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A grammar of Kumzari : a mixed Perso-Arabian language of Oman

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A Grammar of Kumzari

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A Grammar of Kumzari
A Mixed Perso-Arabian Language of Oman

Christina van der Wal Anonby

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Map of the Kumzari Language Area



Map of Kumzari History



Abbreviations

- suffix
 = clitic
 1 first person
 2 second person
 3 third person
 ADJ adjective
 ADJR adjectivizer
 ADV adverb
 ADVR adverbializer
 Ar: Arabic modern loanword gloss
 cf. *confer*
 C consonant
 COUNT count marker (inanimate)
 DEM demonstrative
 disc discourse particle
 dv deverb
 e.g. *exempli gratia*
 ed. editor
 eds. editors
 EMPH emphatic
 esp. especially
 EVID evidential
 EX existential
 i.e. *id est*
 ibid. *ibidem*
 IMPER Imperative verb form
 IMPF Imperfect verb form
 INF inferred evidential
 INTERR question morpheme
 IRR Irrealis verb form
 Kmz. Kumzari
 LIST marker of listing parallelism
 lit. literally
 Lrk. Laraki variety of Kumzari
 MIR mirative verb form
 n noun
 NEG negative
 NOM nominative
 NUM numeral
 Ø zero-marked morpheme
 OBJ object
 p plural
 PEAK peak discourse marker
 PERF Perfect verb form
 PERS human count marker
 Pers. Persian
 PL plural noun suffix
 pn pronoun

prep preposition
 REAL Realis verb form
 REFL reflexive pronoun
 REP reportive evidential
 s singular
 SENS sensory evidential
 sfx suffix
 sp. species (type)
 SUB subordinating enclitic
 SUBJ subject
 SURP surprise particle
 TOP topicaliser
 v verb
 V short vowel
 VV long vowel
 viz. *videlicet*
 W.Ir. Western Iranian languages
 /// rising intonation
 \\ falling intonation
 [] phonetic transcription between brackets
 / / phonemic transcription between slashes
 * precedes historical or ungrammatical forms or phonemes
 + followed by ... or + derived word class
 > develops synchronically into
 < develops synchronically from or subordinator in a clause chain
 ~ co-occurs with
 = is
 (...) omission of material

Example source notation

A *Ahmad Tka* folktale
 B *Bāḡ al-Mōz* folktale
 G *Ġrabō* folktale
 K *Kanēdō* folktale
 N native-speaker informant data
 P *Pačaxčēō* folktale
 R *Rōran Šēxō* folktale
 S *Sōntyō* folktale
 U *Abūyi Salaḥnī, Ummī Rakabnī* folktale

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1 Introduction

1.1 The Kumzari people

The Kumzari people¹ live on the Musandam peninsula of northern Oman. They number approximately 5000, including 500 living across the Strait of Hormuz on Larak Island, Iran and several families across the border in the United Arab Emirates. Semi-nomadic, they migrate between the winter coastal villages and oasis towns such as Khasab and Dibba in summer. Their geographic focal point is the village of Kumzar, situated at 26.3375° N, 56.4099° E, and is the northernmost settlement in Oman.

Every mention of Musandam in the literature emphasises the extreme isolation of the area and its inhabitants. Musandam's geography makes the reason for its isolation apparent: jagged limestone mountains plunge steeply down into the sea. Thousand-metre cliffs are made slightly less prohibitive by narrow steps carved out of the stone to facilitate seasonal migration of the bedouins. Even now, many Kumzari coastal villages including Kumzar itself are accessible only by boat, overland access to them being too steep to traverse even with modern machinery. There is much travel back-and-forth between Kumzar and Khasab by boat: the voyage takes 45 minutes by speedboat or two hours by motorised dhow. Trips to Khasab are for business, education, shopping, weddings, and funerals. Further afield, it is two hours to Ras al-Khaimah by land, and a six-hour journey between Khasab and Muscat by the catamaran ferry installed in 2008. Kumzar has a primary school, a medical clinic, two mosques, and a few small shops. Other services are accessed in Khasab.

The Kumzari tribe forms part of the Bani Shitayr confederacy of the Shihuh Arabs. Outsiders have generally referred to the Shihuh and the Kumzari as bedouin, but the people of Musandam themselves distinguish between mountain-dwelling 'bedouin' and coastal Arabs. In summer, both groups congregate in the date-palm oases of Khasab and Dibba for the date harvest and wedding season.

In Khasab, Kumzaris have their own quarter named *Ḥārīt Kumzārīan* centrally located around the Kumzari castle, and their own area of the souq. Extended families manage local businesses, date groves, and fishing cooperatives, but most dates and fish are for their own consumption. The economic impact of Oman's oil revenue—about 18 million barrels of oil per day pass through the adjacent Strait of Hormuz—is felt in Musandam in improved roads and infrastructure, water delivery to remote settlements, and social services.

Kumzari people traditionally subsist primarily through fishing and boat-building, as well as raising goats and keeping date orchards in the oasis towns. At present, many are employed by the government of the Sultanate of Oman, whose provincial (*waleyat*) capital is headquartered at Khasab. Many are also involved in business, including local shops and services, and international trade with the UAE and by boat across the Strait of Hormuz. A growing industry is tourism, as foreign workers from the Emirates take holidays in Musandam for its seclusion, natural beauty, and unique culture. Kumzari people are

¹ Other names given for Kumzari in the literature and by surrounding peoples are Kumazra/Kumāzarah, Kamzareyah, Kamāzareh, Kamzāree, and Komzāri. The first two names are most often Arabian, the latter is Iranian. In the Kumzari language, the adverbial form for the language is Kumzariti, thus 'speaking Kumzari' is *majma tka Kumzārītī*.

employed in the Khasab Museum, local hotels and restaurants, tours of the fjords and mountains, and police and border services.

In the past, ships would stop at Kumzar to replenish their freshwater from the well, and Kumzari men were relied upon both as expert guides through the Strait's rough waters and as sailors on foreign ships, facilitating trade between India, Europe, and eastern Africa. Their finesse in combat operations is commemorated in the traditional Kumzari song "We took the door," about their 16th-century raid on Hormuz Island, claiming its wooden city gates for their castle. In the present day, some Kumzaris work for the Oman government patrolling international boat traffic through the Strait.

Local traditional crafts continue to flourish: boat building, various household articles made of woven palm leaves and pottery and wood, embroidered clothing, the traditional *jerz* long-handled small axe, and the *bātil* boat stemheads uniquely decorated with goatskins and cowrie tassels. Material culture including the famous locked Shihuh house is described in Costa 1991.

The village of Kumzar, and the Kumzari people, are split into two moieties: the Aqlī and the Ġōšbānī. Each has its own leader (informally referred to as "sheikh"), mosque, and endogamous practices. There is also a hereditary titled sheikh of the Kumzari and Shihuh, endorsed by the Sultan of Oman.

Other people living in Musandam among the Kumzari are the Shihuh bedouin and the Dhahurī, both Arabic-speaking populations outnumbering the Kumzari. One variety of Shihhi Arabic has been described in Bernabela 2011.

1.2 The Kumzari language

1.2.1 Classification

Outside observers have variously surmised that Kumzari is a mixture of languages such as Persian, Arabic, Baluchi, Urdu, Portuguese, and even English. However, Bertram Thomas, who wrote a description, transcribed text, and grammar sketch of Kumzari in 1929, reported that it is a compound of Persian and Arabic (Thomas 1929:75). From his vocabulary list, he traced 44% of words to Persian origin, and 34% to Arabic origin (Thomas 1930:786)². Thomas also noted in the early 20th century that the Persian-origin words in Kumzari were archaic, not like the Persian spoken by Iranian immigrants.

Gordon (2005) and Skjærvø (1989) considered Kumzari to be closely related to the languages of southwestern Iran, and it was classified with the Luri languages as Indo-European, Indo-Iranian, Iranian, Western, Southwestern, Luri. However, this estimation seems to have been made on the basis of some lexical similarities (see Skjærvø 1989:364) and perhaps due to their presumed common linguistic heritage in Middle Persian.

Kumzari is the only language with Iranian ancestry indigenous to the Arabian peninsula, and it is geographically surrounded by Arabic language varieties. Yet Kumzari as it is spoken on

² Of a word list with 1090 lexical items collected by the author in 2008, 45% were traceable to Arabian, 37% to Persian, and 17% to Kumzari only (unknown other origin).

Musandam and Larak is unintelligible both to Arabic speakers with no knowledge of Kumzari, and to Persian speakers from the Iranian mainland. This confirms Bertram Thomas' observations of last century that Kumzari "is a compound of Arabic and Persian, but is distinct from them both" (Thomas 1929:75). In modern times, neither of its neighbouring languages accept Kumzari as relating to their own: Persian speakers consider it a form of Arabic and Arabic speakers believe it to be a Persian dialect.

Kumzari is genetically affiliated with both Indo-European and Semitic language families, so that it is not possible to distinguish its genetic heritage as being of purely one or the other. It is a fundamentally mixed language, with profound etymological influence from both of its ancestor language families. Characteristics of both Semitic and South-western Iranian linguistic typologies are to be found in the phonology, morphology, syntax, and discourse of Kumzari (van der Wal 2010). Its Arabian traits have been outlined in van der Wal 2013, and linguistic and historical evidence point to its most recognisable origins as being in pre-Islamic Azd and Sasanian communities of Oman. Other languages represented by lexical borrowings in Kumzari are superstrate influences: Baluchi, Portuguese, Hindi-Urdu, Minabi, English, and even modern Arabic of the Gulf or Oman. A non-exhaustive sample of words with traceable potential etymologies is given in Table 1.

Table 1. A sample of Kumzari words with potential source languages

Kumzari lexeme	gloss	potential source language³
<i>furnō</i>	'the oven'	Portuguese
<i>langal</i>	'anchor'	Portuguese
<i>tōr</i>	'bull'	Portuguese (/Syriac <i>tawrā</i>)
<i>pēsē</i>	'coin'	Portuguese
<i>lamba</i>	'lamp'	Portuguese
<i>dūšin</i>	'yesterday'	Baluchi
<i>čap</i>	'paddle'	Baluchi
<i>čikk</i>	'small'	Hindi ⁴
<i>panka</i>	'ceiling fan'	Hindi
<i>nāšta</i>	'breakfast'	Minabi
<i>bay</i>	'thick'	Turkish
<i>pāša</i>	'wealthy person'	Turkish
<i>amba</i>	'mango'	Swahili
<i>jōtī</i>	'shoe'	Urdu
<i>tāwa</i>	'convex metal bread pan'	Urdu
<i>ālō</i>	'potato'	Luri/ Kurdish/ W.Ir. ⁵
<i>rōk/kōrk</i>	'boy'	Luri/ Kurdish/ W.Ir.
<i>gap</i>	'big'	Luri/ Kurdish/ W.Ir.
<i>xāyg</i>	'fish egg'	Luri/ Kurdish/ W.Ir.
<i>šērama</i>	'autumn'	Himyaritic
<i>pling</i>	'plank'	English
<i>niglis</i>	'gold necklace'	English
<i>bambō</i>	'bumpy'	English

³ Some of the English-source words are presumed to be via Gulf Arabic. Middle Persian, Parthian, and Syriac data from Henning 1937. South Arabian data from Simeone-Senelle 1997 and Rubin 2010. Shihhi data from Bernabela 2011 and author's field notes.

⁴ Hindi, but cf. Middle Persian *cyg'myc* 'a little'.

⁵ W.Ir. refers to other Western Iranian languages aside from New Persian.

<i>lawšan</i>	‘perfume’ (from ‘lotion’)	English
<i>apsit</i>	‘upset, angry’	English
<i>daxtar</i>	‘hospital’ (from ‘doctor’)	English
<i>čigāra</i>	‘cigarette’	English
<i>fēzar</i>	‘freezer’	English
<i>šēwil</i>	‘shovel’	English
<i>ḥāšaf</i>	‘dried dates’	Shihhi Arabic
<i>innit</i>	‘goat pen’	Shihhi Arabic
<i>rāy</i>	‘idea’	Shihhi Arabic
<i>krāḥ</i>	‘sandal’	Shihhi Arabic
<i>xumba</i>	‘clay storage jar’	Parthian/Avestan (‘pitcher’)
<i>zangērīr</i>	‘slave’	Parthian (<i>zyncyhr</i> ‘chains’)
<i>črā</i>	‘oil lamp’	Middle Persian (<i>čirāg</i>) ⁶
<i>ar</i>	‘that which’	Mehri
<i>ḥēriq</i>	‘hot/dry weather’	Mehri (<i>ḥark</i> ‘hot’)
<i>tā</i>	‘one, a single’	Mehri (<i>tāt</i>)
<i>xar</i>	‘donkey’	Mehri (<i>ḥirīt</i>), W.Ir.
<i>t-/d-</i>	imperfect aspect (verbs)	Hobyot, Mehri, Jibbali
<i>tē</i>	‘until’	Hobyot, Mehri, Harsusi
<i>qarraṣ</i>	‘mosquito’	Hobyot (<i>kerṣ</i>)
<i>dūš</i>	‘date syrup’	Harsusi (<i>debš</i> cf. Arabic <i>dibs</i>)
<i>wā-</i>	‘towards’	Harsusi (<i>wāl</i>)
<i>ka</i>	‘if, when’	Soqotri, W.Ir.
[ʔāʔā]	‘no’	Jibbali (ʔ neg. prohibitive)
<i>naxa, nēxan</i>	‘aboard (vehicle)’	Jibbali (<i>nxā, nxīn</i> ‘under’)
<i>šawḥaṭ</i>	‘whale’	Jibbali

1.2.2 Sociolinguistics

1.2.2.1 Dialects

Varieties spoken by the two clans, Ġōšbānī and Aqlī, render slightly different pronunciation of a few lexical items, as noted in the text. The Laraki dialect of Kumzari has several lexical and phonological differences, notably the preservation of /h/ where Kumzari has a glottal stop⁸, preservation of /xw/ where Kumzari has /x/, prevocalised initial consonant clusters, and Laraki’s slightly closer lexical resemblance to Persian rather than Arabian.

1.2.2.2 Viability and Bilingualism

Kumzari children learn their own language exclusively until they enter school at age seven. Young people have much less ability to speak fluent Kumzari in narrating elaborate discourse or oral literature, and many revert to the Arabic that is the product of their schooling and television. Although Kumzaris are primarily endogamous, there is some degree of intermarriage with speakers of Arabic varieties, especially with Shihhi in Khasab. Primary school teachers have been known to tell parents to speak to their children only in Arabic to

⁶ cf. Shihhi *srūḡih*.

⁷ Mehri has a –t noun suffix (Rubin 2010:65) that is noted as a salient feature distinguishing Himyaritic from Arabic (Watson 2011).

⁸ But note that Kumzari data from the early twentieth century show that Kumzari did retain the /h/ in contexts where it now has glottal stop: *hišk* ‘dry’, *hātiš* ‘fire’, *haw* ‘water’ (Skjærvø 1989:365).

facilitate their accommodation to school, but few families follow this directive. Older people, women, and small children have lower rates of bilingualism due to less contact with Arabic. Those employed in business, government, and tourism sectors have higher rates of bilingualism in Arabic. Most speakers see the advantage of cultivating the Kumzari language and culture, whilst learning Arabic as a second language for interaction with the wider community.

1.2.2.3 Oral traditions

From various accounts, several genres of oral tradition are attested among the Kumzari: many forms of fishing and sailing songs, tribute poems, celebratory chants, wedding songs, proverbs, *qāwals* (short sung poems), festival songs, work songs, lullabies, and folktales. Although a few were audio-recorded by the Oman Studies Centre in Muscat, none has been the subject of scholarly investigation outside of that done by the present author.

1.2.2.4 Writing

Kumzari is an unwritten language; literacy in the region is a product of the educational system in Modern Standard Arabic. Some Kumzari individuals have shown an interest in writing their language; the author is working with them on producing a Kumzari dictionary and folktale collection (both forthcoming) based on the alphabet developed with Kumzari community representatives (Anonby 2009).

1.2.2.5 Endangerment

With its small population, unwritten status, and the encroachment of Arabic in proliferating domains of use, Kumzari is readily identified as an endangered language. UNESCO classifies Kumzari as ‘severely endangered’. The Google Endangered Languages Project lists Kumzari as being on the verge of extinction. The Ethnologue places Kumzari in the ‘moribund’ category of language endangerment. Despite many factors pointing to its imperilled status, several important considerations affect the likelihood of Kumzari’s sustained viability. Its remote geography moderately insulates it from outside influence. Its speakers are proud to identify themselves as Kumzari, they have a positive view toward preserving their language, and significantly, they teach it to their children. Finally, Kumzari’s history of persistence for over one thousand years despite being surrounded and outnumbered by speakers of Arabic on Musandam bodes well for its continued survival.

1.2.3 Previous research

Very little research has been carried out on the Kumzari language and culture. Several early explorers, and modern-day visitors to Musandam, mentioned Kumzari in passing, but until the present study only Thomas (1930) and to a lesser extent Jayakar (1902) did fieldwork on the language⁹. A few speculated at Kumzari’s indigenous Arabian origins while others concluded the language must have come from the east side of the Gulf; some made note of both origins (Miles 1994:379,436; Ross 1874:195; Zwemer 1902:57; Jayakar 1902:247, 272; Thomas 1930:785; Bayshak 2002:12).

Thomas’ articles continued the debate about Kumzari origins that had been discussed since the turn of the twentieth century; several theories have been proposed, encompassing ethnicities from Himyar and South Arabia to Sumer, Babylon, Persia, Bahrain, and South

⁹ Captain A.P. Trevor collected some material on Kumzari that was later published in Lorimer’s Gazetteer (1915/1970).

Asia. The following section explores the history of Kumzari, by way of information that is available from literary, traditional, and documentary records. Although due to the time-depth and limited sources it is not possible to definitively state Kumzari's linguistic origins, a broad perspective of its history will account for its potential influences.

1.3 A history of Kumzari

Throughout its history, the Musandam peninsula has been a strategic region bridging Arabia and Persia, the borderland of empires, the guardian of shipping in and out of the Gulf, and the setting of the major trading centres of Hormuz and Dibba that received goods from the Arabian Sea and beyond. Consequently, Kumzari's history is intertwined with the envoys which have sailed through the straits in past eras.

1.3.1 *Foreign traveller accounts*

In recent centuries, Europeans travellers have been intrigued by their encounters with Kumzari people, their language, and those of the wider Shihuh community and Arabian peninsula. Despite Kumzari ethnic identity as Arabs and as members of the Shihuh confederacy, as the British officer Bertram Thomas (1929:75) stated, it is only the Kumzari “who speak the strange tongue which has baffled and confused strangers.”

Of the general linguistic situation in Arabia when he visited there in the 1700's, Carsten Niebuhr (1792:254-255) had this to observe: “There is perhaps no other language diversified by so many dialects as that of Arabia. The nation having extended their conquests, and sent out colonies... the different people conquered by them have been obliged to speak the language of their new masters and neighbours; but those people retained at the same time terms and phrases of their former language, which have debased the purity of the Arabic, and formed a diversity of dialects.” Niebuhr also remarked that, even as recently as a quarter-millennium ago, “Although the Arabian conquerors have introduced and established their language in the countries which they conquered, yet their subjects have not always left off the use of their mother tongue” (1792:256).

An Arab historian writing in 1728 noted that there were some Arabs who did not understand Arabic; Ross, writing in 1874, interprets him to mean “some of the people inhabiting the Ruus el-Jibal from Cape Mussendom [Musandam]. Southward the inhabitants of that location differ in appearance from the other Arabs and speak a different dialect. Some, from their reddish skins and light eyes, have conceived them to have an admixture of European blood. On examination their language will probably be found to be a Himyarite dialect. They may be descendants of a Himyarite people who inhabited ‘Omān before the inflow of Yemenites and others. They are named el-Shehūh or el-Shihiyīn [al-Shihūh]” (Ross 1874:195).

In the mid-1800's, Miles noted that in Khasab lived “a section of the Shihyyeen [Shihhi]; many of the people are of Persian descent and are cloth-weavers” (1994:446); he concluded that they were “of Himyarite descent,... a peculiar race with curious habits and customs, subsisting chiefly on fish and goats' milk” (Miles 1994:436). Miles also noticed that “They are said to have a peculiar dialect and their physical aspect is somewhat different from that of the Arabs, and some writers have even suggested that they are descendants of a European nation, but the people of Koomaz are of Persian descent and they speak a corrupt Persian” (Miles 1994:379). Referring to Goat Island (Jazirat al-Ghanam), he said “the Koomzaries

[Kumzari] use this island for pasturing their flocks” (Miles 1994:448). Of Kumzar itself, Miles observed, “The people being of undoubted Persian origin are very fair, and speak a corrupt Persian with a slight admixture of Arabic” (1994:448).

Visiting the Musandam peninsula in the 19th century, Palgrave (1866) noted that his Arab guide said the Shihuh spoke in the “language of the birds”; Arabic speakers used the same designation for South Arabian languages. However, Jayakar (1902:246) noted of that remark: ‘bird’s speech’ “is more particularly applicable to the language of one small tribe... which speaks in addition to the [Shihhi Arabic] dialect common to the place a peculiar and unintelligible dialect of its own. The Kamāzareh [Kumzari]... are ethnologically and dialectically distinct from the general Shaḥooh [Shihuh] group.”

Zwemer described anecdotal reports of the Kumzari in 1900: “There is coffee-house babble in Eastern Oman concerning a mysterious race of light-complexioned people who live somewhere in the mountains, shun strangers, and speak a language of their own... At Khasab, near Ras Musandam, live a tribe whose speech is neither Persian, Arabic, nor Baluchi, but resembles the Himyaritic dialect of the Mahrās [Mehri]... This language is used by them in talking to each other, although they speak Arabic with strangers” (Zwemer 1902:57). Shihuh historians contemporary with Zwemer also noted their origins in Sabā in Yemen (Jayakar 1902:247).

It is a long journey to bring together the incongruous strands of Kumzari’s history, from Yemen to Persia and meeting at Musandam. It begins in the middle, where Oman occupies a pivotal, if infrequently-mentioned, place between the Gulf and the Sea.

1.3.2 Ancient Oman

For several millennia before the Common Era, the Musandam region where Kumzari is spoken, including the facing coast of Iran, was known as *Makkan*. *Makkan* was involved in the trade of copper to Mesopotamia, and the Oman peninsula is cited in Sumerian tablets by the name *Magan* (Potts 1978, 1985). Shulgi, the king of Ur, received gold from an unnamed “king of Magan” in 2069 BC (Potts 2012:64). On the basis of archaeological evidence, Potts (2012:47) postulates that “immigrants from across the Straits of Hormuz introduced [to Oman] the idea and techniques of pottery manufacture around 2500 BC.” With the introduction of the *falaj* (underground water channel) system in 1000 BC, and subsequent agricultural development, Oman underwent a population expansion.

The word referring to Oman was rendered *Makaa* in Old Persian, *Macae* or *Magi* or *Mykoi* in Greek (Yule 1999:122), *Makkash* in Elamite, and *Makkan* in Akkadian (Potts 2000:56). In Aramaic, Oman was called *Qādām*, the word meaning ‘morning, east’. According to Herodotus, a Greek historian writing in the 5th century BC, the *Myci* were a tribal people living in Oman. As early as 536 BC, Cyrus the Great conquered Oman for Persia (Wilson 1928), and it was governed by satraps of Achaemenid Persia during the dynasties of Darius I (r. 522-486 BC) and Xerxes I (r. 486-465 BC) (Potts 2012:104). The Persepolis inscriptions of Xerxes I call the *Maka* or *Mačiya* people those “who dwell by the sea and across the sea.” During Achaemenid times, both southern Persian Gulf coastal areas, Musandam and Hormozgan, were known together as *Maka*; Oman is proposed as having the better claim to that designation (Potts 2010:529). People named ‘Arabs’, as plausibly referring to an ethnic group from Arabia, were included among the inhabitants of the Achaemenid province of *Maka* (Ulrich 2008:64).

Even as lately as the 18th century, it was reported that there was a “distinct tradition among the learned Arabs, with respect to those ancient Kings [Himyarites], which deserves to be taken notice of. They pretend to know, from ancient monuments, that *Tobba* was the family name of those Sovereigns, that they came from the neighbourhood of Samarcand, were worshippers of fire, and conquered and civilized Arabia” (Niebuhr 1792:10). This description accords with, or perhaps conflates the Himyarites with, the Achaemenid founder Darius I, whose father was a satrap of Bactria, and who wrote the Bisotun (Behistun) inscription. Having examined the cuneiform inscriptions in Old Persian, Elamite, and Babylonian at Bisotun in Iran, Niebuhr (1792:11) claimed that “an inscription, in strange and unknown characters, which he had found in a province remote from the sea coast [of Arabia]” was “distinguished the inscriptions at Persepolis to be in the same alphabet.” He concluded that “both the Arabians and the Persians would appear to have had Sovereigns from the same nation, who spoke the same language, or at least employed the same characters in writing.”

Regarding the language of the Achaemenids, McWhorter points out that “Modern Persian is the descendant of the native language of rulers of the vastest empire ever ruled by speakers of an Iranian variety, this empire documented as having been a vibrantly multiethnic one” (McWhorter 2007:163). However, it was a Semitic language that was used for communication among the Empire’s diverse groups: Potts (2012:114) notes that Aramaic was the lingua franca in Maka during Achaemenid times. McWhorter (2007:155) elaborates, “The standard practice was that documents and missives were dictated in a local language (including Old Persian), written by the scribe in Aramaic, and then read back to the recipient in the local language at the destination.” Such a practice could produce a standard fusion of lexicon and grammar as the basis for the intertwining of languages (Bakker 1997:203). In light of Kumzari’s fundamentally mixed verbal system, it is noteworthy that “the influence from Iranian on the Aramaic verbal system must have had a considerable time depth” (G.Khan 2008:22).

In the same era, a movement of people groups is recorded by Herodotus, in a list of the satrapies bringing tributes to the Persian emperor. Maka is one of them; mentioned alongside Maka are “those who dwell in the islands of the Erythraean Sea, where the king settles those who are called the ‘dispossessed’.” (Potts 2005:9-10).

In 331 BC, Alexander the Great conquered Darius III and Maka ceased to be a Persian satrapy (Potts 2012:107). Nearchus of Crete, a naval admiral of Alexander the Great in 325 BC, recorded passing Musandam, which he called “Cape Maketa of Arabia”, and made note of a market town that was probably Dibba (Thomas 1929:86). Instead of sailing through the strait of Hormuz, Nearchus landed on the Iran coast and travelled inland. A few years later, Hieron of Soli, another ship’s commander under Alexander, explored the Musandam coast, but probably did not alight in Oman (Briant 2002:761).

The Parthians wrested control of the Oman coast from the Greeks by 250 BC, valuing the Persian Gulf outlet as a sea route. Parthian dynasties ruled northern Oman for the next five centuries.

During the Parthian and Sasanid eras the province of northern Oman came to be known by its Middle Persian name, Mazun. There is again a connection with Yemen, as the name Mazun is said to originate in the “great seafaring race [who] were descended from Mazen bin Azd”

(Miles 1994:4); “the Mazen are of South Arabia and are Azdites” who settled in Musandam “and were succeeded there by the Shihiyeeen [Shihuh], a small tribe” (Miles 1994:5).

The first-century navigational guide, *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, recalls the “great mountains” of Musandam called Asabon (§36). Ptolemy’s map of Arabia of circa 150 AD labels the Musandam peninsula as ‘Asaborum’. Cape Musandam is called Asabon Promontory, and the indigenous people ‘Asabi’ who were noted as *ichthyophagi*, ‘fish-eaters.’ The appellation may recall the Sabaeans, who were dispersed from Yemen throughout the Arabian peninsula as early as the second pre-Christian century. South Arabian sources record that the first major breach of the Ma’rib dam in Yemen took place in 145 BC during the war between Raydan people and the Sabaean Kingdom, and the subsequent flood and mass emigration of Sabaeans. Jayakar noted the tradition of Sabaean origin of the Shihuh (1902:247), and Bayshak (2002:12) also remarks on many linguistic similarities between Shihhi and Sabaean. The modern capital of Musandam, Khasab, bears in its Kumzari pronunciation the conceivable meaning *xa-sab*, ‘house of the Sab.’ The 16th-century Portuguese name for the town, *Casapo*, also includes the definite suffix *-ō* commonly used for names in Kumzari. The 19th-century British political agent S.B. Miles concurs, commenting on Ptolemy, “He gives the name of Cape Mussendom [Musandam] not incorrectly as ‘Asabon Promontorium,’ a name which has survived in Khasab, a hamlet in a small valley, probably the residence in former times of a tribe so called” (Miles 1994:10). Schoff’s translation of the *Periplus* (1912:148) notes that ‘Asabi’ is the tribal name of the Beni Assab, “a people very different from the other tribes of Oman, living in exclusion in their mountains; and whom Zwemer (*Oman and Eastern Arabia*, in the *Bulletin of the American Geographical Society*, 1907; pp. 597-606) considers a remnant of the aboriginal race of South Arabia, their speech being allied to the Mahri [Mehri] and both to the ancient Himyaritic; who were probably not as Zwemer thinks, “driven northward by Semitic migration,” but represent rather a relic of that pre-Joktanite southward migration around this very coast” (Schoff 1912:148). Thomas (1929:73) further observes that the name of the Sabaeans is preserved in the mountain village of Sibi of Musandam.

Writing in the first century, the author of *The Periplus* states “Sailing through the mouth of the Gulf after a six-days’ course there is another market town of Persia called Ommana” (§36). Northern Oman was part of the Persian empire in the first century; thus Ommana is a reference to a municipality under Persian rule, rather than exclusively the north coast of the Gulf. Ommana possibly indicates Dibba (Potts 2012:132), as the mouth of the Gulf is likely a reference to the Strait of Hormuz, and after six days’ sailing one would reach Dibba. Dibba was a major market town, and excavations there have yielded Parthian glazed pottery in gravesites from the same era (Potts 2012:133). Pliny (23-79 AD; Pliny, Book VI:xxxii, 150) also mentions both Batrasave (probably Ras al-Khaimah) and Dabenegoris Regio (probably Dibba, Hawley 1984:15-16).

1.3.3 Arrival of the Azd

The inhabitants of Dibba in the first few centuries of the common era were potentially both Azd and Persian. Kumzari traditions assert as their ancestor Malik bin Fahm (r. 196-231 AD), a chief of the Qahtani tribe of Azd of Yemen (Jayakar 1902:247). In the latter half of the second century AD, the Ma’rib dam in Yemen broke again, and Malik bin Fahm led a group of Azdi refugees to look for land in Parthian-ruled Oman. The Azdis first stationed at al-Jowf (an interior town in the valley between Adam and Bahila) and challenged the

Persians in Sohar (the Persians' coastal capital city) to prepare for war (Ross 1874:114). A battle was fought on the desert plain of Salut near Nizwa. Eventually the Azdis prevailed, and the Persians agreed to a truce to go to Persia within one year (Ross 1874:114) (however, at that time "Persia" included northern Oman). Instead, they wrote letters to the Shah of Persia, who sent military reinforcements in time for another battle at the conclusion of the truce. The Azd under Malik bin Fahm won, and this time the Persians who escaped capture "left Sohar with their families and sailed to Fars" (al-Rawas 2000:29). Malik bin Fahm sent out Azdis to occupy various regions of Oman (Ross 1874:116), expelling Persians in the coastal cities of Oman and eventually gaining ground throughout the country (Ulrich 2008:64). However, Azdite control of Oman only lasted during the lifetime of Malik bin Fahm; after his death the Persians returned, this time under Sasanian rule.

Malik bin Fahm was killed accidentally by the arrow of his youngest and favourite son, Sulayma. Fearing the wrath of his brothers, Sulayma fled to Jashk Island and then to Carmania (modern Fars, Makran, Kerman, and the eastern Arabian peninsula) where he overthrew a local ruler and reigned in his place (Ulrich 2008:83). The *Annals of Oman* record that Sulayma married a Persian woman and had ten sons, but after his death, "his sons were disunited, and the Persians expelled them, and some went to 'Omān" (Ross 1874:118). His descendants, the Banu Salima, came to rest on the Island of Kish, where they were called the Julanda bin Karkar dynasty (Wilkinson 2010:44); the Banu Salima were the basis of Yaquṭ's reference to Kish as the residence of the prince of Oman.

1.3.4 *Sasanian era*

The first Sasanian king, Ardashir I (r. 224-241), wished to divert the lucrative Indian ocean trade dealing in silk, spices, pearls, and frankincense from the Red Sea to the Persian Gulf. In order to do this "it was essential to secure a base in northern Oman" (al-Rawas 2000:27). Dibba became known as a Sasanian garrison town along with Sohar, and the Persians founded agricultural colonies in Oman organised around a system of *qanat* / *falaj* irrigation channels, still of cultural importance today (Lancaster & Lancaster 2011:44). Archaeological evidence of Sasanian occupation near Khasab, and in villages on the west coast of Musandam, and on Goat Island (*Jazirat al-Ghanam*, Kumzari: *Jēzurtō*) on the north coast of Musandam, dates to the early 4th century (de Cardi 1972, 2013, Costa 1991:43-44, King 2001:74). Both Goat Island and Julfar (now Ras al-Khaimah) remained as Sasanian-era garrisons well into the early Islamic period, used to watch over trade routes to Fars (Ulrich 2008:77, 2011:381). Sasanian market towns were established all along the southeastern coast of Arabia, and maritime trade flourished in the third to seventh centuries.

In the same era, conflicts developed between Christian confessions of the Byzantines and the Church of the East, each suspecting the other of collusion with imperial politics amid the Roman-Sasanian wars. The Byzantines counted Ethiopia and south Arabia within their sphere of influence, while Persian and Arab Christians were found all around the Gulf. Prominent among mentions of the Musandam area in historical documents are Yohannon, Bishop of Mazun in 424 AD, Gabriel, Bishop of Hormuz in 540, David, Bishop of Mazun in 544, Bishop Samuel in 576, and Stephen, Bishop of Mazun in 676 (King 2001:59-61). Bishops of Mazun are referred to as attending synods in the Gulf as late as 840 (Ross 1874:75-79). The seat of the bishopric, Bet Mazunaye, was at Sohar. Numerous sites of former Eastern churches and religious communities have been discovered in the region, and Dibba may have been the place at "the mouth of the Persian Gulf" (Neale 1873:132) or "at the chief maritime town on the Persian gulph" (de Perceval 1853:14) where the Himyari king

Hassan Tobba established a third church in 356. Dibba remained an important city into the 7th century, according to Ibn Habib, possessing a large market that drew people from India and China, as well as points west. Yaqut noted that Dibba was called the capital of Oman at that time (Yaqut vol. II, p.435-439 in Hawley 1970:63).

1.3.4.1 Dibba and Malik

Dibba was a vital port for centuries because it provided access for the monsoon trade of the Arabian Sea to the towns of the Persian Gulf, whilst avoiding the rocky waters of the Strait of Hormuz. The mountains encompassing the Strait were considered sacred because they seemed to have the power of death. Sailors thus relied on rituals to ensure their protection through the Musandam route, such as throwing dates into the sea, sacrificing goats, or releasing small model boats as ransom for the safe passage of their own. Epithets of the Strait, both historical and persisting to the present: ‘the lion’s jaws’, the ‘father of hell’, ‘the whirlpool’, attest to difficult navigation through sea-facing mountains and dangerous narrow passages (Casey-Vine 1995:376; Rowland 2006). Cape Musandam “has always been regarded with dread by Arab navigators passing in and out of the Gulf on account of the gales of wind and the strong currents that prevail here” (Miles 1994:449).

Caravans from Dibba avoided the dangerous sailing conditions of Hormuz. Recalling even the past century, a Shihhi observes, “When the merchants had brought their goods, these goods were loaded onto our camels and donkeys and we took the laden animals across to the towns of the Gulf coast; it took three days and nights from here to Dubai. This was quicker and easier for the merchants than the sailing boats making their way round Cape Musandam” (Lancaster & Lancaster 2011:265). Another Shihhi from Dibba explained that “The seas at Musandam are choppy, there are whirlpools and strong currents, and the winds change quickly. No one liked sailing there. That was the reason for boats to use this coast” (Lancaster & Lancaster 2011:55). An elderly boatbuilder from Khasab concurred, “People really didn’t like sailing through Bab Musandam, that was the reason for Dibba’s success, they could unload there and the goods were carried across” (Lancaster & Lancaster 2011:423).

In pre-Islamic times, Oman was under Sasanian control, and “Dibba served as the east coast point of a ‘Late Pre-Islamic triangle’ which also included ed-Dur on the west coast and Mleiha in the interior” (Ulrich 2008:86). Sasanian governance over the Arabian trade routes was “reinforced by a degree of direct military occupation, notably in Oman” (Wilkinson 2010:55). Sohar was their centre, with its fort at Damsetjerd, well-situated to protect trade into the Gulf from the “pirate lairs in the creeks round the Musandam Peninsula” (Wilkinson 2010:57). Another Persian governor in Rustaq, the *marzban*, watched over provincial affairs of Oman, appointing local tribal leaders called Julanda as his agents in the interior (Wilkinson 2010:61). Julanda collected taxes in Dibba and Tuwam (Al Ain/Buraimi) and reported to the Sasanian marzban (Potts 2012:141; Shoufani 1973:156). The Julanda “was allowed to retain Nezwa as his capital, and to continue to exercise jurisdiction over the Arab tribes, on condition of his acknowledgement of the vassality to Persia and agreeing to pay tribute” (Miles 1994:27). Regional equivalents of Sasanian agents were retained in Bahrain, Yemen, Mazun (northern Oman), and Kerman (Wilkinson 2010:62). The Persians kept peace with “a force of 4000 warriors in Oman and a deputy with the kings of the Al-Azd” (Miles 1994:26-27). On the northeast coast, “both the Julandas and a crowned individual held influence at Dibba, with the former performing administrative functions [i.e. tax collection] and the latter providing military security [i.e. caravan protection]” (Ulrich 2008:86). The

‘crowned individual’, called *Dhu al-Taj*, was the Azd chief appointed by the Persians in the 7th century, Laqit bin Malik.

The Arabic title *malik* was given to Arab chiefs appointed by the Persians at the borders of the empire (Shoufani 1973:28,36). In Yemen of the 6th century, the *muluk* were a ruling class brought about by Persian occupation; also known as *abnā’*, they were the offspring of Persian fathers and Arab mothers (Shoufani 1973:35). The Kinda tribe of Yemen and Oman also held the traditional appellation *malik*.

It was customary for Persian rulers to invest imperial authority in their provincial agents in Arabia by crowning them (Lecker 2003:61), for which agents were called *Dhu al-Taj*. The *taj*, a jeweled headpiece, had a Persian connotation (Lecker 2003:64), while the equivalent crown of the northern Arabs of Medina was a turban. It is pointed out concerning the north Arabian nomadic societies that “there was a notable hostility towards loyalty to ‘kings’, or ‘possessors of the crown’, in pre-Islamic Arabian culture” because of the crown’s “symbolic subjugation to state power” (Marshall 2009:89, 140). The north Arabians may have also resented the royal status of certain south Arabian dynastic tribes, such as the Kinda (de Perceval 1853:15). This was reflected in an ongoing dispute between the north and south Arabians regarding the role of kingship (Lecker 2003:58-59). Indeed, it may have been primarily this contested role between the Julanda, newly agents of Medina, and the Malik, tribes with south Arabian ties, that later sparked the war in Dibba.

In practical terms, the role of *Dhu al-Taj* bestowed on Laqit was concerned with protecting the caravan routes (Ulrich 2008:85). Similarly, his contemporary Malik *Dhu al-Taj* in Yemen was a Christian named Hawdhah, who oversaw the *latimah* royal caravan from Persia to Yemen. Another, mentioned as the Malik of Bahrain, was Nu’man al-Tamimi. It was to these *muluk* whom the prophet wrote letters in 628 AD, calling on them to convert to Islam (Lecker 2003:58).

Laqit was ‘crowned’ for his loyalty to Persia, and he was a Malik through his Kinda tribal heritage. By Laqit’s day, the Kinda had been settled in the region of northern Oman for at least a century. However, they were among “the last of the major Azd migrations, and as such they retained quite genuine attachments with clans in western Arabia.” (Wilkinson 2010:49).

1.3.4.2 South Arabian kinship and migration

In the mid-fifth century, the king of the Himyars and Bani Kinda and also of the Modhar (descendants of Maadd of Mecca), was Hojr Akil al-Morar (de Perceval 1853:15). It was the Dibba (meaning ‘lizard’) tribe of Modhar of Nejd, Yamama, that had founded the town of Dibba (Miles 1994:5). Persia controlled all of Arabia through the Azd dynasty in Hira, the capital of the Lakhmid kingdom. In 525 AD, Hojr Akil al-Morar’s grandson, Harith ibn Amr, conquered and became king of Hira, extending his dominion to Oman. Four years later, Harith and the royal family were killed, the Bani Harith were scattered, and some of them “established a position in the Diba area” (Wilkinson 2010:41). Some of Harith’s remaining relatives stayed in Hira, some went to Yamama, and some went to other shores of the Persian Gulf. Harith’s brother Imr al-Qays went back to Yemen; his descendants were the Bani Amr.

Qays’ grandfather, Hojr Akil al-Morar, had made an alliance with the Byzantines in 500 (Robin 2012:282), and in 540, Qays was under pressure from the Aksumite ruler of Yemen to

side with Constantinople against the Persians (Robin 2012:291). Instead, following the Najran massacre and subsequent wars between Aksum and the Persians, the Kinda in Yemen revolted against the rule of the Byzantine-allied Aksumites under Abraha (Marsham 2009:34-35; Robin 2012:292). Under threat of annihilation by Abraha's armies, the Kinda in 547 were forced to capitulate and swear an oath of allegiance. During the battle, the Ma'rib dam again collapsed, and one of the stipulations of the truce was that Abraha could take Kinda hostages to work on repairing the dam (Marsham 2009:34-35).

The cities of Dibba, Hira, Yamama, and Najran maintained associations through their common South Arabian heritage, in particular their inhabitants belonging to the Bani Harith. Qaryat al-Fāw (300 km north-northeast of Najran), on the trade route between Najran and Hira, is considered to have been the royal seat of the Kinda dynasty from the third century (Beeston 2013, Robin 1988:168-169). The Bani Harith of Hira and the Bani Harith of Najran shared many connections and a common Azd ancestor, Cahlan. Bani Harith of Najran's lineage was Ka'b, 'Amr, 'Ula, Jald, Madhhij, and Cahlan. Bani Harith of Hira's lineage was 'Amr, Hojr Akil al-Morar, Mu'awiyya, Thawr, Kinda, and Cahlan. In the fifth century there were both wars and alliances, and through intermarriage their lineages crossed at various points. The cities had close connections in the 5th and 6th centuries; "Hira was an Arab city which had close relations with Najran... a large section of the population of Hira were South Arabian tribes related to the Arabs of Najran" (Shahid 1989:366). Christians of both confessions, Byzantine and Church of the East, inhabited Najran in the fifth and sixth centuries (Robin 2012:282); after the massacre by Yusuf (Dhu Nawas) of the Bani Harith in Najran in 523, survivors fled to Hira (de Perceval 1853:66), where Harith ibn Amr took the throne the following year. Some stayed or returned later to Najran, as a hadith notes that the delegation from Najran to the prophet of Islam in 630 included a caravan of camels led by nobles of the Bani Harith bin Ka'b, who were Azdi (Shahid 1989:400): the Kinda king of Najran Abdul Masih and the bishop Abdul Harith (M.Z.Khan 1980:247).

When the Sasanian emperor Shah Khosrow I Anushirvan ('Kisra', r. 531-79) defeated the Bani Harith in 529 and restored the Lakhmid successor Mundhir to Hira, he also appointed him "as the king of the Arabs living between 'Umān, Baḥrayn and Yamāma, to al-Ṭā'if and the rest of the Ḥijāz" (Lecker 2002:115). In Oman, Mundhir retained a military governor to reinforce his sovereignty (Wilkinson 2010:49-50), perhaps in recognition of the Kinda connection.

In the 5th century AD, a 'third wave' of Azd migrants to Oman were the Azd Shanu'ah. They are thought to have been descended from Nadab/Ziyad bin Shams and to be the offspring of Uthman bin Nasr (Ulrich 2008:71, Wilkinson 2010:32-33). The Azd Shanu'ah migrated to the northern mountains and settled in Dibba (Lancaster & Lancaster 2011: 492), where they formed a strong alliance with other immigrant Azd tribes: the Hajr Imran, the Bani Sama, and the Bani Harith Malik bin Fahm (Wilkinson 2010:51). Imran had come to northern Oman via Bahrain, and Sama went to Bahrain after fleeing Mecca. The son of Imran married the daughter of Sama, and their offspring were called the Atik (Wilkinson 2010:47), the tribe that settled at Dibba (King 2001:79). Thus in his own lineage, the Azdite sheikh Laqit bin Malik represented a unity of Dibba residents: the Kinda, the Bani Harith, and the Atik (Miles 1994:34; al-Rawas 2000:48).

In the 6th century, the Azd Shanu'ah were to be found as seafarers working the coastal trade with the Persians, while the Azd 'Uman resided in the interior as the Persians' vassals, the Julanda (Ulrich 2008:90; Lancaster & Lancaster 2011:546). The Atik and Julanda rose to

prominence and were two of the principal Azd families in pre-Islamic Oman (Miles 1994:4; King 2001:79). The Shanu'ah, Atik, and Harith alliance of Azd tribes became the responders to the *Yā al Malik!* war-cry that began the first battle of Dibba against the Julanda a century later.

1.3.4.3 The seventh century

At the time of the Dibba wars, the Sasanians controlled a vast area including Egypt and the kingdom of Yemen to the south (called the Ispabad of Nimruz, Potts 2008:205) and Bahrain and Iraq/Arabia to the north. The Lakhmid kingdom was ruled by the Persians through their governor Azadbeh from 611-633 AD. The Persians were always wary of Arab uprisings in their territories, but their defeat at the hands of the Byzantines after 622 hindered their ability to give stipends to the Julanda (Shoufani 1973:163). Shah Khosrow II Parviz, son of Hormizd, was assassinated in 628 and the leadership fell into chaos, with a succession of rulers claiming the throne then being deposed by others. Khosrow's daughter Puran, whom the Arabs called Būrān Shahrbanu 'empress', reigned 629-631 (Shoufani 1973:162). "Her rule was a period of consolidation of imperial power and rebuilding of the empire. She attempted to consolidate the empire and relieve the population of heavy taxes" (Daryaei 2012:201), and she negotiated a peace treaty with the Byzantines. However, "when the Prophet heard the news that the people of Persia had made the daughter of Khosrau their Queen, he said, 'Never will succeed such a nation as makes a woman their ruler'" (M.M.Khan 2003:*Bukhari* vol.9 book 88 no.219 p.171). The Prophet's grandson, Hussein, later married Puran and among their offspring were several imams of the Shi'a sect. But the pronouncement against Puran had prompted Arab tribal raids on Persian controlled areas, including Hira (Shoufani 1973:162).

1.3.5 Oman at war

Fearing the loss of the active support of the Persians and the impending reduction of tax revenue, the Julanda brothers governing Oman, Abd and Jayfar, found their authority being challenged by locals (Shoufani 1973:157). They were also eyeing the markets and the lucrative maritime trade through Sohar and Dibba, then overseen for the Persians by Laqit bin Malik, whose power in Oman was equal to theirs (Shoufani 1973:88). Indeed, "the expulsion of the Persians from the soil of Oman had long been an object of ambition to the Julanda chiefs" (Miles 1994:33). Laqit bin Malik also noticed the waning power of the Julanda, and his rise personified the unrest of the people of Oman. He is said to have "preached after the manner of the prophet," and supporters flocked to him (Ulrich 2008:94). Most of the tribes in Oman did not support the Julanda, and began to revolt against Jayfar and Abd (Shoufani 1973:98-99). "Most likely these agents, knowing that their authority was deteriorating, turned to Medina in desperate quest of support" as a way to gain control over their rivals (Shoufani 1973:157).

In the year 630, the Prophet sent Amr al-'As to Rustaq, and, as Miles (1994:34) describes, "an ultimatum to the Persians to embrace Islam and to renounce the claim to suzerainty over the country was disdainfully refused." Amr then petitioned the Julanda brothers, who allied with Medina. Jayfar and Abd sent word of their surrender to Medina, to Mahr and Shihr in southern Oman and Dibba in northern Oman (Ross 1874:118-119). "A contest ensued in which the Sasanian Governor Mazkan was killed and his troops worsted" (Miles 1994:34). The remainder fled to Sohar, where their resistance was met with attack by the Julanda. The

Persians were besieged in the castle of Damsetjerd, and finally reached a truce, agreeing to relinquish their gold and silver and property and leave the country (Potts 2012:144).

Some accounts describe the Omani rebels against the Julanda as Persians: “Jeifar sent messengers to Maheyreh, and Shihr in the south, and to Daba [Dibba], and the furthest limits of ‘Omān to the north; and at his invitation all the people accepted el-Islam, save the Persians who dwelt in ‘Omān” (Ross 1874:118-119). However, those who resisted the Julanda and armies from Medina were also Azd. The people of Dibba “may well have resented the fact that it was the Julanda who collected the tax from this *sūq al-‘arab* in pre-Islamic times, and that their authority continued to be recognized under the new regime”, and this despite the traditional authority possessed by the Bani Harith as Kinda *muluk* and the leader of one of its most important clans (Laqit) being crowned by the Sasanians (Wilkinson 2010:85).

While the Bani Harith of Oman were gathering under the leadership of Laqit bin Malik in 631, the Bani Harith of Najran countered an army from Medina by sending a delegation of nobles, government ministers, and the bishop to Medina agreeing to a peace, but declining submission to the Muslims. Included in the delegation were Azd clans from Hira. In the same year, the Kinda of Bani Amr in Yemen, descendants of the brother of Harith, king of Hira, also refused to pay taxes to Medina (Donner 1993:180; al-Mad’aj 1988:50). The Prophet cursed the Kinda kings for their rebellion (Donner 1993:180), and sent Muslim armies to Nujayr under his commander Ziyad to besiege and then slaughter them (Wilkinson 2010:79; Donner 1993:181-182). Some Bani Amr escaped to Oman, where they begged their Kinda relatives, the Bani Harith, to rescue them (al-Mad’aj 1988:50-51).

The death of the Prophet in 632 spurred more independence movements throughout Arabia. Some believed that “Muḥammad was not a true prophet or he would not have died” (Wilkinson 2010:78). In Oman, Laqit bin Malik Dhu at-Taj was proclaimed a prophet and summoned his followers to rise up against the newly-declared caliph of Medina, Abu Bakr (Miles 1994:35). Omanis were “presuming that the disintegration of the new government at Al-Medina had taken place simultaneously with the death of Mohammed” (Miles 1994:36; al-Mad’aj 1988:51). Refusing to pay taxes demanded by Medina through their Julanda agents (al-Rawas 2000:45), Laqit’s followers ejected Jayfar and ‘Abd¹⁰. Laqit “managed to extend his control over the whole of Oman, forcing the two Julanda brothers and their followers to take refuge in the mountains, from where they wrote to Abu Bakr pleading with him to send help as soon as possible” (al-Rawas 2000:43; Ulrich 2008:94).

The Caliph responded by sending troops to subdue local uprisings. His three commanders met at Jebel Akhdar and then dispersed on their missions: Ḥudhayfa bin Mihsan the Himyarite to Oman, Arfaja to Yemen, and ‘Ikrama to Yamama (Wilkinson 2010:42). The Bani Amr in Ma’rib continued to resist, and Ziyad, the commander of Medina armies there, requested that ‘Ikrama be transferred to Yemen to assist him in crushing the Kinda (Donner 1993:182). Ḥudhayfa demanded that Oman pay taxes to Medina, but the Bani Harith refused with cries of ‘*Yā al Mālik*’ to hail their kin (Wilkinson 2010:83). Omanis led by Laqit bin Malik prevailed in the battles of 632-633. The Julanda retreated to Sohar and Laqit to Dibba (Donner 1993:152; al-Rawas 2000:47).

¹⁰ The Julanda brothers were exiled either to the red mountain of Rijām on the western border of Oman (Donner 1993:153) or to Jebel al-Akhḍar (Wilkinson 2010:42, 80).

When they received the plea for help from the Bani Amr, the Bani Harith in Oman waged another campaign to prevent Ikrama from attacking their Kinda “blood relatives” (al-Rawas 2000:44; Ulrich 2008:95): “after ‘Ikrama moved on Mārib in his Yemen campaign, the people of Dabā learnt that he was fighting their *bani ‘amm*, the Kinda, and the tribes of al-Yaman. So they drove out Ḥudhayfa who had been appointed ‘āmil by Abū Bakr and he fled and took refuge with ‘Ikramah” (Wilkinson 2010:81).

1.3.5.1 The last battle of Dibba

The final battle of Dibba occurred in 633. Omanis led by Laqit bin Malik Dhu at-Taj were massacred by Ḥudhayfa and the Medina armies in one of the largest battles of the Arabian wars (Rowland 2006). Mohammed ibn Tarir al-Tabari’s history records that 10000 were killed and 4000 were taken prisoner; the market was looted and the town was almost completely destroyed (King 2001:83). A graveyard occupying a plain behind modern-day Dibba is said to be the resting-place of the fallen of this battle.

Of the Dibba rebellion, the poet ‘Abbad al-Naji said,

“By my life, Laqit b. Malik was met by an evil that would make foxes shamefaced.
He challenged in battle Abu Bakr and those who praise [God], whereupon there were
thrown down two strands of his mighty torrent. The first one did not thwart him, and
the enemies were not defeated; but then his cavalry took away the straying camels.”
(Donner 1993:155)

1.3.5.2 Dibba refugees

After their defeat in 633, the survivors of the battle of Dibba who were not captured became *shihhi*, seeking refuge in the mountains or across the sea. Shihuh people of the present day recall that they were termed “shihhi” by Arabs who settled in Dibba after the 633 war because they refused to pay taxes to Abu Bakr (Dostal 1972:2; Lancaster & Lancaster 2011:178,546). A local historian in Dibba Bai’ah confirms this in the oral history of the Shihuh of Dibba Bai’ah: “The story of people here refusing to pay *zakat* to Abu Bakr is right. That was why those people became known as Shihuh, they had *shahha*-ed, they withheld the *zakat*. These people owned the land here then and before then, and they were Shanuah ‘Azd” (Lancaster & Lancaster 2011: 492). Several visitors have noted the presence of pre-Islamic shrines in Musandam in place of mosques, even to modern times (Lancaster & Lancaster 2011:39,166; Costa 1991:235).

After 633, as instructed by Abu Bakr, the captives were taken from Dibba to Medina, and Ḥudhayfa stayed in Dibba to quell any further rebellion there (Miles 1994:38). Thus it was not safe for the *Shihhi* to return to Dibba for many years.

1.3.6 Beyond Dibba

Khasab and the Hormuz region on the opposite coast, areas currently inhabited by Kumzaris, were not taken by Islamic forces until 650-651 AD when the governor of Basra, Abdallah bin Amir, had already attacked much of southern Iran (including Shiraz and Bam) from Bahrain (Rowland 2006).

In centuries subsequent to the Dibba war, there was much traversing the Gulf and Persians sometimes occupied Oman; by those times they were speaking New Persian, leaving Kumzari behind with its mixture of Arabian and Middle Persian anachronisms.

The mountains of Musandam would have provided a linguistic safe haven for Azd and Persian refugees from Oman; similar remote mountainous regions that were conquered by Muslim armies did not experience Arab mass migration and consequent language displacement: “the same thing applied until recently to parts of the heartland areas of the present-day Arab world that for topographical reasons were less attractive to tribal migrants from Arabia and hence never became settled by them and arabicized” (Holes 2004:36).

Several other factors confirm the languages spoken in Musandam as being elusive. The difficult geography of Musandam makes it an ideal refuge. In later ages its inhabitants were accused of piracy as their boats hid in the deep fjords, evading British and Dutch patrols. The remote coasts of Musandam did not become major centres due to their lack of both a hospitable port and connections to the interior (Costa 1991:44). Observers throughout the centuries have noted that no one would go there, especially to the mountaintops, unless they had no choice but to live in such inhospitable circumstances. The traditional locked houses (*beit qufl*) of the Shihuh themselves are testaments: “Some of these houses have underground rooms that were refuges, and one is said to have a tunnel going down to the sea” ((Lancaster & Lancaster 2011:89). Even in the present day, Kumzar and other Shihuh villages are only accessible by boat; traversing the terrain is too arduous, despite attempts at road-building.

Such circumstances of isolation have forced the Shihuh to be pragmatic in their economy; “Musandam stands out as a distinct enclave both physically and socio-economically, where a small population developed remarkable skills for a combined use of the limited available resources” (Costa 1991:222). Azd brought with them agricultural techniques they practised in Yemen, based on monsoon rains (MacDonald 2009:3) and irrigation involving “elaborate and extensive systems of catchment, conservation, and distribution of water” (Costa 1991:123; Lancaster & Lancaster 2011:124). Likewise, for practical reasons they incorporated foreign terminology to their social and economic advantage: Hindi and Baluchi for maritime trade, Portuguese for sailing, English for pearling and oil, Gulf Arabic for fishing, and Omani Arabic for politics and government work (Slot 1993:46; Rowland 2006). In Kumzari, these languages were overlaid on a substrate of both Middle Persian and Arabian structures.

1.3.7 *Looking back and looking forward: The mixed language*

A discussion of the history of the Kumzari language must account for the languages that were in overlapping use from the time the Azdites settled in Oman until the Persian empire in Oman declined. The battle of Dibba thus signifies a pivotal incident in Musandam’s linguistic record (cf. Holes 2006:1932). The Shihuh, as refugees from that war, had dual identities to contend with: the likely intense pressure to incorporate the language of Dibba’s occupiers, and the perhaps equally fervent intention to keep their identity as rebels distinct from the northern Arabs of Medina. Geographical isolation combined with the ‘negative identification’ of Kumzari with outside groups would explain its persistence as a mixed language for so long (Bakker 1997:209).

Which languages were spoken in Musandam and its population sources in the seventh century? A.F.L. Beeston, in his 1981 article on languages of pre-Islamic Arabia says that “the area roughly coinciding with the modern Sultanate of Oman and the United Arab Emirates south of Bahrayn is virtually a blank for the purposes of this study” (p. 178). Holes agrees with regard to Arabisation, that “In the specific case of the Arabian peninsula, the historical details of this process are extremely sparse” (Holes 2006:1933). However, many circumstantial clues may be gleaned both from the language itself and from the historical context.

Although the lingua franca of 6th-century Hira may have been Arabic or an Arabian language, its literary language was Syriac (Bosworth 1983:598)¹¹. In pre-Islamic Mazun, the lingua franca was Aramaic or Syriac (Holes 2006:1934) and Aramaic represented “the mother tongue of part of the population” (Robin 2012:252) and “the local language of prestige” in northern Oman before the conquest (MacDonald 2000:36). In the first few centuries AD, the Kinda in their capital city of Qaryat traditionally spoke Minaic, Saba’ic, and Old Arabic, based on inscriptions written in the Sabaean alphabet (Robin 2012:252), and Saba’ic was also the language of the Himyarite kingdom (Robin 2012:248). In later centuries yet before the Islamic conquest, the Kinda spoke a transitional variety, considering that “the inscriptions show a blend, in varying degrees, of South Arabian terminology, grammar, and orthography, with a local language” (Robin 1988:169).

Based on a tradition of Mohammed instructing the Himyaris to translate from their own language into Arabic, Muir (1861:II) contends that the Himyarites of the 7th century spoke their own language that was not Arabic. This would have meant a South Arabian language, according to the customary label “Himyarī” in Arabic sources to refer to non-Arabic languages of the Peninsula.

Alongside the South Arabian languages, Middle Persian may have been spoken as well in Hira, Najran, and in Yemen by the ethnic Persian-Himyarite *abnā’* ruling classes, as it had been in Oman during the Sasanian era and earlier. What became of the Persians exiled from Oman after the 631 siege of Damsetjerd may be surmised from their history. Out of Sohar, the Julanda forced the Persians northward, as well as pushing Laqit and his Omani followers north to Dibba. The Persians had two choices: either to flee to Persia, or to integrate with the local population to ensure that their residence in Musandam would not be questioned. In the years before the war, with the Julanda as their vassals, the Persians had been in control of the maritime trade of the entire South Arabian coast, from Dibba to Yemen, which thrived on the silk trade from Ceylon. Of the region, Dibba was “the chief town (*miṣr*) and the most important marketplace” (Donner 1993:154). Meanwhile, the Persian heartland was in the throes of a succession crisis; in such a climate Fars may not have welcomed, and may even have been suspicious or hostile toward erstwhile colonials. It is not unreasonable then to suggest that these Persians, who had been living in Oman for their entire lives as had their Sasanian and Parthian ancestors before them, may have retreated only to Musandam and not all the way to Fars. They may have continued fighting the Julanda alongside the Azd in Dibba, particularly if Laqit bin Malik Dhu al-Taj held any loyalty toward the Persians who had bestowed on him his crown and title (Ulrich 2008:96).

¹¹ “The population of Hira comprised its townspeople, the *‘Ibād* “devotees”, who were Nestorian Christians using Syriac as their liturgical and cultural language, though Arabic was probably the language of daily intercourse.” (Bosworth 1983:598)

The linguistic facts of Kumzari speak to its evolution from both Middle Persian and Arabian. It is thus more likely that the Persian-like traits of the language were inherited from the Sasanians and Azdites who fled from the Dibba wars, rather than from Persians coming from Persia directly in centuries since then. In the latter case, Kumzari would have had more influence from New Persian, which was beginning to be spoken on the Iran side of the Gulf from the 8th century. On the contrary, Kumzari has both innovations not attested in the New Persian spoken on the Iranian mainland (e.g. Kumzari has developed penultimate-syllable stress; *b* has been replaced with *w* in contexts; all cases of *z* have become emphatic *ẓ*), and conservatisms from Middle Persian where New Persian later diverged (e.g. Kumzari retains the *ē-ī* distinction, lacks *ezāfe* to link noun with adjective, preserves *w* where other varieties diversify into allophones, and has kept initial consonant clusters and the nominal suffix *-ag* > *-ağ*). In modern New Persian, about 8% of core vocabulary (from the Swadesh 100 wordlist) is of Arabic origin, compared to 22% of Semitic core vocabulary in Kumzari; the proportion of Semitic-origin words rises to 60% when all items in the 4500 lexicon are included. As well, Kumzari's Semitic lexicon and structures are incorporated differently from those taken into New Persian. The study of other mixed languages provides a clue as to why this may have come about: "lexical manipulation is most effective precisely in the core vocabulary when its function is to express identity or to be secretive" (Mous 2003:91).

It is also not the case that Kumzari is a creole of Persian and Arabic, with simplified vocabulary and grammar tending to one or the other parent languages. Instead, Kumzari has developed a more elaborate integration and a completely enmeshed system in which neither parent language can be distinguished as pre-eminent.

An insight by Clive Holes (2004:29) regarding the situation of Arabic contact¹² at the time of the Muslim conquests applies equally to Musandam:

"A more plausible explanation [than Versteegh's creolisation hypothesis of Arabic dialectology] of the linguistic facts we have is simply to assume that the indigenous population learned Arabic from the conquerors *as a foreign language*, without the need to break down its structure. What we know about the immediate aftermath of the conquests is that the initial need was to set up an administrative and fiscal system in the abandoned towns, a task that the Arabs initially seem to have been content to leave to what remained of the local government after the Byzantines and Persians had left. This class of clerks was obviously literate and, in Egypt and Iraq, bilingual in the local language and either Greek or Persian; in Syria, Greek was the language of government. Such people, already accomplished language learners, were now facing a need to learn to communicate in speech (if not for some while yet in writing) with their Arab masters: why could they not have learned to do this directly, perhaps with the help of local bilinguals who knew Arabic? After all, as we have already noted, the circumstances were propitious: there had been contact with Arabic-speaking visitors and settlers for many centuries in all the conquered areas, although mainly outside the cities. It may well be that, immediately after the conquests, ephemeral forms of "kitchen" or "pidgin" Arabic arose as monolingual tradesmen and farmers struggled to do business with the new arrivals in the circumscribed contexts of buying, selling, and the daily round; but, in the towns at least, which is where the Arabs in Egypt and Syria were mainly concentrated and rapidly became settled in considerable

¹² See also the discussion of evolving Arabic dialects in Al-Jallad 2009:529-530 and 2013.

numbers, there is every reason to suppose that, out of sheer self-interest if nothing else, the local townsmen would have set about learning to speak Arabic back to Arabs as it was spoken to them.”

Besides the possibility of a mixed language community before the Dibba wars, the Kumzari language may have arisen in the years immediately following 633 out of necessity among two surviving language communities isolated on Musandam. Despite it being “virtually impossible to chart the historical development of diglossia with any certainty in any area of the Arabic-speaking world” (Holes 2006:1935), in the case of Kumzari, at some point a situation of balanced bilingualism (Aikhenvald 2006:52) must have emerged. Mixed languages are known to arise in such contexts: either a mixed linguistic group in northern Oman before Islam “with mixed households accompanying the formation of new ethnic identities” (Matras & Bakker 2003:14), or upon the flight of the Shihhi after the Dibba wars: “through rapid acculturation leading to the adoption of a hybrid group identity” (Matras & Bakker 2003:14). The new mixture subsequently becomes “used as a native language, independently of speakers’ knowledge of any of its source or ancestor languages” (Matras & Bakker 2003:2). For Kumzari people today, language persists as a large part of their identity as a separate ethnic group; elders are steadfast in pointing out that their language is neither Persian nor Arabic. The majority of the population, including women, children, and older people, do not speak any other language.¹³

Unlike other mixed languages (Bakker 1997: 8-10,133; Mous 2003:10,86), Kumzari does not use code-switching or parallel lexicon with source languages. There is not a lesser or greater degree of mixing among the speech of different groups; rather, the language is uniformly mixed in a standard across the community of speakers.

In mixed languages, despite it being counter-intuitive to the outside observer, borrowed patterns are as common as borrowed forms (Aikhenvald 2006:40). Often both grammar and lexicon are split between the two etymological sources. In fact, this distinguishes mixed languages from creoles: while phonological similarities and loan words indicate language contact, mixed languages bear the traces of intense interaction in fundamental morphological changes and whole lexical categories being overtaken (Bakker 1997:11,194). In Kumzari this is certainly the case, with post-verbal and ‘double’ negation,¹⁴ emphatic phonemes, adjectives, and deverbs resembling Arabian (Arabic or South Arabian), and SOV constituent order and simple verbs and pronouns following Middle Persian forms (Simeone-Senelle 1997:406).

The survival of Kumzari as a language over many centuries points to a balance of influence from its source languages in a bilingual or multilingual environment (Aikhenvald 2006:49),

¹³ That is, until children go to school, a system that has been in place for only two generations.

¹⁴ Structures such as the post-constituent negative demonstrate the probability that certain information has been integrated from Iranian vocabulary into Semitic grammar, not vice versa, due to the tendency of mixed languages to utilise “the most ‘natural’ way of combining lexicon and grammar from two different source languages, i.e. in such a way that the subcomponents do not require much adaptation compared to their parent languages” (van Gijn 2009:93). van Gijn explains that mixed elements of ‘intertwined’ languages have “unit-meaning correspondence, i.e.: if a unit (noun root, verb root, etc.) functions in a relatively independent way in both parent languages in the sense that it is not highly dependent on or requires grammatical information in order to be interpretable, it can more easily be integrated into a foreign grammatical structure” (van Gijn 2009:93; see Post-constituent negation §10.1.1).

at least in its formative period; later, its persistence may be understood in light of the relative geographical isolation and challenging habitat of Musandam, among other factors.

The hypothesis that best explains the known facts of Kumzari, both historically and in the present context, and from both external and internal sources, is that the community represents some mixture of people that fled the battles of Dibba in 633 AD. With the shift of power in the mid-7th century from a balance of Azdi and Sasanian to northern Arab, refugees from Oman would have had to leave or go into hiding. In any event, adapting to their new geographic and social context would have been essential to their vitality.

1.4 The present study

The purpose of the present study is to examine the grammar of this little-known language and to discover its internal structure, with the ultimate aim of clarifying its position with regard to surrounding languages. By including Kumzari discourse and the poetics of oral literature, this study was also meant to be a state of the art for grammar writing, particularly for the description of the languages of oral societies. The object of this work is a reference grammar of the Kumzari language, including more detailed description of those properties of the language that are rarer or less understood. The present analysis has value for comparative studies, with Iranian languages, especially those of Middle Persian provenance, or in the Southwestern family, or geographically adjacent languages of the Gulf; as well as with the South Arabian languages and adjacent Semitic languages and dialects of northern Oman, about which much is being learned through current research.¹⁵

Field research was purposefully carried out according to ethnographic principles, in order to situate the grammatical analysis in its proper cultural environment. This entailed that fieldwork took place in situ, with native speakers, and using natural texts rather than elicitation as far as possible. Informants were of all ages, occupations, genders, and residences. Hypotheses were subjected to verificational grammatical tests (slot sentences, back-translation, clause correction, open-ended questions, context scenaria) and analyses were confirmed with native speakers.

Following a two-week field trip in 2006, fieldwork was carried out by the author during extended periods of residence in the fishing village of Kumzar and the date oasis town of Khasab in 2007-2010. Initial research yielded evidence that Kumzari has preserved a tradition of folktales, thus the *tiskān* genre was chosen as the subject of study for the basis of the grammar. Tiskans were chosen as a focus because of their status as a universal and prototypically Kumzari-language oral tradition, their elaborate and well-preserved nature among an expert class of elder storytellers, and their pervasive natural occurrence in informal social settings. Language data and examples in this study are taken from recorded and transcribed folktales and from field notes.

Since fieldwork was carried out primarily in Oman, the present study refers to Kumzari and not to the Laraki variety spoken in Iran. Most facts apply to Laraki; known divergences as observed during the author's short period of fieldwork on Larak Island are noted in the text.

¹⁵ See the Special Session on South Arabian Languages of the *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies* 2013, forthcoming.

Methodologically, this research follows Hymes' model of the ethnography of communication, using anthropological field methods in the study of language: "The essential method... is simply persistence in seeking systematic co-variation of form and meaning. The spirit of the method is 'structural' in the sense of Sapir's linguistics, 'emic' and 'ethnographic' in the sense of concern for valid description of the individual case" (Hymes 2004:10).

2 Phonology

Kumzari has eight vowels and twenty-eight consonants. The tables of vowels (Table 2) and consonants (Table 3) below give the phonemic inventory of Kumzari. Table 10 at the end of this chapter shows IPA¹⁶ correlates of the forms: the conventions for vowels and consonants written in phonemic script used in this book, and in the Kumzari writing system¹⁷.

2.1 Vowels

Table 2. Vowel phonemes in Kumzari

	front	central	back
high	ī		ū
	i		u
mid	ē		ō
low		a ā	

Kumzari has eight vowel phonemes: five long vowels /ī/ /ū/ /ē/ /ō/ /ā/ and three short vowels /i/ /u/ /a/. Phonetically, the three short vowels have a mid-centralised quality (and in the case of /a/ [ɐ], toward close) as compared to their long counterparts. In fact, the short *i* and short *u* alternate with both high and mid long vowels in some environments. There are no vowel sequences in Kumzari. Two vowels are always separated by at minimum a glide or glottal stop, even when cliticised. Examples given below phonemically begin with a vowel, but phonetically all vowel-initial words in fact begin with a glottal stop, e.g. [ʔi:ʃu:] ‘living’, [ʔu:ʃu:] ‘kindling’, [ʔe:lɪŋg] ‘bracelet’, etc.

The phoneme /ī/ is a long close front unrounded vowel [i:], as in the word *īšū* ‘living’.

The phoneme /ū/ is a long close back rounded vowel [u:], found in the word *ūrū* ‘kindling’.

The phoneme /ē/ is a long mid front unrounded vowel [e:], represented in the word *ēling* ‘bracelet’. Its allophone is [e] as in *sāhenē* ‘powdered sardines’.

The phoneme /ō/ is a long mid back rounded vowel [o:], as in the word *ōl* ‘mountain peak’.

The phoneme /ā/ is a long open central unrounded vowel [a:], shown by the word *ād* ‘silent’.

The phoneme /i/ is a short near-close centralised front unrounded vowel [ɪ], that is in the word *illit* ‘dirty’. It has an allophone [ʊ] as in [gɪsm]/[gʊsm] ‘I have taken’.

The phoneme /u/ is a short near-close centralised back rounded vowel [ʊ], represented by the word *uff* ‘blowing’.

The phoneme /a/ is a short near-open central unrounded vowel [ɐ], found in the word *atta* ‘wet’. It is nasalised in one word: *ā’ā* ‘no’ and in morphemes shortened from a nasal consonant, e.g. *pāšumbur* ‘Thursday’ from *panj* + *šumbur* ‘five’ + ‘day of week’.

Phonemic contrast between closely related vowels is demonstrated in the following pairs:

¹⁶ International Phonetic Alphabet

¹⁷ The Kumzari writing system was developed by phonologist Erik Anonby in 2009 at the behest of Kumzari community representatives and leaders, and the resulting alphabet chart given in a report to Sultan Qaboos University, Muscat.

/i/ and /ī/	<i>išōwō</i> ‘tonight’ <i>īšū</i> ‘living’
/u/ and /ū/	<i>umr</i> ‘age, soul’ <i>ūmat</i> ‘sardine’
/a/ and /ā/	<i>aft</i> ‘seven’ <i>āf</i> ‘short pants’
/ū/ and /ō/	<i>ūd</i> ‘oud’ <i>ōd</i> ‘knock’
/ī/ and /ē/	<i>īran</i> ‘Iran’ <i>ērarağ</i> ‘Bream (fish species)’

2.2 Consonants

Twenty-eight consonants are distinguished in Kumzari. They are listed in Table 3; their phonetic values are described in §2.2.1 and following sections below.

Table 3. Consonant phonemes in Kumzari

	labial (-dental)	alveolar	velarised alveolar	(alveo-) palatal	velar	uvular	pharyngeal	glottal
stop/affricate	p b	t d	ṭ ḍ	č j	k g	q		ʔ
fricative	f	s	š ẓ	š		x ġ	ħ	h
nasal	m	n						
approximant	w	l r	ɭ	y				

The Kumzari consonant inventory is drawn from both of its heritage languages,¹⁸ including the Persian sounds /p/, /č/, and /g/¹⁹, as well as a set of emphatics reminiscent of Semitic: velarised alveolars /ṭ/, /ḍ/, /š/, /ẓ/, and /ɭ/, uvular /q/, and pharyngeal /ħ/. Non-emphatic counterparts are attested for all of the alveolars except /z/, which is always velarised, including in words of Indo-European²⁰ origin, e.g. *rōz* ‘day’, *ẓwān* ‘tongue’, *rēz* ‘pour’. Emphatics occur even in words derived from non-Semitic sources, e.g. *širx* ‘red’, *ṭāzağ* ‘freshness’, *pānda* ‘fifteen’, *bōš* ‘kiss’, *ṭahl* ‘bitter’, *čāz* ‘lunch’, *tēz* ‘sharp’.

Like Bakhtiari, Baluchi, and Mamasani Luri²¹, Kumzari has a bilabial velar approximant /w/, rather than /v/ as in New Persian spoken in Iran, e.g. *wēkil* ‘guardian’ cf. Persian *vakīl*; *wēzīr* ‘government minister’ cf. Persian *vazīr*. The same phoneme can correspond to /b/ of Persian²², as in *swak* ‘lightweight’ cf. Persian *sabok*; *wustin* ‘pregnant’ cf. Persian *ābestān*; *šaw* ‘night’ cf. Persian *šab*. Like Shihhi Arabic (Bernabela 2011:26) and some South

¹⁸ The term ‘heritage language’ refers to Kumzari’s ancestral languages: Middle Persian and a Semitic language (see Classification §1.2.1).

¹⁹ These are also found in Gulf Arabic (Holes 1984:8-9, Holes 1990:260ff).

²⁰ The term ‘Indo-European’ is used throughout this book to refer to origins that are thought to be Persian but not necessarily a specific variety of that family of languages; see further explanation of the term in the list of abbreviations.

²¹ Specifically, Bakhtiari and Mamasani Luri also have labio-dental allophones of /w/ (cf. Jahani & Korn 2009:645-646; Lorimer 1922:16-17; MacKinnon 2011).

²² Skjærvø 2009:201

Arabian languages (Simeone-Senelle 1997:381-382²³), Kumzari does not have certain sounds as are found in Classical or north-central peninsular Arabic varieties: voiced pharyngeal fricative [ʕ] and interdental fricatives [θ], [ð], and [d̪].

Uniquely for the wider region, but like Shihhi Arabic (Bernabela 2011:23-25) and the South Arabian languages Mehri and Hobyot (Simeone-Senelle 1997:383), the Kumzari /r/ is a retroflex approximant [ɻ]. In certain environments outlined below, /r/ is realised as an alveolar or retroflex flap or as a trill.

Kumzari's retention of phonological elements from both ancestor language families is further evidence of its identity as an entirely mixed language. In languages with high proportions of borrowings, loanwords are adapted to the existing language's phonological system (Bakker 1997:10). Kumzari phonology, in contrast, is not wholly copied from either of its predecessors.

All consonants are found in word-initial position, where they are contrastive. Listed below are consonants in morpheme-initial onsets.

p	<i>pā</i>	'foot, leg'
t	<i>tā</i>	'one'
ʈ	<i>ṭāma</i>	'commission'
k	<i>kāra</i>	'mouth'
q	<i>qāba</i>	'shirt'
'	<i>'ā</i>	3S.ANA (anaphoric pronoun)
b	<i>bā</i>	'armspan'
d	<i>dāmar</i>	'groom'
ḍ	<i>ḍālum</i>	'tyrant'
g	<i>gā</i>	'bull'
č	<i>čādir</i>	'bedsheets'
j	<i>jā</i>	'barley'
f	<i>fālaj</i>	'water channel'
s	<i>sā</i>	'now'
ʃ	<i>šābun</i>	'soap'
š	<i>šā</i>	3PL.EMPH
x	<i>xāna</i>	'marriage'
z	<i>zā</i>	'give birth'
ǧ	<i>ǧāna</i>	'jaw'
ḥ	<i>ḥāra</i>	'quarter (of a city)'
h	<i>hā</i>	'yes?'
m	<i>mā</i>	'month'
n	<i>nābī</i>	'gull sp.'
l	<i>lābit</i>	'certainly'
ʎ	<i>aʎla</i>	'God'
r	<i>rā</i>	'way'
w	<i>wā</i>	'woe'
y	<i>yā</i>	'this'

²³ Soqotri does not have interdentals; in Harsusi and Dhofar Mehri the voiced pharyngeal fricative is marginal.

2.2.1 Stops and Affricates

The phoneme /p/ is a voiceless bilabial stop [p] represented by the word *pāk* ‘clean’.

The phoneme /b/ is a voiced bilabial stop [b] as in the word *bukr* ‘firstborn’.

The phoneme /t/ is a voiceless alveolar stop [t] seen in the word *tak* ‘date syrup basket’.

The phoneme /d/ is a voiced alveolar stop [d] exemplified in the word *dōl* ‘mast’.

The phoneme /k/ is a voiceless velar stop [k] seen in the word *kaf* ‘sole (of foot), palm (of hand)’.

The phoneme /g/ is a voiced velar stop [g] represented by the word *gōz* ‘walnut’.

The phoneme /q/ is a voiceless uvular stop [q] seen in the word *qōq* ‘tantrum’. The segment *q* was rare or non-existent in Middle Persian (Skjærvø 2009:200), but some modern Iranian languages and dialects retain it (Windfuhr & Perry 2009:423; McCarus 2009:592; Paul 2009:547). While Kumzari has kept all instances of *q* from Old Arabic or Semitic, in adjacent Shihhi Arabic, *q* is often spirantised intervocalically to a fricative (Bernabela 2011:24), as it is in standard New Persian.

The phoneme /t̪/ is a voiceless velarised alveolar stop [t̪] represented by the word *tāf* ‘twenty-four-hour gale’. It contrasts with the voiceless non-velarised alveolar stop /t/ [t]: *tēr* ‘bird’, *tēra* ‘way’.

The phoneme /d̪/ is a voiced velarised alveolar stop [d̪]; it is represented by the word *ḍaby* ‘oryx’. It contrasts with the voiced non-velarised alveolar stop /d/ [d]: *ḍalama* ‘being maligned’, *darama* ‘curing with medicine’.

The phoneme /t͡ʃ/ is a voiceless palato-alveolar affricate [t͡ʃ] as found in the words *čāf* ‘shore’ and *čap* ‘paddle’. Among younger speakers and those under more influence from Arabic, this phoneme is sometimes realised as /š/ [ʃ], e.g. *čihhī* / *šihhī* ‘Shihhi [Arab ethnic group]’, *čupš* / *šupš* ‘lobster’, *pāčar* / *pāšar* ‘raised half-deck (boat)’.

The phoneme /d͡ʒ/ is a voiced alveopalatal affricate [d͡ʒ] as in the word *jāmağ* ‘man’s undershirt’.

Several stops and fricatives have irregular dialectal alternations: [b] ~ [g]: [ʔʷboɪd̪ə] ~ [ʔʷgoɪd̪ə] ‘sheer strake’, [p] ~ [b] ~ [f]: [ʔʷe:pɪl̪əʁ] ~ [ʔʷe:bɪl̪əʁ] ~ [ʔʷe:fil̪əʁ] ‘wooden chest’ and [ʔ] ~ [h]: [hɪɟk] ~ [ʔɪɟk] ‘dry’.

2.2.2 Fricatives

The phoneme /f/ is a voiceless labiodental fricative [f] as found in the word *fīmē* ‘black dolphin’.

The phoneme /s/ is a voiceless alveolar fricative [s] represented by the words *salq* ‘large boat sp.’ and *sist* ‘loose’.

The phoneme /š/ is a voiceless alveopalatal fricative [ʃ] represented by the word *šubr* ‘handspan’. It is in alternation with the affricate /t͡ʃ/ [t͡ʃ]: *šarrax* / *čarrax* ‘straddled’.

The phoneme /x/ is a voiceless uvular fricative [χ] seen in the word *xall* ‘seaweed’.

The phoneme /ğ/ is a voiced uvular fricative [ʁ] seen in the word *ğas* ‘post’.

The phoneme /s̪/ is a voiceless velarised alveolar fricative [s̪] represented by the word *šawz* ‘green’. It contrasts with the voiceless non-velarised alveolar fricative /s/ [s]: *šām* ‘handle’, *sāma* ‘heaven’.

The phoneme /z̪/ is a voiced velarised alveolar fricative [z̪] represented by the word *zīn* ‘thief’. It has no non-velarised counterpart in Kumzari.

2.2.3 Nasals

The phoneme /m/ is a voiced bilabial nasal [m] as in the word *muxx* ‘head’.

The phoneme /n/ is a voiced alveolar nasal [n] represented by the words *nām* ‘name’ and *nēt* ‘charity food’. There is insufficient evidence to regard the velar nasal [ŋ] as a phoneme

distinct from /n/, since it occurs only before voiced and voiceless velar stops /g/ [g]: *dang* [dæŋg] ‘cyst’ and /k/ [k]: *linkit* [lɪŋkɪt] ‘finger’.

2.2.4 Laterals

The phoneme /l/ is a voiced alveolar lateral approximant [l] represented by the words *lupp* ‘marrow’ and *langal* ‘anchor’.

The marginal phoneme /l̥/ is a voiced velarised lateral approximant [l̥] represented by the word *afalla* ‘blessing’. It occurs infrequently, and exclusively in words of Semitic origin. It contrasts with the voiced non-velarised lateral approximant /l/ [l]: *waʔa* ‘or’, *walama* ‘readying’.

2.2.5 Approximants

The phoneme /w/ is a voiced labial-velar approximant [w] shown by the word *waqt* ‘time’.

The phoneme /r/ is a retroflex alveolar approximant [ɻ] represented by the word *raff* ‘niche’. It has the following allophones:

Following a long vowel, the alveolar approximant may be pronounced as not retroflexed [ɻ]:

kōr [ko:ɻ] ‘whale’

brār [bɪa:ɻ] ‘brother’

sūr [su:ɻ] ‘wedding’

It may be pronounced as a flap rather than as an approximant; that is, as a retroflex alveolar flap [ɽ] after a stop in an onset cluster:

krāh [kɽa:h] ‘sandal’

brišt [bɽɪʃt] ‘cooked’

drāz [dɽa:zʷ] ‘length’

and as a non-retroflex alveolar flap [r] after a short vowel:

kara [ˈkərə] ‘time’

nēgura [ˈne:ɡərə] ‘two days ago’

As a geminate, it is a non-retroflex alveolar trill [r̥r̥]:

mirr [mɪrr̥] ‘myrrh’

barra [ˈbər̥r̥ə] ‘outside’

qarraş [ˈqər̥r̥əsʷ] ‘mosquito’

The phoneme /y/ is a voiced palatal approximant [j] seen in the word *yirz* ‘long-handled axe’.

2.2.6 Pharyngeal

The phoneme /ħ/ is a voiceless pharyngeal fricative [ħ] as in the word *ħabb* ‘seed’. It contrasts with the voiceless glottal fricative /h/: *ħazza* ‘wrapping’, *ħazza* ‘angry’, and is more common than *h* across the lexicon. Kumzari words of Semitic origin retain pharyngealisation of *ħ*, e.g. *ħuwwil* ‘spring migration’, *ħaqq* ‘justice’, *ħazana* ‘sad’.

2.2.7 Glottals

The phoneme /ʔ/ is a glottal stop [ʔ]; an example is in the word *ʔaʔa* ‘no’. The glottal stop can occur in any position in a word: *ʔōzar* ‘sail’, *bʔām* ‘thumb’, *ābāʔ* ‘trap fish’, *daʔbar* ‘chatter’, *āʔilit* ‘family’, *paʔn* ‘wide’. The minimal pair *qarra* ‘admit’, *qarʔa* ‘gourd’ sets it out as a separate phoneme. The glottal stop is inserted epenthetically between two vowels at

a morpheme boundary, e.g. *hajabē'ō* ‘tholepin [boat]’, and as a word-initial consonant preceding a vowel, e.g. *'ēbē* ‘woman’s black cloak’. In words borrowed from Semitic, the glottal stop [ʔ] is generally retained, e.g. *s'āl* ‘question’. It is also the reflex in Kumzari for Semitic-origin words with the voiced pharyngeal fricative [ʕ], as in the words *arafa* ‘knowing’ [ʕərəf] > [ʔərəfə], *wa'rit* [wəʔɪt] ‘stiflingly hot place’ cf. Old Arabic [wəʕr], *zara'a* ‘cultivating’ [zərəʕə] > [zʔərəʔə]. Among some Kumzari speakers, the glottal stop [ʔ] is the reflex for the glottal fricative [ħ] in words of Indo-European origin, e.g. *ba'tar* ~ *bātar* < *behtar* ‘better’. In the Laraki dialect, the glottal stop has shifted to the glottal fricative /h/ [ħ] in all positions, e.g. Lrk. *kahnağ* Kmz. *ka'nağ* ‘old, worn out’.

The phoneme /h/ is a voiceless glottal fricative [ħ] seen in the word *hē* ‘yes’. This phoneme is rare; usually in words of both Semitic and Indo-European origin the sound has been diachronically replaced with a voiceless glottal stop [ʔ], e.g. Kmz. *la'aba* ‘roaring (fire)’ cf. Arabic *lihīb*, Kmz. *ṭā'ir* ‘purify’ cf. Arabic *ṭaḥer*. In at least one word it became pharyngealised [ħ]: *qāḥwē* ‘coffee’. Where it occurs, which is for the most part in ideophones and synchronic borrowings, the voiceless glottal fricative has a breathy quality. The phoneme /h/ is more widely established in the Laraki dialect, e.g. Lrk. *hātiš* Kmz. *ātiš* ‘fire’, where it may also occur instead of a glottal stop as a word-initial consonant preceding a vowel, e.g. Lrk. *hāmad* [ħa:məd] ‘come:3sREAL’ (cf. Kmz. [ʔa:məd]).

2.3 Consonant distribution

Most consonants are attested in all positions in a word. Exceptions in each category tend to be peripheral phonemes, glottals, and semivowels. In the following sections consonants are laid out as they appear in word-final position, intervocalically, then in clusters (initial and second consonant in an inset cluster, and initial and second consonant in a coda cluster), in word-internal sequences, and as geminates.

2.3.1 Consonants in word-final position

All consonants except the peripheral phonemes /h/ and /l/ are attested in word-final position in the data.

p	<i>čap</i> ‘paddle’
b	<i>kasib</i> ‘livelihood’
f	<i>ṭāf</i> ‘head rope of fishing net’
t	<i>mast</i> ‘tired’
ʈ	<i>maqfaʈ</i> ‘trap’
d	<i>qad</i> ‘dimension’
ɖ	<i>ḥaɖɖ</i> ‘lucky’
č	<i>gačč</i> ‘mortar’
j	<i>tāj</i> ‘crown’
s	<i>xus</i> ‘dear’
ʃ	<i>šaxʃ</i> ‘person’
z	<i>tēz</i> ‘sharp’
š	<i>gōš</i> ‘ear’
k	<i>tak</i> ‘date syrup basket’
x	<i>lēx</i> ‘fishing net’
g	<i>mayg</i> ‘shrimp’
ğ	<i>muğ</i> ‘date palm’
ʾ	<i>na</i> ‘nine’

h (not attested in this position)

ḥ *lōḥ* ‘wood’

q *rīq* ‘throat’

m *gīm* ‘bait’

n *qarn* ‘horn’

l *gil* ‘dirt’

l̥ (not attested in this position)

r *šīr* ‘milk’

w *taw* ‘illness’

y *say* ‘traditional fish net’

2.3.2 Intervocalic consonants

All consonants occur intervocalically:

p *zēpilaḡ* ‘wooden chest’

b *adaba* ‘suffering’

f *adafa* ‘injuring’

t *sakata* ‘silent’

ṭ *naḡaṭa* ‘shaking’

d *qādaḥ* ‘container’

ḍ *aḍalat* ‘muscle’

č *kāčak* ‘underarm’

j *šaja* ‘a’ ‘support’

s *šakasa* ‘cutting’

ʃ *naʃara* ‘winning’

z *ṭāzaḡ* ‘fresh’

š *drīša* ‘window’

k *adaka* ‘worn out’

x *kašaxa* ‘super’

g *wālagō* ‘deck hatch (boat)’

ḡ *sabaḡa* ‘decorating’

’ *qaša* ‘a’ ‘tipping over’

h *fahama* ‘understanding’

ḥ *saḡara* ‘enchantment’

q *alaqa* ‘hanging’

m *ramaqa* ‘winking’

n *fanana* ‘super’

l *qalaba* ‘turning over’

l̥ *waḡa* ‘or’

r *amara* ‘sealing’

w *adawa* ‘avoidance’

y *rayaḡa* ‘resting’

2.3.3 Consonant clusters and sequences

One factor contributing to Kumzari’s unique phonological structure is its lack of restrictions on sonority in consonant clusters. Many of the examples in the lists below violate the sonority sequencing principle. This distinguishes Kumzari from Persian, Bakhtiari, and standard Arabic, which do not allow initial consonant clusters. Even adjacent Shihhi Arabic limits initial consonant clusters to a few with increasing sonority (i.e. the second consonant is a semivowel, liquid, or nasal) (Bernabela 2011:40-41). One of Kumzari’s presumed ancestor languages, Middle Persian, did allow initial consonant clusters.

The following sections list examples for each phoneme as initial and second consonants in onset clusters and initial and second consonants in coda clusters.

2.3.3.1 Initial consonants in onset clusters

All consonants other than /h/, /l/, /w/, and /y/ occur in the initial position of an onset cluster. A possible reason that the exceptions are not attested in this position in the data is that these are peripheral consonants and glottals or glides. As a first component the consonant phonemes form the following onset clusters:

p	<i>pxūn</i> ‘approaching rain’
b	<i>blind</i> ‘high’
f	<i>flīta</i> ‘wick’
t	<i>twām</i> ‘pair of twins’
ṭ	<i>ṭyāh</i> ‘sardine season’
d	<i>dnān</i> ‘tooth’
ḍ	<i>ḍlaḡ</i> ‘sock’
č	<i>črā</i> ‘lamp’
j	<i>jwān</i> ‘good’
s	<i>sbō</i> ‘week’
ʃ	<i>ʃnāfē</i> ‘Streaked Rabbitfish’
z	<i>zlaḡ</i> ‘sock’
š	<i>šdūd</i> ‘ongoing rain showers’
k	<i>klīl</i> ‘key’
x	<i>xlēsī</i> ‘tuna sp.’
g	<i>gdar</i> ‘wall’
ḡ	<i>ḡbēb</i> ‘light cloud’
ʾ	<i>ʾmēd</i> (a fish species)
ḥ	<i>ḥkum</i> ‘judgment’
h	(not attested in this position)
q	<i>qraḥ</i> ‘bald’
m	<i>mrād</i> ‘reason’
n	<i>ntōr</i> ‘treats’
l	<i>lbān</i> ‘frankincense’
l̥	(not attested in this position)
r	<i>rkāḥ</i> ‘sandal’
w	(not attested in this position)
y	(not attested in this position)

2.3.3.2 Second consonants in onset clusters

All consonants except the marginal phoneme /l̥/ can be found as the second unit in an onset cluster:

p	<i>spēr</i> ‘white’
b	<i>qbēl</i> ‘sardine net’
f	<i>xfēf</i> ‘cheese sp.’
t	<i>ftāq</i> ‘hernia’
ṭ	<i>mṭār</i> ‘label’
d	<i>mdallē</i> ‘coffeepot’
ḍ	<i>xḍārī</i> ‘taupe’
č	<i>pčāl</i> ‘soiled’
j	<i>mjūm</i> ‘metal stud’

s	<i>ḥsēb</i> ‘calculation’
ṣ	<i>rṣāṣ</i> ‘bullet’
ẓ	<i>rẓāq</i> ‘provisions’
š	<i>ršēš</i> ‘neem tree’
k	<i>mkabb</i> ‘cone’
x	<i>sxaḥya</i> ‘concealing, concealment’
g	<i>ngāl</i> ‘headdress rings’
ğ	<i>šğā</i> ‘robust’
’	<i>m’āš</i> ‘salary’
h	<i>dhōr</i> ‘decade’
ḥ	<i>ṣḥabba</i> ‘loving’
q	<i>mqābalit</i> ‘meeting’
m	<i>qmāṭ</i> ‘swaddling’
n	<i>ẓnān</i> ‘dish’
l	<i>klīl</i> ‘key’
! (not attested in this position)	
r	<i>mrū</i> ‘chicken’
w	<i>nwāxa</i> ‘ship captain’, <i>ḥwēl</i> ‘chatter’
y	<i>xyār</i> ‘cucumber, zucchini’

2.3.3.3 Initial consonants in coda clusters

As the initial consonant of a coda cluster, only /č/²⁴ is not attested in the data:

p	<i>kapš</i> ‘sheep’
b	<i>sabğ</i> ‘dye’
f	<i>ṣufr</i> ‘copper’
t	<i>fitr</i> ‘thumb– index finger span’
ṭ	<i>iṭr</i> ‘perfume’
d	<i>qadr</i> ‘amount’
ḍ	<i>ḥaḍḍ</i> ‘luck’
č (not attested in this position)	
j	<i>ijr</i> ‘good deeds’
s	<i>jisr</i> ‘bridge’
ṣ	<i>uṣb</i> ‘stomachache’
ẓ	<i>ğuzr</i> ‘depth’
š	<i>gišr</i> ‘coral’
k	<i>rikd</i> ‘corner’
x	<i>nixn</i> ‘finger/toe nail’
g	<i>wagz</i> ‘tip of palm frond midrib’
ğ	<i>šiğl</i> ‘things’
’	<i>ra’d</i> ‘thunder’
h	<i>fahd</i> ‘cheetah’
ḥ	<i>ṭaḥl</i> ‘bitterness’
q	<i>ṣuqr</i> ‘osprey’
m	<i>jumr</i> ‘ember’
n	<i>ūling</i> ‘traditional small waterpipe’
l	<i>xilq</i> ‘crowd’
!	<i>jīlṭ-milṭ</i> ‘stark naked’ (cf. <i>jaḷaṭa</i> ‘skinned, skinning [an animal]’)

²⁴ It is probably not attested as an initial consonant in a cluster because it is already phonologically composite [tʃ].

r	<i>urq</i> ‘root’
w	<i>kawl</i> ‘wind’
y	<i>rayb</i> ‘yoghourt’

2.3.3.4 Second consonants in coda clusters

In the second position of a coda cluster, all consonants except /h/ and /w/ occur in the data.

p	<i>asp</i> ‘horse’
b	<i>jēlumb</i> ‘side, moiety’
f	<i>saqf</i> ‘ceiling’
t	<i>waqt</i> ‘time’
ʈ	<i>faxʈ</i> ‘thigh’
d	<i>sard</i> ‘cold’
ɖ	<i>arɖ</i> ‘land’
č	<i>čarč</i> ‘charged (battery)’ (English loan presumed to be via Gulf Arabic)
j	<i>trinj</i> ‘citron’
s	<i>kups</i> ‘mound’
ʃ	<i>čupʃ</i> ‘lobster’
z	<i>luğz</i> ‘riddle’
š	<i>kapš</i> ‘sheep’
k	<i>mišk</i> ‘mouse’
x	<i>muxx</i> ‘head’
g	<i>xāyg</i> ‘egg’
ğ	<i>rişğ</i> ‘wrist’
ʔ	<i>qišʔ</i> ‘deep-water fish habitation’
h (not attested in this position)	
ħ	<i>ʃulħ</i> ‘peace’
q	<i>xabq</i> ‘small hole’
m	<i>lahm</i> ‘body’
n	<i>sinn</i> ‘net anchor’
l	<i>faql</i> ‘Porcupine fish’
ɭ	<i>aʃɭ</i> ‘origin’
r	<i>giʒr</i> ‘carrot’
w	<i>mʃaww</i> ‘barnacle’
y	<i>sōnty</i> ‘raft’

2.3.4 Word-internal consonant sequences

There are no apparent restrictions on word-internal consonant sequences; that is, contiguous consonants across a syllable boundary. Even combinations of consonants which are not attested in onset or coda clusters are possible in a sequence. Below is a selection of potential sequences.

<i>šawħaʈ</i>	‘whale’
<i>bahlul</i>	‘Potato Grouper (fish species), small stage’
<i>ħaylō</i>	‘swing’
<i>qar’a</i>	‘squash’
<i>madwax</i>	‘pipe (smoking)’
<i>ka’nağ</i>	‘old, worn out’
<i>ʃaħra</i>	‘desert’
<i>ğēlbū</i>	‘winning’
<i>bağğa</i>	‘self-congratulations’
<i>axča</i>	‘gold’

qāḥwē ‘coffee’
kan’ad ‘fish sp.’

2.3.5 Geminates

Most consonants may form geminates. When a suffix is added, the second consonant in the geminate joins the following syllable. Not attested as geminates in the data are /ʔ/ /ǧ/ /h/, likely due to the phonetic difficulty of doubling final glottals.

p	<i>lupp</i> ‘marrow’
b	<i>dubb</i> ‘bear’
f	<i>laff</i> ‘bandage’
t	<i>jitt</i> ‘corpse’
ṭ	<i>buṭṭ</i> ‘duck’
d	<i>sadd</i> ‘dam’
ḍ	<i>ḥaḍḍ</i> ‘luck’
č	<i>gačč</i> ‘mortar’
j	<i>ḥijj</i> ‘the Hajj pilgrimage’
s	<i>ḥiss</i> ‘voice’
ṣ	<i>ǧaṣṣ</i> ‘peg, post’
z	<i>mzizz</i> ‘very salty food’
š	<i>gišš</i> ‘shard’
k	<i>čikk</i> ‘little’
x	<i>dixx</i> ‘smoke’
g	<i>bugg</i> (proper name of a wadi in Kumzar)
ǧ	(not attested in this position)
ʔ	(not attested in this position)
h	(not attested in this position)
ḥ	<i>gaḥḥ</i> ‘watermelon’
q	<i>ruqq</i> ‘shallow water’
m	<i>gumm</i> ‘fist’
n	<i>sinn</i> ‘net anchor’
l	<i>nall</i> ‘faucet’
l̥	<i>aḷḷa</i> ‘God’
r	<i>girr</i> ‘heedlessness’
w	<i>daww</i> ‘yoghourt drink’
y	<i>sayy</i> ‘lift up’

2.4 Syllable structure

The types of syllable structure in monomorphemic Kumzari words are these:

CV

CVV²⁵

CVC

CVVC

CVCC

CVVCC

CCVV

CCVVC

²⁵ VV represents a long vowel.

CCVCC
CCVVCC

2.4.1 Syllable shapes in monosyllabic words

The minimal syllable shape in monosyllabic words consists of a consonant and a short vowel (CV):

na 'not'
ka 'right away'
pi 'from'
wa 'and'

or a short vowel between two consonants (CVC):

dil 'heart'
kaf 'palm, sole'
gil 'dirt'

or a long vowel with a consonant before (CVV):

bā 'armspan, curse'
čō 'well'
jā 'barley'

or a glottal stop or other consonant plus a long vowel with a consonant after (CVVC):

*ōl*²⁶ 'mountain peak'
āw 'water'
ēl 'cardamom'
lēx 'fishing net'
dūš 'date syrup'
xōx 'peach'

or a consonant plus a vowel followed by two consonants (CVCC):

maql 'myrrh'
binj 'thigh'
tafš 'vile'
bukr 'firstborn'

or a consonant, long vowel, and two consonants (CVVCC):

qāpt 'white fish sp.'
ḥāwš 'destruction'

Longer syllables of a single morpheme are:

²⁶ Word-initial glottal stops are not written in Kumzari.

CCVV

xwā ‘salt’
drō ‘lie (untruth)’

CCVC

stağ ‘date pit’
qraḥ ‘bald person’

CCVVC

ṭyāḥ ‘sardine season’
ršēš ‘neem tree’
qbīb ‘narrow’
pxūn ‘approaching rain’

CCVCC

mṣaww ‘barnacle’
brinz ‘rice’

CCVVCC

stārg ‘star’

Monosyllabic words with short vowels must be closed syllables; monosyllabic words with long vowels can be open or closed syllables:

<i>sağ</i> ‘dog’	<i>sā</i> ‘now’	<i>sāq</i> ‘tree trunk’
<i>pis</i> ‘son’	<i>pī</i> ‘camel fat’	<i>pīš</i> ‘date palm leaf’
<i>muxx</i> ‘head’	<i>mū</i> ‘hair’	<i>mūl</i> ‘totally’
<i>par</i> ‘feather’	<i>pā</i> ‘foot, leg’	<i>pāk</i> ‘clean’

2.4.2 Syllable shapes in multisyllabic words

Because of the rule about consonant clusters separating at syllable boundaries (see below), syllable shapes are much more limited in multisyllabic words. Syllables beginning with two consonants (CC) are found only in the initial syllable of single-morpheme words, and syllables ending in two consonants (CC) occur only in the final syllable of single-morpheme words.

The following word-initial syllable shapes are attested in multisyllabic words:

CV	<i>fu.rī</i> ‘clever goat’
CVV	<i>dā.drō</i> ‘short dhow sp.’
CVC	<i>nux.rit</i> ‘nose’
CVVC	<i>rās.tağ</i> ‘straight direction’
CCVV	<i>škē.zī</i> ‘evening wind’
CCVC	<i>qbay.lī</i> ‘hospitable’
CCVVC	<i>qbāy.wā</i> ‘a little while ago’

Kumzari multisyllabic words have only three word-internal syllable shapes:

CV	<i>ē.ra.rağ</i> ‘bream (fish)’

CVV	<i>daḡ.bē.rit</i> ‘thick, dusty haze’
CVC	<i>di.mis.tan</i> ‘winter’

Word-final syllables of only five shapes are found in Kumzari multisyllabic words:

CV	<i>qyā.sa</i> ‘opinion’
CVV	<i>čir.ba.sē</i> ‘slide, slippery rock used as slide’
CVC	<i>buk.rit</i> ‘newborn goat’
CVVC	<i>bur.qēb</i> ‘bull shark, small stage’
CVCC	<i>bar.zung</i> ‘cradle’

Words with more than three syllables are confined to ideophones, suspected compounds or borrowed words:

CVC.CVC.CVV.CVC	<i>innikdūnik</i> ‘in a flash’
CV.CV.CVV.CVC	<i>balalīyit</i> ‘vermicelli noodles’
CVV.CVC CVV.CVC	<i>hēnis wēnis</i> ‘anyone’
CV.CV.CVC.CV	<i>baladiyya</i> ‘garbage’
CVC.CVC CV.CV.CVC.CV	<i>qambab garagumba</i> ‘fish sp.’

2.5 Non-segmental phenomena

When morphemes are added to a word the new shape complies with syllable limitations through processes of assimilation, insertion, deletion, or resyllabification. Several processes may occur in the same word.

2.5.1 Assimilation

Words ending in the vowels *ū* and *ī* assimilate to their consonantal counterparts *w* and *y* when a suffix is added:

<i>rū</i> ‘face’	<i>rūw-ē</i> ‘a face’
<i>quḥū</i> ‘cough’	<i>quḥw-ē</i> ‘a cough’
<i>mū</i> ‘hair’	<i>mūw-ē</i> ‘a hair’
<i>gēdū</i> ‘water-pipe’	<i>gēdw-ē</i> ‘a water-pipe’
<i>qrādī</i> ‘bull shark’	<i>qrādy-ē</i> ‘a bull shark’
<i>kabī</i> ‘stay joint (boat)’	<i>kaby-ē</i> ‘a stay joint (boat)’
<i>qōṭī</i> ‘tin can’	<i>qōṭy-ē</i> ‘a tin can’
<i>ḥawlī</i> ‘billy goat’	<i>ḥawly-ē</i> ‘a billy goat’

This rule extends to the enclitic subordinator *ā*; on *ā* following a back vowel an epenthetic *w* is inserted, and on *ā* following a front vowel an epenthetic *y* is inserted:

(1) B54

wa	bang-ō	wā
if/when	dusk –the	SUB
‘At dusk,’		

(2) K177

sā āw txōr-in pi ḥasy-ō wā
 now water drink:IMPF-3p from pool -the SUB
 ‘Now drinking water from the pool,’

(3) B382

pi yē čikk-ē yā
 from 3s little.bit -a SUB
 ‘In a little while,’

(4) R697

ba dist asrē yā
 to hand left SUB
 ‘To the left-hand side,’

Vowels in syllables adjacent to an added suffix may change to conform to the added suffix. In the case of the definite –ō, for example, *i* may be lowered to *ē*:

<i>nuxrit</i> ‘nose’	<i>nuxrēt-ō</i> ‘the nose’
<i>battil</i> ‘dhow’	<i>battēl-ō</i> ‘the dhow’
<i>maglis</i> ‘court’	<i>maglēs-ō</i> ‘the court’
<i>maddit</i> ‘while’	<i>maddēt-ō</i> ‘the while’
<i>bukrit</i> ‘newborn goat’	<i>bukrēt-ō</i> ‘the newborn goat’

and *a* raised and *u* lowered to *ō*:

<i>langal</i> ‘anchor’	<i>langōl-ō</i> ‘the anchor’
<i>dar</i> ‘door’	<i>dōr-ō</i> ‘the door’
<i>masbaḥ</i> ‘shower’	<i>masbōh-ō</i> ‘the shower’
<i>xānağ</i> ‘house’	<i>xānōğ-ō</i> ‘the house’
<i>bap</i> ‘father’	<i>bōp-ō</i> ‘the father’
<i>maḥbax</i> ‘kitchen’	<i>maḥbōx-ō</i> ‘the kitchen’
<i>dastur</i> ‘bowsprit’	<i>dastōr-ō</i> ‘the bowsprit’
<i>čum</i> ‘eye’	<i>čōm-ō</i> ‘the eye’
<i>ğambur</i> ‘niche’	<i>ğambōr-ō</i> ‘the niche’

In a single-syllable word, *i* is backed to *u* to assimilate to the definite suffix –ō:

<i>jism</i> ‘body’	<i>jusm-ō</i> ‘the body’
<i>rikd</i> ‘corner’	<i>rukḍ-ō</i> ‘the corner’
<i>sinn</i> ‘net anchor’	<i>sunṇ-ō</i> ‘the net anchor’

In the case of the short vowel in the final syllable being deleted, words of the form *maCCēCit* undergo a second process of lowering the *ē* to *a*, in order to lighten the syllable that now has a final consonant cluster:

<i>maqbērīt</i> ‘grave’	<i>maqbart-ō</i> ‘the grave’
<i>matrēqīt</i> ‘bobbin’	<i>matraqt-ō</i> ‘the bobbin’
<i>madrēsīt</i> ‘school’	<i>madrast-ō</i> ‘the school’

Consonants may assume the voicing qualities of consonants that are joined to them due to prior phonological processes. In the following word, the final short vowel is deleted when a suffix is added, causing devoicing of *b* to *p* next to *t*:

zēribit ‘goat pen’ *zēript-ō* ‘the goat pen’

Similarly, the addition of a suffix to the following word causes the form with an etymologically latent *k* to appear and the devoicing of *d* to *t* before *k*:

mard ‘man’ *martk-ō* ‘the man’

2.5.2 Insertion

An epenthetic vowel is added to alveolar-final verb roots²⁷ before the realis suffix *-d* and the perfect suffix *-s*. As shown in Table 4 and Table 5 below, verb roots ending in a single consonant take *u*, while verb roots ending in a consonant cluster take *ī* and the second consonant of the cluster is transferred to the suffix syllable.

Table 4. Verb roots with final single consonant and epenthetic *u*

verb root	gloss	realis <i>-d</i>	perfect <i>-s</i>
<i>dōz</i>	‘sew’	<i>dōzud</i>	<i>dōzus</i>
<i>kēš</i>	‘pull’	<i>kēšud</i>	<i>kēšus</i>
<i>gnūn</i>	‘believe’	<i>gnūnud</i>	<i>gnūnus</i>
<i>pōr</i>	‘fly’	<i>pōrud</i>	<i>pōrus</i>
<i>rāy</i>	‘be able’	<i>rāyud</i>	<i>rāyus</i>

Table 5. Verb roots with final consonant cluster and epenthetic *ī*

verb root	gloss	realis <i>-d</i>	perfect <i>-s</i>
<i>turs</i>	‘fear’	<i>tursīd</i>	<i>tursīs</i>
<i>gird</i>	‘go around’	<i>girdīd</i>	<i>girdīs</i>
<i>amš</i>	‘sweep’	<i>amšīd</i>	<i>amšīs</i>
<i>fōšn</i>	‘sell’	<i>fōšnīd</i>	<i>fōšnīs</i>
<i>ābn</i>	‘close’	<i>ābnīd</i>	<i>ābnīs</i>

2.5.3 Deletion

In verb roots ending in *r*, the *r* may be dropped before the realis suffix *-d* and the perfect suffix *-s*.

Table 6. Verb roots with *r* deletion

verb root	gloss	realis <i>-d</i>	perfect <i>-s</i>
<i>ambār</i>	‘load’	<i>ambād</i>	<i>ambās</i>
<i>xōr</i>	‘eat’	<i>xōd</i>	<i>xōs</i>
<i>gir</i>	‘take’	<i>gid</i>	<i>gis</i>
<i>ēnar</i>	‘hide’	<i>ēnid</i>	<i>ēnis</i>
<i>wār</i>	‘bring’	<i>wād</i>	<i>wās</i>

In some cases, the *r* is dropped before the perfect *-s* but retained as a flap (lenition) in the realis in the place of *-d*.

²⁷ Nasal- and liquid-final verb roots that are not deleted in realis and perfect forms also generally take an epenthetic vowel.

Table 7. Verb roots with *r* deletion and retention

verb root	gloss	realis – <i>d</i>	perfect – <i>s</i>
<i>būr</i>	‘become’	<i>būr</i>	<i>būs</i>
<i>dār</i>	‘give’	<i>dār</i>	<i>dās</i>
<i>ōdur</i>	‘hold on’	<i>ōdur</i>	<i>ōdus</i>

The imperfect prefix *t-* is deleted before alveolar-initial verb roots.

Table 8. Verb roots with *t* deletion

verb root	gloss	imperfect <i>t-</i>
<i>dān</i>	‘know’	<i>dān</i>
<i>jōr</i>	‘ask’	<i>jōr</i>
<i>sō</i>	‘put’	<i>sō</i>

The weak initial consonant *w* in verb roots tends to be deleted when the verb takes the imperfect prefix.

Table 9. Verb roots with *w* deletion

verb root	gloss	realis – <i>d</i>	perfect – <i>s</i>	imperfect <i>t-</i>
<i>wāt</i>	‘want’	<i>wātud</i>	<i>wātus</i>	<i>tāt</i>
<i>wašt, wēl</i>	‘let’	<i>wašt</i>	<i>wašt</i>	<i>tēl</i>
<i>wār</i>	‘bring’	<i>wād</i>	<i>wās</i>	<i>tār</i>

In initial position in an unstressed word such as the third-person singular pronoun *yē*, following a short-vowel-final word the semivowel *y* may be elided:

ba yē ‘to it’ > *bē*
pi yē ‘from it’ > *pē*
inda yē ‘inside it’ > *indē*

2.5.4 Resyllabification

There are no phonemic syllabic consonants. When an affix or enclitic is added to a morpheme with a consonant cluster, the final consonant joins the affixed syllable:

CVCC	<i>bukr</i> ‘firstborn’	CVC.CVV	<i>bukr -ō</i> ‘the firstborn’
CCVCC	<i>čuḡl</i> ‘thing’	CCVC.CVV	<i>čuḡl -ē</i> ‘a thing’
CVCC	<i>išk</i> ‘dry’	CVC.CVC	<i>išk =in</i> ‘they are dry’

In words of Semitic origin with the source prefix *mu-*, if the syllable following *mu-* has a long vowel or a geminated coda, the *u* is deleted, the *m* becoming part of the initial consonant cluster in the Kumzari word:

mḥāfiḍ ‘governor’
mrād ‘reason’
mqaşş ‘scissors’
mşaww ‘barnacle’

2.5.5 Multiple processes

In many cases, several phonological processes occur with the addition of a suffix in keeping with phonotactic constraints. Rigid stress and syllable rules govern vowels in Kumzari words.

When a suffix is added, penultimate syllable stress is maintained through vowel changes, insertions, and deletions.

All three processes occur in the following word: raising and fronting of the *a* to *ē*, deletion of the *i*, and insertion of an epenthetic *u*:

tarqīt ‘wedding poem’ *tēruqt-ō* ‘the wedding poem’

In a process of resyllabification, when labial-initial verb roots are prefixed with the imperfect *t-*, the verb root vowel becomes an epenthetic vowel inserted after the prefix, stress shifts to the prefix, and the verb root vowel is rounded to *u*:

verb root	gloss	imperfect <i>t-</i> verb stem
<i>bēr</i>	‘carry’	<i>tē-bur</i>
<i>mān</i>	‘stay’	<i>tā-mun</i>
<i>mēš</i>	‘look at’	<i>tē-muš</i>
<i>mur</i>	‘die’	<i>tu-mur</i>
<i>pōr</i>	‘fly’	<i>tō-pur</i>

In an open syllable, a final short *a* may inherit stress and be lengthened when a suffix is added to the word:

<i>kahraba</i> ‘electricity’	<i>kahrabā-ō</i> ‘the electricity’
<i>lumba</i> ‘sea urchin’	<i>lumbā-ō</i> ‘the sea urchin’
<i>nwāxa</i> ‘ship captain’	<i>nwāxā-ō</i> ‘the ship captain’
<i>sandaqa</i> ‘goat pen’	<i>sandaqā-ō</i> ‘the goat pen’

or the final vowel may be deleted:

<i>tēra</i> ‘way’	<i>tēr-ō</i> ‘the way’	<i>tēr-ē</i> ‘a way’
<i>xumba</i> ‘clay storage jar’	<i>xumb-ō</i> ‘the clay storage jar’	<i>xumb-ē</i> ‘a clay storage jar’
<i>zīla</i> ‘bailing bucket’	<i>zīl-ō</i> ‘the bailing bucket’	<i>zīl-ē</i> ‘a bailing bucket’

In a closed syllable adjacent to an added suffix, a short vowel may be either lengthened:

<i>surban</i> ‘roof’	<i>surbān-ō</i> ‘the roof’
<i>ṣafṣuf</i> ‘sparrow’	<i>ṣafṣūf-ō</i> ‘the sparrow’
<i>nišbīl</i> ‘fishing line’	<i>nišbīl-ō</i> ‘the fishing line’
<i>intaḥ</i> ‘sun’	<i>intāḥ-ō</i> ‘the sun’
<i>ḥambul</i> ‘newborn’	<i>ḥambūl-ō</i> ‘the newborn’

or deleted:

<i>linkit</i> ‘finger’	<i>linkt-ō</i> ‘the finger’
<i>qāwīl</i> ‘trader’	<i>qāwl-ō</i> ‘the trader’
<i>gōsin</i> ‘goat’	<i>gōsn-ō</i> ‘the goat’
<i>jinjāwir</i> ‘master sorcerer’	<i>jinjāwr-ō</i> ‘the master sorcerer’
<i>ḥējub</i> ‘eyebrow’	<i>ḥējb-ō</i> ‘the eyebrow’

Similar processes are found in the South Arabian languages (in Mehri the definite prefix is *a-* or *ḥə-*):

Mehri Kumzari	gəzáyɾət jəzɾit	a-gzáyɾət jēzɾt-ō	‘the island’ (Rubin 2010:69) ‘the island’
Mehri Kumzari	bəḵār bāqara	a-bḵār bāqarā-ō	‘the cows’ (Rubin 2010:69) ‘the cow’
Mehri Kumzari	məsgēd muzgīt	a-msgēd muzgēt-ō	‘the mosque’ (Rubin 2010:70) ‘the mosque’
Mehri Kumzari	fəɾōḵ famfōxit	ḥə-frōḵ famfōxt-ō	‘the flocks, the camps’ (Rubin 2010:70) ‘the goose egg (swollen bump)’
Mehri Kumzari	səlōb salah	ḥə-slōb slāḥ-an	‘the weapons’ (Rubin 2010:71) ‘the weapons’

Table 10 sets out the phonemic writing system used in this book and their equivalents in the Arabic-based Kumzari script²⁸ and in the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA).

²⁸ As developed by Erik John Anonby in conjunction with and approved by the Kumzari community, March 2009.

Table 10. Kumzari sounds, transcription, and writing system

IPA	phonemic transcription	Kumzari script
p	p	پ
b	b	ب
t	t	ت
d	d	د
tʰ	tʰ	ط
dʰ	dʰ	ض
k	k	ک
g	g	چ
q	q	ق
ʔ	ʔ	ء
tʃ	tʃ	ٹ
dʒ	dʒ	ج
f	f	ف
s	s	س
sʰ	sʰ	ص
zʰ	zʰ	ظ
ʃ	ʃ	ش
χ	x	خ
ʁ	ʁ	غ
ħ	ħ	ح
ɦ	ɦ	ہ
m	m	م
n	n	ن
w	w	و
l	l	ل
ɭ	r	ر
ɭʰ	ɭʰ	ل
j	y	ي
i:	ī	ي
u:	ū	و
e:	ē	ي
o:	o	و
a:	ā	ا
ɪ	i	ي
ʊ	u	و
ə	a	و

3 Noun

3.1 Noun: Introduction

Nouns in Kumzari prototypically express time-stable concepts. They can be inflected for definiteness and number, and may be derived to form items of other word classes. Nouns can function as the head of a noun phrase, as the subject or object of a clause, as a modifier in a possessive noun phrase, or as the complement of a prepositional phrase or of a predicate with an existential enclitic.

3.1.1 Structural properties of nouns

3.1.1.1 Noun root structure

The noun in Kumzari consists of one, two, or three syllables.²⁹ There are sixty noun root shapes: monosyllabic nouns have ten different root shapes, disyllabic nouns have twenty-four, and trisyllabic nouns have twenty-six different root shapes.³⁰

Root shapes in monosyllabic nouns:

CVC	<i>dil</i>	‘heart’
CCVC	<i>stağ</i>	‘date pit’
CVCC	<i>čupş</i>	‘lobster’
CCVCC	<i>brinž</i>	‘rice’
CVV	<i>jā</i>	‘barley’
CCVV	<i>črā</i>	‘lamp’
CVVC	<i>čāf</i>	‘beach’
CCVVC	<i>ğmūt</i>	‘gills’
CVVCC	<i>qāpʈ</i>	‘white fish sp.’
CCVVCC	<i>stārg</i>	‘star’

Root shapes in disyllabic nouns :

CV.CVV	<i>furī</i>	‘clever goat’
CV.CVC	<i>bağal</i>	‘upper arm’
CVC.CV	<i>lumba</i>	‘sea urchin’
CVC.CVV	<i>farzē</i>	‘nostril-stud’
CVC.CVC	<i>nišbil</i>	‘fishing line’
CVC.CVVC	<i>burqēb</i>	‘small bull shark’
CVC.CCV	<i>sinsla</i>	‘metal chain’
CVC.CVCC	<i>barzung</i>	‘cradle’
CCVC.CV	<i>zğurda</i>	‘sheer strake (boat plank sp.)’
CCVC.CVV	<i>mdallē</i>	‘coffee pot’
CCVC.CVC	<i>qrambiş</i>	‘needlefish sp.’
CVCC.CVC	<i>sanksar</i> ³¹	‘red bream fish sp.’

²⁹ In addition, there is a single example of a quadrisyllabic noun represented in the data: CV.CV.CVC.CV *garagumba* ‘fish sp.’ This word is probably a historical compound.

³⁰ Root shapes are ordered in these lists firstly by vowel length (V before VV), secondly by syllable type (open before closed), thirdly by coda (C before CC), and fourthly by onset (C before CC).

³¹ It is rare to have three consecutive consonants in Kumzari; this form is most likely the result of a historical compound, perhaps of *sangī* ‘heavy’ + *sar* ‘head.’

CVV.CV	<i>tēxa</i>	‘goat hair rope’
CVV.CVV	<i>jīrī</i>	‘sand’
CVV.CVC	<i>lētab</i>	‘wild fig’
CVV.CVCC	<i>bālišṭ</i>	‘pillow’
CVV.CVVC	<i>dāzūd</i>	‘turmeric’
CCVV.CV	<i>twāra</i>	‘shelter’
CCVV.CVV	<i>škēzī</i>	‘evening wind’
CCVV.CVC	<i>nwāšam</i>	‘evening’
CVVC.CV	<i>jērda</i>	‘sluice irrigation’
CVVC.CVV	<i>jāzrī</i>	‘northeast wind’
CVVC.CVC	<i>kāsrit</i>	‘small drum’
CVVC.CVVC	<i>bānnāt</i>	‘tradition’

Root shapes in trisyllabic nouns:

CV.CV.CV	<i>lagana</i>	‘bowl’
CV.CV.CVVC	<i>xanaḥṭis</i>	‘sideburn’
CV.CVV.CV	<i>čigāra</i> ³²	‘cigarette’
CV.CVV.CVV	<i>tiḥādī</i>	‘rainbow runner fish sp.’
CV.CVC.CV	<i>kuruxda</i> ³³	‘old person’
CV.CVV.CVC	<i>mazāraq</i>	‘fish sp.’
CV.CVC.CVC	<i>dimistan</i>	‘winter’
CV.CVCC.CVV	<i>aruḥṭē</i>	‘smell’
CVC.CV.CV	<i>qandaḥa</i>	‘rainbow’
CVC.CV.CVV	<i>čirbasē</i>	‘slide, slippery rock’
CVC.CV.CVC	<i>silsilit</i>	‘descendant’
CVC.CVV.CV	<i>bandēra</i> ³⁴	‘flag (of ship)’
CVC.CVV.CVV	<i>tambūlī</i>	‘goat wattles’
CVC.CVV.CVC	<i>zangērīr</i>	‘slave’
CVC.CVC.CV	<i>mayšaṭṭa</i>	‘palm frond broom’
CVC.CVC.CVV	<i>purwandō</i>	‘lateen yard’
CVC.CVC.CVC	<i>kilwiskit</i>	‘date sp.’
CVV.CV.CV	<i>ḡābana</i>	‘inlet’
CVV.CV.CVV	<i>māšuwē</i>	‘skiff’
CVV.CV.CVC	<i>zēpilag</i>	‘wooden chest’
CVV.CVV.CVC	<i>šādī’it</i>	‘argument’
CCVV.CV.CVV	<i>mwāṭanī</i>	‘cherished person’
CCVV.CV.CVC	<i>mqābalit</i>	‘meeting’
CVVC.CV.CVV	<i>dīsdimī</i>	‘latter keel’
CVVC.CVV.CVV	<i>‘ēlyē’ō</i>	‘foremost portside tholepin’
CVVC.CVC.CV	<i>sīflindō</i>	‘silver eel’

3.1.1.2 Noun inflection

The Kumzari noun is optionally marked for definiteness (by the suffix *–ō*)³⁵ or indefiniteness (the suffix *–ē*), where a lack of any such suffix denotes a generic noun. Plurality is marked

³² This word’s origin is English presumed to be via Gulf Arabic.

³³ This word’s origin is probably the Persian word *kadxōdā* ‘chieftain.’

³⁴ This word’s origin is most likely Portuguese *bandeira* ‘flag.’

by the suffix *-an*, and plural nouns are by default definite, excluding an additional definiteness suffix. The Kumzari noun that is not marked for definiteness and number in this respect is similar to the Persian noun, which “may be generic and imply single or more items, whether subject, predicative complement, direct object, or other” (Windfuhr 1989:533). Kumzari nouns have neither gender nor case.

Noun suffixes are set out in the following table.

Table 11. Noun inflection

inflection	suffix	example with noun <i>bard</i> ‘stone’
(generic)	-Ø	bard ‘stone’
definite	- <i>ō</i>	bard- <i>ō</i> ‘the stone’
indefinite	- <i>ē</i>	bard- <i>ē</i> ‘a stone’
plural	- <i>an</i>	bard- <i>an</i> ‘stones’

3.1.1.3 Irregular noun inflection

Certain nouns have root forms which are shortened in generic or possessed forms, but retain their fuller forms when inflected. Table 12 attempts to enumerate these exceptional nouns and their possessed³⁶ and inflected forms.

³⁵ Although the diachronic development of the definite suffix is unknown, two potential sources are the definite article or demonstrative pronoun ‘*o* / *aw*’ as in Aramaic and Kurdish (G.Khan 2007:200-201, Rubin 2007:385), or the ‘objective’ marker *ra* / *o* as in Baluchi, Kurdish, and Persian (Axenov 2006:73, 111; Haig 2004:21).

³⁶ Noun possession and alienability are covered more completely in §3.3.

Table 12. Irregular Nouns: alternate roots, possession and inflection

noun root	generic	possessed (3s <i>yē</i>)	definite - <i>ō</i>	indefinite - <i>ē</i>	plural - <i>an</i>
<i>rōr</i> ‘child’	<i>rōr</i>	<i>rōr yē</i>	<i>rōr-ō</i>	<i>rōr-ē</i>	<i>rōr-an</i>
<i>xānağ</i> ‘house’	<i>xānağ</i>	<i>xān yē</i> ³⁷	<i>xānağ-ō</i>	<i>xānağ-ē</i>	<i>xānağ-an</i>
<i>dist</i> ‘hand’	<i>dist</i>	<i>dis yē</i>	<i>dist-ō</i>	<i>dist-ē</i>	<i>dist-an</i>
<i>zank</i> ‘woman, wife’	<i>zan</i>	<i>zan yē</i> ³⁸	<i>zank-ō</i>	<i>zank-ē</i>	<i>zank-an</i>
<i>šū</i> ‘husband’	<i>šū</i>	<i>šū yē</i>	n/a	n/a	n/a
<i>bap</i> ‘father’	<i>bap</i>	<i>bap yē</i>	<i>bōp-ō</i>	n/a	<i>bap-an</i>
<i>mām</i> ‘mother’	<i>mām</i>	<i>mām yē</i>	<i>mām-ō</i>	n/a	<i>mām-an</i>
<i>ditk</i> ‘daughter, girl’	n/a	<i>dit yē</i>	<i>ditk-ō</i>	<i>ditk-ē</i>	<i>ditk-an</i>
<i>brār</i> ‘brother’	n/a	<i>brā yē</i>	n/a	n/a	<i>brār-an</i>
<i>xwē</i> ‘sister’	n/a	<i>xu yē</i>	n/a	n/a	<i>xwē-an</i>
<i>mark</i> ‘man’ ³⁹	n/a	n/a	<i>mark-ō</i>	<i>mark-ē</i>	<i>mark-an</i>
<i>rōk</i> ‘boy’	n/a	n/a	<i>rōk-ō</i>	<i>rōk-ē</i>	<i>rōk-an</i>
<i>kōrk</i> ⁴⁰ ‘son, boy’	n/a	n/a	<i>kōr-ō</i>	<i>kōr-ē</i> / <i>kōrk-ē</i>	<i>kōrk-an</i>
<i>pis</i> ‘son’	n/a	<i>pis yē</i>	n/a	n/a	n/a
<i>xšurg</i> ‘sister-in-law’	n/a	<i>xšurg yē</i>	n/a	n/a	n/a
<i>xistar</i> ‘fiancé(e)’	n/a	<i>xistar yē</i>	n/a	n/a	n/a

Notes for Table 12: Irregular nouns

1. *bap* and *mām* do not have indefinite forms.
2. *dit* must be possessed or inflected; it cannot be generic.
3. *brār* and *xwē* must be possessed or plural; they cannot be otherwise inflected or generic.
4. *rōk*, *kōrk*, and *mark* must be inflected⁴¹; they cannot be generic or possessed.
5. *pis*, *šū*, *xšurg*, and *xistar* must be possessed; they cannot be generic or inflected.
6. *kōrk/rōk* and *pis* occur in mutually exclusive morpho-syntactic environments, and they are semantically equivalent and interchangeable, e.g. *kōrkē wā mē* ‘I have a son.’ *pis mē baž tka čāfō*. ‘My son is playing on the beach.’

3.1.2 Count Nouns

Counted items use the generic form of the noun, with the count suffix *-ta* on the number but no plural suffix *-an*:

<i>jāmal</i> ‘camel’	<i>di-ta jāmal</i>	‘two camels’
<i>bard</i> ‘stone’	<i>di-ta bard</i>	‘two stones’
<i>gōsin</i> ‘goat’	<i>di-ta gōsin</i>	‘two goats’

³⁷ *xān* ‘house’ when possessed by other than a pronoun forms a compound with its possessor, dropping the final consonant and stress, e.g. *xā hēlimē* ‘Hēlimē’s house’.

³⁸ *zan* ‘woman, wife’ when possessed by other than a pronoun forms a compound with its possessor, dropping the final consonant and stress, e.g. *za Hasnō* ‘Hasan’s wife.’ R1209 *za šāharō wa zan yē wa za šēxō*. ‘the sorcerer’s wife and his wife and the sheikh’s wife.’ Because it has a short vowel, the word can even merge with its possessor if the possessor has an initial long vowel, e.g. *zēlī* ‘Eli’s wife.’

³⁹ *mark* is the stem but because a 3-consonant cluster is disallowed in a syllable (and rare generally) the *k* only appears as part of the next syllable, i.e. when the word is inflected.

⁴⁰ the term *kōrk* is used for the most part by older speakers. Younger speakers use *rōk* in its place.

⁴¹ these words must be inflected, even when counted: they take the plural suffix (regular nouns use the generic form when counted).

<i>arma</i>	‘date’	<i>di-ta arma</i>	‘two dates’
<i>battil</i>	‘boat’	<i>di-ta battil</i>	‘two boats’

A few lexical items in the semantic domains of time and measurements, constitute exceptions to this rule, instead taking the plural suffix *-an* but no count suffix *-ta* on the number when counted:

<i>mā</i>	‘month’	<i>simā-an</i>	‘three months’
<i>rōḻ</i>	‘day’	<i>da’ rōḻ-an</i>	‘ten days’
<i>man</i>	‘bushel’	<i>āḻar man-an</i>	‘a thousand bushels’

In certain set phrases denoting the passing of time, the nouns take neither the count suffix *-ta* on the number nor the plural suffix *-an*:

<i>sāl-ē di-sāl</i>	‘a year or two’
<i>rōḻ-ē di-rōḻ</i>	‘a day or two’

Inalienable nouns⁴² take both the count suffix *-ta* on the number and the plural suffix *-an* when counted:

<i>qışr</i>	‘palace’	<i>ditā qışr-an</i>	‘two palaces’
<i>rōk-</i>	‘boy’	<i>aftā rōk-an</i>	‘seven boys’
<i>mardk-</i>	‘man’	<i>sītā mardk-an</i>	‘thirty men’
<i>kōrk-</i>	‘son’	<i>aftā kōrk-an</i>	‘seven sons’
<i>xānağ</i>	‘house’	<i>šaštā xānağ-an</i>	‘six houses’
<i>ditk-</i>	‘daughter’	<i>aftā ditk-an</i>	‘seven daughters’

In place of the count suffix *-ta*, specific humans may be counted using the marker *kas*:

(5) P536

di- **kas** wā=barra, wa si- **kas** wā=indur.
 two- PERS -ward= outside and three- PERS -ward= inside
 ‘two (**people**) outside, and three (**people**) inside.’

(6) B94

aft **kas** zank -an =im.
 seven PERS woman -PL =EX:1p
 ‘We are seven women.’

Both inanimate and animate count words may also be used pronominally, as described in §3.2 on pronouns.

3.1.3 Mass Nouns

Mass nouns refer to non-countable homogeneous composites or substances, which in the singular are collective or generic, viz. *brinḻ* means ‘rice,’ not ‘a grain of rice.’ Although they are not countable, they are measurable, e.g. *tālum brinḻ* ‘platter of rice’, and they can take such modifiers as *kawada* ‘heaps of’ and *xaylē* ‘much’ that are not applicable to either count

⁴² Alienability of Nouns is covered in §3.3.4.

nouns or nouns taking the abstract plural (see §3.1.4). Kumzari uses the plural suffix even for mass nouns to indicate abundance or constituency:

šākar	‘sugar’	šākar-an	‘much sugar’ (or many sugar cones)
brinṣ	‘rice’	brinṣ-an	‘much rice’
ḡāṣ	‘money’	ḡāṣ-an	‘many pieces of money’ P337
gil	‘dirt’	gl-an	‘much dirt’ K498
mū	‘hair’	mw-an	‘hairs’ (individual)
maxluq	‘people’	maxlōq-an	‘many people’
širx	‘gold’	surx-an	‘piles of gold, set of gold jewelry’
axča	‘gold, silver’	axča-an	‘molten gold, many gold pieces or coins’
pī	‘(camel) fat’	pī-an	‘piles of (camel) fat’
ḡēla	‘grain’	ḡēla-an	‘piles of grain’

3.1.4 *Abstract Plural*

Abstract plurals are found on certain nouns that use the plural suffix *-an* to mean not simply more than one item, but to signal plurality as a general concept, with various connotations. Although, like mass nouns, they are not countable, they differ from mass nouns in that they are generally not measureable, and their singular forms are not composite. For mass nouns, the singular form is generic, whereas for nouns taking the abstract plural, the plural form is generic. Four semantic categories of nouns take the abstract plural: temporals, weather, liquids or boundless entities, and locationals.

Commonly an abstract plural implies a state of affairs or a period of time.

īd	‘holiday’	īd-an	‘holidays’ (the time of <i>eid</i>)
šām	‘supper’	šām-an	‘suppertime’
bang	‘sunset’	bang-an	‘dusk, eventide’
dimistān	‘winter’	dimistān-an	‘wintertime’
fuṭma	‘weaning’	fāṭma’-an	‘weaning period’
sur	‘wedding’	sur-an	‘wedding celebrations’

Weather event terminology is a particular kind of ‘state of affairs’ that often takes the abstract plural. It may refer to a season or period of weather, e.g. a ‘hot spell’.

šartaḡ	‘storm’	šartaḡ-an	‘stormy weather (state)’
āfur	‘wind sp.’	āfur-an	‘windy sp. weather (state)’
bāram	‘rain’	bāram-an	‘rainy weather (season, period)’
garm	‘heat’	garm-an	‘hot weather (season, period)’
sarm	‘cold’	sarm-an	‘cold weather (season, period)’
ḡātal	‘storm’	ḡātal-an	‘stormy weather (state)’
ḡēriq	‘dry heat’	ḡēriq-an	‘hot, dry weather (state)’
kawl	‘wind sp.’	kawl-an	‘windy sp. weather (state)’

Liquids, substances, and entities that lack a periphery often take an abstract plural to signify boundlessness.

tarōk	‘darkness’	tarōk-an	‘total darkness, space’
āw	‘water’	āw-an	‘flood, sea, flowing water’

ēd	‘a pain’	ēd-an	‘pain, general painfulness’
ṣaḥar	‘desert’	ṣaḥar-an	‘endless desert’
xwēm	‘blood’	xwēm-an	‘flowing blood’

The abstract plural can connote synecdochic (part-whole) relations of a general location or time characterised by the pluralised item.

aqil	‘mountain’	aqil-an	‘mountains or a mountainous region’
muḡ	‘date palm’	muḡḡ-an	‘date palms or a date orchard or oasis’
balya	‘problem’	balya’-an	‘problems or a problematic situation’
xāyar	‘melon’	xāyar-an	‘melons or a melon garden’
ēnar	‘henna’	ēnar-an	‘bridal henna-applying evenings’

3.1.5 Vocative Nouns

Certain nouns have a vocative form. Others can be made to be vocative simply by adding a possessor.

mām	‘mother’	māma	‘O mother’	
bap	‘father’	bāba	‘O father’	bap mā ‘O our father’
dadē	‘O [my] dear’			
xuḏīnī	‘O [my] precious’			
immī	‘O my child’ / ‘O my grandmother’ (lit. from Semitic ‘my mother’)			
yaḷḷa	‘O God!’ (interjection, from Arabic)			

Occasionally the Arabic vocative particle *ya* precedes the noun for this purpose.

3.1.6 Noun Derivation

The derivational suffix *-īn-* occurs on a noun to make it into an agent of that nominal property: ‘the one who (uses *n.*)’. The same agentive-noun-forming suffix *-ān* occurs in Syriac, Akkadian, Mehri, and other Semitic languages (Rubin 2007:385). A noun with the suffix *-īn-* is itself obligatorily inflected with a definite, indefinite, or plural suffix.

jāmal	n. ‘camel’
jāmalīnō	n. ‘the camel-rider’ (i.e. the one who rides a camel)
ṭabla	n. ‘drum sp.’
ṭablīnō	n. ‘the drummer’ (i.e. the one who drums)
dirya	n. ‘sea’
diryi’īnē	n. ‘a fisher’ (i.e. one who goes to sea)
muzgit	n. ‘mosque’
muzgitīnan	n. ‘mosque-goers’ (i.e. ones who go to the mosque)

By itself *īn* is a pronoun, and is also obligatorily suffixed (see §3.2).

A semantically similar but more flexible derivational suffix is *-ī*, familiar to both Arabic and Persian. It can turn a noun into an agent or abstraction of that nominal property.

kō	n. 'mountain'
kōī	n. 'person of the mountain'
šamšīr	n. 'sword'
šamšīrī	n. 'sawfish'
drāz	n. 'long, tall thing'
drāzī	n. 'length, height'
šīrin	n. 'sweet thing'
šīrinī	n. 'sweets'

Locational or spatial nouns can take the *-ī* derivational suffix to become adjectives:

indur	n. 'inside'
indurī	adj. 'inner'
zēran	n. 'down, bottom'
zēranī	adj. 'lower' (e.g. <i>sōrō zēranī</i> 'the lower mountain peak')
bāla	n. 'up, top'
bālī'ī	adj. 'upper' (e.g. <i>qālatō bālī'ī</i> 'the upper castle')

In some cases, the *-ī* suffix turns a noun into an adverb:

šū	n. 'husband'
šūī	adv. 'as a husband' (e.g. <i>gidiš yē šūī</i> 'she took him as a husband')
qāniš	n. 'hunt'
qānišī	adv. 'hunting' (e.g. modifying the verb 'go': <i>raft qānišī</i> 'he went a-hunting')
xānağ	n. 'house'
xānağī	adv. 'at home' (e.g. <i>tanyum xānağī</i> 'I am staying home')

Nouns containing the vestigial Persian suffix *-ağ* and with the *-ī* suffix are derived from adjectives:

čēnağ	adj. 'thirsty'
čēnağī	n. 'thirst'
zindağ	adj. 'alive'
zindağī	n. 'life'
xēnağ	adj. 'funny'
xēnağī	n. 'laughter'

Normally it is adjectives which take the comparative suffix *-tar*. However, *-tar* can be found on locational nouns, and occasionally on descriptive nouns:

(7) R1181

ka sayy yē **bāla-tar** pi sar xō.
 right.away lift.up:MIR 3s top -more from head REFL
 ‘Right away he lifted it **over** his head.’

(8) G477

ništ **ēbar-tar**.
 sit:3sREAL over.here -more
 ‘He sat **closer to over here**.’

(9) R319

čik-tar raft.
 young.one -more go:3sREAL
 ‘The **younger one** left.’

(10) N22

kas **gārad-tar** pi tō na!
 no.one thief -more from 2s NEG
 ‘No one is **more of a thief** than you.’

(11) R642

yē **gap-tar-ē**.
 3s old.one -more -a
 ‘He is an **older one**.’

The noun *garm* ‘heat’ illustrates the complete set of suffixes:

garm	n.	‘heat’
garmō	n.	‘the heat’
garmtar	adj.	‘hotter’
garmağ	adj.	‘hot’
garmağī	n.	‘hotness’
garmağin	exist.	‘they are hot’ (existential clitic)
garman	n.	‘hot weather’ (abstract plural)
garmīti	adv.	‘hotly’

3.1.7 Proper nouns

Proper nouns are similar to common nouns, except that proper nouns have a tendency to use the definite suffix as part of the name. This applies both to proper nouns used for personal names and those used for place names.

jēzurtō	‘Goat Island’ (lit. ‘the island’)
tēla’ō	‘Tēla’ō’ (a mountain lake settlement)
imarātō	‘United Arab Emirates’
aṭmēō	‘Fatima’ (female name)
ḥamēdō	‘Mohammed’ (male name)
adlaō	‘Abdullah’ (male name)

Some female personal names, and some place names, rather than –ō use –ē as a suffix, which is perhaps a vestigial feminine ending.

ēšē	‘Aisha’ (female name)
hēlmē	‘Halima’ (female name)
raṣ xēmē	‘Ras al-Khaimah’ (a city in the United Arab Emirates)

Complete personal names commonly collapse to include the short forms of family names:

aḥm-ēl-ḥassanō	< Aḥmēdō Ēlī Ḥassanō	< Aḥmad Ali Ḥassan
ḥama-brah-adlaō	< Ḥamadō Brahmēō Adlaō	< Mohammad Ibrahim Abdullah
fāṭ-sūl-ḥamed	< Fāṭmēō Sūlēmanō Ḥamed	< Faṭimeh Suleiman Ḥamed

A few traditional names of mountain-dwelling people have the ending *-kō* ‘mountain’.

ēlikō	‘Ali’
īsakō	‘Isa’

A person’s complete official name usually takes the form of a unique given name, father’s name, grandfather’s name, and tribal name, e.g. *al-Kumzarī* (with the Arabic article *al-*).

Amnē Rašid Aḥmad al-Kumzarī
Moḥammed Ḥassan Suleiman al-Šiḥḥī

Informal but popular long names, to distinguish between those with the same given names, can be taken from father or mother, an occupation, a physical descriptor, or an animal totem.

Ēlikō Šōbubō	‘Alikō + ‘fish sp.’
Maryō Ēšē	Maryam + (daughter of) Aisha
Ēl-Ḥam-Ōlō	‘Ali Ḥamed + ‘mountain peak’
Aḥm-Drāzō	Aḥmad + ‘the tall’

Among labels for culturally familiar items, such as those with semantic ties to Kumzari identity and subsistence— fish species, date stages, tides and weather, and parts of a boat—it is common for nouns to take the same morphology as personal names, e.g. the *-ō* suffix⁴³:

spārō	‘storage space beside mast on a boat’
ambarō	‘fish (bream) sp.’
sīflindō	‘eel sp.’
ḥābabō	‘small green date sp.’

3.1.8 Cardinal Numerals

Cardinal numbers are laid out in Table 13 below. Units after decimals (30, 40, 50, 60, etc.) proceed in the same manner as beyond twenty. Simple numerals, with units adjoined directly to decimals in a single word (e.g. *čārbīs* is ‘24’, literally ‘four-twenty’), are generally used up to fifty, as in the table of cardinal numerals below. Composed numerals with the coordinator *u* ‘and’ are generally used beyond fifty (e.g. *āyṣaṭ u nāčil* ‘849’). The traditional Kumzari numeral system counts up to fifty (*murr*), then begins again at one with the coordinator *u* ‘and’ (*murr u yak* ‘fifty and one’). That it is essentially a pentagesimal (base-50) numeral

⁴³ In this case the *-ō* suffix has become lexicalised so that these words can additionally take the definite *-ōl*/indefinite *-ē* suffixes.

system is confirmed in the difficulty of eliciting numbers beyond fifty or the more frequent resorting to composed numerals beyond fifty (e.g. ‘sixty-two’ is more often said as *šaṣ u dō* rather than *dišaṣ*) by native speakers. Over a century ago, Jayakar noticed that Kumzari had different notation for numerals over fifty and those up to fifty (Jayakar 1902:273).

Table 13. Cardinal numerals

Numeral	Cardinal	Numeral	Cardinal	Numeral	Cardinal
1	<i>yak</i>	18	<i>āyda</i>	80	<i>aštad</i>
2	<i>dō</i>	19	<i>nōḏda</i>	90	<i>nōwud</i>
3	<i>sō</i>	20	<i>bīs</i>	100	<i>ṣaṭ/ ṣa</i>
4	<i>čār</i>	21	<i>yakbīs</i>	101	<i>ṣaṭ u yak</i>
5	<i>pañj</i>	22	<i>dibīs</i>	200	<i>dwēs</i>
6	<i>šaṣ</i>	23	<i>sibīs</i>	300	<i>sēṣaṭ</i>
7	<i>aft</i>	24	<i>čārbīs</i>	400	<i>čāṣaṭ</i>
8	<i>ašt</i>	25	<i>pañjbīs</i>	500	<i>pañṣaṭ</i>
9	<i>nā</i>	26	<i>šašbīs</i>	600	<i>ša’ ṣaṭ</i>
10	<i>da</i>	27	<i>aftbīs</i>	700	<i>aṣṣaṭ</i>
11	<i>yāḏda</i>	28	<i>aštbīs</i>	800	<i>āyṣaṭ</i>
12	<i>dwāḏda</i>	29	<i>nābīs</i>	900	<i>na’ ṣaṭ</i>
13	<i>sēḏda</i>	30	<i>sī</i>	1000	<i>’āzar</i>
14	<i>čārda</i>	40	<i>čil</i>	100,000	<i>likkē</i>
15	<i>pāṇḏa</i>	50	<i>murr</i>	1,000,000	<i>malyūn</i>
16	<i>šāṇḏa</i>	60	<i>šaṣ</i>		
17	<i>afda</i>	70	<i>aftad</i>		

Both systems, simple and composed, are attested for cardinal numbers above twenty. The more commonly used simple system for numbers below fifty is a single word with the unit first and then the decimal (e.g. *sibīs* ‘twenty-three’). The composed system is a phrase with the decimal first and the unit linked with a coordinator (e.g. *bīs u sita* ‘twenty-three (count)’). Table 14 below gives examples of forms for simple and composed systems of numerals.

Table 14. Simple and composed systems of numerals (40s and 60s)

Numeral	Simple system	Numeral	Composed system
40	<i>čil</i>	60	<i>šaṣ</i>
41	<i>yakčil</i>	61	<i>šaṣ u yak</i>
42	<i>dičil</i>	62	<i>šaṣ u dō</i>
43	<i>sičil</i>	63	<i>šaṣ u sō</i>
44	<i>čārčil</i>	64	<i>šaṣ u čār</i>
45	<i>pāčil</i>	65	<i>šaṣ u pañj</i>
46	<i>šačil</i>	66	<i>šaṣ u šaṣ</i>
47	<i>aṣčil</i>	67	<i>šaṣ u aft</i>
48	<i>aščil</i>	68	<i>šaṣ u ašt</i>
49	<i>nāčil</i>	69	<i>šaṣ u nā</i>

Only the simple system is used for abstract counting, while both systems can be used for counting items. Table 15 below gives the linked forms for numerals as they occur in the simple system of cardinal numbers.

Table 15. Numeral units and their linked forms

Numeral	Cardinal	linked form in numerals
1	<i>yak</i>	<i>yak / yā</i>
2	<i>dō</i>	<i>daw / diwā / di</i>
3	<i>sō</i>	<i>sē / si</i>
4	<i>čār</i>	<i>čār / čā</i>
5	<i>panj</i>	<i>panj / pan / pā</i>
6	<i>šaš</i>	<i>šaš / šān / ša'</i>
7	<i>aft</i>	<i>aft/ af</i>
8	<i>ašt</i>	<i>aš / āy</i>
9	<i>nā</i>	<i>nā / na' / nō</i>

Traditionally, cardinal numbers used for abstract counting (by themselves, not counting items) acted as nouns, and all took the indefinite suffix *-ē*; (e.g. *yak-ē*, *dō'-ē*, *sō'-ē*, *čār-ē*, *panj-ē*...). This has now been simplified to only the numeral (e.g. *yak*, *dō*, *sō*, *čār*, *panj*...).⁴⁴

Like Baluchi (Axenov 2006:131), Kumzari has a numeral designating ‘one hundred thousand’: *likkē*.

Cardinal numerals are used as modifiers of a noun. Substantivised numerals can also be used independently as the head of a noun phrase, taking a definite or indefinite suffix:

(12) P453

yak-ē pi zuṭṭī-an dgō ba zan xō
 one-a from rogue-PL say:3sIMPF to wife REFL
 ‘**One** of the rogues said to his wife...’

3.1.8.1 Distributional counting

The morpho-syntax of distributional counting (‘each of them’ or ‘per’) uses reduplication of the lexical item:

(13) P300

di-ta qīṣr bēnīyit kin, **dwāḏda-ta** **dwāḏda-ta** tābaq
 two-COUNT palace building do:2sIMPER twelve-COUNT twelve-COUNT storey
 ‘Build two palaces, **each** with **twelve** floors’

(14) K524

finjan -ē **finjan -ē** amad na ba šan na.
 cup -a cup -a come:3sREAL NEG to 3p NEG
 ‘There wasn’t **a cup** for **each** of them.’

⁴⁴ Thanks to AbdulRahman Hasbāō al-Kumzārī and Erik Anonby for pointing this out.

(15) G811

laba pan- šaṭ-ta gūnī=in ō! u ar jāmal -ē ā
 approximately five- hundred-COUNT sack =EX:3p SURP and each camel -a SUB

panj -ta panj -ta sōd -in bā yē.
 five-COUNT five-COUNT put:REAL -3p on 3s

‘There were about five hundred sacks!!! And on **each** camel they put **five** [sacks].’

Kumzari occasionally borrows numeral systems or parts thereof. In particular, because Arabic is the trade language in the Musandam region, Arabic numbers may be used for counting in business transactions.

(16) P99

lalama **sitta mīya**, ba šā- šaṭ -ta.
 peddling Ar: six Ar: hundred for six- hundred -COUNT

‘They were peddling it for **six hundred**.’

3.1.8.2 Numerals in calendrical systems

Of the days of the week in Kumzari, the words for Sunday and Saturday have Semitic numeral roots (*ḥadd* ‘one’ and *sapt* ‘seven’), while the words for Monday through Thursday have Indo-European numeral roots (*du-* ‘two’, *si-* ‘three’, *ča-* ‘four’, *pā-* ‘five’).

Table 16. Days of the week

Numeral	Day	gloss
1	ḥadd	Sunday
2	dušumbur	Monday
3	sišumbur	Tuesday
4	čašumbur	Wednesday
5	pāšumbur	Thursday
6	jmāt	Friday
7	sapt	Saturday

Kumzaris also have a traditional ‘*dōrō*’ calendar, used widely in the Gulf, consisting of ten-day weeks, each week classified by predictable weather and related economic activities, e.g. good fishing, rough seas, extreme heat. The calculation of the *dōrō* calendar was essential to Kumzari subsistence cycles; for example, during rough seas when it was too stormy to fish, people relied on their stores of *ūmit* ‘dried sardines’ for sustenance, and weeks of extreme heat obliged them to sleep outdoors. Phases of the moon and tides dictated fishing conditions and patterns of wind, rain, and ocean currents. In recent years, the presence of water pollution, prolonged drought, and extraordinary algae blooms have necessitated adjustments to the calendar or outright decline in its use.

Kumzari has terms for the seasons spring, summer, fall, winter: *jōwa*, *āmin*, *šērama*, *dimistan*, and words demarcating the beginning of each season: *sar sālō*, *daymē*, *nāgrūz*, *tīrmā*. There are also terms marking the traditional cycle of migration in spring *huwwil* (from Kumzar to Khasab or Dibba) and fall *hōṭir* (return to Kumzar). The seasons do not have a numeric equivalent; however, the months of the Gregorian calendar (January, February, March, etc.) are labelled numerically in Kumzari, using the denotation ‘month one’, ‘month two’, ‘month three’, etc.: *mā yak*, *mā dō*, *mā sō*, and so on up to twelve.

3.1.9 *Distributional properties of nouns*

Nouns are syntactically and semantically the heads of noun phrases in Kumzari. They can perform the syntactic functions of :

subject: (represented by *ḥārašan* ‘the guards’)

(17) A305

ḥāraṣ-an ba gēr-ō sabara tk-in.
guard-PL of grave-the night watch do:IMPF-3p
‘**The guards** of the grave were keeping the night watch.’

direct object: (represented by *ṣirx* ‘gold’)

(18) P469

ṣirx dō-um.
gold give:IMPF-1s
‘I will give **gold**.’

indirect object: (represented by *xānağō* ‘the house’)

(19) P262

sōs-ē mē inda **xānağ-ō**.
put:PERF-3s 1s in house-the
‘He has put me in **the house**.’

complement of a predicate with existential enclitic: (represented by *ṣāḥarē* ‘a sorcerer’)

(20) B144

kana yā ā, baṣṣa-ē na, **ṣāḥar-ē** =Ø.
contrariwise this TOP beggar-a NEG sorcerer-a =EX:3s
‘This one was not a beggar; on the contrary, he was **a sorcerer**.’

direct address: (represented by *bap mā* ‘O our father’)

(21) B272

bap mā, bra mā, gid-iš yē mardk-ō wa raft!
father 1p brother- 1p take:REAL-3s 3s man-the and go:3sREAL
‘**O our father**, our brother—the man took him and left!’

adverbial complement:

Nouns function as adverbial complements especially as locations or destinations of movement verbs such as ‘go’, ‘come’, and ‘arrive’, or as modifiers of the compound verb *palla tka* ‘fill’. Kumzari directionals *barra* ‘outside’, *indur* ‘inside’, *bāla* ‘up’, *ṣēran* ‘down’, *ēbar* ‘over there’, etc. are not prepositions but nouns, which can act as complements of verbs.

(22) B429

palla yē tka aw.
 filling 3s do:3sIMPF water
 ‘He will fill it with **water**.’

(23) A325

ğōrī palla kin čā’ī.
 clay teapot filling do:MIR tea
 ‘He filled the teapot with **tea**!’

(24) A69

rēsid dbay.
 arrive:3sREAL Dubai
 ‘He arrived at **Dubai**.’

(25) R1330

kard-in yē bēw, wa gab twāra wābur ġuḡr-ō.
 drop:IMPF-3p 3s already and immediately shelter become:3sREAL depth –the
 ‘Once they had dropped him, he immediately took shelter in **the deep** [part of the well].’

(26) R947

tā ditk-ē tay bāla ā, ditk-ē šēx,
 one girl –a come:3sIMPF up SUB daughter –a sheikh

xars-an čum-an tay zēran.
 tear- PL eye -PL come:3sIMPF down
 ‘A girl came **up**, a sheikh's daughter. [Her] tears were falling **down**.’

(27) G505

qaym yē kin inča.
 standing 3s do:2sIMPER like.this
 ‘Stand it up **like this**.’

(28) R447

tō ūn-ī ba kārō’-ō ēwō.
 2s stay:IMPER -2s at gate –the here
 ‘You stay **here** at the gate.’

nominal modifier: (represented by *muğ* ‘date palm’)

(29) B656

bistan-ē muğ
 garden –a date.palm
 ‘a **date palm** garden’

head of noun phrase: (represented by *māšuwē* ‘skiff’)

(30) K63

māšuwē swuk
 skiff lightweight
 ‘lightweight **skiff**’

topic of a sentence: (represented by *bapō* ‘the father’ topicalised by *ā*)

(31) U72

bap-ō *ā,* *čō* *maglis* *šēx-ō.*
 father -the TOP go:3sIMPF court sheikh -the
 ‘As for **the father**, he would go to the sheikh’s court.’

preverbal element of light verb:

(32) S293

sā *ḥasa* **ēnar** *gis-in* *na.*
 now yet henna do:PERF-3p NEG
 ‘Now they hadn’t done **henna** yet.’

As in the example above, a noun functioning as the preverbal element of the light verb in a verb phrase is not inflected; rather it takes the generic form. This may be compared to the same noun as the subject of a clause and in a prepositional phrase, where it is inflected:

(33) S323

ēnar-an *yē* *ḡēr=in.*
 henna -PL 3s different =EX:3p
 ‘His **hennas** were different.’ [i.e. the henna on each of his hands was different from the henna on the other hand]

(34) S436

āmō *mē* *ṭālbū* *tō* *gis-ē* *ba* **ēnar-ō.**
 father-in-law 1s request 2s do:PERF-3s for henna -the
 ‘My father-in-law has requested you for [doing] **the henna**.’

3.1.10 *Nouns in Discourse*

3.1.10.1 Nouns in embedded poems

Nouns stand out as essential in the embedded poems of Kumzari tales. The same noun is repeated several times in the frame of a poem, and semantically related terms (usually also nouns) make up the list at the centre of a poem (for structure of embedded poems, see chapter 12). A typical example of a poem embedded in a tale is below: “The seven houses”. In the space of twenty seconds, the thematic noun *xānaḡ* ‘house’ is repeated twelve times in various morphological forms: generic, definite, plural, and pronominal.

(35) B313

mād *yā* *rōk-ō* *ā,*
 stay:3sREAL DEM boy -the TOP

raft *yā* *šiš* *-ta* *xānaḡ-an* *ā:*
 go:3sREAL DEM six COUNT house -PL SUB

tā *xānaḡ* *palla* *xwā,*
 one house full.of salt

tā xānağ palla ġātaf,
one house full.of rope-making.wood

tā xānağ palla nixn ādamī,
one house full.of nail person

tā xānağ palla ādamī alaqa,
one house full.of person hanging

tā xānağ palla şumr, ēmağ şumr,
one house full.of acacia firewood acacia

tā xānağ palla qiz'an,
one house full.of cauldron

ar tā-ē ya'nī ba kār-an xō.
each one -a that.is.to.say of thing -PL REFL

iş kār-ē jwān inda yē na,
any thing -a good inside 3s NEG

ğay yā xānağ-ō ar dgō ba yē rif na inda yē na.
except DEM house -the of.which say:3sIMPF to 3s go:3sIRR NEG inside 3s NEG
'He kept going, this boy,

Into **these six houses**:

One house full of salt,
One house full of rope-wood,
One house full of people's fingernails,
One house full of people hanged,
One house full of acacia, acacia firewood,
One house full of cauldrons,

Each one, I mean, had **its own** things.

There was nothing good inside **them**,

Except **that house which** he was forbidden to enter.'

3.1.10.2 Nouns in participant reference

Participant reference is a language's system of tracking of participants in a discourse to mark prominence in relation to the overall text; participants may be backgrounded or foregrounded according to which grammatical reference is used for them, from null to a full noun phrase. In the Kumzari discourse grounding scale of participant reference (reprinted below as it relates to noun phrase structure), a full noun phrase with an indefinite noun suffix has the highest prominence, followed by a full noun phrase with a definite suffix, then by pronouns. Reference is zero-morpheme for backgrounded participants and those which have been previously introduced in a text, since Kumzari verbs have obligatory pronominal verb suffixes. The use of the demonstrative *yā* or the topicalising enclitic *ā* on a definite noun further raises prominence.

Table 17. Scale of prominence/grounding by nouns in participant reference

more foregrounded (=high prominence)	
	↑
yak zank-ē	‘a woman’ (indef)
yā zank-ō ā	‘as for this woman, she’ (DEM + TOP)
yā zank-ō	‘this woman’ (DEM)
zank-ō	‘the woman’ (definite)
yē ā	‘as for her, she’ (pn + TOP)
yē	‘she’ (pron)
Ø	‘[she]’ (Ø)
	↓
more backgrounded (=low prominence)	

3.2 Pronouns

3.2.1 Personal pronouns

Kumzari has six personal pronouns, comprising the singular and plural of first, second, and third persons. There is neither dual nor gender, nor is there distinction between inclusive and exclusive. The paradigm for personal pronouns is given below. Examples follow in the same order as the table.

Table 18. Personal pronouns

person/number	pronoun
1s	mē
2s	tō
3s	yē ⁴⁵
1p	mā
2p	šmā
3p	šan

(36) S805 [first person singular]

mē zan tō=um. gid-ī **mē**.

1s wife 2s =EX:1s take:REAL -2s 1s

‘As for **me**, I am your wife. You married **me**.’

(37) S665 [second person singular]

zangērīr -an jīr -in **tō**.

slave -PL see:REAL -3p 2s

‘The slaves saw **you**.’

(38) S673 [third person singular]

sā ahla **yē** gnūnis -in na yā zank -ō wā **yē** na.

now relatives 3s believe:PERF -3p NEG this woman -the with 3s NEG

‘Now **his** relatives had not believed that this woman was with **him**.’

⁴⁵ There is also an anaphoric third-person pronoun *ān*, covered in §3.2.9.1 in this chapter.

(39) R186 [first person plural]

mār-ē! qaḥama tk -a, txōr -a **mā**.
 snake -a jumping up do:IMPF -3s eat:IMPF -3s 1p
 ‘A snake! It will jump up and eat **us**!’

(40) K117 [second person plural]

mē may -ō fōšnīs -um ba **šmā**, jō’ar -ō fōšnīs -um na ba **šmā** na.
 1s fish -the sell:PERF -1s to 2p pearl -the sell:PERF -1s NEG to 2p NEG
 ‘I have sold the fish to **you**; I have not sold the pearl to **you**.’

(41) A374 [third person plural]

samm -ō kišt -iš **šan**, samm -ē qātal.
 poison -the kill:REAL -3s 3p poison -a Qatal fish
 ‘The poison killed **them**, poison of Qatal [fish venom].’

3.2.1.1 Emphatic personal pronouns

In addition, there are emphatic pronouns for singular persons, illustrated in the following table. The emphatic pronouns consist of a prefixed vowel and a doubling of the pronoun’s initial consonant. Emphatic pronouns are not attested for plurals. As demonstrated in the examples below, emphatic pronouns are often used to contrast a pronoun with another noun.

Table 19. Emphatic personal pronouns

person/number	emphatic pronoun
1s	ummē
2s	ittō
3s	īyyē

(42) K367 [first person singular emphatic pronoun]

tō ajaba būš -ī na pi y’ā, ar asp -an insī -an
 2s amazed become:PERF -2s NEG from 3s -SUB the.one.who horse -PL humanlike -PL

wās -ē na, ajaba būr-ī pi **ummē** ā?!
 bring:PERF -3s NEG amazed become:REAL -2s from 1sEMPH INTERR
 ‘You have not been amazed by him, the one who brought the talking horses, [yet] you were amazed by **me**?’

(43) B1164 [second person singular emphatic pronoun]

tay na ba mē na. tay ba **ittō**, ya’nī.
 come:3sIMPF NEG to 1s NEG come:3sIMPF to 2sEMPH that.is.to.say
 ‘He will not come to me. That is to say, he will come to **you** [instead].’

(44) N31 [third person singular emphatic pronoun]

sā **īyyē** rāstī ṭrādē -ō ba tō ā?
 now 3s.EMPH really boat -the of 2s INTERR
 ‘Is **it** really your boat?’

3.2.2 Possessive pronouns

Noun possession by a pronoun makes use of the complete personal pronoun rather than a pronominal suffix. In the first and third persons singular, genitive forms of the pronouns (i.e. *mē* and *yē*) are used for possession. The possessive pronoun follows the possessed item:

1s	<i>xistar</i>	<i>mē</i>	‘my fiancé’	B772
2s	<i>ādamīan</i>	<i>tō</i>	‘your people’	P948
3s	<i>pāran</i>	<i>yē</i>	‘its feathers’	G260
1p	<i>brār</i>	<i>mā</i>	‘our brother’	B272
2p	<i>šēx</i>	<i>šmā</i>	‘your(PL) sheikh’	P1234
3p	<i>hawy</i>	<i>šan</i>	‘their courtyard’	P158

3.2.3 Reflexive pronoun

The reflexive pronoun in Kumzari is *xō*. It can be used as an argument of a verb, such as the direct object (as in the first example below) or indirect object (as in the second example below) when it is the same as the subject of the verb.

(45) B231

gardīd-iš *xō* tēr -ē.
turn.into:REAL-3s REFL bird -a
‘He turned **himself** into a bird.’

(46) K67

lēx xēridiš ba *xō*.
fishing.net buy:3sREAL for REFL
‘He bought a fishing net for **himself**.’

However, the pronoun *xō* has deictic functions beyond its simple reflexivity. Similarly to its use in some Kurdish languages (Haig 2004:86ff), *xō* must be used in agreement with the subject of the verb of which it is an argument.

Thus when the object or its possessor is different from the subject, pronouns take the same form as in Table 18 above. Conversely, when the object or its possessor is the same as the subject of the verb, the pronoun *xō* is obligatory. For example:

‘I say to my mother’	<i>dgōm ba mām xō</i> NOT * <i>dgōm ba mām mē</i>
‘I say to his mother’	<i>dgōm ba mām yē</i>
‘He says to his mother’	<i>dgō ba mām xō</i> NOT * <i>dgō ba mām yē</i>
‘He says to her mother’	<i>dgō ba mām yē</i>
‘She (Faṭmēō) says to her (Hēlimē’s) mother’	<i>dgō ba mām yē</i> NOT * <i>dgō ba mām xō</i>
‘You say to your mother’	<i>dgī ba mām xō</i> NOT * <i>dgī ba mām tō</i>

In the following example, the pronouns *xō* and *yē* cannot be interchanged (doing so would yield an ungrammatical sentence, or one with a different meaning).

(47) B1278

dis **xō** kēšid-iš ba čum **yē**, wa naqqad **yē** gid-iš.
 hand REFL pass.over:REAL-3s on eye 3s and healing 3s do:REAL-3s
 ‘He [the boy] passed over **his** [the father’s] eye[s] with **his** [boy’s] hand, and he [boy] healed **him** [father].’

As Haig (2004:88) explains regarding Kurdish reflexive pronouns, “even if the pronominal element occurs **before** the subject, if the coreference condition is met, then *xwe* [equivalent to Kumzari *xō*] is still required, giving rise to instances of backward control...” [emphasis original]. This is possible also in Kumzari. In the following example, the antecedent (first person singular, marked on the verb) is in fact after the reflexive:

(48) S104

pī ahla **xō** šū tāt -**um** na.
 from relatives REFL husband want:IMPF -1s NEG
 ‘From **my** relatives, **I** don’t want a husband.’

In Kumzari, the reflexive pronoun is not inflected, but retains its form for all persons and numbers. It functions syntactically like the personal pronouns, for example, occurring after the simple verb or deverb of which it is a complement.

In this example, the reflexive pronoun is a complement of the simple verb *dgardin*, thus *xō* follows the verb:

(49) B616

qadar dgard -in **xō** mār.
 some turn.into:IMPF -3p REFL snake
 ‘Some will turn **themselves** into snakes.’

In a compound verb, the reflexive pronoun is a complement of, and follows, the deverb (in the example below the deverb is *qadama*).

(50) R1022

jinjāwir -ō inča čōt ā, qadama **xō** tk -a ba **yē**.
 master sorcerer -the like this go:3sIMPF SUB advancing REFL do:IMPF -3s to 3s
 ‘The master sorcerer, going like this, he was advancing **himself** toward him.’

3.2.4 Relative pronoun

The relative pronoun *ar* ‘the one that’, used in complement clauses, and its allomorph /a/, used in restrictive relative clauses, is discussed fully in § 9.4.2.2.1. Examples of both uses of the relative pronoun are given here:

(51) A368

ar txōr -a **yē** tumr -a
 that/which/who eat:IMPF -3s 3s die:IMPF -3s
 ‘**Whoever** drinks it will die.’

(52) R150

maraha gis -in, a šaš kas -an šan.
 resting.from.travel take:PERF -3p that/which/who six person -PL 3p
 ‘They were taking a rest, **all** six of them.’

Pronominal doubling may occur in the case of the relative pronoun used for pragmatic emphasis, as shown by the contrasting pair below (the first question is neutral; the second one is blaming).

(53) N25

kī dar -ō wākis -ē ā?
 who door -the open:PERF -3s INTERR
 ‘Who has opened the door?’

(54) N26

kī **ar** dar -ō wākis -ē ā?
 who that/which/who door -the open:PERF -3s INTERR
 ‘Who is **the one who** has opened the door?’

3.2.5 Reciprocal pronouns

The reciprocal pronoun in Kumzari is *angar* ‘each other’.

(55) A117

sātē xwēm būr -in **ba angar**, brār -an angar =in.
 now blood become:REAL -3p to each.other brother -PL each.other =EX:3p
 ‘Now they became related to each other by blood, they were brothers to each other.’

The reciprocal pronoun *angar* can also be used with the preposition *wā=* to mean ‘toward each other’ or ‘all together’, and with the preposition *pi* to mean ‘from each other’.

(56) B112

wā= angar ġaraqa k -ē.
 -ward= each.other swallowing do:IMPER-2p
 ‘**All together**, swallow [them.]’

(57) R1040

falaqa wābiš **pi angar**.
 splitting become:MIR from each other
 ‘They [the two halves of the sorcerer] split **from each other**!’

3.2.6 Count and Numeral Pronouns

Numerals as well as count words alone may be used as pronouns. Numerals used in place of nouns may take a count marker, or a definite or indefinite suffix and a modifier:

(58) R33

šāš kas-an ḥarr=in.
 six PERS-PL macho=EX:3p
 ‘Six were macho.’

(59) A671

šaṭ-ta tabaqa ba rkāḥ-an pi zēran.
 hundred-COUNT sticking to shoe-PL from bottom
 ‘One hundred [gold coins] were sticking to the bottom of [his] shoes.’

(60) B328

ar tā -ē ya’nī bar kār -an xō.
 each COUNT-a that.is.to.say belonging.to thing-PL REFL
 ‘Each one, that is to say, had its own things.’

(61) B28

yak-ē dgur gid-iš.
 one-a other take:REAL-3s
 ‘He took another one.’

3.2.7 Interrogative pronouns

Interrogative pronouns are laid out in the following table.

Table 20. Interrogative pronouns

interrogative	gloss
kē	who
čē	what
giya	where
kāy	when
čāb	how
kārim	which
činta	how many
mu-	any-/ -ever (e.g. mučābē ‘however, anyhow’ mičē ‘whatever, anything’ mukē ‘whoever, anyone’ mugiya ‘wherever, anywhere’)

Like other pronouns, interrogative pronouns may replace subjects, objects, and oblique objects:

(62) B203 [interrogative pronoun as subject]

kē dgō -in rōr xō dī -im ba tō ā?
 who? say:IMPF -3p child REFL give:IMPF -1p to 2s INTERR
 ‘Who says they will give their own child to you?’

(63) B508 [interrogative pronoun as object]

bābā čē tk-ī ā?
 O father what? do:IMPF -2s INTERR
 ‘O Father, **what** are you doing?’

(64) G283 [interrogative pronoun as oblique object]

ūny -um ba kāra muḡgit ḥata **kay**?!
 sit:IMPER -1s on entryway mosque until when?
 ‘I must sit at the entrance to the mosque until **when**?!’

They may occupy the same position as the noun they replace:

(65) R881

šū tō umr yē sōs -ē **giya** ā?
 husband 2s soul 3s put:PERF -3s where? INTERR
 dgō ba yā, šū mē umr yē sōs -ē **šīša -ē**.
 say:3sIMPF to DEM husband 1s soul 3s put:PERF -3s bottle -a
 ‘ “Your husband’s soul, **where** is it kept?”
 She said to this one, “My husband’s soul, it is kept **in a bottle**.” ’

They may also move to the initial position in a clause:

(66) R108

bābā **giya** brār -an mē ā?
 O father where? brother -PL 1s INTERR
 ‘O Father, **where** are my brothers?’

The interrogative enclitic =*ā* may be appended clause-finally to indicate a question, whether with a full noun phrase, as in the first example, or an interrogative pronoun, as in the second and third examples:

(67) K481

čwān -ī čō’ -ō šaraba tk-ī ā?
 can:IMPF -2s well -the drinking do:IMPF -2s INTERR
 ‘Can you drink the well?’

(68) S343

kē ēnar gis -ē wā šmā ā?
 who? henna do:PERF -3s with 2p INTERR
 ‘**Who** did henna with you?’

(69) U95

br -um giya ā? xōr -um giya ā?
 go:IMPER -1s where? INTERR eat:IMPER -1s where? INTERR
 ‘**Where** am I to go? **Where** am I to eat?’

Interrogative pronouns may be used in relative clauses embedded in object complements:

(70) U525

filhāl, dām... čē qaymit, činta malyūn, ambād -iš yē.
 in.any.case I.don't.know:1sIMPF what value how.many million carry.off:REAL-3s 3s
 'In any case, I don't know **what** value, **how many** millions' worth, they made off with it.'

3.2.8 Pronouns in syntax

Any slot filled by a noun in Kumzari may be filled by a pronoun. Pronouns are preferred, in fact, unless a new subject is being introduced in the discourse, or there is otherwise ambiguity.

However, pronoun word order in the verb phrase differs from that of nouns. Full noun complements of a simple verb precede the verb, while pronoun complements of a simple verb follow it. In compound verbs, the same syntactic rule applies to the deverb: full noun complements precede the deverb and pronoun complements follow it. Further explanation of this rule is in §4.3 Verb Phrase.

In addition to their independent form, subject pronouns are represented by the personal verbal suffixes, and thus may be dropped in cases where they are not emphasised. In the example below, for the subject of the second line, the youngest daughter, the independent first person pronoun *mē* is used to emphasise the contrast with the older daughters.

(71) S27

gāp -an raft-in xāna ba rōr-an āmō xō.
 older.person -PL go:REAL -3p marriage with child -PL uncle.(paternal) REFL
 'The older ones married the [sons] of their uncle.'

čikk -ō dgō ba bap xō **mē** č-um na xāna na.
 young -the say:3sIMPF to father REFL 1s go:IMPF -1s NEG marriage NEG
 'The youngest said to her father, "**As for me**, I am not going to marry."

3.2.9 Pronouns in discourse

3.2.9.1 Anaphoric pronoun

In Kumzari discourse, a secondary participant is referenced by the pronoun *ān* (/ān/ or /ā/) in place of third person singular *yē*, to distinguish it from a primary participant.

(72) R1331

gab twāra wābur ġuṣr-ō.
 immediately shelter become:3sREAL deep -the
 'He immediately took shelter in the deep [part of the well].

wa ka dafana **ān** gid -in bard.
 and right away burying 3s.ANA do:REAL -3p stone
 And right away they buried **him** with stones.'

In the system of participant reference, the anaphoric pronoun *ān* is used to disambiguate the subject of reference. In the first line of the above example, the boy is the subject, and in the second line, his brothers are the subject and the boy is the object; thus *ān* is used instead of *yē*.

Unlike the resumptive pronoun function in relative clauses served by similar-appearing morphemes in Baluchi (Axenov 2006:253), Persian (Roberts 2009:259), and Sorani Kurdish (Thackston 2006:74), Kumzari *ān* is only used in discourse deixis to signal a secondary discourse participant.⁴⁶ Also unlike demonstratives in related languages, Kumzari *ān* does not involve objective reference of the physical proximity to the speaker in the real world, but rather concerns discourse reference within the text (cf. Payne 1997:264-266). That is, in contradistinction to the demonstrative in Persian, Kumzari *ān* can only be used as a pronoun, not as a modifier of a noun. The demonstrative modifiers on nouns are instead *yā* (proximal) or *yē* (distal); in the example below *yē* modifies *tēra 'ō bālī'ī* 'the upper path', but as seen below *yē* can also stand independently as a pronoun (in the example below note that when conjoined with the subordinator, the pronoun *yē* becomes *y'ā*). The difference between *ān*, the strict pronoun, and *yē*, the demonstrative modifier pronoun, is shown referencing the two paths in the example below:

(73) R705

br -in na ba **yē** tēra -ō bālī'ī na, jam rāstī na.
 go:IMPER -3p NEG on that path -the upper NEG side right NEG
 'They should not go on **that** upper path, the right-side one.

br -in ba **y'** =ā, jam asrē ā, **ān** ā, šāḥar -ē ba yē.
 go:IMPER -3p on that =SUB side left SUB 3s.ANA SUB sorcerer -a on 3s
 They should go on **that one**, on the left side; for **the other one**, a sorcerer is on it.'

3.2.9.2 Placeholder pronoun

Kumzari has a placeholder pronoun *īn-*. Morphologically, the word appears to be like the proximal demonstrative *īn* in related languages, with the Kumzari definiteness suffixes *-ō* or *-ē* or the plural suffix *-an*; however, it is not used as such separately from its pronominal role. Interestingly, *īn* does not function as a noun modifier as in Persian; in Kumzari, rather, the proximal demonstrative is *yā*. The placeholder pronoun *īn-* requires a suffix, but can be either definite or indefinite, both demonstrated in the first example below, or plural, as in the second example below. Pragmatically, a speaker uses the pronoun in place of a forgotten word, or to otherwise hesitate.

(74) U173

sātē, **īn -ē** murs-ē inda ḡēlil -ō.
 now what's-it-called -a die:PERF -3s in lagoon -the

ēka ā yā-an ā pi drāz =in ā... ḡaby -an.
 INF SUB DEM -PL SUB from long =EX:3p SUB oryx -PL

ḡāzalē-ē. ḡāzalē-ē murs-ē inda... **īn -ō**... ḡēlil -ō.
 gazelle -a gazelle -a die:PERF -3s in what's-it-called -the lagoon -the
 'Now, **a what's-it-called** had died in the lagoon. You know these ones which, that are long [antlers]... oryxes. A gazelle. A gazelle had died in **the what's-it-called**... the lagoon.'

⁴⁶ see §9.4.2.2. In Kumzari, *yē* is used as the resumptive pronoun in relative clauses.

(75) P477

byār marī't -ē, wa jayb -ē, wa **īn-an** sī-in
 bring:2sIMPER necklace -a and diadem -a and what's-it-called -PL put:IMPF-3p

inda gōš -an na... kāwašē.
 in ear -PL of.which earring

‘Bring a necklace, and a diadem, and **what's-it-calleds** which they put in the ears,... earrings.’

3.2.10 Pronouns in poetics and rhetoric

In two scenes of the tale *Pačaxčēō*, the pronouns *xō* and *yē* are cleverly juxtaposed to highlight varying ownership of semantic prototypes of male vs. female items. In the first scene, a man asks a woman to hold his things for him, on her *kūš* ‘lap’. The word *kūš* is a euphemistic term meaning lap, loins, or hips, but is a form of synecdoche as well, having connotations of the genitals and of (in this case, female) sexuality. The irony is that these are prototypically masculine possessions, usually only carried by men, yet in this instance a woman puts them on her [female] lap. The incongruity of the situation causes much hilarity among the audience, and each time the pronoun is spoken they break out in laughter. The rhetorical point would be much less effective without such a grammatical component.

(76) P693

dgō ba **yē**, “ana sayy **kūš xō**”,
 dāriš ba **yē**.
 tāfaq **xō** dāriš ba **yē**
 wa maḥzam **xō** dāriš ba **yē**,
 xātī **xō**
 wa ngāl **xō**,
 bišt **xō**,
 sōdiš **kūš xō**.

“‘Perhaps put it on **your lap**’” he told her,
 as he gave it to **her**.

He gave her **his** gun
 and he gave her **his** cartridge belt,
 his robe
 and **his** headrings,
 his cloak,
 she put them all on **her lap**.’

Multiplying pronouns in this manner is a poetic way of highlighting the ownership of each item as well as male-female identities. Repetition of the word *xō* in the list emphasises the items’ identity of possession and of maleness, foreshadowing the woman’s male disguise later in the tale. In the next example from the tale, the woman moves the items from her lap to put them on her own body, dressing as a man; in accord grammatically, since the subject is the woman, the pronoun *xō* is used for her own ‘female’ possessions, while the prototypically ‘male’ items she dons are left without any pronoun, renewing the dramatic irony. Again with the pronoun *xō*, the buzzword *kūš* ‘lap’ is mentioned, in the context of the woman taking off her female underclothes (*šalwal*) and putting on the male underclothes (*jāmağē*).

(77) P810

yā sā ran ā

ba nummaǵ ā,

xātī **xō** kēn.šalwal **xō** kēn.jāmaǵē sō **kūš xō**.qābē sō ba **xō**.xātī ārabī sō ba **xō**.

ngālō labasa kin.

kuššit **xō** dalla kin.

‘Now when that one had gone

halfway,

She put away **her** dress.She put away **her** pantaloons.She girded **her loins** with a man’s wrap.She put a man’s shirt on **herself**.She put an Arabic tunic on **herself**.

She donned the headrings.

She combed **her** long hair.’

The poetic force of the language is wielded despite Kumzari’s lack of grammatical gender, illustrating not simply lexical richness but the grammar’s vast rhetorical inventory.

3.3 Noun Phrase

3.3.1 Noun phrase: Introduction

In Kumzari, a noun is the head of the noun phrase construction. In a noun phrase with unmarked word order, demonstratives, quantifiers, and numerals precede the head noun while adjectives, topicalisers, possessors, and modifying nouns, deverbs, and participles follow it.

Because of the paucity of real adjectives, the noun phrase is flexible in allowing a noun to pair with various modifiers. A head noun can be modified in a phrase by an adjective, another noun, a participle, or a deverb.

3.3.2 Noun Phrases with modifying words

3.3.2.1 Noun + adjective

In noun phrases consisting of a noun and an adjective, the adjective follows the noun it modifies; it agrees with the noun in number but is not marked for definiteness. It does not have an *ezāfe* as in Persian, rather following the noun directly as in Arabic.⁴⁷

⁴⁷ Windfuhr (2009:28) notes that “in both Early Parthian and Middle Persian the descriptive adjective still followed the noun without linker”. Also cf. the division of languages by areal influence “in the wider context of the strictly right-branching typology of the languages to the west, represented by Semitic” (Windfuhr 2009:29).

(78) K152

asp-an insī-an
 horse –PL humanlike –PL
 ‘humanlike horses’

(79) B743

xāyar-ē xālāl
 melon –a unripe
 ‘an unripe melon’

(80) K63

māšuwē-ē swuk
 skiff –a lightweight
 ‘a lightweight skiff’

3.3.2.2 Noun + modifying noun

In noun phrases with another noun as a modifier, the modifying noun follows the head noun. Like noun + adjective phrases, the modifying noun agrees with the head noun in number but is not marked for definiteness.

(81) R953

xars-an čum-an
 tear –PL eye –PL
 ‘eye-tears’

(82) B324

ēmağ şumr
 firewood acacia
 ‘acacia firewood’

(83) U166

kō-ō sahra
 mountain-the desert
 ‘the desert mountain’

(84) B656

bistan-ē mūğ
 garden –a date.palm
 ‘a date palm garden’

A certain class of noun-like adjectives in their function as modifiers agree with the head noun in number and definiteness, but indefinite agreement is consistently not marked. This applies to noun-like adjectives such as *gap* ‘big’, *čikk* ‘little’, *banj* ‘bad’, *jwan* ‘good’, and all colour words (see chapter 6).

noun phrase agreement with the plural:

(85) G198

ğrāb-an gap-an
crow -PL big -PL
'big crows'

(86) P541

kār-an banj-an
thing -PL bad -PL
'bad things'

noun phrase agreement with the definite:

(87) B732

ditk-ō čikk-ō
girl -the little -the
'the little girl'

(88) B425

qiz'an-ō gap-ō
cauldron -the big -the
'the big cauldron'

(89) R750

tēra-ō banj-ō
path -the bad -the
'the bad path'

noun phrase indefinite agreement not marked on modifying noun-like adjective⁴⁸:

(90) G672

majma-ē jwān
word -a good
'a good word'

(91) K164

lētab-ē gap
wild.fig.tree -a big
'a big wild fig tree'

(92) B956

hawṭ-ē spēr
pool -a silver
'a silver pool'

3.3.2.3 Noun + participle

⁴⁸ Another possible interpretation is that these are predicative adjectives or gapped relative clauses with the zero-marked third-person singular existential enclitic, which have the same properties, i.e. 'a word [that] is good', 'a wild fig tree [that] is big', 'a pool [that] is silver'.

A noun phrase (in this case it is the subject of a clause) may include a noun that is modified by a perfect participle:

(93) S454

ṭāraf adliyyē-ō kaft-ē
side gown -the fall:PERF-3s
'side of the gown that had fallen'

A participle modifying a noun must agree with the noun in person and number:

(94) P573

raft wā= bāla ba ẓank-ō xwaft-ē ba sērīr-ō.
go:3sREAL -ward up to woman -the sleep:PERF-3s on bed -the
'He went up to **the woman [who] was asleep** on the bed.'

(95) A236

kaft inda yē ā, ǧis-um! iṣ ba yē tēra byā bāla na.
fall:3s REAL in 3s SUB take:PERF-1s nothing to 3s way come:IRR up NEG
'He fell into it: "**I am taken!**" There was no way for him to come up'

(96) P188

yā nēyt-an wās-in
this charity.food -PL bring:PERF-3p
'these **charity foods that were brought**'

3.3.2.4 Noun + deverb

In some cases, noun phrases are nominalisations of a deverb modifying a head noun. The deverb neither changes in form nor agrees with the head noun. It may be preferable to consider these as predicates, since they avoid distribution with lexical verbs. However, they commonly pair with a light verb in a compound verb construction, or take an existential enclitic, or function as the complement of an evidential (see §4.1).

(97) A442

jāmal-ē raxama
camel -a reclining
'a **reclining** camel'

(98) A646

šan ammū čum-an šabaka
3p all eye -PL riveted
'all of their eyes **riveted**'

(99) P94

pačaxčē-ē qafala
wooden.chest -a locked
'a **locked** wooden chest'

(100) P1099

law yē **ḥaraqa**

edge 3s sealed.with.wax

‘its edge **sealed with wax**’3.3.3 *Possession of nouns*

Kumzari does not have *ezāfe* possession marker as in Persian; instead, nouns are juxtaposed directly with their possessor, which takes the form of a noun, noun phrase, or pronoun.

(101) A180

xaṣnit-an šēx-ō

valuable –PL sheikh –the

‘the sheikh’s valuables’

(102) B945

qīṣr dit mē

palace daughter 1s

‘my daughter’s palace’

(103) S679

ēnar yē

henna 3s

‘his henna’

Unlike standard Arabic but like Kumzari, Shihhi Arabic uses separate possessive pronouns following a possessed noun (Jayakar 1902:252).

Possessed nouns are marked for number (singular or plural) but not for definiteness, being definite by default. To distinguish an indefinite possessed noun, the count suffix *-ta* or the quantifier *yak* ‘one’ are used.

asp šēx-ō	‘the horse of the sheikh’
asp-an šēx-ō	‘the horses of the sheikh’
asp šēx-an	‘the horse of the sheikhs’
asp-an šēx-an	‘the horses of the sheikhs’
yak asp šēx-ō	‘a horse of the sheikh’
asp šēx-ē	‘the horse of a sheikh’
asp-ō šēx-ō	‘the sheikhly horse’

Thus in a possession construct the possessed noun takes neither the definite suffix *–ō* nor the indefinite suffix *–ē*.

(104) B790

šang mē

comb 1s

‘my comb’

(105) P628

jāmal xō
 camel REFL
 ‘his camel’

However, a possessed noun may take the plural suffix *-an*.

(106) B747

rōr-an āmō tō
 child-PL uncle 2s
 ‘your uncle’s **children**’

(107) S797

maqṭa-an šan wa **mīšar-an** šan
 chisel-PL 3p and saw-PL 3p
 ‘their **chisels** and their **saws**’

In a plural noun with a pronoun as a possessor, the final *n* of the plural suffix is elided and the *a* of the plural suffix is lengthened, and the stress of the possessed word shifts to the normally unstressed plural suffix.

rōr Hēlmē ‘Halima’s child’
rōr yē ‘her child’
rōr’an Hēlmē ‘Halima’s children’
rōrā’ yē ‘**her children**’

The process of *n*-dropping, vowel length change, and stress shift resembles the same process in the South Arabian languages (South Arabian languages data from Simeone-Senelle 1997:386-387⁴⁹).

Table 21. Noun Possession in Kumzari and South Arabian

Kumzari	gloss	South Arabian
dit	‘girl’	ḡagēnōt’
dit’ yē	‘her girl’	ḡagēnats’
dit’k-an	‘girls’	ḡagēnūt’ən
ditkā’ yē	‘her girls’	ḡagēnat’se
brār’-an	‘brothers’	ḡwəṭ’ tə
brārā’ šan	‘their brothers’	ḡwəṭtī’ hum
dist-an	‘hands’	ḡādōtən
dist-ā’ šan	‘their hands’	ḡādōtiḡəm

A possessor noun can be marked for definiteness or plurality:

(108) S256

šēx **wālēyit-ō**
 sheikh country-the
 ‘sheikh of **the country**’

⁴⁹ Due to the limitations of the font set used here, the MSAL long ɔ has been replaced with the symbol ɕ.

(109) U203

rōr **ḡāzal-ē**
 child gazelle -a
 ‘**a gazelle** fawn’

(110) U68

xā **indirāḡ-an**
 house neighbour -PL
 ‘**neighbours’** house’

Even in a phrase with several successive nouns, only the final possessor noun is inflected for definiteness:

(111) K197

kāra xa šēx-ō
 gate house- sheikh -the
 ‘the gate of the house of **the** sheikh’

3.3.4 *Alienable and Inalienable Nouns*

In general, nouns designating body parts and kinship terms are inalienable. The inalienability property may extend to personal items carried on the body.

Alienability is both morphologically and syntactically defined.

Inalienable nouns:

1. are obligatorily possessed. For the most part they are not able to use generic, definite, or indefinite forms, and those that do have alternate roots
2. differ syntactically as complements in the compound verb

Inalienably possessed nouns nearly always occur with a possessor: a noun or pronoun. All but a few do not have generic, definite, or indefinite forms as alienable nouns do. Those that do have non-possessed forms use alternate roots for these forms, usually with an extra consonant (see Table 22 below). In contrast, alienable nouns have one root for both possessed and non-possessed forms. In two lexical pairs, *markt/šū* and *rōk/pis*, the alternate roots in each pair seem to have no relation to each other, but they are mutually exclusive, viz. one cannot be possessed and one must be possessed⁵⁰.

⁵⁰ The odd pairs *markt/šū* and *rōk/pis* become clear considering their possessed forms are only the second member, i.e., to say ‘her man’ and ‘his boy’ one must say *šū yē* and *pis yē*, respectively. The second members of the pairs must be possessed and cannot take definite, indefinite, or plural suffixes (see chapter 3).

Table 22. Alternate roots in non-possessed and possessed nouns

non-possessed root	possessed root	gloss
ditk	dit	‘girl, daughter’
zank	zan / za	‘woman, wife’
martk	šū	‘man, husband’
bapk	bap	‘father’
kōrk	kōr	‘boy’
rōr	rōr	‘child’
rōk	pis	‘boy, son’
xānağ	xān / xā	‘house’
brār	brā	‘brother’
xwē	xū	‘sister’
dist	dis	‘hand’

Data from the compound verb are revealing, since compound verbs display differing syntactic behaviours depending on whether their complements are in the form of a noun or a pronoun (see Verb Phrase*). Nouns as complements differ in position within a compound verb to reflect the syntactic rules of compound verbs: inalienable nouns follow the preverb just as pronouns do, while alienable nouns precede the preverb just as full nouns do.

In this example, the complement is the possessed inalienable noun *linkit* ‘finger,’ which follows the preverb *bağaza* ‘dipping’:

(112) B363

ka **bağaza** **linkit** **xō** **kin** inda ɣawt-ō.
 right.then dipping finger REFL do:MIR in orchard.pool -the
 ‘Right then **he dipped his finger** in the orchard pool!’

In contrast, in the following sentence the complement is the possessed noun *ğēla’an* ‘grain’, but it precedes the preverb *gadda* ‘harvesting’ in the compound verb phrase because it is an alienable noun:

(113) G108

sā kō’ī-an **ğēla-an** **xō** **gadda** **tk-in.**
 now mountain.bedouin -PL grain -PL REFL harvesting do:IMPF-3p
 ‘Now, the mountain bedouins **would harvest their grain.**’

This syntactic rule for inalienable nouns in a compound verb phrase holds even when the possessor is in the form of a noun and not a pronoun. Here the possessed inalienable noun is *gardan* ‘neck’, and it follows the preverb *qaşsa* ‘cutting’:

(114) A470

qaşsa **gardan** **jāmal-ō** **kin.**
 cutting neck camel -the do:MIR
 ‘**He cut the neck of the camel!**’

Although a few words (in the examples below, *bāp* ‘father’) are not obligatorily possessed as are most inalienable nouns, they are still governed by the syntactic rules of inalienable nouns as complements in compound verb phrases:

(115) G792

gēr bap-ō gid-in.
 burying father -the do:REAL-3p
 ‘**They buried the father.**’

(116) K389

šara’a bap-ō kin.
 approaching father -the do:MIR
 ‘**He approached the father!**’

Certain lexical items, such as personal belongings carried on the body, cross over from the alienable to the inalienable and operate on the boundary between the two categories, taking their cue from the context as to their role. In this example, the boy’s sword worn on his body is syntactically treated as inalienable in the compound verb phrase; yet elsewhere, especially when a sword is separate from its possessor, it follows the word order of an alienable noun in a compound verb phrase.

(117) B1111

abaša šamšir xō kin.
 holding sword REFL do:MIR
 ‘**He took hold of his sword!**’

Crossing over in the other direction, from the inalienable to the alienable, are rare cases in which a normally attached body part or kin is separated, for example, some hair that has been cut off from the head:

(118) K651

mū-an ḥaraqa gid-iš.
 hair -PL burning do:REAL-3s
 ‘**He burned the hairs.**’

Certain set idiomatic phrases can contain normally inalienable nouns without a possessor:

(119) R697

ba dis asrē
 to hand left
 ‘on the left-**hand** side’

(120) K341

dil-ō wā=bāla.
 heart -the -ward=up
 ‘**face up**’ [a person sleeping thus]

(121) B1231

pā ba yē
 foot on 3s
 ‘she was on **foot** [walking]’

3.3.5 *Topicalised nouns*

Topicalisation of a noun phrase is achieved by varying the word order in a clause or by using the subordinator *ā* after a noun phrase, sometimes also with the demonstrative *yā* or *yē*. When the subject of a clause is topicalised, the demonstrative + subordinator (*y'ā*) follows the noun. When it is the object of a clause that is topicalised, only the subordinator *ā* follows the noun, while the demonstrative *yā* or *yē* if it is present precedes the noun, and a pronoun (e.g. 3s *yē*) replaces the topicalised noun in its usual position in the clause (viz. after the verb).

(122) G992

xānağ-ō y'=ā, qētil-ē.
house -the DEM=SUB deadly -a
'**That house**, it's deadly.'

(123) P313

yā rōr-ō ā, pis tō fans-ē **yē**.
DEM child -the SUB son 2s send:PERF-3s 3s
'**This child**, your son has sent **her**.'

4 Verb

4.1 Deverb

4.1.1 Deverbs: Origin and Morphological Structure

Deverbs are a uniquely adaptable word class in Kumzari. Their transparent origins are in the Semitic triliteral-root verbs, realised most commonly in the form *CaCaCa* (the Arabic form of the infinitival 3rd person masculine singular perfect verb: 3^{MS}.PERF):

Semitic root	Kumzari deverb
drs ‘study, learn’	<i>darasa</i> ‘learned, learning’
fkr ‘think’	<i>fakara</i> ‘thought, thinking’
ħrq ‘burn’	<i>ħaraqa</i> ‘burned, burning’

As will be elaborated below, deverbs are lexically and morphologically similar to their Arabic counterparts, while syntactically, their function is parallel to verbs of Indo-European origin.⁵¹

Further to its *CaCaCa* form, irregular forms of deverbs follow the rule for Arabic ‘defective verbs’ and ‘geminate’ or ‘doubled verbs’. The second vowel is dropped if the third consonant is *y* (Arabic *yaa*):

<i>lağya</i> ‘talked to incessantly, talking incessantly’
<i>lawya</i> ‘curled up, curling up’
<i>xazya</i> ‘shamed, shaming’
<i>ṭawya</i> ‘wound, winding’

Or if the 2nd and 3rd consonants are the same:

<i>laffa</i> ‘bandaged, bandaging’
<i>dakka</i> ‘buried, burying’
<i>samma</i> ‘pushed, pushing’
<i>xalla</i> ‘soaked, soaking’

This process is identical to the process undergone by borrowings of Arabic triliteral-root verbs into Persian (Lambton 1974:204).

In addition, ideophonic deverbs have a tendency, like their Arabic counterparts, to reduplication of the initial *CaC* pattern, for example:

<i>qawqawa</i> ‘crowed, crowing (rooster)’
<i>ta’ta’a</i> ‘stuttered, stuttering’
<i>waswasa</i> ‘vascillated, vascillating’
<i>na’na’a</i> ‘bleated, bleating’

⁵¹ Interestingly, Al-Tajir 1982:85 notes that Bahraini Arabic (which is a Gulf dialect with Persian influence) also prefers CVCVCV forms to Standard Arabic consonant clusters in triliteral roots.

Reduplicated deverbs, when a parallel non-reduplicated deverb also exists, indicates intensified or repeated action:

<i>harra</i> ‘looked, looking’	<i>harhara</i> ‘looked around, looking around’
<i>qaṣṣa</i> ‘cut, cutting’	<i>qaṣqaṣa</i> ‘cut up into pieces, cutting up into pieces’
<i>fatta</i> ‘ripened, ripening’	<i>fatfata</i> ‘become succulent, becoming succulent’

A less common form of deverb, but the same in Arabic, is *CaCCū*, for example:

<i>rakbū</i> ‘mounted, mounting’
<i>qaṣrū</i> ‘neglected, neglecting’
<i>ṣaḥbū</i> ‘dragged, dragging’
<i>xalṭū</i> ‘mixed up, mixing up’

The deverb can take the regular comparative suffix *-tar* similarly to adjectives (lengthening of the final *a* is morphophonemic):

<i>arasa</i> ‘crushed, crushing’
<i>arasātar</i> ‘more crushed’
<i>lama’a</i> ‘shone, shining’
<i>lama’ātar</i> ‘shinier’

The morphology of Kumzari deverbs is without any verbal designations; that is, the deverb is unmarked for person, number, and gender, and has no indication of tense, aspect, mood, and mirativity, unlike verbs in Kumzari. Instead, in contexts where this information is pragmatically necessary, it is marked on the light verb of a compound verb construction (see §4.3.3. Syntactic operations are explained in §4.1.2 below).⁵²

4.1.2 Deverbs: Syntactic distribution

Syntactically, in its underived or template form, the deverb can function as a predicate in three forms.

The deverb can form an intransitive predicate with the existential enclitic:

(124) G948

ēšinan xazya=**in**
 these.ones shamed =EX:3p
 ‘these ones **are** shamed’

or a predicate in a compound with the light verb *tō’a* ‘become’⁵³:

⁵² A similar contact-induced process occurs in the mixed language Tadakshak: Songhay-origin verb roots are used as uninflected verbs or nouns, but when they are either causatives, reflexives, or passive voice, Tadakshak instead takes a Berber (Tamasheq) verbal root with the same meaning and conjugates it with Tamasheq causative, reflexive, or passive affixes (Christiansen & Christiansen 2002:8).

⁵³ cf. Wichmann & Wohlgemuth 2005:2 “light verb strategy” of loan verb integration.

(125) B737

xāyar -ē fatta **tō'-a**
 melon -a succulent become:IMPF-3s
 'a melon **is [becoming]** succulent'

or a predicate in a compound with the light verb *tka* 'do':⁵⁴

(126) B553

ṭabil -ō abaša **kin.**
 drum -the holding do:MIR
 'He **took hold** of the drum!'

As in Persian compound verbs (Megerdooomian 2002:4), the choice of light verb carries the voice property of the compound; namely, *tka* 'do' is active and *tō'a* 'become' is passive.

(127)

kōb -ō **palla tk-a.**
 cup -the filling do:IMPF-3s
 'She **is filling** the cup.' [ACTIVE]

(128)

kōb -ō **palla tō'-a.**
 cup -the filling become:IMPF-3s
 'The cup **is being filled.**' [PASSIVE]

Voice in compound verbs is explained in detail in §4.3.1.

Syntactically and semantically, the division between deverbs with an existential enclitic and deverbs with a light verb is parallel to their similarity to adjectives and verbs, respectively. For example, deverbs as intransitive predicates with the existential enclitic can take the intensifier *xaylē* 'very' like other adjectives:

Semitic deverb with 3p existential enclitic =*in* and intensifier:

jāmalan arasa'in xaylē. 'The camels are very worn out.'

Indo-European adjective with 3p existential enclitic =*in* and intensifier:

jāmalan garmağin xaylē. 'The camels are very hot.'

Conversely, deverbs occurring in a compound with the light verb function similarly to other verbs, for example, taking the word order of a simple verb phrase; that is, object complements in the form of a full noun precede the verb and those in the form of a pronoun follow the verb (see §4.3.3):

Semitic deverb with noun object (object precedes deverb):

mī'ī waza'a tka ba diryī'īnan. 'He distributes **fish** to the fishers.'

Indo-European verb with noun object (object precedes verb):

mī'ī dō'a ba diryī'īnan. 'He gives **fish** to the fishers.'

⁵⁴ Domari has a very similar strategy for incorporating Arabic verbs into the grammar: "The integration pattern for Arabic loan verbs consists of the attachment of reduced forms of the Arabic verb... to indigenous carrier verbs, which carry the verb inflection. There are two main carrier verbs," "either transitive (from *kar-* 'to do') or intransitive (from *hr-* 'to become')" (Matras 1999:37) (Matras 2006:9).

Semitic deverb with pronoun object (object follows deverb):

waza'a šan tka ba diryī'īnan. 'He distributes **them** to the fishers.'

Indo-European verb with pronoun object (object follows verb):

dō'a šan ba diryī'īnan. 'He gives **them** to the fishers.'

There is a similar distinction in certain Arabic varieties of Oman and the UAE: differential morphological marking on verbal participles depends on whether the object they govern is a noun or a pronoun (Holes 1990:48).

There is also a subtle semantic difference between the deverbs used with the existential enclitic, where they provide descriptive qualifications of a subject, and deverbs in a compound verb, where they express an action performed by the subject.⁵⁵ The examples below demonstrate the semantic variation of deverbs with different syntax:

ḥaraqa šan tka 'he burns them' [in compound with light verb *tka* 'do']

ḥaraqa tē'in 'they are being burned' [in compound with light verb *tō'a* 'become']

ḥaraqa'in 'they are burnt' [with existential enclitic]

In this context it is to be noted that with the existential enclitic, deverbs are unspecified for tense, aspect, mood, and mirativity.⁵⁶ Thus to specify TAMM, pragmatically a light verb may be employed:

ḡafala'in 'they are asleep' [deverb + existential enclitic]

ḡafala burin 'they fell asleep' [deverb + light verb and pronominal suffix]

Deverbs do not have attributive function, despite this being the common definitive parameter for adjectives, at least in European languages. Cases in which deverbs appear to modify a head noun in a noun phrase are actually gapped relative clauses (see §9.4.2.2.3) with a zero-realised 3s existential enclitic; that is, they are predicative (cf. Munro 2007:82: [discussing the disputed word class of verb-adjective in Zapotec, where the adjective class borrows lexically from Spanish] "Neutral verbs cannot be used as postnominal attributive modifiers, the way adjectives can... but must occur in relative clauses"):

(129) A442

tamna ā, jāmal-ē **raxama** = Ø inda ḥawy yē.

SENS SUB camel -a reclining =EX:3s in courtyard 3s

'He saw a camel [that was] **reclining** in his courtyard.'

Further proof of the narrow predicative function of deverbs is found in attributive-like contexts with contrasting word order (the third example is ungrammatical):

⁵⁵ This is similar to the verbal adjective in the Igbo language of Nigeria: in its adjectival function the verbal adjective implies a more-or-less permanent state while its verbal function conveys transience or process (cf. Dixon 2004:19ff).

⁵⁶ As noted in chapter 5, the existential enclitic does not specify time. Thus *ḡafala'in* means any of 'they were asleep'/'they are asleep'/'they will be asleep'. The pragmatic replacement of the existential enclitic with a light verb disambiguates the aspectual reference of a deverb as an intransitive predicate. Explicit time references may also be combined with the deverb and existential enclitic: K577 *mi dūšin ḡarra'um*. 'yesterday I was mistaken.'

jāmal nō mē ‘my new camel’ [*nō* is attributive]
jāmal mē nō ‘my camel is new’ [*nō* is predicative]
 **jāmal raxama mē* ‘my reclining camel’ [*raxama* would be *attributive]
jāmal mē raxama ‘my camel is reclining’ [*raxama* is predicative]

Whereas adjectives are bound to directly follow the noun they modify, predicates follow the entire noun phrase that is their subject.

4.1.3 *Deverbs: Other sources*

Although deverbs borrow lexical items largely from Semitic, a few are to be found from other languages:

kansala ‘cancelled, cancelling’
layaka ‘leaked, leaking’
rabaša ‘cluttered, cluttering’ (<English ‘rubbish’)
čarača ‘charged, charging’ (<English ‘charge’, e.g. battery of mobile telephone, etc.)
palla ‘filled, filling’ (<Persian ‘full’)
fanaša ‘quitting (work)’ (<English ‘finish’)

However, speakers consider these to be Arabic, and at least some of them are borrowings presumably via Gulf Arabic rather than directly from English.⁵⁷ The incorporation of these words, and in particular the lexeme of Persian origin *palla*, may be a result of what contact linguistics terms the “emblematicity of features” factor (Aikhenvald 2006:41). If deverbs have become, or at some time in history were, emblematic of what is Arabic (and desirable) about their language, Kumzaris could extrapolate to even non-Arabic words to fit them into deverbal structure, in much the same way as the Arabic pharyngealised and velarised phonemes are extrapolated to pre-contact non-Arabic words in Kumzari and other languages influenced by Arabic (e.g. for Kurdish: Haig 2007:167; for Domari: Matras 2007:152).

4.1.4 *Deverbs: Word class derivation*

Deverbs can be derived to form nouns, adjectives, and adverbs. Nouns and adjectives are derived from deverbs in conformity with Semitic derivational morphology whereby word class is determined by CV pattern through stem alternation. Adjectives are derived from deverbs through the addition of a Kumzari suffix. The major word classes in Kumzari are cleft into two groups by their provenance: Semitic and Indo-European, represented by the two columns below (+ denotes word classes derived from deverbs):

Table 23. Mixed provenance word classes

Word classes of Semitic provenance	Word classes of Indo-European provenance
deverbs + nouns + adjectives + adverbs	verbs nouns adjectives adverbs

⁵⁷ The borrowed word *fanaša* is attested in Baharna Arabic (see al-Tajir 1982:135).

However, because only deverbs/verbs have distinct morphosyntactic functions, only this word class will be called by a different name. That is, forms derived from Semitic deverbs (i.e. those denoted by + above) fit morphosyntactically into Kumzari word classes alongside their Indo-European correlates, as will be shown below. Where disambiguation of their provenance is necessary, this description uses the terms “Semitic” and “Indo-European.”

4.1.4.1 Nouns derived from deverbs

A deverb can be derived to form a noun. The nominal form contains the vowel *a* following the first consonant and the suffix *-it* following the last consonant, thus *CaCCit*. The nominal form makes a concrete, instanciable noun out of the deverb, such as:

adaba (dv.) ‘irritated, irritating’
*adb**it*** (n.) ‘irritat**ion**’

ḥaraqa (dv.) ‘burned, burning’
*ḥarq**it*** (n.) ‘burning sensat**ion** (e.g. heartburn)’

baraṣa (dv.) ‘appeared, appearing’
*barṣ**it*** (n.) ‘appear**ance**’

raṣawa (dv.) ‘bribed, bribing’
*raṣw**it*** (n.) ‘bribe, brib**ery**’

lawya (dv.) ‘wrapped, wrapping’
*lawy**it*** (n.) ‘wrap**per**’

The nominal form can take the nominal suffixes of definite, indefinite, or plural (lowering of *i* to *ē* is morphophonemic):

salfit ‘loan’
*salfē**tē*** ‘**a** loan’
*salfē**tō*** ‘**the** loan’
*salfē**tan*** ‘loans’

The nominalised deverb is also the form that can take the nominal suffix *-īn* ‘one who does or is characterised by *x*’, thus:

raṣya (dv.) ‘boasted, boasting’
*raṣy**it*** (n.) ‘boast, boastfulness’
*raṣyē**tīnō*** (n.) ‘the boaster**er**’

araya (dv.) ‘chattered, chattering’
*ary**it*** (n.) ‘chatter’
*aryē**tīnō*** (n.) ‘the chatterer**er**’

Quadriliteral verb roots from Semitic function similarly, but the form for their nominalised derivation is instead *CaCCēCit*:

šambara (dv.) ‘staggered, staggering’
šambērit (n.) ‘stagger, one who staggers’

xarmaša (dv.) ‘messed up, messing up’
xarmēšit (n.) ‘mess’

sawdana (dv.) ‘knocked out, knocking out’
sawdēnit (n.) ‘knock-out’

Reduplicated (ideophonic) deverbs can be derived into nouns in the same manner (raising *a* to *ē* is morphophonemic):

ramrama (dv.) ‘murmured, murmuring’
ramrēmīt (n.) ‘murmur’

kaskasa (dv.) ‘crumbled, crumbling’
kaskēsit (n.) ‘crumb’

daqdaqa (dv.) ‘knocked, knocking’
daqdēqit (n.) ‘knock’

waswasa (dv.) ‘vasillated, vascillating’
waswēsīt (n.) ‘vascillation’

4.1.4.2 Adjectives derived from deverbs

A number of deverbs also have adjectival derivations in the form *CaCC*, following the same form as Arabic derivation of adjectives from verbs (“verbal nouns,” Forbes 1863:87), for example:

lawata (dv.) ‘shrivelling, weakened’
lawt (a.) ‘shrivelled, weak’

qayama (dv.) ‘stood, standing’
qaym (a.) ‘upright’

ḡayaba (dv.) ‘finished, finishing’
ḡayb (a.) ‘absent’

xabaqa (dv.) ‘pierced, piercing’
xabq (a.) ‘holey’

4.1.4.3 Adverbs derived from deverbs

Adverbs are derived from deverbs in the same manner as they are derived from Indo-European words: by the addition of the suffix *-īt* (the dropping of the final *a* is morphophonemic):

axara (dv.) ‘delayed, delaying’

axarīī (adv.) ‘late, after**ward**’

čaraxa (dv.) ‘straddled, straddling’

čaraxīī (adv.) [e.g. sitting] ‘**astride**’

Reduplicated (ideophonic) deverbs can further take the adverb-forming suffix *–īī* (the dropping of the final *a* is morphophonemic):

labata (dv.) ‘shaken, shuddering’

lablaba (dv.) ‘violent shuddering’

lablabiti (adv.) ‘reckless**ly**’

warya (dv.) ‘flared, flaring’

warwara (dv.) ‘rushed, hurrying’

warwariti (adv.) ‘hurried**ly**, quick**ly**’

4.1.4.4 Derivational Morphology and Syntax

As may be deduced from the data above, forms derived from the deverb generally follow the morphosyntactic rules of their new word class, in the same manner as do Indo-European words of the same classes.

A noun derived from a deverb takes nominal inflections like Indo-European nouns:

ātišē ‘**a** fire’ [Indo-European noun + indefinite suffix]

balyētē ‘**a** problem’ [Semitic noun + indefinite suffix]

ātišō ‘**the** fire’ [Indo-European noun + definite suffix]

balyētō ‘**the** problem’ [Semitic noun + definite suffix]

ātišan ‘fires’ [Indo-European noun + plural suffix]

balyētan ‘problems’ [Semitic noun + plural suffix]

An adjective derived from a deverb agrees in number with the noun it modifies in a noun phrase, in the same manner as Indo-European adjectives do:

daran tilqan ‘open doors’ [plural noun + Indo-European adjective]

daran qaflan ‘locked doors’ [plural noun + Semitic adjective]

An adverb derived from a deverb follows the verb, just as Indo-European adverbs do:

rēsudin gab ‘they arrived **suddenly**’ [Indo-European deverb]

rēsudin da’barīī ‘they arrived **noisily**’ [Semitic adverb]

4.1.5 Deverbs: Discussion on word class

Kumzari deverbs do not fit well into any traditional grammatical category. Their complexity as a word class stems from the way in which the Kumzari language has managed its mixed

Arabo-Indo-European provenance (cf. “The status and expression of a category in interacting languages determines its path” Aikhenvald 2006:48). Deverbs display properties of three different word classes, but not all of the properties of a single class (for a summary, see Table 24: Word class properties of deverbs). Thus deverbs occupy the status of “cases where analysis of part of speech is disputed or difficult” (Munro 2007:77). They represent lexical borrowings from the word class of one language, and use the morphology and syntax of word classes of another language. They are unlike verbal nouns in Arabic and Persian. They are similar to adjectives, but differ from Indo-European adjectives in that they do not have the typical attributive function of adjectives as modifiers of a head noun in a noun phrase (they instead present as gapped relative clauses). In any case, based on cross-linguistic evidence, Dixon (2004:11) contends that attributive function is not a necessary typological feature of adjectives: “there may well be others [languages] where it [the adjective class] has only function (a) [:intransitive predicate].”

Deverbs originate in Semitic verbs but do not take verbal inflections in Kumzari. They carry the semantic load of a verb, in most cases describing actions, but occasionally have meanings that are usually assigned to the adjective class (cf. Dixon 2004:3ff). Also like a verb, they require a subject and may take an object; yet they cannot occur as a predicate without the aid of a light verb or existential enclitic. In the case of their collaboration with a light verb, it is the light verb that bears the TAMM information, while PNG information is placed on the existential enclitic or the light verb, not on the deverb. Although they are never conjugated as verbs, they follow the syntactic rules of simple verbs in determining an object’s position in the clause.

There is an even more crucial reason why deverbs cannot fit into other categories such as nouns, verbs, and adjectives, despite sharing some properties with them: deverbal derivations. The nouns, adjectives and adverbs derived from deverbs, although taking on the morphosyntax of their adopted word class, are structurally and functionally more distant from prototypes of each category. There are more nouny nouns, more adjectivy adjectives, and more adverbby adverbs.⁵⁸ Deverbs are similar to verbs in general, yet in Kumzari the Indo-European verbs already have discrete morphosyntactic properties not shared with deverbs; instead deverbs are relegated to the preverbal position with a light verb in a compound. In a compound, although the deverb carries the semantic load, the light verb takes the PNG-TAMM information as any other simple verb.

Although Kumzari deverbs do act much like participles in a wider sense, Kumzari verbs already have participles that look and act differently from deverbs (see Table 33). In addition, Kumzari deverbs are not equivalent to Arabic or Persian participles in either form or function. The use of participles in Persian is more akin to that of Kumzari perfect participles, and while participles in Arabic can be used adjectivally, they must be inflected, unlike Kumzari deverbs. Still, the category Kumzari deverbs most satisfactorily compare with is the verbal participle in the Arabic language, and in particular those dialects of Oman in which, in its active form, the participle “can function syntactically as a noun, verb, or attributive adjective... whereas the passive participle is often used predicatively as quasiverbal adjective to indicate the result or present relevance of a completed action” (Holes 2004:149-150). Like the Arabic participle, Kumzari deverbs are derived from Arabic verbs but have “no fixed time reference” (Holes 2004:149) and are not marked for PNG or TAMM. In function (but not

⁵⁸ cf. Turkish verbal nominals “retain a large number of verbal features, yet at the same time are highly nouny” (Haig 1998:34).

form), then, the Kumzari deverb as a preverbal element in a compound verb corresponds to the Omani Arabic active participle, while the Kumzari deverb as an intransitive predicate with an existential enclitic corresponds to the Omani Arabic passive participle.

In underived form the deverb is, as stated above, the same as the Arabic 3msPERF, taking the usual shape of *CaCaCa*. Considering its resistance to being slotted in to any one existing category, it is proven necessary to describe this word class on its own terms, while still acknowledging its Semitic lexical provenance. Taking all of the aforementioned considerations into account, the present grammatical description of Kumzari designates this word class ‘deverbs.’ Although their syntactic function in Kumzari is affiliated with other word classes, they are named ‘deverbs’ to highlight their distinction both from lexical (Indo-European) verbs and from their derived forms (Semitic nouns, Semitic adjectives, and Semitic adverbs), as well as to denote their alternative historical origin.⁵⁹ Because forms derived from deverbs are morphosyntactically similar to their Indo-European counterparts, the present work does not designate them formally except to mention their presence in the respective word classes. Only in their original template form is there a different class name, due to their difference in morphosyntactic function from verbs.

Neither is identifying this class as ‘deverbs’ and Indo-European verbs as simply ‘verbs’ through lack of insight: simple, Indo-European forms are taken as basic because they are not analytic, and most likely predate the inclusion of Semitic loan words in the compound verb.⁶⁰ Considering that the Semitic loan words remain uninflected in the Kumzari compound verbs, and that “inflectional morphology is well-known to be relatively resilient to borrowing, and therefore a rather stable indicator of genetic inheritance” (Matras 2009:11-8), it is more apt to posit the direction of borrowing as being from Semitic. This also fits into the diffusion factor stated as “A form or a pattern is likelier to spread if it fits in with the innovational proclivities of the target language” or “the diffused pattern follows the direction the system is going anyway” (Aikhenvald 2006:32), since Middle Persian also went on to develop analytic verbs, many with Arabic preverbal elements and other similarities to Kumzari: “complex verb formation was the dominant tendency in Early Modern Persian (i.e., around the time of the Arabic invasion of Persia, 7th to 11th century A.D.)” (Megerdooonian 2002:3, cf. Karimi 2002, Haig 2002).

Despite Thomas (1930:848)’s protestations that “there is no question of triliteral roots” in Kumzari, his data indeed reveal several examples of Semitic-origin deverbs both as preverbal elements in compound verbs and separate adjectival forms (Thomas 1930:809ff). Extensive structural borrowing such as is found in Kumzari is known to make the determination of linguistic affiliation difficult (cf. Aikhenvald forthcoming:25). In mixed languages, “neither the lexicon nor the morphology is in itself sufficient to establish a genetic relationship between two languages” (Bakker 1997:195). It is also useful to recall at this point in the discussion that at the time of the battles of Dibba, the Sasanians and their predecessors, the Parthians, had been residing in Oman some nine centuries. Although we do not know the details of the linguistic situation of the time, due to our knowledge of the ethnic groups residing in 7th-century Oman, we may with fair certainty surmise that languages from at least three families were spoken there: Semitic both of Azdite origin and later of Meccan origin,

⁵⁹ Terminological precedents are found in the grammatical descriptions of Hungarian, Japanese, Navajo, Czech, Hausa, and Russian, to designate those word classes that are derived from verbs but morphosyntactically distinct from them.

⁶⁰ cf. Basque and Spanish interaction “The spread of analytic verbal forms in Basque... allows Basque speakers to ‘match’ them with their Spanish equivalents” (Aikhenvald 2006:28).

Sasanian Parsig (Pahlavi), and in all likelihood a South Semitic (South Arabian) language, indigenous to Dibba and Musandam. However the particular factors eventuated its development, it is evident that a complex linguistic situation gave rise to complex grammatical structures in Kumzari.

Table 24. Word class properties of deverbs

Verb-like properties of deverbs	Non-verb-like properties of deverbs
- originate in Semitic verbs - require a subject and can take an object - underived forms cannot be subjects or objects - can be transitive or intransitive - as preverbal elements in a compound verb, deverbs take the object, thus following the same syntactic rule as a simple verb in Kumzari. - carry the semantic load of a verb in compounds - pronominal (existential) enclitics on deverbs might be understood to be equivalent to pronominal suffixes on verbs	- do not take verbal inflections - are not etymologically related to Kumzari Indo-European verbs - do not have a complete conjugation into six TAMM forms like Indo-European verbs - require an existential enclitic or light verb to be a predicate - take the comparative suffix <i>-tar</i> - some deverbs express concepts that are typically associated with adjectives not verbs, e.g. <i>lakaša</i> ‘fat’, <i>rakka</i> ‘super’, <i>lawata</i> ‘weak’, <i>šaqšaqa</i> ‘funny’. - derive to form nouns, adjectives, adverbs

4.1.6 Conclusion: Inferences on the mixed nature of Kumzari from deverbs and their derivations

There is no doubt that the category of deverbs is the most intriguing word class in Kumzari from the point of view of language contact and historical-comparative linguistics. From the analysis of the data in this chapter it is evident that the class has been formed by setting intact Semitic lexemes into Indo-European structures, using indigenous morphology and syntax to adapt them to their grammatical context.

It could even be said to be a predictable outcome, given principles of contact linguistics, that the class of deverbs would arise. Cross-linguistically it is more likely that frequently occurring elements, such as Semitic triliteral roots with extensive derivability, would be diffused in contact situations (Aikhenvald 2006:29); in fact this is borne out in field cases to be found of the borrowing of Arabic roots into analytic compounds in languages in such farflung places as, besides Kumzari, Domari of Jerusalem (Matras 2007:155-6) and Hausa of western Sudan (Versteegh 2009:192). At some period in history, when balanced bilingualism was the predominant mode, Kumzari would have undergone a process of integrating verbs from Semitic using native periphrastic constructions, a widespread strategy in contact-induced change (Boumans 2007:293; cf. Wichmann & Wohlgemuth 2005’s “loan verb integration hierarchy”). Such a construction is commonly grammaticalised over time; this is the likely origin of the Kumzari deverb.

The development of the deverb from Semitic loan words is also unsurprising in light of the flexibility of the compound verb and its open-class preverbal element. All of the ‘basic’ verbal semantics are covered by the simple verbs, while the unlimited historical borrowing of Semitic verbs in compounds allows for shades of meaning. As an example, one may

consider the semantic inventory of verbs to do with ‘talking’: of Indo-European lexical verbs there is one: *gaft, gō* ‘say’. Of Semitic deverbs there are at least twenty-five: *afata* ‘talking gibberish, incoherently’, *majma* ‘speaking (a language)’, *alana* ‘speaking to an assembly of people’, *arya* ‘chattering’, *bağara* ‘shouting’, *balbala* ‘talking very quickly’, *ħakyū* ‘storytelling’, *fētaħit* ‘telling on someone’, *ħamada* ‘praising’, *ħašara* ‘speaking noisily’, *kalaka* ‘stammering’, *lağya* ‘talking incessantly’, *maħja* ‘explaining’, *mawara* ‘congratulating’, *qamqama* ‘mumbling’, *qawala* ‘reciting’, *rağya* ‘boasting’, *ramrama* ‘murmuring’, *şayaha* ‘calling out’, *şaṭaṭa* ‘stumbling over words’, *ta’ta’a* ‘stuttering’, *tkēkū* ‘repeating words’, *ṭaraqa* ‘prompting speech’, *waşafa* ‘describing’, *xalafa* ‘giving condolences’, *xarafa* ‘babbling’, and many more semantically related lexemes. The balance between the two linguistic sources in Kumzari can be measured in this respect; while Indo-European verbs are more basic in meaning and occur more commonly, there are much fewer of them. In contrast, the inventory of Semitic deverbs is large, but their meanings are specific, so each lexeme is used less frequently.

Thus in regards to Kumzari as a mixed language, the division of verbs and deverbs is not a parallel lexicon “in which two word forms are on a par, that is, the two word forms share meaning, metaphorical extensions, and morphological properties” (Mous 2003:10). Rather, the mixed heritage of deverbs in Kumzari, and by derivation, also the division of the sum of Kumzari grammatical structure, represents the linguistic parallel of its geographical cleftness between the Arabian Peninsula and the Persian subcontinent.

4.2 Verb

Kumzari finite verbs function as heads of verb phrases and as predicates in the clause, and realise the grammatical categories of aspect, mood, mirativity, person, and number.

Kumzari has six verb forms, corresponding to Realis, Perfect, Imperfect, Imperative, Irrealis, and Mirative. Only aspect, modality, and mirativity are grammaticalised; tense is coded lexically. Separate morphemes apply for singular and plural of each first, second, and third persons. Other than the Mirative, which is indicated for all persons by a zero-marked morpheme (the bare verb stem)⁶¹, variation in pronominal morphemes is only on second- and third-person singular suffixes. Negation of verbs is syntactic, and is described in §10.1. Verbal morphology is outlined in Table 25 below.

Table 25. Verb affixes

person	Realis	Perfect	Imperfect	Imperative	Irrealis	Mirative
1S	-dum	-sum	t- -um	-um	-um	Ø
2S	-dī	-sī	t- -ī	Ø	-ī	
3S	-diš/-d	-sē	t- -a	-a	-a	
1P	-dim	-sim	t- -im	-im	-im	
2P	-dē	-sē	t- -ē	-ē	-ē	
3P	-din	-sin	t- -in	-in	-in	

A list of all finite verb roots can be found in Table 26. Other modalities and evidentiality, as well as explicit tense (time), are expressed lexically, and are detailed in chapter 6 and chapter 7.

⁶¹ Mirative verb forms occasionally mark number with the plural verbal suffixes *-ē* or *-in* on the stem.

Table 26. Finite verb roots

ābā'	trap (fish)	kard	drop
ābn	tie, close	kāš	cultivate
ām	come	kēš	pull
ambār	load	kišt	kill
amš	sweep, wipe	mān	stay
āpš	cover	mur	die
bar	carry	ništ, ūny	sit
burwā	run	ōkt	hit
brēz	pour	pōr	fly
būr	become, happen	rā'	catch
būxār	dive	raft, čō, rō	go, leave
bzēn	hit	rāy	can
čāf	reach	rēs	arrive
čišt, čōr	wash	rēš	vomit
dān	know	sān	shave
dār, dō'	give	sayy	lift
dīr	slit (fish)	škašt, škēn	break
dōz	sew	šmār	count
ēnar	hide	šnaft, šnā'	hear
fān	send	sō'	put
fōšn	sell	turs	fear
gaft, gō'	say	wākš	open
gid, ka	do	wār	bring
gir	take	wāt	want
giryā, grē'	cry	wōdur	hold
gižn	choose	wašt, wēl	let
gnar	catch, get stuck	xan	laugh
gnūn	believe	xāy	bite
grā'	boil	xēr	buy
gard	turn, round	xōr	eat
jīr, mēš	see, look at	xwaft, xwā'	sleep
jušt, jōr	ask, look for	xwān	read
kaft, kō'	fall	zā'	give birth
kan	dig, put away	zī	steal

4.2.1 Verb Morphology

4.2.1.1 Verb types

There are three basic morphological types of finite verbs in Kumzari. Most verbs are of the first type and have one stem serving all verb forms; these are deemed 'simple' verbs to distinguish them from those with more complex morphological rules: *-ft* and *-št* verbs and *b-* and *w-* verbs. Of the latter two types, some verbs fit into more than one category (for example, *wašt*, *wēl* 'let' is both an *-št* verb and a *w-* verb). An example of the simple type of verb is in the paradigm of the verb *fān* 'send' in Table 27.

Table 27. Example paradigm for the verb *fān* ‘send’

person	Realis	Perfect	Imperfect	Imperative	Irrealis	Mirative
1S	fāndum	fānsum	tfānum	fānum	fānum	fān
2S	fāndī	fānsī	tfānī	fān	fānī	
3S	fāndiš	fānsē	tfāna	fāna	fāna	
1P	fāndim	fānsim	tfānim	fānim	fānim	
2P	fāndē	fānsē	tfānē	fānē	fānē	
3P	fāndin	fānsin	tfānin	fānin	fānin	

4.2.1.2 *-ft* and *-št* verbs

The second verb type, *-ft* and *-št* verbs, inflect somewhat differently from the first type. They have two roots each, of which the first root contains *-ft* or *-št* and the second root resembles a simple verb type. The first root is used to build the Realis and Perfect forms and the second simpler root is the basis of the Imperfect, Imperative, Irrealis, and Mirative forms. The *-ft* and *-št* type of verbs are subject to the *t*- Imperfect prefix but not to the Realis *-d* and Perfect *-s* suffixes. Thus, the Realis and Perfect for these verbs are only distinguishable in the third person singular. A complete example paradigm for the verb *xwaft*, *xwā* ‘sleep’ is given in Table 28 below.

Table 28. Example paradigm for the verb *xwaft*, *xwā* ‘sleep’

person	Realis	Perfect	Imperfect	Imperative	Irrealis	Mirative
1S	xwaftum	xwaftum	txwā’um	xwā’um	xwā’um	xwaw
2S	xwaftī	xwaftī	txwā’ī	xwaw	xwā’ī	
3S	xwaft	xwaftē	txwā’a	xwā’a	xwā’a	
1P	xwaftim	xwaftim	txwā’im	xwā’im	xwā’im	
2P	xwaftē	xwaftē	txwā’ē	xwā’ē	xwā’ē	
3P	xwaftin	xwaftin	txwā’in	xwā’in	xwā’in	

A full list of *-ft* and *-št* verbs is given in Table 29.

Table 29. Verbs of type *-ft* and *-št*

št verbs	
čišt, čōr	‘wash’
jušt, jōr	‘ask, look for’
kišt, kš	‘kill’
ništ, ūny	‘sit’
škašt, škēn	‘break’
wašt, wēl	‘let’
ft verbs	
gaft, gō’	‘say’
kaft, kō’	‘fall’
šnaft, šnā’	‘hear’
xwaft, xwā’	‘sleep’
raft, čō, rō	‘go’

4.2.1.3 *b-* and *w-* verbs

Verb roots with initial *b-* or *w-* appear to have vestigial modals like causative and inchoative prefixes, respectively (cf. Luri languages, MacKinnon 2011⁶²,⁶³). Verbs of this type drop the *b-/w-* when adding the Imperfect prefix *t-*. Table 30 lists all verbs of the *b-* and *w-* type that follow this rule.

Table 30. Verbs of type *b-* and *w-*

b- verbs	
burwā	‘run’
būr	‘become’
būxār	‘dive’
brēz	‘pour’
w- verbs	
wōdur	‘hold’
wār	‘bring’
wāt	‘want’
wašt, wēl	‘let’

4.2.1.4 Irregular verbs

There is a large number of irregular finite verbs in Kumzari, owing to its long history of diversity. The current description attempts to delineate a few of the most unambiguous irregularities. In the table below, only second and third person singular paradigms of irregular verbs are given because it is these categories that depart markedly from conjugation patterns.

Table 31. Irregular finite verbs

Irregular Verb		Realis	Perfect	Imperfect	Imperative	Irrealis	Mirative
ām ‘come’	2s	āmadī	āmasī	tā’ī	byō	byī	byō
	3s	āmad	āmasē	tēy	byā	byāt	
dār, dō ‘give’	2s	dārī	dāsī	dī	ād	ādī	hād
	3s	dārīš	dāsē	dō’a	dō	ādō’a	
gid, ka ‘do’	2s	gidī	gisī	tkī	kin	kī	kin
	3s	gidīš	gisē	tka	ka	ka	
gid, gir ‘take’	2s	gidī	gisī	digī	gur	grī	gur
	3s	gidīš	gisē	diga	gura	gra	
jīr, mēš ‘see’	2s	jīrī	jīsī	tēmušī	muš	mēšī	mēš
	3s	jīrīš	jīsē	tēmuša	mēša	mēša	
raft, čō, rō ‘go’	2s	raftī	raftī	čī	brō	brī/ ra’ī	brō
	3s	raft	raftē	čōt	bra	brat/ čōt	
wābur, tō ‘become’	2s	būrī	būsī	tī’ī	biš	bī’ī	bur
	3s	wābur	būsē	tīya	but	bura/ tō’at	

4.2.1.5 Inflectional morphology of finite verbs

⁶² Like the Luri languages, Kumzari’s word for ‘became’ (*wābur*) is like ‘be’ *bur* with the inchoative prefix *wā-* (Compare the words for ‘it became’ in Bakhtiari: *vābī* and Kumzari: *wābur*).

⁶³ See analysis of Middle Persian *b-* in Jügel 2013.

Where there is more than one root, the first is used as a stem to build the Realis and Perfect, the second as a stem for the Imperfect, Imperative, Irrealis, and Mirative. If there are three roots, the third will be used in place of the second as a stem for the Imperative, Irrealis, and Mirative. In other Iranian languages, multiple roots are traditionally divided into past and non-past stems, but they cannot be so temporally defined in Kumzari.

Realis verb forms carry the suffix *-d*, which follows the verb stem and precedes the pronominal suffix:

burwā ‘run’
 burwā **-d** -um
 run REAL 1s
 ‘I ran’

sō ‘put’
 sō **-d** -um
 put REAL 1s
 ‘I put’

Perfect verb forms bear the suffix *-s*⁶⁴, following the verb stem and preceding the pronominal suffix:

kan ‘dig’
 kan **-s** -um
 dig PERF 1s
 ‘I have dug’

bar ‘carry’
 bar **-s** -um
 carry PERF 1s
 ‘I have carried’

Only the Imperfect verb form has a prefix *t-*⁶⁵:⁶⁶

ambār ‘load’
t- ambār -um
 IMPF load 1s
 ‘I load’

ēnar ‘hide’
t- ēnar -um
 IMPF hide 1s
 ‘I hide’

The prefix is realised as voiced *d-* on verb stems with initial voiced consonants:

⁶⁴ In some Indo-Aryan languages, an *-s* suffix has historically been added to a Perfective verb form to make a Pluperfect (Liljegren 2008:219).

⁶⁵ The Kumzari Imperfect prefix is comparable to the Kurdish “present habitual/progressive” verbal prefix *d-* or *dá-* or *dī-* (Thackston 2006:26-27, Bailey 2004:10).

⁶⁶ Five irregular verbs also have a prefix *b-* in the Imperative: *wār* ‘bring’, *ām* ‘come’, *raft*, *čō*, *rō* ‘go’, *rēs* ‘arrive’, and *mur* ‘die’.

giryā, *grē* ‘cry’
d- *grē* -um
 IMPF cry 1s
 ‘I cry’

gnūn ‘believe’
d- *gnūn* -um
 IMPF believe 1s
 ‘I believe’

The Imperfect prefix is absent on verb stems with initial alveolars.⁶⁷

sān ‘shave’
sān -um
 shave 1s
 ‘I shave’ (Imperfect)

dōz ‘sew’
dōz -um
 sew 1s
 ‘I sew’ (Imperfect)

On verb stems with initial labials, an epenthetic long vowel is inserted after the Imperfect prefix:

mān ‘stay’
tā- *mun* -um
 IMPF stay 1s
 ‘I stay’

It is interesting to note morphological and semantic congruencies of Kumzari (for example, the Realis *-d* and the Imperfect *t-*) with aspect on Semitic verbs: “there are some recurrent similarities between the inflections of Perfective and Imperfective... the suffix *-t* of the Perfective corresponds to the prefix *t-* of the Imperfective” (Comrie 1976:95). However, it is equally likely that the Kumzari Imperfect *t-* is related to a locative preposition such as the Iranian prepositions *dar* or *tū* ‘in’, this being a common cross-linguistic synchronic path for verbal inflection (Comrie 1976:98ff).

Imperatives in Kumzari use the bare verb stem with the pronominal suffix, which is zero for the second person singular⁶⁸ and *-a* for the third person singular:

⁶⁷ These include verb stems with the initial sounds *t*, *d*, *j*, *č*, and usually *r*, *s*, *š*, *z*. There are some exceptions, for example compare the *r*-initial Imperfect forms *ray* -um ‘I can’ and *t-rēs* -um ‘I arrive’. See chapter 2.

⁶⁸ In the Western Iranian dialects Dezfūli and Šuštari, the imperative marker for the second person singular is also zero (MacKinnon 2011). Use of the bare verb stem for the second person Imperative is common in languages worldwide (Aikhenvald 2010:18-19).

pōr –Ø

fly -2sIMPER

‘**Fly!**’**ūny-a** inda muḡ -an.

sit -3sIMPER in date.palm -PL

‘(He **must**) **sit** in the date palm orchard.’mēy -an **kard –ē**

fish -PL drop:IMPER-2p

‘**Drop** the fish.’

As observed in Aikhenvald’s 2010 typological study of imperatives, many languages have complete paradigms of imperative verb forms, not only for the second person. Sanskrit and Kumzari are among those that form one paradigmatic set for imperative. It is common cross-linguistically for the second-person singular to be the least formally marked (or zero-marked) member of the paradigm (Aikhenvald 2010:48-49).

A few verbs in Kumzari have suppletive imperative forms, using a different stem from that used for statements or questions (see Aikhenvald 2010: 33)⁶⁹. Table 32 lists verbs with suppletive Imperative stems as compared to their Imperfect stems (non-suppletive Imperatives use the same stem as the Imperfect).

Table 32. Suppletive Imperatives

Imperfect verb stem	Imperative verb stem	gloss
č	rō	‘go’
say	su	‘lift’
wār	yār	‘bring’
ōdur	wēyda	‘hold’
dō	ād	‘give’
ām	yō	‘come’

Irrealis does not have a distinct verbal affix but joins pronominal suffixes directly to the stem; standing out from that of other verb forms is the second person singular suffix –ī.

(130)

wā yā asp -ō ā, **br –ī** dūr.

with DEM horse –the SUB go -2sIRR far.away

‘With this horse you **could go** far away.’

(131)

da’ - ta tālum brinz **xōr -in.**

ten- COUNT platter rice eat -3pIRR

‘They **might eat** ten platters of rice.’

⁶⁹ See also footnote 66: Of irregular verbs with *b-* prefix in the Imperative, three overlap with suppletive Imperatives.

Mirative uses the same bare verb stem with zero-marked person and number suffixes.⁷⁰

(132)

ʃahr -ō tēr -an bard **kin -Ø**.
 sorcerer -the bird -PL stone make -MIR
 ‘The sorcerer **made** the birds into stone!’

(133)

ditk- -ō **kaf -Ø** dirya-ō.
 girl -the fall -MIR sea -the
 ‘The girl **fell** into the sea!’

4.2.2 *Verb form semantics*

The scope of the six Kumzari verb forms is outlined in Table 33. Examples demonstrating the semantics of each verb form follow.

Table 33. Verb form semantics

verb form	semantic function
Realis	certain: past completed events, certain future events
Perfect	current relevance, especially resultative, of prior or complete events; participles
Imperfect	ongoing or incomplete events; progressive; general statements; current statives, intended but unrealised future plans; habitual; rhetorical questions; purposive
Imperative	commands, requests
Irrealis	uncertain: uncertain future events, hypotheticality, potentiality, jussivity, conditionality, obligativity, desiderativity
Mirative	unexpected, surprising information

4.2.2.1 *Realis*

Although past events in Kumzari are often cast in Realis verb forms, Realis (REAL) is not associated with any temporal notion; its primary meaning is rather the epistemic certainty of an event. The realis-irrealis notional binary is often seen as being no different from the indicative-subjunctive binary traditional in European linguistics; however, the Kumzari modal system holds unique differences. Irrealis does not serve solely in subordinate clauses, as is often the case with the Subjunctive. Nor must the Irrealis be used for a negative. Realis does not only operate in the past or present tense, as is often the case with the Indicative. A definition for the pair that goes beyond indicative and subjunctive is Mithun’s (1999:173): “the realis portrays situations as actualized, as having occurred or actually occurring, knowable through direct perception. The irrealis portrays situations as purely within the realm of thought, knowable only through imagination.” However, even this analysis is limiting with regards to some languages, such as Caddo, Central Pomo, and Kumzari, in

⁷⁰ Other languages that are reported to use a short form of the verb to convey mirativity as well are Prasun, Hindi-Urdu, Gultari Shina, and some Balkan languages. In these languages, mirative semantics also correlates with absence of person-number-gender marking on some form of the verb stem (Friedman 2001, Bashir 2010). In some Sinai Bedouin dialects, the imperative verb form is used as a narrative feature at certain points in the text, as if commanding a character to carry out an action (de Jong 2011:282); this is likely equivalent to the Kumzari Mirative.

which future events are characterised by the Realis “to mark their expectation of actuation” (Mithun 1995:378, Chafe 1995).

Rather than strict factuality per se, Realis in Kumzari is concerned with epistemic certainty (cf. Givón 1995:112). Whereas most assertions denote the past or present time, Realis serves as well for future events which have a high certainty of occurring. This is, in fact, the case in other modern Iranian languages, for as Windfuhr (1995) notes, the *-t* suffix of what have traditionally been called ‘past’ verb forms can imply past, present, or future; this is comparable to the Realis *-d* suffix in Kumzari. Northern Kurdish (Navdeştê variety) has a “simple past” form that is used “in future tense contexts, to indicate a situation that the speaker is certain will take place” (Bailey 2004:9). In Baluchi, too, the preterite indicative (“past”) form, whose stems end in *t/d*, is used in future contexts “to express a high degree of certainty that the action will be accomplished” (Axenov 2006:188).

In Kumzari, Realis is used for the certain past:

(134) N6

amū **rēsid** ba čō -ō bēw, āw **gid -iš** ba xō.
 once arrive:3sREAL to well -the SUB water take:REAL -3s to REFL
 ‘Once she **arrived** at the well, she **drew** water.’

(135) P702

sayd -iš jāmal -ō, bāla.
 lift:REAL -3s camel -the up
 ‘The camel **lifted** up.’

as well as for the certain future (contrast with the use of the Imperfect for this sentence in example (167) N3):

(136) N4

wana nwāz **raft -um** kumzar ā, č-ī dirya ā?
 if tomorrow go:REAL -1s Kumzar SUB go:IMPF-2s sea INTERR
 ‘If I **go** [**I will certainly go**] to Kumzar tomorrow, will you go fishing?’

Realis is also used in Kumzari for a completed, thus certain, event, without reference to previous situations or ongoing results (note the contrast with Imperfect as habitual in the same sentence):

(137) N8

ar gayyit -ē trēs -um kumzar pi ġātal -an,
 each time -a arrive:IMPF-1s Kumzar from storm -PL

ḥamada rab xō tk-um **rēsud -um** ba salmit.
 thanking Lord REFL do:IMPF -1s arrive:REAL -1s to safety
 ‘Whenever I arrive in Kumzar in stormy weather, I thank my Lord I **arrived** in safety.’

The morphology of the Realis pronominal suffix distinguishes between transitive and intransitive verbs in the third person singular only; transitive verbs have *-iš* and intransitive verbs are zero-marked.

(138)

bʒand -iʃ yē.

hit:REAL -3s 3s

‘He hit it.’ [TRANSITIVE]

4.2.2.2 Perfect

Perfect aspect “relates some state to a preceding situation” and “indicates the continuing present relevance of a past situation” (Comrie 1976:52). In Kumzari, like other verb forms, the Perfect is atemporal, and can refer to past, present, or future (e.g. *fānsum* means ‘I had sent’ or ‘I have sent’ or ‘I will have sent’). Thus the time of the Perfect is only defined by lexical and contextual factors; that is, the morphosyntax of the verb form itself is the same for all tenses.⁷¹

Perfect (PERF) is used to express the current relevance, especially resultative, of a preceding or completed event:

(139) R351 (perfect of past)

tamna	ā	xizina	-ō	zīs	-in.	dar	-ō	tilq,	wa	gāz	-an	gis	-in	jārī.
SENS	SUB	treasury –		rob:PERF -		door -		open	and	money -		take:PERF -		already
		the		3p		the				PL		3p		

‘He saw they **had robbed** the treasury. The door was open, and they **had taken** the money already.’

(140) S887 (perfect of present)

dit šēx fālan gis -ē.

daughter sheikh so-and-so take:PERF -3s

‘The sheikh’s daughter **has gotten** so-and-so!’

(141) S686

sā	mām	yē	wa	bap	yē	qaww	gis	-in	na.
now	mother	3s	and	father	3s	being.convinced	do:PERF -3p	NEG	

gnūnus -in na inna yē na.

believe:PERF -3p NEG oath 3s NEG

‘Now her mother and father **had not been convinced**. They **had not believed** his oath.’

including a current result of an assumptive or jussive:

(142) B1131 (perfect of future)

ka	hasā	iš	haṣala	gis	-ē	čāz	na	ā,
since	yet	any	partaking	take:PERF -3s		lunch	NEG	SUB

yē lāzum sā xōs -ē šan.

in this case need now eat:PERF -3s 3p

‘Since he **has** not yet **eaten** anything for lunch, now he **will have eaten** them.’

⁷¹ Interestingly, the Kumzari verb forms Realis – Imperfect – Perfect – Imperative – Irrealis are semantically parallel to the aspect and mood categories of Baluchi finite verb forms: indicative – imperfective – perfect – imperative – subjunctive (Axenov 2006:175).

(143) R98

tō ka martk-ē =ī, ka **raft -ī** wā brār -an xō.
 2s if man -a =EX:2s then go:PERF -2s with brother -PL REFL
 ‘Since you are a man, you **should have gone** with your brothers.’

and a completed action with continuing effects:

(144) S811

wa **raft -ī** ba mē **xāna** rōz -ē, di- rōz,
 if/when go:PERF -2s with 1s marriage day -a two- day

bar mē xā šmā.
 carry:2sIMPER 1s house 2p

‘Since **you have been married** to me a day or two, you must take me to your house.’

or an experiential perfect, something that has happened at least once in the past:

(145) G192

mā bazza=im, ġēlā-an mā gadda gis -in,
 1p poor person =EX:1p wheat -PL 1p harvesting do:PERF -3p

baġa ḥaqq, čī **gis -im** bā šan?
 without justice what do:PERF -1p against 3p

‘We are poor people; they have harvested our wheat. It’s not fair: what **have we ever done** to them?’

It is apparent in the above examples that the Perfect is not a past tense but rather an aspect (with internal time reference); Perfect includes past, present, or future, but always refers to a preceding situation with continued relevance.

The Perfect can serve as a passive, without changing form:

(146) P188

yā nēyt -an **wās -in** bā yē na ā, nēyt -an xōd -iš.
 these charity.food -PL bring:PERF -3p it.doesn’t.matter SUB charity.food -PL eat:REAL -3s
 ‘This charity food [that] **was brought**, it didn’t matter, she ate the charity food.’

(147) R620

zīn -an **kišt -in** ā, ar si kēs -an šan, indur =in.
 thief -PL kill:PERF -3p SUB every three- PERS -PL 3p inside =EX:3p
 ‘The thieves [that] **were killed**, all three of them, were inside.’

(148) N11

dar -ō wēl **wākis -ē**.
 door -the leave:2sIMPER open:PERF -3s
 ‘Leave the door **open**.’

Transitive verbs in the Perfect can also be active (compare this example to P188 above):

(149) P249

ādamī -an nēyt **wās -in** ba yē.
 person -PL charity.food bring:PERF -3p for 3s
 ‘People **have brought** charity food for her.’

4.2.2.2.1 Perfect and Voice

In Kumzari, as in other Indo-Iranian languages, the distinction between active and passive voice is only maintained with transitive verbs; even in this case, active and passive are formally identical in the perfect form of the finite verb:

(150)

fān -s -ē.
 send -PERF -3s
 ‘It is sent’ [PASSIVE] or ‘She has sent’ [ACTIVE]

(151)

xaṭṭ -ō **fān -s -ē.**
 message -the send -PERF -3s
 ‘The message is sent.’ [PASSIVE] or ‘She has sent the message.’ [ACTIVE]

(152)

ditk- -ō xaṭṭ -ō **fān -s -ē.**
 girl- -the message -the send -PERF -3s
 ‘The girl has sent the message.’ [ACTIVE]

Thus, for intransitive verbs, there is no morphosyntactically distinct perfect passive:

(153)

xwaft **-ē.**
 sleep:PERF -3s
 ‘She has slept.’ [ACTIVE]

Conversely, when a transitive verb is in the Perfect, voice is ambiguous.

(154)

šmārus **-in.**
 count:PERF -3p
 ‘They are counted.’ or ‘They have counted.’ (ambiguous voice)

(155)

rōk -an šmārus **-in.**
 boy -PL count:PERF -3p
 ‘The boys are counted.’ or ‘The boys have counted.’ (ambiguous voice)

In this case, distinction between active and passive can only be determined syntactically if there is more than one explicit argument:

(156)

rōk -an gōsin -an šmārus -in.
 boy -PL goat -PL count:PERF -3p
 'The boys have counted the goats.' [ACTIVE]

Syntactic rules also make voice apparent if the argument is in the form of a pronoun and follows the verb:

(157)

šan šmārus -in.
 3p count:PERF -3p
 'They are counted.' [PASSIVE] or 'They have counted.' [ACTIVE]
 (argument in the form of a pronoun preceding the verb is the subject)

(158)

šmārus -in šan.
 count:PERF -3p 3p
 'They have counted them.' [ACTIVE]
 (argument in the form of a pronoun following the verb is the object)

Comrie (1976:86) explains the reason for this relationship between perfect aspect and passive voice: "When an action involving an agent and an object takes place, the resultant change in state is usually more apparent in the object than in the agent... The perfect passive is precisely that form which predicates a change of state to the object of an action."

4.2.2.3 Imperfect

Whereas the Perfect views events as a whole and complete yet with current relevance, the Imperfect views events from the inside, from the perspective of their happening that is in progress (Comrie 1976).

Imperfect (IMPF) is used to express an ongoing, incomplete event, irrespective of time:

(159) B69

kār **tk -im**.
 work do:IMPF -1p
 'We **are working**.'

including progressive:

(160) P97

lēlām **tk -in** ba yē sōq -ō.
 peddling do:IMPF -3p to 3s souq -the
 'They **were peddling** it in the souq.'

(161) B520

ram xānōḡ –ō wākud -um xōrdin **dō-um** ba asp -ō ā,
 go:1sREAL house -the open:REAL -1s food give:IMPF -1s to horse -the SUB

asp -ō xōd -iš mē.

horse -the bite:REAL -3s 1s

‘I went and opened the house, I **was giving** food to the horse, the horse bit me.’

stative:

(162) P596

jīr –iš zank- -ō, **wanna tka.**

look for:REAL -3s woman -the groaning do:3sIMPF

‘He searched for the woman. She **was groaning**.’

(163) R689

di-ta tēra =in, tā inča **čōt**, wa tā inča **čōt**.

two-COUNT path =EX:3p one like.this go:3sIMPF and one like.this go:3sIMPF

‘There are two paths: ones **goes** this way, and one **goes** that way.’

for general statements:

(164) P916

ar **čōt** pi tō, **tār -a.**

whatever go:3sIMPF from you bring:IMPF-3s

‘Whatever **leaves** you, **comes back** [literally, ‘brings’]!’

(165) P741

sā jāmal -ē **tirwā’ -a** ā, tō **tirwā’ -ī** pištu yā!

now camel -a run:IMPF -3s SUB 2s run:IMPF -2s after this

‘Now if a camel **runs** away, you **run** after it.’

for unrealised future plans:

(166) R1272

sā nāyit -ē brār -an, amū **čōt** čō’ -ō bēw, **tikš -in** yē.

now harmful.plan -a brother -PL once go:3sIMPF well -the SUB kill:IMPF -3p 3s

‘Now the brothers were scheming: once he **went** into the well, they **would kill** him.’

(167) N3 (cf. example (136) N4 Realis above)

wana nwāz **čum** kumzar ā, č-ī dirya ā?

if tomorrow go:1sIMPF Kumzar SUB go:IMPF-2s sea INTERR

‘If I **go** [I **will perhaps go**] to Kumzar tomorrow, will you go fishing?’

habitual action in past or present:

(168) R42

bāz tka wā ditk- -an inda ḡajr -ō.

playing do:3sIMPF with girl -PL in mountainside -the

‘He **would play** with the girls on the mountainside.’

(169) N7

ar gayyit -ē **uddū tk -um** pēna yā kō -ō ā,
 each time -a passing do:IMPF -1s by this mountain -the SUB

bēyid mē **tay** ba ḥubbō mē.
 memory 1s come:3sIMPF to grandmother 1s

‘Each time I **pass** by this mountain, I **remember** my grandmother.’

(170) N27

awwa gadu **tkēš -um**.

firstly water-pipe pull:IMPF -1s

‘**I used to smoke** the water-pipe.’

for rhetorical questions:

(171) K229

sā dit maṭlē’ī šimiš, ki **tār-a** y’=ā?
 now daughter (character’s.name) who bring:IMPF-3s 3s =INTERR

‘Now this daughter of Matlei Shimish, who **could bring** her?!’

(172) P1078

čābē **dān-a** y’=ā?

how? know:IMPF-3s 3s =INTERR

‘How **would he recognise** her?’

purposive:

(173) R90

āmad **bāz tk-a** ā, ditk- -ē bžand -iš.
 come:3sREAL playing do:IMPF-3s SUB girl -a hit:REAL -3s

‘When he came **to play**, he hit a girl.’

(174) R462

raft indur, jāga gid -iš ba xō,
 go:3sREAL inside place take:REAL -3s for REFL

inča sā šamšīr -ō bžēn -a, **tikš -a** šan.
 like.this now sword -the hit:IRR -3s kill:IMPF -3s 3p

‘He went inside, he found a place for himself, now in this way he could strike with the sword, **killing** them.’

4.2.2.4 Imperative

Whereas Realis and Irrealis moods denote propositional modality in Kumzari, deontic (or agent- and speaker-oriented) modality is represented by the Imperative.

Imperative (IMPER) expresses a command:

(175) R595

brō **byār** yē.
 go:2sIMPER bring:2sIMPER 3s
 ‘**Go bring** him.’

(176) K206

jō’ar mē **ād** ba mē.
 pearl 1s give:2sIMPER to 1s
 ‘**Give** me my pearl!’

(177) B447

gard ba qiz’an -ō.
 go around:2sIMPER to cauldron -the
 ‘**Go around** the cauldron.’

(178) B119

yak -ē **d -ē** ba mē.
 one -a give:IMPER -2p to 1s
 ‘**Give** one to me.’

(179) A131

šaw -ō **br -im** xā šēx -ō **z -im.**
 night -the go:IMPER -1p house sheikh -the rob:IMPER -1p
 ‘Tonight **let’s go rob** the sheikh’s house.’

including polite requests:

(180) P693

ana **sayy** kūš xō.
 perhaps lift:2sIMPER lap REFL
 ‘Perhaps **lift** it to your lap.’

and prohibitives, which use the same Imperative verb form with a negation morpheme:

(181) S339

skafya **k -ē** **na** pē mē **na.**
 concealing do:IMPER -2p NEG from 1s NEG
 ‘**Don’t conceal** from me.’

There are Imperative forms for all persons and numbers; such complete paradigms are not uncommon in languages outside of Europe (Aikhenvald 2010:47-49). Examples below are commands in the Imperative verb form for all persons and numbers. Note that in these examples, various means (e.g. may, will, let) are used to convey imperative in the English free translation, although English does not have first- and third-person imperatives. However, these are all commands where imperative is indicated. Kumzari has other verb forms and words for marking obligation, permission, intention, hortative, etc.

first person singular:

(182) S87 (a princess to her father)

bar mē ba mōmur, wākš mē. ar jāga **br-um**.
 carry:2sIMPER 1s to Momur Island open,release:2sIMPER 1s any place go:IMPER-1s
 ‘Carry me to Momur Island, [there] release me. **I shall go** anywhere.’

(183) P503 (a genie to a thief)

mēš-um yē na wa bass!
 see:IMPER-1s 3s NEG and finished
 ‘**May I** not **see** him, ever!’

(184) P680 (a bedouin to a destitute woman in the desert)

byō **sō-m** tō bā yē!
 come:2sIMPER put:IMPER-1s 2s on 3s
 ‘**Come** and **I will put** you on it [the camel]!’

(185) U382 (a princess to her suitor)

mē iš **gō-um** na! tō **gaw** bē!
 1s any say:IMPER-1s NEG 2s say:2sIMPER only
 ‘**I must** not **say** anything! Only **you say** [it]!’

first person singular Imperative, contrasted with Imperfect:

(186) G659 (a boy to the murderer telling his plan to dispose of the corpse)

ar jāga **bēr-um** yē! tēbar-um yē dūr.
 whichever place carry:IMPER-1s 3s carry:IMPF-1s 3s far
 ‘**Let me carry** him somewhere! I will carry him far away.’

second person singular:

(187) B205 (mothers to a sorcerer who has threatened to abduct their children)

bmur!
 die:2sIMPER
 ‘**Die!**’

(188) B386 (a horse to a boy telling how to trick a sorcerer)

gaw ba yē asp-ō xōs-a mē.
 say:2sIMPER to 3s horse –the bite:PERF-3s 1s
 ‘**Say** to him, “The horse has bitten me.”’

third person singular:

(189) R458 (a ringleader instructing thieves)

kas ġār **ka** na!
 PERS making.noise do:3sIMPER NEG
 ‘**Let** no one **make** noise!’

(190) U490 (a sheikh commanding a bedouin about his wife)

ar jāga č-ī ā, **bra** wā tō!
 whichever place go:IMPF-2s SUB go:3sIMPER with 2s
 ‘Wherever you go, **she must go** with you!’

(191) N13 (of a man catching lobsters)

ḥamala **but** pi xō!
 careful be:3sIMPER from REFL
 ‘He **should be** careful!’

first person plural:

(192) P1219 (a sheikha commanding a disgraced man)

dgō ba yē, **ūn-im** na, **br-im!**
 say:3sIMPF to 3s stay:IMPER-1p NEG go:IMPER-1p
 ‘She said to him, “**Let’s** not **stay**, **let’s go!**”’

(193) R1360 (a group of women deciding the better of two options)

mā **bumr-im** ba čō-ō!
 1p die:IMPER-1p to well -the
 ‘**May we die** in the well!’

second person plural:

(194) R1521 (A hero commanding slaves)

bēr-ē šan inda xalwat-ē!
 carry:IMPER-2p 3p in wilderness -a
 ‘**Take** them into the wilderness!’

third person plural:

(195) R705-R706-R712 (an oracle directing some brothers which path they must take)

br-in na ba yā tēra-ō bālī’ī na jam rāstī na!
 go:IMPER-3p NEG on this path -the upper NEG side right NEG

br-in ba y’=ā, jam asrē! ān ā, šāḥar-ē ba yē.
 go:IMPER-3p on this =SUB side left that SUB sorcerer -a on 3s
 ‘**They must** not **go** on this upper path, on the right side! **They must go** on this one, on the left side! That one, a sorcerer is on it.’

(196) K515 (a *kinbino* tree genie commands sorcerers)

byā-in zēran, laba panj āzar -ta šāḥar!
 come:IMPER-3p down approximately five thousand COUNT sorcerer
 ‘**Let them come** down, about five thousand sorcerers!’

4.2.2.5 Irrealis

As epistemic certainty is the basis of Realis in Kumzari and related languages, likewise with its opposite, Irrealis: uncertainty is the central meaning of the Kurdish irrealis morpheme (Haig 2008:212). Examining cross-linguistic evidence, Nordström (2010:38) concurs that “the focal meaning of the irrealis and subjunctive is to denote uncertainty.”

Irrealis (IRR) expresses the following notions in Kumzari:

hypotheticality:

(197) S110

ūny -a ā, tumr -a!
 stay:IRR -3s SUB die:IMPF -3s
 'If she **were to stay**, she would die!'

(198) P182

yumkin čār -ta panj -ta malyūn ġāz byār -a.
 maybe four -COUNT five -COUNT million money bring:IRR -3s
 'It **would fetch** maybe four or five million!'

(199) A251

aḥsan pi muxx tō qaṣṣa k -um pi ādamī dān -in tō.
 better from head 2s cutting do:IRR -1s from someone know:IRR -3p 2s
 'Better that I **cut off** your head than that someone **recognise** you.'

potentiality:

(200) S57

xānağ -ē kin ba mē inda yē, qafl pi wā= indur,
 house -a do:2sIMPER for 1s in 3s locked from -ward= inside

āw byat na inda yē na.
 water come:3sIRR NEG in 3s NEG

'Make me a house in it, locked from the inside, so that water **might** not **go** in it.'

(201) K57

sā ka māšūwē -ē xujmō k -um ba xō ā, č -um.
 now when skiff -a building do:IRR -1s for REFL SUB go:IMPF -1s
 'Now when I **build** myself a skiff, I will go.'

(202) R1404

wā yē bēn -ē wa dēl -ō āw dō ba gōsn -an.
 with 3s rope -a and pail -the water give:3sIRR to goat -PL
 'There was a rope and pail, **to give** water to the goats.'

(203) K554

pē čwānid -ī ga' -ī ba yē ba di -ta buxxar.
 even can:REAL -2s say:IRR -2s to 3s for two -COUNT storehouse
 'You could have even **told** him for two storehouses.'

(204) R540

ēka ā šmā kš -ī yē na.
 INF SUB 2p kill:IRR -2s 3s NEG
 'Obviously you **could** not **have killed** him.'

(205) N12

iza ga ba yē...
 if say:3sIRR to 3s
 'if she **said** to him...' (did not actually happen)
 or 'if she **had said** to him...'
 or 'if she **were to say** to him...'

jussivity:

(206) P336

fān yē ba rōk -ō **byat**.
 send:2sIMPER 3s to boy -the come:3sIRR
 ‘Send it to the boy so that **he will come**.’

conditionality:

(207) P868

ana **šnēw -a** tō bzēn -a tō!
 if hear:IRR -3s 2s strike:IMPF -3s 2s
 ‘If he **hears** you, he will strike you down!’

obligativity:

(208) P397

gaw ba yē **byat**.
 say:2sIMPER to 3s come:3sIRR
 ‘Tell him he **should come**.’

(209) N10

kārimī **xēr -um?**
 which.one buy:IRR -1s
 ‘Which one **should I buy?**’ cf.

kārimī **txēr -um?**

which.one buy:IMPF -1s
 ‘Which one **am I buying?**’

(210) R842

wēl yē **gra** mē.
 let:2sIMPER 3s take:3sIRR 1s
 ‘Let him **take me**.’

desiderativity (including wishes and curses):

(211) P770

inšāllā **xēr tō’at**.
 God.willing good become:3sIRR
 ‘God willing, it **will work out**.’

(212) G488

aḷḷa **kōr tō ka!**
 God blind 2s do:3sIRR
 God blind 2s fall:3sIRR
 ‘**May God blind** you!’

(213) G263

aḷḷa **qabaḥa tō ka!**
 God disfiguring 2s do:3sIRR
 ‘**May God disfigure** you!’

(214) G188

amma **k-a** bā šan, āllā yāllā mār -ē **xōr -a** šan,
 grieving fall:IRR-3s against 3p God O God! snake -a eat:IRR-3s 3p

yāllā **bumr -in!**

O God! die:IRR-3p

‘**May** grief **befall** them, **may** God send a snake to **bite** them, O God, so **may** they **die**!’

(215) P439

tāt -um tō **br -ī** ḥijj.
 want:IMPF -1s 2s go:IRR -2s hajj.pilgrimage
 ‘I want you **to go** on the Hajj pilgrimage.’

Compare these parallel verbs in the same section of text; the first is Irrealis, the second is Imperative:

(216) U131

dgō ba šēx -ō tāt -um tō tāfaq **ād -ī** ba mē.
 say:3sIMPF to sheikh -the want:IMPF-1s 2s gun give:IRR -2s to 1s

bap xō sō’ -um wā tō rē’in.
 father REFL put:IMPF -1s with 2s bond

‘He said to the sheikh, “I want you **to give** me a gun. I will put up my father as collateral.’

(217) U140

dgō ba qady -ō bāba, mām xō sō’ -um wā tō rē’in,
 say:3sIMPF to judge -the O sir mother REFL put:1sIMPF with 2s bond

asp -ē **ād** ba mē.
 horse -a give:2sIMPER to 1s

‘He said to the judge, “Your honour, I am putting up my mother as collateral; **give** me a horse.’

4.2.2.6 Mirative

Mirative (MIR) codes information that is unexpected or surprising, characterised by an ‘unprepared mind’, this includes unusual or unacceptable events (Aikhenvald 2004:214). In Kumzari, violent or magical happenings are encoded using mirative verb forms. Narrative genres such as accounts and *tīskan* (fairy tales) always contain miratives at certain points in the discourse.

(218) B238

ka **jaḥḥa** **kin** bā rōk -ō awēlī.
 Suddenly swooping do:MIR for boy -the first

‘He [the sorcerer in bird form] suddenly **swooped** for the first boy!’

(219) A325

ğōrī **palla kin** čā'ī. amū samm **kard** inda yē.
 tea-pot filling do:MIR tea immediately poison drop:MIR in 3s
 'He **filled** the tea-pot with tea! He immediately **dropped** poison into it!'

(220) P195

brō inda pačaxčē -ō, wa **qafl** xō **kin**.
 go:MIR in chest -the and locked REFL do:MIR
 'She [the genie] **went** into the chest, and **locked** herself in.'

(221) R786

ar dwāzda kas -an šan **bard kin**.
 every twelve PERS -PL 3p stone do:MIR
 'He **turned** all twelve of them **into stone**.'

4.3 Verb phrase

Kumzari has verb phrases with finite verbs, compound verbs, and auxiliary verbs. Compound verb phrases have morphosyntactic properties similar to those of finite verb phrases, but these are shared over two words: a deverb and a light verb. Auxiliary verbs do not necessarily share morphosyntax with their referent lexical verb, and they may be marked separately.

4.3.1 Compound verb

Like other Indo-Iranian languages, Kumzari employs a specific type of serial verb construction: compound verbs (also known in the literature as complex predicates, light verb constructions, or complex verb constructions). Kumzari verbal compounds consist of a preverbal element followed by a light verb.⁷² The preverbal element is usually a deverb (see §4.1)⁷³ drawn from an open class, and it carries the semantic load of the compound as well as holding the syntactic place of the verb in the compound. The light verb bears all of the verbal inflectional morphology of the compound, marking aspect, mood, mirativity, voice, person, and number.⁷⁴ The light verb is procured from a closed list of just two verbs, which represent a paradigmatic contrast in voice: *tka* 'do' for active and *tō'a* 'become' for passive.

(222) A614

rōz -an dgur **alana** **gid -iš**.
 day -PL next speaking.to.an.assembly.of.people do:REAL -3s
 'In days that followed, **he spoke to an assembly of people**.'

⁷² 'Light verb' refers to a conjugated placeholder verb that is part of a compound in Indo-Iranian languages. It is preceded by another word, often a noun, that bears primary responsibility for the semantics of the compound. Terminology on compound verbs in Iranian languages comes largely from studies by Simin Karimi* and other participants in the Conference on Complex Predicates in Iranian Languages, held at the Université Sorbonne Nouvelle, Paris III, 5-6 July, 2008.

⁷³ Exceptions are G639 *gēr tka* 'bury (in a grave)' and S241 *bāz tka* 'play', in which the preverbal elements derive from Persian nouns, not Arabic verbs. However, these may be found to be more separable in syntax and literal in meaning, e.g. 'make a grave', 'make a game'.

⁷⁴ The light verb in Kumzari is semantically empty, in contrast to that other languages; in Persian, Urdu, and Wolaitta, it is said that the light verb holds semantic value in the complex predicate (Persian: Karimi 1997; Urdu: Butt 1997:120; Wolaitta: Amha & Dimmendaal 2006: 319-337).

(223) K378

lumrād **awya** **kin** xwēr.
 in.any.case descend.on.foot do:MIR (Xwair.hamlet)
 ‘In any case, **he climbed down** to Xwair hamlet!’

(224) R227

filhāl, **aqaba būr -in** ar aft kas-an šan.
 in.any.case binding become:REAL -3p each seven PERS -PL 3p
 ‘In any case, **they banded together**, all seven of them.’

Ludwig Paul (2008) notes the declining use of finite verbs in Persian in the 10th-14th centuries A.D. in favour of compounds, increasingly with Arabic pre-verbal elements. Kumzari follows the diachronic trend in Iranian languages of replacing synthetic constructions with analytical constructions.

4.3.2 Verb phrase morphosyntax

Both the finite verb phrase and the compound verb phrase display differential word order for pronouns and full nouns as the direct object. In a finite verb phrase, the direct object of a verb precedes the verb when it is in the form of a full noun, and follows the verb when it is in the form of a pronoun:

finite verb: *wākš* ‘open’

(225)

dar -ō twākš -a.
 door -the open:IMPF-3s
 ‘He opens **the door**.’

(226)

twākš -a **yē**.
 open:IMPF-3s 3s
 ‘He opens **it**.’

The same rule applies to compound verbs, in which the deverb is in the syntactic role of verb; a direct object in the form of a full noun precedes the deverb, and a direct object in the form of a pronoun follows the deverb (and thus precedes the light verb in the compound):

deverb: *fakka* ‘opening wide’ + light verb: *tka* ‘do’

(227)

dar -ō fakka tk -a.
 door -the opening wide do:IMPF-3s
 ‘He opens **the door** wide.’

(228)

fakka **yē** tk -a.
 opening wide 3s do:IMPF-3s
 ‘He opens **it** wide.’

The rule of varying syntax for objects that are nouns or pronouns is reminiscent of differential marking of overt objects in certain Central Iranian languages.⁷⁵ For example, in Gazi compound verbs, the pronominal clitic follows the overt object, and where there is no overt object, the pronominal clitic follows the preverbal element (Stilo 2004:9).

There also is a similar distinction in certain Arabic varieties of Oman and the UAE: “active participles functioning in this way [as adjectives] are morphologically marked with an *-inn-* infix when the object they govern is a pronoun, but not when they function as nouns” (Holes 1990:48). In this context, it is useful to recall that the Kumzari deverb in a compound functions syntactically similarly to the Omani Arabic active participle (see §4.1).

Regarding the morpheme *-inn-*, Holes states, “More probable, given that morphological features are deeply embedded in language structure and, as a general rule, slower to change, is that the modern dialects which have the infix construction come historically from a group of cognate dialects in a confined geographical area... eastern and southeastern Arabia” (Holes 2011:85).

The language neighbouring Kumzari, Shihhi Arabic, has an *inn* suffix that is obligatory after active participles with pronominal object suffixes (Bernabela 2011:68). Eades also notes that in the Šawāwi Arabic dialect of Oman, *-in(n)-* is obligatory after both participles and imperfects with object suffixes (Eades 2009:89). Windfuhr (2005) notes that Central Asian Arabic has *-in(n)-* after active participles with pronominal object suffixes. A more detailed cross-linguistic analysis would reveal whether morphosyntactic discrimination of noun- vs. pronoun- objects is an areal feature.

4.3.2.1 Verbs with inalienable nouns as direct objects

Inalienable nouns (see §3.3.4) as direct objects have the same syntax as pronouns; that is, they follow the verb, or the deverb in compounds:

finite verb: *āpš* ‘cover’

(229)

tāpš –a **linkit** **xō**.
cover:IMPF-3s finger REFL
‘She covers **her** **finger**.’

deverb: *laffa* ‘bandaging’ + light verb: *tka* ‘do’

(230)

laffa **linkit** **xō** tk –a.
bandaging finger REFL do:IMPF -3s
‘She bandages **her** **finger**.’

Indirect object complements, and other complements with prepositions, follow the verb, whether finite or compound:

⁷⁵ In Persian, the usual word order is for objects, whether nouns or pronouns, to precede the preverbal element in a compound verb, e.g. *Reza rā da’vat kardam* ‘I invited **Reza**’; *tō rā da’vat kardam* ‘I invited **you**’. Varying word order with pronouns instead following the preverbal element is possible with certain preverbal elements, but it requires the *ezāfe* except with 3s *-iš*, e.g. *da’vat-e šan kardam* ‘I invited **them**’.

(231) B299

aft -ta klīl dār -iš **ba** yē.
 seven –COUNT key give:REAL -3s to 3s
 ‘He gave seven keys **to him**.’

(232) B285

ḥalla gid -iš **inda** walēyit –ē.
 landing do:REAL -3s in country -a
 ‘He landed **in a country**.’

4.3.2.2 Verb goal arguments

Verb goal arguments, unlike direct or indirect objects, do not take prepositions; they are clause-final. Verb goals encompass locative, instrumental, and benefactive* complements.

(233) B175

sīd -in šan **madrēsīt -ō**.
 put:REAL -3p 3p school –the
 ‘They put them **in the school**.’

(234) S833

ātiš -ō labaqa gid -ī **lāḥm mē**.
 fire –the igniting do:REAL -2s body 1s
 ‘You set fire **to my body** [i.e. shamed me].’

(235) G865

sā sōr wa pīma tk -um ba šmā **čāz**.
 now salt.fish and green.onion do:IMPF -1s for 2p lunch
 ‘Now I will make you salt fish and green onions **for lunch**.’

(236) K474

naqaṭa kin **tālum -ō**.
 bringing.out.one.at.a.time do:MIR platter –the
 ‘He brought [them] out one at a time **onto the platter!**’

(237) R1333

ka dafana ān gid –in **bard**.
 right.away burying 3s.ANA do:REAL -3p stone
 ‘Right away they buried him **with stones**.’

Verb goal arguments are negated separately when the verb is negated:

(238) P344

ūny-a **na kwēt na**.
 stay:IMPER -3s NEG Kuwait NEG
 ‘Let him **not** stay **in Kuwait**.’

(239) S31

mē č-um **na xāna na**.
 1s go:IMPF -1s NEG marriage NEG
 ‘As for me, I am **not** going **to marry**.’

Verb goal arguments do not concord with the subject in taking the reflexive pronoun *xō*, as an object would:

(240) P1213

čōr -iš laḥm **yē** ba šābun
wash:REAL -3s body 3s with soap
'He washed **his** body with soap'

4.3.2.3 Factive verb phrase syntax

Clauses with factive verbs, which “describe the coming into existence of some entity” (Payne 1997:59), follow the same word order as verb goal arguments. Factivity is expressed only syntactically in Kumzari; the entity that ‘comes into existence’ is treated as a verb goal argument and is post-posed to clause-final position, similarly to a locative complement:

(241) S47

kin ba mē **sonṭy -ē**.
make:2sIMPER for 1s raft -a
'Make **a raft** for me.'

(242) B231

gardīd -iš xō **ṭēr -ē**.
turn.into:REAL -3s REFL bird -a
'He turned himself into **a bird**.'

Arguments of factive verbs, like verb goal arguments, are negated separately when the verb is negated:

(243) G282

dānid -iš **na** **walēyit** **xō** **na**.
know:REAL -3s NEG country REFL NEG
'He did **not** know [**where**] **his country was**.'

Factivity pertains not only to external reality but also takes in the scope of a text, and is obligatory in complete narrative discourse. Factive syntax is used for introductions in a text; the argument is presented as a verb goal. Thus factive syntax applies to ‘coming into existence’ within the discourse: the initial reference to a character, magical object, or concept is post-posed to clause-final position.

(244) R25

xalafa gid -iš **aft -ta** **kōrk- -an**.
having (children) do:REAL -3s seven -COUNT son- -PL
'He had **seven sons**.'

The example above is the first mention of the seven sons in the text, and they are the story's main characters. The phrase is dislocated to the end of the clause (non-factive syntax would have the object before the verb, in this case: *aft-ta kōrk-an xalafa gid-iš*).

In the following example of factive syntax with the first time the item *mū* ‘hair’ is mentioned, a magical creature *tūmīnō* is giving a boy his hair with which the boy can summon help in his time of need (in non-factive syntax the object would precede the verb).

(245) K329

gur mū.
 take:IMPER hair
 ‘Take **the hair**.’

4.3.3 Composition of the compound verb

The two elements in a compound verb form a single lexical unit, sharing the grammatical tasks of a finite verb. Semantically and syntactically the deverb in a compound acts similarly to a finite verb, while the light verb retains the morphology of a finite verb. The deverb and light verb are very much dependent on each other in the construction, having exclusive and complementary morphosyntactic roles.

Compound verbs, like finite verbs, describe a single event. They share TAMM features, which are realised only on the light verb. However, semantics is borne only by the non-verbal element (i.e. the deverb). This is on contrast to complex predicates in Persian, which share the semantic burden between the non-verbal element and the light verb, according to Karimi (1997), but akin to complex predicates in Kurmanji, in which “meaning is largely predictable from the semantics of the [preverbal noun]. The semantic contribution of the [verb] on the other hand is vague” (Haig 2002:23).

Light verbs in Kumzari have heavy counterparts, which do have semantic value and take arguments like any other simple verb:

(246) P324

wēkil -ō raft qāwil -ō **gid -iš** ba di- -ta qışr.
 guardian -the go:3sREAL large.business.deal -the do:REAL -3s on two- -COUNT palace
 ‘The guardian went to **do** the business transaction for two palaces.’

(247) K72

paştin **tō’-a** ā, lēx -ō jēl tk-a
 mid-afternoon become:IMPF-3s SUB fishing.net -the laying.out do:IMPF-3s
 ‘When **it became mid-afternoon**, he would lay out the fishing net’

The following example demonstrates both light and heavy functions of the verb *gidiš* ‘do’. The deverb *xabaqa* with the light verb has derived to *xabq*, and become the direct object of the heavy verb:

(248) S458

xabaqa yē **gid -iš** ba mqaşş -ō. xabq -ē **gid -iš** inda yē.
 piercing 3s do:REAL -3s with scissors -the hole -a do:REAL -3s in 3s
 ‘**He pierced** it with the scissors. **He made** a hole in it.’

4.3.3.1 Voice and transitivity in compound verbs

As in Persian compound verbs (Megerdooomian 2002:4), the choice of light verb in Kumzari compound verbs determines their voice as active (with *tka* ‘do’ as light verb) or passive (with *tō’a* ‘become’ as light verb):

fataka tka ‘slice’ *fataka tō’a* ‘become sliced’
zarra tka ‘throw’ *zarra tō’a* ‘become thrown’
samaḥa tka ‘forgive’ *samaḥa tō’a* ‘become forgiven’

This text example illustrates the active-passive function of the two light verbs:

(249) B370

kōr -ō tāy **talaqa** yē **tk-a,** **talaqa** **bur** na.
 boy -the come:3sIMPF peeling 3s do:IMPF-3s peeling become:3sREAL NEG
 ‘The boy comes to **peel** it; it didn’t **peel**!’

Korn notes that the light verb had already by the Middle Iranian period become a transitivity feature so that the three languages Parthian, Sogdian, and Khotanese had pairs of light verbs with ‘do’ meaning transitive/active and ‘become’ meaning intransitive/passive (Korn 2008:3-4). If Kumzari developed out of its co-parent Middle Persian as seems to be the case, it might be expected that the voice property is linked to the light verb as in other Middle Iranian languages.

For the passive construction, whereas Modern Persian uses the past participle of a transitive verb + ‘become’ (Dabir-Moghaddam 1997:41), Kumzari uses the deverb + ‘become’. In Kumzari, a compound verb with the light verb *tka* ‘do’ can be either transitive or intransitive, depending on the semantics of the deverb. This operates likewise in Modern Persian, in which light verbs can be transitive or intransitive (Dabir-Moghaddam 1997:37-41).

Even in the most transitive-appearing form of the light verb ‘do’, the third-person singular realis *gidiš*, the suffix does not (or no longer does) signal transitivity, as may be seen in the following intransitive compound verbs with *gidiš*:

(250) S203

ğazara **gid -iš** inda āw -an.
 sinking do:REAL -3s in water -PL
 ‘**It sank** into the water.’

(251) G426

aṣṣa **gid -iš** ba tēr -ō.
 pressing do:REAL -3s on bird -the
 ‘**He pressed** on the bird.’

(252) B285

ḥalla **gid -iš** inda walēyit -ē.
 landing do:REAL -3s in country -a
 ‘**He landed** in a country.’

(253) R301

qadaḥa gid -iš
 walking.around do:REAL -3s
 ‘**He walked around.**’

(254) S644

daqqa gid -iš ba yē.
 knocking do:REAL -3s on 3s
 ‘**He knocked** on it.’

4.3.3.2 Unity in the compound verb

Although there is formal division of labour between the two elements in a compound, functionally they share all features. The two elements of a compound verb are “conceptualized as a single event” (Aikhenvald 2006:1). They form one intonational unit. In a compound, the deverb and light verb are contiguous; the only allowable intervening word is a direct object if it is in the form of a pronoun or inalienable noun. Compound verbs operate syntactically parallel to single verbs; they function the same in complex clauses. The features of a single finite verb are distributed over two words in the compound. The two elements in compound verbs share arguments: subject (and objects, if present) is co-referential:

(255) R1422

dēl-ō dandala gid -iš ba yē.
 pail-the dangling do:REAL -3s to 3s
 ‘**He dangled the pail to him.**’

(256) K362

nakṭ-ē āw nakata tk -in ba mē.
 little-a water dripping do:IMPF -3p for 1s
 ‘**They are dripping a bit of water for me.**’

(257) R1373

matfa’ -an naqqa gid -iš.
 cannon -PL firing do:REAL -3s
 ‘**He fired cannons.**’

(258) K529

jā aḏala gid -in.
 barley separating do:REAL -3p
 ‘**They separated barley.**’

(259) R482

qaṣṣa sar yē tk -a ba šamšīr -ō.
 cutting head 3s do:IMPF -3s with sword -the
 ‘**He cut off his head with the sword.**’

Compound verbs are negated as a whole; the deverb is not separately negated as it would be if it were an oblique object (the second example below shows a separately negated oblique object *mē* but the deverb *skafya* is not separately negated because it forms a compound with the light verb):

(260) P672

ā'ā, **dabaga** tō' –um na.
 no falling.off become:IMPF -1s NEG
 'No, **I won't fall off.**'

(261) S339

skafya k –ē na pi mē na.
 concealing do:IMPER -2p NEG from 1s NEG
 'Don't **conceal** from me.'

(262) R747

mā **ḥačča** yē **tk –im** na.
 1p heeding 3s do:IMPF -1p NEG
 'We **will not heed** him.'

The two elements in compound verbs also share subordination, together taking one subordinator morpheme, like single verbs. In the following example, two verbs in two subordinate clauses take the subordinator *ā*: the single verb *āmad* 'comes' is subordinated and the whole compound verb *ḡaṭṭa tka* is subordinated (its complement *ba mē* is marked separately as subordinated):

(263) S393

ana **ḡaṭṭa** **tk –a** ā ba mē ā,
 if sleeping.soundly do:IMPF-3s SUB to 1s SUB

āmad ā, mār mē k –ē.
 come:3sREAL SUB awake 1s do:IMPER -2p
 'If **sound sleep falls** upon me, when **she comes**, wake me up.'

In a compound verb, unlike a verb phrase with a finite verb, the deverb is not the object of the light verb. Whereas objects can be inflected, lack of inflection in the deverb points to its dependence as part of the compound:

(264) S57 [object and finite verb]

xānaḡ –ē kin ba mē inda yē.
 house –a do:2sIMPER for 1s in 3s
 'Make **a house** for me in it.'

(265) S21 [compound verb with deverb and no object]

darasa gid -in.
 studying do:REAL -3p
 'They **studied.**'

In fact, the deverb in a compound is syntactically equivalent to a finite verb, in that it can take its own direct object, adopting the word order of a finite verb (the full noun direct object precedes the deverb, not the finite verb, and the pronoun direct object follows the deverb, not the finite verb):

(266) U237

ātiš -ō labaqa gid -iš pi nixin -an yē.
 fire -the igniting do:REAL -3s from nail -PL 3s
 ‘He lit the fire from its hooves.’

(267) B433

labaqa yē k -a ba hālg.
 igniting 3s do:IRR -3s with kerosene
 ‘lighting it with kerosene.’

The example with *talaqa* ‘peeling’ (repeated below) shows that when an active compound verb becomes passive, the direct object becomes the subject while the deverb is unchanged in morphology and syntax; the deverb does not become the subject as it would if it were the direct object (this is unlike Kurdish, see Haig 2002).

(268) B370

kōr -ō tāy talaqa yē tka, **talaqa bur** na.
 boy -the come:3sIMPF peeling 3s do:3sIMPF peeling become:3sREAL NEG
 ‘The boy comes to **peel** it; it didn’t **peel**!’

Further indication of the deverb + light verb construction’s unitary status is their transcription as a single word in the Kumzari fieldwork of Bertram Thomas (1930:10-11): e.g. “suwāltikum”, “mejemegursin” (meaning ‘I ask’ and ‘they have spoken’, respectively).

Thus the deverb and light verb in a construction “act together as a single predicate” (Aikhenvald 2006:1,7), without markers of coordination or subordination. They share and display single marking of subject, object, aspect, mood, mirativity, person, number, voice and transitivity, and negation. In such a case, where “the components may together form one grammatical word: this is also known as ‘compounding’ or ‘root serialisation’” (Aikhenvald 2006:37).

4.3.3.3 Compound verb designation

In Kumzari, deverb + light verb constructions are designated compound verbs, rather than complex predicates, because deverbs derive from Semitic verbs, and follow the syntactic rules of a single finite verb when they are in such a construction (see §4.1). The light verb does not contribute to the semantic head; instead, the argument structure of the predicate is determined by the deverb. Since their argument structure is not complex, Kumzari deverb + light verb constructions cannot be considered complex predicates according to definitions of such for related languages (Persian: Karimi 2008:6; Urdu: Butt 1997:108). Other Indo-Iranian and Indo-Aryan grammatical descriptions use the term ‘compound verb’ to refer to preverbal element (a verb, noun, or other constituent) + verb constructions (Kurmanji: Thackston 2006:35; Baluchi: Axenov 2006:154; Palula: Liljegren 2008:212; Persian: Dabir-Moghaddam 1997:27). In particular, Haig (2002:27) notes that ‘compounding’ is an appropriate label for the noun + verb complex predicate in Kurdish because the preverbal element is not morphologically part of the verb, but it is also not an argument of the verb.

4.3.4 Auxiliary verb

Several auxiliary verbs are attested in Kumzari, of which the most common are laid out in Table 34. Frequently auxiliary verbs occur with another verb to signal modality.

Table 34. Auxiliary verbs

auxiliary verb	gloss
wayda ‘hold’	keep doing something (one time)
mād ‘stay’	keep doing something (habitual)
čō ‘go’	going to do something
tāta ‘want’	want to or would do something
wēl ‘let’	allow to do something
rāya, čwana ‘be able’	can do something

Middle Persian and Parthian employed the auxiliary verb ‘stand’ in durative *aktionsart* function⁷⁶. Various Iranian languages use other verbs for this function: ‘remain’ (Sogdian), ‘hold’ (New Persian), ‘keep’ (Khoramabadi Luri)(Korn 2008, MacKinnon 2011). Similarly, Kumzari uses the auxiliary verbs *mād* ‘stay’ and *ōdur* ‘hold’ to indicate continuous action:

(269) B336

wa **mād** xōr yē dō’ –a, brinz zīra wa nān gēnum wa
 and stay:3sREAL food 3s give:IMPF -3s rice pot-bottom and bread wheat and
 rōwn gōsin.
 oil goat

‘And he **kept** giving him food: pot-bottom rice, and wheat bread, and goat ghee.’

(270) K664

wayda ād yē na ba šēx –ō na.
 hold:2sIMPER give:2sIMPER 3s NEG to sheikh –the NEG
 ‘Don’t **keep** giving it to the sheikh.’

The auxiliary verb takes the appropriate conjugation for the context, which is often the same as the lexical verb:

(271) G344

brō ūn –ī pēna muzgit.
 go:2sIMPER sit:IMPER -2s beside mosque
 ‘**Go sit** beside the mosque.’

(272) B1254

rāy –ī tōpur –ī ba mā ā?
 be.able:IMPF -2s fly:IMPF -2s with 1p INTERR
 ‘**Can you fly** with us?’

(273) G48

č –im tkard –im ba xō kō –ō.
 go:IMPF -1p cultivate:IMPF -1p for REFL mountain -the
 ‘**We will go cultivate** for ourselves on the mountain.’

⁷⁶ Modern Tajiki Persian uses this as well (Perry 2005).

(274) G395

bō šām -an **kaš.**

go:MIR supper -PL serve:MIR

‘**He went to serve** the suppers!’

However, the two verbs may be conjugated differently as well. When the subjects of the auxiliary verb and lexical verb are different, as in the examples below, the subject of the lexical verb (*tō* ‘you’, *šan* ‘them’) is explicitly stated to clarify that it is not the same as the subject of the auxiliary (*-um* ‘I’, *-iš* ‘she’), and the lexical verb may have different aspect or mood, such as the Irrealis:

(275) P439

tāt -**um** **tō** **br -ī** **hijj.**

want:IMPF -1s 2s go:IRR -2s Hajj.pilgrimage

‘**I want you to go** on the Hajj pilgrimage.’

(276) S377

wēl -**a** **yē** **byāt.**

let:IMPER -3s 3s come:3sIRR

‘**She must be let to come.**’

(277) N32

wašt -**iš** **šan** mī’ī **xōr -in.**

let:REAL -3s 3p fish eat:IRR -3p

‘**She let them eat** fish.’

(278) U131

tāt -**um** **tō** tāfaq **ād -ī** ba mē.

want:IMPF -1s 2s gun give:IRR -2s to 1s

‘**I want you to give** me a gun.’

Compound verbs take an auxiliary verb in the same manner as single verbs:

(279) G67

sā kō’ī -an **č -in** **ays** **tk -in.**

now mountain.bedouin -PL go:IMPF -3p migrating do:IMPF -3p

‘Now the mountain bedouins **were going to migrate.**’

Direct objects of the lexical verb precede the lexical verb, just as they would if it were a verb without an auxiliary:

(280) G162

br -ē **čāz** xōr -ē.

go:IMPER -2p lunch eat:IMPER -2p

‘Go eat **lunch.**’

(281) K765

kē čwān -a **dit** **maṭlē’ī šimiš** tār -a?

who be.able:IMPF -3s daughter (folktale character's name) bring:IMPF -3s

‘Who can bring **the daughter of Matlei Shimish?**’

(282) G646

bu **xōr** -ē xar.
 go:2sIMPER donkey -a buy:2sIMPER
 ‘Go buy **a donkey**.’

Likewise, direct objects of compound verbs with an auxiliary precede the compound verb, as they do without an auxiliary:

(283) U79

mām -ō čō **qāḥwē** šaraba k-a
 mother -the go:3sIMPF coffee drinking do:IRR-3s
 ‘The mother would go to drink **coffee**’

(284) K481

čwān -ī **čō’ō** šaraba tk -ī ā?
 be.able:IMPF -2s well -the drinking do:IMPF -2s INTERR
 ‘Can you drink **the well**?’

Direct objects in the form of a pronoun follow the verb, even when there is an auxiliary verb:

(285) G453

raf wād -iš **yē**.
 go:3sREAL bring:REAL -3s 3s
 ‘He went to bring **it**.’

(286) S807

tāt -ī tēbur -ī **mē** wā= xā šmā ahla tō mēš -in mē...
 want:IMPF -2s carry:IMPF -2s 1s -ward house 2p relatives 2s see:IRR -3p 1s
 ‘You want to take **me** to your house so that your relatives might look at me...’

Pronoun direct objects of compound verbs with an auxiliary follow the deverb and precede the light verb, as they do without an auxiliary:

(287) G240

č-um abaša **yē** k -um pi gawd -ō.
 go:IMPF -1s catching 3s do:IRR -1s from cave -the
 ‘I am going to catch **it** from the cave.’

An auxiliary verb can apply to more than one lexical verb:

(288) R1018

tāt -a **tay** **txōr -a** šan
 want:IMPF -3s come:3sIMPF eat:IMPF -3s 3p
 ‘**He wanted to come eat them**’

(289) R1145

wēl šan **ḥaraka** **k -in** **burwā’ -in**.
 let:2sIMPER 3p moving do:IRR -3p run:IRR -3p
 ‘**Let them move and run**.’

If the auxiliary verb is negated, the lexical verb must also be negated:

(290) R1453

rāy -um **na** dug -um šan **na.**
 be.able:IMPF -1s NEG take:IMPF -1s 3p NEG
 ‘I **cannot** take them.’

(291) S191

rāy -in **na** abaša yē tk -in **na.**
 be.able:IMPF -3p NEG catching 3s do:IMPF -3p NEG
 ‘They could **not** catch it.’

But the lexical verb may be negated alone:

(292) A240

yē tāt -a tār -a yē bāla **na.**
 3s want:IMPF -3s bring:IMPF -3s 3s up NEG
 ‘He wanted to **not** bring him up.’

(293) P353

wayda ūn -ī **na.**
 hold:2sIMPER stay:IMPER -2s NEG
 ‘Do **not** keep staying.’

The lexical verb and its complements follow the auxiliary verb but act together as a whole, syntactically being treated as verb goal arguments of the auxiliary (see §4.3.2.2 above). In the examples below, the entire verb phrase of a negated auxiliary verb is also negated:

(294) B73

rāy-im **na** dg -im ba tō “ālāllā” **na.**
 be.able:IMPF -1p NEG say:IMPF -1p to 2s “for God” NEG
 ‘We **cannot** tell you “for God”. [i.e., we cannot dismiss you]’

(295) G990

dām **na** r-in giya **na.**
 know:1sIMPF NEG go:REAL-3p where NEG
 ‘I do **not** know where they went.’

(296) S193

rāy -in **na** sī’ -in yē nēxan **na.**
 be.able:IMPF -3p NEG put:IMPF -3p 3s aboard NEG
 ‘They were **not** able to bring it aboard.’

Auxiliary verbs are syntactically distinct from adverbs in that they fall after the subject, not clause-initially. However, because of the frequent omission of pronoun subjects, they may appear to be similarly situated. In the following two examples, the second-place order of a full noun subject shows that *lāzum* ‘must’ and *balkē* ‘perhaps’ are not auxiliary verbs, but adverbs in the clause-initial position:

(297) S506

lāzum yā ʒank- -ō inda yā sōntī -ō.
 must DEM woman- -the in DEM raft -the
 ‘This woman **must** be in this raft.’

(298) A781

balkē ḥukm -ō jōr yē ba drō.
 perhaps government -the look.for:3sIMPF 3s to lie
 ‘**Perhaps** the government seeks a lie.’

4.3.5 *Verb truncation*

Unlike the single marking of verbal categories in compound verbs, auxiliary verbs may display truncated marking. In these shortened forms, marking of person, number, aspect, mood, and mirativity on dependent verbs is reduced, and the verbal categories defer to that of the lexical verb (Aikhenvald 2006:39-41).

(299) K67

lēx xērid -iš ba xō wa **raf** naṣaba yē tk-a dirya -ō.
 fishing net buy:REAL -3s for REFL and go placing 3s do:IMPF-3s sea -the
 ‘He bought a fishing net for himself, and **he went** to place it in the sea.’

(300) K101

sā wa **āma** qaṣṣa yē gid -iš,...
 now if/when come cutting 3s do:REAL -3s
 ‘Now when **he came** to cut it up,...’

(301) R132

raf dār -iš ba yē xōr -ē wa šamšir -ē.
 go give:REAL -3s to 3s donkey -a and sword -a
 ‘**He went** to give him a donkey and a sword.’

Forms of commonly truncated verbs are listed in Table 35. There is not truncated marking on the auxiliary verb if its subject or verbal categories are different from those of the lexical verb. Similarly lacking verbal morphology, deverbs in compounds are uninflected and rely on the light verb for explicit morphological distinctions.

Table 35. Commonly truncated verbs

short form	long form	gloss
bu	brō	go:2sIMPER
ra/ raf	raft	go:3sREAL
ām/ āma	āmad	come:3sREAL
giš	gidiš	do:3sREAL
rēsi	rēsid	arrive:3sREAL
ču	čō(t)	go:3sIMPF
rum	raftum	go:1sREAL
wāb/ wābu	wābur	become:3sREAL
tō	tō'a	become:3sIMPF
rin	raftin	go:3pREAL
gin	gaftin	say:3pREAL

Truncated marking also occurs in the verbs of subordinated clauses, where the full form is marked on the main clause verb, and in medial verbs of a clause chain, where the full form is marked on the final verb. Subordinated clauses and clause chains are discussed in §9.4.

4.3.6 Other multi-verb constructions

There is a high degree of morphosyntactic interdependence among verbs in Kumzari multi-verb constructions: some share verbal categories, and some have uninflected or truncated forms indicating their morpho-syntactic dependence on another verb. Multi-verb constructions include compound verbs, auxiliary verb constructions, serial verb constructions, and clause chains (all of these contain verbs with shared subjects; otherwise subjects not shared are obligatorily made explicit). Of these, compound verbs, auxiliary verb constructions, and other serial verb constructions are monoclausal; the verbs share a single grammatical subject, and neither coordination nor subordination is attested between the verbs, which instead form a unified predicate.

Serial verb constructions function to describe joined actions. The first verb in a serial verb construction is often a motion verb such as ‘go’ or ‘come.’ It has reduced marking of verbal categories, but is understood to have the same aspect, modality, mirativity, person, and number as latter verbs in the construction:

(302) K101

sā wa āma qašša yē gid-iš,...
 now if/when come:3s cutting 3s do:REAL-3s
 ‘Now when **he came to cut it up**,...’

In the following example, the first verb in the serial verb construction *ču* ‘go’ has reduced marking of aspect, mood, mirativity, person, and number, but the second verb *tāra* ‘bring’ is fully inflected. Note that the auxiliary verb *čwana* ‘be able’ applies to both verbs in the serial verb construction:

(303) K766

kē čwān-a ču asp-an insiy-an tār-a?
 who be.able:IMPF-3s go:3s horse -PL humanlike -PL bring:IMPF-3s
 ‘Who can **go bring** the magic horses?’

Serial verb constructions that are compounds and form one grammatical word allow only single marking of shared verbal categories (Aikhenvald 2006:40). Auxiliary verb constructions, with their potential for separate marking, thus fall outside the designation of compounds, although they are monoclausal and represent one event.

Medial verbs in a clause chain are morphosyntactically dependent and, like compound verbs, rely on the final verb for verbal category marking; however, they differ from compounds in that they represent separate, though related, events, and of course they are not monoclausal. Clause chains, and the relationships among the verbs in them, are described in §9.49.4.2.3.

Giving cross-linguistic typological evidence, Aikhenvald (2006:3) explains that “serial verb constructions come in a variety of guises... their components may always be contiguous... or they may be interruptable by other constituents”. Her further report that “some verbal categories may have to be marked on every verb in a series... or just once per construction” supports the findings of a range of multi-verb and serial verb construction types in Kumzari (Aikhenvald 2006:3).

5 Existential

5.1 Existential by definition

Kumzari has a set of six pronominal enclitics that function to link subjects and predicates. Despite this sounding much like the definition of a copula (cf. Pustet 2003:5-7), the enclitics in Kumzari are in fact existentials, are unlike copulas in a number of respects, and have properties both resembling and differing from verbs.

Their ambiguity as a word class stems from their idiosyncratic history. Although in many languages copulas are verbs, in Kumzari the equivalent word class is the existential enclitics, which appear to have developed out of a copular verb such as the Old Persian **h*-existential by shedding the verb stem at a much earlier stage of the language, probably more than a millenium ago.⁷⁷ With only the pronominal endings left, the existential enclitics broadened their syntactic and semantic scope to accommodate all non-verbal predicates.

The existential enclitics can serve as predicates in a clause, but require a complement. Existentials are not compatible with another verb, and they occupy the same syntactic position as a verb: clause-final. However, in dropping their verb stem the existentials have properties that are synchronically unverblike: they are timeless, do not conjugate, and do not have any indication of tense, aspect, mood, voice, or mirativity; thus, they do not fill in a paradigm as verbs do (cf. Stassen 1997:76). They are enclitics, meaning they can combine with many kinds of predicate nuclei (cf. Sorani, Samvelian 2007:265). They are semantically empty. In addition, the existential enclitics differ formally from both the pronominal verbal affixes and the possessive pronouns (see section 3.2.2 possessive pronouns). Negation of existentials uses the negative enclitic, which falls after the existential (see chapter 10).

Although fulfilling most of the technical criteria of a copula, the Kumzari enclitic is called an existential for a number of reasons. Firstly, the existential is neither a prototypical verbal copula nor a prototypical nonverbal copula. Although it is similar to a verbal copula, it does not have the definitive TAMM inflection and verbal paradigm, and thus lacks “the morphological features which distinguish verbs in the language” (Stassen 1997:76). While some languages possess a nonverbal copula, these are all traced to either morphosyntactic marking of information structure or separate pronouns (Stassen 1997:76ff, cf. Pustet 2003:54). Secondly, copulas can in many languages have verbs as complements (Pustet 2003:62), but in Kumzari, existentials and verbs are mutually exclusive in the predicate. Thirdly, the verb *bur* ‘become’ in Kumzari is a more apt custodian of the term copula, for reasons laid out in chapter 9. Fourthly, the use of the term ‘existential’ for a similar morpheme has precedents in the related languages Sorani (Blau 2000:76, Thackston 2006:30) and Domari (Matras 1999:33), in Iranian Central Plateau dialects (Windfuhr 1991), in the contact language Aramaic (G.Khan 2008:838,842), and in the nearby varieties Khorasan Arabic (Windfuhr 2006) and Bandari (Pelevin 2002).

5.2 Morphological structure of the Existential

The six existential enclitics are given in Table 36 below.

⁷⁷ The Kumzari existential’s incompatibility with verbs suggests that the existential was formed, and the **h*-verb stem dropped, at some point before Middle Persian adopted the *istad* forms.

Table 36. Existential enclitics

person	singular	plural
1	=um	=im
2	=ī	=ē
3	=Ø	=in

The existentials are enclitics; that is, unlike the verbal suffixes which can only attach to verbs, the existentials cliticise to the end of any word class or phrase other than verbs. However, being clitics they are also unlike the separate pronouns in that they are “grammatical words but not independent phonological words” (Dixon & Aikhenvald 2002:35); they undergo morphophonemic alternation to form a phonological unit with the word they follow (cf. Matthews 2002:278). Existential enclitics are unstressed, and being vowel-initial, an epenthetic glottal stop appears when they attach to vowel-final stems (e.g. *ḡanī*=**in** ‘they are rich’ but *apsit*=**in** ‘they are upset’)⁷⁸.

5.3 Syntactic distribution of the Existential

5.3.1 Semantic categories taking the Existential

Kumzari takes the existential enclitic on all three semantic types of predicates delineated by Pustet’s typological cross-linguistic examination (Pustet 2003): “existential predicates” (e.g. there are goats), “ascriptive predicates” (e.g. they are goats), and “identificational predicates” (e.g. he is Shaiky-the-Goat). Following are examples of the existential performing in all three predicate functions:

(304) K597 [existential predicate]

ka pi yē si-ta=**in** ā, ka pi yē bātar!
 if from 3s three-COUNT =EX:3p SUB if from 3s better
 ‘If **there were** three of them, it would have been even better!’

(305) S419 [ascriptive predicate]

ammū šan zank-an=**in** ya’nī.
 all 3p woman-PL =EX:3p that is to say
 ‘That is to say, all of them **were** women.’

(306) A110 [identificational predicate]

tō aḥmad =ī? mē aḥmad tka =**um**.
 2s aḥmad =EX:2s 1s aḥmad “does-it”=EX:1s
 ‘You **are** Ahmad?’ ‘I **am** Ahmad-Does-It.’

5.3.2 Syntactic categories taking the Existential

As an enclitic, the existential can attach to words of various syntactic categories:

nouns:

⁷⁸ This is very similar to the diachronic development of a copula from a verb in Turkish, of which at present only the pronominal endings and an intervocalic glide –y remain (Pustet 2003:56-57).

(307) P981

šmā martk-an=ē

2p man-PL =EX:2p

‘As for you, **you are** men’

(308) G22

kō’ī=**in**.

mountain.bedouin =EX:3p

‘**They are** mountain bedouins.’

adjectives:

(309) A311

dūr =**in** ya’nī pi gēr-ō.

far =EX:3p that.is.to.say from grave-the

‘That is to say, **they were** far from the grave.’

(310) S477

xālaš =**in**. ditk-o raft.

finished =EX:3p girl-the go:3sREAL

‘**They were** finished. The girl left.’

deverbs:

(311) B656

šara’a =**in** walēyit-ē.

docked =EX:3p country -a

‘**They were** docked in a country.’

(312) S756

sā laffa =**in**.

now swarming =EX:3p

‘Now **they were** swarming.’

and perfect participles:

(313) G155

sātē ġēla-an mē xōs =**in**.

now grain-PL 1s eat:PERF =EX:3p

‘Now my grain **is** eaten.’

(314) G12

mām, bap, iš na. mām yē murs-ē =**Ø**, bap yē murs-ē =**Ø**.

mother father any NEG mother 3s die:PERF-3s =EX:3s father 3s die:PERF-3s =EX:3s

‘Mother, father, there weren’t any. His mother **was** dead, his father **was** dead.’

as well as to inflected words:

(315) B1042

ba tēra-ō =**in**.

on path-the =EX:3p

‘**They are** on the path.’

(316) P982

kō’ī-an =**ē**.

mountain bedouin-PL =EX:2p

‘**You are** mountain bedouins.’

and to entire phrases:

(317) R381

si-ta zīn =**in**.

three-COUNT thief =EX:3p

‘**There were** three thieves.’

(318) B1256

mē wa brār-an mē aft kas =**im**.

1s and brother-PL 1s seven PERS =EX:1p

‘I and my brothers **are** seven people.’

(319) R117

tō wā šan =**ī** na.

2s with 3p =EX:2s NEG

‘You **are** not with them.’

Other than perfect participles, the existential enclitic does not co-occur with verbs in the predicate. The fact that non-participial verbs are mutually exclusive with the existential enclitic points to its verbal origin.

5.4 Semantics of the Existential

While the categories of verbal inflection are six TAMM forms, the existential has only a single form that is used for all contexts. Consisting of the former verbal endings, however, the existential enclitic retains the six person-number forms.

The existential enclitics do not express demarcation as to time (past, present, future):

(320)

pīru mē murḥum, ammū wā yē=**um** bē.

grandfather 1s late (died) always with 3s=EX:1s only

‘My late grandfather, **I was** always only with him.’

If time must be pragmatically expressed, a verb or explicit time reference is used:

(321) K577

mē dūšīn ḡarra=**um**.

1s yesterday mistaken=EX:1s

‘**Yesterday I was** mistaken.’

Aspect, mood, mirativity, and voice are also undifferentiated in the existential, so that if these must be communicated, a verb is used, often the verb *tō'a* 'become':

(322) P900

ḥamala biš šēx-ō!
careful become:2sIMPER sheikh-the
'**Watch out** for the sheikh!'

5.5 Existential in Poetics

This poem, embedded in the tale *Abūyi salaḥnī*, *Ummī rakabnī*, uses the existential in cataphora. The third-person plural existential enclitic is repeated at the end of eight successive lines in the list portion of the poem, to elaborate on the abundance of things carried away by the newlyweds.

Table 37. Existentials in the poem Newlyweds carry things away

Poem: U515 (Newlyweds carry things away)	
nwāz mičē tāt-im ā, tambār-im. ba siyyārit = in , ba jāmal = in . ka xōrdin = in , ka šākar = in , ka brinḡ = in , wa ka mēčūrī = in , wa ka ḡāḡ = in , wa ka širx = in , wa ka... filḥāl, dām... ča qaymit, čintā malyūn, ambād-iš yē.	
“Tomorrow, whatever we want, let’s carry away.” They are in cars, They are on camels: There was also food, There was also sugar, There was also rice, And there was also fish, And there was also money, And there was also gold And also... in any case, I don't know what value, How many millions’ worth, They carried it off.	
rhetorical structure of the poem: carry on {large value} plural existential on {large value} plural existential also {valuable} plural existential also {valuable} plural existential also {valuable} plural existential	

	and also {valuable} plural existential
	and also {valuable} plural existential
	and also {valuable} plural existential
	and also...
{large value}	
{large value}	
carry	

6 Modifier

6.1 Adjectives

Cross-linguistically, adjectives are words designating properties and functioning as attributes (Pustet 2003:10-11). In Kumzari, adjectives follow the noun they modify in a noun phrase, preceding a possessor noun or pronoun.

(323) S51

sōnty-ē **gap** byār.

raft -a big bring:2sIMPER

‘Bring a **big** raft.’

Syntactically, adjectives function both attributively and predicatively. In predicates, adjectives may appear with the existential enclitic or with the verb *tō* ‘a’ ‘become.’

(324) R1220

čēnağ =in.

thirsty =EX:3p

‘They are **thirsty**.’

(325) P608

xwaš wābur.

well become:3sREAL

‘She became **well**.’

Adjectives have a less significant role in Kumzari relative to that of other word classes. Expression of attributes relies more heavily on nouns, deverbs, abstract plurals, and verbs, both in lexical resources and in frequency of use. The following four examples illustrate the semantic role of an adjective being fulfilled by a verbal participle, an abstract plural, a deverb, and a noun, respectively.

(326) U181

ğāzal -ē **murs-ē**

gazelle -a die:PERF-3s

‘a **dead** gazelle’

(327) N8

ğātal -an

storm -PL

‘**stormy** [weather]’

(328) G285

ğawya wābur.

lost become:3sREAL

‘He became **lost**.’

(329) B1260

bap mē **kōr** būs-ē.

father 1s blind.person become:PERF-3s

‘My father has become **blind**.’

Like Persian and Baluchi adjectives (Axenov 2006:86), Kumzari adjectives are flexibly able to function as nouns, with only semantic limitations in this regard. The line between nouns and adjectives is thin; adjectives can take nominal suffixes such as definite *-ō*, indefinite *-ē*, and plural *-an*, while nouns can take the adjectival comparative suffix *-tar* and the intensifier *xaylē* ‘very’ and can ‘modify’ another noun. An adjective with nominal inflection can even take on the syntactic role of a noun as an argument in a clause, completing the disguise:

(330) S27 [adjective as subject of clause]

gap -an raft -in xāna ba rōr -an āmō xō.
big -PL go:REAL -3p marriage with child -PL uncle (paternal) REFL
‘**The older ones** [literally: ‘bigs’] married their cousins.’

The general rule for adjectives is that in attributive function, adjectives agree in definiteness/genericness and number with the noun they modify, and in predicative function, they do not.

(331) B425 [attributive adjective]

qiz’an -ō gap -ō
cauldron -the big -the
‘**the** big cauldron’

(332) P1109 [predicative adjective]

šō’ -ō drāz
night -the long
‘**the** night was long’

Another distinction between an adjective’s attributive and predicative functions is syntactic: in the first example below, the adjective is attributive, being part of the noun phrase, while in the second, the adjective is predicative, following the noun phrase.

(333) [attributive adjective]

gōsin gišnağ šan
goat hungry 3p
‘their hungry goat’

(334) [predicative adjective]

gōsin šan gišnağ
goat 3p hungry
‘their goat is hungry’

However, because of the presence of gapped relative clauses, and generic nouns, as well as the zero-realised existential enclitic in the third-person singular, the syntactic function and even word class of a form may be ambiguous.

(335) G147

knār -ē gap
jujube.tree -a big
?‘a big jujube tree’ or

?‘a jujube tree [that is] big’ or
 ?‘a jujube tree, big one’ or
 ?‘a jujube tree is big’

In such cases, context may provide a clue. In the following example, the adjectives *bālağ* ‘ripe’ and *xālāl* ‘unripe’ are most likely predicative in gapped relative clauses with the zero-realised third person singular existential enclitic, because ‘a melon [that is] ripe’ contrasts with ‘a melon [that is] unripe’ in the next sentence.

(336) B737

ana **xāyar -ē** **bālağ** fatta tō’ fānd -um yē ba tō ā,
 if melon -a ripe succulent become:3sIMPF send:REAL -1s 3s to 2s SUB

yē mē xāna tāt -um. wa midam **xāyar -ē** **xālāl**,
 DEM 1s marriage want:IMPF -1s and otherwise melon -a unripe

ḥasa xāna tāt -um na.
 still marriage want:IMPF -1s NEG

‘If I send you **a ripe, juicy melon**, that means I want to marry. And if on the other hand [I send you] **an unripe melon**, I still do not want to marry.’

The semantic properties of indefinite nouns make them more disposed to modification by gapped relative clauses rather than by attributive functions, since the attributes of a known entity are more likely to also be known.

6.1.1 Adjective types

Kumzari adjectives are typologically scalar, being more noun-like or more adjective-like, according to their morphosyntactic properties. The more noun-like adjectives can function as the argument of a verb and can take nominal suffixes. These include even the cross-linguistically prototypical semantic types of adjectives articulating the properties of age, value, dimension, and colour (Payne 1999:63; cf. Dixon 2004:3-4), such as those in Table 38.

Table 38. Noun-like adjectives by semantic type

age	<i>gap</i> ‘old, big’ <i>čikk</i> ‘young, small’ <i>šēbab</i> ‘young’
value	<i>jwān</i> ‘good’ <i>banj</i> ‘bad’ <i>lawt</i> ‘weak’
dimension	<i>drāz</i> ‘tall’ <i>kōta</i> ‘short’ <i>šēw</i> ‘thin’
colour	<i>širx</i> ‘red’ <i>zraq</i> ‘blue’ <i>šawz</i> ‘green’

Among adjectives that are more adjective-like, some contain the vestigial Persian ending *ağ* and do not have nominal morphosyntax.

Table 39. Adjectives with final *aḡ*

<i>garmaḡ</i> ‘hot’
<i>gišnaḡ</i> ‘hungry’
<i>bālaḡ</i> ‘ripe’
<i>čēnaḡ</i> ‘thirsty’
<i>zindaḡ</i> ‘alive’
<i>xēnaḡ</i> ‘funny’
<i>ka’naḡ</i> ‘old’

Other adjectives have patently Indo-European roots.

Table 40. Adjectives of Indo-European provenance

<i>pāk</i> ‘clean’
<i>nēzik</i> ‘near’
<i>šarm</i> ‘ashamed’
<i>narm</i> ‘soft’
<i>bētar</i> ‘better’
<i>sard</i> ‘cold’
<i>dēr</i> ‘late’

6.1.2 *Derived adjectives*

As described in §4.1, some adjectives are of Semitic provenance and follow the pattern *CaCC* with the triliteral root as a basis.

Table 41. Adjectives derived from deverbs (*CaCC*)

<i>ḡaps</i> ‘bound’
<i>xays</i> ‘filthy’
<i>ḡayb</i> ‘absent’
<i>tarr</i> ‘wet’
<i>tafš</i> ‘rotten’
<i>xabq</i> ‘holey’
<i>lawt</i> ‘weak’

Some adjectives are derived from other constituents, usually nouns, with the suffix *–ī*.

As described in chapter 3, adjectives may be derived from locational or spatial nouns with the addition of the derivational suffix *–ī*.

Table 42. Derived adjectives with the suffix *–ī*

<i>awwēlī</i> ‘first’ (<i>awwal</i> ‘first, firstly’)
<i>wardī</i> ‘pink’ (<i>ward</i> ‘flower’)
<i>zēranī</i> ‘lower’ (from <i>zēran</i> n. ‘bottom’)
<i>rastī</i> ‘right’ (cf. Pers. <i>rāst</i> ‘right’)
<i>imarātī</i> ‘Emirati’ (<i>imarāt</i> ‘The [United Arab] Emirates’)
<i>sangī</i> ‘heavy’ (cf. Pers. <i>sang</i> ‘stone’)

6.2 Demonstratives

Demonstratives indicate deictic reference. They form part of the noun phrase, preceding the noun they modify. Unlike pronouns which may stand alone in place of a noun (see §3.2), demonstratives in Kumzari must be accompanied by a noun and modify it. There are only two demonstratives: proximal *yā* and distal *yē*.⁷⁹

A noun modified by a demonstrative always takes the definite suffix *-ō*.

(337) B228

yē čāb kin, yē šāḥar -ō ā? gardīdiš xō tēr -ē.
 3s how do:MIR DEM sorcerer -the INTERR turn.into:3sREAL REFL bird -a
 ‘How did he do it, **that sorcerer**? He turned himself into a bird.’

(338) P394

yā arḍ -ō bar mē.
 DEM land -the belonging.to 1s
 ‘**This land** belongs to me.’

The demonstratives *yē* and *yā* are also used in topicalisation, as noted in §3.3. The syntax of the demonstrative changes when it is used for topicalisation: a topicalised noun that is the subject of the verb takes the demonstrative after the noun it modifies, and a topicalised noun that is the object of the verb takes the demonstrative before the noun it modifies (the topicaliser *=ā* remains after the noun in either case). In a topicalised subject, the demonstrative coalesces with the topicaliser to form *y’=ā*.

(339) A608 [topicalised subject]

šēx -ō y’=ā, ḥayara bur āqil yē.
 sheikh -the DEM =TOP wracking (brain) become:3sREAL reason 3s
 ‘**This sheikh**, he wracked his brain.’

(340) B766 [topicalised object]

yē rōk -ō =ā, tēmīš -in yē āntē.
 DEM boy -the TOP see:IMPF -3p 3s there
 ‘**That boy**, they would see him there.’

6.3 Quantifiers

A quantifier in Kumzari modifies a noun to express an amount. Some Kumzari quantifiers are listed in Table 43.

⁷⁹ There are some prefix-like parts of words with demonstrative meaning (*ē-* for proximal and *ān-* for distal), but these do not follow a consistent pattern across sets of words. Instead, they are deemed to be parts of other morphemes in the synchronic analysis.

Table 43. Quantifiers

<i>ay</i>	‘any’
<i>iš</i>	‘none, any’
<i>dasta</i>	‘a number’
<i>nikta</i>	‘a bit’
<i>kam</i>	‘a little’
<i>ḥabba</i>	‘a few’
<i>qadar</i>	‘some’
<i>ammū</i>	‘all’

Like other modified nouns, nouns with quantifiers are marked for number (singular or plural) but not for definiteness. Quantifiers precede the noun they modify:

(341) G139

iš ḡēla na.
 any grain NEG
 ‘There was not **any grain**.’

(342) K48

nikta arma dī’ -in ba mā.
 a.bit date give:IMPF -3p to 1p
 ‘They would give **a bit of dates** to us.’

However, they may be separated from the noun they modify by a prepositional phrase:

(343) S421

iš wā šan martk- -an na.
 any with 3p man- -PL NEG
 ‘There were not **any men with them**.’

Quantifiers may also act as pronouns, replacing a noun rather than modifying it. This is explained in §3.2.

6.4 Ordinal Numerals

Table 44 sets out the ordinal numerals. Ordinals incorporate the count words, plus an adjectivising suffix *-ī*. They follow the noun they modify, and the modified noun carries the definite suffix, e.g. *xānaḡ-ō sitā’ī* ‘the third house’. Ordinals beyond three are simply referred to as *pištū’ī* ‘next’. Different systems of ordinal numerals are applied to days, things, and people, as in the table below.

Table 44. Ordinal numerals

Numeral	Cardinal	Ordinal (days)	Ordinal (non-living)	Ordinal (living)
1	<i>yak</i>	<i>awwal</i> / <i>awwa bārī</i>	<i>awwal</i> / <i>awwa bārī</i>	<i>awwal</i> / <i>awwa bārī</i>
2	<i>dō</i>	<i>dirōzī</i>	<i>ditā 'ī</i>	<i>dikēsī</i>
3	<i>sō</i>	<i>sirōzī</i>	<i>sitā 'ī</i>	<i>sikēsī</i>
4	<i>čār</i>	<i>pištū 'ī</i> ‘next’ (used for all subsequent ordinals)	<i>pištū 'ī</i> ‘next’ (used for all subsequent ordinals)	<i>pištū 'ī</i> ‘next’ (used for all subsequent ordinals)

6.5 Adverbs

There are two morphosyntactically distinct types of adverbs in Kumzari, although they have the same phonological shape, often consisting of only one or two syllables. Post-verbal adverbs modify the verb directly, following the verb. Clause-initial adverbs function on the clause or sentence level rather than simply modifying the verb, since the verb is clause-final.

(344) R860 [post-verbal adverb]
 wa marṭk- -ō mād **bē**.
 and man -the stay:3sREAL only
 ‘And the man **just** stayed.’

(345) S99 [clause-initial adverb]
balkē mān -um zindaḡ.
 perhaps stay:IRR -1s alive
 ‘**Perhaps** I will stay alive.’

Clause-initial adverbs can be negated separately without negating the verb, whereas post-verbal adverbs cannot be so negated unless the verb they modify is also negated. Considering the syntactic rule that all verbal complements in Kumzari must be negated when their verb is negated, the fact of clause-initial adverbs’ separate negation potential must lead to their analysis as non-complements.

(346) P641
ḥasa na majma gid-ī.
 still NEG speaking do:REAL -2s
 ‘**Still** you have **not** spoken.’

(347) N28
quṭ gōsin mē jīs -ī ā?
 ever goat 1s see:PERF -2s INTERR

quṭ na.
 ever NEG
 —‘Have you **ever** seen my goat?’
 —‘**Never**.’

Clause-initial adverbs are distinct from post-verbal adverbs in their syntax and semantics, but they also differ from other elements in clause-initial position such as discourse particles, preposed adverbial expressions (PAEs), and evidentials (refer to sections***). The latter two form separate clauses and take the subordinator *ā*, which clause-initial adverbs do not. Unlike discourse particles, clause-initial adverbs have semantic content, and they function on

the sentence level rather than in discourse structuring. Discourse particles, PAEs, and evidentials do not vary from their clause-initial position, while adverbs effectively do.

Below are some examples of postverbal adverbs, falling immediately after the verb to modify it directly.

(348) U559

ṭiyar tī'-im šarg.
finished become:IMPF -1p quickly
'We're becoming finished **quickly**.'

(349) R353

ḡāz -an gis -in jāri.
money -PL take:PERF -3p already
'They had **already** taken the money.'

(350) R451

mē č-um indur awwal.
1s go:IMPF -1s inside firstly
'I will go in **first**.'

(351) U382

mē iš gō' -um na. tō gaw bē.
1s any say:IMPER -1s NEG 2s say:2sIMPER only
'I will not say anything. **Only** you say it.'

Adverbial complements, including locatives such as *ēwō* 'here' and *āntē* 'there', are treated in chapter 3.

Following are some examples of clause-initial adverbs, modifying the entire clause or sentence.⁸⁰

(352) R1331

gab twāra wābur ḡuḡr-ō.
immediately shelter become:3sREAL depth -the
'**Immediately** he took shelter in the deep [part of the well].'

(353) S99

balkē mān -um zindaḡ.
perhaps stay:IRR -1s alive
'**Perhaps** I will stay alive.'

(354) R428

awwa šām xōr wā mā.
firstly supper eat:2sIMPER with 1p
'**Firstly** eat supper with us.'

⁸⁰ Certain clause-initial adverbs, such as *awwa* 'firstly', *hata* 'even', and *āxur* 'afterward', may function as conjunctions, in which case the subordinator *ā* follows the entire subordinated clause; however, even these neither necessarily nor often act as conjunctions (see §9.4.1.1).

(355) R807

pē qadar dgur ādamī āntē=in.
 also some other person there =EX:3p
 ‘There are **also** some other people there.’

(356) G168

yumkin byāt pi sātē ḥata nwāšam.
 maybe come:3sIRR from now until evening
 ‘**Maybe** he will come between now and evening.’

(357) R1151

āxur rōḥ tō dō'-um ba tō.
 afterward soul 2s give:IMPF -1s to 2s
 ‘**Afterward** I will give you your soul.’

6.5.1 Derived adverbs

As described in §4.1, the derivational suffix *-ītī* is added to a deverb, noun, or adjective to describe manner; that is, it turns a deverb, noun, or adjective into an adverb. These derived adverbs require a verb, and occur in post-verbal position.

(358) U203

kišt-iš yē **ḥalal -ītī** wa šīwī yē gid-iš ba xō.
 kill:REAL-3s 3s ritually.approved -manner and grilling 3s do:REAL-3s for REFL
 ‘He killed it **in the ritually correct way**, and he grilled it for himself.’

(359) N28

ništ-in **kūn -ītī** inda maglēs -ō.
 sit:REAL -3p bottom -manner in sheikh's court -the
 ‘They sat **on their bottoms** in the sheikh's court.’

(360) K753

maxluq-an ādamī murd -in **wuxr -ītī**.
 crowd-PL person die:REAL -3p instant -manner
 ‘Crowds of people died **instantly**.’

Languages are commonly referred to using derived adverbs:

(361) N29

majma tk-a **kumzar -ītī**.
 speaking do:IMPF-3s Kumzar -manner
 ‘She is speaking **Kumzari**.’

(362) N30

majma tk-a **arab -ītī**.
 speaking do:IMPF-3s Arab -manner
 ‘He is speaking **Arabic**.’

6.6 Modifiers in poetics

Anaphora of the modifier *qadar* effects composition of the poem ‘the sorcerers’ assembly’ embedded in the tale *Kanēdō*. Its parallelistic structure and translation are provided in the table below.

Table 45. Embedded poem K715 the sorcerers’ assembly

Structure	Kumzari	Translation
all night long , the crowd [of sorcerers] assembled. they had some {sorcerer’s things}, they had some {sorcerer’s things}, and they had some {sorcerer’s things}, and they had some {et cetera}, and they would {do} some {sorcerer’s things}, and they had some {sorcerer’s things}, and they had some {sorcerer’s things}. in any case, this house, it [was so full that] it wouldn’t take any [more].	šaw drāz ā, sūqū būrin maxluqan: qadar qiz’an wā šān, qadar tālim wā šān wa qadar brinz wā šān wa qadar dām čī wā šān na wa qadar matfa bžēn -in, wa... qadar dubbāba wā šān wa qadar tāfaq wā šān. filhāl, xānağ -ō y’ā, iš diga na.	All night long , The crowd [of sorcerers] assembled. They had some cauldrons, They had some platters, and They had some rice, and They had some I-don’t-know-what else, and They would fire some cannons, and They had some tanks, and They had some guns. In any case, this house, it [was so full that] it wouldn’t take any [more].

Modifiers play an essential role in both the structure and the function of the poem. Its frame contains the adjective *drāz* and the demonstrative *yā*, both in topicalised noun phrases, setting off the first and last lines. Semantically, the slight quantifier *qadar* ‘some’ in the list contrasts with the frame of superlatives; the night is *drāz* ‘long’ and the *maxluqan* ‘crowd’ assembles, and the house is so full that it cannot hold any more, yet what it holds is only ‘some’ of this and ‘some’ of that. Linguistically, too, the noun phrases with their minor modifiers in the list add up, line upon line, repeating seven times until the poem is bursting rhetorically with its contents of *qadars*, and must be dammed with a closure discourse particle *filhāl* in the frame.

7 Evidential

7.1 Evidentiality

7.1.1 Evidentials

Grammatical coding of information source is expressed in Kumzari through a three-term system of clause-initial evidentials.⁸¹ The three evidentials correspond to the first three divisions of Willett's semantic types of evidentiality (1988): attested (*tamna*), reported (*awa*), inferring (*ēka*). The evidential *tamna* is more specifically a marker of firsthand information gathered from sensory sources, thus it is hereafter referred to as a sensory evidential. Table 46 shows the three evidentials and their common equivalents in translation.

Table 46. Evidentials

Evidential type	Kumzari	English translation
Sensory	<i>tamna</i>	[a person] saw/ heard/ felt that
Reportive	<i>awa</i>	[a person] said that
Inferred	<i>ēka</i>	[a person] knows that / obviously / it must be

7.1.2 Evidentiality in related languages

In some Iranian languages, the perfect verb form has developed evidential-like extended meanings of non-firsthand information as a secondary strategy to its verbal meaning (Aikhenvald 2004:11,38-9,77; Bulut 2000:176-8; Lazard 1985; Perry 2005:230-233, Soper 1996, Windfuhr 1982). However, unlike those evidentiality strategies which typically have a single non-firsthand term or extension, Kumzari distinguishes between reported information and inferred information, and information source is the evidentials' primary meaning.

Evidentiality in Arabic is also not grammaticalised (Aikhenvald 2004:10). Yet because of the time-depth of Kumzari's history on the edge of the Arabian peninsula and adjacent to Iran, it is not surprising that Kumzari exemplifies Isaksson's assertion that it is only "in border areas ... where contact phenomena are prominent," "...in locations at the periphery of a language region, is an Arabic dialect likely to develop grammaticalised evidential categories" (Isaksson 2000:383,397).

7.1.3 Grammaticalisation of evidentiality

Evidentials in Kumzari are a grammaticalised word class "in that they are invariant and occur only in clause-initial position" (Palmer 2001:49). They have grammatical meaning, and are devoid of lexical meaning, despite their potentially lexical origins.

Non-firsthand sources of information, either reportive (*awa*) or inferred (*ēka*), are obligatorily marked. Unmarked information is assumed to be first-hand, but the sensory evidential *tamna* emphasises the fact that the information has been obtained by means of the immediate senses. An anecdote will illustrate the implications of this imbalance. A Kumzari man was in his house when a guest came to see him. The man did not want to see anyone so he told his little brother to answer the door and to tell the guest: *brār mē ēwō na* 'my brother is not here'.

⁸¹ Kumzari represents B1 evidentiality system according to the terminology of Aikhenvald 2004:70.

Instead, the little brother used the reportive evidential: *awa ā brār mē ēwō na* ‘he said that my brother is not here’. The guest realised that the man was avoiding him, because the little brother’s answer was not firsthand information. The fact that *tamna* emphasises otherwise unmarked firsthand information is in accordance with DeLancey’s (2001:379) observation that “the unmarked form in an evidential system typically represents information which the speaker knows from first-hand, visual perception.”

Evidentials are distinct from other grammatical categories⁸², such as adverbs. Unlike adverbs, evidentials are obligatorily marked in contexts where their semantic parameters apply (i.e. where the information source is sensory, reportive, or inferred). They are also morphologically, syntactically, and semantically distinct from adverbs.

Evidentials take the subordinator alone; adverbs take a subordinator only as part of a subordinated clause. Adverbs vary in clause position but usually follow the verb; evidentials are always clause-initial. An adverb has lexical meaning and modifies a verb while an evidential has only grammatical meaning, denoting information source at clause level, even in verbless clauses.

Semantically, evidentials are distinct from other parts of speech. Replacing an evidential with an adverb or a different evidential results in a meaning change. For example, one could see Ḥamēdō’s sandals at the door and use the inferred evidential to say *ēka ā Ḥamēdō ēwō* ‘it must be that Ḥamēdō is here’. However, the same sentence would be incorrect if one saw Ḥamēdō in person; in the latter case one would rather say *tamna ā Ḥamēdō ēwō* ‘I see that Ḥamēdō is here’. Further, using both an evidential and a periphrastic can function to specify both information source and exactly which sense was used, e.g. *tamna* she heard or *tamna* she saw, or exactly who it was that reported it, e.g. *awa* the horse said or *awa* the boy said. This is an attested typological characteristic of evidentials: “one can add a lexical explanation to an evidentially marked clause, to disambiguate an evidential which has several meanings” (Aikhenvald 2004:10).

Evidentiality is also unrelated to epistemic concerns. Cross-linguistic typological research clearly delineates its separateness from modality: evidentiality “covers the way in which the information was acquired, without necessarily relating to the degree of speaker’s certainty concerning the statement or whether it is true or not” (Aikhenvald 2004:3). In Kumzari, epistemic modality is denoted in verb form: the Realis-Irrealis distinction. Unexpectedness of information, reflecting lack of prior knowledge, is revealed in the verb form as well: the Mirative. Thus Kumzari is one of those languages demonstrating that “there is a clear logical distinction between mirativity and evidentiality” and in which expressions of mirativity “have no grammatical connection to any evidential system” (DeLancey 2001:370, cf. Lazard 1999:101).

7.2 Morphosyntax of evidentials

7.2.1 Subordinator

All three evidentials are followed by the subordinator.

⁸² The criteria laid out in this section follow Dendale & Tasmowski (2001:344), who list determinants of evidentiality’s status in a language.

(363) B351

tamna ā asp-ē insī inda yē wa ḥawṭ-ē širx.
 SENS SUB horse-a humanlike in 3s and pool-a gold
 ‘**He saw that** a talking horse was in it and a pool of gold.’

The subordinator may appear as a lengthening of the final vowel of the evidential.

7.2.2 Clause-initial position

Evidentials occur at the beginning of a clause:

(364) P624

tamna ā kōr-ē tay zēran.
 SENS SUB boy-a come:3sIMPF down
 ‘**She saw that** a boy was coming down.’

7.2.3 Complement

An evidential is followed by its complement in the form of a clause or noun phrase:

(365) G213

ēka ā yā ḡrāb-ō.
 INF SUB DEM crow-the
 ‘Obviously it was **this crow**.’

7.3 Semantics of evidentials

Evidentials categorise information source as sensed (*tamna*), reported (*awa*), or inferred (*ēka*).

7.3.1 The sensory evidential *tamna*

The Kumzari sensory evidential *tamna* marks immediate perception of sensory information, including visual, auditory, and even emotion and premonition. It is not marked in all cases where information is gleaned directly from a firsthand source. Rather, it emphasises the information source as being sensorily acquired. It is common diachronically for evidentials to become grammaticalised this way, from being optional to obligatory. In Kumzari, unmarked propositions are assumed to have a firsthand information source; this parallels DeLancey’s statement that firsthand knowledge is cross-linguistically “typically the unmarked member of the system” (DeLancey 1997:35).

7.3.1.1 The sensory evidential in nearby languages

The sensory evidential *tamna* has several potential origins, as morphemes with similar form and function occur in several languages of the wider region. Perhaps it was a lexical borrowing from the Arabic *ṭumma* ‘then’ and later developed into an evidential (on *ṭumma* and Arabic evidentiality see Isaksson 2000:396 and Aikhenvald 2004: §9.2.3). In the Arabic variety nearest to Kumzari, Shihhi, there is a clause-initial presentative particle *trōh* meaning

something like ‘to see’ (Bernabela 2011:62), and it uses the third person, masculine, singular form for all referents.

A few of the Baluchi languages that have been analysed show signs of evidentiality. In Turkmenistani Baluchi, a conjunction *ta* or *tā* is used as a complementiser (Axenov 2006:246), and is glossed as ‘that’ and translated as ‘saw that’, followed by a complement clause (Axenov 2006:243,168). Just as *tamna* in Kumzari is used in discourse to convey vividness at the peak, the examples of *ta* cited from Baluchi could be considered to be a pragmatic extension of the visual evidential used for discourse peak: a boy and girl see *ta* that many demons are chasing them, and a woman comes and sees *ta* that her husband’s head has been cut off.

The sensory evidential *tamna* is likewise similar to what is called a ‘mirative evidential’ *ta* in Sistani Baluchi (Barjasteh 2010:113). It is noteworthy that, like *tamna* in Kumzari, when the word *ta* is present, perception verbs may be omitted, since *ta* implies visual perception (Barjasteh 2010:92).

In the Indo-Aryan language Palula, a particle *ta* (Liljegren 2008:341) is similarly translated as ‘they saw’ and followed by a complement clause. Examples in Liljegren’s grammar show that *ta* is used to cite auditory information (hearing drumming, singing, and a message)(Liljegren 2008:211, 219, 284, 347), recall a memory of killing an evil spirit (Liljegren 2008:122), experience itching (Liljegren 2008:315) or stomach pain (Liljegren 2008:119)⁸³, as well as visual information (Liljegren 2008:112, 149, 150, 152, 217, 273, 296). This accords with the varied sensory experiences attached to *tamna* in Kumzari. In several cases in the Palula data, *ta* is translated or glossed as ‘when’ but takes a complement clause which may coincide with discourse peak-like events: ‘we came, *ta* an avalanche struck and swept us away’, and ‘the monster came inside, *ta* the man was eating’ (Liljegren 2008:110, 124, 164). In these same contexts, Kumzari would have *tamna* both for its primary meaning of a sensory evidential and its extended meaning as peak discourse marker. Incidents featuring the appearance of a bear, leopard, lion, dragon, or other dangerous or surprising thing seems to increase the probability that *ta* will be used in a Palula sentence. Also like *tamna*, the Palula particle *ta* is used for switch-reference to mark different subject clauses in chaining (Liljegren 2008:312).

A similar morpheme occurs in the South Arabian languages. In Mehri a particle written *tē* / *tē* / *ta* and in Soqotri a particle *tōlī* or *twoḷī*, and in Hobyot *twāli* (Simeone-Senelle 1997:411; Rubin 2010:125,201) are comparable to Kumzari *tamna*. The morphemes are glossed variously as adverbs or prepositions (e.g. ‘then when’), but precede clauses with dramatic events or counterexpectation semantics. Further research is needed to determine their exact grammatical function.

3.1.2 *The sensory evidential in context*

Usually *tamna* expresses information that is visually acquired:

⁸³ sensory evidentials are employed to register pain in other languages, see Littell & Mackie 2012.

(366) B1138

sā wa barza wābur ba bāğ almowz ā,
 now if/when appearing become:3sREAL to garden Ar:the- banana SUB

tamna ā brār-an yē ḥaps=in.

SENS SUB brother -PL 3s bound =EX:3p

‘Now when he showed up at the banana garden, **he saw** his brothers were bound.’

but it can also refer to an auditory information source:

(367) R1070

tamna ā daqdaqa kin ba dar-ō.

SENS SUB knocking do:MIR on door -the

‘**They heard** he was knocking on the door.’

(368) R978 (a sorcerer is descending from the sky in the form of an albatross screeching)

tamna ā tay zēran. yē ēdir-ē gis-ē.

SENS SUB come:3sIMPF down 3s screech -a do:PERF-3s

‘**She heard** he was coming down. He had screeched.’

or information obtained by other senses, like feeling:

(369) U170

tamna ā gišnağ.

SENS SUB hungry

‘**He felt** hungry.’

or even a sixth sense, like a premonition:

(370) K686 (an oracle is seeing into the future)

sā wa ān ditk-ō ktēb-ō wākd-iš ā,
 now if/when 3s.ANA girl-the book-the open:REAL-3s SUB

tamna ā, tēra-ē tay ba šan.

SENS SUB path-a come:3sIMPF to 3p

‘Now when the other girl looked into the future, **she saw** a path was coming to them.’

The sensory evidential has an extension in discourse to convey immediacy, adding a here-and-now effect to the statement. In narratives, *tamna* marks pivot and can have presentative semantics:

(371) K104

tamna ā jō’ar-ē škum yē.

SENS SUB pearl-a stomach 3s

‘**He saw** a pearl in its stomach!’ (battle over the pearl ensues throughout the story)

Additionally, it may coincide with the introduction of a new character in the text:

(372) P766

tamna ā yak-ē dgur āmad ba yē. kō'ī-ē.
 SENS SUB one –a other come:3sREAL to 3s mountain.bedouin-a
 ‘**She saw** another person was coming toward her: a mountain bedouin.’

or denote a magical appearance:

(373) B351

wa wākd-iš y'=ā, **tamna** ā asp-ē insī inda yē.
 if/when open:3sREAL 3s= SUB SENS SUB horse –a humanlike in 3s
 ‘When he opened it, **he saw** there was a talking horse inside.’

7.3.2 *The reportive evidential awa*

The non-firsthand evidential *awa* labels reported information source, and includes both quotative (verbatim speech):

(374) K699

awa ā dō'-um yē na ba yē na.
 REP SUB give:IMPF-1s 3s NEG to 3s NEG
 ‘**He said** “I will not give her to him.”’

(375) R166

awa ā dg-in ba yē tō kē =ī ā?
 REP SUB say:IMPF-3p to 3s 2s who =EX:2s INTERR
 ‘They actually said to him, “Who are you?”’

and hearsay (indirect speech):

(376) P914

šēx wālēyt-ō, **awa** ā ar čōt pi tō, tār-a.
 sheikh country -the REP SUB that/which/who go:3sIMPF from 2s bring:IMPF-3s
 ‘O sheikh of the country, **it is said** whatever leaves you, comes back!’

(377) R550

awa ā zīn-ō kišt-in.
 REP SUB thief -the kill:REAL-3p
 ‘**It is said** they killed the thief!’

When combined with a verb in the imperative, *awa* has a precative nuance:

(378) P650

tō **awa** ā byō, āw ād ba mē!
 2s REP SUB come:2sIMPER water give:2sIMPER to 1s
 ‘**Please! I'm asking** you, come on, give me water!’

7.3.3 *The inferred evidential ēka*

The evidential *ēka* labels information that is not firsthand but that has been inferred from the situation. Often inferred evidentials take on a disclaimer role; in Uzbek and Kazakh, there is a “copular perfect” morpheme *ekan* called a “non-confirmative” (Straughn 2011:9).

The Kumzari evidential *ēka* incorporates information inferred from sensory evidence:

(379) G213

ar ġēla-an mā gis-ē ā, **ēka** ā yā ġrāb-ō.
that/which/who wheat -PL 1p take:PERF-3s SUB INF SUB this crow -the
‘The one who has taken our wheat, **it must have been** this crow.’

and information inferred from general knowledge:

(380) S244

ēka ā yā kas tāt-a yē na.
INF SUB this PERS want:IMPF-3s 3s NEG
‘**Obviously** no one wanted this.’ (an abandoned boat covered in barnacles)

The inferred evidential also includes explanations appealing to the hearer’s deduction:

(381) G22

sā wa dimistān-an ā, kō’ī =in
now if/when winter -PL SUB of.mountain =EX:3p

ēka ā bāram tō’-a na,
INF SUB rain become:IMPF-3s NEG
‘Now when it was wintertime, they were in the mountains **as you know** it doesn’t rain,’

(382) U176

ēka ā yā-an ā, pi drāz=in ā,... daby-an. ġāzalē-ē.
INF SUB DEM-PL SUB from long=EX:3p SUB oryx-PL gazelle-a
‘**You know** these ones which, that are long [antlers]... oryxes. A gazelle.’

The inferred evidential has pragmatic functions conveying irony:

(383) A581

afaḷḷa **ēka** ā ḥubbō tō, nakt-ē pī jāmal dār-iš ba mē.
Ar:God’s bounty INF SUB grandmother 2s little –a fat camel give:REAL-3s to 1s
‘**It must be** from God’s bounty, your grandmother gave me a little camel fat.’ (the speaker knows that in fact it was stolen.)

or to deceive:

(384) G746

ēka ā rōk-ō bap mē kišt-ē.
INF SUB boy -the father 1s kill:PERF-3s
‘This boy has **obviously** killed my father.’ (in fact he did not, but it looks as though he did)

or to convey disbelief:

(385) R1496

ēka ā brā šmā āmas-ē ā?
 INF SUB brother 2p come:PERF-3s INTERR
 ‘**Can it be** your brother has come?!’ (they thought he was dead)

(386) R540

ēka ā šmā kš-ī yē na.
 INF SUB 2p kill:IRR-2s 3s NEG
 ‘**Obviously** you could not have killed him!’ (subject was considered a weakling)

7.4 Evidentials in discourse

Further to their place in syntax, evidentials have a compelling role as narrative devices. In the tale about the crow *Ġrābō*, the bedouins see *tamna* that their wheat has been eaten, they infer *ēka* that it must have been the crow who ate it, and later the crow caws to report *awa* that someone is lying.

Although all three evidentials are used in narrative discourse, none of them is a token of a genre. Rather, certain evidentials characterise different aspects of the plot.

7.4.1 Sensory evidential in foregrounding

In discourse grounding at the sentence level, commonly a backgrounding *sā* clause precedes a foregrounding *tamna* clause, for the effect of contrast and to highlight what is seen, heard, or felt:

(387) A316

sā wa raft awwa bār ā, **tamna** ā ḥāraṣ-an ba yē!
 now if/when go:3sREAL first time SUB SENS SUB guard-PL to 3s
 ‘**Now**, when he went the first time, **he saw that** the guards were with it [at the grave]!’

As in many languages, the sensory evidential is also used as a strategy to convey vividness (Aikhenvald 2004:313). In the tale *Kanēdō*, a boy climbs to the top of a wild fig tree in the evening to await the arrival of a magic horse, whom he hopes to catch:

(388) K170

tamna ā, asp-ē rēsid, di-ta rōr wā yē.
 SENS SUB horse-a arrive:3sREAL two-COUNT child with 3s
 ‘**He saw that** a horse came, with two foals.’

In the tale of *Ahmad Tka*, the thief evades capture only to return home to a criminal-sniffing police camel:

(389) A442

sā wa qaḥama y’=ā āma barra ā,
 now if/when jumping up 3s=SUB come:3s outside SUB

tamna ā jāmal-ē raxama inda ḥawy yē.
 SENS SUB camel-a reclining in courtyard 3s
 ‘Now when he jumped up and came outside, **he saw** a camel reclining in his courtyard.’

As an extension of its primary meaning citing a sensory information source, the evidential *tamna* marks the pivot in Kumzari discourse; as such, it directly precedes plot-significant information. In the tale *Rōran Šēxō*, the appearance of a snake is the catalyst for the gay youngest brother to prove his courage by killing it while the six macho brothers are too frightened:

(390) R209

tamna ā mār-ē! mār-ō āntē rāstī jāga xō, ḥūšu tka.
 SENS SUB snake-a snake-the there correct place REFL slithering do:3sIMPF
 ‘**They saw** a snake! The snake was really there in its own place, it was slithering.’

The role of *tamna* in discourse is treated in more detail in chapter 11.

7.4.2 Sensory evidential in switch reference

With the verb *gō* ‘say’, the sensory evidential is used to denote switch reference within a conversation:

(391) B94

dg-in ba yē, ... iš wā mā rōr na.
 say:IMPF-3p to 3s ... any with 1p child NEG
 ‘**They said** to him,... “we have no children.”’

tamna ā **dgō**, mē rōr-an dō'-um ba šmā.
 SENS SUB say:3sIMPF 1s child-PL give:IMPF-1s to 2p
 [it was heard] **he said**, “I myself will give children to you.”’

and for change of syntactic subject:

(392) B787

inča ba'ada **būr-in** farra ā,
 like this distancing become:IMPF-3p far.away SUB

tamna ā **dgō** ba xwē xō,
 SENS SUB say:3sIMPF to sister REFL

ēja! īn mē mād, ba šang-ō.
 oh! what's-it-called 1s stay:3sREAL for comb-the
 ‘Like this **they became** far away, [Then] **she said** to her sister, “Oh! I left this comb of mine.”’

7.4.3 Reportive evidential in non-speech discourse

The conclusion of a tale prohibits direct speech (see chapter 11). In the tale *Sōntyō*’s coda, the homecoming of the sheikh’s daughter technically complies with this rule by using the reportive evidential instead of direct speech. In this context, the reportive evidential is used to indicate that no particular character is saying it, but the words are just “noise in a crowd”:

(393) S880

adala bur ġār-ō.
going on become:MIR racket-the
“‘The racket [of celebration] went on!’

ḥawly-an! wa
male goat-PL and
Male goats! and

tāfaq-an! wa
gun-PL and
guns! and

matfa-ē bẓand-in! wa
cannon-a hit:REAL-3p and
they fired a cannon! and

awa ā dit mā āmad! wa
REP SUB daughter 1p come:3sREAL and
it was said that ‘our daughter came [home]!’ and

awa ā rōr-ē wā yē! wa
REP SUB child-a with 3s and
it was said that ‘she has a child!’ and

awa ā ditk-ō šēx fālan gis-ē.
REP SUB daughter-the sheikh so-and-so take:PERF-3s
it was said that ‘the daughter has taken Sheikh so-and-so [in marriage]!’”

8 Preposition

8.1 Prepositions: Morphosyntax and semantics

Prepositions in Kumzari represent the head of prepositional phrases, consisting of a preposition followed by its complement. Prepositions have simple shapes, containing one or two syllables. Certain locational prepositions derive to form nouns or adjectives.

Kumzari prepositions precede the noun phrase that is their complement, and within a clause the entire prepositional phrase most often occurs after the noun or verb phrase to which it refers. Exclusively prepositional syntax distinguishes Kumzari as belonging to the southwestern branch in the Indo-Iranian language family, since its northwestern cousins Kurdish and Baluchi have postpositions as well (Stilo 2012b:4).

The most common prepositions in Kumzari are *ba*, *pi*, *wā*, and *inda*. These and others are set out in Table 47 below and examples of each follow.

Table 47. Prepositions

preposition	gloss
<i>ba</i>	to, for, of, on, with
<i>bağa</i>	without
<i>bar</i>	belonging to
<i>ğay</i>	except
<i>hata</i>	until
<i>inda</i>	in, inside
<i>mayya</i>	between, among
<i>naxa</i>	aboard (a vehicle)
<i>pana</i>	beside, near
<i>pi</i>	from, than, since
<i>sīna</i>	toward
<i>tē</i>	before
<i>wā</i>	with, at, -ward

The preposition *ba* has instrumental, spatial, beneficiary, comitative, and purposive meanings, and is glossed ‘to’, ‘for’, ‘of’, ‘on’, or ‘with’:

(394) R1099

filḥāl, kaw bard -iš **ba** yē.
 in.any.case marriage.contract carry:REAL -3s to 3s
 ‘In any case, he carried the marriage contract **to** him.’

(395) G250

jāmağ xō wād -iš, faraša yē gid -iš **ba** gawd -ō ...
 man’s.skirt REFL bring:REAL -3s spreading out 3s do:REAL -3s on cave -the

wa bard sōd -iš **ba** yē.
 and stone put:REAL -3s on 3s

‘He brought his skirt, spreading it out **over** the cave... and he put a stone **on** it.’

(396) S73

jāga kin **ba** mē inda yē **ba** nwāz.
 place do:2sIMPER for 1s in 3s for prayer
 ‘Make a place in it **for** me **for** prayer.’

(397) P1060

dit šēx -ō xistārī gid -in **ba** mē.
 daughter sheikh -the engagement do:REAL -3p to 1s
 ‘They engaged the sheikh’s daughter **to** me.’

(398) U218

qaṣṣa māraq yē gid -iš **ba** ḡuṣṣ -ō.
 cutting throat 3s do:REAL -3s with sharp stone -the
 ‘He cut its throat **with** the sharp stone.’

The prepositions *pi* ‘from’, ‘than’, ‘since’ and *ḥata* ‘until’ both cover temporal, spatial, and abstract meanings of those words:

(399) S117

sōntī -ē wād -iš **pi** ēwō **ḥata** ṣaḥarē -ō ba blind -ī.
 raft -a bring:REAL -3s from here until cabinetry -the in high -NOM
 ‘He brought a raft [measuring] **from** here **up to** the cabinet in height.’

(400) P939

dgō ba mē ba yē na **ḥata** šaw -ō, xwaw -ō gid -iš mē.
 say:3sIMPF to 1s it’s.all.right until night -the sleep -the take:REAL -3s 1s
 ‘She said to me, “It’s all right,” **until** the night, sleep overtook me.’

(401) S709

ṭiyar tē’ -ē **pi** čāz ā, brē’ -ē wā= zēran
 finished become:IMPF -2p of lunch SUB go:IMPER -2p -ward down

pana sōntī -ō wa grē’ -ē.
 beside raft -the and cry:IMPER -2p
 ‘When you have finished **of** [eating] lunch, go down beside the raft and cry.’

The spatial preposition *inda* is equivalent to ‘in’, ‘into’, or ‘inside’:

(402) G226

raft **inda** xilxil -an.
 go:3sPERF into small.wadi -PL
 ‘It had gone **into** the small wadis.’

The prepositions *pana* ‘beside’ and *naxa* ‘aboard’ both refer to spatial relations, as demonstrated in this sentence:

(403) S817

tō tāt -ī xwā -ī **pana** mē **naxa** sōntī -ō.
 2s want:IMPF -2s sleep:IRR -2s beside 1s aboard raft -the
 ‘You want to sleep **beside** me **aboard** the raft.’

The opposite of *ba* ‘with’ in its instrumental and comitative meanings is the preposition *baḡa* ‘without’:

(404) A281

lakin maxlōq -ō, **baḡa** muxx kas dān -a yē kī na.
 but crowd -the without head PERS know:IMPF -3s 3s who NEG
 ‘But the crowd, **without** a head nobody knew who he was.’

The abstract preposition *ḡay* indicates exception:

(405) K345

ṣayaḥa tk-a, iṣī na **ḡay** wōwōwō wa čēnaḡī
 shouting do:IMPF-3s anything NEG except woe and thirst

wōwōwō wa šē'id -ē.

woe and Islamic.death.creed -a

‘He was shouting, [saying] nothing **except** "Woe!" and "Thirst!", "Woe!" and a dying man's creed.’

The preposition *tē* marks both temporal and spatial meanings:

(406) G198

nakt-ē **tē** bang -ō ā, ṭēr āmad, ḡrāb -ē.
 little-a before sunset -the SUB bird come:3sREAL crow -a
 ‘A little **before** sunset, a bird came: a crow.’

‘Belonging to’ or ‘of’ is represented by the preposition *bar*:

(407) G70

āšīnan wa'b wā šan, wa ṣumr **bar** yē wa xār **bar** yē.
 those.ones field with 3p and acacia belonging.to 3s and thorn.tree belonging to 3s
 ‘Those ones had a field, and acacia trees **belonged to** it, and thorn trees **belonged to** it.’

The spatial preposition *mayya* (or *mayka*) has the meaning of ‘between’ or ‘among’:

(408) K427

dō' -um ba tō xānaḡ -ē palla gēnum wa jā **mayya** angar.
 give:IMPF -1s to 2s house -a full.of wheat and barley between/among each.other
 ‘I will give to you a house, full of wheat and of barley **among** each other [mixed together].’

(409) G638

miyyit -ō ā, č- im gēr yē tk -im **mayya** gēr -an
 dead.person -the TOP go:IMPF -1p burying 3s do:IMPF -1p between/among grave -PL

ādamī tēmuš -in mā.

someone see:IMPF -3p 1p

‘That dead person, [if] we go to bury him **between** the graves, someone will see us.’

As do many languages, Kumzari uses body terminology for directionals, such as the preposition *sīna* ‘toward’; the word also means ‘chest’ in Kumzari:

(410) B575

burwā **sīna** asp -ō.
 run:MIR toward horse -the
 ‘He ran **toward** the horse!’

and a word similar to the body term for ‘back’ in Kumzari, *pištu*, is used as a spatial and logical preposition meaning ‘behind’ or ‘after’:

(411) R1385

brār šmā ra **pištu** šmā.
 brother 2p go:3sREAL after/behind 2p
 ‘Your brother went **after** you.’

(412) B1260

bap mē kōr būs -ē **pištu** mē.
 father 1s blind become:PERF -3s after/behind 1s
 ‘My father has become blind **because of** me.’

8.2 Prepositional Derivation

Some prepositions take an *-an* (or *-r*) to become a locational noun or adjective.⁸⁴ In prepositional form they require a complement. Examples of the derivation of prepositions are in Table 48 below.

Table 48. Derivation of prepositions

preposition	noun/ adjective ⁸⁵
zēr ‘under, below’	zēran ‘bottom’ (<i>n.</i>)
naxa ‘aboard’	nēxan ‘aboard’ (<i>adj.</i>)
inda ‘in, inside’	indur ‘inside’ (<i>n.</i>)
mayka ‘between’	maykar ‘middle’ (<i>n.</i>)
ğay ‘except’	ğayr ‘different’ (<i>n.</i>)

8.3 Verbal goal arguments

Arguments that are verbal goals, including those of motion verbs, present without prepositions; rather, they follow the verb phrase directly. This phenomenon occurs in many Western Iranian languages (Haig 2011). In the following examples of verbal goal arguments, no prepositions are required.

(413) S83

bō kard mē **dirya -ō**.
 go:2sIMPER drop:2sIMPER 1s sea -the
 ‘Go and drop me **into the sea**.’

⁸⁴ Comparable dual syntactic properties of certain noun-like prepositions in Persian are discussed in Pantcheva 2008c:11ff.

⁸⁵ Another possible derivational pair is the temporal preposition *tē* ‘before’ and the locational noun *tēğar* ‘before, in front of.’

(414) R1333

ka dafana ān gid -in **bard.**
 right.away burying 3s.ANA do:REAL -3p stone
 ‘Right away they buried him **with stones.**’

(415) B774

tāt -um dug -um yē **šū’ -ī.**
 want:IMPF -1s take:IMPF -1s 3s husband -ADVR
 ‘I want to take him **as a husband.**’

(416) G865

sā sōr wa pīma tk -um ba šmā **čāz.**
 now salt.fish and green.onion do:IMPF -1s for 2p lunch
 ‘Now I will make salt fish and green onion for you **for lunch.**’

(417) P900

ḥamala biš **šēx -ō!** tukš -a tō!
 watching.out become:2sIMPER sheikh -the kill:IMPF -3s 2s
 ‘Watch out **for the sheikh!** He will kill you!’

(418) R906

āw qaṭa’a tō’ -at **fālaḥ -ō.**
 water cutting.off become:IRR -3s channel -the
 ‘Water would be cut off **at the channel.**’

8.4 Possessive preposition and proclitic directional *wā*

Like many of the world’s languages (Stassen 2009), Kumzari does not use a verb for ‘to have’. Instead, the possessive construction in Kumzari is formed by the preposition *wā* and a complement, which is the possessor.⁸⁶ It employs regular prepositional syntax, falling at the end of the clause. The possessive construction contains none of the verbal information about aspect, mood, or mirativity.

(419) A397

sā **šēx -ō** ā, jāmal **wā** yē.
 now sheikh -the TOP camel with 3s
 ‘Now, the sheikh, he **had** a camel.’

The possessive construction may be used as a factive,⁸⁷ in which case it takes factive syntax, appearing at the beginning of the clause. This frequently occurs at the beginning of a narrative to introduce a character or posit one’s existence.

⁸⁶ The preposition *wā* in its possessive capacity is glossed as ‘with’. The Northern Luri word for ‘with’ is the likely cognate *vārd* (MacKinnon 2011).

⁸⁷ “Factive verbs are those that describe the coming into existence of some entity” (Payne 1997:59). In Kumzari factivity is expressed only syntactically; the verb (or *wā* possessive as in this case) is promoted to the clause-initial position.

(420) S12

raft šēx wālēyit –ō, **wā** yē si- ta ditk -an.
 go:3sIMPF sheikh country –the with 3s three- COUNT daughter -PL
 ‘There was a sheikh of the country; he **had** three daughters.’

Besides possession, the preposition *wā* additionally indicates direction (glossed as ‘at/-ward’), taking a locational noun as a complement. In its possessive function, *wā* does not lose stress to its complement. However, as a directional it cliticises to its complement: its vowel shortens, or drops out altogether if its complement begins with a long vowel, and stress shifts to the complement.

(421) R309

č -in **wā= ēbar** wa tā’ -in **wā= ēbar**.
 go:IMPF -3p at/-ward= over here and come:IMPF -3p at/-ward= over here
 ‘They would go **here** and **there**.’

(422) P548

inda mina =in, č -in **wā= bāla** arafāt nwāz.
 in Mina =EX:3p go:IMPF -3p at/-ward= up Arafat tomorrow
 ‘They were in Mina, they would go **upward** to Arafat the next day.’

(423) R1512

šaš -ta zangērīr -an mē, si- kas ba kitf yē **wā= rāstī** ā,
 six COUNT slave –PL 1s three- PERS of shoulder 3s at/-ward= right SUB

wa si- kas ba kitf yē **wā= asrē**.
 and three- PERS of shoulder 3s -ward= left
 ‘My six slaves: three at his shoulder **to the right**, and three at his shoulder **to the left**.’

Table 49 below shows some common directionals with cliticised *wā* and locational nouns.

Table 49. Prepositional phrases with *wā* and locational nouns

locational noun	prepositional phrase with <i>wā</i>
zēran bottom, below	wā= zēran downward
bāla top, above	wā= bāla upward
tēgar past, before	wā= tēgar forward
pištō back	wā= pištō backwards
indur inside	wā= indur inward
barra outside	wā= barra outward
ambar over there	wā= ambar toward there
ēbar over here	wā= ēbar toward here
rāstī right side	wā= rāstī to the right
asrē left side	wā= asrē to the left

Some related languages also use prepositions in the possessive construction. Jügel notes that Old Persian “does not have a verb *to have*, and uses the possessive construction of the *mihi est* type instead” (Jügel 2009:144). Kurdish likewise uses a ‘to-me there-is’ construction: a possessive pronoun plus the third-person existential indicates possession (Thackston 2006:32). Domari, an Indo-Aryan language that borrows heavily from Arabic, has a

possessive construction much like that of Kumzari, with a directional preposition ‘at, with’ before its complement, a possessive pronoun⁸⁸.

On the Domari possessive construction, Matras comments, “Although contact influence will not have been the source of the absence of ‘to have’, the specific Domari possessive expression *wāšī-m* ‘with-me, at-mine’ for ‘I have’ (rather than a construction of the type ‘to-me there-is, as in other Indo-Aryan languages) does resemble Arabic *ʿind-ī* ‘at mine’” (Matras 2007:156). Interestingly, the possessive construction in Domari is formally very close to that of Kumzari, as shown in Table 50.

Table 50. The possessive construction in three Eurasian languages

Domari	<i>wāšī-m</i>	‘at/with mine’
Kumzari	<i>wā mē</i>	‘at/with mine’
Arabic	<i>ʿind-ī</i>	‘at/with mine’

This is not to imply contact between Kumzari and Domari, however; rather it is apparent that both of these languages retain areal influence of Arabic at its northern and southeastern points. A similar possessive construction, with a possessive ‘connecting particle’ affixed to a pronoun, occurs in Modern South Arabian languages (Simeone-Senelle 1997:386).

8.5 Prepositions in Poetics

Prepositional phrases being non-obligatory and clause-final may seem to relegate them to minor status in the poetic programme. However, through repetition and rhythmic symmetry, even marginal constituents can become etched on the memory like a chant.

The poem about people giving charity wheat (G20) embedded in the folktale Ġrābō highlights the role of prepositional phrases in the rhetorical structure. The four lines of the poem’s list end with the same prepositional phrase *ba šan* ‘to them’, despite this repetition being unnecessary from the perspective of understanding the basic meaning of the section: ‘people brought them wheat.’ Still, the phrase repetition and grammatical symmetry is essential to understanding the tale’s emphasis on both the recipients of the quantities of wheat and their act of receiving it.

Table 51. Prepositional phrases in the poem about people giving charity wheat

Poem: G20 (people giving charity wheat)
ġēla tkard-in, ġēla, ġēla dig-in. wā xuṣbā. y’=ā xā... man-ē tār -a ba šan , wa y’=ā nīmī tār -a ba šan , wa ān ā, rub’-ē tār-a ba šan , wa ān ā, nuṣnuṣuf tār-a ba šan ... laba pañj mā, šaš mā, pañj mā ġēla ḥasala tk-in nā. They were harvesting wheat, They were gathering wheat, wheat.

⁸⁸ Thackston (2006:37) mentions a directional *wār-* meaning ‘up’ that is used as a preverb in Sorani. This is possibly related to the Kumzari directional *wā=*.

[The land] was flourishing.

These households... they brought a measure [of wheat] **to them**,

and these [people], they brought a half [of wheat] **to them**,

and those [people], they brought a quarter [of wheat] **to them**,

and those [people] brought a small share [of wheat] **to them**...

about five months' [worth], six months' [worth],

five months' [worth] of wheat that they were getting.

rhetorical structure of the poem:

harvest wheat

gather wheat, wheat

these brought {quantity of wheat} **to them**

these brought {quantity of wheat} **to them**

those brought {quantity of wheat} **to them**

those brought {quantity of wheat} **to them**

get wheat

9 Clause

9.1 Constituent order

9.1.1 Basic word order

The clause in Kumzari consists minimally of subject and predicate. The subject may be not be overtly stated, and a predicate verb may be replaced with an existential enclitic, the verb *tō'a* 'become', an evidential, a possessive construction, or an abstract plural. A deverb may operate with a light verb or existential enclitic to form a predicate. Unmarked constituent order is Subject-Object-Verb. Order may be altered to signify factivity or topicalisation. In simple clauses, subjects and objects are in the form of nouns or noun phrases or pronouns.

(424) G765

sā	mā	yā	ḡēla'-an	dī'-im	ba	tō.
now	1p	this	wheat -PL	give:2sIMPF -1p	to	2s
disc	pn	DEM	n-sfx	v-sfx	prep	pn

'Now we will give this wheat to you.'

(425) G198

tēr āmad.
bird come:3sREAL
'A bird came.'

Discourse markers and evidentials are clause-initial. Subject, object, and verb phrase are followed by verb goal arguments and prepositional phrases, each of which must additionally mark negation if the verb is negated:

(426) P418

sā	tany-um	na	wā	tō	na.
now	stay:IMPF-1s	NEG	with	2s	NEG

'Now I am **not** staying with you.'

As described in §4.3, when the object is in the form of a noun or noun phrase it precedes the verb or deverb, and when it is in the form of a pronoun it follows the verb or deverb:

(427) R1386

mā	jīr-im	yē	na.	mā	brār	xō	jīr-im	na.
1p	see:REAL-1p	3s	NEG	1p	brother	REFL	see:REAL-1p	NEG

'As for us, we didn't see **him**. As for us, we didn't see **our brother**.'

(428) U416

jayb	xō	kand-iš.	sōd-iš	yē	zēr	bālišť-ō.
gold.diadem	REFL	put.away:REAL-3s	put:REAL-3s	3s	under	pillow-the

'She put away **her diadem**. She put **it** under the pillow.'

9.1.2 Minimal clauses

When a subject is not overt, a clause may consist of only an intransitive verb:

(429) G176

ništ.

sit:3sREAL

‘She sat down.’

(430) K289

raft.

go:3sREAL

‘He went.’

(431) G191

bumr-in!

die:IMPER-3p

‘May they die!’

Some clauses appear as consisting of only a deverb, if there is a zero-marked existential enclitic (third-person singular), and the deverb is acting as an intransitive predicate, and there is no overtly-marked subject:

(432) S485

xabaqa=Ø.

pierced =EX:3s

‘It was pierced.’

(433) S750

faja’a=Ø.

shocked =EX:3s

‘She was shocked.’

With the zero-marked existential enclitic (third-person singular), even a single noun or adjective may constitute a clause:

(434) K343

fālaj-ē =Ø.

water.channel-a =EX:3s

‘It is a water channel.’

(435) G20

baṣṣa-ē =Ø.

poor.person-a =EX:3s

‘She was a poor person.’

(436) R1560

xālaṣ =Ø.

finished =EX:3s

‘It’s finished.’

(437) G147

knār-ē =Ø.

jujube tree-a =EX:3s

‘There was a jujube tree.’

9.1.3 Word order variation

9.1.3.1 Factive syntax

Word order is modified to indicate factivity; that is, the coming into existence of an entity. In factive syntax, that subject is post-posed to clause-final position. More information is given in § 4.3.

(438) K5
raf rōk-ē.
go boy-a
'There was a boy.'

(439) P241
ka byō wā= bāla ditk-ō.
PEAK come:MIR -ward= up girl- -the
'Suddenly, there was the girl coming up!'

(440) G300
ām ba yē barra ʒank-ō wa martk-ō.
come:IRR to 3s outside woman -the and man -the
'There was a woman and a man coming to him outside.'

Factive syntax applies even to non-verbal predicates:

(441) S14
wā yē si-ta ditk-an.
with 3s three-COUNT daughter-PL
'There were three daughters he had.'

This modified syntax to specify existence operates similarly to the way in which Kurdish uses alternate word order with the same verb to distinguish between static and processual senses of the copula (Haig 2007:178).

9.1.3.2 Topicalisation

While factive syntax moves the subject to the end of the clause, topicalisation moves a highlighted argument to the beginning of a clause. When the object in a clause is topicalised, it takes clause-initial position:

(442) B766
yā rōk-ō ā, tēmiš-in yē āntē.
DEM boy-the SUB see:IMPF-3p 3s there
'That boy, they would see him there.'

(443) B1100
yā tēra-ō ā, ar čō ba yē ā, radda tō'-a na.
DEM path-the SUB that/which/who go on 3s SUB returning become:IMPF- NEG
3s
'That path, whoever goes down it does not return.'

Other morphosyntactic markers of topicalisation are discussed in §3.3 and §9.4.

9.2 Types of simple clauses

9.2.1 Declarative clauses

Declarative clauses consist of a subject and a predicate.

(444) R1397

kō'ī-ō āmad.
 mountain.bedouin -the come:3sREAL
 'The mountain bedouin came.'

9.2.2 Interrogative clauses

Polar interrogatives (yes/no questions) have the same word order as declaratives, but the interrogative enclitic *ā* follows at the very end of the clause:

(445) U452

zan mē bra wā mē =ā?
 wife 1s go:3sIMPER with 1s INTERR
 'Should my wife go with me?'

In constituent interrogatives (information questions), an interrogative pronoun (see §3.2) occurs in clause-initial position and the interrogative enclitic is clause-final:

(446) R108

gīya brār-an mē ā?
 where brother-PL 1s INTERR
 'Where are my brothers?'

The interrogative pronoun may also take the same syntactic slot as the constituent it replaces. This example uses an interrogative pronoun in place of the object:

(447) R400

šmā **či** wās-ē ā? gaft -in ba yē mā **ruppī** wād-im.
 2p what bring:PERF-2p INTERR say:REAL-3p to 3s 1p rupee bring:REAL-1p
 "What have you brought?" They said to him, "We brought rupees."

In this example, the interrogative pronoun replaces the subject:

(448) K766

kē čwān-a čōt asp-an insī-an tār-a ā?
 who can:IMPF-3s go:3sIMPF horse-PL humanlike-PL bring:IMPF-3s INTERR
 'Who can go [and] bring the talking horses?'

9.2.3 Imperative clauses

Imperative clauses have the same word order as declaratives, but use the imperative verb form:

(449) B638
 xwā **kard.**
 salt drop:2sIMPER
 ‘**Drop** the salt.’

Imperatives are treated in detail in chapter 4.

9.3 Types of predicates

9.3.1 Verbal predicates

9.3.1.1 Intransitive verbal predicates

In predicates with an intransitive verb, the pronominal suffix on the verb agrees with its subject (the subject may or may not be stated).

(450) S573
 qaḍy-ō āmad.
 judge-the come:3sREAL
 ‘The judge came.’

(451) G956
 ḥubbō yē tmur-a!
 grandmother 3s die:IMPF -3s
 ‘His grandmother will die!’

(452) K544
 qēṣarit-īn-an rēsid-in.
 date.sp. -person.of -PL arrive:REAL -3p
 ‘The date-eaters arrived.’

9.3.1.2 Transitive verbal predicates

In predicates with transitive verbs, the verb’s pronominal suffix agrees with its subject, and the object precedes the verb or deverb. If the object is a pronoun, it follows the verb or deverb instead.

(453) S640
 dāmar-ō wād-in.
 groom-the bring:REAL-3p
 ‘They brought the groom.’

(454) K287
 ḥaraqa yē kin.
 burning 3s do:2sIMPER
 ‘Burn it.’

(455) S665

ṣangērīr-an jīr-in tō
 slave-PL see:REAL -3p 2s
 ‘The slaves saw you’

9.3.1.3 Deverbal predicates

Deverbal predicates follow the same syntactic rules as verbal predicates, with the deverb taking the syntactic role of the verb in the clause; that is, an object in the form of a full noun precedes the deverb, and an object in the form of a pronoun it follows the deverb:

(456) G817

panj-ta gūnī ḡēla šabaḥa gid-in
 five-COUNT sack wheat tying on do:REAL-3p
 ‘They tied on **five sacks of wheat**.’

(457) U79

mām-ō čō qāḥwē šaraba k-a
 mother -the go:3sIMPF coffee drinking do:IRR -3s
 ‘The mother would go to drink **coffee**’

(458) K591

maḥana **mē** tk-ī
 bothering 1s do:IMPF -2s
 ‘You are bothering **me**’

(459) S858

šayaxa yē gid-in.
 appointing.as.sheikh 3s do:REAL -3p
 ‘They appointed **her** as sheikh.’

Deverbs can also be intransitive:

(460) K345

ṣayaḥa tk-a.
 shouting do:IMPF-3s
 ‘He was shouting.’

(461) A623

ṣaffa kin inda šārō-ō.
 progressing do:MIR inside street -the
 ‘He paraded along the street!’

9.3.1.4 Verbal predicates with complements

Kumzari does not morphosyntactically differentiate an indirect object from an oblique argument; there is no grammatical marking particular to either. Diagnostics of omission and of relativisation for both yield equally ambivalent results; that is, indirect objects and obliques are equally capable of being omitted or relativised (Keenan and Comrie 1977:65). The indirect object as distinct from an oblique is ambiguous in many languages (Andrews

2007:191). Both obliques and indirect objects in Kumzari follow the verb phrase and are marked by a preposition. This is the case for indirect objects in intransitive verbal predicates:

(462) K416

saṭ-ta ādamī murs-in **ba** yē.
one.hundred-COUNT person die:PERF -3p for 3s
'One hundred people have died **for her**.'

(463) A690

tabaqa tk-a **ba** rkaḥ-ō
sticking do:IMPF -3s to shoe-the
'It was sticking **to the shoe**'

(464) P938

ḡalata gid-um **ba** yē.
harming do:REAL-1s to 3s
'I did harm **to her**.'

and indirect objects in transitive verbal predicates:

(465) S652

dar-ō wākid-iš **ba** yē.
door-the open:REAL-3s to 3s
'She opened the door **to him**.'

(466) K206

jō'ar mē ād **ba** mē.
pearl 1s give:2sIMPER to 1s
'Give **me** my pearl.'

(467) P933

salah-an mē gid-iš **pi** mē.
weapon-PL 1s take:REAL-3s from 1s
'She took my weapons **from me**.'

(468) A582

ēka ā nakt-ē pī jāmal dar-iš **ba** mē.
INF SUB little-a fat camel give:REAL-3s to 1s
'You know, she gave a little camel fat **to me**.'

(469) K117

mē mēy-ō fōšnīs -um **ba** šmā.
1s fish-the sell:PERF-1s to 2p
'I have sold the fish **to you**.'

as well as oblique objects of both transitive and intransitive verbs:

(470) A259

dān-ī yē **ba** **rū** yē!
 know:IMPF -2s 3s for face 3s
 ‘You recognise him **by his face!**’

(471) B1224

brō **ba** **brār-an** **xō**.
 go:MIR to brother-PL REFL
 ‘He went **to his brothers!**’

Although indirect objects and oblique arguments are treated with the same prepositional phrase structure and placement after the verb phrase, Kumzari gives word order preference to indirect objects when both occur:

(472) K362

nakt-ē āw nakata tk-in **ba** **mē** **ba** **gurmān-ō**.
 little-a water dripping do:IMPF-3p for 1s of cotton-the
 ‘They are dripping a little water **for me from the cotton.**’

(473) K310

mē lāī -ē wās -um **ba** **xō** **ba** **tēnur** **xō**.
 1s small.amount -a bring:PERF-1s for REFL of stone-oven REFL
 ‘I have brought a small amount **for myself for my stone-oven.**’

Locational complements also take a preposition and follow the verb phrase:

(474) S640

sōd-in yē **pana** **sōnty-ō**.
 put:REAL -3p 3s beside raft -the
 ‘They put him **beside the raft.**’

(475) B1111

qaḥama kin **ba** **kāmar** yē.
 jumping do:MIR on back 3s
 ‘He jumped **onto its back!**’

In contrast, verb goal arguments are distinguished in not being marked with a preposition and by following the entire verb phrase, including direct and indirect objects (see chapter 8 for further details):

(476) A465

gambil-ē kin **ḥawy-ō**.
 hole-a do:MIR courtyard-the
 ‘He made a hole **in the courtyard!**’

(477) R1545

bard-in **šan** **xalwat-ē**.
 carry:REAL -3p 3p wilderness-a
 ‘They took **them to a wilderness.**’

(478) G879

sōr wa pīma wād-iš ba šan šām.
 salt.fish and onion bring:REAL-3s to 3p supper
 ‘He brought **them** salt fish and onions **for supper**.’

9.3.2 Non-verbal predicates

Kumzari employs several strategies to form non-verbal predicates. Existentials, evidentials, abstract plurals, and possessive constructions fulfill the role of verbs. The verb *tō’a* ‘become’ also takes other predicates.

9.3.2.1 Clauses with existentials

Existentials are non-verbal in that they do not have verbal properties, such as the expression of tense, aspect, mood, and mirativity. There is a different existential enclitic for each person and number, but these are distinct from the pronominal suffixes found on verbs. In addition, the existential enclitics can attach to any predicate: adjectival, nominal, locative, or deverbal. On predicates with more than one word, the existential enclitic attaches to the entire predicate.

Despite their similar appearance,⁸⁹ the Kumzari existential enclitic and the Persian pronominal copula are morphosyntactically different. Unlike the copula in Persian, the Kumzari existential enclitic is incompatible with a verb. When a deverb precedes the existential, the deverb is in its predicative role and functions more as an adjective than a verb. The existential’s paradigm of forms also differs from that of the verbal suffixes. Existentials are treated in chapter 5.

An existential enclitic is obligatory in both nominal predicates (*šēx* below) and adjectival predicates (*ādī* below):

(479) U12

šēx=**in** na ā, ādī=**in**.
 sheikh =EX:3p NEG SUB normal =EX:3p
 ‘**They were** not royalty; **they were** common.’

and with locational predicates (*āntē* below):

(480) P570

zangērīr -an āntē=**in**.
 slave -PL there =EX:3p
 ‘The slaves **were** there.’

The existential enclitic occurs on predicates with deverbs (i.e., deverbs without a light verb) (*ḡafala* and *ḥalla* below):

⁸⁹ It is conceivable that the Kumzari existential enclitics derived from the Old Persian *h*-existential, while these same forms merged with the Old Persian *astiy* verb (*istad* ‘stand’) to become the *hast/ast* of Middle Persian (Cheung 2007:152). In Kumzari the initial *h* would have been eventually dropped, leaving only the pronominal endings.

(481) A166

āwwa bār maxlōq-an ġafala=**in**.
 first time people –PL unsuspecting =EX:3p
 ‘The first time the people **were** unsuspecting.’

(482) B599

ḥalla ba ʔaʔr=**in**.
 landing on mountain-ledges =EX:3p
 ‘**They are** landing on mountain-ledges.’

and on predicates with perfect participles:

(483) N24

bukrit-an zās-in=**in**.
 kid-PL give.birth:PERF-3p =EX:3p
 ‘The kids **are** born.’

and on predicates with prepositional phrases:

(484) R944

ammū šan inda xānaġ-an=**in** wā dar –an qafl.
 all 3p in house-PL =EX:3p with door-PL locked
 ‘All of them **were** in the houses with doors locked.’

(485) P548

inda munna=**in**.
 in Mina (city) =EX:3p
 ‘**They were** in Mina.’

The existential enclitic attaches to the entire predicate, even to those with multiple words:

(486) P285

wēkil rōk-ō=**ī**?
 guardian boy-the =EX:2s
 ‘**Are you** the boy’s guardian?’

9.3.2.2 Predicates with the verb *tō’a* ‘become’

When a time reference or inchoative aspect of existentiality must be made explicit for pragmatic reasons, the fully-inflectable verb *tō’a* ‘become’ is used rather than the existential enclitic. The *wa=* morpheme evident in the Realis form of the verb *wābur* ‘become:3s’ represents inchoative aspect, and occurs in similar preverbal forms (*wa-*, *vā-*, *vī-*, or *ver-*) in verb systems of other Western Iranian languages (Stilo 2012, Windfuhr 2012, MacKinnon 2011, Skjærvø 1988).

The first of the examples below has the existential enclitic, and the second has the same predicate with the verb *tō’a* ‘become’ to designate inchoative aspect:

(487) P146

xwaš =Ø.
 well =EX:3s
 ‘He **is** well.’

(488) P608

xwaš **wābur**.
 well become:3sREAL
 ‘She **became** well.’

In this example, both the existential enclitic and the verb *tō’a* ‘become’ are used with the same predicate to specify aspect:

(489) S730

sā ditk-ō wustin=Ø. wustin **wābur**.
 now girl-the pregnant=EX:3s pregnant become:3sREAL
 ‘Now, the girl **was** pregnant. She **became** pregnant.’

Like the existential enclitic, the verb *tō’a* ‘become’ can take nominal, adjectival, or locational predicates:

(490) K72

paštin tō’-a.
 mid-afternoon become:IMPF-3s
 ‘It is becoming **mid-afternoon**.’

(491) B1242

bāram **išk** wābur pi wā= ġarbī.
 almond.tree dry become:3sREAL from -ward west
 ‘The almond tree became **dry** from the west.’

(492) G231

jīr-iš yē **daxl** wābur gawd-ō.
 see:REAL-3s 3s inside become:3sREAL cave-the
 ‘He saw it go [*lit.* ‘become’] **inside** the cave.’

In its intransitive form, the verb *tō’a* ‘become’ has the sense of ‘happening’:

(493) R1095

tō’-a na! gur dit xō! dgō ba yē, abdin!
 become:IMPF-3s NEG take:2sIMPER daughter REFL say:3sIMPF to 3s never
 ‘“**It shall not happen!** Take your daughter!” He said to him, “Never!”’

In its capacity as a light verb, *tō’a* ‘become’ is used in a compound verb in place of *tka* ‘do’ with a deverb to produce the passive voice (see chapter 4):

(494) S714

pis šēx-ō **adafa** būs-ē.
 son sheikh-the injured become:PERF-3s
 ‘The sheikh’s son **has been hurt!**’

9.3.2.3 Predicates with evidentials

Evidentials fulfil the syntactic role of transitive verbs in a clause, requiring a complement (see §9.4.2.5.2.5). The complement may take the form of a complement clause or a noun phrase:

(495) B148

sā tamna ā xōd-in.
 now EVID SUB eat:REAL-3p
 ‘Now he saw that **they ate.**’

(496) G22

ēka ā bāram tō'-a na.
 EVID SUB rain become:IMPF-3s NEG
 ‘You know **it doesn’t rain.**’

(497) R1547

tamna ā ar yak-ē ma'r-ē ba kūn yē.
 EVID SUB each one-a tattoo-a on buttocks 3s
 ‘They saw that **each one had a tattoo on his backside.**’

(498) G213

ēka ā yā ġrāb-ō.
 EVID SUB DEM crow-the
 ‘It must be **this crow.**’

(499) P790

awa ā xwaft.
 EVID SUB sleep:3sREAL
 ‘She said **he is asleep.**’

(500) S879

ēka ā dit šmā.
 EVID SUB daughter 2p
 ‘You know **your daughter...**’

(501) G442

tamna ā jāmāl-ē raxama=Ø inda ḥawy yē.
 EVID SUB camel-a reclining=EX:3s in courtyard 3s
 ‘He saw **a camel reclining in his courtyard.**’

9.3.2.4 Predicates with possessives

Clauses with the possessive construction do not require a verb. As described in chapter 8, the preposition *wā* is followed by the possessor in the form of a noun or noun phrase:

(502) K35

zōraq-ē wā yē.
 zoraq.boat -a with 3s
 ‘He had a **zoraq** boat.’

(503) R1510

šaš-ta ʒangērīr ba mē =in wā yē.
 six-COUNT slave to 1s =EX:3p with 3s
 ‘He has six slaves that belong to me.’

(504) K138

jō’ār-ō wā mā.
 pearl-the with 1p
 ‘We have the pearl.’

(505) P933

jāmal-ē wā yē.
 camel-a with 3s
 ‘She had a camel.’

9.3.2.5 Predicates with abstract plurals

A noun with the abstract plural can be a predicate without a verb, forming a complete clause. Abstract plurals used alone as clauses frequently depict a general situation, especially about time, location, or weather:

(506)

šartağ-an.
 storm-PL
 ‘It’s stormy.’

(507) P371

balya-an.
 problem-PL
 ‘It was problematic.’

(508) B649

bang-an.
 dusk-PL
 ‘It was dusk.’

The abstract plural is described in detail in chapter 3.

9.4 Complex clauses

9.4.1 Coordination

Syntactic coordination is a complex clause “linking two clauses of equal grammatical status” (Payne 1999:336). However, in some complex clauses, it is ambiguous whether the component clauses are equal, and thus in coordination, or dependent, and thus in subordination. This is the case in many languages, as Haspelmath explains: “The formal symmetry of the terms coordination and subordination does not correspond to a similar conceptual symmetry” (Haspelmath 2007:46). Some conjunctions in Kumzari may signal conditionality, depending on the semantics of the two clauses and whether the subordinating enclitic *ā* is present. Such cases, with flexibility in their status of coordination or subordination, reveal the typological fact that “the category of coordinators does not have

sharp boundaries” (Haspelmath 2007:48). Conjunctions that function alternately as conditionals are thus described as well in §9.4.2 on subordination.

Coordination in Kumzari generally uses one of the linking forms: conjunction (*wa* ‘and’; *ka* ‘also’), disjunction (*waḷa*, *wana* ‘or’; *kana*, *midam* ‘otherwise’), adversative coordination (*lakin* ‘but’; *balkē* ‘however’), or causal coordination (*ka* ‘so’). Most are of transparently Semitic origin (cf. coordination in Iranian languages: Stilo 2004:273), but do not necessarily function similarly. Examples of each type of coordinated clause are given below.

9.4.1.1 Conjunction

Conjunction in Kumzari uses *wa* ‘and’ between clauses. The subjects of clauses conjoined by *wa* ‘and’ may be coreferential:

(509) P126

sēzda-ta ruppī dār-iš ba yē **wa** pačaxčē-ō kardīd-iš
thirteen -COUNT rupees give:REAL-3s to 3s and chest -the drop:REAL-3s

wā= yē.

-ward 3s

‘**He** gave him thirteen rupees **and he** laid down the chest before him.’

(510) P348

ḥubbō-ō xaṭṭ-ē kataba gid-iš. wāqā gid-in **wa**
grandmother-the message-a writing do:REAL-3s signature do:REAL-3p and

fānd-in yē.

send:REAL-3p 3s

‘The grandmother wrote a message. **They** signed **and they** sent it.’

or the subjects of the two clauses may have disjoint reference:

(511) R1365

ṣank-an raft-in na **wa** šan raft-in.
woman- -PL go:REAL-3p NEG and 3p go:REAL-3p

‘**The women** didn’t go **and they [the brothers]** went.’

In cases where the subjects of coordinate clauses are coreferential, the subject is usually not re-stated in the second clause, not even with a pronoun:

(512) P278

pis yē xēris-ē mē **wa** fans-ē mē.
son 3s buy:PERF-3s 1s and send:PERF-3s 1s

‘**Her son** has bought me **and** has sent me.’

There is no grammatical limit to the number of consecutive clauses that may be conjoined by *wa*, as demonstrated by this example:

(513) S557

nwāḻ paštīn ā, byār-ē... zūly-an **wa**
 prayer mid-afternoon SUB bring:MIR furniture-PL and
 ‘At the late afternoon prayer, they brought... furniture! **and**’

ēwō pāk k-ē **wa**
 here clean make:MIR-2p and
 ‘here they cleaned! **and**’

indō-an āmad-in baladiyya **wa**
 Indian.person-PL come:REAL-3p garbage and
 ‘the Indians came to [pick up] garbage, **and**’

pāk yē gid-in **wa**
 clean 3s make:REAL-3p and
 ‘they cleaned it **and**’

sōnty-ō čōrid-in **wa** ka
 raft-the wash:REAL-3p and LIST
 ‘they washed the raft **and** also’

gmēḻ pana yē pāk gid-in **wa** ka
 dirt beside 3s clean make:REAL-3p and LIST
 ‘they cleaned up the dirt beside it **and** also’

xā ḥmām-ō pana yē pāk gid-in **wa**
 house pigeon-the beside 3s clean make:REAL-3p and
 ‘they cleaned up the pigeon house beside it **and**’

zūly-ē sōd-in **wa**
 furniture-a put:REAL-3p and
 ‘they put in furniture **and**’

šēx-ō āmad **wa**
 sheikh -the come:3sREAL and
 ‘the sheikh came **and**’

rōr-an āmō yē āmad-in **wa**
 child -PL uncle (paternal) 3s come:REAL -3p and
 ‘his uncle’s children came **and**’

qaḍy-ō āmad **wa**
 judge -the come:3sREAL and
 ‘the judge came **and**’

ništ-in pana sōnty-ō.
 sit:REAL-3p beside raft -the
 ‘they sat beside the raft.’

The conjunction *wa* can be combined with the marker of listing parallelism *ka* ‘also’ to present consecutive conjunction. As an emphatic conjunction, *ka* is distinguished

semantically from *wa* in its emphasis that “each coordinand belongs to the coordination, and each of them is considered separately” (Haspelmath 2007:15):

(514) S632

šaw ā, **ka** maylat gid-in, wa **ka** ammū čī gid-in
night SUB LIST wedding.poetry do:REAL-3p and LIST all thing do:REAL-3p

wa **ka** srō kēšid-in wa ṭiya būr-in.
and LIST sung poetry pull:REAL-3p and finished become:REAL-3p
‘At night, **also** they did the Maylad [poetry], and **also** they did everything, and **also** they sang the Sro [poetry], and they finished.’

9.4.1.2 Causal coordination

The conjunction *ka* is used alone for causal coordination (Haspelmath 2007:2):

(515) U457

tō āmō mē **ka** zan xō gr-um b-um wā=
2s father-in-law 1s so wife REFL take:IMPER-1s go:IMPER-1s -ward

mām xō, bap xō ā.
mother REFL father REFL INTERR
‘You are my father-in-law, **so** let me take my wife and go to my own mother and father?’

(516) B773

xalaqa ba yē **ka** tāt-um dig-um yē šū-ī.
(good).looks to 3s so want:IMPF-1s take:IMPF-1s 3s husband-ADVR
‘He is handsome, **so** I want to take him as a husband.’

9.4.1.3 Disjunction

Disjunction in Kumzari uses the word *waḷa* ‘or’ between clauses to indicate alternative possibilities:

(517) P468

kam ḡāz dō-um ba yē **waḷa** širx tāt-a ā,
how.much money give:IMPF-1s to 3s or gold want:IRR-3s SUB

širx dō-um ba yē.
gold give:IMPF-1s to 3s
‘I will give her however much money, **or** if she wants gold, I will give her gold.’

(518) R767

inda šmā ā **waḷa** inda zan-an šmā ā?
in 2p INTERR or in wife-PL 2p INTERR
‘Is it in you **or** is it in your wives?’

Emphatic disjunction uses the bisyndetic *wana* ‘either, or’ preceding each clause. Emphatic disjunction “emphasizes the contrast between both coordinands and requires that they be considered separately” (Haspelmath 2007:15):

(519) R812

wana inda tō **wana** inda zan tō.
 either/or in 2s either/or in wife 2s
 ‘**Either** it is in you **or** it is in your wife.’

In this example of emphatic disjunction, the verb and the preposition have undergone ellipsis:

(520) N33

wana tay ba bazza-ē, **wana** pačē-ē.
 either/or come:3sIMPF to poor.person-a either/or rich.person-a
 ‘It could come to **either** a poor person **or** a rich person.’

There is no clause-linking mechanism attested for emphatic negative disjunction (‘neither/nor’). As described in chapter 10, in noun phrases expressing rejection, the negative particle precedes each of its referents:

(521) A393

na ʔarb, **na** šuḡul, **na** īn.
 NEG wound NEG mark NEG anything
 ‘**Neither** wound, **nor** mark, **nor** anything.’

As a linking device between clauses, the counterfactual unreality conditional *kana* ‘otherwise’ (see §9.4.2.4.8) can function in substitutive disjunction (Thompson, Longacre, & Hwang 2007:263):

(522) N34

ka iṣū būs-um zāman awwal ā, **kana** ar rōz-ē
 if living become:PERF-1s era before SUB otherwise each day-a

č-um ēmaḡ tk-um.
 go:IMPF-1s firewood do:IMPF-1s

‘If I had lived long ago, I **would have** gone to collect firewood every day.’

(523) N35

ḡāz-an mē byār **kana** č-um šurṭa škēwī
 money-PL 1s bring:2sIMPER otherwise go:IMPF-1s police accusation

tk-um bā tō.
 do:IMPF-1s against 2s

‘Bring my money **or** I will go to the police and lay an accusation against you.’

(524) N9

šnaw majma-an pīru xō **kana** ‘alama tī-ī na
 listen:2sIMPER word-PL grandfather REFL otherwise learning become:IMPF-2s NEG

čābē iṣū bī-ī na.
 how living become: IRR-2s NEG

‘Listen to the words of your grandfather **or** you will never learn how to live.’

Likewise, the counterfactual conditional *midam* can function in explicative disjunction (Haspelmath 2007:48) between clauses:

(525) N36

ūn-ī čāz xōr wā mā **midam** ēw=ī.
 sit:IMPER-2s lunch eat:2sIMPER with 1p otherwise here=EX:2s
 ‘Sit and eat lunch with us **otherwise** [since **unusually**] you are here.’

9.4.1.4 Adversative coordination

There are two conjunctions of adversative coordination. The first is the same as the Arabic adversative coordinator *lakin* ‘but’:

(526) P772

šū mē wā mē ēwō **lakin** sā šū mē raft pi mē.
 husband 1s with 1s here but now husband 1s go:3sREAL from 1s
 ‘I have a husband here, **but** now my husband left me.’

(527) R419

rōz-ē č-um tē šmā, **lakin** wa rōz-ō raft-um ā,
 day-a go:IMPF-1s before 2p but if/when day-the go:REAL-1s SUB

tēmuš-um xizīnā-ō wa zīs-ē.
 see:IMPF-1s treasure-the if/when steal:PERF-3s

‘One day I will go ahead of you, **but** when I go today, I will see whether the treasure is stolen.’

(528) R675

ammū šmā br-ē, ar šaš kas-an šmā, **lakin**
 all 2p go:IMPER-2p each six PERS-PL 2p but

rōk-ō čikk-ō pē ūny-a wā mē.
 boy-the small-the only stay:IMPER-3s with 1s

‘All of you go, all six of you, **but** the youngest boy only shall stay with me.’

(529) S426

ka byō ba yē **lakin** adliy-ē ba yē.
 right.away come:MIR to 3s but gown-a to 3s

‘Right away he came to her **but** she was wearing a gown!’

The second conjunction of adversative coordination is partially also of Arabic origin: *balkē* ‘however’ (Stilo 2004:273):

(530) A599

ān, ōjuzō na’aṭa tk-in, **balkē** raft-ē ġarbī,
 3s.ANA old.person awaiting do:IMPF-3p however go:PERF-3s west

raft-ē šarqī, raft-ē ēbar ēbar, maḍya būs-ē.
 go:PERF-3s east go:PERF-3s over.here over.here lost become:PERF-3s

‘The other one, they were waiting for the old person; **however**, having gone to the west, having gone to the east, having gone here and there, she had become lost.’

9.4.1.5 Asyndetic coordination

Some instances of coordination are *asyndetic*, lacking an overt coordinator. This strategy uses simple juxtaposition and varying intonation over the complex clause to link component clauses. The same patterns of intonation in *asyndetic* coordination are found in Iranian languages (Stilo 2004:277). Rising intonation between coordinated clauses, and falling intonation at the end of the sentence, are indicated in the following examples with rising and falling lines:

(531) P391

 ///// \\\\\\
 ādamī ba kāra-ō, nām yē fālan.
 person to gate-the name 3s such-and-such
 ‘There’s someone at the gate; his name is such-and-such.’

(532) R527

 ///// ///// \\\\\\
 gambil kan ba yē, dakka kin za xōr-ō, wēl.
 hole dig:MIR for 3s burying do:MIR under donkey-the leave:MIR
 ‘He dug a hole for it, he buried [them] under the donkey, he left [them]!’

(533) K529

 ///// \\\\\\
 gēnum azala gid-in, jā azala gid-in.
 wheat separating do:REAL -3p barley separating do:REAL -3p
 ‘They separated the wheat, they separated the barley.’

9.4.2 Subordination

9.4.2.1 Subordination strategies spanning all categories

Subordination in Kumzari is achieved by a number of morphosyntactic strategies. There are also subordination strategies that span more than one type of complex clause construction. It is thus extremely useful at this point to look at T. Payne’s continuum of degree of grammatical integration between two verbs in a multiple verb construction (1999:272).

one	serial	complement	adverbial	clause	relative	coordination	two
clause	verbs	clauses	clauses	chains	clauses		separate clauses
← -----						----- →	
high degree of						no	
grammatical integration						grammatical	
						integration	

(reproduced with permission from T. Payne 1999:272)

This chapter will first describe those strategies with overlapping functions among the different types of subordinated clauses. Thereafter it will explore four types of multiple verb construction found in Kumzari, from lowest to highest degree of grammatical integration between the two verbs: relative clauses, clause chains, adverbial clauses, and complement clauses. Serial and compound verbs are described in §4.3. In complex clauses, more integrated verbs use the subordinating enclitic *ā* to signal clause relationships, while less integrated verb constructions tend to use conjunctions.

9.4.2.1.1 The subordinating enclitic *ā*9.4.2.1.1.1 Morphology, syntax, and semantics of the subordinator *ā*

The subordinator is a clause-final enclitic with grammatical, not lexical, meaning. It is the morpheme *ā*,⁹⁰ with allomorphs *wā* and *yā*, following non-low back vowels and non-low front vowels respectively:

(534) R625

nwāšam-ī **yā**, šēx -ō ām ba yē.
 evening -ADVR SUB sheikh -the come:3s to 3s
 ‘In the evening, the sheikh came to him.’

Usually a subordinator following a non-low-vowel-final word, inserts semi-vowels between them (*yā* or *wā*). However, commonly in cases of topicalisation and juxtaposition, the subordinator instead coalesces with the final vowel:

(535) U68

sā mām -ō **ō**, ču xa indarāğ -an xō.
 now mother -the SUB go:3sIMPF house neighbour -PL REFL
 ‘Now the mother, she would go to her neighbours’ houses.’

Juxtaposition of two independent clauses, with only the subordinator and no subordinating conjunction, is used to signal temporal and logical relations between two clauses:

(536) K146

asp -an insī -an byār ba mē **ē**, byō jō’ar tō
 horse -PL humanlike -PL bring:2sIMPER to 1s SUB come:2sIMPER pearl 2s

dō’ -um ba tō.
 give:IMPF -1s to 2s

‘Bring me the talking horses, [and then] come, I will give you your pearl.’

(537) A290

bard -in yā jitt -ō **ō**, dakka yē gid -in inda maqbart -ō.
 carry:REAL -3p this corpse -the SUB burying 3s do:REAL -3p in grave -the
 ‘Carrying this corpse, they buried it in the grave.’

Infrequently the subordinator can also be realised as a lengthened final vowel before a consonant in the last word of a clause:

⁹⁰ Similar morphemes with subordinating function in Indo-Iranian languages are found in Luri *-a* (MacKinnon 2011), Kurmanji *=sa* (Haig 2007:173), Baluchi *ā/ē* (Axenov 2006:57, 240), and Palula *ta* (Liljegren 2008:352), and in the Arabic conditional *wa* (Johnstone 1991:112).

(538) B973

ka rāyuduum, rōḏ jumāāt, yē ka rāyud -um. ka
 if/when be.able:1sREAL SUB day Friday SUB in.this.case so be.able:REAL -1s if/when

rāyud -um na ā, lā alḷāhī' illaḷḷā!
 be.able:REAL -1s NEG SUB there.is.no.god.but.God

‘If I am able, on Friday, then I am able. If I am not able, may God save us!’

The subordinator must be marked on every complement of the verb in a subordinated clause, thus the *ā* follows both the verb and the verbal complement:

(539) B649

wa āmad -in ā ba xwā ā, bang -an.
 if/when come:REAL -3p SUB for salt SUB dusk -PL

‘When they came for the salt, it was nightfall.’

The subordinator *ā* is elusive. Despite being ubiquitous, the subordinator is difficult to trace because of its similarity to other segments. When it occurs in careful speech its presence is obvious, but in ambiguous cases it is not possible to ascertain its absence. One key is to look at clause-level intonation, for there is invariably rising intonation between subordinated clauses and falling intonation at the end of a sentence. The subordinator *ā* and rising intonation occur in the same functional contexts; in fact, it is probable that diachronically, the subordinator is in decline and is merging into intonation; hence its somewhat ambiguous allomorphs.

Sentence-level intonation has a role in many kinds of subordination, such as clause chains, anadiplosis, and conditionals, but even two independent clauses may show rising-falling intonation similar to that which occurs between a subordinate clause and a main clause, suggesting a logical link between the two clauses:

(540) B205

//// \\\\
 tumr -ī, bumur!
 die:IMPF -2s die:2sIMPER
 ‘Drop dead!’ [lit: ‘You’re going to die, die!’]

(541) P590

//// \\\\
 baḡa s’āl, jwāb.
 without question answer
 ‘[There was] an answer without a question.’

(542) G176

\\\\ //// \\\\
 wa ništ. ēwō, ʒa knār -ō, āšīnan raft-in.
 and sit:3sREAL here under jujube.tree -the those.ones go:REAL-3p
 ‘And she sat down. There, under the jujube tree, [while] those ones left.’

(543) K677

////// \\\\
 mū ḥaraqa kin, mā tā' -im ba tō.
 hair burning do:2sIMPER 1p come:IMPF -1p to 2s
 'Burn the hair [so that] we will come to you.'

Adverbial clauses and complement clauses, as well as other semi-subordinate constructions such as medial clauses in a chain and repeated clauses in anadiplosis, take the subordinating enclitic *ā* clause-finally. More specific lexical-semantic information of the clause falls on the subordinating conjunction (such as *wa*), if there is one, or on implicit information in the pragmatic and linguistic context.

9.4.2.1.1.2 *ā* in adverbial clauses

The subordinator is used in all types of adverbial clauses, at the end of the clause:

(544) R1397

paštīn -ī ā, kō'ī -ō āmad.
 afternoon.prayer -ADVR SUB mountain.bedouin -the come:3sREAL
 'In the afternoon, the mountain bedouin came.'

9.4.2.1.1.3 *ā* in complement clauses

The subordinating enclitic also joins to the end of various complement clauses:

(545) P110

mār, aqrab inda yē ā, dām na.
 snake scorpion in 3s SUB know:1sIMPF NEG
 'I don't know [whether] there was snake or scorpion in it.'

9.4.2.1.1.4 *ā* on evidentials

The subordinator occurs with all three evidentials, following the evidential:

(546) B1138

sā wa barza wāb ba bāğ almowz ā, tamna ā
 now if/when appearing become:MIR to garden Ar.:(the- banana) SUB SENS SUB

brār -an yē ḥaps=in.
 brother -PL 3s bound =EX:3p
 'Now when he showed up at the banana garden, he saw that his brothers were bound.'

Much further discussion on the relationship between complement clauses and evidentials is in §9.4.2.5.2.5.

9.4.2.1.1.5 *ā* in clause chains

Medial clauses in clause chains take the subordinating enclitic because they are not independent clauses:

(547) U218

wa āw xwiš pi asp -ō ā,
 and water drink:3sREAL from horse -the SUB
 ... 'and he drank water from the horse,' ...

9.4.2.1.1.6 *ā* in topicalisation

Thompson and Longacre (1985:229) point out that topicalisation and subordination share common functional features as well as the same morpheme in many languages.⁹¹ This is the case in Kumzari, where the a subject or an object is brought into focus by the enclitic *ā*:

(548) G992

xānağ -ō y'=ā, qētil -ē.
 house -the DEM=SUB deadly -a
 'That house, it's deadly.'

In its topicalisation function, *ā* can be distinguished from other functions because a topicaliser is marked on a noun phrase; thus it is found even in simple clauses. Pragmatically, topicalisation is parallel to anadiplosis, highlighting given or old information, but anadiplosis repeats an entire clause rather than a noun phrase only.

9.4.2.1.1.7 *ā* in anadiplosis

Anadiplosis is a grounding strategy in which a clause is repeated, sometimes with an alternate verb form or pronoun, and followed by *ā* to connect it to the following clause:

(549) B238

ka jaḥḥa kin ba rōk -ō awēlī, rōk -ō jwān -ō.
 PEAK swooping do:MIR for boy -the first boy -the fine -the

jaḥḥa kin ba yē ā wa sayy yē pi mayya rōk -an.
 swooping do:MIR for 3s SUB and lift.up:MIR 3s from midst boy -PL
 'Immediately he swooped for the first boy, the fine one. **He swooped on him** and lifted him up from among the boys!'

9.4.2.1.2 The consecutive subordinating enclitic *bēw*

Like *ā*, and used in its place for linked clauses in logical or temporal sequence, *bēw* is a consecutive subordinating enclitic:

(550) N6

amū rēsid ba čō-ō bēw, āw gid-iš ba xō.
 once arrive:3sREAL to well-the SUB water take:REAL-3s to REFL
 'Once she arrived at the well, **then** she drew water.'

⁹¹ Similar particles are used for topicalisation in Baluchi (*u*), Palula (*ba*), Bakhtiari, Kurmanji, and Gilaki (*am*) (Axenov 2006:233; Liljegren 2008:377; Lockwood 2012:210).

(551) G365

sālam dī-in bēw turwā ḥasa ba āntē ā, “mamā,
greeting give:IMPF-3p SUB run:3sIMPF still to there SUB O mother

šām-an kaš!”

supper-PL serve:2sIMPER

‘They were greeting [each other], **then** he ran still to there, “Serve the supper, O mother!”’

9.4.2.1.3 Irrealis verbs signalling subordination

Irrealis verbs are used to signal that one clause is subordinate to another clause, usually with a different verb form:

(552) S57

xānaḡ-ē kin ba mē inda yē, qafala pi wā=indur,
house -a do:2sIMPER for 1s inside 3s locked from in-ward

āw byāt na inda yē na.

water come:3sIRR NEG inside 3s NEG

‘Make a house for me inside it, [that] locks from the inside, [**so that**] water **does not go** in it.’

9.4.2.1.3.1 Irrealis in adverbial clauses

Kumzari employs irrealis verbs in temporal and other adverbial clauses:

(553) G221

tē ba rēs -a ba y’ā, ḡrāb -ō pōrid.
before to arrive:IRR -3s to 3s-SUB crow -the fly:3sREAL

‘Before he **reached** it, the crow flew away.’

9.4.2.1.3.2 Irrealis in complements

Irrealis verbs are also commonly used as a complementation strategy:

(554) N19

wašt -iš yē mī’ī xōr -a
leave:REAL -3s 3s fish eat:IRR -3s

‘She let him **eat fish**.’ [lit. ‘she-let him fish **that-he-eat**.’]

9.4.2.1.4 Reduced-TAMM verbs signalling subordination

In certain circumstances, such as subordinate clauses, verbs are shortened to the stem; that is, they have no affixes marking tense, aspect, mood, or mirativity:

(555) S332

ra ba zank -an wād -iš šan.
go:3s to woman- -PL bring:REAL -3s 3p

‘**He went** to the women, **to bring** them.’ or ‘**Going** to the women, **he brought** them.’

9.4.2.1.4.1 Reduced-TAMM verbs in adverbial clauses

Reduced-TAMM verbs are used in logical and other adverbial clauses:

(556) S115

ra ba nijjār -ō, sōntī -ē wād -iš pi ēwā ḥata
 go:3s to boatbuilder -the raft -a bring:REAL -3s from here until

ṣaḥarē -ō, ba blindī.

cabinet -the of height

‘**Going** to the boatbuilder, he brought a raft [that was] from here up to the cabinet in height.’

9.4.2.1.4.2 Reduced-TAMM verbs in complement clauses

Verbs are reduced to lack TAMM marking as a complementation strategy:

(557) G990

dām na **rin** gīya na.
 know:1sIMPF NEG go:3p where NEG

‘I don’t know **where they went**.’

9.4.2.1.4.3 Reduced-TAMM verbs in serial verb constructions

In Kumzari serial verb constructions, tense, aspect, modality, and mirativity are understood as encompassing the whole construction; thus the initial verb may have reduced TAMM markings:

(558) S679

āma ēnar yē **gid -iš**
 come:3s henna 3s do:REAL -3s

‘she **came** [and] **did** his henna’

Serial verb constructions are described in more detail in §4.3.

9.4.2.1.4.4 Reduced-TAMM verbs in clause chains

A medial verb from a clause chain, about a boy’s survival in the desert, shows reduced tense-aspect-mood-mirativity marking. The TAMM is instead marked on the final verb of the chain.

(559) U218

wa jumr **wāš** ba xō pi nixn -an asp -ō ā,
 and ember bring:3sREAL for REFL from hoof -PL horse -the SUB
 ... ‘and he **struck** a spark on the horse’s hooves,’ ...

9.4.2.1.4.5 Reduced-TAMM verbs in anadiplosis

In anadiplosis, repeated information can take a verb with reduced tense-aspect-mood-mirativity marking, since the TAMM is already known:

(560) A69

rēsid dbay. **rēsi** dbay ā,... sā kas dāna na.
 arrive:3sREAL Dubai arrive:3s Dubai SUB now no.one know:3sIMPF NEG

‘He arrived at Dubai. **Arriving** at Dubai, ...now he knew no one.’

9.4.2.1.5 Participles signalling subordination

The perfect form of the verb is used as a participle, in an extension of aspect, to indicate the subordinate status of a clause.

9.4.2.1.5.1 Participles in relative clauses

The participle operates as a subordinate verb form in relative clauses:

(561) A485

wa ān ōjuzō' -ō **xwaft -ē** indur, mām yē, xābr na.
and that old.person -the sleep:PERF -3s inside mother 3s in.the.know NEG
'And that old person **sleeping** inside, his mother, [she] didn't know.'

9.4.2.1.5.2 Participles in adverbial clauses

Perfect participles are employed in adverbial clauses, including clauses of reason:

(562) S244

ēka ā y'=ā kas tāt -a yē na, **kaft -ē** ba čāf -ō bē.
INF SUB DEM=SUB PERS want:IMPF -3s 3s NEG fall:PERF -3s on beach-the only
'Obviously no one wanted this, [**since**] it was just **left** on the beach.'

9.4.2.1.5.3 Participles in complement clauses

Complement clauses make use of the participle's subordination function:

(563) B931

dīt mē ṭal bur tō **gis -ī** xustār-ī.
daughter 1s decided become:3sREAL 2s take:PERF -2s fiancé-ADVR
'My daughter has decided that you be **taken** as a fiancé.'

9.4.2.1.6 Deverbs signalling subordination

Deverbs in Kumzari have a flexibility that enables them to designate their status as less active than that of a verb in an independent clause. In this function, deverbs appear in subordinate clauses of all kinds.

9.4.2.1.6.1 Deverbs in relative clauses

A deverb can be the indicator of the relative status of a clause:

(564) P94

pačaxčē -ē **qafala** pi indur, lēlām tk -in ba yē suq -ō.
chest -a locked from inside peddling do:IMPF -3p to 3s souq -the
'A chest that was **locked** from the inside, they were peddling it in the souq.'

9.4.2.1.6.2 Deverbs in adverbial clauses

Adverbial clauses take advantage of the less-verblike qualities of deverbs:

(565) P506

ništ -ē ba yē **walama** walla!
 stay:PERF -3s for 3s readying by.God
 ‘She waited for him **in readiness**, by God!’

9.4.2.1.6.3 Deverbs in complement clauses

Deverbs are found as subject or object expansions in complement clauses:

(566) R360

ātiš -ē jīr -iš, ātiš -ē āntē čō-ō ā, ātiš -ē **labaqa**.
 fire -a see:REAL -3s fire -a there well -the SUB fire -a burning
 ‘He saw a fire, a fire that was there by the well, a **burning** fire.’

9.4.2.1.7 Conjunctions signalling subordination

Subordinating conjunctions occur clause-initially, and may combine with other strategies in subordinate clauses. Certain prepositions, such as *pi* ‘from’, *ḥata* ‘until’, *āxur* ‘after’, *wa* ‘when’, and others, also serve as subordinating conjunctions (cf. Schachter 1985).

9.4.2.1.7.1 Subordinating conjunctions in relative clauses

The relativising morpheme *ka* found in many Western Iranian languages now occurs in Kumzari only in idiomatic connective phrases such as *inčka* ‘in this way’ and *byō tā bār ka* ‘it came about one time that’ and *ambē ka* ‘already’:

(567) S254

sā **byō** tā **bār** **ka** pis šēx walēyit-ō ču xāna.
 now it.came.about one time that son sheikh country -the go:3sIMPF marriage
 ‘Now **it came about one time that** the son of the sheikh of the country was to be married.’

(568) G741

ambē **ka** guryid, xinnō gidiš.
 already that cry:3sREAL wailing -the do:3sREAL
 ‘He had cried **already**, [now] he wailed!’

The role of *ka* as a relativiser has been replaced by the clause-final particle *na*. Details on the relativiser *na* are in §9.4.2.2.2.

9.4.2.1.7.2 Subordinating conjunctions in adverbial clauses

A preposition in its subordinating conjunction role may be the head of an adverbial clause. The following two examples have prepositions *ḥata* ‘until’ and *āxur* ‘after’ serving as adverbialisers in subordinated clauses:

(569) G142

ḥata **tay** **wā=bāla** ā gōsin-an txōr-in.
 until come:3sIMPF -ward=up SUB goat -PL eat:IMPF-3p
 ‘The goats were eating **until he came up**.’

(570) R455

āxur bang šmā bzēn-um ā, arzamē u yēkē byāt.
 after calling 2p hit:IMPF-1s SUB one.at.a.time come:3sIRR
 ‘After I call out to you, [you] should come one at a time.’

9.4.2.1.7.3 Subordinating conjunctions in complement clauses

Prepositions can likewise function as complementisers in subordinated clauses:

(571) S357

pi giya āmad, dām na.
 from where come:3sREAL know:1sIMPF NEG
 ‘I don’t know **where she came from.**’

The conditional conjunction *ka* can equally function as a complementiser:

(572) N20

šwāl mām xō gid-iš **ka jilbē yē čīšt-ē.**
 question mother REFL do:REAL-3s if/when scarf 3s wash:PERF-3s
 ‘She asked her mother **whether she had washed her scarf.**’

9.4.2.2 Relative clauses

A relative clause, which describes the referent of a head noun (Comrie 1989:143), is recognised in Kumzari by three strategies: a relative pronoun *ar*, a relative particle *na*, and a gapped relative clause with nominalised verb form. A fourth strategy, employing a prepositional phrase, is used to relativise an argument.

9.4.2.2.1 The relative pronoun *ar*

The basic strategy for forming relative clauses in Kumzari is the use of the clause-initial relative pronoun *ar*. The relative pronoun has two allomorphs: */ar/* replaces an argument and may thus properly be called a complementiser, while */a/* “delimits the reference of a noun phrase” (Andrews 2007:206), occurring post-nominally. As for syntactic distinctions, within a complement *ar* precedes the main clause and as a non-complement relative clause it follows the main clause. When it is not part of a complement clause, the relative pronoun is externally headed, being coreferential to its head in the matrix clause (as in the first two examples below, the heads of the relative clauses are *šū yē* and *surxan*, respectively). An *ar* relative clause within a complement clause is internally headed (Comrie 1989:146), being self-referential (as in the third and fourth examples below, the heads of both relative clauses are *ar*).

(573) P1044

šū yē šwānd-iš, **a** kardīd-iš yē zēr pi qišr-ō.
 husband 3s hear:REAL-3s that/which/who drop:REAL-3s 3s down from palace -the
 ‘She listened to her husband, **the one who** had thrown her down from the palace.’

(574) P511

sā širx-an wā yē **a** zank-ō wād-iš.
 now gold -PL with 3s that/which/who woman -the bring:REAL-3s
 ‘Now, she had gold, **that which** the woman had brought.’

(575) K322

ar asp-an insī-an wās-ē ā mē=um.
 that/which/who horse -PL humanlike -PL bring:PERF-3s SUB 1s =EX:1s
 ‘**The one who** brought the talking horses was me.’

(576) U213

ar ġēla-an mā gis-ē ā, ēka ā yā ġrāb-ō.
 that/which/who wheat -PL 1p take:PERF-3s SUB INF SUB DEM crow -the
 ‘**The one who** has taken our wheat, it must have been this crow.’

9.4.2.2.2 The relative particle *na*

Kumzari also uses a relative particle *na* to encode relative constructions, giving additional information about the head. The relative particle *na* occurs clause-finally, but when the relative clause is embedded in a complement clause, the relative particle *na* takes penultimate position in the clause, followed by and fused with the subordinator *ā* to form *nā*:

(577) A641

ar jamma tk-a zīn-ō, jamma tk-a,
 that/which/who bending do:IMPF-3s thief -the bending do:IMPF-3s

sayya ba xō **n=ā**, zīn-ō.
 picking.up for REFL of.which thief -the

‘The one who bends down is the thief, **who** bends down, picks up, is the thief.’

In this case, it is often a correlative strategy, in which the antecedent noun phrase is repeated rather than reduced:

(578) B945

yā **qīṣr** **dit** **mē na**, **qīṣr** dgur tābaq qublō
 DEM palace daughter 1s of.which palace other storey presenting

yē gis-ē, ya’nī.
 3s do:PERF-3s that.is.to.say

‘This **palace that is for my daughter**, another multi-storeyed **palace** will be presented to her, I mean.’

Like Arabic, Kumzari has verbless relative clauses. Instead of a finite verb, a relative clause may comprise an existential enclitic, an adjective or deverb, or a participial verb. The relative particle *na* is particularly favourable in such cases of relative clauses with implied predicates:

(579) S51

sōnty-ē gap byār, **lōḥ-ī** **gap-ē na**, wa kin
 raft -a big bring:2sIMPER wood -ADJR big -a of.which and make:2sIMPER

ba mē inda yē xānaḡ-ē.
 for 1s inside 3s house -a

‘Bring a big raft, **that is a big, wooden one**, and make me a house inside it.’

A frequently-occurring extension of the role of *na* in clause combination is in discourse as a topicaliser, making a subject from the object of the previous sentence:

(580) A695

ḥafara gambil-ē tk-a ā, sō yē inda yē.
digging hole -a do:IMPF-3s SUB put:3sIMPF 3s in 3s

yā na, naqala wābur!
DEM of.which disappearing become:3sREAL

‘Digging a hole, he puts [**the gold**] in it. **This [gold]**, it disappeared!’

9.4.2.2.3 Gapped relative clauses

Cross-linguistically, nominalised and participial verbs are a very common feature of relative clauses, especially in languages with abundant verbal morphology (Payne 1999:294). Instead of using an overt relative marker, relative clauses in Kumzari may use a gap strategy of a nominalised verb in the form of a deverb or perfect participle. The following two examples are gapped relative clauses using the deverbs *ḥaraqa* and *qafala*:

(581) P1099

xaṭṭ-ē āma ba mē, law yē ḥaraqa.
message -a come:3s to 1s edge 3s sealed.with.wax

‘A message came to me, [**of which**] its edge was **sealed with wax**.’

(582) S57

xānaḡ-ē kin ba mē inda yē, qafala pi wā=indur,
house -a do:2sIMPER for 1s inside 3s locking from -ward=inside

āw byāt na inda yē na.
water come:3sIRR NEG inside 3s NEG

‘Make a house for me inside it, [**that**] **locks** from the inside, [so that] water does not go in it.’

This relative clause uses a perfect-participial form of the verb, without a relativiser:

(583) A570

sā ōjuzō-ō y’=ā, āmas-ē pī-an jōr-a ā,
now old.person -the DEM=SUB come:PERF-3s fat -PL look for:IRR-3s SUB

ra barra ā, aḥma tka maltaqa yē wābur
go:3s outside SUB Ahmad-Does-It face-to-face.meeting 3s become:3sREAL

ba kāra dar-ō.
at entryway door -the

‘Now, that old person, [**who was**] **coming** to look for some fat, went outside, came face to face with Ahmad Tka at the entryway of the door.’

9.4.2.2.4 Prepositional phrases

Arguments employ prepositional phrases as a relativisation strategy:

(584) P530

fān yē ba rōk-ō, **pi** raft-ē ḥijj.
 send:2sIMPER 3s to boy -the from go:PERF-3s hajj.pilgrimage
 ‘Send it to the boy, **who** has gone on the Hajj pilgrimage.’

(585) U176

ēka ā yā-an ā, **pi** drāz=in ā,... daby-an. ḡāzalē-ē.
 INF SUB DEM-PL SUB from long=EX:3p SUB oryx-PL gazelle-a
 ‘You know these ones which, **that** are long [antlers]... oryxes. A gazelle.’

The particular use of the preposition *pi* ‘from’ as a relativiser bears a resemblance to the endemic use of a relativiser *bū* (in place of *illi*) in Arabic dialects of northern Oman (see Eades 2009:91).

9.4.2.2.5 Embedded relative clauses

A relative clause can be a complementation strategy (Dixon & Aikhenvald 2006:6, 35); in Kumzari a relative clause can function as both subject complement, as in the first example below, and object complement, as in the second example below. A relative clause serving as an object complement (as in S454* below) needs a resumptive pronoun to replace it in its usual position in the matrix clause; a subject complement (as in B1051* below) does not need a resumptive pronoun because the relative pronoun *ar* fulfills this function. Because these relative clauses are embedded in complement clauses, they must take the subordinator *ā*.

(586) B1051 (relative clause embedded in subject complement)

ar čō **ba** yā **tēra-ō** ā, sō yē na!
 that/which/who go:3s on this path SUB put:3sIMPF 3s NEG
 ‘**Whoever goes by this path** doesn’t survive!’

(587) S454 (relative clause embedded in object complement)

ṭaraf **adliyē-ō** **kaft-ē** **āntē** **pana** **šēx-ō** ā,
 side gown -the fall:PERF-3s there beside sheikh -the SUB

xabaqa **yē** gid-iš ba mqašš-ō.
 piercing 3s do:REAL-3s with scissors -the

‘**The side of the gown that had fallen there beside the sheikh**, he pierced **it** with the scissors.’

9.4.2.3 Clause chains

A clause chain is a set of clauses in which the verb of the first or last clause is inflected, while verbs of medial clauses in the chain are “less finite than the verbs in independent clauses of the language, lacking the marking of one or more tense-aspect-modality operators” (Dooley 2010a:4). Since medial verbs may consist of a simple root and are neutral with respect to verbal categories, they “receive their finite feature designations from the final verb” (Watters 2002:323). The fully-inflected verb of the initial or final clause thus stands for the morphology of all chain-medial verbs.

The pattern of Kumzari clause chains is two or more clauses with truncated verbs⁹² and the subordinating enclitic, followed by a final, independent clause with a fully inflected verb (or alternatively with the sensory evidential *tamna*⁹³). The clauses have the same subject unless otherwise explicitly specified, and are linked by semantics or sequence of action.

Cross-linguistically, there is typically a strong semantic affiliation between subordination and chaining. This closeness is apparent in Kumzari morphosyntax, as chaining uses the same subordinating enclitic as other subordinated clauses, but without subordinating conjunctions, instead morphologically demoting medial verbs. Thompson, Longacre, & Hwang note that “both chaining and juxtaposition may occur in some languages to signal clause relationships which other languages use subordination for.” (Thompson, Longacre, & Hwang 2007:242)

In chaining structures, it is recognised that syntactic ordination of clauses is gradient rather than binary (Givón 2001b:327-328). Cosubordination may be called a midway point on the scale, and it is different from both embedding (subordination) and juxtaposition (coordination) (Haspelmath 1985:20-27). In clause chains, medial verbs are cosubordinate; they are “syntactically and semantically dependent on a main clause, but are not syntactically or semantically a part of that clause” (Terrill 2004:440). The term cosubordination is used to describe such chain-medial clauses that, unlike subordinated clauses, do not modify the main clause, yet can neither stand alone as can coordinated clauses (van Valin & LaPolla 1997).

Along with clause chains in Kumzari, in colloquial Persian and most other languages of western Iran there are long lists of serial-like verbs which form a syntactic unit and usually do not have overt coordination (Stilo 2004:294,296). Instead, these juxtaposed clauses are linked by ‘sustained’ (comma) intonation, different from that of coordinated clauses (Stilo 2004:277,294). It is not yet known whether lists in these languages also have truncated verbs with reduced morphology.

In Kumzari clause chains, medial clauses are subordinated with the enclitic =*ā*, and verbs show truncated marking of verbal categories, which are instead marked on a final finite verb for the whole chain. In the following clause chain from the tale *Bāḡ al-Mōwz*, medial clauses with shortened verb forms (*ka* ‘do’, *sō* ‘put’) are cosubordinated to the final clause, which contains the fully inflected Imperfect verbs *tka* ‘do’ and *tāra* ‘bring.’

In the glossed summary of the clause chain structure immediately below, medial verbs in the chain are italicised and final verbs with complete finite marking are in boldface font; the subordinating enclitic is marked with a <:

clause chain structure B422
‘When he comes <, he will bring a cauldron, you know the kind of big cauldron with chains on it <, <i>he will put</i> it over the fire pit <, <i>he will fill</i> it with water, <i>he will ignite</i> it [a fire] with kerosene, <i>put</i> kerosene on the firewood <, and <i>he will put</i> logs under it <, it will foam , the water on it will be white like this <, and he will bring a drum for himself.’

⁹² See §4.3.5.

⁹³ Evidentials may take the place of verbs (see chapter 7).

(588) B422

wana āmad ā,
 when come:3sREAL SUB
 ‘When he comes,

tār -a qiz’an -ē ēka ā qiz’an -ō gap -ō sinslā’ -an ba yē ā,
 bring:REAL -3s cauldron -a INF SUB cauldron -the big -the chain -PL on 3s SUB
 he will bring a cauldron, you know the kind of big cauldron with chains on it,

sō yē ba kirdan ā, palla yē ka āw,
 put 3s on fire.pit SUB filling 3s do water
 he will put it over the fire pit, he will fill it with water,

labaqa yē ka ba ḥalg, ḥalgāzī yē ka ba ēmağ -an ā,
 igniting 3s do with kerosene kerosene 3s do on firewood -PL SUB
 he will ignite it [a fire] with kerosene, put kerosene on the firewood,

wa ṭambur -an sō zēr yē ā,
 and log -PL put under 3s SUB
 and he will put logs under it,

fağara tk -a, āw spēr inča ba yē ā,
 foaming do:IMPF-3s water white like.this on 3s SUB
 it will foam, the water on it will be white like this,

wa tār -a ba xō ṭabl -ē.
 and bring:IMPF -3s for REFL drum -a
 and he will bring a drum for himself.’

Semantically, clause chains bring together discrete but related actions within a single event. The following clause chain, in the tale *Abūyi salaḥnī*, *Ummī rakabnī*, describes a boy acting out desert survival:

clause chain structure U218

‘He <i>cut</i> [the gazelle’s] throat with a sharp stone <, and he <i>slit</i> it apart <, and he <i>struck</i> a spark on the horse’s hooves <, and he <i>drank</i> water from the horse <, [sweat] from the horse’s hair <, he <i>ate</i> the gazelle, and he <i>finished</i> .’

(589) U218

qaṣṣa māraq yē giš ba ḡuṣṣ -ō ā,
 cutting throat 3s do:3sREAL with sharp.stone -the SUB
 ‘He cut its throat with a sharp stone,

wa falaqa yē giš pi angar ā,
 and slitting 3s do:3sREAL from each.other SUB
 and he slit it apart,

wa jumr wāš ba xō pi nixn -an asp -ō ā,
 and ember bring:3sREAL for REFL from hoof -PL horse -the SUB
 and he struck a spark on the horse’s hooves,

wa āw xwiš pi asp –ō ā,
 and water drink:3sREAL from horse –the SUB
 and he **drank** water from the horse,

pi mū asp –ō ā,
 from hair horse –the SUB
 from the horse's hair,

ğazalē-ō xōd-iš, wa tiya wābur.
 gazelle –the eat:REAL-3s and finished become:3sREAL
 he **ate** the gazelle, and he **finished**.'

Since the clauses forming a chain comprise parts of a whole—a set of actions— clause chaining contributes to cohesion in Kumzari discourse.

Clause chains in Kumzari and other languages are frequently begun by anadiplosis⁹⁴. The second half of the anadiplosis reveals itself as the orientational initial clause in the chain that contains background information, “by repeating the final clause of the preceding sentence, it is presupposed” (Dooley 2010a:4). In restricting the information to that which is already known, anadiplosis in a clause chain serves “to limit the applicability of the main predication to a certain restricted domain” (Chafe 1976:50).

In clause chaining examples cited by Dooley (2010a:4), an initial clause is dependent and contains background, repeated information, similar to the repeated clause with the subordinator *ā* in Kumzari anadiplosis. This verges into one or more dependent (medial) clauses containing foreground information, which are followed by a final independent clause in the foreground, marking verbal categories for all verbs in the chain. The pattern is exhibited in the following clause chain in the tale *Rōran Šēxō*, which describes a boy catching some thieves. The clause chain is initiated by anadiplosis, with the presupposed background information ‘he took a place for himself’, and ends with the foreground information of the thief going to the treasury gate and the boy killing him:

clause chain structure R462

‘He took a place for himself <, (now in this way he could strike with the what's-it-called, he could strike with the sword, killing them <), he *took* a place for himself <, he *took* the gold and things and what's-it-calleds out of his way <, he *finished*, it was heard <, “OK, come!”), he [a thief] *went* to the gate <, he *went* to the gate <, he **went** [in to where the boy was]. He **cut off** his head with the sword!’

(590) R462

jāga gid –iš ba xō ā,
 place take:REAL -3s for REFL SUB
 ‘**He took a place for himself**,

inča sā īn –ō bzēn –a, šamšir –ō bzēn –a, kš -a šan ā,
 like.this now what's-it-called –the hit -3s sword –the hit -3s kill -3s 3p SUB
 (now in this way he could strike with the what's-it-called, he could strike with the sword, killing them)

⁹⁴ see §12.6 on the function of anadiplosis in discourse.

jāga g -iš ba xō ā,
 place take -3s for REFL SUB
he took a place for himself,

axča mēnu **g -iš** pi xō ā, kār wa īn...
 gold move.aside take -3s from REFL SUB thing and what's-it-called
 he **took** the gold and things and what's-it-calleds out of his way,

xālaṣ wābu tamna ā, hē, byō.
 finished become SENS SUB yes come:2sIMPER
 he **finished**, it was heard, "OK, come!",

yē **ra** ba kāra -ō ā, **ra** ba kāra -ō ā, **raft.**
 3s go to gate -the SUB go to gate -the SUB go:3sREAL
 he [a thief] **went** to the gate, he **went** to the gate, he **went** [in to where the boy was].

qaṣṣa sar yē **kin** ba šamšīr -ō.
 cutting head 3s do:MIR with sword -the
 He **cut off** his head with the sword!

In chains, consecutive cosubordinate clauses put focus on the whole action sequence and direct attention to the outcome of the final clause. Pragmatically, the listener must continue until the end of the chain to find out what happened; non-final intonation is an additional signal that the medial clauses are part of a logical sequence.

Although not technically clause chains, embedded poems exhibit features similar to chains, suggesting that ordination of verbs and clauses is a broad trend in the language (see §11.3.1 and Givón 2001b:355). Phrases or clauses that make up the LIST section of the poem tend to be verbless (preferring existential or possessive constructions) or to contain Irrealis verbs. Emphasis on action in the poem is then allocated to the finite verb(s) within the final part of the FRAME. The first part of the FRAME, as well as the LIST, is also likely to contain one or more subordinators, and the embedded poem is often begun or directly preceded by anadiplosis. The following embedded poem is given below as an example of the chain-like structures encountered in them (anadiplosis preceding the poem is included in this example):

(591) S82
 xālaṣ tō'at ā,
 finished become:3sIRR SUB
 'When it is finished,'

bō kard mē dirya -ō.
 go:2sIMPER plunge:2sIMPER 1s sea -the
 'go and plunge me into the sea.'

kard -ī mē dirya -ō ā,
 plunge:IRR -2s 1s sea -the SUB
 'Plunging me into the sea,'

bar mē ba mōmur, wākiš mē.
 carry:2sIMPER 1s to (island name) release:2sIMPER 1s
 'carry me to Momur Island, [there] release me.'

ar jāga b -um
 any place go:IMPER -1s
 ‘I shall go anywhere.’

murd -um ka **wābur -um** inda sōntī -ō yā ā,
 die:REAL -1s if become:REAL -1s in raft -the DEM SUB
 ‘**If I should die** on that raft,’

inda **ḥamya bur -um**,
 in beached become:IRR -1s
 ‘**should I become beached**,’

wa **ra’ -um** wā= bāla,
 and go:IRR -1s at/-ward= up
 ‘and **should I go** up,’

ra’ -um maḡrab,
 go:IRR -1s west
 ‘**should I go** west,’

ra’ -um mašraq,
 go:IRR -1s east
 ‘**should I go** east,’

ana yā **tk -ī** ba mē ā,
 if DEM do:IMPF -2s for 1s SUB
 ‘if **you do** these things for me,’

balkē **mān -um** zindaḡ.
 perhaps stay:IRR -1s alive
 ‘perhaps **I will stay** alive.’

wa ana **tēl -ī** mē jāga mē inda wālēyit -ō ā,
 and if leave:IMPF -2s 1s place 1s in country -the SUB
 ‘And if **you make** me [stay] where I am in [this] country,’

tumr -um.
 die:IMPF -1s
 ‘**I will die**.’

Table 52. Chain-like structures in an embedded poem

rheterical structure of poem S82 (daughter goes on the raft)
When it is finished SUB, go and plunge me into the sea. Plunging me into the sea SUB, carry me to Momur Island, [there] release me. {place} should I go. should I die in {place} SUB, should I become in {place} should I go {place}, should I go {place}, should I go {place},

if **you do** these things for me SUB,
 perhaps **I will stay** alive.
 And if **you make** me [stay] where I am (lit. ‘let me my-place’) {place} in {place},
I will die.

It is apparent from the examination of clause chains that clause ordination is not binary. Kumzari takes its place among languages that exhibit longer clause-combining structures signalling coherence in the context of discourse.

9.4.2.4 Adverbial clauses

Thompson, Longacre, & Hwang note that there is a difference cross-linguistically in types of adverbial subordinated clauses, between those that can be substituted by a single word and those which cannot (Shopen 2007:243). This distinction is useful in the analysis of Kumzari adverbials, since in the first group, clauses usually need either a conjunction or a preposition in addition to the subordinator, and in the second group, only the subordinator is generally required. An exception to this generalisation is conditionals, which we have discussed.

Adverbials encompass a range of semantic roles, including, but not limited to, the following:

9.4.2.4.1 Time clauses

(592) P165

wa ġurbit-ō ā ʒank-ō raf xā indarağ-an xō.
 if/when sunset-the SUB woman -the go:3sREAL house neighbour -PL REFL
 ‘When it was sunset, the woman went to her neighbours’ house.’

(593) S272

sā wa ʔabil-an šnuft-iš ā, dar-ō wākid-iš.
 now if/when drum -PL hear:REAL-3s SUB door -the open:REAL-3s
 ‘Now when she heard the drums, she opened the door.’

9.4.2.4.2 Location clauses

(594) B1031

inda qışr-ō ā, sā mardk-ō pā yē drāz.
 in palace-the SUB now man- -the leg 3s stretched.out
 ‘In the palace, now, the man, his legs were stretched out.’

9.4.2.4.3 Purpose clauses

(595) S125

tāt-um tō hajrit-ē kin inda yē ā, ba ditk-ō y’=ā,
 want:IMPF-1s 2s room -a do:2sIMPER in 3s SUB for girl -the DEM=SUB

nwāz tk-a inda yē ā, txwā-a inda yē ā,
 praying do:IMPF-3s in 3s SUB sleep:IMPF-3s in 3s SUB
 ‘I want you to make a room in it, for this girl, so that she prays in it, so that she sleeps in it...’

9.4.2.4.4 Reason clauses

(596) P608

zank-ō yak mā sō ā, xwaš wābur.
 woman- -the one month survive:3sIRR SUB well become:3sREAL
 ‘The woman, surviving one month, became well.’

9.4.2.4.5 Circumstantial clauses

(597) B647

jōr-in šan ā, axara būr-in pi šan.
 search:IMPF-3p 3p SUB delayed become:REAL-3p from 3p
 ‘By searching for them, they were delayed by them.’

9.4.2.4.6 Simultaneous clauses

(598) S350

wa xwaft-ī ā, ditk-ē āmad.
 if/when sleep:PERF-2s SUB girl -a come:3sREAL
 ‘While you were asleep, a girl came.’

9.4.2.4.7 Additive clauses

(599) S31

č-um na ā xāna na ā, tany-um na ēwō na.
 go:IMPF-1s NEG SUB marriage NEG SUB stay:IMPF-1s NEG here NEG
 ‘Not only am I not going to marry; I am not staying here either.’

9.4.2.4.8 Conditional clauses

Kumzari has several ways of expressing conditionality, both real and unreal, and including present, habitual, hypothetical and predictive, as well as counterfactual. Much of the semantics of conditionals depends on which verb forms are used with them, rather than having a direct or exact correspondence with other systems.

All of these subordinating conjunctions are clause-initial, and generally must take the clause-final subordinating enclitic *ā*. Similarly to the negative particle in Kumzari, the subordinator *ā* must be marked on each complement. In the same category as *ā* is another clause-final subordinator *bēw*, used much less often but having semantics of sequentiality and certainty, such as ‘having done so’; thus it cannot be used with the unreality conditionals.

9.4.2.4.8.1 Clauses with *wa* ‘if/when’

The conditional of reality is *wa*. It is clause-initial, and occurs on the subordinated clause. It is the most common subordinating conjunction of conditionality, and it is also a subordinating conjunction of temporal adverbial clauses on noun phrases:

(600) B54

wa bang-ō ā, yak-ē mālālā āmad ba kāra-ō.
 if/when dusk -the SUB one -a beggar come:3sREAL to gate -the
 ‘**When** it was dusk, one beggar came to the gate.’

With an imperfect verb, *wa* refers to generic reality conditions:

(601) A79

sā tō **wa** č-ī ħijj ā, br-ī ba mqāwlan.
 now 2s if/when go:IMPF-2s hajj.pilgrimage SUB go:IRR-2s to travel.agency
 ‘Now **if** you go on the Hajj pilgrimage, you go to [a] travel agency.’

or to habitual reality conditions:

(602) S190

wa lanj-an tēmiš-in yē ā, č-in ba yē.
 if/when dhow –PL see:IMPF-3p 3s SUB go:IMPF-3p to 3s
 ‘**When** dhows saw it, they would go to it.’

With a realis verb, the *wa* conditional refers to situations in the present (relative to time of speaking):

(603) S272

sā **wa** ṭabil-an šnaft-iš ā, dar-ō wākid-iš.
 now if/when drum –PL hear:REAL-3s SUB door –the open:REAL-3s
 ‘Now **when** she heard the drums, she opened the door.’

(604) U310

sā **wa** rōk-ō ditk-ō jīr-iš ā, ditk-ō dil yē bẓand-iš.
 now if/when boy –the girl –the see:REAL-3s SUB girl –the heart 3s strike:REAL-3s
 ‘Now **when** the boy saw the girl, he was love-struck.’

When used without its clause-final subordinating counterpart *ā*, *wa* means ‘whether’:

(605) A162

lāzum ādam-ē xābr tī’-in **wa** ādamī-ē
 necessary person -a in.the.know become:IMPF-3p if/when person -a

sabaya tk-in ba wālēyit-ō.
 guarding do:IMPF-3p for country -the
 ‘Someone must find out **whether** they are standing guard for the country.’

(606) R421

wa rōz-ō raft-um ā, tēmuš-um xizīnā-ō **wa** zīs-ē.
 if/when day –the go:REAL-1s SUB see:REAL-1s treasure –the if/when steal:PERF-3s
 ‘When I go today, I will see **whether** the treasure is stolen.’

9.4.2.4.8.2 Clauses with *wana* ‘if/when’

With a realis verb, the subordinating conjunction *wana* can denote either reality conditional of past situations, or predictive (this is linked to the fact that the realis verb form signifies epistemic certainty rather than temporal notions):

(607) N17

wana šnuft-iš tō ā, tikš-a tō.
 if/when hear:REAL-3s 2s SUB kill:IMPF-3s 2s
 ‘**If** he heard you, he will kill you.’

With an imperfect verb, *wana* is predictive:

(608) N18

wana šnēw-a tō ā, tikš-a tō.
 if/when hear:IMPF-3s 2s SUB kill:IMPF-3s 2s
 ‘If he hears you, he will kill you.’

With an irrealis verb, *wana* is hypothetical:

(609) B124

mā **wana** šū mā aft-ta rōr wā yē ā, yak-ē čōt,
 1p if/when husband 1p seven-COUNT child with 3s SUB one –a go:3sIRR

šaš kas wā yē.
 six PERS with 3s

‘As for us, if our husband had seven children, and one left, he would [still] have six.’

The same conjunction *wana*, when used without its clause-final subordinating counterpart *ā*, denotes a threat:

(610) R124

ād ba mē ayya zāmē xōr-ē, šamšir-ē **wana** tukš-um tō.
 give:2sIMPER to 1s quickly immediately donkey -a sword -a if/when kill:IMPF-1s 2s
 ‘Quickly! Immediately give me a donkey [and] a sword, **or else** I’ll kill you.’

Both clauses in a threat may take the conjunction *wana*, signalling a condition:

(611) S791

wana dar-ō wākiš, **wana** nwāz nijjar-an tār-um.
 if/when door-the open:2sIMPER if/when tomorrow boatbuilder-PL bring:IMPF-1s
 ‘**Either** you open the door, **or else** I will bring the boatbuilders.’

9.4.2.4.8.3 Clauses with *ka* ‘if/when’

Contrasting with *wa* is the conditional of unreality notions *ka*. *ka* can be used for hypothetical (with imperfect or irrealis verbs), or predictive (with realis verbs). No matter which verb form is paired with it, *ka* carries the connotation of a promise, suggestion, or plan.

(612) P1036

ka sā ādam-ē dgur jāga mē ā, qašša sar tō tk-a.
 if/when now person –a other place 1s SUB cutting head 2s do:IMPF-3s
 ‘**Were** another person in my place now, he would cut off your head.’

(613) U110

ka sō’-um tō rē’in inda asp-ē ā, ḥata asp-ō byār-um,
 if/when put:IMPF-1s 2s bond in horse –a SUB so.that horse –the bring:IRR-1s

āxur dug-um tō.
 after take:IMPF-1s 2s

‘If I were to put you up as collateral for a horse, so that [when] I brought the horse back, afterward I would get you.’

(614) U280

ka čwānid-iš bā tō ba sālfit ā, yē dug-ī zēnī na.
 if/when be.able:REAL-3s against 2s of riddle SUB 3s take:IMPF-2s as.a.wife NEG
 ‘If she overcomes you with a riddle, you will not marry her.’

Similar to the *wa* without *ā* meaning ‘whether’, the discourse marker of listing parallelism *ka* probably has its origins in the conditional *ka* without *ā*:

(615) G765

sā mā yā ġēla-an dī’-im ba tō. **ka** āzar man-an
 now 1p DEM wheat -PL give:IMPF-1p to 2s if/when thousand measure -PL

wa **ka** pañ şad man-an wa **ka** dō āzar man-an,
 and if/when five hundred measure -PL and if/when two thousand measure -PL

dī’im ba tō jāga bap tō.
 give:1pIMPF to 2s place father 2s

‘Now we will give this wheat to you. **If** it’s a thousand bushels, or **if** it’s five hundred bushels, or **if** it’s two thousand bushels, we will give it to you for your father’s sake.’

9.4.2.4.8.4 Clauses with *kana* ‘otherwise’

The counterfactual unreality conditional is *kana*. This example shows the contrast of *kana* with the unreality conditional *ka*:

(616) R1256

ka č-um zēran čō-ō ā, ar šaš kas-an šmā ma’r=ē,
 if/when go:IMPF-1s down well -the SUB each six PERS -PL 2p tattoo =EX:2p

ma’r bzēn-um ba kūn-an šmā. wa **kana** č-um na.
 tattoo strike:IMPF-1s on buttock -PL 2p and otherwise go:IMPF-1s NEG

‘If I go down the well, all six of you must get tattooed; I will brand tattoos on your bottoms. And **otherwise**, I will not go.’

In this example, *kana* contrasts with the reality conditional *wa*:

(617) R902

wa jīnjāwir ā, ar sbū’-ē čō zēran wālēyit
 if/when master.sorcerer TOP each week -a go:3sIMPF down country

šēx-ō ā, ditk-ē txōr-a. **kana** āw qaṭa’a
 sheikh -the SUB girl -a eat:IMPF-3s otherwise water cutting.off

tō’-a fālaj-ō.
 become:IMPF-3s water.channel -the

‘**When** the master sorcerer goes down to the sheikh’s country every week, he eats a girl. **Otherwise** [if he doesn’t], the water is cut off at the water channel.’

Without the clause-final subordinator *ā*, *kana* is the substitutive disjunction ‘instead’ or ‘rather’ (Thompson, Longacre, & Hwang 2007:263):

(618) K460

dō'-um ba tō čō-ē palla āw. wa šabaḥa tō'-um
 give:IMPF-1s to 2s well -a full.of water if/when waking.in.the.morning become:IMPF-1s

ā, **kana** yā čō-ō šārar, iš inda yē āw na.
 SUB instead DEM well -the dry any in 3s water NEG

‘I will give you a well full of water; when I wake up in the morning, **instead** this well [must be] dry, without any water in it.’

9.4.2.4.8.5 Clauses with *midam* ‘otherwise’

Another counterfactual is *midam* ‘on the other hand’ or ‘otherwise’:

(619) B737

ana xāyar-ē bālaḡ fatta tō fānd-um yē ba tō ā,
 if/when melon -a ripe succulent become:3sIMPF send:REAL-1s 3s to 2s SUB

yē mē xāna tāt-um. wa **midam** xāyar-ē xālal,
 3s 1s marriage want:IMPF-1s and otherwise melon-a unripe

ḥasa xāna tāt-um na
 still marriage want:IMPF-1s NEG

‘If I sent you a ripened, juicy green melon, it would mean that I wanted to marry. And if **on the other hand** [I sent you] an unripe melon, I still do not want to marry.’

9.4.2.4.8.6 Clauses with *ana* ‘if’

The hypothetical conjunction *ana* is used the same way as other unreality conditionals but is restricted to hortative speech acts (Thompson, Longacre, & Hwang 2007:267), such as those with conditional commands and general requests. Often it is the case that the verb in the matrix clause is an imperative, but not necessarily.

(620) S391

wa wād-iš wā xō yē, **ana** ḡaṭṭa tk-a bā
 if/when bring:REAL-3s with REFL 3s if/when sound.sleeping do:IMPF-3s against

mē ā, āmad ā, mār mē k-ē, qaraša mē k-ē.
 1s SUB come:3sREAL SUB awake 1s do:IMPER-2p pinching 1s do:IMPER-2p
 ‘When she comes along, **if** I fall fast asleep, when she comes, wake me up, pinch me.’

(621) S41

ana č-um xāna ba rōr āmō xō, tumr-um.
 if/when go:IMPF-1s marriage to child uncle REFL die:IMPF-1s

‘**If** I marry my uncle’s son, I will die.’ (this is followed by the girl’s request that instead of marrying she be put aboard a raft...)

Without the subordinator *ā*, *ana* signals a polite request:

(622) P693

ana sayy kūš xō? dār-iš ba yē.
 if/when lift:2sIMPER lap REFL give:REAL-3s to 3s

‘“**Perhaps** put it on your lap?” He gave it to her.’

9.4.2.4.8.7 Clauses with *ida* ‘if ever’

The conditional *ida* is a remote hypothetical ‘if ever’ often used in threats:

(623) G935

ida ḥubbō mē murd, dinyē’ē, lūmū
if.ever grandmother 1s die:3sREAL listen.to.what.I.am.saying blaming

mē k-ē na!
1s do:IMPER-2p NEG

‘If my grandmother dies, listen to what I am saying: don’t blame me!’

9.4.2.4.8.8 Absolutive conditional clauses

Conditionality can be conveyed via juxtaposition, with only the subordinator *ā*:

(624) B119

yak-ē d-ē ba mē ā, mē tār-um ba šmā.
one-a give:IMPER-2p to 1s SUB 1s bring:IMPF-1s to 2p

‘Give one to me, [so] I will bring [the boys] to you.’

9.4.2.4.9 Absolutive clauses

Most adverbial clauses other than conditionals⁹⁵ and temporals could be classed as absolutive clauses. That is, there are many clauses in Kumzari which are marked as subordinate with the morpheme *ā*, yet their relationship with the main clause is not otherwise made explicit lexically; it must be determined through inference:

(625) B778

sā šan č-in ā, yē tay ḥawṭ-ō.
now 3p go:IMPF-3p SUB 3s come:3sIMPF orchard.pool -the

‘Now **upon** their going, he would come to the orchard pool.’

(626) B141

č-um pi šmā ā, wa barq-an wa bāram-an ā,
go:IMPF-1s from 2p SUB if/when lightning-PL and rain-PL SUB

tā-um ba šmā.
come:IMPF-1s to 2p

‘[**Although**] I am leaving you, during the lightning and rains, I will come to you.’

In several languages conditionals, topics, and questions share the same morphology, and this can also extend to other categories like concession, reason, and time clauses. Thompson, Longacre, & Hwang offer the reasoning that these “can be presupposed parts of their sentences.” (Shopen 2007:292).

9.4.2.5 Complement clauses

⁹⁵ Even some conditionals are absolutive; they have the subordinator and conditional semantics despite their lack of a conditional conjunction (see §9.4.2.4.8).

A complement clause functions as the core argument of a clause (Dixon & Aikhenvald 2006:4). A complement is known as an argument of a predicate (Noonan 2007:52) and a sentential replacement of a subject or object (Longacre 2007:374). In consideration of more precise definitions of complementation (Dixon & Aikhenvald 2006:7, 15), it is essential to further distinguish between complement clauses and complementation strategies; the latter are not core arguments of the matrix verb in a clause, yet describe a proposition and are functionally equivalent alternatives to noun phrases. Kumzari has four types of complement clause, and four complementation strategies.

Kumzari allows subject, object, and oblique complements. Like adverbial clauses, complement clauses have the subordinator *ā* and may take a diminished or nominalised verb form, such as irrealis, the perfect participle, a deverb, or reduced tense-aspect-mood-mirativity marking. Negation of complement clauses applies and is marked on both the matrix verb and the entire complement clause, and rather than on the verb itself that is within the complement.

9.4.2.5.1 Syntactic roles of complements

9.4.2.5.1.1 Subject complements

A complement can be the subject argument of the verb:

(627) G167

mukē ḡēlā-an gis-ē ā yumkin byāt pi sa ḥata nwāšam.
 whoever wheat -PL take:PERF-3s SUB perhaps come:3sIRR from now until evening
 ‘Whoever has taken the wheat shall perhaps come between now and evening.’

9.4.2.5.1.2 Object complements

A complement clause can fill the object slot in a sentence:

(628) B19

tāt-a rōr-an bīyār-a.
 want:IMPF-3s child -PL bring:IRR-3s
 ‘He wanted to beget children.’

9.4.2.5.1.3 Oblique complements

An oblique argument may take the form of a complement clause (Dixon & Aikhenvald 2006:10). In Kumzari this often involves the prepositions *pi* and *ba*. A resumptive pronoun is required to replace the oblique in its usual position in the matrix clause.

(629) U30

ar tay wālēyit-ō ā, čāz tk-in ba yē.
 of.which come:3sIMPF city -the SUB lunch do:IMPF-3p for 3s
 ‘Anyone who came to the city, they would make lunch for them.’

9.4.2.5.2 Complement clause types

9.4.2.5.2.1 The subordinator *ā*: a conjunction of complementation

The subordinator distinguishes complement clauses (first example below) from noun phrase arguments of the verb (second example below):

(630) U515

nwāḏ **mičē** **tāt-im** **ā,** tambār-im.
 tomorrow whatever want:IMPF-1p SUB carry off:IMPF-1p
 ‘Tomorrow let’s carry away **whatever we want.**’

(631) N21

nwāḏ **jāmal-an** tambār-im.
 tomorrow camel –PL carry off:IMPF-1p
 ‘Tomorrow let’s carry away **camels.**’

Like the subordinator in other contexts, in complement clauses *ā* must be marked on each complement of the verb:

(632) P112

yak-ē **pi** **ahla** **šan** **ā,** ya’nī **pi** **walēyit** **yē** **ā,**
 one -a from relatives 3p SUB that.is.to.say from country 3s SUB

tay pi kwēt.
 come:3sIMPF from Kuwait

‘**Someone who was from his family**, that is to say, **from his country**, was coming from Kuwait.’

Because it occurs in clause-final position and is a conjunction of general subordination, the subordinator *ā* is not the exclusive marker of complementation.

9.4.2.5.2.2 *ar* complement clauses

A clause employing the relative pronoun *ar* as a complementiser designates a relative clause embedded in a complement clause. In this case, syntactic, morphemic, and phonological factors distinguish it from the relative clause: the *ar* clause generally precedes the matrix clause, the complement clause takes the subordinator *ā* clause-finally, and the complementiser’s realisation is /ar/ rather than /a/. The following is a diagram representing a relative clause with the relative pronoun *ar* as its head embedded in a complement clause:

(633) P563

ar **čō** **arafāt** **ā,** lakin radda wābur.
 of.which go:3s Arafat SUB instead returning become:3sREAL
 relative pronoun ←relative clause→ subordinator ←-----matrix clause-----→
 ←-----complement clause-----→ ←-----matrix clause-----→
 ‘**The one who was going to Arafat** instead returned.’

The *ar* relative pronoun is explained in further detail in §9.4.2.2.1.

9.4.2.5.2.3 *inna* complement clauses

In Kumzari there is a word from Arabic *inna*, which acts as a complementiser used specifically for oaths. What follows *inna* is a complement clause consisting of the terms of the oath:

(634) S762

sā gnūnud-in **inna** zānk-ē wā yē rāstī.
 now believe:REAL-3p that(oath) woman -a with 3s true
 ‘Now they believed the **oath that** he had a wife was true.’

It can also be spoken as a pronouncement of the oath itself (cf. (Dixon & Aikhenvald 2006:29):

(635) R1283

ma’r-an šan gid-iš. **inna** y’=ā, zāngērīr mē=ē.
 tattoo -PL 3p do:REAL-3s that(oath) 3s=SUB slave 1s=EX:2p
 ‘He tattooed them. “By this **oath** I declare **that** you are my slaves.”’

9.4.2.5.2.4 Deverb complement clauses

Deverbs are a distinct constituent in Kumzari, although their origins in Semitic roots are transparent. Morphosyntactically they share properties of verbs, nouns, and adjectives. More information on this part of speech is given in §4.1. For the current discussion, it is sufficient to say that in complement clauses, deverbs function as verbs, taking their own arguments with the same constituent structure as that of a clause. They occur in compound verbs with a ‘light verb’ in the matrix clause, light verbs being a closed class with only two members: *gidiš* ‘do’ and *wābur* ‘become’, with active-passive correlates. When it is in a compound verb with *ka* ‘do’, a deverb is transitive and can take its own object. When it is in a compound verb with *bur* ‘become’, a deverb is intransitive. TAMM is not marked on the deverb; rather, TAMM marking on the light verb covers the entire compound verb. Deverb complement clauses conform to clause-internal syntactic rules of verbs and objects: an object in the form of a full noun phrase always precedes its verb and an object in the form of a pronoun always follows its verb.

(636) R1575

šayaxa yē gidin.
 appointing.as.sheikh 3s do:3pREAL
 ‘They appointed him sheikh.’ [lit. ‘They did appoint-as-sheikh him.’]

(637) R1576

rōk-ō šayaxa gidin.
 boy -the appointing.as.sheikh do:3pREAL
 ‘They appointed the boy sheikh.’ [lit. ‘They did appoint-as-sheikh the boy.’]

Deverbs may take the place of a noun phrase as an argument of a verb. In the following example, the matrix complement-taking verb is ‘do’, and the object is a complement clause *lōh-ō šaraxa* ‘chopping the wood.’ The position filled by a deverb complement clause is comparable to that filled by a noun phrase such as in the second example below *xujm-ō* ‘the work’:

(638) S793

lōh-ō šaraxa tkin.
 wood -the chopping do:3pIMPF
 ‘They will **chop the wood.**’ [lit. ‘they will do **chopping the wood.**’]

(639) U476

xujm-ō tkum.

work -the do:1sIMPF

‘I will do **the work**.’

9.4.2.5.2.5 Evidentials and complementation

Evidentials function as transitive verbs which require a complement clause or noun phrase. As effective complement-taking verbs, evidentials take the subordinator *ā* for their complementiser. According to Dixon (Dixon & Aikhenvald 2006:38), in some languages the complementiser forms part of the matrix clause rather than the complement clause, and this would explain the appearance in Kumzari of the subordinator on evidentials. In the example below, the complement clause of the sensory evidential *tamna* is *mardk-ē šām txōra* ‘a man was eating supper.’

(640) G398

tamna ā **mardk-ē šām txōra.**

SENS SUB man- -a supper eat:3sIMPF

‘He saw that **a man was eating supper**.’

It is not uncommon cross-linguistically to find morphemes with verbal origins but without TAMM marking “functioning as a complementizer for indirect quotation, cognition, and perception verbs” (Payne 1999:283): exactly the roles of the triad of evidentials in Kumzari. Considering that the Kumzari evidentials can be otherwise glossed as complement-taking verbs with complementisers (*awa* ‘they said that’, *ēka* ‘they thought/reasoned that’, and *tamna* ‘they saw/heard that’), it is not astonishing to find that evidentials take complement clauses (see chapter 7).

9.4.2.5.3 Complementation strategies

In addition to the complement clause types with dedicated grammatical structures already discussed, a number of ways of forming complements are to be found in Kumzari complex constructions. Some comprise a nominalised or diminished form of the verb: irrealis, perfect participles, and reduced tense-aspect-mood marking. Others are simply joined to the matrix clause without so much as a conjunction.

9.4.2.5.3.1 Irrealis verbs

Irrealis verbs may be used to replace a noun phrase as an argument:

(641) P439

tāt-um tō **br-ī** hījj.

want:IMPF-1s 2s go:IRR-2s Hajj.pilgrimage

‘I want **you to go** on the Hajj pilgrimage.’ [lit. ‘I want **that-you-go** ...’]

9.4.2.5.3.2 Participles

Complementation may use a perfect participial form of the verb:

(642) R422

tēmiš-um xēzina-ō wa zīs-ē.
 see:IMPF-1s treasure -the if steal:PERF-1s
 ‘I will see whether the treasure **is stolen**.’

9.4.2.5.3.3 Reduced-TAMM verbs

Tense-aspect-mood-mirative marking may be omitted on a verb that is part of a complement clause:

(643) P916

ar čō pi tō, tār-a.
 of.which go:3s from 2s come:IMPF-3s
 ‘Whatever **leaves** you comes back.’

9.4.2.5.3.4 Juxtaposition

Like many languages, Kumzari has one strategy for complementation that would seem to be a non-strategy: juxtaposition of the complement and the matrix clause without a conjunction or other overt signal of complementation. Occasionally these cases have to do with some technically verbless clauses, such as the copula or the *wā* ‘having’ preposition:

(644) S673

sā ahla yē gnūnus-in na yā zank-ō wā yē na.
 now relatives 3s believe:PERF-3p NEG DEM woman -the with 3s NEG
 ‘Now, his relatives had not believed that this woman **was with** him.’

Often, however, there is juxtaposition of a complement with a full verb form:

(645) G231

jīr-iš yē daxl wābur gawd-ō.
 see:REAL-3s 3s inside become:3sREAL cave -the
 ‘**He saw** [that] it went inside the cave.’

The juxtaposition strategy is particularly used for direct quotes with the verb ‘say’:

(646) U503

dgō-m ba tō ḥakama kin ēwō ā?
 say:IMPF-1s to 2s ruling do:2sIMPER here INTERR
 ‘**Am I to tell** you [that] you must rule here?’ [lit.: ‘**Shall I say** to you “Rule here!”?’]

10 Negation

The negative particle in Kumzari is *na*. Normally it follows the constituent being negated.

10.1 Verb negation

10.1.1 Post-constituent negation

When the verb is negated, the negative particle follows the verb in every aspect, mood, and mirativity:

(647) G992

xānaḡ-ō y'=ā... qētil-ē. sā ḥubbō yē tumr-a **na** ā?
 house -the DEM =SUB deadly-a now grandmother 3s die:IMPF-3s NEG INTERR
 'This house, it's deadly. Now **won't** his grandmother die?'

The following pair of examples contrasts positive and negative, from the same section of text:

(648) B275

bap-ō kōr wābur.
 father -the blind become:3sREAL
 'The father became blind.'

(649) B281

mām-ō kōr bur **na**.
 mother -the blind become:3sREAL NEG
 'The mother did **not** become blind.'

Arabic and Iranian languages have pre-constituent negation. Post-constituent negation occurs in Shihhi and in the South Arabian languages Mehri, Jibbali, Harsusi, Bathari, and Hobbyot. Watson and Eades (2012:3) note that this word order has been suggested as an innovation in the South Arabian languages, and that it is "an issue of typological interest for research on grammaticalisation and negation."

In Kumzari, the object is not negated when the verb is negated:

(650) S105

šū tāt-um **na**.
 husband want:IMPF-1s NEG
 'I **don't** want a **husband**.'

Even complex objects as full nouns (not pronouns) do not take the negative particle:

(651) R1388

mā **brār** xō jīr-im **na**.
 1p brother REFL see:REAL-1p NEG
 'We **didn't** see **our brother**.'

However, when the object is a pronoun and not a whole noun, it follows the verb, and the negative particle then follows the object pronoun as it is part of the verb phrase⁹⁶:

(652) P503

mēš-um yē na wa bass.
 see:IMPER-1s 3s NEG and finished
 ‘May I **not** see **him**, ever.’

(653) P630

tēl-ī mē na!
 leave:IMPF-2s 1s NEG
 ‘You’re **not** leaving **me**!’

This is also the case with compound verbs. Preverbs are not negated; rather, compound verbs are treated as a whole, taking the negative particle once:

(654) R864

bard gid-iš yē na.
 stone do:REAL-3s 3s NEG
 ‘He **didn’t** turn him into stone.’

(655) S293

sā ḥasa ēnar gis-in na.
 now yet henna do:PERF-3p NEG
 ‘Now they **hadn’t** put henna on yet.’

The following pair of examples contrasts negated clauses with a full noun object and a pronoun object, from the same section of text:

(656) S771

dar-ō twākš-um na.
 door –the open:IMPF-1s NEG
 ‘I will **not** open **the door**.’

(657) S775

twākš-um yē na.
 open:IMPF-1s 3s NEG
 ‘I will **not** open **it**.’

This rule includes relative and interrogative pronouns:

(658) A281

baḡa muxx **kas** dān-a yē kī na.
 without head PERS know:IMPF-3s 3s who NEG
 ‘Without a head **no one** knew **who he** was.’

⁹⁶ Note that this is the regular syntax of verb phrases; the full noun precedes the verb and the pronoun follows the verb (see similar syntax in Mehri: Rubin 2010:265). Thus the rule for negation is no different; the negative particle follows the verb phrase including its object. See §4.3.

(659) K315

dām gīya na!
 know:1sIMPF where NEG
 ‘I don’t know **where!**’

Mehri, a South Arabian language of Oman, also varies negation syntax depending on whether the subject is in the form of a noun or pronoun. In Mehri, pronoun subjects of nonverbal clauses take the negative particle *əl* before the item, and noun subjects take it after the negated constituent. As in Kumzari, “the result is that the nominal subject is essentially fronted” (Rubin 2010:265).

10.1.2 Double marking of negation

Because normative word order in Kumzari is verb-final, negation is obligatorily marked on each complement following a negated verb, including indirect objects, verb goals, modifiers, and post-posed nominal direct objects. Two contrasting examples below, from the same section of text, demonstrate this rule. In the first example, the direct object is post-posed to an unusual position after the verb, so it must be additionally negated. In the second example below, the direct object is in its usual place and is not negated, because it shares the negation of the verb:

(660) S511 [post-posed nominal direct object]

mē tāt-um na dit āmu xō na.
 1s want:IMPF -1s NEG daughter uncle (paternal) REFL NEG
 ‘As for me, I do **not** want [to marry] my uncle’s daughter.’

(661) S516 [nominal direct object in usual position]

mē dit āmu xō tāt-um na.
 1s daughter uncle (paternal) REFL want:IMPF -1s NEG
 ‘As for me, I do **not** want [to marry] my uncle’s daughter.’

Following are examples with double marked negation of complements:

(662) K117

mēy-ō fōšnīs-um ba šmā, jō’ar-ō fōšnīs-um na ba šmā na.
 fish –the sell:PERF-1s to 2p pearl –the sell:PERF-1s NEG to 2p NEG
 ‘I sold the fish to you; I did **not** sell the pearl to you.’

(663) B734

mē č-um na xāna na.
 1s go:IMPF-1s NEG marriage NEG
 ‘I am **not** going to marry.’

(664) B488

wana kardīd-ī yē na inda yē na, tumr-ī.
 if drop:REAL-2s 3s NEG in 3s NEG die:IMPF-2s
 ‘If you do **not** drop him into it, you will die.’

(665) R567

raft-ē **na** wā brār-an xō **na!**
 go:PERF-3s NEG with brother -PL REFL NEG
 ‘He hadn’t gone with his brothers!’

(666) B900

mē dit xō dō-um **na** ba yē **na.**
 1s daughter REFL give:IMPF-1s NEG to 3s NEG
 ‘I am **not** giving my daughter to him.’

Multiple complements of a negated verb must also be additionally negated:

(667) G389

raft **na** muzgit **na** āntē **na.**
 go:3sREAL NEG mosque NEG there NEG
 ‘He didn’t go there to the mosque.’

(668) P419

sā tany-um **na** wā tō **na** xān tō **na.**
 now stay:IMPF-1s NEG with 2s NEG house 2s NEG
 ‘Now I will not stay with you in your house.’

In Persian and Arabic, negation is only marked once per clause. However, cases of double-marked negation are attested in Oman’s South Arabian languages Mehri, Jibbali, and Hobyo; the grammatical context for these is yet unclear (Rubin 2010:32, 129, 134; Simeone-Senelle 1997:406-7,414). Miestamo (2007:555) lists typological studies of non-circumfixal double negation.

10.1.3 Negative interrogative

In negative questions, the interrogative clitic *ā* follows the negative particle:

(669) R173

dān-ē mē **na** ā?
 know:IMPF-2p 1s NEG INTERR
 ‘Don’t you know me?’

10.1.4 Prohibitive (negative imperative)

Prohibitive is not morphologically distinct from the negated Imperative, so it is formed the same as Realis negation, with the negative particle after the verb:

(670) P891

tikš-a tō! inča gaw **na!**
 kill:IMPF-2s 2s like.this say:2sIMPER NEG
 ‘He will kill you! Don’t talk like that!’

As in realis negation, prohibitive must have the negative particle on each complement following the verb:

(671) P336

ūny-a **na** kwēt **na**.
 stay:IMPER-3s NEG Kuwait NEG
 ‘May he **not** stay in Kuwait.’

but not on objects preceding the verb:

(672) G937

lūmū mē k-ē **na**.
 blaming 1s do:IMPER-2p NEG
 ‘Don’t blame me.’

10.2 Verbless clause negation

10.2.1 Negation of existentials

Existential enclitics for all persons and numbers are negated in the same manner as are verbs; that is, they are followed by the negative particle *na*:

(673) P664

sā šmā kōī=ē ā, ēšīnan=**in** **na**.
 now 2p mountain.bedouin=EX:2p SUB these.ones=EX:3p NEG
 ‘Now you **are** mountain bedouins, these ones **are not**.’

(674) R117

tō wā šan=ī **na**.
 2s with 3p=EX:2s NEG
 ‘You **are not** with them.’

(675) B144

baẓẓa-ē=Ø **na**, šāḥar-ē=Ø.
 beggar-a=EX:3s NEG sorcerer-a=EX:3s
 ‘He **was not** a beggar; he **was** a sorcerer.’

(676) G538

mē xābr=**um** **na** ba yē na.
 1s in.the.know=EX:1s NEG of 3s NEG
 ‘I **am not** in the know about it.’

(677) K558

urtut-ē=Ø **na**. čō-ō jārī=Ø, ġēla aẓala=Ø.
 trace -a=EX:3s NEG well -the finished=EX:3s grain separated=EX:3s
 ‘There **was not** a trace. The well **was** finished, the grain **was** separated.’

(678) G325

ẓank-ō ā, xaykē rāṭī=Ø **na**. lakin martk-ō rāṭī=Ø.
 woman- -the SUB very agreeing=EX:3s NEG but man -the agreeing=EX:3s
 ‘The woman, she **was not** really in agreement, but the man **was** in agreement.’

This is the case whether existentials occur with predicate nominatives or predicate adjectives:

(679) U12

šēx=in na. ādī=in.

sheikh=EX:3p NEG normal=EX:3p

‘They **were not** royalty. They **were** commoners.’

(680) G102

ḥayzēna jwān=Ø na.

construction good=EX:3s NEG

‘[Its] construction **was not** good.’

Each complement following the existential additionally takes the negative:

(681) K408

tō bētar=ī na pi dit mē na.

2s better=2s NEG from daughter 1s NEG

‘You **are not** better than my daughter.’

(682) B698

rōk-ō xābr=Ø na ba yē na.

boy-the in.the.know=EX:3s NEG of 3s NEG

‘The boy **was not** in the know about it.’

10.2.2 Negation of possessive constructions

The possessive construction consisting of the preposition *wā* ‘with’ + the possessor noun is negated by inserting the negative particle clause-finally:

(683) U212

iś wā yē āw na. iś wā yē ikka na. iś wā yē kard na.

any with 3s water NEG any with 3s match NEG any with 3s knife NEG

‘He **didn’t have** any water. He **didn’t have** any matches. He **didn’t have** any knife.’

(684) B900

y’=ā īšā’it wā yē na.

3s=SUB means with 3s NEG

‘This one, he **does not have** means.’

10.3 Pre-posed negation

Certain grammatical functions move the negative particle to pre-constituent position.

10.3.1 Rejection

In rejection, the negative particle precedes its referent:

(685) P1195

tō āmad-ī na s’āl na jwāb.

2s come:REAL-2s NEG question NEG answer

‘You came [with] **neither** question **nor** answer.’

(686) K764

yā **na** xō ādamī ā?!
 DEM NEG REFL person INTERR
 ‘These are **no** humans, are they?!’

(687) B851

na bazzā wa **na** bīdar!
 NEG beggar and NEG peasant
 ‘**Neither** beggar **nor** peasant!’

Pre-posed, the negative particle differs from its meaning when following the verb, as illustrated by the following two examples:

(688) G100

na wa’b gid-iš
 NEG field make:REAL-3s
 ‘He made **no** field’

To say ‘He didn’t make a field’, the negative particle would follow the verb:

(689)

wa’b gid-iš **na**
 field make:REAL-3s NEG
 ‘He **didn’t** make a field’

For emphasis, the negative particle can be pre-posed for a meaning like ‘not at all.’ In one case, a woman with her face completely veiled coming from the port greeted a group of women who knew her, but a few didn’t recognise her because of the veil. One said:

(690)

na danus-um yē!
 NEG know:PERF-1s 3s
 ‘I **didn’t even** recognise her!’

10.3.2 Subject negation

As in the marked syntax of rejection, the negative particle is fronted when a subject is particularly emphasised as being negative:

(691) R1362

šmā **na** wās-ē mā. ar wās-ē mā, yēē.
 2p NEG bring:PERF-2p 1p that/which/who bring:PERF-3s 1p 3s.EMPH
 ‘It was **none** of you who brought us. The one who brought us was him.’

10.4 Negation compounds

10.4.1 Absolute existential negation iš na ‘there is no’

The occurrence of both an absolute quantifier (e.g. *iš* ‘any’) and a negative signals absolute existential negation, i.e. ‘there is no’:

(692) G139

iš **ḡēla** **na.**

any grain NEG

‘**There isn’t any** grain.’

(693) G12

mām, **bap,** **iš-ē** **na.**

mother father any -a NEG

‘Mother, father, he hadn’t [*lit.* **there weren’t**] **any**.’Qualifications following *iš* ‘any’ must also be negated:

(694) R25

xalafa **gid-iš** **aft** **tā** **kōrk-an.** **iš** **na** **ditk-an** **na.**

begetting do:REAL-3s seven COUNT boy –PL any NEG daughter –PL NEG

‘Seven sons he had. He hadn’t [*lit.* **there weren’t**] **any** daughters.’

A stated object can also take the quantifier *iš* ‘any’, in which case the verb is followed by the negative particle *na*:

(695) R291

iš **ḡāz** **tāt-um** **na.**

any money want:IMPF-1s NEG

‘I don’t want **any** money.’

10.4.2 Personal negation *kas na* ‘no one, not there’

The personal negative compound *kas na* uses the personal particle *kas* as a subject pronoun, with the negative particle *na* following the verb or existential:

(696) P800

kas=Ø **na.**

PERS=EX:3s NEG

‘There’s **no one**.’

(697) R458

kas **ḡār** **ka** **na.**

PERS making.noise do:3sIMPER NEG

‘**No one** should make noise.’

(698) R939

kas **nasaxa** **tk-a** **na.**

PERS breathing do:IMPF-3s NEG

‘**No one** was breathing.’

(699) R1523

kas-ē **ma’r-ē** **ba** **kūn** **yē** **na.**

PERS -a tattoo –a on bottom 3s NEG

‘**Not one** has a tattoo on his bottom.’

It can be specified by adding a full noun phrase subject:

(700) R1376

ān maxnit-ō **kas**=Ø **na**.
 3s.ANA gay.man -the PERS=EX:3s NEG
 ‘The gay one was **not there**.’

The rule of negating multiple complements following the verb applies in this case too:

(701) S162

kas xābr **na** ba yē **na** ġay bap-ō **na**.
 PERS in.the.know NEG of 3s NEG except father -the NEG
 ‘**No one** knew about her except the father.’

It is possible to combine negative compounds *iš* and *kas*:

(702) A198

kas **iš** dgō-a **na**.
 PERS any say:IMPF-3s NEG
 ‘**No one** was saying **anything**.’

10.5 Complex clause negation

10.5.1 Subordinate clause negation

In the case of a negated verb with an embedded clause, since the embedded clause falls after the verb, the whole embedded clause must be additionally negated by the negative particle following the whole embedded clause:

(703) R827

gaš **na** ba yē **na** brār-an mē wa
 say:3sREAL NEG to 3s NEG brother -PL 1s and

ditk-an tō inča gis-in **na**.
 daughter -PL 2s like.this do:PERF-3p NEG
 ‘He **didn’t** tell him, “My brothers and your daughters have done this”.’

(704) S673

sā ahla yē gnūnus-in **na** yē ẓank-ē wā yē **na**.
 now relatives 3s believe:PERF-3p NEG 3s woman- -a with 3s NEG
 ‘Now his relatives had **not** believed that he had a woman with him.’

A negated verb followed by a relative clause must also have the additional negative particle following the whole relative clause:

(705) K367

tō ajaba būs-ī **na** pi y’=ā
 2s amazed become:PERF-2s NEG from DEM=SUB

ar asp-an insī-an wās-ē **na** ā?
 that/which/who horse -PL humanlike -PL bring:PERF-3s NEG INTERR
 ‘You were **not** amazed at the one who brought the talking horses?’

However, a subordinate clause preceding a negated verb phrase does not take the negative particle:

(706) S517

yē ar č-um ba yē xāna ā, tāt-um yē **na**.
 3s that/which/who go:IMPF-1s with 3s marriage SUB want:IMPF-1s 3s NEG
 ‘The one whom I am to marry, I **don’t** want her.’

10.5.2 Auxiliary verb negation

Auxiliary verbs such as *rāy* ‘to be able to’ may act as the main verb, taking the negative particle themselves, while the second verb acts as a complement, also taking *na*:

(707) S191

rāy-in **na** ābaša yē tk-in **na**.
 can:IMPF-3p NEG catching 3s do:IMPF-3p NEG
 ‘They **cannot** catch it.’

(708) R1453

mē rāy-um **na** dug-um šan **na** ēšinan **na**. mē baḥḥa=um.
 1s can:IMPF-1s NEG take:IMPF-1s 3p NEG these.ones NEG 1s beggar =EX:1s
 ‘I **cannot** take them, these ones. I am a poor person.’

In other cases the verb *rāy* ‘to be able to’ and other preverbs act as auxiliary verbs, pairing with the main verb to form a verb phrase, which takes a single negative particle to encompass the whole phrase:

(709) R194

sātē rāyis-im raft-im **na**. ništ-im.
 now can:PERF-1p go:PERF-1p NEG sit:PERF-1p
 ‘We **haven’t** been able to go now. We have stayed.’

(710) A240

yē tāt-a tār-a yē bāla **na**.
 3s want:IMPF-3s bring:IMPF-3s 3s up NEG
 ‘He did **not** want to bring him up.’

(711) K687

wayda ād yē **na**.
 hold:2sIMPER give:2sIMPER 3s NEG
 ‘**Don’t** keep giving her!’

10.6 Evidential negation

Since evidentials occur before the verb and apply to the whole proposition, the evidential itself does not take the negative particle, but the proposition takes it, following rules as above:

(712) G533

martk-ē lawya nāṭ-ō! awa ā ō! martk-ē! ā! ēka ā
 man –a rolled up carpet –the REP SUB SURP man –a INTERR INF SUB

dgō-a **na.**

say:IMPF-3s NEG

‘A man is rolled up in the carpet! What?! It said that?! A man! What?! It **can’t** be saying that!’

(713) R540

ēka ā šmā kš-ī yē **na.**
 INF SUB 2p kill:IRR-2s 3s NEG

‘Obviously you have **not** killed him.’

(714) P1238

ēka ā čōt xāna **na.**
 INF SUB go:3sIRR marriage NEG

‘Obviously she wouldn’t marry.’

10.7 Negation in poetics

The mirror image property of the negative is exploited in Kumzari’s poetically-structured language. Several texts juxtapose negative and positive in successive lines, with the same grammatical structure and parallel semantics:

(715) P635

dgō ba yē, “hā, **tēl-ī mē na!**”

dgō ba yē, “sā tō! rēsīd-ī.

ḥasa **na** majma gid-ī,

wa ḥasa **na** šaw wābur,

wa ḥasa maxluq-an č-in wā= bāla,

wa ḥasa maxluq-an tā’-in wā= zēran.”

“**tēl-ī mē na!**”

She said to him, “Oh, **don’t leave me!**”

He said to her, “Now, you! You arrived!

Still **no** word have you spoken,

And still **no** night has come,

And still many people are going up there,

And still many people are coming down there!”

“**Don’t leave me!**”

In the text above from the tale *Pačaxčēō*, the prohibitive clause *tēl-ī mē na!* is repeated in the frame at the beginning and end. In the list section between the lines of the frame, the four lines beginning with *ḥasa* mirror each other, with two negative clauses and two positive clauses.

A different pattern using negative clauses occurs in this section of text from the tale *Bāḡ al-Mowz*:

(716) B7

yak-ē mardk-ē na,

yak-ē mardk-ē na,
ṣank-ē wā yē,
iš wā yē rōr na;
mardk-ē wā ṣank-ē bass.
tāt-a rōr-ē bīyār-a,
tāt-a rōr-ē bīyār-a,
iš wād-iš na.
bīyō, yak-ta ṣank-ē dgur gid-iš.
mād sāl-ē, di-sāl,
iš wād-iš na.
wa yak-ē dgur gid-iš.
lumrād, aft kas gid-iš.
af-ta ṣank-an,
iš wād-iš rōr na.
pē aft kas-an,
ēšīnan na,
aḷḷā iṣ dās-ē ba šan na.
 There was a certain man who,
 There was a certain man who had a wife,
He hadn't any children;
 A man had just a wife.
 He tried to have children,
 He tried to have children,
He didn't have any.
 So he went and married another wife.
 Time went by,
 One year, two years,
He didn't have any.
 Then he married another wife.
 In all, he married seven of them.
 Seven wives,
He didn't have any children.
 Even with all seven [wives],
 That are these ones,
God hadn't given them any.

In the text above, the pattern of positive-negative parallels its semantic content. A man makes repeated attempts, but then always experiences setbacks. In the text structure, this collocation is substantiated in two or three positive lines followed by a negative clause (highlighted above), with the pattern repeated five times.

11 Discourse

“Since discourse is an embodiment, a filter, a creator and recreator, and a transmitter of culture, then in order to study culture we must study the actual forms of discourse produced and performed by societies and individuals, the myths, legends, stories, verbal duels, and conversations that constitute a society’s verbal life. But discourse is also an embodiment of language. Grammar provides a set of potentials. Since these potentials are actualized in discourse they can only be studied in discourse.” (Sherzer 1987:306)

“Linguistics made it possible at once to spell out how narrative differs from a mere series of propositions, and to clarify the enormous mass of elements that go into the making of a narrative.” (Barthes 1975:241-242)

11.1 The analysis of discourse

In keeping with the methodological principle of using natural rather than elicited data, and to not segregate language from its context, the present grammatical description accounts for the structures of Kumzari discourse. Scholars who have studied natural language data of spoken language, usually of English or other languages in societies where written language is more highly valued, find that speech is unstructured and its meaning-effect depends on non-verbal or contextual strategies rather than inherent lexical and grammatical forms (Ochs 1979; Ong 2002; cf. Tannen 1982:3). This is not the case, however, in oral societies where spoken language still holds some degree of sacredness (Bright 1984:80; Holes 1995:57). In contexts where literacy is not widespread, patterns of oral language preserve elaborate discourse cohesive structures (Hymes 2003:305,370ff; Martin 2000:118). Cross-linguistic data suggest that in situations of language contact, particularly through media and schooling, discourse structures are the first casualty (Aikhenvald 2006:4,6). The present study bridges a chasm between anthropology and folklore, on the one hand, and linguistics and discourse analysis, on the other hand, to describe a language at the level of discourse which has not been tainted by literacy.

The central question of this chapter is one that has occupied discourse analysts since anyone thought to ask: what makes a text a text? “What is it that makes a sequence of sentences into a coherent whole as opposed to a chaotic assemblage?” (Johnson-Laird 1983:356). Discourse concerns “the principles of connectivity which bind a text together and force co-interpretation” (Brown & Yule 1984:190). It examines the particular way in which a language combines formal linguistic features in a pattern in a text.

In this chapter, we are confined to those aspects of Kumzari discourse structure which are grammatical; that is, its constants (cf. Brown & Yule 1984:117, 121). The variable components of discourse, which may nevertheless be conventionalised, are not to be ignored in the study of a whole language; they are catalogued in chapter 12. Discourse grammar includes a minimally defined set of elements without which one cannot produce a text in a language: “an implicit system of units and rules” (Barthes 1975:238). Elements of a text that contribute to grounding, but not definitively so, are part of Poetics and Rhetoric. The delineation between discourse and poetics can be likened to asking ‘what makes a story?’ *versus* ‘what makes a good story?’.

11.2 Coherence and grounding

Coherence in discourse is a principle of textual unity, enabling a hearer to construct an overall mental representation. Coherence is established through cohesion in the surface structure of the text. Underlying notional structure in discourse is held together in a particular structural organisation by cohesive ties, an inventory of linguistic resources. Pinault (1992:23) notes that in the tales of the 1001 Arabian Nights, “formal patterning allows the audience the pleasure of discerning and anticipating the structure of the plot as it unfolds.” Grounding is the realisation of coherence, a means of marking information salience in a text. In the case of narrative discourse, grounding articulates the development of the plot.

Foreground and background are parallel axes in the structure of a text. Foreground is comprised of “the parts of the narrative which relate events belonging to the skeletal structure of the discourse” (Hopper 1979:213), consisting generally of “asserted sequential punctiliar events” (Dooley 2010a:4) that are high in “narrative prominence” (Dry 1992:438). The foreground of a tale, sometimes also called the event line, theme line, or story line, “carries the discourse forward, contributes to the progression of the narrative or argument ... develops the theme of the discourse.” (Roberts 2009:80). In contrast, clauses relating information in the background of a discourse “support, amplify, or comment on” events in the foreground (Hopper 1979:215), and do not “contribute directly to the progression of the theme” (Roberts 2009:80).

Each constituent of a narrative directly affects the continuation of a story: “it either initiates or resolves an uncertainty” (Barthes 1975:248). In this sense, prominence can be seen as roughly equivalent to tension, which is a function of the series of possibilities for a certain outcome in an episode (Vansina 1997:74-75). Foregrounding and backgrounding tendencies have also been seen as a division between “progression and digression” (Levinsohn 1976). In terms of information structure, background reveals presuppositions, and foreground makes assertions. However, grounding within a text is scalar rather than absolute, having “inherent relativity” (Dry 1992:445). Thus it is the case that “many different kinds of structures may function as foreground, since structures become foreground, not by virtue of possessing certain inherent qualities but rather by virtue of contrasting with an appropriate background” (Dry 1992:444-445). This allows for the analysis of narrative constituents (narremes), not as binary foreground or background, but as containing clusters of features which produce higher or lower prominence. In Kumzari, a complex array of discourse structures distinguish information that is more or less integral to a tale’s plot.

The morphosyntax of Kumzari plot structure will be treated in §11.4. Below is a summary of structure and terms to serve as a guide for the discourse feature inventory that follows.

Table 53. Kumzari plot structure constituents

part of tale				
Exposition	Body			Conclusion
Aperture, Introduction, & Nodus	Inciting Incident	Intentus, Accalmie, & Peak	Dénouement	Coda, Finis, & Epilogue

11.3 Discourse feature inventory

Just as languages have inventories of sounds and words, languages have inventories of potentials for structuring texts. Text structuring commands the listener's focus on information that is important to the plot or notional structure. It is encoded in sets of discourse particles, verb forms, speech types, formulae, pre-posed adverbial expressions, syntactic variation, parallelism, repetition, codeswitching, and participant reference. Like phonemes in words, while not all of these features must be included in every narrative, a combination of features make it intelligible as a coherent text. Discourse features are governed by grammatical rules, determining where and how each operates within a text. The set of discourse features in Kumzari narrative texts are described below. Grammatical rules governing distribution of the features are set out in §11.4.

11.3.1 Verb forms in discourse

Verbs forms have already been described in chapter 4. This section will detail their place in discourse, and how different verb forms produce text structure. The role of verb form for grounding in the structuring of discourses has been examined by Hopper (1979), Fleischman (1985), Longacre (1996), Roberts (2000), and others.

Verb forms in Kumzari discourse are on a scale of prominence (see Table 54). Verb forms displaying higher prominence lend themselves to foregrounding, while lower-prominence forms have a propensity to make up the background in a text.

Table 54. Scale of prominence/ grounding by verb form

more foregrounded (=high prominence)
↑
mirative
realis
imperfect
perfect
verbless
↓
more backgrounded (=low prominence)

11.3.1.1 Mirative in discourse

The Mirative is used in narrative discourse for sudden, unexpected, or surprising happenings, and above all for magical or violent events. Mirative verb forms occur at pivots and at the peak. There is often a conspicuous change in the text from Realis verb forms to Mirative verb forms, marking high prominence in information structure. This accords with the observation that such foregrounding features as mirativity fulfill the criterion of textual salience due to their “unpredictableness or unexpectedness in a given context” (Dry 1992:440). Mirativity attracts attention because it “deviates from ordinary language” (Dry 1992:440). The following excerpt from the tale *Sōntyō* occurs at the peak of the discourse. At the moment when the princess appears in public unveiled, the verb form switches from realis to mirative:

(717) S741

xinn-ō gid-in. wā wā wā wā wā wā wā wā wā wā pis šēx-ō
 wailing -the do:REAL-3p [mourning chant] woe! woe! woe! son sheikh -the

ēkša ā. ka dar-ō wākid-iš. qaḥama kin barra.
 right.here SUB PEAK door -the open:REAL-3s jumping.up do:MIR outside

baḡa jilbē. baḡa burqa. fājā'a, ya'nī.
 without headscarf without mask shocked that.is.to.say
 'They wailed. [narrator sings a mourning chant:] "Woe! Woe! Woe! If only the sheikh's son were here!" [crying, mourning as if he had died.] Right away **she opened** the door. **She tumbled** out! Without a headscarf. Without a burqa. That is to say, she was shocked.'

11.3.1.2 Realis in discourse

Although it is not as high on the prominence scale as is the mirative, realis is still generally more attributable to foreground because it embodies action, and not peripheral information (Hopper 1979:213). The realis is found in events, actions, and accomplishments that carry the plot. The example below from the tale *Kanēdō* contrasts a punctiliar event (buying a net) in the realis with habitual activity (laying out a net) in the imperfect. Acquisition of a net is an action which enables the main character to catch a fish with a pearl inside it, thus it is crucial to the plot.

(718) K67

lēx xērid-iš ba xō wa raft naṣaba yē tk-a diryā'-ō
 fishing net buy:REAL-3s for REFL and go:3sREAL standing 3s do:IMPF-3s sea -the
 'He **bought** a fishing net for himself, and he went to place it in the sea.'

paštin tō'at, lēx-ō jēl tk-a ā,
 mid-afternoon become:3sIMPF fishing.net -the laying.out do:IMPF-3s SUB
 'In the mid-afternoon, **he would lay out** the fishing net;'

šābaḥ tō'at, sayy-a yē.
 morning become:3sIMPF lift.up:IMPF-3s 3s
 'in the morning, he would retrieve it.'

(Irrealis is not described in this chapter because it does not have a particular function in Kumzari discourse.)

11.3.1.3 Imperfect in discourse

The imperfect is used in discourse for backgrounded information that is not part of the main story line, such as habitual or ongoing action, states, and information peripheral to the plot. The line below makes up part of the introduction in the tale *Abūyi Salaḥnī, Ummī Rakabnī*. It is background information conveying habitual activity of one character.

(719) U72

bap-ō ā, ču maglis šēx-ō xōr-a šām, čāz, nāšta.
 father -the SUB go:3sIMPF sheikh's.court sheikh -the eat:IRR -3s supper lunch breakfast
 'The father, **he would go** to the sheikh's court... to eat supper, lunch, breakfast.'

11.3.1.4 Perfect in discourse

When a section of text is already backgrounded, to convey an action that is even less prominent or temporally prior, the perfect is used. In the following example, we find a perfect expressing a state, as part of a background section explaining about an abandoned raft:

(720) S244

ēka ā yā kas **tāt-a** yē na. **kaft-ē** ba čāf-ō bē,
 INF SUB DEM no.one want:IMPF-3s 3s NEG fall:PERF-3s on beach-the only

lōḥ-ē gap.

wood -a big

‘Obviously no one **wanted** this; it was just **left** on the beach, a big wooden thing.’

The sentence begins by using the imperfect but must relay information that is one step lesser in prominence, so uses the perfect.

11.3.1.5 Verblessness in discourse

Longacre asserts that “in most languages, clauses which are descriptive and equative [e.g. use ‘to be’ or are verbless] are excluded from the storyline [=foreground]” (Longacre 1996:22). In Kumzari narrative, this is borne out in the verbless nature of both the exposition and conclusion. Verbless clauses include the existential enclitic and the preposition *wā* signifying possession (‘having’).

11.3.2 Discourse Particles

Discourse particles provide orientation and structuring within a text. There has been much discussion on the definition of discourse particle. Early structuralist linguistics looked for discourse particles in “recurrent patterns of morphemes, independent of either their meaning, or their relationship with non-textual factors” (Schiffrin 1994:7). Longacre recognised them as units of text-structuring that “have a function which relates to a unit larger than the sentence, i.e. to the paragraph and the discourse” (Longacre 1976:468). He later refined his definition to “particles that indicate either the beginning or the end of a paragraph” (Longacre 1979:117). Hymes, a linguistic anthropologist who termed them ‘initial particles,’ saw them as being “means of shaping the story, means of defining through repetition the structure the narrator intended the text to disclose” (Hymes 2004: [1981b]:7). Although it includes pragmatic considerations, Hymes’ definition is very similar to Givón’s description of the marking of thematic continuities and discontinuities in a text (1983). Schiffrin (2003:142) generalises discourse markers as “normally marginal in word class, heterogeneous in form, of high frequency, phonetically short, outside the syntactic structure of the clause, sentence-initial, lacking in propositional content, optional, difficult to translate, and stylistically stigmatised. Moreover, they exhibit all of the textual functions—grounding, saliency or peak marking, narrative segmentation...”. Although they may be ‘optional’ within a sentence, discourse particles are an integral constituent in a discourse. A story without discourse particles is not a story.

For the purposes of this study, discourse particle will be taken to mean a word that is meaningful at the discourse level, whose grammatical role in text-structuring of establishing

coherence is distinct from, or occurs in the absence of, semantic content. They can include adverbs, connectives or other constituents (or even more than one word) that have been grammaticalised in the discourse structure of a particular language.

Nine discourse particles are identified as most commonly occurring in Kumzari discourse; they are described in the following section.

11.3.2.1 *ka* and *amū* and *sā sā* discourse particles

These three discourse particles, *ka*, *amū*, and *sā sā*, may be glossed interchangeably as ‘right away’, ‘immediately’, ‘quickly’, or ‘suddenly’. They occur at the peak of a narrative, and at important pivots. At a climactic point in the tale *Bāḡ al-Mowz* foregrounding is achieved with many such discourse particles:

(721) B560

bārē gid-iš, dikkara sātē. **sā sā** sikkara ba yē, wa bast kin
once do:REAL-3s twice now right.away thrice to 3s and finishing do:MIR

ya’nī, wa **ka** dakka pā kin bā yē zamyō. **amū** byō
that.is.to.say and quickly digging foot do:MIR on 3s ground -the immediately come:MIR

rāstaḡ y **ka** byō dist xō sō zekon yē **ka** byō y
ē
straigh 3s suddenl come:MI han REF put:MI backsid 3s suddenl come:MI 3s
t y R d L R e y R

wa **ka** kēsaft kin inda yē, inda qiz’an –ō.
and suddenly plungeing do:MIR inside 3s inside cauldron -the

‘He did it once, twice now. **Right away**, as he was going around the third time, and he is just finishing, I mean, and **quickly** he [the boy] stands firmly on the ground. **Immediately** he [the sorcerer] comes in line with him, **suddenly** he [the boy] comes and puts his hands on his [the sorcerer’s] backside. **Suddenly** he comes to him, and **suddenly** he plunges him into it, into the cauldron.’

11.3.2.2 *byō* discourse particle

Similarly to the three peak discourse particles, and often co-occurring with them, *byō* consistently highlights a pivot. It may be translated as ‘it came about that’. When not pre-posed to clause-initial position, it can also have the literal meaning of ‘come’ in the imperative or mirative form.

In the tale *Pačaxčēō*, a boy rashly buys a locked chest with unknown contents for a high price. It is a pivotal event because it exposes the boy’s foolish nature and because the chest contains a genie who plays a major role in the story:

(722) P104

byō yē ka lašaṭa yē kin, ba ša šaṭṭa, xērid-iš yē.
it.came.about 3s suddenly snatching.up 3s do:MIR for six hundred buy:REAL-3s 3s

‘**It came about that** suddenly he [the boy] snatched it [the locked chest] up, for six hundred, he bought it.’

11.3.2.3 *tamna* discourse particle

Evidentials are often used in languages as “a way of making one’s story-telling more effective” (Aikhenvald 2004:154). Sensory evidentials are particularly apt to shape plot structure, since, as Fleischman observes, “the foregrounding and backgrounding of information in discourse... correlates with the visual notion of focus” (1995:539). Aikhenvald similarly notes that “the narrative can switch into the firsthand (‘confirmative’) for ‘vividness’, and this may result in striking effects” (2004:311). This is attested as the sensory evidential *tamna* in Kumzari tales. As an extension of its primary sense of information source, and particularly since firsthand knowledge is commonly unmarked, the sensory evidential is very useful in oral traditions for conveying a here-and-now effect to the text. In Kumzari narrative discourse, *tamna* consistently marks pivots, directly preceding information crucial to the plot. In this example from the tale *Kanēdō*, the poor boy’s sudden finding of a pearl in the stomach of a fish he has caught marks a turning point in his fate:

(723) K104

tamna ā jō’ar-ē škum yē!
 SENS SUB pearl -a stomach 3s
 ‘He saw a pearl in its stomach!’

The sensory evidential in its discourse context often introduces a new character:

(724) P766

tamna ā yak-ē dgur āmad bā yē. kō’īē.
 SENS SUB one -a other come:3sREAL toward 3s mountain.bedouin -a
 ‘She saw another person coming toward her, a mountain bedouin.’

or denotes a magical appearance:

(725) B351

wa wākid-iš y’=ā, **tamna** ā aspē insī inda yē.
 when open:REAL-3s 3s=SUB SENS SUB horse -a humanlike inside 3S
 ‘When he opened it, he saw a talking horse inside it.’

Additionally, it is used for premonitions or visions:

(726) K686

sā wa ān ditk-ō ktēb-ō wākid-iš ā,
 now when 3s.ANA girl -the book -the open:REAL-3s SUB

tamna ā, tēra-ē tay ba šan.
 SENS SUB path -a come:3sIMPF to 3p
 ‘Now when the girl looked into the future, she saw a path coming to them.’

The manner in which *tamna* is used in discourse, stretching the definition of sensory evidence, concurs with Aikhenvald’s observation that “overall narrative conventions override the particular conventionalised evidentials chosen for various types of experience” (Aikhenvald 2004:312).

11.3.2.4 *sā* discourse particle

The *sā* discourse particle functions at two levels, corresponding with Schifffrin's local and global coherence of discourse (1994:24). At the level of local coherence, *sā* precedes an explanation, much like an aside, communicating background or circumstantial information that the audience is otherwise not privy to, but which is necessary for making sense of the plot. In this sense, *sā* directly precedes the explanation. When the discourse particle *sā* provides orientation, it signals the imminence of a pivotal event. As this occurs at a global level of text coherence, rather than directly preceding the pivotal clause, *sā* can precede an entire section that is important: the commencement of the tension build-up that leads to the peak. In this case, *sā* is the cue for the audience to listen well, because something is about to happen. A cluster of several instances of *sā* may precede a pivotal scene.

In the following instance in the tale *Sōntyō*, the particle *sā* signals an explanation of circumstances, setting the stage for the next event: the princess, known only as a foreigner at the wedding party, is asked to apply the groom's henna:

(727) S293

sā ḥasa ēnar gis-in na.
now yet henna do:PERF-3p NEG
'**Now**, they hadn't put henna on yet.'

The discourse particle of explanation and orientation *sā* can be paired with *tamna* to throw the *tamna* into relief, much like the pairing of accalmie and peak; a backgrounding feature makes the foreground appear sharper.

(728) B1138

sā wa barza wāb ba bāḡ almowz ā,
now when appearing become:MIR to garden Ar:(the- banana) SUB

tamna ā brār-an yē ḥaps=in.
SENS SUB brother -PL 3s bound =EX:3p
'**Now** when he showed up at the banana garden, **he saw that** his brothers were bound!'

It must be noted that occurrence of the *sā* within speech is not as a discourse particle. Instead, the use of *sā* in direct speech is consistently correlated with a reproach:

(729) P1032

sā br-ē na yā majma-an yā ḡalaṭa k-ē na
now go:IMPER-2p NEG DEM word -PL DEM harming do:IMPER-2p NEG
'**Now** don't go and slander...'

or a decision, pronouncing a resultant judgment, verdict, or command that is a consequence of a prior event:

(730) P419

sā tūny-um na wā tō na
now stay:IMPF-1s NEG with 2s NEG
'**Now** I am not staying with you...'

Although the discourse particle *sā* is glossed in English as 'now', in its literal temporal (i.e. non-discourse) meaning 'now' generally appears with the temporal-spatial suffix *-tē*, thus as *sātē*:

(731) P782

sātē yē waxt-ō ā, amala tk-a na
 now this time -the SUB working.out do:IMPF-3s NEG
 ‘Now, at this time, it will not work out.’

11.3.2.5 *čāb kin?* discourse particle

This formulaic expression is difficult to translate, because the second word, a verb, is the mirative form of ‘do’. The best acceptable gloss of *čāb kin?* is ‘how did they do it?!’. Its function as a discourse particle, however, is clearer. A *čāb kin?* section occurs immediately before a pivot, or more often before the peak, in the accalmie, and draws out a long explanation with details of what someone did, as a digression from the plot. In fact, by distracting from pivotal information, it increases dramatic tension in the plot by highlighting the peak. Thus *čāb kin?* is a backgrounding device. It coincides with other backgrounders such as repetition and audience interaction. In the following example from the tale *Ahmad Tka*, the main character is covertly stealing gold coins that the sheikh has strewn on the ground as a trap to catch the thief:

(732) A648

yē **čāb kin?** jōtī sō ba xō, jōtī. aḥmad tka. ē. jōtī sō bā xō, yā nā, lawaḡa gid-iš ba sīyālī, inčka kīlō nā? tabaqa tk-a ēka ā jīs-ē ba... inda ḡabanā-an tō’-ā n’=ā..., sīyālī-an yā kin bā yē pi zēran. mēš kin. čōt wā= bāla ā, šaṭṭa tabaqa ba īn-ō, ba rkaḥ-an pi zēran. ēka ā inčka rēḡ-an sayy-in ba xō īn-ō n’=ā? rkaḥ-ō rēḡ-an sayy-a bā xō sīyālī-ō bā rkaḥ-ō n’=ā? trēs-a ānsū xalwat-ē. jōr-a bā xō maqqa, tay dakka tk-a jāḡ-ē, wa čōt wā= zēran panja-ta sayy-a. ba rkāḥ-an jamma tk-a na! mēš tk-a bē, ana tabaqa tk-a ba rkaḥ-ō inčka, rēḡ-an ēka ā tabaqa tk-a ba rkaḥ-an tō’-a ā, trēs-a sar-ō zēran-ī ā, ḥafara gambil-ē tk-a ā, sō yē inda yē. yā na, naqala wābur!

‘How did he do it? A shoe, he put on a shoe. Ahmad-Does-It. yes. These shoes that he put on, he had smeared them with tar, of which there was about a kilogram. It sticks, you know, that it gets on... into the grooves of them. He tarred this to it underneath. He walked. When he went up there, a hundred were sticking to what’s-it-called... to the bottom of the shoes! You know, in this way, they were picking up pebbles, the what’s-it-called of them. The shoes were picking up pebbles, the tar that was on the shoes. He arrives there, in a wilderness. He looks for an escape for himself, he comes to a place to bury [the gold], and [then] went back down fifty times to pick it up. With the shoes he wasn’t bending down! He was only walking, if it was sticking to the shoes like this, pebbles were getting stuck to the [tar] of the shoes, he arrives at the lower mountain peak, digging a hole, he puts it in it. This [gold] from there, it disappeared!’ [...continues...]

11.3.2.6 *lumrād* and *filḥāl* discourse particles

Both *lumrād* and *filḥāl*, glossed as ‘in any case’ or ‘finally’, conclude a set of actions, closing a pivotal scene. They are frequently found at episode boundaries. Their specific role in the discourse is to resolve an agreement, as in this example:

(733) U292

tō ġēlbū yē gid-ī, yē dig-ī zēnī.
 2s winning 3s do:REAL-2s in.this.case take:IMPF-2s as.a.wife

ka yā ġēlbū tō gid-iš, qašsa sar tō tk-um.
 if/when DEM winning 2s do:REAL-3s cutting head 2s do:IMPF-1s

dgō ba yē bā yē na. **filḥāl**, nwāz nwāxistin gid-in.
 say:3sIMPF to 3s all.right in.any.case prayer evening do:REAL-3p

“‘If you win over her, then you will marry her. If she wins over you, I will cut off your head.’” He said to him, “All right.” **In any case**, they prayed the evening prayer.’

Or to remedy a situation; in the following example, seven women have just agreed to take pomegranate seeds as an antidote for their childlessness:

(734) B133

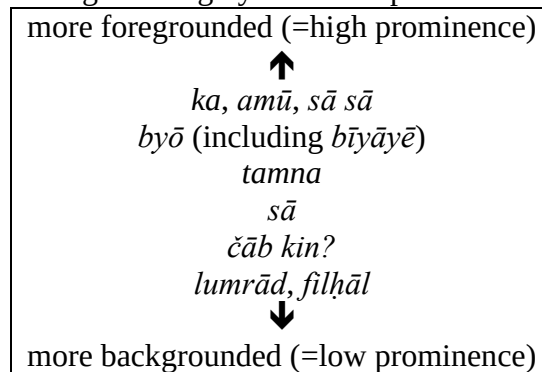
lumrād dār-iš ba šan aft-ta ḥabb, aft-ta ḥabb
 in.any.case give:REAL-3s to 3p seven-COUNT seed seven-COUNT seed

ānar. inda kaw-an šan waraḥa gid-in wā= angar.
 pomegranate inside palm of hand –PL 3p swallowing do:REAL-3p with together

‘**In any case**, he gave it to them, seven seeds, seven pomegranate seeds; they swallowed all together from the palms of their hands.’

The discourse particles may be set on a scale of prominence indicating their role in foregrounding or backgrounding, as per Table 55.

Table 55. Scale of prominence/grounding by discourse particle



In addition to these standard discourse particles, there are formulae and pre-posed adverbial expressions (PAEs).

11.3.3 Formulae in discourse

Like discourse particles, formulae function in text structuring. However, formulae refer to the structure of the text as a whole, operating at the level of the whole text; whereas discourse particles make divisions within the text, operating at the level of the narreme. To illustrate, it may be cited that there is only one instance of aperture formula *qiššitē wa ḥakāyitē* in a given text, but there can be many instances of the foregrounding discourse particle *ka*. Formulae are also bound by stricter rules with regard to timing and placement within the text. They are

obligatory as to genre; in Kumzari narrative the aperture and finis will always have at least one formula (for opening and closing, respectively).

Although the surface structure of formulae and PAEs may appear to be similar, formulae do not have semantic content. As an example, the finis formula in Kumzari consists of the words meaning ‘you went, I came.’ This has nothing to do with characters in the story, or even the narrator and audience, coming or going. It simply signals the conclusion of the tale.

In this strict definition of formula, there are only four in Kumzari narrative: two in the exposition, and two in the conclusion (see Table 56). The aperture has two formulae: *qiṣṣitē wa ḥakāyitē* ‘a story and a telling’, followed by identification of the main character through the formula *raft yēkē* ‘there went someone’ (‘someone’ can be replaced by ‘a boy’ or ‘a grandmother’, etc.). The finis of a tale has two formulae, but only the first is obligatory. At the end of a story the narrator, perhaps expressing a way to “take the listener from the imaginary world back to real life” (Kossmann 2000:76), says *tō raftī wa mi āmadum*, ‘you went and I came’, and then, when it is included, a second formula *xalaṣ* ‘the end’.

Table 56. Kumzari narrative formulae

narrative formula	approximate gloss	associated narreme
<i>qiṣṣit-ē wa ḥakāyit-ē</i>	a story and a telling	aperture 1
<i>raft yak-ē</i>	there went someone	aperture 2
<i>tō raft-ī wa mē āmad-um</i>	you went and I came	finis 1
<i>xalaṣ</i>	finished	finis 2

In addition to these narrative formulae, there is a type of formula for each tale encapsulating the theme of the tale. Thematic formulae, as these are termed, are described in §12.7. The two types of formula are comparable to the two types Kossmann describes regarding Eastern Moroccan fairy tales: one is used in all fairy tales for opening and closing, the other is particular to each tale and alludes to its theme (Kossmann 2000:74-75). Narrative formulae have conventional wording with little variation across all the tales, and they are pronounced only once in each tale. Thematic formulae are different for each tale, but are repeated several times throughout the tale.

11.3.4 Pre-posed adverbial expressions in discourse

In contrast with discourse particles, pre-posed adverbial expressions (PAEs) have semantic or propositional content relevant to the context, generally concerning spatial, temporal, or logical identifications. This reflects how discourse is segmented: “when one looks at the content of the narrative in such places, one usually discovers a significant change in scene, time, character configuration, event structure, and the like” (Chafe 1987:43). Although they have a tendency to occur clause-initially and at narreme boundaries, the placement of PAEs is more flexible and they are not strictly labels of grammatical structure as are formulae and discourse particles. Still, adverbial expressions that are pre-posed have iconic, rather than literal, meaning when compared to adverbials in their regular place. Kossmann, calling them ‘connective phrases,’ notes that they frequently have formulaic qualities such as repetition, assonance, and consisting of the same words (Kossmann 2000:49). Some common pre-posed adverbial expressions in Kumzari are listed in Table 57.

Table 57. Pre-posed Adverbial Expressions

Pre-posed Adverbial Expression	English gloss

<i>ṣabaḥa wābur pi ṣābh ā</i>	when she woke up in the morning
<i>sātē</i>	now, at that time
<i>yē</i>	in this case
<i>inča</i>	in this way
<i>pīstō pīšin</i>	in the late afternoon
<i>salām alēkūm, alēkum salām</i>	[two characters meet]
<i>dērya</i>	after a long time
<i>mād / mād, mād, mād</i>	stayed [nothing happened, time went by]
<i>raft / raft, raft, raft</i>	went [a character arrives or departs]
<i>wā gurbētō ā</i>	at dusk
<i>wā bangō ā</i>	when it was sunset
<i>šaw drāz ā</i>	all night long
<i>dī- rōz si- rōz</i>	two or three days [later]
<i>na' mēan da' mēan</i>	nine or ten months [later]
<i>sālē dī sāl</i>	a year or two [later]

Being repetitive and familiar, PAEs tie in to Chafe's description of information in discourse as flowing from known to unknown; Chafe stated that because of this property, adverbial clauses, especially in the initial position, prototypically act as orienters for understanding the information they precede (1984). Givón concurred, noting that such expressions mark segments in a text, which he labelled 'thematic groupings' (1995). Reflecting their segmenting function, McDowell (2000:22) calls PAEs 'transition lexicon' that indicate sets of phrases as discourse constituents. Their placement at the beginning of a clause is ideal in terms of the structuring of a text. Cross-linguistic data confirm this as well: initial adverbial clauses function as orienters for the whole text following them, whereas final adverbial clauses modify only the main clause.

In the Kumzari tales, pre-posed adverbial expressions designate time, place, or cause-and-effect relations. They coincide with other plot structure divisions and are found along with discourse particles in the initial position of narremes in the body of a tale.

11.3.5 *Speech Type in discourse*

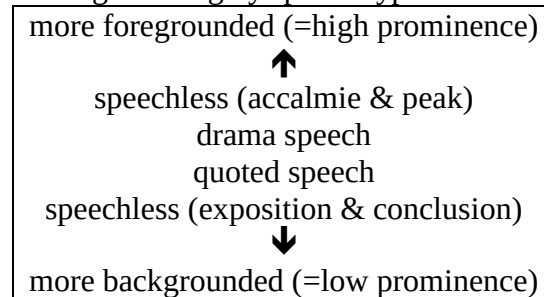
Three variables in speech type are present in Kumzari narrative discourse: no speech, quoted speech, and drama speech. Quoted speech is speech that has a quote tag, also called a margin or speech orier, e.g. 'she said'. Drama speech is here defined as quotation without a margin (Dooley & Levinsohn 2000:51). It is apparent from the data that the presence of speech varies by narreme, and the type of speech varies by prominence. The relationships can be explained more succinctly by Table 58 below.

Table 58. Speech (+) vs. no speech (-) in Kumzari plot structure

part of tale				
Exposition	Body			Conclusion
Aperture, Introduction, & Nodus	Inciting Incident	Intentus, Accalmie, & Peak	Dénouement	Coda, Finis, & Epilogue
-	+	+/-	+	-

The exposition section of a fairy tale, including the Aperture, Introduction, and Nodus, does not have speech. Neither does any narreme in the conclusion: Coda, Finis, or Epilogue. Speech found in the body of a tale is drama and more foregrounded, such as at pivots, or quoted and more backgrounded, following the scale in Table 59.

Table 59. Scale of prominence/ grounding by speech type



Within narratives, drama speech is reserved for pivots and speech acts (Searle 1969). Very high-prominence and low-prominence narremes contain no speech, while within the middle level of grounding, prominence can be distinguished by speech being drama, and thus higher, or quoted, and thus lower. Speech acts utilise drama speech and include several categories: greetings (certain formulae communicate the arrival of a character), blessings and curses, pronouncements, orders, and announcements of decisions that are expected to be followed. Action represented in drama speech is understood to have happened, without necessarily explicit reference to it happening in the story outside of the speech. This is not the case with quoted speech.

Other instances in which drama speech replaces quoted speech are those in which discourse deixis clarifies the speaker, as in the follow-on of conversation within an action scene, when drama speech is bounded (before and after) by quoted speech. In these cases, the next speaker doesn't need a new introduction, because the audience knows from the context who is speaking. Drama speech is also used when there is no specific addressee. This includes monologues, in which a character makes a long speech talking to himself (thinking aloud) or to props or offstage characters; and polylogues, when many people are talking to each other as in a crowd.

11.4 Plot structure

As long ago as Aristotle, scholars have recognised that narratives exhibit grammatical structure, but each has described the system using different terminology. Barthes calls it "the narrative code" (1975:265). Longacre terms it "notional structure" (1996:34). Olrik's treatise on the "epic laws" refers to the same system (1921:42). Chafe calls it a "narrative schema" (1994:135), and Hymes identifies discourse structure as the "pattern of narrative logic" (2003:218). To describe the discourse structure of Kumzari, the most relevant points have been taken from all of these. However, Kumzari discourse must be expressed on its own terms, by taking as the standard the lowest common denominator of each narreme, and then examining aspects of the narremes in each tale for similarities and differences within the corpus.

Discourse structure is taken to be “the form of repetition and variation, of constants and contrasts, in verbal organisation. Such structure is manifest in linguistic form... the matrix of meaning and effect...” (Hymes 2004: [1981b]:42). Plot is referenced in the context of fairy tales as “the all-embracing principle of coherence in a narrative which surface structure cohesion reflects” (Longacre 1996:33). The present analysis aims to accord, at least in spirit, with Propp’s typology of narrative structures: “a description of the tale according to its component parts and the relationship of these components to each other and to the whole” (Propp 1928:19). However, whereas Propp analysed fairy tales only in terms of content, this study examines narremes, which are the minimal meeting of both content (meaning) and structure (form).

11.4.1 Narremes of plot structure

Kumzari plot structure contains eleven narremes; that is, meaningful structural elements of a narrative. Below is a summary, and further description of each narreme with its prototypical formal characteristics follows.

Table 60. Summary of plot structure narremes

exposition:

aperture	“a tale. there went someone.”
introduction	characters and setting
nodus	presentation of a problem

body:

inciting incident	the first happening that turns the course of the story
intentus	development of tension, several pivots
accalmie	calm before the storm
peak	highest point of conflict
dénouement	unravelling of tension

conclusion:

coda	resolution of central conflict, homecoming
finis	“you came, I went. the end.”
epilogue	“was it good? that’s how it happened.”

11.4.1.1 Exposition

11.4.1.1.1 Aperture

There are two kinds of formula which make up the aperture. Each tale will have at least the second one, but usually both are represented. The first formula explains that this is a fairy tale. The second formula introduces the central character with a simple phrase, such as ‘there was a boy.’ The first formula has no verb, the second formula either has no verb or the verb *raft* ‘went’, in the realis. The second formula leads right into the introduction, which is less formulaic. The tale *Sōntyō* begins thus:

(735) S9

qışşit-ē wa ḥakāyit-ē. raft šēx wālēyit-ō.
 tale -a and telling -a go:3sREAL sheikh country-the
 ‘A tale and a telling. There was a sheikh of the country.’

11.4.1.1.2 Introduction

This section introduces [other] characters and setting. There are often no verbs, but if there are verbs, they are in the imperfect. The introduction may use no PAEs, or it may use backgrounding PAEs such as *sā*. There is much repetition in the introductory section, both lexical repetition and paraphrase.

The introduction of *Abūyi Salaḥnī*, *Ummī Rakabnī* displays much repetition in the form of paraphrase, anadiplosis, and lexical repetition; no adverbials; imperfect verbs and verbless clauses (*wā* and copulas); and its content is background information: how the family came to be poor (so poor that the boy had to trade his father for a gun and his mother for a horse so that he could make his way in the world):

(736) U12

šēx-an na, ya'nī, na. ādī'=in. mardk-ē wa zank-ē
sheikh -PL NEG that.is.to.say NEG ordinary =EX:3p man -a and woman -a

wā šān tā kōrk-an. wā šan, māl dunya-ō. māl dunya-ō wā šan.
with 3p one boy -PL with 3p wealth world -the wealth world -the with 3p

māl dunya-ō wā šan ā, wa kērim =in, bidūn ma'na. ar
wealth world – the with 3p SUB and generous.person =EX:3p Ar: that/which/who
without.limit

tay wālēyit-ō, čāz tk-in ba yē, nāšta tk-in ba yē,
come:3sIMPF city –the lunch do:IMPF-3p for 3s breakfast do:IMPF-3p for 3s

nāšta tk-in wa šām tk-in wa čāz tk-in wa... ba ādamī,
breakfast do:IMPF-3p and supper do:IMPF-3p and lunch do:IMPF-3p and for person

ayya ādamī.

any person

‘They were not royalty, that is to say, they were common people. A man and a woman, one son they had. The wealth of the world, they had it. They had the wealth of the world. They had the wealth of the world, and they had limitless generosity! Anyone who came to the city, they would make lunch for them, they would make breakfast for them. They would make breakfast and they would make supper and they would make lunch and... for people, for anyone.’

11.4.1.1.3 Nodus

The complication, conflict or problem that becomes the focus of the story, the nodus extends the setting following the introduction of characters but before anything happens, i.e. before the first pivot of the inciting incident. Didactically, the nodus ties the knot that must be gradually tightened leading up to the peak and ultimately unravelled in the dénouement. The content of the nodus is unswervingly centred on wealth (not enough or losing it somehow) and lineage (difficulties in marrying or bearing children). Morphosyntactically, it is generally speechless and verbless. Like other narremes of the exposition, the nodus contains much repetition, including parallelism, lexical repetition, and paraphrase. Representing the inversion of the dénouement, the nodus closes the exposition section of a tale just as the dénouement closes the body of a tale.

In the tale *Rōran Šēxō*, a sheikh has seven sons. The nodus is presented here:

(737) R33

šaš kas-an ɸarr=in. yak-ē maxnat-ē. čikk-ō maxnat-ē.
 six PERS-PL macho.person =EX:3p one -a gay.man -a young -the gay.man -a
 ‘Six were macho. One was gay. The youngest was gay.’

11.4.1.2 Body

11.4.1.2.1 Inciting incident

The inciting incident is signalled by an abrupt switch from imperfect verb forms (or no verbs) to realis verb forms, and is initiated by the tale’s first instance of direct speech. Discourse particles such as *tamna* and *bīyō* characterise the inciting incident. It is at the culmination of the inciting incident that the main character is thrust into the wide world away from his home, variously by going on a trip, looking for a job or taking up a profession, hunting a thief, casting out to sea, or being kidnapped by a sorcerer. However the conclusion of the tales always find the young person back at home. The content of the inciting incident is comparable to Propp’s function of ‘absentation’ (Propp 1928:26).

The main character in *Ahmad Tka* supplies the initial speech in the tale, and then sets out on his pilgrimage:

(738) A43

tamna ā dgō ba yē, mamā nummağ ruppī jīr-um, č-um ɸijj.
 SENS SUB say:3sIMPF to 3s O mother! half rupee find:REAL-1s go:IMPF-1s Hajj

nummağ... č-ī ɸijj ba nummağ ruppī?! č-ī ɸijj, č-ī
 half go:IMPF-2s Hajj with half rupee go:IMPF-2s Hajj go:IMPF-2s

ɸijj ba nummağ ruppī-ē?! č-ī ɸijj, č-ī ɸijj ba nummağ ruppī-ē?!
 Hajj with half rupee -a go:IMPF-2s Hajj go:IMPF-2s Hajj with half rupee -a

tō’-a na! dgō ba yē, č-um! č-ī walla āka
 become:IMPF-3s NEG say:3sIMPF to 3s go:IMPF-1s go:IMPF-2s truly there

tēra’ō! raft.

way -the go:3sREAL

‘Then he said to her, “O Grandmother, I have found a half-rupee, I am going on Hajj.”

“Half... you’re going on Hajj with a half-rupee?! You’re going on Hajj, you’re going on Hajj with a half-rupee?! You’re going on Hajj, you’re going on Hajj with a half-rupee?! It will never happen!” He said to her, “I’m going!” “[If] you’re really going, there’s the way!” He left.’

11.4.1.2.2 Intentus

Developing the tension through foregrounded and backgrounded information, the intentus is a series of pivots making way for the plot’s progression toward the peak. It provides straightforward description of action, with little repetition. Each pivot is like a mini-peak, so is backgrounded immediately before the action. Pivots may begin with the discourse particles *tamna* and *bīyō* and conclude with *lumrād*. Foreground uses realis and mirative

verb forms and drama speech, and background tends toward imperfect verbs and quoted speech, as well as the discourse particle *sā* and such PAEs as “*ṣābḥa wābur pi ṣābaḥ ā...*”

In terms of structuring the discourse, pivots are like “signposts along the dramatic arc,” and in terms of the story-line, they are like “igniting devices that keep the dramatic tension moving inexorably forward” (Diarassouba 2007:164). The following section in the *Intenus* of the tale *Bāḡ al-Mowz* contains the pivot in which a boy is kidnapped by a sorcerer. Both structurally and dramatically, this event leads to the peak of the story: the boy pushing the sorcerer into a boiling cauldron.

(739) B181

sātē laba inči ba nummaḡ **di- mā-an** **si- mā-an** ā,
now approximately like.this to half two- month –PL three- month –PL SUB

tamna ā rēs. yā ādamī **rēs.** **byō** ba šan ba kāra-ō
SENS SUB arrive:MIR this person arrive:MIR come:MIR to 3p to gate -the

salām alēkum, walēkum salām **bīyāyē** gīya rōr mē? āmas-um ba
Ar: peace.to.you,and.to.you.peace it.came.about where child 1s come:PERF-1s for

īn xō. āmas-um ba rōr xō. **amu** **byō** zank-an
what’s-it-called REFL come:PERF-1s for child REFL immediately come:MIR woman -PL

burwād-in sīna madrasit-ō. ar yak-ē rōr xō byār-a wa **byō**
run:REAL-3p toward school -the each one –a child REFL bring:IMPF-3s and come:MIR

xānaḡ- **dg-in** ba yē kī dgō-a rōr xō dī-im ba tō ā?
ō.
house – say:IMPF- to 3s who say:IMPF- child REFL give:IMPF- to 2s INTERR
the 3p 3s 3s 1p

tumr-ī? bumur! rōr-an xō dī-im na ā, mā tā rōr
die:IMPF-2s die:2sIMPER child -PL REFL give:IMPF-1p NEG SUB 1p one child

wā mā byār-im, mā tā tā rōr wā mā. rōr xō ā,
with 1p bring:IMPER-1p 1p one.by.one child with 1p child REFL SUB

dī-im ba tō? dī-im na! **lumrād** **raft** pi šan.
give:IMPF-1p to 2s give:IMPF-1p NEG in.any.case go:3sREAL from 3p

mād-in rōk-an xānaḡ-ō, **di- rōz,** **si- rōz,** **čār- rōz.** **bard-in** šan
stay:REAL-3p boy -PL house-the two-day three- day four- day carry:REAL-3p 3p

madrasit-ō bār-ē dgur. **sā** madrasit-ō īn-ē inda yē, ya’nī
school -the time -a other now school -the what’s-it-called -a inside 3s that.is.to.say

rōzin-ē. rōzin-ē inda yē inčka bāla yē -ō kāra-ō.
vent.window -a vent.window -a inside 3s just like above 3s -the gate -the

yē **čāb** **kin** yē šāḥar-ō ā? **gardīd-iš** xō tēr-ē. **wašt-iš**
3s how? do:MIR 3s sorcerer -the INTERR turn.into:REAL-3s REFL bird -a let:REAL-3s

rōk-an. dawaxa wāb inda madrasit-ō ā, wa **ka** **jaḥḥa** **kin**
 boy -PL concentrating become:MIR inside school -the SUB and PEAK swooping do:MIR

ba rōk-ō awēlī, rōk-ō jwān-ō. **jaḥḥa** **kin** ba yē ā wa
 for boy -the first boy -the good -the swooping do:MIR for 3s SUB and

sayy yē pi mayya rōk-an. **gur** yē wa **burwā**, yē rōk-ō
 lift up:MIR 3s from midst boy -PL take:MIR 3s and run:MIR 3s boy -the

gid-iš.

take:REAL-3s

‘Now around half-way through, **two or three months** [later], **they saw that he arrived!** This person **arrived!** He **came** to them, to the gate! [They greeted each other:] “Salam aleikum.” “Wa aleikum salam.” **Immediately** he goes, “Where’s my child? I have come for my what’s-it-called, I have come for my child.” **Immediately** the women **came** [and] **ran** toward the school! Each one of them brings her child and **comes** to the house! They **say** to him, “Who says we would give our own children to you? Drop dead! We won’t give our own children, we who have only brought forth one child [each]. We only have one child each. Our own children, are we to give them to you? We shall not give [them]!” **Anyway**, he **went** from them. The boys **stayed** at home **two days, three days, four days**. They **took** them once again to the school. **Now**, in the school was a what’s-it-called, I mean, a vent-window. There was a vent-window in it just like there is above this, the gate. **How did he do this**, this sorcerer? He **turned** himself into a bird. He **let** the boys be [he didn’t yet attack]. They were absorbed in their work at the school and, and he **immediately swooped** for the first boy, the fine one! He **swooped** on him and **lifted** him up from among the boys! He **took** him and **ran!** He **took** the boy.’

11.4.1.2.3 Accalmie

This ‘calm before the storm’ is backgrounded information that draws out tension in order to highlight the peak. It is a purposeful lull in the drama that includes evaluation, review, or summary statements, and repetition such as embedded poems. The accalmie can use realis and mirative verbs, generally has minimal speech (like the peak and unlike the intentus), and uses the discourse particle *sā*. List sequences and formulae like ‘*čāb kin?*’ accommodate the narrator’s foray into details about peripheral information.

The accalmie in *Kanēdō* includes a drawn-out description of people-eating sorcerers preparing for the war which takes place at the peak. The repetition in the list of items they have in their arsenal simultaneously builds tension and digresses from the onset of the actual battle:

(740) K713

ḥaraqa mū-an **gid-iš.** **šaw** **drāz** ā, **sūqū** **būr-in** maxluq-an.
 burning hair -PL do:REAL-3s night long SUB gathering become:REAL-3p crowd -PL

qada qiz’an **wā** **šan** **qada** tālim **wā** **ša** **w** **qada** brin **wā** **ša** **w**
r **r** **n** **a** **r** **z** **n** **a**
 some cauldron wit 3p some platte wit 3p and some rice wit 3p and

qadar dām **čī** **wā** **šan** na **wa** **qadar** matfa bžēn-in,
 some know:1sIMPF what with 3p NEG and some cannon hit:IMPF-3p

wa... qadar dubbāba wā šan wa qadar tāfaq wā šan. filḥāl, xānağ-ō yā
and some military.tank with 3p and some gun with 3p in.any.case house-the DEM

ā, iṣ dug-a na.
SUB any take:IMPF-3s NEG

‘He **burned** the hairs. **All night long**, the crowd [of summoned sorcerers] **assembled**. They **had some** cauldrons, **they had some** platters, **and they had some** rice, **and they had some** I-don’t-know-what-else, **and** they would fire **some** cannons, **and they had some** tanks, **and they had some** guns. **In any case**, this house, [it was so full that] it wouldn’t take any [more].’

11.4.1.2.4 Peak

Peak is the high point of the plot, the eruption of the initial conflict that has been intensifying up until this point. At the peak, the audience finds speech replaced by action. Discourse particles *ka*⁹⁷ and *amū* and *sā sā* (meaning ‘immediately’ or ‘quickly’, ‘right then’), and *byō* (‘it came about that’) are common. Usually there is the ‘crowded stage’ effect (concentration of characters on the scene), and the content involves physical interaction that is often violent. The peak is characterised by vivid detail, highlighted by the sensory evidential *tamna* and mirative verb forms. Similar structures which function to “heighten the tension in a scene” are observed in the 1001 Arabian Nights: “throughout *Alf laylah* dramatic visualization is reserved especially for scenes which form the heart of a given narrative” (Pinault 1992:28).

Mirative verb forms and several peak discourse particles occur in this short piece of text at the peak of *Bāğ al-Mowz*:

(741) B553

ṭabil-ō abaša kin wa sā sā tay-a tāt-a tk-a
drum -the holding do:MIR and right.now come:IMPF-3s want:IMPF-3s do:IMPF-3s

tay-a wā= tēğar ba īn-ō, wātō, ba qiz’an-ō. ḥata
come:IMPF-3s -ward forward for what’s-it-called -the just.so for cauldron -the until

āxur rōk-ō inča k-a ya’nī. bār-ē gid-iš, dikkara sātē.
after boy -the like.this do:IRR-3s that.is.to.say time-a do:REAL-3s twice now

sā sā sikkar-ē bā yē wa bast kin ya’nī wa ka
right.now three.times -a of 3s and finishing do:MIR that.is.to.say and PEAK

dakka pā kin ba yē zamī-ō, amu byō rāstağ yē, ka
digging foot do:MIR to 3s earth -the immediately come:MIR straight 3s PEAK

byō dist xō sō zekon yē, ka byō yē wa ka
come:MIR hand REFL put:MIR backside 3s PEAK come:MIR 3s and PEAK

kēsif yē kin inda yē, inda qiz’an-ō.
plunging 3s do:MIR in 3s in cauldron -the

⁹⁷ Bayshak (2002:12) notes a special exclamation word *ka* in Shihhi, and explains its origins in a similar Akkadian word.

‘He **took hold** of the drum, and **right then**, he comes, wants to make him come forward, for whatever, just like this, for the cauldron. Until after the boy does it this way, I mean, he did it once, twice now. **Right then**, as he was going around the third time, and he was just **finishing**, I mean, and **right away** he [the boy] **stood firmly** on the ground, **immediately** he [the sorcerer] **comes** in line with him, **right away** he [the boy] **comes** and **puts** his hands on his [the sorcerer’s] backside, **right away** he **comes** to him, and **right away** he **plunges** him into it, into the cauldron.’

11.4.1.2.5 Dénouement

Following the peak there is a didactic peak or dénouement. It may have mirative verbs but none of the peak discourse particles, and thus provides slow release of the tension from the peak. Speech is a prominent feature of the dénouement, in contrast to the peak which has no speech. In fact, it is common that the dénouement consists entirely of quoted speech. The dénouement parallels the inciting incident in that it is the final scene in the tale with speech, just as the inciting incident is initiated by the tale’s first speech. Verbs other than those in the mirative are in the realis. There are usually no PAEs, but the few that occur are such summarising markers as *lumrād* and *filhal*. Being part of the themeline of the tale, the dénouement resolves the events of the peak. There is a strong theme of justice in this narreme, of putting matters to right and people getting what they deserve. There can also be themes of peace and reconciliation in the dénouement.

The following dénouement from the tale *Sōntyō* directly unties the events of the peak: the princess was humiliated by her new husband, the prince, but he apologises and takes her up for the customary post-wedding meeting with his family. Quoted speech predominates:

(742) S787

rōz-an dgur nwāšam y’=ā, ra ba yē dgō ba yē
day -PL next evening 3s=SUB go:3sREAL to 3s say:3sIMPF to 3s

maš, hā! wana dar-ō wākiš, wana nwāz nijjar-an
see:2sIMPER well either/or door -the open:2sIMPER or.else tomorrow boatbuilder -PL

tār-um, lōh-ō šaraxa tk-in. taftafa yē tk-im ba ēmağ.
bring:IMPF-1s wood-the chopping do:IMPF-3p smashing 3s do:IMPF-1p for firewood.

šan wā maqta-an šan wa mīšar-an šan, wa ādamī txēn-in bā tō.
3p with chisel -PL 3p and saw -PL 3p and person laugh:IMPF-3p against 2s

dar-ō wākid-iš ba yē. dgō ba yē maš, hā! mē
door -the open:REAL-3s for 3s say:3sIMPF to 3s see:2sIMPER well 1s

zan tō=um. gid-ī mē, wa lakin tāt-ī tēbur-ī mē wā=
wife- 2s=EX:1s take:REAL-2s 1s and except want:IMPF-2s carry:IMPF-2s 1s -ward

xā- šmā ahla tō mēš-in mē ā, wa raft-ī ba mē xāna
house 2p relatives 2s see:IRR-3p 1s SUB and go:PERF-2s with 1s marriage

rōz-ē, di-rōz, bar mē xā šmā. ādī č-um wā tō, bāla
day -a two- day carry:2sIMPER 1s house 2p normal go:IMPF-1s with 2s up

ya'nī. tō tāt-ī xwā'-ī pana mē naxa sōnty-ō, wa sā tu
that.is.to.say 2s want:IMPF-2s sleep:IRR-2s beside 1s aboard raft -the and REPROACH

kardīd-ī mē inda muṣībit-ē! mē nwāž č-um bāla qāniš... wa
drop:REAL-2s 1s inside calamity -a 1s tomorrow go:IMPF-1s up hunting and

gō ahla tō āmad-in ba mē: wōwōwō pis šēx-ō adafa
say:IRR relatives 2s come:REAL-3p to 1s woe! son sheikh -the injuring

būs-ē, mē fajja būr-um, sā ba rū mē jīr-in! sīna mē
become:PERF-3s 1s shocked become:REAL-1s now of face 1s see:REAL-3p chest 1s

jīr-in! mū-an mē jīr-in! ātiš-ō labaqa gid-ī lāhm mē! damb
see:REAL-3p hair -PL 1s see:REAL-3p fire -the igniting do:REAL-2s body 1s sin

gid-ī bā mē! čābē inča gid-ī ba mē ā? mē
do:REAL-2s against 1s how? like.this do:REAL-2s to 1s INTERR 1s

škašt-um xō pi yā kār-ō. dgō ba yē jwān. sā bā yē na,
break:REAL-1s REFL from DEM work -the say:3sIMPF to 3s good now all.right

samaḥa mē kin. br-im bāla xān mā. dgō ba
forgiving 1s do:2sIMPER come:IMPER-1p up house 1p say:3sIMPF to

yē br-im.

3s go:IMPER-1p

‘In the evening of the next day, he went to her, he said to her, “See here. Either you open the door, or else I will bring the boatbuilders, [and] they will chop the wood. We will smash it [the boat] into firewood! They, they have their chisels and their saws. And people will laugh at you.” She opened the door to him. She said to him, “See here. As for me, I am your wife. You married me, and unless you want to take me to your house so that your relatives can look at me... since you have been married to me a day or two, you must take me to your house. That is to say, it’s tradition that I go up with you. You want to sleep beside me on the raft, and now you! You have thrown me into calamity! [saying:] ‘Tomorrow I am going up hunting...’ and telling your relatives to come to me: [saying] ‘Woe! The sheikh’s son has been hurt!’ I was shocked! Now they have seen my face! They have seen my breasts! They have seen my hair! You have shamed me [literally: set my body on fire]! You have sinned against me! How could you have done this to me?! I want nothing more to do with this matter [literally: I have broken myself over this matter].” He said to her, “OK. Now, all right, forgive me. Let’s go up to our house.” She said to him, “Let’s go.”’

11.4.1.3 Conclusion

11.4.1.3.1 Coda

The coda begins immediately or soon after the dénouement. Verbs are in the realis. There is no speech and no PAEs. The coda generally consists of the narrator telling the resolution of the story; e.g., the young person returns home. As well it often includes an element addressed to the audience: a rhetorical question or explanation.

Everything comes together in the coda of the tale *Kanēdō*, the boy's ordeals each represented by what he has gained in the end. In the example below, the *finis* is included to demonstrate how it follows on directly from the coda, even with the conjunction *wa* 'and'.

(743) K792

šayaxa yē **gid-in.** **nadaba** **gid-in** ba yē, wa zan yē
appointing.as.sheikh 3s do:REAL-3p war.cry do:REAL-3p for 3s and wife 3s

mād wā yē, wa asp-an yē **mād** wā yē, wa jō'ar yē
stay:3sREAL with 3s and horse -PL 3s stay:3sREAL with 3s and pearl 3s

mād wā yē, wa **tō** **raft-ī** **wa** **mē** **āmad-um.** **xālaš.**
stay:3sREAL with 3s and 2s go:REAL-2s and 1s come:REAL-1s finished
'They **made** him **sheikh**. They **cheered** for him with **the war cry**, and his wife **stayed** with him, and his horses **stayed** with him, and his pearl **stayed** with him, and **you went and I came. The End.**'

11.4.1.3.2 Finis

As in the example above, there is no pause before the *finis*, which consists only of a line or two. The first formula, *tu raftī wa mē āmadum*. 'you left and I came' is obligatory, and it is sometimes supplemented with *xalaš* 'the end.'

11.4.1.3.3 Epilogue

The epilogue is a brief interaction with the audience, either asking for their approval ("Was it a good tale? Was it wonderful?") or summing up the tale's inciting incident ("It was just that the boy found half a rupee!"). Such epilogic addresses are reminiscent of the classical ending of Arabic and Persian *qaṣīdas*: "the poet's praise of his own proficiency (*fakhrīya*) and a prayer (*du'ā*) or a request (*ṭalab*) to the patron" (Utas 2006:227).

The thread running through the plot of the tale *Ġrabō* was the cover-up of a murdered man. Thus the apt epilogue:

(744) G1045

ba sābab-ō ēka ā yē ādamī-ō ar kišt-iš y'=ā!
for reason -the INF SUB 3s person -the that/which/who kill:REAL-3s 3s=SUB
'All because they thought he was the person who killed him!'

12 Poetics

12.1 Poetics in linguistics

Halliday accounted for poetics in linguistics thus: “a straightforward linguistic description of a literary text, in which the text is treated in exactly the same way as any other text that is being subjected to linguistic analysis, reveals a great deal both about that text in particular and about literary language in general” (Halliday 2002:8). However, it is also acknowledged that in oral societies such as that of Kumzari, literary language and non-literary language do not face each other across a great chasm as they do in societies with long written traditions (Bright 1984:81). The language of ‘prose’ in oral societies is structured similarly to the language of ‘poetry’; it is “measured and allusive speech” (McDowell 2000:213), inflected with patterns of meaning and sound at all levels of the grammar (Johnstone 1991:114). Poetic attributes are usual in a “skilfully improvised literary text” (Kossmann 2000:88). In many cultures with a long written tradition, such as in Europe, written tradition developed separately and often as a different genre (e.g. for religious or legal purposes) with distinct structures alongside a colloquial spoken language. Where literacy has become widespread across a community and over generations, many oral traditions and linguistic competencies have been lost. In contrast, in languages spoken by predominantly oral societies, literary and colloquial language is more unified, making the analysis of poetic forms essential to grammatical description.

Grammatical patterns in a language naturally create poetic qualities, which in turn create meaning and function (Blommaert 2006:8). A speaker of the language uses the grammatical resources of the language to organise a text and promote focus on the subject at hand, and accordingly “finds and exploits the *irregularity* that the patterns allow, and in doing so superimposes a further *regularity*” (Halliday 2002:9, emphasis original).

Sounds are inherently meaningless, but they function as meaning-holders once they are set into a pattern that is assigned meaning by a cultural context. So it is with poetics: poetic qualities such as rhyme and repetition in a text have no intrinsic meaning, but in a cultural context they are understood to compose meaning in literature. In that context a poem can be defined as “a text in which linguistic form—phonological, syntactic, and lexical—is organised in such a way as to carry an aesthetic content which is at least as important, as regards the response of the receiver, as is the cognitive content carried by the same text” (Bright 1984:134).

Poetics follows one of the “universal principles” of narrative structure used by Hymes in his linguistic analysis of indigenous American literature (Hymes 2003:340), namely, that “there is always a general aesthetic organisation to the story, a more global form of organisation that connects the story to culturally embedded understandings of the logic of activities and experiences.” These patterns may be accessed by the analysis of equivalences in sounds, words, clauses, and texts in a language.

Ethnopoetic analysis “brings out the intricate and delicate correlations between linguistic form, thematic development (scenes, episodes) and the general (‘cultural’) formal architecture of the story” (Blommaert 2006:7). The components of Kumzari literature have already been explicated in chapter 11, particularly in the section on plot structure (§11.4). In contrast to the grammar of discourse, the present discussion focuses on the features that contribute to the thematic development of particular texts. It examines patterns of

equivalence that hold within a text, acknowledging that “any noticeable reiteration of the same grammatical concept becomes an effective poetic device” (Jakobson 1987:122).

12.2 Repetition and Parallelism

Repetition has several functions in discourse. Observing its common occurrence in oral tales, Ong (2002:40) also noted that repetition provides a means of making a tale more fluent and allowing an audience to keep track of events. Pinault (1992:22) alludes to similar grounding functions in the Tales from Arabian Nights: “In those stories from the *Alf laylah* ... which are especially well crafted, the structure is disposed so as to draw the audience’s attention to certain narrative elements over others. Recurrent vocabulary, repeated gestures, accumulations of descriptive phrases around selected objects: such patterns guide the audience in picking out particular actions as important in the flow of narrative.”

Perhaps most obviously, repetition provides an aide-mémoire in verbal communication. Referring to Arabic sung poetry of the Gulf and to oral traditions in general, Jargy (1989:184-185) states that repetition in texts is used to facilitate memorisation, as well as “to give rhythm its predominance and color”. Jargy further notes that in fact, repetition is pre-eminent for this purpose over the text and its thematic content. This is because enacting repetition has rhetorical force beyond the lexical denotation of the words used. Holes, in his analysis of Baḥarna Arabic, calls this *iconic*: “the act of repetition has iconic meaning: it is a time-consuming act whose performance requires effort, and by making this effort the aunt is seeking to prove her point” (Holes 1995: 78). Repeating words, or using parallelism, stands for something else; in the same way that a speech act like an oath, pronouncement, curse, or spell has a function larger than its immediate meaning, repetition and parallelism are grammaticalised in many languages.

Jakobson (1960) referred to this as establishing “equivalence”, a pattern of repetition or parallelism among lines and paragraphs in a discourse that relate to the overall organisation in a text. In Kumzari, discourse equivalence can be discerned in various forms, and at all levels of the language. Examples of equivalence are reviewed below.

12.3 Phonetic parallelism

In phonetic parallelism, sound and meaning are brought together through repetition of words, alliteration, and ideophones, to form patterns that gives phonetic structure to the whole text. Phonetic assonance is achieved both by phrase repetition in the embedded poems and inter-paragraph verb repetition. In the following cases, the “combination of several identical elements to express intensity of an action or a high degree of a property” has been termed “augmentative conjunction” (Haspelmath 2007:25); repetition here denotes the passing of time or continuation of an action:

(745) B750

mād, mād, mād.

Stayed, stayed, stayed. [things stayed the same for a time]

(746) B785

raft-in, raft-in, raft-in, raft-in,

inča ba’ada būr-in farra ā...

They **went, went, went, went**, [they kept going]

like this becoming far away...

Phonetic repetition structures the narrative; however, even within speech, assonance gives weight to the discourse. Rather than rhyming syllables at the end of a line, Kumzari more often uses anaphora; that is, successive lines beginning with words of the same sounds. Observable in the tale *Pačaxčēō*, in a speech reprimanding a girl in the desert, in four successive lines a bedouin repeats the adverb *ḥasa* ‘still’. In the first of these two lines it is negated with *na* following the adverb, and the latter three lines are joined with the conjunction *wa*.

(747) P635

dgō ba yē, “hā, tēl-ī mē na!”

dgō ba yē, “sā tō! rēsīd-ī.

ḥasa na majma gid-ī,

wa ḥasa na šaw wābur,

wa ḥasa maxluq-an č-in wā= bāla,

wa ḥasa maxluq-an tā’-in wā= zēran.”

“tēl-ī mē na!”

She said to him, “Oh, don’t leave me!”

He said to her, “Now, you! You arrived!

Still you did **not** speak,

And still it’s **not** night,

And still many people are going up there,

And still many people are coming down there!”

“Don’t leave me!”

Phonetic equivalence in the form of ideophones permeates narrative discourse, and in many cases these sound-meaning junctions help to carry the story line. In the tale of The Crow, *Ġrābō*, the cawing sound made by the crow draws auditory focus. It is said that the crow caws whenever someone lies, and so throughout the story, the plot hinges on the sound of the crow cawing:

(748) G198

nakt-ē tē bang-ō ā,

tēr āmad, ġrāb-ē.

ēka ā yā=in ar qāq tk-in ā,

yā ġrāb-an baṭna ā,

qā qā tk-in na ā,

hē, ġrāb-an gap-an.

ništ inda knār-ō.

A little before sunset,

A bird came: a crow.

You know these ones that **caw**,

These crows from the Batinah coast,

The ones that say ‘**caw, caw**’,

Yes, the big crows.

It sat in the jujube tree.

Later in the story, the crow’s cawing reveals some characters’ murderous secrets:

(749) G525

“*qā!*”

“*čumbū yē na!?*”

“*yē fēṭahit mā tk-a wa...*”

“*hā mā...! bābā!...*”

“**Caw!**”

“What is the matter with it?!”

“It is telling on us and...”

“Oh my...! O son...!”

12.4 Morphological parallelism

Morphological parallelism is displayed in the list below, with the plural suffix *-an* present on all five nouns of the semantic domain of food items, as well as the conjunction *wa* and the peak discourse marker *ka* prefacing each item in the middle of the list. The rhythm of morphological symmetry in the list also supplies phonetic assonance.

(750) P190

yā nēyt-an wās-in, bā yē na ā,

nēyt-an xōd-iš.

šām-an,

wa ka nān-an,

wa ka brinz-an,

wa ka qūt-an,

mēčūrī-an,

ya'nī, yē xōd-iš.

These charity foods that were brought, it didn't matter,
she ate the charity foods.

Suppers!

And then breads!

And then rice dishes!

And then soups!

Fish stews!

That is to say, she ate it.

Morphological parallelism is frequently employed in formulae and in the LIST section of embedded poems, discussed in §12.8.

12.5 Lexical repetition

Lexical repetition emphasises the information being communicated and effects memorability. A section of the tale *Rōran Šēxō* is given below to demonstrate its complete saturation with lexical repetition. Three types of lexical repetition are evident in this section: lexical couplets, synonymous parallelism, and inverted parallelism. The back-and-forth of the repeated lexemes shapes the story at a crucial point in the tale's thematic development; it signals the divide in characters echoed from the beginning of the story: contrasting the six macho brothers and the youngest gay brother whom they bury in a well (dropped by his *jāmağ-skirt*), and the seven princesses who decide to stay with the youngest brother rather than abandoning him.

(751) R1317

ēwō bass=im.

here enough =EX:1p

“‘Here we [have done] enough.’”

bass=im bēw ka kēš-in yē ba nummağ.

enough =EX:1p already PEAK pull:MIR-3p 3s to halfway

“‘We [have done] enough already,’ so right away they pulled him [up] halfway!’

kēš-in yē ba nummağ ā,

pull:MIR-3p 3s to halfway SUB

‘Pulling him [up] halfway,

ka kārđ-ō sī’-in ba īn-ō,

PEAK knife-the put:MIR-3p to what’s-it-called -the

‘right away they put the knife to the what’s-it-called!’

šamšir-ō sī’-in ba jāmağ-ō,

sword-the put:MIR-3p to man’s.skirt-the

‘they put the sword to the skirt!’

kard-in yē inda yē.

drop:MIR-3p 3s inside 3s

‘They dropped him [the boy] into it [the well]!’

qaşsa yē gid-in

cutting 3s do:REAL-3p

‘They cut him [off].’

kard-in yē bēw,

drop:MIR-3p 3s already...

‘Once they dropped him,’

wa gab twāra wābur ğuzr -ō,

and suddenly shelter become:3sREAL deep -the

‘he immediately took shelter in the deep [part of the well].’

wa ka dafana ān gid-in bard.

and PEAK burying 3s.ANA do:REAL -3p stone

‘And right away they buried that one with stones.’

dafana ān gid-in.

burying 3s.ANA do:REAL -3p

‘They buried that one.’

bard kardīd-in ba yē ā,

stone drop:REAL -3p on 3s SUB

‘Dropping stones on him,’

hawz yē dār -in ba yē

level 3s give:REAL -3p on 3s

‘they levelled [the ground] over him,’

sātē murd.
 now die:REAL
 ‘‘Now he [must] be dead,’’

dgīn ba xō murd.
 say:3pIMPF to REFL die:3sREAL
 ‘They said to themselves, ‘‘He is dead.’’

dgīn ba ẓank- -an byā -ē č -im.
 say:3pIMPF to woman- -PL come:IMPER -2p go:IMPF -1p
 ‘They said to the women, ‘‘Come, we are going.’’

ẓank- -an dgīn ba šan, mā č -im na wā šmā na.
 woman- -PL say:3pIMPF to 3p 1p go:IMPF -1p NEG with 2p NEG
 ‘The women said to them, ‘‘We are not going with you.’’

mā šū mā murs -ē ba čō -ō.
 1p husband 1p die:PERF -3s in well -the
 ‘‘As for us, our husband has died in the well,’’

mā bumr -im ba čō -ō.
 1p die:IMPER -1p in well -the
 ‘‘May we die in the well!’’

šmā na wās -ē mā ā,
 2p NEG bring:PERF -2p 1p SUB
 ‘‘None of you brought us,’’

ar wās -ē mā ā, yēē.
 that/which/who bring:PERF -3s 1p SUB 3s.EMPH
 ‘‘The one who brought us was him.’’

ẓank- -an raft-in na.
 woman- -PL go:IMPF -3p NEG
 ‘The women didn’t go.’

wa šan raft-in.
 and 3p go:IMPF -3p
 ‘And they [the brothers] went.’

The first type of repetition is called lexical couplets, because the repeated words and phrases are almost always found in pairs. In the text above, spanning 54 seconds of time, more than 16 lexical couplets of exactly repeated words or phrases are found, such as the following:

(752) R1333

wa ka dafana ān gid-in bard.

dafana ān gid-in. bard kardīd-in ...

‘And right away **they buried that one** with **stones**.

They buried that one. Dropping **stones...**’

Synonymous parallelism repeats the word or phrase but uses a synonym instead of the exact word or phrase. This second type is exploited in the embedded poems, as will be described in §12.8 of the present chapter. Synonymous parallels are often found in groups of three or more, prompting linguists observing this rhetorical device in Arabic to call it “listing parallelism” (Johnstone 1991:102). In the text above, these sets of synonymous parallels are heard:

(753) R1324

kārd-ō sī'-in ... šamšir-ō sī'-in ... qaṣṣa yē gid-in
 ‘they put the **knife**’ ... ‘they put the **sword**’ ... ‘they **cut** him [off]’

(754) R1344

dafana ān gid-in. bard kardīd-in ba yē ā, ḥawz yē dār-in ba yē.
 ‘They **buried** that one. **Dropping stones** on him, they **levelled [the ground]** over him.’

The third type of lexical repetition, inverted parallelism, repeats the word or phrase but inverts its syntax or meaning. Kumzari often contrasts a negative/positive pair, as in this example from the text above:

(755) R1362

šmā na wās-ē mā ā,
ar wās-ē mā ā, yēē.
ṣank-an raft-in na.
wa šan raft-in.
 “None of you **brought us**,
 The one who **brought us** was him.”
 The women **didn’t go**.
 And they [the brothers] **went**.’

The following pair of parallel lines uses both inverted syntax and opposite meaning:

(756) R1354

dgīn ba ṣank-an, byā-ē, č-im.
ṣank-an dgīn ba šan, mā č-im na wā šmā na.
 ‘They said to the women, “Come, **we are going**.”’
 The women said to them, “**We are not going** with you.”’

12.6 Syntactic parallelism

Syntactic parallelism takes various forms: anaphora, epiphora, anadiplosis, chiasmus, and word order variation. All of these exploit the repertoire of Kumzari’s clause structure for poetic effect.

Anaphora is syntactic parallelism that repeats the initial element of a clause in successive lines. It commonly occurs in speeches and in backgrounded sections of a text. In the following example from the tale *Sōntyō*, anaphora is among several types of parallelism contained in the princess’ request to her father:

(757) S82

murd-um ka bur-um inda sōnty-ō y’=ā,

inda ḥamya bur-um,
ra'-um wa=bāla,
ra'-um mağrab,
ra'-um mašraq,
ana yā tk-ī ba mē ā,
balkē mān-um zindağ.
 If I should become dead on that raft,
 Should I become beached,
 Should I go up,
 Should I go west,
 Should I go east,
 If you do these things for me,
 Perhaps I will stay alive.

In the type of syntactic parallelism called epiphora, the latter part of a clause is repeated, and may be paraphrased or elaborated in successive lines. In the tale *Bāğ al-Mowz*, seven women use epiphora in explaining to a beggar what they are doing:

(758) B69
pī t̄araf mā ā, kār-an tk-im,
ya'nī, qadar qayit-an tk-im,
wa qadar kār-an tk-im.
 From our side, **we're working,**
 That is to say, **we're doing some embroidery,**
 And **we're doing some work.**

As is often the case in repetition, the meaning of the epiphoric clause may be amplified or may alternate with synonyms or negated antonyms:

(759) B281
wa mām-ō mād bağa kōr.
kōr būr na.
 And the mother **remained without blindness.**
 She **did not become blind.**

Anadiplosis, also called 'lexical overlap' (Thompson, Longacre, & Hwang 2007:275), repeats a clause, whole or in part, in the next line. In many languages, anadiplosis contributes to cohesion in a discourse. In the Indo-Aryan language Palula, repeated clauses unify a text by "not adding any new information but instead highlighting the temporal relationship between the two events" (Liljegren 2008:315). In Kumzari, anadiplosis and other types of syntactic repetition are commonly found in the introduction of a tale, and represent backgrounding devices. The repeated clause in anadiplosis is followed by the subordinator *ā*, and an independent clause that continues the progression of the tale:

(760) A69
rēs-id dbay. rēs-id dbay ā, ... čōt dukkan-ē.
He arrived at Dubai. Arriving at Dubai, ... he goes to a shop.

Anadiplosis is often found at episode boundaries, recapitulating what has happened and moving on to tell about something new in the foreground of the story. For this reason it has

been called a ‘bridging device’ in clause-linking syntax (Dixon & Aikhenvald 2008:8). In the following example of anadiplosis, the repeated line is about a couple who agree to adopt a boy if he helps them with work. After they take the boy in, they discover that he has a crow that caws whenever someone is not telling the truth:

(761) G331

lumrād gid-in yē ba xō. gid-in yē ba xō ā, xābr-in ba yē sā yē ġrāb-ō...

So **they took him in**. **Taking him in**, they found out from him that now there was this crow...

Chiasmus is a type of syntactic parallelism that repeats words or clauses but reverses their order. In just twelve seconds of speech given by a sorcerer in the tale *Bāġ al-Mowz*, there are three pairs of lines showing chiasmus:

(762) B104

1. *dō-um ba šmā af-ta ḥabb ānar.*

af-ta ḥabb ānar dō-um ba šmā ā...

I will give to you seven pomegranate seeds.

Seven pomegranate seeds I will give to you...

2. *wa=angar zā-ē,*

wa af-ta rōk-an tār-ē wa=angar...

All together, you will give birth,

and you will bring forth seven sons all together...

3. *lakin yak-ē ba mē.*

yak-ē dē ba mē ā...

But one of them to me.

One of them give to me...

Chiasmus on a larger scale is seen in this passage from the tale *Sōntyō*, in which lines from the first half are mirrored in lines of the second half:

(763) S516

mē dit āmō xō tāt-um na.

yē ar č-um ba yē xāna ā, tāt-um yē na.

č-um xāna ba sōnty-ō.

čābē č-ī xāna ba sōnty-ō ā?

yā lōḥ-ē ā?!

sāl-ē di-sāl kaft-ē durya-ō!

palla gū, palla kār,

čābē č-ī xāna ba sōnty-ō ā?

mē č-um xāna ba sōnty-ō.

kaw tubr-um ba sōnty-ō.

dit āmō xō tāt-um na.

“As for me, I do not want [to marry] my uncle’s daughter.

The one whom I am to marry, I do not want her.

I will marry the raft.”

“How is it that you would marry the raft?!

This wooden thing?!

For a year or two, it has been in the sea!
 It is full of excrement, full of things,
 How is it that you would marry the raft?!
 “As for me, I will marry the raft.
 I will sign the marriage contract with the raft.
 I do not want [to marry] my uncle’s daughter.”

The diagram below outlines the passage’s chiasmus structure.

A	“(As for me,) I do not want [to marry] my uncle’s daughter.
B	The one whom I am to marry, I do not want her.
C	I will marry the raft.”
D	“How is it that you would marry the raft?!
	this wooden thing?!
E	For a year or two, it has been in the sea!
	It is full of excrement, full of things,
D	How is it that you would marry the raft?!”
C	“(As for me,) I will marry the raft.
B	I will sign the marriage contract with the raft.
A	I do not want [to marry] my uncle’s daughter.”

Aside from the two *mē* declarations, lines A, C, and D are repeated word for word in reverse order. The lines B are semantic mirror images of each other, both regarding the formalities and traditions of the marriage contract. Three lines E in the centre of the passage are on the same subject, degrading the raft’s qualities.

Variation in word order is a syntactic device that can produce foregrounding, drawing out certain information as more salient to the text. Johnstone (1991:94-95) calls this the creation of ‘rhetorical presence.’ A subject or object may be pre-posed or post-posed from its regular position vis-à-vis the verb. Dislocation of constituents can even “function grammatically as a topic-switching mechanism,” as Givón points out (1984:193). A sentence in the tale *Rōran Šēxō* introduces *čō’-ē* ‘a well’ at a point in the discourse where the six brothers are thirsty and need water, incorporating both lexical repetition and word order variation to convey its centrality to the plot:

(764) R1225

čō’-ē ām ba šan, čō’-ē.

A well they came upon, **a well**.

An illustration of pre-posing a subject can be found in this sentence, where a clause begins with “as for us...” (lit.: 1PL) to foreground a topic [‘us’] that is different from the subject of unmarked syntax [our husband]:

(765) B124

mā wana šū mā af-ta rōr wā yē ā, yak-ē čō, šaš kas wā yē.

“**As for us**, if our husband has seven children, one leaves, he [still] has six.”

There are also instances of post-posed subjects. In the following case, post-posing the subject functions in participant reference in the text; the object of the previous sentence *rōk-ō* ‘the

boy' is becoming the subject of this sentence, so post-posing it draws attention to the fact that there is a different subject:

(766) B248

ṣayaḥa gid-iš y'=ā rōk-ō.

Shouted **this boy**.

An example of the function of word order variation in discourse grammar is the use of factive syntax to track participant reference by expressing the “coming into existence” of a character or key object in a text, when they are introduced for the first time in a scene. In factive syntax, the entity that ‘comes into existence’ is post-posed to clause-final position (see §4.3.2.3 on factive verb phrase syntax):

(767) A514

ka ām šēx-ō.

Immediately came **the sheikh**.

12.7 Semantic parallelism

Cohesion is discerned more generally in a text through semantic equivalence. Clive Holes (1995:67) notes that this subtle strategy is used in the Arabic spoken in Bahrain, where he describes “repetitive routines which involve larger chunks of language, and which serve higher-level cohesive and presentational discourse functions.”

Equivalence in the content of the discourse is similar to the parallelism of action distinguished by Kossmann in his study of Eastern Moroccan Berber fairy tales (2000:46,99). Whole sections may be previewed or reviewed, as in the Kumzari tale *Bāḡ al-Mowz*: the horse instructs the boy in minute detail what will happen with the sorcerer, and when it actually happens, the entire scene is recounted. In the same way, the sorcerer foretells what will happen when the women eat the magic pomegranate seeds, and the events are repeated when they actually occur in the story.

This kind of preview in Kui (Mon-Khmer) discourse is explained: “when the narrator aims to underline an event as crucial information, she may alert the listener by letting a participant talk about that event before it actually happens” (Burusphat 1993:156). Not only does this semantic repetition highlight certain key elements in the tale; it also perfects the intrinsic balance of expectation and fulfillment in the story.

In the tale *Pačaxčēō*, one character displays a juxtaposition of traits: rationality and rashness. The boy's divergent decisions in the story correspond with his contrasting movements away from home and back to it. He first makes a rational financial decision to go to Kuwait to work, then “drops money” at the souq to impulsively buy an expensive locked chest without knowing what was inside it. Later in the tale, the boy makes a rational financial decision to go on the *hijj* pilgrimage to fulfill his community obligations, then he “drops money” in Mecca for a costly voyage back home to appease his paranoia over a false rumour. His sensible decisions were made at home, in consultation with his family. His foolish expenditures were made in faraway lands, incited by his reckless mind. Such parallels as are seen in the boy's decisions and locations in this story have been termed ‘semantic rhyme’ (Blommaert 2006:17).

Semantic parallelism is observed too in thematic formulae in a text. As described in chapter 11, like narrative formulae these are repeated, but thematic formulae are specific to a text and its thematic content. They are “closely linked to the contents of the story, and may be an inomissible part of the story-line” (Kossmann 2000:75). The tale just discussed contains in its thematic formula a warning against foolish presumption: *bağa s’āl, jwāb* ‘Without a question, an answer’. These two lines are repeated throughout the text. When formulae encapsulate general themes, they resemble proverbs in that they “encourage the audience to reflect on their position in the real world, and to connect this to their reception of the story. In this way the storyteller links the narrative universe with the real one...” (Yamamoto 2010:256).

As a text progresses, semantic parallels facilitate the development of expectation structures on the part of listeners. They also lend coherence to the sequence of events, creating an intersection of “linguistic form, thematic development... and... architecture of the story” (Blommaert 2006:7).

12.8 Embedded poems

The linguistic forms already discussed for their poetic qualities come together in a certain pattern to build poems that are embedded into the Kumzari tales. Poetic language such as they exhibit has been defined simply as “a highly patterned and organised mode of verbal expression” (Stankiewicz 1960:70). However, since the tales themselves have been shown to be highly patterned, the embedded poems represent a structure within a structure: they have their own linguistic patterns within the discourse grammar of the tale.

Utas (2006:240) notes that in Persian folktales, dramatic language builds a sort of skeleton for the storyteller to structure the details of the story around, and these points function as traditional memorising notes. Embedded poems in Kumzari have their place within the context of the discourse as well; they usually occur in the accalmie of a tale, that is, in the backgrounded section just before the peak. Although the content of the poems is often intriguing or surprising in nature, it also tends to hold information that is crucial to the plot of the tale. Falling just before dramatic high points in the story-line, further action is contingent on what has taken place as expressed in the poems.

In the Kumzari story *Bāğ al-Mowz*, a sorcerer abducts a boy and takes him to his abode on a faraway mountaintop, where there are seven houses containing the makings of black magic. This poem is set at the point in the tale just before the boy discovers a talking horse in the seventh house, who helps him make his dramatic escape:

Table 61. Poem: The Seven Houses (B313 from the tale *Bāğ al-Mowz*)

Poetic Structure	Kumzari	Translation
this boy TOP go in this house TOP one house full of {sorcerer’s things} one house full of {sorcerer’s things} one house full of {sorcerer’s things} one house full of {sorcerer’s things} one house full of {sorcerer’s things} one house full of {sorcerer’s things} own things great things in NEG go in this house NEG	<i>mād yā rōk-ō ā,</i> <i>raf yā šiš-ta xānağ-an ā:</i> <i>tā xānağ palla xwā,</i> <i>tā xānağ palla gātaf,</i> <i>tā xānağ palla knux-an ādamī,</i> <i>tā xānağ palla ādam-an alaqa,</i> <i>tā xānağ palla šumr, ēmağ šumr</i> <i>tā xānağ palla qiz’an,</i> <i>ar tā-ē ya’nī ba kār-an xō.</i> <i>iš kār-an jwān inda yē na,</i> <i>ğēr yā xānağ-ō ar dgō ba yē</i>	He kept going, this boy, into these six houses, you know: One house full of salt, One house full of rope-wood, One house full of worn-out people, One house full of people hanged, One house full of samar, samar firewood, One house full of cauldrons, Each one of them, I mean, had its own things. There was nothing great inside them, except that house which

	<i>raf na inda yē na.</i>	he was forbidden to enter...

The characteristic that most distinguishes embedded poems from their discourse context is the parallelism they exhibit. Jakobson calls parallelism “the fundamental problem of poetry” (1960:368), suggesting that likeness and difference be explored to determine equivalence on different linguistic levels.

The Kumzari poems’ structure is that of a FRAME and LIST, with both parts displaying parallelism at all linguistic levels. The first and last few lines of a poem constitute its FRAME, which encompasses the poem’s topic. The FRAME surrounds the sequence of parallel lines that comprises the list. The poem’s topic is brought into focus in the FRAME with a subordinator-topicaliser (*ā*) at the beginning and/or end, as well as demonstratives (*yā*) and stated subjects (rather than default pronoun-drop) in a highlighting function. Most frames exhibit grammatical symmetry between the opening and closing of the poem, giving the audience an “expectation of outcome” as described in Hymes’ ethnopoetics analyses (2003: 248). In the poem ‘The Seven Houses’ above, the repeated elements in the FRAME are the verb *raf* ‘go’, the demonstrative *yā*, and the topic *xānağ* ‘house’. The clause-final subordinator *ā* on the first two lines is paralleled by the clause-final negator *na* on the last two lines. In the last three lines of the poem, both the preposition *inda* ‘in’ and the noun *kār-an* ‘things’ are repeated.

Within the FRAME is a LIST of semantically similar items. The LIST is comprised of different types of one item, or related actions, or reiterations of a statement; however, the varying items in the LIST are connected grammatically by using the same verb, or the same heading, demonstrative or adverbial phrase. In “The Seven Houses” poem, the repeated part of the LIST is the anaphoric phrase *tā xānağ palla* ‘one house full of...’, while the variation is shown in the contents of each house, which are different kinds of things typically belonging to sorcerers (firewood, cauldrons, and salt for eating people).

In “The Clairvoyant Camel” poem below, the FRAME repeats the word ‘camel’ four times, and the LIST repeats the verb ‘knows’ four times. Of the four morphemes in each line of the LIST, epiphora of the same three morphemes *-an dān-a* illustrates phonetic parallelism. The other morpheme constituting the ‘slot’ in the LIST is filled with different things about thieves that the clairvoyant camel knows, each item taking the plural suffix.

Table 62. Poem: The Clairvoyant Camel (A397 from the tale *Ahmad Tka*)

Poetic Structure	Kumzari	Translation
now camel, camel, camel.	<i>sā šēx-ō... jāmal wā yē, jāmal-ē.</i> <i>jāmal-ē...</i>	Now, the sheikh... he had a camel, a camel. A camel...
he knows {about thieves},	<i>īn-an dān-a.</i>	He knows these.
he knows {about thieves},	<i>kār-an dān-a,</i>	He knows the happenings,
he knows {about thieves},	<i>zīn-an dān-a,</i>	He knows the thieves,
he knows {about thieves},	<i>šīgl-an dān-a. hē!</i>	He knows things. Yes!
now this camel,	<i>sā yā jāmal-ō ā,</i>	Now, this camel,
see future	<i>ka pīš xō ba yē wāk-iš.</i>	he could see before him what would happen.

Ferioli (2010) explains how this system of listing is useful in the oral composition of poetry, as it functions in the poetic eddas of Iceland. The lists “follow a very strict pattern with minimal variations, so that most of the times only the concept-word [...], filling a specific metrical slot, and few other elements change in the stanza.” Citing Acker (1998:64), Ferioli notes that the lists “build up a “slot-filler system” which can perfectly be filled *ad libitum* and

potentially *ad infinitum* by the poet. This provides him with a very useful tool to remember not only poetic synonyms (and kennings) for substantives, but also the verbs and phrases which are most likely to accompany them in a context of oral composition.” A poem with such a listing structure is “exactly the kind of poem which, although on the one hand featuring a very fixed structure, is on the other hand extremely flexible, in that it can be reduced or extended according to the needs of the poet, and its constituents can be substituted with anything the poet considers relevant” (Ferioli 2010). The paradox of patterned variation is evident in the lists of Kumzari embedded poems. In the poem below, the LIST is composed of the things the girl has taken: a camel and all of its owner’s belongings. Although each item in the LIST is different, all of them are subjects of the same prepositional phrase and are members of the same semantic domain: weapons and supplies. Epiphora is exhibited in the phrase ‘she has’ occurring eight times, and numerical and semantic parallelism in the general summary or ‘et cetera’ following each set of four times: *kār-an* ‘things’ or *kawada* ‘heaps’ or ‘all kinds’. The topic of the poem’s FRAME is the motion of the camel and a character’s movements with regard to the camel; synonymous parallelism is shown in the six different verbs used in the FRAME to describe their movements.

Table 63. Poem: Girl Takes off with the Camel and Weapons (P724 from the tale *Pačaxčēō*)

Poetic Structure	Kumzari	Translation
go {camel}	<i>bō pē yē wā = bāla nakt-ē</i>	“Go ahead, upward a little bit
go {camel} gallop {camel}	<i>wa čōt wa ka sō ba yē.</i>	and it will go and it will break into a gallop.”
speed {camel}	<i>tā bārē wa</i>	One for speed and
hurry {camel}	<i>tā māzad yē tk-a.</i>	One for hurrying it along.
she has {weapons and supplies}	<i>tāfaq wā yē wa</i>	She has a gun and
she has {weapons and supplies}	<i>tāha wā yē wa</i>	She has weapons and
she has {weapons and supplies}	<i>maḥzōm-ō wā yē wa</i>	She has the cartridge-belt and
she has {weapons and supplies}	<i>bīšt-ō wā yē wa</i>	She has the cloak and
things.	<i>kār-an,</i>	things,
she has {weapons and supplies}	<i>ammū wā yē,</i>	She has everything,
she has {weapons and supplies}	<i>šang-ē wā yē,</i>	She has a comb,
she has {weapons and supplies}	<i>mēčūrī wā yē,</i>	She has fish stew,
she has {weapons and supplies}	<i>ngāl wā yē,</i>	She has headrings, and
heaps!	<i>wa kawada!</i>	so many things!
run {camel}	<i>sā jāmal-ē tirwā ā,</i>	Now, when a camel runs [away],
run after {camel}	<i>tō tirwāi pištu yē!</i>	you, you run after it!
bring {camel}	<i>tār-ī yē pi gīya ā?</i>	Where are you bringing it from?
take {camel}	<i>wa gur yē!</i>	And take it!

Jakobson commented on the ‘same and different’ elements of poetry by explaining that “grammatical categories, whether reiterative or contrasting, [have] compositional function” (1980d:112). The following poem, about people giving charity grain, displays both repetition of the ‘grain’ topic in the FRAME and variation in the quantities of grain in the LIST. Three lines in the FRAME begin with the word *gēla* ‘grain’ and end with the third-person plural suffix *-in* on semantically-related verbs for harvesting grain. The semantic subject (different people) varies in the list, but the words referring to the people are in pairs with the subordinator-topicaliser: demonstrative *y’ā* in the first two lines and anaphoric pronoun *ān ā* in the second two lines. Also prominently repeated and creating assonance in the poem is the verb phrase *tāra ba šan* at the end of each LIST line. Jakobson recognised the interplay of rhyme and repeated grammatical elements as a general characteristic of poetry: “Rhymes may hinge on similar derivational and grammatical suffixes or may emphasise certain phonemic features at the expense of other, more marginal features” (Jakobson 1960:77).

Table 64. Poem: People Giving Charity Grain (G20 from the tale *Ġrābō*)

Poetic Structure	Kumzari	Translation
harvest grain gather grain, grain	<i>ġēla tkard-in,</i> <i>ġēla, ġēla dg-in.</i> <i>wa xuṣbā.</i>	Grain they were harvesting, Grain, grain they were gathering. [The land] was flourishing.
these brought to them {quantity} these brought to them {quantity} those brought to them {quantity} those brought to them {quantity}	<i>y'=ā xā... man-ē tāra ba šan,</i> <i>wa y'=ā nīmi tār-a ba šan,</i> <i>wa ān ā, rub'-ē tār-a ba šan,</i> <i>wa ān ā, nuṣnuṣif tār-a ba šan...</i>	These [people], of a house...brought them a measure, and these [people], brought them a half, and those [people], brought them a quarter, and those [people] brought them a small share...
{quantity}	<i>laba paṇj mā,</i>	about five months' [worth],
{quantity}	<i>šaš mā,</i>	six months' [worth],
{quantity} get grain	<i>paṇj mā ġēla ḥasala tk-in.</i>	five months' [worth] of grain they were getting.

Tannen (1989:51) explained that this type of repetition in a text, including both same elements and varying elements, “foregrounds and intensifies the part repeated, and also foregrounds and intensifies the part that is different.” The view that repetition lends to foregrounding makes clear that the significance of the list in the poem above is not specifically each quantity of grain and who brought it, but rather the fact that there were many people who brought it and that there were all kinds of grain. The storyteller could have just as properly inserted different quantities; in fact, in other poems, items in the list seem to be almost random, as long as they follow the pattern. Stankiewicz recognised that the inherent flexibility of poetic language, sometimes disparaged as “deviation”, is actually regularised, patterned, and systematic (1960:70).

Poetry draws on the grammar of a language to make metaphors. Jakobson called this the “poetic exploitation of morphological possibilities” (1987:127) and he explains, “By full exploitation of the resources of the linguistic system, the poet is able to arrange his themes or the formal elements, such as rhyme and syntactic parallelism, to coincide with phonemic or grammatical oppositions” (Jakobson 1960:77). Systematic use of linguistic potentials in the Kumzari embedded poems reveals parallelism at various levels of the grammar, often in combination. This poem in the tale *Kan 'ēdō* makes use of the placeholder pronoun *īn-ē* to create chiasmus through syntactic variation, reversing the order of the prepositional phrase *wā yē* ‘he had’ and the subject noun *zōraq-ē* ‘a *zōraq* boat’:

(768) K32

īn-ē wā yē, zōraq-ē.

zōraq-ē wā yē ā...

He had a what's-it-called, a *zōraq* boat.

Having a *zōraq* boat...

The same poem uses the limits of the vocabulary to create lexical and semantic parallelism. The boy asks about his late father's livelihood, and most of the poem is the grandmother explaining what he did. At the beginning of the poem, she uses the words ‘boat’ and ‘go’, and the boy echoes these words at the end, thus completing the FRAME of the poem. Synonymous lexemes for ‘small fishing boat’ –*zōraq* and *māšuwē*— are repeated in the frame, both with the indefinite suffix. The same verb ‘go’ is in the third person at the beginning of the frame and takes the first-person suffix at the end of the frame:

(769) K35

zōraq-ē wā yē ā,

ču dirya.

[...]

sā ka māšuwē-ē xujmu k-um ba xō ā,
č-um.

Having a *zōraq* boat,
 He would go fishing at sea.

[...]

Now as soon as I build myself a *māšuwē* boat,
 I shall go.

As well as repetition pairs in the FRAME, numerical forms in listing parallelism are very clear in this poem, which contains four sets of three-item lists. Below is the entire poem, constructing an account of the boy's father's profession. There are sets of three fishing activities, kinds of fish, mentions of different people's houses, and types of small payments given to the fishers:

Table 65. Poem: Boy Asks about his Father's Livelihood (K32 from the tale *Kan'ēdō*)

Poetic Structure	Kumzari	Translation
3s said to 3s: have a boat have a boat: go {fishing activity} {fishing activity} {fishing activity} fish: {kind of fishes} {kind of fishes} {kind of fishes} to house carry to house sheikh to house people: some give to us {small payment} and some give to us {small payment} and some give to us {small payment} and our living from this work 3s said to 3s: make a boat go	<i>dgō ba yē kān awwal,</i> <i>īn-ē wā yē, zōraq-ē.</i> <i>zōraq-ē wā yē ā,</i> <i>ču dirya.</i> <i>li jēl tka.</i> <i>mī'ī sayya.</i> <i>kan'ēd-an wa</i> <i>mēy-an wa</i> <i>būt-an wa...</i> <i>tēbar-a ba xānağ-an,</i> <i>ba xā šēx-ō wa</i> <i>ba xānağ-an ādamī,</i> <i>qadar ya'nī nakt-ē arma dī-in ba mā</i> <i>wa qadar habbē brinz dī-in ba mā wa</i> <i>qadar-ē pē qrūnī dī-in ba mā wa</i> <i>tī'it mā pi yā kāra-ō, ya'nī.</i> <i>dgō ba yē bā yē na.</i> <i>sā ka māšuwē-ē xujmu k-um ba xō ā,</i> <i>č-um.</i>	She said to him, "Before, he had a what's-it-called, a <i>zōraq</i> boat. Having a <i>zōraq</i> boat, He would go fishing at sea. He would lay out fishing nets. He would catch fish: <i>kan'ad</i> fishes and fishes and <i>būt</i> fishes and... He would take them to the houses, to the sheikh's house and to people's houses. Some, well, would give us a few dates, and Some would give us a bit of rice, and Some would even give us a <i>qrūnī</i> coin, and Our living was from this work, I mean." He said to her, "All right, then. Now as soon as I build myself a <i>māšuwē</i> boat, I shall go."

Covering background information of the discourse, the poem is artfully placed at a point within the tale where it signals an imminent dramatic turn in the protagonist's fate. The grandmother's description of his family's profession is the impetus for the boy to take up fishing. The poem thus launches the boy into adventure. Soon afterward he repeats his father's actions from the poem: he has a boat, he catches a *kan'ad* fish, he takes it to the sheikh's house. But the boy finds a huge pearl in its stomach, and throughout the story endeavors to keep his fortune. The conclusion of the tale reflects the outcome of the boy's livelihood discovered in the poem: he regains his pearl that he had earned by making a boat, catching a *kan'ad* fish, and taking it to the sheikh's house.

The embedded poems are an encapsulation of patterning grammatical potentials to highlight semantic symmetry. Holes' assessment of the 'iconic meaning' of the act of repetition (1995:78) has particular relevance to the embedded poems. It does not matter what exactly the LIST of things literally entails, rather that there is much of it: much work to do, many kinds of fish, many houses to sell to, and much payment to earn, and the LIST section in the *Kan'ēdō* poem is summarised by the statement *tī'it mā pi yā kāra-ō* 'our living was from this work'. By elaborating using synonyms and types of the same, the storyteller is giving

evidence for the truth of what he is saying. Johnstone, also citing Arabic, explains how this has representative impact: “restating until the reader’s only defense is to concede the importance of the problem” (1991:93). Looking only for literal explanations of what are actually higher-level grammatical functions can lead to dismissal of their importance in the logical progression of the tale. As Jakobson said, “poeticalness is not a supplementation of discourse with rhetorical adornment but a total re-evaluation of the discourse and all of its components whatsoever” (1960: 377).

Appendix 1: Folktales

Pačaxčēō

qiššit-ē mām-ē ḥakāyit-ē tiskan ya'nī
 raft wāḥid mardkē=ā ḥubbō wā yē rōk-ē =ā
 ḥubbō wā yē
 mām yē murs-ē bap yē murs-ē ya'nī rōk-ē na
 ḥubbō wā yē
 sātē wā yē arḍ-ē arḍ-ē wā yē ya'nī

 arḍ-ē di-ta si-ta bēnī'it qīšr-ē tk-a ya'nī

 arḍ-ō ba rōk-ō māl bap yē

 sā tukš yē iš wā šan na inda kasafa dīn-ō na

 inda wālēyit na
 tamna=ā dgō ba ḥubbō xō ḥubbō č-um kwēt

 č-um xujm-ō tk-um ba xō kwēt
 ya'nī rōzō da' tā ruppī tār-um
 mā-ō si- šaṭṭa ruppī

 dgō ba yē č-ī brō
 wā ḥubbō=ā wēkil wašt-iš wā yē
 raft ba ādamī
 ba indarağ-a xō
 dgō ba yē dinyē-ē

 ēka=ā ḥubbō mē=ā wā tō wēkil-ē
 xōrdin-an dē ba yē
 kam wābur=ā ar čīz-ē
 wābur ba yē ya'nī
 yasara yē k-ē tā-um
 čaqadar ba mē=ā dō-um
 raft pi šan kwēt
 ya'nī di-ta māš si-ta māš gid-iš
 mā-ō šā- šaṭṭa ruppī dug-a
 xujmū tk-a
 si-ta māš čār tā īyō
 si- mā-an a'āla ka čār mā-an īyō
 raft zēran sōq-ō=ā
 tamna=ā šāḥarē wā šan pačaxčē-ē

 pačaxčē-ē qafala-ē pi indur
 lēlam tkīn ba yē sōq-ō
 lēlām-yē šaṭṭa mīya ba šā- šaṭṭa
 byō yē ka lašaṭa yē kin ba šaš šaṭṭa xērid-iš yē

 mār aqrab inda yē=ā dām na

 wa yēk-ē tay pē aḥla šan=ā ya'nī

 pē walēyit yē=ā
 tēy pi kwēt tay wālēyit-ō
 dgō ba yē ēka=ā yā dōm ba tō=ā

 čaqadar nawl yē

0 A story great to tell. That is to say, a tale.
 11 There was a certain man who had a grandmother. That
 boy, he had a grandmother.
 23 His mother had died. His father had died. But that boy
 had a grandmother.
 30 Now, some property was in his possession. That is, he
 had a plot of land.
 33 A plot of land... enough to build two or three palaces
 upon!
 37 The property belonged to the boy, for it was his
 inheritance from his father's estate.
 40 In those days, they would kill him, for no reason; they
 didn't care, in those immoral times,
 44 in that country.
 46 So he said to his grandmother, "Grandmother, let me
 go to Kuwait.
 50 Let me go and work for myself in Kuwait.
 52 I mean, today I will take ten rupees,
 55 and by the end of this month I will make three
 hundred rupees!"
 57 She said to him, "If you are going, then go!"
 61 As for the grandmother, he left a guardian with her.
 63 [The boy] went to someone,
 64 to his neighbours,
 65 and said to him [them], "Listen carefully to what I am
 saying:
 66 You know my grandmother: you are her guardian.
 68 Provide her with food.
 70 If there is not enough food, whatever
 71 happens to her, that is to say,
 72 provide for her. I will come;
 73 whatever is needed I will give it."
 75 The boy left them and went to Kuwait.
 78 Well, he made two or three months' salary,
 81 Six hundred rupees per month... he was making,
 82 he was working.
 83 Three months' salary, even four he made,
 88 three months to start, then four months went by.
 90 Going to the lower souq,
 91 he saw there was a furniture souq, and they had a
 chest.
 94 A chest that was locked from the inside.
 97 They were peddling it in the souq.
 99 They were peddling it for six hundred.
 104 It came about that suddenly he [the boy] snatched it
 [the locked chest] up, for six hundred, he bought it.
 110 There could've been a snake or a scorpion in it, for
 all I know.
 112 And someone came, who was from his family, I
 mean,
 115 from his country,
 116 he was leaving Kuwait. He was leaving the country.
 120 He said to him, "You see, this [thing] I am giving to
 you [to take back],
 121 how much will it cost?"

dgō ba yē dīnār-ē sēzda-ta ruppī
sēzda-ta ruppī dār-iš ba yē
wa pačaxčē-ō kardīd-iš wā yē
dgō ba yē brāsin yē wā xō ba ħubbō mē

wād-iš pačaxčē-ō rōk-ō
kardīd-iš yē inda ħawī-ō
dgō ba ħubbō-ō
ēka=ā yā kār-ō=ā
rōr tō fāns-ē yē
xwaš wa sālam radda tk-ā ba tō
ħubbō-ō kardīd-iš yē inda qāyit-ō
kardīd-iš yē qāyit-ō āntē inda
ħēwī šan ya'nī
wa ādamī tār-in ba yē wa šām wa rzāq wa šiġl

sā yē=ā wa ġurbit-ō=ā
zank-ō raft xā indaraġ-an xō
ṭala'a bur pi yē
baṭṭa wābur
pačaxčē-ō ṭala'a wābur pi yē
ditk-ē
dunya-ō čō čō wā yē
wa yē=ā šabbīt širx-ō wā yē=ā
wāšaf tō-a na
xaylē ba yē xaylē inda īn-ō
inda pačaxčē-ō yumkin čār-ta
panj tā malyūn ġāz byār-a
raft indur ba nēyt-an
yā nēt-an wās-in bā yē na=ā

nēt-an xōd-iš
šām-an wa ka nān-an wa ka brinz-an wa ka
qūt-an wa mēčūrī-an
ya'nī yē xōd-iš wa āxur
brō inda īn-ō jāga xō
brō inda pačaxčē-ō wa qafala xō kin
sā wa bazza-ō zank-ō āmad=ā
tamna=ā īn-an yē xōs-in
kār-an yē xōs-in
wā zwān dār-iš
yē dāyit-ē zīn
yē dāyit-ē gārad
yē dāyitē dām čī na
ya'nī kār-an mē xōs-in
yā kas tk-a na ġay ēlukō šōbubō na

jwān
sā wēkil-ō dgō ba yē ām biš!
ġār kin na tō ām biš!
iš gaw na
mē=ā nwāz=ā tā ba ē'ū
ba yā waxt-ō na tō brō
iš gaw na sātē na
wa laħa nwāz=ā
wēkil-ō āmad indur
āmad indur ya'nī šū-ō inda xānaġ-ō

wa zank-ō raft
wa ka byō wa bāla ditk-ō

122 He said to him, "A dinar. Thirteen rupees."
126 He gave him thirteen rupees,
129 and he laid down the chest before him,
130 saying to him, "Take it with you to my
grandmother."
134 He brought the boy's chest,
137 [and] laid it down, in the courtyard.
142 He said to the grandmother,
143 "You know this thing:
144 your grandson has sent it.
146 He is doing fine, and he sends his greetings to you."
152 The grandmother laid it down in the yard,
156 she laid it down in the yard, over there, in
158 their courtyard, I mean.
160 And people brought her supper, and provisions, and
work.
165 Now, this [woman], when it was sunset,
167 the woman went to [visit at] her neighbours' house.
170 [The chest's] lid was lifted,
171 it was opened,
172 the lid of the chest was opened
173 by a girl!
174 Her beauty made the world turn!
176 And this! This mound of gold that she had,
178 it surpasses description.
179 She had much, much in the what's-it-called...
182 in the chest! That treasure,
183 it would fetch maybe four or five million!
185 She went in to where the charity food was kept.
188 This charity food [people] had brought, she didn't
care,
190 she ate the charity food.
192 Suppers! And the breads! And the rice dishes!
194 And the soups! And fish stew!
195 That is to say, she ate it. And afterward,
197 she would go into the what's-it-called, her own place,
200 she would go into the chest, and lock herself in.
203 Now when the poor old woman came,
204 She found her what's-it-calleds [provisions], eaten.
206 Her things! Her own provisions, eaten!
209 Well, she complained:
211 "Whatever kind of thief,
212 whatever kind of robber,
213 whatever kind of I-don't-know-what,
214 I mean, my things eaten...!"
216 (this person was acting not unlike Aliko
Shobubu.[the narrator])
220 So.
221 Now, the guardian said to her, "Be quiet!
222 Don't be so loud, you be quiet!
224 Don't make a sound.
226 As for me, tomorrow, she will come to here.
228 By this time [tomorrow], you be gone!
231 Don't say a word now. "
233 When it was about the next day,
235 the guardian came inside.
236 He came inside, that is to say, the husband (guardian)
was in the house,
238 and the woman left.
241 And then! The girl came up,

ɬala'a bur
 ba yē pi ʃaħar-ō
 byō indur sawgāt-an xōr
 dgō ba yē ba čā? inča tk-ī
 bazza=ā ya'nī
 ādamī-an nēyt wās-in ba yē
 wa čikē xōrdin šiġl
 wā=ēbar wā= ēbar
 tō t-ī txōr-ī yā yā kār-an na
 jōr-in xōr-in pi gīya ba yē
 mē=ā ēka=ā wā ʃan-um ē'ū na
 ēka=ā mē āmas-um pi ʃaħar-ō yā=ā
 abāra yā sōs-ē mē inda xānaġ-ō=ā
 abāra rōr ʃan-um
 tamna=ā zank-ō dgō ba yē
 wa rōr ʃan yē čumb
 tany-a indur tēnar-a xō=ā
 dgō ba yē
 mi na=ā kas jīs-ē mē na
 ɬata wa barza b-um mē na
 sā tu jīr-ī mē
 bass=um č-um mē na
 bass yā zank-ō=ā
 abāra mē rōr yē
 pis yē xēris-ē mē
 wa fāns-ē mē wa sā wā yē
 dgō ba yē čā wēkil-ō=ī=ā
 wēkil rōk-ō=ī=ā
 dgō ba yē hē
 dgō ba yē nwāz brō zēran
 wa qāwlō kin ba qīʃr-ē
 ba di-ta qīʃr-an
 tā ba mē wa tā ba ɬubbō mē
 ba ɬsēb mē
 inda ɬawš-ō yē kin
 yā ɬawš-ō ba īn-ō ba rōk-ō
 di-ta qīʃr bēnīyit kin
 dwāzda-ta dwāzda-ta tābaq
 ba ɬsēb mē
 dgō ba yē bā yē na
 ɬubbō-ō rēsud
 wa yā ditk-ō wā yē wa
 bāba=ā yā rōr-ō=ā
 pis tō fāns-ē yē wa
 wa ēka=ā inda ʃaħar-ō īyō

 wa yā nēyt-an xōs-a yē yē
 dgō ba yē bā yē na
 wa wēkil-ō raft qāwil-ō gid-iš ba

 di-ta qīʃr
 wa wād-in wa xujmū gid-iš
 ma'nat yē tā ba mē tā ba ɬubbō mē
 yasara ba yē
 č-a ba xān yē qīʃr-ē ɬubbō xō
 tā yē ba mē č-um ba yē
 xālaʃ wābur
 qīʃr-an bēnī'it-an ġāz-an salama gid-ī

 dgō ba wēkil-ō

242 came up,
 243 out from the cabinet,
 244 she came inside, and she ate treats.
 247 He said to her, "Why are you doing this?"—
 248 the poor woman, I mean,
 249 people have brought charity food for her,
 251 and a bit to eat, and things,
 252 and so on and so forth,
 253 you come and these are the things you eat?"
 255 "Searching, where is one to find something to eat?"
 257 As for me, since I am with them (that is) here,
 260 since I have come out of *his* chest,
 262 since *he* put me in the house like this,
 264 I am like their child."
 266 Then the woman said to her,
 267 "How could a child of theirs
 268 stay in there and hide herself like that?"
 269 She said to him,
 270 As for me, no one looked for me,
 271 not until I was to show myself.
 273 Now that you have seen me,
 274 I've had enough. I'm not leaving.
 275 Enough! This woman,
 276 I am like her child.
 278 Her boy has bought me,
 279 and has sent me, and now [here, I am] hers."
 283 She said to him, "What are you, the guardian?
 285 Are you the boy's executor?"
 286 He said to her, "Yes."
 287 She said to him, "Tomorrow, go down
 290 and make a bid on a palace.
 291 on two palaces.
 293 One for me, and one for my grandmother.
 296 On my bill.
 297 Make them in the courtyard,
 298 this courtyard of the what's-it-called, of the boy.
 300 Build two palaces,
 303 each with twelve floors,
 305 at my expense."
 308 He (the guardian) said to her (the girl), "All right."
 309 The grandmother came back.
 311 And this girl was with him and...
 313 "Well, this child here,
 314 your son sent her and...
 317 And as you can see, she came out from inside the
 chest,
 320 And she has eaten this food, it was her.
 322 She said to him, "It's all right."
 324 And the guardian went to make business
 arrangements for
 325 two palaces.
 327 And they brought them and built them,
 329 "I mean, one for me, one for my grandmother,
 331 providing for her.
 332 My grandmother shall go to her palace home,
 334 [and] the one that is for me, I shall go to it.
 336 It will be finished,
 337 you will completely settle payment for the building
 of the palaces."
 339 She said to the guardian,

ya'lla xaṭṭ-ē kataba kin
 ḥaraqā yē kin
 fān yē ba rōk-ō byāt
 ūny-a na kwēt na
 wēkil-ō xaṭṭ-ē kataba gid-iš
 ḥubbō-ō xaṭṭ-ē kataba gid-iš
 wāqā gid-in wa fānd-in yē
 awa=ā li kullu ḥāl byō
 wayda ūn-ī na
 yā čāb kin
 di- tā ẓangērir xērid-iš
 di- tā ẓangērir ẓank-an
 sō-a šan ba kārō-ō
 kas xuṭyō k-a na
 mād tamna=ā šaw=ā

rōk-ō rēsud
 sā wa rōk-ō naḏala yē tk-a
 šiyārāt-ō=ā
 balya-an ya'nī

balya-ē ō
 wā arḏ-ō xān yē ē'ū lakin yā qīšr

yā bēnīyit-an yā qīšr-ō
 yā šaḡala na yē fakara
 šwāl ẓank-ō gid-iš
 dgō ba yē ya'nī
 ẓank-ō yē=ā qīšr baẓẓa-ō yē=ā
 ḥubbō mē ēwū wā yē xānaḡ-ō ba mē wa

na mē wā ē kāmīl
 ẓangērir rin bāla ba yē
 dgīn ba yē ādamī ba kārō-ō
 nām yē fālan
 āmas-ē dgō ba mē
 yā arḏ-ō bar mē yā bar mē
 sā čābē īnčīya
 dgīn ba yē gaw ba yē byāt

ya'nī bard-in yē ba yē
 ḥubbō-ō ditk-ō āntē wējī yē gid-iš

dgō ba yē ba ḥsēb tō xērus-ī mē
 wa mē yā xujmū gis-um ba ḥsēb xō ya'nī
 lakin sā nwāẓ brō ẓēran
 qāḏī-ō byār šēx wālēyit-ō
 ka čīẓ ādamī gap
 wa byā kāwa
 bēr ba mē ba sinnit
 a'lla u rasūla
 bass ya'nī ẓan
 sā tūny-um na wā tō na
 xān tō na
 tō maḥram=ī ba mē
 maḥram=um ba tō
 dgō ba yē jwān-ē
 šabaḥa wābur pi šabḥ=ā
 raft ẓēran
 qāḏī-ō wād-iš wa šēx-ō wād=ā

340 "Hurry! Write a message,
 341 seal it,
 342 send it to the boy so that he will come.
 344 Don't let him stay in Kuwait!"
 347 The guardian wrote a message,
 348 the grandmother wrote a message,
 350 they signed it and sent it.
 352 It said, "In any case, you should come.
 353 Don't keep staying there."
 355 So how did she do this?
 356 She bought two slaves,
 357 two female slaves,
 358 putting them at the gate,
 361 so that no one would trespass.
 364 Things stayed as they were. They saw, in the
 evening,
 368 the boy arrived.
 369 Now when the boy got out
 370 of the car,
 371 there was a problem, I mean. [he thought he was at
 the wrong place]
 373 he was confused [he couldn't find his house]!
 374 Where his land was, and his house had once stood,
 there was only a palace!
 376 There were these buildings, this palace,
 378 This was not his doing. He had to think.
 381 He questioned the [slave] woman.
 383 He said to her, I mean,
 385 to this woman, at the palace of that poor one,
 386 "My grandmother was here, and this house is mine,
 and...
 388 she had no one except me."
 389 The slaves went up to her.
 391 They said to her, "There's someone at the gate,
 392 his name is such-and-such.
 393 He has come, he said to me,
 394 "This land is mine, this is mine,
 395 now what has happened? What is this?"
 396 They [the girl] said to her [the slave], "Tell him to
 come."
 398 That is to say, they escorted him to her.
 399 The grandmother, the girl there shook hands with
 him.
 402 She said to him, "I... expense... You bought me,
 405 And I built this at my own expense, I mean.
 409 But now tomorrow, go down,
 411 bring the judge, and the sheikh of the land,
 414 also any other important people,
 415 and bring the marriage contract,
 416 carry it to me at the court,
 417 by God and the Prophet!"
 418 So that was it. That is to say, the woman...
 419 "Now I am not staying with you any longer,
 420 in your house.
 421 You are marriageable to me,
 422 I am marriageable to you."
 423 He said to her, "Fine."
 425 When he woke up in the morning,
 426 he went down,
 427 he brought the judge and he brought the sheikh,

wa kāwa bard-iš ba yē
gid-iš yē zēnī
sā wa gid-iš yē zēnī=ā
mād wā yē laba sāl-ē=ā
dgō ba yē tāt-um tō br-ī hijj

ba hšēb mē
fard ba tō kard yē pē xō

sā il-mhum dgō ba yē
zank-ō dgō ba yē bā yē na
azama gid-iš ba tiyārī-ō
hēn wa nažala gid-iš=ā tiyārī-ō=ā
yak-ē pi ziṭṭī-an ḥaddad-an=ā
dgō ba zan xō dgō ba yē
brō bāla ba ditk-ō yā
ar rōk-ō yē gis-ē yē=ā
ka tēl-a mē yē=ā
rāṭī tō-a ba mē yē=ā
kam ba čaqadar=ā
kam gāz dō-um ba yē
waḷa surx tāt-a=ā sirx dō-um ba yē
zank-ō raft ba yē dgō ba yē
āka šū mē fāns-ē mē
awa=ā ka tāt-ī tī ba yē=ā
čī tāt-ī dō' ba tō
dgō ba yē byār marī'it-ē
wa jayb-ē wa
īn-an sī-in inda gōš-an na
kāwašē dgō ba yē byāt axur nwāšam

wa dgō zank-ō raft dgō ba zangērīr-an
ida martk-ō yā=ā āmad bāla
barza wābur ba kāra=ā
wa rū mē jīr-iš yē=ā
qašša tō sar-an šmā
kana kiš-ē yē mūl yē xwēm-an brāsn inda
falaq kūn yē
mēš-um yē na wa bass
wa ništ-ē ba yē walama walla
nikta nikta wa tamna=ā nasala yē gis-ē
wa ka kēn inda yē
sā surx-an wā yē ar zank-ō wād-iš
ka kēn inda yē ar wātud-in gid-in ba yē

wašt-in yē ḥāl yē ḥāl zamī-ō tā yē -in

xwēm-an yē brāsīd-in inda
allā karama k-a inda lāḥm yē
wa raft zēran
čī kin xaṭṭ-ē kataba kin
law yē ḥaraqa kin
fān yē ba rōk-ō pi raft-ē hijj

sāfar gid-ī wa zan tō
di- kas wā=barra wa si- kas wā=indur
kas-an ba yē šēdiq-an na
ar martk-ē wā yē=ā kār-an banj-an na=ā

kawada wā yē

430 and he carried the marriage contract to her.
432 He married her.
435 Now having married her,
437 when he had lived with her about a year,
439 she said to him, "I want you to go on the Hajj pilgrimage,
442 at my expense,
443 for it is commanded of you, it is your own responsibility."
444 Now importantly, he said to her,
446 the woman, he said to her, "All right,"
448 He decided to go on the flight,
450 Now when his flight landed,
453 one of the rogues, of the villains,
457 said to his own wife, he said to her,
459 "Go up to that girl,
460 the one whom the boy married,
462 if she lets me do this,
464 if she agrees with me on this,
466 how much, however much,
468 I will give her any amount of money;
469 or [if] she wants gold, I will give her gold."
471 The woman went to her, she said to her,
472 "My husband there has sent me,
474 he said "if you want to become his,
476 he will give you whatever you want."
477 She said to her, "Bring a gold bridal necklace,
480 and a gold bridal diadem, and
482 what do you call those that they put in the ears...
485 earrings"... She told him to come... later in the evening.
490 and said, the woman went and said to the slaves,
493 "If that man ever comes up
495 appearing at the gate,
497 if my face sees him (and I catch sight of him),
498 your heads will be cut off.
499 Instead kill him, spilling his blood completely,
reaching to the level of his crack.
503 May I not see him, ever."
506 And she waited for him in readiness, by God!
507 Slowly, slowly, and they saw him approaching,
510 and right away they attacked him.
511 Now, she had the gold that the woman had brought...
515 right away they attacked, taking whatever they wanted from him,
517 they left him for dead; his situation was like that of the ground.
519 They spilled his blood out.
520 God have mercy on his soul!
522 He descended to death.
524 What have they done! They wrote a message.
528 They sealed it shut.
530 Send it to the boy, who has gone on the Hajj pilgrimage.
533 "You have gone on a journey, and your wife!
536 She has a couple guys outside, a few guys inside.
539 The people with her aren't your friends either!
541 All sorts of men are with her, that are [doing] bad things...
543 all kinds of them."

sā rōzō rin arafāt
 inda munna=in č-in wā=bāla arafāt nwāz

wa ran ba ſiyārī-ō nawl yē kin
 šaw drāz=ā
 či qadar wātid-iš ba yē=ā
 dār-iš ba yē=ā
 kardīd-iš yē inda arđ-ō
 inda arđ-ō yē=ā
 inda xān yē radda kin
 ar čōt arafāt=ā
 lakin radda wābur
 wa xaṭṭ-ō rēs-a ba yē na=ā raft-ē na

raft wā=bāla ẓangērīr-an āntē=in
 raft wā=bāla ba ẓank-ō xwaft-ē ba sērīr-ō
 xwaft-ē rāhit-ē ba īn-ō drīša-ē
 amu abaša kin yē wa dōšag yē
 wa byār yē ba drīša-ō
 kard yē zēran pišt-ō qīšr-ō
 wa ḥarra kin zēran pišt qīšr-ō
 murd dām na aṭala bur dām na

raft na ba yē na
 baḡa s'al jwāb
 mād šabaḡa wābur pi šabḡ=ā
 ſiyārit-ē uddū gid-iš
 jīr-iš ẓank-ō wanna tk-a
 ra ba yē gid-iš yē wā=ēbar wā=ēbar
 bard-iš yē mustašfa-ō
 wa aljū yē gid-in mastašfa'-ō
 mādīt mā-ē
 mādīt mā-ē=ā xālaš wābur

ẓank-ō yak mā sō=ā xwaš wābur
 dgīn ba yē bāba=ā ē'ū brō xān xō
 sā yē gērūb-ē xānaḡ-ō=ā
 dān-a na walēyīt-ō na
 xān xō kārīm- tē
 wa ēhil=ā kār iš ba yē na ēwū ya'nī na

ra ba rō xō
 kaft inda šaḡra-an
 sātē čēnaḡ
 tamna=ā kōrk-ē tēy zēran
 jāmal-ē wā yē rukbō gis-ē ba jāmal xō
 dgō wa sā rāy-um k-um salām alēkum ālēkum
 salām
 dgō ba yē hā tēl-ī mē na
 dgō ba yē sā tu rēsīd-ī
 ḡasa na majma gid-ī
 wa ḡasa na šaw wābur
 wa ḡasa maxluq-an č-in wā=bāla
 wa ḡasa maxluq-an ta'-in wā=zēran
 tēl-ī mē na
 tō awa=ā byō aw ād ba mē
 wa ka xōd-ī īn-ō=ā xōrdīn ād ba mē=ā

s'al mē kin wa aw dār-iš ba yē
 wa xōrdīn dār-iš ba yē

546 Now, that day they were going to Arafat.
 548 They were in Mina, they were going up to Arafat the next day.
 551 He went to book the flight, he paid the airfare!
 554 On that long night,
 557 however much [the agent] demanded of him,
 558 he gave it to him,
 559 he just snatched up [the ticket].
 561 To this land of his,
 562 to his house, he went back.
 563 The one who was going to Arafat,
 565 instead he returned [to his country].
 566 If the message hadn't reached him, he wouldn't have left.
 570 He went upstairs, the slaves were there,
 573 he went up to find the woman asleep on the bed,
 575 asleep, reclining by what's-it-called, by a window.
 578 Right away he took hold of her and her mattress
 580 and brought her to the window,
 581 dropped her down... behind the palace.
 583 And he looked down behind the palace.
 586 Whether she died or whether she was [only] injured, I don't know.
 589 He didn't go [down] to see her.
 590 There was the answer, without even a question.
 594 Time went by. When he woke up in the morning,
 595 he went by car,
 596 searching for the woman. She was moaning.
 597 He went to her, took her, here and there,
 598 carried her to the hospital.
 601 And they took care of her at the hospital,
 603 she stayed there a month.
 605 When a month had passed, [her healing] was finished.
 608 The woman, being there a month, became well again.
 610 They said to her, "Madam, you can go home now."
 613 Now, since she was a stranger in the house,
 614 she did not know that country,
 615 or which one was her house.
 616 Since she was a [distant] relative, that is to say, she didn't have any possessions there.
 619 She went on her way.
 621 She came to the desert.
 624 Now, she was thirsty!
 626 She saw that a boy was coming toward her.
 628 He had a camel, and he was mounted on his camel.
 630 She said [to herself], now if I can, I will do it. "Salam aleikum, aleikum salam."
 635 She said to him, "Please don't leave me!"
 637 He said to her, "Now, you! You have arrived.
 641 Still you haven't spoken,
 643 still it's not night,
 646 still many people are going up there,
 648 still many people are coming down there."
 649 "Don't leave me!
 650 Please! I'm asking you, give me water!
 652 And when you eat something, give me some food and...
 654 I'm asking..." And he gave water to her.
 658 And he gave food to her.

lakin salaḥa jāmāl-ē wā yē wa salaḥa
dgō ba yē sā šmā kō'ī=ē=ā
ēšin=in na
sā čāb-ē č-ī wā=bāla ba īn-ō ba jāmāl-ō=ā

dabaga tī-ī na
dgō ba yē ā'ā dabaga tō-um na
dgō ba yē mē sā č-um ba yē bāla bē dabaga
tō-um
dgō hā čē čāb-ī tō
čāb-ē dabaga tī-ī
byō sō-um tō ba yē
byō ūn-ī ba yē
bīyō ka raft
pā wā=ēbar wa pā wā=ēbar
tamna=ā dgō ba yē tāfaq-ō yā=ā wa maḥzam-
ō yā=ā
wa yā kār-an wā tō=ā sī-ī kārimtē=ā

dgō ba yē ana sayy kūš xō
dār-iš ba yē
tāfiq xō dār-iš ba yē
wa maḥzam xō dār-iš ba yē
xātī xō wa ngāl xō bišt xō sōd-iš kūš xō

sayd-iš jāmāl-ō bāla
dgō ba yē brō ānsū ānsū šambara kin
wuwuwā wuwuwu dabaga tō-um
wa hā wayda xō bā tō na
bā tō na
wuwuwu raft inča nikta=ā
rēsīd wā=xā sī hāmādō=ā
rēsīd wā=xā ḥam bxāyō=ā

nikta bāla wā=xā ḥamā qdōrō
hē! hē! hē! inča wa ban yē tōdar-ī=ā
wā=inča mēš tk
bō pē yē wā=bāla nikta
wa čōt wa ka sō ba yē
tā bār-ē wa tā māzād yē tk-a
tāfaq wā yē wa tāḥa wā yē
wa maḥzam-ō wā yē wa bišt-ō wā yē wa kār-
an
ammū wā yē šang-ē wā yē mēčūrī wā yē ngāl
yē wa kawada
sā jāmāl-ē turwā=ā
tō=ā turwā-ī pištu yā
tār-ī pī gīya
wa gur yē
bang wābur bā yē
pā yē taftafa=ā wa rāstaḡ k-a tāxanē

wa yē raft šaw drāz-an wa raft jāmāl-ō gid-iš
wa raft
lumrād rēsīd jāg-ē dgur
tamna=ā yēkē dgur āmad ba yē kō'ī-ē

ništ ba yē dgō ba yē giya=ā

dgō ba yē šū mē wā mē ēwō

660 But he was armed; he had a camel, and weapons.
664 He said to her, "Now you are mountain bedouins,
665 [but] those people are not...
667 Now, how about you get up on the what's-it-called,
on the camel?
670 You won't fall off?"
672 She said to him, "No, I won't fall off."
674 She said to him, "That is, only if I mount the camel
now, will I fall off
677 He said, "What! What is with you!
679 How would you fall off?!"
680 Come and I will put you on the camel myself,
681 come and sit on it."
683 So finally she got up on the camel.
686 She sat astride it.
687 Then she said to him, "That gun, and that cartridge
belt,
690 and those things that you have, just where are you
putting them?"
693 "Perhaps lift it onto your lap," he told her,
694 giving it to her.
695 He gave her his gun
696 and he gave her his cartridge belt,
697 his robe and his headrings and his cloak, she put
them all on her lap.
702 The camel got up.
704 He said to it, "Go over there, over there, trot!"
707 "Whooooaaaaa! I'm falling!"
710 And "Hey, hold on, you'll be fine!
711 You'll be fine!"
712 "Whooooaaaaa!" Going on a little ways like this,
715 she arrived at the very house of Said Hamado,
717 arrived at the house of that very Hambxāyō,
Mohammed of Bukha,
719 a little ways up from the house of HamQdoro.
721 "Oh, oh, uh-oh!" "If you hold the reins like this
723 it'll walk like this."
724 "Go ahead, upward a little bit
725 and it will go and it will break into a gallop."
728 One was fast and one was hurrying it along.
730 She had a gun and she had weapons
732 and she had the cartridge-belt and she had the cloak
and things,
735 she had everything, she had a comb, she had
everything, his headrings, and so many things!
741 Now, when a camel runs [away],
743 as for you, you run after it!
745 Where are you bringing [it] from?
747 And take it!
749 Dusk came upon her,
750 her leg was sore, so when she straightened it, she
wailed.
752 And she was gone, all night. And she was gone; she
took the camel and left.
762 In any case, she came to another place.
766 She saw another person coming toward her, a
mountain bedouin.
771 He sat down with her, said to her, "Where [are you
headed]?"
772 She said to him, "I have my husband, here,

lakin sã sũ mē raft pi mē
 āmad na ba mē na wa čēnağ=um wa
 gišnağ=um wa
 wa aw dār-iš ba yē
 tamna=ā dgō ba yē tēl-ī mē na
 dgō ba yē sātē yē waxt-ō=ā amala tk-a na
 lakin tō xwaw inšalla šō-ō=ā mē wa tō=ā xēr
 tō'at
 awa=ā xwaft asta asta wa īn yē abaša kin

slāh-an yē ar wā yē bāgur tāfaq-an yē wa kār-
 an yē wa
 jōr yē rukbū kin ba jāmal xō
 jōr yē wa raft
 sã bāgur raft kas na gur yē xwaw-ō

lumrād rēsud-in bāla-tar pi wālēyit-ō
 inča ka sal=ā
 sã kumzar=īm pi sall awya kin

yā sã ran=ā ba nummağ=ā xātī xō kēn

šalwal xō kēn jāmağ-ē sō kūš xō

qāba-ē sō ba xō xātī ārabī sō ba xō

ngāl-ō labasa kin
 kiššit xō dalla kin
 abāra dām čī na šēx-ē šēx-ē

pi zēran pi zēran šēx-ē hē
 brō zēran wālēyit-ō
 rēsud wālēyit-ō=ā
 šēx wālēyit-ō murs-ē
 wa rōzō=ā laba da' rōz ba yē=ā
 wa ditk-ē wā yē paṇḍa sāl paṇḍa sāl wā yē
 wa šēx-ō murs-ē
 tamna=ā dgīn ba yē burwā ēka=ā šēx-ō rēsud

iš šēx dgur ba yē yā rōk-ō na
 šayaxa yē tk-im
 gid-in yē wa pi tēra-ō yē wā jāmağ yē

wa bard-in yē xā šēx-ō
 wa nadaba gid-in ba yē wa
 wa šayaxa yē gid-in
 ditk-ō mād wā mām xō
 wa yā sōd-in yē xānağ-ō na martk-ē na
 maḥram ba yē=ā ba zan šēx-ō yē wa dit yē

sā yēk-ē kuruxdā wā šan inča zan ēl abla
 ḥarbī
 wa č-in barzit-ō=ā
 ūmit yē qaym tō'at ba yē
 pi xiš-an yē jwān-ī yē=ā pi spērī yē=ā
 ūmit yē qaym tō'at
 sã dgō ba yē=ā tā-in barra=ā dgō ba šan

sā rōk-an šēx-ō ġašya gis-in

773 but now my husband has left me,
 774 he didn't come back again and I'm thirsty and I'm
 hungry and..."
 778 So he gave her water.
 779 Then she said to him, "Don't leave me!"
 782 He said to her, "Now then, right now, it's no use!
 785 But you sleep, hopefully tonight, when you and I..., it
 will all work out."
 790 Oh yes, he is asleep. Slowly, slowly, slowly, she took
 his what's-it-calleds.
 793 Her weapons, she had each of them again, her guns,
 and her things, and...
 798 looking for it, she mounted her camel,
 799 looking for it, she left.
 800 Now again she left, no one was there; sleep had
 overtaken him.
 804 In any case, they arrived higher up from the country,
 806 just like Sal [is above Kumzar], you know?
 808 Just like now, [when] we are in Kumzar, you have to
 climb down from Sall.
 810 Now when that one had gone halfway, she put away
 her dress,
 814 put away her pantaloons, and girded her loins with a
 man's wrap!
 818 She put on a shirt like a man; she put on an Arabic
 thobe.
 820 She donned the headrings.
 821 She combed her long hair.
 823 She looks just like a... I don't know what! A sheikh!
 A sheikh!
 829 A real sheikh, like from days of old, yeah!
 830 She went down to the city.
 833 When she arrived in the city,
 835 the sheikh of the country had died.
 837 That day, about ten days earlier [he had died];
 839 he had left a daughter of 15; she was 15 years old.
 842 And the sheikh had died.
 845 Then they said to him, "Run, it must be that the
 sheikh has arrived.
 847 There is no other sheikh for us, except this boy here.
 850 Let's make him sheikh!"
 852 They took her and... on the way, her in her man's
 clothes,
 854 they carried her to the house of the sheikh,
 856 with traditional fanfare and cheering for her,
 858 to make her their sheikh!
 860 The daughter stayed with her mother,
 862 not putting her up at that house, not [with] a man,
 864 because it would be forbidden for her, for the
 sheikh's wife, her and her daughter.
 868 Now, one of the old men compared her beauty to that
 of the wife of Ali Abdullah Harbiya.
 872 When they went to the sheikh's court,
 874 they were staring at her!
 876 Her cheeks were so beautiful, so white were they,
 880 that everyone was gazing at her.
 882 Now he said to him, when they came outside, he said
 to them,
 885 "Now the young people have clothed the sheikh for
 modesty's sake.

pi tāraf yē=ā yā xalqit yē xālaq zank-an
čā čā tikš-a tō inča gaw na

ana šnēw-a tō bzēn-a tō
ēka=ā pi čā ūmit mē qaym tō'at ba yē byā=ā
ḥamala biš šēx-ō tukš-a tō
filhāl ḥkōmit gargur māzādī maxlōq-an
šwānd-in
šwānd-iš šwānd-iš
tāfaq-īn-ō byō zēran
awa=ā šēx wālēyit-ō awa=ā
ar čō pi tō tār-a rēsad
salām alēkum ālēkum salām
dgō ba yē šēx majma tō tk-um

dgō ba yē gaw
dgō ba yē kām ādamī šwānd-um
dgī-in awa=ā šēx-ō wa čīz-ē čōt
pi ādamī=ā ṭala'a tk-a

sā bāba=ā mē=ā zank-ē āmad ba mē zank-ē
jāmal-ē wā yē slaḥ-an mē gid-iš pi mē
wa ḥaqīqat xō gaft-um ba yē
ya'nī ḡalata gid-um bā yē
dgō ba mē bā yē na ḥata šaw-ō
xwaw-ō gid-iš mē wa
kār-an xō gid-iš kār-an mē gid-iš wa raft
sā āmas-um ba tō bāba=ā
balkē ya'nī šwāl k-ī ya'nī
pi ādamī-an tō kas-an ṭala'a kin ba mā faḍala
biš
dgō ba yē šōbur kin ḥata nwāz
dgō ba yē mē šwāl tk-um
sar-an ša'bō-ō tk-um
yē wā yē xā šan
šabaḥa wābur pi šabḥ=ā wād-iš ba yē

sā qadar dgur xērid-iš jāmal-ē dgur xērid-iš

jāmal-ō yā wašt-iš yē abnīd-iš yē
sā xatya mardk-ō yā dūšin-ī ān jāmal-īn-ō=ā

wadara gid-iš xērid-iš ba xō bār dgur

wād-iš ba yē wā ān āmad wa
dgō ba yē yā ān-an na dgō ba yē hē

dgō ba yē sā yā šmā mardk-an=ē
kō'ī-an=ē ya'nī

ar kas-an tēmuš-ē tēra-in bzēn-in ba ādamī-an

wa kār-an pi ādamī tēl-in na
yā kār-an na ya'nī na
sā yēk-ē jīs-ē pi jāmat
yē gis-ē ba zan yē amar yē
wa ḡalata gis-ē ba zan yē
wa jīs-ē wād-in pē yē mrād yē dās-ē na

wa sā br-ē yā k-ē na

888 Some say, his looks are that of a woman."

891 "What are you saying?! You'll be killed! Don't talk like that!

893 If he hears you he will strike you down!

896 Come on now, why am I staring at her?!

900 Watch out for the sheikh! He will kill you!"

903 In any case, the hardheaded, corrupt government, they listened to all the people.

909 She listened, listened

910 to the gun-man: "Approach the court!"

914 "They say, O sheikh of the country, it is said that... "

916 whatever leaves you, comes back! He came.

920 "Peace be upon you." "And upon you be peace."

923 He said to her, "O Sheikh, allow me to speak with you."

924 She said to him, "Speak!"

925 He said to her, "It is the case that I have heard people

926 say that the sheikh, when something leaves

928 from someone [i.e. when someone is robbed], he restores it.

930 Now, sir, as for me, a woman came to me, a woman.

933 She had a camel. She took my weapons from me,

937 And... to be honest I admit, I said to her...

938 I mean, I wronged her.

939 She said to me, "It's all right," until the night came;

941 when sleep overtook me and

942 she took her things, she took my things and left.

944 Now I have come to you, O sir,

946 in spite of it, I mean, if you would ask, well,

948 if there might be someone of your people to join with me, they would be welcome."

952 She said to him, "Wait until tomorrow."

954 He said to her, "I beseech you,

956 I must do it, for the sake of the public!"

959 He stayed at her house (i.e. that night).

960 When he awoke in the morning, he was brought to her.

962 Now, she had bought some more. She had bought another camel.

967 This camel, she had left it alone, tying it up.

969 Now, this man's clothes from the previous day, from that camel-rider,

972 she got rid of them. She bought other clothes for herself again.

976 He was summoned to her and that one came, and

977 He said to her, "That's not them." She said to him, "Yes."

981 She said to him, "Now, [if] you who are men,

982 [if] you who are mountain bedouin [can be robbed], I mean,

983 anyone who is seen on the road could be struck by these people,

986 I say, people's things they wouldn't leave alone,

989 these things of theirs, I mean."

991 Now, she had seen someone in the crowd.

992 He had taken his wife's possessions,

994 and he had hurt his wife,

995 And she had looked for him, he was brought to her, he hadn't given his account/ reason.

998 And "now go; don't do these things [anymore]."

raft wa balya yē kin
jāmal-īn-ō rēsud
salām alēkum ālēkum salām
dgō ba yē hā dgō ba yē
mē=ā jāmal-ō gid-in pi mē zank-ē
wa kār-an mē slāh-an mē wa
wa sātē dgī-in awa=ā h̄kūmit-ō jwān-ē
wa āmas-um ba tō
dgō ba yē masya biš
mēš-um jāmāt-ō mē mē xō=ā xābar=um na

šabaḥa wābur pi šabh=ā jāmal yē gid-iš

bard-iš yē ba yē ba kār-an maglēs-ō

kār-an wā yē rēsud
dgō ba yē jāmal tō=ā
dgō ba yē hē
dgō ba yē yā tāfaq tō=ā kār-an tō=ā

dgō ba yē hē
ar faḍala but šēx-ō
dgō ba yē yā kār-an k-ē na
sā br-ē na yā majma-an yā ḡalaṭa k-ē na
ba zank-ē ādamī na wa ādamī ḥamala šmā
tkin na
ka sā ādamī dgur jāga mē=ā
qaṣṣa sar tō tk-a
lakīn sā ḥata rajama gid-um wa raft
šū yē šwand-iš

ar kardīd-iš yē za pē qīṣr-ō

awa=ā yā wālēyit-ō=ā awa=ā
ādamī kār čōt pi yē ṭala'a tk-a

sā č-um ba zan xō dām giya na

yēk-ē čōt pi qīṣr-ō sā č-ī ba yē=ā

yalla sā dit šēx-ō xistārī gid-in ba mē

na šābaḥ dišumbur č-um xāna
lumrād rēsīd salām alēkum ālēkum salām
hā zank-ō dānid-iš yē šū yē

yē dānus-ē yē na čāb-ē dān-a yē=ā

yā-ē bēnē muxx yē wa kiššit yē ba ēwū wa

čwān-ī ḥāra tk-ī na ba yē na
salām alēkum ālēkum salām
tamna=ā dgō ba yē šēx majma tō tk-um

dgō ba yē gaw
dgō ba yē kār-an mē
zank-ē gid-um wa raft-um ḥijj
xaṭṭ-ē āmad ba mē law yē ḥaraqa
awa=ā zan tō č-ē
kāra yē inča inča=in

1000 She went and solved their problems.
1003 The camel-rider arrived.
1005 They greeted each other.
1006 She said to him, "Yes?" He said to her,
1007 "As for me, they took the camel from me, a woman
1009 and... my things, my weapons and...
1011 And now they say that the government is a just one
1013 so I have come to you."
1014 She said to him, "You stay the night [here].
1016 I will hear [the cases of] all the people. Personally, I
don't know [about your case] yet."
1020 When she awoke in the morning, she took his
camel,
1021 She took it with her with [his other] things to the
majlis.
1023 She had [his] things, he arrived.
1025 She said to him, "Is this your camel?"
1026 He said to her, "Yes."
1027 She said to him, "This is your gun? These are your
things?"
1028 He said to her, "Yes."
1029 (the ones that would be acquired by the sheikh.)
1030 She said to him, "Don't do these things,
1032 now don't go and slander
1034 someone's wife and people who are cautious of
you.
1036 Were another person in my place,
1038 he would cut off your head.
1040 However, now I trusted you." So he left.
1044 She heard her husband['s case]/ Her husband was
listening.
1046 The one who had thrown her down from the palace
[window].
1048 "They say that in this country, they say that
1050 when a person loses something [i.e. is robbed], he
restores [i.e. takes action].
1051 Now I go to [find] my wife... I don't know where
she is."
1055 [sheikha thinking:] Someone is leaving the palace
and now you are going after her?
1060 "Well, now, the sheikh's daughter has made me a
marriage proposal,
1062 in fact, Monday morning I am to be married."
1069 In any case, he arrived. [They greeted each other.]
1073 Oh! The woman recognised him, it was her
husband.
1078 He didn't recognise her. How would he recognise
her?
1080 This, between her head and [the ends of] her locks
of hair, it was to here [she was covered] and...
1083 You can't see her.
1088 [They greeted each other.]
1089 Then he said to her, "O Sheikh, allow me to speak
with you."
1091 She said to him, "Speak!"
1092 He said to her, "My things!"
1095 I married a woman and I went on pilgrimage.
1099 A message came to me, its edge sealed with wax.
1101 It said, your wife is leaving...
1103 It happened like this, like this...

wa haqīqit ya'nī rōzō mē arafāt-um
inda munna-um č-um bāla arafāt nwāz

wa āmad-um šō-ō drāz=ā
wa sayd-um yē pi dōšag īn-ō šērīr-ō

kardīd-um yē zēran pišt-ō qīšr-ō
yē wa dōšag yē
murd murd na
aṭala būr wa ādamī bard-in mustašfa-an bard-
in jāga-ē
wa īn dām na sā tō faḍala biš

āmas-um s'al tō tk-um
dgō ba yē bāba=ā tō šām tō wā mē rōzō
šām tō wā mā xān mā
wa xwaw pēna mā xān mā
iš-ē ba tō amar na
brō na wā=ēbar wā=ēbar na
wa mi s'al tk-um talafōn tk-um mēš-um
ādamī
dgō ba yē bā yē na ništ wā yē
šaw-ō āmad xwānd-iš yē maglēs-ē

šām wād-iš ba yē
tīya wābur raft ba yē
bō bāla ba surbānō
dgō ba yē majma tō tk-um
dgō ba yē gaw
dgō ba yē hā tēl-ī mē
wa zan tō ṭala'a tk-um
ka tēl-ī mē=ā yā ka fa'ala tk-um inda tō=ā
tā-um īn tō ṭala'a tk-um
zan tō dō-m ba tō waḷa rāṭī na

dgō ba yē bēlē rāṭī=um byō
dgō ba yē jāmaḡ xō sayy bāla pi kūn xō

jāmaḡ xō sayd-iš bāla pi kūn xō
xwaft ba yē kūn xō wā=bāla
ām-ō ādī yē
wa haḍ yē wa qaḥmit yē
qaḥama kin wā=bāla
dgō ba yē hāl maxnat inčka tō

tō maxnat tī-ī mē qaḥba-ē=um na

mē ka=um mē zan tō=um
hā mē zan tō=um mē zan tō=um
lakīn yē yā=ā qaṣṣa gis-ē ba tō=ā
qīmit da' azār tā pānḍa azār tā ruppi

sawḡat gis-um pi yē mē
wa tawaqa lāḥm mē gis-um
tō āmad-ī na s'al na jwāb
kardīd-ī mē zēran kišt-ī mē=ā
pišt majma ādamī=ā
sayy xō
bō čan xō čōr ba šābun-ō wa ēka=ā līf-ō

1104 And truly, I mean, that day I was at Arafat,
1107 I was in Muna; I would be going up to Arafat the
next day.
1109 And I came, [travelling] the whole night,
1110 I lifted her up from... mattress... what's-it-called...
the bed,
1112 I dropped her down behind the palace,
1115 her and her mattress.
1117 Did she die? She didn't die.
1119 She was injured and someone carried her to the
hospital, carried her somewhere
1121 and what's-it-called, I don't know, now you go
ahead [be the judge],
1123 [That's why] I have come to ask you."
1126 She said to him, "Sir, you will dine with me today.
1128 You will dine with us at our house.
1130 And sleep beside us at our house.
1133 You have no means,
1134 don't go here and there.
1135 And I will ask to call and see someone. [i.e. I will
look into your case]
1138 He said to her, "All right." He stayed with her.
1141 Night came. She read it [the court cases] in her
majlis.
1145 Dinner was brought to him.
1147 When he had finished [eating], he went to her.
1149 He went up to the rooftop.
1151 She said to him, "Let me speak with you."
1153 He said to her, "Speak."
1154 She said to him, "Yes, you let me
1155 and I will restore your wife [to you].
1158 If you let me, then I will do this act in you,
1161 I will come, I will restore your what's-it-called.
1162 I will give you back your wife. Or do you not
agree?"
1165 He said to her, "Yes I do! I agree, bring it on!"
1170 She said to him, "Put your skirt up over your
bottom."
1172 He put his skirt up over his bottom.
1173 He slept with her with his bottom up [in the air].
1175 The coming was easy.
1177 And her luck and her jumping up,
1178 She jumped up!
1179 She said to him, "You are just like a gay man [i.e.
male prostitute]!
1181 *You* are becoming gay [i.e. male prostitute], [but] *I*
am not a prostitute!
1183 Who am I? I am your wife.
1186 What?!!! I am your wife. I am your wife!
1188 But in this case, being part of a deal for you,
1189 for the sum of ten thousand, fifteen thousand
rupees,
1191 I took dates and nuts from him, I did.
1193 And I beat my body.
1195 You came with neither question nor answer.
1196 You pushed me down to kill me?
1198 on someone's word [alone]?
1199 Get up!
1200 Go wash your body with soap, and with you know,
this scouring pad,

wa faraka lāhm yē kin
 ʔā'ir tī-tī na tō maxnat=ī
 ēka=ā wa ēka=ā ka mē kēr-ē barza
 txwā-um wā tō lakīn mē=ā kas nixin pā mē
 jīs-ē na
 wa čōrid-iš lahm yē ba šābun ba fōdar ba
 šāmbō wa ba kar
 wa līf kin ba lāhm yē wa ʔiyar bur
 dgō ba yē ūnī-im na brim
 mē=ā dišumbur č-um xāna č-um xāna ba č=ā?

mi ʔan tō=um
 wākiš yē wa šaw drāz=ā
 wa šābah būr-in pi šabḥ=ā īn-ō kas na

raft tamna=ā ʔēran ba ḥārit
 dgō šan ba yē burwā-ē
 wa dgōm ba šmā šēx šmā ʔan kī yē=ā
 dgō yē ba mē=ā
 wa afada mād wa
 čāb ēka=ā ēka=ā čōt xāna na ēka=ā raft na

ya'nī raft-in xān xō
 tō raft-ī mē āmad-um xālaš jwān=ā ajb-ō=ā

1203 and scrub the body.
 1205 You are not pure, [since] you are gay,
 1207 Thus and so; if I [catch] a penis showing itself,
 1208 I will sleep with you but as for me, no one should
 be found mounting my legs!
 1213 And washed his body with soap, with soap powder,
 with shampoo, and with stuff,
 1217 and scrubbed his body and finished washing,
 1219 She said to him, "Let's not stay; let's go!
 1220 As for me, I am to be married on Monday. Why
 should I get married?
 1223 I am your wife!"
 1225 Open it, and it was a long night,
 1228 When [he] got up in the morning, the what's-it-
 called [the sheikha] wasn't there.
 1231 He went, they saw, down to the town.
 1233 They told him, "She has fled!
 1234 If I ask you, is your sheikh the wife of someone?"
 1235 He said, "She's my wife!"
 1237 And he stood there dreaming of it...
 1238 How in these circumstances would she get married?
 Obviously she wouldn't get married.
 1241 In the end, they went back to their own house.
 1243 You went, I came. The End. Was it good? Was it
 wonderful?

Abūyi salaḥnī Ūmmī rakabnī

raft qīšit-ē wa ḥakaya-ē=ā
 raft mardk-ē wa ʔank-ē
 šēx=in na ya'nī na ādī=in
 mardk-ē wa ʔank-ē wā šan=ā tā kōrk-an
 wā šan māl dunya-ō
 māl dunya-ō wā šan
 māl dunya-ō wā šan
 wa kērim=in bidūn ma'na
 ar tay walēyit-ō čāz tk-in ba yē

nāšta tk-in ba yē
 nāšta tk-in wa šām tk-in
 wa čāz tk-in wa
 ba ādamī ayya ādamī
 lumrād māl-ō yā=ā wā šan=ā
 wāšaf tō'at na
 jamī jārī wābur
 ba ādamī ya'nī
 jārī wābur ba ādamī
 bazza būr-in
 šām rōz mād wā šan na
 sā mām-ō=ā čō xā indarāḡ-an xō
 bōp-ō=ā čō maglis šēx-ō
 xōr-a šām čāz nāšta
 wa mām-ō čō qaḥwē šaraba k-a
 wa ba yā rōk-ō=ā iš na
 gišnaḡ ya'nī iš wā yē na
 sātē rōk-ō dgō ba šan bāba=ā

7 There was a story and a telling...
 9 There was a man and there was a woman.
 12 They were not royalty, that is to say, they were not; they
 were common people.
 15 A man and a woman, they had one son.
 17 The wealth of the world, they had it.
 20 They had the wealth of the world.
 22 They had the wealth of the world,
 27 and they had limitless generosity!
 30 Anyone who came to the city, they would make lunch for
 them.
 33 They would make breakfast for them.
 38 They would make breakfast and they would make supper
 40 and they would make lunch and
 41 for people, for anyone.
 44 In any case, this wealth that they had,
 48 it was beyond description.
 50 It became entirely spent.
 52 On people, that is to say.
 53 It was spent entirely on people.
 58 They became beggars.
 60 They didn't even have enough for one day's supper.
 68 Now the mother, she would go to her neighbours' houses.
 72 The father, he would go to the sheikh's court...
 76 to eat supper, lunch, breakfast
 79 and the mother would go to drink coffee
 81 and for this boy, (whisper:) there was nothing!
 84 That is to say, he was hungry, he had nothing.
 88 Now, the boy, he said to them, "O my Father,

mā=ā amala tk-a na mā č-im
 mā č-im wā=ēbar
 wa čōt wā=ēbar
 wa šarm tō-um
 br-um giya xōr-um giya
 sātē kana bāba=ā ka sō-um tō rē'in=ā

inda tāfaq-ē=ā tany-ī=ā
 dgō ba yē hē tany-um
 dgō ba mām xō
 ka sō-um tō rē'in inda asp-ē=ā
 asp-ē dī'-in ba mē=ā
 wa sō-um tō wā šan rē'in
 ya'nī ḥata asp-ō byār-um
 āxur dug-um tō
 wa bap mē tāfaq-ē jōr-um ba xō pi šēx-ō
 sō-um tō wā yē rē'in
 āxur tāfaq-ō tār-um=ā dug-um tō

dgō ba yē bā yē na rāṭī=um
 filhāl ra ba šēx-ō
 dgō ba šēx-ō tāt-um tō
 tāfaq ād-ī ba mē
 bap xō sō-um wā tō rē'in
 ēkša bap mē yā
 ra pi mā yēk-ē dgur
 ba qāḏī-ō
 dgō ba yē bāba=ā
 mām xō sō-um wā tō rē'in
 asp-ē ād ba mē
 ḥata byā-um asp tō dō-um ba tō
 mām xō dug-um
 dgō ba yē bā yē na
 rukbō kin ba asp xō
 nwāḏ šabaḥa kin rukbō kin
 yā rōk-ō yē=ā
 gur yē šaw drāḏ-an
 rōḏ drāḏ-an
 wa šaw drāḏ-an
 filhāl fakka wābur fajr-ō=ā gišnaḡ
 rēs inda walēyit kō-ō šaḥra=ā ya'nī

rēs nummaḡ walēyit=ā
 tamna=ā gišnaḡ
 sātē īn-ē murs-ē inda ḡēlila-ō
 ēka=ā yā=ā na=ā pi drāḏ=in na

ḏaby-an ḡāzalē-ē
 ḡāzalē murs-ē inda īn-ō ḡēlila-ō
 ra ba yē
 tamna=ā škum yē bzēn-a xō
 rōr-ē inda yē
 ḡāzalē-ō škum yē
 rōr-ē inda yē
 ša'ata škum yē gid-iš ba īn-ō
 ba bayšak-ō
 ša'ata škum yē gid-iš
 īn-ō wād-iš pi yē bāla
 rōr ḡāzalē inča=ā
 kišt-iš yē ḥalalīṭī

91 as for us, this is not working out. Let's leave.
 92 You [lit.: we] go over there,
 93 and she [i.e. the mother] goes over there,
 94 but I am shy.
 95 Where am I to go? Where am I to eat?
 100 Now, on the other hand, O my father, if I were to put you
 up as collateral
 103 for a gun, would you stay?"
 107 He said to him, "Yes, I will stay."
 109 He said to his mother,
 110 "If I were to put you up as collateral for a horse,
 112 if they would give me a horse,
 114 and I put you up with them as collateral,
 115 that is to say, so that I bring the horse back,
 116 then I would get you,
 118 and for my father I would get a gun from the sheikh,
 121 I would put you up as collateral for it.
 122 Afterward, when I brought the gun back, I would get
 you."
 126 She said to him, "All right. I agree."
 130 In any case, he went to the sheikh.
 131 He said to the sheikh, "I want you
 132 to give me a gun.
 133 I will put up my father as collateral.
 135 Here is my father."
 138 He [the boy] left us [them] and went to someone else.
 140 To the judge.
 141 He said to him, "Your honour,
 142 I am putting up my mother as collateral;
 143 give me a horse,
 145 so that when I come and give you back your horse,
 147 I will get my mother back."
 148 He said to him, "All right."
 151 He mounted his horse!
 154 The next morning he woke up, he mounted his horse!
 156 This was this boy.
 158 He took it all night long!
 159 All day long.
 160 and all night long.
 163 In any case, when it was before dawn, he was hungry.
 166 When he reached the region of the desert mountain, that
 is,
 169 when he had reached halfway to the city,
 170 he felt hungry.
 173 Now, a what's-it-called had died in the lagoon.
 176 You know this thing, you know, that has long [antlers]
 you know...
 179 oryxes. A gazelle.
 181 A gazelle had died in the what's-it-called, the lagoon.
 186 He went to it,
 188 He saw that its belly was moving!
 190 There was a fawn inside it.
 191 The gazelle, in its belly,
 192 there was a fawn.
 194 He sliced open its belly with what's-it-called,
 197 with the stone dagger
 199 He cut open its belly,
 200 he brought this out of it:
 203 A gazelle fawn like this,
 203 he killed it in the correct way,

wa šīwī yē gid-iš ba xō
rōr-ō kišt-iš
iš wā yē āw na
iš wā yē ikka na
ā'ā iš wā yē kārd na
qaşsa māraq yē gid ba ġuşş-ō=ā
wa falaqa yē gid-iš pi angar=ā
wa jumr wād-iš ba xō pi nixn-an asp-ō=ā
wa āw xōd-iš pi asp=ā
pi mū asp-ō=ā
ġāzalē-ō xōd-iš
wa ṭiyar wābur wākiš yē
āw xōd-iš pi mū-an asp-ō āraq-an
wa ātiš-ō labaqa gid-iš pi nixin-an yē
wa rēsad inda walēyit-ē
tamna=ā yā walēyit-ō=ā
yā sāṭī'ī gaft-um yē dīt xōr šit'anē

waḷa maṭlē'ī šimiš=ā
yē dīt xōr šit'anē
tamna=ā rēsad ba yē
salām alēkum ālēkum salām
rēsid ba bōp-ō
dgō ba yē āmas-um ba tō bāba=ā

dīt tō xistārī tk-um
dgō ba yē dīt mē=ā
lakīn yē rōk-ē ya'nī inda ḥisn jamāl

dgō ba yē dīt mē=ā
laba şaṭṭa ādamī murs-in ba yē

inčka sāṭī'ī yēk-ē kam

sātē rōzō sātē dīt mē=ā
šām txōr-ī č-ī tany-ī pēna yē
ka čwānid-iš ba tō ba sālfīt
ġēlbū yē gid-ī=ā yē dug-ī zēnī

sālfīt-an bē ya'nī bē ḥakkī-an ya'nī
wa ka rāyid-iš na ba tō na=ā
tō ġēlbū yē gid-ī
yē dug-ī zēnī
wa ka yā ġēlbū tō gid-iš
qaşsa sar tō tk-um
dgō ba yē bā yē na
filḥāl nwāz nwāxistin gid-in
ṭiyar būr-in raft-in mqābalit
inda jāga-ē
sā bağa in bağa kāwan ya'nī

sā wa dīt-ō rōk-ō jīr-iš=ā
dīt-ō dil yē bzand-iš in-ō
rōk-ō lū majma wā yē=ā
wa čwān-a na bā yē na sā dgō-a na

byō rōk-ō ka gaft-iš
dgō ba yē hā
dgō ba yē waḷla
abūyi salaḥnī wa ummī rakabnī

205 and he grilled it for himself.
208 He killed the fawn.
212 He didn't have any water.
213 He didn't have any matches.
215 He didn't have any knife.
218 He cut its throat with a sharp stone,
220 and he slit it apart,
223 and he struck a spark on the horse's hooves,
225 and he drank water from the horse,
227 from the horse's hair,
229 he ate the gazelle,
230 and he finished. He untied it [the horse].
233 He drank water from the horse's hair, the sweat.
237 And he lit the fire from its hooves.
242 He arrived in a city.
247 He saw this city...
248 [to audience:] In this one [tale] that I have just now
spoken of, was it the daughter of Khor Shetane
250 or of Matlei Shimish?
253 So this is [the city of] the daughter of Khor Shetane.
254 He saw that he reached it [where she was].
256 They greeted each other.
257 He reached the father.
259 He [the boy] said to him [the father], "I have come to
you, Sir,
260 to [ask if I may] be engaged to your daughter."
263 He [the father] said to him [the boy], "My daughter,
264 that is to say, she will only have a boy who is very
handsome."
266 He [the father] said to him [the boy], "My daughter,
269 about one hundred people have died for her [i.e. trying to
court her].
271 Just like now, one less [than one hundred. i.e.: "you will
be the hundredth"]
274 Now, today, now my daughter...
278 You will eat supper, you will go and sit beside her.
280 If she overcomes you with a riddle,
283 if you [she] wins [over] her [you], then you [shall not]
marry her.
286 That is to say, only riddles, I mean, telling [riddles].
289 And if she cannot overcome you,
292 if you win her,
294 then you [may] marry her.
295 And if she wins over you,
296 I will cut off your head."
299 He [the boy] said to him [the father], "All right."
300 In any case, they prayed the evening prayer,
303 they finished, they went to the meeting
306 somewhere.
308 Now they didn't have the what's-it-called, that is to say,
they didn't have the marriage contract.
310 Now when the girl saw the boy [the boy saw the girl],
314 he was love-struck by the girl, the what's-it-called,
316 the boy, so that he couldn't say a word,
318 and he was powerless against her, now he was
speechless.
320 It came about that the boy then said it.
323 She said to him, "Well?"
325 He said to her, "I swear.
326 My father provided me with weapons and my mother

yīšrab ilḥalāl bēn ilḥarām
yīšrab bilmā'ī bēn issamā'ī
wa bēn ilārḍ
 a gaw yē=ā
 a pē bārē=ā
 ar dītk-ō dgō ba yē hē
 dgō ba yē *abūyi salaḥnī wa ummī rakabnī*

yākil ilḥalāl bēn ilḥarām
u yīšrab bilmā'ī bēn issamā'ī
wa bēn ilārḍ
 iš-ē na
 majma jōr-a pi ẓank-ō iš-ē na

wa majma rōk-ō
 yē bē ka rāy-ī bā yē
 gaw yē ya'nī
 filḥāl fakka wābur fajr-ō
 tamna=ā dgō-a ba bōp-ō
 pi ẓaraf mē ḡēlbū īn tō gid-um dit tō

bōp-ō dgō ba yē kē dgō-a=ā
 pē nwāẓ pē šaw-ō šaw-ō šaw-ō

āmad bāgur
 dgō ba yē gaw
 dgō ba yē tō gaw na
 dgō ba yē ā'ā
 mē iš gaw-um na tō gaw bē
 dgō ba yē *abūyi salaḥnī u ummī rakabnī*

u yīšrab ilḥalāl bēn ilḥarām
u yākil bilmā'ī bēn issamā'ī wa bēn ilārḍ

u yākil bilḥalāl bēn ilḥarām
u yīšrab ilmā'ī bēn issamā'ī wa bēn ilārḍ

u yāyi ẓēr ḥaṭṭu ra'sī alā zandī
 yē āmad ba yē watō
 yē āmad xwaft pēna yē=ā
 ẓank-ō šaw-ō yā=ā
 muxx xō sōd-iš ba bōḡal yē
 sā yē dgō ya'nī
ẓēr ḥaṭṭu ra'sī alā zandī
šillō rīšē taḥīt
rīšē ya'nī īn-ē jayb-ē

jayb xō kand-iš
 sōd-iš yē ẓa bālišt-ō
 sā yē rōk-ō pē wād-iš ba yē
 rōzō pištū'ī wa āmad xwaft pēna yē
 kardīd-iš xō pēna yē
 filḥāl šabaḥa wābur pi šabḥ= ā
 rāyid-iš na bā yē na gid-iš yē

gid-iš yē zēnī ya'nī
 wa mād wā xā āmō xō
 laba da' rōz-an yāzda rōz-an
 dgō-a ba

provided me with a horse.

330 It drinks what is permitted out of what is forbidden,

332 It drinks of the water between the heavens

334 and the earth."

336 [girl says:] "Please tell me what was that??"

338 Please [say the riddle] once more?,"

339 This is what the girl said to him. Yes.

341 He said to her, "My father provided me with weapons
 and my mother provided me with a horse.

345 It eats what is permitted out of what is forbidden,

348 and it drinks of the water between the heavens

350 and the earth."

352 There was no [reply].

355 He looked for a word from the woman, there was
 nothing.

358 and a word, the boy:

359 "Just this, if you can do it,

360 say it [the answer to the riddle], that is to say."

362 In any case, the dawn prayer was called.

364 Then he said to the father,

365 "In my opinion, I have won over your what's-it-called.
 Your daughter."

367 The father said to him, "Who says so?!"

371 [Give her more time:] even tomorrow, even the night.
 [another] night, [another] night!"

377 He came again.

378 She said to him, "Say [it]!"

380 He said to her, "You haven't guessed [the riddle yet]?"

381 She said to him, "No.

382 I will not say anything. Only you say it."

385 He said to her, "My father provided me with weapons
 and my mother provided me with a horse,

389 and it drinks what is permitted out of what is forbidden,

390 and it eats of the water between the heavens and the
 earth.

392 and it eats what is permitted out of what is forbidden,

395 and it drinks of the water between the heavens and the
 earth.

398 and a bird came up to him and laid its head on his arm."

401 and there! She came to him.

403 She came to sleep beside him,

404 The woman, that night,

405 she put her head on his arm [shoulder].

408 Now he said, that is to say,

409 "A bird laid its head on his arm,

412 he put a golden bridal diadem underneath,"

414 a golden bridal diadem, that is to say, a what's-it-called,
 a golden bridal diadem...

416 she put away her diadem,

417 she put it under the pillow.

418 Now this boy even brought it to her,

420 the next day when he came to sleep beside her,

421 He laid down beside her.

426 In any case, when she woke up in the morning,

427 she could not overcome him [i.e. guess his riddle]. He
 married her.

429 That is to say, he married her,

431 and he stayed with the household of his father-in-law

433 about ten days, eleven days,

436 she said to...

ṣank-ō dgō ba yē nwāz
 ādamī-ē tay ba bap mē
 kō'ī-ē sā bōp-ō na šēx-ō=ā
 dgō ba yē kana mē ṣan xō dig-um

č-um ṣank-ō raft-ē na wā mē na
 lakin ida ya'nī
 ṣan mē bra wā mē=ā brat na
 ana ga-iš ba yē ka ṣan tō brat wā tō=ā

gaw ba yē tō āmō mē
 ka ṣan xō gr-um bum
 wā mām xō bap xō=ā
 awa=ā wēl yē gō ba ān
 ana ga-iš ba ān=ā
 pē dgō ba tō
 dgō ba yē bā yē na
 mād ṣabaḥa=in čōt barzētō

tamna=ā kō'ī-ō rēsad yē wa ṣan yē

salām alēkum ālēkum salām
 tamna=ā dgō ba yē hā x
 tāt-um ṣank-ō dug-um
 č-um ba xō jāga-ē xujmū tk-um ba xō
 ṣan mē raft-ē na wā mē na
 sā tō šēx-ō=ī
 čāb dgī-ī ka yā walēyit-ō yā=ā
 tšū=um na
 inda yē na ya'nī na
 č-um walēyit-ē dgur
 ṣan mē bra wā mē=ā brat na
 dgō ba yē bēlē ka ṣan tō=ā

a jiga č-ī bra wā tō
 ra'ī bambay ra'ī sāfar
 ra'ī ay jāga-ē
 dgō ba yē mē ka ṣan xō gr-um āmō

br-um=ā
 dgō ba yē ṣan xō gur brō sātē

dgō ba yē ka dit xō dās-um ba tō

pē dgōm ba tō ḥakama kin ē'ū=ā
 ā'ā brō
 ar tāt-ī=ā āmō gur brō
 wa āmad ba ṣan xō
 dgō ba yē bāba=ā bap tō rāṭī ba mē

dgō brō ṣan xō gur brō
 hē bā yē na
 nwāz mičē tāt-im=ā tambār-im
 ba siyyārit=in ba jāmal=in
 ka xōrdin-an
 ka šākar-an
 ka brinz-an
 wa ka mēčūrī-an
 wa ka gāz-an
 wa ka širx-an wa ka filḥāl

438 The woman said to him, "Tomorrow,
 440 someone will come to my father.
 441 A mountain bedouin. Now [to] the father, [to] the sheikh,
 445 he [the bedouin] will say to him [the sheikh], 'If I were
 to take my wife
 446 [and] leave, the woman wouldn't go with me.
 449 But if, I mean,
 452 [shouldn't] my wife go with me? She won't go.'
 455 If he [the sheikh] says to him [the bedouin] that [his]
 wife should go with [him],
 457 say to him: 'You are my father-in-law.
 459 So let me take my wife and go
 460 to my own mother and father!'
 461 I say, let him say [it] to that one [the bedouin],
 463 [for] if he says [it] to that one [the bedouin],
 464 he will also say [it] to you."
 465 He said to her, "All right."
 468 He stayed, they woke up in the morning, he went to the
 drawing room,
 469 He saw that the mountain bedouin arrived. He and his
 wife.
 472 They greeted each other.
 474 Then he said to him, "O Sheikh,
 475 I wanted to take the woman,
 476 to go with me somewhere, to work for myself.
 478 My wife wouldn't go with me.
 479 Now you are the sheikh!
 480 So what do you say, when in this city, here,
 482 I cannot make a living?
 483 that is to say, not in [this city]?
 484 I will go to another city.
 485 Should my wife go with me? She will not go."
 487 He [the sheikh] said to him [the bedouin], "Actually, yes.
 If she is your wife,
 490 wherever you go, she should go with you.
 492 If you go to Mumbai, if you go on a trip,
 493 no matter where you go."
 495 He [the boy] said to him [the sheikh], "Since I am taking
 my wife from my father in law [in marriage],
 497 shouldn't I leave?"
 498 He [the sheikh] said to him [the boy], "Take your wife,
 go now."
 501 He [the sheikh] said to him [the boy], "Just because I
 have given my daughter to you [in marriage],
 503 am I to tell you that you must rule here?
 504 No [, I shall not]. Go!
 505 Whatever you want, son-in-law, take [it, and] go!"
 508 And he came to his wife,
 509 he said to her, "Dear madam, your father is in favour of
 me.
 512 He said 'go, take your wife, [and] go.'"
 514 "Yes, all right.
 515 Tomorrow, whatever we want, let's carry away."
 518 They are in cars, they are on camels:
 519 there was also food,
 520 and there was also sugar,
 521 and there was also rice,
 522 and there was also fish soup,
 523 and there was also money,
 525 and there was also gold and also..." In any case,

dām čē qaymit

činta malyūn ambād-iš yē

wa raft rēsid walēyit-ō
walēyit xō ya'nī
tāfaq-ō bar xā šēx-ō
bap xō wād-iš āmad
asp-ō bar yē xā qāḏī-ō
mām xō wād-iš wa āmad
wa sōd-iš yē inda xānağ-ō
wa zan yē wā yē
wa tō raft-ī wa mē āmad-um
bass čikk-ē xālaš
yē čikk-ē kōta-ē
jwān-ē banj-ē dām

jwān-ē
sātē ṭiyar tī-im šarg

527 I don't know how much they took, it was worth so much!

528 how many millions' worth, you know, they took it with them.

530 And [they] left. [They] arrived in the city.

532 That is to say, [in the boy's] own city.

535 He took the gun back to the sheikh's house.

536 He brought his father back, he came.

538 The horse, he took it to the judge.

540 He brought his mother back, and came.

543 And he put [them] in the house.

545 And he had his wife.

549 And you went and I came.

550 It's finished. It was a little one. It's over.

552 This was a little one. It was a short one.

555 Whether it was a good one, or whether it was a bad one, I don't know.

556 (audience:) It was a good one!

559 Now, we've finished quickly.

Ġrābō

raft yēk-ē rōk-ē ḥubbō wā yē ḥubbō-ē

mām bap iš na mām yē murs-ē bap yē murs-ē

ḥubbō-ō wā yē ḥubbō-ō zindağ ya'nī

bazza-ē
sā wa dimistan-an=ā kō'ī=in ēka=ā bāram tō-
a na
ğēla tkard-in ġēla ġēla dug-in

wā xušb-an
yā xānağ man-ē tār-a ba šan

wa yā nīm-ē tār-a ba šan
wa ān=ā rub'-ē tār-in ba šan
wa ān nušnušf tār-in ba šan ...
laba panj mā šaš mā
panj mā ġēla ḥašala tk-in=ā
sātē ḥubbō-ō dgō ba yē ġēla xō txōr-im na

tēl-im ba xō
sā ba dimistan=ā č-im tkard-im ba xō kō-ō

ana panj mā ġēla wā mā=ā bīs mā dug-im

dgō ba yē bā yē na
wašt inda xumba-ō
wa xwā sōd-in mayka yē
ḥata=ā dimistan
bāram wābur=ā
sā kō'ī-an č-in ays tk-in

ğēla-an dug-in č-in kō-ō

āšinan wa'b wā šan

6 There went someone. It was a boy; he had a grandmother. A grandmother.

12 Mother, father, he hadn't any. His mother had died, his father had died.

15 The grandmother was with him, the grandmother was alive, that is to say.

20 They were poor.

22 Now when it was wintertime, they were mountain bedouins, as you know it doesn't rain there,

25 They were beginning to harvest the wheat. Wheat, they were harvesting wheat.

28 [The land] was flourishing.

31 These [people], at the house of... they brought them a measure [of wheat],

32 and these [people], they brought them a half,

33 and those [people], they brought them a quarter,

35 and those [people] brought them a small share...

36 about five months' [worth], six months' [worth],

38 They got five months' [worth] of wheat...

40 At that time, the grandmother said to him, "We will not eat our wheat.

46 We will keep it.

48 So when it is wintertime, we will go and cultivate for ourselves on the mountain.

50 If we have five months' [worth] of wheat [seed to sow now], we would harvest twenty months' [worth]."

54 He said to her, "All right."

56 It was left in the clay granary jar,

58 And they put salt with it.

60 Until winter.

65 Since the rains were coming,

67 the mountain bedouins were going to migrate at that time.

69 They were going to cultivate wheat, [so] they were going to the mountains.

70 Those ones had a field,

wa šumr bar yē
wa wa xār bar yē
wa gōsin-an č-in na inda yē na

yē pē čār tā panj tā ādamī gid-iš ba xō
wa ġēla-an xō sayd-in
raft-in inda msayyid āntē jāga-ē ar wa'b
ka'nağ
āntē wa'b ka'nağ inčka arđ yē-an na

ġēla-an kardīd-in
ays gid-in
āmad-in zēran inda qāyit-ō inča bē
tēra-ō=ā sā wana tā-in bāla gōsin-an txōr-in

na wa'b gid-iš ba inča wa
bard wa īn-an ḥayzēna jwān na inda qāyit-ō

kardīd-iš xō
ḥata=ā sā kō'ī-an ġēla-an xō gadda tk-in

sā rōk-ō ḥubbō-ō dgō-a ba yē bō

da ādamī gur ba xō
ba īn-an qašša ba īn-an gadda k-in ġēla xō

wa mē čāz tk-um
gūnī-ē gid-in ba xō r-in bāla
čār tā panj tā ādamī gid ba xō aft ašt tā ādamī
wa yē čāz tk-a ḥubbō-ō
barza wābur=ā inda msayyid=ā
tamna=ā mūl yē wa'b-ō ēka=ā iška yē=ā
zāmī-ō
iš ġēla na ammū īn-an xōs-in

ḥata tay bāla=ā gōsin-an txōr-in
tēra-ō na qāyit-ē na
wa āntē knār-ē knār-ē gap šidrit-ē ya'nī knār-ē

dgō ba ādamī dgō ba yē
wa sātē ġēla mē xōs-in
ādamī ġēla mā gadda gis-in
iš wā mā na bō br-ē xān mā
wa br-ē čāz xōr-ē
mā tany-im ē'ū jāga xō
zē knār-ō
mukē ġēla-an gis-ē=ā
yumkin byāt pi sā ḥata nwāšam
āxur tay mē dān-um yē
č-um na pi ē'ū na hā
wa ništ ē'ū zē knār-ō
āšinan raft-in
r-in xānağ-ō čāz xōd-in
gīya ġēla-an mā immī

ġēla-an šmā mūl yē urtut-ē pi yē na
ādamī gadda gis-in
amma ka bā šan

71 and [the field had] acacia trees in it,
73 and thorn trees in it,
74 and [so that] goats would not go in there [i.e. thorn
fences to prevent them from eating the plants and
destroying the field].
75 Only four or five people harvested it for themselves,
80 and picked their own wheat.
82 They went in to Msayyed village: there was a place
that was an old field,
85 There was an old field, on that which was like a plot
of land,
88 they cultivated wheat.
90 They ploughed,
92 they came down, into the meadow, just like this.
95 On the way, now when they were coming up, the goats
were eating.
100 he made no [walled] field like this and...
102 stone[s] and... what's it called... [the stone wall
around the field] was not well made. [It was] out in the
open [i.e. without a fence].
107 It [the wall] had fallen down.
108 so that..., now the mountain bedouins would harvest
their own grain.
112 Now, the boy... the grandmother was saying to him,
“Go,
115 get a number of people
116 to cut the what's-it-called, to harvest the what's-it-
called, our grain
118 and I will make lunch.
123 They picked up a burlap sack, they went up.
125 He got four or five people, seven or eight people.
129 and she made lunch, the grandmother.
131 When he showed up, in Msayyed,
136 He saw: The whole field must have been like this, the
ground.
139 There was no grain. All of the what's-it-calleds had
been eaten,
142 the goats were eating until he came up.
145 There was no way, there was not a meadow.
147 And there was a jujube, a big jujube, a tree, that is to
say, a jujube [tree].
153 She said to someone, she said to him,
155 “...and now my wheat is eaten,
156 someone has harvested our wheat.
160 We have nothing. Go, all of you go to our house,
162 and go eat lunch.
163 We will stay here, where we are.
165 under the jujube tree.
167 Whoever has taken the wheat,
168 shall perhaps come between now and evening.
171 When he comes, I will recognise him.
173 So. I will not leave here.
176 And she sat down. There, under the jujube tree.
179 Those ones left.
182 They went to the house, they ate lunch.
184 “Where is our wheat, O child? [she is asking her
grandson]
185 Your wheat is completely gone, without a trace.
186 Someone has harvested [it].
188 May grief befall them,

al̩a yāllā mār-ē xōr-a šan
 yaḷla bumr-in
 mā bazza=im ġēla-an mā gadda gis-in
 baḡa haqq čī gis-im ba šan
 naktē tē bang-ō=ā tēr āmad ġrāb-ē
 ēka=ā yā-an=ā qāq tk-in=ā
 yā ġrāb-an baṭna=ā qā qā tk-in na=ā

 hē ġrāb-an gap-an ništ inda knār-ō
 tamna=ā dgō-a ēka=ā yā ġēla gadda gis-ē=ā

 ar ġēla-an mā gis-ē=ā ēka=ā yā ġrāb-ō

 sā čōt ba yē bāla abaša yē tk-a
 tē ba rēs-a ba yē=ā ġrāb-ō pōrid
 wa ḡarḡa tk-a ba yē
 raft inda xilxil-an āntē kō-ō raft gāwd-ē

 jīr-iš yē daxl wābur gawd-ō
 sā gāwd-ō dān-a
 sā bang-an ġāyit yē
 yē ra ba yē wa čōt pišt-ō yē
 č-um abaša yē k-um pē gawd-ō
 yē raft raft raft trēs-a yē
 pišt-ō bang-ō
 ġāyit yē nwāxistin=ā rēsīd ba gāwd-ō
 jāmaḡ xō wād-iš
 faraša yē gid-iš ba gāwd-ō inča=ā
 pi byāt-a barra=ā
 wa bard sōd-iš ba yē wa īn

 wa ra ba yē indur abaša yē gid-iš
 tō=ī ġēla-an mā xōs-ī=ā
 al̩a qabaḡa tō ka wa dām čī na
 par-an yē ēbn ba angar
 wa ēbn wa kassa kassa kin inča=ā
 wa ēbn wa sō yē zē xātī-ō
 xātī xō say bāla
 wa sō yē ēwū ġrāb-ō ē'ū=ā xātī bā yē

 sā sā sā čāb-ē brat
 dānid-iš na walēyit xō na
 ḡawya wābur
 ra ba sar ba rō xō
 kaft wālēyit-ē wālēyit yē na
 ra ba xānaḡ-ē āmad ba xānaḡ-ē
 daqqa gid-iš ba xānaḡ-ō
 āmad ba yē barra zank-ō wa mardk-ō
 hā sā yē zank-ē wa mardk-ē iš wā šan rōr na

 dgō ba yē bāba=ā mi tāt-um tany-um wā šmā
 xānaḡī
 ba āmrī'it šmā
 wa laqmit txōr-um wā šmā
 wa znān-an šmā čōr-um
 wa kār tār-um ba šmā
 č-um wā šmā ēbar
 mi txēr-um ba šmā
 wa č-um wā šmā ēbar
 kār-an šmā tk-um

189 may God send a snake to bite them,
 191 so that they die, O God!
 192 We are poor, they have harvested our wheat,
 194 It's not fair, what have we done to them?"
 198 A little before sunset, a bird came: a crow.
 201 You know these ones, the ones that caw,
 203 these crows from the Batinah coast, the ones that
 caw,
 206 yes, big crows. It sat in the jujube tree.
 210 Then he was saying, "This wheat that must have been
 harvested,
 213 the one who has taken our wheat, it must have been
 this crow."
 217 Now he went up to [try to] catch it.
 221 Before he reached it, the crow flew away.
 225 And he was looking around for it,
 226 [but] it went into the wadi pass, in the mountain over
 there, it went into a cave.
 231 He saw it go inside the cave.
 233 Now, he knew the cave.
 235 Now it would soon be sunset.
 237 He went to it, and to chase after it.
 240 "I am going to catch it out of the cave."
 244 He went, went, went to get to it,
 246 after sunset,
 247 It was almost nightfall when he arrived at the cave.
 250 He brought his skirt,
 251 spreading it out over the cave [entrance] like this,
 253 so that he could come out [later].
 255 and he put a stone by it [to hold the skirt in place],
 and what's-it-called,
 257 and went in to it [the crow], he caught it.
 260 "You! You who has eaten our wheat,
 263 May God disfigure you and I don't know what!"
 266 He tied its feathers together,
 267 and he tied, and crumpled, crumpled [them] like this,
 270 and tied up, and put them under the robe...
 273 He lifted up his robe,
 274 and put it here, on the crow here, a robe was over
 him [the crow],
 278 right then, now how could he [the boy] go out?
 282 He didn't know where his own country was.
 285 He became lost.
 288 He went as he thought best, by his own way;
 290 he came upon a city. It wasn't his own city.
 294 He went up to a house. Coming up to a house,
 299 he knocked on the house.
 300 Coming to him outside were the woman and the man.
 304 So! Now, that was a case of a woman and a man
 having no children.
 308 He said to him, "O sir, I would like to stay with you
 in your house,
 311 at your service.
 312 and, I will eat a bit with you,
 314 and, I will wash your dishes,
 315 and, I will bring things for you,
 316 I will go with you over there:
 317 I will buy fish for you
 318 and I will go with you over there:
 319 I will do work for you."

dgīn ba yē jwān-ē byō
 mardk-ō dgō ba yē jwān-ē
 wa zank-ō=ā xaykē rāfī na
 lakin mardk-ō rāfī
 lumrād gid-in yē ba xō
 gid-in yē ba xō=ā
 xābar=in ba yē sā yē ġrāb-ō=ā
 jīr-in yē wā yē wa watō
 mardk-ō jīr-iš yē wā yē
 sā bang-ō=ā
 zank-ō dgō ba yē zank-ō
 immī brō ūn-ī pēna muzgit
 ba kāra muzgit
 ana muzgit-īn-an
 sālām dī-in wā=zēran
 sālām dī-in wā=bāla=ā
 byō gaw ba mē immī
 muzgit-īn-an tā-in bāla
 īn-an kaš šām-an
 mē šām-an tkēš-um
 sā yē=ā raft
 tany-a pēna muzgit ba kāra muzgit

 sālām dī-in bēw turwā ḥasa ba
 āntē=ā mām=ā šām-an kaš
 yā ḥubbō šām-an kaš
 sā zank-ō sāhib wā yē
 ḥasa sā yē wa bang-ō=ā tay ba yē

 sātē mād wā yē laba mā-ē=ā bīs rōz=ā

 dgō-a sā ūny-um ba kāra muzgit ḥata kāy

 tany-um ē'ū wa ana barza tī-in na
 mi tēmuš-um šan nēzik ba xānağ-ō
 raft na muzgit na āntē na
 ništ ēwū amū muzgit-īn-an āmad-in bāla bēw

 burwā āxur bō šām-an kaš
 tamna=ā mardk-ē šām txōr-a
 tālum-ē šām wā yē ništ-ē šām txōr-a ... ba
 zāmī-ō
 šām-an kaš byā mardk-ō ra barra

 šām-an gur sō inda zapağ-ō inda şaḥarē-ō

 sar-ō sōd-iš ba yē
 wa bōp-ō āmad sā mardk-ō raft
 bōp-ō āmad sā čāz txōr-in
 šām-an šan wād-iš zank-ō
 sā yē aṣṣa gid-iš ba īn-ō
 aṣṣa gid-iš ba tēr-ō
 tēr-ō qāq gid-iš wa bār tō'at wā yē=ā qāq tk-a

 bōp-ō mardk-ō dgō ba yē hā bāba=ā
 tēr tō čumbū=ā ēka=ā ġanna tk-a na=ā

 čī tāt-a

320 They said to him, "Fine. Come."
 323 The man said to him, "Good."
 325 Well, the woman, she was really not in agreement,
 328 but the man agreed.
 331 So they took him in.
 334 Taking him in,
 335 They found out from him that there was this crow,
 337 They saw it with him, amazing!
 338 The man saw it with him.
 340 Now when it was sunset,
 342 the woman said to him, the woman:
 344 "O child, go and sit beside the mosque,
 346 at the entrance to the mosque.
 347 If the mosque-goers
 348 are greeting down there,
 349 are greeting up there,
 351 come and say to me, "O mother,
 352 the mosque-goers are coming up;
 354 serve the what's it called: supper."
 356 I will serve supper."
 359 Now as for this one, he left.
 362 He sat beside the mosque, at the entrance to the
 mosque.
 365 They were greeting [each other], then he ran still to...
 368 there, "Serve the supper, O mother!"
 369 "Serve the supper, O grandmother!"
 373 Now the woman, she had a lover.
 376 Now this one, when it was still dusk, he would come
 to her.
 380 Now he [the boy] stayed with her [the woman]...
 about a month, twenty days.
 283 He said [the boy is thinking to himself:], "Now it was
 important that I should sit beside the entrance to the
 mosque until when?
 385 I will stay here and... if they don't appear,
 387 I will see them close to the house."
 389 He didn't go there to the mosque.
 391 He stayed here. Once the mosque-goers had already
 come up,
 395 he [the boy] ran to go and serve supper!
 398 He saw a man eating supper,
 400 He had a platter of supper, he was sitting eating
 supper... on the floor.
 403 He [the boy] served supper to him, he [the boy]
 came, the man went out.
 407 He [the boy] took all the supper [that the man had
 been eating], he [the boy] put [it] in the wooden chest, in
 the cabinet.
 411 He [the boy] closed the lid.
 415 And the father came. Now the man had left.
 418 The father came, now they were eating lunch,
 421 She brought their supper, the woman,
 424 Now he [the boy] squeezed the what's-it-called...
 426 he squeezed the bird.
 427 The bird cawed (when it became uncomfortable, it
 would caw).
 430 The father said to him, "Oh! Son,
 432 what happened to your bird that it should sing like
 that?
 436 What does it want?"

dgō ba yē bāba=ā yē tēr-ō=ā
 fēṭaḥit ādamī tk-a
 dgō ba yē hā čāb-ē fēṭaḥit šmā tk-a
 awa=ā sā indur brinṣ inda šāḥar-ō
 sā indur brinṣ jīs-ē ẓaplaḡ-ō

sā indur brinṣ ba kē=ā

dām na raft wād-iš yē
 čaḥḥa yē kin ba šām-an xō
 xōd-iš yē tālum-ō brinṣ-ō ē'ū ba kē=ā
 brinṣ xaykē gis-ē yē ō
 mād iš gaft-iš na ẓank-ō na

ām wābur ād
 bōp-ō na mād wa
 šū na xābar na čāb yē na

rōṣ-an-ē dgur=ā raft
 ništ ēbar-tar
 amū sālām dār-in wā=zēran
 sālām dār-in wā=bāla wa burwā
 bāba=ā šām-an kaš ba bap-an
 ēka=ā šan pišt-ō mē
 alḷa kōr tō k-a
 tamna=ā mardk-ō wā yē indur
 wā ẓank-ō inda īn-ō inda xānaḡ-ō
 fa'ala tk-a inda yē
 ka byā sā tu bāba=ā kaš yē=ā

lawya yē kin inda nāt-ē
 inda yē nāt-ē ēka=ā yē na wa
 mardk-ō inda yē
 qaym yē kin inča
 nāt-ō qaym gid-iš
 mardk-ō inda yē inča qaym-īti=ā

sā čāṣ txōr-in
 yē jāga mā sā nāt-ō qaym=ā
 sā šām txōr-in inda yē
 ẓank-ō xānaḡ-ē dgur
 ka byō aṣṣa kin ba yē
 qā čumbū yē na
 yē fēṭaḥit mā tk-a wa hā mā bāba=ā
 fēṭaḥit tk-a wa
 čī jīs-ē=ā čī jīs-ē=ā
 mardk-ē lawya nāt-ō awa=ā ō
 mardk-ē=ā ēka=ā dgō-a na
 mi xābar=um na ba yē na
 amu šamšīr-ō gur ba xō amu
 amu bō ba nāt-ō ka mā hād yē

di- tā qiṣṣit kin pi ḥawṣ ēwū
 jēlumb-ē yē=ā wurk-ē wā=bāla jēlumb-ē
 sātē balaša=im dānud-iš yē
 kē yā ādamī-ō dānud-iš yē
 mardk-ō ya'nī
 lakin rōk-ō dān-a yē na
 ẓank-ō wād-iš dgō ba yē byō
 ēka=ā ān-an kār-an tō=ā

438 He said to him, "O father, that bird,
 440 it is telling on someone."
 442 He said to him, "Oh! how does it tell on you?"
 445 "It said that now inside there is rice, in the furniture!
 448 now it has seen inside there is rice, in the wooden
 chest."
 450 [father says:] "Now inside there is rice, whose
 [doing] is that?"
 453 [boy says] "I don't know." He went to bring it.
 455 "Serve it for our supper."
 458 He [the father] ate it. "For whom is this rice platter?"
 462 Strange! [Someone] has taken so much rice!"
 466 Things stayed as they were. She didn't say anything,
 the woman.
 469 She became silent, silent.
 470 That father, time went by and...
 471 Her husband, he didn't know anything or find out
 anything.
 474 On another day, he [the boy] left.
 477 He sat closer to over here.
 480 Once they had greeted each other down there,
 482 they had greeted each other up there and he ran.
 485 "O Father, serve supper to the fathers...
 487 Of course they are behind me."
 488 "May God blind you!"
 490 He saw that the man was with her, in...
 491 with the woman in the what's-it-called, in the house.
 493 [They were] doing sexual acts in it.
 496 Right away she came, "why you! [saying] baba,
 hurry up and..."
 497 They rolled him up in a carpet!
 500 In this carpet, you know like this, and...
 504 the man was inside it.
 505 They stood it up like this!
 507 She stood the carpet upright.
 508 The man was inside it. Standing up like this, he was.
 You see?
 515 Now they were going to eat lunch.
 516 That place, now right where the carpet was standing,
 518 now they were going to eat supper there.
 520 The woman was in a different room.
 522 Suddenly she came and held tightly onto it [the bird].
 525 "Caw!" "What is the matter with it?!"
 527 "It is telling on us and... oh my... O son...
 530 It is telling on and...
 531 What has it seen? What has it seen?
 533 What?! It said that a man is rolled up in the carpet!
 536 A man! What?! It can't be saying that!"
 538 "I don't know anything about it."
 540 Quickly he picked up the sword, quickly...
 542 Quickly he went to the carpet, immediately he struck
 it through the middle!
 545 He cut it into two pieces from this part.
 549 One of its sides had a hip above the other side.
 560 Now we are staring, he knew it.
 563 He knew who this person was:
 564 the man, that is to say.
 565 But for the boy he wouldn't have known about him.
 567 He brought the woman. He said to her, "Come.
 571 Those must be your doing?"

sā mē tālaq tō dō-um
 haqq tō dō-um ba tō bō ba ahla xō
 iza gaw yē ba bap xō
 šū mē yē mardk-ē kišt-ē=ā
 mē dgōm ba šan yē=ā
 mi jir-um yē ba zan xō
 mi kišt-um yē pi haqq mē
 ka tō dgī-ī na=ā
 āmbiš tī-ī ēka=ā mē=ā
 balkē tarqit-ē tk-im ba yē wa
 wa kas xābar na tō brō xān xō
 tālaq tō dās-um bass xālaš
 mi dgō-um na
 dgō ba yē dgōm
 haqq yē dār-iš ba yē
 wa raft xā mām xō
 dgō ba yē čumbū=ī=ā

dgō ba yē bass šū mē tālaq mē dār-iš

fānd-iš ba yē bap-ō ba šū yē
 čumbū zan tō=ā
 mē xō tālaq dār-um haqz katbit-ō
 bass pi āmaxt-ō wā mē sā tāt-um yē na

sā ništ-ē mā inda xānağ-ō yē wa rōk-ō tēr-īn-ō

sā dgō ba dgō ba yē tēr

rōk-ō dgō ba yē ba mā ō

dgō ba yē majma-ē dgōm ba tō

dgō ba yē gaw
 sā dgō ba yē miyyit-ō=ā

č-im gēr yē tk-im mayya gēr-an
 ādamī tēmuš-in mā
 mā zarra yē tk-im ādamī tēmuš-in mā
 lakīn āxur burwā ka bō xōr-ē xar xōr-ē

sō yē ba xōr-ō wa qışit-ō yē=ā sī-im ba yē

wa jāmağ xō hažēmit tk-im ba yē

wa dug-um yē wa č-um č-um pi ē'ū
 ar jāga bēr-um yē
 tēbur-um yē dūr
 šaw drāz-ē ya'nī inda kō-ō
 kas xābar na ba tō na
 wa šabaḥa tī-ī=ā yē kas na wa

tamna=ā dgō ba yē jwān-ē āmō

majma-ē jwān
 filḥāl tēr xō gid-iš xōr-ō wād-in

wa sōd-iš yē ba yē
 pā wā=ēbar wa pā wā=ēbar
 wa jāmağ-ē sōd-iš škum yē

574 Now I will give you a divorce.

577 I am giving you alimony. Go to your relatives.

580 If you say this to your father:

582 "My husband, he has killed this man",

585 then I will say this to them:

587 "I found him with my wife,

589 so I killed him, as my own prerogative."

592 If you don't say anything,

594 if you are silent about me, you know,

597 perhaps we will sing a eulogy for him and...

600 and no one will know; you go to your own house.

602 I have given you a divorce; it's enough, it's finished.

604 I won't say anything."

606 She said to him, "I'll say it."

607 He gave her her alimony,

608 and she went to her mother's house.

610 She [the woman's mother] said to her [the woman],
 "What happened to you?"

611 She said to her, "It's over. My husband gave me a
 divorce."

615 She sent the father to him, to the husband.

616 "What's the matter with your wife?"

617 "I myself divorced her, fate's limit.

621 It's over. She has been with me for a long time; now
 I don't want her anymore."

625 Now they were sitting in the middle... of the house,
 he and the boy. The bird-boy.

631 Now he [the man] said to... he [the man] said to him,
 the bird[-boy]...

634 [to] the boy, he [the man] said to him [the boy]

"What [ever has happened] to us...?!".

635 He [the boy] said to him [the man], "Let me have a
 word with you."

636 He [the man] said to him [the boy], "Speak."

638 Now he [the boy] said to him [the man], "The dead
 person,

639 [if] we go to make his grave in the cemetery,

640 people will see us.

643 [If] we throw it [the body away], people will see us.

646 So instead afterward, run, a donkey go and buy, a
 donkey.

650 Put him on the donkey and the [other] piece of him
 we will put on [top of] it,

653 and we will tie his man's skirt around him tightly [his
 two halves, to hold them together]...

656 and I will take him and leave. I will leave here.

659 Let me take him somewhere.

660 I will take him far away.

661 The whole night, I mean. In the mountains.

665 No one will know about you.

667 When you wake up in the morning, he won't be
 there... and..."

670 Then he [the man] said to him [the boy], "All right,
 Nephew,

672 it's a good word [plan]."

676 In any case, he took his bird, they brought the
 donkey,

680 and he [the boy] sat him [the body]

681 astride it.

683 and he put a man's skirt around his waist,

wa ödud-iš yē wa raft
 asta asta mēš tk-a r-in bāla sīh-ō
 wa qāmi nwāz=ā rēsid sal
 palla ġēla-an yē=ā raft-ē bāla
 āzar man nā šad man ar yē šad man

ġēla ō kō'ī-an sā gadda gis-in

ġēla xō na=ā sā yē=ā kawada āntē

wa čār tā ādamī āntē ništ-in=ā
 sā xōr-ō wākud-iš
 rōk-ō wākud-iš yē pi xō ban yē
 wa ra ba mardk-an wējī šan tk-a
 salām alēkum
 sā xōr-ō ra ba ġēla-an txōr-an=ā
 sā ādamī-ō yē=ā pēna ġēla-an na=ā

pēna mardk-an na=ā ġēla-an ba yē

āmad bard gid-iš ba xō bard

āfur īn-ō ād-ē āfur xōr-ō ād-ē

hušš hušš
 sā xōr-ō farra wābur
 amu bīyāyē ādamī-ō qašša wāb

qašša tk-a ba žamī-ō
 wa yā ān jam pā-an mād ba xōr-ō
 ambē ka guryid xinn gid-iš
 wōwōwō wā wā wā wā bap mē kišt-ē
 dinyē-ē ēka=ā rōk-ō bap mē kišt-ē=ā

bap mē žindağ
 xōr-ō ra bāla dasta ġēla txōr-a
 sātē bap mē kišt
 bāba=ā rāstī ādamī ba yē
 yā fānd-in yē bard-ē āmad ba yē
 di- tā qiššit gid-iš yē=ā
 sā čāb tkī-ī
 sā mā yā ġēla-an dī-im ba tō
 ka āzar man-an
 wa ka panj šad man-an
 wa ka dō āzar man-an
 dī-im ba tō jāga bap tō
 dgō ba šan ba yē na
 ka dē-ē ba mē
 bēr-ē wā=mē xān mē
 sayy yē bēr-ē xān mā
 wā mē=ā baxš šmā iš dgō-um na

mardk-ō dgō-a dō-um ba yē
 ka bap yē kišt-um
 wād-in yē wa ġēr bōp-ō gid-in
 ēšinan čār panj kas-an šan
 ġēr mardk-ō gid-in
 wa bīs tā paṇḍa tā jāmal wād-in
 laba bīs tā sī tā mardk-an=ā
 bīs tā sī tā jāmal=ā

685 and held it fast, and left.

688 He walked slowly, they went up to the rocky plain.

692 By dawn prayer time, he had reached Sal village.

696 It was full of wheat there, piled high!

698 A thousand bushels, nine hundred bushels, hundreds of bushels!

701 The wheat!!! So the mountain bedouins had harvested it,

703 it wasn't their own wheat, now there are heaps of it here!

706 And four people were sitting there,

709 Now he untied the donkey.

711 The boy untied it from its rope.

714 and he went to greet the men.

715 "Peace be upon you!"

718 Now the donkey, going to eat the wheat,

720 since this person [who was to guard the wheat] was not beside the wheat,

722 it was not beside the men, so he [the donkey] had the wheat to himself.

724 He [the man guarding the wheat] came, stones he picked up, stones.

727 He threw stones at the what's-it-called. He threw stones at the donkey.

730 "Hie, hie!"

731 Now the donkey fled.

733 Suddenly it came about that the person was split [in two].

735 He split [and fell] to the ground.

737 and that half with his legs stayed on the donkey.

741 He had cried already, now he wailed!

743 "Waaaaaaaah! No! No! You have killed my father!

746 Listen, everyone! The boy has obviously killed my father, since

749 my father was alive!

750 The donkey went up to eat some wheat,

752 Now, my father is killed."

755 "Can it be true? Someone was with him.

759 This one threw it, a stone came to him,

760 He broke him into two pieces?! [i.e. with a stone!?!]

762 Now how did this happen?!

765 Now we will give this wheat to you.

768 If it's a thousand bushels,

769 or if it's five hundred bushels,

770 or if it's two thousand bushels,

772 We will give it to you for your father's sake."

775 He said to them, "All right.

776 If you are giving it to me,

777 carry it to me at my house.

779 Pick it up, carry it to our house,

782 and... [regarding] me, your case is settled. I won't say anything."

788 The man said, "I will give [it] to him,

789 since I killed his father."

792 They brought him, and the father, they buried.

794 There were four or five of them.

796 The man, they buried.

799 And they brought twenty or fifteen camels.

803 About twenty or thirty men,

805 twenty or thirty camels,

palla ġēla-an gid-in
 gūnī gūnī wād-in gūnī
 laba panj şaṭṭa gūnī=in ō
 wa ar jāmāl-ē=a panj tā panj tā sōd-in ba yē
 panj tā gūnī ġēla şabaḥa gid-in
 bīs wa panj tā sī tā jāmāl tay
 laba āzar man ġēla tay
 ar yē şad nā şad man
 xālaş=in yē rukbō kin ba xōr-ō
 wa ēşinan pişt-ō yē=in
 ar yēk-ē tāfaq wā yē
 ḥazēmit=in tāfaq-an şan wā şan
 sā rēsid xān xō
 xān şan pişt-ō bang-ō
 hā hā immī ġēla-an xō wād-um
 wād-ī pi gīya=a
 ādamī-ē kişt-in āntē ō
 wa ēka=a gis-ē wa raft-um wās-um pi yē

dāxlū gid-um buxxar-ō
 tīya wābur=a ra ba şan
 dgō ba şan sātē samḥ-ō mi k-ē
 sātē şām tk-um ba şmā
 ḥāwlī tukş-um ba şmā
 lakin waxt-ō banj-ē
 sā sōr wa pīma tk-um ba şmā čāz

pīma wa sōr şām wā mē
 dgīn ba yē başal u mēlaḥ axīr min kil şayy

filḥāl şām xōd-in pişt-ō bang-ō
 sōr wa pīma wād-iş ba şan şām arma

nwāxistin=a āmad ba şan
 dgō ba şan bāba=a tāfaq-an byār-ē
 tāfaq-an xō byār-ē
 yumkin kas-ē byāt kār-an şmā z-a
 mi sayy-um ba şmā wā xō
 ḥata nwāz byā īn-an xō gur-ē tāfaq-an xō

ammū tāfaq-an gid-in
 bard-in pēna ġēla-an
 inda xānağ-ō āntē jāga txwā-in=a
 yē wa ramyit-an maḥzam-an
 maḥzam-an abū şāḥ-an na=a
 wa tāfaq-an gid-in wa bard-in xānağ-ō
 tīya wābur āmad ba şan
 dgō ba şan pi tāraf bap mē kişt-ē yē=a

ēka=a ḥubbō mē=a
 ēka=a tēmuş-ē yē
 wās-ē ḥubbō xō wād-iş āmad
 ḥubbō mē ana yēk-ē tiss-ē dō-a=a
 ḥubbō mē tumr-a marg yē inda tiss-ē
 in qūq-ē in fiss-ē
 lāzum ḥubbō mē tumr-a
 ida ḥubbō mē murd
 dinyē-ē lūmū mē k-ē na
 dar-ō abnīd-iş ba şan pi barra
 dar-ō ġālaq kin ba şan

808 they filled with wheat.
 809 Sacks. Sacks they brought, sacks.
 811 There were about five hundred sacks!!!
 813 And on each camel they put five [sacks].
 817 They tied on five sacks of wheat.
 821 About twenty-five or thirty camels,
 824 about a thousand bushels of wheat,
 826 hundreds, nine hundred bushels.
 828 They had finished, he mounted the donkey,
 831 and those people were behind him.
 832 Each one had a gun.
 835 They were armed, they had their guns.
 838 Now, he arrived at his house,
 840 at their house after sunset.
 843 "Yes, well, Grandmother, I brought my wheat."
 846 "You brought it from where?"
 849 "They killed someone over there!!!"
 851 And... he must have done it, and I went, I brought
 from him.
 853 I went inside the storehouse."
 857 It being done, he went to them.
 860 He said to them, "Now, excuse me.
 862 Now I will make supper for you,
 863 I will slaughter a goat for you,
 864 except this is a bad time [for it].
 865 Now salt fish and onion I will make for you for
 lunch.
 868 Onion and salt fish. Supper is on me."
 871 They said to him, [a saying in Arabic:] "Onions and
 salt are better than anything else."
 875 In any case, they ate supper after sunset.
 879 He brought them salt fish and onions for supper.
 dates.
 883 In the evening, he came to them.
 885 He said to them, "Sirs, bring your guns.
 889 Bring your own guns.
 892 Someone might come and steal your things.
 894 I will put them away with me for you
 895 until tomorrow, [then] come and get your what's-it-
 called, your guns."
 899 They took all of the guns,
 900 They carried them to beside the wheat,
 902 In the house there the place where they sleep,
 903 he and the bullets, the cartridge belts.
 906 Cartridge belts, that were X-shaped,
 908 and guns they took and carried to the house.
 911 He finished, he came to them.
 914 He said to them, "For the sake of my father whom
 you killed,
 917 so my grandmother,
 918 So you see her."
 919 he brought... He brought his grandmother, she came.
 922 "My grandmother, if someone passes gas,
 925 My grandmother will die. Her death is in the gas.
 930 either fart or gas.
 932 My grandmother would certainly die.
 935 If my grandmother dies,
 937 listen to what I'm saying: don't blame me!"
 940 He locked the door on them from the outside.
 945 He barred the door on them!

wa ēšinan=ā ḥāram xazya=in

sī tā mardk-an
ka yēk-ē tiss-ē ādō-a ba šaw=ā
ḥubbō yē tumr-a ḥā
yē marg-ē marg-ē na yē na
bap yē murd sā pē ḥubbō yē tumr-a ō

na amala yē kin
raft xān šan
šaw=ā gū gid-iš inda qādaḥ-ē
qiššit-ē qādaḥ=ā
gū gid-iš inda yē wa gmēz āw
wa qāmi nwāz=ā wād-iš yē
sōd-iš yē inda xānaḡ-ō
dar-ō wēl tilq wa raft
wa sayd-in xō=ā arf tiss
arf gū na=ā ājā! ājā!

wā wā ar kas-ē=in burwā
ar tāfaq-an xō wēl-in burwā-in
farra būr-in dām na r-in giya na
xānaḡ-ō yā=ā qētil-ē
sā ḥubbō yē tumr-a na=ā
kō'ī-an raft-in
lumrād burwād-in raft-in
tāfaq-an mād ba yē ramyit-an mād ba yē

ḡēla-an yē wā yē wa ṭēr yē wā yē
wa tō raft-ī wa mi āmad-um
ba ba sābab-ō ēka=ā yē ādamī-ō ar kišt-iš
yē=ā

948 and these ones, they were in a bad state, they were pitiable.

952 Thirty men!

953 What if one of them passes gas in the night?

956 His grandmother would die!? So!

958 That's not the sort of death for her!

961 His father is dead, now what if his grandmother should die too!!!

964 Don't let this happen!

965 He went to their room,

968 In the night, he defecated in a container,

971 a [broken] piece of a container, you know?

972 He defecated in it and urinated,

975 and at sunrise, he brought it,

977 He put it in the house,

979 He opened the door and left.

981 When they got up, there was the smell of gas.

983 that is, the smell of excrement, you know? My oh my!

985 Oh no! Every one of them ran!

988 Everyone had left their guns and had run!

990 They ran far away. I don't know where they went.

992 That house, it's a deadly one.

997 Now won't his grandmother die?!

1003 The mountain bedouins went... [interruption]

1030 In any case, they ran! They left!

1035 The guns remained with him, the bullets remained with him,

1038 He had his wheat, and he had his bird...

1041 and you left and I came.

1045 All because they thought this person was the one who killed him

Bāḡ al-Mawz

bāḡ al- mawz

tīskan-ē mām ḥakāyit

sā gō-um yē kumzar-ī tī mē=ā

wāḥid rayyal yak-ē mardk-ē na yak-ē martk-ē
na

ṣank-ē wā yē iṣ wā yē rōr na mardk-ē wā

ṣank-ē bass

tāt-a rōr-an byār-a

tāt-a rōr-an byār-a

iṣ wād-iṣ na

bīyō yak tā ṣank-ē dgur gid-iṣ

mād sāl-ē di-sāl iṣ wād-iṣ na

wa yēk-ē dgur gid-iṣ lumrād aft kas gid-iṣ

aft tā ṣank-an iṣ wād-iṣ rōr na

pē aft kas=in ēšinan na

alḷa iṣ dās-ē ba šan na

ka bīyō tā bār

ṣank-an ēšinan tāman-in wā yē waḷa

tālaq šan dō'-a

hā

The Banana Garden

0 A well-told tale.

4 Now shall I tell it in Kumzari?

7 [Arabic:] There was a man [end Arabic], there was a certain man, a certain man

13 had a wife, he had no children; a man had

18 just a wife.

19 He tried to have children,

20 he tried to have children,

21 he didn't have any.

23 So he went and married another wife.

25 Time went by, one year, two years, he didn't have any [children].

28 Then he married another wife. In all, he married seven of them.

30 Seven wives, and he had no children.

35 Even with all seven wives, that were these ones,

36 God hadn't given them any [children].

38 Then it came about one time...

39 [Mal:] The women, did they stay with him or

40 did he divorce them?

41 Pardon?

zank-an ēšīnan tāman-in wā yē wāla
tālaq šan dō'-a
ā'a wā šan=in wā yē=in ar aft
kas-an šan
sā mād yē xānağ-ō ya'nī iś wā šan rōr na

alla iś dās-ē na
wa bang-ō=ā ġurbit-ō=ā yēkē mālalla āmad
ba
kār-ō-ō bazza ya'nī
yālla mālallā tk-a na
armā jōr-a čīz-ē jōr-a

āmad wa tamna=ā dgīn ba yē
mā=ā pi tāraf mā=ā
zank-an dgīn ba yē mardk-ō kas na

pi tāraf mā=ā kār-an=im
ya'nī qadar qayitan tk-im
wa qadar kār-an tk-im
wa rāy-im na dgīm ba tō ālallā na

arma=in wa brinz=in wa xōrdin=in wa kār=in
wa kawada
lakin mā dist-an xō xays tk-im na ba tō na
tāt-ī ya'nī čī tāt-ī=ā bu gur ba xō

mā=ā iś wā mā rōr na
ḥata rōr-ē xō fān-im na
sā dgī-in ba mālallā-ō ya'nī bazza-ō tamna=ā

dgō ba šan
iś wā šmā rōr na yā aft kas-an na

zank-an ba tā ādamī
dgīn ba yē hē g-in ba yē
hē ba tā ādamī=im ba tā mardk-ē=im wa aft
kas
zank-an=im
wa iś wā mā rōr na
tamna=ā dgō mē rōr-an dō-um ba šmā
dgīn ba yē tō čābē rōr dī ba mā=ā

dgō ba šan dōm ba šmā aft-ta ḥabb ānar

aft-ta ḥabb ānar dō-um ba šmā=ā
ğaraqa k-ē
wā=angar sē kāwa xō
wā=angar ġaraqa k-ē
wā=angar wustīn tē-ē
wā=angar zā-ē
wa aft-ta rōk-an tār-ē wā=angar
lakin yēk-ē ba mē
yēk-ē d-ē ba mē=ā mi tār-um ba šmā

dgīn ba yē dim ba tō
mā=ā wana šū mā aft-ta rōr wā yē=ā
yēk-ē čōt šaš kas wā yē
tamna=ā dgō ba šan bā yē na
lumrād dār-iś ba šan aft-ta ḥabb

42 [Mal:] The women, did they stay with him or
43 did he divorce them?
44 No, they were with them [they were with him],
45 there were all seven of them.
48 Now, time passed; this household, I mean, it had no
children;
52 God had not given any.
54 At dusk, at sunset, one “wealth of God!” came to
57 the gate, a poor person, I mean:
59 “Hey! Wealth of God!” he was doing, you know...
60 He was asking for dates, he was asking for
something...
63 He came and he heard them say to him,
65 “As for us, for our part,”
66 the women said to him, “The man [our husband] isn’t
here.”
69 “As for us, we’re working,
70 That is to say, we are doing some embroidering...
71 and we’re doing some work,
73 and we can’t tell you “Al-Allah [we cannot dismiss
you as God’s responsibility, since we have food].”
75 There are dates, and there is rice, and there are things
[to eat], and heaps [of things]!
78 But we’re not getting our hands dirty for you.
80 If you want, that is to say, whatever you want, go take
it for yourself.
83 As for us, we don’t have any children,
84 not even a child of our own to send.”
85 Now, they said to the “Malallah”, that is to say, the
poor person then
86 said to them,
89 “You have no children, even though you are these
seven
91 wives of one man?”
94 They said to him, “Yes,” they said to him,
95 “Yes, we are with one man, we have a single husband,
and we are seven
96 wives,
97 and we have no children.”
98 Then he said, “I myself will give children to you.”
101 They said to him, “You, how can you give children
to us?”
104 He said to them, “I will give seven pomegranate
seeds to you.
107 Seven pomegranate seeds I will give to you.
109 Swallow [them],
111 All together, put them in the palm of your hand,
112 All together, swallow [them],
113 All together, you will become pregnant,
114 All together, you will give birth,
116 and you will bring forth seven sons all together...
117 but one [of them] for me.
119 Give me one of them, and me, I will bring [the boys^o]
to you.”
123 They said to him, “We will give [him] to you.
124 As for us, if our husband had seven children,
126 and one left, he would [still] have six.”
131 Then he said to them, “All right.”
133 In any case, he gave it to them, seven seeds,

aft-ta ḥabb ānar
inda kaw šan waraḥa gid-in wā=angar

wa raft pē šan dgō ba šan
č-um pi šmā=ā
wa barq-an wa bāram-an=ā tā-um ba šmā
kana yā=ā baḥḥa-ē na šāḥar-ē

sā tamna=ā xōd-in=ā mardk-ō raft
lāḥa di-mē=in si-mē=in=ā
wustin būr-in
sāl-ē di-sāl na'-mē=in da'-mē=in wa ḡād-in

aft-ta kōrk-an wād-in
sā rōk-ō ḡank-ō awēlī awēlī bātar pi īn-an

bātar pi rōk-an ya'nī xalaqa yē bātar

pi xalaqa rōk-an ēšin-an pištū yē=in

sātē laba čār panj sāl wābur
panj šaš sāl wābur ba šan=ā
aft sāl=ā sīd-in šan madrēsīt-ō
ammū šan wā=angar šaff awwal ya'nī
sātē laba inči ba nummaḡ di-mā=in si-
mā=in=ā
tamna=ā rēs
yā ādamī rēs
byō ba šan ba kārō-ō
salām alēkum
wa alēkum salām
bīyāyē gīya rōr mē
āmas-um ba īn xō
āmas-um ba rōr xō
amu byō ḡank-an
burwād-in sīna madrasit-ō
ar yēk-ē rōr xō byār-a wa
byō xānaḡ-ō
dgīn ba yē kī dgō-a rōr xō
dīm ba tō=ā
tumur-ī bumur
rōr-an xō dīm na mā tā rōr wā mā byār-im

mā ta ta rōr wā mā
rōr xō=ā dīm ba tō
dīm na
lumrād ra pi šan
mād-in rōk-an xānaḡ-ō di-rōḡ si-rōḡ čār rōḡ

bard-in šan madrasit-ō bār-ē dgur
sā madrasit-ō īn-ē inda yē ya'nī rōḡin-ē

rōḡin-ē inda yē inčka bāla yē-ō kārō-ē

yē čāb kin yē šāḥar=ā
gardīd-iš xō ṭēr-ē
wašt-iš rōk-an
dawaxa wāb-in inda madrēsīt-ō=ā
wa ka jahḥa kin ba rōk-ō awēlī rōk-ō jwān-ō

134 seven pomegranate seeds;
137 they swallowed all together from the palms of their hands.
140 And he left from them, saying to them,
141 "I am leaving you,
142 During the lightning and rains, I will come to you."
144 On the contrary, this one, he was not a poor person; he was a sorcerer.
148 Now seeing that they ate, the man left.
151 About two or three months [later],
153 they became pregnant.
155 [A year, two years...] Nine or ten months later, they gave birth.
160 They had seven sons.
162 Now the very first wife's boy was better than what's-it-called,
166 better than the other boys, that is to say, his looks were better
168 than the looks of the other boys, the ones after him [in rank].
171 Now about four or five years went by,
173 five or six years having gone by for them,
175 seven years, they put them in school...
177 all of them together in grade one, that is to say.
181 Now around half-way through, two or three months [later],
184 they saw that he arrived.
187 This person arrived.
188 He came to them, to the gate.
189 "Peace be upon you."
190 "and upon you be peace."
192 He goes, "Where's my child?
193 I have come for my what's-it-called,
194 I have come for my child."
195 Immediately the women came
196 [and] ran toward the school.
200 Each one of them brings her child and
202 comes to the house.
203 They say to him, "Who says we would
204 give our own children to you?
205 Drop dead!
206 We won't give our own children, we who have only brought forth one child [each].
209 We only have one child each.
210 Our own children, are we to give them to you?
211 We shall not give [them]!"
213 Anyway, he went from them.
215 The boys stayed at home two days, three days, four days.
217 They took them once again to the school.
220 Now, in the school was a what's-it-called, I mean, a vent-window.
224 There was a vent-window in it just like there is above this, the gate.
228 How did he do this, this sorcerer?
231 He turned himself into a bird.
233 He let the boys be [he didn't yet attack].
235 When they were absorbed in their work at the school,
238 and he immediately swooped for the first boy, the fine one!

- jahḥa kin ba yē=ā wa sayy yē pi mayya rōk-an
gur yē wa burwā yē rōk-ō gid-iš
ṣayaḥa gid-iš yē=ā rōk-ō
bādam-ō pēna xānaḡ-ō bādam-ē inda ḥawī-ō
ya'nī
ida ya'nī bādam-ō išk wābur pi wā=ḡarbī
yē jōr-ē mē pi wā=šarqī
ida bādam-ō šarxit yē išk wābur pi wā=šarqī
yē jōr-ē mē pi wā=ḡarbī
ar jāga-ē ṣawz-ē
jōr-ē mē ya'nī byā ba mē āntē
filḥāl burwād-in rōk-an ba mām-an ba bap xō,
wa r-in g-in ba šan
bap mā brār mā gid-iš yē mardk-ō wa raft
wa bōp-ō kōr wābur pišt-ō īn-ō pišt-ō rōk-ō
wa mām-ō mād baḡa kōr kōr bur na
lumrād gid-iš yē wa raft
ḥalla gid-iš inda walēyit-ē
kō-ē mūl yē urtit-ē ādamī inda yē na qā'it-ē
inda yē aft tā xānaḡ baḡa ādamī
yē xō sakana gis-ē bē
ḥalla wābur wa aft-ta klīl dār-iš ba yē
dgō ba yē yā xānaḡ-an=ā
brō inda yē
wākiš wa yēk tā yē
wa brō na inda yē na
ya'nī iṣḥalā=ī na.
lakin asp-ē inda yē xānaḡ-ō
ar rōz-ē ḥabbē xōrdin bar ba yē pīza dar-ō
mād yē rōk-ō=ā
raft yā šaš tā xānaḡ-an=ā
tā xānaḡ palla xwā
tā xānaḡ palla ḡāṭaf
tā xānaḡ palla nixn ādamī
tā xānaḡ palla ādamī alaqa
tā xānaḡ palla šumr ēmaḡ šumr
tā xānaḡ palla qiz'an
ar tā-ē ya'nī bar kār-an xō
iš kār-ē jwān inda yē na
ḡay yā xānaḡ-ō ar dgō ba yē ra' na inda yē na
wa mād xōr yē dō'-a brinz zīra wa nān ḡenum
wa rōwn ḡōsin
bāṭal gid-iš yē bāṭal
sā pē wā yē lāḥa čār panj rōz-an
ka bīyō ka raft inda īn-ō inda xānaḡ-ō
wa wākid-iš yē=ā tamna=ā asp-ē insī inda yē
wa ḥawṭ-ē sirx īn-ē axča sirx
241 He swooped on him and lifted him up from among
the boys!
245 He took him and ran! He took the boy.
248 This boy shouted:
251 "The almond tree near the house, the almond tree in
the courtyard, I mean,
254 If, I mean, the almond tree has become dry from the
west,
258 then search for me in the east.
260 If half of the almond tree has become dry from the
east,
263 then search for me in the west.
264 Any green place,
265 search for me, I mean, come for me there."
269 Right then, they ran, those boys, to their mothers, to
their father.
271 and they went to tell them,
272 "O our father, our brother- the man took him and
went away."
275 And the father became blind, because of what's-it-
called, because of the boy.
281 And the mother remained without blindness, she did
not become blind.
283 In any case, he took him and left.
285 He landed in a country,
287 on a mountain completely without a single soul, an
empty place.
292 In it [the country] were seven houses, without people.
296 Only he lived there by himself.
299 He landed and he [the sorcerer] gave seven keys to
him [the boy].
303 He said to him, "These houses,
305 [you can] go inside them.
306 Open [them], but this one...
308 don't go into it.
310 I mean, it's not meant for you."
[added by Mal:]--But there was a horse in the house,
[added by Mal:] every day he put some food under the
door for him!--
313 He would go, this boy,
314 into these six houses:
315 One house full of salt,
317 One house full of rope-wood,
319 One house full of fingernails,
322 One house full of people hanged,
324 One house full of acacia-wood, acacia firewood,
326 One house full of cauldrons,
328 Each one of them, I mean, had its own things.
330 There was nothing great inside them,
332 except that house which he was forbidden to enter.
336 And he kept feeding him: zira rice [tahdig?], and
wheat bread,
341 and goat ghee.
342 Robust he made him, robust!
345 Now, he was still with him, about four or five days.
348 Then it came about that he went inside the what's-it-
called, inside the house.
351 Upon opening it, he saw there was a talking horse
inside,
355 and a pool of gold, what's-it-called, molten gold,

hawt-ē lakin axča-an sirx
ka biyō wa ka baḡaḡa īn xō kin inda

hawt-ō
linkit xō na
wa ka labasa wābiš ba yē axča
pi ē'ū=ā ḡata ē'ū

kōrk-ō tay talaqa yē k-a talaqa bur na
dgō ba yē asp-ō dgō ba yē
miskīn rōk-ō yā-a
xabala ba ḡisn-ō wā tō
amma na yē tabaqa wābur ba tō=ā
pi yē čīkē=ā bap tō tay-a dgō' ba tō

ya'nī čumb=ī
laffa linkit xō kin ba qīšit-ē xēlak
wa gaw ba yē asp-ō xōs-ā mē
yē dignūn na tō na
wa lakin dinyē'ē=ā
bap tō pē rōzō wa nwāz čōt na kār na

quz'an-an tār-a barra
ēmaḡ-an tār-a barra
kurd-an xajm-ō tk-a
yē šēx-ē šāḡar-an-ē
wa tukš-a tō ba īn-an ba šāḡar-an

brinz sō ba tō wa tā-in
txōr-in tō šabaḡa tījāwar pišt ba nwāz

lakin tō=ā ēka=ā majma-ē dgōm ba tō
sā ālamit yē tk-a asp-ō ya'nī
tō wayda turs xō byār-a na
tō wayda amma kin na
wana āmad=ā
tār-a qiz'an-ē ēka=ā qiz'an-ō gap-ō sinsla-an
ba yē=ā
sō yē ba kirdan=ā palla yē k-a āw
wa labaqā yē k-a ba ḡalgāzī
ḡalgāzī yē k-a ba ēmaḡ-an
wa ṭambur-an sō zēr yē=ā
faḡara tk-a aw spēr inča ba yē

wa tār-a ba xō ṭabl-ē
wa tay ba grā=ā
dgō ba tō gard ba īn-ō
gard ba qiz'an-ō inča-ē
dgō sā šāḡar-ō dgō ba rōk-ō

gard ba yē
sā yā na asp-ō dgō ba yē
dikkara sikkara sikkara gard ba yē bass
dikkara bār-ē dikkara dist xō dō' ba tō
wa tkard-a tō inda īn-ō inda quz'an-ō

išk tī-ī wa tumr-ī wa tār-in tō bāla

wa āxur=ā šan tō waza'a tō tk-in ba qiz'an-an

359 a pool, but golden.

363 Then it came about, and right then he dipped his
what's-it-called in

364 the pool,

365 his finger, you know?

366 And immediately his finger was clothed with gold,

368 from here up to here [motions with finger, tip to base
of finger].

370 The boy tries to peel it off, it won't peel off!

374 He said to him, the horse said to him,

376 O you poor wretched boy.

377 Alas, for the beauty which is yours!

379 What a pity that this sticking has happened to you,

382 after some time, your father will come and say to
you,

383 "What happened to you?"

Bandage your finger with a piece of cloth,

386 and tell him, "The horse has bitten me."

389 He will not believe you.

391 But listen carefully to what I am saying:

393 Today and tomorrow, your father will not yet leave
for work.

398 He will bring cauldrons outside,

400 He will bring firewood outside,

402 He will make fire pits.

403 He is a chief of sorcerers,

405 and he will kill you for those... for [the other]
sorcerers.

408 He will put rice on you, and they will come;

410 they will eat you, at this time in the morning, the day
after tomorrow.

414 But as for you, you see, I am telling you:

416 (Now, you understand, the horse is teaching him:)

418 Hold on, don't be afraid,

420 Hold on; don't feel sorry for yourself.

422 When he comes,

425 he will bring a cauldron, you know the kind of big
cauldron with chains on it,

429 putting it over the fire pit, filling it with water,

433 lighting it [a fire] with kerosene,

434 putting kerosene on the firewood,

435 and putting logs under it,

437 and it will foam, the water on it will be white like
this,

440 and he will bring a drum for himself.

444 When it comes to a boil,

445 he will tell you to go around the what's-it-called,

447 go around the cauldron like this,

449 He will say... now, the sorcerer, he will say to the
boy,

450 "Go around it."

451 Now, this, you know, the horse said to him,

454 "Twice, thrice; thrice only walk around it.

457 twice... the second time, he will give his hand to you,

459 and he will drop you into the what's-it-called ... into
the cauldron.

462 You will dry out and you will die, and they will take
you out.

464 And afterward, they will distribute you among the
[other] cauldrons,

xōrdin tk-a ba maxlōq-an ba šāḥar-an
wa tā-in ba tō txōr-in tō
lakin tō gaw ba yē
wana āmad=ā gaw ba yē
bāba=ā mē dān-um na

awwal tō kin āxur mē tk-um pišt ba tō
lakin yē sikkara tk-a bē
ana āmad ba ṭabil-ē=ā
bārē gid-iš gardīd-iš ba qiz'an-ō
dikkara sikkara-ē
kardīd-ī yē na inda yē na=ā tumr-ī
wana kardīd-ī yē inda yē
burwā byō ba mē
rukbō kin bā mē wa brō wa č-im
wa dān-um pē salama ba mā dān-um na
pē hē=ā dān-um pē salama indur

lumrād yē gid-iš šabaḥa wābur pi šabḥ=ā

ṭambur-an bard-iš barra
qiz'an-an wa mičē-an wa dakka gid-in
wa dgō ba yē bāba=ā čē tk-ī=ā
dgō ba yē sūr tk-im
ādamī ḏīfū tk-im nwāz
dgō jwān-ē xēr-ē
wa sā rōk-ō na wašt ba xō wā yē bē

dgō ba yē dist tō čumb=ā

dgō ba yē dist mē ram xānağ-ō

wākud-um
xōrdin dō-um ba asp-ō
asp-ō xōd-iš mē
dgō ba yē tō gaw mē dān-um

jwān mād wa šabaḥa wāb pi šabḥ=ā

palla kin aw
wa fağara kin lā alḷahillaḷla
paqpaqa kin qiz'an-ō
tamna=ā dgō ba yē
byō bāba=ā ēka=ā ṭabil-ō=ā
byō bāz kin ba īn-ō
ar asp-ō g-iš ba yē
sā bōp-ō dgō ba yē
dgō ba yē bāba=ā mē dān-um na
awwal tō kin mēš-um tō
wa āxur=ā mē tk-um
bārē dikkara kin jwān bā yē na
ṭabil-ō abaša kin wa sā sā
tay-a tāt-a tk-a tay-a wa tēğar
ba īn-ō wātō ba quz'an-ō
ḥata āxur rōk-ō inča k-a ya'nī
bārē gid-iš dikkara sātē
sā sā sikkara-ē ba yē wa bast kin ya'nī

wa ka dakka pā kin ba yē zamī-ō

467 making food for many people, for sorcerers.
470 and they will come for you to eat you.
472 but you must tell him:
474 when he comes, say to him,
476 "O Father, I don't know [how to go around the
cauldron].
477 First, you do it, then I will do it after you."
481 But he [the sorcerer] will do it three times only.
483 When he comes with a drum,
484 once he does it, walks around the cauldron,
486 twice, a third time,
488 if you don't drop him into it, you will die.
491 Once you have dropped him into it,
492 run, come to me.
494 Climb onto me and go and let's leave,
496 although I don't know whether we'll be safe.
498 [audience says:] "Really?" [Aliko says:] "Yes indeed,
I don't even know if it is safe."
502 In any case, he did it. Upon waking up in the
morning,
506 he carried the logs outside,
507 cauldrons and things and digging,
508 He said to him, "O Father, what are you doing?"
510 He said to him, "We are making a wedding.
512 We are inviting some people tomorrow."
516 He (the boy) said, "That's good; that's fine."
517 And now, that boy, he stayed right by him [the
sorcerer].
519 He [the sorcerer] said to him [the boy], "What has
happened to your hand?"
520 He [the boy] says to him [the sorcerer], "My hand... I
went to the house;
522 I opened it;
523 I was giving food to the horse,
524 The horse bit me.
526 He [the sorcerer] said to him [the boy], "You say
[this], [but] I know [the truth]."
529 Fine. Things stayed as they were. When he got up in
the morning,
532 he [the sorcerer] filled [the cauldrons] with water.
534 and it foamed, may God save us!
537 It churned [and boiled] in the cauldron!
538 Then he said to him,
539 "Come, Son, you know this drum,
540 come play for the what's-it-called."
541 That which the horse had said to him,
542 now the father says to him.
544 He says to him, "O Father, I don't know [how].
545 First you do it; I will watch you,
548 And afterward, I myself will do it.
550 Once, twice do it, fine, that's all."
553 He took hold of the drum, and suddenly,
554 he comes, wants to make him come forward,
556 for whatever, just like this, for the cauldron.
558 Until after the boy does it this way, I mean,
560 he did it once, twice now.
564 Right away, as he was going around the third time,
and he was just finishing, I mean,
567 and right away he [the boy] stood firmly on the
ground,

amu byō rāstaḡ yē
ka byō dist xō sō ʒakon yē

ka byō yē
wa ka kasafa yē kin inda yē
inda quz'an-ō
našaba wābur inda yē inča
burwā sīna asp-ō
ambād-iš ba xō xwā ambād-iš ba xō ḡātaf

wa wākiš yē
tā ba yē wa tā māzad yē tk-a
asp-ō yā dān-um čī na
ḡata pišt-ō pišin pišt-ō pišin
mayya pišin wa nwāz pištīn

tamna=ā dgō ba yē ḡarḡara kin

sā sā čā tēmuš-ī
inda aql-an ān-an wālēyit-an=in=ā
dgō' ba yē ḡalla ba ʔa'r=in ammū yē ḡiraḡ-ē

dgō ba yē ammū yē ādamī=in
ammū ādamī sā č-in ba īn xō

sā č-in čāz txōr-in
mēš yē gid-iš dgō ba yē ḡarḡara kin

sā čī tēmuš-ī
dgō ba yē sātē gap=in ʔēr-an=in

dgō ba yē wā=tō tā-in sātē

qadar dgard-in xō mār wa qadar aqrab

qadar ḡawd-an jōr-in mardk-ō
wa yāllā
dgō ba yē ḡarḡara kin
dgō ba yē sātē gap=in ḡōsin-an
wa yāllā ḡātaf kard
ḡātaf-ō kardīd-iš
wa mēš kin
dērya dgō ba yē ḡāra kin
dgō ba yē sātē gap-an ḡā-an=in
ayya nēzik būr-in
xwā kard
sā trēs-in ba rēsīd-in ba ḡātaf-an=in

wa qaffa būr-in wātō
ar mardk-ē dgī-in ē'ū=in
ēka=ā ḡātaf-an kaft-in na=ā ē'ū=in ya'nī

jōr-in šan=ā axara būr-in pi šan

wa āmad-in=ā ba xwā=ā bang-an
wa filḡāl bang-ō wābur ba šan
rāyid-in na bā šan na
šara'a=in walēyit-ē ēka=ā inča sātē īyō
bistan-ē muḡ

568 immediately he [the sorcerer] comes in line with him,
569 right away he [the boy] comes and puts his hands on
his [the sorcerer's] backside,
570 right away he comes to him,
571 and right away he plunges him into it,
572 into the cauldron.
573 He was sticking straight down into it, like this.
575 He [the boy] ran toward the horse.
578 He loaded for himself salt, he loaded for himself
wood to make ropes,
581 and he set it off [made the horse run],
584 one [spur] on it, and he added another [spur].
585 This horse [ran like] I don't know what!
587 Until after early afternoon, afternoon,
590 between early afternoon and late afternoon prayer-
time.
593 Then he [the horse] said to him [the boy], "Look
around!
596 What do you see right now?"
597 "On the mountains, are those cities?"
599 He [the boy] said to him, "They are landing on
mountain-ledges, all those ants."
602 He [the horse] said to him, "All of those are people,"
605 "All of the people are now going to their what's-it-
called,
607 now they're going to eat lunch."
609 He made him [the horse] fly [on]. He [the horse] said
to him, "Look around!
611 Now what do you see?"
612 He [the boy] said to him, "Now they are the size of
birds."
614 He [the horse] said to him, "They are coming for you
now."
616 "Some [of them] will turn themselves into snakes and
some [into] scorpions.
620 Some of them will search in caves for the man,
623 and O God!"
625 He said to him, "Look around!"
626 He said to him, "Now they are the size of goats."
628 "Now quickly, drop the wood for rope-making."
630 He dropped the wood for rope-making.
632 And they flew!
634 After a long time, he said to him, "Look around."
636 He said to him, "Now they are the size of cows."
637 That means they became near.
638 [horse says:] "Drop the salt!"
640 Now they are reaching to... they reached the wood to
make rope.
643 and they came to a stop, just like that.
644 Every man said, "They're here."
645 Since this must be the wood for making rope that was
dropped, it means they are here."
647 Since they were looking for them, they were delayed
by them [i.e., because they thought they were by the
wood].
649 When they came for salt, it was nightfall.
652 and right then, nightfall came upon them;
653 they didn't catch them.
656 They came to dock in a country you know like about
this time [10 pm], at a date palm garden.

asp-ō dgō ba yē sā tō dōm ba tō mū

mū dār-iš ba yē lāḥa inča mū-an

yā mū-ō na gur wā xō
ana čīz-ē gard-a ba tō
banjā'ī wābur ba tō
ḥaraqa kin mē tā-um ba tō
āy jāga-ē ya'nī
wa sā tō brō inda yā muğ-an ēka=ā ūn-ī inda
yē
nwāz bīdarī-ō tay jērda tk-a

gaw ba yē nōxada-ē mē ... radda tk-um ba tō
tō byō na radda kin na mē radda tk-um

wa ṣabḥ tī īyō tā īyō wa čāz-an wa waxt
nāšta=ā
laqmit yē byār ba mē wā xō
xōrdin pi xā nōxada-ō xō
yā ammū=ā ba šēx-ō ya'nī
rōk-ō xābar na bā yē na
ēwū lumrād wa mād inda xānağ-ō inda muğ-
an
bīdar āmad dgō ba yē hā lakin rōk-ē

dgō ba yē hā
dgō ba yē tāt-um tany-um wā tō
bīdar-ō tō bīdar-ō=ī mi radda tk-um ba tō

wa lakin-ā nikta čīkē xōrdin byār ba mē wā xō
pi xānağ-ō pi īn xō
dgō ba yē amma tō ka na
samma kin ba yē
ān jērda tk-a yē radda tk-a

sā šēx-ō wā yē si-ta ditk-an
di-kas-an r-in xāna
yak-ē wā pē yē=ā ditk-ō čikk-ō wā yē
gaft ba bap xō mē č-um na xāna na
ana xāyar-ē bālağ fatta tō fānd-um yē
ba tō yē mē xāna tāt-um

wa midum xāyar-ē xālāl ḥasa xāna tāt-um na

dgō ba yē bā yē na rōr-an āmō tō walama=in
ba mā
mād mād mād
sātē šaw jumāt-an wa dišumbar-an=ā
tā-in ba ḥawṭ-ō ba nwāšam

ēšin-an ditk-an=ā sar-an xō dalla tk-in
mū-an xō dalla tk-in jēdil xō tk-in

kār xō tk-in tōfur tār-in ba xō
ḥall wa šīḡl wa īn wa ...
č-in ḥawṭ-ō ya'nī

yē rōk-ō=ā tēmuš-in yē āntē
sā ditk-ō čikk-ō ṣaḥara yē gid-iš

661 The horse said to him, "Now as for you, I am giving you [some of my] hair."

666 He gave hair to him, it was around this much hair [shows handful].

669 This hair, you know, take with you.

671 If things turn against you,

672 [if] evil happens to you,

674 burn [the hair], [and] I will come to you.

676 Any place, I mean.

678 And now, you go into this date palm orchard, you know, and stay inside it.

681 Tomorrow a peasant will come, he will water the date palms,

683 Say to him, a gardener, I... will work shifts with you.

686 You don't come, don't come back. I myself will work the shift.

688 When morning comes, it comes, and lunch and [at] breakfast time,

691 bring a bit of his food for me with you:

693 food from the house of the gardener himself!

696 That is to say, all of these were from the sheikh.

698 The boy didn't know about it.

702 Here, in any case, and he stayed in the house, in the date palm orchard.

707 [The] peasant came. He said to him, "Oh, [you're] only a boy."

711 He said to him, "Yes?"

712 He said to him, "I want to stay with you.

713 The peasant, you are the peasant, I will work shifts with you."

716 And just, a little bit, a tiny bit of food bring for me and yourself from the house, from your what's-it-called.

719 He said to him, "So that you don't despair,

722 begin working on it."

723 The other one waters the date palms, he does the shift work.

726 Now, the sheikh had three daughters.

729 Two of them had married.

732 He had only one left: he had the youngest daughter.

734 She said to her father, "I am not going to marry."

737 If I sent you a ripened, juicy green melon,

740 it would mean that I wanted to marry. {If I want to marry, I will send you a ripe, juicy green melon.}

743 And as long as [I send you] an unripe melon, I still do not want to marry.

747 He said to her, "All right. Your uncle's children are ready for us."

750 Time went by, and more time, and more time.

752 Now, on Thursday nights, and on Mondays,

755 they would come to the orchard pool in the late evening.

757 These girls, they would comb their hair.

760 They would comb their hair, they would plait their hair in two braids,

761 do their things, colour their hair auburn,

764 hair oil and things and whatnot and... ,

765 that is to say, they would go to the orchard pool [to bathe].

766 That boy, they would see him there.

768 Now, the young girl [was] enchanted [by] him.

dgō yā rōk-ō=ā jwān-ē
 ya'nī xalaqa ba yē
 ka tāt-um dug-um yē šū'ī yē xistar mē

sā šā č-in=ā yē tay ḥawṭ-ō

sā ditk-ō šang-ō wašt-iš pi xō ba ḥawṭ-ō šang-
 ō
 šang-ō ar dalla tk-in ba yā
 wa raft-in raft-in raft-in raft-in
 inča ba'ada būr-in farra=ā
 tamna=ā dgō ba xwē xō ēja īn mē mād ba ...
 šang-ō
 šang mē mād ba īn-ō ... ba ḥawṭ-ō

č-um ba yē tār-um yē āwust-ē
 dgīn ba yē č-im wā tō
 dgō ba šan ā'ā br-ē na mi xō č-um
 wa raft
 wa barza wābur ba ḥawṭ-ō=ā
 yē rōk-ō inda ḥawṭ-ō=ā nōr-ē
 pi spērī na lāmā'a tk-a inda āwan
 šang-ō abaša gid-iš wa ... āmad
 amu nwāz-ī=ā inda xāyar-an

xāyar-ē bālaḡ ar fatta tō'at
 dār-iš ba ... fān ba bap xō
 bap mē dgō ar ... sātē ...
 tamna=ā br-ī dgō dgō ba yē ẓar'-ō īn mē

dit mē īn tāt-a ... xāna tāt-a

wa sātē bā yē na
 č-um tēbur-um yē xāna ba pis āmō yē
 āmad bōp-ō dgō ba yē hā bāba=ā
 xāna tāt-ī
 pis āmō xō kārim-ī tāt-ī
 dgō ba yē baba=ā mē xāna tāt-um
 lakin pis āmō ḡēr pis āmō ičinā

dgō ba yē hā
 dgō ba yē byār ba mē aft tā ānar
 mē tany-um bāla qīšr-ō
 wa ar walēyit-ō=in mardk-an
 ammū šan byār šan
 kas wēl na na baẓza wa na bīdar

mē ānar-an tḡan-um pi īn-ō ... pi qīšr-ō

mē tay ba kē xistar mē
 baẓza-ē pāša-ē
 dgō ba yē dgī'ī? dgō ba yē hē

lumrād wād-iš bīdarī-ō wā yē baẓza-ō baẓza-ō
 wa ...
 wa ... qawm dāwud wa qawm ēl millā'ō
 qawm šālah pis abla šālah yē wā šālah zēdūnī
 wa ... , rōk-an fōḡilī=in=ā
 wa ngāl-an ba šan ... ngāl-an šan ba šan wa
 laba šatṭa ādamī gap=ā

772 She said, "This boy, he is good,
 773 that is to say, he is so handsome
 774 that I want take him as a husband, he [will be] my
 fiancé."

778 Now when they would go there, he would come to
 the orchard pool.

781 Now the girl left her comb behind at the orchard
 pool, the comb,

783 that comb with which they would comb their hair.

785 And they went, went, went, went,

787 like this when they had become far away,

788 then she said to her sister, "Oh! I left this comb of
 mine."

790 "I left my comb at the what's-it-called, at the orchard
 pool."

793 "I will go to it, I will bring it. [You] go ahead."

795 They said to her, "We will go with you."

796 She said to them, "No, don't go. I will go myself."

799 And she went.

800 When he appeared at the orchard pool,

802 this boy in the orchard pool, he was radiant!

804 So white was he that he glistened in the water.

808 She took hold of the comb, and... came.

812 Right away the next day, [she was] in the garden of
 green melons.

814 A green melon that was ripe and juicy,

815 she gave to... She sent it to her father.

818 "My father said that... "now..."

820 see that you go to your father." She said to him, "The
 produce of my what's-it-called..."

822 "My daughter wants what's-it-called... she wants to
 marry.

825 And now, it's all right.

826 I will have her marry her uncle's son."

829 The father came, he said to her, "Yes, child?"

832 "You want to marry?"

833 "Which of your uncle's sons do you want?"

835 She said to him, "O father, I want to marry."

837 "Except a cousin, [someone] other than a cousin,
 otherwise not."

840 He said to her, "Yes?"

843 She said to him, "Bring me seven pomegranates."

845 "I will sit up on top of the palace."

847 And whichever men are in the country,

849 bring them, all of them.

851 Don't leave anyone [out]! Neither beggar nor
 peasant!

854 I will throw the pomegranates from the what's-it-
 called... from the palace.

857 I will come to the one who is my fiancé.

859 It could be a poor man or a wealthy man."

862 He said to her, "Are you sure?" She said to him,
 "Yes."

865 Then, they brought, the peasant and with him the
 beggar, the beggar and...

870 And the lineage of Dawoud and the lineage of El the
 Mullah, the lineage of Saleh the son of Abdullah Saleh,
 that of Saleh Zaiduni and... obnoxious boys those!

880 And they had their headdress rings on, their
 headdress rings were on them [for the formal occasion]

ēšin-an šē'it tār-in ya'nī

īn tay ba kē=ā ānar-ō=ā
hē bass=in hē bass=im
wa amu fān yē amu taqqa tk-a inda bazza-ō

ar zām-ē tā-ē filhāl aft tā āmad ba yē
ka šēx-ō dgō mē dit xō dōm na ba yē na yē
čāb dgō ... yā īšī'it wā yē na
bīdar-ē ā'ā radda tk-a ba bīdar mē
sā mē kana dit xō ād-um ba yē=ā

dgīn ba yē qawm ēl hamīmē

ēšin-an ādamī-an gap-an=ā
dgīn ba yē tō'at na
yā ādamī-ē=ā ditk-ō rōk-ō yā jōr-a
tē dit xō dī ba yē ditk-ō šart-ō kin ba yē ya'nī

ana ajaza wābur pi šart-ō=ā
āxur dit xō ād na ba yē na

hā kana yē tāt-a yē ō
jwān ra ba šēx-ō
dgō ba yē hē
dit mē tal bur tō gis-ī xistar dug-a tō

wa lakin na ba šart dgō ba yē ba šart gaw

gaw dgō ba yē tāt-um qīšr-ē
dwāzda tā tābaq-an qublō qīšr dit mē gis-ē
yā qīšr dit mē na qīšr dgur tābaq qublō yē

gis-ē ya'nī
č-ī inda yē=ā wā=daxl-ō tī-ī inda yē
wa č-ī indur ... jīsr-ē ba yē
wa tāt-um ḥawṭ-ē šīrx axča-ē
wa ḥawṭ-ē spēr
yā inda yē
rōz panšumbur šaw jumāt saḥba tī-im jumāt
yā inda yē
dit xō kāwa tēbur-um ba tō ba ḥaqq

wa lakin yā inda yē na qašša tō sar tō

dgō ba yē šōbur kin
ka rāyud-um=ā rōz jumāt=ā
yē ka rāyud-um ka rāyud-um na=ā
lā aḥillaḥ!
šaw-ō raft ḥaraqa mū gid-iš pi asp-ō
asp-ō rēsid ba yē
dgō ba yē hā
dgō ba yē šēx-ō čāb inča inča

dgō ba yē tā qīšr
wa di-ta ḥawṭ-an tā wā mā jāri ... yēk bē
inšallā
šaw jumāt našaba bur pēna yē qīšr-ē dgur
warya wābiš walēyit-ō

and about one hundred important people [were there],
883 That is to say, these [one hundred elders] were
brought as witnesses.

885 These came for whom? The pomegranate...

889 Yes, there were enough: Yes, we were enough.

894 And immediately she threw it [the pomegranate],
immediately it pummeled the poor person,

895 Each time one, in all seven [of them] came to him.

900 So that the sheikh said, I am not giving my daughter
to him, how do I say this... this one doesn't make a living.

905 A peasant! No! He works shifts for my peasant!

907 Now [indignation] has it befallen me that I would
rather give my own daughter to this?

909 They said to him, "This is the lineage of El
Hamimee,

910 these being important people,"

911 they said to him, "It shall not be.

913 The girl chooses that very person, that boy.

917 Before you give your daughter to him, that is to say,
he must give her the bridewealth.

920 Perhaps the bridewealth bothers him?

922 [In that case] after all don't give your daughter to
him!

925 Eh? Lest she should want that fellow!

928 Well. He went to the sheikh.

930 He said to him, "Well.

931 My daughter has decided on you to take as a fiancé,
she will take you.

935 But without any bridewealth." He said to him, "With
bridewealth. You name it!"

938 He said to him, "I want a palace,

941 twelve stories [high], to be presented to my daughter.

945 This palace that is for my daughter, it is another
multi-storeyed palace

948 to be presented to her, I mean.

950 When you go into it, get inside it,

953 when you go in... there is a bridge.

954 And I want a golden pool— of pure gold—

956 and a pool of silver.

958 These inside it [the palace].

960 On Thursday, Friday's eve, when morning dawns on
Friday,

964 I will carry the marriage contract for my daughter to
you for the bridewealth.

968 However unless these [things] are inside it, your head
will be cut off."

970 He said to him, "Wait."

973 If I am able, on Friday,

976 then I am able. If I am not able,

979 may God save us!

983 That night he went to burn the hair from the horse.

986 The horse came to him.

987 He said to him, "Yes?"

988 He said to him, "The sheikh how... like this, like
this."

990 He said to him, "One palace

992 and two pools, we have one already... [so then] only
one? God willing!"

998 Friday's eve standing before him was another palace!

1002 It shone out over the country.

ḥawṭ-ē širx wa ḥawṭ-ē spēr axča inda yē
iddan-ō yā tē qāmēt=in=ā bang dār-iš

sā šabaḥa=in=ā ... nōr qīšr-ō-ē hē

tamna=ā yā nōr-ē qīšr-ō-ē
dgīn ba šēx-ō hā
tō dgī rāy-a na
kas rāy-a na
yēk ... tā ... inda tā rōz yā wābur na

aya ba yē dō-um yē ba yē bra wā yē xāna

dār-iš yē ba yē
šabaḥa tī-in jumāt-an
inda qīšr-ō=ā
sā mardk-ō pā yē drāz
wa zank-ō pā yē drāz inča ništ-ē yā

jumāt=in wa mard- ... zank-ō muxx yē īn ...

muxx yē knār yē wa šiš yē tk-a

ba tēra-ō=in ya'nī
sā yā tēra-ō=ā wa uddū tk-a

dgīn ba yē tēra bāḡ al- mawz
ar čō ba yē=ā tumr-a
šāḥar-ē inda yē
ar čōt ba yā tēra-ō=ā sō yē na

mūl
dgīn ba yē bāḡ al- mawz ya'nī

yā bāḡ inda yē na bāḡ al- mawz ya'nī

yē tīskan bāḡ al- mawz
yē tīskan bāḡ al- mawz
sā wa čāz=ā
tamna=ā šaš-ta kōrk-an da'bar-īfī
šaš-ta kōrk-an=ā ar šaš kas-an šan salaḥa=in
salaḥa=in ba tāfaq ba īn ya'nī
xālaq-an šan inčka xālaq rōk-ō yē=ā

ditk-ō jīr-iš šan
lakin mardk-ō xwaft-ē na
ka byō ka xars čum yē āmad zēran

ditk-ō xiš yē taqqa gid-iš ba xiš čum yē

qaḥama gid-iš bāla mardk-ō dgō ba yē hē

dgō ba yē ičinā
dgō ba yē abdin ba tō=in gaw čī jīs-ī

dgō ba yē baba=ā ka brār ba tō=in

šaš tā kōrk-an uddū gid-in
pi tēra-ō=ā pišt pi za qīšr-ō
rin zēran tēra bāḡ al- mawz

1004 A pool of gold and a pool of silver were in it.
1007 This muezzin before [people] were awake, he gave the [dawn] call to prayer,
1010 now they were just waking... It was light [shining from] the palace. Yes!
1014 He saw this light [shining from] the palace.
1017 They said to the sheikh, "So.
1019 You say he can't do it?!"
1020 No one can do it!
1021 One... single... in a single day, this could not have happened!
1025 If it is his doing, I will give her to him. Let him marry her.
1027 He gave her to him [in marriage].
1028 They woke up Friday morning.
1031 In the palace,
1033 now, the man, his legs were stretched out.
1035 And the woman, her legs were stretched out. That's the way they were sitting..
1037 They were Friday. And man... the woman, his head [was in] what's-it-called,
1040 his head [was in] her lap and she was delousing him.
1042 that is to say, they were on the path.
1045 Now, when he was on this path, and going by [them],
1046 they said to him, "A path [to the] banana garden:
1048 whoever goes there, dies.
1050 A sorcerer is in it."
1051 (a voice calls:) "Whoever goes by this path won't survive!"
1054 At all!
1056 They said to him, "That is to say, it's the the banana garden."
1058 This garden that we are talking about, you know, that is to say, it is the banana garden.
1060 It's the tale of The Banana Garden.
1061 This is the tale of the Banana Garden.
1062 Now when it was lunchtime,
1064 she saw that there were six boys chattering.
1066 Six boys, all six of them armed with weapons,
1073 armed with guns, with what's-it-called, that is to say
1076 Since their faces were the same as the face of her boy,
1078 the girl was looking at them.
1080 But the man was sleeping, you see?
1082 Then it came about, that tears were falling down from her eyes.
1086 The girl... tapped him on the cheek, on the cheek [to wake him up]
1089 [She was] jumping up on top of the man. He said to her, "Yes?"
1092 She said to him, "Never mind."
1093 He said to her, "What! Whatever you have to tell me, say it! What did you see?!"
1095 She said to him, "Hey, just now your brothers were [here]...
1097 Six boys were going by;
1098 from the path behind,... below the palace,
1100 they went down a path [of] the banana garden.

wa yē tēra-ō=ā ar čōt ba yē
radda tō'at na
sātē tē pīšin=in jāri

wa ka ḥaraqa mū-an kin
wa ka rēsid ba yē asp-ō
abaša šamšir xō kin qaḥama kin ba kāmār yē
yē tēgar wa asp-ō wa zank-ō pišt-ō yē

jilbē yē ba kāwa yē lablab-ītī yē inda tēra-ō

asp-ō dgō ba yē hā ka čāz xōs-ē jāri

ka ḥasa brār-an tō xāyus-in pi šām
wa ka ḥasa iš ḥašala gis-ē čāz na
yē lāzum sā xōs-ē šan
kalimānō tk-a na hē
sā wa barza wābiš ba bāḡ al- mawz=ā
tamna=ā brār-an yē ḥaps=in
čāz xōs-ē jāri
sā asp-ō dgō ba yē dinya-ē=ā mē

lakin tō ḥamala biš tā ṭarb ba tō bē
sā wana āmad ba tō tēgar=ā

midam šamšir-ō āmas-ē na bā yē na=ā

iš kin na
aminča šamšir xō sō na
wēl yē byāt
sā wana āmad nēzik wābur ba mē=ā
sā mē=ā tay na ba mē na
tay ba ut-tō ya'nī
tō abaša mē abaša zḡwān xō tk-um
tkēš-um inda falaq kūn yē
za jamaḡ-ō inča
tkēš-um inda kūn asp-ō inda

inda kūn īn-ō kūn šāḥar-ō

yē lāzum ḥarḥara tk-a
qatqata yē tār-a na
lāzum ḥarḥara tk-a ba zḡwān-ō
tō sō ba yē lakin tā ṭarb

ana di-ta zindaḡ tō-a

asp-ō dgō ba yē wa ka bō ba yē

sā wa barza wābur bāḡur=ā tamna=ā dgō

w al'isā wāḥid wu lō iṣātēn ē
wa byō wā=tēgar
qaḥama kin tay wā=tēgar
tay wā=tēgar tay wā=tēgar
ān rōk-ō jwān xālaq
wa ka ka ra ba pišt asp yē=ā

amu zḡwān xō ṭala'a kin asp-ō

1102 and that path, whoever goes down it,
1103 does not return."

1105 At that time it was already before the early
afternoon.

1107 And right away he burned the hairs.

1109 And right away the horse came to him.

1111 He took hold of his sword, he leapt up on his back.

1114 He [went] ahead, and... [on] the horse and the
woman [ran] behind him,

1117 With her headscarf in hand, she was hurrying,
hasty, reckless, [running] onto the path.

1122 The horse said to him, "Well. If he [the sorcerer]
has already eaten lunch,

1126 then your brothers will still be eaten for supper.

1130 and if he has not yet taken anything for lunch,

1131 then he will have to have eaten them now."

1135 He didn't understand. Well.

1138 Now when he showed up at the banana garden,

1140 he saw that his brothers were bound.

1143 He [the sorcerer] had already eaten lunch.

1145 Now the horse said to him [the boy], "Listen
carefully to what I have to say: I...

1152 But you be careful that you only give him one blow.

1155 Now, when he [the sorcerer] comes to you, in front
of you,

1156 regardless [of whether] the sword has struck him
[well],

1158 Don't do anything.

1159 Just like this, don't put your sword [to him again].

1161 Let him come,

1162 Now, when he comes close to me,

1164 now as for me, he will not come to me.

1165 That is to say, he will come to YOU [instead].

1166 You stick out... I will stick out my tongue,

1168 I will rub his bottom.

1170 under the man's skirt like this.

1172 I will rub him on the bottom, [said] the horse, on
the...

1173 on the bottom of what's-it-called... the bottom of
the sorcerer.

1175 He will have to look around,

1177 [for] that which is tickling him,

1178 He will have to look around for the tongue.

1181 You give it to him... but only a single blow! not
two!

1184 If [you give] two he will come alive [again]. [one
blow will kill him, two will make him alive again]

1187 The horse said to him, "And right away go to
him."

1189 Now when he [the sorcerer] appeared again, then
[the horse] said,

1190 [in Arabic:] "One dinner or two?"

1196 And he came forward!"

1197 He [the boy] jumps up [and] comes forward!

1199 He comes forward, comes forward...

1200 that good-looking boy.

1203 And when... when he [the horse] goes over, that
horse

1205 immediately he [the horse] put his tongue up there,
the horse,

amu sō yē inda mayya šaraxa yē
inča qatqata inča qatqata
wa amu sō ba yē
gur pi ēwū ḥata ē'ū

tamna=ā dgō ba yē zīd

dgō ba yē

labata kin inča qalaba wabiš
qaḥama kin zēran
brō ba brār-an xō
wa qayd-an wākiš pi pā šan
wa adala wābur wējē=in
wa zank-ō rēsid na pā ba yē wā na pi xars-an

ān zank-ō pišt ba šan bē

hē pišt ba šan bē sā rēsid bē
hā bap tō kōr bur pišt-ō tō

wa bāram išk wābur pi wā=garbī
sā na jōr-in pi wā=šarqī

sā tā-ī sā tā-ī=ā faḍala biš

tāt-um tō brō bō ba mām xō
bō ba bap xō jōr-in tō
dgō ba asp-ō rāy-ī tōpur-ī ba mā=ā
mē wa brār-an mē aft kas=im
aft kas wa zan mē ašt kēsī yē
āntē bap mē kōr būs-ē pištu mē
dgō ba yē tōpur-um ba paṇḍa kas
šmā hō aft kas-ē bē=ā
lumrād sā bāḡ-ō yā salama wābur ba šēx-ō

hē bāḡ al- mawz
wa pōr
ḥalla wābiš walēyit-ō awēlī jāga bap yē wa
mām yē
wa brō ba mām-ō ba bōp-ō
dis xō kēsid-iš ba čum yē wa naqqad yē gid-iš

ba mām-ō
wa jwān būr-in
tō raft-ī wa mi āmad-um
xālaš
tīskan-ē jwān
hē hē māl-ē

- 1206 immediately he put it in the middle of his crack,
1208 like this, tickling, like this, tickling,
1209 and immediately gave it to him.
1210 He [the boy] took [cut] him [the sorcerer] from here to there.
1213 Then he [the sorcerer] said to him [in Arabic:], “Add [strike me again]!”
1214 He said to him [in Arabic:], “My father didn’t teach me small bites, my father taught me blows of iron!”
1218 He [the sorcerer] shuddered like this; he collapsed.
1222 He [the boy] jumped down.
1224 He went to his brothers.
1226 And he took off the ties that bound their feet,
1228 And they met, shaking hands,
1231 And the woman did not arrive [until now, for] she was on foot. She was in tears.
1234 [Hamedo:] That woman was behind them just [now]?
1235 Yes, just behind them, she only arrived now.
1237 [Horse explains to boy:] So, your father became blind because of you.
1242 And the almond tree dried out from the west.
1244 Now you see, they were looking for him from the east.
1245 Now you are coming. Now that you are coming, go ahead,
1248 I want you to go, go to your mother,
1251 go to your father, they are looking for you.”
1254 He said to the horse, “Can you fly with us?”
1256 Me and my brothers are seven people.
1258 Seven people and my wife is eight people.
1260 There my father has become blind because of me.
1262 He said to him, “I will fly with fifteen people!”
1264 You yourselves are only seven people?”
1267 In any case, now this garden was given [by the boy] to make peace with the sheikh.
1269 [Mal:] Yes, the banana garden...
1270 And they flew!
1272 He landed in the first country, the place of his father and his mother.
1276 And he went to the mother, to the father.
1278 He passed over his eye[s] with his hand, and he healed him.
1281 of the mother [father].
1282 And they became well.
1283 You went and I came.
1284 The End.
1288 Was it a good tale?
1289 [Mal:] Yes. [Hamedo:] Yes, it was a beautiful one.

Aḥmad Tka

yā alla yisalmik qassit aḥmad tka yē=ā

yēk-ē ōjuzō zank-ē ōjuzō rōr-ē wā yē rōr-ē

yā'nī taqrīban umr paṇḍa sāl bīs sāl

0 Well, God save you, this is the story of “Ahmad Does It”, it is so...

5 There was an old person. An old woman, she had a grandchild, a grandchild.

12 I mean, he was nearly full grown... fifteen or twenty

čōt=ā jīr-iš īn-ē
 ruppī jīr-iš ruppī inda tēra-ō
 nummaḡ ruppī-ē
 rōk-ō y'ā umr yē paṇḍa sāl tō'at da' sāl

 ruppī jīr-iš āmad ba ḥubbō xō
 ba ōjuzō-ō mām yē na
 mām yē murs-ē yē lētum-ē
 ništ-ē indur wā ḥubbō xō
 tamna=ā dgō ba yē mam=ā nummaḡ ruppī
 jīr-um č-um ḥijj
 nummaḡ č-ī ḥijj ba nummaḡ ruppī
 č-ī ḥijj č-ī ḥijj ba nummaḡ ruppī-ē

 č-ī ḥijj č-ī ḥijj ba nummaḡ ruppī-ē

 tō'at na
 dgō ba yē č-um
 č-ī wa||a āka tēra-ō
 raft twakkal kin brō
 raft sā bilmitil walēyit-ē inčka xāṣab-ā
 raft raft wa kaft dbay
 rēsid dbay rēsid dbay=ā
 sātē čōt sā kas dān-a na
 čōt dikkan-ē inča wa inča
 tō=ā sā tō wa č-ī ḥijj=ā
 br-ī ba mqāwlan
 ba rō xō
 rēsid ba dikkan-ē
 s'al yē gid-iš
 salām alēkum ālēkum salām
 ya'nī ādamī tāyir-ē dikkan-ō ṣāhib dikkan-ō
 yē=ā
 tamna=ā dgō ba yē tō=ā nām tō k=ā
 sā yā aḥmad tka yē=ā rōk-ō yē=ā bazza-ō=ā
 dgō ba ādamī dikkan-ō tō=ā nām tō k=ā
 dgō mē=ā nām mē aḥmad
 nām tō aḥmad mē=ā nām mē aḥmad tka
 aya tō brār-an=im
 ā tō aḥmad=ī
 mē aḥmad tka=um
 tamna=ā dgō yā||a sātē xwēm būr-in ba
 angar brār-an angar=in
 wā yē rōz-ē di-rōz
 iš na jāga dgur dān-a na na
 sā sakana gid-iš wā yē=ā wā tāyir-ō ya=ā

 tamna=ā tāyir-ō dgō ba y=ā ya||a mā sā
 brār-an=īm
 lakin šaw-ō br-im xā šēx-ō dṣ-im

 tō č-ī ḥijj wa tō sā tu ẓ-ī

 yā šaw-ō xā šēx-ō dṣ-im

 č-im xaznit-ō šēx-ō dṣ-im
 tamna=ā yē aḥmad dgō ba yē ḥā awwal bar-
 im yē
 yē bazza-ō=ā

years old.
 17 He left... he found something...
 22 he found a rupee, a rupee on the path.
 24 A half-rupee.
 27 This boy was... his age was not yet fifteen, he was ten
 years old.
 32 He found a rupee, he came to his grandmother.
 35 to the old person, [who] was not his mother.
 38 His mother had died, [so] this [boy] was an orphan.
 41 He lived in... with his grandmother.
 43 Then he said to her, "O Grandmother, I have found a
 half-rupee, I am going on Hajj."
 49 "Half... you're going on Hajj with a half-rupee?!
 51 You're going on Hajj, you're going on Hajj with a half-
 rupee?
 53 You're going on Hajj, you're going on Hajj with a half-
 rupee?
 54 It will never happen!"
 55 He said to her, "I'm going!"
 56 "[If] you're really going, there's the way."
 60 He left. "You're departing, [so] go!"
 63 He went now, like into the town, like Khasab,
 66 He went, he went, and he fell upon Dubai.
 69 He arrived at Dubai. Arriving at Dubai,
 75 now, he went [there], now he knew no one.
 77 He went into a shop, like this and like that,
 79 You, now if you go on Hajj,
 81 you would go to [a] travel agency.
 82 [Audience:] He was going his own way.
 83 He arrived at a shop,
 84 He asked him a question.
 85 They greeted each other.
 87 Well, the merchant shopkeeper, this one was the owner
 of the shop.
 92 Then he said to him, "What is your name?"
 96 Now this Ahmad Does It fellow, this boy, the beggar,
 100 he said to the shopkeeper, "What is your name?"
 102 He said, "My name is Ahmad."
 105 "Your name is Ahmad? My name is Ahmad Does It!
 108 Could it be that we are brothers?"
 110 "Eh? You are Ahmad?"
 113 "I am Ahmad Does It."
 117 Then he said, "OK", now they became related to each
 other by blood, they were brothers to each other."
 120 He was with him a day or two,
 122 for there wasn't any other place that he knew, you see?
 123 Now since he took lodging with him, with this
 merchant,
 126 the merchant said to this one, "OK, now we are
 brothers."
 131 [Ahmad Tka says:] "But tonight let's go and rob the
 sheikh's house."
 135 [Ahmad says:] "You're going on Hajj and now you're
 stealing?"
 138 [Ahmad Tka says:] "This very night let's rob the
 sheikh's house.
 140 Let's go steal the sheikh's valuables."
 143 Then this Ahmad said to him, "Let's begin carrying it
 out."
 147 He is the one who is pitiable.

ar tāt-a dgō ba aḥmad ān
 dgō ba aḥmad dikkanīnō awwal bār mē
 yē=um
 awwal bār tō=ī
 dgō ba yē hē
 sā yā yā pē na muxx wā yē=ā

amu rōz-ō pišt-ī
 lāzum ādamī xābar tī-in wa
 wa ādamī sabara tkīn ba walēyit-ō wa šīgl

awwal bār maxluq-an ḡafala=in
 sā nīyyit aḥmad tka inčīya yē=ā
 tamna=ā dgō ba yē ka z-im awwal bār mē
 yē=um
 rōz-ō mē č-um z-um
 sā č-im wā=angar lakin mē č-um tēḡar
 šaw wābur=ā ba xubrit
 br-im ba xaznit-an šēx-ō dz-im
 sōq-ō gid-in wād-in ammū xaznit gid-in

šabaḥa būr-in pi šabḥ=ā awa=ā xā šēx-ō zīs-in
 in
 ēšinan ar zīs-in šēx-ō pē ām ba yē

kas iš dgō na
 šaw-ō sabara tk-im čābē šīgl-ō=ā

lāzum tā-in bāgur
 sā čāb kin šēx-ō=ā
 jāga yā xānaḡ-ō xaznit-an inda yē īn-an na

ḥafara kin dār ma dār
 sā yā ba ar tay ar ḡarra=ā

sā rōz-ō pištū'ī ba yē=ā
 ba aḥmad ādamī dikkanīnō
 mēš kin mēš kin mēš kin sā č-in ba yē kaft
 gambil-ō
 kaft inda yē=ā gis-um iš ba yē tēra byā bāla
 na
 wa yē tāt-a tār-a yē bāla na
 tāt-a tukš-a yē
 ādamī aḥmad bazza=ā tāt-a tukš-a yē
 ka dgō ba yē čābē=ā dgō ba yē čābē=ā

če ḥata tī-im
 aḥsan pi muxx tō qašša k-um pi ādamī dān-
 in tō
 maxlōq-ō baḡa rū wā tō dān-ī=ā
 dān-ī yē ba rū yē
 dgō ba yē ka muxx yē qašša kin
 muxx yē qašša kin
 jitt-ō wašt-iš yē inda gambil-ō
 muxx-ō gur brō
 yā šnuft-ē yē jārī qyāš mē
 muxx-ō gur brō
 ēnar yē muxx-ō
 tamna=ā dgīn awa=ā xā šēx-ō zīs-in

148 Whatever he wanted he told to that Ahmad,
 151 He said to Ahmad the shopkeeper... "the first time it is
 me."
 155 "The first time it is you?"
 157 He said to him, "Yes."
 158 Now this [Ahmad Tka] also, you know, he had a head
 on his shoulders/ was a clever fellow:
 160 Immediately the following day,
 162 someone must find out whether...
 164 whether they are standing guard for the country's
 Ministry.
 166 The first time everyone is unsuspecting.
 168 Thus was the scheming of Ahmad Does It.
 170 Then he said to him, "When we steal, the first time it
 will be me [my turn].
 173 Today I am going to steal.
 175 Now we will go together, but I will go ahead.
 178 When night came, on to the plan of action...
 180 "Let's go and steal the sheikh's valuables.
 182 They took the souq, they brought, they took all of the
 valuables.
 189 When they got up in the morning, it was said that they
 had robbed the sheikh's house.
 193 These people who had robbed the sheikh, even they
 kept quiet/ even the sheikh kept quiet.
 198 No one was saying anything.
 200 Tonight we will keep watch [and see] how the thing
 turns out,
 203 They will certainly come another time.
 207 Now how is he doing it/ how must he do it, the sheikh?
 209 This place, the house valuables which are in the
 what's-it-called,
 212 He dug all around it!
 221 Now, this is for whoever comes, whoever makes a
 mistake, eh?
 225 Now the next day it was his turn.
 228 [the turn of] Ahmad, the shop-keeper fellow.
 231 They walked, walked, now they are going to
 it, he fell into the hole.
 236 He fell into it, "I am taken!" There was no way for him
 to come up [to get out of the hole].
 240 And he [Ahmad Does It] did not want to bring him out,
 242 he wanted to kill him.
 244 That poor Ahmad fellow, he wanted to kill him.
 248 So he said to him(self?), "How could this be?" He said,
 "How could this be?"
 249 What will become of us?
 251 Better that I cut off your head than that someone
 recognise you.
 255 Will all the people recognise you without a face?
 259 You recognise him by his face!
 262 He told him to cut off his head.
 265 He cut off his head,
 267 the corpse, he left it in the hole.
 271 Take the head, go!
 272 [to audience] Have you heard this already from me?
 275 Take the head, go!
 276 Hide it, the head.
 278 Then they said that [someone] had robbed the sheikh's
 house,

kaft-in bā šan
 lakin maxlōq-ō bağa muxx kas dān-a yē kī
 na
 kas dān-a yē kī na
 yā ūdū billā
 bard-in yā jitt-ō=ā dakka yē gid-in
 inda maqbērit-ō
 šēx-ō čābē kin jwān
 sabara kin ba mētaw
 lāzum muxx-ō tār-in ba gēr-ō
 wašt-iš da' tā zangērir
 hāraş-an ba gēr-ō sabara tk-in
 sabara tk-in kē muxx-ō tār-a
 dūr-in ya'nī pi gēr-ō=ā
 tā bār tī-in mēš-in gīya hata mēš-in

sā wa raft awwa bār=ā
 tamna=ā hāraş-an ba yē radda wāb
 radda wāb byō xānağ-ō
 yē=ā aħmad tka yē=ā
 byō xānağ-ō čā'ī Ūrī palla kin čā'ī

wa samama yē kin
 amu samm kard inda yē
 gur ba xō adada šan da' tā finjan
 xōb sā wa qublū bur-a=ā tamna=ā dig-in
 wā=šmā
 āka zīn-ō
 muxx-ō ēka=ā šmā sabara tk-in=ā
 čā'ī wās-um ba šmā pi šēx-ō pi xā šēx-ō

ūn-ī jāga xō č-ē gīya
 ūn-ī jāga xō
 muxx-ō pē čāb tk-a ba y'=ā
 sā wašt-iš šan jāga šan sakana gid-iš

dgō ba šan ēka=ā šēx-ō gaft-ē ba mē
 abaša xōr-in wā=āngar
 panj tā da' tā īn-ē abaša kin=ā
 šaraba kin wā=āngar
 ar txōr-a yē tumr-a
 ar da' kas-an šan murd-in
 samm-ō kišt-iš šan samm-ē qatal

muxx-ō sō inda gēr-ō
 şabaḥa būr-in pi şabḥ=ā
 tamna=ā dig-in awa=ā hāraş-an ar da' kas-
 an šan murs-in
 yā ūny-a gīya
 sā yā šēx-ō ajaḫa būr
 čābē šiğl-ō yē=ā
 čābē yē da' tā čābē murd-in
 na ṭarb na šiğl na īn
 jwān sā šēx-ō=ā jāmal wā yē jāmal-ē jāmal-
 ē
 naşaba tō'at ba inčka dgī-ī
 kalb al-būlīs ha=ā
 īn-an dān-a kāra dān-a zīn-an

dān-a šiğl-an dān-a hē

280 they fell in with them,
 281 but all the people, without a head nobody knew who he
 was.
 285 No one knew who he was!
 288 Only God knew!
 290 Carrying this corpse [away], they buried it.
 292 In the grave.
 294 How is the sheikh doing? So.
 296 He kept watch in the moonlight!
 298 They had to bring the head to the grave.
 302 He left ten slaves [to guard the grave].
 305 The guards at the grave, they kept the night watch.
 309 They kept watch [to see] who would bring the head.
 311 They were far, that is to say, from the grave,
 313 so that once they [the thieves] came, they [the slaves]
 would see where... so that they would see [the thief].
 316 Now, when he went the first time,
 317 he saw the guards with it [at the grave], he came back!
 320 He came back, he came to the house!
 324 (There he was, it was him, this Ahmad Does It.)
 325 He came to the house with tea, he filled up the tea-pot
 with tea,
 330 and poisoned it!
 333 Right away he dropped poison into it.
 335 He picked up the number of them ten teacups.
 338 Well. Now, when he approaches, then let them call you
 [to come] over.
 342 There's the thief!
 344 Since it must be you who are guarding the head,
 346 I have brought you tea from the sheikh, from the house
 of the sheikh.
 350 Stay in your own place. Where are you going?
 352 Stay there in your own place.
 354 Just the head- what did he do with it?!
 356 Now he left them to stay in their place [where] they
 were staying.
 358 He said to them, "Of course the sheikh has told me."
 360 They take and drink together!...
 362 Five of them, ten of them drink! Really!
 366 They drink together!
 368 Whoever drinks it will die.
 371 All ten of them died.
 374 The poison killed them, poison made from Qatal fish
 venom.
 378 He put the head in the grave!
 380 When they woke up in the morning,
 383 they heard it was said that the guards, all ten of them,
 had died.
 386 Where was he [the killer]?
 388 Now this sheikh became troubled.
 390 How did that happen?
 392 How were those ten, how did they die?
 393 Neither wound, nor mark, nor anything.
 397 So. Now, the sheikh... he had a camel, a camel. A
 camel.
 406 It stood up like a what-do-you-call-it,
 409 a police dog, right?
 412 He knows the what's-it-calleds. He knows the
 happenings, he knows the thieves,
 415 he knows things. Yes!

sā yā jāmal-ā ka pīš ba xō ba yē wākiš

tēmiš-a yē šabḥ rkāḥ-an kī tk-a
sā dān-a tk-a duzzuwa yē na

yā inčka sā ḡa inda kwēt
pē jīr-um sā...
kalb blīsa šurṭa
sā jāg zīn-ō kārimsō ḥāramī-ō=ā yē dān-a
sā wa aḥmad ida yē ām barra=ā

tamna=ā jāmal-ē raxama inda ḥēwī yē
ē hā šīḡl-ē
sā šabaḥa tī-in pi šabḥ=ā
jāmal-ō inda kārimsō=ā
yē pēna xā ki=ā ništ-ē pēna xā ki=ā

yē čāb kin
byō barra bēw antēlē byār ba xō

wa šēwil-ē wa gambil-ē kin ḥawy-ō
gambil-ē kin ḥawy-ō gambil-ē kin ḡuzr

tamna=ā qaṣṣa gardan jāmal-ō kin
qaṣṣa māraq yē kin
wa jalaṭa yē kin
wa pī-an yē gur pi yē
wa ana ammū dafana yē kin gambil-ō
wašt-iš yē šaṭaḥa mūl yē
kas dān-a yē čī inda yē na
wa ān ōjuzō-ō xwaft-ē indur mām yē
xābar na dafana yē gid-iš tīya wābur
šabaḥa būr-in pi šabḥ
jāmal-ō jōr-in pi yē=ā walēyit-ō
ḡīya yā xasafa wābur
kas dgō jīr-um yē na
ēbar čābē šīḡl-ō
kas dgō-a jīr-um yē na
raft *lā ḥāwla qōwitin*
ka āmad šēx-ō ōjuzō fān ōjuzō-ē

zank-ē
brō gard ba xānaḡ-an
brō gard ba xānaḡ-an
kē gap šan=ā kē pī jāmal wā yē=ā

ar pī jāmal wā yē=ā
yē jāmal-ō kišt-ē
sā yā ar di-rōz t- gard-a
dgard-a walēyit-ō ba gap-an yē
ar rōz-ē šaqqā
nwāz ēbar nwāz ēbar rōz ēwiš ēbar

ar kas dgō iš wā mē na
rēsid ba xān yē=ā xā aḥmad tka

sā aḥmad tka kas na ānsō na
mām-ō ānsō wa yā ōjuzō-ē gap ba ōjuzō=ā

čābitnī immī čābitnī xāla=ā

418 Now this camel, since he could see in front of him
what would come to pass,

422 he would see in the morning whose shoes did it.

425 Now he would know it was the thieves' [shoes] that
did it,

427 It was like this now... in Kuwait,

429 even I saw...

430 police dog, [of the] police.

432 Now the den of thieves where the rascal was, he knew.

440 So when Ahmad [Tka] when in this case he came
outside,

442 he saw a camel reclining in his courtyard.

446 oh, yes, it is an issue.

450 Now when they woke up in the morning,

451 where could the camel be?!

454 There he is! Beside the house where who lives? Beside
the house of whom?

457 What is to be done about this?

458 Once he came outside, he brought a digging stick with
him.

462 And a shovel, and made a hole in the courtyard.

465 He made a hole in the courtyard, he made a deep
hole...

470 See, he cut the neck of the camel.

474 He cut its throat.

475 And he skinned it.

476 And took its fat from it.

477 And once he had buried the whole thing in the hole,

479 he left it alone, completely levelled.

482 Nobody would know what is in it.

485 And that old person sleeping inside, his mother,

488 she didn't know. He buried it... he finished.

493 They woke up in the morning.

495 They looked for the camel near that city.

498 Where is it? This was destroyed.

500 Someone said, "I didn't find it."

503 What's the matter over here,

506 Someone again said, "I didn't find it."

509 It's gone. There's nothing we can do about it.

514 Immediately came the sheikh. He sent an old person, an
old person.

519 A woman.

520 Go around to [all] the houses.

522 Go around to [all] the houses,

523 whoever is prosperous among them, whoever has
camel fat,

529 whichever one has camel fat,

530 this is the one who has killed the camel.

534 Now this [one] every two days would go around,

536 she would go around the town to its important people,

537 every day accusing,

538 one day this side, the next day that side, the day after
that the other side,

541 Everyone said, "I don't have anything."

543 She arrived at the house of this one, at the house of
Ahmad Does It.

544 Now Ahmad Does It was not there.

546 The mother was there. And she was an old person, a
very great old person, you know?

551 "How are you O my mother, how are you Auntie?"

yā šēx-ō fāns-ē mē nikta awa=ā nikta
 sā ar di-kas-an šan yē
 pē ar yā ōjužō-ō
 ar yē xābar na
 ān pē xābar bā čā na
 sā yā mām aḥmad tka na pē xābar na

tamna=ā dgō qyāš mē=ā pis mē wā yē
 hē raft indur wa čikē dār-iš ba yē
 sā ōjužō-ō yē=ā āmas-ē
 pī-an jōr-a=ā
 ra barra=ā
 aḥmad tka maltaqa yē wābur
 ba kāra dar-ō
 dgō ba yē hā āmas-ī pi gīya
 dgō ba yē āmas-um pi indur
 dgō ba yē afaḷla mām tō
 ēka=ā nikta ḥubbō tō
 ēka=ā naktē pī jāmal dār-iš ba mē
 byō byō byō

yā čī dās-ē ba tō=ā
 hō andak-ē byō!
 wād-iš yē indur
 qašša gardan yē gid-iš
 wa dakka yē kin bāla jāmal-ō
 ana našara tō-a majma-ō na=ā tkō ba yā=ā

ān ōjužō nāta tk-in
 balkē raft-ē ġarbī raft-ē šarqī

raft-ē ēbar ēbar
 maḍya būs-ē
 yēk kas jīr-iš yē na
 šēx-ō yē=ā ḥayara bur āqil yē
 sā čāb k=ā
 rōž-an dgur alana gid-iš šēx-ō

wād-iš yā axča-an=ā
 šaffa kin inda šārō-ō
 inda sikkit-ō *bilmitil* inčka kumzar hā sikkit
 aqal hā
 wa sā maxlōq-an wa askār-an wa šurṭa wa
 ammū
 ništ-in
 ḥarḥara tk-in ba yā=in
 kē jamma tk-a sayya
 sā amu čaḥḥa na
 ar jamma tk-a zīn-ō
 jamma tk-a sayya ba xō na=ā zīn-ō
 šan ammū čum-an šabaka
 yē čāb kin
 jōtī sō ba xō jōtī aḥmad tk-a
 jōtī sō ba xō yā na
 lawaḡa gid-iš ba sīyālī
 inčka kīlō na
 tabaqa tk-a ēka=ā jīs-ē ba inda ġābana-an
 tō-in=ā
 siyyālī yā kin ba yē pi zēran
 mēš kin

553 This sheikh has sent me a little, indeed a little.
 554 Now, both of them
 555 even each of these old people
 556 Neither of them knows,
 557 even that one doesn't know anything about it.
 559 So this mother of Ahmad Does It, you know, even she
 didn't know.
 562 Then she said, "According to me, my son has it."
 565 Yes... she went in there, and gave a little bit to her.
 570 Now, that old person, having come
 572 to look for some fat,
 573 going outside there,
 574 she came face to face with Ahmad Does It
 576 at the entryway of the door.
 577 She said to him, "Well, where have you come from?"
 579 He said [mumbled] to her, "I came from inside."
 580 She said to him, "[from] God's bounty, your mother,
 581 you know, a little... your grandmother,
 582 you know, a little camel fat she gave me."
 584 [Ahmad Tka says,] "Aaaaah! Come here, come here,
 come here!
 586 What's this that she has given to you then?
 587 This is [only] a little bit... come on!
 590 He brought her inside,
 591 He cut her neck
 593 and buried her on top of the camel.
 595 If word were to get around, you know, it would fall on
 this one [Ahmad Does It]!
 599 They were waiting for that old person.
 601 however, having gone to the west, having gone to the
 east,
 602 having gone here and there
 603 having gotten lost, /she was lost:
 604 Not one person found her.
 608 This sheikh, he wracked his brain,
 612 "Now, how's that?"
 614 In days that followed, he spoke to an assembly of
 people, the sheikh.
 618 Bringing all this gold,
 623 he paraded along the street!
 625 along the avenue, for example like Kumzar, well,
 Aqeli Avenue, so.
 629 Now when the crowds of people, and the soldiers and
 the police and everyone
 632 was assembled...
 634 they looked for this one...
 636 who will bend over, to pick it up...
 639 now, not suddenly poured out,
 641 the one who bends down is the thief.
 644 The one who bends down, picks up, is the thief.
 646 All of their eyes were riveted.
 648 What is he doing?
 650 A shoe, he put on a shoe. It's Ahmad Does It.
 655 These shoes that he put on,
 657 he smeared them with tar.
 662 like a kilogram, you know?
 664 It sticks, you see, that it gets on... gets into the grooves,
 you know,
 666 He tarred this to it underneath.
 669 He walked.

čōt wā=bāla=ā
 ʂaṭṭa tabaqa ba īn-ō ba rkaḥ-an pi zēran

 ēka=ā inčka rēg-an sayya ba xō īn-ō na

 rkaḥ-ō rēg-an sayya ba xō siyālī-ō ba rkaḥ-ō
 na
 trēs-a ānsū xalwat-ē
 jōr-a ba xō maqqa
 tay dakka tk-a jāga-ē
 wa čōt wā=zēran panja tā sayya
 ba rkaḥ-an jamma tk-a na
 mēš tk-a bē
 ana tabaqa tk-a ba rkaḥ-ō inčka
 rēg-an ēka=ā tabaqa tk-a ba rkaḥ-an tō-a=ā
 trēs-a sar-ō zēranī=ā
 ḥafara gambil-ē tk-a=ā sō yē inda yē
 yā na naqala wābur
 wa kas jamma tk-a na
 čābē šigl-ō yē=ā
 iš mād na
 inda šārō yē=ā
 yā axča=ā yā mēš tk-a dūsō ba yē

 tabaqa ba pā yē
 čōt sar-ō zēranī iš na maxluq ānsō na

 ḥafara ḥafara gambil-ē gid-iš
 širx-an kaf inda yē
 sā dān-a jāga xō
 radda tō tay wā=bāla
 bāgur bīs tā dgur tabaqa ba īn yē

 trēs-a sar-ō bālīṭī
 gambil-ō ḥafara yē tk-a tār-a bāla
 sā jāri wābur wa kas jamma tk-a
 tā sayya na
 yā ūdū billā šēx-ō gaft-iš ba yā
 mād rōz-ē dō rōz=ā alana gid-iš šēx-ō

 alana gid-iš wa ahad u amān

 mē=ā kī inča gis-ē yē=ā
 ḥukm-ō ba yē jāga mē
 hē mē kī inča gis-ē yē=ā
 ḥukm-ō ba yē jāga mē
 hā dāman dār-iš ba maxlōq-an ya'nī

 iš tk-um na bā yē ya'nī na

 inča ka sā kas xābar yē kī yē na
 tamna=ā sā ahad gid-iš pi šēx-ō
 wa ahad dār-iš ba čāf-ō ammū šan
 mē kē yē=ā ar yā axča gis-ē
 wa yā inča gis-ē
 wa inča gis-ē ḥōkūm-ō ba yē dinya-ē yā

 mē tany-um bē
 tamna=ā radda kin gaw mē=um

670 When he went up there,
 671 a hundred stuck to what's-it-called... to the bottom of
 the shoes!
 676 You see, in this way, they were picking up pebbles, the
 what's-it-called, you know?
 678 The shoes were picking up pebbles to the tar that was
 on the shoes.
 681 He arrives there, in a wilderness.
 683 He looks for an escape (place to deposit) for himself,
 684 he comes to a place to bury [the gold],
 685 and [then] went back down fifty times to pick it up.
 687 with the shoes he wasn't bending down!
 689 he was only walking,
 690 if it was sticking to the shoes like this,
 692 you know, pebbles were getting stuck to the shoes.
 694 He arrives at the lower mountain peak,
 695 Digging a hole, he puts it in it!
 698 This [gold that he had], it disappeared!
 699 And no one was bending down!
 702 How was this working?!
 704 Nothing stayed!!
 705 In that street there!
 707 That gold there!... That one was walking, stepping on
 it,
 709 it stuck to his feet.
 710 He went to the lower mountain peak, where there were
 no people,
 712 He dug, and dug, and made a hole.
 713 He dropped the gold into it!
 714 Now, he knew its place,
 716 Returning, he came upward,
 718 twenty more times, with it stuck to his what's-it-called
 [shoes].
 721 He arrives at the upper mountain peak,
 722 at the hole he had dug, he brought it up there.
 724 Now he had finished, and no one was bending down or
 727 picking them up!
 729 "I give up!" the sheikh said of this.
 733 He stayed a day or two, then he spoke to the assembly,
 the sheikh.
 736 He spoke to the assembly. And [he gave the thief]
 amnesty.
 739 "I swear, whoever has taken this [gold] like this,
 742 he shall have the government in my place.
 745 Yes! I swear, whoever has taken this [gold] like this,
 748 he shall have the government in my place.
 752 So. That is to say, he gave his guarantee to all the
 people:
 755 "I am not doing anything with him [to punish him], I
 mean."
 756 This way, now, no one knew about who he/it was.
 760 Now that he heard the promise from the sheikh,
 763 And he gave the promise on the beach to all of them,
 765 "I swear, whoever it is who has taken this gold...
 767 And has taken this [gold] like this,
 769 and has taken like this, that one shall have the
 government, listen to what I am saying!
 772 I am only living/staying...
 774 Let us see you come back [turn yourself in]! Say, "it's
 me."

injuwa=a čāb=a
 byō tō=i bē bass=i=a
 balkē ħukm-ō jōr yē ba drō
 inča wa inča wa inča wa inča wa muxx
 maxlōq-ō qaṣṣa gis-um
 bars-um yē jāga-ē na=a
 jāmal-ō byār wā=mē dakka giya

wa pī-an jāmal-ō byār
 wa axča yē xōr
 ħōkūm-ō dār-iš ba yē šēx-ō
 mā xō ništ-im xān xō
 majma tk-im ba yē yē
 xālaṣ tō raft-ī mi āmad-um
 ya nummaḡ rupī-ō ya nummaḡ rupī-ō

777 Come on! How is it [going to be]?
 779 Come on, is it you? Haven't you had enough?
 781 Maybe the government seeks a lie, [such as:]
 782 Like this and like this and like this and like this and I
 have cut off the heads of all the people,
 786 I carried them to a certain place, you know?
 787 Bring the camel to me, where to bury [it]/ where is it
 buried?
 789 And bring the camel's fat,
 790 And feast on his gold.
 793 He handed over the government to him, the sheikh.
 796 We ourselves lived in our house,
 797 We're just talking about him. It is him.
 800 The End. You went, I came.
 805 [audience:] This half rupee! [audience:] This half
 rupee.

Rōran Šēxō

raft yēk-ē qiṣṣit-ē wa ħakyit-ē
 šēx walēyt-ō šēx-ō
 inda walēyt-ō na šēx-ō ya'nī
 xalafa gid-iš aft tā kōrk-an
 iš na ditk-an na
 aft tā kōrk-an xalafa gid-iš
 šaš kas-an ħarr-in
 yak-ē maxnat-ē
 čikk-ō maxnat-ē
 čōt bāz tk-a wā ĩn-an wā ditk-an
 bāz tk-a wā ditk-an inda ħajr-ō
 sā ēšinan=a šaš kas-an gap-an=a
 dgīn ba bap xō bāba=a č-im
 xistar jōr-im ba xō
 mā pi tā mām tā bap
 šaš tā zank-an jōr-im ba xō
 pi tā mām tā bap
 ditk-an šēx ya'nī pi jāga dgur
 yēk-ē yēk-ē dug-im na
 yā maxnat-ō=a wašt-in yē
 gaft-in na ba yē na
 bōp-ō dgō ba šan br-ē
 jōr-ē ba xō
 šabaḥa būr-in raft-in
 raft-in rēsid-in ba nummaḡ
 ya rōk-ō xābar na
 āmad bāz tk-a=a ditk-ē bzand-iš
 yēk-ē ditk-ē bzand-iš
 ditk-ē inča gapa=a bzand-iš yē
 ditk-ō dgō ba yē tō ka mardk-ē=i
 ka raft-ī wā brār-an xō
 āka rin xistārī tk-in ba xō=a
 ka raft-ī wā šan
 āmas-ī bāz tk-ī wā ditk-an
 ām bāla xā šan=a
 tamna=a dgō ba bap xō bāba=a gīya
 brār-an mē=a
 bōp-ō dgō ba yē brār-an tō r-in

7 There went one. A story and a telling.
 19 A sheikh of a country. The sheikh.
 22 That is to say, he was the sheikh of the country.
 25 Seven sons he had.
 27 He hadn't any daughters.
 28 He had seven sons.
 33 Six were macho.
 35 One was a gay.
 37 The youngest was a gay.
 38 He would go and play with those, with the girls.
 42 He would play with the girls on the mountainside.
 46 Now these ones, the six older ones,
 50 they said to their father, "O father, we are going
 53 to find fiancées for ourselves.
 56 We [who are] from one mother, one father,
 58 we will look for six women
 60 from one mother, one father.
 61 That is to say, sheikh's daughters. From another place.
 65 We won't marry one at a time."
 69 This gay one, they left him.
 70 They didn't tell him.
 73 The father said to them, "Go.
 74 Look for yourselves."
 76 They got up in the morning, they left.
 83 They left, they arrived halfway.
 88 This boy didn't know.
 90 When he came to play, he hit a girl.
 94 He hit one girl,
 95 one of the girls like this size, he hit her.
 98 The girl said to him, "Since you are a man,
 99 you should have gone with your brothers,
 100 and since they have gone to get themselves engaged,
 102 so you should have gone with them.
 104 [Instead] you have come to play with girls?"
 106 Coming up to their house,
 108 then he said to his father, "O Father, where are my
 brothers?"
 111 The father said to him, "Your brothers went

xistārī tk-in ba xō
dgō ba yē pi čī mē dgī na ba mē na=a

dgō ba yē tō wā šan=ī na

bāba=a inda walēyt-ō=in na wa
bāz tk-ī wā ditk-an=a
tī-ī na ba mā na
dgō ba yē ād ba mē ayya zāmē
xōr-ē šamšīr-ē wana tukš-um tō
raft dār-iš ba yē xōr-ē wa šamšīr-ē
wa ra pišt-ō šan
šan šabḥ-ē raft-in
yē inčka sātē raft
nwāšam=a pišt-ō bang-ō=a
pišt-ō bang-ō=a tamna=a
ništ-in ba tēra-ō=a maraḥa gis-in
ar šaš kas-an šan
āmad rēsid ba šan
salām alēkum ālēkum salām
pi čī ništ-ē ēwō
yē awa=a dgīn ba yē tō kē=ī=a
dgō ba yē šmā kē bē=a
mē kē=a dān-ē mē na=a
māqulē dān-ē mē na=a
čābē xistārī tk-ē ba xō
dgē na ba mē na=a
sā pi čī ništ-ē ēwō=a
dgīn ba yē mār-ē ba tēra-ō mār-ē
mār-ē qaḥama tk-a txōr-a mā
inča č-im=a tay pišt-ō mā
inča č-im=a tay pišt-ō mā
inča č-im=a čōt wā=mā
sātē rāyus-im raft-im na ništ-im
tamna=a dgō ba yē giya yē=a
dgō ba šan giya yē=a
dgō ba šan āntē wā=tēgar
ra-in ba yē
tamna=a mār-ē mār-ō āntē rāstī jāga xō
ḥušū tk-a
mār-ē inčka ēka=a yā=a gūl=a dān-ī
yē=a
inča qaḥama qaḥama tk-a ba šan=a
āmad bžand-iš yē ba qētub-ō
bžand-iš mār-ō rōk-ō maxnat-ō
mār-ō kišt-iš
filḥāl aqaba būr-in ar aft kas-an šan
wa raft-in
šabaḥa būr-in wa raft-in
kaft-in walēyit-ē walēyit-ē dgur
šēx-ō aft tā ditk-an wā yē
yē walēyt-ō=a aft tā ditk-an wā yē šēx

šan tā walēyit-ē dūr=in aft tā kōrk-an=in

rin ba šēx-ō
dgīn ba yē āmas-im xistārī ditk-an tō tk-
im
šēx-ō dgō ba šan ditk-an mē
mē zīn-ē wā mē walēyt-ō zīn-ē kār dz-a

112 to get themselves engaged.”
114 He [the boy] said to him [the father], “[What about] me, why did you not tell me?”
117 He [the father] said to him [the boy], “You, you are not with them,
118 O son, they are not in the country, and
120 playing with girls as you do,
121 you don’t fit in with us.”
124 He said to him, “Quickly. Immediately give me
127 a donkey... [and] a sword, or else I’ll kill you.”
132 He went and gave to him a donkey and a sword.
134 And he went after them.
136 They had left in the morning,
137 [whereas] he had left like this, just now.
141 In the evening, after sunset,
146 after sunset, he saw:
150 They were sitting by the road, they were taking a rest,
152 all six of them.
156 He came, he arrived at where they were.
160 They greeted each other.
165 “Why are you sitting here?
166 They actually said this to him, “Who are you?”
167 He said to them, “Who are you supposed to be?!”
173 Who am I? Don’t you know me?
175 You really don’t know me?
177 How could you go to get engaged,
178 and not tell me?
180 Now why are you sitting here?”
183 They said to him, “There is a snake on the road. A snake!
186 A snake. It will jump up and eat us!
190 We go this way, and it comes after us;
191 We go that way, and it comes after us.
192 We go this way, and it goes toward us!
194 We couldn’t go now. We are staying.”
201 Then he said to him [them], “Where is it?”
204 He said to them, “Where is it?”
206 He [they] said to them [him], “Up ahead there.”
207 They went to it,
209 They saw: a snake! The snake was really there in its own place. It was slithering.
212 A snake just like this, you know, a serpent, you know?

216 It was jumping up, jumping up toward them like this, and
220 He came and struck it with [his] walking stick.
223 He struck the snake. The boy, the gay one.
225 He killed the snake.
227 In any case, they banded together, all seven of them.
228 and they left.
233 They got up in the morning, and they left.
235 They came upon a country. Another country.
238 The sheikh [of the country] had seven daughters.
242 [The sheikh of] this country, he had seven daughters, the sheikh.
245 They were from one far-away country, they were seven boys.
250 They went to the sheikh.
251 They said to him, “We have come to present our suits/ get engaged to your daughters.”
255 The sheikh said to them, “My daughters...
258 I, I have a thief in the country, a thief, he steals things.

xēzina mē zīs-ē jārī yē gis-ē
 rāyus-um na ba yē na
 ar zīn-ō tukš-a=ā
 aft tā ditk-an mē ba yē=in
 ar aft kas ba yē
 mukē-ē tikš-a yē pi yē šmā zīn-ō=ā
 aft tā ditk-an dō-um ba yē
 aft kas-an dō-um ba yēk-ē
 wa āxur šmā šmā xō=ē

 ar tukš-a zīn-ō
 aft tā ditk-an mē ba yē
 baḡa haqq iš ḡāz tāt-um na
 šabḡ wābur na=ā šaw-ō yā=ā
 rōk-ō gōp-ō raft
 xānaḡ-ē dār-iš ba šan wa ništ-in inda yē
 raft šaw=ā
 qadaḡa gid-iš wa yē čāb kin
 xwaft pēna kurdan-ō
 maxnat-ō=ā šām txōr-a wa txwā-a

 šan ramasa tī-in
 č-in wā=ēbar wa tā-in wā=ēbar
 rōk-ō gōp-ō raft iš-ē na jīr-iš na
 šaw-ō dgur rōk-ō yēk-ē dgur raft
 čikk-tar raft iš-ē na jīr-iš na
 lumrād šaš kas raft-in iš-ē na

 sā yā=ā yē šaw-ō yē maxnat-ō
 šaw=ā raft
 wašt-iš šan xwā=in=ā
 gūnī gur ba xō
 wa āpiš yē ba laḡm xō raft
 raft inča pi čāf ḡuḡban
 raft inča wā=aqil=ā
 rēsid ba sar ḡēlila
 awa=ā raft inda xēzina-ō
 raft-ē raft xēzina-ō
 tamna=ā xēzina-ō zīs-in
 dar-ō tilq wa ḡāz-an gis-in jārī
 sā yē raft ba čāf-ō inča wā=bāla
 wā=bāla=ā
 tamna=ā ātiš-ē jīr-iš ātiš-ē āntē čō-ō=ā
 ātiš-ē labaqa
 āmad ra ba ātiš-ō
 sā yē sōd-iš indur āntē=ā šamšir xō
 wa xar xō abnīd-iš āntē pi dūr=ā
 wa gūnī xō sōd-iš āntē
 wa āmad ba ātiš-ō
 tamna=ā si-kas=in si-ta zīn=in
 ar yēk-ē gūnī palla wā yē ruppī
 salām alēkum ālēkum salām
 hā šmā zīs-ē=ā
 raft-ē xēzina-ō jārī=ā
 gaft-in ba yē hē
 šmā čī wās-ē=ā
 gaft-in ba yē mā ruppī wād-im
 yē dgō ba šan mē axča wās-um
 šmā kaft-ē na ba axča-an na pi čī=ā
 dgīn ba yē mā axča dān-im na

263 He has stolen my treasure, he has finished taking it.
 264 I cannot [catch] him.
 266 Whoever kills the thief,
 269 shall have my seven daughters.
 272 He shall have all seven of them,
 274 any one of you who kills the thief,
 276 I will give [my] seven daughters to him.
 280 I will give the seven to someone.
 285 And afterward you, you are your own persons [it's up to you].
 288 Whoever kills the thief,
 289 [my] seven daughters will be his.
 291 Without bridewealth. I don't want any money."
 295 It was not yet morning, in the night,
 296 the oldest boy left.
 297 He gave them a house, and they stayed in it.
 300 Leaving at night,
 301 he walked around, and how did he do it?
 303 He slept beside the hearth.
 304 The gay boy, he would eat supper, and he would go to sleep.
 308 They [the other brothers] would socialise,
 309 They would go here and there.
 311 The oldest boy left, he didn't find anyone.
 315 [unclear text] The next night, another boy left,...
 319 The youngest left, he didn't find anyone.
 320 In any case, six of them had gone, [and had] not [found] anyone.
 325 Now, it was his turn, it was his night, the gay one.
 330 When it was night, he left.
 332 Leaving them to sleep,
 338 he picked up a burlap sack,
 339 and covered his body with it; he left.
 342 Going like this from the Ghoshbani clan's shore,
 344 going like this toward the Aqali clan ['s shore],
 345 he arrived at the top of the lagoon.
 347 Indeed, he went into the treasure house.
 350 Having gone, he went to the treasure house.
 351 He saw that they had robbed the treasure house.
 353 The door was open, and they had already taken the money.
 357 Now [as] he was going to the beach like this and up and up,
 360 He saw a fire, a fire there by the well,
 364 a fire burning!
 365 He came and went to the fire.
 370 Now he, setting there, his sword,
 374 and tying up his donkey there a ways away,
 376 and put his burlap sack there,
 380 and came to the fire.
 381 He saw that there were three. There were three thieves.
 386 Each of them had a burlap sack full of rupees.
 390 They greeted each other.
 393 "So?! It's you [who] have stolen?
 396 You have already gone to the treasure house?"
 398 They said to him, "Yes."
 400 "What have you brought?"
 403 They said to him, "We have brought rupees."
 405 He said to them, "I have brought gold.
 407 Why haven't you come across [any] gold?"
 410 They said to him, "We don't know about the gold.

jīs-im na mayya ar čī mayya=ā ruppī=in

dgō ba šan šmā č-um pišt-ō šmā=ā
rōz-ē č-um ti šmā
lakīn wa rōz-ō raft-um=ā
tēmiš-um xēzina-ō wa zīs-ē
mē=ā axča-an dān-um
ayya awwal šām xōr wā mā
šām xōr tiyar tī-ī č-im
yē=ā ruppī-an tēbur-im wa axča tār-im

yē jwān-ē mē=ā gūnī mē āntē jārī

šām xōd-in wā šan tiya būr-in raft-in
dgō ba yēk-ē
tō ūn-ī ba kārō-ō ēwō
yēk-ī ūn-ī wā=inča wa
yēk-ī ūn-ī wā=inča wa
mi č-um indur awwal
gūnī xō-ī palla tk-um
āxur bang šmā bzēn-im=ā
arzamē u tā'ē byāt
kas gār k-a na
raft indur=ā jāga gid-iš ba xō=ā
inča sā īn-ō bzēn-a
šamšir-ō bzēn-a kiš-a šan=ā
jāga gid-iš ba xō=ā
axča mēnū gid-iš pi xō=ā kār wa īn

xālaš wābur tamna=ā hē byō
yē ra ba kārā-ō=ā raft ba kārā-ō=ā raft

qašša sar yē kin ba šamšir-ō
wa bāgā yē kin bar yē inča=ā
muxx-ō bard-iš āntē=ā
kār jwān tk-a
tiya bur hē yēk-ē dgur byāt
yēk-ē dgur āmad
qašša sar yē kin
wa bard-iš yē pēna yē
wa yēk-ē dgur āmad wa qašša sar yē kin
si-kas kišt-iš
tiya wābur dist xō bzand-iš inda xwēm-
an
amšīd-iš ba šētuf-ō āntē bāla=ā
āntē qaḥama kin wā=bāla na
tabaqa kin ba šētuf-ō
ba šētuf-ō ān bālī'ī yā
ḥata ba dar-ō=ā
wa muxx-an gur ar si-ta=in
brō dakka kin za xōr-ō
xōr xō gur wa brō
muxx-an dakka kin zēr yē
gambil kan ba yē dakka kin za xōr-ō wēl

raft zēran xā šan xwaft
qāmi nwāz dār-in=ā
brār-an yē sayd-in xō hā tō=ī=ā
zīn-ō tukš-ī yē ō ēka=ā šmā kiš-ē yē na

413 We haven't found any. The only thing to be found there is rupees."

417 He said to them, "You, I go behind you,

419 one day I will go ahead of you.

421 But today when I go,

422 I will see whether the treasure is stolen.

425 As for me, I know what gold is."

428 "So first eat supper with us.

430 Eat supper; when you have finished, we will go.

433 This way, we will carry [home] rupees, and we will bring gold [too]."

438 "This is a good [plan]. As for me, my burlap sack is there already."

443 They ate supper with them, they finished, they left.

446 He said to one,

447 "You stay here at the gate.

448 One of you stay like this and

450 one of you stay like this and

451 I will go in first.

453 I will fill my own sack.

455 After I call out to you,

456 you will come one at a time.

458 No one should make noise."

462 He went inside, he took a place for himself,

465 Now in this way he could strike with the what's-it-called,

466 he could strike with the sword to kill them,

468 he took a place for himself,

469 He took the gold and things and what's-it-calleds out of his way,

472 he finished, they heard, "OK, come!"

475 He [a thief] went to the gate. He went to the gate, he went [in to where the boy was].

482 He [the boy] cut off his head with the sword!

485 and he stabbed it! He carried it like this!

487 Carrying the head over there,

489 he does a good job of it,

490 he finished it, [he called out,] "OK, let another one come."

493 Another one came.

494 He cut off his head!

496 And he carried it to beside it [the other one].

498 And another one came. And he cut off his head!

504 He killed three.

505 Having finished, he struck his hand into the blood.

508 He wiped it on the lintel, there on top,

510 there where he jumped up to,

512 he smeared it on the lintel!

515 on the lintel that is the upper part,

517 up to the door,

519 and he took the heads, all three that were there,

522 and he went to bury them under the donkey!

524 He took his donkey, and he left!

525 He buried the heads under it!

527 He dug a hole for it, he buried them under the donkey, he left them!

532 He went down to their house. He went to sleep.

536 At dawn,

537 his brothers got up, "Oh? It's you?"

540 Have you really killed the thief? Obviously you could not have killed him!"

dēr-ē=ā āmad-in ba šan askar-an
awa=ā zīn-ō kišt-in byā-ē bāla
ēšinan šaš kas-an raft-in
xilq-ē ādamī yē xwaft-ē jāga xō

dgō ba šan mē č-um na
rāyus-um na
raft-ē na wā brār-an xō na
brār-an raft-in
sā āw āntē āw ingānē āw
ingānē āw dist xō bzēn-a inda ingānē-ō

qaḥama kin ba xwēm-an čōr-in
čōr-in pi šētuf-ō na
kas čāf-a na kas čwān-a na
ar walēyt-ō=in
kas dgō-a mi rāy-um na
dgī-in lāzum gīya brār šmā
ēka=ā dgī-in aft kas=im šaš kas=ē=ā

ān brār mā xwaft-ē
wa rāya na wa dān-a na wa
bō byār yē lāzum bō byār-ē yē
rin ba yē askar-an
wād-in yē wa āmad-in
sā wa āntē=ā dist-an xō tēbur-in bāla
inča=ā
amu kalimānī kin na
amu ingānē-ō sayy pi bāla xwēm-an čōr

tīya wābur=ā dgō ba askar-ō
pi ʔa xōr-ō muxx-an āntē=ā byār

muxx-an wād-iš
zīn-an kišt-in=ā ar si-kas-an šan
indur=in
gēr šan gid-in
nwāšam-ī=ā šēx-ō ām ba yē
dgō ba yē byō ditk-an mē
ba tō ar aft kas-an šan
dgō ba rōk-ō čikk-ō
rōk-ō dgō ba yē mē=ā aft tā ʔank-an rāy-
um na
mē čikk-ō=um čikk-ō ba mē

yē gap-tar-ē gap-tar-ē

gap-ō gap-ō ba yē
čikk-tar čikk-tar ba yē
ar kas-ē ba tā-ē xō ya'nī
mē=ā čikk-ō ba mē čikk-ō
kāwa bard-iš
brār-an xō ammū šan xistārī šan gid-iš
wa čikk-ō gid-iš ba xō
sā čikk-ō darasa gis-ē
milla-ē dān-a

ktēb wā yē kār wā yē
rin xāna=ā šabaḥa būr-in
dgīn ba āmō xō č-im ba ahla xō

545 After a long time, they came to them, the police.
550 "They said that they killed the thief." "Let them come up."
556 Those ones, the six of them, went.
558 [There was] a crowd of people. He [the gay brother] slept
where he was.
563 He said to them, "I won't go.
565 I couldn't."
567 He didn't go with his brothers.
568 The brothers left.
570 Now, there was water there, water. A clay jar of water.
572 A clay jar of water [that] he stuck his hand into the clay
jar,
574 he jumped up to wash off the blood!
577 To wash off the lintel, you know,
578 no one could reach. No one could do it.
583 Everyone in the country,
584 everyone said, "I cannot do it."
586 They said, "We must find where your brother is."
588 Of course they said, "Are there seven of us, [or] are there
six?!"
590 That brother of ours is asleep
591 and he cannot and he doesn't know how and..."
595 "Go and bring him! You must go and bring him!"
596 They went to him, the police,
597 They brought him and... they came.
600 Now when [they] were there, they put up their hands like
this,
603 right away it wasn't going smoothly.
605 Right away he lifted up the clay water jar [and] washed the
blood.
610 Finishing, he said to the police officer,
612 "From under the donkey. Those heads that are there, bring
[them]."
618 He brought the heads.
620 The thieves that were killed, all three of them, were inside.

623 They buried them.
625 That evening, the sheikh came to him.
628 He said to him, "Come. My daughters
629 are for you, all seven of them."
632 He said [this] to the youngest boy.
634 The boy said to him, "As for me, seven wives, I cannot.

638 I am the youngest [brother], [so] the youngest [daughter]
is for me.
642 He is the oldest [brother], [so for him] is the oldest
[daughter].
643 The older [brother], the older [daughter] for him.
646 The younger [brother], the younger [daughter] for him.
648 That is, to each his own.
651 As for me, the youngest one is for me, the youngest."
654 They brought the marriage contract;
655 his brothers, all of them, got engaged.
658 And he chose the youngest one for himself.
660 Now the youngest one had studied.
662 She was a mullah [religious teacher]. She knew [things]
(she was a seer).
664 She had books, she had [magical] things.
667 Having married, they awoke in the morning,
669 they said to their father-in-law, "We are going to our own

ṣank-an xō dug-im č-im ya'nī

dgō ba šan ammū šmā br-ē
ar šaš kas-an šmā
lakin rōk-ō čikk-ō pē ūny-a wā mē
nwāz wa rōz īwiš pišt-ō šmā

sā wa ān ditk-ō ktēb-ō wākid-iš=ā
tamna=ā tēra-ē tay ba šan tēra-ē
di-ta tēra=in tā inča čōt
wa tā inča čōt
dgō ba šan yā tēra-ō=ā
ar inča čōt=ā
ba dist asrē=ā br-ō ba yē
sā ditk-ō dgō ba šū xō
gaw ba brār-an xō
ēka=ā tēra-ō tay ba šan=ā
br-in na ba yē tēra-ō bālī'ī na jam rāstī
na

br-in ba yē=ā jam asrē=ā
ān=ā šāhar-ē ba yē
gaš ba šan dgō ba šan
dinyē' -ē ana raft-ē=ā
di-ta tēra tay ba šmā
di-ta tēra=ā br-ē na ba yā na
br-ē ba yē=ā jam rāstī yā
sā wa raft-in=ā rēsid-in ba tēra-an=ā
šaš kas=in wa šaš tā ṣank=in dwāzda
kas=in
tamna=ā dgō ba yē

dgīn mā sā pi čī rāy yē gr-im=ā
mā zīn-an kišt-iš mār-ē kišt-iš
sā ṣank-an gid-iš ba mā
sā dgō ba mā
br-ē na ba yā tēra-ō na
pi čī=ā mā č-im
mā hačča yē tk-im na
dignūn-im yē na
raft-in ba tēra-ō yā=ā tēra-ō banj-ō
rēsid-in=ā inda qayit-ō=ā
xānağ-ē āntē xānağ-ē
šāhar-ē nažala kin pi yē
tamna=ā dgō ba šan *fik wala fi mitbin*
inda šmā waḷa inda ṣank-an šmā
fik wala fi mitbin
dgīn ba yē na *fī mā wa na fi mitbin*
mā inda mā na
wa inda ṣank-an mā na
inda mā na mā=im na
fik wala fi mitbin
dgīn ba yē *lā fī wa lā fi mitbin*
ar byār šan ar šaš kas
ar dwāzda kas-an šan bard kin
bard bard gid-iš bard ḥayyar
šaš kas wā=ēbar wa šaš kas wā=ēbar
wa raft
paštīnī=ā ditk-ō ra ba ktēb-ō

families.

673 That is to say, we have each taken wives, [so] we are going."

675 He said to them, "All of you go,

677 all six of you,

678 except the youngest boy only, he shall stay with me.

679 Tomorrow and the day after tomorrow, [he will come] after you."

684 Now when that girl looked into the future,

686 She saw a path was coming to them, a path!

689 There were two paths, one went this way,

691 and one went that way.

693 She said to them, "This path,

694 the one that goes this way,

697 to the left-hand side, go on it."

699 Now the girl said to her husband,

701 "Tell your brothers:

703 you know the path that comes to them,

705 Let them not go on this upper path, the right-side one.

706 They should go on this one, on the left side,

712 that other one, a sorcerer is on it."

714 He was saying to them, he said to them,

715 "Listen to what I am saying! If you go,

716 two paths will come to you.

718 The two paths, don't go on them!

720 Go on this one: this one on the right side."

724 Now when they went, when they came to the paths,

728 There were six [brothers], and six women: there were twelve people [in all].

733 Then he said to him, [this line is all a mistake, corrected in 734]

734 They said, "Now why should we follow his plan?

737 We... [who] killed the thieves, killed a snake,

740 now we [who] have taken wives with us,

742 now he says to us,

743 "Don't go on this path!",

744 Why? We will go.

747 We will not heed him.

748 We don't believe him."

750 They went on that path, the bad path.

754 They came, into the meadow,

757 there was a house there, a house,

760 A sorcerer was coming down from it!

765 Then he said to them, "[Shall I eat] you or the women?"

767 "[Is my desire to eat] in you or in your wives?"

771 "[Shall I eat] you or the women?"

774 They said to him, "[Eat] neither us nor the women.

778 Us, not us,

779 and not our wives.

780 Not us, not any of us."

781 "[Shall I eat] you or the women?"

782 They said to him, "Not us, and not the women."

785 He brought each of them, all six of them,

786 all twelve of them, he turned into stone.

788 Stone. He made them into stone. Stone. Rock.

791 Six over here, and six over there.

794 And he left.

797 In the late afternoon, the girl went to her books [to divine what happened].

dgō ba yē brār-an tō

šāḥar-ō rin ba tēra-ō banj-ō
 šāḥar-ō bard-an gis-ē šan
 ar dwāzda kas-an šan
 wa pē qadar dgur ādamī āntē=in
 ana *fik wa fi mitbin*
 wana inda tō wana inda zan tō dug-a tō
 ana *mā fi wa mā fi mitbin*
 bard tk-a ba tō bard-ē tk-a ut-tō
 mād šabḥ wābur=ā raft
 dgō ba āmō xō raxaša mē kin č-um

gaš na ba yē na brār-an mē
 wa ditk-an tō inča gis-in na wa raft
 sā wa rēsid=ā zank-ō dgō ba yē
 ana āmad ba tō=ā gaw ba yē *fi mitbin*
 wēl yē gur-a mē
 ana *fi mitbin*=ā zank-ō dug-a
 ana fi=ā mardk-ō dug-a
 tamna=ā rēsad
 tamna=ā dgō ba yē
fik waḷa fi mitbin
 dgō ba yē *fi mitbin*
 zank-ō gid-iš
 zank-ō gid-iš=ā bard-iš yē xānağ-ō
 zank-ō wā yē āntē
 sōd-iš yē pēna zank-ō
 wa mardk-ō mād bē
 mād jāga xō bard gid-iš yē na

ā ništ bē čōt wa tay
 šabḥ-ē=ā čōt za qīšr-ō
 dgō ba zank-ō
 šwāl yā zan yē kin yā ādamī-ō=ā
 umr yē sōs-ē čē=ā
 rōḥ yē sōs-ē gīya=ā
 šwāl yē gid-iš dgō ba yē=ā
 šū tō umr yē sōs-ē gīya=ā
 dgō ba yē=ā šū mē
 umr yē sōs-ē šīša-ē
 wa šīša-ō sōs-ē škum-ē jinjāwir

ēka=ā čēla gapa na
 šīša-ō inda jinjāwir-ē
 inda škum-ē jinjāwir
 wa jinjāwir=ā ar sbū'-ē
 čōt zēran walēyit šēx-ō=ā
 ditk-ē txōr-a
 kana āw qaṭa'a tō'at fālaj-ō
 sā pē nwāz rōz īwiš
 rōz jumāt yē čōt āntē
 čōt āntē ditk-ē txōr-a ditk-ē
 āxur āw-ō čōt
 wa ana ditk-ē txōr-a na=ā
 āw šan qaṭa'a tō'at
 ar jumāt-ē nažala tk-a
 dgō bā yē na
 sā rōz jumāt=ā šabḥ-ē=ā raft
 raft rōk-ō qāmi nwāz=ā raft ra ba pā xō

799 She said to him [her husband, the youngest brother],
 "Your brothers,

801 The sorcerer. They went on the bad path,
 802 the sorcerer has made stones out of them.
 805 All twelve of them.
 807 And there are also some other people there.
 809 If [he wants to eat] you and the woman,
 812 Either you or your wife, let him take you.
 814 If he cannot [eat] you, and he cannot [eat] the women,
 816 He will turn you to stone, he will make a stone of you."
 819 Time passed. When morning came, he left.
 823 He said to his father-in-law, "Give me your leave [and] I shall go."

827 He didn't tell him what the brothers
 831 and his daughters had done. And he left.
 837 Now when he arrived, the woman said to him,
 839 "If he comes to you, tell him he should eat the women.
 842 Let him take me,
 843 if [he wants to eat] the women, he will take the woman.
 845 If [he wants to eat] me, he will take the man."
 849 They saw that he [the sorcerer] arrived.
 850 Then he said to him,
 851 "[Shall I eat] you or the women?"
 853 S/he said to him, "[Eat] the women."
 854 He took the woman.
 856 Taking the woman, he carried her to the house.
 857 He [the sorcerer] had the [a] wife there.
 858 He put her [the girl] beside his wife.
 860 And the man just stayed.
 864 He stayed where he was. He [the sorcerer] did not turn him into stone.
 867 Yes. He just stayed. He [the sorcerer] would go and come.
 870 In the morning, he would go down to the palace.
 872 She [the gay man's wife] said to the woman,
 873 She asked this wife of his, "This person,
 875 where is his spirit kept?
 877 Where is his soul kept?"
 880 She asked her, saying to her:
 881 "Your husband's soul, where is it kept?"
 884 She [the sorcerer's wife] said to this one, "My husband's
 885 soul, it is kept in a bottle.
 889 And the bottle, it is kept in the stomach of a master sorcerer.
 895 that must be the one who is in the form of an albatross,
 897 The bottle is inside a master sorcerer,
 898 it is in a [the] stomach of a master sorcerer.
 902 When the master sorcerer, every week
 903 goes down to the sheikh's country,
 905 he eats a girl;
 906 Otherwise the water is cut off, from the water channel.
 908 Now before the next day, the day after,
 911 On Fridays, he goes there.
 915 He goes there, he eats a girl. A girl.
 917 Afterward the water flows.
 918 And if he doesn't eat a girl,
 920 their water is cut off.
 923 Every Friday, he comes down."
 926 She said, "All right."
 929 Now on Friday, in the morning, he left.
 933 The boy left. At dawn, he left. He went on foot.

wa rēsid āntē=ā tamna=ā dar-an bast-ē
kas nasaxa tk-a na ammū dar-an bast-ē
marrē šaw wā šan
ammū šan inda xānağ-an=in wa dar-an
qafala
tā ditk-ē tay bāla=ā
ditk-ē dunya-ō čōt=ā čōt wā yē
ditk-ē šēx xars-an čum-an tay zēran
rēsid ba čō-ō=ā
ba jāga tukš-a yē arđ-ō=ā qayit-ē

ditk-ō dgō ba rōk-ō ništ-ī ē'ū ba čī=ā
sayy xō bō ēnar xō
jinjāwir-ē tay ba mē zēran
sā txōr-a mē
dgō ba yē ya'nī dakara alja kin

wēl yē byāt
tamna=ā dgō tamna=ā tay zēran

yē ēdir-ē gis-ē
sā rōk-ō šāxiṭ-ē kin šāxiṭ-ē inča
dgō ba šāḥar-ō yā ba tō yā ba mē
ana kaft-um ḥāram tō kiš mē
wa ana ka-ī ḥāram mē tukš-um tō
sā wa nažala kin=ā
ditk-ō=ā jilbē yē gid-iš pi yē=ā
sōd-iš yē škum xō=ā dār-iš yē ba ditk-ō

ēka=ā inča bāz ḥawli tk-ī=ā
wa yē yē mardk-ō šamšir-ō wā yē
wa ditk-ō pišt-ō yē
inča qaḥama tk-a wā yē

inča qaḥama tk-a wā yē
inča qaḥama tk-a wā yē
sā jinjāwir-ō na qaḥama tk-a
tāt-a tay txōr-a šan=ā
sā yē walama ba yē watō
jinjāwir-ō inča čōt=ā
qadama xō tk-a ba yē
jinjāwir-ō inča čōt=ā
qalaba xō tk-a ba yē
jinjāwir-ō inča čōt=ā
qalaba xō tk-a ba yē
ka kaf ḥāram šan
kaf ḥāram šan
wa ka ād yē
ka qašša yē kin ba di-ta qiššit
dgō ba yē *zīd*
dgō ba yē *abūyi ma xallaf allē'ī laqmit*
il'ašīd
abūyi xallaf allē'ī darb ilḥadīd
falaqa wābiš pi angar

ra ba yē škum yē dird-iš
škum jinjāwir-ō
wād-iš pi yē bāla
ğāzalē-ē rōr-ē ġāzalē-ē
wa šīša-ō umr yē sōs-ē inda ġāzalē-ō

937 When he arrived there, he saw that the doors were closed.
939 No one [dared to] breathe, all of the doors were closed.
942 Life was like deep night for them.
944 All of them were in the houses and the doors were locked.

947 One girl came up,
949 a girl whose beauty made the world turn.
953 A sheikh's daughter. [Her] tears were falling down.
956 Arriving at the well,
958 at the place where he would kill her, the piece of land, an open space.
963 the girl said to the boy, "What are you sitting here for?
966 Get up, go and hide yourself!
968 A master sorcerer is coming down to me
969 so he will eat me!"
973 He [the boy] said to her, "Well, remember God [i.e. because you're going to die].
975 Let him [the sorcerer] come."
978 He saw he was coming down [the sorcerer came down in the form of a giant albatross].
980 He screeched.
982 Now the boy made a line with a stick, a stick like this!
987 He said to the sorcerer, "This is for you. This is for me.
991 If I fall into your territory, kill me.
993 And if you fall into my territory, I shall kill you."
997 Now when he came down,
999 the girl, he took her headscarf from her,
1003 he put [tied] it around his waist, he gave it [the scarf end] to the girl.
1005 You know, it's like the hawli game that you play...
1007 And he, this man [the boy], he had a sword.
1010 And the girl was behind him.
1011 Like this he was jumping up with him, [the boy is mirroring the sorcerer's moves].
1012 Like this he was jumping up with him,
1014 Like this he was jumping up with him,
1016 Now that master sorcerer who was jumping up,
1018 he wanted to come and eat them,
1020 but aha! He [the boy] was ready for him!
1022 The master sorcerer was coming like this,
1023 advancing toward him.
1024 The master sorcerer was coming like this,
1025 he turned to avoid him.
1026 The master sorcerer was coming like this,
1027 he turned to avoid him.
1028 Right away he fell into their territory.
1029 [the sorcerer] fell into their territory,
1030 and right away [the boy] struck him.
1032 Right away he cut him in two.
1034 He [the sorcerer] said to him, "Strike again!"
1035 He said to him, "My father didn't teach me small bites;
1037 my father taught me blows of iron!"
1040 They [the two halves of the sorcerer] split from each other!
1043 He went to him, he slit his stomach,
1046 the master sorcerer's stomach.
1047 He [they boy] brought up from it,
1048 a gazelle. A fawn of a gazelle.
1052 and the bottle, his soul was put in the gazelle.

pi yē yā
 škum gāzalē-ō hē
 šaraxa škum gāzalē-ō kin wa
 šīša-ō wād-iš pi yē bāla
 dgō ba ditk-ō
 br-ō zēran ba bap xō
 dar-an xō wākš-ē
 bass-iš tay na ba šmā na
 ditk-ō raft zēran
 tamna=ā daqdaqa kin ba dar-ō
 bāba=ā dar-ō wākiš
 jinjawir-ō murd šāhar-ō murd
 kē kišt-iš yē=ā
 mardk-ō kišt-iš yē
 giya mardk-ō=ā mardk-ō ākša
 āmad bāla šēx-ō
 dgō ba yē rāfaqē=in
 inna dit mē
 ba tō bağa haqq
 dō-um yē ba tō
 gur yē zēnī bağa haqq ān
 tāt-um na pi tō na
 gur yē wa'bit-ē
 lilla'i ta'āla
 tō-a na gur dit xō
 dgō ba yē abdin
 filhāl kāwa bard-iš ba yē
 wa dār-iš yē ba yē
 wa āmad-in bāla yē wa zank-ō
 wa šīša-ō wā yē
 rēsid walēyt-ō
 jāga zan yē āntē yā
 sā šāhar-ō zan yē wā yē
 wa zan yē āntē pē yē=ā
 ōdas-ē yē
 tamna=ā tay zēran
 šāhar-ō tay zēran
 awa=ā wā rōhī
 sayaha tk-a wā rōhī
 zan yē dgō ba yē giya rōh tō=ā
 dgō ba yē rōh mē wā āka īn ādamī-ō
 rōh tō wā yē=ā
 dgō ba yē rōh mē wā yē
 ām ba yē
 dgō ba yē rōh mē ād ba mē
 dgō ba yē rōh tō dō-um ba tō=ā
 ēšinan bard-an yā-an=ā
 ādamī-an=ā
 ammū šan xalaqa šan kin ādamī
 wa mēš-in šan ād-ē wēl šan ḥaraka k-in
 burwā-in
 jwān āxur īn tō dō-um ba tō
 āxur rōh tō dō-um ba tō
 xalaqa šan gid-iš
 dgō ba yē čum-an xō ēbin
 čum-an xō bast-iš wākid-iš
 tamna=ā laba bīs tā ādamī īn-ō
 xwē-an yē
 zank-an brār-an yē
 wa brār-an yē wa laba da' pānda kas

1054 from its this.
 1054 Yes, from the gazelle's stomach.
 1057 He sliced open the gazelle's stomach, and
 1058 he brought the bottle out from it.
 1060 He said to the girl,
 1061 "Go down to your father.
 1063 [say:] Open your doors.
 1065 It is finished; he will not come to you."
 1067 The girl went down.
 1070 They heard knocking on the door!
 1072 "O father, open the door!
 1073 The master sorcerer is dead! The sorcerer is dead!"
 1074 "Who killed him?"
 1075 "The man killed him."
 1078 "Where is the man?" "The man is right there."
 1080 He went up to the sheikh.
 1083 He [the sheikh] said to him, "These are a solemn trust:
 1085 Here is my daughter,
 1086 she is for you without bridewealth,
 1087 I am giving her to you,
 1088 take her as your wife, without bridewealth, that
 1089 I do not require of you.
 1091 Take her as a trust,
 1092 by God!"
 1095 "It shall not happen, take your daughter!"
 1097 He said to him, "Never!"
 1099 In any case, he carried the marriage contract to him.
 1102 And he gave it to him.
 1104 And they came up, he and the woman.
 1106 And he had the bottle.
 1108 They arrived in the city,
 1109 His wife's place was there.
 1111 Now the sorcerer, his wife was with him.
 1113 And... his wife who was still there with him,
 1114 He was keeping her [the boy's first wife].
 1115 They saw that he was coming down.
 1117 The sorcerer was coming down.
 1119 He was saying... [Arabic]"And my soul!"
 1122 He was calling out, [in Arabic] "And my soul!"
 1125 His wife said to him, "Where is your soul?"
 1127 He said to her, "That man there has my soul."
 1130 "He has your soul?"
 1132 He said to her, "He has my soul."
 1135 She was silent.
 1136 He said to him, "Give me my soul."
 1138 He said to him, "If I give you your soul,
 1140 Those stones there,
 1141 those people,
 1142 turn them all back into humans.
 1145 And make them walk. Let them move, run.
 1148 OK? Afterward I will give you your what's-it-called.
 1151 Afterward I will give you your soul."
 1154 He gave them back their [human] forms.
 1155 He said to him, "Close your eyes."
 1156 He closed his eyes, he opened [them].
 1159 He saw that about twenty of these people,
 1162 her sisters,
 1163 the wives of his brothers,
 1164 and his brothers and about ten or fifteen other people,

dgur=ā

burwā-ē tirwā-in

ḥaraka tk-in

čī dard šmā tk-a=ā

kāmar-an šmā faxṭ-an šmā xālaṣ būr-in

jwān=im jwān=ē=ā

amu byār yē ka sayy yē

bālitar pi sar xō

amu ād yē ba zāmī-ō

murd mardk-ō murd

šīša-ō taftafa wābur

yē ka ba zāmī-ō

ṣāḥar murd

sā čāb kin ba zan xō wād-iš

zan yē ām ba yē

zan ṣāḥar-ō dgō ba yē mē pē č-um

msilman=ē jwān=ē ārabī=ē ya'nī

mē č-um wā tō

dug-um tō zēnī

kāwan-ō bō bar ba mē

brār-an xō wād-iš

wa kāwan-ō bard-iš ba yē

wa gid-iš yē

si-kas zank-an ḥašala gid-iš

zan ṣāḥar-ō wa zan yē wa zan šēx-ō

čār kas-an yēk-ē yēk-ē

sā yā maxnat-ō

wa rin zēran

rēsid-in āntē ba nummaḡ=ā čēnaḡ=in

iš wā šan āw na

čō-ē ām ba šan čō-ē

inda kō-ō

āw tkēš-in pi yē ba gōsin-an=ā kō'ī-an

wa sātē iš wā šan na

wa čēnaḡ=in ammu šan

dgō ba brār-an xō

br-ē zēran

pi šmā yēk-ē inda āw

īn madda k-a ba mā āw

mā mšarr-an xō tabn-im ba angar

jāmaḡ-an xō na

mšarr tō wa mšarr mē

yē=ā dandala tk-im ba yē

yē qlāṣ wā šan

āw sō ba mā inda yē txōr-im

dgīn ba yē č-im na tō brō

dgō ba šan ka č-um zēran čō-ō=ā

ar šaš kas-an šmā ma'r=ē

ma'r bžēn-um ba kūn-an šmā ma'r

ma'r tk-um ba šmā

wa ka na č-um na

dgīn ba yē bā yē na

ma'r bzan ba mā

ma'r bzan ba kūn-an mā

sā niyyit-ē brār-an

amū čōt čō-ō bēw

tikš-in yē

dafana yē tk-in ya'nī

1168 They ran! They were running.

1170 They were moving.

1171 "What is hurting you?"

1173 Your backs, your thighs, they are finished."

1177 "We are well." "You are well?"

1181 Immediately he brought it, right away he lifted it

1182 over his head,

1183 Immediately he smashed it on the ground.

1185 He died. The [sorcerer] died.

1187 The bottle was smashed.

1188 It fell to the ground,

1189 The sorcerer died.

1193 Now what would he do with his wife whom he had brought?

1195 His wife, she was silent.

1196 The sorcerer's wife said to him [the boy], "I'm going too:

1198 you are Muslims, you are good, that is to say, you are Arabs.

1200 I shall go with you.

1201 I shall marry you.

1202 Go and bring me the marriage contract."

1204 He brought his brothers,

1205 and he carried the marriage contract to her

1206 and married her.

1207 He got three wives:

1209 the sorcerer's wife and his wife and the sheikh's wife.

1212 There were four people, counting one by one.

1215 (Now this was the gay man!)

1216 And they went down.

1220 When they reached halfway there, they were thirsty.

1223 They didn't have any water.

1225 They came to a well, a well.

1227 In the mountain.

1229 They were watering their goats, the mountain bedouins.

1232 And now they didn't have anything.

1134 And all of them were thirsty.

1237 He said to his brothers,

1238 "Go down,

1239 one of you, to the water,

1240 Pass what's-it-called to us, water.

1242 We will tie our headdresses together,

1243 of our skirts,

1244 Your headdress and my headdress,

1245 These, we will dangle down to him."

1247 They had this glass:

1249 "Put water for us in it, we will drink."

1251 They said to him, "We will not go. You go."

1256 He said to them, "If I go down the well,

1259 all six of you must get tattooed,

1261 I will burn tattoos on your bottoms, tattoos.

1263 I will put tattoos on you.

1264 And if not, I will not go."

1267 They said to him, "All right.

1268 Tattoo us.

1269 Burn tattoos on our bottoms."

1272 Now the brothers were scheming:

1274 once he had just gone into the well,

1275 they were going to kill him.

1276 That is to say, they were going to bury him.

sā yē raft zēran čō-ō
 ma'r-an šan gid-iš
 bard-iš šan āntē inda xalwat-ē inča=ā
 ma'r-an šan gid-iš
 inna yē=ā
 zangērīr mē=ē
 yē=ā zangērīr mē=ē yē=ā zangērīr mē=ē

yā yā kār-an yē=in
 čāb gis-in=ā
 ammū gaš ba šan
 wa raft zēran čō-ō
 āw dār-iš ba šan
 ammū šan āw xōd-in
 sā čō-ō=ā
 tā jēlumb
 gār inda yē
 inča guzr-ē ya'nī
 hē gambur-ē ba yē
 gambur-ō inča čō-ō dabdaba
 ēka=ā bard-an tkō-a ē'ū
 yē twāra tō-a
 tay na ba yē na
 bā'is-ē bā yē=ā
 inča twāra
 ē'ū bass=im
 bass=im bēw ka kēš-in yē ba nummağ

kēš-in yē ba nummağ=ā
 ka kār-d-ō sī'-in ba in-ō
 šamšīr-ō sī'-in ba jāmağ-ō
 kard-in yē inda yē
 qaşsa yē gid-in
 kard-in yē bēw
 wa gab twāra wābur guzr-ō
 wa ka dafana ān gid-in bard
 dafana ān gid-in
 bard kardīd-in ba yē
 ḥawz yē dār-in ba yē
 sātē murd
 dgīn ba xō murd
 dgīn ba zank-an byā-ē č-im
 zank-an dgīn ba šan
 mā č-im na wā šmā na
 mā=ā šū mā murs-ē ba čō-ō
 mā bumr-im ba čō-ō
 šmā na wās-ē mā
 ar wās-ē mā yē
 zank-an raft-in na
 wa šan raft-in
 rēsid-in inda walēyt-ō=ā
 matfa-an naqqa gid-iš
 awa=ā rōr-an šēx-ō āmad-in
 ar šaš kas-an šan
 wa ān maxnat-ō kas na
 giya brār šmā=ā
 brār mā xō=ā wašt-im yē wa raft-im
 na brār mā wā mā
 brār šmā ra pišt-ō šmā
 mā jīr-im yē na

1277 Now he went down into the well,
 1280 he tattooed them.
 1281 Taking them there into a wilderness like this,
 1283 tattooing them,
 1284 "By this I declare that
 1285 you are my slaves.
 1286 By this you declare that you are my slaves. By this you
 declare that you are my slaves."
 1288 This one, this one, they are his belongings.
 1290 How did they do this?
 1291 He said this to all of them.
 1292 And he went down the well.
 1295 He gave water to them.
 1297 All of them drank water.
 1299 Now in the well,
 1301 [he was off to] one side,
 1302 he was shouting from inside it.
 1304 That is to say, it was a deep hole like this,
 1306 yes, it had a niche,
 1307 a niche just like the well of Dabdaba.
 1311 It must be that stones are falling here
 1312 He took cover.
 1313 It didn't [hit] him.
 1314 Shielding himself from them,
 1316 like this, he took cover.
 1317 "Here we have done enough.
 1319 We have done enough already," so right away they
 pulled him [up] halfway.
 1323 Pulling him [up] halfway,
 1324 right away they put the knife to the what's-it-called,
 1325 they put the sword to the skirt,
 1327 they dropped him [the boy] into it [the well].
 1328 They cut him [off].
 1330 Once they had dropped him,
 1331 he immediately took shelter in the deep [part of the well].
 1333 And right away they buried that one, with stones.
 1344 They buried that one.
 1347 They dropped stones on him,
 1350 they levelled the ground over him,
 1351 "Now he [must] be dead,"
 1352 they said to themselves, "he is dead."
 1354 They said to the women, "Come, let's go."
 1356 The women said to them,
 1357 "We are not going with you.
 1358 As for us, our husband has died in the well;
 1360 may we die in the well!
 1362 None of you brought us,
 1363 The one who brought us was him."
 1365 The women didn't go.
 1367 And they [the brothers] went.
 1372 When they arrived in the country,
 1373 cannons were fired.
 1374 It was said that the sheikh's children had come,
 1375 all six of them.
 1376 And that gay one was not there.
 1378 "Where is your brother?"
 1380 "Our own brother, we left him and went.
 1383 No brother of ours was with us..."
 1385 "Your brother went after you."
 1386 "We didn't see him."

mā=ā brār xō jīr-im na
 ra-im jāga fālan-ē
 šaš tā dītk-an āntē=in
 ar šaš kas-an šan
 xistārī šan gid-im
 wa āmad-im
 paštin-ī=ā kō'ī-ō āmad
 wā yē laba bīs tā gōsin=ā
 ḥawli wa gōsin wa
 wā yē ban-ē wa dēlō
 āw dō ba īn-an
 čō-ō yē=ā ḥawt-ō ba yē
 ya'nī ba gōsin-an
 zank-an dgīn ba yē zank-an
 sā tēmuš-in yē inda čō-ō
 dgīn ba yē
 āka šū mā kaft-ē čō-ō=ā
 byār yē bāla
 wa yēk-ē pi mā dug-im tō zēnī
 āmad wa dēlō dandala gid-iš ba yē wa
 wa abnīd-iš yē inda škum xō
 ēwō=ā ḥazmit xō
 wā=ēbar ōdas-ē yē dist xō
 wa āntē zank-an ar si-kas-an šan wa
 mardk-ō
 wa hē čikk-ē čikkē
 wa čikk-ē čikkē
 wa čikk-ē čikkē
 ṭala'a yē gid-in ba īn-ō bāla
 sātē di-kas gid-iš
 dgō ba yē zank-an ga ba yē
 tō šū mā byār bāla
 wa yēk-ē dug-im tō
 yēk-ē gur ba xō pi mā
 kārim-ē tāt-ī=ā
 dgō ba yē mi rāy-um na
 dug-um šan na ēšinan na
 mi bazza=um
 zank-an tō ba tō=in
 mi iš tāt-um na
 ḡāz dār-iš ba yē
 zank-ō yē ar dīt šēx-ō=ā
 ḡāz wā yē
 ḡāz dār-iš ba kō'ī-ō
 wa zank-an xō gid-iš ar si-kas-an šan
 wa xōr xō wa rin zēran
 wa nwāšam-ī šaw=ā rēsid-in
 rin xānaḡ-ō wa kas xābar ba šan na
 šabaḥa būr-in pi šabḥ=ā rin zēran
 rin zēran maglēs-ō
 sā bōp-ō ništ-ē ēwō
 si-kas pi brār-an yē
 ništ-in wā=inča wa si-kas wā=inča wa
 yē byār-ē ba kārō-ō
 wa indur ajā
 ēka=ā brār šmā āmas-ē=ā
 kana mā na k-a ba bap xō wējī yē kin
 wa ništ-ē ba zamī-ō
 dgō ba šan ka ḥaqq ba mē
 ḥaqq gr-ē ba mē

1388 As for us, we didn't see our brother.
 1390 Going to a certain place,
 1391 six girls were there,
 1392 all six of them
 1393 we got engaged to them,
 1394 and we came."
 1397 That afternoon, the mountain bedouin came.
 1400 He had about twenty goats with him:
 1402 male goats and goats and...
 1404 He had a rope and pail with him,
 1406 to give water to the what's-it-calleds,
 1407 (that well, it had a pool by it)
 1408 that is to say, to the goats.
 1409 The women said to him, the women,
 1412 (Now they would see him in the well.)
 1414 They said to him,
 1415 "There is our husband who has fallen in the well,
 1416 bring him up,
 1417 and one of us will marry you."
 1422 He came and he let down the pail and,
 1424 and he tied it around his waist,
 1427 here, wrapping it tightly around himself,
 1429 and holding it with his hand like this,
 1432 and there were all three of the women and the man,

 1436 and well, little by little,
 1437 and little by little,
 1438 and little by little,
 1439 they lifted him out of the what's-it-called. Up.
 1445 Now it took two people.
 1446 She said to him, The women said to him,
 1448 "You bring up our husband
 1449 and one of us will take you [as a husband].
 1450 Take one of us for yourself.
 1452 Which one do you want?"
 1453 He said to him, "I cannot
 1454 take them, those ones.
 1456 I am a poor person.
 1457 Your wives are for you.
 1459 I don't want anything."
 1462 She gave money to him,
 1464 the woman, the one who was the sheikh's daughter,
 1465 she had money.
 1467 She gave money to the mountain bedouin,
 1469 and he took his wives, all three of them,
 1471 and his donkey, and they went down.
 1474 and late that evening, they arrived.
 1477 They went to the house, and no one knew about them.
 1483 Waking up in the morning, they went down.
 1485 They went down to the sheikh's court.
 1487 Now, the father was sitting there.
 1490 Three of his brothers
 1492 were sitting like this and three were like this and,
 1493 "Bring him to the gate
 1494 and inside. What!
 1496 Can it be that your brother has come!?
 1498 Shouldn't we let him shake hands with his father?!"
 1502 And he [just] sat on the ground.
 1505 He said to them, "If justice belongs to me,
 1506 take justice from me.

inna yē bap mē
 šaš tā ẓangērīr ba mē=in wā yē
 šaš tā ẓangērīr-an mē
 si-kas ba kitf yē wā=rāstī=ā
 wa si-kas ba kitf yē wā=asrē
 ēšīnan=ā ẓangērīr-an mē=in
 ataqa=in ba mē
 wa gnūnus-ē na=ā
 bē-r-ē šan inda xalwat-ē
 wa mēš-ē šan
 ida ar kas-ē ma'r-ē ba kūn yē na=ā
 qaṣṣa sar mē kin
 sā ādamī-an dgīn ba šēx-ō šēx
 ēšīnan šīgl-ē gis-in rōr-an tō
 hā šīgl-ē gis-in inda kō-ō
 yēk-ē msīr-ō raft-in=ā šīgl-ē gis-in

 čābē rōr-an yē=in
 brār-an yē=in ẓangērīr-an yē=in tō'at
 ḥaqq ba yē
 bard-in šan xalwat-ē
 ar ẓām-ē yak-ē tēmuš-in
 tamna=ā ar yēk-ē
 ma'r-ē ba kūn yē
 dgīn ba yē šēx
 bēlē yē=ā ataqa=in ba yē
 wa yē=ā sā si-ta ẓank-an wā yē
 šan yēk-ē yēk-ē wā šan
 šēx-ō dgō xālaṣ
 ḥōkm-ō ba yē yē šēx-ō
 yē=ā ar si-ta ẓank-an wā yē=in=ā
 šēx walēyt-ō
 wa ēšīnan ẓangērīr-an yē=in
 wa mē=ā wēzir=um
 wa ān ḥōkm-ō ba mā
 mā xō ya'nī
 šayaxa yē gid-in
 wa ḥōkm-ō dār-in ba yē wa
 brār-an ēšīnan ẓangērīr-an=in
 wa tō raft-ī wa mī āmad-um
 yēk tā raft

1508 I declare that he, my father,
 1510 he has six slaves that belong to me.
 1512 My six slaves,
 1514 three at his right shoulder,
 1515 and three at his left shoulder.
 1517 Those ones there, they are my slaves.
 1519 They are bound to me.
 1520 If you don't believe [me],
 1521 take them into the wilderness,
 1522 and look at them.
 1523 If any of them does not have a tattoo on his bottom,
 1526 cut off my head."
 1529 Now people said to the sheikh, "Sheikh,
 1531 those ones have done something, your children."
 1534 "Well?" "They have done something on the mountain.
 1536 They have carried out some scheme, they have done
 something.
 1540 How could it be [that] they [who] are his children,
 1541 [who] are his brothers, become his slaves?"
 1543 Justice was his.
 1545 They took them to a wilderness.
 1546 They looked [at them] one by one,
 1547 They saw that each one
 1549 had a tattoo on his backside.
 1551 They said to him, "Sheikh,
 1552 it's true, that one, they are bound [as slaves] to him.
 1557 And that one, now, he has three wives;
 1558 they have one each."
 1560 The sheikh said, "It's finished.
 1562 The government is his. He is the sheikh.
 1565 That one, the one whom the three women are with,
 1566 is the sheikh of the country.
 1568 And these ones are his slaves.
 1571 and as for me, I am the prime minister.
 1573 And that government belongs to us,
 1574 that is to say, to ourselves."
 1575 They crowned him sheikh,
 1577 and they gave the government to him and,
 1578 those brothers were slaves,
 1580 and you went and I came.
 1585 one finished.

Kan'ēdō

qiṣṣit-ē wa ḥakāyit-ē=ā
 raft raft mālāllā yēk-ē rōk-ē

 mām-ē wa bap-ē wā yē
 mām-ō murd bōp-ō murd
 mād wā yē mām mām-ō ḥubbō-ē
 iška sāṭī'ī nafs sāṭī'ī
 sātē dgō ba ḥubbō xō=ā
 balaḡa bur ya'nī gapa tō wābur=ā

 dgō ba yē ḥubbō sā kasib bap mē čī=ā
 kasib bap mē ya'nī

0 A story and a telling...
 5 There went, there went, [someone like] Malallah, a one, a
 boy.
 9 He had a mother and a father.
 12 [Then] the mother died, the father died.
 15 He had remaining the mother's mother, a grandmother.
 17 It's like just now, the same as just now.
 20 Now, saying to his grandmother,
 23 (he was grown-up, that is to say, being your age [to
 audience member])
 25 he said to her, "Grandmother, now what was the livelihood
 of my father?
 28 the livelihood of my father, I mean,

ar xujmū yē tk-a awwal=ā čī=ā
 dgō ba yē kana awwal īn-ē wā yē
 zōraq-ē
 zōraq-ē wā yē=ā čōt diryā
 lē jēl tk-a may sayya
 kan'ad-an wa mēy-an wa būt-an wa
 tēbur-a ba xānağ-an ba xā šēx-ō wa

ba xānağ-an ādamī
 qadar ya'nī naktē arma dī-in ba mā
 wa qadar ḥabb-ē brinz dī-in ba mā
 wa qadar-ē pē qrūnī dī-in ba mā wa
 tšī'it mā pi yē kār-ō ya'nī
 dgō ba yē bā yē na
 sā ka māšuwē-ē xujmū k-um ba xō=ā
 č-um
 dgō ba yē rāy-ī wa č-ī
 bō dabara xō kin
 raft māšuwē-ō gid-iš ba xō
 māšuwē swuk ēka=ā inčka ādamī-an sar
 kardē'ō=ā
 wa lē xērid-iš ba xō
 wa raft našaba yē tk-a diryā-ō
 paštin tō-a=ā lēx-ō jēl tk-a=ā
 šabaḥa tō-a=ā sayya yē
 man-ē di-man si-man
 mēy sayy-a inda yē būt
 wa dgō-a ba ḥubbō-ō=ā
 tēbur-a xānağ-an
 nikta nikta xōrdin dī-in ba šan
 arma wa šigl wa wa tšū būr-in pi yē kār-
 ō
 ka byō tā bār ka kan'ad-ē sayd-iš
 laba si-man mēy inda yē
 fōšnīd-iš yē ba xā šēx-ō
 sā xā šēx-ō dār-in yē ba yē
 dgīn ba yē brō īn yē kin
 bō qašša yē kin
 pāk yē kin ba mā ya'nī
 sā wa āmad qašša yē gid-iš
 pāk yē tk-a šaraxa škum gid-iš=ā
 tamna=ā jō'ar-ē škum yē
 laba inča yē=ā

sā zank-ō dgō ba yē jō'ar-ō bar mā

mēy-ō ba mā wa jō'ar-ō bar mā
 rōk-ō dgō ba yē amala tk-a na
 mē mēy-ō fōšnīs-um ba šmā
 jō'ar-ō fōšnīs-um na ba šmā na
 īn wā šan šadayit-ē wābur wā=šan ya'nī

yē dgō ba yē tō mēy-ō fōšnīs-ī ba mā
 mār inda yē aqrab bar mā

dgō ba yē ā'ā
 ka mēy-ō xābar=um ba yē jō'ar-ē inda
 yē=ā
 tfōšn-um na ba šmā na

30 the work he did before, what was it?"
 32 She said to him, "Before, [when he was alive,] he had this:
 34 a zoraq boat.
 35 Having a zoraq boat, he would go fishing at sea.
 38 He would lay out fishing nets. He would catch fish:
 41 kanad fish and fishes and buut fish and...
 43 He would take them to the houses, to the sheikh's house
 and
 45 to people's houses.
 48 Some well, would give us a few dates,
 50 and some would give us a bit of rice,
 51 and some would even give us a qruuni coin, and
 53 from this work we made our living, I mean."
 55 He said to her, "All right, then.
 57 Now as soon as I build myself a small mashuwe boat,
 58 I shall go."
 59 She said to him, "You're able to and you're going?
 60 Go earn a living."
 62 He went and built himself a skiff-
 63 a light little skiff, you know, just like the people here in Sar
 Kardeo have-
 67 and he bought a fishing net for himself,
 68 and he went to place it in the sea.
 72 In the mid-afternoon, he would lay out the fishing net;
 73 When he woke up in the morning, he would retrieve it.
 74 A measure [of fish], two measures, or three measures,
 76 he would retrieve fish from it [the net], small buut fish.
 78 When he would tell the grandmother
 79 to take them to the houses,
 80 [people] would give a bit, a little bit of food to them,
 82 dates and things and... and they made a living from this
 work.
 85 Then it came about one time that he caught a kanad fish.
 88 It had about three measures' worth [12 kg] of fish in it.
 91 He sold it to the sheikh's household.
 94 Now the sheikh's household, they gave it to him,
 96 saying to him, "Go and do this:
 97 go and cut it up.
 99 That is to say, clean it for us."
 101 Now when he came to cut it up,
 102 he cleaned it, slitting its stomach,
 104 He saw a pearl in its stomach!
 106 about like this [big], here, you see? [Aliko shows its size
 with his hand]
 109 [says: tam..., then corrects self and says: sā] Now, the
 woman [of the sheikh's house] said to him, "The pearl belongs
 to us.
 112 The fish is ours so the pearl is ours."
 115 The boy said to her, "That will not work.
 117 I sold the fish to you,
 119 I did not sell the pearl to you."
 121 They had a what's-it-called, that is to say, they had an
 argument.
 124 She said to him, "You sold us the fish.
 126 [if there had been] a snake in it, [or] a scorpion, [it would]
 belong to us."
 128 He said to her "No.
 129 If I had known that in the fish there was a pearl,
 131 I would not have sold it to you,

ba inča inča na
 filhāl šēx-ō āmad
 tamna=ā dgō ba yē bā yē na
 jō'ar-ō wā mā
 lakin inča jō'ar-ō xō tāt-ī=ā
 burwā inda kō-ō
 asp-an insī-an ar inda kō-ō asp-an insī

asp-an insī-an byār ba mē=ā
 byō īn tō dō-um ba tō jō'ar tō
 sā asp-an insī-an tār-a
 filhāl mād šēx-ō bāla kin šām xōr

wa brō mētāw paṇḍa
 brō ūnī ba ḥasī-ō
 ba ḥasī-ō ba čō-ō ya'nī
 sā čō-ō ēwō īn-ō ba yē
 lētab-ē gap yē raft ništ qummit īn-ō

qummit lētab-ō
 šaw wābur=ā tamna=ā asp-ē rēsid
 di-ta rōr wā yē
 asp-ē insī rēsid wa di-ta rōr wā yē
 sā āw txōr-in pi ḥasī-ō=ā
 yē=ā asta asta=ā rukbō kin ba mām-
 ō

pi lētab-ō ya'nī
 rukbō kin ba kāmar mām-ō
 tā šarrax wā=ēbar tā šarrax wā=ēbar rōk-
 ō

tīya būr-in pi āw=ā
 ya'lla ayya abaša ban yē kin wa mēš kin
 hā mām-ō tēgar wa rōr-an pištū yē=in

byār yē ba kāra xā šēx-ō wa indur

wa dar-ō abnīd-in wa
 awa=ā ēka=ā asp-ō ō
 ēka=ā yē=ā rōr-an yē wā yē
 maxlōq-an zan'ar=in
 jō'ar mē ād ba mē
 dgō ba yē ā'ā
 jō'ar tō dō-um na
 yē asp-an insī-an=ā bar mā=in
 wa raft-in pi mā wa sā tō wās-ī šan

jubbar yē=ā
 raft wa tay raft wa tay
 tamna=ā dgō
 ka lāzum lāzum jō'ar tō dō-um ba tō=ā
 bō dit maṭlē'ī šimiš byār ba mē
 sā dit maṭlē'ī šimiš kē tār-a yē=ā
 filhāl nwāz šabaḥa kin bō bāla
 bāla maxnāqō
 rēsad kafanē'an=ā tamna=ā yēk-ē tay
 zēran
 laba pi ē'ō kinb ba ma'raq yē=ā
 ḥata xā ḥāma qdōrō
 grām-ē kinb kinb-ē ēka=ā yē=ā
 pi čikk-ē čikk-an=ā

132 not like this, [for this small price].”
 133 In any case, the sheikh came.
 136 Then he [the sheikh] said to him [the boy], “All right now.
 138 We have the pearl.
 139 But [since] like this you want your pearl,
 142 run to the mountains.
 143 The magic horses which are in the mountains, magic
 horses:
 146 bring me the magic horses,
 148 then I will give you your what's-it-called. Your pearl.”
 152 Now, he [the boy] would bring the magic horses.
 153 But [firstly] anyway, he stayed with the sheikh, he went up
 and ate supper,
 155 and [then] he left! It was a full moon.
 157 He went, he sat by the water reservoir.
 160 by the reservoir, that is to say, by the well.
 163 Now the well there, it had a what's-it-called by it:
 164 a big wild fig tree. He went and sat at the very top of the
 what's-it-called:
 168 at the top of the wild fig tree.
 170 When night fell, he saw a horse came,
 172 two foals with it.
 174 A magic horse came, and two foals with it.
 177 Now [as] they were drinking water from the pool,
 179 this [boy], he slowly slowly slowly mounted the mother.

182 From the wild fig tree, that is to say.
 184 He got up on the back of the mother,
 185 straddled with one leg on each side of her. The boy.
 190 They had finished with [drinking] the water,
 191 so he quickly took hold of the reins and made them walk!
 194 there... the mother was in front, and the foals were behind
 her.
 197 He brought her to the entryway of the sheikh's house, and
 [walked] right inside.
 200 And they closed the door and...
 201 they said, “Ooooooh! This must be the horse!
 202 [And] there must be its foals with it!”
 204 All the people were amazed.
 206 [boy:] “Give me my pearl.”
 208 He [the sheikh] said to him, “No.
 210 I will not give you your pearl.
 212 These magic horses, they belong to us,
 214 and they went [ran away] from us and now, you have
 brought them [back]. “
 216 (This [sheikh] was abusing his power.)
 220 Back and forth, back and forth [they argued],
 221 then he said... [text unclear]
 223 “If it is really necessary that I give you your pearl,
 225 [first] go and bring to me the daughter of Matlei Shimish.”
 229 Now this daughter of Matlei Shimish, who can bring her?!

235 In any case, the next day he woke up, he went up,
 237 up above Maxnaqo.
 240 When he arrived at Kafanean, he saw someone coming
 down [carrying a tree in his arms in front of him].
 243 About from here, [there was] a kinb tree from his throat
 246 [stretching] all the way to the house of Mohammed Qdoro.
 248 a bundle of kinb tree, you know this kinb tree,
 250 how small it is! [hyperbole]

sā wa rēsid rāstaḡ yē
tamna=ā yē rōk-ō dgō-a wōwōwō
byā-ē ba kinb-ē ba says-a ba xō wōwō

čā!

tamna=ā dgō ba yē tō gēna=ī
abala=ī yē wās-um yē wūrū-ē

yā grām-ē na
lakin tō ajaba būr-ī na
pi yē=ā asp-an insī-an wās-ē na
ajaba būr-ī pi ya na
dgō ba yē hē
ar asp-an insī-an wās-ē mē=um
majma kin jwān tō=ī
ayya qaṣṣa mū-ō=ā
mū qaṣṣa kin ād ba yē
ēka=ā mū-ō dō-um ba tō

ana hādis-ē gardid ba tō=ā
mū-an īn kin
ḥaraqa yē kin tā-um ba tō
wa raft
rēsid-in ālam=ā
tamna=ā yēk-ē dgur maltaqa yē wābur

ay ay ay ar tumī-an kō-ō ammū says-ē

tumī tumī-an ān-an kinb-an yē=ā tumī-
an
tamna=ā dgō ajā! ajā! ō-ō
byār ba maxlōq-ō=ā
kinb-an wa tumī-an says-ē ō-ō
awa=ā sā tu čābē=ī
mē lāṭī-ē wās-um ba xō ba tēnur xō

ēka=ā tō tumī sayy-ī
ka says-um xō=ā
pi ē'ō sayy-um=ā ḥata dām gīya na
ka dgō ba yē ajaba būr-ī na

pi yē=ā ar asp-an insī-an wās-ē yē
ajaba būr-ī pi ummē=ā
tamna=ā dgō ba yē ar asp-an insī-an
wās-ē=ā mē=um
tamna=ā dgō ba yē tō=ī=ā
dgō ba yē hē
dgō ba yē gur mū
ana čīz-ē gardid ba tō=ā
ḥaraqa kin tā-um ba tō wa raft
rēsid ba ālam=ā
tamna=ā ādamī xwaft-ē bāla dil yē
dil-ō wā=bāla
fālaj-ē āw tirwā-a škum yē pi sāma-ō
fālaj-ē
ṣayaḥa tk-a iš-ē na
ḡay wōwōwō wā=čēnaḡī
wōwōwō wa šē'id-ē
sā čābē šīḡl tō tō'at
fālaj-ē āw tirwā-a škum tō

252 Now when he arrived beside him,
253 he heard that boy was saying, “wow!
255 Come [everyone]! Look at [this] a tree he has picked up!
Amazing!
259 What?!”
260 Then he [kinbino] said to him, “You are crazy!
262 You are acting like a madman! I brought this, is this a
small bundle of sticks?
266 This that is [merely] a bundle!
267 Yet you were not surprised
268 at these, talking horses that were brought?
270 Were you not amazed by this?”
273 He [boy] said to him [kinbino], “Well,
274 the one who brought the talking horses was me!”
277 [kinbino:] “Speak the truth! It was you?!”
280 So, [kinbino] cutting the hair,
282 he cut the hair, he gave it to him!
283 [kinbino says:] “You understand, I am giving [my] hair to
you.
284 If misfortune befalls you,
286 Do this to the hair:
287 burn it [and] I will come to you.”
289 And he left.
292 When they arrived at Alam ridge,
293 He saw that he came face to face with someone else, [who
said:]
295 “Ooooh! Every tumi tree on the mountain, they were all
were uprooted.
298 The tumi trees... Those tumi trees, the kinib trees, these
tumi trees.”
302 Then he said, “Oh my, oh my! What...?!”
304 Bring to all the people
306 the kinib trees and the tumi trees that are uprooted, oh my!
309 I say, why you, what is the matter with you?! [to tumino]”
310 [tumino says:] I have brought a small amount for myself,
for my stone-oven.”
312 “Obviously you could uproot the tumi trees,
314 if I carried, I could carry however much!
315 I could carry it from here to anywhere!
317 So then he [tumino] said to him [the boy], “Were you not
amazed
318 by him, the one who brought him these talking horses?
319 Yet you were still amazed even by me?”
322 Then he [the boy] said to him [tumino], “The one who
brought the talking horses was me.”
326 Then he [tumino] said to him [the boy], “It was you?”
328 He [the boy] said to him [tumino], “Yes!”
329 He [tumino] said to him [the boy], “Take the hair.
332 If anything happens to you,
334 burn it, [and] I will come to you.” And he left.
338 When he arrived at Alam ridge,
339 He saw someone sleeping on his back,
341 facing up.
342 A water channel ran into his stomach from heaven.
343 A water channel.
345 He was shouting, saying nothing
346 except “Woe!” and “Thirst!”,
348 “Woe!” and a dying man’s creed.
350 “Now how was this thing of yours happening?
353 A water channel is running into your stomach.

ṣayaḥa tk-ī wā=čēnaḡī
tamna=ā dgō ba yē sā tu abala=ī waḷa
čī=ī
iyyē ar nikta dēqiqit-ē panj tā dēqiqit
sā'it-ē wa
nikta āw nakata tk-in ba mē ba gurman-ō

yē čābē sēr mē tka=ā
tō ajaba būs-ī na
pi yē=ā ar asp-an insī-an wās-ē na
ajaba būr-ī pi ummē=ā
dgō ba yē ar asp-an insī-an wās-ē

yē=ā mē=um
tō=ī=ā dgō ba yē hē

dgō ba yē gur mū-an
wa dār-iš ba yē wa
lumrād awya kin xwēr
tamna=ā ē'ū walēyt ba maṭlē'ī šimiš
jwān
sā wa rēsid walēyt-ō=ā mardk-ō=ā
yē ādamī-ō=ā šara'a bōp-ō kin
dgō ba yē āmas-um ba tō
āmas-um ba tō ba dit tō
ba īn ba xistar
sā dgō ba yē na
šēx-ō fāns-ē mē wa
dit xō ād ba yē wa īn na

mē āmas-um ba tō dit tō xistar-ē tk-um

dgō ba yē dit mē xistar tk-ī=ā

dit mē bētar na pi tō na
wa tō bētar=ī na pi īn mē na
pi dit mē na
wa lakin dit mē
xāna yē ba šarṭ bāba=ā
šaṭṭa ādamī murs-in ba yē yēk-ē kam

sā tu sā tu kēs-ē

yumkin šad kēs-ē ājal tō'at
tamna=ā dgō ba yē hā

dgō ba yē dō-um ba tō

xānaḡ-ē palla
gēnum wa jā mayya angar
maxluṭ ya'nī xānaḡ-ē
palla gēnum wa jā
wa šabaḥa tō-um=ā
gēnum-an rukd-ē wa jā-an rukd-ē

wa dō-um ba tō buxxar-ē palla qēšarit
arma qēšarit
wa šabaḥa tō-um=ā
tak-an jrā'ī arma-an jrā'ī
wa dō-um ba tō čō-ē palla āw

355 You are shouting from thirst?"

357 Then he [awino] said to him, "Why you...! Are you crazy or what?!"

359 That [water], [there is only] a little of it every minute or every five minutes an hour and...

362 [it's as if] they are dripping a bit of water for me from the [a piece of] cotton.

364 How will [this] ever quench my [thirst]?

367 You have not been amazed

368 at him, at the one who brought the talking horses,

370 [yet] you were amazed even at me?"

371 He [the boy] said to him [the awino], "The one who brought the talking horses,

372 this one, it was me."

373 [awino:] "It was you?!" He [boy] said to him [awino], "Yes."

375 He [awino] said to him [boy], "Take the hair."

377 and he gave it to him and...

378 in any case, he climbed down to Xwair hamlet!

380 He saw that here was the city of Matlei Shimish!

384 So!

385 Now when he arrived in the city, the man [boy],

389 that person, he approached the father.

393 He [the boy] said to him [the father], "I have come to you.

395 I have come to you, to your daughter,

396 for this: to be her suitor."

398 Now, he didn't tell him [that]

399 the sheikh sent me and

401 to give him your daughter [in marriage] which is for [in return for] this [pearl].

402 [He only said:] "I have come to you to be a suitor to your daughter."

405 He [the sheikh] said to him [the boy], "You want to be a suitor for my daughter?"

407 My daughter is not better than you,

408 and you are not better than my what's-it-called,

411 than my daughter.

412 However my daughter,

413 Sir, her marriage will be with bridewealth.

416 One hundred people have died for her [i.e. trying to be her suitor], less one.

420 Now you [watch out]... now you [watch out]! [You may be the hundredth] person,

421 perhaps the hundredth person will come to this fate."

425 So he [the boy] said to him [the girl's father], "Yes." [i.e. I accept]

427 He [the girl's father] said to him [the boy], "I will give to you

430 a house, full of

433 wheat and of barley mixed together.

435 mixed up, that is to say. A house[ful].

437 Full of wheat and barley.

441 And when I wake up in the morning,

443 all the wheat must be in one corner and all the barley in another.

447 And I will give you a storehouse full of Qesarit, Qesarit dates.

452 When I wake up in the morning,

455 the date syrup baskets must be separated from the dates.

460 And I will give you a well full of water.

wa şabaḥa tō-um=ā
kana ya čō-ō šārar
iš inda yē āw na
dit mē ba tō baḡa ḥaqq

dgō ba yē bā yē na
naqata kin tālum-ō
ka ḥaraqa kin mū-an
āzamē wa tā-ē
rēsid āw-īn-ō
dgō ba yē hā
dgō ba yē čwān-ī čō-ō txōr
šaraba tk-ī=ā
čābē tā-ē=in bē=ā
pē di-ta=in na=ā
ga ba yē di-ta ba mē na=ā
tā čō bē=ā
dgō ba yē ā'ā tā-ē=in
amū bēw ēka=ā inča kin ba yē=ā

biyāyē ka qa

wābōbō gil-an yē āmad bāla jārī
ḥaraqa tā kin kinb-īn-ō rēsid
tamna=ā dgō ba yē hā
dgō ba yē čwān-ī buxxar-ō yē=ā
palla ḡēla mayya angar gēnum wa jā

yē wa nwāz=ā jrā'ī=ā
dgō ba yē yē=ā ka byā-in zēran
laba panj āzar tā maxluq šāḥar
ar kas-ē wa laba inča wa
finjan-ē finjan-ē āmad na ba šan na
di-kyē di-kyē na
gēnum azala gid-in jā azala gid-in
yēk-ē āntē tay zēran=ā
wa ṭīyar=in ē pē mē=ā
bāba=ā yē āwust
dasta xālṭū kin ba yē
inda finjan-ē dār-in ba yē
wa byār-in wa gēnum-an sayd-in ēwō
wa jā-an ē'ō
qēšarit-īn-an rēsid-in
hā yē wa tak-an yē=ā waḷa baḡa

yē wa tak-an yē=ā xōr-im
ā'ā tak-an wēl-ē
tak-an wēl-im pē ya=ā
pē čwānid-ī ga-ī ba yē ba di-ta buxxar na
dgō ba šan tā buxxar=in bē
filḥāl fakka wābiš fajr-ō urtut-ē na
čō-ō jārī=ā ḡēla azala=ā arma-an jārī

āmad ba yē tamna=ā dgō ba yē ā'ā

ba di-ta buxxar
ba di-ta buxxar ḡēla-an ḡēla
ba di-ta arma=ā yē wa tak-an yē
yē ba di-ta čō
mī dūšin ḡarra=um

463 When I wake up in the morning,
465 instead this well must be dry:
466 without any water in it.
467 [In this case] you shall have my daughter without [any other] bridewealth!"

471 He [the boy] said to him, "All right."
474 He brought [them] out one at a time onto the platter!
475 right away he burned the hairs,
476 one after the other!
478 The water man arrived.
480 He [awino] said to him, "Yes?"
481 He [the boy] said to him, "Can you drink...
482 can you drink the well?"
484 "What?! There is only one of them?!"
485 There are not even two of them?!"
487 Are you not going to get two of them from him for me?!"
489 Is there only one well?"

491 He said to him, "Yes, there's only one of them."
493 As soon as he had begun he had finished, he did, you know, like this to it [loud slurping sound]
496 Right away it came about that "qa'!" [choking on dirt sound]

498 "Alas! Its dirt is already coming up!"
503 He burned another one [hair]! The kinb tree man arrived.
504 Then he said to him, "Yes?"
506 He said to him, "This storehouse,
508 full of grain, with wheat and barley all mixed together, can you
512 between now and tomorrow, separate [the grains]?"

515 He said to him... this: that they should come down,
520 a crowd of about five thousand sorcerers.
523 [For] each person, [there was] approximately this much:
524 there wasn't [even] a cup for each of them.
527 there wasn't [even] a quarter-cup for each [of them].
529 They separated the wheat, they separated the barley.
532 One who was coming down,
533 [when] they had finished, [he said] what about me too!?"
535 "Sir, stay!"
536 They mixed up some [grain] for him!
537 in a cup, they gave it to him.
541 And they brought and put the wheat here
542 and the barley there.
544 The date-eaters arrived.
546 "Yes? [Shall we eat] these [dates] and their date syrup baskets? or without?
548 These and their date syrup baskets, shall we eat?"
549 [boy:] "No. Leave the date syrup baskets."
551 "Must we really leave the baskets?"
554 Could you not even have told him two storehouses?"
557 He said (to them), "There is only one storehouse of them."
558 In any case, when morning dawned, there was not a trace.
561 The well was finished, the grain was separated, the dates were finished.

565 He [the boy] came to him [the sheikh]. Then he [the sheikh] said to him [the boy], "No.
569 [in fact, you have to do that] for two storehouses.
570 For two storehouses of grain, grain.
573 For two [storehouses of] dates, them and their baskets.
575 [And do] it for two wells.
577 I was mistaken yesterday."

ğarra=ī ēka=ā tō ga-ī ba mē ba tā tā na
 sā ga-ī ba mē ba di-ta bā yē na
 raft šaw wābur=ā
 ka ħaraqa āw-īn-ō kin
 čā! maḥana mi tk-ī ba tā bāba

 ā'ā di-ta=in sātē
 di-ta=in wa xwāja xō=ī ħaqa
 ka ka pē si-ta=in=ā ka pē batar
 wa šaraba ān kin
 aržamē u tā'ē
 jwān-ē ā'am
 nikta gardid rīq mē rōzō
 ḥamdilila ā'am
 hē āšinan rēsid-in qēšarīt-īn-an
 di-ta buxxar=in
 māšalla yē wa tak-an yē=ā
 šal alā mḥammad!
 jwān gis-ī rōzō
 ġaraqa kin
 ġēla-īn-an rēsid-in wōwōwō
 mā yē=ā kē=ā ādamī txēn-a ba mā

 pē di-ta=in=ā mā čī tay ba mā=ā

 bēlē di-ta=in rōzō hē jwān-ē

 rub'-ē rub'-ē āmad ba šan
 si-kyē-an gēnum wa si-kyē-an jā

 filḥāl šarṭ-ō gid-iš
 šabaḥa wābur pi šabḥ=ā
 ra ba yē xāna
 dār-iš yē ba yē
 wa raft
 mād di-rōz si-rōz zan xō gid-iš

 wa mučī-an wā yē ka axča-an
 wa ka kār-an wa raft
 rēsid ba ālam=ā
 mū-an ħaraqa gid-iš yē wa zan yē
 rēsid-in ba yē ar si-kas-an šan
 yā ēšinan šēx šāḥar=in ya'nī
 ar yēk-ē ādamī-an ēšinan šēx-an=in
 āšīn-an jāmat=in
 dgō ba yē ēka=ā ditk-ō dug-ī wa č-ī=ā

 wayda ād yē na ba šēx-ō na
 bar yē xā šmā wa zan tō=ā
 sā ḥaram ḥālāl
 bass=ī zanḥ-ō ba tō
 ana tēmuš-ī čwān-ī bā yē
 jang tō tk-a wana čīz-ē tk-a=ā
 mū ħaraqa kin mā tā-im ba tō
 tō iš ba tō na
 na tāfaq na kār na šiğl
 iš ba tō na
 wēl wā mā bē
 wēl yē sar mā

580 “You were mistaken? Even though you had told me [to do it] for only one at a time!
 583 Now you tell me [to do it] for two. All right.”
 587 He left. When night came,
 588 right away he burned the water-man[’s hair].
 591 [awino says:] “What! It’s you bothering me for one [well] again!”
 593 [boy says:] “No, now there are two of them.”
 594 [awino says:] “There are two? Well, thank-you very much!
 597 If... if only there were three, it would be even better!”
 599 And he drank them,
 600 one after the other.
 602 [awino says:] “It’s all good,
 603 a little bit came around to my throat today.
 604 I’m all well!”
 607 So, those people arrived, the date-eaters.
 610 “There are two storehouses?!”
 611 Māšallāh! These and their date syrup baskets?
 613 May Mohammed rest in peace!
 615 You have done good today!”
 616 They swallowed [the dates].
 619 The grain-separators arrived, oh my!
 622 In the midst of this [crowd of sorcerers], what person would laugh at us?!”
 624 Even if there are two [of the storehouses], what will become of us?”
 626 [boy:] “Yes in fact, there are two today. [sorcerers:] All right, fine.”
 629 There was a kilogram for each of them.
 631 Three quarter-cups of wheat and three quarter-cups of barley.
 634 In any case, he got the bridewealth.
 638 When he woke up in the morning,
 639 he married her.
 640 He gave her to him.
 643 And he left.
 644 Time went by, it was two or three days since he married his wife,
 645 And he had all kinds of things, such as gold,
 647 and stuff, and he left.
 649 Arriving at Alam ridge,
 651 he burned the hairs. He and his wife.
 654 All three of them came to him.
 655 That is to say, these were these chiefs of sorcerers.
 657 Each one of these people was a chief [of sorcerers].
 660 Those people were a coven [of sorcerers].
 662 He [one of the sorcerers] said to him [the boy], “Here you’re taking the girl and you’re going,
 664 don’t go and give her to the sheikh.
 667 Take her to your house and she’s your wife,
 669 now that [what was] forbidden is allowed.
 671 You have finished; the woman is for you.
 673 If you see that you could be up against him,
 675 if he starts a war with you, or makes a move,
 677 burn the hair, we will come to you.
 678 As for you, there is nothing for you to do.
 679 Neither guns, nor stuff, nor things,
 681 there is nothing for you to do.
 682 Just leave it up to us.
 683 Leave it to be our concern.

pi sar mā ḥata sar yē
wa zan tō zan tō=ā
wayda ād yē na
tukš-um tō
filḥāl tamna=ā rēsid šēx-ō rēsid
awa=ā dit maṭlē'ī šimiš wā yē

awa=ā fānd-in ba yē
awa=ā zank-ō fān ba yē
bāba=ā awa=ā dō-um yē na ba yē na
mē xō wās-um yē
wa ra-um ba yē xāna
awa=ā dō-a yē na
dō-a yē na=ā
yaḷḷa ayya ništ-ē ba čī=ā
jang yē bzēn-im tāfaq-ō
haraqa mū-an gid-iš
šaw drāz=ā
sūqū būr-in maxluq-an
qadar quz'an wā šan
qadar tālim wā šan wa
qadar brinz wā šan wa
qadar dām čī wā šan na wa
qadar matfa bzēn-in wa
qadar dubbāba wā šan wa
qadar tāfaq wā šan
filḥāl xānağ-ō ya=ā iš dug-a na

pi qāmi nwāz=ā tay
qāmi nwāz=ā
šēx-ō dgō ba šan
tā di-ta tāfaq ād-ē inča īn=ā
sayb=ā turs yē byār-a yē=ā
wa ka wākid-in di-ta tāfaq si-ta tāfaq
pi xā šēx-ō wa ka wāks yē

šāḥar=in wa kaft-in xwēm
amu xā šēx-ō kard-in
amu muzgīt kaft
maxluq-an ādamī murd-in wuxritī
aṭala būr-in ya'nī
wa māḍ adala wābur jang-ō
ša'bō dgī-in amala tk-a na tumr-im

wa sā di-ta tāfaq bzand-im bē
ya=ā jīmī wā yē=ā
yē na xō ādamī=ā
kē čwān-a dit maṭlē'ī šimiš tār-a=ā
kē čwān-a čōt
asp-an insī-an tār=ā
bass=ī dgīm ba šēx-ō bass tāt-im tō na

ālam bar bāla
šēx-ō yē rōk-ō
ālam-ō bard-in bāla
zangērīr-an āmad-in awa=ā šēx-ō tō=ī
šēx-ō mē=um awwal jō'ar mē byār-ē
ka na bass tk-in na
jō'ar yē bar ba yē
awwal asp-an insī-an mē byār-a

684 It's a matter between us and him.
686 If your wife is [indeed] your wife,
687 don't go giving her.
688 [otherwise] I will kill you."
690 In any case, then he arrived. The sheikh arrived.
692 He said that the daughter of Matlei Shimish was with him [the boy].
696 He said that they will send for her,
697 He said that [he] must send the woman to him.
699 No sir, he said that I will not give her to him.
701 I myself have brought her
702 and I have married her.
705 He said that he would not give her.
708 He would not give her?
709 "Let's go! Hurry up! What are you sitting there for?!"
710 We will have a gun war with him."
713 He burned the hairs.
715 All night long,
716 the crowd [of sorcerers] assembled.
717 They had some cauldrons,
719 they had some platters, and
720 they had some rice, and
721 they had some I don't know what else, and
723 they would fire some cannons, and
724 they had some tanks, and
725 they had some guns.
727 In any case, this house, it [was so full that] it wouldn't take any [more].
730 When it was almost dawn,
733 when it was dawn,
735 the sheikh said to them,
736 "Strike like this with one or two guns, what's-it-called,
738 firing stray shots, to frighten him..."
740 And right away they opened fire with two or three guns
743 from the sheikh's house. And right away they [the sorcerers] opened fire!
747 They were sorcerers... and they fell in to the blood-battle.
750 Immediately they knocked down the sheikh's house.
752 Immediately the mosque fell.
753 Crowds of people died in an instant,
755 that is, they were injured.
756 And it kept going, the war went on.
758 The [sheikh's] people said, "This isn't working! We are going to die!"
761 And now we have only fired two guns,
763 [but] these! All of these that they have,
764 these are no humans, are they?!!
765 Who can bring the daughter of Matlei Shimish?
766 Who can go [and]
767 bring the magic horses?
769 You are finished! We are saying to the sheikh that it is finished! We don't want you.
773 Raise the white flag!
774 The sheikh [for us] is this boy."
777 They raised the white flag.
778 The slaves came and said, "You are [now] the sheikh."
781 [boy:] "I am [now] the sheikh? First bring my pearl!"
784 Lest they finish [fighting before I get the pearl].
785 He must bring the pearl with him.
786 First he must bring my magic horses.

asp-an insī-an yē bar ba yē
 wād-in ba yē šayaxa yē gid-in
 nadaba gid-in ba yē
 wa zan yē mād wā yē
 wa asp-an yē mād wā yē
 wa jō'ar yē mād wā yē wa
 tō raft-ī wa mē āmad-um xālaš
 ḥāra kin ḥaḡiqit ya'nī

789 He must bring the magic horses with him."
 790 They brought [them] to him. They made him sheikh.
 793 They cheered for him, giving the war cry.
 795 And his wife stayed with him,
 796 and his horses stayed with him,
 797 and his pearl stayed with him, and
 798 You went and I came. The End.
 803 (audience:) Look! I mean, how amazing!

Sōntīō

raft yēk-ē
 qiššit-ē wa ḥakyit-ē
 raft šēx walēyt-ō
 wā yē si-ta ditk-an
 ēšin-an si-kas-an=ā raft-in madrast-ō
 darasa gid-in
 xālaš būr-in pi madrast-ō
 gap-an raft-in xāna ba rōr-an āmō xō
 čikk-ō dgō ba bap xō
 mē=ā č-um na xāna na
 č-um mē na=ā xāna na=ā
 tany-um na ē'ū na
 ana tany-um ēwō tumr-um
 ana č-um xāna ba rōr āmō xō tumr-um
 ḥā bāba=ā čī tāt-ī
 dgō ba yē kin ba mē sōntī-ē
 sōntī-ē gap byār
 lōḥī gap-ē na
 wa kin ba mē inda yē xānağ-ē
 xānağ-ē kin ba mē inda yē
 qafala pi wā=indur
 āw byāt na inda yē na
 āw sōr-ō na
 sō ba mē inda yē
 ḡāzī-ē slandar-ē xōrdin zād
 wa kiswīt wa čādir wa tany-um
 jāga kin ba mē inda yē ba nwāz
 wa txwā-um inda yē
 watī sayy-um xō na
 rāy-um na
 ba kūnītī bē
 xālaš tō'at=ā
 bō kard mē dirya-ō
 kard-ī mē dirya-ō=ā
 bar mē ba mōmur wākiš mē
 a jāga br-um
 murd-um ka wābur-um inda sōntī-ō yā=ā
 inda ḥamya būr-um
 wa ra-um wā=bāla
 ra-um mağrab
 ra-um mašraq
 ana yā tk-ī ba mē=ā
 balkē mān-um zindağ
 wa ana tēl-ī mē jāga mē
 inda walēyt-ō=ā tumr-um
 pi ahla xō rōr-ē

5 There was a person.
 9 A story and a telling.
 12 There was a sheikh of the country,
 14 He had three daughters.
 18 Those three, they went to school.
 21 They studied.
 25 They completed their schooling.
 27 The older ones married the [sons] of their uncle.
 30 The young one said to her father,
 31 "As for me, I am not going to marry.
 35 Not only am I not going to marry,
 36 I am not staying here either.
 39 If I stay here, I will die.
 41 If I marry my uncle's [son], I will die."
 45 "Well, child, what do you want?"
 47 She said to him, "Make me a raft.
 51 Bring a big raft,
 52 that is a big wooden one,
 55 and make me a house inside it.
 57 Make a house for me inside it,
 58 [that] locks from the inside,
 59 so that water cannot go in.
 61 (so that) seawater (cannot go in).
 64 Put inside it for me...
 65 A stove. A coal box. Food, lots [of it].
 70 and clothes and linens and I will live...
 73 make a place in it for me to pray
 75 and I will sleep in it
 76 and I will not stand up.
 78 I won't be able to.
 80 [I will] only [sit] on my bottom.
 82 When it is finished,
 83 go and plunge me into the sea.
 85 Plunging me into the sea,
 87 carry me to Momur Island, [there] release me.
 90 I shall go anywhere.
 92 If I should die on that raft,
 93 if I should become beached,
 94 and if I should go up,
 95 if I should go west,
 96 if I should go east,
 97 if you do these things for me,
 99 perhaps I will stay alive.
 100 And if you make me [stay] where I am
 102 in [this] country, I will die.
 104 From my relatives, a [son]...

šū tāt-um na
 bōp-ō čāb ka sātē=ā
 ūny-a=ā tumr-a
 bēr-a yē xāna=ā tumr-a
 ra ba nijjar-ō
 sōntī-ē wād-iš pi ēwū
 ḥata šaḥarē-ō ba blind-ī
 dgō ba yē ā
 tāt-um tō hijrit-ē kin inda yē=ā
 ba ditk-ō ya=ā
 nwāz tk-a inda yē=ā
 txwā-a inda yē=ā
 ḡāzī inda yē=ā
 brinz-ē wā yē=ā
 qaḥwē wā yē=ā
 wa kār-an yē wā yē=ā
 āw-ō byāt na inda yē na
 āw sōr-ō na
 kard-im yē durya-ō
 qafala pi indur wa
 klīl yē wa
 qaṣṣa wābur ba yē
 wa inšalla bīs wa panj āzar tā
 qaṣṣa wābur ba bīs wa panj āzar tā
 xamsa wa tširīn
 wa xālaš ṭiyar yē gid-in
 wa qalafa yē gid-iš ka mā-ē
 wa ka di-mā-an xālaš wābur
 ba šaw ditk-ō raft inda yē
 kas xābar na ba yē na ḡay bōp-ō na
 wa qafala dar-ō yē gid-in
 wa indō-an wād-in ba yē šabaḥī
 wa suḥbū yē gid-in ba ḡārī-ō
 bard-in yē āw-an
 wa dār-iš yē ba lenj-ō
 bard-in yē ba mōmur
 wākid-in yē
 abāra āw-ō oḡar-ē
 dug-a yē ba quxayg
 wa āw-ō čōt bāla purya=ā
 tēbur-a yē ba sar mistō
 wa lenj-an tēmuš-in yē
 č-in ba yē rāy-in na abaša yē tk-in na
 rāy-in na sī-in yē nēxan na
 gap-ē na
 xall gid-iš
 mšaww gid-iš maḥḥar gid-iš

 wa ḡazara gid-iš inda āw-an
 yē wa āw-an sātē tā-ē=in

 inča xall ba yē
 wa maḥḥar ba yē wa
 mād laba si-mā-an
 čār mā-an durya-ō
 čār panj mā-an
 ammū ādamī jīr-in yē
 ar čōt ba yē=ā
 kas tāt-a yē na
 ka byō nāšī būr nāšī

105 I don't want a husband."
 108 What was the father to do now?
 110 If she were to stay, she would die!
 112 If she were to be married, she would die!
 115 He went to a boatbuilder,
 117 he brought a raft [that was] from here
 119 up to the cabinet in height.
 123 He said to him, "Yes?"
 125 "I want you to make a room in it,
 126 for this girl,
 128 so that she might pray in it,
 129 sleep in it,
 130 [have] a stove in it,
 132 she has rice,
 133 she has coffee,
 134 and she has her things,
 135 so that water cannot go in it,
 136 (so that) seawater (cannot go in it)
 137 We shall plunge her into the sea,
 138 locking it from the inside, and
 140 her key and,
 142 we will make a deal on it.
 144 and hopefully, for twenty-five thousand.
 150 We will make a deal for twenty-five thousand.
 151 [Arabic:] Twenty-five."
 153 And it was finished... they finished it,
 155 and they built it from wood, even in a month
 157 or two months, it was finished.
 159 At night, the girl went inside it.
 162 No one knew about her: no one except the father.
 165 And they locked its door,
 167 and in the morning they brought Indians to it [the raft],
 170 and dragged it [the raft] by cart,
 172 they carried it to the water.
 173 And he gave it to the dhow,
 174 to carry it to Momur Island.
 177 [There] they released it.
 179 Like, the tide was going out,
 183 it [the tide] took her to Quxayg Rock.
 185 and when the tide came in,
 187 it carried her to Cape Misto.
 190 When dhows saw it [the raft],
 191 they went to it, they couldn't catch it.
 193 They were not able to bring it aboard,
 195 it being such a big one!
 197 It was covered with green algae,
 199 It was covered with barnacles. It was covered with
 oysters.
 203 And it sank into the water,
 204 until it was one with the water [it sunk to the level of
 the water's surface].
 207 Like this, there was green algae on it
 208 and oysters on it and...
 212 time went by, about three months,
 213 four months, she was at sea,
 214 four or five months.
 215 All the people saw it.
 217 [but] of anyone who went to it [to look at it],
 218 no one wanted it.
 220 Then it came about that there was a storm wind. A

nāšī-ō āmad ḥamyā wābur inda walēyit-ē

inda rāṣ xaymē
inda laymay inda jāgē'ē ya'nī
ḥamyā wābur ba čāf-ō
nāšī-ō wād-iš yē
ḥamyā gid-iš bāla ba āw-ō gābanō-ō
araṭa yē gid-iš
āw-ō čōt pi yē zēran
rōk-an tā-in gū tk-in ba yē
bāz tk-in pēna yē wa
ēka=ā yā kas tāt-a yē na
kaft-ē ba čāf-ō bē lōh-ē gap

gapa xānağ-ō=ā
lakin inča inča blind-ī yā=ā

sā byō tā bār ka
pis šēx walēyt-ō čōt xāna
adala wābur sūran
daqqa wāb m'allāyē-ō

bālitar pi yē
m'allāyē-ō bzēn-in

sā ēnar īn-ō tk-in
šū xō tkīn na čō xāna na

sā wa ṭabil-an šnaft-iš=ā
dar-ō wākid-iš āmad barra
adliyē ba yē pi ēwū ḥata āntē ō

raft ra ba m'allāyē
wa barza wābur=ā
salām alēkum ālēkum salām
ditk-an ništ-in
wa di-kas ništ-in ba sayyam-ō
āmō šan wā šan
sā ḥasa ēnar gis-in na
qaḥama gid ba yē zēran
yēk-ē pi zangērīr-an
wa dgō ba yē faḍala biš
tā pā wa tā dist kin ba āmō mē
wa yā xwē mē tā pā

wa tā dist ba yē
ēnar yē gid-iš
dist rāstī ēnar gid-iš pi rāstī
ān=ā dist asrē ēnar gid-iš pi asrē

āmō xwaft-ē šēx-ō xābar na
šabaḥa wābur pi šabḥ=ā
tamna=ā ēnar-an yē gēr=in
yē=ā na=ā bātar=in yē=ā na=ā xaykē na
yē=ā gbar-ē yā=ā sirx-ē
ra ba zank-an wād-iš šan
zangērīr-an ar di-kas-an šan
dgō ba yē āmō
skafya k-ē na pi mē na

nor'easter.

222 A storm wind blew up, [the raft] became beached in a country,
228 in Ras al-Khaimah,
229 in Lima, in somewhere, that is to say.
231 [The raft] became beached on the shore,
232 the storm wind brought it,
233 beached it high on the spring tide.
235 It [the storm] stuck it [the raft].
237 Water flowed down from it.
240 Boys would come and defecate on it.
241 They would play beside it and,
244 obviously no one wanted this,
247 [since] it was just left on the beach, a big wooden thing.
250 The size of a house,
251 but this tall, like this, you see [narrator gestures to show height].
254 Now it came about one time that...
256 the son of the sheikh of the country was to be married.
260 It was taking place, the wedding celebration.
263 They were beating drums for the men's M'allayo dance.
264 Up above [the raft].
265 They were drumming for the M'allayo dance [narrator claps like drumbeat],
267 now they were putting henna on the what's-it-called.
269 they were putting henna on their fiancés, whom they were marrying.
272 Now when she heard the drums,
274 she opened the door. She came outside.
279 She had a gown that stretched all the way from here to there!
282 She left. She went to the M'allayo dance.
285 When she appeared,
286 She greeted everyone.
288 Girls were seated,
290 and two people were seated on the platform,
291 Their father-in-law was with them.
293 Now they hadn't put henna on yet.
296 He jumped down to her,
297 one of the slaves,
300 and he said to her, "Go ahead.
301 Do one foot and one hand of my uncle.
303 and this sister of mine [i.e. another slave] will do one foot
304 and one hand."
307 She put henna on it.
310 She put henna on the right hand from the right side.
312 That one [the other person doing henna], the left hand, she put henna on it from the left side.
317 The uncle was asleep. The sheikh[']s son] didn't know.
322 When he awoke in the morning,
323 he saw that his henna was different!
327 That one was better. The other one, not so much.
329 this one here was brown, this one here was red.
332 He went to the women, to bring them.
335 The slaves, both of them.
337 He said to [them], "Nieces [slaves]...
339 Don't conceal anything from me.

ar yēk-ē āzar tā ruppī dō-um ba šmā
 kē ēnar gis-ē wā šmā=ā
 yēk-ē dgō ba yē āmō
 wa xwaft-i=ā ditk-ē āmad
 ditk-ē dām ditk-ō yē=ā bar kē na
 inda walēyit-ō bar mā na
 jīs-um yē na
 pi giya āmad dām na
 ditk-ō na=ā tēr-ē
 mē wād-um yē ēnar tō gid-iš
 dist rāstī ēnar gid-iš pi rāstī
 wa xwē mē yē=ā
 dist asrē ēnar gid-iš pi asrē
 ar yēk-ē āzar tā ruppī ād ba šan
 dgō ba šan išōwō
 kas ēnar k-a na
 wēl-a yē byāt
 ēnar mē k-a na lakin bāgur tk-a na=ā

ēnar mē tk-a
 kas ēnar tk-a na
 ġay yē na
 ūn-ē mār
 wa wād-iš wā xō yē=ā
 ana ġaṭṭa tk-a=ā ba mē=ā
 āmad=ā mār mē k-ē
 qaraṣa mē k-ē
 ūn-ē ba yē ḥata byāt
 wād-iš wā xō mqaṣṣ-ē
 wād-iš wā xō laba inča ntōr=ā
 samsābal wa dangō
 wa nixxī wa kār yā-an=ā
 ntōr-an mardk-ō
 sōd-iš bāla wa
 wa adala wābur m'allāyē-ō
 ḥašša xānaḡ-ō
 ammū šan zank-an=in ya'nī
 iš wā šan mardk-an na
 walla=ā ḥamaqa kin na jwān na
 ka byō ba yē
 lakin adliyē ba yē
 pi ēwū ḥata āntē
 wā ṣuḥbū tō'at pišt-ō yē
 dgō ba yē tamna=ā
 salām alēkum ālēkum salām
 byō dadē=ā
 āmō mē ṭālbū tō gis-ē ba ēnar-ō

ēnar-an ba mē mē dās-im ba tō
 ka bō bāla ēnar yē kin
 gid-iš ba pā-an
 qaraṣa yē gid-in raqada yē gid-in
 mār yē gid-in mār wābur
 ṭāraf adliyyē-ō kaft-ē āntē pēna šēx-ō=ā

xabaqa yē gid-iš ba mqaṣṣ-ō
 xabq-ē gid-iš inda yē
 nixxī-an xō čaḥḥa kin inda yē
 īn-an=ā barmīt-an īn-an=ā

342 I am going to give each one of you a thousand rupees!
 343 Who was with you putting henna on?"
 348 One of them said to him, "Uncle,
 350 while you were asleep, a girl came,
 352 A girl, I don't know whose daughter she was,
 355 in the [whole] country, she is not from us.
 356 I haven't seen her [before].
 357 I don't know where she came from.
 358 This girl, she is stunningly beautiful!
 362 I brought her to put henna on you.
 363 She put henna on the right hand from the right side.
 365 and this sister of mine [the other slave doing henna],
 367 she put henna on her left hand from the left side."
 370 He gave a thousand rupees to each of them!
 373 He said to them, "This very night,
 374 no one put henna on.
 377 Let her come.
 378 Let no [one] put henna on me; otherwise she won't do
 it again,
 381 she will put henna on me.
 384 No one will put henna on,
 387 except for her.
 388 You stay awake.
 391 When she comes along,
 393 if I fall fast asleep,
 394 when she comes, wake me up.
 395 Pinch me.
 398 Wait for her until she comes."
 401 He brought scissors with him.
 403 He brought like, sweets with him:
 405 nuts and seeds
 408 and chickpeas and these things:
 410 Treats. (It was the man.)
 414 He gathered them up and,
 415 and the M'allayo dance was going on.
 418 At the house they were celebrating,
 419 that is to say, all of them were women.
 421 There were no men with them.
 423 Really, he was terribly overcome with desire,
 426 right away he came up to her.
 427 But she was wearing a wedding gown
 428 from here up to there
 430 it trailed behind her.
 432 He said to her, she heard,
 433 "Peace be upon you." "And upon you be peace."
 435 "Come here, my dear... so...
 436 My father-in-law has requested you for [doing] the
 henna,
 438 we give you the responsibility of doing our henna."
 440 Right away she went up. She put henna on him
 445 on his feet.
 448 They pinched him. They surprised him.
 450 They woke him. He awoke.
 454 The side of the wedding gown that had fallen there
 beside the sheikh,
 458 he cut it off with the scissors.
 461 He made a hole in it.
 463 He poured chickpeas inside it,
 465 what's-it-calleds inside it, hard candies, what's-it-
 calleds,

ntōr-an=ā wa srār yē kin
 srār t̄āraf adliyē-ō yē kin
 šēx-ō pis šēx-ō
 ēnar yē gid-iš
 t̄iyar būr-in xālaš=in
 ditk-ō raft
 yē īn-ō šuḥbū tō'at pišt-ō yē
 adliyē-ō
 wā xabaqa
 qāmi nwāz dār-iš=ā
 sayd-iš xō šēx-ō
 bidlī wā yē bidlī
 mēš tk-a pi xā šan
 mēš tk-a ba ya'nī ntōr-an
 yā raft tēra-ō=ā
 ntōr-an mēš tk-a ti yē
 wa yē mēš tk-a ba ntōr-an
 wād-iš yē ba sōntī-ō
 tamna=ā dgō lāzum yā zank-ō inda yā sōntī-
 ō
 mē=ā tāt-um na dit āmō xō na

šabaḥa wābur pi šabḥ=ā
 dgō ba bap xō
 mē=ā dit āmō xō tāt-um na

yē ar č-um ba yē xāna=ā tāt-um yē na
 č-um xāna ba sōntī-ō
 čābē č-ī xāna ba sōntī-ō=ā
 ya=ā lōḥī=ā
 sāl-ē di-sāl kaft-ē durya-ō
 palla gū palla kār
 čābē č-ī xāna ba sōntī-ō=ā
 mē=ā č-um xāna ba sōntī-ō
 kaw tubr-um ba sōntī-ō
 dit āmō xō tāt-um na
 raft-in ba qāḍī-ō
 qāḍī-ō dgō ba yē bā yē na
 kaw tubr-a ba sōntī-ō
 kaw tubr-im mā
 āmad nwāz pīšin kin
 nwāz paštīn=ā byār-ē
 zūlī-an wa ē'ū pāk k-ē wa
 indō-an āmad-in
 baladiyya wa pāk yē gid-in
 wa sōntī-ō čōrid-in wa
 ka gmēz pēna yē pāk gid-in
 wa ka xā ḥmām-ō pēna yē pāk gid-in wa

zūlī-ē sōd-in
 wa šēx-ō āmad
 wa rōr-an āmō yē āmad-in wa
 qāḍī-ō āmad wa
 ništ-in pēna sōntī-ō
 sā qāḍī-ō qēṭub wā yē bākūr-ē

inča bzēn-a sōntī-ō wa hē
 sōntī-ō rāṭī=ī bēr-im tō xāna
 ba pis šēx-ō=ā
 dgō pi inda yē qīq

468 sweets, and he piled them there.
 471 He piled them onto the side of her wedding gown.
 473 (It was the sheikh. It was the son of the sheikh)
 476 She put henna on him,
 477 they had finished, they were done.
 480 The girl left.
 481 This what's-it-called trailed behind her:
 483 the gown.
 485 with a hole in it.
 488 When the dawn prayer was called,
 489 He got up. The sheikh.
 491 A torch he had, a torch.
 494 He walked from their house,
 495 He walked by, that is to say, the sweets,
 496 these had left a trail.
 499 The sweets walked before him,
 500 and he walked on the [trail of] sweets.
 502 It led him to the raft.
 506 Then he said, "That woman must be on this raft.
 511 As for me, I don't want [to marry] my uncle's
 daughter."
 514 When he woke up in the morning,
 515 he said to his father,
 516 "As for me, I don't want [to marry] my uncle's
 daughter.
 517 The one whom I am to marry, I don't want her.
 519 I will marry the raft."
 522 "How are you going to marry the raft,
 523 this wooden thing?!"
 524 For a year or two, it has been in the sea!
 528 It is full of excrement, full of things,
 530 How are you going to marry the raft?!"
 533 "As for me, I am going to marry the raft.
 535 I will sign the marriage contract with the raft.
 537 I do not want [to marry] my uncle's daughter."
 540 They went to the judge.
 545 The judge said to him, "It's all right:
 548 Let him sign the marriage contract with the raft,
 550 we will sign the marriage contract."
 554 He came, he prayed the early afternoon prayer,
 557 at the late afternoon prayer, they brought...
 559 furniture and they cleaned here and
 560 the Indians came,
 562 [they cleaned up] the garbage and they cleaned it
 563 and they washed the raft and
 565 also the excrement that was beside it they cleaned up,
 567 and also they cleaned up the pigeon house beside it
 and,
 569 they put in a bathroom,
 570 and the sheikh came,
 571 and his uncle's children came and
 573 the judge came and
 575 they sat beside the raft.
 577 Now the judge, he had a walking stick with him, a
 cane.
 581 He hit the raft like this with it. "Yes?"
 584 Raft! Do you agree to marry
 587 the sheikh's son?"
 588 She said from inside it, "Squeak!"

hā hā sāmā'a k-ē hē rāṭī
 qīq inčka āran wā yē=ā
 aṣṣa gid-iš ba čīz-ē yē=ā
 hē sāmā'a k-ē hā
 rāṭī awa=ā rāṭī
 sōntī-ō
 sōntī-ō
 rāṭī=ī bēr-im tō xāna ba pis šēx-ō=ā
 qīq hē rāṭī hē
 pē bār-ē hē sōntī-ō lōḥ-ō
 bēr-im tō xāna ba pis šēx-ō=ā
 qīq
 rāṭī
 rāṭī=ā hē
 bard-in yē xāna
 kaw yē burd-in
 kaw yē burd-in
 ṭiyar būr-in maxluq-an raft-in
 ra maglēš-ō
 šaw=ā ka maylad gid-in
 wa ka ammu čī gid-in wa ka srō kēšid-in
 wa ṭiyar būr-in sātē bass=ī maxluq-an raft-
 in=ā
 dāmar-ō wād-in sōd-in yē pēna sōntī-ō
 raft-in ādamī=ā daqqa gid-iš ba yē hē
 dar-ō wākiš
 dar-ō wākiš dar-ō wākid-iš ba yē
 raft wā yē indur inda sōntī-ō
 dar-ō qafala gid-in bā xō
 sā tō martk-ē=ī gaft ba yē tō'at na
 sā tu āmad-ī bāla
 wa ẓangērīr-an jīr-in tō
 ādamī jīr-in tō
 sā br-im bāla xānaḡ-ō
 ā'a wā pēna yē naxa sōntī-ō
 sā ahla yē gnūnus-in na yā ẓank-ō wā yē na

 iš wā yē ẓank-an na
 drō tār-in
 yā ẓank-ō ar ẓangērīr-an yē=ā
 dgīn yē āmad ēnar yē gid-iš=ā
 yā tany-a na inda ēwū na
 yā tay sā mām yē wa bap yē wa rōr-an āmō

 qaww gis-in na
 gnūnus-in na inna yē
 īn-ō wā yē inda yē na ẓank-ē na
 dgīn ba yē drō tār-ī
 iš wā tō ẓan na
 dgō ba šan drō tār-um
 nwāz pīšin-ī=ā
 nwāz pīšin tk-ē
 maxluq-an sālām dī-in
 čāz ṭiyar tē-ē pi čāz=ā
 br-ē wā=zēran pēna sōntī-ō wa grē-ē
 wōwō wōwō pis šēx-ō
 pis šēx-ō adafa būs-ē
 ar dgō ba šan
 wa āntē nwāšam ra xwaft pēna ẓan xō=ā

591 "Oh! Oh! Listen! Yes! It agrees!"
 595 It squeaked like this, as if it had a horn,
 596 as if she was pressing on something,
 597 "Hey! Listen! Well!"
 600 It is agreed! It said that it agrees!
 602 Raft!
 603 Raft!
 604 Do you agree to marry the sheikh's son?"
 606 "Squeak!" "Yes, it is agreed, yes!"
 609 Only once [more]. Hey! Raft! Wooden thing!
 615 Do you agree to marry the sheikh's son?"
 617 "Squeak!"
 619 "It is agreed."
 620 Is it agreed? Yes!"
 622 They got married.
 623 They signed the marriage contract.
 625 Once they had signed the marriage contract,
 626 once they had finished, the people left.
 629 They went to the sheikh's court.
 632 That night, they sang the Maylad wedding poetry,
 635 and they did everything, and they sang the Sro poetry,
 636 and they finished, now when the crowds of people had
 finished and left,
 640 they brought the groom, they put him beside the raft.
 644 The people having left, he knocked on it.
 649 "Open the door!" [narrator makes knocking sound]
 652 "Open the door!" She opened the door to him.
 655 He went with her inside. Into the raft.
 658 They locked the door on themselves.
 660 "Are you a man? She said to him, "It won't work.
 664 Now you! You have come up
 665 and the slaves saw you,
 666 people saw you,
 667 now let's go up to the house."
 669 "No." He stayed beside her aboard the raft.
 673 Now his relatives had not believed that he had this
 woman with him.
 676 "There are no women with him!"
 677 They are lying.
 678 This woman, whom his slaves
 679 said that she came and did his henna,
 682 this one isn't staying in here.
 686 This one is coming." Now her mother and father and
 cousins
 689 were not convinced.
 690 They hadn't believed [the boy]'s oath that
 693 the boy had a what's-it-called in there, a woman.
 696 They said to him, "You're lying.
 699 You don't have any woman."
 702 He said to them, "I'm lying?"
 705 When it is early afternoon prayer time,
 707 [and] you pray the early afternoon prayer,
 708 [and] the people give greetings,
 709 when you have finished [eating] lunch,
 711 go down beside the raft and cry:
 713 "Woe! Woe! The sheikh's son!"
 714 The sheikh's son has been hurt!"
 717 He said this to them.
 719 And there in the evening going to sleep beside his
 wife,

dgō ba yē nwāz č-um bāla qāniš

č-um qāniš nwāz
wa wayda dēr mē kin na
šabaḥa tō-um=ā č-um qāniš
sā ditk-ō wustin
wistin wābur
sā rōk-an ēšinan
mām-ō wa xwē-an
wa āhil-an wa rōr-an āmō-an wa
āmad-in wā=zēran pēna sōntī-ō inčka xinn-ō
xinn-ō gid-in
wā wā wā wā wā wā wā wā wā

pis šēx-ō ēkša-ā

ka dar-ō wākid-iš
qaḥama kin barra
baḡa jilbē
baḡa burqa faja'a ya'nī
šēx-ō raft-ē qāniš-ī
dāxlū wābur maxluq-an
sā laffa=in=ā
dāxlū wābur inda īn-ō
inda sōntī-ō
dar-ō qafala gid-iš bā xō
sā lūmū wābur
sā gnūnud-in
inna zank-ē wā yē rāstī
šaw-ō yā=ā šēx-ō āmad ba yē
dgō ba yē dar-ō wākiš
dgō ba yē dar-ō twākš-um na
dgō ba yē dar-ō wākiš
dgō ba yē twākš-um yē na
tēra-ē āmas-ī brō

ra bāla xā šan xwaft
nwāšam dgur raft
dgō ba yē twākš-um yē na
rōz-an dgur nwāšam-ī=ā
ra ba yē dgō ba yē maš hā
wana dar-ō wākiš
wana nwāz nijjar-an tār-um
lōḥ-ō šaraxa tk-in
taftafa yē tk-im ba ēmaḡ

šan wā maqṭa-an šan wa mīšar-an šan
wa ādamī txēn-in bā tō
dar-ō wākid-iš ba yē
dgō ba yē maš hā
mē=ā zan tō=um gid-ī mē
wa lakīn tāt-ī tēbur-ī mē
wā=xā šmā ahla tō mēš-in mē=ā
wa raft-ī ba mē xāna rōz-ē di-rōz
bar mē xā šmā
ādī č-um wā tō bāla ya'nī
tō tāt-ī xwā-ī pēna mē naxa sōntī-ō
wa sā tu kardīd-ī mē inda mušībit-ē
mē nwāz č-um bāla qāniš
wa gō ahla tō āmad-in ba mē

721 he will say to her, "Tomorrow I am going up to go hunting.
724 I will go hunting tomorrow,
725 so don't wait up late for me.
727 When I wake up in the morning, I am going hunting."
730 Now, the girl was pregnant.
731 She had become pregnant.
735 Now these boys,
736 the mother and sisters
737 and the relatives and the cousins and...
739 they came down beside the raft wailing like this.
741 They wailed:
743 [signing:] "Woe! Woe! Woe!" [they cried, mourning as if he had died.]
744 "If the sheikh's son was here [but he has died]" [they cried and chanted].
746 Right away she opened the door.
747 She tumbled out!
749 Without her headscarf.
750 Without her burqa. That is to say, she was shocked.
753 "The sheikh has gone hunting!"
755 She went into the crowd.
756 Now when they swarmed around,
757 she went into the what's-it-called,
758 into the raft.
759 She locked herself in.
761 Now she was caught.
762 Now they believed
764 [the oath] that he had a wife was true.
767 That night, the sheikh['s son] came to her.
769 He said to her, "Open the door."
771 She said to him, "I will not open the door."
774 He said to her, "Open the door!"
775 She said to him, "I will not open it.
777 You have come on a path, go. [go back the way you came]"
780 Going up to their house, he slept.
782 The next evening, he went.
784 She said to him, "I will not open it."
787 In the evening of the next day,
789 he went to her, he said to her, "See here.
791 Either you open the door,
792 or else I will bring the boatbuilders,
793 [and] they will chop the wood.
794 We will smash it into firewood [they will make matchsticks out of it]!
797 They, they have their chisels and their saws.
799 And people will laugh at you."
802 She opened the door to him.
803 She said to him, "See here.
805 As for me, I am your wife. You married me,
807 and unless you want to take me
809 to your house so that your relatives can look at me...
811 since you have been married to me a day or two,
814 you must take me to your house.
815 That is to say, it's tradition that I go up with you.
817 You want to sleep beside me on the raft,
819 and now you! You have thrown me into calamity!
821 [saying:] 'Tomorrow I am going up hunting...'
823 and telling your relatives to come to me:

wōwōwō pis šēx-ō adafa būs-ē
 mē fajja būr-um
 sā ba rū mē jīr-in
 sīna mē jīr-in
 mū mē jīr-in
 ātiš-ō labaqa gid-ī laḥm mē
 damb gid-ī bā mē
 čābē inča gid-ī ba mē=ā
 mē škašt-um xō pi yā kār-ō

dgō ba yē jwān sā bā yē na
 samaḥa mē kin
 brim bāla xān mā
 dgō ba yē br-im
 dar-ō wākid-in ka axča ba yē
 wa ka šīrx ba yē
 wa kār ba yē
 wa yā ar wātid-in wa ka ḡāzī-an
 wa ka šīḡl-an
 šabaḥa būr-in=ā zangērīr-an āmad-in
 wa gid-in wa awa=ā
 sā jīr-in ahla yē na=ā
 ra wā yē xā šan
 wa wistin wābur
 zād kōrk-ē wād-iš
 ṭiyar wābur dgō ba yē

tēbur-um tō ba bap tō
 xān bap tō a jiga āmas-ī ya

sōd-iš yē sīyārit-ō
 wa raft yē wa šū yē
 salām alēkum ālēkum salām
 ēka=ā dit šmā=ā
 adala bur ḡār-ō
 ḥawlī-an wa tāfaq-an wa
 matfa-ē bžand-in
 wa awa=ā dit mā āmad
 wa awa=ā rōr-ē wā yē
 awa=ā dit šēx fālan gis-ē wa

māšāllā wa dām čī na wa

wa mād wā šan āntē laba da' pāṇḍa rōz-an

wa āmad-in xān xō wa
 tō raft-ī wa mē āmad-um
 sā bass-ī jārī būr-um

825 'Woe! The sheikh's son has been hurt!'
 828 I was shocked!
 829 Now they have seen my face!
 830 They have seen my breasts!
 832 They have seen my hair!
 833 You have shamed me (literally: set my body on fire)!
 835 You have sinned against me!
 837 How could you have done this to me?!!
 838 I want nothing to do with this matter (literally: I have
 broken myself over this matter)."
 842 He said to her, "OK. Now, all right,
 843 forgive me.
 844 Let's go up to our house."
 846 She said to him, "Let's go."
 848 They opened the door, then [he brought] gold to her,
 850 and [he brought][silver] to her,
 851 and [he brought] things to her,
 853 and this, whatever they wanted, and a stove,
 855 and more things.
 856 When they woke up, the slaves came,
 857 and they took and said that
 859 Now (they) not having seen his relatives,
 862 went with him to their [his & his relatives'] house...
 864 and she became pregnant,
 865 she gave birth, she had a son.
 868 [When] it was finished [her giving birth], he said to
 her,
 869 "I will take you to your father,
 870 to the house of your father, wherever it is you came
 from."
 873 He put her in the car,
 874 and left. She and her husband.
 877 They greeted each other.
 879 "Since you know your daughter... "
 880 The racket [of celebration] went on!"
 881 Male goats! and guns! and
 884 they fired a cannon!
 885 and they said "Our daughter came [home]!"
 886 and they said "She has a child!"
 887 They said, "The sheikh's daughter has married so-and-
 so!" and
 889 "Amazing!" and I don't know what all else [they said]!
 and
 892 and she stayed with them there about ten or fifteen
 days,
 894 and [afterward] they came to their own house, and
 895 you went and I came.
 901 Now it's finished; I have finished.

Appendix 2: Lexicon

A

a *adv* yes/no question marker; request marker
 -a v.sfx 3s:IMPF; 3s:IRR; 3s:IMPER
 abala *dv* acting crazy
 abara *dv* floating
 abaša *dv* holding; catching

abāra *prep* like; it seems
 abdin *adv* not at all; never
 abnīd v close:REAL
 abnīs v close:PERF
 abrārah *n* gecko
 abrit *n* vessel (boat)

abū *n* Ar: father
 abū šayban *n.com* spider
 ačča *dv* flaking, crumbling
 adaba *dv* suffering; giving hardship
 adad *n* count; amount
 adada *dv* threatening
 adafa *dv* injuring
 adaka *dv* worn out
 adala *dv* neatening
 adala *dv* going on
 adara *dv* excusing
 adda *dv* counting
 adliyyē *n* woman's celebratory dress
 adya *dv* calming
 adyit *dv* contagion
 aḏalat *n* muscle
 af- *num.pfx*
 afada *dv* taking off suddenly
 afaka *dv* breathing deeply
 afata *dv* talking incoherently
 afāda *adv* if only
 afda *num* seventeen
 afrit *n* evil spirit
 aft *num* seven
 aftad *num* seventy
 afya *dv* being in good health
 agana *dv* kneading; pummelling
 agī *n* stupid goat
 ahad *n* Ar: truce, treaty; Ar: promise
 ahad u amān *express* Ar: amnesty
 ahla *n* extended family relations
 aḥḥa *n* feces
 aḥsant *interj* thank-you
 ajaba *dv* surprised; amazed
 ajala *dv* hurrying
 ajammī *n* Iranian settled in an Arab country
 ajara *dv* renting
 ajaza *dv* taking a break from school or work
 ajaza *dv* troubling
 ajā *interj* oh my!
 ajb *adj* wonderful; amazing
 ajbit *n.der* wonder
 ajja *dv* expelling
 akama *dv* loading on a person's back
 akasa *dv* photographing
 akīd *adj; adv* sure, of course
 akk *n* coral paste
 akka *dv* scouring
 ala'a *dv* missing
 alama *dv* learning
 alana *dv* speaking to an assembly of people
 alaqa *dv* hanging
 alū *dv* sitting (children's speech)
 alwa *n* halva (sweet spread)
 al'ul *n* heron
 alla *n.prop* God
 alla ḥāfiṭ tō ka *interj.com* God be with you
 amala *dv* working out; happening; operating
 (surgery)
 amara *dv* sealing; finishing; smoking the waterpipe

amaza *dv* massage
 amba *n* mango
 ambar *v* load:IMPER
 ambar *n* storage depot
 ambād *v* load:REAL; carry off:REAL
 ambār *v* load: ROOT, IMPER, IRR
 ambās *v* load:PERF
 amē *n* paternal aunt, father's sister
 amiča *adv* just like this
 amma *dv* grief; grieving; pitying
 amma *n* female relative
 amma *conj* however
 ammī *adj* ignorant, simple
 ammū *det; adv* all; always
 amr *n* stuff, means, resources
 amš *v* sweep/wipe: ROOT, IMPER, IRR
 amšaw *adv* lately
 amšīd *v* sweep/wipe:REAL
 amšīs *v* sweep/wipe:PERF
 amū *adv* immediately
 amū *conj* once/when
 amya *adj* oblivious
 -an *n.sfx* PL
 ana *conj* if; perhaps
 anasa *dv* relaxing
 anda *n* round woven mat with handles used for
 carrying (sardines)
 andak *n* small amount
 andīyē *n* water channel (irrigation)
 angar *n; pn* each other; together
 angarēzī *adj; n* English
 angiz *n* squid, cuttlefish
 anna *dv* prickling
 annābī *adj* dark red
 antēlē *n* metal digging stick
 anzōrit *n* wild fig
 appū *n* food (children's speech)
 apsīt *adj* upset, angry
 aqaba *dv* tying; banding together
 aqbit *n.der* knot
 aqīl *n* mountain
 aqīl *n.prop* (Kumzari clan name)
 aqrab *n* scorpion
 aqrub *n* heel
 ar *det* each/every
 ar *pn.rel* that, which, who
 ar *conj.rel* whichever; whatever; whoever, any
 arafa *dv* familiarising; meeting; smelling
 araga *dv* limping
 arasa *dv; adj* crushing; worn out
 araṭa *dv* obstructing
 ardē *n* tahina (sesame paste)
 arḏ *n* plot of land
 arḏī *n.der* powerful sorcerer
 arf *n.der* smell
 arg *n.der* lameness
 arjama *n* stomachache
 arma *n* date (fruit)(dark, preserved stage)
 arma gōšan *n.com* earwax
 armal *n* widower

armala *n* widow
 arnab *n* hare
 arraṭ *n* side (direction)
 arraṭ *n* breeze from the west
 arṭab *n* fresh date (fruit)
 arya *dv* being high up; thinking highly of oneself
 aryit *n.der* chatter
 aržamē *adv.com* repeatedly
 aržan *adj* inexpensive
 asara *dv* wringing out
 askar *n* soldier, police officer
 asp *n* horse
 asp *n* moth
 asp *n* seahorse
 asrē *n* left side
 asta *adv* slowly
 aṣit *adj* existing; alive
 aṣl *n* origin
 aṣṣa *dv* pressing; tightening
 aṣara *dv* pointing, indicating
 aṣān *conj* because
 aṣṣad *interj* well done!
 aṣt *num* eight
 aṣṭad *num* eighty
 ataqa *dv* bonded, bought (slave)
 atta *dv* wetting
 aṭala *dv* hurting
 aṭ'aṭa *dv* shivering
 aw *conj* or
 awa *evid* reportive evidential
 awada *dv* accustomed
 awaltar *adv* previously
 awaqa *dv* suffering with chronic pain
 awgē *adj* bent, crooked
 awwa *interj* good night! (children's speech)
 awwa bār *conj.com* once, when
 awwal *adv* firstly; already; before
 awwaṣ *n* noise (sound)
 awwēlī *adj.der* first, previous, old (former)
 awya *dv* descending on foot
 axara *dv* be late
 axča *n* gold; precious metal
 axča glīt *n.com* synthetic gold
 axča sirx *n.com* gold
 axča spēr *n.com* silver
 axša *n* gold; precious metal
 axu pīšin *n.com* mid afternoon
 axx *interj* yuck!
 ay *det* any
 ay *interj* oh!
 aya *interrog.part; conj.sub* shall (yes/no question);
 would you (with imperative verb form);
 perhaps; if *adv* (suggestion marker)
 ayata *dv* being promiscuous or irresponsible
 ayb *n* insult; shame
 ayda *num* eighteen
 ays *n* ploughing; walking about; migrating
 aytit *n.der* prostitution
 ayya *conj* so (therefore)
 azaka *dv* grunting (from effort)

azala *dv* sorting; separating
 azama *dv* inviting
 azamē *adv.com* repeatedly
 azyit *n* mourning

Ā

=ā *clit* (subordinating enclitic)
 ā *interr* question particle
 ābat *n* large traditional fishing net
 ābā' *v* trap fish: ROOT
 ābn *v* close, tie: ROOT
 ād *v* give:IMPER
 ād *adj* silent
 ādab *n* manners
 ādab *n* latrine
 ādad *n* count; uncountable number
 ādamī *n* person
 ādas *n* lentils
 ādī *adj* normal; easy-going
 ādō *v* give:IRR; succumb:IRR
 ādū *n* enemy; antagonising; not being on speaking
 terms
 āf *n* shorts (short pants)
 āfur *n* stone-throwing
 āfur *n* gale
 ājal *n* fate
 āka *adv.com* there
 ākba *n* plant-drying pit
 ākša *adv* right there
 ālaḡ *n* side (body part); side (position)
 ālaḡla *interj* Ar: for God
 ālam *n* tumour
 ālam *n* flag
 ālamit *n.der* teaching
 ālamu banjō *n.com.infl* cancer
 ālaq *n* needlefish
 ālēkum salām *express* Ar: and upon you be peace
 āljū *n* healing, caring for
 ālō *n* potato
 ālō *n* bat (stick)
 ām *v* come: ROOT
 ām *n* silence
 āmad *v* come:REAL
 āmar *n* seal, finish
 āmarātō *n.prop.infl* United Arab Emirates
 āmas *v* come:PERF
 āmaxt *n.com* a long time ago
 āmbar *n.com* over there
 āmin *n* summer
 āmit *n* paternal aunt; mother-in-law; stepmother
 āmō *n* paternal uncle; father-in-law; stepfather
 āmrī't *n* service
 ān *pn* anaphoric that one; the other one
 ānar *n* pomegranate
 ānānis *n* pineapple
 ānē *n* former unit of currency
 ānsū *n.com* there
 āntē *n.com* there
 āpid *v* cover, hide:REAL
 āpis *v* cover, hide:PERF
 āpiš *v* cover, hide:MIR

āpš *v* cover, hide:IMPER
 āpšīd *v* cover, hide:REAL
 āpšīs *v* cover, hide:PERF
 āqil *n* reason; just person
 āqil *n.prop* Kumzari clan name
 ārab *n* Arab
 āran *n* horn
 āraq *n* sweat
 ārd *n* flour
 ārkū *dv* arguing, insulting
 ārōzō *n.com* day before yesterday
 āsad *n* lion
 āsal *n* honey
 āsmin *n* sky
 āṣab *n* nerve, sinew, blood vessel
 āš *n* tip of the head of the stem-post
 āš *n* mill (traditional stone)
 āšaw! *interj* come on!
 āšinan *pn.com* those ones
 āšyō *n* mast beams across boat deck
 ātar *n* print (hand or foot)
 ātiš *n* fire
 āw *n* water
 āw kēr *n.com* semen
 āwaq *n* chronic physical suffering
 āwga *n* wake (boat)
 āwišin *n* thyme
 āwō *v* stay, hold:IMPER
 āwuk *n* type of medicinal plant
 āwust *v* stay, hold:IMPER
 āxur *adv* afterward
 āyil *n* motor oil
 āyilit *n* family
 āzar *num* thousand
 ā'ā *interj* no

B

b *v* become:IRR
 ba *prep* to; for; with; of; belonging to
 badlī *n* container for drawing water from a well
 badya *dv* start
 bafr *adj* frigid
 бага'а *dv* puncturing; stabbing; cutting a hole
 bagga *dv* breaking up
 бага *prep* without*
 baḡal *n* upper arm*
 baḡara *dv* shouting to someone
 baḡaḡa *dv* dipping
 baḡbaḡa *n* parrot
 baḡḡa *dv* thinking highly of oneself
 baḡl *n* type of date
 baḡḡa *n* fish (children's speech)
 bajja *dv* start
 bakara *dv* prepare waterpipe
 baladiyya *n* garbage bin
 balaḡa *dv* judgement (court)
 balaḡa *dv* maturing; ripening
 balaḡiyiṭ *n* vermicelli noodles
 balaša *dv* staring
 balā'in *n* tonsils; glands (throat)
 balbala *dv* talking very quickly; having one

problem after another
 balkē *adv* maybe; however
 balya *dv* problem; having a problem
 balyit *n.der* problem
 bambō *n* bump
 bambōqit *n* bump
 ban *n* rope; reins
 banada *dv* turning off, closing
 banafsajī *adj* purple
 bandar *n* cove
 bandēra *n* ship's flag
 bandōlō *n* mast box
 bang *n* dusk; call out; call to prayer
 bang *n* bank (financial institution)
 banj *adj* bad
 banjā'ī *n.der* evil
 baṭalōn *n* trousers
 bap *n* father
 bar *v* carry:IMPER, MIR, ROOT
 bar *prep* to; for; belonging to
 baraḡa *dv* appear under water
 baraqa *dv* flashing, glistening
 barbaqa *dv* poking in the eyes
 bard *v* carry:REAL
 bard *n* stone
 barg *n* type of medicinal leaf
 barḡum *n* horn or shell (instrument)
 barḡ *n.der* appearance under water
 barm *n* wave
 barmit *n* hard candy
 barnuṣ *n* blanket
 barq *n* lightning
 barr *n* seed
 barr *n* land; wilderness
 barra *n* outside
 barrūdī *n* washing (a child)
 bars *v* carry:PERF
 barya *dv* avoiding
 barza *dv* appearing
 barzīt *n.der* drawing room
 barzung *n* cradle
 basama *dv* smiling
 basbūsa *n* coconut cake
 bass *adj* only; finished; enough
 bast *v* close:PERF, REAL
 bašrī *n* type of date
 batara *dv* being anxious, having a meltdown
 batta *dv* cutting
 battil *n* battil, dhow (type of boat)
 baṭaḡa *dv* sprawling
 baṭil *n* bottle
 baṭṭa *dv* opening; quitting
 baxara *dv* filling with smoke, scenting with incense
 baxš *n* portion
 bay *adj* thick
 bayana *dv* appearing
 bayšak *n* dagger
 bayw *n* bride
 bazza *n* poor person
 ba'ada *dv* distancing

bā *n* vow, oath; curse, reproach
 bā *v* trap fish, pull in:IMPER
 bā *n* armspan
 bā *prep* on; against; about; compared to
 bā yē *na* *express* all right; it doesn't matter
 bāba *n.voc* O father; O child; O sir; O madam
 bādam *n* nut; nut tree
 bāgil *n* perforated metal cone on waterpipe
 bāgur *adv* again; another time
 bāḡ *n* garden
 bāī *adj* thin
 bākūr *n* cane (stick)
 bāla *adv*; *n* above; up; high; on top of; inland;
 going up; raising; standing
 bālaḡ *adj* mature; ripe
 bālišṭ *n* pillow
 bālitar *adv.der* above; higher
 bālīṭ *adj.der* upper; highest
 bām *n* giant sea turtle
 bān *n* type of fish net
 bānnāt *n* traditions, customs
 bāqara *n* cow; ox; stupid person
 bāqul *n* large beans
 bār *n* time (occasion)
 bār *n* strength; speed; intensity; discomfort
 bār bārē *adv.com* sometimes
 bāram *n* rain
 bāram *n* almond
 bārē *adv.der* once
 bāruk *adj* slender
 bāruṭ *n* patience, will, desire
 bāṣ *n* bus
 bātar *adj*; *adv* better
 bāṭal *n* hero; robust
 bāwasir *n* hemorrhoid
 bāz *n* playing; game; dance
 bāz kōra *n.com* football
 bāz pakkis *n.com* type of board game
 bāz pās *n.com* cards (game)
 bāz wallam *n.com* sport played with sticks
 bāzī *n* play (children); toys
 bā'id *v* trap fish, pull in:REAL
 bā'is *v* trap fish, pull in:PERF
 bē *adv* only; although; already
 bēdil *n* exchange
 bēlē *interj* actually yes!
 bēnī'it *n* building (action); building (edifice)
 bēr *v* carry:IRR
 bēr *v* grind:IMPER
 bēraq *n* flag
 bērid *v* grind:REAL
 bēris *v* grind:PERF
 bēš *adj* stuffed with food
 bētar *adj*; *adv* better
 bēw *conj* already
 bēxil *adj* miserly
 bēyad *n* memory; recollection
 biddī *n* funeral gathering
 bidlī *n* torch (flashlight)
 bidrit *n* seed

bijlī *n* torch (flashlight)
 billa *dv* slobber
 billā *interj* Ar: to God!
 binj *n* thigh
 birmit *n* hard candy
 birradē *n* refrigerator
 bismilla *interj* In the name of God!
 bistan *n* garden; farm
 bis' *n* strong taste
 biš *v* become:2sIMPER
 bišram bēšir *n.com* gull
 bišt *n* cloak
 biyāyē *disc* it came about
 bibī mattō *n.com* parrot
 bīdar *n* peasant
 bīdarī *adj* landless
 bīmar *adj* bedridden
 bīs *num* twenty
 blāmlūk *n* chewing gum
 blēwut *n* plywood
 blind *adj* high
 bōḡ *n* wallet
 bōḡal *n* upper arm
 bōrī bōrī *n.com* beetle; type of large shell
 bōṣ *n* kiss
 bōwin *n.prop* Kumzari clan name
 bōya *n* large plastic buoy
 br *v* go:IMPER
 br *v* go:IRR
 brat *v* go:3sIRR
 bratō *n.voc* O my brother!
 brār *n* brother
 brāsēs *v* cause to arrive:PERF
 brāsīd *v* cause to arrive:REAL
 brāsn *v* cause to arrive:IMPF
 brēs *v* arrive, reach:IMPER
 brēsn *v* cause to arrive:IMPER
 brēš *v* vomit:IMPER
 brēz *v* pour:IMPER, IRR, ROOT
 brēzīd *v* pour:REAL
 brēzis *v* pour:PERF
 brinz *n* rice
 briš *v* vomit:IMPER
 brišt *adj* cooked
 brō *v* go:2sIMPER
 brō *v* go:MIR
 brūš *n* broom; toothbrush
 buḡḡārī *adj* demanding; screaming
 bukkar *n* upper stem of waterpipe
 bukr *n* firstborn
 bukrit *n* newborn goat
 bum *v* go:1sIMPER
 bumur *v* die:IMPER
 buqbaq *n* bubble
 bur *v* become: ROOT
 burd *v* accomplish, sign contract:REAL
 burka *n* cistern
 burqa *n* woman's face-mask
 burs *v* accomplish, sign contract:PERF
 burtuqāl *n* orange

burwa *v* run:IMPER, MIR, IRR, ROOT
 burwad *v* run:REAL
 burwas *v* run:PERF
 burxit *n.prop* legendary place name; lost
 bur'an *n* joker, funny person
 buşşar *n* witch, warlock
 but *v* become:3sIRR
 butt *n* duck
 buxxar *n* storehouse
 būm *n* owl
 būm *n* floor
 būm *n* dhow, large type of traditional boat
 būmid *v* crush:REAL
 būmir *v* crush:IMPF, IMPER, ROOT
 būmis *v* crush:PERF
 būr *v* become:REAL
 būrşad *n* berry
 būs *v* become:PERF
 būt *n* type of small fish
 būxad *v* dive:REAL
 būxar *v* dive:IMPER
 būxas *v* dive:PERF
 būz *n* chin
 byā *v* come:IMPER
 byār *v* bring:IMPER, IMPF, IRR
 byāt *v* come:3sIRR
 byō *v* come:2sIMPER, MIR
 byō *conj* it came about
 bzan *v* hit:IMPER, ROOT
 bzand *v* hit:REAL
 bzans *v* hit:PERF
 bzār *n* hot spice mixture
 bzēn *v* hit:IMPER, IMPF, IRR
 b'am *n* thumb

Č

č *v* go:IMPF
 čaḥḥa *dv* pouring (large amount)
 čan *n* body
 čan čišnan *n.com* bathing
 čang *n* comb
 čangala *dv* twisting, curling
 čap *n* paddle blade; paddling
 čap *interj* shut up!
 čarača *dv* charged; charging
 čaraxa *dv* slitting, straddling, splitting
 čaraxī *adj.der* straddled
 čaraxīī *adv.der* straddling
 čarača *dv* charging (electrical)
 čarra *dv* slipping; sliding
 čarrax *n* straddled leg
 čarrit *n* zipper
 čābē *pn.interr* how?
 čābitnī'ī *pn.interr.phr* how are you doing?
 čādir *n* bedsheets
 čāf *n* beach, shore
 čāf *v* reach:IMPF, IRR
 čāfčāf *n.com* the water's edge, right at the shore
 čāfid *v* reach:REAL
 čāfis *v* reach:PERF
 čāl *n* fabric covering, including blankets,

tablecloths and mşarr 'men's headdress'
 čālakī *adj* haphazard; messy
 čār *num* four
 čārak *n* worthless or broken thing
 čārda *num* fourteen
 čāšumbur *n.com* Wednesday
 čāwanağ *n* bowl
 čāwuz *n* rabbitfish
 čāz *n* lunch
 čā'ī *n* tea
 čē *pn.interr.* what?
 čēl *n* albatross; slow person
 čēnağ *adj* thirsty
 čēnağī *n.der* thirst
 či qadar *pn.interr.com.*; *pn.com* how much/many?;
 however much/many
 čigāra *n* cigarette
 čihḥī *n*; *adj* Shihuh; Shihhi
 čihḥīī *adv.der* in the Shihhi dialect
 čikk *adj*; *n* little; young; child
 čikkit *n* string of fish
 čil *num* forty
 čin *pn.interr.com* how many?
 činkō *n* corrugated metal; roof
 čirbasē *n* slide, slippery rock used as a slide
 čišt *v* wash:ROOT, PERF, REAL
 čixčax *n* stream that forms during heavy rain
 čī *v* go:2sIMPF
 čīk *n* push
 čīkē *n.der* a little bit
 čīz *n* thing
 člağ *n.der* mother's post-birth coming-out day
 čō *n* well
 čō *v* go:ROOT, 3sIMPF
 čōr *v* wash:IMPF, IMPER, MIR
 čōrid *v* wash:REAL
 čōt *v* go:3sIRR
 črā *n* traditional lamp
 čum *n* eye
 čum buqbaq *n.com* metal snap button
 čum rukbit *n.com* kneecap
 čumbu *pn.interr* what happened?
 čupş *n* lobster
 čurk *adj* dusty
 čūk *n* type of shark
 čūla *n* traditional lamp
 čūz *n* vagina
 čūzak *n* wire fish trap
 čwān *v* be able:IMPF, IRR
 čwānid *v* be able:REAL
 čwānis *v* be able:PERF

D

da *det* a number of
 dabaga *dv* falling
 dabara *dv* providing
 dabba *n* water jug
 dadē *n.voc* dear
 dafana *dv* burying (item)
 daff *adj* deaf
 daftar *n* notebook

dafya <i>dv</i> staying out of the cold	dādē <i>n.voc</i> child (children's speech)
daḡaša <i>dv</i> being busy	dādrō <i>n</i> type of short dhow
daḡbērit <i>n</i> thick, dusty haze	dāfū <i>dv</i> protesting
dahr <i>n</i> a very long time	dāḡ <i>n</i> noisy talking
daḡqa <i>dv</i> staring into space	dākar <i>n</i> penis
daḡya <i>dv</i> sliding	dām <i>n</i> type of coral
dakara <i>dv</i> remembering	dām <i>v</i> know:1sIMPF
dakk <i>n</i> burden	dāmar <i>n</i> groom; son-in-law; brother-in-law
dakka <i>dv</i> digging; burying; filling in; packing in; hammering; banging; copulating (male); being dead drunk	dāmū <i>adj</i> work (employment)
dalla <i>dv</i> standing upright	dām... <i>express</i> I don't know
dalla <i>n</i> coffeepot/carafe	dān <i>v</i> know:IMPF, ROOT, IMPER, IRR
dalla <i>dv</i> untangling; combing	dāndānē <i>n</i> type of men's dance
dallal <i>n</i> guide, agent, negotiator	dānid <i>v</i> know:REAL
dama'a <i>dv</i> making it all the way to somewhere	dānis <i>v</i> know:PERF
damb <i>n</i> sin	dānū <i>n</i> hate
damdama <i>dv</i> getting lightheaded	dār <i>v</i> give:REAL, ROOT
dandala <i>dv</i> dangling	dār <i>n</i> stick
dandana <i>dv</i> being utterly exhausted	dār ālō <i>n.com</i> bat (for sports)
dandānē <i>n</i> type of men's dance	dār bandirō'ō <i>n.com</i> ship's flagpole
dang <i>n</i> cyst, boil	dār čīnī <i>n.com</i> cinnamon
dangara <i>dv</i> turning	dās <i>v</i> give:PERF
daqana <i>dv</i> picking up, gusting (wind)	dāya <i>n</i> midwife
daqdaqa <i>dv</i> knocking	dāzūd <i>n</i> turmeric
daqqa <i>dv</i> knocking; beating (drums)	dē <i>v</i> give:IMPF, IRR
daqquš <i>n</i> hot pepper sauce	dēbaḡit <i>n</i> full-grown male goat
dar <i>n</i> traditional Gulf calendar	dēlama <i>n</i> pump, <i>esp.</i> electric water pump
dar <i>n</i> door	dēlō <i>n</i> pail
dar <i>n</i> hurt	dēqiqit <i>n</i> minute
darada <i>dv</i> being hurt	dēr <i>n</i> ; <i>adj</i> a long time; late
darama <i>dv</i> curing with medicine	dēw <i>n</i> demon
darasa <i>dv</i> teaching; studying	dg <i>v</i> say:IMPF
dard <i>n</i> pain; bruise	dgard <i>v</i> go around, turn into, happen:IMPF
darman <i>n</i> medicine	dgō <i>v</i> say:IMPF
dars <i>n</i> lesson	dgur <i>adj</i> other; next
dassa <i>dv</i> slipping in; hiding in	diblit <i>n</i> wedding ring
dasta <i>det</i> a number of	diffāyē <i>n</i> heater
dastur <i>n</i> lower sail crossbar	dig <i>v</i> take:IMPF
dašt <i>n</i> open sea	dikin <i>adj</i> dark
dawaxa <i>dv</i> being dizzy	dikkan <i>n</i> shop
dawām <i>n</i> job	dikkanīn <i>n.infl</i> shopkeeper
dawm <i>n</i> sea between tides	dikkara <i>adv.com</i> twice
dawq <i>n</i> calm (water)	dil <i>n</i> heart
daww <i>n</i> yoghurt drink	dimistan <i>n</i> winter
daxala <i>dv</i> entering	dinya <i>n</i> world; the present life
daxl <i>n.der</i> inside; inner part	dinyē'ē <i>express</i> listen to what I'm saying!
daxtar <i>n</i> hospital	dir <i>v</i> slit:2sIMPER, IMPF
daxxa <i>dv</i> going along merrily	dird <i>v</i> slit:REAL
dayl <i>n</i> hem	dirs <i>v</i> slit:PERF
daymē <i>n</i> beginning of summer	dirya <i>n</i> sea; fishing
dayit <i>n</i> communal sickness; plague	diryī'in <i>n.infl</i> fisher
dayn <i>n</i> loan	dismal <i>n</i> handkerchief
dazza <i>dv</i> inciting	dist <i>n</i> hand/arm
da' <i>num</i> ten	dišmal <i>n</i> vulgarity
da'ama <i>dv</i> colliding	dit <i>n.poss</i> girl, daughter
da'bar <i>dv</i> chattering	ditk <i>n.infl</i> girl; daughter
da'da' <i>adj</i> disoriented	dixx <i>n</i> smoke
da'ya <i>n</i> non-ritual prayer	diz <i>v</i> steal, rob:2sIMPER
dāba <i>n.prop</i> Dibba	dī <i>v</i> give:IMPF
	dīb <i>n</i> wolf
	dībē <i>n</i> Great White Shark

dīdī *n* milk (children's speech)
 dīlub *n* strong, swirling current
 dīn *n* religion
 dīnar *n* unit of currency
 dlaḡ *n* sock
 dnān *n* tooth
 dō *v* give:ROOT, IMPF
 dō *num* two
 dōl *n* mast
 dōrbin *n* camera
 dōšag *n* mattress
 dōž *v* sew, milk:ROOT, IMPER, IMPF
 dōžid *v* sew:REAL; milk:REAL
 dōžis *v* sew:PERF; milk:PERF
 dr *v* slit:IMPER
 drām *n* water tank
 drāz *adj*; *n* long/tall; length/height; stretched out
 drēwal *n* driver, chauffer
 drīša *n* window
 drō *n* lie (untruth)
 drōžīn *n.com* liar
 dubb *n* bear
 dubbaḡ *n* butcher
 duff *ideo* bang!
 dug *v* take:IMPF
 dumb *n* stupid person
 dummit *n* tuft of hair below the lower lip
 dunyō'ō *n.infl* the world
 dupsī *n* type of insect; plague of insects
 duqqū *adj* fallen (children's speech)
 durb *n* unstable, wavering thing (*esp.* a boat)
 durj *n* drawer
 durrō *n* celebratory wedding procession
 dušumbur *n.com* Monday
 duwwux *n* smoker
 dūbāy *n* metal fish trap
 dūbū *adj* melted
 dūbyō *n* laundromat; launderer
 dūm *n* tail; back of boat
 dūr *n* smoke
 dūr *adj* far
 dūsū *n.der* step on
 dūš *n* date syrup
 dūšin *n* yesterday
 dwāzda *num* twelve
 dwēs *num* two hundred
 dz *v* steal, rob:IMPF
 d'ān *n* palm thatch

D

ḡabb *n* type of large lizard
 ḡabb *n* beautiful young woman
 ḡaby *n* oryx
 ḡab' *n* hyena
 ḡaḡ *n* blocking, hindering
 ḡalama *dv* being maligned
 ḡamma *dv* hugging
 ḡarbit *n* blustering wind
 ḡarbit *n* bonanza
 ḡarra *dv* being sociable
 ḡayf *n* guest

ḡālum *n* tyrant
 ḡāman *n* guarantee
 ḡēša *n* type of stinging insect
 ḡīfū *n* invitation

E

-ē *n.sfx* a (indefiniteness)
 -ē *v.sfx* 3sPERF
 =ē *clit* be:2p (second person plural existential)
 ēbar *n.com* over here
 ēbē *n* woman's black cloak
 ēbin *v* close:2sIMPER
 ēbn *v* close, tie:MIR
 ēda dnān *n.com* toothache
 ēda ḡōš *n.com* earache
 ēda sar *n.com* headache
 ēdan *n.pl* pain
 ēdil *adj* straight
 ēdilit *n* co-wife
 ēdur *n* a noise
 ēdū *n* enemy; antagonizing; not being on speaking terms
 ēgin *n* dough
 ēhil *n* relative
 ēḡē *n* type of dance
 ēja *interj* oh! hey! wow! well!
 ēka *evid* INF (inferred evidential)
 ēkša *adv* right here
 ēl *n* cardamom
 ēl mātarī *n.com* type of date
 ēling *n* bracelet
 ēmaḡ *n* firewood
 ēmiš *v* sweep/wipe:IMPER
 ēnad *v* hide:REAL
 ēnar *n* henna
 ēnar *v* hide:ROOT, IMPER, MIR
 ēnaran *n.pl* wedding henna nights
 ēnas *v* hide:PERF
 ēnāwī *adj* burgundy colour
 ēr *n* exposed rock in sea
 ēraraḡ *n* type of bream fish
 ērisa *n* thick paste with chicken
 ērisin *n* oar, paddle
 ērkū *n* argument; insult
 ēsur *n* woven plastic mat
 ēsū *n* here
 ēšil *n* ancestor
 ēšinan *pn* these ones
 ēt *n* gear
 ēwō *n* here
 ēzē *n* mourning
 ē'ū *n* here

F

faḡala *dv* going ahead
 faḡara *dv* foaming
 fahama *dv* understanding
 fahd *n* cheetah
 faḡl *n* male date palm
 fajara *dv* exploding
 fajja *dv* awakened suddenly; shocked

fajr *n* early morning prayer
 faja'a *dv* shocking; being rudely shocked
 fakara *dv* thinking
 fakka *dv* opening wide
 falaḥa *dv* correcting
 falaḥa *dv* freezing
 falaqa *dv* splitting open; slitting open; slicing
 falj *n* ice
 falq *n* crack, split
 famfōxit *n* goose egg (swollen bump)
 fanana *dv* being super
 fanaša *dv* quitting
 faqama *dv* losing weight (person)
 faqaša *dv* peeling
 faql *n* porcupinefish
 faqqaš *n* bark (tree); shell (egg); peeling skin
 faraḥa *dv* being happy
 faraka *dv* scrubbing
 faraqa *dv* being different
 faraša *dv* spreading out (e.g. cloth)
 faraṭa *dv* leaving suddenly
 fard *n* pistol
 farnī *n* white pudding
 farra *dv* escaping; becoming far away
 farrūgit *n* comb (rooster), crown (hoopoe)
 fars *n* fishing net thread
 farsaḡ *n* moment
 farš *n* carpet; furniture
 farṭ *n* commandment
 farzē *n* nostril-stud
 faš spēr *n.com* diamond
 fašš *n* jewel; metal snap button; light switch
 fašša *dv* deflating
 fataka *dv* slicing open; being sliced open
 fatfata *dv* being succulent (food)
 fatta *dv* ripening (food)
 fatta *dv* wearing out
 faṭana *dv* understanding
 faxṭ *n* thigh
 fa'ala *dv* doing sexual acts
 faza'a *dv* helping out
 fājur *n* big liar
 fālaḥ *n* channel
 fālan *n* so-and-so
 fān *v* send, throw:ROOT, IMPER, MIR, IRR
 fānd *v* send, throw:REAL
 fāns *v* send, throw:PERF
 fār *n* flying fish
 fāsid *n* bad person
 fāsiq *n* liar
 fātaḡ *n* gold ring worn on big toe
 fāydit *n* benefit
 fāzū *n* defeat; success
 fērid *n* red-bean stew
 fēṭahit *dv* telling on someone
 fēzar *n* freezer
 fijmē *n* black dolphin
 filfil *n* pepper
 filḥāl *adv* in any case
 filtan *n* so-and-so (female)

findan *n* sweet potato
 finjal *n* coffee/tea cup
 finjan *n* coffee cup
 firn *n* oven
 fiss *n* hissing gas
 fitr *n* thumb-index span (measurement)
 filū *dv* evading
 fiqit *n* person who is free (available)
 fiqū *dv* being free (available)
 fiṭū *dv* filling to overflowing
 flīta *n* wick
 fōdar *n* detergent
 fōḍilī *adj* obnoxious; troublemaking
 fōringī *adj*; *n.der* foreign; Portuguese
 fōšin *v* sell:IMPER
 fōšn *v* sell:ROOT
 fōšnid *v* sell:REAL
 fōšnis *v* sell:PERF
 fōxiṭ *n* thigh
 frāx *n* width
 ftāq *n* hernia
 furī *n* clever, wily goat
 fuṭman *n.pl* weaning period
 fūṭa *n* handkerchief

G

ga *v* take:2sIMPER, 3sREAL
 ga *v* say:IRR
 gab *adv* suddenly
 gačč *n* mortar
 gadda *dv* harvesting
 gaft *v* say:ROOT, PERF, REAL
 gaga'a *dv* snatching
 gahḥ *n* watermelon
 gamaga *dv* going onto shore quickly in order to
 take a boat out of the water and store it on the
 beach
 gamaza *dv* snatching
 gambil *n* large hole, pit
 gannit *n* stack of dried fish
 gantar *adj* tired out
 gap *n* big person or thing; great; elder; much
 gapa *n* size
 garagumba *n* type of fish
 gard *v* go around, turn into:ROOT, IRR, IMPER
 gardan *n* neck
 gardid *v* go around, turn into:REAL
 gardis *v* go around, turn into:PERF
 gargērit *n* unpaved road surface
 gargur *n* small wire fish cage
 gargur *n* stubbornness; stubborn person
 garī *n* shipping lane
 garm *n* warmth, heat; hot-head; fever
 garmaḡ *adj* hot
 gaša'a *dv* burping
 gaw *v* say:2sIMPER
 gawd *n* cave
 gawgaw *n* type of rabbitfish
 gayyit *n* time (occasion)
 gaz *n* forearm span (measurement)
 gazara *dv* taking the easy way out

gā *n* bull
 gābanō *n* exceptionally high level (tide);
 (proxigean) spring tide
 gāl *n* men's headdress rings
 gārad *n* locust
 gārad *n* thief
 gārak *n* opium
 gārawīn *n.pl* toddlers
 gārī *n* wheelbarrow; cart; trailer; rolling platform
 (cannon)
 gā'ī *n* morning gusts
 gdār *n* wall
 gē *v* say:IMPER
 gēdū *n* waterpipe
 gēlō *n* catfish
 gēmar *n* soft cream cheese
 gēna *adj* mad (crazy)
 gēnum *n* wheat
 gēr *n* grave; burying (person)
 gid *v* take, do:REAL
 gil *n* dirt; clay
 gillāsī *n* small fan
 gin *v* say:3pREAL, 3pPERF
 gind *n* testicle
 ging *adj* mute (person)
 gir *v* take:ROOT, IMPF, IMPER, IRR, MIR
 girr *n* heedlessness
 girrad *n* pit (seed)
 giryā *v* cry, mourn:ROOT
 giryād *v* cry, mourn:REAL
 giryās *v* cry, mourn:PERF
 gis *v* take, do:PERF
 gistir *n* finger ring
 gišnağ *adj* hungry; starving
 gišr *n* coral
 gišš *n* shards
 giya *pn.interr* where?
 giya *n* grass
 giž *v* choose:IMPER
 gižgaz *n* type of shrub
 gižnīd *v* choose:REAL
 gižnīs *v* choose:PERF
 gižr *n* carrot
 gī *v* say:IRR
 gīm *n* bait
 gīrağ *n* ant
 glīt *n* costume gold
 gmēž *n* excrement
 gmēž āw *n.com* urine
 gmēž xōrdin *n.com* feces
 gmō *n* type of fish
 gnād *v* catch, get stuck:REAL
 gnār *v* catch, get stuck:IRR, IMPER
 gnās *v* catch, get stuck:PERF
 gnūn *v* believe:ROOT, IMPER, IRR
 gnūnid *v* believe:REAL
 gnūnis *v* believe:PERF
 gō *n* hunger
 gō *v* say:ROOT, IRR
 gōfīr *n* gall bladder

gōl *n* goal (*esp.* football)
 gōsin *n* goat
 gōš *n* ear
 gōšağī *n* mattress
 gōšt *n* meat; pretty person
 gōž *n* walnut
 gō'al *n* hook
 grā *adj.der* boiling
 grām *n* bundle
 grān *adj* expensive
 grā'id *v* boil:PERF, REAL
 grē *v* cry:IMPER
 grumba *n* flawed spherical item
 grū *n* plastic button
 gubb *n* slow person
 gubbit *n* round basket
 gufl *n* a beard style
 gumm *n* fist
 gumrō *n.prop* Bandar Abbas (city)
 gurbag *n* cat
 gurd *n* midrib of palm frond
 gurgurō *n* type of fish
 gurman *n* cotton
 gū *n* excrement
 gūnī *n* burlap sack
 gwēn *n* tether
 gžin *v* choose:2sIMPER
 gžūž *n* muffler

Ğ

ğabana *dv* being sad
 ğafala *dv* dozing; not paying attention
 ğafl *adj.der* dozing
 ğalaqa *dv* barring
 ğalaṭa *dv* doing something wrong; harming
 ğalla *dv* sprouting; growing to maturity
 ğalq *adj.der* difficult
 ğalyūn *n* prepared tobacco
 ğamara *dv* screaming silently
 ğambur *n* niche
 ğanī *adj* rich
 ğanna *dv* singing
 ğannit *n.der* song
 ğaraqa *dv* sinking
 ğaraqa *dv* swallowing
 ğarbit *n.der* sunset; being away from home
 ğarbī *n* west
 ğarğōrit *n* adam's apple; larynx
 ğarra *dv* mistaking
 ğaşş *n* peg, post
 ğaşıya *dv* covering up for modesty
 ğatta *dv* getting on one's nerves
 ğattit *n.der* meddlesome person
 ğatṭa *dv* falling asleep; sleeping soundly; covering
 ğawya *dv* being lost
 ğay *prep* except
 ğayaba *dv* finishing with
 ğazara *dv* plungeing
 ğābana *n* groove; inlet
 ğābaş *n* period before dawn; early morning prayer
 ğāḍab *n* act of God, punishment from God

ġāfī *adj* floating
 ġāna *n* jaw
 ġār *n* racket (making noise)
 ġāramit *n* sale at a loss
 ġātal *n* storm
 ġātaf *n* type of wood used to make rope
 ġāy *adv* almost
 ġāyit *n* being soon
 ġāz *n* money
 ġāzalē *n* gazelle
 ġāzī *n* stove, range (hob)
 ġāzī *n* sweet nothings
 ġbar *adj* brown
 ġbār *n* dust
 ġbēb *n* light cloud; mist draping the mountains
 ġdān *n* clothesline
 ġēla *n* grain, *esp.* wheat
 ġēlbū *n* winning; defeat
 ġēlila *n* lagoon; wadi streambed; mountain pass
 ġēr *n* difference; being different
 ġērub *adj* foreign; stranger
 ġēt *n* young white date fruit
 ġišš *n* sharp stone used as a knife
 ġlūq *n* woman's large headscarf
 ġmūt *n* gills
 ġōbur *n* incense
 ġōrī *n* clay coffee/tea pot; kettle
 ġrāb *n* crow
 ġrūb *n* sunset
 ġurfīt *n* room
 ġušban *n.prop* Kumzari clan name
 ġuwwē *n* white tern (type of bird)
 ġuzr *n* depth

H

hajr *n* funeral reception
 hall *interj* what?!; hey!
 haraba *dv* being frightened off; being terrified
 hazza *dv* being angry
 hā *interj* well; oh!; so
 hād *v* give, strike: MIR
 hē *interj* well; yes; eh?
 hidī *interj* you did what?; you see?
 hišt *interj* go away! (to large animals)
 hud *interj* knock-knock!

Ĥ

ĥabasa *dv* being still (surface of the water)
 ĥabb *n* seed; bit; spot; pimple
 ĥabba *dv* loving
 ĥabbē *det.infl* some, a bit of
 ĥabībī *n* moon (children's speech)
 ĥabsit *n.der* stillness, calm
 ĥabšāmam *n* freckle
 ĥačča *dv* listening, paying attention, heeding,
 learning from one's mistakes
 ĥadd *n* tip
 ĥadd *n* Sunday
 ĥaddad *n* bad person
 ĥađđ *n* luck
 ĥađran *n* bridewealth; showing of the bridewealth;

bridewealth parade; green headdress worn by groom
 ĥaf *n* trimming
 ĥafara *dv* digging
 ĥaflit *n* celebration
 ĥajaža *dv*; *n* imprisoning; enclosing with rocks or thorns to keep goats out
 ĥajjaj *n* someone who goes on the Hajj pilgrimage
 ĥakama *dv* ruling
 ĥakaya *dv* telling (a tale)
 ĥakka *dv* itching; scratching
 ĥakka *n* palm fibres pounded into twine
 ĥakkit *n* itch
 ĥakkiyīn *n.der* person who chats; storyteller
 ĥakyit *n.der* telling of a tale
 ĥalaba *dv* raining heavily and constantly
 ĥalāwa *n* sweets
 ĥalgāzī *n.com* kerosene
 ĥalĥala *dv* alighting; descending; bending over; low-lying
 ĥalībī *adj* beige
 ĥall *n* grease; hair oil
 ĥalla *dv* landing; coming down; bending down; providing a solution to a riddle; flat
 ĥamada *dv* thanks, praise
 ĥamala *dv* being careful
 ĥamaqa *dv* lusting; being overcome with desire
 ĥambul *n* newborn
 ĥamdilila *interj*; *adj* well; on the mend
 ĥaml *n* month's highest tides
 ĥamra *n* hyena
 ĥamya *dv* docking; beaching
 ĥan *n* iron
 ĥanna banna *dv.com* tying up loose ends
 ĥanna *dv* trapping (with a metal trap)
 ĥantał *n* colocynth tree; bitter
 ĥaps *adj* tied up; bound
 ĥaqa *interj* really!
 ĥaqada *dv* remembering
 ĥaqīqit *n.der* truth
 ĥaqm *n* domestic pigeon
 ĥaaq *n* correctness; justice; alimony; prerogative; bridewealth; compensation
 ĥaqqa *dv* seeing clearly
 ĥara *dv* looking
 ĥaraka *dv* moving
 ĥarakat *n* change
 ĥaraqa *dv* burning; sealing with wax
 ĥarĥara *dv* looking around
 ĥarkit *n* movement; change
 ĥarr *n* macho person
 ĥasa *adv.com* still; yet
 ĥasaka *dv* hating; being angry
 ĥasāsī *n* psoriasis
 ĥasātē *adv.com* still; yet
 ĥassa *dv* feeling; wishing misfortune
 ĥašala *dv* obtaining
 ĥašara *dv* drowning out with noise
 ĥašrit *n.der* noise from all directions
 ĥašša *dv* being destructive; demolishing

ɣata *prep;adv* even; until; so that
 ɣatama *dv* crushing
 ɣaw *interj* go away! (said to goats)
 ɣawala *dv* moving house
 ɣawaɣa *dv* encircling
 ɣawlī *n* billy goat
 ɣawš *n* courtyard
 ɣawt *n* orchard pool
 ɣawtit *n.der* circle; going in a circle
 ɣawy *n* courtyard
 ɣawz *n* level; limit
 ɣayaqa *dv* squeaking
 ɣayara *dv* confounding; thwarting; inconveniencing
 ɣayɖ *n* menses
 ɣayl *n* distance
 ɣayl *n* haunches
 ɣayl *n* infertile
 ɣaylō *n* children's swing
 ɣayš *n* catching goats
 ɣayya rōqē *interj* many words, much chatter
 ɣayyik *interj* good for you!
 ɣayyil *n* expert cheater
 ɣayyiš *n* goat catcher
 ɣayzēna *n* construction
 ɣazana *dv* being sad
 ɣazēmit *adj.der* wrapped tightly; armed; girded
 ɣazza *dv* wrapping; tightening; wrapped; tight
 ɣābabō *n* tiny green date seeds
 ɣābul *n* palm back support
 ɣādis *n* accident
 ɣāfaɣ *n* keeper
 ɣājarī *n* hail
 ɣājī *adj* needing
 ɣājīrō *n.prop.infl* the mountainside
 ɣāl *n* situation
 ɣālāl *n* permitted; approved or exalted
 ɣāmamō *n* dove
 ɣānik *n* gums (of the mouth)
 ɣāram *n* forbidden
 ɣāramī *n.der* thief, bad person
 ɣārara *n* chafing; heat rash
 ɣāraš *n* guard
 ɣārit *n* quarter (of city)
 ɣāsīyit *n.der* consciousness
 ɣāšaf *n* dried-out dates
 ɣāwa *n* ceremony
 ɣāwarī *n* town-dweller
 ɣāwš *n* destruction
 ɣāyat *n* life
 ɣēbib *n* loved one, beloved person
 ɣēbis *adj* blind
 ɣēdiqit *n* park
 ɣēdis *n* hadith
 ɣējub *n* eyebrow
 ɣēlē *n* rust
 ɣēmīdē *n* mud, clod of mud
 ɣēmīš *n* sea turtle
 ɣēmqu *adj.der* being disagreeable
 ɣēnis wēnis *n.com* anyone
 ɣēriq *n* hot, dry weather

ɣērīr *n* silk
 ɣēzizī wēzizī *n.com* treasuring
 ɣijj *n* Hajj pilgrimage
 ɣijrit *n* room (house)
 ɣijrī *adj* high in nicotine (tobacco)
 ɣillaq *n* hairdresser
 ɣisī *n* sloping well for watering goats
 ɣisn *n* beauty
 ɣiss *n* voice
 ɣitt *adj* high in nicotine (tobacco)
 ɣīsū *adj* being in labour (birth)
 ɣīwan *n* ignorant or senseless being, poor or pitiable thing
 ɣlūl *n* fenugreek seeds
 ɣōṭir *n* autumn migration
 ɣsēb *n* calculation; expense; number
 ɣubb *n* vase
 ɣubbō *n* grandmother
 ɣubuhubbō *dv* crawling (children's speech)
 ɣukm *n* judgment
 ɣukūmit *n* government
 ɣukyū *dv* telling (a tale, story, or account)
 ɣummam *n* bathroom
 ɣurmit *n* deprivation
 ɣurš *adj* rough
 ɣusī *n* sloping well for watering goats
 ɣuwwil *n* spring/summer migration
 ɣūnunō *n* type of flower
 ɣūšū *n* slithering; sliding around
 ɣwēl *n* chatter; chattering

I

iččī *n* sneeze
 ida *conj* if
 iddan *n* prayer caller
 iddāla *prep* away from
 iddū *n* passing
 iḥtaram *n* respect; respectful person
 ijāwir *n.com* at this time
 ijāzīt *n* time off of work; holiday
 ijr *n* good deeds
 ikka *n* matches
 ilbō *n* ceiling; heights, heights of the sky
 ilka *n* nose-ring
 illē *n* rope; paddle
 illit *n.der* dirty thing
 -im *v.sfx* 1p
 =im *clit* be:1p (first person plural existential)
 imbē *n* type of fish
 in *conj* either/or
 -in *v.sfx* 3p
 =in *clit* be:3p (third person plural existential)
 inb *n* grape
 inča *adv* like this
 inčka *adv.com* in this way; just like
 inda *prep* in; inside; on
 indaraḡ *n* neighbour
 indīyē *n* irrigation channel
 indō *n* Indian
 indur *n* inside
 ingānē *n* short, wide clay water jar

injwan *interj* come on!
 inna *complr* that (used with oaths, pronouncements)
 innānē *n* type of stingray
 innik dūnik *ideo* in a flash
 innit *n* goat pen
 insī *adj* humanlike, talking (of animals)
 inšalla *adv* God willing
 intaf *n* sun
 intōr *n* treats; sweets
 iql *n* mountain
 irrāgī *n* toque
 irrāmit *n.der* decayed thing; lazy person
 isālō *n.com.infl* this year
 issī *n* urine (children's speech)
 ist *interj* go away! (to large animals)
 iš *det* any; none
 -iš *v.sfx* 3sREAL
 išā'it *n* nothing at all
 išk *adj* dry; hard
 iška *adv* like
 išōwō *n.com.infl* tonight
 išš *n* nest
 ištāka *adj* revolting
 ittō *pn.emph* 2sEMPH
 iṭr *n* perfume
 ixtārō *n.infl* the choice
 iyō *v* come:IMPF
 iyyar *n* whiner
 iyyē *pn.emph* 3sEMPH

I

-ī *sfx* (derivational suffix forming an adjective, adverb, or noun)
 -ī *v.sfx* 2s
 =ī *clit* be:2s (second person singular existential)
 īd *n* holiday
 īdiyē *n.infl* festival monetary gift
 īdū *adj* having continuous, severe pain
 īfē *n* type of fish
 īfīt *n* health
 īn- *n* what's-it-called (placeholder pronoun)
 -īn *n.sfx* person of (attribute, profession, etc.)
 īšī'it *n.der* living
 īšū *adj* living
 -īṭī *sfx.advr.* manner
 īwiš *n* following (chronologically)
 īwī *adj* roosting

J

jabara *dv* obliging
 jadada *dv* renewing
 jaḡbib *n* type of fish
 jahḡa *dv* swooping; closing in on
 jahla *n* clay jar with narrow mouth
 jalaṭa *dv* skinning (an animal)
 jam *n* side
 jamala *dv* pooling of funds (e.g. fishing income)
 jamma *dv* bending; bowing
 jang *n* war
 janjēbil *n* ginger

jannit *n* paradise
 jar *adv* very; really
 jaraba *dv* trying
 jars *adj* biting (wind)
 jawāsmē'an *n.prop.pl* Qawasim
 jawāz *n* identification document
 jawn *n* mortar (for crushing)
 jaww *n* weather, climate
 jawwāfa *n* type of tree
 jaxxa *dv* reclining, sitting
 jaxxa *dv* supreme
 jayb *n* gold bridal diadem; gold necklace
 jaydar *n* type of tuna fish
 jayš *n* army
 jazama *dv* breaking
 jā *n* barley
 jāga *n* place
 jākit *n* jacket
 jā *adj* hooked (fish)
 jā *n* jam (fruit conserve)
 jāmaḡ *n* man's skirt
 jāmaḡšūrī *n.com* laundry
 jāmal *n* camel
 jāma'it *n.der* group
 jāras *n* bell
 jārid *n* type of fish
 jārif *n* type of large traditional fishing net
 jāri *adv* already
 jāwar *n* type of large sea turtle
 jāz *n* ship
 jāzrī *n* northeast wind
 jēdil *n* pair of braids
 jēk *n* pitcher, jug
 jēl *n* departure; laying out of fish nets
 jēlumb *n* side; clan
 jērda *dv* opening orchard canals
 jēriḡ *n* wound
 jēzirit *n* island
 jēzurtō *n.prop.infl* Goat Island
 jahannamīye *n* bougainvillea tree
 jifn *n* eyelid
 jihš *n* fierce person
 jiks *n* lock of hair
 jilbē *n* woman's headscarf
 jild *n* skin
 jilṭ milṭ *adj* stark naked
 jinjāwir *n* master sorcerer; giant; grown-up
 jinn *n* jinn
 jism *n* body
 jisr *n* bridge
 jišt *v* look for, ask:REAL, PERF
 jittit *n* corpse
 jīmī *n* entirety; whole; all
 jīr *v* see, find:ROOT, REAL
 jīrī *n* sand
 jīs *v* see, find:PERF
 jīzī *adj* parched with thirst
 jmāt *n* Friday
 jmēs *n* type of shark
 jnāḡ *n* wing

jōbō *n* water-collecting rock hollow
 jōgur *n* liver
 jōr *v* look for, ask:IMPF, IMPER, IRR, MIR
 jōtī *n* shoe
 jōwa *n* spring (season)
 jō'ar *n* pearl
 jrā'ī *adj* separate
 jubbar *n* abuse of one's position for gain
 jubbē *n* type of shark
 judarī *n* chicken pox (varicella)
 jum *n* shore
 jumr *n* ember
 jurbaḥ *n* type of fish
 jušt *v* look for, ask:ROOT
 jūrit *n* comical person; ridiculous person
 jwāb *n* answer
 jwān *n* goodness; good

K

k *v* do:ROOT, IMPER, IRR
 ka *XX conj.relr* XX that
 ka *v* fall:REAL, 3sIRR
 ka *conj.advr* if/when; then; since, thus, so
 ka *disc.peak* right away
 ka *disc.list* also
 kabara *dv* treating with condescension; acting superior
 kabba *dv* pouring (a large amount)
 kaf *v* fall:MIR
 kaf *n* palm/sole
 kaf *n* bracelet
 kafata *dv* tying
 kafrāḡ *n* cleft
 kaft *v* fall:ROOT, PERF, REAL
 kafya *dv* turning over
 kahraba *n* electricity
 kalaḥa *dv* staring
 kalaka *dv* stuttering
 kam *adj; adv* little; less
 kamala *dv* finishing
 kambar *n* thick rope
 kan *v* dig, put away:ROOT
 kana *conj* otherwise; on the contrary; instead
 kanaza *dv* pressing
 kand *v* dig, put away:REAL
 kandarkas *n.prop* Orion's belt
 kandēšin *n* air conditioner
 kans *v* dig, put away:PERF
 kansala *dv* cancel
 kan'ad *n* type of fish
 kapš *n* sheep
 kara *n* time (occurrence)
 karafa *dv* working to the point of exhaustion
 karama *dv* being generous
 karaxa *dv* slapping
 karb *n* thick end of palm branch; buoy
 kard *v* drop:ROOT, IMPER, IRR, MIR
 kard *n* flock, school (fish), cluster (dates), bunch (people)
 kard *n* comportment, responsibility
 kardīd *v* drop:REAL

kardīs *v* drop:PERF
 kara'a *dv* hating
 karfit *n.der* exhausting work
 karnaš *n.prop* Khasab coastal road (corniche)
 karōra *n* needle (medicinal)
 karsa *n* thick rope
 karxit *n.der* slap
 kas *n* person; someone; anyone
 kas *quant* (count of persons)
 kasafa *dv* making filthy
 kasib *n* livelihood
 kaskasa *dv* crumbling
 kasna *adj.com* absent
 kasr *n* period of very high tides
 kassa *dv* crumbling
 kassaḥ *n* lame person
 kaš *v* pull, pass over, turn off (switch), dish out:2sIMPER, MIR
 kašaxa *dv* being super
 kašk *n* dried yoghurt
 kašmir *n* glasses, sunglasses
 kašt *n* twist
 kataba *dv* writing
 katbit *n.der* writing; word; destiny
 kaw *n* palm of hand; marriage contract
 kawada *n; interj* heaps; a lot
 kawl *n* wind
 kawl bālī'ī *n.com* east wind
 kawšī *n* east-southeast wind
 kawwaḡ *n* pottery; incense burner
 kawwaḡīnō *n.infl* the potter
 kawya *dv* medicinally branding
 kay *pn.interr* when?
 ka'bētō *n.prop.infl* the Kabba
 ka'naḡ *adj* old (thing)
 ka'naḡ *n* cross-beam (boat)
 kābab *n* cooked meat
 kābat *n* cabinet
 kāčak *n* underarm
 kāfur *n* pagan
 kāḡud *n* paper
 kālak *n* fish cheek
 kālat *n* fort, castle
 kālat bālī'ī *n.com* Kumzari Castle
 kālat zēranī *n.com* Khasab Castle
 kāmar *n* back
 kāmil *adv* totally
 kān sikkānō *n.com* tiller (rudder handle)
 kār *n* work; thing
 kāra *n* mouth; opening; entryway; gate
 kārabō *n* white dolphin
 kāramit *n* generosity
 kāraraḡ *n* type of fish
 kārd *n* knife
 kārim *pn.interr* which?
 kāsal *n* sardine
 kāsrit *n* small drum
 kāš *v* cultivate:ROOT, IMPER
 kāšid *v* cultivate:REAL
 kāšis *v* cultivate:PERF

kāwarī *n* pottery shard
 kāwašē *n* earring
 kē *pn.interr* who?; whoever
 kēk *n* cake, doughnuts
 kēl *n* dry measure of one kilo
 kēn *v* dig, put away:IMPER, IRR, MIR
 kēr *n* penis
 kēr pāčak *n.com* sea cucumber
 kēš *v* pull:ROOT; pass over:ROOT
 kēš *v* pull, pass over, turn off (switch), dish
 out:IMPER, IRR
 kēšid *v* pull, pass over, turn off (switch), dish
 out:REAL, PERF
 kēšis *v* pull, pass over, turn off (switch), dish
 out:PERF
 kēyō *n.infl* a while
 kič *n* scale (flake)
 kilkal *n* upper arm or shoulder
 kilwiskit *n* type of date
 kin *v* do:2sIMPER, MIR
 kinb *n* type of tree
 king *n* ripening date
 kirdan *n* fire pit
 kiswit *n* clothing
 kiš *v* kill:IMPER, IRR
 kiš *interj* go away! (said to small creatures)
 kiššit *n* lock of hair; tassel
 kišt *v* kill:ROOT, PERF, REAL
 kit *interj* go away! (said to cats)
 kitf *n* shoulder
 kitmān *n* underreporting, minimizing
 kittārē *n* scimitar
 kixx *interj* sit! (to children); shush!
 kībal *n* buoy
 kīl *n* paved surface
 kīlō *n* kilogram
 kīsa *n* pocket; plastic bag
 klē *n* hat
 klīl *n* key
 klōlak *n* kidney
 kmā *n* type of tuna fish
 knār *n* lap
 knār *n* jujube
 knēr *n* cheese
 kō *n* mountain
 kō *v* fall:ROOT, IRR
 kōb *n* cup, small tea glass
 kōfar *n* type of fish
 kōl *n* braided rope joint
 kōr *n* whale
 kōr *n* blind person
 kōr *n* type of fish
 kōrk- *n* boy
 kōš *v* advise:ROOT, IRR
 kōša *n* wedding banner
 kōsē *n* advice for responsible living
 kōšid *v* advise:REAL
 kōšis *v* advise:PERF
 kōt *n* coat
 kōta *adj* short

kō'ī *n.infl* of the mountain; mountain bedouin
 krāh *n* sandal
 ktēb *n* book
 kuffit *n* scrap (e.g. of paper of bread)
 kumbit *n* dune
 kumkuma *n* plastic water jug
 kumzar *n.prop* Kumzar village
 kundur *n* chewing gum
 kups *n* mound; porch
 kurdan *n* three-stone fireplace
 kurfāyē *n* bed
 kurm *n* worm
 kurraf *n* deep-sea fishing nets
 kursī *n* chair
 kurš *n* bladder; potbelly; chamber (of instrument)
 kurš pā *n.com* calf (of leg)
 kuruxda *n* old person
 kurxānē *n* sewing machine
 kūkū *n* type of fish
 kūlī *n* shark
 kūn *n* buttocks
 kūnitī *adv.der* on one's bottom
 kūš *n* lap, loins
 kwār *n* clay fireplace
 kyē *n* quarter-cup measure

L

laba *prep* approximately
 labaqa *dv* lighting; burning; turned on (light);
 igniting
 labasa *dv* clothing; covering
 labaṭa *dv* shudder; shaking
 lablaba *dv* hasty and reckless
 lada'a *dv* biting
 laḍḍa *dv* flashing, shining, glistening
 laff *n* bandage
 laffa *dv* bandaging; covering; swarming; swathing
 laffū *dv* gathering up scattered items
 laḡya *dv* talking incessantly
 laḡa *prep* about
 laḡaqa *dv* hassling
 laḡlaḡ *n* type of fish
 laḡm *n* flesh; body
 lakaša *dv* being round, fat
 lakin *conj*; *adv* but; only; except
 lam *n* peep
 lamaḡa *dv* glimpsing
 lamaṭa *dv* licking
 lama'a *dv* glistening
 lamba *n* lamp
 lambiya *n* lullaby; swim on one's back
 langal *n* anchor
 lanj *n* dhow
 laqaša *dv* hassling
 laqmit *n* morsel
 lašaṭa *dv* whipping; snatching up
 lašt *n* type of fish
 latta *dv* slapping
 laṭama *dv* slapping
 laṭmit *n* slap
 law *n* lip; edge

lawaḡa *dv* smearing
 lawata *dv* shrivelling; wrinkling; being weak
 lawt *n.der* weak person or thing, withered thing
 lawya *dv* curling up/around; rolling up; wrapping
 lawyit *n* wrapping
 layaka *dv* leaking
 laymay *n.prop* Lima
 la'aba *dv* roaring
 la'ata *dv* panting
 la'la'a *dv* being parched with thirst
 lawaḡa *dv* being on one's deathbed
 la'ya *dv* being late; making someone late
 lābit *adv* it is necessary that; certainly
 lāgan *n* bowl
 lāḡa *n* language
 lāḡaḡ *n* type of fish
 lākō *n* type of fish
 lāmū *n* chewing
 lāqab *n* nickname
 lāṭī *adj* short (non-human); low; few
 lāzum *adv* it is necessary that; certainly; must
 lāzuq *n* type of fish
 lā'illahī *interj.com* O God!
 lbān *n* frankincense
 lē *n* fishing net
 lēdam *n* type of fish
 lēlam *n*; *interj* peddling; goods for sale!
 lēt *n* electric light
 lētab *n* type of wild fig
 lētum *n* orphan
 lēwan *n* alcove, space in a building
 li kūkū *n.com* gill net
 likk *n* quantity of one hundred thousand
 likkit *n* main section of net
 likšit *n.der* roundness, fatness
 linkit *n* finger
 linkit pā *n.com* toe
 liḡq *n* bandage
 lībū *n* swat
 līf *n* date palm root strands; scouring pad
 līmē *dv* gesturing to call someone far away
 līmō *n* lime
 lōbya *n* beans
 lōḡ *n* wood
 lōšan *n* perfume, aftershave
 lōtī *n* wild-living person
 luḡḡ *n* riddle
 lumba *n* sea urchin
 lumrād *adv* in any case
 lupp *n* marrow
 luttū *n* collection of scattered items
 lū *n* means
 lū *conj* so that ... not; preventing
 lūḡū *n* whack
 lūlū *n* type of date
 lūlū *n* eye (children's speech)
 lūmū *n* blame; accusation

M

mabrūk *interj* congratulations!
 madda *dv* extending

maddit *n* distance
 madfa *n* cannon
 madrēḡ *n* rooftop stairs; ladder
 madrēsīt *n* school
 madwax *n* pipe (for smoking)
 maḡya *dv* being lost
 mafṣal pā *n.com* ankle
 magdab *n* container for drawing water from a well
 maglis *n* sheikh's court
 maḡrab *n* west
 maḡana *dv* bothering
 maḡdaqa *n* fish habitat
 maḡḡar *n* oyster
 maḡja *dv* pleading a case, explaining a problem
 maḡjad *n* needing
 maḡmas *n* bread lifter (tool)
 maḡram *n* marriageable person
 maḡrēqit *n.infl* dump
 maḡzam *n* belt; cartridge-belt
 majma *dv* word; language
 makara *dv* being devious
 makarōna *n* pasta
 maktab *n* office
 malaka *dv* giving wedding ring
 malbaq *n* matches
 malkut *n* silver anklet
 malla *dv* being bored
 maltaqa *dv* meeting face-to-face
 malyūn *n* million
 mal'ab *n* pitch (football field)
 mamnū *adj* illegal
 man *n* traditional measure (4 kg)
 mangur *n* wheel
 manjum *n* mine (for minerals)
 mankab *n* elbow
 manqab *n* beak
 manqab *n* type of shark
 manqaḡ *n* traditional restaurant
 manqar *n* wood chisel
 manṣab *n* birdlime
 manṭa *n* marlin
 manṭara *n* mirror
 maqbērit *n* grave
 maqfaṭ *n* trap
 maql *n* myrrh
 maqqa *dv* coming apart; taking apart
 maqta *n* small metal chisel
 marada *dv* being unemployed
 maraḡa *dv* being profoundly ill
 maraḡa *dv* being exhausted
 maraḡa *dv* resting during travel
 maraṣa *dv* softening
 mard *n* man
 mardk- *n* man
 marē *adv* perhaps
 marfēsīt *n* stairs to roof
 marg *n* death
 marḡaba *interj* greetings!
 marī'it *n* necklace
 markū'ī *n.com.infl* fish caller

marr *n* quantity of fifty items
 marra *dv* meeting
 marra *dv* disappearing
 marrē *adv* really
 masbah *n* shower (place)
 mast *adj* tired, tiresome
 masxan *n* metal bowl with handles
 masya *n* evening
 masya būrī *interj.com* good evening!
 mašša *dv* sucking
 maš *v* see, look:2sIMPER
 mašk *n* goatskin for churning
 maškat *n.prop* Muscat
 mašraq *n* east
 maššit *n* walking; speed
 matal *n* proverb
 matrēqit *n* bobbin
 matta *dv* cleaning up, cleaning out, scrubbing,
 wiping, sweeping away
 mat'ar *n* outdoor bathing area
 maṭbax *n* kitchen
 maṭlē'ī *n* strong east wind
 maṭmaṭa *dv* tying with cord
 maṭraqa *n* hammer
 maṭrub *n* minstrel
 maṭṭārē *n* hot-water bottle
 maṭ'am *n* restaurant
 mawara *dv* congratulations
 mawsīqat *n* tying
 mawz *n* banana
 maxbaz *n* bakery
 maxlab *n* claw
 maxlēdī *adj* pertaining to the date palm
 maxluq *n* person; living being
 maxluṭ *adj* mixed
 maxnat *n* gay man
 maxraz *n* laces
 maxzan *n* storage depot
 may *n* fish
 mayg *n* shrimp
 mayka *prep* between, among
 maykar *n* middle
 maylad *n* birthday; wedding poetry
 maysānī *n* type of fish
 mayšaṭṭa *n* palm frond broom
 maywa *n* produce (food)
 maywuz *n* raisins
 mayya *prep* between, among; midst
 mazāraq *n* type of fish
 ma'daf *n* undersea mountain
 ma'laq *n* coat hanger
 ma'laq sīna *n.com* lungs
 ma'na *n* meaning, importance
 ma'r *n* tattoo
 mā *n* month
 mā *pn* 1p (first person plural pronoun)
 mā aft *n.com* July
 mā ašt *n.com* August
 mā čār *n.com* April
 mā da' *n.com* October

mā dō *n.com* February
 mā dwāzda *n.com* December
 mā na' *n.com* September
 mā panj *n.com* May
 mā sō *n.com* March
 mā šaš *n.com* June
 mā yak *n.com* January
 mā yāzda *n.com* November
 mād *v* stay:REAL
 mād *disc* things stayed as they were
 mādad *n* octopus ink
 māl *adj*; *n* beautiful; excellent; wealth
 mālalla *n* wealth of God (beggar)
 mām *n* mother
 mām abū kō *n.com* butterfly
 māmādī *n* type of fish
 mām *v* stay:ROOT, IMPER, IRR
 māqulē *interj* really?!
 mār *adj* awake, alert
 mār *n* snake
 mārād *n* desire, reason, account
 māraq *n* throat (outer)
 māraq *n* sauce; soup; broth; rice water
 māraqī *n* chest congestion
 mārarit *n* bile
 mārāšin *n* intestines
 mārānī *n* type of eel
 mās *v* stay:PERF
 māšuwē *n* skiff
 māw *n* metal, steel
 māwrid *n* rosewater
 māya *n* payment for fishing
 māyikan *n* handle on a traditional boat
 māzad *n* increase; addition; hurry
 māzādī *adv.der* a lot
 mdallē *n* coffeepot/carafe
 mē *pn* 1s (first person singular pronoun)
 mēčūrī *n* fish soup
 mēd *n* type of fish
 mēdiḥ *n* tribute (oration)
 mēdiq *n* type of date
 mēkana *n* motor
 mēlat *n* bowl
 mēlilit *n* boredom
 mēmit *n* style of tying men's headdress
 mēna *n* port
 mēnū *n* move aside; disallowing
 mēš *v* see, look at:ROOT, IMPER, IRR
 mēš *n* fly
 mēš *n* walk; flight; working (in working order);
 spread (of fire)
 mēš āsal *n.com* bee
 mēšid *v* see, show:REAL
 mēšis *v* see, show:PERF
 mētar *n* electrical meter (buildings)
 mētaw *n* moon
 mētaw paṇḍa *n.com* full moon
 mēyam *n* hull
 mgāl *n* headdress rings
 mḥallātō *n.infl* the shops

mḥāfiḍ *n* governor
 mḥāmadī *n* currency unit
 mḥuwwil *n* power bar (set of electrical outlets)
 mičābē *pn.com* however
 mičē *pn.com* whatever; everything; all kinds
 middaḥ *n* young, strapping person
 middit *n* a while
 midum *adv* as long as
 migīya *pn.com* wherever
 miḥḥ *n* seine net rope
 mijnaḥ *n* type of date
 mikē *pn.com* whoever
 milla *n* devout person
 millas *n* ladle
 mintab *n* hooked stick to pull fish nets
 mirr *n* myrrh
 misbaḥ *n* prayer beads
 miskīn *adj* pitiable
 mismar *n* clove; nail (metal)
 miswak *n* toothbrushing stick
 mišk *n* mouse
 miyyit *n* dead person
 mizī *n* type of tree
 mīšar *n* saw
 mīzan *n* scale (for weighing)
 mī'ī *n* fish
 mjūm *n* metal studs
 mkabb *n* cone
 mkindī *n* type of fish
 mnaxx *n* large hook
 mōnit *n* type, kind
 mōtar *n* car
 mōzar *n* drawing water; filling to overflowing
 mqaṣṣ *n* scissors
 mqawwa *n* plywood; linoleum
 mqawwil *n* travel agency
 mqābalit *n* meeting
 mqāwil *n* large-scale merchant; large business transaction
 mrabba *n* lumber
 mrajja *n* appointment (meeting)
 mrād *n* desire, reason, account
 mrū *n* chicken
 msajjal *n* device for playing recorded music
 msandam *n.prop* Musandam Island
 msaww *n* fishing net weight
 msilman *n* Muslim
 msīr *n* trip (travel)
 mšarr *n* men's headdress (turban)
 mšaww *n* barnacle
 mšībit *n* calamity
 mšabb *n* hand-held fan (*esp.* of woven palm leaf)
 mṭār *n* label
 mugiya *pn* everywhere; anywhere
 muḡ *n* date palm
 muḡlī *n* type of venomous snake
 muḡyū *n* mix-up
 mukkir *adj* devious
 mur *v* die:ROOT, IRR
 murd *v* die:REAL

murdēḡan *n.infl.pl* the dead
 murḥum *adj* late (deceased)
 murs *v* die:PERF
 murwa barrō *n.com* domestic chicken
 murwa kō'ō *n.com* sandgrouse
 murwaḥ *n* flat place
 muškilit *adj* difficult
 muxwaš *n* pin to clean waterpipe holes
 muxx *n* head
 muḡḡit *n* mosque
 muḡlaq *adj* stuck
 mū *n* hair
 mūl *n*; *adv* total; totally
 mūsīqa *n* music
 mwāṭan *n* cherished person
 mḡizz *n* very salty thing
 m'allāyē *n* type of men's dance
 m'āš *n* salary

N

na *rel* of which
 na *clit* NEG not
 nabaḥa *dv* yelping
 nadaba *dv* giving a war cry
 nadama *dv* regretting
 nadbit *n.der* war cry
 nafala *dv* being messy, scattered about
 nafasa *dv* breathing
 nafaṭa *dv* shaking
 nafaxa *dv* blowing
 naffa *dv* sprinkling (scattered raindrops)
 nafnaf *n* scattered raindrops
 nafs *det* same
 nagrō *n* type of fish
 naḡara *dv* spanking
 naḡnaḡa *dv* leeching off of other people
 nahaba *dv* robbing
 naḡasa *dv* being unlucky
 naḡḡa *n* henna (child's speech)
 naḡlit *n.der* nosy person
 naḡs *n* unlucky person
 najaha *dv* passing (test)
 nakaba *dv* stubbing
 nakara *dv* hiding; missing
 nakata *dv* dripping
 naktē *n*; *det* small amount; bit, a bit; a few
 nall *n* faucet
 namakī *n* salty snacks
 namōnit *n.der* amazing, extraordinary
 naqaba *dv* pecking
 naqada *n* seeing from a distance
 naqala *dv* disappearing
 naqaša *dv* decorating
 naqaṭa *dv* dripping, coming out one at a time
 naqd *n* cash
 naqmit *n.der* judgment
 naqqa *dv* shooting (cannon)
 naqqa naqqa *dv.com* beating (heart)
 naqqab *n* beak
 naqqadē *n* far-seeing person
 naqš *n* design

naqta *n* drop; pollen
 narm *adj* soft
 nasala *dv* coming into view; approaching
 nasama *dv* giving birth
 nasaxa *dv* breathing
 naşaba *dv* standing
 naşafa *dv* dividing in half
 naşara *dv* winning
 naşada *dv* concerning oneself with
 naşara *dv* sprouting; spreading; communicating
 naşa'a *dv* snatching
 naşša *dv* buzzed (from drink)
 natafa *dv* plucking
 naṭaḥa *dv* butting (with the head)
 naṭa'a *dv* awaiting
 naṭṭa *dv* jumping
 nawara *dv* illuminating
 nawaxa *dv* being extremely ill
 nawl *n* fare
 nawxasa *n* young man
 naxa *prep* aboard (a vehicle)
 naxara *dv* snoring
 naxaza *dv* poking
 naxbara *dv* cracking
 nayama *dv* laid up; admitted to hospital
 naṣaḥa *dv* draining
 naṣala *dv* coming down; bringing down
 naṣū *n* pristine situation, crystal-clear view
 na' *num* nine
 na'aba *dv* plundering
 na'mit *n* blessing
 na'na'a *dv* bleating
 na'sī *n* north-northeast wind; nor'easter
 na't *n* carpet
 nābat *n* date palm pollen
 nābātī *adj* vegetable
 nābī *n* gull
 nādūr *n* clever person
 nāgil *n* coconut; waterpipe chamber
 nāgruz *n* first month of autumn
 nāḡal *n* type of date
 nāḡaš *n* type of shrub used for kindling
 nāḡur *n* type of shrub
 nāḥiyit *n* melody
 nām *n* name
 nān *n* bread
 nāsax *n* breath
 nāşabaḥ *adv* after a while
 nāšī *n.der* north and northeast wind; nor'easter
 nāšī ārabī *n.com* north wind
 nāšī fārsī *n.com* northeast wind
 nāšta *n* breakfast
 nāwaḡ *n* navel
 nāwukō *n* type of shark
 nāxē *n* beginning of fishing net rope
 nāylō *n* nylon thread
 nēbī *n.prop* the prophet
 nēdur *n* sacrificing; providing a meal; requesting
 something from God
 nēfif *n* scattered raindrops

nēgura *n* two days ago
 nējib *n* brilliant person, very intelligent person
 nēt *n* shared food
 nēxan *n* aboard
 nēzik *adj*; *n* near; close relative
 ngāl *n* headdress rings
 niḡāra *n* glasses
 niglis *n* elaborate gold necklace
 nijjar *n* carpenter; boatbuilder
 nišbil *n* fishing line
 nišrit *n* flag
 ništ *v* sit, stay:ROOT, REAL, PERF
 nittar *n* stone anchor, weight
 nixn *n* nail (finger/toe); claw
 nixxī *n* peas, chickpeas
 niyyit *n* harmful plan; devising
 nīdī *n* dew, mist
 nīm *det* half
 nīman *n.com* traditional measure (2 kg)
 nīmruz *n.com* noon, early afternoon, height of the
 day, heat of the day
 nō *adj* new
 nōf *n* surrender flag
 nōr *n* radiance; illumination; shining
 nōwad *num* ninety
 nōxada *n* Ar: captain (of a ship)
 nōzda *num* nineteen
 ntōr *n* treats; sweets
 nufsīn *n.infl* emotionally sensitive person
 nuftēbubō *n* value
 num *n* cloud
 nummaḡ *n*; *det* half
 numr *n* leopard, panther, tiger
 nuqšū *n* careful clean-out
 nuşnuş *n* small portion
 nuxrit *n* nose
 nūdō *n* sleepiness
 nwāšam *n* evening; this evening
 nwāxa *n* captain (ship); commanding (ship)
 nwāxistin *n* evening prayer
 nwāz *n* tomorrow; the next day
 nwāz *n* prayer
 nwāz ēwiš *n.com* the day after tomorrow
 n'āt *n* strength, willpower, resolve

Ō

ō *part* what?!
 -ō *n.sfx* the (definiteness suffix)
 ōbī *n* soothing (infant)
 ōbur *n* vessel (boat)
 ōd *interj* knock-knock!
 ōdad *v* hold:REAL
 ōdar *v* hold:REAL
 ōdas *v* hold:PERF
 ōdī! *interj* heave! (call to pull boat ashore)
 ōfur *n* west/northwest wind
 ōḡar *n* ebbing tide
 ōjuzō *n* old person
 ōkid *v* hit:REAL
 ōkis *v* hit:PERF
 ōkit *v* hit:2sIMPER

ōkt *v* hit:ROOT, IMPER
 ōl *n* mountain peak
 ōmān *n.prop* Oman
 ōō *interj* yes?
 ōq *n* chronic physical suffering
 ōra *n* rowboat
 ōrī *n* person of the Dhohuri clan
 ōstī *n* sleeve
 ōš *n* ream of dates, branch with dates
 ōtī *n* clothes iron
 ōz *n* measure
 ōz *n* water pipe, hose
 ōzar *n* sail

P

pačaxčē *n* small wooden chest; phonograph
 pakkis *n* cowrie shell
 palla *dv* full of; filling; full thing
 pang *n* poker at the top of a palm tree; sword
 panj *num* five
 panja *num* fifty
 panka *n* ceiling fan
 panšumbur *n.com* Thursday
 paqpaqa *dv* churning
 paqqit *n* spot
 par *n* feather
 pašmak *n* Iranian sweet
 paštin *n* afternoon prayer
 paw *n* type of ray
 payman *n* armspan (2 m)
 paʿn *adj* wide, fat
 pā *n* foot/leg
 pāča *n* wealthy person
 pāk *adj* clean
 pānda *num* fifteen
 pārawē *n* type of fish
 pārin *n* last year
 pčāl *adj* soiled
 pē *adv* also; even
 pēčak *n* wooden club
 pēčak *n* type of shark
 pēdam *n* swelling
 pēna *prep* beside
 pēnur *n* lantern
 pērar *n* two/several years ago
 pēsē *n* coin
 pēš *n; adv* front; in front of
 pis *n.poss* son
 pistan *n* breast
 pistaq *n* pistachio
 pišt *n;prep* after/behind; according to; because of;
 back
 pišt *n* shallows far from land
 pištu pišin *n.com* afternoon
 pištūʿī *adj.der* following, next
 piža *prep.com* under
 pī *n* fat
 pīma *n* onion, green onion
 pīp *n* beep (child’s language)
 pīrō *n* grandfather; ancestor
 piš *n* date palm frond or leaf

pišin *n* noon prayer
 plīta *n* wick
 pnēr *n* cheese
 pōkō *n* salty snack; popcorn
 pōr *v* fly:ROOT, IMPER, IRR, MIR
 pōrid *v* fly:REAL
 pōrin *n* a while ago
 pōris *v* fly:PERF
 pōšt *n* skin
 pōšt sīnōʿō *n.com* goatskin hung on a boat’s prow
 purya *n* flowing tide
 pūpū *n* robe, dress, dishdasha (children’s speech)
 pxa *n.prop* Bukha (town)
 pxūn *n* approaching rain

Q

qa jannur *n.com* type of date
 qa jaʿfar *n.com* type of date
 qa šumrē *n.com* type of date
 qa šurbē *n.com* type of date
 qabaḥa *dv* disfiguring
 qabbē *n.prop* Qaba (village)
 qabqab *n* small crab; quick person
 qad *n* measurement
 qadaḥa *dv* walking about; blowing hard (wind);
 impaired (mental state)
 qadama *dv* stepping forward
 qadar *det* some
 qadara *dv* being able
 qaḍḍuḥ *n* type of date
 qafala *dv* locking
 qafī *adj.der* locked
 qaḥama *dv* jumping; jumping up
 qaḥba *n* female prostitute
 qaḥmit *n* jumping up
 qaḥwē *n* coffee
 qalaba *dv* turning over
 qalafa *dv* making from wood
 qalb *n* pendant necklace
 qallaf *n* carpenter
 qalmaʿa *dv* wrangling
 qalya *n* sauce; stew
 qambab *n* type of fish.
 qambuṣṣō *n* hedgehog
 qamqama *dv* murmuring
 qanaṣa *dv* shooting; hunting
 qandaḥa *n* rainbow
 qanḥē *n* small anchor
 qannit *n* stacking (dried fish)
 qanṣ *n* shooting, hunting
 qapšē *n* spoon; rounded chisel
 qaraḥa *dv* dropping very low (water)
 qarama *dv* denigrating; gossiping
 qaraṣa *dv* pinching
 qarfaṣa *dv* rumpling
 qarn *n* horn; pointed stud
 qarqaʿa *dv* crackle
 qarra *dv* admit
 qarraṣ *n* mosquito
 qarṭ *n* loan (money)

qartabō *n* type of fish
 qaryit *n* village
 qar'a *n* type of large louse
 qar'a *n* middle buoy in a fishing net
 qar'a *n* squash
 qaş tābayyaq *n.com* type of date
 qaşada *dv* intending; directing
 qaşala *dv* breaking (something small)
 qaşama *dv* dividing
 qaşqaşa *dv* cutting
 qaşş *n* scissors
 qaşşa *dv* cutting; cutting a deal; splitting
 qaş fāras *n.com* type of date
 qaş hābaş *n.com* type of date
 qaş mqālaf *n.com* type of date
 qaş xurşid *n.com* type of date
 qaşara *dv* scraping
 qaşa'a *dv* tipping over
 qaşş *n* type of date
 qaşşad *n* shark sauce
 qaşa'a *dv* cutting off
 qatā'it *n* scabbard, sheath
 qatqata *dv* tickling
 qawala *dv* singing *qawl* (short poems)
 qawaqa *dv* trumpeting
 qawī *adj* strong
 qawl *n* short poem
 qawm *n* group
 qawqawa *dv* crowing (rooster)
 qaww *n* permission; agreement
 qawwa *n* plywood
 qawyē *adj* corrupt
 qayatan *n* embroidery
 qayd *n* bond; leash, lead; cuff, fetter
 qaym *adj.der* standing
 qazam *n* puny person or thing
 qā *ideophone* caw! (sound of crow)
 qāba *n* shirt
 qādaḥ *n* container
 qādam *n* end of fishing net rope
 qādar *n* respect
 qāḍī *n* judge
 qāhwē *n* coffee
 qālam *n* pen; waterpipe mouthpiece
 qālub *n* large buoy
 qāmarī *n* night wind
 qāmēt *n* waking up very early; rising very early
 qāmi nwāz *n.com* early morning prayer
 qāmuş *n* dictionary
 qāniş *n* shooting, hunting
 qānun *n* law/custom
 qāpt *n* type of fish
 qāq *ideophone* crowing (rooster)
 qāqā *n* date (children's speech)
 qāqum *adv* up (children's speech)
 qār *n* paved surface
 qāsafa *n* cage
 qāsit *n* intention; working on something; taking care of something
 qāşur *n* premature baby

qāşū *n* working away, taking care of something
 qāşa *n* drying (fish)
 qāşabīn *n.pl* family relative
 qāt *n* type of beetle
 qātal *n* poison; type of fish
 qāt *n* type of fish
 qātarī *n* strong west/northwest wind
 qāwil *n* large-scale merchant; large business transaction
 qāyit *n* open space
 qāzum *n* type of Shark
 qā'it *n* open space; empty place
 qbaylī *adj* hospitable
 qbāywā *adv* just a little while ago
 qbēl *n* sardine net
 qbīb *adj* narrow
 qdōrō *n.prop* Qadr (village)
 qēdar *det* some
 qēdē *n.prop* Qada (town)
 qērin *n* yellow-golden date
 qērub *n* relative
 qēşarit *n* type of date
 qētil *n* deadly thing
 qētit *n* private area of the house, set apart for bathing and storage
 qēṭub *n* walking staff
 qēwī *n* strong person or thing
 qidum *adv* early
 qinnaş *n* hunter
 qirş *n* token; currency unit
 qişmit *n* destiny
 qişr *n* palace
 qişşit *n* part; piece; chunk
 qişşit *n* story
 qiş' *n* deep-water fish habitation
 qiş'an *n* date palm bark
 qiṭ *adv* never at all, never ever
 qiyyaw *n* person who stays behind
 qiz'an *n* cauldron
 qīmit *n* price; worth; value
 qīq *ideophone* squeak!
 qīqī *n* eye (child's speech)
 qlāş *n* glass
 qmaylō *n* weevil
 qmār *n* gambling
 qmāt *n* swaddling an infant
 qōq *n* tantrum
 qōṭī *n* can, tin
 qōwit *n* power; height; depth
 qraḥ *n* bald/shaven person or thing
 qrambiş *n* type of fish
 qrad *n* flea
 qradī *n* type of shark
 qraḥ *n* sandal
 qrūnī *n* currency unit
 qubbē *n* umbrella
 qublū *dv* approaching; near; presenting
 qudyū *n* accomplishment
 quffē *n* round woven dining mat
 quḥḥū *dv* coughing; cough

qumbuşşō *n* hedgehog
 qummit *n* very top
 qunwaḥ *n* type of fish
 qurfē *n* type of fish
 qur'an *n* Qur'an
 qus *n* rice and stew
 quşm *n.prop* Qeshm Island
 quşrō *dv* pulling in nets
 quşrū *dv* neglecting
 quşşī *n* type of adder
 qūq *n* vibrating fart
 qūt *n* cooked white rice; soup
 qwāywā *adv* a little while ago
 qyāş *n* size; opinion

R

r v go:3sREAL
 ra v go:IRR
 rabaşa *dv* cluttering; overwhelming
 rabb *n* Lord (God)
 rabil *n* plastic
 rabšit *n.der* clutter
 rabū *n* coughing a lot
 radada *dv* hesitating
 radda *dv* returning; working in alternation
 rafasa *dv* stomping
 rafaşa *dv* climbing (on foot), stepping up
 raff *n* niche
 rafrafa *dv* filled with sparkling water
 raft v go:ROOT, PERF, REAL
 rağyit *n* boast
 raḥala *dv* going on a holiday trip
 raḥlit *n.der* holiday trip
 rajafa *dv* palpitating
 rajama *dv* stoning (throwing stones at)
 raja'a *dv* meeting
 rakada *dv* sprint
 raka'a *dv* bowing
 rakka *dv* being super
 ramaqa *dv* winking
 ramasa *dv* socialising
 rammul *n* small buoy
 ramrama *dv* murmuring
 ramrēmit *n* murmuring
 ramyit *n* bullet
 rang *n* colour; paint; kind
 raqada *dv* surprising; surprised
 raqasa *dv* dancing
 raqēbit *n* nape of neck
 raqm *n* size (clothing)
 raqraq *n* time just before dawn
 raqya *dv* taking on water (ship)
 rasama *dv* drawing
 rasī *n* evidence, proof
 rataba *dv* organising
 raṭafa *dv* folding
 rawaḥa *n* gathering
 rawa'a *dv* appearing (ghost)
 raxama *dv* reclining; sitting
 raxaşa *dv* releasing
 raxšit *n.der* leave; release

rayaḥa *dv* resting, relaxing
 rayb *n* yoghourt
 ra'd *n* thunder
 rā *n* way
 rābū *adj* accompanying
 rāfō *n* nosebleed
 rāhit *n* rest
 rāja *n* radio
 rāmadī *n* grey
 rāmak *n* type of ray
 rāmaṭan *n* month of Ramadan
 rāmišt *n* type of fish
 rāmī *n* rocking, swaying (boat in waves)
 rāqa *n* boulder
 rārik *n.prop* Larak Island
 rāstağ *n* straight direction; place right beside
 rāstī *adj*; *adv* right side; true, right, correct; truly
 rāstīnī *adj.der*; *adv.der* true; truly, truthfully
 rāş xaymē *n.prop.com* Ra's al-Khaimah emirate
 rāṭī *adj* agreeing
 rāwaḥ *n* late afternoon
 rāxamē *n* oblivious or messy person
 rāxamit *n* slow person
 rāy v be able to:ROOT, IMPF
 rāy *n* idea, plan
 rāya v be able to:IRR
 rāyid v be able to:REAL
 rāyis v be able to:PERF
 rā'im *n* massing underwater (fish)
 rā'id v catch:REAL
 rā'ī *n* person who raises goats
 rbē *n* traditional measure (1 kg)
 rēğ *n* pebble
 rēhin *n* collateral; bond (guarantee)
 rējimī *n* type of shark
 rēs v arrive, reach:ROOT, IRR, MIR
 rēsad v arrive, reach:REAL
 rēsas v arrive, reach:PERF
 rēş v vomit:ROOT, IMPER
 rēş *n* vomit; talking a lot
 rēşad v vomit:REAL
 rēşağ *n* vomit
 rēşid *n* headman
 rēşis v vomit:PERF
 rēwa *n* fox; sly person
 rēwa *n* skin disorder
 rēwal *n* throttle
 rēwit *n* stupid person
 rē'in *n* collateral; bond (guarantee)
 ridī *n.infl* bad person
 rifqitē *n* entrusting; solemnly charging; swearing
 (promising)
 rikd *n* corner; base, foundation
 riqī *n.infl* bilge water
 rissim *n* artist, illustrator
 rişğ *n* wrist
 riş v vomit:2sIMPER
 rişk *n* type of louse
 rištağ *n* thread
 rişwit *n* bribe

ritt *adj* dirty
 rīm *n* pus/abcess
 rīm *n* beautiful woman
 rīq *n* throat (inner); saliva
 rīš *n* beard
 rīša *n* pick (for stringed instruments)
 rīšō *n* type of goatfish
 rkāḥ *n* sandal; shoe
 rmīm *det* myriad
 rō *v* go:ROOT
 rōb *n* yoghurt
 rōbāyō *n* type of fish
 rōḥ *n* soul; depression in lower throat; enjoyment
 rōk *n.infl* boy
 rōqum *n* number
 rōr *n* child
 rōwn *n* oil
 rōz *n* day
 rōzaḡ *n*; *adj* fast; fasting
 rōzin *n* vent window
 rōzō *n.infl* today
 ršāš *n* lead (metal); silver (colour); bullet
 ršād *n* pestle
 ršēš *n* neem tree
 rubbaṭ *n* type of stingray
 rubyan *n* prawns
 rub' *n*; *num*; quarter; traditional measure (1 kg)
 rukbit *n.der* knee
 rukbū *dv* mounting (animal)
 ruppī *n* rupee
 ruqq *n* shallow place
 ruṭūbit *n* humidity
 rū *n* face; front; side
 rwād *v* run:IMPF
 ryāḍit *n* physical exercise
 ryānī *adj* naked
 rzāq *n* provisions

S

sabara *dv* night watch; guarding
 sabba *dv* being vulgar, rude, improper
 sabbīt *n.der* vulgarity
 sabḡ *n* dye
 sabū *n* type of fish
 sadd *n* dam; pact
 sadda *dv* settling; having a pact
 safala *dv* drying
 safara *dv* travelling
 safara *dv* rotting, turning mouldy, discolouring
 saffa *dv* weave (palm work); braid, plait
 saḡ *n* dog; detestable person
 saḥala *dv* reserved for
 saḥbana *dv* dragging
 saḥbē *n* type of dance
 sajada *dv* worshipping
 sajala *dv* recording
 sakana *dv* inhabiting; dwelling
 sakara *dv* being drunk
 sakara *dv* blocking, stuffing, constipating
 sakata *dv* being silent
 salaḥa *dv* armed

salama *dv* making safe; reconciling; making sure; completing a transaction
 salaxa *dv* skinning (animal); taking off one's shirt
 salām alēkum *express* peace be upon you
 salj *n* ice
 sallē *n* laundry basket
 salq *n* type of large battil (boat)
 samaḥa *dv* excusing, forgiving
 samakīn *n.infl* fisher
 samama *dv* poisoning
 samata *dv* tightening
 sama'a *dv* listening
 samba *n* fenugreek
 samm *n.der* poison
 samma *dv* pushing; heaving; starting something difficult
 samsābal *n* peanut
 sandaqa *n* goat pen
 sangī *adj* heavy
 sanksar *n* type of fish
 santala *dv* reforming
 sapt *n* Saturday
 saqf *n* ceiling
 saqqa *n* type of bird
 sar *n* head; top; mountain peak; lid; concern; cape
 sar sālō *n.com.infl* new year
 saramīk *n* floor tiles
 sard *adj* cold; calm, slow to react (person)
 sarf *n* small change (money)
 sarḥ *n* herd
 sarm *n* date palm sapling
 sarma *n* cold
 sawaxa *dv* listening
 sawdana *dv* knocking out
 sawgard *n* cormorant
 sawḡ *n* jeweller
 sawḡat *n* treats
 sawkē *n* red algal bloom
 sawz *adj* green
 saxt *adj* thick, fat, solid
 say *n* traditional net
 sayb *n* stray gunshots
 sayd *v* lift up, rise:REAL
 saykal *n* bicycle
 sayr *n* category of dates
 says *v* lift up:PERF
 sayy *v* lift up, rise:ROOT, IMPER, MIR, IMPF
 sayya *dv* picking up; picked up; catching; caught
 sa'ala *dv* coughing
 sa'aya *dv* forgetting
 sa'k *n* fishy thing (hand)
 sa'n *n* plate/dish
 sā *disc* now; at that time; now (reproach)
 sābab *n* reason
 sābalō *n* monkey
 sāban *n* wasp nest
 sādū *n* help
 sāfar *n.der* trip
 sāfīn *n* type of fish
 sāḡa *n* type of fishing net

sāl *n* year
 sālām *n* peace; greetings
 sālāwī *n* breeze from the east
 sālfit *n* conversation; true story; account; scenario
 sāma *n* heaven
 sāmar *n* soot
 sāmāwī *adj* light blue
 sāmḥū *n.der* forgiveness; excuse
 sān *v* shave:ROOT, IMPF, IMPER
 sānd *v* shave:REAL
 sāns *v* shave:PERF
 sāq *n* tree trunk
 sātē *adv* now; at that time
 sāwaraḡ *n* fish brine condiment
 sāxī *n* bow (of boat)
 sāya *n* shadow
 sāyasir *adj* halfway, balanced
 sāʾit *n* hour; clock
 sbō *n* week
 sē *v* put:IMPF
 sēd *n* thoughts turning around in one's mind
 sēfē *n* big spender
 sēḥak *n* guitarfish
 sēlam *n* type of acacia tree
 sēlamit *n.der*; *interj* safety, health; get well soon!
 sēlējē *n* morgue
 sēlik *n* moray eel
 sēr *adj* full (of food)
 sēr nāwaḡ *n.com* umbilical cord
 sērīr *n* bed
 sēwō *n* dye
 sayyam *n* traditional bed; platform
 sēzda *num(.com)* thirteen
 šabba *dv* loving
 siftik *n* type of fish
 sihl *n* easy thing
 sikkan *n* rudder
 sikkara *adv.com* three times
 sikkē *n* stern (back of ship)
 sikkit *n* avenue
 sikl *n* Cobia fish
 sikya *n* traditional measure (½ kg)
 silsilit *n* descendant
 sinn *n* net anchor
 sinnit *n* sunna; voluntary ritual prayer
 sinsla *n* metal chain
 sirg *n* palm-frond shelter
 sirj *n* saddle
 sirx *adj*; *n* red; gold (metal)
 sist *adj* loose
 sitrab *n* type of plant
 sitraḡ *n* razor blade
 sitraḡ *n* type of fish
 sittārē *n* curtain
 sixxam *n* charcoal
 siya *adj* black
 siyāḥa *n* tourist
 siyyādit *n* prayer carpet
 siyyālī *n* tar
 siyyārit *n* car

sī *num* thirty
 sī *v* put:IMPF, IMPER
 sīd *v* put:REAL
 sīf *n* beach
 sīflindō *n* type of eel
 sīḥ *n* wilderness; open rocky area
 sīḥ *n* large swells (waves)
 sīḥū *n* pulling fish into a net
 sīna *n*; *prep* chest; front; toward
 sīsī *n* pee (children's speech)
 skafya *n* concealing
 skandarkas *n.prop* Orion's belt (stars)
 skindan *n* type of fish
 slandar *n* gas cylinder; coal box
 slāḥ *n* weaponry
 sma *n* type of drum
 smēt *n* palm floor mat
 smīt *n* cement
 smumm *n* wimp
 sō *num* three
 sō *v* put, survive:ROOT, IMPF, IMPER, MIR, IRR
 sōd *v* put:REAL
 sōk *adj* light (weight)
 sōntī *n* raft
 sōq *n* market
 sōr *n* seawater; salt fish; brine; pickled food
 sōs *v* put:PERF
 spēr *n* white; silver
 srandal *n* gas cylinder
 srār *n* bunch
 srō *n* genre of sung poetry
 staḡ *n* pit (date)
 staḡ *n* clitoris
 stād *n* professor
 stārg *n* star
 stōr *n* storage depot
 subbaḥ *n* light colour, brightness
 suffit *n* palm work
 suffū *n* braid; braiding
 sumsum *n* type of beetle
 suqb *n* type of fruit
 surban *n* roof
 sušumbur *n.com* Tuesday
 sūmū *n* price request, offer
 sūqū *n* driving; gathering in large numbers
 sūr *n* wedding
 sūrō *n* wasp
 swak *adj* light (weight)
 swētar *n* coat
 swīč *n* vehicle ignition switch; vehicle keys
 sxafya *n* concealing
 sʾāl *n* question

Š

šabaḡa *dv* decorating
 šabaḡa *dv* waking up
 šabba *dv* smearing; plastering; giving an excess of something
 šabbīt *n.der* sealant, plaster
 šabḡa būrī *interj.com* good morning!
 šabšaba *dv* piling on top

ʃad *num* hundred
 ʃadaqa *dv* believing, trusting
 ʃadda *dv* blocking
 ʃadq *adj.der* honest
 ʃadqit *n.der* performing charity work; blessing the dead
 ʃafaqa *dv* clapping
 ʃafara *dv* whistling
 ʃaff *n* grade (school level)
 ʃaffa *dv* progressing
 ʃafrit *n* whistling
 ʃafʃuf *n* sparrow
 ʃahmit *n* government social assistance
 ʃahara *dv* enchanting
 ʃahb *n.der* morning
 ʃahh *adj* true; right
 ʃahhit *n* health
 ʃahnē *n* crushed dried sardines
 ʃahra *n* desert
 ʃalaba *dv* pissing; driving rain
 ʃamm *n* hardness; hard thing
 ʃamm *adj* deaf
 ʃanduḥ *n* forehead
 ʃanṭara *n* tangerine
 ʃataḥa *dv* levelling
 ʃawara *dv* photographing
 ʃawz *n* green
 ʃayaḥa *dv* calling; shouting
 ʃa'ada *dv* climbing in (a vehicle)
 ʃābun *n* soap
 ʃābuṭ *n* jellyfish
 ʃāfayaḥ *n* hinge
 ʃāḥab *n* owner; manager; boss
 ʃāḥar *n* sorcerer; clever person; crazy person; fierce person; sorcery
 ʃāḥarē *n* cabinetry
 ʃāl *n* type of fish
 ʃām *n* handle
 ʃāmūr *n* stone weight for fishing
 ʃānam *n* idol
 ʃāqatan *n* type of tuna fish
 ʃārm *n* type of queenfish
 ʃāwarag *n* type of plant
 ʃāwawē *n* type of fish
 ʃēdiq *n* friend
 ʃēraḥ *n* animal's milk
 ʃēram *n* type of net; container for fresh fish
 ʃēṭif *n* lintel
 ʃill *n* fish oil wood sealant
 ʃim' *n* type of rifle
 ʃirx *adj* red; gold
 ʃirx *n* calm (sea)
 ʃixxam *n* charcoal
 ʃīm *n* shin
 ʃnāfē *n* type of rabbitfish
 ʃōbur *n* waiting time
 ʃōf *n* wool
 ʃōman *n* type of fish
 ʃubbaḥ *n* radiance
 ʃufr *n* copper, brass

ʃufrit *n* make-up (face)
 ʃufrit *n* type of bird
 ʃufʃuf *n* sparrow
 ʃuḥbū *dv* dragging
 ʃulḥ *n* peace
 ʃumr *n* type of acacia tree
 ʃuntwan *n* pillar, column (of building)
 ʃuqr *n* osprey, falcon
 ʃu'b *adj* difficult
 ʃūrit *n* photograph
 ʃūzin *n* needle (medicinal)
 ʃwāl *n* question; asking

Š

ʃabaḥa *dv* tying on
 ʃabaka *dv* fixing, riveted
 ʃabaṣa *dv* clambering up
 ʃaba'a *dv* resembling
 ʃabba *dv* shining
 ʃabbē *n* deodorant powder
 ʃaddit *n* tension, pull; dispute
 ʃafaṭa *dv* inhaling
 ʃaḡala *dv* working; turning on
 ʃakara *dv* thanking
 ʃakarī *n* diabetes
 ʃakasa *dv* cutting (palm leaves)
 ʃakkīt *n* ache in abdomen or chest
 ʃakl *n* appearance; similarity
 ʃaja'a *dv* supporting
 ʃalala *dv* being lame
 ʃalf *n* spear
 ʃallit *n* type of dance
 ʃalwal *n* pants (trousers)
 ʃalwar *n* pants (trousers)
 ʃamata *dv* individual dancing, bellydancing
 ʃambara *dv* staggering; walking unsteadily
 ʃamraxa *dv* scratching
 ʃamšir *n* sword
 ʃamšīrī *n.der* sawfish
 ʃam'a *n* candle
 ʃan *pn* 3p (third person plural pronoun)
 ʃang *n* comb
 ʃang *n* butterflyfish
 ʃangaw *n* type of crab
 ʃanṭa *n* bag
 ʃaqqa *dv* accuse
 ʃaqqit *n* slitting in half (fish)
 ʃaqʃaqa *dv* being funny, being giggly
 ʃaraba *dv* drinking
 ʃaraqa *dv* choking
 ʃaraqa *dv* dawning
 ʃarara *dv* drying
 ʃaraxa *dv* splitting
 ʃara'a *dv* docking; putting up in (lodging)
 ʃarbaqa *dv* tangling
 ʃarg *n* fast person or thing
 ʃarm *n* shame; inhibition
 ʃarqī *n* east
 ʃarrax *n* straddled leg
 ʃartaḡ *adj* choppy (seas)
 ʃarṭ *n* condition (requirement); demand made of a

suitor
 šar'ī *adj* wide open (door)
 šaš *num* sixty
 šaš *num* six
 šaṭaṭa *dv* hesitating with one's words
 šaṭṭa *dv* making a great effort
 šaw *n* night; eve
 šaw rōz *n.com* day and night
 šawaḥa *dv* skidding around
 šawata *dv* dyeing
 šawḥaṭ *n* whale
 šawka *n* fork
 šaxš *n* person
 šaxšī *adj* personal
 šayaxa *dv* appointing as sheikh
 šayn *n* type of queenfish
 ša'afa *dv* parching; drying out
 ša'ata *dv* being extremely low tide
 ša'ata *dv* slicing; slicing open; beating
 ša'b *n* public
 šābab *n* young person
 šābak *n* type of large traditional fishing net
 šāfaq *n* setting sun, sunset
 šākar *n* sugar
 šām *n* supper
 šāmbō *n* shampoo
 šānda *num* sixteen
 šārat *n* pubic hair
 šārō *n* street
 šāwan *n* type of codfish
 šāwanaḡ *n* bowl
 šāxiṭ *n* branch
 šāxur *n* type of snapper fish
 šā'in *n* eagle, hawk, vulture
 šā'ir *n* poet
 šdūd *n* ongoing rain showers
 šēbib *adj* young
 šērama *n* autumn
 šērba *n* moustache
 šēš *n* date palm sickness
 šēw *n* type of snake; very thin person
 šēwil *n* shovel
 šēx *n* sheikh; waterpipe
 šē'id *n* witness (person or action)
 šē'id *n* the Islamic creed
 šgā *adj* robust
 šhōr u dhōr *express* for years and years
 šidrit *n* tree
 šigl *n* work; thing
 šillit *n* group
 šilmal *n* ribcage
 šiš *n* nit
 šišṭ *v* wash:ROOT, PERF, REAL
 šixī *n.voc* my dear
 šī'r *n* poetry
 šīr *n* milk
 šīrin *adj* sweet
 šīrinī *n.der* sweets, candies
 šīrō *n.der* type of shrub
 šīša *n* bottle

šīṭan *n.prop.*; *n* Satan; demon; whirlwind
 šīwī *dv* grilling
 škan *v* break:IMPER
 škašt *v* break:ROOT, PERF, REAL
 škēl *n* tying of foreleg and hind leg together
 škēn *v* break:ROOT, IMPF, IMPER, IRR
 škēwī *n* accusation
 škēzī *n* evening wind
 škum *n* stomach; uterus
 šlīm *n* water-pipe burner
 šmā *pn* 2p (second person plural pronoun)
 šmā hō *pn.com.emph* 2pEMPH
 šmār *v* count:ROOT, IMPF, IMPER, IRR
 šmārid *v* count:REAL
 šmāris *v* count:PERF
 šnaft *v* hear:PERF, REAL
 šnaw *v* hear:ROOT, IMPER
 šnawd *v* hear:REAL
 šnaws *v* hear:PERF
 šnāš *n* jaw
 šnāw *dv* swimming
 šnēw *v* hear:IMPF
 šnēw *v* hear:IMPER
 šnuft *v* hear:ROOT
 šō *n* well
 šōban *n* type of fish
 šōbub *n* pouring rain
 šōbubō *n* type of fish
 šōp *n* paddle blade; paddling
 šōr *v* wash:IMPF, IMPER
 šōrba *n* soup
 šōwō ba nummaḡ *n.com* midnight
 šrūb *n* medicated syrup
 šubbaḡ *n* slingshot
 šubr *n* handspan
 šufrāqō *n* frog
 šuqqar *n* type of snapper fish
 šurbaqō'ō *n.infl* hiccups
 šurš *n* cockroach
 šurṭa *n* police
 šurxit *n* section; piece; half
 šū *n* husband; groom; fiancé
 šūhū *n* slip (slide)
 šūmē čōmē *n.com* evil eye
 šwand *v* hear:REAL
 šwans *v* hear:PERF
 šwīt *n* dye

T

t- *v.pfx* IMPF
 -ta *num.sfx* (count)
 tabaqa *dv* sticking
 tabata *dv* understanding
 taba'a *dv* being aware
 tabī tabī *interj.com* come! (said to chickens)
 tabn *v* close:IMPF
 tafala *dv* spitting
 taftafa *dv* battering; smashing
 taḥḥ *interj* come! (said to goats)
 taḥḥa *n* goat (children's speech)
 taḥmil *n* suppository (medicinal)

tak *n* date syrup basket
 taktūk *interj* come! (said to cats)
 takū *interj* come! (said to cats)
 takyit *n* leaning; back cushion
 talafa *dv* killing
 talafōn *n* telephone
 talaqa *dv* peeling
 talfazūn *n* television
 talj *n* ice
 taltala *dv* being vagrant
 tambār *v* load, carry off:IMPF
 tambūlī *n* wattles (goats' neck appendages); pair of
 headdress ring tassels
 tamna *conj;evid* then; SENS (sensory evidential)
 tamš *v* sweep/wipe:IMPF
 tany *v* sit, stay:IMPF
 taqqa *dv* knocking; hitting; tapping
 taqrim *n* treats; sweets
 taqrīban *adv* almost
 taqwim *n* calendar
 -tar *adj.sfx* more
 tarbō *n* type of fish
 tarra *dv* wetting
 taṭ'im *n* vaccination
 taw *n* sickness
 tawaqa *dv* whipping
 tay *v*; *adv* come:IMPF; approximately
 tay' tay' tay' *interj* come! (said to goats)
 ta'aba *dv* tiring
 ta'ta'a *dv* stuttering
 tā *num* one; one by one; one each
 tābaq *n* storey
 tābar *n* ceiling
 tābā *v* trap fish:IMPF
 tāfafit *n* delay
 tāfaq *n* gun
 tāj *n* crown; crest (bird)
 tālum *n* platter
 tāman *v* stay:IMPF
 tānyit *n* second (of time)
 tāpš *v* cover:IMPF
 tār *v* bring, pluck:IMPF
 tāraḡ *n* horseradish
 tārazō *n* balance (for weighing)
 tārit *n* ablutions
 tārix *n* history
 tāruk *n* darkness
 tāso *n* container
 tāt *v* want:IMPF, IRR
 tātā *v* walking (children's speech)
 tātē *n* hand (children's speech)
 tāwa *n* convex metal bread pan
 tāxinē *v* wail:IMPF
 tāyir *n* merchant
 tāyir *n* wheel
 tē *v* become:2pIMPF
 tē *prep* before
 tēbur *v* carry:IMPF
 tēḡar *n*; *adv* front; before; forward; early
 afternoon(2 p.m.)

tēl *v* leave, let:IMPF
 tēla āwan *n.com* place where the waves wash onto
 the shore
 tēlan *n* inner railing (boat)
 tēmiš *v* see, show:IMPF
 tēnar *v* hide:IMPF
 tēnur *n* stone oven
 tēra *n* way
 tēraš *v* vomit:IMPF
 tēriqit *n* wedding poem; eulogy poem
 tēriy *v* grind:IMPF
 tēš *n* scythe-like axe
 tēxa *n* goat hair rope
 tēz *adj* sharp
 tfān *v* send, throw:IMPF
 tfōšn *v* sell:IMPF
 tiḡādī *n* type of fish
 tik *dv* slitting (fish)
 tikš *v* kill:IMPF
 tilq *adj* open
 timī *n* type of shrub
 timpēdar *adj* half-dressed
 timsaḡ *n* crocodile
 tink *n* thin thing; slicing
 tīrr *n* fart
 tīrš *n* sourness, sour thing
 tīrxēnit *n* type of shark
 tīrxēnit milkfish
 tiss *n* small fart
 tī *v* become:IMPF, IRR
 tīn *n* fig
 tīrma *n* first month of winter
 tīskan *n* tale
 tīš *n* chick; coward
 tk *v* do:IMPF
 tkard *v* drop, plunge:IMPF
 tkāš *v* cultivate:IMPF
 tkē *v* fall:IMPF
 tkēkū *n* repetition of words for clarification
 tkēn *v* dig, put away:IMPF
 tkēš *v* pull, pass over, catch (fish), dish out:IMPF
 tkī *v* fall:IMPF
 tkō *v* fall:IMPF
 tkōša *v* advise:IMPF
 tō *pn* 2s (second person singular pronoun)
 tō *v* become:IMPF, IRR
 tōdar *v* hold:IMPF
 tōkt *v* hit:IMPF
 tōman *n* former currency unit
 tōpur *v* fly:IMPF
 tōr *n* bull; large, stupid person
 tōxar *v* dive:IMPF
 tō'at *v* become:IRR
 trās *n* traditions, heritage
 trāt *n* traditions, heritage
 trēs *v* arrive, reach:IMPF
 trēz *v* pour:IMPF
 trinj *n* citron
 trīk *n* light bulb, electric light
 tsayy *v* lift:IMPF

tubr *v* accomplish (sign contract):IMPF
 tuffaḥ *n* apple
 tuffē *n* type of seed
 tumbak *n* tobacco
 tumī *n* type of tree
 tumr *v* die:IMPF
 turs *v* fear:ROOT, IMPER, IMPF
 turs *n* fear; fearful person
 tursīd *v* fear:REAL
 tursīs *v* fear:PERF
 turwā *v* run:IMPF
 tūrāṣ *n* palm work (weaving palm leaves)
 tūtū *n* scattered raindrops
 twakkal *n* departure
 twākš *v* open:IMPF
 twāl *n* knitted scarf
 twām *n* pair of twins
 twāra *n* shelter; doing rotten things to someone
 txāy *v* bite:IMPF
 txēn *v* laugh:IMPF
 txēr *v* buy:IMPF
 txōr *v* eat, drink:IMPF
 txwā *v* sleep:IMPF
 txwān *v* read:IMPF; put or push down:IMPF

T

ṭabala *dv* playing the drum
 ṭabaxa *dv* wetting
 ṭabaxa *dv* cooking
 ṭabl *n* type of drum
 ṭafaṣa *dv* rotting
 ṭahl *n* bitterness; bitter thing
 ṭahr *adj* pure
 ṭala'a *dv* going up; growing up; deriving; restoring;
 exorcising
 ṭal'it *n* sitting in a boat waiting for fish
 ṭamara *dv* completely burying
 ṭambur *n* log
 ṭamma *dv* being selfish
 ṭaraqa *dv* prompting
 ṭarb *n* wound; blow
 ṭarḥ *n* netting, type of fishing net
 ṭarra *dv* ripping
 ṭarraḡ *n* prompter
 ṭarrādē *n* motorboat
 ṭarḡ *n* model (manufactured item)
 ṭawya *dv* winding
 ṭa' ṭa' ṭa' *interj.com* come! (said to sheep)
 ṭa'r *n* flat area (on land or in water), plateau, ledge
 ṭābar *n* stupid person
 ṭābug *n* brick, cement block
 ṭāf *n* rope around fishing net edge
 ṭāf *n* twenty-four hour gale
 ṭāfur *n* type of shrub; auburn hair colour
 ṭāḡiyit *n* dictator
 ṭālab *n* fishing instructions
 ṭālaḡ *n* divorce
 ṭālbū *n* amount owing
 ṭālū *n* looking
 ṭāma *n* solemn charge, commission
 ṭāmū *n* taste

ṭāraf *n* side
 ṭāriš *n* messenger
 ṭāzaḡ *adj* fresh; unripe
 ṭēr *n* bird
 ṭēr nābī *n.com* type of gull
 ṭēz *adj* sharp
 ṭfār *n* diaper (nappie)
 ṭiyar *adj* ready; finished
 ṭiyārī *n* airplane; flight
 ṭōbil *n* type of drum
 ṭrādīn *n.infl* motorboat driver
 ṭrājē *n* motorboat
 ṭubla *n* square gold pendant
 ṭufš *adj* vile
 ṭyāḥ *n* sardine season
 ṭ'īf *adj* thin (person)

U

ubbub *n* type of plant
 uddū *n* going by
 uff *n* blow (breath, wind)
 uffū *n* cooked white rice (children's speech)
 ujr *n* good deeds
 -um *v.sfx* 1s (first person singular verbal suffix)
 =um *clit* be:1s (first person singular existential)
 umbē *n* type of fish
 umbū *n* drinking water (children's speech)
 ummē *pn.emph* 1sEMPH
 ummū *adv* must, need
 umr *n* age; soul
 ununō *n* prickling (of limbs)('pins and needles')
 urq *n* root
 urqu ḡmar *n.com* stark naked
 urtut *n* trace
 uṣb *n* stomach ailment from food
 uxrē *n* phlegm

Ū

ūd *n* oud (musical instrument)
 ūling *n* type of waterpipe
 ūmat *n* sardine
 ūnī *v* sit, stay:ROOT, IMPER, MIR, IRR
 ūrd *n* powder; snow
 ūrū *n* kindling

W

wa *conj* if/when
 wa xwāja xō'ī *express* please!; I beg of you!
 wadara *dv* throwing away
 wagz *n* tip of a palm frond's midrib
 waḡyit *n* time (occasion)
 wahaba *dv* yawning
 wajada *dv* present (there)
 wajja *dv* squeezing; aching
 wakka *dv* doing something unsteadily or hastily
 walama *dv* readying
 walēyit *n* city; country; region
 wallam *n* small stick used as a projectile
 walm *n* fighting
 wala *conj* or
 walla *interj* truly

wana *conj* if/when; whether; perhaps; or else;
 either/or
 wanna *dv* groaning (with pain); humming
 wannan *n* siren
 waqafa *dv* stopping
 waqana *dv* collecting
 waqa'a *dv* signing (name)
 waqqit *n* racket (noise)
 waqt *n* time
 wara wara *adv.com* quickly
 waraḥa *dv* swallowing
 waraqa *dv* waking early
 ward *n* flower
 wardī *adj* pink
 warq *n* leaf
 warya *dv* flaring, flashing
 waswasa *dv* vascillating
 waswēsīt *n* vascillation; murmuring to oneself;
 plotting evil
 waṣafa *dv* describing
 waṣṣīt *n* medium; middle
 wašm *n* tattoo
 wašt *v* leave, let:ROOT, PERF, REAL
 wathāram *n* bastard
 watō *interj;adv* aha!; just like that
 wawa'a *dv* acting fearfully
 waxt *n*; *adv* time; in good time
 wayaqa *dv* waking up with difficulty
 waṣa'a *dv* distributing
 wa'aba *dv* yawning
 wa'b *n* field
 wa'bit *n* gift
 wa'rit *n* stifling place
 wā *prep* with; at; having
 wā *interj* woe!
 wā= *clit* to; toward
 wā wā *express* no!
 wāb *v* become:MIR
 wābiš *v* become:MIR
 wābōbō *interj* woe!
 wābur *v* become:3sREAL
 wād *v* bring:REAL
 wādar *v* hold:ROOT, IMPER
 wādar a xō *express* good-bye!
 wāḥa *n* making it to an event
 wāk *v* open:ROOT
 wākīd *v* open, take off, untie:REAL
 wākīs *v* open:PERF
 wākīš *v* open, take off, untie:2sIMPER, MIR
 wākš *v* open, take off, untie:IMPER
 wāl *n* slit (a shark)
 wālī *n* governor
 wār *v* bring:ROOT
 wās *v* bring:PERF
 wāṣaf *n* description
 wāṣax *n* piece of rubbish
 wāt *v* want:ROOT, REAL
 wātīs *v* want:PERF
 wāwā *v* hurt (children's speech)
 wāzin *n* kohl (eyeliner)

wēḥīd *adj* few in number
 wēkil *n* guardian; sponsor
 wēl *v* leave, let:ROOT, IMPER, IRR, MIR
 wēzīr *n* government minister
 winč *n* winch
 wīdī *n* wadi (dry riverbed)
 wījī *n* wadi (dry riverbed)
 wīr *n* tuna fish
 wīsū *n* repair
 wōwōwō *n*; *interj* wailing; amazement; woe!
 wurk *n* hip
 wurt *n* inheritance
 wustin *adj* pregnant
 wuxrītī *adv* briefly; instantly
 wuxyū *adj* partially blind

X

xabala *interj* alas!
 xabaqa *dv* piercing
 xabaša *dv* being numerous
 xabaša *dv* shuffling; moving
 xabq *n* small hole
 xabya *dv* concealing
 xada'a *dv* limping (habitually)
 xaffa *dv* being crazy
 xalafa *dv* begetting; having (children)
 xalafa *dv* smelling bad (water)
 xalafa *dv* consoling
 xalaqa *dv* creating; causing to live
 xalaqa *dv* being attractive
 xalaṭa *dv* mixing
 xall *n* passive homosexual lover
 xall *n* seaweed; string green algae
 xalla *dv* soaking
 xalqit *n* looks (appearance)
 xalt *adj.der* mixed
 xalwit *n* wilderness
 xamma *dv* treating badly
 xamxama *dv* doing rotten things to someone
 xan *v* laugh:ROOT, 2sIMPER
 xan *n* compartment
 xanafīs *n* sideburn
 xanaqa *dv* strangling
 xanāyīt *n* treachery
 xand *v* laugh:REAL
 xandaq *n* trench; passageway
 xanjar *n* curved dagger
 xans *v* laugh:PERF
 xanzīr *n* pig
 xar *v* buy:IMPER
 xar *n* donkey; stupid person
 xarafa *dv* reminiscing; babbling on
 xarama *dv* craving
 xarasa *dv* wetting
 xarkuk *n* parrotfish
 xarmaša *dv* messing up
 xarmit *n.der* craving
 xars *n* tears
 xartūm *n* peninsula, something jutting out, corner
 xarxur *n* storehouse, shed
 xasafa *dv* destroying

xaşsa <i>dv</i> owning	xēlak <i>n</i> fabric
xaş xaş <i>ideophone</i> crunch, crackle, munch	xēlij <i>n</i> gulf (in ocean)
xaşabē <i>n.infl</i> gallows	xēmur <i>n</i> yeast
xaşa'a <i>dv</i> revering, being devout	xēn <i>v</i> laugh:IMPER
xaška <i>n</i> type of waterpipe	xēnağ <i>n</i> humour
xaşxaşa <i>dv</i> rattling	xēnağī <i>n.der</i> laughter
xaṭaṭa <i>dv</i> planning	xēnō <i>n</i> type of fish
xaṭfit <i>n</i> diarrhea	xēr <i>v</i> buy:ROOT, IMPER, IRR
xaṭṭ <i>n</i> message	xēr <i>n</i> fine thing
xaṭṭar <i>n</i> guest	xērid <i>v</i> buy:REAL
xawara <i>dv</i> embroidering	xēris <i>v</i> buy:PERF
xawwar <i>n</i> embroidery	xēšin <i>n</i> axe; castration
xawza <i>n</i> type of slimy green algae	xēšū <i>n</i> swat
xayara <i>dv</i> choosing	xēzina <i>n</i> safe (place for storing valuables)
xayasa <i>dv</i> being filthy	xēf <i>n</i> type of cheese
xaykē <i>quant</i> much, many	xilq <i>n</i> crowd
xaylē <i>quant</i> very; much, many	xilxal <i>n</i> anklet rattle
xays <i>adj.der</i> filthy	xilxil <i>n</i> small wadi (dry streambed)
xaytar <i>n.der</i> more	xinn <i>n</i> wail
xazala <i>dv</i> ratching	xistar <i>n</i> fiancée; fiancé; suitor
xazīnī <i>n.infl.voc</i> my dear	xistārī <i>n.der</i> engagement
xaznit <i>n</i> treasure	xişwānī <i>n</i> type of shark
xazya <i>dv</i> shaming	xişş <i>n</i> cheek; side (boat)
xābar <i>n; adj</i> news; knowing the news	xişxaş <i>n</i> rattle
xādum <i>n</i> servant	xiyyiṭ <i>n</i> tailor, tailor's shop
xāğur <i>n</i> type of Bream fish	xizmītō <i>n</i> stem-post
xāk <i>adj</i> worthless; low-grade	xīl <i>n</i> medicine
xāl <i>n</i> type of board game	xīnū <i>n</i> betrayal, mutiny
xāla <i>n</i> maternal aunt	xnē <i>n</i> wailing
xālal <i>n</i> green or unripe thing (<i>esp.</i> date)	xnēzī <i>n</i> type of date
xālaq <i>n</i> looks (appearance)	xō <i>pn</i> (reflexive pronoun) self, one's own
xālaq <i>n</i> type of Grouper fish	xōd <i>v</i> eat:REAL
xālaş <i>adj</i> finished	xōr <i>n</i> inlet (ocean)
xālī <i>adj</i> empty	xōr <i>n</i> feeding
xālō <i>n</i> maternal uncle	xōr <i>v</i> eat:ROOT, IMPER, IRR, MIR
xāna <i>n</i> marriage	xōrdin <i>n</i> food
xānağ <i>n</i> house; household; room	xōrxur <i>n</i> place for handwashing
xānit <i>n</i> benefit	xōs <i>v</i> eat:PERF
xār <i>n</i> bone; thorn	xōşī bōşī <i>n.com</i> type of game
xār xnēzī <i>n.com</i> type of date	xōx <i>n</i> peach
xārab <i>adj</i> broken	xrō <i>n</i> rooster
xārid <i>v</i> scratch:REAL	xrō diryī'in <i>n.com</i> type of fish
xāriştin <i>n</i> ashes	xşāb <i>n</i> type of date
xāşab <i>n.prop</i> Khasab (city)	xşurg <i>n</i> sister-in-law
xāşarit <i>n</i> sale at a loss	xşūl <i>n</i> washing bowl
xāşrit <i>n</i> side (of body)	xubb <i>n</i> rain cloud
xāşar <i>n</i> kid (young goat)	xubbaṭ <i>n</i> type of fish
xātan <i>n</i> circumcision/excision; circumcised/excised person	xubr <i>n</i> type of fish
xāṭī <i>n</i> robe	xubrit <i>n</i> life experience
xāṭar <i>n</i> danger, harm	xujmū <i>n</i> making; working; building
xāwarī <i>n</i> type of stone	xumba <i>n</i> clay storage jar
xāy <i>v</i> bite:ROOT, IMPER, IRR	xumēsī <i>n</i> type of rifle
xāyar <i>n</i> melon	xummar <i>n</i> drinker
xāyg <i>n</i> egg	xumr <i>n</i> alcoholic drink
xāyid <i>v</i> bite:REAL	xurman <i>n</i> mucus
xāyis <i>v</i> bite:PERF	xurṭ <i>n</i> stable thing (<i>esp.</i> a boat)
xdēwī <i>n</i> type of rifle	xus <i>n</i> dear
xdārī <i>adj</i> brown-grey colour	xuşb <i>n</i> flourishing (plants)
xēbuş <i>n</i> semolina porridge	xuṭyū <i>n</i> tread; trespass; sin
	xūyū <i>n</i> swarm (fish)

xūzīk *n* spit
 xwaft *v* sleep:ROOT, PERF, REAL
 xwaš *adj* well (healthy)
 xwaw *v* sleep:2sIMPER
 xwaw *n* sleep; dream
 xwā *n* salt
 xwā *v* sleep:ROOT, IMPER, IRR
 xwānd *v* read:REAL
 xwāns *v* read:PERF
 xwār *n* calm sea with gentle breeze
 xwē *n* sister
 xwēm *n* blood
 xyār *n* cucumber; zucchini

Y

ya *dem* that
 yak *num* one
 yaḷḷa *interj* O God!; let's go!
 yaḷḷa ayya *interj.com* quick!; come on!; let's go!!
 yamama *dv* ritually washing before prayer
 yambay *adv* from both ends
 yasara *dv* providing
 ya'nī *adv* that is to say
 yāzda *num* eleven
 yē *pn*; *dem* 3s (third person singular pronoun) he, she, it; this
 yirz *n* jerz (small-headed axe)
 yumkin *adv* maybe

Z

z *v* steal, rob:IMPER, IRR
 za *prep* under; below; at the foot of
 za kākak *n.com* armpit
 zābala *dv* being very full or stuffed (with food)
 zaflaḡ *n* wooden chest
 zama'a *dv* fainting
 zambil *n* woven mat with handles
 zamī *n* ground
 zan *n* woman; wife
 zand *v* hit:REAL
 zandīq *adj* wicked
 zangālūlū *n* type of flower
 zangērīr *n* slave; black person
 zankīn- *n.der* promiscuous man
 zanna *dv* spinning
 zaṇqalāfī *adj* casual
 zan'ar *adj* astonished
 zaplaḡ *n* wooden chest
 zara'a *dv* cultivating
 zard *adj* yellow
 zardaḡ *n* yolk
 zarkin *n* thread
 zarra *dv* throwing
 zarzur *n* cowrie chain hung on a boat's prow
 zawa'a *dv* joking, kidding; experimenting
 zawd *adv* a lot, much
 zaw'it *n* joke
 zaygē *adj* numerous
 za'r *n* animosity; quarrel
 zā *v* give birth:ROOT, IMPER, IMPF
 zābid *n* foam on water

zād *v* give birth:REAL
 zādin *n* birth
 zām *n* time; occasion
 zāman *n* period of history
 zāmē *adv* right away
 zār *n* demon possession; exorcism though dance
 zās *v* give birth, be born:PERF
 zāwarit *n* 'visit' to the drums at a dance
 zbayšō *n* type of fish
 zbēdī *n* type of fish
 zburda *n* sheer strake (boat)
 zē *prep*; *n* under; below; at the foot of
 zēfīlaḡ *n* wooden chest
 zēnī *adv.der* as a woman; as a wife
 zēpīlaḡ *n* wooden chest
 zēr *prep* under; down
 zēran *n* bottom; down; lower place; oceanward place; the north; long ago
 zēranī *adj*; *adv* lower; long ago
 zēribit *n* goat pen
 zgurda *n* sheer strake (boat)
 zgurtī *n* healthy young person
 zḡanya *adj* surviving
 zīhr *n* salty food
 zīndaḡ *adj* alive
 zīnj *n* black person; slave
 zīnjēbal *n* ginger
 zīrraḡ *n* type of flying insect
 zītīfī *n* wicked person; immoral person
 zīyārit *n* visit
 zī *v* steal, rob:ROOT
 zīd *v* steal, rob:REAL
 zīla *n* bailing can, pail
 zīn *n* thief
 zīnit *n* metal studs (on wooden items)
 zīq *n* tension
 zīra *n* pot-bottom rice
 zīs *v* steal, rob:PERF
 zīlāḡ *n* sock
 znān *n* dish
 zōk *n* memory (that is lost), forgetfulness
 zōkīn- *n.der* forgetful person
 zōraqa *n* type of small boat
 zraq *adj* blue colour
 zraq *n* type of illness
 zūbd *n* butter
 zūbd *n* type of gecko
 zukmit *n* cold (virus)
 zuqqum *n* searing heat
 zūlī *n* furniture; latrine
 zwan *n* tongue; complaining
 z'ār *n* lower abdomen

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Curriculum vitae

Christina van der Wal Anonby was born on the 5th of March 1975 in Kitchener, Ontario, Canada. After graduating with honours from Hugh Sutherland Secondary School in 1993, she studied linguistics and anthropology at McGill University in Montreal, Canada. She completed the Bachelor of Arts degree at Trinity Western University in 1997. From 1998 to 2000, she studied for her Master's degree in International Education and Policy Studies at the University of Alberta, Canada. As a teacher in Kuwait for one year, she made several field trips to Shiraz and Esfehan in Iran. Another year conducting field research in Iran culminated in her thesis on culture and education among Luri nomads; she was awarded the Master's degree in 2002. Following a brief expedition to northern Oman in 2006, she began doctoral research on Kumzari in 2007 as an associate of Leiden University Centre for Linguistics. This dissertation is the result of fieldwork in the Kumzari language area in Oman.

Samenvatting

Een grammatica van Kumzari

Dit boek geeft een diepgaande grammaticale beschrijving van het Kumzari, een gemengde taal die gesproken wordt op het schiereiland Musandam in het noorden van Oman. Hoewel Kumzarisprekers en sprekers van het Arabisch en Perzisch elkaar niet kunnen verstaan, deelt het Kumzari met beide talen een erfenis van invloeden uit respectievelijk de Semitische taalfamilie en het Middel-Perzisch.

Dit werk is geschreven vanuit een synchroon perspectief. In de inleiding wordt ingegaan op de geschiedenis van deze taal, voor zover deze kan worden vastgesteld op basis van overgeleverde bronnen. Deze taalgeschiedenis is van cruciaal belang voor het verkrijgen van een beter begrip van de gemengde aard van het Kumzari. Na de inleiding volgen hoofdstukken over de diverse onderdelen van de grammatica: fonologie, zelfstandig naamwoord, werkwoord, existentialis, bepalingen, evidentialis, prepositie, zinsneden, ontkenning en discours. Het twaalfde hoofdstuk geeft een analyse van de retorische aspecten van de taal en behandelt de structuren van de narratieve orale traditie van het Kumzari. In de appendices zijn transcripten van Kumzari teksten vergezeld van een lexicon opgenomen.

Specifiek het vermelden waard zijn de miratieve werkwoordsvorm, de uitgebreide rol van de subordinator, de evidentialis en de woordklasse van de deverbena. Vanuit een vergelijkend perspectief is de post-verbale ontkenning in het Kumzari uniek binnen de familie van Iraanse talen. De emphatische medeklinkers voorkomend in woorden van niet-Semitische herkomst vormen een andere bijzonderheid in het Kumzari.

Deze taalbeschrijving is gebaseerd op veldwerk waarbij de natuurlijke spraak centraal staat. De taalkundige gegevens worden beschouwd vanuit hun culturele context. In dit werk wordt een weinig bekende taal gedocumenteerd, een taal gesproken in afgelegen dorpen die alleen per boot te bereiken zijn. De beschrijving is met name van belang voor hen die Iraanse en Arabische talen bestuderen, alsmede voor hen die zich bezighouden met taalkundige typologie.