

DE GRUYTER

Irene Garbell

**THE JEWISH NEO-
ARAMAIC DIALECT OF
PERSIAN AZERBAIJAN**

JANUA LINGUARUM. SERIES PRACTICA

**THE JEWISH NEO-ARAMAIC DIALECT
OF PERSIAN AZERBAIJAN**

JANUA LINGUARUM

STUDIA MEMORIAE
NICOLAI VAN WIJK DEDICATA

edenda curat

CORNELIS H. VAN SCHOONEVELD

STANFORD UNIVERSITY

SERIES PRACTICA
III



1965

MOUTON & CO.

LONDON · THE HAGUE · PARIS

THE JEWISH
NEO-ARAMAIC DIALECT
OF PERSIAN AZERBAIJAN

LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS
AND FOLKLORISTIC TEXTS

by

IRENE GARBELL

JERUSALEM



1965

MOUTON & CO.

LONDON · THE HAGUE · PARIS

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Printed in The Netherlands by Mouton & Co., Printers, The Hague

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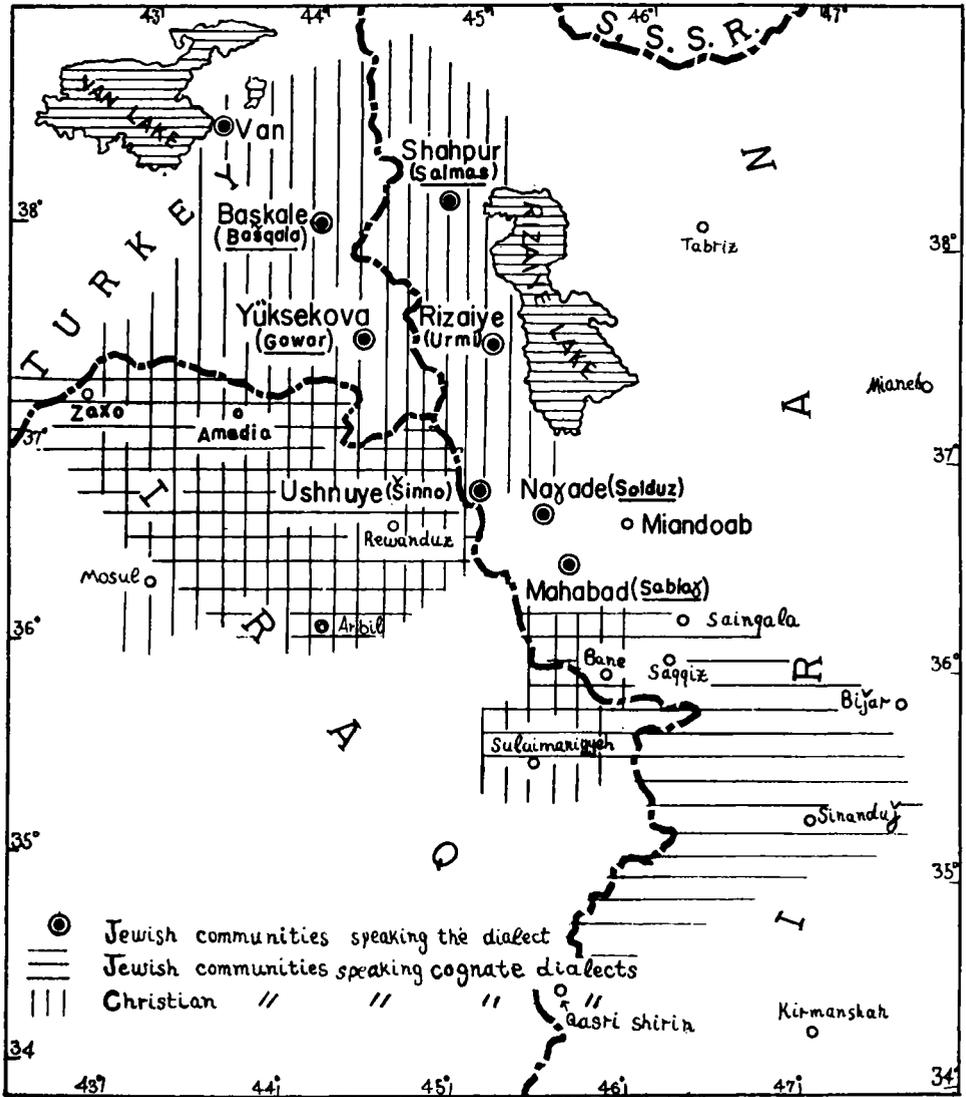
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Jewish Eastern Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Azerbaijan.

FOREWORD

1. The dialect whose description is attempted here is spoken by the Jews living in the towns and townships of Northern Persian Azerbaijan: Urmi (U, official name Rizaiye), *Salmas* (*Sal*, official name Shahpur), and the adjoining districts of Turkey: *Başqala* (*Ba*, official name Başkale in the Van vilayet) and *Gawar* (*Ga*, official name Yüksekova in the Hakkâri vilayet) – all of which are marked N; and of Southern Persian Azerbaijan: Šino (Ši, official name Ushnuye) and *Solduz* (*Sol*, official name Naghade) – all of which are marked S (see Map).

The language as a whole, in all its dialects and sub-dialects (including the Western dialect of Iraqi Kurdistan), is called by its speakers *liššanit targum* (in most dialects) ~ *lišanit targum* (in S) “the language of the Targum” – a purely traditional designation, as the language has little in common with that of the Aramaic translations of the Bible of the first centuries A.D.

The cognate sub-dialect of *Sablay*, which – together with the dialects (or dialect?) of Eastern Iraqi and Persian Kurdistan – is also called by its speakers *jabali*, is outside the scope of this monograph.

The “language of the Targum” as spoken by contemporary Jews outside Babylonia is first mentioned in literature in the 12th century, in all probability with reference to the dialect of central Persian Kurdistan.¹

Texts in the North-Western dialect, which forms the subject of this study, have been published by Duval (*Sal*)² and Lopatinski (U)³ (all folk-tales); Maclean (U)⁴ (a translation of Psalms 2 and 3); Idelsohn (*Sablay*)⁵ (a rhymed legend); Rivlin (U)⁶

¹ *Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela*, transl. and ed. by A. Asher, (New York, 1840), Hebrew text p. 76, transl. p. 121; cf. note on p.p. 158-162. A word list in the sub-dialect of Sihne (Sananduj) in Southern Persian Kurdistan has been published by J.-J. de Morgan, *Le dialecte Israélite de Sihneh* (in his *Mission Scientifique en Perse*, t. 5: *Etudes linguistiques*, Paris, 1904, pp. 312-322), who assumed it to be a corrupt form of Kurdish; cf. F. Perles, “Ueber das Semitische im jüdischen Dialekt von Sihneh”, *OLZ*, 1904, pp. 483-486.

² R. Duval, *Les dialectes néo-araméens de Salamas* (Paris, 1883), pp. 91sq.; cf. the review by Th. Nöldeke, *ZDMG*, 1883, p. 598ff.

³ I. Lopatinski, *Yevr'eysko-aram'eysk'iye t'eksti (Sborn'ik mat'eriyalov dl'a op'isan'iya m'estnost'ey i pl'em'en Kavkaza*, vip. 20, otd. 2, pp. 1-32) (Tiflis, 1894).

⁴ A. J. Maclean, *Grammar of the Dialects of Vernacular Syriac, etc.* (Cambridge, 1895), pp. 340-344.

⁵ A. Z. Idelson, *Sippurim ballašon ha'aramit haḥadasa*, Haššiloah (Jerusalem, 1913), pp. 121-130.

⁶ J. J. Rivlin, *Širat hattargum* (Jerusalem, 1958), pp. 289-300.

(an epic poem on the battle of David and Goliath). None of these investigators seem to have been familiar with the dialect.

The dialect which forms the subject of this study has no recorded history and hardly any written literature (with the exception of a few manuscripts containing versions of homilies and hymns and the manuscript containing the full translation of the Bible by the late *Haxam* Jišaj of U, undertaken at the initiative of Professor Rivlin and acquired by the National and University Library in Jerusalem).

2. The speakers of the dialect formed in their country of origin – at least during the last decades – a purely urban population group, the men being almost exclusively engaged in commerce in the towns and peddling in the neighbouring rural districts. There were some landowners among them, but – in contrast to Jewish communities in other countries – hardly labourers, workmen, or even artisans. All the men possessed, and knew the use of, firearms.

The basic social unit among them was the patriarchal household (*bela*, *bnā*, *klifta*); the individual households were loosely grouped into larger families (*mišpaha*), but there were no clans properly speaking. Communal organization was little developed, but social intercourse amongst kinsmen and friends was lively, and the degrees of hospitality and formulas of politeness numerous and varied.

The education was mainly confined to primary schools (*midraš*); the most famous of these were the boys' school of *Haxam* Jišaj (d. 1946 in Jerusalem) and the girl's school (an almost unique case in the East) of the learned Ribbi *Hawa* (Eve, d. 1958 in Tel Aviv), both in Urmi. In that city there was also a Talmudic house of learning (*ješiwa*).

For want of a census of the population in Persia no exact data are available on the number of the speakers of the dialect; it can be assumed that at no time it exceeded 5,000. During and immediately after World War I, most of the speakers of N, who had suffered greatly at the hands of the invading armies and the rebels of various other communities, emigrated to other countries, mainly to Iraq (Kurdistan, Baghdad), and eventually to Palestine (later Israel); thus the community of *Sal* was entirely evacuated in 1916. Previous to that there had already been small communities of emigrants in Tiflis (Georgia) and Istanbul. At a later period, many of the speakers of S followed suit.

At present the great majority of the speakers of N and a considerable part of the speakers of S are living in Israel, where the older people are engaged in various trades, while the young men chiefly excel as technicians and mechanics.

3. All sub-dialects of both N and S are mutually intelligible. This is mainly due to the fact that owing to their occupations and also for historical reasons (see above 2) the inhabitants of smaller towns and townships frequently changed their place of residence. This also led to the formation of mixed sub-dialects, e.g. that of *Sol*, where

numerous grammatical forms proper to both N and S coexist and vary freely with one another; the sub-dialects of U and of Ši, on the other hand, are more conservative, the first owing to the fact that U was considered the spiritual and cultural centre of Jewish life in Azerbaijan (see above 2), and the second owing to the relative geographical segregation of a community living in a mountainous region at a distance from the main trade routes.

A comparison between certain grammatical features in S and N respectively shows that the former has on the whole retained more of the older forms, e.g. {-ó+i→ój-} (vs. their coalescence into {-ú-} in N), the preponderance of copular suffixes in the inflection of the durative stem, the greater frequency of the lack of subordinate conjunctions, etc. This observation is further confirmed by the comparison between the lexical items in S and in older traditions as reflected mainly in the Bible translation of *Haxam* Jišaj and the translations of other religious texts. As for the domains of morphology and syntax, the language of the translations constitutes a faithful reproduction of the structure of Biblical and post-Biblical Hebrew, the individual forms of which are reproduced word for word in their original order. This phenomenon, which is observable in the translation of religious texts in all Jewish dialects without exception (and also in certain archaizing styles of narration, e.g. the texts published by Duval), renders the languages of translation entirely different from the dialects of the spoken languages, with the description of one of which this monograph is solely concerned.

All speakers of the dialect are multilingual, speaking, besides their native dialect, Azeri Turkish (in all districts), as well as Kurdish (mainly in S) and to a certain degree Persian (mainly the younger men of U who have attended government schools). All these languages have influenced the dialect to a marked degree.

4. The task of presenting a structural analysis of a dialect which has hitherto not been described in a traditional manner, but whose antecedents are to a certain degree known to the analyst, has been far from easy. Some of the outstanding difficulties in this respect and attempts to solve them have been:

(a) the lack of familiarity on the part of the majority of the readers with the lexical material and the grammatical structure of the dialect necessitated the adducing of a considerable number of examples to illustrate both the grammatical formulas presented and the relative frequency of certain forms (such as the patterns of noun-formation or syntactical construction).

(b) the analysis of the formation and inflection of nouns has been greatly complicated by the numerous loanwords, which are particularly frequent in this form-class. These forms – many of which are known to the speakers of the dialect as imported – have been integrated into the grammatical structure of the dialect in varying degrees; thus, a form like /*aya*/ “lord, master” is considered mono-morphemic ({*aya*}); cf. {*aya+at*} “lord of”, {*aya+i*} “my lord”), while in other forms ending in /-a/ the final phoneme is analysed as a singular indicator (e.g. {*šuš+a*} “glass (mat.),

bottle”; cf. {šuš+it} ~ {šuš+∅} “bottle of”, {šuš+i} “my bottle”), while the analysis of yet other forms varies according to the group of sub-dialects (e.g. /*miswa*/ “meritorious deed”, pl. {*miswa*+e} (S) ~ {*misw*+e} (N)).

(c) in the analysis of both complex and compound forms of nouns, prepositions and particles, it has in many cases been difficult if not impossible to disregard purely diachronical factors, of which the speakers of the dialect are no longer conscious (in contrast with other cases, where forms like {*lixm*+ida} “small leaf” and {*pilg*+lele} “midnight” were analyzed by the informants themselves as ⟨loaf-of+hand⟩ and ⟨middle-of+night⟩). A few examples may suffice:

(i) the loaned derivational suffixes have been analyzed as separate morphemes only if they are productive in the dialect (e.g. -či, -i and others, in contrast with -*luy* ~ *lŕy*).

(ii) bases in compound and complex (loan) forms have been analyzed as such if they occur otherwise (e.g. {*ham*+an} “the same”, cf. {*ham*+kin} “equally”, {*ham*} “both, also”; in contrast with forms like *onda* (N) “then”, *albahal* “immediately, which are complex and compound respectively in the source languages but whose bases do not occur otherwise in the dialect).

(d) the lack of written tradition has led to a considerable freedom of syntactic construction, both with regard to word order (e.g. in the sequence qualifier+head ~ head+qualifier in phrases, nominal phrase+verbal phrase ~ verbal phrase+nominal phrase in sentences) and with regard to the use of phrases of varying descriptions as topical subjects of a sentence. It must be pointed out in this connection that the list of the possibilities given in the chapter on syntax is by no means complete and that a number of additional variations are apt to be signalled with any accretion to the corpus (which comprises, besides the texts given in part two of this monograph,⁷ material noted in the course of informal conversations and presented by the Bible translation (see p. 11).

5. The investigation of the dialect was undertaken by the author in the years 1957–1959 with the help of the Mary E. Wooley Fellowship granted to her by the International Federation of University Women; in addition a publishing grant has been awarded to her by the Alexander Kohut Memorial Foundation in New York; for both these grants she expresses her deepest gratitude to the donors. Her chief informants (unless stated otherwise in Jerusalem) were: for *Sol* Josef Ben-Rahamim, B. A. (J B-R, then student of the Hebrew University and teacher), his brother Menashe, parents Lewi (L B-R) and *Warda*, and their relations Mirjam Ben-Šalom (M B-Š) and Šalom *Johanán*; for Ši: *Tamar* Kohen (T K), her husband *Isaq* (Isaac, I K), and *Mordexaj* *Elijahu* (M E); for U: *Aharon* *Elijahu* *Mizrahi* (A M), his wife *Riwqa* (R M), *Sara* *Jedidja* (S J), and Josef *Haxamof* (J H), in Tel Aviv; for *Ba*: *Mordexaj* Šalom Lewi (M L); for *Ga*: Šemto Dawid (the material has not been used in the texts).

In addition, the author spent three months in the autumn of 1957 in Istanbul in order to collect written and spoken material on Azeri Turkish and Kurdish.

To all her informants, who had become her personal friends, she extends her heartfelt thanks for their unvarying patience, understanding and hospitality.

PART ONE

Phonology and Grammar

1 PHONOLOGY

1.1 SEGMENTAL PHONEMES

1.11 Consonants

1.11.1 *Inventory and actualization.* There are twenty-four consonantal phonemes, of which eight (including the marginal /ʔ/) are stops, two affricates, ten fricatives, two nasals, one is a flap and one a lateral.

(1) The stops:

/p/ – a tense bilabial stop

/b/ – a lax bilabial stop

/t/ – a tense apico-dental stop

/d/ – a lax apico-dental stop

/k/ – a tense dorso-velar stop

/g/ – a lax dorso-velar stop

/q/ – a tense radico-uvular stop

/ʔ/ – a glottal stop.

/p/ /t/ /k/ are breathed except as first members of consonant clusters and as second members of clusters following a tense breathed fricative: /pel/ [pʰé·l] “he falls, will, may fall”, /tel/ [tʰé·l] “string (of instrument)”, /kel/ N [kʰé·l] “he measures, will, may measure”; /naxope/ S [naxopé·], N [naxopʰé·] “being ashamed”, /makke/ [makkʰé·] “maize”, /mato/ S [má·tʰo], N [má·tʰø] “how”; /naxip/ [nɑ·xípʰ] “he (habitually) is, will, may be ashamed”, /at/ [á·tʰ] “you (sg.)”, /xek/ [xé·kʰ] “it itches, will, may itch, he scratches, will, may scratch”; /mpille/ [mpʰílle] “he brought to fall”, /amto/ S [ʌmtʰó·], N [ʌmtʰø] “paternal aunt”, /danka/ S [dʌŋkʰó], N [dʌŋkʰá] “unit”; /plixle/ [plíxlé] “he/it opened”, /tpire/ [tpʰíre] “it burned (anger)”, /klelta/ S [kleltʰó], N [kleltʰá] “hen” S /špiria/ [špi·ró] “good”, /baxta/ S [bʰaxtó], N [bʰaxtó] “wife, woman”, /šifte/ [šífté·] “groat dumplings”.

/b/ /d/ /g/ are fully voiced intervocalically and between sonant or other lax C and V; in other positions and in individual speech they are partly or totally unvoiced: /abe/ [abé·] “he may want, like”, /gbe/ [gbé·] “he wants, likes, will want, like”, /abja/ [abjá] “she may want, like”; /madex/ [madéx] “we (shall, may) bring”, /mdi/ [mdí·] “bring, /madja/ [madjá] “she brings, will, may bring”, /agár/ [agár] “if, when”, /mgisle/

[mgfslɛ] “he tired (someone)”, /gdeni/ [gdɛ·nɪ] “they will, may come”, /beli/ [bɛ·li] “my house”; N /šbira/ [šbɪ·rɔ] “good”, /gab salmas/ [gaɓ salmá·s] “in the direction (or vicinity) of Salmas”; /lógab/ S [lɔ·gaɓ] N [lɔ·gaɓ] “in that direction”, /daren/ [ɖarɛ·n] “I (m.) (shall, may) return”, /šdiru/ [šɖɪ·ru] “they sent”, /b-idxun/ [biɖxún] “in your (pl.) hand(s)”, /b-garid/ [bga·rɪɖ] “he is going to grate”; /gora/ S [gɔ·rɔ], N [gɔ·rɔ] “man, husband”, /kafgir/ [kafgɪ·r] “skimmer”, /arugta/ S [arúgt‘ɔ], N [arɣgt‘ɔ] “apricot”, /xdug/, S [xɖu·g], N [xɖy·g], “worry (n.)”.

In S, /k/ and /g/ are actualized as palatal stops preceding front vowels: /ki/ [c‘i·] “that, which”, /keli/ [c‘ɛ·li] “they will, may measure”. /gisa/ [jɪ·sɔ] “tired”, /géna/ [jɛ·na] “again, yet”.

/q/. In S it is totally unvoiced in all positions; in N it is partly voiced in word initial and totally voiced intervocalically, between vowel and /j/ and between sonant and vowel, in which case it tends to become an affricate or fricative: /qimle/ qɪmlɛ] “he rose”, /maqe/ [maɣɛ· ~ maɣɛ·] “he speaks, will, may speak”, /mqi/ [mɣi· ~ mɣi·] “speak”.

(2) The affricates are:

/č/ – a lamino-palatal tense breathed affricate

/j/ – a lamino-palatal lax voiced affricate

(3) The fricatives are:

/f/ – a labio-dental tense breathed fricative

/w/ – a bilabial grooved or non-grooved, or labio-dental lax voiced fricative

/s/ – a lamino-alveolar tense breathed grooved fricative

/z/ – a lamino-alveolar lax voiced grooved fricative

/š/ – a lamino-palatal tense breathed grooved fricative

/ž/ – a lamino-palatal lax voiced grooved fricative

/j/ – a dorso-palatal lax voiced half-vowel

/x/ – a dorso-postvelar tense breathed fricative

/ɣ/ – a dorso-postvelar lax voiced fricative

/h/ – a glottal flat fricative, voiced intervocalically and postvocally and breathed in other positions:

In S, /w/ is actualized as [w] in the vicinity of /a/ and back vowels: /waxt/ [waxt] “(specified) time”, /hawe/ [hawɛ] “he/it (they) may be”, /idaw/ [i·dáv] “her hand(s)”, /šwoi/ [šwoi] “70”, /płow/ [plɔw] “pilav”, /wud/ [wúɖ] “do, make”, /kluw/ [klv(w)] “write” (cf. 1.2.4). In the vicinity of front vowels it varies freely between [w] and [β] as member of a consonant cluster and in word final: /hwilli/ [hwɪllɪ ~ hβɪllɪ] “I gave”, /klíwlan/ [klɪwlan ~ klɪβlan] “we wrote”, /swélu/ [swɛ·lɔ ~ sβɛ·lɔ] “they were satiated”, /jtiw/ [jtɪ·w ~ jtɪ·β] “he is sitting” (cf. 1.2.4), /idew/ [ide·w ~ idɛ·β] “his hand(s)”; in word initial and intervocalically it is actualized as [β]: /wéli/ [βɛ·li] “was”, /widen/ [βidɛ·n] “I (m.) have done, made”, /klíwi/ [klɪ·βi] “they have been written”.

In N, /w/ is actualized as [w] only as second member of a consonant cluster following /š/ and preceding /a/ (and when following such a sequence): /ušwa/ [ɣšwá] “7”, /šwawa/ [šwa·wá] “neighbour”; in the same position preceding front vowels, /o/ [ø]

and /u/ [y] (also following /j/) is it actualized as [w̃]: /šwéle/ [šw̃é·lɛ] “he/it was worth”, /ušwoi/ [yšw̃öí] “70”, /(našu) nišwu/ [(našy) nišw̃y] “their (kith and) kin”, /jwé/ [jw̃ɛ] “different”. In all other positions it varies freely between [β] and a lax voiced labiodental with very little friction: /widen/ [βidɛ·n ~ ṽidɛ·n] “I (m.) have done, made”, /wéli/ [βɛ·l̃i ~ ṽɛ·l̃i] “I was”, /wakil/ [βak̃‘i·l ~ ṽak̃‘i·l] lieutenant”, /wud/ [βyɖ ~ ṽyɖ] “do, make”; /hawe/ [haβɛ· ~ ha ṽɛ·] “he (they) may be”, /hawa/ [haβá ~ ha ṽá] “she may give”; /kwil/ kβíl ~ [k ṽíl] “he gives, will give”, /kwe/ [kβɛ· ~ k ṽɛ·] “he (habitually) is, will be”, /kwa/ [kβá ~ k ṽá] “she gives, will give”; /kiwja/ [k̃‘iβjá ~ k̃‘i ṽjá] “she (habitually) is, will be”, /šawja/ [š̃aβjá ~ š̃a ṽjá] “she is (will be) worth”; /jtiw/ [jt̃‘i·β ~ jt̃‘i·ṽ] “he is sitting”, /belew/ [βɛlɛ·β ~ βɛlɛ·ṽ] “his house”, /idaw/ [i·dádβ ~ i·dád ṽ] “her hand(s)”.

In both groups of sub-dialects /w/ is actualized as [w] in the conjunctive suffix: /soni-w soti/ S [so·níwsɔ·t̃‘i] N [sə·níwsɔ·t̃‘i] “my grandfather and grandmother”, /gure-w niše/ S [ǧurɛ·wniʃɛ·], N [ǧyrɛ·wniʃɛ·] “men and women”, /xamša-w xamši [xamšáwxamši] “55”, /kalo-whatan/ S [k̃‘alɔwhatá·n], N [k̃‘alɔwhatá·n] “bride and bridegroom”, /jalu-w jal jalu/ S [ja·lúwjá·lja·lú], N [ja·lúwjá·lja·lý] “their children and children’s children”. (cf. also 1.11.2(2)).

/z/ is partly unvoiced before tense consonant or in pause: /tez/ “quickly”, /te-z tez xíre [t̃‘ɛz̃ t̃‘ɛ·z̃ xíre] “quickly he looked”.

/j/ is produced with very little friction. As first member of an initial cluster it is actualized as extra-short [ɪ]: /jtiwli/ [it̃‘íwli ~ it̃‘íβli] “I sat down”.

/h/ is lax and voiced intervocalically between sonant and vowel and postvocally: /sahil/ [sa·híl] “he witnesses, will, may, witness”, /jhita/ S [jhi·t̃‘ɔ], N [jhi·t̃‘á] “tired-out (f.)”, /dehwa/ S [dɛh̃wɔ], N [dɛh̃βá ~ dɛh̃ṽá] “(piece of) gold”.

(4) The nasals are:

/m/ – a bilabial lax voiced nasal

/n/ – an apico-dental lax voiced nasal.

In both groups of sub-dialects /n/ is actualized as a dorso-velar nasal [ŋ] preceding /k/, /g/ and /q/: /danka/ S [d̃ʌŋk̃‘ɔ], N [d̃ʌŋk̃‘á] “unit, a certain”, /rang/ [r̃ʌŋg] “colour” /jwanqa/ S [jw̃ʌŋq̃ɔ], N [jβ̃ʌŋGá] “young man”. Preceding /w/ it is produced labiodentally: /gezínwa/ S [ǧɛ·zím̃wɔ], N [ǧɛ·zím̃ṽɔ] “I (m.) used to go”, /gezánwa/ S [ǧɛ·zʌŋwɔ], N [ǧɛ·zʌŋṽɔ] “I (f.) used to go”.

(5) /l/ is an apico-alveolar lax voiced lateral. In N it is somewhat velarized.

(6) /r/ is an apico-alveolar lax voiced flap, becoming partly unvoiced preceding a tense consonant and in word final: /mirta/ S [mír̃t̃‘ɔ], N [mír̃t̃‘á] “she has said”, /dar/ [d̃á·r̃] “he returns, will, may, return”. With some speakers of S it tends to be fronted in this position: [mír̃t̃‘ɔ], [d̃á·r̃].

1.11.2 *Distribution*. The consonants occur in all positions with the following limitations: 1) General: (a) prohibited consonant clusters (see 1.22) (b) mutations in juncture see 1.11.3).

(2) Specific: /ʒ/ does not occur in word final except in juncture (see 1.2.3). /ɣ/ occurs

initially only in one instance (a manifest loanword); in all other positions it occurs in the vicinity of non-front vowels only in flat words (see 1.31). /h/ rarely occurs in word final except in flat words. In S, /w/ and /j/ are usually replaced by zero in the vicinity of /u/ and /i/ respectively: /wud/ ~ /ud/ “do, make!”, /kluw/ ~ /klu/ “write!”, /léwu/ ~ /léu/ “they are not”, /xizjile/ ~ /xizíle/ “he saw them”, /w/, /g/, /ʃ/, /j/ and /h/ do not occur in (medial) geminate clusters, and /r/ rarely occurs in this position. /p/: /pela/ “radish”, /xaporé/ “digging”, /naxip/ “he becomes (will, may become) ashamed”, /lappe/ “hulled child-peas”

/b/: /bela/ “house”, /ebéle/ “he wanted”, /sabäb/ “cause, reason”, /libba/ “heart”

/t/: /tara/ “door; outside”, /máto/ “how”, /at/ “you (sg.)”, /atta/ “now”

/d/: /dar/ “he returns (intr.), will, may return”, /ade/ “he may come”, /od/ “he may do, make”, N /siddur/ “prayer-book”

/k/: /kepa/ “stone”, /léka/ “where, whither”, /xek/ “it itches, will, may itch; he scratches, will, may scratch”, /makke/ “maize”

/g/: /guda/ “wall”, /agär/ “if (also ‘when’)”, /jarig/ “he arrays, will, may array”

/q/: /qinna/ “nest”, /jaqura/ “heavy, honoured”, /duq/ “knock”, /diqqa/ “mercery goods”

/č/: /čajnik/ “tea-pot”, /načole/ “plucking”, S /hič/, N /heč/ “not at all”

/ʃ/: /ʃulle/ “clothes”, /majobe/ “answering”, /guj/ “force (n.)”

/f/: /fand/ “trick”, /safär/ “journey”, /kef/ “well-being, good mood”, /kaffew/ “its foam”

/w/: /wéle/ “he was”, /kawa/ “window-hole, niche”, /qliw/ “it has been cleaned”

/s/: /salda/ “basket”, /kasa/ “belly, stomach”, /mis/ “brass, copper”, /fisse/ “money”

/z/: /zaqore/ “weaving”, /bezi/ “they will, may spill (tr. and intr.)”, /mez/ “table”

/š/: /šimma/ “name”, /maše/ “beans”, /kuš/ “go, come down”, /tašši/ “spindle”

/ž/: /žane/ “birth-pangs”, S /taži/ “greyhound”, /urmižna/ “of Urmi”, S and arch. /dižmin/ “enemy”

/j/: /jala/ “child”, /mija/ “bowel”, /aj/ “this (allomorph); (N also: belonging to)”

/x/: /xala/ “new”, /maxoe/ “striking, beating”, /mix/ “nail (implement)”, /kjixxe/ “we (shall) know him”

/ɣ/: /ɣer/ “only, just, must needs”, /maɣara/ “cave”, N /doɣ/ “sizzling-hot”

/h/: /haman/ ~ /hamun/ “the same”, /dahole/ “striking, beating”, /illah/ “must needs”

/m/: /ma/ “what”, /amona/ “paternal uncle”, /tem/ “it (habitually) is, will, may be, completed”, /šimma/ “name”

/n/: /nura/ “fire”, /ana/ “I”, /din/ “religion”, /šinne/ “years”

/l/: /luš/ “knead, dress”, /mola/ “death”, /pul/ “fall (imper.)”, /gilla/ “grass”

/r/: /reša/ “head”, /peri/ “they will, may pass”, /mar/ “say, let”, /sarrafā/ “money-changer”

/ʔ/ is a marginal phoneme occurring only in medial clusters in lexically specified cases: /m-nʔ-j/O “withhold”, /qurʔan/ “the Koran”, /zarʔa/ “seed, posterity”; a somewhat doubtful instance of its significance is given by the pair /zarʔew/ s.g. “his seed, posterity” – /zarew/ (pl.) “his dice”.

1.11.3 *Mutations in juncture*

(1) tense single consonants are replaced by the corresponding lax ones

(a) preceding external open juncture (indicated by space between words) if followed by a lax consonant, sonant or vowel: /b(e)-naxip/ “he will be ashamed” → /b(e)-naxib minnu/ “he will be ashamed of them”, /mat kaliw/ “whatever he writes” → /mad abet/ “whatever you (sg.m.) wish”, /halak/ “meanwhile” → /halag mdélu/ “meanwhile they brought”, /šuš/ “bottle of” → /šuž bira/ “beer bottle” /mindix/ (S) “thing” → /mindiy la widten/ “I (f.) have not done anything”, /geč/ (N) “late” → /gej ila/ “it is late”.

(b) preceding external close juncture (indicated by hyphen; see 2.0) under the same conditions: /baqox/ S ~ /baox/ (N) “to you (sg.m.)” → /baqóγ-iš/ ~ /baóγ-iš/ “to you also”, /it/ “there is”, /id illu/ “they have”

(c) preceding external hesitation juncture (indicated by three dots): /attat/ (S) “until” → /attad...mišt-xále/ “until... he found her; /mindix/ (S) “thing” → /mindiy ...kalba/ “what’s-his name...the dog”.

(2) /š/ is replaced by an anticipatory consonant in external open juncture followed by /s/, /č/ or /j/: /biš/ “more” → /bis sqilta/ more beautiful (f.)”, /bij jwan/ “better”, /bič čatin/ “more difficult”.

(3) affricates tend to lose their occlusive element in external open juncture if followed by a consonant with oral occlusion (stop or nasal): /hič/ (S) ~ /heč/ (N) “no... at all” → /hiš mindix/ (S) ~ /heš mindiy/ (N) “nothing at all”, /muj/ (S) “because of” → /muž do/ “because of that”.

(4) /r/ in external open juncture followed by /l/ is replaced by /l/ in N: /mar l-ezil/ → /mal l-ezil/ “let him not go”. /l/ in external close juncture followed by /n/ is replaced by /n/ in S: /il-nóšew/ → /in-nóšew/ “to himself”.

For mutations in internal open juncture (morpheme juncture) see ch. 2.

1.12 *Vowels*

There are five vowel phonemes: /i/ /e/ /a/ /o/ /u/.

1.12.1 *Inventory and actualization*

/i/ Its chief allophone – when phonetically long (see below 1.33) – is an unrounded high-front vowel slightly lower than high: /gami/ [ǰamí-] “ship”, /it/ [i-t̚] “there is/are”, /bšílu/ S. [bší-lu], N [bší-ly] “they have cooked”, /si/ [sí-] “go”. In unstressed open syllables it is slightly more lowered: /ilana/ S [ila-nó], N [ila-ná] “tree”, /nóši/ S [nó-ši], N [nø-ši] “myself”. When phonetically or phonemically short (see 1.33), it varies freely between lower-high centralized [ɪ] and mean-mid central [ə], the latter variant occurring most frequently before sonants: /škíl/ [škíl ~ škól] “picture”, /bilbíl/ [bíl-bíl ~ bəlból] “nightingale”, /fkíre/ [fkíre ~ fkóre] “he understood”, /itti/ [ftti] “I have”; before geminate non-stop clusters in unstressed syllables it is actualized as syllabicity of the preceding C (if a sonant) or of the first member of the following cluster (in all other cases): /riwwa/ S [r̥wwó], N [r̥ββá] “large, great, big”,

/missan/ [mɪssán] “I (f.) am (shall be) able”, /fissé/ [fɪsɛ́] “money”, /bizza/ S [bɪzɔ], N [bɪzɔ́] “hole”, /kɪmma/ S [kɪmmɔ́], N [kɪmmá] “how much, many”.

/e/ Its chief allophone is an unrounded mean-mid front vowel; /idjéla/ [ɪdjɛ́-la] “she came”, /b-ezen/ [bɛ́zɛ́-n] “I (m.) am going to go”, /bále/ [báɫɛ́] “but; o yes”. In an open unstressed syllable preceding a syllable centering in /i/ it approaches the higher-mid position: /beli/ [bɛ́-li] “my house”, S /tremin/ [tremí-n], N /treminji/ [tre-mɪnjí] “second (num.)”. With some speakers of the Ši sub-dialect in S it is still higher in unstressed word final: /xille/ [xíllɛ́] “he ate”. Before a consonant cluster beginning with /h/ it is centralized mean-mid [ɛ́]: /dehwa/ S [dɛ́hwɔ́], N [dɛ́ɦβá] (“piece of) gold”, /sehra/ S [sɛ́ɦrɔ́], N [sɛ́ɦrú] “moon”.

/a/ Its chief allophone in the vicinity of at least one acute consonant is an unrounded low front to front-central a: /palix/ [p’a-líx] “he/it opens, will, may open”, /bále/ [báɫɛ́] “but, o yes”, /at/ [a-t’] “you (sg.)”, /dar/ [ɟa-r] “he returns, will, may return (intr.)”, /makke/ [makk’ɛ́] “beans”, /máni/ [mání] “who”, /agăr/ [agár] “if”, /gare/ [gárɛ́] “he shaves, will, may shave”, /qale/ S [qalɛ́-], N [qalɛ́] “he roasts, will, may roast”, /čatin/ [čat’i-n] “difficult”, /jagir/ S [ja-gír], N [ja-gír] “he (habitually) grows (will, may grow) angry”; in the vicinity of grave consonants only in stressed syllables and in open syllables immediately preceding stress it is more backed: /ma/ [má] “what”, /bama/ [bá-ma] N “why”, /šwawa/ S [šwa-wɔ́] N [šwa-wá] “neighbour”, /xamir/ [xa-mír] “it ferments, will, may ferment”; in unstressed closed syllables or in syllables not immediately preceding stress it is a centralized lower-mid [ʌ]: /baxta/ S [baxtɔ́], N [baxtá] “wife, woman”, /axni/ [ʌxní-] “we”, /xarupa/ S [xarɥ-p’ɔ́], N [xarɥ-p’á] “sharp”.

In word final it is actualized in S as a rounded low back, slightly nasalized [ɔ], in N as an unrounded low back [ɑ], and by the female speakers of the U sub-dialect in N as a rounded back lower-mid [ɔ]: /ida/ S [i-dɔ́], N [i-dá], female speakers of U [i-dó] “hand”; /léka/ S [lɛ́-k’ɔ́], N [lɛ́-k’ɔ́], female speakers of U [lɛ́-k’ó] “where”. [ɔ] is also an allophone of /a/ in the sequence /-ao-/: /baox/ [bɔ́ɔx] “to/for you (sg.m.)”; in U /a/ has a centralized allophone [ä] preceding open juncture followed by /j/: /isra jarxe/ [ɪsräjarxɛ́] “ten months”; in S preceding /-ci-/: jariq [järiq] “he runs, will, may run away”.

/o/ is a rounded mean-mid vowel with a higher mid allophone in an open syllable preceding a syllable centering in /i/; it is back in S and varies freely from back to central to centralized front in N; in the vicinity of post-velars and the uvular /q/ the back allophone alone occurs: /tora/ S [t’ɔ-rɔ́], N [t’ɔ-rá] “ox”, /nóšan/ S [nɔ́-šan], N [nɔ́-šan], “ourselves”, /tori/ S [t’o-rí], N [t’ɔ-rí] “my ox”, /nóši/ S [nɔ́-ši], N [nɔ́-ši] “myself”, /rešox/ [rɛ́-šɔx] “your (sg.m.) head, your heads”, /qor/ S [qɔ́-r], N [qɔ́-r] “he buries, will, may bury”.

/u/ Its chief allophone is a rounded back vowel slightly lower than high, with fronted allophones in N corresponding to those of /o/; in an open syllable preceding a syllable centering in /i/ it reaches the high tongue position: /belu/ S [bɛ́-lú], N [bɛ́-lý] “their house”, N /úle/ [ý-lɛ́] “there he is”, /wud/ S [(w)úɟ], N [βyɟ] “do, make”,

/sanula/ S [sanɔ·lɔ́], N [sany·lɔ́] “ugliness”, /duši/ S [ɔu·ši], N [dy·ši] “my honey”. In unstressed closed syllables and in the imperative of the verb “to rise” it is a lower-high centralized [u] in S and [ɣ] in N; /símun/ S [sɪ·mun], N [sɪ·mɣn] “go (pl.)”, /xalunta/ S [xalɔnt‘ɔ́] N [xalɣnt‘á] “sister”, /qú(lax)/ S [qu(lax)], N [ɣɣ(lax)] (both flat) “get up (sg.f.)”.

1.12.2 Distribution

Vowels occur in all positions with the following limitations:

(1) General: Mutations in juncture (see 1.12.3.)

(2) Specific: /i/ /e/ /o/ do not occur in syllables closed with a consonant cluster, /o/ does not occur in monosyllabics of the type CCV, /u/ does not occur in monophonemic free forms.

/i/: /ít(a)/, “there is/are”, /zaiɔ/ “weak”, /gami/ “ship”, /ida/ “hand”, /si/ “go”, /kwi/ “they (will) give”

/e/: /ezil/ “he may go”, /e/ “yes”, /le/ “he is not”, /gbe/ “he wants, likes, will, may want, like”, /meir/ m.n., /amane/ “tools”

/a/: /aman/ “tool”, /ma/ “what”, /gba/ “she wants, likes, will, may want, like”. /taaddula/ “on purpose” /sepa/ “sword”

/o/: /olka/ “country”, /o/ “he/she; that (pron.)”, /od/ “he may do, make, /darowew/ “his putting”, /kalo/ “bride”

/u/: /umud/ “hope (n.)”, /pru/ (S) “their soil, land”, /plux/ “open (imper.)”, /xaula/ “state of being alive”, /kahu/ “lettuce”.

In stressed closed syllables in flat words (1.31), /i/ varies freely with /u/: /plítle/ ~ /plútle/ “he went/took out”; /smi·xli/ ~ /smúxli/ “I stood, waited”. Similarly, the sequence /-iw-/ varies freely with /-u-/: /jtúwla/ ~ /jtúla/ “she sat down”. In the vicinity of /q/ it varies freely with /a/ [ʌ] /qímle/ ~ /qámle/ “he rose”.

1.12.3 Mutations in juncture

(1) The final vowel in /la/ “not” and /ma/ “what” is elided in external open juncture when followed by a verbal form of the imperfective aspect with initial vowel (/la/ and /ma/ thus become monophonemic proclitics; see 2.0): /l-ezil/ “he may not go”, /l-ezilwa/ “he should not gave gone”; /m-oden?/ “what shall I (m.) do”, /m-odínwa?/ “what should I (m.) have done?”

(2) The initial /i/ before /CC-/ is optionally elided following external open juncture preceded by a vowel or /-w/ joined to the first member of the tagmeme by external close juncture; the stress is in this case shifted to the following syllable: /la ídje/ ~ /la dje/ “he has not come”, /xa brona ítwa/le/ ~ /xa brona twá/le/ “he had a son”; /imma-w ičča/ ~ /imma-w čča/ “109”; rarely before a single C: /kixwe it/ ~ /kixwe-t/ “there are stars”.

1.2 THE SYLLABLE

1.21 There are following types of syllables:

V: /i/ (S) “of, belonging to”, /e/ “yes”, /o/ “he/she; that (demonstr. sg.)”

- CV: /si/ “go”, /le/ “he is not (allomorph.)”, /xa/ “one”, /to/ (S) “good”, /qu/ “rise”
 VC: /it/ “there is/are”, /ej/ “oh (voc. particle)”, /at/ “you (sg.)”, /od/ “(that) he do, make”, /ud/ (S) “do, make”
 CVC: /biz/ “it (m.) has been spilled”, /qem/ “he rises, will, may rise”, /mar/ “say, let”, /tor/ “he breaks, will, may break” (tr. and intr.), /pur/ “pass”
 VCC: ašq (S) ~ išq (N) “love”, /asr/ “evening”
 CCV: /xzi/ “see”, /gde/ “he comes, will, may come”, /kre/ “hire (n.)”, /šwa/ (S) “week”, /tku/ “their place”
 CVCC: /taxt/ “throne”, /šixt/ (S) “line”, /tund/ “strong (colour, taste)”
 CCVC: /twir/ “he/it has broken (intr.)”, /fkir/ “thought”, /gden/ “I (m.) shall come”, /sfat/ (N) ~ /swat/ (S) “countenance”, /plow/ “pilav”, /kwat/ “you (sg. f.) (will) give”, /jtuw/ “sit down”
 CCVCC: /drang/ (S) “late”, /tfang/ “rifle”

1.22 Consonant clusters in syllable borders

(1) *Initially*. In principle, any two consonants may cluster initially, provided they are not geminates (but see below), homorganic (but see below), near-homorganic (except *kx-*) and tense-lax (except /q/) as first member. /ž/ does not cluster initially with any consonant; /ɣ/ occurs only following /j/ in one single instance; /č/, /j/, /h/, /l/ are infrequent as first members; /w/ occurs as first member preceding /j/ in one single instance. In practice, however, only the following clusters occur initially (the instances may be partly due to chance in view of the limited corpus):

/pt/: /ptille/ “he twisted”	/bl/: /blita/ “ticket”
/pd/: /pdéle/ “he ransomed”, delivered	/br/: /brona/ “son, boy”
/pq/: /pqéle/ “he burst”	/tp/: /tpurta/ “finger-nail”
/ps/: /psinne/ “he praised”	/tb/: /tbille/ “he sneezed”
/pš/: /pšíre/ “he/it melted”	/tk/: /tka/ “place”
/pj/: /pjala/ “falling”	/tq/: /tqíre/ “he touched”
/ph/: /phíre/ N “he yawned”	/tf/: /tfinka/ “nostril”
/pl/: /plíxle/ “he/it opened”	/tw/: /twíre/ “he/it broke”
/pr/: /pra/ S “earth”	/ts/: /tšéle/ “he hid (tr. and intr.)”
/bt/: /btille/ “it became empty”	/tj/: /tjasa/ “sticking-in”
/bd/: /bdéle/ (lit.) “he/it began”	/tx/: /txinne/ “he ground”
/bq/: /bqíre/ “he asked”	/th/: /thíre/ “he became ritually clean”
/bs/: /bsímle/ “he grew well”	/tm/: /tméle/ “he tasted; he became unclean”
/bš/: /bšille/ “he/it cooked”	
/bj/: /bjaza/ “spilling”	/tn/: /tnéle/ “he spoke (lit.), he learned by rote”
/bx/: /bxéle/ “he wept”	
/bh/: /bhíre/ “it grew light (opp. to dark)”	/tl/: /tloxta/ “lentil”
	/tr/: /tre/ “two”
/bn/: /bnéle/ “he built; he counted (S)”	/db/: /dbéle/ “he slaughtered”

/dg/:	/dgille/ "he lied"	/jh/:	/jhita/ "tired out (f.)"
/dw/:	/dwiqle/ "he caught, held; it cost"	/jn/:	/jnívle/ "he devoured"
/dj/:	/djara/ "returning (intr.)"	/jl/:	/jliqle/ "he tore to pieces"
/dh/:	/dhille/ "he struck, beat"	/jr/:	/jréle/ "it (m.) flowed"
/dm/:	/dmux/ "go to sleep"	/ft/:	/ftišle/ "he searched"
/dr/:	/dréle/ "he put"	/fk/:	/fkíre/ "he understood"
/kp/:	/kpana/ "shoulder"	/fs/:	/fšang/ "ammunition"
/kt/:	/ktana/ "cottonflax"	/fh/:	/fhímle/ (lit.) "he understood"
/kc/:	/kčulta/ "kidney"	/fl/:	/flan/ "so-and-so"
/kw/:	/kwi/ "they (will) give"	/fr/:	/frita/ "wide (f.)"
/ks/:	/ksila/ "hat"	/wj/:	/wjara/ "entering"
/kj/:	/kjala/ "measuring"	/sp/:	/spilta/ S "lip"
/kx/:	/kxikle/ "he laughed"	/sb/:	/sbilta/ N "lip";
/km/:	/kmir/ "he says, will say"	:	/sbadila/ "cushion"
/kn/:	/kništa/ "synagogue"	/st/:	/stol/ "chair"
/kl/:	/klelta/ "hen"	/sk/:	/skita/ "knife"
/kr/:	/kre/ "hire, lease"	/sq/:	/sqilta/ "beautiful (f.); ring"
/gb/:	/gbéle/ "he chose"	/sf/:	/sfat/ N "countenance"
/gd/:	/gdéni/ "they (will) come"	/sw/:	/swéle/ "he was satisfied"
/gw/:	/gwira/ "married"	/sj/:	/sjama/ "shoe"
/gz/:	/gzíre/ "he circumcized"	/sx/:	/sxéle/ "he swam, bathed"
/gj/:	/gjasa/ "growing tired"	/sh/:	/shéle/ "he grew thirsty"
/gn/:	/gnívle/ "he stole"	/sm/:	/smoqa/ "red"
/gl/:	/glala/ S "string"	/sn/:	/snita/ "ugly, hateful (f.)"
/gr/:	/gréle/ "he shaved"	/sl/:	/slola/ "prayer"
/qb/:	/qbille/ "he received, accepted"	/sr/:	/sríqle/ "he combed"
/qt/:	/qtéle/ "he cut off, ceased"	/zb/:	/zbínne/ "he sold"
/qd/:	/qdiša/ "holy"	/zd/:	/zdela/ "fear (n.)"
/qf/:	/qfil/ "padlock"	/zk/:	/zkéle/ "he was rewarded (in a rel. sense)"
/qw/:	/qwita/ "strong (f.)"	/zq/:	/zqíre/ "he wove"
/qz/:	/qzanja/ "pot"	/zj/:	/zjada/ "increasing (intr.)"
/qj/:	/qjama/ "rising"	/zh/:	/zhímle/ "it became sprained"
/qh/:	/qhíre/ "he grew sad"	/zm/:	/zmíre/ "he sang"
/qn/:	/qnana/ "horn"	/zn/:	/znéle/ "he committed adultery"
/ql/:	/qlila/ "key"	/zl/:	/zlum/ (lit.) "injustice"
/qr/:	/qrawa/ "battle, war"	/zr/:	/zréle/ "he sowed, planted"
/čq/:	/čqéle/ "he/it tore"	/šp/:	/špíra/ S "good"
/jb/:	/jbíre/ "he overpowered"	/šb/:	/šbira/ N "good"
/jg/:	/jgar/ "liver"	/št/:	/štéle/ "he drank"
/jj/:	/jjara/ "urinating"	/šd/:	/šdíre/ "he sent"
/jw/:	/jwan/ "good"	/šk/:	/škil/ "picture"
/jγ/:	/jγara/ "cigarette"		

/šq/: /šqille/ "he bought; lit. also: took"	/mc/: /mčimle/ "he shut (his eyes or ears)"
/šf/: /šfiqle/ "he had mercy upon"	
/šw/: /šwawa/ "neighbour"	/mj/: /mjfzle/ "he importuned"
/šj/: /šjaša/ "waving"	/mw/: /mwille/ "he used"
/šx/: /šxinne/ "he/it became hot"	/ms/: /msala/ "scales for weighing"
/šm/: /šméle/ "he heard, listened"	/mz/: /mzidle/ "he added, increased"
/šl/: /šlixle/ "he took off (clothes)"	/ms/: /mséle/ "he washed clothes"
/šr/: /šrata/ "lamp"	/mj/: /mjala/ "dying"
/jp/: /jpéla/ "she baked"	/mx/: /mxéle/ "he struck, beat"
/jt/: /jtúwle/ "he sat down"	/mh/: /mholta/ "delay"
/jd/: /jdílla/ "she gave birth"	/mm/: /mmille/ "he asked the price of"
/jq/: /jqíre/ "it (m.) grew heavy"	/mn/: /mnéle/ "he counted"
/js/: /jsíre/ "he bound"	/ml/: /mléle/ "he/it filled"
/jz/: /jzilla/ "she spun"	/mr/: /mréle/ "it (m.) ached"
/jm/: /jméle/ "he swore"	/np/: /npixle/ "he vomited"
/jl/: /jlíple/ "he learned"	/nt/: /ntíre/ "he watched, observed"
/jr/: /jríwle/ "he mixed"	/nd/: /ndíre/ "he vowed"
/xp/: /xpíre/ "he dug"	/ng/: /ngízle/ (S) "he bit"
/xt/: /xtéle/ "he sinned"	/nč/: /nčille/ "he plucked"
/xd/: /xdaa/ "species of Sabbath food"	/ns/: /nsíwle/ (lit.) "he planted"
/xw/: /xwara/ "white"	/nw/: /nwita/ "prophetess"
/xs/: /xsille/ "he reaped"	/nš/: /nšiqle/ "he kissed"
/xz/: /xzéle/ "he saw"	/nj/: /njaxa/ "resting; going out (fire, light)"
/xš/: /xšilta/ "jewelry"	
/xj/: /xjara/ "looking"	/nx/: /nxíple/ "he grew ashamed"
/xm/: /xmara/ "ass"	/nh/: /nhal(t)a/ "ear"
/xn/: /xntiqle/ "he suffocated" drowned"	/lt/: /ltixle/ "he clave; it stuck"
/xl/: /xlula/ "wedding"	/lq/: /lqítile/ "he inlaid"
/xr/: /xriwa/ "bad"	/lw/: /lwíšle/ "he dressed (himself), put on"
/hq/: /hqéle/ (arch. and S) "he spoke, told"	/lj/: /ljaša/ "kneading"
/hg/: /hǰéle/ "he spelled, pronounced"	/rp/: /rpéle/ "it (m.) grew soft, thin (liquid)"
/hw/: /hwille/ "he gave"	
/hs/: /hsille/ "he earned, gained"	/rd/: /rdéle/ "he accepted; fell in love with"
/mp/: /mpille/ "he brought to fall, let fall"	
/mb/: /mbíre/ "he took in"	/rk/: /rkiwle/ "he mounted, rode"
/mt/: /mtéle/ "he arrived at, had the time to; it came by right"	/rj/: /rjímle/ "he stoned"
	/rq/: /rqílle/ "he danced"
/md/: /mdíple/ "he folded"	/rw/: /rwéle/ "he grew"
/mk/: /mkíple/ "he bent (tr.)"	/rj/: /rjaqa/ "spitting"
/mg/: /mgísle/ "he tired out"	/rx/: /rxíšle/ "he walked"
/mq/: /mqéle/ "he spoke, told"	/rh/: /rhímle/ "he took mercy upon"

Monophonemic prefixes of any kind may cluster even with homorganic or near-homorganic consonants: /b-pinni/ “with my mouth”, /b-parqíwa/ “they were about to come to an end”, S /b-fare/ “he is going to fly”; /b-banet/ “you (sg.m.) are going to build”; /g-kawa/ “in the window-hole/niche”, /g-guda/ “in the wall”, /g-qawra/ “in the file”; /m-pele/ “than the radishes, /m-bela/ “out of/than the house”, /m-fand/ “than the trick”, /m-waxtit/ “from the time that”; /m-píre/ “he let (caused) to pass”.

The geminate clusters /bb-/ and /ll-/ occur following close external juncture (cf. 1.2.4.(2)): S /xíre bbéw/ “he looked at him/, S and N /hiwáli llew/ “I gave them to him” (cf. also the verbal post-junctural forms kkil etc., 2.52.12(2)(a)(i)).

All initial clusters are actualized optionally – and those consisting of geminate, homorganic and near-homorganic stops obligatorily – by aid of an anaptyctic disjunctive vowel: Cj- and jC- by [i], Cw- by [v] S ~ [ɣ] N, and other clusters by [ə] or [á]; in sonant+C the anaptyctic vowel varies freely with syllabicity of the sonant. Examples: /pjali/ [pǐja-lí] “my falling”, /jtiwli/ N [jít’íβli] “I sat down”, /plixle/ [p’ǎlfxlɛ] “he/it opened”; /g-guda/ S [ǵǵu-dú], N [ǵǵy-dá] “in the wall”, /b-per/ [bǒp’ér] “he/it is going to pass”, /m-bela/ S [mǒbɛ-lo], N [mǒbe-lá] out of/than my house”, /nxipli/ [nǎxípli] “I was ashamed”, /lwa/ S [lǒwǒ], N [lýβá] “inside”, /qrawa/ /qarawá/ ~ [qarabá] “war, battle, fight”. In slow or deliberate speech anaptyxis serves to disjoin a monophonemic prefix also from a zero consonant in nominal stem initial: N /g-olka/ S [ǵǒlk-ǒ], N [ǵǒlk’á] “in the city/country”, /m-eni/ [mǒɛ-ní] “out of/than my eye(s)”. Initial three-consonant clusters occur only in sandhi (1.12.3): /ana ntjáli/ “I took her/it”.

(2) *Final*. The following two-consonant clusters occur:

- (a) stop+fricative: /-bs/:/habs/ “(im)prison(ment)”
- (b) stop+sonant: /-br/:/sabr/ “patience”, /-ql/:/aql/ “sense”
- (c) fricative+stop: /-st/:/sǐkast/ “infirm”, /-št/:/tašt/ “basin”, /-xt/:/taxt/ “throne”, /-šq/: ašq S ~ išq N “love”,
- (d) fricative+sonant: /-wr/:/dawr/ “generation”, /-sr/:/qasr/ “castle”, /-xr/:/axr/ “(at) last”, /-hm/:/sihm/ “fear”, /-hn/:/tahn/ (S) “mockery”, /-hr/:/sihr/ “sorcery”;
- (e) fricative+fricative: /-jf/:/hajf/ “in vain; a pity”, /-hš/:/wahš/ “savage”
- (f) sonant+stop: /-nd/:/fand/ “trick”, /-ng/:/hawang/ “mortar (impl.)”, /-rt/:/šart/ “condition, covenant”, /-rd/:/dard/ “pain (mental)”, /-rk/:/kurk/ (S) “hatching”
- (g) sonant+affricate: /-nj/:/tanj/ “crown”
- (h) sonant+fricative: /ɣ/:/šaly/ (S) “cummerbund”, /-rs/:/dars/ “lesson”, /-rx/:/čarx/ “wheel”.

Final consonant clusters with a sonant as second element and /-jf/ are disjoined by an anaptyctic vowel: /aql/ S [áqǎl], N [á·ǐǎl] “sense”, /asr/ [á·sǎr] “evening”, /axr/ [á·xǎr] “(at) last”, /dawr/ S [dáwir], N [dávir] “generation”, /sabr/ [sábir] “patience”, /sihm/ [síhm] “fear”, /tahn/ (S) [t’áhǎn] “mockery”, /sihr/ [síhur] “sorcery”, /hajf/ [hájif] “in vain, a pity”.

Final homorganic consonant clusters are simplified: {pinn-} (base of “mouth”) → /pin (tara)/ “entrance” <mouth of gate>.

1.23 *The syllable cut in polysyllabic words*

(1) in sequences of two medial phonemes:

(a) -V. V-: /bee/ [bɛ.ɛ̃] “eggs”, /bai/ (N) [bɑ.ĩ] “to/for me”, /daew/ (S) [dɑ.ɛ̃.w] “his mother”, /gaaw/ S [gɑ̃.ɑw], N [gɑ̃.ɑβ] “in her/it”, /baox/ (N) [bɑ̃.ɑx] “to you (sg.m.)”, /balau/ [bɑ.lɑ.ú] “their misfortune” /boe/ S [bɑ̃.ɛ̃], N [bɑ̃.ɛ̃] “roast seeds”.

The sequence /-aa-/ is actualized in fluent speech as [ã] ~ [ɑ̃] with a two-peak primary or secondary stress diminishing in force during the second *mora* (symbolized by a circumflex): /taazja/ [tʰɑ̃.zjɑ̃] “mourning”, /gaaw/ S [gɑ̃.ɑw], N [gɑ̃.ɑβ] “in her/it”, /tafaat/ (N) [tʰafɑ̃.tʰ] “difference”.

On the other hand, in careful speech the syllable cut may be actualized as a non-phonemic glottal consonant, which is generally [ʔ]: [bɑ̃ʔɛ̃], [dɑ̃ʔĩ], [gɑ̃ʔɑw], [bɑ̃ʔɑx]; in S it is [ɦ] in the sg. and pl. of /zaa/ “time (*iter.*): [za.ɦɔ̃], [zaɦɛ̃].

(b) -V.CV-: /bašole/ S [bɑ.ʂɑ̃.lɛ̃], N [bɑ.ʂɑ̃.lɛ̃] “cooking”, /ziliwa/ N [zɪ.lɪ̃.wɑ], S [zɪ̃.lɪ̃wɑ] “they were gone”, /sanula/ S [sa.nʉ̃.lɔ̃], N [sa.nʉ̃.lɑ̃] “ugliness”.

(c) -VC.CV-: /havsala/ S [hɑw.sã.lɔ̃], N [hɑ̃v.sã.lɑ̃], “patience”, /kodinta/ (S) [kʰɑ̃.dɪ̃n.tʰɔ̃] “mule”, /skinye/ [skɪ̃n.jɛ̃] “knives”, /imma/ S [ɪ̃m.mɔ̃], N [ɪ̃m.mɑ̃] “100”, /bilbilli/ [bɪ̃l.bɪ̃l.lɪ̃] “I looked for”.

In rare cases medial geminate clusters are disjoined by anaptyxis in verbal forms: /xalli/ [xalɛ̃lɪ̃] “they (will, may) wash”.

(2) In sequences of three medial consonants the syllable cut is as follows (the two-consonant cluster belonging to the same syllable being optionally disjoined by an apertic vowel; cf. above 1.22 (1) and (2)):

(a) -VCC.CV-, if one of the consonants is a sonant followed and/or preceded by a fricative or a heterogenic sonant: /manxpi/ [ma.nɪ̃x.pɪ̃] “they will, may put to shame”, /marxtinne/ [mɑ̃.rɪ̃x.tɪ̃nne] “I (sg.m.) shall, may make him run”, /mamrjana/ N [mɑ̃.mɑ̃r.jɑ̃.nɑ̃] “one who hurts”, /marjtulu/ S [ma.rɪ̃j.tʰɪ̃.lʉ̃] “they will, may make them tremble”, /matmja/ [mɑ̃tʰɪ̃m.jɑ̃.tʰ] “you (sg.f.) (will, may) give to taste; you etc. pollute”, /maxlpinnax/ [mɑ̃.xɪ̃l.pʰɪ̃n.nɑ̃x] “(m.) shall, may exchange you (sg.f.)”, /maqrwex/ S [mɑ̃.qɪ̃r.βɛ̃.x] N [mɑ̃.βɪ̃r.βɛ̃.x] “we shall, may bring near”, /mɪ̃srqa/ S [mɪ̃.sɪ̃r.qɑ̃], N [mɪ̃.sɪ̃r.ɡɑ̃], “comb (n.)”, /sihmlu/ S [sɪ̃.hɪ̃m.lʉ̃] “fearful”, /sihrbaz/ [sɪ̃.hɪ̃r.bɑ̃.z] “sorcerer”, /magwɪ̃rxex/ [mɑ̃.ɡɪ̃β.rɪ̃x.xɛ̃] “we shall, may marry him (e.g. our son)”.

This rule does not apply if the last two consonants of the sequence belong to the morpheme -lxun (2nd p. pl. of the pronominal actor suffix): /ritlxun/ [rɪ̃t.lɛ̃.xʉ̃n] “you (pl.) trembled”, /qimlxun/ S [qɪ̃m.lɛ̃.xʉ̃n], N [qɪ̃m.lɛ̃.xʉ̃n] “you (pl.) rose”.

(b) -VC.CCV- in all other cases: /balbli/ [bal.bɑ̃.lɪ̃] “they will, may seek”, /šaj-

dnet/ [šaj.dě.ně.tʰ] “you (sg.m.) (will, may) become mad”, /maspjan/ [mas.pī.já.n] “I (f.) shall, may hand over; I order”, /maskri/ [mas.kě.rí.] “they will, may lose, become lost”.

Between a sonant (especially when geminate) and the morpheme -xun (2nd p. pl. of the actor suffix) the anaptyctic vowel [ə] varies freely with [ǒ]: /zillxun/ [zíl.lě.xUN ~ zíl.lǒ.xUN] “you (pl.) went”, /tunnxun/ S [tʰun.nə.xUN ~ tʰun.nǒ.xUN] “both of you”.

1.3 PROSODIC FEATURES

1.31 *Flatting*

There exists a phonological opposition between words (and occasionally syllables) consisting of plain phones and those consisting of flat phones.

Flat phones are produced in contrast to plain ones in the following manner: all oral consonants are strongly velarized; labials are produced with a marked protrusion and rounding of the lips; *r* is actualized as a trill; in the production of *p*, *t*, *k* the glottis is entirely closed in S and only slightly opened in N; all consonants (including *h*) are more or less pharyngealized according to the individual speakers; the high and mid vowels *i*, *u*, *e*, *o* have markedly lowered on-glides and/or off-glides in contact with consonants; the rounded vowels have no fronted allophones in N; the allophones [i] and [ə] of /i/ are replaced by central [ī], and in contact with labials “by back-central” [w]; the allophones [a], [ʌ] and [ɑ] of /a/ are replaced by [ɑ] and [ɒ] respectively; all vowels are more or less pharyngealized according to individual speakers.

(1) *Flat words*. The distribution of flat words in the subdialects is unequal; certain words are flat in the subdialect of U in contrast to other sub-dialects, especially of S, where they are plain e.g.: /bate/ “houses”, /bilwana/ “pocket”, /blane/ “daughters, girls”, /daa/ “mother”, /gala/ “sack-cloth,” /gana/ “body-and-soul”, /gare/ “roof, ceiling”, /glala/ “string”, /kalo/ “bride”, /mazzal/ “luck”, /qala/ “voice” (which is thus homophonic with /qala/ “fortress”), /qajda/ “rule”.

In addition, a great number of individual female speakers of U over seventy replace practically all the plain words of their sub-dialect (except those containing /u/ and /o/ by flat ones, thereby neutralizing the opposition in question. No account of this will be taken in the following analysis.

Instances of minimal a nearly-minimal word pairs illustrating the opposition plain vs. flat are: /aman/ “tool, instrument” vs. /aman/ “mercy, safeguard”, /amra/ “she may say” vs. /amra/ “wool”, /aqlew/ “his foot (feet), leg(s)” vs. /aqlew/ “his sense”, /ara/ “earth, ground” vs. /ara/ “interval, space”, /bali/ “my mind” vs. /bali/ “my young, children”, S /blane/ “daughters, girls” vs. /blane/ “pockets”, /dréle/ “he put” vs. /dréle/ “he strewed, scattered”, /gori/ “they will, may marry” vs. /gori/ “they (will) enter”, /hawa/ “she may give” vs. /hawa/ “air; Eve”, /lwa/ “lair” vs. /lwa/ “inside”, /lwaša/ “(she is) dressing” vs. /lwaša/ “flat cake of bread”, S /mala/

“village” vs. /*mala*/ “trowel”, S /*mali*/ “my village” vs. /*mali*/ “my possessions” /*mréle*/ “it ached” vs. /*mréle*/ “he/it grazed, he pastured”, /*pjala*/ “(she is) falling”, vs. /*pjala*/ “goblet, tumbler”, /*pul*/ “fall down” vs. /*pul*/ “stamp (S also: money)”, S /*qala*/ “voice, sound” vs. /*qala*/ “tower” (for N see above), /*reša*/ “head” vs. /*reša*/ “she awakes, will, may awake”, /*swéle*/ “he became satiated” vs. /*swéle*/ “he became stiff (S slang also: “he outwitted)”, /*sjami*/ “my shoe(s) vs. /*sjami*/ my fasting”, /*šamala*/ “torch” vs. /*šamala*/ “candle”, /*šréle*/ “he untied” vs. /*šréle*/ “he passed judgment”, /*tréle*/ “he became wet” vs. /*tréle*/ “he drove”, /*tawilla*/ “stable (n.)” vs. /*tawilla*/ “ritual immersion”, /*tena*/ “fig” vs. /*tena*/ “load”, /*tora*/ “ox” vs. /*tora*/ “the Law” (S also “book of a religious nature”), /*tore*/ “oxen” vs. /*tore*/ “nets”, /*o wada*/ “she is doing, making” vs. /*o wada*/ “(at) that time”, /*xala*/ “new” vs. /*xala*/ S “maternal uncle”, /*xjaru*/ “they are looking” vs. /*xjaru*/ “their cucumbers”, /*zréle*/ “he sowed, planted” vs. S /*zréle*/ “he scattered”.

(2) *Flat syllables* of the type CaC occur only when base final: /*ijar*/ “2nd Jewish month”, /*nisan*/ “1st Jewish month”, /*nišan*/ “mark, sign”, /*dajirman*/ “mill”, /*dušman*/ N “enemy”, /*šulhan*/ “table”, /*finjan*/ “cup”, /*jejran*/ “gazelle” /*namakdan*/ “salt-cellar” vs. /*tuman*/ “myriad”.

All derivational suffixes following a base with final flat syllable are likewise flat: /*nišanqula*/ “engagement”, /*dajirmanči*/ “miller”.

1.32 *Stress*

Syllable stress is generally accompanied by a raise of pitch (for syntactic (word) stress and pitch see ch. 4). It is conditioned morphologically.

In the following stress will be marked unless ultimate.

(1) In simplex forms (including verbal forms with zero suffix) and in complex forms with prefixes only stress is generally ultimate: /*talis*/ “sack”, /*qajiš*/ “belt”, /*qaza*/ “accident, misfortune”, /*qabay*/ “cover, lid; in front of”, /*sabāb*/ “cause, reason”, /*xandāq*/ “ditch, trench”, /*čangāl*/ “fork”, /*safoṅ*/ “north”, /*awun*/ “sin”, /*gugurd*/ “sulphur, match”, /*palix*/ “he opens, will, may open (tr. and intr.)”, /*ade*/ “he may come”, /*b-hawil*/ N “he is going to give”, /*miskir*/ “he has become lost”, /*marim*/ “he raises, will, may raise”.

Exceptionally, stress is penultimate (a) in nouns ending in /-ušum/ /*awrúšum*/ “silk”, /*qurqúšum*/ “lead (metal)”; (b) in lexically specified Hebrew loanwords, where the penultimate syllable centers in /i/ or /e/: /*efrájim*/ “Ephraim”, /*mizbéa*/ “altar”, /*gnédem*/ “Paradise”, /*néder*/ “vow”, /*pésa*/ “passover”, /*séder*/ “ceremonial meal on Passover Eve”, /*séfer*/ “Scroll of the Law”.

(2) In complex forms stress is determined by the nature of the suffix (or suffixes) and will be treated in ch. 2. It must, however, be noted that in lively speech penultimate stress may be shifted to the ultimate.

Instances of opposition in place of stress are: /*(istkane)* twire/ “broken (glasses)” vs.

/istkane) *twire/* “he has broken (glasses)“, N */(úla) qatula/* “(here) is the cat” vs. */(úla) qatúla/* “(here) she is cutting”.

An instance of (syntactically) non-distinctive contrast is */zdelu/* “their fear” – */zdélu/* “they became afraid”.

(3) In compound forms stress is generally penultimate in uninflected forms (see 2.6) and occasionally also in nouns with singular suffix: */idjo(m)/* “to-day”, */idlel/* “to-night”, */šítqel/* “last year”, */šwáxet/*, S */ušwáxet/* N “last week”, */jwéxet/* “(a) different one(s)”; */pilgjóma/* S */pilgóma/*, N “midday”, */pilgléle/* “midnight” (in contrast with */lixmida/* “small loaf of bread”).

Stress which is ultimate according to (1) and (2) is shifted to a penultimate open syllable in the following cases:

(a) in vocative forms of nouns denoting relatives: S */dáe ~ dáje!/*, N */dée!/* “mother!”, */bróni!/* “my son!”, S */xáli!/*, N */dóji!/* “my (maternal) uncle!”, */amóni!/* (N); usually */ámi!/* “my (paternal) uncle!”.

(b) in disyllabic nominal forms with singular suffix and verbal forms with zero suffix in utterance final and preceding open juncture, if the latter is followed by a stressed syllable beginning with a single consonant: */bela (xalé-le)/* “the house (is new)” – */(zille) béla./* “(he went) home” and */(xa) béla zóra/* “(a) small house”; */(o) lelé (dmíxlu kpine)/* “(that) night (they went to sleep hungry)” – */(xdíre) léle./* “night (came)” and */léle (zille meša)/* “(at) night (he went to the forest)”; */tara (qardé-la)/* “outside (it is cold)” – */(plitle) tára./* “(he went) out”; */tara (xalé-le)/* “the door (is new)” – */tára (dúqle!/)* “(shut) the door (!)”; */be-pálx (baqatta)/* “it will open (to-morrow)” – */(baqatta) be-pálix +/* “(tomorrow) it will open!” and */(baqatta) be-pálix (xa tkana)/* “(to-morrow) he will open (a shop)”, */(kadé) palé (ba mewané)/* “he distributes (cakes to the guests)” – */pále buz/* “he distributes ice”; */málle!/* “enough!”.

(c) in compound numeral forms (11–19) when standing alone: *xéssar* “11”, *ar-bássar* “14”.

On the other hand, initial stress is shifted forward in the case of post-junctural elision of */i-/*; see 1.12.13 (2).

1.33 Vowel quantity

In general, vowel quantity is automatic, being conditioned prosodically (place of the stress, syllable structure) and/or morphologically (see also ch. 2), but there are some typical and specific cases of distinctive opposition in quality.

1.33.1 *Automatic vowel quantity.* The conditioning of quantity is unequally distributed among the different vowels, which renders its analysis somewhat involved.

(1) Vowels are relatively long in stressed syllables:

(a) in open non-final syllables – all vowels other than */i/* in certain forms (see below 1.33.2.) and */u/*: */zili/* “they are gone”, */šméle/* “he heard”, */xizjálan/* “we

saw her”, /nóši/ “myself” – in contrast with /qurqúšum/ “lead (n.)”, /prúqun/ “leave off (pl.)”.

Special cases in S: the above-mentioned rule does not apply with regard to /-á-/ (i) in *á* the actor suffixes of the 1st and 2nd p. sg. f. (-an- and -at- respectively) of the aorist of the imperfective aspect. /gbáne/ “I (f.) want, like him”, /be-šamjātu/ “you (sg.f.) are going to hear them”; (ii) before the sequence /-ra/ (cf. above 1.32): /šara./ “(to) the ground”, /tára./ “outside”.

(b) in final syllables and monosyllabics closed by one consonant (except in pronominal suffixes centering in /-o-/ or /-a-/):

/i/ in non-verbal forms of the type iC and CiC and in all verbal forms: /it/ “there is/are”, /din/ “religion”, /miskir/ “he has become lost”, /zil/ “he is gone”, /jtiw/ “he is sitting” – in contrast with /škil/ “picture”.

/e/: /amen/ “amen”, /xen/ “more, else, now then”, /šer/ “lion”, /per/ “he passes, will, may pass”.

/a/: in monosyllabics of the types aC, CaC and CCaC (the latter only when simplex): at “you (s.g.)” naš/ “person”, /xaš/ “again”, /mar/ “say”, /swat/ S “countenance” – in contrast with /kwat/ “you (sg.f.), will, may give”, krax “your (sg.f.) hire”. For polysyllabics see below 1.33.2.

/o/: /plow/ “pilav”, /šalom/ “greeting (of peace)”, /safon/ “North”, /koš/ “descend” – in contrast with /belox/ “your (sg.m.) house”.

/u/: in monosyllabic nominal forms: /buz/ “ice”, /jmug/ “twin” – in contrast with /pruq/ “leave off”, /buz/ “spill”.

(c) in monosyllabic verbal stems followed by -wa as closing suffix: /zil-wa/ “he had gone”, /pérwa/ “he used to pass”, /dárwa/ “he used to return (intr.)”.

In word final all vowels except the sing. indicator /a/ are long; they may receive extra length under the influence of certain intonation patterns (see 4.22. (2)).

(2) In unstressed syllable all vowels are relatively long in the open penultimate of disyllabic complex nominal forms other than those ending in /-eC/ or simplex forms ending in /-a/, /-iC/ and /-āC/ (see below, 1.33.2.): /ksila/ “hat”, /belan/ “our house”, /lele/ “night”, /našox/ “your (sg.m.) people”, /gare/ S ~ /gare/ N “roof, ceiling”, /naše/ “people (pl.)” /joma/ “day”, /suse/ “horse”, – in contrast with /našew/ “his people”, *qaza* “accident, misfortune”, /gare/ “he shaves, will, may shave”, /jalŷy/ “kerchief”, /qabāy/ “lid, cover” (N also: “in front of”), /sabāb/ “cause, reason” (simplex forms).

1.33.2 *Distinctive vowel quantity.* There are following oppositions of short vs. (conditioned) medium to long vowels:

(1) in stressed syllables:

(a) in non-final opened syllables: /í/ vs. /i/ /mīre/ “he said” vs. /míre/ “he has said”, /twíri/ “I broke” vs. /twíri/ “they are broken”, /xíle/ “he/it has wrapped himself/itself” vs. /xíle/ “he has eaten”, /míte/ “he has arrived” vs. /xíte/ “he has

sewn”, /šīre/ “it has loosened” vs. /šīre/ S “he has mocked”. In this case /ī/ is actualized extra-short.

(b) in final syllable or monosyllabic closed with a single consonant:

/i/ vs. /i/. No minimal word pair illustrating the opposition has been found; the distribution of these two phonemes is conditioned lexically: /qamišš/ “reeds” vs. /tanimišš/ “acquaintance”, /bilbīl/ “nightingale” vs. /kafgir/ “skimmer”, /qajjīšš/ “belt” vs. /čatin/ “difficult”, /čīr/ “obstinate” vs. /din/ “religion”.

/ā/ vs. /a/. A single minimal word pair has been found: /aslān/ “our origin” vs. /aslan/ “lion” (N); other lexically specified instances – in nominal forms of the patterns CaCal and CaCCaC with heterogenic medial consonant cluster and in monosyllabics – are: /čangāl/ “fork” vs. /dawšan/ “hare”, /qajmāy/ “cream” vs. /madjan/ “mare”, /hāq/ “right (subst.)” vs. /mat/ “depressed”, /bās/ “only” vs. /xašš/ “again”, /pasān/ “praise (n.)” vs. /haxam/ “rabbi”. In nouns of the patterns CaCCaC (with geminate medial consonant cluster) and CoCaC, /ā/ occurs in plain and /a/ in flat words: /takkār/ “wheel (of vehicle)”, /nokār/ “male slave or servant”, in contrast with /mazzal/ “luck”, /čoban/ “shepherd”.

/ū/ vs. /u/. Lexically conditioned instances are: /hawūz/ “tank, pool” vs. /malul/ “upset”, /xanūm/ S “lady, mistress” vs. /awun/ “sin”.

(2) In unstressed open syllables. Instance of the opposition of /ā/ vs. /a/ occurring in S are: /āra (N. ara) “earth, ground”, /bāra/ “sea-side, port”, /tāra/ (N. tara) “door”, /pāra/ “feather” vs. /para/ (also arch.) “lamb”.

Appendix: Graphemics. The dialect under investigation is written – like all other Jewish dialects – in Hebrew characters, but unlike most of them it lacks a fixed tradition of spelling. Accordingly, certain phonemes may be transcribed by more than one letter or vowel sign according to the individual writers or even by the same writer in free variation; and, conversely, different phonemes may be rendered by one and the same sign. Certain phonological features may be left unmarked.

1. The phonemes with fixed transcription¹ are:

/p/ – p; /b/ – b; /d/ – d; /k/ – k; /g/ – g; /q/ – q (in S)

/č/, /j/ – ġ

/f/ – p̄; /z/ – z; /š/ – š; /ž/ – ġ; /x/ – k̄; /γ/ – ġ

/i/ in open syllables and when phonetically long – ij.

All vowels in word initial are preceded by ʔ (but cf. 3.)

2. Phonemes with variable transcription are:

/t/ – t ~ t̄; /q/ ~ g (in N)

/w/ – b̄ ~ w; /s/ – s ~ š (rare); /h/ – h ~ zero in postvocalic position

/i/ in closed syllables when phonetically short and /i/ – e ~ e;

/a/ – a ~ ɔ ~ šwa; /o/ – o ~ u (in the vicinity of sonants); /u/ – u ~ o (in the vicinity of sonants).

¹ Italics in this section denote graphemes except in words placed between slants.

Anaptyctic vowels – *i* ~ *e* ~ *ε*.

In the Ms of the Bible translation written by *Haxam Jišaj* /p/ /t/ /k/ are frequently transcribed in the vicinity of lax consonants and fricatives as *b d g* respectively cf. 1.11.1(1).

3. Unmarked features are:

Gemination of consonants

Flattening of consonants; occasionally it may be denoted by a letter designating a flat consonant in Hebrew; e.g. /ahra/ “city, country” – *šahrɔ* ~ *ʔahrɔ* ~ *ʔahrɔ*; /ada/ “island” – *šadɔ*; /misséle/ “he could” – *misele* ~ *mešele*; /mtéle/ “he arrived, attained” – *mitele* ~ *meʔele*.

Stress

Vowel length.

There are also cases of etymological spelling; /ena/ “eye” – (Old Aramic *šena*) – *ʔenɔ* ~ *šenɔ*; it goes without saying that Hebrew loanwords in the dialect are practically always spelled in this manner.

2 MORPHOLOGY

2.0 MINIMAL FREE FORMS AND CLITICS

A minimal free form constituting a stress unit is a word. Such a form may be simplex (consisting of a single base only), complex (consisting of a base and one or more derivational and/or inflectional affixes) or compound (consisting of two bases with or without derivational and/or inflectional affixes).

Basic morphemes may or may not be primarily derived (by regular or irregular patterning) from root-morphemes (see below 2.01).

Affixed bound morphemes constituting allomorphs of *bound* bases or *free forms* are considered as clitics and their juncture to the following or preceding word (internal open juncture) is marked by a hyphen in the cases of (a) monophonemic or biphonemic prefixes serving also as bases, e.g. b-idi “in, with my hand(s)” (cf. ibbi {ibb+i} (S and arch.) “at me”), ba-gora “to the man” (cf. baew {ba+ew} “to him”), b-kaliw “he is going to write” (cf. gbe kaliw – same meaning), g-bela “in the house” (cf. gau {ga+u} “in them”), m-olka “out of/than the city”, mi-brata “from/than the girl” (cf. minnaw {minn+aw} “from her, than she”); (b) all suffixes which occur also as free forms, e.g. hwille-llu “he gave them” (cf. hiwále (i)llu “he gave it to them”), jarixté-la “it (f.) is long” (cf. čatin-eila “it (f.) is difficult”).

2.01 Root-morphemes

Root-morphemes consist of a consonantal framework for primary derivation of a great number of nominal forms and all verbal forms; they are divided into classes according to the number and nature of their constituents (the latter are marked as C_1 , C_2 , etc., O indicating zero consonant):

(1) Three-consonant root-morphemes comprise the following classes:

- A : C_1 - C_2 - C_3 , where C_1 and C_2 = any C, and C_3 = any C other than /j/. Example: k-l-w “write”; derivations: kalawa “writing (n.)”, kalowe “writing (ger.)”, kalwana “writer”, kliwa “written”, klíwle “he wrote”.
- B : C_1 -w/O- C_3 , where C_1 = any C, C_2 = /w/ alternating with zero, and C_3 = any C other than /w/ and /j/. Example: q-w/O-r “bury”; derivations: qora “grave”, qorana “grave-digger”, qwira “buried”, qwíru “they buried”.

- C : C_1 -j/O- C_3 , where C_1 = any C (including zero) other than /j/, C_2 = /j/ alternating with zero, and C_3 = any C other than /w/ and /j/. Example: q-j/O-m “rise”; derivations: / qjama/ “rising (ger.)”, qoma “stature”, qjama “she is rising”, qímla “she rose”, qema “she rises, will, may rise”.
- D : O- C_2 - C_3 , where C_1 = zero alternating with V, C_2 = any C, and C_3 = any C other than /w/ and /j/. Examples: O-x-l “eat”; derivations: ixala (f.) “eating (ger.); she is eating (N)”, ixala (m.) “food”, xilli “Iate”, kixli “they (will) eat”; O-w-d “do, make” (irreg.); derivations: waden (N) ~ wádlen (S) “I (m.) am doing, making”, od “he may do, make”.
- E : C_1 - C_2 -j/O, where C_1 = any C or zero (the latter alternating with V), C_2 = any C, and C_3 = /j/ alternating with zero. Examples: b-n-j/O “build”; derivations: binjana “building”, binja “built (sg.m.)”, bnita “built (sg.f.)”, bnélan “we built”, bane “he builds, will, may build”; O-d-j/O “come”; derivations: adjana “comer”, /idje/ “he has come”, /idjéle/ “he came”, gde “he comes, will, may come”; O-b-j/O “want, like”; derivations: abjana “well-wisher; pleasing”, ebélox “you (sg.m.) wanted”.

(2) Four-consonant root-morphemes, in which C_2 and C_3 form a geminate or heterogenic cluster treated morphologically as single C, consist of the following classes:

- A' : C_1 - C_2 - C_3 - C_4 , where C_1 = any C or O, C_2 = any C other than /w/, C_3 = any C other than /w/ and /j/, and C_4 = any C other than /w/ and /j/. Examples: /p-rt-f/ “throw”; derivations: pirtife “thrown (pl.)”, partofe “throwing (ger.)”, partfana “thrower”, pirtiflan “we threw”; O-mb-l “take along”; derivations: amblana “he who takes/took/will take along”, amblet “you (sg.m.) will, may take along”.
- E' : C_1 - C_2 - C_3 -j/O, where C_1 = any C or O, C_2 = any C other than /w/ and /j/, C_3 = any C other than /j/, and C_4 = /j/ alternating with zero. Examples: s-lh-j/O “succeed, give success”; derivations: salhjana “successful, giving success”, silhéle “he succeeded, gave success”; O-nt-j/O “take, carry”; derivations: antoe “taking, carrying (ger.)”, antjanta “one who takes, carries (f.)”, intéla “she took carried”, anténi “they will, may, take, carry”.

2.02 The morphological form classes

The morphological form-classes or parts of speech forming the frame-work of the following discussion are as follows:

- (1) *Nouns* are patterned or unpatterned simplex, complex or compound free forms, with bases serving as bases of derivation and as stems for inflection in number and relation by suffixation.

Adjectives are a subclass of nouns with bases serving as stems for inflection in number, gender and relation.

(2) *Numerals* are a subclass of mostly patterned nouns with special morphemes of derivation and inflection in number and relation.

(3) *Personal pronouns* are unpatterned complex free or bound (suffixed) forms; the bases of free forms are attached to special morphemes indicating number, person and gender.

(4) *Prepositions* are unpatterned simplex or compound free forms – some of them with bound (prefixed) allomorphs – serving as stems for inflections in relation.

(5) *Verbs* are patterned complex or compound free forms with bases serving as bases for derivation and as stems for inflection in mood by prefixation, and in tense, number, person and gender by suffixation; transitive verbs are, in addition, inflected in relation.

(6) *Particles* are unpatterned simplex, complex or compound free or bound (prefixed and/or suffixed) uninflected forms with various syntactic functions, some of them taking relational suffixes.

2.1 NOUNS

2.11 Formation

2.11.1 *Primary formation.* In the following, free morphemes will come under the heading (i) and bound morphemes under the heading (ii). The latter take one or two suffixes and/or – rarely – a prefix, and in one single case an infix.

2.11.11 *Free bases and bases with single suffix* functioning as singular indicator; the chief allomorph of the stressed suffix is -a, the other – less frequent – allomorphs are -e and -o.

2.11.11.1 *Patterned bases* (in all the patterns, the first C subsumes also zero consonant)

(1) CVCC (potentially derived from root-morphemes of classes A, D and E (see above 2.01):

(a) CiCC Examples: (i) *milk* “real estate”, *sihr* “magic”, *šixt* (S) “line”; (ii) *dibba* “bear”, *jirxa* “length” (cf. j-r-x “lengthen (intr.)”, *tiqla* “weight” (cf. t-q-l “weigh”), *irba* “sheep”, *mirja* “ache, pain” (cf. m-r-j/O “ache”), *xidja* “woman’s breast”. Irregular primary derivation: *izla* “yarn” (cf. j-z-l “spin”), *bizza* “hole” (cf. b-z-j/O “pierce, make a hole”), *pilga* “half” (cf. p-l-j/O “divide, halve”), *pissa* “Passover (cf. p-s-j/O “celebrate Passover”)), *qitta* “piece” (cf. q-t-j/O “cut”), *riwwa*, “great, large” (cf. r-w-j/O “grow (intr.)”), *timma* “taste” (cf. t-m-j/O “taste”), *tišwa* “stealth” (cf. t-š-j/O “hide (tr.)”).

- (b) CeCC Examples: (i) none; (ii) *dehwa* “(piece of) gold”, *derja* “woman’s dress”, *sehra* “moon”, *hesta* (S) ~ *esta* (N) “honour”.
- (c) CaCC Examples: (i) *ašq* “love (erot.)” (S) (cf. O-š-q “fall in love”), *dars* “lesson”, *qasr* “castle”, *taxt* “throne”, *asr* “evening”; (ii) *dabra* “maintenance” (cf. d-b-r “maintain”), *garma* “bone”, *kalba* “dog”, *xalwa* “milk” (cf. x-l-w “milk (v.)”). Irregular primary derivation: */zar?a/* “seed, posterity (cf. z-r-j/O “sow”).
- (d) CoCC Examples: (i) none; (ii) *dolma* “vegetables stuffed with rice”, *kolga* “shade”, *nohra* “mirror”, *toppa* “ball”.
- (e) CuCC Examples: (i) *tund* “strong (taste, colour)”; (ii) *dugla* “lie” (cf. d-g-l “lie”), *qulba* “bracelet”, *sukka* “tabernacle”, *xulma* “dream” (cf. x-l-m “dream”), *zudda* “stout, brave”. Irregular primary derivation *gunda* “small ball” (cf. g-nd-r “roll”).
- (2) CVC (potentially derived from root-morphemes of classes B and C):
- (a) CiC Examples: (i) *din* “religion”, *mix* “nail”, *šiš* “skewer”, *zin* (S) “saddle”; (ii) *ida* “hand”, *mija* “bowel”, *qira* “pitch”, *siwa* “piece of wood, stick”, *tima* “price”;
- (b) CiC Examples: (i) *čir* “obstinate”, *sir* “secret”; (ii) none;
- (c) CeC Examples: (i) *dew* (S) “demon, ogre”, *kef* “good mood, well = being”, *šer* (S) “lion”; (ii) *bela* “house”, *dewa* “wolf”, *ena* “eye”, *mela* “dead” (cf. m-j/O-l “die”), *reša* “head”, *tena* “load” (cf. the derived verbal root *m-t-n* “load”);
- (d) CaC Examples: (i) *aw* “hunt”, *bar* “fruit”, *lal* “ruby, rubies”, *pač* (S) “hoe”; (ii) *baba* (S and arch.) ~ *dada* (N) “father”, *mala* (S) ~ *mala* (N) “village”, *para* (arch.) “lamb”, *tara* (N) “door”, *xala* “new”; With -e allomorph of suffix: *gare* (S) ~ *gare* (N) “roof, ceiling”. With -o allomorph of suffix: *kalo* “bride”. With free variation of free and bound stem: *gab* ~ *gaba* “side, direction”, *naš* ~ *naša* “person”; Irregular primary derivation: *jala* (S) ~ *jala* (N) “child” (cf. j-d-l “give birth”), *xaa* “living, alive” (cf. x-j-j/O “live”).
- (e) CăC Examples: (i) *băg* “Bek (title)”, *hăq* “right (subst.)”, *kăf* “foam; palm, sole”, *tăk* “single”, *wăj* (S) “concern; (ii) *băra* (S) “seaside, port”, *păra* (S) “feather”, *tăra* (S) “door”.
- (f) CoC Examples: (i) *čol* “desert”, *kok* “root”, *top* “cannon; ball of cloth”; (ii) *gora* “man, husband” (cf. g-w/O-r “marry”), *joma* “day”, *mola* “death” (cf. m-j/O-l “die”), *qora* “grave” (cf. q-w/O-r “bury”). Forms with irregular stress on the base: *zóra* “small, little”, *nóš-* “self” (occurs only as bound stem with personal pronominal relational suffixes).

- (g) CuC Examples: (i) *buz* “ice”, *duz* “straight, honest, orderly”, *quš* “bird”, *tug* “feather(s), nap”; (ii) *uža* “edge”, *duka* (*Sa*) “place”, *guda* “wall”, *nura* “fire”, *šula* “work, matter”. With -e allomorph of suffix: *suse* “horse”.
- (3) CVCVC (potentially derived from root-morphemes of any three-consonant class. The final C subsumes also zero consonant).
- (a) CaCiC Examples: (i) *čatin* “difficult”, *faqir* “poor”, *mašin* (S) “machine, mechanized vehicle”, *taži* (S) “greyhound”, *wazir* “minister”; (ii) *aziza* “beloved”, *basima* “well (adj.)”, *hakima* “physician”, *jarixa* “long”, *mašina* (N) “machine, mechanized vehicle”, *qalila* “light (in weight)”, *šamina* “fat (adj.)”, *talila* “wet, moist”. Irregular primary derivation: *marila* “bitter” (cf. *m-j/O-r* “grow bitter”), *qarila* “cold” (cf. *q-j/O-r* “grow cold”).
- (b) CaCiC Examples: (i) *čadır* “tent”, *gamīs* “buffalo”, *jahīl* “young”, *qamiš* “reeds”, *qajīš* “belt”; (ii) none
- (c) CaCeC Examples: (i) *arel* “uncircumcised, Christian”, *taher* “ritually clean”, *xameš* “silent”; (ii) none.
- (d) CaCaC Examples: (i) *aya* “Agha (title)”, *bala* “misfortune”, *bahar* “spring (season)”, *haxam* “rabbi”, *kawar* “leeks”; (ii) *barana* “ram”, *mayara* “cava”, *mahana* “pretext, excuse”, *šamala* “torch”.
- (e) CaCāC Examples: (i) *arāq* “sweat”, *badān* “city wall”, *kalām* “cabbage”, *nafās* “breath”, *pasān* “praise” (cf. *p-s-n* “praise”), *sabāb* “cause, reason”; (ii) *arāqa* “arrack”, *masāla* “proverb, parable, anecdote”, *qalāma* “writing pen”, *tabāqa* “layer”.
- (f) CaCoC Examples: (i) *kawod* “honour”, *safon* “North”, *šalom* “greeting”; (ii) *natora* “guardian”.
- (g) CaCuC Examples: (i) *asur* “ritually forbidden”, *malul* “upset”, *kahu* “lettuce”; (ii) *baruxa* “friend” (cf. *b-r-x* “bless”), *jaqura* “heavy, honourable”, *maluxa* “salty” (cf. *m-l-x* “salt”), *patuxa* “flat, broad” (cf. *p-t-x* “become flat”), *xarupa* “sharp” (cf. *x-r-p* “become sharp”), *xamusa* “sour” (cf. *x-m-s* “grow sour”).
- (h) CaCūC Examples: (i) *hawūz* “pool, tank”, *xanūm* (S) “lady, mistress”; (ii) none.
- (i) CoCaC Examples: (i) *čoban* “shepherd”, *čolay* “lame”, *nokar* “male slave or servant”, *otay* “room”, *olam* “world”, *šofar* “ram’s horn (for ritual purposes)”; (ii) none.
- (j) CoCiC Examples: (i) *doji* (N) “maternal uncle”, *loti* “dandy”, *qobi* “bog”, *qošin* “host, army”, *tosi* “bowl, ashtray”.

- (4) CVCCVC with geminate -CC- (potentially derived from root-morphemes of any three-consonant class).
 CaCCaC Examples: (i) mazzal (S) ~ mazzal (N) “luck”, *naffar* “carpenter”, *qazzab* “unfortunate, unhappy”; takkar “wheel of vehicle”; (ii) dabbana “heal”, kallawa (S) “latrine”, *rak-kawa* “rider”, *tajjara* “aeroplane”, zaqqara “weaver (N also: spider)”. Irregular primary derivation (with flattening): *banna* “mason” (cf. b-n-j/O “build”), *qajjam* “stable (adj.)” (cf. q-j/O-m “rise, stand up”).
- (5) CVCCVC with heterogenic -CC- (potentially derived from root-morphemes of classes A' and E'):
- (a) CaCCaC Examples: (i) *aslan* “lion”, *dawšan* “hare”, karwan “caravan”, *madjan* “mare”, rahman “merciful”, *xarman* “threshing floor”; (ii) none.
- (b) CaCCäC Examples: (i) askär “army”, *čangäl* “fork”, jändäg “body”, *qajmäy* “cream”, xandäq “trench”; (ii) hawsäla “patience”, panjära “window”, *qarqära* “raven”.
- (6) CaCiCC (not derived from any known root-morpheme).
 Examples: (i) none; (ii) natilla “ritual hand-washing”, tawilla “stable (subst.)”, *tawilla* “ritual immersion”.
- (7) CCVC (potentially derived from root-morphemes of any three-consonant class; final C subsumes also zero consonant):
- (a) CCiC Examples: (i) fkir “thought”, qfil “lock”, škil “picture”; (ii) qdiša “holy”, qlila “key”, xmira “yeast”; the participles of classes A, B and D: griša “pulled” (cf. g-r-š “pull”), twira “broken” (cf. t-w-r), xila “eaten” (cf. O-x-l “eat”).
- (b) CCeC Examples: (i) none; (ii) *trefa* “ritually forbidden (food)”.
- (c) CCaC Examples: (i) gran “expensive”, graw “forfeit”, *flaw* “bridle”, *xjal* “imagination”; (ii) glala “string, blade of grass”, grawa “linen”, *jyara* “cigarette”, qrawa “battle, war” (cf. q-r-w “come near (arch.)”, xmara “donkey”).
- (d) CCoC Examples: (i) *plow* “pilav”, *sjot* “pepper”; (ii) smoqa “red”, *trosa* “right, true” (cf. t-r-s “come right, recover; fix”).
- (e) CCuC Examples: (i) *sbuy* “paint”, xdug “worry”; (ii) xlula “wedding”, xzura “pig”.
- (8) CC (potentially irregularly derived from root morphemes of class E):
 Examples: (i) none; (ii) bna “household” (cf. b-n-j/O “build”), gwa “moths”, jga “ankle”, lwa “lair”, pra (S) “soil, land”, qra (S) “bottom”, ska (S) “coins”, šja “mad”, tka “place”.
- (9) CV (not related to any known root-morpheme):
- (a) Ca Examples: (i) none; (ii) daa (S) ~ daa (N) “mother”, šaa “soup”, zaa “time (recurrent)”

(b) Co Examples: (i) *to* (S) “good”; (ii) none.

2.11.11.2 *Unpatterned bases* (potentially related to root-morphemes of any class).

Examples: (i) awrúšum “silk”, bibar “pimiento”, bisti “tripod”, *buxar* “steam”, čarčiw “frame”, darzi “tailor”, durbin “telescope”, dižmīn (S and arch.) ~ dušman (N) “enemy”, *dolu* “hail”, *dwa* “prayer” (cf. *d-O-j/O* “pray for”), fitu “whistle”, *finjan* “cup”, *gezlin* “hidden”, *gojim* “Gentile”, *gugurd* “sulphur, match” *gumbaz* “cupola”, *gnédem* “Paradise”, *hawang* “mortar”, *huĵum* “attack”, *hejwanat* “animal”, *hasarat* “loss”, *hessab* “reckoning, invoice”, *irxel* “mill”, *insan* “human being”, *iskan* (S) ~ *istkan* (N) “drinking-glass”, *istirahat* “rest”, *japluk* “fan”, *jaxni* “stew of chickpeas with dumplings of groats and ground meat”, *ĵejran* “gazelle”, *jirmuy* “fist”, *ĵawahirat* “jewels”, *ĵizdan* “purse”, *kaftjar* (S) “hag”, *karki* “ax”, *kiprig* “eyelash”, *komir* “coal”, *korpi* “bridge”, *kalabab* (S) “cock”, *langāri* “tray”, *manzil* “lodging, quarters”, *maslahat* “advice”, *mečit* “mosque”, *mištuk* “cigarette holder”, *mindix* (S) ~ *mindiy* (N) “thing”, *midraš* “school”, *miswa* “meritorious deed”, *néder* “vow”, *nišan* “mark, sign”, *nuĵum* “sorcery”, *nardiwan* “ladder”, *otambel* “automobile”, *pellakan* “flight of steps, staircase”, *peštamal* “towel”, *piling* “panther”, *pilluč* “refuse”, *palton* “overcoat”, *partron* “Western-type trousers”, *portqal* “orange”, *polu* (S) “charcoal”, *qajlun* “pipe”, *qajči* “scissors”, *qurqúšum* “lead (metal)”, *qalmaqal* “noise”, *qarawaš* “female slave, servant”, *qarnabit* “cauliflower”, *qaršuy* (N) “rib”, *qazanĵ* “profit”, *qočagan* “staff”, *qotir* (N) “mule”, *quhum* “people”, *qulluy* “service”, *qumar* “gambling”, *qurʔan* “Koran”, *qurban* “sacrifice” (irregular derivation from q-r-w “draw near”), *qurtum* “mouthful”, *rewi* (S) “fox”, *rusqat* “permission”, *ruštahin* “noodles”, *sidur* (S) ~ *siddur* (N) “prayer book”, *sinči* “look”, *sirdab* “cellar”, *saddiq* “righteous, godly”, *salxum* “bunch of grapes”, *šikast* “lame, invalid”, *šibbat* (S) ~ *šabbat* (N) “Sabbath, Saturday”, *šapillay* “box on the ear”, *šulhan* “table”, *tabjat* “nature”, *tafillim* “philacteries”, *tafsir* “Bible commentary or translation”, *tagbir* “plan”, *taaĵubat* “strange, wonderful”, *targum* “translation”, *tašši* “spindle”, *tarabzum* “railing”, *tfang* “rifle”, *toxim* “seed”, *turši* “pickles”, *xoriz* (N) “cock”, *xurjin* “saddle-bag”, *xunami* “father-in-law or mother-in-law of one’s own child” (ii) *abuqra* ~ *aqubra* “mouse”, *aqirwa* “near (cf. q-r-w draw near (arch.); scorpion”, *banafša* “violet”, *bilwana* (N) “pocket”, *birĵala* “bosom pocket”, *bizmara* (S) “nail”, *budara* “bough”, *čarpaja* “bedstead”, *dalulara* “follower”, *dabanja* “pistol”, *delaka* “bitch”, *goččana* “sling”, *hudaa* “Jew”, *ilana* “tree”, *istansja* “station”, *kalima* “word”, *kalloxa* “scull”, *kamera* “pear”, *kawxuda* “village chief”, *kilissa* “church”, *kuraxa* “shroud”, *mewana* “guest”, *mayazja* “store”,

mišpaha “family”, *nišama* “soul”, *pruška* “spark”, *pemara* (S) “spade”, *qinnara* “hanging-hook, gallows”, *qaburqa* (S) “rib”, *qzanja* “cooking-pot”, *sanduqa* “box, chest”, *spargla* “quince”, *suraa* “(Nestorian or Chaldean) Christian”, *šaltalwa* “peach”, *šilwala* “drawers”, *tandura* “oven, heating stove”, *tanika* “tin”, *tinka* “nostril”, *zinjira* “chain”.

With -e allomorph of suffix: *betajme* “cemetery”, *dunje* “world”.

2.11.12 *Bases with feminine indicator and singular indicator -a ~ -o.* The chief allomorph of the feminine indicator is -t-; other allomorphs are -d- (following lexically specified bases with final /n/, /r/ or /l/), and -l- (following lexically specified bases with final V).

2.11.12.1 *Patterned bases* (following some of the patterns listed in 2.11.1)

- (1) CVCC- Examples: *diqnta* (S) (N: *diqna*) “beard”, *noylta* “piece of candy”.
- (2) CVC- Examples: *mista* “hair (individual)”, *rafta* “shelf”, *gorta* “stocking”, *qušta* “bow, arch”
- (3) CVCVC- Examples: *amanta* “trust, deposit”, *alučta* “apricot”, *qanušta* “broom” (cf. *q-n-š* “sweep”), *arota* “Friday”, *kodinta* (S) “mule”, *babita* “almond”
- (4) CCVC- Examples: *klifta* (s) “family”, *kništa* “synagogue”, *klelta* (S) (in N varies freely with *klela*) “hen”, *jrta* “provisions”, *snetta* “art, craft”, *šretta* “judgment” (cf. *š-r-j/O* “judge”), *zretta* “plants” (cf. *z-r-j/O* “sow, plant”), *šwawta* “neighbour (f.)”, *xmarta* “she-ass”, *mholta* “delay”, *zbotta* (S) ~ *sbotta* (N) “finger, toe”, *tloxta* “lentil”, *kčulta* “kidney”.
- (5) CV- Examples: *beta* “egg” *šata* “year”, *bota* “roast seed”, *sota* “grandmother”, *tota* “goodness”.

In bases of the pattern CaCoC-, /-o-/ is replaced before -t- by /-u-/: *masturta* “curse” (cf. *mastore* “cursing (ger.)”), *naturta* “guard, duty (arch.)” (cf. *natore* “guarding (ger.)”), *zamura* “song” (cf. *zamore* “singing (ger.)”).

Certain lexically specified stems are extended before -t- by a: *brata* “daughter, girl” (cf. {br+on+a} “son, boy”), *narata* “shout” (cf. pl. {nar+e}).

Allomorphic de-flattening of stem occurs before -t- in *xalto* “maternal aunt” (cf. {xal+a} (S) “maternal uncle”).

Examples of allomorphs of -t-:

- (a) -d-: *garda* “cold (subst.)” (irregular derivation of *q-j/O-r* “grow cold”), *salda* “basket”, *šinda* “sleep”.
- (b) -l-: *ksila* “hat” (cf. *k-s-j/O* “cover”), *qatula* “cat”, *slola* “prayer” (cf. *s-l-j/O* “pray”), *zdela* “fear” (cf. *z-d-j/O* “fear”) and following the derivational morpheme -u- (2.12.1).

A special allomorph of the base before -l- occurs in *xmala* “mother-in-law” (cf. {ximj+an+a} “father in law”).

Examples of the -o allomorph of the singular indicator: *kaldo* “daughter-in-law”, *kalo* “bride”, *amto* “paternal aunt”.

2.11.12.2 Unpatterned bases followed by the feminine indicator invariably take -a as closing suffix.

Examples: *bzirta* “pea”, *armota* “pomegranate”, *bindiqta* “hazelnut”, *dindukta* (S) (N: *dinduka*) “beak” (cf. *d-nd-k* “pick”), *gilasta* “cherry”, *gindoita* “melon” (cf. *g-nd-r* “roll”), *kartopita* “potato”, *liškarta* “army”, *mafrita* “carpet”, *pizmonta* (S) (N: *pizmon*) “hymn”, *qulašta* “earring”, *qaraxalta* “playing-card”, *sinjaqta* “pin”, *trozita* “squirr-cucumber”, *zarqeta* “bee”, *zingloqta* “bell”.

Form with allomorph -d- of feminine indicator: *armilda* “widow”.

2.11.13 Bases with prefix *m-* ~ *mV-* (before *CC-*) are derived from root-morphemes of any class with or without allomorphic change of the root-consonants. They may be free or bound.

Examples: *moma* “oath” (cf. < *j-m-j/O* “swear”), *midraš* “school” (cf. < *d-r-š* “expound the Law”), *maskan* “abode” (cf. < *s-k-n* “abide (arch.)”), *magreta* “razor” (< *g-r-j/O* “shave”), *magrusta* (N) “hand-mill”.

2.11.14 There is one single instance of a bound base with -*m-* infix following the initial C: *xmata* “needle” ($\{x+m+at+a\}$ cf. *x-j/O-t* “sew”).

2.11.2 Secondary derivation of nouns.

2.11.21 Derivation from nominal bases takes place by suffixation or prefixation.

2.11.21.1 Derivation by suffixation.

(1) one of the following suffixes is added to the basic free nominal form

-at: *hukm* “rule” → *hukmat* “government”.

-band: *šuša* “glass” → *šušaband* “glass-covered”, *qala* “fortress” → *qalaband* “besieged”

-baz: *sihr* “magic” → *sihrbaz* “magician”, *sar* (unique base) → *sarbaz* “soldier”.

-či: *araba* “cart, coach” → *arabači* “carter, coachman”, *aw* “hunt” → *awči* “hunter”, *čaj* “tea” → *čajči* “vendor of tea”, *čar* (unique base) > *čarči* “pedlar”, *dwa* “prayer” → *dwači* “one who prays for another’s well-being”, *kabab* “roast meat” → *kababči* “vendor of roast meat”, *qahwa* “coffee” → *qahwači* “vendor of coffee”, *qap* (unique base) → *qapči* “doorkeeper”, *sahat* “clock, watch” → *sahatči* “watchmaker”, *šira* “hymn-singing”, *širači* “hymn-singer”.

-čin: *arāq* “sweat” → *araqčin* “skull-cap”.

-dan: *čaj* “tea” > *čajdan* “tea-kettle”, *namāk* (unique base) → *namakdan* “salt-cellar”, *šama* “wax” → *šamadan* “candlestick”.

-dar: *amin* (unique base related to that of *amanta* “trust, deposit”) → *amindar* “trustworthy, faithful”, *dukan-* (base of *dukana* (*Sa*) “shop”) → *dukandar* “shopkeeper”, *mewan-* (base of *mewana* “guest”) → *mewandar* “hospitable”, *sarkar* (nonsense base) → *sarkardar* (S) “chieftain” (the derivation from a non-existing base is founded on false analogy; the correct form is *sarkarda*), *škur* (unique base) → *škurdar* “grateful”.

- i: *awa* “inhabited” + *-dan* -(see above) → *awadani* “inhabited country”, *firhan* (unique base) → *firhani* “well-being”, *dilxoš* “glad of heart” → *dilxoši* “gladness of heart”, *gran* “dear, expensive” → *grani* “dirt”, *hawar* “help!” → *hawari* “call for help”, *naxoš* “unwell” → *naxoš* “illness”, *mewandar* “hospitable” → *mewandari* “hospitality”, *qalaband* “besieged” → *qalabandi* “state of siege”, *qazzab* “unhappy” → *qazzabi* “unhappiness”, *šah* “Shah” (with allomorphic elision of /-h-/) → *šai* “small Persian coin”, *šad*- (unique base) → *šadi* “joy”, *tfaq*- (unique base derived from t-f-q “happen by chance”) → *tfaqi* “chance”, *talán* “booty” → *talani* “spoils”, *šalom* “greeting (of peace)” → *šalomi* “(state of) peace”.
- it: *hasla*- (unique base derived from *h-s-l* “gain”) → *haslait* “income”.
- istan: *hind* “India” → (with flattening of base) *hindistan* *dto*, *čol* “desert” → (with flattening of base) *čolistan* “desert land”.
- ka: *čap* “clap” → *čapke* (pl.) “clapping (of hands)”; *šiš* “skewer” → *šiška* “knitting-needle”.
- ke: (entailing shift of stress to the initial syllable of the form): *čora*- (S) ~ *čor(o)*- (N) (unique bases) → *čórake* (S) ~ *čor(o)ke* (N) “folk-tale”, *brata* “daughter, girl” → *brátake* “little daughter, little girl”, *sdehwa* “piece of gold, pound (monetary unit)” → *déhwake* “miserable little pound” (all S).
- kar: *jut* (S) “plough” → *jutkar* (S) “plougher”, *nūjum* “society” → *nūjumkar* “sorcerer”, *naqš* “painting, engraving” → *naqškar* “painter, engraver”, *xata* “sin” → *xatakar* “sinner”.
- lu: *dawlat* (unique base) → *dawlatlu* (N) “rich”, *sihm* “terror” → *sihmli* “terrible”.
- nik: *čaj* “tea” with de-flattening of base → *čajnik* “tea-pot”, *papož*- (unique base) → *papožnik* “case, etui”.
- ok (S) ~ -Ø (N) *sapj*- (unique base derived from *s-p-j/O* “strain (liquid)”) → *sapjok* ~ *sapjo* “strainer”.
- paz: *čaj* “tea” → *čajpaz* (N) “teapot”
- wan: *baxča* “garden” → *baxčawan* “gardener”.
- xana: *diwan* “king’s council” > *diwanxana* “audience hall”, *habs* “(im)prison-ment” → (with flattening of base) *habsxana* “prison”, *žibba* (unique base) → *žibbaxana* “ammunition store”, *kor* (unique base) → *korxana* “armory”, *šatla* (unique base) → *šatluxana* “festive illumination”.
- zad: *dew* (S) “demon. ogre” > *dewzad* “monster”; *šah* “Shah” > *šahzad* “prince of royal blood”.

(2) the following suffixes are inserted between the base or – rarely – the basic free form and the singular indicator -a (or the feminine indicator + -a):

- an: {jinn+a} “demon” → *jinnana* “possessed”, {jigr+a} “anger” → *jigrana* “angry”, *kuš*- (unique base derived from *k-w/O-š* “descend”) → *kušana* “low, deep”, {mol+a} “death” → *molana* “plague”, {rumm-} (irregular base derived from *j-r-m* “lift”) → *rummana* “high, tall”, {šixt+a} “dirt” → *šixtana* “dirty”, *ximj*- (unique base) → *ximjana* “father-in-law”.

- el- following C (~ -l- following V): {dimw+a} “blood” → dimmelta “milt”, kixw- (cf. pl. {kixw+e}) → kixwelta “star”, *xitt-* (cf. pl. {*xitt+e*} “wheat”) → *xittelta* “grain of wheat”, *dudu-* (cf. pl. {*dudw+e*}) → *dudulta* “fly”.
- en-: single instance: *part-* → *partenta* “flea”.
- n-: *arap* (unique base) → *arapna* “Arab”, *dhok* “town in Iraqi Kurdistan” → *dhokna* “Kurd of Dhok”, *kurd* (unique base) → *kurdna* “kurd”, *misr* “Egypt” → *misrna* “Egyptian”, *urmi* “Rizaiye (formerly Urumiye)” → (with extension of base by ž) → *urmižna* “Urmian”, *šino* “Ushnuye (with extension of base by j) > *šinojna* “Ushnuyan”, *urusja* “Russia” > (with elision of -ja) → *urusna* “Russian”.
- on-: *am-* (cf. {*am+t+o*} “paternal aunt”) → *amona* “paternal uncle”, *ax-* (S) ~ *axx-* (N) (unique base) → *axona* (S) ~ *axxona* (N) “brother”, *aql* “sense” > *aqlona* (S) “the sensible brother (in folk-tales)”, *br-* (cf. {*bra+t+a*} “daughter, girl”) → *brona* “son, boy”, *gor* (allomorph of *jar* “beloved”) → *gorona* “beloved relative (in letter-style)”, *so-* (cf. {*so+t+a*} “grandmother”) → *sona* “grandfather”, *šj-* (cf. {*šj+a*} “mad, foolish”) → *šjona* (S) “the foolish brother (in folk-tales)”.
- q-: *jwan* “good” → *jwanqa* “young man”, *nišan* “mark, sign” → *nisanqa* “betrothed”.
- u- (only preceding -l- + -a): *bahur-* (cf. {*bahur+a*} “light (in colour)”) → *bahurula* “light (subst.)”, *darzi* “tailor” (with elision of base final) → *darzula* “tailor’s trade”, *dušman* (N) “enemy” → *dušmanula* (also *dušmanatula*) “enmity”, *jarix-* (cf. {*jarix+a*} “long, lengthy”) → *jarixula* “length(iness)”, *jahil* “young” → *jahilula* “youth”, *jwanq-* (cf. {*jwan+q+a*} “young man”) → *jwanqula* “youth”, *hambal* “porter” → *hambalula* “porter’s trade”, *fal-* (cf. {*fal+a*} “(unqualified) worker”) → *falula* “state of (unqualified) worker”, *najjar* “carpenter” → *najjarula* “carpenter’s trade”, *pisxan-* (base derived from *p-s-x* “rejoice”) → *pisxanula* “joy, happiness”, *qra-* (base derived from *q-r-j/O* “read”) → *qraula* “reading”, *rahat* “rest (fulness)” → *rahatula* “comfort”, *to* (S) “good” (cf. {*to+t+a*} “goodness”) → *totula* “goodness”, *tros-* (cf. {*tros+a*} “true”) → (with redundant -t-) *trostula* (S) “(spoken) truth”, *xa-* (cf. {*xa+a*} “alive”) → *xaula* “state of being alive”, *xarip-* (cf. {*xarup+a*} “sharp”, C with allomorphic replacement of /-u-/ by /-i-/) → *xaripula* “sharpness”, *xamis-* (cf. {*xamus+a*} “sour”, with the mutation just mentioned) → *xamisula* “sourness”, *xilj-* (cf. {*xilj+a*} “sweet”) + -an- → *xiljanula* “sweetness”.

2.11.21.2 *Derivation by prefixation* takes place by aid of the morpheme *na-*, which is assimilated to the following base in flattening.

Examples: {*čar+a*} “remedy” → *načar* “helpless, having no choice”, *hăq* “right (subst.)” → *nahăq* “unlawful”, *xoš* “good, pleasant” → *naxoš* “unwell, sick”.

2.11.22 *Derivation from verbal bases.*

Verbal nouns are derived from the following verbal bases:

(1) *gerunds* – from stem 1 of the verb (see 2.52.1).

(a) in classes A' A', E and E' by suffixation of the nominal singular indicator -e. Examples: *garoše* “pulling” ($\sqrt{g-r-š}$), *partofe* “throwing” ($\sqrt{p-rt-f}$), *ambole* “taking away” ($\sqrt{O-mb-l}$); *xazoe* “seeing” ($\sqrt{x-z-j/O}$), *antoe* “taking, lifting” ($\sqrt{O-nt-j/O}$).

(b) in the other classes by suffication of the nominal singular indicator -a.

Examples: *twara* “breaking” ($\sqrt{t-w/O-r}$), *qjama* “rising” ($\sqrt{q-j/O-m}$), *ixala* “eating” ($\sqrt{O-x-l}$).

Irregular stems: *adobe* “chastising” ($\sqrt{O-d-b}$) *ašoqe* “falling in love” ($\sqrt{O-š-q}$), *ajole* “knowing” ($\sqrt{O-j-l}$), *majone* “helping” ($\sqrt{m-j-n}$), *idaa* ~ *idaja* (Š) “coming” ($\sqrt{O-d-j/O}$).

(2) *participles* – from stem 3 of the verb (see 2.52.3) by suffication of the nominal singular indicator -a.

Examples: *griša* “pulled” ($\sqrt{g-r-s}$); *pirtifa* “thrown” ($\sqrt{p-rt-f}$), *imbila* “taken away” ($\sqrt{O-mb-l}$); *twira* “broken” ($\sqrt{t-w/O-r}$); *liša* “kneaded” ($\sqrt{l-j/O-š}$); *xila* “eaten” ($\sqrt{O-x-l}$); *qitja* “cut” ($\sqrt{q-t-j/O}$), *mindja* “thrown” ($\sqrt{m-nd-j/O}$), *intja* “taken, carried” ($\sqrt{O-nt-j/O}$).

(3) *actor-nouns* – from stem 2 of the verb (see 2.52.2) by suffication of the derivational morpheme -an- (see 2.11.21) (+ the feminine indicator -t-) + the singular indicator -a.

Examples: *kalwana* “writer” ($\sqrt{k-l-w}$), *sartlana* “boaster” ($\sqrt{š-rt-l}$) (S); *doqana* “catcher, holder” ($\sqrt{d-w/Oq}$); *lešanta* “kneader (f.)” ($\sqrt{l-j/O-š}$); *axlana* (“eater” ($\sqrt{O-x-l}$); *japjanta* “baker (f.)” ($\sqrt{j-p/O}$), *salhjana* “successful, giving success” ($\sqrt{s-lh-j/O}$).

Allomorphic and irregular stems: *hawana* “giver” ($\sqrt{h-w-l}$); *dahana* “beater” ($\sqrt{d-h-l}$); *ajana* “knowing, expert” ($\sqrt{O-j-l}$); *odana* “doer, maker” ($\sqrt{O-w/O-d}$), *oranta* “one who enters (f.)” ($\sqrt{w-j/O-r}$), *ezana* “one who goes” ($\sqrt{O-z-l}$).

2.11.3 Compound nouns.

(1) Strictly morphological compounds are:

baqat- (unique base or morpheme group) + *jom-* (base of {*jom+a*} “day, with frequent elision of final in S) → *baqatjom* (S ~ *baqatjo*) “morning”.

bar- (allomorph of the base of {*bra+t+a*} “daughter, girl” and {*br+on+*} “son, boy”) + *xma-* (base of {*xma+t+a*} “mother-in-law”) + singular indicator -a → *barxmaa* “husband’s sister”.

The same (with assimilation of flating to the following) + the unique base *janay* (+ the feminine indicator -t- + the singular indicator -a) → *barjanay* “wife’s brother” and *barjanayta* “wife’s sister”.

bu- (S) ~ *bi* (N) (unique morpheme or group of morphemes) + *gzar-* (unique

- base < g-z-r “circumcise”) + -e (pl. indicator) → *bugzare* ~ *bigzare* “circumcision”.
- lixm- (base of {lixm+a} “bread”) + *ida* “hand” → *lixmida* “small loaf of bread”.
- pilg- (base of {pilg+a} “half”) + *lele* “night” (with shift of stress) → *pilgléle* “midnight”; in *Ši* the two bases are joined by /-il-/ → *pilgilléle*.
- The same + *joma* “day” (with elision of second base initial in N and shift of stress) → *pilgóma* (N) ~ *pilgjóma* (S) “midday, noon”.
- simh-* (base of {*simh*+a} “festival of a religious nature”) + *ilane* “trees” (with coalescence of /-a/ and /i-/ to /e-/ and flattening of the second base) → *simhelane* “feast of the trees (on the 15th of the 11th Jewish month)”.

The cardinal numbers 1-5 (*xa*, *tre*, *taha*, *arba*, *xamša*) combined with *šeb-* (allomorph of the bases of {šw+a} (S) ~ {ušw+a} (N) “week”) give the names of the first five days of the week (counting from Sunday); the final V of *xa* “1” is replaced by /-o-/ and the singular indicator -a is affixed to the compound; in the other numeral forms the final V is replaced by /-u-/: *xošeba* “Sunday”, *trušeb* “Monday”, *tahušeb* “Tuesday”, *arbušeb* “Wednesday”, *xamšušeb* “Thursday”.

(2) Other compound nouns are on the border between morphological compounds and tagmemes:

- be-bafa* “faithless”; + *ene* “eyes” → *be-ene* “eyeless, owl”; + *kef* “good mood, well-being” → *be-kef* “moody, indisposed”; + *mare* “owner(s)” → *be-mare* “ownerless”; + *moxa* “brain” → *be-moxa* “brainless”; + *pilwa* “breadth” → *be-pilwa* “narrow”; + *qalai* “state of being fortified” → *be-qalai* “unfortified”.
- mare* (specially extended base of {mar+a} “owner”): + *aql* (unique plural of *aql* “sense, intellect”) → *mare-aql* “sensible, intelligent”; + *dahja* “pride” → *mare-dahja* “proud”; + *dolta* “richness” → *mare-dolta* (S) “rich”; + *huš* “senses” → *mare-huš* “capable, efficient”; + *makre* (pl. form) “gossip” → *mare-makre* “gossip (person)”; + *namus* “politeness, courtesy” → *mare-namus* “polite, courteous”; *rang* “colour, appearance” → *mare-rang* “goodlooking”; *swat* (S) ~ *sfat* (N) “countenance, looks” → *mare-swat* (S) ~ *mare-sfat* (N) “goodlooking”; *sihm* “dread” → *mare-shim* “dreadful”; *tamah* “avarice” → *mare-tamah* “avaricious”.
- digna* “beard” + *xwara* “white” (with flattening of second base) → *dignaxwara* “old man, elder”, also with reversed order and relational zero-suffix of first member: *xwardigna*.
- pirča* “hair” + *xwara* “white” *pirčaxwara* “old woman”.

2.12 Inflection of nouns

2.12.0 The stems of certain classes of nouns and of certain lexically specified nouns undergo changes in various types of inflection; these will be dealt with in the following paragraphs. Here mention will be made of such stems that undergo regular changes

in all types of inflection; these are simplex stems of substantive nouns of certain types.

(a) stem final /-o/ and /-u/ are replaced by /-w-/

(b) stem final /-i/ is replaced by /-j-/

(c) in stems of the type CĀC the two middle phonemes change places: CiCC-

(d) in stems of the type CĀC (except when -C = /r/) the final C is geminated CVCC-

(e) in disyllabic stems ending in -ĭC and -ŭC the \check{V} of the final syllable is replaced by zero.

(f) In stems ending in /ji-/ the final phoneme is replaced by zero.

(g) in nouns of the type CĉCeC, /ĉ/ is replaced by /i/, and /e/ by zero (cf. also 2.12.1 (2) vi).

2.12.1 *Inflection in number.* The plural indicator -e is affixed as a rule to the base of the simplex or complex form or to the second base of a compound form (except in compounds with be-).

Examples: *aya* "lord, master" → *ayae*, *bala* "misfortune" → *balae*, *sanam* "idol" → *saname*, *qašuγ* "spoon" → *qašuye*, *karma* "vineyard" → *karme*, *lixma* "bread" → *lixme*, *nohra* "mirror" → *nohre*, *qulba* "bracelet" → *qulbe*, *sanduqa* "chest", box → *sanduqe*, *zargār* "goldsmith" → *zargāre*, *jga* "knucklebone" → *jge*, *pra* (S) "soil, land" → *pre*, *jarqana* "runner" → *jarqane*, *odana* "door, maker" → *odane*, *sihrbaz* "magician" → *sihrbaze*, *čajdan* "tea-kettle" → *čajdane*, *lixmida* "small loaf" → *lixmide*, *dignaxwara* "old man, elder" → *dignaxware*, *pirča xwara* "old woman" → *pirčaxware*.

Following changes occur in stems before -e:

(1) Regular (cf. 2.12.0):

fitu "whistle" → *fitwe*, *dudulta* "fly" → *dudwe*, *kixwelta* "star" → *kixwe*; *qatula* "cat" → *qatwe*. (Special case: in *kalo* "bride" the singular indicator -o is treated as stem final: → *kalwe*); *awči* "hunter" → *awčje*, *gami* "ship" → *gamje*, *babita* "almond" → *babje*, *kartopita* "potato" → *kartopje*; *šitita* "watermelon" → *šiftje*; *sbadila* "cushion" → *sbadje*; *tāši* ~ *tašši* "spindle" → *tašje*; *malīm* "teacher" → *malme*, *qajiš* "belt" → *qajše*, *qatīγ* "sour milk" → *qatye*, *tajīr* "merchant" → *tajre*; *xanīm* "lady, mistress", → *xanme*; *toxīm* "seed" → *toxme*; *xorīz* (N) "cock" → *xorze*; *fkir* "thought" → *fikre*; *qfil* ~ *qifl* "padlock" → *qifle*, *škil* "picture" → *šikle*; *haq* "right" → *haqqe*, *sīr* "secret" → *sīre*; *top* "cannon, ball (of cloth)" → *toppe*; *néder* "vow" → *nidre*, *séfer* "Scroll of the Law" → *sifre*; N *doji* "maternal uncle" → *doje*.

(2) Lexically conditioned changes:

(a) *internal*: in *gora* "man" and *polu* (S) "live coal", /-o/ is replaced by /-u-/ → *gure*, *pulwe*; in *ksila* "hat" the sequence /-si-/ is replaced by /-isj-/ → *kisje*; an analogous change occurs in *ptila* "wick" (derived from $\sqrt{p-t-l}$ "twist"), where -l- is treated like a feminine indicator → *pitje*; in *klel(t)a* "hen" the sequence /-le-/ is replaced by /-il-/ → *kille*; in *šibbat* (S) "Sabbath, Saturday" the sequence /-ba-/ is replaced by zero → *šibte*; in *šai* "small Persian coin" the derivational suffix is elided

→ *šae*; in *xleta* “gift of honour” the sequence /-le-/ is replaced by /-ilj-/ → *xilje*; in *banadam* “human being” /-n-/ is replaced by /-nj-/ → *banjadame*.

(b) *external*: the stem can be extended by:

(i) -a (the singular indicator). Examples: *miswa* “meritorious deed” → S *miswae*, (in N *miswe*), *tora* “the Law; book of a religious or devotional nature” → *torae*;

(ii) -t- (the feminine and singular indicators). Examples: *amto* “paternal aunt” → *amte*, *amarta* “palace” → *amarte*, S *balota* “throat” → *balote* (in N both forms are flat) *nasita* “advice” → *nasite*, *sota* “grandmother” → *sote*, *xalto* “maternal aunt” → *xalte*.

(iii) -an-. Examples: *joma* “day” → *jomane* (N) (for alternant see below (v)), *mindix* (S) ~ *mindiy* (N) “thing, object” → *mindixane* (S) ~ *mindiyane* (N); *zaa* “time (recur.)” → *zaane* (N) (S with unextended stem → *zae*).

(iv) -anj-. Examples: *buxča* “packet” → *buxčanje*, *eva* “cloud” → *evanje*, *kaxta* ~ *kaxtita* “paper, letter” → *kaxtanje* (S), *guda* “wall” → *gudane*.

(v) -aw-: all nouns with singular indicator-e: S *gare* “roof” → *garawe* (in N both forms are flat), *lele* “night” → *lelawe*, *suse* “horse” → *susawe*. Examples of other nouns: *amona* “paternal uncle” → *amonawe*, *ahra* “city, country” → *ahrawe*, *axona* (S) ~ *axxona* (N) “brother” → *axonawe* ~ *axxonawe*, *brona* “son, boy” → *bronawe*, *baruxa* “friend, comrade” → *baruxawe*, *joma* “day” → *jomawe* (for alternant see above (iii)), *kuča* “street” → *kučawe*, *nokār* “male slave, servant” → *nokārawe*, *nwaga* “grandchild” → *nwagawe*, *olka* “city, country” → *olkawe*, *quji* “well” (with elusion of stem-final) → *qujawe*, *sona* “grandfather” → *sonawe*, *salma* “face” → *salmawe*, *sudra* “shirt, blouse” → *sudrawe*, *surta* “cheek” → *surtawe*, *šilwala* “pair of underparts” → *šilwalawe*, *širma* “buttocks” → *širmawe*, *tura* “mountain” → *turawe*, *wirxa* “way, road” → *wirxawe*, *xuja* “snake” → *xujawe*.

Irregular change: in *gora* “husband”, /-o-/ is replaced by /-u-/ → *gurawe* (which forms a semantic opposition to *gure* “men”, for which see above (a)).

(vi) -im-: *haxam* “rabbi” → *haxamime* (varying freely with lack of extension *haxame*) *malax* “angel” → *malaxime*, *saddiq* “righteous, godly” → *saddiqime* (varying freely with the lack of extension *saddiqe*). Irregular changes: in *kohen* “priest”, /e/ is replaced by /-a-/ → *kohanime*; in *sèfer* “scroll of the Law” both vowels are replaced by /a/: *safarime* (cf. also 2.12.8).

(vii) -j- (most of the nouns in -ta ~ -da): *anjagta* “pin” → *anjagje*, *apišta* (S) ~ *abišta* (N) → *apišje* ~ *abišje* “raisin”, *armilda* “widow” → *armilje*, *baqurta* “queation, request” → *baqurje*, *bazelta* “pea” → *bazelje*, *barjanayta* “husband’s sister” → *barjanayje*, *dargušta* “cradle” → *dargušje*, *dindukta* “beak” → *dindukje*, *gorta* “stocking, sock” → *gorje*, *hazirta* “preparation” → *hazirje*, *kčulta* “kidney” → *kčulje*, *klifta* (S) “family, clan” → *klifje*, *pizmon* ~ *pizmonta* “hymn” → *pizmonje*, *partenta* “flea” → *partenje*, *pqarta* (S) ~ *bqarta* (N) “neck” → *pqarje* ~ *bqarje*, *qanušta* “broom” → *qanušje*, *qušta* “bow, arch” → *qušje*, *salda* “basket” → *salje*, *spilta* (S) ~ *sbilta* (N) “lip” → *spilje* ~ *sbilje*, *sqilta* “ring” ~ *sqilje*, (also: *šalom* “greeting” → *šalomje*), *torta* “cow” → *torje*, *kništa* “synagogue” ~ *knišje*, *kodinta* (S) “mule” →

kodinje, mista “hair (single)” → misje, *masturta* “curse” → *masturje*, xalunta “sister” → xalunje.

Irregular change: in šagird “apprentice” the stem final is elided → šagirje;

(viii) -jaw-: šingle instance: kalda “daughter-in-law” → kaljawe.

(ix) -nj- armota: “pomegranate” → armonje, skita “knife” → skinje.

(x) -w- with elision of the stem final single instance šibbat (S) “Sabbath” → šibbawe (for alternant see above (1)).

(3) *Suppletive stems*:

baxta “wife, woman” → nišawe “wives”, niše “women”; bela “house” → bate (S) ~ bate (N); brata “daughter, girl” → blane (S) → *blane* (N); šata “year” → šinne (the regular form šate occurs only in the idiomatic phrase šinne šate “(for) ages”).

Following nouns occur only with the plural indicator -e:

amraze “working tools”, biqe (N) ~ *simbele* (S) “moustache”, dalulare (S) “followers (magic)”, doe “whey”, fisse “money”, gergome “thunder”, girse “groats”, halhale (S) “trills of joy”, hannuke “Feast of Lights”, *hazirje* “longing” (cf. above (2)6) (vii)), jore “urine”, kaške “dried cheese curds”, kašakile “wooden clogs”, lalange “Purim Feast”, lappe “(hulled) chick-peas”, makke “maize”, maše “beans”, mawludje “genealogy, history”, mone “soup”, patire (*Sal*) “Passover”, qališe “chives”, qinjane “cattle” qarane (S), “dto.”, sare “barley”, *simhelane* (N) “Feast of the Trees”, šimme “heavens, sky” (homomorphic with the pl. of šimma “name”), šušme “sesame”, tarse “dung”, xae “life”, xre “excrements”.

The opposition in number is neutralized (a) in čorake (S) ~ čoroke (N) “folk tale(s)” (in variation with pl. form čorakje), be-ene “owl(s)”, gǎja-quši “bat (s) and tutu-quši “parrot(s); (b) in all simplex and compound forms of adjectives (unless used substantivally): čolay “lame”, kačāl “bald”, kor “blind”, jwan “good”, saqat “invalid”, xoš “pleasant”, *be-aql* “foolish”, be-pilwa “narrow”, mare-dolta (S) “rich” (in contrast with mare-dolje (S) “the rich”), mare-rang “good-looking”, pulwe “broad”, šxare “kneading-trough).

See also following paragraph.

2.12.2 *Inflection in relation.*

2.12.20 Nouns are inflected in relation by suffixation to the stem, which includes in this case the feminine indicator -t-. (but see below 2.12.21). In nouns whose stems remain unchanged in the plural the opposition in number is neutralized (examples see below).

2.12.21 *In relation to (a) other nouns and (b) tagmemes* (phrases and clauses) the stem takes the suffix -it ~ -id (see 1.12.3 (i)) (following stem final /-a/ ~ -at ~ -ad), which is normally unstressed: tara “door” → tárid (bela) “the door of (the house)”, brata “daughter” → brátit (*šultana*) “(the king’s) daughter”, *ktab* “book” → *ktábid* (b-idew) “the book that ([was] in his hand), gora “man” → górit (tre reše) “the man of (two heads)”, naše “people” nášid (wélu loka) “the people who (were there)”, daa (S) “mother” → dáid ~ dáad brona “the mother of the boy”.

The suffix is stressed following a stem with final CC: libba “heart” → libbid (axxa šule wale) “the heart for (such matters)”, *sudra* “shirt” → *sudrid* (broni) “my son’s shirt”, *sqilta* “beautiful (f.)” → *sqilitit* (niše) “the (most) beautiful of (women)”, and preceding the conjunction *ki*: *naše* “people” → *našit ki lóka wélu* “the people who were there”.

Following stems not ending in CC, the suffix -it ~ i-d varies freely in case (a) with zero; the stem does not in this case include the feminine indicator -t- (except in *brata* “daughter”): *brona* “son” → *bronit* ~ *bron* (*šultana*) “the king’s son”, *šuša* “bottle” → *šusit* ~ *šuš* (*arāqa*) “the bottle of arrack”, *pqarta* (S) “neck” → *pqartit* ~ *pqar* (*šer*) “the lion’s neck”; but *bratit* *tajīr* “the merchant’s daughter”.

2.12.22 *In relation to pronouns* the stem takes one of the personal pronominal relational suffixes (see 2.31. (2)), which are normally stressed: *bela* “house” → *beli* “my house”, *ida* “hand”, *ide* “hands” *idox* “your (sg.m.) hand(s)”, *xalunta* “sister” → *xaluntax* “your (sg.f.) sister”, *šula* “work, affair”, *šule* “affairs” → *šulew* “his work, affair(s)”, *kalda* “daughter-in-law” → *kaldaw* “her daughter-in-law”, *mal* “possessions” → *malan* “our possessions”, *jala* “child”, *jale* “children” → *jalexun* “your (pl.) child(ren)”, *bronawe* “sons” → *bronawu* “their sons”, *moše* “Moses” → *mošexun* “your (pl.) Moses”, *doji* (N) “maternal uncle” → *doji* “my uncle”, *dojox* “your (sg.m.) uncle”, *dojan* “our uncle” etc., *fitu* “whistle” → *fitwew* “his whistle(s)”, *gami* “ship” → *gamju* “their ship(s)”, *xanīm* “lady, mistress” *xanmaw* “her mistress(es)”, N *doji* “maternal uncle” → *doji* “my uncle(s)”, *hāq* “right” → *haqqan* “our right(s)” (see 2.12.0).

Irregularly the stress falls on the stem of *noš-* “self”, which occurs only as bound to these suffixes: *nōši* “myself”, *nošu* “themselves”.

Exceptionally the bases of the positive and negative existential copula (2.52.11) may serve as stems for inflection by pronominal suffixes: *īti leti* (N) “my belongings <my-there-is my-there-is-not>”.

2.12.3 *Inflection in gender of the adjectives and participles* takes place by inserting the feminine indicator -t- between the base and the singular indicator -a in complex forms with suffixes: *qliwa* “clean” → *qliwta*, *šixtana* “dirty” → *šixtanta*, *rummana* “high, tall” → *rummanta*, *kušana* “low, deep” → *kušanta*, *marila* “bitter” → *marilta*, *qarila* “cold” → *qarilta*, *kliwa* “written” → *kliwta*, *pirtifa* “thrown” → *pirtifta*, *twira* “broken” → *twirta*, *liša* “kneaded” → *lišta*, *xila* “eaten” → *xilta*.

Allomorphs of stems:

(a) stem final /-j/: is replaced by /-i/: *intja* “taken, carried” → *intita*, *šja* “mad, foolish” → *šita*. In addition, in stems of the type CiCj-, /-i-/ is elided: *xilja* “sweet” → *xlita*, *šitja* “drunk” → *šitita*, *qitja* “cut” → *qitita*.

(b) in stems ending in -oC, /-o-/ is replaced by /-u-/: *koma* “black” → *kumta*, *zóra* “small, little” → *zúrta*.

(c) in the stem of *riwwa* “great, big”, the sequence /-iww-/ is replaced by /-ab-/ → *rabta*.

(d) the stems of *xaa* “living, alive”, *hudaa* “Jew(ish)”, *suraa* “(Nestorian on Chaldean) Christian” are extended by -j- → *xajta*, *hudajta*, *surajta*.

In simplex and compound forms, in complex forms with the prefix *na-* and in the forms *pašwe*, *pulwe*, *riqqa* and *trosa* (except in archaic style) the opposition of gender is neutralized: *čir* “obstinate”, *jwan* “good”, *qotir* “rough”, *zaif* “weak”, *be-moxa* “brainless”, *mare-dolta* “rich”, *mare-huš* “capable, efficient”, *načar* “helpless”, *pašwe* “lukewarm”, *pulwe* “broad”, *riqqa* “distant”, *trosa* “true, correct” (m. and f.).

2.12.4 A special type of inflection occurs in certain lexically specified nouns, which take a *vocative* form by suffixation to the base. The suffix, which is unstressed, is -e for *dada* “father” and *daa* (S) ~ *daa* (N) “mother” → *dáde*, *dáe* (also *dáje*) ~ *dáe*, and -i for *amona* “paternal uncle” → *ámi* (N).

2.2 NUMERALS

2.21 Formation

2.21.1 *Primary formation.* *xa* “1”, *tre* “2” and *maljon* “million” are simplex forms. The other cardinal numerals – 3 – 10, 100 and 1000 – are complex forms, consisting of a base and the suffix -a functioning as a collective indicator. There are three bases of the pattern CaCC-: {arb+a} “4”, {xamš+a} “5” and {alp+a} “1000”, five of the pattern CiCC- ~ CuCC-: {išt+a} “6”, {išw+a} (S) ~ {ušw+a} (N) “7”, {ičč+a} “9”, {isr+a} “10” and {imm+a} “100”, one base of the pattern CaC: {tah+a} “3”, and one base of the pattern CCaCC: {tmanj+a} “8”.

2.21.2 Derivation.

2.21.21 Numerals designating *the multiples of ten* are formed by suffixing -i to the bases of the numerals 2–10. In this case, the base *tre* “2” is supplet by that of *isra* “10”. The bases of *išwa* (S) ~ *ušwa* (N) “7” are extended by o; in addition the base initial /-i-/ of *išwa* is replaced by zero. The base final of *tmanja* “8” is replaced by zero and the entire form flatted; in addition, in N /-a-/ of the base is replaced by /-o-/. The resulting forms are: *isri* “20”, *tahi* “30”, *arbi* “40”, *xamši* “50”, *išti* “60”, *šwoi* (S) ~ *ušwoi* (N) “70”, *tmani* (S) ~ *tmoni* (N) “80”, *ičči* “90”.

2.21.22 *Ordinal numbers* are formed by suffixing -min (S) ~ -mi ~ (more frequently) -minji (N) to the forms listed in the two preceding paragraphs, as well as to the compound forms described in 2.21.31. In this case, *xa* “1” – unless as final member of a tagmeme – is replaced by the suppletive base *awwal*, which takes the allomorphic suffix -i ~ -im: *awwali* ~ *awwalim* “1st”. Examples of other forms are: *tremi* (S) ~ *tremi* ~ *treminji* (N) “2nd”, *tahamin* (S) ~ *tahami* ~ *tahaminji* (N) “3d”, *iččami* (S) ~ *iččami* ~ *iččaminji* (N) “9th”, *alpamin* (S) ~ *alpami* ~ *alpaminji* (N) “1000th”, *isrimin* (S) ~ *isrimi* ~ *isriminji* (N) “20th”, *tmanimin* (S) ~ *tmonimi* ~ *tmoniminji* (N) “80th”. Examples of forms based on compound and syntagmatic numerals are: *arbassarmin* (S) ~ *arbassarmi* ~ *arbassarminji* (N) “14th”, *arbi-w xamin* (S) ~ *arbi-*

w xami ~ arbi-w xaminji (N) “41th”, alpa tremme-w *tahamin* (S) ~ alpa tremme-w *tahami* ~ alpa tremme-w *tahaminji* (N) “1203d”.

This formation – when functioning adjectivally – varies freely with the tagmeme described in 3.11.21 (2); the latter construction is the only possible one for expressing ordinals referring to the compound numerals described in 2.21.31 (2) and (3), also as heads of nominal phrases.

2.21.3 Compound numerals.

2.21.31 *The purely morphological compounds are:*

(1) the numerals 11–19, consisting of the forms of 2–9 and the allomorph -ssar of the base of *isra* “10”. In this case, the final of *xa* “1” and the sequence /-ja/ in *tmanja* “8” are replaced by /-e-/. The entire second form is flatted. The base of *taha* “3” is supplented by *talt-*. The resulting forms are: *xessar* “11”, *tressar* “12”, *taltassar* “13”, *arbassar* “14”, *xamšassar* “15”, *ištassar* “16”, *išwassar* (S) ~ *ušwassar* (N) “17”, *tmanessar* “18”, *iččassar* “19”.

(2) the multiples of 100, consisting of the forms of 2–9 and the base of *imma* “100” – where the initial /i-/ is replaced by zero – with the plural indicator -e. The base of *tmanja* “8” undergoes in this case the changes described in the preceding section of this paragraph. Examples of the resulting forms, which are stressed on the penultimate, are: *trémme* “200”, *tahámme* “300”, *tmanémme* “800”.

(3) the multiples of 1000, consisting of the bases of 2–10 and the base of *alpa* “1000” with the plural indicator -e. The final of *tre* “2” and the sequence /-ja/ of *tmanja* “8” are in this case replaced by zero; in addition, the second of these forms is flatted. Examples of the resulting forms are: *tralpe* “2000”, *xamšalpe* “5000”, *išwalpe* (S) ~ *ušwalpe* (N) “7000”, *tmanalpe* “8000”, *isralpe* “10000”. These forms vary freely with tagmemes like *tre alpe*, *isra alpe* etc.

2.21.32 *Syntactical compounds* – comprising the multiples of *maljon* “million” and numerals consisting of several orders of numbers (other than 11–19) – will be described in 3.11.22; but cf. of 2.21.22 *in fine*.

2.22 Inflection

2.22.1 *In number.* *imma* “100”, *alpa* “1000” and *maljon* “million” take the plural indicator -e (for the first two cf. 2.21.31 (2) and (3)).

2.22.2 *In relation.* The numerals 1–10 are inflected in relation to pronouns in two ways:

(1) by adding one of the personal pronominal relational suffixes (see 2.32. (2)) to the bases of 1–10 extended by *j-* (except in *tmanja* “8”). Examples: *xajan* “one of us”, *trejxun* “two of you”, *tmanjxun* “(all the) eight of you”, *israju* “(all the) ten of them”. Numbers above 10 are replaced in this type of relation by tagmemes of the type *isri minnan* “twenty of us”.

(2) by inserting -mn- (an allomorph of the prepositional base *min* “from, of”, see 2.41) between the bases of 2–10 and one of the personal pronominal relational suffixes. The stem *tre* “2” is in this case supplented by *tun-*, following which the first phoneme of -mn- is replaced by /-n-/. Examples: *tunnan* “both of us”, *tahamn̄xun* “all three of you”, *iččamnu* “all nine of them”. The replacement of /-m-/ in -mn- by /-n-/ may take place in the style of the Bible translation also following other bases: *arbamnu* ~ *arbannu* “the four of them”.

Numbers above 10 are replaced in this type of relation by the nominal base *kull-* “totality” followed by one of the personal pronominal relational suffixes: *kullan* “all of us”, *kullxun* “all of you”, *kullu* “all of them”.

2.3 PERSONAL AND DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS

2.31 *Free forms*

The free forms of the personal/demonstrative pronouns consist of the base *a-* (with the allomorph *o-* in the 3d p. sg.) followed by person and number indicators.

(1) in the *singular* the personal indicators are: for the 1st p. -*na*; for the second p. -*t*; for the 3d p. -*j* (with the – more frequent – prefixed allomorph *j-* and zero allomorph following the base *o-*). The resulting forms are:

ana “I”

at “you”

aj (arch.) ~ *ja* (mod.) “this (one)”. In archaic style both allomorphs may be combined → *ajja*; there is further the feminine indicator -*hi* suffixed to the base → *ahi* “she”. In rapid speech in N the personal indicator is replaced by zero → *a* “this”

o “he, she; that (one)”.

(2) the *plural* indicators are: for the 1st p: -*xn-* inserted between the base and the person indicator, which has the free alternant -*ni*; for the 2nd p.: -*xun* suffixed to the base, which may be extended in free variation by -*xn-* (in N only); for the 3d p. -*e* (as for the noun) suffixed to the base which is extended by -*j-*; in N the base *o-* coalesces with /-j-/ to /-u-/. The resulting forms are:

axnan ~ *axni* “we”

atxun (N ~ *axnxun*) “you”

ajne ~ *jajne* “these”; N in rapid speech: *ane*

ojne (S) ~ *une* (N) “they; those”

2.32 *Bound (suffixed) forms*

2.32.1 *Personal pronominal actor suffixes* are allomorphs of the free forms of the personal/demonstrative pronouns with the following additions and mutations:

(1) in the singular the masculine gender is indicated by replacement of the base

by e-; the final /-a/ of the person indicator of the 1st p. sg is replaced by zero; the person indicator of the 3d person, whose base may have zero allomorph, is replaced by zero; the forms of the 1st and 2nd p. may take an unstressed -a suffix in pause. The resulting forms are:

-én(a) "I (m.)" -án(a) "I (f.)"
 -ét(a) "you" -át(a) "you" (f.)
 -e ~ zero "he" -a "she"

(2) in the *plural* the base is replaced in the 1st and 2nd p. by e-, and in the 3d p. by -i with the allomorph -u. In the plural indicator for the 1st p. the second phoneme /-n-/ is elided, and the person indicator replaced by zero; in the 2nd p. the first phoneme of the plural indicator /-x-/ is elided; in the 3d p. the person indicator is replaced by zero; the forms of the 1st and 2nd p. may take in an unstressed -a suffix in pause. The resulting forms are:

-éx(a) "we"
 -étun (a) "you"
 -i ~ -u "they".

2.32.2 *The personal pronominal relational suffixes*

(1) in the *singular*, the forms of the relational possessive suffixes are partly suppletive allomorphs of the actor suffixes; in the 1st p. the person indicator is -i, the opposition in gender being neutralized by the zero allomorph of the base; in the 2nd p. the person indicator is -x, the masculine gender being indicated by the allomorph o- of the base; in the 3d p. the person indicator is -w. The resulting forms are:

-i "my"
 -ox "your (with reference to sg. m. possessor)" -ax "your (with reference to sg. f. possessor)"
 -ew "his" -aw "her".

(2) in the *plural*, the first two persons are allomorphs of the free pronominal forms: the base, the plural indicator -xn- of the 1st p. and the person indicator of the 2nd p. are replaced by zero. The form of the 3d p. is identical with the -u allomorph of the corresponding form of the actor suffix. The resulting forms are:

-an "our"
 -xun "your"
 -u "their"

2.32.3 *The personal pronominal objective suffixes* are formed by prefixing l- (an allomorph of the prepositional base (i) l-; see 2.4) to the relational suffixes, with replacement of the person indicator of the 3d p. sg. by zero. The resulting forms are:

<i>singular</i>		<i>plural</i>
-li "me"		-lan "us"
-lox "you (m.)"	-lax "you (f.)"	-lxun "you"
-le "him"	-la "her"	-lu "them"

The allomorphs of 1- will be treated in the section dealing with the inflection of the verb (2.5).

Appendix: The relational possessive adjective (in the syntactical sense of the term) is a paradigm of complex forms, consisting of the stressed base *íd-* (cf. {*id+a*} “hand”) preceded by the relational syntactomorpheme *d-* (an allomorph of *-it* ~ *-id*; cf. 2.12.21) and followed by one of the personal pronominal relational suffixes (both number and gender refer to the possessor(s)):

<i>singular</i>		<i>plural</i>	
dídi	“(of) mine”	dídan	“(of) ours”
dídox	“(of) yours (m.)”	dídax	“(of) yours (f.)”
dídew	“(of) his”	didaw	“(of) hers”
		didxun	“(of) yours”
		didu	“(of) theirs”

2.4 PREPOSITIONS

2.41 Formation

2.41.1 Simplex forms.

(1) Examples of free forms:

aj (N) “of (belonging to)”	min (with demonstrative pronouns only, arch. also with nouns; for allomorphs see (2)) “from, off, than”
atta (S) “till, until”	muĵ ~ muž (cf. 1.2.3 (3)) (S) “because of”
be “without”	qam “before (loc.)”
bod (N) “because of”	qabǎγ (N) “before, in front of”
bar “after (temp. and local), behind”	qanšār “before, in front of”
baranbar “opposite”	reš (cf. the base of { <i>res+a</i> } “head”) “on, upon; concerning”
gab (cf. the base of { <i>gab(+a)</i> } “side, direction”) “in the direction of, near”	tušin “opposite”
gal “with, by (instrum. and distrib.)”	sewaj “(N) besides, except”
gaw (S) “in, inside” (see also (2))	umbul dto.
geb “at, to (<i>chez</i>)”	xel “under”
hal (N) “till, until”	
hatta (N) “till, until”	
i (S) “of (belonging to)”	
jan “beside, to the side of”	

(2) bound forms occurring only as prefixes to nominal forms or with relational suffixes:

al-	(arch., occurs only with suffixes) objective preposition
araly-	(occurs only as axis of the prepositional prefix <i>g-</i> and with suffixes → <i>g-araly-</i>) “among, in the midst of”
b-	(preceding C- and V-) ~ bi- (preceding CC-) “in, at, by, for (price)”
ba-	“to, for”

- d- rare alternant of aj (N) ~ i (S)
- g- preceding C- and V-) ~ gi- (preceding CC-) “in, inside of” (free alternant of gaw (see (1) in S) (see also 2.41.2 (b))
- ibb- (S and arch.) (allomorph of b- ~ bi- with pronominal suffixes) “at” (in N it is replaced by gal (see (1) or ill- (see below))
- (i)l- (as prefix) ~ (i)ll- (as stem with suffixes)-objective preposition
In Ši it is replaced by (i)n – before /n-/: in-naše “(to) the people”
- m- (preceding C- and V-) ~ mi (preceding CC-) (both being prefixed forms) ~ minn- (as stem with suffixes) “from, off, than” (all allomorphs of min; see (1)(a))
- qulb- (occurs only with suffixes as axis of m- → *m-qulb-*) “instead of”.

2.41.2 Compound forms.

(1) free forms:

- bar- (unique base not identical with bar in (1) (a)) + qul (allomorph of qamol (see below)) → barqul (arch.) “before (loc.)”
- ma “what” (see 2.61 (a)) + unique base gon → magon ~ mon (arch.) ~ mago ~ mgo (S) “like”
- qam (see above (1) (a)) + ol (unique morpheme or morpheme-group) → qamol “before (temp.)”.

(2) bound form (occurring only with relational suffixes):

- ba- (see above (1) (b)) + the unique morpheme q- (possibly allomorph of qam (see above (1) (a)) → baq- (S) “to, for”

(3) combined form:

- b- + particle la “not” → b-la “without”.

2.42 Inflection in relation

2.42.1 In the archaic style and in deliberate speech all prepositional forms other than aj (N) ~ i (S) “of”, b- “in, at”, and be “without” may take the suffix -it ~ -id in relation to *nouns, numerals and demonstrative pronouns*. This suffix is obligatory for *g-araly-* “among” and *m-qulb-* “instead of”.

Allomorphs of the suffix are:

- t ~ -d following *atta* (S) “till”, “until” → *attat* ~ *attad* (S).
- at ~ ad following ba- “to, for” and ga- (allomorph of g- ~ gi- (2.41.1 (2) “in, inside of” → *baat* ~ *baad*, *gaat* ~ *gaad*.
- ot ~ od following bod (N) “because of” and *hatta* (N) (with replacement of base final by zero) → *bodot* ~ *bodod*, *hattot* ~ *hattod*.

Examples: *ba-ixala* ~ *baad ixala* “for food”, *g-aralyid* naše “among the people”, *reš(id) gare* (S) ~ *gare* (N) “on the roof”, *xel(id) ilana* “under the tree”, *m-qulbid* *lixma* “instead of bread”, *mi-qzanja* ~ *minnit qzanja* “out of, than, the cooking-pot”, *m-olka* ~ *minnid olka* “out of, from, than, the

city”; aj (N) ~ i (S) *hudaē* “of (belonging to) the Jews”, *be fisse* “without money, gratis”.

As axes of any preposition other than *be* (and rarely *il-*) the demonstrative pronouns take the redundant relational prefix *d-* (see 2.41.1 (2)); *ja* “this (one)” and *ajne* “these” have in this case the allomorph *aj* (see 2.31 (1)).

Examples: *ba-d-aj* (*gora*) ~ *baad d-aj* (*gora*) “to, for, this (man)”, *gal(id) d-ajne* (*naše*) (with these (people)), *min(nid) d-o* (*šula*) “than that (matter)”, *umbul d-ojne* (S) ~ *d-une* (N) (*ktabe*) “besides those (books)”; *il-do bronā* (rarely *l-o bronā*) “that boy (obj.)”. In the style of the Bible translation a preposition is followed by *d-* prefixed also to the uninflected particle *émni* (2.6 (2): *min d-émni* “from, than, which”; *bar* “after”, *be* “without” and *qam* “before” have in this case as their axis a construction with *min*: *bar min d-o* “after that”, *be min d-ajne* “without these”, *qam min d-o* “before that”.

2.42.2 In relation to *personal pronouns*, all prepositions other than *atta* (S) ~ *hatta* (N) *aj* (N) ~ *i* (S), *be*, *bod* (N) ~ *muj* (S) take one of the personal pronominal suffixes. Examples: *bai* (N) ~ *baqi* (S) “to, for, me”, *ibbox* (S and arch.) “at you (sg.m.)”, *janax* “beside you (sg.f.)”, *illew* “him”, *rešaw* “on, concerning, her”, *minnan* “from, of, us; than we”, *čaratrafxun* “around you (pl.)”, *g-aralyu* “among them”.

aj (N) and *bod* (N) ~ *muj* (S) take as their axes forms of the pronominal adjective *díd-* (see Annex to 2.3) with the appropriate suffix: *aj dīdi* “of mine”, *bod* (N) ~ *muž dīdew* (S) “because of him”.

i (S) is not used in this type of relation, being substituted by *díd-*. *bar* varies freely in S with *bahr-*: *barew* ~ *bahrew* “after him”. *be* takes as its axis *min* with the appropriate suffix: *be minnu* “without them”.

2.5 VERBS

2.51 Verbal root-classes

2.51.1 The *primary* verbal root-classes, from which the different stems are formed by patterning, are identical with the root-morpheme classes (see 2.01). The stem patterns will be described in the section dealing with the inflection of the verb (2.52).

2.51.2 *Derived* verbal root-morphemes are formed from the primary ones:

- (1) by prefixation of the factitive indicator *m-*, which functions as (secondary) C_1 .
- (a) derived roots based on primary roots of classes A and E (except O-d-j/O, see below (b)) are treated like those of classes A' and E' respectively: *r-d-x* “boil (intr.)” → *m-rd-x* “boil (trans.)”, *j-r-x* “become long” → *m-jr-x* “lengthen”; *š-t-j/O* “drink” → *m-št-j/O* “give .drink, water”, *j-m-j/O* “swear” → *m-jm-j/O* “make swear” (but cf. below).

Special derivation. In certain primary roots with $C_1 = /j/$ or $/O/$, the latter is replaced by $m-$; the derived roots thus retain their classes: $j-r-w$ “become mixed” → $m-r-w$ “mix”, $j-t-w$ “sit down” → $m-t-w$ “set, put”, $j-r-m-$ “rise” → $m-r-m$ “lift, raise”; $O-d-j/O$ “come” → $m-d-j/O$ “bring”, $j-m-j/O$ “swear” → $m-m-j/O$ “make swear”. In $m-d-j/O$, $m-$ varies freely in the *Sol* sub-dialect with $w-$ → $w-d-j/O$.

The factitive root derived from $O-nt-j/O$ “take” likewise retains its class (E') → $m-nt-j/O$ “give” (occurs only in the idiom *ilha mante* “please God”).

(b) The special derivation just described takes place also with regard to primary roots of class D: $O-x-l$ “eat” → $m-x-l$ “feed”.

(c) In roots of classes B and C, the place of the zero allomorph of C_2 is taken by the original C_1 ; the derived roots thus belong to class A: $k-w/O-š$ “descend” → $m-k-š$ “bring/take down”, $p-j/O-l$ “fall” → $m-p-l$ “bring to fall, let fall” (for free variation in the paradigms of the imperfective aspect of factitive verbs derived from primary verbs of class C see 2.52.12).

Special derivation. The factitive root derived from $l-w/O-š$ “dress, put on (oneself)” is formed by prefixation of $m-$ and replacement of the $/-w-/$ allomorph of C_2 by $/-b-/$ → $m-lb-š$ “dress, put on (another)”. In the factitive root derived from $w-j/O-r$ “enter” C_1 is replaced by $m-$ and C_2 by $/-b-/$ → $m-b-r$ “bring/take in”; there is also a free alternant with a redundantly prefixed $m-$: $m-mb-r$.

(d) In the factitive derivation from a primary root of the class A' , $C_1 C_2 C_3$ form a morphologically indivisible cluster; $š-lt-n$ “reign” → $m-šlt-n$ “make king”. These derived roots form a special class hereafter designated as A' .

(2) by repeating C_1 and C_3 in roots of class C, and C_1 , and C_2 of class E as C_3 and C_4 of the derived root, which thus belongs to class A' : $d-j/O-q$ “knock” → $d-qd-q$ “pound”, $n-j/O-z$ (cf. *naz* “coyness”) → $n-zn-z$ “behave coyly”; $q-t-j/O$ “cut” → $q-tq-t$ “cut into pieces, mince”.¹

2.52 Inflection of verbs

2.52.1 The inflection of the *simple* (i.e. non-compound) forms of the verb is based on four aspectual stems for each class; the stems generally have regular patterns, but there are a number of irregular patterns in each class.

2.52.11 The stem of the *durative* aspect (*stem* 1.) is inflected in the indicative present in classes A - D by stressed personal pronominal actor suffixes (see 2.32.2) in N, and by suffixation of an unstressed allomorphic paradigm of the durative indicative present of the copular verb $h-w-j/O$ “be” in S (rarely also in N). In classes E and E' it is inflected in the second way, both in S and in N.

¹ In a synchronic analysis it is not always possible to decide, whether a given verbal root with $C_1 = /m/$ (such as $m-sk-r$ “lose, become lost”, $m-m-l$ “ask the price of”, $m-st-r$ “curse”, $m-št-x$ “find”) is primary or derived, and likewise to determine the primary roots of a verb of class A' with repetitive pairs of C_2-C_3 (such as $b-lb-l$ “seek”, $t-pt-p$ “knock”).

The durative stem of h-w-j/O is *il-*. When preceded by a nominal form with final V, the inflected forms of *il-* are treated (except in slow or deliberate speech) as clitics (cf. 2.0), with the following mutations of the stem initial:

(a) optional replacement by /-j/ following juncture preceded by /-u/, /-o/ or /-a/ (the latter only as final of monosyllabic nominal forms): *kahu*+ile “it (m.) is lettuce” ~ *kahú-jle*, *máto*+ila “how is she” ~ *máto-jla*, *to*+ila (S) “it (f.) is good” ~ *tó-jla*, *ma*+ilu “what are they” ~ *má-jlu*, *ja*+ile “this is (m.)” ~ *já-jle* (but cf. below (c)).

(b) replacement by zero following juncture preceded by /-i/ and /-e/: *gami*+ila “it (f.) is a ship” → *gamí-la*, *suse*+ile “it (m.) is a horse” → *susé-le*.

(c) coalescence with /-a/ (in polysyllabic nominal forms) into /-e-/: *riwwa*+ilen → “I (m.) am big” → *riwwé-len*, *gistá*+ilat “you (sg. f.) are tired” → *gisté-lat*, *laxxa* ilex “we are here” → *laxxé-lex*, *ka-* (bound base of *léka* “where”) + *iletun* → *ké-letun* “where are you (pl.)”.

There are a few monosyllabic forms of the pattern Ca, where /-a/ also coalesces with the following /-j-/ into /-e-/ in free or lexical alternation with the mutation described in (a): *xa*+il “they are one” → *xá-jlu* ~ *xé-lu*, *ja*+ile → *jé-le* “here he is” (vs. *já-jle* “this is he”).

When the inflected forms of *il-* function as actor suffixes in the paradigm of the indicative present of the durative aspect, /-i-/ is replaced by zero following final C (in S only) and by /-j-/ following /-a/ (in S and N) and /-o/ (in S only; in N, /-j-/ coalesces with preceding /-o/ into /-u-/ (cf. 2.31).

There is a special *negative* form of the paradigm of the inflected stem *il-*, where it is suppleted by *-éw-*, with the prefixed *l-* allomorph of *la* “not” (cf. 1.12.3 (1)): *léwen* “I (m.) not”, *léwu* (S *léu*) “they are not”, etc. For special allomorphs of the negative forms see 2.52.2.

The patterns of the durative stem are as follows (with examples of their inflection):

In classes A, A', A", E and E' – CaC(C)(C)o(C)-.

Examples: *g-r-š*: *garošén* (N) ~ *garóšlen* (S) “I (m.) am pulling”; *p-rt-f*: *partofan* (N) ~ *partóflan* (S) “I (f.) am throwing”, *O-mb-l*: *ambolet* (N) ~ *ambóllet* (S) “you (sg. m.) are taking away”; *m-šlt-n*: *mašltonat* (N) ~ *mašltónlat* (S) “you (sg. f.) are making king”; *š-t-j/O*: *šatójle* (S) ~ *šatúle* (N) “he is drinking”; *m-nd-j/O*: *mandójla* (S) ~ *mandúla* (N) “she is throwing”, *O-nt-j/O*: *antójlex* (S) ~ *antúlex* (N) “we are taking, carrying”.

Irregular stems: In class E – *O-d-j/O* has *-ida-*: *i dájlu* “they are coming”: In class E' – *m-ss-j/O* has *-misso-*: *missójlen* (S) ~ *missúlen* (N) “I (m.) am able”.

There are free variants of the durative stem; in S- in class A- *rixtála* “she is running”; in N – in class E – *baxila*, which combines with the inflected forms of *il-* with the mutation /-a i-/ → /-é-/: *b-x-j/O*: *baxiléla* “she is weeping”.

In classes B, C and D – CCaC- (with zero C₁ in class D):

Examples: *k-w/O-š*: *kwašan* (N) ~ *kwášlan* (S) “I (f.) am descending”; *q-j/O-m*: *qjamet* (N) ~ *qjámlet* (S) “you (sg.m.) are rising”; *O-w/O-d*: *wadat* (N) ~ *wádlat* (S) “you (sg.f.) are making, doing”. In *O-m-r* the stem takes

actor suffixes in free variation with the inflected forms of *ie-* and extension of stem by *-é-*, both in N and S: *mare* ~ *maréle* “he is saying”.

Special stem patterns in class D: in O-x-l and O-z-l, zero C₁ is replaced by /i-/: *ixala* (N) ~ *ixálla* (S) “she is eating”, *izalex* (N) ~ *izállex* (S) “we are going”.

Irregular stem patterns in class D: In O-č-m (arch.) “close”, O-d-b “chastise”, O-ǰ-z “be unable” and O-š-q the stem follows the pattern of class A: *ajólétun* (N) ~ *ajólletun* (S) “you (pl.) are knowing” *ašoqu* (N) ~ *ašóqlu* (S) “they are falling in love”.

For the negative form of the present indicative, the past and future indicative and the aorist projective of the durative aspect, which are compound forms (see 2.52).

The durative stem (and its allomorphs) serves as base for the derivation of gerunds (see 2.11.11 (1)); in this case the stems of O-m-r and O-w/o-d also take initial i-: *imara* “saying”, *iwada* “making, doing”.

The durative stem of the *existential* copula, in which the oppositions in number and gender are neutralized, and the category of person non-existent, is *it-*, with the pausal form *íta*, “there is/are”. In the negative form with prefixed *l-*, the stem vowel is replaced by /i-/ in S and by /e-/ in N: *lít* (S) ~ *let* (pausal form *léta* N) “there is/are no(t)”.

In the indicative past of the durative, the unstressed past indicator *-wa* is affixed to the stem: *ítwa* “there was/were”, *lítwa* “there was/were no(t)”. Following a nominal form with final V, *itwa* becomes enclitic, with elimination of its stem-vowel: *xa gorá-twa* “there was a man”. In the future indicative and the aorist projective of the durative, the forms of *it-* merge with the corresponding forms of the equational copular verb *h-w-j/O* “be” (see 2.52.2).

2.52.12 The stem of the *imperfective* aspect is inflected in the aorist (present/future) and past of the following moods: indicative and/or projective (volitive, precative, jussive, possibilitative, conditional, subjunctive) and imminentive. The stem is inflected by stressed personal pronominal actor suffixes with the allomorphs zero in the 3d p. sg. m. and *-i* in the 3d p. pl.; when further – unstressed – suffixes are added, /e-/ in the actor suffixes *-en*, *-et*, *-ex* is replaced by /i-/. In certain moods prefixes are also added to the stem. The existential copula merges in this aspect with the forms of the 3d p. sg. (m. and f.) and pl. of the equational copular verb *h-w-j/O*.

(1) *Indicative and/or projective mood.* The opposition in mood is neutralized in all verbs other than O-b-j/O “want, live”, O-d-j/O “come”, O-j-l “know”, O-m-r “say”, O-x-l “eat” O-z-l “go”, as well as *h-w-l* “give”, *h-w-j/O* “be” and *w-j/O-r* “enter”, which have a special inflection for the indicative mood (see below (2)). In the *aorist* the stem takes only actor suffixes.

The stem patterns are as follows (with examples of their inflection): In classes A, A', A" and D – (C)aCC(C)(C)- before suffixes other than zero, and (C)aC(C)(C)iC before zero suffix.

Examples: *g-r-š*: *garšen* “I (m.) (shall, may) pull”, *gariš* “he pulls, will, may pull”; *p-rt-f*: *partfan* “I (f.) (shall, may) throw”, *partif* “he throws, will, may

throw”; O-mb-l: amblet “you (sg.m.) (will, may) take away”, ambil “he takes away, will, may take away”; *mašltnat* “you (sg.f.) (will, may) make king”, *mašltin* “he makes (will, may) make king”; amra “she may say”, amir “he may say”.

Irregular stems. In d-h-l and h-w-l (class A) and O-j-l and O-z-l (class D), C₃ is replaced by zero before suffixes other than zero; furthermore, in O-z-l the first stem vowel /-a-/ is replaced by /-e-/: dahex “we (shall, may) beat”, dahil “he beats (will, may) beat”; hawétun “you (pl.) may give”, hawil “he may give”; ajen “I (m.) may know, recognize”, ajil “he may know, recognize”; ezan “I (f.) may go”, ezil “he may go”. The stem of O-w/O-d follows the pattern of class B (see below (2)): odet “you (sg.m.) may make, do”, od “he may make, do”.

In class B – C₁oC₃ before all suffixes.

Examples: k-w/O-š: košat “you (sg.f.) will, may descend”, koš “he descends, will, may descend”.

In class C – C₁eC₃ before all suffixes.

Examples: q-j/O-m: qema “she rises, will, may rise, qem “he rises, will, may rise”.

Irregular stems. In d-j/O-r and t-j/O-l the stem vowel /-e-/ is replaced by /-a-/: darex “we (shall, may) return”, dar “he returns, will, may return”; *talétun* “you (pl.) (shall, may) play”, *tal* “he plays, will, may play”. w-j/O-r has the suppletive stem *or-:ori* “he may enter”, *or* “he may enter”. Besides, all the roots listed in 2.52.11 as having irregular stems (except O-j-l), follow the pattern of class A.

In roots of class A with C₁ = /m/ which are derived from primary roots of class C, the stem has a free alternant CaCiC also before suffixes other than zero: m-q-m (=√q-j/O-m): maqimi ~ maqmi “they (will, may) set, put”.

In classes E and E' – (C)a(C)CC- before the feminine suffixes -an, at, -a, and (Ca)(C)Ce before the suffixes -en, -et, -ex and -etun, in which the initial /-e-/ is replaced by zero; preceding the suffix of the 3d p. pl. the stem is extended by -n-; this suffix, however varies freely with zero.

Examples: š-t-j/O: šatjan “I (f.) (shall, may) drink”, šate “he drinks, will, may drink”; mandjat “you (sg.f.) (will, may) throw”, mandjet- dto., m.; antja “she may take, carry”, anté(ni) “they may take, carry”.

Irregular stems. In x-j-j/O, C₃ is replaced by zero before the suffixes -an, -at, -a: xajan “I (f.) (shall, may) live”, xajen dto., m.; m-ss-j/O has the stem *miss-* before -an, -at, -a and *misse-* before all other suffixes: *missa* “she can, will, may be able”, *missé(ni)* “they etc.”.

(b) In the *past*, the unstressed past indicator -wa is suffixed to the forms of the aorist.

Examples: g-r-š: garšinwa “I (m.) used to pull, might have pulled; p-rt-f: partfánwa “I (f.) used to throw, might have thrown”; k-w/O-š: košitwa “you (dg.f.) used to descend, might have descended”; q-j/O-m: qemitwa “you (sg.f.) used to rise, might have risen”; O-m-r: amírwa “he might have said”; h-w-j/O: hawjáwa “she might have been; there might have been

(sg.f.); antixwa “we used to take, carry; we might have taken, carried”.
Some irregular stems: d-h-l: dahétunwa (N) “you (pl.) used to beat, might have beaten”; O-z-l: eziwa “they might have gone”.

(2) *Indicative mood* (in the verbs listed at the beginning of (1).

(a) in the *aorist* the prefix k- ~ g- is affixed to the forms of the aorist described in (1) (a), with mutations in stems containing four phonemes or more. In stems or stem-allomorphs not ending in consonant clusters, the sequence (C₁)a- is replaced by zero; in stem-allomorphs with final consonant clusters, the same sequence is replaced by /-i-/.

(i) k- is prefixed to the stems of h-w-l, h-w-j/O, O-j-l, O-m-r and O-x-l.

Examples: h-w-l: hawen “I (m.) may give” → kwen “I (m.) (shall) give”; h-w-j/O: hawjan “I (f.) may be”, → kiwjan “I (f.) am (habitually), shall be”; O-j-l: ajet “you (sg.m.) may know, recognize” → kjet “you (sg.m.) (will) know, recognize”; amrat “you (sg.f.) may say” → kimrat “you (sg.f.) (will) say”; O-x-l: axil “he may eat” → kxil “he eats, will eat”.

In the paradigm of O-j-l, C₂ is usually replaced by /-k-/ following the negative particle: kjen “I (m.) know” → la kken “I (m.) do not know”.

(ii) g- is prefixed to the stems of O-w/O-d, O-z-l, O-b-j/O, O-d-j/O and w-j/O-r.

Examples: O-w/O-d: oda “she may make, do” → goda “she makes, does; she will make, do”; O-z-l: ezex “we may go” → gezex “we (will) go”; O-b-j/O: abé(ni) “they may want, like” → gbé(ni) “they (will) want, like”; O-d-j/O: adja “she may come” → gidja “she comes, will come”; w-j/O-r: oren “I (m.) may enter” → goren “I (m.) (shall) enter”.

Special mutation: in the allomorph CaCC- of the stem of O-d-j/O, the final C is replaced by zero, and consequently the stem is treated like those not ending in consonant cluster: abjan “I (f.) may want, like” → gban “I (f.) (shall) want, like”, abjat → gbat, abja → gba.

(b) the *past* is formed by suffixation of -wa to the forms of the aorist.

Examples: kjen → kjinwa “I (m.) used to know, recognize”; kimran → kimránwa “I (f.) used to say”; kixlet → kixlítwa “you (sg.m.) used to eat; kwat → kwátwa “you (sg.f.) used to give”; kwe → kwéwa “he used to be; there used to be (sg.m.)”; goda → godáwa “she used to make, do”; gezex → gezíxwa “we used to go”; gdétun → gdetúnwa “you (pl.) used to come”; gbé(ni) → gbé(ni)wa “they used to want, like”, gba → gbáwa “she used to want, like”.

(3) The *imminentive mood* is formed by prefixation of gbe (the 3d p. sg.m. of the indicative aorist of O-b-j/O “will”) to the forms of the indicative-projective aorist; this preverb varies freely with the prefix b-, which in its turn varies freely with preceding C₁ with buccal occlusion and /h-/.

Examples:

(a) *future:* g-r-š: gbe garšen ~ b-garšen (S ~ be-garšen) “I (m.) am going to pull; h-w-l: gbe hawan ~ b-hawan (S ~ be-hawan) “I (f.) am going to give”;

p-rt-f: gbe partfet ~ b-partfet (S ~ be-partfet) “you (sg.m.) are going to throw”; k-w/O-š: gbe košat ~ b-košat (S ~ be-košat) “you (sg.f.) are going to descend”; gbe qem ~ b-qem (S ~ be-qem) “he is going to rise”; gbe amra ~ b-amra (S ~ be-amra) “she is going to say”; h-w-j/O: gbe hawex ~ b-hawex “we are going to be”; gbe antétun ~ b-antétun “you (pl.) are going to take, carry”; w-j/O-r: gbe ori ~ b-ori “they are going to enter”.

- (b) *past* (formed again by suffixation of -wa): gbe garšinwa ~ b-garšinwa “I (m.) was going to pull”; gbe hawánwa ~ b-hawanwa “I (f.) was going to give”; gbe partfítwa ~ b-partfítwa “you (sg.m.) were going to throw”; gbe košátwa ~ b-košatwa “you (sg.f.) were going to descend”; gbe qemwa ~ b-qémwa “he was going to rise”; gbe amráwa ~ b-amráwa “she was going to say;” gbe hawíxwa ~ b-hawíxwa “we were going to be”; gbe antétunwa ~ b-antétunwa “you (pl.) were going to take, carry”; gbe oriwa ~ b-oriwa “they were going to enter”.

In negative forms b- ~ be- is disjoined from the stem by la “not”: b-la palix “he is not going to open”; b-l-ezen “I (m.) am not going <to go>” (cf. 1.12.3).

2.52.13 The inflection of the verb both in the *resultative* and the *perfective* aspects is based on one and the same stem-pattern (except in classes E and E'). The stem-patterns for the different classes or groups of classes are:

in classes A, B, C, D- CCiC- (with zero C₁ in class D)

in classes A' - CiCCiC-

in class A'' - CiCCCiC.

Classes E and E' have different stems and allomorphs of stems in the two aspects.

The stems of the irregular verbs listed in 2.52.11 (except O-j-l) follow the pattern of class A.

2.52.13.1 In the *resultative* aspect the stem is inflected in the indicative present and past. The negative form of the present indicative, a free variant of the past indicative, the future indicative and the aorist prejective are compound forms (see 2.52.2).

The inflection of the stem takes place by suffication of personal pronominal actor suffixes, which are stressed in transitive and unstressed in intransitive verbs in N and unstressed in all cases in S.

The suffixes of the 3d p. have different allomorphs according to whether the verb is transitive or intransitive.

(1) *Transitive verbs.*

(a) in the *present indicative*, the actor suffix of the 3d p. pl. has the allomorph -u. In all persons of the sg. f. the feminine indicator -t- is inserted between the stem and the actor suffix.

The inflection by actor suffixes varies freely with compound forms described in 2.52.22.1 (1) (a) (i);

Examples: for all classes other than E and E': g-r-š: grišen “I (m.) have pulled”;

p-rt-f: pirtiftan "I (f.) have thrown"; m-š-lt-n: *mišltinet* "you (sg.m.) have made king"; t-w/O-r: twirtat "you (sg.f.) have broken"; l-j/O-š: liše "he has kneaded"; O-m-r: mirex "we have said"; O-x-l: xilétun "you (pl.) have eaten"; O-w/O-d: widu "they have made, done".

In classes E and E' the chief allomorph of the stem is CiCC- and CiCCiC- respectively; the allomorph preceding the feminine indicator -t- is CCi- and CiCCi- respectively (cf. 2.12.13).

Examples: š-t-j/O: šitjen "I (m.) have drunk"; x-z-j/O: xzitan "I (f.) have seen"; m-d-j/O: midje "he has brought"; q-t-j/O: *qtita* "she has cut"; m-nd-j/O: mindjex "we have thrown"; m-sp-j/O: mispjétun "you (pl.) have handed over, ordered"; O-nt-j/O: intju "they have taken, carried (away)".

In N, the stem of transitive verbs takes – in free variation with the inflection described in 2.52.13.1 (1) (a) – the unstressed inflected forms of the durative stem of the equational copular verb (il-) as semi-suffixes, with the mutations described in 2.52.11. In S, /-é-/ is elided in m. and pl. forms (except the 3d p. pl.) in classes A - D; the stem-vowel /-i-/ is not shortened in this case.

Examples: grišé-len (N) ~ griš-len "I (m.), have pulled"; pirtifté-lan "I (f.) have thrown"; *mišltiné-let* (N) ~ *mšiltin-let* (S) "you (sg.m.) have made king"; twirté-lat "you (sg.f.) have broken"; lišé-le (N) ~ liš-le "he has kneaded"; mirté-la "she has said"; xilé-lex (N) ~ xil-lex (S) "we have eaten"; xilé-letun (N) ~ xil-letun (S) "you (pl.) have eaten", wídé-letun (N) ~ wíd-letun (S) "you (pl.) have made, done"; šitjé-lu "they have drunk"; xzité-lan "I (f.) have seen"; midjé-let "you (sg.m.) have brought"; mispité-la "she has ordered, handed over"; intjé-lu "they have taken, carried (away)".

(b) the (free alternant of) the *past indicative* (pluperfect) is formed by suffixation of -wa. The actor suffixes are stressed or not in free variation with replacement of /-e-/ in the actor suffixes -en, -et, -ex, when stressed, by /-i-/ (cf. 2.52.12 (2) (a)).

Examples: grišinwa ~ grišenwa "I (m.) had pulled"; pirtiftánwa "I (f.) had thrown"; *mišltinítwa* ~ *mišltínetwa* "you (sg.m.) had made king"; twirtátwa "you (sg.f.) had broken"; lišéwa "he had kneaded"; xiláwa "she had eaten"; miríxwa ~ mírexwa "we had said"; xilétunwa "you (pl.) had eaten"; wídúwa "they had made, done"; šitjínwa ~ šitjenwa "I (m.) had drunk"; xzítáwa "she had seen"; midjéwa "he had brought"; *qtítáwa* "she had cut"; mindjíxwa ~ *míndjexwa* "we had thrown"; mispjétunwa "you (pl.) had handed over, ordered"; íntjúwa "they had taken, carried (away)".

(2) *Intransitive verbs*. The actor suffix of the 3d p. sg. m. has the allomorph zero, and that of the 3d p. pl. the allomorph -í. There is no feminine indicator.

(a) *present indicative*

Examples: for all classes other than E and E': j-t-w: jtíwen "I (m.) am sitting (have sat down)"; m-sk-r: miskíran "I (f.) have become lost"; k-w/O-š:

kwíšet “you (sg.m.) have descended”; q-j/O-m: qímat “you (sg.f.) have risen”; d-j/O-r: díra “she has returned”; p-j/O-l: pílex “we have fallen”; O-z-l: ziletun “you (pl.) have gone”; O-j-l: jili “they have realized, recognized”.

In class E the stem has the allomorph CiCC- before feminine actor suffixes, C₁iC₂e before zero suffix of the 3d p. sg. m., and C₁C₃e before the other suffixes. In class E' the stem has the allomorph CiCCC- before feminine actor suffixes and CiCCe before all other suffixes; following stem allomorphs with final /-e/, the /-e-/ of the suffixes is elided. In all cases the stem is extended by -n- preceding the actor suffix of the 3d p. pl.

Examples: *m-t-j/O*: *mten* “I (m.) have arrived”; *mltjan* “I (f.) have arrived”; *x-l-j/O*: *xíle* “he (it) has wrapped himself (itself)”, *xílja* “she/it has wrapped herself/itself”; *š-t-j/O*: *štétun* “you are lying down (have lain down)”; *r-w-j/O*: *rwéni* “they have grown”; *n-nd-j/O*: *nínde* “he has jumped”, *níndja* “she has jumped”; *s-lh-j/O*: *silhex* “we have succeeded”, *silhéni* “they have succeeded”.

Irregular inflection: *h-w-j/O* (in S only) and *O-d-j/O* are inflected like transitive verbs except in the sg. f. : *híwje* “it (m.) has happened”; *ídjen* “I (m.) have come”, *ídja* “she has come”, *ídju* “they have come”.

(b) the (free alternant of the) *past* is formed by suffixation of -wa. For stress and vowel of suffix see (1) (b)

Examples: *d-m-x*: *dmixínwa* ~ *dmixenwa* “I (m.) was asleep (had gone to sleep)”; *q-rp-s*: *qirpisiwa* “they had gathered”; *b-rb-z*: *birbizíxwa* ~ *birbizex* “we had dispersed (intr.)”; *O-z-l*: *zíláwa* “she had gone”; *m-t-j/O*: *mtétunwa* “you (pl.) had arrived”; *š-t-j/O*: *štéwa* “he was lying down (had lied down)”; *r-w-j/O*: *rwíxwa* “we had grown up”; *s-lh-j/O*: *silhéniwa* “they had succeeded”; *hiwjáwa* (S) “it (f.) had happened”; *O-d-j/O*: *idjúwa* “they had come”.

It follows from the preceding that there is an opposition in inflection within verbs that are both transitive and intransitive,

Examples: *t-w/O-r*: *twíre* “he has broken (trans.)” vs. *twir* “he/it has broken (intr.)”; *m-sk-r*: *miskirtat* “you (sg.f.) have lost” vs. *miskírat* “you (sg.f.) have become lost”; *s-lh-j/O*: *silhju* “they have given success” vs. *silhéni* “they have succeeded”; *x-l-j/O*: *xlita* “she has wrapped” vs. *xílja* “she has wrapped herself; she has become sweet.”

2.52.13.2 In the *perfective aspect* the stem is inflected only in the preterite and pre-preterite of the indicative mood with no compound alternations.

(a) in the *preterite* the inflection takes place by unstressed personal pronominal objective suffixes (see 2.32.3) functioning as actor suffixes. The l-morpheme of the suffixes is replaced by n- following stem final /-n/, and by zero following stem final /-r/; in the latter case the stem vowel /-i-/ is (phonemically) replaced by /-ĩ-/.

In classes E and E' the stem has the pattern CCe- and CiCCe- respectively; there are a number of irregular stem patterns.

Examples: g-r-š: grīšli "I pulled"; t-x-n: txínnox "you (sg.m.) ground"; t-w/O-r: twírax ("you (sg.f.) broke"); p-rt-f: pirtífle "he threw"; m-sk-r: miskíra "she lost, became lost"; m-šlt-n: mišltínnan "we made king"; q-j/O-m: qímlxun "you (pl.) rose"; w-j/O-r: wíru "they entered"; O-x-l: xilli "I ate"; O-j-l:jílli "I knew"; O-m-r: mírox "you (sg.m.) said"; š-t-j/O: štélax "you (sg.f.) drank"; m-nd-j/O: mindéle "he threw"; O-nt-j/O: intéla "she took, carried"; m-ss-j/O: misséla "she was able".

Irregular stems. In the stems of O-č-m, O-d-b, O-j-z, O-š-q (class D) and O-b-j/O (class E), the zero C₁ is replaced by /e/: ešíqlan "we fell in love"; ebélxun "you (pl.) wanted, liked". In h-w-j/O (class E), C₁ is replaced by zero: wélu "they were". The stem of O-d-j/O follows the pattern of those of class E': idjéli "I came".

(b) The *prepreterite* is formed by inserting the past indicator -wa- between the stem and the objective suffixes functioning as actor suffixes.

Examples: (based on those of (a)): grīšwali "I had pulled"; txínwalox "you (sg.m.) had ground"; twírwalox "you (sg.f.) had broken"; pirtífwale "he had thrown"; miskírwala "she had lost, become lost"; mišltínwalan "we had made king"; qímwalxun "you (pl.) had risen"; wírwalu "they had entered"; xílwali "I had eaten"; mírwalox "you (sg.m.) had said"; štéwalax you (sg.f.) had drunk"; mindjéwale "he had thrown"; misséwala "she had been able".

Irregular stems: ešíqwalan "we had fallen in love"; ebéwalxun "you (pl.) had wanted, liked; idjéwalu "they had come" (the equational copular verb h-w-j/O does not occur in this tense).

2.52.14 The stem of the *imperative aspect* (stem 4) is inflected in number only. The unstressed plural indicator is -un following C ~ -mun following V in stem final.

The stem patterns are as follows:

in classes A, B, C and D – CCuC- (with zero allomorph of C₂ in class C, and of C₁ in class D).

Examples: g-r-š: gruš, pl- grúšun "pull"; l-w/O-š and l-j/O-š: luš, pl. lúšun "dress, put on; knead"; O-x-l: xul, pl. xúlun "eat".

Irregular stems. In class A: stem final /-w/ is replaced by zero (cf. 1.2.2 (2)) – k-l-w: klu, pl. klúmun "write"; the stem of h-w-l has the pattern CoC: hol, pl. hólun "give". In class C the stem final in q-j/O-m is replaced by zero, and both inflectional forms are flatted; further, the objective suffixes of the 2nd p. sg. m. and f. are optionally (but more frequently, except after the negative particle) affixed to the stem: qu (~ qúlox m., qúlax f.), pl. qúmun "rise". In class D: in O-m-r the stem-vowel is replaced by /-a-/: mar, pl. márun "say"; the stem of O-z-l is supplented by si- and takes the suffixes described for q-j/O-m; si (~ sílox m., sílax f.), pl. símun "go".

In classes A' and A'' – CiCC (C) uC-.

Examples: b-lb-l: bilbul, pl. bilbúlung “seek”; O-mb-l: imbul, pl. imbúlung “take away”; *m-šlt-n*: mišltun, pl. mišltúnung “make king”

in class E – C₁C₂i- (with replacement of zero C₁ by e- in the stem of O-b-j/O: x-z-j/O: zxi, pl. xzímung “see”; O-b-j/O: ebi, pl. ebímung “demand, like”).

Irregular stem. The stem of O-dj/O has the pattern iC₂a-, and the plural form is flatted: ida (~ idálox m., idálox f.), idámung “come”.

in class E¹ – C₁iC₂C₃i-. Examples: m-nd-j/O: mindi, pl. mindímung “throw”, O-nt-j/O: inti, pl. intímung “take, carry”.

2.52.2 The *compound* forms of the verb – the negative present, indicative, the past and future indicative and the aorist projective of the durative and resultative aspects – consist of the appropriate forms of the equational copular verb h-w-j/O and special forms of the main verb.

In the negative compounds, the form of the main verb is preceded by the negative form of the copula in the present indicative of the durative aspect (see 2.25.11), in which the allomorphic stem -we- is replaced by zero, except in the 3d p. pl.: len “I (m.) am not”, let “you (sg.m.) are not”, le “he is not” etc., léwu (S: léu) “they are not”.

2.52.21 In the *durative* aspect the form of the main verb consists of the stem and the stressed suffix -a ~ zero suffix (Š) in all classes other than E and E¹, where the suffix is zero, varying freely in N with -a accompanied by the elision of the stem final /-o/. In S it consists of the bare stem. In class D, zero C₁ is invariably replaced by /i-/.

Examples:

(1) *Indicative mood*

(a) *negative present*: Classes A, A', A'', C₁, E, E': j-t-w: len jatow(a) “I (m.) am not sitting down”; b-lb-l: lan balbol(a) “I (f.) am not seeking”, O-mb-l: let ambol(a) “you (sg.m.) are not taking away”; *m-šlt-n*: let mašltun(a) “you (sg.f.) are not making king”; š-t-j/O: let šato (N: ~ let šata) “you (sg.f.) are not drinking”; m-nd-j/O: le mando (N: ~ le manda) “he is not throwing”; O-nt-j/O: la anto (N: ~ la anta) “she is not taking, carrying”.

Irregular stems: O-d-j/O: létun ida(a) “you (pl.) are not coming”; m-ss-j/O: le misso (N: ~ le misa) “he is not able”.

Classes B, C, D: k-w/O-š: léwu (S: ~ léu) kwaša “they are not descending”; q-j/O-m: len qjama “I (m.) am not descending”; O-m-r: lan imara “I (f.) am not saying”.

Irregular stems: O-j-l: let ajo (N: ~ let aja) “you (sg.m.) are not knowing, recognizing”; O-š-q: let ašoq(a) “you (sg.f.) are not falling in love”.

(b) *past* (the examples are based on some of the forms in (a)):

jatow(a) wéli “I was sitting down”; balbol(a) wélox “you (sg.m.) were seeking”; šato (N: ~ šata) wélox “you (sg.f.) were drinking”; anto (N: ~ anta) wéle “he was taking, carrying”; kwaša wéla “she was descending”; qjama wélox “we were rising”; imar(a) wélxun “you (pl.) were saying”; ajo (N: ~ aja) wélu “they were knowing, recognizing” (the verb *m-ss-j/O* “be able” does not occur in this paradigm).

(c) *future* (the examples are based on those in (b)):

jatow(a) kwen “I (m.) shall be sitting down”; balbol(a) kiwjan “I (f.) shall be seeking; šato (N: ~ šata) kwet “you (sg.m.) will be drinking”; anto (N: ~ anta) kiwjat “you (sg.f.) will be taking, carrying”; kwaša kwe “he will be descending”; qjama kiwja “she will be rising”; imar(a) kwex “we will be saying”; ajo (N: ~ aja) kwétun “you (pl.) will be knowing, recognizing”; hwal(a) kwé(ni) “they will be giving”; (*m-ss-j/O*: does not occur in this paradigm).

(2) *Projective mood* (aorist) (the examples are based on those in (1) (c):

jatow(a) hawen “I (m.) may be sitting down”; balbol(a) hawjan “I (f.) may be seeking”; šato (N: ~ šata) hawet “you (sg.m.) may be drinking”; anto (N: ~ anta) hawjat “you (sg.f.) may be taking, carrying”; kwaša hawe “he may be descending”; qjama hawja “she may be rising”; imar(a) hawex “we may be saying”; ajo (N: ~ aja) kwétun “you (pl.) may be knowing, recognizing”; hwal(a) hawé(ni) “they may be giving”.

The main verb in the examples for all classes except E and E' are with zero suffix in Š. 2.52.22 In the *resultative aspect* there is again a distinction between the forms of transitive and those of intransitive main verbs. There are separate forms for the sg.m., the sg.f. and the pl.

2.52.22.1 The forms of the sg. m. and the pl. of *transitive verbs* consist of the stem and the unstressed -a suffix; those of the sg. f. are homomorphic with that of the 3d. p. sg. f.

Examples:

(1) *Incidative mood*:

(a) *negative present*: b-š-l: len bšila “I (m.) have not cooked”; m-sk-r: lan miskirta “I (f.) have not lost”; l-w/O-š: let lwiša “you (sg.m.) have not dressed, put on”; l-j/O-š: lat lišta “you (sg.f.) have not kneaded”; O-x-l: le xila “he has not eaten”; O-m-r: la mirta “she has not said”; O-mb-l: lex imbila “we have not taken away”; h-w-l: léwu (S: ~ léu) hwile “they have not given”; š-t-j/O: le šitja “I (m.) have not drunk”; x-z-j/O: lan xzita “I (f.) have not seen”; m-d-j/O: lex midja “we have not brought”; O-nt-j/O: létun intja “you (pl.) have not taken, lifted (up)”. In N, the pl. forms vary freely with those of the regular resultative (cf. 2.52.13 (1)): *m-šlt-n*: létun *mišltinétun* “you (pl.) have not made king”.

(b) *past* (the examples are partly based on those in (a):

bšila wéli “I (m.) had cooked”; bšilta weli “I (f.) had cooked”; miskira wélox “you (sg.m.) had lost”; lwišta wélax “you (sg.f.) had dressed, put on”; liša wéle “he had kneaded”; mirta wéla “she had said”; xila welán “we had eaten”; imbila wélun “you (pl.) had taken, carried”; hwila wélu “they had given”; šitja wéli “I (m.) had drunk”; xzita wélat “you (sg.f.) had seen”; midja wélan “we had brought”; intja wélu “they had taken lifted (up)”.

(c) *future* (a few token examples): O-x-l: ixala kwen “I (m.) shall have eaten”; x-j/O-t: xitta kiwjat “you (sg.f.) will have sewn”; midja kwex “we shall have brought”.

(2) *Projective mood* (a few token examples based on those of (1) (c)):

ixal(a) hawen “I (m.) may have eaten”; xitta hawjat “you (sg.f.) may have sewn”; midja hawex “we may have brought”.

2.52.22.2 *Intransitive verbs*. The forms of the sg. m. and the sg. f. are homomorphic with those of the 3d. p. sg. m. and the 3d. p. sg. f. respectively; the forms of the plural are identical with the corresponding inflected forms of the simple verb.

Examples:

(1) *Indicative mood*.

(a) *negative present*: d-m-x: len *dmix* “I (m.) am not asleep (have not gone to sleep)”; m-sk-r: lan *miskira* “I (f.) have not become lost”; k-w/O-š: let *kwiš* “you (sg.m.) have descended”; q-j/O-m: lat *qima* “you (sg.f.) have not risen”; O-z-l: lex *zilen* “we have (are) not gone”; š-t-j/O: le *šite* “he is not lying down (has not lied down)”; r-w-j/O: la *riwja* “she has not grown”; m-t-j/O: létun *mtétun* “you (pl.) have not arrived”; s-lh-j/O: léwu (S: *silhéni*) “they have not succeeded”.

Irregular forms: h-w-j/O: le *hiwja* (S) “it (m.) has not happened”; O-d-j/O: la *idja* “she has not come”; léwu (S: ~ léu) *idju* “they have not come”.

The forms of (b), (c) and (2) are corresponding.

2.52.3 The inflection of the transitive verbs and h-w-j/O “be” functioning as existential copula *in relation to pronominal objects* takes place by adding unstressed personal pronominal objective suffixes (2.32.3) or their alternants (see below) to the simple or compound inflected forms. In the latter, the suffixes are added to the second member of the compound.

Examples: palxa → palxálu “she opens (will, may open) them”; kwi → kwile “they (will) give him/it”; xazé(ni) → xazé(ni)lox “they (will, may) see you (sg.m.)”; šméli → šméliIxun “I heard you (pl.)”; garoša wélela “he was pulling her/it”; xila kwé(ni)lu “they will have eaten them”.

(1) The alternants of the objective I-morpheme of the pronominal suffixes are:

(a) a repetitive consonant following the actor suffixes -en, -et, -ex (in which /-e-/ is replaced by /-i-/) and forms of the existential copula it-; the latter lose their initial (i-) following a vowel and become half-bound forms.

Examples: daren → darinnu “I (m.) (shall, may) put them”; midjet → midjitte “you (sg.m.) have brought them”; gbex → gbixxa “we (shall, may) want, like her/it”; itti “I have <there are to me>”, bronawé-tti “I have sons”.

(b) zero.

(i) following any unstressed suffix with final C.

Examples: palóxlen (S) → palóxlene “I (m.) am opening it (m.)”; šatúlet (N) ~ šatójlet (S) → šatúleta ~ šatójleta “you (sg.m.) are drinking it (f.)”; intja wélanu “we had taken, carried them”; xillax → xillaxu “you (sg.f.) ate

them”; *odétun* → *odétune* “you (pl.) may make it (m.)”; *píran* → *píranax* “we passed you (sg.f.)”; *hólun* → *hóluni* “give (pl). me”.

(ii) following the (stressed) actor suffixes -an and -at in the aorist of all moods of the imperfective aspect:

Examples: *ajan* → *ajáne* “I (f.) may know, recognize him/it”; *kjat* → *kjáti* “you (sg.f.) (will) know, recognize me”; *iwada kiwjáne* “I (f.) will be making, doing it”.

(iii) following stem with final /-r/.

Examples: *gazir* → *gazíre* “he circumcizes (will, may) circumcize him”; *mar* → *máre* “say it (m.)”.

(c) the alternants described in (a) and (b) are in free variation following (stressed) -an and -at in the indicative present of the durative and resultative aspects.

Examples: *xjatan* → *xjatánna* ~ *xjatána* “I (f.) am sewing it (f.)”; *šmitat* ~ *šmitáttu* *šmitátu* “you (sg.f.) have heard them”.

(2) The alternants of the objective suffixes are:

(a) enclitic forms of the prepositional base *ill-* with personal pronominal relational suffixes. In this case, the prepositional base initial as well as the person indicator -w of the 3d p. sg. (m. and f.) of the suffixes is replaced by zero. This type of alternation is used:

(i) obligatorily following V-suffixes in the present indicative of the durative and resultative aspect and following the form of the basic verb in the negative paradigms of the same tense and mood of those aspects. In the 3d p. sg. (m. and f.) and pl. of the present indicative of the resultative aspect the stress is in this case shifted to the actor suffix, and the suffix vowel /-e-/ is optionally replaced by /-i-/.

Examples: *paloxe* (N) ~ *paloxélle* “he is opening it (m.)”; *wada* → *wadálla* “she is making, doing it (f.)”; *tjasu* → *tjasúllu* “they are sticking them”; *xizje* → *xizjílli* “he has seen me”; *mdita* → *mditállu* “she has brought them”; *šitju* → *šitjúlla* “they have drunk it (f.)”; *len abóllox* (N: ~ *len abállox*) “I (m.) do not want you (sg.m.) (at present)”; *lex midjállu* “we have not brought them”.

(ii) in free variation with the form described above (1) (b): in the 2nd p. pl. of the imperfective aspect; in the singular and pl. form of the imperative aspect. In the first case the actor suffix is extended by -u; in the second case, the stem is extended by stressed -i; in the third case, the actor suffix final -n is replaced by zero, and the preceding -u is stressed.

Examples: *kaxkétun* → *kaxkétunulli* “you (pl.) (will, may) laugh at me; *hol* → *hále* ~ *hólille* “give him”; *milbíšun* → *milbíšunu* ~ *milbíšúllu* “dress (pl.) them”.

(iii) in free variation with the form described above (1) (a) following a V suffix in both tenses of the perfective aspect (except for the obj. suffix of the 3d p. f. and pl.) and - rarely - of the imperfective aspect.

Examples: *qtéla* → *qtélale* ~ *qtélalle* “she cut it (m.)”; *šméle* → *šmélelox* ~ *šmélellox* “he heard you (sg.m.)”; *qtilwale* → *qtilwalele* ~ *qtilwalelle* “he had

killed him”; *imbilli* → *imbíllixun* ~ *imbíllixun* “I took you (pl.) away”;
maroma wélule ~ *wélulle* “they were lifting it (m.)”.

(b) the stressed actor suffixes -a and -i of the 3d p. sg. f. and pl. respectively are inserted between the verbal perfective stem and the actor suffixes in free variation with the forms described above (1) (a). In this case, the stem of classes A and B has the allomorph CiCC-, and that of classes A' – A'' (C)CiCCC- (in N and *Sol*); the stems of classes E – E' have these same allomorphs respectively both in S and N. Irregular stem allomorphs (with replacement of final C by zero) occur in h-w-l “give” and d-h-l “beat”: *hiw-*, *dih-*.

Examples: *grišli* → *grišlila* ~ *grišáli* (Ši) ~ *giršáli* “I pulled her/it”; *dhíllox* → *dhílloxu* ~ *dihílox* “you (sg.m.) beat them”; *imbíllan* → *imbíllana* ~ *imbilálan* (Ši) ~ *imblálan* “we took her away”; *xzélxun* → *xzélxunu* ~ *xizjilxun* “you (pl.) saw them”; *mimrélu* → *mimrélula* ~ *mimrjálu* “they hurt her”; *xítwalax* → *xítwalaxu* ~ *xittwalax* “you (sg.f.) had sewn them”; *mírwala* → *mírwalala* ~ *miráwala* “she had said it (f.)”.

The verbs j-r-q “run” and k-x-k “laugh” generally take a redundant objection suffix of the 3d p. sg. f.: *jirqále* “he ran (away)”, *jaríqla* “he runs, will, may run (away)”; *kixkáli* “I laughed”, *kixkálulle* “they laughed at him”.

2.52.31 The verbs h-w-l “give”, m-sp-j/O “hand over” and m-xw- j/o “show” may take a double objective suffix: *hóluli* “give them me”, *mispjinnulla* “I (m.) have handed them over to her”, *maxwélilla* – “he shows, will may, show me it”.

2.6 THE (GENERALLY) UNINFLECTED FORMS OR PARTICLES

These forms will be grouped (a) – (e) for reference in treating the syntax. A list of partially inflected forms will be given at the end of this paragraph.

(1) *Simplex forms.*

- (a) *ma* “what”;
- (b) *jwe* “a different one, different ones”; *heč* N ~ *hič* (S) “not a”;
xa (syntactically enclitic form of the numeral “one”) “a(n)”;
- (c) *afillu* “even” *háwni* (arch.) “behold”
albahal “immediately” *hār* “on (adverb), at all, when”
alhatta “separately” *heč* (N) ~ *hič* (S) “not at all” (cf. (b))
axča “so (preceding adjectives)” *illa* (S) “or”
axči “so much” *illah* “by all means”
axr “at last” *jaqin* (N) “surely”
bále “but” *jawaš, jawaš jawaš* “slowly, softly”
bās “only” *ki/. /* “why, don’t you see”
birdan “suddenly” *la* “not”
biš “more (preceding adjectives and
zóda – see (2) (c)) *lwa* “inside”
naxirda (N) “finally”

- čoktan* “a long time ago”
drang (S) “late”
gahtanbir “from time to time”
geč (N) “late”
ɣde “(only as axis of prepositions)
“one another”
hájjo (S and arch.) “quickly, soon”
här “always”
- (d) (i) *free forms*:
agär “if; when (Ši)”
- dagana* (Ši) “or else”
gid (arch.) “that (obj. and relat.), if”
häm ...häm “both ...and”
här “when” (cf. above (c))
ja ...ja “either ...or”
- (ii) *bound forms*:
-ikän “-wise”
-inän “with, and”
-š (following V) ~ -iš (N ~ -ši) (following C) “too, also, and (contrastive); as for; now”
- (e) *aj* “oh”
ah ~ *ax* “oh”
bäle (cf. (a)) “oh yes”
e “yes”
eh “oh well”
ej “o” (voc.)
- (2) *Complex forms* (see (1) (a)).
- (a) *ma-* (with shortening of the base vowel + *j* (unique morpheme) → *mäj* “what”, (used only before equationed copula: *mäj wéle* “what was it”, and with pronominal suffixes [see end of paragraph]).
ma + *-ni* (special morpheme or morpheme group) → *máni* “who”.
- (b) *áxxa* ~ *háxxa* (see (c) (i)) with shift of stress, “such (a)” *e-* (special interrogative morpheme) + *-mn-* (allomorph of the prepositional base *min(n)-* “of, from”) + the unstressed personal pronominal relational suffix of the 3d p. pl. → *émnu* “which”; the suffix varies freely with the (usually verbal) plural indicator *-i* → *émni*; this form has again a free variant with replacement of the prepositional base final *-n* by zero → *émi*.
- häm* (see (1) (d) (i)) + *-an* ~ *-un* (unique suffixes) → *haman* ~ *hamun* “the same”.
kull- (bound base “totality”) + pers. pron. relat. suff. of the 3d p. pl. → *kullu* (S)
~ + sing. indicator *-a* → *kulla* (N) “all”.
- ondan* (S) “then”
tardol (N) “last year”
tez “quickly, soon”

tímmal “yesterday”
xánči “a little”
xáni (S) “blessed be”;

jan “or”

jóxsan (N) “or else”
ki “that” (rel. and obj.)

mar (syntactically enclitic form of the imperative sg. of O-m-r “say”) “let...”

wa- (arch.); *w-* (N) ~ *u-* (S) (in utterance initial and after word juncture preceded by C); *-w* (in N and S) after word juncture preceded by V “and”;

jéna (N) “what’s his name”
malum “certainly”
la (cf. (a)) “no”
néjsa “however!”
waj “woe!”

kull- (with replacement of base final CC by zero) + relat. suff. -d → kud “every”.
 xe (impersonal adjectival pronominal base) + -t (unique morpheme) → xet “another”.

xe- extended by -n + (usually verbal) plural indicator -i → xéni (arch.) “others”.

(c) (i) with adverbial unstressed suffix -a:

att- (unique base) + suff. → átta “now”.

axx- (S; N only in utterance medial) ~ haxx- (N in utterance initial) ~ hatx- (arch.) (unique allomorphic bases) + suff. → áxxa ~ háxxa ~ hátxa “thus”.

bar (prepositional base; see 2.41) + suff. → bára “afterwards”.

gen- (unique base) + suff. → géna “again, still”.

hal (prepositional base) + suff. → hála “still, as yet”.

hãm + kin (unique morpheme) → hamkin “equally”.

haw- (Ši, unique base) + suff. → háwa “back”.

ilj- (unique base, preceded by the prepositional allomorphic base l-) + suff. → lílja “above”.

qam- (prepositional base) + suff. → qáma “forward”.

rab- (cf. {rab+t+a} “great (f.)”) + suff. → rába “greatly, much, very”.

tixj- (unique base) + suff. → tíxja “below”.

zód- (base derived from the root-morpheme z-j/O-d “increase”) + suff. → zóda “more”.

(ii) with other suffixes:

amret (inflected form of the verb O-m-r “you (sg.m.) might say”) “as if, seemingly”.

axr (cf. (1) (c)) + unique suffix -da (N) ~ -inda (S) → axrda (N) ~ axrinda (S) finally”.

hála (see above (i)) + g (unique suffix) → halag “meanwhile”.

hãm (see (1) (d) (i)) + -ni (unstressed unique suffix, but cf. (1) (c) hawni) → hãmni “alike”.

bahr- (base derived from the root-morpheme b-h-r “be light (opp. to “dark”)” + -o (unique unstressed suffix) → báhro “the day after tomorrow”.

bahur- (base of bahur+a “light (adj.) with shift of stress to the initial syllable) + -o → báhuro “two days from tomorrow”

na- (privative prefix) + qafildan (unique morpheme or morpheme-group) → naqafildan “suddenly, unexpectedly”.

xa (numeral base “one”) + -š (see (1) (d) (i)) → xaš “again, once more”.

xe- (cf. (1) (b)) + -n (unique morpheme) → xen “(any) more, else; well... (preceding hesitation pause)”.

(d) aj + relational suffix it/id → ajit/d (arch.) “that (relat. and obj.), who, which”.

čun- (unique morpheme) + ki (see (1) (d) (i), unstressed) → čúnki “for, because”.

(f) bi- (prepositional base) + -lla (unique morpheme) → billa “by God”.

wa- (see (1) (d) (ii)) + *allah* (allomorph of -lla) → *wallah* “by God”.

(3) *Compound forms.*

(a) no instances.

- (b) *jur* (nominal base “kind, sort”, repeated and disjoined by the preposition *ba-*) → *jurbaĵur* “all sorts of”.
- jur* preceded by *ja* and *o* (demonstrative pronouns), unstressed → *jájur* “this way” and *ójur* “that way”.
- jwe* (see (1) (b) + *xet* (see (2) (b) (unstressed) → *jwéxet* “a different (one), different (ones)”.
- o* (demonstrative pronoun “that”) + *xet* → *oxet* “the other”.
- ojne* (S) ~ *une* (N) (“those”) + *xet* → *ojnexet* (S) ~ *unexet* (N) “the others”.
- xa* (cf. (1) (b) + *xet* → *xaxet* “another”.
- (c) *aj* (pronominal base “this”) + *šat-* (base of {*šat*+*a*} “year”) (unstressed) → *ájšat* “this year”.
- axči* (see above (1) (c) + *-n* (unique suffix) → *axčin* (Ši) “as much as”.
- ba-* (prepositional base) + *ma* (see (1) (a)) (unstressed) → *báma* “why”. In Ši /-m/ is replaced by zero → *báa*.
- baqat-* (unique morpheme, see 2.11.3 (2)) + *-t-* (feminine indicator?) + *a* → *baqatta* “tomorrow”.
- bál-* base of *bále* (cf. (1) (i) with elision of base final) + *ki* (see (1) (d) (ii)) *bál* → *ki* “maybe, perhaps”.
- be* (prepositional base “without”) + *fisse* “money” → *be-fisse* “gratis”.
- be* “ “ “ + *had* “limit” → *be-had* “exceedingly”.
- In S, *be* has usually the allomorph *me* → *me-had*.
- hal* (prepositional base, repeated and disjoined by the preposition *ba-*) → *halbahal* “immediately”.
- hām* (see (1) (d) (i)) + *meša* (unique morpheme or morpheme-group) → *hammeša* (N) “always”.
- gol* (unique base) + *bara* (see (2) (c) (i)) → *golbára* “back”.
- ho-* (unique base) + *ile* “he is” → *hójle* (S) ~ *húle* (N) “behold (him)”.
- ho-* “ “ + *ila* “she is” → *hójla* (S) ~ *húla* (N) “behold (her)”.
- ho-* “ “ + *ilu* “they are” → *hójlu* (S) ~ *húlu* (N) “behold (them)”.
- i-* (allomorph of *e-*, cf. above (b)) + *ma* (see (1) (a)) (unstressed) + *-n* (unique suffix) → *íman* “when”.
- id-* (special base) + *jom-* (base of *jom*+*a* “day” (unstressed) with elision of base final in S → *ídjom* (N) → *ídjo* (S) “today”.
- id-* “ “ + *lel-* (base of *lel*+*e* “night”) (unstressed) → *ídlel* “tonight”.
- ja-* (demonstrative pronoun “this”) + *za* (base of {*za*+*a*} “time (recurrent”)) (unstressed) → *jáza* (N) “then”.
- je-* (allomorph of the demonstrative pronoun *ja* “this”?) + *za-* → *jéza* “so (consecutive)”.
- ki-* (unique base) + *ma*, with allomorphic reduplication of base initial → *kimma* “how much/many, a few”.
- l-* (allomorphic prepositional base + *áxxa* (see (2) (c) → *láxxa* “here, hither”.
- l-* “ “ “ + *e-* (see above (b) + *ka* (special adverbial

- al base, unstressed) → léka “where, whither”.
- l- „ „ „ + e- + gab- (base of gab + a “side, direction”, unstressed) → légab “in which direction”.
- l- + interrogative morpheme e + ka (unstressed) → léka “where, whither”.
- l- + the demonstrative pronoun o “that” + ka (unstressed) → lóka “there, thither”.
- m- (allomorphic prepositional base “from”) + áxxa → máxxa “hence”.
- m- + a (allomorph of the demonstrative pronoun aj “this”) + gab “side, direction” (unstressed) → mágab “hence”, from this direction”.
- m- + e + gab (unstressed) → mégab “from which direction”.
- m- + e + ka (unstressed) → méka “whence”.
- m- + o + gab (unstressed) → mógab “thence, from that direction”.
- m- + o + ka (unstressed) → móka “thence”.
- ma- (cf. (1) (a)) + to (unique morpheme, unstressed) → máto “how”.
- lalu- (unique morpheme or morpheme group) + -mmal the latter part of the morpheme timmal (see (1) (c)), (unstressed) → lalúmmal “the day before yesterday”.
- šit- (bound base of {šat+a} with relational suffix -it and replacement of the sequence /-at-/ by zero) + qel (allomorph of the prepositional base qamol with replacement of the sequence /-amo-/ by /-e-/), unstressed → šítqel “last year”.
- šwa (S) ~ ušwa (N) “week” + xet (see (2) (b) (unstressed) → šwáxet (S) ~ ušwáxet (N) “last week”.
- za- (bound base of {za+a} “time (recurrent)” + xet (unstressed) → záxet “last time”.

The following particles take the relational suffix -it/-id (following C in base final) ~ -t/d (following V in base final): kimmit/d “as much as”, lékit/d “where(ever)”, lókit/d “(there) where”, mókit/d “whence(ever)”; čúnkit (preceding redundant kí) “because”, mat/d “what(ever)”, mánit/d “who(ever)”, mátot/d “just as”, emnit ~ émit/d “which-ever”.

māj “what” takes unstressed personal pronominal relational suffixes; májjox? “what is the matter with you (sg.m.)?”, ba-májjan ile? “what do we need it for?”.

rába “much” (extended by -j) and xánči “a little, a few” take personal pronominal relational suffixes in the pl.: *rabajan* “many/most of us”, xančju “a few of them”.

3 SYNTAX

3.0 TYPES OF SENTENCES

The maximal (syntactic) free form is a *sentence* (S).

There are three major types of sentences: the non-essential parts of which are indicated by square brackets]:

(1) the *actor-action* S: $[NP_s +] + VP$, where NP_s = a phrase having as its head a noun (for one of its substitutes) and functioning as subject, and VP = a phrase having as its head a finite verb.

(2) the *equational* S: $[NP_s +] (NP_c + EqV)$, where NP_s is defined as in (1), NP_c = a nominal phrase functioning as predicative complement, and EqV = a finite form of the equational copular verb h-w-j/O “be”. NP_c can be replaced by one of the particles listed in sections (c) of 3.6 or by a prepositional construction.

(3) the *existential* S: $NP_s + ExVP$, where NP_s is defined as in (1), and ExVP = a phrase having as its head the existential copular semi-verb it- (merging in certain aspects with forms of h-w-j/O).

All types of sentences may be preceded or followed by minimal forms belonging to different morphological classes, acting as qualifiers of the entire S.

A S is *complex*, when it contains a subsidiary S (*clause*), functioning as substitute for one of its essential parts or as qualifier of their heads.

A S is *compound*, when it consists of two or more autonomous sentences connected with each other by certain particles of the type described in sections (c) of 2.6, or by a certain type of juncture intonation (see 4.22.2(4)).

There are further *minimal* sentences, consisting of a single minimal form or a construction not constituting a S.

In the following the essential phrases will be discussed first. VP will in this connection subsume also $(NP_c + EqV)$, and ExVP.

3.1 PHRASES

3.11 *The nominal phrase (NP)*

3.11.1 The head (H) of a NP may belong to one of the following morphological classes: nouns (including substantives, adjectives and verbal nouns, cardinal nu-

merals, personal demonstrative pronouns, and the particles listed in sections (a) of 2.6.

There may be more than one H, each belonging to one of the categories listed above and following one another

(1) syndetically – being disjoined by *w-* and allomorphs or *-inān* (see 2.6 (1) (d) (ii)).

Examples: axxonawew *w-xalunjew* (N) ~ axonawew *u-xalunjew* (S) “his brothers and sisters”, *lal u-ḡawahirat* “precious stones and jewels”, *ičči-w tre* “92”, *gora-w baxta* ~ *gorá-inān baxta* “man and wife”, *sotéw-inān sonew* “his grandparents <his-grandmother-and his-grandfather>”.

Where there are more than two numeral heads, only the last two are connected by *w-*: *trémme arbi-w taha* “243”, *xamšalpe ištámme-w čča* “569”.

(2) asyndetically

(a) in free – and more frequent – variation with the construction described in (1).

Examples: *dadi dai* (N) ~ *babi dai* (S) “my parents <my-father my-mother>”, *hatan kalo* (N) “the bridegroom [and] the bride”, *dehwe xšilta* “pieces of gold [and] jewelry”, *lal, ḡawahirate, briljande, fisse, dehwe* (N) “precious stones, jewels, diamonds, money [and] pieces of gold”.

In *pilga* “half” following *sata* “hour” (in the sg. or pl.), the singular indicator *-a* is replaced by *-e*: *sata pilge* “(one) hour [and] a half”, *arba sate pilge* “four hours [and] a half”.

(b) in idiomatic constructions, where the second member frequently represents a unique form.

Examples: *belew bnew* “his household <his-house his-household>”, *dabre diqqe* “household goods <maintainances mercery-goods>”, *dewe dibbe* “wild beasts <wolves bears>”, *gisa ḡihja* “worn out <tired weary>”, *lixme ixale* “different kinds of food <breads foods>”, *mad mahtal* “greatly upset <upset confused>”, *našu nišwu* their kith and kin <their-people their-women (? arch, ?)>, *nare šaḡe* “loud clamour <shouts + ?>”. *qaše daše* “precious stones <precious stones + stones>”, *šule wale* “matters <matters + ?>”, *šinne šate* “ages (two different allomorphs of ‘years’, the second occurring only in this construction)”, *la timma la tara* “no taste whatever <no taste no ?>”, *wazir wakil* “dignitaries <minister lieutenant>”.

A special construction is the repetition of a noun with replacement of its first phoneme by /*m-*/; this construction has a connotation of vagueness or pejoration.

Examples: *damure mamure* “pieces of iron and the like”, *fisse misse* “the (miserable) money”. For other repetitive constructions see 3.12.1 (3).

3.11.2 The *qualifiers* (Q) of H may be adjectives, substantives, verbal nouns, numerals, demonstrative pronouns, lexically specified particles – alone or with subsidiary qualifiers –, prepositional constructions, constructions with *aj* or (aj) *did-*, verbal phrases and clauses.

3.11.21 Q = *adjective* functioning as attribute. The word order is immaterial. The Q agrees with the H in gender and number.

(1) concord in *gender*. The gender of the H – and consequently of the Q – can be determined either structurally or – in some cases – lexically.

(a) structurally, a substantival head is masculine, unless

(i) the feminine indicator *-t-* or one of its allomorphs is affixed to its (bound) base: *gilasta smuqta* “the red cherry”, *zúrta xaluntu* “their youngest <small> sister”, *salda mlita* “the full basket”, *pisxanula rabta* “great joy”, *xalta kalo* (S) ~ *kalo* (N) “(the) new bride”.

(ii) the (bound) base final is */-t/*: *xilta rabta* “a great error”, *zúrta nuqta* “a small drop”.

(iii) the free base final ends in */-i/* (generally) or in one of the sequences */-it/*, */-et/*, */-at/*, */-l̥y/* or */-luy/*: *rabta haslait* “a/the great income”, *gami jarixta* “the long ship”, *atuqta čaket* “the old jacket”, *twirta qanat* “the broken wing”; *xalta jal̥y* “the new kerchief”.

Exceptions: *maslahat* “advice”, *swat* (S) ~ *sfat* (N) “countenance”.

(iv) one of the derivative suffixes *-i*, *-istan*, *-xana* is affixed to the base: *xlita šalomi* “sweet peace”, *sqilta hindistan* “beautiful India”, *frita diwanxana* “the spacious audience-hall”.

For the concord of Q with a gerundial H see 3.21.2.

(b) lexically, all nouns other than those described in (a) are feminine if they denote female beings: *daa* (S) ~ *daa* (N) *rahmanta* “the compassionate mother”, *sqilta murjam* “beautiful Miriam”, *kumta madjan* “the black mare”; *izza* (S) ~ *geči* (N) *xwarta* “the white goat”. The gender of all other nouns is distributed largely at random.

Examples: *jarixta wirxu* “their long (f.) way”, *xiškanta meša* “the dark (f.) forest”, *zóra mala* (S) ~ *mala* (N) “the small (m.) village”, *zúrta olka* “the small (f.) town”.

Nouns of a common gender are: *naš(a)* “person”, *insan* ~ *banadam* “human being”, *hajata* “tailor, dressmaker”, *xalifa* “teacher”, *ustad* “title of learned person”, *ribbi* – the same with religious connotation; and all compounds with *mare-*: *mare-dolta* “rich”, *mare-makre* “gossip (pers.)”.

A noun of ambiguous gender in Nis zaqqara: *zóra zaqqara* “the small (m.) weaver” – *zúrta zaqqara* “the small (f.) spider”.

On the neutralization of gender in adjectives see 2.12.3.

Examples: *qalaw* (m.) *xoš* (S) “her pleasant voice”, *xoš hawa* (f.) “fine weather”, *kodinta* (f.) *čolay* (S) “the lame mule”, *góra čolay* “the lame man”, *trosa xabra* (m.) “a true word”, *trosa maase* (f.) “a true story”.

(2) concord in *number*.

Examples: *rakixe gille* “soft grass (pl.)”, *špire mindixane* (S) ~ *šbire mindiyane* (N) “nice things”, *plime mixe* (N) “crooked nails”, *xriwe šule* “bad actions”.

On the neutralization of number in adjectives see 2.12.1 *in fine*.

Examples: *kor enaw* “her blind eyes”, *ɟwan ixale* “good food (pl.)”, *mare-aql naše* “clever people”.

More than one adjectives qualifying one H are generally disjoined by the latter: *ɟwan ɟullew jašil* “his handsome green clothes”, *zúrta tkana šušaband* “a small glass-covered shop”.

3.11.21.1 The adjective may in its turn be qualified by:

(1) specified particles:

Examples: *ma ɟwan xulma* “what a good dream”; *biš krita wirxa* “a shorter <more short> way”, *axča sqilta baxča* “such a <so-much> beautiful garden”, *xánči snita brata* “a somewhat <a-little> ugly girl”, *raba xriwa naš* “a very bad man/woman”.

The construction with *biš* “more” may be preceded by a prepositional construction with a personal pronominal relational suffix as its axis: *minnox biš zudda naše* “men braver than you (m. sg.) <than-you more brave men>”, *minnan biš bassor nase* “people more destitute than we <than-we more lacking people>”.

(2) by a prepositional construction with *ba-* with a gerund as its axis, preceding the adjective: *ba-taltoa šbire (N) naše* “people good for hanging”, *ba-šatua xriwe mae (S)* “water bad for drinking”.

(3) rarely – by a noun with personal pronominal relational suffix agreeing in number and gender with the adjective, which it follows: *kepe jaqure qimtu* “valuable stones <stones precious (pl.) their-value>”.

3.11.22 Q = demonstrative pronoun preceding H (alone or qualified by an adjective).

Examples: *ja (N: ~ a) ~ ajja (arch.) bela* “this house”, *(ɟ)ajne (N: ~ ane) siwe* “these pieces of wood”, *o qalín lula* “that thick roll”, *ojne (S) ~ une (N)* bee “those eggs”.

3.11.23 Q = one of the *particles* listed in sections (b) as well as some of the particles listed in sections (c) of 3.6 functioning as attributes. The Q precedes – or rarely follows – the H (alone or qualified by adjective). The particles *kumma* “some” and *xánči* “a little” may, in their turn, be qualified by the particle *xa* “a”.

Examples: *émi sudra* “which (kind of) shirt”, *haman ~ hamun olka* “the same city”, *ɟwéxet aman* “a different tool”, *kud zaa* “every time”, *kullu (S) ~ kulla (N)* *šata* “all the year”, *oxet joma* “the next day”, *ojnexet nokārawew (S)* “his other servants”, *imma-w čči xet* “another 190”, *xa sepa atuqta* “an old sword”, *xa kodinta čolay (S)* “a lame mule”, *xaxet otay* “another room”; *ma kepe* “what stones”; *axča naše* “so many people”, *axxa šule wale* “such <thus> matters”, *heč mindiy (N) ~ hič mindix (S)* “not a thing, nothing”, *heč (N) ~ hič (S) naš* “no one, nobody”, *xánči fisse* “(a) little money”; *xa áxxa naš* “such a person <a thus person>”, *xa kimma xabre* “a few words <a how-much words>”, *xa xánči lixma* “a little bread”.

Actor nouns may be qualified (a) either by one of the particles *láxxa* “here”, *lóka* “there”, *lílja* “above”, *tíxja* “below”: *lóka hawjane* “those present there <there be-ers>”, or (b) by the same particles following them, in which case the base of the H takes the relational suffix *-it/-id*: *samxanit tíxja* “the one/those standing below <stander(s)-of below>”.

3.11.24 Q = *numeral* preceding H. The H (and its adjectival Q) agree with cardinal numerals from 2 on in number (but cf. 3.11.25 (c)).

Examples: tunnu bronawew “both his sons”, *tahamnu* blanawe (S) “all three girls” (cf. 3.11.25 (1) (b)), tre *čapilaye* qiwje “two sound boxes on the ear”, tre *čiqje* došage “two torn mattresses”, tressar jwanqe sqile “twelve handsome young men”.

Cardinal numerals may in their turn be qualified (a) by the adjective *bassor* “less”, followed by another cardinal numeral functioning as predicative complement: *išta bassor* tre “six less two”, or (b) by the participle *pilje* “divided (pl.)”, followed by a prepositional construction with *b-* having another cardinal numeral as its axis: *isri pilje b-arba* “twenty divided by two”.

Ordinal numerals equally precede the H: *awwalim zaa* “the first time”, *awwal kasi* “my first child <womb>”, *tahamin* (S) ~ *tahaminji* (N) *joma* “the third day”; this construction has a free – and more frequent – variant in that described in 3.11.25 (2).

3.11.25 Q = *substantive noun*.

The Q may function

(1) as substitute for H, in which case both nouns are in apposition.

(a) the Q as a patronymic or family name follows H denoting a given name.

Examples: *šalom lewi* “Shalom (son of) Levi”, *tamar kohen* “Tamar Cohen”, *warda mordux* “Warda (daughter of) Mordecai”.

(b) Q denoting a title or degree of parentage precedes the H.

Examples: *ayaan šultana* “our lord the king”, *axoni* (S) ~ *axxoni* (N) *frájim* “my brother Ephraim”, *kalo* (S) ~ *kalo* (N) *rahel* “Mrs. <bride> Rachel”, *amti riwqa* “my (paternal) aunt Rebecca”, *malim josef* “the teacher Joseph”, *ribbi hawa* “Rabbi Eve”, *mirza mahmud* “Mirza Mahmud”.

The word order is reversed with specific titles of Moslems (*except* *mirza*, see above): *ahmad aya* “Ahmed Agha”, *bejan bāg* “Bejan Bek”, *ali paša* “Ali Pasha”, *zejnab xanim* “Miss/Mrs. Zeineb”.

(c) Q as the nominal base *kull-* “totality”, and as the numerals with a personal pronominal relational suffix with *-j-* follows the H.

Examples: *ahra kullaw* “the whole city <city its-totality>”, *axni kullan* “we all <we our-totality>”; *ajne talme ištaju* “(all) six of these jars” (cf. 3.11.24).

(d) Q as specification – denoting weight, measures etc. and usually qualified in its turn by a cardinal numeral – precedes H.

Examples: *xa danka baxta* “one woman, a certain woman <one unit woman>”, *tre daste julle* “two sets [of] clothes”, *taha salxume basire* “three bunches [of] grapes”, *arba gaze awrúšum* “four ells [of] silk”, *isra tene dehwa* “ten loads [of] gold”, *kimma bate hudae* “a few Jewish houses [some houses Jews]”.

Certain constructions with numerals in apposition to nouns, such as *šata tressar jarxe* “a twelvemonth <year twelve months>”, *sata tressar* “twelve o'clock <hour twelve>”,

naša tre reše “the two-headed man <person two heads>” vary freely with the construction described below (2).

(2) as attribute. In this case the Q follows the H, the base of which takes the relational suffix -it or one of its allomorphs. The noun as a Q may in this case be substituted by one of the forms listed in 3.11.1.

Examples: bron ičči šinne “a man 60 years old <son-of sixty years>”, dadit d-ane *jale* (N) “the father of these children”, baxtid d-aj “the wife of this [man]”, belit máni “whose house <house-of who>”, aqirwit mola “near death <near-of death>”, sqiltit niše “[the most] beautiful of women”, *lqittit lal u-jawahir* “inlaid (f.) with <of> precious stones and jewels”, *mlittit pra* (S) “full of earth”, gorit tre reše “the man of two heads” (cf. above (1)), *satit tressar* “twelve o’clock <hour-of twelve>” (cf. above (1)).

This construction is the usual one if the Q is an ordinal numeral: jomit tremin (S) ~ treminji (N) “the second day”, jalid (S) ~ *jalid* (N) isri “the twentieth child”, *otayit tahamin* “the third room”, belid arbi-w xa “the fourty-first house”.

When there are more than one H relating to the same Q, both heads take the relational suffix: idid rešid goraw “the hands and head of her husband <hands-of head-of her-husband>”, našit xizmawit *hatan* “the family and relations of the bridegroom <people-of relations-of bridegroom>”.

If the H is qualified by an adjective, the latter agrees with it in number and gender, except when both H and its nominal qualifier both denote inanimate objects, in which case the adjective agrees in gender with Q.

Examples: bratit *šultana zúrta* “the youngest princess <daughter-of king small (f.)>”, ilanit kitwe zóra “a small thorn-bush <tree-of thorns small (m.)>”, bronawit *tajír riwwe* “the grown-up <big (pl.)> sons of the merchant”, *qittit dehwa riwwa* “a/the large piece of gold <piece (f.)-of gold (m.) large (m.)>”.

(3) as object of H = agent-noun or gerund. The order is Q + H.

Examples: masje doqana “fisherman <fishes catcher>”, ixala bašlana “cook (m.) <food cooker (m.)>”, xazna ganwana “the robber of the treasury <treasury stealer>”, naše mašlfana “deceiver <people deceiver>”, ixala bašole cooking food <food cooking>”, julle masoe “washing clothes”, kirme *ljača* “treading upon worms <worms treading>”, *xaliče* zaqore “carpet weaving”.

This construction may be qualified by a further noun as described in (1): ixala bašlanit *sultana* “the king’s cook <food cooker-of king>”, and also function as qualifier of H = substantive in the manner described in (1): *wadit lixma ixala* “dinner time <time-of bread eating>”, belit ixala bašole “kitchen <house-of food cooking>”.

(4) as adverbial with H = agent-noun or gerund.

Examples: *janax damxana* “the man sleeping by your (sg.f.) side <your-side sleeper>”, *kništa ezane* “synagogue goers”, *midraš izala* “going to school <school going>”.

3.11.26 Q = *prepositional construction*

(1) functioning as attribute follows H, except when introduced by magon “like”, in which case the word order is immaterial.

Examples: xa m-nóši “I alone, by myself <one from-myself>” (and thus throughout the paradigm), arba b-taha “four by three”, máni minnan “who of us”, émni minnxun “which of you”, kud minnu “every one of them”; magonox *haside* “godly people like you (sg.m.) <like-you godly (pl.)>”.

(2) functioning as object or adverbial to H = verbal noun generally precedes H.

Examples: bar *mae* (S) balbole “looking for water <after water seeking>”, *il-šultana* abjana “he who wishes the king well <to-king liker (m.)>”, illi abjanat “to my liking (f.) <to-me liking>”, illan parqana “our saviour <to-us saver>”, illu xerane “those looking at them <to-them lookers>”, reš suse *rkiwa* ~ *rkiwa* reš suse “mounted upon a horse”, barew jarqane “those running after him <after-him runners>”; g-bela jatwane “those sitting in the house <in-house sitters>”, ixala bašlana ba-dadi (N) “the one who cooks for my father <cooker for-my-father food>”.

When the entire construction described qualifies a nominal H, the latter takes the relational suffix.

Examples: našit barew jarqane “his pursuers <people-that after-him runners>”, *jálit* (N) qamolu jatwana “the child(ren) sitting in front of them <child(ren)-that before-them sitter(s)>”.

The same is the case when the prepositional construction can be transformed into a VP of the type prepositional construction + EqV.

Examples: *ktabit* b-idew “the book in his hand” (→*ktabit* b-idew wéle “the book that was in his hand”), našit baru “the people behind them” (→nášit baru wélu “the people who were behind them”). Cf. 3.11.28.

3.11.26.1 Q = *construction introduced by aj* ~ i (ši) or (aj) did-, functioning as attribute.

Q follows H, which is a free form varying freely with base + relational suffix. This construction is a free variant of that described in 3.11.25 (2).

Examples: o *aya* ~ *ayáad* aj *ašqalon* “that lord of Ascalon”, *sabadja* i xamra (Ši) “a tub of wine”, malit i xaluntew (Ši) “his sister’s village <village-that belonging-to his-sister>”, tre beit aj daj gora “the two eggs belonging to this man”, gorit aj tre reše ~ gora aj tre reše “the man of two heads”, o gorit aj treminji (N) “that third man <that man who belonging-to third>”, pqar aj d-o gora “this man’s neck <neck-that belonging-to that man>”, tkit aqla aj naš “human footprints <places-of foot belonging-to person>”, kpanaw aj *rast*, aj *čap* (N) “her right, left shoulder <her-shoulder belonging-to right, left>”, jullit *šultanula* ~ *šultanulit* aj didew “his royal clothes <clothes-of royalty <[that] belonging to him>”.

In rare cases H with a personal pronominal relational suffix of the 3. p. appositionally by a construction with aj: tarew aj d-o gora “that man’s gate <his-gate of that man>”.

When the NP functions as predicative complement to an EqV, its H may be replaced by zero if qualified by a construction with *aj*.

Examples: *aj dew* “belonging to an ogre”, *aj arbi* “the 40th”, *aj šabbat (N)* “belonging to, worn, eaten on, the Sabbath”.

3.11.27 Q = VP functioning as attribute. The Q follows the H, which is (a) a free form in free variation with (b) base + relational suffix. In the first case Q is introduced by the particle *ki* “that”; in the second case – which represents the only variant when the H is, or is qualified by, *ma* “what”, *máni* “who”, *émni* “which”, *waxt* ~ *wada* “(the) time” or a lexeme denoting a unit of time – Q is introduced by zero or *ki* in free variation. On the behaviour of the verb in the Q see 3.12.21 (1) (b), (3) (b), and 3.12.22.

The constructions are as described in 3.11.27 (a).

Examples: (a) *xa jahil jwanqa, ki atta matóje (S)* “a young man who has just reached maturity <now is-arriving>”; *haman meša, ki minnaw siwe qarpsíwa* “the same wood from which they used to gather wood <which from it (f.) they etc.>”; *kud otay, ki itwa g-belew* “every room <that> there was in his house”; *xa din, ki la jillane pašatew*, “any (canonical) law we are not able to explain <a law that not we-knew its-decision>”.

(b) *mad lazím wéle ba-ixala* “what was necessary for eating”, *šátit adja* “the coming year <year-that comes>”, *ma wádit idjéle láxxa* “any time he comes here <what time-that he-came here>”, *kud jomit ilha birjille* “every single day <every day-that God has-created>”, *o našit tímmal gáli wéle* “the man who was with me yesterday”, *kawódit illi la mate* “an honour to which I am not entitled <honour-that to-me not comes>”; *górit bronew qtilwale* “the man whose son he had killed <man-that his son he-had-killed>”; *une našit ki nóšu maxwénila rába šbire (N)* “those people who pretend to be very good <those people-that their-self show-it very good (pl.)>”, *o gorit ki il-do baxta abo wélella ba-nóšew* “that man who was wanting that woman for himself”, *o brátit ki midjáwalu gálew* “that girl whom they had brought along with him <that girl-who they-had-brought-her with-him>”.

3.11.28 Q = clause functioning as attribute.

The constructions are as described in 3.11.27(a).

Examples: *xa xabra ki naš la misse ódle* “a thing that no one can do <a thing that person not is-able he-may-do-it>”; *xa tka ki lóka zibla itwa* “a place where there was refuse <a place that there refuse there-was>”; *ja axxona (N) ki tre rešé-tte* “that brother who has two heads <that brother who two heads there-are-to-him>”, *kullu xabra ki mad b-rešew idjéle* “whatever came into his head <every thing that whatever in-his-head came>”.

3.12 Verbal phrases

3.12.1 There can be no more than one H to a VP, as a finite form of a verb may constitute a S of its own (cf. 3.0)

3.12.2 The H may be *qualified* by a NP, a particle, a prepositional construction, a gerundival construction, a subsidiary VP or a clause.

3.12.21 Q = NP.

(1) functioning as object. The Q generally precedes the H.

(a) the H of the Q phrase is qualified by a numeral or by *xa* “a(n)”, *xaxet* “another”, *xánči* “a little, a few”, *kimma* “some”, or is itself a numeral or a lexeme denoting a non-numerable substance or abstract notion.

Examples: *xa šula widet?* “have you (sg.m.) done any ⟨a⟩ work?; *tre päre mqilla* (S) “she burnt two feathers”; *išwa irbe šqul* “buy seven sheep” (S); *xa talma mdimun* “bring (pl.) a pitcher”; *xaxet xlula godex* “we shall make another wedding”; *xánči mae mdi* (S) “bring a little water”; *imma-w čči xet imbula* “take along another 190”; *dugla maret* “you (sg.m.) are lying ⟨lie you-are-saying⟩”; *duša zinqira rešew* “she poured (some) honey over it”; *mindix* (S) *la mditan* “I (f.) have not brought anything ⟨thing not I (f.)-have-brought⟩”; *šula bilbille* “he looked for work ⟨work he-sought⟩”; *jwan tima hwillu* “they offered ⟨gave⟩ [a] good price”.

Reversed order: *btulun minnew duša* “pour (pl.) some honey out of it ⟨empty (pl.) from-it honey⟩”.

(b) The H of the Q phrase is a name, or is qualified by a demonstrative pronoun or by a personal pronominal relational suffix or by *kulla* (N) ~ *kullu* (S) “all”(or rarely by *xa*“a(n)”), or by a noun functioning as adjective, as object or as adverb (3.11.25 (2) – (4)), or is determined by the context. In this case the H of the VP generally has a personal pronominal objective suffix cross-referring to the H of the Q phrase.

When *ma*, *máni* and *émni* are qualified by a VP or a clause, the verb in the latter is in the aorist of the projective mood of the imperfective aspect in free variation with the preterite of the perfective aspect or the present of the resultative aspect, except when denoting and event in the past. *máni* and *kud* are cross-referred to the verb of the Q phrase by a pronominal objective suffix of the 3d p. sg. or pl. in free variation: *mánit xazitte* ~ *xazittu* “whomever you (sg. m.) see ⟨you-might-see-him ~ them⟩” (cf. 3.12.21 (1) (b)); *kud minnu drile* ~ *drílu* “put each of them ⟨each of them put it ~ them⟩”.

Examples: *ajne talme ištaju jájur widíla* “she did thus with all the six pitchers ⟨these pitchers six-of-them this way she-made-them⟩”; *talmax intíle* “take your (sg.f.) pitcher ⟨your-pitcher take-it⟩”; *rešew diqnew garéwalu, simblew taríswalu* (S) “he used to shave his head and his beard and trim his moustache ⟨his-head his-beard he-used-to-shave them, his-moustaches he-used-to-trim-them⟩”; *xa tkew qitjinna* “(lest) I (m.) cut him in some place ⟨one his-place I-have-cut-it⟩”; *jalexun* (N) *gazrétunu?* “do you (pl.) circumcise your children ⟨your-children you-circumcise-them?⟩”; *dardi la kkítte* “you (sg.m.) do not know my trouble ⟨my-trouble not you-know-it⟩”; *kullu jwankit ahra sarxittu* “you (sg.m.) shall call all the young men of the city ⟨all young-men-of city you-shall-call-them⟩”;

ɸjalit xamra šatéla “he shall drink the goblet of wine <goblet-of wine he-shall-drink-it>”; *šul d-aj príqle* “arrange the matter of this woman <matter-of this-one finish-it>”; *nóšu hasid dóqla* “he considers himself a godly person <his-self godly he-holds-it>”; *xabuše qilpile* “he peeled the apples <apples he-peeled-them>”.

On the neutralization of the gender opposition in nouns with personal pronominal relational suffixes see 2.12.1 *in fine*: *daftárew pilxále ~ pilxíle* “he opened his ledger(s) <his-ledger he-opened-it ~ his ledgers he-opened-them>”.

Less frequently the H of the VP contains no cross-reference to the H of the Q: *ɸirčew jarixa mixwéle* “he showed his long hair”; *salmáw-iš la mixwélu* “but they did not show her face”; *šméle kullu xabraw (S)* “he heard all her words”.

On the other hand, the pronominal object of the verb may be referred to appositionally by a noun at the end of the VP.

Examples: *srixlele bronew* “he called <-him> his son”; *intelále talma* she took <-it> the pitcher”; *xilbále qrawa* “he won <-it> the war”; *báma midjálox daox (N)?* “why did you (sg.m.) bring <-her> your mother?”.

The type of construction described in this section, which may alternatively be analysed as a complex sentence of the type described in 3.22.12, varies freely with that described in 3.12.23 (1).

(c) two direct objects – the first denoting a living being or part of the body, and the second a thing – qualify the verbs *h-w-l* “give”, *m-lb-š* “dress”, *m-l-p* “teach”, *m-st-j/o* “give to drink”, *m-x-l* “give-to drink”, *m-l-j/o* “fill”, *m-xw-j/O* “show”, and especially idiomatic verbs, only if

(i) the second object belongs to the category described above (a): *idew qiwta hwíle* “he made an effort <his-hands strength he-gave>”; *rešew durman gódwa* “he used to treat his head <his-head medicine he-used-to-make>”; *xasi lifka dhul* “rub my back with a loofah <my-back loofah strike>”, or

(ii) the first object is expressed by a personal pronominal objective suffix to the H of the VP: *taha ɸáre kwánox (S)* “I (f.) shall give you (sg.m.) three feathers”; *darzula malpítti* “you (sg.m.) shall teach me the tailor’s trade”; *ɸullit šultanula milbušúllu* “dress them [in] royal clothes”; *beli mixwíle* “show him my house”.

(2) functioning as predicative complement

(a) to lexically specified intransitive verbs, on which the word order depends:
h-w-j/O “be” is invariably preceded by Q: *bronóɸ-ilen* “I am your (sg.m.) son”; *gisté-lan* “I (f.) am tired”; *raba sqilta wéla* “she was very beautiful”; *enax basime hawe* “may your (sg. f.) eyes be well (answer to the expression of willingness to perform a service: *reš eni* “upon my eyes”); *bxiša hawet* “you (sg.m.) shall be excused”; *hazir kwa* “she/it (habitually) is, will be, read.

q-l-b “turn (into)” and *m-l-j/O* “fill (intr.)” invariably follow Q: *qlíbla brata* “she turned [into] a girl!”; *mléla behra* “it filled [with] light”.

x-d-r “become” is preceded by Q as member of an idiom or in passive construc-

tions; otherwise the word order is immaterial: *jim xadri* (S) “they (will, may) disappear”; *qitja xadir* “it will (may) be cut off”; *qurbanox xadran* “may I (f.) be your (sg.m.) sacrifice”; *qitte qitte xdíre* “he/it was broken into pieces <pieces pieces he-became>”; *xdíre tike tike* – same meaning; *xadret xa jahil jwanqa* “you (sg.m.) shall become a young man”; *xdíru sahle* “they bore witness <they-become witnesses>”; *aqirwe xdíru* “they drew <became> near”.

p-j/O-š “remain” is preceded or followed by Q in idiomatic variation: *mahtal pišle* ~ *pišle mahtal* “he was <remained> astonished”; *puš salomi* “farewell <remain peace>”.

(b) to the transitive verbs O-w-d “make”, m-ql-b “turn (into)”, m-l-j/O “fill”, p-l-t “make out” with personal pronominal objective suffixes. The word order is immaterial.

Examples: *widlele qitte qitte* “he broke it [into] pieces”; (w)údle xige (S) “make it [into] water-skins”; *šulax duz godinne* “I (m.) shall put your (sg.f.) matter right <your-matter right I-shall-put-it>”; *miqlibále (Ši) ~ miqlibále banadam* “he turned her [into] a human being”; *miljille ixala* “he has filled it [with] food”; *lal, jawahirate, briljande, dehwe miljile* (N) “he filled it [with] precious stones, jewels, diamonds (and) pieces of gold”; *plítule xajin* “they made him out a traitor”.

(3) functioning as adverbial

(a) local, if H of VP denotes motion or inessence (h-w-j/O “be”, j-t-w “sit(down)”, p-j/O-š “remain”). The word order is immaterial, but Q more frequently follows H. Examples: *idjéle qasr* “he came [to] the castle”; *zille šuqa* “he went [to] (the) market”; *b-ezil qrawa* “he is going (about to go) [to] war”; *gora xaxet la zilat?* “have you not been married to another man <man another not you-have-gone>?”; *imblílu gray jama* “he took them [to] the sea-shore”; *intílu xasox* “take them [on] your (sg.m.) back”; *díre tkew* “he returned [to] his place”; *dirjile bilwanew* (S) “he put them [in] his pocket”; *bela léwe* “he is not [at] home”; *jríqlu meša* “they ran [to] the forest”; *jtiw... amarta* “he was <is> sitting [in] a palace”; *idaw mdéla kasit masita* “she put <brought> her hand [into] the belly of the fish”; *mtéle ahra* “he arrived [to] the city”; *mtíwlele tkid wélu* “he put them in place <he-put-them place-that they-were>”; *pílle ara* “he fell [to] the ground”; *tka bi-tka pešet* “you (sg. m.) will remain where you are <place by-place you-will-remain>”; *tka bi-tka qímle* “immediately <place by-place> he rose”; *plítwa aw* “he had gone out [to] hunt (n.)”; *wíre otay* “he came [into] the room”.

Examples of verbal idioms: *qaribula zil* “he has gone to a strange land <strangeness he-has-gone>”; (*gal diyde*) *wirxa izalu* (N) “they get on (together) (together) way they-are-going”; *ašq pílen* “I (m.) have fallen [in] love”; *píllu taklif* “they took warning <they-fell warning>”; *pílle wirxa* “he set

out on his way <he-fell way>”; pille šula “he fell [to] work”; bali píllu “I remembered them <my-mind they-fell>”.

(b) temporal, if H of the Q phrase denotes “time” or a specified unit or period of time. Q invariably precedes H.

When the H of the waxt ~ *wada* “time”, the verb in the latter is in the aorist of the projective mood in free variation, unless denoting an action in the past.

Examples: *asr* mǐre “[in the] evening he said”; *bal* baqatjo qímle “early [in the] morning he rose”; *išta* jarxe gríšle “it lasted six months”; *o* joma kullew *rkiwlu* “all that day they rode on <that day its-totality they-rode>”; *o* lele *dmtxlu* “that night they went to sleep”; *pilgilléle* xa talis mindjélu “[at] midnight they threw a sack”; *taha* šinne jtíwlu galew “they remained with him for three years <three years they-sat with-him>”; *xaxet* šwa xlulu godex (S) “next week we shall arrange their wedding”; *waxtit* mjalew *m-olam* *srixlele* bronew “at the time of his death <time-of his-dying from-world> he called his son”; *waxtit* izalaw mispitállu lli “at the time she went <time-of her-going> she <has> handed them over to me”; *wadit* ajne bee hiwílox illi, gal kullu *baru* hawítu “when you (sg.m.) return me these eggs <time-that these eggs you-gave-them to-me>, you must return them with all their produce”; *zaane* raqli “(at) times they dance”; *dhillele* *taha* zae “he struck him three times”.

(c) modal. Word order immaterial, but more frequently Q precedes H.

Examples: (*ixala*) *qitra* kwišle “he could hardly swallow his food <(food) knot came-down>”; *geza*...elčula “she goes to arrange the match <she-goes errand>”; *zilexwa* šreta “we had gone [to] judgment”; *ksélula* kulla jandagaw (N) “they covered her whole body <they-covered-her all her-body>”; *m-girse-š* godi ójur “this dish can also be prepared from groats <from-groats-also they-make that way>”; *mar* peši galox amantit ilha “let them remain with you (sg. m.) in trust <let they-remain with-you trust-of God>”; *o* lele *mazzalit* daj gora xaznit šultana ginwáwalu (N) “it had happened that on that night the king’s treasury had been robbed <that night luck-of this man treasury-of king they-had-stolen-it>”.

This construction is particularly frequent

(i) when H of Q is an adjective or a numeral, which is often repetitive.

Examples: *jigranta* plítla “she went out in anger <angry (f.)>”; *jwan* mibríqlele “he polished it well <good he-polished-it>”; *šúqune* tiltje “leave it hanging <hanged>”; *xdir-wa* xala “he had just been born <he-had-been-born new>”; *xala* jdíltátte? “have you given birth to him recently <new you-have born-him>?”; *dajqe* *dajqe* *qatqílu* “they are minced very fine <fine fine (pl.) they-mince-them>”; *harzan* *harzan* šqíllanu “we bought them very cheap <cheap cheap we-bought-them>”; *danka* *danka* daftare pilxílu “they opened the ledgers one by one <unit unit ledgers they-opened-them>”; *taha* *taha* idjélu “they came three by three <three three

they-came>”); *jsiqle šimme wiša wiša* “he ascended to heaven and came down with empty hands <he-ascended heaven dry dry>”; *xa xa intjilu* “they took them one [by] one”.

(ii) in verbal idioms.

Examples: *xoš gde* (S) “is pleasing <pleasant comes>”; *karām widále* (“he gave it as a present <present he-made-it>”); *taaddula wídlóxa* “you (sg.m.) did it on purpose <bad-intention you-did-it>”; *dena ntélilu* “I borrowed them <debt I-took-them>”; *graw hwíllale* “she pawned it <pawn she-gave-it>”; *ijara ntjilu* “they rented them <rent they-took-them>”; *ijara kwíttu* “you (sg.m.) will rent them <rent you-will-give-them>”; *pílle káf* “it foamed <it-fell foam>”; *pílle naxoš* “he fell ill”.

(d) as specification.

Examples: *taha tabaqe tamret* “you (sg.m.) will sink three layers [deep]; *imma qate m-mošé zodé-len* “I (m.) excel Moses a hundred times <hundred folds than-Moses more-I-am>”; *jiqrew dehwa hol* “give me its weight in gold <its-weight gold give>”; *išta alpe dehwe šqíllele* “he bought it [for] 6000 pieces of gold”; *tralpe kwínnox xa kepa* “I (m.) will pay you (sg.m.) 2000 apiece <2000 I-will-give-you a stone>”.

3.12.22 Q = *particle* of the type described in sections (c) of 2.6, and also *kimma* “how much”, functioning as adverbials.

When *íman* “when” and *kimma* are qualified by a VP or a clause, the verb in the latter is in the aorist of the projective mood of the imperfective aspect in free variation with the preterite of the perfective aspect, unless denoting and action in the past. The same is true with regard to the H of the central VP when preceded by *bálki* “maybe”.

In specific questions and when the Q = *axči* “so much” or *xa* “just”, Q precedes H. Examples: *báma djélox?* “why did you (sg.m.) come?”; *máto xadír?* “how is this possible?”; *méka welu ajne gebox?* “where do you (sg.m.) have these from?”; *axči bxélu* “they wept so much”; *xa smux xanči* “just wait a little”; *kimma šaqlittu?* “[for] how much will you (sg.m.) buy them?”.

Otherwise the word order depends on the relative emphasis.

Examples: *smux láxxa!* “stand here!”; *láxxa ma wadet?* (N) “what are you doing here?”; *qúlax tez!* “get up (f.) quickly!”; *tez idálox!* “come here immediately!”; *jawaš jawaš sílax* “go (f.) gently”; *háxxa hawe!* (N) “thus be it”; *áxxa la mar!* (S) “do not say so!”; *m-áxxa la peri* “they do not pass here <from-here>”; *rábarába psíxle* “he was exceedingly glad <much much he-rejoiced>”; *xánči rába duz ile* “it is more or less right <little more right it-is>”; *gbéniwa gāl diyde* “they liked one another <together>”; *heč la mqéle* (N) “he did not say anything <at-all not he talked>”; *gāl jwanqe heč la zila* (N) “she never went out with young men <with young-men at-all not she-has-gone>”; *baqatjo imbillule qabay šultana* “[in] the morning they brought him before the king”; *bára si* “afterwards you (sg.) [can] go”; *šultanula wídle biš zóda m-babi* (S) “he is a greater king than my father <kingdom

he-made more exceeding than-my-father>”); m-dadew zóda kje “he knows more than his father”; m-atta bára la xadir “from now on <from-now after> it will not be possible”; *hal* ki *matixwa* lókit taltéwali “until we arrived [at the place] where they would hang me”; priqlox xen! “your (sg.m.) time is already up <you finished already>!” *téz-ikän* zilla “quickly she went”; *xlula* la *widá-jkän*, *qamol* mewani *godíwa* *ba-hatan* “before the wedding took place, they used to make a feast for the bridegroom <wedding not made-in-the-state-of, before they used to etc.>”; *bálki* la *djéli* “may be I will not <did not> come”; *kimmit* *srixle*, *naš* la *djéle* “as much as he called, nobody came”; *kimmit* *giršála*, *áxča* *pilla* “every time he pulled her up she fell down <how-much-that he-pulled her so-much she fell>”; *kimmit* *mqéla*, *bassor* *šméle* “the more she talked, the less he listened <how-much-that she-talked, less he-listened>”; *imánit* *míri* *baox*: *xa* *irba* *hóli*... “whenever I tell <said> to you (sg.m.): give me a sheep...”; *imánit* *g-aqa* *hawet*, *xaju* *maqlitta* “whenever you (sg.m.) are in trouble, burn one of them”; *lékit* *enew* *xfra*, *xzéle*... “wherever he <his-eye> looked, he saw...”; *iman* *abjan* *madpána* “I (f.) may fold it when (ever) I like”.

3.12.23 Q = *prepositional construction*.

(1) functioning as (indirect) object conditioned by the rection of the verb. The word order is immaterial, although more frequently Q follows H, when its axis is a noun. Examples: *xfra* *bbew* (arch. and S) “she looked at him”; *šaqlínnax* *ba-nóši* “I (m.) will take you (sg. f.) for myself”; *bar* *baxta* *šdíre* “he sent for <after> the woman”; *mlélalu* *gäl* *duša* “she filled them with honey”; *bqíre* *minnew* “he asked <of> him”; *la* *kket* *min* *d-aj* *xabra?* “don’t you (sg.m.) know of this matter?”; *xabra* *m-máni* *šaqlax* (*šaqlíxxe*) ~ *hawex* (*hawíxxe*)? “to whom shall we return now <word of-whom shall-we-take (it) ~ give (it)>? (formula recurring in story-telling); *il-naše* *xeríwa* “they were looking at the people”; *b-ǰagren* *illox* “I am going to be angry with <to> you (sg.m.)”; *xánči* *moe* *mdélu* *llew* (N) “they brought <to> him some water”.

Constructions with *il-* ~ *ill-* are particularly frequent as free variant of NP in the same function (see 3.12.21 (1)) – and the only variant with a demonstrative pronoun as axis; here, too, the verb usually has a personal pronominal objective suffix cross-referring to the axis of the prepositional construction.

Examples: *il-langári* *mdíla* “she brought the tray <to-tray she-brought-it>”; *il-d-ojne* *xabuše* *kixlittu* (S) “you (sg.m.) shall eat those apples”; *il-d-oj* *xuji* *qtíllele* “he killed that snake”; *il-nóšew* *místrále* “he cursed himself”; *il-brata* *diwqála* “he seized the girl”; *il-d-o* *dašta* *qlíwuna* “clean (pl.) that field”. With Ø noun in apposition to the pronominal suffix: *xzélale* *l-d-aj* “he saw this [woman]”; *plíxlale* *l-ǰitma* “she made an opening in <opened> the ashes”.

This construction may be alternatively analysed as a complex sentence of the type described in 3.12.12 *in fine*.

Examples for lack of cross-reference in the verb: *il-d-o abúlen šaq̄len* “I (m.) want to buy that one”; *sudra* midjet? “have you (sg.m.) brought the shirt?”

The construction with *il-* + personal pronominal relational suffix further occurs as a more emphatic variant of the verbal form with objective suffixes. In this case Q invariably precedes the verb.

Examples: *illi srixle* “he called me <to-me he-called>”; *illox abúla* “she (definitively) wants you (sg.m.)”; (*ilha*) *ilxún-iš mapsix* “may (God) gladden you (pl.), too”; *illi la tq̄re* “[I assure you that] he did not touch me”; *illox xizje* “he has seen you (sg.m.)”; *illi šaq̄lwa* “that he might take me”; *illi qatil* “[as for me] he will kill (me)”.

The construction with *il-* can also occur by the side of a NP as objective complement, especially in idiomatic verbal phrases with *d-h-l* “strike”:

Examples: *xa dindukta dhílla l-araq̄čin* “it (the raven) struck the cap with its beak <one beak she-struck to-cap>”; *il-susew takān dhílle* “he spurned his horse <to-his-horse spur he-struck>”; *il-bron šultana xa qamči dhíllele* “he struck the prince with his whip <to-son-of king a whip he-struck-him>”; *il-jala tre xmae dhíllu* “they gave the child two injections <to-child two needles they-struck>”.

(2) functioning as predicative complement to the verb *p-j/O-š* “remain”. Q invariably follows verb.

Examples: *píšla b-jala* “she became <remained> with child”; *píšlu be fisse* “they remained without money”.

(3) functioning as adverbial. After certain verbs it is in free variation with a NP (3.12 21 (3)). The word order is immaterial.

Examples: *b-ganawula qímla* “she rose stealthily <in-stealth>”; *tre bee hóli b-dena* “lend me two eggs <two eggs give-me in-debt>”; *idjéle bela ba-pissa pasoe* “he came home to celebrate Passover <for-Passover celebrating>”; *wíre ba-xjaríllu* “he went in to look at them <for-looking-at-them>”; *jtíwlu čaratrafít zamrana* “they sat around the singer”; *wur gaat olka* “go into the city”; *míre g-libbew* “he said to himself <in-his-heart>”; *gāl fissu xajéwa* “they lived on that money <with-their-money they-used-to-live>”; *gāl jigra mǐre* “he said angrily <with anger>”; *sílaḡ geb šultana* “go (f.) to the king”; *magonan maqja* “she speaks like we (do)”; *zille m-qulbit dadew (N)* “he went instead of his father”; *mtéla l-xa olka* “she arrived to a city”; *m-šindew ríšle* “he awoke from his sleep”; *rešaw xatmétn* “you (pl.) will sign it <on-it>”; *štéle xel ilana* “he lied down under the tree”.

In rare cases, the verb contains a cross-reference to the axis of such a pronominal construction: *magon d-aj ixala la xiláli* “I have never eaten the like of this food <like this food not I-ate-it>”.

3.12.24 Q = *gerundial construction*.

(1) functioning as object. Q usually precedes verb.

Example: qaroe kalowe jalpet “you (sg.m.) shall learn to read [and] to write”.

(2) functioning as predicative complement to p-j/o-š “remain”.

The gerund is qualified by a NP functioning as subject (and possibly another NP as axis of a prepositional construction functioning as object). The Q follows the H.

Example: píšlu xa l-xa xjara “they stood looking at one another <they-remained one at-one looking>”.

(3) functioning as adverbial.

(a) modal: The gerund – usually repetitive – stands alone or is qualified by a noun functioning as its object (see 3.11.21 (3)). The word order is immaterial.

Examples: *pasoxe pasoxe* jríqle bela “joyfully <rejoicing rejoicing> he ran home”; *plítile* tara baxila “he went outside weeping”; míre baew kaxoke “he said to him laughingly”; *zanqríle* g-d-o *qazanča radoxe radoxe* “one pours it into that pot boiling [hot]”; zílla baxila, *hawar* dahole, pířaw čaqoe čaqoe “she went [away] weeping, lamenting <call-for-help striking striking>, tearing her hair”; baqore baqore naš *misse ade mate istambol* “by dint of asking one can get to Istanbul <asking asking person can come arrive Istanbul>” (prov.).

A gerund may qualify a VP centering in a verb derived from the same root for emphasis: *palote missen... palten*, madore la *missen* madrínnu “I (m.) can... take [them] out, but not return them [again] <taking-out I-can... I take-out, returning not I-can I return-them>”.

(b) temporal. The gerund is qualified

(i) by one of the particles listed in sections (c) of 2.6.

Examples: háxxa imara, kullu qímlu (N) “when he said this, all the people rose <thus saying, all-of-them rose>”; haxxa imara baew, qímle *plítile*, zílle (N) “when she said this to him, he rose, went out and departed <thus saying, he rose, went-out, went>”.

(ii) by a noun or a personal pronominal relational suffix or – redundantly – by both, functioning as its subject (in the second case possibly also by another noun or prepositional construction functioning as its object). Q generally precedes the verb.

Examples: *asr* xadore, míra baew “when evening came <evening becoming> she said to him”; *pisxanula* paroqe, gāl *hatan* idjéla béla “when the feast had come to an end <rejoicing ending> she went <came> home with the bridegroom”; izalew m-áxxa, xa mindiy šwíqle gebax? (N) “when he went <his-going> from here, did he leave anything with you (sg. f.)?”; mjalan, geban xdur “when we die remain with us <our-dying, with-us become>”; *taha* jge imbul gālox izalox *hamam* “when you (sg.m.) go to the bathhouse, take three knucklebones with you <three knucklebones take with-you yourgoing bath-house>”; *rjašew* xzéle... “(upon) his awaking he saw...”: aqirwa xadorew, šméle... “when he drew near <near his-coming>

he heard...”; brata xazoew, nxíple “when he saw the girl <girl his-seeing> he became ashamed”; *matoaw* hawuz, xífra xzéla “when she arrived at the pool, she saw <her-reaching pool, she looked she saw>”; šimša ganoew, *dmiǰlu* “when the sun set <sun its-setting> they went to sleep”.

(c) final. The gerund (possibly preceded by a qualifier) invariably follows the verb.

Examples: qímla raqole “she got up to dance <dancing>”; gdéniwa xoš qalaw šamoe (S) “they used to come to hear her pleasant voice <pleasant her-voice hearing>”; kud jom gezáwa julle masoe “every day she used to go washing clothes”; jtiwle jullew paloe “he sat down to delouse his clothes”; zílle *xaliče* zaqore jalope “he went to learn carpet-weaving”; jriqla reš gare il-naše sinči mandoe (S) “she ran to the roof to look at the people <to-people look casting>”; *kabab* wídle ba-naše zabone “he made roast meat for sale <to-people selling>”; ezex xánči xadore “let us go for a little walk <a-little walking>”.

This construction is frequent in verbal idioms with p-j/O-I “fall”.

Examples: pílle raxošé “he fell (to) walking”; píllu bar *mae* balbole (S) “they began <fell> looking for water”; pelen bar baxti balbole “I will set out to look <fall looking> for my wife”.

3.12.25 Q = VP.

(1) functioning as *object*. Q is introduced by zero following O-b-j/O “want” and *m-ss-O* “be able” – in which case its H is a finite verb in the aorist of the projective mood of the imperfective aspect – and by zero in free variation with *ki* “that” following other verbs. It invariably follows the verb.

Examples: gben minnox, xa *xaliča* bai zaqret “I (m.) want of you [that] you weave me a carpet”; minnox gben, *g-aralyit taha* jome xa xšilta madet “I (m.) want of you [that] you bring (me) a set of jewels within three days”; *misset* xallittu, qalwíttu, daríttu gáad qoqa? “can you (sg.m.) wash them, clean them [and] put them into the cooking-pot?”; *misset* géna xa mista maqlítta “you (sg.m.) can burn another hair <you-can again a hair you-may-burn-it>”; *atta* šmitan, ki mil “now I (f.) have heard that he is dead <has-died>”; xšiwli, tez gden “I (m.) thought I would come soon”; *moma* bai jamjat, ki ba naš *siri* la galjáte “you (sg.m.) must swear me that you will not disclose by secret to anyone”; gban *xalls* dehwa hawja “I (f.) want it to be of pure gold <I-want pure gold it-should be>”.

The HQ of the subsidiary VP can be disjoined from its H by the H of the central VP: xa xabra gben *maštǰet* “I (m.) want you (sg.m.) to find a thing <a thing I want you-should-find>”.

(2) functioning as adverb.

(a) temporal. Q is introduced by one of the prepositions *atta(t)* ~ *hattot* ~ *hal* “until”, *bar* “after”, *qamol* “before”, *hǎr* “when, as soon as”, or – less frequently – by zero. The H of a Q introduced by *atta(t)* or by one of its variants is a finite verb in

the past of the projective mood of the imperfective aspect, if the H of the central VP is in the past.

Examples: *attat matéwa* g-do olka, *darwazit* olka dwiqálu (S) “by the time he arrived in that city, they had shut the city-gate <until he-would-have-arrived in that city, gate-of city they-closed>”; *hazír* wídwalella hal adínwa “he had prepared it by the time I (m.) came <until I-might-come>”; *mar peši gǎlox attá ezan adjan* “let them stay with you (sg.m.) until I (f.) go [and] come [back]”; *bar mǎqélu baew, míre bau* “after they had spoken <spoke> to him, he said to them”; *xíre llaw bar liwšála* “after she had put it on <she-put-it-on>, he looked at her”; *zóre wélan, dam-xíxwa reš gare* (N) “[when] we were little, we used to sleep on the roof”.

(b) modal. Q is introduced by one of the prepositions *magon* “as” or *m-qulbit* “instead of”; in the latter case, the H of the Q is in the aorist of the projective mood. The word order is immaterial.

Examples: *xaš xǎfra magon wéla* “she became again as she had been <she-was>”; *m-qulbit lixmew matmíre gaat qatly, il-mez dahílwale* “instead of dipping his bread into the sour milk, he was striking the table with it <instead-of his-bread he-should-dip-it into sour-milk, to-table he-repeatedly-struck-it>”.

(c) causal. Q is introduced by the particle *ki* or – less frequently – by zero. It follows the H.

Examples: *heč mindiy la missen oden baax, ki sahle líttax* (N) “I (m.) can do nothing for you (sg.f.), for you have no witnesses”; *say naš léwet, ki dmíxet g-kuča* “you (sg.m.) cannot be <are not> an honest man, for you are sleeping in the street”; *rába rába psíxla, xaš banadam xzéla* “she was very glad to see a human being again <much much she-rejoiced, again human-being-she-saw>”.

(d) final. Q is introduced by *ki* or zero in free variation. Its H is a finite verb in the projective mood of the imperfective aspect – in the past if the H of the central VP is a past verb, and in the aorist in all other cases (in free variation with the past projective). It invariably follows the H of the central VP.

Examples: *mtíwle qabay naše, ki axli* (N) “he put (it) before the people [that] they should eat”; *il-d-aj darétune... qabayit šimša, ki dimmew zed* “put this [child] into the sun, so that its blood should become richer <to-this put... before sun, that his-blood increase> I; *xa qarawaš hwíllale, ki mamjále ~ mamjáwale il-xaluntaw rabta* (S) “she gave him a maid to accompany him <she-should-make-him-reach> to her eldest sister”; *suse-š lítti rakwen rešew* “besides, I have no horse to mount <I-should-ride on-it>”; *ezen madínnu, sahle hawéni* “I (m.) shall go [and] bring them, [so that] they might bear witness”; *plítile g-šuqa...*, *mindiyane šaqíwla* (N) “he went out to the market to buy <he-might-buy> things”.

In rare cases *ki* is disjoined from the rest of the clause by the first member of the latter:

idjéle dadew ki xazínwale (N) “he came to see his father <he came his-father that he-should-see-him>”.

(e) conditional. Q is introduced by the particle agär “if” in free variation with zero. Its H is a finite verb in the aorist of the projective mood of the imperfective aspect in free variation with the preterite of the perfective aspect; the existential copula is usually in the durative aspect. Q invariably precedes H.

Examples: agär odétunu, goran “if you (pl.) fulfil <do> them, I (f.) shall marry”; agär la xdíra baux, *misset* reši dahitte “if it does not suit you (sg.m.) <if not it-became to-you>, you can strike [off] my head”; agär xa tka hawet bai, *damxen* “if you (sg.m.) give me a place, I (m.) shall sleep”; la hawittu, darínnox *g-dussay* “[if] you (sg.m.) do not give them [to me] I (m.) will put you in prison”; la *plittle*, géna fisse kwinnxun “if nothing emerges <not it-came-out>, I (m.) will still give you (pl.) money”; ja jilen ~ jilínwa, b-la odínwa “had I (m.) known this, I should not have done it”; minni šamet, xen hakima ba-d-aj brona la madet “[if] you (sg.m.) listen to me, you should not bring another physician for your son”.

3.12.26 Q = clause.

The linking and the tense distribution in the QS are as described in the preceding section, except that the Q cannot function as predicative complement.

(1) Q functioning as object follows H.

Examples: ojne ebélu ki at xašwet, ojne baux xabušit xae widju (S) “they wanted you (sg.m.) to think <you should think> [that] *they* had <have> brought you the apples of life”; la kkiwa, gau xšilta dehwe ita “they did not know there were jewels [and] pieces of gold in it”; xašowet, ana la kkan, ki at aqlox *qitjálox*? “do you (sg.m.) think I (f.) do not know that you cut off your leg?”; máto xšiwlox, ki ana aqlox axlána? “how could you <did you> think that I (f.) could <may> eat your leg?”; atta ajolan, ki at duz naš ilet “now I (f.) know that you (sg.m.) are an honest man”; šméle ki *šultana saroxéle* “he heard that the king was <is> calling him”; xzéli, pirči qrix “I saw <that> my hair had <has> become grey”; xzélu, blanawe xa m-xa bis sqile (S) “they saw <that> the girls [were] one more beautiful than the other”; xíra xzéla, *qarawaš* la díra “she saw <looked saw> [that] the maid had not returned <did not return>”; xíra xzéla, xa sqila jwanqa hójle *dmix jan* hawuz (S) “she saw a handsome young man sleeping near the pool <she looked she saw, a beautiful young-man here-he-is sleeping etc.>”; xíru xzélu, xa sqilta brata m-quji *palótla* (S) “she saw a beautiful girl <is> coming out of the well”.

(2) functioning as adverbial.

(a) temporal. Word order immaterial.

Examples: *smúxun attat tlibi* ade “wait (pl.) till my betrothed comes <may come>”; jtiwla xánči *attad* brona djéle “she sat for a while until the boy came”; la daren *attat* araqčín la *mastxínna* “I (m.) will not return until I find

⟨not⟩ the cap”; *attat* araqčín la *maštxinna*, tki la daren “until I find ⟨not⟩ the cap I will not return to my place”; *bar šimša plitle*, qímle “after the sun rose, he got up”; *bar xaš kimma šate* m-lele píru, idjéle béla “after another few hours had passed ⟨passed⟩ of the night he came home”; *ida gáli qamol dew ade* (S) “come with me before the ogre comes ⟨may come⟩”; *ki xzéle, sfataw sfat xmaré-la, dǎre gol bára* “when he saw [that] her countenance was ⟨is⟩ that of an ass, he drew back”.

(b) modal. No examples.

(c) causal. No examples.

(d) final. Q follows H.

Example: *riwwa bron šultana gúre, ki át-iš xadrat šultanta* “marry the eldest prince so that you, too, become a queen”;

(e) conditional. Q precedes H.

Examples: *ilha qiwti hawilla, mamtánox lílja* “if God gives ⟨give⟩ [me] strength, I (f.) will bring you (sg.m.) up ⟨will-make-you-arrive above⟩”; *ilha la hawe, la priqlan* “had it not been for God, we would not have been saved ⟨God not be, not we-escaped⟩”; *duz xabrá-ttxun, mqímun bai* “if you (pl.) want to speak the truth, tell me ⟨true word is-there-to-you, speak to-me⟩”.

3.2 SENTENCES

3.21 *Simple sentences*

3.21.1 *Actor-action sentences.*

NP_s precedes – rarely follows – VP, when the subject of the latter is introduced into the context for the first time or anew. A personal pronominal NP_s is included in the S only for a certain degree of emphasis.

The actor suffixes of the VP agree with the H of the explicit or implicit NP_s in gender, number and person.

(1) for concord in *gender* in general see 3.11.21 (1).

Examples: *brata idjéla* “she girl came ⟨she-came⟩”; *haslaitu zídla* “their income increased ⟨it-(f.)-increased⟩”; *quji mléla behra* “the well filled (f.) [with] light”; *ixala bšilta xǎra* “the food was ⟨it-(f.)-became⟩ cooked”; *rahel hála la ídja* “Rachel has not (f.) come yet”.

It is further to be mentioned here that the verbs p-j/O-r “pass” and x-d-r “become, happen” are inflected in the feminine in specific idioms, in which NP_s is replaced by zero.

Examples: *máto píra baux g-do olka?* “how did it fare with you (sg.m.) ⟨how passed-it (f.) by-you⟩ in that city?”; *máto xǎra?* “how did it (f.) happen?”; *la xǎra ~ la xadra* “it (f.) was/is not possible” (in contrast with *ja šula la xadir* “this thing is (m.) not possible”; *málle!* “enough ⟨it (m.) suffices⟩!”

(2) for concord in *number* in general see 3.11.21 (2).

Examples: aqlaw marúla ~ marúlu (N) (depending on the context) “her foot is / her feet are hurting her”; bronawew safār widlu “his sons went on a journey <journey they-made>”.

If the H of the NP_s is a noun qualified by kimma “some, a few” or by kud “every, each” or is itself kud qualified by minnu “of them”, the numb of the verb varies freely between singular and plural.

Examples: kimma šate píru “a few years passed (sg.m.)”; kud naše zillu ~ zille béla “everyone went home”; kud minnu dfru tku “each of them returned (pl.) to his <their> place”.

In sentences where NP_s is replaced by zero for want of reference, the verb is inflected in the plural: kimri “they say”; qatqtilu, darénilu g-qaqa, bašlilu, kixlilu “they are minced, put into the cooking-pot, cooked and eaten <they-mince-them, they-put-them etc.>”.

When the H of the NP is a noun denoting a period of time, qualified by a numeral, the verb is inflected in the sg.m.; possibly the real H of the NP is in this case a zero alternant of waxtit ~ wadit “(the) time-of”, and the explicit NP its Q.

Examples: xa šata píre “a year passed (sg.m.)”; išta jarxe píruwa “six months had (sg.m.) passed”.

When the H of the NP is qualified by a prepositional construction whose axis is identical with it, or by a prepositional construction with gāl “with”, the verb is inflected in the plural.

Examples: šwa bar šwa píru (S) “week after week passed (pl.)”; asr gāl daew dariwa béla (S) “in the evening he <they> used to return home with his mother”.

(3) the concord in *person* requires no examples. It is to be noted, however, that a verb in any aspect other than the imperative, which is qualified by a prepositional construction with gāl “with” + personal pronominal suffix of the 2nd p. sg. (or a verb in the imperative qualified by gāl + a suffix of the 1st p.) is inflected in the 1st p. pl. Examples: (hóli ki) axlex gālox “let me eat together with you (sg.m.) <(give me that) we-may-eat with-you>”; ezex gālan “come along with us <let-us-go with-us>”.

Examples of regular sentences: ilha ba-kullu abjanan u-baxún-iš mamte (S) “may God give the like to all our well-wishers and to you (pl.), too <God to-all ourlikers and to-you-too make-arrive>”; hatan illaw aqirwa xdfre “the bride-groom approached her”; axonawi gāli xajfnula wídlu (S) “my brothers betrayed me <with-me betrayal they-made>”; milxa bai malle “the salt suffices <to> me”; qarawaš m-šindaw rišla “the maid awoke from her sleep”; xa ba-xa moma jmélu “they swore an oath to one another”; ana ídjen ba-babi (S) “I (m.) have come to my father”; at rába špirula gāli wídet (S) “you (sg.m.) have done a great <much> favour to <with> me”.

With reverse word order: išta jarxe gríšle qrawu “their war lasted six months”;

balew píllu une talmit duša (N) “he remembered <his-mind they-came> those jars of honey”; jtiwlu *gāl diyde* kullu “they sat together, all of them”; bās jajne xabre miríle baox o gora? “has that man said only these words to you (sg.m.)?”; príqla *šreta* “the judgment is spoken <ended>”; la mallja ja sahlula “this evidence is not enough”; xa ja šula *žarbínne* ana “let me just try this matter”.

The whole S may be qualified by a preceding particle, NP, a gerundial or a prepositional construction or a clause functioning as adverbial.

Examples: báma xošox minni la ida? “why do I not please you (sg.m.) <why your-pleased-being from-me is-not coming>”; kimma ana gālew komāgula wídlí! “how much I have helped <I helped> him!”; *rāba* žigrew idjéle “he grew very angry <much his-anger came>”; *axrinda ahra* kullaw *mléla* basire “finally the whole city filled [with] grapes”; xánči xet xa l-xa b-gorétun “in a little while <a-little more> you will marry <to> each-other”; xen la gezilwa šula “he went no longer to work <more not he-used-to-go work>”; bās mar bronax illi gor “only let your (sg.f.) son marry me <to-me marry>”; tez rešox *taris* “your (sg.m.) head will soon be healed”; hójle bela qliw (S) “behold, the house has been cleaned”; ídjom mindix la zbínen (S) “I (m.) have not sold anything today”; bálki *g-aralyit* d-ajne naše *sahatči maštánu* “maybe I will find the watchmaker among these people”; xa joma b-jomawe kura kačál qímle mi-tkew “one day <of days> the Bald Boy rose <from-his-place>”; o *wada hatan* rešew glélele “then <that time> the bridegroom uncovered his head”; išwa jome-w išwa lelawe naše xíllu štélu (S) “[for] seven days and seven nights the people ate [and] drank”; lékit naša raxišwa, *rixit* xamra gdéwa poqew “wherever one went, one smelled wine <wherever person used-to-go, smell-of wine used-to-come his-nose>”; kwašew, hušew zílle “as he came down, he lost consciousness <his-coming-down his-consciousness went>”; pjalox, *taha* susawe gdéni “when you (sg.m.) fall <your-falling>, three horses will come”; pilgoma xadore, kura kačál idjéle “at noon <noon becoming> the Bald Boy came”; m-gau *xaliče* u-špire mindixane *palotu* (S) “out of them came <are coming> carpets and [other] beautiful things”; *m-wirxa* reši marúle (N) “my head aches from the journey <way>”; axča jlíple, *haxamit* aj olkew la *ridjile* “he studied so much [that] he was [no longer] content with the scholars of his city”.

3.21.2 Equational sentences.

The occurrence of NP_s, the accord of the E_qV with its head and the word order are as described in 3.21.1.

The predicative complement of the E_qV may be

(1) a NP (cf. 3.12.21 (2)).

Further examples: une sahlé-lu (N) “these are witnesses”; une talme *miljé-lu* (N)

“these pitchers are full”; *ilha bai riwwé-le* “God is great <for me>”; *ja sqiltit didí-la* “this is *my* ring <ring-of mine>”; *tunnu xá-jlu ~ xé-lu* “the two are one [and the same]”; *kefi to léwa (S)* “my state (of mind, of health) is not good”; *o gora tre reše wéle* “that man had <was> two heads”; *šul hudaē g-olkan jájur wéle* “the occupation of the Jews in our country was the following <this-kind>”; *ma kef ilat? (N)* “how are you (sg.f.) <what state (of mind or body) are-you>?”; *hušew rešew léwe* “he is not himself <his-consciousness his-head is not>”; *o baxča aj dew wéla (S)* “that garden belonged to the ogre”.

Examples of S where NP_s is zero or has as its head a particle functioning as impersonal pronoun: *čatin-ila* “it is (f.) difficult”; *gej (N) wéla* “it was (f.) late”; *mad odet gālew, xanči-la* “whatever you (sg.m.) do to <with> him is [too] little” (in contrast with *haqqoxile* “you (sg.m.) are right <your-right it (m.)-is>”; and with *lazīm* “necessary” as complement: *lazīm léwe* “it (m.) is not necessary”).

(2) a particle of the type described in sections (c) of 2.6.

Examples: *máto-jlet?* “how are you (sg.m.)?”; *láxxa wélu* “they were here”; *ké-le?* “where is he? (in this construction, and here only, the base of *léka* – cf. 2.6. (3) (c) – is used).

(3) prepositional constructions (cf. 3.12.23).

Example: *zbotit broni šalomo g-d-aj šulé-le* “the finger of my son Solomon is in this matter”; *imma qate m-moše zodé-len* “I (n.) am a hundredfold more than Moses”.

The qualifier of the complement may be disjoined from it by the NP_s: *rába kefi šbirté-la (N)* “I am very well <much my-state is good>”;

On the other hand, the qualifier of the head of the NP_s may be disjoined from it by the EqV: *wasiti ja hawja bax* “this is my last will to you (sg.m.) <my-last-will this should-be to-you>”; *mare-dolté-le rába* “he is very rich <rich he is much>”.

The entire S may be qualified by a VP or a clause.

Examples: *axča šinné-le pišan zalil* “I (f.) have been infirm for so many years <so-many years it-is I have-remained infirm>”; *axča sqiltéla, ba-šrata mara la nhur, ana nahran* “she is so beautiful [that] she could say <is saying> to the lamp: do not shine, I shine”.

Instances of the reversed word order: *má-jle láxxa ja?* “what is this here <what is-it here this>?”; *bróni-le ja* “this is my son <my-son he-is this>”; *má-jle xabrax?* “what are you (sg.f.) talking about <what is-it your talk>?”; *g-d-aj maqoe wélu gorá-inān baxta* “[while] the husband and the wife were engaged in this talk <in-this speaking were husband-and wife>”.

In lively colloquial style EqV is frequently replaced by zero.

Examples: *ma šulox minnu?* “what have you (sg.m.) to do with them <what your-

affair of-them>?”; *kullu boš* “all of them [are] empty”; *ana léka? ja tka léka?* “how do I happen to be here <I where? this place where?”; *danka kimma?* “how much apiece?”; *minni llox, minnox l-ilha* “I beseech you (sg.m.) to help me <from-me to-you, from-you to God>”; *m-ilha aškāra* “it is clear before God <from-God manifest>”; *m-ilha la gezlin, m-banda gezlin?* “why should I hide it from you <from-God not hidden, from-man hidden>?”; (*ja la ebéla*) – *hudajta, o arel* – “(she did not want it,) [for she was] a Jewess and he [was] uncircumcized”.

This is most frequently the case in specific idioms of a precatory nature: *brixa šimmit ilha* “thank God <blessed name-of God>”; *dušmanax xel aqlax* “[may] your (sg. f.) enemies [be] under your feet”.

3.21.3 *Existential sentences.*

Typical examples: *ma it?* “what is the matter <what is-there>?”; *ma it ma let (N) ~ lit (S)?* “what news <what is-there what is-there-not>?”; *xa brona it(a)* there is a [certain] boy”; *magonaw sqilta lit (S)* “there is none as beautiful as she”; *heč mindiy let, bās duša (N)* “there is nothing [in them] except <only> honey”; *fajda let (N) ~ lit (S)* “it is useless <use there-is-not>”; *min d-aj xabra biš qalula lit (S)* “there is nothing easier than that <than this thing more easy there-is-not>”; *kixwe-t?* “are there (any) stars?”; *gāat ašqalon palištímé-twa* “in Ascalon there were Philistines”; *sahlé-ttax?* “do you (sg.f.) have [any] witnesses?”; *tuná-ttox?* “do you (sg.m.) have [any] straw?”; *wada lítti* “I have no time”; *xa danka šwawa twále* “she had a certain neighbour <one unit neighbour there-was-to-her>”; *xa tāk brona twále* “he had one single son”; *čara lítwale* “he had no choice”; *emun id illu* “they can be trusted <trust there-is to-them>”.

The *prepositional Q* of the H of the VP_s is generally disjoined from it by the ExC: *hawsāla lítti ba-áxxa šule wale* “I have no patience for such <thus> matters”; *rāba rāba šalomje ittxun minnaw* “she sends you (pl.) many greetings <much much greetings there-are-to-you from-her>”.

The entire S may be qualified by a particle or a prepositional construction functioning as adverbial; the Q may come at the beginning or the end of the S.

Examples: *bálki lítte gál máni gor* “maybe he has no one to marry <there-is-not-to-him with whom he-may-marry>”; *xa dašt ita grayit ahra* “there is a field [on] the outskirts of the city”; *gāat hajat xa sqilta baxča itwa* “in the courtyard there was a beautiful garden”; *umbulew xen jale líttox (S)* “you (sg.m.) have no <more> children except him”; *ba-d-aj brona darmana lit (S)* “there is no remedy for this boy”; *g-qanunox qatole let (N)* “there is no killing according to <in> your (sg. m.) law”.

In rare cases the NP_s follows the ExC: *ítte tre brone* “he has two sons”; *íttox dawé, torje, irbe, milke rāba* “you (sg.m.) have many <much> camels, cows, sheep and estates”.

Still more rarely the NP_s is replaced by a prepositional construction: *agăr m-balox it* “if you (sg. m.) remember <if from-your-mind there-is>”.

3.22 Complex sentences

3.22.1 Substitution of central phrases.

3.22.11 *Substitution of NPs.* NPs may be replaced by a VP or a clause. The order of the phrases is usually reversed.

Examples: *la malle ilha dhilleli?* “is not enough [that] God has stricken me?”; *lazim ile xanci hawsala hawelox* “you (sg.m.) must have a little patience <necessary it-is a-little patience there-should-be-to-you>”; *lazim wele awwalim gorwa* “he should have married first <necessary it-was first he-should-have-married>”; *to-jle har idjetun (S)* “it is good you (pl.) have come at all”; *trosé-le, at xanci xet b-gorat?* “is it true [that] you (sg.f.) are going to marry soon <a-little more>?”; *la xadra idox illew taqra* “you (sg.m.) must not touch it at any price <not possible-it-is your-hand to-it should-touch>”; *la xadra geb šultana ezat* “you (sg.f.) cannot possibly go to the king <not possible-it-is to king you-shall-go>”.

In an equational S the replacing VP or clause may be introduced by *ki* “that”: *to-jle ki xaé-let (S)* “it is good that you (sg. m.) are alive”; *šart hawe ki xabri oditte* “under the condition that you (sg. m.) do as I say <condition it-should-be that my-word you-do-it>”.

Example of the order replacing VP (or clause) + central VP: *xen hakime ba-daj bronawadet biš tam ile* “it would be better if you brought other physicians for this boy <other physicians for-this boy you-should-bring, more perfect it-is>”.

3.22.12 *Substitution of VP.* VP may be replaced by a VP or clause functioning as predicate. The order is usually NPs + replacing VP or clause.¹

Examples: *ana tre same matelli* “I am entitled to two parts <I two parts come-to-me>”; *ad jigrox idjewa* “you were angry <you your (sg.m.)-anger had-come>”; *xaju pilgew qatixwale* “we used to cut one of them in half <one-of-them his-half we-used-to-cut>”; *o gorit ki il-do baxta abo welella ba-nošew, il-do šaul šultana qtilwale ga-qrawa* “that man who had wanted this woman for himself had been killed in battle by King Saul <that man-who that to-this woman wanting was-to-her for-himself, to-him King Saul had-killed-him in-battle>”; *kullu rešu mlélalu duša* “she filled them all with honey <they-all upon-them she-filled-them honey>”; *ja šalomammélex ilha mire baew* “now God said to King Solomon <this King-Solomon God said to-him>”; *brati jomit molaw mite* “the day of my daughter’s death has arrived <my-daughter day-of-her-death has-arrived>”; *ja dimmew*

¹ In this case, NPs may alternatively be analysed as extraposition.

bassor ile “he is anaemic <this [one] his-blood lacking it-is>”; *agär xujc* *m-idew* *ade...* *qatille* “should the snake be in the position to kill him, ...it would do it <if snake from-his-hands it-should-come... it-may-kill-him>”; *mad ilha dare g-libbi, il-do godinne* “what God shall put into my heart <to-that> I will do>”; *kimmit dussaye* *naše itwa gau, kulla mirpjilu* (N) “all the people who were in the prisons were liberated <as-much prisons people there-were in-them, they-let-them-go>”; cf. also the construction described in 3.12.21 (1) (b).

In rare cases NPs follows the replacing clause appositionally: *libbew qille llew o gora* “that man took pity on him <his-heart burnt to-him, that man>”; *mal itte, ja* “this man has property <property there-is-to-him, this>”; *tka litti, ana* “I have no place <place there-is-not-to-me, I>”.

In a somewhat loose construction, NP_s in this case may be replaced by a prepositional construction functioning as topical subject.

Examples: *gäl do rāba šalomí- twa g-aralyu* (N) “the relations between them were very friendly <with that [one] much peace there was between-them>”; *xel do ilanít-iš at dmtxet, janew xa qaja* it “now near the tree under which you (sg.m.) are sleeping, there is a rock <under that tree-now you-have-fallen-asleep, near-it a rock there-is>”. Cf. also the construction described in 3.12.23 (1).

3.22.2 Substitution of *Q* in one of the central phrases by a VP or a clause.

For examples see 3.11.28, 3.11.29, 3.12.24, 3.12.25.

3.22.3 VP or clauses functioning as adverbial *Q* of a *S*.

For examples see 3.21.1, 3.21.2, 3.21.3.

3.23 Compound sentences

3.23.1 *Paratactic*. The sentences following the first are introduced by *w-* (N) ~ *u-* (S) by-š (or alternant) suffixed to the first word, by *bále* “but” or by *ójur ki* “so that” or by *ki* “you see” (at the end of the last S), all varying freely with zero.

Examples: *pruq šulox w-si* (N) ~ *u-si* (S) *béla* “finish your (sg.m.) work and go home”; *príqle šulew w-zille ~ u-zille béla* “he finished his work and went home”; *qlíwli príqli* “I finished cleaning <I-cleaned I-finished>”; *príxla zilla* “it flew away <she-flew she-went>”; *jríqlu zillu* “they ran away <they-ran they-went>”; *xíllu, štélu, rāba psíxlu* “they ate, drank [and] rejoiced greatly”; *at qahba, o-š ganawé-le* “you [are an] adultress and he is [a] thief”; *hudajta, o arel* “[she was] a Jewess and he [was] uncircumcised”; *xzélile, bále la jillile* “I saw him, but did not recognize

him”; *palote missen ... palten*, madore la *missen* madrínnu “I (m.) can well take them out, (but) I cannot return them”; la *missan* odáne, qiwta lítti ki “I (f.) cannot do it, I have not the strength, you see”; *rába dignaxwaré-le*, (ójur ki) xen šula la god “he is very old, (so that <thus that>) he no longer works”.

3.23.2 *Endotactic*. The second S may be inserted after any word of the first.

Examples: ma – xašowet at – xabra amren baox? “what do you (sg.m.) think I (m.) will tell you <what – you-are-thinking you – thing I-shall say to-you>?”; agār šulew kasād xadírwa – it zaane – gezílwa... (N) “when business happened to be quiet <when his-work stagnant used-to-become – there-are times –> he used to go...”; bronni – míre – báma midjálox *daox*? (N) “my son, he said, why did you bring your mother?”; ida – míre – gáli “come with me, he said <come – he-said – with-me>”; máto – míre – *šultané-le*? “what do you mean, he is the king? he asked <how – he-said – king-he-is?>”; ana – míra – sinama gezan? “I, said she, will go to the pictures?”; babew – *riqqa* m-šamjane – *niftar* píšle (S) “his father died – far be it from the listeners <his-father – far from-listeners – deceased remained>”; xa xmara – *haša m-salmox* – ítwale “he had, save your (sg.m.) presence, a donkey <a donkey – far from-your-face – there-was-to-him>”.

3.24 *Minimal sentences*

Sentences of this type may consist:

(1) of one of the particles listed in sections (c) of 2.6 (interjections).

(2) of a single or qualified noun or a prepositional construction or the existential semi-verb, or one of the particles listed in sections (c) of 2 as questions or in response to a question or by way of a command or as specific idioms.

Examples: bratox? “your (sg.m.) daughter?”; brati “my daughter”; tre zae “twice”; g-béla “at home, in the house”; léka? “where?”; lóka! “there!”; lílja “above”; háxxa! (N) ~ áxxa! (S) “for no particular reason <thus!>”; heč! (N) ~ hič! (S) “not at all, nothing whatever!”; *brixe!* “congratulations! <blessed (pl.)!>”; *libbe basime!* – same meaning <glad hearts!>; b-reši “please <by-my-head>”; reš (reši-w) eni! “willingly! <upon (my-head-and) my eyes!>”; ita! “yes, there is/are”.

Special instances of *sentence-words*:

(a) lek- and mek- (secondary bases of {l+é+k+a} “where” and {m+é+k+a} “whence”) + unstressed personal pronominal relational suffixes of the 2nd p. sg. (N) → lékox? “where are you (sg.m.)?”; mékax? “where are you (sg.f.) from?”.

(b) māj “what” + unstressed personal pronominal relational suffixes májjax? “what is the matter with you (sg.m.)?”; ba-májjan? “what do we need it for?”.

4 SYNTACTOPHONOLOGY

4.1 SENTENCE STRESS

There are three degrees of sentence stress: strong, medium and weak; the first two are marked in this section as $\acute{\text{~}}$ and $\grave{\text{~}}$ respectively and the third remains unmarked.

4.11 *Regular stress patterns*

(1) Strong stress falls upon

(a) nouns (or substitutes of nouns)

(i) as Hs of NP_s, unless having relational suffixes (for special cases see below (2) (a) (i) and (ii));

(ii) as Q following H with a relational suffix;

(iii) as axes of pronominal constructions;

(b) personal pronouns as Hs of NP_s following a VP.

(c) prepositions with personal pronominal relational suffixes except ill-;

(d) verbs other than positive forms of the equational copular verb in the durative aspect, unless preceded or followed by prepositional constructions other than with ill- and any adverbial as well as the first element of compound verbal forms and verbal idioms;

(e) particles functioning as adverbials. For examples see (2).

(2) medium stress falls upon

(a) nouns (or substitutes of nouns)

(i) as Hs of any NP with relational suffixes.

Examples: bèlit dadéw (N) “his father’s house”; pqàr šér (S) “the lion’s neck”.

(ii) as Hs of a NP_s followed by a predicative S or preceded by a VP or S.

Examples: šultanà jigréw idjéle “the king grew angry <king his-anger came>”; má-jle láxxa jà? “what is this here <what is-it here this>?”; libbéw qille llew, o gorà “that man took compassion on him <his-heart burnt to-him, that man>”.

(b) a member of any form class as Q of the H in a NP, except a noun following H with a relational suffix and xa “a(n)”.

Examples: *xaxèt otáy* “another room”, *kimmà danké* “some <how-many units>”; *xànči fissé* “a little money”; *trè broné* “two sons, two boys”; *lòka hawjané* “those present there”; *g-belà jatwaná* “he who is (was) sitting in the house”.

(c) verbs (other than the positive forms of EqC in the durative aspect) followed or preceded by a predicative complement, a prepositional construction other than with *ill-* or any adverbial, as well as the second element in compound verbal forms and verbal idioms.

Examples: *xáš mpillile* “I threw it down again <again I-let-him-fall>”; *diwqilu qiwjá qiwjá* “they seized them firmly <strong strong>”; *magon jalá maqùlet (N)* “you (sg. m.) are talking like a child”; *zille béla* “he went home”; *xadoré wèle* “he was walking about”; *qitjá xadir* “it will be cut off”; *mahtál pìšle* “he was remained astonished”.

(d) disyllabic particles functioning as conjunctions.

Examples: *bàlki là djéle* “maybe he does not come <not he-came>”; *fakorén, bàle l-abúlen ezèn* “I understand, but I do not want to go <I-am-understanding, but not-I-am-wanting I-should-go>”.

(3) Weak stress falls upon:

(a) nouns denoting specific countable units in apposition between numeral and H of NP.

Examples: *xà danká baxtá* “a certain woman <one unit woman>”; *arbà kilwe qamxá* “four kilos (of) wheat”;

(b) the prepositional base *ill-* with personal pronominal relational suffixes.

Examples: *xíre llew* “he looked at him”; *géna xíre llew* “he looked at him again”.

(c) prepositions as free forms.

Examples: *jtíwle jan tará* “he sat down beside the door”; *bar tahà jomé safár wídle* “three days later he went on a journey <after three days journey he-made>”; *bār xille štéle, dmíxle* “after he had eaten and drunk <after he-ate he-drunk> he went to sleep”.

(d) forms of the ExC in the durative aspect following a form with final C.

Examples: *lazím ile* “it is necessary”; *čatín ila* “it is difficult”.

(e) monosyllabic particles.

Examples: *šméle ki šultaná saroxéle* “he heard that the king was <is> calling him”; *fakorèt jan lá?* “do you (sg.m.) understand <you-are-understanding> or not?”.

4.12 *Emphatic stress patterns*

(1) the H of a NP and its Q (especially a numeral or one of the particles listed in sections (c) of 2.6) change places with respect to the degree of stress for contrastive or enumerational emphasis.

Examples: *xá bronà zille*, *oxét bronà píšle* “one boy went away, the other boy remained”; *xá jalà* “one child”, in contrast with *tré jalè* “two children”; *jwé nàš ile* “he is a different person”; *xá zaà*, *tré zaè*, *tahá zaè* “once, twice, three times”.

(2) particles functioning as conjunctions may receive medium or even strong stress for emphasis of insistence.

Examples: *agár là šamét* “if you should not listen”; *bále lã djéle* “but he did not come”.

4.2 SENTENCE AND PHRASE INTONATION

4.20 Intonation levels, segments and junctures

There are four tone levels: low ¹, medium ², fairly high ³, and high ⁴.

An intonation segment consists of one or more words preceding a final or semi-final juncture.

There are four types of final juncture: /./, /!/, /ù/ (specific question), /?/ (simple question) and four types of semi-final juncture: /,/ (hesitation pause), /.. / (insistence pause), /- -/ (endotaxis); for /:/ see 4.22.2 (1) (b).

Both the prejunctural members of a segment and the word sequences preceding them are bound with one or more types of intonation contours. Word junctures (marked by space) are disregarded in this connection.

4.21 Non-final members of a segment

In non-final members of a segment syllables with strong or medium stress have fairly high and medium tone in alternation.

Unstressed or weakly stressed syllables following strong or medium stress have a tone slightly lower than the preceding (marked \downarrow), which, however, does not descend to low.

Unstressed or weakly stressed syllables in utterance initial begin with medium tone which gradually rises to high (the rise is marked by \uparrow).

Examples: $\overset{3}{\text{át}} \downarrow \overset{2}{\text{jigróx}}$ (idjèle) “you (sg.m.) grew (angry) <you your-anger (came)>”;
 $\overset{2}{\text{ixalà}} \downarrow \overset{3}{\text{bašlana}} \downarrow \overset{2}{\text{ba-šultaná}} \downarrow \overset{2}{\text{dře}}$ (tkew) “the king’s cook returned (to his place);
 $\overset{2}{\text{xànčì}} \downarrow \overset{3}{\text{maé}} \downarrow \overset{2}{\text{mdélu}} \downarrow \overset{2}{\text{llew}}$ (g-talma) (S) “they brought him a little water (in a pitcher);
 $\overset{2}{\text{talmá}} \downarrow \overset{3}{\text{daroàw}}$ (reš kpanaw) “as she was putting the pitcher (on her shoulder)”.

In a long sequence spoken quickly all tones may be lowered by one level: (o broná) $\overset{1}{\text{ki}} \overset{1}{\text{maréwa}} \overset{2}{\text{tka}} \overset{2}{\text{ná}}$ (didí-la) “(that boy) who was saying <used-to-say> (the shop (is mine))”; $\overset{1}{\text{im}} \overset{2}{\text{billele}} \overset{2}{\text{reš}} \overset{2}{\text{nehrá}}$ (mašewále) “he took him to <on> the river (to make him drink)”.

4.22 Prejunctural intonation

4.22.1 Preceding final juncture.

(1) preceding /./ . A stressed syllable immediately preceding /./ has the intonation contour $\overset{21}{\text{—}}$; in other cases the lowering of the levels is distributed among the successive syllables.

Examples: e. $\overset{21}{\text{“yes.”}}$; la. $\overset{21}{\text{“no”}}$; láxxa. $\overset{2}{\text{“here.”}}$; xzélile. $\overset{2}{\text{“I saw him.”}}$.

If the last stress in the sequence falls upon a word that the speaker wishes to emphasize, the intonation contour is $\overset{31}{\text{—}}$.

Examples: e. $\overset{31}{\text{“why yes.”}}$; tára. $\overset{3}{\text{“outside.”}}$; la djéle. $\overset{3}{\text{“he did not come.”}}$; qiwta $\overset{3}{\text{litka}} \overset{2}{\text{ki}}$. “she has no strength, you see.”.

(2) preceding /¿/ the intonation contour is $\overset{43}{\text{—}}$ falling on the question particle other than prejunctural ma “what”, which has the contour $\overset{2}{\text{—}}$.

Examples: báma la djélox ¿ $\overset{4}{\text{“why did you (sg. m.) not come?”}}$; májjax $\overset{4}{\text{“what is the matter with you (sg.f.)?”}}$; léka zíllu $\overset{4}{\text{“where did they go?”}}$; má ¿ $\overset{2}{\text{“what (do you want to tell me)?”}}$; xzéle ma ¿ $\overset{3}{\text{“what do you think he saw <he-saw what?”}}$.

In N, the prejunctural unstressed syllable is frequently lengthened and has the contour $\overset{2}{\text{—}}$.

Examples: bod ma ješíwa $\overset{2}{\text{marpítta}}$: ¿ $\overset{2}{\text{“why do you (sg.m.) neglect the house of learning?”}}$; léka zillxu:n ¿ $\overset{2}{\text{“where did you (pl.) go?”}}$;

(3) preceding /?/ the intonation contour is $\overset{23}{\text{—}}$ or, if the stressed syllable is followed by more than one unstressed syllable $\overset{23}{\text{—}}^{\uparrow}$. If the sequence closes with an adverbial, the latter has the contour $\overset{2}{\text{—}}$.

Examples: $\overset{2}{\text{gbet}} \overset{3}{\text{“do you (sg.m.) want to?”}}$; háxxa³ (N) ~ áxxa³ (S) “(is that) so?”; $\overset{1}{\text{fakorétuni}} \overset{2}{\text{“do you (pl.) understand me? <are-you-understanding-me?”}}$;

³ ² ↓ ² ↓ ² ↓
la wélu láxxa ? “were they not here ?”.

In alternative questions the second segment has the intonation contour of /./.

Examples: ² ³ ↓ ² ↑ ² ↓ ² ↓ ¹ | ¹ ² ³
haram ile *jan halal* ile? “is it (ritually) forbidden or permitted?”; ¹ ² ³
izalet
¹ ² ↓ ² ¹
jan pjašet (N)? “are you (sg.m.) going or staying?”.

(4) preceding /!/ the intonation contour is ³² ↓.

Examples: ³ ² ↓ e ! “yes !”; ³ ² ↓ *bále* ! “o yes !”; ² ³² ↓ *malum* ! “certainly !”; ³ ↓ ² ↓ *heč la widen* !
“I (m.) have done nothing!”.

In N, there exists an emphatic intonation contour ⁴³ ↓⁽²⁾ : ⁴ ³ ↓ *la* ! “never !”; ² ↓ ⁴
xmara la
³ ↓ *xdur* ! “don’t be an ass !”; ⁴ ³ ² ↓ ⁴ ↓ ³ ² ↓ *ad léka* ! *ána léka* ! “what are you talking
about! <you where! I where>!”.

In S, there is a special type of intonation contour expressing acceptance of a given
situation: ⁴ ↓ or, if the stressed syllable is followed by more than one unstressed
syllable, ⁴ ↓ ³.

Examples: ⁴ ↓ *to* ! “allright !”; ³ ↓ ² ⁴ ↓ *jwe šimme lit* ! “there are no other names !”; ² ⁴
↓ ² ↓ *maret* ! “you (sg.m.) are right ! <true you-are-speaking !>”.

4.22.2 Preceding semi-final juncture.

(1) preceding /./.

This juncture is bound with two distinct types of intonation contour:

(a) in simple counting ² ↓ ² ↓ ² ↓ ² ↓ ² ↓ ² ↓ ²¹ : *xa, tre, taha, arba, (xamša.)* “one, two, three, four,
(five.)”; or, if the counter knows, or discovers, which number will be the last, the
penultimate number has the contour ⁴ ↓ ²¹ ⁴ ³ ²¹ : *xa, tre, (taha.)* “one, two, (three.)”.

(b) in all other cases, *i.e.* in enumeration and at the end, or before the beginning of,
subsidiary VPP (including those introduced by /:/), gerundial constructions and
clauses, the contour is ³ ↓.

Examples: ³ ↓ ² ↓ ² ¹
mad abet, (kwánox) “I (f.) shall give you (sg.m.) whatever you want
<whatever you-want I-shall-give-you>”; ¹ ↑ ² ³ ↓ ² ↓ ² ↓ ² ¹
agār abjat, (missat antjátu)
“if you (sg.f.) like, (you can take them)”; ² ↓ ² ↓ ² ↓ ³ ↓
lékit naše periwa, etc. “wherever
the people went etc.”; ² ↓ ³ ↓
o gorit, ki etc. “that man who etc.”; ² ↓ ³ ↓
xíre xzéle, etc. “he looked (and) saw (that)”.

In N there is a special contour of emphatic intonation followed by an impressive
pause: ⁴ ↓ ↑. This intonation contour invariably falls on a final – stressed or un -

stressed – open syllable; if it is preceded by a relatively long segment, the latter is spoken on a level medium tone.

Examples: $\overset{1}{a}\overset{2}{g}\overset{\downarrow}{\bar{a}}\overset{\uparrow}{r}$ il-d-aj $\overset{1}{\bar{s}}\overset{\downarrow}{u}\overset{\downarrow}{l}\overset{\uparrow}{a}$ la $\overset{1}{o}\overset{\downarrow}{d}\overset{\downarrow}{i}\overset{\downarrow}{t}\overset{\downarrow}{t}\overset{\downarrow}{e}$, etc. “if you do *not* do this thing etc.”; $\overset{2}{m}\overset{\downarrow}{i}\overset{\downarrow}{r}\overset{\downarrow}{e}$ ki, “he said that etc.”.

Another type of contour is $\overset{343}{\text{---}}$ at the end of each of three emphatic repetitions of a tagmeme or part of it.

Examples: $\overset{4}{x}\overset{3\downarrow}{a}\overset{4}{z}\overset{3\downarrow}{a}\overset{3\ 4}{t}\overset{3\uparrow}{a}$ zae, etc. “once, twice, three times, etc.; $\overset{2}{m}\overset{4}{i}\overset{3}{x}\overset{\downarrow}{d}\overset{3}{i}\overset{\downarrow}{r}\overset{\downarrow}{e}$, etc. “he took it around and around, etc.”.

(2) preceding /.../ there is a slight lowering of the preceding tone level.

Examples: $\overset{1}{a}\overset{2\downarrow}{g}\overset{3}{\bar{a}}$... $\overset{3}{l}\overset{2\downarrow}{a}$ gbet, etc. “if ... you (sg.m.) do not want to, etc.”; $\overset{1}{a}\overset{2}{g}\overset{\downarrow}{\bar{a}}$ magon $\overset{2}{k}\overset{3}{\bar{a}}\overset{2\downarrow}{\bar{s}}\overset{2\downarrow}{t}\overset{2\downarrow}{e}$... “if it drinks like a dog ...”.

(3) preceding /./ the intonation contour is identical with that of /,/ (b), except that all syllables have short vowels.

Example: $\overset{3\downarrow}{o}$.. $\overset{\downarrow}{n}\overset{\downarrow}{a}\overset{\downarrow}{\bar{s}}$.. $\overset{\downarrow}{h}\overset{\downarrow}{e}\overset{\downarrow}{\bar{c}}$.. $\overset{\downarrow}{l}\overset{\downarrow}{a}$.. $\overset{2}{k}\overset{2}{k}\overset{2}{i}\overset{2}{l}$ (N) “this .. man .. knows .. nothing .. at .. all.”.

(4) preceding and following /- -/ the intonation contours are identical with those of /,/ (b) and /./ respectively.

Examples: $\overset{3}{b}\overset{\downarrow}{\bar{a}}\overset{3}{m}\overset{3}{a}$ - $\overset{2}{m}\overset{1}{i}\overset{2}{r}\overset{1}{e}$ - $\overset{\downarrow}{l}\overset{2}{o}\overset{2}{d}\overset{\downarrow}{i}\overset{2}{t}\overset{\downarrow}{t}\overset{2}{e}$? “why — said he — should you (sg. m.) not do it?”; $\overset{1}{m}\overset{2}{-}\overset{1}{b}\overset{2}{a}\overset{1}{r}\overset{2}{u}\overset{1}{x}\overset{2}{a}\overset{1}{w}\overset{2}{e}\overset{1}{w}$ - $\overset{2}{u}\overset{2}{n}\overset{2}{e}\overset{2}{\bar{s}}$ $\overset{1}{h}\overset{2}{a}\overset{3}{x}\overset{2}{a}\overset{1}{m}\overset{2}{i}\overset{1}{m}\overset{2}{e}$ $\overset{2}{w}\overset{2}{e}\overset{2}{l}\overset{2}{u}$ — $\overset{2}{b}\overset{2}{q}\overset{2}{i}\overset{2}{r}\overset{2}{e}$ etc. (N) “he asked his friends — who were likewise scholars — etc.”.

PART TWO

Texts

1 MAASJE (LEGENDS)

(unless specified otherwise, told by A.M. of U)

(a) *sérah* brat ašer míra – *jala* g-dargušta šjaša wéla –: “*laj laj, bali, laj laj*, josef úle *g-misrájim*, ítte tre brone, xa manašše xa frájim!” *jaqo awínu janaw* wéle. míre: “brati, xaš mar, *timmit* mola la *tamjáte!*” xaš ja xabra m-reša xala amrálle: “*laj laj, bali, laj laj*, josef úle *g-misrájim*, ítte tre brone, xa manašše xa frájim”. jéza míre baaw: “*timmit* mola la *tamjáte*, bráti!”¹

Serah the daughter of Asser said, while she was rocking (her) child in the cradle: “Hushabye, hushabye, my child, behold, Joseph is in Egypt, he has two sons, one (is) Manasseh and the other Ephraim.” Our father Jacob was beside her. He said: “My daughter, say [it] again, may you not taste the taste of death!” Once more she said these words <anew> “Hushabye etc.”. So he said to her: “May you not taste the taste of death, my daughter!”

(b) xa joma xa gorá-twa, *kasíb* wele. baxtew kimráwa baew: “ja ma šulé-le, gora! *lefe* šiwe líttan lele *damxex*, *damoxex* reš tuna!” mire baaw goraw: “baxta, minnán-iš biš *bassor* naše íta, ki tuna-š la *mastxi* ki damxi rešew lele”. míra: “at šja ilet, góra!” g-d-aj maqoe wélu gorá-inán baxta, xa gora djéle, taru *tiptíplele*, míre ba-mar bela: “axxona, *qurban* xadren baow, šimjen tuná-ttox, xánči m-d-o tuna hol, paršex xelan, xelí-nán xel baxti, lele *damxex* rešew”. míre: “baxta, xzélax, minnan biš *bassor* naše íta?” qímla, idid rešid goraw nišqíla, míra: “*awa* xadir bel haššem^H, mad mírox *trosé-le*”.²

Once upon a time there was a man, [who] was very poor. His wife used to say to him: “What is this [state of] affair[s], husband! We have neither quilts [nor] bedding to sleep at night, we sleep <are sleeping> upon straw.” Her husband said to her: “Wife,

¹ GL II 115 f. and 145. The nearest (rhymed) version of the legend is to be found in MHG I 766; according to L. Schechter it may be based on an old hymn; it seems to be derived from AS 18. Cf. the version in the dialect of Zaxo (Western Iraqi Kurdistan) in ŠJHT 150 v. 22. For old sources of divergent versions see GL V 356, notes 293 and 295. The immediate source of the Jewish-Aramaic versions is not known.

² OP III 67b, based on the bab. Talmud Nedarim 50a.

there are people more deficient than we, who do not even find straw to sleep upon at night.” She said: “You are mad, husband!” While husband and wife were engaged in this talk, a man came, knocked [at] their door [and] said to the manster of the house: “Brother, I beseech you, I have heard [that] you have [some] straw, give [me] a little of that straw that we may spread [it] under us <under-me-and under my-wife> [and] sleep on it at night”. The husband said: “Wife, do you see now <you-saw> that there are people more deficient than we?” She rose, kissed her husband’s hand and head [and] said: “Praise be to God <may the house of the Name be inhabited>! What you said is true.”

(c) *gáat ašqalon palištímé-twa, ja šaúl-iš šultana wéle. ga-ašqalon itwa kimma bate hudaé. xa baxta wéla, goráw-iš mare-dolta wéle. ja gora mille. ayáat ašqalon šdíre bar baxta, míre: “b-adjat bai, šaqínnax ba-nóši?” – sqilta wéla. ja la ebéla – hudajta, o arel – la ebéla. xa danka šwawa twála diqnaxwara hudaá, gál d-o rába šalomí-twa g-aralyu, gbéniwa gal diyde. ja mdéla kimmit dehwe, xšilta twála, dirjila gáat xamša išta talme. xánči boš šwíqla il-talma, duša zinqra rešew, mlélale gál duša. ajne talme ištaju jájur widíla, kullu rešu mlélale duša, pinnu jsralle, imblíla, mtíwllalu geb d-o gora šwawaw diqnaxwara, míra: “ajne mar peši gebox amantit ilha atta ezan adjan.” xdíre lele. b-ganawula qímila, jriqla zilla, plítla m-ahra. kimma wada m-ara píre. qrawa xdíre g-aralyit palištíme g-aralyit šaul šultana. išta jarxe gríšla qrawu. bar išta jarxe qala plítla, naše mqélu, kullu psixlu, míru: šaul šultana xilbále qrawa. o gorit ki il-d-o baxta abo wélella ba-nóšew, il-d-o-š šaul šultana ga-qrawa qtilwalelle. ja baxta, ja gora šwawaw, ki ajne talme dréwala gebew, bronew migwírwalelle, xlula wada wéle baew. mdéle duša, mtíwle qabay naše ki axli. duša bsíre. zillu míru baew: “ayai, duša bsíre ba-mewane”. ja g-libbew míre: “ma oden?” balew píllu une talmit duša, ki o baxta mitwíwala g-belew. míre: “duša it, la zdímun!” míru: “ké-le?” míre: “une talme miljé-lu, símun, xa talma mdímun láxxa, btúllun minnew duša”. zillu, xa talma mdélu, duša btíllu minnew. duša kwíšle m-talma, xzélu: bára dehwe kwíšlu. halag médlu duša, mtíwlu qabay naše, xillu naše. xdíre baqatjom. qímle ja gora mar bela, kullu talme midjile, zinqríle g-xa satla, kullu dehwe pítile m-duša. zille, duša šqille, mdéle, talme miljile, mtíwlelu tkit wélu. naqafildan baxta mar talme djéla. míra: “šalom alexem^H, šwawi!” míre: “alexem^H šalom. míre baaw: “ma kéfilat”? míra: “rába kefi šbirté-la, ad ma kéf-ilet”? míre: “^Hbarux haššem^H, brixá šimmit ilha”! míre: “máto píra baax g-d-o olka”? míra: “eh! šula wéle, b-reši djéle. min d-aj kalba jriqánwa ki qtilulle, atta pasuxté-lan ídjan, gani priqla minnew. atta, ayai, baxšitti, rába razí-lan minnox, une talme d-aj duša hóluli, amblánu.” míre: “la kwínnu! wadit midjilax, hiwílix illi, tre našé-twa gálex, mdéwalax. sílax, mdílu galax, une sahlé-lu ki talme mispítáttu illi, ana-š b-idit d-une maspínnu illax”. míra “šbira!” zilla, une tre naše mištxílla, mdélallu geb d-o gora. míra: “jé-lu ajne tre naše, ki mdéwalillu o wada gáli ki talme hwíllilox, atta ajne haman (~ hamun) našé-lu.” míre: “šbira”. mdélellu illit talme, išta minnu hwíllellu*

illaw, imblila gäl d-une sahle. zilla bela, talme mitwila g-bela, *satla* mdéla, duša *batlale* m-rešu, xazja: min talma duša idájle. duša príqle m-talma, dehwe let, heč mindiy let! *hal* ištamnu *bitllila*, heč mindiy gau let, bäs duša! dehwe xšilta let gau! zilla gébit *šaul šultana*, mqéla baew kullu xabra ki mad brešaw idjéle mñ d-o gora, xšiltaw dehaw dirjwala g-talme, hiwíwala il-d-o šwawa, mqélalu kullu xabre ba-*šaul šultana*. mře: “*azizti*, sahlé-ttax ki xizju ki l-d-o xšilta dehwe g-talme dritáttu?” mřa: “la, bäs tre naše imbállulu l-talme bel d-o šwawi, mitwílu belew. une la kkiwa, gau xšilta dehwe ita, bäs kjiwa dušé-le. ana xšilta dehwe dréwalillu g-talme, duša *zinqirwali* rešu, imblili mitwili geb d-o gora šwawi, b-lele jirqáli m-bela mi-zdel d-o *aya* aj *ašqalon*, o illi abo wele gäl *zor*, ana jirqáli. atta šmitan ki mil gi-qrawa, *qtila* xdir, idjan, m-geb d-o gora šwawi talme šiqlile, imblili bela, *bitllili*, xzéli: kullu *boš*, let xšilta gau, bäs duša!” *šaul šultana* mře: “ana ja šula heč mindiy la *missen* oden baax, ki sahle líttax”. *bxéla*, *lwéla*, *tqéla*. mře: “bráti, xa xabra amren baax. sílax, majlis it loka, *haxamime*, sílax, mqi bau, bálki xa *čara* odi baax. ana m-idi mindiy la gde”. zilla, bilbilla, *mištlxla* il-d-aj majlis aj *dignaxware*, mad mirwala ba-*šaul šultana*, ba-d-une-š háxxa mqéla. *riwwit* aj *dignaxware* mře baaw: “xalunti, sahlé-ttax?” mřa: “la!” mře: “heč mindiy m-idan la gde baax ba-wada. kud *šreta* gäl sahlé-la. sahle líttax, príqla!” *plitla* tara, zilla baxila, *hawar hawar* dahole dahole, pirčaw čaqoe čaqoe. birdan *mtéla*, xzéla: reš *wirxa* sra danqe jwanqe *tjalélu gäl diyde*. xa danqa minnu mře baaw: “bod ma baxilat? ilha dhilillax *jan* banda dhilillax?” mřa: “la, bróni”. xřa l-d-aj brona, xzéla: xa sqila jwanqé-le. mřa: “bróni, b-reši háxxa xa šula dje.” magon mqéla ba-*šaul šultana* baat majlis, ba-d-o brona mqéla. brona kixkále, mře: “sílax geb *šultana*, mar kaxtja hawil baax, *ijaza* hawil. ana gden, šulax duz godinne imarit ilha.” zilla geb *šaul šultana*, mira: “*ayai šultana*, xa brona ita, mare bai: mar *šultana ijaza* hawil bai, ana ja šula duz godinne imarit ilha.” mře: “sílax, brona mdíle gebi”. baxta djéla, mřa: “*qurban* xadren baux, ida gáli, *šultana* abúlellox!” zille gälaw. baxta mřa: “*ayai šultana*, jé-le, mdélille.” *šaul šultana* xzéle llew il-d-aj brona, kixkále, mře: “at b-d-aj zorulox *misset šreta* odítta?” baxta mřa ba-*šultana*: “*ayai šultana*, mad ilha dare g-libbit d-o, godinne.” mře: “šbira!” intéle *šaul šultana*, xa kaxtja kliwle, *qol* grišle rešaw, *zbotew* dirjále reš kaxtja, mře baew: “ana baux *qol* hwílli, sílox, šul d-aj príqlé!” baqatjom xđře, o brona šđře bar *dignaxwarit ahra*, djélu. šđře bar d-o gora-š, šwawit aj d-o baxta, ki talmit duša gebew wélu, baxta mitwíwala gebew. idjéle geb d-o brona, geb *dignaxware*. jtíwlu *gäl diyde*, kulla, ja baxta-š mar talme loka *smixté-la*. o brona mře baaw: “jtuw, la *smux* rešid aqlé”. jtíwla. ja brona mře ba-gora *dignaxwara* ki talmit duša gebew wélu, mře: “ajne talme ja baxta illox mispitállu? at heč mindiy la *btilet* minnu, la duša la dehwe? dehwe itwa gau!” mře: “ana la xizjen gau, la kkéna-š! waxtit izalaw b-ident sahle mispitállu illi, géna une sahle idjéni, b-ident d-une sahle-š ana mispjinnulla. jé-lu sahle, bqur minnu!” o brona bqíre minnu, mře: “axnxun ajne talme imbállxun m-bel d-o gora? la jállxun gau má-twa?” mřu: “axni la kkex.” bára qlíble gab d-o gorit ki talme gebew wélu, mře baew: “duz mqi: ajne talme la *btilet* minnu heš mindiy? ja tre zae bqíri minnox, duz mqi!” mře: “m-awwal

duz mří baox, atta-š duz maren baox, la kken!” ja brona ja talma intélele b-idew, mře: “*dignaxware*, kullxun xzímun, xurun, duglana máni-le.” ja talma dhillele gaza, xdíre xamša šta tike, *qitte qitte* xdíre. xa *qitta mrimle* b-idew o brona, xzéle: xa dehwa *ltix* illit talma *mi-lwa* gäl duša. mře: “ja má-jle, *dignaxware*?” mixwélele il-d-une *dignaxware*, mře: “xzímun, ma ile láxxa ja, dehvé-le *jan* duša?” mřru: “xazúlex dehvé-le, gäl duša *ltix* il-talma.” brona mře ba-d-o gora: “tez, sílox, ajne talme *mlilu* dehwe, išta danqé-lu, hólu l-baxta, ambla eza bela. agär la, atta kwen ba-šultana taltélox.” xen la *misséle* maqéwa. xabra mtéle *l-šultana šaul*, jillele dawid ile, mře: “^Hjehi dawid ben jišaj^H!”³

There were Philistines in Ascalon; at that time Saul was king. In Ascalon there were a few Jewish families <houses>. There was a woman, whose husband was very rich. That man died. The lord of Ascalon sent for the woman [and] said: “Will you come to me [so that] I may marry you <take-you for-myself>?” She did not agree <want>, [for she was] a Jewess and he [was] uncircumcized, [so] she did not agree. She had a neighbour, an old Jewish man, with whom she had very friendly relations <they liked eachother very much>. This [woman] brought some pieces of gold – she had some jewelry – and put them in five [or] six pitchers. She left a little empty [space] in each pitcher, poured [some] honey on it [and] filled it with honey. Thus she did [with] all the six pitchers: she filled all of them with honey, bound their openings, took them along, put them in the house of that man [who was] her neighbour [and] said: “Let these stay with you on trust <trust of God> until I come back <go come>.” That night <it-became night> she rose stealthily, fled [and] left the city. Some time passed <from-meanwhile>. A war broke out <became> between the Philistines and King Saul. The war lasted six months. At the end of <after> six months a rumour spread, people began to talk <talked>; all of them were glad and said: “King Saul [has] won the war.” That man who had wanted <was wanting> that woman for himself had also been killed by King Saul in battle. Now this man [who was] her neighbour, in whose house she had put the pitchers, had married his son and was making a wedding feast for him. He brought [some] honey [and] placed [it] before the people to eat. The honey came to an end <became little>. His servants went and said to him: “My lord, the honey will not suffice the guests”. He said to himself: “What shall I do?” Then he remembered those pitchers of honey which that woman had put in his house. He said: “There is [plenty of] honey, never fear!” They said: “Where is it?” He said: “Those pitchers [over there] are full, go, bring one of them <one pitcher> here [and] pour out [some] honey from it.” They went, brought a pitcher [and] poured some honey out of it. [As] the honey came out of the pitcher, they saw [that] pieces of gold came after [it]. For the time being they brought the honey, placed it before the people [and] the people ate. In the morning <it became morning> this man – the host – rose, brought all the pitchers, poured them out into a bucket; all the pieces of gold

³ GL IV 85 and VI 250, note 26, from BHM IV 150 f. Immediate source OP I 23b-24a.

came out of the honey. He went, bought [some] honey, filled the pitchers, bound their openings [and] returned them in <their> place. All of a sudden the woman to whom the pitchers belonged came along. She said: “Peace be upon you, my neighbour!” He said: “Upon you be peace!” Then he said: “How are you?” She said: “I am very well. How are *you*?” He said: “Praised be the name of God!” Then he said: “How did it fare with you in that city?” She said: “Well, there was a [certain] matter [that] happened to me. I had run away from that dog whom they [have] killed. Now I am glad [that] I have come, [that] I have escaped him <my-soul escaped from-him>. [And] now, my lord, if you will excuse me – I am very grateful to you [for your kindness] – give me those pitchers [of] honey [so] I may take them along.” He said: “I shall not give them [to you]. At the time you brought them [and] gave them to me, you had two men with you [whom] you had brought along. Go, bring them with you; they are witnesses that you have handed these pitchers over to me, and I shall hand them over to you in their presence <by-hand-of those>.” She said: “Very well.” She went, found those two men, brought them to that man [and] said: “Here are these two people whom I had brought at the time when I gave you the pitchers; <now> these are the same people. He said: “Very well.” He brought the pitchers, gave her all six of them, [and] she took them along with those witnesses. She went home, placed the pitchers in the house, brought a bucket, emptied the honey over it [and] saw <sees> [that] honey was <is> coming out [of them]. The honey came to an end <from the pitcher>, [but] there were <is> no pieces of gold, there was <is> nothing at all! Even after she [had] emptied all of them, there was nothing in them but honey; there were neither pieces of gold nor jewels. She went to King Saul [and] told him the whole story <matter> that [had] happened to her with <from> that man, [how] she had put her jewels [and] her gold into the pitchers [and] given them to that neighbour of hers; she told [him] everything. King Saul said: “My dear, have you [any] witnesses who have seen that you had <have> put those jewels and pieces of gold into the pitchers?” She said: “No, only two people [who] took the pitchers along to the house of <that> my neighbour [and] placed them in this house. They did not know <not used-to-know> [that] there were <are> jewels and gold in them, they knew only that it was <is> honey. I had put the jewels and the gold into them, poured honey over them [and then] took them along and placed them in the house of that man [who is] my neighbour. In the night I ran away from home out of fear of the lord of Ascalon; he had wanted [to take] me by force, [so] I ran away. Now I have heard that he has died in battle, has been killed. I have come, taken the pitchers from that man [who is] my neighbour, brought them home, emptied them [and] saw [that] all of them were empty, there were <is> no jewels in them, only honey.” King Saul said: “I cannot do anything at all for you in this matter, for you have no witnesses.” She wept, begged [and] implored [him]. Finally he said: “My daughter, I will tell you something. Go, there is a council [over] there, [composed of] rabbis; go, tell them about your plight, may be they can find <might do> a way out for you. I can do nothing <from-my-hand thing not comes>”. She went, sought [and] found this

council of elders. What she had told King Saul, she told them too <thus>. The chief of the elders said to her: "My sister, do you have witnesses?" She said: "No!" He said: "We cannot do anything for you. Every judgment is [passed] by aid of <with> witnesses. [If] you have no witnesses, nothing can be done <it (f.)-finished>!" She went out [and] walked along weeping, calling violence [and] tearing her hair. All of a sudden she came to a certain place, [and] saw ten young men playing with each other on the road. One of them said to her: "Wherefore are you weeping? Have you been stricken by God or by man <has God struck you or has man struck you>?" She said: "No, my son". She then looked at this boy and saw that he was <is> a handsome youth. She said: "My son, something has happened to me <came on-my-head>". What she [had] told to King Saul [and] to the council, she told [also] to that boy. The boy laughed and said: "Go to the king; let him give you a letter <permission let-him-give>. I will come and put your matter right, God willing". She went to King Saul [and] said: "My lord the king, there is a boy who tells me <he-is-saying to-me>: let the king give me permission [and] I will put this matter right, God willing". He said: "Go, bring the boy to me". The woman came [to the boy and] said: "I beseech you <may-I-be your-sacrifice>, come with me, the king is wanting you". He went along with her. King Saul saw this boy, laughed [and] said: "You, who are so young <in-this your-youth>, can pass judgment?" The woman said to the king: "My lord the king, whatever God puts in the heart of that [boy], he [says] I shall do." He said: "Very well!" King Saul took [some paper] wrote a letter, signed it <drew arm over-it>, put his finger on the letter [and] said to him: "I have given you my signature <for-you arm I-drew>, go, bring her matter to an end!" In the morning that boy sent for <after> the elders of the city; they came. He also sent for that man, the neighbour of that woman who had the pitchers of honey that the woman had placed at his house; he came to that boy [and] to the elders. They all sat down together. That <this> woman, the owner of the pitchers was <is> also standing there. That boy said to her: "Sit down, do not remain standing <stand not> on your feet!" She sat down. That boy said to the old man who had the pitchers <he-said>: "Has this woman handed these pitchers over to you? You have not taken anything out of them, neither honey nor pieces of gold? There were pieces of gold in them!" He said: "I have not looked <seen> into them, neither do I know [anything]! At the time she went away <of her-going> she handed <has-handed> them over to me before witnesses. These witnesses came again, and I have handed them over to her before them. These are the witnesses, ask them!" That boy asked them <he-said>: "Did you take these pitchers from that man's house? Did you know what was in them?" They said: "We do not know!" After this he turned towards the man who had the pitchers [and] said to him: "Tell the truth <speak straight>: have you not taken anything out of these pitchers? Now I have now asked you twice; tell [me] the truth!" He said: "I told you the truth the first time and am telling you the truth now; I do not know [anything]."

That boy took the <this> pitcher in his hand [and] said: "Elders, look all of you [and] see who is the liar!" He struck the pitcher [with]

an ell, [and] it broke into <became> five [or] six pieces; it broke into pieces. The boy took one piece up <with his hand> [and] saw [that] a piece of gold had <is> become stuck to the pitcher from inside with honey. He said: “What is this, elders?” He showed it to the elders [and] said: “See, what is this here? Is it gold or honey?” They said: “We see <are-seeing> [that] it is a piece of gold [that] has become stuck to the pitcher with honey.” The boy said to that man: “Go quickly, fill these pitchers with pieces of gold – they are six of them –, give them to the woman [so] she may take them along [and] go home. If not, I will let <give> the king hang you!” That man was not able to say anything more. The news reached King Saul; he knew [that] this [boy] was <is> David; he said: “Long live David the son of Jesse!”

(d) joma b-dawrit dawid hammélex nokārawit dawid hammélex *plítlu* xadore. imbillu gālu bee, lixma, mad *lazīm* wéle ba-ixala. ajne *plítlu*, zillu gaat xa čol tka, gille glale *plítwa*. jtíwlu lóka, mǐru: “ja tka jwánile, *baruxawe!*” *sifru* plíxlu kud naša *qanšārew*, xillu. xaju mǐre báad *baruxew*: “tre bee hóli b-dena m-aj dídox, axlínnu, ana kwen baوخ bára.” mǐre: “la, axxóni, agār gbet, ana tre bee kwen baوخ, xul. ma *wadit* ajne bee hiwílox illi, gāl *baru* hawítu.” o naša la jille *baru* ma-ile. mǐre: “ana gāl kulla *baru* kwínnu llox.” ajne xillu šwélu, kullu naše idjélu belu. kimma šinne píre. bára ja bee šaqłana mǐn d-o gora imbille tre bee, hiwíllu illew. la ibjile, mǐre baew: “ana sahlé-tti, ajne bee b-ident d-ajne sahle hwilínnu baوخ: gāl kulla *baru* hawítu. la šaqłinnu atta minnox.” mǐre: “la šaqłittu, sílox!” jǵíre llew. ja gora marid bee zille geb dawid hammélex, *šřeta* wídle m-d-o gora ki tre bee hwilwale baew. mǐre ba-dawid hammélex: “ana tre bee hwilen ba-xa *baruxi*. jtíwexwa, lixma ixala wélan g-dašta, tre bee šiqłile, xilile, bále b-ident tre sahle hiwíli baew, mǐri: ajne tre bee gāl kulla *baru* b-hawítu ma *wadit* hiwílox illi. háxxa qbille ba-nóšew. šart háxxa *qtélan* b-ident tre sahle. atta midje tre bee, hwaléllu illi. ušwa šinne pir. *ayai šultana* dawid hammélex, ja *šřeta* wúdla!” dawid hammélex šďře bar d-o. idjéle gébit dawid hammélex, dawid hammélex mǐre baew: “báma at tre beit aj d-o gora la hwalittu gāl kulla *baru*? ušwa šinne pir, kud beta darítta xel xa klela, xa juja *palta*, *rawéni*, xadri tre kille. kud klela xa šata imma bee goda. ja trémme bee darítta xel kille, trémme juje *palti*, *rawéni*, xadri kille. kud klel(t)a imma bee goda, ja isri alpe!” mǐre baew: “sílox, *haqqit* d-aj gora *tamam kamal* wúdle, hóle. la hawítu, darínnox *g-dussay!*” *plítle* tara baxila baxila, xzéle: xamša išta *jale riwwe tjalu*. xa minnu xře il-d-aj gora, mǐre: “báma baxilet?” mǐre: “dardi la kkítte!” o brona kixkále illew, mǐre baew: “mar bai, xazen ma xdir!” mǐre baew: “bróni, zílexwa geb dawid hammélex *šřeta*. tre bee šqílwali *m-baruxi* – bšile wélu –, xilíli, kpina wéli. bali zille, la hiwíli, píšlu. atta ušwa šinne pir. bali píllu, izalen hwalínnu baew, la antuléllu. zil geb dawid hammélex, *šřeta* wide. zillí lóka, dawid hammélex maréle bai: atta ušwa šinne pir, atta bee madulittu illew, gāl kulla *baru* b-hawítu. bšile bee wélu, l-ajolen ma oden, *qurban* xadren baوخ!” o brona kixkále, mǐre: “ámí! ajolet ma íta?” mǐre: “la!”

míre: “dawid hammélex b-ezil qrawa. sílox, xa danka zami ita reš d-o *wirxa* ki dawid hammélex b-ezil gál qošinew qrawa. il-d-o zami kulla xpūra, janjar wúđla. sílox g-šuqa, maše šqul, isri hafte, mdi bšúllu g-xa *qazanja*, m-o búzlu, drílu g-xa danka *torba*, intílu *xasox*, sílox lóka g-d-o zami qošínit dawid hammélex móka pjara, brúđlu g-d-o zami. baqri minnox: ma zarúlet? mar: maše bšile zarúlen. kaxkílallox ane naše, kimri baox: šjé-let? mar bau: ana šja léwen, símun ba-dawid hammélex, márún: beta bšilta juje *palta*? agār o juje *palta*, ajne-š gogarmiš xadri!” mad o brona míre baew, háxxa wídle. míru baew našit qošin: “šjé-let ad? dawid hammélex la kmir háxxa!” míre: “símun, bqúrun minnew!” zíllu míru ba-dawid hammélex: “xa danka gora šja xzélan, maše bšilíllu, midje barodíllu g-zami, mare: ajne gogarmiš xadri. míran baew: la xadri, bšilé-lu! míre baan: bās máto dawid hammélex mare: beta bšilta darítta xel klela, xadra juja?” dawid hammélex šďfre bar d-o gora g-zami zarjana, xíre llew, kixkále, míre: “ja *aql* máni illox mlípille?” míre: “heč naš!” míre: “la mar, heč naš! ana kjen máni mlípille llox! *zbótít* broni šalomo g-d-aj šulé-la! *srúxune* il-broni, mar ade!” bronew idjéle geb dawid hammélex, míre: “*ayai*, ma abúlet minni?” míre: “bróni, ilha *baríxlox*, ilha *aqlóx* mazíđlox!” ba-d-o gora-š míre dawid hammélex: “si, tre bee bšile hol baew.” *priqla šretu*.⁴

One day at the time of King David the king’s servants went out for a walk; they took with them [some] eggs, [some] bread, whatever was necessary to eat. They [these] went out [of the city and] came to a desert spot, [where there were] all kinds of plants <grasses strings had-come-out>. There they sat down saying [they said]: “This is a nice spot, friends!” Everyone spread <opened> his table-cloth before him [and] they began to eat <they-ate>. One of them said to his friend: “Give me two of your eggs [that] I may eat them, I shall give them [back] to you later.” The other one said: “No, my brother, if you like I will give you two eggs; eat [them]. But when you return me these eggs, you shall return them with all their fruit.” That man did not know what their fruit was <is>; [yet] he said: “I will return them to you with all their fruit.” They ate [until] they were satisfied, [then] all the people went <came> home. A few years passed. After that he who had taken the eggs from that man took along two eggs [and] gave them to him. [The lender] did not accept <want> them [and] said to him: “I have witnesses, I have given you these eggs before these witnesses [on the condition that] you should return them with all their fruit. I shall not accept them from you now.” [His friend] said: “[If] you will not take them, go away!” He was angry with him. The man who had owned the eggs went to King David and sued that man whom he had given the two eggs. He said to King David: “I have given two eggs to one of my friends. [At that time] we were sitting [and] having our dinner in the field; he took two eggs, ate them. But I gave them to him before two witnesses, saying <I said>: you shall return me these two eggs with all their fruit at the time you bring <give> them. He agreed to this <thus he-took upon-himself>; we made <cut>

⁴ GL VI 285, from LRC. Immediate source unknown.

this condition before two witnesses. Now he has brought two eggs, and wants to give <is-giving> them to me. [However] seven years have passed [since then]. My lord the king, King David, judge between us <this judgment make-it>!” King David sent for that [other man]. He came before the king. The latter said to him: “Why are you not returning the two eggs belonging to this man with all their fruit? Seven years have passed. In the meantime you should [have] put each egg under a hen, a chicken could [have] come out of it; the chickens would have grown [would-grow] and become two hens. Every hen lays <makes> a hundred eggs a year; you could [have] put these two hundred eggs under hens; two hundred chickens could have come out [of them], grown up and become hens. Each hen might have laid a hundred eggs, making ten thousand in all.” He (then) said to him: “Go, give <do> this man his full due <give-him>! If not, I will put you in prison.” [The man] went out weeping. [On his way] he saw five [or] six big boys playing. One of them looked at that man [and] said: “Why are you weeping?” He said: “You do not know my trouble!” That boy laughed at him [and] said to him: “Tell me, I will see what has happened!” He said to him: “My son, we had gone to King David [for] judgment. I had taken two eggs from my friend – they were boiled – and ate them, [for] I was hungry. I forgot to give them back <I-forgot, not I-gave-them> [and] they remained [unreturned]. Now seven years have passed [since then]. I remembered [them and] wanted to return them <I-am-giving-them> to him, [but] he is not taking them. He has gone to King David to sue me <he-has-made judgment>. I went there. King David said <is-saying> to me: Seven years have passed; now [that] you are bringing [and] giving him the eggs, you shall give them with all their fruit. They were boiled eggs; I do not know <not I-am-knowing> what to do. I beseech you, [help me]!” That boy laughed [and] said: “My uncle, do you know what there is [to do]?” [The man] said: “No”. [The boy] said: “King David is going to war with his army. Go, there is a plot of land on the way [upon] which King David will be going to war with his army. Dig up all that land [and] plow it. Then go to the market, buy [some] beans – twenty haftas – bring [them home], cook them in a pot, [them] pour them out of it, put them into a sack, take them on your back, go to that plot of land where King David’s army will pass [and] strew them on that land. They will ask you: What are you sowing? Tell them: I am sowing boiled beans. These people will laugh at you [and] say to you: Are you mad? Tell them: I am not mad. Go to King David and say: Does a boiled egg produce chickens? If it does, [then] these beans, too, will sprout!” He did as [what] the boy told him. The army men said to him: “Are you mad? King David does not say so!” He said: “Go [and] ask him!” They went [and] said to King David: “We saw a madman [who] had <has> cooked [some] beans and brought [them] and is scattering them in the earth, saying: these will sprout. We told him: They will not, [for] they are boiled! But he said to us: Yet how does King David say: You could have put a boiled egg under a hen [so that] it might become a chicken?” King David sent for that man who had sown the land, looked at him, laughed [and] said: “Who has taught you this <sense>?” He said: “No one!” The king said: “Do not say ‘no one’.

I know who has taught you. My son Solomon's finger is in this matter! Call my son, let him come!" His son came to him [and] said: "My lord, what do you want of me?" [The king] said: "My son, God bless you, God increase your sense". And to that man King David said: "Go, give him two boiled eggs!" [Thus] their law-suit ended.

(e) xa joma dawrit šalomo hammélex wéle. ja šalomo hammélex ilha míre baew: "la *qarawaše* mazidet, la niše mazidet, wa-la-š susawe mazidet." ja xa *wada* píre. háxxa *aql* idjéle b-rešew, míre: "xa ja šula *jarbínne* ana, niše, *qarawaše*, susawe mazidinnu!" zidíle, šqílle. bod ma ja *xjal* wídlele? míre: "alpa niše hawéli, šata alpa bronawi xadri, kulla qošin minni xadra, xen illi la abjana la kwe." xa *wada m-ara* píre. ^H*haqqadoš barux hu* m-šalomo hammélex jigrew idjéle, míre baad *ašmaddaj*: "sílox geb šalomo hammélex, sqiltew m-idew *plítla*, pirtúfla *g-jama*, il-nošew-iš pirtúfle!" zille *ašmaddaj*, háxxa wídle. baqatjom xdfre. *ašmaddaj* jtiwle tkit šalomo hammélex reš kursjew, nóšew wídale b-šiklit aj šalomo hammélex. kimmit naše idájlu gebew, *šretu šarúlella*, heč naš la ajole ki ja *ašmaddaj* ile jtiw tkit šalomo hammélex. xa lele *daat* salomo hammélex *dmixáwa*, baxtéw-iš *dmixáwa janaw* g-xa *otay* – niddanta wéla. idjéle šalomo hammélex *or* g-šiwjaw. míra: "šalomo hammélex, ja bäs bod ma háxxa wadet? *aql ox bsir*? at heč háxxa šula la godítwa, waxtit niddula la gdétwa gebi. ja *haram* ila!" háxxa imara ja *plítla* zille. xa kimma lelawe píre. zille *wíre* g-šiwjit *daew*. *daew* míra: "bróni! máto idjet šiwji, broní-let!" háxxa imara baew, qímle *plítla* zille. baqatjom xdfre, majlís *qirpisáwa*. zilla *daat* šalomo hammélex, *wíra* lóka gebu, šalom hwillallu. qímle *m-qabayaw*, míru baaw: "jtuw!" jtiwla. míru: "ma joma b-jomawew at idjat láchxa idjom?" míra: "*qurban* xadran baxun! lele broní idjéle, g-šiwji *órwa*. ja ma jur šulé-le? axnxun ja *šir* b-ajétune!" ajne kixkálu illaw, míru baaw: "sílox ídlel, *dmux* gi-tkax, tara-š šúqle plixa. xa langäri *qitma* šwíle, plúxle gaaw háxxa, mtú(w)a *qabay* tara, at *dmux*. baqatjom il-langäri mdíla láchxa geban." míra: "šbira!" qímle *plítla* zilla, šalom hwilla bau. lele djéla, *dmixla*, xa langäri *qitma* dréla gaaw, plíxlale l-*qitma* g-langäri, *štéla dmixla*. baqatjom qímle, langäri imbíllala gaat majlís. xíru-llaw, xzélu: *g-qitma* aqlit kille it gaaw. míru: "ja *ašmaddaj* ile!" jíllu ki aqlit šedim ilu. míru: "ja šalomo hammélex léwe, ja *ašmaddaj* jtiw tkew." wazirit šalomo hammélex zilwa g-xa olka qamol kimma jarxe, xzéle xa gora jullew jliqe, maréle: "*banajáhu* ^Hben^H *jehojada*, ad wazirí-let, ajolítiti?" *qala* la hwíllelew, míre: "ja šjé-le!" dífre djéle, jtiwle gaad majlís. ja xabra šmélele míru ki *ašmaddaj* jtiw tkit šalomo, *zbotew* nisále, míre: "hamun xabré-le, hamun goré-le! šalomo hammélex wéle ki bai míre: ad wazirí-let." ja šula píšle.

xabra m-máni hawíxxe? m-šalomo hammélex. ja šalomo hammélex zille, reš intélele, xdfre m-olka, bále hušew rešew léwe. zille olkit *amman*, *plítwa* šuqa, xadora wéle. o joma ixala bašlanit *šultana plítwa* g-šuqa, *sawzje*, pisra, mindiyane šaqílwa. šqílle, príqle, dirjívale g-xa danka *torba*. birdán il-šalomo hammélex xzélele. šalomo hammélex šjé-le, la mašbúle ki šalomo hammélex ile. libbew qílle illew, o gora, míre

baew: “ida, il-d-ajne mindiyane, *torbit* dīdi, mdīla gāli bela.” intjále *xasew torba*, imblāle gālew bela, belit ixala bašlana *ba-šultana*. ja gora libbew qīle l-d-aj, mīre baew: “ad *dmux* lāxxa gebi. kud lele-w joma ixalox, šatoox, jullox kwīnox. xānči šula wud bai joma.” mīre: “*qurban* xadren baox, tka litti ana *damxen*. agār at xa tka hawet bai *damxen*, ixala-š axlen, mat kimret goden baox!” ja jtīwle geb d-aj, kimma jarxe šula wīdle. xa joma ja ixala bašlanit *šultana* mīre baat šalomo hammélex: “ídjom axni íttan kullu *sawzje*, pisra, *hazır* ilu. ad *misset* xallıttu, qalwıttu, darıttu gaad qoqa reš nura, *hattod* ezen šuqa, aden?” mīre: “reš eni, báma la *missen*?” ja ixala bašlana *plıtle* zılle. šalomo hammélex qımle, kullu mindiyane xıllıle, *sawza*, pisra, dirjıle g-qoqa, jwéxet mindiyane mad *lazım* wéle *ba-šultana* bšılle, čunkit jlíp-wa – lóka kimma *wada* wéle – ma bašli, ma la bašli *ba-šultana*. ja ixala bašlana gej idjéle m-šuqa. ixala šalomo hammélex bšılwale, *hazır* wıdwale. ja ixala *ba-šultana* bašlana idjéle. xa pilgit *sata* pıre. idjélu, xabra hıwillu baad ixala bašlana: “*nahar* mdi *ba-šultana*!” albahal dréle, *hazır* wıdle g-amane mad *lazım* wéle *ba-ixala* *ba-šat*oe, imblıle, mitwıle *qabay šultana*. ja *šultana* xılle min d-ajne ixale, mīre: “il-d-o ixala bašlana *srúxune*!” idjélu mıru baew: “*šultana* abúlellox!” zılle geb *šultana*, reša mkıple *il-šultana*. *šultana* mīre baew: “ja ixala máni bšıléle?” ja ixala bašlana rıtle, zdéle, mīre: “ana la bšılınne ídjom ixala, *ayai šultana*!” mīre: “máni bšıléle?” mīre: “xa danka íta, nokār xel idi, ídjom o midjıle, mispéli kullu mindiyane illew, mıri: “ídjom ad bšul *hattod* ezen aden! ana xšıwli tez gden, bále gej idjéli. ixala kullew o bšılwalele, *hazır* wıdwalele *hal* adınwa.” *šultana* mīre: “il-d-o ixala bašlana ídjom, ki miret baew bšıléle, *srúxle* mar ade gebi.” zılle *srıxlele*. idjéle geb *šultana*. *šultana* bqıre minnew, mīre: “ja ixala at bšılıtte ídjom?” mīre: “e, *ayai šultana*.” mīre: “*hattot* atta magon d-aj ixala la xıláli!” min ídjom lógab mīre *ba-d-o* ixala bašlana *ba-šultana*: “*lazım* ile at xélit d-o šula odet, o jatiw tkox, ma jur o ixala bašıl, mar bašıl!” g-d-o *sata*^H*haqqadoš barux hu*^H balew mindéle l-šalomo hammélex. ja bašılwa hammeša *ba-šultana* ixala. nošéw-iš jwan kxılwa, jwan kaséwa, šmınne, *xrıtle*, sqılle. xa joma bratit *šultana* idjéla, g-bel ixala bašole *wıra*, xzélale l-d-aj šalomo hammélex, enaw pilla llew. zılla mıra *ba-daaw*, mıra: “*dáe*, ana o brona ixala bašlana *ba-dadi* gbáne, goran gālew. mar *ba-dadi* hawılli baew, gorex gāl *diyde*.” mıra: “bráti, abúlat dadax *qatıllax*?” mıra *ba-daaw*: “*dáe*, arxain xdur, agār dadi la hawılli *ba-d-o*, gban *qatılli jan* taltéli! xen xae la gban *bar d-o* brona, libbi dwıq illew.” zılla *daaw* mira: “góra, bratox *il-d-o* brona abúlalle ki ixala baox bašlana ile.” *šultana* mīre *ba-baxtew*: “brati jomit molaw *mıte*! máto! *sultane* šadoru baraw elčula, ana *razi* len xadora! o izala, xa danka *kasıb* naša abúla, gora gālew, abúla šimmit *šultani* *xarab* odále!” baqatjom xđıre. šđıre *bar wazırew*, mīre baew: “sılox, *il-d-aj* brati, xaš *il-do* ixala bašlana bai, drılu *g-xa arabana*, imbúllu tıltılu! mīre: “šbıra!” baqatjom xđıre. wazır qımle, *wıre* gaat xaznit *šultana*, kimmit danke kiste *lal*, *jawahirate*, *brıljande*, fısse, dehwe *mljıle*, *hazır* wıdıle, dirjıle *g-xa sanduqa*. *tre taha* sanduqe wıdle zóre zóre. broná-inán brata dirjıle gaat *arabana*, imblıle zılle *qráyit* xa olka, *mirpjıle*, *plıtle* zılle. ajne zıllu, *wıru* gaat šahār, zıllu, xa danka *otay* dwıqlu bi-kre. xđıre jom arota. ja šalomo hammélex *plıtle*, zılle *qray jama*, xzéle: masje

dwaqu. mîre bau: “xa *tor* mindîmun bai alhadda, masje dóqun bai!” mîru: *wadan* pir, la *missex samxex*, geġ ila!” mire: “xa *tor* mindîmun *ba-mazzali* reš *moe g-jama*, mat *palit* mar *palit*! la *palit*, géna fisse kwinnxun!” *tor* mindélula reš *jama*, giršálu, xa masita djéla. *piltálu*, hiwálu baew. *plítte*, fisse hwille bau, mîre: “šqúlun, ja *taha* dehwe!” mîru baew: “*rába razí-lex* minnox!” masita ntjále, midjále bela. o bratit ki midjáwale gálew, bratit *šultana*, skita mdéla, kasit masita širjála, idaw mindéla kasit masita, mjawaw *piltála*, xzéla xa sqilta. šalomo hammelex xizjále, mîre: “ja sqiltit didí-la!” hār dirjále *zbotew*, hoxmew idjéla rešew. mîre g-libbew: “ana lóka? ja tka lóka?” mîre ba-d-o brata: “*qúlax ezex*!” jtíwlu gāl *arabana*, duz idjélu jerušalájim. idjéle, *wíre lwa*, jsíqle lílja, xzéle l-wazirew *banaja* ^Hben^H *jehojada*, mîre baew: “ana šalomo hammélex ilen!” mahtal píšle. imbillele gaat majlís, mîre: “jé-le šalomo hammélex, idjéle, mare: ané-len šalomo hammelex.” bqíre minnew o wazir, mîre: “xa *nišan* íttox, hawet bai, ki šalomo hammélex ilet?” mîre: “e”. mîre: “o *wadit* dadi *dignaxwara* xdírwa, *dai* mdélalli, xa idi drélala g-id dadi, mîra: “ja broní amantxun hawja llew, *ayai* dawid hammélex! at mîrox: ja šalomo broní jatiw tki.” háxxa imara, kullu qímlu, nšíqlullew, mîru: “atta ma godex gāl d-aj *ašmaddaj*?” kullu ^Hšem *hamforaš*^H klíwlu, našit majlís, tiltélule mi-pqaru, zillu gébit d-aj *ašmaddaj*, dwíqlu *m-qolew*, dhíllule g-ara. géna dahole wélule, ^Hbatqol^H *srixla* m-šimme, mîra: “^Hmeitti nuum haššem^H, *mirpímune il-ašmaddaj*, mar ezil.” *ašmaddaj* zille, šalomo hammélex jtíwle tkew.

atta xabra hawixxe *m-šultanit amman*. šalomo hammélex kaxtja klíwle *ba-šultanit amman*: “m-gebi šalomo hammélex baat *šultánit amman*! gāl ma qiwtox, gāl ma *qanunox* at xa brona xa brata ^Hmišpat^H widet, hwilet *qtilúllu*? *g-qanunox qatole* let! ja šula máto widítte minni la bqira? kulla prox b-maxrwínne!” kaxtja *mtéla l-šultanit amman*, qirjále, rítte. qímle, tez idjéle geb *šultana* šalomo, mîre: “*ayai šultana*, ja xabra méka šméloxe at, kaxtja klíwlox bai?” mîre baew: “kulla *olam* xel idi-la, ^Hhajjot ofot wa-šedim^H, kullu bai xabra madéni!” mîre: baxšitti, ja jílen, b-la odínwa háxxa!” mîre: “il-d-une *qtilittu*, léka pirtífetunu?” *šultan amman* mîre ba-šalomo hammélex: “len ajola.” mîre: “šbira. o brata maxwínna llox, kjítta?” mîre: “kjinna.” *qala* hwille šalomo hammélex, mîre: “brat *šultan amman*, *plut m-otay* tára, ida gebi!” idjéla, *wíra g-otay* geb šalomo hammélex. šalomo hammélex mîre báat *šultan amman*: “ja braté-la, xazulítta? hamúnila?” mîre: “e! ja méka wéla?” mîre: “ana-š hamun broné-len, ki baqx bašlínwa, kixlítwa. bratox illi ebéwala, ad jígrox idjéwa, mírwalox ba-wazirox: il-d-ajne *qtúllu*! atta ana wéli, ja-š bratox!” qímle *šultan amman*, idit šalomo hammélex nišqále. šalomo hammélex-iš mîre baew: “si, il-d-o wazirox *rába* ebíle, ki illan la *qtille*, b-xabrox la wídle!”⁵

One day at the time of King Solomon God said to the king: “You shall not increase

⁵ GL VI 299ff and L. Ginzberg, *Jew. Enc.* s.v. Asmodeus, from EHM 14a-15a and 108c-109d, and BHM II 86ff. The immediate source for the episode of the cock’s foot, see below) seems to be OP I 18ff. The legend is based on the bab. Talmud Giṭṭin 68 a-b (expulsion of Solomon by the king of the demons) and Berakot 6a (demons have birds’ feet).

[your] handmaidens, nor [your] wives, nor [your] horses.” [After] some time [had] passed, [such] a fancy came to his head. He said: “Let me try this matter out and increase [the number of my] wives, handmaidens [and] horses!” He did so <he-increased-them, took>. Why did he have this fancy? He said [to himself]: “If I have a thousand wives, a thousand sons will be born to me yearly. All my army will consist of my sons <of-me will-be> [and] I will have no more evil-wishers [me not likers].” Some time passed <meanwhile>. The Holy One – His name be praised! – grew angry with King Solomon; He said to Ašmaddaj [the king of demons]: “Go to King Solomon, take his ring off his hand, throw it into the sea and do the same to himself.” Ašmaddaj went [and] did thus. In the morning Ašmaddaj sat on the throne in King Solomon’s stead, assuming the appearance of the latter <himself he-made-it in-figure-of King Solomon>. Many people were <are> coming [to him] to judgment <he-is-making their-judgment>, [but] no one knew <is knowing> that it was <is> Ašmaddaj sitting in King Solomon’s stead. One night King Solomon’s mother was sleeping, and his wife was sleeping by her side in one room – [for] she was unclean –, [when the false] King Solomon came [and] wanted to enter her bed. She said: “King Solomon, now why are you doing this? Have you lost your sense <your-sense has-become-lacking>? You never used to do such a thing, you used not to come to me during my uncleanness! This is forbidden!” When she said this <thus saying> he <this-one> went out [and] departed. A few nights passed. [After that] he entered his mother’s bed. She said: “My son! How can you <have-you> come to my bed? You are my son!” When she said this to him, he rose, went out [and] departed. In the morning [when] the council had assembled, King Solomon’s mother went in to them [and] greeted them. They rose in front of her [and] said to her: “Sit down!” She sat down. [The councillors] said: “What has happened <what day of-its-days> [that] you have come here to-day?” She said: “I beseech you[r help]! To-night my son came [and wished] to enter my bed. What is this matter? You must find it out <you this secret are-going-to-know-it>!” They laughed at her [and] said to her: “Go to-night, lie down <sleep> in your [usual] place, [but] leave the door open. Spread some ashes on a tray <a tray ashes spread-it>, make an opening in it – thus! –, place it in front of the door [and] go to sleep. In the morning bring the tray here before us.” She said: “Very well.” She rose, went out [and] departed [after having] greeted them. At night she came <went-to-sleep>, put some ashes in a tray, made an opening in the ashes, lay down [and] went to sleep. In the morning she rose [and] took the tray to the council. [The councillors] looked at it [and] saw [that] there were footprints of a hen <there-are feet-of hens> in it. They said: “This is Ašmaddaj! They knew [that] they were the footprints <feet> of a demon. They said: “This is not King Solomon, this is Ašmaddaj sitting in his place!” Now King Solomon’s minister, Benaiah the son of Jehojada, had gone to a certain city a few months before, [where] he saw a man with torn clothes, who said <is saying> to him: “Benaiah son of Jehojada, you are my minister, do you recognize <are-you-recognizing> me?” He did not answer him <voice not he-gave-him> for he said [to himself that the man] was <is> mad. He

returned <and came>, sat in the council [and] heard these words <they said> that Ašmaddaj was <is> sitting in Solomon's stead. He bit his finger [in sudden realization] and said: "This is the same matter, the same man! It was King Solomon who said to me: You are my minister!" The matter remained [thus].

To return to King Solomon <of whom shall we give word? of King Solomon>. King Solomon went away, set out on the way <head he-took-it>, roamed from city to city, but he did not have his senses <in his-head>. He went to the city of Amman; [there] he went <had-gone> out to the market [and] was wandering about. That day the King's cook had gone out to the market to buy vegetables, meat, [and other] things. After he [had] finished buying, he put these things <he-had-put-them> in a sack, [when] suddenly he saw King Solomon. However, King Solomon was <is> mad, he did not look as if he were <is> King Solomon. That man took pity on him <his-heart burnt to-him> and said to him: "Come, take these things, this sack of mine, [and] bring it home with me. [King Solomon] took the sack on his back [and] brought it home, to the house of the king's cook. That man had pity on him: he said to him: "You [can] sleep here with me.* Every night and day I will give you your meat [and] drink and clothes. You [can] do a little work for me in the day [-time]." [Solomon] said: "May I be your sacrifice! I have no place to sleep. If you give me a place to sleep and I will [be able to] eat besides, I will do for you whatever you say". So Solomon stayed with him <this (one) dwelt with-this (one)>. He worked for some months. One day the king's cook said to King Solomon: "To-day we have all the [necessary] vegetables [and] meat, they are [all] ready. Can you wash them [and] put them into the pot over the fire until I go to market [and] come back?" [King Solomon] said: "Willingly <on my-eye>! Why should I not be able to?" The cook went out [and] departed. King Solomon rose, washed all the things, the vegetables [and] the meat and put them into the pot. He also cooked all the other things that the king needed, for he had learned – having stayed there for some time – what should be cooked <what they-cook what not they-cook> for the king. The cook was late coming from the market, [and] King Solomon had [already] cooked [and] prepared the food by the time came. Half an hour passed. The servants came [and] notified the cook [saying]: "Bring the dinner for the king!" Immediately he prepared what was necessary for eating [and] drinking, put it <them> into vessels, took it along [and] placed it before the king. The king partook of those <these> dishes [and] said: "Call that cook!" They came [and] said to him: "The king wants <is-wanting> you!" He went to the king [and] bowed <head> before him. The king said to him: "Who has cooked this food?" The cook trembled [and] was afraid; he said: "I have not cooked the food to-day, my lord the king!" The latter said: "Who has cooked it? [The cook] said: "There is a certain [man] working under me <servant under my-hand>. To-day he brought the foodstuffs from the market, I handed everything over to him [and] said: To-day you [shall] cook until I go and come [back]. I thought I would come back early, but I came late. He had cooked [and] prepared all the food before I came [back]. The king said: "Call that man who

cooked the food to-day, of whom <to-whom> you have said [that] he has cooked it; let him come to me.” [The cook] called him, [and] he came to the king. The king asked him [and said]: “Did you cook this food to-day?” He said: “Yes, my lord the king.” The latter said: “Until to-day I have never <not> eaten the like of this food.” Thereafter <from to-day thence> [the king] said to his cook: “You must work under him, he shall be <sit> in your place; let him cook the way he likes!” At that time the Holy One – praised be He – remembered <threw his mind on> King Solomon. He always used to cook food for the king; he himself used to eat well and dress well; he became fat [and] stout [and] handsome. One day the king’s daughter came, entered the kitchen, saw King Solomon [and] noticed him <her-eye fell upon-him>. She went [and] said to her mother <she-said>: “Mother, I want that boy who cooks <food> for my father, [so that] I may marry <with> him. Tell my father to give me to him [so that] we might marry <together>”. Her mother said: “My daughter, do you want your father to kill you?” She said to her Mother: “Mother, rest <become> assured that if my father does not give me to him <to-that-one>, I want him to kill me or hang me! I cannot live without that boy <more life not I-want after that boy>, my heart has become attached to him.” Her mother went [and] said: “Husband, your daughter wants <is-wanting> that boy who is your cook.” The king said to his wife: “The day has arrived when my daughter must die <my-daughter day-of her-death has-arrived>. How! Kings are sending to me to ask her hand <are-sending after-her mission> [and] I am refusing them <agreable not-am becoming>; and now she goes and wants <she-is-going ... she-is-wanting> some poor fellow to marry her <him>. She wants to destroy the name of my kingdom!” He sent for his minister [and] said to him: “Go, put <this> my daughter and [also] that cook of mine into a cart, take them away [and] hang them!” The minister said: “Very well.” In the morning the minister rose, entered the king’s treasury, filled some bags [with] gems, jewels, diamonds, money [and] pieces of gold and put them into a chest. He thus prepared <made> two [or] three small chests, put the boy and the girl into a cart took them [and] went to the outskirts of [another] city, left them [there and] departed. They <these> went, entered the city [and] went [and] rented a room. When Friday came, <this> King Solomon went to the seashore [and] saw [some fishermen] catching fish. He said to them: “Throw out a net for me apart, catch me [some] fish.” They said: “Our time is up <has-passed>, we cannot tarry [any longer], it is late.” He said: “Throw out a net for my luck <on the water> into the sea, let there come out what may! If nothing <not> comes out, I will still give you money.” They threw a net into <on> the sea [and] pulled it out [again]. There was a fish in it <a fish came-out>; they took it out and gave it to him. He <took-out,> gave them [some] money [and] said: “Take [it], here are three pieces of gold!” They said to him: “We are very grateful to you.” He took the fish [and] brought it home. That girl whom he had brought with him, the king’s daughter, brought a knife, slit [open] the belly of the fish, put her hand into it, took out its bowels [and] saw a ring. When King Solomon saw it, he said: “This is my own ring!” As soon as he [had] put it on his finger, his wisdom

returned to him <came his-head>. He said to himself <in-his-heart>: “Where [am] I? What <where> [is] this place?” [Then] he said to that girl: “Rise, let us go!” They took <sat with> a carriage [and] came straight to Jerusalem. After they had arrived <he-came>, Solomon went inside [his palace], went up, saw his minister Benaiah the son of Jehojada [and] said to him: “I am King Solomon!” Benaiah [was] greatly astonished. He took him to the council [and] said: “Here is King Solomon. He has come <he-came> [and] says [is-saying]: I am King Solomon!” [Then] that minister asked him [and] said: “Can you give me a sign <a sign there is-to-you, you-may-give to-me> that you are [indeed] King Solomon?” The king said: “Yes”. [Then] he said: “At the time [when] my father had become old, my mother brought me [to him], placed one of my hands in my father’s hand [and] said: I entrust you with my son <this my-son your-(pl.)-trust should-be to-him>, my lord David! You [have] said: This my son Solomon should sit in my place!” When [Solomon] had spoken thus, all rose, kissed him [and] said: “Now what shall we do with this Ašmaddaj?” All of them wrote the Divine <expressed> Name – the people of the council –, hung it on <from> their necks, went to Ašmaddaj, seized him by his arm [and] threw him on the ground. They were still striking him, [when] a voice called from heaven, saying: “From me the word of the Lord! Leave off from Ašmaddaj, let him go!” Ašmaddaj went away, [and] King Solomon sat in his place.

We shall now relate of the king of Amman. King Solomon wrote a letter to the king of Amman: “From me King Solomon to the king of Amman. By what authority, by what law <with what your-strength, with what your law> have you passed judgment [upon] a boy [and] a girl and had them killed <you-have-given they-have-killed-them>? There is no killing in your law! How could you do <have-you-done> such a thing without asking me <from-me not asked>? I will destroy all your land!” [When] the letter arrived in Amman, the king read it [and] began to tremble. He rose and hastened <quickly came> to King Solomon. He said: “My lord the king, how [whence] did you hear of this matter [that] you have written <wrote> me a letter?” [King Solomon] said to him: “All the world is subject to me <under my-hand>, animals, birds and demons, they all notify me.” The king of Amman said: “Forgive me, had <have> I known, I would not have acted thus!” [King Solomon] said: “You have killed those, where have you (pl., *sic!*) thrown them away?” The king of Amman said to King Solomon: “I do not know <not-am-knowing>.” [King Solomon] said: “Very well! [If] I show you this girl, will you recognize her?” He said: “I will <recognize her>.” King Solomon called out <gave voice, he said>: “Daughter of the king of Amman, come out of [your] room [and] come to me!” She arrived [and] entered the room where King Solomon was sitting <to King Solomon>. King Solomon said to the king of Amman: “Is this the girl, do you see her <you-are-seeing-her>? Is this the same one?” [The king of Amman] said: “Yes! Where did she come from <this-one whence she-was>?” [King Solomon] said: “And I am the same boy who used to cook <that I used-to-cook> for you, and you used to eat [of my cooking]! Your daughter had fallen in love with me, you had become angry and said to your

minister: Kill these [two]! Now this was I <now I-was>, and this [is] your daughter!” The king of Amman rose [and] kissed King Solomon’s hand. King Solomon said to him: “Go, [show] much love to that minister of yours, for he did not kill us and not acted upon your order <word>!”

(f) xa joma šalomammélex jtíwwa *g-otay* reš kursjit *šultanula*. birdān *ašmaddaj* idjéle, *wíre* geb šalomammélex, míre: “šalom alexem^H, *ayai šultana!*” míre: “ma gbet max-winnox?” šalomammélex míre: “má-ttox?” idew dihále *g-ara*, xa danka naš *plítle* m-xel ara, tre reše wele. míre: “xzíle!” šalomammélex *srixle* il-wazirew, míre: “*banaja* ^Hben^H *jehojada*, idálox!” *wíre lwa*, xzéle xa naš tre reše. šalomammélex míre: “xizjíte jájur naš tre reše, šimjet?” míre: “la šimjen!” jtíwlu šalomammélex, *banaja* ben *jehojada*, *ašmaddaj*, jtíwlu, bqíru min d-aj gorit tre reše: “g-olkxun šimša íta?” míre: “e.” “mégab *palta?*” míre: “*m-maaraw palta*, geza *mizrah*, lógab ganja.” míre: “kixwe-t gebxun?” míre: “e”. bqíre minnew, míre: “*mitra* gde g-olkxun?” míre: “e.” “talga gde? qarda kiwja gebxun?” míre: “e.” míre: “*jalexun* gazrétunu?” míre: “e.” míre baew: “ara jut godétuna?” míre: “e.” míre: “zarétun? *xaslétnu xitte*, *dixna*.” míre: “kud mindiy zarex.” mdélu, mtíwlule lixma, xille. míre baat šalomammélex o gorit tre reše, míre: “*ayai šultana*, abúlen minnox madritti tki.” šalomammélex míre *ba-ašmaddaj*: “il-d-aj mdúre tkew!” míre: “xen la xadra. *palote missen* xaxét-ši *palten*, bále madore la *missen* madrinnu xel ara xaš.” šalomammélex míre ba-d-aj gora aj tre reše, míre: “bróni, la zdi! láxxa ana magwrínnox, baxta maden baox, bela kwen baox, kullu aj našit bela šaqlen, matwen g-belox, ara kwen baox at nóšox mírox: axni zarex, *xaslex* g-olkan. láxxa ara kwínnox, zri, xul! xárj-iš la šaqlen minnox. xul, šti, kef wud!” ja gora mar tre reše míre: “*ayai šultana*, *awa* xadir belox! *rabá razí-len* minnox! *madam* at pparox šaqolítiti, ana la zaden!” o šdíre, xa danka brata mdélu ba-d-aj, *birxálu* llew mgon din *tora*. bela hwillulle, jtíwle gaew. mat *lazím* wéle baew šalomammélex šqille, šdíre belu, *m-lefe*, m-došáge, mi-sbadje, *xaliče* šiwjile *g-arit otay*, bela mixmíllele. xa šata píre. ja baxtit d-aj jdílla xa brona. *hattot* xamša šinne xamša brone jdílla, xaju gau tre reše wéle (~ -twale) magon dadew. ja gezíwla, kud šata jut gódwa, zaréwa *xitte*, *sare*, *xasílwa*, madéwa bela, kixlíwa. karmawe-š ítwale. ja xdíre mare-dolta. bar kimma šinne dadid d-ane *jale* mille. *jale* ebélu paršíwa *m-diyde*. ja axxona ki tre rešé-tte míre: “ana tre same *maté-lli m-mal* babi.” axxonawew mfru baew: “bod ma?” míre: “ana tre rešé-len!” qrawa wídlu gal *diyde*. zillu gébit dawid hammélex *šreta*. mfru baat dawid hammélex: “*ayaan* dawid hammélex!” axni xamša axxoné-lex, dadan mil. abúlex atta paršex *m-diyde*. xa axxonan tre reše ítte, mare: ana tre same *maté-lli m-mal* dadi”. dawid hammélex míre: “tre same *mate* llew”. bod dot ki dawid hammélex la *misséle rába* majríxwa gálu *šreta*, *qořalmiš* xdirwa, míre: “símun, tre same hólun ba-d-aj, axnxún-iš kud axxona xa sama íntimun.” ajne qrawa wídlu, bxélu, *srixlu*, *plítlu* tara *g-otayit* tara. šalomo min d-o panjára xjara wéle, míre: “ja ma

qalmaqal ila? ma qrawé-la wadétun?” bxélu ajne arba axxone, mîru ba-šalomo: “zîllan geb dawid hammélex, o baan xabra intéle: *mal* babxun wúduŋ išta same, tre same hólun ba-d-aj tre reše, arba same-š intîmun baxun.” šalomo mîre bau: “sîmun geb dawid hammélex, mârun baew: ja *šreta* la qablixxa, *aman*-ile! axni minnox gbex šadrîttan geb šalomo bronox, o *šretan* ódla.” mîru: “šbira!” mdéle xa kaxtja klîwle dawid hammélex, mhor dhîlle rešew, hiwále il-d-une naše, dastur wídle ba-bronew ki šul d-ane naše od. zîllu gébit šalomammélex, kaxtja híwalu illew. qirjále, dirjále reš enew, mîre: “baqatta *idámun* láxxa, *šretxun* godínna.” baqatjom xdfre. šalomo kaxtje klîwle, *miltîxle* b-gudane, ki mánit abe šame, mar ade, šame hoxmit šalomo bron dawid, jaqurta *šreta* íta. idjélu ajne xamša axxonawe gébit šalomo hammélex. nášit olka idjélu kullu *tamaša*, ki šaménila *šretit* šalomammélex, *aqléw* ajîle. šalomo hammélex il-d-ajne axxonawe *sirxîle* xamša minnu, mîre: “ma íta *g-aralyxun*?” mîru: “lex ajola, bqur min do axxonan tre reše, ma abúle ja?” šalomammélex bqîre minnew, mîre: “ma abúlet, mar tre reše?” mîre: “*ayai* šalomammélex, axni xamša axxoné-lex, abúlex paršex *m-diyde*, ajne abúlulli *zor* odi.” šalomo hammélex mîre: “bod ma?” mîre: “*mal* baban piš, b-palîxxe išta tkane, tre same lli *mate*, arba same-š ba-arba axxonawi.” šalomo hammélex mîre: “*trosa* maret! at tre rešé-let, *ha*?” mire: “let xazálli, tre reše-len?” mîre: “xazulînox, *haqqox* ile!” šalomommélex mîre: “mdîmun xa danka *satla*.” mîre: “*moe* mdîmun, drîmun *g-satla*!” mîre: “il-d-ane *moe* misxîmunu.” misxnílu, *hattot day* xdfru. bqîre minnew šalomammélex min d-o mar tre reše, mîre: “ma-xašowet at-xabra baqren minnox? at tre našé-let, *jan* xa naš ílet?” mîre: “ana tre rešé-len, tre našé-len!” šalomammelex mîre: “šbira! agâr xa axxonox dahinne, oxed axxonox la baxe ki!” mîre: “*trosa* maret.” mîre: “šbira. ana ajne *moe* šaxine *zanqrînnu* reš xa rešox, oxet rešox *qala* b-la hawil!” mîre: “šbira!” *moe* mindélu šaxine, *zinqîru* reš xa rešew, naše-š kullu *tamaša* wadu. tunnu reše *srxîlu*: “*aj* qîlli! *aj* qîlli!” mîre: “šbira, ana reš xa rešox *zanqoren*, oxet rešox báma *saroxe*, *nare* dahole, mare: *aj* qîlli, *aj* qîlli? jillox, ki xa naš ílet?” kulle naše čapke dhîllu, mîru: “xaje *šultana* šalomo!” šalomo hammélex mîre ba-d-ajne axxonawe xamšamnu: “sîmun, *mal* dadxun wúdune xamša same, kud naša xa sama!” zîllu, háxxa wídlu mad šalomo hammélex mîre.⁶

One day King Solomon was sitting on his royal throne. All of a sudden Ašmaddaj came, entered the hall <entered to King Solomon> [and] said: “Peace be on you, my lord the king!” He [then] siad: “What do you wish me to show you?” King Solomon said: “What do you have?” Ašmaddaj struck his hand upon the ground; a man came out from under the ground [who] had two heads. [Ašmaddaj] said: “Look at him!” King Solomon called his minister [and] said: “Benaiah son of Jehojada, come here.” [Benaiah] came in [and] saw a two-headed man. King Solomon said: “Have you [ever] seen such a two-headed man, have you [ever] heard of such a thing?” [Benaiah] said: “I have never heard of one <not I-have-heard>”. They sat down, King Solomon,

⁶ GL IV 132 and VI 286, note 29 (bibl.), from BHM IV 151f. Immediate source OP I 21a-b.

Benaiah the son of Jehojada [and] Ašmaddaj <they-sat-down> [and] asked that two-headed man: “Is there a sun in your country?” [The man] said: “Yes.” “Where does it rise?” He said: “It rises in the west, [then] goes east [and] sets there.” King Solomon said: “Are there stars in your country?” [The man] said: “Yes.” [The king] asked him <he-said>: “Does it rain <rain comes> in your country?” [The man] said: “Yes.” “Does it snow? Do you have frost?” He said: “Yes.” [The king] said to him: “Do you plough?” He answered: “Yes.” [The king] said: “Do you sow? Do you reap [such things as] wheat [and] millet?” [The man] said: “We sow everything.” They brought [some] bread, placed it before him [and] he ate. [Then] the two-headed man said to King Solomon <he-said>: “My lord the king, I want [from you] you to return me to my place.” King Solomon said to Ašmaddaj: “Return this one to his place!” [Ašmaddaj] said: “[This] is no longer possible. I can [even] bring out another one from under the ground, but I cannot return him underground again.” [Then] King Solomon said to the two-headed man <he-said>: “My son, do not be afraid! I will marry you here, will bring you a wife, will give you a house; all that belongs to a household <to people-of house>, I will buy [and] put in your house. I will [also] give you land. Do not worry; you [have] said yourself: we sow and reap in our country; I will give you land here, sow [and] eat! Neither will I take taxes from you, eat, drink [and] make merry.” The two-headed man said: “My lord the king, may your house be inhabited! Since you are taking charge of me <since you (on) your-neck are-taking-me>, I am very grateful to you! I shall not fear.” He [the king] had a girl brought for that man <he-sent, a unit girl they-brought for-this-one> [and] they wedded <blessed> her to him according to the law of the Torah. They gave him a house [and] he dwelt therein. Whatever he needed, King Solomon bought [and] sent to their house, such as <from> quilts, mattresses, cushions; he [also] spread carpets on the floor of the room [and] adorned the house. A year passed. The wife of that man gave birth to a son. Within <until> five years she gave birth to five sons; one of them <in-their-midst> had two heads like his father. Every year [their father] used to go [to the field], sow wheat [and] barley, reap, bring [the produce] home [and] they used to eat [of it]; he also had vineyards. He became rich. A few years later the father of these children died. The children wanted to separate <from-eachother>. The brother who had <has> two heads said: “I am entitled to two parts <I two parts come-to-me> of my father’s possessions. His brothers said to him: “Why?” He said: “I am two-headed!” They fought with eachother. They went to King David for judgment. They said to King David: “Our lord King David! We are five brothers, [and] our father has died. We are now wanting to separate <from-eachother>. One brother of ours has two heads, he says <is-saying>: I am entitled to two parts of my father’s possessions.” King David said: “He is [indeed] entitled to two parts” – for King David was not able to bear a long suit <to-make-long trial with-them>, as he had grown old. [So] he said: “Go, give this one two parts; as for you, each brother should take one part <one part take (pl.)>. They fought, they shouted [and finally] went out into the outer room. [Now] Solomon was looking through the window; he said: “What is this

noise? What is this fight you are having <doing>?” These four brothers wept [and] said to Solomon: “We went to King David [and] he gave us the [following] order: Divide <make> your father’s possessions [into] six parts; give two parts to this two-headed one, and take four parts for yourselves.” Solomon said to them: “Go to King David, tell him: We will not accept this judgment, it is wrong! We want [of-you] you should send us to your son Solomon [that] he try our case.” He said: “Very well!” King Solomon (sic!) brought [some paper], wrote a letter, put a seal to it, gave it to those people [and] gave permission to his son to decide their case. They returned <went> to Solomon [and] gave him the letter. He read it, put it on his eyes (as a sign of respect) [and] said: “To-morrow come here, I shall pass your judgment.” In the morning Solomon wrote announcements <papers> [which] he stuck to the walls [to the following effect]: “Whoever likes <to-hear> should come [and] hear the wisdom of Solomon the son of David, [for] there is an important case on.” These five brothers came before King Solomon. The people of the city all came to [attend] the spectacle [and] hear King Solomon’s judgment. King Solomon called the five brothers <five of-them> [and] said: “What is there between you?” They said: “We do not know. Ask that two-headed brother of ours what he wants.” King Solomon asked him <he said>: “What do you want, two-headed one <owner-of two heads>?” He said: “My lord King Solomon! We are five brothers. We want to separate, but these want to wrong me <are-wanting-me to-do wrong>”. King Solomon said: “How so <why>?” He said: “Our father has left possessions <possessions-of our-father have-been-left>, we are going to divide it [into] six parts <places>. I am entitled to two parts and my four brothers to the four [remaining] ones. King Solomon said: “You are speaking the truth. You are two-headed, eh?” The man said: “Don’t you see <you-are-not seeing> I am two-headed?” Solomon said: “I do, you are right <“I-am-seeing-you, your-right is>!” Then King Solomon said: “Bring a bucket, <he-said>, bring [also some] water [and] put [it] into the bucket.” [Next] he said: “Heat this water!” They heated the water until it was <became> boiling hot. Then King Solomon asked <of him, of> that two-headed man: “What <thing> do you think I shall ask you? Are you two persons or one person? He said: “I am two-headed, [so] I am two persons.” King Solomon said: “Very well. If I strike one [of] your brother[s], the other <your-brother> will not weep. Is it not so?” The man said: “You speak <are-speaking> the truth.” [Solomon] said: “Very well. I shall [now] pour this hot water on one [of] your heads, [and] the other <your-head> is not going to give voice.” [The man] said: “Very well.” They brought the hot water [and] poured it on his head, [while] all the people were <are> watching. Both heads cried: “Oh, I am <was> burnt! Oh, I am burnt!” [Solomon] said: “Very well! I am pouring [the water] on one of your heads [only]; why is the other head crying [and] shouting [and] saying: Oh, I am burnt, oh, I am burnt! Do you realize <you-knew> that you are one person?” All the people clapped their hands [and] said: “[Long] live King Solomon!” King Solomon said to all <these> five brothers: “Go, divide your father’s possessions into five parts, [and let] everyone [take] one part!” They went [and] did <thus> as <what> King Solomon said.

(g) xa joma xa gorá-twa, kud jom qrawa g-bela gódwa gäl baxtew. ja xa lele *dmixle*, baqatjom qímle, xzéle: axči talga dje... xře l-talga, xzéle: tkit aqlit naš ita. ja jirqále, zille, oxet tárit kuča plixlele, xzéle: géna tkit aqlit naš g-talga. jriqle bar tkit aqle, xzéle: xa danka *dignaxwara*, zóra naša, izale *jawaš jawaš*. *mtéle* llew, mře: “šalom, *ayai!* méka djélox, léka izalet?” mře: “ma šulox minni? *wirxa* d-ilha ila, izalen ana *l-wirxi!*” mře baew: “la qablen ezet! mar xazen, méka djélox, léka izalet!” mře: “*mirpili*, ana ezen!” mře: “la *marpínox!*” mar bela bxéle: “*aman* ile, ja *sir* bai máre!” mře: “jigranélen minnox, la abúlen amren baox.” géna ja bxéle, aqlew nšiqle, idew nšiqle, rešew nšiqle, mře: “*aman* ile, minni llox, minnox il-ilha! minnox goen ja šbirula wúdma gáli, ja *sir* bai máre!” mře: “čunkit at bxélox, idi aqli nišqilox, rahamji idjéle llox.” mře: “*qurban* xadren baox, mar!” mře: “ajúlet, ana máni-len?” mře: “ana šalomjit belox ilen! sílox bela, xa brattá-ttox, gbet, bqur minnaw, *jan* ana amren baox. íttox dawwe, torje, irbe, *milke rábe*, fisse. il-d-ajne kullu gbítu, *jan* šalomi gbet?” mře: “*qurbanox* xadren, *smux* láxxa, ezen bela, mi-brati baqren. mad mara, gden kimren baox. bále la ezet!” mře: “šbira, ana *smixen* laxxa.” ja gora dře djéle bela. bratew xzélale, mřa: “dada, léka ziletwa? ja xamša *saté-la* at zilet, lut, la lwiša!” mře: “brati, la mqi! la kjat ma dje breši! baqatjom qímli, tárit d-aj *otay* plíxlile, xzéle tkit aqla aj naš *g-hajat*. zilli, tárit kuča plíxlile, xzéle: lóka-š tkit aqlit naša rxiš, tkit aqlew piši g-talga. gäl d-une tqit aqle d-aj talga jirqáli, zilli, *mtéli*, xzéle: xa gora izale. dwíqlile, bxéli, lwéli, idew aqlew nišqíli, míri baew: méka djet, léka izalet? *naxirda* mře bai.” bratew mara: “dada, ma mře baox?” mře: “heč la maqjat, brati! nóši-š len ajola! kulla dolti, *mali*, iti, leti, xa gab dirjillu, šalomi-š xa gab. mře bai: *jan* šalomi, *jan* doltox *malox*, mad íttox líttox, ajne tre, ému gbítu mar bai. ana pišli mahtál. mad ítti lítti, *mali*, dolti ambilla, ezil, bäs šalomi šóqla bai, kpina *sihja* pešen, méka axlen? nóši-š *gojalmiš* xdíren, la *missen fahlula* oden, la *missen* šula oden!” bratew kixkála, mřa ba-dadaw: “bäs jajne xabre mirile baox o gora?” kixkála, mřa: “dada, kimma zae baox mirtan, gäl *dai* qrawa la wud, g-bela *marilula* la mindi! xabri la šméloxe. atta djet, minni baqoret. šamítte xabri, ana amran baox, *wirxa* darjan *qabayox*, ezet baew, *jwab* hawet.” mře: “mar, bráti, *qurban* xadren baax!” mřa: “sílox ba-d-o gora, mar: mad ítti lítti reš *salmi* ara, dolta, *mal*, bate, fisse, kullu la gbínnu, bäs šalomi gben.” dře zille jaroqe jaroqe, *mtéle* l-d-aj gora. o gora mře baew: “idjélox?” mire: “idjéli. *qurban* xadren baox! heč mindiy la gben ana, la dolti, la *mali*, la torje, la irbe, la dawwe, heč mindiy, bäs xa šalomi gben. ilha bai *riwwé-le!*” o gora mře baew: “*madam* at heš mindiy la ebélox, la doltox, la *malox*, bäs šalomi belox, si, kullu peši tku gäl šalomi.” mře: “ana *elijáhu hannawi* ilen. šalomit belox ambola wélila. atta šalomi belox, kulla doltox *malox mirpélox*, *tamah* la wídlox *l-mal olam*, bäs šalomi belox. kullu gäl šalomi-lu, doltox *malox smíxi* gäl šalomi. xen qrawa la odet g-below!” idew nišqále, dře djéle.⁷

Once <one day> there was a man, [who] used to fight every day <in-house> with his

⁷ Source unknown.

wife. One night he went to sleep. In the morning he rose [and] saw [that] it had snowed very hard <so-much snow has-come!>. He looked at the snow and saw <there-are> human footprints. He ran out <he-ran he-went>, opened the door to the street and saw again [that] there were <there-are> human footprints in the snow. He followed the footprints [and] saw a little old man walking slowly in the street. He caught up with him [and] said: "Goodday, sir! Whence do you come <you-came> and whither are you going?" The old man said: "What business have you with me <what your-business of-me>? The road belongs to God, I am going <from> my way!" The man said: "I refuse [to let] you go! Let me see whence you come [and] whither you are going!" The old man said: "Leave off me! I want to go my way!" The other one said: "I shall not leave off you!" He <owner-of house> wept [saying]: ["Have] pity [on me]! Tell me your <this> secret!" [The old man] said: "I am angry with you. I do not want to tell you." Again that man <this-one> wept, kissed his feet, his hands [and] his head [and] said: "[Have] pity [on me]! I beseech you in the name of God <from-me to-you, from-you to-God>! I ask you, do me this favour, tell me your secret!" [The old man] said: "Because you [have] wept [and] kissed my hands [and] feet, I have taken pity on you <my-pity came to-you>." [The other man] said: "I beseech you, tell <me>!" [The old man] said: "Do you know <you-are-knowing> who I am? I am your domestic peace! Go home; you have a daughter, ask her, or I will tell you <myself>. You have camels, cows, sheep, numerous estates, money. Do you prefer <want> all these or do you prefer peace?" [The man] said: "I beseech you, remain here. I will go home [and] ask my daughter. Whatever she tells me, I will come [and] tell you. But do not go away!" [The old man] said: "Very well, I am waiting <standing> here." That man returned <[and] came> home. His daughter saw him [and] said: "Father, where have you been <you-had-gone>? You have been gone [for] five hours, naked, without clothes <not dressed>!" He said: "My daughter, do not ask <talk>! You do not know what has happened to me! In the morning I rose, opened the door of this room [and] saw human footprints in the yard. I went, opened the street-door [and] saw there, too, footprints of a man [who] had <has> gone away, leaving his foot-prints <place-of-his-feet have-remained> in the snow. I ran along <with> these footprints in <of> the snow, arrived [and] saw a man walking along. I seized him, wept, entreated, kissed his hands [and] feet and said to him: "Whence have you come [and] whither are you going? Finally he told me." His daughter said: "Father, what did he tell you?" He said: "Do not ask <at-all not you-shall-talk>, my daughter! I do not know myself! He has placed all my riches, my possessions, all I have <my-there-is my-there-is-not> on one hand, and peace on the other. He said to me: [It is] either peace or your riches [and] possessions, [one of] these two; tell me which you want. I was astonished. Should he take away whatever I have, my riches, my possessions [and] go, leaving me only peace, I shall remain hungry [and] thirsty, where shall I find food <whence I-shall-eat>? Besides, I <myself-too> have grown old, I can not do manual labour, [or any other] work!" His daughter laughed [and] said to her father: "Is that all <only these words said-them to-you that

man>?” She laughed [and] said: “Father, how many times have I told you: do not fight with my mother, do not embitter our home life <in-house bitterness not throw>! You have not listened to my words. Now you have come to ask for my advice <you-are-asking of-me>. [If] you listen to my words, I will tell you what to do <way I-will-put before-you> so that you can go to him [and] give him [your] answer.” He said: ‘Tell [me], my daughter, I beseech you!’” She said: “Go to that man [and] say: Whatever I have in this world <on face-of earth>, riches, possessions, houses, money, all these I do not want, I want only peace.” He went back running [until] he came to that man. That man said to him: “Have you come <you came>?” He said: “I have come. I am your humble servant! I want nothing, neither <my> riches, nor <my> possessions, nor cows, nor sheep, nothing! I want only <one> peace! God will help me <for-me God great-is>!” That man said to him: “Since you have not demanded <not you-demanded> anything, neither <your> riches nor <your> possessions, only peace, go, everything will remain as it is <their-place>, if there is <with> peace.” He [then] said: “I am the Prophet Elijah. I was going to take away <taking-away I-was-it> your domestic peace. Now you have demanded peace, you have renounced all your riches [and] you possessions, you have not coveted worldly goods, asking only for peace. Everything depends on <is with> peace, your riches <and> possessions depend on peace. You shall no more fight in your house!” The man kissed his hand [and] returned home <he-returned he-came>.

(h) itwa xa gora, *dignaxwara* wéle. itwale xa brona. ja ba-brona wasita wídle, míre: bróni, ana b-melen. wasiti ja hawja baoux, mad míri baoux, wúdle.” míre: “dáda, ma b-amret, mar bai.” míre: “bróni, il-heč ben-*adam* la hamnet, šbirula la wud gál ben-*adam*.” míre baew: “dáda, bod ma?” míre: “bróni, il-hejwanate emun idíllu, (*i.e.* it íllu), il-ben-*adam* emun let. baan kliwté-la *g-tora*: ^HHal taamin lexol ben-*adam*^H (*sic!*).” míre: “šbira, dáda.” xa kimma jarxe píre, dadew mille. xa joma baqatjom qímle m-šiwjew, *salmew* idew xillile, natilla šqílle, ^Hšama israel^H qirjále. *plítte* kuča. *qálit* gurgume idjéle, *mitra* djéle. kulle kučane magon sel *moe* pjara wélu. xzéle xa danka *dignaxwara* gora, pil g-d-ajne *moe*, *jarúlu* ambolúle. *wíre g-moe*, *plíttele m-moe*, mdélele bel nóšew. jullew šilxíle m-qomew, jullit nóšew mdéle, milbíšle-llew. mtíwle *qabayew* lixma, xille. nura wídle g-bela, bela šxínne. xánči ja *dignaxwara* šxínne, *rahat* xdfre. mar bela bqíre minnew: “máto-jlet, let qjara? xdugox wadínne.” míre: “la, atta šbiré-len, len qjara, *rába razi-len* minnox! belox xadir bel ^H*awraham awinu*^H.” bar min do ja gora mar bela zille šuqa *ališ-weriš* wada. idjéle *g-wirxa*, djara wéle ba-bela, xzéle xa *qarqara*, *qičaw* twiráwa. zille diwqále, midjále, idjéle bela. lixma xílle, príqle. qímle, il-d-aj *qarqara* intjále b-idew, imblále, zille geb hakima. míre baat hakima: “aqlit d-aj *qarqara trúsła* bai, *darmana* dri rešaw.” míre: “šjé-let? báma *tarsínna*? báma midjítta?” míre: “*ayai*, kimmet fisse gbet, kwínnox. at *trúsła qičit* d-aj *qarqara*, ja wasitit dadí-la.” ja hakima *darmana* dréle, *qičit qarqara tirsále*. fissit hakima hiwíle, *qarqara* miprxále, príxla zilla b-šimme. bar kimma jome *plít-wa*

kuča, xadora wéle. xzéle xa danka xuje dhilu g-rešew, rešew twir, girjin, pil lóka, la *missúle* raxiš. mdéle xa danka salda zúrta, drélele gáat salda, duz imbillele geb hakima. tárit hakima *tiptíplele*, hakima *plítile* tara, míre: “ma abúlet?” míre: “ja xuje midjinne, *darmana* dri rešew mar *taris*, kimmit gbet kwínox.” míre baew: “at šjé-let? ana la *missen* taqren il-d-aj xuje. *naqafildan tapilli, qatilli!*” míre baew: “la zdi, ana doqínne b-idi, at *darmana* dri rešew, mar *taris*, kimmit gbet kwínox fisse” – míre ba-hakima. hakima míre: “šbira, at dúqle b-idox, ana *darmana* daren rešew.” o dwíqlele b-idew, hakima *darmana* dréle rešew. xa kimma jome mdélele, imbillele geb hakima, *hal trisle*. il-do xuje *mirpélele*, zille g-čol. kimma jarxe *m-ara* píre. ja xuje zille geb *šultanit* xujawe, míre: “*ayai šultana, šultanit* xujawe! ana zilenwa gáat olka, pílli b-ident ben-*adam*, dhílluli, reši twíru, girjinenwa, pílenwa, xánči píšwa mélenwa. xzéli: xa danka ben-*adam* idjéle, intéile, imbillele. xšiwli, *b-qatilli*. bále xzéli: imbilleli, *mimbíreli* g-xa bela. xzéli: xa gora idjéle, mqéle gálew, míre: *darmana* dri reš d-aj xuje, mar *taris*. g-do *sata* ana *rába psixli*, míri: xen la melen. *trisli*. bára mdéleli, *mirpéleli* gáat čol, idjéli láxxa.” *šultanit* xujawe míre ba-d-o xuje, míre: “mhi, si máxxa! ad dugle maret. *g-tora* kliwté-la: ben-*adam* agār xuje xzélele, rešew *méfle, qatille*. agār xuje m-idew ade, *tape m-dabbanew, qatille*. háxxa kliwté-la *g-tora: g-aralyit* ben-*adam* w-xuje *dušmanatula* íta.” ja xuje míre bait *šultanit* xujawe, míre: “*ayai šultana*, b-rešox, b-taxtox! ana dugle len imara baox!” ja *šultan* xujawe míre ba-d-aj xuje: “agār jájur ben-*adam* xizjet, galox ja šbirula widílla, mat odet gálew xanči-lu!” míre: “ma oden gálew, *ayai šultana?*” míre: “sílox, o *tura* xazulítta? sílox, min d-o *tura* kepe *qti* gāl kakox, umbul ba-d-o ben-*adam*.” míre: “*ayai šultana*, kepe wiše m-ódlu?” míre baew: “xmara la xdur! une kepe kullu *almasé-lu, briljandé-lu!*” zille, min d-une *qtéle* gāl pinnew, mdéle bel d-o gora ki *triswalelle*. *wíre* m-xa bizza, kepa mtíwlele lóka g-bela, g-xa *bujay, plítile* tara. *qarqara* xzéla, ja xuje m-d-o *tura* kepa *qtéle*, imbillele, mtíwlele g-bel d-aj gora. *qarqara-š* zilla, gāl dindukaw dwíqla *mléla*, m-kawit *gare* mindéla g-bela. ja *dignaxwara-š*, ki *m-moe* mdéwale g-bela jomit *mitra*, hār píš-wa g-belew, kxíłwa, šatéwa. mar bela djéle, tara plíxlele, xzéle: bela bahuré-le. xíre lágab, xíre lógab, mahtāl píšle. xíre *g-bujayit* bela, xzéle: móka bihra íta. zille, intjile il-d-une kepe, dirjile g-xa *torba, tišjile*. ja *dignaxwara-š* xazúle. xa kimma jome idjéle mar bela kud *asr*, xzéle: géna bela bahura min d-ajne kepe íta. *qarqara-w* xuje mdéwalu bel d-o gora. bar kimma jome *taha* danke min d-ajne kepe dréle *g-bilwanew*, zille mixwjile il-xa *sarrafa*. míre: “šaqlat min d-ajne?” míre: “danka kimma?” míre: “kimma šaqlítta?” míre: “alpa dehwa xa danka.” ja zabnana-š míre: “hólalli!” jigrew idjéle, xšiwle: ja *rišqande* wade llew. o-š xšiwle ki, ja *mitrosa* léwe abo zabínne danka alpa dehwe. la šaqlana fkíre, la zabnana fkíre. ja *sarrafa* jille, ja ambíllu ajne kepe, ezil, míre: “hol, tralpe dehwe danka hawínnu baox.” hiwíle ba-d-o *sarrafa taha* danke kepe, išta alpe dehwe fisse šqille, zille bela. oxded joma géna mdéle, zbíinne. xabra *mtéle l-šultana* ki haxxa kepe jaqure qimtu zbine xdíru g-šuqa. *šultana* kaxtje klíwle, *miltixle* il-gudane, klíwle: “mānit il-d-aj naša jajne kepe zabnana ade amíre bai, nišan hawílle illi, alpa dehwe fisse kwínne.” ja *dignaxwara*, ki g-bel kepe zabnana *damtxwa*, kxíłwa, šatéwa, *esta* gódwa llew,

malbíšwale, ja *plitle* kuča xa joma, ajna kaxtjit *miltixwalu* il-guda qirjile, xzéle háxxa kliwa gau, zille gébit *šultana*, míre: “*ayai šultana*, ana o naša kjinne, kepe zabnana.” míre: “šbira.” alpa dehwe hwillele, tre naše šdíre gálew, mahmure, zillu. bel o gora mixwéle illu, míre: “ja belé-le, ana láxxa damxen.” *smíxlu* lóka ajne mahmure, *qabay* d-o bela, *hal* mar bela djéle. míru baew: “ida, *šultana* abúle llox.” zille gálu geb *šultana*. *šultana* míre baew: “ajne kepe méka píli bidox zbinittu? mékox? méka midjittu? *trosa* mqi!” míre: “ana la xizjen, la kken, ma kepe ilu!” *šultana* míre: “imbúlu il-d-o gora, drímune *g-dussay hal šretew* odíxxe.” o bron ičči šinne wéle, xa bronew xdir-wa xala, baxtew jdiláwa. zóra wele, tre šinne. imbilwale geb hakima, hakima mírwale: “ja dimmew *bassor* ile, ja brona. il-d-aj darétune *g-dargušta qabayit* šimša ki dimmew zed.” ja brona drélullew *g-dargušta qabay* šimša, ja *šultana*-š jtiw *taha tabaqe, amarta*, m-panjára xjare il-brona. xzéle: xa danka xuje djéle, xléle l-dargušta brona gaaw. *šultana srixle*: “*idámun* tez, broni prúqune!” idjélu naše, tfange mdélu, gulle drélu gau, ebélu l-d-aj xuje *qatliwale*. bára zdélu, *xjal* widlu, míru: “bálki gulla qípla l-brona, brona mille, ma odex?” zdélu. míru *ba-šultana*: “axni la *missex* ja šula odíxxe. bálki gulla qípla l-brona, ilha l-od!” *šultana* šdíre bar fakure našew, míre: “*idámun*, bai xa maslahat drímun, il-broni prúqune min d-aj mola!” itwa naše fakure lóka geb *šultana*, míru: “*ayaan šultana*, ja *sir* naš la kkílle, bäs hudaa la hawe. be minnit hudae ja *sir* la kkítte. it *haxamime* g-hudae fakure, une ja *sir* kimríle baow. šdur bar *xasu*, mar adéni.” baqatjom xdíre, šdíre bárit *riwwe haxamime*. idjélu geb *šultana*. zdélu, míru: “*šultana* báma *srixéllan* láxxa?” *wíru* geb *šultana*. míre: “jtúwun!” kursje mdélu, kud minnu xa danka kursi bau, jtiwlu. míru: “*ayaan šultana*, báma šdiret bar *xasan*? ma farmajiš íttox?” míre bau: “ana ičči šinne xdíren, xa broná-tti, bron tre šinné-le, mtiwwali llew *g-dargušta qabay* šimša. xa danka xuje *aždaha*, magon *koramar*, idjéle, xzéle: tre jome min d-aj qamol xléle il-darguštít broni. hār áxxa piš xilja l-dargušta. *atta čar* d-o ma ila? *čara* b-odétun baad broni, ki xuje šare m-dargušta!” xa danka *haxam* min d-ajne *haxamime* míre: “*ayai šultana*, at xa xabra maren baow, xabri wúdle. xa danka naša mindjítte *g-dussay* b-la *šreta*, be-awun ile. kjítte l-d-o at?” míre: “ana la kkinne.” míre: “agār la kkítte, kullu našit ki *g-dussay* dirjittu, šdūru, mar ezi belu, xuje šare m-dargušta.” mire: “šbira.” zillu, kimmit *dussaye* naše itwa gau, kullu *mirpjilu*, ja xuje la šréle. šdíre bai d-ajne ^H*rabbanim*^H aj hudae, míre bau: “axča naše itwa kullu *g-dussaye* wélu, gal xabrxun *mirpjilan*, zillu, xen la *missén-is* doqínnu, xuje-š la šréle m-dargušta. ja ma jur šulé-le?” míru: “*ayaan šultana*, il-d-aj naša la *mirpjülle*!” šdíre bar kullu *riwwit dussaye*, míre bau: “*dussayče* kullu *mirpjétunu*?” míru: “e.” “šbira”, míre, “bäs xuje báma la šíre m-dargušta?” míru: “lex ajola.” *šultana* bqíre minnu: “kimma *otaye* ita aj *dussay*, naše it gau, *g-dussay* ilu?” míru: “xessar.” míre: “tarit isra *otaye* plixétunu, *dussayče* *mirpjétunu*, simun, il-d-o xa danka-š *otay* plúxuna.” zillu pilxálu, xzélu: o gora kepe zabnana gaaw ile. mdélule gébit *šultana*, *jánit* dargušta. xuje šréle m-dargušta, xléle bi-pqar aj d-o gora, ki *g-dussay* wéle. *šultana* míre baew: “si!” zille gáat čol, xuje mi-pqarew šréle, *plitle* zille. baqatjom xdíre. *šultana* šdíre bar d-o gora, míre baew: “mar xazen, ja ma *sir* ile! ja xuje djéle, xléle pqarox, zillox gál xuje

ba-diyde.” mǎre: “*ayai šultana*, ja wasitit dadí-la. mjalew mǎre bai: gǎl *hejwanate* šbirula wud, gǎl *ben-adam* la wud. ana xa joma *mitra* djéle, ana *plítli* kuča, xzéli: xa *dignaxwara* pil gáat *moe*, *mitra* idájle *rába*, *fritwa*, pílwa, *moit mitra* ambola wélule. dwíqlile, xpíqlile, imbíllile bela. jullew šilxíli, talile wélu, gǎl *mitra* tlíliwa. julle hwílli llew m-beli, milbíšli llew *hal rahat* xǎfre. dadi mǎrwale bai: “gǎl *ben-adam* šbirula la wud. bodot ana píri m-xabrit dadi, bod d-o háxxa djéle b-reši.” mǎre: “at šbira maret, bále ja xuje má-jle? ana la fakren.” mǎre baew: “ja xuje wasitit dadí-la. mare bai: gǎl *hejwanate* šbirula wud! atta gǎl d-aj xuje šbirula wíden ana. xa danka-š *qarqara* itwa. gǎlǎw-iš šbirula wíden. *qičaw* twiráwa, imbillila geb hakima, *tirsále*, *mirpjéllillaw*, *zilla*. ja xuje ja *qarqara* ajne kepe midjúllu bai, ana zbinínnu g-šúqa. xur xzi atta, *ayai šultana*, ma jur *ben-adam ihtibar* itte, ma jur *hejwanate jéza ihtibar* ittu! idjéli g-bela, ja *dignaxwara* šméle, ki at kaxtje kliwet: máni il-d-aj kepe zabnana *nišan* hawille, alpa dehwe b-hawinne. xur xzi, ma jur *ben-adam* ile, ki djéle beli, lixma ixale xílle, júlli lwaše, šata tressar jarxe g-beli *estew hurmtew* widli, atta jájur madúle b-reši, mare baox: kepe ja zbiníllu g-šúqa. bále *hejwanate* ana *tirslli* zillu, gebi la jtíwlu, axča-š *xaršlfx* la dréli rešu. xánči fisse hwílli ba-hakima, *tirsile*, plítlu zillu. xur xzi: *qaše dase*, *briljande* mdélu bai. *misséniwa* la madéniwa, méka *b-mastxínwalu* ana? xzi, *ayai šultana*, ja *ihtibar ben-adam*, ja *ihtibar hejwanate!*” *šultana* mǎre: “símun, ba-d-aj gora xa olka gǎl isri *malwawe* hólunu b-idew, mar hawéni baew!” príqla.⁸

There was a man. He was old. He had a son. He made [his] last will to his son, saying: “My son, I am going to die. May be this my last will to you. Do whatever I tell you!” His son said: “Father, tell me what you have to say <are-going-to-say>.” [His father] said: “My son, do not trust any man, do no favour to any man.” [His son] said: “Why, father?” He said: “My son, animals can be trusted <to-animals trust there-is-to-them>, but man cannot. It is written <to us> in the Law: do not trust any man.” His son said: “Very well, father.” A few months passed. His father died. One day he rose from his bed, washed his face [and] his hands, made <took> the ritual hand-washing, recited the Šema Israel [and] went out into the street. It began to thunder and to rain <voice of thunder came, rain came>. In all the streets water was flowing <passing> like a flood. He saw an old man [who] had <has> fallen into the water, [which] was <flowing> carrying him away. [The man] went into the water, took him out of the water [and] brought him to his own house. [There] he took off his clothes <from-his-stature>, brought his own clothes [and] dressed him. He placed [some] bread before him, [and the old man] ate. [He] also made fire in the house, [and the] house became warm. The old man warmed himself a little and grew comfortable. The master of the house asked him: “How are you, are you not feeling cold? I am feeling worried about you <your-worry I-am-making-it>!” [The old man] said: “No, I am very well now, I am not feeling cold, thank you very much! May your

⁸ Source unknown.

house become like the house of our father Abraham!” After this that man – the master of the house – went to the market to do business. On his way <he-came on-way> [back] <returning he-was to-house> he saw a crow whose leg was broken. He went, caught it [and] brought it <, came> home. After he had finished eating <bread he-ate, he finished>, he rose, took that crow in his hands [and] <took it> went to the physician. He said to the physician: “Heal the leg of that crow for me; put [some] medicine on it.” The physician said: “Are you mad? Why should I heal it? Why have you brought it?” The man said: “Sir, I will give you as much money as you want; you [just] heal the leg of this crow; this is the last will of my father.” The physician put some medicine on the leg of the crow [and] healed it. The man paid the physician <moneys-of physician he-gave-them> [and] let the crow fly; it flew [and] vanished <went> in the sky. A few days later [the man] went out <had-gone-out> in the street to take a walk <walking-about he-was>. He saw a serpent whom someone had stricken on its head <they-have-stricken in-its-head> [and] broken it; [the serpent] had <has> fainted [and] fallen there, unable to creep. [The man] brought a little basket, put it into the basket [and] took it straight to the physician. He knocked at his door; the physician came out [and] said: “What do you want?” [The man] said: “I have brought this serpent; put some medicine on his head so it may get well; I will give you as much as you want.” The physician said: “Are you mad? I cannot touch this serpent, [for] all of a sudden it may bite me and kill me!” [The man] said to him: “Never fear. I will hold it in my hand; you [just] put some medicine on its head so it may heal; I will give you as much money as you want”, he said to the physician. [Then] he held it in his hands [and] the physician put some medicine on its head. [For] a few days he continued bringing it <he-brought-it> to the physician until it was healed. [Then] he set the serpent loose [and] it went into the desert. A few months passed <from-meanwhile>. This serpent went to the king of the serpents [and] said: “My lord the king, king of the serpents! I had gone to a [certain] city, [where] I fell into the hands of man. They struck me, broke my head. I had fainted, fallen [and] had almost died, [when] I saw a man coming <he-came>. He took me [and] brought me away. I thought he would <is-going-to> kill me, but <I-saw> he took me along [and] brought me into a [certain] house. I saw that a man came [and] he talked to him. He said: Put some medicine on the head of this serpent so that it may heal. Then <in-that hour> I was very glad [and] said to myself: I no longer [need] die. I was healed. Afterwards he brought me [and] let me loose in the desert. [So] I came here.” The king of the serpents said to that serpent <, he-said>: “Get along! Go away from here! You are telling lies! It is written in the Law [that] when a man sees a serpent, he crushes its head [and] kills it, [and that] the serpent, when possible, bites him in his heel and kills him. Thus it is written in the Law: there is enmity between man and the serpent.” The serpent said to the king of the serpents: “My lord the king, [I swear] by your head [and] by your throne [that] I am not telling you lies.” The king of the serpents said to that serpent: “If you have seen such a man [who] has done this favour to you, whatever you do to him will be [too] little.” [The

serpent] said: "What shall I do to him, my lord the king?" [The king] said: "Go, do you see <are-you-seeing> this mountain? Go, bite <cut> some stones off this mountain with your teeth [and] take them to that man." The serpent said: "My lord the king, what shall he do with bare <dry> stones?" [The king] said to him: "Don't be an ass! Those stones are all diamonds [and] brilliants!" [The serpent] went, bit off a stone <of-those> with his teeth <mouth> and brought [it] to the house of that man who had healed him. He crept in through a hole, put the stone in the house, into a corner, [and] went out. The crow saw [that] the serpent [had] cut a <the> stone off the mountain, brought it [and] put it in the house of that man. The crow, too, seized [some] stones with its beak, filled [it with stones and] threw [the stones] into the house through the opening in <of> the roof. Now the old man, whom the owner of the house had taken out of the water [and] brought home [on] the day of the rain, had still remained in his house, [where] he received food and drink. The master of the house came, opened the door [and] saw [that] the house was <is> full of light. He looked here and there [and] was astonished. He looked into the corner of the house [and] saw [that] the light was <is> coming from there. He went, took those stones, put them in a bag [and] hid them. The old man was looking on. [For] a few days the owner of the house came home in the evening and saw again [that] the house was full of light from those stones [which] the serpent and the crow had brought to his <that man's> house. A few days later he put three of these stones in his pocket, went [and] showed them to a jeweller, saying: "Will you buy these <of-those>?" The jeweller said: "How much [are they] apiece?" [The man] said: "A thousand pieces of gold apiece." The buyer said: "Give them me!" [The man] grew angry, [for] he thought that the jeweller was <is> laughing at him. As for that [jeweller], he thought that [the man] did not wish to sell them [for] a thousand pieces of gold in earnest <from true>. They misunderstood each other <not buyer understood, not seller understood>. [When] the jeweller realized [that] the man <this-one> was about to take these stones and go away, he said: "Give [them], I will pay you two thousand apiece!" The seller thought [that] the jeweller was mocking him and said in [from] his anger: "Give [me the money], I will sell them to you [for] two thousand apiece." He gave the three stones to the jeweller, took six thousand pieces of gold <in money> [and] went home. The next day he brought more stones [and] sold [them]. It became known to the king <matter reached to-king> [that] such precious stones <thus stones precious their-value> were sold in the market. The king wrote announcements <papers> [and] stuck [them] on the walls. He wrote: "Whoever comes [and] tells me of that man who has sold these stones and gives me a sign, to him I shall give a thousand pieces of gold <in-money>. That old man who used to sleep, eat [and] drink at the house of that seller of stones and was honoured and dressed by him <honour he-used-to-do-him, he-used-to-dress-him>, went out into the street one day, read these announcements [which] were stuck on the walls [and] saw what was written <thus written> in them. He went to the king [and] said: "My lord the king, I know the man who has sold the stones." [The king] said:

“Very well.” He gave him a thousand pieces of gold [and] sent two men along with him, policemen <they went>. [The old man] showed them the house, saying: “This is the house, I sleep here.” Those policemen waited there before the house until the owner came. They said to him: “Come, the king wants <is-wanting> you.” He went along with them to the king. The king said to him: “How <whence> have these stones come <fallen> to your hands, [that] you have sold them? Where are you from? Where have you brought them from? Speak the truth!” [The man] said: “I have never seen these stones, nor do I know of them <not I-have-seen, not I-know, what stones they-are>.” The king said: “Take this man away [and] put him in prison!” That [king] was ninety years old, and a son <one his-son> had been newly born [to him], his wife had born him. [The child] was small, two years [old]. They had taken him to the physician who had said: “This one is anaemic <his-blood lacking-is>. Put him in [his] cradle into <before> the sun, so that his blood increase. They put the boy in [his] cradle into the sun. The king was sitting three stories [high in] the palace, watching the boy. He saw [that] a serpent came [and] wrapped itself around <to> the cradle in which the boy [was]. The king cried: “Come quickly, save my son!” [Some] people came, bringing <they-brought> rifles, loaded them <put balls in-them> [and] wanted to kill the serpent. Then they were afraid, had misgivings <imagination they-made>, saying: “Maybe the ball will strike the boy, the boy will die, what shall we do [then]?” [So] they were afraid. They said to the king: “We cannot do this <matter>. Maybe the ball will strike the boy, God forbid <not do>!” The king sent for his wise men [and] said: “Come, give <put> me some <one> advice, save my son from this death!” There were some wise men there near the king. They said: “Our lord the king, no one knows this secret except a Jew <only Jew not he-be>. There are wise rabbis among the Jews, they will tell you this secret. Send for them [and] let them come. In the morning [the king] sent for the chief rabbis. They came to the king. They were afraid [and] said: “Wherefore is the king calling us here?” They went in to the king. He said: “Sit down!” They brought chairs, a chair for each of them, [and] they sat down. They said: “Our lord the king, wherefore have you sent for us? What order[s] have you [for us]?” He said to them: “I have become ninety years [old], I have one son [who] is two years old. I had put him in [his] cradle into the sun. A dragon [-like] serpent, like a cockatrice, came along. I saw that three days ago it wrapped itself round my son’s cradle and has still remained thus until now. Now what can be done about this <remedy-of this what is>? You must <are-going-to> find a way out for my son, that the serpent unwrap itself from the cradle!” One of those rabbis said: “My lord the king, I will tell you something <word>, [and] you must do as I say <my-word do-it>. You have cast a man in prison without judgment, he is innocent. Do you know him?” The king said: “I do not know him.” [The rabbi] said: “If you do not know him, send away all the people you have put in prison, let them go home; [then] the serpent will unwrap itself from the cradle.” The king said: “Very well.” They went, set free all the people who were in the prisons, [but] the serpent did not unwrap itself. [The king] sent for those rabbis of the Jews [and]

said to them: "There were so many people in the prisons; I have set them free according to your word[s]; they have gone <they-went>, I can no longer seize them, but the serpent has not unwrapped itself from the cradle. What is the matter <this what kind matter is-it>?" [The rabbis] said: "Our lord the king, you have not set free that man!" [The king] sent for all the prison-chiefs [and] said to them: "Have you set all the prisoners free?" They said: "We have." "Very well", he said, "but why has the serpent not unwrapped himself from the cradle?" They said: "We do not know". The king asked them: "How many rooms are there in the prison in which there are people < + they are in prison>?" They said: "Eleven". [The king] said: "You have opened the doors of ten rooms [and] let the prisoners go. Go, open that one <'s> room, too!" They went, opened it [and] saw [that] the man who had sold the stones was <is> in it. They brought him to the king who was sitting near the cradle. The serpent unwrapped itself from the cradle, wrapped itself round the neck of that man who had been <was> in prison. The king said to him: "Go away!" He went into the desert; the serpent unwrapped itself from his neck [and] went away. In the morning the king sent for that man [and] said to him: "Let me see the secret of this <this what secret is>. This serpent came, wrapped itself round your neck [and] you went away together with it." [The man] said: "My lord the king! This concerns <is> the last will of my father. At the time of his death <his-dying> he said to me: Do well by animals, do not do well by human beings. One day it rained, I went out into the street. I saw an old man who had <has> fallen into the water. It was raining very hard. He had slipped [and] fallen and the rainwater was about to carry him off. I seized him, enlaced him with my arms [and] brought him home. I took off his clothes, [for] they were wet, had become wet with rain. I gave him some of my own <clothes from-house> and dressed him, until he grew comfortable. My father had said to me: Do no favour to man! Because I have transgressed his word[s], therefore all this <thus> [has] happened to me." The king said: "You speak well, but what about this serpent <this serpent what is-it>? I do not understand [it]!" [The man] said to him: "This serpent concerns <is> my father's last will. He told me: Do favour to animals! Now I have done favour to this serpent. There was also a crow, to which I have also done favour. Its leg was broken, I took it to the physician [and] he healed it; [then] I let it go [and] it departed. This serpent [and] this crow have brought me these stones [and] I have sold them in the market. Now look <see>, my lord the king, how man can be trusted <what kind man trust there-is-to-him> and how animals can be trusted! When I came home, this old man heard that you had <have> written announcements [saying]: Whoever indicates me the man who has sold the stones, I will give him a thousand pieces of gold. Look [and] see, what kind of a man he is, who came to my house, ate all sorts of food <bread foods>, [who] has been wearing my clothes for a twelvemonth, whom I honoured in every way <his-honour his-respect I did> [and who] is now bringing all this <this-kind> upon my head, saying to you: This one has sold the stones in the market! But the animals whom I [have] healed, went away, they did not dwell in

my house, nor did I have <put> so much expence on [account of] them. I [only] paid a little money to the physician, [and after] he [had] healed them, they went away. Look <+ see>, [how] they [have] brought me precious stones and diamonds! They could [just as well] not have brought [me any]; where <whence> could I have found them [then]? Look, my lord the king, this is how man can be trusted and this is how animals can be trusted!” The king said: “Go, give this man a city and twenty villages <+ give-them in-his-hands>, let them be[long] to him!” [The story] has ended <it-is-ended>.

(i₁) Informant: J. H.

ítwa litwa xa gora *dignaxwara*, *rába*-š mare-dolta wéle. wáxtit mjalew *m-olam srixlele* bronew, míre baew: “broni, ana izalen *b-wirxit* kulle ara. bále xa wasita odínox. agăr šamítta wa-doqítta, xošbaxt kwéta kulla jomanit xaox. wa-ja ila wasiti: *mqajäd* xadret hammeša min d-une našit ki nóšu g-tara maxwénilu *rába* šbire, bále libbu *rába* puč ile.” priqle wasjatew, *azad* xđře *m-olam*. píru kimma šinne. bronit d-o gora gwíre gäl xa brata sqilta. bar xaš kimma *wada* píre mi-xlula, xa joma míre jwanqa báad baxtew: “*qúlax*, *paltex* ezex xánči xadore!” míra baxta: “la gezan xadore! čunkit g-tara xazénili jwe naše, enu pela lli, wa-ana matriqlan alu.” brona g-d-aj *wada* wasjatit babew m-balew pílla (~ mitxrále), bále *smitxle* kimma *wada*, ebéle il-d-aj šula duzew ajilwale. ma wídle? míre ba-baxtew: “ana b-ezen qaribula xa kimma *wada*.” míra: “sílox!” zille šuqa gébit qlilje *tarsana*, ba-kud *otay* ki itwa g-belew tre qlilje wídle. xa dastu hiwíle l-baxtew, xa dastu-š intéle geb nóšew. míre: “izalen!” *plítile* m-bela, zille xa kimma *wirxa*, baat *arabači* míre: “dur gol bára!” đře gol bára. *wíre* g-olka, la zille bela *attat* xšixle. bar xa kimma *sate* m-lele píre, idjéle bela, qlila mindéle, tara plíxlele, *wíre*-g-do *otayit* baxtaw *damxáwa*, xzéle: jéle baxtew *dmixa* gäl xa *arel*. hăr xzélale goraw, míra ba *arel*: “tez *qtülle*!” qímle *arel qatílwale*. *plítile* gora, jriqle zille, *dmixle* g-kuča. tfaqi g-d-o lele xaznit *šultana* ginwáwalu. bilbíllu il-ganawa *mastxtwalu*. zillu xzélu l-d-aj gora *dmix* g-kuča, míru: “at *say* naš léwet ki *dmixet* g-kuča, jaqin at ilet ganawa!” dwíqlule, mdélulle geb *šarjana*. albahal *šrélele* il-mola. amboláwalu⁹ talténiwale, kašis zille gálew ki talténile. *mtélu* xa duka ki lóka *zibla* ítwa wa-kirme. kašiš míre: “la mapi-rétune m-reš *zibla*, lóka kirme ita, xel aqlxun *meji*”. ja brona míre: “*mi-trosa* ja-š min d-uné-le ki dadi míre bai!” albahal míre ba-d-une mamurit *šultana*: “kjétun ma? il-d-a xazna ana wa-ja kašiš šarikula gníwexxa!” *šultana* mispéle balbli bel kašiš, kulla xazna *mištxálu* lóka. *onda srixlele šultana* l-d-aj brona, míre baew: “ma llox wa-l-ajja kašiš?” ja jwanqa *bašlamis* wídle il-maqoe *ba-šultana* m-awwal ma mírwale baew dadew wa-ma tfíqla llew gäl baxtew wa-jwe. *šultana* šméle kullu xabrew, hwílle *qitlálu* baxtew gäl d-o *arel* wa-hām illit kašiš. ja brona *xlisa* xđře m-mola, *plítile il-azadula*.¹⁰

⁹ This form (for the usual ambola wélule) was not heard elsewhere.

¹⁰ QHJ ch. 52 and OP III 36ff.

There was <+ not there-was> an old man, who was very rich. At the time of his death <from-world> he called his son [and] said to him: "My son, I am going the way of all flesh <earth>. But I wish to make you a testament; if you listen to it and fulfil it, you will be happy all the days of your life. And this is my testament: beware always of those people who pretend to be <their-self show-them> very good, while <but> their heart is very wicked." He ended his testament [and] departed <free became> from this world. A few years passed. That man's son married <with> a beautiful girl. After some <+ more> time [had] passed since their wedding, the young man said to his wife: "Let us go for a little walk <a-little walking>!" The wife said: "I will not go for a walk, for other people may see me outside [and] notice me <their eye may-fall to-me>, and I may cause them to err <stumble>!" At that time the boy remembered his father's last will, but waited for some time, [for] he wished to know the truth of the matter. What did he do? He said to his wife: "I am going abroad for some time." She said: "Go!" He went to the market, to a locksmith <keys fixer> and [had] two keys made for each room there was in his house. He gave one <their> set to his wife and took the other for himself, saying: "I am going!" He went out of the house, went some distance <way> [and then] said to the coachman: "Turn back!" [The coachman] turned back. [The man] entered the city, [but] did not go home until it became dark. After a few hours [had] passed of the night, he came home, put the key [into the lock], opened the door [and] entered the room [in] which his wife slept. He saw: behold, his wife was <is> sleeping with an uncircumcised man. As soon as she saw her husband, she said to the uncircumcised one: "Kill him quickly!" The latter rose to kill him, [but] the husband escaped <went-out>, ran away and went to sleep in the street. It so happened that <perchance> on that night the king's treasury had been robbed [stolen]. The king's police looked for the thief. They went [and] saw that man sleeping in the street. They said: "You are not an honest man, for you are sleeping in the street. You are certainly the thief!" They seized him [and] brought him before the judge, [who] immediately sentenced him to death. They were taking him to be hanged <to-hang-him> [and] a monk was going <went> along with him <+ they-might-hang him>. They came to a place where there was <is> rubbish and worms. The monk said: "Do not let him pass over the rubbish! There are worms there, [which] may be crushed!" The boy said [to himself]: "This is surely also one of those [of] whom my father told me!" Immediately he said to the king's policemen: "Do you know what? I and this monk have robbed the treasury together <partnership>!" The king ordered them to search the house of the monk [and] they found the whole treasury there. Then the king called the boy [and] said to him: "What have you to do with this monk <what to-you and what to-this monk>?" The young man began relating to the king from the beginning what his father had told him and what had happened to him with his wife, and so on. The king heard all his words [and] ordered to kill <he-gave they-killed> his wife with that uncircumcised one, and likewise <to> the monk. The boy was saved from death and went free <freedom>.

(i₂) xa gorá-twa, *dignaxwara* wéle, xa brona twále. ba-bronew wasita wídwale ki, mánit xzélox nóšew *rába hasid* dóqla, zdi minnew, min d-o zóda ganawa let! ja brona gwíre, xa brata šqille, *hasida*. bod ma *hasida*? ki gäl jwanqe heč la zila. ja xa joma míre baaw: “*qúlax*, ezex sinama!” ja jigrav idjéle. “ana”, míra, “sinama gezan? la gezan!” míre: “bod ma, baxta?” míra: “*awun* ile, gure *salmi* xazénile. baxtit gora *haram* ile jwanqe, nixre naše, *salmaw* xazénile!” ja heč la mqéle. xaxed joma géna míre baaw: “*qúlax*, ezex, xánči *paltex* tara, xadrex, sinama la gezex, báat *hawa* šaqole.” míra: “xen xaxet zaa ajne xabre la mqítu bai, la gban šamjan min d-ajne xabre!” míre: “šbira, at kjat!” jéza ja xa joma míre ba-baxtew: “baxta! ajolat ma it?” míra: “la!” “*mal* šqiléna, xa kimma *toje* m-xa *tajír*, gi-jwe *ahré-la*. kimma jarxé-le fissu šdirínnu, heč *jwab* let bai. abúlen ezen, xazen lóka, mato xđira, *mali* la šadorúlle.” míra: “íman b-ezet?” míre: “idléle b-ezéna.” ja ma wídwale, ja gora? kimma jome min d-a qamol zílwa geb damurči, qlilje *tríswale* magon qliljit belew, dirjívale *bilwanew*. ja lele ki *plítile*, qlilje hiwíle il-baxtew, míre: “dúqlu, ajne qlilje aj belé-lu!” šalom hwílle, zille. zille gaat karwansara, xzéle xa danka gora, míre baew: “íttox xa xmara?” míre: “ítti.” míre: “duq, ja sra dehwe hawínnu baux. ma *wadit* idjéli láxxa *rakwínne* xmarox, ida gáli *hattod darwaza*, bára darex, gdex karwansara!” míre: “šbira”. isra dehwe hwílle ba-d-o mar xmara, jtíwle *janew hal sata* xđira tressar. qímle, xa m-nóšew zille bela, tara plíxlele *jawaš jawaš*, *wíre lwa*, oxet tara-š plíxle aj *otay jawas jawaš*, *wíre lwa*, xzéle: baxtew *šítja*, xa danka gora *janaw*. míra ba-d-o gora: “*qúlox*, il-d-aj *qtúlle*!” ja tez jirqále, zille *dmišle* gäat xa danka šuqa g-xa *bujay*, xiškanta tka. o lele *mazzalit* d-aj gora xaznit *šultana* ginwáwalu. plítiwa mahmure b-d-o lele, balbola wélu bar ganawe ki doqílu, xaznit *šultana qitjáwalu*. idjélu, bilbillu, il-d-aj xzélule lóka g-d-aj šuqa jtiwa. míru: “láxxa ma wadet?” míre: “heč, jtíwen.” míru: “at ganawé-let!” míre: “e.” “xaznit *šultana* gniwítta?” míre: “e.” dwíqlule, imbíllule, lele *tšélule*, baqatjo imbíllule *qabay šultana*. *šultana* bqíre minnew: “ja xazna at gniwétta?” míre: “e.” *šultana* míre baew: “ja šula la xadir! at máto ganwet, kimret: e, ané-len?” pasaq-din klíwlu ki ba-d-aj gora talténile. imbíllule il-d-aj gora ba-taltoa. g-do olka háxxa *qajda* wéla: o našit ki b-taltéle, amblíle kulla šuqa, kučane maxdrílu illew, bára ambli talténile. il-d-aj mixdírúle, mixdírúle, *m-qabayit* xa tara pjara wélu, mar d-o bela *qabay* tara *smíx-wa*. míre bau: “máxxa la mpúrune, l-d-aj gora!” míru: “bod ma?” míre: “xazúletun? kirme it láxxa xel aqlaw, kullu *ljačéllu*, mjalú. *awun* ile!” o-š míre: “il-do dúqune, o ganawé-le!” dwíqlule, dfru djélu geb *šultana*. *šultana* míre: “báma la tiltélxune?” míru *ba-šultana*: “ja gora ganawa nóšew *mištíxlele*! xzéle illew, míre: ja ile xazna ganwana! bod d-o dfran idjélan, la tiltélane.” *šultana* bqíre min d-o gorit aj treminji, míre: “duz mar, ja xazna at gniwétta?” míre: “*ayai šultana*, ana ganawé-len? ana kud zaa gden, rešox garínne. kjítta ja kimma šinné-le!” míre ja *šultana*: “ba-d-o ma daxl ítte?” míre: “*ayai šultana*, haxxa šula léta, ana ganawa léwen!” *šultana* míre: “*smux* láxxa!” arba danke mahmure šdíre, míre: “bel d-aj kjétune?” míru: “malum kjíxxe! *m-qabay* tarew dwíqex widjíxxe.” míre: “ja mar peš láxxa, símun, belew bilbúlune!” zíllu, *mtélu qabay* tarew aj d-o gora, *wíru* belew, bilbillu, *mištíxlu* sandúqit damur gau xaznit *šultana*. treju

smíxlu lóka, treju-š jaroqe zillu djélu geb *šultana*, míru: “*ayaan šultana, mištíxlan sandúqit* damur *milje*, mohrit *šultana* rešu!” *šultana* míre ba-d-o gora: “bás máto dugle mírox, mírox: ana la gniwen? méka wélu ajne gebox?” klíwle taltoe il-d-aj. bára *šultana* bqíre min d-aj gora ki qamol dwíqlule g-šuqa, míre baew: “ja ma šulé-le, at gríšlox pparox, mírox: ana gniwen fissit *šultana*? máto xdíra, illox imbíllu ba-taltoe, il-d-aj naša jilloxe ki ganawé-le? il-d-aj *sír* máre bai!” míre: “*ayai šultana*, ma amren baow, ma sōqen?” míre: “mar!” míre: “*ayai šultana*, xa baxtá-twali, nóšaw *rába sadaqit* doqáwala, kimra: ana la *paltan* tara, *awun* ile bai! gure, jwanqe *salmi* xazéle, *awun* ile! baxtit gora *awun* ile xaxed gora *salmaw* xazéle! ana l-d-aj baxta *ǰirbáli*, míri: *mal* šqilen, b-ezen gi-jwe olka, *mali* madínne. míra bai: šbira, sílox! lele qímli, zilli, qlilje aj bela mispjíli illaw, jwéxet qlilje magonu *tríswali*, dréwali *bilwani*, une qlilje hwílli llaw. ana *plítli*, zilli lele gáat xa karwansara, jtíwli. xdíre *sata* tressar lele, zilli belan, tare *jawaš jawaš* pilxíli, *wíri g-otayit* treminji, *m-otayit* treminji *wíri g-otayit tahaminji*, xzéli baxti *štja* g-šiwje, xa gora *janaw* g-šiwje. hār xzélali, míra ba-d-aj gorit *janaw damxana*: *qu*, l-d-aj *qtúlle*! ana jirqáli, idjéli, jtíwli g-d-o *bujayit* šuqa, nóši *tišjáli*. idjélu, dwíqluli, míru: at ganawé-let! míri: e. imbílluli, lele *tšéluli*, baqatjom mdéluli gebox. at bqírox minni: at gniwet ja xazna? míri: e. ana *m-gani* be-zar wéli. xa-š dadi bai wasita wídwale, míre bai: Hemuna (sic!)^H la wud illit *rába* naša ki nóšew *hasid* dóqla, amir: ana *hasid* ilen. illi imbíllu ba-taltoe gál xabrox. maxdora wéluli, *hal* ki *matxwa* lókit taltéwali. min *qabayit* tar d-aj gora pjara wélan gál mahmure, ambola wélulli ba-taltoe. birdān ja gora míre ba-mahmure: *awun* ile il-d-aj gora mapirétune m-reš d-ajne kirme, *ljačéllu*, kullu mjalú, *awun* ile! g-d-o *sata* xabrit dadi bali pille, míri g-libbi: ej kalba! át-ši magon baxti *hasid* ilet, tunnxún-iš *mamzer* iletun! o *qahbé-la*, át-ši ganawé-let! ja zaa míri: já-jle ganawa! *joxsan* ana la kkinwa, ja gniwe il-d-a dolta m-gebox. m-baxti jílili ki *qahbula* wada, mara bai: ana *hasid* ilan! ja-š ganawa wéle ki, mare: kirme la *lúčlu*, *awun* ile! *ayai šultana*, *qahbula-w* ganawula *awun* ile, *jan* kirme *ljača awun* ĩe? ana baqoren minnox!” *šultana* míre: “símun, baxtit d-aj gora mdímuna!” mahmure míru: “axni belew la kčíxse!” bqíru minnew, *nišan* hwillellu g-d-émi kučé-le, šimmew bqírule, klíwlu, zillu, belew *mištíxlule*. šimmit baxtéw-iš miréle bau, klíwlule gebu. zillu, belew *mištíxlule*, *wíru* g-bela. bqíru, míru: “mar bela ké-le?” baxta *plítla* tara, míra: “gori bela léwe.” míru baaw: “šimmax má-jle!” šimmaw mírale. míru baaw: “idálah, ezex gálan!” míra: “bod ma?” míru: “axni la kkex! *šultana* ibjéllax! xa xabra b-baqir minnax, bára darat, gidjat bela.” idjéla gal d-ajne mahmure gébit *šultana*. *šultana* bqíre minnaw, míre: “gorax ké-le?” míra: “jé-le!” *janaw* wéle, geb *šultana*. míre: “gorax ma míre baax?” míre: “míre: izalen xa olka, *mal* šqilen, *mali* madínne.” míre: “bás la zil, laxxé-le! báma dugle dagolat? at *mamzerta* ilat! o máni wéle *janax damíxwa* g-šiwje, lele *sata* tressar? at kimrat ba-gorax: ana *hasid* ilan, *salmi* gure la gban xazjáne! gorax kmir: ezex xadore. mašfáte il-gorax! o-š *ǰriblelax*, zille, pilglele idjéle bela, tare pilxíle, xzéwale at xa gora *midmixtat janax* g-šiwjjax. mírwalax ba-d-o gorit *janax damxana*: *qúlox*, il-d-aj *qtúlle*, tez! goráx-iš *ǰríq-wa* m-idax, idjéwa, g-šuqa *damíxwa*, dwíqlule mahmure, mdélule gebi. ganawe

zaznit dídí ginwáwalu. kimmit baqoren minnew, mare: ana gniwínna. ana-š klíwli, tes *šretew piltáli* ba-taltoe. ja naša *nahǎq* tka tiltja b-xadírwa rešax, bod dídax, ki at mírwalax ba-gorax: ana *hasid* ilan! atta magonax *hasid* xazúlena *qahbé-lu*, magon d-aj gora-š ki gdéwa reši garéwale, ana hamnínwalle, ja-š xazni gniwélla, ja-š magonax *hasid* ile! at *qahba*, ja-š ganawa! magonxun *hasidime* ba-taltoe šbiré-lu, axnxun naše mašlfané-letun! tkit aj d-aj gorax, illax il-d-aj gora ki reši garéwale, xazni gniwélla, talténi!” kaxtja klíwle, míre: “imbúlun, tiltímunu.” imbillulu, tiltélulu. *šultana* ba-d-o gorit aj do baxta sra alpe dehwe fisse hwille, míre: “tkit ki, at *zahamta* gríšlox *rába!*” o-gora-š ídit *šultana* nišqále, *plltle*.

There was a man. He was old and had a son. He had declared <said> his last will to his son saying <that>: “Whoever you see behaving as if he were extremely pious <whoever you-saw himself very pious holding-it>, fear him, [for] there is no greater thief than he!” The son married, took a girl [who was] pious. In what way <why> was she pious? <for> she had <has> never walked <gone> with young men. One day her husband <this-one> said to her: “Get up, we shall go to the cinema!” She grew angry. “I”, said she, “shall go to the cinema? I shall not go!” He said: “Why, wife?” She said: “It is a sin [for] men to see my face. It is forbidden to young men, strangers, to see the face of a married woman <wife-of husband>!” The next day he said to her again: “Get up, let us go out a little for a walk <let-us-walk-about>, we shall not go to the cinema, [just] to take some air!” She said: “You must not talk like this <these words> to me another time, I do not wish to hear <of> these words!” He said: “Very well! You know [better]!” So one day he said to his wife: “Wife! Do you know what <there-is>?” She said: “No.” He said: “I have bought goods, a few packs, from a merchant; they are in another city (or country). I have sent him their price a few months ago <a-few months-are I-have sent their money>, [but] have received no answer <any answer not-there-is for-me>. I want to go [and] see how it has happened [that] they are not sending [me] my goods.” [His wife] said to him: “When are you going?” He said: “I am going to-night!” What had he done [meanwhile], that man? A few days before he had <has> gone to a smith, had <has> some keys made like the keys of his house [and] put them in his pocket. On the night of his departure <this night that he-went-out> he gave the keys to his wife, saying: “Keep these keys, they belong to the house.” He took leave of her <greeting gave> [and] went away. He went to a caravanserai, saw [there] a man [and] said to him: “Have you got a donkey?” [The man] said: “I have.” [The husband] said: “Catch! Here [are] ten pieces of gold, I want to give them to you. When I come here to mount your donkey, come with me until the city gate. Then we will return <[and] come> to the caravanserai.” [The man] said: “Very well.” [The husband] gave to the owner of the donkey ten pieces of gold [and] sat beside him until twelve o’clock <until hour became twelve>. [Then] he rose, went alone to his house, opened the door gently gently, [and] came in. [Next] he opened the other door – that of the bedroom –, gently gently, went in [and] saw his wife lying [in bed], with a man beside her. She said to that man: “Rise [and]

kill him!" [Her husband] ran swiftly away, went [and] slept in the market-place, in a corner where it was dark <dark place>. [Now] that night it so happened <luck-of that man> [that] the king's treasury had been robbed <treasury-of king they-had-stolen>. The king's policemen had gone out that night [and] were looking for the thief to capture him [for] he had robbed the king's treasury. They came, searched [that] market-place [and] saw that [man] sitting there in the market. They said: "What are you doing here?" He said: "Nothing, I am [just] sitting here." They said: "You are the thief!" He said: "Yes." "Have you robbed the king's treasury?" He said: "Yes." They seized him, took him away, kept him arrested <hid-him> that night; in the morning they took him before the king. The king asked him: "Have you robbed the treasury?" He said: "Yes." The king said to him: "This is strange <this matter not possible-is>! How [can] you rob <steal> [and simply] say: yes?" (The man) said: "Yes, I am the thief." They sentenced that man to be hanged <sentence thy-wrote to-this man they-should-hang-him>. They took him <to-this man> to be hanged [to-hanging]. [Now] there was such a law in that country, that a person about to be hanged was taken and marched around the whole market-place and all the streets <that person whom they-are-about-to-hang, they-should-take-him etc.>, [and] then taken to be hanged. [Thus] they marched him around and around. They were passing by <before> a door; the owner of that house was standing before the door. He said to them: "Do not let this man pass from here!" They said: "Why?" He said: "Do you not see <you-are-seeing> [that] there are worms here under his feet; he is treading [upon] them [and] they are dying. It is a pity <sin it-is>!" Then that [man] said: "Seize this one, he is the thief!" They seized him [and] returned to <came> before the king. The king said: "Why did you not hang him?" They said to the king: "This one found the [real] thief <himself>. He [just] looked at him [and] said: This is he [who] has robbed the treasury! Therefore we came back [and] did not hang him." The king asked that second man <, he-said>: "Say the truth, have you robbed the treasury?" [The man] said: "My lord the king, am I a thief? I come every day to shave your head. You have known me for so <how> many years!" The king said: "What has that got to do with this?" [The man] said: "My lord the king, there is no such thing, I am no thief!" The king said: "Wait here!" He sent for policemen, saying: "Do you know the house of this [man]?" They said: "Certainly we know it! We have seized [him] in front of his house [and] brought him here." The king said: "Let him remain here. You go, search his house!" They went, arrived at the door of his house <of that man>, entered his house, searched [it and] found iron chests which contained the king's treasury. Two of the remained <stood> there, while the [other] two ran <running running went, came> to the king [and] said: "Our lord the king, we found [some] full iron chests, which bear <on-them> the royal seal!" The king said to that man: "Now how could you lie to me <lies you-said>, saying: I have not stolen? How did you come by these chests <whence were these with-you>?" He sentenced <wrote> this [man] to be hanged. Then the king asked that man whom they [had] seized before in the market-place, saying: "What is the matter [that]

you have taken the responsibility on yourself, saying: I have stolen the king's money? How did it happen [that when] they were taking <took> you to be hanged, you knew that person to be the thief? Explain the matter to me <to-this secret tell-it to-me>!” [The man] said: “My lord the king, what shall I say <+ what shall-I-leave>?” The king said: “Speak!” [The man] said: “My lord the king, I had a wife who used to behave as if she were very pious, she used to say <she-says>: I will not go out, it is forbidden <sin to me>! Men, youths might see my face, it is forbidden! It is a sin for a married woman, if another man sees her face! I tried this woman out. I said: I have bought [some] goods, I am going to another city to bring my goods. She said: Very well, go! At night I rose, handed over to her the keys of my house. I had [however] made other keys like them [and] put them in my pocket. I gave her those keys, went out at night, went to a caravanserai [and] sat [there]. At twelve o'clock in the night I went to our house, opened the door gently, went into the second room, went from there into the third room and saw my wife lying in bed [with] a man beside her <in-bed>. As soon as she saw me, she said to the man who was sleeping beside her: Get up, kill this one! I ran away, went <came> and sat in that corner of the market-place, hiding myself. [Then] the policemen came, seized me [and] said: You are the thief! I said: Yes. They took me away, held me arrested [that] night [and] in the morning brought me to you. You asked me: Have you stolen that treasury? I said: Yes. I was tired of life <of-my-soul>. Then, too, my father had told me his last will, saying: do not trust any <many> person who makes himself out to be very pious, saying: I am pious. [Well] they took me to be hanged according to your order <with your-word>. They were marching me about before <until> coming to the place where they were to hang me. <We> [I] and the policemen were passing before the door of that man [when] they were taking me along to be hanged. All of a sudden that man said to the policemen: It is a sin to let this man pass over these worms, he is treading on them, they are all dying! It is a pity <sin>! At that moment <hour> I remembered my father's words [and] said to myself <in-my-heart>: Oh you dog! You, too, are pious like my wife, both of you are bastards! She is a whore, and you are a thief! That time I said: Here is the thief! [For] otherwise I would not have known that he had stolen all this money <riches> from you. I knew [it] from my wife, who was <is> committing adultery [while] saying: I am pious! As for this one, he was certainly the thief, [as] he was <is> saying: Do not tread upon the worms, it is a sin! My lord the king, is adultery and robbery a sin, or is treading upon worms a sin? I am asking you!” The king said: “Go, bring the wife of this man!” The policemen said: “[But] we do not know his house!” They asked him [and] he indicated to them in what street it was <is>; they asked for his name, wrote it down, went and found his house. He also told them his wife's name [and] wrote it down <with-them>. They went, found his house [and] went in. They asked <+ they-said>: “Where is the master of the house?” The woman came out [and] said: “My husband is not at home.” They said to her: “What is your name?” She told [them] her name. They said to her: “Come with us <let-us-go with-us>!” She said: “What for?” They said: “We do not

know! The king wants you. He will ask you something, after [that] you will return <+ come> home.” She and the policemen came before the king. The king asked her <+ he-said>: “Where is your husband?” She said: “Here he is!” [For] he was standing near her, beside the king. [The latter] said: “What did your husband say to you?” She said: “He said: I am going to another city; I have bought [some] goods [and] will bring them [here].” The king said: “But he has not gone, he is here! Why are you lying? You are a bastard! Who was that [man] who was sleeping beside you in [your] bed, at twelve o’clock at night? You [used to] say to your husband: I am [a] pious [woman], I do not want to see the faces of men, [when] your husband used to say <says> let us go for a walk! You deceive[d] your husband. But he has tried you out: he went away, [but] came home at midnight, opened the doors and saw <had-seen> [that] you had <have> put a man beside you in your bed. You [had] said to that man: Get up, kill this one, quick! But your husband escaped <had-escaped> you <from-your-hands>; he came to the market-place to sleep there [when] the policemen seized him [and] brought him to me, [for] thieves had robbed my treasury [that night]. As much as I asked <was-asking> him, he said <is-saying> I have robbed it. Now I sentenced him <I-wrote, his judgment brought-out> quickly to be hanged. This man would have been wrongfully <wrongful place> hanged on your account <because of you>, for you had said to your husband: I am pious. Now I see that pious [women] like you are whores, just as this man, who used to come to shave my head and have my trust <I-used-to trust-him>, and he <too> [has] robbed my treasury; he, too, is pious like yourself! You are an adultress, and he is a thief! Pious people like you are good for hanging. You are swindlers <people deceivers>! Instead of <this> your husband, they should hang you [and] this man who used to shave my head.” He wrote an order <paper> [and] said: “Take [them] away [and] hang them!” This was done <they took-them-away, they-hung-them>. The king gave the husband of that woman ten thousand pieces of gold <in money> [and] said: “This is for all <much> the trouble you have had!” The man kissed the king’s hand [and] went out.

(j) xa joma xa danká-twa. *rába rába* mare-dolta wéle, *riwwa raw* wele. ja xa ták brona twále. ja bronew miqréle llew. jlíple *rába*, axči jlíple, *haxamit* aj olkew la *ridjile*, míre: “b-ezen *istambol*, *riwwa raw* ita. b-ezen geb d-o jalpen!” ja míre ba-dadew: “ana b-ezéna!” axča *daew* dadew bxélu, lwélu, tqélu, míru baew: “bróni, la si, axnan *qoǰalmiš* xdírex, baqatta báhro b-melex. jtu *janan*, la šúqlan, mjalan geban xdur!” míre: “ajne xabrxun g-reši la *gori*. b-ezen, b-ezen!” ja dadéw-inän *daew* mahtäl pišlu, la *missélu* xen maqéniwa, míru: “šbira!” ^H*seda ladarex*^H, ixale, kullu wídlu baew, zille. *mtéle istambol*, bqírelle bel d-o *ráwit* aj olka, nišan hwillule baew naše, zille *mištixlelle*. *wíre* bela, *wíre g-hajat*, jsíqle *g-otaγ*, xzéle: talmide jtíwi

gebit *raw*, din ^H*pašat*^H wadélu. xa din ítwa, ebélu *pašat* odiwale, la *missélu*, pišlu xjara *l-diyde*. ja brona-š xjare, mahtäl pjaše, ja-š la *missúle pašat* ódwale. *wádit* lixma ixale wéle, qimlu, birbizlu kullu ba-lixma ixala. ja brona pišle lóka. birdän xzéle: xa kaxtja m-lilja pilla *g-xanew*. kaxtja pilxále, xzéle: *pašat* d-o din g-d-aj kaxtja kliwé-le. kalowélu g-do kaxtja: “*flan* din maqo wélxun rešew, axnxun la jillxun *pašatew, pašatew* ja ila”. ja qirjále kaxtja, *psixle*. ajne talmide lixma xillu, priqlu, idjélu geb *raw* g-jašiwa. ja brona kaxtja mixwjále llu, míre: “xzímun, jéle *pašarew* aj d-aj din!” kixkálulle. míre: “báma kaxkétuna? jé-la kaxtja, *pašárit* din, mhor rešaw!” géna kixkálulle. míre: “márun bai, báma kaxkétunulli?” *rišqande* widlulle. jígrew idjéle, jgíre llu, míre: “bod ma *rišqande* wadétunulli?” míru baew kaxoke kaxoke: “at *lazím* léwe ja *sír* ajítte, la *wur* g-d-aj *sír*!” míre: “la, ana *lazím* ile ajínne!” lwéle, tqéle llu, míre bau: “ja *sír* bai b-amrétune!” míru baew: “ja bratit aj d-o *raw* ila. axča qrita, m-dadew zóda kja! axni hammeša gdex, jatwex láxxa, geb d-aj *raw*, xa din ki la jillane *pašatew*, láxxa maqex *gal diyde*. bar d-aj guda beláw-ile, kawa ita gaew, min d-o kawa o šamúla ma maqúlex, *pašat* din kalwále, kaxtja partfála l-d-a *jan* g-jašiwa.” ja brona ešiqlela l-d-aj brata, báat hoxmaw, míre: “ja brata bai *lazím* šaqılınna ^H*kadat* wexadin^H.” kixkálu, míru: “ja brata baow la xadra!” míre: “bod ma?” míru baew: “at la xizja illit brata šaqolıtta, máto xadra?” míre: “bod ma, ma ita? ana hoxmaw abúlenna, *toraaw*. mar xánči snita hawja!” míru: “la xadra baow!” míre: “bod ma? ja *sír* bai márun! ebá-tta?” míru: “lex ajola, g-d-a *sír* la *wur*!” míre: “illah gbínna!” míre ba-*daaw* dadaw: “bratxun b-hawétuna bai.” ja-š jtíwa g-belu. ajne *daaw* dadaw baxila wélu, ja xabra šmélulle, ki bratu abúlella ja brona. idew la gríšle, míre: “gbínna ja brata!” brata hiwálu baew. mdélu brata, milbšálu magon *kalo*, m-tappaw *hattot tpirtaw* ksélula kulla jandagaw, *salmáw-iš* la mixwélu. idjélu *ba-baraxa, salmáw-iš* la xzélelle. o brona xšiwle: *qajdit* d-aj olka haxxé-la. *haxam* idjéle, katubba kilwále, qirjále ^Hkamo din *torat* moše^H, *qinjan* hwille b-idit *hatan, birxálu* baew. jtíwlu, xillu, štélu. naše birbizlu. il-d-aj *kalo* mispjálu *il-hatan g-otay* alhadda, tara dwiqlule. ja kalo-š baxila, *slola salúla qabay* ^Hhaššem^H, maréla: “^H*haqqadoš barux* hu^H! *matlabi malıtta*, mad míri ba-d-aj brona, háxxa od! *aman* ile, *sloli* šamıtta, ilha! axča šinné-le pišan *zalil*, ád-ilet *marmana* makšana. *umbul* minnox let *rahmana* illi! *qali* šamıtte, ilha! mad míri ba-d-aj *hatan* ^Hziwuyi^H, háxxa od! *rahm* illi daret g-libbew!” ja *hatan* pardit *kalo* dwiqlu, *mirmále m-salmaw*, xzéle *salmaw salmit* xmaré-le, *nahale* jarixe. pilgaw xmarta wéla, m-šuraw lilja, m-šuraw tíxja *ben-adam*. bále *rába* qréwala, *rába kjáwa pašatit* dine aj *tora*. ja brona ki xzéle, *salmaw salmit* xmaré-le, díre gol bára. dwiqla m-taškew, míra: “la si! xa xabra amran baow, *aman* ile! šmile, bára si.” bxéla *qanšarew*, míra baew: “dimma la mindi láxxa! at šwiqlóxi, ezet, háxxa xšuw *qtilloxi*. bäs xa xabra minnox abúlan, b-xatrit ^Hhaššem^H ja xabri wúdle!” míre: “má-jle xabrax?” míra baew: “abúlan minnox, ^Hpirja wa-riwja^H odet, ezet, *marpjánox*!” m-^Hhaššem^H wéla, ja *rahm* pilla g-libbew, la zille, xabra wídlele. bar priqlu, ebéle ezilwa, míra baew: “xa xabrá-tti amran baow.” míre: “mar!” míra: “abúlan minnox, xa ^Hsiman^H hawélox gebi.” míre: “ma ^Hsiman^H gbat?” míra: “sesidox, siddurox, mohrox, hólu lli.” hiwile llaw, míre

baaw šalom, *plitle*, zille. *mtéle* bel nóšew g-olkew, geb dadew *daew*. dadew míre baew, míre: “sesidox, siddurox, mohrox ké-lu?” míre: “miskríli!”

ja brata *taha* jarxe pfru, *daaw* baaw ixala madjáwa kud jom, kwáwalla l-brata. míra ba-*daaw*: “*dáe*, g-kasi xa mindiy it, *jala barbote*.” bxéla, zilla, míra ba-goraw: “bratox maréla: kasi *jala barbote*!” ičča jarxe *m-ara* píre, ja jdilla xa brona. *sudraw* šlíxlala, xléla l-o brona gáat d-o *sudra*, *mamača* la mdéla baaw. mtíwlale il-*jala qabáyit* tara. *daaw* móka pjara wéla, šméla *qal jala* “inga inga” gde. zilla, tara plíxlale, xzéla: *jala* xilja lóka jtiwa *g-otay*. intélale, imbillale geb goraw, míra: “xzi, bratox jdíla (~ jdilta) brona!” tez albahal šdíru, xa danka *mamsanta* mdélu báat hammeša, ki *mamsále*. brona *rwéle*. m-^Hhaššem^H wéle, bron xamša šinne xdíre magon bron isra šinne. mtíwlule *g-midraš*, qréle, *mtéle l-gamara* qaroe. xa joma *g-midraš* qaro wéle gál *baruxawew*. ja gál *baruxawew* xabrew laj pille. *baruxew* míre baew: “*qu*, *plut* tára! ad la dadá-ttox la *daa*! nóšox la *psúnna*! at bron máni-let? m-máni xdíret?” ja brona *xar* xdíre. zille bela, míre ba-sotew: “*dáe*!” míra: “ma ile?” míre: *dai* dadi ké-lu?” míra: “bróna, ana *daox* ilan, o-š dadox ile!” míre baaw: “dugle la dgul bai! axnxun *dignaxware* ilétun, kud minnxun imma šinné-txun, ana la hamnen axnxun *dai* dadi-letun!” sotéw-inän sonew *rába* mqélu, ja xánči šméle, míre: “ajne xabrxun beni la *tamri*! duz xabrá-ttxun, mqímune bai!” qímle sotew, míra: “bróni, *attit* (~ *attat*) haxxé-la, *daox* úla loka, g-do bela! si, tara plúxle, xzíla!” ja qímle, xille, talasuq tara plíxlalle, xzélella *daew salmaw* gilja, *salmit* xmara. dwíqle nišqále, xipqále. o-š nšíqlale, xpíqlale, bxéla. míre: “*dáe*, la nxup, ana bronáy-ilen, ana-š m-kasax xdíren! hár ma jur hawjat, m-reši zodé-lat, *dai*-lat!” libbaw šqillele gál xabre basime. xánči píre, bqíre *m-daew*, míre: “*dáe*, máni gde lóxxa *janax*?” míra: “bod ma, broni, baqoret?” míre: “xjaren xazúlen, *taha* arbámme safarimé-ttax, bela *miljé-le*! máni gáad d-ajne qarúle?” míra baew: “bróni, axča šinne gáli maqjana let, xai gál d-ajne mapiránu, qarjan gau, kjan kud din.” míre: “bás, *dái*, *attit* haxxé-la, báma ezen *g-midraš* qaren? at miqríli. ilha hawílle bai, jalpen minnax din *tora*!” *rába* mqéle gálaw, safarime *plitle*, miqrélalle *hattot* xánči xdugaw birbízle. brona mare-hoxma wéle, hušaw idjéle rešaw, míre: “*dae*, xa xabra baqren minnax, baxšáti? dadi leké-le?” míra: “bróni, libbi la mšúmle, xduge la dri g-libbi!” kaxoke kaxoke míre baaw: “*dáe*, xdug la wud! xabra baqoren minnax, jigrax la ade, mqi bai!” kullu xabre mad tfiq mqélalu baew kullu xabre, m-reša *hattot axr* xabraw, mat tfiq-wa gál dadew *g-aralyu*. míre: “*dáe*, xa xabra baqren minnax, baxšáti! izalew m-áxxa xa mindiy šwíqle gebax?” míra: “e, broni, xa sesidew, xa siddurew, xa-š mohrew hwíllelí, *plitle* zille.” míre: “*dáe*, nokär aqlox xadren! *rába* mare-hoxmé-lat, *rabá pasoxen* gál d-aj hoxmax! xdug la wud, ilha *riwwé-le*! il-d-une *taha* mindiyane hólulli, ana b-ezen dadi *maštínne*! míra: “bróni, xulmé-la ja, xabrit xulma maqúlet at! ad zóra *jalé*-let, méka *misset* ezet, balblet, dadox *maštítte*?” míre: “*dáe*, at šúqli, la zdi minni! bás at xdug la wud, ana gezen dadi *maštínne*!” qímle réšit aqlew, idaw rešaw nišqíle, míre: “*dáe*, puš šalomi!” bále ane *taha* mindiyane šiqlíle, imblíle gálew. zille geb sotéw-inän sonew, míre bau: “bai ixala *hazír* wúdu, ana b-ezen bar dadi, *maštínne*!” axči ajne sonew sotew bxélu, lwélu, tqélu, la xdíra. míre: “be-ezen ki

be-ezen!” *hazirje* xzélú baew, lixma, ixala, julle, zille. *mtéle* g-olkít dadew. *ráwit* aj d-o olka bǫfírele, zille belu. jomit arota wéla. šabbat xǫfíre. lel šabbat zillu kništa, *slolu siljálu*, idjélú bela, xillu, štélú, *dmíxlu*. baqatjom xǫfíre šabbat, zillu kništa *slola saloe*, brona sisidew kséle, siddur dwíqle b-idew, qréle. *hattot mtélu* ^H*nišmat*^H, príqlu, *mtélu* slola. ja brona qímle, *slola salúle*. ja *raw* tez príqle *mi-slola*, ^H*ose* šalom^H wídle, *smíxle*. ja brona *hála mi-slola* la príq-wa. xzéle: šišbar sisidew kliwé-le rešaw šimmit bron nóšew. siddur xzéle, géna šimmit bronew rešaw kliwé-le. jajne *slélu*, príqlu, zillu bela. ja *raw* zille g-d-oxet *otay*, bronew *srixlele*, míre: “bróni, sisidóx-inán siddurox, mohrox, ma xǫfíri?” míre: “dáda, kimma zae baqret minni! la mǫfíri baux miskíri?” dadew kixkále, míre: “agǫr atta madínnu baux, xazíttu, ma kimret?” míre: “šbira, dada, mdílu.” ja *raw* idjéle, míre ba-d-o brona: “il-sisidox *plútla*, xazínna!” míre: “il-sidduróy-iš *plútla*, xazínna!” *píltile*, hiwíle il-*raw*. xizjile, míre: “ja šimmox reš d-ajne kliwa?” míre: “šimmi léwe, šimmit dadí-le. gǫl d-ajne ídjen dadi *maštxíne*.” míre: “hólulli, atta maden kwínnu.” hiwíllelew, imblíle *g-otay*, mixwíle il-bronew, míre: “bróni, ajne aj máni-lu? mahtál píšle, la *misséle* maqéwa. míre: “dáda, ajne méka?” míre: “ajne bronox midjillu!” mah...tál... píšle! “bróni”, mire, “méka wéle?” míre: “ida, xzi, bronóy-ile!” mdélele l-bronew, *mimbírele g-otay* gǫl d-o brona, míre: “ja ile dadox!” *qolew* mindéle pǫqarew, nšiqlele, xpíqlele, bxéle. ja bron d-aj *ráw-iš rába psíxle*, bod d-ot ki il-d-o baxtew šiwwále, idjéle g-olkít nóšew, xa brata šqílwale ba-nóšew g-olkew. *jale* la xǫfíriwa m-d-o baxta, *sonsíz* wéla. ja brona míre ba-dadew: “dáde!” míre: “ma ile, bróni?” míre: “*dai* b-ezen, madínna lǫxxa!” ja bxéle, míre: “bróni, gǫl *daox arai* la doqa!” míre: “dáda, heč ja šula la xadir! g-din kliwté-la: gora baxta *m-díyde* xadore, ará-inán šimme reti. *awún*-ile, at bronit xa haxxa *raw* iléta, máto baxtox šoqítta lóka, át-iš pešet lǫxxa háxxa! ana b-ezen madínna!” ja díre zille *g-wirxa*, *slola salúle* g-gami, mare: “ilha, *silhíli*, ezen *dai* madínna, *xajalta* la garšen, *dai-š salmaw* la samqi!” m-gami kwíšle, idjéle, *mtéle* g-čol. *wirxa riqqa* wéla, gís-wa, *štéle* gisanulew šaqílwala, *dmíxle*. xzéle b-xulmew, *elijáhu hannawi* djéle, míre: “ana *elijáhu hannawi* ilen. kimma *slolje slélox*, *dwaox* g-šimme qbile xǫfíru. ja aman *moe* it gau, imbúlle gǫlox bela! mar *daox* xepa, bára *zinqúru* rešaw, *tarsa*. il-naša la maxwítta, *hattot* xazja dadox.” háxxa míre baew, príqle. *ríšle* m-šindew, xzéle: aman *moe* xel rešew. intélele, *plítile*, zille béla. zille geb *daew*, *daew* nišqále, xipqále. *rába psíxla*, míra: “*qurban* xadren baux, djélox?” jtíwle *janaw*, míre: “*dáe*, b-la xepat?” míra: “bróni, agǫr *moe* hawe, b-xepan!” *moe* mišxínne, *zinqǫra* rešaw, xípla. o šušit *moe* bára *zinqrála* rešaw, xǫfíra magon bratit arbassar šinne. míre: “*dáe*, ma kef ilat?” míra: “bróni, dardi la mšúmle, l-ajolan!” míre: “*dáe*, xdug la wud!” jullaw liwšílá príqla, *nohra* hwílle b-idaw, xíra šiklaw, mahtál píšla. míra: “bróni, zaket nafet bai!” brona il-*daew* intjále gǫlew gami, imblále geb dadew. zille, dadew xzélele, míre: “dáda, *dai* midjáli!” ja-š bxéle, *aman* gríšle: “bróni”, míre, “báma midjállox *daox*? la *missen* gǫl d-a xajen, *salmaw salmit* xmaré-le!” míre: “dáda, bās xa xabrát-ti baux amren. idálox, ezex g-d-o *otay*, xzíle, šalom hólilla, bára šúqla!” míre: “šbira, broni, xatrox la torínne!” zille, imbillele, *wíre g-otay*, xizjále, míre: “ja ila *dai*!” wíšle, mah...tál... píšle, míre:

“ja ila *daox?*” mīra: “e, ané-lan baxtox!” goraw nišqále, o-š nšiqalal l-goraw. bronaw *pslxle*, ilha *mapsixlan* b-idait aj Hgoel^{H11}

Once upon a time <one day> there was a certain [man]. He was very very rich. He was a great rabbi. He had one single son. He taught <made-read> his son; [the boy] learned a great deal, he learned so much [that] he was no longer content with the scholars of his city, [but] said: “I will go to Istanbul. There is a great rabbi [there]; I shall go to him to study”. [So] he said to his father: “I am going away.” [So-much] his parents wept, begged [and] implored him, saying: “My son, do not go! We have grown old, to-morrow [or] the day after we may die. Stay <sit> beside us, do not leave us, be with us at the time of our death <our-dying with-us become>!” [But] he said: “<These> your words cannot convince me <in my-head not they-enter>. I must and will go <I-will-go, I-will-go>!” His parents were perplexed [and] could say no [thing] more. [So] they said: “Very well.” He went away. [After] he [had] arrived in Istanbul, he asked for the house of the rabbi of that city. The people indicated [it] to him, he went [and] found it. He went into the house, entered the courtyard, ascended to the [upper] room [and] saw students sitting with the rabbi, expounding the law. There was a [certain] law which they wanted to expound [but] could not, [and] remained looking at eachother. That boy, too, was <is> looking on, perplexed; he [too] was <is> not able to expound that law. When it was time for dinner <bread eating>, all of them rose [and] dispersed for dinner. That boy remained there. All of a sudden he saw [that] a [piece of] paper had fallen <fell> from above into his lap. He opened the piece of paper [and] saw [that] the explanation of that law was written in it. It was written <they-are-writing> in that paper: “Such-and-such a law that you were talking about can be explained thus-and-thus <its-explanation this it-is>”. [After] he [had] read the paper, he rejoiced. [After] the students had finished their dinner [they-ate they-finished], they came [back] to the rabbi, to the house of learning. The boy showed them the paper [and] said: “Look, this is the explanation of that <this> law!” They laughed. He said: “Why are you laughing <you-laugh>? Here is the paper [containing] the explanation of the law; it is sealed <seal upon-it>!” Again they laughed at him. He said: “Tell me, why do you laugh at me?” [But] they went on mocking him <mockery made-to-him>. He grew angry with them [and] said: “Why do you mock me?” They said to him laughing: “It is not necessary for you to know this secret, do not go into this matter <secret>!” He said: “No, I must know it!” He begged [and] implored them, saying: “You must tell me this secret!” [Finally] they said to him: “This is the rabbi’s daughter. She is so learned, she knows more than her father! We always come [and] sit here with this rabbi [and] talk about any <a> law we cannot explain <not we-knew its-explanation>. [Now] behind this wall is her house; there is a window in the wall, through which she can hear <she-is-hearing> what we are talking [about]. [Then] she writes the ex-

¹¹ OP II 32b ff. (the woman whose upper part was that of a beast).

planation [and] throws the paper to this side, into the house of learning.” That boy fell in love with the girl on account of her wisdom. He said: “I will take this girl for my lawful wife.” [The students] laughed [and] said: “This girl is not for you <to-you not becomes>!” He said: “Why?” They said: “You want to take <are-taking> the girl unseen, how can that be?” He said: “Why [not]? What is there [to it]? I like her wisdom, her learning. Let her be a little ugly!” They said: “She is not for you!” He said: “Why not? Tell me this secret! Has she got a defect?” They said: “We do not know, do not go in this matter!” He said: “I want her by all means!” He said to her parents: “Give me your daughter!” – for he was <is staying> in their house. Her parents wept <were-weeping> [when] they heard <this matter>, that the boy was <is> demanding their daughter. But he insisted <his-hand(s) not drew>, saying: “I want this girl!” [and so] they gave him the girl. They brought her, dressed her like a bride, covered all her body from head to foot <nails>, and did not let [him] see her face. [Even when] they came to the nuptial benediction he did not see her face. The boy thought [that] this was <is> the custom of the country. A rabbi came, wrote the marriage contract, read it according to the law of Moses, gave the symbol of possession into the bridegroom’s hand and wedded the girl to him. They sat down, ate [and] drank. [After] the people [had] dispersed, they handed the bride over to the bridegroom in a separate room [and] closed the door. Now the bride was <is> weeping, praying <her-prayers> to the Lord and saying: “Holy One, blessed be He! Fulfil my wish: Whatever I say to this boy, let him do <thus>. Have pity on me <pity it-is>!; hear my prayer, God! I have been infirm for so many years. Thou bringest down and liftest up, there is no one but Thee to take pity on me. Hear my voice! Whatever I say to this bridegroom my spouse, may he do thus! Place compassion for me in his heart!” The bridegroom seized the bride’s veil, lifted it from her face [and] saw [that] her face was <is> the face of an ass, [with] long ears. Half of her was an ass, from her navel up, [and] from her navel down [she was] human. But she was very learned [and] knew a great deal about explaining the laws of the Torah. When the boy saw [that] her face was <is> the face of an ass, he drew back. She seized the hem of his garment [and] said: “Do not go! I will tell you something. I beseech you, hear [me]; after this you [can] go!” She wept before him, saying: “Do not be so cruel <blood spill not here>! [If] you leave me [and] go away, it will be as if <thus think> you [had] killed me. I want only one thing of you; for God’s sake, do it!” He said: “What is this thing?” She said: “I want you to give me a child <fruitfulness and multiplication you-may-do>. [Thereafter] you may go, I shall let you go!” It was God’s will <from-God it-was> that he took pity on her <this pity fell in-his-heart>; he did what she asked. After he [had] finished, he wanted to go, [but] she said to him: “I have something to say to you!” He said: “Speak!” She said: “I want <of> you to give me a sign.” He said: “What sign do you want?” She said: “Give me your prayer-shawl, your prayer-book [and] your seal.” He gave them to her, took leave of her <said-to-her greeting>, went out [and] departed. He came to his own home in his city, to his parents. His father said to him: “Where are your

prayer-shawl, your prayer-book [and] your seal?" He said: "I [have] lost them!"

[To return to] that girl. Three months passed by. Her mother used to bring food every day [and] give it to her. [One day] she said to her mother: "Mother, I have something in my belly, the child is moving." [Her mother] wept, went [and] said to her husband: "Your daughter is saying: the child is moving [in] my belly!" Nine months elapsed <from-meanwhile> [and] she gave birth to a son. She took off her shirt, wrapped the boy in that shirt, [but] did not bring a midwife for him. She placed the child before the door. Her mother [who] was passing there, heard the child's voice nga! nga! <coming>. She went, opened the door [and] was a sweet child sitting there in the room. She took it, brought it to her husband [and] said: "Look, your daughter has given birth to a son!" Quickly <+ immediately> they sent for and brought a regular wet-nurse <wet-nurse for-always> to give him the suck. The boy grew up. God willed it [that] at the age of five he became like a child of ten. They sent <put> him to school. He studied <read> [and] reached [the stage of] studying the Talmud. One day he was studying in school with his friend. They had an argument with eachother <this-one with his-friend his-word dissention fell>. His friend said to him: "Get up [and] go out! You have no parents, so you need not boast <your-self not praise-it>! Whose son are you? Of whom have you been born?" The boy was mortified. He went home and said to his grandmother: "Mother!" She said: "What is it?" He said: "Where are my parents?" She said: "My boy, I am your mother, and that one is a your father!" He said to her: "Tell me no lies! You are old, each of you is hundred years [old], I do not believe you are my parents!" The more his grandparents talked, the less he listened <his-grandmother-and his-grandfather much talked, this-one little he-listened>. He said: "<these> your words do not make sense <my-forehead not they-sink>! If you want to tell the truth <true word-there-is to-you>, say it <to-me>!" His grandmother rose [and] said: "My boy, if so <until thus-it-is>, there is your mother, over there, in that [other] house. Go, open the door and look at her!" [The boy] rose, went [to the other house], opened the door hastily [and] saw his mother [whose] face [was] uncovered [and was] the face of an ass. He seized [her], kissed her, embraced her. She also kissed him, embraced him [and] wept. He said: "Mother, do not be ashamed, I am your son, I have been born out of your belly! Whatever <however> you be, you are dearer to me <more> than my head, you are my mother!" He captured <took> her heart with pleasant words. After a little while <a-little elapsed> he asked his mother, saying: "Mother, who comes here to you?" She said: "Why are you asking, my son?" He said: I see <I-am-looking I-am-seeing> [that] you have three [or] four hundred books, the house is full [of] [them]. Who is reading them <with these>?" She said to him: "My son, nobody has spoken to me for so many years, [so] I spend my life with these [books and] read them; I know all the laws." [The boy] said: "But mother, if this is so, why should I go to school to study? You [can] teach me. [If] God wills <give to-me> I will learn from you the law of the Torah." He spoke to her for a long time <much he-talked>; finally she took out the books and began teaching him <taught-

him) until her worry was somewhat alleviated (dispersed). The boy was [very] wise, and she came to her senses (her-sense came her-head). [Then the boy] said: “Mother, I will ask you something, [if] you allow me. Where is my father?” She said: “My son, do not irritate me (my-heart), do not increase my worries (worries not put my-heart)!” He said to her laughingly: “Mother, do not worry! I am [just] asking you something; do not be angry, [but] tell me!” She told him all (the things) that [had] happened, everything, from beginning to end (of her-words), what had happened between her and his father (with his-father between-them). [The boy] said: “Mother, I will ask you something [if] you allow me. When he went from here, did he leave anything with you?” She said: “Yes, my son, he gave me (one) his prayer-shawl, (one) his prayer-book and (one) his seal, [after which] he went out [and] departed.” The boy said: “Mother, may I be the servant of your feet! You are very wise, I am very happy with your wisdom. Do not worry, God is great! Give me these three things, I will go [and] find my father.” [His mother] said: “My son, these are dreams (is a dream)! You are saying imaginary things (words of dream)! You are a small child, how (whence) can you go, seek [and] find your father?” He said: “Mother, you [just] let me [do], have no fear for (of) me! Only do not worry, I will go [and] find my father!” He rose (on his-feet) kissed, her hand [and] (her) head [and] said: “Mother, farewell (remain peace)!” (But) he took these three things along with him. He went to his grandparents [and] said to them: “Prepare me [some] food, I am going to seek my father (after my-father I-may-find-him).” [As much as] his grandparents wept, begged [and] besought him, but it was in vain (not it-became). He said: “I must and will go!” They prepared him bread, food, clothes, [and] he went. He came to the city where his father was living (city-of his-father). He asked for the rabbi of that city and went to his (their) house. It was Friday. Sabbath came. On Sabbath Eve they went to the synagogue, said their prayers, went (came) home, ate, drank [and] went to sleep. In the morning it was Sabbath [and] they went to the synagogue [again]. While saying his prayers, the boy covered his prayer-shawl, held the prayer-book in his hands [and thus] read [his prayers]. Having come to “The soul (of all living things)” and finished [it], they came to the [main] prayer. The boy rose to say (he-is-praying) the [main] prayer. The rabbi finished his prayer soon, spoke the concluding formula (He-who-gives peace made-it) [and] stood [waiting]. The boy had not yet finished his (the) prayer. All of a sudden the rabbi saw [that] the name of his own son [was] written on the fringe of his prayer shawl; he looked at the prayer-book [and saw] again the name of his son written in (on) it. After finishing their prayers (they-prayed they-finished), they went home. The rabbi went into the next room, called his son [and] said: “My son, what has happened to (what have-become) your prayer-shawl and your prayer-book [and] your seal?” [His son] said: “Father, how many times will you ask me? Have I not told you (not I-told to-you) [that] they are lost?” His father laughed [and] said: “If I bring them now to you [and] you see them, what will you say?” His son said: “Very well, father, bring them!” The rabbi went (came) [and] said to that boy: “Take out your prayer-shawl

that I may see it!" [Then] he said: "Take out your prayer-book, too, that I may see it!" The boy took them out [and] gave them to the rabbi. The latter looked at <[saw] them [and] said: "It this your name written on them?" The boy said: "This is not my name [but] the name of my father. I came with these to find my father." [The rabbi] said: "Give them to me, I will come [back and] give them [to you] presently." [The boy] gave them to him. [The rabbi] took them into the [next] room, showed them to his son [and] said: "My son, whose are these?" [His son] was [so] astonished [that] he could not speak. [Finally] he said: "Father, where [do] these [come] from?" He was very astonished indeed. "How does my son happen to be here?" he said <[my son, he-said, wherefrom he-was?] [His father] said: "Come [and] see, [here] is your son!" He took <[brought] his son, brought him into the [next] room to <[with] that boy [and] said: "This is your father!" [The boy] threw his arms around his father's neck, kissed him, embraced him [and] wept. The rabbi's son was also very glad, for [after] he [had] left his wife and come to his own city, he had married <[taken] a girl <[for-himself] in his city. No children had been born from that wife, she was childless. The boy said to his father: "Father!" [The latter] said: "What is it, my son?" [The boy] said: "I will go [to] my mother and bring her here!" [His father] wept [and] said: "My son, I cannot live with your mother <[with your-mother my-interval not holds]!" [The boy] said to his father: "Father, this will not do <[this matter not becomes]! It is written in the Law [that] when husband and wife are together <[from-eachother becoming], the earth and the heaven tremble! It is a sin! You are the son of such a [great] rabbi; how [can] you leave your wife there and remain here thus! I will go [and] bring her!" [So] he went back. On the way he prayed <[is-praying] in the ship, saying: "God, give me success that I may go [and] bring my mother [and] not be disappointed <[shame not I-may-draw], and my mother should not be put to shame <[her-face not may-become-red] either!" He came down from the ship, went <[came] [and] came to a desert. The way was long <[far], he grew <[had-grown] tired; he lay down to dispel <[take] his fatigue [and] fell asleep. He dreamt <[saw in-his-dream] that Elijah the Prophet came [to him and] said: "I am Elijah the Prophet. You have prayed so much <[so-many prayers you-prayed], your supplications have been <[became] accepted in heaven. In this vessel there is [some] water, take it home along with you. Let your mother take a bath [and] then pour it on herself [and] she will be healed. [But] do not show her to anyone until she sees your father." After he ended his words <[thus he-spoke he finished], [the boy] awoke from his sleep [and] saw the vessel with <[of] the water under his head. He took it and went on his way <[went-out departed] home. He went to his mother, kissed [and] embraced her. His mother was very happy; she said: "May I be your sacrifice! Have you come back <[you-came]?" He sat down beside her [and] said: "Mother, are you not going to have a bath?" She said: My son, if there is water, I will." He heated [some] water, she poured it over herself and became like a girl of fifteen <[years]. [Her son] said: "Mother, how do you feel?" She said: "My son, do not irritate my pain! I do not know!" He said: "Mother, do not worry!" [When] she had finished dressing <[her-

clothes she-put-on she-finished), he gave a mirror into her hand; she saw her picture [and] was astonished. She said: “My son, may you be fortunate [and] helpful <useful> to me!” The boy took his mother along with him [to] the ship [and] brought her to his father. He went [in], saw his father [and] said: “Father, I have brought my mother!” His father wept [and] lamented. “My son”, he said, “why [have] you brought your mother? I cannot live with her, [for] her face is that of an ass!” [The boy] said: “Father, I have only one word to say to you! Come, let us go into that [other] room; look at her, greet her, after that you [can] leave her!” [His father] said: “Very well, my son, I shall not contradict you <your-will not I-shall break-it>.” [The boy] went, took him along, entered the [next] room, saw her (his mother) [and] said: “This is my mother.” [His father] grew stiff with astonishment <he-became-dry, astonished he-remained>. He said: “Is this your mother?” His wife said: “Yes, I am your wife.” Her husband kissed her, and she kissed him. Her son was [very] glad. May God gladden us with the coming of the Redeemer!”

(k) mîre: xa joma xa gorá-twa, rába mare-dolta wéle. bále ma šulá twale? raw wéle, jale gazírwa. rába idew qamsan wéla. bále xa šulá-twale: kimmit mitra gdéwa, talga gdéwa, afilu boran hawjáwa – xa xmará-twale – gdéniwa bar xasew ba jale gazore, gezílwa. ja qajdew wéla, ja miswew la šóqwala, heč! xa joma jtiwa bela, mitra, talga, boran wéla, xa naša djéle, tara tiptiplele, tara plixlule. mîre: “g-d-aj bela kimri xa danka íta jale gazrana.” mîre: “mîssen xazínne?” baxta míra baew: “smúxlax xa qabay tara, ezan amran baew.” smíxle qabay tara. baxtew zilla, míra baew: “xa gora dje abúlellox, mare: ezet gálew, jala gazret.” mîre baaw: “si, srúxle, mar ade lwa gebi, xazínne ma jur naš ile.” zilla, míra ba-d-o gora ki smíx-wa qabay tara, míra: “idálox lwa gébit haxam, mar xazélox, maqe gálox.” mîre: “šbira” ja gora, wíre lwa gébit haxam, šalom hwillellew, mîre: “šalom^H alexem^H”, “Halexem^H šalom.” haxam mîre ba-d-o gora: “jala bronóy-ile?” mîre: “e.” mîre: “aqlit jwanqulox hawja brixal!” o-š mîre: “ilha kolgalox bassor l-ódlá m-reši!” raw mîre baew: “ma abúlet?” mîre: “abúlen minnox adet gali, ezex gál diyde broní gazritte.” mîre: “belxun riqqé-le?” mîre: “rába riqqa léwe, šbiré-le.” ja raw qímle, abaew kisjále rešew, mîre ba-nokárew: “xmara plítle m-paga!” zille nokár, xmara plítilele m-paga, palan dréle rešew, plítilele tara, mdélile. haxam rkiwle rešew, zillu gál d-o gora gal diyde. kimma wirxa zillu:::, la mtélu, wirxa riqqa wéla. ja haxam mîre ba-do gora, mîre: “ayai, ad mírox: beli aqirwé-le. axni izalex g-čol, g-jaban, la bate, la nehra, g-d-a xiška, g-d-a boran, léka mdéloxi?” mîre: “la zdi, jé-le xánči piš-lan matex bela.” ajne zillu, mtélu bel d-o gora. kwíše m-reš xmara ja haxam, xmarew grišlule baew b-hajat, jsírule g-hajat. o gora mîre baat haxam: “at wur gaat otay, ana b-ezen naše sarxen.” ja haxam wíre g-otay, xzéle: naš let. g-d-oxet otay wíre, xzéle: naš let. g-tahaminji otay wíre, xzéle: naš let. g-arbaminji otay wíre, xzéle xa danka baxta sqilta, brat isri šinne, m-salmaw gulab kwaše. xzélale, bxéla, bronáw-iš, jala, janáw-ile. míra: “qurban xadren ba-d-o dignox,

lášxa báma ídjet at?" ja *haxam* libbew pqéle, rítle. "ma it, brati, *qurbanax* xadren, mar xazen!" míra: "ja belit *riwwit* šedimé-le, máto xdir idjélox lášxa? imma *gane* hawélox, xa *gana* la xalsa!" míre baaw: "bráti, bás at máto ídjet lášxa?" míra: "ana lele *plítanwa* tara, jniwúlli, midjúlli laxxa, zúrta wéli." bqíre minnaw, míre: "átta *čari* má-jla ana?" míra: "xa xabra it amráne baux, wúdle, o *čarox* ila, parqet." míre: *qurban* xadren baax, mar bai!" míra baew: "brona gzíroxe, qidduš la *tamet*, heš mindiy la axlet, mat hawi baux la šaqlet, *xleta* hawi baux la amblet, xa kista dehwe daréni res xmarox, amri: umbúlla, la amblítta. hār mad hawiše baux, *briljande*, *qa daše*, la amblet, la axlét-iš, la šatet. báad ixala mar: ana *somé-len* tre jome, la kixlen. agār mad hwíllu imbíllox, mad hwíllu axčuta *tmélox*, *jan moe jan* ixala, miskiré-let! bále haxxá-inān, mat maran baux, maspúlan illox, haxxa odet, *ganox* parqa." príqla m-maqoe gālew, míra: "*aman* ila, *plut* tara, *salmi* la xzile! mar sílox mášxa *g-otayit* awwalminji, jtu lóka. agār bqíru minnox, báma la *wíret lwa*, mar bau: naš let hášxa, léka ezen jatwen? ana *smíxen hattot* adétun. agār bqíru minnox, míru baux: *wírox gi-lwa lwa*, baxtit dídi jadlanta xzéloxa? mar: ana la kken, la *wíren lwa lwa*." jtíwle lóka *g-otay*, xzéle: xa gora djéle, kimma naše mdéle gālew, kullu *riwwe riwwe* naše, lwiše, kisje magon *sardare*. míre báat *haxam*: "*wur lwa*!" *wíru lwa*, duz geb baxta, kursi mdélu aj *elijahu hannawi*, mitwálu, brona mdélule, milbišlulle, mdelú brona, gzírelle. *iskan* xamra aj *baraxa haxam* hiwále baat dadit brona, míre: "*tmila*, šti minnaw!" o-š míre baat *haxam*: "at šti minnaw!" míre: "ana *somé-len*." dadit brona šitjále, ba-d-unexét-iš hwíllu, štélu. bára *šulhane* mdélu, mtíwlu, *sifre* plixlu, lixma ixala mdélu, xíllu. ja *haxam* heč la xille, míre: "ana *somé-len*." ajne xíllu príqlu. dadit brona ba-daj *haxam* míre: "*qúlox*, ida gāli!" imbíllele gālew il-d-aj *haxam*, tárit xa *otay* plíxlele. xzéle: g-d-aj *otay* arbamnu gabanew *torbe milje* dehwe. mar bela míre ba-*haxam*: "xa *torba* m-d-ajne dehwe intíla ba-nóšox, at *zahamta* grišet, ídjet gali!" *haxam* míre: "ana *rába* dehwé-tti, la gben!" tarit treminji *otay* plíxlele xzéle: *briljande* íta, magon šrata mabroqélu. míre: "min d-ajne *briljande* xánči inti ba-nóšox!" míre: "la gben, ana ítti!" *mimbírele* g-d-oxet *otay* xzéle: jur-ba-jur, tahār-ba-tahār, mindiyane íta, m-kimma šinne. xírellu, *m-aqlew* zille, míre ba-mar bela: "mékxun welu?" míre ba-*haxam*: "mad xošox idájle, inti ba-nóšox!" míre: "la gbínnu, basimulox gbínna!" oxdet *otay* pilxále, xzéle: xa jur mindiyane id gaaw, m-dehwe smoqe, tiltje *mi-glala* b-mixe *m-gudanit* d-aj *otay*, qlilje-š íta, kimma daste daste, tiltje *m-gudane*. xa dasta qlilje ja *haxam* enew píšla illu xjara xjara. mar bela mire baew: "axča qlilje íta la xjaret illu, hār il-d-a dasta qlilje xjaret!" míre: "xa xabra amren baux?" míre: "mar!" míre: "ajne magon qliljit aj dídi mašbúlu, bod d-o axča xjaren illu!" mar bela míre ba-d-o *haxam*: "ajolet ma íta?" *haxam* míre: "la!" míre: "m-ilha haxxa *hukum plitáwa*, illox midjen laxxa ki *xarab* odínwalox, bod d-ot ki at *qamsan* ilet. at magonox naša, *haxam*, m-ilhew zadjana, *tora* qarjana, mad *g-tora* kliwé-le *lazim* odítta magon qarulítta. agār la wídroxa, at *awunkar* ilet. bále ana rahmi idájle illox. ad idjélox g-beli, broni gzíroxe. *tamah* la drélox g-heš *mali*, mad hwílllox mírox: ítti, la gben. axni šedim iléxa, ben-*adam* léwex, m-idan heč la *xalsítwa*, bále ana bxíšlilox. bále mad míri baux, xabri odítte. jajne qliljit didóx-ilu,

aj sanduqit doltox, *malox* ilu. imbúllu, si! bále ezet, idox palxítta, íttox qiwta m-fisse gaba, m-dolta gaba. ezet, *bate* banet baad ^Hanijime^H *kasbe*, kulla xau hawet bau ixala, šatoe, lwaša, kasoe, *midrašxane* palxet ba-*jale*. agār l-odítte ja šula, b-madinnox láxxa, *xarab* odínnox!” míre: “gaat tunnu eni! mad mírox, haxxa goden!” ja *haxam* xmarew mdélelle, *rkiwle*, idjélu, *mimtélele hattot* belew. lele *dmixle*, baqatjom qímle, xabra hwille, *dallale* djélu, kimma tkane are šqílle, *binjane* bnéle ba-*midrašxane*, *batit* d-aj ixala bašole ba-anijime, ba-*kasbe*. xabra hwille, kimma anijime ítwa, kud arota gdéniwa, kud naš gāl *mišpahew*, gora jomit arota bau kwilwa baat *xašlityit* šabbat. jajúr-inán ja gora príqle m-mola, míre: “^H*barux* mehaje hametim^H.”¹²

It is said <he-said> [that] there was once a man [who] was very rich. Now what was his occupation <but what work was-there-to-him>? He was a rabbi [and] used to circumcize children. He was a great miser <very his-hand miserly was>. But he had one good quality <matter>: however hard it rained, snowed [or] even stormed <storm there-used-to-be> – he had an ass – when people came to fetch him <after his-back> to circumcise children, he used to go. This was his rule, he did not neglect this <religious> duty, never! One day he [was] sitting in his house; it was raining, snowing [and] storming, [when] a man came [and] knocked [at] the door. They opened the door. He said: “They say [that] there is in this house a man who circumcises children.” [Then] he said: “Can I see him?” The woman [of the house] said to him: “Wait here before the door, I shall go [and] tell him.” He stood waiting at <before> the door. His (the rabbi’s) wife went [and] said to him (her husband): “A man has come [who] wants <is-wanting> you, saying [that] you should come with him to circumcise a child.” [Her husband] said to her: “Go [and] call him. Let him come in [that] I see <him>, what kind of a person he is.” She went [and] said to the man who was standing before the door: “Come in to the rabbi, let him see you [and] talk to with you.” The man said: “Very well.” He went in to the rabbi [and] greeted him, saying: “Peace be on you”. “On you be peace!” [The rabbi] said to that man: “Is the child your son?” [The man] said: “Yes.” [The rabbi] said: “I congratulate you <may the foot of your youth be blessed>!” [The man] said: “May God not lessen your favour to me <your-shade from-my-head>.” “The rabbi said to him: “What do you want?” [The man] said: “I want <from> you to come with me, [that] we go together [and] you circumcise my son.” The rabbi said: “Is your house far [from here]?” [The man] said: “It is not very far, it is [just] right.” The rabbi rose, wrapped himself in his mantle <his-mantle covered on-him> [and] said to his servant: “Take out the ass from the stable!” The servant went, took the ass out of the stable, put a saddle on it, took it out [and] brought it. The rabbi mounted it [and] they went off together with that man. They went a long way <so-much way>, [but] did not arrive; the way was [very] long <far>. The rabbi said to that man <+ he-said>: “Sir, you said [that] your house was <is> near. [Now] we are walking in the desert, in the wilderness, [where there are] neither

¹² QHJ ch. 25 and OP III 43a ff.

houses nor rivers, in this darkness, in this storm. Where have you brought me?" [The man] said: "Do not be afraid, we are nearly there <here-it-is, a-little we-remained we-shall-arrive my-house>." They went [and] went, [and finally] arrived at the house of that man. The rabbi dismounted from his ass; they pulled the ass into the courtyard and bound it there. The man said to the rabbi: "You go into the room, [while] I go and call the people." The rabbi went into the room [and] saw [that] there was <is> no one [there]. He went into the next room and saw no one. He went into the third room and saw no one. He went into the fourth room [and] saw a most beautiful woman, twenty years old, of extreme charm <rose-water from-her-face is-coming-down>. [When] she saw him, she wept. Her son <child> [was] beside her. She said: "May I be a sacrifice for your beard, why have you come here?" The rabbi lost heart <his-heart burst> [and] began to tremble. She said: "This is the house of the chief of the demons; how did it happen [that] you came here?" "What is the matter <what is-there>, my daughter, may I be your sacrifice! Let me see!" "[Even if] you have a hundred lives, one of them will not be saved!" He said to her: "My daughter, but how have *you* come here?" She said: "I had gone out at night [and] they kidnapped me [and] brought me here; I was small <at the time>." The rabbi asked her saying: "Now what am I to do <Now my-remedy what-is-it, I?>" She said: "There is something I will tell you [and] you [must] do it; this is your way out, [and] you will be saved." "I beseech you, tell [me]!" She said: "After you will have circumcised the boy <boy you-circumcised-him> you must not taste [of] the consecrated wine, not eat anything, nor take anything they may give you; [if] they give you a gift, you must not take it [along]; [if] they put a purse of gold on your ass and say: take it along, you must not do so. Whatever they give you, diamonds, precious stones, you must not take [anything]. Nor must you eat [or] drink; when they offer you [food], say: I have been fasting [for] two days, I will not eat. If you take away anything they give you, if you taste one little bit [of] what they give you, either water or food, you are lost! But <+ thus-with,> if you do <thus> as I tell you [and] order you, your life will be saved." Finally <she-finished from-talking with-him> she said: "For pity's sake go out [and] do not look at me <not see my-face>; <let you> go into the first room [and] sit there. If they ask you: Why did you not go <not you-have-entered> inside, tell them: There is no one her, where shall I go [and] sit? I am waiting until you come. If they ask you, saying: Did you go right in, did you see my wife who has given birth [to the child]? Tell them: I do not know, I have not gone right inside!" [The rabbi] sat down there in the room. He saw [that] that man came, bringing <he-brought> several people with him, all of them extremely tall [and] dressed <+ covered> like war chieftains. [The master of the house] said to the rabbi: "Come inside!" They went inside, straight to the woman. They brought the throne of Elijah the Prophet, set it up; [then] they brought the boy, dressed him <+ they-brought boy>, [and the rabbi] circumcised him. [After that] the rabbi gave the tumbler of wine for the benediction to the boy's father [and] said: "Taste it, drink out of it!" [The father] said to the rabbi: "You drink out of it!" [The rabbi] said: "I am fast[ing]." The boy's father

drank out of the tumbler, [after which] they passed [it to the other people and] they drank. Later they brought tables, set them up, spread out napkins, brought in all kinds of food [and] ate. The rabbi ate nothing, saying: “I am fasting.” [After] they had finished eating, the boy’s father said to the rabbi: “Get up [and] come with me!” He took the rabbi along with him, opened the door of a room [and the rabbi] saw on the four sides of the room bags full of pieces of gold. The master of the house said to the rabbi: “Take a bag of gold for yourself, you have had trouble in coming <you-have-come> with me.” The rabbi said: “I have many pieces of gold, I do not want [any].” [The man] opened the door to the second room [and the rabbi] saw [that] there were <are> diamonds sparkling like lamp[s]. [The man] said: “Take some of these diamonds for yourself!” [The rabbi] said: “I do not want [any], I have [enough of them]!” [The master of the house] brought him into another room, [where] he saw all sorts and kinds of precious old objects <things there-are, from-how-many years>. He looked at them [and nearly] went out of his mind; he said to the master of the house: “Where did you get them <whence-to-you were-they>?” [The man] said to the rabbi: “Take for yourself whatever you please!” [The rabbi] said: “I do not want any <them>, I [only] want your well being!” He opened the next door [and] saw certain objects <a kind things there-are in-it>, such as pieces of red gold hanging by strings from nails; there were <are> also several sets of keys hanging from the walls. The rabbi noticed one [particular] set of keys [and] remained looking at it <them>. [The master of the house] said to him: “There are so many keys [here, and yet] you are not looking at them, but are looking just at these!” [The rabbi] said: “Shall I tell you something?” [The demon] said: “Tell [me]!” [The rabbi] said: “These look like my own keys, therefore I am looking at them this way <so-much>!” [The master of the house] said to the rabbi: “Do you know what <there-is>?” [The rabbi] said: “No.” [The man] said: “It was God’s decision <from God thus it-had-gone-out> that I brought you here to destroy you, because you are [such] a miser. A person like you <you like-you person>, [who is] a rabbi, a God-fearing man, a student of the Law, you should do what is written in the Law [just] as you have read <are-reading> it. If you do not do it, you are a sinner. But I am taking pity on you <my-pity is-coming to-you>. You came to my house [and] circumcised my son. You did not cove any my belongings; whatever I offered you, you said: I have got it, I do not want [it]! We are demons [and] not humans [and] you would never have escaped our hands; but I have forgiven <forgave> you. But whatever I tell you you must do <+ my-word>. These are your keys, they belong to the chests [containing] your riches [and] your possessions. Take them [and] go! But when you go, you must open your hand. You can afford to do so, for you have money and riches <there-is-to-you power, from-money side, from-riches side>. Go [and] build houses for the poor [and] the needy, give them food, drink, clothing <+ covering> for the rest of <all> their life; you shall [also] open schools for children. If you do not do this <matter>, I will bring you here [and] destroy you.” The rabbi said: “Gladly will I do <in both-of-them my-eyes!> as you say <+ thus will-I-do>!” He brought his ass, mounted it

[and the demons] came and accompanied him to <until> his house. [That] night he went to sleep, [but] in the morning he rose [and] announced his intentions <word-he-gave>. The brokers came, he bought a few plots of land [and] erected buildings for schools [and] kitchens for the poor [and] the needy. He [then] made an announcement, [and] all the poor people <how-many poor-people there-were> used to come every Friday, everyman with his family, [and] the man used to give them every Friday the [necessary] expense for the Sabbath. In this wise that man was saved from death; he said: “^HBlessed be He who reviveth the dead!^H”

2 ČORAKE (FOLK TALES)

(a) From *Bašqala*. Informant: M. L.

ítwa lítwa xa *qari* baxta, ítwała xa nwaga. šitwa wéle, *plltla* tára, xzéla *blane* izalu *siwe*. míra bau: “ítli (sic!) xa nwaga, umbúlune galxun, madélan *siwe*.” míru: “si mdíle!” idjéla. míra ba-nwagaw: “šqul xola, sílox mdílan *siwe*.” qímle zílle gálu *tura*. *blane siwe* wídlu ba-nóšu. dumbul jíwle. *blane* príqlu *m-siwe*, míru: “*qu*, dumbul, wud *siwe*!” míre: “ana mindiy *siwe* la *missen* oden! soti míra: “amantxun illew!” píšlu majbur, qímlu *qtélu siwe* baew. míru: “pištjox intíla, ezex!” míre: ana la *missen*!” píšlu majbur, *siwe* piljilu reš pištju. míru: “*qu* ezex!” míre: “la *missen*, antétuni reš *xasxun*!” píšlu majbur anténile, mdélule geb sotew.¹

Once upon a time there was <there-was not there-was> an old woman [who] had a grandchild [named Dūmbül]. One day in winter <winter it-was> she went out [and] saw [some] girls going [to cut] wood. She said to them: “I have a grandchild, take him along with you [that] he may bring us [some] wood.” [The girls] said: “Go [and] bring him!” She went <came> [and] said to her grandson: “Take a rope [and] go bring us some wood!” [He rose] and went with them to the mountain. The girls cut <did> some wood for themselves, [while] Dūmbül sat down. The girls finished cutting wood <from-wood> [and] said: “Get up, Dūmbül, cut some wood!” He said: “I cannot cut wood at all <anything>; my grandmother has entrusted me to you <said: your-trust to-him>!” [So] they were obliged to rise <they-rose> [and] cut wood for him. [Then] they said: “Take up your bundle [and] let us go!” He said: “I cannot!” They were obliged to divide his wood among <on> their bundles. [Then] they said: “Get up, let us go!” He said: “I cannot. Take me on your backs!” [So] they were obliged to carry him, and [thus] brought him to his grandmother.

(b) From *Solduz*. Informant: J. B-R.

xabra m-máni hawex? xabra hawex m-mahmud *paša*.² xa joma b-jomawe *šultana* jtiwa wéle reš taxtew, fkir intélele. kud jom xamšušeb dallaka gdéwa belew, rešew *dignew* garéwalu, *simbelew tartswalu*, krew antéwale, dar ba-bela. o joma mago kud jom xamšušeb dallaka djéle bela, rešew mkípale qam *šultana*, míre: “*ayai šultana*, nokárox

¹ Motif not found in literature.

² This name does not further occur in the tale.

ilen, idjen rešox garinne.” *šultana* qímle m-reš taxtew, zille xaxet *otay*, jtíwle reš kursi, *tanfew* intjále m-rešew. dallaka xa peštamal mindéle reš jullew, *jawaš jawaš* rešew grélele. bar min do *dignew* girjále, *simbelew tirsíle*. bar príqle, *nohra* hwílle b-id *šultana*. *šultana* xíre *l-nohra*, *rába wada* xíre, bar min d-o *nohra* dhíllele g-ara, wídlele *qitte qitte*. dallaka mahtál píšle, libbew *qtéle*, míre g-libbew: “hār halbāt xa tkew *qitjinna*, *šultana* jígrew ídje.” rešew mkíple qam *šultana*, míre: “*ayai šultana*, baxšitti, taaddula len wida!” *šultana* míre ba-nokar: “*qu* reš aqlox, baa libbox pille? at mindix let wida!” xa dehwa *plitle* m-bilwanew, hwíllele l-dallaka, míre: “puš šalomi!” dallaka míre: “*ayai šultana*, baxšitti! baa fkir intélelox, mqi bai!” míre baew *šultana*: “at la *misset* gáli hič komāgula odet. xíri *il-nohra*, xzéli: pířči qrix, xánči xet *m-salmit olam* b-ezen.” míre baew dallaka: “*ayai šultana*, ja šula *čará-tte!*’ *šultana* míre: “ma *čara* it láxxa?” míre baew dallaka: “*ayai šultana!* qemet, xa *rabta* mewandari odet, kullu *sardarit* qrawa *sarxíttu*. hol bau mar axli-w mar šaténi. bar min d-o qemet, xa *pjalit* dehwa *malitta* xamra, daríttá reš kaffit idox, maxdríttá *g-aralyit* mewane u-amret bau: mání-le jwanqa zudda, *gabbara*, *šultana* abjana, qem, *pjalit* xamra šatéla, ezil, xabušit xae *ba-šultana* wade. *taha* zae il-d-o *pjala malitta-w* maxdríttá. mánit qem šatéla, gezil, *ba-šultana* xabušit xae wade. il-d-ojne xabuše kixlíttu, xadret xa *jahil* jwanqa ki áttá *matóje*.” *šultana* míre ba-dallaka: “puš šalomi!” dallaka zille belew.

xabra m-máni hawex? xabra hawex *m-šultana*. *šultana* qímle, xa *rabta* mewandari wídle. kullu jwanqit *ahra*, kullu *gabbare*, kullu *sardarit* qrawa *sirxíle* mewandari, bar xíllu štélu, qímle *šultana* m-reš taxtew, kullu mewane *xameš* xdíru. xa *pjala* xamra *mléle*, dirjále reš kaffit idew, mixdrále *g-aralyit* mewane, míre bau: “mání-le jwanqa zudda, *gabbara*, *il-šultana* abjana, qem, il-d-aj *pjalit* xamra šatéla, ezil, xabušit xae *ba-šultana* wade.” *šultana* xdíre *g-aralyit* mewane, la qala la qmurta, kullu mewane *xameš* jtíwi. birdanbira o zóra bronew qímle mi-tkew, *pjala* intjále m-idit dadew, tka bi-tka šitjále. djarew tkew, o axxonew *riwwa* xa *čapilay* dhíllele, mindéle le ára, míre baew: “at ma *haddox!* min d-ajne kullu mewane naš la qímle, at báma qímlox?” míre baew: “axoni, xzéli naš mi-tkew le *barbota*, máto *missen* il-dadí *xar* odínne, *salmew* masmqínne? qímli, xamra štélile.” *šultana* hič la mqéle, xaš *pjala miljále* xamra, dirjále reš kaffit idew, mixdrále *g-aralyit* mewane. xaš míre bau: “mání-le jwanqa zudda, *gabbara*, *šultana* abjana, qem, il-d-aj xamra šatéla, ezil, xabušit xae *ba-šultana* made.” naš mi-tkew la *birbítile*. xaš o bronew zóra qímle, *pjala* intjále m-reš idit dadew u-xamra štélele. tkew djara, tremin axona qímle, tre *čapilaye* qiwje dhíllele, míre baew: “at ma *haddox!* naš min d-ajne *gabbare*, min-d-ajne qrawa odane mi-tkew le qjama!” míre baew: “axoni, at la qímlox! máto *missen* xazen il-dadí *xar* iwada? qímli, xamra štélile.” *šultana* hič la mqéle. xaš *pjala miljále* xamra, dirjále reš kaffit idew, mixdrále *g-aralyit* mewane. géna míre bau: “mání-le jwanqa zudda, *gabbara*, *il-šultana* abjana, qem mi-tkew, il-d-aj xamra šatéle, ezil, xabušit xae wade!” naš mi-tkew la qímle. géna o zórew brona mi-tkew qímle, xamra štélele. *šultana* il-bronew nšíqle, míre: “ilha hawe gālox!”

xabra m-máni hawex? xabra hawex min d-o brona zóra. idjéle geb axonawew, míre

bau: “xa suse hóluli gäl xa sepa, pelen *wirxa*.” kud danka kixkále, míre baew: “at sepa la kjet b-idox doqet, *plut* si!” brona zille *ambar*, bilbille, xzéle xa sepa atuqa. sepa *m-qabew plitlele*, xzéle: jang widle. xánči mšišlele, xzéle: jwan sepé-le. tez imbillele *jan* damurči, míre baew: “ja sepa bai *hazir* (w)údle. baqatta gden amblinne.” oxet jom idjéle *jan* damurči, xzéle: *qabit* sepew jwan mabróqle. sepa *plitlele m-qabew*, mšišlele, xzéle: sepa mago xala xdir. bqíre m-damurči: “ja sepa máto-jle?” míre damurči: “magon d-aj sepa *rába* šinné-le len xizja, magonew lít! qiwja sepé-le, xarupa sepé-le.” brona *pasoxe pasoxe* sepew *jsírele*, idjéle béla. míre ba-daew: “dáe! puš šalomi!” daew nšíqlale, *rába* bxéla, míra: “ilha hawe gälox!” dadew idjéle, míre: “bróni, puš šalomi, ilha hawe gälox! tre axonawóx-iš gäl askár idájlu *wirxa mamténiox*.” brona *rkíwle* reš suse, axonawew gäl askár rxíšlu gälew. *taha* jome-w *taha* lelawe karwan rxíšla. bar *taha* jome *u-taha* lelawe karwan mindéla, pillu bar *mae* balbole. bar kimma *sate* xa quji *mištixlu*. ja quji *rába* kušanta-w xiškanta wéla. kepa mindélu gaaw, qala la šmélu. idjéle brona zóra, míre: “mkúšuni gaaw, xazen láxxa ma it.” míru baew axonawew: “bálki gaaw dewe dibbe hawe!” míre bau: “arbi jome jtúmum res pinnit quji, xola šúqune tiltja. agär bar arbi jome xola la maššinne, pqartxun *azad* hawja.”

xabra m-máni hawex? xabra hawex m-d-o brona zóra. tunnu axonawew tiltélule gäl xola, mikwíšlule gáat quji. quji *rába* kušanta wela. kwašew hušew zille, pille ára. bar xa *sata* hušew idjéle rešew, qímle reš aqlew, xzéle: gáat xa quji xiškanté-le. zille m-ájgab l-ógab, tqíre l-guda bálki tara *maštix*. birdanbira idew tqíra *il-siwa*. jwan sinči mindéle, xzéle: behra maxwójle m-xa *sitra*. gäl kpanew il-d-o *siwa* twírele, *wíre gi-lwa*. xíre xzéle: hójle gaat xa *rabta baxčé-le*, behra, šimša, ilane, *mae*, *warde*. brona *plitle* baturula – ilha ilxún-iš *palit* baturula! –, xdíre xánči gáat d-aj *baxča*, xzéle ilanit xabuše. xabuše *qtéle* minnew, zille jtíwle *jan* hawuz. jwan rešew *salmew* idew aqlew xillíle, skitew *piltále* m-bilwanew, xabuše qilpíle, xille minnu. bar šwéle, šinda intélale, *dmixle*. g-pilgit *baxča* xa *rabta amarta* ítwa, g-da *amarta* xa brata ítwa. *baxča* nóšaw gäl *amarta* aj xa dew wéla. o brata dew giršáwale *m-banjadam* ba-nóšew. o joma o brata míra ba-*qarawašaw*: “silax, bai xánči *mae* wdi.” *qarawaš* intélale talma, zilla il-hawuz, talma *mlélale mae*. waxtit talma daroe reš kpanaw, enaw *mirmila*, xzéla: hójle xa *banadam* hójle *šíte jan* hawuz. tka bi-tka píšla, talma pille m-reš kpanaw u-twíre. brata xíra xzéla: *qarawaš* la díra. qímila, xaxet *qarawaš* šdíra. oxet *qarawáš-iš* ma júrit baxun mqéli, haman xabra idjéle b-rešaw. brata xaxet *qarawáš-iš* šdíra. bar ki *tahamín qarawáš-iš* la díra, qímila nóšaw, míra: “ezan xazjan, b-reš *qarawaše* ma djéle.” *matoaw* il-hawuz *srixla* reš *qarawaše*, míra bau: “ma xdírel-xun?” míru *qarawaše*: “idálox, *xaním*, xzi, hójle xa *banadam dmix* láxxa!” brata djéla, xíra xzéla: xa sqila jwanqa hójle *dmix jan* hawuz. tka bi-tka píšla. brona *rišle*, xíre xzéle: hójle xa sqilta brata píša llew xjara. brata míra ba-brona, míra baew: “at *banadam*, máto qiwta hiwjélllox adet láxxa gáat prit dewe? *qúlox* tez, ida gáli qamol dew ade, illox *qatíl!*” zillu *gäl diyde* béla, xillu, štélu, mqélu, kef wídlu. bar joma ganoew míra baew: “átta dew gde, *mqajád* xdur! illox átta godan xa *xmata*, *tesánox* reš singi.” qal dew šmélale, wídlale xa *xmata*, *tisála* reš singaw. dew idjéle béla,

gisa jihja, pille *nare čaqe*. mîra baew: “májjox ile? báma *nare* daholet?” mîre baaw: “rixít *banjadam* idájle g-poqi!” mîra baew: “*aqlax bsir? banadam* láchxa méka gde? máni *misse* láchxa or?” mîre baaw: “dugle marat! láchxa *banadam* íta!” mîra baew: “šmi amránox! at izállet, illi šwáqlet láchxa, ana pjášlan xa m-nóši. átta *xali* ídje, illi baqir. la xadra idox illew taqra!” mîre baaw: “agár *xalax* ile, la taqren illew!” mîra baew: “jmi!” jméle baaw. *xmata* intjála, xaš widála *banadam*. dew intélele b-idew, nšiqlele, mrixlele, m-xa tfinqa *mbferele*, min d-oxet *plitlele*. mîra baew – *riqqa* m-šamjane –: “belox xariw, ma wádlet? yer ja *banadam* ile, átta *qatlitte*!” mîre baaw: “ana gálew *tjállen!*” mîra baew: “ja axča qiwta litte! jtu gálew, *jawaš jawaš* gálew mqi, magon naše!” intélele dew, mtíwlele reš kursi, pillu xa gál xa maqoe. bar kimma jome dew xaš zille dašta. mîre brona ba-brata: “ana ídjen ba-babi *šultana* xabušit xae amblen. agár íttax, hólu, át-iš ida gáli, *paltex* ezex!” mîra baew: “ana lítti, bále šadránox *jan* xalunti, minni biš *rabta*.” qímla, xa *qarawaš* šdífra gálew, *mimítelale jan* xaluntaw. xa kaxtja hwílla b-idaw ki xaluntaw hawále mad abe. geb d-oxet xalunta-š xabušit xae lítwa, bále mîra baew: “šmítan reš d-aj šula, bálki xalunti *rabta* aja.” xa *qarawaš* hwíllale ki *mamtjále il-rabta* xaluntaw. *tahamin* xalunta *rába rába psixla*, xaš *banadam* xzéla, mîra baew: “mad abet ítti, bále *lazim* ile xánči *samxet*. xa kimma jome jatwex *gál diyde*, axlex, šatex, bar min d-o dew gde. bar izalew gezex, *xazirjan* godíxxu.” bar *taha* jome dew idjéle. ma júrit mqéli baxun reš awwal xalunta, ja *tahamin* xalunta-š haman šula wídla. bar dew izalew qímlu, *hazirju* xzélú, xa *tena* xabušit xae intélu gálu, *tenit* dehwe, *lal*, *jawahirat* imbíllu gálu, zillu geb tremin xalunta. o-š *hazirjaw* xizjila, qímlu *gál diyde*, zillu *jan* zúrta xaluntu. qímla zúrta xalunta, o-š *hazirjaw* wídila. kullu *gál diyde* zillu *jan* quji.

xabra m-máni hawex? xabra hawex m-axonawew. ajne jtiwe wélu reš quji, *tahi-w* čča jome, ixalu xánči xet b-paríqwa. xzélú: xola *barbótle*. xola gríšlule, awwal *tena* giršálu lílja. xíru xzélú: axonu xaé-le. xola xaš mikwíšlule tíxja, géna xaxet *tena* gríšlu. bar min d-o il-d-o *rabta* xalunta *jisrále* b-xola, xa kaxta hwílle b-idaw, giršálu lílja. xíru xzélú: hójle xa sqilta brata m-quji *palótla*. kaxta qirjálu. gaaw kliwa wéle: “ja brata ba-axoni *riwwa*.” xaš xola mikwíšlule l-tíxja, géna *tene* gríšlu. bar min d-o tremin xalunta *jisrále* l-xola, xa kaxta b-idaw hwílle, giršálu lílja. xíru xzélú: hójle xaxet brata-š m-quji *palota*. kaxtja qirjálu, gaaw kliwa wéle: “ja brata b-tremin axoni.” axonawe píšlu xa l-xa xjara, xzélú: blanawe xa m-xa bis sqile. géna xola mikwíšlule gáat quji, *tene* gríšlu. gáat quji píšlu brona zóra gál brata zúrta. brata mîra ba-brona: “at jsuq, barox ana gidjan” o-š mîre: “!a! awwal at jsuq, barax ana gden.” kimmit brata mqéla, *bassor* šméle. *axrinda* mîra baew: “*mqajäd* xdur, bod d-od axonawox xola *qaténile*, mandénilox gáat quji. pjaloX, *taha* susawe gdéni qamox, xa xwara, xa smoqa, xa koma. at nóšox mindíla reš suse xwara, o masíqlox reš *salmit* dunje. agár pelet reš smoqa, tka bi-tka pešet, bále agár pelet reš koma, išwa *tabaqe* xel ara *tamret*. ana *taha* šinne *samxan* rešox, la goran *attad* adet.” xa l-xa nšíqlu, *jisrále* il-xola, giršálu lílja. xíru xzélú: xa brata sqilta *palota* m-quji, quji *mléla* behra. axči sqilté-la, ba-šrata mara: la nhur, ana nahran! xa l-xa mîru: “xzi, axonan gálan *xajim* ile, sqilta brata ba-nóšew *tišjélla!*” xola mikwíšlule

il-tixja, nóšew *jisrdle*, xola gríšlule lílja. g-pilgit quji *matoew*, xola *qtélule*, brona pille tixja. *taha* susawe idjélu qamew, nóšew ebéle mandéla reš xwara suse, bále pille reš koma suse. *riqqa* m-šamjane – išwa *tabaqe* xel ára *tmíre*.

xabra m-máni hawex? xabra hawex m-d-ajne tre axonawew. qimlu, blane intjilu gál *tene*, díru bela ba-dadu, míru: “axonan illan šwíqle pilgit *wirxa* u-zille. hójle xabušit xae. axnan wdélanox.” *šultana* min d-ojne xabuše xille gál *šultanta*, xaš xdíre magon jwanqa.

xabra m-máni hawex? xabra hawex min d-o zóra axona. waxtit reš suse koma pjalew, išwa *tabaqe* xel ára *tmíre*. xzéle: hójle gáat xa *rabta* mešé-le. *rába rába* gisa wéle. *mtéle* l-xa ilana, *štéle* xelew, šinda intélale u-*dmíxle*. šimša gnéla, xdíre lele. birdanbira *ríšle*, šméle quše čiwačiw wádlu. la *misséle* xaš *damíxwa*, míre: “qemen xazen, ajne quše báma čiwačiw wádlu.” xíre xzéle: hójle reš d-o ilana *balit* smur-quši ita, xa xuje ídje, abúle l-d-ajne *bale* axíllu. ajne *bale-š* mi-zdelu čiwačiw wádlu. xa *siwa* ntéle b-idew, il-d-o xuje *qtíllele*. *bale xameš* xdíru. xaš *dmíxle* tkew. bal baqatjo smur-quši idjéla, xzéla: hójle xa *banadam*, hójle *šíte* xel ilana. míra: “ja ile ki kud šata gde, *bali* ambíllu, qeman *qatláne!*” idjéla *janew*, ebéla enew dandkáwalu, mi-tku *paltálu*. xzélu *balaw* ki dau abúla il-d-o *banadam* enew dandkála, čiwačiw wídlu, míru ba-dau: “dáe! la taqrat illew! ja ile illan parqana. hójle xur xzi: xel ilana xa xuje *qtila* it. kud jom ja xuje gde, xa danka m-axonawan ambil. ídjo ja *banadam* il-d-aj xuje *qtíllele*, illan príqle.” míra smur-quši: “ja *rába* špira naš ile!” idjéla *janew*, *qanataw* pilxíla, míra: “átta šimša *palta*, mar kolga hawéle ki jwan *damix*.” bron *šultana rjašew* xzéle: hójle šimša *mítja* pilgit šimme, bále nóšew xel kolga *šíte*. xzéla smur-quši ki *ríšle*, *qanataw* intjila, míra baew: “at *rába rába* špirula gáli wídet. ja kimma šinné-le *bali* xadri, bále danka minnu la peš. tímmal lele il-d-aj xuje ki il-*bali* kxílwa *qtílette*. ma gbet minni hawánox. špirulox hič m-bali la geza!” míre baaw bron *šultana*: “hič la gben, ilha xa *say* gana hawílllox, *baláx-iš rawéni!*” míra baew: “xaš minnox tremin zaa baqoran: mad abet reš *salmít olam*, baox hawan.” míre baaw bron *šultana*: “basimulax, hič la gben!” xaš míra baew: “ja *zait tahamin* ila, zod m-*taha* zae la baqran. mar bai, mad gbet baox hawan, špirulox *rabé-la*.” bar *tahamin* zaa míre baaw: “agār abúlat gáli špirula odat, msúqli res *salmít* ára.” xíra illew smur-quši, *ax* gríšla, míra: “ah, *banadam*, čatin xabra minni ebélox. awwal, waxtit *jahíl* hawoi, jasqánwa reš *salmít* ára u-košanwa, bále átta *qari* xdíran, qiwti la *matja*. bále masqánox, ilha mante. *qúlox*, si šuqa, bai išwa irbe šqul, *dbílu*, mišku *šlúxle*, wúdle xige, *mlílu mae*.” qimle tez, zille šuqa, ma júrit míra baew, áxxa wídle. díre bára, gálew išwa irbe mdéle, gál išwa xigit mae. oxet joma baqatjo míra baew: “išwa irbe drílu reš xa *qanati*, išwa xige-š reš d-oxet *qanati*. át-iš jtuw reš pilgit *xasi*. ilha qiwti hawilla, *mamtánox* lílja. imánit míri baox: ixala! xa irba mindi pinni. imánit amran baox: *mae!* xa xigit *mae* mindi pinni.” ma júrit míra baew, áxxa wídle. smur-quši xa joma fréla, míra baew: “ixala!” bar irba xíllale, míra baew: “*mae!*” išwa jome u-išwa lelawe smur-quši fréla. kud jom xa *tabaqa* jasqáwa. bar išwa jome, bar ixala-w *mae* príqlu, xánči xet *b-matjáwa* lílja, míra baew: “ixala!” xíre xzéle: irbe príqi. sepew intéle, xa aqlew *qitjále*, dirjále

pinnaw. smur-quši hič la mqéla. *axrinda mtélu* reš *salmit* ára. smur-quši *smíxla* reš ára, míra baew: “kuš tixja!” nóšew mindjále ára. míra baew: “*qu* reš aqlox, rxuš, ja arxun ila!” míre baaw: “puš šalomi, ana bára qemen, átta gisé-len.” míra baew: “la, *qúlox* átta, abúlan xazjánox.” xaš míre baaw: “at sílax šalomi, ana bára qemen.” xíra llew, míra: “*ah, banadam*, kimma atxun *banjadame* nóšxun paqétuna! xašowet, ana la kkan ki at aqlox *qitjálox*? hójle aqlox, *say* salim g-pinni. máto at aqlox *qitjálox*? máto xšíwlox ki ana aqlox axlána?” aqlew *piltála* m-pinnaw, dirjála tkaw, tre *päre* mqílla, *m-qitmu* šípla *il-jarew*, míra baew: “*qu* reš aqlox!” brona qímle reš aqlew *say* salim. smur-quši xáš míra baew: “ana *rába rába razi-lan* minnox! qamol izali *taha päre* kwánox. imánit *g-aqa* hawet, xaju maqlítta, gidjan *matjan* illox, mad abét-iš kwánox.” *taha päre m-qanataw* nčílla u-hwílla illew. bar min d-o xa l-xa šalom hwíllu, kud naš zille ba-*wirxew*.

xabra m-máni hawex? xabra hawex mi-bron *šultana*. bron *šultana* xzéle, hójle gáat xa dašta *rabté-le*. pílle *wirxew*. *asr* wéle, *mtéle* xa olka, haman olkit dadew. xdfre gaad olka, šula bilbille. *mtéle* il-xa zargär zóra. míre baew: “bróni, ma gbet?” míre baew bron *šultana*: “qaribé-len, šula abúlen, fisse la gben. bás xa pirtunta ixala gál xa tka, kud lele gaaw *damxen*.” míre baew zargär: “agär abet, jtu gebi, zargärula malpínnox, nóši faqir ilen, la *missen rába* fisse hawínnox.” bron *šultana* jtúle gebew.

xabra m-máni hawex? xabra hawex mi-brata. o brata, kimríwa baaw: “*lazım* ile gorat. *rıwwa* bron *šultana* gúre, ki át-iš xadrat *šultanta*.” brata kimráwa: “*hála* la! *smıxun attat tlibi* ade. *taha* šinne rešew *b-samxan*.” bar *taha* šinne idjélu gebaw, xaš míru: “hójle *taha* šinne píru!” míra bau: “*taha* xabre gban minnxun. agär odétun, goran, l-odétunu, la goran galxun.” míru baaw: “bqur!” míra: “awwalim xabra ja ile: kullu xšilti gbána *xalls* dehwa hawja, kullaw gáat xa qalpít beta mtiwta hawja, ídit *insan* illaw tqirta la hawja.” míre baaw *šultana*: “ja šula máto *xadir*?” míra baew: “xadir! be min d-aj xabra la goran.” qímle *šultana*, il-*riwwit* zargäre *srixlele* qasr, míre baew: “minnox gben, *g-aralyit taha* jome ba-kaldi xa xšilta wadet, *xalls* dehwa, ídit *insan* illaw la tqirta hawja, kullu gáit xa qalpít beta hawja.” zargär mahtál píšle, bále *šultana* míre baew: “tez, sílox tkanox, bar *taha* jome ida láxxa. la adet, rešox *qitja* xadir.” zargär *mad* píšle, zille béla. tez kullu zargäre *qirpsile*, míre bau: “*hal-nayäl áxxa!* zargäre mahtál píšlu.

xabra m-máni hawex? xabra hawex min d-o zóra zargär. waxtit díre tkanew, bqíre minnew šagirdew bron *šultana*: “*ayai*, ma it ma let?” ma júrit baxun mqéli, o-š baew mqéle. míre baew bron *šultana*: “*ayai, taha* šinné-le gebox šula waden, zargärula jwan jlipinna. ana *missen* il-d-aj xšilta *tarsinna*. bále šart hawe, xa m-nóši šula oden g-d-aj tkana.” míre baew: “*taha* jome *wadát-tox*, šula (w)ud!” zargär zille béla. bron *šultana* tárit tkana mdírele *u-dmixle* b-kef. lelit *tahamin* xa *pára plitle m-biryalew* u-miqlále. smur-quši idjéla, *smíxla* qamaw, míra: “ma gbet?” míre baaw: “xa xšiltit dehwa abúlen, kullaw gáat xa qalpít beta mtiwta hawja.” rešaw mkíplale smur-quši, míra: “kjan!” m-xel *qanataw plitla*, hiwála llew, míra: “ja ila!” xaš fréla, díra tkaw. baqatjo xadore, zargär idjéle tkana, tara *tiptiplele*, míre: “šimša *plita*, xa šula wídet *jan* la?” míre baew bron *šultana*: “*rába* gisé-len,

pruq minni, tre xet *sate* ida!” bar tre *sate* díre zargār, šméle qálit čakuk idájle m-itkana. bron *šultana* xánči čakuk dhílle *g-sindan*, xánči dehwa dréle ára, xánči pra bízle, xánči *amraze* šixtínne, bar min d-o tara plíxlele, míre: “xšilta *hazír* ila.” zargār beta xizjále, la mihmínne. míre baew bron *šultana*: “sílox, il-d-aj hóla il-*riwwit* zargäre, mar baew: “ja xšilté-la, mar ambilla, hawilla il-*šultana*, bále la palíxla *attat* brata nóšaw adja!” zílle zargār, il-beta hiwále il-*riwwit* zargäre. jaroqe jaroqe *riwwit* zargäre *mtéle* qasr, idjéle qam *šultana*, rešew mkíple, míre: “*ayai šultana*, xšilta *hazír* ila.” beta *piltále* m-bilwanew, g-xa *jalyit* awrúšum xlita, míre: “brata mar adja láxxa, xšilta xazjála.” zíllu, brata *sirxálu*. brata djéla, il-beta xíra, míra: “*trosé-le!*” beta twirála, qam zargār, qam *šultana* u-qam wazire, minnaw xa xšilta *plítla*, *xalís* dehwa, ídit *insan* illaw la tqirta. qímle *šultana*, il-zargār tqillele gál dehwe, hiwíle llew. zargār *pasoxe pasoxe* díre bela, xallega dehwe, *lal*, *šawahirat* šdíre ba-d-o zóra zargār.

xabra m-máni hawex? xabra hawex m-kaldit *šultana*. míra bau: “átta tremin xabra gbáne. abúlan minnxun jullit d-aj xluli gál *derji xalís* awrúšum xware, ídit darzi illu la tqirta, gáat xa qalpit goza mtiwe.” *šultana* bar xabraw šmélele, il-*riwwit* darzje *srixlele*, míre baew: “gben ba-kaldi jullit xlula xware, *xalís* awrúšum, ídit *insan* illu la tqirta, mdipe, gáat xa qalpit goza mtiwe, wadítta láxxa.” darzi mahtál píšle, míre: “*ayai šultana*, axnan darzje kullu šulan gál idan godíxxe. máto *missen* xabrox odínne?” míre baew *šultana*: “bar išwa xet jome julle la wadítta, rešox *qitja* xadir.” darzi díre béla, *mad* malul, la xille, la štéle, pille reš šiwjew. oxed jom míre: “fajda lít, qemen ezen xazen m-oden.” idjéle, il-d-aj xabra mqélele ba-*baruxawew*. míru baew: “qamolóx-iš *riwwit* zargäre geb *šultana* xdír-wa, bálki ezet baqret minnew.” qímle darzi, tez zílle geb *riwwit* zargäre, míre baew: “*hal-nayl* áxxa.” míre baew *riwwit* zargäre: “m-ilha ma gezlin, m-banda ma gezlin? *trostuli* maqínna baox. minni-š *šultana* ebéle xa xšilta *xalís* dehwa gáat xa qalpit beta, bále nóši il-d-aj šula la kjen odínne. xa zóra zargār íta, *mtéle*, *dadi* wídle, príqle. qemex ezex gebew, bálki illóx-iš min-d-aj *aqá* pariq.” qímle *gál diyde*, zíllu geb haman zargār, míru baew: “*hal-nayl* axxá. awwalim ilha, bara-š at. bálki illan parqet.” míre bau zargār: “m-ilha ma gezlin? *trostuli* baxun amrínna. ana-š nóši min d-ajne šule wale reši la *palit*. bále xa jwanqa-š šagird ítti, átta gde, minnew baqrex. xšilta-š o *trisélla*.” jtíwlu xánči *attad* brona djéle. bar mqélu baew, míre bau: “ana zargār ilen, bálki aden gebox xa kimma jome, darzula malpítta, bar min d-o, ilha mante, julle baox *hazír* godínnu.” míre baew darzi: “reš eni, baqatta šadren barox.” oxed joma zille brona geb darzi darzula jalope. bar *taha* jome míre baew: “tkana šúquna bai, símun bela *taha* jome, ana julle *hazír* odínnu.” qumášit awrúšum xwara *hazír* wídlu, zíllu béla. brona qajči intjále b-idew, xánči awrúšum *qisqísle u-dmíxle*. oxet joma haman šula wídle. jómit *tahamin* lele xa *pára plítte m-biryalew*, miqlále. smur-quši idjéla, *smíxla* qamew, míra baew: “ajolan ma abúlet. hójle goza mditáne gáli.” goza intélele, *rába rába* šalomje hwíllellaw, smur-quši díra tkaw. brona qímle tez, xánči xet awrúšum *qisqísle*, xánči *qittit* glale dréle gi-tkana, kimma *xmae* dréle, bar min d-o *dmíxle* tkew. bal baqatjo darzi idjéle tkana, bqíre minnew, míre: “julle *hazír* ilu?” míre baew: “e, *hazír* ilu. bále kullu lele la *dmíxen*. si béla, bar šimša *palote* ida.”

bar šimša *plítla* idjéle darzi, zxéle: hójle tkana plixa. brona idjéle qamew, míre: “*xa jalýit awrúšum wdi, goza xlíle gaaw.*” *pasoxe pasoxe* darzi xabrit brona wídlele, jaroqe jaroqe *mtéle* bel *šultana*, il-*šultana* rešew mkíple, míre: “*ayai šultana, julle hazír ilu.*” *šultana* kaldew *sirxáde*, míre: “hójle julle widjálu.” brata goza intélela b-idaw, plíxlale, xzéla: hójle *trosé-le*, julle widjúllu. *šultana rába* dehwe, *lal u-šawahirat* hwílle ba-darzi u-šdífrele bela. idjéla brata qam *šultana*, míra: “*ayai šultana, tahamin* xabra piš. gban minnox *xa xaliča* jarixta, m-qasrit *šultana attat* qasri, kullaw *xa qitta* hawja, iman abján-iš madipána magon *xa jalýy*, darjána bilwani.” qímle *šultana*, bar *xa riwwit tafjrit xaliče* šdíre, míre baew: “gben minnox *xa xaliča* bai zaqret, kullaw *xa qitta* hawja, m-qasri *attat* qasrit kaldi. iman abén-iš madipínna magon *xa jalýy*, darínna bilwani.” *tafír* libbew *qtéle*, míre: “*ayai šultana, ja šula* xdira la xadir!” *šultana* míre baew: “xabra la maqet! bar išwa jome *xaliča* la madítta, rešox *qitja* xadir.” *tafír* díre bela *mad* malul, ba-*baruxawew* mqéle, míru baew: “ja šula xdira la xadir! bále qamolox *šultana* *xa taajubat* šula m-darzi ebéwale. sílox geb darzi, bálki *xa maslahat* baqx matiw.” qímle *tafír*, zílle geb darzi, míre baew: “*hal-nayl* axxa, mat kimret, áxxa oden.” míre baew darzi: “m-ilha ma gezlin, m-banda ma gezlin? qemex ezex geb zargār. *troséle*, ana julle ba-kaldit *šultana mxíten*, bále nóši la widínnu.” qímle *gál diyde*, zíllu geb zargār. míre bau zargār: “*smúxun* xánči, átta šagirdi gde, xazex agār *misse* *xa šula* baan od.” brona idjéle, míre baew zargār: “bróni, *baruxawi* djéni láxxa, abúlu illox xazéni.” míre brona: “reš eni!” mqéle baew *tafír*. bar príqle, míre brona: “aden *xa taha* jome gebox, xánči zaqore jalpen. bar min d-o, ilha mante, *xaliča* baqx *hazír* godínna.” oxed jom zílle brona *xaliče* zaqore jalope. bar *taha* jome míre ba-*tafír*: “tkana miqwíla reši, šúqli *xa m-nóši*. ilha mante bar *taha* jome *xaliča hazír* kiwja.” lélit *tahamin tahamin pára* m-bilwanew *piltále*, miqlále. smur-quši idjéla qamew, míre baaw: “*tahamin* xabra minnax gben.” míra baew: “kjan!” m-xel *qanataw* *xa jalýy plítla*, hwílla baew, míra baew: “ana izalan, xen illi la *misset sarxet*. ilha *salhélox!* qamol ezan hójle *taha* misje hawánox. imánit abet, *xa danka* maqlítta, *xa suse* gde qamox. bar šulox parqítte, *xa mista* m-kilkew garšet, šadrítte tkew. bar min d-o *xaš* imánit *lazmox* ade, *misset* géna il-d-o mista maqlítta.” *taha* misje dirjile bilwanew, *rába* šalomje hwílle ba-smur-quši, díra tkaw. oxed joma *xaliča* hiwála il-*tafír*. *tafír pasoxe pasoxe* zílle geb *šultana*, rešew mkíple, míre: “*ayai šultana, xaliča hazír* ila!” kaldit *šultana* djéla, *xaliča* xizjála, míra: “*taha* xabri duz xdíru.” *tafír* xallega dehwe, *lal u-šawahirat* qbílle, ebéle ezilwa béla. brata *srixlale*, míra baew: “duzulox amrítta, *to*, la amrítta, rešox *qitja* xadir! il-d-o *xaliča* méka widjítta?” míre baaw: “*trostuli* baax amrínna: ja *xaliča* nóši la zqirínna, darzi-š jullax le *xitállu*, zargār-iš xšiltax la *trisélla*. *xa danka jahíl* špira jwanqa it, šagirdit *xa zargār* ile, ajne šule wale aj didéw-ilu.” brata *zbotaw* nigzála, míra baew: “puš šalomi!” g-d-o *wada* jilla, *tlibaw* xaé-le.

xabra m-máni hawex? xabra hawex m-bel *šultana*. *šultana hazirjew* xizjile ba-xlula iwada. *riwwa* bron *šultana* bar išwa jome *lazím* wéle awwalim górwá.

xabra m-máni hawex? xabra hawex m-zargār. jomit xlula míre ba-šagirdew: “tkana maqwíxxa, ezex *tamaša*.” míre šagirdew: “ma it?” míre baew zargār: “máto

la kket? idjo xlulit bron *šultané-la!*” mře bron *šultana*: “*ah*, pruč minni! ana *tamaša* xoši la gidja! suse-š lítti *rakwen* rešew.” mře baew zargär: “idálox *tamaša*, mar xánči libbox palix. xa kodinta *čolay* bar belá-ttan, agär abet *rakwet* rešaw, intíla.” mře brona: “ilha hawe galxun! ana bára gden.” zargär gäl baxtew zillu *tamaša*. brona il-kodinta intjále, zille dašta. kodinta gal xola il-xa ilana *jisrále*, xa mista mqílle, xzéle: hójle xa suse smoqa, julle smoqe rešew, *flawew* smoqa, qamčjew smoqa, xa lakka xwarta reš poqew, *smíxle* qamew. julle smoqe liwšile, jsíqle reš suse, *flalew* diwqíle b-idew, qamči mindélele reš kpanew, il-susew takän dhílle, suse magon poxa jirqále, *mtéle ahra*. xře xzéle: hójle naše *qirpisi* magon prit ära-w kixwit šimme. askärit *šultana smíx čaratrafu*. *m-riqqa* bron *šultana* gäl brata idájlu *rkiwe* reš susawe. xzéle áxxa, šimmit ilhew *srixlele*, il-susew takän dhílle, suse magon poxa jirqále. *wře* gäat naše, *mtéle* il-bron *šultana*, xa qamči dhíllele, mindélele ära, brata intjále, mindjále barew reš susew u-jríqle zille. askär pílle barew, bále máni *mate* llew? brona susew *trélele*, *mtéle* l-xa meša jangallix. pilgit d-o meša xa qasr ítwa. brata dirjále gäat qasr. brata *rába psíxla*, mıra baew: “*taha* šinné-le rešox *smíxex*. *tó*-jle ki xaé-let!” xillu, štélu *gäl diyde*. *asr* xadore mře baaw: “baxšáti, *lazím* ile daren béla. ilha mante, bar kimma xed jome xalunjawáx-iš madínnu.” brona *rktwle* reš susew, *mtéle jan* kodinta, jullew šilxíle, xa mista m-kilkit suse gríšle u-šďfírele gol bára. reš kodinta *rktwle*, *jawaš jawaš* idjéle bel zargär. zargär minnew bqíre, mře baew: “xzélox ma xdíre?” mře: “la, mindix len xizja. kodinti *čolay* wéla, nóši-š *jawas jawas* rxíšli, *attat matínwa* xzéli: naše birbízi.” mře baew zargär: “bel babox la xariw! xa danka reš suse *rkiwa* idjele, susew smoqa, nóšew julle smoqe lwiša, *flawit* susew smoqa, qamčjew smoqa, magon poxa-š *taro* wéle. idjéle, il-bron *šultana* xa qamči dhílle, kaldit *šultana* mjirqále (*sic!* for mjirqále), zille. mad wídle askär, naš illew la *mtéle*.” bar d-aj šula *ahra* píšla *mad*. bále bar išwa xet jome mře *šultana*: “xaxet xlula godex.” xaš mře zargär ba-šagirdew: “*qúlox*, ezex *tamaša*, xlulit bron *šultané-la!*” mře šagirdew: “pruč minni, libbit axxa šule wale lítti!” bále *axrinda razi* xdíre, mře: “bar hār axxé-la, kodinti *rakwínna*, m-átta ezen, bálki *maten*, xa mindix xazen.” mře baew: “sílox šalomi!” šagird xaš kodintew *rikwále*, *jawaš jawaš mtéle* dašta, kodinta *jisrále*, oxet mista *piltále* m-bilwanew, *mxirxále*, xzéle: hójle xa suse koma, gäl julle kome, gäl *flawe* kome, gäl qamči koma, *hazír smíxle* qamew. tez tez julle liwšile, jsíqle reš suse, *flawew* diwqíle b-idew, qamči mindélele reš kpanew, susew mitríplele, *mtéle ahra*. xře xzéle: hójle *quhum qirpis* magon prit ära-w kixwit šimme. xzéle: hójle bron *šultana* gäl tremin brata *smíxi* gäat pilga, *čaratrafu-š* askär it. šimmit ilhew mdélele, susew takän dhílle, *mtéle jan* askär. askär ebéle *wirxew qatéwala*, qamči intélele b-idew, xa qamči dhílle il-d-aj gab, xaxet qamči dhílle il-d-oxet gab, askär pílle ära. brona gäl susew *mtéle* il-bron *šultana*, xa qamči dhíllele, mindélele ära. brata giršále, mindjále barew reš susew, jirqále zille. *šultana nare* dhílle: “mitrúpun barew!” bále máni xen illew *mate!* brona il-d-oxet brata-š midjále *jan* xaluntaw. xa l-xa xzélu, *rába psíxlu*. il-brona *rába* nšíqlale, mıra baew: “idox hawe basime! – idxún-iš hawe basime! – *taha* šinné-le rešox *smíxex!*” bar xillu, štélu, mře bau: “baxšétuni, *lazím* ile daren béla. ilha mante, oxet xaluntxún-iš madínna láxxa.”

xabra m-máni hawex? xabra hawex *m-šultana*. *šultana* xzéle áxxa, míre: “*huzirjan* xazíxxu, xaxet šwa xaš xlula godex. bále ja zaa mánit gál suse maxwe, *qatlíxxe!*” oxet šwa xaš naše *qirpíslu* ba-xlulit bron *šultana*. míre zargār ba-šagirdew: “*qúlox*, ezex *tamaša!*” míre šagirdew: “ezex!” xaš kodinta *rikwále*, pille qama, xaš *mtéle* dašta, kodinta *jisrále*, oxet mista m-bilwanew *píltale-w* mxirxále (*sic!* for *mixrále!*). xíre xzéle: hójle xa suse xwara gal julle xware, *flawew* xware, qamčjew xwara, qamew *smixa*. tez jullew liwšíle, *rktwle* reš suse. šimmit ilhew *b-hāq* wdélele, pille *wirxa*. *matoew ahra*, waxtit aqirwa xdfre il-naše, *nare sríxlu*, míru: “hójle axonu djéle reš suse xwara! tez dúqune!” il-susew takān dhille, susew mitríplele, qamčje dhille *čaratrafew*. il-mánit qamči qépwa, tka bi-tka pélwa. *mtélele* l-askār, il-askār-iš pírle, *mtéle* l-bron *šultana*. xa qamči dhílele, mindélele ára, zúrta xalunta mindjále bar tarkew, magon poxa jirqále, zille. xaš *mtéle* il-haman qasr, brata *pasoxe pasoxe mibrále gi-lwa*. jtíwlu *tahamnu* xalunje gál brona, xillu, štélú, *rába-š psíxlu* – ilha ilxún-iš *mapsix!* bar min d-o míre bau: “baxšétuni, bále *lazím* ile daren béla. ilha mante, baqatta gden, ilxún-iš amblen.” djarew bela, xíre xzéle: zargār gál baxtew *smixe* rešew. bqíru minnew, míru: “ídjo xzélox ma xdfre?” míre bau: “xzéli. xa danka *rakkawa*, jullew xware, reš suse xwara *rkiwa*, magon poxa idjéle, kaldit *šultana* imblále, zille. náš-iš m-nášit barew jarqane la *mtéle* llew.” oxed joma míre ba-*ustadew*: “ídjo l-ezen šula!” jullew liwšíle, qímle, zille bel *šultana*. il-dadew rešew mkíple, míre baew: “*ayai šultana*, ana zóra bronox ilen!” *šultana* mahtāl píšle. míre baew: “dáde, mahtāl la puš. axonawi gáli *xajínula* wídlu, bále ilha illi príqle. ojne ebélu ki at xašwet: ojne baox xabušit xae wídjú, bále dúgle-le. ané-len haman naša, haman *rakkawa*, ki idjéle *taha* zae u-*tahamnu* blanawe mjirqíle (*sic!* for *mjirqíle*). agār qablítti-w baxšítiti, ezen wadínnu, sahle hawéni.” *šultana* il-bronew nšíqlele, míre baew: “tez, sílox wdílu.” zille, blanawe wídjílu. *šultana* jtíwle reš taxtew, *tahamnu* bronawew *smíxlu* qamew. blanawe sahlula hwillu, bronawew *trostulu* miqjálu. *šultana šreta širjále*; tunnu bronawew tiltjile reš *siwa*, *tahamin* bronew mtíwlele reš taxtew, míre baew: “bxiša hawet!” *rabta* xlula wídlu. išwa jome-w išwa lelawe *zurna qawala* dhíllu, bron *šultana il-tahamnu* blane giwrílu. *rába* xillu, štélú-w *psíxlu* – ilha ilxún-iš u-illan *mapsix!* bron *šultana mtéle mradew*, atxún-iš *matétun mradxun!*

taha xabuše píllu loka, xa bai, xa ba-čorake maqjana, xa-š ba-pinnew mamrjana!³

³ For the chief motifs of the story cf. LTK 122ff; for individual motifs see AS 15 and 16 (king is saddened at seeing his grey hair in mirror); LTK 54f. (young man asleep in the garden of an ogre); 40f and 84 (ogre smells human flesh; girl asks ogre if he would harm the guest if he were one of her family); 60 (girl sends hero with a letter to her elder sister); 104ff. (girl tells hero to fall on white animal); AS 178 (magic horse's hair); *ibid.* 128-130 and LTK 126 (rider motif). A combination of several motifs (treacherous brothers or friends make hero fall into pit; hero delivers the young of an eagle from serpent and the bird carries him to the earth) is found in FA II 251-253 (Armenian), 111-113 (Turcoman) and 149-152 (Temirgoy Circassian). The story in a practically identical version is also current in Anatolia and other countries in the East (EBT, Typ 72), to which A. Tietze (review in *Oriens*, 7 (1954), 141 ff.) adds, among others, Syria and Palestine. The author has heard it in 1958 in Acre from a young Moslem housewife; according to her she had been told it by her grandfather, who had dealings with a Kurdish tribe then encamped near the town; there were also Kurds (from

Of whom shall we relate? We shall relate of Mahmud Pasha. One day <of-days> the king was sitting on his throne; he grew thoughtful. Every Thursday the barber used to come to his house, shave his head [and] beard, trim his moustache, take his hire and return home. That day, like every Thursday, the barber came to the house, bowed <his head> before the king [and] said: "My lord the king, I am your servant; I have come to shave your head." The king rose from his throne, went into another room, sat on a chair [and] took off his crown <from his head>. The barber threw a towel over his clothes [and] gently shaved his head. After that he shaved his beard [and] trimmed his moustache. After he [had] finished, he gave a mirror into the king's hand. The king looked into the mirror; he looked for a long time, after that he threw the mirror on the ground [and] broke <made> it into pieces. The barber was perplexed; his heart fell <ceased>; he said to himself: "I have surely cut him in some place <one his-place>, [and] the king has grown angry." He bowed to the king [and] said: "My lord the king, excuse me, I have not done [it] on purpose!" The king said to the servant (sic!): "Rise <upon your-feet>, why have you lost courage <your-heart fell>? You have done nothing!" He took out of his pocket a piece of gold, gave it to the barber [and] said: "Go in peace!" The barber said: "My lord the king, excuse me! Why did you grow [so] thoughtful, tell me!" The king said to him: "You cannot help me in any way. [When] I looked into the mirror I saw that my head had <has> grown white. In a little while I will be going from <+ face-of> this world." The barber said to him: "My lord the king, this matter can be helped <remedy-there-is-to-it>." The king said: "In what way <what remedy is-there here>?" The barber said to him: "My lord the king, you shall rise, arrange <make> a great feast [and] invite all the war chieftains; let them <give to-them> eat and drink. After that you will rise, fill a goblet [with] wine, place it on the palm of your hand, walk about with it among the guests and say to them: whoever is a brave young man, a hero, a lover of the king, may he rise, drink the goblet of wine and go [and] bring the apples of life to the king. Thrice you shall fill the goblet of wine and walk around with it. He who will rise [and] drink it, shall go [and] bring the apples of life to the king. You shall eat those apples [and] become like a young man who has just reached <now is-reaching> [manhood]." [The king] said to the barber: "Farewell!" The latter went home.

To return to the king. The king rose [and] arranged a great feast. He called all the young men of the city, all the heroes [and] all the war-chiefs to the feast. After they had eaten and drunk <ate drank>, the king rose from his throne. Everyone grew silent. [The king] filled a goblet with wine, placed it on the palm of his hand, walked about with it among the guests [and] said to them: "He who is a brave young man, a hero, a lover of the king, let him rise, drink this goblet of wine [and] go [and]

Syria) who had settled in Acre and intermingled with local population. — The Smur Bird is, of course, the Simurgh (cf. V. F. Buechner, *Enc. of Islam*, s.v.; N. W. Thomas in *Enc. of Religion and Ethics*, I, 514a; L. C. Casartelli, *ibid.*, III, 448f.). My informant translated the name by "eagle"; the Arabic version heard in Acre has "eagle" throughout.

bring the apples of life to the king." The king walked around among the guests, [but there was] not a sound, all the guests were <are> sitting in silence. All of a sudden his youngest <small> son rose from his place, took the goblet out of his father's hand [and] drank it then and there. When he returned to his place, his eldest <big> brother slapped his face [and] threw him on the ground. He [then] said to him: "How impudent you are <you what your-limit>! None of all these guests has risen <rose>, why did *you* rise?" [The young man] said to him: "Brother, I saw that no one was <is> moving from his place. How could <can> I shame my father, let his face become red? [So] I rose [and] drank the wine." The king said nothing, filled the goblet again with wine, placed it on the palm of his hand, walked around among the guests [and] said to them again: "He who is a brave young man, a hero, a lover of the king, let him go [and] bring the apples of life to the king." No one moved from his place. Once again his youngest son rose, took the goblet from his father's hand and drank the wine. When he returned to his place his second brother rose, slapped his face soundly twice [and] said to him: "How impudent you are! None of these heroes, these warriors did not rise <is-not rising> from his place, how could *you* do it?" [The youngest prince] said to him: "Brother, you [too] did not rise! How could <can> I see my father being put to shame <shame doing>? [Therefore] I rose [and] drank the wine." The king said nothing. Once more he filled the goblet with wine, placed it on the palm of his hand, walked around with it among the guests [and] said to them again: "He who is a brave young man, a hero, a lover of the king, let him rise from his place, drink this wine [and] go and bring the apples of life!" No one rose from his place. Again his youngest son rose from his place [and] drank the wine. The king kissed his son [and] said: "God be with you!"

To return to that youngest son. He came to his brothers [and] said to them: "Give me a horse and a sword [and] I will set out <fall> on my way." Every one [of them] laughed [and] said to him: "You do not [even] know how to hold a sword in your hand, get out [and] go away!" The boy went into the shed, searched [there and] saw an old sword. He drew the sword from its scabbard, saw that it had grown rusty <rust it-made>, waved it a little [and] saw [that] it was <is> a good sword. Quickly he took it to a smith [and] said to him: "Make this sword ready for me. To-morrow I will come [and] take it along." On the next day he returned [came] to the smith [and] saw the scabbard of his sword shining brightly <well>. He drew the sword from its scabbard, waved it [and] saw that it had <has> become like new. He asked the smith: "How is the sword?" The smith said: "I have not seen the like of this sword for many years, there is none like it! It is a strong sword, a sharp sword." Joyfully the boy girdled his sword [and] went <came> home. He said to his mother: "Mother, farewell!" He kissed her. She wept a great deal and said: "Go with God!" [Then] his father came [and] said: "My son, farewell, God be with you! Both your brothers and the army are coming to see you on your way." The boy mounted the horse, [and] his brothers and the army walked along with him. The caravan walked [for] three days and three nights. After three days and three nights the caravan halted <threw-down>

[and the men] began looking for water. A few hours later they found a well. This well was very deep and dark. They threw a stone in it, [but] heard no sound. The youngest boy came [and] said: "Let me down inside, I will see what there is there <here>." His brothers said to him: "Maybe there are wild beasts <wolves bears> in it." He said to them: "Remain sitting <sit> at the mouth of the well [for] forty days [and] leave the rope hanging. If I do not pull <touch> the rope after forty days, you are no longer responsible <your-neck free it-should-be>."

To return to that youngest son. His two brothers bound <hanged> him to the rope [and] let him down the well. The well was very deep. As he came down, he lost consciousness [and] fell [to the] ground. A few hours later he regained consciousness [and] saw himself <+ he-is> in a dark well. He walked <went> to and fro [and] touched the wall in the hope <maybe> to find an opening. Suddenly his hand touched wood. He had <cast> a good look [and] saw light showing from one side. He broke the wood with his shoulder [and] went through it [inside]. He looked [and] saw himself in a large garden [full of] sunlight <light, sun>, trees, water [and] flowers. The boy came out into the light – may God bring you, too, out into the light! He walked about in this garden for a little while [and] saw an apple tree. He picked <cut-off> some apples of it [and] went and sat down by the pool. [First] he washed his head, face and hands [and] feet thoroughly <well>, then took his knife out of his pocket, peeled the apples [and] ate [some] of them. After he had eaten enough <was-satiated>, sleep overcame <took> him [and] he went to sleep. In the middle of the garden there was a great palace, and in that palace there was a girl. The garden itself and the palace belonged to a giant, who had kidnapped the girl from the human beings. That day the girl said to her maid: "Go, bring me some water!" The girl took the pitcher, went to the pool [and] filled the pitcher with water. As she was placing the pitcher on her shoulder, she lifted her eyes [and] saw <+ behold> a human being <+ behold> lying by the pool. She halted suddenly <place by-place she-remained>, the pitcher fell from her shoulder and broke. The girl <looked> saw [that] the maid did not return; she rose [and] sent another maid. The same thing happened to the other maid <the-other maid-also what way I-related, same thing came on-her-head>. The girl sent another maid. After the third maid had not returned, she rose herself, saying: "Let me go [and] see what has happened to the maids." When she arrived at the pool, she shouted at the maids <+she-said>: "What [has] happened to you?" The maids said: "Come, mistress, see, <+ behold> a human being is lying here!" The girl came near, looked [and] saw a handsome young man lying beside the pool. She remained standing motionless <place by-place>. The boy awoke [and] saw a beautiful girl standing <she-has-remained> [and] looking at him. The girl said to the boy <+ she-said to-him>: "You [are] human. How did you have <there-has-been-to-you> the strength to come to the land of the giants? Rise quickly, come with me before the giant comes [and] kills you!" They went together into the house, ate, drank, talked [and] had a pleasant time. After sunset she said to him: "Now the giant will come, be careful! I will now turn <make> you [into] a needle and stick you in my

bosom.) She heard the giant's voice, turned him (the boy) into a needle [and] stuck it into her bosom. The giant came home tired [and] worn-out [and] began shouting <fell shouts clamours>. She said to him: What is the matter with you? Why are you clamouring?" He said to her: "I smell the smell of human beings <smell-of humans is-coming my-nose>!" She said to him: "Are you out of your mind <your-mind has-lesened>? How <whence> should a human being come here? Who can enter this place <here>?" The giant said to her: "You are lying! There is a human being here!" She said to him: "Listen [and] I will tell you! You go <are-going> away, leave me here and I remain all alone. Now my maternal uncle has come to see <ask> me. You must not touch him <not it-becomes your-hand to-him touch>!" [The giant] said to her: "If it is your uncle, I will not touch him!" She said to him: "Swear [to it]!" [The giant] swore [to it]; she took the needle [and] turned it again into a human being. The giant took him (the boy) in his hand, kissed him, smelled him, drew him into one of his nostrils [and] blew him out of the other. [The girl] said to him – far be it from the listeners –: "May your house be ruined! What are you doing? This is only a human being, you will presently kill him!" [The giant] said to her: "I am [only] playing with him!" The girl said to him: "He is not strong enough for this <this-one so-much strength there-is-not-to-him>! Sit beside him [and] talk to him gently, in a civilised fashion <like people>!" The giant took him, placed him upon a chair, and they began talking to each other. A few days later the giant went abroad <field> again. The boy said to the girl: "I have come to bring the apples of life to my father the king. If you have [some], give me. You, too, come with me; let us go out [of here and] depart!" She said: "I have none, but I will send you to my sister who is older than I." She rose [and] sent a maid along with him to take <she-took> him to her sister. She [also] gave her a letter, [so that] her sister should give him what he wanted <wants>. The other sister did not have any apples of life either, but she said to him: "I have heard of this thing; maybe my eldest sister knows [about it]." She gave him a maid to take him to her eldest sister. The eldest sister was very glad to see a human being again. She said to him: "I have what you want, but you must have a little patience <a-little-wait>. We shall stay together for a few days, eat [and] drink. After that the giant will come. After he will be gone <his-going> we shall go [and] make our preparations." Three days later the giant came. What I told you about the first sister, the other sister did also <same thing>. After the giant had gone, they rose [and] made their preparations. They took along a load of apples of life [and] loads of gold, gems [and] jewels [and] went to the second sister. She, too, made her preparations. They rose together [and] went to their youngest sister. She, too, made her preparations, [and] all of them went together to the well.

To return to his (the boy's) brothers. They sat <were sitting> at <on> the well for thirty-nine days. Their food had almost come to an end <a-little more it-was-about-to end>, [when] they saw the rope moving. They pulled the rope and drew up the first load. They understood <they-looked they-saw> that their brother was <is> alive. They let the rope down once more [and] again pulled up another load. After that he

(the boy) bound the eldest sister to the rope and gave a letter into her hand. [His brothers] pulled her up [and] saw a beautiful girl coming out of the well. They read the letter, which said <in it written it-was>: "This girl [is] for my eldest brother." Once more they let down the rope [and] again drew up some loads. After that [the boy] bound the second sister to the rope and gave a letter into her hand. They pulled her up [and] saw another girl coming out of the well. They read the letter, which said: "This girl [is] for my second brother." They looked at eachother [and] saw [that] one girl was more beautiful than the other <girls one than-one more beautiful>. Again they let the rope down into the well [and] drew up [me] loads. There remained inside the well the youngest boy and the youngest girl. The girl said to the boy: "You go up first [and] I will come after you." But he said: "No, you go up first [and] I will follow you." The more the girl talked, the less he listened. Finally she said: "Be careful, for your brothers will cut the rope [and] throw you into the well. As you fall, three horses will come before you, a white one, a red one [and] a black one. You throw yourself on the white horse, and it will bring you up to the face of the world. If you fall on the red horse, you will remain where you are. But if you fall on the black horse, you will sink seven layers [deep] under the earth. I will wait for you three years [and] will not marry until you come." They kissed eachother; he bound her to the rope, [and his brothers] drew the rope up. They saw a beautiful girl coming out of the well [and] the well filled with light. She was <is> so beautiful [that] she could say to the lamp: "Do not shine, I shine!" [The brothers] said to one another: "Look, our brother is acting treacherously by <with> us, he has kept the [most] beautiful girl for himself!" They let the rope down, [the boy] bound himself [to it and] they pulled the rope up. When he was halfway up <in-middle of well his-arriving>, they cut the rope [and] the boy fell down. Three horses came before him; he wanted to throw himself upon the white horse, but fell upon the black horse. Far be it from the listeners – he sank seven layers deep underground!

To return to his two brothers. They rose, took the girls and the loads, returned home to their father [and] said: "Our brother left us midway [and] went away. Here are the apples of life, we [have] brought them to you." The king ate [some] of those apples together with the queen [and] became young <like young-man> again.

To return to the youngest brother. When he fell upon the black horse he sank underground seven layers deep. He found <saw> himself in a great forest. He was very, very tired. He came to a tree, lied down under it, [and] was overtaken by sleep. The sun set [and] night came. All of a sudden he woke up, [for] he heard birds twittering. He could not go to sleep again; he said to himself: "Let me rise [and] see, why these birds are twittering." He looked [and] saw [that] on that tree there were <are> the young of the Smur Bird. A serpent had <has> come, intending to eat those young, and they were <are> twittering from <their> fear. He took a stick into his hand, killed that serpent, and the young became silent. He went to sleep again in his [former] place. Early in the morning the Smur Bird came [and] saw a human being lying under the tree. She said: "This is the one who comes every year to take away

my young. I will rise [and] kill him!" She came to him [and] wanted to pick out his eyes <his-eyes she-would-pick-them, from-their-place she-take-them-out>. Her young saw [that] their mother was <is> wanting to pick out the eyes of that human being [and] began to twitter <twitter they-made>, saying: "Mother, do not touch him! This is our saviour <to-us saver>. Behold [and] see, under the tree there is a dead <killed> serpent. This serpent used to come <comes> every day [and] take away one of our brothers. To-day this human being killed this serpent [and] saved us." The Smur Bird said: "This is a very good man!" She came up to him, spread out <opened> her wings [and] said: "Presently the sun will rise; let him have some shade, so that he sleep well." When the prince awoke, he saw [that] the sun had <has> reached the middle of the sky, but that he himself was <is> lying in the shade. The Smur Bird saw that he was awake <awoke>, took her wings away [and] said to him: "You have done a very great favour to me. I have been bearing young <my-young are born> for so many years, but none of them remains [alive]. Yesterday you killed that serpent which used to eat my young. I will give you anything you demand of me. I will never forget your favour!" The prince said to her: "I do not want anything [except that] God give you health, and may your children grow up!" She said to him: "I am asking you again [for] the second time. I will give you anything you may demand in the world." The prince said to her: "I want [only] your well-being, I want nothing!" [Again the Smur Bird] said to him: "This is the third time; I shall not ask [you] more than three times. Tell me [and] I will give you anything you want, [for] you have done me a great favour <your-favour much-it-is>." At <after> the third time he said to her: "If you want to do me a favour, bring me up to the face of the world." The Smur Bird looked at him, sighed [and] said: "Oh, human being, you [have] demanded a difficult thing. When I was young, I used to go up to the face of the world and come down [again], but now I have grown old, [and] my strength is not sufficient <not it-reaches>. Yet I shall bring you up, God willing. Rise, go to the market, buy for me seven sheep, kill them, take off their skins, make them into water-skins [and] fill them with water." [The prince] rose quickly, went to the market and did as he was told <what kind she-said to-him, thus he-did>. He [then] returned, bringing with him seven sheep and seven water-skins. The next morning <the-other day morning> [the Smur Bird] said to him: "Put the seven sheep on one [of] my wing(s) and the seven water-skins on the other, and you [yourself] sit on the middle of my back. If God gives me strength, I will bring you up. Whenever I say to you: food! throw a sheep into my mouth, and whenever I say to you: water! throw a water-skin into my mouth." He did as he was told. The Smur Bird flew [for] a day, [then] she said to him: "Food!" After she had eaten <ate> the sheep, she said to him: "Water!" The Smur Bird flew seven days and seven nights; every day she went up <used-to-go-up> one layer. At the end of <after> seven days, when the food and the water had come to an end and she had almost arrived <a-little more she-would-arrive> above, she said to him: "Food!" He looked [and] saw [that] the sheep had <have> come to an end. He took his sword, cut off one [of] his feet <foot> [and] put it into

her mouth. The Smur Bird said <talked> nothing. Finally they reached the surface of the earth. The Smur Bird alighted <came-to-a-standstill> upon the ground [and] said to him: "Come down!" He threw himself on the ground. She said to him: "Rise on your feet [and] walk, this is your land!" He said to her: "Farewell! I shall rise later, now I am tired." She said to him: "No, get up now, I want to see you!" Again he said to her: "You go in peace, I shall rise later." [The Smur Bird] looked at him [and] said: "Oh, human being, how proud you humans are <how-much you humans yourself you-are bursting-it>! Do you think <are-you-thinking> I do not know that you [have] cut off your foot? Here is your foot, safe and sound in my mouth. How could <did> you cut off your foot? How could you think that I would eat your foot?" She took his foot out of her mouth, put it in place, burned two [of her] feathers, rubbed [some] of the ashes into his wound [and] said to him: "Rise on your feet!" The boy rose on his feet safe and sound. Once more the Smur Bird said to him: "I am very, very grateful to you. Before I go, I will give you three feathers, Whenever you are in trouble, you can burn one of them [and] I will come <+ arrive> to you [and] give you whatever you want." She plucked three feathers from her wing and gave [them] to him. After that they took leave of <greeted> each other, [and] every one went on his way.

To return to the prince. The prince found himself <here-he-is> in a large field. He began walking <fell his-way>. In the evening he came to a city, which happened to be his father's city <same city-of his-father>. He walked about the city, looking for work. He came to a small goldsmith. [The latter] said to him: "My son, what do you want?" The prince said to him: "I am a stranger [and] want [some] work. I do not want any money, just a little <a crumb> food and a place to sleep <in-it> at <every> night." The goldsmith said to him: "If you like, remain with me [and] I will teach you my trade. I myself am poor and cannot pay <give> you much money." Thus the prince came to live <sit> with him.

To return to the girl. <That girl> they used to tell her: "You must marry. Marry the eldest prince, so that you, too, may become a queen." The girl used to answer <say>: "Not yet! Wait until my betrothed comes. I am going to wait for him for three years." At the end of <after> three years they came to her and said again: "Here, three years [have] passed!" She said to them "I demand of you three things. If you do them I shall marry, if not, I shall not marry into your family <with-you>!" They said to her: "Ask for these things!" She said: "The first thing is this: I want all my jewelry to be of pure gold, all placed in an egg-shell, and no human hand should have touched it." The king said to her: "How can this thing be done?" She said to him: "It can be done! Otherwise <without of-this thing> I will not marry!" The king rose, called the chief goldsmith to the castle [and] said to him: "I want you to make a set of jewels for my daughter-in-law within three days; [it should be of] pure gold, no human hand should have touched it [and] it should all be placed in an egg-shell!" The goldsmith was perplexed, but the king said to him: "Quick, go to your shop [and] come here three days later. If you do not come, your head will be cut off!"

The goldsmith was upset [and] went home. Quickly he gathered all the goldsmiths [and] said to them: "The matter is thus and thus." The goldsmiths were perplexed.

To return to that small goldsmith. When he returned to his shop, his apprentice (the prince) asked him: "What news, master <what is-there what is-there-not>?" [His master] told him what I [have] related to you. The prince said to him: "Master, I have been working with you for three years [and] have learned the trade well. I can make this set of jewels, but [only] on the condition that I work all alone in this shop." [The goldsmith] said to him: "You have three days time!" The goldsmith went home. The prince closed the door of the shop and went cheerfully <in-good-mood> to sleep. The third night he took a feather out of his bosom and burned it. The Smur Bird came, stood before him [and] said: "What do you want?" He said to her: "I want a set of jewels, which should all be in an egg-shell." The Smur Bird bowed [and] said: "I know!" She took [the set of jewels] from under her wing, gave it to him [and] said: "Here it is!" Then she flew up [and] departed home <her-place>. When it was <becoming> morning, the goldsmith came to the shop, knocked at the door [and] said: "The sun has risen, have you done any work or not?" The prince said to him: "I am very tired, leave me alone! Come [back in] another two hours." Two hours later the goldsmith returned [and] heard the sound of a hammer coming from the shop. The prince hammered a little upon the anvil, put a little gold on the ground, strew about a little earth, dirtied some tools a little; after that he opened the door [and] said: "The jewels are ready!" The goldsmith saw the set of jewels [and] did not believe [his eyes]. The prince said to him: "Go, give this to the chief goldsmith, tell him: These are the jewels. Let him take them [and] give them to the king. But he should not open them until the girl herself comes." The goldsmith went [and] gave the egg to the chief goldsmith. The latter went running to the castle, came before the king, bowed [and] said: "My lord the king, the jewels are ready." He took the egg [which was] wrapped in a silken kerchief, out of his pocket [and] said: "Let the girl come here and see the jewels." They went [and] called the girl. She came, looked at the egg [and] said: "This is right." Then she broke the egg before the goldsmith, the king and the ministers; a set of jewels came out of it, [made of] pure gold, untouched by human hands. The king rose, weighed the goldsmith with pieces of gold [and] gave them to him. The goldsmith returned home full of joy [and] sent a large quantity of gold [and] precious stones to that small goldsmith.

To return to the [future] daughter-in-law of the king. She said to them: "Now I want the second thing. I demand of you [that] my wedding clothes <and my gown> [be made] of pure white silk, [but that] it [should] not be touched by a tailor's hand [and] should be put in a nutshell." When <after> the king heard her words, he sent for the chief tailor [and] said to him: "I want you to bring here for my daughter-in-law some white wedding clothes [of] pure silk, untouched by human hands [and] folded [and] placed in a nutshell." The tailor was perplexed. He said: "My lord the king, we tailors do all our work by our hands. How can I do as you tell me <your-word>?" The king said to him: "If you do not bring the clothes in <after

another seven days, your head will be cut off." The tailor returned home upset [and] perplexed: he neither ate nor drank, [but] fell upon his bed. The following day he said: "There is no choice <use>, I will get up [and] see what I can do." He went <came> and related the matter to his friends. They said to him: "Before you the chief goldsmith had gone to the king; maybe you go [and] ask him." The tailor rose, went hastily to the chief goldsmith [and] said to him: "The matter [is] thus and thus." The chief goldsmith said to him: "What [is] hidden from God, what [can be] hidden from man? I shall tell you the <my> truth. The king [had] demanded of me a set of jewels [made of] pure gold in an egg-shell, but I did <do> not know how to make such a thing. There is a [certain] small goldsmith, he helped me <my-justice made> [and] saved me. Let us rise [and] go to him, maybe he will save you, too, from this plight." They rose together, went to [that] same goldsmith and said to him: "The matter [is] thus and thus. No one can help us but God and you <first God then you>; maybe you [can] save us." The goldsmith said to them: "What is hidden from God? I will tell you the <my> truth. I, too, am not versed in such matters <from-these matters affairs my-head not comes-out>, but I have a young apprentice; he will come presently [and] we shall ask him. As a matter of fact, he <has> made the jewels." They sat down for a little [while] until the boy came. After they [had] told him [of their plight], he said to them: "I am a goldsmith. Maybe I [can] come to you for a few days and you will teach me your trade; after that, God willing, I will make the clothes ready for you." The tailor said to him: "With pleasure <upon my-head>! Tomorrow I will send for you." The next day the boy went to the tailor to learn his trade. Three days later he said to him: "Leave [your] shop to me [and] go home for three days; I will make the clothes ready." They prepared some white silken material [and] went home. The boy took the scissors into his hand, cut up some silk and went to sleep. The following day he did the same <matter>. On the third night <third day night> he took a feather out of his bosom [and] burned it. The Smur Bird came, stood before him [and] said: "I know what you want. Here is the nut, I have brought it with me." He took the nut, thanked her kindly <much greetings gave-her>, [and] the Smur Bird returned home. The boy rose quickly, cut up some more silk, scattered <put> a few bits of thread [and] some needles about the shop, after [which] he went to sleep in his bed <his-place>. Early in the morning the tailor came to the shop [and] asked him <+ he-said>: "Are the clothes ready?" [The boy] said to him: "Yes, they are. But I have not slept the whole night. Go home [and] come [again] after sunrise." After the sun had risen <rose> the tailor came [again and] saw that the shop was open <behold shop has-opened>. The boy came before him [and] said: "Bring [me] a silken kerchief [and] wrap the nut in it." Full of joy the tailor did as he was told <rejoicing tailor word-of boy he-did-it>, came running to the king's house, bowed before the king [and] said: "My lord the king, the clothes are ready." The king called his [future] daughter-in-law [and] said: "Here, they have brought the clothes." The girl took the nut into her hand, opened it [and] saw [that] they had <have> indeed brought the clothes. The king gave many pieces of gold, gems [and] precious stones

to the tailor and sent him home. The girl came before the king [and] said: "My lord the king, [now] the third matter remains <has-remained>. I demand of you a long carpet, [reaching] from your castle to mine; it must be all [of] one piece, [and it should be made in a way that] whenever I wish I may fold it like a kerchief [and] put it into my pocket." The king rose, sent for a great carpet-merchant [and] said to him: "I want you to weave me a carpet; it should be all of one piece [and reach] from my castle to that of my daughter-in-law. It must also be made in such a way that whenever I wish I may fold it like a kerchief and put it into my pocket." The merchant was terrified <his-heart ceased>. He said: "My lord the king, this cannot be done <this thing happened (part.) not can-happen>!" The king said to him: "Do not say [a] word! If you do not bring the carpet within <after> seven days, your head will be cut off." The merchant returned home perplexed and upset. He told [the matter] to his friends [and] they said to him: "This cannot be done! But not long ago <before-you> the king [had] asked a strange thing from the tailor. Go to the tailor, maybe he can give <put> you some advice." The merchant rose, went to the tailor [and] said to him: "The matter [is] thus and thus. Whatever you tell [me], <thus> I will do." The tailor said to him: "What [is] hidden from God, what <can be> hidden from man? Let us rise [and] go to the goldsmith. True, I have sewn the clothes for the king's daughter-in-law, but I have not made them myself." They rose together [and] went to the goldsmith. The goldsmith said to them: "Wait a little until my apprentice comes; we shall see whether he can do anything for us." [When] the boy came, the goldsmith said to him: "My son, my friends have come here, they want to see you." The boy said: "They are welcome!" The merchant told him [of his plight]. After he had ended, the boy said: "I will come to you for some three days to learn a little weaving. After that, God willing, I will make the carpet ready for you." The next day the boy went to learn carpet-weaving. Three days later he said to the merchant: "Shut the shop on me [and] leave me by myself. In three days, God willing, the carpet will be ready." On the third night he took the third feather out of his pocket [and] burned it. The Smur Bird came before him. He said to her: "I demand the third matter of you." She said to him: "I know!" She took out a carpet from under her wing, gave it to him [and] said to him: "I am going [now and] you cannot call me again. May God give you success! [But] before I go <+ behold> I will give you three hairs. Whenever you want, you can burn one of them [and] a horse will come before you. After you will have done what you want <after your-affair you-finish>, you shall pull a hair out of its tail [and] send it away <his-place>. After that, whenever you need it, you can burn that feather again." [The boy] put the three feathers into his pocket, thanked the Smur-Bird kindly, [and] the latter returned home. The next day he gave the carpet to the merchant. The merchant went full of joy to the king, bowed [and] said: "My lord the king, the carpet is ready!" The king's daughter-in-law came, saw the carpet [and] said: "All my three requests have been duly fulfilled <three my-words right have-become>." The merchant received a great deal of pieces of gold, gems and precious stones [and] proposed to go home. The girl called

him [back and] said to him: "If you tell the truth, [well and] good, if not, your head shall be cut off! Whence have you brought that carpet?" [The merchant] said to her: "I will tell you the truth. I have not woven this carpet myself, neither has the tailor sewn your clothes, nor has the goldsmith made your jewels! There is a fair young man, he is an apprentice of the goldsmith, all these things are made by him <are-his>!" The girl bit her finger [in surprise and] said to him: "Fare thee well!" At that moment <time> she realized [that] her betrothed was <is> alive.

To return to the king. The king made his preparations for making the wedding. In seven days the eldest prince was to marry first.

To return to the goldsmith. On the day of the wedding he said to his apprentice: "Let us close the shop [and] go to the pageant." His apprentice said: "What is the matter?" The goldsmith said to him: "How, do you not know? Today is the prince's wedding!" [The youngest] prince said: "Oh, leave me alone! I find no pleasure in pageant[s]. Besides, I have no horse to ride <on-it>." The goldsmith said to him: "Come along to the pageant [and] enjoy yourself a little <let a-little your-heart open>. We have a lame mule behind the house; if you like to ride it, [you can] take it." The boy said: "Go in God's name <God be with-you>! I shall come later." The goldsmith and his wife went to the pageant. The boy took the mule [and] went to the field. He bound the mule with a rope to a tree, burned a hair and saw standing before him <+ behold> a red horse; on it were red clothes, its bridle was red, its whip was red, and it had a white spot on its nose. [The prince] donned the red clothes, mounted the horse, took the bridles in his hand, threw the whip over his shoulder, and spurned the horse. The horse ran like the wind [until] it reached the city. [The prince] saw an assembly of people <behold people have assembled> [as numerous] as the soil of the earth and the stars of the heaven, [and] the king's army was standing around them. From afar the prince and the girl [were] arriving mounted on horses. [When] he saw this <thus>, he called out the name of his God, spurned his horse, [and] the horse ran like the wind. He passed through the people, came up to the prince, struck him with his whip, threw him to the ground, took the girl, threw her behind him on his horse and escaped <he-ran he-went>. The army set out to pursue him <fell behind-him>, but who could <can> overtake him? The boy drove his horse on [and] came to a thick forest. In the middle of the forest there was a castle, in which he placed the girl. The girl rejoiced greatly [and] said to him: "I have been waiting for you for three years. It is good that you are alive!" They ate [and] drank together. When evening came he said to her: "You will excuse me, I must [now] return home. God willing, in a few <other> days I will bring your sisters also." The boy mounted his horse, came to the mule, took off his red clothes, pulled out a hair from the horses tail and sent it back. [Then] he mounted the mule [and] came [riding] slowly to the goldsmith's house. The goldsmith asked him <+ he-said to-him>: "Did you see what happened?" He said: "No, I have seen nothing. My mule was lame, so I had to walk slowly <and-myself I-walked slowly>; by the time I had arrived I saw [that] the people had <have> dispersed." The goldsmith said to

him: "You wretch <house-of your-father not may-be-ruined>! A man came riding a horse; his horse [was] red, he himself was wearing red clothes, the bridle of his horse was red, his whip was red, and he was driving like the wind. He came, struck the prince with his whip, eloped with the king's daughter-in-law [and] departed. However the army tried <whatever army did>, no one could overtake <overtook> him." After this <matter> the city was upset. But a week later the king said: "We shall make another wedding." Again the goldsmith said to his apprentice: "Get up, let us go to the pageant, it is the prince's wedding!" His apprentice said: "Leave me alone! I have not the heart for such matters." But finally he agreed, saying: "If so <after at-all thus-it-is>, I will ride my mule [and] set out immediately <from-now>; may be I will be in time to see something." [His master] said to him: "Go in peace!" Again the apprentice mounted his mule, came slowly to the field, bound the mule [to the tree], took the other hair out of his pocket, burned it [and] saw <+ behold> a black horse with black clothes, black bridles [and] a black whip standing ready before him. Hastily he donned the clothes, mounted the horse, took the bridles in his hand, threw the whip over his shoulder, set his horse galloping [and] arrived at the city. He saw <+ behold> the people assembled like the soil of the earth and the stars of heaven. He [also] saw that the [second] prince and the second girl were standing in the middle and around them were <there-are> soldiers. He called out <brought> the name of his God, spurned his horse and came up to the soldiers. The soldiers wanted to bar <cut> his way, [but] he took the whip in his hand and struck with it right and left <one whip he-struck to-this side, another whip he struck to-that side>. The soldiers fell to the ground. The boy on <with> his horse came up to the prince, struck him with the whip [and] threw him upon the ground. [Then] he snatched the girl, threw her behind him upon his horse and escaped. The king raised a great shout: "Gallop in his pursuit <after-him>!" But who could overtake him! The boy brought the other girl to her sister. [When] they saw each other, they were very glad, [The second girl] kissed the boy many times <much> [and] said to him: "More power to your hands <your-hands be well>! (To the listeners: More power to your hands, too!) We have been waiting for you for three years!" After they had eaten and drunk <they-ate they-drunk>, he said to them: "You will excuse me, I must [now] return home. God willing, I will bring your other sister here also."

To return to the king. [When] the king saw this <thus>, he said: "Let us make our preparations, next week we will make another <again> wedding. But this time we will kill anyone who will appear riding <with> a horse!" The next week the people assembled again for the prince's wedding. The goldsmith said to his apprentice: "Get up, let us go to the pageant!" [That time] his apprentice said: "Let us go!" Again he mounted the mule, set out on his way <fell forward>, came again to the field, bound the mule [to the tree], took the third other hair out of his pocket and burned it. He saw a white horse, with white clothes, white bridles [and] a white whip standing before him. Quickly he donned the clothes, mounted the horse, called out the name of his God in truth and set out on his way. When he arrived at the city

[and] drew near the people, they shouted [and] said: "Behold, their brother has come <came> on a white horse! Seize him quickly! [The boy] spurned his horse, set him galloping [and] struck out around him with the whip; whoever was touched by the whip fell on the ground. [The boy] came up to the soldiers, drove through them <to-army-also he-passed>, reached the prince, struck him with his whip [and] threw him on the ground. Then he threw the youngest sister behind him <his-pillion> [and] escaped like the wind. Again he came to [that] same castle [and] brought the girl joyfully inside. All three sisters sat down with the boy; they ate, drank and were <very> merry – may God make you merry, too! After that he said to them: "You will excuse me, but I must return home. God willing, I shall come to-morrow and take you away." When he returned home he found <saw> the goldsmith and his wife waiting for him. They asked him <+ they said>: "Did you see what happened today?" He said to them: "I did. A rider in white clothes, mounted upon a white horse, came like the wind [and] took away the king's daughter-in-law. Non of his pursuers could overtake him." The next day he said to the master: "Today I am going to work." He put on his clothes, rose [and] went to the king. He bowed to his father [and] said: "My lord the king, I am your youngest son!" The king was astonished. [The boy] said to him: "Father, do not be astonished. My brothers have betrayed me, but God [has] saved me. They wanted you to think [that] they had <have> brought you the apples of life, but it was <is> a lie. I am that <same> man, that <same> rider who came three times and eloped with the three girls. If you agree <receive-me> and permit me, I will go [and] bring them; they will bear witness [for me]." The king kissed his son [and] said to him: "Quickly, go [and] bring them." [The boy] went [and] brought the girls. The king set on his throne and his three sons stood before him. The girls bore witness [and his] two eldest sons confessed <their-truth they-told-it>. The king passed judgment [and had] his two sons hanged on a gallows <wood>. [Then] he placed his third son on his throne [and] said to him: "You are <shall be> excused!" They made a great wedding; they sounded the flute [and] the drum for seven days; the prince married all three girls. They ate, drank and rejoiced a great deal – may God give you and us joy, too! The prince attained his desire, may you too attain your desire!

Three apples fell there; one for me, one for the story-teller [and] one for him who took the trouble to tell you this tale <his-mouth-pain-causer>.

(c) (Same informant).

xabra m-máni hawex? xabra hawex m-xa *šultana*. xa joma b-jomawe baxtit *šultana* b-ezáwa *hamam*. *qarawašaw sirxála*, míra baaw: "qarawaš, julli *hazír wúdlu*, ezex *hamam*." *qarawaš hazirjaw* xzéla, jullit *šultanta* intjila b-idaw, zillu *hamam*. *mtélu hamam*, baxtit *šultana* jullaw šilxíla, *jawaš jawaš*, xa bar xa. birdambira *qarawaš xzéla*: hójle *šultanta* idaw dirjála xel *jalyit* rešaw, xa araččin *plíla* m-rešaw, dirjála

tez xel julle. bar min d-o *jalyit* rešaw intjála, *wíra gi-lwa* ba-xjapa. bar xa *sata qarawašaw sirxála*, míra baaw: “idálox, *xasi* lifka dhul!” míra baaw *qarawaš*: “máto *missan* jullax šoqánu xa m-nóšu, *oran gi-lwa?* jur-ba-jur naše idájlu láxxa!” míra baaw baxtit *šultana*: “pakkax la hawe, hiš zdela lít, idálox!” *qarawaš wíra gi-lwa*, *xasit šultanta* lifka dhilla, bára *plítla tára*. bar *plítla tára*, araččinit *šultanta* m-xel jullaw *piltála*, dirjála rešaw, m-xel *jalyaw*. *šultanta plítla tára*, jullaw liwšila, xíra xzéla: araččin lít. bqíra m-*qarawaš*, míra: “*qarawaš*, araččini ké-la?” míra *qarawaš*: “*qurbanax* xadran, ana kjan? míri baax: jullax la šoqánu, jur-ba-jur naše láxxa idájlu izállu!” baxtit *šultana* píšla *mad*, *rába* kifkíra, díra bela, ba-*šultana* mqéla. *šultana* míre baaw: “ja *qarawaš rába* šinné-le belan šula goda, máto axnan *missex* ganawta *paltíxxa?* agár lat abólla, maspíxxa b-ident xa nokár, mar ezil zabínna.” baxtit *šultana* la jilla ma amráwa, bále qahrit araččin libbaw *mílele* u-míra: “xen ja *qarawaš* belan šula la goda!” o araččin *rába* jaqurta araččin wéla, kullaw *lqittit lal u-řawahir* u-kepe jaqure.

xabra m-máni hewex? xabra hawex m-*qarawaš*. *qarawaš* pílla bar nokárit *šultana*, m-šuqa il-šuqa píru, nokár *saríxwa*: “máni *qarawaš* gbe šaqil? *řsatánda pešman*, *alánda pešman*^T – zabnanaw *pešmán* ile, šaqlanáv-iš pašim!” mánit il-d-aj xabra šmélele, zdéle il-*qarawaš* šaqilla. *jawaš jawaš mtélu* l-xa *xan*. *xan mlita* wéla naše. *nare* dhille nokár u-*řríxle*: “máni *qarawaš* šaqil? *řsatánda pešman*, *alánda pešman*^T – zabnanaw *pešman* ile, šaqlanáv-iš pašim!” naše *qirpíslu čaratrafew*, bále naš šaqlana lítwa. g-pilgit *xan* xa danka *sahatči* ítwa, xa zúrta tkana šušaband ítwale. šula wada wéle, šméle naše tára *saroxu*. m-panjara sinči mdéle, xzéle: hójle naše *qirpísi*, g-pilgu xa naš *smix u-nare* dahole: “máni gbe *qarawaš* šaqil? *řsatánda pešman*, *alánda pešman*^T – zabnanaw *pešman* ile, šaqlanáv-iš pašim!” mahtál píšle, kwišle tíxja, aqirwa xáfre, xzéle: hójle *jan* d-o gora xa sqilta baxta *smíxa*. míre baew: “*ařai*, ma maret?” nokár míre: “ja *qarawaš* m-bel *šultané-la*. mánit gbe šaqilla, mar *timaw* hawilla-w antéla ba-nóšew!” *sahatči* xíre illew, míre: “ana šaqlinna. kimma gbet?” míre nokár: “*timaw* trémme dehwe-le.” *plítla sahatči* isra dehwe m-bilwanew, míre baew: “hójlu sra dehwe, *asr* idálox, imma-w čči xet umbul.” *qarawaš* intjále, imblále gálew, misqále tkana. xa kursi mtíwle baaw, jtíwla kanar, nošew-iš pille šula. *čajči* djéle, míre ba-*čajči*: “*nahar* baan mdi!” zille *čajči*, bau řwan ixala mdéle, xillu *gál diřde*. xaš kud minnu díru tku, baxta jtíwla kanar, gora-š pille šula. naš xabra m-pinnew la *palota*. baxta sinčjit *sahatči* intélale, xzéla: hójle birdambira *ax* gríšle mi-qrit libbew. xánči xet píre, xzéla: rešew mikwišlele u-bxéle. bar baxilew príqle, enew mšele u-řwan kxíkle. bar príqle kaxoke, xaš pille šula. baxta mahtál píšla. šula la fkírale. qímla mi-tkaw, idjéla gebew, míra: “hej *sahatči*, duzulox amritta, *to*, la amrana hawítta, belox maqláne! *axox* māj wéla? bar *ax* gríšlox, baa bxélox? bar bxélox, kixkox māj wéla?” míre baaw *sahatči*: “pruq minni! kullu naše kaxki, kullu naše baxéni!” míra baew: “xaš maran baox, duzulox mára!” míre baaw *sahatči*: “*trostuli* baax amrínna. ana illax šqílli bod d-ot xoši idjéla, bále fisse zóda mi-sra dehwe lítti. bod d-o *ax* gríšli. bali pille, ki *asr* nokár b-ade, illax ambil, baxili djéla. *sahati* kullu zabínna, zóda m-xamši dehwe la doqi. imma-w čči dehwe méka waden?

bára g-libbi míri: ilha *rahmané-le*, u-kixkáli.” míra baew baxta: “ana *qarawášit šultanta* wéli! bod d-od duzulox miqjállox, *qúlox*, ana baow *čara* odan.” idaw dirjála xel *jalyit* rešaw, xa *řawahirat qtéla* m-araqčín u-mixwjála illew. míra: “ba-*aqllox*, ja kimma šawja?” míre baaw: “ana min d-ajne šule wale reši la *palit*. at minni zóda fakrat.” míra baew: “il-d-aj intíla b-idox, sílox šuqa. awwalim sílox kúčit komír zabnane, bqur minnu, máni il-d-aj šaqilla? átta *rába rába* hawílox, isra dehwe kwílox. *řwabu* la hóle, sílox šuqit *sawzi* zabnane, minnu-š bqur. átta *rába rába* hawílox, xamši dehwe kwí. il-d-ajne-š šúqlu, sílox šúqit diqqa zabnane, minnu-š bqur, *rába* hawílox, imma dehwe kwílox. la xeret illu, il-d-ajne-š šúqlu, sílox geb *tařre*. átta xazet: ajne xa gál xa maqéni, šadrílox geb *riwwa tařř*. o *riwwu*, *rába rába* baow hawil, xamšamme dehwe kwil. la amret: xamšamme dehwe *rabé-lu*, antínnu ezen! *tařre-š* šoqíttu-w ezet geb zargäre. átta m-zargär il-zargär šadrílox, *axrinda matet* il-*riwwit* zargäre. *b-bassor* m-alpa dehwe *řawahirat* b-idew la maspítta. bar fissox šiqlílox, si šuqa, řwan tre susawe šqul, xurřinu *mlílu* ixala, *mae*, goze, babje, tre daste řulle xale šqul, idálox láxxa. *asr* dénit nokär kwíxxe, baqatta bal baqatjo *paltex wirxa*.” *sahatči* tez tez *řawahirat* intjále b-idew, zille šuqa. m-geb komír zabnane zille geb *sawzi* zabnane, bar min d-o zille geb diqqa zabnane, bára *mtéle l-tařre*, *m-tařre* zille geb zargäre, *axrinda* arba alpe dehwe intíle (~ intjále) b-idew, zille šuqa; řwan tre susawe šqille, xurřinu *mlele* ixala, řulle-š šqille, dře béla. kimmit fisse pišíwa, hiwíle il-baxta. imma-w čči dehwe dréla g-idew, míra: “ajne xet fisse daríxxu g-d-aj xurřin, *lazman* gde!” nokär *asr idjéle*, fissew hiwílu. o lele *dmíxlu* gáat *xan*, oxet joma baqatjo šimmit ilhu *b-háq* mdélule, *rkiwlu* res susawu, píllu *wirxa*. *awadani* řiwqálu baru, *salmu* hwillule qam čol. o joma-w jómít barew *rkiwlu*. *asr* gora míre ba-baxtew: “belax la xariw! agär il-nóšan la rahmex, *lazím* ile il-d-ajne hejwanate rahmex! tre jomé-le axnan *taróřlex*, qiwta la pišla ba-susawan. mandex xa tka!” míra baew baxta: “idlél-iš *tarex*, baqatta pilgóma mandex.” o lele kullew *trélu*. oxded joma qamol pilgóma *mtélu* l-xa meša, kwišlu m-susawu. susawe *jisřílu* l-xa ilana, xurřinu mkiwšílu, (*sic!* for: mikwšílu), ixala mtíwlu qam susawe, nóšu-š xa *xaliča* midrélu xel xa ilana, jtíwlu rešaw. ixal pilgóma xíllule, *mae* štélu, bále *rába* gise wélu. míre gora ba-baxtew: “rešax mtule (~ mtiwle) reš aqli-w *dmux!* bára ana xánči *damxen*, xánči *istira-hatulan* garšíxxa!” míra baxta: “la, gora, at *řti* awwal!” míre baaw: “la, at minni biš gisté-lat.” *razi* xdíra, rešaw drélale reš čoqew u-řinda ntélala. bar kimma dajqe gora-š řindew idjéla, bále la ebéle *damix*, susawew xa m-nóšu šóqlu, míre g-libbew: “xánči reš baxti palínne, mar sabri ade.” *jawaš jawaš jilyaw* mkiwšále (*sic!* for: mikwšále) m-rešaw, xíre xzéle: hójle xel *jaly* xa sqilta araqčín it, kullaw *lqittit* kepe jaqure, *lal u-řawahirat*. míre g-libbew: “máto *missen* il-d-aj araqčín matwínna *jani* reš ära? qemen, taltínna reš xa *budarit* ilana, mar la šaxtínna.” *jawaš jawaš* rešaw dréle reš ära, qímle mi-tkew, araqčín tiltjále, xaš jtíwle, rešaw *mřtmlele*, drélele reš čoqew, pille rešaw paloe. birdambira qal *qarqara* šméle. enew *mirmile*, xíre xzéle: hójle xa *qarqara* kumta *rabta* idjéla, xa dindukta dhílla l-araqčín, *mirmála* gál pinnaw u-řréla zílla. mi-tkew qímle, jirqále bar *qarqara*, bále máni llaw *mate!* dře, xzéle baxtew *hála dmíxa*, míre: “átta baxti *reša*, la mahmna illi. ma amren baaw? la

wallah! qemen, reši antinne, *attat* araqčín la *maštxinna*, la daren!” tez xa suse *jsíre*, jsíqle rešew, *tréle* zille. xa joma-w xa lele mitríple la *samoxe*. la ixala mbílle gálew u-la fisse, mat itwa, kullu šiwiqíle ba-baxtew.

xabra m-máni hawex? xabra hawex *m-sahatči*. *sahatči* bar tre jome *mtéle* l-xa olka, kwišle m-susew, tez tez zille šuqa, susew zbinnele, pille ba-šula balbole, bále šula la *mištixle*. xa joma, tre jome, ja hār šula balbole, *attat* kullu fissew xilíle. pille kučane. *asr mtéle* l-xa gora, xzéle: ja gora xa magon *arabana mismíxe*, rešew manqāl u-komír dirje, *kabab* wádle ba-naše zabone. naše-š *smíxi čaratrafew*, *kabab* šaqolu. idjéle *janew*, *smíxle* kanar. pilgít lel xadore, naše zillu belu. mar *arabana-š* ebéle ezilwa bela, xíre xzéle: hójle haman jwanqa *smix* tka bi-tka. *srixlele*, míre: “ej jwanqa, ma balbolet láchxa?” *sahatči* aqirwa xdíre, míre baew: “*qurbanox* xadren, šula lítti, mindix lítti axlen! agār qablítti, gebox šula oden, xánči lixma kud jom axlen, *ásr-iš* xa tka hóli *šaten!*” bqíre minnew: “ma *misset* odet?” míre: “hār mat amrítta goden. lixma waden, il-*kabab* japluk goden, xen mad hawe!” qbíllele, míre: “idálox, ezex bela, *dmux.*” imbíllele bela, ba-baxtew míre: “ja jwanqa b-xadir šagirdi. ixala mdíle mar axil, xa tka-š hóle mar *damix.*” min d-o joma *sahatči* gezilwa, šula gódwa, *kabab* zabinwa, *asr gál diyde* daríwa bela. jomawe pilgóma, waxtit šula qalula hawé-wa, gezilwa tkánit zargäre, bálki xa danka minnu il-do araqčín xizja hawéla. bále hič la xzéle-w la šméle. ja *sahatči* xíre xzéle: bel d-aj *ayaew kabab* zabnana *rába* naše idájlu, bále kullu bar kimma jomawe jim xadoru. *m-ayaew* bqíre, míre: “*ayai*, baxšítta, bále *lazim* ile il-d-aj *sír* maqítta bai!” míre baew: “pruq m-xabre, rešox la mimríle! bij jwan, darde ba-nóšox la *mištux!*” *rába* bqíre minnew, *attad* míre: “jtu, maqen baox. bar beli xa *rabta* meša it, la rešá-tta la qra. son ba-soni il-d-aj meša bai šiwiqéle, bále xa *hasarat* ita bbaw, *mae* gaaw lít. mánit *mae maštix gaaw*, kimmit fisse abe kwínne. *rába* naše it idéni (~ idjeni) mazzalu *jarbila*, makwšínnu g-d-aj meša, arbi jome bau ixala kwen. bar arbi jome, agār *mae* la *maštixi*, ixalu *qatínne*, partfínnu ba-dewe. tre *riwwe* dewe ita g-d-aj meša, mánit pel b-idu, *qitte qitte* godílu. kud jomit ilha birjéle, pisra minnu *qaten*, godínne *kabab*, zabnínne ba-naše, pisru-š *rába* xoš kwe.” míre baew *sahatči*: “mkuš illi-š, ana-š nóši *jarbinna!*” míre baew *ayaew*: “jílli áxxa b-amret, bod d-o la ebéli baox maqínwa. pruq m-nóšox, pruq min d-ajne xabre, hajf ilet. minnox biš zudda naše nóšu *jirbúlla*, ida m-ganu íntju, u-hič la *hsíllu*. g-d-aj meša *mae* lít.” *rába tlible* minnew, *attat ayaew razi* xdíre. oxet joma baqatjo *il-sahatči* mikwišlele gál xola gáat meša, xa pač u-xa *pemara* hwíllele, míre baew: “joma *taha* zae ixala qablet. *mae mištixlox*, mat abet qablet: fisse, dolta, kawod. bar arbi jome ixalox *qitja* xadir, pirtifa xadret ba-dewe.”

xabra m-máni hawex? xabra hawex *m-sahatči*; *sahatči* kwišle tíxja. o joma meša jwan xidrále, *asr jwan dmíxle*. oxet joma pač u-*pemara* intíle reš kpanew, zille xa gábid meša, pille xapore. xánči xpíre, *mtéle l-qaja*. *il-qaja* tqíre, xzéle: ja *qaja* mitkew la barbit. pač u-*pemara* intjíle, zille jwéxet tka, bále haman *qaja* lóka-š *plítile*. joma bar joma gezilwa mi-tka il-tka, bále šulew la *salhéwa*. šwa bar šwa píru, *attat tahi* jome *tamam* xdíru. *sahatči* xen la mihmínne ki *misse mae* m-meša *palit*. pačew u-*pemarew* pirtíflelu, kud jom ixalew antéwale, gezilwa xadore gáad meša. meša

rabta wéla, mlitit ilane, quše, zóre hejwanate. bar kimma jome *mtéle* il-xa *qaja*, sqila *qaja*, duz rešew xa ilan kolga mandúle. mǎre g-libbew: “xánči reš d-aj kepa *damxen*.” jwan *dmíxle*. g-xulmew xzéle: hójle xa gora *dignaxwara*, *dignew* jarixta, xwarta magon talga, idájle qamew, *marošéle* mi-tkew. mǎre baew: “bróni, *qúlox* mi-tkox, *qaja* mi-tkew *mrúmle*, xelew išwa kupit dehwe it. kupit dehwe mi-tku *plútlu*, ojne kupe *wirxit mae* dwiqúlla. xel d-o ilanít-iš at *dmíxet*, hójle *janew* xa ilana *rummana* it, reš tappit d-o ilana *misset* araččin *maštixitta*.” *sahatči rišle*, mǎre g-libbew: “ma xoš xulma wéla, bále m-xulme fajda lit.” oxet joma xaš idjéle, *dmíxle* reš d-o kepa. haman gora *dignaxwara* idjéle g-xulmew, haman xabre xaš miríle. *sahatči* qímle mi-tkew, mǎre: “xa il-d-aj xabra *jarbínne!*” *il-qaja* tqǎre gál idew, bále b-nóšew kixkále, mǎre: “il-daj *qaja* ilha la hawe naš la *barbit!*” xaš *štéle dmíxle*. géna *dignaxwara* idjéle g-xulmew, mǎre baew: “*qúlox* mi-tkox, araččínit baraw balbolet hójla reš ilana, *mae-š* xel *qajé-lu*, kupit dehwe *wirxu* dwiqúlla.” xaš *rišle*, zille, pačew u-*pemarew* widjéle, il-kepa pač dhílle, xzéle: hójle mi-tkew *birbítle*. idew qiwta hwílle, kepa mi-tkew *mrímlele*, xǎre xzéle: hójle – ilha ba-kullu abjanan u-baxún-iš *mamte!* – hójle išwa kupe *miljit* dehwe xel *qaja* mtiwe wélu. kupe *piltile* tára, *wirxit mae* plíxla u-*mae plítlu* tára. jaroqe jaroqe zille geb ilana, jsíqle rešew, xzéle: hójle haman araččin tiltíté-la reš tappit ilana. tez araččin intjále, dirjále *biryalew*, *jawaš jawaš* kwíšle tíxja, zille geb *ayaew*, mǎre baew: “*mae mištixen!*” *ayaew* sinči mindéle, xzéle: hójle meša *mae milja*. mǎre baew: “atta duz *tahi-w* šwa jome *milje* xdǎru, mad gbet kwínnox. dehwe, sehme, *lal*, *jawahirat*, *dolta*, mad abet!” mǎre baew: “*ayai*, mindix minnox la gben, bále bar ilha *silhélela*, abúlen daren olki. minnox gben išwa talisit milxa šaqlet, amblínnu gáli. gáat olkan milxa lit, milxa *rába gran* ila.” *ayaew* mǎre: “kimmit milxa abet kwínnox. bále *umbul* milxa *tlub* *dolta* kimmit abet!” *rába* mqéle, *sahatči* xánči šméle, mǎre: “milxa bai malle.” *axrinda* zille *ayaew*, išwa talisit milxa mdéle. qímle *sahatči* bar *ayaew* zille, milxa *bitlále*, gáat kullu talis xa kupa dehwe dréle, xelaw u-rešaw *miljile* milxa, áxxa hawe kupa la tor, u-náš-iš šik la pel. išwamin kupa pilgew *btíllele*, araččin dirjále gaew, xaš *mlélele* dehwe, drélele gáat talis, rešew *mlélele* dehwe. bar xa šwa mǎre *ba-ayaew*: “izalen, gami doqen, safār oden ba-olki.” qímle, išwa talisit milxa *mitníle* reš xmara, imblíle *gray jama*. xa gami dwíqle, talise *mibríle* gaaw, ba-mar gami mǎre: “ezen *il-ayai*, šalomje hawen u-tez daren.” jaroqe jaroqe *mtéle bel ayaew*, *rába* šalomje hwílle llew, ba-baxtit *ayaew* šalomje hwílle u-dǎre *gray jama*. *gray jama matoew*, xzéle: hójle gamje *mténi* pilgit *jama*. *nare sríxle*, idew mšišíle, bále šamjana lit. gora il-nóšew *mistrále*, enew *mirmíle* šimme, mǎre: “ilha, il-daj reša la gbínne! *attat* araččin la *maštixinna*, tki la daren.” rešew intélele, pille *wirxa*.

xabra m-máni hawex? xabra hawex min d-aj gora. *xasew* hwíllele gab *awadani*, *salmew* qam *čolistan*. bar kimma jome *mtéle* l-xa *ahra*. *g-ahra* xdǎre, šula la *mištíxle*. *asr* xdǎre, *štele* qam xa guda. birdambira xa *dae-qari* píra móka, xǎra xzéla: hójle xa jwanqa *šíte* qam guda. mǎra baew: “bróni, májjox ile? baa *štet* láxxa?” mǎre baaw: “tka lítti, qaribé-len. agār tka hawáti, gezen kud jom, šula goden, lixma šaqlen, rešan gál *díyde taštíxxe*.” mǎra baew: “reš eni! idálox bela.” imbillale bela,

ixala hwillale, xa tka-š ba-*damoxe*. kud jom bal baqatjo qémwa, gezílwa dašta, *siwe qarplsua*, wadéwa šuqa, ba-naše zabínwalu, gal fissu xájéwa.

xabra m-máni hawex? xabra hawex *m-qarawaš*. *qarawaš* m-šindaw *rišla*, xíra xzéla: gora lit. idaw tigrála l-rešaw, xzéla: araččin-iš lit. míra: “kimma ajne gure be-*bafé-lu!* kimma ana gálew komägula wídlí, u-kullaw m-balew zílla, *attat* araččini ginwále-w zílle.” qímila mi-tkaw, suse *jsírale*, xurjin mindjála reš *xasew*, pílla *wirxa*. *tréla* joma-w lele *attat mtela* l-xa olka, haman olkit *dae-qari-w sahatči* jtiwi gaaw. *matoaw asr* wéle. il-xa brona *srixla*, fisse hwillale, míra: “ezet olka, xa dasta jullit gure šaqlitti, u-xa *saz špirta*.” zílle o brona, julle šqille, *sáz-iš* wdéle gálew. jullit gure liwšila, ksila dréla rešaw, nóšaw wídála xa jwanqa, *saz* diwqála b-idaw, jtiwla *grayit* badän u-zmíra. naše píru móka, šmélu: hójle xa qala xoš šamúlu. aqirwa xdfíru, xzélu: xa jwanqa sqila jtiw, *saz* maxúle-w zamore. jtiwlu *čaratrafew*, ixala wdélu, xíllu *gäl diyde*. lele xdfíre, kud naša zille belew. oxet joma géna naše *qirpíšu*, ixala-w šatoe mdélu gálu, géna jtiwlu *čaratrafít* zamrana. *axrinda* míru baew: “*wur* gáat olka, xa tka hawíxxox *jan* xa qahwa, jatwet u-zamret, fisse-w ixala qablet.” min d-o joma jatwáwa kud jom bar pilgóma *attat* pilgit lele-w zamráwa. naše gdéniwa m-kullu *tarafít ahra*, qalaw xoš šamoe. xa joma b-jomawe bron *šultan ahra plítle aw*. *asr m-aw* djarew, xzéle: hójle naše *qirpísi* xa tka. m-nokárew bqíre, míre: “nokär, naše báma qirpísi?” míre nokär: “*ayai*, ezen xazen.” míre bron *šultana*: “sílox, tez dur, mar bai!” nokär zille, bále la díre. bron *šultana* jigrew idjéle, ba-d-oxet nokär míre: “at sílox, bále tez dur!” oxet nokär zille, bále o-š *matoew* il-naše xíre xzéle: hójle xa sqila jwanqa jtiw res kursi, *saz* maxúle-w zamore, *rába* xoš qala-š ítte. bron *šultana* m-balew zille, nokär m-balew zille, tka bi-tka píšle. bron *šultana smíxle*, xzéle: naš le djara. gäl jígira míre: “nóši ezen!” aqirwa xadorew, šméle xa xoš qala, kwíšle m-reš susew, naše píršíle, *wíre gi-lwa*. xzéle: hójle xa sqila jwanqa jtiw gáat pilgit qahwa, *saz* maxúle-w zamore. qalew xoš u-zamurjew xilje. jtiwle lóka bron *šultana attat* pilgit lele. bar naše birbízlu, o-š zille béla. min d-o joma kud jom gdéwa qahwa zamurje šamoe. *šultana* xzéle: bronew *šultanula* mitrikélla, bqíre ftišle. bar míru baew, bronew *srixlele*, míre baew: “bróni, at *šultanula* mitrikítta, ja ma šulé-le?” míre bron *šultana*: “dáde, agär at qálit d-o jwanqa šamítte, át-iš *šuitanula* matrkítta! agär qablet, brona wadínne láxxa belan, gáli jatiw u-gáli axil, xaš libbi matwínne il-jalope.” *šultana* míre g-libbew: “axča nokärawé-tti, mar xaxet danka-š axil!” míre ba-bronew: “bróni, il-d-o jwanqa mdíle, mar jatiw láxxa gálan gáat qasr.” bron *šultana* zille, haman jwanqa wdélele, mtíwlele gálew gáat qasr, míre baew: “m-átta gáli jatwet u-gäl *diyde* xajex!” min d-o joma o brona-*qarawaš* jtiwle gáat qasrit *šultana*, gäl bron *šultana* kxílwa, xadírwa, jalípwa. xdfíru tunnu *baruxawe* magonu la kwe. xa joma m-jomawe bron *šultana* míre ba-*baruxew*: “idálox, ezex *gray jama*, *rába* gamje *mténi*, *tenu* be-mara. il-d-o *tena* zabonúlle, *mazad* darúlule, naša-w mazzalew. axnán-iš ezex, mazzalan *jarbíxxa!*” idjélu *gray jama*, xzélu: hójle *tene* šaqolu harzan harzan, m-gau *xaliče-w* špire mindixane *palotu*. birdambira xa gami zúrta djéla, maraw *mazad* mitwále. bron *šultana* šiqlále. *wíru* gáat gami, xzélu: *tenaw* milxé-le. míre bron *šultana*: “milxa partfíxxa gáat *jama!* ba-májjan ila?”

baruxew mře: “ja milxa *hsillxxa* ba-mazzalan, la partfíxxa!” milxa widjálu, dirjálu gáat *ambar*.

xabra m-máni hawex? xabra hawex mi-bron *šultana* kimma. šinne píru. *šultana* mře ba-bronew: “bróni, *lazım* ile goret! abúlen *šultanula* maspínna b-idox.” mře baew bronew: “dáde, ana b-la goren *attat baruxi* gor. axnan tunnan gäl *diyde* gbe gorex.” mře baew *šultana*: “bróni, *m-baruxox* ma šulox? bálki lítte gäl máni gor!” mře brona ba-dadew: “dáde, xalunti gbe hawínna baew!” *šultana rába* jigrew idjéle, mře: “xaluntox brat *šultané-la*, máto ba-áxxa naš hawíxxa!” mře bronew: “baqrex m-xalunti.” xaluntew *sirxále*, bqřru minnaw, mřa: “e, *razi-lan*, goráne.” *šultana* jigrew idjéle, bále la jille m-od. mře: “*baruxox srúxle*, baqrex minnew.” bron *šultana baruxew sríxlele*, mře baew: “*baruxa*, tunnan gäl *diyde* gbe gorax. xalunti b-hawínna baow. *razi* xadret?” mře brona: “ana *rába rába razi-len* minnox, bále ana b-la goren. at gur!” bron *šultana* mře: “*baruxa*, áxxa šula lít! xalunti illox abúla, xaxet šwa xlula b-odex!” oxet šwa *rabta* xlula wídlu, išwa jome-w išwa lelawe naše xillu, štélu. *šultana* il-našit kullu *ahra* mewandari wídle, mánit kpiné-le, ade axil, mánit *sihjá-le*, ade šate, u-kullu gäl *diyde* raqli-w *pasxi* – ilha ilxún-iš *mapsix!* *baruxit* bron *šultana* xře xzéle: naše m-kullu *ahra* idjéni *bel šultana*, mře: “xa xeren xazen, bálki *g-aralyit* d-ajne naše *sahatči maštáne!*” jsíqla reš gare, il-naše sinči mandoe. bron *šultana*, brat *šultana*, kaldit *šultana*, arbamnu *smixe* wélu gäl *diyde*, il-naše xeriwa.

xabra m-máni hawex? xabra hawex mi-brat *šultana*. awwal joma, *pisxanula* paroqe, gäl *hatan* idjéla béla. nóšaw jtiwla reš xa kursi, *hatán-iš* jtiwle reš xa kursi. brat *šultana smíxa*, *hatan* illaw aqirwa xadir, bále *hatan* mi-tkew le *barbota*. mřa baew: “duzulox bai mqla: báma *razi* lewet? sqilta léwan, špirta léwan? báma xošox minni le ida?” *hatan* enew *mirmile*, mře: “moma bai jamjat, ki ba-naš *siri* la galjáte, ana baax maqen.” moma jméla baew *b-tanžit* dadaw. o *wada hatan* rešew glélele, pirčew jarixa mixwéle, mře baaw: “ana-š magonax braté-len!” mad ídje b-rešaw, mat tfiq, kullu mqélalu baaw. xa ba-xa moma jmélu, naš ba-xaxet la maqe. *gäl diyde* kullu jomawit xlula *samxiwa* reš gare *jan* panjara, il-naše sinči mandéniwa, bálki brata *l-sahatči maštále*.

xabra m-máni hawex? xabra hawex *m-sahatči*. *sahatči* bel *dae-qari* jatiwwa, kud jom šula gódwale, rešu *tašéwa*. xa joma xa qulašta *mištixle*, widjále bela, hiwále *l-dae-qari*, mře: “dáe, il-d-aj qulašta intíla baax!” *dae-qari rába psíxla*. izalaw xlulit bron *šultana*, qulašta dirjála *nhalaw*, ba-brona mira: “idálox, ezex!” bále brona mře: “pruq minni, hawsala lítti!” *dae-qari* zilla xa m-nóšaw. bar xilla štéla, qímla raqole. o ták qulašta-š reš *nhalaw* sarsdáwa.

xabra m-máni hawex? xabra hawex *m-qarawaš*. *smixta* wéla gál bron *šultana*, sinči mandéniwa il-naše. birdambira xřru xzélu: hójle xa *dae-qari* raqola, u-xa ták qulašta reš xa *nhalaw* it. mře baaw bron *šultana*: “xur xzi, mar il-do *dae-qari* wadénila láxxa!” xa nokār šđřru, zille, *dae-qari* widjále. *dae-qari* il bron *šultana* rešaw mkipla, mřa: “*ayai*, ma gbet?” bqřre minnaw: “báma xa ták qulašta drítat gáat xa *nhalax?*” mřa baew: “*ayai*, ja qulašta aj dídi léwa. xa brona it, gáat beli jatiw, o il-d-aj *mištixél-*

la. ana-š míri g-libbi: izalan xlulit bron *šultana*, qulašta darjána *nhali!*" bqíre minnaw bron *šultana*: "bronax ké-le?" míra baew: "nóšew broní léwe, bále beli kwe. míri baew: idálox xlula! míre: hawsali lítti ba-axxa šule wale!" míre bron *šultana*: "tez tre nokárawe šdúrun, mar brona wadénile láxxa!" nokárawe zillu, il-*sahatči* wdélule qámit bron *šultana*. *qarawaš* xíra illew, jállale, míra baew: "jtu reš kursi!" míra baew: "*trostulox* maqítta, mqíla, la maqítta, babox maqláne! mat ídje b-rešox min d-o jomit m-daoux xdíret, mat balox it, baan mqíle." *sahatči* enew mkiwšile (*sic!* for: mikwšile) ára, míre: "maqen!" ma júrit baxun mqéli, o-š bau mqéle. *qarawaš zbotaw* nigzála, míra ba-bron *šultana*: "tez nokárawe šdur, mar *ténit* milxa wadénilu *diwanxana*." *ténit* milxa widjúlu, danka danka pilxílu, xzélu: gáat kud talis xa kupa dehwe it. gaat išwamin kupa, bar dehwe bizílu, xíru xzélu: hójle gaat pilgit dehwe araqčín *plítla*. *sahatči nare* dhílle, míre: "ja haman araqčín ila! kullu dehwe intímunu ba-nóšxun, bále araqčín hóluna lli, pelen bar baxti balbole." o *wada* míre *baruxit* bron *šultana*: "m-ilha ma gezlin, min banda ma gezlin?" rešew glélele, xíru xzélu: braté-la. brat *šultana* míra: "ana il-d-aj *sír* kjáne. min d-o jomit xlula wídex, illi la tqíre." *qarawaš il-sahatči* xíra, míra: "ana haman *qarawaš* ilan! átta ajolan ki at duz naš ilet." bron *šultana*, bar il-d-aj čorake šimjále, mahtál píšle, bále *raba psíxle*. xaš xlulit *sahatči-w* baxtew widálu, *rába rába psíxlu*. ojne *mtélu mrádu*, ilha ilxun-iš *mamte mradxun!*⁴

Of whom shall we relate? We shall relate of a [certain] king. One day the king's wife was going to the bath-house. She called her maid [and] said to her: "Maid, prepare my clothes, we are going to the bath-house." The maid made her preparations, took the queen's clothes <into her-hand> [and] they went to the bath-house. When they arrived there, the queen took off her clothes, slowly, one by one. All of a sudden [her] maid saw [that] the queen put her hand under her kerchief, took off a scull-cap from her-head and placed it quickly under her clothes. After that she took her kerchief [and] went inside to take a bath. An hour later she called the maid [and] said to her: "Come, rub <strike> my back [with a] loofah." The maid said to her: "How can I leave your clothes alone [and] go inside? All kinds of people are coming here!" The queen said to her: "Never you mind! There is no fear, come along!" The maid went inside, rubbed the queen's back with a loofah [and] went out again. After she had gone <went> out, she took the queen's cap from under her clothes [and] put it on her head, under her kerchief. The queen came out, donned her clothes [and] saw that the cap was <is> not there. She asked [her] maid <+ she-said>: "Maid, where is my cap?" The maid said: "May I be your sacrifice, do I know? I [have] told you [that] I would <will> not leave your clothes alone, [for] all kinds of people are coming and going here!" The queen was perturbed <and> greatly upset. She returned home [and] told the king [what had happened]. The king said to her: "This maid has been working in our house for so many <how-many> years, how can we make her out

⁴ A similar story (with a different beginning) about a ring carried away by a bird cf. AS 28-36. Cf. also VT 203 ("whoever buys it, will use it, whoever does not buy it, will use it").

[to be] a thief? If you do not want her [any longer], we shall hand her over to a servant, let him go [and] sell her." The queen knew not what to say, but her heart was full of anger over the cap <anger-of cap her-heart it-filled-it> [and] she said: "This maid shall no longer work in our house!" That cap was very precious, it was all inlaid with rubies, gems and jewels.

To return to the maid. The maid followed the king's servant. They passed from market to market. The servant was calling out: "Who wants to buy the maid? (Turkish quotation) He who sells [her] will regret it, and he who buys her will rue it, too!" All who heard these words, was afraid to buy the maid. Eventually they came to a khan, which was full of people. The servant raised his voice <shouts he-struck>, calling out: "Who will buy the maid? (Turkish quotation:) He who sells her will regret it, and he who buys her will rue it, too!" The people gathered around him, but no one was willing to buy <buyer not-there-was>. In the middle of the khan there was a certain watchmaker, who had a small shop covered with glass. [As] he was doing [his] work, he heard the people clamouring outside. He looked out of the window [and] saw that the people were <are> gathered, [and] in their midst a man [was] standing and shouting: "Who wants to buy the maid? (Turkish quotation:) He who sells her, is full of regret, and he who buys her will rue it, too!" [The watchmaker] was astonished; he came down, drew near [and] saw <+ behold> a beautiful woman standing by the side of that man. He said to him: "What are you saying, sir?" The servant said: "This maid comes <is> from the king's palace. He who wants to buy her, let him pay <give> her price and take her for himself!" The watchmaker looked at him [and] said: "I shall buy her, how much do you want?" The servant said: "Her price is two hundred pieces of gold." The watchmaker took ten pieces of gold out of his pocket [and] said to him: "Here are ten pieces of gold. Come in the evening [and] take the other hundred and ninety." He took the maid, led her along [with him] and took her up to his shop. [There] he placed a chair for her [and] she sat aside, while he himself returned <fell> to his work. A tea-vendor came [and the watchmaker] said to him: "Bring us a good dinner!" The tea-vendor went, brought them some nice food [and] they ate together. [After that] everyone returned to his place; the woman sat aside, and the man fell to working. No one spoke <from-his-mouth brought-out> a word. [After a while] the woman looked at the watchmaker and saw that all of a sudden he sighed from the bottom of his heart. After another while she saw that he lowered his head and wept. After he finished weeping, he dried his eyes and had a good laugh. After he finished laughing, he returned again to his work. The woman was astonished, she could <did> not understand the matter. She rose from her place, came to him [and] said: "O watchmaker! If you tell me the truth, well and good; if not <not sayer you-will-be-it>, I will burn your father's house! What was [the meaning of] your sigh? After you sighed, why did you weep? After you wept, what was [the meaning of] your laughter?" The watchmaker said to her: "Leave me alone! Any one [can] laugh [and] any one [can] weep!" She said to him: "I am telling you again: tell me the truth!" The watchmaker said to her: "I will tell you the truth.

I bought you because you pleased me, but I have no more than ten pieces of gold; therefore I sighed. [Then] I remembered [that] the servant is due to come in the evening [and] take you away; therefore I felt like weeping <my-weeping came>. [Even] if I sell all my watches, they will not fetch more than fifty pieces of gold. Whence shall I take <bring> a hundred and ninety pieces of gold? Afterwards, I said in my heart: God is merciful! and began to laugh <laughed>.” The woman said to him: “I used to be the queen’s maid. Because you [have] told me the truth, rise, I shall try and help you <to-you remedy I-will-do>.” She put her hand under her kerchief, tore off a gem from the cap and showed it to him. She said: “What do you think <by-your-mind> this is worth?” He said to her: “I am not conversant with such matters. You know better <understand more> than I.” She said to him: “Take this in your hand [and] go to the market. First go to the street of the coal-vendors [and] ask them, who will buy this. Now the utmost they will offer <give> you, will be <they-will-give-you> ten pieces of gold. Pay no attention to them <their-answer not give-it>, [but] go to the greengrocers’ market, [and] ask them, too. Now the utmost they will offer you will be fifty pieces of gold. Leave them, too, [and] go to the market of the grocers [and] ask them, too. The utmost they will give you will be a hundred pieces of gold. Do not pay any attention to them <not you-will-look at-them>, leave them alone, too, [and] go to the merchants. You will see that they will talk to eachother [and] send you to the chief merchant. The utmost their chief will offer will be five hundred pieces of gold. Do not say: Five hundred pieces of gold are a great deal, I will take them [and] go! Leave the merchants, too, and go to the goldsmiths. Now they will send you from one goldsmith to another; finally you will come to the chief goldsmith. You shall not hand him over the gem for less than a thousand pieces of gold. After you will have taken <you-took> the money, go to the market, buy two good horses [and] fill their saddle-bags with food, water, nuts [and] almonds; buy [also] two new suits of clothes [and] return <come> here. In the evening we will pay our debt to the servant <debt-of servant we-will-give-it> [and] early to-morrow we will set out on our way.” The watchmaker quickly took the gem <in-his-hand> and went to the market. From the coal-vendors he went to the greengrocers; after that he went to the grocers; later he came to the merchants; from the merchants he went to the goldsmiths. Finally he took four thousand pieces of gold <in-his-hand>, went to the market, bought two good horses, filled their saddle-bags with food, bought also some clothes [and] returned home. All the remaining money <how-much-money had-remained> he gave to the woman. She put a hundred and ninety pieces of gold into his hand, saying: “The other money we will put into this saddle-bag for an emergency <our-need it-will-come>.” The servant came in the evening, and they payed him <his-moneys they-gave-him>. That night they slept in the khan; the next morning they called <brought> the name of their God in truth, mounted their horses [and] set out on their way. They left the inhabited country behind them [and] turned <their-face they-gave-it> towards the desert land. [All] that day and the following day they rode on. In the evening the man said to his wife: “May your house not be destroyed! If

we have no pity for ourselves, we must pity these animals! We have been driving for two days, our horses have no strength left to them. Let us halt <throw> somewhere!" The woman said to him: "Let us ride tonight also, to-morrow at noon we will halt." At that night they drove on. The next day before noon they came to a forest [and] dismounted. They bound the horses to a tree, took down their saddlebags, set some food before the horses, [then] placed <themselves> a carpet under a tree [and] sat upon it. They ate [their] midday meal, drank some water, but they were very tired. The man said to his wife: "Put your head on my lap <knees> and go to sleep! After that I will sleep a little. Let us [both] take a little rest." The woman said: "No, husband, you lie down first!" He said to her: "No, you are more tired than I!" She agreed, put her head on his knees and sleep overtook her. A few minutes later the man, too, felt sleepy <his-sleep came>, but he did not want to fall asleep [and] leave his horses unguarded <one from-themselves>. He said to himself: "I will louse my wife's head a little to while away the time <let my-patience come>." Gently he took her kerchief off <down> [and] saw that under it there was a beautiful cap all inlaid with precious stones, rubies [and] jewels. He said to himself: "How can I put this cap on the ground beside me? I will rise [and] hang it on the bough of a tree so as not to dirty it." Gently he lowered his wife's head on the ground, rose from his place [and] hung up the cap. [Then] he sat down again, lifted her head, placed it on his knees [and] began to louse it. All of a sudden he heard the cawing <voice> of a crow; he lifted his eyes, looked and saw that a large black crow had come <came>; it struck the cap with its beak, lifted it up <with its mouth> and flew away. [The man] rose from his place, ran after the crow, but who could <can> overtake it! He returned [to his place], saw [that] his wife was <is> still asleep [and] said to himself: "Now my wife will wake up [and] not believe me. What shall I tell her? No, by God! I will rise and set out on my way <my-head I-will-take-it>. I will not return until I will have found the cap <until cap not I-find-it>." He saddled <bound> his horse, mounted it [and] rode away. For a day and a night he galloped without stopping. He took neither food nor money with him; whatever there was, he [had] left for his wife.

To resume our story about the watchmaker. Two days later the watchmaker came to a city, dismounted, went quickly to the market, sold his horse [and] began looking for work, but did not find any. He went on looking <he-is-looking> for work all that day and the following day <one day, two days>, until he had spent <he-ate> all his money. He began roaming about the streets <he-fell streets>. In the evening he came to a man who had <has> put [before him] a sort of wagon, placed on it a brazier and some coals, and was <is> making kebab to sell to the people. The people were <are> standing around him [and] bying kebab. [The watchmaker] came up to him [and] stood aside. When it became midnight, the people went home. The owner of the wagon wanted to go home, too, [when] he noticed <he-looked he-saw> the same young man [still] standing where he was <place by-place>. He called him [and] said: "Hey, young man, what are you seeking here?" The watchmaker drew near [and] said to him: "I beseech you, I have no work, I have nothing to eat! If you will

receive me, I will work for you; [I need only] a little bread to eat every day, and in the evening you [can] give me a place to lie down." [The man] asked him: "What can you do?" [The watchmaker] said: "Whatever you tell me I will do. I can <will> bring bread, fan [the fire for] the kebab [and do] whatever else there may be!" [The man] agreed <received-him> [and] said: "Come, let us go home, [and] [then you can] go to sleep." He took him home [and] said to his wife: "This young man will become my apprentice. Bring him some food that he may eat, and give him a place to sleep." From that day the watchmaker used to go to work [and] sell kebab; in the evening they used to return home together. At noon <days noon>, when work was easy, he used to go to the shops of the goldsmiths in the hope <maybe> [that] one of them would have seen that cap, but no one had seen <saw> it or heard [of it]. The watchmaker noticed that many people were <are> coming to the house of his master the kebab-vendor, but that all of them were <are> disappearing a few days later. He asked his master <+ he said>: "Excuse me, master, but you must tell me this secret!" [His master] said to him: "Leave [these] matters alone, do not worry <hurt> your head over them! It is better not to seek <find> trouble for yourself!" But the watchmaker persisted in asking him <much he-asked from-him>, until he said: "Sit down [and] I will tell you. Behind my house is a great forest, [which] has no beginning nor end <no head no bottom>. I have inherited this forest from my forefathers <grandfather to-my-grandfather have-left-it to-me>, but it has a great defect: there is no water in it. He who shall find water in it, to him I shall give as much money as he wants. There are many people [who] have come to try their luck; I let them down into this forest [and] give them food for forty days. If they do not find water after forty days, I stop <cut-off> their food [and] throw them to the wolves. There are two great wolves in this forest, who tear to pieces anyone who falls into their hands. Every blessed day <every day God has-created-it> I cut off meat from the bodies of these people <from-them>, make it into kebab [and] sell it to the people; their meat is very good." The watchmaker said to him: "Let me down, too, I will try it out myself!" His master said to him: "I knew you would speak <say> thus, therefore I did not want to tell [you] my secret. Leave yourself alone, leave these matters alone, it would be <is> a pity for you! Braver men that you have tried their luck <themselves>, risking their lives <hand from-their-soul they-have-taken>, but [have] achieved nothing. There is no water in this forest." [The watchmaker] begged and begged <much he-begged of-him>, until his master agreed. The next morning he let down the watchmaker into the forest by a rope, gave him a hoe and a spade [and] said to him: "You will receive food three times a day. If you find water, you will receive whatever you like: money, riches, honour. At the end of <after> forty days your food shall be stopped [and] you shall be thrown to the wolves."

To continue about the watchmaker. The watchmaker came down [into the forest]. That day he took a good walk around the forest, in the evening he lay down for a good sleep. The next day he took the hoe and the spade on his shoulder, went to one side of the forest [and] began to dig. [After] he [had] dug a little, he touched

<came-to> rock. He felt the rock [and] saw that it did not move <not it-moves> from its place. He took [his] hoe and [his] spade, went to a different place, but the same rock appeared <came out> there, too. Day after day he used to go from place to place, but his work was in vain <not used-to-succeed>. Week after week passed, until thirty days had elapsed <were-fulfilled>. The watchmaker no longer believed that he would be able to find <bring-out> water in the forest. He threw away his hoe and his spade; every day he used to take his food [and] walk about the forest. The forest was large [and] full of trees, birds [and] small animals. After a few days he came to a rock, a fine rock, directly on which a tree was <is> casting its shade. He said to himself: "I will sleep a little on this rock." He had a good sleep. In his dream he saw an old man with a long, snow-white beard <his-beard long, white as snow> coming before him [and] waking him up <from-his-place>. The old man said to him: "My son, rise <from your place> and lift the rock from its place; under it are seven jars [full] of pieces of gold. Remove the jars <of pieces-of-gold> from their place, they are barring <have-caught> the way of the water. Besides, near the tree under which you are sleeping there is a tall tree; in the summit of that tree you can find the cap [you are seeking]." The watchmaker awoke [and] said to himself: "What a pleasant dream this has been <was>, but there is no use in dreams!" The next day he came again [to that place] and went to sleep on that rock <stone>. The same old man appeared <came> in his dream [and] said the same words again. The watchmaker rose from his place [and] said to himself "Let me try this <these matters> out!" He felt the rock with his hand, laughing <but he-laughed> at himself [and] saying "No one but God can move this rock!" [Then] he lied down again and went to sleep. Again the old man appeared in his dream [and] said to him: "Rise from your place! The cap you are seeking <+ behold> is on the tree, and the water is under the rock, the jars of gold are barring its way!" Again he awoke, brought his hoe and his spade, struck the rock with the hoe and saw it moving <moved> from its place. He made an effort <his hands strength he-gave>, raised the stone from its place [and] saw <+ behold> – God give [the like] to all our well-wishers and to you, too! – that seven jars full of pieces of gold were [placed] under the rock. He removed the jars outside, the way of the water opened, [and] the water came out. He went running to the tree, took the cap hurriedly, put it into his bosom, came gently down, went to his master [and] said to him: "I have found water!" His master looked [and] saw that the forest was <is> full of water. He said to him: "Now exactly thirty-nine days have elapsed <became full>. I will give you whatever you like: pieces of gold, pieces of silver, rubies, gems, riches, whatever you want." [The watchmaker] said to him: "Master, I want nothing of you. But now that <after> God has given me success <made-it-succeed>, I want to return to my country. I want you to buy seven sacks of salt that I may take them along with me. There is no salt in our country, [for] salt is very expensive." His master said: "I will give you as much salt as you want; but besides the salt, demand riches as much as you like!" The more he talked, the less the watchmaker listened; he said: "Salt will be enough for me." Finally his master went

[and] brought seven sacks of salt. After his master had gone <went>, the watchmaker rose, took out <emptied> the salt, put into every sack a jar of gold [and] filled it <under-it and upon-it> [with] salt, lest the jar break and lest anyone become suspicious. The seventh jar he emptied by half, put the cap into it, filled it again with gold, put it into the sack [and] filled the latter with pieces of gold <+ above-it>. A week later he said to his master: "I am going to bespeak a ship [and] travel to my country." He rose, loaded the seven sacks of salt on an ass [and] took it to the sea-shore. He bespoke a ship, took the sacks inside [and] said to the ship's master: "I will go to my master, take leave of him and return quickly." He went <came> running to his master's house, took leave of him <many greeting he-gave-him>, took leave of his master's wife and returned to the sea-shore. When he arrived there he saw that the ships had reached the open sea <middle-of sea they-have-reached>. He shouted, waved his arms, but no one heard him <hearer not-there-is>. The man cursed himself, lifted his eyes to the sky [and] said: "God, I do not want this head! I will not return to my place until I find <+ not> the cap." [Then] he set out on his way <his-head he-took, he-fell road>.

To continue about this man. He turned his back to the inhabited country and his face to the desert land. A few days later he came to a city. He walked about the city [but] found no work. In the evening he lied down beside <before> a wall. Presently <suddenly> an old woman passed there and <+ looked> saw a young man lying beside the wall. She said to him: "My son, what is the matter with you? Why are you lying beside the wall?" He said to her: "I have no [other] place, I am a stranger. If you give me a place, I will go to work every day, buy some bread [and] we will make our living <hide our-head> together." She said to him: "You are welcome! Come home [with me]!" She brought him home, gave him some food, [and] a place to sleep. Every day he used to rise early in the morning, go to the field, gather wood, take <bring> it to the market [and] sell it to the people. They used to live on that <their> money.

To return to the maid. [When] the maid awoke from her sleep, she saw that the man was <is> not there. She touched her head with her hand <her-hand she-touched-it to-her-head> [and] saw that the cap had disappeared <is-not-there>, too. She said: "How faithless are these men! I have helped him so much <how-much>, but he has forgotten <he-forgot> it all to the extent <until> that he has stolen the cap and gone away." She rose from her place, saddled the horse, threw the saddlebag on its back [and] set out on her way. She rode day and night until she came to a city; it was the same city where the old woman and the watchmaker were <are> living. When she arrived [there], it was evening. She called a boy, gave him some money [and] said: "You shall go to the city, buy me a suit of men's clothes and a good saz." The boy went, bought some clothes [and] brought also a saz. The woman donned the men's clothes, put a hat on her head [and] made herself out as a young man; she took the saz in her hand, sat down by <edge-of> the city-wall and began to sing <she-sang>. Some people passed there [and] heard a pleasant voice <behold a voice

pleasant they-are-hearing>. They came near and saw a handsome young man sitting [and] playing the saz and singing. They sat down around him, brought some food and ate together. When night came, everyone went home. The next day the people gathered again, brought food and drink with them [and] sat down again around the singer. Finally they said to him: "Come inside the city; we will give you a place near a coffee-house; you will sit and sing [there] and receive money." From that day she used to sit everyday from noon to midnight and sing. People used to come from all parts of the city to hear her pleasant voice. One day the son of the king of [that] city went out to hunt. As he was returning from the hunt in the evening, he saw the people gathered in one place. He asked his servant, saying: "Servant, why are the people gathered?" The servant said: "My lord, I will go [and] see." The prince said: "Go [and] return quickly [and] tell me!" The servant went but did not return. The prince grew angry [and] said to the other servant: "You go, but return quickly!" The other servant went, but he, too, upon arriving [where] the people [were], saw a handsome young man sitting on a chair, playing the saz and singing; he had <has> a very pleasant voice. [The servant] forgot the prince, he forgot the [first] servant and remained standing motionless. The prince waited [for] a while, [and when] he saw [that] nobody was <is> returning, he said in anger: "I will go myself." When he drew near, he heard a pleasant voice. He dismounted from his horse, made his way through <parted> the people, went in [and] saw a handsome young man sitting in the middle of the coffee-house, playing the saz and singing; his voice [was] pleasant [and] his songs [were] sweet. The prince sat there until midnight. After the people [had] dispersed, he also went home. From that day on he used to come to the coffee-house daily to hear the songs. [When] the king saw [that] his son was neglecting <has-neglected> [the affairs of] the kingdom, he enquired [into the matter]; after they told him [the reason], he called his son [and] said to him: "My son, you are neglecting the affairs of the kingdom; what is the <this> matter?" The prince said: "Father, if you were to hear the voice of that young man, you would also neglect the kingdom! If you agree, I will bring the boy here to our house, so that he may dwell and eat with me; [then] I will again pay attention <my-heart I-will-set> to [my] studies." The king said to himself: "I have so many servants, let another one eat [in my house]!" [So] he said to his son: "My son, bring this young man [and] let him live here with us in the castle." The prince went, brought that <same> young man, placed him in the castle [and] said to him: "From now on you shall dwell with me and we will live together!" From that day on that boy (*i.e.* the maid) lived in the royal castle; he used to eat, take walks and study together with the prince. Both became inseparable friends <friends like-them not-there-are>. One day the prince said to his friend: "Come, let us go to the sea-shore. Many ships have arrived, whose freight is ownerless. They are selling this freight by (unseen) auction, every man [buys] according to his luck. Let us go, too, [and] try our luck!" They came to the sea-shore and saw the people buying freights [of goods] extremely cheaply [and] taking out of them carpets and [other] good things. All of a sudden a small ship came, which her

owner put up for auction. The prince bought it; [he and his friend] went inside and saw that its freight was <is> salt. The prince said: "Let us throw the salt into the sea. What do we want it for?" [But] his friend said: "We have obtained this salt by our luck, we should not throw it away!" [So] they brought the salt [and] put it in the store-house.

To return to the prince. A few years passed. The king said to his son: "My son, you must marry, [for] I want to hand the kingdom over to you." His son said to him: "Father, I am not going to marry until my friend marries [too]. Both of us are going to marry together." The king said to him: "My son, what have you to do with your friend? Maybe he has no one to marry!" The son said to his father: "Father, I am going to give him my sister." The king grew very angry [and] said: "Your sister is a princess, how can we give her to such a person!" His son said: "Let us ask my sister!" He called his sister. They asked her [and] she said: "Yes, I agree; I will marry him." The king was angry, but he did not know what to do. [So] he said: "Call your friend [and] we shall ask him." The prince called his friend [and] said to him: "Friend, we both are going to marry together; I am going to give you my sister. Do you agree?" The boy said: "I am extremely grateful to you, but I am not going to marry. [Why do] you [not] marry [alone]?" The prince said: "Friend, there can be <is> no such thing! My sister wants you, [and] next week we are going to make the wedding." The following week they made a great wedding; the people ate [and] drank for seven days and seven nights. The king made a feast for all the people of the city <to-people-of all-the city>, saying: he who is hungry, let him come and eat [and] he who is thirsty, let him come to drink, and let all dance and be merry together – may God make you merry, too! The prince's friend saw that all the people of the city had <have> come to the king's palace [and] said to himself (*sic!*): "Let me see, maybe I will find the watchmaker among these people!" She went to the roof to have a look at the people. The prince, the princess, the king's daughter in law [and herself] were standing together <four of them> [and] looking at the people.

To return to the princess. The first day, [after] the end of the festivity, she came home with the bridegroom. She <herself> sat on a chair, [and the] bridegroom sat on another. The princess was <is> waiting for the bridegroom to approach her, but he did not move <is not moving> from his place. She said to him: "Tell me the truth: why are you not pleased? Am I not beautiful, am I not good? Why do I not please you?" The bridegroom lifted his eyes [and] said: "If you swear me an oath that you will not disclose my secret to anyone, I will tell you." She swore him an oath by her father's crown. Then the bridegroom uncovered his head, showed [her] his long hair [and] said to her: "I, too, am a girl!" Then she related to her all that she had experienced <has-come-on-her> [and] all that had <has> happened. They swore an oath to each other that none should tell <the secret> to another [person]. As long as the wedding lasted <all days-of wedding> they stood on the roof at the windows [and] looked at the people in the hope <maybe> [that] the girl might find the watchmaker.

To return to the watchmaker. The watchmaker dwelt in the house of the old woman, worked every day, and they made a living. One day he found an earring, brought it home, gave it to the old woman [and] said: "Mother, take this earring for yourself!" The old woman was very pleased. When she was going to the prince's wedding, she put the earring in her ear [and] said to the boy: "Come, let us go!" But the boy said: "Leave me alone! I have no patience [for such things]!" So the old woman went by herself. After she had eaten and drunk, she got up to dance. That single earring was dangling from <on> her ear.

To return to the maid. She was standing by the side of the prince [and] they were looking at the people. All of a sudden they saw an old woman dancing, who had a single earring in one of her ears. The prince said to her [to the maid]: "Just look! Let them bring that old woman here!" They sent a servant [and] he went [and] brought the old woman. The latter bowed to the prince [and] said: "What do you wish, my lord?" He asked her: "Why have you put one single earring into one <your> ear?" She said to him: "My lord, this earring is not mine. There is a boy living with me in my house; he has found it, and I said to myself: When I go to the prince's wedding, I will put the earring in my ear!" The prince asked her: "Where is your son?" She said to him: "Properly speaking <himself> he is not my son, but he lives <is> in my house. I said to him: Come to the wedding! [But] he said: I have no patience for such things!" The prince said: "Quickly, send two servants! Let them bring the boy here!" The servants went [and] brought the watchmaker before the king. The maid looked at him [and] recognized him. She said to him: "Sit down on a chair!" [Then] she said to him: "If you want to tell the truth, tell it; if not, I will burn your father! Tell us all that has happened to you from the day you were born <from-your-mother-you-have-become>, all that you remember." The watchmaker lowered his eyes to the ground [and] said: "I will tell you all." He related to them all that I [have] related to you. The maid bit her finger [in astonishment, and] said to the prince: "Send two servants [and] let them bring the freight of salt to the audience hall." They brought the freight of salt, opened [the sacks] one by one [and] saw that each sack contained a jar [full] of pieces of gold. After they had removed <poured-out> the pieces of gold from the seventh jar, they saw that the cap appeared <came-out> in the midst of the pieces of gold. The watchmaker cried out, saying: "This is the the same cap! Take all the pieces of gold for yourselves, but give me the cap, and I will continue <fall> to look for my wife." Then the prince's friend said: "What is hidden from God, what can be hidden from man?" He uncovered his head (*sic!*), and they saw that she was a girl. The princess said: "I know this secret. From the day we made the wedding he (*sic!*) has not touched <did not touch> me." That maid looked at the watchmaker [and] said: "I am that <same> maid! Now I know that you are an honest man." The prince, after heard this story, was astonished, but was very glad. They made another wedding for the watchmaker and his wife and rejoiced greatly. They attained their desire – may God let you, too, attain your desire!

(d) Same informant.

xa joma b-jomawe xa *dae-qari*-twa, xa zóra brona twála, belu bar olka wéle. xa zóra bela twálu, mindiy gaew la kwéwa. gáat kullu bela bäs tre čiŋje došáge kwéwa, lele rešu *damxiwa*. *dae-qari* kud jom gezáwa julle masoe, xánči fisse qabláwa, xánči ixala kwíwala, wadjáwa bela, *gäl diyde* kixlíwa-w xajéniwa. brona joma-w lele jge *tálwa*, la *sneta* kjílwa, la *midraš* gezílwa. kimma šinne píru, *dae-qari* biš *qari* xdíra. xa joma míra ba-bronaw: “bróni, *lazím* ile ezet šula. ana *qari* xdíran, *lan misso* šula odan.” míre baaw: “dáe, ana *sneta* lítti, ma *missen* oden?” míra baew: “bróni, kud jom *lazím* ile qemet bal baqatjo, ezet dašta, *siwe qarpset*, daríttu reš *xasox*, wadíttu šuqa-w zabníttu ba-naše. b-fissu xánči lixma šaqlet, wadet bela, *gäl diyde* kixlex.” min d-o joma brona kud jom gezílwa dašta, *siwe qarptswa*, wadéwa *ahra*, zabínwalu ba-naše. *raba* faqir wele, rešew *jare plítlu*, pířew kullu pílle, naše šimmew drélule kura kačál. xa joma b-jomawe kura kačál qímle mi-tkew, zille dašta, *siwe qirpísle*, *jisrile*, midjíle reš *xasew*. *attat il-ahra matéwa*, šimša *plíta*. *smíxle* gáat šuqa, kimmit *srxíle*, naš la djéle *siwew* šaqílwalu. ba-mánit kmírwa, kaxíkwalu, kmírwa: “xur xzi, ídjo réšit kačále qjale, aráqa m-benu kwaša, máni *siwe* šaqil!” *axrinda* xa naš idjéle, pilgit *tima* hwille. kura kačál jigrew idjéle, míre: “mat xdíra mar xadra, ídjom *siwe* la zabnínnu!” *siwew* xaš dirjíle reš *xasew*, idjéle bela, *siwew* pirtfíle g-xa *buřay*, xíre xzéle: hójle *dae-qari* jtíwa béla. bqíre minnaw: “ídjom ma axlex?” míra baew: “ídjom šula la *mištxli*, mindix la wdítan.” míre baaw: “ana-š ídjo mindix la zbínen, fisse lítti. mindix la šqilen.” o joma kpine *dmíxlu*, oxed joma tez mi-tkew qímle, *siwe* dirjíle reš *xasew*, qala šméle, qlíble ba-barew, xzéle: hójle xa qotja zóra pílle *m-siwe*. míre g-libbew: belan *miljít ziblě-le*, mar ja qotja-š láxxa hawe! šwíqlele g-d-o *buřay* u-zille šuqa. *mtéle* šuqa, *nare srxíle*: “máni *siwe* šaqil?” o joma jwan qarda wéla, naše djélu, jwan *tima* hwíllu, *siwe* šiqílú-w zillu. kura kačál fisse dirjíle bilwanew, jwan lixme ixale šqille, zille béla. pilgoma wéle *matoew* béla. xzéle: hójle *dae-qari* jtíwa tara. míre baaw: “báma jtíwat tára?” míra baew: “*qurbanox* xadran, broní! lan ajola ma xdir, xa naš ídje béla, *šulhanan triséle*, *miljéle* ixala.” míre baaw kura kačál: “biš *tám*, *orex!*” *wíru gi-lwa*, xíru xzélu: hójle bela qliw, ara qništa, došáge-w *lefe npisi*, *šulhan mirzina*. mad abet ixala, reš *šulhan* itwa. *dae-qari* kúllu xaaw min d-aj ixala la xílwala. kura kačál *hála qaz* qlita *gäl enew* la xzéwale. átta, reš pilgit *šulhan qaz* qlita, *čaratrafaw sawzi*, meda, xamra, lixma, mad libbox hawe! jwan xillu. bar ixala – axči xillu, kasu *mlélu* – téz-ikán kud naš zille tkew u-*dmíxle*. oxet joma hamkin djaru bela, xzélu: hójle géna *šulhan mirzina*, bela qliwa. géna jtíwlu u-xíllu. *tahamin* joma míra *dae-qari*: “ídjom, broní, at sílox šula, ana pešan láxxa, bálki il-d-o gora ixala baan wadúle xazjáne, ^H*toda rabba*^H baew amran.” míre baaw kura kačál: “dáe, ja puč šulé-le, at láxxa pešat. gora be-naxip, xen ixala baan la wade (~ made).” míra baew: “bróni, ja šula la xadir! *rába* špira naš ile, od il-d-aj špirula *gálan* wadélla. *lazím* ile xazjáne, xa xabra špira baew amran.” *rába* mqéla, xánči šméle. *axrinda* míra: “*to*, broní, tunnan gezex m-bela, at šulox u-ana šuli.” bále kura kačál xen la gezílwa šula, g-libbew míre: “*attat* baan ixala wadúlu, šula báa ezen?” o joma djarew bela, *dae-qari mištxále jan* tara. bqíre minnaw: “dáe,

báma jtíwat tára?" mira *dae-qari*: "broni, min d-o *satit* at zilet, ana jtíwan láxxa. o gora la djéle. halbät nxip. axnán-iš píšex be ixala." kura kačäl jgrew idjéle, tara zríplele, *wíre gi-lwa*. *wjarew gi-lwa* xzéle: hójle géna *šulhan mirzina-w* bela qliwa. *ba-dae-qari* míre: "idalax, dáe, xdug la (w)ud, o-gora mare-*namus* goré-le. illax xízje *jan* tara, il-ixala m-panjára *mbiréle*." *wíra gi-lwa dae-qari*, géna jtíwlu *gäl diyde-w* xillu. oxet joma géna kud naš zille šulew. *dae-qari* tez díra bára, míra: "il-do gora be-doqáne!" jtíwla *jan* tara, m-bizzit qifl xeráwa *gi-lwa*. birdambira xa taqqa šméla. xzéla: hójle tinna *jrímle* m-xa ujít *otay*. bar tinna zilla, xzéla: hójle qamaw xa sqilta brata *smíxa*. pířčaw zarde, enaw *qašaw* kome, ba-šrata mara: la nhur, ana nahran! xíra xzéla: hójle brata idaw *pištlla*, ba-šulhan mara: "šulhan, tez *trisa* xdur, qluw!" g-d-o dajqa xzéla: *sihne* šixtane, *skane* šixtane, suse *batile*, mafráš šixtana, kullu *jrúmlu* (~ *jrímle*), tku xale djélu. bar min d-o idaw *pištlla* il-bela, ba-gudane mara: "tez xware xdúrun!" ba-došáge mara: "tez duz xdúrun!" bar xa dajqa xzéla: hójle gudane xware xdíru, došáge duz xdíru, rešu mafráš idjéle. géna brata idaw *pištlla*, bále la *mtéla* maqoe, *dae-qari* tez tára plíxlale, brata diwqála, míra baaw: "*qurbanax* xadran, bráti! at axča špirta braté-lat, axča špirula gálan wadat, ana *raba* minnax *razi-lan*!" brata *l-dae-qari* xizjála, zdéla, míra baaw: "šmi amránax! ana bratit *šultanit hindistan* ilan, dadi xa *riwwa* nujumkar itte, ebéle illi šaqilwa, bále la ebéli, u-dadi la qbille. *rába* jgrew idjéle, qimle, gäl nujumew xa *sihr* widle, illi mtíwle g-d-aj qotja zóra-w pirtifeli gáat nehra, míre: "mánit illax awwal zaa *maštix* u-illax abe, pešat *insan*. agär *maštixanax* illax la abe, xaš darat gáat d-aj qotja, minnew xen la *paltat*. átta, dai, agär illi abjat, *qurbanáx-iš* xadran. bäs mar bronax illi gor." *dae-qari* kixkála, míra: "broni nokárax xadir, il-*tpurtit* aqlax la *mate*! agär at abjáte *qurbanax* xadir!" míra brata: "här mat hawe, ana gbáne." jtíwlu tunnu *jan* šulhan, *smúxlu* (~ *smíxlu*) *attat* kura kačäl ade. bar xa pilgit *sata*, pilgoma xadore, kura kačäl idjéle, *wíre* bela. *dae-qari* qímle mi-tkaw, míra baew: "bróni, tez idálox, jtu *jan* (~ reš) šulhan, idjom mewantá-ttan!" kura kačäl brata xazoe, nxíple, enew mkiwšile (for: mikwšile) ára. míra baew *dae-qari*; "bróni, la nxup! ja brata *libtox* ila, xánči xet xa l-xa be-gorétun." kura kačäl *rába* jgrew idjéle, míre: "dáe, la malle ilha dhillélli, át-iš *lazim* ile reši kaxkat! máni illi reši kačäl gbe!" míra baew brata: "agär *razi* hawet, xa l-xa gorex, tez rešox *taris*, nóšox qaroe kalowe jalpet, *rába-š* komägula gálox godan. bäs qablítti, xadran baxtox." kura kačäl míre baaw: "ana *razi-len*, nokáráx-iš xadren." jtíwlu *gäl diyde*, xillu štélu. bar kimma jomawe brata míra ba-brona: "*qúlox*, *plut* tára, xa tanika *mli* pra, wdíle láxxa." kura kačäl tanika *mléle* pra, wdélela ba-brata. brata tanika intélala b-idaw, il-pra tqíra, míra: "pra, pra, tez xdur dehwe!" téz-ikän pra xdíre dehwe. il-*dae-qari* *sirxála*, míra: "*dae-qari*, tez *derjax* lúšla, šjamáx lúšlu, sílax geb *šultana*, il-d-aj ára minnew šqúlla." míra baaw *dae-qari*: "bráti, išwa šinné-le reš d-aj ára *zibla* bjazu, ja ára ba-májjan?" míra brata: "dáe, ja ára jwan ila, ja ára m-olka *riqqé-la*, naše máxxa la peri. ja ára baan jwan ila!" qímle *dae-qari*, jullaw liwšila, kačakilaw lwišlalu, čakkačák-inän zilla, *mtéla* bel *šultana*." *mtéla* pin tara, tre *qapčje* qamaw *qtélule*, míru baaw: "dur bára, léka izalat?" míra bau: "izalan geb *šultana*." míru baaw: "*aqlax bsir?* máni

misse ezil geb šultana?" dae-qari xzéla wirxaw qitjálu, míra bau: "ana wada lítti láxxa samxan, ma gbétun minni?" kud minnu xa dehwa hwillalu, wirxaw pilxálu, zilla minnu, mtéla geb jwéxet qapčje. ba-d-ojne-š kud minnu xa dehwa hwilla, il-d-ojne-š píra. axrinda mtéla tahamin darwaza, il-d-o perála matja il-šultana. qapčje wirxaw diwqálu, míru baaw: "mat gbat hawixxax, bále geb šultana la xadra ezat." míra bau: "ana mindix minnxun la gban, šúquni, b-ezan geb šultana!" míru baaw: "la missat ezat gebew!" axrinda xa minnu wíre geb šultana, bqíre minnew. míre baew šultana: "xánči qamxa hóluna, mar eza bela." idjéle, xa čwala qamxa wdéle gálew, hwille l-dae-qari. dae-qari qamxa intélale, drélale reš qapčje, m-tappit rešu attat aqlu widlalu xware. tez jwéxet qapčje djélu, bqíru minnaw: "ma it? ma gbat?" míra bau: "gban ezan geb šultana! mqajād xdúrun! qamxa wadétun, ilxun-iš godan xware, rizza wadétuni, bezáne rešxun! ana idjan geb šultana!" zíllu tez, xabraw ba-šultana mírule. míre bau šultana: "xa dehwa hóluna, mar eza bela!" idjélu gebaw, xa dehwa hwillula. dae-qari jigraw idjéle, idaw dirjála bilwanaw, isra dehwe pirtifla rešu. xíru xa l-xa, wíru geb šultana, míru baew: ayaan šultana, dae-qari la qabola, abúla illox xazja. qamxa hwillana, qamxa bizla rešan. rizza hwillana, la qbílla. dehwa baaw hwalan, m-qulbew isra pirtifla qaman." bar šméle áxxa šultana, míre bau: "mar ora gi-lwa!" míru baaw: "wur geb šultana!" dae-qari wíra geb šultana, baaw kursi wdélu, rešaw mkípla qamaw, jtíwla. bqíre minnaw šultana: "ma gbat?" míra baew: "ayai, idjan gebox, minnox ára šaqlan." míre baaw: "émni ára gbáta?" míra baew: "xa dašt ita qrayit ahra, lókit ziblit ahra bezile, il-do abúlan šaqlan minnox." bqíre šultana: "wazir, wakil, émni áré-la?" míru baew: "ayaan šultana, ja išwa šinné-le ziblit ahra lóka bezile." xíre l-dae-qari, míre g-libbew: "ja halbät aqlaw bassor ile." míre baaw: "il-d-o dašt kullaw baax karám widáli be fisse." dae-qari xíra llew, míra baew: "ayai šultana, ilha šultanulox mazídla! bále ana mindix m-šultanula be fisse la gban! mar bai, kimma fisse gbet?" šultana mahtäl píšle, xíre l-wazir, xíre l-wakil. míru baew: "rába la mijrúxla! ebi minnaw fisse, qalaw qatjále u-eza!" mire baaw šultana: "dáe, xamšámme dehwe timaw ile." míra baaw dae-qari: "reš eni! bále kaxtita gban minnox, ki o ára bai zbinta xdíra. bar min d-o at, wakil u-wazir rešaw xatmétun!" šultana hawsalew príqla, bále čara litwale. kaxtita wdéle, kilwále, wazir u-wakil xdíru sahle, rešaw xtímlu. bar min d-o dae-qari xamšámme dehwe m-bilwanaw plítla, drélalu qam šultana. šultana mahtäl píšle, bále ára zbinta xdíra. dae-qari qímila reš aqlaw, il-šultana rešaw mkípla, míra baew: "ayai sultana, m-baqatta lazím ile xabra hawet, ki xen zibla lóka la bezi, mar amblile jwéxet gaba!" šultana míre baaw: "reš eni!" dae-qari díra béla, kaxta mitwála qam kaldaw. kaldaw rába psíxla, míra baaw: "to widlax!"

xabra m-máni hawex? xabra hawex min d-aj brata. lele qímila m-šindaw, gal kura kačál plítla tára, idaw pilxíla u-míra: "idamun láxxa, tez tez idámun!" birdam-bira xzélú: hójle gäl alpe dalulare idjélu, sarxiwa: "aya bále, aya bále!" míra bau: "aya molxun taméle! tez šula wúdun, il-d-aj dašta qlúwuna!" bar kimma sate xzélú: hójle dašta kullaw qliwta xdíra. bar min d-o zíllu xaš u-dmíxlu. oxet joma lele xaš mi-tku qímilu, géna brata idaw pilxíla, géna gäl alpe dalulare idjélu, sarxiwa: "aya

bále, *aya* bále!” míra bau: “*aya* molxun *taméle!* tez *čaratrafít* d-aj dašta xa guda banétun, g-pilgaw xa *amarta* mandétun, *čaratrafít amarta* gáat *haját* xa sqilta *baxča* zřimun, gaaw kud ilana.” *attat* baqatjo jtiwlu, il-šula odane sinči mandéniwa. bal baqatjo *amarta* bnita wéla, *čaratrafaw rummanta* badän, gáat *haját* xa sqilta *baxča* ítwa. zillu tunnu, *dae-qari miršálu*, míru baaw: “*qúlax* tez, izalex belan xala!” min d-o joma jatwíwa gáat qasr. kura kačäl nóšew xen šula la gódwa, *siwe* la zabínwa. qímle zille šuqa, tressar jwanqe sqile gbéle, bau jwan julle *jašil* šqílle, milbšile, míre bau: “*idámun* gebi, šula wúdu! ixalxun šatoxun kwínnu, xánči-š fisse qablétun.” *pasoxe pasoxe* zillu gálew. tre danke *mismíxle* gáat *darwaza*, ojnexét-iš šula godíwa xel idit *dae-qari*. kura kačäl nóšew jatíwwa jalípwa qaroe-w kalowe. rešew *darmana* gódwa, *attat* sqila pirča *plítile*. gäl baxtew jatíwwa *gäl diyde*, kixlíwa-w šaténiwa-w *pasxiwa*.

xa joma b-jomawe bron *šultanit ahra* gáat *ahra* xadora wéle. *mtéle* il-wazirit dadew, xa l-xa *bríxlu*, bqíre minnew wazir: “*trosé-le* at xánči xet be-goret?” míre baew bron *šultana*: “at wazirit dadí-let u-la kket min-d-aj xabra?” míre baew wazir: “bróni, ana kjen! hajfe baow, at bron *šultana*, axča sqila jwanqa, xa sqilta brata la šaqlet!” bron *šultana* jigrew idjéle, míre ba-wazir: “at ma maqúlet! *tlibti* brat *šultané-la*, magonaw sqilta lít! bálki at la xizjítta, bod d-o áxxa maqúlet!” míre baew wazir: “bróni, *trosé-le*, sqilté-la, bále minnaw *rába rába* bis sqile íta g-d-aj *ahra*. *lazím* la wéle at *matítwa* axča *riqqa* u-sqila brata la madítwa. agär m-balox it, kud jom bal baqatjo gáat pilgit *ahra* xa kura kačäl *samíxwa*, *siwe* zabínwa. o kura kačäl átta gwíre, gáat xa qasr jtiw. magon baxtew sqilta lít u-la kwe!” bron *šultana* míre baew: “at *sihrbaz* ilet. agär *missét*, wdíla láxxa, xazínna.” míre baew: “la *missen*, bále gäl *sihr*, gäl nuřum, *missen* šiklaw baow *paltínne* u-xazítte.” wazir xa *sihr* wídle, šikliit brata *plítilele*. bron *šultana* škil xazoe, mi-sqilulit škil ašq pille, libbew zille, pille ára. tez wazir našew *sirxíle*, bron *šultana mrúmlule* (~ *mrímlule*), drélule gáat *arabana*, naxoš imbíllule béla. bron *šultana* pille naxoš. naxošulew jom bar jom biš qwéla. la píšle hakim ki l-d-aj brona la xzéle, bále naš minnu *darmana* la *mištíxle*. xaznit *šultana* jom bar jom biš *btilla*, gäl alpe dehwe *šultana darmane-w* hakime mdéle, bále hič minnu la *silhélu*. *šultana* píšle *mad* mahlul. xa ták brona twále, o b-jatíwwa tkew, átta-š hójle pil naxoš, ilha kjil mi-tkew qem *jan* la. wazir idjéle geb *šultana*, mírele: “*ayai šultana*, baxšítta! ana kjen ja bronox xa ták broné-le, *umbulew* xen jale líttox. kimmit fisse xarjet, *haqqóx*-ile, bále ana xazúlen, fajda lít! bás joma bar joma xazna *batola*. agär šamet minni, ba-d-aj brona *darmana* lít. ja brona naxoš léwe, bod d-aj šula hič hakima la *missé* baew *darmana maštix*. il-d-aj brona hārhalbät xa fand wídlullew. minni šamet, xen hakime ba-d-aj brona la wadet. biš tām ile, agär il-šex *sarxet*, o il-brona xaze u-*missé* ajil majjew ile.” xabrit d-aj wazir g-benit *šultana tmíre*. *šultana* il-šex *srixlele*, míre baew: “bálki špirula odet u-broni xazítte, maqet gálew, ajet majjew ile.”

xabra m-máni hawex? xabra hawex m-šex. šex idjéle geb brona, il-brona xánči mšixlele, xánči *sléle*, *qurPan* qréle. bar min d-o *jawaš jawaš* gäl brona mqéle. bron *šultana* míre ba-šex: “m-ilha ma gezlin, m-banda ma gezlin? ana naxoš léwen, hič

hakima la *misse* bai *darmana maštix*. ana ašq pīlen! agār il-do brata la wadénila, o gora – *riqqa* m-šamjane! – mel.” bqīre minnew o brata mǎni-la, mīre baew.

xabra m-mǎni hawex? xabra hawex *m-šultana*. *šultana* il-d-ajne xabre šamoew, jigrew idjéle, mīre: “ma *missen* oden? wazir wakil, mǎrun bai! ana la *missen* baxtit gora m-idit goraw *paltinna*, hawinna ba-broni!” mīre baew wazir: “*ayai šultana, čara* littox! *lazīm* ile il-da-j šula oditte. il-d-o kura kačāl *srúxle* láxxa, xa jaqura šula mindi rešew, mar baew: agār o šula *g-aralyit* išwa jome l-ódle, rešew *qitja* xadir. bar min d-o *misset* baxtew oditta kaldox.” *šultana mad* písle, bále *čara* lítwale. tez zǐllu, kura kačāl *sríxlule*. kura kačāl jtiwa wéle gáat *baxča* u-qaro wéle. šméle ki *šultana saroxéle*, pille minnew. xíra llew baxtew, mǎra baew: “qajda lít! *qúlox*, si geb *šultana*, xzi ma gbe.” kura kačāl bar *sata mtéle* qasr, rešew mkíple, mīre: “*ayai šultana*, mad abet, *hazír* ilen!” xíre llew *šultana*, mīre: “minnox gben, *g-aralyit* išwa jome bai xa *šalxum* basire wadet, u-minnu kullu askār axil u-sawe, minnéw-iš peš.” kura kačāl il-*šultana* sinčjew mindéle, mīre: “*ayai šultana*, átta sitwé-le, basirta gáat šuqa *mistixta* la xadra.” *šultana* xíre llew, mīre: “xabri twira la xadir. bar išwa xet jome adet láxxa.”

xabra m-mǎni hawe? xabra hawex m-kura kačāl. *mad* malul díre bela, díre-w tez zǐlle *dmíxle*. *wadit* ixala *mtéle*, bále mi-tkew la qímle. baxtew šdíra barew, bále mīre: “naxoš ilen, la *missen* átta axlen.” tre jome písle kpina. baxtew jǐlla ma *qisté-la*, bále mǎra: “be-*samxan attat* nóšew bai maqe.” bar tre jome hawsalaw príqla. zǐlla geb goraw, mǎra: “tez qemet, adet axlet. la qemana hawet, *waj* il-ganox!” mīre baaw: “pruq minni, dardi la mšúmlu!” mǎra baew: “maquet bai, baox bij jwan.” mīre baaw: “*šultana* illi *sríxle*, mīre bai: *g-aralyit* išwa jome gben bai xa *salxum* basire wadet, minnaw kullu askār axil u-sawe, minnéw-iš pes.” xíra llew, mǎra: “xen ma?” mīre baaw – *riqqa* m-šamjane –: “bel d-o baxta xariw! min d-aj biš zóda ma gbat? mǎni *misse* átta g-d-aj sitwa basire wade!” mǎra baew: “ilha xdug la hawíllox! ja hič xdug léwe! tez *qúlox*, xul, šti, kef odex. jomit išwamin ana baox basire kwan.” bar išwa jome bal baqatjo baxta il-goraw *mrišla*, mǎra: “tez *qúlox*, sílox, basire mdi! qemet, ezet haman meša ki minnaw *siwe qarpsítwa*, ezet haman tka ki minnaw *axr ténit siwe* wdéloxu, *jan* d-o tka išwa ilane *rummane* it, bar minnu *taha qaje* riwwe. reš *tahamin qaja* magon xa *marmār* mašuxa it. *taha* zae gǎl xa kepa zóra reš d-o *marmār* dhul u-mar: “ahmād mhammād mahmud! ahmād mhammād mahmud! ahmād mhammād mahmud! átta xazet: *taha* kule m-kepa nandéni, qomu xa *sita*, *dignu* tre *site*, gǎl *dignu* āra qanšila. átta minnox baqri: ma gbet? mar bau: ana xaluntxun gorané-len, *rába rába* šalomje íttxun minnaw! mǎra: xánči basire hawé-tuna. átta baox basire kwi. mad odi, belu la *oret*, basire imbúllu geb *šultana*.” kura kačāl tez tez zǐlle, *mtéle* haman tka, išwa ilane mnéle, bar min d-o *taha qaje*, tez *tahamin qaja* gǎl xa kepa zóra *taha* zae dhille, bar min d-o *taha* zae *sríxle*: “ahmād mhammād mahmud! ahmād mhammād mahmud! ahmād mhammād mahmud!” xíre xzéle: hójle *taha* kule m-kepa *plítlu*, qomu xa *sita*, *dignu* tre *site*. bqíru minnew: “ma gbet?” mīre bau: “*rába rába* šalomje m-xaluntxun, mǎra: xánči basire šadrétuna, libbaw basire abúle!” tez ahmād nindéle *gi-lwa*, xa *salxum* basire wdéle gǎlew. kura

kačäl basire intile (~ intjile). mad wídlu gálew ki *or* xánči béla, la qbílle. basire diwqíle b-idew, gáat meša rxíšle, kxíkle. il-basire xíre, míre g-libbew: “ajne kullu *missen* xa zaa darínnu pinni! máto *missen* hawínnu il-šultana u-amren baew: ajne ba-kullu askār? átta gbe kaxíkla, u-illi *qatil*.” bar kimma dajqe xaš míre g-libbew: “mat xdfíra mar xadra! il-d-ajne basire gbe *tamínnu*!” xa basirta *qtéle*, dirjále *g-aralyit* kakew, minnaw pruške príxlu, kud pruška xdfíra xa *tenit* basire. xzéle: hójle meša *čaratrafew mléle* basire. xaš xíre l-basire, míre g-libbew: “ja xoš fand ila!” *raxote raxote* zílle *méle l-šultana*, *smíxle* qam *šultana*, reša llew mkíple, míre: “*ayai šultana*, basire *hazír* ilu!” *šultana* bqíre minnew: “ké-lu basire?” kura kačäl idew dirjále bilwanew, xa *salxum zóra* m-bilwanew *plítle*. *šultana rába* jigrew idjéle, míre: “máto kimret ja *salxum* ba-kullu askār malle? tez rešox átta *qitja* gbe xadir!” bále kura kačäl sihm la pílle rešew, xa basirta *qtéle*, *mirčále g-aralyit zbonjew*, minnew pruške príxlu, kud pruška xdfíra xa *tenit* basire. *diwanxana mléla* basire. tez m-geb *šultana* jirqále, *plítle haját*, xaš xa basirta *mričle*, *haját* kullaw *mléla* basire. *plítle* kučane, xa bar xa, kuča bar kuča, *miljile* basire. *axrinda ahra* kullaw *mléla* basire. *šultana* mahtäl píšle. lékit enew xíra, xzéle: hójle *ahra mlitit* basire. tez kullu askárew *srixlele ahra*, il-naše m-belu *piltle*, ki l-d-ajne basire axlílu, ja *qarpsílu m-ahra*. *ahra mléla maít* basire. lékit naša raxíšwa, *rixít* xamra gdéwa poqew u-sakírwa. bar xa jarxa *ahra* qlíwla. géna *šultana* wazir wakil *sirxile*, míre: “atxun kjétun mat kura kačäl b-reši wdéle! ma oden?” míru baew: “xaš šex *srxíle* mar balbil, xa xabra jaqura *maštix*.” *šultana* il-šex *srixlele*, míre baew: “xa xabra gben *maštixet*, ki naš la *misse* ódle. *taha* jome baow *wada*, bar *taha* jome adet láxxa.” šex zílle bela, *taha* jome-w *taha* lelawe gáat *ktabew* bilbille, *axrinda* djéle geb *šultana*, míre: “*ayai šultana*, *mištíxli*! mar baew, xa *sudra* libbox abjanta, duz b-qomox, baow made.” *šultana* mahtäl píšle, míre: “min d-aj xabra biš qalula lit!” míre baew šex: “*ayai šultana*, áxxa la mar! ma *sudrit* baow made, *misset* amret: bai jwan léwa, ja krité-la, ja jarixté-la, ja *qolaw* xoš léwa, ja jaxxaw jwéxet jura gbínne. jéza *misset* rešew dahitte!” *šultana* xabrit šex xošew idjéle, míre baew: “m-ídjom *mahašox* be-masqínna!” xaš zíllu, il-kura kačäl *srixlule*, wdélule qam *šultana*. míre baew *šultana*: “*g-aralyit taha* jome minnox gben xa *sudra* wadítti, bále ana abjanti!” bqíre minnew kura kačäl, míre: “*ayai šultana*, ma rang hawja? *qolaw* kirje *jan* jarixe, jaxxaw máto?” míre baew *šultana*: “la bqur! si bela, bar *taha* jome ida láxxa.” xaš kura kačäl díre bela *mad* malul, duz zílle *dmíxle*. géna baxtew xzéla, ki m-geb *šultana* díre, jilla ki xa xabra géna tfiq. bar pilgoma mira baew: “ida xul!” míre: “pruq minni, kefi *to* léwa.” bqíra minnew: “májjox ile?” míre baaw: “*m-wirxa* reši marúle.” míra baew: “bäs *dmux*, *tarset*.” *asr* míra baew: “idálox xul!” xaš míre baaw: “pruq minni, kefi *to* léwa!” šwíqlale u-kpina *dmíxle*. oxded joma baqatjo idjéla, m-šinda *miršále*, míre baaw: “ídjom la *missen* qemen.” géna jigraw idjéle, míra baew: “at, xa mindix illox tfiq, bai-š let maqo. *trostulox* maqítta, baow biš jwan!” míre baaw: “*hal -nayl* áxxa, *šultana* reši míndje ki baqatta xa *sudra* amblínne ki b-kefew hawja. agār b-kefew la hawja, reši *b-qatéle*.” míra baew: “min d-aj biš hasand šula lit!” míre baaw: “baxta, áxxa la mar! émi *sudrit* baew amblínna, *misse* bbaw xa palla *palit*. *misse* amir: *qolaw* jarixélu, *misse* amir: krité-la.

émi rangit amblinne, *misse* amir: ja rang xoši la gde. kimmít-iš bǫfiri minnew, *ǰwabi* la hwillele.” mǫra baew: “agǫr hǫr ile xdugox, ilha xdug la hawillox! *qúlox*, xul ŝti, baqatta *sudra hazǫr* kiwja.” qimle mi-tkew, xille, ŝtéle, gǫl baxtew géna ǰtiwle gǫat *baxča*, *gǫl diyde* xǫfru, idǰélu, zillu. oxd joma tez bal baqatǰo *mrišlale*, mǫra baew: “*qúlox*, si *jan* haman *qaja*, gǫl xa kepa zóra *taha* zae dhul rešew u-mar: “ahmǫd mhammǫd mahmud! átta xazet, haman *taha* kule *palti*. géna illu *rǫba* šalomje m-pinni hol, mar bau: xaluntxun xa *sudra* abúla. mad odi gǫlox, bela la *oret*.” kura kačǫl jaroqe jaroqe *mtéle l-qaja*, *taha* zae *tiptǫple* rešew, *tahamnu* kule nindélu tǫra, *rǫba* šalomje hwillelu. mǫre bau: “xaluntxun *say salamté-la*, bǫs xa *sudra* abúla.” tez mhammǫd nindéle-w xa *sudra* wdéle gǫlew. *sudra* hiwǫle l-kura kačǫl. mad wǫdlu, mǫre bau: “idjom *wada* litti, xaxet zaa ilha mante jatwen galxun, axlen, ŝaten, mad abétun reš eni!” šalom mǫre bau, pille *wirxa*. il-*sudra* xazéwa-w kaxikwa. *sudra* axči zúrta wéla, zóda mi-tre *zbonje* gaaw la *gortwa*. *zbonjew tǫšle* gǫat *sudra*, xérwa *l-sudra*, kaxikwa-w raxišwa. g-libbew kmírwa: “idjom reši *qitja* b-xadir!” birdambira ǰigrew idǰéle, *attat sudra* ebéle čaqéwala. diwqále gǫl tunnu idew, kimmit giršále, axča plixla. mad wǫdle, la čqéla. mǫre g-libbew: “agǫr axxé-la, awwalim zaa il-d-aj *sudra* nóši b-lošinna!” giršále g-rešew, u-*wǫra*, m-nóšaw fréla. xǫre llaw bar liwšále, kixkále, mǫre: “ma snita *sudré-la*, krite-la!” téz-ikǫn *sudra* ǰrixla. bar min d-o mǫre: “*qolaw* ǰarixe-lu!” tez *qole* m-nóšu krélu. xaš nóšew b-nóšew kixkále, mǫre: “ja xoš fand ila!” *sudra* šilxále, xaš xǫfira magon wela, dirǰále gǫat bilwanew u-zǫlle geb *šultana*. il-*šultana* rešew mkǫple, mǫre baew: “*ayai šultana*, firmun!” *šultana* xǫre llew, mǫre: “*sudra* midjet bai?” mǫre baew kura kačǫl: “e, *ayai*, *qúlox*, ǰullox šlúxlu. *nohre* mar wadéni, ki *sudra* xazitta.” tez nokǫrawe tre *nohre riwwe* wdélu, *šultana* jullew šilxǫle, kura kačǫl *sudra pǫltále* m-bilwanew, mǫre: “*ayai šultana*, luš!” *šultana sudra* xazowew *rǫba* ǰigrew idǰéle, mǫre: “at idjom reš d-aj šula rešox *qitja* be-xadir!” xǫre llew kura kačǫl, mǫre: “*ayai šultana*. baxšitti, bǫle *lazǫm* ile xǫnči hawsala hawélox. lúšla!” mǫre baew *šultana*: “mato *missen* axča zúrta *sudra* lošen?” mǫre baew kura kačǫl: “*ayai šultana*, ǰrub! agǫr la xadra baox, *misset* imǫnit abet reši dahitte!” *šultana sudra* diwqále gǫl tunnu idew, ebéle čaqéla, bǫle *sudra* la čqéla, m-nóšaw plixla. *šultana* mahtǫl pišle, *sudra* liwšále, xzéle: *sudra* duz b-qomew ila. xǫre il-*nohra*, mǫre: “ja *sudra* ana abjanti léwa.” bǫfǫre minnew kura kačǫl: “bǫma, *ayai šultana*?” mǫre baew *šultana*: “ana ǰwéxet ǰur jaxxa xoši gde.” xaš bǫfǫre minnew: “ma ǰur jaxxa gbet?” *attat šultana ǰwabew* hawilwale, jaxxa m-nóšew xǫfǫre ma ǰúrit *šultana* gbéwa. mǫre baew kura kačǫl: “*ayai šultana*, xur il-*nohra*!” *šultana* xǫre l-*nohra*: hǫjle haman jaxxa il-*sudrew* it. bǫle *šultana* mǫre: “ana *sudri attat* čoqi gben ǰarixta hawja!” o dajqa *sudra* ǰrixla *attat* čoqew. géna xǫre *šultana l-nohra*, la ǰille ma amírwa. mad mǫre, mad *mahane* dwǫqle, *sudra* xǫfira ma ǰúrit ebéwa. wazir wakil mǫru baew: “*ayaan šultana*, ǰigrox la ade, bǫle tremin xabra-š duz xǫfǫre.” mǫre baew *šultana*: “kura kačǫl, *misset* ezet belox. *tahamin* xabra piš, gbe abinne minnox.” *pasoxe pasoxe* kura kačǫl zǫlle bela, idǰéle geb baxtew, mad idǰéwa b-rešew baaw mǫqéle. mǫra baew: “hič xdug la odet, *tahamin-iš* xabra ǰaquara b-la hawe.”

xabra m-máni hawex? xabra hawex *m-šultana*. *šultana* šďfre bar šex, míre baew: “šex, xabrox hič la šawéwa, hójle *sudra* bai wdéle. bod d-o šula *mahašox qřita* b-xadra, illóx-iš m-qasr gbe *tarden*.” šex pille reš *salmew*, aqlit *šultana* nišqíle, bále *šultana* *řwabew* la hwíllele. idjélu tre nokárawe, il-šex *plítlule* tára. tez *šultana* šďfre bar *qazi*, míre baew: “minnox gben, xa xabra jaqura *mašřtet* ki naš reš *salmit olam* la *misse* ódle. *taha* jome baux *wada*. bar *taha* jome bai *řwab* la madet, *qinnara* dahínnox!” *qazi* jirqále bela, *wřre* gáat *otayew*, pille gáat *ktabe* balbole. *otayew mlitit ktabe* wéla *attat* gare. *nardiwan* antéwa, jasiqwa-w kóšwa, *ktabe* xa bar xa makwišwa, la kxílwa-la la šatéwa. oxet joma baxtit *qazi wřra* gebew, míra: “góra, at *lazřm* ile axlet! *rába* šula wadet!” m-jřgrew *ktábit* b-idew pirtfále rešaw. baxta jirqála *m-otay*. géna *smřřla attat asr*, xzéla: *qazi* le *palota* tára. xa *sihna mléla qatřy* gál xa lixma, imbilla baew, míra baew: “qaroe qaroe xánči xul.” míre baaw: “tez *plut* tára!” baxta xaš *rixřála m-otay*. *qazi* qaroe qaroe, m-qulbit lixmew *matmřre* gáat *qatřy*, il-mez dahílwale u-kxílwa. bar tre *sate* xaš baxta libbaw la qbille, míra: “xa ezan, xaš xazjan, agār xa mindix xíle!” *wřra gi-lwa*, xzéla: lixmew xiléle, bále *qatřy* tka bi-tka piš. míra baew: “*qatřy* xoš léwe? báa la xilítte?” míre baaw: “baxta, řigri la mdíle, *qatřy* xíllile kullew!” géna míra baew: “góra, mindix let xila. *qúlox*, xur il-*sihna*!” *qazi* xřre *l-sihna*, xzéle: hójle *qatřy* piš gaaw. *sihna mirmále*, xánči *qatřy* štéle, mad pišle pirtřílele reš baxtew, míre: “*plut* tára!” míra h-libbaw: “*qazi* xánči *ařlew* qlil!” *tahamin* jome birdambira xzéla: *qazi plítte* tára, *pasoxe pasoxe* idjéle geb baxtew, míre: “baxta, ilha *silhřélli*! tez ixala *hazřr* wud, axlen, šaten, řulli lošen, ezen geb *šultana*.” bar xille štéle, řullew liwšíle, zille geb *šultana*, rešew mkíple *l-šultana*, míre: “*ařai*, xa jaqura xabra *mišřřten*! ilha la hawe, naš la *misse řwabew* hawílle. mar baux xa jala sawa bron xa šata made, o jala *lazřm* ile kullu lišane ajíllu. *ařai šultana*, kullan křjex, ki jalit xa šata lišánit daéw-iš la křjil!” *šultana* xřre llew, *rába* xošew idjéle, míre: at *rába mare-aql qazi*-let! gbe *mahašox* mazidínna.” tez tre nokárawe šďfre ki ezi il-kura kačál, wadénile. ba-wazřr-iš míre: “m-átta m-bára *mahářit qazi* xamši *dinare* masqřtta.”

xabra m-máni hawex? xabra hawex m-kura kačál. ja zaa kura kačál *rába* zadoew idjéle. míre baew *šultana*: “*g-aralyit taha* jome gben xa jala sawa waditti, émi lišana gálew maqéni, ajil *řwabu* hawílle.” kura kačál *mad* malul zille béla. ja zaa tez xabrew miqřjile ba-baxtew, míre baaw: “ja zaa naš la *misse* komāgula od gálan.” míra baew: “góra, xdug la ud, *tahamin* joma ana baux jala sawa kwan.” kura kačál la mihmínne, bále míre: “m-qahr fajda lít!” jomit *tahamin* géna míra baew: “ezet haman tka, amret ba-axonawi: xaluntxun abúla axonaw zóra xazjále.” *mtéle l-qaja*, géna dhille gaaw, bar kule idjélu, míre bau: “xaluntxun *rába* nigaram piša, abúla axonaw zóra xazjále! tez míru ba-axonu zóra: “silox gálew!” il-mahmud *mřřmlele*, drélele reš idew, imbillele gálew. gáat *wirxa* bqřre minnew: “at bron kimmé-let?” mahmud kixkále, míre: “at mar! *misset* amret bron xa šaté-len ja římmal řdila xdíren, ja bron xamši řínné-len, ma řúrit kefox hawja (~ abja)!” xaš bqřre: minnew, míre: “at kimma lišane maqet?” míre baew: “kimmet abet!” il-mahmud imbillele gálew, idjéle, rešew mkíple il-*šultana*, míre: “*ařai šultana*, jala widřinne gáli!” mahmud mtíwlele qam

šultana, wazir wakil xîru llew, mîru: “ja brona zóda m-xa šata litte.” bar min d-o émi lišánit gálew mqélu, *jwabu* hwíllele. *šultana* mîre ba-kura kačál: “puš šalomi! *tahamnu* xabri widílox, xen xabra litti galox!” kura kačál il-mahmud intélele, ebéle ezilwa, bále mahmud mîre baew: “qiwja dúqli, ana abúlen gál *šultana* maqen!” mîre ba-*šultana*: “ej *šultana*, at gál gor xalunti *rába* taaddi wadet, bále suč minnox léwe. bod d-aj šula awwalim o bronox gbe mel, ja qásr-iš reš wazirox u-wakilox gbe maql-bínna, bás ana, at u-gor xalunti *say* pešex.” bar xa dajqa *tahamnu* gáat *hajat smixe* wélu, qásr-iš xríwla reš jatwanaw. o dajqa xabär idjéle, ki bron *šultana* m-naxošulew *axrinda* mîlle – *riqqa* m-šamjane! géna mîre mahmud ba-*šultana*: “kuš m-taxtox, mar gor xalunti xadir *šultana* tkox!” *šultana* m-taxtew kwíšle. kura kačál jsíqle, itíwle (~ jtíwle) reš taxt, baxtew xdíra *šultanta*, *dae-qari-š* dáit *šultana*. *tahamnu* la xíllu, la štélu, la *mtélu mradu*. axnan alex, šatex, *matex mradan!*⁵

Once upon a time there was an old woman, who had a little son. Their home was on the outskirts of <behind> the city. They had a little house [with] nothing in it; in all the house there were only two torn mattresses, on which they used to sleep at night. The old woman used to go every day to wash clothes; [for this] she received a little money; [her employers] also gave her a little food, which she used to bring [home, and she and her son] used to eat it together. [In this way] they lived. The boy used to play knuckle-bones day and night; he knew no trade nor went to school. A few years passed; the old woman grew older. One day she said to her son: “My son, you must go to work. I have grown old [and] cannot do any work.” He said to her: “Mother, I have no trade, what can I do?” She said to him: “My son, you shall rise early every morning, go afield, gather some wood, put it on your back, bring it to market and sell it to the people. With this <their> money you shall buy some bread, bring [it] home, and we will eat together.” From that day the boy used to go afield every day, gather wood, bring [it] to town [and] sell it to the people. He was very poor; sores broke out <came-out> on his head, all his hair fell out, and the people called him the Bald Boy. One day the Bold Boy rose from his bed, went afield, gathered some wood, bound it [and] put it on his back. By the time he had reached the city, the sun had risen <has-gone-out>. He stood in the market, [but] call as he would <how-much-that he-called>, nobody came to buy his wood. Any person to whom he offered <said> [his wood] laughed and said: “Just look! Today the heads of the bald are roasting, sweat is pouring <coming-down> from their brows; who will buy wood!” Finally someone came who offered <gave> him half the price. The Bald Boy

⁵ For other feats of the Bald Boy (Turkish: *Keloğlan*, Kurdish of Mardin: *Kečelok*, Azerbaijani Kurdish probably: *Kuře Káčäl*) see EBT Register s.v. Keloğlan and LTK 20 ff. and 77 (*Folkloria Kyrmanca* edd. A. Cindi and A. Acdal, Rewan, 1936, 625 ff., quoted by Lescot, was not accessible to me). For individual motifs cf. AS 140f. (princess turned into piece of wood cleans house of old woman); FA III 57-65 (Armenian) and AS 228ff. (princess turned into frog cleans house of hero, then marries him and helps him to fulfil three difficult tasks for king); LTK 4f. For girl coming out of box, cleaning house of old woman, building new house for the family, cf. VT 207. For hero seek the aid of dwarfs for fulfilment of task by knocking on rock and saying: “Ähmäd Khan, your brother Mhämäd Khan sends you his greetings etc.” cf. LTK 4f.

grew angry; he said: "Come what may <what has-happened may-happen>! Today I will not sell the wood!" He put the wood again on his back, came home, threw the wood into a corner, and saw that the old woman was <is> sitting in the house. He asked her: "What is there to eat today?" She said to him: "Today I did not find any work, [so] I have not brought anything." He said to her: "Neither did I sell anything today; I have no money, [so] I have not bought anything [either]." That day they went to sleep hungry. The next day [the Bald Boy] rose early <soon> from his bed <place> [and] put the wood on his back, [when suddenly] he heard a sound; he turned back [and] saw [that] a little box had fallen <fell> out of the wood. He said to himself: "Our house is full of rubbish [anyway], let this box, too, remain <be> here!" He left it in that corner and went to market. [When] he arrived at the market he called out loudly: "Who will buy wood?" That day was very cold <good cold was-it>; the people came, paid a good price, bought the wood and went home. The Bold Boy put the money in his pocket, bought all kinds of good food <good breads foods>, [and] went home. When he came home it was midday, [yet] he saw the old woman sitting outside. He asked her: "Why are you sitting outside?" She said to him: "Bless you <your-sacrifice may-I-be>, my son! I know not what has happened; someone has come to [our] house, laid the table [and] filled it with food." The Bald Boy said to her: "So much the better! Let us go in [and] eat." When they went in, they saw that the house was <is> clean, the floor swept, the mattresses and quilts had been shaken, [and] the table laid sumptuously with all kinds of food <whatever you-like food on table there-was>. The old woman had not eaten [the like] of this food all her life; [as for] the Bald Boy, he had never yet seen a roast goose <with his-eyes>; now, in the middle of the table [there was] a roast goose, surrounded by vegetables, fruit, wine bread, whatever your heart desired <in your-heart be>! They ate a good meal. After that – they ate so much [that] they filled their bellies – each of them went immediately to bed <his-place> and slept. The next day, likewise, when they returned home, they saw [that] the table was sumptuously spread [and] the house had been cleaned. Again they sat down and ate. On the third day the old woman said: "To-day my son, you [can] go to work, [but] I will remain here; maybe I shall see the man who is bringing us the food [and] thank him kindly." The Bald Boy said to her: "Mother, it is a bad plan <matter> for you to remain [here]. The man will feel shy <be-ashamed> [and] will no longer bring us food." She said to him: "My son, this <matter> cannot be! It must be a very good man who has done this favour to <with> us. I must see him and say a kind word to him." She spoke more <much> [to this purport], but he would not listen <listened little>. Finally she said: "Very well, son, we will both go from the house, you to your work and I to mine." But the Bald Boy no longer went <used-to-go> to work, [for he] said to himself: "As long as they are bringing food for us, why should I go to work?" That day, upon returning home, he found the old woman [sitting] by the door. He asked her: "Mother, why are you sitting outside?" The old woman said: "My son, I have been sitting here from the time <hour> you have gone. That man did not come, he is surely feeling shy; at any rate we have re-

mained without food.” The Bald Boy grew angry, he pushed the door [open, and] went in. When he came inside, he saw that the table had again been sumptuously spread and [that] the house [was] clean. He said to the old woman: “Come, mother, do not worry. This man is a tactful person; [when] he saw <has-seen> you by the door, he <has> brought the food in through the window.” The old woman went inside; once more they sat down together and ate. The next day each of them went again on his business, [but] the old woman came quickly back, saying: “I am going to catch that man!” She sat down by the door [and] looked from time to time through the key-hole. All of a sudden she heard an explosion. She looked and saw that smoke was coming up <came-up> out of a corner of the room. After the smoke had dispersed <went>, she saw a beautiful girl standing before her; her hair [was] golden <yellow>, and her eyes and eyebrows black; she was so beautiful [that] she could say <says> to the lamp: “Do not shine, *I am shining* <shine>”. [The old woman] saw that the girl [had] stretched out her hand [and] <is> saying to the table: “Table, be laid [and] become clean, quick!” In that moment she saw that the dirty dishes, the dirty glasses, the empty bottles [and] the dirty tablecloth were all removed <came-up> [and] new ones came in their stead. After that [the girl] stretched out her hands towards the house, saying to the walls: “Become white immediately!” [and] to the mattresses: “Become straight, quick!” After a moment she saw that the walls became white, the mattresses became straight and a cover came upon them. Again the girl stretched out her hands, but before she could speak <not she-had-time-to-speak>, the old woman quickly opened the door, caught hold of the girl [and] said to her: “May I be your sacrifice, my daughter! You are such a good girl, you have done us such a favour; I am very grateful to you!” [When] the girl saw the old woman, she was afraid; [then] she said to her: “Listen, I will tell you. I am the daughter of the king of India. My father has a great magician [at his court], who wanted to take me [for his wife]; but I refused, and so did my father. [The magician] grew very angry; he rose, made some magic with his charms, put me into this small box and threw me into the river, saying: “If he who finds you first <+ and> will like you, you will become <remain> human again; [but] if he who finds you will not like you, you will return again into this box and not leave <come-out of> it any more. Now, mother, if you like me, I, too, will become your sacrifice; but let your son marry me.” The old woman laughed [and] said: “My son will be <become> your servant; he does not reach your toe-nails! If you want him, he will become your slave <sacrifice>!” The girl said: “In any case, I want him.” They both sat down at the table [and] waited for the coming of the Bald Boy. Some half an hour later, when it was midday, the Bald Boy came [and] went into the house. The old woman rose <from-her-place> [and] said to him: “My son, come quickly [and] sit by the table, to-day we have a guest!” When the Bald Boy saw the girl, he was ashamed [and] lowered his eyes to the ground. The old woman said to him: “My son, do not be ashamed! This girl is your betrothed, soon you are going to marry one another!” The Bald Boy grew very angry [and] said: “Mother, is it not enough that God has stricken me, must you, too, laugh at me? Who wants me

[who am] bald headed!" The girl said to him: "If you agree, we shall marry <one another>; your head will soon become well, you yourself will learn to read and to write, and I can be of great help to you [in other ways,] too. If only you accept me, I will become your wife." The Bald Boy said: "I accept, and will become your servant." They sat down together, ate [and] drank. A few days later the girl said to the boy: "Rise, go outside, fill a tin with earth [and] bring it here!" The Bald Boy filled the tin with earth [and] brought it to the girl. She took the tin into her hands, touched the earth [and] said: "Earth, earth, turn quickly into pieces of gold!" Immediately the earth turned into pieces of gold. The girl called the old woman [and] said: "Old mother, quick, put on your dress [and] shoes, go to the king [and] buy this [piece of] land from him." The old woman said to her: "My daughter, for seven years they have been throwing <pouring-out> rubbish on this land, what do we want this land for?" The girl said: "Mother, this land is good for us; it is far from the city [and] people do not pass here. This land is good for us!" The old woman rose, put on her clothes [and] her wooden clogs, went along clipper-clapper [and] came to the king's palace. She came to the gate, [but] two doorkeepers barred her way, saying: "Go back, where are you going?" She said to them: "I am going to the king." They said to her: "Are you crazy? Who can go to the king?" The old woman saw that they were barring <barred> her way [and] said to them: "I have no time to wait here, what do you want of me?" She gave them each one piece of gold [and] they let her pass <opened her way>. She left them, went on <from them> and came to other doorkeepers; those, too, she gave one piece of gold each and passed them, too. Finally she came to the third gate [and wanted] to pass it and come to the king. The doorkeepers barred her way [and] said to her: "We will give you anything you want, but you cannot possibly go to the king." She said to them: "I do not want anything of you, let me go to the king!" They said to her: "You cannot go to him!" Finally one of them went in to the king [and] asked him [about the matter]. The king said to him: "Give her a little flour [and] let her go home!" He came [back], bringing with him a sack of flour [and] gave it to the old woman. The old woman took the flour, spilled <put> it over the door-keepers [and] made them white from head to foot. Immediately two other doorkeepers came and asked her: "What is the matter? What do you want?" She said to him: "I want to go to the king! Take care! If you bring [me some] flour, I will make you white, too; if you bring me rice, I will spill it over you! I have come to [see] the king." Immediately they went [and] related <said> her words to the king. The king said to them: "Give her a piece of gold [and] let her go home!" They came [back] to her [and] gave her a piece of gold. The old woman grew angry, put her hand in her pocket and threw ten pieces of gold at <over> them. They looked at one another, went in to the king [and] said to him: "Our lord the king, the old woman insists on seeing you <not she-is-agreeing, she-is-wanting you she-may-see>." We gave her some flour, [but] she spilled it over us; we gave her some rice, but he she did not accept [it]; we gave her a piece of gold,[but] instead she threw ten [others] before us." When the king heard this, he said to them: "Let her come in!" They said

to her: "Come in to the king!" The old woman went in to the king; they brought her a chair, she bowed to him [and] sat down. The king asked her: "What do you want?" She said to him: "My lord, I have come to you to buy some land from you." He said to her: "Which land do you want?" She said to him: "There is a field at the outskirts of the city, whree they spill the rubbish of the city; this I want to buy from you." The king asked: "Minister, lieutenant, what land is this?" They said to him: "Our lord the king, they have been throwing there the refuse of the city for seven years." [The king] looked at the old woman [and] said to himself: "This [woman] is surely crazy." He [then] said to her: "I give <gave> you all this field as a gift, for nothing." The old woman looked at him [and] said to him: "My lord the king, may God increase your kingdom! But I want nothing from the state without money. Tell me, how much money do you want?" The king was astonished; he looked at the minister, looked at the lieutenant. They said to him: "Make the matter short <much not make-it-long>! Ask her for money [and] let her stop talking <her-voice cut-it-off> [and] go home!" The king said to her: "Mother, its price is five hundred pieces of gold." The old woman said to him: "You are welcome! But I want a paper of you [to the effect] that this land has been <was> [duly] sold to me. After that, you, the minister [and] the lieutenant will sign <on> it." The king lost patience [with her], but there was no way out. He brought [some] paper [and] wrote it (the document); the minister and the lieutenant witnessed it <became witnesses> [and] signed it. After that the old woman took out of her pocket five hundred pieces of gold [and] placed them before the king. The king was astonished, but the land was sold. The old woman rose on her feet, bowed to the king [and] said to him: "My lord the king, from to-morrow on you will give notice not to throw rubbish there any more; let them throw it elsewhere!" The king said to her: "Gladly!" The old woman returned home [and] placed the paper before her daughter-in-law. The latter was very glad [and] said to her: "You did well!"

To return to this girl. In the night she rose from her sleep, went outside with the Bald Boy, opened her hands and said: "Come here! Quick, quick, come [here]!" All of a sudden they saw [magic] followers coming <they-came> in thousands, calling out: "Yeah, master! Yeah, master!" She said to them: "Curse you <may your master taste your death>! Quick, go to work, clear this field!" A few hours later they saw that the whole field had <has> become clean. After that they went to sleep again. On the following night they again rose from their bed, the girl opened her hands again, again the followers came by thousands, calling out: "Yeah, master! Yea, master!" She said to them: "Curse you! You will immediately build a wall around this field, erect <throw> a palace in its midst, plant around the palace a beautiful garden in a court-yard, where there should be every [kind of] tree." They sat [there] until the morrow, watching the workers. Early in the morning the wall was ready <built>; around it [was] a high wall, and in the court-yard a beautiful garden. They went both, awakened the old woman [and] said to her: "Get up quickly, we are going to our new house!" From that day they dwelt in the castle. As for the Bald Boy, he no

longer worked [and] no longer sold wood. He rose, went to the market, chose twelve handsome young men, bought them some fine green clothes, dressed them [and] said to them: "Come to my house [and] work [for me]! I will give you your meat and drink, and you will also receive a little money." Gladly they went with him. Two of them he placed at the gate, and the others worked under <+ the-hand-of> the old woman. As for the Bald Boy himself, he used to sit and learn reading and writing. He treated his head, until some handsome hair grew <came-out> on it. He used to be <sit> together with his wife; they ate and drank and were merry.

One day the son of the king of that city was walking about the city. He met his father's minister; they greeted one another, [and] the minister asked him: "Is it true [that] you are going to marry soon?" The prince said to him: "You are my father's minister and do not know of this <matter>?" The minister said to him: "My son, I do know! It is a pity that you, a prince [and] so handsome a youth, should not take a beautiful girl!" The prince grew angry [and] said to the minister: "What are you talking [about]? My betrothed is a princess, there is none as beautiful as she! Maybe you have not seen her [and] are therefore talking thus!" The minister said to him: "My son! True, she is beautiful, but there are far, far more beautiful [women] than she in this city. You need not have gone <reached> so far, without bringing a [truly] beautiful girl. If you remember, every day early in the morning a bald boy used to stand in the midst of the city selling wood. This bald boy [has] now married and is dwelling in a castle. There is none as beautiful as his wife, nor will there be!" The prince said to him: "You are a magician. If you can, bring her here [that] I may see her!" [The minister] said to him: "That I cannot [do]; but by magic, by charms, I can bring out her likeness for you and you will see it." The minister did some magic [and] brought out the likeness of the girl. When the prince saw [her] likeness, he fell in love with its beauty; he lost consciousness [and] fell upon the ground. Immediately the minister called his men; they lifted the prince [from the ground], placed him in a coach [and] brought him home <sick>. The prince fell ill, [and] his illness increased <grew-stronger> from day to day <day after day>. There remained no physician who did not treat this boy, but none of them found a remedy <for him>. The king's treasury grew emptier every day, [for] the king was bringing <brought> remedies and physicians for thousands of pieces of gold, but none of them were of avail. The king became upset and depressed. He had one single son who was intended to sit in his place, and now <+ behold> he had <has> fallen ill, and God [only] knew <knows> whether he would rise from his bed or not. The minister came to the king [and] said to him: "My lord the king, excuse me! I know that this your son is an only son [and] that you have no [more] children besides him. You have the right to spend as much money as you want, but I see that it is of no avail, except that <only> the treasury grows emptier every day. If you want to hear my opinion <if you-listen from-me>, there is no remedy for this boy. This boy is not ill, for this reason <matter> no physician can find a remedy for him. This boy has surely been bewitched <a trick they-did to-him>. If you will listen to me, you will not bring any more physicians

to this boy. It would be better if you were to call the sheikh; he will examine <see> the boy and will be able to know what ails him.” The words of the minister seemed reasonable to the king <in-forehead-of king sank>; he called the sheikh [and] said to him: “Maybe you will do [me] the favour of examining my son; you will talk to him and know what ails him.”

To continue about the sheikh. The sheikh came to the boy, rubbed him a little [with an ointment], prayed a little [and] recited the Koran. After that he spoke gently to the boy. The prince said to the sheikh: “What is hidden from God, what is hidden from man? I am not sick [and] no physician can find a remedy for me; I have fallen in love! If they do not bring [me] that girl, I <that man> – far be it from the listeners! – will die.” [The sheikh] asked him who that girl was <is>, [and the prince] told him.

To return to the king. When the king heard about this <these words>, he was very angry; he said: “What can I do? Minister, lieutenant, tell me! I cannot take away a married woman from her husband <not I-can wife-of husband from-hands-of her-husband I-take-her-out> [and] give her to my son!” The minister said to him: “My lord the king, there is no way out, you must do this thing! Call that Bald Boy here, charge him with <throw upon-him> a difficult task [and] tell him [that] if he does not fulfil that task within seven days, his head will be cut off. After that you will be able to make his wife your daughter-in-law!” The king was upset, but had no choice. Quickly they went [and] called the Bald Boy. The latter was sitting in the garden and reading. [When] he heard that the king was <is> calling him, he became terrified <it-fell from-him>. He looked at his wife; she said to him: “Never mind! Rise, go to the king [and] see what he wants.” An hour later the Bald Boy arrived at the castle, bowed [and] said: “My lord the king, whatever you demand, I am prepared [to do]!” The king looked at him and said: “I want you to bring me within seven days a bunch of grapes, of which the whole army may eat its fill and something may be left over.” The Bald Boy stared at the king [and] said: “My lord the king, it is winter, no grapes can be found in the market!” The king looked at him [and] said: “My word cannot be disobeyed <broken>. In another week <seven days> you will come here.”

To return to the Bald Boy. He returned home upset and depressed, <+ he returned> and went immediately to sleep. Dinner time came, but he did not rise from his bed. His wife sent for him, but he said: “I am ill; I cannot eat now.” He remained hungry for two days. His wife knew the reason for this <what story-it-is>, but she said [to herself]: “I am going to wait until he tells me himself.” After two days she lost patience; she went to her husband [and] said: “You will get up immediately [and] come [and] eat! If not <+ riser you-will-be>, woe betide you <to-your-soul>!” He said to her: “Leave me alone, do not irritate my pain!” She said to him: “If you tell me, it will be better for you!” He said to her: “The king called me [and] said to me: “You will bring [me] within seven days a bunch of grapes, of which the whole army may eat its fill and [something] shall be left over.” [His wife] looked at him [and] said: “Is that all <what else>?” He said to her – far be it from the listeners!:

“May your <that woman’s> house be destroyed! What do you want more <than-this>? Who can bring grapes now, in winter?” She said to him: “May God give you no [greater] worry! This is no [reason to] worry! Quickly, get up, eat, drink [and] let us make merry. On the seventh day I will give you the grapes.” Seven days later the woman awakened her husband [and] said: “Quick! Rise, go and bring the grapes! You will rise [and] go to the same forest where you used to gather wood; you will go to the same place whence you brought the last load of wood; near it are seven tall trees, behind which are three large rocks. Upon the third rock there is [something] like [a plate of] smooth marble. Strike upon this marble thrice with a small stone and say [three times]: “Ahmad, Muhammad, Mahmud! Then <now> you will see three dwarfs leaping <leap> out of the rock; they will be one span high and their beards two spans [long]; they will be sweeping the ground with their beards. Then <now> they will ask you: What do you want? Tell them: I am your sister’s husband <your-sister marrier>; she sends you many, many greetings <many many greeting are-there-to-you from-her>! She said [that] you should give her some grapes. Next they will give you the grapes. However much they ask you <whatever they-may-do>, you should not enter their house, [but] take the grapes [straight] to the king.” The Bald Boy went immediately, arrived at that <same> place, counted seven trees, and then three rocks, quickly struck the third rock thrice with a small stone, and then called out (thrice): “Ahmad, Muhammad, Mahmud!” He looked and saw three dwarfs coming <came> out of the rock; they were one span high, [and] their beards [were] two spans [long]. They asked him: “What do you want?” He said: “Your sister sends you many, many greetings! She tells <told> you to send her some grapes; she feels like eating grapes <her-heart grapes is-desiring>!” Immediately Ahmad lept inside [and returned], bringing a bunch of grapes with him. The Bald Boy took them. However they entreated him to enter their house a little, he refused. He held the grapes in his hand, walking <walked> through the forest [and] laughing: He looked at the grapes [and] said to himself: “I can put these into my mouth at one time! How can I give them to the king and say: These are for the whole army! <Now> he will laugh and kill me.” A few minutes later he again said to himself: “Be what may! I am going to taste <+ of> these grapes!” He plucked off one grape, and put it between his teeth; some sparks flew from it, and each spark became a load[ful] of grapes. He saw that the whole forest around him filled with grapes. Again he looked at the grapes [and] said to himself: “This is a nice trick!” He went running, came to the king, stood before him, bowed to him [and] said: “My lord the king, the grapes are here <ready>!” The king asked him: “Where are the grapes?” The Bald Boy put his hand in his pocket [and] took out <from-his-pocket> a small bunch of grapes. The king grew very angry [and] said: “How can <do> you say [that] this bunch will be enough for the whole army? Now your head will be cut off immediately!” But the Bald Boy did not lose heart <terror not fell on-him>; he plucked off one grape and crushed it between his fingers; some sparks flew from it, and every spark became a loadful of grapes. The audience-hall was filled with grapes. Quickly

he ran out of the king's presence into the courtyard, crushed another grape, [and] the whole court-yard was filled with grapes. Then he went out into the streets [and] filled all the streets, one by one, with grapes. Finally the whole city was filled with grapes. The king was astonished; wherever he <his-eye> looked, he saw [that] the whole city [was] full of grapes. Immediately he called all his army to the city, [and] ordered <took-out> the people from their houses to eat those grapes or to gather them from the city. The city filled with grape-juice; wherever a person walked, he was smelling grapes <smell-of grapes used-to-come his-nose> [and] he became intoxicated. It was not before <after> a month [that] the city was clean [again]. Again the king called the minister and the lieutenant [and] said: "You know what the Bald Boy has brought upon my head! What shall I do?" They said to him: "Call the sheikh again; let him seek [and] find a more difficult task." The king called the sheikh [and] said to him: "I want you to find a difficult task [such] as no one can fulfil. [I give] you three days time; after three days you shall come here." The sheikh went home, searched in his books for three days and three nights; finally he came to the king [and] said: "My lord the king, I [have] found [something]! Tell him to bring you a shirt to your liking <you liker>, [which should be] exactly according to your figure." The king was astonished; he said "There is nothing easier than that <+ matter>!" The sheikh said to him: "My lord the king, do not say so! Whatever shirt he may bring you, you can say: it does not fit me <for-me good it-is-not>; it is either [too] short or [too] long, or else its sleeves are not right, or else: I want its collar to be different. In this way you will be able to strike off his head." The sheikh's words pleased the king; he said to him: "From today I shall increase your salary." Again they went, called the Bald Boy [and] brought him before the king. The king said to him: "I want you to bring me within three days a shirt, but [it should be] to my liking!" The Bald Boy asked him; saying: "My lord the king, what colour should it be? Should its sleeves [be] short or long, [and] how [should] its collar [be]?" The king said to him: "Do not ask [questions]! Go home [and] come here in <after> three days!" Again the Bald Boy returned home upset and perplexed [and] went straight to sleep. Again his wife saw that he [had] returned from the king [and] knew that something had <has> happened again. In the afternoon she said to him: "Come [and] eat!" He said: Leave me alone! I do not feel well." She asked him: "What is the matter with you?" He said to her: "My head is aching from [my] trip". She said to him: Just go to sleep, [and] you will get well." In the evening she said to him [once more]: "Come [and] eat!" Again he said to her: "Leave me alone, I am not feeling well!" She left him, and he went to sleep hungry. The next morning she came, awakened him from his sleep, [but] he said to her: "I cannot get up to-day!" Again she grew angry [and] said to him: "Something has [surely] happened to you, but you are not telling me. It would be better for you to tell me the truth!" He said to her: "The matter is thus and thus. The king has charged me with bringing him a shirt to-morrow, which should be to his liking. If it will not please him, he will cut off my head." [His wife] said to him: "There is nothing easier than that!" He said to her: "Do not say so,

wife! Whatever shirt I may bring him, he will be able to find fault with it; he can say that its sleeves are [too] long, [or else] he may say that it is [too] short; whatever colour I bring him, he may say: I do not like this colour! <How-much-that> I asked him [about it], <but> he did not answer me <my-answer not he-gave-it>.” His wife said to him: “If this is all your worry, may God not give you a [greater] worry! Rise, eat [and] drink; to-morrow the shirt will be ready.” He rose from his bed, ate [and] drank. Again he sat in the garden with his wife; they went for walks together <they walked, they came, they went>. Early next morning [his wife] awakened him [and] said: “Rise, go to that same rock, strike it three times with a small stone and say: Ahmad, Muhammad, Mahmud! Then you will see the same three dwarfs coming out; once more give them many greetings from me <from-my-mouth> [and] say to them: Your sister desires a shirt. Whatever they do, do not enter [their] house.” The Bald Boy came running to the rock and knocked upon it thrice; all the three dwarfs leapt out [of it and] greeted him kindly. He said to them: “Your sister is safe and sound, but she desires a shirt. Immediately Muhammad leapt [inside], brought a shirt with him and gave it to the Bald Boy. As much as they insisted <for him to stay>, he said to them: “To-day I have no time; another time, God willing, I will stay <sit> with you, eat [and] drink [and] gladly [do] anything you wish!” He took leave of them and set out on his way. From time to time he looked at the shirt and laughed. The shirt was so small [that] no more than two fingers could go into it. He stuck his fingers into the shirt, looked at it [and] laughed as he was walking. He said to himself: “To-day my head is going to be cut off!” Suddenly he grew [so] angry [that] he wanted to tear the shirt. He seized it with both hands, [but] the more he pulled it, the wider it became <thus-it-opened>; hard as he tried <whatever he did>, it did not tear. He said to himself: “If so, I will wear this shirt first!” He pulled it over his head, and it was right <entered>, [for] it grew wider by itself. After he put it on, he looked at it, laughed [and] said: “What an ugly shirt this is, it is [too] short!” Immediately the shirt became longer!” After that he said: “Its sleeves are too long!” Immediately the sleeves became shorter by themselves. Again he laughed within himself [and] said: “This is a nice trick!” He took off the shirt; it became again as it was; he put it in his pocket and went to the king. He bowed to the king [and] said to him: “My lord the king, at your orders <order!>” The king looked at him [and] said: “Have you brought me the shirt?” The Bald Boy said to him: “Yes, my lord. Rise [and] take off your clothes! Let them bring mirrors that you may see the shirt.” Immediately the servants brought two large mirrors, the king took off the clothes, the Bald Boy took the shirt out of his pocket [and] said: “My lord the king, put it on!” When the king saw the shirt, he grew angry [and] said: “Because of this your head will be cut off today!” The Bald Boy looked at him [and] said: “My lord the king, excuse me, but you must have a little patience; put it on!” The king said to him: “How can I put on such a small shirt?” The bald Boy said to him: “My lord the king, try [it on]! If it does not fit you, you can cut off my head whenever you like!” The king seized the shirt with both <his> hands [and] wanted to tear it, but the shirt did not

tear and grew wider by itself. The king was astonished; he put on the shirt [and] saw that it was exactly according to his figure. He looked into the mirror [and] said: "This shirt is not to my liking." The Bald Boy asked him: "Why, my lord the king?" The king said to him: "I want a different kind of collar!" Once more [the Bald Boy] asked him: "What kind of a collar do you want?" Before the king could answer him, the collar became by itself the way the king wanted [it]. The Bald Boy said to him: "My lord the king, look into the mirror!" The king looked into the mirror [and] saw that it had the collar he wanted <same collar was-there>. However, the king said: "I want the shirt to reach <be long> to my knees." [In the] same moment the shirt grew long until [it reached] his knees. The king looked again into the mirror [and] did not know what to say; whatever he said, whatever pretexts he found <seized>, the shirt became the way he wanted it. The minister and the lieutenant said to him: "Our lord the king, do not be angry, but the second task has also been duly fulfilled <straight became>." The king said to him: "Bald Boy, you can go home. The third task remains <has-remained> [which] I will demand of you [in due time]." The Bold Boy went gladly home, came to his wife [and] told her what [had] occurred to him. She said to him: "Do not worry at all! The third task is not going to be hard either!"

To return to the king. The king sent for the sheikh [and] said to him: "Sheikh, your suggestion <word> was worthless <anything not it-worth-used-to-be>! See, he [has] brought me the shirt. Therefore your salary will be cut off, and I am going to chase you out of the castle." The sheikh fell on his face [and] kissed the king's feet, but the king took no heed of him; two servants came [and] took the sheikh out. The king sent for the kadi [and] said to him: "I want you to find a difficult task [such] as no man on the face of the earth can fulfil. I give you three days time; if you do not bring me an answer in <after> three days, I will have you hanged <gallows I-will-strike-you>." The kadi ran home, went into his room [and] began searching in his books. His room was full of books; from time to time he took a ladder, went up and down and took down some books. He neither ate nor drank. The next day the kadi's wife went in to him [and] said: "Husband, you must [have something to] eat! You are working [too] hard." In <from> his anger he threw at her the book [that was] in his hand. The woman ran out of the room; she waited again until evening, [and when] she saw that the kadi was <is> not coming out, she filled a bowl <plate> with curds and a loaf of bread, took it to him [and] said to him: "Eat a little while you are reading." He said to her: "Get out, quick!" Again the woman ran out of the room. While the kadi was reading, instead of dipping the bread into the curds, he struck it from time to time against the table and ate it. Two hours later his wife again found no rest <her-heart not agreed>; she said to herself: "Just let me go [and] see if he has eaten anything." She went in [and] saw that he had <has> eaten his bread, but that the curds had remained untouched <place by-place>. She said to him: "Are not the curds good? Why have you not eaten any?" He said to her: "Wife, do not make me angry, I have eaten <ate> all the curds!" Again his wife said: "Husband, you have

eaten nothing! Come <+ rise>, look at the plate!” The kadi looked at the bowl [and] saw that the curds had <have> been left in it. He lifted the bowl, drank some curds and threw the rest <what remained> at his wife, saying: “Get out!” She said to herself: “The kadi seems to be a little crazy <his-mind has-become-light>!” On the third day she suddenly saw [that] the kadi went out of the room, came joyfully to her [and] said: “Wife, God has given me success! Quick, prepare some food, we will eat [and] drink; [after that] I will put on my clothes and go to the king.” After he had eaten and drunk <he-ate he-drank>, he put on his clothes, went to the king, bowed to him [and] said: “My lord, I have found a difficult task for him. No one but God can fulfil it <its-answer give-it>. Let him bring you a little child, one year old, who should know all the languages. My lord the king, we all know that that a one-year old child does not even know his mother-tongue!” The king looked at him; he was greatly pleased [and] said: “You are a very wise kadi! I am going to increase your salary.” Immediately he sent two servants to go [and] bring the Bald Boy; at the same time he said to the minister: “From now on you will increase the kadi’s salary by fifty dinars.”

To return to the Bald Boy. That time the Bald Boy was very frightened [indeed]. The king said to him: “I want you to bring me within three days a little child, who should be able to answer questions put to him in any language<whatever language with-him they speak, he-should-know their-answer he-should-give>.” The Bald Boy went home upset and perturbed. That time he told his wife [about] his happenings <words> at once [and] said to her: “This time no one can help us.” She said to him: “Husband, do not worry! On the third day I will give you the small child.” The Bald Boy did not believe her, but he said [to himself]: “It is no good worrying!” On the third day she said to him: “You shall go to that same place [and] say to my brothers: “Your sister wants to see her youngest brother!” He came to the rock and struck it again; after the dwarfs came, he said to them: “Your sister is greatly longing to see her youngest brother.” Immediately they said to their youngest brother: “Go with him!” [The Bold Boy] lifted Mahmud up, placed him on his hand and took him along. On the way he asked him: “How old are you?” Mahmud laughed [and] said: “What do you think <what say-you>? You can say that I am one year old, or that I have been born yesterday, or that I am fifty; just as you like!” Again [the Bald Boy] asked him: “How many languages do you speak?” He said to him: “As many as you like!” [The Bald Boy] took Mahmud along with him, came to the king, bowed to him [and] said: “My lord the king, I have brought the child with me!” He put Mahmud before the king; the minister and lieutenant looked at him [and] said: “This child cannot be <there-is-not-to-him> more than one year [old].” After that he answered them in any language they spoke to him. The king [then] said to the Bald Boy: “Farewell! You have fulfilled <did> all my three orders; I have no more to do with you!” The Bald Boy took Mahmud [and] wanted to go, but Mahmud said to him: “Hold me fast, [for] I want to speak to the king!” He said to the king: “O king, you are greatly tormenting my sister’s husband, but that is not your fault. Therefore your son is going to die first, then I am going to overturn this castle on the head of

your minister and lieutenant; only I, you and my sister's husband will remain unharmed." A moment later all were standing in the courtyard, while the castle was destroyed with all who were in it. At the same moment it was announced that the king's son had finally died of his illness – far be it from the listeners! Again Mahmud said to the king: "Come down from your throne [and] let my sister's husband become king in your stead!" The king descended from his throne, the Bald Boy mounted the throne and sat on it. His wife became queen, and the old woman became the queen mother. All three neither ate nor drank nor attained their desire; may we eat, drink [and] attain our desire!

(e) Informant: M. E. of Šino.

ítwa xa danka mirza mahmud. ja mirza mahmud *rába* mare-dolta wéle babew. ja babew xa brona-w xa brata twále. ja brata hwilále gora, pišle bronew g-bela. xa joma mǐre: 'bróni, ana aqirwit mola xdiren. átta idálox, *taha* xabre ítti amrinnu baux." qriwle *janew*, mǐre: "bróni, ja olka *rába* šule xriwe odane ita; qamail *ǵrúblu*, bára údlu. arāq šatjane", mǐre, "*rabé*-lu. sílox, lele *sata* tmanja čča, sílox *g-xammara*, xazet b-enox, o waxt kjet ma odet." zille *sata* tmanja, xzéle: kullu skíri, émni napoxe, émni zamore, émni raqole, émni *mastore*. enew xzélu, mǐre: "min d-aj šula bai fajda lít." idjéle *háwa* béla. oxed *asr baruxew* idjéle, mǐre: "mirza mahmud, ma jtíwet gi-tkana? at ǵwanqé-let!" mǐre: "ma oden?" "ida", mǐre, "ǵáli, kef ita!" awwal babew miréle: "agār zillox, baqatjo hájjo si, kjet ma ita." tka biqrále, u-baqatjo zille. xǐre xzéle: min d-aj-š fajda lít! oxed joma zille g-xa atuqta *hamam*. babew mǐre: "*taha* ǵge umbul ǵálox izalox *hamam*, o waxt lajlač loké-le." xǐre xzele: naš lít *g-hamam*, ebéle dárwa, lajlač qala hwíle: "mirza mahmud! idálox, *talax!*" ba-mirza mahmud mǐre: "ǵǵé-ttox?" *taha* ǵge hiwíle b-idew. lajlač dwíqle šikle g-idew, mindíle m-kawa, mǐre: "mirza mahmud, sílox reš gare, xur, xzi: ana mad amrinnox, axxé-la!" zille xzéle: mad lajlač miréle, xzéle: xabréw-ile. kwíšle m-gare, idjéle geb lajlač. mǐre lajlač: "ma xzélox, mirza mahmud?" "mad mǐrox, xabrox ile." lajlač mǐre: "ana axča *taláné*-len, min xa ǵga šilǵili reš gare, jilli maj wélu. géna ana minnox biš mare-dolta wéli, pišle ja joma. ana ajolen, babox ja wasita widélla baux. átta sílox, *qumar la tul!*" mirza mahmud libbew qílle l-d-aj naša. *plítile* xa dehwa smoqa, hwíllele. ja lajlač zille šuqa, xánči ǵulle atuqe šqílle ba-nóšew, liwšíle. mirza mahmud idjéle géna, zille jtíwle reš tkanew. babew – *riqqa* m-šamjane! – *niftar* pišle. mǐre: "ma oden? babi ǵwan wasita widlélli." qímle, xa dasta bate mindéle, mánid adéwa g-d-o olka, qariba péšwa, gezíwla g-d-ojne bate, kxílwa, šatéwa, *damíxwa*. bar kimma *wada* hič mindix la pišle llew, kullu xirǵile ba-*wirxit* dadew. átta ma be-od? zille geb daew, mǐre: "dáe, la xašwat *qumarčí*-len, la xašwat arāq šítjen, la xašwat šule xriwe wíden! len wíden! ajja fisse kullu ba-*hestit* babi xirǵili. átta xwajíš wáden minnax, xánči fisse hawáti." daew mǐra: "ǵál axča dolta ma wídllox? átta ana kimma fissé-tti, ma be-odet ǵálu?" qímle mirza mahmud, rešew intélele, zille, m-olka *plítile*. léka b-ezil? b-ezil bel xaluntew, mare-dolté-la *rába*, *wirxit* arba jome. xa jom xdírel-

lew lele, zille g-xa bela. kimma naše idjélu g-d-o bela, xillu, štélu, *psixlu*. mirza mahmud be-kef jtíwle, hič le maqo. ja qímle, xa kaxtja klíwle: “ej xalunti, mánit aj kaxtja midjále, xa dehwa hawáte!” dirjále g-paket, diwqále b-idew kaxta, *baruxawew* míre: “mánid ja kaxtja ambílla, xa dehwa šaqil, *wirxit* xa *saté-la*, bel haji brahim” – ja gor xaluntew ile. xa gora il-kaxtja šiqlále m-idew, imblále, idjéle, o kaxtja hwilále il-xaluntit mirza mahmud. ja kaxtja qirjála, baxilaw idjéla. *plltla*, xa dehwa hwilla ba-d-aj *qasíd*. goraw idjéle. šul goraw maj wéle? xa xmara – *haša m-salme* – itwale, *raktíwwa* il-xmarew, gezilwa reš *tajre*. kimmit fisse dena hawéwale, šaqilwalu, madéwalu bela. idjéle, xzéle: baxtew bxíta. míre: “báma bxítat?” kaxtja mixwjála llew. qímle, xamšassar *tene qitta* dwíqle, šdíre gäl *čarwadare* (karwan amblane). gäl d-aj *qasíd* ajne *tene* imblílu ba-mirza mahmud. xa dasta jwan julle šdírelle ba-mirza mahmud, xa suse alhadda šdíre ba-mirza mahmud ki *raktíwle*, ade geb xaluntew. *attat* mirza mahmud ade, gor xaluntew zille, xa dasta tkane *mibtíllele*. ajne *tene mtélu* b-id mirza mahmud. *rába psixle*, qímle, julle lwišile, *rktíwle* reš suse, idjéle ba-málit i xaluntew. xa danka nokār míre: “mirza mahmud, *flan* tka huĵra jaznox *mibtíllellox*, ajne *tene* imbúllu lóka.” bále o joma, *attat matéwa* g-d-o olka, *darwázit* olka dwíqálu. kimmit tkéle, lwéle, *darwaza* la pilxálu baew. ba-d-ajne *čarwadare* míre: “*tene* mindímunu láchxa, xa reš xa.” *tene* mindjálu *čarwadare*, lixma xíllule, ixala hwíllu ba-*qinjane*, *dmíxlu*. pilgilléle xa talis m-gaw olka mindjálu, lókit mirza mahmud pil. mirza mahmud homana intéwala llew, kwíšle m-reš *tene*, xzéle: xa kista hójla lóka. míre: “xa xur, *xasa b-čarwadare* la *jsur*!” kista xízja talilta. gugurd dhílle, mliqle, xíre: kista dimmanta. mitwále *jan taje*. baqatjo xdíre, *darwaza* pilxálu. qímle, *tenew mitníle* reš *qinjane*, *wíre* g-olka. zille g-huĵre, ajne *tene* kullu pilxíle, il-d-aj kista midjále, xíre xzéle: xa danka jwanqa sqila min d-aj kista *plltle*. ja jwanqa arbi xanĵare dhíwalulle, arbi briné-tte. *brindar* míre: “*ha* gora, ja špirula widálox gáli, illi mdélox láchxa, xa hakima mdi bai!” mirza mahmud qímle, zille g-šuqa, míre: “ana gben xa hakima špira!” hakima djéle, míre: “joma imma lire gben!” hwíllele, míre: “joma imma lire kwínnox.” hakima djéle, šula wídle reš d-aj *brindar*, *attat trísle*. xa joma hakima xzéle: ja *brindar trísle*. mirza mahmud xa qrušew la píšle. ja *mal* zbínnelle, hwíllele ba-hakima. hakima míre: “xa šuša *darmana* gbe ajja *brindar*, imma dehwe *timaw* ile.” mirza mahmud míre: “ja hakima, xur xzi: agār ítti, hawínnox!” qímle hakima, min d-aj šuša *darmana* mrislele reš d-aj *brindar*. hakima zille. ja *brindar* maréle ba-mirza mahmud: “mirza mahmud, *atta trísli*, *awa* xadir below! bále kpiné-len, m-kipni la *qtúlli*!” míre: “*brindar*, agār ítti, ezen šaqlínnox. *tim* tre alpe dehwe *mal* itwáli, kulla zbínille, hwíllille ba-hakima. *átta tríslox*.” *brindar* míre: “hóli xa kaxtja-w qalama.” *brindar* qímle, klíwle, adrésit tkana kilwále, míre: “mirza mahmud, sílox *flan* tka, lóka tkana íta, huĵra. ja kaxtja hóla l-d-o naša.” kaxtja qirjále o naša, míre: “íttox, ma íttox, mirza mahmud?” míre: “heš mindiy lítti!” qímle, xa mitr humajil *qtéle*, hwíllele b-idew, *mlélele* bbew dehwe smoqe. mirza mahmud mdéle, idjéle. xzéle *g-wirxa*: xa danka naša dwíqa, abójlu talténile. mirza mahmud *mtéle* lóka, míre ba-d-ajne naše: “il-d-aj báa taltójletune?” ajne naše míru: “ajne bate kullu aj d-aj našé-lu, denané-le

bau.” mirza mahmud mře: “kimmit denané-le, ana kwınnu. ajne bate klúwunu b-šimmi.” bate kullu klíwlu b-šimmit mirza mahmud. kud naša daftärew *piltáde*, xa mře: “trémme”, xa mře: “xamšámme”, xa mře: “alpa”, xa mire: “tre alpe”, mirza mahmud ba-kullu hwille. ajne bate xđfru b-šimmit mirza mahmud. qliljit i bate mispjílu il-mirza mahmud, xa qrušew la pišle dena. zille geb *brindar*. *brindar* mře: “mirza mahmud, *m-jari trísli*, átta abójlet m-kipni *qatlłtti*? léka pišlox?” mátot mčéli baax, o mčéle baew. *brindar* mře: “hólu kaxtje qaláme!” kaxtje klíwle. mirza mahmud o tkana kjílwale, zille g-d-o tkana. axčín awwal hwillele, axča xet hwillele. idjéle mirza mahmud duz g-šuqa, mindixane šqille, imbille ba-*brindar*, xillu štélu. mirza mahmud mře ba-*brindar*: “*qu ezex, brindar!*” mře: “léka?” mře: “xa dasta bate šqilen (~ šqil-len), ezex g-d-ojne bate.” qimlu zillu g-d-ojne bate. bale g-*wirxa* dasta dasta jwanqe *smixíwa*. il-d-aj *brindar* xzélulle, tamanna widlulle, reša mkíplule. *brindar* idew *maroma* wele, izala wéle. mirza mahmud mahtál pišle: ja báma kullu reša mkíplu l-d-aj naša? zillu, jtíwlu g-bate. mirza mahmud zille šuqa, mad *lazım* wéle ba-bela šqille, mdéle gal *hambal*. oxed joma *brindar* mře: “mirza mahmud, *madam* o naše tre zae fisse hwille, o naša gbe mewana odítte láxxa!” qimle, mad *brindar* mře, mirza mahmud šqille, *hazır* widle. bšillu, šatoe mdélu, m-arāq, m-xamra, m-konjak. *brindar* mře: “mirza mahmud, nóšew baxtew mewana wúdle bela, mar ade. mar baew: mewané-let!” zille mirza mahmud, mře xaš: “ad idjom lele nóšox baxtox bai mewané-letun!” gora djéle *asr*, nóšew baxtew. jtíwlu lele, xillu štélu, *attat* pilgilléle. ja mewana mře: “ana gben ezen bela. malle, *damxéxa!*” *brindar* mře baew: “m-átta bára la xadir ezet bela, *dawrija* doqálox! *dmúxun* láxxa!” mirza mahmud qimle, šiwe šwéle ba-d-aj gora-w baxta, xa šiwe-š šwéle ba-*brindar*, xa šiwe-š šwéle ba-nóšew. arbamnu *dmíxlu*. *brindar la misséle damíxwa*, qimle, arbi xanjäre il-d-aj mewana dhille, arbi-š il-baxtew dhille, *plłtle* tára. frizun dhille, kimmit ajne jwanqe g-*wirxa* xzéwalulle, kullu djélu, ma itwa g-d-aj bel mirza mahmud intélu, zillu, imblílu bel *brindar*. mirza mahmud qimle baqatjo, *sata* isra, xzéle: g-bela hič mindiy la piš. agār xře, xzéle: hójle gora-w baxta tunnu *qtile*. *brindar* la piš. átta mře: “jéza ana ma oden?” qimle zille tára, kuča, arba danke min d-ojne jwanqe xzéle, ja reša mkípwalu ba-*brindar*, mře: “o nášit tímml gáli wéle, il-d-o naša kjétune? belew mixwimunulli!” mřru: “o naša *šultané-le!*” “máto,” mře, “*šultané-le?*” mirza mahmud mře: “illi imbúlun belew!” ja *šultana* kimma *wada* wéle *brindar*, olka pišáwa be *šultana*. naše *rába* djélu geb *šultana*. il-do xamša jarxe, il-do isra jarxe *dusay* widile. axči *dusayče* *rába* xđfru. il-mirza mahmud-iš šđfrule g-*dusay*, zillu. mirza mahmud mře ba-*dusayči*: “sílox, mar ba-*šultana*: tkit špirula xriwula be-odi? agār mře: il-d-o xabra máni miréle? mar: mirza mahmud miréle.” *šultana* mře: “máto mirza mahmud dirjétune g-*dusay*? símun, tez *plútune*, imbúlune *hamam*, jwan mixımune, ja dasta julle imbúlun, milbúšune illew, mdımune gebi!” imbillu, mátot *šultana* mře, áxxa widúlle, imbíllule geb *šultana*. lele jtíwle gál *šultana* mirza mahmud, wakile, wazire, xillu, štélu, u-kud naša zille bel nóšew. mirza mahmud átta mře: “*šultana*, ad ma mdélox b-reši? at nóšox mřrox, gora-w baxta mewane wúdlu! bára-š qímlox *qitłlox?*” *šultana* mře: “mirza mahmud, min d-ajne šule šula

la hawélox! átta mad gbet hawínnox.” mře: “ana hiš mindiy la gben! ana gben minnox, ja *sír* bai amrítte.” *šultana* mře: “mirza mahmud, ja šula šulox léwe, la *missen* aškára odinne.” mře mirza mahmud: “agär abójlet, ja *sír* kimrítte bai, la abójlet, gezéna m-belox, puš šalomi!” *šultana* mře: “špirula *rába* widet gáli, átta mad gbet ana kwínnox. xa joma *šultané-len*, babi-š *šultana* wéle. babi mílle, hič jale lítwale, bäs ana wéli. kimmit *šultane* ítwa, kullu m-babi zadéniwa. ana qímli, jullit gure lwišli, jtíwli tkit babi, *šultanula* widli biš zóda m-babi. bále xa dard dwíq-
lelli, hakime djélu, míru: *šultana* hawe basima! lele-w joma gbe xamra šatet. *šultané-len* ana! kimmit basire ítwa, kullu midjílu, widílu xamra. áxxa xdfre ja xamra, *mtéle*. štéli minnew, *attat* o jómít xzéloxi *brindar*, hār šatínwa lele joma. arbi nokārawé-tti, arbi-š *qarawaše*. qlilit (for: qliljit) d-aj bel xamra b-id d-ot *qtllile*, b-idew wéla. kud jom šadrínwa nokār, xamra madéniwali. o joma šdři nokār, la djéle. isrimnu nokārawe šidrili, isri minnu la djélu. *qarawaš* šdři, o-š la djéla. isri minnu *qarawaše* šidrili, la djélu. hawil xdfri ba-šatōe, u-la djélu, hič minnu! qímli nóši, zilli bel-d-aj naša, xfri xzéli: ja naša xamra mídje, magon *mae* hiwále ba-d-ojne nokārawe *qarawaše*, šatójlu. *mtéli* bel d-aj gora, *šabadjit* i xamra intéli, giršáli, g-pinni dirjáli, kullaw šitjáli. xaxet *šabadja-š mlélu*, il-d-o-š šitjáli. pílli, la kken lelé-le illa joma. ajne kud minnu zillu ba-belu, ana štéli bel d-o gora. qímle, arbi xanjäre dhilleli, illi pirtífi bar *darwaza*. o wéle, ilha *trísleli*, at sabāb xdfrox. átta ma gbet hawínnox.” mirza mahmud: “to,” mře, “agär babox brona lítwale, átta méka xdfrox bron *šultana*?” mře: “m-ilha aškára, minnóx-iš ma *tašéna*? ana bratélan!” mirza mahmud mře: “at braté-lat, ana-š jwanqé-len! átta goráti? illax gben! la goráti, *palten* gezen.” *šultanta* mřa: “agär ana llox goran – špirula *raba* widet gáli –, bále ana la *missan* láxxa jatwan.” qímli, tre susawe *plítla* m-paga, xa ba-mirza mahmud, xa-š ba-nóšaw, tre xurjine. tunnu xurjine *miljila* dehwe, *rkiwlu* zillu. *attat* pilgilléle *trélu*. *mtélu* xa *baxča* twála ja *šultanta*. ja mřa: “mirza mahmud, átta *lazim* jatwex láxxa. kud zaa ana adjánwa láxxa gal babi, xa joma *wirxa* wéla. átta idjélan b-išta *sate*. átta abójlan ana, jatwex láxxa, xa tika lixma axlex, xánči-š *damxéxa*. bále gbet at awwal *dmux*. agär la, ana *be-damxan*!” mirza mahmud mře: “*šultanta*, ana kečikčjula goden baax, ad *dmux*!” bále mřa: “mirza mahmud, ana arbi lapke id il-jaxxi, l-odet taqret illu! agär tqřrox, *tahi-w* iččaju plúxlu, aj arbi la palxítta! agär pilxálox i arbi-š, ana gezan m-idox, xen la xazítta!” rešaw drélale reš čoqew, ja *dmíxla*. ida hwille il-d-ajne lapke paloxe. *tahi-w* ičča lapke pilxile, *tahi-w* iččaju. hič mindix la xdfra, *dmíxa*. mře: “ja *šultanta* kullu xabraw duz hawe, ja xabraw duglé-le! báma *taha-w* iččaju plixíli, hič mindiy la xdfra? ja lapkáv-iš be-palxinna, xazen xabraw duz ile *jan* duglé-le!” o lapka-š pilxále, i arbi, xa danka dewa djéle, il-d-aj brata imblále, zille. mirza mahmud jtíwle baxoe, xdfre xa darweš, pílle *g-ahrawe*.⁶

There was a certain Mirza Mahmud, whose father was very rich. His father had one son and one daughter; he gave the daughter in marriage (he-gave-her husband),

⁶ Motif not found in literature. For suspected person being struck 40 times with dagger, cf. VT 204.

[and] his son remained at home. One day he said: "My son, my death is near <I near-of death I-have-become>. Now come, there are three things I want tell you." His son drew near, [and he] said: "My son, there are many people in this city who do wrong <+ things>; first try such actions out, [and] then [you may] do them them. There are," he said, "many drinkers of arrack. Go at eight [or] nine o'clock at night <+ go> to the tavern [and] you will see [them] with your [own] eyes; then you will know what to do." [The young man] went at eight o'clock [to the tavern and] saw [that] all were <have-become> drunk; some were <is> vomiting, some singing, some dancing [and] some cursing. When he saw this <his-eyes saw>, he said: "This <matter> is not <good> for me." He came back home. The next evening his friend came [and] said: "Mirza Mahmud, why are you sitting in the shop? You are a young man!" [Mirza Mahmud] said: "What should I do?" "Come", said his friend, "with me, there is fun!" [Now] before [that] his father had <has> said: "[If you go anywhere], go early in the morning; [then] you will know how things are <what there-is>." He asked for that place and went [there] in the morning. He saw [that] this, too, was no good. The next day he went to an old bath-house. His father [had] said: "Take with you three knuckle-bones when you go to the bath-house; at that time the incorrigible gambler will be <is> there." Mirza Mahmud looked [and] saw [that] there was <is> no one in the bath-house. He was about to return, [when] the gambler gave voice: "Mirza Mahmud, come, let us play!" He [then] said to Mirza Mahmud: "Do you have any knuckle-bones?" [The latter] gave him <in-his-hand> the three bones. The gambler took <seized> the bones <pictures> in his hand, threw them out of the window-hole [and] said: "Mirza Mahmud, go on the roof [and] look <+ see>, the bones will come to lie as I tell you <I what I-will-tell-you, thus-it-is>!" [Mirza Mahmud] went [and] saw [that] the man had spoken true <his-word-it-is>. He descended from the roof [and] came to the gambler. The gambler said: "What did you see, Mirza Mahmud?" "It was as you said <your-word-it-is>." The gambler said: "I am such a [clever] gambler [that] I could tell <knew> from one bone that I threw <them> from the window-hole, what they were. I was even richer than you, but that day is past <has-remained>! I know [that] your father has made you this testament; now go, [and] do not gamble!" Mirza Mahmud took pity on that man. He took out a piece of red gold [and] gave it to him. The gambler went to the market, bought himself some old clothes [and] put them on. Mirza Mahmud came back and sat [again] in <on> his shop. Some time later his father – far be it from the listeners! – passed away. He said [to himself]: "What shall I do? My father has left me a handsome fortune <good testament has-made-me>." He rose, bought a set of houses; whoever came to that city as a stranger <stranger he-used-to-remain>, went to [one of] those houses, ate, drank [and] slept [there]. After some time nothing was left to him (to Mirza Mahmud); he had spent <he-spent> everything in memory <way> of his father. What was he to do now? He went to his mother [and] said: "Mother, you must not think [that] I am a gambler; neither must you that I have done bad things; I have not done [so]! All this money I [have] spent in honour of my father. I now have <am-

making) a request from you, [that] you should give me some money.” His mother said: “What did you do with all this <such> fortune? Now [but] I have some money, what are you going to do with it?” [So] Mirza Mahmud rose, set out on his way [and] went out of the city. Where did he intend to go? He intended to go to his sister’s house – she was very rich; it was a journey of four days. One day he was overtaken by night <night became-to-him>; he went to a village [and] came to a house. Some people came to that house; they ate, drank [and] made merry. Mirza Mahmud sat [there] in a bad mood, saying <is-not speaking> nothing. [Then] he rose [and] wrote a letter: “O my sister, you will give a piece of gold to him who brings you this letter!” He put the letter into an envelope, took it in his hand [and] said to his companions: “He who will take this letter along, will receive <take> a piece of gold; [its destination] is an hour’s walk [away]; it is the house of Haĵi Ibrahim” (this was <is> his sister’s husband). One man took the letter from him <from-his-hand>, took it along, came [to its destination, and] gave the letter to Mirza Mahmud’s sister. [When] she [had] read it, she began to weep. She went out [and] gave a piece of gold to the messenger. [A little later] her husband came. What was her husband’s occupation? He had a donkey – save your presence! – which he used to ride and make a round of the merchants <he-used-to-go over merchants>, cash <take> whatever debts were [due] to-him [and] bring [the money] home. [When] he came [home], he saw that his wife had <has> wept. He said: “Why have you wept?” She showed him the letter. He rose, took fifteen loads of homespun material and sent [them] with caravan-drivers. They took these loads, accompanied by the messenger, to Mirza Mahmud. [Haĵi Ibrahim also] sent a suit of good clothes for Mirza Mahmud, as well as a special horse to mount it and come to his sister. Awaiting Mirza Mahmud’s coming <until Mirza Mahmud should come>, he emptied a set of shops. [When] those bales <loads> reached Mirza Mahmud, he was very glad; he rose, put on the clothes, mounted the horse [and] came to his sister’s village. One of the servants said to him: “Mirza Mahmud, your brother-in-law has emptied for you a vault in such-and-such a place; take those bales along there!” But on that day, by the time he [had] arrived in that city, they [had] closed the city-gate. In spite of all his entreaties <how-much-that he-begged, he-entreated>, they did not open the gate for him. He said to the caravan-drivers: “Put the bales down here, one upon the other.” The drivers put the bales down, ate their supper <bread>, gave food to the beasts [and] went to sleep. At midnight a sack was thrown [over the wall] from the city, to where Mirza Mahmud had halted <has-fallen>. Mirza Mahmud, who had fallen into a slumber <slumber had-overtaken-him>, started up, came down from the balls [and] saw a sack [lying] there. He said [to himself]: “Now look! You can never trust these caravan-drivers <back at-caravan-drivers do-not tie>!” [As] the sack looked <has-been-looking> wet, he struck a match, lighted [it], [and] saw [that] the sack [was] bloody; he put it beside the bales. In the morning they opened the gate. [Mirza Mahmud] rose, loaded the bales on the beasts [and] entered the city. He went to the vaults, opened all the bales, brought that sack [and] saw a handsome young man

coming <came> out of that sack. That young man been stricken forty times with a dagger <forty daggers they-had-stricken-him>, and he had <has> forty wounds. The wounded man said: "O man, [since] you have done <did> me this favour [and] brought me here, bring me a physician!" Mirza Mahmud rose, went to the market [and] said: "I want a good physician!" The physician came [and] said: "I want a hundred pounds a day!" Mirza Mahmud gave [them] to him, saying: "I will give you a hundred pounds a day." The physician came [and] did what there was to do <his-work> by the wounded man until he was healed. One day the physician saw [that] the wounded man was well [again]. [By that time] not a piaster <his-piaster> had been left to Mirza Mahmud; he [had] sold [his] goods [and] given their price to the physician. The physician said: "This wounded man needs a bottle of medicine which costs a hundred pieces of gold." Mirza Mahmud said: "Look, physician! If I have [this money], I will [gladly] give it to you!" The physician rose [and] sprinkled some medicine from the bottle over the wounded man; [after that] he went away. The wounded man said to Mirza Mahmud: "Mirza Mahmud, now I am well <I-became-well> [again], many thanks to you <inhabited may-become your-house>! But I am hungry; do not let me die of hunger <of-my-hunger do-not kill-me>!" [Mirza Mahmud] said: "Wounded man, if I had <have> the money, I would <will> go [and] buy [food] for you! I had goods worth two thousand pieces of gold <worth-of two thousands pieces-of-gold goods I-had>, I [have] sold them all [and] given <gave> the money to the physician. Now you are well [again]." The wounded man said: "Give me a [piece of] paper and a pen!" He rose, wrote the address of a [certain] shop [and] said: "Mirza Mahmud, go to such-and-such a place; there is a shop there, a vault. Give this letter to the man [whom you will find there]." When that man read the letter, he said: "Do you have ... What do you have, Mirza Mahmud?" [The latter] said: "I have nothing!" [The man] rose, cut off one meter of fine white cloth [and] gave it to him, [having] filled it with pieces of red gold. Mirza Mahmud took it along <he-brought, he-came>. On his way he saw a man whom they had seized <a unit person seized> and wanted <were-wanting> to hang. [When] Mirza Mahmud arrived there, he said to the people [who were about to hang the man]: "Why are you hanging this [man]?" The men said: "All these houses belong to this man, but he owes money <debtor-is> for them." Mirza Mahmud said: "Whatever he owes, I will pay. Write those houses in my name!" Everyone took out his ledger; one said: "[He owes me] two hundred"; another said: "He owes me five hundred"; yet another said: "He owes me a thousand", and yet another said: "He owes me two thousand." Mirza Mahmud paid them all. Those houses were written <became> in his name. They handed the keys of the houses to Mirza Mahmud, as the debt was now cancelled <one his-piaster not remained debt>. He went to the wounded man. [The latter] said: "Mirza Mahmud, my wounds are healed <from-my-wounds I healed>, but [now] you want to let me die of hunger! Where have you been <remained>?" Mirza Mahmud told him what <how-that> I [have] told you. The wounded man said: "Give me [some] paper [and] pens!" He wrote some letters. Mirza Mahmud already

knew <had-known> that shop where he had gone the first time, [so] he went to that place <shop> again. [The shopkeeper] gave him the same amount that he had given him before <as-much-as first he-gave-him, so-much again he-gave-him>. Mirza Mahmud went <came> straight to the market, bought some food, <things> brought [it] to the wounded man, [and] they ate [and] drank. Mirza Mahmud then said to the wounded man: "Get up [and] let us go, wounded man!" The latter said: "Where?" Mirza Mahmud said: "I have bought a set of houses; let us go to these houses." They rose [and] went to those houses. But on the way [there] were young men standing in groups, [who, when] they saw the wounded man, saluted him [and] bowed to him. The wounded man greeted them by lifting his hand <his-hand lifting he-was>, [as] he was walking. Mirza Mahmud wondered, why all these [men] bowed to that person. They went and took abode in those houses. Mirza Mahmud went to the market, bought all that was necessary for the house [and had it] brought [home] by a porter. The next day the wounded man said: "Mirza Mahmud, since that man [in the shop] has given <gave> us money twice, you must invite him <that man you-are-going guest make-him> [here]." Mirza Mahmud rose [and] bought [and] prepared all that the wounded man told him; they cooked [the food], [and] brought some drinks, such as arrack, wine [and] brandy. The wounded man said: "Mirza Mahmud, invite him <self> and his wife to the house <+ let him come>. Tell him: You are [our] guest!" Mirza Mahmud went [to that man, and] said <again>: "You and your wife are my guests to-night <to-day night>." In the evening the man came, he and his wife. They sat [together] that night [and] ate [and] drank till midnight. Then the guest said: "I want to go home. Enough, let us go to sleep!" The wounded man said to him: "<From> now <on> you cannot go home; the police patrol will arrest you! Go to sleep here!" Mirza Mahmud rose, made a bed for that man and his wife, another for the wounded man and yet another for himself. All four <of-them> went to sleep. The wounded man could not sleep: he rose, struck that guest forty times with his dagger <forty daggers>, did the same to his wife [and] went out. He whistled; all <how-much-that> the young men he had seen on his way came, took all there was in Mirza Mahmud's house, <went> [and] carried it along to the house of the wounded man. Mirza Mahmud rose in the morning at ten o'clock [and] saw [that] nothing had <has> been left in the house. When he looked [again], he saw that man and wife had both been [were] killed, [and] that the wounded man had disappeared <not has-remained>. He then <now> said: "Now what shall I do?" He rose, went out into the street, saw four of those young men who had bowed to the wounded man [and] said: "That man who was with me yesterday – do you know him <+ that man>? Show me his house!" They said: "That man is the king!" "How [do you mean]?", said he, "he is the king?" Then Mirza Mahmud said: "Take me to his house!" The king had been wounded for a long time [and] the city had remained without a king. [Now] many people came to his house. Some of them <to-that-one> he sentenced <made> to five months, and another to ten months [of] prison, so that <thus> there were many people imprisoned. Mirza Mahmud was also sentenced to prison

[and] marched off <they-went>. Mirza Mahmud said to the prison-guard: "Go [and] say to the king: "Does one requite good with evil <place-of goodness badness they-do>? When he says: Who has said this [word]? Tell [him]: Mirza Mahmud has said it." [The prison-guard did as he was told.] The king said: "How could you <have-you> put Mirza Mahmud into prison? Why did you do it? Go, let him out immediately, take him to a bath-house, give him a good bath; [after that] bring [him] a suit of clothes, dress him [and] bring him to me!" They did as the king told [them and] brought him to the king. [That] night Mirza Mahmud stayed <sat> with the king, the ministers [and] the lieutenants; they ate [and] drank, [and then] everyone went home. [Now] Mirza Mahmud said: "King, what [have] you brought upon me? You yourself told [me] to invite that man and his wife, [and] after [that] you rose [and] killed them!" The king said: "Mirza Mahmud, never mind that <of these matters matter not there-be to-you>! Now I will give you whatever you want." Mirza Mahmud said: "I want nothing! I [only] want you to tell me this secret." The king said: "Mirza Mahmud, this matter does not concern you <your-matter is-not>. I cannot make it public." Mirza Mahmud said: "If you want, you can tell me this secret; if not, I will go from your house; farewell!" The king said: "You have done me a great favour; now I will grant your request <whatever you-want I-will-give-you>. I have [now] been king [for] one day; [but] my father was also king. [When] my father died, he had no children except me <only I was>. All the other kings <how-many kings there-were> feared my father. I rose, donned men's clothes, sat in my father's place and ruled <kingdom I made> more [mightily] than my father. But a pain seized me; the physicians came [and] said: "May the king be well! You must drink wine night and day. [Now] I am a king! [I gave orders, and] they brought all the grapes there were [in my kingdom] and made them to wine. Thus the wine ripened. I drank of it; up to the day when you saw me wounded, I used to drink night and day. I have forty servants and forty maids. The keys to the cellar <wine-house> were in the hands of that [man] whom I [have] killed. I used to send a servant to him every day, [and] they used to bring me wine. One <that> day I sent a servant, [but] he did not come [back]. I sent twenty [other] servants, [but] none <all ten> came [back]. [Then] I sent a maid, and she did not come back either; [then] I sent all the twenty [other] maids, [and] they did not come back [either]. I had a great craving for drink, but they did not come, not a single one! [So] I rose myself [and] went to the house of that man. I saw [that] that man had brought wine, [and] had given it like water to those servants [and] maids; they were <are> [all] drinking. I came to that man, took a tub of wine, lifted <pulled> it, put it to my mouth [and] drank it all. They filled another tub, and I drank it too. [Then] I fell down, not knowing <not I-know> [whether] it was <is> night or day. Everyone of those [people] went home, [and] I lied down in the house of that man. He rose, struck me forty times with a dagger and threw me over <behind> the [city-]gate. It so happened <that it-was> [that] God healed me, [and] you were the cause of it. Now I will give you whatever you want." Mirza Mahmud said: "Very well, if your father had no son,

how <whence> did you become prince?" [The king] said: "It is known to God, and why should I hide it from you? I am a girl." Mirza Mahmud said: "[If] you are a girl, I am a young man! Will you now marry me? I like you. If you will not marry me, I will leave you <go-out> [and] go. The queen said: "<If> I will marry you, [for] you have done a great favour to me. But I cannot abide here." She rose, took two horses out of the stable, one for Mirza Mahmud and one for herself, [and] two saddle-bags. She filled both saddle-bags with pieces of gold, [and] they rode away. They rode <drove> till midnight. They came to a garden that belonged to the queen. The latter said: "Mirza Mahmud, we must now stay <sit> here. Every time I used to come here with my father; it was a day's journey. Now we have come [here] in six hours. Now I want us to stay here, eat a bit of bread and sleep a little. But you must sleep first; if not, I am going to sleep!" Mirza Mahmud said: "Queen, I will watch over you; go to sleep!" But she said: "Mirza Mahmud, there are forty buttons to my collar, you must not <you-will-not-do> touch them! If you touch them, [you may] unfasten <open> thirty-nine of them, but not the fortieth! If you unfasten the fortieth [button], I will vanish <go from-your-hand>, [and] you will see me no more!" She put her head on his lap and went to sleep. [Mirza Mahmud] began <his-hand he-gave-it> unfastening the buttons. He unfastened thirty nine of them [and] nothing happened; she remained <is> asleep. He said to himself: "Even if all the words of this queen are true, this is a lie! How is it that <why> I have unfastened thirty-nine buttons [and] nothing [has] happened? I am going to unfasten this button, too, [and] see whether her words are true or not <lie-it-is>!" He unfastened also the fortieth button; a wolf came [and] carried that girl away. Mirza Mahmud sat down and wept; he became a derwish and roamed through the country <he-fell cities>.

(f) Informant: T. K. of Šino

ítwa lítwa xa *šultana*, šimmew *hatam šah* wéle. ja *šultana rába* mare-dolta wéle. ja *šultana* mánit xa beta madéwale, imma tmane kwílwale. xa joma xa danka zille belew, míre: "ana gben minnox *šultanulox* hawitta bai!" *šultana* hiwále baew. xa joma djéle bela, baxtew míra baew: "báma djélox bela? *qúlox* sílox, jtuw reš tkox!" míre baqaw: "faqir ile, qajdi lít! *taha* jome mar *šultanula* antéla!" xa joma qímle o faqir, *qaranew* imblále. míru baqew: "idjéle, *qaranox* imblále!" míre: "qajdi lít, *taha* jomé-le imblále!" oxet joma míru baqew: "xaznox kullaw imblále!" míre: "qajdi lít, mar ambilla!" oxet joma míre: "*trúdune šultana* m-olka!" qímle, *trídlule*, tre brone imblále bel babew, nošéw-iš zille bel sarhánge *šame*. zille, *wíre* xa bela, míre: "ana faqir ilen!" míru baqew: "si bel sarhánge *šame*, sarhánge *šame miswae* god." qímle zille bel sarhánge *šame*. bar min d-o míre: "ma šula godet?" míre: "mat abet goden, baxti-š lixma japjalxun". baxta jtíwla lixma japja, *qolaw* qilla. xzéla baxtit d-o *šultana*: ja-š magon d-o *xanüm* ila. qímle ja baxtit sarhánge *šame*, imblála béla. míra báqit *qarawašaw*, míra: "atxún-iš mtúmuna *jani*, u-magoni ixala ezil baqaw.

sarhánge *šame-š* il-d-aj gora mtíwlele *janew*, *rába* ebélele. ja sarhánge *šame tlibta* ítware. ja zille bel sarhánge *šame*, nšiqle il-brátake, mře: “ja máni-la?” mře: “gbítta, hawinna baow!” ja qímle zille geb brata, mře: “la amrat: ana *tlibtit* sarhánge *šame ilan!*” o-š lele hiwálu baqew, mdéle sepa, šlíxlele, drélele *g-aralyew* (*g-aralyu?*), mře: “at axči jwan ilat, báma illax hwíllu bai? *trostulax* kimráta, dagana *qatlínnax!*” mřa: “ma odan?” – mi-zdela – “ana *tlibtit* sarhánge *šame ilan!*” o-š qímle, benaw nšiqlele, mře: “at xaluntí-lat!”

tre jarxe jtíwlu lóka, bára baxta *rába* bxéla muž bronawaw, muž doltaw: “máto pílli jome kome, ana-š *šultanta* wéli!” goraw šméle, mře: “baxta, gezex olkit nóšan!” mřu báqit *šultana*: “axni ezex bel nóšan, *awa* xadir below!” o-s mře: “*taha* jome mholta hol baqi!” qímle *taha* jome, kimmit *malew* wéle, doltew, kullu xišbnále, mdélu šwa kodinje, kulla ska xwara hwíllele baqew. mře: “si šalomi!” išwa nokäre dréle gálew, mře: “*míntímúne* *atta* prew!” ajne qímle, idjélu bela. mře: “šart hawe, agär sarhánge *šame* ade beli, ana broní odinne baqew *qurban!*” xa joma m-ilha wéla, sarhánge *šame* faqir xdfre. qímle, zille bel *hatam šah*. ja-š xa durbin mandéwa, kmírwa: “iman sarhánge *šame* gde beli? špirula hawinne llew!” xzéle gál durbin: baxta-w gora aqle xipje, reša gilja, hójlu idájlu. *hatam šah* qímle, *mašin* šdfre baqu. mře: “imbúlonu *hamam*, misxímunu, jullit *šultanuli* aj dídi-w baxti milbúšunullu!” ojne lošíwa, ajne mdélu m-qam tarew, mafrje šwélu, *atta* tär *hamam*, m-d-aj reša l-d-o reša šwélu. m-irbe *qurban* wídlu. bronew bela léwe ódle *qurban*, mdéle irbe, wídle *qurban* m-qulbit bronew. imbillulu bela, mxillulu, mištélullu. baxta mi-xdúgit bronaw u-doltaw šindaw idjéla. baxtit bela mřa ba-*qarawašaw*: “*qúmun*, tkaw šwímuna *g-manzli*.” baqaw mřa: “*qurbanax* xadran, enax in-nóšax hawja! agär broní idjéle, agär kpina hawe, *maríšlax*, maqímlax, kmir: dáe, *qúlax*, lixma hóli! agär kpina la hawe, šalix, *damix janax*. at *ruš*, mar baqew: ana daow léwan, ana mewanta! si daow oxet *manzil*, daow loké-la!” m-ilha kiwja la *reša*. brona šalix *damix*. *hatam šah* il-sarhánge *šame* imbille bela, *midmíxle* *jan* d-o *manzil*, kmir: “ja tkox ila, si *dmux!*” sarhánge *šame smix* bar tára. o-š xzéle: jwanqa *dmix jan* baxtew. o qímle, ma wídle? tres-sar xanjäre dhille il-d-aj brona, *qtillile*. baxta *rišla*, mřa: “ma wídlow? bron d-aj bela wéle! daew mira: *rúšun* agär broní djéle, oxet bela *manzlox* ile! ana la *rišli*, átta axni m-máni *jwab* hawex, ma odex?” jtúlu (= jtíwlu) baxéni. *hatam šah* díqle g-tára, mře: “la bxímun! ana mñ d-o joma m-belxun ídjen broní wídwali *qurban* baqox, axča irbe *qurban* wídlu, *qurbani* ilha la qbille! broní nóšox wídlowe *qurban!*” qímle, zille geb baxtew, mře baqaw; “átta mandíxxe gi-dhokne!” baxta jullit *qazzabi* loša, kimra: “kullu dhokne *qatlánu*, broní *qtillule!*” gora-š jullit *qazzabi* lwíšle, jtíwle reš taxtew, mře: “símun, kullu dhokne mdímunu, rešu *qatínne!*” mewanta mřa: “at mar bxúšlu bbi, la *qtúllu*, ilha kjil máni il-bronox *qtille*. ajne *aman* ilu, mar: jalé-ttu! la *qtúllu!*” *šultana* bxíšlelu. baxta-š nísitt dhokne mdélalu, mřa: “rešu *qatjane!*” xa-š mřa baxtit mewana: “ojne-š bxúšlu bbi!” bxíšlalu, zillu tku. mdélu brona, qwírule, idjélu bela. bára išwa jome jtíwlu taazja. išwa jome príqlu, jtíwlu reš taxtit *šultanulu*. bára ajne mewane *m-xajaltulu* qímle, xdug *rába* kixlíwa. baxta mřa ba-goraw: “*atta* iman ja lixma axlíxxe? ezex *háwa* olkit nóšan!” ajne qímle, mřu ba-*hatam*

šah: “axni gezex *háwa* olkit nóšan!” o-š míre: “*taha* jome mholta hol baqi!” o-š míre: “to!” qímle ja gora, kullu *malew* xišbinnele, wídele pilga *pul*, ska xwara, hwíllele baqew, išwa kodinje *mintínnele* (= *mtínnele*?) pilgit *malew*. qímle, míre, išwa nokäre dréle gálew, míre: “*mimtimune* il-prew, atxun dúrun bára.” ajne zíllu bela, *psíxlu* gál belu jalu. xa jarxa zille bbu. bar minnaw o górit bronew *qíłwa* kaxta šdíre ba-sarhänge *šame*: “agär baqret, íttox brona, ana lítti brona, ana abójlen bronox šadrítte bai, ana-š rešew *qatínne*!” o-š qímle, kaxta nišqále, mitwále reš enew. baqatjo bronew šdírelle baqew. ja brona ma wíde bbw? imbíllele *hamam*, misxéle llew, jullit *šultane* milbíšle llew, bratew hiwále baqew. bar min d-o xa-š šdíre: “axni axonélex, behrit eni! at báma brona hawélox, ana la hawéli? oxet bronox šdíre bai, núrít libbi le njaxa!” qímle, kaxta nišqále, mtíwlela reš enew. baqatjo bronew šdírele baew. o brona-š gwírelle (*sic!*), brataw hiwále baew, mtíwlele *janew*. xa jarxa xet, géna kaxta šdíre baew: “ej sarhänge *šame*, behrit eni! at ma júrit reš broní *qtéłoxe*, ana-š abójlen reš nóšox *qatínne*, libbi nex!” o-š qímle, bqartew *azad* wídale m-belew, m-baxtew, qímle, zille bélit *hatam šah*. ja *hatam šah* durbin mandójle reš gare. xzéle: idjéle, pešwaz wíde baqew, mdélulle. imbíllele, mtíwlele *janew*, *tanjít* rešew intjále, mitwále rešew, míre: “ajne brone dídox, ajne blane-š kaljawox!” xa tre jarxe jtíwlu. éza qímle, xa bronew u-xa bratew dirjéle gálew, ičča kodinje-š *mléle* fisse xware, dréle gálew. míre: “här xa jarxa ja brata-w ja brona hiwíli baow, xaxet jarxa ojne mdílu, maxlpíxxu.”

ojne la xíllu, la štélu, la *mtélu mradu*, axni axlex, šatex, *matex mradan!*⁷

Once upon a time there was a king called Hatam Šah. This king was very rich. This king used to give any one who brought him an egg a hundred tumans. One day a certain man came <went> to his house [and] said: “I want you to give me your kingdom!” The king gave it to him. One day he came home, [and] his wife said to him: “Why have you come <you-came> home? Rise, go [and] sit on your throne <place>!” He said to her: “It is a poor man! Never mind, let him have <take> the kingdom for three days!” One day that poor [usurper] rose [and] drove away his (the king’s) cattle. They said to him (to the king): “He has come <he-came> [and] driven away your cattle!” [The king] said: “Never mind, this has happened three days ago <three days-it-is he-drove-it-away>!” The next day they said to him: “He has taken away all your treasury!” [The king] said: “Never mind, let him take it away!” [The next day the usurper] said: “Drive the king from the city!” They rose [and] drove him from the city. He took [his] two sons to her (his wife’s) father, and went himself to Sarhänge-e Šame. He went, entered a house [and] said: “I am poor!” They said to him: “Go to the house of Sarhänge-e Šame, he is very charitable <meritorious-deeds he-does>”. He rose [and] went to the house of Sarhänge-

⁷ Sarhänge *šame* is “the chieftain of Syria or Damascus” in Kurdish. *Hatam šah* is identical with Hätim aṭ-Ṭā’i, the model of generosity among the ancient Arabs (on the Iranian version of the legends about him see A. van Arendonk, *Enc. of Isl.*, s.v.). For the motif of a man putting a sword between himself and a young woman see LTK 56ff. and 78. Cf. also AS 33. For person being struck 40 times with dagger, cf. VT 204.

Šame. After that [the latter] asked him: “What can <do> you do?” Hatam Šah said: “I can do anything you like; as for my wife, she will bake bread for you.” [The] wife sat down to bake bread, [but] burnt her arm <her-arm burned (intr.)>. His wife of that king saw [that] she was <is> a lady like her[self]. She rose, brought her home [and] said to her maids: “You place her by my side, and the [same] food shall be brought <go> to her as to me.” On the other hand, Sarháng-e Šame placed that man (Hatam Šah) by his side [and] became very fond of him. This Sarháng-e Šame had a girl betrothed to him. [When Hatam Šah] went to Sarháng-e Šame’s house, he kissed the little girl [and] said: “Who is this?” [His host] said: “If you like her, I will give her to you.” [Then he] went to the girl [and] said: “You must not say: “I am betrothed to Sarháng-e Šame!” Now that [same] night they gave her to him (to Hatam Šah). He brought a sword, drew it [and] placed it between them, saying: “You are so beautiful, how is it that <why> they have given you <they-gave-you> to me? You must tell me the truth, otherwise I will kill you!” The girl said “What shall I do” – in her fear – “am betrothed to Šarháng-e Šame.” [Hatam Šah] rose, kissed her forehead [and] said: “You are my sister!”

They dwelt there for two months. After that Hatam Šah’s wife wept a great deal because of her sons [whom she had left behind] and her [lost] riches, [saying]: “How have I fallen into misfortune <how I-fell black days>, I who was a queen!” [When] her husband heard that, he said: “Wife, we will go to our own country!” So they said to the king: “We will go to our own country, many thanks for your hospitality!” [Sarháng-e Šame] said: “Give me three days time <delay>.” [During] these three days he rose [and] reckoned all his possessions [and] his riches; they brought seven mules [and] loaded them with goods; he also gave him (his guest) all the silver <white> money [he had], saying: “Go in peace!” He sent <put> seven servants with him, saying: “Bring him to his land!” They (his guests) rose [and] went <came> home. [Hatam Šah] said: “I vow <vow should be> [that], if Sarháng-e Šame comes to my house, I will sacrifice my son for him!” One day it happened <from-God it-was> [that] Sarháng-e Šame became impoverished. He rose [and] went to the house of Hatam Šah. The latter was looking from time to time through a field-glass <a field-glass he-used to-throw> [and] say: “When will Sarháng-e Šame come to my house? I will do him a favour!” [One day] he saw through the field-glass a woman and a man <+ behold> coming bare-footed and bare-headed. Hatam Šah rose, [and] sent them a motor-car(!) He said [to his servants]: “Take them to the bath-house, give them a bath [and] dress them in my and my wife’s royal clothes!” [While] they were dressing, [the servants] brought carpets [and] spread them from his (Hatam Šah’s) door to the door of the bath-house, from end to end <from-this head to-that head>; they [also] sacrificed sheep. His son was not at home, [so that] he could [not] sacrifice him; [therefore] he brought sheep [and] sacrificed [them] instead of his son. [After that] they brought them (the guests) to the house, [and] gave them food [and] drink. [Sarháng-e Šame’s] wife, who was worrying <from worry> about her sons [and] her [lost] riches, felt sleepy. [Her] hostess said to her maids: “Rise [and] prepare

her bed in my quarters." [Then] she said to her: "I beseech you <your-sacrifice may-I-become, your-eye to-yourself it-may-be>! If my son comes [and] feels <is> hungry, he will awaken you, make you rise [and] say: Mother, rise [and] give me some bread! If he is not hungry, he will undress [and] go to sleep beside you. [In this case] wake up [and] say to him: I am not your mother, I am your guest! Go to your mother into the other quarters, your mother is there!" However, God willed it <from-God it-was> [that] she did not wake [when the boy came]. He undressed [and] went to sleep. Hatam Šah took Sarháng-e Šame to the house [and] put him to sleep near those quarters, saying: "This is your resting-place, go [and] sleep!" Sarháng-e Šame stopped at [behind] the door and saw a young man sleeping beside his wife. What did he do? <Now> he rose, struck that boy forty times with his dagger [and] killed him. [His] wife awoke and said: "What have you done <what you-did>? This was the son of the house! His mother [had] said: Wake up when my son comes [and] tell him: Your quarters are in that other house! [But] I did not wake up. Now what excuse can we find <from-whom answer shall-we-give>, what shall we do?" They sat and wept. Hatam Šah knocked at the door [and] said: "Do not weep! From the day I came <have-come> from your house I have destined <would-have-made> my son [for] a sacrifice for you. I sacrificed so many sheep, [but] God did not accept my sacrifice. [Now] you [have] sacrificed my son yourself!" He rose, went to his wife, [told her what had happened, and] said: "Now we will make [the Kurds] of Dhok responsible for this <we-will-throw it at etc.>!" [His] wife put on mourning clothes [and] said: "I will kill all the men of Dhok, [for] they [have] killed my son." Her husband also put on mourning clothes, sat on his throne [and] said: "Bring all the men of Dhok, I will cut off their heads!" The wife of his guest said: "Forgive them for my sake, do not kill them. Have pity on them <pity they-are>, <say :> they have children! Do not kill them; God knows who [has] killed your son!" The king [then] forgave them. [His] wife, on her side, brought all the women of Dhok, saying: "I will cut off their heads!" Again the wife of the guest said: "Forgive them, too, for my sake!" [The king] forgave them [and] they went to their place. They brought the [dead] boy, buried him [and] came home. After that they sat in mourning for seven days. [After] the seven days had come <came> to an end, they sat on their royal throne [again]. After that, the guests could find no rest <they-rose> from mortification; they were greatly worried <much worry they-used-to-eat>. The wife said to her husband: "Until when shall we eat this bread? We will go back to our own country!" They rose [and] said to Hatam Šah: "We will go back to our own country!" The latter said: "Very well!" Then he <that man> reckoned all his possessions, divided <made> it into half, gave him (his guest) silver money [and] loaded seven mules with the half of his possessions. He rose, <+said>, sent seven servants with him [and] said: "Bring him to his land [and] come <return back>." [The guests] went home [and] were glad to see <with> their house [and] their children [again]. One month passed <at-them>. After that the man whose son he had killed sent a letter to Sarháng-e Šame, saying: "If you ask [me], you have a son, [but] I have none. I want you to send me your son [and] I will cut off his head!"

[Sarháng-e Šame] rose, kissed the letter [and] put it upon his eyes. In the morning he sent him his son. What did [Hatam Šah] do the boy? He took him to the bath-house, gave him a bath, dressed him in royal clothes [and] gave him his daughter [in marriage]. After that he sent another [letter]: “We are brothers, o light of mine eyes! Why should you have a son [while] I have none? Send me your other son, [for] the fire in my heart is burning <not going out>!” [Sarháng-e Šame] rose, kissed the letter [and] put it upon his eyes. In the morning he sent him his [second] son. [Hatam Šah] married that other boy, too, giving him his daughter, and placed him beside him <self>. In another month he sent him a letter again: “O Sarháng-e Šame, light of mine eyes! Just as you have cut off my son’s head (sic!), I want to cut your head off, [so that] my heart may find rest!” [Sarháng-e Šame] rose, took leave of his house [and] his wife, <+ rose> [and] came to that house of Hatam Šah. The latter was <is> looking through a field-glass on the roof. [When] he saw [that Sarháng-e Šame] had come <came>, he sent him a deputation of welcome, who brought him [to the house]. Hatam Šah took him inside, placed him beside him <self> and said: “Here <these> are your sons, and these girls are your daughters-in-law! They stayed [together] for some months. Then [Hatam Šah] rose, and sent one of his sons and one of his [own] daughters with him; he also loaded <filled> nine mules with silver money [and] sent [them] with him. He said: “Now this month I have given this boy and this girl to you; in another month bring them back, [and] we will exchange them!”

They neither ate nor drank nor attained their desire; may we eat, drink and attain our desire!

(g) Informant: I. K. of Šino.

xabra m-máni šaqlex? xabra šaqlex m-xa danka bejan bāg zaqqara. ítwałe xa xmara, xmara miskirwa, *asr* la djéle béla. baxta míra baqew: “góra, xmara miskir, si mdíle!” o-š qimle, zille bilbille. *wíre* xa *qamišalan*, bilbille. xzéle xa danka, míre: “xa xur, léka zil ja xmara!” zille bejan bāg, *rkiwle* rešew, mdélele bela, míre: “baxta, šrata mdíla, xmara mdélile!” baxta šrata midjála, xzéle: *barazé-le*, xmara léwe. baxta míra baew: “ja *barazé-le*!” mdélu, *jsírúle* g-paga. míre: “baxta, šiwje šwílu, o gora gbe mel!” baxta míra: “báma?” míre: “baqatta *šultana* šame, kmir: *símun* ba-bejan bāg, márún o *baraza* madéle ade!” baxta míra baew: “góra, la zdi! *šultana* karām rába kwillox!” *dmíxlu* lele. baqatjo *šultana* šméle, míre ba-nokäre: “márún ba-bejan bāg, *baraza* madéle!” idjélu nokäre, míru ba-bejan bāg: “*šultana* míre: *baraza* madéle!” bejan bāg míre ba-nokär *šultana*: “hójle *jsir* g-paga, imbúlune, *símun*!” nokäre zinjira drélu gi-pqar *baraza*, imbíllule zillu. *šultana* míre: “*símun* bel bejan bāg, *srúxune*!” idjélu *sríxlu* l-bejan bak, imbíllule geb *šultana*. *šultana* míre báqit bejan bāg: “ja *baraza* máto dwíqlóxe, *rkiwlox* rešew?” bejan bāg míre ba-*šultana*, míre: “mago xmara, *rkiwli* rešew, mdélile béla.” *šultana* míre báqit wazire wakile: “mánit illi abe, il-bejan bāg *xleta* od!” *xleta* rába wídlu ba-bejan bāg. bejan bāg

idjéle *háwa* bela, míre ba-baxtew: “tka šwi, gbe bejan båg mel!” baxta míra baew: “ilha *rahmané-le!* libbox miqwíle, xur kimma karamje wídlulox, *xleta* wídlulox, átta hār xul!” ja xa joma naše *jwab* mdélu ba-*šultana*, míru: “šer *wirxit* karwan dwiqélla, kulla karwan *kar* wídale.” *šultana* míre báqit wazire: “tagbiri má-jle? ja šer máto *qatlíxxe?*” wazire míru ba-*šultana*, míru: “at xa naša hawélox magónit bejan båg, máto gbe at zadet? o *baraza* dwíqle b-xaulew, *rktwle* rešew! átta šdur bar bajan båg, mar ade, l-d-aj šer *qatille.*” nokāre šdíre bar bejan båg, míru: “ida, *šultana* abójlelox!” bejan båg míre ba-baxtew: “bnax barbza, xur *šultana* báma mola šadorélli!” idjéle bejan båg gébit *šultana*. *šultana* míre báqit bejan båg, míre: “šer *wirxit* karwan dwiqélla. gben ezet, ja šer *qatlitte.* ma gbet hawínox?” bejan båg míre: “arbi nokāre hóli, mad amren, b-xabri odi.” *šultana* arbi nokāre hwílle báqit bejan båg. gāl d-ojne nokāre zille *gi-hdudit* šer. kud isra (~ xa israju) nokāre šdíre geb xa gaba, míre ba-nokāre: “agār ana *hawar* wídlu, atxun tez *idámuni!*” xa ena twa lóka, xa ilana twa rešaw. bejan båg mi-zdelew jsíqle reš d-aj ilana. pilgjóma šer šixnew xdíra, idjéle reš ena ba-*mae* šatoc. bejan båg agār xzéle, šer idjéle, hār jsíqle reš ilana, jsíqle reš xa likka niqla niqla. šer agār *mae* štele, rešew áxxa *mrímlele.* bejan båg mi-zdelew o *budara* twíre, pílle tíxja reš *xásit* šer. pírcit šer dwíqile, *hawar* dhílle. ajne nokāre kullu idjélu, xzélu: bejan båg reš *xas* šer ile. zinjire drélu gi-bqar šer, gríšlule. bejan båg le *mjara* koš. imbillule qam tárit *šultana*. nokārawe míru ba-*šultana*: “bejan båg, jād u-*awladew* kullu šere doqane xdíri.” *šultana* míre ba-d-ajne naše: “máto dwíqlele?” míru: “*šultana*, bejan båg jsíqle reš ilana, m-reš ilana nóšew mindjále reš šer, mgo xmara *rkiwle* rešew.” *šultana* míre: “illi abjana il-bejan båg *xleta* od!” nošew-iš *rába* hwíllele. bejan båg ja karāme u-*xleta* midjile bela, míre ba-baxtew: “baxta, tki šwi, bejan båg mel!” xa joma laškartit *kírále* frang djéla reš d-aj *šultana*. *qasíd* šdíre ba-*šultana*: “jan xarjit išwa šinne hawil, *jan* ade qrawa odex!” *šultana* kaxta qirjále, rangew *zaif* xdíre, míre ba-wazire wakile: “tagbiri má-jla?” wazire míru baew: “xa sarkirdar mago bejan båg hawélox, *baraza* b-xaulew dóqle, šer b-xaulew dóqle, laškirtit *kírále* frang xa mindix léwa!” kaxta klíwle *šultana*, šdíre ba-*kírále* frang: “qrawa goden gālox!” šdíre bar bejan båg. bejan båg idjéle geb *šultana*, šalom hwílle llew. míre: “bejan båg, gben ezéta, gāl laškirtit *kírali* frank qrawa odet!” bejan båg míre: “ilha mante!” mdéle kimma laškirta, *hazír* wídlu ba-bejan båg. *šultana* míre ba-d-aj laškirta: “mat bejan båg wídle, b-xabrew odétun!” xa suse mdélu ba-bejan båg, ba-*rakowew*, *rktwle* rešew. bejan båg pílle qam laškirta, laškirta idjéla barew. idjélu, *mtélu* l-xa *qamišalan*. bejan båg fikrit zaqqarulew wídlele, kwíšle tíxja m-reš susew. tre *baye* min d-aj *qamiš qtéle*. ja laškirta kullaw kwíšla, kud minnu-š tre *baye qtélu*, *jisrilu* susawe. rxíšlu, *mtélu* l-xa *qobi*. bejan båg kwíšle tíxja, ja tre *baye qamis* mindjile g-d-aj *čala*, *qamiše* xdíru korpi. bajan båg *rktwle*, m-reš d-aj *qamis* píre, ja laškirta kullaw píra. ajne naše xa ba-xa kimri: “bel bejan båg xariw! kimma šinne amret jād u-*awladew* hār min d-aj *wirxa* idjeni! xúrun, bejan båg kimma ajané-le!” *mtélu* qam laškirtit *kírále* frang. lóka kwíšlu, jtíwlu. bejan båg ganew xjaka wéle. jullew šilxíle, jtíwle pále. ja laškirta kullu jullu šilxílu. bejan båg lixmew mtíwlele *janew*, jtíwle jullew paloc. xa taži m-laškirtit

kîrâle frang idjéle, lixmit bejan båg jniwlele. bejan båg sepew intélele, pille bar taži, mîre: “dúqune, la qablétun jariqla!” ja laškirta kullaw pilla bar taži. laškirtit *kîrâle* frang, agâr xzélal axča naše, kullu *rut*, idjélu bau, mi-zdelu xa l-xa *qtîllu*. bejan båg-iš hâr pil bar taži, hâr mîre: “la qablétun jariqla, dúqune!” ja laškirtit *kîrâle* frang xa danka la pišle, kullaw milla, xa l-xa *qtîllu*. jéza laškirtit *šultana jîbbaxana*, *korxana*, kulla *talane* midjéla, idjélu *háwa*. *qasîd* idjéle, *jwab* midjéle ba-*šultana*. mîre *šultana*: “o qráwit bejan båg widále, kimma šinné-le la *rostâm*, la iskandári *çar qurna* magoneu la wídle!” *šultana* qímle, *rkiwle* reš suse, gâl wazire wakile idjélu *pešwázit* bejan båg. bejan båg xzéle, *šultana* idjéle qameu, *haša m-salmax* – jorew idjélu, reš *xasit* suse jiríle, *xásit* suse *brindar* wélu. susew nóšew šiljále, bejan båg pille tíxja. *šultana* qala hwílle: “bejan båg dúqune!” bejan båg qímle reš aqlew, šalom hwílle il-*šultana*. *šultana* mîre baew: “at báma pílox?” bejan båg mîre: “*šultana*, ana la pílli, amma at *pešwazi* idjélox, átta máto *rakkawa* hawen? nóši pirtfáli m-reš suse!” *šultana* mîre: “illi abjana il-bejan båg dehwe pale, *dare* rešew!” il-bejan båg imbílle *hamam*, sxéle, xa jullit *šultane* qliwe hwílle bbw, lwíšlelu, mtíwlele g-diwan nóšew, wídlele wazir.

la xíllu, la štélu, la *mtélu mradu*. axni axlex, šatex, *matex mradan!*⁸

Of whom shall we relate? We shall relate of one Master Spiritless, a weaver. He had a donkey; his donkey became lost, it did not come home in the evening. His wife said to him: “Husband, the donkey is lost, go [and] bring him [back]!” He rose [and] went to look for him <he-went he-searched-him>. He went into a thicket of reeds [and] looked about [there]; he saw an animal <a unit> [and] said [to himself]: “Just look where this donkey has gone!” Master Spiritless went, mounted it [and] brought it home. Then he said: “Wife, bring the oil-lamp, I [have] brought the donkey!” The wife brought the lamp [and] saw [that] it was <is> a [wild] boar, not a donkey. She said to him (her husband): “This is a boar!” They took him <they-brought> [and] bound him in the stable. The husband said: “Wife, make [my] bed, I <that man> will die!” His wife said: “Why?” He said: “To-morrow the king will hear [about it and] say: “Go to Master Spiritless [and] say he should come [and] bring the boar!” His wife said to him: “Husband, do not be afraid! The king will give you many gift[s]!” [That] night they went to sleep. In the morning the king heard [of the matter and] said to [his] servants: “Tell Master Spiritless to bring the boar [here]!” The servants came [and] said to Master Spiritless: “The king said: let him bring the boar!” Master Spiritless said to the king’s servants: “There he is bound in the stable; take him along [and] go!” The servants put a chain around <at> the boar’s neck [and] took him away. The king said: “Go [back] to the house of Master Spiritless

⁸ The Kurdish name of the hero is given here in literal translation, although the name Bejan exists in its own right. For similar stories of cowards performing involuntary feats of courage cf. EBT, Typ 162 and 398 and Tietze, *l.c.* – Iskandáre *Čar-qurna* was explained by the wife of the informant as “ruler of the four corners of the earth”; the appellation ultimately goes back to Dan. 8, 5ff. (on the Iranian cycle of the legends of Alexander the Great see *Enc. of Isl.*, s.v. Iskandar-nāma). – For the motif of the ‘hero’ falling off the horse see EBT Typ 398.

[and] call him!" They went, called Master Spiritless [and] took him to the king. The king said to Master Spiritless: "How did you catch this boar [and] mount it?" Master Spiritless said to the king <+ he-said>: "[Just] like a donkey; I mounted it [and] brought it home." The king said to [his] ministers [and] lieutenants: "All who like me shall give Master Spiritless a gift of honour!" They made Master Spiritless many present[s]. Master Spiritless came back home [and] said to his wife: "Make my bed, Master Spiritless is going to die!" His wife said to him: "God is merciful! Take courage <your heart strengthen-it>! Look how many presents and gifts they have given you <they-made-you>, now just enjoy them <just eat>!" Now one day they brought news to the king, saying: "A lion is barring <has seized> the caravan route, he has laid still all the caravan [traffic]. The king said to [his] ministers: "What am I to do <my-plan what-is-it>? How shall we kill this lion?" The ministers said to the king <+ they-said>: ["If] you have a man like Master Spiritless, how can <will> you be afraid? He [has] caught a [wild] boar alive [and] mounted it! Now send for Master Spiritless, let him come [and] kill this lion." The king sent [his] servants for Master Spiritless, [and] they said: "Come, the king wants you!" Master Spiritless said to his wife: "Curse you <your-homestead be-scattered>! Look, how <why> the king is sending me to [my] death!" Master Spiritless came to the king. The king said to him <+ he-said>: "The lion is barring the caravan route. I want you to go [and] kill him. What do you want me to give you?" Master Spiritless said: "Give me forty servants [and] let them do whatever I say <according to my word>." The king gave him forty servants, [and] together with them he went to the domain of the lion. He sent every ten servants in a different <one> direction [and] said to them: "When I call for help, come immediately!" There was a spring there, [and] over it grew <was> a tree. Master Spiritless in his fear climbed up that tree. At noon the lion felt thirsty <his-thirst became> [and] came to the spring to drink water. When Master Spiritless saw [that] the lion had come <came>, he climbed further up the tree [until] he came to a very thin bough. As soon as the lion had drunk <drank> water, he lifted up his head – thus! Master Spiritless in his fright broke that bough [and] fell down on the lion's back; he caught the lion by his mane <hairs-of lion he caught-them> [and] called for help. All the servants came [and] saw Master Spiritless on the lion's back. They put a chain around <in> the lion's neck and pulled him along, [while] Master Spiritless was <is> not daring to come down, [and] brought him before the king's gate. Then the servants said to the king: "Master Spiritless seems to be a descendant of lion-catchers <his-grandfather and-children lions catchers they-have-become>!" The king said to those men: "How did he catch him?" They said: "O king, Master Spiritless climbed up a tree, thence threw himself on the lion's back and mounted him like a donkey." The king said: "Whoever likes me shall make presents to Master Spiritless!" He on his side gave him a great deal. Master Spiritless brought these gifts and presents home [and] said to his wife: "Wife, make my bed, Master Spiritless will die!" One day the army of the king of the Franks attacked that king. [The attacker] sent a messenger to the king [saying]: "Either he must give me ten years revenue, or

he must come [and] we will fight!" When the king read the letter, he grew pale <his-colour sickly became>. He said to his ministers and lieutenants: "What am I to do?" The ministers said to him: "<If> you have a chief like Master Spiritless, [who has] caught <catches> a [wild] boar [and] a lion alive; [surely] the army of the king of the Franks is nothing at all [to him]!" The king wrote a letter, [which] he sent to the king of the Franks: "I will fight you!" [Then] he sent for Master Spiritless. The latter came to the king [and] greeted him. [The king] said: "Master Spiritless, I want you to go [and] fight the king of the Franks." Master Spiritless said: "If God wills <gives>!" [The king] brought some soldiers <army>, made them ready for Master Spiritless [and] said to them: "Whatever Master Spiritless does, obey him!" They brought a horse for Master Spiritless to ride <for-his-riding> [and] he mounted it. Master Spiritless rode <fell> in front of the army, [and] the army followed him. They came to a thicket of reeds. Master Spiritless thought of his trade; he dismounted from his horse [and] cut off two bundles of reeds. All the army dismounted, every one of the soldiers <of-them> also cut off two bundles of reeds and bound them to their horses. [Then] they went [on, until] they came to a marsh. Master Spiritless dismounted, threw the two bundles of reeds into the bog <depression>, and they became a bridge. [Then] he mounted [again], rode over the reeds, [and] the whole army passed [the marsh]; the men were saying <say> to one another: "Curse Master Spiritless <his-house be-ruined>! You might say [that] his forefathers have come this way for many years! Look, how clever Master Spiritless is!" [Thus] they came before the army of the king of the Franks. There they dismounted [and] sat down. Master Spiritless had an itch in his body. He took off his clothes [and] sat down to louse [them]. All [the soldiers of the] army took off their clothes [, too]. Master Spiritless put his bread beside him [and] sat down to louse [his clothes]. There came a greyhound of the army of the king of the Franks [and] snatched away his bread. Master Spiritless took his sword, ran <fell> after the greyhound, saying: "Catch him, do not let him run away!" All the army ran after the greyhound. When the army of the king of the Franks saw [that] so many people were coming <came> upon <to> them, all naked, they killed one another in their fright. As for Master Spiritless, the went on running after the greyhound [and] saying: "Do not let him run away, catch him!" Not a single man remained of the army of the king of the Franks, all of them died, [for] they [had] killed one another. Then the king's army brought [the enemy's] arsenal [and] armory [and] all his booty [and] came back. A messenger came, who brought the news to the king. The king said: "The battle that Master Spiritless [has] fought <made>, neither Rustam nor Alexander the Four-Horned has fought these many years <like-him>!" The king rose, mounted a horse [and] went out to meet Master Spiritless together with his ministers and lieutenants. [When] Master Spiritless saw [that] the king had come <came> before him, he felt – saving your presence – like passing water [his-urines came]. He urinated <them> on [his] horse's back and irritated it <back-of horse wounded was>. The horse shied <its-self threw-it-up> and Master Spiritless fell down. The king cried <gave voice>:

“Hold Master Spiritless!” Master Spiritless rose <on-his-feet> [and] greeted the king. The king said to him: “Why did you fall?” Master Spiritless said: “O king, I did not fall; but you came to meet me, now how could I remain <be> mounted? [So] I threw myself from the horse!” The king said: “Whoever likes me shall give <divide> pieces of gold to Master Spiritless [and] scatter [them] over him!” He took Master Spiritless to the bath-house, [where] he took a bath, gave him a [set of] royal clothes, [which] he put on, placed him in his own audience-hall [and] made him minister.

They ate not, they drank not, they attained not their desire. May we eat, drink [and] attain our desire!

3 THE OCCUPATION OF THE JEWS

(a) Informant: A. M. of Urmi.

šulit hudaē g-olkan jājur wéle: ítwa minnu geziwa, diqqa zabniwa *g-malwawe*, lele-š *damxiwa* lóka, o naše kjiwalu ki *damxiwa* gebu. ba-d-une-š ki lókit *damxiwa*, be fisse kwiwalu *glale*, *xmae*, *šama*, une-š baqatjo ba-hudaē xalwa kwiwa, *qat'iy*, gubta, lixma. id minnu hudaē *qitta* šaqliwa m-olka *m-tajre*, ambliwa *mala*, *ayait mala* bau tka kwilwa, xa bela kwilwale, jatiwwa gaew. agār šulew kasād xdirwa, it zaane, *boxča* dóqwa, antéwa *xasew qitta*, gezilwa jwe *malwawe*.

The occupation of the Jews in our city (or country) was as follows <this-way>: <there-were> some of them used to go to sell mercery goods in the villages, [and] spend <sleep> there the night also. They used to know the people at whose house they used to sleep, and used to give them strings, needles and wax for nothing; the latter <the> on their part, used to give the Jews in the morning milk, curds, cheese [and] bread. Other Jews <there-is of them Jews> used to buy fabric from the merchants in <from> the city [and] take it to the village. The lord of the village used to give them a place; sometimes he used to give a house [to the pedlar] where he could live. When <his> business was <used-to-be> slack – as it would happen <there-is> [at] times – he (the pedlar) used to take [his] bundle, put [his] goods on his back [and] go to other villages.

4 HOUSES AND HOUSEHOLD WORK

(a) *Houses and furniture; sleeping and eating habits*

(i) Same informant.

batan jwan *bate* wélu. kirpiče smoqe ítwalan, une *otaye* godíxwa minnu. jirxit *otay* tmanja mitre wéle. min d-o tmanja mitre *taha* mitre *qatlíxwa*, guda garšíxwa. ba-d-aj *taha* mitre kimríxwa *qahwaxana*. m-xa *qrayaw* pellikane daríxwa, jasqíwa *gare*. lóka reš *gare* koška *tarsíxwa* (agār reš *garit otay* banéwalu, *balaxana* kimríwa bau). *gaat otaye* axni *xaliče* šawíxwa. g-d-a *qahwaxana* sjaman šalxíxwa, *gortíxwa g-otay*. láxxa daríxwa *haftafa* lagan, idan xalíxwalu gāl d-o *haftafa*, *gortíxwa g-otay*, *baraxa* godíxwa, idan mašíxwa gāl *xawli*, kixlíxwa. xel *otay qahwaxana* zertzami kiwjáwa. *qabay* bela *hajat* ítwa, *haját-iš* gudane ítwala, *rummanulu* tre mitre, *taha* mitre wéla. bela *riwwa* aj sitwa ítwalan, gaew tanura ítwa ba-lixma japoe, ba-bašole. *čalasar* ba-xjapa ítwa gaew, *čaraz* ítwa gaew. kalawa *g-hajat* kiwjáwa, *riqqa* m-bela kiwjáwa xamša isra mitre. quji godíxwa *janaw*, xa mitr il-xa mitr pulwaw, išwa mitre *čxurulaw*. kud mitr xa *luqqom* godíxwa g-quji ba-moe *timje* garošé. agār *maljáwa*, gojme gdéniwa, qalwíwalu, kuča *zanqríwalu*, jan *gaat haját*, *jan gaat dalan*. ipra, *zibla*, *qitma*, garme, *zanqríxwa* rešu, marwíwalu, wešíwa. ba-d-o jriwa kulluk kimríwa. esakče gdéniwa gāl qinjane, gāl xašše *maléniwalu*, ambliwalu, *zanqríwalu* g-čol. kud mar xmare ba-nóšu godíwalu xa *qala* magon *tura*, bára m-d-o zabníwalu ba-karme, ba-baxče.

g-otay it naše *soba* twálu, m-damur wéla. g-guda aj *otay buxari* ítwala, min d-o *buxari* gāl *sulake jsire* tusi jasqáwa *gare*, *páltawa* tara. bále *rabajit* naše kursi godíwa: *gaat otay* ara *xačriwala*, ba-qadrit isri-w xamša santine, xa mitr pulwa xa mitr jirxa, gaaw *balate* šawéwa, m-pilgaw arbi santine jirxa u-arbi santine pulwa šoqíwa *čxur*. o *čxur* kilšá-inān ipra šepiwa ki qwita hawja, *qitma* daréwa rešaw. o *čxur* kimrex baew *ořay*. komur daríxwa, *lampa zanqríxwa* reš d-o komur, nahírwa, xadírwa nura. bára kursi *m-siwe* daríxwa rešaw, *lefa* mandíxwa – o *joryan* ila, *m-amra* kwéwa –, ki šixna *tase*, kartwe madéniwa min d-une *hazír*. jomawit sitwa-š, šabbat xadore, kud bela, kud kuča xa danka gojim – *jan baxta jan gora* – gdéwa, šabbat il-šabbat, komur daréwa gaaw, šóqwale, nahírwa. arbamnu gabanew jatwíxwa, aqlan *mam-bríxwa* xel kursi, šaxníxwa. ba-xelán-iš kud minnan xa došagča daríxwa, xelan jatwíxwa.

šiwje šawíxwalu ara reš *xalíce*. joma *qarpsíxwalu*, daríxwalu xa *bujay*, rešu jajim kasíxwa. *otaye* kawé ítwalu, pilgit mitr *rummanulu* kiwjáwa, m-rešu rafte. *gaat*

rafte darixwa *pjale*, *istkane*, šuše, *turši*. g-kawe darixwa *sahnit* ixala, činje, *čaj*, milxa, qand.

sitwa xadore reš d-o kursi kixlixwa. *qeta* xadore kursi antixwale, taxa kwixwa *najjar*, *tariswa* magon kursi, xamši santine *rummanulaw*, darixwale *qabayān*. langarje itwalan čarxi *riwwe*, xa mitr *riwwanulu*, matwixwalu reš kursi. jatwixwa ara reš *xaliče*, došāge darixwa xelan, sabadje, mtakke darixwa bar *xasan*. bar min d-o *sifra* lixma darixwa gaaw, madixwale, matwixwale gaad langāri *qabayān*, palixwale jēza *sifra*, lixma matwixwale *qabay* naše m-čarga, arba m-gaban langāri. *baraxa* godixwa, ixala madēniwa, darēniwa g-d-o langāri. lixma parčixwale *g-sahna*, *šaa* darixwa rešew, kixlixwa tre naše g-xa *sahna* gāl idan.

Our houses were fine houses. We had red bricks; of those we used to make the rooms. [Each] room was eight metres long. Of these eight metres we used to separate <cut-off> three metres by a wall <wall we-used-to-draw>. This <these three metres> we used to call “the coffee-room”. We used to make <put> steps on one side of it, which went up on the roof. There, on the roof, we used to build the upper chamber (but if they built it on the roof of the room, they called it *balaxana*). Inside the room we used to spread carpets; [therefore] we used to take off our shoes in the “coffee-room” [before] going into the room. We [also] used to put there <here> a pitcher with a spout and a basin; we used to wash our hands out of <with> that pitcher, go into the room, say the benediction (for a ritual ablution), dry our hands with a towel [and then only sit down to] eat. Under the room and the “coffee-room” was the cellar. Before the house there used to be a court-yard; this also had a wall, two [or] three metres high. We had a large [separate] “winter-house”; in it were an oven for baking bread and cooking food, a bathroom for taking baths [and] the wine-press. The privy was in the court-yard, five [to] ten metres away from the house. We used to dig <make> a well beside it, one by one metre large <its-breadth> and seven metres deep <its-hollow>. Every metre [deep] we used to make a drain inside the well to drain away the impure water. When it was full, Gentile workers used to come, clean it [and] throw [the dirt] into the street or the court-yard or the lane between two houses. We used to throw earth, refuse, ashes and bones over it, mix all together, and it used to dry. This mixture was called “dust-heap”. Several times every day the donkey-men used to come with [their] beasts, fill [the refuse] in sacks of sack-cloth, take it away, [and] throw it in waste land. Every donkey-owner used to make a separate heap <tower> as high as <like> a mountain; later they used to sell it for [fertilizing] vineyards and orchards.

Inside the room some people had a stove, which was [made] of iron; it had a chimney in the wall of the room, by which – through closed pipes – the smoke used to go up on the roof and go out. But most people used to make a [heating-] chair in the following manner. They used to dig a hollow in the ground inside the room, about 25 cm. [deep], one metre wide and one metre long [and] lay it out with

tiles. In the middle they used to leave a hollow 40 cm. long and 40 cm. wide; this hollow they used to spread with lime and earth so that it became fire-proof , and put ashes on it. This was called a fire-place. We used to put coals [in it], pour petrol over the coals [and] they would burn into a fire <it-would-become fire>. [Then we used to put] a kind of wooden chair over it, [and] throw a quilt [over the chair] – this was called a *joryan* and was made of wool – to keep the heat [inside]. These [quilts] were brought ready-made by the Kurds. Now in winter days, when Sabbath came, a Gentile – woman or man – used to come to each house, to each street – every Sabbath –, put coals into [the fire-place], [and] they burned. We used to sit around it <all-four its-sides>, put out feet under the “chair” [and] keep warm. Each of us used to put a small mattress under him and sit on it <we-used-to-sit under-us>.

We used to make [our] beds on the ground upon the carpets. In the day time we used to gather our bedding, put it in a corner [and] cover it with a spread of striped wool. The rooms had niches, half a metre high, and over them were shelves. On <into> the shelves we used to put tumblers, glasses, bottles and pickles. In the niches we used to put food-plates, china-ware, tea, salt [and] sugar.

In winter we used to eat at <on> the [heating-] chair. In summer we used to take the chair away, give some boards to the carpenter and he used to make [a table] like a chair, 50 cm. high. We used to put it in front of us. We had large [round] trays, one metre wide <their-largeness>, which we used to put on the table [chair]. We used to sit on the ground on the carpets, putting mattresses under us and pillows and cushions behind our backs. After that we used to put bread into a napkin, bring it [and] put it into the tray. Then we used to open the napkin, place the bread before the people [sitting] around the tray <from-circle, four from-sides-of tray>, and say the benediction [over it]. [Then] they used to bring in the food [and] put it into the tray. We used to crumble the bread into the plates [and] put the stew over it. Two persons used to eat from one plate with their hands <we-used-to-eat two persons in-one plate with-our-hands>.

(ii) Informant: B. M. of *Salmas*.

zóre wélan damxíxwa reš gare. lelawe ixala maxqíxwa reš gare, kixlíxwa-w šatixwa reš gare. šwawe qarpśíwa jan díyde, jatwíwa, čorke kimríwa, bára damxíxwa. kimríwa: “dmúxun, rešxun kśímune, dewe gbe kixlíxun!” zadíxwa, rába zadíxwa. xa zaa zíliwa dewe g-kučit gojme. batit gojme kušane wélu, jsíqlu, xa jala xillu. mñ d-o wada xen zdélan damxíxwa reš gare, kwišlan tíxja, dmíxlan bela.

[When] we were small we used to sleep on the roof. At nights we used to take [our] food up to the roof [and] eat and drink there. The neighbours used to gather on eachother’s roofs <beside eachother>, [sit] together, [and] tell stories. After that we

used to go to sleep. [Our parents] used to tell us: “Go to sleep [and] cover up your heads, [lest] the wolves eat you!” We used to be very much afraid. Once some wolves had come <gone> to the Gentile quarter. The houses of the Gentiles were low, [so the wolves] went up [a roof, and] ate a child. Since then we were afraid to sleep on the roof <more>; we came down [and] slept in the house.

(b) *Preparation and storing of food for winter.*

Informant: A. M. of Urmi.

m-jarxit illul gaat urmi *qajdan* háxxa wela: *bisla* šaqlíxwa, tuma šaqlíxwa, *xurtmane*, gubta. gubta deqíxwala, farkíxwala gál ide, milxa bardíxwa llaw, marwíxwala, bara *gapsíxwala* g-kupe, *tarpit* mewa daríxwalu reš pinnu, ara xapríxwala, kud kupa pinnaw maqlbíxwale reš kepe *patuxe*, *attot* sitwa idaa, bára *paltíxwa*, kixlíxwa.

bar min d-o, jarxit tašri xadore, irbe šaqlíxwa, kud bela gál kiflita gora, *malim* madíxwa geban, *dabéwalu* irbe, *mašlíxwale* mišku, qalíxwalu, bára-š daríxwalu g-kupa. bara lilew qalíxwalu, dehna *zanqríxwale* rešit qalja, kupa *malewa*. (bapatire-š háxxa doqíxwa alhadda.) bar min d-o, géna tašri, šaqlíxwa basire, madíxwa čaraz, il-basire *lečíxwalu* gál aqlan, *satla* madíxwa, šira gal *sulaka* kóšwa gaaw, xánči *sapéwa*. xabje twálan, daríxwale g-xabje, pinnaw kepa *patuxa* daríxwa ki la *xamis*. g-d-une xabje *matéwa*, xadírwa xamra bar arbi jome *jan* tre jarxe. bar min d-o géna basire šaqlíxwa, daríxwalu g-čaraz, *lečíxwalu*, širu *sapíxwale g-satla*. pra xwara ítwa, min d-o dahíxwa, mandíxwa *g-satla*, marwíxwale, xa joma péšwa. baqatjo *sapíxwale* m-reša reša, *jawaš jawaš*, gál *tosi*, daríxwale g-tašt reš nura, *mardxíxwale*, xadírwa *došab*. ítwa naše qare šaqlíwa, daréwa g-d-o tašt *g-došab*, *mardxíwa* gál d-o šira *ba-diyde* magon xa išta *šate*, xadríwa jaquše, daréwalu g-kupe ba-sitwa. geban sitwa talga gde reš *garawe*, *rába* gde, xa mitr, áxči gde. *garpíxwale* gal kurak *g-hajat*, m-sukke *hattot* patire péšwa. geban *turawe rummané-twa*. *wad* patire gezíxwa gaat čol, u-xazíxwa: talga ítá, kulla xdírwa dan dan, daríxwa *g-jalye*, madíxwa bela, daríxwale *g-saqqaray*. xánči daríxwa minnew g-xa *sahna*, *m-došab* daríxwa gaew, marwíxwale, xadírwa talgá-*došab*. kixlíxwa minnew jwan. bar sukka basire biš xilje wélu, šaqlíxwa, madíxwa, *jasríxwalu* gál *glale*, taltíxwalu *gare*, pešíwa, wešíwa, xadríwa *milaqe*. goze šaqlíxwa gál mnaa, babje šaqlíxwa gal tiqla, xašše daríxwa, amblíxwa, *matíxwa*, gdíxwa bela. geban bel sitwa ítwa, kud mindiy daríxwa gaew. kud bela zezami *rabta* ítware, šaqlíxwa kamre, dwage, gawane, *siwe* ba-sitwa, daríxwa g-zezami. rizza šaqlíxwa, kartopje. *xitte* šaqlíxwa b-qadrit kiflita gora, amblíxwalu irxel gál xmare, *taxníxwalu*, godíxwalu qamxa ba-kulla šata. min d-ajne *xitte* antíxwa tre manje *jan taha* manje, *mardxíxwalu g-satla*, parsíxwalu *qabay* šimša, wešíwa. bára deqíxwalu gal *toxmay* g-sitta (kepá-twa, gaew *xčira*, sitta kimríwa baew), xánči moe *zanqríxwa* rešu, *hattot* parta *paltáwa* minnu, partfíxxa. bara *xitte* mandíxwa g-garusta, gál ida *taxníxwalu*, xadri girse.

gezíxwa g-kartwala, madíxwa kara g-piste, pašríxwale, zarda-čiwa, milxa mandíxwa

gaew, daríxwa gáat kupe ba-sitwa. aj bela: xalwa daríxwale g-nehra, šešixwale reš sbadila, gál xa *siwa paltíxwale* m-bizza, xazíxwa, agär ja kara dwiqe, *paltíxwale*. il-doe daríxwalu g-xa *torba*, *moe kóšwa*, péšwa *qatíy*. milxa dahíxwa g-doe, ba-d-o kimríxwa *qatíy* doe. min d-o godíxwa kalažoš: *moe šaxine daríxwa g-qatíy*, marwíxwalu, parčkíxwa lixma *g-sahna*, tuma-š deqíxxe, gál mišxa daríxwa gau, kixlíxxe.¹

[Beginning] from the last month of the year (August-September) this was our custom in Urmi: we used to buy onions, garlic, unhulled chick-peas, cheese. The cheese we used to chop, rub it between our fingers <with our hands>, add <strew> some salt to it [and] mix it; after that we used to press it into jars, put some wine-leaves on the top of it, dig [a hole in] the ground [and] put each jar bottom up <its-mouth we-used-to-overturn-it> on flat stones [and leave the jars] until winter came; then we used to open [them] to eat the cheese. After that, when the first month of the year (September-October) came, we used to buy sheep, each house according to [the size of] the family, bring the rabbi to our house, [and] he used to slaughter them. [Then] we used to skin [and] roast them and then put the meat [them] into jars; after that we used to roast their fat tails and pour the fat over the roast meat so that the jar was filled. (We used to do <hold> the same for Passover separately). Then – still in the first month – we used to buy grapes, bring them to the wine-press [and] tread them with our feet; we used to bring a vat, [and] the grape-juice came down into it through a water-trough, after which we let it stand to clear <it cleared> a little. We had very large jars in which we used to put [the grape-juice], placing a flat stone on top [of each jar] so that the juice would not grow sour. In these jars the juice would ferment <ripen> and become wine in forty days or two months. After that we used to buy some more grapes, put them into the wine-press, tread them [and] strain their juice into a vat. There was [a kind of] white earth; we used to take [some] of this, throw it into the vat, mix it [with the grape-juice and] let it stand <it-remained> for a day. In the morning we used to skim it carefully from the top with a bowl, put it into a tub over the fire [and] boil it until it became grape-honey. Some people used to buy pumkins, put them into the tub with the honey [and] boil them together with the grape-juice for some six hours [until] they became thick [and] put them into jars for the winter.

In our country it snows in winter upon the roofs; it snows a great deal, a meter [high], as much as that <+ it-comes>. We used to sweep the snow with shovel[s] into the court-yard, [where] it remained from the Feast of the Tabernacles until Passover. In our country there were high mountains. At Passover time we used to go into the open country <desert> and see [that] there was <is> snow, which had all become granulated <grain grain>. We used to put it into kerchiefs, bring it home and put it into a large dish. [Then] we used to put some of it into a plate, add some grape-honey, mix it together and have a delicious dish <we-used-to-eat of-it good>. After the Feast of the Tabernacles (in the last week of the first month), [when] the

¹ On preserved meat see also BJK 80-81.

grapes were sweeter, we used to buy them, bring them [home], bind them with strings, hang them on the ceiling [and] let them <they-remained> dry, so they became “hung grapes”. We [also] used to buy nuts by the unit <with counting>, [and] almonds by weight, put them in sacks and bring them <take-them, arrive, come> home. We had a “winter-house”, where everything was stored <we-used-to-put-it in-it>. Each house [also] had a large cellar; wd used to buy thick and thin cakes of dried cows’ dung, thistles [and] wood [for fuel] for winter [and] put them into the cellar. [Besides] we used to buy rice [and] potatoes. We used to buy wheat according to the size of the family, take it to the mill on <with> donkeys, and grind it <+ make-it> [to] flour for the whole year. Of this wheat we [also] used to take two or three manas, boil it in a vat, spread it out in the sun to dry. Then we used to pound it with a mallet in a stone-mortar (we had a stone with a cavity inside, which we called a stone-mortar), pouring a little water over it, until the chaff was removed; this we threw <throw> away. Then we used to put <throw> the wheat into a hand-mill [and] grind it by hand so that it became groats.

We used to go to the Kurdish districts, bring butter in large skins, melt it, add saffron and salt and put it away in jars for winter. [As for] home-made [butter] we used to put the milk into churning-jars and churn it by shaking [the jars] over a pillow. [From time to time] we used to take out [some of the contents of the jar] with a stick through a hole and see whether the butter had clotted <has-caught>, [in which case] we took it out. The whey we used to put in a bag; the water used to come down and the curds remain (we used to add salt to the whey); this we used to call whey-curds. From this we used to make *kalajoš*: we used to add hot water to the curds, mix [well], crumble some bread into a plate, put [the curd-mixture] in with some melted butter [and] eat it.

(c) *Baking bread; the baking oven*

Informant: A. M. of Urmi.

qamxa madéni, g-tašt naxlile gāl naxalta, kud bela b-qadrit ixalew, báat tmanja jome. agār sitwa hawe, *moe šaxine pilga*, pilga-š *qarile*, daréni g-qamxa g-tašt, xmira daréni gaaw, lešile *hal mate*. bára qamxa bardi rešew xánči, ki la *latix*, il-d-ot ki kasúlule rešew *hal baqatjom*. *baqatjom xame*. nura godi g-tanura *hal tanura samqa*. bára gunde mande, taxte garoma madéni, xa gunda dare reš taxta, xánči *taptpila* ila-gunda reš taxta, bára gāl garoma palxíla, *nazík* godíla, bára anténila reš idu, háxxa-šaléla *hal nazík* xadra. bára daréla reš mazraka, palxíla. bára m-bar *xasaw* doqi l-mazraka, tkit ida ita, mi-tkit idaw doqi minnaw, dahíla l-tanura, *latxa*. bára bašla, *paltíla*.

tanura *rabta* kiwja, arba xamša lixme japéni gaaw kud zaa. tanura nošáw-iš m-ipra smoqa xwara, marwíwalu gāl *diyde*, xadríwa magon xa *tina* qiwja. bára mistit aj *amra* pazgziwale, palxiwale, g-d-aj *tina* gāl aqlu *lečtwale hál* xadírwa jwan. bára godíwale lule lule, gāl idu *maptxiwale* xánči, *masmxíwale* tike tike reš *diyde*. gun-

durma godíwala tanura, xadráwa čarxí. qraw *tmoni* santimitre wéla. gál idu šepíwala, mašxíwala gál *moe*, ki une tike *latxíwa l-diγde*. *rummanulit* tanura godíwala xa gaza. ara xapriwala, daréwala g-ara. bára arbamnu gabanaw *qitma* mandéwa, *lečíwale* gaaw, šaxinta peša. pinnaw *jawaš jawaš majqíwala*, *hal* pinnaw *matjáwa* arbi xamši santimitre. pinnaw *qalín* godíwala, ki xen la tora.²

One brings some flour [and] sifts it into a tub through <with> a sieve, each family <house> according to its need <food>, for eight days. In winter <if it-is winter>, one puts water [that is] half hot and half cold into the flour in the tub, adds <puts> some yeast [and] kneads it until it is ready. Then one strews a little flour over it so it should not stick, for one lets it stand covered for <is-covering-it> until morning. In the morning it becomes leavened. One makes fire in the oven till the latter becomes red. [Then] one brings boards [and] rolling-pins, makes [the dough] into balls, puts a ball on the board, [and] knocks it about a little on the board. Then one rolls it out with the rolling-pin [and] makes it thin. After that one takes it in one's hands [and] pulls it about until it becomes [quite] thin. Next one puts it on the baking-cushion, spreading it out <they open it>. Then one seizes the cushion from its back: there is a handle [to it], by which one holds it. One strikes [the piece of dough to] the inner side of the oven, [and] it sticks [there]. After it is cooked, one takes it out.

The oven used to be <is> large; they <used to> bake four [or] five loaves in it at a time. The oven itself [was made of] red [and] white earth; they used to mix [both kinds] together until [the mass] became like hard clay. Then they used to pull <hair-of> wool asunder, spread it out [and] tread it into that clay with their feet until it became well [mixed]. Then they used to form [the clay] into rolls, flatten them a little with their hands [and] place them <make-them-stand> on one another. They used to make the oven round, [so that] it became like a wheel. Its bottom was 80 cm. [wide]. [Then they] rubbed it with their hands and moistened <spread> it with water, so that those rolls should stick together. They used to make the oven one ell (= 140 cm) high <height-of oven they-used-to-make it etc.>. [Then] they used to dig [a hole in the] ground [and] put it in. After that they used to throw ashes on its four sides [and] knead it in, so that [the oven] would remain hot. They used to make it gradually narrower [towards] its top <mouth>, until its mouth became forty [or] fifty centimetres [wide]. They used to make it thick [at] its mouth, so it would not <no longer> break.

² Cf. BJK 78.

5 FAMILY LIFE

(a) *Betrothal and wedding.*

Informant: A. M. of Urmi.

geban g-urmi xa danka brona *daew* geza baew elčula bel d-o gorit ki bratá-tte. bára baqra mi-bronaw, kimra: “bróni, bratit dawid gbitta? ezan, šaqlána baox!” agār ebélella, kmir ba-daew: “sílox, šqúlla bai!” geza, šula parqále, xánči *noyle* madja gälaw bela m-bel kalo. bára oxed joma *daat* brona geza šuqa, xa zoa qulbe aj dehwa, xa zoa qulašje aj dehwa šaqla, madja bela. gäl goraw *ba-diyde* xánči-š *noyle* šaqli, xa danka xonča *tarsáwa daat hatan*, xa danka naš doqáwa, fisse kwáwa baew, daréwala reš tappew, ambláwale gälaw *hal* bel *kalo*. lóka matiwwale, fisse kwáwa baew, *palltwa* gezilwa. *qawalčje* doqíwa, ambliwa bel *kalo*. lóka raqliwa, *pasxiwa*, *janiman* dahíwa. ja nišanqulé-la. *daat hatan* qulbe darjáwalu il-do *kalo*, qulašje-š *il-nhalaw*, našqáwala, kimráwa: “*tota* xazjat, bráti!” bára gdéniwa bela.

bar kimma *wada* maqéniwa našit *kalo* našit *hatan*, baqríwa *m-diyde*: “iman xlula odixxa? iman *hazír* xadrétun?” parqíwala *g-aralyit* nóšu, kimríwa: “bar išta jarxe *hazír* xadrex, xlula godex.” išta jarxe pérwa. sukke, hanuke xadore – kud ela – našit *hatan noyle* šadríwa ba-*kalo xleta*, une šadríwa ba-belit *hatan*, agār mewani godíwa-*hattot kalo* ambliwala. bále elit sukke *jan* el patire ma godíwa? xizmawit *kalo il-hatan sarxiwale*, ambliwale bela. lóka kixlíwa, šatéwa, *saz* dahíwa, *janiman* dahíwa, tre *taha sate*. *paltíwa* tara m-*hajat*, xaluntit *dait kalo jan* amtaw ambláwale *hatan* below gäl kullu naše gálew hawjane. móka *palltwa*, jwe naše doqíwale *hattot asr*, *xleta-š* godíwa llew. awal xlula la widá-jkän (~ widtá-jkän) qamol mewani godíwa ba-*hatan* belit *kalo*. kimmit *doste*, sawane, xizmawe *sarxiwa*, gdéniwa lele. bále *šammaš* d-aj kništa gezilwa, danka danka kmírwa bau: “bel dawid mewani-la, bratew hwililla gora. b-adétun lele belu, ilha *mamte* ba-*balxun!*” kullu *qarpsíwa* lóka, kixlíwa, šatéwa, xamra, arāq, ixala, šatoe, *ašuw* madéniwa, *saz* dahílwa bau, zamírwa *hal satit* tressar lele. bára barbziwa, geziwa kullu naše, kud naša below. bále *hatan tašéwale* lóka bel *kalo*. lele xinna *tarsiwa*, daréwa rešew idew. baqatjom qémwa, xalilwala, saxéwa. *hattat* pilgoma belu kwéwa. našit *kalo* šadríwa bar kimma našit xizmawit *hatan*, axxonawew, xalunjawew, gdéniwa lóka, pilgoma kixlíwa, *palltwa* geziwa, *hatan* ambliwale. bar kimma jome xlula godíwala. geban itwa šamale, *tarsíwalu* m-damur, qrá-twalu, daréwalu tkit *siwa*, *mambriwalu g-siwa*, *jinde* daréwalu g-bizza, daréwalu g-d-aj damur, magon qoqa wela. doqíwalu b-idu,

xamša šta danke min d-une godiwa, kud gora xa danka dóqwa b-idew, manhríwalle, geziwa *qabay kalo*, behra godiwa ba-naše ezane *qabay kalo*. šira kimriwa *dignaxware*: ^Hšira narannana, nayilla (sic!) *wenismaha^H*, *hal mamteniwala* belit *hatan g-hajat*. *hatán-iš* jasiqwa reš *gare, samixwa*. tre *taha* jwanqe-š *janew samxiwa*, arāq xamra b-idu reš *gare g-šuše, istkán-iš* b-idu, nura godiwa reš *gare*. *kalo* idjéla, *wíra g-hajat*. *kalo-š* awwal lele g-bel *hatan matoe*, m-tara *wjaraw* xa danka saxsi toriwa xel aqlaw, xa *baɣa-š* mewe *jan siwe* daréwa xel aqlaw, peráwa m-rešu. kimriwa: “*dušmanax* xel aqlax!” arba xamša xabuše kwéwa gébit *hatan*. *kalo masmxiwala g-hajat* tušin *hatan*, m-d-une xabuše dahílwa m-reš *gare g-singit kalo*. ajne naše *samxanit* tixja *jan kalo* min d-ajne xabuše janwiwa. bára príqiwa xabuše, *hatan kóšwa m-gare*, gdéwa *g-hajat*, ambliwale geb *kalo*. aqlaw *léčwala*, kimriwa: sahmew pel rešaw, reš *kalo*. jáza kullu *barxiwale*, ida il-ida kwiwa gal *hatan*, kimriwa: “*brixta*, libbe basime, ^H*ba-banim ba-banot, ba-óšer* ba-xawod^H! *tota xazet!*” ba-*kalo-š* kimriwa: “xadrat magon ^H*rahel* immenu^H, *tota xazjat* m-gorax! mare brone, mare *blane* hawjat!” našaw našqiwala, masqiwala *g-otay*. naše barbziwa, geziwa kud gora belew. *kalo* maspéwala il-*hatan*. našit *hatan* geziwa bar tre *sate, samxiwa* bar tarit d-aj *hatan kalo, nhala masliwa*, gdéniwa kaxkiwa, kimriwa: “*hatan il-kalo kalo* widále!” baqatjom geziwa, čarčaf došāg madéwalu *daat kalo daat hatan*, kimriwa: “jé-le *hatan* xdir!” *daat kalo-š* kimráwa: “xzímun, *salmít* brati xwaré-le!” kimriwa baaw: “rahamta babax gāl bratit *mirwélax!*” *pasxi*, made ixala, bašli ziražoš: goze torílu, qinnu doqílu g-mišxa, bee torílu, *tarpílu, zanqrílu* g-d-o ixala, *moe* šakār dare, bašlílu – ba-daj kimri ziražoš. našit *hatan* madénile g-bel *hatan kalo*, kixliwa min d-o ixala xilja. *hatan* geziwa *čalasar*, saxéwa, gdewa. šabbat geziwa kništa gal kimma naše, xizmawe, *slola saloe*. séfer maqimíwala, kwiwala b-id *hatan*, madéwala reš sitta. *noyle daréniwa* rešew kullu xizmawew. bára jatwiwa kništa, *haxam* séfer qaréwala, šališ (sic!) *hatan* maqiméwale, *noyle daréwa* rešew *hal* jasiqwa reš sitta. *barixwa*, dárwa, gdéwa. *hattat* jatiwwa tkew, géna *noyle daréniwa* rešew. parqiwa *mi-slola*, gdéniwa bela. gāl našew, gāl xizmawew *pizmone* kimriwa g-bela, *ašuw saz* dahílwa, zamírwa. bále qamol ki m-tara *b-or g-hajat*, *nohra riwwa* madéwa, *doqiwa qabayew, hatán-iš* kmírwa: “bahra llxun!” nase-š kimriwa: “*tota xazet!*” *hattat* tmanja jome našew xizmawew *sarixwalu*, gdéniwa šatéwa *hal* lelit tmanja aj *huppa*. lelit tmanja *qarpstwa*, gdéwa, kixliwa. bar príqiwa, *baraxa* godiwa, ^Hmizmor la-dawid “*hassamajim* masapparim kawod el^H” kimriwa *hatta* paroqaw. ja *sata* doqiwa, *m-golew* garšiwale, kimriwa: “príqlox xen! awwal *šultana* wélox, átta m-taxtox kwišlox!” kimriwa: “*trúdune*, tkox la píšla láxxa xen!” o pardin garšiwa, *glalaw qatéwale*, mandéniwale ara.¹

With us in Urmí a boy's mother used to go to see a bride for him <she-goes for-him mission> to the house of a man who had <has> a daughter. After that she used to

¹ On wedding ceremonies in Šino cf. also BJK 114. For throwing apples at the bride at Christian weddings, cf. John Maclean, *A Dictionary of the dialects of Vernacular Syriac* (London, 1901), p. 47^b, s.v. *jwamlānā* [Kurd?]. In the Lebanon it is the bride who throws fruit at the groom; see M. Feghali, *Contes, légendes, coutumes populaires du Liban et de Syrie* (Paris, 1935), text p. 63, transl. p. 82-3.

ask her son, saying: "My son, do you want David's daughter? I will go [and] demand [⟨take⟩ her for you in marriage]." If he wanted her (the girl), he said to his mother: "Go [and] demand her!" She used to go, settle the matter [and] bring home with her some sweets from the bride's house. Then, the next day, the boy's mother used to go to the market [and] bring home a pair of golden bracelets [and] a pair of golden earrings. She and her husband used also to buy some sweets. The bridegroom's mother used to arrange a tray, hire a man to whom she gave some money, place [the tray] on his head and take it along with him to the house of the bride. There he used to put it down, she used to give him some [more] money, and he used to go away. [Then] they used to hire some drummers [and] take them along to the house of the bride. There they danced, made merry and performed ⟨struck⟩ round dances. This was ⟨is⟩ the engagement[-feast]. The mother of the bridegroom used to place the bracelets on the wrists ⟨hands⟩ of the bride and the earrings in her ears, kiss her [and] say: "May you be happy ⟨goodness may-you-see⟩, my daughter!" Then they used to go ⟨come⟩ home.

Some time later the parents of the bride and the groom used to ask each other: "When will we make the wedding? When will you be ready?" They used to settle it among themselves, saying: "In six months we will be ready to make the wedding." [After] six months had passed, when the Feast of the Tabernacles [or] the Feast of Lights came – [in fact] any feast – the parents of the groom used to send sweets to the house of the bride. Those [in turn] used to send for the groom's family ⟨house⟩ whenever they made a feast. [They used to do thus] until the bride was taken [to the groom's house]. But what did they use to do on the Feast of the Tabernacles or on the Passover Feast? The relatives of the bride used to invite the groom [and] take him to [their] house. There they used to eat, drink, play the saz and perform round dances [for] two [or] three hours. [When] they were going out of the courtyard, the sister of the bride's mother or father used to take the groom to her house along with all the people who were with him. [When] he had left there, other people used to take hold of him, [and thus they continued] until the evening. They also used to make him present[s]. ⟨First⟩ before making the wedding ⟨wedding not made-being before⟩ they used to make a feast for the groom in the house of the bride. They used to invite several friends, acquaintances [and] relatives, who used to come in the evening ⟨night⟩. Now ⟨but⟩ the invitation was made in the following manner: the beadle of the synagogue used to go [and] say to each person separately ⟨unit unit he-used-to-say to-them⟩: "There is a feast in David's house, he has betrothed his daughter ⟨his-daughter he-has-given-her man⟩. You must come to-night to his house. God give [the like] to your children!" All used to gather there, eat and drink; [they were offered] wine, arrack food [and] drink. They [also] used to bring a [Turkish] singer and poet, who used to play the saz [and] sing till twelve o'clock at night. After that all the people used to disperse [and] go every man to his house. But the bridegroom they used to detain there at the house of the bride. At night they prepared some hennah [and] put it on his head and his hands. In the morning

he used to rise, wash it off [and] take a bath. He used to remain <be> in their house till noon. The parents of the bride used to send for some of his <people+> relatives, his brothers [and] sisters: they used to come there, lunch <midday they-used-to-eat> [and] then go away, taking the bridegroom along. A few days later they used to make the wedding <in the prescribed manner>. In our country they had torches; they used to make them of iron; they used to place their bottoms <bottom-there-was-to-them, they-used-to-place-them> in wooden bowls <places, they-used-to-put-them-in-to-wood>, soak <put> some rags in sesame oil, [and] put them into the iron [holders], which were <was> like cooking-pots. They used to make five [or] six of them, take them into their hands – each man took one in his hand – light them [and] go before the bride, lighting the way <making light> for the people who walked before the bride. [During the procession] the old men used to sing a hymn: “Let us jubilate in song, let us rejoice and be merry!”, until they brought her (the bride) to the court-yard of the bridegroom’s house. Now on the first night of the arrival of the bride at the house of the groom, when she was entering the gate, they used to place a bundle of vines or of wood under her feet that she might pass over them; they used to say: “May your enemies [be] under your feet!” [Meanwhile] the bridegroom used to go up on the roof [and] stand there waiting. Two [or] three young men were also standing beside him on the roof; they had arrack and wine in bottles in their hands, and a glass <+in-their-hands>; they also used to light a fire on the roof. Then the bride came [and] entered the courtyard. The bridegroom had four [or] five apples with him. They made the bride stand in the courtyard opposite the groom, [and] he used to throw <strike> these apples from the roof at the bride’s breast; the people standing below beside the bride used to snatch those apples. After the apples were all thrown <finished>, the bridegroom used to come down from the roof into the court-yard, [and] they used to take him to the bride. He used to tread her on her foot, [and the people] used to say: “May the fear of him fall upon her (*i.e.* the bride)!” Then all used to congratulate the bridegroom, shook hands with him <and to-hand they-used-to-give with bridegroom> [and] said: “May your marriage [be] blessed! [We wish you] glad hearts, with sons [and] daughters, with riches [and] honour!” May you be happy!” To the bride they said: “May you become like our mother Rachel! May you be happy with your husband!” May you become the mother <owner> of sons and daughters!” Her parents used to kiss her [and] take her up to the [bridal] chamber. The people [then] used to disperse and everyone used to go home. [Then] they used to hand the bride over the groom. Two hours later the relatives of the bridegroom used to go, stand behind the door of the bridal chamber <of this groom bride>, lend their ear, laugh and say: “The groom [has] made the bride a bride!” In the morning the mothers of the bride and the groom used to bring the sheet [and] the mattress [to show their relatives, and] say: “Here, he has become a bridegroom!” The bride’s mother used to say: “My daughter’s honour is manifest <face-of my-daughter white it-it>!” [The relatives] used to say: “[May there be] grace [on] your [dead] father and the daughter whom you have raised!” [Then] they used to make merry, bring food [and] cook the zirajoš [which was

made in the following manner]: one cracks <breaks> nuts, pounds their meats <nests> in oil, breaks some eggs, mixes them, pours them over this food, adds <puts> some water and sugar, [and] cooks the mixture <them>; this is called zirajoš. The relatives of the bridegroom used to bring it to the house of the young couple, and they used to eat of this sweet dish. The bridegroom used to go to the bathroom, take a bath [and] come [back]. On the Sabbath he used to go to the synagogue with some of his people [and] relatives, to say his prayers. They used to take out <set-up> the Scroll of the Law [and] place it in the bridegrooms hands, [and] he used to bring it to the tribune. After that they sat used to sit in the synagogue: the rabbi used to read the Book; they used to call up the bridegroom as “third”; while he was going up the tribune, they used to scatter sweets over him [again]. [After] he had spoken the [closing] benediction, he used to return <+ came> [to his place]. Until he sat down in his place, they used to scatter [sweets] over him once more. [After] they had finished the prayer, they used to return home. [There] the bridegroom used to sing <say> hymns with his people [and] relatives; a [Turkish] singer used to play the saz [and] sing [for them]. But before [the bridegroom] entered the gate of his courtyard, they used to bring a large mirror, [and] hold [it] before him. The bridegroom used to say: “May it shine for you!” The people used to say: “May you be happy!”

For <until> eight days [the bridegroom] used to invite his relatives and parents; they used to come [and] drink with him until the eighth night of the wedding. On the eight night they used to gather, come [and] eat. After they had finished, they used to say grace <benediction> and recite Psalm 19 to its end. At that moment <this hour> they used to seize him, pull him by his arm [and] say: “That will do <you-ended already>! First you were a king, now you have come <you-came> down from your throne!” [Then] they used to say: “Drive him out! Your (*sic!*) place is no longer here!” They used to pull down the canopy [under which this young couple had been sitting during the wedding-week], cut its strings [and] throw it on the ground.

(b) *Birth and circumcision.*

Same informant.

ja *kalo hatan* ki gwíru gál *diyde*, príqlu. bar xa šata ja *kalo* jdilla xa brona. gaat bela *mamača* gidjawa, majdlawala. geban baxta o waxtit ki jadolaw xel kud aqlaw daréni ja kepa ja kirpiča, *jan* dwaqe ki *rummanta* hawja m-ara, ki *jala* la xaniq. baxta-š nóšaw *qičaw* madipálu, jatwa. xa treminji baxta *qabayaw samxa*, kpanaw aj *rast* doqa, xa-š kpanaw aj *čap*, qiwta lítta ki, ma? *mamača-š samxa* bar *xasit* baxta, *jala* djéle doqále, šurew *qatjála*, *jala* darjála gaat kimma mindiyane, *malafa* madja, *jasrále*, matwále *gray*. bára *l-dait jala maštjála* g-šiwje. bára *jala* madjále, darjále *jan daaw*. o xidjit *daew* xalwé-le; tre jome bezíle, la kwíle ba-*jala*, kimri: *ayuz* ile. mñ sinje falflíwalu, gál xánči mišxa marwíwalu, daréwa pinnew. bar min d-o xabra šabbat goraw gezil kništa ^Hšir *hadaš^H*, maqimile *šališ* agār *israel* hawe. *baraxat* séfer *tora* god, pariq, koš tíxja m-sitta, il-kullu ida kwil, danka danka. kimri baew:

“aqlit jwanqulox hawja *brixta!*” kmir bau: “ilha hawil baox!” bar min d-o *palti* mi-kništa, kullu gezi. ja gora-š gezil belew, kimma naše, *dostew* sawanew, ambillu gālew bela. jatwi, kixli, šate, *pizmonit* aj ^Hbarit mila^H kimri. bar min d-o gezi, kud gora belew.

tre jome qamol bugzare, lele ištaminji jadolaw, kimri: šaššé-la; háxxa *qajdé-la* geban. madéni *šamale*, malqi, kud naša *wire* m-tarit *otaygit*-bela, xa *šamala* ante, malíqla, daréla g-langāri, fisse-š mande, kimmit abe. *hatta sata* tressar *gamara*, *mišnajot*, *zóhar* qaréni, *dignaxware* jwanqe zamri, raqli. bar min d-o lixma madéni, *sooda* godi, parqi. kud gora gezil belew.

xadir jomit ^Hbarit mila^H. jom tmanja šadri bar *malim* ki ade, *jala* gazíre. gdéni kimma naše, ki *qalit baraxat* ^Hšehejanu^H šaménila. bar *qirpíslu* gaat bela, *malim* gde, *jala* antéle m-idit madjantew, šaqille m-idaw, il-*awi*-habbén-iš matiwlé reš xa kursi alhadda, kursjit elijáhu *hannawi janew* kiwja. o *jala* b-idew *malim* ambille *qabay* kursjit elijáhu *hannawi*, dahille llaw, matiwlé rešaw, kmir: “^Hze kisse elijahu *hannawi zaxur latow*^H!” bára antéle, daréle *g-xanit awi*-habben reš kursi jtiwa. *baraxe* kullu *malim* kmíru gāl *awi*-habben, bára *malim* gazíre *l-jala*. *awi*-habben *šahajanu* kmir. bára *malim istkanit* xamra madéla, *baraxa* god, pilgaw šatéla, pilgáw-iš kwilla b-id *awi*-habben. *awi*-habben šate minnaw xánči xamra, bára kasirit *istkan* ki xamra it gaaw *batlile* reš šušit xamra. bára daréni min d-o xamra g-šúše, kwi il-kullu naše *taméni*, *asse* madéni, kullu *baraxa barxi*, kade paléni ba-kullu naše, *baraxa* godi ^Hbore mine mazonot^H. kullu *barxíle* il-*awi* habben, kimri: “ilha *natíre*, *toraew xazítta!*” kud minnu gezi belu.²

Now this young couple have settled down to married life <this bride bridegroom married with eachother, finished>. A year later the young wife <bride> gave birth to a son. A midwife used-to-come to help her with the birth. With us, when a woman was delivering <that time that birth-her-giving> they used to place under each of her feet a stone or a brick or else some dried cow-dung, so that she should be higher than the ground and the child should not be strangled [at the time of the birth]. The woman herself used to squat <her-legs bend, sit>. A second woman stood in front of her, holding her right shoulder [and] yet another one was holding her left shoulder, for she had <has> no strength, don't you see. The midwife was standing behind her back to catch the child [as] it came. [Then] she used to cut his navel [-string], put the child in some clothes <things>, bring a wrapper, bind it [and] put it aside. [After that] she put the mother to bed, bring the child [and] place by her side. There was milk in its mother's breast; [but] for two days they used to pour it away [and] not give it to the child, saying: “It is turbid!” [Instead,] they crumbled some [fruit of the] oleaster, mixed them with a little oil [and] put in it his mouth. On the following Sabbath <after this matter Sabbath> her husband went to the synagogue [to recite] the New Song. They called him up [for the reading of the Law] as third, if he was an Israelite (i.e. neither priest nor Levite). [After] he had spoken <made> the benediction, he

² For birth cf. BJK 129ff.; for šašša cf. *ibid.*, 136-8 and Maclean, *l.c.*, p. 313^b s.v. shashá.

came down from the tribune, and shake hands <hand-he-gives> with every man [of the congregation]. They said to him: "May the foot of your youth (sic!) be blessed!" He said: "May God give you [likewise]!" Then they went out of the synagogue [and] all went away. That man, too, went home, taking several people [from among] his friends and acquaintances along with him. They sat [together], ate [and] drank and sang <said> circumcision hymns. After that every one went home.

Two days before the circumcision, *i.e.* on the sixth night [after] his (the boy's) birth, they said: "It is the šašša." This [is] our custom. They bring candles [and] light them; every person [who] entered the door of the room took a candle, lighted it [and] placed it in the tray; he also threw in some money, as much as he wished. Until twelve o'clock they read the Gemara, the Mishna [and] the Zohar; young and old <old-men, young-men> sang [and] danced. After that they brought some food <bread> [and] had <made> a festive meal. After they [had] finished, every one went home.

The day of circumcision came, *i.e.* the eight day [from the birth]. They send for the rabbi to come [and] circumcize the child. Several people came to hear <+ voice-of> the benediction "Blessed be.... Who has let us live to this day". After they have gathered in the house, the rabbi comes, takes the child from <the hands of> the women who brought him in <+ takes him out of her hands>. He places the boy's father on a special chair, beside which stands <is> the chair of the Prophet Elijah. Then the rabbi brings the child before the chair of Elijah the Prophet, strikes him [lightly] against it, places him on it [and] says: "This is the chair of the Prophet Elijah of blessed memory!" Then he takes him (the child) [and] places him in the lap of his father [who is] sitting on [his] chair. The rabbi and the boy's father recite all the [prescribed] benedictions, after which the rabbi circumcizes the child. The boy's father says the benediction "Who has let us live." Then the rabbi brought a glass of wine, spoke the benediction [over the wine], drank half of it [and] gave the half [-empty] glass to the boy's father. The latter drinks a little wine of it, [and] then they pour the remainder of the wine <remainder glass that wine there-is in-it> into <over> the wine-bottle. After that they put some of this wine into [smaller] bottles [and] give it to all the people to taste. They also bring branches of sweet-smelling plants and all say the [appropriate] benediction. Then they divide cakes among <to> all the people and say the benediction "Blessed be He Who has created different kinds of food." All [the people] congratulated the boy's father, saying: "May God preserve him, may you [live to] see the day when he is called up for the reading of the Law (at the age of thirteen)!" [Then] everyone goes home.

(c) *Redemption of the first-born.*

Same informant.

bar min d-o xa jarxa per, *jan* arbi jome per. brona gbe m-kohen šaqille, buxra hawe. kohen made, naše made g-belew, madéle brona. malbšile, *daew* jwan loša kasja,

brona doqále b-idaw, jatwa reš kursi. gure gdeni, *otay malja*. bára kohen gde *qabay* d-aj baxta, *dáit jala, jala* b-idaw, kmir baaw: “ja ma broné-le?” kimra: “broní-le ja!” kmir: “ja xala jdiltátte? xen gora xaxet la zílat? gorax awwali já-jle? ja bronax min d-aj gora xdir?” kimra baew: “e. la gora xaxet zılan, la jdiltan *sewaj* min d-aj brona. ja awwal kasí-le jadolánne, awwal buxrí-le.” baqir minnaw, kmir: “at sahlé-ttax ki awwal buxrax ile?” kimra: “bqur m-gori!” bqíre m-goraw, míre: “awwal broní-le ja, buxrí-le.” míre: “at sahlula hwalet, la mallja ja sahlula! xaxet sahla-š be-hawe, ki baqren minnew, amir bai: ana kjen ja brona ja brata heš minnu la gwíru *umbul* ja brona ja brata, gál *diyde* gwíru. la brata gál xaxet brona gwirta, la brona gál xaxet brata gwire. ajne *tamam* ilu!” kohen míre: “šbira, xazinne bronax!” šaqille m-idaw, kwále llew, kmir baaw: “bráti, háxxa hawe. ja brona didí-le!” kimra baew: “bod ma dídox hawe? la kwáne baox amblítte!” mkir: “bráti, *g-tora* kliwté-la: awwal buxrox aj ben *adam*, aj torox, aj irbox ja ilanox, kul *barox* xala, *mate* l-kohen. bále ana libbi qjaléllax, gbat zabnínne baax, šqúlle!” dadit brona gde, kmir: “xa jiqrew dehwa hol, umbúlle!” kaxkíla. dadit *jala* kmir: “at gál sehma gbet zabnítte bai, gál dehwa la!” kohen kmir: “šbira, sehma hol!” kwille tressar majídje turki, kmir: “ja jiqrit broní, hwílli baox, zbúnne bai!” kmir: “šbira, zbínni baox!” *baraxe* íta g-siddur, kimríle, kwille il-dadew. jatwi, kixli, šate, *sooda* godi, parqi *baraxit* ^Hbirkat hamazon^H, parqi.

Since then <after that> a month or forty days [have] passed. [The father] must redeem <buy> the boy from the priest, [if] he is a first-born. He brings a priest [and] several people to his house; [then] he brings in the boy. They dress him up. His mother attires herself [in] fine [clothes], takes the boy in her arms <hands> and sits down on a chair. The men come in, [and] the room fills. Then the priest comes before that woman, [i.e.] the boy's mother, who is holding the child in her arms, [and] says to her: “What boy is this?” She says: “This is my son.” He [then] says: “Have you born him recently? Have you not married another man? Is this your first husband? Has this boy been born of this man? She says to him: “That is so <yes>. I have not married another man, nor have I given birth except to this boy. This is my first child <this first my-womb-it-is I-am-giving-birth-to him>, it is my first-born.” [The priest then] asks her, saying: “Have you witnesses that he is your first-born?” She says: “Ask my husband!” He asks <asked> her husband, <and the latter says: “This is my first son, my first-born!” [The priest] says: “You are witnessing it, [but] your testimony is not enough! There should be another witness whom I might ask [and who] should say: I know [that] this boy [and] this girl did not marry except one another <this boy this girl, they married one another>. Neither has this girl married another boy, nor has this boy married another girl. These [two] are in order!” [After this has been done,] the priest says: “Very well, let me see your son!” He takes him out of her arms [and] she gives him to him, [upon which] he says: “My daughter, thus be it! This boy is mine.” She says to him: “Why should he be yours? I will not give him to you to take him away!” He says: “My daughter, it is written in the Law:

Your first-born, whether [born] of man, [or] of your ox [or] of your sheep or of your tree, all your first <new> fruit belongs to the priest. But I take pity on you <my-heart is-burning-to-you>; if you want me to sell him to you, [you can] buy him!" The father of the child comes [and the priest] says to him: "Give [me] his weight in gold [and] take him!" [All the people] laugh. The father of the child says: "You are going to sell him to me for silver [and] not for gold!" The priest says: "Very well, give me silver!" [The father] gives him twelve Turkish mejidis, saying: "This is my son's weight [in silver], I am giving <I-gave> [it] to you; sell him to me!" The priest says: "Very well, I am selling [him] to you!" There are [certain] benedictions in the prayer-book; the priest speaks them [and] gives him (the child) to his father. [After that] they sit down, eat [and] drink [and] have a festive meal. [After]they finish, they say grace <+ they finish>.

6 MAGIC USAGES

(a) *Sprinkling water at Pentecost.*

Informant: A. M. of Urmi.

elit *asarta moe* beziwa res naše, kimri: “bahurulé-la!”¹

At the Feast of Pentecost they used to pour water over the people, saying: “This is brightness!”

(b) *The barren tree.*

Same informant.

ilana *bar* la madéwa, lelit *simhelane* gezixwa, karki antixwa, dahixwa gi-qrew. xaxet naša gdéwa, baqirwa: “báma twaritte, *qatollite* il-d-aj ilana?” amréna: “bamá-ile, *bar* le mada!” kmir bai: “ana *zamin* baew. agār xaxet šata la mdéle *bar*, *qtülle!*” oxet šata *bar* madéwa, kúdšat!

When a tree did not bear fruit, we used to go on the eve of the Feast of the Trees (two months before Passover) take an axe and strike at its roots <bottom>. [Then] another person would come [and] ask: “Why do you break this tree [and] kill it?” I (sic!) would say: “What is it [good] for, it is not bearing fruit!” [That other person then] would say to me: “I will vouch for it. If it does not bear fruit for another year, [you may] kill it!” The next year it would bear fruit, [and so it would] every year!

(c) *Demons and soothsaying.*

Same informant.

geban g-olkan šedim agār il-xa naša *hakimwa*, itwa naše mare-hoxma *misséwa* reš d-une šedime *hakmíwa* ki il-d-une naše dóqwa, hakimkwa. madéwa il-d-o naša, xa *tas moe* matwíwa *qabayew*, dahiwa gaew, m-d-o *moe qalit* čečke gdéwa, une *qal* šedime wéle. jwan maqéwa gālu, kimríwa: “báma il-d-o naša *mafozétune?*” kimri: “*moe šaxine* bize reš *jalan*, *jan* aqlew dirje reš *jalan!*” mfrú: “qasd le wida!” maméle il-d-o

¹ This custom is observed also in Iraqi Kurdistan (ŠJHT 37), as well as in other countries of the East, e.g. in Persia proper and North Africa (oral communications).

šedim ki il-d-a xen la *maǧǧzle*, xadir gālew *baruxa*. it ki *marpéle*, ezil, zafār la *mamte*. bále ita šedim ki kmir: “la *marpīne!*” itwa xa danka baxta, la *mirpélella*, xdfre gālaw *baruxa*. šimmew mahammād wéle. kud zaa jatwáwa reš *tas*, naš gezílwa gabaw, baqirwa minnaw, kmírwa: “*jan* sqilti, *jan* fissi, xa mindiy m-beli miskíri, gniwúlle.” jéza o mahammād g-d-o *tas* baqráwa minnew: “ja naša ma xdir, ma abúle, báma dje láxxa?” o jiwaǧiw gódwa, o baxta-š kjáwa ma maqéwa. xa joma g-olkan reš *gare smíxexwa*. xaluntit baxti gi-pqaraw xa girdaband wéla, dehwe tiltje minnaw gāl zinjira. *qitjáwa*, miskiráwa. lóka-š *jale rába* itwa reš *gare*, bqíran minnu, míran: “ja zinjira *mištixétun?*” míru: “la *mištixex.*” bel d-aj baxta-š, kjáwa gāl šedim maqoe, aqirwa wele m-belan. zillan below, *sirxálan*. idjéla – nošáw-iš hudajta wéla –, jtiwla, míra: “xa *tas moe* mdímune!” xaluntit baxti xa *tas moe mléla*, mtíwla *qabayaw*. *tiptípla g-tas* o baxta, míra: “mahammād, mahammād” idjéle, jiw-ǧiw-ǧiw widle. míra: “*hanna*, ajolat mahammād ma mare? míre: ja baxta zinjira aj dehwa *qitja* mi-pqarew reš *gare*, dehwe minnaw tiltje. xa brona imbililla, brona-š le mara: ana imbilinna. une *jale lóka wélu*, kullu mdímunu láxxa *g-otay.*” kullu *jale lóka* hawjane midǧilan *g-otay*, danka danka *plítlan* tara, míran: “ja ile?” šedim míre: “la!” míran: “ja ile?” míre: “la!” xa danka dwíqlan, míran: “bróni, zinjira at gniwítta *jan mištixítta?* muštulox kwíxxox!” míre: “ana la xizǧinna.” o mahammād míre ba-d-o baxta: “ja ile, dúqune!” brona dwíqlane b-liššana, míre: “e, gebi-la.” zille, m-bela midǧále, djéle. mahammād míre: “xǧimun, jé-le *ha!* *mistixlilla* baxun girdaband!” *hanna plítla* xa tman, dréla g-id d-o baxta.

In our country, if a demon possessed <ruled> a person, there were wise people who could rule the demons who seized [and] possessed those persons (*sic!*). They used to bring that person, put a bowl of water before him [and] strike it; from that water there used to come voices <like those> of sparrows; these were the voices of the demons. They used to speak to them (the demons) kindly <good> [and] say: “Why do you torment this person?” [The demons] used to say “He has spilled hot water on our children, or else put his foot upon our children!” Then [the exorcists] used to say: “He has not done [it] on purpose!” They used to make that demon swear that he would no longer torment this <person> [but] become his friend. Sometimes <there is that> the demon would leave off him [and] go away without hurting him. But sometimes <there-is> the demon <who> would say: “I shall not leave him off!” There was a certain woman [whom the demon] did not leave, [but] became her lover <friend>; his name was Muhammad. Every time she used to sit over the bowl, some person would come to her [and] ask her, saying: “<either> I lost my ring, or my money, [or] something from my house; it has become stolen <they-have-stolen-it>.” Then she would ask this Muhammad [who was] inside that bowl: “What has happened to this person <this person what has-he-become>? What does he want, why has he come here?” He (the demon) would twitter, and the woman would know what he was saying <was-taling>. One day we were standing in our city on the roof. My wife’s sister had a necklace on her neck, from which golden coins [were] hanging on a chain. It had become broken

<cut-off> [and] lost. There were also many children there on the roof. We asked them <+ we said>: "Have you found this chain?" They said: "We have not." Now the house of that woman [who] knew how to speak with the demon was near to our house. We went to her house [and] called her. She came – incidentally <herself-now> she was a Jewess –, sat down [and] said: "Bring [me] a bowl of water!" My wife's sister filled a bowl with water, brought [it, and] placed [it] before her. That woman knocked at the bowl [and] said: "Muhammad, Muhammad!" [The demon] came [and] began to twitter. The woman said: "Hanna, do you know what Muhammad is saying? He says <said>: This woman had a necklace broken from her neck on the roof; [there were] golden coins hanging from it. A boy has taken it away, but [this] boy does not own up <not-he-is saying: I-have-taken-it-away>. [Now] bring here into this room all the children who were there!" We brought all the children who had been [present] there into the room, took them outside one by one [and] said: "Is this [the one]?" The demon said: "No." We said [once more]: "Is this [the one]?" He said: "No." We caught a certain boy [and] said: "My son, have you stolen or found this chain? [If you tell us] we will give you a <your> present!" He said: "I have not seen it!" [Then Muhammad] said to that woman: "This is he, hold him!" We prevailed upon the boy to tell us the truth <we-caught-him with-tongue>, [and] he said: "Yes I have it." He went, [and] brought it from home <+ he-came>. Muhammad said: "See, here he is, ha! I have found the necklace for you!" Hanna took out a tuman [and] put it into that woman's hand.

7 COOKING RECIPE

(i) *bee qilje*.

Informant by A. M. of Urmi.

beta toríxxa gaat *tawa* reš mišxa, xánči o xwaraw garšixxe gäl *qašuy*, ki nóšaw doqála gäl mišxa, *barbtíxxa* g-mišxa *g-tawa* la *latxa*, bára *mijanaw* bazíxxa gäl *qašuy*, ki mišxa pel rešaw. xánči xet *samxex*, *marmíxxe* xelaw gäl *qašuy*, xazex agār smíqa, antíxxa gäl *čangal*, daríxxa g-dawri, kixlíxxa.

Fried eggs.

We break the egg into the frying-pan over oil, spread out <pull> its white a little with a spoon so that it comes into contact <itself it-catches-it> with the oil, shake <move> it in the oil within the frying pan so that it does not stick <to it>; then we make holes in its middle with a fork so that the oil falls on it. We wait another while, lift up its bottom with the spoon to see if it is cooked <has-become-red>, [then] take it up with a spoon, put it into a soup-plate and serve <eat> it.

(ii) *tawa*.

Same informant.

bee paqénilu *g-xa sahna*, xánči qamxa daréni gau (*taha* bee pilgit *skan* qamxa), xánči milxa daréni gau, *tarpllu*. *tawa* made, mišxa dare gaaw, daréni reš šrata, mišxa *day* xadir, *zanqrílu* une bee *g-tawa*, palxíle gäl *qašuy g-tawa hattot* bašli. *marmila* xánči, xeri, smíqa, maqlbíla gäl *qašuy*, ki oxet *salmáw-iš* bašil, samiç. bára *paltíla m-tawa* gäl *čangal*.

Omelette.

One breaks the eggs into a plate, adds <puts> a little flour (three eggs [to] half a glass of flour) [and] a little salt [and] beats them. [Then] one brings a frying pan, puts oil in it [and] places it on a [wick-]lamp. When the oil is boiling hot, one pours the eggs into the frying-pan [and] spreads them out with a spoon in the pan until they are cooked. [Then] one lifts it [the omelette] a little, looks [at its bottom, and] if it is red,

turns it over with the spoon, so that its other side <face> may cook [and] become red also. Then one takes it out of the frying-pan with a fork.

(iii) *taw bisle (jan kuki)*.

Same informant.

bee o ĵur godıla, bäs gau *tarpit silqa jan bisle milane (piwaza) qatqtllu* gäl skita, *tarpılu g-d-une* bee.

Omelette with onions (or kuki).

As above <eggs that-way they-make-them>, except that <only> one cuts up into them mangold-leaves or green onions with a knife and beats them together with the eggs.

(iv) *girdol*.

Same informant.

rizza bašlıle xa m-nóšew, xánči qiwja, anténile m-reš nura, bára *qatıy* daréni gaew, xadir *girdol*. bára mišxa dare reš *sahna*, kixli. m-girse-š godi o ĵur.

Rice with curds and oil.

One cooks rice alone [until it becomes] somewhat thick <hard>, takes it off the fire, after which one adds some curds. This is <becomes> *girdol*. After that one puts some oil into the plate [containing the *girdol* and] eats it. This dish <kind> can also be made with groats.

(v) *dolma*.

Informant: S. Y., born of Urmian parents.

awwal *tarpe* markxılu *g-moe* šaxine. bára anténi rizza, dare gaaw *bisla*, milxa, *sjot*, mišxa, bára marwıla. anténılu *tarpe*, xalénılu (~ *malénılu*) rizza, darénılu g-qoqa, gäl *moe* bašlılu. bára anténi *qatıy*, tuma, deqıle, marwıle *g-qatıy* gäl milxa. bára *dolma* bašılta daréni *g-sahna*, *qatıy* gäl tuma daréni reš *dolma g-sahna* u-kixli.

Stuffed vine- or cabbage-leaves.

First one soaks <softens> the leaves in hot water. Then one takes rice, adds [minced] onions, salt, pepper, oil [and] then mixes it (the stuffing). Then one takes the leaves, wraps (~ fills) them with the rice [stuffing], puts them into a pot [and] cooks them in <with> water. After that one takes curds, pounds some garlic, mixes it with the curds

and some salt. Then one puts the cooked stuffed leaves on a plate, puts the curds and garlic over them [and] eats [them].

(vi) *bšala*.

Same informant.

ante *bisla-w gizare*, *mišxa*, *xurtmane jan lappe*, *ɟwan bašlilu*. *bára anténi kalām*, *silqe*, *ruštahin*, *bibār u-zarde-čiwa*, *daréni gaaw*, *bašli ɟwan u-kixli*.

Vegetable stew with noodles.

One takes onions and carrots, oil, unhulled or hulled chick-peas [and] cooks them well. Then one takes cabbage, mangolds, noodles, pimiento and saffron, adds them to it (the stew), cooks them well [and] eats [the dish].

(vii) *bšal doe*.

Informant: R. M. of Urmi.

silqe qatqtlu, *darélu gäl moe gaat qazanča*, *bar min d-o xa skan rizza dare gaaw*, *xánči nana qatqti gau*. *bar min d-o xa qašuy qamxa daréle g-sahna*. *tre skane moe dare rešew*, *ɟwan tarpile*, *zanqrile g-d-o qazanča radoxe radoxe*, *marwile ki la latix*. *une radxi*, *bašli*, *xánči jaquše xadri*. *bar min d-o qatɟy made*, *ɟwan tarpile*, *godile magon doe*, *zanqrile g-d-aj qazanča*, *bále bšala xánči qarila hawe ki qatɟy dahile llew la sapis*, *milxa-š mande g-d-o bšala*. *xa ixala xadir ki m-timmew la šawjat!*

Vegetable stew with whey.

One cuts the mangold [leaves] and puts them with some water into the saucepan. Then one adds a glass of rice, [and] cuts some mint into it. Then one puts a spoonful of flour into a dish, adds two glasses of water, beats [the mixture] well [and] pours it into the saucepan, [the contents of which should be] boiling, stirring it in so that it does not stick [to the bottom of the saucepan]. This [food] should boil [until it is] cook [ed and] becomes somewhat thick. Then one brings some curds, beats them well until they become like whey [and] pours them into the saucepan; but the stew should have cooled <be cool> a little, so that the curds that are stirred <beaten> into it should not turn. Some salt is also added to the stew. [This] will become a delicious dish <food they-will-become that of-its-taste not you-will-eat-your-fill>.

(viii) *šaa*.

Informant: by A. M.

pisra darex g-qoqa, *lappe darex*, *gizara*, *o šaé-la*. *bále aj šabbat kimríxxa xdaa jan mone*.

Chick-pea soup.

We put some meat into the cooking-pot with some chick-peas and some carrots. This is [called] šaa. But if it is [cooked] for the Sabbath, we call it xdaa or mone.

(ix) šifte.

Same informant.

girse, *bisle*, bibār xarupta, kiftalik, reš kepa deqíxwalu gāl kipta, xánči piwaze daríxwalu, xadri šifte. *mardíxwalu g-qazanča g-moe*, xanči-š mišxa, zarda-čiwa *mardíxwa* gālu.

Groat-dumplings

We used to pound groats, onions, pimiento [and] meat without bones on a stone with a pounding-stone, adding some green onions [so that] they become dumplings, [and] boil them in a saucepan with oil and saffron.

(x) kifte.

(a) Informant: S. Y.

anténi pisra, rizza, girse, deqílu g-hawang, jwan deqílu, *bisla* daréni gau, milxa, *sjot*, bibār, marwílu jwan, *paltílu* m-hawang. anténi xa *qitta* šimna, xa *qitta bisla*, *qatqílu gāl díyde* dajqe dajqe, anténi xánči milxa, *sjot*, marwílu kullu *gāl díyde*, anténi l-pisra b-ida xánči, godi gunde, bazénile gau, *malénílu* gāl d-o šimna, doqílu, darénílu *g-šaa*. *g-šaa-š* daréni zarde-čiwa, mone xadri zarde. jatwi kixli.¹

Rice dumplings

One takes some meat, rice and groats, pounds them well in a mortar, adds some [minced] onions, salt, pepper, pimiento, mixes them well [and] takes them out of the mortar. [Then] one takes a quantity <piece> of fat and a quantity of onions, minces them together very fine, takes a little salt and pepper, and mixes everything together. [Next] one takes a little [of] the meat [mixture] into ones hand, makes balls, hollows them out inside, fills them with the stuffing <fat>, takes them [and] puts them into the chick-pea-soup, adding some saffron, [so that] the soup becomes yellow. [Then] one sits down and eats.

(b)

Informant: A. M.

min d-ajne antex, rizza darex gau, xadri kifte. bazíxxu, xánči tarafa darex gau, bára *mardíxxu* magon šifte.

¹ Cf. BJK 84-5.

(Second receipt).

One takes the same [mixture as mentioned in ix], and adds rice; these will be kifte. We hollow them out, put some tail-fat in them and then boil them like šifte.

(xi) *čxirtma*.

Informant: R. M. of Urmi.

pisra *qitte qitte* godile, daréle *g-qazanča*, xánči qalénile ki *moew* garši, bára pilgit *sahna bisle qatqti* reš d-o pisra, xaš xánči qalélu gäl d-o pisra. bar min d-o *baldurjane* smoqe *qatqtilu*, darélu reš d-o pisra, qalénilu ki *mou* weši. bar min d-o *moe* dare gaaw. xa danka *baldurjanta* kumta m-qamol qatqtíla, xánči milxa bardíla, darénilu *qabay* šimša, o *marilulaw* geza. bar d-o xallíla, *qatqtíla*, mandéla g-do *čxirtma*, xánči bibār xarupta mandéni g-do *qazanča*, xánči zarǵe -e-č číwa mande gaaw, xa xanči-š milxa mandeni gaaw. bar min d-o *qazanča* darénila reš tre ptile *sata* pilge, xa xánči jwan *čaxčqa*. ba-d-o kimri *čxirtma*.

Meat stew with tomatoes and egg-plants.

One cuts the meat into pieces, puts it into a saucepan [and] fries it a little so that its liquid <water> cooks out <pulls>. Then one cuts half a plate [-ful] of onions over that meat and fries them for another while together with the meat. Then one cuts some tomatoes and adds them to the meat, frying them so that their liquid dries up, after which one adds some water into it (the saucepan). Previous to that one cuts an egg-plant [into slices], salts it and puts it into the sun to drain off its bitter juice <its-bitterness will-go>. After that one washes it, cuts it [into cubes] and adds <throws> it to the stew, adding some salt, pimientó and saffron. Then one puts the saucepan on two wicks for an hour and a half [and lets it] steam well. This is called *čxirtma*.

No account was taken of the informant S.Y.'s errors in grammar, such as *ginténi* for *anténi*, *kixléni* for *kixli*, as well as of her faulty pronunciation.

8 FOLK SONGS

(a) Informant T. K. of Šino.

kaxta kalwána b-pinnit qajči
at *tajir* wélox, xdírox ba-čarči
nóši *qurbanox*, jullit *sarbazox*
gāl *mašin* taksi gidjan pešwazox
ilhit b-šimme hawillu *mradox*,
átta mjali garšánu *m-nazjox*.

I (f.) will write a letter with the end <mouth> of a scissor
You were a merchant, [but] have become a pedlar.
I [will be] a sacrifice for you, for your soldier's garb,
I will come to meet you in a taxi-car.
May God in heaven grant you your desire!
[But] now I am dying <draw my deaths> because of your coyness.

(b) Same informant.

zilli reš gare šušme marwánwa,
kaxtox idjéla, waxti farjánwa,
ana la jilli, ad léka wélox,
zílet xulila, ^{ARAB}*allah*^{ARAB} *brixa* hawélox!

I (f.) went on the roof to mix sesame-seeds,
Your letter came, I was ready to fly at once <my-time> [with joy].
I did not know where you were,
You have gone to a wedding, God give that it be blessed to you!

(c) Same informant.

jsíqle reš *tura*,
jméle séfer *tora*.

He went up to the mountain,
He swore [by] the Book of the Law.

(d) Same informant.

maxmār ilan, tug lítti,
wardé-lan, mara ítti,
súrit *mamanĵan!*

I (f.) am velvet, [though] I have no nap,
I am a flower, [for] I have a husband,
[Oh] face of(?) mother dear(?)!

(e) Same informant.

aj dai, dai, la qbul amblíli,
gojim kurmanĵi-le, xabre kimríli.
otaye líttax, g-tawilla dríli,
jarpaye líttax, tarse mxúlli.
aj dai, dai, la qbul amblíli,
gojim kurmanĵi-le, xabre kimríli.

O mother, mother, do not let them take me away,
[My ravisher] is a Gentile, a Kurd, so <words> they tell me.
If you have no rooms [for me], put me into the stable,
If you have no stuffed leaves [for] me, let me eat asses' dung.
O mother, mother, do not let them take me away,
[My ravisher] is a Gentile, a Kurd, so they tell me.

(f) Informants: M. B.-Š. and others of *Solduz*.

šimša *plítla*, sehra gnéle,
ewa il-šimma kisjéle,
xa danka *ĵahil* ĵwanqa
il-xa brata *ridjéle*.
ridjinnax, *azizti*,
la maxlpínnax gāl *olam*,
at ilat xa tāk kixwelti
mago šimša réšid *olam*.

(Variant of the last three lines:

rába-š gbínnax,
gǎl kulla olam
la maxlpínnax)

The sun rose, the moon set,
 A cloud has covered the sky,
 A young lad
 Has fallen in love with a girl.
 “I am in love with you, my dear,
 I will not exchange you for the world,
 You are my one single star
 Over the world.”

(Variant of the last three lines:

I am very fond of you,
 For the entire world
 I will not exchange you.)

(g) From different informants.

talmax intíle,
sílix báqit ena,
jawaš jawaš sílix,
ana-š gdéna.
xa mače hólí,
xen la meléna.
^T*tut qól-inǎn, čak ičari,*^T
ida, ida, ruhi nišami!
 “*la gidjan, walla!*”

Take your pitcher,
 Go to the fountain,
 Go slowly, slowly,
 I, too, will come [there].
 Give me a kiss,
 So I no longer need die,
^THold [me] with [your] arm, go <draw> inside.^T
 Come, come, my life, my soul!
 “I (f.) will not come, by God!”

(h) Informant by M. B.-Š.

xúrun il-d-aj bahura lele,
 kixwe ma bahuré-lu!
 libbi baax fkir wade,
 led naš minnax *řwab* made.
 leká-jletun, libba hawane,
 libbid *radřanxun* řaqlane,
m-wirřit ilha *paltane*,
 minnid raxmanula jarřane?

Look at this clear night,
 How bright are the stars!
 My heart is thinking of you (f.),
 [But] there is none who will bring [me] news of you.
 Where are you (pl.), who give [me] heart,
 Who take [captive] the heart of your lovers,
 Who leave (or: make [them] leave) the ways of God,
 Who run away from love?

(i) Same informant.

la aba wéli, ana-ř ařqínwa,
 il-d-aj mirat raxmanula.
 ja raxmanulax *rába mřřzlali*,
 bára-ř mirat *mimtélali*.

I (m.) was not wanting, while I was falling in love,
 This inheritance of love.
 Your love has given me much torment,
 [But] has later let me attain the inheritance (happiness).

(j) Same informant and others.

xař xzéli: *řari* djéla m-reř *turawe*,
 b-idaw ítwa disqit *warde*,
 gāl tre blane.
 míři bařaw: “*řar-řan*, hóli marřéna min d-ojne *warde!*”
 mířa: “řúqli, *řlut* si, la mildúwli,
 libbi *mřle* darde!”

Again I saw my love coming<she-came> from the mountains,
 She had a posy of flowers in her hand,
 With two [other] girls.
 I said to her: "My true love, let me smell those flowers!"
 She said: "Leave me, go away, do not importune me,
 My heart is full of pain!"

(k) Same informant.

garu bar garan,
 bel šex *rahamin wéle*,
 šilwálit joxawed *jari*
 čit *abi wéle*.
 míri: "xa mače hólí!"
 šex *rahamin mtéle!*

Their roof [was] behind ours,
 It was the house of Sheikh Rahamim,
 The wide trousers of my beloved Jochebed
 [Were] of sky-blue calico.
 I said: "Give me a kiss!"
 [But then] Sheikh Rahamim (her father) came along!

(l) Same informant.

ilan činnar *rummané-le*,
 rešew *bar léta*,
 ilhit šimme *rahmané-le*,
 magonew *léta*.
 qomit *jar-šan sqilé-le*,
 magonew *léta*.
 "ida, ida, xaš xazínnax, *jar-šan*,
 báłki zilli, xen la djéli,
 ida, xaš xazínnax!"

The plane-tree is tall,
 There is no fruit on it,
 God in <of> heaven is merciful,
 There is none like He.
 The stature of my true love is handsome,

There is none like he.
 “Come, come, let me see you (f.) once more, my true love!
 maybe I go [and] do not come again,
 Come, let me see you once more!”

(m) Same informant.

derjax jarixta,
hawja brixta,
azizta jar-ŝan!
kamãrax jsirtáta,
la xritáta,
azizta jar-ŝan!
 “kamãri peškešox,
 nóši-š geŝan b-rešox,
azizi jar-ŝan!
kustimox jarixta,
hawja brixta,
aziza jar-ŝan!”

Your (f.) dress is long,
 May it be blessed,
 My dear, my true love!
 You have bound your belt
 [But] have not pulled it tight,
 My dear, my true love!
 “My belt will be a gift to you (m.),
 And I myself will be your sacrifice <will-pass for-your-head>,
 My dear, my true love!
 Your suit is long,
 May it be blessed,
 My dear, my true love!”

(n) Heard at a wedding.

hawja brixta, hawja brixta,
xlulit josef
hawja brixta!
derjit daew
hawja jarixta!

May it be blessed, may it be blessed!
 May Joseph's wedding be blessed!
 May his mother's dress
 Be long!

(o) Composed in Jerusalem during the 2nd World War. Informant: R. M.

dai, dai, izaléna
sarafend askārula,
 “*la si, bróni, la ezéta,*
qurban dušmane xadréta!”
la, dáe, gbe ezéna
sarafend askarula,
ilha xa nura mašréwa
g-pilgit dušmanula
 “*la si, broni, la ezéta,*
qurban dušmane xadréta!”
la, dáe, gbe ezéna,
iprit dušmane be-mandéna!

Mother, mother, I am going
 To Sarafand* [for] service in the army!
 “Do not go, my son, you must not go,
 [For] you will be a victim of the enemy!”
 No, mother, I will go
 To Sarafand for service in the army.
 Would God kindle <have-kindles> a fire
 In the midst of the enemy's land!
 “Do not go, my son, you must not go,
 [For] you will become a victim of the enemy!”
 No, mother, I will go
 [And] encamp in the enemy's land!

* A training-camp north of Ramle in Palestine (now Israel).

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Other names are quoted in full in the notes.

PART THREE

Glossary

Owing to the almost total lack of written literature in the dialect (cf. Foreword, 1. *in fine*) this glossary is of necessity restricted to the lexical material (1) occurring in the texts in Part Two of this book, (2) noted in the course of free conversations or discussions of other lexical forms with speakers of the dialect, and (3) contained in the Bible translation written by the late *Haxam* Jišaj (cf. Foreword, *ibid.*). This latter material calls for several remarks:

(a) Owing to the somewhat wayward transcription of the dialect by the writer (cf. Part One, Appendix to ch. 1, p. 31 f.), his frequent confusion of the sonants (especially *l* and *r*) and occasional-confusion of word boundaries, it has been necessary for me to revise many of the items contained in his MS. with one of my chief informants, Aharon Mizrahi of Urmi, who is generally considered as the greatest expert for the dialect in this country; such dubious items have either been transcribed in the way used throughout this book, or — in cases in which the above-mentioned informant was unable to read them as meaningful words — discarded entirely.

(b) In certain other cases the writer used foreign (mostly Turkish) words not current among, though understood by, the speakers of the dialect, or else borrowings from other Neo-Aramaic dialects (i.e. the co-territorial Christian dialect or the Jewish dialect of North Western Iraqi Kurdistan); these facts have been duly noted in the glossary.

It must further be remarked that my informants have been unable to give an exact translation (or description) of certain names of plants, animals, birds, etc.; the corresponding English items in the glossary are followed by a question mark.

It has been aimed to note, as far as possible, by the side of each lexeme the language from which it has been borrowed, unmarked items denoting native words. K/T denotes items that could have been borrowed either from some variety of Kurdish or from Azeri Turkish; T/K denotes the same, but with the reservation that in Kurdish itself these items are of Turkish origin. These two types of marks are generally followed by < Arab(ic) or < P(ersian), it being understood that the vast majority of Arabic elements have been borrowed into K and/or T through the medium of Persian; occasionally, this fact has been marked by P/Arab. Further abbreviations in this respect are: Aram — an older form of Aramaic; Arm — Armenian; E — English; Europ. — General European; Fr — French; G — German; Gr — Greek; H —

Hebrew; It — Italian; L — Latin; nat — native (in doubtful cases); R — Russian. In certain cases the origin of the borrowing could not be determined, chiefly owing to the lack of a comprehensive dictionary of all the dialects of Kurdish.

The dictionaries used for the various linguistic stocks serving as a base for the lexical material of the glossary were:

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The glossary in Johannes Friedrich, *Zwei russische Novellen in neusyrischer Übersetzung und Lateinschrift* (Wiesbaden, 1960), pp. 48-140.

2) For dialects of *Kurdish*:

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3) For *Azeri Turkish*:

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1. VERBAL ROOT-MORPHEMES

O

- O-b-j/O (1. abo- ~ aba-; 2. abe- ~ abj-; 3. ebe- ~ ibj-; 4. ibi-) "want, desire; like, love"
 O-d-j/O (1. ida-; 2. ade- ~ adj-; 3. idj(e)-; 4. ida- ~ ida- "come" — b-reš- "befall"; — m-id- "be possible for"; xoš- — "feel like (doing something)" (N), "please (someone)" (S); šindew (or the like) idjéla "he felt sleepy"
 O-d-b (3. edib-) K/T < Arab. (lit.) "chastise"
 O-j-l (1. ajol-; 2. ajil- ~ aj-; 3. jil-; 4. jul-) "know, recognise". — b- "become aware of" (S)
 O-j/O-q (2. eq-, 3. iq-) "be narrow, in straits"
 O-mb-l "take away, take along, transport; lead" (cf. n-mb-l)
 O-m-r (1. (i)mar-; 2. amir- ~ amr-; 3. mir-; 4. mar-) "say" ma amren, ma šoqen? "what am I (m.) to say (what shall-I-say, what shall-I-leave (unsaid))?"
 O-nt-j/O "take, overtake (e.g. sleep), carry" — + other verb "do without motivation"; xabra — "give a decision"
 O-š-q (3. ešiq-) K/T < Arab. "fall in love" (cf. r-d-j/o)
 O-w/O-d (1. (i)wad-; 2. od-; 3. wid-; 4. (w)ud-) "do, make" ilha l-od! "God forbid!"
 O-x-l (1. ixal-; 2. axil- ~ axl-; 3. xil-; 4. xul-) "eat; receive (a bribe, a beating etc.)"
 O-z-l (1. izal-; 2. ezil- ~ ez-; 3. zil-; 4. si-) "go" zille be djara "he has gone never to return"; xola zille bar *dolča* "one misfortune has followed another (the rope went (down the well) after the bucket)"; verb of motion + zille "he ... away"
 O (flat)
 O-č-m K (arch.) "close (tr. and intr.)" (cf. m-č-m)
 O-d-d ? < Arab. (arch.) "mourn" (cf. m-d-d)
 O-f-z K < Arab. "be unable"
 O-mb-r "take in(side)" (< w-j/O-r, cf. m-b-r, m-mb-r)
 O-ss-j/O (2. asse- ~ assj-; 3. ese- ~ isj-) K < Arab. "revolt against"

B

- b-d-j/O ? < Arab. "begin"
 b-d-l K < Arab ? "deny"
 b-g-n K ? "rave, speak deliriously"
 b-h-r "become light, shine" bahrá-llox! "may it shine for you (sg. m.)! (formula of thanks for kindling the light)"
 b-j/O-z "spill; be spilled"
 b-jb-j ? "crawl"
 b-lb-l reš- ~ bar "seek, search, look for"

- b-lh-j/O "become frightened"
 b-n-j/O "build; cull (cf. g-b-j/O; strain (vegetables); count" (cf. m-n-j/t)
 b-q-r "ask"
 b-rb-z "scatter (tr. and intr.)"
 b-rb-j/O "tremble" (cf. r-j/O-t)
 b-r-d "strew"
 b-r-j/O "create; S and arch. also: desist"
 b-s-m "heal; become well" libba — "comfort"; reša — "condole"
 b-x-š K "excuse, forgive"
 b-š-l "cook (tr. and intr.)"
 b-x-j/O "weep, cry; mew"
 b-z-j/O "make a hole, hollow out, corrode"

B

- b-j/O-f K ? Arab. "become very ill; die (also fig.)"
 b-l-j/O "swallow"
 b-l-q "stare"
 b-rb-t "move (from one's place; intr.)"
 b-r-m T "twist"
 b-r-x "bless, utter a benediction, greet"
 b-s-r "diminish, decrease (intr.), fall short"
 b-t-l "become empty; desist from work"
 b-t-n "become pregnant"

Č

- č-l-j/O K ? "cut, make incisions"
 č-m-č ? "fade"
 č-nč-r ? "make 'bubble-and-squeak'"
 č-p-x K ? "beat one's head and breast in sign of mourning"
 č-q-j/O K "tear, rend"
 č-rč-j/O K "become unclean (vessel)"
 č-r-d ? "become wide awake"
 Č
 č-xč-q K "bubble, boil violently"

D

- d-b-r K or. nat. "maintain" (cf. q-h-j/Oi.)
 d-g-l "(speak a) lie"
 d-h-l (2. dahil- ~ dah-) "beat, strike; ring (a bell), play (an instrument), blow (a horn)" dahana dahinne! "blow him (striker may-strike-him)!"
 d-j/O-l "be gifted with sight, be able to see"
 d-j/O-q "knock; chop"
 d-j/O-r (2. ar-) "come back, return"
 d-nd-k K "pick, strike with beak"
 d-ns-q K ? "rebuke"
 d-qd-q (< d-j/O-q) "knock repeatedly, knock to pieces"
 d-r-j/O "put, put in"
 d-rm-n K/T "drug, embalm"

d-rp-j/O “thrust out”
 d-w/O-q “catch, hold, arrest; close (tr. and intr.);
 observe (a custom); cost; spend (time)” id- —
 “be stingy”; *wirx-* — “bar one’s way”
 d-žm-n K (Bibl.) “turn into an enemy”

D

d-b-j/O “kill, slaughter, massacre”
d-m-f ~ *d-n-f/T* ? “drip, leak”
d-m-x “fall asleep, sleep; lie down”
d-n-j v. *d-m-j*
d-r-j/O “scatter, winnow”
d-r-š “expound the Law, preach; (Bibl.) seek”
d-w-j/O K < Arab. *il-* “pray for (someone)”

F

f-k-r K < Arab. “understand”
f-lf-l ? “crumble (tr. and intr.)”
f-nd-r ? “get away (fam.)”
f-r-j/O K “become wide; S also: fly”
f-r-j ? < Arab. “leave a space (between)”
f-r-k K < Arab. “feel with one’s hand; rub,
 massage”
f-rm-n K/T < P “command, order; say (polite)”
f-t-š K < Arab. “search, investigate”

F

f-s-l K < Arab. “cut (material for clothes)”
f-t-r K < Arab. “break a fast”

G

g-b-j/O “choose, elect; cull (cf. *g-b-j/O*)”
g-dg-d “want very much, desire greatly”
g-d-l “pleat” (cf. *buzmiš* O-w/O-d, p. 300)
g-j/O-J qurban T “become the sacrifice of”
g-j/O-s “grow tired”
g-l-j/O “uncover, disclose”
g-nb-l K ? “trouble, dirty; become troubled,
 dirty (liquid)”
g-nd-r K or nat. “roll (tr. and intr.)”
g-n-j/O “set (sun), wane, decline” *waxtew gnéle!*
 “his time has passed!”
g-n-w “steal”
g-n-z “become lost, grow out of sight (tempo-
 rarily)”
g-r-d “grate”
g-rg-m K “thunder, roar”
g-r-j/O “shave (oneself and another)”
g-rj-n ? “faint”
g-r-p “shovel”
g-r-š “pull, draw; kidnap; last; smoke; suffer”
 — *reš* “accuse, blame”; *rahatula* — “take a
 rest”; *zahanmta* — “take the trouble, trouble
 oneself”
g-w/O-r “marry”
g-z-l (lit.) “rob”

g-z-r “circumcise; decree”

H

h-j/O-l “become desecrated”
h-m-n (N) (var.); “believe” (cf. *m-hm-n*)
h-q-j/O ? (S and arch.) “speak, talk, tell, relate”
h-q-l K < Arab. “despise”
h-r-š ? “incite, be incited” cf. also *m-hr-š*
h-w-j/O (3. *wé-* ~ *hiwj-*) *be ... la hawe* “unless he
 be ..., other than ...”
h-w-j-l (2. *hawil-* ~ *haw-*; 4. *hol-*) “give, pay;
 (Bibl.) place, put”

H

h-j-j/O K/T < Arab. “pronounce”, spell
h-k-m K/T < Arab. “rule”
h-s-l K/T < Arab. “obtain”

J

j-d-l “bear children”
j-l-p “learn”
j-m-j/O “swear”
j-p-j/O “bake”
j-q-r i. “become heavy, difficult” *aqlaw* —
 “become pregnant ‘her-foot became (will-
 become) heavy’” ii. “carve (stone, wood etc.)”
j-r-q “run, flee (cf. *r-x-t*)”
j-r-x “grow long” *xaox jarxi!* “may your life be
 long (form. of thanks!)”
j-r-w “become mixed up” *libbew jarowe* (N) ~
jarówle (S) “he is sick at the stomach”
j-s-q “go up, come up, ascend”
j-t-w “sit down, sit”
j-z-l “spin”

J

j-l-q “slip (of foot)”
j-r-m “rise (of an inanimate object); be annulled”
j-q-r “uproot”
j-s-r “bind, tie up”

J

j-g-r (il-) K/T ? “become angry (with)”
j-h-j/O ? “become weary, tire”
j-j/O-r ? < Arm. “pass water”
j-l-q K ? “tear (tr. and intr.)”
j-n-w K/T “snatch; tear up, devour”
J-r-g K/T < P “arrange, spread; array (intr.),
 encamp”
j-rm-x ? “tear out one’s hair”
j-r-t K “slip”
J-s-s K/T < Arab. “spy”

J

J-b-r K ? < Ar. “become powerful, boastful of
 one’s power, tyrannical”

J-h-t ? “treat harshly”

J-nf-x ? “scatch”

J-r-b K < Arab. “try, try out”

J-r-j/O K < Arab. “flow”

K

k-fk-n ? “become mouldy” (cf. *x-nx-ŋ*)

k-fk-r ? “become sad”

k-j/O-l “measure”

k-j/O-m “become black”

k-j/O-p “bend (intr.)”

k-l-w “write”

k-n-j/O ? “have the heart to do a thing”

k-p-n “become hungry”

k-pk-p “bend (tr.) repeatedly”

k-p-r “atone”

k-r-b K < Arab. “grow sad”

k-r-j/O i. “become short” K ii. < Arab. “hire”

k-r-x “enshroud, panel”

k-s-j/O “cover, dress”

k-w-j/O “cause a burn, cauterize”

k-w/O-š “go down, come down, descend”

k-x-k (il- ~ reš) “laugh (at)”

k-x-l “anoint one’s eyes with collyrium”

L

l-h-j/O “blaze”

l-j/O-s “bite, chew”

l-j/O-š “knead”

l-k-x “lick”

l-ng-r K ? “grow lame”

l-q-j/O (lit.) “be smitten; afflicted”

l-ql-q “lap”

l-q-m ? “come upon one’s head (evil wish to another person)”

l-sl-s “crumple, become crumpled”

l-w-j/O K “beseech, implore”

l-w/O-š “dress (intr.), put on”

L

l-čl-č (< *l-j/O-č*) ? “trample to pieces”

l-j/O-č ? “tread upon; trample” (cf. *m-j/O-č*)

l-q-t “inlay, embroider”

l-t-x “stick to, suit”

M

m-bh-r (< *b-h-r*) “give light”

m-bx-j/O (< *b-x-j/O*) “make weep”

m-dg-l (arch.; < *d-g-l*) “give the lie”

m-d-j/O (< *O-d-j/O*) (S) “bring” (cf. *w-d-j/O*)
šimmit ... — “mention, invoke ...”

m-d-p (< non-occurring *d-j/O-p*) “fold; ‘fix’ (sl.)”

m-d-r (< *d-j/O-r*) “return (tr.)” libb— “comfort”

m-dw-q (arch.; < *d-w/O-q*) “close (tr.)”

m-fk-r (< *f-k-r*) K < Ar “give to understand, explain”

m-fr-j/O (< *f-r-j/O*) K “widen; S also; cause to fly”

m-gb-s (< *g-b-s*) “have a female animal covered (cf. *m-gr-š*)”

m-gd-l “freeze (tr. and intr.)”

m-g-j (< *g-j/O-j*) T “pass the bird to be sacrificed above one’s head”

m-gnd-r (arch.; < *g-nd-r* K or nat.) “roll (tr.)”

m-gn-w (< *g-n-w*) “cause to steal”

m-gr-š (< *g-r-š*) “make continue; have a female animal covered (cf. *m-gb-s*)”

m-g-s (< *g-j/O-s*) ? “tire out”

m-gw-r (< *g-w/O-r*) “give in marriage”

m-h-j/O “efface, be wiped out”

m-h-l (< *h-j/O-l*) “desecrate, profane”

m-hm-n (S) “believe” (cf. *h-m-n*)

m-hq-j/O (< *h-q-j/O*) “make speak”

m-hr-š (< *h-r-š*) ? “provoke, incite”

m-jb-š (< *w-j/O-š*) “dry (tr.)”

m-j-l (< *O-j-l*) “let know, make known, inform”

m-j/O-l “die”

m-jm-j/O (< *j-m-j/O*) “make swear, swear in” (cf. *m-m-j/O*)

m-jd-l (< *j-d-l*) “generate; assist at childbirth”

m-jm-j/O ~ *m-m-j/O* (< *j-m-j/O*) “make swear”

m-jq-r (< *j-q-r*) “make heavy”

m-j-q (< *O-j-q*) “make narrow: oppress, harass”

m-jr-q (< *j-r-q*) “make run, elope with”

m-jr-t (< *r-j/O-t*) “make tremble”

m-jr-x (< *j-r-x*) “lengthen” *rába* la mijrúxla!

“do not make it too long!”; *ilha* xaox majríxlu!

“God give you long life!”

m-j-b (lit.) K/T < Ar. “answer”; cf. *jwáb*, p. 313

m-jg-r (< *j-g-r* K/T ?) “anger”

m-jr-m K/T < Arab. “cause to be fined”

m-k-m (< *k-j/O-m*) “blacken”

m-k-p (< *k-j/O-p*) “bend (tr.)” reša — il- “bow down before”

m-kp-n (< *k-p-n*) “cause to hunger”

m-lq-j/O (< *l-q-j/O*) “smite, afflict”

m-kr-j/O (< *k-r-j/O*) “shorten”

m-k-š ~ *m-kw-š* (< *k-w/O-š*) “take down, bring down”

m-lb-š (< *l-w/O-š*) “dress (another)”

m-ll-j/O “suffice, be enough”

m-l-p (< *j-l-p*) “teach”

m-l-q “light (fire), kindle”

m-mj/O (< *j-m-j/O*) “make swear” (cf. *m-jm-j/O*)

m-m-l (< *m-j/O-l*) “put to death”

m-ml-j/O (< *m-ll-j/O*) “suffice, make suffice”

m-ml-x (< *m-l-x*) “salt”

m-mq-j/O (< *m-q-j/O*) ? “make speak”

m-mr-j/O (< *m-r-j/O*) “hurt, give pain” reša — “bother, importune”

- m-nh-r (< n-h-r) "light, kindle"
 m-n-j/O "count" (cf. b-n-j/O)
 m-nd-j/O "throw; shoot" b-ida — "bluff";
 škil — make a portrait; naqš — "draw a
 picture"
 m-nf-j/O (Bibl.) K < Arab. (< n-f-j/O) "profit"
 m-nš-j/O "forget, make forget" *tot-* — "forget
 another's kindness, prove ungrateful against"
 m-nt-j/O (< O-nt-j/O?) "give" (used only in:
 ilha mante! "please God!")
 m-n-x (< n-j/O-x) "give rest; put out, extinguish"
 m-nx-p (< n-x-p) "shame, put to shame"
 m-nx-r "fall off (leaves)"
 m-p-l (< p-j/O-l) "let fall, bring to fall"
 m-pr-š (lit.; < p-r-š) "separate (tr.)"
 m-pr-x (< p-r-x) "let fly"
 m-p-š (< p-j/O-š) "leave"
 m-pš-m (< p-š-m) "cause to regret"
 m-pš-r (< p-š-r) "cause to melt, to expand"
 m-q-j/O ? "speak, talk, tell, relate"
 m-q-l (< q-j/O-l) "burn (tr.)"
 m-ql-b (< q-l-b K < Arab.) "turn (tr.)"
 m-ql-l (< q-l-l) "make light (in weight); scold,
 offend"
 m-q-p (< q-j/O-p) "make touch"
 m-qp-x (< q-p-x) "make grow (plants)"
 m-qr-j/O (< q-r-j/O) "teach (in school)"
 m-qr-w (< q-r-w) "bring near"
 m-qr-x (< q-r-x) "whiten (tr., Bibl. also intr.),
 rub clean"
 m-qš-j/O "ask difficult or inopportune questions"
 m-qw-j/O (< q-w-j/O K/T < Arab.) "strengthen,
 harden; S also; close, shut"
 m-r-j/O "ache, be painful"
 m-rk-x (< r-k-x) "soften (tr.)"
 m-rq-l (< r-q-l) "make dance, jump"
 m-r-s "sprinkle"
 m-rt-p "pursue; gallop" (v. m-tr-p)
 m-r-w (< j-r-w) "mix"
 m-rx-š (< r-x-š) "make walk, teach to walk;
 (Bibl.) bring forth, teem with"
 m-sb-j/O (N) "hand over deliver; order" v. m-
 sp-j/O —
 m-sb-r (< s-b-r K/T < Ar. or nat.) "wait"
 m-sh-l (< non-occurring s-h-l) "call to witness"
 m-s-j/O "wash (clothes)"
 m-sk-r i. "lose, become lost"; ii. "(
 < s-k-r) K < Arab. make drunk, intoxicate" (cf. mast
 O-w/O-d, p. 318)
 m-sm-q (< s-m-q) "redden (tr., Bibl. also intr.)"
 m-sm-r (< s-m-r) "destroy"
 m-sp-j/O (S) "hand over, deliver, order"
 (v. m-sb-j/O)
 m-sp-s (< s-p-s) "make bad, rotten: cause to
 turn (milk)"
 m-s-q (< j-s-q) "take up, bring up"
 m-sq-l (< s-q-l) "make beautiful"
 m-sr-j/O (< s-r-j/O) "stink"
 m-sw-j/O (< s-w-j/O) "satisfy"
 m-sx-j/O (< s-x-j/O) "give a bath"
 m-šb-j/O (< š-b-j/O K < Arab.) "liken; resemble"
 m-š-j/O "wipe"
 m-šl-f (< š-l-f ?) "deceive, cheat, entice"
 m-šl-x (< š-l-x) "undress (another), take off
 (another's clothes)"
 m-š-m ? "irritate (wounds etc.)"
 m-šm-j/O (< š-m-j/O) "make hear, let hear"
 m-šm-n (< š-m-n) "fatten, make fat"
 m-šm-š "feel with the hand"
 m-šn-j/O (< š-n-j/O) "move aside (tr.)"
 m-šr-j/O (< non-occurring š-r-j/O) "light,
 kindle"
 m-š-š (< š-j/O-š) "wave"
 m-št-j/O (< š-t-j/O) i. "give to drink, water"
 ii. "span the warp in the loom"
 iii. "plate (with metal)"
 m-šx-n (< š-x-n) "heat; have fever"
 m-tk-l (< t-k-l K/T < Arab. ?) "reassure"
 m-t-m (< t-j/O-m) "complete, put an end to"
 m-t-q (< O-t-q) "let become old"
 m-tr-j/O (< t-r-j/O) "wet, moisten"
 m-tr-k (< t-r-k K/T < Arab.) "abandon,
 neglect"
 m-tr-p "set galloping, gallop" (v. m-rt-p)
 m-trq-l (< t-rq-l) "cause to stumble, bring to fall"
 m-t-x (< t-j/O-x) "quench, appease"
 m-tx-r "remember; remind"
 m-w-l ? "use"
 m-xd-m (< x-d-m) K/T < Arab. "make serve,
 make work"
 m-xd-r (< x-d-r) "lead around, carry around,
 peddle"
 m-x-j/O "beat, strike; play (an instrument)"
 m-x-l (< O-x-l) "give food, feed"
 m-xl-j/O (< x-l-j/O) "sweeten"
 m-xl-m (< x-l-m) "thicken (tr.)"
 m-xl-p (< x-l-p) "exchange"
 m-xm-l K "decorate, adorn"
 m-xp-r (lit.; < x-p-r) "prune"
 m-xr-p (< of x-r-p) "sharpen, grind"
 m-xr-w (< x-r-w) "spoil, ruin"
 m-xš-x (< x-š-x) "darken (tr.)"
 m-xw-j/O "show; appear, be seen" ilha la
 maxwe! "God forbid!"
 m-xw-r (< x-w/O-r) "whiten (tr.; Bibl. also
 intr.)"
 m-z-d (< of z-j/O-d) T/K-Arab. "do or give more,
 add"
 m-zd-j/O (< z-d-j/O) "frighten"
 m-z-j/O (arch.) "mix"
 m-zk-j/O (< z-k-j/O) "(of God) give fortune
 (especially sons)"

m-zk-m K ? < “wound”
m-zm-r (< *z-m-r*) “make sing”
m-zn-j/O (< *z-n-j/O*) “lead to whoredom, adultery”
m-zr-j/O (< *z-r-j/O*) “sow, plant”

M

m-b-r (< *w-j/O-r*) “take in, bring in” (cf. *O-mb-z*, *m-mb-r*)
m-bs-r (< *b-s-r*) “lessen (tr.); deprive”
m-bt-l (< *b-t-l*) “empty; annihilate”
m-bx-z K < Arab. “burn incense”
m-bt-n (< of *b-t-n*) “make pregnant”
m-č-m K “close, shut (sensory organ)” (cf. *O-č-m*)
m-d-d (< *O-d-d* ? < Arab.) “mourn”
m-dm-x (< *d-m-x*) “put to sleep”
m-ft-r (< *f-t-r* K/T < Arab.) “give food to a fasting person or a mourner”
m-hk-m (< *h-k-m* K/T < Arab.) “give power”
m-hr-m K/T < Arab. “declare as ritually forbidden”
m-j/O-č (N) “tread upon” (cf. *l-j/O-č*)
m-j/O-r “dare” (cf. *jruta O-w/O-l*, p. 313)
m-j/O-s “suck”
m-jr-q (< *j-z-q*) “make run; elope with”
m-js-r (< *j-s-r*) “have bound: Bibl. also: bind repeatedly”
m-jb-r (< *j-b-r* K/T < Arab.) “make powerful, tyrannical”
m-jr-j/O (< *J-r-j/O* K/T < Arab.) “make flow, carry away (of flood); Bibl. also: overflow”
m-f-z (< *O-f-z* K < Arab.) “importune”
m-l-j/O “fill (tr. and intr.)” libbew *mléle* reš “he was sorry about”
m-lt-j/O “give food by the spoon (to a small child or sick person)”
m-lt-x (< *l-t-x*) “make stick, stick (tr.)”
m-mb-r (< *w-j/O-r*) “take in, bring in” (cf. *O-mb-r*, *m-b-v*)
m-m-l “ask about the price of”
m-ml-k K/T < Arab. “give possession of”
m-mr-l (< *m-r-l*) “embitter”
m-m-s (< *m-j/O-s*) “give the suck”
m-nt-j/O (< *m-t-j/O*) “bring about” ilha *mamte* *ba-jalox* (S) ~ *ba-jalox* (N) “may God give the like to your children” (answer to congratulation on family occasions); ilha *mamte* *dadox!* “may God do you justice!”
m-nt-r “bring rain”
m-nb-j/O (< *n-b-j/O* ?) “cause to swell”
m-np-j/O “begrudge, withhold”
m-nq-t K < Arab. “sprinkle”
m-nt-n (S) “load” (cf. *m-t-n*)
m-nz-l K < Arab. “spend the night, cause to spend the night”

m-pč-j/O (< *p-č-j/O* K) “batter”
m-pl-m (< *p-l-m*) “make crooked”
m-ps-x (< *p-s-x*) “gladden, give joy, make happy”
 ilha *mápsixlox!* “God give you joy!” (answer: ilha *illóx-iš mápsix!* “and you, too!”)
m-pt-x (< *p-t-x*) “flatten”
m-qt-l (< *q-t-l*) “cause to kill”
m-r-č ? “crush”
m-rd-j/O (< *r-d-j/O* K < Arab.) “placate, seek to please”
m-rd-x (< *r-d-x*) “boil (tr.)”
m-r-j (< *r-j-j/O*) “graze; pasture, herd”
m-rk-w (< *r-k-w*) “put on a horse, in a vehicle”
m-r-l “become bitter”
m-r-m (< *j-r-m*) “lift, carry; anull”
m-rp-j/O (< *r-p-j/O*) “leave off, set free”
m-r-š (< *r-j/O-š*) “awake, wake up (tr.)”
m-rš-ř-j/O (< *r-š-ř-j/O*) “render wicked; make out to be wicked, condemn”
m-r-t ? “break wind”
m-rw-j/O (< *r-w-j/O*) “grow, increase (tr.)”
m-r-r-x “smell (tr.)”
m-rx-t (< *r-x-t*) “make run”
m-rz-n K “spread, array”
m-s-j/O (< *O-s-j/O* K < Arab.) “cause to rebel”
m-s-l “listen”
m-s-m (< *s-j/O-m*) “cause to fast”
m-sm-x (< *s-m-x*) “causes to stand (up); present”
m-sn-q (caus. of *s-n-q*) “place in need of”
m-sr-x (< *s-r-x*) “cause to shout”
m-ss-j/O (1. *misso-*; 2. *miss-*; 3. *missé-*; 4. does not occur) “be able”
m-st-r “curse”
m-sw-j/O (< *s-w-j/O*) “stiffen, harden (tr.); S also: take advantage of”
m-šlt-n (< *š-lt-n*) “make someone king”
m-št-j/O (< *š-t-j/O*) “make someone lie down, lay down”
m-št-f ? “erase, wipe out”
m-št-x “find”
m-t-j/O “arrive; mature; have the time (to do a thing); reach, attain; be due”
m-tm-j/O (< *t-m-j/O*) i. “give to taste”; ii. “render unclean”
m-tm-r (< *t-m-r*) “dip, immerge; drown (tr.)”
m-t-n (< *t-j/O-n*) “load” (cf. *m-nt-n*)
m-t-p (S) T/K “exaggerate (fam.)” (cf. *top*)
m-tp-r (< *t-p-r*) “make boil with anger”
m-xl-b (< *x-l-b* K < Arab.) “lose (a game, money) to”
m-xl-t (< *x-l-t* K < Arab.) “mistake, miss”
m-xm-s (< *x-m-s*) “cause to ferment”
m-xt-j/O (< *x-t-j/O*) “lead into sin”
m-zh-m (K < Arab.) “sprain; cause trouble”

N

n-b-j/O “prophesy”
 n-č-l ? “pluck”
 n-d-r “vow”
 n-f-j/O K < Arab. “be of use”
 n-g-z (S) “bite (one’s finger)” (cf. n-j/O-s)
 n-h-r “shine” axča sqilté-la, ba-šrata mara: la
 nhur, ana nahran! “she is so beautiful, she
 [can] say ‘is-saying’ to the lamp: do not shine,
 I [can] shine [in your place]!”
 n-j/O-m “slumber”
 n-j/O-s (N) “bite (one’s finger)” (cf. n-g-z)
 n-j/O-x -calm down, rest; be extinguished
 (fire)
 n-mb-l (lit.) “take away; lead” (cf. O-mb-l)
 n-mn-m (< n-j/O-m) “slumber lightly”
 n-mp-l “fall (lit.); grow thin” (cf. n-p-l, p-j/O-l)
 n-p-j/O “enjoy”
 n-p-l (arch.) “fall” (cf. n-mp-l, p-j/O-l)
 n-p-x “vomit”
 n-q-l i. grow thin ii. “pick”
 n-q-r “grip in a vise”
 n-š-q “kiss”
 n-š-r K ? < Arab. “saw, carve”
 n-w/O-x “bark”
 n-x-l “sift”
 (ashamed of-you), but...
 n-x-p “be ashamed” *raba* naxopen (N) ~
 naxóplen (S) minnox, bale.. “I am very sorry
 ‘ashamed of-you’, but...”
 n-x-r “disguise oneself”
 n-xw-š K/T “fall ill”
 N (flat)

N

n-b-j/O “swell”
 n-p-s “shake out (bedding; clothes)”
 n-q-m (Bibl.) “avenge”
 n-q-t K < Arab. “drip, fall in drops”
 n-s-w (lit.) “plant, implant”
 n-š-t “scratch, receive a scratch” miška — “skin
 (also metaph.)”
 n-t-r “guard, observe”
 n-zn-z K “behave coyly; spoil by over-indulgence”

P

p-h-r (N) “yawn”
 p-hr-z T < P “put on a diet; arch. also: warn”
 p-j/O-l “fall, fall to, begin” — bar “follow”;
 — qam (S) ~ *qabay* (N) “go before”; pille
 naxoš, ~ pille tkew “he fell ill”; pille *wirxa*
 “he set out on his way”; libbew pille “he was
 discouraged”; pilla minnew “he was shocked
 with fright” (cf. n-mp-l, n-pl)
 p-j p-r “pass” — m- “pass by”; mato pra baox?
 “how did it go with you?”

p-j/O-s K “become stricken with leprosy”
 p-j/O-x “blow”
 p-j/O-š “stay, remain” — b-jala “become preg-
 nant”; — mahtāl “be astonished”; libbew
 pišle il- “he was worried about”; puš šalomi!
 “farewell!”
 p-l-j/O (i) “diviae”; (ii) “louse (one’s clothes)”
 p-l-x “open (tr. and intr.); roll out (dough);
 blossom” libbew plixle “he cheered up”
 p-q-j/O “burst; cause to burst” nóšew — (S)
 “be proud, boastful”
 p-rč-k K ? “crumble (tr. and intr.)”
 p-r-j/O (S) “split open” ilha kasew paréla!
 “curse him (may God split his belly!)”
 p-rp-j/O “rinse”
 p-r-q m- “save, rescue (from); finish, end (tr.
 and intr.) priqlu *g-aralyit* nóšu “they came to
 an agreement (between themselves)”
 p-r-s “spread”
 p-r-š “separate, part (tr. and intr.)”
 p-rt-f K ? “throw”
 p-rt-k K “break to pieces”
 p-r-x “fly”
 p-s-l “declare as unfit”
 p-š-m K/T < P “rue”
 p-šp-š “rub between the fingers”
 p-š-r “melt, expand (tr. and intr.)”
 p-t-l “twist”
 p-tp-t “whisper; chat, chatter”
 p-xp-x “rinse; overcook”
 p-zg-z ? “pull asunder”

P

p-č-j/O K “become battered”
 p-l-m “become crooked”
 p-l-t “go out, come out; take out, bring out;
 make out” il-... ganawa — “make ... out a
 thief”, *palla* — b- (S) “find fault with”;
 xriwe xabre — “slander”; rešew *palit* m-d-aj
 šula “he is versed in this matter”, *čulew m-mae*
palit “he can manage”; *paltet* bahurula! “may
 you come out into light! (answer to the for-
 mula of congratulation: enox bahure hawé(n)i!
 “may your eyes be shining!”); ilha bahurula
palitlox! “may God help you!”
 p-r-t “undo, become undone”
 p-s-j/O “celebrate Passover”
 p-s-n K “praise”
 p-s-x “rejoice, be glad, be happy”
 p-š-t “stretch out (tr. and intr.)”

Q

q-b-l “receive, accept, agree” libbew la qbille
 “he was restless”; ja šula qbil la xadir! “this
 won’t do (this thing received not will-
 become)”

q-d-m (arch.) "go before, meet"
 q-d-š "sanctify"
 q-h-j/O i. "feed, maintain" (cf. d-b-r) ii. "set on edge, be set on edge (teeth)"
 q-j/O-l "burn (intr.)" jgarew qel! "may his liver burn (with sorrow over the death of his children)!"
 q-j/O-m (4. *qu-*, pl. *qumun*) "rise, get up" qimle mi-tkew "he arose from his-bed"; qimle reš aqlew "he stood up (rose on his-feet)"
 q-j/O-p "attack, knock, hurt, lit. also: touch" qarda qipla llew "he caught a cold"
 q-l-b K < Arab. "turn (intr.)"
 q-l-j/O "fry, roast, toast"
 q-l-l "become light (in weight)" *aqlew qlil* "he has become weak-minded"
 q-l-p "peel"
 q-l-w "clean; become clean"
 q-n-š "sweep, sweep out" ara qaniš "it is extremely long (of skirt, beard etc.) (it sweeps the ground)"
 q-p-š "hem"
 q-p-x "grow (intr., of plants)"
 q-r-j/O "read, study; Bibl. also: call"
 q-r-w (arch.) "draw near"
 q-r-x "become grey or white (hair)"
 q-s-m (Bibl.¹) K < Arab. "divide, allot"
 q-w-j/O "become strong, hard"
 q-w/O-r "bury"

Q

q-j/O-r "grow cold"
 q-j/O-s "cut (hair); pare (nails)"
 q-j/O-t (arch.) "spend the summer"
 q-rm-t "shrink; gather, smock"
 q-rp-s ~ q-rp-š "gather (tr. and intr.)" (cf. jàm O-w/O-d, x-d-r, p. 313) (p. 30)
 q-r-r-s "wink (with an eye)"
 q-r-t K bite off, "crack (with teeth)"
 q-sq-s (< q-j/O-s) "snick"
 q-t-j/O "cut (off), be cut (off); pick, be picked; rob (a place), be robbed; stop (tr. and intr.), cease, make cease; wean" qam- (S) *wirx-* — "bar the way"; libbew *qtéle* "he grew terrified"; qalox (S) ~ qalox (N) *qtile!* "shut up (your-voice cut-it)!"
 q-t-l "kill, put to death"
 q-tq-t (< q-t-j/O) "mince"
 q-t-r "tie (a knot, a bundle)"

R

r-h-m K/T < Arab. or H "pity, have mercy on"

r-j/O-q "spit"
 r-j/O-s "press"
 r-j/O-t "tremble" (cf. b-rb-j/O)
 r-k-x "grow soft"
 r-q-l "dance"
 r-tr-t (< r-j/O-t) "tremble"
 r-x-š "walk"

R

r-d-j/O K ? < Arab. "be pleased with; fall in love with" (cf. O-š-q)
 r-d-x "boil (intr.)"
 r-j-j/O (arch.) "graze" (cf. m-r-j/O)
 r-j/O-š "awake (intr.)"
 r-k-w "ride, mount"
 r-pr-p "hover, float"
 r-m-z "wink"
 r-šp-j/O (lit.) "act wickedly"
 r-w-j/O "grow, increase (intr.)"
 r-x-t "run" (S) cf. j-r-q

S

s-b-r K/T < Arab. or nat. "wait, expect"
 s-j/O-l "cohabit with woman"
 s-k-n K < Arab "dwell, abide (lit.)"
 s-k-r K < Arab. "become drunk, intoxicated"
 s-l-b (lit.) K < Arab. "despoil, sack"
 s-l-x K < Arab. "tear off (clothes and the like)" (cf. š-l-x)
 s-m-r "be destroyed"
 s-n-d K < Arab. "strengthen, support"
 s-n-j/O "hate"
 s-p-s < Gr. ? "rot; turn (milk)"
 s-q-l "grow handsome, beautiful"
 s-q-m ? "despise"
 s-r-j/O "be evil, do evil"
 s-r-q i. "comb" ii. "cast, mould"
 s-rs-d "dangle"
 s-rw-d K ? "put to shame"
 s-t-r "cleave asunder" (cf. s-lx-n)
 s-w-j/O "become satiated"
 s-x-j/O i. "take a bath" ii. K ? < Arab. "be generous (of heart)"

S

s-h-j/O "grow thirsty"
 s-j/O-m "fast"
 s-l-h (lit.) ~ s-lh-j/O "succeed; give success"
 s-l-j/O "pray, say one's prayers"
 s-l-x "rend (one's clothes in sign of mourning)"
 s-lx-n "cleave, burst (tr. and intr.)" (cf. s-t-r)
 s-m-x "stand, wait" — qam (S) ~ qabāy (N) "withstand"; — reš ~ ba- "wait for";

¹ My informant A. M. described the lexeme as belonging to the Christian dialect; Macleans Dictionary does not include this verb.

smixen ba- *qulluyox* "I am <standing> at your service"
s-n-q "need, be in need of" *tura il-tura la saniq*,
naš il-naš saniq "mountains do not stand in
 need of each other, but people do"
s-ns-l? "despoil entirely"
s-p-j/O "strain (a liquid), be strained; S also:
 make (tea)" *hessaban spēle* "we are quits <our
 account is been cleared>"
s-r-x "cry out, shout; call, invite"
s-w-j/O "stiffen harden (intr.) S also: be taken in
 (sl.)"

Š

š-b-j/O (lit.) K ? < Arab. "become alike" (cf.
 m-šb-j/O)
 š-d-r "send" — bar "send for"
 š-f-q K/T < Arab. "have pity on, compassion
 with"
 š-jd-n K ? "grow mad"
 š-j-j/O i. "smear, distemper" ii. K ? "become
 mad"
 š-j/O-k "rub, polish" (cf. š-j/O-p)
 š-j/O-p "rub" (cf. š-j/O-k)
 š-j/O-r "sink (in mire; intr. and tr.) become or
 more muddy; S also: mock, scoff (sl.)"
g-tina šerinnox! "may I see you buried <in-
 mire may-I-sink-you>!"
 š-j/O-š "shake, churn"
 š-l-f ? "be deceived"
 š-l-j/O ? "card; throw up" *ilha šaléle!* "curse him
 <God card-him>!"
 š-l-p "draw (sword, ring from finger); slip
 (intr.)"
 š-l-q "boil (in water without fat)"
 š-l-x "undress (intr.), take off one's clothes
 (cf. š-l-x); draw (sword)" *il ... miška* — "skin
 someone (also metaph.)"
 š-m-j/O "hear, listen" "Bibl. also: understand"
rixa — "smell (tr.)"
 š-m-n "grow fat"
 š-nd-f ? "confuse, upset"
 š-n-j/O "move aside (tr. and intr.); move to
 another house or place"
 š-p-r (lit.) "become good; do good"
 š-pš-p (< š-j/O-p) "rub (repeatedly)"
 š-p-x (arch.) "pour" *špixle llew* "he had a stroke
 of luck, he suddenly became very rich"
 š-q-l "buy; lit. and S also: take" *istirahat*, —
 (S) "take a rest" *xabra m-máni šaqlex?(s)*
 "of whom shall we relate? (formula used in
 story-telling when beginning, or passing, to a
 new subject or returning to a previous one)"
 š-r-j/O "untie, undo"
 š-r-k K/T < Arab. "take part, share"
 š-rš-j/O "hang down"

š-rt-l ? (S) "show off"
 š-r-z "disentwine"
 š-t-j/O "drink, imbibe"
 š-t-l "plant"
 š-w-j/O "be equal; be good for something"
tka — "make a bed"; *ja šula la šawe!* "this
 <matter> is no good!"
 š-w/Oq "leave, let; preserve" *ilha šóqlu (jalox)!*
 "may God preserve them (e.g. your children)!";
ma amren, ma šoqen! "what am I to say <
 >what shall-I-say, what shall-I-leave [unsaid]>"
 š-xt-n "become dirty; dirty"

Š

š-r-j/O K < Arab. "judge, pass judgment"

T

t-b-l "sneeze"
 t-f-q K < Arab. "happen"
 t-fs-r K/T < Arab. "explain, expound; translate
 (the Bible) into the vernacular"
 t-j/O-m "come to an end (lit.)" *šata tjama*
 "anniversary of death <year ending>"
 t-j/O-x "be quenched, appeased"
 t-jb-x K/T < Arab. "rebuke"
 t-k-j/O ? < Arab. "lean"
 t-k-l b- ~ il- K/T < Arab. "lean, rely upon;
 trust" *ena b-ilha ~ il-ilha* — "put one's trust
 in God"
 t-lt-j/O "hang (tr. and intr.)"
 t-n-j/O "repeat (one's words), learn by rote;
 relate (lit.)"
 t-ns-k ? "rebuke"
 t-n-w K ? "become numb"
 t-n-x gäl "enjoy" (cf. n-p-j/O)
 t-q-j/O ? "beg, entreat"
 t-q-l "weigh (tr.)"
 t-q-n (lit.) "provide, supply"
 t-q-r "touch"
 t-r-j/O "become wet, moist"
 t-r-k K/T < Arab. "leave, abandon"
 t-rq-l "stumble, blunder"
 t-rt-m "grumble"
 t-w/O-r "break, defeat, spoil, ruin" *pinnit ...*
 — "contradict" *pinnox torinne, bāle xabrox*
odinne! I contradict you, but will do as you
 say!); *sihjanula* — "quench one's thirst"
 t-xt-x "melt (intr.)".

T

t-b-l < Jew.-Aram. "take a ritual bath"
 t-j/O-l (2. *tal-*) "play" *jge* — "play knucklebones,
 loaf about"; *qumar* — "gamble"; *zare* —
 "gamble, play dice"
 t-j/O-n (arch.) "bear, carry"
 t-j/O-s "stick into (tr.)"

t-l-b K/T < Arab. "ask for, demand, request"
t-l-l "become wet"
t-l-q K < Arab. "divorce"
t-m-j/O i. "taste"; ii. "become unclean" *molew tamen!* "may I see him dead <his-death may-I-taste!)"
t-m-r "sink, drown (intr.)" *g-benew tmire* "it sank into his mind 'forehead'"
t-nj-n K < Arab. "crown" *xinxin tinjin* "it (the food) has become entirely mouldy"
t-nt-l "dally; delay"
t-p-j/O "sting; bite (of snake)"
t-p-r "burn (of anger)"
t-pt-p "knock"
t-r-d "drive away, chase away, drive out"
t-r-j/O "drive" *jala* (S) ~ *jala* (N) — "miscarry"
t-r-p "beat (eggs etc.)"
t-r-s "arrange, put in order; lay (table); set up, erect; heal; recover (intr.)"
t-š-j/O "hide (tr.); keep; withhold" *noš-* — "hide (intr.)"; *reš-* — "maintain, support"
t-w-j/O "roast"
t-x-n "grind"

W

w-d-j/O (< *O-d-j/O*) "bring" (cf. *m-d-j/O*)
šimmit ... — "mention, invoke"
w-j/O-š "become dry; become stiff (also: with astonishment)"

W

w-j/O-r (2. *or-*) "go in, come in, enter" *g-šinne* — "be getting on (in years)"

X

x-d-m K/T < Arab. "serve; worship, adore; Bibl. also: work, till (soil)"
x-d-r "go about; become be born; happen; be possible" — *ba-* "suit"; *ja šula* (la) *xadir* "this 'matter' is (not) possible"
x-f-l K ? < Arab. "be diverted (attention)" *eni xfilla* "my attention was diverted"
x-j-O (2. *xaje-* ~ *xa-*) "live", "come to life"
x-j/O-k "itch; scratch"
x-j/O-p "bathe, take a bath" (of. women)
x-j/O-r il- (S ~ b-) "look at, pay attention to" *xire xzèle* "he looked and saw"; *xur xzi!* "just look!"
x-j-l K "be diverted, amused"
x-lb-q "entangle, become entangled" *xilbiq il-pqari* "he won't leave off me <he-has-become-entangled-to-my-neck>"
x-l-j/O i. "become sweet"; *pinnox xale!* "may your mouth be sweet!" (formula of thanks for offer of sweet food or drink; answer: *pinnox-iš xale!* "yours, too!") ii. rejoice loudly iii. "wrap, wrap oneself"

x-l-l "wash (one's body)"
x-l-m i. "dream"; ii. "thicken (intr.)"
x-l-p "change (intr.)"
x-l-q (arch.) K ? < Arab. "lock, be locked" in the spoken language used only in: *tarox xaliq!* "may your house be deserted <may your door be closed!)"
x-l-w "milk"
x-m-j/O "ferment"
x-m-j ? (S) "stick finger into someone's eye"
x-n-q "throttle; suffocate; drown (tr. and intr.)"
x-nx-n K ? "grow mouldy" *xinxin tinjin* "it has become entirely mouldy"
x-n-z "tuck up (a garment)"
x-p-q "embrace"
x-p-r "dig; carve; plough"
x-rd-j/O "entangle, become entangled"
x-r-j/O "relieve oneself bodily"
x-r-j K/T < Arab. "spend (money)"
x-r-p "become sharp"
x-r-w "be spoiled, ruined" *bel babox* (S) ~ *dadox* (N) (la) *xariw!* "curse you <may your father's house (not) be ruined!)"
x-r-z "string (beeds)"
x-šb-n "make an account of"
x-š-l K or nat. "adorn oneself with jewels"
x-š-w "think, consider"
x-š-x "grow dark"
x-šx-š "feel (one's way)"
x-t-m "seal, close; be sealed, closed" — *reš* "sign (a document)"
x-w/O-r "become white"
x-z-j/O "see" *xur xzi!* "just look!"

X

x-č-j/O ? "hollow out" v. *x-č-r*
x-č-r ? "hollow out" v. *x-č-j/O*
x-j/O-t "sew, embroider"
x-j-l-m- K < Arab. "be ashamed (before person); Bibl. also with il-: revere"
x-l-b K < Arab. "obtain a victory over, beat; gain"
x-l-q i. "slip (of a knot)" ii. K/T < Arab. "create"
x-l-s i. "save, be saved, escape" ii. "press" iii. "wring one's neck"
x-l-t K < Arab. "make a mistake, err"
x-r-t i. "turn (mech.)" ii. "pull tight"; iii. K "become strong, stout"; iv. K "gnash"
x-s-l "reap, harvest"
x-t-j/O "sin" (cf. *awun O-w*) *O-d*, p. 298)

Z

z-d-j/O "grow afraid, fear" (cf. *xof O-w/O-d*, p. 340)
z-j/O-d K < Arab. "increase (intr.), become superfluous"

z-k-j/O il- "be fortunate enough to attain"
 z-mb-q ? "swell (of belly)"
 z-m-r "sing"
 z-nh-r ? "despise, reject"
 z-n-j/O "whore, commit adultery"
 z-q-r "weave, knit"
 z-r-d ~ z-rd-k K "become yellow, pale"
 z-r-j/O "sow, plant" (cf. m-zr-j/O)
 z-r-p K "push violently" (cf. z-rz-p)

z-r-č "shine (of heavenly bodies)"
 z-rz-p K ? "push, thrust" (cf. z-r-p)
 z-w-n (arch.) "buy"

Z

z-h-m K < Arab ? "become sprained"
 z-l-m K/T < Arab. "wrong, oppress"
 z-m-t ? "be fulfilled (of time)"
 z-nq-r ? "pour, strew"

2. IRREGULAR AND AMBIGUOUS VERBAL STEMS^a

aj- ~ of 2. stem of O-j/O-l
 ajo- 1. stem of O-j/O-l
 biz- 3. stem of b-j/O-z
 bij- 3. stem of b-j/ġ
 buz- 4. stem of b-j/O-z
 dah- ~ of 2. stem of d-h-l
 dar- 2. stem of d-j/O-r
 dil- 3. stem of d-j/O-l
 diq- 3. stem of d-j/O-q
 duq- 4. stem of d-j/O-q
 eq- 2. stem of O-j/O-q
 èšiq- 3. stem of O-š-q
 ez- ~ of projective of 2. stem of O-z-l
 gb- indicative of 2. stem of O-b-j/O
 gd- ~ of indicative of 2. stem of O-d-j/O (cf. gidj-)
 ges- 2. stem of g-j/O-s
 gez- ~ of indicative of 2. stem of O-z-l
 gidj- ~ of indicative of 2. stem of O-d-j/O (cf. gd-)
 gis- 3. stem of g-j/O-s
 god- indicative of 2. stem of O-w/O-d
 gur- 4. stem of g-w/O-r
 gor- indicative of 2. stem of w-j/O-r
 haw- ~ of projective of 2. stem of h-w/O-l
 hol- 4. stem of h-w/O-l
 idj- resultative, idjé- perfective, of the 3. stem of O-d-j/O
 il- ~ -l- ~ -jl- durative of the 1. stem of h-w-j/O as equational copula
 ida sing. of 4. stem of O-d-j/O
 iq- 3. stem of O-j/O-q
 ít(a) durative of the 1. stem of h-w-j/O as existential copula "there is/are" it m- "there is something of"; ma it ma lít (S) ~ let (N) "what news <what is-there what is-there-not?"; íti líti "all my belongings <my-there-is my there-is-not>"; ítwa lítwa "once upon a time there was <there-was there-was-not>"; ítí etc. "I etc. have"; ítwali etc. "I etc. had"

idámun pl. of 4. stem of O-d-j/O
 jil- 3. stem of O-j/O-l
 jul- 4. stem of O-j/O-l
 ĵir- 3. stem of j-j/O-r
 ĵur- 4. stem of j-j/O-r
 kil- 3. stem of k-j/O-l
 kim- 3. stem of k-j/O-l
 kimr- ~ of indicative of 2. stem of O-m-r (cf. kmir-)
 kip- 3. stem of k-j/O-p
 kiwj- ~ of indicative of 2. stem of h-w/O-l (cf. kw-)
 kixl- ~ of indicative of 2. stem of O-x-l (cf. kxll)
 kj- ~ kĵil ~ kĵén- ~ kk- indicative of 2. stem of O-j/O-l kĵen "I (m.) (will) know"; kĵil "he knows, will know"; kĵéni "they (will) know"; la kken "I (m.) do not know"
 kmir ~ of indicative of 2. stem of O-m-r (cf. kmir-)
 kul- 4. stem of k-j/O-l
 kup 4. stem of k-j/O-p
 kuš 4. stem of k-w/O-š
 kw- ~ of indicative of the 2. stem of h-w-j/O (cf. kiwj-)
 kw- ~ kwil indicative of 2. stem of h-w/O-l
 kxil ~ of indicative of 2. stem of O-x-l (cf. kixl-)
 let (N) negative form of ít (a) "there is/are not" háxxa šula let! "this is out of the question <such matter there-is-not!>" (for bound forms v. lít)
 lis- 3. stem of l-j/O-s
 liš- 3. stem of l-j/O-š
 lít (S) negative form of ít(a) "there is/are not" áxxa šula lít! "this is out of the question <such matter there-is-not!>"; lítwa "there was/were not"; ítwa lítwa v. ít(a); lítí etc. "I etc. did not have"
 lus 4. stem of l-j/O-s
 luš- 4. stem of l-j/O-š and l-w/O-š
 mar- durative of the 1. stem and 4. stem of O-m-r

Sandhi forms beginning with CC see also under iCC- (e.g. djé- will be found under idjé-)

- mir- 2. stem of O-m-r
 mir- 3. stem of m-j/O-r
 mis- 3. stem of m-j/O-s
 miss- 1. 3. stems of m-ss-j/O
 mur- 4. stem of m-j/O-r
 mus- 4. stem of m-j/O-s
 nis- 3. stem of n-j-s
 nix- 3. stem of n-j/O-x
 or- 2. stem of w-j/O-r
 pil- 3. stem of p-j/O-l
 pir- 3. stem of p-j/O-r
 pis- 3. stem of p-j/O-s
 piš- 3. stem of p-j/O-š
 pix- 3. stem of p-j/O-x
 pul- 4. stem of p-j/O-l
 pur- 4. stem of p-j/O-r
 puš- 4. stem of p-j/O-š puš šalomi! “farewell!”
 pux- 4. stem of p-j/O-x
 qim- 3. stem of q-j/O-m
 qip- 3. stem of q-j/O-p
 qup- 4. stem of q-j/O-p
 qur- 4. stem of q-w/O-r
 qir- 3. stem of q-j/O-r
 qis- 3. stem of q-j/O-s
 qit- 3. stem of q-j/O-t
 qu sing. of 4. stem of q-j/O-m
 qus- 4. stem of q-j/O-s
 riq- 3. stem of r-j/O-q
 rit- 3. stem of r-j/O-t
 ruq- 4. stem of r-j/O-q
 rut- 4. stem of r-j/O-t
 riš- 3. stem of r-j/O-š
 ruš- 4. stem of r-j/O-š
 si- 4. stem of O-z-l
 sil- 3. stem of s-j/O-l
 sim- 3. stem of s-j/O-m
 sum- 4. stem of s-j/O-m
 šik- 3. stem of š-j/O-k
 šip- 3. stem of š-j/O-p
 šir- 3. stem of š-j/O-r
 šiš- 3. stem of š-j/O-š
 šuk- 4. stem of š-j/O-k
 šup- 4. stem of š-j/O-p
 šuq- 4. stem of š-w/O-q
 šur- 4. stem of š-j/O-r
 šuš- 4. stem of š-j/O-š
 tim- 3. stem of t-j/O-m
 tix- 3d stem of t-j/O-x
 tur- 4. stem of t-w/O-r
 tal- 2. stem of t-j/O-l
 til- 3. stem of t-j/O-l
 tis- 3. stem of t-j/O-s
 tul- 4. stem of t-j/O-l
 tus- 4. stem of t-j/O-s
 ud- (~ S) 4. stem of O-w/J-d (cf. wud-)
 wad- durative of the 1. stem of O-w/O-d
 wé- perfective of the 3. stem of h-w-j/O
 wid- 3. stem of O-w/O-d
 wiš- 4. stem of w-j/O-š
 wud- 4. stem of O-w/O-d (cf. ud-)
 wir- 3. stem of w-j/O-r
 wur- 4. stem of w-j/O-r
 xik- 3. stem of x-j/O-k
 xil- 3. stem of O-x-l
 xip- 3. stem of x-j/O-p
 xir- 3. stem of x-j/O-r
 xuk- 4. stem of x-j/O-k
 xul- 4. stem of O-x-l
 xup- 4. stem of x-j/O-p
 xur- 4. stem of x-j/O-r
 xit- 3. stem of x-j/O-t
 xur- 4. stem of x-j/O-t
 zid- 3. stem of z-j/O-d
 zil- 3. stem of O-z-l

3. FREE AND BOUND LEXEMES³

A

- a (pl. ane) (N) “this” (cf. ja)
 abad (gender indeterminate) K/T < Arab
 “eternity” il- — — e “in all eternity”
 abjana (f. abjanta) “well-wisher” abjan(t)i “to
 my liking”; abjantew god “he does as he
 pleases”
 abra f. K “woman’s mantle of fine wool”
 abrai (inv.) K “of the finest quality”
 abuqra m. “mouse” (cf. aqubra)
 adab m. K/T < Arab “moral instruction; good
 manners; chastisement; lavatory, toilet (cf.
 kalawa, kallawa, tka)” — O-w/O-d “chastise”;
 mare- — mqi! “speak mannerly!”; izalen —
 “I (m.) am going to the toilet”
 adara ? f. “covenant”
 adas m. H (N) “myrtle” (cf. hadas)
 adawat (K ?) < Arab. “enmity”
 adres f. K/T < R. “address”
 afillu H “even (adv.)”
 afiser m. K/T < R. “officer”
 afsun f. K < P “trick, piece of magic”
 afsunči m. and f. K/T < P “trickster, magician”
 agār K/T “if; S also: when; Bibl. also: or (in the

³ For sandhi forms beginning with CC- see also under iCC-.

- second member of an alternative question);
gid — (Bibl.) “but (contrastive following
negative statement)”
- ahi (arch.) “she; that (f. pron.)”
- aj “this (arch.); belonging to (N)” ajit (arch.)
“that, who, which (relat.)” (cf. ja)
- aj! K exclamation of pain
- ajana (f. ajanta) “knowing, expert”
- ajne (arch.: ajnija) v. ja
- ájšat “this year”
- ajab ~ ajabi K/T < Arab. f. “wonder”
- ajam f. K/T < Arab. “Persia, Iran”
- ajazi f. (K < Arab.) ? “curse”
- ajiband K ? f. (Bibl.) “ephod”
- ajibja m. and f. K < Arab. “monster”
- ajubja m. and f. K < Arab. “wonder, wonderful”
- al- (arch.) “to; prep. of object”
- albahal T/K “at once, immediately”
- alhadda ? < Arab. “separately”
- alpa “thousand”
- amal pl. K/T < Arab. “deeds”
- aman f. K < Arm. “tool, instrument”
- amanta (pl. -te) f. K/T < Arab. “deposit”
— h-w/O-l “give in trust, deposit”
- ambar f. K/T (< Arab. ?) “amber”
- ámi (N) voc. form of amona, q.v. (cf. mámo)
- amindar K < Arab. “faithful, loyal”
- amma K/T < Arab. “but, however”
- amona (pl. ~ -awe) m. K/T < Arab. “paternal
uncle” (cf. ámi)
- amret “you might say; as if”
- amto (pl, -te) f. K/T < Arab. “paternal aunt”
- ana “I”
- andaza (N) ~ hindaza, q.v.
- ane (N) “these” (v. a; ja)
- anga f. ? “molar tooth”
- ani (pl. anije ~ anijim) H m. and f. “poor,
needy”
- anjula H f. “poverty”
- ánjagta (pl. anjagje) T f. “glove”
- anna H f. “confession” — O-m-r “say the
confession”
- apišta (pl. apišje) f. “currant, raisin”
- aqirwa m. “scorpion”
- aqirwa (inv.) “near” — O-w/O-d “bring near”;
— x-d-r “draw near”
- aqla f. “foot, leg” xa —, tre — e, *taha* — “one-
step, two-step, three-step” (names of round
dances); — it jwanqulox *brixta* hawja! “may
the foot of your youth be blessed! (congrat-
ulation upon the birth of a son)”; sdunit
— “shin”; tkit — “foot-print(s)”; — aw
j-q-r “become pregnant”, — aw jaqurté-la
“she is pregnant”; — ew *Jarúla* ~ mawolu
“he has diarrhoea”; — ew band ila “he is
constipated”
- aqubra m. “mouse” (cf. abuqra)
- ara (pl. arawe) f. “earth, ground”
- arabi K < Arab. “Arabic”
- arabna K/T < Arab. “Arab”
- arāq m. K/T < Arab. “arrack”
- arāqa f. K/T < Arab. “sweat” — O-w/O-d
“sweat (verb)”; gāl — it benew “by the sweat
of his brow”
- araqčín f. T/K < Arab. + P “scull-cap”
- arba “four”
- arbamin (S) ~ arbaminji (N) “fourth”
- arbámme “four hundred”
- arbassar “fourteen”
- arbassarmin (S) ~ arbassarminji (Nf “four-
teenth”
- arbi “fourty” — -aql “centipede” (cf. *aqweran*)
- arbimin (S) ~ arbiminji “fourtieth”
- arbušeb m. “Wednesday” — ew *bassor* ile (S)
“he has a screw loose (his-Wednesday is
lacking)”
- arda f. (pl. arje) “rival wife”
- argaz ? f. “weaving frame”
- aryač T m. “woof”
- arjan (N) K < Arab. v. lut
- arjaman K < Arab. < P m. “purple”
- arkāk T m. “male”
- armāni m. and f. “Armenian; Armenian lan-
guage”
- armilda (pl. armilje) f. “widow”
- armildula f. “widowhood”
- arota (pl. -te) f. “Friday”
- arxain K m. and f. “assured” — x-d-r “rest
assured”
- asirgamiš T O-w/O-d “spare, begrudge”
- askār K/T < Arab. m. “army” gāl — ile “he is
in (with) the army” (cf. *laškartá*; *liškartá*)
- askārula K/T < Arab. f. “military service” (cf.
sarbazula)
- astar K/T m. “back of cloth; lining”
- aškār K/T < T m. and f. “overt, known” —
O-w/O-d reveal”; — x-d-r “be revealed”
- aškāra xabār K/T < P + Arab. “openly,
overtly”
- ašpaz K/T m. and f. “cook”
- ašq f. K/T < Arab. (S) “love” — p-j/O-l “fall
in love” (cf. išq)
- at “thou”
- atr K < Arab. m. “perfume”
- átta “now” m- — m-bára “from now on (from-
now from after)”
- atuqa (f. atuqta) “old (of inanimate object)”
- atxun “you (pl.)” (cf. axnxun)
- aw H “5th month of the Jewish calendar”
- awanta (pl. awane < awanje) f. “ewe-lamb”
- awaz K < Arab. f. “restitution” — O-w/O-d
“change”; — h-w/O-l “restitute, replace”

awrúšum K m. "silk"
 awwal K/T < Arab. (S ~ awwalim) "(at first)"
 — ilha bára-š at "no one can help me but you
 <first God and-then you"
 awwalje K/T < Arab. (pl.) "the former (pl.)"
 awwalminji K/T < Arab. (N) "(the) first"
 axča "so many; so much, so (followed by adj.)"
 axči "so much (followed by verb)"
 axčín "as much as" — *diyde* "alike, equally
 <as-much-as one-another)"
 axmāx K < Arab. (inv.) "foolish"
 axmāxula K < Arab. f. "foolishness"
 axnan ~ axni "we"
 axnxun (~ N) "you (pl.)" (cf. atxun)
 axona (pl. ~ -we) m. (S) "brother" (cf. axxona)
 axsax T m. (Bibl.) "breach, damage"; m. and f.
 foolish"
 axsāxula T < f. "foolishness"
 áxxa (S; N only in sandhi) "so, thus; such" (cf.
 háxxa) — hawe "if so"
 axxona (pl. ~ -we) m. (N) "brother" (cf. axona)
 axxonaliy nat. + T m. (N) "intimate friend"
 azjat K < Arab. f. "suffering"
 az-qaza P (N) "accidentally, it so happened that"

A

aba (pl. *abae*) K < Arab. f. "mantle"
abad K < P m. and f. "inhabited" (cf. *awa*)
abbasi K/T < P m. = 1/6 *qran*, *q.v.*
abi K/T < P "blue"
aburi K m. "honour"
ačiy T "light (of colour)"
ada (pl. *adae*) T/K f. "island" (cf. *žzira*)
adar H "12th month of Jewish calendar"
adarbejan f. "Azerbaijan"
addim T f. "step" (cf. *pengaw*)
adjal ? < R. m. "coarse blanket (used as bed-
 cover)"
afiqoman H f. "piece of unleavened bread eaten
 at the end of the Passover meal"
aya (pl. *ayae*) T/K "lord, master, sir"
ayafa K (S) "m. name"
ayala H f. "cleansing by fire of utensils to be
 used for Passover"
ayuz T "turbid"
ah! K/T "oh! f. sigh" — *g-r-š* "sigh; yawn"
 (cf. *ax*)
aharon H "Aaron"
ahil K < Arab. (inv.) "old" *Jahlil* — "young
 and old"
ahra (pl- -we) f. "town, city, country" (cf. *olka*;
šahr)
aflz K < Arab. (inv.) "feeble, miserable"
afzula K < Arab. f. "feebleness, misery"
afnas (used as plural) T < Arab. "appliances"
 (of house)"

alala K f. "poppy, anemone"
alčay T/K (inv.) "low, base, of inferior quality"
aliči T f. "bird of prey"
ališ-weriš T/K f. "trade, commerce" — O-w/O-d
 "engage in commerce"
almanna K (m. and f.) (S) "German (person)"
 (cf. *germanna*)
almani K (S) "German (language)" (cf. *germani*)
almas T/K Arab. < Gr. "diamond"
alučta K/T f. "plum"
amama K/T < Arab. f. "turban" (cf. *šamla*)
aman K/T < Arab. m. "safety, safeguard;
 compassion" — h-w/O-I "grant safety"; —
 ile "I beseech you!"
amarta (pl. -*te*) K/T Arab. f. "palace"
ambar K/T f. "barn, shed"
ambur ? m. "pliers".
ammen! H "amen!"
amra m. "wool"
amraze K ? (pl.) "working tools"
anaw H m. and f. "modest, humble"
anawula H f. "modesty, humility"
anšay K/T "barely, only, just"
aqa f. "trouble, stress" — *g-r-š* "suffer" (cf.
iqanula, *jiqanula*, *tangana*, *tangula*)
aqillu T < Arab. (inv.) "sensible, reasonable,
 intelligent"
aqiq T < Arab. f. (S. and arch.) "cornelian"
 (cf. *haqiq*)
aqišqa K/T < R f. "window"
aql K/T < Arab. m. "sense, intelligence, reason;
 idea, opinion" — *j-l-p* "recieve education"; —
m-l-p "teach, educate"; *il...* — O-w/O-d
 "put some sense into ..."; *ba-* — *i* "in my
 opinion"; *m-* — *ew zille* "he went out of his
 mind"
aqlona K < Arab. m. (S) "the sensible son (in
 folk-tales)"
aqweran T f. i. "kite" ii. "centipede" (cf. *arbi*)
ar K/T < Arab. f. "shame, shameful deed"
ara T f. "space, interval" — *p-l-x* "make room";
taha šinne m- — *pire* "meanwhile three years
 [had] passed"; *gäl ...* — *arai la doqa* "I
 cannot live with ..."
araba (N) ~ *arabana* (S) K/T f, "car, cart,
 carriage, coach (cf. *droga*)
arabači (N) ~ *arabanči* (S) T "coachman,
 driver"
aralij T (used only as a bound form with *g-*)
g-aralijit taha jome "within three days";
g-aralju "between, amongst them"
arel H m. "uncircumcised; Christian" (cf. *čakka-*
na)
arly T m. and f. "lean, emaciated"
arixula T f. "leanness, emaciation"
arju K < Arab. (lit.) "I beg you, please"

armota (pl. *armonje*) f. "pomegranate"
arx T f. "irrigation canal"
arzan K (N) m. and f. "cheap; cheaply" (cf. *harzan*)
arzani ~ *arzanula* K f. (N) "cheapness" (cf. *harzani*)
asarta f. (N) "pentecost"
asbab T < Arab. (used as a plural) "arms" (cf. *čák silah*)
asbablamiš T < Arab. — O-w/O-d "arm"; — x-d-r "become armed"
asbablu T Arab. (inv.) "armed"
aska K f. (S and arch.) "antelope"
asl K/T < Arab. m. "origin, source"
aslan T/K < m. (N) "lion" (cf. *šer*)
asr (pl. *asrawe*) K < Arab. "evening"
asse H (pl.) "twigs of aromatic plants used for certain benedictions"
astan (N ~ *astana*) K/T < P m. "threshold"
asur H (inv.) "(ritually) forbidden"
ašmaddaj H "Asmodaeus, the king of the demons"
ašuaq T/K < Arab. "(Turkish) minstrel; lover, paramour"
atara H O-w/O-d "read certain prayers over the dead"
atlu T m. "horseman, rider"
atraf K/T < Arab. (S) "around" (cf. *čar - atraf*)
atta (t) K < Arab. "until, til, up to, down to; while" (cf. *hatto(t)*) *attat* axxé-la "if this is so"
attari K < Arab. m. (S) "mercery goods"
aw T m. "hunt" — O-w/O-d "hunt (verb)"
awa ~ *awadan* K (inv.) "inhabited" *awa xadir* belxun! "may your house be inhabited!" (formula of thanks for hospitality enjoyed or polite declining of invitation)
awči T m. "hunter"
awadani K f. "inhabited land"
awel ~ *aweldar* H (inv.) "mourner" (cf. *jaslu; taazjadar*)
awi-habben H m. "the father of the child (during the circumcision ceremony)"
awlad K/T < Arab. (S) "child(ren)" (used only in: *jád u-awladew* "from generation to generation")
awraham H "Abraham" — *awinu* "the patriarch A."
awun H m. "sin" cf. *gunah x-t-j/C*, p. 293; — O-w/O-d "sin (verb)" (cf. *gunah*)
awunkar H + K (inv.) "sinner" — *p-l-t* "condemn, be condemn" (cf. *gunahkar*)
awurda ? f. "inside of cheek"
ax K/T — f. "oh!, sigh, yawn" — g-r-š "sigh, yawn" (cf. *ah*)
axr K/T < Arab. "at last"
axrda (N) ~ *axrinda* (S) T < Arab. "finally"

axrje (pl.) K/T < Arab. "the last things"
axrmin (S) ~ *axrminji* (N) K/T < Arab. "the last (one)"
axund P "doctor of Islamic law"
axur K f. "stable (for horses)"
axwaj ~ *axwajula* K f. "lament"
azab K < Arab. O-w/O-d "suffer"
azad K < P m. and f. "free; not guilty, innocent" — O-w/O-d "make free"; *pqartew* — wide m- "he took leave (his-neck free made) of"
azadula K/T < P f. "freedom; freedom of guilt, innocence" *p-l-t* (il-)— "go free"
azar K f. "leanness, sickliness"
aziz K/T < Arab. "m. name"
aziza (f. *azizta*) K/T < Arab. "dear, beloved"
azizula K/T < Arab. f. "the beloved ones (esp. one's children)"
aziztula K/T < Arab. f. (Bibl.) "delicacy (of a woman)"
aždaha K < P m. "dragon; viper"

B

b- ~ bi- (bound form in S and arch. before pronominal suffix *ibb-*, sandhi form *bb-*) "in, at, with, for (price)"
ba- K (S ~ *baq*-?) "to for"
báa? (S) "why, what for, wherefore?" (cf. *bána*)
baba (pl. ~ *-awe*) T/K m. (S) "father" (cf. *báma*)
babita K f. "almond" (cf. *badam*)
baboja K ? m. "beetle, cockroach"
babožnik T ? < R f. (N) "pencil-case, notebook"
babr K m. "tiger"
bādamal K/P (inv.) "of wicked deeds"
badān K/T f. "city-wall"
badāl O-w/O-d K/T < Arab. "requite"
badbaxt K/T < P (inv.) "miserable, mean"
badiš ? (Bibl.) "lest" (cf. *dagana; nába*)
bäg T/K m. "bey"
báhro "the day after tomorrow"
bahura (f. *bahurta*) "clear, bright, transparent"
enox bahure hawé(ni) "may your eyes be bright (formula of congratulation upon hearing good news)"
báhuro "two days from tomorrow"
bahurula f. "brightness" *ilha* — *palitlox!* "may God lead you to brightness (*i.e.* disperse your troubles)!"; *palter* — ! "may you come out into brightness (answer to *enox bahure hawé(ni)*; v. *bahura*)
bajquš T/K f. "owl"
bajrāj K/T < P f. (S) "flag, banner" (cf. *bajdax*)
bal baqatjo "early in the morning"
bala f. "mind" (m.) — *i djéle* "I remembered"; —

- i mindéli “I remembered (consciously);
— i (it(a)) “I remember”; m- — i zille “I forgot”
- balat K < P. (inv.) “knowing one’s way about
a plate
- balatula K (< P. ?) f. “knowledge of a place”
- bále K/T < Arab. “but, however; oh yes”
- balım K ? m. “thin reed”
- bálki (N ~ bálka) K/T “perhaps, maybe”
- báma? “why, what for, wherefore!” (cf. báa)
- banafša K/T f. “violet”
- band K (inv.) “bound” aqlew — ila “he is
constipated”
- banda K/T m. and f. “man (as opposed to God)”
- bandär K f. “crossroads”
- bandoka K ? f. “string to tie babies clothes
(instead of buttoning them)”
- baq- (S) v. ba-
- baqatjo (m) m. “morning”
- baqatta “tomorrow”
- baqdunis (not autochthonous) < Arab. f.
“parsley”
- baqta f. “gnat, mosquito”
- baqurta (pl. -rje) (lit.) “demand, request”
- bar “after, behind”
- bára “afterwards, back”
- bára m. and f. (arch.) “last; lastly”
- bära K m. “shore”
- barabär K/T < P (inv.) “equivalent”
- baraki inv. “latter, last”
- barambär ~ baranbär K/T “opposite”
- bardil K f. “childless (of animal)”
- barit mila H f. “circumcision” (cf. bigzare,
bugzare)
- barjana m. “the Creator”
- barmil K f. “barrel”
- barqul (N) “opposite”
- barwana f. K < P (S) “apron, pinafore” (cf.
barwana)
- bar *janay* K/T < Arm. m. “brother-in-law
(wife’s brother)”
- bar *janayta* K/T < Arm. f. “sister-in-law (wife’s
sister)”
- bar-xmaa f. “sister-in-law (husband’s sister)”
- bäs K/T < P “only; enough”
- basima (f. basimta) “well, healthy” — hawet!
“may you be in good health!” (formula of
thanks for enquiry after one’s health); enox
basime hawé(ni)! “may your eyes be well!”
(formula of thanks in answer to reš eni! “will-
ingly!”); idox hawe basime! “more power to
you! well done!”; rešox basima hawe! “may
your head be safe! (formula of condolence)”
- basimula f. “well-being, consolation” — ox!
“your well-being! (answer to enquiry after
one’s wish)”
- basirta (pl. -re) f. “grape”
- baslamiš T O-w/O-d “fatten (animals)”
- basta K/T / P m. and f. “protected, protégé(e)”
o basti-le “he is under my protection”
- bastaxana K ? < P f. (Bibl.) “place of refuge”
- bate (S) v. bela
- batu ? f. “loaf fallen into the oven”
- baxila m. “weeping”
- baxta K ? f. (pl. baxte) “woman”; (pl. -awe)
“wife” o baxta (pl. S ojne baxte ~ N une
baxte) “I, thou (we, you) (in ominous utter-
ances)”
- bazat ? m. and f. “unreliable, dishonest”
- bazatula ? f. “unreliability, dishonesty”
- bazirgan K < P m. “tradesman (esp. travelling
with a caravan)”
- bazra K < Arab. m. “vegetable (esp. sesame) oil”
- bb- v. b-
- be K “without” — *aql* “stupid, unreasonable”
— *ar* “without blemish”; — *bafa* “faithless”;
— *baxt* “luckless, unfortunate mean”; — *ene*
“eyeless: S (f.): owl”; — *fisse* “gratis, for
nothing”; — *had* “exceedingly”; — *huš*
“unconscious”; — *hasab* ~ *hessab* “count-
less”; — *ilaj* “hopeless, incorrigible” (cf.
lajla); — *kase* “of unknown origin”; — *kef*
“moody, depressed”; — *mare* “ownerless”;
minkun “destitute”; — *minnew* “without
him” — *moxa* “brainless”; — *pilwa* (s) ~
pulwa (N) “narrow”; — *qalai* “unfortified”;
— *waj* “nothing”
- be-čiz K ? (inv.) “week, miserable”
- bee v. beta
- behra m. “light (subst.)” — h-w/O-l “give light;
help, aid”; — *minnew let* (N) ~ *let* (S) “he is
hopeless, nothing can be expected of him”
- behrula f. “light, clearness, transparence”
- bekar K (inv.) “idle, unemployed”
- bekarula K f. “idleness, unemployment”
- bela (pl. S bate ~ N *bate*) “house, home”
bel babox (S) ~ *dadox* (N) (la) *xariw!* “curse
you (may your father’s house be (not)
destroyed)!”; m- — (Bibl.) “from inside”
- bełča K f. “dust shovel”
- bena T f. “forehead, brow” g- — *ew tmire* “it
sunk into his mind”
- beta (pl. bee) f. “egg”
- betajme H (pl. -mje) f. “graveyard, cemetery”
- bez T m. “linen”
- bi- v. b-
- bibar K/T f. “S: pepper; N: pimiento”
- bibka K f. “iris (of the eye)”
- bigzare pl. (S) “circumcision” (cf. *barit mila*
bugzare)
- bij T/K m. and f. “bastard” (cf. *mamzer*)
- bilagta T/K (pl. -ge) f. “wrist”
- bilbil K < P f. (S) “nightingale” (cf. *bulbül*)

bildirjin T/K f. "quail"
 billa! K < Arab. "by God!"
 billur f. K < P < Gr. "crystal"
 binawra K ? < Arab. m. "foundation" —
 O-w/O-d "lay the foundation"
 binjat K < Arab. f. "fundament"
 biqe Sal < T (pl.) "moustache" (cc. *simbele*)
 bira f. "i. nat. or K < Arab. "well (arch.)" (cf.
 quji); ii. Europ. beer"
 birdan(bira) T "suddenly, all of a sudden"
 birja m. and f. "creature"
 birkat *hammazon* H f. "grace after meals"
 birq K < Arab. m. (generally used in the pl.
 only) "lightning" (cf. *jildırım*)
 biska K f. "forelock, sidelock"
 bisti K f. "tripod"
 biš (~ bij ~ bis) K "more (preceding adj.)"
 — jwan "better"; — tam! "so much the
 better!"; — zoda "more"
 bitmiš T (inv.) (lit.) "ripe"
 biur *hames* H f. "destroying of leavened bread
 before Passover"
 biz T m. "awl, prong"
 bizza f. "hole, crack"
 blana K (S) m. "pocket" (cf. *bilwana*)
 blane (S) v. brata
 blita (pl. -te) ? < R f. "ticket"
 blola f. "roly-poly"
 bna T < Arab. f. "household" below — ew
 "his household"; — ew barbza! "may his
 household be scattered!"
 bod K ? (N) "because of, on account of for the
 sake of" (cf. *mu*)
 borullamiš T O-w/O-d "low (of cattle)"
 bota ? i. (pl. boe) f. "roast seed"; ii. (pl. bote) f.
 crucible"
 bqarta (pl. -rje) (S) f. "neck, nape" (cf. *pqarta*)
 brata (pl. S blane, ~ -awe, N *blane* ~ *awe*)
 "daughter, girl; virgin"
 bratula f. "virginity"
 brindar K/T (inv.) (S) "wounded" (cf. *jaralu*)
 brinj K/T m. P "rice" (cf. *rizza*)
 brinja P K/T f. "brass" (cf. *tuf*)
 brona (pl. ~ -awe) "son, boy, lad"
 bšala m. "thick vegetable stew" — it xalwa
 "rice cooked with milk"
 btaw K ~ btun T m. and f. "whole"
 bud K/T < P m. "idol"
 bugzare (N) (pl.) "circumcision" (cf. *barit mila*;
bigzare)
 buyumi K ? m. "joint"
 bujüm T ? f. "thumb, big toe"
 bulbül K/T < P f. (N) "nightingale" (cf. *bilbl*)
 burj K/T Arab. f. "tower" (cf. *qalajča*)
 busa K m. "ambush" — d-w/O-q "ambush, lie
 in wait for"

busači K/T m. "ambusher"
 busma K or nat. m. "aroma, aromatic plant"
 buxra m. "first-born son"
 buxra f. "primigeniture"
 buzmiš T (inv.) "pleated" — O-w/O-d "pleat"
 (cf. g-d-l, p. 226)
 bxur K < Arab. f. "incense"
 bzirta ? (pl. -rje) f. "pea"

B

badam K/T f. "almond" (cf. *babita*)
badja K/T f. "bowl"
bafa K < Arab. f. "faithfulness, loyalty"
bafta K m. "ribbon, tape" (cf. *tkilta*)
bay ~ *baya* T/K f. "bundle"
baydad K/T < Arab. f. "Bagdad"
baydadi K < Arab. f. "large veil for women"
baydadna K/T < Arab. m. and f. "of Bagdad
 (person)"
baylan K f. "pelican"
baywan K m. "gardener"
baywani K i. f. "small drinking jar" ii. ~
baywanula f. "work or state of a gardener"
bahar K/T f. P "spring (season)"
bajaz K/T < Arab "f. name"
bajdax K f. (N) P "flag, banner" (cf. *bajräγ*)
bajis x-d-r K < Arab. "make an attempt upon
 one's life"
bajjan K/T < Arab. (inv.) "well-known"
 — O-w/O-d "make known"
baji T f. "sister (title given to elder woman)"
bajily T (pl. -lyawe) f. "friend" (cf. *baruxa*;
sawän)
bala T/K m. and f. "child; young of an animal"
bal aslan (N) ~ šer (S) "lion's cub"; *bal geči*
 "kid"; *bal irba* "lamb"; *bal kalba* "pup";
bal qatula "kitten" (cf. *baläm*)
bala (pl. *balae*) K/T < Arab. f. "trouble" ilha xa
 — la hawille! "may God send him many
 troubles <God one trouble not may-give-him!)"
balaban T/K f. "kettle-drum"
baläm T/K voc. form of *bala* "my child!"
balat ? < Arab. f. "floor-tile"
balaxana KP f. "upperroom"
baldurjanta (pl. *baldurjane*) K f. *kumta* —
 "eggplant"; *smuqta* — "tomato"
balyäm K < Arab. < Gr. m. "phlegm"
balota (pl. -te) f. "throat"
balqana (f. -nta) i. "staring, pop-eyed" ii. K <
 Arab. (Bibl.) "with white spots"
balta T/K m. "axe"
bambača K ? f. "stroke with the fist"
bambaj f. "Bombay"
banadam (pl. *banjadame*) H m. and f. "human
 being"
bang K f. "clamour"

- banlu* T/K < Arab. m. and f. "clear, manifest"
— O-w/O-d "make manifest, reveal"; —
x-d-r "become manifest, be revealed"
- banna* K/T < Arab. m. "mason"
- baqla* K/T < P. f. "broad bean"
- baqlan* T ? f. "heron"
- baqqa* T/K f. "frog"
- baqqala* T < Arab. m. "grocer"
- bar* K/T m. "fruit (coll.)" — h-w/O-l "bear
fruit"; — m-nd-j/O "miscarry"; mare- —
"fruitful"
- barana* K m. "ram"
- baraxa* H f. "blessing, benediction"
- baraza* K m. "(wild) boar"
- bardan* K f. "sack made of cheese-cloth"
- barijja* ? < Arab. f. (*Ga*) "desert" (cf. *čol*;
warja)
- barišmiš* T/K O-w/d "make peace, come to
terms"
- barjohaj* Jew.-Aram. "m. name"
- barud* K/T m. "gunpowder, dynamite"
- barux* haššem H "thank God"
- baruxa* (pl. *-awe*) m.; f. *baruxta* (pl. *-te*) "friend,
comrade" (cf. *bajilly*; *sawān*)
- barwana* (K) f. "apron, pinafore" (cf. *barwana*)
- barxasa* "after; lit. also: afterwards" — *ew*
"after him (in space)"; šdīru — *ew* "they
sent for him"
- basa* K < Arab. f. "tale"
- baska* K f. "fore-arm"
- basma* T/K f. "print" — O-w/O-d *dto. v.*
- bassar* "less, too little; lacking" — O-w/O-d
"lessen, deprive"; ilha — l-od "may God not
deprive [us of you] (formula of thanks)";
arbušebew — ile "he has a screw loose (his-
Wednesday is lacking)"; — *aw* "at least"
- bassorula* f. "want, deficiency"
- bašlamiš* T f. "beginning" — O-w/O-d "begin"
- bašlly* T/K f. i. "hood" ii. "bridal price"
- bāš-parmāyi* T f. "thumb, big toe"
- bāš-sayllyi* T f. "condolence" — O-z-l "pay a
visit of condolence" (cf. *reša*)
- bašqala* T f. "Başkale (town in the Turkish
vilayet of Van)"
- bašqalajna* T m. and f. "of Başkale (person)"
- batila* (f. *batilta*) nat. and K "empty, idle"
xabre *batile!* "nonsense (idle words)!"
- batali* K < Arab. f. (Bibl.) "free time, unemploy-
ment"⁴
- batnanta* (lit.) f. "pregnant woman"
- baxča* T/K f. "garden"
- baz* m-nd-j/O K (S) "leap, jump (verb)"
- be-hād* K "exceedingly" (cf. *me-ahād*)
- bilwana* (N) m. K "pocket" (cf. *blana*)
- binjan* H ? m. "building, edifice"
- birjala* K f. "bosom-pocket"
- birjul* T f. "hulled wheat"
- birjollly* T "entirely"
- bisla* m. "onion"
- bitna* (arch.) f. "womb"
- bizmara* K < Arab. f. (S) "nail (impl)" (cf. *mix*)
- boj boj* T ? m-q-j/O (S) "speak broadly, with 'flat'
sounds"
- boja* K/T m. "paint, dye" — O-w/O-d "dto (v.)"
(cf. *sbuy*)
- bojači* K/T m. "painter, dyer"
- bojunduruy* T/K m. "yoke" (cf. *guj*)
- bol* T/K "plenty, a great deal, a lot"
- boran* K/T f. "gale, storm"
- bostana* K/T < P f. "orchard"
- boš* (inv.) T "empty, inactive" — O-w/O-d
"empty (v.), render inactive"; — x-d-r
"become empty, remain inactive"
- bošqab* T f. "saucer"
- bošula* T f. "emptiness, inactivity"
- briljand* ? < R < Europ. m. "cut diamond"
- brixa* (f. *brixta*) "blessed" *brixe!* "I wish you joy
'blessed [be they]' (formula of congratulation)"
- btinta* f. "pregnant"
- buda* T f. "thigh"
- budara* T/K ? m. "bough"
- bujay* T f. "corner, angle" (cf. *qirna*)
- bulaxta* (pl. *-xte*) T ? "pupil of the eye"
- buryi* T/K f. "screw; corkscrew"
- burnoti* T/K f. "snuff"
- buxar* K/T < Arab. f. "steam"
- buxari* T/K < Arab. f. "chimney"
- buxča* (pl. *buxčanje*) T/K f. "bundle" — m-xd-r
"peddle"; — maxdrana m. "pedlar"
- buz* T/K m. "ice"
- bzota* (pl. *-te*) f. "spark"
- Č
- čadır* K/T f. "tent" — d-h-l (Bibl. ~ m-ql-b)
"pitch a tent"
- čajnik* T < R f. "tea-pot" (cf. *čajdan*)
- čāk* K m. i. "arms" (cf. *asbab*) ii. "foreskin"
- čakband* ~ *čakbast* K (inv.) "girdled"
- čakkačāk* K "clipper-clapper"
- čakkana* K m. "uncircumcised" (cf. *arel*)
- čakma* T/K f. "boot"
- čakuč* K/T < P m. (S *čakuk*) "hammer" (cf.
gāl — *t-pt-p* "hammer"; *gāl* — *m-b-r* ~
m-mb-r "hammer in")
- čakulka* ? f. "locust"
- čaltikān* T f. "bramble"
- čaltuk* T/K m. "unhusked rice"
- čamča* K/T f. "wooden ladle"

⁴ My informant A. M. considers this form as belonging to the dialect of N.W. Iraq

čamxam O-w/O-d K ? “play, flirt, caress”
 čana ~ čanaga ~ čanakta K/T f. “chin”
 čap K f. “clap”
 čap K (inv.) “left” (cf. *sol*)
 čapka K f. “clap” — e d-h-l “clap one’s hands, applaud”
 čarāg K m. “quarter” (cf. *rub*)
 čarāz T/K ? f. “winepress”
 čarband K ? f. “small of the back”
 čarčāf K/T m. “sheet”
 čarči T/K m. “pedlar”
 čarčiwa K/T m. “frame”
 čarpaz T/K f. “hook and eye” (cf. *arkāk; diši*)
 čarx K/T < P m. “wheel”
 čarxi K < P f. “circle” m. and f. “circular, round”
 čašmāg K < P m. “spectacles”
 čatin K/T m. and f. “difficult, hard” — idjéle
 lew “it seemed difficult to him, was difficult for him” (cf. *jaqura*)
 čatīr K < P m. “umbrella (cf. *šamšija; zondig*); golden eye-piece”
 čečka K f. “sparrow” — it *nahala* “lobe of the ear”; — it pinna “corner of the mouth”
 čer K (inv.) “squinting, cross-eyed”
 češid T m. “kind, sort” (cf. *Jur; nawpa*)
 čiban T/K f. “boil”
 čig T (inv.) “raw, uncooked”
 čilka K m. “thin twig, rod”
 čiman K/T < P f. “meadow”
 čin K(T) < P m. “shoulder strap, epaulette”
 čindirke? O-w/O-d “denounce”
 čini K/T < P f. “China ware”
 čiqja (f. čqita) K ? “torn, rent”
 čir ? (inv.) “obstinate”
 čirpi T/K m. “dry twig, rod”
 čirtma T f. “catapult”
 čirula ? f. “obstinacy”
 čit K/T < P m. “cotton (cloth)”
 čiwa ? m. v. *zarda*
 čiwačiw O-w/O-d K (S) “twitter, chirp” (cf. *jwŋiw Ow-/O-d*)
 čoča K ? f. “roll (of bread)”
 čoka K f. “knee”
 čol K/T f. “desert” (cf. *barijja; čolistan; warja*); also adj. (inv.)
 čopi K f. (S) “dancing-party” — r-q-l “have a dancing-party”
 čoragči T m. “baker”
 čorake (S) ~ čoroke (N) K (pl. -kje) f. “story, fairy-tale”
 čqita v. čiqja
 čunki K/T < P “for, because”

Č

čaymāγ T/K m. “flint, lighter”
 čahrai K ? m. and f. “pink (colour)”

čaj K/T f. “tea” — s-p-j/O “make ‘distil’ tea”; — it dišlama T “tea drunk while sucking a piece of sugar”
 čajči K/T < P m. “tea-vendor”
 čajčula T/K < P f. “trade of a tea-vendor”
 čajdan K/T < P f. “tea-kettle”
 čajpaz K/T < P f. (N) “tea-pot” (cf. *čajnik*)
 čajir T/K ? m. “kind of white root”
 čajqašan T ? f. “vulture”
 čaket K < R < Fr f. “jacket”
 čala K/T < P ? f. “ditch”
 čalasar ? m. “bath-room”
 čališmiš T/K O-w/O-d “try, make an effort”
 čalxama T f. “agitation, shaking, churning”
 čanga K (f.) “palm (of the hand cf. *kāf*), handful” kaffit — dto. — O-w/O-d “take a handful”
 čangal T/K < P f. “hook; fork”
 čapār K f. “post (institution)”
 čaparči K m. “postman, runner”
 čapilay K < P f. “slap, box on the ear” (cf. *silli, šapilay, zilli*)
 čaqāl K/T < P m. “jackal; very thin person”
 čāqe ? v. *narata*
 čaqa K m. “rock, cliff”
 čara K/T f. “remedy; way out” — let (N) ~ lit (S) “it can’t be helped”
 čar-atraf (S) K/T “around” — ... d-w/O-q “surround someone”
 čardaw ? f. “emmet”
 čargul ? < P “square, rectangular”
 čarpaja T < P f. “bedstead” (cf. *namusi ~ namusija*)
 čarqat (pl. *čarqae*) T/K f. “kerchief” (cf. *jalfγ*)
 čarwadar K m. “caravan driver”
 čima (f. *čimta*) (arch.) “closed”
 činčora ? f. “scum”
 činnar T/K m. “plane tree; cedar; oak”
 čoban T m. “shepherd”
 čoγan T f. “soapwort”
 čolay T m. and f. “lame” (cf. *šapla*)
 čolayula T f. “lameness”
 čolistan K f. “desert land, wilderness” (cf. *čol*)
 čul T/V m. “horse blanket” — i m-mae *paltinne* “I can manage <my-blanket from-water I-take-out”
 čxartma T f. “spiced stew of egg-plant, tomatoes, and meat”
 čxulči T/K m. and f. “denunciator”
 čxulčul T/K f. “calumny” — it ... O-w/O-d “calumniate someone”
 čxur T (inv.) “hollow, deep”

D

daa (voc. form *dāe* ~ *dāje*) K f. (S) “mother” (cf. *daa*) *dae qari* “old woman”

- dabang K (inv.) "foolish"
dabba K ? f. "hernia of the groin"
dabra K < Arab. m. "maintainance" dane
— e "household necessities, groceries"
dada (voc. from dáde) T m. (N) "father"
(cf. baba)
dác ~ dáce v. daa
daftār K/T < P f. "copy-book, note-book,
ledger"
dagana ? (S) "or else, otherwise"
daglana (f. daglanta) (S) "liar" (cf. duglana)
dahja ? f. "pride"
dahjek K m. "tithe"
dáce v. daa
dajirman T f. "mill" (cf. irxel)
dajirmanči T m. "miller"
dajjan H m. "judge of a rabbinical court"
dajqa f. "minute (time unit)"
dajqa (f. dajqta) "fine, small" — e fisse "small
coins, change"
daladuz ? m. "proud, wicked"
dalafe ? pl. (N) "lies, untruth" (cf. dugla; *dalape*)
dallak K/T < Arab. m. "barber"
dalulare ? (pl.) "followers"
damir ~ damur T/K m. "iron, piece of iron"
damirči ~ damurči T/K "smith"
dan K/T f. "grain" — "in grains"; — e dabre
"household necessities, groceries"
danaw K f. (S and arch.) "early rain" (cf. xunaw)
dang K m. = 1/4 of a *mitqal*, q.v.
danka K m. "grain, gran (unit of measure)"
— m. and f. "counting word; a certain"
xa — baxta "a certain woman"; kimma — e
abójlát (S and arch.) ~ abúlat (N) ? "how
many (pieces) do you (sg. f.) want?"
daqiq ~ daqiqči ? < Arab. m. "stone-cutter"
dara T f. "valley, wadi"
darāj ~ darāja K/T < Arab. f. "step, rank"
darbadār m. and f. "wandering, roaming"
— O-w/O-d "expel from one's home";
— x-d-r "roam, wander"
darband (inv.) K < P "concerned"
darčín K/T < P f. "cinnamon"
dard K/T < P m. "pain, trouble, sickness" — ew
mqéle (~ miqjéle) bai "he told me his
troubles"
dardana K (f. dardanta) K/T "suffering,
sorrowful"
darmand K (inv. "suffering, sorrowful")
dardusār K f. "worry, headache"
dargušta (pl. -je) K f. "cradle"
darín T (inv.) "deep"
darmana K/T < P m. "drug, medicine"
daróm H m. "south"
dars K/T < Arab. f. "lesson"
darweš T < P m. (S) "derwish" (cf. *dawreš*)
darzi K/T < P m. "tailor"
daska K f. "pan-cloth"
dasta K/T < P f. "set (of tools); suit (of clothes);
pack (of cards), group"
dastur T/K < P f. i. "permission" (cf. *rusqat*),
ii. "enema"
dašt ~ dašta (pl. dašte ~ dašje ~ dašjawe) K
< P f. "field, open country"
dašti P K f. "open country, wilderness" xoriz —
m. "woodcock"
dawa T/K f. "camel"
dawaštita (pl. dawaštje) ? f. "cake of dung"
dawatikán T m. "thistle"
dawid H m. "David" — hammélex "King David"
dawlatlu (N) T/K < Arab. "rich" (cf. mara)
dawr K/T < Arab. f. "generation; around"
dawri K f. "soup-plate"
daxl K < Arab. f. "concern" ... ba... ma —
ítte? "what has ... to do with ... <... to...
what concern is-there-to-him?"
daxla K < Arab. m. "crop, revenue of land"
dehwa m. "gold, piece of gold; pound (monetary
unit)"
demäk T/K "that is to say" (cf. *jani*)
dena K/T < Arab. m. "debt" — O-nt-j/O "bor-
row"; — O-w/O-d ~ p-j/O-l "contract
debts"; — h-w/O-l "lend"; mare- — "creditor"
denana (f. -nta) K/T < Arab. "debitor"
derder (K < Arab. ?) m. "Gentile or heathen
priest"
dew K/T < P m. (S) "demon, ogre, giant"
dewa m. "wolf" dibbe — e "wild beasts (bears
wolves)"
dewzad (S) K/T < P "demon, monster"
dhokna K m. and f. "Kurd from Dhok (in
N.W. Iraq)"
di K cohortative particle — dhul, — dhul! "he
went on beating him (now beat, now beat!)"
dibba f. "bear" — e dewe "wild beasts (bears
wolves)"
did- "belonging to" didi ~ aj didi etc. "belonging
to me etc. (of mine)" etc.
dihna m. "fat (subst.)"
dikka K < Ar. f. "hill" (cf. tappa)
dilčakta T (pl. -je) f. "uvula"
dilmanj K < T m. and f. "interpreter, trans-
lator" (cf. *tarjuman*)
dilxoš K/T < P m. and f. "at ease, comforted"
— O-w/O-d "comfort (v.)"
dimbukta K/T (pl. -kje) f. "beak, bill" (cf.
dinduka)
dilxoši K < P f. "ease, comfort"
dimma m. "blood" — O-w/O-d "bleed"; —
m-nd-j/O "shed blood, do injustice; — ew
idjéle "he began to bleed"; — ew šxinne il- "he
took pity upon"; mar — "avenger of blood"

dimmalila f. "milt" (cf. šišmantila)
 dimmana (f. dimmanta) "bleeding"
 dimmelta f. "tear"
 din i. K/T < Arab. m. "religion"; ii. H m.
 "canonical law" — doqana (f. doqanta)
 "religious, observant"; jom — "work-day"
 dinar K < P < Latin m. "dinar"
 dinduk(t)a (pl. -kje) K/T "beak" (cf. dimbukta)
 dinj K (inv.) "calm, restful" — O-w/O-d "calm
 (v.). quieten"; — x-d-r "calm down"
 dirhām K. < P < Gr. m. = 0.25 hafta, q.v.
 dirsak ~ dirsakta T (pl. -je) f. "elbow"
 disqa K < P f. "handle; bunch" — it hawang
 "pestle"; — it ida elbow"; — warde "posy"
 dišlama T f. "drinking tea while sucking a piece
 of sugar"
 diši T f. "female; eye (for a hook)"
 diwa K m. (S) "river-bank"
 diwanxana K/T < P f. "audience-hall, chan-
 cellery"
 diza T/K f. — it aqla "knee"; — ida elbow"
 dižmīn (f. dižmīnta) K (S and arch.) (pl. ~
 dižmīnawe) "enemy, foe" (cf. dušman)
 dižmīnula K f. (arch. and S) "enmity" (cf.
 dušmanat, dušmanula)
 djari K < Arab. ? f. "offering"
 dobi ? f. "honeycomb"
 doe (pl.) K "whey, buttermilk"
 dojdurmiš T (inv.) "tattooed" — O-w/O-d
 "tattoo"
 dolta K/T < Arab. f. "riches" mare — "rich"
 (cf. dawlatlu)
 došāg T/K f. "mattress"
 došaġa K f. "small mattress"
 doža K ? m. "darkness" (cf. xiska) xiška-w —
 "murk and darkness"
 dramta K f. "produce of the soil"
 drang K (S) (int.) "late" (cf. gej)
 dringa! K ? "I am cross with you! (child lan-
 guage)"
 droga (T ?) < R f. "cart" (cf. araba, arabana)
 droška (T ?) < R f. "carriage"
 dudulta (N ~ dudulje) f. "fly"
 duga K ? "heifer"
 dugla f. "lie, untruth" (cf. dalape, delape)
 duglana (f. duglanta) "liar" (cf. daglana)
 dugma f. (N) T/K < T i. "button" (cf. lapka)
 ii. Aram. < Gr. "sample" (cf. nmuna)
 duka f. (arch. and Sa) "place"
 dukandar K/T m. "shop-keeper"
 dulawn K + P/Arab. m. "two kinds mixed to-
 gether"
 dunbag ? f. "small kettle-drum"
 dunje K/T < Arab. f. "world"
 durang K (inv.) "two-coloured"
 durbin K/T < P f. "telescope, field-glass" —

m-nd-j/O "look through a telescope or field-
 glass"
 durbinči K/T m. "man on the look-out, scout"
 durrak K (inv.) "mixed"
 duša m. "honey"
 dušman T/K < P (f. -nta) (N) "enemy, foe"
 (cf. dižmīn)
 dušmanat ~ dušmanula T/K < P f. (N) "enmity"
 (cf. dižmīnula)
 duz T/K m. and f. "straight, straightforward?"
 (cf. hammawar); right, exact(ly), correct(ly)
 honest, fair" — O-w/O-d "put right, straighten
 (out)" — x-d-r "come right"
 duzgun T (inv.) "straight, straightforward"
 duzgunlig T f. "plainness"; m. and f. "plain
 (adj.)"
 duzula T f. "straightness, truth" — ox mára!
 "tell the ⟨your⟩ truth!" (cf. trostula)
 dwagta ? f. "cattle-dung"

D

daa (voc. form dáe) (N) "mother" (cf. daa)
 dabanja K/T f. "pistol, revolver"
 daba K < Arab. ? f. (Bibl.) "swarm of insects
 (the fourth plague of Egypt)"
 dabasti K ? f. "fattening of animals or birds"
 (cf. parwari) — O-w/O-d "fatten (animals or
 birds)"
 dabbaya ~ dabbayči K/T < Arab. m. "tanner"
 dabbana T/K f. "heel"
 dad K/T < P f. "justice, succour, reward;
 complaint" — O-w/O-d "assist, succour";
 — d-h-l "complain"; ilha mate dadox! "may
 God help you ⟨bring-about your-justice⟩"
 day T/K "boiling hot"
 dayma T f. "official stamp"
 dajay T m. "support"
 dajaydar T + K or P m. and f. "supporter"
 dajaz ? (inv.) "shallow"
 dajīm K/T < Arab. (inv.) "permanent"
 dajjan T m. (N) "maternal uncle" (cf. doji; xala)
 dajman K/T < Arab. "constantly, always" (cf.
 hammeša)
 dalan K f. "passage between two houses"
 dalape ? pl. (S) "lies, untruth" (cf. dalape; dugla)
 dalda T/K f. "shelter" — O-w/O-d "give shelter"
 dallal K/T < Arab. m. "town-crier, broker"
 dam d-r-j/O K/T (N) "make tea"
 damāy K/T < P f. "palate"
 daman K < P f. "skirt of garment" (cf. taška)
 idi b- — ox 'I entreat you (sg. m.)"
 damji T m. "dripping" — O-w/O-d "drip"
 dār-aḡači T/K f. (N) "gallows" (cf. qinnara;
 siwa)
 daru K < P f. "depilatory ointment"
 daruḡa K m. "head jailer"

darufan K m. "hemp-seed"
darwaza (pl. ~ *darwazawé*) K/T < P f. "gate"
 pín — "gate-head <mouth>"
áarwazači K/T m. "gate-keeper" (cf. *qapči*)
dasgah K/T (< P) m. "working-bench; lathe;
 loom"
dasmal K/T < P f. "towel for binding the loins"
dastar K f. (S) "hand-mill" (cf. *garusta*)
daše T (pl.) v. *qaše*
dawa K/T < Arab. f. "quarrel, row; law-suit"
 — O-w/O-d "go to law, plead a cause"
dawreš K < P m. (N) "derwish" (cf. *darweš*)
dawrija T < Arab. f. "patrol"
dawšan T f. "hare"
dbeta (pl. *dbee*) f. "slain offering"
delka K f. "bitch"
derja K f. "woman's dress"
diyde "one another" (used only after preposi-
 tions) ba- — "together"; gäl — dto.; gäl ...
 ba — "together with ..."; axčín — (S)
 "equally, alike"
diqna (S ~ *diqnta*) f. "beard"
diqnaawara m. "old man, elder" (cf. *xwardiqna*)
diqnaawarula f. "old age (of a man)" (cf. *qojal-
 mišula*, *riwwula*)
diqqa ? < Arab. ? m. "mercery goods" — zab-
 nana m. "mercier"
dixna m. "millet"
dmaxta f. "sleeping, lying-down"
dodi bodi K ? — xabre (pl.) (S) "nonsense"
doyma T m. and f. "uterine (siblings)"
doji T (pl. *-je*) m. (N) "maternal uncle" (cf.
xala)
dolab K/T < P f. "wall-cupboard"
dolanbači T O-w/O-d "go about, walk around"
 (cf. x-d-r, p. 293)
dolča K/T f. "pail, bucket" xola zille bar — "one
 loss after another <rope went after bucket>"
dolma T/K f. "vegetables stuffed with rice" (cf.
jarpäye)
dolu T f. "hail"
dongiz T f. "pig, sow" (cf. *xanzurta*, *xzurta*)
dost K/T < P m. and f. "intimate friend."
došab K < P m. "grape-syrup"
duman T/K f. "mist, fog"
durd K ? m. "lees"
durna T (pl. *-nae*) "crane (bird)"
dusax (S) ~ *dussax* (N) K/T f. "prison" (cf.
habsxana) — O-w/O-d "imprison" — x-d-r
 "be imprisonede"
dusaxči (S) ~ *dussaxči* T/K (N) m. "prisoner;
 warder, jailer"
duzăx T m. "trap" (cf. *talla*)
dwa (pl. *dwae*) K/T < Arab. "prayer (for some-
 one)"
dwači (inv.) K/T < Arab. "praying (for some-

one)" — -lu! "they send you their regards"
 (answer to enquiry about the health of one's
 family)

E

e "yes"
eba K/T < Arab. m. "shame, shameful deed"
 ebé-le! "it's a shame, it's not done!"
efrájim H "Ephraim"
ej! K/T "hey! o (voc. particle)"
eia m. "feast" — xun *brixa* hawe! "happy feast
 <your (pl.) feast blessed be!>"
elči T/K m. and f. "messenger; (voluntary)
 match-maker"
elčula T/K f. "mission; match-making" zilla —
 "she went to arrange a marriage"
elijahu H m. "Elijah" — *hannawi* H "the Prophet
 Elijah"
émi ~ *émni* ~ *émnu?* "which (one)?"
emun H f. "trust, trustworthiness"
ena f. "eye; fried egg; (pl. *enanje*)" spring (of
 water), source (cf. *sárokán*) ba- — i amren
 "as I was saying <by-my-eyes let-me-say>"
 (answer: *ilha šoqlu* — ox! "may God preserve
 your eyes!"); reš — i!, "you are welcome!
 willingly <upon my-eye> (answer: — ox
basima hawja! "may your eye be well!"); —
 ox *bahure hawé(ni)!* "may your eyes be
 bright!" (formula of congratulation; answer:
paltet bahurula! "may you go out into bright-
 ness!"); — ew *jiqté-la* "he is mean <his-eye
 narrow-is>"
era ? < Arab. m. "penis"
ešakči T m. "donkey-driver"
etroγ H f. "citron"
ewa (pl. *ewanje*) m. "cloud"

E

erplan ? < R f. "airplane" (cf. *tajjara*)
esita f. v. *isja*
esta K < Arab. f. (N) "honour" (cf. *hesta*,
kawod)

F

faeton K/T < R < French f. "light carriage"
 (cf. *kaniska*)
fahm K/T < Arab. m. "understanding (mental
 quality)"
fahmdar K/T < Arab. m. and f. "reasonable,
 prudent"
fahuma (f. *fahumta*) K/T < Arab. "reasonable"
fajda K/T < Arab. f. "use, usefulness" — let
 (N) ~ lft (S) "no use! it's useless!"
fakura K/T < Arab. (f. *fakurta*) "intelligent"

falāqa K/T < Arab. < P f. "instrument for bastinado" — O-w/O-d "inflict the bastinado"
 fand K/T < Arab. < P ? f. "trick" — e odana (f. odanta) ~ *paltana* (f. *paltanta*) "player of tricks, trickster"
 fandbaz K/T < Arab. m. and f. "trickster"
 faqir m. and f. K/T < Arab. "poor (cf. *kašib*; *misken*; *qalandār*); innocent"
 faraji K/T < Arab. f. "sleeveless mantle"
 farfur T/K < P ? m. "porcelain, china"
 farik K/T < Arab. m. "wheat corns eaten raw or toasted"
 farika T < Arab. m. "chicken" (cf. *Juja*)
 farmajiš K < P f. "order, command"
 farq m. (N) ~ farqi (S) K/T < Arab. f. "difference" — *ilu* "they are different (cf. *tafaat*)
 farsāq K f. "parasang"
 farš K < Arab. f. "carpet" (cf. *mafrita*)
 fikr- v. *fikir*
 firja (f. *frita*) K "wide" *gāl libba* — "gladly, with open arms (heart)"
 firjanula ~ firjula K f. "width, wideness"
 fisse (pl.) ? "money(s)"
 fita T < ? f. "loin-cloth for swimming"
 fitu (pl. *fitwe*) K f. "whistle" — d-h-l "whistle (verb)" (cf. *frizun*)
 fikir (bound form: *fikr-*) K/T < Arab. "thought" — *intélele* "he grew thoughtful (thought took-him)"
 frājim sandhi- form of *efrājim q.v.*
 frang (coll.) K/T < P "Franks, Europeans"
 fransajna T < It. m. and f. "French, Frenchman, Frenchwoman"
 fransawi < Arab. T < It "French (language)"
 frita v. *firja*
 frizun K m. "whistle" — d-h-l "whistle (verb)" (cf. *fitu*)
 frun (bound form *furn-*) T/K < Arab. < L. or I. f. "large oven"
 fruza K/T < P f. "turquoise"
 fruzai K/T < P ? m. and f. "turquoise-coloured"
 fšang K/T < P ? f. "ammunition"
 furn- v. *frun*

F

fahla K/T < Arab. f. "navvy, unqualified worker"
fahlula K/T < Arab. f. "unqualified labour"
farsi K/T < Arab. "Persian (language)"
farsna (m. and f.) K/T < Arab. "Persian (person)"
fasla K/T < Arab. m. "chapter, section; joint"
findiqta E (pl. *findqe*) T/K < Arab. f. "hazel-nut"
finjan K/T < P < Gr. f. "cup"
firča T/K f. "brush" — O-w/O-d "brush (verb)"
firhani K < Arab. ? f. "abundance"

fistiqta f. (pl. *fistqe*) T/K < Arab. < Gr. "pistachio; peanut" — *it bambaj* "hazel-nut (Bombay nut)"
fānkās (*behmankas*) Arab. + K "So-and-So"
fiani behmani Arab. + K m. and f. "such-and-such"
fsalta K < Arab. f. "cut (of a garment)"

G

g- ~ gi- ~ ga- "in, inside of" b-gait ~ b-gaat (arch.) "between" (cf. *gaw*; *pilga*)
 gab ~ gaba (pl. *ane*) m. "side, direction"
 má-j gāb l-ó gāb "to and fro"; m... gaba (N) ~ m-gab ... "with regard to"
 gač K m. "chalk"
 gadar K ? m. (S) "river" (cf. *nehra*)
 gagormiš T f. "hiccup" — O-w/O-d "hiccup (verb)"
 gah ? f. "knuckle"
 gahtanbir T < P "from time to time"
 gāl K "with, in" — *alpe* "in thousands"; — *diyde* "together"; *gāl* ... *ba-diyde* "together with"; *gāl* — *léwe* "it does not depend on—, it is not a matter of —"
 gala ? f. (S) "carpet-bag" (cf. *gala*)
 galimbaji T f. "sister-in-law, brother's wife"
 gami T/K f. "ship"
 gamiči T/K m. "boatsman, sailor"
 ganawa (f. *ganawta*) "thief"
 ganawula (S: *ganawla*) f. "theft" b- — "by stealth" (cf. *tišwa*)
 gana K f. (S) "soul and/or body" (cf. *gana*) — *basimta!* "bless you (said to one who sneezes)"
 m- — *ew intéle* "he risked his life (from-his-soul he-took)"; *ilha xa say* — *hawllox!* "God give you health (a sound body!)" (formula of thanks or of wishing recovery)
 garāg *xarman* T < P ? f. "shock of corn."
 gare (pl. *garawe*) m. (s) "roof, ceiling" (cf. *gare*)
 garma (pl. *xx* ~ *garmawe*) m. "bone"
 garoma ? f. "rolling-pin"
 garusta (pl. *-te*) (N) "hand-mill" (cf. *dastar*)
 gašt O-w/O-d K < P "roam, wander"
 gaw (S) "in, inside of" b-gawit (arch.) "between" (cf. *g-*; *pilga*)
 gawahin K ? f. "plough" (cf. *Janjar*; *jut*)
 gawana K m. "kind of thistle"
 gawarista ? (pl. *-se*) f. "small ball of gold or silver for ornaments"
 gawhār K/T < P f. "woman's name"
 gawriel H "Gabriel"
 gawšamiš O-w/O-d T "chew the cud"
 gaza K < P m. "ell"
 gazera H f. "decree; predestination"
 gazéta T < Ital. f. "newspaper"
 geb "at, with, to (Fr. *chez*)"

- gečār T f. "ford"
 geči T f. "goat" (cf. *izza*)
 gejim-*čalā* T/? f. "coat of armour"
 gej T (N) "late" (cf. *drang*)
 gejā-quši T f. "owl"
 géna T "again; yet, still, all the same" ma —? "what else?"
 gera m. "arrow"
 gergome K (pl.) (S) "thunder" (cf. *gurgume*)
 germani ? (N) "German (language)" (cf. *almani*)
 germanna ? m and f. (N) "German (person)" (cf. *almanna*)
 gézel H f. "robbery" — O-w/O-d "rob"
 gezlin m. and f. T "hidden" m-ilha ma —, m-banda ma —? "I will not hide it from you <from-God what hidden, from-man what hidden>?"
 gi- v. g-
 gid (arch.) "that for (conj.)" hām — "the more so as"; — agār "but (contrastive following a negative statement)"
 gidgdane m-d-j/O K "tickle"
 gilánura ? f. "black cherry"
 gilda m. "leather"
 gilla m. "grass" — e glale S ~ glale N "vegetation"
 gillure ? pl. "parasitic plants"
 gilánar K < P ? f. "species of small cherry"
 gilasta K/T < P f. "cherry"
 gindorta K f. "melon"
 girda K < P f. "roll"
 girdaband K/T ? < P f. "neckplace" (cf. *tawq*)
 girdalwa ? f. "plain necklace"
 girse (pl.) "groats made of boiled wheat"
 gisa (f. gista) "tired" — jihja "worn out"
 gisanula f. "fatigue" — š-q-l "rest (fatigue take-away)"
 giska K m. "young (of a goat or a sheep)" — it geči "kid"; — it irba "lamb"
 gissa ? f. "backbone, coccyx"
 gista f. v. gisa
 gizarta K < P f. "carrot"
 glala K m. (S) "string" gille — e "vegetation" (cf. *glala*)
 gleje ? pl. (N) "complaint(s)" (cf. *gleje*)
 glelamiš O-w/O-d ? (N) "complain"
 glelula ? f. (N) "complaint" (cf. *gleje*)
 goččana K f. (N) "stick, staff" (cf. *kopala*)
 gog H m. "Saviour, Messiah"
 gog T (inv.) "light-green"
 gogarantu T f. "sprout(s)" — O-w/o-d "sprout (v.)"
 gogarjin T/K f. "pigeon, dove"
 gogarmiš x-d-r T "sprout (verb)"
 gogula T f. "light-green colour"
 gohār K < P m. "pearl" *lal* u- — "rubies and pearls"
 gojim H (pl. *gojme*) m. and f. "Gentile"
 gojmani H "Azeri Turkish"
 gol T/K f. "lake"
 goladan K ? f. "bolt"
 gol bára "back (adv.)"
 gomrīg T/K f. "toll, custom-due"
 gora (pl. *gure*) m. "man"; (pl. *gurawe*) "husband" o — (pl. *S ojne* ~ N. *une gure*) "I, thou (we, you) (in ominous utterances)"
 gora T/K (postpos.) "according to" (cf. *qadr*)
 goranga ? m. "idol, holy tree"
 gorta K < Arm. (pl. -rje) f. "stocking, sock"
 goza m. "nut"
 gozliḡ T f. "strings hanging from the forehead of a horse to protect it from flies"
 gran K (< P ?) "expensive, costly, dear"
 grani K (< P ?) f. "dearth, famine"
 graw T/K < P m. "paw" — h-w/O-l "paw (verb)"
 grawa K ? < Arm. f. "linen"
 gubta (pl- *te*) f. "cheese"
 guda (pl. -ane) m. (S) "wall" (cf. *guda*)
 gugurd K/T < P f. "sulphur; match" (cf. *šamča*)
 guj T/K m. "yoke" (cf. *bojunduruy*) — O-w/O-d "force (v.)"
 gulašmiš T/K O-w/O-d "wrestle"
 gulla K < P f. "bullet"
 gulta K < P (pl. *gulle*) f. "marble (ball)"
 gumbaz K/T < P f. "cupola"
 gunah K/T < P f. "sin" (cf. *awun*)
 gunahkar K/T < P m. and f. "sinner" (cf. *awunkar; xatarak*)
 gunda K ? f. "ball (of food or the like)"
 gundurma K/T ? (inv.) "ball-shaped, round"
 gurgume K (pl.) (N) "thunder" (cf. *gergome*)
 gure ~ gurawe v. gora
 gurz K/T < P f. "mace, club"
 guš K f. "corner"
 gušaguš O-w/O-d K ? "roar (v.) (of the sea or a crowd)"
 guzin T (inv.) "lovely"
 gwa K f. "moths"
 gzira K m. "assistant of a katxuda, *q.v.*"
 G
 gabbara (f. *gabbarta*) "mighty; tyrant, hero"
 gabbarula f. "strength, heroism"
 gala ? f. (N) "carpet-bag" (cf. *gala*)
 galwan ? f. "juniper"
 gamara H f. "the Talmud"
 gamiš K < P f. "female water-buffalo"
 gana f. (N) v. gana
 gare (pl. *garawe*) (N) "roof, ceiling" (cf. *gare*)

- gawar* f. "Yüksekova (formerly Gevar, town in the Turkish vilayet of Hakkâri)"
- gawarna* m. and f. "of Yüksekova (person)"
- girdol* ? f. "rice or groats cooked with sour milk and eaten with butter and saffron"
- girwi* K m. "tom-cat"
- glala* K m. (N) "string" (cf. *glala*) gille — e "vegetation"
- gločta* T/K ? f. "golosh"
- gnëdem* H f. "Paradise"
- gočay* T/K (inv.) "brave"
- golgola* K f. "hoop"
- gosa* ? f. "hair-knot"
- gubbaxan* K < T m. "sunflower"
- guda* (pl. *gudane*) (N) "wall" (cf. *guda*)
- gulab* K/T < P m. "rose-water"
- gurabba* ? f. "storm" — d-h-l "dto. v."; *boran* — "a violent storm"
- γ
- γer K < Arab. "except, only"
- H
- ha- H (Bibl.) interrogative prefix
- habs* K/T < Ar. f. "imprisonment"
- habsxana* T/K < Ar. f. "prison" (cf. *dusax*)
- hadass* H m. (S) "myrtle" (cf. *adas*)
- haddusād* v. *hād*
- hafta* P f. "measure of capacity (about 2 kg.)"
- hajfe* K/T < Arab. (pl.) ~ (S) ~ *hajf* f. (N) "a pity" — il- "what a pity on..., what a shame upon ..."; — O-z-l "be lost (labour)"; *hajfew idjéle* "he begrudged"
- hajfamiš* x-d-r K/T < Arab. "pity, begrudge"
- hájjo* K < Arab. or nat. (S and arch.) "quickly"
- hajjot* H (pl.) (lit.) "animals"
- haji-lejlaq* K/T < Arab. f. "stork; vrane"
- hakima* K/T < Arab. f. "physician, doctor"
- hála* T < Arab. (S) "still, for the time being" (cf. *hála*) — la "not yet"
- halāk/g* ? "for the time being" b- — (Bibl.) "while (conj.)"
- halbāt* K/T < Arab. "certainly"
- halhāle* Arab. (pl.) "trills of joy uttered by women on festive occasions (non-native custom)" — d-h-l ~ O-w/O-d "utter trills of joy"
- hām* K/T < P. "also, too; although" — ... w- — ... "both ... and ..." — gid (Bibl.) "the more so as"
- haman* ~ *hamun* T/K < P "the same"
- hamkin* T/K ? < P "equally, also"
- hammawar* K m. and f. "just, straight" (cf. *duz*) — g-*new* god "he does as he likes, as seems best to him (straight in-his-eyes he-does)"
- hammeša* K/T < P (N) "always" (cf. *dajman*)
- hamne* K ? < P "also, equally, in the same way"
- hamun* v. *haman*
- hanaqe* O-w/O-d ? "joke, play about"
- hanuke* H (pl.) "Hanukkah, Feast of Lights"
- haqdeš* H (indef. gender) "pious endowment" — O-w/O-d "endow"
- haqila* (S) ~ *haqir* (N) K ? < Arab. (inv.) "despised, abased" — O-w/O-d "despise"
- haqili* ~ *haqilula* (S) ~ *haqiri* ~ *haqirula* (N) K ? < Arab. f. "abasement"
- hār* K/T < P "at all; all the time; still; as soon as" — *halbāt* "certainly; however"; — *mat hawe* "whatever it may be; at any rate"
- harbe* K < Arab. ? pl. "swearing, cursing" *q-t-j/O* il- "swear at, curse"
- harzan* (S) K < P m. and f. "cheap; cheaply" (cf. *arzan*)
- harzani* ~ *harzanula* K < P f. (S) "cheapness" (cf. *arzani*)
- hassira* K/T < Arab. f. (S) "mat" (cf. *hasira*)
- hašja* K < Arab. f. "edge, margin"
- hašta* ? (pl. *hašje*) (S) "work"
- hawang* K/T < P f. "mortar" idit (S ~ *disqit*) — "pestle"
- hawil* x-d-r K ? "get a craving"
- háwna* (lit.) "behold" *hawni* etc. "behold me etc., here I am etc."
- hawsala* K/T < P < Arab. f. "patience; feeling like doing something" — *ew mítja* l-paqoe ~ — *ew xánci xet piš parqa* "he is about to lose patience" *mare-* — "patient"
- hawuz* K/T < Arab. f. "pool, basin"
- háxxa* (N) ~ *axxá* "thus, such (a)" (cf. *áxxa*)
- heč/š* (N) ~ *hič/š* (S) K/T < P "at all (in neg. utterances); lit. also interrog. particle" — ! "nothing, never!"; — *naš(a)* la... "no one, nobody"; — *mindiy* (N) ~ *mindix* (la) (S) "nothing"; — *tka* (la) "nowhere"; — *wada* (la) "never"
- hej!* K "hey!"
- hejwanat* K/T < Arab. f. "animal, beast" *xriwta* — "wild beast"
- hel* ? < P ? f. "cardamom"
- heš* v. *heč*
- heštan* K (arch.) "as long as"
- hexal* H < Sumerian f. "tabernacle; Bibl. also: temple"
- hič/š*(S) v. *heč*
- hilla* K < Arab. f. "trick, deceit" — O-w/O-d "play a trick, deceive"
- hillabaz* K < Arab. m. and f. "deceiver"
- hillabazula* K < Arab. f. "deceitfulness"
- hind* K/T f. "India" (cf. *hindistan*)
- hindaza* K < P f. "measure" (cf. *andaza*)
- hinnar* ~ *hunnar* K/T < P f. "talent, worth"

mare- — “talented, worthy”
 hinnarula ~ hunnarula K/T < P — O-w/O-d
 “prove one’s worth”
 hirča ? m. “mire”
 hirs K/T m. “anger irritation”
 hirsana K (f. -nta) “angry, irritated”
 hirtun ? f. “furnace”
 hiš v. heč
 hiwla g-r-š ? “have bad designs against”
 hójle (f. hójla, pl. hójlu) (S) “behold” (cf. úle)
 hudaa m. “Jew”
 hudajta (pl. nišit hudaē) “Jewess”
 huĵra K < Arab. f. “room, chamber”
 huĵum K/T < Arab. f. “attack” — O-w/O-d
 “attack (verb)”
 hulita ? f. “large species cf. peach”
 humajil ? f. “fine white linen (machine woven)”
 hunnar v. hinnar
 huriband K < P < Arab? f. “transparent face-
 veil”
 huš T < P m. “senses, consciousness” — ew
 zille “he lost consciousness” — idjéle “he
 regained consciousness”
 hušĵar K < P (inv.) “aware” cf. *haga* — O-w/O-d
 “warn” (cf. taklif: tanbek)

H

ha! K/T “there! here!” — ? “eh?”
 habra K < Arab. m. “ink”
 habsa ? m. “gall-nut”
 hād K/T < Ar. (bound form *hadd-*) ~ *haddusād*
 (bound form *haddusadd-*) “border, frontier”
 (cf. *hāl*; *sarhād*)
 haftafa K/T f. “jug with long handle”
 haga ? f. (S) “attention, awareness” — h-w/O-
 “pay attention”; — itt “he is aware”; —
 x-d-r “become aware” (cf. hušĵar)
 haggada H f. “Passover legend”
 haja K < Ar. m. “pudor, chastity” mare- —
 “chaste”
 hajāt K/T f. “court, yard” (cf. saku)
 hajaw p-l-t H “pass or receive an unfavourable
 judgment in civil law”
 hajwan K/T f. “terrace, porch”
 hajamta K < Arab. (pl. -mje) “cupping-horn”
 hajamje d-r-j/O “cup (v.)”
 hajoe K < Arab. f. (S) “spelling, pronunciation”
 hakim K < Arab. m. “governor, ruler”
 hakimula K < Arab. f. “governorship, rule”
 hal K/Z Arab. f. “state (of affairs)” — ox ma
 ila? “how are you (sg. m.)?” — *naĵl áxxa* (S)
 “the matter is so-and-so”
 hāl ? “until” (cf. *atta*, *hatto(t)*)
 hāl (bound form *hall-*) ? (N) “frontier” (cf. *hād*;
sarhād)

hála (N.) K/T < Arab. “still, for the time being”
 (cf. *hála*) — la “not yet”
halak x-d-r K < Arab. “grow faint”
halal K/T < Arab (inv.) “(ritually) permissible”
halali K < Arab. f. “state of being (ritually)
 permissible”
halalzada T/K < P/Arab. m. and f. “honest
 person”
halalзадula K/T < P/Arab. f. “honesty”
halaw K/T f. “flame” (cf. *lahabta*)
halfa K/T ? < Arab. f. “letter (symbol)”
hall- v. *hāl*
halla H f. “portion of dough thrown into the fire
 (in memory of bread sacrifices)”
halla K f. (S) “row, noise”
hallana ? f. “small of the back (of an animal)”
halqa K/T < Arab. f. “ring, link”
halqaband K/T < P/Arab. m. and f. “bound
 with loops”
hamam K/T < Arab. f. “bath, bath-house”
hambala K/T < Arab. m. (S) “porter” (cf.
hammal)
hambalula K/T Arab. f. (S) “trade of a porter”
 (cf. *hammalula*)
hames H m. “leavened bread”
hammal T/K < Arab. m. (N) “porter” (cf.
hambala)
hammalula T/K < Arab. f. (N) “trade of a
 porter” (cf. *hambalula*)
hammosi H f. “benediction over bread”
hāq (bound form *haqq-*) T/K < Arab. m. “right
 (subst. and adj.; lawful; deserts)” — ew ile “he
 deserves”; — ew it “he is right”; zille tkit
 —ew “he died (he-went place-of his-deserts)”
haqiq K < Arab. f. (N) “cornelian” (cf. *aqiq*)
haqq- v. *hāq*
haqqadoš barux hu H “God (the Holy One,
 blessed be He)”
haram K/T < Arab. (inv.) “(ritually) forbidden”
 — hawe lli magon pisrit xzura ~ kalba!
 “may it be forbidden to me like the flesh of a
 pig ~ a dog!”
harami ~ *haramula* f. K/T < Arab. “state of
 being (ritually) forbidden”
hasand K/T < P (inv.) “easy”
hasarat K/T < Arab. f. “loss, disadvantage”
hasid H (f. *hasida*) “pious”
hasira K/T < Arab. f. (N) “mat” (cf. *hassira*)
haslait K/T < Arab. f. “gain, income”
haša K/T < Arab. *m-salmox!* “save your presen-
 ce (far-be-it from-your-face!)”
hašwan H m. “8th Jewish month”
hatan H m. “bridegroom”
hatanula H f. “state of a bridegroom”
hatto(t) K < Arab. (N) “until” (cf. *atta(t)*)
hawa H f. “Eve”

hawa T/K < Arab. f. "air, weather, climate; vanity, futility" — *rangi* ? < Arab. + P "grey" (cf. *nimrang*)
hawa ? (inv.) "swollen"
háwa ? (S) "again"
hawai K/T < Arab. + P "in vain, for nothing"
hawajula K/T < Arab. + P f. "vanity, futility"
hawai K f. "call for help" — d-h-l "call for help (verb)"
hawhaw T "bow-wow" — O-w/O-d "bark"
haxam H (pl. ~ -ime) "rabbi"
hāz O-w/O-d K < Arab. "desire, lust for"
hazīr K/T < Arab. "ready" — O-w/O-d "make ready, prepare"
hazirje K/T < Arab. (pl.) "preparations" — ew *widle* ~ *xzèle* "he made his preparations"
hazirta K < Arab. (pl.-rje) f. "longing" — é-len "I (m.) am longing"; *pišen* — ew "I (m.) am longing for him (I-have-remained his-longing)"
hessab K/T < Arab. m. "reckoning, account; arithmetic"
hesta K < Arab. f. (S) "honour" (cf. *esta*) — O-w/O-d *ba-* "do honour, show courtesy to; entertain"; — *odana* (f. *odanta*) "courteous, hospitable" (cf. *esta*; *kawod*)
hindistan P f. "India" (cf. *hind*)
hoqqahoq O-w/O-d K? "hiccup (v.)"
hudud K/T < Arab. f. "frontier, region, domain"
hukm K/T < Arab. f. "verdict"
hukmat K/T < Arab. f. "government"
huppa H f. "bridal canopy"
hurmta K/T < Arab. f. "honour"

I

i K (S) "belonging to" (cf. *aj*)
ibb- (S and arch.) v. b-
ičča "nine"
iččalpe "nine thousand"
iččamin (S) ~ *iččaminji* (N) "ninth"
iččassar "nineteen"
iččassarmin (S) ~ *iččassarminji* (N) "nineteenth"
iččémme "three hundred"
ičči "ninety"
iččimin (S) ~ *iččiminji* (N) "ninetieth"
ida f. "hand" — h-w/O-l-l- ~ *gāl* "shake hands with; — la *g-r-š* "not give in, up"; il... b- — m-nd-j/O "bluff, deceive"; — ew *dwiqtéla* "he is stingy, miserly"; — ew *plixtéla* "he is generous"; — ew *m-ganew* (S) ~ *m-ganew* (N) *intéle* "he risked his life"
fdjo(m) "today"
fdlel "tonight"
idma m. "brother-in-law (husband's brother)" (cf. *jabuma*)
ijar H m. (N) "2nd Jewish month"
ijara K/T < Arab. f. "lease, rent" — O-nt-j/O

"lease, rent (verb); — h-w/O-l "let, rent (to someone)"
ijaza f. K/T < Arab. "permission"
-ikān K "being, in the state of" la *widá-* — "yet not being done"
il- ~ l- (sandhi form) ~ *ill-* ~ *ll-* (before pronom. suff.) "to; prepos. of object; Bibl. also: on, upon" *tre mitre l-xa mitr* "two metres by one"
ilana m. "tree"
ilha (pl. ~ *ilhawe*) m. "god; God" — *abélox!* "God love you!"; — l-od! "God forbid!"; — *manixle!* "God rest his soul!" (answer: *gāl melanox ba-diŷde!* "together with your dead!"); — *mante* "God give, please God"; — la *maxwet!* "God forbid!"; — *bai riwwé-le* (N) ~ *riwwané-le* (S) "God will help (me)!"; — *umudan la qatéle!* "may our friendship continue (may God not cut-off our hope)!"
awwalim —, *bára at!* "no one can help me. but God and you (first God, then you)"; b- — "by God" *b-qiwtit* — "with God's help (strength)"
ill- v. il-
illa K/T < Arab. (S) "or"
illah ? < Arab. "must needs"
illul H m. "6th Jewish month"
iman? "when?" *imánit/d* (followed by verb in the projective mood of the imperfective) "whenever"
imara f. "saying (ger.)" — it *ilha* "God willing (saying-of God)"
imma "hundred"
immamin (S) ~ *immaminji* (N) "hundredth"
immalpe "a hundred thousand"
-inān T "with, and" *gorá-* — *baxta* "man and wife"
inglizi ? < Arab. f. "English (language)"
inglizna ? < Arab. m. and f. "Englishman/woman"
inglizula ? < Arab. f. "England"
inkun ? < Arab. (inv.) "possible" (cf. *minkun*)
ipra m. (N) "earth, soil" (cf. *pra*; *sakān*)
iqa (f. *iqta*) (N) "narrow, tight" (cf. *jiqa*; *tang*)
enew iqté-la (*iqé-lu*) "he is mean"
iqanula f. (N) "narrowness, tightness" (cf. *jiqanula*; *tangana*; *tangula*)
iqra (N) m. "bottom; sole (of shoe)" (cf. *qra*)
iqta v. *iqā*
iqula f. (N) "stress, trouble" (cf. *aqā*; *jiqula*)
irba m. "sheep" (cf. *šakka*)
irxel f. "mill" (cf. *dajirman*)
iskandári čar qurna K (S) "Alexander the Great (the Fourhorned)"
isra "ten"
isralpe "ten thousand"

isramin (S) ~ israminji (N) "tenth"
 isri "twenty"
 isrimin (S) ~ isriminji (N) "twentieth"
 -iš v. -š
 išq K < Arab. (N) f. "love (erotic)" (cf. ašq)
 — p-j/O-I "fall in love"; mare- — person in
 love, lover"
 išta "six"
 ištalpe "six thousand"
 ištamin (S) ~ ištaminji (N) "sixth"
 ištámme "six hundred"
 ištassar "sixteen"
 ištassarmin (S) ~ ištassarminji (N) "sixteenth"
 išti "sixty"
 ištimin (S) ~ ištiminji (N) "sixtieth"
 išwa (S) "seven" (cf. ušwa)
 išwalpe (S) "seven thousand"
 išwamin (S) "seventh"
 išwámme (S) "seven hundred"
 išwassar (S) "seventeen"
 išwassarmin (S) "seventeenth"
 it (a) (cf. v., p. 294)
 itkun ? x-d-r "perish"
 ixala m. "food" (cf. xuräg); f. "eating (ger.)"
 izla m. "yarn"
 izza f. (S) "goat" (cf. geči)

I

iddaha K/T < Arab. f. "pretention; pretentious-
 ness, pride"
 ihtibar K/T < Arab. f. "trustworthiness"
 insan K/T < Arab. m. and f. (S) "human being"
 isaq H "Isaac"
 isja K < Arab. (f. *esita*) "disobedient, rebellious"
 isjula K < Arab. f. "disobedience, revolt"
 iskan K/T < R f. (S) "drinking-glass, tumbler"
 (cf. *istkan*)
 israel H f. "Israel" (cf. *jisrael*)
 istirahat K/T < Arab. f. "rest" — g-r-š "rest,
 take 'draw' a rest"
 istkan T/K < R f. (N) "drinking-glass, tumbler"
 (cf. *iskan*)
 iškáp K/T < R f. "cupboard"
 ištah K/T < Arab. f. "lust, desire, appetite"
 — O-w/O-d "lust, desire (verb)"; — i
 plixta léwa "I have no appetite"
 itma f. (Bibl.) "thigh" (the word was unknown
 to my informant A. M.; cf. *qulja*)
 ixtjar T/K "old"

J

ja (pl. ajne) "this" (cf. a, aj, ane)
 ja K/T "or" — ... — ... "either ... or ..." (cf.
jan)
 jabuma (arch.) m. "husband's brother" (cf. idma)
 jabumta (arch.) f. "wife of husband's brother"

jadole f. "child-birth"
 jalope f. "learning"
 jalpana (f. jalpanta) "pupil, learner"
 jala (S) m. "child" — sawa (S) "small child,
 baby"; p-j/O-š b- — "become with child";
 jal jale (pl.) "children's children" (cf. *jala*)
 jalta (S) f. "girl" (cf. *jalta*)
 jaltula (S) f. "girlhood" (cf. *jaltula*)
 jalula f. (S) "childhood (of a man)" (cf. *jalula*)
 jaman ? f. "kind of precious stone" *jaqut* —
 "precious stones"
 jamani f. T/K < Arab. "a light kind of shoe"
 japluk T f. "fan" — O-w/O-d "fan (v.)"
 jaqin K/T < Arab. (N) "probably, certainly"
 jaqula (f. jaqulta) (s) "thick (of soup etc.)"
 (cf. jaquša)
 jaqulula (S) f. "thickness (of soup etc.)" (cf.
 jaqušula)
 jaqura (f. jaqurta) "heavy; grave, serious;
 respected S; also: difficult" (cf. latin) aqlaw
 jaqurté-la "she is pregnant (her-foot is
 heavy)"
 jaqurula f. "heaviness: worth"
 jaquša (f. jaqušta) (N) "thick (of soup etc.)"
 (cf. jaqula)
 jaqušula (N) f. "thickness (of soup etc.)" (cf.
 jaqulula)
 jarixa (f. jarixta) "long, lengthy"
 jarixula f. "lengthiness"
 jaruqa m. (S) "verdure"
 jarxa (pl. ~ jarxawe) "month"
 jašwa H f. "house of learning, Talmudic
 academy"
 jatuma (f. jatumta) "orphan"
 jaxni K/T < P m. "thick pea-soup with dump-
 lings"
 jaxsir K/T < Arab. m. "prisoner-of-war captive"
 — O-w/O-d "capture"; — x-d-r "be cap-
 tured"
 jaxsiri ~ jaxsirula K < T f. "captivity"
 jaxxa T f. "collar"
 jazna T/K m. "brother-in-law (sister's husband)"
 jé-li, jé-le etc. "here I am, here he is, etc."
 jem T/K m. "fodder"
 jéna (N) "what's-his-name" (cf. mindix)
 jer ba-ger T/K "in place; in an orderly manner"
 jéza "and then; so then"
 jilxi K f. "crowd, mob"
 jiqa (f. jiqta) (S) "narrow, tight" (cf. iqa; tang)
 enew jiqté-la (jiqé-lu) "he is mean"
 jiqanula f. (S) "narrowness, tightness" (cf.
 iquanula; tangana; tangula)
 jiqra m "weight, heaviness"
 jiqta v. jiqa
 jiqula f. (S) "stress, trouble" (cf. aqa; iqula)
 jirmuy T f. "fist"

jirqa f. "escaping"
 jirxa m. "length"
 joma (pl. ~ -awe, -ane) m. "day, day-time" ma
 — b- — ew? "why today of all days?" xa
 — hawe "I hope that one day (one day there-
 may-be)": xa — b- — we "one day (in story-
 telling)"; jom din "work-day"
 jonja T m. "clover, trefoil"
 josef H "Joseph"
 joxawed H "Jochebed"
 jriwa (f. jriwta) "mixed, mixed-up, confused"
 jriwula f. "confusion"

J

jaban K/T < P m. "heath, moor"
jala m. (N) "child" (cf. jala) — sawa "small
 child"
jajlīm T m. "summer pasturage"
jaltŷ T f. "kerchief, handkerchief (cf. *čarqat*)
jalta f. (N) "girl" (cf. jala)
jaltula f. (N) "girlhood" (cf. jaltula)
jalula f. (N) "childhood (of a man)" (cf. jalula)
jama f. "sea"
jan T/K (pl. ~ *janane*) m. "side"
jan T/K "beside, by; or (cf. ja)"
janaqta T f. (N) "cheek"
jani K/T < Arab. "that is to say" — majje?
 "now, what is all this?" (cf. demäk)
japišqan T f. "glue" — O-w/O-d dto. v.
jaqo H "Jacob" — *awinu* "the patriarch Jacob"
jaqut K/T < Arab. < Greek f. "sapphire" —
 jamañ "precious stones"
jar T/K < P m. and f. "beloved"
jara T/K f. "wound" — O-w/O-d "wound
 (verb)"
jaralu T/K m. and f. "wounded"
jarjan T/K < P m. and f. "dear, beloved"
jarpaye T f. "wine-leaves stuffed with rice" (cf.
dolma)
jaruša H f. "inheritance" — *mtéla* llew "he has
 made an inheritance" (cf. miras; warisa)
jas T m. "mourning" (cf. taazja) — d-w/O-q
 "sit in mourning (for seven days)"
jasay T/K (inv.) "detained, sequestered" —
 O-w/O-d "detain, sequester"
jaslu T (inv.) "mourner" (cf. *awel*; taazjadar)
jasmin K < P m. "jasmine"
jašl T (inv.) "green"
jašlīm K/T < P f. "jasper"
jawär T/K (< P ?) m. "aide-de-camp"
jawaš jawaš T/K "slowly, gently, gradually"
jaxur K < P f. "crib"
jildirīm T m. "lightning" (cf. birq)
jisrael H m. "Israel" (cf. *israel*)
johanan H "John"
johu ? (pl. *johwe*) f. "pigeon"

joryan T/K f. (N) "quilt" (cf. *lefa*)
jorona K/T < P (f. *joronta*) "beloved (of near
 relatives)"
joxsän T "or else, otherwise"
jsira (f. *jsirta*) "bound; prisoner"
jubqa K/T < R f. "skirt, petticoat"
juwa T f. "nest" — m-nd-j/O "build a nest"

J

jačka ? m. and f. "calf; foal"
jäd u-awladew K/T < Arab. (S) for generations"
jağän ? m. "papyrus"
jağit pinna K (f) "corner of the mouth"
jağim K (m.) "striped woollen cover"
jalāb K < Arab. f. "flock"
jalabči K < Arab. m. "owner of flocks"
jald K/T m. and f. "quick(ly), agile, with agility"
jām K (< Arab.?) m. "gathering, multitude"
 — O-w/O-d "gather (trans.)"; — x-d-r
 "gather (intr.)" (cf. *q-rp-s*, p. 291)
jamjat K < Arab. f. "crowd, multitude"
janawar K/T < P m. "wild beast"
jandäg T/K m. "body" (cf. *jasäd*)
jang K ? f. "cymbals"
janjār T f. (N) "plough(share) threshing (cf.
 gawahin; jut) machine" — O-w/O-d "plough,
 thresh"
jankeš K < P f. "deadly sickness or attack"
 — wadéle "he is tormenting him to death
 (fig.)"
jarga K/T < P f. "row; circle"
järgax ~ *järgiz* ? x-d-r (S) "faint (v.)"
jarima K/T < Arab. m. "fine (subst.)"
jasäd K < Arab. f. "body" (cf. *jandäg*)
jasarat K < Arab. f. "daring, courage" (cf.
jruta) — le wada "he has not the courage"
jatire K (< Arab.?) pl. "thyme"
jawhär K/T < Arab. < P m. "red dye"
jejran T/K f. "gazelle"
jga f. ? < Arm. f. "knuckle-bone" — *t-j/O-l*
 "play knuckle-bones (the sides are: 1. jik "hol-
 low side up"; 2. bok (N) ~ bokka (S) "side
 behind 1.; 3. taffa (S) ~ *toxim* (N) "even side
 up"; 4. *alču* (N) ~ *čaqq* (S) "side with
 S-shaped projection and hollow up")
jgär T/K < P m. "S: liver talja; N: lungs and
 liver (cf. koda)" — ew qel! "may his liver
 burn (with sorrow over the death of his
 children)!"
Jhita v. *jihja*
jida ? f. "lance"
jigadan K ? f. "stomach"
jigra ? m. "wrath, anger" (cf. *xišma*) — ew
 idjéle "he became angry"; — ew mdéle "he
 made him angry" — ew *tpire* "his anger
 burned"

jigrana ? (f. -nta) "angry"
 jihja (f. jhita) "tired"
 jījuna K/P ? < P (f. -nta) "tiny, puny"
 jiletqa K < R < Fr. f. "waistcoat; brassière"
 jim x-d-r K ? (S) "disappear" (cf. nis x-d-r)
 jinda ? f. "stripe, tress, rag"
 jindar K/T < Arab. + P m. and f. "possessed by a demon, soothsayer"
 jinna K/T < Arab. m. (S) "spirit, demon"
 jinnana K/T < Arab. (f. jinnanta) "mad, possessed"
 jiw-jiw O-w/O-d T (N) "twitter (verb)" (cf. čiwāciw)
 jiwa K/T < P m. "mercury, quicksilver"
 jmgug K m. and f. "twin"
 jonga K m. "bull"
 jore ? < Arm. (pl.) "urine" — ew idjélu "he felt the need to pass water"
 jreta ? (pl. -te) f. "provision"
 jrum K < Arab. f. "transgression"
 jrumdar K < Arab. m. and f. "transgressor"
 jruta K < Arab. f. "courage, daring" (cf. jasarat) — O-w/O-d "dare, have the courage to" (cf. *m-j/O-r*, p. 289)
 jubba K/T < Arab. f. "mantle (of a dignitary)"
 juja K/T < P m. "chicken; weakling"
 julla K m. (mostly used in pl.) "clothes" (cf. lwašta; lubas)
 jur K/T m. "sort, kind (cf. *nawpa*); way, manner" — ba- — "different kinds, allsorts"; kud — "all kinds"; o — ki "so that"; ma — it "the way that"
 jurta ? < Arm. f. "mess of urine" — O-w/O-d "make a mess of urine"
 jut K f. "pair of animals; ploughshare (cf. gawahin; janjar)" — O-w/O-d "plough"
 jutči ~ jutkar K m. (S) "plougher, farmer"
 juwe v. jwe
 jwan K m. and f. "good; well" — O-d-j/O (N) "please, be pleasing" (cf. xoš)
 jwani K f. "goodness, good quality"
 jwanqa K (pl. ~ jwanqawe) m. "youth, young man"
 jwanqula K m. "youth (abstr.)" aqlit — ox *brixta* hawja! "may the foot of your youth be blessed! (formula of congratulation at the birth of a son)"
 jwanula K f. "goodness, good quality"
 jwe ? (sg. and pl.) "other, different" já —, ò-š — "these are two different things (this different and that different)"
 jwéxet "another (one)"
 jzira K < Arab. (pl. -rje) f. "island (cf. *ada*); desert"

J

Jabbara K < Arab. (f. *Jabbarta*) "mighty, powerful, tyrannical, tyrant"
 Jabbarula K < Ar. f. "might, power, tyranny"
 jabrana K < Arab. (f. -nta) "boastful of his power, tyrannical"
 Jada K/T < P (pl. *Jadae*) f. "wide street"
 Jadu K < P m. "magic" mar — m. and f. "sorcerer, witch" (cf. *sih*)
 Jadukar K < P m. and f. "sorcerer, witch" (cf. *sihrbaz*)
 Jafa K/T < Arab. f. "suffering" — g-r-š "suffer"
 jahar T m. (N) "saddle" (cf. zin)
 Jaharmiš T (N) "saddled" — O-w/O-d "saddle (verb)"
 Jahll K/T < Ar. m. and f. "young", ignorant, unexperience" — *ahll* "young and old"
 Jahlula K/T < Arab. f. "youth; ignorance, lack of experience"
 Jahtana K < Arab. ? (f. -nta) "irritable"
 Jallat K/T < Arab. m. "executioner; butcher (fig.)"
 Jamadan K/T < Arab. + P f. "valise"
 Jamata K/T < Arab. (pl. -ate) f. "community, nation"
 Janta T f. "travelling bag; handbag; suitcase"
 Jangallty K/T < P f. "jungle; jungle-like"
 Janim K/T < P m. and f. "my dear"
 Janiman d-h-l K/T "dance a round dance"
 Jar K f. "proclamation" O-w/O-d "proclaim"
 Jarás K ? < Arab. f. "bell" — d-h-l "ring a bell"
 Jarči K m. "public crier, herald"
 Jarubta K < Arab. f. "trial, test, experiment"
 Jawahr (N) ~ jawahirat (S) K/T < Arab. "gems"
 Jaza K/T < Arab. m. "fine, punishment" — O-w/O-d "punish"; — h-w/O-l "pay a fine"; — m-nd-j/O reš "impose a fine on"; — q-b-l "receive a punishment"
 Jaza(w)ula K/T < Arab. f. (S) "punishment"
 Jbab m. (N) ~ Jwab, q.v.
 jibbaxana K (< Arab.?) f. (S) "armory"
 jirmaye ? m-nd-j/O "make incisions in one's flesh in sign of mourning"
 Jyara T/K < Europ. f. "cigarette" — g-r-š "smoke a cigarette"
 jizdan K/T < P f. "purse"
 Jlaw K/T m. "bridle"
 Jufuy T ? m. "blossom, bud" — m-nd-j/O dto. (v.)
 Jwab (N ~ Jbab) K/T < Arab. m. "answer, reply" — h-w/O-l "answer, reply (v.)"

K

ka- (arch.) "as, like" ka-ajit "as; when"
 kačakile ? (pl.) "woodden clogs"
 kačäl K/T < P (inv.) "bald, affected with ring-

- worm" (cf. *qrot*) kura — name of fabulous baldhead
- kačali ~ kačalula K/T < P f. "baldness"
- kačča T f. "felt"
- kada K f. "cake"
- kāf (bound form: kaff-) f. i. K/T < P i. "foam (cf. *koplg*); ii. K < P palm, flat of the hand (cf. *čanga*), sole of the foot" — p-j/O-l "foam (verb)"
- kafgir K/T < P f. "skimmer"
- kafir K/T < Arab. (inv.) "cruel" (cf. *kapora*)
- kafkrati ? f. "sadness, sorrow"
- kafrula K/T < Arab. f. "cruelty" (cf. *kaporula*)
- kahra ? f. "basin, sink"
- kāj K (inv.) "crooked" (cf. *plima*)
- kajawa ? f. "coach"
- kaka m. K/T "title of elder brother" f. "tooth" — it pil f. "ivory"
- kaklig T m. "partridge; turtledove"
- kalafča ? f. "whirlwind"
- kalag K f. "waylaying, sudden attack" — pille "he has been waylaid"
- kalayaji K ? (pl. *kalayaje*) f. "head-veil made of flowered material on black ground"
- kalajoš K ? f. "milk curds with shredded bread"
- kalām K/T < P m. "cabbage, cale"
- kalanbur ? m. "eucalyptus"
- kalawa K f. (N) "privy" (cf. *adab*; *kallawa*; *tka*)
- kalba m. "dog" — it *mae* (S) ~ *moe* (N) "beaver"
- kalbaten K/T < Arab. f. "pliers"
- kalda (pl. *kaljawe*) f. "daughter-in-law"
- kaldula f. "state of a daughter-in-law"
- kalima T/K < Arab. m. "word"
- kaliska K < R f. "open carriage" (cf. *kaniska*; *faeton*)
- kaljawe v. *kalda*
- kalla K m. "(top of) scull; summit of head"
- kallaš T m. (N) "body"
- kallawa K f. (S) "privy" (cf. *kalawa* (cf. *adab*; *kalawa*, *tka*))
- kalloxa K f. "scull"
- kalo (pl. *kalwe*) S. "bride; title of woman (young or wanting to appear as such)" (cf. *kalo*)
- kaloula f. (s) "state of a bride" f. *kaloula*
- kalwe (pl.) v. *kalo*
- kamanja K/T < P f. "viol, violin"
- kamār T/K m. "belt"
- kamera ? m. "pear"
- kampa < E. f. "camp"
- kamra ? f. "cow-dung"
- kanar K/T < P m. "side; aside" (cf. *gray*)
- kaniska K < R f. "open carriage" (cf. *kaliska*; *faeton*)
- kapora (inv.) "cruel" (cf. *kafir*)
- kaporula f. "cruelty" (cf. *kafrula*)
- kara K/T < P m. "butter; S also: time (iter.) (cf. *zaha*)"
- karām K/T < Arab. (pl. ~ -mje) f. "gift, present" (cf. *peškāš sawqta*) — O-w/O-d "give for a present"
- karanej K f. "shepherd's flute"
- karawuz K/T (< P ?) m. "celery"
- kardu K ? f. "bed (in garden)"
- karki K/T m. "chopper"
- karma (pl. ~ -awe) f. "vineyard"
- kartopita ? < R ? (pl. -pje) "potato"
- kartwa m. and f. "Kurd"
- kartwula f. (N) "Kurdish districts"
- karuba K < Arab. (f. *karubta*) "sad, sorrowful"
- karubula K < Arab. f. "sadness, sorrow"
- karwan K/T < P f. "caravan"
- karwansara K/T < P f. "caravanserai"
- kasa f. "abdomen, belly, stomach" tre — e jdilla "she bore two children <bellies>"; ilha — ew paréla! (S) "curse him <may God slit his belly>"; m-kasa "related on the mother's side <from belly>"; — ew šula wada ~ jarójla (S) ~ Jarúla (N) "he has diarrhoea"
- kasaband (inv.) "constipated"
- kasād K/T < Arab. f. "dullness of market or business" — x-d-r "become dull (market or business)"
- kasdimna H (arch.; pl. *kasdime*) m. and f. "Chaldean"
- kasilta ? (pl. -lje) f. "horses' or asses' dung"
- kasir K/T < Arab. f. "rest, leavings; change (money)"
- kaslew m. "9th Jewish month"
- kaš K m. "stubble"
- kaškaulaw K ? f. "helmet; horse-tail on helmet"
- kašiš K/T < Aram. m. "monk, priest; S also: wicked old man" (cf. *qašša*)
- kaške K < P (pl.) "dried curds"
- katubba H f. "marriage contract"
- kawa m. "sky-light, opening in wall, niche"
- kawod H m. "honour" (cf. *esta*; *hesta*) — O-w/O-d "honour (v.)"; m-ox léwa "it does not behave you"
- kawšan K f. "vacant plot"
- kawxuda K < P m. "headman of village or town-quarter"
- kaxta ~ kaxtita (pl. *kaxtanje*) S ~ kaxtja (N) K/T < P f. "paper, letter; card"
- kčulta ? (pl. *kčulje* ~ *kčuljawe*) f. "kidney"
- kdurta K < Arab. f. "envy" (cf. *paxilula*) — O-w/O-d dto (v.)
- ké- (~ of *léka*, *q.v.* before existential copula) "where?" *ké-le* "where is he?"
- kečikči ? m. "watchman" (cf. *šomer*)
- kečikčjula ? f. "trade of a watchman, watching"

- (cf. šomerula) — “O-w/O-d “keep watch, mount guard”
- kef T/K < Arab. f. “well-being, good mood” — O-w/O-d “enjoy oneself, have a good time”; — xošula O-w/O-d “pass the time of the day”; — ox máto ila ~ ma — ile? “how are you, how do you feel?”; — litti “I do not feel like doing it”; be- — “moody, depressed”
- keflamiš T < Arab. O-w/O-d “make cheerful” — x-d-r “become cheerful”
- kejwani K f. “woman excelling in cooking”
- kek < E. f. “(Western style) cake”
- kemana (f. kemanta) “blackish, swarthy, dark”
- kepa m. “stone” — pille ~ kwišle rešew “he was stricken by misfortune (a stone fell ~ descended upon him)”
- ki K/T “who, which; that; in order to”
- ki. K/T (N) “you see” qiwta litti ki. “she has no strength, you see”
- kiflita K/T < Arab. (pl. -lje) f. (N) “family household” (cf. klifita)
- kifta K/T < P (pl. -fte) f. “dumpling of pounded meat and rice”
- kiftalig T < P m. “sheer meat (for pounding)”
- kilka K f. “tail”
- kille v. klela
- killisa K/T < P < Greek f. “church”
- killora ? m. “bread made of milletflour”
- kilša m. “lime”
- kimma “how much, how many” — x xa — “a few, some”; — it “as much as, as many as, the more”; — it ..., bassor ... “the more ..., the less ...”
- kin K < P O-w/O-d “nurse rancour”
- kipajta ? (pl. kipae) f. “dish made of sheep’s stomach stuffed with rice or groats, haggis”
- kipna m. “hunger” — g-r-š “suffer hunger”; m- — u millu “they (nearly) died of (their) hunger”
- kippar H m. “Day of Atonement” *rāba* — e *matétun!* “many returns of the day!” (greeting at the end of the fast)
- kiprig (S) ~ kipriga (N) T m. “eye-lash”
- kipta (pl. -pje) “oval stone for pounding meat, groats etc.”
- kirdar K m. “action, deserts”
- kirja (f. krita) “short”
- kirpič T/K m. “brick”
- kirma K f. “worm”
- kirmana K (f. -nta) “wormy, worm-eaten” (cf. *qirtlu*)
- kisje v. ksila
- kista (pl. -sje) f. “bag, purse, pouch”
- kitwa m. “thorn” (cf. tikān)
- kixka f. “laughter”
- kiwi nat.? m. and f. “deer”
- kiwšan H ? f. “furnace”
- kixla m. “antimony” (cf. surma)
- kixlana (f. -nta) “having eyes blackened by antimony”
- kixwelta (pl. kixwe) “star” — ew bahurté-la “he is fortunate (his star is bright)”
- klawa f. “writing, inscription”
- klela ~ klelta (pl. kille) “hen”
- klifita K/T < Arab. (pl. -fje) (S) “family, household” (cf. kilfita)
- kliwa (f. -wta) “written; f. S also: amulet”
- klung K m. “two-headed pickaxe”
- kništa (pl. -šje) “synagogue”
- koč T/K O-w/O-d “wander, lead a nomadic life”
- odana (f. -nta) “nomad”
- koda f. (N) “liver” (cf. jgar)
- kodinta (pl. -nje) f. (S) “mule” (cf. *qatir*)
- kohen H (pl. kohanime) priest (arch.); “descendant of a priestly family”
- kohenula (arch.) f. “priesthood”
- kok T/K m. “root”
- kolga T f. “shade, shadow; reflection”
- kolgalig T f. “protection”
- kom K < Arab. m. “heap”
- koma (f. kumta) “black” libbew komé-le “he is wicked (his heart is black)”; *salmi* komé-le “I feel (or you make me) ashamed (my face is black)”
- komäg T m. ~ komägula f. “aid, help” — O-w/O-d “aid, help (verb)”; — odana (f. -nta) “helper, helpful”
- komula f. “blackness”
- kop x-d-r ? “become full up (with eating)”
- koplg ? f. “foam” (cf. káf)
- kor K/T < P (inv.) “blind” — O-w/O-d “blind (v.)”
- korpi T f. “bridge”
- korula K/T < P f. “blindness”
- koramar K m. “asp, cockatrice”
- kosawi ? m. i. “firebrand (Bibl.)” ii. “andiron” (cf. maša)
- kosot H + hawa K/T < Arab. pl. “cupping glasses”
- koška K/T < P f. “upper chamber (built over the *qahwaxana*, q.v.)
- kotan K ? f. “furrow”
- koz T/K m. (N) “live coal, ember” (cf. *polu*)
- kpana m. “shoulder”
- kpina (f. -nta) “hungry”
- kpinula f. “state or feeling of hunger”
- kre K/T < Arab. m. “hire, lease, rent(al)” bi- — d-w/O-q “hire, lease, rent (v.); bi- — h-w/O-l “hire, let, rent to some one”; ilha krox hawille! “may God reward you!”
- kreder ~ krekáš K < T < Arab. + P m. and f. “hired labourer”

krita v. kirja
 krixā (f. -xta) "panelled; shrouded"
 ksila (pl. kisje) "hat"
 ktana m. K < Arab. or nat. "flax; cotton"
 kuča K/T < P (pl. -awe) f. "street, quarter"
 kučka ? f. "small cooking-stove made of clay"
 kud "every" — Jur "(of) all kinds, all kinds of";
 — wada "always"; — wadit "as long as";
 — xa "everyone"; — zaa "every time"
 kudjom "every day, daily"
 kudiel "every night"
 kudšat "every year, yearly"
 kufre K/T < Arab. pl. "blasphemy"
 kuki K f. "omelette with onions"
 kula K m. "dwarf"
 kulaja ? m. "local type of overcoat"
 kulaš K m. "mowed corn-stalk"
 kull- (bound form only) "totality" — a "all (S)"; — i "I ... all"; — u "all of them; S also: all"
 kullug T m. "dust, -heap"
 kunda T f. i. "fetter" ii. "cabin"
 kunjit K m. (N) "sesame" (cf. šušme)
 kupa T/K m. "jar"
 kupa (f. -pta) "bent"
 kura ~ kuraxana K < Aram. f. "kiln"
 kura v. kačal
 kurāk T m. "shovel"
 kuraxa f. "shroud"
 kuraxana v. kura
 kurdwari K ? "in the Kurdish manner"
 kurk j-t-w K/T < P "hatch"
 kursi K/T < Arab. < Aram. f. "chair (cf. stol); heating arrangement in houses consisting of a fireplace built under a table around which the members of the family sit in winter"
 kurtāk K < P f. "Kurdish jacket"
 kušana (f. -nta) "low; short (in stature); deep"
 kušpulta ? (pl. -lje) f. (S) "sheep's dung"
 kuzači K < P + T m. "potter"
 kuziwa ? "would that" (cf. takla)
 kwarka K m. "mushroom"

K

kabab K/T < P m. "meat roasted on spit" — O-w/O-d "roast meat on spit"
 kababči K/T < P m. "meat roaster, vendor of roast meat"
 kaftjar K/T < P f. "witch, hag"
 kahraba K/T < P f. "electricity"
 kahu K/T < P (pl. kahwe) f. "lettuce"
 kal K m. "male water-buffalo"
 kalabab K m. (S) "cock, rooster" (cf. xoriz)
 kalka ? f. "leather sandal"
 kalo (pl. kalwe) f. (N) "bride" (cf. kalo)
 kaloula f. (N) "state of a bride" (cf. kaloula)

kamal K/T < 'Arab. "complete(ness)" tamam — "completely"
 kamil K/T < Arab. (inv.) "perfect"
 kandala K f. "ditch, trench"
 kandu ? f. "bread cupboard"
 kar K/T (inv.) "deaf"
 karula K/T f. "deafness"
 kasbula T/K < Arab. f. "poverty, misery" (cf. miskeni; qalandāru)
 kasib T/K < Arab. m. and f. "poor, miserable" (cf. faqir; misken; qalandār)
 kawar K/T < P f. "leeks"
 kirdli frang (K) "king of the Franks"
 kola K < Arm. f. "hut"
 kollig ~ korlig g-r-š T ? "have trouble" (cf. zahamta)
 kopala K f. (S) "staff" (cf. goččana)
 korlig v. kollig
 korxana T/K (< P ?) f. (S) "arsenal"
 ktab T < Arab. f. "book"

L

l- v. il-; la
 la ~ l- (preceding verbal form beginning with V) "not; no" la gezen "I do (shall) not go; b-l-ezen "I am not going to go": ilha l-od! "God forbid <may God not do (it)>!"
 labbej K/T < Arab. "here I am; command me"
 lablawe K/T (pl.) "roasted chick-peas"
 lagān K/T < P < Greek f. "washing basin"
 lahabta f. "flame" (cf. halaw)
 lajlač K/T < Arab. m. "incorrigible (gambler and the like)" (cf. be)
 laj K < Arab. m. "argument, contention"
 lala K < P m. and f. "nurse" — id ida f. "wrist"
 lalange K/T < P (pl.) (S) "Purim feast" (cf. purim)
 lalūmmal "day before yesterday"
 langār K < P f. "anchor"
 langāri K/T < K f. "long copper dish, tray"
 lape K/T (pl.) "unhulled chick-peas cooked in a stew"
 lapka K ? f. (S) "button" (cf. dugma i.)
 laqām K < Arab. ? m. "nickname" — d-r-j/O "give a nickname"
 laškirta (pl. laškirje) K/T < P f. (N) "army" (cf. askār; liškarta)
 latif K/T < Arab. (inv.) "nice, delicate"
 latifūla K/T < Arab. f. "nicety, niceness, delicacy"
 lawče K/T < P pl. (S) "ill-mannered joking" — O-w/O-d "joke in an ill-mannered way"
 lawči ? m. and f. "glutton"
 lawčula ? f. "gluttony"
 lāxxa "here, hither" — lōka "what with one thing and another <hither thither>"

lazta K/T < Arab. f. "pleasant taste"
 léka? "where, whither?" ba- — ? "whither?";
 g- — ? "where?"; — it "where (conj.)" —!
 "what do you mean? certainly not!"; — faqir
 ile! "do you really think he is poor? by no
 means!"
 lelabóxen "two nights ago"
 lele (pl. -lawe) m. "night, at night" mídre — (N)
 "to morrow night"; oxet — "the night after
 tomorrow"
 lélxen "last night"
 leša m. "dough"
 let v. p. 294
 lewi H m. "Levite; m. name (given to a Levite
 only)"
 libba m. "heart" — b-s-m "comfort (verb)";
 — hw/O-l "give heart, encourage"; — litti,
 "I have not the heart (for)"; — ew abjanta
 (f. abjanta) "to his liking"; — ew idjéle "he
 regained consciousness"; — ew zille "he lost
 consciousness"; — ew jarowe (N) ~ jarówle
 (S) "he is sick at the stomach"; — ew komé-le
 "he is mean, wicked (his heart is black)";
 — ew mdre "he comforted him"; — ew
 mtíwle "he put his mind (to)"; — ew mléle
 "he felt sorry"; — ew pille "he grew dis-
 couraged"; — ew pišle il- "he was worried
 (his heart remained) about"; — ew plixle "he
 was cheered up (his heart opened)"; — ew
 la qbille "he was worried (his heart did not
 accept)"; — ew qiwjé-le "he is confident (his
 heart is strong)"; — ew qéle "he was terrified
 (his heart ceased)"; — ew šqille "he took him
 (his heart) (by kind words); — ew špiré-le (S)
 ~ šbiré-le (N) "he is kind-hearted"; mīre g-
 — ew "he said to himself (in his heart)"; gāl
 — firja "gladly (with wide heart)"; — e
 basime! "I wish you joy (glad hearts)!"
 lifka K/T < Arab. f. "loofah" — d-h-l "rub
 with loofah"
 lila m. "sheep-tail's fat"
 lílja "above, up" (inv. adj.) "upper"
 limon K/T < P f. "lemon"
 liqqa K m. (S) "twig"
 lišana m. (S) "tongue; language" (cf. lišana)
 lišan nóšan "our own language (native name
 of the dialect)"
 liškarta K/T < P (pl. -rje) f. (S) "army" (cf.
 askār; laškirta)
 lišana m. (N) "tongue; language" (cf. lišana)
 — dídan "our language (native name of the
 dialect)"; — xilja tóre garma *šiwja* "a sweet
 tongue breaks the hard bone"
 lít v. p. 294
 littula f. "non-being, deficiency"
 lixma m. "bread, loaf" — O-x-l "dine"; — it

quše (N) "marrow" (cf. sarsin/aj)
 lixmida m. "small loaf"
 ll- v. il-
 lógab "thither" m- ... — "from ... on"
 lóka "there, thither" láxxa — "what between
 one thing and another (hither thither)"; — it
 "where (conj.)"
 loma K < Arab. f. "reproach"
 lota f. "mastic, chewing-gum"
 lula K < P f. "roll (cylindrical)"
 lulahin K f. "water-bottle"
 lulakta K ? (pl. -ke) f. "wrist"
 lulga K f. "handle" — it aqla "calf of the leg"
 lut (N) K/T < P (inv.) "naked" (cf. purwa; rut;
 šulxa) — arjan "stark naked"
 lūwa ~ lwa ? f. "lair"
 lwašta f. "clothing" (cf. Julla; lúbas)

L

laj laj K "hushabye"
 lajfy K/T < Arab. (inv.) ba- "suitable for"
 lal K/T < P "pearl(s); ruby, rubies"
 lal K/T < P m. and f. "dumb"
 lala ? f. (S) "lung" (cf. lara)
 lalula K/T < P f. "dumbness"
 lampa K ? < Europ. f. "petrol"
 lap K "a lot"
 lara ? f. (N) "lung" (cf. lala)
 lazim K/T < Arab. m. "necessity"; as adj.
 m. and f. "necessary" lazman gde "we might
 need it (our necessity might come)"
 lazmula K/T < Arab. f. "need, necessity"
 lefa K < Arab. m. (S) "quilt" (cf. joryan)
 lɣaw K < P f. "bride"
 liqta f. "inlay; embroidery"
 loti K/T < Arab. m. "dandy, play-boy"
 lotka K/T < R f. "boat, barge"
 lúbas K < Arab. m. "clothes, garments" (cf.
 Julla; lwašta)
 luqqom ? f. "drain"
 lwa ~ gi-lwa K ? "inside, within"
 lwaša K/T < P m. "flat thin cake of bread"

M

m- ~ mi- (before CC) ~ min (before demonstr.
 pron., arch. also before nouns and certain
 particles) ~ minn- (before pers. pron. suff.)
 "from, of; than" m-urmi "from than, Rizai-
 ye"; mi-lwa "from inside"; min d-o gora
 "from, than, that man"; minnew "from him,
 than he"
 ma? "what?" — kef ilet? "how are you?" mat/d
 "whatever"; hār mat hawe "in any case, at
 any rate"
 mabruqa (pl. -qta) "polished, shining"
 mači K f. (S) "kiss" (cf. nšuqta)

- mačit aqla K f. "calf of leg"
 madina nat-or K/T < Arab. f. "province"
 mafrāq K < Arab. m. "molten metal"
 mafrāš K/T < Arab. m. "spread, cover"
 mafrita K f. (S) "carpet" (cf. farš)
 magār K/T < P "maybe; surely"
 magon ~ mago ~ mgo ~ (N) mon ~ mo
 "like, as" — naše "properly 'like people'"
 magoni "like"
 magreta (pl. magree) f. "razor"
 maymun O-w/O-d K < Arab. "exploit the
 ignorance of"
 mahāg K < Arab. m. "touch stone (for precious
 metals)" — O-w/O-d "try (precious metals)"
 mahajjar K ? < Arab. f. "fence, parapet"
 mahjara ? < Arab. f. "quarry"
 mahmur T/K < Arab. m. "policeman; Official"
 (cf. mamur)
 mahtāl K/T < Arab. — O-w/O-d "detain";
 — p-j/O-š "be astonished"; — x-d-r "be
 detained"
 māj bound form majj- "what" — wéle "what
 was it (m.)?" — e? "what is this?"; ba- — e?
 "what is it for?"; ba-majjanile? "what do we
 want it for?"; — ox? "what is the matter
 with you?"
 majdlanta (pl. -nte) f. "midwife"
 majdole f. (arch.) "place of birth" pl. (arch.)
 "generations, genealogy" (cf. mawludje)
 majj- v. māj
 majmun K/T < Arab. f. "ape, monkey"
 majbur T/K < Arab. "compelled" — x-d-r
 "be compelled"
 majidi T f. "old Turkish coin (about 1/5 of a
 Turkish pound)"
 majlis K/T < Arab. f. "council, parliament"
 majuma K < Arab. f. i. "tray" ii. "collection of
 recipes for magic remedies"
 makke T < Arab.? (pl.) "maize"
 makre K/T < Arab. (pl.) "gossip (talk)"
 makuk K < Arab. m. "shuttle"
 mala f. (pl. malwawe) (S) "village" (cf. mala)
 malhām K/T < Arab. m. "ointment"
 málle! (< m-ll-j/O, q.v., p. 287) "enough!"
 malpana (f. -nta) "teacher"
 malul T/K < Arab. m. and f. "upset, depressed"
 mad — "greatly upset"
 malulula K/T < Arab. f. "being upset, depress-
 ed"
 malum K/T < Arab. m. and f. "well-known;
 certainly" — O-w/O-d "make known"
 maluxa (f. -xta) "salty"
 mama f. "teat; blister on bread-crust"
 mámo m. (voc., S) "paternal uncle" (cf. ámi xala)
 mamur K/T < Arab. m. "official; policeman"
 (cf. mahmur)
 mamzer H (f. -rta) "bastard" (cf. bij)
 manašše H "Menasseh"
 manfaat K/T < Arab. f. "profit" (cf. nfeta)
 māni? "who?" — t/d "whoever"
 manja K/T P f. "measure of capacity (= 10
 hafta, q.v.)
 manšur K/T < Arab. m. and f. "manifest" —
 O-w/O-d "make known, declare"
 maqjana (f. -nta) "talkative, teller (of story)"
 maqoe f. "talk, talking, speech"
 maqrjana (f. -nta) "teacher, instructor"
 maqulta f. "burning"
 mar "let"
 mara m. owner "husband" (relat. suff. zero
 ~ -e [in compounds]) m. and f. "owner" —
 mar bela "landlord, host"; mar dena "cre-
 ditor"; mar makre gossip (person); mar
 sneta "artisan, craftsman"; marè-aqlé, "sen-
 sible, intelligent"; marè-dahja "proud"; marè-
 doltá (pl. -lje) (S) "rich"; märe-húš "diligent,
 hardworking"; marè-namús "polite"; märe-
 ráng "good-looking"; märe-swát (S) ~
 märe-sfát (N) "good-looking"; märe-rahm
 "dreadful"; marè-tamah "avaricious" (see
 also second element of compound)
 maráz K < Arab. m. "fine sheep's wool"
 maráz K/T < Arab. f. "illness, sickness" (cf.
 naxoši ~ naxošula)
 mard K/T < P (inv.) "generous" (cf. riwja;
 saxjana)
 mardula K/T < P f. "generosity"
 mare- v. mara
 marj T/K f. "bet" — d-w/O-q "bet (verb)"
 markāb T < Arab. f. "ship" (cf. gami)
 masala K/T < Arab. f. "story, anecdote";
 parable; riddle" — O-w/O-d "tell a parable,
 a riddle"
 masalām K/T < Arab. "for instance"
 masita K f. "fish" masje doqana "fisherman" (cf.
 qawwas; torči)
 mašjīt K/T < Arab. f. "mosque" (cf. mēcit)
 maskān T/K < Arab. f. (lit.) "abode"
 maslahat T/K < Arab. m. "advice; riddle";
 — O-w/O-d "take advice"; — m-t-w "give
 advice, advise" (cf. nasita)
 maslahatči K/T < Arab. m. and f. "adviser,
 counsellor"
 masqāl K < Arab. f. "instrument for polishing
 metal" — d-h-l "polish (metal)"
 mast K/T < P m. and f. "drunk (cf. skira;
 pjan), well watered" — O-w/O-d make drunk,
 (cf. m-sk-r ii., p. 288), give drink, water
 (plants)"
 masxāra K/T < Arab. f. "fun, joking" —
 O-w/O-d "make fun of" (cf. rišqande)
 maša K/T < P m. "andiron" (cf. kosawi)

- mašta K/T < P (pl. maše) f. "bean"
 mašuxa (f. -xta) "smooth"
 mašxone f. (S) "fever" (cf. šala; šixna)
 mató? "how?" kefox — jla? "how are you?"
 matqāb T < Arab. f. "bore (instr.)"
 mawlundje K/T < Arab. (pl.) (lit.) "genealogy"
 (cf. majdde)
 maxila f. "beating"
 maxirana (f. -nta) (Bibl.) "necromancer"
 maxjana (f. -nta) "beater; player of an instrument, musician"
 maxmār K/T < Arab. m. "velvet"
 mazrāka ? < Arab. f. "cushion for affixing piece of dough to the wall of baking-oven"
 mazuzā H f. "metal or wooden capsule containing certain verses of the Bible and nailed to every doorpost in a Jewish home"
 mazza K/T < P f. "appetizer, hors-d'oeuvres"
 mazzal H f. (S) "luck, fortune" (cf. mazzal; talah) — to! "congratulations!"; — ewbahurté-la "he is very lucky (his-luck bright is)"
 mečit T/K < Arab. f. "mosque" (cf. masjit)
 meda ? m. "fruit (coll.)"
 me-had K < Arab. "exceedingly" (cf. be)
 mejdan K/T < Arab. f. "public square, playground"
 mejxana K/T < P f. "wine-shop, tavern"
 méka ? "from where? whence?"
 melana (f. -nta) "mortal" — ew "his dead"; gāl — ox *ba-diŷde!* "together with your dead!" (answer to: ilha manixle! "God rest his soul (him)")
 meša K/T f. "forest"
 mešamma T/K < Arab. f. "oil-cloth"
 mewa K m. "vine"
 mewana K (f. -nta) "guest, visitor"
 mewandari ~ mewani K f. "feast, party" — O-w/O-d "give a party"
 mewaša K ? m. "vine-branch"
 mez K/T < P m. (S) "table" (cf. stol; šulhan)
 mgo v. magon
 mholta T/K < Arab. f. "delay"
 mhor (bound form mhor-) m K < P "seal" — d-h-l ~ m-x-j/O "affix a seal"
 mhorlamiš O-w/O-d K + T < P "seal (v.)" — x-d-r "be sealed"
 mi- v. m-
 midre lele (N) "tomorrow night"
 midreš (lit.) "again, anew"
 mifta K < P "for nothing" (cf. xorai)
 mija f. "bowel"
 mijana K/T < P f. (N) "middle"
 mila (f. -lta) "dead"
 milana ? (f. -nta) "green"
 milaqe K < Arab. (pl.) "hung grapes"
 millta K/T < Arab. (pl. millte) f. "nation"
 milta v. mila
 milxa f. "salt"
 min v- m-
 mindiy (N) ~ mindix (S) (pl. -ane) "thing, object xa — "something"; — (S) "what's-its-name"
 minjana f. "count" — let (N) ~ lit (S) "countless"
 minkun K/T < Arab. (inv.) "possible" (cf. inkun)
 minn- v. m-
 mintana ? f. "casaquine"
 miras ~ mirat K/T < Arab. f. "inheritance" (cf. Jaruša; warisa)
 mirja m. "ache, pain" — it reša "headache, bother"
 mirza K/T < P f. "mirza, public scribe"
 mis K/T < P m. "brass, copper"
 misk K/T < Arab. m. "musk"
 misken H m. and f. "poor, miserable" (cf. faqir; kasib; qalandār)
 miskeni ~ miskenula H f. "poverty, misery" (cf. kasbula; qalandārula)
 mispje (pl.) (lit.) "commands"
 misre ~ misrje (pl.) "mould (in fruit or vegetables)"
 misrqa f. "comb"
 mista (pl. -sje) f. "hair (indiv.)"
 mistana (f. mistanta) "hairy"
 mišadan K/T f. "bellows"
 mišyul K/T < Arab. "busy, occupied"
 mišja (f. mšita) "wiped dry"
 miška m. "skin" — n-št ~ š-l-x "skin (v.), exploit"
 miškul K/T < Arab. "maybe, possibly"
 mišxa m. "oil, ointment, cream; melted butter" ixal — "milk food"
 mištuk T/K < R f. "cigarette-holder"
 mitqajir K/T < Arab. (lit.) m. and f. "different, changed"
 mix K/T < P f. "nail" (cf. bizmara) — d-j/O-q "nail (v.)"
 mixča K/T < P f. "corn (on foot)"
 mixlamiš T inv. "nailed" — O-w/O-d "nail"
 mixael H "Michael"
 mnaa f. "count" gāl — "piece-meal"
 mo v. magon
 mógab lógab "to and fro"
 mhor- v. mhor
 mohra ? m. "block made of pressed earth for building"
 mola m. "death" — ew tamen! "may I see him dead (taste his death)!"
 molana f. "plague"

- moma* (pl. ~ *momae*) f. "oath" — h-w/O-l "swear an oath"
moma (arch.) "therefore"
mon v. magon
mone ? (pl.) "*šaa* (q.v.) cooked for Sabbath"
moše H "Moses"
moxa m. "brain- marrow" — ew qiwjé-le "he is obstinate, hard of understanding"
mrista f. "dish made of melted sugar and bread"
msala f. "scales (for weighing)"
mšara K/T < Arab. f. "saw"
mšita v. mišja
mšurta K < Arab. (pl. -rje) f. "council, device"
mtakka K/T < Arab. f. "cushion"
müj ~ *müž* ? (S) "because of, on account of" (cf. bod)
mujri K f. "chest of coloured tin"
munza ? f. "pastern"
murdar K/T < P m. and f. "impure"
murdari K < P f. "impurity"
murjam H "Miriam"
muštula T < P f. "present for bringing good news"
 "bring a message, news"
muštulugči T < P m. and f. "messenger"
muštulug T < P f. "message, news" — O-w/O-d
müž v. müj
mužd ~ *mužda* ~ *muždula* T < P f. "reward"
M
maader H m. (N) "hoe" (cf. pač)
maaraw H m. "West"
mad K < P (< Arab.?) "upset" — p-j/O-š "grow upset"; — malul "upset and depressed"
madaj H f. "Media"
madajna H m. and f. "Mede"
madam T < Arab. "since (conj.)"
madjan K/T < P f. "mare"
mae (pl.) S "water; broth" (cf. *moe*)
mayara K/T < Arab. f. "cave"
mayazja K/T < Arab. f. "store"
mahana K/T < P f. "pretext, excuse" — O-w/O-d "seek or find a pretext, an excuse"
mahaš K/T < Arab. f. "salary, wages" (cf. *mwajib*)
mahsul K < Arab. m. "crop, benefit"
mahšawa H f. "thought, idea"
maja K/T < P f. i. "yeast, ferment" ii. "capital (money)" d-h-l "leaven (v.), make ferment"
makruh K/T < Arab. m. and f. "abominable"
makruhje K < Arab. pl. (Bibl.) "abominations"
mal K/T < Arab. m. "possessions, property; goods, wares"
mala K/T < P f. "trowel; N also: village (pl. *malwawe*)" (cf. mala)
malax ~ *malʔax* H (pl. -xime) m. "angel"
- malafa* K < Arab. f. "swaddling-cloth" (cf. *qodaya*)
malim K/T < Arab. m. "Jewish religious functionary"
malti ? < Arab. m. "net-cloth"
mamača K/T f. "midwife"
mamanjan ? "mother dear (?) (in songs)"
mamsanta (pl. -nte) "wet-nurse" (cf. *taja*)
mān H m. "mannah"
mana K/T < Arab. f. "meaning"
manat K/T < R < Fr m. "rouble"
manjanay K/T < P < Gr f. "catapult"
manqāl K/T < Arab. f. "brazier"
mansura m-nd-j/O K/T < Arab. "besiege" (cf. *qalabande*)
manzil K/T < Arab. f. "resting-place; living quarters"
mapsoxe f. "gladdening, congratulations" — O-z-l "pay a visit of congratulation"
maqār K m. "compass"
maqqaš K < Arab. m. "small pincers"
marā K < Arab. f. "spade" (cf. *pemara*)
marāka K < Arab. m. "strife"
maral K/T < P f. "doe; f. name"
marila (f. -lta) "bitter"
marilta f. "bile"
marilula f. "bitterness"
marjanta K < Arab. < Aram < Gr. (pl. -ne) "coral"
marmār K/T < P < Gr. m. "marble (stone)"
massa H f. "unleavened bread" al axilat — "benediction over unleavened bread"
masāf K < Arab. f. "book of religious character"
masturta (pl. -rje) f. "curse"
mašiah H m. "Messiah"
mašin (S) ~ *mašina* (N) K < R "machine, engine; mechanically propelled vehicle"
matbāx K/T < Arab. f. "kitchen (non-native)"
matlāb K/T < Arab. f. "request, demand"
mattah K/T < Arab. m. "possession"
mattara K/T < Arab. f. "flask"
maxsus K/T < Arab. m. and f. "special, specially" (cf. *xsus*)
mazađ K < Arab. f. "public sale" (cf. *quraba*) — d-r-j/O "bid at sale"
mazon H m. "food"
mazzal H f. (N) "luck, fortune" (cf. *mazzal; talah*)
mesana (f. -nta) "suckling, baby"
midraš H f. "school"
midrašxana H + K/P f. "school, school-building"
mihmal T < Arab. m. "engineer, architect"
milja (f. *mlita*) "full, filled"
miljula f. "fullness"

milk K/T < Arab. m. "immovable property, estate"
misqala K/T < Arab. f. "unit of weight (3 grams)"
misr K/T < Arab. f. "Egypt"
misrna K/T < Arab. m. and f. "Egyptian"
miswa H (pl. ~ -ae) m. "meritorious deed, good action" — *ox* ade qamox! (S) "may your good come before you!" (formula of praise for a good action)
mišnajot H (pl.) "the Mishnah"
mišpaha H f. "(greater) family" *mišpahé-lan* "we are related"
mišpat H f. "trial, judgment"
mitqal K < P ? m. "kind of white calico"
mitra m. "rain" — k-w/O-š "rain (verb)"
mizrah H m. "East; eastern wall in house or synagogue"
mlita v. *milja*
moe (pl.) (N) "water; broth" (cf. *mae*)
molla K/T < Arab. m. "title of Moslem or Jewish minister of religion"
mordaxaj ~ *mordux* H "Mordecai"
mqabba K/T < Arab. f. "cardboard"
mqajād K/T < Arab. x-d-r m- "be careful, beware of; care for"
mrabba K/T < Arab. f. "jam, marmelade"
mrad K/T < Arab. f. "desire" ojne (la) *mtélu* — *u*, *axnán-iš* — *an matex!* "they (the characters of the story) attained (not) their desire, but we, may we attain our desire!" (closing formula in story-telling)
muddahi K/T < Arab. m. and f. "plaintiff"
 — ile gāli "he pleads against me"
murnaw *murnaw* O-w/O-d K (N) "meow (v.)" (cf. *warāwarāw* O-w/O-d)
mwajib K < Arab. f. "salary" (cf. *mahaš*)
mzaya O-w/O-d ? "withhold"

N

nabuta f. "prophesy"
načiča K/T < Arab. m. and f. (S) "great-grandchild" (cf. *natiija*)
nadarim v. *néder*
nafahm K (< P ?) m. and f. "unreasonable"
nafahmula K (< P ?) f. "unreasonableness"
nafār T/K < Arab. m. and f. "person"
nafās K/T < Arab. f. "breath" — g-r-š ~ š-q-l "breathe"
naftalinge ? pl. "loins"
nahang K/T < P m. "crocodile"
najib K/T < Arab. m. and f. "noble, generous, delicate"
najibula K/T < Arab. f. "nobility, generosity, delicacy"

najīs K/T < Arab. m. and f. "unclean, impure" (cf. *timja*)
najsula K/T < Arab. f. "uncleanness, impurity" (cf. *timjula*)
namakdan K/T < P f. "salt-cellar"
namr ? < Arab. m. "tiger"
namusi ~ *namusija* ? < Arab. f. "bedstead" (cf. *čarpaja*)
napuxta f. "vomit"
naqš K/T < Arab. f. "design, painting, engraving" O-w/O-d "design, paint, engrave"
naqškar K/T < P/Arab. m. "designer, painter, engraver"
nargiz K/T < P f. "narcissus; f. name"
nasita K/T < Arab. (pl. -te) f. "advice" O-w/O-d "take advice"; — m-t-w "give advice, advise" (cf. *maslahat*)
naš ~ *naša* m. and f. "person, someone" *átta xzéli ki naš ilet* "now I see (saw) that you are a (real) person; *naš la* "no one"
naše (pl.) "people, kin" *magon* — "properly"; — *ew nušew* "his kith and kin"
naštaw K/T < P "on an empty stomach"
natiija K/T < Arab. m. and f. (N) "great-grandchild" (cf. *načiča*)
nawar ? m. "handle of a weapon"
nawarda K < P f. "spider's web" (cf. *qarita*; *šimra*)
nawšar ? m. and f. "great-great-grandchild"
nawšir ? m. and f. (N) "insolent, impudent"
naxilta (pl. -lje) "sieve"
naxoš K/T < P m. and f. "ill, sick" — p-j/O-l "fall ill"
naxoši ~ *naxošula* K/T < P f. "illness, sickness" (cf. *marāz* f.)
néder H (pl. *nidre* ~ *nadarim*) m. "vow" — O-w/O-d "vow (verb)" *nidri* etc. "my etc. vow"
nehra (pl. ~ *nehrawe*) m. i. river, stream (N); (cf. *gadar*); ii. "churning-jar"
nej K/T < P f. "flute"
neri K m. "he-goat"
nfeta K < Arab. f. "profit" (cf. *manfaat*)
niddanta H (pl. -nje) f. "ritually unclean (woman)"
niddula H f. "state of uncleanness (of women)"
nidr- v. *néder*
nigaran p-j/O-š T < P il- — p-j/O-š "long for, worry about"
niggun H f. "melody, music" — O-w/O-d "make music" (cf. *nuyum*)
nila K/T < P m. "indigo, washing-blue"
nimnima (f. -mta) "sleepy; phlegmatic, clumsy"
nimrang K/T < P (inv.) "grey" (cf. *hawa*)
niqla (f. -lta) "thin, narrow"
nis x-d-r K (N) "disappear" (cf. *Jim* x-d-r)

nisan H m. "1st Jewish month"
nissim H m. m. name
nišama H f. "soul"
nišan K/T < P f. "sign, mark, aim" — O-w/O-d
 "mark (verb); lit. also: give a sign"; —
 h-w/O-l "give a sign"
nišanqa K < P f. (arch.) "sign, mark, betrothal"
 — d-r-j/O "betrothe"
nišanqula K < P f. "betrothal, engagement"
 — O-w/O-d "become betrothed, engaged"
nišawe ~ *niše* v. baxta
niwja m. "prophet"
niwjeta (pl. *niwjelje*) f. "prophetess"
niwjula f. "prophecy"
nixanula f. "rest, repose"
nixpa f. "shame" (cf. *nixpanula*; *sarwardula*;
šarmanda)
nixpana (f. -nta) "ashamed" (cf. *sarwarda*)
nixpanula f. "shame" (cf. *nixpa*; *sarwardula*;
šarmanda)
nixra (f. *nixrta*) (arch.) "strange, stranger"
niza K < P f. "spear; bayonet"
nizapošt K ? < P O-w/O-d "spear with bayonets"
nmuna K < P m. "sample" (cf. *dugma*)
nokār K/T < p (pl. -awe) m. "servant, slave"
nokārawox ilu! "they are your servants"
 (answer to enquiry about the health of one's
 children) (cf. *qūl*)
nomana f. "slumber"
noš- (bound form) "self" *nóši* etc. "myself etc.";
 —ew *paqójla* (S) "he is proud, boastful (his
 self is bursting)"; —ew *šartolélľa* (S) "he is
 showing off (himself)"
nošijan! K/T < P "may it do you good!" (said
 to a person engaged in eating or drinking)
nšuqta (pl. -qje) f. "kiss" (cf. *mai*)
nuyum K < Arab. (pl. ~ *nuyumje*) m. "tune,
 melody" cf. *niggun*
nujum K/T < Arab. m. "sorcery, magic"
nujumkar K/T < P/Arab. m. and f. "sorcerer,
 sorceress, magician"
nura m. "fire" — m-nh-r "make trouble (kindle
 a fire)"
nušwe v. *naše*
nwaga K/T < P m. and f. "grandchild"
nwazta ? (pl. *nwazje*) f. "rebuke"
nxira ? m. "berry"

N

naamta T/K < Arab. (pl. *naamte*) f. "boon"
naamud K < P (inv.) "hopeless, miserable"
nába K "lest" (cf. *badiš*)
nabat K/T < Arab. m. "sugar-candy"
načar K/T < P (inc.) "having no choice" —
 O-w/O-d "compell"; — x-d-r "be compelled"

nayada P f. "Naghade (township to the SE of
 urmi, q.v.)" (cf. *solduz*)
nayadajna P m. and f. "of Naghade (person)"
 (cf. *solduzna*)
nayl P < Arab. ? v. *hāl*
nahala ~ *nahalta* (pl. -lje) f. (N) "ear" (cf. *nhalta*)
nahāq K/T < P /Arab. "wrong(ly), unlawful(ly)"
 — O-w/O-d "make guilty"; — x-d-r "make
 oneself guilty"
nahaqqula K/T < P/Arab. f. "wrong, injustice,
 guilt"
nahar K/T < P f. "repast, dinner"
najfara K/T < Arab. m. "carpenter, joiner"
najfarula K/T < Arab. f. "carpenter's or joiner's
 trade"
nal K/T < Arab. f. "shoe; horse-shoe"
nam K/T < P (inv.) "fresh, moist" (cf. *šej*)
namula K/T < P f. "freshness, moisture" (cf.
rutubat)
namus K/T < Arab. < Gr. f. "politeness,
 courtesy, tact" — O-w/O-d "be polite, show
 honour"; — *odana* (f. -nta) ~ *mare-* —
 polite, courteous tactful"
nana K/T < Arab. f. "mint, peppermint"
qursi- — "peppermint candy"
naqalfil(dan) K/T < "unexpected(ly)"
naqam H *p-l-t* ~ *š-q-l* "take one's revenge"
naqama H f. "cavil" — h-w/O-l "carp, cavil"
narata K (pl. *nare*) "shout" *nare* d-h-l ~ *g-rš-*
 "shout, yell, (verb)"; *nare čāqe* "loud noise"
narazi K/T < P/Arab. (inv.) "displeased, dis-
 satisfied"
naraziula K/T < P/Arab. f. "displeasure, dissa-
 tisfaction"
nardiwan K/T < P f. "ladder"
nare i.v. *narata* ii. "f. name"
nasay ~ *nasaz* K/T < P (inv.) "unwell"
nasayula ~ *nasazula* K/T < P f. "being unwell"
natarta f. (lit.) "guard, duty" (cf. *ntarta*)
natilla H f. "ritual ablution of hands"
natora m. (lit.) "guard"
nawʔa K/T < Arab. m. "sort, kind, species"
 (cf. *jur*)
nawar ? < Arab. (inv.) "gipsy" (cf. *qaračna*)
nawi H m. "prophet"
naxīr K/T < Arm. f. "cattle"
nazan K < P (inv.) "ignorant"
nazanula K < P f. "ignorance"
nazi K/T < P f. "coyness, coquetry"
nazik K/T < P (inv.) "fine, thin"
nazir H m. "nazarite"
nhalta (pl. -lje) f. (S) "ear" (cf. *nahalta*)
noylta K/T < Arab. (pl. -le) "sweetmeat,
 candy"
nizra ~ *nizranula* H f. "nazirate"
nobar K/T < P m. "first-fruit"

nohra m. "mirror, looking-glass"
nsiwa m. (lit.) "plant"
ntarta f. (lit.) "guard, duty" (cf. *natarta*)
nuqta K/T < Arab. (pl. *-te*) f. i. "drop" spot,
 ii. "police station"
nuqtana K/T < Arab. (f. *nuqtanta*) "spotted"
nuqtax ? f. "rein"

O

o (pl. S *ojne* ~ N *une*) "he, she; that (one)" ot/d
 "the one who"
oga T/K "step-" — *brona* etc. "stepson etc."
oha (arch.) "that (pron.)"
ojne (S) v. o; *une*
ojnexet (S) v. *oxet*; *unexet*
olču T (pl. *olčwe*) f. "measure"
olka T/K (pl. *-awe*) f. "city, country"
oraxča T f. "sickle"
ordāka T/K f. "duck"
ortug T m. "cover, spread"
oxet (pl. S *ojnexet* ~ N *unexet*) "another, the
 other" — *jarxa* "(in) another month"

O

oj K ? H ? "oh! hey!"
ofaj T/K f. "fire-place; family, clan"
olam H f. "world, this world"
onda T "then"
ordu T/K (pl. *ordue* ~ *orduje*) "army, camp"
otaj T/K f. "room, chamber"
otmabel K/T < R < Fr. f. "automobile, motor
 car"
oxxaj K "exclamation of relief"

P

pač K/T < P m. (S) "hoe" (cf. *maader*)
paga K/T < P f. (S) "stable, cow-shed" (cf.
paga)
pahin K (< P?) m. "dried dung (used as fuel)"
pahriz K/T < P m. "diet; Bibl. also: warning"
 d-w/O-q "keep a diet"
pajtaxt K/T < P f. "capital (of a state)"
paket K/T < R < Europ. f. "packet, package;
 envelope"
pakka m. ? (S) "concern" — *i léwe* "it is no
 concern of mine"
palang K < P m. (N) "panther, leopard" (cf.
pling)
palla K < P f. "wave, breaker" (cf. *tappa*)
paltäg T/K (inv.) "stammerer, stutterer"
paltägula T/K f. "stammering"
panja K f. "instep"
panjāra K/T < P f. "window"
pansil ? < Engl. m. (N) "pencil"
papiča T/K f. "hoof; child's shoe"

papug K f. "hoopoe"
paqjana (f. *-nta*) (S) "proud, boastful"
paraganda ? f. "exile" — O-w/O-d dto. v.
parašta (pl. *parašje*) f. (lit.) "portion set aside
 for religious purposes"
parda K/T < P f. "curtain (in general)"
pardin ? f. "curtain drawn to partition a room"
pardu K (pl. *pardwe*) f. "cross-beam"
parinj T < P m. "pearl-groats"
parišan K/T < P (inv.) "miserable"
parišanula K/T < P f. "miserable state"
parjin K < P f. "screen, dividing wall"
paroqe f. "end, finish" — *it xabra* "to end the
 matter, in short"
parsandai ~ *parsandajula* P ? f. "glory"
parsang ? m. and f. "incorrect (of scales)"
parta K (< P ?) f. "waste, shavings etc."
parušta f. "parting (of hair)"
parwari K < P f. "fattening of animals or birds"
 (cf. *dabasti*) — O-w/O-d "fatten (animals or
 birds)"
pasaqdin H (lit.) m. "verdict"
pastāk K ? f. "Kurdish woolen vest"
paša K/T < P m. "pasha"
pašwe (inv.) "lukewarm"
pata ? f. "glass-jar (for preserves)"
patire (pl.) (*Sal*) "Passover" (cf. *pésah*, *pissa*)
paxa (f. *paxta*) "tasteless"
paxilula T/K < Arab. f. "envy, jealousy"
 (cf. *kdurta*) — O-w/O-d "envy, be jealous of"
pečka K m. "(cooked) sheep's foot"
pejyambar K/T < P m. "Gentile prophet"
pejiband K ? f. "brest-plate of the High Priest"
pela m. "radish"
pella K (P ?) f. "rung"
pellakan K/T < P f. "stair, staircase"
pemara K f. (S) "spade" (cf. *mara*)
pengaw K < P ? f. "step, stride" (cf. *addim*)
 m-nd-j/O "step out"
pesir K m. "space between the legs"
pešana (f. *-nta*) "remaining, remainder, rest"
peškāš K/T < P f. "present, gift" — O-w/O-d
 "give as a present" (*karām*; *sawqta*)
peštamal K/T < P f. "towel" (cf. *xawli*)
pešwaz P O-w/O-d "go out to meet a guest and
 bring him to one's home"
pil m. "elephant" *kakit* — m. "ivory"
pilga (~ *pilge*) m. "half; middle" *xa-w pilge*
 "one and a half"; *sata tre-w pilge* "at half
 past two (o-clock)" — *it* (lit.) "between" (cf.
g-; *gaw*)
pilgamin (S) ~ *pilgaminji* (N) "the middle one"
pilgjōma (S) ~ *pilgōma* (N) m. "midday, noon"
pilgléle (N) ~ *pilgilléle* (S) m. "midnight"
pilje (pl.) v. *pilta*
pilluš ? m. "waste (food)"

- pilwa m. (S) "breadth" (cf. pulwa) marè- — m. and f. "broad" (cf. pulwana)
 pin v. pinna
 pinači T/K < P m. "cobbler, shoemaker"
 pinčke ? (pl.) "ends; strings (in certain vegetables)"
 pinna m. "mouth; opening" — it ... t-w/O-r "contradict"; — ox torinne, bale xabrox godinne! (prov.) "I contradict you, but will do as you say!" (cf. reša) — xale! "may your mouth be sweet!" (formula of thanks for sweet food or drink); pín tara "doorway; entrance; gate"
 pirča K/T m. "hair (coll.)"
 pirčaxwara (~ pirčaxwarta) K + nat. f. "old woman"
 pirčaxwarula K + nat. f. "old age (of women)" (cf. qarilmišula; riwwula)
 pirka m. "crumb"
 pirtunta f. "a little bit"
 pırxapırx O-w/O-d K "snore (v.)" (cf. xırraxır O-w/O-d)
 pis O-w/O-d K/T < P "fall out, cease to play, with each other (of children)"
 pisi K < P f. "leprosy" (cf. pisula)
 pişjana K < P (f. -nta) "leper"
 pisra m. "flesh, meat" ixal — m. "meat-food"; — ew la xkille, bále maew (S) ~ moew (N) şatêlu (prov.) "he behaves inconsistently (he does not eat its flesh (of an unclean animal), but drinks its broth)"
 pista K m. "large water-skin"
 pisula K < P f. "leprosy" (cf. pisi)
 pişje v. pşıla
 pitje (pl.) v. ptila
 pişk K (< P ?) f. "lot"
 pişkılta ? (pl. -lje) f. (N) "sheep's dung"
 pişq ? m. "possessions"
 pitje v. ptila
 pixpıxa (f. -xta) "soft (soil, food etc.)"
 piwaza K/T < P f. "chives"
 plıça K ? (f. -çta) "very crooked"
 pling K/T < P m. (S) "panther, leopard" (cf. palang)
 poqa m. "nose"
 porga ? f. "pustule"
 poxa f. "wind"
 pqarta (pl. -rje) f. "neck" — ew azad O-w /O-d "take leave 'free one's neck'"; — ox azad hawja "you shall be free from responsibility"; g-r-ş — ew "make responsible, blame 'draw on his neck'"; ... ş-q-l — ew "take the responsibility for ... upon oneself"; pparjew pılı "his tonsils are inflamed (are fallen)"; pparjew m-r-m "massage someone's tonsils as a cure for inflammation"
 pra (N ~ ipra) m. "earth, soil" (cf. sakán)
 pruška K m. "spark; bit of food flying from one's mouth"
 psus K < P f. "base of a Sabbath lamp"
 pşıla K/T (pl. pişje) (S) "cat" (cf. qatula)
 ptila (pl. -le ~ pitje ~ N ~ pilje) f. "wick"
 puč T/K "bad, rotten" ja — şulè-le "this is a bad business"
 pučula T/K f. "badness, rottenness"
 pulake K/T < P pl. "scales (of fish)"
 pulwa m. (N) "breadth" (cf. pilwa)
 pulwana (f. pulwanta) "broad" (cf. pilwa)
 purim H m. "Feast of Purim" (cf. lalange)
 purqani nat. + K f. "salvation"
 purwa ? (f. -wta) "naked" (cf. lut; rut; şulxa)
 put P < R m. "pud = 10 hafta (q.v.), about 40 lbs."
P
 paga K/T < P m. (N) "stable, cow-shed" (cf. paga)
 pahlawan K/T < P m. "hero athlete"
 paja K < P m. "base of pillar"
 pajız K/T < P m. "autumn, fall" (cf. sonbahar)
 palan K < P m. "pack-saddle" — d-h-l "saddle (v.)"
 palanlamiş K/T < P O-w/O-d "saddle"
 palas K/T < P m. "sack-cloth"
 palla K f. (S) "fault" — p-l-t b- "find fault with"
 palton K/T < R < Fr. f. "overcoat, topcoat"
 pana K < P m. "refuge" — bi-lha! "put your trust in God!"
 papay T/K m. "tall cap made of lamb fur"
 para m. (S and arch.) "lamb"
 pära K f. (S and arch.) "feather" (cf. tug)
 partenta (pl. -ne) "flea"
 partron K (< R ?) < Fr. m. "European style trousers"
 parwaz K < P m. "peacock's tail" — O-w/O-d "unfold the tail (of a peacock)"
 pasuxa (f. -xta) "glad, happy"
 paşar ~ paşat H f. (lit.) "explanation, solution of legal point"
 patuxa (f. -xta) "broad, flat, thick" şamina — "broad and stout"
 pésa(h) H f. "Passover" (cf. patire; pıssa)
 pırtaqal K/T f. (S) v. portqal
 pişna K m. "praise"
 pişsa f. "Passover" (cf. patire; pésa(h) — O-w/O-d "clean the house for Passover"; — d-r-j/O "prepare the ceremonial Pasover dish"
 pişxanula f. "gladness, joy, happiness; festive occasion"
 pişxa m. "flatness, broadness, thickness"
 pizmon (S ~ pizmonta, pl. -nje) H "hymn"

pjada K/T < P m. "foot-soldiers, infantry; on foot"
pjala K/T < P < Gr. m. "goblet, tumbler"
pjan ? < R (inv.) "drunken" (cf. mast; skira)
pjanči ? < R (inv.) "drunkard"
plima (f. -*mta*) "crooked; dishonest" (cf. kaj)
plimula f. "crookedness; dishonesty"
plow K/T < P f. "pilav"
polad K/T < P m. "steel"
polka ? f. "species of pear"
polu K (pl. *pulwe*) (S) "living coal" (cf. koz)
polza ? f. "half an *unsa*, *q.v.*"
portqal T/K (S ~ *pirtaqal*) "orange"
posta T/K < It. + f. "post, mail" gāl — š-d-r
 "post, mail (v.)"
praxod ? < R f. "steamer; engine of a train"
pul T/K < m. "stamp; 0.02 *gran*, *q.v.*; S also:
 money"

Q

qadim K < Arab. (inv.) "old, ancient (of time)"
qadr K/T < Arab. m. "worth, value" b- — it
 "according to" (cf. gora)
qahr K/T < Arab. m. "sadness, depression"
qahti K < Arab. f. "drought, famine"
qahwa K/T < Arab. "coffee" (cf. *qahwaxana*)
qahwai K(<P?) < Arab. (inv.) "coffee-coloured,
 brown"
qajči T/K f. "scissors"
qajdi līt (S) T/K < Arab. "never mind, it does
 not matter" (cf. *qajda*)
qajqa T/K f. "boat"
qajš T/K m. "belt"
qajlun K/T (< P/Arab. ?) "pipe (for smoking)"
qajal ~ *qajala* K f. "magpie"
qala m. (S) "voice" (cf. *qala*) — ox *qtile* "shut
 up your voice cut-it!" la-la qmurfa "not a
 sound"
qalāma m. K/T < Arab. Gr. i. "writing-pen;
 S also: pencil" (cf. pansil) ii. ? "poplar"
qalamdan K/T < Arab./P f. "case for scribe's
 ustensils"
qalandār K/T < P m. and f. "poor, unfortunate"
 (cf. faqir; *kasib*; misken)
qalandārula K/T < P f. "poverty, misfortune"
 (cf. *kasbula*; miskeni)
qalila (f. -*lta*) "light (in weight); of little value"
qališe ? (pl.) "scallions"
qalja m. "preserved roast meat"
qalma f. "louse"
qalpa m. "peel, skin"
qalulula f. "lightness, little worth"
qam (S) "before (in space), in front of; compared
 with" (cf. *qabāy*) — ew *qtélu* "they barred his
 way (cut off before him)"
qamael (S) "first of all"

qamči T/K m. "whip, lash" — d-h-l "strike
 with a whip"
qamol "before (in time); formerly" jomawit —
 "(in) the former days"
qamxa m. "flour, meal"
qanana f. "horn"
qand T/K < P m. "sugar" (cf. šakār)
qanddan K/T < P m. "sugar-bowl" (cf. šakar-
dan)
qandil T/K < It f. "oil-lamp"
qanušta (fl. -šje) "broom"
qara m. "pumpkin; vegetable marrow, squash"
qaračna K/T < P m. and f. "gipsy" (cf. *nawar*)
qaralwa T ? m. "sloe"
qaraquš T/K f. "eagle, osprey"
qarda f. "cold (subst.)" — *qipla* llew "he caught
 a cold 'the cold struck him'"; *qardé-la* "it is
 cold"
qaraxarman T/f f. "corn eaten raw"
qariba K/T < Arab. (f. -*bta*) "stranger"
qaribula K/T < Arab. f. "strange place, strange
 land"
qarila (f. -*lta*) "cold; cold-blooded, phlegmatic"
 (cf. *samt*)
qarita (pl. -*te*) f. "beam (in building) — it
zaqqara (N) "spider's web (cf. *nawarda*;
šimra)"; — O-w/O-d "lay beams"
qarjana (f. -*nta*) "reader; student, scholar"
qaroe f. "reading, study"
qarq O-w/O-d K < Arab. "drown (trans.)" —
 x-d-r *dto* (intr.)
qasr K/T < Arab. (pl. ~ *qasrawe*) f. "castle"
qašša m. "priest, monk" (cf. *kašiš*)
qazzāb T/K < Arab. f. "anger, wrath"
qdiša (f. šta) "holy, saint"
qdurta K < Arab. f. "power"
qfil ~ *qifl* (bound form *qifl*-) K/T < Arab.
 "lock (of door)"
qidduš H f. "benediction said over wine; wine
 used for ritual purposes" — O-w/O-d "say
 benediction over wine; perform the marriage
 ceremony"
qifl- v. *qifl*
qifband K < P/Arab. (inv.) "fettered" —
 O-w/O-d "fetter (v.)"
qiljale pl. "roast wheat-corns"
qimta K/T < Arab. f. "value" (cf. *tima*)
qinna f. "reed, stem; nut meat"
qinnara K < P m. "gallows" (cf. *dār-ayači*;
siwa) — d-h-l "hang someone"
qipša m. "hem"
qipxa m. "plant, growth"
qirpi ? f. "hedgehog"
qirqra K ? f. (*Sa*) "Adam's apple" (sf. *qurqūra*;
xirxra)
qirta K f. "jealousy, zeal"

qismta K/T < Arab. f. "fate"
 qiwja K < Arab. (f. qwita) "strong, hard, solid"
 libbew qiwjé-le "he is self-reliant (his heart is strong)"; rešew qiwjé-le "he is head-strong"
 qiwjanula ~ qiwjula f. K < Arab. f. "hardness, solidity"
 qiwta K/T < Arab. f. "strength" — h-w/O-l "strengthen"; idew — hwille "he made an effort"; b- — ilha (S) "with the help (by the strength) of God"
 qlila (pl. -lje) f. "key"
 qliwa (f. -wta) "clean" (cf. tamiz) — *xalis* "clean and pure"
 qliwula f. "cleanness" (cf. tamizula)
 qmurta ? f. v. qala
 qoç T O-w/O-d ~ d-h-l "gore (v.)"
 qoma m. "stature" — e — e "(they walked) erect"
 qopi K f. (S) "marsh, bog" (cf. *qobi*)
 qora (pl. ~ -awe) f. "tomb, grave" (cf. *qawra*)
 qošin T/K (pl. ~ qošinje f. ("army, host (lit.)")
 qotja T/K m. "box"
 qra m. (N) "bottom, ground; sole of shoe" (cf. *iqra*)
 qraa f. "reading"
 qrawa f. "war, battle, fight" — O-w/O-d "make war, fight, quarrel"
 qra(w)ula f. "reading"
 qruš K/T < Arab. < Lat. m. "piaster"
 quduz T (inv.) "sleepless"
 quji T (pl. qujawe) "well, cistern" (cf. bira i.)
 qulašta (pl. -šje) "earring"
 qulb- K < Arab. (used only with m- prefix) "instead of" m- — i "in my stead"
 qulba K/T f. "bracelet"
 qulpa T f. "handle of vessel"
 qulunčik K f. "little finger"
 qumri K < Arab. f. "turtle-dove, ring-dove"
 qurqura K ? f. (S) "Adam's apple" (cf. qirqra; *xirxra*)
 qurqušum T/K m. "lead (metal)"
 quš K/T f. "bird" lixmit — e (N) "marrow" (cf. *sarsinjay*)
 qušta (pl. qušje) "bow; rainbow"
 qwita v. qiwja

Q

qab T/K ~ f. "receptacle" — -xidje "brassière"
 qabay T (N) "before (in space)" (cf. qam)
 qabal K < Arab. f. "portion of work (in common undertaking)"
 qabar T f. "bruise"
 qabur ? f. (Bibl.) "sea-gull?"
 qaburqa T/K f. (N) "rib" (cf. *qaršuy*)
 qada (pl. *qadae*) K/T < Arab. f. "misfortune, accident" (cf. *qaza*)

qadaya ? f. "government order"
 qafa K/T < Arab. f. "nape, back of the neck"
 qafas K/T < Arab. f. "cage, coop"
 qahba K/T < Arab. f. "whore, adultress"
 qahbula K/T < Arab. f. "whoring, adultery" (cf. *zonula*)
 qahwaxana K/T < P/Arab. f. "coffee-room, coffee-house; ante-room" (cf. *qahwa*)
 qaja T/K m. "rock"
 qajda K/T < Arab. (N) "rule, custom" (cf. *qajdi*)
 qajjam H (inv.) "stable (adj.)" — O-w/O-d "stabilize; fulfil (word)"
 qajmay T/K m. "cream"
 qal T/K m. and f. "smelted, refined" — O-w/O-d "smelt, refine"
 qala m. (N) "voice, sound" (cf. *qala*)
 qala K/T < Arab. f. "tower, fortress" marè- — m. and f. "fortified"
 qalaband K/T < P/Arab. m. and f. "besieged"
 qalabandi K/T < P/Arab. f. "siege, state of siege" — m-nd-j/O "besiege, belaguer" (cf. *mansura*)
 qalay ? f. "heap." — O-w/O-d ~ d-h-l dto v.
 qalaj T/K < Arab. ? m. "tin (metal)"
 qalajča K/T < Arab. f. "tower"
 qalajči T/K < Arab. ? m. "tinsmith"
 qalib K/T < Arab. m. "form, mould"
 qalin T/K (inv.) "thick, coarse"
 qalmaqal K/T < Arab. f. "noise"
 qalpāx T/K m. "fur-cap"
 qalxan T/K f. "shield"
 qamiš T/K m. "reeds"
 qamišalan ~ qamišly T m. f. "thicket of reeds"
 qamsan H (inv.) "miser"
 qanata T/K (N *qanat*) f. "wing; fin; sail"
 qanddan ~ qandkan K/T < P f. "sugar-bowl"
 qanšār ? "in front of; arch. also before (temp.)"
 qapči T/K m. "door-keeper." (cf. *darwazači*)
 qappay T/K (pl. -je) m. "lid, cover" — it ena "(lower) eye-lid"; — reša "top of skull"
 qappan T/K f. "steelyard"
 qaqqa ? "goody-goody (children's language)"
 qaral ~ qaraldad m. (lit.) ? "profession, thanksgiving" — m-d-j/O "profess, thank"
 qarane K/T < P (pl.) (S) "cattle, flocks"
 qaraqul T/K m. "guard, sentry"
 qaraqulxana T/K f. "guard-room"
 qarawaš T/K f. "maid, female slave"
 qaraxalta ? (pl. -le) f. "playing-card"
 qari T/K "old woman" *dae* — "(good) old woman"
 qarilmiš x-d-r T/K "become old (esp. of woman)"
 qarilmišula T/K f. "old age (esp. of woman)" (cf. *pirčaxwarula; riwwula*)
 qarnabit K/T (< Arab. ?) m. "cauliflower"

- qarqara* K f. "raven, crow"
qaršuy T f. "rib"; (cf. *qaburqa*) pl. also: waist"
qasd K/T < Arab. f. "purpose, intention; on purpose, intentionally" (cf. *taaddula*)
qasid K/T < Arab. m. and f. "messenger"
qasod ~ *qasoda* K < Arab. m. "messenger"
qassab K/T < Arab. m. "butcher"
qassabxana K/T < Arab. f. "butchery, slaughter-house"
qaš T f. "precious stone" — *e daše* "all kinds of precious stones"
qaša T f. "eyebrow"
qašuy T/K f. "spoon"
qat T (gender indeterminate) "layer" — — "in layers"; *isra* — *e* "tenfold"
qatly T/K (pl. *qatje*) "sour milk, curds" — *ballitte* m-aman, *här xānci peš gaew*; *bále doe ballittu* m-aman, *hič* (S) ~ *heč* (N) *gaew la peš* (prov.) "if you empty a vessel of curds, something will still remain in it; but if you empty a vessel of whey, nothing will remain in it" (*i.e.*) (the new poor are preferable to the new rich)
qatir T/K f. (N) "mule" (cf. *kodinta*)
qatirči T/K m. "muleteer"
qawala T/K f. "drum" *qal* — *m-riqqa* xoš gde (S) ~ *qal* — *m-riqqa* Jwan gde (N) (prov.) "the sound of the distant drum is pleasant" (*i.e.* distant things seem better than they are)
qatula (pl. *qatwe*) f. "cat" (cf. *pšila*)
qawra ? f. i. "file (instr.)" ii. "tomb, grave" (cf. *qora*)
qawwas T < Arab. m. "fisherman" (cf. *masita*; *torči*)
qaxta ? (pl. *qaxe*) "dried peach"
qaz T/K f. "goose"
qaza K/T < Arab. (pl. *qazje*) f. "accident; suffering" (cf. *qada*) *qazje* h-w/O-l "make suffer"; *qazje* x-z-j/O "suffer"
qazalax K f. "lark"
qazanj T/K m. "gain, profit"
qazanja T/K f. (N) "metal cooking-pot" (cf. *qnanja*; *qzanja*)
qazi K/T < Arab. m. "cadi"
qazje v. *qaza*
qazma T m. "pickaxe"
qbaa ? m. "smock"
qeta m. "summer"
qinjana f. (N) "domestic animal"
qira K < Arab. or nat. < Gr. f. "pitch"
qirjala ? f. "crab"
qirmiz T/K (inv.) "deep red, scarlet"
qirna f. "corner" (cf. *buřaj*)
qirnja ? m. "dry bread"
qirraqir O-w/O-d K "croak"
qirt-qirt K "cracking noise"
qirtlu T (N) "wormy" (cf. *kirmana*)
qista K/T < Arab. (pl. *-te*) f. "story, matter"
ja — *ma ila?* "what is the matter?"; *ma* — ... ? "what is the reason that ... ?"
qitla m. "killing, murder"
qitma m. "ash, cinder"
qirta m. "knot" — k-w/O-š "come down with difficulty (food)"; — *it xasa* "backbone"
qitta m. "woven fabric, textile"
qitta f. "piece" — *e* — *e* "(in)to pieces" (cf. *tika*)
qizilgul T f. "rose"
qizne K (pl.) "mould (in bread)"
qlič T f. "sword" (cf. *sepa*)
qnanja ? f. (S) "metal cooking-pot" (cf. *qazanja*; *qzanja*)
qobi K f. (N) "marsh, bog" (cf. *qopi*)
qočay T (inv.) "agile, diligent"
qočaqan K f. "sling" (cf. *soppa*)
qodly ? m. "young ass"
qoja T m "old man"
qojalmiš T x-d-r "grow old (of man)"
qojalmišula ~ *qojanula* ~ *qojula* T f. (old age (of men)) (cf. *dignaxwarula*; *riwwula*)
qol ~ *qola* T f. "arm" m- — *ew dwiqlele* "he took him by the arm"; *qola* g-r-š *reš* "put one's signature to"
qoltly T/K f. "armpit"
qondäy T/K f. "large grape" — *it tfang* "butt of a gun"
qondaya T f. "swaddling-cloth" (cf. *malafa*)
qondara T < Gr. f. "European style shoe"
qondarači T < Gr. m. "shoemaker"
qonsol T < It m. "consul"
qoqa m. "earthenware cooking-pot"
qora K m. "sour grape" (cf. *sawze*)
qorly ? f. "pasture-lot"
qostantina H ? f. "Constantinople, Byzantium"
qotir T (inv.) "rough (of surface), pock-marked"
qotrula T f. "being pock-marked"
qottaz T f. "balls of silk (orn.)"
goza T m. "husk"
gray T/K m. "side; aside" (cf. *kanar*) *ja peš* — ! "leave this (let this remain) aside! never mind this!"; — *it jama* "sea-side, shore"; — *olka* "the outskirts of a city"
qräli frang K/T < P m. (S) "the king of the Franks"
qran P m. "about \$ 1.— (= 0.1 tuman = 5 *abbasi* = 20 *šai* = 200 *pul*)
qrot ? (inv.) "stricken with ringworm" (cf. *kačäl*)
quhum T < Arab. m. "people, assembly"
qül T/K m. "slave; servant" (cf. *nokär*)
qulabduz K < P (inv.) "embroidered with gold or silver"

qulja ? m. "thigh" (cf. *itma*)
qulluy T/K f. "service" *smlxen* ba- — ox "I am
 (standing) at your service"
qulluydar ~ *qulluykar* T/K + P m. and f.
 "servant"
qulunjan K ? m. "species of brown root?"
qumar K/T < Arab. m. "gambling" — *t-j/O-l*
 "gamble"
qumarbaz K/T < Arab. m. and f. "gambler"
qumaš K/T < Arab. m. "woven fabric, material"
qura ? m. "lad, boy"
quraba ? m. "public sale" (cf. *mazad*) — d-r-j/O
 "offer for public sale"
qurPan K/T < Arab. m. "the Koran"
qurban K/T < Arab. (pl. ~ *qurbanje*) m. "sacri-
 fice" — O-w/O-d "sacrifice (verb)"; ox
 xadren! "may I become your sacrifice!"
 (expression of devotion)
qurbanliý O-w/O-d T < Arab. "sacrifice"
qurmiš T (inv.) "wound up" — O-w/O-d "wind
 up"
qürsi-naná K/T < P/Arab. f. "peppermint candy"
qurtum T f. "mouthful (of drink)"
quta K ? f. "vulva"
qazanja T/K f. (S) "cooking-pan" (cf. *qanja*;
qazanja)

R

rafiq K/T < Arab. (f. -qta) "client; paramour"
 (cf. *sahab*)
rafta K/T < Arab. (pl. -te) f. "shelf"
rahat K/T < Arab. "restful(ly)"
rahati ~ *rahatula* K/T < Arab. f. "rest, ease"
rahatula g-r-š "rest, take a rest, be at ease"
rahmana K/T < Arab. or H (f. -nta) "merciful
 (of humans)" (cf. *rahmana*)
rajil K/T < Arab. (inv.) "current (adj.)"
rajta K/T < Arab. m. and f. "subject, national"
rakixa (f. -xta) "soft"
ramši "last night"
randa T/K + P f. "carpenter's plane" — O-w/
 O-d "plane (v.)"
rang K/T < P m. "colour" *hawá-rangi* "grey"
 (cf. *nim-rang*); —e —e "many-coloured"
rašbär ? m. "farmer, peasant"
raxmana (f. *raxmanta*) "lover"
raxmanula f. "love"
raxt K < P f. "ornamental necklace of horse"
reš "on, upon, over; concerning; on account of"
 — eni! "you are welcome! willingly, with
 pleasure!"
rešana m. "head" — O-nt-j/O "set out on one's
 way"; — b-s-m "condole (say the formula —
 ox basima hawe! "may your head be safe!");
 (cf. *baš* — *sayltiyi*) — basimula f. "condolence";
 — basimula h-w/O-l "condole" — d-h-l "pay a

visit, recur to someone"; — ew *pille* "he gras-
 ped it (it fell into his head)"; — ew *mimréle* "he
 bothered him gave him a headache"; — ew
palit m-d-aj šula "he is versed in this matter
 (takes his head out of this matter)"; — ew
rummanéle "he is proud (his head is high)";
 — ew *taše* "he supports, maintains himself
 (hides his head)"; b- —i! "(I swear) by my
 head!"; idjéle b- —ew "it happened to him
 (came upon his head)"; m- — "(from)
 above"; m- — xala "anew"; — ox *torinne*,
bále xabrox godinne (prov.) "I break your
 head but do as you say (cf. *pinna*)"; min d-à
 — "tonight"; min d-ò — "early to-morrow"
rešana m. "head, leader"
ribbi H m. and f. "Rabbi (title of learned per-
 son)"
rihan K < Arab. f. "sweet basil"
riqla f. "dance"
rire pl. "saliva"
riswaj O-w/O-d K < P "speak unmannerly"
rixša m. "creeping thing(s)"
rizza ? < Arab. < Gr. m. "rice"
roqe pl. "spittle"
rotana f. "tremor, trembling"
roxa f. "rheum, rheumatism"
ršuta K < Arab. f. "bribe(s)"
rusm K/T < Arab. f. (lit.) "law, prescription"
rutubat K/T < Arab. f. "moisture" (cf. *namula*)
rxima (f. *rximta*) "beloved"

R

rába (pl. only lit.) "much, many; very" — — "at
 the utmost"; xánči — "more or less"
rabbaj- (bound form) "the greater part, the
 majority, most of" — u "most of them"
rabta f. v. *riwwa*
rabtula f. "greatness, majesty"
rabula f. "multitude"
rafael H "Raphael"
rahami (bound form *rahm-*) K < Arab. m.
 "mercy, pity" *rahmi* djéle llew "I took pity
 on him"
rahamim ~ *rahamin* H "m. name"
rahamta K/T < Arab. f. "(of) blessed memory"
rahm m. ~ *rahami*, q.v.
rahman ~ *rahmana* H m. "the Merciful (God)"
 (cf. *rahmana*)
rakkawa m. "rider"
rast K, T/P m. and f. "right (adj.)"
rasta ? f. "vaulted room (used for trading pur-
 poses)"
raša H (f. *rišPelta*, pl. *rašaim(e)*) "wicked"
razi K/T < Arab. "pleased, satisfied" *rába*
 — -len minnox! "thank you very much" (I am
 very pleased with you); — O-w/O-d "please,

satisfy"; — x-d-r "become pleased, satisfied"
raziula K/T < Arab. f. "content (subst.)"
rewi K m. (S) "fox" (cf. *tulki*; *wawī*)
rida K < Arab. m. "grace (found); wish"
 (cf. *riža*)
rijah T/K < Arab. m. "request" — O-w/O-d
 "request, ask for"
ripja (f. *rpīta*) "slack; thin (of soup)"
rima K < P m. "pus, matter"
riqqa m. and f. "far, distant" — minnox ~
 m-šamjane! "far be it from you ~ from the
 listeners!" (answer: — m-maqjana ~ m-
 amrana! "far be it from the speaker!");
 m— "from afar"; qal *qawala* m— xoš
 gde, v. *qawala*
rišPelta v. *raša*
rišPula H f. "wickedness"
rišqande K (pl.) "mockery" — O-w/O-d "mock"
 (cf. *masxāra*)
riwja (f. *rwita*) "large" libba — "large-hearted,
 generous" (cf. *mard*; *saxjana*)
riwwa ~ *riwwana* (f. *rabta*) "big, large, great"
 ilha (baan) *riwwé-le* ~ *riwwané-le!* God will
 help (us)!"
riwwana (f. *riwwanta*) "important person, chief,
 leader"
riwwanula f. "bigness, largeness, greatness"
riwwula f. "old age" (cf. *diqaxwarula*; *pirča-*
xwarula; *qarilmišula*; *qojalmišula*)
rixa m- "smell"
riža K/T < Arab. m. "grace (found)" (cf. *rida*)
rostām K < P m. (S) "Rostam (name of legend-
 ary Persian hero)"
roššāna H m. "New Year's Day"
rotl K/T < Arab. f. "rotl, about 3 kilograms
 (not a native unit of weight)"
rpīta f. v. *ripja*
rüb K/T < Arab. m. "quarter" (cf. *čarāg*)
ruh T/K < Arab. f. "spirit, soul"
rummana (f. -nta) "high, tall" rešew *rummané-le*
 "he is proud"
rummanula f. "height, tallness"
runga ? < R f. "small liquor-glass"
rusqat K/T < Arab. f. "permission, permit"
 (cf. *dastur*) — h-w/O-l "permit, allow"
ruštahin K f. "noodles, macaroni"
rusi K < P < R "Russian (language)" (cf. *urusī*)
rusja K < R f. "Russia" (cf. *urusja*)
rusna K < P < R m. and f. "Russian (person)"
 (cf. *urusna*)
rut K < P "naked" (cf. *lut*; *purwa*; *šulxa*)
rwita f. v. *riwja*

S

sabāb K/T < Arab. m. "cause, reason; because
 of, in order that (lit)."

sabadje (pl.) (N) v. *sbadila*
sabju ? (inv.) "freckled"
sabr T/K < Arab. m. "patience" — O-w/O-d
 "have patience, be patient"; — ew la *djéle*
 "he lost patience (his patience did not come)";
 mar —ew ade "to pass the time (let his
 patience come)"
sadr(i)azam K/T < P/Arab. m. "chief minister"
safār K/T < Arab. m. "travel, journey" —
 O-w/O-d "travel, journey (v.)"
safarim (pl.) v. *séfer*
safig K/T < Arab. (inv.) "silly, foolish"
safir K < Arab. m. and f. "traveller" —
sarwada "vagabond"
sahla m. and f. "witness"
sahlula f. "testimony"
sahm T < P m. "fear, dread" *māre* — "fearful,
 dreadful"
sahmlu T < P "fearful, dreadful"
sakān ? < Arab. m. "earth, soil" (cf. *ipra*; *pra*)
sakīn K/T < Arab. (inv.) "quiet, calm"
sakīt K/T < Arab. (inv.) "quiet, relaxed"
sakkana H f. "danger"
saktula K/T < Arab. f. "quiet (subst.)"
saku T/K f. "platform, Bibl. high place; court-
 yard (cf. *hajāt*)
salabta K/T < Arab. f. "booty, prey"
salām K < Arab. m. "usury" (cf. *sut*) — š-q-l
 "take usury"
salamatje K/T < Arab. (pl.) (Bibl.) "peace
 offerings"
salamta K/T < Arab. f. (S) "well-being" (cf. *say*)
salda (pl. *salje*) f. "basket"
salim K/T < Arab. v. *say*
sama T < Arab. m. "part, portion"
samjeli + T Arab.) f. "blast, hot wind"
sammawir T < Arab.? (m. "Bibl.) "light-blue
 colour"
samt ? (inv.) "cold, phlegmatic" (cf. *qarila*)
samtur T < P < Gr f. "psaltery"
sanai ? (inv.) "mediocre, middling"
sanduqa K/T < Arab. f. (S) "chest, box; till,
 box office" (cf. *sanduqa*) f.
sangār K < P f. "shooting-hole"
santin < Arab. < Fr. m. "centimeter"
sanula f. "hatred"
sarād K ? P ? f. "large sieve"
sardar K/T < P (pl. ~ *sardarawe*) m. "high
 official"
sargardan K (< P?) (inv.) "confused, at loss"
sargardanula K (< P ?) f. "confusion (of indi-
 vidual)"
sarhād K/T < P/Arab. f. "border, frontier"
 (cf. *hād* ~ *haddusād*; *hāl*)
sarhang K f. "governor general" *sarhāngi šame*

- “governor general of Damascus” (taken by the informer for a proper name)
 sarin K/T < P (inv.) “cool, fresh”
 sarini ~ sarinula K/T < P f. “coolness, freshness”
 sarkar K < P m. “chief, chieftain”
 sarkarda K < P m. “commander”
 sarkirdar m. (S) mistaken form for sarkarda *q.v.*
 sarna f. “spindle”
 sārokan (pl. -nje) K < P f. “source” (cf. ena)
 sarsin/aj ? m. (S) “marrow” (cf. lixma; quš)
 sartip K ? m. “general”
 sarwarda K ? (inv.) “ashamed” (cf. nixpana)
 safir — “vagabond”
 sarwardula K ? f. “shame” (cf. nixpanula, šarmanda)
 sarxa m. “calf”
 satirjam ? (inv.) “frozen”
 sawa (f.-wta) i. “young, new” jala (S) ~ jala (N) — “small child” ii. (Bibl.) “grey-haired”
 sawän T m. and f. “friend, well-wisher” (cf. *bajillj; baruxa*)
 sawgu T f. “beloved (girl)”
 sawsar ? m. “mole (anim.)?”
 sawula f. (Bibl.) “grey hair, old age”
 saxjana K < Arab. (f. -nta) i. bather” ii. “generous (of heart)” (cf. mard; *riwja*)
 saxsi T/K f. “earthenware vessel”
 sbadila (pl. S sbadje ~ N sabadje) “cushion”
 sbargla m. “quince”
 sbilta (pl. sbilje ~ sbiljawe) f. (N) “lip; Bibl. also: language” (cf. spilta)
 sduna K < P f. “column, pillar” — it aqla “shin”
 séfer H (pl. safarim ~ sifre) f. “Scroll of the Law”
 sifran etc. “our etc. scroll(s)”
 sehma m. “silver”
 sehra m. “moon”
 sejfullah ? < Arab. “a great deal” (cf. xallega)
 sel K/T < Arab. f. m. “flood, gushing stream”
 sepa f. (N) ~ m. (S) “sword” (cf. *qlič*)
 sesid H f. (N) “prayer-shawl” (cf. *sisit*)
 setra K < Arab. ? f. “coat”
 sewaj K < Arab. (N) “except, beside” (cf. *umbul*)
 siddur f. (N) “prayer-book” ~ sidur (S. H)
 sifr- v. séfer
 sifra K < Arab. f. (N) “napkin” (cf. *sifra*)
 sikka K < Arab. f. (N) “coin” (cf. ska)
 silah K/T < Arab. m. “arms”
 silahlamiš T < Arab. O-w/O-d “arm (another)”; — x-d-r “arm (oneself)”
 silli K/T < P f. “slap, box on the ear” (cf. *čapilay; šapilay; zilli*)
 sim K < P m. “metal string (of instr.)” (cf. tel)
 sim ? f. “palmerworm”
 siman (S) ~ siman (N) *to!* H “congratulations!”
 simbulta T/K < Arab. (pl. -le) f. “ear of corn”
 simmay K < Arab. m. “sumac”
 simsimje pl. Arab. “sesame-seeds” (not a native word; cf. *šušme*)
 sinama K/T < Fr f. “cinema”
 sinči K m. “oleaster”
 singa K m. “breast, chest”
 sinja (f. snita) “hateful, ugly”
 sinjaqta T/K (pl. -qe) “pin”
 sinji K m. “look” — m-nd-j/O “cast a look”; sinjew intélele “he took a look at him”
 sinor K/T f. “border, frontier” (not in general use; cf. *hād ~ haddusād; sarhād*)
 sinsla K < Arab. f. “descendants, dynasty; ornamental chain hanging from the temples”
 sirdab K/T < P m. “cellar” (cf. zezami)
 sirka K/T < P m. “vinegar”
 sirsra ? f. “severe cold, frost”
 sist K < P (inv.) “weak, slack” — O-w/O-d “weaken, slacken (tr.)”; — x-d-r “dto. (intr.)”
 sitra ? m. “hole in a rock”
 sitta ? f. i. “pulpit for reading the Law in synagogue” ii. “large stone mortar”
 sitwa m. “winter”
 siwan H m. “3rd Jewish month”
 siwja (f. swita) “satiated, satisfied (physically)”
 siwjanula f. “satiety” ba- — ew xille “he ate his fill”
 sja ? f. i. “measure of length (about 15 cm.)” ii. measure of capacity = 1 manja, *q.v.*)
 sjamta (pl. -me) f. “shoe”
 ska K < Arab. m. (S) “money, coins” (cf. sikka)
 skinje (pl.) v. skita
 skira K/T < Arab. (f. -rta) “drunken” (cf. mast; *pjan*)
 skirula K/T < Arab. f. “drunkenness”
 skita (pl. skinje) f. “knife”
 smoqa (f. smuqta) “red”
 smoqula f. “redness”
 smur K/T < P f. “species of eagle” smür-quš f. “the Simurgh (a fabulous bird, considered by the informers as an eagle)”
 snitia f. v. sinja
 sofer H m. “scribe”
 sogid T/K m. “willow”
 sona (pl. ~ -awe) m. “grandfather” son ba- — i (etc.) “my (etc.) forefathers (grandfather to my grandfather)”
 soranita K (pl. -nje) f. “Kurdish long sleeve”
 sorke K (pl.) “measles”
 sosanbār K ? f. “acacia”
 sota (pl. sote) “grandmother”
 spilta (pl. spilje) f. (S) “lip” (cf. sbilta)
 sqila (f. -lta) “beautiful, handsome”
 sqilta (pl. -lje) “ring (jewel)”

sqilula f. "beauty"
 suĉ T/K m. "fault" — minni léwe "it is not my fault (the fault is not from me)"
 suit K ? talga f. "cold wind bringing snow"
 sukka H f. "booth"; pl. "Feast of Tabernacles"
 sum K (< P ?) f. "sheep's foot jelly"
 suraa (f. surajta) "Nestorian or Chaldean Christian"
 suri T f. "flock, herd"
 surma T/K f. "antimony, eye-salve" (cf. kixla)
 surmadan T/P < f. "long bolt"
 suse (pl. susawe) m. "horse"
 susulta ? (pl. susje ~ susulje) f. "plait, pigtail"
 sut K ? < P m. "usury" (cf. salám)
 suwari K/T < P f. "cavalry"
 suzanag K (< P ?) m. "ischury"
 swat K < Arab. m. (S) "(good) looks" (cf. *sfat*)
 swina K (< P ?) f. "earthenware washing-tub"
 swita f. v. siwja
 sxara ? < Arab. f. "wooden trough for making and keeping bread"
 sxawta K/T < Arab. (pl. -wte) f. "voluntary gift"

S

sablay T/K f. "Māhabad (town in the North of Persian Kurdistan, formerly Soghughbulagh)"
 sablayna T/K m. and f. "of Māhabad (person)"
 sabun K/T < P < Europ. m. "soap"
 saĉbayi T f. "golden tress for hair"
 sadaĉf K/T < Arab. f. "sea-shell, mother-of-pearl"
 sadaqa H f. "charity, alms"
 sadaqit f. v. saddiq
 saddiq H (f. sadaqit, p. ~ -qime) "pious, righteous"
 saddiqula H f. "piety, righteousness"
 saf ? m. "fear" (cf. zdela)
 saf(i) K/T < Arab. inv. "pure, unadulterated"
 safon H m. "North"
 say T/K (inv.) "right (side); sound, healthy"
 — salamta ~ salim "well and sound"; ilha xa say gana (S) ~ gana (N) hawillox "may God give you a sound body!" (formula of blessing or thanks)
 sayula T/K f. "wholeness, good health"
 sahab ? < Arab. m. and f. "parmour" (cf. rafiĉ) marè — "person having illicit lover"
 sahat T < Arab. f. "watch, clock"
 sahatĉi T < Arab. m. "watchmaker"
 sahna T/K < Arab. f. (N) "plate" (cf. *sihna*)
 saldat T < R m. "soldier" (cf. *sarbaza*)
 salhjana (f. -nta) "successful"
 salma (pl. -awe) "face, front; cover" — it ena "eye-lid"; — it mez (S) "table cloth"; m. — p-l-t "be or make obstinate"; hasa m.

— ox "save your presence"; — ew hwillele qam (S) ~ qabāy (N) "...he set out in the direction of <his-face he-gave-it before>..."; — ew komé-le "he is ashamed <his face is black>"; — ew xwaré-le "he is honourable, he has nothing to be ashamed of <his face is white>"; *salmawew* qiwjé-lu "he is obstinate <his faces are hard>"
salmas f. "Dilman (town North of Urmi, q.v.; formerly Salamas)
salmasna m. and f. "of Dilman (person)"
saltanat K/T < Arab. f. "majesty, sultanate" (cf. *sultanula*)
salxum T f. "bunch of grapes"
samawar K/T < R f. "samovar, tea-urn"
sanām K/T < Arab. m. "idol" — e xadmana (f. -nta) "worshipper of idols"
sanduga K/T < Arab. f. (N) "chest, box" (cf. sanduqa)
sanju T/K f. "colic" (cf. *žan*)
sapjo N. ~ *sapjok* (S) nat. + K f. "strainer"
saqiĉi K/T < Arab. m. "cup-bearer"
saqiĉula K/T < Arab. f. "occupation of a cup-bearer"
saqqaray K ? f. "large hollow, dish, bowl"
sarbaza K/T < P m. "soldier" (cf. *saldat*)
sarbazula K/T < P f. "military service" (cf. askāruła)
sare (pl.) "barley" (cf. *sarta*)
sari-quši T f. "skylark"
sarrafa K/T < Arab. m. "jeweller"
sarta (pl. *sare*, q.v.) f. "grain of barley; Bibl. also: barley (coll.)"
sata K < Arab. (pl. *sate*) f. "hour" — tre "(at) two o'clock"; — pira rešew "he grew giddy"
satan H m. "Satan, the devil (cf. *šejtan*); Bibl. also: accuser"
satanula H f. "devilry; Bibl. accusation"
satla K < Arab. f. "vat, cauldron"
sawda K/T < P f. "business" — O-w/O-d "make business"
sawqta K < Arab. (pl. *sawqinje*) "gift" (cf. karām)
sawze K < P (pl.) "green (unripe) grapes" (cf. *qora*)
sawzi K < P f. "vegetable" *sawzje* zabnana m. "greengrocer"
sawzixana K < P f. "place for growing or selling vegetables"
saz K/T < P f. "kind of lute"
sbota (pl. *sbonje*) f. (N) "finger, toe" (cf. *zбота*)
sbuy K/T < Arab. m. "paint" — O-w/O-d "paint (v.)" (cf. *boja*)
sfat K/T < Arab. m. (N) "looks, appearance" (cf. *swat*)
shita f. v. *sihja*

sifra K/T < Arab. m. "leather cloth spread out on the ground in lieu of table; napkin" (cf. *sifra*)
sihja (f. *shita*) "thirsty"
sihjanula f. "thirst" — t-w/O-r "quench 'break' one's thirst"
sihna K/T < Arab. f. (S) "plate" (cf. *sahna*)
sibr K/T < Arab. m. "magic, spell" — O-w/O-d "cast <make> a spell" (cf. *Jadu*)
sibrbaz ~ *sihrkār* K/T < P/ Arab. m. and f. "magician, sorcerer, sorceress" (cf. *Jadukar*)
silhanula ~ *silhja* f. "success"
silqa K < Arab. of nat. m. "beet (root)" — *xwara* "mangold"
simbela K f. "moustache" (cf. *biqe*) *xa gab* — "one <side-of> moustache"
simha H f. "festivity (of religious character; f. name)"
simhelane H + nat. (pl. "Festival of the Trees" (on the 15th day of the 11th Jewish month)
sindan K/T < P m. "anvil"
sipja (f. *spita*) "clear; innocent"
sipjanula f. "clearness, innocence"
sir T/K < Arab. m. "secret"
sisbar K ? f. "fringe"
sisit ? f. (S) "prayer-shawl" (cf. *sesid*)
sisqe K (pl.) "gristle"
sitra ? m. "crack"
siwa m. "piece of wood, stick; tree (impl.). gallows (cf. *dār-ayaci*; *qinnara*)" pl. "wood, timber"
siwja (f. *swita*) "stiff, rigid"
sjet T/K f. (N) "pepper" (cf. *bibār*)
slola (pl. *-lje*) f. "prayer (liturg.)"
smata K < Arab. (?) (only in: *bi-* — ~ *bi-* — *ox!* "your very good health!")
snetā K/T < Arab. (pl. *snee* ~ *snete*) "art, craft" *marè-* — "craftsman, *srtizan*"
sol T "left (side)" (cf. *čāp*)
solduz f. "old name of *nayada*, *q.v.*"
solduzna m. and f. "of *nayada*, *q.v.* (person)"
soma m. "fast" — d-w/O-q "fast (verb)"; — *š-rj/O* "break <loosen> fast"; *somé-le* "he is fasting"
sonbahar T + P m. "autumn, fall" (cf. *pajir*)
sonsiz T "childless, barren"
sonsizi ~ *sonsizula* T f. "childlessness, barrenness"
sooda H f. "ritual meal"
sopa T/K f. "stove"
soppān T/K f. "sling" (cf. *qočaqaŋ*)
spita f. v. *sipja*
sraxta (pl. *sraxte*) f. "cry, shout"
tambol T/K < Gr. f. "Istanbul" *baqore baqore naša misse ezil mate* — (prov.) "by dint of asking one can <go [and]> reach Istanbul"

stansja ? < R f. "station; landing-place"
stol K < R m. "table (cf. *mez*, *šulhan*); chair (cf. *kursi*)"
sudra ? (pl. *-awe*) f. "shirt, blouse"
sulaka T f. "gutter, water-trough"
sultan K/T < Arab. (f. *-nta*) "sultan"
sultanula K/T < Arab. f. "sultanate" (cf. *saltanat*)
sup T (< R) < Fr f. "soup"
surat K/T < Arab. (pl. *-te -tje*) f. "form, appearance; picture; cherub" (cf. *škil*)
surta K (< Arab.?) (pl. *-awe*) f. "cheek"
swax K f. "clay mixed with straw (used in building)"
swita f. v. *siwja*

Š

-š K ~ following -C -iš (S) ~ -ši ~ -šiš (N)
 "also, too; as for; on the other hand" *ana-š xašowen áxxa* "I think so, too"; *ana-š la xašowen áxxa* "and I do not think so"
šabaka ? < Arab. f. "check (pattern), checked fabric"
šabbat H (pl. *šabbawe*) f. (N) "Sabbath, Saturday" (cf. *šibbat*)
šadda K < Arab. f. "striped turban-cloth"
šafāq K < Arab. m. "dawn"
šafqana K/T < Arab. (f. *šafqanta*) "merciful"
šafqanula K/T < Arab. "divine mercy"
šaftaluta (pl. *-lwe*) T < P f. "small peach"
šagird (pl. *šagirje*) K/T < P m. "apprentice, errand-boy"
šagirdula K/T < P f. "apprenticeship"
šahr K/T < P f. (N) "city" (cf. *ahra*, *olka*)
šajpur K/T < P f. "trumpet"
šajpurči K/T < P m. "trumpeter"
šakār K/T < P m. "sugar" (cf. *qand*)
šakardan K/T < P f. "sugar-bowl" (cf. *qanddan*)
šakka K f. "sheep" (cf. *irba*)
šakwanta ? (pl. *-ne*) f. "ant"
šala ? f. (N) "fever" (cf. *mašxone*; *šixna*)
šal/faja ? f. "razor-blade"
šališ H m. "third man called up for the reading of the weekly portion of the Law in synagogue"
šalmalxen! H (S) "greetings! (fam. corr. of *šalom alexem*, v. *šalom*)"
šalom ~ *šalom alexem* H "formula of greeting" (answer: *alexem šalom*) — h-w/O-l "greet"
šalom H m. "m. name"
šalomi H f. "peace, in peace" *puš —!* "farewell <remain in peace>" *atxún-iš — hawétun!* (S) "may you, too live <be> in peace" (closing formula in story-telling) pl. *šalomje* "greetings, regards"; m-pinni *rāba rāba hol ba-* ... "give my best regards to ... <from my mouth many many greetings give to ...>"; *rāba rāba* — *ittox*

- m- ... "... sends you his best regards (many many greetings there-are-to-you from ...)
- šalom(o) (h)ammélex H m. "King Solomon"
- šamakta ? (pl. -ke) f. "gum (anat.)"
- šamala K (< Arab. ?) f. "torch"
- šamandafer ? < Fr f. "railway; train"
- šamča ~ šamša K < Arab. f. "sulphur, match" (cf. gugurd)
- šamina (f. -nta) "fat (adj.)" — *patuxa* "fat and broad"
- šamla ? < Arab. f. "turban" (cf. *amama*)
- šamsija T < Arab. f. "umbrella" (cf. *čatir; zondig*)
- šamša v. šamča
- šāq ? (inv.) "(standing) upright, at attention"
- šačila K ? f. "stream"
- šačqa K < Arab. m. "parcel of land"
- šarbat K/T Arab. f. "sherbet, sweet drink"
- šarik K/T < Arab. (f. -kta) "partnership"
- šarikula K/T < Arab. f. "partnership; jointly"
- šarmanda ~ K šarmandula f. "shame" (cf. *nixpa; nixpana; sarwardula*) — O-w/O-d "put to shame"
- šart K/T < Arab. m. "condition; covenant" — *hawe* "on the condition that"; — *q-t-j/O* "make a covenant"
- šartlana ? (f. -nta) (S) "boastful"
- šarxa m. "calf"
- šarxta (pl. šarxje) f. "heifer"
- šaraw ? m. "corn growing of its own accord"
- šašša ? f. "ceremony of lighting candles on a tray on the seventh day after the birth of a boy"
- šata (pl. šinne) "year" — *tjama* "anniversary of death"; — *it adja* "next year, the coming year"; *jom* — "New Year's day"; *lel* — "New Year's eye"; *šinne šate* "for years, for ages"; *rāba rāba šinne hawet!* "many happy returns of the day"; *g-šinne w-j/O-r* "be getting on in years"
- šawa K < P f. "jet"
- šawčiraγ K f. "lantern"
- šawi K ? (inv.) "stale (of food)"
- šawkor K < P m. and f. "blind at night"
- šawkori K < P f. "nyctalopia"
- šawq K < Arab. f. "clearing of the sky before dawn" — *pilla* "it will be dawn soon"
- šaxina (f. -nta) "hot, warm"
- šbira (f. -rta) (N) "good; well" (cf. *spira*)
- šbirula f. (N) "goodness, favour" (cf. *špirula*)
- šedim H m. "demon, spirit"
- šej ? (inv.) "fresh, moist" (cf. *nam*)
- šejtan K/T < Arab. m. "devil, Satan (cf. *satan*); S also: spider" (cf. *zaqqara* f.)
- šemto H m. name
- šer K m. i. "lion" (cf. *aslan*) ii. "faucet"
- šerinag ? f. "disease of trees caused by insects"
- šex K/T < Arab. m. "sheikh"
- ši v. -š
- šibbat H (pl. šibte) (S) "Sabbath, Saturday" (cf. *šabbat*)
- šibte (S) v. šibbat
- šid ? < Arab. m. "chalk, whitewash"
- šifta ? (pl. -te) f. "dumpling made of pounded groats or rice with meat"
- šiftita K (pl. šiftje) "watermelon"
- šik K/T < Arab. (bound form šikk-) m. "suspicion" — *pille rešew* "he became suspect"; — ~ — *ew pille ~ widle* "he grew suspicious"
- šikast K/T < P (inv.) "infirm, crippled" — O-w/O-d "cripple (v.)"
- šikastula K/T < P f. "infirmity"
- šikl- v. škil
- šikar K < P m. "hunt (cf. *aw*); trophy"
- šilwala ? (pl. -lawe) m. "pair of drawers"
- šilxa ? m. "crowd, host" (mostly used after *magon*)
- šimma m. "name" — *it ... m-d-j/O* "mention, call the name of"
- šimme (pl.) "sky, heaven"
- šimna f. "fatness, obesity"
- šimra ? m. "spider's web" (cf. *nawarda; qarita*)
- šimša f. "sun"
- šimšad K < P m. "box-tree" (used to render the names of various trees in the Bible)
- šinda (pl. -de) f. "sleep" — ~ — *ew idjéla* "he grew sleepy"; — ~ — *ew intélale* "he was overtaken by sleep"
- šinne (pl.) v. šata
- šino f. "Ushnuye (township south of Urmi, q.v.)"
- šinojna m. and f. "of Ushnuye (person)"
- šir ? m. "enamel"
- šira K/T < P m. "grape-juice"
- šira H f. "religious song, humn"
- širači H + T/K m. and f. "singer"
- širma (pl. -awe) ? < Arab. f. "buttocks, posterior" *m-nehra pjara* — *u qipa l-diyde* "they are very distantly related (while crossing the river their buttocks knocked together)"
- šiš T/K m. "skewer, spit"
- šiš v. -š
- šiška T/K ? f. "knitting needle"
- šišmantila T ? f. "milt" (cf. *dimmalila*)
- šita f. v. šja
- šitja m. "warp"
- šitl- v. štil
- šitqel "last year"
- šiw K f. "supple twig"
- šiwān K (< P ?) m. "wailing"
- šiwja f. "bed-stead on the ground" (cf. *šwila*)
- šiwja (f. šwita) ba — "worth, equal to"

- šiwje (pl.) v. šwila
 šixna m. "heat, warmth" jdo(m) sixné-la "it is hot/warm to-day"; pl. (S) "fever"
 šixta f. "dirt"
 šixtana (f. -nta) "dirty"
 šja K ? (f. šita) "mad"
 šjanula K ? f. "madness"
 šjona K ? m. (S) "the foolish son in fairy-tales"
 škalta (pl. -lje) f. "testicule"
 škil K/T < Arab. (bound form šikl-) "picture, likeness" — it ... m-nd-j/O "paint a portrait, take a picture, of someone"; — ew m-nd-j/O "have one's picture taken" xa — it xa ilu ~ tu xaš — ilu "the two are exactly alike"
 škur! K/T < Arab. "thank God!"
 škurdar K/T < P/Arab. "thankful, grateful"
 šlewa K f. "sleet"
 šlixa (f. -xta) "stripped, undressed"
 šma f. "hearing; fame"
 šoba K f. "cough" — O-w/O-d "cough (verb)"
 šogai ? (inv.) "sane"
 šomer H (pl. šomrim) m. watchman, guard" (cf. kečikči)
 šomerula H f. "occupation of a watchman" (cf. kečikčjula)
 šorakat ? f. "mildew"
 špira (f. -rta) (S) "good; well" (cf. šbira)
 špirula f. (S) (cf. šbirula) "goodness, favour"
 špital ? < R < Germ f. "hospital" (not a native word)
 šrata (pl. srae) "lamp" — minnew la nahra "he is useless (a lamp does not shine because of him); axči sqilté-la, ba- — mara: la nhur, ana nahran! "she is so beautiful (that) she may say to a lamp: do not shine, I shine!"
 štil K/T < Arab. < Aram. (bound form šitl-) "young plant"
 šula K < Arab. m. "work; matter, affair" — O-w/O-d "work (work)"; — odana (f. -nta) "worker"; áxxa — lît (S) ~ háxxa — let (N)! "this is not done! this cannot be!"; hič (S) ~ heč (N) — litti! "I don't care!"; ma — ox minni? "what do you want of me?"; šul *tota* "arrangement of marriage (matter of kindness)"; šule wale (pl.) "(all kinds of) affairs"
 šulhan H m. "table" (cf. mez; stol)
 šulpa (inv.) "drawn (sword)"
 šulxa (f. -xta) "naked" (cf. lut; purwa; rut)
 šuqa (pl. ~ šuqane) f. "market"
 šuqula f. "marketing" — O-z-l "go to market"
 šura f. "navil" — ew pîla "he has hernia (his navil has fallen)"; — ew *mirmâla* "she has cured his hernia by massage (she has lifed his navil)"
 šurda ? O-w/O-d "bow down, prostrate oneself"
 šuša K/T < P f. "glass (mater.); bottle" xa — xamra "a bottle of wine"; xa šuš xamra "a wine-bottle"
 šušaband K/T < P (inv.) "glass-covered"
 šuška K (< P ?) f. "scepter"
 šušme (pl.) "sesame" (cf. kunjît)
 šwa m. "week"
 šwáxet "last week"
 šwila (pl. šiwje) f. "bed" (cf. šiwja)
 šwita f. v. šiwja
 šwoji (S) "seventy" (cf. ušwoji)
 šwojimin (S) "the seventieth" (cf. ušwojiminji)
 šxare ? f. (same form in pl.) "baking-trough"
 Š
 šaa ? f. "thick soup of chick-peas or beans with dumplings"
 šabadja K < P f. "large bowl"
 šadi ~ šadula K/T < P f. "joy, gladness, happiness"
 šah K/T < P m. "Shah"
 šahajánu H "benediction said on seasonally returning occasions" (corr. of Hebrew šehe-
 ħejánu "Who has kept us alive (to this day)")
 šahinšah P m. "King of Kings (title of Persian rulers)"
 šahpára K < P m. "wing feather"
 šahzada K/T < P m. and f. "of royal birth"
 šai K/T < P (pl. šae) m. "small Persian coin = 0.5 qran (q.v.) (about 5 cents)"
 šal K/T < P f. "shawl" — šapik "wide Kurdish trousers with shawl bound around the waist"; *taya-* — "the finest kind of wool"
 šala K < Arab. f. "load" (cf. tena)
 šaly ? f. (S) "cummerbund"
 šalyám K/T < P m. "turnip"
 šama K < P < Arab. f. "wax"
 šamadan K/T < P < Arab. m. "candlestick"
 šamala K < P < Arab. f. "candle"
 šamasrael H f. "Jewish profession of faith" (corr. of Hebrew šemaš jisra'el) "Hear, Israel, [the Lord is our God, the Lord is one]"
 šammaš H m. "beadle"
 šana K < P f. "winnowing fan" — it duša "honey-comb"
 šapilax/γ T/K f. "box on the ear" (cf. čapilay; silli; zilli)
 šapla ? "lame" (cf. čolay)
 šappa K m. "wave" (cf. palla)
 šaqqamiš K < T/Arab. m. and f. "cleft" O-w/O-d "cleave asunder"
 šarjana K < Arab. m. "judge"
 šatlxana K < P f. "(splendid) feast"
 šawat H m. "11th Jewish month"
 šiwta f. "tribe"
 šixta K m. (S) "vertical line" (cf. zola)

šluyula K < P f. "state of unrest"
šofar H m. "ram's horn ritually blown"
šoka ? < Arab. f. "chisel"
šopate ? pl. "dish made of boiled wheat with honey-syrop and oil, eaten on the Sabbath preceding Passover"
šoxim O-w/O-d ? "make furrows"
šqata ? (pl. -te) f. "sticking-plaster"
šqata ? m. and f. "extremely dirty"
šreta K < Arab. f. "trial, judgment" — O-w/O-d "make a law-suit; pass judgment"; mar — "contending party, adversary (in a law-suit)"
šultana (pl. ~ *šultanawe*) m. "king"
šultanta (pl. -ne) f. "queen"
šultanula f. "kingdom, royalty"
šuxta K ? m. (S) "horizontal line" (cf. *zola*)
šwawa (f. -wta) "neighbour"
šwawula f. "neighbourhood; relation between neighbours"

T

taaddi K < Arab. f. "tort; oppression" — O-w/O-d "hurt, oppress"
taaddula K < Arab. f. "evil purpose" — O-w/O-d "do on purpose" (cf. *qasd*)
taajubat K/T < Arab. m. and f. "strange, wonderful" — *xabrê-le* ~ *šulê-le!* "this is strange!"
taarif O-w/O-d K < Arab. "praise"; — d-h-l "boast"
taazja K/T < Arab. m. "mourning" — d-w/O-q "go into mourning, mourn" (cf. *jas*)
taazjadar K/T < P/Arab. m. and f. "mourner" (cf. *awel; jaslu*)
taazjula K/T Arab. f. "state of mourning, grief"
tabjat K/T < Arab. f. "nature"
tadarak K/T < Arab. f. "provision(s)" — O-w/O-d "provide oneself or another"
tafaat K < Arab. f. (N) "difference" (cf. *farq* ~ *farqi*)
tafillim H (pl.) "phylacteries"
tafsir K/T < Arab. m. "explanation or translation of Hebrew texts into the vernacular" — O-w/O-d "explain or translate into the vernacular"
tafqa K < Arab. "perchance, maybe"
taftiš K/T < Arab. f. "search, perquisition, enquiry" — O-w/O-d "search, make a perquisition, enquire into"
tagbir K/T < Arab. m. "plan" — O-w/O-d "plan, deliberate"; — i ma-jle? "what am I to do?"
tahar K < Arab. m. (N) "way, manner"
tahn ? f. (S) "mockery" *tahne* d-h-l "mock"

tajboxe K/T < Arab. f. "rebuke, moral instruction"
tāk K/T < P m. and f. "single"
takān K f. "spur" — d-h-l "spurn"
takkār T/K f. "wheel (of a vehicle)"
takla (followed by verb in the projective mood) "would that" (cf. *kuziwa*)
taklif K/T < Arab. f. "warning" — h-w/O-l "give warning"; (cf. *hušjar* O-w/O-d; *tanbeh* O-w/O-d) — ~ p-j/O-l "take warning"
tākula K/T < P f. "singleness"
talasug T < Arab. "immediately, in haste" — x-d-r "act hastily"
talasugula T < Arab. f. "haste"
taldel "two years ago"
talga m. "snow"
talgá-došab m. "grape-syrup mixed with snow" (cf. *došab*)
talila (f. *talilta*) "wet, moist"
talilula f. "wetness, moistness"
talis T f. "sack, sack-cloth"
tala m. (N) "lungs and liver (meat)" (cf. *ygār*)
talma m. "pitcher, ewer"
talmid H m. "pupil, student"
taltassar "thirteen"
taltassarmin (S) ~ *taltassarminji* (N) "the thirteenth"
tamanna K/T < Arab. m. "salutation" — O-w/O-d "salute"
tamiz K/T (< Arab?) (inv.) "clean" (cf. *qliwa*)
tamizula K/T (< Arab?) f. "cleanness" (cf. *qliwula*)
tammuz H m. "4th Jewish month"
tanáf K/T < P m. "tent rope"
tanafči K/T < P m. "architect; rope-dancer"
tanbeh O-w/O-d K/T < Arab. "warn" (cf. *hušjar* O-w/O-d; *taklif* h-w/O-l)
tandura K/T < Aram. f. (S) "oven, furnace" (cf. *tanura*)
tang K < E. f. "tank (in all its meanings)"
tang K (< P ?) m. and f. "narrow" (cf. *iqā; jiqa*)
tangā-nafás K + Arab. f. "asthma"
tangana K f. (S) "trouble, distress, anguish" (cf. *aqā; iqanula; jiqanula; tangula*)
tangatang K *j-r-q* "run panting"
tangula K f. "narrowness, anguish" (cf. *aqā; iqanula; jiqanula, tangana*)
tanika K/T < P m. "tin (receptacle), can"
tanura f. (N) "oven, furnace" (cf. *tandura*)
tappa T/K (pl. ~ *tappae*) m. "summit, head; hill" (cf. *dikka*) m- — it rešew *attat tpurjit* aqlaw "from head to foot (to the nails of his feet)"
tapug ~ *tapugta* T/K f. "kick" — e d-h-l dto v.
taqqa ? m. "noise of explosion"
tara m. "door; outside"

- tarafa ? m. "tail-fat"
 tarba m. "suet (ritually unclean)"
 targum K m. "Aramic translation of the Bible"
 lišānit (S) ~ liššānit (N) — "Aramaic"
 tarjaq K/T < P < Gr f. "hashish, opium"
 tarjuman K/T < P/Arab. m. and f. "translator, interpreter" (cf. dilmanj)
 tarka K/T f. "back part of the saddle" *rkiwle*
 bar — ew "he rode pillion, behind him"
 tarqulta (pl. tarqulje) f. "stumbling"
 tarsi ~ tarsāki K/T < P "on the contrary"
 tarse T/K (pl.) (S) "horses" or asses" dung"
 tasāl K/T < Arab. f. "ease, comfort" (inv.)
 "at ease, comfortable" — š-q-l "be at ease"
 tasaljula K/T < Arab. f. "comfort, ease"
 taši ~ tašši K f. "distaff"
 taška K f. "skirt (of garment)" (cf. *daman*)
 tkit f. "lavatory" (cf. adab, kalawa, kallawa)
 tašri H m. "7th Jewish month"
 tašši v. taši
 tawilla K/T (< Arab.?) f. "stable (for animals)"
 taxt K/T < P m. "throne"
 taxta K/T < P m. "wood, timber, board; stool"
 taxtaband K/T < P f. "clothes-pin" m. and f.
 "made of wood" — aqla "foot-stool"
 tazbāha K/T < Arab. f. "rosary; necklace of beads"
 taza K/T < P m. and f. "fresh"
 taži K m. (S) "greyhound" cf. *tazi*
 tel T/K f. "wire; string (of instr.)" (cf. sim)
 tena f. "fig."
 tewet H m. "10th Jewish month"
 tez T (N) "quickly, early" (cf. hājjo)
 tezdān T (N) "early" baqatjom — "early in the morning"
 tfaqi K < Arab. "it so happened that"
 tfinka K f. "nostril"
 tif O-w/O-d K "spit (verb)"
 tika K/T < P m. "piece" (cf. *qitta*)
 tikān T m. "thorn" (cf. kitwa)
 timmal "yesterday"
 tinna f. "smoke"
 tinnana (f. tinnanta) "smoking, smoky"
 tiqla m. "weight"
 tira K < P f. "beam (archit.)"
 tixja "below, down"
 tjax m. "distemper; whitewash" — O-w/O-d
 dto v.
 tka f. "place; bedstead (on the ground)" (cf. duka, tuka) — š-w-j/O "make a bed"; — bi — "there and then"; — it aqla "foot-print" — it taška "lavatory" (cf. adab; kalawa; kallawa); zille — it *haqqew* "he died (he went to the place of his deserts)"; — ew *gnédem* hawja "may he rest in Paradise"; qimle mi — ew "he got up"
 tkalta K/T < Arab. f. "trust, confidence"
 tkana K/T Arab. < Aram. f. "shop"
 tkila (f. tkilta) "trusting, confident"
 tkilta ? (pl. -lje) f. "tape" (cf. *bafta*)
 tmanja "eight" (cf. also *tmanid, tmoni*)
 tmanjalpe "eight thousand"
 tmanjamin (S) ~ tmanjaminji (N) "the eighth"
 tmanjämme "eight hundred"
 tokanäg ? m. "tow"
 tokma T m. (Bibl.) "cast image"
 tokma K m. and f. "stout, strong"
 tora m. "bull, ox"
 torta f. "cow"
 tre "two" trè-pinnè (Bibl.) "two-edged (sword)";
 trè-rešè "two-headed"
 tremin (S) ~ treminji (N) "the second"
 trémme "two hundred"
 tressar "twelve"
 tressarmin (S) ~ tressarminji (N) "the twelfth"
 trozita K (pl. -zje) f. "squirt-cucumber"
 trušeb "Monday"
 tu ? (bound form tunn-) "both" — xa škil ilu "the two are exactly alike"; tunnan "both of us"
 tug T/K m. "feathers (cf. *pāra*); wool (of animal); nap"
 tuka ~ tka, q.v. (N)
 tukana ~ tkana, q.v. (N)
 tulki T m. (N) "fox" (cf. *rewi; wawi*) — bāma gbéle? ba-xatr miškew! "why do they want the fox? because of his pelt" (prov.)
 tuma m. "garlic"
 tuman P m. "10 qran (q.v.); myriad"
 tuna m. "straw"
 tund K/T < P (inv.) "strong, vivid (of colour)"
 ja čaj rāba — ila "this tea is too strong"
 tunga ~ tungi K/T (< P ?) f. "water-bottle, decanter"
 tunn-bound form of tu, q.v.
 turki T/K "Turkish language"
 turkna T/K m. and f. "Turk"
 tusi T f. (N) "smoke"
 tušin K/T "opposite"
 tutāg T/K f. "penny-whistle"
 tutū-kušī T/K < P (same form in pl.) f. "parrot"
 twa K (< P ?) m. "mulberry"

T

- tām H m. "accent of Bibl. cantillation"
 tabla T/K < Ital. f. "tablet, blackboard"
 tabqa K/T < Arab. f. "layer, shelf; firmament"
 tabut K/T < Arab. (< Aram ?) m. "coffin"
 taγ K/T < P f. "vault, dome"
 taya-šal P ? f. "the finest kind of wool"
 taha "three"
 tahalpe "three thousand"

- tahamin* (S) ~ *tahaminji* (N) "the third"
tahamme "three hundred"
tahi (S) "thirty" (cf. *tohi*)
tahimin (S) "the thirtieth" (cf. *tohiminji*)
taher H (inv.) "ritually permissible (of food)"
tahušeb "Tuesday"
taj K/T < P m. "bale"
taja f. T i. "wet-nurse" (cf. *mamsanta*) ii. K < P
 "sheaf"
tajfa K/T < Arab. f. "community, nation"
tajjara K/T < Arab. f. "airplane" (cf. *erplan*)
tajfr K/T < Arab. m. "merchant"
tajrula K/T < Arab. f. "trade, commerce"
talabta K/T < Arab. (pl. -*bje*) "demand"
talafa K < Arab. f. (N) "requital, reciprocate"
 (cf. *tol*; *tolafje*) — O-w/O-d "requite,
 reciprocate"
talah K/T < Arab. f. "luck, fortune" (cf.
mazzal, *mazzal*)
talán K/T < P f. "loot, spoils" — O-w/O-d
 "loot, despoil"
talana (f. -*nta*) "player" Jge — "knucklebone-
 player; idler" zare — "dice-player, gambler"
talánči K/T < P m. and f. "looter"
talani K/T < P f. "looting, despoiling" — O-w/
 O-d "loot, despoil"
talaniš T/K < P m. and f. "looted, sacked"
 — O-w/O-d "loot, sack"
talla K/T (< P ?) f. "trap" (cf. *duzax*)
tamah K/T < Arab. m. "avarice" — O-w/O-d
 "covet"
tamahkar K/T < P/Arab. m. and f. "avaricious,
 covetous"
tamam K/T < Arab. m. and f. ~ *tamama* (f.
 (-*mta*) (lit.) "complete, perfect; completely,
 perfectly" — O-w/O-d "complete, perfect
 (v.)"; — x-d-r "be completed, perfected"
tamamula K/T < Arab. f. "wholeness, whole-
 heartedness, perfection"
tamaša K/T < Arab. f. "show, pageant" —
 O-w/O-d "watch a show"; — O-z-l "go to
 see a show"
tambāl K/T < P (< Arab. ? inv.) "lazy, clumsy"
tambālula K/T < P (< Arab. ?) f. "laziness,
 clumsiness"
tamya T f. "official stamp"
taniš T (inv.) "acquaintance"
tanj K f. "crown" — O-w/O-d "crown (v.);
 — x-d-r "be crowned"
tappan K ? f. "door-hinge"
tapurta f. "fire, blaze"
tar K/T < P f. "species of string instrument"
tara ? v. *timma*
tarabzun K/T < Arab. < G m. "railing, parapet"
tarāf K/T < Arab. m. "side" (cf. *gab*)
tarči K/T < P m. "player of the *tar*"
taristan K f. "darkness" (cf. *xiška*)
tarjana (f. *tarjanta*) "driver"
tarlan K f. "falcon"
tarpa m. "leaf"
tas K/T < Arab. f. "basin, bowl" (cf. *tosī*)
tašt K/T < P f. "tub"
tawa K/T < P f. "frying-pan, skillet; omelette"
taw bisle f. "omelette with chopped mangold
 leaves and chives"
tawilla H f. "ritual immersion"
tawq K < Arab. f. "necklace" (cf. *girdaband*)
tawūq-wurān T f. "hawk"
tawuz K/T < P < Gr. f. "peacock, peahen;
 f. name"
tazi G < P f. (N) "greyhound" (cf. *taži*)
tena m. "load, burden" (cf. *šala*)
težab K < P f. "fire-water, acid"
tfan K/T < Arab. f. "flood"
tfang K/T < P f. "rifle"
tifla K < Arab. m. and f. "helpless"
tifle K < Arab. or nat. (pl.) "small children"
tima m. "price, value" (cf. *qimta*) — O-w/O-d
 "valuate"; mare- — "precious"
timja (f. *tmita*) "impure, unclean" (cf. *najis*)
timjula f. "impurity" (cf. *najsula*)
timma m. "taste" la — la *tara* "there is no taste
 to it"; pl. "tasty dishes"; el(it) išwa — e (S)
 "New Year's day (the feast of the seven
 symbolic dishes)"; lel(it) išwa — e (S)
 "New Year's eve"
tina m. "caly" g- — šerinnox! "may I bury you
 (in caly)!"
tintéla Arab. < Fr. f. "lace" (not a native word)"
tippa H ? f. "drop (of liquid)"
tipra m. "spark"
tišjanulay ~ *tišwa* m. "stealth" b- — "secretly"
tjan K < P f. "vat"
tliba K/T < Arab. m. "suitor, fiancé"
tlibta K/T < Arab. f. "fiancée"
tloxta (pl. -*xe*) f. "lentil"
tluy K m. "water-skin" (cf. *xiga*)
tman ? f. "cold in the head"
tmanalpe (S) "eight thousand" (cf. *tmonalpe*)
tmani (S) "eighty" (cf. also *tmenja*) (cf. *tmoni*)
tmanimin (S) "the eightieth" (cf. *tmoniminji*)
tmanissar (S) "eighteen" (cf. *tmonissar*)
tmanissarmin (S) "the eighteenth" (cf. *tmonis-
 sarminji*)
tmita f. v. *timja*
tmonalpe (N) "eight thousand" (cf. *tmanalpe*)
tmoni (N) "eighty" (cf. *tmani*)
tmoniminji (N) "the eightieth" (cf. *tmanimin*)
tmonissar (N) "eighteen" (cf. *tmanissar*)
tmonissarminji (N) "the eighteenth" (cf. *tmanis-
 armin*)
to H (inv.) (S) "good; well"

toba! K/T < Arab. < Aram. “(I shall do it) no more!” — d-j/O-r “repent”
toda rabba H “many thanks”
toγ/x T m. and f. “deep, dark (of colour)”
tohi (N) “thirty” (cf. *tahi*)
tohiminji (N) “the thirtieth” (cf. *tahimin*)
tol K f. (S) “requital, revenge” — O-w/O-d “requite, take revenge”
tolafje K < Arab. (pl.) (S.) “requital” (cf. *talafa*) — O-w/O-d “reciprocate”
tōp T/K (bound form *topp-*) f. “canon; cannonball; bale” pl. also: “exaggeration”; *toppe* d-h-l (S) “exaggerate”; — *ox* Jalqi ~ ilha l- — *ox* Jaliqu! “stop exaggerating <may your cannons be torn ~ God tear your cannons to pieces>!”
toppa T/K f. “ball”
topxana T/K + P f. “artillery”
tor T/K f. “fisherman’s or hunter’s net”
torba T/K f. “bag”
torči T/K m. “fisherman” (cf. *masita*; *qawwas*)
tosi K/T ? < Arab. f. “small bowl; ashtay” (cf. *tas*)
tota H f. “favour, kindness” šul — “arrangement of marriage <matter of kindness>”; — *ew* matxrále! “may his kindness remember him!” (formula used after mentioning a person’s name in conversation); — *ew* minšéle “he proved ungrateful to someone <he forgot his kindness>”
tox v. *toy*
toxlm K/T < P m. “seed”
toxmäy T/K f. “mallet”
toz T/K f. “dust”
tozbaγa T f. (N) “tortoise” (cf. *wižwiž*)
tpurta (pl. -*rje*) “finger-nail, toe-nail; talon” m-tappew *attat* — *jit* aqlaw “from head to foot from the summit of his head to the nails of his feet”
trana ? f. “ladle”
trefa H “ritually forbidden food”
trisa (f. -*sta*) “trim, orderly”
trosa inv. “true, correct, certain” mi- — “truly, certainly”
trostula f. “truth” — *ox* mara! (S) “tell me the <your> truth!” (cf. *duzula*)
tuf K m. “cast-iron? brass” (cf. *brinja*)
tuffarat K/T < Arab. f. “trade, commerce” — O-w/O-d “trade (verb)”
tura (pl. -*awe*) “mountain” — il- — la *saniq*, naš il-naš *saniq* “one mountain is in no need of another, but a person may be in need of another” (prov.)
turši m. K/T < P “pickles”

U

u- (S) v. w-

uja T m. “edge, end”
úle (f. *úla*, pl. *úlu*) (N) “here he (she) is, here they are” (cf. *hójle*)
ummta (pl. *ummta*) K/T < Arab. or nat. f. “nation” (cf. *millta*)
une (N) “they, those” (cf. *ojne*)
urmi f. “Rizaiye (town to the West of the lake of the same name, formerly Urmiye)”
urmižna m. and f. “of Rizaiye (person)”
ušwa (N) “seven” (cf. *išwa*)
ušwaminji (N) “the seventh” (cf. *išwamin*)
ušwalpe (N) “seven thousand” (cf. *išwalpe*)
ušwámme (N) “seven hundred” (cf. *išwámme*)
ušwassar (N) “seventeen” (cf. *išwassar*)
ušwassarminji (N) “the seventeenth” (cf. *išwassarmin*)
ušwoi (N) “seventy” (cf. *šwoi*)
ušwoiminji (N) “the seventeenth” (cf. *šwoimin*)
uzangi T f. “stirrup”
uzgun d-h-l T ? “swim”
uzgunči T ? m. and f. “swimmer”

U

umbul ? (S) “beside, except” (cf. *sewaj*)
umud K/T < P m. “hope” — h-w/O-l “give hope”; — *ilen* “I am hoping”; *ilha* — *an* la *qatéle!* “we hope to see you again soon <may God not put an end to our hope>!” (formula of leave-taking)
umudwar K/T < P m. and f. “hopeful”
unsa P ? < Fr. f. “ounce (about 250 grams)”
urusi T/K < R “Russian language” (cf. *rusi*)
urusna T/K < R m. and f. “Russian” (cf. *rusna*)
urusja T/K < R f. “Russia” (cf. *rusja*)
usta ~ *ustad* ~ *ustakar* K/T < P m. and f. “master craftsman; title of learned person”
ušaylly T f. “womb”
uzara ? m. “tow”

W

-w (following -V) ~ w- (following -C#) (N)
 wa- (lit.) ~ u- (following -C #) (S) “and”
 wa- v. -w
wāj K (bound form *wajj-*) f. (S) “concern” — *i* litti “this does not concern me”
wakil K/T < Arab. m. “minister” — O-w/Od “put in charge”; *wazir* — the ministers of state”
wale (pl.) v. šula
wakilula K/T < Arab. f. “charge, office”
warisa K/T < Arab. f. (lit.) “heirloom, inheritance” — O-w/O-d “inherit” (cf. *jaruša*; *miras*, *mirat*)
wasita ~ *wasjata* K/T < Arab. (pl. *wasje*) f. “testament”

waxt K/T < Arab. (pl. \sim waxtawe) m. "time" (cf. *wada*; *zman*) — litti "I have no time"; — it "at the time that, when"
 wazir K/T < Arab. m. "minister" — wakil "the ministers of state"
 wida (f. widta) "made, done"
 wiša (f. wišta) "dry, stiff bare empty-handed"
 wišanula f. "dryness, stiffness"
 wišula f. "dry land"
 wižwiž K ? f. (S) "turtle" (cf. *tozbaya*)

W

wada K < Arab. m. "(appointed) time" (cf. *waxt*, *zman*) — O-w/O-d "appoint a time"; — litti "I have not the time"; kud — "always, at any time"; o — "at that time, then"; g-d-o — "meanwhile, in the meantime"; — ew gnéle "his time has passed (set)"
wahš K/T < Arab. m. and f. "wild beast; wild"
waj! K/T < P or nat. "exclamation of pain" — li! "woe is me!"
wajīb K/T < Arab. m. "duty"
wajībi K < P/Arab. f. "depilatory ointment" — d-r-j/O "apply a depilatory ointment"
walla(h) K/T < Arab. "by God; well, why (in hesitating speech)"
warawarāw K O-w/O-d (s) "purr" (cf. *murnaw* O-w/O-d)
warāware (pl.) (S) "birth-pangs" (cf. *žan*)
warda f. "flower, f. name" — p-l-x "blossom"
wardana (f. -nta) "flowered (material)"
warja K/T < P ? m. (*Gaw* and lit.) "desert, wilderness" (cf. *barijja*; čol)
weran K/T < P m. and f. "desolate"
werani K/T < Arab. P f. "desolation"
wirtila K ? (pl. -tje) f. "fart" — *pal-t* "dto (v.)"
wirxa (pl. -awe) f. j'way, road" pille — "he set out on his way"; gāl ... — O-z-l "get on with ..."; enew pišla g- — "he awaited someone impatiently (his eye remained on the road)"; — ew dwiqle \sim *qtéle* "ie barred his way"
wižwiž K O-w/O-d "hum"

X

xa (bound form *xaj-*) "one; (proclit.) a, an" — ba- — "to one another"; — l- — "(at) one another"; — l- — O-z-l "resemble each other"; — m-nóšew etc. "alone"; — kimma "a few"; — silhit h-w-j/O "be alike"; kud — "everyone"; *xajan* da "one of us etc."
xaa (f. *xajta*) "alive, lively, agile"
xabār K/T < Arab. "announcement" — h-w/O-l "announce"
xabra K/T < Arab. m. "word, matter" — h-w/O-l

"promise (verb)"; *xa* — *maren* *baox* (*baqren* *minnox*) "I should like to tell (ask) you something"; — m-máni *hawex* (*šaqlex*)? — *hawex* (*šaqlex*) m- ... "I am going to relate about..., we shall now return to ... (formula used in story-telling); — i *xabré-le!* "I have spoken (my word is a word)!" — ox ile "you are (were) right < your-word it-is)"
xabuša m. "apple"
xadmana K/T < Arab. (f. -nta) "servant" *sanāme* — "idol-worshopper"
xadora m. "walk" — O-z-l "go for a walk"
xae (pl.) "life" — ox *jarxi* \sim *ilha* — ox *majrixlu!* "long life to you!"
xaj- bound form of *xa*, *q.v.*
xajta f. *v. xaa*
xala (f. -lta) (S) "new" (cf. *xala*)
xalifa K/T < Arab. m. and f. "teacher in an elementary school"
xallega K < Arab ? (S) "a great deal, many" (cf. *sejfullah*)
xalta f. *v. xala*
xalto T/K < Arab. f. "maternal aunt" (cf. *xala*)
xaluna ? f. "loom"
xalunta (pl. -nje) "sister"
xalwa m. "milk"
xalwana (f. -nta) "milker" *torta* — ta "milch-cow"
xamla (pl. -awe) f. "grown-up girl, maiden"
xamra m. "wine"
xamša "five"
xamšalpe "five thousand"
xamšamin (S) \sim *xamšamšaminji* (N) "the fifth"
xamšamme "five hundred"
xamšassar "fifteen"
xamšassarmin (S) \sim *xamšassarminji* (N) "the fifteenth"
xamši "fifty"
xamšimin (S) \sim *xamšiminji* (N) "the fiftieth"
xamšušeb m. "Thursday"
xánči ? "a little, few" — — "at least"; — *rāba* "more or less" — piš "almost, nearly (a little has remained)"; *xanču* "some of them, a minority"
xandāq K/T < P f. "ditch, trench"
xáni (S) "happy is he" (cf. *xošhal*) — d-ot *mahmin!* "happy is he who believes!"
xanjār K/T < P f. "dagger"
xanzura K < Arab. m. "pig" (cf. *baraza*; *xzura*)
xanzurta K < Arab. f. "sow" (cf. *dongiz*; *xzurta*)
xār K O-w/O-d "put to shame"
xarab K/T Arab. (inv.) "spoiled" — O-w/O-d "spoil"
xaraba K/T < Arab. or nat. (f. -bta) "ruined"
xarabi K < Arab. f. "ruin" (cf. *xarabistan*)
xarabta f. *v. xaraba*

- xarazan ? m. "plaited whip"
 xardāl K/T < Arab. f. "mustard"
 xaripula f. "sharpness"
 xarj K < Arab. m. "tax, tribute"
 xarše pl. "magic tricks"
 xarupa (f. -pta) "sharp (also of taste)"
 xaš "once more, again" tu — škīl ilu "they look exactly alike"
 xašuxa (f. xašuxta) "dark" (cf. xiškana)
 xāt K/T < Arab. (bound form xatt-) "hand-writing"
 xatīr K/T < Arab. m. "sake" b-o xatrox "for your sake"
 xatirjām K < P/Arab. (inv.) "safe, secure"
 xātt- v. xat
 xaxene ~ xaxéni v. xaxet
 xaxet (pl. xaxene ~ xaxéni) "another (one)"
 xa(w)ula f. "the state of being alive" b- — ew etc. "while he etc. was/were alive"
 xazna K/T < Arab. f. "treasure, treasury"
 xaznadar K/T < P/Arab. m. "treasurer"
 xdaa ? f. "mone (*q.v.*) ~ šaa (*q.v.*) cooked on Friday and eaten in the evening (N) ~ kept warm for the mid-morning meal on the Sabbath (S)"
 xdamta K/T < Arab. f. "service; lit. also: work"
 xdug K < P m. "worry" — O-w/O-d "worry (verb)"
 xdugana K < P (f. -nta) "worried"
 xel "under"
 xéla (arch.) "underneath" m- — "underhand"
 xen "more (temp.), else" — ma? "what else?"
 xessar "eleven"
 xessarmin (S) ~ xessarminji (N) "the eleventh"
 xet v. jwéxet, oxet, xaxet
 xidja (pl. ~ xidjawe) m. "woman's breast" qab — "brassière"
 xidmat ~ xidmatula K/T < Arab. f. "service" — "serve, do service"
 xidmatkar K/T < P/Arab. m. and f. "servant"
 xidmatula K/T < Arab. f. v. xidmat
 xiga K (< P ?) m. "water-skin" (cf. *tluy*)
 xila (f. xilta) "eaten"
 xilja (f. xilita) "sweet, pleasant"
 xiljanula f. "sweetness, pleasantness"; sweets"
 xilqa K < Arab. f. "character"
 xilta f. v. xila
 ximjana m. "father-in-law" (cf. xmala)
 xipja (f. xpita) "bare-footed"
 xiška m. "darkness" (cf. *taristan*)
 xiškana (f. -nta) "dark (not of colour)" (cf. xašuxa)
 xišma K (< P ?) m. "anger, wrath (cf. jigra)" *iptre* — ew "his wrath was kindled"
 xitna m. "son-in-law"
 xizma T/K (pl. ~ -awe) m. and f. "relative"
 xlima (f. -mta) "thick, coarse (also fig.)"
 xlimula f. "thickness, coarseness (also fig.)"
 xilita f. v. xilja
 xlula (pl. -lje) f. "wedding" (cf. xulila)
 xmala (pl. ~ -awe) f. "mother-in-law" (cf. ximjana)
 xmara m. "ass, donkey"
 xmarta (pl. -rje) "she-ass"
 xmira m. "yeast"
 xmurta (pl. -rje) "bead"
 xof O-w/O-d K < Arab. "fear (v.)" (cf. z-d-O/j, p. 293)
 xola m. "rope" — zille bar *dolča* "one loss after another (the rope went after the bucket)"
 xoišt K/T ? f. (N) "wish" (cf. xwaišt)
 xokana f. "itch, scabies"
 xonča K ? m. "wooden tablet; tablet with sweets etc. prepared by the bridegrooms mother for the bride"
 xoš K/T < P m. and f. "good, pleasant" — ew O-d-j/O "please someone (S); feel like doing something (N)" (cf. Juan)
 xošamad O-w/O-d K/T < P "flatter"
 xošamadi ~ xošamadula K/T < P f. "flattery"
 xošbaxt K/T < P (inv.) "happy"
 xošbaxtula K/T < P f. "happiness"
 xošbeš T < P f. "friendly meeting, exchange of compliments" — O-w/O-d "meet, exchange compliments"
 xošeba m. "Sunday"
 xpaqa f. "bosom"
 xpita f. v. xipja
 xre (pl.) "excrements" — O-x-l "be put to shame (eat dung (cf. II Kings 18, 27, Is. 36, 12))"
 xriwa (f. -wta) "bad, spoiled" — e xabre (pl.) "slander"; — e xabre *p-l-t* reš ... "slander someone"
 xriwula f. "badness"
 xruke K (< P ?) f. "small-pox"
 xšilta (pl. -lje) f. "bridal jewelry"
 xuje (pl. xujawe) m. "snake, serpent"
 xulma f. "dream" — x-z-j/O "dream (verb)"
 xunaw K (< P ?) m. "dew"
 xuräg K < P f. "food" (cf. ixala)
 xuri K < Arab. < Gr m. "Christian priest" (not a native word; cf. kašiš; qašša)
 xurjin K < P/Arab. f. "saddle-bag"
 xwaišt K (S) f. "wish" (cf. xoišt)
 xwara (f. -rta) "white" *salmew* xwaré-le "he is honourable, he has nothing to be ashamed of"
 xwarula f. "whiteness"
 xzimta ? < Arab. (pl. xzimje) f. "nose-ring"
 xzura m. "pig" (cf. *baraza*; xanzura)
 xzurta f. "sow" (cf. *dongtz*; xanzurta)

X

- xabja* ? < Arab. f. "earthenware cask for storage of food"
- xajata* K/T < Arab. or nat. m. and f. "tailor; dressmaker"
- xajīn* K/T < Arab. (inv.) "faithless, treacherous"
- xajīnula* K/T < Arab. f. "faithlessness, treachery, treason" — O-w/O-d "betray"
- xajalta* K/T < Arab. f. "(great) shame" *xajaltēlen* "I am greatly ashamed"
- xala* K < Arab. m. or nat. (S) "maternal uncle" (cf. *doji*; *xalto*)
- xala* (f. *-lta*) (N) "new" (cf. *xala*)
- xalasi* K < Arab. f. "what has been saved"
- xaliča* K/T < P f. "rug, carpet"
- xalis* (N) ~ *xalīs* (S) K/T < Arab. (inv.) "pure, unadulterated"
- xalla* K < Arab. ? f. "birth-mark, mole"
- xallana* K < Arab. (f. *-nta*) "having a birth-mark, a mole" (cf. *xal-xal*)
- xalqana* K/T < Arab. m. "the Creator"
- xalta* f. v. *xala*
- xalwar* K < P f. "unit of weight = 100 manja, q.v."
- xalxal* K < Arab. m. "anklet"
- xal-xal* K < P/Arab. m. and f. "full of birth-marks" (cf. *xallana*)
- xamisula* f. "sourness, acidity"
- xam* K/T < P (inv.) "raw (of material)."
- xameš* K/T < P (inv.) "silent" — O-w/O-d "silence (v.); — x-d-r "grow silent"
- xamešula* K/T < P f. "silence"
- xammara* K < Arab. f. "tavern"
- xamusa* (f. *-nta*) "sour"
- xan* T/K m. "khan"
- xan* K/T < P f. "inn"
- xana* f. "lap; shelter"
- xanīm* ~ *xanūm* T/K f. "lady, mistress" — *-baji* "form of address to woman older than oneself (esp. to husband's elder sister)"
- xanmula* T/K f. "state of a lady"
- xarabistan* K/T < Arab. f. "deserted, ruined place" (of. *xaraba*)
- xarman* K/T < P f. "threshing (floor)" — O-w/O-d "thresh"
- xarrata* K/T < Arab. m. "turner"
- xarratula* K/T < Arab. f. "turner's trade"
- xasa* f. "back" — it ~ *xas* ena (N) "upper eyelid"; l-... — *j-s-r* "rely upon <bind one's back to>"; m- — "related on the father's side (cf. *kasa*)"; — *aw* plix she has the menses <her back has opened>; — *kupé-le* "he is a hunchback"; *qitrit* — "backbone"
- xasola* m. "harvest" (cf. *xisla*)
- xašlīy* T < Arab. f. "expenses"
- xašša* ? f. "sack-cloth"
- xatakar* K/T < P/Arab. m. and f. "sinner, culprit" — *léwe* "he is innocent" (cf. *gunahkar*; *awunkar*)
- xawli* T/K f. "towel" (cf. *peštamal*)
- xilje* (pl.) v. *xleta*
- xilt* K < Arab. m. "dross"
- xilta* K < Arab. (pl. *-te*) f. "error, mistake"
- xipna* f. "two handfuls"
- xirraxīr* O-w/O-d K ? "snore (v.)" (cf. *pirxapīrx* O-w/O-d)
- xirxra* f. (U) "Adam's apple" (cf. *qirqra*; *qur-qūra*)
- xirt* K (inv.) "stout, robust"
- xisja* K < Arab. (pl. ~ *xisjawe*) m. "eunuch"
- xisla* m. "harvest" (cf. *xasola*)
- xitte* (pl.) "wheat"
- xittelta* (pl. *-lje*) f. "grain of wheat"
- xiz* K/T < Arm. f. "sand"
- xjal* K/T < Arab. m. "imagination, fancy" — O-w/O-d "imagine, fancy"
- xjarta* K/T < P (pl. *-re*) f. "cucumber"
- xleta* K/T < Arab. (pl. *xilje*) f. "gift of honour"
- xmata* (pl. *xmae*) f. "needle"
- xnami* (N) v. *xūnami*
- xorai* K "for nothing" (cf. *mifta*)
- xorīz* T m. (N) "cock, rooster" (cf. *kalabab*) — *dašti* "woodcock"
- xošal* K < P/Arab. (inv.) "pleased with another's misfortune"
- xošaw* K/T < P f. "honey-syrup mixed with water"
- xošhal* K < P/Arab. (inv.) "well, happy" — *ot ki...* "happy is he who..." (cf. *xáni*)
- xsus* K/T < Arab. (inv.) "special, specially" (cf. *maxsus*)
- xūmar* K/T < Arab. f. "hangover"
- xūnami* (S) ~ *xnami* K (< P ?) (N) m. and f. "parent-in-law of one's own child"
- xurma* K/T < P f. "date, date-palm"
- xurtmanta* (pl. *-ne*) f. "hulled chick-pea"
- xwardiqna* m. "old man, elder" (cf. *dīqnaxwara*)

Z

- zaa* ? (pl. ~ *-ane*) "time (iter.)" — — "from time to time"; it *zaane* "at times (there are times)"
- zabun* K/T < P m. and f. "feeble, exhausted"
- zabunula* K/T < Arab. f. "feebleness, exhaustion"
- zadjana* (f. *-nta*) "timorous, coward" m-ilha — "God-fearing, pious"
- zafār* K/T < Arab. m. "hurt" — *m-mt-j/O* "hurt (verb)"
- zāgārāg* ? f. "poppy-seed"
- zahār* K/T < P m. "poison" (cf. *žahār*)

zahla K/T f. "disgust" — ew idjéla m- "he was tired of, disgusted with"
 zajtunta K/T < Arab. (pl. -ne) f. "olive"
 zalil K/T < Arab. m. and f. "infirm"
 zami K (< P ?) f. "plot of land"
 zammera ? < Arab. f. "automobile-horn" (not a native word) — d-h-l "toot (v.)"
 zamurta (pl. -rje) f. "song"
 zanjafil K m. "ginger"
 zaqqara "m. weaver"
 zaqqara f. (N) "spider" (cf. *šejtan*)
 zarāl K/T < Arab. f. "loss, damage" — d-h-l "cause loss, damage"
 zarda K (< P ?) inv. "yellow" — čiwa f. "saffron"
 zardikta K ? (pl. zardke) f. "a species of green seeds or berries (?)"
 zardki K (< P ?) f. "jaundice"
 zardula K (< P ?) f. "yellowness"
 zargār K/T < P m. "goldsmith, silversmith, jeweller"
 zarqeta (pl. -qee) f. "bee; wasp"
 zatila ? (pl. -lje) f. "cake of bread made with oil"
 zaxet "last time"
 zdela f. "fear" (cf. *saf* m.)
 zertzami K < Arab. f. "cellar" (cf. *sirdab*)
 zift (K/T ?) < P (inv.) "worthless, rotten" (not a native word?)
 zijan ~ zijana K/T < P or nat. (old borrowing from P) m. "harm" — O-w/O-d "harm (v.)"
 zikr K/T < Arab. m. "Moslem religious meeting with singing and dancing" — O-w/O-d "hold such a meeting"
 zilli K f. (S) "slap, box on the ear" (cf. *čapilaj*, *silli*; *šapilaj*)
 zimrud K/T < P m. "smerald"
 zin K (< P ?) m. (S) "saddle" (cf. *jahar*)
 zingira ? m. "small cluster of grapes"
 zinglokta (pl. -ke) K < P ? f. "bell (on animal's neck)"
 zinjira K/T < P (pl. ~ —rje) f. "chain"
 ziražoš ? f. "sweet paste made of nuts etc. and eaten on the morrow of a wedding"
 ziwuy H m. or f. "(ordained) match, mate"
 ziwaw ? < Arab. m. "tares"
 zoa m. "pair"
 zóda K < Arab. "more" biš — "still more"; — *bassor* "more or less"
 zonula H f. "whoredom" (cf. *qahbula*)
 zóra (f. zúrta) "small, little"
 zorula f. "smallness; young age" b- — ew "in, in spite of, his young age"
 zreta (pl. zree) f. "agriculture; sown or planted land"
 zudda ? m. "brave, manly, strong"

zúrta f. v. zóra

Z

zablt K/T < Arab. m. "officer"
 zabt K/T < Arab. O-w/O-d "sequester"
 zaγ O-w/O-d T ? "purify metals"
 zaγa K < Arm. f. "tunnel"
 zahamta K/T < Arab. f. "trouble taken" — g-r-š "take trouble" (cf. *kallig*)
 zahm T < P m. "wound, hurt"
 zaj x-d-r K/T < Arab. "become lost, perish; become spoiled"
 zajf K/T < Arab. m. and f. "weak, feeble, thin"
 zalīm K/T < Arab. m. and f. "cruel oppressor"
 zamin K/T < Arab. m. and f. "voucher" — x-d-r ba- "vouch, warrant, guarantee for"
 zar T/K m. "dice" — *e talana* m. "gambler"
 zarpa m. "seed, posterity"
 zarb K < Arab. gāl — *j-r-q* "run with all one's might"
 zbota (pl. *zbonje*) "finger" — it aqla "toe"
 zibla m. "rubbish, refuse"
 zirniqta K/T < P < Gr. f. "arsenic"
 zjarta K/T < Arab. (pl. -re) f. "(place of) pilgrimage"
 zlobita K (< Arab.) (pl. -bje) f. "fritter"
 zlum O-w/O-d K/T < Arab. "oppress cruelly"
 zman K/T < Arab. (gender indeterminate) "time" (cf. *waxt*; *wada*)
 zóhar H f. "the Zohar (the chief work of the Cabbalistic literature)"
 zol ~ zola K/T m. "stripe, line" (cf. *šixta*; *šuxta*) zol zol (inv.) "striped"
 zondig ? < R f. "umbrella" (cf. *čatir*; *šamsija*)
 zor K/T < P f. "force, compulsion; oppression" — O-w/O-d "oppress, wrong"; gāl — "by force"
 zorlamiš T < Arab. O-w/O-d "rob, oppress"
 zurna K/T < P (pl. ~ *zurnae*) f. "species of flute"

Ž

žahār K m. "snake poison" (cf. *zahār*)
 žanasar ? f. "apoplectic stroke" — dwiqlale "he has had a stroke"
 žang K m. "rusty" — d-w/O-q "become rusty"; — dwiq ~ — bizjelle "it is (has become rusty (it has taken rust ~ rust has made holes in it))"

Ž

žan f. (S) "colic" (cf. *sanju*); pl. (S and N) "labour, birth-pangs" — *e* g-r-š ~ h-w/O-l "be in labour" (cf. *warāwāre*)

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