreds. One is to treat *ʔamma* as any masculine noun and form its (count) plural, e.g., *tʰlaθá:=ʔamm-ə* (three.M=hundred-PL) ‘three hundred’. The other has *ʔamma* in the singular preceded by a feminine numeral, e.g. *tʰəlláθ=ʔamma* (three.F=hundred) ‘three hundred’. The only exception is two hundred, which is *tré=ʔamm-ə* (two.M=hundred-PL) only. The collective (uncounted) plural of hundred is irregular: *ʔamma:jə* ‘hundreds’.

Thousands are formed on the plural of *ʔalpa*(M) ‘thousand’, and never on the singular. Examples are as follows: *tre=ʔalp-ə* [two.M=thousand-PL] ‘two thousand’, *ʔəsriʹá:=ʔalp-ə* (ten.M=thousand-PL) ‘ten thousand’. A million is expressed with the loan word *məljón*.

Combinations of tens and units are ordered with the unit first, e.g., *treʔ=u=ʔəsri* (two.M=and=twenty) ‘twenty-two’. When the unit ends in *-a* it usually combines with conjunction *=u* ‘and’ and is monophthongized to /o/, e.g., *xo=ʔəsri* ‘twenty-one’, from **xa=u ʔəsri* (one.M=and twenty). Stress is placed on the final syllable of the unit, e.g., *ʃoʔó=ʔəsri* ‘twenty-seven’, *ʔarbo=ʔəsri=fənnə* (four.M.and=twenty=year(F).PL) ‘twenty-four years’.

In combinations with hundreds or thousands the numbers are ordered from largest to smallest, except for tens which come after the unit as shown above, e.g., *ʔamma=u xo=ʔəsri=fənnə* (hundred=and one.M.and=twenty=year(F).PL) ‘a hundred and twenty-one years’.

If there are units but no tens, the unit numeral agrees in gender with the noun it precedes, e.g., *ʔamma=u tʰəlláθ=fənnə* (hundred=and three.F=year(F).PL) ‘a hundred and three years’ and *ʔalpa=u yða=fa:ta* (thousand=and one.F=year(F)) ‘a thousand and one years’.

4.4.2 Ordinal numerals

The first ordinal, *qama:ja*, is an adjective and as such agrees with the noun in gender and number (M *qama:ja*, F *qaməθa*, PL *qama:jə*), e.g., *joma qama:ja* [day(M) first.M] ‘the first day’, *ga: qaməθa* (time(F) first.F) ‘the first time’.

All other ordinals are genitive constructions formed either with the construct suffix *-(ə)d* or its prefixed counterpart *d-*. Although the number is in a genitive rather than an

adjectival relationship with the noun, any number up to ten will inflect to agree with the noun:

- 11 a *jom-d=°tre?*
day(M)-CST=two.M
'the second day'
b *?izalt-ət=tätté?*
going.F-CST=two.F
'the second going'

A nominal head is not obligatory and may be omitted or replaced by a demonstrative pronoun:

- 12 a *twerə* *t-tätte?* |
break.PAST.L.3MSG GEN-two.F
'He broke the second one'.
b *?ε-t=xamməf*
that.F-CST=five.F
'the fifth one'

4.5 Verbs

4.5.1 Stems and derivations

As in other Semitic languages, verb lexemes consist of a root and a verbal derivation. The root typically consists of three radicals (consonants or glides *j* and *w*), but quadriradicals are also common. Verbs are formed from a set of stems ('bases'), which are inflected for person. The bases are formed on root-and-pattern templates, which vary according to the verbal derivation. These are given in Table 27.16. Where the stem has allomorphs, these are also given and non-stem, inflectional morphemes are hyphenated. The forms are presented through real verbs, rather than as abstract patterns (such as $C_1aC_2C_3$, etc.) but the radicals may easily be replaced by other radicals to form other verbs of the same derivation. Note, however, that verbs with weak radicals (*w*, *j*, *?*) and irregular verbs deviate somewhat from the patterns presented here (§4.5.5).

In addition to the derivations given in Table 27.16, there are two loan derivations, found only in Arabic loan verbs, namely the **Ct**- derivation (with infix *-t-* after the first radical, from the Arabic VIII derivation) and the **St**- derivation (with prefixed *st-*, from the Arabic X derivation). These show a combination of NENA and Arabic morphology. So far only Present Base forms are attested in this dialect:¹⁰

ɣlf **Ct**-derivation 'to differ' (< Arab. *ɣlf* VIII): Present Base *məxtəlf-* (3MSG *məxtələf*)

ʕml **St**-derivation 'to use' (< Arab. *ʕml* X): Present Base *məstəʕaml-* (3MSG *məstəʕaməl*)

4.5.2 Verbal inflection

Verbs in Alqosh are either simplex or analytical. The simplex verbs are the Present Base forms, the Past Base forms and the imperatives. Analytical verb forms are based on the

TABLE 27.16 VERBAL BASES ACCORDING TO DERIVATION

	<i>I</i>	<i>II</i>	<i>II</i> ₂ (<i>GEMINATE</i>)	<i>III</i>	<i>Q</i>
	<i>pθx</i>	<i>bʃl</i>	<i>lkk</i>	<i>plx</i>	<i>ʃxlp</i>
	‘to open’	‘to cook’	‘to seal’	‘to use’	‘to change’
Present Base	<i>pəθx-</i>	<i>mbaʃl-</i>	<i>mlakk-</i>	<i>mapəlx-</i>	<i>(m)ʃaxəlp-</i>
Present Base 3MSG	<i>pa:θəx</i>	<i>mba:ʃəl</i>	<i>mlakkək</i>	<i>mapləx</i>	<i>(m)ʃaxləp</i>
Past Base	<i>pθəx-</i>	<i>mbuʃəl-</i>	<i>mlukkək-</i>	<i>mupləx-</i>	<i>(m)ʃuxləp-</i>
Past Base before S-suffixes	<i>pθix-</i>	<i>mbuʃl-</i>	<i>mlukk-</i>	<i>mupəlx-</i>	<i>(m)ʃuxəlp-</i>
Imperative	<i>pθox</i>	<i>mba:ʃəl</i>	<i>mlakkək</i>	<i>mapləx</i>	<i>(m)ʃaxləp</i>
Imperative PL	<i>pəθx-u</i>	<i>mbaʃl-u</i>	<i>mlakk-u</i>	<i>mápəlx-u</i>	<i>(m)ʃáxəlp-u</i>
Infinitive	<i>pθa:x-a</i>	<i>mbaʃəl-ə</i>	<i>mlakkək-ə</i>	<i>mapləx-ə</i>	<i>(m)ʃaxləp-ə</i>
PTCP.RES.M	<i>pθix-a</i>	<i>mboʃl-a</i>	<i>mlökk-a</i>	<i>mupəlx-a</i>	<i>(m)ʃuxəlp-a</i>
		<i>~ mbaʃl-a</i>	<i>~ mlakk-a</i>		
PTCP.RES.F	<i>pθəx-t-a</i>	<i>mbuʃəl-t-a</i>	<i>mlukkək-t-a</i>	<i>mupləx-t-a</i>	<i>(m)ʃuxləp-t-a</i>
PTCP.ACT	<i>paθa:x-a</i>	<i>mbaʃla:n-a</i>	?	<i>mapəlx:a:n-a</i>	<i>(m)ʃaxəlp:a:n-a</i>
	<i>~ pa:θox-a</i>				

non-finite forms: the infinitive and the resultative participle. Being non-finite, these require a finite auxiliary (such as a copula) to give them predicative force and are dealt with in §4.6.4.

Present and Past Base forms are inflected with S-suffixes and L-suffixes. These index subjects and objects. The function of the suffixes on the Present Base is the inverse of their function on the Past Base: S-suffixes index the subject on Present Base forms and the object on Past Base forms. L-suffixes index the subject on Past Base forms and the object on Present Base forms. Inflection is illustrated in Table 27.17.

The /l/ of the L-suffixes undergoes progressive assimilation to an /n/ (of the base or an S-suffix), e.g. *zʷən-+lux* > *zʷən-nux* (buy.PAST-L.2MSG) ‘you (MSG) bought’. The same applies to an /r/, but the resultant /rr/ is degeminated and the vowel lengthened in compensation: *mər-+lux* > *merux* (say.PAST.L.2MSG). L-suffixes also undergo progressive assimilation to a /t/ of an S-suffix, e.g. *p-xals‘-ət-ta* (FUT-finish.PRES-S.2MSG-L.3FSG) ‘you’ll (MSG) finish it (F)’.

The subject is obligatorily indexed on the verb. If an object is also indexed on the verb, then the ordering of the suffixes is thus: BASE-S-L. On Past Base forms, S-suffixes may only index a 3rd person object, and then only 3FS or 3PL (the 3MSG S-suffix being -Ø). If other objects need to be expressed, a suppletive Present Base form is used, with the past perfective prefix *kəm-* (§4.5.4), which indexes objects with L-suffixes and, indeed, cannot occur without them.

In ditransitive constructions, if both direct and indirect objects are indexed on the verb, a further two sets of person indexes are used. The indirect object (R) is indexed by a variant of the L-suffix set (L_R-suffix), in which the 3rd person forms are slightly different: 3MSG *-ləh*, 3FSG *-lah*, 3PL *-lej*. A 3rd person direct object/theme (T) is indexed by a clitic set identical to the present copula (*i*-L, i.e., 3MSG *-ilə*, 3FSG *-ila*, 3PL *-ile*), which follows the L-suffix:

13 *b-ja:wəl-ləh-ile*

FUT-give.PRES.S.3MSG-L_R.3MSG-PRES.COP.3PL
 ‘He’ll give them to him’.

TABLE 27.17 VERBAL PERSON INFLECTION

		S-SUFFIXES	PRESENT BASE WITH S-SUFFIXES	L-SUFFIXES	PAST BASE WITH L-SUFFIXES
1	MSG	-ən	<i>faqlən</i>	-li	<i>sqəlli</i>
	FSG	-an	<i>faqlan</i>	-li	
	PL	-əx	<i>faqləx</i>	-lan	<i>sqəllan</i>
2	MSG	-ət	<i>faqlət</i>	-lux	<i>sqəllux</i>
	FSG	-at	<i>faqlat</i>	-lax	<i>sqəllax</i>
	PL	-u:tu(n)	<i>faqlu:tu(n)</i>	-loxu(n)	<i>sqəlloxu(n)</i>
3	MSG	-Ø	<i>fa:qəl</i>	-lə	<i>sqəllə</i>
	FSG	-a	<i>faqla</i>	-la	<i>sqəlla</i>
	PL	-i	<i>faqli</i>	-lə	<i>sqəllə</i>

TABLE 27.18 GENDER/NUMBER INFLECTION OF PARTICIPLES IN DERIVATION I

		RESULTATIVE PARTICIPLE	ACTIVE PARTICIPLE
MSG	-a	<i>sqila</i>	<i>faqa:la</i>
FSG	-ta, -θa	<i>sqəlta</i>	<i>faqalta, faql-u</i>
PL	-ə	<i>sqilə</i>	<i>faqa:lə</i>

The imperative is inflected for singular (-Ø) and plural (-u), with some adjustment to the stem, e.g. *pθox* ‘open (SG)!', *pəθx-u* ‘open (PL)!' (see Table 27.16). The imperative, unusually, takes initial stress, e.g., *mápxəlx-u* ‘use (PL)!', *mbáflu-lə* ‘cook (PL) it (M)!'. A masculine/feminine distinction, present in ancient Aramaic, is preserved only for III-y verbs and some irregular verbs, and then only in the singular (§4.5.5).

4.5.3 Non-finite forms

The resultative and active participles are inflected, like adjectives, for masculine singular, feminine singular and common plural (Table 27.18). An unusual feature of Alqosh is the inflection of the active participle (CaCa:Ca), which functions as an adjective or noun. The feminine can be formed, as in most NENA dialects, by the addition of the feminine suffix *-ta/-θa*; there is, however, an alternative available, formed from the Present Base plus diminutive derivational suffix *-u*. Thus *kaθa:wa* means ‘given to writing (M), male writer’, and *kaθo-ta ~ kaθw-u* means ‘given to writing (F), female writer’. Other feminine examples in the *-u* form are *xet'u* ‘dressmaker’, *mzabnu* ‘female seller’, *ms'alju* ‘prayerful (FSG)’ and *mafəhju* ‘tiring (FSG)’.

The infinitive may take feminine inflection (*-ta* or *-θa*) to produce a noun referring to an individual occurrence of the activity denoted, e.g., *pθa:xa* ‘opening, to open’, *pθaxta* ‘an opening’.

4.5.4 Tense-aspect-mood (TAM) categories and verbal modifiers

Alqosh, like other NENA dialects, has a rich array of TAM categories, despite a limited set of bases. These are formed by affixes, particles and auxiliary verbs. The Present Base, in particular, may be modified in many different ways (Table 27.19).

TABLE 27.19 TAM MODIFIERS OF PRESENT BASE FORMS

MODIFIER	MAIN FUNCTION	IN COMBINATION	TRANSLATION
Ø-	jussive	<i>jalpa</i>	‘let her learn’
Ø-	complement	<i>kəba d=jalpa</i>	‘she wants to learn’
<i>k-</i> (<i>g-</i> , <i>q-</i> , <i>kə-</i>)	indicative	<i>k-jalpa</i>	‘she learns’
<i>b--bəd-</i> (<i>bət-</i> , <i>p-</i> , <i>m-</i> , Ø-)	future	<i>b-jalpa ~ bəd-jalpa</i>	‘she will learn’
<i>jud=</i> (<i>jut-</i>)	jussive	<i>jud=jalpa</i>	‘let her learn’
<i>kəm-</i>	past perfective	<i>kəm-jalpa:-lə</i>	‘she learned it’
<i>dī-</i> (<i>dá-</i>)	immediate future	<i>dī-za:li</i>	‘I’m just about to go’
<i>zil-</i> (1 st person only)	prospective	<i>zil-jalpən</i>	‘I’m (M) going to learn’
<i>fwog/foq d=</i>	jussive	<i>foq d=yalpa</i>	‘let her learn’
<i>xof d=</i>	cohortative	<i>xof d=yalpəx</i>	‘let us learn’
<i>la:zəm/garag</i>	necessitive	<i>la:zəm yalpa</i>	‘she must learn’
<i>zil-S</i> (1 st person only)	prospective	<i>zilən yalpən</i>	‘I’m going to learn’

As in other NENA dialects, the past perfective prefix *kəm-* always co-occurs with object L-suffixes. The Present Base form with *kəm-* usually serves in place of Past Base forms whenever an object needs to be indexed, as only 3_{FSG} and 3_{PL} objects may be indexed on the Past Base (with S-suffixes). Thus one says (with no object indexed) *xze-la gora* (see.PAST-L.3_{FSG} man) ‘She saw a man’, but *kəm-xazj-a:-lux* (PST. PFV-see.PRES-S.3_{FSG}-L.2_{MSG}) ‘She saw you (MSG)’.

The particles *k-*, *b-*, *bəd-* and *jud=* follow the normal rules or tendencies of assimilation. Prefixes also follow the rules of syllable structure, disallowing the sequence CCC, so that when the addition of an affix causes a consonant cluster, an epenthetic vowel, ə, is usually inserted to break it up:

k- + mba:fəl > *kəmba:fəl* ‘he cooks’

When *kəm-* or *b-* (> *m-*) is prefixed to a stem beginning with /mC/, an /m/ is elided. This can cause ambiguity:

kəm- + mba:fəlla > *kəmba:fəlla* ‘he cooked it (F)’

kə- + mba:fəlla > *kəmba:fəlla* ‘he cooks it (F)’

b- + mba:fəl > *mba:fəl* ‘he will cook’

Ø- + *mba:fəl* > *mba:fəl* ‘he may cook’

Verbs formed on the Present and Past Bases may take an anterior affix *-wa* (*-wa:-*) directly after the base (or S-suffix if there is one) and before any L-suffix, i.e., PAST-S-*wa:-L*. This shifts the time reference (further) into the past, e.g., *pθəx-le* (open.PAST-L.3_{PL}) ‘they opened’, *pθəx-wa:-le* (open.PAST-ANT-L.3_{PL}) ‘they had opened’. With *-wa* there is no formal distinction between indicative and subjunctive (the *k-* prefix is not used), e.g., *paθx-a:-wa* ‘she used to open’, ‘she might open’. With roots III-*r/* or *rʷ*, where the L-suffix assimilates to the rhotic, the rhotic is treated as part of the L-suffix rather than the stem: thus *spera* (< **spər-ra* < **spər-la*; wait.PAST-L.3_{FSG}) ‘she waited’ and *spe-wa:-ra* (wait.PAST-ANT-L.3_{FSG}) ‘she had waited’, rather than the expected **spər-wa:-la* (wait.PAST-ANT-L.3_{FSG}).

4.5.5 Weak and irregular verbs

Weak verbs are those which have at least one weak radical, that is one radical that is /w/, /y/ or /ʔ/. They are regular according to their own rules. Irregular verbs, on the other hand, each have their own unique peculiarities. Weak and irregular verbs may behave like strong verbs in some parts of their paradigms. A selection of some common weak and irregular verbs is presented in Table 27.20.

ʔzl I has a special verb form unique to itself. The Past Base stem *zil-* may be inflected with 1st person S-suffixes to express a kind of immediate future ‘I’m/we’re going’:

- 14 *zil-ən* *l-baydad.* |
 go.IMM-S.1MSG to-Baghdad
 ‘I’m going to Baghdad’.

The same form is used as an auxiliary to express prospective aspect; it also occurs as an uninflected particle (Table 27.19) (see Coghill 2010b for the development of this construction).

4.6 Copulas, verboids and analytical verb forms

4.6.1 The copula

A noun, adjective or adverbial phrase is usually predicated by means of one of a set of copulas (Table 27.21). These do not share the same morphology as verbs, although there are some similarities.

TABLE 27.20 WEAK AND IRREGULAR VERB PARADIGMS

		ROOTS I-ʔ	ROOTS I-Y	IRREGULAR
		ʔxl I ‘to eat’	xzj I ‘to see’	ʔzl I ‘to go’
PRESENT BASE				
1	MSG	ʔaxlən	xa:zən	za:-li
	FSG	ʔaxlan	xazjan	za:-li
	PL	ʔaxləx	xa:zəx	za:-lan
2	MSG	ʔaxlət	xa:zət	za:-lux
	FSG	ʔaxlat	xazjat	za:-lax
	PL	ʔaxlu.tu(n)	xa:zotu(n)	zā-loxu(n)
3	MSG	ʔa:xəl	xa:zə	za:-lə
	FSG	ʔaxla	xazja	za:-la
	PL	ʔaxli	xa:zē	za:-le
k-		kixəl, kəxl-S	k-xa:zə, k-xazja	kizəl, kiz-S
PAST BASE		xəl-	xze-	zəl-
IMPERATIVE		SG ʔixul, PL ʔəxlu	MSG xzi, FSG xzē, PL xzo	MSG si, FSG sē, PL so
INFINITIVE		ʔixa:la	xza:ja	ʔiza:la
RES. PTCP		MSG xila, FSG xəlta	MSG xəzja, FSG xziθa	MSG zila, FSG zəlta
ACT. PTCP		MSG ʔaxa:la, FSG ʔaxalta	MSG xaza:ja, FSG xazēθa	MSG ʔaza:la, FSG ʔazalta

TABLE 27.21 THE COPULAS

	<i>PRESENT ENCLITIC</i>	<i>NEG. PRESENT</i>	<i>DEICTIC</i>	<i>PAST INDEPENDENT/CLITIC</i>	<i>NEG. PAST</i>
1	MSG =iwən	lewən ~ len	wowən ~ won	wənwa	la=wənwa
	FSG =iwan	lewan ~ len	wowan ~ won	wanwa	la=wanwa
	PL =iwəx	lewux ~ lex	wowəx ~ wox	wəxwa	la=wəxwa
2	MSG =iwət	lewət ~ let	wowət ~ wot	wətwa	la=wətwa
	FSG =iwat	lewat ~ let	wowat ~ wot	watwa	la=watwa
	PL =iwotu(n)	léwotu(n) ~ letu	wotu(n)	wótunwa	la=wotunwa
3	MSG =ilə	lelə	wolə	wewa	la=wewa
	FSG =ila	lela	wola	wa.wa	la=wa.wa
	PL =ile	lele	wolē	wēwa	la=wēwa

The present copula is purely enclitic. The /i/ of the present copula merges with any final vowel of the predicate:

- 15 a *dex* + =iwat > *dex=iwat?*
 how=PRS.COP.2FSG
 ‘How are you (FSG)?’
 b *ʔa:xa* + =ilə > *ʔa:xe=lə*
 here=PRS.COP.3MSG
 ‘He is here’.

The past copula may be independent or enclitic and may occur before or after the predicate (16a, b).

- 16 a *wewa* *kpina*,| *miθa* *m-kəpn-əh*.|
 PST.COP.3MSG hungry.MSG dead.MSG from-hunger-3MSG
 ‘He was hungry, dying from his hunger’.
 b *ʔəa=baxta* *mar-ʔira=wa.wa*
 INDF.F=woman possessor.of-zeal=PST.COP.3FSG
 ‘She was an active woman’.

The deictic and negated copulas always precede the predicate (17a–c).

- 17 a *mera* *qa:y* *le-t* *x-kul=na:fə?*
 say.PAST.L.3FSG why NEG.PRS.COP-2SG like-all=people
 ‘She said, “Why aren’t you like all (the other) people?”’
 b *wo-n* *nasá:x*.|
 DEI.COP-1SG ill
 ‘I am ill (currently)’.
 c *zəl-lə* *lə-sta:ð-əh*.| *ʔəlla* *wo-lə* *miθa!*
 go.PAST-L.3MSG to-master-3MSG lo! DEI.COP-3MSG dead.MSG
 ‘He went to his master – lo! he is dead!’

TABLE 27.22 THE EXISTENTIAL PARTICLES

	POSITIVE EXISTENTIAL		NEGATIVE EXISTENTIAL		TO REMAIN/BE LEFT	
PRESENT	<i>ʔiθ ~ ʔiθən</i>	‘there is/are’	<i>leθ ~ leθən</i>	‘there is/are no’	<i>piʃən</i>	‘there is/are . . . left’
PAST	<i>ʔəθwa</i>	‘there was/ were’	<i>laθwa</i>	‘there was/were no’	<i>piʃənwa</i>	‘there was/were . . . left’

TAM values not expressed by the copulas in Table 27.21 may be expressed with the inflected verb *hwj I* ‘to be’, for instance irrealis mood, the future tense, a general present, the past habitual etc. (18):

- 18 *ʔən ha:w-ət kpinə=u ʔa:lə| ʔi-bux ʃ=faql-ət-tə.*
 if be.PRES-S.2MSG hungry.MSG=and so.on EXIST-B.2MSG COMP=take.PRES-S.2MSG-L.3PL
 ‘If you are hungry and so on, you can take them [the fruit in the fields]’.
b-urx-ux k-a:w-ε.
 on-way-2MSG IND-be.PRES-S.3PL
 ‘They are [in general] on your way’.

4.6.2 The existential particles and their inflected forms

The existence of something can be predicated by means of one of the existential particles presented in Table 27.22.

Examples (19a–b) show them in use.

- 19 a *g-ba:rə d=iθən xa=na:ʃa miθa ta:ma.*
 IND-happen.PRES.3MSG COMP=EXIST INDF.M=person(M) dead.MSG there
 ‘Perhaps there is a dead person there’.
 b *piʃ xa=məndi xənna.*
 REMAIN one.M=thing(M) other.MSG
 ‘There is one more thing left’.

When inflected with L-suffixes, the existential particles express possessive predication, i.e. ‘to have’. The sequence */θl/ is realized as /tt/. Thus we find this: *ʔətti* ‘I have’, *latti* ‘I don’t have’. A further stem is *wəlle-*, used to express passive acquisition: *wəlleli* ‘I got, acquired’, *la=wəlleli* ‘I didn’t get’. Table 27.23 shows the paradigms.

For other TAM values, the L-suffixes may be affixed to 3MSG Present Base forms of the verb *hwj I* ‘to be’. Examples (20a–c) show the various types in use.

- 20 a *lat-tan ʃu=məndi d=axl-əx ʔəmməd=ʃtəθa.*
 NEG.EXIST-L.1PL NEG=thing COMP=eat.PRES-S.1PL with=drink
 ‘We don’t have anything to eat with the drink’.

TABLE 27.23 EXPRESSIONS OF POSSESSION AND ACQUISITION

		POSITIVE PRESENT	NEGATIVE PRESENT	POSITIVE PAST	NEGATIVE PAST	'GOT'	'DIDN'T GET'
1	SG	ʔətti	latti	ʔəθwa:li	láθwa:li	wǎlleli	la=wǎlleli
	PL	ʔəttan	lattan	ʔəθwa:lan	láθwa:lan	wǎllelan	la=wǎllelan
2	MSG	ʔəttux	lattux	ʔəθwa:lux	láθwa:lux	wǎllelux	la=wǎllelux
	FSG	ʔəttax	lattax	ʔəθwa:lax	láθwa:lax	wǎllexax	la=wǎllexax
	PL	ʔəttoxu(n)	láttoxu(n)	ʔəθwa:loxu(n)	láθwa:loxu(n)	wǎlleloxu(n)	la=wǎlleloxu(n)
3	MSG	ʔəttə	lattə	ʔəθwa:lə	láθwa:lə	wǎllelə	la=wǎllelə
	FSG	ʔətta	latta	ʔəθwa:la	láθwa:la	wǎllela	la=wǎllela
	PL	ʔətte	latte	ʔəθwa:le	láθwa:le	wǎllele	la=wǎllele

b *k-a.we-le* *kutfat.*
IND-be.PRES.3MSG-L.3PL every.year
'They have it every year'.

c *la=wǎlle-li* *pa:rə.*
NEG=got-L.1SG money
'I didn't get any money'.

With B-suffixes (identical to L-suffixes, but with *l-* replaced by *b-*), the existentials express location (21a) and ability (21b). The stem *wǎlle-* with B-suffixes expresses contingent (in)ability (21c).

21 a *u* *ʔalquf* *ʔi-ba* *tətté=ʔeta:θa.*
and Alqosh(F) EXIST-B.3FSG two.F=church.PL
'And Alqosh has two churches'.

b *láθ-wa:-bə* *də=mħa:rək-wa.*
NEG.EXIST-ANT-B.3MSG COMP=move.PRES.S.3MSG-ANT
'He couldn't move'.

c *mə-zdoθ-əħ* *gora* *la=wǎlle-bə* *z=za:-lə* *mmət=karwan.*
from-fear-3MSG man(M) NEG=got-B.3MSG COMP=go.PRES-L.3MSG with=caravan
'Out of fear, the man wasn't able to go with the caravan'.

4.6.3 Other verboids

There are a few other verboids attested, for instance *méka:-L* (22a) and *bass-POSS* (22b):

22 a *m-éka:-li* *pa:rə?*
from-where-L.1SG money
'Where could I get the money?'

b *bass-i.*
enough-1SG
'It is enough for me' or 'I have had enough'.

4.6.4 Analytical verb forms

The copulas and *hwj* I 'to be' are used with the infinitive (with preposition *b-* or its allomorphs) to express a present progressive. In the present tense, the decitic copula is

usually used (23a), unless it is a question (§5.7) or the copula is attached to the relative particle *d=*, in which case the enclitic present copula is used (23b, 23c).

- 23 a *wo-le* *b-iza:la* *mtaḏgorə*
 DEL.COP-3PL in-go.INF (in-)trade.INF
 ‘They are going trading’.
- b *bə-fma:ʔe=wat?*
 in-hear.INF=PRS.COP.2FSG
 ‘Are you (FSG) hearing me?’
- c *ʔan-d=ile* *bə-ʔra:qa*
 these-REL=PRS.COP.3PL in-run.INF
 ‘Those who are running’.
- d *wəxwa* *bə-spa:r-ah*
 PST.COP.1PL in-wait.INF-3FSG
 ‘We were waiting for it (FSG)’.
- e *m-qam* *juma:θa* *mbaʔolə* *ha:wε-wa* *ʔənʔə.*
 from-before days (in-)cook.INF be.PRS.S.3PL-ANT woman.PL
 ‘Days before, the women would be cooking’.

The copulas and *hwj* I ‘to be’ are also used with the resultative participle, to express a state or a resultative perfect:

- 24 a *wo-la* *plətʰ-tʰa.*
 DEL.COP-3FSG go_out.PTCP.RES-FSG
 ‘She’s gone out’.
- b *ʃ=le-n* *swe-ta.*
 yet=NEG.COP-1SG sate.PTCP.RES-FSG
 ‘I’m not full yet’.

With transitive verbs, the resultative participle may express either active (25a) or passive (25b) voice:

- 25 a *man=ilə* *mujəlp-ux?*
 who=PRS.COP.3MSG teach.PTCP.RES.MSG-2MSG
 ‘Who has taught you (MSG)?’
- b *molp-e=le.*
 teach.PTCP.RES-PL=PRS.COP.3PL
 ‘They have been taught’.

When objects (direct or indirect) are indexed on the analytical verb forms, it is with a possessive suffix (see 23d and 25a).

A dynamic passive can be formed using the auxiliary verb *pij* I ‘to become, to remain’ with the resultative participle:

- 26 *maθlə* *k-peʃ-i* *mir-ə* *go* *ʔalquʃ*
 proverb:PL IND-become.PRS-S.3PL say.PTCP.RES-PL in Alqosh
 ‘Proverbs [which] get said in Alqosh’.

An inchoative may be expressed using the same auxiliary verb (*pjif* I; 27a) or *fij* II ‘to begin’ (27b) along with the infinitive (prefixed by *b-* or its allomorphs).

- 27 a *pəf-lə* *m-manfoj-əh|* *m-mahkoyə* *mm-əh=u*
 become.PAST-L.3MSG in-forget.INF-3MSG in-speak.INF with-3MSG=and
 ‘He started distracting him, chatting with him’.
- b *u* *mfure-lan* *m-mahδ‘orə|*
 and begin.PAST-L.1PL in-prepare.INF
 ‘and we started preparing’.

4.7 Prepositions/conjunctions/adverbs

Only prepositions are found in Alqosh, not post- or circumpositions. Given here are the most common prepositions with their affixal forms in brackets (these take pronominal suffixes; see Table 27.4):

l- (*ʔəll-* ~ *-ll-*) ‘to, on to’, (*b*)*go* ~ *go* (*(b)ga:w-*) ‘in’, *m-* (*mənn-*) ‘from’, *x-* (*xwa:θ-*) ‘like’, *ta* (*t‘a:l-*) ‘to, for’, *ʔəmməd=* (*ʔəmm-*) ‘with’, *rəf* (*ref-*), *xu* ~ *xoθəd-* (*xoθ-*), (*m*)*baθər* (*baθr‘-*) ‘after, behind’, *qam-* ~ *qamməd=* (*qa:m-*) ‘before’ (spatial and temporal), *barqul* (*barqu:l-*) ‘opposite’, *gebəd=* (*geb-*) ‘at the house of’, *binəθ* (*bina:θ-*) ‘between’, *xawəδ‘ra:nəd=* (*xawəδ‘ra:n-*) ‘around’, *s‘ob-* ‘towards, near’, *baħás* ‘about’, *həl* ~ *wəl* ‘up to’, *m-badal* (*m-badl-*) ‘instead of’.

The following are the most common conjunctions:

u ‘and’, *fa* ‘so, for, you see’, *kud* ‘when’, *ʔən* ‘if’, *tad=* ‘so that’, *həl d=~ wəl d=* ‘until’, *lo* ~ *ʔaw* ~ *jan* ‘or’.

The following are some common adverbs. Adverbs may also be formed productively from nouns by prefixing them with the prepositions *b-* or *go* ‘in, with (instrumental)’, e.g., *p-qəsyu.θa* ‘harshly’:

ha:dax ‘thus’, *ham* ‘also’, *har* ‘just, always’, *bas* ‘only, just’, *həf~f=* ‘still’, *lappəf* ‘no longer’, *ʔega* ‘then’, *ʔəlla* ‘lo and behold!’, *ʔa:xa* ‘here’, *ta:ma* ‘there’, *lʔel* ‘above’, *ltex* ‘below’, *təmmal* ‘yesterday’, *s‘apra* ‘tomorrow’, *ʔomaxənnə* ‘the day before yesterday, the day after tomorrow’, *mxu/ka* ‘in the morning’, *kabira* ‘much, very’, *xá=qəs‘s‘a* ~ *xəqs‘a* ‘a little’.

5 SYNTAX

5.1 Types of predication

Most clauses contain a verb or a verboid, though clauses without also occur.

5.1.1 Clauses containing a verb

Clauses containing a verb always have a subject argument. This is obligatorily indexed on the verb, whether or not a conominal is present (28a, b):

- 28 a *sʰhe-le.* |
become_thirsty.PAST-L.3PL
‘They became thirsty’.
b *qəm-la jəmm-i*
get_up.PAST-L.3FSG mother-1SG
‘My mother got up’.

Word order in verbal clauses is conditioned by information structure, rather than syntactic role. A primary topic usually appears clause-initially (29a, b) (though it may be preceded by frame-setting adverbials):

- 29 a *fa . . . təttə=fwoja:θa b-ʕa:sʰərta derʕe.* |
so two.F=female.neighbour:PL in-evening return.PAST.L.3PL
‘So . . . the two neighbours returned in the evening’.
b *u ləxma raqiqa mtʕa:pé-wa:-lə go manzaq.* |
and bread(M) fine.M stick.PRES.S.3PL-ANT-L.3MSG INS oven_tool
‘And the fine bread they stuck (inside the oven) with an oven-tool’.

5.1.2 Clauses containing a copula

The verboid copulas are used to predicate adjectives, nouns, locations and other adverbial phrases. The present copula is encliticized to the predicate; the past copula may come before or after the predicate, while the deictic and negated copulas precede the predicate (§4.6.1).

If a TAM value other than simple present, simple past or deictic present is required, then the verb *hwj* I ‘to be’ is conjugated as appropriate. It may precede (30a) or follow (30b) the predicate depending on the information structure of the clause:

- 30 a *u ʔodʕa:θa ha:wε-wa pfitʕ-ə* |
and room:PL be.PRES.S.3PL-ANT simple-PL
‘And the rooms were [in general] simple’.
b *treʔ tʕla:θa k-a:wε . . . | ʔa.ni . . . d=amr-əx-le na:tʕorʕə.* |
two.M three.M IND-be.PRES.S.3PL these REL=say.PRES-S.1PL-L.3PL guard.PL
na:tʕorʕə k-a:wε. |
guard:PL IND-be.S.3PL
‘Two or three are . . . those that we call “guards”. They are guards’.

5.1.3 *Clauses without a verb or verboid*

Clauses without a verb or verboid are limited in the corpus of transcribed texts to two specific types. One is the circumstantial clause, described in §5.8.2. The other is a clause beginning with a demonstrative referring back to the preceding discourse, which expresses a clarification or a summing up before moving on to the next topic (31a, b):

- 31 a (A description of how various types of bread were made, in answer to a question about bread- and cheese-making, is followed by:)
ʔa:j ləxma. | da:r^ʕ-əx l-gupta. |
 this bread return.PRES-S.1PL to-cheese
 ‘So that’s bread. Let’s go back to cheese’.
- b (A description of the game of Kisxure is followed by:)
ʔa:j t-kəsxu:rə. | w=iθən də-s^ʕla:wa. |
 this GEN-Kisxure and=EXIST GEN-Slawā
 ‘That’s [the game] of Kisxure. And then there’s [the game] of Slawā’.

5.1.4 *Existential clauses*

The existential particles (§4.6.2) predicate the existence of something (the ‘existee’). They usually precede the existee, but not always. They may be inflected with L-suffixes to index the possessor or B-suffixes to index the location. The possessor or location itself, if expressed as a co-nominal, is not flagged (see, e.g., examples 21a, 21c). The existee is not indexed or flagged in any way:

- 32 a *ʔəθ-wa xa=ba:ba | u ʔəθ-wa:-lə xa=brona ʕaziza. |*
 EXIST-ANT INDF.M=father(M) and EXIST-ANT-L.3MSG INDF.M=son(M) only.MSG
 ‘There (once) was a father and he had an only son’.
- b (‘She said, “I’m going to see the lower field.”’)
lan tət^té=ʔara:θa ʔəθ-wa:-lan. |
 because two.F=field(F):PL EXIST-ANT-L.1PL
 ‘Because we had *two* fields’.

5.2 **Conditions for object indexing on verbs**

Pronominal objects, direct or indirect, are normally indexed on the verb:

- 33 a *zəl-lan l-ʔara:θa. | kəm-xa:z-əx-lə=u der^ʕan. |*
 go.PAST-L.1PL to-field:PL PST.PFV-see.PRES-S.1PL-L.3PL=and return.
 PAST.L.1PL
 ‘We went to the fields. We saw them and came back’.
- b *b-ya:w-an-nux ʔḍa-paθəxta*
 FUT-give.PRES-S.1FSG-L.2MSG INDF.F=pitta.F
 ‘I’ll give you a *pitta*-bread’.

In ditransitive constructions, two pronominal objects (direct/theme and indirect) may be indexed on the verb (§4.5.2):

- 34 *bas di-parx-ən-nux-ilə* | *n=marəḵx-ən-nə* |
 just IMM-rub-S.1MSG-L.2MSG-PRS.COP.3MSG COMP=soften.PRES-S.1MSG-L.3MSG
 ‘I’m just going to massage it for you, to soften it’.

Under certain conditions a pronominal indirect object must or may be expressed outside the verb, flagged by the preposition *ta* ‘to, for’ (*tʿa:l-*). This is obligatory when the theme is 1st or 2nd person, as in example (35) (see Coghill 2010a: 229–30):

- 35 *mʿadr-an-nux* | *tʿa:l-əḥ* |
 (FUT-)send.PRES-S.1FSG-L.2MSG DAT-3MSG
 ‘I’ll (F) send you (MSG) to him’.

When there is a nominal object, it is indexed on the verb if it is definite and topical (whether primary or, as in example 36, secondary topic):

- 36 (A sparrow got a thorn in its foot. . .)
kəm-mapəltʿ-a:-lə | *kətw-əḥ* |
 PST.PFV-take_out.PRES-S.3FSG-L.3MSG thorn-3MSG
 ‘She took out his thorn’.

Differential object indexing of this type appears to be universal across the NENA dialects; in some other dialects there is also differential object flagging (Coghill 2014).

5.3 Noun modification

A noun may be modified by an adjective, another noun, a demonstrative, a numeral (including *xa* ‘one’, which also serves as an indefinite article) or a quantifier. Modification by a clause is described in §5.4.

Adjectives normally follow the noun modified and agree in gender and number (§4.3). Demonstratives (§4.1.2), cardinal numerals (§4.4.1) and quantifiers (e.g., *xa=qəsʿsʿa~xaqsʿa* ‘a little’, *xakma* ‘some’, *kabirə* ‘many’¹¹) precede the noun. A modifying noun follows the head noun in one of two genitive constructions, expressing possession and other semantic relationships. Either the head noun takes the construct suffix *-əd* (37a), or the modifying noun takes the genitive¹² prefix *d-*. The second construction occurs more often when the nouns are separated by another element or a pause (37c). Nouns may be linked in a longer chain in both ways (37b, c):

- 37 a *ba:t-əd=ʔalquf*
 house.PL-CST=Alqosh
 ‘houses of Alqosh’

- b *jom-əd=ref-əf=fɑ:ta*
 day-CST=head-CST=year
 ‘New Year’s day’
- c *ʔeða=wewa* *d-ləbb-əd=iʃof*
 festival(M)=PST.COP.3MSG GEN-heart-CST=Jesus
 ‘It was the festival of Jesus’ heart’.

5.4 Relative clauses

Relative clauses also modify a noun using the same two constructions as non-clausal components (§5.3).

- 38 a *der^s-əd=rabban=orməz, | d=ilə p-t^u.ra |*
 monastery-CST=Rabban=Hormiz REL=PRS.COP.3MSG LOC-mountain
t=kul=na:ʃə k-eð-i-lə=u | . . .
 REL=all=people(PL) IND-know-S.3PL-L.3MSG=and
 ‘the monastery of Rabban Hormizd, which is on the mountain, which all the
 people know and. . .’
- b *ʔila:n-əd=la=k-ja:wəl per^sə |*
 tree(M)-CST=NEG=IND-give.PRES.S.3MSG fruit:PL
 ‘The tree that yields no fruit’.

Noun phrases with both a genitive construction and an adjective are not common, but example (39) shows that it is possible for the construct suffix to attach to an adjective modifying the head noun (something also attested in the C. Barwar and J. Zakho dialects, see Gutman 2018: 99–100):

- 39 *joma qama:j-ət=fɑ:ta*
 day(M) first.M-CST=year
 ‘the first day of the year’.

5.5 Co-ordination of constituents

Noun phrases, adjectives, adverbs and other elements within a clause are coordinated by the unstressed particle *u ~ =u ~ u = ~ w =* ‘and’. This may be encliticized to the preceding or procliticized to the following element. Other co-ordinators are *jan ~ lo ~ ʔaw* ‘or’, *u la:* ‘nor’ and *u ham* ‘also’. These often occur in pairs: *jan X jan X* ‘either X or Y’, *la: X u la: Y* ‘neither X nor Y’ and *ham X u ham Y* ‘both X and Y’:

- 40 a *tad=la:pa:jəf la: naqiða=u la: xlima. |*
 PURP=NEG=become.PRES.S.3MSG not thin.MSG=and not thick.MSG
 ‘so that it becomes neither thin nor thick’.

5.6 Negation

The negators are *la=*, *la:* and *fɪu=*. Usually the negator forms a stress group with the modified word and takes the main stress.

5.6.1 *Negation of constituents*

Constituents of a clause, e.g., nouns, adjectives or adverbial phrases may be negated by the preposed, stressed particle *la*:= (41a, b):

- 41 a *ʃu:l-ə la:=tʰa:w-ə*
 thing-PL NEG=GOOD-PL
 ‘bad things, ‘things (that) are not good’
- b *tu:ma tari, yaʕni, | la:=tu:ma mən d-a:ni ʃəʕsʕə.*
 garlic fresh I.mean NEG=garlic from GEN-these cloves
 ‘Fresh [i.e. green] garlic, I mean, not garlic from these cloves’.

Negative pronouns or adverbs are formed with the negator *ʃu*:=, borrowed from Kurmanji: *ʃu=məndi* (NEG=thing) ‘nothing’, *ʃu=na:ʃa* (NEG=person) ‘no-one’, *ʃu=dukθa* (NEG=place) ‘nowhere’. If a negated constituent (whether with *la*:= or *ʃu*:=) is in a clause, then the verb is negated as well:

- 42 *la=k-u:ð-ən-nux ʃu=məndi ʔədjü.*
 NEG=IND-do.PRES-S.1MSG-L.2MSG NEG=thing today
 ‘I won’t do anything to you today’.

5.6.2 *Negation of verbs*

Verbs in any TAM form are negated by the proclitic particle *la*, which usually takes the main stress (43a, b). It precedes any TAM prefix (43a).

- 43 a *la=k-taxr-ən-na.*
 NEG=IND-remember.PRES-S.1MSG-L.3FSG
 ‘I don’t remember it (f)’.
- b *la=ʃme-lə qa:l-əd=ba:b-əh.*
 NEG=hear.PAST-L.3MSG voice-CST=father-3MSG
 ‘He didn’t heed his father’ (lit. ‘hear his father’s voice’).

The future tense with *b*~*bəd*- cannot be directly negated: instead the negated present indicative form is used (see example 42), and the tense distinction is neutralized (compare 43a). The imperative also cannot be negated directly: instead the negated present subjunctive (unprefixed Present Base) is used:

- 44 *la=ba:x-ət*
 NEG=cry.PRES-S.2MSG
 ‘Don’t cry!’

5.6.3 *Negation of verboids*

Verboids, like verbs, are negated by *la*:=, but in many cases the particle has merged with the verboid form, e.g., *la=+ilə* [NEG=PRS.COP.3MSG] > *lələ* ‘he is not’ and *la=+iθ* [NEG=EXIST] > *ləθ* ‘there is/are not’.

5.7 Interrogative sentences

Polar interrogative sentences are typically distinguished from declarative sentences only by intonation, that is, a rising pitch usually with lengthening of the final syllable, as is the case in example (45):

- 45 *g-da:l-at-ta?*
 IND-perceive.PRES-S.2FSG-L.3FSG
 ‘Can you (FSG) see it (FSG)?’

The deictic copula *wolə* is not attested in polar interrogative sentences. In contexts where it might be expected, such as the present progressive construction, it is replaced by the enclitic present copula:

- 46 *bə-fma:ʔe=wat?*
 in-hear.INF=PRS.COP.2FSG
 ‘Are you (FSG) hearing me?’

Other interrogative sentences are introduced by interrogative words (§4.1.3). These usually come first in the clause and normally take the nuclear stress. Any enclitic copula will usually encliticize to the interrogative:

- 47 *ʔa:ʔət MAN=iwət=u | MA: kəm-məθe-lux ʔa:xa?*
 you.MSG who=PRS.COP.2MSG=and what PST.PFV-bring.PRES.S.3MSG-L.2MSG here
 ‘You, who are you? And what brought you here?’

5.8 Clause combining

5.8.1 Coordination of clauses

Clauses, like constituents, may be coordinated with *u* ‘and’ and *lo* ‘or’. Another particle used is *fa* (< Arab. *fā*) ‘so, for, you see’.

- 48 a *ʔarjoθe=lə lo xa=məndi xənnε=lə.*
 ʔaryoθa=PRS.COP.3MSG or INDF.M=thing other.M=PRS.COP.3MSG
 ‘(I don’t know whether) it is *ʔarjoθa* [a kind of thornbush] or something else’.
- b (‘I mean . . . whoever went there – those times were not good – perhaps they’d be killed’.)
fa baxta sota=wa.wa. | ʔa:j la=mtaxəml-a:-wa b-an=fu:lə.
 for woman(F)old.F=PST.COP.3FSG this NEG=think.PRES-S.3FSG-ANT about-these=things
 ‘For she was an old woman, you see. *She* didn’t think about those things’.

5.8.2 Subordination of clauses

Certain verbs and verboids take a finite verb complement in the subjunctive (with no TAM prefix), introduced by the complementizer particle *d=*:

- 49 a *k-əb-ən d=mahk-ən l-eḏawa:θa.*
 IND-want.PRES-S.1MSG COMP=speak.PRES-S.1MSG about-festival:PL
 ‘I’d like to speak about the festivals’.

- b *fwoq-lan* *t=xɑ:z-əx-lux* *gɑ:ːxərta.*
 let.IMP.SG-L.1PL COMP=see.PRES-S.1PL-L.2MSG time(F)=other.FSG
 ‘Let us see you again’.

Factive complements are also introduced by *d=*, but the *d=* is often omitted:

- 50 a *fme-lə* | *d=iłə* *bron-əh* *b-ε=mđita.*
 hear.PAST-L.3MSG COMP=PRS.COP.3MSG son-3MSG in-that.F=town(F)
 ‘He heard that his son was in that town’.
 b *k-xafw-ən* *ʔət-tə* *bεθa.*
 IND-think.PRES-S.1MSG EXIST-L.3MSG house
 ‘I think he has a house’.

The protasis of a conditional clause is usually introduced by *ʔən* ‘if’ or *ʔəlla* ‘if not, unless’:

- 51 *w=əlla* *ʔiðe-lux.* | *p-qat^c-ən-nə* *qar-ux.*
 and=if.not know.PAST-L.2MSG FUT-cut.PRES-S.1MSG-L.3MSG head(M)-2MSG
 ‘And if you don’t know, I’ll cut off your head!’

Other kinds of subordinate clauses are introduced by a variety of conjunctions (see §4.7 for a selection):

- 52 a *kud* *qəm-lə.* | *kəm-xɑ:ze-lə* *bron-əh.*
 when get_up.PAST-L.3MSG PST.PFV-see.PRES.S.3MSG-L.3MSG son-3MSG
 ‘When he got up, he saw his son’.
 b *m-ma.x-ət-tə* *l-qatta* *tad=ʕalj-a* *m-ʔara.*
 FUT-hit.PRES-S.2MSG-L.3MSG on-stick(F) PURP=go_up.PRES-S.3FSG from-
 ground
 ‘You’ll hit it on the stick so that it goes up from the ground’.

A circumstantial clause (‘while. . .’) is introduced by *u* ‘and’ and lacks a copula:

- 53 *u* *fət-lə* *zəna.* | *u* *jəmma* *b-ima:ra* *ta ba:ba.*
 and pass.PAST-L.3MSG time(M) and mother in-say.INF to father
 ‘And time passed, while the mother was saying to the father . . .’

6 LEXICON

While the basic vocabulary of Alqosh is primarily inherited from Semitic, like other NENA dialects, Alqosh has many loan words from neighboring languages. The most well established are from Kurmanji Kurdish (more specifically the Bahdini dialects spoken in northern Iraq), but more and more Arabic words are coming into common use. The Kurds are the majority ethnic group in NENA-speaking region, but Alqosh lies not far from Mosul, where Arabic is spoken, and there are villages very close by where Arabic is spoken. Arabic is, moreover, the language of the state since the formation of Iraq, and military service, migration and the media have brought NENA speakers into ever more frequent contact with it. Most influence comes from vernacular Iraqi dialects, rather than

Standard Arabic. Some Arabic words have been borrowed indirectly, via Kurmanji; this may be apparent from the form of the word or its gender (e.g., *qala:ma* F ‘pen’ < Kurm. *qelem* F~M, cf. Arab. *qalam* M). Other sources of words are the colonial languages: Ottoman Turkish (from the time of the Ottoman Empire), French (mainly from the church, due to the presence of French Jesuits in the region) and English (from the time of the British Mandate in Iraq).

Borrowed nouns and adjectives may be integrated to varying extents. In many cases the nominal ending *-a* is added, e.g., *barxa* ‘lamb’ (< Kurm. *berx*). There are also loan words without the *-a*, e.g., *mes* ‘table’ (< Iraqi Arab. *mēz* < Portuguese). Loan words sometimes bear the feminine suffix *-ta/-θa*, e.g., *darguſta* f. ‘cradle’ (< Kurm. *dergûş* f.). Loan words may also take Aramaic plural inflection, although an Arabic plural suffix has also been borrowed (§4.2.3). Borrowed nouns may be given Aramaic derivational suffixes, e.g. *dəzmənu:θa* ‘enmity’, composed of *dəzmən* ‘enemy’ (< Kurm. *dijmin*) and the abstract derivational suffix *-u:θa*.

There is a surprising number of loan verbs in Alqosh and NENA generally. In order to fit to the Semitic root-and-pattern system, a tri- or quadriradical root is usually extracted from the donor word. Most loan verbs are from Arabic, perhaps because these already have a root, which in many cases can simply be adopted as it is. For instance, Arab. *fbh i* ‘to resemble’ is borrowed as Alqosh *fbh I* ‘to resemble’. Sometimes the root is adapted to conform to the particular rules of root-formation in Alqosh. The loan verb must still be allocated to a derivational class (Coghill 2015). The root-extraction strategy is also possible with non-Semitic donor languages.

7 SAMPLE TEXT

An excerpt of a traditional children’s story in the Alqosh dialect is given here, fully glossed and translated. The complete story is published in Coghill (2009), along with other variants of the same story, told in different dialects.

- ʔəθwa=u laθwa* *XA=BEDIKA*.| *jəklə kətwə* *B-AQLƏH*.|
ʔəθ-wa=u *laθ-wa* *xa=bedika*
 EXIST-ANT=and NEG.EXIST-ANT INDF.M=sparrow
 ‘Once upon a time there was (lit. ‘there was and there wasn’t’) a sparrow.’
jək-lə *kətwə* *b-aql-əh*
 get_stuck.PAST-L.3MSG thorn.M in-foot-3MSG
 ‘A thorn got stuck in his foot.’
- zellə* *BƏFYA:RʕA*,| *xzelə* *YDA=SOTA*.| *ʔa:mərwə: wə sətə!* | *máplətʕlə kətwi!*
zəl-lə *bə-fya:rʕa* *xze-lə* *yða=sota*
 go.PAST-L.3MSG in-fly.INF see.PAST-L.3MSG INDF.F=old.woman
 ‘He went flying, he saw an old woman.’
ʔa:mər-wa *wə* *sət-ó!* *máplətʕ-lə* *kətw-i*
 say.PRES.3MSG-ANT hey old.woman-DIM take_out.IMP.SG-L.3MSG thorn-1SG
 ‘He said, “Hey, Granny! Take out my thorn!”’
- ʔamra:wa*: *HAYYU*.| *kəmməpəltʕa:lə kətwəh*,| *kəməhalqə:lə p-tanu:ra*.|
ʔamr-a:-wa *hayyu* *kəm-məpəltʕ-a:-lə* *kətw-əh*
 say.PRES-3FSG-ANT come.IMP.SG PST.PFV-take.out.PRES-S.3FSG-L.3MSG thorn-3MSG

- 'She said, "Come!" She took out his thorn,'
kəm-ħalq-a:-lə *p-tanu:ra*
 PST.PFV-throw.PRES-S.3FSG-L.3MSG in-oven
 'she threw it into the oven.'
- 4 *pəʃlə BƏBXA:YA | ʔa:mərwɑ: ʔu:, kəbən KƏTWI!*
pəʃ-lə *bə-bxa:ya ʔa:mər-wa* *ʔu: k-əb-ən* *kətw-i*
 become.PAST-L.3MSG in-cry.INF say.PRES.3MSG-ANT oh IND-want.PRES-1MSG thorn-1SG
 'He started crying. He said, "Oh, I want my thorn!"'
- 5 *ʔamra:wa: LA=BA:XƏT, | bya:wannux ʔDA=PAƏXTA.*
ʔamr-a:-wa *la=ba:x-ət* *b-ya:w-an-nux* *ʔdə=paθəxta*
 say.PRES-3FSG-ANT NEG=cry.PRES-S.2MSG FUT-give.PRES-S.1FSG-L.2MSG INDF.F=pitta(F)
 'She said, "Don't cry! I'll give you a pitta-bread."'
- 6 *ʔa:mərwɑ: HALLI. | ʃqəllə PAƏXTA=W | pəʃlə FYA:RʕA.*¹³
ʔa:mər-wa *hal-li*
 say.PRES.S.3MSG-ANT give.IMP.SG-L.1SG
 'He said, "Give it to me."'
ʃqəl-lə *paθəxta=w* *pəʃ-lə* *ʃya:rʕa*
 take.PAST-L.3MSG pitta=and become.PAST-L.3MSG (in-)fly.INF
 'He took the pitta-bread and started flying.'

ADDITIONAL ABBREVIATIONS AND GLOSSING CONVENTIONS USED IN THIS CHAPTER

I, II, II₂, III, Q	NENA verbal derivation patterns
ANT	anterior (shifting the time reference back, glossing <i>-wa</i> ~ <i>-wa:-</i>)
Arab.	Arabic
B	B-suffix
BASE	Present or Past Base
C.	Christian (dialect)
CSyr	Classical Syriac
Ct, St	NENA verbal derivation patterns borrowed from Arabic
J.	Jewish (dialect)
JBA	Jewish Babylonian Aramaic
Kurm.	Kurmanji Kurdish
L	L-suffix
NENA	Northeastern Neo-Aramaic
NP	noun phrase
PAST	Past Base
Pers.	Persian
PRES	Present Base
PST.PFV	past perfective (glossing the convertor prefix <i>kəm-</i>)
PTCP.RES	resultative participle
REMAIN	existential expressing to remain
S	S-suffix
<i>SMALL CAPS</i>	nuclear stress in intonation phrase

Turk.	Turkish
=	links two words or morphemes in a phrase with a single stress on the second component (including but not limited to proclitics)
=	links two words or morphemes in a phrase with a single stress on the first component (including but not limited to enclitics)
	intonation phrase boundary
()	In the gloss this indicates a morpheme that has been elided via assimilation (typically a labial before another labial), but whose function remains, e.g. <i>mʃaðr-ən</i> [(FUT-)send.PRES-S.1MSG] ‘I will send you’, which is underlyingly * <i>m-mʃaðr-ən</i> < * <i>b-mʃaðr-ən</i> . In Aramaic words, the sound within the brackets may optionally be omitted, for instance (<i>m</i>) <i>faxlopə</i> ‘to change’ has two variants: <i>mʃaxlopə</i> and <i>faxlopə</i> .

NOTES

- 1 Additional abbreviations and glossing conventions used in this chapter are listed at the end of the chapter.
- 2 The communal differentiation resembles the situation for Arabic in parts of the Middle East and North Africa. Cf. Blanc’s (1964) study of the communal dialects of Baghdad.
- 3 The /r/ in Alqosh is typically realized as a retroflex lateral flap, an apparently rare sound found also in Pashto. There is no dedicated IPA sign for this, so I have used the sign for the lateral flap plus the retroflex hook.
- 4 This sound (the Arabic *ʕayn*) is conventionally described as a fricative, the voiced counterpart of /h/, but is now thought to be more accurately described as an approximant (Ladefoged and Maddieson 1996: 168–9).
- 5 Classical Syriac is here transcribed in IPA, broadly phonemically. The (mostly) allophonic stop-fricative distinction known as *beḡadkeḗṯ* is indicated, for the reader’s information, as it has become phonemic in NENA: the fricative realization is indicated with a line above or below the letter. Purely orthographic (unpronounced) letters are written in superscript, as in CSyr *ʕe:^ʔda*: ‘festival’, where the glottal stop is not pronounced.
- 6 See Coghill (2008: 96–7) for a possible explanation of this development as disambiguating between the 3rd person singular possessive suffixes and the most common nominal inflections (SG -a, PL -ə).
- 7 In the transcription, the normal equals sign “=” links two words or morphemes in a phrase with a single stress on the second component (including but not limited to proclitics), while the short equals sign “=” links two words or morphemes in a phrase with a single stress on the first component (including but not limited to enclitics). The sign “[” indicates an intonation phrase boundary. The nuclear stress in an intonation phrase is indicated with small caps, but only in the sample text or where nuclear stress is being discussed.
- 8 The main sources used for Kurmanji and Iraqi Arabic words are Chyet (2003) and Woodhead, Beene and Stowasser (1967), respectively.
- 9 This suffix is borrowed from Arabic -a:t but occurs also with Kurdish loans. See Coghill (2005) for more details on noun plurals.
- 10 See Coghill (2015) for a discussion of these derivations in the NENA dialects of the Mosul Plain from the perspective of borrowed morphology.

- 11 *Kabirā* ‘many’, uniquely among the quantifier expressions (which are a morpho-syntactically diverse group), may also occur after the noun, e.g., *kabirā ʔalqufna:jā* ‘many Alqoshis’ and *na:fā kabirā* ‘many people’.
- 12 ‘Genitive’ is perhaps not an ideal term. *D-NP* may also occur without a head noun, in which case *d-* could be viewed as a kind of pronoun (Gutman 2018: 38–9, 174–6).
- 13 *Fja:rʿa* here is a variant of the progressive form *bəfja:rʿa* ‘flying’, where the *b-* prefix has entirely assimilated to the initial labio-dental of the infinitive (*fja:rʿa* < **f-fja:rʿa* < **b-fja:rʿa*).

REFERENCES

- Blanc, Haim. *Communal Dialects in Baghdad*. Harvard Middle Eastern Monographs. Cambridge, MA: Distributed for the Center for Middle Eastern Studies of Harvard University by Harvard University Press, 1964.
- Chyet, Michael L. *Kurdish-English Dictionary = Ferhenga Kurmancî-İnglîzî*. Yale Language Series. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003.
- Coghill, Eleanor. “The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Alqosh.” University of Cambridge, 2004.
- Coghill, Eleanor. “The Morphology and Distribution of Noun Plurals in the Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Alqosh.” In *Studi Afroasiatici. Xi Incontro Italiano Di Linguistica Camitosemitica*, edited by Alessandro Mengozzi, 337–48. Milan: FrancoAngeli, 2005.
- Coghill, Eleanor. “Some Notable Features in North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic Dialects of Iraq.” In *Neo-Aramaic Dialect Studies: Proceedings of a Workshop on Neo-Aramaic Held in Cambridge 2005*, edited by Geoffrey Khan. Gorgias Neo-Aramaic Studies, 91–104. Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2008.
- Coghill, Eleanor. “Four Versions of a Neo-Aramaic Children’s Story.” *ARAM* 21 (2009): 251–80.
- Coghill, Eleanor. “Ditransitive Constructions in the Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Telkepe.” In *Studies in Ditransitive Constructions: A Comparative Handbook*, edited by Andrej Malchukov, Martin Haspelmath and Bernard Comrie, 221–42. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 2010a.
- Coghill, Eleanor. “The Grammaticalization of Prospective Aspect in a Group of Neo-Aramaic Dialects.” *Diachronica* 27.3 (2010b): 359–410.
- Coghill, Eleanor. “Differential Object Marking in Neo-Aramaic.” *Linguistics* 52.2 (Mar 2014): 335–64.
- Coghill, Eleanor. “Borrowing of Verbal Derivational Morphology between Semitic Languages: The Case of Arabic Verb Derivations in Neo-Aramaic.” In *Borrowed Morphology*, edited by Francesco Gardani, Peter Arkadiev and Nino Amiridze. Language Contact and Bilingualism, 83–108. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 2015.
- Fassberg, Steven E. *The Jewish Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Challa*. Studies in Semitic Languages and Linguistics. Edited by Hezy Mutzafi, C. H. M. Versteegh and Aaron Rubin, D. Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2010.
- Friedrich, Johannes. “Neusyrisches in Lateinschrift Aus Der Sowjetunion.” *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 109 (n.F. 34). 1 (1959): 50–81.
- Friedrich, Johannes. *Zwei Russische Novellen in Neusyrischer Übersetzung Und Lateinschrift: Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft. Abhandlungen Für Die Kunde Des Morgenlandes*. Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1960.
- Gutman, Ariel. *Attributive Constructions in North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic*. Studies in Diversity Linguistics, edited by Martin Haspelmath, Berlin: Language Science Press, 2018.

- Khan, Geoffrey. *A Grammar of Neo-Aramaic: The Dialect of the Jews of Arbel*. Handbook of Oriental Studies. Section 1 the near and Middle East. Leiden: Brill, 1999.
- Khan, Geoffrey. *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Qaraqosh*. Studies in Semitic Languages and Linguistics. Edited by T. Muraoka and C. H. M. Versteegh. Leiden: Brill, 2002.
- Khan, Geoffrey. *The Jewish Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Sulemaniyya and Halabja*. Studies in Semitic Languages and Linguistics, edited by Hezy Mutzafi and C. H. M. Versteegh. Leiden: Brill, 2004.
- Khan, Geoffrey. "The North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic Dialects." *Journal of Semitic Studies* 52.1 (2007): 1–20.
- Khan, Geoffrey. "The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Barwar." In *Handbook of Oriental Studies, Section One: The near and Middle East*, edited by W. H. van Soldt, 3 vols. Leiden: Brill, 2008a.
- Khan, Geoffrey. *The Jewish Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Urmi*. Gorgias Neo-Aramaic Studies. Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2008b.
- Khan, Geoffrey. "The Jewish Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Sanandaj." In *Gorgias Neo-Aramaic Studies*, edited by Geoffrey Khan and Hezy Mutzafi. Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2009.
- Khan, Geoffrey. "North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic." Chap. 40 In *Semitic Languages: An International Handbook*, edited by Stefan [in collaboration with Geoffrey Khan Weninger, Michael P. Streck, 708–24. Berlin; Boston: De Gruyter Mouton, 2011.
- Khan, Geoffrey. *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of the Assyrian Christians of Urmi: Volume 4: Texts*. Studies in Semitic Languages and Linguistics. Edited by Aaron D. Rubin and Ahmad Al-Jallad, 4 vols. Vol. 86, Leiden: Brill, 2016.
- Ladefoged, Peter and Ian Maddieson. *The Sounds of the World's Languages. Phonological Theory*. Oxford; Cambridge, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 1996.
- Macleay, Arthur John. *A Dictionary of the Dialects of Vernacular Syriac as Spoken by the Eastern Syrians of Kurdistan, Northwest Persia, and the Plain of Mosul*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1901.
- Mengozi, Alessandro. *Israel of Alqosh and Joseph of Telkepe. A Story in a Truthful Language: Religious Poems in Vernacular Syriac (North Iraq, 17th Century). Vol. I: Text and Glossary. Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium*. 2 vols. Vol. I, Lovanii: Peeters, 2002a.
- Mengozi, Alessandro. *Israel of Alqosh and Joseph of Telkepe. A Story in a Truthful Language: Religious Poems in Vernacular Syriac (North Iraq, 17th Century). Vol. II: Introduction and Translation. Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium*. 2 vols. Vol. II, Lovanii: Peeters, 2002b.
- Murre-van den Berg, Heleen. *From a Spoken to a Written Language: The Introduction and Development of Literary Urmia Aramaic in the Nineteenth Century. Publication of the De Goeje Fund*. Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1999.
- Mutzafi, Hezy. *The Jewish Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Koy Sanjaq (Iraqi Kurdistan)*. Semitic Viva, edited by Otto Jastrow. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2004.
- Mutzafi, Hezy. *The Jewish Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Betamure (Province of Dihok)*. Semitica Viva, edited by Otto Jastrow. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2008.
- Oraham, Alexander Joseph. *Oraham's Dictionary of the Stabilized and Enriched Assyrian Language and English*. Chicago: Consolidated Press (Assyrian Press of America), 1943.

- Pennacchietti, Fabrizio A. and Mauro Tosco. *Testi Neo-Aramaici Dell'unione Sovietica Raccolti Da Enrico Cerulli*. Series Minor. Napoli: Istituto universitario orientale, Dipartimento di studi asiatici, 1991.
- Sabar, Yona. *Pəšaṭ Wayəḥî Bəšallah, a Neo-Aramaic Midrash on Beshallah (Exodus): Introduction, Phonetic Transcription, Translation, Notes, and Glossary*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrasowitz, 1976.
- Sabar, Yona. *A Jewish Neo-Aramaic Dictionary: Dialects of Amidyā, Dihok, Nerwa and Zakho, Northwestern Iraq*. Semitica Viva. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2002.
- Woodhead, Daniel R., Wayne Beene, and Karl Stowasser. *A Dictionary of Iraqi Arabic: Arabic-English*. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 1967.

GENERAL NORTHEASTERN NEO-ARAMAIC BIBLIOGRAPHY

Overview

Two short overviews of Northeastern Neo-Aramaic are Khan (2007) and Khan (2011).

Dictionaries

There remains only one dictionary of the spoken Christian varieties: Maclean (1901). There are also some dictionaries of the written varieties, for instance Oraham (1943). For Jewish dialects there is Sabar (2002).

Grammars

There are now many grammars, both full monographs and article-length sketches of NENA dialects. Among the most comprehensive published grammars of individual dialects are the following: Fassberg (2010) on J. Challa; Mutzafi (2004) on J. Koy Sanjaq; Mutzafi (2008) on J. Betanure; Khan (1999) on J. Arbel; Khan (2002) on C. Qaraqosh; Khan (2004) on J. Sulemaniyya and Halabja; Khan (2008a) on J. Urmi; Khan (2008b) on C. Barwar; Khan (2009) on J. Sanandaj; and Khan (2016) on C. Urmi.