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

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Citation

Wal Anonby, C. A. van der. (2015, April 22). *A grammar of Kumzari : a mixed Perso-Arabian language of Oman*. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/32793>

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

Issue Date: 2015-04-22

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>qāpṭ</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>bālišť</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>xanaftis</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>aruftē</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>zangērir</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>zēpilaḡ</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-Šihḥī

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	iiyē

(42) K367 [first person singular emphatic pronoun]

tō ajaba būs -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 **iiyē** 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

pi 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

šaš kas-an ɣarr=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 ṣank-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, ḡis-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’	ḡādōtīhəm

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 (vi3. 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**.'