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

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## 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 trilateral-root verbs, realised most commonly in the form *CaCaCa* (the Arabic form of the infinitival 3<sup>rd</sup> person masculine singular perfect verb: 3<sup>MS</sup>.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.<sup>51</sup>

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>laġya</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 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> 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 trilateral-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’

<sup>51</sup> 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 trilateral 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>xaltū</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).<sup>52</sup>

#### 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 xazyā=in*  
 these.ones shamed =EX:3p  
 ‘these ones **are** shamed’

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

<sup>52</sup> A similar contact-induced process occurs in the mixed language Tadaksahak: Songhay-origin verb roots are used as uninflected verbs or nouns, but when they are either causatives, reflexives, or passive voice, Tadaksahak 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).

<sup>53</sup> 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':<sup>54</sup>

(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):

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

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

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

<sup>54</sup> 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.<sup>55</sup> The examples below demonstrate the semantic variation of deverbs with different syntax:

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

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

*ħaraqa'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.<sup>56</sup> Thus to specify TAMM, pragmatically a light verb may be employed:

*ğafala'in* 'they are asleep' [deverb + existential enclitic]

*ğafala 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 ħawy 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):

<sup>55</sup> 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).

<sup>56</sup> As noted in chapter 5, the existential enclitic does not specify time. Thus *ğafala'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 ġarra'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.<sup>57</sup> 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	verbs
+ nouns	nouns
+ adjectives	adjectives
+ adverbs	adverbs

<sup>57</sup> 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’  
*adbīt* (n.) ‘irritation’

*haraqa* (dv.) ‘burned, burning’  
*harqīt* (n.) ‘burning sensation (e.g. heartburn)’

*baraḡa* (dv.) ‘appeared, appearing’  
*barzīt* (n.) ‘appearance’

*rašawa* (dv.) ‘bribed, bribing’  
*rašwīt* (n.) ‘bribe, bribery’

*lawya* (dv.) ‘wrapped, wrapping’  
*lawyīt* (n.) ‘wrapper’

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

*salfit* ‘loan’  
*salfētē* ‘a loan’  
*salfētō* ‘the loan’  
*salfētān* ‘loans’

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

*raḡya* (dv.) ‘boasted, boasting’  
*raḡyit* (n.) ‘boast, boastfulness’  
*raḡyētīnō* (n.) ‘the boaster’

*araya* (dv.) ‘chattered, chattering’  
*aryit* (n.) ‘chatter’  
*aryētīnō* (n.) ‘the chatterer’

Quadrilateral 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’  
**ramrēmī** (n.) ‘murmur’

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

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

*waswasa* (dv.) ‘vasillated, vascillating’  
**waswēsī** (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 *-ītī* (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’  
*lablabīī* (adv.) ‘**recklessly**’

*warya* (dv.) ‘flared, flaring’  
*warwara* (dv.) ‘rushed, hurrying’  
*warwarīī* (adv.) ‘**hurriedly, quickly**’

#### 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]  
*balyētian* ‘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 adjectivly adjectives, and more adverbly adverbs.<sup>58</sup> 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

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<sup>58</sup> 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.<sup>59</sup> 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.<sup>60</sup> 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 7<sup>th</sup>-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,

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<sup>59</sup> 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.

<sup>60</sup> 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*

<b>Verb-like properties of deverbs</b>	<b>Non-verb-like properties of deverbs</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• originate in Semitic verbs</li> <li>• require a subject and can take an object</li> <li>• underived forms cannot be subjects or objects</li> <li>• can be transitive or intransitive</li> <li>• as preverbal elements in a compound verb, deverbs take the object, thus following the same syntactic rule as a simple verb in Kumzari.</li> <li>• carry the semantic load of a verb in compounds</li> <li>• pronominal (existential) enclitics on deverbs might be understood to be equivalent to pronominal suffixes on verbs</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• do not take verbal inflections</li> <li>• are not etymologically related to Kumzari Indo-European verbs</li> <li>• do not have a complete conjugation into six TAMM forms like Indo-European verbs</li> <li>• require an existential enclitic or light verb to be a predicate</li> <li>• take the comparative suffix <i>-tar</i></li> <li>• 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>šaqšaqā</i> ‘funny’.</li> <li>• derive to form nouns, adjectives, adverbs</li> </ul>

#### *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 trilateral 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’, *şataṭa* ‘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)<sup>61</sup>, 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.

<sup>61</sup> 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
gizn	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	fānsūm	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*

<b>št verbs</b>	
čišt, čōr	‘wash’
jušt, jōr	‘ask, look for’
kišt, kš	‘kill’
ništ, ūny	‘sit’
škašt, škēn	‘break’
wašt, wēl	‘let’
<b>ft verbs</b>	
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 2011<sup>62</sup>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>b- verbs</b>	
burwā	‘run’
būr	‘become’
būxār	‘dive’
brēz	‘pour’
<b>w- verbs</b>	
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	gidiš	gisē	tka	ka	ka	
gid, gir ‘take’	2s	gidī	gisī	digī	gur	grī	gur
	3s	gidiš	gisē	dīga	gura	gra	
jīr, mēš ‘see’	2s	jīrī	jīsī	tēmušī	muš	mēšī	mēš
	3s	jīriš	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

<sup>62</sup> 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*).

<sup>63</sup> 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*<sup>64</sup>, 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-*<sup>65</sup>:<sup>66</sup>

*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:

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

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

<sup>66</sup> 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.<sup>67</sup>

*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 singular<sup>68</sup> and *-a* for the third person singular:

<sup>67</sup> 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.

<sup>68</sup> 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)<sup>69</sup>. 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.’

<sup>69</sup> 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.<sup>70</sup>

(132)

şaḥr -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*

<b>verb form</b>	<b>semantic function</b>
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

<sup>70</sup> 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 -iš 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. *fānsūm* 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.<sup>71</sup>

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	<b>zīs -in.</b>	dar -ō	tilq,	wa	ğāz -an	<b>gis -in</b>	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	<b>qaww</b>	<b>gis -in</b>	<b>na.</b>
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	ḥasā	iš	<b>ḥaṣala</b>	<b>gis -ē</b>	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.’

<sup>71</sup> 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, dī- 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)

xatṭ -ō **fān -s -ē.**  
 message -the send -PERF -3s  
 ‘The message is sent.’ [PASSIVE] or ‘She has sent the message.’ [ACTIVE]

(152)

ditk- -ō xatṭ -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

dī-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 ḡār **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

xānaḡ -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 qaḍy -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.<sup>72</sup> The preverbal element is usually a deverb (see §4.1)<sup>73</sup> 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.<sup>74</sup> 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**.'

<sup>72</sup> '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.

<sup>73</sup> 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'.

<sup>74</sup> 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 10<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> 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.<sup>75</sup> 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:

<sup>75</sup> 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   **son̄ty -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

**paštın** 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

**ḡazara**    **gid -iš**                    in da    āw -an.  
 sinking    do:REAL -3s    in            water -PL  
 ‘**It sank** into the water.’

(251) G426

**aṣṣa**    **gid -iš**                    ba    ṭēr -ō.  
 pressing    do:REAL -3s    on    bird -the  
 ‘**He pressed** on the bird.’

(252) B285

**ḥalla**    **gid -iš**                    in da    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

**nakt-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 aḥala gid -in.**  
 barley separating do:REAL -3p  
 ‘**They separated barley.**’

(259) R482

**qaṣṣa sar yē tk -a** ba **šamšir -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 **ħačča 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 *ğaṭṭa tka* is subordinated (its complement *ba mē* is marked separately as subordinated):

(263) S393

ana **ğaṭṭa 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]

**xānağ –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

**ātīš -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* function<sup>76</sup>. 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.’

<sup>76</sup> 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** ḥijj.

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 maṭle’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 zānk- -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).