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.

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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
A P P R O V A L

This dissertation, entitled

JUDEO-BAGHDADI

by

Gene M. Schramm

Candidate for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

has been read and approved by

M. H. Braumann

[Other signatures]

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
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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 descendents 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
1.1 Consonants

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 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 /f/, the unvoiced labiodental spirants; /m/ and /m/, the voiced bilabial nasals; /w/ and /w/, the bilabial semivowels. Of these, /p/, /q/ and /v/ occur only in loanwords of non-Arabic origin, the lattermost occurring only in neologisms.
baab /ˈbaap/ "door"
baaba /ˈbaaba/ "daddy"
pooosta /ˈpoosta/ "post office"
pališka /paˈliška/ "broken-down vehicle"
vila /ˈvila/ "private dwelling"
fluus /ˈfluus/ "money"
štafa /ˈštafa/ "to calm down"
maal /ˈmaal/ "of"
kaam /ˈkaam/ "to begin"
walad /ˈwalat/ "boy"
twaab /ˈtwaaq/ "cannon"

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

dikaan /diˈkaan/ "store"
dak /ˈdak/ "to knock"
beet /ˈbeet/ "house"
katal /ˈkaタル/ "to kill"
axad /'axad/ "to take"
ēal /'ēal/ "to remain"
ēalj /'ēalj/ "ice"
ēkil /'ēkil/ "heavy"
zaman /'zaman/ "time"
zakeen /'ţakeen/ "old man"
naas /'naas/ "people"
šaanī& /'šaanī&/ "servant"
nazal /'nazal/ "to visit"
nkatal /'ņkatal/ "to be killed"
kil /'kil/ "all"
alla /'alla/ "God"
madrasa /'madrasa/ "school"
l&iraak /l&i'raak/ "Iraq"

1.1.1.3 The series of palatals consists of the voiced stops /j/ and /j/; the moderately aspirated unvoiced stops /c/ and /č/; the unvoiced spirants /š/ and /š/; the semivowels /y/ and /y/.

njabag /'njabag/ "to be compelled"
ēaaaj /'ēaaaj/ "to be fed up"
cool /'cool/ "barren place"
kačag /'kačag/ "black market"
šeen /'šeen/ "thing"
šak /'šak/ "to split"
yiijii /'yiijii/ "approximately"

yaaba /'yaaβaa/ "hey there!"

1.1.1.4 Among the velars occur the voiced stop /g/; the moderately aspirated unvoiced stops /k/ and /k'/; the voiced spirants /g/ and /g'/; the unvoiced spirants /x/ and /x/.

zangiin /zan'giin/ "rich"
kil /'kil/ "all"
kaam /'kaaɱ/ "to begin"
征集 /'gẹeɡ/ "other than"
kačaɡ /'kačaɡ/ "black market"
ax /'ax/ "brother"
xatgaš /'xaṭɡaš/ "why"

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

bee& /'bee&/ "sale"
hab /'haap/ "to love"

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

masa?la /ma'sa?la/ "problem"
hadoolii /ha'doolii/ "these"
nhaaɡ /'nhaaɡ/ "daytime"
1.1.1.7 The phonetic analysis of the consonants presented above can be summarized in the following chart.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Spirant</th>
<th>Nasal</th>
<th>Liquid</th>
<th>Semivowel</th>
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<td>V</td>
<td>U</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>U</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labial</td>
<td>b b p p</td>
<td>v f f</td>
<td>m m</td>
<td>w w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dental</td>
<td>d q t t</td>
<td>a q e q</td>
<td>n n</td>
<td>l l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palatal</td>
<td>j j c c</td>
<td>s s</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Velar</td>
<td>g k g g</td>
<td>x x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pharyngeal</td>
<td></td>
<td>&amp; h</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laryngeal</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 /q/, /q/, /k/, /l/, /s/ and /t/ are phonemic. The phoneme /b/ occurs only in two words, baba "daddy" and yaba "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 alla "God", the sound /l/ is produced by the same factor of harmony with a /q/, /k/, /s/ or /t/ 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 /a/, /ξ/, /γ/ or /ς/.

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</td>
<td>U</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>U</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labial</td>
<td>b b p</td>
<td>v f m</td>
<td></td>
<td>w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dental</td>
<td>d t t t</td>
<td>a d ø</td>
<td>n l l</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>z s s</td>
<td></td>
<td>r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palatal</td>
<td>j č š</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Velar</td>
<td>g k k g</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pharyngeal</td>
<td></td>
<td>&amp; h</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** /baabal'beet/ "the door of the house"
- **dahuud** /da'huut/ "David"
- **dahuud ibnii** /da'huud 'ibnii/ "my son David"

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

- **ḥtal** /'ḥtal/ "to occupy"
- **čağpaay** /čağ'paay/ "bed"
- **miθl** /'miθl/ "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 /štğ/ and /stğ/.

- kalṭluu /'kalṭluu/ "you told him"
- štğeetuu /'štğeetuu/ "I bought"
- stğahtuu /'stğahtuu/ "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/.

- beet /'beet/ "house"
- bbeet /'bbeet/ "at home"
- mina /'mina/ "from her"
- minna /'minna/ "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.

\[
\begin{align*}
d\text{ka} & \text{g}t\text{uu} /\text{dka} \text{g}t\text{uu}/ "I remember" \\
d\text{kak}i & \text{in} /\text{tk}a'\text{kiin}/ "stores" \\
t\text{za} & \text{raf} /\text{dz}a\text{raf}/ "to be pierced" \\
b\text{su} & \text{uri} & \text{ya} /\text{psu} \text{uri} & \text{ya}/ "in Syria"
\end{align*}
\]

1.1.5.2 Total assimilation occurs in the following instances:

a) the preposition \text{b}-, when prefixed to a noun beginning with a labial, save \text{w}.

\[
\begin{align*}
b\text{fin} & \text{jaan} /\text{ff}i\text{n'jaan}/ "in a cup" \\
b\text{pa} & \text{gii} /\text{p}p\text{a}g\text{ii}/ "in Paris" \\
b\text{wa} & \text{si} & \text{t} /\text{bw}a\text{si} & \text{t}/ "in the middle"
\end{align*}
\]

b) the consonant \text{t} when followed with close juncture by any dental, except for \text{t} when \text{t} is the first element of the personal suffixes of the verb or the feminine ending of the noun, or when \text{t} is the second consonant of a verb.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{maa} & \text{lna} /\text{ma}a\text{nn}a/ "ours" \\
\text{uu} & \text{s}a & \text{n} & \text{na} /\text{uu}'\text{s}a\text{n}n\text{a}/ "we arrived" \\
\text{l} & \text{da} & \text{gb} /\text{dd}a\text{gb}/ "the street" \\
\text{lt} & \text{kii} /\text{tt}i\text{kii}/ "the mulberries" \\
\text{lta} & \text{muu} /\text{lt}a\text{muu}/ "they came together"
\end{align*}
\]
c) the consonants /d/, /a/, /d/ and /e/, when followed by the personal suffixes of the verb which begin with /t/ or by the suffix /t/ of the feminine noun.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{axadtuu} & \quad /\text{a}'\text{xattuu}/ \quad "\text{I took}" \\
\text{tlaatim} & \quad /'\text{tlaattim}/ \quad "\text{the three of them}"
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{magadtuu} & \quad /\text{ma}'\text{gattuu}/ \quad "\text{you saddened him}" \\
\text{tlaaetim} & \quad /'\text{tlaattim}/ \quad "\text{the three of them}"
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{magadtuu} & \quad /\text{ma}'\text{gattuu}/ \quad "\text{you saddened him}" \\
\text{tlaaetim} & \quad /'\text{tlaattim}/ \quad "\text{the three of them}"
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ta.aloon} & \quad /\text{d\=a}'\text{loon}/ \quad "\text{you are remaining}" \\
\text{ttala\&} & \quad /'\text{t\=ala\&}/ \quad "\text{she is taking out}"
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ta.aloon} & \quad /\text{d\=a}'\text{loon}/ \quad "\text{you are remaining}" \\
\text{ttala\&} & \quad /'\text{t\=ala\&}/ \quad "\text{she is taking out}"
\end{align*}
\]

tdak /'d\=ak/ "you are knocking"

1.2 Vowels

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Front} & \quad \text{Central} & \quad \text{Back} \\
\text{High} & \quad ii & \quad uu \\
\text{Lower-high} & \quad i & \quad e & \quad u \\
\text{Higher-mid} & \quad ee & \quad oo \\
\text{Mean-mid} & \quad e & \quad o \\
\text{Lower-mid} & \quad ææ & \quad oo \\
\text{Higher-low} & \quad aa & \quad aa \\
\text{Low} & \quad a
\end{align*}
\]
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.

\[
ihi\text{huud} \quad (\text{yhuud}) \quad /i'huut/ \quad "\text{Jews}"
\]
\[
uu\text{ulaad} \quad (\text{wlaad}) \quad /uu'laat/ \quad "\text{children}"
\]
\[
\thetai\text{ini}i \quad /'\thetai\text{ini}/ \quad "\text{second}"
\]
\[
\text{Suufuu} \quad /'\text{Suufuu}/ \quad "\text{look!}"
\]

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.

\[
kel \quad /'kil/, /'kel/, /'kul/ \quad "\text{all}"
\]
\[
mnel- \quad /'mnil/, /'mnel/, /'mnul/ \quad "\text{from the}"
\]
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 /oo/, respectively, when occurring together with /k/, /&/ and /n/.

bee& /'bee&/ "sale"
bii& /'bii&/ "sell!"
lool /'lool/ "if"
luu /'luu/ "to him"
eenta /'eenta/ "when?"
oool /'oool/ "I shall arrive"
šifteenuu /ʃif'teenuu/ "you (f) saw him"
(šiftíi /'šiftíi/ "you (f) saw")
šiftoonuu /šif'toonuu/ "I saw him"
(siftuu /'siftuu/ "I saw")
weekif /'weekif/ "standing"
lakoona /la'koona/ "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/.

maakkuum /'maakkuum/ "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 /ə/, although they are phonemically distinct.

kaltoolak /kal'toolak/ "I told you (m)"
kaltoolik /kal'toolək/ "I told you (f)"
iixaloohim /iixa'loohəm/)
iixiloohim /iixe'loohəm/ "they permit them"
iixloohim /iix'loohəm/)

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 /iːi/ and /uu/, respectively.

ka- + iitalfoon ----> keetalfoon /keetəl'foon/ "they are coming out"
ma- iisisiŋ ----> meesiŋ /'meesiŋ/ "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.
\text{yikbal} /ˈyikbəl/ "he agrees"

\text{iikabloon} /iikəˈbloʊn/ "they agree"

\text{meeyikbal} /ˈmeeɪikbəl/ "he does not agree"

\text{mekabloon} /ˈmekəbloʊn/ "they do not agree"

\text{iihap} /ɪˈhæp/ "he loves"

\text{mehab} /ˈmehəb/ "he does not love"

\text{maahab} /ˈmaːhəb/ "I do not love"

\text{fa bad} /ˈfaɡəd/ "one"

\text{walad} /ˈwələd/ "boy"

\text{iifatih} /iiˈfətiː/ "he opens"

1.5 Tone

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, \textit{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.
3. ḥaḍālām? "What did you learn?"

1 3 ạṣ ƙaƙar? "What did you say?"

3 1 ḥamdi!a! "Thank God!"

1 3 faƙad yoom, huwii kabag. "One day, he grew up."

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-lwagla plays in Classical Arabic orthography.

kaamuu iiguuhoon kil gaba& byuut bbeet.

/kaamuu iiguuhoon 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>3m</th>
<th>huwii</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3f</td>
<td>hiyii</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2m</td>
<td>inta</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2f</td>
<td>intii</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lc</td>
<td>ana</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>3c</th>
<th>him (himii)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2c</td>
<td>intim</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lc</td>
<td>niñana (iñana)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

huwii ǧeen yiṭlaʔ minuu biinuu. "It is something that grows (turns out) by itself."

iñana min bağdaad. "We are from Baghdad."

hiyii ixtii. "She is my sister."

ana ǧeeyib zakeen. "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 inta.* "I saw you."

*huwii saaŋ &amdarku sabāiin 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><strong>Singular</strong></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>-1k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1c</td>
<td>-nii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Plural</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3c</td>
<td>-im</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2c</td>
<td>-kim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1c</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.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{šiftoonuu} & \quad "I \text{ saw him}" \\
\text{šaafuu} & \quad "he \text{ saw him}" \\
\text{šiftuuha} & \quad "I \text{ saw her}" \\
\text{šaafa} & \quad "he \text{ saw her}" \\
\text{šiftook} & \quad "I \text{ saw you}" \\
\text{šaafak} & \quad "he \text{ saw you}" \\
\text{šiftooki} & \quad "I \text{ saw you} (f)" \\
\text{šaafik} & \quad "he \text{ saw you} (f)" \\
\text{šifteenii} & \quad "you (f) \text{ saw me}" \\
\text{šaafnii} & \quad "he \text{ saw me}" \\
\text{šiftoohim} & \quad "I \text{ saw them}" \\
\text{šaafim} & \quad "he \text{ saw them}" \\
\text{šiftookim} & \quad "I \text{ saw you} (pl)" \\
\text{šaafkim} & \quad "he \text{ saw you} (pl)" \\
\text{šifteena} & \quad "you (f) \text{ saw us}" \\
\text{šaafna} & \quad "he \text{ saw us}" \\
\end{align*}
\]

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 -lìi

Plural
3c -lim
2c -lkim (-ilkim)
1c -lìna (-lìna)

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)"
kaaloolii "they told me"
kaaloolim "they told them"
kaaloolkim "they told you (pl)"
kaalitilkim "she told you (pl)"
kaaloolna "they told us"
kaalitlìna "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
wiyaa-) "with"; beet "house"; siyaaga (combining form
siyaagit-) "car"; ab (combining form abuu-) "father".

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>&amp;al</th>
<th>(i)l</th>
<th>b</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3m</td>
<td>&amp;leenuu</td>
<td>leenuu</td>
<td>biinuu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3f</td>
<td>&amp;liiha</td>
<td>liiha</td>
<td>biiha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2m</td>
<td>&amp;leek</td>
<td>lak</td>
<td>biik (bak)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2f</td>
<td>&amp;leekii</td>
<td>lik</td>
<td>biikii (bik)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1c</td>
<td>&amp;leeyii</td>
<td>linii (leeyii)</td>
<td>biyii (bini)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3c</td>
<td>&amp;leehim</td>
<td>leehim</td>
<td>biihim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2c</td>
<td>&amp;leekim</td>
<td>leekim</td>
<td>biikim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1c</td>
<td>&amp;leena</td>
<td>leena (liina)</td>
<td>biina (bina)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3m</td>
<td>minuu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3f</td>
<td>mina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2m</td>
<td>minak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2f</td>
<td>minik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1c</td>
<td>minii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>minima</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

21
2.1.5 Additional personal pronouns, such as weeheid "one", nafs "self", naas "people", weeheid. . . . 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 ilii and a bound form 1-, 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>haada</th>
<th>&quot;this (m)&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>haay(it)</td>
<td>&quot;this (f)&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hadaaak</td>
<td>&quot;that (m)&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>haddik</td>
<td>&quot;that (f)&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
hadoolii "these (c)"
hadook "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"
walaad  "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"
beetii  "girl"
hakuuma  "government"
3.1.3 Most feminine adjectives are formed by adding -ii to the masculine (-yii 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>biiigd</td>
<td>biiigdi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muujuud</td>
<td>muujuudii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&amp;iraakii</td>
<td>&amp;iraakiyii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zgeeyig</td>
<td>zgeegii</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 xoos "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.

waladeen "two boys" (sing. walad)
hakuumteen "two governments" (sing. hakuuma)
masa?liteen "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>ġaas &quot;head&quot;</td>
<td>ġuus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>Plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ג'יאל &quot;man&quot;</td>
<td>ג'יאל</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>קתאב &quot;book&quot;</td>
<td>קתאב</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>קביג &quot;big&quot;</td>
<td>קביג</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>שקיל &quot;heavy&quot;</td>
<td>שקיל</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 3.2.3.2 Suffixation -iin:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>מג'תאא &quot;content&quot;</td>
<td>מג'תאאין</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>קלייל &quot;few&quot;</td>
<td>קליילין</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>מיקטואיל &quot;slain&quot;</td>
<td>מיקטואילין</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>מועיעוד &quot;found&quot;</td>
<td>מועיעודין</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 3.2.3.3 Suffixation -aat:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ליירא &quot;pound&quot; (money)</td>
<td>לייראativas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>סקמלי &quot;chair&quot;</td>
<td>סקמליyaat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>שאמא &quot;hat&quot;</td>
<td>שאמאativas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>פסאぷורט &quot;passport&quot;</td>
<td>פסאぷורטyaat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>יאריקא /&quot;שאריקה/ &quot;company&quot;</td>
<td>יאריקאativa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>גא'ניייל &quot;mortgage&quot;</td>
<td>גא'נייילyaat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>וילא &quot;private dwelling&quot;</td>
<td>וילאativas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>קיאלו &quot;kilogram&quot;</td>
<td>קיאלוativas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>מטר &quot;meter&quot;</td>
<td>מטרyaat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>סאא &amp; &quot;hour&quot;</td>
<td>סאאativas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>מאי &quot;water&quot;</td>
<td>מאיyaat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

27
3.2.3.4 Apocope:

<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>amğiikaanii &quot;American&quot;</td>
<td>amğiikaan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.2.3.5 Vocalic Ablaut with Stress Ablaut:

- milk "property" → mlaak
- saakin "inhabitant" → sikaan
- kaatib "scribe" → kitaab
- ́seeyib "old man" → šiyaab
- ́wažd "flower" → uuğaad
- ́walad "child" → uulaad
- ́balam "boat" → blaam
- ́dągā "street" → dʒuub
- ́fils "mil" → fluus
- ́bistaan "garden" → bsatiin
- ́maŋkama /ˈmaŋkama/ "court" → maŋkaakim
- ́mał&ab "toy" → mala&ib
- dinbik "drum" → dniibik
- ́wągwaŋ "gun" → uuğiiwig

3.2.3.6 Inflection of -w-:

- saałqiŋ "street" → šwa잘qiŋ
- jiimįŋ "mosque" → jwiimįŋ
### 3.2.3.7 Infixation of \(-w-\) and Vocalic Ablaut:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>imageNamed</td>
<td>imageNamed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;house&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;house&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;soap&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;soap&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;tent&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;tent&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 3.2.3.8 Infixation of \(-y-\) and Vocalic Ablaut:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>imageNamed</td>
<td>imageNamed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;house&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;house&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;table&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;table&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;night&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;night&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;machine&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;machine&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;occupation&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;occupation&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;cigarette&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;cigarette&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 3.2.3.9 Reduplication of Consonant:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;unemployed&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;unemployed&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;dinar&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;dinar&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;kerchief&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;kerchief&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;store&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;store&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;porter&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;porter&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;lip&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;lip&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;room&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;room&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 3.2.3.10 Prefixation and Vocalic Ablaut:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;day&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;day&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;type&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;type&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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3.2.3.11 Apocopation and Vocalic Ablaut:
kuuča "alley"         kuwac
samka "fish"          samak
siţga "tree"          siţgaɡ

3.2.3.12 Suffixation -ii and Vocalic Ablaut:
agh "land"            aɡaagii
ahl "people"          ahaalii

3.2.3.13 Suffixation -ii, Apocopation and Vocalic Ablaut:
kaslaan "lazy"        ksaalii
batţgaan "jokester"   bţaagii
taabbaan "tired"      taaablii
sakgaan "drunk"       skaagii

3.2.3.14 Suppletion:
maɡa "woman"          niiswaan

3.2.3.15 Miscellaneous:
wakka "paper"         uuɡaak
ibn "son"             bniin
bneetii "girl"        bnaat
ax "brother"          ixwa
ixt "sister"          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 1- prefixed to nouns beginning with a vowel or a single consonant (see 1.1.5.2 a) or li-prefixed to nouns beginning with a consonant cluster.

1waled "the boy"
Libneetiil "the girl"
Lax "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 ab "father", ax "brother" and ham "father-in-law" have special construct forms, namely abuu, axuu (axoo) and hamuu, respectively.
waladuu "his boy"
axuunu (axooonuu) "his brother"
abuunu "his father"

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.

imu "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"
ḥkiiyitii "my story" (ḥkiiyii "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"
beetuul isliim "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 moošii (Moses), &azra (Ezra), &abdalla (Abdullah for Obadiah), ruubeen (Reuben), eelyaas (Elias for Eliahu). The only diminutive pattern is of the type CaCuuCii, for example &azuurii for Ezra, &abuudii for Obadiah, 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 hallaawii "of Hilla" and iiraani "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. . . .".

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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 teneen, feminine tinteenn.

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>Construct</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 3                         | tlaa@ii                 | tlaa@
| 4                         | gab&a                   | gab&a
<p>|                           | tlaatt(i)               |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Used with Masculine Nouns</th>
<th>Used with Feminine Nouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Isolated</strong></td>
<td><strong>Construct</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>xamsii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>sitii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>sab&amp;a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>€miinnii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>tis&amp;a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>&amp;aš&amp;ga</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.4.1.4 The numerals from eleven through nineteen are as follows:

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>iidaa&amp;aš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>€nnaa&amp;aš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>tlaattaa&amp;aš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>gab&amp;ataa&amp;aš (agbataa&amp;aš)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>xamstaa&amp;aš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>sittaa&amp;aš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>sbaa&amp;taa&amp;aš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>€mintaa&amp;aš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>tsaa&amp;taa&amp;aš</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>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>&amp;aš&amp;giin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>weeḥid uu&amp;aš&amp;giin (m)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>waḥdiil uu&amp;aš&amp;giin (f)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>†neen uu&amp;aš&amp;giin (m)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>†inteen uu&amp;aš&amp;giin (f)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
23 tlaaθii uu&asɡiin (m)
    tlaaθ uu&asɡiin (f)
24 ɡab&a uu&asɡiin (m)
    ɡab&a uu&asɡiin (f)
25 xamsii uu&asɡiin (m)
    xams uu&asɡiin (f)
30 tliiθiin
31 weeḥid uutliθiin (m)
    waḥdii uutliθiin (f)
32 øneen uutliθiin (m)
    øinteen uutliθiin (f)
40 ɡab&iin
43 tlaaθii uuɡab&iin (m)
    tlaaθ uuɡab&iin (f)
50 xamsiin
54 ɡab&a uuxamsiin (m)
    ɡab&a uuxamsiin (f)
60 sittiin
70 sab&iin
80 ømiiniin
90 tisiin
100 miyi (construct: miit)
200 miiteen
300 tlaaθmiyi
400 ɡaba&miyi
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Currency</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;miiyii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>800</td>
<td>Emiinmiiyii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>900</td>
<td>Tsamiiyii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1000</td>
<td>Ilf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>Ilfeen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3000</td>
<td>Tlaatatlaaf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4000</td>
<td>Gabatalaaf</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>Emintalaaf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9000</td>
<td>Tis&amp;italaaf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10,000</td>
<td>Aasgitalaaf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11,000</td>
<td>Iidaa&amp;as ilf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12,000</td>
<td>Enaa&amp;as ilf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20,000</td>
<td>Asgiin 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>Tlaamiiit 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>Asgit mlayin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

37
23 tlaaθii uu&asgiin (m)  
    tlaaθ uu&asgiin (f)  
24 ġab&a uu&asgiin (m)  
    ġaba& uu&asgiin (f)  
25 xamsii uu&asgiin (m)  
    xams uu&asgiin (f)  
30 tliiθiin  
31 weeθìid uutliiθiin (m)  
    waθdii uutliiθiin (f)  
32 òneen uutliiθiin (m)  
    òinteen uutliiθiin (f)  
40 ġab&iin  
43 tlaaθii uuġab&iin (m)  
    tlaaθ uuġab&iin (f)  
50 xamsiin  
54 ġab&a uuxamsiin (m)  
    ġaba& uuxamsiin (f)  
60 sittiin  
70 sab&iin  
80 òmiiniin  
90 tis&iin  
100 miyii (construct: miit)  
200 miiteen  
300 tlaaθmiyii  
400 ġaba&miyii
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Amount</th>
<th>Orthodox Tajik</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;miyii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>800</td>
<td>@minmiyii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>900</td>
<td>tsa&amp;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>ḡaba&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;aṣgitalaaf</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>ḡab&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>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>awal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>óëinii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>óëilió</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th</td>
<td>őëibiñ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5th</td>
<td>xiiimis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6th</td>
<td>siidis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7th</td>
<td>xiibiñ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8th</td>
<td>òëimin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9th</td>
<td>tiiisñ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10th</td>
<td>őiisïñ</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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fraction</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1/2</td>
<td>nus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1/3</td>
<td>óile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2/3</td>
<td>óileen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>3/4</td>
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<td>ximseen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3/5</td>
<td>tlaatti xmaas</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 bi9emiinii weehid
3/10 bil&aşa tlaa0ii
5% bilmiyii xamsii
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. 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
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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 
\( \text{gaa} \) "to want" and \( \text{kaa} \) "to say"; 
\( \text{gad} \) "to repeat" and \( \text{gal} \) "to remain" are examples of the latter.

4.1.1.5 The only example of a monoconsonantal verb is 
\( \text{jaa} \) "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).

\[ \text{kaegit } \& \text{anna lziiga } \& \text{a}. \] "Our agriculture increased (has increased)."

\[ \text{la\&ab bilbeet}. \] "He played in the house."

\[ \text{haka } \text{hkiiyii}. \] "He told a story."

\[ \text{jaa } \text{slim! } \] "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

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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.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{iigiíd } & \text{ "he wants"} \\
\text{iigiíd iisawii } & \text{ "he wants to do"} \\
\text{kaam } & \text{ "he began"} \\
\text{kaam yibkii } & \text{ "he began to eat"} \\
\text{dalit heekíd, neas tğuuh uunaas tiijii. } & \text{ "It kept on like that, people going and coming."} \\
\text{iiigil } & \text{ "he keeps on"} \\
\text{iiigil yibkii } & \text{ "he keeps on crying"}
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kadağuuh wiyaahim. } & \text{ "I am going with them."} \\
\text{kaan kayibkii } & \text{ "he was crying"} \\
\text{šiftonuu kayimšíi wiyaahim. } & \text{ "I saw him (while he was) walking with them."}
\end{align*}
\]
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)
  satguuhoon  "you (pl) will go"
  satiiji "she will come"
  seelazmoonuu  "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"
  danguul  "we will go"  "let us go"

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

  jaa lyitwanas.  "He came to enjoy himself."
  degas liisiih 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"
  kṣeduu  "get up (pl)"
  ṣuuži "go (f)"
  twanas  "have a good time"
4.1.3.1 The imperative can be rendered more emphatic by prefixing da- to it.

\[ \text{dakgadii} \] "get up now (f)"
\[ \text{daguu} \] "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.)

\[ \text{axaanii wiyaanuu hatii asuuf luulaayii} \]
"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.

\[ \text{kaa} \text{a} \text{g} \text{xegak!} \] "May your well-being increase!"
\[ \text{alla yitl}iik! \] "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.

\[ \text{kaan} \text{ ii} \text{g} \text{uu} \] "he used to go"
\[ \text{kaan} \text{ kay} \text{uu} \] "he was going"
\[ \text{kaanuu keeguuhoon} \] (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 idda컬 &al ilbaab*. "She began to knock on the door."

*iikuumoon kayṭalboon* "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 jiituu* "then I came" "I returned"  
*gadeetuu abiί&a* "I used to resell it"  
*aståğii wağıđ abii&a* "I buy and resell"  
*iįįuįį wiiįįid yiiįįii* "He goes and returns"  
*gaduu ndaaįįuįį âleena*. "After that, they turned on us."

*gadeetuu fitaįįtuu dikaan. "I then opened a store."  
*ham ḡad bațal. "Then he too stopped working."

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

*gaaad iįįuįįh "he wanted to go"  
iįįiįd iįįuįįh "he wants to go"  
*gaaadit itįįuįįh "she wanted to go"
4.1.6.5 \textit{xala}. When followed by the unprefixed imperfective, \textit{xala} expresses permission. The imperative of \textit{xala}, \textit{xalii}, with or without a pronominal suffix, when followed by the unprefixed imperative, expresses the command of the first or third persons.

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{xalii (d)aguuh} "let me go"
  \item \textit{xaliihim yitwinsoon} "let them enjoy themselves"
  \item \textit{xalii iiguuhoon} "let them go"
\end{itemize}

4.1.6.6 \textit{taak} and \textit{kadag}. When followed by the unprefixed imperfective, both \textit{taak} and \textit{kadag} express ability.

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{ mataak iiguuh} "he could not go"
  \item \textit{taak ii\textsuperscript{5}uuufuu} "he was able to see him"
  \item \textit{ii\textsuperscript{6}iik iidak siiniikamaana} "he knows how to play the violin"
  \item \textit{kadag a\textsuperscript{6}uuuh} "I can go"
  \item \textit{mayikdag iiguuh} "he cannot go"
  \item \textit{meestiik} "impossible"
\end{itemize}

4.1.6.7 \textit{\textbar{a}ah} and \textit{\textbar{e}eh} (\textit{\textbar{e}eyih}). When followed by the unprefixed imperfective, \textit{\textbar{a}ah} and \textit{\textbar{e}eh} express imminence of action. The form \textit{\textbar{a}ah} is impersonal; \textit{\textbar{e}eh} (\textit{\textbar{e}eyih}), on the other hand, functions as an adjective (feminine \textit{geehii}, plural \textit{geehiiin}).

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{\textbar{a}ah (\textbar{e}eh) a\textsuperscript{6}uuf} "I shall see"
  \item \textit{\textbar{a}ah (\textbar{e}ehiiin) yiijoon} "they are going to come"
\end{itemize}
4.1.6.8 a.al. When followed by the unprefixed imperfective, a.al expresses persistence of action.

aaluu yakloon "they kept on eating"
iiqil iiqguuh "he keeps (will keep) on going"

4.1.6.9 kaaad. When followed by the unprefixed imperfective, kaaad (impersonal) is a rarely used variant of the imperfective prefixed by ka-.

kaaad a=quuh "I am going"

4.1.6.10 yangaad. The impersonal form yangaad, 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 yangaad followed by the unprefixed imperfective.

yangaad a=quuh "I must go"
yangaad qah=tuu or kaan yangaad a=quuh "I had to go"

4.1.6.11 saag. The perfective, saag, when followed by the unprefixed imperfective, expresses opportunity. The imperfective, iisi=

saag iisuu=ffuu "he got to see him"
iisi= t=guu "you may go"
meesi= tguu "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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<td>1c</td>
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4.2.1.1 Triconsonantal verbs beginning with /w/ or /y/ are conjugated as follows:

**waṣal** "to arrive"

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### yasak "to forbid"

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|        | yasak    | yaskit | iisaqt | iisaktii | iisaktuu | yasak | iisak | iisaku
|        | yisiqak  | tiisak | tiisak | tyaskeen | eesak | iisak | iisaku |
| Plural | yaskuu   | iiyaskoon | iisakkuu | 
|        | iisaktim | tyaskoon | niisak |

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>tibnii</td>
<td>tibneen</td>
<td>abnii</td>
<td>yibnoon</td>
<td>bni</td>
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</table>

Plural 3c banuu yibnoon bnii

2c bneetim tibnoon

1c bneena nibnii
4.2.2.2 aCaC type.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>4.2.2.2 aCaC type.</th>
<th>akal &quot;to eat&quot;</th>
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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:

\( \text{ḥab} \) "to love"

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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 \( \text{kaam} \) "to begin" (imperfective iikuum), \( \text{saağ} \) "to become" (imperfective iisiig), and \( \text{xaaf} \) "to fear" (imperfective iixaaf). Also to be noted is the fact that the verb \( \text{gaad} \) "to want" (imperfective iiğiid) shows variants in the second feminine singular and second and third plural, where the forms tağdeen, tağdoon and yağdoon exist as well as the more normal tğiideen, tğidoon and iiğiidoon.
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52
4.2.5 The only monoconsonantal verb is jaa "to come".

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<th>Imperative</th>
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<td>3f</td>
<td>jit</td>
<td>tijii</td>
<td></td>
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<td>2m</td>
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<td>tijii</td>
<td>taal</td>
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<td>2f</td>
<td>jiitii</td>
<td>tijjeen</td>
<td>taali</td>
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<td>1c</td>
<td>jiituu</td>
<td>ajii</td>
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<td>yijoon</td>
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<td>tijoon</td>
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<td>1c</td>
<td>jiina</td>
<td>niijii</td>
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4.2.6 The quadriconsonantal verb is conjugated as follows:

halhal "to yelp"

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<th>Imperative</th>
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<td></td>
<td>2c</td>
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<td></td>
<td>1c</td>
<td>halhalna</td>
<td>nhalhil</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.
magaa "he did not go"
mwyalt "I did not arrive"

4.3.2 The imperfective is negated by prefixing either ma or la to the verb. The latter is more emphatic.
meesig "impossible" (leesig)
maatik "I cannot" (laatiik)
matguu "you (pl) are not going"

4.3.3 The imperative is negated by la plus the imperative forms with the personal prefixes of the imperfective restored, or by la prefixed to the imperfective.
latguuh "do not go"
lattuu "do not go (f)" (latguuheen)
latguuhuo "do not go (pl)" (latguuhoon)

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 baad "he sent" and axaad "he took" have the combining forms baa- and axaa- /a'xaad-/ in the perfective and yibaa- /yib'aa-/ and yaxaad- /ya'xaad-/ in the imperfective.
Suffixes:  

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<td>yib&amp;æuu</td>
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<td>3f</td>
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<td>yib&amp;æa</td>
</tr>
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<td>b&amp;æak</td>
<td>yib&amp;æak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2f</td>
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<tr>
<td>1c</td>
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<td>yib&amp;ænii</td>
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<tbody>
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<td>yib&amp;æim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2c</td>
<td>b&amp;ækim</td>
<td>yib&amp;ækim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1c</td>
<td>b&amp;æna</td>
<td>yib&amp;æna</td>
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</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.

<table>
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<td>b&amp;æitak</td>
<td>tib&amp;æak</td>
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<td>1c</td>
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<td>tib&amp;ænii</td>
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</table>

<table>
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<th>Imperfective</th>
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<td>tib&amp;æim</td>
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<tr>
<td>2c</td>
<td>b&amp;æitkim</td>
<td>tib&amp;ækim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1c</td>
<td>b&amp;æitna</td>
<td>tib&amp;æna</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>
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<td>sma&amp;itna</td>
<td>tisma&amp;na</td>
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</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>
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<th>Imperfective</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
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</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>
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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 iisuufoo- except before the third person feminine singular, where it is iisuuufuu-.

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Suffixes:</th>
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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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<th>Imperative</th>
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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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<th>Imperfective</th>
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</tbody>
</table>

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:
### Table: Perfective, Imperfective, and Imperative Forms

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<th>3f</th>
<th>2m</th>
<th>2f</th>
<th>1c</th>
<th>3c</th>
<th>2c</th>
<th>1c</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>-b&amp;aeit-</td>
<td>-b&amp;attee-</td>
<td>-b&amp;attoo-</td>
<td>-ba&amp;8oo-</td>
<td>-b&amp;attim-</td>
<td>-b&amp;aenaa-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Perfective</strong></td>
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<td>-tib&amp;ae-</td>
<td>-tib&amp;ae-</td>
<td>-tib&amp;ae-</td>
<td>-ab&amp;ae-</td>
<td>-iiba&amp;8oo-</td>
<td>-tba&amp;8oo-</td>
<td>-nib&amp;ae-</td>
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### Notes

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"
- **iikallak** "he says to you"
- **iisaahlu** "he calls to him" (*iisiih" 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 ḫal sal "to convey" (I. "to arrive"),


hadaθ "to speak" (ḥdíθ "speech"), sawa "to do" (l. lacking), sayaθ "to travel" (l. "to become") and xafaf "to ease" (l. xifiif "light").

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</table>

**Perfective**

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**Imperfective**

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**Imperative**

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</table>
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>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>3m</th>
<th>ngaad</th>
<th>nhab</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3f</td>
<td>nhabasit</td>
<td>ngaadit</td>
<td>nhabit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2m</td>
<td>nhbast (nhabast)</td>
<td>ngatt</td>
<td>naheest (nabeet)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2f</td>
<td>nhabastii (nhabastii)</td>
<td>ngattii</td>
<td>nabeetii (nabeetii)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1c</td>
<td>nhbastuu (nhabastuu)</td>
<td>ngattuu</td>
<td>nabeetuu (nabeetuu)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>3c</th>
<th>ngaaduu</th>
<th>nhabuu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2c</td>
<td>nhbasuu (nhabas)</td>
<td>ngaaduu</td>
<td>nhabuu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1c</td>
<td>nhbasna (nhabasna)</td>
<td>ngaadna</td>
<td>naheena (nabeena)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Imperfective**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>3m</th>
<th>yingaad</th>
<th>yinhab</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3f</td>
<td>tinhabis</td>
<td>tingaad</td>
<td>tinhab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2m</td>
<td>tinhabis</td>
<td>tingaad</td>
<td>tinhab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2f</td>
<td>tinhabseen</td>
<td>tingaadeen</td>
<td>tinhabseen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1c</td>
<td>anhabis</td>
<td>angaad</td>
<td>anhab</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**etc.**

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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 tfağaj "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" (winsa "enjoyment").

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Perfective</th>
<th>3m</th>
<th>tfağaj</th>
<th>thawal</th>
<th>twanas</th>
<th>t&amp;ada</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3f</td>
<td>tfağjit</td>
<td>thoolit</td>
<td>twansit</td>
<td>t&amp;adit</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2m</td>
<td>tafgajt</td>
<td>tahwalt</td>
<td>tuunast</td>
<td>ta&amp;deet</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2f</td>
<td>tafgajtii</td>
<td>tahwaltii</td>
<td>tuunastii</td>
<td>ta&amp;deetii</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1c</td>
<td>tafgajtuu</td>
<td>tahwaltuu</td>
<td>tuunastuu</td>
<td>ta&amp;deetuu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>3c</th>
<th>tfağjuu</th>
<th>thooluu</th>
<th>twansuu</th>
<th>t&amp;aduu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2c</td>
<td>tafgajtim</td>
<td>tahwaltim</td>
<td>tuunastim</td>
<td>ta&amp;deetim</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1c</td>
<td>tafgajna</td>
<td>tahwalna</td>
<td>tuunasna</td>
<td>ta&amp;deena</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note that alternate forms exist for the first and second persons singular and plural, which forms are listed below.
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 mdjah (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 ?atlafia
jaad  "to want"... Classical ?araada
jawab "to answer".... Classical ?ajaaba
te&mam "to feed"..... Classical ?at&ama
```

4.6.3 The sixth conjugation of Classical Arabic is represented by a few passive forms such as tsaayal "to be asked" and t&aaayan "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 *ṣṭaġal* "to work".

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Perfective</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3m ftaham</td>
<td>ḥtal</td>
<td>ṣṭafa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3f ftahmit</td>
<td>ḥtalit</td>
<td>ṣṭafit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2m fithamt</td>
<td>ṣṭafeet</td>
<td>ṣṭaġalt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2f fithamti</td>
<td>ṣṭafeetii</td>
<td>ṣṭaġaltii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1c fithamtuu</td>
<td>ṣṭafeetuu</td>
<td>ṣṭaġaltuu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Plural</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3c ftahmuu</td>
<td>ṣṭafuu</td>
<td>ṣṭaġluu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2c fithamtim</td>
<td>ṣṭafeetim</td>
<td>ṣṭaġaltim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1c fithamna</td>
<td>ṣṭafeena</td>
<td>ṣṭaġalna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Imperfective</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3m yiftahim</td>
<td>yiḥṭal</td>
<td>yiṣṭafii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3f tiftahim</td>
<td>tiḥṭal</td>
<td>tiṣṭafii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2m tiftahim</td>
<td>tiḥṭal</td>
<td>tiṣṭafii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2f tiftahmeen</td>
<td>tiḥṭaleen</td>
<td>tiṣṭafeen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1c aṭfahim</td>
<td>aḥṭal</td>
<td>aṣṭafii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Plural</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3c yiftahmoon</td>
<td>yiḥṭaloon</td>
<td>yiṣṭafoon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2c tiftahmoon</td>
<td>tiḥṭaloon</td>
<td>tiṣṭafoon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1c niftahim</td>
<td>niḥṭal</td>
<td>niṣṭafii</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 ʿftaham are also ʿftahamt (second masculine singular), ʿftahamtii (second feminine singular), ʿftahamtuu (first common singular), ʿftahamtim (second common plural) and ʿftahamna (first common plural).

b) The first and second persons of ṣṭagāl (as well as of ṣṭaga "to buy") lose the first vowel, often when isolated, and, in the case of ṣṭaga, 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 ṣṭagaḥ (imperfective ʾyistaḥaḥ) "to rest", ṣṭaha (imperfective ʾyistahii) "to be ashamed", and ṣṭaḥad (imperfective ʾyistahaḍ) "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 ʁaʁa "to ride", ʁaʁa "to sit", bana "to build" and ʃaaf "to see".

Singular m ʁeekib ʁeekid beenii ʃeeyif
f ʁeekbiii ʁaɽdiii beeniyii ʃeefii
Plural c ʁeekbiin ʁaɽdiin beeniin ʃeefiin

For ʁeekid, ʁaɽdiii, ʁaɽdiin, compare ʁeeʃiid "one", feminine waʃdii.

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

Singular m miɣkuub miʃniin muuʃuud mʃbuub
f miɣkuubii miʃniiyii muuʃuudii mʃbuubiin
( miɣkuuba )
Plural c miɣkuubiin miʃniin muuʃuudii mʃbuubiin
( miɣbuuba )
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  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>M</th>
<th>mšawab</th>
<th>minšaaf</th>
<th>mit&amp;ajab</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>mšoobii</td>
<td>minšaafii</td>
<td>mit&amp;ajbiil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(mšooba)</td>
<td>(minšaafa)</td>
<td>(mit&amp;ajba)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Plural  
| C | mšuubiin | minšaafiin | mit&ajbiil |

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.

akāb (ak'ba) "after"

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

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

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

masāt lihwaš biida. "She washed the clothes by herself." (literally: "by her hand")

ba'ed "after"

ba'ed tlaaq čaagkaat saa'ā huwii jaa. "After three quarters of an hour he came."

il (ila) "to"

jiina min uuniikii ila hoonii. "We came from there to here."
"before"

"Before everything (else), they began to build here."

"opposite", "in front of"

"We have another house opposite the store."

"to"

"he is coming here."

"for", "to"

"I bought the car for him."

"Send it to me (him)."

"They will break (it) for you."

"We must paint it for him."

"Give (it) to us."

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

stgiltoolya siyaara maal mal&ab. "I bought him a toy car."

hasy maanna. "This is ours."

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

middit xamsiin sana &amstu &aal. "For fifty years I lived well."

min "from" (mnil "from the")

kaamu yinhizmoon min ba&daad. "They began to flee from Baghdad."

daxlit mnil ku&a. "She came in from the alley."

miel "like (mielil before consonants)

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

soob "next to", "near"

kaan &anna 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."
waya "together with"

yilijji &ašgiin alf nafar tāl&uu wiyaanuu.
"Approximately twenty thousand souls went out with him."

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

joo uudakuu &al baab maal ḥoos. "They came and knocked on the door of a house."

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

haay da&wa matsiig &anna (&adna). "This is a decision that cannot be ours (to make)."

jit mağa &anda biibiimatuu. "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.

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

akba ma daxluu lingleez saaz śweeya ḥaṣdu. "After the British came in, things got a little quieter."

akba lhakuuma kaamit axāit ikṭiyaat. "Afterwards, the government began to take precautions."
"how"

aṣloon "how"

aṣloon ʻalimak. "I will teach you how to speak."

"well", "then"

baka "well", "then"

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

(bakak) "but", "however"

hassa yiṣṭaṣloon biltijaara balaakit himii azyad masaalin biltijaa. "They now work in commerce, but they are better off in agriculture."

"well", "then", "so"

dee "well", "then", "so"

dee qalit haay liiḥasil iihasil wilyixṣaq yixṣaq. "So it continued. He who earned earned and he who lost lost."

"so that", "in order that"

hatii (lhatii) "so that", "in order that"

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

"if" (in real conditions)

ida "if" (in real conditions)

Ida tgilid titaloom aṣalimak. "If you want to learn, I will teach you."
idama "unless"

meesig idama tguuh. "It is impossible unless you go."

iilama (lamma) "until"

dal iilama jiituu. "He remained until I came."

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

kaan xooʃ aʃiinuu ŋeeʃii wilaan wakiih maʃiinuu abadan. "If he is good, I will give him something and if he is bad, I will not give him anything."

laa . . . laa "neither . . . nor"

meetiiʃ laa yikça laa yiktab. "He can neither read nor write."

leekun "lest"

axaaf amʃii bbaʃdiil biddaʃb leekun isalboonii. "I am afraid to walk alone in the street lest they rob me."

liima (lamma) "when", "until"

dalit haaʃ liima kaaaʃ uu yinhizmoon. "This continued until they started to flee."

liima ʃaʌuu ʃaahuu liilmaʃwak. "When they came out, they went to the market."
"if" (in contrary-to-fact conditions), "or else"

looloo akuu awaadim yistågloon mi9ilna kaan
iikuun kilis &aal. "If people worked as
we do, things would be quite all right."

yijjii bi7naa&aa8 loo mayiijii abadan. "He
will be here at twelve o'clock or else
he will not be here at all."

"when", "since"

haay kilis &aal min tan7abix bli7biix. "This
is very good when used for cooking."

askad saa9 lak min jiit? "How long have you
been here?" (literally: How long has
it been to you since you came?)

"because"

kaam yaakil min fluusuu wilma&anduu
kaam iisaafis minhee8 mee9iikoon yiståg-
loon ba&ad bil&iraak. "The rich began
to live off their capital and the poor
began to emigrate, since they were no
longer able to work in Iraq."

"wherever"

mneenma tguu8 t9uuf awaadim yistågloon.

"Wherever you go you will see people
working."

76
w- "and"

akanna uuśgabna. "We ate and drank."

xataŋ "in order that"

baŋa lbeebii ham ḫakam xataŋ niśtğiilityaanu
māl&ab. "Well, the baby also cried so
that we should buy him a toy."

yoo "or"

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

&ajaban "whether"

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

&anma "since"

lumuur &anma jiina loonii katitħasān.
"Since we came here, things have been
getting better."

5.3 Interrogatives

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

aŋ "what"

aŋ tğiid? "What do you want?"

aŋkəd "how much", "how many"

aŋkəd tğiid? "How much do you want?"
āšloon "how"

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

āšuuma "why not"

āšuuma jiit? "Why didn't you come?"

bees "how much"

ilsaa &a 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 aqif? "How should I know?"
mneen ma "why not"

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

ween "where" (with pronominal suffixes)

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

xatgás "why"

xatgás gaah luuniikii? "Why did he go there?"
PART THREE: SYNTAX
CHAPTER SIX
Modification

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"
 lbeet likbiig "the big house"
 beetuu likbiig "his big house"
 kaba kbiigii "a big room"
 lkaba likbiigi "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.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ジーイシル イカザグ} & \quad \text{"big men"} \\
\text{リジーイシル イカザグ} & \quad \text{"the big men"} \\
\text{ウィササイフ イカシグ} & \quad \text{"important posts"} \\
\text{ウィササイフ イカザグ} & \quad \text{"the two big men"}
\end{align*}
\]

6.1.1.3 The predicative adjective is always indefinite.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{フウイ クリグ} & \quad \text{"He is big."} \\
\text{リブエ クリグ} & \quad \text{"The house is big."} \\
\text{リカバ クリシグ} & \quad \text{"The room is big."} \\
\text{ウィササイフ イカシグ} & \quad \text{"The posts are important."}
\end{align*}
\]

6.1.1.4 The adjectives \text{xooş} "good", \text{fağad} "a certain" and \text{ֶaál} "good" are of common gender. In addition, \text{xooş}, \text{fağad} and \text{weehid} "one" (feminine \text{wañdií}), as well as the demonstrative adjectives, precede the nouns they modify as attributive adjectives.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{xooş イブネティ} & \quad \text{"a good girl"} \\
\text{fağad キュン} & \quad \text{"a certain day"} \\
\text{fağad サナ} & \quad \text{"a certain year"} \\
\text{ハッダ ルワラド} & \quad \text{"this boy"} \\
\text{ハッヤ リブネティ} & \quad \text{"this girl"}
\end{align*}
\]
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.

- **haađa lwalad** "this boy" "This is the boy."
- **haay libneetii** "this girl" "This is the girl."
- **hadaak ilwakt** "that time"
- **haddiik ilsana** "that year"
- **hadoolii luulaad** "these children" "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.

- **haađa beetuu** "This is his house."
- **beetuu haađa** "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"
- **akbag**
- **kbiig azyad** "bigger"
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 llaalii as the relative pronoun.

walad šiftoonuu "a boy I saw"

lwalad ilšiftoonuu (ilii siftoonuu) "the boy I saw"

lbeet ilbiinuu naas "the house in which there are people"

liğijaal lyiğkab bissiyaaga "the man riding in the car"

liğijaal lšaafoonuu "the man whom they saw"

"the man who was seen"

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.

liğijaal ilğeekib bissiyaaga "the man riding in the car"
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"
- saaqa maal dhabab "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 lil- or simply by the article alone.

- beetuu ligjaal "the man's house"
- beetuu lilgijaal (liligjaal) "the man's house"
- beetuu lisliim "Selim's house"
- beeta lmage (lilmage) "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 fağad (also fad) "a certain" and is even used together with it as a compound.

kaan fağad weehid biluulaayii. "A certain individual was in the city."
fağad (fad) yoom hadattuu wiyaanuu. "One day, I spoke to him."
kaanit uuniikii fağad 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 øneen (feminine ønteen) "two".

ëjaaleen } "two men"
ëjil øneen }
sinteen } "two years"
sniin ønteen }

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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 iṣhaġ "three months"
- tlaa∅ isniin "three years"
- xamsit īğiil "five men"
- xams niswaan "five women"
- xamsit īğiil ) "the five men"
- īğiil ilxamsii )

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

- iidaa&ā īğiJaal "eleven men"
- miit sana "one hundred years"
- ilf haasa "one thousand cows"
- sab&iin walad "seventy boys"

6.1.6.5 The ordinal numeral functions as described in paragraph 6.1.1.1.

- lbeet ilthiinni "the second house"
- īğiJaal iidaa&ā "the eleventh man"

6.1.6.6 Fractions are in construct to the noun.

- nus saa&a "one-half hour"
- ėiile lijmāa&a "one third of the community"
- ƙaağak ilmuujuudiin "one quarter of those present"
6.2 Adverbial Modification

Although there are a few words that function solely as adverbs, such as kiliš "very", "quite" and ġada "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.

iiğiid iiğali &al ġaas lijm&al &azzaan. "He wants to lead the congregation in prayer as a hazzaan (cantor)."

닻gresoonuu kaatib. "They hired him as a secretary."

kaan ıeiiğ tayib. "It was very good."

(keiiğ "many")

magdoohim magd min haay l&al. "They gave them a good scare." (literally: They scared them a scaring from this good.)

iiḥadiği kiliš &aal. "He speaks very well."

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

bilawal kaan kiliš &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.

- *yid&iina* "he calls us"
- *yid&ii &leena* "he curses us"
- *&agfoonii* "they knew me"
- *&agfuu &leeyii* "they knew about me"

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

- *ka&duu uuniikii yiiji saa&ateen*. "They sat there for about two hours."
  
  *(yiiji "it comes (to)"), "about")
- *šiftoonuu kaysuuk biluulaayii*. "I saw him (while he was) driving in town."
- *ii&idoon 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.

iđa matjituu imuu, gaash yiṭlab min abuunuu. "If his mother doesn't give (it) to him, he goes (and) asks his father."

iđa meeθalijuu, haaga ddinii, lixiis. "If they don't refrigerate it, it will spoil (in the) hot weather."

ana, min kaan &amgii &ašgiiin, sana nzaltuu lbašra. "When I was twenty, I went to Basra."

kaan hiyii maanna, ttiig leena; wilkaan hiyii maalim, ttiig leehim. "If she belongs to us, she will fly to us, and if she belongs to them, she will fly to them."

kaan heekid, maaŋgif. "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.

\[
\text{loo kaanuu iištağloon miel ma ništağil niña hoonii, kaan iikuun kiliš keiğ əaal.}
\]

"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 ma or la, the latter being slightly more emphatic than the former.

\[
\text{la leel leel uula nhaağ inhaağ. "Night is not night and day is not day."}
\]

\[
\text{mahad yismağ. "No one listens."}
\]

\[
\text{lahad yismağ. "No one at all listens."}
\]

\[
\text{haada ma beettii. "This is not my house."}
\]

\[
\text{weeṣid mayismağ. "Somebody is not listening."}
\]

\[
\text{leesiiğ tguuñ. "You may not go."}
\]

\[
\text{ma samağ. "He did not listen."}
\]

\[
\text{kintuu walad maaftahim. "I was a child (who) did not understand."}
\]

6.4 Demonstrative Adverbs

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

kwaaha nahiima. "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 iiwidiini luuniik? "Is there anyone who will take me there?"

maakuu fluus. "There is no money."
CHAPTER SEVEN
Government of the Verb

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 maťaahiin.
"In Turkish times, the Jews were happy."

hassa hadoolii l&arab maďaamu iiħaboona,
kaamuu iibaďdoona walihaađa niňna
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 weehid "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.

kaabil min&oonuu lhakuuma. "Perhaps the government prevented him."

jaa faqad weehid ba&situu lhakuuma muraakib kbiig. "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 "to the". If the direct object is a proper name, it is also prefixed by 1-, which must be considered to be the preposition "to" rather than the definite article, unless the 1- functions as a particle of reference.

śiftuu walad. "I saw a child."
śiftuu lwalad. "You (m s) saw the child."
śiftoonuu lwalad. "I saw the child."
śift walad. "You (m s) saw a child."
śaaf walad. "He saw a child."
"He saw the child."
"They saw a child."
"They saw the child."
"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.

"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.

"We told the story to the rabbi."
"We told him the story."
"They will keep on asking for it and will break (it) for you."
"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." "

šiltuuha ṭ&iitoolyaanuu uumaaxattuuh. "I carried it and gave (it back) to him and did not buy it."

7.2.3 The verb ṭ&aza "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.

ṭ&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."

hamloono. "They carried him."

gaahuu leenuu. "They went to him."

gaahuu leenuu xatag iišuufim. "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 w- "and", yoo "or", blaakit "however", etc.

ana aštgiilkim siyaga pališka wašida bil-siyaga maalil waxaliikim bliha lpališ-ka wajažkim. "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.

fağad yoom dahuud kabağ, saağ giijaal, štaga 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 katguuḥ luuniikii kataxaau 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 na‘iim uukallii killim hiyii katguuḥ luuniikii kataxaa lbeebii wiyaaha. "Naim met me and said to me, 'Tell them (that) she is going there, taking the baby with her.'"

kalnaalu yaapaa hassa niñağ ţabiinaak 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 predicate 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 il[subbaa€. "A Jew does not carry money on the Sabbath."
mín ba&ad saa&aa, jaa fa&ad weehid. "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.

mín kaan uuniikii, kaan kiliš baʃgaan. "When he was there, he was a great jokester."
iđa tğiid, ałuug wiyaak. "If you wish, I will go with you."

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

źahti wuniiķii xațag așuuf. "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 bilage 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 bilage uuyibkii 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 ili or the article
1- if the noun modified is definite or if there is no antecedent at all.

\[ \text{št̠geena min haada ḻkaal ġleenuu na̱i̱lm.} \]

"We bought (some) from that one about whom Naim spoke."

\[ ḻanduu yiṭ̠ii wilm̱a̱anduu mayiṭ̠ii abadan. \]

"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.

\[ ii̱ği̱iid akalluu. \]

"He wants me to tell him."

(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 /b/ 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 /ʃ/ 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 /ʕ/ is substituted by many people.
9.1.1.5 The phoneme /ʕ/ is preserved but, in a few cases, notably saag "to become" and saah "to call", has leveled with /s/. Compare Classical /ṣaara/ "to become" and /ṣaaha/ "to call out".

9.1.1.6 The phoneme /ð/ represents a leveling of Classical ض and ظ. This leveling is not surprising on the basis of the following observations. First of all, ظ 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 ظ, 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 tanqīf "cleaning" for ض و تظيفم ظ, usually being pronounced as /ʕ/ and ض as /ð/. That ض and ظ originally represented separate phonemes in Classical Arabic can be demonstrated by the fact that the former levels with ّ in Aramaic and the latter with د ّ.

9.1.1.7 The phoneme /ð/ is preserved except when in initial position in words containing velarized consonants. Compare akab "after", akl "sense"
and **امة** "bone" with Classical and **عظم**, respectively.

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

9.1.1.9 The phoneme /ɣ/ 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 **لاا** "to this" and **لوُّني" hither" which exist together with **لِحاا** and **ليِّنني**, 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 **شاا** "tea" with **ساا** of Syro-Palestinian, and **بِطروزیلا" parsley"** with **بِطروزیلا**.

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 **メディア** **Gemina** 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 ٍنا عا also are pointed as ٍنة.

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.

kdjd "standing"; Classical 
1ilii "third"; Classical  

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

k&dii "standing"; Classical قاعدة عراقية
irraakii "Iraqi"; Classical كساملى
ksaalii "lazy"; Classical عالٍ
&ilii "high"; Classical عالٍ

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.

uulaad (for wlaad) "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/.
been "between"; Classical بين
bneetuu "I built"; Classical بنيت
bniitoonuu "I built it"; Classical بنيته

9.1.2.7 The long vowel /oo/, similarly, represents Classical /aw/ when preconsonantal and is also a morphophonemic variant of /uu/.

loo "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 ma3alan (Classical مثلًا) "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(h) (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 (-kii postvocally) for the feminine, as compared to Classical -ka and -ki, Moslem Baghdadi -ak (-k) and ië (-ë), 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.
Equivalents of the classical third, sixth, eighth and tenth conjugations are vestigial 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 Baghdadi 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 kaan "as" (Classical 
and 
, 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"
- ḥakūma "government"

9.4.1.2 Examples of borrowings from the Moslem dialect of Baghdad are

- ʿawwa "now"
- girba "jar"

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

- beeğak "flag"
- jandarma "police" (from Italian)
- twaab "cannon"
- poosta "post office" (from Italian)
- liira or leera "pound" (from Italian)
- meez "table"
- skamlil "chair"
- šapka "hat"
- ćaay "tea" (from Chinese)
- šiि "skewer"
- saa boon "soap" (from Italian)
- zangiiin "rich"

9.4.1.4 Examples of loanwords from Persian are

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

ḥaxaam "rabbi"
mgalla "scroll" (מגילה)
kašeer "kosher"
tareef "non-kosher"
ḥadduuaš "news" (חדשות)
nidaya "alms"
ṣidakāa "charity"
emme "truth"

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

benziin "gasoline"
atombīil "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 kadās "to marry"
from Hebrew ḫaddēš (classical ḫaddāsa does not have this meaning) may be cited. A word indirectly borrowed as a pseudo-cognate is mahlä "sin", probably from Hebrew hallel "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  is used to represent 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"

fāgad sana, šuuf, aš kaanuu iisugoong hadoolii,
a certain year, see, what they would do these,

haay bālid liziyaağa? bağa, iigułoon iizuugoong
this in feast the visit? well, they go they visit

šuwa& koheen. &anna bbağdaad iizuugoonnuu midfuun
Shua Cohen. With us in Baghdad they visit him buried

baaak isșooob. nhaag lāiīd, maat ḥaxaam &abdalla.
on that side. day the feast, he died rabbi Abdullah.

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

bilkheen. haadā, bağa, lṭaxaam &abdalla kaan
in the Cohen. this, then, the rabbi Abdullah he was

ṭaxaam raab bilbağdaad, wiihboonuu kilitim.
rabbi great in the Baghdad, and they love him all of them.

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

waya yisraėel, difnoonuu soob šuwa& koheen.
with Israel, they buried him next to Shua Cohen.
kuugu $ha uu kilim hadaak ilwaqt kilim ti'jar
and they went all of them that time all of them merchants
kuuhaa, ax'anoonuu biltabuut kuughaa $hu lijmaga
and this, they took him in the coffin and they went the group
kuutzal&uu wiyaanuu yiiji &a$giiin ilf nafar
and they went out with him about twenty thousand soul
ta$l&uu wiyaanuu.
they went out with him.

(Script ends here. Story continues below.)
ba$k, laazim li&abgoon jisg. &abgo wiyaanu biljisg
well, necessary they cross bridge. they crossed on the bridge
kussaaguu badaak isqoob kuugaaru wyliehim
and they got on that side and they charged against them
limsilmiin nazluu tabuut $hatloohim liihuud.
the Moslems they brought down coffin they fought them the Jews.
kuukaamuu liihuud hamii, naas taktil naas. liihuud
and they began the Jews also, people it fights people. the Jews
kaamuu &al laslaam waxnoonuu kuugaa $hu
they rose on the Moslems and they took him and they went
kaydifnoonuu, uuunaas $ataktil naas.
they are burying him, and people it is fighting people.

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akbama difnoonuu, sawuu hoosa uukaada uuqaaahuu
after they buried him, they made noise and thus and they went
iitalloonuu mnilkabag. laslaam, lihkuma,
they bring him out from the grave. the Moslems, the government,
jibroohim lilihiud iitalloonuu mnilkabag.
they forced them the Jews they bring him out from the grave.
wiigadoon iijiboonuu wiigadoon iidifnoonuu bilkabuura
and they bring him back and they rebury him in the cemetery
maal yisraeeel. haay lbazra jagit yiijii sahgh sahgh
of Israel. this situation it lasted about month month
uunush. akab ma saaloonuu uujaaboonuu
and half. after they carried him and they brought him
iidifnoonuu bilkabuura maal yisraeeel, la&ab
and they buried him in the cemetery of Israel, it played
biihim fad sikl waba abuu zoolaa, uukaamuu iimuutoon
in them certain type plague cholera, and they began they die
minim yoomiyyii bilmiiyaat bililuuf. mnilihiud
of them daily by the hundreds by the thousands. of the Jews
makaam iimuut ahad. kaaluu haaaa min
he did not begin he dies anyone. they said this from
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.
Analysis

faqad. "a certain" adjective preceding noun modified.
sana. "year" noun modified by faqad, functioning here as an adverb of time.
šuuf. imperative 2 ms of šaaf "to see".
as. "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.
biiid liziyaaga. preposition b- prefixed to &lid "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.
baʃa. conjunction "well", "then".
iiguuhoon. 3 pl imperf. of gaah "to go".
iizuugoon. 3 pl imperf. of zaag "to visit".
šuwaʃ koheen. pr. n. masc. šuwaʃ shortened form for Joshua, obj. of preceding verb.
&anna. 1 pl suffix with &and "with".
bbaʃdaad. prefixed preposition b- "in" plus baʃdaad "Baghdad" iizuugooonuu. 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 isgoob. demonstrative hadaak "that" prefixed by preposition b- "in" with loss of initial /h/; modifying goob "side", prefixed by definite article l-

nhaag 1&iid. adverbial function. nhaag "day" in construct to 1&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 rabi, since the latter has the meaning of "Lord" in Arabic and might seem blasphemous.

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

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

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

lhaxaam &abdalla. 1- of reference indicating the antecedent of preceding pron. suff.

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

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

haaed. demonstrative adjective ms.

baka. conjunction functioning as exclamatory.

lhaxaam &abdalla. article 1- 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 ḥaxaam.

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

wiiboonuu. 3 pl imperf. hab "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.

baka. 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.

goob. prep. "near".

šuwaaksi koheen. pr. n.

uugaaahuu. 3 pl perf. of ḡab 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"
uubaa. demonst. pro. pref. by conjunction, here in the sense of "et cetera".
axدوونا. 3 pl perf. of axa plus pron. suff. 3 ms.
biltabuu. prefixed bil- "in the" with tabuu "coffin".
uugaa. 3 pl perf. of gaa.
lijkmaa. jmaa "community" pref. by art., subj. of preceding verb.
uutaluu. 3 pl perf. of tal "to come out".
wiyaanuu. combining form of waya "with" plus pron. suff. 3 ms.
yiij. 3 ms imperf. of jaa "to come" used here adverbially with the meaning "approximately".
&asgiin ilf. numeral governing singular of next word.
nafar. "soul", subj. of following verb.
țraluu. 3 pl. perf. of tal "to come out".
wiyaanuu. combining form of waya plus pron. suff. 3ms.
baka. conj.
laazim. auxiliary adj. "necessary".
li&abgnoon. 3 pl imperf. of &abag "to cross".
jisg. "bridge".
&abgguu. 3 pl perf. of &abag.
biljisg. jisg prefixed by bil- "by the".
uusaagguu. 3 pl perf. of saag "to become" pref. by conj.
baaak issoob. b- plus hadaak "that" modifying l- plus soob "side".
uugaaru. 3 pl perf. of ʂaar "to charge" plus conj.
&lleêm. prep. &al construed with preceding verb, comb.
form with pron. suff. 3 pl.
limsilmín. plural of mislim "Moslem" with art., subj.
nazluu. 3 pl. perf. of nazal II "to bring down".
tabůut. "coffin".
katloohim. 3 pl perf. katal "to kill, strike, fight" plus
pron. suff. 3 pl.
liihuud. direct object of preceding verb.
uuğaamu. 3 pl perf. of aux. verb kaam plus conj.
liihuud. subject of preceding.
hamii. adverb "also".
nas taktil naas. reciprocal pron. naas ... naas with
3 fs imperf. of katal.
liihuud. subject of following.
kaamu. 3 pl perf. of verb kaam "to rise".
&al laslaam. &al prep. construed with preceding verb with
object laslaam pl. of mislim "Moslem".
waxdoonuu. conj. pref. to 3 pl perf. of axaad plus pron.
suff. 3 ms.
uugaapuu. conj. pref. to 3 pl perf. of ʂaah, functioning
as auxiliary verb "to proceed".
kaqifnoonuu. 3 pl imperf. of dafan plus pron. suff. 3 ms,
prefixed by ka-.
uunaas katal til naas. recip. pron. naas ... naas with 3 fs
imperf. of katal pref. by 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.
uukaada. demonstr. pron. haada prefixed by conj. and k-
"like", here meaning "et cetera".
uugaahuu iital&oonuu. conj. with 3 pl perf. of aux. gaah
followed by 3 pl imperf. of talaâ ll "to bring out".
mnilkabâg. min "from" plus l- "the" prefixed to kabaq
"grave".
laslaam. pl. of lmislim, subj. of next verb.
lhikuuma. in apposition to preceding.
jibroohim. 3 pl perf. of jabar "to force" plus pron.
suff. 3 pl.
lilihuud. lihuud with l- of reference, in apposition to
suffixed -him on preceding verb, subj. of next verb.
iital&oonuu. 3 pl imperf. talaâ II, serving as complementary
verb.
mnilkabâg. mnil- "from the" plus kabaq.
wiigadoon iijiiboonuu. 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".
yisra'eeel. obj. of preceding preposition.

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

jañit. 3 fs perf. of jañ "to drag" having preceding word for its subject.

yijii. adv. "about".

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

akab ma. temp. conj.

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

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

3 ms, preceded by conj.

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

3 ms.

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

maal. prep.

yisra'eeel. 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 fañad.

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

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

abuu zoo&a. in apposition to "plague"; abuu 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".

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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 miyyii "hundred".
bililuuf. bil- "by the" plus pl. of ill "thousand".
mnilihuuud. min "from" plus liihuud.
maqaam imuut. negative adv. ma pref. to 3 ms perf. of
   aux. kaam followed by 3 ms imperf. of maat.
ahad. "anyone" subj. of preceding verb.
kaaluur. 3 pl perf. of kaal "to say".
haada. demonstr. pron. ms.
min. prep. "from".
&awoonuu. loanword &awoon plus pron. suff. 3 ms; obj. of prep.
ilhxajaam. lhajaam preceded by l- of reference.
ilhxajaam. object of following verb.
tali&naanuu. 1 pl perf. of tala& II with pron. suff. 3 ms.
mnil(ka)bag. min plus lka(ma)ga.
halkad. hal shortened and common gender and number form of
   demonstrative plus kad "amount".
saagluu. 3 ms perf of saa& plus indir. obj. suff. 3 ms, used
   in expression of time.
keef. functioning as a negative to following aux. adj.
laazim. aux. adj.
iijiiif. 3 ms imperf. of jaaf.
min. temp. conj.
tali&naanuu. 1 pl perf. of tala& II plus pron. suff. 3 ms.
mnilkabaq. min "from" plus lkabaq.
kan. conj. "just as" plus pron. suff. 3 ms.
ssaa&. ssaa& "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.
šihi. subj. of clause.
laa. neg. adv.
biinuu. prep. b- plus pron. suff. 3 ms.
šeen. subj. of clause.
kilim. kil "all" plus pron. suff. 3 pl.
t&ajbuu. 3 pl perf. of t&ajab refl-pass. II.
hatii. adv. "even".
laslaam. pl of mislim.
tnadmuu. 3 pl perf. of tnadam refl-pass, II.
uudifnoonuu. conj. plus 3 pl perf. of dafan with pron. suff.
  3 ms.
šoob. prep.
šuwa& koheen. pr. n., obj. of preceding prep.
10.3 Text B

"The Parrot"

One day, a certain woman came to me from Hindistaan. She brought a parrot, a chick. She was a boy when I was a boy, I still love animals. She raised them in the house. She came from Hindistaan again, with the parrot she yet. I took her from her for a majidi. There is one elder who sells hens, he saw me, he said to me this: what? I told him parrot. He said to me, 'Wow, come with me.' He said to me, 'Wow, come with me.' Let me teach you how you teach her. I said to him, 'Arabic, Persian, what you want she speaks. I said to him.'
asloon? kallii makatxiliihaa bilkafas? xalii
how? he said to me won't leave her in the cage? put
xalf ilkafas magii uuhaa0a. baka, hiyii
behind the cage mirror and speak to her. then, she
hassataaayin nafsa bilmagii txamil akuu biiibi
she will see herself in the mirror she thinks there is parrot
kaaala. intim mathaa0oon xalfa? a's
in front of her. you won't you speak behind her? what
tha0oon, hiiyii txamil akuu biiibimatuu kaala
you speak, she thinks there is parrot in front of her.
kaa000. titalaam hiiyii taa000. uu0aamuuaa filfildaara
she speaks. she learns she she speaks. and feed her green pepper
uuhammasa silkoonu uusuwoonuu lablabii,
and chick peas boil it and make it boiled chick peas,
wassatatlaam min haay ilaal. nihna, andii xwaatii
and she will learn from this the good. we, with me my sisters
uu0alimtoohim, kamma nxaliila magii kbiig
and I taught them, we began we put for her mirror big
xalf ilkafas winhaa0 kiluu taaayinuu lmaa00
behind the cage and day all of it she looks at it the mirror
she looks at parrot and she speaks with her. she learned
she speaks. the people in the house all of them she learned
she names them. one her name Farha, she calls her
Farha. one her name Tiffaha, she calls her Tiffaha.
my name Manasseh, also she calls me Manasseh. they begin
they cook she cries Farha! get up! cook! parrot hungry.
they open it the cage and she goes to the kitchen and she eats.
and then they call to her home, home! and she takes
her road and she goes to the cage. well, this, in the summer
hot the weather, someone he took her out to the roof,
ilkafas ilbaab miftuuḥ, nasuu iijilibuuha
the cage the door open, they forgot they bring her

iinazluuha &ala waḵt. fatḥit ilkafas uuṭaağaḏit
they bring her down on time. she opened the cage and she flew

uuṭaağaḏit. akuu &anna xalifna suuḡ uuxalf
and she flew. there is with us behind us wall and behind

issuuḡ akuu azaxaana. bilazaxaana haḍoolii
the wall there is drugstore. in the drugstore these

axāuوها. ṭla&tuu duwaḡtuu maakuu. ʿaš asawii?
they took her. I went out I looked there isn't. what I do?

ɡaaḥit. ɑkɑb yiijii ṣahɡ ʿahɡeen, akuu ˈbeet
she went. after about month two months, there is house

badli̇k ilkuuça, mnilahl, uuɡaaḥuu yoom iššubbaʔa
in that the street, of the family, and they went day Sabbath

ilniswaan &andim iisim&oon ḥissa laayii lbiibiimatuu.
the women with them they hear her voice to this the parrot.

haayii, ma haayii, ɡaaḥuu luuniikii ʃtantuu ʃaafuuha
this, not this, they went there they listened they saw her

hiyii haay. joo ʃaalooolii ana ḫam ɡaḥtuu. ʃamtuu
she this. they came they told me I too I went. I began
aḥadiña min xalf ilbaab katjawibni. haayii
I speak to her from behind the door she answers me. this
ašloon axaada min? meeyištqoolya. axattuu
how I take her from them? they won’t give me. I took
fagaad weehid mislim kaltooluu lihkiiyii, kaadda uukaade, certain one Moslem I told him the story, thus and thus,
uudaqiid iiğuuh &and haadoollii yistaqgii minim seen.
and I want he goes with these he buys from them thing.
kaal aqiid majiidii. kaltooluu haay lmajiidii.
he said I want majidi. I said to him this the majidi.
axattoonuu uuqahtuu. daxal jowa kayistaqgii minim.
I took him and I went. he entered inside he buys from them.
baqaa, haayii ween malka? malka qoob ilbaab. ana
well, this where hanging? hanging near the door. I
niziltuuhaa mnišaalka waxattuuha uuñuhzamtuu.
I took her down from the hook and I took her and I fled.
haaaka aal kayistaqgii uhimii maḥasuu biyii.
that he kept on he buys and they they did not notice me.
akab nhaaš nhaašeen joo mnišazaxaana kaaloolii
after day two days they came from the drugstore they told me
jilba! hiyii maanna. laa! hiyii maanna uuṭaḡiṭ
give her! she ours. no! she ours and she flew
wintim axattima. ana maatii. ḡaaḥuu ṣtakuu
and you you took her. I I don't give. they went they complained
&and ilḵaḡ. jaaboolii ilḵaḡ
with the police station. They took me to the police station
uuḳaam haaḍa limfawaq saayannii ḳallii ḥaay
and he began this the official he asked me he said to me this
aḍkun? ḳaltooluu yaaḥaa ḥaay liṅkiiyii maala
what is it? I said to him hey this the story hers
kaaḍa uuḳaad. hiyii ḡeeḡii jibnaaḥa min hindīstān
thus and thus. she little we brought her from India
wiśṭiṭituuhu uuḥalāmtuuhu taḥkii. waṣakuu?
and I bought her and I taught her she speaks. what is it?
bilbeet kilim taḥgifim, weeqid weeqid
in the house all of them she knows them, one one
iḥaṭṭuuha uutṭiṭiṭim. kaan hiyii ḥaayii
they speak to her and she speaks to them. if she this
maaḷuu, lees ḍaṭalama tkuul lawaadim maaluu?
his why he did not teach her she talks to people his?
ašuuma ti&g;if ismuu, ism abuuunu, ism imuu, why not she knows his name, name his father, name his mother, uuflaan? kaal limfawaď haay da&waw matsiig and so on? he said the official this matter it is not &anna, ġuuḥ &and liḥxaamiim. haay ḡkiiyii maal with us, go with the rabbis. this story of dayyaaniim. ġaḥna &and liḥxaamiim joo himii religious judges. we went with the rabbis they came they kilitim. ḡakuuha liḥkiiyii &and liḥxaamiim uuniḥna all of them. they told it the story with the rabbis and we kaada ḡkiinaaha liḥkiiyii. kaaluu hiyii maanna niḥna thus we told it the story. they said she ours we jibnaaha min bombee wana ham ḡkeetu uukaltuu we brought her from Bombay and I too I told and I said haay jibnaaha min hindistaan ḡgeeği uukalimnaaha this we brought her from India little and we taught her thadiğ. yaaba haada huwii ḡaxaam silmaan ķeeğiid ķbaanna she speaks. hey this he rabbi Solomon living opposite us uuyi&g;ifa lbiibii uuham uulaaduu kilim and he knows her the parrot and also his children all of them
bağa ddayyaaniim saähooluu lhaxaam silmaan, taal ašloon
then the judges called him the rabbi Solomon come how
 tëwuufa laay ilbaza? bağa, lhaxaam silmaan saayib
you see it this the deed? well, the rabbi Solomon old man
zakėen uumaâakağ. kaltooluu siiyidiî
old man and he did not remember. I said to him sir
ana aḥala. kaaloolii ddayyaaniim ašloon?
I I solve it. They said to me the judges how?
kalkoolim haay ilbibiimatuu &anda kafas maala
I said to them this parrot with her cage her
štgiituula uuhiwi ham štgaala kafas.
I bought for her and he too he bought for her cage.
nahna njiiba lilbiibi winjiiba lkafasaat
we we bring her the parrot and we bring her the cages
lieneen, maanna uumaâaluw, wintaliîa lilbiibi the two, ours and his, and we bring her out the parrot
mnilikafas bilâq uunsiîî iikhail nakalla
from the cage on the floor and we call to her we say to her
biibi bûuhi bêtuu bêtuu! shuuf beyîi kafas tîdxil, parrot go home home! see in which cage she enters,
yaxađa şaaẖiba. kaan hiyii maanna, tgüuŋ lîlkafas
he takes her her owner. if she ours, she goes to the cage
maanna, wilkaan hiyii maaluu, tgüuŋ lîlkafas maaluu.
ours and if she his she goes to the cage his.
lhaxaam kaal haay xooş ḫkiyii. jibnaahim lîhxamīim
the rabbi he said this good story. we brought them the rabbis
lieneen uujiina lilbeet uuftiẖnaaha lîlkafasaaṭ
the two and we came to the house and we opened them the cages
uusāẖna ḫliha uuṭalīt mnîlkafas. uusāẖna
and we called to her and she emerged from the cage. and we called
biibii beetuu beetuu beetuu! axāit ḏaḡba uudaxlīt
parrot home home home! she took her road and she entered
bîlkafas maanna. hsa! yaaba! iẖaallak
into the cage ours. hah! hey! it remains to you
seenii baẖad? waxaẖnaa lbiibīimatuu uudālīt
thing yet? and we took her the parrot and she stayed
wiyaana. baḳa, heekid kaan.
with us. well, thus it was.
Translation

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.
maña. 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".
walaad. pred. noun.
ba&adnii. adv. ba&ad "yet" with pron. suff. 1 s.
&amgii. noun &am with pron. suff. 1 s, subject of clause.
yijii. 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 ḥāb "to love".
ḥwawin. obj. of preceding verb, plur. of ḥeewaan "animal".
agabii. 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.
faixin. appositional to preceding noun.
ba&ada. adverb ba&ad "yet" plus 3 fs pron. suff.
axattuuha. 1 s perf. of axaad "to take" plus pron. suff. 3 fs.
mmajiidii. prep. b- "with" plus majaiddi, a Turkish coin worth about $.50.
akuu. demonstr. adv.
weebid. pred. of preceding, modifying following noun.
&yaayib. noun, subj. of following verb.
iibii&. 3 ms imperf. of baa& "to sell".
jiij. obj. of preceding verb.
&aayannii. 3 ms perf. of &aayan "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.
diyalimak. da- of futurity pref. to 1 s imperf. of dalal II.
"to teach" plus pron. suff. 2 ms.
asloon. sub. conj. introducing following verb.
taalima. 2 ms imperf. of dalal II plus pron suff. 3 fs.
withadie. conj. w- pref. to 3 fs imperf. of hada II "to speak", complementary verb.
hadie. cognate object of preceding verb.
&arabii. pred adj. modifying preceding noun.
iiraanii. second pred. adj. modifying hadie.
as riiid. interrogative pron. plus 2 ms imperf. saad "to want"
serving as second complement of withadie.
ithadie. complement of preceding verb, 3 fs imperf. of hada.
kaltooluu. 1 s perf. of kaal "to say" plus ind. obj. pron. suff. 3 ms.
asloon. interr. adv.
kalii. 3 ms perf. of kaal plus ind. obj. pron. suff. 1 s.
makatxiliha. neg. adv. ma pref. to ka- plus 2 ms imperf.
xala II "to put" plus pron. suff. 3 fs.
bilkafas. prep. b- plus art. plus noun kafas, pred. adv.
xali. m s imperat. of xala.
xal. prep. introd. pred. adv.
ilkafas. art. plus kafas, obj. of preceding prep.
maáii. obj. of verb xalii.
uuáæaa. pref. conj. w- plus ms imperat. of hadae plus
pron. suff. 3 fs.
baáa. conj.
hiiíí. 3 fs pron. subj.
hassatáaáyín. hassa of futurity plus 3 fs imperf. of
áaáyan.
nafsa. refl. pron. nafs "self" plus pron. suff. 3 fs, obj.
of preceding verb.
bilmááii. prep. b- plus art. plus mááii. pred. adv.
txamil. 3 fs imperf. xamal II "to imagine", verbal adv.
akúu. demonst. adv., pred. of txamil.
biiííí. pred. to akúu.
báaalá. prep. báaal plus pron. suff. 3 fs, pred. adv.
intim. pers. pron. 2 pl subj. of following verb.
máthááoon. neg. adv. ma pref. to 2 pl imperf. of hadae.
xalfá. prep. xalf plus pron. suff. 3 fs, pred. adv.
aá. interr. pron. functioning as relative "whatever", obj. of
following verb.
thaááoon. 2 pl imperf. of hadae.
hiiííí. 3 fs pers. pron., subj. of following verb.
txamil. 3 fs imperf. of xamal, apodosis.
akúu. demonst. adv.
biibiíímatúu. pred. of preceding.
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.

t&aayinuu. 3 fs imperf. of &aayan plus pron. suff. 3 ms.

lmaagii. obj. of preceding verb.

t&aayin. 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&dii. fem. impers. pron. subj. of following.

isma. ism plus pron. suff. 3 fs, pred. of preceding and subj. of following.

farba. pr. n. fem. pred. of preceding.

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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.

ana. pers. pron. 1 s, subj. of following.
ismii. ism plus pron. suff. 1 s, pred. of preceding and subj. of following.
mnaššii. pr. n. masc. pred. of preceding.
ham. pred. adv.
tsahlii. 3 fs imperf. of saah with pron. suff. 1 s.
mnaššii. pr. n. masc. pred. of preceding.
iikuummoon. 3 pl imperf. of kaam, inchoative aux.
iitbabxoon. 3 pl imperf. of tabax, protasis without introductory conj.
tsiih. 3 fs imperf. of saah.
farha. pr. n. fem., beginning of quotation.
kuumii. fs imperat. of kaam.
tbaxii. fs imperat. of tabax.
bliblii. subject of following.
juu&ana. pred. adj. fem.
iifithoonuu. 3 pl imperf. of fatah with pron. suff. 3 ms.
lkafas. art. with noun, obj. of preceding verb.

witğuuh. conj. pref. to 3 fs imperf. of гад.

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

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

wiiğadoon. conj. pref. to 3 pl imperf. of гад, aux. verb.

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

beetuu, beetuu! interjection.

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

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

witğuuh. conj. pref. to 3 fs imperf. of гад.

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.

tala&a. 3 ms perf. of tala& II plus 3 fs pron. suff.

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

lilkafas ilbaab miftuuuh. parenthetic remark modifying circumstance.

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

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

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

&ala wakt. prep. &ala with object of prep., adverbial usage.
akuu. demonst. adv.
&anna. prep &and plus pron. suff. 1 pl.
xalifna. prep. xal' plus pron. suff. 1 pl.
suug. subject.
uxa'l. pref. conj. and demonst. adv.
issuuq. art. plus suug, obj. of preceding prep.
akuu. demonst. adv.
aazaana. subject.
bilazaanaa. prep. b- plus art. plus noun.
haaoolii. demonst. pron., subject.
axduuha. 3 pl perf. of axad plus pron. suff. 3 fs.
țla&tuu. 1 s perf. of țalak.
duwagtuu. 1 s perf. of dawag II, complementary.
amaakuu. neg. plus demonst. adv.
aj. interr. pron.
asawii. 1 s imperf. of sawa II.
țaahit. 3 fs perf. of țaah.
akab. prep.
yiijii. adv.
șahq șahqeen. obj. of pref. followed by same noun in the dual, without conj.
akuu. demonst. adv. introducing parenthetic element.
beet. subj. of paren.
badiiik. prep. b- plus demonst. adj. haaïik fs.
ilkuuça. art. plus fs noun modified by preceding.
mnilahl. secondary parenthetic remark.

ugaaahu. conj. plus 3 pl perf. of gaa, main verb.
yoom iisubbaa. adv. of time.

ilniswaan. art. plus pl noun niswaan, subj.

iandim. pre. & and plus pron. suff. 3 pl, referring to mnilahl.
iisimuoon. 3 pl imperf. of samaa, iterative action, adv. function.

hissa. obj. of preceding verb plus pron. suff. 3 fs.

laayii. demonstrat. adj. fs pref. by _ of reference.
ilbiibiimatuu. noun modified by preceding demonst.

haayii ma haayii. demonstrat. pron. contrasted with its negative.

gaaahu. 3 pl perf. of gaa, main verb.

atantu. 3 pl perf. of atanat, secondary action.

saafuuha. 3 pl. perf. of saaf plus pron. suff. 3 fs, secondary action.

hiyii. pers. pron. 3 fs subj. of new clause.

haay. demonstrat pron. fs, predicate.

joo. 3 pl perf. of jaa, new clause.

kaaloollii. 3 pl perf. of kaal plus ind. pron. suff. 1 s, complementary verb.

ana. 1 s pers. pron. subj. of following verb.

ham. adverb.

gahtuu. 1 s perf. of gaa.

kaantu. 1 s perf. of kaam, new clause, aux. verb.

ahadi8a. 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.
asloon. interr. adv.
axaada. 1 s imperf. of axaad with pron. suff. 3 fs.
minim. prep. min plus pron. suff. 3 pl.
meeyitaanuulnya. 3 pl imperf. of taka pref. by neg. and suff. by ind. obj. pron. 1 s.
axattuu. 1 s perf. of axaad.
faqad. adj. modifying following noun.
weevid. imper. pron. repeating faqad.
mislim. obj. of axattuu, modified by faqad weevid.
kaltooluu. 1 s perf. of kaal plus ind. pron. suff. 3 ms.
lilkiyiii. art. plus noun, dir. obj. of kaltooluu.
kaada uukaada. pref. prep. k- plus demonst. pron. haada repeated with conj., parenthetic.
uudaqaid. conj. plus 1 s imperf. of qaad pref. by d-
iiiguuh. 3 ms imperf. of qaah, complementary.
&and. prep. for motion.
hadoollii. obj. of prep.
yistaagii. 3 ms imperf. of staaga, adverbial of purpose.
minim. prep. min plus pron. suff. 3 pl.
seen. obj. of yistaagii.
kaal. 3 ms perf.
āgiid. 1 s imperf. of ḡaad, beginning of quote.
majiiidii. obj. of preceding.
kaltuoolu. 1 s perf. of kaal plus ind. obj. suff. 3 ms.
haay. demonstr. pron. fs, beginning of quote.
lmajiiidii. pred. of preceding.
axattoonu. 1 s perf. of axaad plus pron. suff. 3 ms.
uugahntuu. conj. plus 1 s perf. of ḡaah.
daxal. 3 ms perf.
jowa. adv.
kaayiṣṭaği. 3 ms imperf. of ṣṭağa pref. by ka-, purpose.
minim. pre. min plus pron. suff. 3 pl.
bała. conj.
haayii. demonstr. pron. fs, subj.
ween. interr. adv.
m&alak. pred., fs part. of &alak II.
m&alak. fs part. of &alak, II, pred. adj. of new utterance.
goob. prep.
ilbaab. obj. of prep.
ana. pers pron. 1 s, subject of following.
niziltuuhuu. 1 s perf. of nazal II plus pron. suff. 3 fs.
mnil&alaka. prep. min pref. to art. plus noun.
waxattuuhu. conj. pref. to 1 s perf. of axaad plus pron.
suff. 3 fs.
uunihzamtuu. conj. plus 1 s perf. of nham, passive I.
haadaak. demonstr. pron. ms, subj. of following verb.
aal. 3 ms perf. aux.
kaayistaagii. 3 ms imperf. of staga pref. by ka-, main verb.
uuhimii. conj. plus pers. pron. 3 pl, introducing circum-
stantial element.
mahasuun. neg. adv. plus 3 pl perf. of has.
biiyii. prep. b- construed with preceding verb plus pron.
suff. 1 s.
akab. prep.
naagee nhaagee. obj. of prep. repeated in the dual without
a conjunction.
joo. 3 pl perf. of jaa.
mnilazaxaanii. prep. min pref. to art. plus noun.
kaalooolii. 3 pl perf. of kaal plus ind. obj. suff. 1 s,
complementary.
jiibaa. ms imperat. of jaab plus pron. suff. 3 fs.
hiyii. pers. pron. 3 fs, subj. of new clause.
maanna. prep. maal plus pron. suff. 1 pl, pred.
laa. negative interjection
hiyii maanna. new clause, subj. 3 fs pers. pron., pred.
maal plus pron. suff. 3 fs.
uuutaaggit. new clause, conj. plus 3 fs perf. of taag.
wintim. conj. plus pers. pron. 2 pl, new subject.
axattima. 2 pl perf. of axaa plus pron. suff. 3 fs.
ana. pers. pron. 1 s, new subject.
maa'tii. neg. adv. plus 1 s imperf. of taala.


\text{gaahuu. } 3 \text{ pl perf. of } \text{geah.}

\text{štakuu. } 3 \text{ pl perf. of } \text{štaka}, \text{ complementary.}

\&\text{and ilkalaž. } \text{prep. } \&\text{and plus obj. } \text{kalaž} \text{ prefixed by art.}

\text{jaaboolii. } 3 \text{ pl perf. of } \text{jaab} \text{ plus ind. obj. suff. 1 s,}

\text{instead of the more usual pron. suff. of the dir. obj.}

\text{likalaž. } \text{pref. prep. } l- \text{ plus art. plus noun.}

\text{uukaam. } 3 \text{ ms perf. of aux. verb.}

\text{haađa. } \text{demonst. adj.}

\text{lmfawag. } \text{art. plus noun, subj.}

\text{saayannii. } 3 \text{ ms perf. of } \text{saayal} \text{ plus pron. suff. 1 s,}

\text{main verb.}

\text{kallii. } \text{ms imperat. of } \text{kaal} \text{ plus ind. obj. pron. 1 s,}

\text{beginning of quote.}

\text{haay. } \text{demonst. pron. fs, subj.}

\text{aškun. } \text{interrogative pronoun.}

\text{kaltcolumu. } 1 \text{ s perf. of } \text{kaal} \text{ plus ind. obj. pron. 3 ms.}

\text{yaabaa. } \text{interjection.}

\text{haay. } \text{fs demonst. pron.}

\text{lihkiyii. } \text{art. plus noun, pred. of preceding.}

\text{kaada uukaada. } \text{prep. } k- \text{ plus ms demonst. } \text{haada} \text{ repeated}

\text{with conj.}

\text{hiyii. } \text{fs pers. pron. subj. of new clause.}

\text{žgeęįįi. } \text{pred. adj. fs, with preceding, adverbial of}

\text{circumstance.}

\text{jibnaaha. } 1 \text{ pl perf. of } \text{jaab} \text{ plus pron. suff. 3 fs.
min hindistaan. prep. plus obj. of prep.

wištğiituuha. conj. plus 1 s perf. of štage with pron.
suff. 3 fs.

uu&alimtuuha. conj. plus 1 s perf. of &alam I with pron.
suff. 3 fs.

tapkii. 3 fs imperf. of ṣaka, complementary.

waşakuu. conj. plus interrr. 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.

ta&gifim. 3 fs imperf. of &agaf plus pron. suff. 3 pl,
referring back to bilbeet kilim.

weehid weehid. impers. pron. repeated, distributive function.

liha&eeuha. 3 pl imperf. of hadae plus pron. suff. 3 fs.
uuthadijem. 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 hiiyi.

maaluu. prep. maal plus pron. suff. 3 ms, pred. of protasis.

lees. 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. l- introducing awaadim, ind. obj. of verb.

maaluu. prep. maal plus pron. suff. 3 ms, possession.
asuuma. neg. interrogative adv.
ti&gif. 3 fs imperf. of &agaf.
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.
limfawaal. art. plus noun, subj. of preceding.
haay. fs demonst. pron. subj. of new clause.
da&wa. predicate of preceding.
matsiig. neg. adv. plus 3 fs imperf. of saag, adjectival function.
&anna. prep. &and plus pron. suff. 1 pl.
&uuh. ms imperat. of &aah.
&and. prep. of motion.
lihxamaam. prep. 1- plus Hebrew masc. plur. of noun.
haay. fs demonst. pron., new subj.
&kiyii. predicate of above.
maal. preposition "for".
dayyaam. obj. of prep., Hebrew masc. plural.
&ah. 1 pl perf. of &aah.
&and lihxamaam. object of motion.
&oo. 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.
lihkiiyi. art. plus obj. of preceding verb.
&and lihxaamiim. prep. &and plus obj. of prep., indirect object of preceding verb.
uunihna. conj. plus pers. pron. 1 pl.
keaee. adverbial function, pref. prep. k- plus demonst. pron. ms.
hihinaaha. 1 pl perf. of haka plus pron. suff. 3 fs.
lihkiyi. art. l- plus obj. of preceding.
kaaluu. 3 pl perf. of kaal, new clause.
hiiii. 3 fs pers. pron., subject of quote.
maanna. prep. maal plus pron. suff. 1 pl.
nibna. 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.
thade. 3 fs imperf. of hadae, complementary.
yaaah. interjection.
haaee. ms demonst. pron.
uuwi. pers. pron. 3 ms, serving as copula.
haxaan. title.
silmaan. pr. n. masc., pred. of haaḍa, subj. of following.
keexid. act. part. ms of kaṭad I, pred. of ḫaxaam silmaan.
kaanana. prep. kbaal plus pron. suff. 1 pl.
uuyiṣiṣfa. conj. plus 3 ms imperf. of aḡaf with pron.
suff. 3 fs.
lbiibi. art. plus obj. of preceding verb.
uuham. conj. plus adv.
uulaaduu. plural of walaḍ plus pron. suff. 3 ms.
kilim. kil plus pron. suff. 3 pl, modifying preceding noun.
baka. conjunction.
addyaaniim. art. plus Hebrew plural noun.
saḥooluu. 3 pl perf. of saḥ with pron. suff. of ind. obj.
3 ms.
lḥaxaam silmaan. ind. obj. of preceding verb.
taal. suppletive ms imperat. of jaa.
asloon. interr. adv.
tsūufa. 2 ms imperf. of ẓaaf with pron. suff. 3 fs.
lāay. 1- of reference with fs demonst. adv.
lbaẓra. art. with obj. of preceding verb.
baka. conjunction.
lḥaxaam silmaan. subj. of following.
ṣaayib. pred. noun.
zakeen. Hebrew synonym of ṣaayib, repetition for emphasis.
uumādaḥaḡ. conj. plus neg. adv. pref. to 3 ms perf.
kāltooluu. 1 s perf. of kaal plus ind. pron. suff. 3 ms.
siiyidii. 1 s pron. suff. with seeyid.
ana. 1 s pers. pron.
abala. 1 s imperf. of bal with pron. suff. 3 fs.
kaaloolii. 3 pl perf. of kaal with ind. pron. suff. 1 s.
ddayyaaniim. art. plus subj. of preceding.
asloon. interr. adv.
kaltoolim. 1 s perf. of kal plus ind. pron. suff. 3 pl.
haay. fs demonstr. adj.
ilbiibiimatuu. art. plus noun, modified by haay.
&anda. 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 štaga with ind. pron. suff. 3 fs, adj.
uuhuwii. conj. plus pers. pron. 3 ms, new subject.
aham. adv.
štgaala. 3 ms perf. of štaga 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&. 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.

i&liiha. prep. aal with pron. suff. 3 fs.

nkalla. 1 pl imperf. of kaal with ind. pron. suff. 3 fs.

biibii. subj. of quote.

Guuhii. fs imperat. of gaa.

beetuutu. interjection.

Suuf. ms imperat. of saaf.

Beeyii. pref. prep. b- plus inters. adj. heeyii "which".

Kafas. noun modified by preceding inters. adj.

Tidxil. 3 fs imperf. of daxal, complementary to suuf.

Yaxada. 3 ms imperf. of axad with pron. suff. 3 fs, new clause.

Saahiba. subj. of preceding with pron. suff. 3 fs, referring to lilbiibii, but modified by beeyii kafas tidxil as a whole.

Kaan. introducing protasis.

Hiiyi. 3 fs pers. pron., subj. of protasis.

Maanna. prep. maal plus pron. suff. 1 pl, pred. of protasis.

Tguuh. 3 fs imperf. of gaa, apodosis.

Lilkafas. prep. l- plus art. with noun.

Maanna. prep. maal plus pron. suff. 1 pl, modifying preceding noun.

Wilkaan. introducing new protasis.

Hiiyi. 3 fs pers. pron., subj. of protasis.
maaluu. prep. maal plus pron. suff. 3 ms, pred. of protasis.
tgush. 3 fs imperf. of ṣaḥ, apodosis.
lilikafas. prep. l- 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. demonst. pron., subj. of quote.
xoox. adj. modifying following noun.
ḥkiiiyi. predicate of haay.
jibnaaḥim. 1 pl perf. of jaab plus pron. suff. 3 pl.
lḥxaamiin. art. plus plural noun, obj. of preceding verb.
līneen. art. plus cardinal numeral, in apposition to
preceding noun.
uujiina. conj. plus 1 pl perf. of jaa.
lilbeet. pref. prep. l- plus art. with noun.
uufti naaha. conj. plus 1 pl perf. of fataḥ plus pron.
suff. 3 fs.
lilikafasaat. l- of reference plus art. with plural noun,
obj. of preceding verb.
uusāḥna. conj. plus 1 pl perf. of saah.
&liiha. prep. &al construed with preceding verb, plus
pron. suff. 3 fs.
uutalkit. conj. plus 3 fs perf. of talaḥ.
mnilkafas. pref. prep. min plus art. with noun.
uusahna. conj. plus 1 pl perf. of saah.
biibii beetuu beetuu beetuu. quoted interjection.
axāit. 3 fs perf. of axaē.
daḡba. obj. of preceding verb with pron. suff. 3 fs.
uudaxlit. conj. plus 3 fs perf. of daxal.
bilkafas. pref. prep. b- plus art. with noun.
maanna. prep. maal plus pron. suff. 1 pl.
haa. interjection, beginning of new quote.
yaağa. interjection.
iddallak. 3 fs imperf. of dal with ind. obj. pron. 2 ms.
ṣeenii. impers. pron., subj. of preceding verb.
baṣad. adv.
waxadnaaha. conj. plus 1 pl perf. of axaē with pron.
suff. 3 fs.
biibiimatuu. art. plus noun, object of preceding verb.
uuqalit. conj. plus 3 fs perf. of dal.
wiyaana. prep. waya plus pron. suff. 1 pl.
baka. conjunction.
heeķiā. adv.
kaan. 3 ms perf.
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