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# THE DIALECT OF AWROMAN (HAWRĀMĀN-Ī LUHŌN)

Grammatical sketch, texts,  
and vocabulary

BY

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## Introduction

Near the turn of this century three Europeans in succession visited the mountainous district of Awroman (*Hawrāmān*), in the west of the Persian province of Kurdistan (Ardalān), and made notes on the dialects spoken there. The first to publish his not very considerable notes was J. DE MORGAN,<sup>1</sup> in 1904. By that time both ÅGE MEYER BENEDICTSEN and OSKAR MANN had returned with the fruits of their labours, but neither immediately published his material.

Although both these scholars actually visited Awroman, the greater part of their linguistic notes was made beforehand in the town of Sanandaĵ (*Sina*). It is possible that Mann became aware of a certain discrepancy between his notes and the dialect of Awroman proper, due to the shortcomings of his informant. At least, whatever the reason, he did not mention the dialect specifically in the plan for the appropriate part of his great *Kurdisch-Persische Forschungen*. Nevertheless his notes were published, after his death, by HADANK.<sup>2</sup> It will, therefore, be necessary to return to the question of their accuracy.

The most important collection of notes and texts was undoubtedly that made by BENEDICTSEN. Unfortunately it was not until 1921, when in his own words 'les textes ne m'étaient plus bien familiers, et que bien des passages m'étaient devenues incompréhensibles', that his material was published, 'grâce aux lumières et au zèle inlassable de M. ARTHUR CHRISTENSEN'.<sup>3</sup>

In the light of new material it is now possible to give a clearer picture of the morphological processes of the language. These are of a surprising complexity for a modern West Iranian dialect. They are far more intricate, for example, than those of any Kurdish dialect, though Hawrāmī forms an island in a Kurdish sea. Indeed, in many ways Hawrāmī has the aspect of a somewhat archaic Middle Iranian dialect. Not the least of its claims for attention is the light it throws on the history of neighbouring Kurdish dialects.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In *Mission scientifique en Perse, tome V, Etudes linguistiques*, Paris, 1904.

<sup>2</sup> *Mundarten der Gârân, besonders das Kändäläl, Auramānl und Bâdschälānl, bearbeitet von Karl Hadank*, Berlin, 1930, pp. 367-395.

<sup>3</sup> *Les dialectes d'Awromān et de Pāwā, textes recueillis par Åge Meyer Benedictsen, revus et publiés avec des notes et une esquisse de grammaire par Arthur Christensen*, Copenhagen, 1921 (Hist. Filol. Medd. Dan. Vid. Selsk., VI, 2) [cited B-C]; also 'Some New Awromāni Material prepared from the collections of Åge Meyer Benedictsen', by A. Christensen, *BSOAS*, 8, 467-476 [B-C, II].

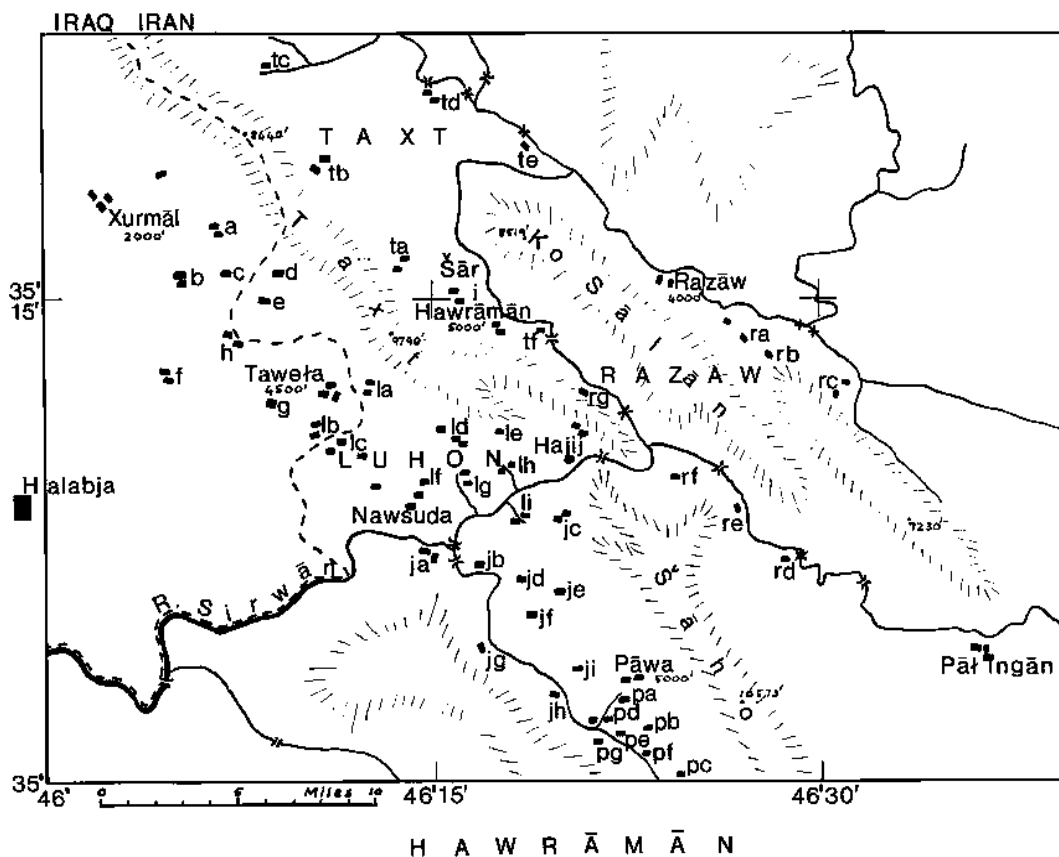
<sup>4</sup> See my 'Origins of Kurdish', *TPS*, 1961, 68-86. In that article the transcription of Hawrāmī examples was brought into line with that used in my description of Kurdish (see below). In the present work

In 1957 I had the good fortune to meet in London a young man from Awroman, *Tahsîn*, son of *Muḥammad Amîn*, originally of the district of *Luhôn* (see Map). Now when BENEDICTSEN visited 'Naw-e-Sütä' (*recte* Naws'ūḍa) in 1901 he was the guest of the 'sultān-e-Lohūn' [sic], who, however, regarded him with 'une méfiance croissante' and in the end 'une inimitié ouverte' which forced him to retire from the scene sooner than he would have wished. It was to our common amusement, therefore, that Tahsîn and I decided this 'sultān' must have been his great-grandfather, namely *Ḥama Sa'īd Sān* (= *Sultān*), father of *Jāfar Sān*, father of *Muḥammad Amîn Sān*.<sup>5</sup> My friend proved ready and willing to make amends for his ancestor and the following notes are based entirely on information kindly supplied by him in the course of many months of periodic questioning. Thanks are also due to the School of Oriental and African Studies, of the University of London, which made his co-operation possible.

Hawrāmī is a Gōrānī dialect and, as will appear, probably the most archaic and best preserved of the group. The dialect described here is that of Hawrāmān-ī Luhôn, and more specifically of its chief village Nawsūda. This was the home of Jafar San and his family until 1932, when he went into exile in Iraq. There he died, in Halabja, in about 1943. Tahsîn was born in a Hawrāmī village in Iraq. On the family's return to Persia his father went to live in Pāwa, which he therefore considered his home. Nevertheless he was well aware of the differences between his mother tongue and the dialect of Pāwa. To avoid any chance of confusion, however, I preferred to restrict my enquiries to his own dialect. It must be said further that his second language is the Kurdish of Suleimaniye. While it is always possible that this may have influenced his Hawrāmī, his remarkable consistency under cross-examination leads me to think not.

I have felt obliged to reverse the process and transcribe the occasional quotations from Kurdish according to the scheme demanded by the description of Hawrāmī.

<sup>5</sup> See the family tree given by C. J. Edmonds, *Kurds, Turks and Arabs*, London, 1957, p. 155, to which work the reader is also referred for a full description of Awroman (see Index, s. v. Hewrāmān).



## Key to the map.

(Villages identified from the 1/4 inch: 1 mile map by Taḥsin.)

- |                        |                    |    |                     |    |                      |
|------------------------|--------------------|----|---------------------|----|----------------------|
| a                      | <i>Daray maḥ.</i>  | d  | <i>Berwāz.</i>      | g  | <i>Balxa.</i>        |
| b                      | <i>Gulp.</i>       | e  | <i>Hāna garmla.</i> | h  | <i>Biāra.</i>        |
| c                      | ? <i>Bāxa kon.</i> | f  | <i>Xarpāni.</i>     |    |                      |
| Luhon. <i>Nawsuḍa.</i> |                    |    |                     |    |                      |
| la                     | <i>Zāwar.</i>      | ld | <i>Nodša.</i>       | lg | <i>Šaḥakān.</i>      |
| lb                     | <i>Sosakān.</i>    | le | <i>Benrwe.</i>      | lh | <i>Daraw Hajjiā.</i> |
| lc                     | <i>Šošme.</i>      | lf | <i>Narwi.</i>       | li | <i>Wuḥā.</i>         |
| Hajj.                  |                    |    |                     |    |                      |

## Jwānfo.

ja *Hirwe*.  
 jb *Daribar*.  
 jc *Dāriān*.

jd *Komadara*.  
 je *Nijār*.  
 jf *Šawalxe*.

jg *Diša*.  
 jh *G(r)rāta*.  
 ji *Nuriāw*.

Pāwa. *Pāwa*.

pa *Xānagā*.  
 pb *Durisān*.  
 pc *Darabayān*.

pd *Nosma*.  
 pe *Darmur*.

pf *Sarkrān*.  
 pg *Bindara*.

Taxt. *Šāri Hawrāmān*.

ta *Kamālā*.  
 tb *Darawki*.

tc *Dizli*.  
 td *Bārāmāwā*.

te *Tifli*.  
 tf *S(r)len*.

Razāw. *Razāw*.

ra *Dagāgā*.  
 rb *Māzibin*.  
 rc *Biridar*.

rd *Dalamarz*.  
 re *Zom*.

rf *Asparez*.  
 rg *Kalji*.

\* Kurdish-speaking population.

## Phonology

§ 1. The phonemic system of Hawrāmī is remarkably similar to those of the surrounding Kurdish dialects of Suleimaniye and Sina. There are 26 consonants (including two semi-vowels), which may be represented by the same symbols as have already been adopted for the Kurdish dialects.<sup>1</sup> The vowel phonemes, however, 10 in number, present a problem of representation. For various reasons, particularly the close relationship between 'long *ī*, *ū*' and the corresponding semi-vowels, the diacritics traditionally used are inadequate for our purposes. The symbols used below, therefore, may appear strange at first sight.

|                          | Labial               | Dental,<br>Alveolar   | Palato-<br>Alveolar  | Velar                | Uvular   | Pharyn-<br>gal       | Glottal  |
|--------------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------|----------------------|----------|
| Stop and Affricate ..... | <i>p</i><br><i>b</i> | <i>t</i><br><i>d</i>  | <i>č</i><br><i>ǰ</i> | <i>k</i><br><i>g</i> | <i>q</i> |                      |          |
| Fricative .....          | <i>f</i>             | <i>sʰ</i><br><i>z</i> | <i>š</i><br><i>ž</i> | <i>x</i>             |          | <i>ħ</i><br><i>ʕ</i> | <i>h</i> |
| Nasal .....              | <i>m</i>             | <i>n</i>              |                      |                      |          |                      |          |
| Lateral .....            |                      | <i>l</i> <i>l̥</i>    |                      |                      |          |                      |          |
| Vibrant .....            |                      | <i>r</i> <i>r̥</i>    |                      |                      |          |                      |          |
| Semi-vowel .....         | <i>w</i>             |                       | <i>y</i>             |                      |          |                      |          |

### Consonants.

§ 2. Of the consonants it is the dental and alveolar series which requires most definition.

(a) *d*, normally a voiced dental stop, is realized in post- and inter-vocalic position, and between *r* and a following vowel, as a continuant [ə], as in the Kurd. of Sul. and Sina.<sup>2</sup> This sound, represented in the notes of Andreas<sup>4</sup> and Benedictsen by *đ*,

<sup>1</sup> See my *Kurdish Dialect Studies*, London, 1961, I, § 1.

<sup>2</sup> As in Sul. Kurdish (v. *KDS*, I, § 10b), the Arabic emphatic consonant *س* *s̥* is heard in the two words *šas* '60' and *šad* '100' only.

<sup>3</sup> *KDS*, I, §§ 8b, 37.

<sup>4</sup> *Iranische Dialektaufzeichnungen, aus dem Nachlass von F. C. Andreas, zusammen mit Kaj Barr ... bearbeitet und herausgegeben von Arthur Christensen*, Berlin, 1939, p. 215.

without further definition, is a half-close central continuant caused by the tip of the tongue approaching the upper teeth without making contact. Thus it is not a fricative and will be written here *g*, i. e. as a continuant allophone of *d*.

An exception is the *d* of the 2nd person plural verbal ending *-de*. Although Benedictsén gives *-ðä* as a variant of his *-dä*, Tahsin never realized this as other than a dental stop in any context.

*kard* 'he did', *karda* 'done', *karde* 'you do'

In one context *d* is entirely absorbed, viz. by a following *i*, e. g. *-ıdı-* > *-i-* in *b'ıdıa* [b'i:ɛ] 'look!'

(b) The same continuant [ə] is heard as the normal realization in final position of the 2nd singular personal pronoun suffix, in contrast with the non-final form *-(t)*. The continuant is accordingly written *t*.

*hây-t-â* 'art thou awake?'

*dizman-ıt* 'thy enemy', *ađâ-t* 'thy mother'

(c) The phoneme *n* comprises, beside the normal voiced dental nasal, a velar allophone [ŋ]. This is never heard without a following *g* (*k*), however fleeting.

*angusa* [aŋgusa, aŋ<sup>g</sup>usa] 'finger'

*dang* [daŋg, daŋ<sup>g/k</sup>] 'fame'

In a few numerals it is realized as a nasalization of the preceding vowel *â*, thus *yânza* [jâ:za] 'eleven'.

(d) *l* and *l̥*, *r* and *r̥*, correspond exactly to the same phonemes of Sul. Kurd.<sup>5</sup> *l* is a front and *l̥* a back, velarized, dental lateral. *r* is an alveolar flap, while *r̥* is rolled. Neither *l̥* nor *r̥* ever occur in initial position in a word.

*mıla* 'mountain pass'

: *mıla* 'mouse'

*mâru* 'I bring'

: *mâru* 'I break'

(e) *ħ* and *c*, occurring mainly in loanwords from Arabic, are quite distinct from *h* and the glottal stop [ʔ] respectively.

*ħoria* 'hourî', *ħâzır* 'ready'

*cumr* 'age', (*c*)*amra* 'order'

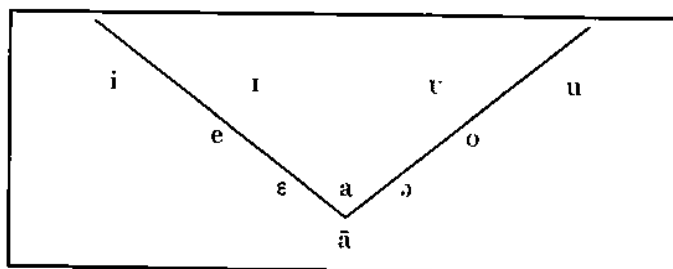
#### Vowels.

§ 3. Seven of the vowel phonemes are 'long', *i e ε ā ɔ o u*, and three 'short', *ı a u*.

(a) Of the short vowels *ı*, a slightly open, central [i], is particularly unstable. In unstressed position between consonants it is frequently not realized.

<sup>5</sup> KDS, I, §§ 13-16.

## Vowel scheme



|   |  |
|---|--|
| <i>w<sup>1</sup>it</i> 'he said'                | : <i>n<sup>1</sup>awt</i> 'he did not say'                 |
| <i>kit<sup>1</sup>ebim</i> 'my book'            | : <i>ā k(i)tebm<sup>1</sup>a</i> 'that my book'            |
| <i>w<sup>1</sup>istit<sup>1</sup></i> 'you put' | : <i>w<sup>1</sup>isttar<sup>1</sup>a</i> 'you dropped it' |

In such cases raised <sup>1</sup> will normally be written, as

*naw<sup>1</sup>t, ā kiteb<sup>1</sup>ma, wist<sup>1</sup>tara.*

(b) In initial syllables both *ɪ* and *ʊ* are prone to reduction in certain contexts, even when stressed, e. g.

*\*t<sup>1</sup>ift > t<sup>1</sup>f<sup>1</sup>i, \*k<sup>1</sup>ita > k<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>a, \*b<sup>1</sup>isānu > b<sup>1</sup>s<sup>1</sup>ānu, \*k<sup>1</sup>usi > k<sup>w</sup>s<sup>1</sup>i, \*k<sup>1</sup>ušu > k<sup>w</sup>š<sup>1</sup>u*

(c) *ʊ* is realized as a short, slightly open [ʊ], except as in these last examples (i. e. the word *k<sup>w</sup>si* and the verbal stem *k<sup>w</sup>š- < kuštay*) where the sequence *\*kʊ-* is reduced to a labialized velar [k<sup>w</sup>] without syllabic value. [Following *w-*, [ʊ] is probably to be considered an allophone of *ɪ* in every case.]

(d) *a* ranges from an open front [a], normally, to near half-open [ɛ], particularly in final position. It is quite distinct, however, from the phoneme long *ɛ*.

(e) The long vowels *i, u* are very near to cardinal position. When unstressed and preceded by another vowel they are realized as semi-vowels, i. e. form diphthongs (*v. infra*). Unstressed *i, u* followed by another vowel, however, do not become entirely semi-vocalic, i. e. they do not always appear to lose their syllabic nature.

|  |   |
|--|---|
| <i>lu<sup>1</sup>e</i> [lu/w <sup>1</sup> ɛ:] 'they went'                      | : <i>l<sup>1</sup>ue</i> [l <sup>1</sup> u:ɛ] 'if he had gone'              |
| <i>us<sup>1</sup>e</i> 'he was sleeping'                                       | : <i>n<sup>1</sup>awse</i> 'he was not sleeping'                            |
| <i>wiar<sup>1</sup>u</i> [wi/ja <sup>1</sup> fu:] 'I pass'                     | : <i>w<sup>1</sup>iaru</i> [w <sup>1</sup> i:afu <sup>1</sup> ] 'if I pass' |
| <i>kit<sup>1</sup>eb, kit<sup>1</sup>ebi</i> 'book' (direct, oblique singular) | : <i>zārot<sup>1</sup>a, zārot<sup>1</sup>ay</i> 'child'                    |



(f) A special case of the realization of unstressed *i*, *u* followed by another vowel is that of verbs with initial *y*-, *w*-, with the modal prefixes *m(i)*-, *b(i)*-. Thus

*mi-yār<sup>l</sup>i* is realized [mi/ja:<sup>l</sup>fi:]  
*mi-war<sup>l</sup>u* is realized [mu/wa<sup>l</sup>fu:]

It appears convenient to retain the phonemic spellings *-iy-*, *-iw-*, for these *i*, *u*.

*miwar<sup>l</sup>u* 'I eat' : *miwaru<sup>l</sup>ɔ* [mu/wafu/w<sup>l</sup>ɔ:] 'I drink'  
*miwar<sup>l</sup>i* [mu/wa<sup>l</sup>fi:] 'you eat' : *miwari<sup>l</sup>ɔ* [mu/wafi/j<sup>l</sup>ɔ:] 'you drink'

(g) In contrast with the diphthong *ay* the vowel sequence *a<sup>l</sup>i* also occurs, e. g. *zārola<sup>l</sup>i* 'childhood'.

The diphthongs can, therefore, hardly be written in any other way than *ay* and, by analogy, *aw*. It is equally possible to write phonetically *yV*, *wV* (*V* representing any vowel) whenever they occur. However, in view of the constant alternation between *i/y<sup>l</sup>V* and *<sup>l</sup>iV*, *u/w<sup>l</sup>V* and *<sup>l</sup>uV* in verbal paradigms, it seems preferable to retain the vowel phonemes *i*, *u* regularly in this context, as in the examples above. For this reason the macron as a diacritic is out of place here.

(h) The half-close long vowels *e*, *o* are quite distinct from the half-open *ɛ*, *ɔ* respectively.

*b<sup>l</sup>ie* 'they were' : *b<sup>l</sup>ie* 'if he had been'  
*lu<sup>l</sup>ene* 'they were going' : *lu<sup>l</sup>ene* 'they have gone'  
*w<sup>l</sup>aro* 'if he eat' : *w<sup>l</sup>arɔ* 'drink!'  
*wari<sup>l</sup>o* 'it is eaten' : *wari<sup>l</sup>ɔ* 'you drink'

(j) In unstressed position before another vowel *o* is normally indistinguishable from the close *u*, e. g.

*fo<sup>l</sup>ā* [ru<sup>l</sup>a:], oblique plural of *fo* 'day',  
*biro<sup>l</sup>e* [bifu<sup>l</sup>e:], plural of *biro* 'brow'.

(k) *ɛ* is most frequently the product of the juncture of *ā* and following *e*. Compare

*wit<sup>l</sup> / w<sup>l</sup>ite* 'he / they slept' : *ām<sup>l</sup>ā / ām<sup>l</sup>ɛ* 'he / they came'  
*kit<sup>l</sup>eb<sup>l</sup> / kit<sup>l</sup>ebe* 'book / books' : *dag<sup>l</sup>ā / dag<sup>l</sup>ɛ* 'village / villages'.

It is also the result of the reduction of final *-ewa* in certain circumstances (v. § 24). In a few cases it appears to be the result of *Imāla*, e. g. *er* 'fire' (< \**ādir*, OIr. *ātar*); but compare *kit<sup>l</sup>eb* 'book' (< Ar. *kitāb*). The latter form is normal in Kurd., from which it is probably borrowed.

(l) *ɔ* has only one function. It appears for the suffix *-(a)wa* following a consonant or the vowels *i*, *u*.

|  |  |
|--|--|
| <i>warenew</i> <sup>1</sup> <i>a</i> 'I was drinking', | <i>waru</i> <sup>1</sup> 'I drink'             |
| <i>wareni</i> <sup>1</sup> 'you were drinking',        | <i>wari</i> <sup>1</sup> 'you drink'           |
| <i>warew</i> <sup>1</sup> <i>a</i> 'he was drinking',  | <i>warow</i> <sup>1</sup> <i>a</i> 'he drinks' |
| <i>w<sup>1</sup>ardewa</i> 'drink ye!'                 | <i>w<sup>1</sup>arə</i> 'drink!'               |

*bòqas̄ niā kināčakéwa / mezakáyə* 'he pushed the girl / table'

#### Juncture.

§ 4. Apart from the juncture of *-ā + -e*, yielding *-e*, the following alone have any major effect on morphological processes.

*-a* is normally absorbed by a preceding vowel other than *i, u*. Thus

*yān<sup>1</sup>a, pi<sup>1</sup>ā + -<sup>1</sup>a* remain *yān<sup>1</sup>a, pi<sup>1</sup>ā*,  
*war<sup>1</sup>e, war<sup>1</sup>o + -aw<sup>1</sup>a* > *warew<sup>1</sup>a, warow<sup>1</sup>a*.

On the other hand, final *-a* is displaced by following *-e*.

*da- + -<sup>1</sup>ene* > *d<sup>1</sup>ene*, *yān<sup>1</sup>a + -ew* > *yān<sup>1</sup>ew*.

#### Stress.

§ 5. Stress plays a major role in Hawrāmī. Its position alone may either distinguish between otherwise identical forms or entail certain morphological consequences.

|   |   |
|---|---|
| <i>lu<sup>1</sup>e</i> 'they went'        | : <i>l<sup>1</sup>ue</i> 'if he had gone'       |
| <i>ām<sup>1</sup>ene</i> 'they have come' | : <i>ā<sup>1</sup>mene</i> 'if I had come'      |
| <i>n<sup>1</sup>ārā</i> 'it is a snake'   | : <i>mār<sup>1</sup>ā</i> 'they bring'          |
| <i>xu<sup>1</sup>a</i> 'laughter'         | : <i>x<sup>1</sup>ua</i> 'laugh!'               |
| <i>xās<sup>1</sup>a</i> 'goodness'        | : <i>x<sup>1</sup>āsa</i> 'good (fem. sing.)'   |
| <i>po<sup>1</sup>ā-n</i> 'it is steel'    | : <i>po<sup>1</sup>āmā-na</i> 'it is our steel' |

(a) Each word has one invariable loud stress, the position of which is not predictable except within certain inflectional patterns. This main word stress is marked by [ˈ] before the stressed *vowel* (not necessarily *syllable*). Words, or phrases, of three or more syllables may also have an appreciable secondary stress, marked [ˌ], the position of which bears no fixed relation to that of the main stress.

|              |   |                          |
|--------------|---|--------------------------|
| Pretonic: 1  | <i>m<sup>1</sup>nišu<sub>1</sub>ar<sup>1</sup>a</i>   | 'I am sitting down'      |
| 2            | <i>niš<sub>1</sub>ener<sup>1</sup>a</i>               | 'I was sitting down'     |
| 3            | <i>n<sub>1</sub>ištāner<sup>1</sup>a</i>              | 'I sat down'             |
| Posttonic: 1 | <i>n<sup>1</sup>al<sub>1</sub>āne</i>                 | 'I did not go'           |
| 2            | <i>m<sup>1</sup>asān<sub>1</sub>u</i>                 | 'I do not buy'           |
| 3-4          | <i>n<sup>1</sup>aniš<sub>1</sub>yar<sup>1</sup>a</i>  | 'if I do not sit down'   |
| 4            | <i>n<sup>1</sup>aniš<sub>1</sub>ener<sup>1</sup>a</i> | 'I was not sitting down' |
| 5            | <i>n<sup>1</sup>aništābener<sub>1</sub>a</i>          | 'I had not sat down'     |

In these examples the stress pattern is determined by the fixed order of precedence of the stresses of the various prefixes, stems, endings and suffixes.

(b) The only examples of a shift of stress away from the normal pattern occur when a vowel irregularly loses its syllabic character. Its stress is then taken by the following syllable.

*b<sup>1</sup>ilu* 'if I go', but *b<sup>1</sup>s<sup>1</sup>ānu* [b<sup>1</sup>sa:nu:] 'if I take'  
*řo/ř<sup>1</sup>oe* 'day/days', but *bir<sup>1</sup>o/bir<sup>1</sup>oe* [bir<sup>1</sup>ʉe:] 'eyebrow/brows'

(c) Sentence stress differs only in degree from word stress. In complete utterances the main stresses are marked [<sup>ˆ</sup>], the secondary stresses [<sup>ˆ</sup>]. Thus, *dir<sup>1</sup>ežā<sup>1</sup>i + hiz<sup>1</sup>i + š<sup>1</sup>awe + i zangim<sup>1</sup>a + ažni* > *d<sup>1</sup>režāi hiz<sup>1</sup>i šāwe i zang<sup>1</sup>mā ažni*. 'I heard this bell throughout last night'.

## Morphology

### Nominal Inflection.

§ 6. In the inflection of both nouns and adjectives a distinction of two numbers (singular and plural),<sup>1</sup> two grammatical genders (masculine and feminine), and two cases (direct and oblique) is observed.

(a) A substantive appears in the oblique case when it is:

- i) the direct object of a verb, and is at the same time defined,
- ii) in genitival relation to another noun (v. § 9, ii),
- iii) governed by a preposition (but see § 43 (c)),
- iv) the agent, in certain circumstances, of a transitive verb (v. § 38 (a)).

In all other circumstances a noun appears in the direct case.

(b) With nouns having no natural gender<sup>2</sup> the distinction of grammatical gender is mainly dependent on the form of the word. Thus nouns which in their simple form end in a consonant, or in the stressed vowels <sup>-</sup>l<sub>a</sub>, <sup>-</sup>l<sub>i</sub>, <sup>-</sup>l<sub>o</sub>, <sup>-</sup>l<sub>u</sub>, are masculine. Those ending in unstressed <sup>-</sup>a or <sup>-</sup>i, or in stressed <sup>-</sup>l<sub>e</sub>, are feminine. Most nouns ending in <sup>-</sup>l<sub>ā</sub> are masculine, but a few are feminine.

§ 7. All adjectives (other than those listed in § 13), whether attributive or predicative, agree with the nouns they qualify in number, gender and case.<sup>3</sup> They accordingly show the fullest inflection. The inflectional morphemes are the same for all nouns and adjectives, viz. obl. sg. M. <sup>-</sup>i (<sup>-</sup>y), F. <sup>-</sup>e, and dir. pl. <sup>-</sup>e, obl. <sup>-</sup>l<sub>ā</sub> for both genders. When these are joined with the simple nominal forms there emerge three main patterns of inflection.

<sup>1</sup> A small number of nouns appear only in the plural, e. g. *l'ile* 'clothes', *q'ize* 'hair', *simele* 'moustache(s)'.  
<sup>2</sup> With some animals the sexes are distinguished by different names, e. g. *asp* 'horse', *mā'ini* 'mare'; *g'āwa* (F) 'ox', *māng'āwa* 'cow'; *bar'an* 'ram', *m'aya* 'sheep'; *sābr'in* 'he-goat', *b'iza* 'she-goat'; *tuf'a* 'dog', *d'ala* 'bitch'; *yakān'a* 'wild boar', *d'ara* 'wild sow'. For other animals the same noun, with fixed gender, serves for both sexes, e. g. Masc. *bizl'a* 'kid', *hawres'a* 'rabbit', *xug* 'pig'; Fem. *aska* 'gazelle', *h'ašša* 'bear'.  
<sup>3</sup> *kif'a*, F. 'cat' has irregular stress.

<sup>3</sup> Except that of two or more attributive adjectives joined by *u* 'and' only the last takes inflectional endings.

I. Adjectives and Masc. nouns ending in a consonant, or stressed  $-i$ ,  $-o$ ,  $-u$ ; Fem. nouns ending in unstressed  $-a$ ,  $-i$ .

|          | Masc.                      | Fem.                     |
|----------|----------------------------|--------------------------|
| Sg. Dir. | <i>pīr</i> 'old (animate)' |                          |
| Obl.     | <i>p'iri</i>               | <i>p'ira</i>             |
| Pl. Dir. |                            | <i>p'ire</i>             |
| Obl.     | <i>p'ire</i>               |                          |
|          | <i>pīr'ā</i>               |                          |
| Sg. Dir. | <i>har</i> 'donkey'        |                          |
| Obl.     | <i>h'ari</i>               | <i>māh'ara</i> 'she-ass' |
| Pl. Dir. | <i>h'are</i>               | <i>māh'are</i>           |
| Obl.     | <i>har'ā</i>               | <i>māh'are</i>           |
|          |                            | <i>māhar'ā</i>           |
| Sg. Dir. | <i>fō</i> 'day'            |                          |
| Obl.     | <i>fōy</i>                 |                          |
| Pl. Dir. | <i>f'oe<sup>4</sup></i>    |                          |
| Obl.     | <i>fō'ā</i>                |                          |

Fem. nouns ending in  $-i$  preserve this in the direct case, both sg. and pl., but only in isolation. When they are joined with any other form (except a simple epithet) they are inflected as if they ended in  $-a$ .

|          |  |  |
|----------|--|--|
| Sg. Dir. |  | <i>k'ārđi</i> ( <i>k'ārđa-</i> ) 'knife' |
| Obl.     |  | <i>k'ārđe</i>                            |
| Pl. Dir. |  | <i>k'ārđi</i> ( <i>k'ārđe-</i> )         |
| Obl.     |  | <i>kārđ'ā</i>                            |

II. Adjectives and Masc. nouns ending in stressed  $-a$ ; Fem. nouns ending in stressed  $-e$ .

|          | Masc.                          | Fem.         |
|----------|--------------------------------|--------------|
| Sg. Dir. | <i>kon'a</i> 'old (inanimate)' |              |
| Obl.     | <i>kon'ay</i>                  | <i>kon'e</i> |
| Pl. Dir. |                                | <i>kon'e</i> |
| Obl.     | <i>kon'e</i>                   |              |
|          | <i>kon'ā</i>                   |              |
| Sg. Dir. | <i>yān'a</i> 'house'           |              |
| Obl.     | <i>yān'ay</i>                  |              |
| Pl. Dir. | <i>yān'e</i>                   |              |
| Obl.     | <i>yān'ā</i>                   |              |

Fem. nouns ending in  $-e$  only preserve this in isolation. When they are joined with any other form (except either Izafe) they lose this ending and are inflected as if they ended in  $-a$ .

<sup>4</sup> Exceptionally *bir'o* 'eyebrow', pl. *bir'o'e* (v. § 3 (j)).

|          |  |   |
|----------|--|---|
| Sg. Dir. |  | <i>kināč<sup>l</sup>e</i> ( <i>kināč<sup>l</sup>a-</i> ) 'girl' |
| Obl.     |  | <i>kināč<sup>l</sup>e</i>                                       |
| Pl. Dir. |  | <i>kināč<sup>l</sup>e</i>                                       |
| Obl.     |  | <i>kināč<sup>l</sup>ā</i>                                       |

III. Adjectives, and nouns of either gender, ending in stressed *-lā*.

|          | Masc.                             |                          | Fem.                            |
|----------|-----------------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Sg. Dir. | <i>ji<sup>l</sup>ā</i> 'separate' |                          | <i>ji<sup>l</sup>e</i>          |
| Obl.     | <i>ji<sup>l</sup>āy</i>           |                          | <i>ji<sup>l</sup>e</i>          |
| Pl. Dir. |                                   | <i>ji<sup>l</sup>e</i>   |                                 |
| Obl.     |                                   | <i>jiāy<sup>l</sup>ā</i> |                                 |
| Sg. Dir. | <i>pi<sup>l</sup>ā</i> 'man'      |                          | <i>aq<sup>l</sup>ā</i> 'mother' |
| Obl.     | <i>pi<sup>l</sup>āy</i>           |                          | <i>aq<sup>l</sup>e</i>          |
| Pl. Dir. | <i>pi<sup>l</sup>e</i>            |                          | <i>aq<sup>l</sup>e</i>          |
| Obl.     | <i>piāy<sup>l</sup>ā</i>          |                          | <i>aqāy<sup>l</sup>ā</i>        |

Examples.

|  |   |
|--|---|
| <i>kitéb</i> / <i>kitébe</i> <i>bāra</i>   | – bring a book / books!   |
| <i>yāná</i> / <i>yāné</i> <i>karò</i>  | – build a house / houses!   |
| <i>kārđi</i> <i>bāra</i>   | – bring a knife, knives!  |
| <i>kināčé</i> <i>čīřa</i>  | – call a girl, girls!   |
| <i>dagā</i> / <i>dagé</i> <i>b<sup>l</sup>sāna</i>   | – buy a village / villages!   |
| <i>ja</i> <i>ās<sub>1</sub>mi</i> / <i>tax<sub>1</sub>t<sub>1</sub>ay</i> / <i>taw<sub>1</sub>ane</i> <i>řaqt<sup>l</sup>ar</i>    | – harder than iron ( <i>ās<sup>l</sup>m</i> ) / board ( <i>tax<sup>l</sup>a</i> ) / stone ( <i>taw<sup>l</sup>ani</i> ) |
| <i>čīřuč<sub>1</sub>amu</i> <i>ž<sup>l</sup>ane</i> / <i>kināč<sup>l</sup>e</i> / <i>aq<sup>l</sup>e</i>                           | – the face of a woman ( <i>ž<sup>l</sup>ani</i> ) / girl / mother   |
| <i>kit<sub>1</sub>ebu</i> <i>kuř<sup>l</sup>ā</i> / <i>piāy<sup>l</sup>ā</i> / <i>žan<sup>l</sup>ā</i> / <i>kināč<sup>l</sup>ā</i> | – a book of (= for) boys ( <i>kuř<sup>l</sup></i> ) / men / women / girls   |

Definition.

§ 8. The degree of definiteness of a substantive may be marked by any one from three pairs of suffixes, according to its gender.

(a) The suffixes *-ew* M., *-ewa* F.,<sup>5</sup> express singleness or indefiniteness. Their presence naturally precludes the plural morphemes<sup>6</sup> and the oblique morphemes expressing

<sup>5</sup> A fem. noun takes the suffix *-ew*, however, when it quantifies another noun (v. § 10) or when a greater degree of indefiniteness is intended. The obl. is then *-ewi*.

|  |   |
|--|---|
| <i>s<sub>1</sub>awew</i> <i>ja</i> <i>šaw<sup>l</sup>ā</i> | – one night ( <i>s<sup>l</sup>awa</i> ) from the nights   |
| <i>p<sub>1</sub>ařu</i> <i>āřlāw<sup>l</sup>ewi</i>        | – a pitcherful ( <i>āřlāw<sup>l</sup>e</i> ; cf. <i>āřlāw<sub>1</sub>eway</i> <i>p<sup>l</sup>ařa</i> 'a full pitcher') |
| <i>č<sub>1</sub>inna</i> <i>s<sup>l</sup>ālew</i>          | – some years ( <i>s<sup>l</sup>āla</i> )  |
| <i>yāwā</i> <i>dagéw</i>                                   | – he came to a village ( <i>dag<sup>l</sup>ā</i> F.)  |

<sup>6</sup> Indefiniteness in the plural is marked only by the absence of any of the following defining suffixes.

|   |                                     |
|---|-------------------------------------|
| <i>dāmu</i> <i>kārđāyč</i> <i>m<sub>1</sub>warò</i> | – he even eats knife-blades         |
| <i>dāmu</i> <i>kārđakā</i> <i>téř</i> <i>karò</i>   | – sharpen the blades of the knives. |

a direct object. Otherwise a noun with either suffix is declined according to pattern I above.

|   |                                  |
|---|----------------------------------|
| <i>h<sup>1</sup>arew, F<sup>1</sup>oew, yān<sup>1</sup>ew, pi<sup>1</sup>ew</i>           | - a donkey, day, house, man      |
| <i>māh<sup>1</sup>arewa, k<sup>1</sup>ārḡewa, kināč<sup>1</sup>ewa, aḡ<sup>1</sup>ewa</i> | - a she-ass, knife, girl, mother |
| <i>kitébew / kārḡewa bāra</i>   | - bring a book / knife!          |
| <i>d<sub>1</sub>amu k<sup>1</sup>ārḡewe</i>   | - a knife-blade                  |
| <i>sar<sub>1</sub>aw pi<sup>1</sup>ewi / kināč<sup>1</sup>ewe</i>                         | - a man's / girl's head          |

(b) A substantive is normally defined by one of the suffixes *-ak<sup>1</sup>a* M., *-ak<sup>1</sup>e* F. With these suffixes the noun is declined mainly according to pattern II above.

|   |  |
|---|--|
| <i>harak<sup>1</sup>a, fok<sup>1</sup>a, yānak<sup>1</sup>a piāk<sup>1</sup>a</i>         | - the donkey, day, house, man                      |
| <i>harak<sup>1</sup>e, fok<sup>1</sup>e, yānak<sup>1</sup>e, piāk<sup>1</sup>e</i>        | - the donkeys, days, houses, men                   |
| <i>māharak<sup>1</sup>e, kārḡak<sup>1</sup>e, kināčak<sup>1</sup>e, aḡāk<sup>1</sup>e</i> | - the she-ass(es), knife (knives), girl(s), mother |
| <i>but aḡek<sup>1</sup>e</i>  | - the mothers                                      |
| <i>kitebakáy / kitebaká bāra</i>  | - bring the book / books!                          |
| <i>kārḡaké / kārḡaká bāra</i>   | - bring the knife / knives!                        |
| <i>sar<sub>1</sub>aw piāk<sup>1</sup>ay / kināčak<sup>1</sup>e</i>                        | - the head of the man / girl                       |
| <i>čīruč<sub>1</sub>amu žanak<sup>1</sup>e / aḡāk<sup>1</sup>e</i>                        | - the face of the woman / mother                   |
| <i>kit<sub>1</sub>ebe kuřak<sup>1</sup>ā / kināčak<sup>1</sup>ā</i>                       | - the boys' / girls' books                         |

(c) An isolated substantive qualified by a demonstrative adjective (v. § 13, i) always takes one of the suffixes *-<sup>1</sup>a* M., *-<sup>1</sup>e* F.

|  |                             |
|--|-----------------------------|
| <i>i har<sup>1</sup>a, yān<sup>1</sup>a, pi<sup>1</sup>ā</i>                   | - this donkey, house, man   |
| <i>ā māhar<sup>1</sup>e, kārḡ<sup>1</sup>e, kināč<sup>1</sup>e<sup>7</sup></i> | - that she-ass, knife, girl |

Unlike *-aka*, however, this determinant normally follows all other inflectional morphemes and suffixes. When so separated from the qualified noun it is represented by *-<sup>1</sup>a* for both genders (and is therefore not realized after any vowel other than *i, u*).

|   |                                   |
|---|-----------------------------------|
| <i>ā kiteb<sup>1</sup>m<sup>1</sup>a / kināčem<sup>1</sup>a</i> | - that my book / daughter         |
| <i>i hariá / yānayá b<sup>1</sup>sāna</i>                       | - buy this donkey / house!        |
| <i>ā kārḡé / dagé b<sup>1</sup>sāna</i>                         | - buy that knife / village!       |
| <i>ā kitebimá / kināčemá bāra</i>                               | - bring that my book / daughter!  |
| <i>+ā kitebimá / kināčemá bāra</i>                              | - bring that our book / daughter! |
| <i>i har<sup>1</sup>e, yān<sup>1</sup>e, pi<sup>1</sup>e</i>    | - these donkeys, houses, men      |

<sup>7</sup> In this case only was Tahsin in any doubt, as to whether 'that village' should be *\*ā dag<sup>1</sup>ā* or *\*ā dag<sup>1</sup>e* (though in the course of a story he used *ā werag<sup>1</sup>ā* 'that evening'). The obl. sg. and dir. pl. forms are undoubtedly both *ā dag<sup>1</sup>e*.

|  |                                      |
|--|--------------------------------------|
| <i>ā māhar<sup>1</sup>e, kārǧ<sup>1</sup>e, kināč<sup>1</sup>e</i> | - those she-asses, knives, girls     |
| <i>ā kitebem<sup>1</sup>a / kināčem<sup>1</sup>a</i>               | - those my books / daughters         |
| <i>+ā kitebem<sup>1</sup>ā / kināčem<sup>1</sup>ā</i>              | - those our books / daughters        |
| <i>i hará / yānā b<sup>1</sup>sāna</i>                             | - buy these donkeys / houses!        |
| <i>ā kārǧá / dagāyá b<sup>1</sup>sāna</i>                          | - buy those knives / villages!       |
| <i>ā kitebāmá / kināčāmá bāra</i>                                  | - bring those my books / daughters!  |
| <i>+ā kitebāmá / kināčāmá bāra</i>                                 | - bring those our books / daughters! |

When a plural pronominal suffix is present, as in the examples marked + above, the definite suffix *-<sup>1</sup>a* is concealed. Rarely the suffix *-<sup>1</sup>a*, or at least its stress, may occur before such a pronominal suffix. The effect is to emphasize the individuality of the object defined.

|  |   |
|--|---|
| <i>ā kiteb<sup>1</sup>amā / kināč<sup>1</sup>emā</i> | - that our book / daughter                  |
| <i>ā kitebāmā / kināčémā pay bāra</i>                | - bring that book / girl for us             |
| <i>i kiteba siāwmā wānānā</i>                        | - we have read this black book <sup>8</sup> |
| <i>i kiteba siāwāmā wānānā</i>                       | - we have read this black book <sup>9</sup> |

#### Izafe.

§ 9. There are two forms of Izafe in Hawrāmī, connecting a substantive with a following epithet or genitive respectively.

i) The Epithetic Izafe is *i (y)*. It is displaced, however, by the sg. noun endings *-<sup>1</sup>i, -<sup>1</sup>e, -<sup>1</sup>e*, and by all inflectional morphemes. The following epithet, even a noun in apposition, agrees in number, gender and case with the substantive it qualifies.

|  |  |
|--|--|
| <i>kit<sub>1</sub>ebi / kit<sub>1</sub>ebewi si<sup>1</sup>āw</i>    | - a black book   |
| <i>kit<sub>1</sub>ebe si<sup>1</sup>āwe</i>                          | - black books  |
| <i>yān<sub>1</sub>ay / yān<sub>1</sub>ewi gawr<sup>1</sup>a</i>      | - a big house  |
| <i>yān<sub>1</sub>e gawr<sup>1</sup>e</i>                            | - big houses   |
| <i>t<sub>1</sub>āfeway ātt<sup>1</sup>una</i>                        | - a crown ( <i>t<sup>1</sup>āfa</i> ) of gold ( <i>ātt<sup>1</sup>un</i> ) |
| <i>m<sub>1</sub>aāy / m<sub>1</sub>aāway gawr<sup>1</sup>e</i>       | - a big cave ( <i>m<sup>1</sup>aā</i> )                                    |
| <i>dag<sub>1</sub>āy / dag<sub>1</sub>eway gawr<sup>1</sup>e</i>     | - a big village  |
| <i>m<sub>1</sub>aāe / dag<sub>1</sub>e gawr<sup>1</sup>e</i>         | - big caves / villages   |
| <i>taw<sub>1</sub>ani / taw<sub>1</sub>aneway si<sup>1</sup>āwa</i>  | - a black stone  |
| <i>taw<sub>1</sub>ani si<sup>1</sup>āwe</i>                          | - black stones   |
| <i>kināč<sub>1</sub>e / kināč<sub>1</sub>eway zar<sup>1</sup>ifa</i> | - a beautiful girl   |
| <i>kināč<sub>1</sub>e zar<sup>1</sup>ife</i>                         | - beautiful girls  |
| <i>ja ās<sub>1</sub>ini xir<sup>1</sup>ābi</i>                       | - (made) from bad iron   |
| <i>ja taxt<sub>1</sub>ay kon<sup>1</sup>ay</i>                       | - (made) from old wood   |
| <i>ja pol<sub>1</sub>āy birqad<sup>1</sup>āri</i>                    | - (made) from shining steel  |

<sup>8</sup> See § 38 (b).

<sup>9</sup> See further § 9, i (c).



*Ja taw<sub>1</sub>ane si<sup>1</sup>āwe* – (made) from black stone  
*h<sub>1</sub>inu ž<sub>1</sub>anewe gošt<sup>1</sup>ine* – that of a fat woman.

(a) In the oblique plural the succession of two words, noun and epithet, each with the morpheme <sup>-1</sup>*ā* is avoided, the first <sup>-1</sup>*ā* being reduced to <sup>-a</sup>.<sup>10</sup>

*dag<sub>1</sub>ew pa<sub>1</sub>u yān<sub>1</sub>a gawr<sup>1</sup>ā* – a village full of big houses  
*k<sub>1</sub>ašew pa<sub>1</sub>u ma<sub>1</sub>ā<sub>1</sub> wučk<sup>1</sup>ā* – a mountain full of small caves  
*yān<sub>1</sub>ew pay zāro<sub>1</sub>ā baḡa<sub>1</sub>fa<sup>1</sup>ā* – a home for delinquent children  
*ine yāḡapè žanà gošt<sup>1</sup>indne* – these are the footprints of fat women.

That this vowel, <sup>-a</sup>, is a reduction of the morpheme <sup>-1</sup>*ā*, and not simply a compound vowel (see below), is shown clearly by the following example, in which it is realized after <sup>-ā</sup>.

*h<sub>1</sub>ine piāy<sub>1</sub>a gošt<sup>1</sup>m<sup>1</sup>ā* – those of fat men.

(b) When the qualified noun phrase is defined, either by the suffixes <sup>-ak<sup>1</sup></sup>*a*, <sup>-ak<sup>1</sup></sup>*e* or by a demonstrative adjective, the Izafe construction is replaced by an 'open' compound construction. That is to say, the noun is joined to its epithet by a compound vowel <sup>-a</sup> (not realized after <sup>-a</sup>, <sup>-ā</sup>, but displacing the F. endings <sup>-i</sup>, <sup>-e</sup>) and the adjectival element is then inflected as if the phrase were a single substantive.

*kit<sub>1</sub>eba siāwak<sup>1</sup>a / siāwak<sup>1</sup>e* – the black book / books  
*kit<sub>1</sub>eba siāwak<sub>1</sub>aw x<sup>1</sup>āni* – the Khan's black book  
*kitèba siāwakáy / siāwaká bāra* – bring the black book / books!  
*ā yān<sub>1</sub>a gawr<sup>1</sup>a / gawr<sup>1</sup>e* – that big house / those big houses  
*ā yānà gawrayá / gawrá wūfna* – destroy that big house / those big houses  
*ā yānà gawrāw / gawrā xāniá wūfna* – destroy that big house / those big houses  
of the Khan!  
*i dag<sub>1</sub>ā gawr<sup>1</sup>e* – this big village, these big villages  
*i dagè gawré / gawrá b<sup>1</sup>sāna* – buy this big village / these big villages!  
*tawāna siāwak<sup>1</sup>e* – the black stone(s)  
*tawāna siāwaké / siāwaká bāra* – bring the black stone / stones!  
*ā kināč<sub>1</sub>a zarif<sup>1</sup>e* – that beautiful girl, those beautiful girls  
*ā kināčà zarifé / zarifá čīra* – call that beautiful girl / those beautiful girls!

(c) In the case of a singular masculine noun qualified both by an adjective of inflectional type I<sup>11</sup> and by a demonstrative adjective, the suffix <sup>-1</sup>*a* may appear twice, viz. once (with secondary stress) immediately following the adjective, which it emphasizes, and again finally.

<sup>10</sup> The behaviour of the adjective *lar* 'other' in this context is exceptional; v. § 13 (b).

<sup>11</sup> The only case in which this phenomenon is observable.

|                                   |                                      |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| <i>ā kitèba siāwiá bàra</i>       | - bring that black bóok!             |
| <i>ā kitèba siāwayá bàra</i>      | - bring that bláck book!             |
| <i>ā kitèba siāwu xāniá bàra</i>  | - bring that black bóok of the Khan! |
| <i>ā kitèba siāwàw xāniá bàra</i> | - bring that bláck book of the Khan! |

ii) The Genitival Izafe is *u (w)*. This displaces the sg. obl. morphemes *-i, -e*, but is itself superseded by the M. sg. ending *-i*, F. sg. ending *-e*, and by both pl. morphemes, dir. *-e*, obl. *-ā*. The following genitive almost always appears in the obl. case.<sup>12</sup>

|   |  |
|---|--|
| <i>h<sub>1</sub>aru / yān<sub>1</sub>aw šuān<sup>1</sup>ay</i>                              | - the shepherd's donkey / house                                  |
| <i>h<sub>1</sub>are / yān<sub>1</sub>e šuān<sup>1</sup>ay</i>                               | - the shepherd's donkeys / houses                                |
| <i>māh<sub>1</sub>araw / k<sub>1</sub>ārḡaw / dag<sub>1</sub>āw šuān<sup>1</sup>ay</i>      | - the shepherd's she-ass / knife / village                       |
| <i>kināč<sub>1</sub>e šuān<sup>1</sup>ay</i>  | - the shepherd's daughter(s)                                     |
| <i>māh<sub>1</sub>are / k<sub>1</sub>ārḡe / dag<sub>1</sub>e šuān<sup>1</sup>ay</i>         | - the shepherd's she-asses / knives / villages                   |
| <i>h<sub>1</sub>arewu / yān<sub>1</sub>ewu šuān<sup>1</sup>ay</i>                           | - a donkey / house of the shepherd                               |
| <i>māh<sub>1</sub>arewaw / k<sub>1</sub>ārḡewaw šuān<sup>1</sup>ay</i>                      | - a she-ass / knife of the shepherd                              |
| <i>dag<sub>1</sub>ewaw / kināč<sub>1</sub>ewaw šuān<sup>1</sup>ay</i>                       | - a village / daughter of the shepherd                           |
| <i>harak<sub>1</sub>aw / yānak<sub>1</sub>aw šuān<sup>1</sup>ay</i>                         | - the donkey / house of the shepherd                             |
| <i>harak<sub>1</sub>e / yānak<sub>1</sub>e šuān<sup>1</sup>ay</i>                           | - the donkeys / houses of the shepherd                           |
| <i>māharak<sub>1</sub>e / kārḡak<sub>1</sub>e / kināčak<sub>1</sub>e šuān<sup>1</sup>ay</i> | - the she-ass(es) / knife (knives) / daughter(s) of the shepherd |
| <i>dagāk<sub>1</sub>e / dagek<sub>1</sub>e šuān<sup>1</sup>ay</i>                           | - the village / villages of the shepherd                         |
| <i>hàru šuānakáy / harakàw šuānáy bàra</i>  | - bring the shepherd's donkey!                                   |
| <i>kārḡaw šuānakáy / kārḡakè šuānáy bàra</i>  | - bring the shepherd's knife!                                    |
| <i>hàre šuānakáy / harakà šuānáy bàra</i>   | - bring the shepherd's donkeys!                                  |
| <i>kārḡe šuānakáy / kārḡakè šuānáy bàra</i>   | - bring the shepherd's knives!                                   |
| <i>ā h<sub>1</sub>aru / māh<sub>1</sub>araw šuānáy'a</i>                                    | - that donkey / she-ass of the shepherd                          |
| <i>ā h<sub>1</sub>are / māh<sub>1</sub>are šuānáy'a</i>                                     | - those donkeys / she-asses of the shepherd                      |
| <i>ā hàru / kārḡaw šuānáyá bàra</i>   | - bring that donkey / knife of the shepherd!                     |
| <i>ā harà / kārḡà šuānáyá bàra</i>  | - bring those donkeys / knives of the shepherd!                  |

(a) This same Izafe form occurs in a number of combinations where the genitival nature of the second element is sometimes less than obvious, e. g.

|  |   |
|--|---|
| <i>p<sub>1</sub>añu āftāw<sup>1</sup>ewi</i>   | - a pitcherful ( <i>pañu</i> . . . generally 'full of . . .') |
| <i>mašy<sub>1</sub>ulu harm<sup>1</sup>āna</i> | - busy with, at work  |
| <i>p<sub>1</sub>āw qān<sup>1</sup>uni</i>      | - according to the law, legally                               |
| <i>cáynu cèwiā</i>                             | - it is exactly the same ( <i>replica of the thing</i> ).     |

It also helps to form a number of compound prepositions (v. § 43 (a)).

<sup>12</sup> See § 10.

**Partitive relation.**

§ 10. A partitive relation is not expressed with the genitive (oblique), but by the simple juxtaposition of the quantifying and quantified nouns.

|  |   |
|--|---|
| <i>sin<sub>1</sub>iew bir<sup>1</sup>inĵ</i>                 | – a tray of rice                            |
| <i>č<sub>1</sub>inna s<sub>1</sub>arew nač<sup>1</sup>ir</i> | – some head of game                         |
| <i>nimsacāt fā</i>   | – half an hour's journey ( <i>of road</i> ) |
| <i>pāřu āftāwèwi náwtam pay bāra</i>                         | – bring me a pitcherful of oil!             |

When the quantifying noun is feminine and singular it takes the suffix *-ew*, not *-ewa*.

|   |   |
|---|---|
| <i>h<sub>1</sub>itew k<sup>1</sup>āšē</i>                               | – a pair ( <i>h<sup>1</sup>ita</i> ) of shoes         |
| <i>m<sub>1</sub>iš<sup>1</sup>ew m<sup>1</sup>aki</i>                   | – a handful ( <i>m<sup>1</sup>išta</i> ) of salt      |
| <i>kom<sub>1</sub>ew tax<sup>1</sup>t<sub>1</sub>e mař<sup>1</sup>e</i> | – a heap ( <i>kom<sup>1</sup>ā</i> ) of broken boards |

Note the (inexplicable) distinction between:

|                                    |  |
|------------------------------------|--|
| <i>zāřu piālèw čāym dà panà</i>    | – give me the money of (= for) a cup of tea, |
| <i>zāřu dùe piālè čāym dà panà</i> | – . . . for two cups of tea,                 |

with 'cup' in the direct case in both sentences, and:

|   |  |
|---|--|
| <i>zāřu čuār / ř<sup>1</sup>rà piālà čāym dà panà</i> | – give me the money for four / many cups of tea, |
|---|--|

with the expected oblique case.

**Vocative.**

§ 11. A simple noun, or one qualified by a single epithet joined to it by the *Izafe*, is uninflected when used as a vocative.

|  |                       |
|--|-----------------------|
| <i> ay mat<sup>1</sup>ia</i>                               | – O aunt!             |
| <i> ay mat<sup>1</sup>ia<sub>1</sub>y x<sup>1</sup>āsa</i> | – O dear (good) aunt! |
| <i> ay k<sup>1</sup>vř</i>                                 | – O lad!              |
| <i> ay k<sub>1</sub>vři ju<sup>1</sup>ān</i>               | – O young lad!        |
| <i> ay mā<sub>1</sub>m<sub>1</sub>oy x<sup>1</sup>ās</i>   | – O dear uncle!       |

Such an epithet may be compounded with the noun, however, and the resulting open compound takes the defining suffixes M. *-|a*, F. *-|e*, in the vocative.

|   |                |
|---|----------------|
| <i> ay mat<sup>1</sup>ia xās<sup>1</sup>e</i> | – O dear aunt! |
| <i> ay k<sub>1</sub>vřa juān<sup>1</sup>a</i> | – O young lad! |

Similarly, when a noun is qualified by more than one epithet the final adjective may take the appropriate defining suffix.

|  |                                      |
|--|--------------------------------------|
| <i>ay fāh<sub>1</sub>šà<sub>1</sub>y bešā<sub>1</sub>mi bewaqā<sub>1</sub>ré</i> | – O shameless and undignified whore! |
|--|--------------------------------------|

When no vocative particle is present the stress is brought forward to the first syllable of a noun.

|                   |              |
|-------------------|--------------|
| <i>řóla</i>       | - Child!     |
| <i>áqā</i>        | - Mother!    |
| <i>háma-tamat</i> | - Lazy Hama! |

#### Comparison of adjectives.

§ 12. (a) The comparative is formed by the addition of *-t<sup>l</sup>ar* to the simple adjective and inflects normally. In comparisons 'than' is expressed by the preposition *ja*.

|  |  |
|--|--|
| <i>polā ja tawàne řaqtárā</i>            | - steel is harder than stone             |
| <i>tawànewa níana ja atmāsi řaqtára</i>  | - there is no stone harder than diamond  |
| <i>i tawanè ja kārde težtárana</i>       | - this stone is sharper than a knife     |
| <i>māžgawi xās xāstárā ja čřřučāmewi</i> | - a good brain is better than a handsome |
| <i>juānxāsi</i>                          | face.                                    |

(b) A superlative in *-tar<sup>l</sup>in* is used attributively, preceding the noun.

|  |                                   |
|--|-----------------------------------|
| <i>madāti<sup>l</sup>ew pay āzātar<sup>l</sup>in čask<sup>l</sup>ari</i> | - a medal for the bravest soldier |
| <i>kit<sup>l</sup>ebew pay zřraktar<sup>l</sup>in zāro<sup>l</sup>ay</i> | - a book for the cleverest child. |

Predicatively, however, the superlative is normally expressed by the periphrasis 'more . . . than all . . .':

|                                      |                                 |
|--------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| <i>atmās ja gřd tawànewe řaqtárā</i> | - diamond is the hardest stone. |
|--------------------------------------|---------------------------------|

#### Adjectives preceding the noun.

§ 13. The following classes of adjectives precede the nouns they qualify:

- i) The demonstrative adjectives *ā* 'that', *i* 'this', which are inflexible. The qualified noun, or noun phrase, takes the suffix *-<sup>l</sup>a*, *-<sup>l</sup>e* (v. § 8 (c)).
- ii) Numerals, both cardinal (§ 14) and ordinal (§ 15).
- iii) Superlatives (§ 12 (b)).
- iv) The following interrogative and indefinite adjectives, none of which agrees with the noun qualified. The noun may take an indefinite suffix *-ew*, *-ewa* (v. § 8 (a)).

*čř* 'what(ever)'

*čřnn(a)* 'some'

*řřlān(a)* 'such-and-such'

*gřd* 'all'

*hič* (with the negative) '(not) any'

*har*, *h<sup>l</sup>arči*, *hač* 'whatever, whichever'

*kām* 'which'

|                                       |                                     |
|---------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| <i>č̣i kitèbew ṃiwāniš</i>           | - what book are you reading?        |
| <i>č̣in<sup>n</sup> š'awew</i>        | - some nights                       |
| <i>č̣inna midd'atew</i>               | - some time                         |
| <i>midd'atu č̣inna m'āngewi</i>       | - a period of some months           |
| <i>fiṭāna k'as</i>                    | - such-and-such a person, so-and-so |
| <i>ja g<sub>1</sub>ird taw'anew</i>   | - than all stone(s)                 |
| <i>gir<sup>a</sup> č̣ewiṭ h'an</i>    | - you have everything               |
| <i>g'ifoew (gir<sup>a</sup> foew)</i> | - every day                         |
| <i>hič̣ nāwca harmānewa nākare</i>    | - he would do no kind of work       |
| <i>har n'awcew</i>                    | - whatever kind, manner             |
| <i>kām kitèbi ṃiwāniš</i>            | - which book are you reading?       |

(a) The adjective *fir'a* 'many, much' may either precede or follow the noun it qualifies. Only when following does it agree with the noun.

|   |                     |
|---|---------------------|
| <i>m<sub>1</sub>āre fir'e</i>                   | - many snakes       |
| <i>fir<sub>1</sub>a piāl<sub>1</sub>e č̣'āy</i> | - many cups of tea. |

(b) The adjective *tar* 'other' always follows the noun it qualifies and accordingly agrees with it.

|  |                               |
|--|-------------------------------|
| <i>sac<sub>1</sub>ātew t'ar</i>                                  | - (in) another hour           |
| <i>kināč̣<sub>1</sub>eway t'ara</i>                              | - another girl                |
| <i>f<sub>1</sub>ila kon<sub>1</sub>e x<sub>1</sub>alqi t'ari</i> | - old clothes of other people |
| <i>kināč̣<sub>1</sub>e t'are</i>                                 | - other girls                 |

It is exceptional, however, in that it does not take the obl. pl. morpheme *-lā*, but *-i* for both genders. The obl. morpheme of the preceding noun therefore remains unchanged (v. § 9, i (a)).

|   |                                |
|---|--------------------------------|
| <i>pes<sub>1</sub>a haz<sub>1</sub>ār juān<sub>1</sub>ā t'ari</i> | - like a thousand other youths |
| <i>pes<sub>1</sub>a kināč̣<sub>1</sub>ā t'ari</i>                 | - like other girls             |
| <i>l<sub>1</sub>utaw kaš<sub>1</sub>ā t'ari</i>                   | - the peaks of other mountains |

(c) 'Such' is expressed by *pās(n)<sup>1</sup>a*, *č̣āmn<sup>1</sup>a*, etc., primarily adverbs meaning 'thus', following the qualified noun.

|   |                                      |
|---|--------------------------------------|
| <i>suāl<sub>1</sub>ari č̣āmn<sup>1</sup>a</i> | - such a beggar                      |
| <i>č̣ewi pās(n)<sup>1</sup>a nābian</i>       | - there has never been such a thing. |

(d) Certain ordinary adjectives may occasionally precede the noun they qualify and are then uninflected. The effect is of greater emphasis.

|  |  |
|--|--|
| <i>caj<sup>1</sup>ab kās<sup>1</sup>b<sub>1</sub>iew</i> | - a fine ( <i>strange</i> ) business!                  |
| <i>č̣ās juābšā nādāwa</i>                                | - they did not give a straight ( <i>good</i> ) answer. |

## Cardinal numerals.

|       |    |              |    |                             |       |                          |
|-------|----|--------------|----|-----------------------------|-------|--------------------------|
| § 14. | 1  | <i>yak</i>   | 11 | <i>yānz'a</i> <sup>13</sup> | 21    | <i>wis u y'ak</i>        |
|       | 2  | <i>d'ue</i>  | 12 | <i>duānz'a</i>              |       |                          |
|       | 3  | <i>y'are</i> | 13 | <i>senz'a</i>               | 30    | <i>si</i>                |
|       | 4  | <i>čū'ār</i> | 14 | <i>čūārq'a</i>              | 40    | <i>čil</i>               |
|       | 5  | <i>pañ</i>   | 15 | <i>pānz'a</i>               | 50    | <i>pañ'ā</i>             |
|       | 6  | <i>šiš</i>   | 16 | <i>šānz'a</i>               | 60    | <i>šas</i> <sup>14</sup> |
|       | 7  | <i>hawt</i>  | 17 | <i>hawq'a</i>               | 70    | <i>hāft'ā</i>            |
|       | 8  | <i>hašt</i>  | 18 | <i>hažd'a</i>               | 80    | <i>hašt'ā</i>            |
|       | 9  | <i>no</i>    | 19 | <i>noz'a</i>                | 90    | <i>naw'aq</i>            |
|       | 10 | <i>da</i>    | 20 | <i>wis</i>                  | 100   | <i>saq</i> <sup>14</sup> |
|       |    |              |    |                             | 1,000 | <i>haz'ār</i>            |

(a) *yak* is the only adjectival form of 'one'

*yak pi'ā / ž'anī* – one man / woman

In counting, however, the form *y'luwa* is used. Thus,

*y'luwa, d'ue, y'are, čū'ār . . .* – one, two, three, four, etc.

This is, in fact, a feminine pronoun, the masculine equivalent being *yo*.

*y'ošā / y'uwašā* – one (male / female) of them

*taniā yó / y'úwa āmā* – only one (man / woman) came.

(b) Normally a noun qualified by a cardinal appears in the plural.

*pañ šiš su'āre* – five or six horsemen

*sad s'āte* – a hundred years

*d'ue / y'are kitēbem pay bāra* – bring me two / three books!

(c) When a definite noun is also qualified by the numerals '2' or '3' these, appearing as *d'ua, y'ara*, form a type of open compound with it, the whole being treated as a singular.

*d'ua kitebakáy bāra* – bring the two books!

*ā y'ara zārotayá čīřa* – call those three children!

but, *ā čuār zārotā čīřa* – call those four children!

(d) Note the idiomatic use of the cardinal adjective in *māngay čuārd'e* 'full ('fourteen') moon'.

(e) When used substantively all the cardinals (except *y'luwa* F., obl. *y'luwe*) may take the obl. morpheme *-i* (*-y*).

*pay yoy, d'ui, y'ari, čū'ari, noy, day, w'isi* – for one, two, three, four, nine, ten, twenty.

<sup>13</sup> See § 2 (c).

<sup>14</sup> See § 1, n. 2.

**Ordinals.**

§ 15. Ordinals are normally formed by the addition of *-am* (*-h'am* for the numbers 10-19) to the cardinals.

*fiak'am, du'am, yar'am, čuār'am, no'am*, – first, second, third, fourth, ninth,  
*dah'am, yānzah'am* – tenth, eleventh  
*yak'am pi'ā* – the first (= most important) man.

Alternatively *-am'in* is employed.

*yaram'in j'ār* – the third time  
*čuāràm(in) zārolakày bára* – bring the fourth child!

**Pronouns. Personal and Demonstrative.**

§ 16. Hawrāmī has, in effect, not two but three series of independent pronoun forms which may be classed under this heading.

(a) Pronouns of the 1st and 2nd persons, singular and plural, which are inflexible.

|       |                        |       |                      |
|-------|------------------------|-------|----------------------|
| Sg. 1 | <i>min</i> 'I, me'     | Pl. 1 | <i>em'a</i> 'we, us' |
| 2     | <i>to</i> 'thou, thee' | 2     | <i>šim'a</i> 'you'   |

(b) Pronouns of the 3rd person, *ed, ād*, which have both personal and demonstrative features. These are fully inflected, according to pattern I, but with exceptional obl. plural forms.

|             |                        |                    |                   |
|-------------|------------------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| 3 Proximate |                        | M.                 | F.                |
| Sg. Dir.    | <i>eđ</i> 'he (here)'  |                    | <i>ʼeđa</i> 'she' |
| Obl.        | <i>ʼeđi</i>            |                    | <i>ʼeđe</i>       |
| Pl. Dir.    |                        | <i>ʼeđe</i> 'they' |                   |
| Obl.        |                        | <i>eđiš'ā</i>      |                   |
| 3 Remote    |                        |                    |                   |
| Sg. Dir.    | <i>ād</i> 'he (there)' |                    | <i>ʼāđa</i> 'she' |
| Obl.        | <i>ʼāđi</i>            |                    | <i>ʼāđe</i>       |
| Pl. Dir.    |                        | <i>ʼāđe</i> 'they' |                   |
| Obl.        |                        | <i>āđiš'ā</i>      |                   |

(c) Purely Demonstrative pronouns, *in'a, ān'a*. These are fully inflected according to pattern II, but with the addition of the suffix *-a* where it is observable (in the M. sg. obl.) and the same 'pronominal' obl. plural. Although the stress is normally on the last syllable it may shift to the first, yielding the emphatic forms *ʼina, ʼāna*.

|           |                               |                          |                        |
|-----------|-------------------------------|--------------------------|------------------------|
| Proximate | M.                            |                          | F.                     |
| Sg. Dir.  | <i>in<sup>l</sup>a</i> 'this' |                          | <i>in<sup>l</sup>e</i> |
| Obl.      | <i>inay<sup>l</sup>a</i>      |                          | <i>in<sup>l</sup>e</i> |
| Pl. Dir.  |                               | <i>in<sup>l</sup>e</i>   |                        |
| Obl.      |                               | <i>iniš<sup>l</sup>ā</i> |                        |
| Remote    |                               |                          |                        |
| Sg. Dir.  | <i>ān<sup>l</sup>a</i> 'that' |                          | <i>ān<sup>l</sup>e</i> |
| Obl.      | <i>ānay<sup>l</sup>a</i>      |                          | <i>ān<sup>l</sup>e</i> |
| Pl. Dir.  |                               | <i>ān<sup>l</sup>e</i>   |                        |
| Obl.      |                               | <i>āniš<sup>l</sup>ā</i> |                        |

**Suffixes.**

§ 17. Beside the independent forms there occur six personal pronoun suffixes.

|       |   |       |             |
|-------|---|-------|-------------|
| Sg. 1 | -( <i>i</i> ) <i>m</i> <sup>15</sup>              | Pl. 1 | - <i>mā</i> |
| 2     | -( <i>i</i> ) <i>l</i> , -( <i>i</i> ) <i>t</i> - | 2     | - <i>tā</i> |
| 3     | -( <i>i</i> ) <i>š</i>                            | 3     | - <i>šā</i> |

(a) These suffix forms fulfil the functions of a pronoun which is:

- i) in genitival relation to a noun ('possessive suffix'),
- ii) direct object of a transitive verb in the present tenses,
- iii) agent of a transitive verb in the past tenses,
- iv) governed by a preposition.

In conjunction with the substantive verb (v. § 28) they may also have dative sense.

(b) The 'possessive suffix' is attached directly to the noun, or phrase, it qualifies. When this represents an article of personal property, or one having a close personal relation to the possessor, it is normally defined by the suffix *-ak<sup>l</sup>a*, *-ak<sup>l</sup>e*.

*kitebak<sup>l</sup>am*, *-ak<sup>l</sup>a<sub>l</sub>*, *-ak<sup>l</sup>aš* — my, thy, his book  
*yān<sup>l</sup>a hařin<sup>l</sup>a kāvīlbiak<sup>l</sup>ašā* — their dilapidated mud house

but,

*yān<sup>l</sup>ewmā* (*wuřān*) — one of our houses (has collapsed).

Parts of the body and senior relatives are not so defined.

*d<sup>l</sup>asim* — my hand  
*s<sup>l</sup>ari<sub>l</sub>* — thy head  
*pāy ř<sup>l</sup>āsīm* (*mešo*) — my right foot (hurts)

<sup>15</sup> When followed by another morpheme these forms lose their vowel. In such cases a raised <sup>l</sup> will normally be written.



|                            |                               |
|----------------------------|-------------------------------|
| <i>māinak, e ad'em</i>     | - my mother's mare            |
| <i>āna āspu tātáy māna</i> | - that is our father's horse. |

(c) As the last two examples show, the possessive suffix follows any oblique morpheme which may be present. The same is true of an agent suffix.

|                                      |                                  |
|--------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| <i>sarāw křewim / kināčewem māřá</i> | - I broke a boy's / girl's head. |
|--------------------------------------|----------------------------------|

A suffix governed by a preposition differs significantly from its possessive or agential counterpart in that it *displaces* an oblique morpheme which would otherwise be present (though this is not discernible in the case of a fem. sg. noun). Thus:

|                                    |                                    |
|------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| <i>kitebakáym (kināčakém) bāra</i> | - bring my book (daughter)         |
| <i>kitebakám / kināčakám bāra</i>  | - bring my books / daughters       |
| <i>ā kitebimá (kināčemá) bāra</i>  | - bring that my book (daughter)    |
| <i>ā kitebāmá / kināčāmá bāra</i>  | - bring those my books / daughters |

but,

|  |                                     |
|--|-------------------------------------|
| <i>kitebakám (kināčakém) pay bāra</i>            | - bring the book (girl) for me      |
| <i>kitebakém / kināčakém pay bāra</i>            | - bring the books / girls for me    |
| <i>ā kiteb<sup>I</sup>má (kināčemá) pay bāra</i> | - bring that book (girl) for me     |
| <i>ā kitebemá / kināčemá pay bāra</i>            | - bring those books / girls for me. |

(d) Before elaborating these examples it is convenient to introduce one last suffix which may appear with a nominal form, viz. the adverbial *-ič* (*-yč*; *-č* only following *-e*, *-i*, *-y*) 'also, moreover, even'. Its position, following an obl. morpheme, but preceding any pronominal suffix, may be clearly seen in the following series of sentences.

|   |   |
|---|---|
| <i>kitèba siāwakáy(č) bāra</i>  | - bring the black book (too)!                             |
| <i>kitèba siāwakáy(čr)m bāra</i>  | - bring my black book (too)                               |
| <i>kitèba siāwakáy(yčr)m pay bāra</i>                                     | - bring the black book for me (too)                       |
| <i>ā kitèba siāwi(č)á / siāway(č)á bāra</i>                               | - bring that black book (too)                             |
| <i>ā kitèba siāwi(č<sup>I</sup>)má / siāway(č<sup>I</sup>)má bāra</i>     | - bring that my black book (too)                          |
| <i>ā kitèba siāw(ič<sup>I</sup>)má / siāwa(yč<sup>I</sup>)má pay bāra</i> | - bring that black book for me (too)                      |
| <i>kārđa težaké(č) bāra</i>   | - bring the sharp knife (too)                             |
| <i>kārđa težaké(čr) bāra</i>  | - bring your sharp knife (too)                            |
| <i>kārđa težaké(čr)m pay bāra</i>   | - bring the sharp knife for me (too)                      |
| <i>ā kārđa težé(čá) bāra</i>  | - bring that sharp knife (too)                            |
| <i>ā kārđa težé(č<sup>I</sup>)tá bāra</i>                                 | - bring that your sharp knife (too)                       |
| <i>ā kārđa težé(č<sup>I</sup>)má pay bāra</i>                             | - bring that sharp knife, those sharp knives for me (too) |
| <i>kitèba siāwaká(yč) bāra</i>  | - bring the black books (too)                             |
| <i>kitèba siāwaká(yčr)m bāra</i>  | - bring my black books (too)                              |

|  |  |
|--|--|
| <i>kitèba siāwaké(čir) m pay bâra</i>  | - bring the black books for me (too)   |
| <i>ā kitèba siāwā(yčá) bâra</i>        | - bring those black books (too)        |
| <i>ā kitèba siāwā(yč'f) má bâra</i>    | - bring those my black books (too)     |
| <i>ā kitèba siāwe(čir) má pay bâra</i> | - bring those black books for me (too) |
| <i>kârđa težakó(yč) bâra</i>           | - bring the sharp knives (too)         |
| etc. etc.                              |  |

#### Reflexive Pronoun.

§ 18. The sole reflexive pronoun is *we-* 'self'. It never occurs independently, but is always qualified by a personal pronoun suffix, thus

|                            |                                      |
|----------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| <i>wem, weŋ, weš</i>       | - myself, thyself, himself (herself) |
| <i>w'emā, w'etā, w'ešā</i> | - ourselves, yourselves, themselves  |

This qualified form may take a second pronominal suffix.

|                                   |                             |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| <i>kitèbakaw wé-t-im pay bâra</i> | - bring me your own book!   |
| <i>hakāyatakè wètim pay kára</i>  | - tell me your (own) story! |

It does not, however, take the same suffix twice.

|                               |                          |
|-------------------------------|--------------------------|
| <i>weš (for *weš-iš) fāfā</i> | - she disguised herself. |
|-------------------------------|--------------------------|

#### Possessive Pronoun.

§ 19. The place of a possessive pronoun is taken by the words *hin* M.,<sup>16</sup> *h'ina* F., *h'ine* pl., which, joined to a following genitive noun or pronoun, give the sense 'that of . . .'.

|   |                                  |
|---|----------------------------------|
| <i>hinu mīn ja hinu tò firá xāstārā</i> | - mine is much better than yours |
| <i>ā kārđè hīnaw mīnana</i>             | - that knife is mine             |
| <i>ā kārđe girđ hīne mīnane</i>         | - those knives are all mine      |
| <i>i bizè hīnaw tātáymana</i>           | - this goat is my father's.      |

#### Interrogative pronouns.

§ 20. The following interrogative pronouns occur.

|                        |          |                            |
|------------------------|----------|----------------------------|
| <i>čes</i>             | 'what?'  |                            |
| <i>ke</i>              | 'who?'   |                            |
| <i>kām</i>             | 'which?' |                            |
| <i>āna čēsā</i>        |          | - what is that?            |
| <i>pay čēsī mīđiāy</i> |          | - what are you looking at? |
| <i>i yaribā kén</i>    |          | - who is this stranger?    |
| <i>kāmšā</i>           |          | - which one (of them)?     |

<sup>16</sup> *hin* appears in neighbouring Kurdish dialects in much the same sense, and in Suleimani Kurd. with the extended meaning of 'what's-his-name, thingummy'.

**Verbs.**

§ 21. Each verb has two stems, present and past, which are not always predictable one from the other. On these two stems the system of simple tenses is built by means of various modal prefixes and personal endings. From the present stem are formed:

- i) the Present Indicative tense,
- ii) the Present Subjunctive,
- iii) an Imperfect tense,
- and iv) the Imperative.

From the past stem are formed:

- v) the Past Indicative tense,
- and vi) the Past Conditional.

Also from the past stem is formed a past participle which, combined with simple tenses of the substantive verb, yields further, compound tenses. These are:

- vii) the Perfect Indicative,
- viii) the Perfect Subjunctive,
- ix) the Pluperfect,
- and x) a Perfect Conditional.

An infinitive verbal noun is also formed from the past stem, by the addition of the morpheme  $-(a)y$ . It is in this form that verbs are normally quoted.

The use of the various tenses is described below, § 46.

**Relation between the stems.**

§ 22. (a) The majority of verbs have past stems ending in  $-l\bar{a}$  and infinitives therefore in  $-l\bar{a}y$ , preceded by a consonant. With very rare exceptions the form of the present stem is then that of the past stem less the final vowel.

| Intransitive.                   |             | Past                            | Present        |
|---------------------------------|-------------|---------------------------------|----------------|
| <i>get<sup>l</sup>\bar{a}y</i>  | 'go about'  | <i>get<sup>l</sup>\bar{a}-</i>  | : <i>get-</i>  |
| <i>pit<sup>l</sup>\bar{a}y</i>  | 'fly'       | <i>pit<sup>l</sup>\bar{a}-</i>  | : <i>pit-</i>  |
| <i>pižm<sup>l</sup>\bar{a}y</i> | 'sneeze'    | <i>pižm<sup>l</sup>\bar{a}-</i> | : <i>pižm-</i> |
| <i>tars<sup>l</sup>\bar{a}y</i> | 'be afraid' | <i>tars<sup>l</sup>\bar{a}-</i> | : <i>tars-</i> |
| <i>žiw<sup>l</sup>\bar{a}y</i>  | 'live'      | <i>žiw<sup>l</sup>\bar{a}-</i>  | : <i>žiw-</i>  |
| Transitive.                     |             |                                 |                |
| <i>fāř<sup>l</sup>\bar{a}y</i>  | 'change'    | <i>fāř<sup>l</sup>\bar{a}-</i>  | : <i>fāř-</i>  |
| <i>les<sup>l</sup>\bar{a}y</i>  | 'lick'      | <i>les<sup>l</sup>\bar{a}-</i>  | : <i>les-</i>  |
| <i>pars<sup>l</sup>\bar{a}y</i> | 'ask'       | <i>pars<sup>l</sup>\bar{a}-</i> | : <i>pars-</i> |
| <i>šel<sup>l</sup>\bar{a}y</i>  | 'press'     | <i>šel<sup>l</sup>\bar{a}-</i>  | : <i>šel-</i>  |
| <i>zān<sup>l</sup>\bar{a}y</i>  | 'know'      | <i>zān<sup>l</sup>\bar{a}-</i>  | : <i>zān-</i>  |
| <i>žan<sup>l</sup>\bar{a}y</i>  | 'shut'      | <i>žan<sup>l</sup>\bar{a}-</i>  | : <i>žan-</i>  |

## Exceptions.

|                          |          |                          |                 |
|--------------------------|----------|--------------------------|-----------------|
| <i>ařf<sup>l</sup>āy</i> | 'snatch' | <i>ařf<sup>l</sup>ā-</i> | : <i>ařfān-</i> |
| <i>as<sup>l</sup>āy</i>  | 'buy'    | <i>as<sup>l</sup>ā-</i>  | : <i>asān-</i>  |
| <i>dāy</i>               | 'give'   | <i>dā-</i>               | : <i>da-</i>    |

(b) Many verbs have past stems ending in *-i<sup>l</sup>ā-*, infinitives in *-i<sup>l</sup>āy*. These form their present stems in *-iā-*.<sup>17</sup>

## Intransitive.

|                           |            |                           |                 |
|---------------------------|------------|---------------------------|-----------------|
| <i>gīži<sup>l</sup>āy</i> | 'fight'    | <i>gīži<sup>l</sup>ā-</i> | : <i>gīžia-</i> |
| <i>līki<sup>l</sup>āy</i> | 'stick'    | <i>līki<sup>l</sup>ā-</i> | : <i>līkia-</i> |
| <i>māni<sup>l</sup>āy</i> | 'be tired' | <i>māni<sup>l</sup>ā-</i> | : <i>mānia-</i> |
| <i>maři<sup>l</sup>āy</i> | 'break'    | <i>maři<sup>l</sup>ā-</i> | : <i>mařia-</i> |

The only Transitive of this type is

|                         |       |                         |               |
|-------------------------|-------|-------------------------|---------------|
| <i>ni<sup>l</sup>āy</i> | 'put' | <i>ni<sup>l</sup>ā-</i> | : <i>nia-</i> |
|-------------------------|-------|-------------------------|---------------|

(c) Verbs whose past stems end in *-i*, infinitives in *-i<sup>l</sup>ay*, have present stems without this final vowel. With the exception of

|                         |      |            |             |
|-------------------------|------|------------|-------------|
| <i>bi<sup>l</sup>ay</i> | 'be' | <i>bi-</i> | : <i>b-</i> |
|-------------------------|------|------------|-------------|

they are all Transitive.

|                              |         |                           |                   |
|------------------------------|---------|---------------------------|-------------------|
| <i>asaři<sup>l</sup>ay</i>   | 'wipe'  | <i>asaři-</i>             | : <i>asaři-</i>   |
| <i>ažn(aw)<sup>i</sup>ay</i> | 'hear'  | <i>ažn(aw)i-</i>          | : <i>ažn(aw)-</i> |
| <i>bīři<sup>l</sup>ay</i>    | 'cut'   | <i>bīři<sup>l</sup>i-</i> | : <i>bīři-</i>    |
| <i>čmī<sup>l</sup>ay</i>     | 'pluck' | <i>čmī<sup>l</sup>i-</i>  | : <i>čmī-</i>     |
| <i>dīzi<sup>l</sup>ay</i>    | 'steal' | <i>dīzi<sup>l</sup>i-</i> | : <i>dīz-</i>     |

(d) When the past stem of a verb ends in *-st-* the present stem, with few exceptions, ends in *-z-*.

## Intransitive.

|                            |        |               |                |
|----------------------------|--------|---------------|----------------|
| <i>(e)st<sup>l</sup>ay</i> |        | <i>(e)st-</i> | : <i>(e)z-</i> |
| <i>wast<sup>l</sup>ay</i>  | 'rise' | <i>wast-</i>  | : <i>waz-</i>  |

## Transitive.

|                           |           |              |               |
|---------------------------|-----------|--------------|---------------|
| <i>āst<sup>l</sup>ay</i>  | 'let'     | <i>āst-</i>  | : <i>āz-</i>  |
| <i>gast<sup>l</sup>ay</i> | 'bite'    | <i>gast-</i> | : <i>gaz-</i> |
| <i>wāst<sup>l</sup>ay</i> | 'request' | <i>wāst-</i> | : <i>wāz-</i> |
| <i>wīst<sup>l</sup>ay</i> | 'throw'   | <i>wīst-</i> | : <i>wīz-</i> |

## Exceptions.

|                            |        |                           |                |
|----------------------------|--------|---------------------------|----------------|
| <i>bast<sup>l</sup>ay</i>  | 'tie'  | <i>bast-</i>              | : <i>bas-</i>  |
| <i>kiāst<sup>l</sup>ay</i> | 'send' | <i>ki<sup>l</sup>āst-</i> | : <i>kiān-</i> |

<sup>17</sup> See § 3 (e).

|                            |         |                           |                |
|----------------------------|---------|---------------------------|----------------|
| <i>nwist<sup>l</sup>ay</i> | 'write' | <i>nw<sup>l</sup>ist-</i> | : <i>nwis-</i> |
| <i>řest<sup>l</sup>ay</i>  | 'spin'  | <i>řest-</i>              | : <i>řes-</i>  |

There is a similar relation between some past stems ending in *-št-* and their present stems ending in *-ž-*,

Transitive.

|                             |         |                            |                 |
|-----------------------------|---------|----------------------------|-----------------|
| <i>birešt<sup>l</sup>ay</i> | 'roast' | <i>bir<sup>l</sup>ešt-</i> | : <i>birež-</i> |
| <i>mišt<sup>l</sup>ay</i>   | 'suck'  | <i>mišt-</i>               | : <i>miž-</i>   |
| <i>řašt<sup>l</sup>ay</i>   |         | <i>řašt-</i>               | : <i>řaž-</i>   |

but many such verbs have present stems in *-š-*.

Intransitive.

|                           |       |              |               |
|---------------------------|-------|--------------|---------------|
| <i>ništ<sup>l</sup>ay</i> | 'sit' | <i>ništ-</i> | : <i>niš-</i> |
|---------------------------|-------|--------------|---------------|

Transitive.

|                           |         |              |                            |
|---------------------------|---------|--------------|----------------------------|
| <i>kešt<sup>l</sup>ay</i> | 'weigh' | <i>kešt-</i> | : <i>keš<sup>18</sup>-</i> |
| <i>kušt<sup>l</sup>ay</i> | 'kill'  | <i>kušt-</i> | : <i>k<sup>u</sup>š-</i>   |

Other past stems ending in *-t-* correspond to a variety of present stems ending in palatal consonants.

Intransitive.

|                          |         |             |              |
|--------------------------|---------|-------------|--------------|
| <i>wit<sup>l</sup>ay</i> | 'sleep' | <i>wit-</i> | : <i>us-</i> |
|--------------------------|---------|-------------|--------------|

Transitive.

|                            |         |                           |                 |
|----------------------------|---------|---------------------------|-----------------|
| <i>mit<sup>l</sup>ay</i>   | 'spill' | <i>mit-</i>               | : <i>mij-</i>   |
| <i>pāt<sup>l</sup>ay</i>   | 'chop'  | <i>pāt-</i>               | : <i>pāč-</i>   |
| <i>so<sup>l</sup>ay</i>    | 'burn'  | <i>so<sup>l</sup>-</i>    | : <i>soč-</i>   |
| <i>wāt<sup>l</sup>ay</i>   | 'say'   | <i>wāt-</i>               | : <i>wāč-</i>   |
| <i>wet<sup>l</sup>ay</i>   | 'sift'  | <i>wet-</i>               | : <i>wetč-</i>  |
| <i>wat<sup>l</sup>ay</i>   | 'doff'  | <i>wat-</i>               | : <i>watž-</i>  |
| <i>wurat<sup>l</sup>ay</i> | 'sell'  | <i>wur<sup>l</sup>at-</i> | : <i>wuraš-</i> |

Note the 'irregular' correspondences of

|                           |         |              |               |
|---------------------------|---------|--------------|---------------|
| <i>girt<sup>l</sup>ay</i> | 'seize' | <i>girt-</i> | : <i>ger-</i> |
| <i>kawt<sup>l</sup>ay</i> | 'fall'  | <i>kawt-</i> | : <i>gin-</i> |
| <i>šit<sup>l</sup>ay</i>  | 'wash'  | <i>šit-</i>  | : <i>šor-</i> |

(e) When the past stem ends in *-rd-* the corresponding present stem normally ends in *-r-*.

Intransitive.

|                            |        |                           |                |
|----------------------------|--------|---------------------------|----------------|
| <i>wiard<sup>l</sup>ay</i> | 'pass' | <i>w<sup>l</sup>iard-</i> | : <i>wiar-</i> |
|----------------------------|--------|---------------------------|----------------|

<sup>18</sup> Cf. *keš<sup>l</sup>āy*, *keš-* 'pull'; the above form with *-t-* is secondary, as in *awa-peč<sup>l</sup>ay*, alongside *awa-peč<sup>l</sup>āy*, *-peč-* 'wrap up'.

## Transitive.

|                           |        |              |               |
|---------------------------|--------|--------------|---------------|
| <i>bard<sup>1</sup>ay</i> | 'take' | <i>bard-</i> | : <i>bar-</i> |
| <i>kard<sup>1</sup>ay</i> | 'do'   | <i>kard-</i> | : <i>kar-</i> |

The stem vowels may differ, or the present stem be contracted.

## Intransitive.

|                           |       |              |               |
|---------------------------|-------|--------------|---------------|
| <i>mard<sup>1</sup>ay</i> | 'die' | <i>mard-</i> | : <i>mir-</i> |
|---------------------------|-------|--------------|---------------|

## Transitive.

|                            |         |                           |               |
|----------------------------|---------|---------------------------|---------------|
| <i>wārd<sup>1</sup>ay</i>  | 'eat'   | <i>wārd-</i>              | : <i>war-</i> |
| <i>āwird<sup>1</sup>ay</i> | 'bring' | <i>āw<sup>1</sup>ird-</i> | : <i>ār-</i>  |

## Classification of stems.

§ 23. The formation of the simple tenses is materially affected by the forms of the two stems. The main types may be classified as follows:

## Past stems.

- 1) Monosyllabic, e. g. *kard-*, *wit-*.
- 2) Polysyllabic, with initial stress, e. g. *<sup>1</sup>asařī-*, *w<sup>1</sup>iard-*.
- 3) Polysyllabic, with final stress, e. g. *āw<sup>1</sup>ird-*, *fāř<sup>1</sup>ā-*.
- 4) Ending in *-ā-*, e. g. *ām<sup>1</sup>ā-*, *dā-*.
- 5) Ending in *-i-*, e. g. *<sup>1</sup>ažn(aw)i-*, *biř<sup>1</sup>i-*.

## Present stems.

- A) Ending in a consonant, e. g. *us-*, *niš-*.
- B) Ending in *-a-*, e. g. *da-*, *gīžia-*.
- C) With initial *a-*, e. g. *asān-*, *asař-*.
- D) With initial *ā-*, e. g. *ār-*, *āz-*.

Some stems, naturally, fall into more than one such class.

## Preverbs.

§ 24. A number of verbs are compounded with the 'preverbs' *an<sup>1</sup>a*, *ar<sup>1</sup>a*, *aw<sup>1</sup>a*. These are, in fact, only ever prefixed to the infinitive,

*anakarđ<sup>1</sup>ay* 'don', *araništ<sup>1</sup>ay* 'sit down', *awawārday* 'drink'.

With all finite forms of the verbs they are suffixed, after the personal endings and all other suffixes.

*karđ-an<sup>1</sup>a*, *karo-š-an<sup>1</sup>a*  
*ništ-ar<sup>1</sup>a*, *minišo-r<sup>1</sup>a*  
*wārđe-w<sup>1</sup>a*, *miwarow<sup>1</sup>a*

*awa* is exceptional in that after all consonants and the vowels *i*, *u* it appears as *ɔ*.

*wārđ<sup>1</sup>ɔ*, *miwaru<sup>1</sup>ɔ*, *miwaru-š<sup>1</sup>ɔ*.

(a) The form  $-w^1a$ , following a verbal ending with final  $-e$ , may yield either  $-ew^1a$  or  $-^1e$ . The result may be seen below (§ 33 (b)) in the conjugation of  $\bar{a}m^1\bar{a}y$ . The reason for this reduction is unclear.<sup>19</sup>

As a 'preverb' *awa* yields  $-ar\bar{a}wa$  when combined with  $-ara$  (but see § 43 (a)).

|                                   |                               |
|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| <i>wizúšara wár</i>               | – I shall throw it down       |
| <i>wizošarāwa wár</i>             | – he will throw it down again |
| <i>wist<sup>1</sup>šarāwa wár</i> | – he threw it down again.     |

With  $-ana$  it appears to form  $*-awana$  in the combination  $d\bar{a}wan^1ay$  'hit',

*dāšāwaná* – they set off (lit., beat it)

but on the analogy of the similar combination, with an absolute preposition,  $d\bar{a}ypan^1ay$  'give (to)',  $d\bar{a}š\ paná$  'he gave it to him', the 'preverbs' may become separated as *wana*,

*dāš waná* – he set off.

#### Modal and Negative prefixes.

§ 25. (a)  $m-$ , before vowels  $m-$ , is prefixed to the present stem of certain verbs only to form the Present Indicative tense. All verbs with an initial vowel other than  $a-$  take the prefix  $m-$ . Initial  $a-$  is displaced by the prefix  $m-$ . All verbs with initial  $n-$ ,  $z-$ ,  $ž-$ , and  $y-$ , and some with initial  $d-$ ,  $g-$ ,  $\bar{r}-$ , and  $w-$ , appear to take the prefix  $m-$ . The factors determining which verbs do and which do not take this prefix are not evident.<sup>20</sup>

(b) Verbs taking  $m(i)-$  in the Present Indicative take the prefix  $b^1(i)-$  in the Present Subjunctive and the Imperative, with the exception of a few with initial  $w-$ . Thus, from

|              |         |                                       |                                |
|--------------|---------|---------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| <i>ār-</i>   | 'bring' | Indic. <i>mār-</i>                    | Subj. <i>b^1ār-</i>            |
| <i>us-</i>   | 'sleep' | <i>mus-</i>                           | <i>b^1us-</i>                  |
| <i>asān-</i> | 'buy'   | <i>misān-</i>                         | <i>b^1s^1ān-</i> <sup>21</sup> |
| <i>niš-</i>  | 'sit'   | <i>miniš-</i>                         | <i>b^1iniš-</i>                |
| <i>wān-</i>  | 'read'  | <i>miwān-</i>                         | <i>b^1iwān-</i>                |
| <i>war-</i>  | 'eat'   | <i>(mi)war-</i> , but <i>w^1ar-</i> , |                                |

and, with irregular loss of initial  $w-$ , from

*wāč-* 'say'                      *māč-*,                      but *w^1āč-*.

Verbs which do not take the prefix  $b^1(i)-$  are stressed on the first syllable in both Present Subjunctive and Imperative, as are all verbs in the Past Conditional.

<sup>19</sup> Short forms such as  $ew^1a$ ,  $mew^1a$ ,  $bew^1a$  are not, however, reduced to  $*e$ ,  $*me$ ,  $*be$ . Nor are such forms as  $\bar{a}mew^1a$  ( $< *am\bar{a}-e-w^1a$ ) reduced.

<sup>20</sup> The syllabic structure of the stem does not seem to have any bearing on the matter. Cf.  $keš-$  /  $mi-$   $niš-$ ,  $faž-$  /  $mi-$   $fam-$ ,  $wāz-$  /  $mi-$   $wān-$ .

<sup>21</sup> See § 3 (b).

(c) The negative prefix for the Present Indicative and the Imperative is normally *m<sup>l</sup>a-* for all verbs. With stems having initial *ā-*, however, and the stem *a-* 'come', this would produce forms indistinguishable from the affirmative except occasionally in the position of the stress. *ma-* is therefore replaced by *m<sup>l</sup>r-* and *n<sup>l</sup>r-*, giving in effect *n<sup>l</sup>im-* with these stems. Thus,

|                       |                             |          |                            |
|-----------------------|-----------------------------|----------|----------------------------|
| affirmative           | <i>mār-</i> ,               | negative | <i>n<sup>l</sup>imār-</i>  |
|                       | <i>mus-</i>                 |          | <i>m<sup>l</sup>aws-</i>   |
|                       | <i>misān-</i>               |          | <i>m<sup>l</sup>asān-</i>  |
|                       | <i>miniš-</i>               |          | <i>m<sup>l</sup>aniš-</i>  |
|                       | <i>miwān-</i>               |          | <i>m<sup>l</sup>awān-</i>  |
|                       | <i>(m<sup>l</sup>r)war-</i> |          | <i>m<sup>l</sup>awar-</i>  |
|                       | <i>māč-</i>                 |          | <i>m<sup>l</sup>awāč-</i>  |
| and, from <i>a-</i> , | <i>ma-</i>                  |          | <i>n<sup>l</sup>ima-</i> . |

(d) The prefix *n<sup>l</sup>a-* negates all other tenses of all verbs, replacing *b<sup>l</sup>(r)-* in the Present Subjunctive.

#### Personal endings.

§ 26. There are five distinct sets of personal endings, forming the Present tenses, the Imperative, the Imperfect, the Past Indicative and Past Conditional respectively. They are essentially as follows:<sup>22</sup>

|       | Present   | Imperative               | Imperfect                |
|-------|---|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| Sg. 1 | <i>-u</i> /- <i>w</i> <sup>23</sup>                 |                          | <i>-<sup>l</sup>ene</i>  |
| 2     | <i>-i</i> /- <i>y</i>                               | <i>-a</i> /—             | <i>-<sup>l</sup>eni</i>  |
| 3     | <i>-o</i>   |                          | <i>-<sup>l</sup>e</i>    |
| Pl. 1 | <i>-me</i> /- <i>ym<sup>l</sup>e</i>                |                          | <i>-<sup>l</sup>enme</i> |
| 2     | <i>-de</i> /- <i>yd<sup>l</sup>e</i>                | <i>-de</i> /- <i>yde</i> | <i>-<sup>l</sup>ende</i> |
| 3     | <i>-ā</i>   |                          | <i>-<sup>l</sup>ene</i>  |
|       | Past Indicative                                     |                          | Past Conditional         |
| Sg. 1 | <i>-ā(ne)</i>                                       |                          | <i>-ene</i>              |
| 2     | <i>-i</i> /- <i>y</i> (- <i>ay</i> after <i>i</i> ) |                          | <i>-eni</i>              |
| 3 M.  | —   |                          | <i>-e</i>                |
| 3 F.  | <i>-a</i> <sup>24</sup>                             |                          | <i>-e</i>                |
| Pl. 1 | <i>-ime</i> /- <i>yime</i> (- <i>ayme</i> )         |                          | <i>-enme</i>             |
| 2     | <i>-ide</i> /- <i>yde</i> (- <i>ayde</i> )          |                          | <i>-ende</i>             |
| 3     | <i>-e</i>   |                          | <i>-ene</i>              |

<sup>22</sup> The second forms in each case appear after stem-final vowels.

<sup>23</sup> Hadank, publishing Mann's 'Auramân' material, has Pres. Sg. 1 *-âm* (-*ám*) in every case but one (*mâtâ* (Sh) against *mâtâm* (A), p. 386) and Sg. 3 *-â* (except *mâgtlô* (Sh), p. 390). *-âm* occurs as a Pres. Sg. 1 ending only in the literary Gorâni *كۆڤه* (e. g. Mokri, *Kurdish Songs*, No. 171) and it was almost certainly this that his informant (A), if not (Sh) also, was 'selling' to Mann as Hawrâmî. The few correct forms in A's manuscript vocabulary (kindly placed at my disposal by the Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Mainz) were not transcribed by Mann and were therefore overlooked by Hadank. They are: [overleaf]



The connection between the Imperfect and Past Conditional endings is obvious. The latter must be presumed to comprise the former preceded by a 'conditional infix'  $*\bar{a}$ -, with  $\bar{a} + e > \epsilon$ .

**Substantive verb.**

§ 27. (a) The substantive verb, beside the normal tenses detailed below, has a special enclitic form of the present tense. This, alone of present tenses, shows a distinction of gender in the 3rd person singular. In the 3 Sg. Masc., moreover, the postvocalic form of the enclitic depends on the position of the stress in the word supporting it.

|       | Following a consonant,<br><i>i</i> , or <i>u</i> . | Following a vowel  |
|-------|--|--|
| Sg. 1 | - <i>anā</i>                                       | - <i>nā</i>  |
| 2     | - <i>ani</i>                                       | - <i>ni</i>  |
| 3 M.  | - <i>ā</i>   | } <i>-n</i> after a stressed vowel<br>} <i>-na</i> after an unstressed vowel |
| 3 F.  | - <i>ana</i>                                       |  |
| Pl. 1 | - <i>anme</i>                                      | - <i>nme</i>   |
| 2     | - <i>ande</i>                                      | - <i>nde</i>   |
| 3     | - <i>ane</i>                                       | - <i>ne</i>  |

The postvocalic forms of the enclitic appear regularly as the auxiliary in the Perfect Indicative of all verbs.

(b) The enclitic also combines with  $n^i$ - to form the following negative present:

|       |                             |                               |                               |   |
|-------|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|---|
| Sg. 1 | <i>n<sup>i</sup>ianā</i> ,  | 2 <i>n<sup>i</sup>iani</i> ,  | 3 M. <i>n<sup>i</sup>iā</i> , | 3 F. <i>n<sup>i</sup>iana</i> – am, art, is not |
| Pl. 1 | <i>n<sup>i</sup>ianme</i> , | 2 <i>n<sup>i</sup>iande</i> , | 3 <i>n<sup>i</sup>iane</i>    | – are not                                       |

(c) Following the adverbs *in<sup>i</sup>ā*, *ān<sup>i</sup>ā* (v. § 45 (a)), however, the enclitic verb appears in a variant form in all persons other than the 1st Sg. The variant forms are identical with the Past Indicative endings given above. Thus, *in<sup>i</sup>ānā*, but *in<sup>i</sup>āy*, *in<sup>i</sup>ā*, *in<sup>i</sup>āyme*, *in<sup>i</sup>āyde*, and *in<sup>i</sup>e* (<  $*in<sup>i</sup>ā-e$ ).

*ināy čikó? inānā čé*

– where are you? here I am.

<sup>23</sup> contd.

*mh by nwš* = *mabenu-š* 'I shut it' (cf. *mābtānām*, p. 381),

*mch šwš* = *mačašu-š* 'I taste it' (cf. *māčāšām*, p. 383),

*mh lyswšw* = *malesu-š-w* 'I lick it up',

*mpycw/yšw* = *mapeču/i-š-w* 'I/you wrap it up'.

A further corruption is to be seen in the form *mnygrum* = *mānīārām* 'I put down' (p. 390; it occurs twice in A's vocabulary), in which the 'preverb' *-ara* appears before, instead of after, the personal ending (v. § 24 above); the correct form *mnygrh* = *manīaw-ara* is given by A on another page of his vocabulary.

<sup>24</sup> Thus a past stem ending in a consonant or *i* appears to be declined like an adjective, in the 3rd person, e. g. Sg. M. *wII*, F. *w<sup>i</sup>Ia*, Pl. *w<sup>i</sup>Ie*. But stems with final *ā* do not change like adjectives in *ā*, nor is the stem modified for gender or number in the 1st and 2nd persons.

## (d) Examples.

|  |                                   |
|--|-----------------------------------|
| <i>min kōf-anā</i> / <i>kināčé-nā</i>            | - I am a boy / girl               |
| <i>to kōf-ani</i> / <i>kināčé-ni</i>             | - you are a boy / girl            |
| <i>āq kōf-ā</i> / <i>kōfū emá-n</i>              | - he is a boy / our son           |
| <i>āqā kināčé-na</i> / <i>kināčè min-ana</i>     | - she is a girl / my daughter     |
| <i>emà kōfe-nme</i> / <i>kināčé-nme</i>          | - we are boys / girls             |
| <i>šimà kōfe-nde</i> / <i>kināčé-nde</i>         | - you are boys / girls            |
| <i>āqē kōfe-ne</i> / <i>kināčé-ne</i>            | - they are boys / girls           |
| <i>ānà čēs-ā</i>                                 | - what is that?                   |
| <i>āsp-ā</i> / <i>kitéb-ā</i> / <i>yāná-n</i>    | - it is a horse / book / house    |
| <i>tawáni-ana</i> / <i>māini-ana</i>             | - it is a stone / mare            |
| <i>āspe-ne</i> / <i>yāné-ne</i>                  | - they are horses / houses        |
| <i>kitebaká-n</i> / <i>tawanaké-na</i>           | - it is the book / stone          |
| <i>ānà aspu tātáym-ā</i> / <i>tātáymā-na</i>     | - that is my / our father's horse |
| <i>ānè māinaw tātáym-ana</i> / <i>tātáymā-na</i> | - that is my / our father's mare. |

§ 28. The morpheme *h<sup>l</sup>a-* combines with the 3rd person (postvocalic) forms of the normal enclitic verb, thus

Sg. M. *han*, 3 F. *h<sup>l</sup>ana*, Pl. *h<sup>l</sup>ane*

with the sense 'there is, are'.

(a) In the affirmative and interrogative, but not the negative (where the simple forms *n<sup>l</sup>iā*, etc., suffice), these forms appear with the personal pronoun suffixes giving the sense of 'to have'.

|                                      |  |
|--------------------------------------|--|
| <i>kitèbewiḡ hán?</i> / <i>hánim</i> | - have you a book? (yes) I have  |
| <i>harmānaḡ hána pàyiḡ karù?</i>     | - is there anything ( <i>have you any work</i> )<br>that I can do for you? |
| <i>hánam</i>                         | - yes ( <i>I have</i> )  |
| <i>kārḡiš hána</i> / <i>háne</i>     | - he has a knife / some knives   |
| <i>xuèwi zaríḡš hàn</i>              | - she has a pleasant laugh.  |

(b) The ordinary enclitic substantive verb is used in conjunction with the personal pronoun suffixes in a number of idioms, e. g.

|                      |                                    |
|----------------------|------------------------------------|
| <i>háy-t-ā</i>       | - are you awake?                   |
| <i>āwrá-š-ā</i>      | - he is hungry (now)               |
| (but <i>āwrá-n</i> ) | - he is hungry (poor and starving) |
| <i>qubúḡ-t-ā</i>     | - I accept                         |
| <i>tāḡrakà háḡšā</i> | - the merchant is lucky.           |

(c) Especially common is the use with the word *gar<sup>l</sup>ak* 'necessary' to express 'want, wish'.

|   |   |
|---|---|
| <i>garák-Im-ā</i>   | - I want ( <i>it is necessary to me</i> ) |
| <i>čěšlĭ garàkā</i>   | - what do you want?                       |
| <i>agar garák<sup>l</sup>tā ba m<sup>l</sup>rāq̄ biyāwi</i> | - if you want to attain your desire . . . |

(d) In tenses other than the Present Indicative, forms of the verb *bi<sup>l</sup>ay* serve in all these constructions in place of the enclitic, or *han*, etc.

|                                 |                              |
|---------------------------------|------------------------------|
| <i>dúe kŭfe-š bène</i>          | - he had two sons            |
| <i>āwrā-š be</i>                | - he was hungry              |
| <i>garákšā be bilā pay řāwe</i> | - they wanted to go hunting. |

#### Past Participle.

§ 29. The past participle, from transitive verbs always passive in meaning, is formed from the past stem by the addition of *-<sup>l</sup>a*. Thus, from

|          |                           |  |                        |
|----------|---------------------------|--|------------------------|
|          | <i>wit-</i>               | the participle <i>wit<sup>l</sup>a</i> | 'having gone to sleep' |
|          | <i>w<sup>l</sup>iard-</i> | <i>wiarg<sup>l</sup>a</i>              | 'having passed'        |
|          | <i>āw<sup>l</sup>ird-</i> | <i>āwrg<sup>l</sup>a</i>               | 'having been brought'  |
| but from | <i>ām<sup>l</sup>ā-</i>   | <i>ām<sup>l</sup>ā</i>                 | 'having come'.         |

The participle, being an adjective, has distinct feminine and plural forms. The direct case forms appear consistently throughout the compound tenses.

|     |                            |                            |                             |
|-----|----------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------------|
|     | M. <i>wit<sup>l</sup>a</i> | F. <i>wit<sup>l</sup>e</i> | Pl. <i>wit<sup>l</sup>e</i> |
|     | <i>wiarg<sup>l</sup>a</i>  | <i>wiarg<sup>l</sup>e</i>  | <i>wiarg<sup>l</sup>e</i>   |
| but | <i>ām<sup>l</sup>ā</i>     | <i>ām<sup>l</sup>e</i>     | <i>ām<sup>l</sup>e</i>      |

#### Stress precedence.

§ 30. The various elements which make up verbal forms each have a certain stress value, including zero. When two or more elements, which would have had the main word stress had they occurred singly, appear in the same verbal form they are subject to the following order of precedence:

- 1) negative prefixes, *n<sup>l</sup>a-*, *m<sup>l</sup>a-*, *n<sup>l</sup>im-*,
- 2) the 'preverb' suffixes *-an<sup>l</sup>a*, *-ar<sup>l</sup>a*, *-aw<sup>l</sup>a* (*-<sup>l</sup>o*, *-<sup>l</sup>e*),
- 3) the modal prefix *b<sup>l</sup>(r)-*, or the initial stress of the Present Subjunctive, Imperative, or Past Conditional,
- 4) the personal endings of the Present Indicative or Imperfect, or the past stem, or the past participle.

Thus the stress of a member of class 2 becomes a secondary word stress if a member of class 1 is present, as this has the main word stress. The stress of a member

of class 3 becomes a secondary word stress if a member of class 2 is present, but is often reduced entirely if a member of class 1 is present, and so on. The effect of this will be seen in the paradigms below.

**Regular conjugation.**

§ 31. i) The Present Indicative is formed of the present stem, the Present personal endings and, with some verbs, the modal prefix *m(i)-*. The substantive verb *b<sup>l</sup>ay* shows slight irregularity in this tense. Thus, from:

|       |                          |  |                          |                         |
|-------|--------------------------|--|--------------------------|-------------------------|
|       | <i>us-</i> 'sleep'       | <i>da-</i> 'give'                      | <i>kar-</i> 'do'         | <i>b-</i> 'be'          |
| Sg. 1 | <i>mus<sup>l</sup>u</i>  | <i>miq<sup>l</sup>aw</i>               | <i>kar<sup>l</sup>u</i>  | <i>bu</i>               |
| 2     | <i>mus<sup>l</sup>i</i>  | <i>miq<sup>l</sup>ay</i>               | <i>kar<sup>l</sup>i</i>  | <i>bi</i>               |
| 3     | <i>mus<sup>l</sup>o</i>  | <i>miq<sup>l</sup>o</i>                | <i>kar<sup>l</sup>o</i>  | <i>bo</i>               |
| Pl. 1 | <i>musm<sup>l</sup>e</i> | <i>miq<sup>l</sup>aym<sup>l</sup>e</i> | <i>karm<sup>l</sup>e</i> | <i>b<sup>l</sup>ime</i> |
| 2     | <i>musd<sup>l</sup>e</i> | <i>miq<sup>l</sup>ayd<sup>l</sup>e</i> | <i>kard<sup>l</sup>e</i> | <i>b<sup>l</sup>ide</i> |
| 3     | <i>mus<sup>l</sup>ā</i>  | <i>miq<sup>l</sup>ā</i>                | <i>kar<sup>l</sup>ā</i>  | <i>bā</i>               |

Negative, with the prefix *m<sup>l</sup>a-*,

|       |                          |                          |                                       |                         |
|-------|--------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------------------|-------------------------|
| Sg. 1 | <i>m<sup>l</sup>awsu</i> | <i>m<sup>l</sup>aqaw</i> | <i>m<sup>l</sup>akar<sub>1</sub>u</i> | <i>m<sup>l</sup>abu</i> |
|       | etc.                     | etc.                     | etc.                                  | etc.                    |

ii) The Present Subjunctive is formed of the present stem and the Present personal endings with, in some cases, the modal prefix *b<sup>l</sup>(i)-*. When this is not present the first syllable of the stem is stressed. The subjunctive of the verb 'to be' is only distinguished from the indicative in the negative.

|       |                          |  |                          |                         |
|-------|--------------------------|--|--------------------------|-------------------------|
| Sg. 1 | <i>b<sup>l</sup>usu</i>  | <i>b<sup>l</sup>iqaw</i>               | <i>k<sup>l</sup>aru</i>  | <i>bu</i>               |
| 2     | <i>b<sup>l</sup>usi</i>  | <i>b<sup>l</sup>iqay</i>               | <i>k<sup>l</sup>ari</i>  | <i>bi</i>               |
| 3     | <i>b<sup>l</sup>uso</i>  | <i>b<sup>l</sup>iqo</i>                | <i>k<sup>l</sup>aro</i>  | <i>bo</i>               |
| Pl. 1 | <i>b<sup>l</sup>usme</i> | <i>b<sup>l</sup>iqaym<sub>1</sub>e</i> | <i>k<sup>l</sup>arme</i> | <i>b<sup>l</sup>ime</i> |
| 2     | <i>b<sup>l</sup>usde</i> | <i>b<sup>l</sup>iqayd<sub>1</sub>e</i> | <i>k<sup>l</sup>arde</i> | <i>b<sup>l</sup>ide</i> |
| 3     | <i>b<sup>l</sup>usā</i>  | <i>b<sup>l</sup>iqā</i>                | <i>k<sup>l</sup>arā</i>  | <i>bā</i>               |

Negative, with the prefix *n<sup>l</sup>a-*,

|       |                          |                          |                                       |                         |
|-------|--------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------------------|-------------------------|
| Sg. 1 | <i>n<sup>l</sup>awsu</i> | <i>n<sup>l</sup>aqaw</i> | <i>n<sup>l</sup>akar<sub>1</sub>u</i> | <i>n<sup>l</sup>abu</i> |
|       | etc.                     | etc.                     | etc.                                  | etc.                    |

iii) The Imperative consists of the present stem and the Imperative endings and, with some verbs, the prefix *b<sup>l</sup>(i)-*.

|       |                          |                              |                          |                         |
|-------|--------------------------|------------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|
| Sg. 2 | <i>b<sup>l</sup>usa</i>  | <i>(b<sup>l</sup>i)da</i>    | <i>k<sup>l</sup>ara</i>  | <i>ba</i>               |
| Pl. 2 | <i>b<sup>l</sup>usde</i> | <i>(b<sup>l</sup>i)dayde</i> | <i>k<sup>l</sup>arde</i> | <i>b<sup>l</sup>ide</i> |

Negative, i. e. prohibitive, with the prefix *m<sup>1</sup>a-*,

|       |                           |  |  |                                       |
|-------|---------------------------|--|--|---------------------------------------|
| Sg. 2 | <i>m<sup>1</sup>awsa</i>  | <i>m<sup>1</sup>aḡa</i>                | <i>m<sup>1</sup>ak<sub>1</sub>ara</i>  | <i>m<sup>1</sup>aba</i>               |
| Pl. 2 | <i>m<sup>1</sup>awsde</i> | <i>m<sup>1</sup>aḡ<sub>1</sub>ayde</i> | <i>m<sup>1</sup>ak<sub>1</sub>arde</i> | <i>m<sup>1</sup>ab<sub>1</sub>ide</i> |

iv) The Imperfect is formed simply by the addition of the Imperfect endings to the present stem.

|       |                           |                          |                            |                          |
|-------|---------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------|
| Sg. 1 | <i>us<sup>1</sup>ene</i>  | <i>d<sup>1</sup>ene</i>  | <i>kar<sup>1</sup>ene</i>  | <i>b<sup>1</sup>ene</i>  |
| 2     | <i>us<sup>1</sup>eni</i>  | <i>d<sup>1</sup>eni</i>  | <i>kar<sup>1</sup>eni</i>  | <i>b<sup>1</sup>eni</i>  |
| 3     | <i>us<sup>1</sup>e</i>    | <i>de</i>                | <i>kar<sup>1</sup>e</i>    | <i>be</i>                |
| Pl. 1 | <i>us<sup>1</sup>enme</i> | <i>d<sup>1</sup>enme</i> | <i>kar<sup>1</sup>enme</i> | <i>b<sup>1</sup>enme</i> |
| 2     | <i>us<sup>1</sup>ende</i> | <i>d<sup>1</sup>ende</i> | <i>kar<sup>1</sup>ende</i> | <i>b<sup>1</sup>ende</i> |
| 3     | <i>us<sup>1</sup>ene</i>  | <i>d<sup>1</sup>ene</i>  | <i>kar<sup>1</sup>ene</i>  | <i>b<sup>1</sup>ene</i>  |

Negative, with the prefix *n<sup>1</sup>a-*,

|       |  |                                       |   |                                       |
|-------|--|---------------------------------------|---|---------------------------------------|
| Sg. 1 | <i>n<sup>1</sup>aws<sub>1</sub>ene</i> | <i>n<sup>1</sup>aḡ<sub>1</sub>ene</i> | <i>n<sup>1</sup>akar<sub>1</sub>ene</i> | <i>n<sup>1</sup>ab<sub>1</sub>ene</i> |
|       | etc.                                   | etc.                                  | etc.                                    | etc.                                  |

v) The Past Indicative is formed by the addition of the appropriate personal endings to the past stem. Thus, from:

|       |                             |                           |                              |                            |
|-------|-----------------------------|---------------------------|------------------------------|----------------------------|
|       | <i>wit-</i> 'sleep'         | <i>dā-</i> 'give'         | <i>kard-</i> 'do'            | <i>bi-</i> 'be'            |
| Sg. 1 | <i>w<sup>1</sup>itā(ne)</i> | <i>d<sup>1</sup>ā(ne)</i> | <i>k<sup>1</sup>arḡā(ne)</i> | <i>b<sup>1</sup>iā(ne)</i> |
| 2     | <i>w<sup>1</sup>iti</i>     | <i>dāy</i>                | <i>k<sup>1</sup>arḡi</i>     | <i>b<sup>1</sup>iay</i>    |
| 3 M.  | <i>wit</i>                  | <i>dā</i>                 | <i>kard</i>                  | <i>bi</i>                  |
| 3 F.  | <i>w<sup>1</sup>ita</i>     |                           | <i>k<sup>1</sup>arḡa</i>     | <i>b<sup>1</sup>ia</i>     |
| Pl. 1 | <i>w<sup>1</sup>itime</i>   | <i>d<sup>1</sup>āyme</i>  | <i>k<sup>1</sup>arḡime</i>   | <i>b<sup>1</sup>iayme</i>  |
| 2     | <i>w<sup>1</sup>itide</i>   | <i>d<sup>1</sup>āyde</i>  | <i>k<sup>1</sup>arḡide</i>   | <i>b<sup>1</sup>iayde</i>  |
| 3     | <i>w<sup>1</sup>ite</i>     | <i>de</i>                 | <i>k<sup>1</sup>arḡe</i>     | <i>b<sup>1</sup>ie</i>     |

Negative,

|       |  |   |  |  |
|-------|--|---|--|--|
| Sg. 1 | <i>n<sup>1</sup>aw<sup>1</sup>t<sub>1</sub>ā(ne)</i> | <i>n<sup>1</sup>aḡ<sub>1</sub>ā(ne)</i> | <i>n<sup>1</sup>ak<sub>1</sub>arḡā(ne)</i> | <i>n<sup>1</sup>abi<sub>1</sub>ā(ne)</i> |
|       | etc.   | etc.                                    | etc.                                       | etc.                                     |

vi) The Past Conditional consists of the past stem, always stressed on the first syllable, and the Past Conditional endings.

|       |                                       |                                      |  |                                      |
|-------|---------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--|--------------------------------------|
| Sg. 1 | <i>w<sup>1</sup>it<sub>1</sub>ene</i> | <i>d<sup>1</sup>ene<sup>25</sup></i> | <i>k<sup>1</sup>arḡ<sub>1</sub>ene</i> | <i>b<sup>1</sup>i<sub>1</sub>ene</i> |
| 2     | <i>w<sup>1</sup>it<sub>1</sub>eni</i> | <i>d<sup>1</sup>eni</i>              | <i>k<sup>1</sup>arḡ<sub>1</sub>eni</i> | <i>b<sup>1</sup>i<sub>1</sub>eni</i> |
| 3     | <i>w<sup>1</sup>ite</i>               | <i>de</i>                            | <i>k<sup>1</sup>arḡe</i>               | <i>b<sup>1</sup>ie</i>               |

<sup>25</sup> See next note.

|       |   |                          |   |                                       |
|-------|---|--------------------------|---|---------------------------------------|
| Pl. 1 | <i>wit<sup>1</sup>t<sub>1</sub>enme</i> | <i>d<sup>1</sup>enme</i> | <i>k<sup>1</sup>arq<sub>1</sub>enme</i> | <i>b<sup>1</sup>i<sub>1</sub>enme</i> |
| 2     | <i>wit<sup>1</sup>t<sub>1</sub>ende</i> | <i>d<sup>1</sup>ende</i> | <i>k<sup>1</sup>arq<sub>1</sub>ende</i> | <i>b<sup>1</sup>i<sub>1</sub>ende</i> |
| 3     | <i>wit<sup>1</sup>t<sub>1</sub>ene</i>  | <i>d<sup>1</sup>ene</i>  | <i>k<sup>1</sup>arq<sub>1</sub>ene</i>  | <i>b<sup>1</sup>i<sub>1</sub>ene</i>  |

Negative,

|       |  |   |  |  |
|-------|--|---|--|--|
| Sg. 1 | <i>n<sup>1</sup>aw<sup>1</sup>t<sub>1</sub>ene</i><br>etc. | <i>n<sup>1</sup>aq<sub>1</sub>ene</i><br>etc. | <i>n<sup>1</sup>akarq<sub>1</sub>ene</i><br>etc. | <i>n<sup>1</sup>abi<sub>1</sub>ene</i><br>etc. |
|-------|--|---|--|--|

vii) The Perfect Indicative, being formed from the past participle by the addition of the enclitic present of the substantive verb, has distinct forms for Masc. and Fem. in the singular.

|          |                            |                                      |                             |                           |
|----------|----------------------------|--------------------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------|
| Sg. 1 M. | <i>wit<sup>1</sup>anā</i>  | <i>d<sup>1</sup>anā<sup>26</sup></i> | <i>karq<sup>1</sup>anā</i>  | <i>bi<sup>1</sup>anā</i>  |
| 1 F.     | <i>wit<sup>1</sup>enā</i>  | <i>d<sup>1</sup>enā</i>              | <i>karq<sup>1</sup>enā</i>  | <i>bi<sup>1</sup>enā</i>  |
| 2 M.     | <i>wit<sup>1</sup>ani</i>  | <i>d<sup>1</sup>āni</i>              | <i>karq<sup>1</sup>ani</i>  | <i>bi<sup>1</sup>ani</i>  |
| 2 F.     | <i>wit<sup>1</sup>eni</i>  | <i>d<sup>1</sup>eni</i>              | <i>karq<sup>1</sup>eni</i>  | <i>bi<sup>1</sup>eni</i>  |
| 3 M.     | <i>wit<sup>1</sup>an</i>   | <i>dān</i>                           | <i>karq<sup>1</sup>an</i>   | <i>bi<sup>1</sup>an</i>   |
| 3 F.     | <i>wit<sup>1</sup>ena</i>  | <i>d<sup>1</sup>ena</i>              | <i>karq<sup>1</sup>ena</i>  | <i>bi<sup>1</sup>ena</i>  |
| Pl. 1    | <i>wit<sup>1</sup>enme</i> | <i>d<sup>1</sup>enme</i>             | <i>karq<sup>1</sup>enme</i> | <i>bi<sup>1</sup>enme</i> |
| 2        | <i>wit<sup>1</sup>ende</i> | <i>d<sup>1</sup>ende</i>             | <i>karq<sup>1</sup>ende</i> | <i>bi<sup>1</sup>ende</i> |
| 3        | <i>wit<sup>1</sup>ene</i>  | <i>d<sup>1</sup>ene</i>              | <i>karq<sup>1</sup>ene</i>  | <i>bi<sup>1</sup>ene</i>  |

Negative,

|          |  |   |  |  |
|----------|--|---|--|--|
| Sg. 1 M. | <i>n<sup>1</sup>aw<sup>1</sup>t<sub>1</sub>anā</i><br>etc. | <i>n<sup>1</sup>aq<sub>1</sub>ānā</i><br>etc. | <i>n<sup>1</sup>akarq<sub>1</sub>anā</i><br>etc. | <i>n<sup>1</sup>abi<sub>1</sub>anā</i><br>etc. |
|----------|--|---|--|--|

viii) The Perfect Subjunctive is formed from the past participle by the addition of the Present Subjunctive of the substantive verb (see ii) above).

|          |                             |                           |                              |                            |
|----------|-----------------------------|---------------------------|------------------------------|----------------------------|
| Sg. 1 M. | <i>wit<sup>1</sup>abu</i>   | <i>d<sup>1</sup>ābu</i>   | <i>karq<sup>1</sup>abu</i>   | <i>bi<sup>1</sup>abu</i>   |
| 1 F.     | <i>wit<sup>1</sup>ebu</i>   | <i>d<sup>1</sup>ēbu</i>   | <i>karq<sup>1</sup>ebu</i>   | <i>bi<sup>1</sup>ebu</i>   |
| 2 M.     | <i>wit<sup>1</sup>abi</i>   | <i>d<sup>1</sup>ābi</i>   | <i>karq<sup>1</sup>abi</i>   | <i>bi<sup>1</sup>abi</i>   |
| 2 F.     | <i>wit<sup>1</sup>ebi</i>   | <i>d<sup>1</sup>ēbi</i>   | <i>karq<sup>1</sup>ebi</i>   | <i>bi<sup>1</sup>ebi</i>   |
| 3 M.     | <i>wit<sup>1</sup>abo</i>   | <i>d<sup>1</sup>ābo</i>   | <i>karq<sup>1</sup>abo</i>   | <i>bi<sup>1</sup>abo</i>   |
| 3 F.     | <i>wit<sup>1</sup>ebo</i>   | <i>d<sup>1</sup>ēbo</i>   | <i>karq<sup>1</sup>ebo</i>   | <i>bi<sup>1</sup>ebo</i>   |
| Pl. 1    | <i>wit<sup>1</sup>ebime</i> | <i>d<sup>1</sup>ēbime</i> | <i>karq<sup>1</sup>ebime</i> | <i>bi<sup>1</sup>ebime</i> |
| 2        | <i>wit<sup>1</sup>ebide</i> | <i>d<sup>1</sup>ēbide</i> | <i>karq<sup>1</sup>ebide</i> | <i>bi<sup>1</sup>ebide</i> |
| 3        | <i>wit<sup>1</sup>ebā</i>   | <i>d<sup>1</sup>ēbā</i>   | <i>karq<sup>1</sup>ebā</i>   | <i>bi<sup>1</sup>ebā</i>   |

<sup>26</sup> A number of Past Conditional and Perfect Indicative forms of the verb *dā-* are identical. Regarding this peculiarity of verbs with a past stem ending in *-ā-*, see § 33 (a).