Judeo-Baghdadi: A Descriptive Analysis of the Colloquial Arabic of the Jews of Baghdad

Gene M. Schramm

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Judeo-Baghdadi: A Descriptive Analysis of the Colloquial Arabic of the Jews of Baghdad

Abstract
On the whole, the Jews of Iraq spoke Arabic, with a few small communities in the North speaking Kurdish or Aramaic. The Arabic of the Jews of Baghdad and Basra, however, is quite different from the dialects of the Moslems and Christians of those cities, for a strong trace of the Aramaic spoken by their ancestors is to be noted, after only the most superficial observations, in the structure, especially in the syntax, of Judeo-Baghdadi.

Degree Type
Dissertation

Degree Name
Doctor of Philosophy (PhD)

First Advisor
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Third Advisor
Joseph Reider

Subject Categories
Comparative and Historical Linguistics | Jewish Studies | Language Interpretation and Translation | Near Eastern Languages and Societies

Comments
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JUDEO-BAGHDADI

A Descriptive Analysis
of the Colloquial Arabic
of the Jews of Baghdad

by
Gene M. Schramm

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

The Dropsie College
for Hebrew and Cognate Learning
1954
This dissertation, entitled

JUDEO-BAGHDADI

by

Gene M. Schramm

Candidate for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

has been read and approved by

M. M. Brassmann

Monte Perlman

Joseph Reider

Date February 16, 1955
FOREWORD

The major part of the field work for this volume was done during May, June and July of 1952 in Israel, and most of that time was spent in the towns of Holon and Ramat-Gan. It was in Berkeley, California in 1950, however, that the idea for this work was first conceived as a result of friendships made with a number of Jewish students from Baghdad. One of these, Mr. Jack Dunnous, currently of Cambridge, Massachusetts, was particularly encouraging and helpful and was instrumental in arranging for me the first contacts with the Baghdad Community in Israel.

I am greatly indebted to Mr. Salem S. Asher of Ramat-Gan and his family for their assistance in procuring informants and to Mr. Elias S. Zelouf, also of Ramat-Gan, for his aid in the transcription of texts from recorded tape to paper. Other acknowledgments are due Miss Charlotte T. Child and Mr. James R. Child for assistance in proofreading the typescript, to Mr. Gerard L. LaRoche for reproducing the sample of handwriting found on page 115 and to Dr. Sydney Jaffe and Mr. John Nuelson for obtaining for me a small grant which made it possible to finish this work.
In addition, thanks are due Professor Moshe Perlmann, whose call to action brought an end to my sloth, to Professor S. Goitein for constructive comments and, of course, to the late Solomon L. Skoss, without whose approval this work might never have been started.

G. M. S.
Washington, D. C.
December 8, 1954
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>FOREWORD</td>
<td>i.1i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PREFACE</td>
<td>ix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PART ONE: PHONEMICS</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 1: PHONEMIC ANALYSIS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.1 Consonants</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.1.1 Phonetic Description</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.1.2 Unvoicing of Voiced Stops</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.1.3 Consonant Clusters</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.1.4 Gemination</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.1.5 Assimilation</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2 Vowels</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2.1 Phonetic Description</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.3 Syllabification</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.4 Stress</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.5 Tone</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.6 Non-phonemic Occurrences</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PART TWO: MORPHOLOGY</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 2: THE PRONOUN</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1 Personal Pronouns</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1.1 Independent Form</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1.2 Direct-object Suffixes</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1.3 Indirect-object Suffixes</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1.4 Suffixes with Nouns and Prepositions</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1.5 Additional Forms</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2 Relatives and Demonstratives</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2.1 The Relative Pronoun</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2.2 The Demonstrative Pronoun</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 3: NOUNS AND ADJECTIVES</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.1 Gender</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.1.1 Masculine</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.1.2 Feminine</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.1.3 Formation of Feminine Adjectives</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2 Number</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2.1 Singular</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2.2 Dual</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.2.3 Plural
3.3 Definition
3.3.1 The Definite Article
3.3.2 The Construct State
3.3.3 Proper Names
3.4 Numerals
3.4.1 Cardinal Numerals
3.4.2 Ordinal Numerals
3.4.3 Fractions

Chapter 4: THE VERB

4.1 General Considerations
4.1.1 The Verbal Root
4.1.2 The Finite Verb
4.1.3 The Imperative
4.1.4 Other Functional Modes
4.1.5 The Optative Force
4.1.6 Auxiliary Verbs
4.2 Personal Inflection
4.2.1 Triconsonantal Verbs
  4.2.1.1 Verbs Beginning with /w/ or /y/
4.2.2 Biconsonantal Bisyllabic Verbs
  4.2.2.1 CaCa Type
  4.2.2.2 aCaC Type
  4.2.2.3 kaga "to read"
4.2.3 Biconsonantal Monosyllabic Verbs with Short Vowels
4.2.4 Biconsonantal Monosyllabic Verbs with Long Vowels
4.2.5 ja" to come"
4.2.6 Quadriconsonantal Verbs
4.3 Negation of the Verb
  4.3.1 Negation of the Perfective
  4.3.2 Negation of the Imperfective
  4.3.3 Negation of the Imperative
4.4 Verbs with Pronominal Suffixes
  4.4.1 3rd Person Masculine Singular
  4.4.2 3rd Person Feminine Singular
  4.4.3 2nd Person Masculine Singular
  4.4.4 2nd Person Feminine Singular
  4.4.5 1st Person Common Singular
  4.4.6 3rd Person Common Plural
  4.4.7 2nd Person Common Plural
  4.4.8 1st Person Common Plural
  4.4.9 The Verb with Pronominal Suffixes of the Indirect Object
    4.4.9.1 Biconsonantal Monosyllabic Verbs with Long Vowels
    4.4.9.2 3rd Person Masculine Singular of CaCa Verbs
PREFACE

Even if one neglects to consider the traditional home of the Patriarch Abraham and the possibility that Israelite merchants or traders may have settled in Mesopotamia in very remote ages, the existence of the Jewish Community of Iraq can still be traced back to an era long before the advent of Islam. Indeed, it is entirely possible that many, if not most, of its members are descendants of those Judeans carried into Exile by Nebuchadnezzar in 586 B.C.E. who did not return to Judea after the establishment of the Second Jewish Commonwealth by Ezra. For more than a thousand years, the Jews of the Tigris-Euphrates valley wore the mantle of leadership following the decline of the centers in Roman Palestine. It was there that the Babylonian Talmud was completed, and that same region saw the birth of Karaism. The ancient House of David, by tradition, was continued in the dynasty of the Exilarchs who were recognized by the Sassanid Emperors and the Moslem Caliphs after them as the temporal, quasi-independent rulers of the Jews. It was also in Babylon that the great academies of Sura and Pumbeditha and the institution of the Gaonate were established.

Together with the decaying of the Abbasid Caliphate, there occurred the concurrent decline of the Jewish community
of Iraq. During the seven centuries following the fall of Baghdad to Hulagu, the Jews of Mesopotamia were no longer of importance; the traditions of scholarship were now carried on by newer centers in the West. The community reentered the modern world with the establishment of the Alliance Israelite Universelle in the third quarter of the nineteenth century and the foundation of modern schools by that society all over the Middle East.

The birth of Zionism together with that of Arab Nationalism, and the subsequent friction brought about by these two opposing forces open the latest chapter in the history of the Iraqi Jewish community. Despite the active part played by Jews in the fight against the Turks during World War I, despite the prominent role of many Jews in the new Iraqi government and despite the avowed friendship of the king, Faisal I, the first omens of trouble appeared as early as 1928, on the occasion of the visit of Lord Melchett to Baghdad. It must be stated, however, that the hostile demonstrations carried on at this time in protest to the proposed Jewish National Home in Palestine were not directed against the Jews.

In 1935, the teaching of Hebrew was banned for all except strictly religious purposes. By 1937, Jews as well as other non-Moslems found it increasingly difficult to enter Government service and by 1939 a ban was placed on
the importation of literature termed Zionist in nature.

In 1941, following the flight of the pro-Axis Rashid Ali, a three-day massacre broke out before the arrival of the British army in Baghdad, enveloping Baghdad and, to a lesser extent Basra, Mosul and smaller towns. Following the United Nations decision to partition Palestine, the Jews of Iraq were subjected to a large extent to loss of civil rights in the form of courts-martial without appeal, exit visas for travel abroad which could be secured with great difficulty plus the depositing of a bond of 2,000 pounds, (later increased to 3,000 pounds). By the end of hostilities in Palestine, the Jewish Senator, Ezra Daniel, was partially responsible for the return to a less insecure way of life by a public appeal to the Government.

The establishment of the State of Israel and the inception of the program known as Kibbutz ha-Galuyyot have virtually brought to an end this ancient community. Of the estimated 120,000 Jews residing in Iraq in 1948 (most of them in Baghdad), only some 10,000 are believed to have remained in the country. The vast majority emigrated to Israel in 1950-1951, with a few going to England, the United States and Europe.

On the whole, the Jews of Iraq spoke Arabic, with a few small communities in the North speaking Kurdish or Aramaic. The Arabic of the Jews of Baghdad and Basra, however, is quite different from the dialects of the Moslems and Christians of those cities, for a strong trace of the
Aramaic spoken by their ancestors is to be noted, after only the most superficial observations, in the structure, especially in the syntax, of Judeo-Baghdadi.

It is difficult to say when the Jews of Iraq began speaking this dialect, since the literary works of the Gaonic period are written in a language much like Classical Arabic and very much unlike Judeo-Baghdadi. It is entirely possible that these ancients spoke and wrote in two different dialects, similar to the situation found in the contemporary Arab world, but since no literature has been produced in Judeo-Baghdadi, it is impossible to trace its history. The only dialect similar to it is one reported by several informants to be spoken by the Moslems of Tikrit, a point that could not be substantiated.

Although Judeo-Baghdadi is not a literary language, it has been and still is used in writing, by means of a modified form of the Hebrew alphabet (see p. 115) for personal correspondence and business records. Younger people, owing to the suppression of the teaching of Hebrew in Iraq, usually write standard Arabic or a mixture with the Arabic alphabet.

It is rather safe to assume that Judeo-Baghdadi will pass into the category of dead and forgotten languages within a very short space of time; for it will soon be replaced by Hebrew in Israel. The future of the dialect in Baghdad, as well as that of the remnant of the Jewish Community still residing there, is a moot point.
PART ONE: PHONEMICS
CHAPTER ONE

Phonemic Analysis

1.1 Consonants

1.1.1 The consonants of Judeo-Baghdadi are formed by the labial, dental, palatal, velar, pharyngeal and laryngeal organs of the vocal apparatus and are divided according to closure into stops, spirants, nasals, liquids and semivowels. With the exception of the laryngeals, the pharyngeals and the velar /g/, the consonants occur in pairs of velarized and nonvelarized members. Another system of opposition, found in the groups of stops and spirants, is that of voiced and unvoiced consonants emanating from all points of articulation with the exception of the larynx.

1.1.1.1 The labial series consists of /b/ and /p/, the voiced bilabial stops; moderately aspirated /p/ and /q/, the unvoiced bilabial stops; /v/, the voiced labiodental spirant; /f/ and /q/, the unvoiced labiodental spirants; /m/ and /n/, the voiced bilabial nasals; /w/ and /y/, the bilabial semivowels. Of these, /p/, /q/ and /v/ occur only in loanwords of non-Arabic origin, the lattermost occurring only in neologisms.
baab /'baap/ "door"
baaba /'baaba/ "daddy"
poosta /'poosta/ "post office"
pališka /pa'liška/ "broken-down vehicle"
vila /'vila/ "private dwelling"
fluus /fluus/ "money"
štafa /štafa/ "to calm down"
maal /maal/ "of"
kaam /kaam/ "to begin"
walad /walat/ "boy"
twaab /twaap/ "cannon"

1.1.1.2 Among the dentals are /d/ and /q/, the voiced stops; moderately aspirated /t/ and /t/, the unvoiced stops; /d/ and /q/, the voiced spirants; /θ/ and /θ/, the unvoiced spirants; /z/ and /z/, the voiced sibilants; /s/ and /s/ the unvoiced sibilants; /n/ and /n/, the nasals; /l/ and /l/, the liquids; /r/ and /r/, the trills. Of these, /r/ and /r/ occur only in loanwords of Arabic and non-Arabic origin and are frequently replaced by /g/ and /ḡ/ (see 1.1.1.4).

dikaan /di'kaan/ "store"
dak /'dak/ "to knock"
beet /'beet/ "house"
katal /'kaṭal/ "to kill"
1.1.1.3 The series of palatals consists of the voiced stops /j/ and /ʒ/; the moderately aspirated unvoiced stops /c/ and / disponíveis /s/ and /ʃ/; the semivowels /y/ and /ʏ/. 

njabağ /'njabağ/ "to be compelled" 
đaaj /'đaaj/ "to be fed up" 
cool /'cool/ "barren place" 
kacag /'kacag/ "black market" 
šeen /'šeen/ "thing" 
šak /'šak/ "to split"
1.1.1.4 Among the velars occur the voiced stop /g/; the moderately aspirated unvoiced stops /k/ and / addslashes/; the voiced spirants /g/ and / addslashes/; the unvoiced spirants /x/ and / addslashes/.

zangiin /'zang'iin/ "rich"

kil /'kil/ "all"

kaam /'k'aam/ "to begin"

ţeeţ /'ţeeţ/ "other than"

kačaţ /'k'ačaţ/ "black market"

ax /'ax/ "brother"

xatgaţ /'xatgaţ/ "why"

1.1.1.5 The pharyngeal series is composed of the voiced spirant / addslashes/ and the unvoiced spirant / addslashes/. 

beeţ /'beeţ/ "sale"

hap /'hap/ "to love"

1.1.1.6 The laryngeal series consists of the glottal stop / addslashes/ and the spirant /slashes/. Of these two, / addslashes/ occurs only in a few loanwords. 

masaţla /ma'saţla/ "problem"

hdoolii /ha'doolii/ "these"

nhaaţ /'nhaaţ/ "daytime"
1.1.1.7 The phonetic analysis of the consonants presented above can be summarized in the following chart.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Stop</th>
<th>Spirant</th>
<th>Nasal</th>
<th>Liquid</th>
<th>Semivowel</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Labial</td>
<td>b b</td>
<td>p p v f f m m w w</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dental</td>
<td>d t t d å e q n n l l z z s s r r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palatal</td>
<td>j j č č š š y y</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Velar</td>
<td>g k k ĝ ĝ x x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pharyngeal</td>
<td></td>
<td>&amp; h</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laryngeal</td>
<td></td>
<td>h</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.1.1.8 As can be deduced from the words thus far encountered in the examples, a principle of consonantal harmony requires that all consonants of a given word agree as to velarization or nonvelarization. Of the twenty-one velarized consonants listed above, however, only /b/, /ç/, /k/ /l/ and /ŋ/ are phonemic. The phoneme /b/ occurs only in two words, ḫaaba "daddy" and yaaba "hey there!". All other occurrences of /b/ can be attributed to consonantal harmony with other velarized phonemic consonants in the same word. Similarly, outside of the word alļa "God", the sound /l/ is produced by the same factor of harmony with a /ɑ/, /k/, /ŋ/ or /ʃ/ occurring
in the same word. The sole instances of lack of consonantal harmony may be summarized as follows:

a) The phonemes /g/, /h/, /h/, /v/, /ʔ/ and /&/, having no velarized allophones, remain unchanged in words containing /ə/, /ɛ/, /ʃ/ or /t/.

b) The phoneme /k/ of the verbal prefix ka- (see 4.1.2.2 b) will not velarize the consonants of the verb itself. In all other cases, however, the occurrence of /k/ in a word causes the velarization of all other consonants.

c) The phoneme /k/ is completely neutral and will occur in both velarized and nonvelarized words.

The phonemic spelling used throughout this work will, therefore, mark only the first significant velarized consonant of each velarized word.

1.1.1.9 The foregoing discussion leaves Judeo-Baghdadi with thirty-three phonemic consonants, of which eight occur only sporadically or in loanwords. These thirty-three phonemic consonants can now be summarized in the table below.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stop</th>
<th>Spirant</th>
<th>Nasal</th>
<th>Liquid</th>
<th>Semivowel</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V V U</td>
<td>U V U</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labial</td>
<td>b b p v f m w</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dental</td>
<td>d t t a a o n l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palatal</td>
<td>j c s s r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Velar</td>
<td>g k k ـ x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pharyngeal</td>
<td>&amp; h</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laryngeal</td>
<td>? h</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.1.2 The stops /b/ and /d/ are unvoiced when word-final, if the next word does not begin with a voiced consonant or a vowel.

baab /'baap/ "door"
baab lbeet /baabl'beet/ "the door of the house"
dahuud /da'huut/ "David"
dahuud ibni1 /da'huud 'ibnii/ "my son David"

1.1.3 Clusters of two consonants may be found initially, intervocally and finally.

htal /'htal/ "to occupy"
čągpaay /čąg'paay/ "bed"
mıəl /'mıəl/ "like"
1.1.3.1 Clusters of three consonants are frequent when intervocalic but are never found in word-final position. The unique occurrences of a word-initial cluster of three consonants are the groups /stg/ and /stg/.

\[ \text{kal\text{tu}u} /\text{kal\text{tu}uu}/ \text{"you told him"} \]
\[ \text{st\text{\text{\text{g}}}eet\text{tu}u} /\text{st\text{\text{\text{g}}}eet\text{tu}uu}/ \text{"I bought"} \]
\[ \text{st\text{\text{\text{g}}}aht\text{tu}u} /\text{st\text{\text{\text{g}}}aht\text{tu}uu}/ \text{"I rested"} \]

1.1.4 Gemination of consonants is phonemic and occurs in initial and intervocalic positions only. When word-initial, there can be heard, occasionally, a furtive prosthetic vowel, particularly if the preceding word ends in a consonant. This furtive vowel is a freely varying vowel, being either /i/, /a/ or /e/.

\[ \text{beet} /\text{beet}/ \text{"house"} \]
\[ \text{bbeet} /\text{bbeet}/ \text{"at home"} \]
\[ \text{mina} /\text{mina}/ \text{"from her"} \]
\[ \text{minna} /\text{minna}/ \text{"from us"} \]

1.1.5 Assimilation of consonants, apart from the matter of consonantal harmony discussed in paragraph 1.1.1.8, is always of the regressive type.

1.1.5.1 Partial assimilation involves the unvoicing of a voiced labial or dental, when followed with close juncture, by an unvoiced consonant. Similarly,
an unvoiced dental will be voiced when followed by a voiced consonant other than a nasal or a liquid.

\textit{dkagtuu} /'dkagtu\texttt{u}/ "I remember"
\textit{dkakiin} /\texttt{tka'kiin}/ "stores"
\textit{tzaraf} /'dzaraf/ "to be pierced"
\textit{bsuuriya} /'\texttt{psuuriya}/ "in Syria"

1.1.5.2 Total assimilation occurs in the following instances:

a) the preposition \textit{b-}, when prefixed to a noun beginning with a labial, save /w/.
\textit{bfinjaan} /\texttt{fin'jaan}/ "in a cup"
\textit{bpagii} /'\texttt{paga}gii/ "in Paris"
\textit{bwa\texttt{g}it} /'\texttt{bwa}g\texttt{it}/ "in the middle"

b) the consonant /l/ when followed with close juncture by any dental, except for /t/ when /t/ is the first element of the personal suffixes of the verb or the feminine ending of the noun, or when /t/ is the second consonant of a verb.
\textit{maalna} /'maanna/ "ours"
\textit{uu\texttt{g}alna} /u\texttt{g}anna/ "we arrived"
\textit{ldagb} /'ddagp/ "the street"
\textit{ltikii} /'ttikii/ "the mulberries"
\textit{ltamuu} /'ltamuu/ "they came together"
c) the consonants /d/, /d̪/, /d̠/ and /θ/, when followed by the personal suffixes of the verb which begin with /t/ or by the suffix /t/ of the feminine noun.

- axadtuu /a'xattuu/ "I took"
- tlaatim /'tlaattim/ "the three of them"
- magadtuu /ma'gattuu/ "you saddened him"

d) the /t/ of the personal prefixes of the verb, when followed by another dental except for the liquids and the nasal.

- ta'aloon /a•aaloon/ "you are remaining"
- ttala& /'ttala&/ "she is taking out"
- tdak /'ddak/ "you are knocking"

1.2 Vowels

1.2.1 Eight long and six short vowels can be distinguished phonetically and are distributed as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>iːi</td>
<td>uu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower-high</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>ə</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher-mid</td>
<td>ee</td>
<td>əə</td>
<td>oo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean-mid</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>ə</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower-mid</td>
<td>ææ</td>
<td>əə</td>
<td>oo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher-low</td>
<td>aa</td>
<td></td>
<td>aa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td></td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1.2.1.1 The high vowels /ii/ and /uu/ occur in all positions. When word-initial and immediately preceding a consonant or when word-final and immediately following a consonant, they are morphophonemically the same as /y/ and /w/, respectively.

iihuud (yhuud) /ii'huut/ "Jews"
uulaad (wlaad) /uu'laat/ "children"
eiinii /eiinii/ "second"
s'uufuu /'suufuu/ "look!"

1.2.1.2 The vowel /e/ occurs in all positions, having as allophones /i/ and /u/ when occurring with apical and faucal consonants, respectively. All three vowels, however, freely substitute for one another in many words and are frequently reduced to zero grade in rapid speech.

kel /'kil/, /'kəl/, /'kul/ "all"
mnel- /'m-nil/, /mnel/, /'mnul/ "from the"

This vowel will be represented by /i/ in the orthography.

1.2.1.3 The higher mid vowels /ee/ and /oo/ occur in all positions. Morphophonemically, they often are changed to /ii/ and /oo/, respectively, when they lose their stress but are nevertheless
phonemically distinct. They have as allophones /ææ/ and /ɔɔ/, respectively, when occurring together with /k/, /&/ and /n/.

bee& /'bee&/ "sale"
biit& /'biit&/ "sell!"
loo /'loo/ "if"
luu /'luu/ "to him"
eenta /'eenta/ "when?"
oosal /'oosal/ "I shall arrive"
šifteenuu /šif'teenuu/ "you (f) saw him"
(siftii /'siftii/ "you (f) saw")
šiftoonuu /šif'toonuu/ "I saw him"
(siftuu /'siftuu/ "I saw")
weekif /'weəknif/ "standing"
lakoona /la'kooːna/ "they met us"

1.2.1.4 The mean-mid vowels /e/ and /o/ occur exclusively in loanwords.
heskel /'hes'kel/ "Ezekiel"
gotra /'gotra/ "ignorance"

1.2.1.5 The higher-low vowels /aa/ and /aa/ occur in all positions and are allophones. Orthographically, they are both represented by /aa/.
maakuum /'maakuum/ "I am not starting"
aakil /'aakil/ "I am eating"
tooraa /too'raa/ "Torah"
1.2.1.6 The low central vowel /a/ is frequently a free variant of /e/, although they are phonemically distinct.

kaltoolak  /kal'rióólaθ/  "I told you (m)"
kaltoolik  /kal'rióółeθ/  "I told you (f)"
iixaloohim  /iixá'loohem/  "they permit them"
iixiloohim  /iixé'loohem/  "they permit them"
iixloohim  /iix̂'loohem/

1.2.1.7 The diphthongs /ay/ and /aw/, when followed by a consonant, or when unstressed, often become /ee/ and /oo/, respectively. This process is continued by many speakers, the net result of loss of stress being the raising of the vowels to /ii/ and /uu/, respectively.

ka-  +  iiitalkoon  -----  keetalkoon  /keetāl’koon/  "they are coming out"
ma-  iiisiiq  -----  meesiiq  /'meesiq/  "it cannot be"
tsawii  /'tsawii/  "you make"
tsuuwoon  /tsuu'oon/  "you (pl) make"

1.3 Syllabification

1.3.1 The two types of contrasting syllables are short and long.
1.3.1.1 A short syllable is one that consists of a single consonant or a single short vowel or a consonant plus a short vowel.

1.3.1.2 A long syllable is one that ends in a long vowel or a consonant.

1.3.2 A short syllable consisting of a single consonant occurs only in the word-initial and word-final positions of words either beginning with or ending with consonant clusters. This syllabification depends entirely on the speed of the speaker and is non-phonemic.

1.4 Stress

1.4.1 The stress will fall on the ultimate if the ultimate ends in a consonant and contains a long vowel. If the ultimate ends in a consonant and has a short vowel, it will be stressed only if the word is the imperfective of a monosyllabic biconsonantal verb (see 4.1.1.4 and 4.2.3).

1.4.2 The stress will be on the first syllable if that syllable is some form of the negative adverb ma or la.

1.4.3 In all other polysyllabic words, the stress will fall on the penultimate.

1.4.4 The only deviations found occur in loanwords, the stress of which will be marked.
Contour tones are phonemic insofar as they mark the difference between declarative, interrogative and exclamatory utterances. Declarative utterances begin and end with low tones, the stressed elements, such as the subject, verb or modifier, receiving a higher tone. Interrogative utterances not containing an interrogative word, however, usually begin low and end high. Exclamatory utterances, on the other hand, begin high and end low. Interrogative utterances introduced by an interrogative word, i.e. an interrogative pronoun, adjective or adverb, follow the tone pattern of either the interrogative or the exclamatory utterance, according to the stress desired by the speaker.
1.6 Non-phonemic Occurrences

1.6.1 The furtive vowel mentioned above in paragraph 1.1.4 is a non-phonemic vocalic inclusion that is heard in slower discourse, apparently as an element which breaks down clusters of more than two consonants. This free vowel plays much the same role that the prosthetic hamzatu-lwaqla plays in Classical Arabic orthography.

\[ \text{kaamuu ii'guuhoon kil gaba\& byuut bbeet.} \]

\[ /'kaamuu ii'guu'hoon kil 'gaba\& 'byuutib'beet/ \]

"They began to go, every four households, into one house."

1.6.2 The rate of speed in speech is moderately slow, being about the same as that of the Moslems of Baghdad. Women, however, tend to speak at a slightly more rapid rate of speech than do the men.
PART TWO: MORPHOLOGY
CHAPTER TWO
The Pronoun

2.1 Personal Pronouns

2.1.1 The following are the independent forms of the personal pronoun.

Singular  
3m huwii
3f hiiyi
2m inta
2f intii
1c ana

Plural  
3c him (himii)
2c intim
1c niḥna (iḥna)

2.1.1.1 The independent personal pronouns are used to express the pronominal subject of an utterance.

huwii ẓeen yiṭla& minu biinuu. "It is something that grows (turns out) by itself."

iḥna min baḍdaađ. "We are from Baghdad."
hiyiḥi ixtii. "She is my sister."
ana ẓeyiḥ zaḳeen. "I am an old man."
2.1.1.2 The independent personal pronoun is also used to emphasize, anticipate or reiterate any other pronominal reference, be it in the form of a pronominal suffix (see below 2.1.2) or in the form of a personal inflection of the verb (see 4.2).

ana šiftook. "I saw you."
šiftook īnta. "I saw you."
huwii saag &amguu sabaiin sana. "He is seventy years old." (He, his life has become seventy years.)
hiyii weena? "Where is she?"

2.1.2 The suffixed form of the personal pronoun is the following when affixed to a verb. Note that there are several instances of variants for the pronoun following a consonant or a vowel.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>After Consonant</th>
<th>After Vowel</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3m</td>
<td>-uu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3f</td>
<td>-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2m</td>
<td>-ak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2f</td>
<td>-ik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lc</td>
<td>-nii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3c</td>
<td>-im</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2c</td>
<td>-kim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lc</td>
<td>-na</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.1.2.1 The pronominal suffix, when attached to the verb, expresses the pronominal direct object of the verb. For the morphophonemic changes of the finite verb when suffixed, see 4.3.

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{\texttt{\textlt{\texttt{siftoonuu}}} } & \text{"I saw him"} \\
\text{\texttt{\textlt{\texttt{saafuu}}} } & \text{"he saw him"} \\
\text{\texttt{\textlt{\texttt{siftuuha}}} } & \text{"I saw her"} \\
\text{\texttt{\textlt{\texttt{saafa}}} } & \text{"he saw her"} \\
\text{\texttt{\textlt{\texttt{siftook}}} } & \text{"I saw you"} \\
\text{\texttt{\textlt{\texttt{saafak}}} } & \text{"he saw you"} \\
\text{\texttt{\textlt{\texttt{siftooki}}} } & \text{"I saw you (f)"} \\
\text{\texttt{\textlt{\texttt{saafik}}} } & \text{"he saw you (f)"} \\
\text{\texttt{\textlt{\texttt{sifteenii}}} } & \text{"you (f) saw me"} \\
\text{\texttt{\textlt{\texttt{saafnii}}} } & \text{"he saw me"} \\
\text{\texttt{\textlt{\texttt{siftoohim}}} } & \text{"I saw them"} \\
\text{\texttt{\textlt{\texttt{saafim}}} } & \text{"he saw them"} \\
\text{\texttt{\textlt{\texttt{siftookim}}} } & \text{"I saw you (pl)"} \\
\text{\texttt{\textlt{\texttt{saafkim}}} } & \text{"he saw you (pl)"} \\
\text{\texttt{\textlt{\texttt{sifteena}}} } & \text{"you (f) saw us"} \\
\text{\texttt{\textlt{\texttt{saafna}}} } & \text{"he saw us"} \\
\end{array}
\]

2.1.3 The following pronominal suffixes are used to express the pronominal indirect object of the verb. For morphophonemic changes in the verb when suffixed by the indirect-object pronouns, see 4.3.9.
Singular  3m -luu
         3f -la
         2m -lak
         2f -lik
         1c  -l1i

Plural   3c -lim
         2c  -lk1m (-ilk1m)
         1c  -11na (-lina)

2.1.3.1 The following illustrates the verb with the
pronominal suffixes of the indirect object.

kaalooluu "they told him"
kaaloola "they told her"
kaaloolak "they told you"
kaaloolik "they told you (f)"
kaalooli1i "they told me"
kaaloolim "they told them"
kaaloolkim "they told you (pl)"
kaalit1ik1m "she told you (pl)"
kaalool1na "they told us"
kaalitlin1a "she told us"

2.1.4 Pronominal suffixes, when attached to prepositions
and nouns, express the object of the preposition and
the pronominal possessor of the noun, respectively. The
forms of the suffixes are the same as those attached to
the verb, with the exception of the suffix of the first person singular which is -ii after consonants and -yii after vowels. It should be remarked, however, that some prepositions add -nii for the first person singular.

The lists below illustrate the pronominal suffixes with the prepositions &al (combining form &lee-) "on"; (i)l (combining forms lee-, li, l-) "toward"; b (combining forms bii-, b-) "in"; min "from"; waya (combining form wiya-) "with"; beet "house"; siyaaga (combining form siyaagit-) "car"; ab (combining form abuu-) "father".

| Preposition | Singular 3m | Singular 3f | Singular 2m | Singular 2f | Plural 3c | Plural 2c | Plural 1c | Min
|--------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|------|
| &al leenuu   | &liiha      | &leek       | &leekii     | &leeyii     | &leehim   | &leekim   | &leena    | &min
|             |             |             |             |             | leehim    | leekim    | leena (liina) |        |
|             | leenuu      | liiha       | lak         | lik         | linii (leeyii) | biik (bik) | biikim | biina (bina) |
|             | biinuu      | biilaha     | biik        | biikii      | biihim    | biikim    |           |      |
|             |             |             | biik (bak)  | biikii (bik) |          |           |           |      |
|             |             |             |             |             | linii (leeyii) | biyii (binii) |     |      |
|             |             |             |             |             | leehim    | leekim    | leena (liina) | biina |
|             |             |             |             |             | biilaha   | biikim    |           |      |
|             |             |             |             |             | biik (bik) | biikim    |           |      |
|             |             |             |             |             | linii (leeyii) | biyii (binii) |     |      |
|             |             |             |             |             | leehim    | leekim    | leena (liina) | biina |
|             |             |             |             |             | biilaha   | biikim    |           |      |
|             |             |             |             |             | biik (bik) | biikim    |           |      |
|             |             |             |             |             | linii (leeyii) | biyii (binii) |     |      |
|             |             |             |             |             | leehim    | leekim    | leena (liina) | biina |
|             |             |             |             |             | biilaha   | biikim    |           |      |
|             |             |             |             |             | biik (bik) | biikim    |           |      |
|             |             |             |             |             | linii (leeyii) | biyii (binii) |     |      |
|             |             |             |             |             | leehim    | leekim    | leena (liina) | biina |
|             |             |             |             |             | biilaha   | biikim    |           |      |
|             |             |             |             |             | biik (bik) | biikim    |           |      |
|             |             |             |             |             | linii (leeyii) | biyii (binii) |     |      |
|             |             |             |             |             | leehim    | leekim    | leena (liina) | biina |
|             |             |             |             |             | biilaha   | biikim    |           |      |
|             |             |             |             |             | biik (bik) | biikim    |           |      |
|             |             |             |             |             | linii (leeyii) | biyii (binii) |     |      |
|             |             |             |             |             | leehim    | leekim    | leena (liina) | biina |
|             |             |             |             |             | biilaha   | biikim    |           |      |
|             |             |             |             |             | biik (bik) | biikim    |           |      |
|             |             |             |             |             | linii (leeyii) | biyii (binii) |     |      |
|             |             |             |             |             | leehim    | leekim    | leena (liina) | biina |
|             |             |             |             |             | biilaha   | biikim    |           |      |
|             |             |             |             |             | biik (bik) | biikim    |           |      |
|             |             |             |             |             | linii (leeyii) | biyii (binii) |     |      |
|             |             |             |             |             | leehim    | leekim    | leena (liina) | biina |
|             |             |             |             |             | biilaha   | biikim    |           |      |
|             |             |             |             |             | biik (bik) | biikim    |           |      |
|             |             |             |             |             | linii (leeyii) | biyii (binii) |     |      |
|             |             |             |             |             | leehim    | leekim    | leena (liina) | biina |
|             |             |             |             |             | biilaha   | biikim    |           |      |
|             |             |             |             |             | biik (bik) | biikim    |           |      |
|             |             |             |             |             | linii (leeyii) | biyii (binii) |     |      |
|             |             |             |             |             | leehim    | leekim    | leena (liina) | biina |
|             |             |             |             |             | biilaha   | biikim    |           |      |
|             |             |             |             |             | biik (bik) | biikim    |           |      |
|             |             |             |             |             | linii (leeyii) | biyii (binii) |     |      |
|             |             |             |             |             | leehim    | leekim    | leena (liina) | biina |
|             |             |             |             |             | biilaha   | biikim    |           |      |
|             |             |             |             |             | biik (bik) | biikim    |           |      |
|             |             |             |             |             | linii (leeyii) | biyii (binii) |     |      |
|             |             |             |             |             | leehim    | leekim    | leena (liina) | biina |
|             |             |             |             |             | biilaha   | biikim    |           |      |
|             |             |             |             |             | biik (bik) | biikim    |           |      |
|             |             |             |             |             | linii (leeyii) | biyii (binii) |     |      |
|             |             |             |             |             | leehim    | leekim    | leena (liina) | biina |
|             |             |             |             |             | biilaha   | biikim    |           |      |
|             |             |             |             |             | biik (bik) | biikim    |           |      |
|             |             |             |             |             | linii (leeyii) | biyii (binii) |     |      |
|             |             |             |             |             | leehim    | leekim    | leena (liina) | biina |
|             |             |             |             |             | biilaha   | biikim    |           |      |
|             |             |             |             |             | biik (bik) | biikim    |           |      |
|             |             |             |             |             | linii (leeyii) | biyii (binii) |     |      |
2.1.5 Additional personal pronouns, such as weehid "one", nafs "self", naas "people", weehid...lax "one another" and naas...lnaas "one another", etc., are actually nouns and present only lexical problems.

2.2 Relatives and Demonstratives

2.2.1 The relative pronoun has an unbound form ili and a bound form l-, which are mutually interchangeable. They will be discussed in paragraph 6.1.4.

2.2.2 The demonstrative pronouns, which will be further discussed in paragraph 6.1.2, have the following forms.

- **haaad**a "this (m)"
- **haay(i)l** "this (f)" "these (c)"
- **haaadalk** "that (m)"
- **hadiik** "that (f)" "those (c)"
2.2.2.1 For the discussion of gender and number, see paragraphs 3.1, 3.2, 6.1 and 7.1.

2.2.2.2 The prefixed form hal- serves as a common gender and common number form of the demonstrative adjective.

halsanna (hassana) "this year"

halyoom "today", "this day"
CHAPTER THREE
Nouns and Adjectives

3.1 Gender

Nouns and adjectives fall into two different classes, traditionally termed genders. This concept of masculine and feminine nouns is justified solely by the fact that the adjective, which is a functional rather than a distinct morphological category of the substantive, does add certain morphemes when used to describe females.

3.1.1 The masculine noun is one which either denotes a male or which does not end in one of the characteristic feminine morphemes.

- ab "father"
- ax "brother"
- walad "boy"
- mal&ab "toy"

3.1.2 The feminine noun is one which either denotes a female or which ends in the morphemes -a or -ii.

- im "mother"
- ixt "sister"
- bneetii "girl"
- hakuuma "government"
3.1.3 Most feminine adjectives are formed by adding -ii to the masculine (-yi to a form ending in -ii).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kbiig</td>
<td>kbiigii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biigd</td>
<td>biigdi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muujuud</td>
<td>muujuudii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&amp;iraakii</td>
<td>&amp;iraakiyii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zgeezyig</td>
<td>zgeezyii</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.1.3.1 Masculine forms ending in -aan and a few individual adjectives add -a to form the feminine.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&amp;atsaan</td>
<td>&amp;atsaana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>batgaan</td>
<td>batgaana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hiluu</td>
<td>hilwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mliih</td>
<td>mliiha</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.1.3.2 The two adjectives &aal "excellent" and xooš "good" add zero to form the feminine.

3.2 Number

The noun has three numbers, namely the singular, the dual and the plural. When functioning as adjectives, however, nouns have singular and plural forms only.
3.2.1 The singular of the noun has no characteristic form.

3.2.2 The dual of the noun is formed by adding the morpheme -een to the masculine singular. Feminine nouns form the dual by dropping the feminine singular morpheme -a or -ii and adding -teen after a single consonant or -iteen after a consonant cluster.

\[ \text{waladeen} \quad \text{"two boys" (sing. walad)} \]
\[ \text{hakuumteen} \quad \text{"two governments" (sing. hakuumma)} \]
\[ \text{masa?liteen} \quad \text{"two problems" (sing. masa?la)} \]

3.2.3 The plural is formed in a number of ways involving prefixation, infixation, suffixation, reduplication, apocopation, contraction or vocalic ablaut or a combination of several of these processes. In addition, a few nouns form plurals by suppletion. Many plural forms are morphologically like singular patterns. For the majority of cases, there is no way of predicting the plural form from the singular without bringing in historical considerations. The following are the major categories of plural formation.

3.2.3.1 Vocalic Ablaut:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ţaaas &quot;head&quot;</td>
<td>ţuus</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Singular
- Ĝjaal "man"
- Ktaab "book"
- Kbiig "big"
- Ŝkiil "heavy"

### Plural
- Ĝjiil
- Ktiib
- Kbaaq
- Ŝkaal

#### 3.2.3.2 Suffixation -iin:
- Magtaah "content"
- Kliil "few"
- Miktuul "slain"
- Muujuud "found"

#### 3.2.3.3 Suffixation -aat:
- Liira "pound" (money)
- Skamlili "chair"
- Ŝaapka "hat"
- Pasaport "passport"
- Ŝarika /'şarika/ "company"
- Ŝaţniyil "mortgage"
- Vila "private dwelling"
- Keeloo "kilogram"
- Metr "meter"
- Saa&a "hour"
- Maay "water"

### Plural
- Ktiiib
- Kbaaq
- Ŝkaal
- Liiliin
- Miktuuliin
- Muujuudiin
- Liiraat
- Skamliliyaat
- Ŝaapkaat
- Pasaportaat
- Ŝarikaat
- Ŝaţniyaat
- Vilaat
- Keelowaat
- Metruwaat
- Saa&aat
- Maayaat
3.2.3.4 Apocopeation:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>iihuudii &quot;Jew&quot;</td>
<td>iihuud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ingleezii &quot;Englishman&quot;</td>
<td>ingleez</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amgiikaanii &quot;American&quot;</td>
<td>amgiikaan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.2.3.5 Vocalic Ablaut with Stress Ablaut:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>milk &quot;property&quot;</td>
<td>mlaak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saakin &quot;inhabitant&quot;</td>
<td>sikaan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>keatib &quot;scribe&quot;</td>
<td>kitaab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seeyib &quot;old man&quot;</td>
<td>siyaab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wažd &quot;flower&quot;</td>
<td>uuğuad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>walad &quot;child&quot;</td>
<td>uulaad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>balam &quot;boat&quot;</td>
<td>blaam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dağb &quot;street&quot;</td>
<td>dğuub</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fils &quot;mil&quot;</td>
<td>fluus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bistaan &quot;garden&quot;</td>
<td>bsatiin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maḥkama /'maḥkama/ &quot;court&quot;</td>
<td>maḥaakim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mal&amp;ab &quot;toy&quot;</td>
<td>malaa&amp;ib</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dinbik &quot;drum&quot;</td>
<td>dniibik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wažwaž &quot;gun&quot;</td>
<td>uuğiwiğ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.2.3.6 Infixation of -w-:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>saagįk &quot;street&quot;</td>
<td>swaagįk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jiimįk &quot;mosque&quot;</td>
<td>jwiimįk</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.2.3.7 Infixation of -w- and Vocalic Ablaut:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ṭoos &quot;house&quot;</td>
<td>ḥwaas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šaboon &quot;soap&quot;</td>
<td>šwabiin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čoodag &quot;tent&quot;</td>
<td>čwiidaag</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.2.3.8 Infixation of -y- and Vocalic Ablaut:

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>beet &quot;house&quot;</td>
<td>byuut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>meeza &quot;table&quot;</td>
<td>myaaz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leelii &quot;night&quot;</td>
<td>lyaaali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>makiina &quot;machine&quot;</td>
<td>makaayin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wadlii &quot;occupation&quot;</td>
<td>waqayyif</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jigaaga &quot;cigarette&quot;</td>
<td>jigaayig</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.2.3.9 Reduplication of Consonant:

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bataal &quot;unemployed&quot;</td>
<td>bṭatil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>diinaar &quot;dinar&quot;</td>
<td>dnaniir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kefiya &quot;kerchief&quot;</td>
<td>kfiifi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dikaaan &quot;store&quot;</td>
<td>dkakiin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥamaal &quot;porter&quot;</td>
<td>ḥmamili</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šifa &quot;lip&quot;</td>
<td>šifaf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaba &quot;room&quot;</td>
<td>kабab</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.2.3.10 Prefixation and Vocalic Ablaut:

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yoom &quot;day&quot;</td>
<td>iyaam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šikl &quot;type&quot;</td>
<td>škaaal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.2.3.11 Apocopation and Vocalic Ablaut:

Singular
jins "type"
šaja "tree"

Plural
ajnaas
easjaaj

3.2.3.11 Apocopation and Vocalic Ablaut:

kuuča "alley"
samka "fish"
sija "tree"

kuwač
samak
sijaaj

3.2.3.12 Suffixation -ii and Vocalic Ablaut:

ewa "land"
ah "people"

egaagii
ahaalii

3.2.3.12 Suffixation -ii and Vocalic Ablaut:

kaslaan "lazy"
batgaan "jokester"
taaaban "tired"
sakgaan "drunk"

ksaalii
baagii
taaabii
skaaagii

3.2.3.14 Suppletion:

meg "woman"

niswaan

3.2.3.15 Miscellaneous:

wakka "paper"
ibn "son"
bneetii "girl"
ax "brother"
ixt "sister"

uuğaak
bniin
bnaat
ixwa
xwaat
3.3 Definition

A noun is definite if it is defined by the definite article, if it is in the construct state or if it is a proper noun.

3.3.1 The definite article is ِ prefixed to nouns beginning with a vowel or a single consonant (see 1.1.5.2 a) or ِ prefixed to nouns beginning with a consonant cluster.

\[\text{lwalad} \quad \text{"the boy"}\]
\[\text{libneetii} \quad \text{"the girl"}\]
\[\text{lax} \quad \text{"the brother"}\]

3.3.2 The construct state is the form of the noun when preceding a possessive noun-complement or a pronominal suffix (see 2.1.4).

3.3.2.1 Although most masculine singular nouns do not change when in construct, the three nouns ُ "father", ُ "brother" and ُ "father-in-law" have special construct forms, namely ِ, ِ (ِ) and ِ, respectively.
3.3.2.2 Feminine nouns not ending in -a or -ii, dual nouns and most plural nouns likewise undergo no change when in construct.

- **waladuu** "his boy"
- **axuunuu** (axoonuu) "his brother"
- **abuunuu** "his father"

- **imuunuu** "his mother"
- **xwaatuu** "his sisters"
- **m&alminuu** "his teachers" (m&alam "teacher")
- **eneenkim** "the two of you"
- **waladeenii** "my two boys"
- **masa?liteena** "her two problems"

3.3.2.3 Feminine nouns ending in -a or -ii and the plural noun **ixwa** "brothers" form the construct state by dropping the -a or -ii and adding -it.

- **ixwituu** "his brothers"
- **masa?lituu** "his problem"
- **hkiiyitii** "my story" (hkiiyi "story")

3.3.2.4 The complement of a noun in construct may be another noun, although the noun complement usually is a repetition of a third person pronominal suffix (see further 6.1.5.3).

- **beet sliim** "Selim's household" "the Selims"
- **beetuu lisliim** "Selim's house"
3.3.3 The proper names given to the Jews of Baghdad are Jewish (i.e. Hebrew and Aramaic), Arabic and European in origin. Men most commonly have Hebrew and Aramaic names, although, occasionally, the Arabic equivalent of a Hebrew name is given. Examples of common men's names are 

\textit{moo\textsuperscript{\textdagger}ii} (Moses), \textit{\textasciitilde{az}ra} (Ezra), \textit{\textasciitilde{ab}dalla} (Abdullah for Obadiah), \textit{ruubeen} (Reuben), \textit{eelyaas} (Elias for Eliahu). The only diminutive pattern is of the type CaCuuCii, for example \textit{\textasciitilde{azu}urii} for Ezra, \textit{\textasciitilde{ab}uudii} for Obadiah, \textit{saluumii} for Selim (Shlomo). Women are more apt to have European names, such as Olga, Bertha, Daisy, etc., particularly if the family is a westernized one.

3.3.3.1 There are relatively few families with family names outside of the usual priestly and levitic names. Some families have adopted proper adjectives denoting the place of origin as their family names, such as \textit{\textasciitilde{ha}llaawii} "of Hilla" and \textit{\textasciitilde{ir}raanii} "from Iran". Most commonly, the father's given name is taken as the family name of his sons.

3.3.3.2 People normally address each other by the given names if they are on familiar terms. More formal usage follows the Moslem custom of addressing people as "Father of..." or "Mother of...".
supplying the name of the eldest son, or the eldest daughter if there is no son, or the name that would be given to the eldest son if there are no children.

3.4 Numerals

3.4.1 The cardinal numerals from three through ten have separate forms for the two genders. In addition to this, those numerals used with masculine nouns have separate construct forms. From eleven through twenty, as well as the forms for thirty, forty, etc., one hundred, one thousand, etc., the numerals are of common gender. The syntax of the numeral will be discussed in paragraph 6.1.6.

3.4.1.1 The numeral "one" is weehid, feminine wahdii.

3.4.1.2 The numeral "two" is tneen, feminine tinateen.

3.4.1.3 The following list gives the numerals from three to ten. Note that the numerals used with masculine nouns all end in -a or -ii, while those used with feminine nouns resemble the normal masculine substantives.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Used with Masculine Nouns</th>
<th>Used with Feminine Nouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Isolated</td>
<td>Isolated and Construct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Used with Feminine Nouns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>tlaa0i1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tlaatt(i)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>gab&amp;a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gab&amp;it</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

34
### 3.4.1.4 The numerals from eleven through nineteen are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Used with Masculine Nouns</th>
<th>Used with Feminine Nouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Isolated</td>
<td>Construct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>xamsii</td>
<td>xamsit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>sitii</td>
<td>sitt(1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>sab&amp;a</td>
<td>sab&amp;it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>0miinii</td>
<td>0mint</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>tis&amp;a</td>
<td>tis&amp;it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>&amp;ašga</td>
<td>&amp;ašgit</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 3.4.1.5 From twenty on, the numerals are as follows:

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>&amp;ašğiin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>wee理智 uu&amp;ašğiin (m)</td>
<td>wah理智 uu&amp;ašğiin (f)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>0neen uu&amp;ašğiin (m)</td>
<td>0inteem uu&amp;ašğiin (f)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

35
23  tlaaθii  uu&asgiin (m)
    tlaaθ  uu&asgiin (f)
24  gab&aa  uu&asgiin (m)
    gabaa  uu&asgiin (f)
25  xamsii  uu&asgiin (m)
    xams  uu&asgiin (f)
30  tliiθiiin
31  weeθid  uutliiθiiin (m)
    waθdii  uutliiθiiin (f)
32  øneeñ  uutliiθiiin (m)
    øinteen  uutliiθiiin (f)
40  ġab&iin
43  tlaaθii  uuğunab&iin (m)
    tlaaθ  uuğunab&iin (f)
50  xamsiiin
54  gab&aa  uuxamsiiin (m)
    gabaa  uuxamsiiin (f)
60  sittiin
70  sab&iin
80  ømiiniin
90  tis&iin
100  miyii (construct: miit)
200  miiteen
300  tlaaømiyii
400  ġabaØmiyii
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Value</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>500</td>
<td>xamsmiyii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>600</td>
<td>sitmiyi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>700</td>
<td>saba&amp;miyili</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>800</td>
<td>@minmiyii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>900</td>
<td>ts@miyili</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1000</td>
<td>ilf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>ilfeen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3000</td>
<td>tlaattalaaf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4000</td>
<td>gaba&amp;talaaf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5000</td>
<td>xamstalaaf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6000</td>
<td>sittalaaf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7000</td>
<td>sab&amp;italaaf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8000</td>
<td>@mintalaaf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9000</td>
<td>tis&amp;italaaf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10,000</td>
<td>&amp;a@sgitalaaf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11,000</td>
<td>iidaa&amp;s ilf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12,000</td>
<td>@naa&amp;s ilf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20,000</td>
<td>&amp;a@sgiin ilf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100,000</td>
<td>miit ilf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>200,000</td>
<td>miiteen ilf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>300,000</td>
<td>tlaa@miit ilf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1,000,000</td>
<td>milyoon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2,000,000</td>
<td>milyuuneen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3,000,000</td>
<td>tlaatti mlayin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4,000,000</td>
<td>&amp;ab&amp;it mlayin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10,000,000</td>
<td>&amp;a@sgit mlayin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
23 tlaaθii uu&aaŋğiin (m)
    tlaaθ uu&aaŋğiin (f)
24 ḡab&a uu&aaŋğiin (m)
    ḡab&a uu&aaŋğiin (f)
25 xamsii uu&aaŋğiin (m)
    xams uu&aaŋğiin (f)
30 tlīññin
31 weehid uutliññin (m)
    waḥdii uutliññin (f)
32 ḡoneen uutliññin (m)
    ḡinteen uutliññin (f)
40 ḡab&iin
43 tlaaθii uuḡab&iin (m)
    tlaaθ uuḡab&iin (f)
50 xamsiin
54 ḡab&a uuxamppsiin (m)
    ḡab&a uuxamppsiin (f)
60 sittiin
70 sab&iin
80 ḡomiiniin
90 tis&iin
100 miyii (construct: miit)
200 miiteen
300 tlaaθmiyii
400 ḡaba&miyii

36
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Word</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>500</td>
<td>xamsmiyii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>600</td>
<td>sitmiyiy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>700</td>
<td>saba&amp;miyii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>800</td>
<td>@minmiyii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>900</td>
<td>ts@miyii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1000</td>
<td>ilf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>ilfeen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3000</td>
<td>tlaattalaaf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4000</td>
<td>gaba&amp;talaaf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5000</td>
<td>xamstalaaf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6000</td>
<td>sittalaaf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7000</td>
<td>sab&amp;italaaf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8000</td>
<td>@mintaalaaf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9000</td>
<td>tis&amp;italaaf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10,000</td>
<td>&amp;aṣgifalaaf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11,000</td>
<td>iidaa&amp;aṣ ilf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12,000</td>
<td>@naa&amp;aṣ ilf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20,000</td>
<td>&amp;aṣgiin ilf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100,000</td>
<td>miit ilf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>200,000</td>
<td>miiteen ilf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>300,000</td>
<td>tlaa@miit ilf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1,000,000</td>
<td>milyoon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2,000,000</td>
<td>milyuuneen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3,000,000</td>
<td>tlaatti mlayin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4,000,000</td>
<td>gab&amp;it mlayin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10,000,000</td>
<td>&amp;aṣgit mlayin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.4.2 The ordinal numerals from first through tenth are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>awal</td>
<td>uulaniyii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>0iiinii</td>
<td>0iiniyii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>0iiili0</td>
<td>0iiile11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th</td>
<td>gilibi&amp;</td>
<td>giib&amp;ii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5th</td>
<td>xiimsis</td>
<td>xiimsii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6th</td>
<td>siidis</td>
<td>siidsii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7th</td>
<td>siibi&amp;</td>
<td>siib&amp;ii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8th</td>
<td>0iiimin</td>
<td>0iimni1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9th</td>
<td>tiisi&amp;</td>
<td>tiis&amp;ii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10th</td>
<td>&amp;iishi&amp;</td>
<td>&amp;iishii</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.4.2.1 The ordinals from eleventh on are the same as the cardinal numerals.

3.4.3 The fractions are formed as follows:

- 1/2 nuş
- 1/3 0i10
- 2/3 0i10een
- 1/4 čaąąąką
- 3/4 tlaatti čaąąąkąat
- 1/5 xims
- 2/5 ximseen
- 3/5 tlaatti xmaas
3.4.2.1 From one-seventh on, fractions are most commonly expressed by such phrases as "one in the seven", etc.

1/7 bissab&§a weehid
1/8 biloimiinii weehid
3/10 bil&as&ga tlaaøii
5% bilmiyii xamsii
4.1 General Considerations

4.1.1 The verbal root is of several types which differ from each other in the number of consonants and the number of syllables. The vast majority of verbal roots are either biconsonantal or triconsonantal in structure. Only two quadriconsonantal roots and one monoconsonantal root were found among some two hundred fifty verbal roots encountered.

4.1.1.1 The two quadriconsonantal roots are halhal "to yelp" and da&bal "to throw out".

4.1.1.2 Examples of triconsonantal roots are nazal "to visit", talab "to demand", wasal "to arrive" and la&ab "to play".

4.1.1.3 Biconsonantal roots of two syllables have either CaCa or aCaC structures. As examples of the former type, bana "to build" and da&a "to call" may be cited. Examples of the latter are axad "to take" and akal "to eat".

4.1.1.4 Monosyllabic biconsonantal stems are of two types, namely those with long vowels and those
CHAPTER FOUR
The Verb

4.1 General Considerations

4.1.1 The verbal root is of several types which differ from each other in the number of consonants and the number of syllables. The vast majority of verbal roots are either biconsonantal or triconsonantal in structure. Very few quadriconsonantal roots and one monoconsonantal root were found among some two hundred fifty verbal roots encountered.

4.1.1.1 Examples of quadriconsonantal roots are halhal "to yelp" and da&bal "to throw out".

4.1.1.2 Examples of triconsonantal roots are nazal "to visit", talab "to demand", wa&al "to arrive" and la&ab "to play".

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4.1.1.4 Monosyllabic biconsonantal stems are of two types, namely those with long vowels and those
with short vowels. Examples of the former are gaad "to want" and kaal "to say"; gad "to repeat" and gal "to remain" are examples of the latter.

4.1.1.5 The only example of a monoconsonantal verb is jaa "to come".

4.1.2 The finite verb exists in two aspects, the perfective and the imperfective.

4.1.2.1 The perfective aspect is used to express completed action in the past and emphatic action in the present (rare).

kaegt &anna lzigaga. "Our agriculture increased (has increased)."
la&ab bilbeet. "He played in the house."
haka hkiyi. "He told a story."
jaal slim! "Selim is coming!"

4.1.2.2 The imperfective occurs in an unprefixed and prefixed forms and expresses incomplete, continuous, repeated or universal action in the past, present or future. Further modification can be achieved by the use of auxiliary verbs (for which see 4.1.4 below).

a) Without prefixes, the imperfective denotes any of the above mentioned types of action.

The specific function of the verb depends on
the fuller context. For example, once the action has been defined as past in time, by an adverb of time or by another expression such as an auxiliary verb, the imperfective verb denotes action within the time reference cited. Lacking this type of modification, the unprefixed imperfective expresses action of a universal nature.

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{iigiid} "he wants"
  \item \textit{iigiid iisawii} "he wants to do"
  \item \textit{kaam} "he began"
  \item \textit{kaam yibkii} "he began to eat"
  \item \textit{dalit heekid, neas t sık uunaas tiijii}.
    \"It kept on like that, people going and coming.\"
  \item \textit{iigil} "he keeps on"
  \item \textit{iigil yibkii} "he keeps on crying"
\end{itemize}

b) When prefixed by \textit{ka-} (\textit{kad-} with the first person singular), the imperfective more specifically denotes continuing action in the past or present.

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{kadağuuh wiyaahim}. "I am going with them."
  \item \textit{kaan kayibkii} "he was crying"
  \item \textit{šiftoonuu kayimšíi wiyaahim}. "I saw him (while he was) walking with them."
\end{itemize}
c) When prefixed by sa- (more rarely hassa-), the action is more specifically future. Note that this prefix is seldom used with the first persons of the verb.

seekuul "he will tell" (see 1.2.1.8)
usatguuhoon "you (pl) will go"
usatijii "she will come"
seelazmoonooru "they will catch him" (see 1.2.1.8)

d) When prefixed by da- (see also 4.1.3.1 below), the first persons of the imperfective express futurity or strong wish for the action.

dajii "I will come" "let me come"
danguuh "we will go" "let us go"

e) When prefixed by 1-, the third persons of the imperfective serve as a purpose complement.

jaa lyitwanas. "He came to enjoy himself."
dejas liisiig haxaam. "He studied to become a rabbi."

4.1.3 The only mode distinguished morphologically is the imperative (for which see 4.2 seq.).

taal leena "come to us"
kxedu "get up (pl)"
ğuuhii "go (f)"
twanas "have a good time"
4.1.3.1 The imperative can be rendered more emphatic by prefixing da- to it.

*dak<i>adii* "get up now (f)"
*dag<i>uuh* "go now"

4.1.4 Other modes are expressed by means of subordinating conjunctions which introduce the unprefixed imperfective. (See 5.2 and 8.2.1.)

*axa<i>nii* wiyaanuu hatii ašuuf luulaayii.
"He took me along so that I could see the city."

4.1.5 In a few standard expressions, the perfective and unprefixed imperfective have an optative force.

*ka<i>xegak*! "May your well-being increase!"
*alla yit<i>lik*! "May God give you!" (Both examples are expressions of thanks.)

4.1.6 The following is a list of the most frequently used auxiliary verbs.

4.1.6.1 *kaan*. Followed by the unprefixed imperfective, *kaan* expresses habitual action in the past. Followed by the imperfective prefixed by ka-, continuing past action is expressed.

*kaan iiguuh* "he used to go"
*kaan kayguuh* "he was going"
*kaanuu keeguuhoon* (see 1.2.1.8) "they were going"
4.1.6.2 kaam. The unprefixed imperfective or the imperfective prefixed by ka-, when introduced by kaam, expresses the beginning of an action.

kaamit iddaak &al ilbaab. "She began to knock on the door."

ikuumoon kaytalboon "they will begin demanding"

4.1.6.3 gad. Followed by either the perfective or the unprefixed imperfective, gad expresses either subsequent action or the repetition of an action expressed by the English prefix re-.

gadeetuu jiitu "then I came" "I returned"

gadeetuu abii&a "I used to resell it"

astagii waqid abii&a "I buy and resell"

iiguuh wiigid yijji "He goes and returns"

gaduu ndaaquu aleena. "After that, they turned on us."

gadeetuu fitahtuu dikaan. "I then opened a store."

ham gad batal. "Then he too stopped working."

4.1.6.4 gaad. When followed by the unprefixed imperfective, gaad expresses "to want to".

gaad iiguuh "he wanted to go"

iiguuh "he wants to go"

gaadit itiguuh "she wanted to go"
4.1.6.5 *xala*. When followed by the unprefixed imperfective, *xala* expresses permission. The imperative of *xala*, *xalii*, with or without a pronominal suffix, when followed by the unprefixed imperative, expresses the command of the first or third persons.

- *xalii* (d)āgūuh “let me go”
- *xalihim yitwinsoon* “let them enjoy themselves”
- *xalii iiguuhoon* “let them go”

4.1.6.6 *taak and ḳadag*. When followed by the unprefixed imperfective, both *taak* and *ḳadag* express ability.

- mataak iiguuuh “he could not go”
- taak iisuuufuu “he was able to see him”
- iitiik iidak siiniikamaana “he knows how to play the violin”
- akdag ağuuh “I can go”
- mayikdag iiguuuh “he cannot go”
- meetiik “impossible”

4.1.6.7 *gaah* and *geeह (geeeyin)*. When followed by the unprefixed imperfective, *gaah* and *geeह* express imminence of action. The form *gaah* is impersonal; *geeह (geeeyin)*, on the other hand, functions as an adjective (feminine *geehii*, plural *geehiin*).

- *gaah (geeह) aṣuuf* “I shall see”
- *gaah (geehiin) yiijoon* “they are going to come”
4.1.6.8 a.al. When followed by the unprefixed imperfective, a.al expresses persistence of action.

$aaluu yakloon "they kept on eating"

ii$ii$$il i$ii$uuh "$he keeps (will keep) on going"

4.1.6.9 ka$aad. When followed by the unprefixed imperfective, ka$aad (impersonal) is a rarely used variant of the imperfective prefixed by ka$-. ka$aad ag$uuh "$I am going"

4.1.6.10 yan$gaard. The impersonal form yan$gaard, followed by the perfective or the unprefixed imperfective, expresses necessity of action in past and present time, respectively. Necessity of past action can also be expressed by kaan yan$gaard followed by the unprefixed imperfective.

yan$gaard ag$uuh "$I must go"

yan$gaard gah$tuu or kaan yan$gaard ag$uuh "$I had to go"

4.1.6.11 saa$g. The perfective, saa$g, when followed by the unprefixed imperfective, expresses opportunity. The imperfective, iisi$ih, followed by the unprefixed imperfective, expresses permission.

saa$g i$i$uufuu "$he got to see him"

iisi$ih tguuh "you may go"

meesi$ih tguuh "you may not go"
4.2 Personal Inflection

4.2.1 The personal inflection of the triconsonantal verb is as follows:

**nazal** "to visit"

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4.2.1.1 Triconsonantal verbs beginning with /w/ or /y/ are conjugated as follows:

**waşal** "to arrive"

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### yasak "to forbid"

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4.2.2 Biconsonantal verbs of two syllables are conjugated as follows:

4.2.2.1 CaCa type.

### bana "to build"

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<td>nibnii</td>
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### 4.2.2.2 aCaC type.

#### akal "to eat"

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#### 4.2.2.3 The verb kağa "to read" is a special case under the general type CaCa.

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An alternate form of the imperfective of kağa geminates the /k/, as yakka, takka, etc.
4.2.3 Biconsonantal verbs of one syllable having a short vowel are conjugated as follows:

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4.2.4 Biconsonantal verbs of one syllable containing a long vowel all have the same perfective formation but differ in the imperfective. The imperfective vowel of each verb of this type can be predicted only by historical means. Examples below are kaam "to begin" (imperfective iikuum), saaq "to become" (imperfective iiisiig), and xaaf "to fear" (imperfective iiixaaf). Also to be noted is the fact that the verb gaad "to want" (imperfective iiigid) shows variants in the second feminine singular and second and third plural, where the forms tagdeen, tagdoon and yagdoon exist as well as the more normal tiideen, tigdoon and iiigidoon.
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<td>txaafoon</td>
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<td>lc</td>
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<td>nxaaaf</td>
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<td>m</td>
<td>kuum</td>
<td>siig</td>
<td>xaaf</td>
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<td>f</td>
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<td>siigii</td>
<td>xaaflii</td>
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<td>siiguu</td>
<td>xaafluu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### 4.2.5 The only monoconsonantal verb is *jaa* "to come".

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<tbody>
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<td></td>
<td>1m</td>
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<td></td>
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<td><strong>Perfective</strong></td>
<td><strong>Imperfective</strong></td>
<td><strong>Imperative</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jaa</td>
<td>yiijii</td>
<td>taal</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>jit</td>
<td>tiijii</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jiit</td>
<td>tiijii</td>
<td>taalii</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jiitii</td>
<td>tiijeen</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jiituu</td>
<td>ajiiii</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>joo</td>
<td>yiijoone</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jiiim</td>
<td>tiijoone</td>
<td>taaluu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jiina</td>
<td>niijii</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 4.2.6 The quadriconsonantal verb is conjugated as follows:

*halhal* "to yelp"

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<th>Plural</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>3f</td>
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<td>2m</td>
<td>1c</td>
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<td></td>
<td>2f</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1m</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Perfective</strong></td>
<td><strong>Imperfective</strong></td>
<td><strong>Imperative</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>halhal</td>
<td>iihalhil</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>halhalit</td>
<td>thalhil</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>halhalt</td>
<td>thalhil</td>
<td>halhil</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>halhaltii</td>
<td>thalihleen</td>
<td>halhilii</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>halhaltuu</td>
<td>ahalhil</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>halahluu</td>
<td>iihalihloon</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>halhaltim</td>
<td>thalihloon</td>
<td>halhiluu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>halhalna</td>
<td>nhalhil</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 4.3 Negation of the Verb

#### 4.3.1 The perfective is negated by preceding the verb with the negative adverb *ma*. 
mạgaạh "he did not go"
maẉsaltuu "I did not arrive"

4.3.2 The imperfective is negated by prefixing either mạ or lạ to the verb. The latter is more emphatic.
meesiịg "impossible" (leesịg)
maatiịk "I cannot" (laatiịk)
maṭguuhoon "you (pl) are not going"

4.3.3 The imperative is negated by lạ plus the imperative forms with the personal prefixes of the imperfective restored, or by lạ prefixed to the imperfective.
laṭguuh "do not go"
laṭguuhiị "do not go (f)" (laṭguuhseen)
laṭguuhuu "do not go (pl)" (laṭguuhcoon)

4.4 Verbs with Pronominal Suffixes

When object-pronoun suffixes are attached to the verb, special combining forms are used. The following tables illustrate the verb in all persons with the pronominal suffixes of all persons. Note that the stress always falls on the syllable preceding the pronominal suffix.

4.4.1 The verbs bạsæe "he sent" and axạs "he took" have the combining forms bạsæs- and axạs- /a'xạs/- in the perfective and yibbạs- /yib'bạs/- and yaxạs- /ya'xạs/- in the imperfective.
### Suffixes:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Perfective</th>
<th>Imperfective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3m</td>
<td>b&amp;aeuu</td>
<td>yib&amp;aeuu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3f</td>
<td>b&amp;aea</td>
<td>yib&amp;aea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2m</td>
<td>b&amp;aetak</td>
<td>yib&amp;aetak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2f</td>
<td>b&amp;aekik</td>
<td>yib&amp;aekik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1c</td>
<td>b&amp;aenii</td>
<td>yib&amp;aenii</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Perfective</th>
<th>Imperfective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3c</td>
<td>b&amp;aenim</td>
<td>yib&amp;aenim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2c</td>
<td>b&amp;aekim</td>
<td>yib&amp;aekim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1c</td>
<td>b&amp;aena</td>
<td>yib&amp;aena</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.4.2 When the suffixes are added to the third person feminine singular of the perfective and imperfective, the only change occurring is the stress ablaut as mentioned above.

### Suffixes:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Perfective</th>
<th>Imperfective</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>3m</td>
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<td>tib&amp;aeuu</td>
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<tr>
<td>3f</td>
<td>ba&amp;eiita</td>
<td>tib&amp;aea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2m</td>
<td>ba&amp;eiitak</td>
<td>tib&amp;aetak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2f</td>
<td>ba&amp;eiitik</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1c</td>
<td>ba&amp;eiitnii</td>
<td>tib&amp;aenii</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Perfective</th>
<th>Imperfective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>tib&amp;aenim</td>
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<tr>
<td>2c</td>
<td>ba&amp;eiitkim</td>
<td>tib&amp;aekim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1c</td>
<td>ba&amp;eiitna</td>
<td>tib&amp;aena</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.4.3 The combining form of the second person masculine singular of the perfective, sma&t "you heard" is
sma&t- before vowels and sma&it- before consonants. The combining form of the imperfective is tisma&- /tis'ma&-/. The imperative combining form is sma&-.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffixes:</th>
<th>Perfective</th>
<th>Imperfective</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<td>3m</td>
<td>sma&amp;tuu</td>
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<td>sma&amp;uu</td>
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<td>sma&amp;itna</td>
<td>tisma&amp;na</td>
<td>sma&amp;na</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.4.4 The combining form of the second person feminine singular sma&tii "you heard" is sma&tee- before all suffixes except that of the third person feminine singular where it is sma&tii-. The imperfective combining form is tsam&ee- before all suffixes except that of the third person feminine singular, where it is tsam&ii-. In the imperative, the combining forms are similarly sma&ee- and sma&ii-.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffixes:</th>
<th>Perfective</th>
<th>Imperfective</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
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<td>1c</td>
<td>sma&amp;teenii</td>
<td>tsam&amp;eenii</td>
<td>sma&amp;eenii</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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<td>sma&amp;teehim</td>
<td>tsam&amp;eehim</td>
<td>sma&amp;eehim</td>
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<tr>
<td>1c</td>
<td>sma&amp;teena</td>
<td>tsam&amp;eeana</td>
<td>sma&amp;eeana</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
4.4.5 The combining form of the first person common singular of the perfective is of the form sma&too- before all suffixes except that of the third person feminine singular, where it is sma&tuu-. In the imperfective, the combining form is asma&- /as'ma&-/. 

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffixes</th>
<th>Perfective</th>
<th>Imperfective</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<tr>
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<td>sma&amp;tookim</td>
<td>asma&amp;kim</td>
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</table>

4.4.6 The combining form of the third person common plural ūsaafuu "they saw" is similarly of the form ūsaafoo- before all suffixes except that of the third person feminine singular, where it is ūsaafuu-. In the imperfective, the combining form is again iišuufoo- except before the third person feminine singular, where it is iišuufuu-.

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Suffixes:</th>
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<tr>
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<td>iišuufoonii</td>
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</table>

etc.
4.4.7 The combining form of the second person common plural of the perfective is šiftim- /šif’tim-/. Those of the second person common imperfective and imperative are tšuufoo- and šuufoo-, respectively, with tšuufuu- and šuufuu- before the third person feminine singular.

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Suffixes:</th>
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<td>šuufooną</td>
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</table>

4.4.8 The combining form of the first person common plural of šifna "we saw" is šifnaa-.. That of the imperfective is nšuuf-.

<table>
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<td>nšuufa</td>
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4.4.9 The combining forms of the various persons of the verb before the pronominal suffixes of the indirect object -luu, -la, -lak, etc. are as follows:
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<th></th>
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<th>Imperative</th>
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</thead>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>yib&amp;aø-</td>
<td>b&amp;aø-</td>
</tr>
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<td>ba&amp;øit-</td>
<td>tib&amp;aø-</td>
<td>b&amp;aøit-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>tib&amp;aø-</td>
<td>b&amp;aøit-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2f</td>
<td>b&amp;attee-</td>
<td>tib&amp;aøee-</td>
<td>b&amp;aøee-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1c</td>
<td>b&amp;attoo-</td>
<td>ab&amp;aø-</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3c</td>
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<td>iiba&amp;oøc-</td>
<td>b&amp;aøoø-</td>
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<tr>
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<td>b&amp;attim-</td>
<td>tba&amp;oøc-</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1c</td>
<td>b&amp;aønaa-</td>
<td>nib&amp;aø-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.4.9.1 Note that biconsonantal monosyllabic verbs having long vowels shorten those vowels to /a/ when the syllable is immediately followed by the indirect-object suffix.

* kallii "he said to me"
* îlkallak "he says to you"
* îisahlu "he calls to him" (îisiinh "he calls")

4.4.9.2 Note also that verbs CaCa have third person masculine singular combining forms CaCaa in the perfective.

* xala "he let"
* xalaanuu "he let him"

4.4.10 The morphophonemic change from a form like bneetuu "I built" to bniitoonuu "I built it" is explained in paragraph 1.2.1.8.
4.5 Derived Conjugations

The above description has been limited to verbs of the first conjugation. There are three derived conjugations that are productive in Judeo-Baghdadi in all verbs save the quadriconsonantal and the monoconsonantal. The derived conjugations correspond to the second, fifth and seventh conjugations of Classical Arabic.

4.5.1 The second conjugation is the causative of the first. It differs from the first conjugation in that the vowel following the first consonant is always retained, even if the first syllable loses its stress. Unlike its cognate form in Classical Arabic, the middle consonant is not geminated by most speakers. It is assumed that those speakers who do geminate this second consonant do so owing to the influence of the written language or perhaps of another spoken dialect. It will be noted, further, that the third person feminine singular and the third person common plural of the perfective as well as the second person feminine singular and the second and third persons common plural of the imperfective are alike in the first and second conjugations, save for the type CaaC, where the second conjugation stem is of the form CawaC or CayaC, depending on historical factors. The examples listed below are wasal "to convey" (I. "to arrive"),

60
hadaθ "to speak" (ḥḍiiθ "speech"), sawa "to do" (I. lacking), sawaθ "to travel" (I. "to become") and xafaf "to ease" (I. xfiif "light").

**Perfective**

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<table>
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<td>sawit</td>
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<td>2m</td>
<td>wasalt</td>
<td>ḥadatt</td>
<td>suweet</td>
</tr>
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<td>wasaltii</td>
<td>ḥadattii</td>
<td>suweetii</td>
</tr>
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<td>1c</td>
<td>wasaltuu</td>
<td>ḥadattuu</td>
<td>suweetuu</td>
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<tbody>
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<td>wasaltim</td>
<td>ḥadattim</td>
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<td>wasalna</td>
<td>ḥadaθna</td>
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**Imperfective**

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<tr>
<td>3m</td>
<td>iiswaθil</td>
<td>iihadiθ</td>
<td>iisawii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3f</td>
<td>twasil</td>
<td>tθadiθ</td>
<td>tsawii</td>
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<tr>
<td>2m</td>
<td>twasil</td>
<td>tθadiθ</td>
<td>tsawii</td>
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<tr>
<td>2f</td>
<td>twasleen</td>
<td>tθaθθeen</td>
<td>tsuween</td>
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<tr>
<td>1c</td>
<td>awasil</td>
<td>aθadiθ</td>
<td>asawii</td>
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<tr>
<td>3c</td>
<td>iiswaθloون</td>
<td>iihθaθθθoon</td>
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**Imperative**

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<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
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<td>wasil</td>
<td>ḥadiθ</td>
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<td></td>
<td>f</td>
<td>waslii</td>
<td>ḥaθθii</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Plural | c | wasluu | ḥaθθuu | sawuu | seeθuu | xafifuu |
4.5.1.1 The combining forms of the verbs of the second conjugation parallel those of the first, except that the vowel following the first consonant is always retained.

4.5.2 The passive of the first conjugation is formed by prefixing n- to the stem in both the perfective and imperfective. As examples nhabas "to be imprisoned" (I. "to imprison"), ngaad "to be wanted" (I. "to want") and nhab "to be loved" (I. "to love") are given.

### Perfective

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>3m</th>
<th>ngaad</th>
<th>nhab</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3f</td>
<td>ngaadit</td>
<td>nhabit</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2m</td>
<td>ngatt</td>
<td>nha(beet) (nhabeeet)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2f</td>
<td>nga(tii)</td>
<td>nha(beetii) (nhabeeetii)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1c</td>
<td>ngatttuu</td>
<td>nha(beetuu) (nhabeeetuu)</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>3c</th>
<th>ngaaduu</th>
<th>nha(bee)u</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2c</td>
<td>nga(tim)</td>
<td>nha(beetim) (nhabeeetim)</td>
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<tr>
<td>1c</td>
<td>nga(dena)</td>
<td>nha(bee)na (nhabeeena)</td>
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### Imperfective

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<thead>
<tr>
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<th>3m</th>
<th>yingaad</th>
<th>yinhab</th>
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<tr>
<td>3f</td>
<td>tingaad</td>
<td>tinhab</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>2m</td>
<td>tingaad</td>
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<tr>
<td>2f</td>
<td>tingaad</td>
<td>tinhab</td>
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<tr>
<td>1c</td>
<td>angaad</td>
<td>anhab</td>
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</table>

etc.

62
4.5.2.1 Imperative forms are found only for those verbs that are not strictly passive in meaning. As an example the imperative forms of *nhazam* "to flee" (I. lacking) are given.

Singular  
$m$ nhazim  
$f$ nhazmii  
Plural  
$c$ nhazmuu

4.5.3 The passive of the causative is formed by prefixing t- to the stem in both the perfective and the imperfective. Examples are *tfaga*j "to sight-see" (II. "to show around"), *thawal* "to be moved" (II. "to move"), t&ada "to be hostile" (II. lacking) and twanas "to enjoy oneself" (*wansa* "enjoyment").

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$m$</td>
<td>3m</td>
<td>tfaga*j</td>
<td>tfagjuu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3f</td>
<td>tfagajit</td>
<td>tfagjitu</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>tafgajtim</td>
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<td>2f</td>
<td>tafgajtii</td>
<td>tafgajtii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1c</td>
<td>tafgajtuu</td>
<td>tafgajna</td>
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<tr>
<td>$f$</td>
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<tr>
<td>$c$</td>
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<table>
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<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Person</th>
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<td>thawalt</td>
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<td>3f</td>
<td>thooolit</td>
<td>thoooluu</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2m</td>
<td>tahlwalt</td>
<td>tahwalna</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2f</td>
<td>tahwaltii</td>
<td>tahwaltim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1c</td>
<td>tuunast</td>
<td>tuunasna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note that alternate forms exist for the first and second persons singular and plural, which forms are listed below.
4.6 Nonproductive Conjugations

In addition to the four conjugations described above, there are vestiges of most of the other conjugations found in Classical Arabic.
4.6.1 The third conjugation of Classical Arabic is represented by a small number of verbs such as saayal "to ask", aayan "to look at" and xaalaf "to be different". The inflection of these verbs parallels that of the causative conjugation, differing only in the long vowel that always follows the first radical.

4.6.2 The fourth conjugation of Classical Arabic has no cognate system in Judeo-Baghdadi except for a few loanwords in the form of participles or verbal nouns, such as mdiiir (plural mdarea) "director" and idaara "administration". The finite function of the Classical fourth conjugation has been taken over by the two active conjugations of Judeo-Baghdadi, as can be seen from the following examples:

talaf "to destroy"... Classical ?atlafa

jaaad "to want"....... Classical ?araada

jawab "to answer".... Classical ?ajaaba

t&am "to feed"...... Classical ?at&aama

4.6.3 The sixth conjugation of Classical Arabic is represented by a few passive forms such as tsaaayal "to be asked" and t&aayyan "to be visible". The inflection of these verbs parallels that of the passive of the causative, differing only in the long vowel following the first radical.
4.6.4 The eighth conjugation of Classical Arabic, although nonproductive in Judeo-Baghdadi, is represented by a relatively large number of verbs. Examples given are ftaham "to understand", ḥtal "to occupy", ṣṭafa "to calm down" and ṣṭaγal "to work".

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Perfective</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3m</td>
<td>ftaham</td>
<td>ḥtal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3f</td>
<td>ftahmit</td>
<td>ḥtalit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2m</td>
<td>fithamt</td>
<td>ṣṭaft</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2f</td>
<td>fithamtii</td>
<td>ṣṭaftii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1c</td>
<td>fithamtuu</td>
<td>ṣṭaftuu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>3c</td>
<td>ftahmuu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2c</td>
<td>fithamtim</td>
<td>ṣṭafeetim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1c</td>
<td>fithamna</td>
<td>ṣṭafeena</td>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Imperfective</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3m</td>
<td>yiftahim</td>
<td>yiḥtal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3f</td>
<td>tiftahim</td>
<td>tiḥtal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2m</td>
<td>tiftahim</td>
<td>tiḥtal</td>
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<td>2f</td>
<td>tifthameen</td>
<td>tiḥtaleen</td>
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<tr>
<td>1c</td>
<td>aftahim</td>
<td>aḥtal</td>
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<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>3c</td>
<td>yifthahmoon</td>
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<tr>
<td>2c</td>
<td>tifthahmoon</td>
<td>tiḥtaloon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1c</td>
<td>nifthahim</td>
<td>niḥtal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.6.4.1 The following variants are to be noted in the perfective:

a) The first and second persons of ftaham are also ftahamt (second masculine singular), ftahamtii (second feminine singular), ftahamtuu (first common singular), ftahamtim (second common plural) and ftahamna (first common plural).

b) The first and second persons of štagal (as well as of štağa "to buy") lose the first vowel, often when isolated, and, in the case of štağa, always when with pronominal suffixes.

4.6.5 There is no trace of a system cognate to the ninth conjugation of Classical Arabic.

4.6.6 A few verbs, such as štägaš (imperfective yistägaš) "to rest", štaba (imperfective yistäba) "to be ashamed", and štaqad (imperfective yistaqad) "to be ready", represent the tenth conjugation of Classical Arabic.
4.7 Deverbative Nouns

4.7.1 The more important group of deverbative nouns are the participles. Verbs of the first conjugation have both active and passive participles, while verbs of the derived conjugations have only one form which is usually passive in meaning.

4.7.1.1 The first conjugation active participle is formed as follows. Examples are from ḡakāb "to ride", ḡa&ad "to sit", bana "to build" and ṣaaf "to see".

Singular m ġeeıkib  kèe&iiid  beenii  ṣeeyiif
f ġeeıkbiì  ḡa&diì  beeniiyiì  ṣeefiì
Plural c ġeeıkbiïn  ḡa&diïn  beeniiïn  ṣeefiïn

For kee&iid, ka&dii, ka&diïn, compare weëhid "one", feminine wahiï.

4.7.1.2 The first conjugation passive participle is formed as follows. Examples are from ḡakāb "to ride", bana "to build", wajad "to find" and ḡab "to love".

Singular m miğkuub  mibniï  muujuud  miḥbuub
f miğkuubïi  (miğkuueba)  mibniïyiï  muujuudïï  miḥbuubïï (miḥbuueba)
Plural c miğkuubiïn  mibniïn  muujuudïïn  miḥbuubiïn
4.7.1.3 The participles of the derived conjugations are formed in similar ways. Examples are from sawab "to injure", nšaaf "to be seen" and t&ajab "to be amazed".

Singular  m  mšawab  minšaaf  mit&ajab
          f  mšoobii  minšaafii (mšooba) (minšaafa) (mit&ajba)
Plural    c  mšuubiin  minsafii  mit&ajbiin

4.7.1.4 The role of participles as well as other types of functional participles will be discussed under the heading Adjectival Modification, paragraph 6.1.

4.7.2 There are no special patterns of formation for verbal nouns, nor do such verbal nouns as exist have an important function in the language, since finite verbs are used impersonally to replace the gerund of other languages.
CHAPTER FIVE
Prepositions, Conjunctions
and Interrogatives

5.1 Prepositions

The following is a list of the most frequently found prepositions together with examples of their use.

**aỳab (аỳba)**  "after"

xaliha lmasa, аỳba ššamš. "Leave it for the evening, after the sun (goes down)."

**b-** (prefix) "in", "by means of"

heekid kaan bzaman ittiľk. "Thus it was in the time of the Turks."

mashit lihwas biida. "She washed the clothes by herself." (literally: "by her hand")

**baỳd** "after"

baỳd tlaâq șaâqkaat saâq bauuwi jaa. "After three quarters of an hour he came."

**ila (ila)** "to"

jiina min uuniikil ila hooni. "We came from there to here."
kabl "before"

kabl ilkil kaamuu yibnoon hoonii. "Before everything (else), they began to build here."

kbaal "opposite", "in front of"

&anna hooš lax ikbaal ilxaan. "We have another house opposite the store."

l- (prefixed) "to"

jaal loonii (lihoonii). "he is coming here."

ly- (with pronominal suffixes only. Note the forms lya and lyaanuu (3ms); lyaaha (3fs); lyak (2ms); lyakii (2fs); lya, lyaanuu and lyaanii (1c); lyahim (3 pl); lyakim (2 pl); lyana (1 pl). This preposition is most usually found as a form bound to verbs as a pronominal suffix, but it is occasionally seen independently.) "for", "to"

ståiitoolya lsiyaara. "I bought the car for him."

حماسلييا. "Send it to me (him)."

iikisgoolyak. "They will break (it) for you."

laazim našbağuu lyaanuu. "We must paint it for him."

t&iilyaana. "Give (it) to us."

t&aalyaanuu. "He gave it to me (him)."
maal "of", "for the purpose of"

štğiitoolya siyaara maal məlbəb. "I bought him a toy car."

haay maanna. "This is ours."

middit (muddit) "extent of", "for"

middit xamsiin sana əxťuu al. "For fifty years I lived well."

min "from" (mnil "from the")

kaamu yinhizmoon min bagdaad. "They began to flee from Baghdad."

daxlit mnil kuča. "She came in from the alley."

miel "like (miił before consonants)

miel ana əkkiyiitii axduu minii amwaallii. "As in my case (literally: story), they took my property away from me."

soob "next to", "near"

kaan əanna beet lax soob ilmadrasa maal "Alliance". "We had another house near the Alliance School."

xalf "behind" (xalif before consonants)

kaan ilbeet xalf ilxaan. "The house was behind the shop."

72
waya "together with"

"Approximately twenty thousand souls went out with him."

&al (&ala) "on", "against"

"They came and knocked on the door of a house."

&and "with" (with pronominal suffixes "to have")

"This is a decision that cannot be ours (to make)."

"There came a woman who had a parrot."

5.2 Conjunctions

Many of the conjunctions, chiefly the subordinating conjunctions, are the same as the prepositions outlined above.

akab (akba, akab min, akab ma, min akba) "after"

"After the British came in, things got a little quieter."

"Afterwards, the government began to take precautions."
"how"

asloon ašloon thadiţ. "I will teach you how to speak."

"well", "then"

baka heekid kaanuu. "Well, this is how they were."

"but", "however"

hassa yištağloon bilti jaara balaakit himii azyad masaalićim biliziğaa. "They now work in commerce, but they are better off in agriculture."

"well", "then", "so"

dee gašit haay liihašil iijašil wilyiixsaŋ yixsaŋ. "So it continued. He who earned earned and he who lost lost."

"so that", "in order that"

tašam hatii txaf iidak. "Practise, so that your hand will become dextrous."

"if" (in real conditions)

ida tašid titašam ašalimak. "If you want to learn, I will teach you."
"idama" "unless"

`meesig idama ṭguùh`. "It is impossible unless you go."

"ilama" (lamma) "until"

`ḍal ilama jiitu`. "He remained until I came."

"kaan" (lkaan) "if" (in real conditions)

`kaan xooʃ aṭliinu ṣeenii wilkaa wakiil maaṭliinu abadan`. "If he is good, I will give him something and if he is bad, I will not give him anything."

"ḷaa . . . ḷaa" "neither . . . nor"

`meetiik ḷaa yikcura ḷaa yikta`. "He can neither read nor write."

"leekun" "lest"

`axaaf amʃii bbaʃdiil biddagb leekun isalbooniil`. "I am afraid to walk alone in the street lest they rob me."

"liima" (lamma) "when", "until"

`g̣alit haay liima kaamu yinhizмоon`. "This continued until they started to flee."

`liima ʃaḷuu ʒaahuu ʃḷimswak`. "When they came out, they went to the market."
loo "if" (in contrary-to-fact conditions), "or else"

loo akuu awaadim yištägloon mi'ila naa kaan
iikuuun kiliš &aal. "If people worked as
we do, things would be quite all right."
yiijii bi'enaakaš loo mayiijii abadan. "He
will be here at twelve o'clock or else
he will not be here at all."

min "when", "since"

haay kiliš &aal min tanábix bliṭbiix. "This
is very good when used for cooking."
aškād saaž lak min jiit? "How long have you
been here?" (literally: How long has
it been to you since you came?)

miñeex "because"

kaam yaakil min fluusuu wilma&aanduu
kaam iisáaffiš miñeex mee'tiikoon yištäg-
loon ba&ad bliiraak. "The rich began
to live off their capital and the poor
began to emigrate, since they were no
longer able to work in Iraq."

mneenma "wherever"

mneenma tguuñ tšuuf awaadim yištägloon.
"Wherever you go you will see people
working."

76
akanna uuṣğabna. "We ate and drank."

baka lbeebi ham hakam xatağ nistğiillyanuu mal&ab. "Well, the baby also cried so that we should buy him a toy."

maa&gif iea yiijii yoo maayiijii. "I don't know whether he is coming or not."

maa&gif &ajaban șidik kieib. "I don't know whether it is true or false."

"Since we came here, things have been getting better."

5.3 Interrogatives

The following are the most frequently used interrogative pronouns, adjectives and adverbs.

aș "what"

aș tğiid? "What do you want?"

aʃkød "how much", "how many"

aʃkød tğiid? "How much do you want?"
ašloon  "how"

ašloon keefak?  "How are you?"  (literally: How is your happiness?)

ašuuma  "why not"

ašuuma jiit?  "Why didn't you come?"

bees  "how much"

ilsaağa bees?  "What time is it?"  (literally: How much is the hour?)

eenta  "when"

eenta jiit loonii?  "When did you come here?"

heeyii  "which one"

heeyii hiiyii ixtuu?  "Which one is his sister?"

keem  "how many"

keem walad šift?  "How many children did you see?"

lees  "why"

lees jiit loonii?  "Why did you come here?"

manii  "who"

manii kallak?  "Who told you?"

mneen  "how"

mneen aŋgif?  "How should I know?"
mneen ma "why not"

mneen ma tgüuŋ luuniikii? "Why don't you go there?"

ween "where" (with pronominal suffixes)

huuwii weenuu? "Where is he?"
ween gaht? "Where did you go?"

xatgas "why"

xatgas žaap luuniikii? "Why did he go there?"
PART THREE: SYNTAX
6.1 Adjectival Modification

6.1.1 The modifying element, i.e. the noun functioning as an attributive adjective, usually stands in apposition to the noun modified and follows it. The modifying element shows agreement with the noun in state (definition), gender and number.

6.1.1.1 If the noun modified is defined, either by the article or by being in the construct state, the attributive adjective must be defined by the article. Similarly, if the noun is feminine, the adjective must be feminine as well.

beet ikbiig "a big house"
lbbeet likbiig "the big house"
beetuu likbiig "his big house"
kaba kbiigii "a big room"
lkaba likbiigii "the big room"

6.1.1.2 If the noun modified is dual or plural and refers to human beings, the adjective is plural. If the noun modified is dual or plural and does not refer to human beings, the adjective is usually feminine singular, although it may be plural. Collective nouns, even when denoting a group of humans, most
commonly have feminine singular agreement. It should be noted that these observations of concord are based on the type of agreement found most of the time.

\[ \text{gjiil ikbaag} \quad \text{"big men"} \]
\[ \text{lijiil likbaag} \quad \text{"the big men"} \]
\[ \text{wi`aayif ikbi`igi} \quad \{ \text{"important posts"} \} \]
\[ \text{li`aaleen likbaag} \quad \text{"the two big men"} \]

6.1.1.3 The predicative adjective is always indefinite.

\[ \text{huwii kbi`i} \quad \text{"He is big."} \]
\[ \text{lbet ikbi`i} \quad \text{"The house is big."} \]
\[ \text{lkaba kbi`i} \quad \text{"The room is big."} \]
\[ \text{lwidaayif ikbi`i} \quad \text{"The posts are important."} \]

6.1.1.4 The adjectives \[ xoos \quad \text{"good"} \], \[ faga\d \quad \text{"a certain"} \] and \[ `aal \quad \text{"good"} \] are of common gender. In addition, \[ xoos, faga\d \] and \[ weehid \quad \text{"one"} \ \text{(feminine \[ \text{wa}\d\d\i\] ), as well as the demonstrative adjectives, precede the nouns they modify as attributive adjectives.

\[ xoos \quad \text{ibneeti} \quad \text{"a good girl"} \]
\[ faga\d \quad \text{yoom} \quad \text{"a certain day"} \]
\[ faga\d \quad \text{sana} \quad \text{"a certain year"} \]
\[ haada \quad \text{lwalad} \quad \text{"this boy"} \]
\[ haay \quad \text{libneeti} \quad \text{"this girl"} \]
6.1.2 As noted above, demonstrative adjectives precede definite nouns. When functioning as pronouns, however, the demonstratives precede definite or indefinite nouns, often with a pronoun copula.

haa'aa lwalad "this boy" "This is the boy."
haay libneetii "this girl" "This is the girl."
haa'ak ilwakt "that time"
haa'iiik ilsana "that year"
haaoolii luulaad "these children" "These are the children."
haa'aa huuwii lwalad "This is the boy."
haay hiyi liibneetii "This is the girl."
haaoolii himii luulaad "These are the children."

6.1.2.1 When modifying a noun in construct, the demonstrative adjective follows the construct expression, while the demonstrative pronoun precedes it.

haa'aa beetuu "This is his house."
beetuu haa'aa "this house of his"

6.1.3 The comparison of adjectives is expressed by placing the adjective in the comparative form (patterned aCCaC) or following the adjective by azyad "more".

kbiig "big"
akbaag ) "bigger"
kbiig azyad }

82
6.1.4 An entire phrase or clause can also function as an adjective by following the noun it modifies. If the noun modified is definite, the first word of the modifying phrase or clause is prefixed by the definite article or is preceded by the relative pronoun ilii. The former method is by far the most usual, although one even hears a classical llaa.si as the relative pronoun.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{walad } & \text{šiftoonuu } "a \text{ boy I saw}" \\
\text{lwalad } & \text{ilšiftoonuu (ilii siftoonuu) } "\text{the boy I saw}" \\
\text{lbeet } & \text{ilbiinuu naas } "\text{the house in which there are people}" \\
\text{lişjaal } & \text{lyiğkab bissiyağa } "\text{the man riding in the car}" \\
\text{lişjaal } & \text{lşaafoonuu } "\text{the man whom they saw}" \\
& \quad "\text{the man who was seen}" \\
\end{align*}
\]

6.1.4.1 Note that there is always a reference to the noun modified in the form of a pronominal suffix, if the noun modified is not the subject of the attributive verb.

6.1.4.2 A participle can always substitute for the finite attributive verb.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{lişjaal } & \text{ilğekib bilsiyağa } "\text{the man riding in the car}"
\end{align*}
\]
6.1.5 Another form of adjectival modification is possession, which may denote either actual ownership or the composition of a substance.

6.1.5.1 The simplest manner of expressing possession is by means of the preposition maal "of".

- beet maaluu "a house of his"
- lbeet maaluu "his house"
- saa&~ meel dahab "a watch of gold"

6.1.5.2 A noun in construct to a pronominal suffix or another noun is possessed by its complement.

- beetuu "his house"
- beet isliim "Selim's household"

6.1.5.3 The most common means, however, of expressing a noun-possessor is by having the possessed noun in construct to a third person pronominal suffix, which suffix is followed by the noun-possessor. The noun-possessor is often introduced by the article l- plus the preposition l- "to" in the form of lill- or simply by the article alone.

- beetuu ligjaal
- beetuu lilgijaal (liligjaal) {"the man's house"
- beetuu lisliim "Selim's house"
- beeta lmaga (lilmaga) "the woman's house"
6.1.6 The syntax of the numeral illustrates yet another means of adjectival modification.

6.1.6.1 The substantive weehid (feminine wahdi) "one" precedes the noun it modifies and is often to be translated as "an individual" or "a certain". When predicative, it has the sole meaning of "one". In its attributive function, it is often synonymous with fagad (also fad) "a certain" and is even used together with it as a compound.

kaan fagad weehid biluulaayii. "A certain individual was in the city."

fagad (fad) yoom hadattuu wiyaanuu. "One day, I spoke to him."

kaanit uuniikii fagad wahdi maga. "A certain woman was there."

6.1.6.2 Two of a kind is expressed by the dual of the noun or by the plural of the noun followed by oneen (feminine qinteen) "two".

"two men"
"two years"
6.1.6.3 From three to ten, the numerals are in construct to the plural of the noun. If the noun is definite, the numerals are either in construct or in apposition to the noun.

- tlaatt isheq "three months"
- tlaal isniin "three years"
- xamsit iğiil "five men"
- xams niswaan "five women"
- xamsit iğiil "the five men"

6.1.6.4 From eleven on, the numerals are in construct to the singular noun.

- iidaas iğiil "eleven men"
- miit sana "one hundred years"
- iif hapa "one thousand cows"
- sabiin walad "seventy boys"

6.1.6.5 The ordinal numeral functions as described in paragraph 6.1.1.1.

- lbeet iiliini "the second house"
- iğiil liidaas "the eleventh man"

6.1.6.6 Fractions are in construct to the noun.

- nus saa "one-half hour"
- nine lijmaas "one third of the community"
- saagak ilmuujuudin "one quarter of those present"
6.2 Adverbial Modification

Although there are a few words that function solely as adverbs, such as kilis "very", "quite" and gada "tomorrow", there is no morphological category that is strictly adverbial. The adverb, like the adjective, is a functional category of any word, which must be determined by context.

6.2.1 The following examples illustrate nouns functioning as adverbs.

\[\text{iigiid iisalii &al } \text{gaas lijmaa &a hazzaan.} \]
 "He wants to lead the congregation in prayer as a hazzan (cantor)."

\[\text{sagloonuu kaatib.} \]
 "They hired him as a secretary."

\[\text{kaan keiiig } \text{tayib.} \]
 "It was very good."

\[\text{(keiiig } \text{"many")}\]

\[\text{ma&doohim ma&d } \text{min haay laal.} \]
 "They gave them a good scare." (literally: They scared them a scaring from this good.)

\[\text{iibadi& kilis &aal.} \]
 "He speaks very well."

6.2.2 Prepositions and conjunctions (coordinating as well as subordinating) introduce adverbial expressions.

\[\text{bilawal kaan kilis &aal.} \]
 "At first, it was very good."
He kept on telling them the story while they were singing and applauding.

"What did he say when he was a child and what did he say when he grew up?"

"Keep on playing so that we may enjoy ourselves."

6.2.2.1 A verb is often modified when construed with a preposition.

- yiddiiina "he calls us"
- yiddii ileena "he curses us"
- &agfoonii "they knew me"
- &agfuul leeyii "they knew about me"

6.2.3 A finite verb can also function as an adverb, even without a conjunction.

- ka&duu uuniikii yiijii saaateen. "They sat there for about two hours."
- (yiijii "it comes (to)", "about")
- šiftoonuu kaysuuk biluulaayii. "I saw him (while he was) driving in town."
- ii&iddoon akallim. "They want me to tell them."
6.2.4 A special type of adverbial modification is the role of the protasis of a conditional sentence.

6.2.4.1 The real condition is one which has its protasis introduced by *min* "when", *iđa* or *kaan* (lkaan) "if". The verb in both the protasis and apodosis is either perfective or imperfective, with no difference in meaning.

*īđa maďituu imuu, ġaṣh yîṭlaš min abuunu.*  
"If his mother doesn't give (it) to him, he goes (and) asks his father."

*īđa mœēalijuu, haṣga ddinii, liixis.*  
"If they don't refrigerate it, it will spoil (in the) hot weather."

*ana, min kaan ǯamgii ǯaṣǧiiin, sana nzaltuu lbaṣra.*  
"When I was twenty, I went to Basra."

*kaan hiiyii maanann, ṭṭiįg leenii; wilkaan hiiyii maalim, ṭṭiįg leehim.*  
"If she belongs to us, she will fly to us, and if she belongs to them, she will fly to them."

*kaan heekid, maaxgif.*  
"If it is so, I don't know (it)."
6.2.4.2 The protasis of a contrary-to-fact condition is introduced by loo "if". The verb in both clauses may be either perfective or imperfective.

\[\text{loo kaanuu ištägloon miel me ništägil nihna hoonii, kaan iikuun kiliš keiig āaal.} \]

"If they worked (had worked) as we do here, it would be (would have been) very, very good."

6.3 The Negative

The negative adjective and adverb is either \textit{ma} or \textit{la}, the latter being slightly more emphatic than the former.

\[\text{la leel leel uula nhaaŋ ţhaaŋ.} \text{"Night is not night and day is not day."} \]
\[\text{māḥad yismāx.} \text{"No one listens."} \]
\[\text{laḥad yismāx.} \text{"No one at all listens."} \]
\[\text{haada ma beetiil.} \text{"This is not my house."} \]
\[\text{weeḩid mayismāx.} \text{"Somebody is not listening."} \]
\[\text{leessiī ţuun.} \text{"You may not go."} \]
\[\text{ma sāmax.} \text{"He did not listen."} \]
\[\text{kintuu walaad maaftahim.} \text{"I was a child (who) did not understand."} \]

6.4 Demonstrative Adverbs

6.4.1 The demonstrative adverb "here is . . ." is expressed by \textit{kwaa}- with the pronominal suffixes.
kwaanuu eelii. "Here is Elias."

kwaaha naqiima. "Here is Naima."

kwaahim. "Here they are."

6.4.2 The demonstrative adverb expressing "there is (exists)" or "there are (exist)" is akuu (negative maakuu).

akuu weehid iiwidiinii luuniik? "Is there anyone who will take me there?"

maakuu fluus. "There is no money."
7.1 Subject Agreement

The agreement of a verb with a third person noun-subject is like that of an adjective with a noun insofar as number and gender are concerned (see 6.1.1 - 6.1.1.2). If the subject is masculine or feminine singular, the verb is third person masculine or feminine singular, respectively. If the subject is dual or plural and refers to human beings, the verb is third person plural; if, on the other hand, the subject is plural and does not denote human beings, the verb is third person feminine singular. Collective nouns, especially those denoting nationals or members of any defined community, take verbs that are either third person feminine singular or third person plural. These observations on agreement hold whether the verb precedes the subject or follows it.

bzaman ittirk kaanuu liihuud maGaTaahiin.
"In Turkish times, the Jews were happy."

hassa hadoolii l&arab ma&kaamuu ii&haboona,
kaamuu iiba&gdoona walihaada ni&hna
nhizamna. "Now, these Arabs began to
dislike us, to hate us, and we, for
this reason, fled."
"Your father and mother were in London and brought you a bicycle."

"People began to work."

"People began to be fed up by this sort of thing."

"The Jews, after a while, became calm."

7.1.1 The third person plural of a verb is the impersonal form, being the equivalent of "one" plus the third person singular of the verb. Often, the third person plural is best translated as a passive in English.

"Now this Hannuni market (was) very dirty; meat was sold there, fish was sold there, chicken, vegetables, fruit, nuts, candy and everything else imaginable were sold there."

"On the way, they saw a certain rabbi called Rabbi Isaac."
7.1.2 The third person plural is also used to personify an otherwise impersonal subject, even though the subject is feminine singular.

\[\text{kaabil min\&oonuu l\hakuuma}. \text{ "Perhaps the government prevented him."} \]
\[\text{ja\d{a} f\d{a}\#ad weeb\d{h}id ba\#situu l\hakuuma muraakib kbi\d{i}\d{g}. \text{ "A certain someone is coming whom the government sent as a great investigator."} \]

7.2 Object Agreement

If the direct object of the verb is a definite noun, it is usually anticipated by a pronominal suffix attached to the verb (cf. 6.1.5.3). This seldom happens if the direct object is indefinite. Normally, the noun-object is prefixed by the definite article, but often the prefix is \(\text{lil-} \text{"to the".} \) If the direct object is a proper name, it is also prefixed by \(\text{l-}, \) which must be considered to be the preposition "to" rather than the definite article, unless the \(\text{l-} \) functions as a particle of reference.

\[\text{\d{s}iftuu wala\d{d}}. \text{ "I saw a child."} \]
\[\text{\d{s}iftuu lwala\d{d}}. \text{ "You (m s) saw the child."} \]
\[\text{\d{s}iftoonuu lwala\d{d}}. \text{ "I saw the child."} \]
\[\text{\d{s}ift wala\d{d}}. \text{ "You (m s) saw a child."} \]
\[\text{\d{s}aaf wala\d{d}}. \text{ "He saw a child."} \]
šaafuu lwalad. "He saw the child."
šaafuu walad. "They saw a child."
šafoonuu lwalad. "They saw the child."
šafoonuu lisliim. "They saw Selim."

7.2.1 If the verb has a definite indirect object, the pronominal suffix of the indirect object is affixed to the verb in like manner.

kaaloolim ladoolii lbil-suuk. "They told those (who were) in the market."

7.2.2 If the verb has both a definite direct object and a definite indirect object, the one receiving the greater emphasis will be anticipated by the appropriate pronominal suffix. In addition, if the indirect object is of the first or second person, the pronominal suffix will normally refer to it.

hkiinaaha lihkiiyiil &and ilhaxaam. "We told the story to the rabbi."

hkiinaaluu lihkiiyiil. "We told him the story."

ii&aloon liitalboonuu wiiksi-goolyak. "They will keep on asking for it and will break (it) for you."

kalluu labuyii, "ida ta&taiilya laay ilbiibii tbi&taiilyaanuu a&st&ghiha lhaay ilamwaal, wi&da mata&taiilya ma&st&ghiha." "He said to my father, 'If you give me this parrot, (if)
you sell (her) to me, I will buy her for this money; but if you don't give (her) to me, I will not buy her."

\textit{\$iltuuha \$\&iitoolyaanuu uumaaxattuuha}. "I carried it and gave (it back) to him and did not buy it."

7.2.3 The verb \textit{\$\&a}\textsubscript{a} "to give" can take two direct objects instead of one direct and one indirect object. In such a case, the person to whom something is given is referred to by the pronominal suffix and the thing given is mentioned only as a noun.

\textit{\$\&iitoonuu lbiibi}. "I gave him the parrot."
CHAPTER EIGHT

Syntactic Summary

8.1 Sentence Types

8.1.1 Simple sentences must contain at least one predicative word and may consist of only that one predicative word. They may, in addition, contain one or more syntactic elements, such as one main clause plus one or more subordinate clauses.

*maša. "He walked."

*hamloonuu. "They carried him."

*gaahuu leenuu. "They went to him."

*gaahuu leenuu xaagt iisuufim. "They went to him so that he might see them."

8.1.2 Compound sentences contain two or more main clauses, each of which is constructed like a simple sentence, connected by a coordinating conjunction such as *wa- "and", *yoo "or", *blaakit "however", etc.

*ana astgilkim siyaaga pališka wašida bil-

*siyaaga maalii waxaliikim bliha lpališ-

*ka wajaškim. "I will buy an old, broken-

down car and will tie it to my car and will put you in the broken-down car and will pull you."
8.1.2.1 Often, a rising inflection takes the place of a coordinating conjunction.

fagaad yoom dahuud kabaag, saag gaal, 
staaga siyaaga. "One day, David grew up (and) became a man (and) bought a car."

8.1.3 Complex sentences are those in which finite verbs function as adjectives or adverbs. These subordinate verbs are connected to the main clause without conjunctions and without a rising inflection in the tone.

hiyii katgii uu luuniikii kataxaa uu lbeebii 
wiyaaha. "She is going there, taking the baby with her."

8.1.3.1 Quotations, both direct and indirect, are likewise introduced without conjunctions or rising tone.

lakaanii naa'im uukallii kilim hiiyii katguu 
luuniikii kataxada lbeebii wiyaaha. "Naim met me and said to me, 'Tell them (that) she is going there, taking the baby with her.'"

kalnaaluu yaabaa hassa ni'na gaabinaak uuhaada. 
"We said to him, 'Hey, there! Now we bring you up and this (i.e. do even more)!"
8.2 Clause Types

The clause is either a main clause or a subordinate one and, like the simple sentence, must contain a predicative word unless it is an exclamation. In addition to the predicative word, a clause may contain an independent subject, an independent object, modifiers of the subject or the predicate and one or more conjunctions, serving as a sentence connective, phrase connective or word connective. The order of the syntactic units in a clause is relatively free. The verb may come before or after its independent subject, and the independent object, which usually comes after the verb and the subject, may, for emphasis be shifted to the beginning of the clause. In addition, if the verbal expression is a compound of an auxiliary verb and a main verb, the subject may precede or follow the total expression or may be placed between the auxiliary and the main verb.

iihuudii meesiil fluus yoom ilsubbaaĕ. "A Jew does not carry money on the Sabbath."

min ba&ad saa&ə, jaa fağad weeḥid. "An hour later someone came."

8.2.1 The first type of subordinate clause is the adverbial clause, which is introduced by a subordinate conjunction of a temporal or conditional nature.

min kaan uuniikii, kaan kiliş baʃgaan. "When he was there, he was a great jokester."
iæa təiəid, aŋuuaŋ wiyaak. "If you wish, I will go with you."

8.2.1.1 Another adverbial clause is the purpose clause, introduced by hàtii or xataŋ "in order that".

žahtuŋ luuniikii xataŋ aʃuuf. "I went there in order to see."

8.2.1.2 Adverbial clauses of a circumstantial type are introduced without a conjunction if they contain a verb and are introduced with w- "and" if they do not contain a verb.

kaan iinaam bilaŋə kayibkii. "He was lying on the floor weeping."

jibnaanuu lilbeet wilmal&ab wiyaana. "We brought him home, the toy (being) with us."

8.2.1.3 If the circumstantial clause containing a verb is introduced by the conjunction w-, there is greater emphasis on the secondary action.

kaan iinaam bilaŋə uyibkii uumeeyikbal. "He was lying on the floor, weeping, refusing (anything)."

8.2.2 The second type of subordinate clause is the adjectival one, introduced by the relative pronoun ilii or the article
1- if the noun modified is definite or if there is no antecedent at all.

\[
\text{štğeena min haada lkal &leenuu nailm.} \\
\text{"We bought (some) from that one about whom Naim spoke."}
\]

\[
\text{l&anduu yi\&ii wilma&anduu mayi\&ii abadan.} \\
\text{"He who has (literally: the-to-him) gives and he who has not (literally: the-not-to-him) gives nothing at all."}
\]

8.2.3 The third type of subordinate clause is the complementary clause, which is introduced without a conjunction.

\[
\text{i\&i\&id akalluu. "He wants me to tell him."} \\
\text{(literally: He wants I tell him.)}
\]
PART FOUR: CONCLUSIONS AND TEXTS
CHAPTER NINE
Comparisons and Conclusions

9.1 Phonemics

9.1.1 As compared with Classical Arabic and other colloquial Arabic dialects, the following remarks may be made concerning the phonemic consonants of Judeo-Baghdadi.

9.1.1.1 The glottal stop is lost as a phoneme except in loanwords borrowed from the literary language. This is true of many other (if not all other) modern colloquial dialects of Arabic as well as of ancient Hijazi Arabic (cf. Rabin, Ancient West-Arabian, pp. 130-145).

9.1.1.2 The existence of a phonemic /די/ in Druze has been confirmed by H. Blanc of Jerusalem.

9.1.1.3 The phoneme /j/ is retained as a palatal stop, as in the Moslem dialect of Baghdad, as opposed to the spirant /zh/ in Syro-Palestinian and the velar stop /g/ in Lower Egyptian.

9.1.1.4 The phoneme /r/ is preserved only in loanwords from Classical (Modern Literary) Arabic and other languages, including Hebrew, but even in these words /ʁ/ is substituted by many people.
9.1.1.5 The phoneme /s/ is preserved but, in a few cases, notably saaq "to become" and saaḥ "to call", has leveled with /s/. Compare Classical مار /ṣaara/ "to become" and ماح /ṣaḥa/ "to call out".

9.1.1.6 The phoneme /q/ represents a leveling of Classical ض and ط. This leveling is not surprising on the basis of the following observations. First of all, ط is of relatively low frequency in Classical Arabic, occurring as a root-initial consonant only some twenty-three times according to Hava. Persian words of Arabic origin containing ض and ط, moreover, are pronounced as if the consonants were both /z/. In addition to this, other colloquial dialects of Arabic show evidence of partial leveling, as is shown by Lower Egyptian تنبجيف "cleaning" for ط تنييف, ط usuasly being pronounced as /t/ and ض as /d/. That ض and ط originally represented separate phonemes in Classical Arabic can be demonstrated by the fact that the former levels with uesta in Aramaic and the latter with ط.

9.1.1.7 The phoneme /q/ is preserved except when in initial position in words containing velarized consonants. Compare اکاب "after", اکل "sense"
and ʻadam "bone" with Classical and عقل, عقل, respectively.

9.1.1.8 The phoneme /k/ is preserved as opposed to the tendency of the Moslems of Baghdad to pronounce /č/ in the manner of the Bedouin.

9.1.1.9 The phoneme /ʕ/ is preserved as opposed to the /g/ of the Moslems of Baghdad and the Upper Egyptians, the /ʔ/ of most Syro-Palestinian dialects and the leveling with /k/ in the colloquial of Nazareth.

9.1.1.10 The phoneme /h/ is preserved, although it is often elided when initial and preceded by prefixed prepositions, as illustrated by laay "to this" and loonii "hither" which exist together with lhaay and lihoonii, respectively.

9.1.1.11 The borrowed phonemes /č/, /p/ and /v/ contrast with levelings to /š/, /b/ and /w/ or /f/ in other colloquial dialects of Arabic. Compare Judeo-Baghdadi šaay "tea" with šaay of Syro-Palestinian, and petrozilia "parsley" with betrozilia.

9.1.1.12 The gemination of the second radical consonant of verbs of the second conjugation and its passive and of verbs and nouns cognate to roots mediae geminatae of Classical Arabic is wanting in
Judeo-Baghdadi, as spoken by most informants encountered. This loss of gemination is, however, compensated for by the retention of the vowel immediately preceding the consonant in question when the syllable loses stress. This gemination is preserved in other Arabic dialects and also in the Judeo-Baghdadi pronunciation of Hebrew and Aramaic.

9.1.2 As opposed to the vocalic system of Classical Arabic, which has /a/, /i/, /u/, /aa/, /ii/ and /uu/ plus the diphthongs /aw/ and /ay/, Judeo-Baghdadi has the following situation.

9.1.2.1 Short /a/ is preserved, although it often freely varies with /i/. This is true in Classical Arabic to a certain extent, where there are numerous examples of words that have a consonant that may be pointed with either fatha or kasra, e.g. many words of the paradigm ٍ ٍ also are pointed as ٍ ٍ.

9.1.2.2 Short /i/ and /u/ level to /i/. This is also seen as a development in Geez and Amharic.

9.1.2.3 The long vowels /aa/, /ii/ and /uu/ are preserved in most instances. It must be noted that Classical /aa/ becomes /ee/ and/or /ii/ by the
phenomenon known as imālah to the Classical grammarians.

κεκαίδ "standing"; Classical " subsidiaries
θειλίθ "third"; Classical "third"

9.1.2.4 The long vowel /ii/, when word final, corresponds to Classical -ah as the feminine ending, Classical -ίyy as the adjectival suffix, Classical -ay (؟اليف biṣûrati-lyâ?), and Classical -ii of roots having /w/ or /y/ as their last radical consonant.

κακαίδ "standing"; Classical " subsidiaries
βιρακίκ "Iraqi": Classical " Iraqi"
κσαλίκ "lazy"; Classical " lazy"
θιλίθ "high"; Classical " high"

9.1.2.5 The long vowel /uu/ corresponds to Classical /uu/ and also represents Classical /w/ when the first element of a word-initial consonant cluster or the second element of a word-final consonant cluster.

ουλαάδ (for wλαάδ) "children"

9.1.2.6 The long vowel /ee/ corresponds, in part, to Classical /ay/ when preconsonantal. It is also a morphophonemic variant of /ii/.
9.1.2.7 The long vowel /oo/, similarly, represents Classical /aw/ when preconsonantal and is also a morphophonemic variant of /uu/.

lou "if"; Classical لو
bneetuu "I built"; Classical بنيت
bniitoonuu "I built it"; Classical بنيته

9.2 Morphology

9.2.1 As compared to Classical Arabic, Judeo-Baghdadi has no case system, the sole vestige being adverbs such as maqalan (Classical مثلا) "for example". The dual number is preserved only in the noun and seems to be losing ground even there (see 6.1.6.2). The various paradigms of noun types found in Classical Arabic and the other colloquial dialects are, for the most part, represented in Judeo-Baghdadi.

9.2.2 The pronominal system has lost the feminine plural forms as well as the entire dual number. The masculine plural of Classical Arabic corresponds to the form now functioning as the common gender plural pronouns.
9.2.2.1 Of the pronominal suffixes expressing the direct object-pronoun of the verb, the form -nuu "him" is the most striking. Classical Arabic has -hu for the corresponding form, while the other colloquial dialects have -u(ḥ) (Baghdadi Moslem has -a). Judeo-Baghdadi shows -uu after consonants and -nuu after vowels, perhaps on the analogy of the first person pronominal suffix -ii "my" with nouns and -nii "me" with verbs. For the second person singular, Judeo-Baghdadi shows -ak (-k postvocally) for the masculine and -ik (-ki il postvocally) for the feminine, as compared to Classical -ka and -ki, Moslem Baghdadi -ak (-k) and -k (-č), respectively.

9.2.2.2 Pronominal suffixes of the indirect object exist in other colloquial dialects, but not in Classical Arabic (see footnote, p. 52, Nahmad and Rabin, Everyday Arabic).

9.2.3 The four productive conjugations of the verbal system in Judeo-Baghdadi correspond to the most productive conjugations of other colloquial dialects. The equivalent of the classical fourth conjugation, wanting here, is a form that does not exist in other colloquial dialects, although Cantineau (Le dialecte arabe de Palmyre, p. 150) lists it as a disappearing form for Palmyran Arabic.

108
Equivalents of the classical third, sixth, eighth and tenth conjugations are vestigeal in Judeo-Baghdadi as in other colloquial dialects. The ninth conjugation, rare even in Classical Arabic, is totally lacking in Judeo-Baghdadi as in the other colloquial forms of Arabic. (Cantineau cites the participle of the ninth conjugation for Palmyran, op. cit., p. 157.)

9.2.3.1 The inflection of the perfective in Judeo-Baghdadi corresponds closely to the forms of the verb in Classical Arabic. Note, however, the loss of the vowel after the first consonant when that syllable loses the stress, except where the second consonant corresponds to a geminated consonant in Classical Arabic or the other colloquial forms. One important difference in inflection is the second person masculine singular of the perfective, -t, as opposed to -ta of Classical Arabic. The first, second and third persons of the perfective, singular and plural, all have separate endings, as compared to the various degrees of leveling found in other dialects. (See Van Wagoner, Spoken Iraqi Arabic, pp. 115-117).

9.2.3.2 The inflection of the imperfective is similar to that in Classical Arabic and Baghdad Moslem. Note however, the second person feminine singular
9.2.4 Among the conjunctions, note the lack of a cognate for classical ?an or ?anna "that" except in rare forms such as b?an "in that" and kan "as" (Classicalن الب and كن، respectively).

9.3 Syntax

9.3.1 Among the important differences in syntax that may be cited is the double reference to a definite noun as the direct object of the verb or as a possessor noun, recalling a similar situation in Aramaic and Mishnaic Hebrew.

9.3.2 The restriction of the usage of a noun in construct to another noun directly to a few standard expressions is also to be noted.

9.3.3 The occurrence of a plural verb preceding its plural subject, as opposed to the Classical Arabic rule of a singular verb preceding its plural subject, is another major difference in syntax.

9.4 Lexicon

Loanwords in Judeo-Baghdadi are of two general types, namely direct borrowings and cognate borrowings.

9.4.1 Direct borrowings are from Modern Literary Arabic, the Moslem dialect of Baghdad, Hebrew, Persian and Turkish, with a sprinkling of other words from European languages.
9.4.1.1 Examples of borrowings from Modern Literary Arabic (or Classical Arabic) are

madrasa "school"

ḥakuuma "government"

9.4.1.2 Examples of borrowings from the Moslem dialect of Baghdad are

ṭawwa "now"

ɡirba "jar"

9.4.1.3 Examples of borrowings from Turkish or via Turkish from European languages are

beegak "flag"

jandarma "police" (from Italian)

ṭwaab "cannon"

poosta "post office" (from Italian)

liira or leera "pound" (from Italian)

meez "table"

skamlii "chair"

šapka "hat"

čaay "tea" (from Chinese)

šiš "skewer"

šaaboon "soap" (from Italian)

zangiiin "rich"

9.4.1.4 Examples of loanwords from Persian are

čarpaay or čağaay "bed"

čağaak or čaarak "one-fourth"
9.4.1.5 Loanwords from Hebrew are commonly used to reiterate synonyms in Judeo-Baghdadi. For example, ana šeeyib zakeen "I am a very old man" where šeeyib is the synonym of Hebrew zakeen "old man" and hadda maḥlal ʿawoon "this is not to be done" where maḥlal is the synonym of Hebrew ʿawoon "transgression". Other loanwords from Hebrew are chiefly of a religious nature.

- ḥaxaam "rabbi"
- mağalla "scroll" (เมจอล้า)
- kašeer "kosher"
- tareef "non-kosher"
- hadduus "news" (הדווס)
- nidabaa "alms"
- sidakaa "charity"
- emee "truth"

9.4.1.6 Examples of borrowings from various European languages not coming through Turkish are

- benziin "gasoline"
- otombiil "automobile"
- pasaport "passport"

9.4.2 Indirect borrowings involve roots of Arabic verbs that acquire the meanings of Hebrew cognates and pseudo-cognates. As an example, the verb kadas "to marry"
from Hebrew קַדָּשׁ (classical קָדָּשָּׁא does not have this meaning) may be cited. A word indirectly borrowed as a pseudo-cognate is mahla' "sin", probably from Hebrew הַלֶל "to profane" (actual Arabic cognate being xalla "to sour"), unless this word is an instance of a root developing an opposite meaning (ḥalla in Classical Arabic means "to be permissible").
CHAPTER TEN

Texts and Translations

10.1 The Written Language

Although there is no literature in Judeo-Baghdadi, the language has been and still is used as a written language for the purposes of correspondence, business, etc. Judeo-Baghdadi is written normally by means of a modified form of the oriental cursive Hebrew alphabet and is sometimes written by means of the Arabic alphabet, especially by the younger people who do not (or did not, while in Baghdad) know Hebrew. It will be noted that the native orthography is not particularly phonemic and is based on the comparative Arabic and Hebrew phonetic values of the letters. For example, the letter  denotes both /r/ and /g/; the latter when historically /r/, and the letter  is used to represent /g/, /j/ and /g/, the lattermost when historically /g/.

The fourteen lines of text reproduced on the next page are the beginning of an account called "The Burial of Rabbi Abdullah", the phonemic transcription, translation and analysis of which follow on pages 116-129.
SPECIMEN OF WRITTEN
JUDEO-BAGHDADI

(Transliteration and translation on following pages.)
10.2 Text A
"The Burial of Rabbi Abdullah"

fağad sana, ṣuuf, aṣ kaanuu iisuwoon haddolii,
a certain year, see, what they would do these,

haay bālid liziyaağa? baḳa, i'iğuuḥoon iizuugoon
this in feast the visit? well, they go they visit

šuwaḳ koheen. &anna bbaqdaad iizuugoonuu midfuun
Shua Cohen. With us in Baghdad they visit him buried

baaak iṣṣoob. nhaaq l&iid, maat ḥaxaam &abdalla.
on that side, day the feast, he died rabbi Abdullah.

uuween iidifnoonuu ḥaxaam &abdalla? iidifnoonuu
and where they bury him the rabbi Abdullah? they bury him

bilkheen. ḥaada, baḳa, ḥaxaam &abdalla kaan
in the Cohen. this, then, the rabbi Abdullah he was

ḥaxaam raab bilbaqdaad, wiiḥiboonuu kilitim.
rabbi great in the Baghdad, and they love him all of them.

baḳa, ḥaađa min maat meedifnoonuu bilḳabuura
well, this when he died they do not bury him in the cemetery

waya yisraeelog, difnoonuu ṣoob ṣuwaḳ koheen.
with Israel, they buried him next to Shua Cohen.
and they went all of them that time all of them merchants

and this, they took him in the coffin and they went the group

and they went out with him about twenty thousand soul

they went out with him.

(Story continues below.)

well, necessary they cross bridge. they crossed on the bridge

and they got on that side and they charged against them

the Moslems they brought down coffin they fought them the Jews.

and they began the Jews also, people it fights people. the Jews

they rose on the Moslems and they took him and they went

they are burying him, and people it is fighting people.

117
After they buried him, they made noise and thus and they went

they bring him out from the grave. the Moslems, the government,

they forced them the Jews they bring him out from the grave.

and they bring him back and they rebury him in the cemetery

maal yisrael. this situation it lasted about month

and half. after they carried him and they brought him

and they buried him in the cemetery of Israel, it played

in them certain type plague cholera, and they began they die

of them daily by the hundreds by the thousands. of the Jews

he did not begin he dies anyone. they said this from
his sin to the rabbi. the rabbi, we brought him out from the grave. this much it was to him, not necessary. he smells? when we brought him out from the grave like he the hour we buried him, not in him odor, not in him seen. all of them they wondered so that the Moslems they regretted and they buried him near Shua Cohen.

Translation

One year, now, what were people doing, since it was the feast of Pentecost? Well, they would go to visit Shua (Joshua) Cohen. It was our custom, in Baghdad, to visit him where he was buried on the other side (of the Tigris). On the day of the feast, Rabbi Abdullah died. Where was he to be buried? They were to bury him near (the tomb of) Shua Cohen. Since this Rabbi Abdullah was a great rabbi in Baghdad, loved by all, when he died, they would not bury him in the...
in the common cemetery, they buried him next to Shua Cohen. So they went, all of them, merchants and all, at that time, they carried him in the coffin. The community proceeded to go out with him; some twenty thousand souls went out with him.

Well, they had to cross a bridge. They crossed the bridge and, upon reaching the other side, the Moslems attacked them. They pulled down the coffin and fought the Jews. The Jews, too, began, the people were fighting each other. The Jews rose against the Moslems and they took him (Abdullah) and proceeded to bury him, while the fight went on. After they buried him they made a shout and more, and they (the Moslems) proceeded to exhume him. The Moslems, the government, forced the Jews to exhume him. They brought him back and reburied him in the common cemetery. This took about a month or a month and a half. After they carried him and reburied him in the Jewish cemetery, a certain type of plague, cholera, took them (the Moslems) and they began to die by the hundreds, by the thousands per day. Among the Jews, no one died. They (the Moslems) said that this was because they had sinned against the rabbi. We exhumed the rabbi. So long had he been (dead), shouldn't he stink? When we exhumed him, he was just as if we had just buried him, no odor, nothing at all. All of them were amazed and the Moslems even regretted (what they had done) and he was buried next to Shua Cohen.

120
Analysis

fağad. "a certain" adjective preceding noun modified.

sana. "year" noun modified by fağad, functioning here as an adverb of time.

ṣuuf. imperative 2 ms of ṣaaf "to see".

aś. "what" interrogative pronoun.

kaanuu iisuwoon. 3 pl imperfective of sawa "to do" modified by auxiliary kaan for past habitual action.

hadoolii. plural demonstrative, subject of preceding verb.

haay. feminine singular demonstrative.

bāiid liziyaaga. preposition b- prefixed to āiid "feast" which is in construct to liziyaaga "the visit"; l- definite article prefixed to ziyaaga "visit". The feast of Pentecost (Shavuoth) is so called because of the custom of visiting the tombs of various saints and prophets.

baka. conjunction "well", "then".

iiguuhoon. 3 pl imperf. of ǧaah "to go".

iizuugoon. 3 pl imperf. of zaag "to visit".

ṣuwaʔ koheen. pr. n. masc. ṣuwaʔ shortened form for Joshua, obj. of preceding verb.

&anna. 1 pl suffix with &and "with".

bbagdaad. prefixed preposition b- "in" plus bağdaad "Baghdad"

iizuugoonu. 3 pl imperf. of zaag "to visit" plus pronom. suff. of direct object 3 ms.
midfuun. part. pass I of dafan "to bury" functioning here as an adverb.

badaak is goob. demonstrative hadaak "that" prefixed by preposition b- "in" with loss of initial /h/; modifying goob "side", prefixed by definite article l-.

nhaag l&iid. adverbial function. nhaag "day" in construct to l&iid "the feast".

maat. 3 ms perf. "he died".

haxaam. "rabbi"; loanword from Hebrew "wise". This term is apparently used by Oriental Jews in preference to rabbi, since the latter has the meaning of "Lord" in Arabic and might seem blasphemous.

&abdalla. pr. n. masc., subject of maat.

uween. interr. adv. ween "where" pref. by conj. w- "and".

iidifnoonuu. 3 pl imperf. of dafan "to bury" plus direct object pronom. suff. 3 ms.

haxaam &abdalla. l- of reference indicating the antecedent of preceding pron. suff.

iidifnoonuu. 3 pl imperf. dafan plus pron. suff. 3 ms.

bilkoeen. pr. n. fam. "Cohen" prefixed by bil- "in the" "with the".

haad. demonstrative adjective ms.

baka. conjunction functioning as exclamatory.

haxaam &abdalla. article l- prefixed to title and defining it in agreement with preceding demonstrative, subject of next verb.
kaan. 3 ms perf. "he was".

haxaam raab. attributive adj. raab "great" modifying ḥa xa am.

bilbağdaad. pr. n. city prefixed by bil- "in the".

wihiiboonuu. 3 pl imperf. ḫa b "to love" plus pron. suff.

  3 ms, the whole prefixed by coordinating conj. w- "and".

kilitim. kilit- (bound form) "totality" plus pron. suff. 3 pl.

bağa. conj.

haada. demonstrative pron. ms.

min. temporal conjunction.

maat. 3 ms perf.

meedifnoonuu. 3 pl imperf. dafan plus pron. suff. 3 ms

  negated by prefixed ma-

bilkabuura. loanword from Aramaic "cemetery" prefixed by

  bil- "in the".

waya. prep. "with".

yisra?eel. pr. n. "Israel" here in the sense of "everyone",

  "the common mass".

difnoonuu. 3 pl perf. dafan "to bury" plus pron. suff. 3 ms.

  ọobb. prep. "near".

šuwaaska koheen. pr. n.

uuğaahuu. 3 pl perf. of ḩa ab prefixed by conj. w-

kilitim. pron. suff. 3 pl affixed to kilit-, subj. of

  preceding.

hadaak. demonstrative adj. modifying next word.

lwakt. wakt "time" pref. by art., here in adverbial function.

kilim. kil "all" plus 3 pl pron. suff.
tijaar. pl of taajir "merchant"
uuhaađa. demonstr. pro. pref. by conjunction, here in the sense of "et cetera".
axdoonuu. 3 pl perf. of axaad plus pron. suff. 3 ms.
biltabuut. prefixed bil- "in the" with tabuut "coffin".
uugaađuu. 3 pl perf. of gaah.
lijmađa. jmađa "community" pref. by art., subj. of preceding verb.
uutal&uu. 3 pl perf. of tala& "to come out".
wiyaanuu. combining form of waya "with" plus pron. suff. 3 ms.
yiiji. 3 ms imperf. of jaa "to come" used here adverbially with the meaning "approximately".
&asgiin 1lf. numeral governing singular of next word.
nafar. "soul", subj. of following verb.
țal&uu. 3 pl. perf. of tala& "to come out".
wiyaanuu. combining form of waya plus pron. suff. 3ms.
baka. conj.
laazim. auxiliary adj. "necessary".
ii&abgoon. 3 pl imperf. of &abgax "to cross".
jisg. "bridge".
&abguu. 3 pl perf. of &abgax.
biljisg. jisg prefixed by bil- "by the".
uusagguu. 3 pl perf. of saag "to become" pref. by conj.
baađak issoob. b- plus hadaak "that" modifying l- plus soob "side".

124
\(\text{uuq\text{\text{a}}aru}u.\) 3 pl perf. of \(\text{g\text{\text{a}}ar}\) "to charge" plus conj.

\&leehim. prep. \&al construed with preceding verb, comb. form with pron. suff. 3 pl.

\text{linsmilin.} plural of \text{mislim} "Moslem" with art., subj.

\text{nazluu.} 3 pl. perf. of \text{nazal II} "to bring down".

\text{tabuut.} "coffin".

\text{katloohim.} 3 pl perf. \text{katal} "to kill, strike, fight" plus pron. suff. 3 pl.

\text{liihuud.} direct object of preceding verb.

\text{uuq\text{\text{a}}amu}u. 3 pl perf. of aux. verb \text{kaam} plus conj.

\text{liihuud.} subject of preceding.

\text{hamii.} adverb "also".

\text{naas taktil naas.} reciprocal pron. \text{naas} ... \text{naas} with 3 fs imperf. of \text{katal}.

\text{liihuud.} subject of following.

\text{kaamu}u. 3 pl perf. of verb \text{kaam} "to rise".

\&al laslaam. \&al prep. construed with preceding verb with object \text{laslaam} pl. of \text{mislim} "Moslem".

\text{waxdoonuu.} conj. pref. to 3 pl perf. of \text{axaa} plus pron. suff. 3 ms.

\text{uuq\text{\text{a}}aahu}u. conj. pref. to 3 pl perf. of \text{g\text{\text{a}}ah}, functioning as auxiliary verb "to proceed".

\text{kaydifnoonuu.} 3 pl imperf. of \text{dafa}n plus pron. suff. 3 ms, prefixed by \text{ka-}.

\text{uunaas katakti}l \text{naas.} recip. pron. \text{naas} ... \text{naas} with 3 fs imperf. of \text{katal} pref. by \text{ka}, circumstantial force.
akab ma difnoonuu. temp. conj. akab ma "after" introducing
3 pl perf. of dafan plus pron. suff. 3 ms.
sawuu. 3 pl perf. sawa "to make".
hoosa. dir. object of preceding.
uukaa. demonstr. pron. haada prefixed by conj. and k-
"like", here meaning "et cetera".
uugaahuu iiitaloonuu. conj. with 3 pl perf. of aux. gaab
followed by 3 pl imperf. of talaas II "to bring out".
mlilkaag. min "from" plus l- "the" prefixed to kabaag
"grave".
laslaam. pl. of lmislim, subj. of next verb.
lihkuuma. in apposition to preceding.
jibroohim. 3 pl perf. of jabar "to force" plus pron.
suff. 3 pl.
lilihuud. liihuud with l- of reference, in apposition to
suffixed -him on preceding verb, subj. of next verb.
iiitaloonuu. 3 pl imperf. talaas II, serving as complementary
verb.
mlilkaag. mnil- "from the" plus kabaag.
wiigadoon iiijiboonuu. conj. plus 3 pl imperf. of aux. gad
followed by 3 pl imperf. of jaab "to bring" plus pron.
suff. 3 ms.
wiigadoon iidifnoonuu. conj. plus 3 pl imperf. of aux. gad
followed by 3 pl imperf. of dafan plus pron. suff. 3 ms.
bilkabuura. bil- "in the" pref. to kabuura.
maal. prep. "of".
yisraeel. obj. of preceding preposition.

haay lbazra. demonst. adj. f plus defined noun modified.

jağıt. 3 fs perf. of jag "to drag" having preceding word for its subject.

yiiji. adv. "about".

šahg šahg uunus. adv. of time, two possibilities unconnected by conj.

akab ma. temp. conj.

šaaloonuu. 3 pl perf. šaal "to carry" plus pron. suff. 3 ms.

uujaaboongu. 3 pl perf. of jaab "to bring" plus pron. suff.

3 ms, preceded by conj.

uudifnoonu. conj. plus 3 pl perf. of dafan plus pron. suff.

3 ms.

bilkabuura. prep. b- plus art. plus kabuura.

maal. prep.

yisraeel. object of preceding prep.

la&ab. 3 ms perf. "to play".

biihim. prep. b- construed with preceding verb plus pron.

suff. 3 pl.

fad. adj. "a certain", variant of fagad.

šikl. noun modified by preceding adj., in const. to next word.

waba. "plague" complement of preceding, subj. of la&ab.

abuuzoo&a. in apposition to "plague"; abuuzoo comb. form of ab "father" in construct to zoo&a "vomiting".

uukaamuu iimuutoon. conj. plus 3 pl perf. of aux. kaam with 3 pl imperf. of maat "to die".
minim. prep. min "from" plus pron. suff. 3 pl.
yoomiyyii. adv. from yoom "day", yoomii (fem. yomiiyyii)
  adj. "daily".
bilmiiyaat. bil- "by the" plus pl. of miiyi "hundred".
bililuuf. bil- "by the" plus pl. of ili "thousand".
mnilhiuud. min "from" plus liihuud.
makaam iimuut. negative adv. ma pref. to 3 ms perf. of
  aux. kaam followed by 3 ms imperf. of maat.
ahad. "anyone" subj. of preceding verb.
kaalu. 3 pl perf. of kaal "to say".
haada. demonstr. pron. ms.
min. prep. "from".
&awoonuu. loanword &awoo plus pron. suff. 3 ms; obj. of prep.
lilhaxaam. lhaxaam preceded by 1- of reference.
ilhaxaam. object of following verb.
tali&naanuu. 1 pl perf. of tala& II with pron. suff. 3 ms.
mnilkabag. min plus lkabag.
halkad. hal shortened and common gender and number form of
demonstrative plus kad "amount".
ssaagluu. 3 ms perf of ssaag plus indir. obj. suff. 3 ms, used
  in expression of time.
keef. functioning as a negative to following aux. adj.
laazim. aux. adj.
iijiif. 3 ms imperf. of jaaf.
imin. temp. conj.
tali\u00e8naanuu. 1 pl perf. of tala\u00e8 II plus pron. suff. 3 ms.
mnilkabag. min "from" plus lkabag.
kan. conj. "just as" plus pron. suff. 3 ms.
ssaa\u00e8a. ssa\u00e8a "hour" pref. by art., adverbial usage
   "just now".
dfinnaanuu. 1 pl perf. of dafan plus pron. suff. 3 ms.
laa. neg. adv.
biinuu. prep. b- plus pron. suff. 3 ms.
\u00e8ii. subj. of clause.
laa. neg. adv.
biinuu. prep. b- plus pron. suff. 3 ms.
\u00e8een. subj. of clause.
kilim. kil "all" plus pron. suff. 3 pl.
t\&ajbuu. 3 pl perf. of t\&ajab refl-pass. II.
\u00e8atii. adv. "even".
laslaam. pl of mislim.
tnadmuu. 3 pl perf. of tnadam refl-pass, II.
uyudifnoonuu. conj. plus 3 pl perf. of dafan with pron. suff.
   3 ms.
goob. prep.
\u00e8uwa\u00e8 koheen. pr. n., obj. of preceding prep.
a certain day, a certain woman she came to me from
hindistaan. ana kintuu walad ba&adni amgii yijii
India. I I was a boy I still my life about
a&adj snin wafab hwawin agabii bilbeet. jil
ten years and I love animals I raise in the house. she came
ma&g min hindistaan jaabit biibiimatuu, farx ba&ada.
woman from India she brought a parrot, chick she yet.
axattuuha mina mmajiidii. akuu wee&ad ̱saayib
I took her from her for a majidi. there is one elder
iibii& jiij &aayannii, kallii haay a&skun?
he sells hens he saw me, he said to me this what?
kaltooluu biibiimatuu. kallii wee! taal wiyaayii
I told him parrot. he said to me wow! come with me
da&alimak asloom ta&alima withadi& hdi&
let me teach you how you teach her and she speaks speech
&arabii, iiiranii, a& t√i√id ithadi&. kaltooluu
Arabic, Persian, what you want she speaks. I said to him
ашлоон? калий мақатхилиха бикфас? калий

как? он сада ты маан вон'т льеаар ер вин ар беге? пут

кылф илкфас мааи уухааа, бааа, гийй ий

беджин йон йоу ар беге. йин, ер

хассатажин ныса бимааи тхамил акуу биби

кылла. иним матхадоон кылфа? аш

ин фрон доо. йоу вон'т йоу сада вин ар беге? вити

тхадоон, гийй тхамил акуу бибииматуу кылла

йоу сада, ён сада вин ар биро фрон доо.

катьдадоо. титамал гийй тхадоо. уутааааа филфилдаара

кылла. йоу сада, йоу сада вин ар биро.

уу'каанна сылкоонуу уусугоонуу лаблабий,

вич йоо поол ий ар вадоо вин ар ёл. бич

уу'алимтооим, камна нхалила мааи кбииг

андоо тахаа, йон ы ар вин ар беге. йон, вин ар мее й ар сисггс

уу'алимтооим, камна нхалила мааи кбииг

андоо тахаа, йон ы ар вин ар беге. йон, вин ар мее й ар сисггс

кылф илкфас винхааг килуу тахааинуу имааи

беджин йоу ар йон ар беге. йон, йон ы ар йон ар беге.
Taaayin  biiibiimatuu  uutilghi  wiyaaha. Taaalmit
she looks at  parrot  and she speaks with her. she learned
Thadie. lawaadim  ilbilhoos  kilitim  Taaalmit
she speaks. the people in the house  all of them  she learned
Tsamiihim. waahdii isma  farha,  tsaahlal
she names them. one  her name  Farha, she calls her
Farha. waahdii isma  tiffaha,  tsaahlal  tiffaha.
Farha. one  her name  Tiffaha, she calls her  Tiffaha.
Ana ismii  mnaashi, ham  tsaahlili  mnaashi. ilkuumooni
I  my name  Manasseh, also  she calls me  Manasseh. they begin
Iitabxoon  tsiih  farha!  kuumi!  tbaxii!  biiibi juaqana.
they cook  she cries  Farha!  get up!  cook!  parrot  hungry.
Iifithoonuu  ilkafas  witguuh  liilmaatbax  uutaakil.
they open it  the cage  and she  goes to  the kitchen  and she eats.
Wiigadoon  isiilhoola  beetuu,  beetuu!  uutaaxida
and then  they call to her  home,  home!  and she takes
daagba  witguuh  ilkafas. baaka, haay, bisseef
her road  and she  goes to  the cage.  well,  this,  in the summer
Haaga ddinii,  weehid  talaqa  lisaath,
hot  the weather,  someone  he took  her out  to the roof,
ilkafas ilbaab miftuuh, nasuu iijiibuuha
the cage the door open, they forgot they bring her

iinazluuha &ala waqt. fatnit ilkafas uu’taagiet
they bring her down on time. she opened the cage and she flew

uu’taagiet. akuu &anna xalifna suug uuxalf
and she flew. there is with us behind us wall and behind

issuug akuu azaxaana. bilazaxaana haoolii
the wall there is drugstore. in the drugstore these

axuuhu. tla&tuu duwa’gtuu maakuu. as asawii?
they took her. I went out I looked there isn’t. what I do?

gaahit. akab yijjii sahgh sahgeen, akuu beet
she went. after about month two months, there is house

badlik ilkuuca, mnilhaal, uu’gaaahuu yoom is’subbaa0
in that the street, of the family, and they went day Sabbath

ilniswaan &andim iisimooon hissa laayii lbiibiimatuu.
the women with them they hear her voice to this the parrot.

haayii, ma haayii, gaahuu luuniikii ș’tantuu șaafuuha
this, not this, they went there they listened they saw her

hiyii haay. joo kaaloolii ana ham gahtuu. kamtuu
she this. they came they told me I too I went. I began
I speak to her from behind the door she answers me. This

how I take her from them? they won't give me. I took

and I want he goes with these he buys from them thing.

he said I want majidi. I said to him this the majidi.

I took him and I went. he entered inside he buys from them.

well, this where hanging? hanging near the door. I

I took her down from the hook and I took her and I fled.

that he kept on he buys and they they did not notice me.

after day two days they came from the drugstore they told me
jiiba! hiyii maanna. laa! hiyii maanna uuţaągilt
give her! she ours. no! she ours and she flew

wintim axattima. ana maatii. gaaħuu stakuu
and you you took her. I I don't give. they went they complained

and ilkalağ. jaaboolli lilkalağ
with the police station. They took me to the police station

uukaam haada limfawağ saayannii kallii haay
and he began this the official he asked me he said to me this

aškun? kaltooluu yaabaa haay liŋkiyii maala
what is it? I said to him hey this the story hers

kaada uukaada. hiyii zgeegii jibnaaha min hindistaan
thus and thus. she little we brought her from India

wištgiituuhu uuṣalamtuuha taŋkii. wasakuu?
and I bought her and I taught her she speaks. what is it?

bilbeet kilim taŋgifim, weeḩid weeḩid
in the house all of them she knows them, one one

iihaašuuha uuthadiim. kaan hiyii haayii
they speak to her and she speaks to them. if she this

maaluu, lees maalama tkuul lawaadim maaluu?
his why he did not teach her she talks to people his?
ašuuma tiğif ismuu, ism abuunu, ism imuu, why not she knows his name, name his father, name his mother,
uuflaan? kaal limfawaah haay da&waa matsiig and so on? he said the official this matter it is not &anna, țuuh &and liňxaamiim. haay țkiiyii maal with us, go with the rabbis. this story of dayyaaniim. țaňna &and liňxaamiim joo himii religious judges. we went with the rabbis they came they kilitim. țakuuha liňkiyyii &and liňxaamiim uuniňna all of them. they told it the story with the rabbis and we kaada țkiinaaaha liňkiyyii. kaaluu hiyii maanna niňna thus we told it the story. they said she ours we jibnaaaha min bombee wana ham țkeetuũ uuƙaltuu we brought her from Bombay and I too I told and I said haay jibnaaaha min hindistaan zgeegii uuƙalimnaaaha this we brought her from India little and we taught her thadiț. yaąba haada huwii țaxaam sîlmaan țee&id țbaanna she speaks. hey this he rabbi Solomon living opposite us uuyiğifa lbiibii uuham uulaaduu kilim and he knows her the parrot and also his children all of them
baṣa ḳḍaayaáníim saaḥoolu melḥaam silmaan, taal ašloon
then the judges called him the rabbi Solomon come how
tṣuufa laay ilbazra? baṣa, melḥaam silmaan ṣaayib
you see it this the deed? well, the rabbi Solomon old man
zaḳeen uumaāakāğ. kaltoolu siiyidii
old man and he did not remember. I said to him sir
ana aḥala. kaaloolii ḳḍaayaáníim ašloon?
I I solve it. They said to me the judges how?
kəltoolim haay ilbiibiilmatuu &anda ḳafas maala
I said to them this parrot with her cage her
ṣtiituula uuhwii ham ṣtiqaala ḳafas.
I bought for her and he too he bought for her cage.
nənna njiiba liliibiibi winjiiba iḳafasaat
we we bring her the parrot and we bring her the cages
li-een, maanna uumaalu, winṭali&a liliibiibi
the two, ours and his, and we bring her out the parrot
mnlikfas bilaga uunṣiīḥ i/liiha nklalla
from the cage on the floor and we call to her we say to her
liiibi giihuuii beetuu beetuu! ṣuuf beeyii ḳafas tidxil,
parrot go home home! see in which cage she enters,
yaxaɗa ṣaaḥiba. kaan hiyii maanna, tguuŋ lilƙafas
he takes her her owner. if she ours, she goes to the cage
maanna, wilkaan hiyii maalu, tguuŋ lilƙafas maalu.
ours and if she his she goes to the cage his.
lhaxaam kaal haay xoos ŵkiyii. jibnaahim lhxaamiim
the rabbi he said this good story. we brought them the rabbis
lienneen uujiina lilbeet uuftiŋnaaha lilƙafasat
the two and we came to the house and we opened them the cages
uusaŋna Ɂliiha uuţalit mnilƙafas. uusaŋna
and we called to her and she emerged from the cage. and we called
biibiibeeetuu meeruu meeruu meeruu! axdaat daɗba uuɗaxlit
parrot home home home! she took her road and she entered
bilƙafas maanna. ha! yaɓa! iɗallak
into the cage ours. hah! hey! it remains to you
seeni baɗad? waksiinaaha liibibiimatu uudalit
thing yet? and we took her the parrot and she stayed
wiyaana. baƙa, heekid kaan.
with us. well, thus it was.
One day, a certain woman came to me from India. I was still a child, about ten years of age, and I used to love to raise animals in the house. A woman came from India, bringing a parrot, still a chick, and I bought it from her for a majidi. An old man who sold chickens saw me and said, "What is it?" So I told, "A parrot." He said to me, "So! Come with me and I will show you how to teach her to speak Arabic, Persian, any language you want her to speak." I asked him how, and he said, "Won't you be keeping her in a cage? Put a mirror behind the cage and speak to her. Well, she will see herself in the mirror, thinking that there is a parrot in front of her. Won't you be talking behind her? Whatever you say, she will think that there is a parrot in front of her, talking to her. She will learn how to talk. But feed her green pepper and chick peas, which you should boil whole, and she will learn how to talk well."

We (I had sisters and I informed them) proceeded to set up a big mirror behind the cage, and all day long she looked at the mirror, saw a parrot and talked to her. She learned how to talk. She knew the names of everyone in the house: one woman was named Farha, she called her Farha; another was named Tiffah, she called her Tiffah; my name is Manasseh, she also called me Manasseh. When they began to cook, she would call out, "Farha! Get up and cook! Parrot is hungry!"
They would open the cage and she would go to the kitchen and eat.

Well, in summer, when the weather was hot, someone took her up to the roof, with the cage door open and forgot to bring her down in time. She opened the cage and flew and flew. Behind us was a wall and behind the wall was a pharmacy. The people in the pharmacy took her. I went out to look, but she wasn't anywhere to be found. What to do? She had gone away. A month or a month and a half later, the women-folk of some relatives living on that street went out walking on the Sabbath and they heard the voice of a certain parrot. They weren't sure whether or not it was my parrot, so they went there to listen and they saw that she was indeed mine. They came to tell me and I too went. I began to talk to her from behind the door and she answered. How could I take her away from them? They won't give her to me. I took a certain Moslem and I told him the story, thus and so, and that I wanted him to go to this pharmacist and buy something from him. He said, "I want one majidi." I said to him, "Here is your majidi." I took him and went off. He entered inside to buy something from them. Well, where could she be hanging? Hanging near the door! I took her down from the hanger, I took her and ran. That one (the Moslem) kept on buying and they did not notice me.

After a day or two, they came from the pharmacy and said to me, "Give her back! She is ours." "No! She is ours
and flew away and you took her. I won't give her back!"

They went and complained down at the police station. I was brought to the police station and this official began questioning me saying, "What is this all about?" I told him, "Well, this is the story, thus and so. She was small when we brought her from India, and I bought her and taught her how to speak. Can't you see that she knows everyone in the house? Each one talks to her and she talks to them. If she belongs to him, why didn't he teach her to talk to his people? Why doesn't she know his name, his father's name, his mother's name, and so on?" The official said, "This is a matter out of our jurisdiction. Go to the rabbis. This is something for the religious court."

We went to the rabbis and so did they. They told their story to the rabbis and we told ours. They said, "She is ours. We brought her from Bombay." And I, too, spoke and said, "We brought her from India as a chick and taught her how to speak. See, this Rabbi Solomon lives across the street from us and he knows the parrot and so do all of his children."

Well, the rabbis called Rabbi Solomon, "Come! How do you see it?" Well, Rabbi Solomon was a very old man and did not remember. I said to him, "Sir, I will solve it." The judges said, "How?" I said, "This parrot has a cage which I bought for her and he too bought her a cage. Let us bring the parrot and the two cages, ours and his, and we will put the
parrot on the floor and will cry to her saying, "Parrot, go home, home!" See which cage she enters, that man will take her. If she is ours, she will go into our cage and if she is his, she will go into his cage."

The rabbi said, "This is a good idea." We brought the two rabbis and came to the house and opened the cages. Then we called to her and she came out of the cage. And we called, "Parrot! Home! Home! Home!" She started off and walked into our cage. "Hah! You there! Do you have anything left?"

So we took the parrot and she remained with us. Well, thus it was.

Analysis

fagad. adj. modifying following noun.
yoom. functions as adverb of time.
fagad. adj. modifying following noun.
mağa. noun, subject of following verb.
jit. 3 fs perf. of jaa "to come".
leeyii. prep. ila "to" with pron. suff. 1 s.
min. prep.
hindistaan. obj. of preceding prep.
ana. pers. pron. 1 s.
kintuu. 1 s perf. of kaan "to be".
walad. pred. noun.
ba&adnii. adv. ba&ad "yet" with pron. suff. 1 s.
&amgii. noun &amg with pron. suff. 1 s, subject of clause.
yiijii. pred. adv. modifying following.
&asag. card. num. in construct to following.
sniin. plural of sana "year".
waḥab. pref. conj. w- plus 1 s imperf. of ḥab "to love".
ḥwawiin. obj. of preceding verb, plur. of ḥeewaan "animal".
agaibii. 1 s imperf. of ḡaba II "to raise", complement.
bilbeet. pred modifier, prep. b- plus art. plus beet.
jit. 3 fs of jaa, perf.
mağa. noun, subj. of preceding verb.
min hindistaan. pred. mod.
jaabit. 3 fs perf. of jaab "to bring", second main clause.
biibiimatuu. obj. of preceding verb.
farx. appositional to preceding noun.
ba&ada. adverb ba&ad "yet" plus 3 fs pron. suff.
axattuuh. 1 s perf. of axad "to take" plus pron. suff. 3 fs.
mnaajiidii. prep. b- "with" plus maajiidii, a Turkish coin worth about $.50.
akuu. demonstr. adv.
wee biid. pred. of preceding, modifying following noun.
&yaayib. noun, subj. of following verb.
iibiibii. 3 ms imperf. of baa& "to sell".
jiij. obj. of preceding verb.
&yaayannii. 3 ms perf. of &yaay "to see" plus pron. suff. 1 s.
kallii. 3 ms perf. of kaal "to say" plus ind. pron. 1 s.
wee. interjection.
taal. suppletive imperative ms of jaa "to come".
wiyaayii. prep. waya "with" plus pron. suff. 1 s, pred. mod.
d&alimak. da- of futurity pref. to 1 s imperf. of &alam II.
  "to teach" plus pron. suff. 2 ms.
ashloon. sub. conj. introducing following verb.
t&alima. 2 ms imperf. of &alam II plus pron suff. 3 fs.
withadi&. conj. w- pref. to 3 fs imperf. of hadae II "to
  speak", complementary verb.
h&iie. cognate object of preceding verb.
&arabii. pred adj. modifying preceding noun.
iiraanii. second pred. adj. modifying &iie.
as talkid. interrogative pron. plus 2 ms imperf. &aad "to want"
  serving as second complement of withadi&.
iithadi&. complement of preceding verb, 3 fs imperf. of
  hadae.
kaltooluu. 1 s perf. of kaal "to say" plus ind. obj. pron.
  suff. 3 ms.
asloon. interrr. adv.
kallii. 3 ms perf. of kaal plus ind. obj. pron. suff. 1 s.
makatxili&ha. neg. adv. ma pref. to ka- plus 2 ms imperf.
  xala II "to put" plus pron. suff. 3 fs.
b ilkafas. prep. b- plus art. plus noun kafas, pred. adv.
xali&. m s imperat. of xala.
xalf. prep. introd. pred. adv.
ilkafas. art. plus kafas, obj. of preceding prep.
ma'ii. obj. of verb xalii.
uuhnoo. pref. conj. w- plus ms imperat. of hadn+ plus
pron. suff. 3 fs.
baka. conj.
hii. 3 fs pron. subj.
hassat'aaayan. hassa of futurity plus 3 fs imperf. of
aaayan.
nafsa. refl. pron. nafs "self" plus pron. suff. 3 fs, obj.
of preceding verb.
bilmagii. prep. b- plus art. plus magii. pred. adv.
xaamil. 3 fs imperf. xamal II "to imagine", verbal adv.
akuu. demonstr. adv., pred. of xamil.
bii. pred. to akuu.
kbaala. prep. kbaal plus pron. suff. 3 fs, pred. adv.
intim. pers. pron. 2 pl subj. of following verb.
mathaeeoon. neg. adv. ma pref. to 2 pl imperf. of hadn+.
xalfa. prep. xalf plus pron. suff. 3 fs, pred. adv.
às. interrr. pron. functioning as relative "whatever", obj. of
following verb.
thaaeeoon. 2 pl imperf. of hadn+.
hii. 3 fs pers. pron., subj. of following verb.
xamilil. 3 fs imperf. of xamal, apodosis.
akuu. demonstr. adv.
bibiimatuu. pred. of preceding.
kbaala.  prep. kbaal plus 3 fs pron. suff., pred. adv.
kathadi. 3 fs imperf. of hada prep. by ka- pred. adv.
tit&alim. 3 fs imperf. of t&alam.
hiyii. 3 fs pers. pron. subj. of preceding.
thadie. 3 fs imperf. of hada, complement.
ua&muha. conj. w- pref. to pl imperat. of t&alam II
   plus pron. suff. 3 fs.
filildaara. obj. of preceding verb.
uuhammaa. obj. of following verb.
silkoonuu. pl imperat. of salak with pron. suff. 3 ms.
uusuwoonuu. pl imperat. of sava pref. by conj. w-, with
   pron. suff. 3 ms referring back to hammaa.
lablabii. pred. adv.
wassatit&alam. pref. conj. w- plus hassa of futurity pref.
   to 3 fs imperf. of t&alam.
min haay l&aal. prep. min plus fs demonst. pron. plus
   appositional adj., functioning as pred. adv.
nihna. 1 pl pers. pron.
&andii. prep. &and plus pron. suff. 1 s introducing
   parenthetic remark.
xwaatii. pl of ixt plus pron. suff. 1 s, pred. of &andii.
uu&alamtoohim. conj. w- pref. to 1 s perf. of &alam plus
   3 pl pron. suff., second element of parenthetic remark.
kamna. 1 pl perf. of kaam inchoative aux.
uxaliila. 1 pl imperf. of xala plus ind. pron. suff. 3 fs.
magii. obj. of nxaliila.
kbiig. pred. adj. modifying magii.
xalf. prep. introd. pred. adv.
ilkafas. obj. of prep.
winhaag. conj. w- plus nhaag, introducing adv. of time.
kiluu. kil plus pron. suff. 3 ms, in apposition to above.
t&aaayinuu. 3 fs imperf. of &aayan plus pron. suff. 3 ms.
lmagii. obj. of preceding verb.
t&aaayin. 3 fs imperf. of &aayin.
biibiimatuu. obj. of preceding.
uutilgii. conj. w- plus 3 fs imperf. of laza.
wiyaaha. complementary prep. with pron. suff. 3 fs.
t&almit. 3 fs perf. of t&alam.
thadi0. 3 fs imperf. of hada0, complementary verb.
lawaadim. art. plus awaadim, collective noun, obj. of following verbal complement.
ilbilhoos. art. plus b- plus art. plus hoos functioning as adj. modifying lawaadim.
t&almit. 3 fs perf. of t&alam.
tsamiihim. 3 fs imperf. of sama plus pron. suff. 3 pl referring back to lawaadim, complementary.
wa:O,dii. fem. impers. pron. subj. of following.
isma. ism plus pron. suff. 3 fs, pred. of preceding and subj. of following.
farha. pr. n. fem. pred. of preceding.
tsahla. 3 fs imperf. of saah plus ind. pron. suff. 3 fs.
farha. pr.n. fem. pred. of preceding.
wahdi. impers. pron. fem. subj. of following.
isma. ism plus pron. suff. 3 fs, pred. of preceding and subj. of following.
tiffaaha. pr. n. fem. pred. of preceding.

148
lkafas. art. with noun, obj. of preceding verb.

witguuh. conj. pref. to 3 fs imperf. of saah.

lilmabax. prep. l- pref. to art. plus noun; obj. of motion.

uutaakil. conj. pref. to 3 fs imperf. of akal.

wiigadoon. conj. pref. to 3 pl imperf. of gad, aux. verb.

iisihoola. 3 pl imperf. of saah plus ind. pron. suff. 3 fs.

beetuu, beetuu! interjection.

uutaaxid. conj. pref. to 3 fs imperf. of axad.

daga. obj. of preceding verb, with pron. suff. 3 fs.

witguuh. conj. pref. to 3 fs imperf. of saah.

lilkafas. pre. l- pref. to art. plus noun; obj. of motion.

baka. conj.

haay. demonstrative pron. fs referring to entire account.

bisseeef. pref. prep. b- plus art. pref. to noun.

baaga. fem. adj. modifying following noun predicatively.

ddinii. art. pref. to dinii.

weeheid. impers. pron., subj. of following.

talake. 3 ms perf. of talak II plus 3 fs pron. suff.

lissath. pref. prep. l- plus art. plus noun; obj. of motion.

ilkafas ilbaab miftuuh. parenthetic remark modifying circumstance.

nasuu. 3 pl perf. of nasa, impersonal use.

iijiibuuhaha. 3 pl imperf. of jaab, complementary verb.

iiinazluuha. 3 pl imperf. of nazal II, second complement.

&ala wakt. prep. &ala with object of prep., adverbial usage.
akuu. demonstr. adv.
&anna. prep &and plus pron. suff. 1 pl.
xalifne. prep. xal' plus pron. suff. 1 pl.
suu&g. subject.
uuxal'. pref. conj. and demonstr. adv.
issuu&g. art. plus suu&g, obj. of preceding prep.
akuu. demonstr. adv.
azaxanaa. subject.
bilazaxanaa. prep. b- plus art. plus noun.
haadoollii. demonstr. pron., subject.
axd'uhue. 3 pl perf. of axd' plus pron. suff. 3 fs.
'tla&tuu. 1 s perf. of 'talak.
duwa&tuu. 1 s perf. of dawa& II, complementary.
maakuu. neg. plus demonstr. adv.
'a. interr. pron.
asawii. 1 s imperf. of sawa II.
'gaa&hit. 3 fs perf. of 'gaa&h.
akab. prep.
yiiji. adv.
'sa&g &sa&gen. obj. of pref. followed by same noun in the dual, without conj.
akuu. demonstr. adv. introducing parenthetical element.
beet. subj. of paren.
badiik. prep. b- plus demonstr. adj. ha&dik fs.
silkuuca. art. plus fs noun modified by preceding.
mnilahl. secondary parenthetic remark.
uugaaahu. conj. plus 3 pl perf. of ąaah, main verb.
yoom 3subbaa$. adv. of time.
ilniswaan. art. plus pl noun niswaan, subj.
&andim. pre. &and plus pron. suff. 3 pl, referring to mnilahl.
ilsim&oon. 3 pl imperf. of sama&, iterative action, adv.
function.
hissa. obj. of preceding verb plus pron. suff. 3 fs.
laayii. demonstr. adj. fs pref. by 1- of reference.
ilbiibiimatuu. noun modified by preceding demonstr.
haayii ma haayii. demonstr. pron. contrasted with its negative.
ąaahuu. 3 pl perf. of ąaah, main verb.
ñtantu. 3 pl perf. of ñtanat, secondary action.
šaafuuha. 3 pl. perf. of šaaf plus pron. suff. 3 fs, secondary
action.
hiyii. pers. pron. 3 fs subj. of new clause.
haay. demonstr pron. fs, predicate.
joo. 3 pl perf. of jaa, new clause.
kaalooolii. 3 pl perf. of kaal plus ind. pron. suff. 1 s,
complementary verb.
ana. 1 s pers. pron. subj. of following verb.
ham. adverb.
ąahtuu. 1 s perf. of ąaah.
kamtuu. 1 s perf. of kaam, new clause, aux. verb.
shadiao. 1 s imperf. of hada& II plus pron. suff. 3 fs.
min xalf. compound prep.
ilbaab. obj. of prep.
katjawibnii. 3 fs imperf. of jawab II pref. by ka- plus
pron. suff. 1 s, adverbial function.
haayii. demonstr. pron., obj. of following verb.
aslooe. interr. adv.
axaad. 1 s imperf. of axad with pron. suff. 3 fs.
minim. prep. min plus pron. suff. 3 pl.
meeyitaatoloo. 3 pl imperf. of taka pref. by neg. and suff.
by ind. obj. pron. 1 s.
axattuu. 1 s perf. of axad.
faqad. adj. modifying following noun.
weehid. impers. pron. repeating faqad.
mislim. obj. of axattuu, modified by faqad weehid.
kaltooluu. 1 s perf. of kaal plus ind. pron. suff. 3 ms.
liikiiyii. art. plus noun, dir. obj. of kaltooluu.
kaada uukaadaa. pref. prep. k- plus demonst. pron. haada
repeated with conj., parenthetic.
uudaqild. conj. plus 1 s imperf. of faad pref. by d-
iiquuuh. 3 ms imperf. of faah, complementary.
&and. prep. for motion.
hadoollii. obj. of prep.
yistaqii. 3 ms imperf. of staqa, adverbial of purpose.
minim. prep. min plus pron. suff. 3 pl.
seen. obj. of yiystaqii.
kaal. 3 ms perf.
agiiid. 1 s imperf. of gaad, beginning of quote.
majiidi. obj. of preceding.
kaltouluu. 1 s perf. of kaal plus ind. obj. suff. 3 ms.
haay. demonst. pron. fs, beginning of quote.
lmajiidi. pred. of preceding.
axattoonuu. 1 s perf. of axad plus pron. suff. 3 ms.
uugaahtuu. conj. plus 1 s perf. of gaah.
daxal. 3 ms perf.
jowa. adv.
kayistagii. 3 ms imperf. of staaga pref. by ka-, purpose.
minim. pre. min plus pron. suff. 3 pl.
baka. conj.
haayi. demonst. pron. fs, subj.
ween. interr. adv.
malka. pred., fs part. of &alak II.
malka. fs part. of &alak, II, pred. adj. of new utterance.
goob. prep.
ilbaab. obj. of prep.
ana. pers pron. 1 s, subject of following.
niziltuuha. 1 s perf. of nazal II plus pron. suff. 3 fs.
mnil&alaka. prep. min pref. to art. plus noun.
waxattuuha. conj. pref. to 1 s perf. of axad plus pron.
suff. 3 fs.
uunihzamtuu. conj. plus 1 s perf. of nham, passive I.
demonstr. pron. ms, subj. of following verb.

3 ms perf. aux.

kayištágii. 3 ms imperf. of štaga pref. by ka-, main verb.

uuhiimii. conj. plus pers. pron. 3 pl, introducing circum-

stantial element.

mahasuu. neg. adv. plus 3 pl perf. of has.

biyii. prep. b- construed with preceding verb plus pron.

suff. 1 s.

akab. prep.

nhaag nhaageen. obj. of prep. repeated in the dual without

a conjunction.

joo. 3 pl perf. of jaa.

mnilazaxaana. prep. min pref. to art. plus noun.

kaałoolii. 3 pl perf. of kaal plus ind. obj. suff. 1 s,

complementary.

jiiba. ms imperat. of jaab plus pron. suff. 3 fs.

hiyiil pers. pron. 3 fs, subj. of new clause.

maanna. prep. maal plus pron. suff. 1 pl, pred.

lāa. negative interjection

hiyiil maanna. new clause, subj. 3 fs pers. pron., pred.

maal plus pron. suff. 3 fs.

uutasāgit. new clause, conj. plus 3 fs perf. of taag.

wintim. conj. plus pers. pron. 2 pl, new subject.

āxattima. 2 pl perf. of āxab plus pron. suff. 3 fs.

ana. pers. pron. 1 s, new subject.

maatāiī. neg. adv. plus 1 s imperf. of taşa.
gaahuu. 3 pl perf. of gaah.
štakuu. 3 pl perf. of štaka, complementary.
&and ilkalaŋ. prep. &and plus obj. kalaŋ prefixed by art.
jaaboolii. 3 pl perf. of jaab plus ind. obj. suff. l s, instead of the more usual pron. suff. of the dir. obj.
lilkalaŋ. pref. prep. l- plus art. plus noun.
uukaam. 3 ms perf. of aux. verb.
haađa. demonstr. adj.
imfawaŋ. art. plus noun, subj.
saayannii. 3 ms perf. of saayal plus pron. suff. l s, main verb.
kaallii. ms imperat. of kaal plus ind. obj. pron. l s, beginning of quote.
haay. demonstr. pron. fs, subj.
aškun. interrogative pronoun.
kaltcoluu. l s perf. of kaal plus ind. obj. pron. 3 ms.
yaabaa. interjection.
haay. fs demonstr. pron.
liŋkiyiįį. art. plus noun, pred. of preceding.
kaada uukađa. prep. k- plus ms demonstr. hađa repeated with conj.
hiyiįį. fs pers. pron. subj. of new clause.
zgeeqii. pred. adj. fs, with preceding, adverbial of circumstance.
jibnaaŋa. 1 pl perf. of jaab plus pron. suff. 3 fs.
min hindistaan. prep. plus obj. of prep.
vištğiituuhá. conj. plus 1 s perf. of štağa with pron.
suff. 3 fs.
uu&alimtuuhá. conj. plus 1 s perf. of &alam I with pron.
suff. 3 fs.
tahki. 3 fs imperf. of ḫaka, complementary.
waṣakuu. conj. plus interr. pronoun pref. to demonst. adv.
bilbeet. prep. b- plus art. plus noun, used as a collective
noun meaning "the household".
kilim. noun kil "totality" plus 3 pl pron. suff. referring
back to collective bilbeet.
taggifim. 3 fs imperf. of &aḡaf plus pron. suff. 3 pl,
referring back to bilbeet kilim.
weehid. impers. pron. repeated, distributive function.
liḥaa&uuha. 3 pl imperf. of hadae plus pron. suff. 3 fs.
uuthadi&im. 3 fs imperf. of hadae plus pron. suff. 3 pl.
kaan. conj. "if".
hiyii. 3 fs pers. pron., subj. of protasis.
haayii. fs demonst. pron., repeating hiiyii.
amaaluu. prep. maal plus pron. suff. 3 ms, pred. of protasis.
leŚ. interrog. adv. introducing apodosis.
ma&alama. neg. adv. plus 3 ms perf. of &alam with pron.
suff. 3 fs, pred. of apodosis.
tkuul. 3 fs imperf. of kaal, complementary.
lawaadim. prep. 1- introducing awaadim, ind. obj. of verb.
maaluu. prep. maal plus pron. suff. 3 ms, possession.
asuuma. neg. interrogative adv.
ti\&\text{\textgreek{\char207}}. 3 fs imperf. of &\text{\textgreek{\char222}}.
ismuu. obj. of preceding, with pron. suff. 3 ms.
ism abuunu. second object of preceding, ism in construct
to ab plus pron. suff. 3 ms.
ism imuu. third object of preceding, ism in construct to
im plus pron. suff.
uuflaan. conj. plus flaan, here adverbial meaning "etc."
kaal. 3 ms perf.
limfawa\text{\textgreek{\char207}.} art. plus noun, subj. of preceding.
haay. fs demonst. pron. subj. of new clause.
da\&wa. predicate of preceding.
matsi\text{\textgreek{\char207}.} neg. adv. plus 3 fs imperf. of saa\text{\textgreek{\char207}}, adjectival
function.
\&anna. prep. \&and plus pron. suff. 1 pl.
\text{\textgreek{\char202}}uuh. ms imperat. of \text{\textgreek{\char222}}.
\&and. prep. of motion.
lihxaa\text{\textgreek{\char207}}. prep. l- plus Hebrew masc. plur. of noun.
haay. fs demonst. pron., new subj.
hkiiyii. predicate of above.
maal. preposition "for".
dayya\text{\textgreek{\char207}}. obj. of prep., Hebrew masc. plural.
\text{\textgreek{\char224}}ahna. 1 pl perf. of \text{\textgreek{\char224}}.
\&and lihxaa\text{\textgreek{\char207}}. object of motion.
joo. 3 pl perf. of jaa, action concurrent to above.
himii. pers pron. 3 pl, subj. of joo.
kilitim. kilit- "totality" plus pron. suff. 3 pl, modifying himii.
bakuuha. 3 pl perf. of haka plus pron. suff. 3 fs.
lihkiiyii. art. plus obj. of preceding verb.
&and lihxaamiim. prep. &and plus obj. of prep., indirect object of preceding verb.
uunibna. conj. plus pers. pron. 1 pl.
keee. adverbial function, pref. prep. k- plus demonstr.
pron. ms.
hiinaaha. 1 pl perf. of haka plus pron. suff. 3 fs.
lihkiiyii. art. 1- plus obj. of preceding.
kaaluu. 3 pl perf. of kaal, new clause.
hii. 3 fs pers. pron., subject of quote.
maanna. prep. maal plus pron. suff. 1 pl.
niibna. pers. pron. 1 pl, new subject.
jibnaaha. 1 pl perf. of jaab plus pron. suff. 3 fs.
min hindistaan. prep. plus obj. of prep.
zgeegii. fem. sing. adj., circumstantial function.
uu&alimnaaha. conj. plus 1 pl perf. of &alam II with pron.
suff. 3 fs.
thadi. 3 fs imperf. of hadae, complementary.
yaa. interjection.
hae. ms demonstr. pron.
huwii. pers. pron. 3 ms, serving as copula.
haxaam. title.
silmaan. pr. n. masc., pred. of haaḍa, subj. of following.
keeṣid. act. part. ms of kaaḍ I, pred. of ḫaḍaam silmaan.
kaanana. prep. kbaal plus pron. suff. 1 pl.
uuyiṣiṣfa. conj. plus 3 ms imperf. of ṣaṣaf with pron. suff. 3 fs.
labibi. art. plus obj. of preceding verb.
uuham. conj. plus adv.
uulaaduu. plural of walad plus pron. suff. 3 ms.
kilim. kil plus pron. suff. 3 pl, modifying preceding noun.
baka. conjunction.
ddayyaanimm. art. plus Hebrew plural noun.
saḥooluu. 3 pl perf. of saḥ with pron. suff. of ind. obj.
    3 ms.
lhaḍaam silmaan. ind. obj. of preceding verb.
taal. suppletive ms imperat. of jaa.
ašloon. intrerr. adv.
tsuaufa. 2 ms imperf. of ṣaṣaf with pron. suff. 3 fs.
ləay. 1- of reference with fs demonst. adj.
lbaḍra. art. with obj. of preceding verb.
baka. conjunction.
lhaḍaam silmaan. subj. of following.
ṣaayib. pred. noun.
zakeen. Hebrew synonym of ṣaayib, repetition for emphasis.
uumaḍakaṣ. conj. plus neg. adv. pref. to 3 ms perf.
kaltooluu. 1 s perf. of kaal plus ind. pron. suff. 3 ms.
siiyidii. 1 s pron. suff. with seeyid.
ana. 1 s pers. pron.
shala. 1 s imperf. of hal with pron. suff. 3 fs.
kaaloolii. 3 pl perf. of kaal with ind. pron. suff. 1 s.
ddayyaaniim. art. plus subj. of preceding.
aslooom. interr. adv.
kaltoolim. 1 s perf. of kaal plus ind. pron. suff. 3 pl.
heay. fs demonstr. adj.
ilbiibiimatuu. art. plus noun, modified by haay.
danda. prep. &and with pron. suff. 3 fs, indicating possession.
kafas. noun, pred. of &anda.
maala. prep. maal plus pron. suff. 3 fs, modifying kafas.
štgiitoola. 1 s perf. of štağa with ind. pron. suff. 3 fs, adj.
uuhuwii. conj. plus pers. pron. 3 ms, new subject.
ham. adv.
štgaala. 3 ms perf. of štağa plus ind. pron. suff. 3 fs.
kafas. dir. obj. of preceding verb.
nihna. pers. pron. 1 pl.
njiiba. 1 pl imperf. of jaab plus pron. suff. 3 fs.
lkafasaat. art. with plural of kafas, obj. of preceding verb.
lieneen. art. plus cardinal numeral in apposition to preceding noun.
maanne uumaaluu. prep. maal plus pron. suff. 1 pl, followed by conj. with maal plus pron. suff. 3 ms, parenthetic.
wintali&a. conj. plus 1 pl imperf. of tala& II with pron. suff. 3 fs.
lilbiibii. l- of reference plus art. pref. to obj. of preceding verb.

mnilkafas. pref. prep. min with art. and noun.
bilaga. pref. prep. b- with art. plus noun.
uunsiih. conj. plus 1 pl imperf. of saah.
ibirih. prep. aal with pron. suff. 3 fs.
kalla. 1 pl imperf. of kaal with ind. pron. suff. 3 fs.
bibibii. subj. of quote.
šuuf. ms imperat. of šaah.
beeyii. pref. prep. b- plus interr. adj. heeyii "which".
kafas. noun modified by preceding interr. adj.
tidxil. 3 fs imperf. of daxal, complementary to šuuf.
yaxada. 3 ms imperf. of axad with pron. suff. 3 fs, new clause.
saahiba. subj. of preceding with pron. suff. 3 fs, referring to lbiibii, but modified by beeyii kafas tidxil as a whole.
kaan. introducing protasis.
hiyii. 3 fs pers. pron., subj. of protasis.
maanna. prep. maal plus pron. suff. 1 pl, pred. of protasis.
tšuuh. 3 fs imperf. of šaah, apodosis.
lilkafas. pref. l- plus art. with noun.
maanna. prep. maal plus pron. suff. 1 pl, modifying preceding noun.
wilkaan. introducing new protasis.
hiyii. 3 fs pers. pron., subj. of protasis.
maaluu. prep. maal plus pron. suff. 3 ms, pred. of protasis.
t'guuh. 3 fs imperf. of ḡaah, apodosis.
lilkafas. prep. 1- pref. to art. with noun.
maaluu. prep. maal plus pron. suff. 3 ms, modifying preceding noun.
lḥaxaam. art. plus noun, new subject.
kaal. 3 ms perf.
haay. demonstr. pron., subj. of quote.
xooṛ. adj. modifying following noun.
hkiiyii. predicate of haay.
jībnaahim. 1 pl perf. of jaab plus pron. suff. 3 pl.
lībxaamiin. art. plus plural noun, obj. of preceding verb.
līeneen. art. plus cardinal numeral, in apposition to preceding noun.
uujiina. conj. plus 1 pl perf. of ja.
lilbeet. pref. prep. 1- plus art. with noun.
uuftiınaaha. conj. plus 1 pl perf. of fatah plus pron. suff. 3 fs.
lilkafascar. 1- of reference plus art. with plural noun, obj. of preceding verb.
uusahna. conj. plus 1 pl perf. of saah.
&aaliha. prep. &al construed with preceding verb, plus pron. suff. 3 fs.
uutalkit. conj. plus 3 fs perf. of ṭalaā.
mnilkafas. pref. prep. min plus art. with noun.
uusahna. conj. plus 1 pl perf. of saah.
biibii beetuu beetuu beetuu. quoted interjection.
axaft. 3 fs perf. of axaa.
dagba. obj. of preceding verb with pron. suff. 3 fs.
uudaxlit. conj. plus 3 fs perf. of daxal.
bilkfas. pref. prep. b- plus art. with noun.
maanna. prep. maal plus pron. suff. 1 pl.
haa. interjection, beginning of new quote.
yaaba. interjection.
iddallak. 3 fs imperf. of dal with ind. obj. pron. 2 ms.
seenii. impers. pron., subj. of preceding verb.
bagad. adv.
waxadnaaha. conj. plus 1 pl perf. of axaa with pron.
suff. 3 fs.
biibiimatuu. art. plus noun, object of preceding verb.
uugalit. conj. plus 3 fs perf. of dal.
wiyaana. prep. waya plus pron. suff. 1 pl.
baa. conjunction.
heekid. adv.
kaan. 3 ms perf.
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