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A Grammar of Kumzari

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

Christina van der Wal Anonby
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Contents

Contents ........................................................................................................................................ 1

Map of the Kumzari Language Area ......................................................................................... viii

Map of Kumzari History ............................................................................................................ ix

Abbreviations ........................................................................................................................... x

Tables ......................................................................................................................................... xi

1 INTRODUCTION .................................................................................................................. 1

1.1 The Kumzari people .......................................................................................................... 1

1.2 The Kumzari language ....................................................................................................... 2
  1.2.1 Classification ............................................................................................................... 2
  1.2.2 Sociolinguistics ......................................................................................................... 4
      1.2.2.1 Dialects .............................................................................................................. 4
      1.2.2.2 Viability and Bilingualism ............................................................................... 4
      1.2.2.3 Oral traditions .................................................................................................. 5
      1.2.2.4 Writing ............................................................................................................. 5
      1.2.2.5 Endangerment ............................................................................................... 5
  1.2.3 Previous research ....................................................................................................... 5

1.3 A history of Kumzari ......................................................................................................... 6
  1.3.1 Foreign traveller accounts ......................................................................................... 6
  1.3.2 Ancient Oman ........................................................................................................... 7
  1.3.3 Arrival of the Azd ..................................................................................................... 9
  1.3.4 Sassanian era .......................................................................................................... 10
      1.3.4.1 Dibba and Malik ............................................................................................. 11
      1.3.4.2 South Arabian kinship and migration ......................................................... 12
      1.3.4.3 The seventh century ...................................................................................... 14
  1.3.5 Oman at war ............................................................................................................ 14
      1.3.5.1 The last battle of Dibba ............................................................................... 16
      1.3.5.2 Dibba refugees .............................................................................................. 16
  1.3.6 Beyond Dibba ......................................................................................................... 16
  1.3.7 Looking back and looking forward: The mixed language ...................................... 17

1.4 The present study ............................................................................................................ 21

2 PHONOLOGY ....................................................................................................................... 23

2.1 Vowels ............................................................................................................................ 23

2.2 Consonants ...................................................................................................................... 24
  2.2.1 Stops and Affricates ............................................................................................... 26
  2.2.2 Fricatives ............................................................................................................... 26
  2.2.3 Nasals ...................................................................................................................... 26
  2.2.4 Laterals .................................................................................................................. 27
  2.2.5 Approximants ....................................................................................................... 27
  2.2.6 Pharyngeal ............................................................................................................. 27
2.3 Consonant distribution ............................................................................................................ 28
  2.3.1 Consonants in word-final position ..................................................................................... 28
  2.3.2 Intervocalic consonants ..................................................................................................... 29
  2.3.3 Consonant clusters and sequences .........

  2.3.3.1 Initial consonants in onset clusters .............................................................................. 30
  2.3.3.2 Second consonants in onset clusters ............................................................................ 30
  2.3.3.3 Initial consonants in coda clusters .............................................................................. 31
  2.3.3.4 Second consonants in coda clusters ............................................................................ 32
  2.3.4 Word-internal consonant sequences .................................................................................. 32
  2.3.5 Geminates ......................................................................................................................... 33

2.4 Syllable structure .................................................................................................................... 33
  2.4.1 Syllable shapes in monosyllabic words ............................................................................. 34
  2.4.2 Syllable shapes in multisyllabic words .............................................................................. 35

2.5 Non-segmental phenomena .................................................................................................. 36
  2.5.1 Assimilation ....................................................................................................................... 36
  2.5.2 Insertion ............................................................................................................................... 38
  2.5.3 Deletion ............................................................................................................................... 38
  2.5.4 Resyllabification .................................................................................................................. 39
  2.5.5 Multiple processes .............................................................................................................. 39

3 NOUN ........................................................................................................................................ 43

  3.1 Noun: Introduction ................................................................................................................. 43
  3.1.1 Structural properties of nouns .......................................................................................... 43

  3.1.1.1 Noun root structure ...................................................................................................... 43
  3.1.1.2 Noun inflection ............................................................................................................. 44
  3.1.1.3 Irregular noun inflection ................................................................................................ 45
  3.1.2 Count Nouns ...................................................................................................................... 46
  3.1.3 Mass Nouns ....................................................................................................................... 47
  3.1.4 Abstract Plural .................................................................................................................... 48
  3.1.5 Vocative Nouns .................................................................................................................. 49
  3.1.6 Noun Derivation ............................................................................................................... 49
  3.1.7 Proper nouns ...................................................................................................................... 51
  3.1.8 Cardinal Numerals ............................................................................................................ 52

  3.1.8.1 Distributional counting .................................................................................................. 54
  3.1.8.2 Numerals in calendrical systems ................................................................................... 55
  3.1.9 Distributional properties of nouns .................................................................................... 56
  3.1.10 Nouns in Discourse ......................................................................................................... 58

  3.1.10.1 Nouns in embedded poems ......................................................................................... 58
  3.1.10.2 Nouns in participant reference .................................................................................... 59

3.2 Pronouns ................................................................................................................................ 60
  3.2.1 Personal pronouns .............................................................................................................. 60

  3.2.1.1 Emphatic personal pronouns ........................................................................................ 60
  3.2.2 Possessive pronouns .......................................................................................................... 61
  3.2.3 Reflexive pronoun .............................................................................................................. 62
  3.2.4 Relative pronoun ................................................................................................................ 63
  3.2.5 Reciprocal pronouns ......................................................................................................... 64
  3.2.6 Count and Numeral Pronouns .......................................................................................... 64
  3.2.7 Interrogative pronouns ...................................................................................................... 65
  3.2.8 Pronouns in syntax .......................................................................................................... 67
  3.2.9 Pronouns in discourse ...................................................................................................... 67
3.3 Noun Phrase .......................................................................................................................... 70
  3.3.1 Noun phrase: Introduction ................................................................................................. 70
  3.3.2 Noun Phrases with modifying words .................................................................................. 70
    3.3.2.1 Noun + adjective ........................................................................................................... 70
    3.3.2.2 Noun + modifying noun ................................................................................................ 71
    3.3.2.3 Noun + participle ........................................................................................................... 72
    3.3.2.4 Noun + deverb ............................................................................................................... 73
  3.3.3 Possession of nouns ............................................................................................................. 74
  3.3.4 Alienable and Inalienable Nouns ......................................................................................... 76
  3.3.5 Topicalised nouns ............................................................................................................... 78

4 VERB ........................................................................................................................................ 80
  4.1 Deverb .................................................................................................................................... 80
    4.1.1 Deverbs: Origin and Morphological Structure .................................................................. 80
    4.1.2 Deverbs: Syntactic distribution ......................................................................................... 81
    4.1.3 Deverbs: Other sources ..................................................................................................... 84
    4.1.4 Deverbs: Word class derivation ......................................................................................... 84
      4.1.4.1 Nouns derived from deverbs ......................................................................................... 85
      4.1.4.2 Adjectives derived from deverbs .................................................................................... 86
      4.1.4.3 Adverbs derived from deverbs ....................................................................................... 86
      4.1.4.4 Derivational Morphology and Syntax ......................................................................... 87
    4.1.5 Deverbs: Discussion on word class .................................................................................... 87
    4.1.6 Conclusion: Inferences on the mixed nature of Kumzari from deverbs and their derivations................................................................. 90

4.2 Verb ......................................................................................................................................... 91
  4.2.1 Verb Morphology ................................................................................................................ 92
    4.2.1.1 Verb types ....................................................................................................................... 92
    4.2.1.2 -ft and -st verbs ............................................................................................................. 93
    4.2.1.3 b- and w- verbs .............................................................................................................. 93
    4.2.1.4 Irregular verbs ................................................................................................................. 94
    4.2.1.5 Inflectional morphology of finite verbs .......................................................................... 94
  4.2.2 Verb form semantics ............................................................................................................ 98
    4.2.2.1 Realsis ............................................................................................................................ 98
    4.2.2.2 Perfect ............................................................................................................................ 100
    4.2.2.3 Imperfect .......................................................................................................................... 103
    4.2.2.4 Imperative ....................................................................................................................... 105
    4.2.2.5 Irrealis ............................................................................................................................ 108
    4.2.2.6 Mirative ........................................................................................................................... 111

4.3 Verb phrase ............................................................................................................................ 112
  4.3.1 Compound verb .................................................................................................................. 112
  4.3.2 Verb phrase morphosyntax .................................................................................................. 113
    4.3.2.1 Verbs with inalienable nouns as direct objects ................................................................. 114
    4.3.2.2 Verb goal arguments ..................................................................................................... 115
    4.3.2.3 Factive verb phrase syntax ............................................................................................ 116
  4.3.3 Composition of the compound verb .................................................................................... 117
    4.3.3.1 Voice and transitivity in compound verbs ...................................................................... 117
    4.3.3.2 Unity in the compound verb ............................................................................................ 119
    4.3.3.3 Compound verb designation .......................................................................................... 121
  4.3.4 Auxiliary verb ..................................................................................................................... 121
  4.3.5 Verb truncation .................................................................................................................... 126
8  PREPOSITION ........................................................................................................ 155
8.1  Prepositions: Morphosyntax and semantics ......................................................... 155
8.2  Prepositional Derivation ....................................................................................... 158
8.3  Verbal goal arguments ......................................................................................... 158
8.4  Possessive preposition and proclitic directional wā .............................................. 159
8.5  Prepositions in Poetics ......................................................................................... 161

9  CLAUSE .................................................................................................................. 163
9.1  Constituent order .................................................................................................. 163
  9.1.1  Basic word order ............................................................................................ 163
  9.1.2  Minimal clauses ............................................................................................. 163
  9.1.3  Word order variation ..................................................................................... 165
        9.1.3.1  Factive syntax ...................................................................................... 165
        9.1.3.2  Topicalisation ....................................................................................... 165
  9.2  Types of simple clauses ..................................................................................... 166
        9.2.1  Declarative clauses ................................................................................... 166
        9.2.2  Interrogative clauses ................................................................................. 166
        9.2.3  Imperative clauses ................................................................................... 166
  9.3  Types of predicates ............................................................................................ 167
        9.3.1  Verbal predicates ...................................................................................... 167
        9.3.1.1  Intransitive verbal predicates .................................................................. 167
        9.3.1.2  Transitive verbal predicates ................................................................... 167
        9.3.1.3  Deverbal predicates ............................................................................... 168
        9.3.1.4  Verbal predicates with complements .................................................. 168
        9.3.2  Non-verbal predicates ............................................................................... 171
        9.3.2.1  Clauses with existentials ........................................................................ 171
        9.3.2.2  Predicates with the verb tōa ‘become’ .................................................... 172
        9.3.2.3  Predicates with evidentials ...................................................................... 174
        9.3.2.4  Predicates with possessives .................................................................... 174
        9.3.2.5  Predicates with abstract plurals ............................................................ 175
  9.4  Complex clauses ................................................................................................. 175
        9.4.1  Coordination .............................................................................................. 175
        9.4.1.1  Conjunction ........................................................................................... 176
        9.4.1.2  Causal coordination .............................................................................. 178
        9.4.1.3  Disjunction ............................................................................................. 178
        9.4.1.4  Adversative coordination ....................................................................... 180
        9.4.1.5  Asyndetic coordination ......................................................................... 180
        9.4.2  Subordination .............................................................................................. 181
        9.4.2.1  Subordination strategies spanning all categories ................................   181
        9.4.2.2  Relative clauses ...................................................................................... 190
        9.4.2.3  Clause chains ........................................................................................ 193
        9.4.2.4  Adverbal clauses .................................................................................... 199
        9.4.2.5  Complement clauses .............................................................................. 205

10  NEGATION .............................................................................................................. 211
A Grammar of Kumzari

10.1 Verb negation ........................................................................................................... 211
  10.1.1 Post-constituent negation .................................................................................... 211
  10.1.2 Double marking of negation ............................................................................... 213
  10.1.3 Negative interrogative ....................................................................................... 214
  10.1.4 Prohibitive (negative imperative) ...................................................................... 214

10.2 Verbless clause negation .......................................................................................... 215
  10.2.1 Negation of existentials ...................................................................................... 215
  10.2.2 Negation of possessive constructions ............................................................... 216

10.3 Pre-posed negation ................................................................................................ 216
  10.3.1 Rejection ............................................................................................................ 216
  10.3.2 Subject negation ............................................................................................... 217

10.4 Negation compounds .............................................................................................. 217
  10.4.1 Absolute existential negation iš na ‘there is no’ .................................................. 217
  10.4.2 Personal negation kas na ‘no one, not there’ ...................................................... 218

10.5 Complex clause negation ....................................................................................... 219
  10.5.1 Subordinate clause negation .............................................................................. 219
  10.5.2 Auxiliary verb negation ..................................................................................... 220

10.6 Evidential negation ................................................................................................ 220

10.7 Negation in poetics ................................................................................................ 221

11 DISCOURSE .................................................................................................................. 223

11.1 The analysis of discourse ....................................................................................... 223

11.2 Coherence and grounding ...................................................................................... 224

11.3 Discourse feature inventory ................................................................................... 225
  11.3.1 Verb forms in discourse ................................................................................... 225
    11.3.1.1 Mirative in discourse ................................................................................... 225
    11.3.1.2 Reals in discourse ..................................................................................... 226
    11.3.1.3 Imperfect in discourse ............................................................................... 226
    11.3.1.4 Perfect in discourse .................................................................................. 227
    11.3.1.5 Verblessness in discourse ......................................................................... 227
  11.3.2 Discourse Particles ............................................................................................ 227
    11.3.2.1 ka and amū and sā sā discourse particles .................................................. 228
    11.3.2.2 byō discourse particle ............................................................................... 228
    11.3.2.3 tamma discourse particle ......................................................................... 229
    11.3.2.4 sā discourse particle ................................................................................ 229
    11.3.2.5 čāb kin? discourse particle ....................................................................... 231
    11.3.2.6 lumrūd and fiḥāl discourse particles ....................................................... 231
  11.3.3 Formulae in discourse ........................................................................................ 232
  11.3.4 Pre-posed adverbial expressions in discourse ................................................... 233
  11.3.5 Speech Type in discourse .................................................................................. 234

11.4 Plot structure ......................................................................................................... 235
  11.4.1 Narremes of plot structure ................................................................................. 236
    11.4.1.1 Exposition .................................................................................................. 236
    11.4.1.2 Body ......................................................................................................... 238
    11.4.1.3 Conclusion ............................................................................................... 243
12 POETICS ........................................................................................................... 245
12.1 Poetics in linguistics ..................................................................................... 245
12.2 Repetition and Parallelism .......................................................................... 246
12.3 Phonetic parallelism .................................................................................... 246
12.4 Morphological parallelism ........................................................................... 248
12.5 Lexical repetition ......................................................................................... 248
12.6 Syntactic parallelism .................................................................................... 251
12.7 Semantic parallelism .................................................................................... 255
12.8 Embedded poems ......................................................................................... 256

Appendix 1: Folktales .......................................................................................... 262
Pačaxčēō .............................................................................................................. 262
Abūyi salaḥnī Ümmī rakabnī ................................................................................. 273
Grābō .................................................................................................................... 278
Bāğ al-Mawz ......................................................................................................... 286
Ahmad Tka ............................................................................................................ 298
Rōran Šēxō ........................................................................................................... 305
Kaṇ’ėdō ................................................................................................................ 317
Sōntūo .................................................................................................................. 325

Appendix 2: Lexicon ............................................................................................ 332

References .......................................................................................................... 363
Map of the Kumzari Language Area
Map of Kumzari History
Abbreviations

- suffix
- clitic
1 first person
2 second person
3 third person
ADJ adjective
ADJR adjectivizer
ADV adverb
ADVR adverbializer
Ar: Arabic modern loanword gloss
cf. confer
C consonant
COUNT count marker (inanimate)
DEM demonstrative
disc discourse particle
dv deverb
e.g. exempli gratia
ed. editor
eads. editors
EMPH emphatic
esp. especially
EVID evidential
EX existential
i.e. id est
ibid. ibidem
IMPER Imperative verb form
IMPF Imperfect verb form
INF inferred evidential
INTERR question morpheme
IRR Irrealis verb form
Kmz. Kumzari
LIST marker of listing parallelism
lit. literally
Lrk. Laraki variety of Kumzari
MIR mirative verb form
n noun
NEG negative
NOM nominative
NUM numeral
Ø zero-marked morpheme
OBJ object
p plural
PEAK peak discourse marker
PERF Perfect verb form
PERS human count marker
Pers. Persian
PL plural noun suffix
pn pronoun
prep preposition
REAL Realis verb form
REFL reflexive pronoun
REP reportive evidential
s singular
SENS sensory evidential
sfx suffix
sp. species (type)
SUB subordinating enclitic
SUBJ subject
SURP surprise particle
TOP topicaliser
v verb
V short vowel
VV long vowel
viṣ. videlicet
W.Ir. Western Iranian languages
/// rising intonation
\\ falling intonation
[ ] phonetic transcription between brackets
// phonemic transcription between slashes
* precedes historical or ungrammatical forms or phonemes
+ followed by ... or + derived word class
> develops synchronically into
< develops synchronically from or subordinator in a clause chain
~ co-occurs with
= is
(…) omission of material

Example source notation
A Ahmad Tka folklore
B Bāğ al-Mōz folklore
G Ġrabō folklore
K Kanēdō folklore
M native-speaker informant data
P Pačaxēō folklore
R Rōran Šēxō folklore
S Sōntyō folklore
U Abūyī Salaḥnī, Ummī Rakabnī folklore
Tables

Table 1. A sample of Kumzari words with cognates in other languages ................................................................. 3
Table 2. Vowel phonemes in Kumzari ........................................................................................................................ 23
Table 3. Consonant phonemes in Kumzari .................................................................................................................. 24
Table 4. Verb roots with final single consonant and epenthetic u ............................................................................... 38
Table 5. Verb roots with final consonant cluster and epenthetic ī .............................................................................. 38
Table 6. Verb roots with r deletion ................................................................................................................................ 38
Table 7. Verb roots with r deletion and retention ......................................................................................................... 39
Table 8. Verb roots with r deletion ................................................................................................................................ 39
Table 9. Verb roots with w deletion .............................................................................................................................. 39
Table 10. Kumzari sounds, transcription, and writing system ......................................................................................... 42
Table 11. Noun inflection ................................................................................................................................................. 45
Table 12. Irregular Nouns: alternate roots, possession and inflection ......................................................................... 46
Table 13. Cardinal numerals ............................................................................................................................................ 53
Table 14. Simple and composed systems of numerals (40s and 60s) ............................................................................. 53
Table 15. Numeral units and their linked forms ............................................................................................................. 54
Table 16. Days of the week .............................................................................................................................................. 55
Table 17. Scale of prominence/grounding by nouns in participant reference .............................................................. 60
Table 18. Personal pronouns ........................................................................................................................................... 60
Table 19. Emphatic personal pronouns ......................................................................................................................... 61
Table 20. Interrogative pronouns .................................................................................................................................... 65
Table 21. Noun Possession in Kumzari and South Arabian ............................................................................................. 75
Table 22. Alternate roots in non-possessed and possessed nouns .................................................................................. 77
Table 23. Mixed provenance word classes .................................................................................................................... 84
Table 24. Word class properties of deverbs .................................................................................................................. 90
Table 25. Verb affixes ...................................................................................................................................................... 91
Table 26. Finite verb roots .............................................................................................................................................. 92
Table 27. Example paradigm for the verb fān ‘send’ ......................................................................................................... 93
Table 28. Example paradigm for the verb xwāfī, xwā ‘sleep’ ......................................................................................... 93
Table 29. Verbs of type -fi and -št .................................................................................................................................... 93
Table 30. Verbs of type b- and w- ................................................................................................................................. 94
Table 31. Irregular finite verbs ......................................................................................................................................... 94
Table 32. Suppletive Imperatives .................................................................................................................................... 97
Table 33. Verb form semantics ......................................................................................................................................... 98
Table 34. Auxiliary verbs .................................................................................................................................................. 122
Table 35. Commonly truncated verbs ........................................................................................................................... 127
Table 36. Existential enclitics .......................................................................................................................................... 130
Table 37. Existentials in the poem Newlyweds carry things away ................................................................................. 133
Table 38. Noun-like adjectives by semantic type ........................................................................................................ 137
Table 39. Adjectives with final əg .................................................................................................................................... 138
Table 40. Adjectives of Indo-European provenance .................................................................................................... 138
Table 41. Adjectives derived from deverbs (CaCC) ....................................................................................................... 138
Table 42. Derived adjectives with the suffix –ī .............................................................................................................. 138
Table 43. Quantifiers ......................................................................................................................................................... 140
Table 44. Ordinal numerals .............................................................................................................................................. 141
Table 45. Embedded poem K715 the sorcerers’ assembly ............................................................................................. 144
Table 46. Evidentials ......................................................................................................................................................... 145
Table 47. Prepositions ....................................................................................................................................................... 155
Table 48. Derivation of prepositions ........................................................................................................................... 158
Table 49. Prepositional phrases with wā and locational nouns ........................................... 160
Table 50. The possessive construction in three Eurasian languages ........................................... 161
Table 51. Prepositional phrases in the poem about people giving charity wheat .......................... 161
Table 52. Chain-like structures in an embedded poem .............................................................. 198
Table 53. Kumzari plot structure constituents ........................................................................... 224
Table 54. Scale of prominence/grounding by verb form ............................................................ 225
Table 55. Scale of prominence/grounding by discourse particle .................................................. 232
Table 56. Kumzari narrative formulae ......................................................................................... 233
Table 57. Pre-posed Adverbial Expressions .................................................................................. 233
Table 58. Speech (+) vs. no speech (-) in Kumzari plot structure .................................................. 234
Table 59. Scale of prominence/grounding by speech type ........................................................... 235
Table 60. Summary of plot structure narremes ........................................................................... 236
Table 61. Poem: The Seven Houses (B313 from the tale Bāğ al-Mowż) ..................................... 256
Table 62. Poem: The Clairvoyant Camel (A397 from the tale Ahmad Tka) ................................. 257
Table 63. Poem: Girl Takes off with the Camel and Weapons (P724 from the tale Pačaxčēō) 258
Table 64. Poem: People Giving Charity Grain (G20 from the tale Ğrābō) ................................. 259
Table 65. Poem: Boy Asks about his Father’s Livelihood (K32 from the tale Kan’ēdō) ............. 260
1 Introduction

1.1 The Kumzari people

The Kumzari people\(^1\) live on the Musandam peninsula of northern Oman. They number approximately 5000, including 500 living across the Strait of Hormuz on Larak Island, Iran and several families across the border in the United Arab Emirates. Semi-nomadic, they migrate between the winter coastal villages and oasis towns such as Khasab and Dibba in summer. Their geographic focal point is the village of Kumzar, situated at 26.3375° N, 56.4099° E, and is the northernmost settlement in Oman.

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

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

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

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

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\(^1\) Other names given for Kumzari in the literature and by surrounding peoples are Kumazra/Kumāzarah, Kamzareyah, Kamāzareh, Kamzāree, and Komzāri. The first two names are most often Arabian, the latter is Iranian. In the Kumzari language, the adverbial form for the language is Kumzariti, thus ‘speaking Kumzari’ is majma tka Kumzāritī.
employed in the Khasab Museum, local hotels and restaurants, tours of the fjords and mountains, and police and border services.

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

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

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

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

1.2 The Kumzari language

1.2.1 Classification

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

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

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

² Of a word list with 1090 lexical items collected by the author in 2008, 45% were traceable to Arabian, 37% to Persian, and 17% to Kumzari only (unknown other origin).
Musandam and Larak is unintelligible both to Arabic speakers with no knowledge of Kumzari, and to Persian speakers from the Iranian mainland. This confirms Bertram Thomas’ observations of last century that Kumzari “is a compound of Arabic and Persian, but is distinct from them both” (Thomas 1929:75). In modern times, neither of its neighbouring languages accept Kumzari as relating to their own: Persian speakers consider it a form of Arabic and Arabic speakers believe it to be a Persian dialect.

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kumzari lexeme</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>potential source language³</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>furnō</td>
<td>‘the oven’</td>
<td>Portuguese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>langal</td>
<td>‘anchor’</td>
<td>Portuguese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tōr</td>
<td>‘bull’</td>
<td>Portuguese (Syriac tawrā)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pēsē</td>
<td>‘coin’</td>
<td>Portuguese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lamba</td>
<td>‘lamp’</td>
<td>Portuguese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dūšin</td>
<td>‘yesterday’</td>
<td>Baluchi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ĩāp</td>
<td>‘paddle’</td>
<td>Baluchi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ĩikk</td>
<td>‘small’</td>
<td>Hindi⁴</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>punka</td>
<td>‘ceiling fan’</td>
<td>Hindi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nāšta</td>
<td>‘breakfast’</td>
<td>Minabi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bāy</td>
<td>‘thick’</td>
<td>Turkish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pāša</td>
<td>‘wealthy person’</td>
<td>Turkish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amba</td>
<td>‘mango’</td>
<td>Swahili</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jōtti</td>
<td>‘shoe’</td>
<td>Urdu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tāwa</td>
<td>‘convex metal bread pan’</td>
<td>Urdu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ālō</td>
<td>‘potato’</td>
<td>Luri/ Kurdish/W.Ir.⁰⁵</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rōk/kōrk</td>
<td>‘boy’</td>
<td>Luri/ Kurdish/W.Ir.⁰⁵</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gap</td>
<td>‘big’</td>
<td>Luri/ Kurdish/W.Ir.⁰⁵</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xāyg</td>
<td>‘fish egg’</td>
<td>Luri/ Kurdish/W.Ir.⁰⁵</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šērama</td>
<td>‘autumn’</td>
<td>Himyaritic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pling</td>
<td>‘plank’</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>niglis</td>
<td>‘gold necklace’</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bambō</td>
<td>‘bumpy’</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

³ Some of the English-source words are presumed to be via Gulf Arabic, Middle Persian, Parthian, and Syriac data from Henning 1937. South Arabian data from Simeone-Senelle 1997 and Rubin 2010. Shihhi data from Bernabela 2011 and author’s field notes.
⁴ Hindi, but cf. Middle Persian cyg ‘myc ‘a little’.
⁵ W.Ir. refers to other Western Iranian languages aside from New Persian.
**4  A Grammar of Kumzari**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>lawšan</th>
<th>‘perfume’ (from ‘lotion’)</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>apsit</td>
<td>‘upset, angry’</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daxtar</td>
<td>‘hospital’ (from ‘doctor’)</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čigāra</td>
<td>‘cigarette’</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ħežar</td>
<td>‘freezer’</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šěwil</td>
<td>‘shovel’</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ħāšaf</td>
<td>‘dried dates’</td>
<td>Shihhi Arabic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>innit</td>
<td>‘goat pen’</td>
<td>Shihhi Arabic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rāy</td>
<td>‘idea’</td>
<td>Shihhi Arabic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>krāh</td>
<td>‘sandal’</td>
<td>Shihhi Arabic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xumba</td>
<td>‘clay storage jar’</td>
<td>Parthian/Avestan (‘pitcher’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zangērir</td>
<td>‘slave’</td>
<td>Parthian (zyncyhr ‘chains’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ěrā</td>
<td>‘oil lamp’</td>
<td>Middle Persian (čirāğ)⁶</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ar</td>
<td>‘that which’</td>
<td>Mehri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ħēriq</td>
<td>‘hot/dry weather’</td>
<td>Mehri (hark ‘hot’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tā</td>
<td>‘one, a single’</td>
<td>Mehri (tāf)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xar</td>
<td>‘donkey’</td>
<td>Mehri (ḥirīʿ), W.Ir.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t-/d-/</td>
<td>imperfect aspect (verbs)</td>
<td>Hobyot, Mehri, Jibbali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tē</td>
<td>‘until’</td>
<td>Hobyot, Mehri, Harsusi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qarras</td>
<td>‘mosquito’</td>
<td>Hobyot (kerēs)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>đūṣ</td>
<td>‘date syrup’</td>
<td>Harsusi (debš cf. Arabic dibs)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wā-</td>
<td>‘towards’</td>
<td>Harsusi (wał)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka</td>
<td>‘if, when’</td>
<td>Soqotri, W.Ir.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ʔāʔā]</td>
<td>‘no’</td>
<td>Jibbali (ʔ as neg. prohibitive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naxa, nēxan</td>
<td>‘aboard (vehicle)’</td>
<td>Jibbali (nxā, nxīn ‘under’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šawhaṭ</td>
<td>‘whale’</td>
<td>Jibbali</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 1.2.2 Sociolinguistics

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

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

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⁶ cf. Shihhi srūghīh.
⁷ Mehri has a –t noun suffix (Rubin 2010:65) that is noted as a salient feature distinguishing Himyaritic from Arabic (Watson 2011).
⁸ But note that Kumzari data from the early twentieth century show that Kumzari did retain the /h/ in contexts where it now has glottal stop: hišk ‘dry’, hātiš ‘fire’, hav ‘water’ (Skjærvø 1989:365).
facilitate their accommodation to school, but few families follow this directive. Older people, women, and small children have lower rates of bilingualism due to less contact with Arabic. Those employed in business, government, and tourism sectors have higher rates of bilingualism in Arabic. Most speakers see the advantage of cultivating the Kumzari language and culture, whilst learning Arabic as a second language for interaction with the wider community.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1.3 A history of Kumzari

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

1.3.1 Foreign traveller accounts

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

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

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

In the mid-1800’s, Miles noted that in Khasab lived “a section of the Shihiyyeen [Shihhi]; many of the people are of Persian descent and are cloth-weavers” (1994:446); he concluded that they were “of Himyarite descent,... a peculiar race with curious habits and customs, subsisting chiefly on fish and goats’ milk” (Miles 1994:436). Miles also noticed that “They are said to have a peculiar dialect and their physical aspect is somewhat different from that of the Arabs, and some writers have even suggested that they are descendants of a European nation, but the people of Koomaz are of Persian descent and they speak a corrupt Persian” (Miles 1994:379). Referring to Goat Island (Jazirat al-Ghanam), he said “the Koomzaries
Kumzari] use this island for pasturing their flocks” (Miles 1994:448). Of Kumzar itself, Miles observed, “The people being of undoubted Persian origin are very fair, and speak a corrupt Persian with a slight admixture of Arabic” (1994:448).

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

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

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

1.3.2 Ancient Oman

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

The word referring to Oman was rendered Makaa in Old Persian, Macae or Magi or Mykoi in Greek (Yule 1999:122), Makkash in Elamite, and Makkān in Akkadian (Potts 2000:56). In Aramaic, Oman was called Qaddām, the word meaning ‘morning, east’. According to Herodotus, a Greek historian writing in the 5th century BC, the Myci were a tribal people living in Oman. As early as 536 BC, Cyrus the Great conquered Oman for Persia (Wilson 1928), and it was governed by satraps of Achaemenid Persia during the dynasties of Darius I (r. 522-486 BC) and Xerxes I (r. 486-465 BC) (Potts 2012:104). The Persepolis inscriptions of Xerxes I call the Maka or Maćiya people those “who dwell by the sea and across the sea.” During Achaemenid times, both southern Persian Gulf coastal areas, Musandam and Hormozgan, were known together as Maka; Oman is proposed as having the better claim to that designation (Potts 2010:529). People named ‘Arabs’, as plausibly referring to an ethnic group from Arabia, were included among the inhabitants of the Achaemenid province of Maka (Ulrich 2008:64).
Even as lately as the 18th century, it was reported that there was a “distinct tradition among the learned Arabs, with respect to those ancient Kings [Himyarites], which deserves to be taken notice of. They pretend to know, from ancient monuments, that Tobba was the family name of those Sovereigns, that they came from the neighbourhood of Samarcand, were worshippers of fire, and conquered and civilized Arabia” (Niebuhr 1792:10). This description accords with, or perhaps conflates the Himyarites with, the Achaemenid founder Darius I, whose father was a satrap of Bactria, and who wrote the Bisotun (Behistun) inscription. Having examined the cuneiform inscriptions in Old Persian, Elamite, and Babylonian at Bisotun in Iran, Niebuhr (1792:11) claimed that “an inscription, in strange and unknown characters, which he had found in a province remote from the sea coast [of Arabia]” was “distinguished the inscriptions at Persepolis to be in the same alphabet.” He concluded that “both the Arabs and the Persians would appear to have had Sovereigns from the same nation, who spoke the same language, or at least employed the same characters in writing.”

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

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

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

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

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

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

### 1.3.3 Arrival of the Azd

The inhabitants of Dibba in the first few centuries of the common era were potentially both Azd and Persian. Kumzari traditions assert as their ancestor Malik bin Fahm (r. 196-231 AD), a chief of the Qahtani tribe of Azd of Yemen (Jayakar 1902:247). In the latter half of the second century AD, the Ma’rib dam in Yemen broke again, and Malik bin Fahm led a group of Azdi refugees to look for land in Parthian-ruled Oman. The Azdis first stationed at al-Jowf (an interior town in the valley between Adam and Bahila) and challenged the
Persians in Sohar (the Persians’ coastal capital city) to prepare for war (Ross 1874:114). A battle was fought on the desert plain of Salut near Nizwa. Eventually the Azdis prevailed, and the Persians agreed to a truce to go to Persia within one year (Ross 1874:114) (however, at that time “Persia” included northern Oman). Instead, they wrote letters to the Shah of Persia, who sent military reinforcements in time for another battle at the conclusion of the truce. The Azd under Malik bin Fahm won, and this time the Persians who escaped capture “left Sohar with their families and sailed to Fars” (al-Rawas 2000:29). Malik bin Fahm sent out Azdis to occupy various regions of Oman (Ross 1874:116), expelling Persians in the coastal cities of Oman and eventually gaining ground throughout the country (Ulrich 2008:64). However, Azdite control of Oman only lasted during the lifetime of Malak bin Fahm; after his death the Persians returned, this time under Sasanian rule.

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

### 1.3.4 Sasanian era

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

In the same era, conflicts developed between Christian confessions of the Byzantines and the Church of the East, each suspecting the other of collusion with imperial politics amid the Roman-Sasanian wars. The Byzantines counted Ethiopia and south Arabia within their sphere of influence, while Persian and Arab Christians were found all around the Gulf. Prominent among mentions of the Musandam area in historical documents are Yohannon, Bishop of Mazun in 424 AD, Gabriel, Bishop of Hormuz in 540, David, Bishop of Mazun in 544, Bishop Samuel in 576, and Stephen, Bishop of Mazun in 676 (King 2001:59-61). Bishops of Mazun are referred to as attending synods in the Gulf as late as 840 (Ross 1874:75-79). The seat of the bishopric, Bet Mazunaye, was at Sohar. Numerous sites of former Eastern churches and religious communities have been discovered in the region, and Dibba may have been the place at “the mouth of the Persian Gulf” (Neale 1873:132) or “at the chief maritime town on the Persian gulph” (de Perceval 1853:14) where the Himyari king
Hassan Tobba established a third church in 356. Dibba remained an important city into the 7th century, according to Ibn Habib, possessing a large market that drew people from India and China, as well as points west. Yaqut noted that Dibba was called the capital of Oman at that time (Yaqut vol. II, p.435-439 in Hawley 1970:63).

1.3.4.1 Dibba and Malik

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

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

In pre-Islamic times, Oman was under Sasanian control, and “Dibba served as the east coast point of a ‘Late Pre-Islamic triangle’ which also included ed-Dur on the west coast and Mleiha in the interior” (Ulrich 2008:86). Sasanian governance over the Arabian trade routes was “reinforced by a degree of direct military occupation, notably in Oman” (Wilkinson 2010:55). Sohar was their centre, with its fort at Damsetjerd, well-situated to protect trade into the Gulf from the “pirate lairs in the creeks round the Musandam Peninsula” (Wilkinson 2010:57). Another Persian governor in Rustaq, the marzban, watched over provincial affairs of Oman, appointing local tribal leaders called Julanda as his agents in the interior (Wilkinson 2010:61). Julanda collected taxes in Dibba and Tuwam (Al Ain/Buraimi) and reported to the Sasanian marzban (Potts 2012:141; Shoufani 1973:156). The Julanda “was allowed to retain Nezwa as his capital, and to continue to exercise jurisdiction over the Arab tribes, on condition of his acknowledgement of the vassality to Persia and agreeing to pay tribute” (Miles 1994:27). Regional equivalents of Sasanian agents were retained in Bahrain, Yemen, Mazun (northern Oman), and Kerman (Wilkinson 2010:62). The Persians kept peace with “a force of 4000 warriors in Oman and a deputy with the kings of the Al-Azd” (Miles 1994:26-27). On the northeast coast, “both the Julandas and a crowned individual held influence at Dibba, with the former performing administrative functions [i.e. tax collection] and the latter providing military security [i.e. caravan protection]” (Ulrich 2008:86). The
‘crowned individual’, called Dhu al-Taj, was the Azd chief appointed by the Persians in the 7th century, Laqit bin Malik.

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

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

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

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

1.3.4.2 South Arabian kinship and migration

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

Qays’ grandfather, Hojr Akil al-Morar, had made an alliance with the Byzantines in 500 (Robin 2012:282), and in 540, Qays was under pressure from the Aksumite ruler of Yemen to
side with Constantinople against the Persians (Robin 2012:291). Instead, following the Najran massacre and subsequent wars between Aksum and the Persians, the Kinda in Yemen revolted against the rule of the Byzantine-allied Aksumites under Abraha (Marsham 2009:34-35; Robin 2012:292). Under threat of annihilation by Abraha’s armies, the Kinda in 547 were forced to capitulate and swear an oath of allegiance. During the battle, the Ma’rib dam again collapsed, and one of the stipulations of the truce was that Abraha could take Kinda hostages to work on repairing the dam (Marsham 2009:34-35).

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

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

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

In the 6th century, the Azd Shanu’ah were to be found as seafarers working the coastal trade with the Persians, while the Azd ‘Uman resided in the interior as the Persians’ vassals, the Julanda (Ulrich 2008:90; Lancaster & Lancaster 2011:546). The Atik and Julanda rose to
prominence and were two of the principal Azd families in pre-Islamic Oman (Miles 1994:4; King 2001:79). The Shanu’ah, Atik, and Harith alliance of Azd tribes became the responders to the Yā al Malik! war-cry that began the first battle of Dibba against the Julanda a century later.

1.3.4.3 The seventh century

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

1.3.5 Oman at war

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

In the year 630, the Prophet sent Amr al-‘As to Rustaq, and, as Miles (1994:34) describes, “an ultimatum to the Persians to embrace Islam and to renounce the claim to suzerainty over the country was disdainfully refused.” Amr then petitioned the Julanda brothers, who allied with Medina. Jayfar and Abd sent word of their surrender to Medina, to Mahr and Shihr in southern Oman and Dibba in northern Oman (Ross 1874:118-119). “A contest ensued in which the Sasanian Governor Mazkan was killed and his troops worsted” (Miles 1994:34). The remainder fled to Sohar, where their resistance was met with attack by the Julanda. The
Persians were besieged in the castle of Damsetjerd, and finally reached a truce, agreeing to relinquish their gold and silver and property and leave the country (Potts 2012:144).

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

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

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

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

10 The Julanda brothers were exiled either to the red mountain of Rijām on the western border of Oman (Donner 1993:153) or to Jebel al-Akhḍar (Wilkinson 2010:42, 80).
When they received the plea for help from the Bani Amr, the Bani Harith in Oman waged another campaign to prevent Ikrama from attacking their Kinda “blood relatives” (al-Rawas 2000:44; Ulrich 2008:95); “after ‘Ikrama moved on Mārib in his Yemen campaign, the people of Dabā learnt that he was fighting their bani ‘amm, the Kinda, and the tribes of al-Yaman. So they drove out Ḥudhayfa who had been appointed ‘āmil by Abū Bakr and he fled and took refuge with ‘Ikramah” (Wilkinson 2010:81).

1.3.5.1 The last battle of Dibba

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

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

1.3.5.2 Dibba refugees

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

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

1.3.6 Beyond Dibba

Khasab and the Hormuz region on the opposite coast, areas currently inhabited by Kumzaris, were not taken by Islamic forces until 650-651 AD when the governor of Basra, Abdallah bin Amir, had already attacked much of southern Iran (including Shiraz and Bam) from Bahrain (Rowland 2006).
In centuries subsequent to the Dibba war, there was much traversing the Gulf and Persians sometimes occupied Oman; by those times they were speaking New Persian, leaving Kumzari behind with its mixture of Arabian and Middle Persian anachronisms.

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

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

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

1.3.7 Looking back and looking forward: The mixed language

A discussion of the history of the Kumzari language must account for the languages that were in overlapping use from the time the Azdites settled in Oman until the Persian empire in Oman declined. The battle of Dibba thus signifies a pivotal incident in Musandam’s linguistic record (cf. Holes 2006:1932). The Shihuh, as refugees from that war, had dual identities to contend with: the likely intense pressure to incorporate the language of Dibba’s occupiers, and the perhaps equally fervent intention to keep their identity as rebels distinct from the northern Arabs of Medina. Geographical isolation combined with the ‘negative identification’ of Kumzari with outside groups would explain its persistence as a mixed language for so long (Bakker 1997:209).
Which languages were spoken in Musandam and its population sources in the seventh century? A.F.L. Beeston, in his 1981 article on languages of pre-Islamic Arabia says that “the area roughly coinciding with the modern Sultanate of Oman and the United Arab Emirates south of Bahrain is virtually a blank for the purposes of this study” (p. 178). Holes agrees with regard to Arabisation, that “In the specific case of the Arabian peninsula, the historical details of this process are extremely sparse” (Holes 2006:1933). However, many circumstantial clues may be gleaned both from the language itself and from the historical context.

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

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

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

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11 “The population of Ḥīra comprised its townspeople, the ‘Ibād “devotees”, who were Nestorian Christians using Syriac as their liturgical and cultural language, though Arabic was probably the language of daily intercourse.” (Bosworth 1983:598)
The linguistic facts of Kumzari speak to its evolution from both Middle Persian and Arabian. It is thus more likely that the Persian-like traits of the language were inherited from the Sasanians and Azdites who fled from the Dibba wars, rather than from Persians coming from Persia directly in centuries since then. In the latter case, Kumzari would have had more influence from New Persian, which was beginning to be spoken on the Iran side of the Gulf from the 8th century. On the contrary, Kumzari has both innovations not attested in the New Persian spoken on the Iranian mainland (e.g. Kumzari has developed penultimate-syllable stress; b has been replaced with w in contexts; all cases of z have become emphatic ṣ), and conservatisms from Middle Persian where New Persian later diverged (e.g. Kumzari retains the ē-ī distinction, lacks ezāfe to link noun with adjective, preserves w where other varieties diversify into allophones, and has kept initial consonant clusters and the nominal suffix -ag > -ağ). In modern New Persian, about 8% of core vocabulary (from the Swadesh 100 wordlist) is of Arabic origin, compared to 22% of Semitic core vocabulary in Kumzari; the proportion of Semitic-origin words rises to 60% when all items in the 4500 lexicon are included. As well, Kumzari’s Semitic lexicon and structures are incorporated differently from those taken into New Persian. The study of other mixed languages provides a clue as to why this may have come about: “lexical manipulation is most effective precisely in the core vocabulary when its function is to express identity or to be secretive” (Mous 2003:91).

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

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

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

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12 See also the discussion of evolving Arabic dialects in Al-Jallad 2009:529-530 and 2013.
numbers, there is every reason to suppose that, out of sheer self-interest if nothing else, the local townsmen would have set about learning to speak Arabic back to Arabs as it was spoken to them.”

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

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

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

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

\(^{13}\) That is, until children go to school, a system that has been in place for only two generations.

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

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

1.4 The present study

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

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

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

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

15 See the Special Session on South Arabian Languages of the Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies 2013, forthcoming.
Methodologically, this research follows Hymes’ model of the ethnography of communication, using anthropological field methods in the study of language: “The essential method… is simply persistence in seeking systematic co-variation of form and meaning. The spirit of the method is ‘structural’ in the sense of Sapir’s linguistics, ‘emic’ and ‘ethnographic’ in the sense of concern for valid description of the individual case” (Hymes 2004:10).
2 Phonology

Kumzari has eight vowels and twenty-eight consonants. The tables of vowels (Table 2) and consonants (Table 3) below give the phonemic inventory of Kumzari. Table 10 at the end of this chapter shows IPA\(^{16}\) correlates of the forms: the conventions for vowels and consonants written in phonemic script used in this book, and in the Kumzari writing system\(^{17}\).

2.1 Vowels

**Table 2. Vowel phonemes in Kumzari**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>front</th>
<th>central</th>
<th>back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>high</td>
<td>ī</td>
<td>ū</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mid</td>
<td>ē</td>
<td>ō</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>low</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>ā</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

The phoneme /ī/ is a long close front unrounded vowel [iː], as in the word īšū ‘living’.
The phoneme /ū/ is a long close back rounded vowel [uː], found in the word ūrū ‘kindling’.
The phoneme /ē/ is a long mid front unrounded vowel [eː], represented in the word ēling ‘bracelet’. Its allophone is [e] as in sāhenē ‘powdered sardines’.
The phoneme /ō/ is a long mid back rounded vowel [oː], as in the word āl ‘mountain peak’.
The phoneme /ā/ is a long open central unrounded vowel [aː], shown by the word ād ‘silent’.
The phoneme /i/ is a short near-close centralised front unrounded vowel [ɪ], that is in the word illit ‘dirty’. It has an allophone [ʊ] as in [ɡɪsm]/[ɡʊsm] ‘I have taken’.
The phoneme /u/ is a short near-close centralised back rounded vowel [ʊ], represented by the word uff ‘blowing’.
The phoneme /a/ is a short near-open central unrounded vowel [æ], found in the word atta ‘wet’. It is nasalised in one word: āţā ‘no’ and in morphemes shortened from a nasal consonant, e.g. pāšumbur ‘Thursday’ from panj + šumbur ‘five’ + ‘day of week’.

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

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\(^{16}\) International Phonetic Alphabet

\(^{17}\) The Kumzari writing system was developed by phonologist Erik Anonby in 2009 at the behest of Kumzari community representatives and leaders, and the resulting alphabet chart given in a report to Sultan Qaboos University, Muscat.
/i/ and /ī/
išōwō ‘tonight’
īšū ‘living’

/u/ and /ū/
ūmr ‘age, soul’
ūmat ‘sardine’

/a/ and /ā/
aft ‘seven’
āf ‘short pants’

/ī/ and /ē/
īran ‘Iran’
ērarağ ‘Bream (fish species)’

### 2.2 Consonants

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

#### Table 3. Consonant phonemes in Kumzari

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>labial (-dental)</th>
<th>alveolar</th>
<th>velarised alveolar</th>
<th>(alveo-) palatal</th>
<th>velar</th>
<th>uvular</th>
<th>pharyngeal</th>
<th>glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>stop/affricate</td>
<td>p b</td>
<td>t d</td>
<td>ţ d</td>
<td>č j</td>
<td>k g</td>
<td>q</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>fricative</td>
<td>f s</td>
<td>š z</td>
<td>š</td>
<td>x ġ</td>
<td>h</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>nasal</td>
<td>m n</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>approximant</td>
<td>w l r</td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>y</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Kumzari consonant inventory is drawn from both of its heritage languages, including the Persian sounds /p/, /č/, and /g/19, as well as a set of emphatics reminiscent of Semitic: velarised alveolars /ṭ/, /ḍ/, /ṣ/, /ẓ/, and /ḷ/, uvular /q/, and pharyngeal /ḥ/. Non-emphatic counterparts are attested for all of the alveolars except /ẓ/, which is always velarised, including in words of Indo-European20 origin, e.g. rōẓ ‘day’, zwān ‘tongue’, rēẓ ‘pour’. Emphatics occur even in words derived from non-Semitic sources, e.g. ṣirx ‘red’, tūzağ ‘freshness’, pānda ‘fifteen’, bōṣ ‘kiss’, tahl ‘bitter’, čāz ‘lunch’, tēẓ ‘sharp’.

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

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18 The term ‘heritage language’ refers to Kumzari’s ancestral languages: Middle Persian and a Semitic language (see Classification §1.2.1).
19 These are also found in Gulf Arabic (Holes 1984:8-9, Holes 1990:260ff).
20 The term ‘Indo-European’ is used throughout this book to refer to origins that are thought to be Persian but not necessarily a specific variety of that family of languages; see further explanation of the term in the list of abbreviations.
21 Specifically, Bakhtiari and Mamasani Luri also have labio-dental allophones of /w/ (cf. Jahani & Korn 2009:645-646; Lorimer 1922:16-17; MacKinnon 2011).
22 Skjærvø 2009:201
Arabian languages (Simeone-Senelle 1997:381-382), Kumzari does not have certain sounds as are found in Classical or north-central peninsular Arabic varieties: voiced pharyngeal fricative [ʕ] and interdental fricatives [θ], [ð], and [d].

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

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

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

- **p**  
  - *pā*  
  - ‘foot, leg’

- **t**  
  - *tā*  
  - ‘one’

- **ṭ**  
  - *ṭāma*  
  - ‘commission’

- **k**  
  - *kāra*  
  - ‘mouth’

- **q**  
  - *qāba*  
  - ‘shirt’

- **’**  
  - *’ā*  
  - 3S.ANA (anaphoric pronoun)

- **b**  
  - *bā*  
  - ‘armspan’

- **d**  
  - *dāmar*  
  - ‘groom’

- **ḍ**  
  - *ḍālum*  
  - ‘tyrant’

- **g**  
  - *gā*  
  - ‘bull’

- **č**  
  - *čādir*  
  - ‘bedsheets’

- **j**  
  - *jā*  
  - ‘barley’

- **f**  
  - *fālaj*  
  - ‘water channel’

- **s**  
  - *sā*  
  - ‘now’

- **š**  
  - *šābun*  
  - ‘soap’

- **ş**  
  - *şā*  
  - 3PL.EMPH

- **x**  
  - *xāna*  
  - ‘marriage’

- **z**  
  - *zā*  
  - ‘give birth’

- **ğ**  
  - *ğāna*  
  - ‘jaw’

- **ḥ**  
  - *ḥāra*  
  - ‘quarter (of a city)’

- **h**  
  - *hā*  
  - ‘yes?’

- **m**  
  - *mā*  
  - ‘month’

- **n**  
  - *nābī*  
  - ‘gull sp.’

- **l**  
  - *lābīt*  
  - ‘certainly’

- **l**  
  - *alla*  
  - ‘God’

- **r**  
  - *rā*  
  - ‘way’

- **w**  
  - *wā*  
  - ‘woe’

- **y**  
  - *yā*  
  - ‘this’

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23 Soqotri does not have interdentals; in Harsusi and Dhofar Mehri the voiced pharyngeal fricative is marginal.
2.2.1 Stops and Affricates
The phoneme /p/ is a voiceless bilabial stop [p] represented by the word pāk ‘clean’.
The phoneme /b/ is a voiced bilabial stop [b] as in the word bukr ‘firstborn’.
The phoneme /t/ is a voiceless alveolar stop [t] seen in the word tak ‘date syrup basket’.
The phoneme /d/ is a voiced alveolar stop [d] exemplified in the word dōl ‘mast’.
The phoneme /k/ is a voiceless velar stop [k] seen in the word kaf ‘sole (of foot), palm (of hand)’.
The phoneme /g/ is a voiced velar stop [ɡ] represented by the word gōẓ ‘walnut’.
The phoneme /q/ is a voiceless uvular stop [q] seen in the word qōq ‘tantrum’. The segment q was rare or non-existent in Middle Persian (Skjærvø 2009:200), but some modern Iranian languages and dialects retain it (Windfuhr & Perry 2009:423; McCarus 2009:592; Paul 2009:547). While Kumzari has kept all instances of q from Old Arabic or Semitic, in adjacent Shihhi Arabic, q is often spirantised intervocally to a fricative (Bernabela 2011:24), as it is in standard New Persian.
The phoneme /ṭ/ is a voiceless velarised alveolar stop [tˠ] represented by the word ṭāf ‘twenty-four-hour gale’. It contrasts with the voiceless non-velarised alveolar stop /t/ [t]: ṭēr ‘bird’, tēra ‘way’.
The phoneme /ḍ/ is a voiced velarised alveolar stop [dˠ] represented by the word ḏaby ‘oryx’. It contrasts with the voiced non-velarised alveolar stop /d/ [d]: ḏalama ‘being maligned’, darama ‘curing with medicine’.
The phoneme /č/ is a voiceless palato-alveolar affricate [ʧ] as found in the words čāf ‘shore’ and čap ‘paddle’. Among younger speakers and those under more influence from Arabic, this phoneme is sometimes realised as /ʃ/ [ʃ], e.g. čiḥḥī /ʃiḥḥī ‘Shihhi [Arab ethnic group]’, čups /ʃuṣ ‘lobster’, pāčar /ʃaʃar ‘raised half-deck (boat)’.
The phoneme /j/ is a voiced alveopalatal affricate [ʤ] as in the word jāmağ ‘man’s underskirt’.
Several stops and fricatives have irregular dialectal alternations: [b] ~ [ɡ]: [ꞌẓbʊɻdɐ] ~ [ꞌẓɡʊɻdɐ] ‘sheer strake’, [p] ~ [b] ~ [f]: [ꞌẓeːplɪtɐ] ~ [ꞌzɐːplɪtɐ] ‘wooden chest’ and [plɪt] ~ [ɻɪt] ‘wick’, [ʔ] ~ [ɦ]: [ɦɪʃk] ~ [ʔɪʃk] ‘dry’.

2.2.2 Fricatives
The phoneme /f/ is a voiceless labiodental fricative [f] as found in the word fijmē ‘black dolphin’.
The phoneme /s/ is a voiceless alveolar fricative [s] represented by the words salq ‘large boat sp.’ and sist ‘loose’.
The phoneme /š/ is a voiceless alveopalatal fricative [ʃ] represented by the word šubr ‘handspan’. It is in alternation with the affricate /č/ [ʧ]: šarrax / čarax ‘straddled’.
The phoneme /x/ is a voiceless uvular fricative [χ] seen in the word xall ‘seaweed’.
The phoneme /ğ/ is a voiced uvular fricative [ʁ] seen in the word ğaṣ ‘post’.
The phoneme /ṣ/ is a voiceless velarised alveolar fricative [sˠ] represented by the word sawz ‘green’. It contrasts with the voiceless non-velarised alveolar fricative /s/ [s]: sām ‘handle’, sāma ‘heaven’.
The phoneme /ẓ/ is a voiced velarised alveolar fricative [zˠ] represented by the word zīn ‘thief’. It has no non-velarised counterpart in Kumzari.

2.2.3 Nasals
The phoneme /m/ is a voiced bilabial nasal [m] as in the word muxx ‘head’.
The phoneme /n/ is a voiced alveolar nasal [n] represented by the words nām ‘name’ and nēt ‘charity food’. There is insufficient evidence to regard the velar nasal [ŋ] as a phoneme
distinct from /nl/, since it occurs only before voiced and voiceless velar stops /g/ [g]: dang [dæŋɡ] ‘cyst’ and /k/ [k]: linkit [lɪŋkɪt] ‘finger’.

2.2.4 Laterals
The phoneme /l/ is a voiced alveolar lateral approximant [l] represented by the words lupp ‘marrow’ and langal ‘anchor’. The marginal phoneme /ḷ/ is a voiced velarised lateral approximant [ɭ] represented by the word afaḷḷa ‘blessing’. It occurs infrequently, and exclusively in words of Semitic origin. It contrasts with the voiced non-velarised lateral approximant /l/ [l]: waḷa ‘or’, waḷama ‘readying’.

2.2.5 Approximants
The phoneme /w/ is a voiced labial-velar approximant [w] shown by the word waqt ‘time’. The phoneme /r/ is a retroflex alveolar approximant [ɻ] represented by the word raff ‘niche’. It has the following allophones:

Following a long vowel, the alveolar approximant may be pronounced as not retroflexed [ɹ]:
- kōr [koːɹ] ‘whale’
- brār [braːɹ] ‘brother’
- sūr [suːɹ] ‘wedding’

It may be pronounced as a flap rather than as an approximant; that is, as a retroflex alveolar flap [ɽ] after a stop in an onset cluster:
- krāḥ [kɾaːɽ] ‘sandal’
- brīṣ [bɾiːʃ] ‘cooked’
- drāẓ [dɾaːɻ] ‘length’

and as a non-retroflex alveolar flap [ɾ] after a short vowel:
- kara [ˈkærəɾ] ‘time’
- nēgura [ˈneɡʊɾəɾ] ‘two days ago’

As a geminate, it is a non-retroflex alveolar trill [r]:
- mirr [mirr] ‘myrrh’
- barra [ˈbærəɾ] ‘outside’
- qarras [ˈqærɾəɾ] ‘mosquito’

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

2.2.6 Pharyngeal
The phoneme /ḥ/ is a voiceless pharyngeal fricative [ħ] as in the word ḥabb ‘seed’. It contrasts with the voiceless glottal fricative /h/: ḥaẓẓa ‘wrapping’, haẓẓa ‘angry’, and is more common than ḥ across the lexicon. Kumzari words of Semitic origin retain pharyngealisation of ḥ, e.g. ḥuwwil ‘spring migration’, ḥaqq ‘justice’, hazana ‘sad’.

2.2.7 Glottals
The phoneme /ʔ/ is a glottal stop [ʔ]; an example is in the word ‘a’a ‘no’. The glottal stop can occur in any position in a word: ‘ō zar ‘sail’, b’ām ‘thumb’, ābā ‘trap fish’, da’bar ‘chatter’, ā ’ilīt ‘family’, pa’n ‘wide’. The minimal pair qarra ‘admit’, qar’a ‘gourd’ sets it out as a separate phoneme. The glottal stop is inserted epenthetically between two vowels at
a morpheme boundary, e.g. ḥajabē‘ō ‘tholepin [boat]’, and as a word-initial consonant preceding a vowel, e.g. ēbē ‘woman’s black cloak’. In words borrowed from Semitic, the glottal stop [ʔ] is generally retained, e.g. s’āl ‘question’. It is also the reflex in Kumzari for Semitic-origin words with the voiced pharyngeal fricative [ʕ], as in the words arafa ‘knowing’ [ʕəɾəf] > [ʔəɾəf], wa’rīt [wəʔrɪt] ‘stiffingly hot place’ cf. Old Arabic ⟨wər⟩, ẓara’a ‘cultivating’ [ʕəɾəʕəɾ] > [ʔəɾəʕəɾ]. Among some Kumzari speakers, the glottal stop [ʔ] is the reflex for the glottal fricative [ɦ] in words of Indo-European origin, e.g. ba’tar ~ bātar < behtar ‘better’. In the Laraki dialect, the glottal stop has shifted to the glottal fricative /h/ [ɦ] in all positions, e.g. Lrk. kahnağ Kmz. ka’nağ ‘old, worn out’.

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

2.3 Consonant distribution

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

2.3.1 Consonants in word-final position

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

| p | čap ‘paddle’ |
| b | kasib ‘livelihood’ |
| f | tāf ‘head rope of fishing net’ |
| t | mast ‘tired’ |
| ţ | maqfat ‘trap’ |
| d | qad ‘dimension’ |
| ź | ḥaḍḍ ‘lucky’ |
| č | gačč ‘mortar’ |
| j | tāj ‘crown’ |
| s | xus ‘dear’ |
| š | šaxš ‘person’ |
| z | tē ‘sharp’ |
| ş | gōš ‘ear’ |
| k | tak ‘date syrup basket’ |
| x | lēx ‘fishing net’ |
| g | mayg ‘shrimp’ |
| ţ | muğ ‘date palm’ |
| na’ ‘nine’ |
h (not attested in this position)
ḥ lōḥ ‘wood’
q rīq ‘throat’
m gim ‘bait’
n qarn ‘horn’
l gil ‘dirt’
ḥ (not attested in this position)
r šīr ‘milk’
w taw ‘illness’
y say ‘traditional fish net’

2.3.2 Intervocalic consonants
All consonants occur intervocally:

p zēpilağ ‘wooden chest’
b adaba ‘suffering’
f adaфа ‘injuring’
t sakata ‘silent’
ṯ nafaṭa ‘shaking’
d qādaḥ ‘container’
ḏ aḍalat ‘muscle’
č kāčak ‘underarm’
j šaja’a ‘support’
s šakasa ‘cutting’
š naṣara ‘winning’
ẓ tāẓaḡ ‘fresh’
š drīša ‘window’
k adaka ‘worn out’
x kašaxa ‘super’
g wālagō ‘deck hatch (boat)’
ḡ sabaḡa ‘decorating’
’ qaša’a ‘tipping over’
h fahama ‘understanding’
ḥ saḥara ‘enchantment’
q alaqa ‘hanging’
m ramaqa ‘winking’
n fanana ‘winking’
l qaḷaba ‘turning over’
ẖ waḷa ‘or’
r amara ‘sealing’
w adawa ‘avoidance’
y ṭayha ‘resting’

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

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

- **p**  
  *pxūn* ‘approaching rain’

- **b**  
  *blind* ‘high’

- **f**  
  *flīta* ‘wick’

- **t**  
  *twām* ‘pair of twins’

- **ṭ**  
  *tyāḥ* ‘sardine season’

- **d**  
  *dnān* ‘tooth’

- **ḍ**  
  *ḍlağ* ‘sock’

- **č**  
  *crā* ‘lamp’

- **j**  
  *jwān* ‘good’

- **s**  
  *sbō* ‘week’

- **š**  
  *šnāfē* ‘Streaked Rabbitfish’

- **ž**  
  *žlāğ* ‘sock’

- **ś**  
  *šdūd* ‘ongoing rain showers’

- **k**  
  *klīl* ‘key’

- **x**  
  *xlēsī* ‘tuna sp.’

- **g**  
  *gdar* ‘wall’

- **ğ**  
  *ğbēb* ‘light cloud’

- **ḥ**  
  *ḥkum* ‘judgment’

- **h**  
  (not attested in this position)

- **q**  
  *qrah* ‘bald’

- **m**  
  *mrād* ‘reason’

- **n**  
  *ntōr* ‘treats’

- **l**  
  *lbān* ‘frankincense’

- **r**  
  (not attested in this position)

- **w**  
  (not attested in this position)

- **y**  
  (not attested in this position)

2.3.3.2 Second consonants in onset clusters
All consonants except the marginal phoneme /Ɂ/ can be found as the second unit in an onset cluster:

- **p**  
  *spēr* ‘white’

- **b**  
  *qbēl* ‘sardine net’

- **f**  
  *xfēf* ‘cheese sp.’

- **t**  
  *ftāq* ‘hernia’

- **ṭ**  
  *mṭār* ‘label’

- **d**  
  *mdallē* ‘coffeepot’

- **ḍ**  
  *xddārī* ‘taupe’

- **č**  
  *pčāl* ‘soiled’

- **j**  
  *mjūm* ‘metal stud’
2.3.3.3 Initial consonants in coda clusters

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

- /č/ is not attested as an initial consonant in a cluster because it is already phonologically composite [tʃ].
2.3.3.4 Second consonants in coda clusters
In the second position of a coda cluster, all consonants except /h/ and /w/ occur in the data.

- /p/ asp ‘horse’
- /b/ jelumb ‘side, moiety’
- /f/ qafl ‘ceiling’
- /t/ waqt ‘time’
- /t̚/ fax ‘thigh’
- /d/ sard ‘cold’
- /d̚/ ard ‘land’
- /c̚/ čarč ‘charged (battery)’ (English loan presumed to be via Gulf Arabic)
- /j/ trinj ‘citron’
- /s/ kaps ‘mound’
- /s̚/ čups ‘lobster’
- /z̚/ luğ ‘riddle’
- /š̚/ kapš ‘sheep’
- /k/ mišk ‘mouse’
- /x/ muxx ‘head’
- /g/ xāyg ‘egg’
- /ġ̚/ risg ‘wrist’
- /q̚/ qiš ‘deep-water fish habitation’
- /h̃/ šulḥ ‘peace’
- /q̩/ xabq ‘small hole’
- /m̩/ laḥm ‘body’
- /n̩/ sīn ‘net anchor’
- /l/ faql ‘Porcupine fish’
- /l̩/ asl ‘origin’
- /r̩/ gizr ‘carrot’
- /w̱/ mṣaww ‘barnacle’
- /y̱/ sōnty ‘raft’

2.3.4 Word-internal consonant sequences
There are no apparent restrictions on word-internal consonant sequences; that is, contiguous consonants across a syllable boundary. Even combinations of consonants which are not attested in onset or coda clusters are possible in a sequence. Below is a selection of potential sequences.
- šawḥat ‘whale’
- wählul ‘Potato Grouper (fish species), small stage’
- ḥaylō ‘swing’
- qar’a ‘squash’
- madwax ‘pipe (smoking)’
- ka’naq ‘old, worn out’
- šahr ‘desert’
- ġēlū ‘winning’
- başga ‘self-congratulations’
- axča ‘gold’
2.3.5 Geminates

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

- b: lupp ‘marrow’
- p: dubb ‘bear’
- f: laff ‘bandage’
- t: jitt ‘corpse’
- t: butt ‘duck’
- d: sadd ‘dam’
- ḍ: ḥadd ‘luck’
- ġ: gačč ‘mortar’
- ā: hiij ‘the Hajj pilgrimage’
- s: ĥiss ‘voice’
- ṣ: ḡaṣṣ ‘peg, post’
- ā: mzizzz ‘very salty food’
- š: gišš ‘shard’
- k: ċikk ‘little’
- x: dixx ‘smoke’
- g: bugg (proper name of a wadi in Kumzar)
- ġ: (not attested in this position)
- ’: (not attested in this position)
- h: (not attested in this position)
- ḥ: gaḥḥ ‘watermelon’
- q: ruqq ‘shallow water’
- m: gumm ‘fist’
- n: sinn ‘net anchor’
- l: nall ‘faucet’
- ḫ: alḥa ‘God’
- r: girr ‘heedlessness’
- w: daww ‘yoghourt drink’
- y: sayy ‘lift up’

2.4 Syllable structure

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

- CV
- CVV
- CVC
- CVVC
- CVCC
- CVVCC
- CČVV
- CČVC

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25 VV represents a long vowel.
CCVCC
CCVVCC

2.4.1 Syllable shapes in monosyllabic words

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>na</td>
<td>‘not’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka</td>
<td>‘right away’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pi</td>
<td>‘from’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wa</td>
<td>‘and’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

or a short vowel between two consonants (CVC):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dil</td>
<td>‘heart’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaf</td>
<td>‘palm, sole’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gil</td>
<td>‘dirt’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bā</td>
<td>‘armspan, curse’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ĕō</td>
<td>‘well’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jā</td>
<td>‘barley’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ōf²⁶</td>
<td>‘mountain peak’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>āw</td>
<td>‘water’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ēl</td>
<td>‘cardamom’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lēx</td>
<td>‘fishing net’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dūš</td>
<td>‘date syrup’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xōx</td>
<td>‘peach’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>maql</td>
<td>‘myrrh’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>binj</td>
<td>‘thigh’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>īafs</td>
<td>‘vile’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bukr</td>
<td>‘firstborn’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>qāpšt</td>
<td>‘white fish sp.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hāwš</td>
<td>‘destruction’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Longer syllables of a single morpheme are:

---

²⁶ Word-initial glottal stops are not written in Kumzari.
Monosyllabic words with short vowels must be closed syllables; monosyllabic words with long vowels can be open or closed syllables:

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

2.4.2 Syllable shapes in multisyllabic words

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

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

- CV: fu.rī ‘clever goat’
- CVV: dā.drō ‘short dhow sp.’
- CVC: nūx.rĭ ‘nose’
- CVVC: rās.taḡ ‘straight direction’
- CCVV: škē.zī ‘evening wind’
- CCVC: qbay.ƚī ‘hospitable’
- CCVVC: qbay.wā ‘a little while ago’

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

- CV: ě.ra.raḡ ‘bream (fish)’
CVV \( \text{dağ.bē.rit} \) ‘thick, dusty haze’
CVC \( \text{di.mis.tan} \) ‘winter’

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

CV \( \text{qyā.ṣa} \) ‘opinion’
CVV \( \text{cir.ba.sē} \) ‘slide, slippery rock used as slide’
CVC \( \text{buk.rit} \) ‘newborn goat’
CVVC \( \text{bur.qēb} \) ‘bull shark, small stage’
CVCC \( \text{bar.ẓung} \) ‘cradle’

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

CVC.CVC.CV.CVC \( \text{innikdūnik} \) ‘in a flash’
CV.CV.CV.CV \( \text{balalīyi} \) ‘vermicelli noodles’
CVV.CV.CV.CV \( \text{ḥēnis wēnis} \) ‘anyone’
CV.CV.CV.CV \( \text{baladiyya} \) ‘garbage’
CVC.CV.CV.CV.CV \( \text{qambab garagumba} \) ‘fish sp.’

### 2.5 Non-segmental phenomena

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

#### 2.5.1 Assimilation

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

\( \text{rū} \) ‘face’ \( \rightarrow \text{rūw-ē} \) ‘a face’
\( \text{quḥū} \) ‘cough’ \( \rightarrow \text{quḥw-ē} \) ‘a cough’
\( \text{mū} \) ‘hair’ \( \rightarrow \text{mūw-ē} \) ‘a hair’
\( \text{gēdū} \) ‘water-pipe’ \( \rightarrow \text{gēdw-ē} \) ‘a water-pipe’

\( \text{qrādī} \) ‘bull shark’ \( \rightarrow \text{qrādy-ē} \) ‘a bull shark’
\( \text{kabī} \) ‘stay joint (boat)’ \( \rightarrow \text{kaby-ē} \) ‘a stay joint (boat)’
\( \text{qōṭī} \) ‘tin can’ \( \rightarrow \text{qōṭy-ē} \) ‘a tin can’
\( \text{ḥawlī} \) ‘billy goat’ \( \rightarrow \text{ḥawly-ē} \) ‘a billy goat’

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

(1) B54
\( \text{wā bang-ō wā} \)
\( \text{if/when dusk - the SUB} \)
\( \text{‘At dusk,’} \)
Vowels in syllables adjacent to an added suffix may change to conform to the added suffix. In the case of the definite –ō, for example, i may be lowered to ū:

\[
\begin{align*}
nuxrit & \text{ ‘nose’} & nuxrēt-ō & \text{ ‘the nose’} \\
battīl & \text{ ‘dhow’} & battēl-ō & \text{ ‘the dhow’} \\
maglis & \text{ ‘court’} & maglēs-ō & \text{ ‘the court’} \\
maddīt & \text{ ‘while’} & maddēt-ō & \text{ ‘the while’} \\
bukrit & \text{ ‘newborn goat’} & bukrēt-ō & \text{ ‘the newborn goat’} \\

d and a raised and u lowered to ū:
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
langal & \text{ ‘anchor’} & langūl-ō & \text{ ‘the anchor’} \\
dār & \text{ ‘door’} & dūr-ō & \text{ ‘the door’} \\
masbāh & \text{ ‘shower’} & masbūh-ō & \text{ ‘the shower’} \\
xānāg & \text{ ‘house’} & xānūg-ō & \text{ ‘the house’} \\
bāp & \text{ ‘father’} & būp-ō & \text{ ‘the father’} \\
matbāx & \text{ ‘kitchen’} & matbūx-ō & \text{ ‘the kitchen’} \\
dastūr & \text{ ‘bowsprit’} & dastūr-ō & \text{ ‘the bowsprit’} \\
čūm & \text{ ‘eye’} & čūm-ō & \text{ ‘the eye’} \\
ḡambūr & \text{ ‘niche’} & ḡambūr-ō & \text{ ‘the niche’} \\
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{jism ‘body’} & \quad \text{jusm-ō ‘the body’} \\
\text{rikd ‘corner’} & \quad \text{rukūd-ō ‘the corner’} \\
\text{sinn ‘net anchor’} & \quad \text{sunn-ō ‘the net anchor’} \\
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{maqbērit ‘grave’} & \quad \text{maqbart-ō ‘the grave’} \\
\text{matrēqit ‘bobbin’} & \quad \text{matraqt-ō ‘the bobbin’} \\
\text{madrēsīt ‘school’} & \quad \text{madrast-ō ‘the school’} \\
\end{align*}
\]
Consonants may assume the voicing qualities of consonants that are joined to them due to prior phonological processes. In the following word, the final short vowel is deleted when a suffix is added, causing devoicing of $b$ to $p$ next to $t$:

$\text{ẓēribit}$ ‘goat pen’  $\text{ẓērīpt-ō}$ ‘the goat pen’

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

$mard$ ‘man’  $mar\text{tk-ō}$ ‘the man’

### 2.5.2 Insertion

An epenthetic vowel is added to alveolar-final verb roots\(^\text{27}\) before the realis suffix $–d$ and the perfect suffix $–s$. As shown in Table 4 and Table 5 below, verb roots ending in a single consonant take $u$, while verb roots ending in a consonant cluster take $i$ and the second consonant of the cluster is transferred to the suffix syllable.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb root</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>realis $–d$</th>
<th>perfect $–s$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$\text{dōz}$</td>
<td>‘sew’</td>
<td>$\text{dōzud}$</td>
<td>$\text{dōzus}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\text{kēš}$</td>
<td>‘pull’</td>
<td>$\text{kēšud}$</td>
<td>$\text{kēšus}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\text{gnūn}$</td>
<td>‘believe’</td>
<td>$\text{gnūnud}$</td>
<td>$\text{gnūnus}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\text{pōr}$</td>
<td>‘fly’</td>
<td>$\text{pōrud}$</td>
<td>$\text{pōrus}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\text{rāy}$</td>
<td>‘be able’</td>
<td>$\text{rāyud}$</td>
<td>$\text{rāyus}$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb root</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>realis $–d$</th>
<th>perfect $–s$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$\text{tu}rs$</td>
<td>‘fear’</td>
<td>$\text{tu}rsīd$</td>
<td>$\text{tu}rsīs$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\text{gird}$</td>
<td>‘go around’</td>
<td>$\text{girdīd}$</td>
<td>$\text{girdīs}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\text{amš}$</td>
<td>‘sweep’</td>
<td>$\text{amšīd}$</td>
<td>$\text{amšīs}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\text{fōšn}$</td>
<td>‘sell’</td>
<td>$\text{fōšnid}$</td>
<td>$\text{fōšnis}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\text{ābn}$</td>
<td>‘close’</td>
<td>$\text{ābnīd}$</td>
<td>$\text{ābnīs}$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 2.5.3 Deletion

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

**Table 6.** Verb roots with $r$ deletion

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb root</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>realis $–d$</th>
<th>perfect $–s$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$\text{ambār}$</td>
<td>‘load’</td>
<td>$\text{ambād}$</td>
<td>$\text{ambās}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\text{xōr}$</td>
<td>‘eat’</td>
<td>$\text{xōd}$</td>
<td>$\text{xōs}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\text{gir}$</td>
<td>‘take’</td>
<td>$\text{gid}$</td>
<td>$\text{gis}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\text{ēnār}$</td>
<td>‘hide’</td>
<td>$\text{ēnīd}$</td>
<td>$\text{ēnis}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\text{wār}$</td>
<td>‘bring’</td>
<td>$\text{wād}$</td>
<td>$\text{wās}$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

---

\(^{27}\) Nasal- and liquid-final verb roots that are not deleted in realis and perfect forms also generally take an epenthetic vowel.
Table 7. Verb roots with r deletion and retention

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb root</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>realis –d</th>
<th>perfect –s</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>būr</td>
<td>‘become’</td>
<td>būr</td>
<td>būs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dār</td>
<td>‘give’</td>
<td>dār</td>
<td>dās</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ōdār</td>
<td>‘hold on’</td>
<td>ōdār</td>
<td>ōdās</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

Table 8. Verb roots with t deletion

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb root</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>imperfect t-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dān</td>
<td>‘know’</td>
<td>dān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jōr</td>
<td>‘ask’</td>
<td>jōr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sō</td>
<td>‘put’</td>
<td>sō</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

Table 9. Verb roots with w deletion

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

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

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

2.5.4 Resyllabification

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

CVCC  bukr ‘firstborn’  CVC.CV   bukr -ō ‘the firstborn’
CCVC  ĉuḡl ‘thing’  CCVC.CV  ĉuḡl -ē ‘a thing’
CVCC  ĵšk ‘dry’  CVC.CVC  ĵšk =īn ‘they are dry’

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

mḥāfiḍ ‘governor’
mṛād ‘reason’
mqass ‘scissors’
mṣaww ‘barnacle’

2.5.5 Multiple processes

In many cases, several phonological processes occur with the addition of a suffix in keeping with phonotactic constraints. Rigid stress and syllable rules govern vowels in Kumzari words.
When a suffix is added, penultimate syllable stress is maintained through vowel changes, insertions, and deletions.

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

\[
\text{tarqit} \quad \text{‘wedding poem’} \quad \text{tēruqt-ō} \quad \text{‘the wedding poem’}
\]

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb root</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>imperfect ( t- ) verb stem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bēr</td>
<td>‘carry’</td>
<td>tē-bur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mān</td>
<td>‘stay’</td>
<td>tā-mun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>meš</td>
<td>‘look at’</td>
<td>tē-muš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mur</td>
<td>‘die’</td>
<td>tu-mur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pūr</td>
<td>‘fly’</td>
<td>tō-pur</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

\[
kahraba \ ‘electricity’ \quad kahrabā-ō \ ‘the electricity’
\]
\[
lumba \ ‘sea urchin’ \quad lumbā-ō \ ‘the sea urchin’
\]
\[
kwāxa \ ‘ship captain’ \quad kwāxā-ō \ ‘the ship captain’
\]
\[
sandaqa \ ‘goat pen’ \quad sandāqā-ō \ ‘the goat pen’
\]

or the final vowel may be deleted:

\[
tēra \ ‘way’ \quad tēr-ō \ ‘the way’ \quad tēr-ē ‘a way’
\]
\[
xumba \ ‘clay storage jar’ \quad xumbā-ō \ ‘the clay storage jar’ \quad xumb-ē ‘a clay storage jar’
\]
\[
zīla \ ‘bailing bucket’ \quad zīlā-ō \ ‘the bailing bucket’ \quad zīl-ē ‘a bailing bucket’
\]

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

\[
surban \ ‘roof’ \quad surbān-ō ‘the roof’
\]
\[
safṣuf ‘sparrow’ \quad safsūf-ō ‘the sparrow’
\]
\[
nišbil ‘fishing line’ \quad nišbīl-ō ‘the fishing line’
\]
\[
intāf ‘sun’ \quad intāf-ō ‘the sun’
\]
\[
hambul ‘newborn’ \quad hambūl-ō ‘the newborn’
\]

or deleted:

\[
linkit ‘finger’ \quad linkt-ō ‘the finger’
\]
\[
qāwil ‘trader’ \quad qāwil-ō ‘the trader’
\]
\[
gōsin ‘goat’ \quad gōsin-ō ‘the goat’
\]
\[
jinjāwr ‘master sorcerer’ \quad jinjāwr-ō ‘the master sorcerer’
\]
\[
hējub ‘eyebrow’ \quad hējub-ō ‘the eyebrow’
\]

Similar processes are found in the South Arabian languages (in Mehri the definite prefix is \( a- \) or \( hā- \)):
Mehri  |  gәzáyrәt  |  a-gәzáyrәt  |  ‘the island’  (Rubin 2010:69)
Kumzari |  jәzurit    |  jәzur-tә    |  ‘the island’

Mehri  |  bәkәr     |  a-bәkәr     |  ‘the cows’  (Rubin 2010:69)
Kumzari |  bәqәra    |  bәqәra-tә   |  ‘the cow’

Mehri  |  mәsgәd    |  a-mәsgәd    |  ‘the mosque’  (Rubin 2010:70)
Kumzari |  muzгәt    |  muzгәt-tә    |  ‘the mosque’

Mehri  |  fәrәk     |  hә-frәk     |  ‘the flocks, the camps’  (Rubin 2010:70)
Kumzari |  famfәxit  |  famfәxit-tә  |  ‘the goose egg (swollen bump)’

Mehri  |  sәlәb     |  hә-sәlәb    |  ‘the weapons’  (Rubin 2010:71)
Kumzari |  salaә     |  slәh-an     |  ‘the weapons’

Table 10 sets out the phonemic writing system used in this book and their equivalents in the Arabic-based Kumzari script\textsuperscript{28} and in the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA).

\textsuperscript{28} As developed by Erik John Anonby in conjunction with and approved by the Kumzari community, March 2009.
### Table 10. Kumzari sounds, transcription, and writing system

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IPA</th>
<th>phonemic transcription</th>
<th>Kumzari script</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>ب</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>ب</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>ت</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>د</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tˤ</td>
<td>ṭ</td>
<td>ط</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dˤ</td>
<td>ḍ</td>
<td>ض</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>ک</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q</td>
<td>q</td>
<td>ج</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>ج</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jˤ</td>
<td>č</td>
<td>چ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>ف</td>
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<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>ص</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zˤ</td>
<td>z</td>
<td>ض</td>
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<tr>
<td>j</td>
<td>ŋ</td>
<td>ج</td>
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<tr>
<td>h</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>ه</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>م</td>
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<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>ن</td>
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<tr>
<td>w</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>و</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td>l</td>
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<tr>
<td>r</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>ر</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lˤ</td>
<td>ṭ</td>
<td>ط</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jˤ</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>چ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iː</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>ي</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uː</td>
<td>ū</td>
<td>و</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eː</td>
<td>ō</td>
<td>ي</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oː</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>ُ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aː</td>
<td>ā</td>
<td>آ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>ُ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>ُ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ə</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>ُ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3 Noun

3.1 Noun: Introduction

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

3.1.1 Structural properties of nouns

3.1.1.1 Noun root structure

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

Root shapes in monosyllabic nouns:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root Shape</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CVC</td>
<td>dil</td>
<td>‘heart’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCVC</td>
<td>stag</td>
<td>‘date pit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVCC</td>
<td>čupš</td>
<td>‘lobster’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCVCC</td>
<td>brinž</td>
<td>‘rice’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVV</td>
<td>jā</td>
<td>‘barley’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCVV</td>
<td>cřā</td>
<td>‘lamp’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVVC</td>
<td>čāf</td>
<td>‘beach’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCVVC</td>
<td>ġmūt</td>
<td>‘gills’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVVCC</td>
<td>qāpt</td>
<td>‘white fish sp.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCVVCC</td>
<td>stārg</td>
<td>‘star’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Root shapes in disyllabic nouns:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root Shape</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CV.CV</td>
<td>furī</td>
<td>‘clever goat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CV.CV.CVC</td>
<td>bagal</td>
<td>‘upper arm’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVC.CV</td>
<td>lumba</td>
<td>‘sea urchin’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVC.CV.V</td>
<td>færzē</td>
<td>‘nostril-stud’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVC.CVC</td>
<td>nišbil</td>
<td>‘fishing line’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVC.CV.CV</td>
<td>burqēb</td>
<td>‘small bull shark’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVC.CCV</td>
<td>sinsla</td>
<td>‘metal chain’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVC.CVV.C</td>
<td>baržung</td>
<td>‘cradle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCVC.CV</td>
<td>zgurdā</td>
<td>‘sheer strake (boat plank sp.)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCVC.CV.V</td>
<td>mdallē</td>
<td>‘coffee pot’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCVC.CV.C</td>
<td>qrambiṣ</td>
<td>‘needlefish sp.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCVC.CVC.V</td>
<td>sanksar</td>
<td>‘red bream fish sp.’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

31 It is rare to have three consecutive consonants in Kumzari; this form is most likely the result of a historical compound, perhaps of sang ‘heavy’ + sar ‘head.’
Root shapes in trisyllabic nouns:

CVV.CV  
\*lagana*  ‘bowl’
CVV.CVVC  
\*xanafīs*  ‘sideburn’
CVV.CVVC  
\*čigāra* \(^{32}\)  ‘cigarette’
CVV.CVVCVC  
\*tiḥādī*  ‘rainbow runner fish sp.’
CVV.CVVCVC  
\*kuruxda* \(^{33}\)  ‘old person’
CVV.CVVCVC  
\*mażāraq*  ‘fish sp.’
CVV.CVVCVC  
\*dimistan*  ‘winter’
CVV.CVVCVCVC  
\*arufīē*  ‘smell’
CVV.CVVCVC  
\*qandāha*  ‘rainbow’
CVV.CVVCVCVC  
\*čirbasē*  ‘slide, slippery rock’
CVV.CVVCVCVC  
\*silsilit*  ‘descendant’
CVV.CVVCVCVCVC  
\*bandēra* \(^{34}\)  ‘flag (of ship)’
CVV.CVVCVCVCVC  
\*tambūlī*  ‘goat wattles’
CVV.CVVCVCVCVC  
\*čangērir*  ‘slave’
CVV.CVVCVCVCVC  
\*mayšaatā*  ‘palm frond broom’
CVV.CVVCVCVCVC  
\*purwandō*  ‘lateen yard’
CVV.CVVCVCVCVC  
\*kilwiskit*  ‘date sp.’
CVV.CVVCVCVCVC  
\*gābana*  ‘inlet’
CVV.CVVCVCVCVC  
\*majūwē*  ‘skiff’
CVV.CVVCVCVCVC  
\*zēpilāg*  ‘wooden chest’
CVV.CVVCVCVCVC  
\*šādī‘it*  ‘argument’
CVV.CVVCVCVCVCVC  
\*mwaṭanī*  ‘cherished person’
CVV.CVVCVCVCVCVC  
\*mjaḥalī*  ‘meeting’
CVV.CVVCVCVCVCVC  
\*dīsdumī*  ‘latter keel’
CVV.CVVCVCVCVCVC  
\*‘ēlyē‘ō*  ‘foremost portside tholepin’
CVV.CVVCVCVCVCVC  
\*stīfīndō*  ‘silver eel’

3.1.1.2 Noun inflection

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

---

\(^{32}\) This word’s origin is English presumed to be via Gulf Arabic.

\(^{33}\) This word’s origin is probably the Persian word *kadxōdā* ‘chieftain.’

\(^{34}\) This word’s origin is most likely Portuguese *bandeira* ‘flag.’
by the suffix –an, and plural nouns are by default definite, excluding an additional definiteness suffix. The Kumzari noun that is not marked for definiteness and number in this respect is similar to the Persian noun, which “may be generic and imply single or more items, whether subject, predicative complement, direct object, or other” (Windfuhr 1989:533). Kumzari nouns have neither gender nor case.

Noun suffixes are set out in the following table.

Table 11. Noun inflection

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>inflection</th>
<th>suffix</th>
<th>example with noun bard ‘stone’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(generic)</td>
<td>-Ø</td>
<td>bard ‘stone’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>definite</td>
<td>-ō</td>
<td>bard-ō ‘the stone’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>indefinite</td>
<td>-ē</td>
<td>bard-ē ‘a stone’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plural</td>
<td>-an</td>
<td>bard-an ‘stones’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.1.1.3 Irregular noun inflection

Certain nouns have root forms which are shortened in generic or possessed forms, but retain their fuller forms when inflected. Table 12 attempts to enumerate these exceptional nouns and their possessed\(^{36}\) and inflected forms.

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

\(^{36}\) Noun possession and alienability are covered more completely in §3.3.
Table 12. Irregular Nouns: alternate roots, possession and inflection

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>noun root</th>
<th>generic</th>
<th>possessed (3s yên)</th>
<th>definite -ō</th>
<th>indefinite -ē</th>
<th>plural -an</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>rör ‘child’</td>
<td>rör</td>
<td>rör yē</td>
<td>rör-ō</td>
<td>rör-ē</td>
<td>rör-an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xānağ ‘house’</td>
<td>xānağ</td>
<td>xān yē</td>
<td>xānağ-ō</td>
<td>xānağ-ē</td>
<td>xānağ-an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dist ‘hand’</td>
<td>dist</td>
<td>dist yē</td>
<td>dist-ō</td>
<td>dist-ē</td>
<td>dist-an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zank ‘woman, wife’</td>
<td>zan</td>
<td>zan yē</td>
<td>zank-ō</td>
<td>zank-ē</td>
<td>zank-an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ši ‘husband’</td>
<td>ši</td>
<td>ši yē</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bapk ‘father’</td>
<td>bap</td>
<td>bap yē</td>
<td>bōp-ō</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>bap-an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mām ‘mother’</td>
<td>mām</td>
<td>mām yē</td>
<td>mām-ō</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>mām-an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dīk ‘daughter, girl’</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>dī yē</td>
<td>dīk-ō</td>
<td>dīk-ē</td>
<td>dīk-an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brār ‘brother’</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>brā yē</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>brā-an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xwē ‘sister’</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>xu yē</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>xwē’-an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>martk ‘man’</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>martk-ō</td>
<td>martk-ē</td>
<td>martk-an</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rōk ‘boy’</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>rōk-ō</td>
<td>rōk-ē</td>
<td>rōk-an</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kōrkā ‘son, boy’</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>kōrk-ō</td>
<td>kōrk-ē</td>
<td>kōrk-an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pis ‘son’</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>pis yē</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xṣurg ‘sister-in-law’</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>xṣurg yē</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xistar ‘fiancé(e)’</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>xistar yē</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes for Table 12: Irregular nouns
1. bap and mām do not have indefinite forms.
2. dī must be possessed or inflected; it cannot be generic.
3. brār and xwē must be possessed or plural; they cannot be otherwise inflected or generic.
4. rōk, kōrk, and martk must be inflected; they cannot be generic or possessed.
5. pis, ši, xṣurg, and xistar must be possessed; they cannot be generic or inflected.
6. kōrk/rōk and pis occur in mutually exclusive morpho-syntactic environments, and they are semantically equivalent and interchangeable, e.g. kōrkē wā mē ‘I have a son.’ pis mē baz tka čāfō. ‘My son is playing on the beach.’

3.1.2 Count Nouns

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>noun</th>
<th>count form</th>
<th>translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>jāmal ‘camel’</td>
<td>di-ta jāmal</td>
<td>‘two camels’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bard ‘stone’</td>
<td>di-ta bard</td>
<td>‘two stones’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gōsin ‘goat’</td>
<td>di-ta gōsin</td>
<td>‘two goats’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

37 xăn ‘house’ when possessed by other than a pronoun forms a compound with its possessor, dropping the final consonant and stress, e.g. xăn hēlimē ‘Hēlimē’s house’.
38 zan ‘woman, wife’ when possessed by other than a pronoun forms a compound with its possessor, dropping the final consonant and stress, e.g. za Hasnō ‘Hasan’s wife.’ R1209 za sāharōwa zan yē wa za šēxō ‘the sorcerer’s wife and his wife and the sheikh’s wife.’ Because it has a short vowel, the word can even merge with its possessor if the possessor has an initial long vowel, e.g. zēlē ‘Eli’s wife.’
39 martk is the stem but because a 3-consonant cluster is disallowed in a syllable (and rare generally) the k only appears as part of the next syllable, i.e. when the word is inflected.
40 the term rōk is used for the most part by older speakers. Younger speakers use rōk in its place.
41 these words must be inflected, even when counted: they take the plural suffix (regular nouns use the generic form when counted).
A few lexical items in the semantic domains of time and measurements, constitute exceptions to this rule, instead taking the plural suffix -an but no count suffix -ta on the number when counted:

- arma ‘date’  
  di-ta arma ‘two dates’

- battil ‘boat’  
  di-ta battil ‘two boats’

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

- sāl-ē di-sāl ‘a year or two’
- rōẓ-ē di-rōẓ ‘a day or two’

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

- qisr ‘palace’  
  di-ta qisr-an ‘two palaces’

- rōk- ‘boy’  
  afiā rōk-an ‘seven boys’

- mardk- ‘man’  
  sīṭā mardk-an ‘thirty men’

- kōrk- ‘son’  
  afiā kōrk-an ‘seven sons’

- xānağ ‘house’  
  šaštā xānağ-an ‘six houses’

- ditk- ‘daughter’  
  afiā ditk-an ‘seven daughters’

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

(5) P536

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

(6) B94
aft kas źank -an =im.
seven PERS woman-PL =EX:1p
‘We are seven women.’

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

3.1.3 Mass Nouns

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

---

42 Alienability of Nouns is covered in §3.3.4.
nouns or nouns taking the abstract plural (see §3.1.4). Kumzari uses the plural suffix even for mass nouns to indicate abundance or constituency:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Abstract Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>šākar</td>
<td>‘sugar’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brinž</td>
<td>‘rice’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ġāz</td>
<td>‘money’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gil</td>
<td>‘dirt’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mū</td>
<td>‘hair’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maxluq</td>
<td>‘people’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šīr</td>
<td>‘gold’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>axča</td>
<td>‘gold, silver’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pī</td>
<td>‘(camel) fat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ġēla</td>
<td>‘grain’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.1.4 Abstract Plural

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Abstract Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>īd</td>
<td>‘holiday’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šām</td>
<td>‘supper’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bang</td>
<td>‘sunset’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dimistān</td>
<td>‘winter’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fuṭma</td>
<td>‘weaning’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sur</td>
<td>‘wedding’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Abstract Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>šartağ</td>
<td>‘storm’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>āfur</td>
<td>‘wind sp.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bāram</td>
<td>‘rain’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>garm</td>
<td>‘heat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sarm</td>
<td>‘cold’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ġātal</td>
<td>‘storm’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥēriq</td>
<td>‘dry heat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kawl</td>
<td>‘wind sp.’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Abstract Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tarōk</td>
<td>‘darkness’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>āw</td>
<td>‘water’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter 3 - Noun

3.1.5 Vocative Nouns

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

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

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

3.1.6 Noun Derivation

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

jāmal n. ‘camel’
jāmalīnō n. ‘the camel-rider’ (i.e. the one who rides a camel)

ṭabla n. ‘drum sp.’
ṭablīnō n. ‘the drummer’ (i.e. the one who drums)

dirya n. ‘sea’
diryiṭēnē n. ‘a fisher’ (i.e. one who goes to sea)

muẓgit n. ‘mosque’
muẓgītan n. ‘mosque-goers’ (i.e. ones who go to the mosque)

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

A semantically similar but more flexible derivational suffix is –ī, familiar to both Arabic and Persian. It can turn a noun into an agent or abstraction of that nominal property.
Locational or spatial nouns can take the –ī derivational suffix to become adjectives:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>indur</td>
<td>n. ‘inside’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>indurī</td>
<td>adj. ‘inner’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zēran</td>
<td>n. ‘down, bottom’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zēranī</td>
<td>adj. ‘lower’ (e.g. sōrō zēranī ‘the lower mountain peak’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bāla</td>
<td>n. ‘up, top’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bālī’</td>
<td>adj. ‘upper’ (e.g. qālatō bālī’ī ‘the upper castle’)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>šū</td>
<td>n. ‘husband’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šūī</td>
<td>adv. ‘as a husband’ (e.g. gidiš yē šūī ‘she took him as a husband’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qāniṣ</td>
<td>n. ‘hunt’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qāniṣī</td>
<td>adv. ‘hunting’ (e.g. modifying the verb ‘go’: raft qāniṣī ‘he went a-hunting’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xānağ</td>
<td>n. ‘house’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xānağī</td>
<td>adv. ‘at home’ (e.g. tanyum xānağī ‘I am staying home’)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>čēnağ</td>
<td>adj. ‘thirsty’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čēnağī</td>
<td>n. ‘thirst’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>žindağ</td>
<td>adj. ‘alive’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>žindağī</td>
<td>n. ‘life’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xēnağ</td>
<td>adj. ‘funny’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xēnağī</td>
<td>n. ‘laughter’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Normally it is adjectives which take the comparative suffix –tar. However, -tar can be found on locational nouns, and occasionally on descriptive nouns:
(7) R1181
ka sayy yē bāla-tar pi sar xō.
right.away lift.up:MIR 3s top -more from head REFL
‘Right away he lifted it over his head.’

(8) G477
ništ ēbar-tar.
sit:3sREAL over.here -more
‘He sat closer to over here.’

(9) R319
čik-tar raft.
young.one -more go:3sREAL
‘The younger one left.’

(10) N22
kas gārad-tar pi tō na!
no.one thief -more from 2s NEG
‘No one is more of a thief than you.’

(11) R642
yē gap-tar-ē.
3s old.one -more -a
‘He is an older one.’

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

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

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

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

Some female personal names, and some place names, rather than -ō use -ē as a suffix, which is perhaps a vestigial feminine ending.
A Grammar of Kumzari

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

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

āhm-ēl-ḥassanō < Āhmēdō Ēlī Ḥassanō < Āḥmad Ali Ḥassan
ḥama-brah-adlaō < Ḥamadō Brahmeō Adlaō < Moḥammad Ibrahim Abdullah
fāṭ-sūl-ḥāmed < Fāṭmēō Sūlēmanō Ḥāmed < Faṭimeh Suleiman Ḥamed

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

ēlikō ‘Ali’
īsakō ‘Isa’

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

Amnē Rašid Aḥmad al-Kumẓarī
Moḥammed Ḥassan Suleiman al-Šiḥlī

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

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

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

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

3.1.8 Cardinal Numerals

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

43 In this case the –ō suffix has become lexicalised so that these words can additionally take the definite –ōl indefinite –ē suffixes.
system is confirmed in the difficulty of eliciting numbers beyond fifty or the more frequent resorting to composed numerals beyond fifty (e.g. ‘sixty-two’ is more often said as šaš u dō rather than dišas) by native speakers. Over a century ago, Jayakar noticed that Kumzari had different notation for numerals over fifty and those up to fifty (Jayakar 1902:273).

Table 13. Cardinal numerals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Numeral</th>
<th>Cardinal</th>
<th>Numeral</th>
<th>Cardinal</th>
<th>Numeral</th>
<th>Cardinal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>yak</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>āyda</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>aštad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>dō</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>nōzda</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>nōwud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>sō</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>bīs</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>šať/ša</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>čār</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>yakbīś</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>šať u yak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>panj</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>dibīś</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>dwēś</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>šaš</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>sibīś</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>sēšať</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>aft</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>čārbīś</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>čāšať</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>ašt</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>panjbīś</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>paṇšaṭ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>nā</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>šašbīś</td>
<td>600</td>
<td>šaśať</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>da</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>aštibīś</td>
<td>700</td>
<td>aśaṭ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>yāzdā</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>aštibīś</td>
<td>800</td>
<td>ayaśaṭ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>dwāzdā</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>nābīś</td>
<td>900</td>
<td>naśaṭ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>sēḍda</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>sī</td>
<td>1000</td>
<td>āzar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>čāṛda</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>čil</td>
<td>100,000</td>
<td>likkē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>pāṇḍa</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>murr</td>
<td>1,000,000</td>
<td>malyūn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>šāṇḍa</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>šaś</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>afḍa</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>aʃṭad</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Numeral</th>
<th>Simple system</th>
<th>Numeral</th>
<th>Composed system</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>čil</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>šaś</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>yakčil</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>šaś u yak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>dičil</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>šaś u dō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>sícil</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>šaś u sō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>čārčil</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>šaś u čār</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>pāčil</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>šaś u panj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>šačil</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>šaś u šaś</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>afčil</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>šaś u afť</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>aščil</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>šaś u ašť</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>nāčil</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>šaś u nā</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Numeral</th>
<th>Cardinal</th>
<th>linked form in numerals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ya</td>
<td>yak / yā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>daw / diwā / di</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>sō</td>
<td>sē / si</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>cār</td>
<td>cār / čā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>panj</td>
<td>panj / pan / pā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>šaš</td>
<td>šaš / šān / ša’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>aft</td>
<td>aft / af</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>ašt</td>
<td>aš / āy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>nā</td>
<td>nā / na’ / nō</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

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

(12) P453

yak-ē pi ūṭṭī-an dgō ba żan xō
one-a from rogue-PL say:3IMPF to wife REFL
‘One of the rogues said to his wife…’

3.1.8.1 Distributional counting

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

(13) P300

di-ta qiṣr bēnīyit kin, dwāzda-ta dwāzda-ta tābaq
two-COUNT palace building do:2IMPER twelve-COUNT twelve-COUNT storey
‘Build two palaces, each with twelve floors’

(14) K524

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

---

44 Thanks to AbdulRahman Hasbāō al-Kumzārī and Erik Anonby for pointing this out.
Kumzari occasionally borrows numeral systems or parts thereof. In particular, because Arabic is the trade language in the Musandam region, Arabic numbers may be used for counting in business transactions.

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

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

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

subject: (represented by ḥāraṣan ‘the guards’)

(17) A305

ḥāraṣ-an ba gēr-ō sabara tk-in.
guard–PL of grave–the night watch do:IMPF-3p

‘The guards of the grave were keeping the night watch.’

direct object: (represented by širx ‘gold’)

(18) P469

širx ḏō-um.
gold give:IMPF-1s

‘I will give gold.’

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

(19) P262

sōs-ē mē inda xānağ-ō.
put:PERF-3s 1s in house–the

‘He has put me in the house.’

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

(20) B144

kana yā ā, baţza-ē na, ṣāḥar-ē =Ø.
contrariwise this TOP beggar–a NEG sorcerer–a =EX:3s

‘This one was not a beggar; on the contrary, he was a sorcerer.’

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

(21) B272

bap mā, bra mā, gid-īš yē mardk-ō wa raft!
father 1p brother-1p take:REAL-3s 3s man–the and go:3sREAL

‘O our father, our brother—the man took him and left!’

adverbial complement:

Nouns function as adverbial complements especially as locations or destinations of movement verbs such as ‘go’, ‘come’, and ‘arrive’, or as modifiers of the compound verb palla tka ‘fill’. Kumzari directionals barra ‘outside’, indur ‘inside’, bāla ‘up’, zēran ‘down’, ēbar ‘over there’, etc. are not prepositions but nouns, which can act as complements of verbs.
(22) B429
palla yē tka aw.
filling 3s do:3sIMPF water
‘He will fill it with water.’

(23) A325
ğōrī palla kin čā’ī.
clay teapot filling do:MIR tea
‘He filled the teapot with tea!’

(24) A69
rēsid dbay.
arrive:3sREAL Dubai
‘He arrived at Dubai.’

(25) R1330
kard-in yē bēw, wa gab twāra wābur ġuzr-ō.
drop:IMPF-3p 3s already and immediately shelter become:3sREAL depth –the
‘Once they had dropped him, he immediately took shelter in the deep [part of the well].’

(26) R947
tā ditk-ē tay bāla ā, ditk-ē šēx.
one girl –a come:3sIMPF up SUB daughter -a sheikh
xars-an čum-an tay żēran.
tear-PL eye-PL come:3sIMPF down
‘A girl came up, a sheikh’s daughter. [Her] tears were falling down.’

(27) G505
qaym yē kin inča.
standing 3s do:2sIMPER like this
‘Stand it up like this.’

(28) R447
tō ūn-ī ba kārō’-ō ġwō.
2s stay:IMPER -2s at gate –the here
‘You stay here at the gate.’

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

(29) B656
bistān-ē muğ
garden –a date:palm
‘a date palm garden’

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

(30) K63
mášuwē swuk
skiff lightweight
‘lightweight skiff’
topic of a sentence: (represented by bapō ‘the father’ topicalised by ā)

(31) U72
bap-ō ā, čō maglis šēx-ō.
father -the TOP go:3sIMPF court sheikh -the
‘As for the father, he would go to the sheikh’s court.’

preverbal element of light verb:

(32) S293
sā ḥasa ēnar gis-in na.
now yet henna do:PERF-3p NEG
‘Now they hadn’t done henna yet.’

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

(33) S323
ēnar-an yē ĝēr=in.
henna–PL 3s different =EX:3p
‘His hennas were different.’ [i.e. the henna on each of his hands was different from the henna on the other hand]

(34) S436
āmō mē ṭālbū tō gis-ē ba ēnar-ō.
father-in-law 1s request 2s do:PERF-3s for henna -the
‘My father-in-law has requested you for [doing] the henna.’

3.1.10 Nouns in Discourse

3.1.10.1 Nouns in embedded poems

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

(35) B313
mād yā rōk-ō ā,
stay:3sREAL DEM boy –the TOP
raft yā šiš -ta xānāğ-an ā:
go:3sREAL DEM six COUNT house –PL SUB
tā xānāğ palla xwā,
one house full.of salt
He kept going, this boy, Into these six houses:

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

Each one, I mean, had its own things.
There was nothing good inside them,
Except that house which he was forbidden to enter.’

3.1.10.2 Nouns in participant reference

Participant reference is a language’s system of tracking of participants in a discourse to mark prominence in relation to the overall text; participants may be backgrounded or foregrounded according to which grammatical reference is used for them, from null to a full noun phrase. In the Kumzari discourse grounding scale of participant reference (reprinted below as it relates to noun phrase structure), a full noun phrase with an indefinite noun suffix has the highest prominence, followed by a full noun phrase with a definite suffix, then by pronouns. Reference is zero-morpheme for backgrounded participants and those which have been previously introduced in a text, since Kumzari verbs have obligatory pronominal verb suffixes. The use of the demonstrative yā or the topicalising enclitic ā on a definite noun further raises prominence.
Table 17. Scale of prominence/grounding by nouns in participant reference

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scale of prominence/grounding by nouns in participant reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>more foregrounded (=high prominence)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yak ţank-ē ‘a woman’ (indef)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yā ţank-ō ā ‘as for this woman, she’ (DEM + TOP)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yā ţank-ō ‘this woman’ (DEM)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ţank-ō ‘the woman’ (definite)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yē ā ‘as for her, she’ (pn + TOP)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yē ‘she’ (pron)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ø ‘[she]’ (Ø)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>more backgrounded (=low prominence)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.2 Pronouns

3.2.1 Personal pronouns

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

Table 18. Personal pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>person/number</th>
<th>pronoun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td>mē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s</td>
<td>tō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s</td>
<td>yē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p</td>
<td>mâ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td>šmā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td>šan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(36) S805 [first person singular]

mē ţan tō=um. gid-i mē.

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

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

(37) S665 [second person singular]

žeğer jir-in tō.

slave –PL see:REAL -3p 2s

‘The slaves saw you.’

(38) S673 [third person singular]

sā ahla yē gnūnis-in na yā ţank-ō wā yē na.

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

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

---

There is also an anaphoric third-person pronoun ān, covered in §3.2.9.1 in this chapter.
Chapter 3 - Noun

3.2.1.1 Emphatic personal pronouns

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>person/number</th>
<th>emphatic pronoun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td>umme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s</td>
<td>iittō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s</td>
<td>iyyē</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(42) K367 [first person singular emphatic pronoun]

`tō ajaba būs -ī na pī yā, ar asp -ān insī -ān
3s amazed become:PERF -3s NEG from 3s -SUB the.one who horse -PL humanlike -PL

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

(43) B1164 [second person singular emphatic pronoun]

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

(44) N31 [third person singular emphatic pronoun]

sā iyyē rāsī ādē -ō ba tō ā?
now 3s.EMPH really boat -the of 2s INTERR
‘Is it really your boat?’

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

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

3.2.3 Reflexive pronoun

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

(45) B231  
gardīd-ī ṹ xō  tēr –ē.  
turn.into:REAL-3s  REFL  bird -a  
‘He turned himself into a bird.’

(46) K67  
lēx  xēridīš  ba  xō.  
fishing.net  buy:3sREAL  for  REFL  
‘He bought a fishing net for himself.’

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

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

‘I say to my mother’  
dgōm ba mām xō  NOT *dgōm ba mām mē

‘I say to his mother’  
dgōm ba mām yē

‘He says to his mother’  
dgō ba mām xō  NOT *dgō ba mām yē

‘He says to her mother’  
dgō ba mām yē

‘She (Faṭmēō) says to her (Hēlimē’s) mother’  
dgō ba mām yē NOT *dgō ba mām xō

‘You say to your mother’  
dgī ba mām xō  NOT *dgī ba mām tō

In the following example, the pronouns xō and yē cannot be interchanged (doing so would yield an ungrammatical sentence, or one with a different meaning).
(47) B1278
dis xō kēšid-iš ba čum yē, wa naqqad yē gid-iš.
hand REFL pass.over:REAL-3s on eye 3s and healing 3s do:REAL-3s
‘He [the boy] passed over his [the father’s] eye[s] with his [boy’s] hand, and he [boy] healed him [father].’

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

(48) S104
pi ahla xō šū tāt -um na.
from relatives REFL husband want:IMPF -1s NEG
‘From my relatives, I don’t want a husband.’

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

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

(49) B616
qadar dgard –in xō mār.
some turn.into:IMPF -3p REFL snake
‘Some will turn themselves into snakes.’

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

(50) R1022
jinjāw -ō inča čōt ā, qadama xō tk –a ba yē.
master sorcerer -the like this go:3sIMPF SUB advancing REFL do:IMPF -3s to 3s
‘The master sorcerer, going like this, he was advancing himself toward him.’

3.2.4 Relative pronoun

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

(51) A368
ar txōr -a yē tumr -a
that/which/who eat:IMPF -3s 3s die:IMPF -3s
‘Whoever drinks it will die.’
Pronominal doubling may occur in the case of the relative pronoun used for pragmatic emphasis, as shown by the contrasting pair below (the first question is neutral; the second one is blaming).

(53) N25
kī dar -ō wākis -ē ā?
who door –the open:PERF -3s INTERR
‘Who has opened the door?’

(54) N26
kī ar dar -ō wākis –ē ā?
who that/which/who door –the open:PERF -3s INTERR
‘Who is the one who has opened the door?’

3.2.5 Reciprocal pronouns

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

(55) A117
sātē xwēm būr -in ba angar, brār -an angar =i
now blood become:REAL -3p to each other brother -PL each other =EX:3p
‘Now they became related to each other by blood, they were brothers to each other.’

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

(56) B112
wā= angar ġaraqa k –ē.
-ward= each other swallowing do:IMPER-2p
‘All together, swallow [them.]’

(57) R1040
falaqa wābiš pi angar.
splitting become:MIR from each other
‘They [the two halves of the sorcerer] split from each other!’

3.2.6 Count and Numeral Pronouns

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

Interrogative pronouns are laid out in the following table.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interrogative</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kē</td>
<td>who</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čē</td>
<td>what</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>giya</td>
<td>where</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kāy</td>
<td>when</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čāb</td>
<td>how</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kārim</td>
<td>which</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>činta</td>
<td>how many</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mu-</td>
<td>any/-ever (e.g. mučābē ‘however, anyhow’ miciē ‘whatever, anything’ mukē ‘whoever, anyone’ mugiya ‘wherever, anywhere’)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

(62) B203  [interrogative pronoun as subject]

**kē** dgō -in rōr xō dī -im ba tō ā?
who? say:IMPF -3p child REFL give:IMPF -1p to 2s INTERR

‘Who says they will give their own child to you?’
They may occupy the same position as the noun they replace:

(65) R881
šū tō umr yē sōs –ē giya ā?
husband 2s soul 3s put:PERF -3s where? INTERR
dgō ba yā, šū mē umr yē sōs –ē šīşa –ē.
say:3sIMPF to DEM husband 1s soul 3s put:PERF -3s bottle -a
‘ “Your husband’s soul, where is it kept?”’
She said to this one, “My husband’s soul, it is kept in a bottle.”’

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

(66) R108
bābā giya brār -an mē ā?
O father where? brother -PL 1s INTERR
‘O Father, where are my brothers?’

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

(67) K481
čwān -ī čō’ -ō šaraba tk-ī ā?
can:IMPF -2s well -the drinking do:IMPF -2s INTERR
‘Can you drink the well?’

(68) S343
kē ēnar gis -ē wā šmā ā?
who? henna do:PERF -3s with 2p INTERR
‘Who did henna with you?’

(69) U95
br -um giya ā? xōr -um giya ā?
go:IMPER -1s where? INTERR eat:IMPER -1s where? INTERR
‘Where am I to go? Where am I to eat?’

Interrogative pronouns may be used in relative clauses embedded in object complements:
In any case, I don't know what value, how many millions' worth, they made off with it.'

3.2.8 Pronouns in syntax

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

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

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

3.2.9 Pronouns in discourse

3.2.9.1 Anaphoric pronoun

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

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

(73) R705
br -in na ba ye tēra -ō bālī`ī na, jam rāsī nh na.
go:IMPER -3p NEG on that path -the upper NEG side right NEG
They should not go on that upper path, the right-side one.

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

3.2.9.2 Placeholder pronoun

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

(74) U173
sātē, īn -ē murs-ē inda ġēlil -ō.
now what’s-it-called -a die:PERF -3s in lagoon -the

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

ġāzalē-ē. ġāzalē-ē murs-ē inda... īn -ō... ġēlil -ō.
gazelle -a gazelle -a die:PERF -3s in what’s-it-called -the lagoon -the

‘Now, a what’s-it-called had died in the lagoon. You know these ones which, that are long [antlers]... oryxes. A gazelle. A gazelle had died in the what’s-it-called... the lagoon.’

---

46 see §9.4.2.2. In Kumzari, ye is used as the resumptive pronoun in relative clauses.
3.2.10 Pronouns in poetics and rhetoric

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

(76) P693
dgō ba yē, “ana sayy kūš xō”,
dāriš ba yē.
tāfaq xō dāriš ba yē
wa maḥẓam xō dāriš ba yē,
xāfī xō
wa ngāl xō,
bišt xō.
sōdiš kūš xō.

“Perhaps put it on your lap” he told her,
as he gave it to her.
He gave her his gun
and he gave her his cartridge belt,
    his robe
    and his headrings,
    his cloak,
she put them all on her lap.’

Multiplying pronouns in this manner is a poetic way of highlighting the ownership of each item as well as male-female identities. Repetition of the word xō in the list emphasises the items’ identity of possession and of maleness, foreshadowing the woman’s male disguise later in the tale. In the next example from the tale, the woman moves the items from her lap to put them on her own body, dressing as a man; in accord grammatically, since the subject is the woman, the pronoun xō is used for her own ‘female’ possessions, while the prototypically ‘male’ items she dons are left without any pronoun, renewing the dramatic irony. Again with the pronoun xō, the buzzword kūš ‘lap’ is mentioned, in the context of the woman taking off her female underclothes (šalwal) and putting on the male underclothes (jāmağē).
The poetic force of the language is wielded despite Kumzari’s lack of grammatical gender, illustrating not simply lexical richness but the grammar’s vast rhetorical inventory.

3.3 Noun Phrase

3.3.1 Noun phrase: Introduction

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

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

3.3.2 Noun Phrases with modifying words

3.3.2.1 Noun + adjective

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

47 Windfuhr (2009:28) notes that “in both Early Parthian and Middle Persian the descriptive adjective still followed the noun without linker”. Also cf. the division of languages by areal influence “in the wider context of the strictly right-branching typology of the languages to the west, represented by Semitic” (Windfuhr 2009.29).
3.3.2.2 Noun + modifying noun

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

(81) R953
xars-an  čum-an
tear –PL   eye –PL
‘eye-tears’

(82) B324
ēmāg   šumr
firewood  acacia
‘acacia firewood’

(83) U166
kō-ō  sahra
mountain-the  desert
‘the desert mountain’

(84) B656
bistan-ē  mūg
garden –a  date.palm
‘a date palm garden’

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

noun phrase agreement with the plural:
A Grammar of Kumzari

(85) G198
ğrāb-an  gap-an
crow –PL  big -PL
‘big crows’

(86) P541
kār-an  banj-an
thing –PL  bad -PL
‘bad things’

noun phrase agreement with the definite:

(87) B732
dîtk-ō  čîk-ō
girl –the  little –the
‘the little girl’

(88) B425
qîz’-an-ō  gap-ō
cauldron –the  big –the
‘the big cauldron’

(89) R750
tē-ra-ō  banj-ō
path –the  bad –the
‘the bad path’

noun phrase indefinite agreement not marked on modifying noun-like adjective:\n
(90) G672
majma-ē  jwân
word –a  good
‘a good word’

(91) K164
lētab-ē  gap
wild.fig.tree –a  big
‘a big wild fig tree’

(92) B956
ḥaw-ē  spēr
pool –a  silver
‘a silver pool’

3.3.2.3 Noun + participle

\textsuperscript{48} Another possible interpretation is that these are predicative adjectives or gapped relative clauses with the zero-marked third-person singular existential enclitic, which have the same properties, i.e. ‘a word [that] is good’, ‘a wild fig tree [that] is big’, ‘a pool [that] is silver’.
A noun phrase (in this case it is the subject of a clause) may include a noun that is modified by a perfect participle:

(93) S454
ṭāraf adliyyē-ō kaft-ē
side gown—the fall:PERF-3s
‘side of the gown that had fallen’

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

(94) P573
raft wā= bāla ba żank-ō xwaft-ē ba sērir-ō.
go:3sREAL -ward up to woman -the sleep:PERF-3s on bed -the
‘He went up to the woman [who] was asleep on the bed.’

(95) A236
kaft inā yē ā, gis-um! iš ba yē tēra byā bāla na.
fall:3s REAL in 3s SUB take:PERF-1s nothing to 3s way come:IRR up NEG
‘He fell into it: “I am taken!” There was no way for him to come up’

(96) P188
yā neyat-an wās-in
this charity.food -PL bring:PERF-3p
‘these charity foods that were brought’

3.3.2.4 Noun + deverb

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

(97) A442
jāmal-ē raxama
camel—a reclining
‘a reclining camel’

(98) A646
šan ammū ḍum-an šabaka
3p all eye—PL riveted
‘all of their eyes riveted’

(99) P94
pačaxcē-ē qafala
wooden.chest—a locked
‘a locked wooden chest’
A Grammar of Kumzari

3.3.3 Possession of nouns

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Possessed Noun</th>
<th>Pronoun or Quantifier</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>asp šēx-ō</td>
<td>‘the horse of the sheikh’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>asp-an šēx-ō</td>
<td>‘the horses of the sheikh’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>asp šēx-an</td>
<td>‘the horse of the sheikhs’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>asp-an šēx-an</td>
<td>‘the horses of the sheikhs’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yak</td>
<td>‘a horse of the sheikh’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>asp šēx-ē</td>
<td>‘the horse of a sheikh’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>asp-ō</td>
<td>‘the sheikhly horse’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

(100) P1099
law yē ḫaraqa
edge 3s sealed.with.wax
‘its edge sealed with wax’

(101) A180
xaẓnit-an šēx-ō
valuable –PL sheikh –the
‘the sheikh’s valuables’

(102) B945
qiṣr dīt mē
palace daughter 1s
‘my daughter’s palace’

(103) S679
ēnar yē
henna 3s
‘his henna’

(104) B790
šang mē
comb 1s
‘my comb’
However, a possessed noun may take the plural suffix -an.

(106) B747
rōr-an āmō tō
child -PL uncle 2s
‘your uncle’s children’

(107) S797
maqṭa-an šan wa mīṣar-an šan
chisel -PL 3p and saw -PL 3p
‘their chisels and their saws’

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

rōr Ḥēlmē ‘Halima’s child’
rōr yē ‘her child’
rōr’an Ḥēlmē ‘Halima’s children’
rōrā’yē ‘her children’

The process of n-dropping, vowel length change, and stress shift resembles the same process in the South Arabian languages (South Arabian languages data from Simeone-Senelle 1997:386-387).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kumzari</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>South Arabian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dit</td>
<td>‘girl’</td>
<td>ġagēnōt’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dit´yē</td>
<td>‘her girl’</td>
<td>ġagēnats’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dit k-an</td>
<td>‘girls’</td>
<td>ġagēnūt ān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ditkā´yē</td>
<td>‘her girls’</td>
<td>ġagēnūt še</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brār´-an</td>
<td>‘brothers’</td>
<td>ġwē’tā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brārā´šan</td>
<td>‘their brothers’</td>
<td>ġwētī hum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dist-an</td>
<td>‘hands’</td>
<td>ġādōtān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dist-ā´šan</td>
<td>‘their hands’</td>
<td>ġādōtihām</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A possessor noun can be marked for definiteness or plurality:

(108) S256
šēx wālēyi-tō
sheikh country -the
‘sheikh of the country’

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

(109) U203
rōr  gāzel-ē
child  gazelle -a
‘a gazelle fawn’

(110) U68
xā  indirāg-an
house  neighbour –PL
‘neighbours’ house’

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

(111) K197
kāra  xa  šēx-ō
gate  house-  sheikh –the
‘the gate of the house of the sheikh’

3.3.4 Alienable and Inalienable Nouns

In general, nouns designating body parts and kinship terms are inalienable. The inalienability property may extend to personal items carried on the body. Alienability is both morphologically and syntactically defined. Inalienable nouns:
1. are obligatorily possessed. For the most part they are not able to use generic, definite, or indefinite forms, and those that do have alternate roots
2. differ syntactically as complements in the compound verb

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

50 The odd pairs martk/šū and rōk/pis become clear considering their possessed forms are only the second member, i.e., to say ‘her man’ and ‘his boy’ one must say šū yē and pis yē, respectively. The second members of the pairs must be possessed and cannot take definite, indefinite, or plural suffixes (see chapter 3).
Table 22. Alternate roots in non-possessed and possessed nouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>non-possessed root</th>
<th>possessed root</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ditk</td>
<td>dit</td>
<td>‘girl, daughter’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>żank</td>
<td>żan / ža</td>
<td>‘woman, wife’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>martk</td>
<td>šū</td>
<td>‘man, husband’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bapk</td>
<td>bap</td>
<td>‘father’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>körk</td>
<td>kör</td>
<td>‘boy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rör</td>
<td>rör</td>
<td>‘child’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rōk</td>
<td>pis</td>
<td>‘boy, son’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xānağ</td>
<td>xān / xā</td>
<td>‘house’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brār</td>
<td>brā</td>
<td>‘brother’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xwē</td>
<td>xū</td>
<td>‘sister’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dist</td>
<td>dis</td>
<td>‘hand’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

\[(112)\] B363
\[
\text{ka }\text{bağaza linkit xō kin }\text{inda }\text{ḥawṭ-ō.}
\]
‘Right then he dipped his finger in the orchard pool!’

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

\[(113)\] G108
\[
\text{sā }\text{kōʾ-ān }\text{ġēlā-an xō gadda }\text{tk-in.}
\]
‘Now, the mountain bedouins would harvest their grain.’

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

\[(114)\] A470
\[
\text{qaṣṣa gardan jāmal-ō kin.}
\]
‘He cut the neck of the camel!’

Although a few words (in the examples below, bāp ‘father’) are not obligatorily possessed as are most inalienable nouns, they are still governed by the syntactic rules of inalienable nouns as complements in compound verb phrases:
Certain lexical items, such as personal belongings carried on the body, cross over from the alienable to the inalienable and operate on the boundary between the two categories, taking their cue from the context as to their role. In this example, the boy’s sword worn on his body is syntactically treated as inalienable in the compound verb phrase; yet elsewhere, especially when a sword is separate from its possessor, it follows the word order of an alienable noun in a compound verb phrase.

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

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

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

(122) G992  
.xaxisā– y’ā, qētil–ē.  
house –DEM=SUB deadly –a  
‘That house, it’s deadly.’

(123) P313  
yā rōr–ō ā, pis tô fans–ē yē.  
DEM child –the SUB son 2s send:PERF-3s 3s  
‘This child, your son has sent her.’
4 Verb

4.1 Deverb

4.1.1 Deverbs: Origin and Morphological Structure

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Semitic root</th>
<th>Kumzari deverb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dārs ‘study, learn’</td>
<td>dārāsa ‘learned, learning’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fākr ‘think’</td>
<td>fākara ‘thought, thinking’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥaraqa ‘burn’</td>
<td>ḥaraqa ‘burned, burning’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

lağya ‘talked to incessantly, talking incessantly’
lawya ‘curled up, curling up’
xazya ‘shamed, shaming’
tawyaa ‘wound, wounding’

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

laffa ‘bandaged, bandaging’
dakka ‘buried, burying’
samma ‘pushed, pushing’
xalla ‘soaked, soaking’

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

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

qawqaqa ‘crowed, crowing (rooster)’
ta’ta’a ‘stuttered, stuttering’
waswasas ‘vascillated, vascillating’
na’na’a ‘bleated, bleating’

\(^{51}\) Interestingly, Al-Tajir 1982:85 notes that Bahraini Arabic (which is a Gulf dialect with Persian influence) also prefers CVCVCC forms to Standard Arabic consonant clusters in trilateral roots.
Reduplicated deverbs, when a parallel non-reduplicated deverb also exists, indicates intensified or repeated action:

- **harra** ‘looked, looking’
- **qasqa** ‘cut, cutting’
- **fatta** ‘ripened, ripening’
- **harharra** ‘looked around, looking around’
- **qasqaqa** ‘cut up into pieces, cutting up into pieces’
- **fatfa** ‘become succulent, becoming succulent’

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

- **rakhū** ‘mounted, mounting’
- **qaṣrū** ‘neglected, neglecting’
- **ṣaḥbū** ‘dragged, dragging’
- **xalṭū** ‘mixed up, mixing up’

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

- **arasa** ‘crushed, crushing’
- **arasātar** ‘more crushed’
- **lama’a** ‘shone, shining’
- **lama’ātar** ‘shinier’

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

4.1.2 Deverbs: Syntactic distribution

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

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

(124) G948

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

or a predicate in a compound with the light verb ṭō’a ‘become’:

---

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

or a predicate in a compound with the light verb tka ‘do’:\54

(126) B553
ṭabil -ō abaša kin.
drum – the holding do:MIR
‘He took hold of the drum!’

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

(127)
kōb -ō palla tk-a.
cup – the filling do:IMPF-3s
‘She is filling the cup.’ [ACTIVE]

(128)
kōb -ō palla tō'-a.
cup – the filling become:IMPF-3s
‘The cup is being filled.’ [PASSIVE]

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

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

Semitic deverb with 3p existential enclitic =in and intensifier:
jāmalan arasa’in xaylē. ‘The camels are very worn out.’
Indo-European adjective with 3p existential enclitic =in and intensifier:
jāmalan garmagīn xaylē. ‘The camels are very hot.’

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

Semitic deverb with noun object (object precedes deverb):
mī‘ī waṇa’a tka ba diryē’īnan. ‘He distributes fish to the fishers.’
Indo-European verb with noun object (object precedes verb):
mī‘ī do’a ba diryē’īnan. ‘He gives fish to the fishers.’

\54 Domari has a very similar strategy for incorporating Arabic verbs into the grammar: “The integration pattern for Arabic loan verbs consists of the attachment of reduced forms of the Arabic verb… to indigenous carrier verbs, which carry the verb inflection. There are two main carrier verbs, “either transitive (from kar- ‘to do’) or intransitive (from hr- ‘to become’)” (Matras 1999:37) (Matras 2006:9).
Semitic deverb with pronoun object (object follows deverb):  
\textit{waẓa’u šan tka ba diryī’īnan}. ‘He distributes \textbf{them} to the fishers.’

Indo-European verb with pronoun object (object follows verb):  
\textit{dō’a šan ba diryī’īnan}. ‘He gives \textbf{them} to the fishers.’

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

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

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{ḥaraqa šan tka} ‘he burns them’ [in compound with light verb \textit{tka} ‘do’]
  \item \textit{ḥaraqa tē’in} ‘they are being burned’ [in compound with light verb \textit{tō’a} ‘become’]
  \item \textit{ḥaraqa’in} ‘they are burnt’ [with existential enclitic]
\end{itemize}

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

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{ḡafala’in} ‘they are asleep’ [deverb + existential enclitic]
  \item \textit{ḡafala burin} ‘they fell asleep’ [deverb + light verb and pronominal suffix]
\end{itemize}

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

\textbf{(129) A442}
\footnotesize{tamna ā, jāmal-ē raxama = Ø inda ḥawy yē.}
SENS SUB camel –a reclining =EX:3s in courtyard 3s
‘He saw a camel [that was] reclining in his courtyard.’

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

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

\textsuperscript{56} As noted in chapter 5, the existential enclitic does not specify time. Thus \textit{ḡafala in} means any of ‘they were asleep’ ‘they are asleep’ ‘they will be asleep’. The pragmatic replacement of the existential enclitic with a light verb disambiguates the aspectual reference of a deverb as an intransitive predicate. Explicit time references may also be combined with the deverb and existential enclitic: K577 \textit{mi diśin ġarra’īm}. ‘yesterday I was mistaken.’
jāmal nō mē ‘my new camel’ [nō is attributive]
jāmal mē nō ‘my camel is new’ [nō is predicative]
*jāmal raxama mē ‘my reclining camel’ [raxama would be *attributive]
jāmal mē raxama ‘my camel is reclining’ [raxama is predicative]

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

4.1.3 Deverbs: Other sources

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

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

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

4.1.4 Deverbs: Word class derivation

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word classes of Semitic provenance</th>
<th>Word classes of Indo-European provenance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>deverbs + nouns + adjectives + adverbs</td>
<td>verbs nouns adjectives adverbs</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

57 The borrowed word fañaša is attested in Baharna Arabic (see al-Tajir 1982:135).
However, because only deverbs/verbs have distinct morphosyntactic functions, only this word class will be called by a different name. That is, forms derived from Semitic deverbs (i.e. those denoted by + above) fit morphosyntactically into Kumzari word classes alongside their Indo-European correlates, as will be shown below. Where disambiguation of their provenance is necessary, this description uses the terms “Semitic” and “Indo-European.”

4.1.4.1 Nouns derived from deverbs

A deverb can be derived to form a noun. The nominal form contains the vowel $a$ following the first consonant and the suffix $−i tô$ following the last consonant, thus $CaCCēt$. The nominal form makes a concrete, instanciable noun out of the deverb, such as:

- $adaba$ (dv.) ‘irritated, irritating’
- $adbēt$ (n.) ‘irritation’

- $ḥaraqa$ (dv.) ‘burned, burning’
- $ḥarqēt$ (n.) ‘burning sensation (e.g. heartburn)’

- $baraża$ (dv.) ‘appeared, appearing’
- $barzēt$ (n.) ‘appearance’

- $rašwa$ (dv.) ‘bribed, bribing’
- $rašwēt$ (n.) ‘bribe, bribery’

- $lawya$ (dv.) ‘wrapped, wrapping’
- $lawyēt$ (n.) ‘wrapper’

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

- $salīt$ ‘loan’
- $salfēēt$ ‘a loan’
- $salfēōt$ ‘the loan’
- $salfētan$ ‘loans’

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

- $raḡya$ (dv.) ‘boasted, boasting’
- $raḡyēt$ (n.) ‘boast, boastfulness’
- $raḡyētīnō$ (n.) ‘the boaster’

- $aryā$ (dv.) ‘chattered, chattering’
- $aryēt$ (n.) ‘chatter’
- $aryētīnō$ (n.) ‘the chatterer’

Quadriliteral verb roots from Semitic function similarly, but the form for their nominalised derivation is instead $CaCCēCīt$: 
\[\text{šambara (dv.)} \text{ ‘staggered, staggering’}\]
\[\text{šambērit (n.)} \text{ ‘stagger, one who staggers’}\]

\[\text{xarmaša (dv.)} \text{ ‘messed up, messing up’}\]
\[\text{xarmēšit (n.)} \text{ ‘mess’}\]

\[\text{sawdana (dv.)} \text{ ‘knocked out, knocking out’}\]
\[\text{sawdēnit (n.)} \text{ ‘knock-out’}\]

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

\[\text{ramrama (dv.)} \text{ ‘murmured, murmuring’}\]
\[\text{ramrēmit (n.)} \text{ ‘murmur’}\]

\[\text{kaskasa (dv.)} \text{ ‘crumbled, crumbling’}\]
\[\text{kaskēsit (n.)} \text{ ‘crumb’}\]

\[\text{daqdaqa (dv.)} \text{ ‘knocked, knocking’}\]
\[\text{daqdēqit (n.)} \text{ ‘knock’}\]

\[\text{waswasa (dv.)} \text{ ‘vasillated, vascillating’}\]
\[\text{waswēsit (n.)} \text{ ‘vascillation’}\]

4.1.4.2 Adjectives derived from deverbs

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

\[\text{lawata (dv.)} \text{ ‘shrivelling, weakened’}\]
\[\text{lawt (a.)} \text{ ‘shrivelled, weak’}\]

\[\text{qayama (dv.)} \text{ ‘stood, standing’}\]
\[\text{qaym (a.)} \text{ ‘upright’}\]

\[\text{ğayaba (dv.)} \text{ ‘finished, finishing’}\]
\[\text{ğayb (a.)} \text{ ‘absent’}\]

\[\text{xabaga (dv.)} \text{ ‘pierced, piercing’}\]
\[\text{xabq (a.)} \text{ ‘holey’}\]

4.1.4.3 Adverbs derived from deverbs

Adverbs are derived from deverbs in the same manner as they are derived from Indo-European words: by the addition of the suffix \(–ītī\) (the dropping of the final \(a\) is morphophonemic):
axara (dv.) ‘delayed, delaying’
axarītī (adv.) ‘late, afterward’

čaraxa (dv.) ‘straddled, straddling’
čaraxītī (adv.) [e.g. sitting] ‘stride’

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

labaṭa (dv.) ‘shaken, shuddering’
lablaba (dv.) ‘violent shuddering’
lablabītī (adv.) ‘recklessly’

warya (dv.) ‘flared, flaring’
warwarā (dv.) ‘rushed, hurrying’
warwarītī (adv.) ‘hurriedly, quickly’

4.1.4.4 Derivational Morphology and Syntax

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

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

ātišē ‘a fire’ [Indo-European noun + indefinite suffix]
balyētē ‘a problem’ [Semitic noun + indefinite suffix]

ātišō ‘the fire’ [Indo-European noun + definite suffix]
balyētō ‘the problem’ [Semitic noun + definite suffix]

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

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

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

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

rēsudin gab ‘they arrived suddenly’ [Indo-European deverb]
rēsudin da’barītī ‘they arrived noisily’ [Semitic adverb]

4.1.5 Deverbs: Discussion on word class

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

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

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

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58 cf. Turkish verbal nominals “retain a large number of verbal features, yet at the same time are highly nouny” (Haig 1998:34).
form), then, the Kumzari deverb as a preverbal element in a compound verb corresponds to
the Omani Arabic active participle, while the Kumzari deverb as an intransitive predicate
with an existential enclitic corresponds to the Omani Arabic passive participle.

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

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

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

59 Terminological precedents are found in the grammatical descriptions of Hungarian, Japanese, Navajo,Czech,
Hausa, and Russian, to designate those word classes that are derived from verbs but morphosyntactically distinct
from them.
60 cf. Basque and Spanish interaction “The spread of analytic verbal forms in Basque… allows Basque speakers
to ‘match’ them with their Spanish equivalents” (Aikhenvald 2006:28).
A Grammar of Kumzari

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

Table 24. Word class properties of deverbs

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

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

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

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

The development of the deverb from Semitic loan words is also unsurprising in light of the flexibility of the compound verb and its open-class preverbal element. All of the ‘basic’ verbal semantics are covered by the simple verbs, while the unlimited historical borrowing of Semitic verbs in compounds allows for shades of meaning. As an example, one may
consider the semantic inventory of verbs to do with ‘talking’: of Indo-European lexical verbs there is one: *gaft, gō* ‘say’. Of Semitic deverbs there are at least twenty-five: *afata* ‘talking gibberish, incoherently’, *majma* ‘speaking (a language)’, *alana* ‘speaking to an assembly of people’, *arya* ‘chattering’, *bağara* ‘shouting’, *balbala* ‘talking very quickly’, *ḥakyū* ‘storytelling’, *fēṭahit* ‘telling on someone’, *ḥamada* ‘praising’, *ḥašara* ‘speaking noisily’, *kalaka* ‘stammering’, *lağya* ‘talking incessantly’, *mawara* ‘congratulating’, *qamqama* ‘mumbling’, *qawala* ‘reciting’, *rağya* ‘boasting’, *ramrama* ‘murmuring’, *ṣayaḥa* ‘calling out’, *šaṭaṭa* ‘stumbling over words’, *ta’ta’a* ‘stuttering’, *tkēkū* ‘repeating words’, *ṭaraqa* ‘prompting speech’, *waṣafa* ‘describing’, *xalafa* ‘giving condolences’, *xarafa* ‘babbling’, and many more semantically related lexemes. The balance between the two linguistic sources in Kumzari can be measured in this respect; while Indo-European verbs are more basic in meaning and occur more commonly, there are much fewer of them. In contrast, the inventory of Semitic deverbs is large, but their meanings are specific, so each lexeme is used less frequently.

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

### 4.2 Verb

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>person</th>
<th>Realis</th>
<th>Perfect</th>
<th>Imperfect</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
<th>Irrealis</th>
<th>Mirative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1S</td>
<td>-dum</td>
<td>-sum</td>
<td>t- -um</td>
<td>-um</td>
<td>-um</td>
<td>Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S</td>
<td>-di</td>
<td>-si</td>
<td>t- -i</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3S</td>
<td>-diš/-d</td>
<td>-sē</td>
<td>t- -a</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1P</td>
<td>-dim</td>
<td>-sim</td>
<td>t- -im</td>
<td>-im</td>
<td>-im</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P</td>
<td>-dē</td>
<td>-sē</td>
<td>t- -ē</td>
<td>-ē</td>
<td>-ē</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3P</td>
<td>-din</td>
<td>-sin</td>
<td>t- -in</td>
<td>-in</td>
<td>-in</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

\(^{61}\) Mirative verb forms occasionally mark number with the plural verbal suffixes –ē or –īn on the stem.
Table 26. Finite verb roots

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

4.2.1 Verb Morphology

4.2.1.1 Verb types

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>person</th>
<th>Realis</th>
<th>Perfect</th>
<th>Imperfect</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
<th>Irrealis</th>
<th>Mirative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1S</td>
<td>fāndum</td>
<td>fānsum</td>
<td>tfānum</td>
<td>fānum</td>
<td>fānum</td>
<td>fān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S</td>
<td>fāndī</td>
<td>fānsī</td>
<td>tfānī</td>
<td>fān</td>
<td>fānī</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3S</td>
<td>fāndīš</td>
<td>fānsē</td>
<td>tfāna</td>
<td>fāna</td>
<td>fāna</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1P</td>
<td>fāndim</td>
<td>fānsim</td>
<td>tfānim</td>
<td>fānim</td>
<td>fānim</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P</td>
<td>fāndē</td>
<td>fānsē</td>
<td>tfānē</td>
<td>fānē</td>
<td>fānē</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3P</td>
<td>fāndin</td>
<td>fānsin</td>
<td>tfānin</td>
<td>fānin</td>
<td>fānin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.2.1.2 *-ft* and *-št* verbs

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>person</th>
<th>Realis</th>
<th>Perfect</th>
<th>Imperfect</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
<th>Irrealis</th>
<th>Mirative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1S</td>
<td>xwaftum</td>
<td>xwaftum</td>
<td>txwā’um</td>
<td>xwā’um</td>
<td>xwā’um</td>
<td>xwaw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S</td>
<td>xwaftū</td>
<td>xwaftū</td>
<td>txwā’ī</td>
<td>xwā’i</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3S</td>
<td>xwaft</td>
<td>xwaftē</td>
<td>txwā’a</td>
<td>xwā’a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1P</td>
<td>xwaftim</td>
<td>xwaftim</td>
<td>txwā’im</td>
<td>xwā’im</td>
<td>xwā’im</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P</td>
<td>xwaftē</td>
<td>xwaftē</td>
<td>txwā’ē</td>
<td>xwā’ē</td>
<td>xwā’ē</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3P</td>
<td>xwaftin</td>
<td>xwaftin</td>
<td>txwā’in</td>
<td>xwā’in</td>
<td>xwā’in</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>št verbs</th>
<th>ft verbs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>čišt, čōr</td>
<td>gaft, gō’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jišt, jōr</td>
<td>kaft, kō’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kišt, kš</td>
<td>šnaft, šnā’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ništ, ūny</td>
<td>xwaft, xwā’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>škašt, škēn</td>
<td>raft, čō, rō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wašt, wēl</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.2.1.3 *b*- and *w*- verbs
Verb roots with initial $b$- or $w$- appear to have vestigial modals like causative and inchoative prefixes, respectively (cf. Luri languages, MacKinnon 2011). Verbs of this type drop the $b$-/$w$- when adding the Imperfect prefix $t$-. Table 30 lists all verbs of the $b$- and $w$- type that follow this rule.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Realis</th>
<th>Perfect</th>
<th>Imperfect</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
<th>Irrealis</th>
<th>Mirative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>b- verbs</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>burwā</td>
<td>āmadī</td>
<td>ōmasī</td>
<td>tā’ī</td>
<td>byō</td>
<td>byī</td>
<td>byō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>būr</td>
<td>āmad</td>
<td>ōmasē</td>
<td>tēy</td>
<td>byā</td>
<td>byāt</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>būxār</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>brēʒ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>w- verbs</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wōdur</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wār</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wāt</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>waṣt, wēl</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.2.1.4 Irregular verbs

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

**Table 31. Irregular finite verbs**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Irregular Verb</th>
<th>Realis</th>
<th>Perfect</th>
<th>Imperfect</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
<th>Irrealis</th>
<th>Mirative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ām ‘come’</td>
<td>2s</td>
<td>āmadī</td>
<td>ōmasī</td>
<td>tā’ī</td>
<td>byō</td>
<td>byī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3s</td>
<td>āmad</td>
<td>ōmasē</td>
<td>tēy</td>
<td>byā</td>
<td>byāt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dār, dō’ ‘give’</td>
<td>2s</td>
<td>dārī</td>
<td>dāsī</td>
<td>dī</td>
<td>ād</td>
<td>ādī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3s</td>
<td>dārīš</td>
<td>dāsē</td>
<td>dō’a</td>
<td>dō</td>
<td>ādō’a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gid, ka ‘do’</td>
<td>2s</td>
<td>gidi</td>
<td>gisī</td>
<td>tkī</td>
<td>kīn</td>
<td>kī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3s</td>
<td>gidiš</td>
<td>gisē</td>
<td>tka</td>
<td>ka</td>
<td>ka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gid, gir ‘take’</td>
<td>2s</td>
<td>gidi</td>
<td>gisī</td>
<td>digī</td>
<td>gur</td>
<td>grī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3s</td>
<td>gidiš</td>
<td>gisē</td>
<td>diga</td>
<td>gra</td>
<td>gra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jīr, mēš ‘see’</td>
<td>2s</td>
<td>jīri</td>
<td>jīsī</td>
<td>tēmušī</td>
<td>muš</td>
<td>mēšī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3s</td>
<td>jīris</td>
<td>jīsē</td>
<td>tēmuša</td>
<td>mēša</td>
<td>mēša</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>raft, čō, rō ‘go’</td>
<td>2s</td>
<td>raftī</td>
<td>raftī</td>
<td>čī</td>
<td>brō</td>
<td>brī/ ra’ī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3s</td>
<td>raft</td>
<td>raftē</td>
<td>čōt</td>
<td>bra</td>
<td>bra/ čōt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wābur, tō’ ‘become’</td>
<td>2s</td>
<td>būrī</td>
<td>būsī</td>
<td>ōti’</td>
<td>biš</td>
<td>bī’ī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3s</td>
<td>wābur</td>
<td>būsē</td>
<td>ōtya</td>
<td>but</td>
<td>bura/ tō’at</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.2.1.5 Inflectional morphology of finite verbs

---

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

63 See analysis of Middle Persian $b$- in Jügel 2013.
Where there is more than one root, the first is used as a stem to build the Realis and Perfect, the second as a stem for the Imperfect, Imperative, Irrealis, and Mirative. If there are three roots, the third will be used in place of the second as a stem for the Imperative, Irrealis, and Mirative. In other Iranian languages, multiple roots are traditionally divided into past and non-past stems, but they cannot be so temporally defined in Kumzari.

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{burwā} & \quad \text{‘run’} \\
\text{burwā -d -um} & \\
\text{run} & \quad \text{REAL 1s} \\
& \quad \text{‘I ran’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{sō} & \quad \text{‘put’} \\
\text{sō -d -um} & \\
\text{put} & \quad \text{REAL 1s} \\
& \quad \text{‘I put’}
\end{align*}
\]

Perfect verb forms bear the suffix –s, following the verb stem and preceding the pronominal suffix:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kan} & \quad \text{‘dig’} \\
\text{kan -s -um} & \\
\text{dig} & \quad \text{PERF 1s} \\
& \quad \text{‘I have dug’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{bar} & \quad \text{‘carry’} \\
\text{bar -s -um} & \\
\text{carry} & \quad \text{PERF 1s} \\
& \quad \text{‘I have carried’}
\end{align*}
\]

Only the Imperfect verb form has a prefix t-:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ambār} & \quad \text{‘load’} \\
\text{t- ambār -um} & \\
\text{IMPF} & \quad \text{load 1s} \\
& \quad \text{‘I load’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ēnar} & \quad \text{‘hide’} \\
\text{t- ēnar -um} & \\
\text{IMPF} & \quad \text{hide 1s} \\
& \quad \text{‘I hide’}
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{wār} & \quad \text{‘bring’} \\
\text{ām} & \quad \text{‘come’} \\
\text{raft}, \text{čō}, \text{rō} & \quad \text{‘go’}, \text{rēs} & \quad \text{‘arrive’}, \text{and mur} & \quad \text{‘die’}.
\end{align*}
\]

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

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

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

\[ \text{d- grē’ -um} \]

IMPF cry 1s

‘I cry’

**gnūn ‘believe’**

\[ \text{d- gnūn -um} \]

IMPF believe 1s

‘I believe’

The Imperfect prefix is absent on verb stems with initial alveolars.\(^{67}\)

**sän ‘shave’**

sän -um

shave 1s

‘I shave’ (Imperfect)

**dōẓ ‘sew’**

dōẓ -um

sew 1s

‘I sew’ (Imperfect)

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

**mān ‘stay’**

\[ \text{tā- mun -um} \]

IMPF stay 1s

‘I stay’

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

Imperatives in Kumzari use the bare verb stem with the pronominal suffix, which is zero for the second person singular\(^{68}\) and –a for the third person singular:

---

\(^{67}\) These include verb stems with the initial sounds t, d, j, č, and usually r, s, š, z. There are some exceptions, for example compare the r-initial Imperfect forms *ray-um* ‘I can’ and t- rēs -um ‘I arrive’. See chapter 2.

\(^{68}\) In the Western Iranian dialects Dezfuli and Šuštari, the imperative marker for the second person singular is also zero (MacKinnon 2011). Use of the bare verb stem for the second person Imperative is common in languages worldwide (Aikhenvald 2010:18-19).
pōr –Ø
fly -2sIMPER
‘Fly!’

ūny-a inda muğ -an.
sit -3sIMPER in date:palm -PL
‘(He must) sit in the date palm orchard.’

mēy -an kard –ē
fish -PL drop:IMPER-2p
‘Drop the fish.’

As observed in Aikhenvald’s 2010 typological study of imperatives, many languages have complete paradigms of imperative verb forms, not only for the second person. Sanskrit and Kumzari are among those that form one paradigmatic set for imperative. It is common cross-linguistically for the second-person singular to be the least formally marked (or zero-marked) member of the paradigm (Aikhenvald 2010:48-49).

A few verbs in Kumzari have suppletive imperative forms, using a different stem from that used for statements or questions (see Aikhenvald 2010: 33). Table 32 lists verbs with suppletive Imperative stems as compared to their Imperfect stems (non-suppletive Imperatives use the same stem as the Imperfect).

Table 32. Suppletive Imperatives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Imperfect verb stem</th>
<th>Imperative verb stem</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>č</td>
<td>rō</td>
<td>‘go’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>say</td>
<td>su</td>
<td>‘lift’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wār</td>
<td>yār</td>
<td>‘bring’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ōdur</td>
<td>wēyda</td>
<td>‘hold’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dō</td>
<td>ād</td>
<td>‘give’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ām</td>
<td>yō</td>
<td>‘come’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Irrealis does not have a distinct verbal affix but joins pronominal suffixes directly to the stem; standing out from that of other verb forms is the second person singular suffix –ī.

(130)
wā yā asp -ō ā, br –ī dūr.
with DEM horse –the SUB go -2sIRR far.away
‘With this horse you could go far away.’

(131)
da’- ta tālum brinẓ xōr -in.
ten- COUNT platter rice eat -3pIRR
‘They might eat ten platters of rice.’

69 See also footnote 66: Of irregular verbs with b- prefix in the Imperative, three overlap with suppletive Imperatives.
Mirative uses the same bare verb stem with zero-marked person and number suffixes.\(^70\)

\[ (132) \]
\[ šahr -ō  tēr -an bard kin -Ø. \]
\[ sorcerer -the bird -PL stone make -MIR \]
\[ ‘The sorcerer \textbf{made} the birds into stone!’ \]

\[ (133) \]
\[ ditk -Ō  kaf 0  dirya-0. \]
\[ girl -the fall -MIR sea -the \]
\[ ‘The girl \textbf{fell} into the sea!’ \]

### 4.2.2 Verb form semantics

The scope of the six Kumzari verb forms is outlined in Table 33. Examples demonstrating the semantics of each verb form follow.

\[ Table 33. \text{Verb form semantics} \]

\[ \begin{array}{|l|l|}
\hline
\text{verb form} & \text{semantic function} \\
\hline
\text{Realis} & \text{certain: past completed events, certain future events} \\
\hline
\text{Perfect} & \text{current relevance, especially resultative, of prior or complete events; participles} \\
\hline
\text{Imperfect} & \text{ongoing or incomplete events; progressive; general statements; current statives, intended but unrealised future plans; habitual; rhetorical questions; purposive} \\
\hline
\text{Imperative} & \text{commands, requests} \\
\hline
\text{Irrealis} & \text{uncertain: uncertain future events, hypotheticality, potentiality, jussivity, conditionality, obligativity, desiderativity} \\
\hline
\text{Mirative} & \text{unexpected, surprising information} \\
\hline
\end{array} \]

#### 4.2.2.1 Realis

Although past events in Kumzari are often cast in Realis verb forms, Realis (REAL) is not associated with any temporal notion; its primary meaning is rather the epistemic certainty of an event. The realis-irrealis notional binary is often seen as being no different from the indicative-subjunctive binary traditional in European linguistics; however, the Kumzari modal system holds unique differences. Irrealis does not serve solely in subordinate clauses, as is often the case with the Subjunctive. Nor must the Irrealis be used for a negative. Realis does not only operate in the past or present tense, as is often the case with the Indicative. A definition for the pair that goes beyond indicative and subjunctive is Mithun’s (1999:173): “the realis portrays situations as actualized, as having occurred or actually occurring, knowable through direct perception. The irrealis portrays situations as purely within the realm of thought, knowable only through imagination.” However, even this analysis is limiting with regards to some languages, such as Caddo, Central Pomo, and Kumzari, in

\[^{70}\text{Other languages that are reported to use a short form of the verb to convey mirativity as well are Prasun, Hindi-Urdu, Gultari Shina, and some Balkan languages. In these languages, mirative semantics also correlates with absence of person-number-gender marking on some form of the verb stem (Friedman 2001, Bashir 2010). In some Sinai Bedouin dialects, the imperative verb form is used as a narrative feature at certain points in the text, as if commanding a character to carry out an action (de Jong 2011:282); this is likely equivalent to the Kumzari Mirative.}\]
which future events are characterised by the Realis “to mark their expectation of actuation” (Mithun 1995:378, Chafe 1995).

Rather than strict factuality per se, Realis in Kumzari is concerned with epistemic certainty (cf. Givón 1995:112). Whereas most assertions denote the past or present time, Realis serves as well for future events which have a high certainty of occurring. This is, in fact, the case in other modern Iranian languages, for as Windfuhr (1995) notes, the –та suffix of what have traditionally been called ‘past’ verb forms can imply past, present, or future; this is comparable to the Realis –д suffix in Kumzari. Northern Kurdish (Navdeştê variety) has a “simple past” form that is used “in future tense contexts, to indicate a situation that the speaker is certain will take place” (Bailey 2004:9). In Baluchi, too, the preterite indicative (“past”) form, whose stems end in тд, is used in future contexts “to express a high degree of certainty that the action will be accomplished” (Axenov 2006:188).

In Kumzari, Realis is used for the certain past:

(134) N6

\[ \text{amū réšid ba čō-ō bēw, āw gid-iš ba xō.} \]

‘Once she \textit{arrived} at the well, she \textit{drew} water.’

(135) P702

\[ \text{sayd-iš jāmal-ō, bāla.} \]

‘The camel \textit{lifted} up.’

as well as for the certain future (contrast with the use of the Imperfect for this sentence in example (167) N3):

(136) N4

\[ \text{wana nwāž raft-um kumzar ā, č-ī dirya ā?} \]

‘If I \textit{go} [I will certainly go] to Kumzar tomorrow, will you go fishing?’

Realis is also used in Kumzari for a completed, thus certain, event, without reference to previous situations or ongoing results (note the contrast with Imperfect as habitual in the same sentence):

(137) N8

\[ \text{ar gayit-ē trēs-um kumzar pi ġātal-an,} \]

‘Whenever I \textit{arrive} in Kumzar in stormy weather, I thank my Lord I \textit{arrived} in safety.’

The morphology of the Realis pronominal suffix distinguishes between transitive and intransitive verbs in the third person singular only; transitive verbs have –иš and intransitive verbs are zero-marked.
A Grammar of Kumzari

4.2.2.2 Perfect

Perfect aspect “relates some state to a preceding situation” and “indicates the continuing present relevance of a past situation” (Comrie 1976:52). In Kumzari, like other verb forms, the Perfect is atemporal, and can refer to past, present, or future (e.g. fānsum means ‘I had sent’ or ‘I have sent’ or ‘I will have sent’). Thus the time of the Perfect is only defined by lexical and contextual factors; that is, the morphosyntax of the verb form itself is the same for all tenses.  

Perfect (PERF) is used to express the current relevance, especially resultative, of a preceding or completed event:

(139) R351 (perfect of past)

tamna ā xiziñā’-ō zīs -in. dar -ō tilq, wa gāz -an gis -in járfī.
SENS SUB treasury - rob:PERF - door - open and money - take:PERF - already

‘He saw they had robbed the treasury. The door was open, and they had taken the money already.’

(140) S887 (perfect of present)

dit šēx fālan gis -ē.
daughter sheikh so-and-so take:PERF -3s

‘The sheikh’s daughter has gotten so-and-so!’

(141) S686

sā mamā yē wa bap yē qaww gis -in na.
now mother 3s and father 3s being, convinced do:PERF -3p NEG

gnūnus -in na inna yē na.
believe:PERF -3p NEG oath 3s NEG

‘Now her mother and father had not been convinced. They had not believed his oath.’

including a current result of an assumptive or jussive:

(142) B1131 (perfect of future)

ka hasā iš ḥaṣalā gis -ē čāz na ā,
since yet any partaking take:PERF -3s lunch NEG SUB

yē lāzM sā xūs -ē šan.
in this case need now eat:PERF -3s 3p

‘Since he has not yet eaten anything for lunch, now he will have eaten them.’

and a completed action with continuing effects:

(144) S811

wa **raft** -ī ba mē **xāna** rōz -ē, di- rōz,
iif/when go:PERF -2s with 1s marriage day-a two- day

bar mē xā šmā.
carry:2sIMPER 1s house 2p

‘Since you have been married to me a day or two, you must take me to your house.’

or an experiential perfect, something that has happened at least once in the past:

(145) G192

mā bazz=im, ġēlā-an mā gadda gis -in,
1p poor person =EX:1p wheat -PL 1p harvesting do:PERF -3p

bağa ḥaqq, ċī **gis** -im bā šan?
without justice what do:PERF -1p against 3p

‘We are poor people; they have harvested our wheat. It’s not fair: what have we ever done to them?’

It is apparent in the above examples that the Perfect is not a past tense but rather an aspect (with internal time reference); Perfect includes past, present, or future, but always refers to a preceding situation with continued relevance.

The Perfect can serve as a passive, without changing form:

(146) P188

yā nēyt -an **wās** -in bā yē na ā, nēyt -an xōd -iš.
these charity.food -PL bring:PERF -3p it.doesn’t.matter SUB charity.food -PL eat:REAL -3s

‘This charity food [that] was brought, it didn’t matter, she ate the charity food.’

(147) R620

źīn -an **kišt** -in ā, ar si kēs -an šan, indur =in.
thief -PL kill:PERF -3p SUB every three- PERS -PL 3p inside =EX:3p

‘The thieves [that] were killed, all three of them, were inside.’

(148) N11

dar -ō wēl **wākis** -ē.
door -the leave:2sIMPER open:PERF -3s

‘Leave the door open.’

Transitive verbs in the Perfect can also be active (compare this example to P188 above):
āda mīn ēn nēyt ḫaw larg in ba yē.

‘People have brought charity food for her.’

4.2.2.2.1 Perfect and Voice

In Kumzari, as in other Indo-Iranian languages, the distinction between active and passive voice is only maintained with transitive verbs; even in this case, active and passive are formally identical in the perfect form of the finite verb:

(150)

fân -s -ē.

‘It is sent’ [PASSIVE] or ‘She has sent’ [ACTIVE]

(151)

xaṭṭ -ō fân -s -ē.

‘The message is sent.’ [PASSIVE] or ‘She has sent the message.’ [ACTIVE]

(152)

ditk -ō xaṭṭ -ō fân -s -ē.

‘The girl has sent the message.’ [ACTIVE]

Thus, for intransitive verbs, there is no morphosyntactically distinct perfect passive:

(153)

xwaft -ē.

‘She has slept.’ [ACTIVE]

Conversely, when a transitive verb is in the Perfect, voice is ambiguous.

(154)

šmârūs -īn.

‘They are counted.’ or ‘They have counted.’ (ambiguous voice)

(155)

rōk -īn šmârūs -īn.

‘The boys are counted.’ or ‘The boys have counted.’ (ambiguous voice)

In this case, distinction between active and passive can only be determined syntactically if there is more than one explicit argument:
(156)
rōk -an gōsin -an šmārus -in.
boy -PL goat -PL count:PERF -3p
‘The boys have counted the goats.’ [ACTIVE]

Syntactic rules also make voice apparent if the argument is in the form of a pronoun and follows the verb:

(157)
šan šmārus -in.
3p count:PERF -3p
‘They are counted.’ [PASSIVE] or ‘They have counted.’ [ACTIVE]
(argument in the form of a pronoun preceding the verb is the subject)

(158)
šmārus -in šan.
count:PERF -3p 3p
‘They have counted them.’ [ACTIVE]
(argument in the form of a pronoun following the verb is the object)

Comrie (1976:86) explains the reason for this relationship between perfect aspect and passive voice: “When an action involving an agent and an object takes place, the resultant change in state is usually more apparent in the object than in the agent… The perfect passive is precisely that form which predicates a change of state to the object of an action.”

4.2.2.3 Imperfect

Whereas the Perfect views events as a whole and complete yet with current relevance, the Imperfect views events from the inside, from the perspective of their happening that is in progress (Comrie 1976).

Imperfect (IMPF) is used to express an ongoing, incomplete event, irrespective of time:

(159) B69
kār tk-im.
work do:IMPF -1p
‘We are working.’

including progressive:

(160) P97
lēlām tk-in ba yē sōq -ō.
peddling do:IMPF -3p to 3s souq -the
‘They were peddling it in the souq.’
A Grammar of Kumzari

(161) B520
ram xənəğ -ə wəkud -um xərdin də-um ba asp -ə ā,
go:1sREAL house -the open:REAL -1s food give:IMPF -1s to horse -the SUB
asp -ə xəd -iš mē.
horse -the bite:REAL -3s 1s
‘I went and opened the house, I was giving food to the horse, the horse bit me.’

stative:

(162) P596
jīr -iš zəŋk - -ə, wanna tka.
look for:REAL -3s woman -the groaning do:3sIMPF
‘He searched for the woman. She was groaning.’

(163) R689
dī-ta tēra =in, tā inča čōt, wa tā inča čōt.
two-COUNT path =EX:3p one like:this go:3sIMPF and one like:this go:3sIMPF
‘There are two paths: ones goes this way, and one goes that way.’

for general statements:

(164) P916
ar čōt pi tō, tār -a.
whatever go:3sIMPF from you bring:IMPF-3s
‘Whatever leaves you, comes back [literally, ‘brings’]!’

(165) P741
sā jāmal -ē tirwā’ -a ā, tō tirwā’ -i pištu yā!
now camel -a run:IMPF -3s SUB 2s run:IMPF -2s after this
‘Now if a camel runs away, you run after it.’

for unrealised future plans:

(166) R1272
sā nayyit -ē brār -an, amū čōt čō’ -ō bēw, tikš -in yē.
now harmful.plan -a brother -PL once go:3sIMPF well -the SUB kill:IMPF -3p 3s
‘Now the brothers were scheming: once he went into the well, they would kill him.’

(167) N3 (cf. example (136) N4 Realis above)
wana nwāţi čum kumẓ ā, č-ī dirya ā?
if tomorrow go:1sIMPF Kumzar SUB go:IMPF-2s sea INTERR
‘If I go [I will perhaps go] to Kumzar tomorrow, will you go fishing?’

habitual action in past or present:

(168) R42
bāž tka wā ditk - -an inda ḥajr -ō.
playing do:3sIMPF with girl -PL in mountainside -the
‘He would play with the girls on the mountainside.’
(169) N7
ar gayit -ē uddū tk -um pēna yā kō -ō ā,
each time –a passing do:IMPF -1s by this mountain –the SUB

bēyid mē tay ba ḥubbō mē.
memory 1s come:3sIMPF to grandmother 1s
‘Each time I pass by this mountain, I remember my grandmother.’

(170) N27
awwa gadu tkēš -um.
firstly water-pipe pull:IMPF -1s
‘I used to smoke the water-pipe.’

for rhetorical questions:

(171) K229
sā dit maṭlé’ī šimiš, ki tār-a y’=ā?
now daughter (character’s name) who bring:IMPF-3s 3s =INTERR
‘Now this daughter of Matlei Shimish, who could bring her?!’

(172) P1078
čābē dān-a y’=ā?
how? know:IMPF-3s 3s =INTERR
‘How would he recognise her?’

purposive:

(173) R90
āmad bāz tk-a ā, ditk- -ē bžand -iš.
come:3sREAL playing do:IMPF-3s SUB girl –a hit:REAL -3s
‘When he came to play, he hit a girl.’

(174) R462
raft indur, jāga gid -iš ba xō,
go:3sREAL inside place take:REAL -3s for REFL

inča sā šamšīr -ō bžēn -a, tikš -a šan.
like.this now sword -the hit:IRR -3s kill:IMPF -3s 3p
‘He went inside, he found a place for himself, now in this way he could strike with the sword, killing them.’

4.2.2.4 Imperative

Whereas Realis and Irrealis moods denote propositional modality in Kumzari, deontic (or agent- and speaker-oriented) modality is represented by the Imperative.

Imperative (IMPER) expresses a command:
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(175) R595
brō byār yē.
go:2sIMPER bring:2sIMPER 3s
‘Go bring him.’

(176) K206
jō’ar mē ād ba mē.
pearl 1s give:2sIMPER to 1s
‘Give me my pearl!’

(177) B447
gard ba qīż’ān-ō.
go around:2sIMPER to cauldron-the
‘Go around the cauldron.’

(178) B119
yak -ē d -ē ba mē.
one -a give:IMPER -2p to 1s
‘Give one to me.’

(179) A131
šaw -ē br -im xā šēx -ē z -im.
night -the go:IMPER -1p house sheikh -the rob:IMPER -1p
‘Tonight let’s go rob the sheikh’s house.’

including polite requests:

(180) P693
ana sayy kūš xō.
perhaps lift:2sIMPER lap REFL
‘Perhaps lift it to your lap.’

and prohibitives, which use the same Imperative verb form with a negation morpheme:

(181) S339
skafya k -ē na pē mē na.
concealing do:IMPER -2p NEG from 1s NEG
‘Don’t conceal from me.’

There are Imperative forms for all persons and numbers; such complete paradigms are not uncommon in languages outside of Europe (Aikhenvald 2010:47-49). Examples below are commands in the Imperative verb form for all persons and numbers. Note that in these examples, various means (e.g. may, will, let) are used to convey imperative in the English free translation, although English does not have first- and third-person imperatives. However, these are all commands where imperative is indicated. Kumzari has other verb forms and words for marking obligation, permission, intention, hortative, etc.

first person singular:
Chapter 4 - Verb

(182) S87 (a princess to her father)
bar mē ba mōmur, wākš mē. ar jāga br-um.
carry:2sIMPER 1s to Momur Island open.release:2sIMPER 1s any place go:IMPER-1s
‘Carry me to Momur Island, [there] release me. I shall go anywhere.’

(183) P503 (a genie to a thief)
mēš yē na wa bass!
see:IMPER-1s 3s NEG and finished
‘May I not see him, ever!’

(184) P680 (a bedouin to a destitute woman in the desert)
byō sō-m tō bā yē!
come:2sIMPER put:IMPER-1s 2s on 3s
‘Come and I will put you on it [the camel]!’

(185) U382 (a princess to her suitor)
mē iš gō-um na! tō gaw bē!
1s any say:IMPER-1s NEG 2s say:2sIMPER only
‘I must not say anything! Only you say [it]!’

first person singular Imperative, contrasted with Imperfect:

(186) G659 (a boy to the murderer telling his plan to dispose of the corpse)
ar jāga bēr-um yē! tēbar-um yē dūr.
whichever place carry:IMPER-1s 3s carry:IMPF-1s 3s far
‘Let me carry him somewhere! I will carry him far away.’

second person singular:

(187) B205 (mothers to a sorcerer who has threatened to abduct their children)
bmur!
die:2sIMPER
‘Die!’

(188) B386 (a horse to a boy telling how to trick a sorcerer)
gaw ba yē asp-ō xōs-a mē.
say:2sIMPER to 3s horse—the bite:PERF-3s 1s
‘Say to him, “The horse has bitten me.”’

third person singular:

(189) R458 (a ringleader instructing thieves)
kas ġār ka na!
PERS making.noise do:3sIMPER NEG
‘Let no one make noise!’

(190) U490 (a sheikh commanding a bedouin about his wife)
ar jāga čī ā, bra wā tō!
whichever place go:IMPF-2s SUB go:3sIMPER with 2s
‘Wherever you go, she must go with you!’
A Grammar of Kumzari

(191) N13 (of a man catching lobsters)
ḥamala but pi xō!
careful be:3sIMPER from REFL
‘He should be careful!’

first person plural:

(192) P1219 (a sheikha commanding a disgraced man)
dgō ba yē, ūn-im na, br-im!
say:3sIMPF to 3s stay:IMPER-1p NEG go:IMPER-1p
‘She said to him, “Let’s not stay, let’s go!”’

(193) R1360 (a group of women deciding the better of two options)
mā bumr-im ba čū-ē!
lp die:IMPER-1p to well-the
‘May we die in the well!’

second person plural:

(194) R1521 (A hero commanding slaves)
bēr-ē šān inda xalwat-ē!
carry:IMPER-2p 3p in wilderness -a
‘Take them into the wilderness!’

third person plural:

(195) R705-R706-R712 (an oracle directing some brothers which path they must take)
br-in na ba yā tēra-ō bālī’ī na jam rāšī na!
go:IMPER-3p NEG on this path -the upper NEG side right NEG

br-in ba y’=ā, jam asrē! ān ā, šāhar-ē ba yē.
go:IMPER-3p on this =SUB side left that SUB sorcerer -a on 3s
‘They must not go on this upper path, on the right side! They must go on this one, on the left side! That one, a sorcerer is on it.’

(196) K515 (a kinbino tree genie commands sorcerers)
byā-in ūn-ēran, laba panj āzār -ta šāhar!
come:IMPER-3p down approximately five thousand COUNT sorcerer
‘Let them come down, about five thousand sorcerers!’

4.2.2.5 Irrealis

As epistemic certainty is the basis of Realis in Kumzari and related languages, likewise with its opposite, Irrealis: uncertainty is the central meaning of the Kurdish irrealis morpheme (Haig 2008:212). Examining cross-linguistic evidence, Nordström (2010:38) concurs that “the focal meaning of the irrealis and subjunctive is to denote uncertainty.”

Irrealis (IRR) expresses the following notions in Kumzari:

hypotheccality:
(197) S110
ūny -a ā, tumr -a!
stay:IRR -3s SUB die:IMPF -3s
‘If she were to stay, she would die!’

(198) P182
yumkin čār -ta panj -ta malyūn gāž byār -a.
maybe four -COUNT five -COUNT million money bring:IRR -3s
‘It would fetch maybe four or five million!’

(199) A251
ahsan pi muxx tō qaṣṣa k -um pi ādamī dān -in tō.
better from head 2s cutting do:IRR -1s from someone know:IRR -3p 2s
‘Better that I cut off your head than that someone recognise you.’

potentiality:
(200) S57
xānağ -ē kin ba mē inda yē, qafl pi wā= indur,
house -a do:2sIMPER for 1s in 3s locked from -ward= inside
āw byat na inda yē na.
water come:3sIRR NEG in 3s NEG
‘Make me a house in it, locked from the inside, so that water might not go in it.’

(201) K57
sā ka māšūwē -ē xujmō k -um ba xō ā, č -um.
now when skiff -a building do:IRR -1s for REFL SUB go:IMPF -1s
‘Now when I build myself a skiff, I will go.’

(202) R1404
wā yē bēn -ē wa dēl -ō āw dō ba gōsn -an.
with 3s rope -a and pail -the water give:3sIRR to goat -PL
‘There was a rope and pail, to give water to the goats.’

(203) K554
pē čwānid -ī ga ’-ī ba yē ba dī -ta buxxar.
even can:REAL -2s say:IRR -2s to 3s for two -COUNT storehouse
‘You could have even told him for two storehouses.’

(204) R540
ēka ā šmā kš -ī yē na.
INF SUB 2p kill:IRR -2s 3s NEG
‘Obviously you could not have killed him.’

(205) N12
iza ga ba yē...
if say:3sIRR to 3s
‘if she said to him…’ (did not actually happen)
or ‘if she had said to him…’
or ‘if she were to say to him…’

jussivity:
fān yē ba rōk -ō byat.
Send to boy – he will come.

conditionality:
ana šnēw -a tō bžēn -a tō!
If hear -IRR -3s 2s strike -IMPF -3s 2s
‘If he hears you, he will strike you down!’

obligativity:
gaw ba yē byat.
Say to 3s come -IRR
‘Tell him he should come.’

kārimī xēr -um?
Which one buy -IRR -1s
‘Which one should I buy?’ cf.

kārimī txēr -um?
Which one buy -IMPF -1s
‘Which one am I buying?’

wēl yē gra mē.
Let 2s IMPER 3s take -IRR 1s
‘Let him take me.’

desiderativity (including wishes and curses):
inšāllā xēr tō’at.
God willing good become -IRR
‘God willing, it will work out.’

aļļa kōr tō ka!
God blind 2s do -IRR
God blind 2s fall -IRR
‘May God blind you!’

aļļa qabaḥa tō ka!
God disfiguring 2s do -IRR
‘May God disfigure you!’
(214) G188
amma k-a bā šan, āllā yāllā mār -ē xōr -a šan,
grieving fall:IRR-3s against 3p God O God! snake -a eat:IRR-3s 3p

yāllā bumr -in!
O God! die:IRR-3p
‘May grief befall them, may God send a snake to bite them, O God, so may they die!

(215) P439
tāt -um tō br -ī hijj.
want:IMPF -1s 2s go:IRR -2s hajj.pilgrimage
‘I want you to go on the Hajj pilgrimage.’

Compare these parallel verbs in the same section of text; the first is Irrealis, the second is Imperative:

(216) U131
dgō ba šēx -ō tāt -um tō tāfaq ād -ī ba mē.
say:3sIMPF to sheikh -the want:IMPF-1s 2s gun give:IRR -2s to 1s
bap xō sō’ -um wā tō rē’īn.
father REFLECTIVE put:IMPF -1s with 2s bond
‘He said to the sheikh, “I want you to give me a gun. I will put up my father as collateral.’

(217) U140
dgō ba qaḍy -ō bāba, mām xō sō’ –um wā tō rē’īn,
say:3sIMPF to judge –the O sir mother REFLECTIVE put:1sIMPF with 2s bond
asp -ē ād ba mē.
horse –a give:2sIMPER to 1s
‘He said to the judge, “Your honour, I am putting up my mother as collateral; give me a horse.’

4.2.2.6 Mirative

Mirative (MIR) codes information that is unexpected or surprising, characterised by an ‘unprepared mind’, this includes unusual or unacceptable events (Aikhenvald 2004:214). In Kumzari, violent or magical happenings are encoded using mirative verb forms. Narrative genres such as accounts and tīskan (fairy tales) always contain miratives at certain points in the discourse.

(218) B238
ka jahha kin bā rōk -ō awēlī.
Suddenly swooping do:MIR for boy -the first
‘He [the sorcerer in bird form] suddenly swooped for the first boy!’
(219) A325

ğōrī palla kin čā’ī. amū samm kard inda yē.

‘He filled the tea-pot with tea! He immediately dropped poison into it!’

(220) P195

b rō inda pačaxčē -ō, wa qafl xō kin.

‘She [the genie] went into the chest, and locked herself in.’

(221) R786

ar dwāzd ū kas – an šan bard kin.

‘He turned all twelve of them into stone.’

4.3 Verb phrase

Kumzari has verb phrases with finite verbs, compound verbs, and auxiliary verbs. Compound verb phrases have morphosyntactic properties similar to those of finite verb phrases, but these are shared over two words: a deverb and a light verb. Auxiliary verbs do not necessarily share morphosyntax with their referent lexical verb, and they may be marked separately.

4.3.1 Compound verb

Like other Indo-Iranian languages, Kumzari employs a specific type of serial verb construction: compound verbs (also known in the literature as complex predicates, light verb constructions, or complex verb constructions). Kumzari verbal compounds consist of a preverbal element followed by a light verb. The preverbal element is usually a deverb (see §4.1) drawn from an open class, and it carries the semantic load of the compound as well as holding the syntactic place of the verb in the compound. The light verb bears all of the verbal inflectional morphology of the compound, marking aspect, mood, mirativity, voice, person, and number. The light verb in Kumzari is semantically empty, in contrast to that other languages; in Persian, Urdu, and Wolaitta, it is said that the light verb holds semantic value in the complex predicate (Persian: Karimi 1997; Urdu: Butt 1997:120; Wolaitta: Amha & Dimmendaal 2006: 319-337).

(222) A614

rōz - an dgur alana gid - iš.

‘In days that followed, he spoke to an assembly of people.’

72 ‘Light verb’ refers to a conjugated placeholder verb that is part of a compound in Indo-Iranian languages. It is preceded by another word, often a noun, that bears primary responsibility for the semantics of the compound. Terminology on compound verbs in Iranian languages comes largely from studies by Simin Karimi* and other participants in the Conference on Complex Predicates in Iranian Languages, held at the Université Sorbonne Nouvelle, Paris III, 5-6 July, 2008.

73 Exceptions are G639 gēr tka ‘bury (in a grave)’ and S241 bāž tka ‘play’, in which the preverbal elements derive from Persian nouns, not Arabic verbs. However, these may be found to be more separable in syntax and literal in meaning, e.g. ‘make a grave’, ‘make a game’.

74 The light verb in Kumzari is semantically empty, in contrast to that other languages; in Persian, Urdu, and Wolaitta, it is said that the light verb holds semantic value in the complex predicate (Persian: Karimi 1997; Urdu: Butt 1997:120; Wolaitta: Amha & Dimmendaal 2006: 319-337).
(223) K378
lumrād awya kīn xwēr.
in.any.case descend.on.foot do:MIR (Xwair.hamlet)
‘In any case, he climbed down to Xwair hamlet!’

(224) R227
filhāl, aqaba būr -in ar aft kas-an šan.
in.any.case binding become:REAL -3p each seven PERS -PL 3p
‘In any case, they banded together, all seven of them.’

Ludwig Paul (2008) notes the declining use of finite verbs in Persian in the 10th-14th centuries A.D. in favour of compounds, increasingly with Arabic pre-verbal elements. Kumzari follows the diachronic trend in Iranian languages of replacing synthetic constructions with analytical constructions.

4.3.2 Verb phrase morphosyntax

Both the finite verb phrase and the compound verb phrase display differential word order for pronouns and full nouns as the direct object. In a finite verb phrase, the direct object of a verb precedes the verb when it is in the form of a full noun, and follows the verb when it is in the form of a pronoun:

finite verb: wāḵš ‘open’

(225)
Dar -ō twāḵš -a.
door – the open:IMPF-3s
‘He opens the door.’

(226)
twāḵš -a yē.
open:IMPF-3s 3s
‘He opens it.’

The same rule applies to compound verbs, in which the deverb is in the syntactic role of verb; a direct object in the form of a full noun precedes the deverb, and a direct object in the form of a pronoun follows the deverb (and thus precedes the light verb in the compound):

deverb: fakka ‘opening wide’ + light verb: tka ‘do’

(227)
Dar –ū fakka tk –a.
door – the opening wide do:IMPF-3s
‘He opens the door wide.’

(228)
fakka yē tk –a.
opening wide 3s do:IMPF-3s
‘He opens it wide.’
The rule of varying syntax for objects that are nouns or pronouns is reminiscent of differential marking of overt objects in certain Central Iranian languages. For example, in Gazi compound verbs, the pronominal clitic follows the overt object, and where there is no overt object, the pronominal clitic follows the preverbal element (Stilo 2004:9).

There also is a similar distinction in certain Arabic varieties of Oman and the UAE: “active particles functioning in this way [as adjectives] are morphologically marked with an –inn- infix when the object they govern is a pronoun, but not when they function as nouns” (Holes 1990:48). In this context, it is useful to recall that the Kumzari deverb in a compound functions syntactically similarly to the Omani Arabic active participle (see §4.1).

Regarding the morpheme –inn-, Holes states, “More probable, given that morphological features are deeply embedded in language structure and, as a general rule, slower to change, is that the modern dialects which have the infix construction come historically from a group of cognate dialects in a confined geographical area… eastern and southeastern Arabia” (Holes 2011:85).

The language neighbouring Kumzari, Shihhi Arabic, has an inn suffix that is obligatory after active participles with pronominal object suffixes (Bernabela 2011:68). Eades also notes that in the Šawāwi Arabic dialect of Oman, -in(n)- is obligatory after both participles and imperfcts with object suffixes (Eades 2009:89). Windfuhr (2005) notes that Central Asian Arabic has -in(n)- after active participles with pronominal object suffixes. A more detailed cross-linguistic analysis would reveal whether morphosyntactic discrimination of noun- vs. pronoun- objects is an areal feature.

4.3.2.1 Verbs with inalienable nouns as direct objects

Inalienable nouns (see §3.3.4) as direct objects have the same syntax as pronouns; that is, they follow the verb, or the deverb in compounds:

finite verb: āpš ‘cover’
(229)
āpš –a linkit xō.
cover:IMPF-3s finger REFL
‘She covers her finger.’

deverb: laffa ‘bandaging’ + light verb: t̡a ‘do’
(230)
laффа linkit xō tk –a.
banding finger REFL do:IMPF-3s
‘She bandages her finger.’

Indirect object complements, and other complements with prepositions, follow the verb, whether finite or compound:

---

[75] In Persian, the usual word order is for objects, whether nouns or pronouns, to precede the preverbal element in a compound verb, e.g. Reza rā da ‘vat kardam ‘I invited Reza’; tō rā da ‘vat kardam ‘I invited you’. Varying word order with pronouns instead following the preverbal element is possible with certain preverbal elements, but it requires the ezāfe except with 3s -iš, e.g. da ‘vat-e šan kardam ‘I invited them’.
Chapter 4 - Verb

4.3.2.2 Verb goal arguments

Verb goal arguments, unlike direct or indirect objects, do not take prepositions; they are clause-final. Verb goals encompass locative, instrumental, and benefactive* complements.

(232) B285
ḥalla  gid -iš  inda walēyit -ē.
landing  do:REAL -3s  in  country -a
‘He landed in a country.’

(233) B175
sīd -in  šan  madrēsit -ō.
put:REAL -3p  3p  school -the
‘They put them in the school.’

(234) S833
ātiš -ō  labaqa  gid -ī  lāḥm  mē.
fire -the  igniting  do:REAL -2s  body 1s
‘You set fire to my body [i.e. shamed me].’

(235) G865
sā  sōr  wa  pīma  tk -um  ba  šmā  čāz.
now  salt.fish  and  green.onion  do:IMPF -1s  for  2p  lunch
‘Now I will make you salt fish and green onions for lunch.’

(236) K474
naqaṭa  kin  tālum -ō.
bringing.out.one.at.a.time  do:MIR  platter -the
‘He brought [them] out one at a time onto the platter!’

(237) R1333
ka  dafana  ān  gid -in  bard.
right.away  burying  3s.ANA  do:REAL -3p  stone
‘Right away they buried him with stones.’

Verb goal arguments are negated separately when the verb is negated:

(238) P344
ūny-a  na  kwēt  na.
stay:IMPER -3s  NEG  Kuwait  NEG
‘Let him not stay in Kuwait.’

(239) S31
mē  č-um  na  xāna  na.
1s  go:IMPF -1s  NEG  marriage  NEG
‘As for me, I am not going to marry.’
Verb goal arguments do not concord with the subject in taking the reflexive pronoun xō, as an object would:

(240) P1213
čōr -iš lahm yē ba šābun
wash:REAL -3s body 3s with soap
‘He washed his body with soap’

4.3.2.3 Factive verb phrase syntax

Clauses with factive verbs, which “describe the coming into existence of some entity” (Payne 1997:59), follow the same word order as verb goal arguments. Factivity is expressed only syntactically in Kumzari; the entity that ‘comes into existence’ is treated as a verb goal argument and is post-posed to clause-final position, similarly to a locative complement:

(241) S47
kin ba mē donty -ē.
make:2sIMPER for 1s raft –a
‘Make a raft for me.’

(242) B231
gardīd -iš xō ūēr -ē.
turn.into:REAL -3s REFLEX bird –a
‘He turned himself into a bird.’

Arguments of factive verbs, like verb goal arguments, are negated separately when the verb is negated:

(243) G282
dānid -iš na walyet xō na.
know:REAL -3s NEG country REFLEX NEG
‘He did not know [where] his country was.’

Factivity pertains not only to external reality but also takes in the scope of a text, and is obligatory in complete narrative discourse. Factive syntax is used for introductions in a text; the argument is presented as a verb goal. Thus factive syntax applies to ‘coming into existence’ within the discourse: the initial reference to a character, magical object, or concept is post-posed to clause-final position:

(244) R25
xalafa gid –iš aft-ta kōrk -an.
having (children) do:REAL -3s seven -COUNT son -PL
‘He had seven sons.’

The example above is the first mention of the seven sons in the text, and they are the story’s main characters. The phrase is dislocated to the end of the clause (non-factive syntax would have the object before the verb, in this case: aft-ta kork-an xalafa gid-iš).

In the following example of factive syntax with the first time the item mū ‘hair’ is mentioned, a magical creature tümīnō is giving a boy his hair with which the boy can summon help in his time of need (in non-factive syntax the object would precede the verb).
Chapter 4 - Verb

4.3.3 Composition of the compound verb

The two elements in a compound verb form a single lexical unit, sharing the grammatical tasks of a finite verb. Semantically and syntactically the deverb in a compound acts similarly to a finite verb, while the light verb retains the morphology of a finite verb. The deverb and light verb are very much dependent on each other in the construction, having exclusive and complementary morphosyntactic roles.

Compound verbs, like finite verbs, describe a single event. They share TAMA features, which are realised only on the light verb. However, semantics is borne only by the non-verbal element (i.e. the deverb). This is in contrast to complex predicates in Persian, which share the semantic burden between the non-verbal element and the light verb, according to Karimi (1997), but akin to complex predicates in Kurmanji, in which “meaning is largely predictable from the semantics of the [preverbal noun]. The semantic contribution of the [verb] on the other hand is vague” (Haig 2002:23).

Light verbs in Kumzari have heavy counterparts, which do have semantic value and take arguments like any other simple verb:

(246) P324
wēkil -ō raft qāwil -ō gid -iš ba di- -ta qiṣr.
’The guardian went to do the business transaction for two palaces.’

(247) K72
paštin tō’-a ā, lēx -ō jēl tk-a
’When it became mid-afternoon, he would lay out the fishing net’

The following example demonstrates both light and heavy functions of the verb gidiš ‘do’. The deverb xabaqa with the light verb has derived to xabq, and become the direct object of the heavy verb:

(248) S458
xabaqa yē gid –iš ba mqaṣṣ -ō. xabq -ē gid –iš inda yē.
’He pierced it with the scissors. He made a hole in it.’

4.3.3.1 Voice and transitivity in compound verbs
As in Persian compound verbs (Megerdoomian 2002:4), the choice of light verb in Kumzari compound verbs determines their voice as active (with tka ‘do’ as light verb) or passive (with tō’a ‘become’ as light verb):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{fataka tka} & \text{ ‘slice’} & \text{fataka tō’a} & \text{ ‘become sliced’} \\
\text{ẓarra tka} & \text{ ‘throw’} & \text{ẓarra tō’a} & \text{ ‘become thrown’} \\
\text{samaḥa tka} & \text{ ‘forgive’} & \text{samaḥa tō’a} & \text{ ‘become forgiven’}
\end{align*}
\]

This text example illustrates the active-passive function of the two light verbs:

(249) B370

\[
kōr -ō tāy talaqa yē tk-a, \quad \text{talaqa bur} na.
\]

‘The boy comes to peel it; it didn’t peel!’

Korn notes that the light verb had already by the Middle Iranian period become a transitivity feature so that the three languages Parthian, Sogdian, and Khotanese had pairs of light verbs with ‘do’ meaning transitive/active and ‘become’ meaning intransitive/passive (Korn 2008:3-4). If Kumzari developed out of its co-parent Middle Persian as seems to be the case, it might be expected that the voice property is linked to the light verb as in other Middle Iranian languages.

For the passive construction, whereas Modern Persian uses the past participle of a transitive verb + ‘become’ (Dabir-Moghaddam 1997:41), Kumzari uses the deverb + ‘become’. In Kumzari, a compound verb with the light verb tka ‘do’ can be either transitive or intransitive, depending on the semantics of the deverb. This operates likewise in Modern Persian, in which light verbs can be transitive or intransitive (Dabir-Moghaddam 1997:37-41).

Even in the most transitive-appearing form of the light verb ‘do’, the third-person singular realis gidiš, the suffix does not (or no longer does) signal transitivity, as may be seen in the following intransitive compound verbs with gidiš:

(250) S203

\[
\text{gazara gid -iš inda āw -an.}
\]

‘It sank into the water.’

(251) G426

\[
\text{aṣṣa gid -iš ba tēr -ō.}
\]

‘He pressed on the bird.’

(252) B285

\[
\text{ḥalla gid -iš inda walēyit -ē.}
\]

‘He landed in a country.’
4.3.3.2 Unity in the compound verb

Although there is formal division of labour between the two elements in a compound, functionally they share all features. The two elements of a compound verb are “conceptualized as a single event” (Aikhenvald 2006:1). They form one intonational unit. In a compound, the deverb and light verb are contiguous; the only allowable intervening word is a direct object if it is in the form of a pronoun or inalienable noun. Compound verbs operate syntactically parallel to single verbs; they function the same in complex clauses. The features of a single finite verb are distributed over two words in the compound. The two elements in compound verbs share arguments: subject (and objects, if present) is co-referential:

(255) R1422
dēl-o dandala gid-iš ba yē.
pail-the dangling do:REAL-3s to 3s
‘He dangled the pail to him.’

(256) K362
nakt-ē āw nakata tk-in ba mē.
little-a water dripping do:IMPF-3p for 1s
‘They are dripping a bit of water for me.’

(257) R1373
matfa’-an naqqa gid-iš.
cannon –PL firing do:REAL-3s
‘He fired cannons.’

(258) K529
jā azala gid-in.
barley separating do:REAL-3p
‘They separated barley.’

(259) R482
qaṣṣa sar yē tk-a ba šamšīr-ō.
cutting head 3s do:IMPF-3s with sword-the
‘He cut off his head with the sword.’

Compound verbs are negated as a whole; the deverb is not separately negated as it would be if it were an oblique object (the second example below shows a separately negated oblique object mē but the deverb skafya is not separately negated because it forms a compound with the light verb):
No, I won’t fall off.’

‘Don’t conceal from me.’

‘We will not heed him.’

The two elements in compound verbs also share subordination, together taking one subordinator morpheme, like single verbs. In the following example, two verbs in two subordinate clauses take the subordinator ā: the single verb āmad ‘comes’ is subordinated and the whole compound verb ġatṭa tka is subordinated (its complement ba mē is marked separately as subordinated):

‘If sound sleep falls upon me, when she comes, wake me up.’

In a compound verb, unlike a verb phrase with a finite verb, the deverb is not the object of the light verb. Whereas objects can be inflected, lack of inflection in the deverb points to its dependence as part of the compound:

‘Make a house for me in it.’

‘They studied.’

In fact, the deverb in a compound is syntactically equivalent to a finite verb, in that it can take its own direct object, adopting the word order of a finite verb (the full noun direct object precedes the deverb, not the finite verb, and the pronoun direct object follows the deverb, not the finite verb):
(266) U237
ātiš -ō labaqa gid -iš pi nixin –an yē.
fire –the igniting do:REAL -3s from nail –PL 3s
‘He lit the fire from its hooves.’

(267) B433
labaqa yē k –a ba ḥālg.
igniting 3s do:IRR -3s with kerosene
‘lighting it with kerosene.’

The example with talaqa ‘peeling’ (repeated below) shows that when an active compound verb becomes passive, the direct object becomes the subject while the deverb is unchanged in morphology and syntax; the deverb does not become the subject as it would if it were the direct object (this is unlike Kurdish, see Haig 2002).

(268) B370
kōr -ō tāy talaqa yē tka, talaqa bur na.
boy –the come:3sIMPF peeling 3s do:3sIMPF peeling become:3sREAL NEG
‘The boy comes to peel it; it didn’t peel!’

Further indication of the deverb + light verb construction’s unitary status is their transcription as a single word in the Kumzari fieldwork of Bertram Thomas (1930:10-11): e.g. “suwältikum”, “mejemegursin” (meaning ‘I ask’ and ‘they have spoken’, respectively).

Thus the deverb and light verb in a construction “act together as a single predicate” (Aikhenvald 2006:1.7), without markers of coordination or subordination. They share and display single marking of subject, object, aspect, mood, mirativity, person, number, voice and transitivity, and negation. In such a case, where “the components may together form one grammatical word: this is also known as ‘compounding’ or ‘root serialisation’” (Aikhenvald 2006:37).

4.3.3.3 Compound verb designation

In Kumzari, deverb + light verb constructions are designated compound verbs, rather than complex predicates, because deverbs derive from Semitic verbs, and follow the syntactic rules of a single finite verb when they are in such a construction (see §4.1). The light verb does not contribute to the semantic head; instead, the argument structure of the predicate is determined by the deverb. Since their argument structure is not complex, Kumzari deverb + light verb constructions cannot be considered complex predicates according to definitions of such for related languages (Persian: Karimi 2008:6; Urdu: Butt 1997:108). Other Indo-Iranian and Indo-Aryan grammatical descriptions use the term ‘compound verb’ to refer to preverbal element (a verb, noun, or other constituent) + verb constructions (Kurmanji: Thackston 2006:35; Baluchi: Axenov 2006:154; Palula: Liljegren 2008:212; Persian: Dabir-Moghaddam 1997:27). In particular, Haig (2002:27) notes that ‘compounding’ is an appropriate label for the noun + verb complex predicate in Kurdish because the preverbal element is not morphologically part of the verb, but it is also not an argument of the verb.

4.3.4 Auxiliary verb

Several auxiliary verbs are attested in Kumzari, of which the most common are laid out in Table 34. Frequently auxiliary verbs occur with another verb to signal modality.
Table 34. Auxiliary verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>auxiliary verb</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wayda ‘hold’</td>
<td>keep doing something (one time)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mād ‘stay’</td>
<td>keep doing something (habitual)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čō ‘go’</td>
<td>going to do something</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tāta ‘want’</td>
<td>want to or would do something</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wēl ‘let’</td>
<td>allow to do something</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rāya, čwana ‘be able’</td>
<td>can do something</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Middle Persian and Parthian employed the auxiliary verb ‘stand’ in durative aktionsart function. Various Iranian languages use other verbs for this function: ‘remain’ (Sogdian), ‘hold’ (New Persian), ‘keep’ (Khoramabadi Luri)(Korn 2008, MacKinnon 2011). Similarly, Kumzari uses the auxiliary verbs mād ‘stay’ and ōdur ‘hold’ to indicate continuous action:

(269) B336
wa mād xōr yē dō’ –a, brinž źira wa nān gēnum wa
and stay:3sREAL food 3s give:IMPF -3s rice pot-bottom and bread wheat and
rōwn gōsin.
oil goat
‘And he kept giving him food: pot-bottom rice, and wheat bread, and goat ghee.’

(270) K664
wayda ād yē na ba šēx -ō na.
hold:2sIMPER give:2sIMPER 3s NEG to sheikh –the NEG
‘Don’t keep giving it to the sheikh.’

The auxiliary verb takes the appropriate conjugation for the context, which is often the same as the lexical verb:

(271) G344
brō ūn -ī pēna muzgit.
go:2sIMPER sit:IMPER -2s beside mosque
‘Go sit beside the mosque.’

(272) B1254
rāy -ī tōpur -ī ba mā ā?
be:able:IMPF -2s fly:IMPF -2s with 1p INTERR
‘Can you fly with us?’

(273) G48
č -im tkard –im ba xō kō -ō.
go:IMPF -1p cultivate:IMPF -1p for REFL mountain -the
‘We will go cultivate for ourselves on the mountain.’

76 Modern Tajiki Persian uses this as well (Perry 2005).
However, the two verbs may be conjugated differently as well. When the subjects of the auxiliary verb and lexical verb are different, as in the examples below, the subject of the lexical verb (tō ‘you’, šan ‘them’) is explicitly stated to clarify that it is not the same as the subject of the auxiliary (-um ‘I’, -iš ‘she’), and the lexical verb may have different aspect or mood, such as the Irrealis:

(275) P439
\[ \text{tāt} \text{-um} \ tō \ br \text{-ī} \ ḥijj. \]
\[ \text{want:IMPF -1s 2s go:IRR -2s Hajj pilgrimage} \]
\[ ‘I want you to go on the Hajj pilgrimage.’ \]

(276) S377
\[ \text{wēl} \text{-a} \ yē \ byāt. \]
\[ \text{let:IMPER -3s 3s come:3sIRR} \]
\[ ‘She must be let to come.’ \]

(277) N32
\[ \text{wašt} \text{-iš} \ šan \ mī’ī \ xōr \text{-in}. \]
\[ \text{let:REAL -3s 3p fish eat:IRR -3p} \]
\[ ‘She let them eat fish.’ \]

(278) U131
\[ \text{tāt} \text{-um} \ tō \ tāfaq \ ād \text{-ī} \ ba \mē. \]
\[ \text{want:IMPF -1s 2s gun give:IRR -2s to 1s} \]
\[ ‘I want you to give me a gun.’ \]

Compound verbs take an auxiliary verb in the same manner as single verbs:

(279) G67
\[ \text{sā kō’tī-an} \ č\text{-in} \ ays \ tk\text{-in}. \]
\[ \text{now mountaineer -PL go:IMPF -3p migrating do:IMPF -3p} \]
\[ ‘Now the mountain bedouins were going to migrate.’ \]

Direct objects of the lexical verb precede the lexical verb, just as they would if it were a verb without an auxiliary:

(280) G162
\[ \text{br} \text{-ē} \ čāẓ \ xōr \text{-ē}. \]
\[ \text{go:IMPER -2p lunch eat:IMPER -2p} \]
\[ ‘Go eat lunch.’ \]

(281) K765
\[ \text{kē čwān -a} \ \text{dit maṭlē’ī šimiš} \ tār \text{-a}? \]
\[ \text{who be.able:IMPF -3s daughter (folktale character’s name) bring:IMPF -3s} \]
\[ ‘Who can bring the daughter of Matlei Shimish?’ \]
(282) G646
bu xör -ē xar.
go:2sIMPER donkey –a buy:2sIMPER
‘Go buy a donkey.’

Likewise, direct objects of compound verbs with an auxiliary precede the compound verb, as
they do without an auxiliary:

(283) U79
mām -ō čō qāļwē šaraba k-a
mother –the go:3sIMPF coffee drinking do:IRR-3s
‘The mother would go to drink coffee’

(284) K481
čwān -ī čō’ō šaraba tk -ī ā?
be.able:IMPF-2s well -the drinking do:IMPF-2s INTERR
‘Can you drink the well?’

Direct objects in the form of a pronoun follow the verb, even when there is an auxiliary verb:

(285) G453
raf wād -iš yē.
go:3sREAL bring:REAL -3s 3s
‘He went to bring it.’

(286) S807
tāt -ī tēbur -ī mē wā= xā šmā ahla tō mēš -in mē…
want:IMPF-2s carry:IMPF-2s 1s -ward house 2p relatives 2s see:IRR-3p 1s
‘You want to take me to your house so that your relatives might look at me…’

Pronoun direct objects of compound verbs with an auxiliary follow the deverb and precede
the light verb, as they do without an auxiliary:

(287) G240
č-um abaša yē k -um pi gawd -ō.
go:IMPF-1s catching 3s do:IRR-1s from cave -the
‘I am going to catch it from the cave.’

An auxiliary verb can apply to more than one lexical verb:

(288) R1018
tāt -a tay txōr -a šan
want:IMPF-3s come:3sIMPF eat:IMPF-3s 3p
‘He wanted to come eat them’

(289) R1145
wel šan ḥaraka k -in burwā’ -in.
let:2sIMPER 3p moving do:IRR-3p run:IRR-3p
‘Let them move and run.’

If the auxiliary verb is negated, the lexical verb must also be negated:
(290) R1453
rāy -um  na  dug -um  šan  na.
be.able:IMPF -1s  NEG  take:IMPF -1s  3p  NEG
‘I cannot take them.’

(291) S191
rāy -in  na  abaša  yē  tk -in  na.
be.able:IMPF -3p  NEG  catching  3s  do:IMPF -3p  NEG
‘They could not catch it.’

But the lexical verb may be negated alone:

(292) A240
yē  tāt -a  tār -a  yē  bāla  na.
3s  want:IMPF -3s  bring:IMPF -3s  3s  up  NEG
‘He wanted to not bring him up.’

(293) P353
wayda  ūn -ī  na.
hold:2sIMPER  stay:IMPER -2s  NEG
‘Do not keep staying.’

The lexical verb and its complements follow the auxiliary verb but act together as a whole, syntactically being treated as verb goal arguments of the auxiliary (see §4.3.2.2 above). In the examples below, the entire verb phrase of a negated auxiliary verb is also negated:

(294) B73
rāy-im  na  dg -im  ba  tō  “ālāḷā”  na.
be.able:IMPF -1p  NEG  say:IMPF -1p  to  2s  “for God”  NEG
‘We cannot tell you “for God”. [i.e., we cannot dismiss you]’

(295) G990
dām  na  r-in  giya  na.
know:1sIMPF  NEG  go:REAL-3p  where  NEG
‘I do not know where they went.’

(296) S193
rāy -in  na  sī’ -in  yē  nēxan  na.
be.able:IMPF -3p  NEG  put:IMPF -3p  3s  aboard  NEG
‘They were not able to bring it aboard.’

Auxiliary verbs are syntactically distinct from adverbs in that they fall after the subject, not clause-initially. However, because of the frequent omission of pronoun subjects, they may appear to be similarly situated. In the following two examples, the second-place order of a full noun subject shows that lāẓum ‘must’ and balkē ‘perhaps’ are not auxiliary verbs, but adverbs in the clause-initial position:
A Grammar of Kumzari

(297) S506
lažum yā ẓank-ō ina yā sōntī-ō.
must DEM woman- -the in DEM raft -the
‘This woman must be in this raft.’

(298) A781
balkē ḥukm-ō jōr yē ba drō.
perhaps government -the look.for:3sIMPF 3s to lie
‘Perhaps the government seeks a lie.’

4.3.5 Verb truncation

Unlike the single marking of verbal categories in compound verbs, auxiliary verbs may display truncated marking. In these shortened forms, marking of person, number, aspect, mood, and mirativity on dependent verbs is reduced, and the verbal categories defer to that of the lexical verb (Aikhenvald 2006:39-41).

(299) K67
lēx xērid-iš ba xō wa raf naṣaba yē tk-a dirya -ō.
fishing net buy:REAL -3s for REFLE and go placing 3s do:IMPF-3s sea -the
‘He bought a fishing net for himself, and he went to place it in the sea.’

(300) K101
sā wa āma qaṣṣa yē gid -iš,…
now if/when come cutting 3s do:REAL -3s
‘Now when he came to cut it up,…’

(301) R132
raf dār-iš ba yē xōr -ē wa šamšīr –ē.
go give:REAL -3s to 3s donkey -a and sword -a
‘He went to give him a donkey and a sword.’

Forms of commonly truncated verbs are listed in Table 35. There is not truncated marking on the auxiliary verb if its subject or verbal categories are different from those of the lexical verb. Similarly lacking verbal morphology, deverbs in compounds are uninflected and rely on the light verb for explicit morphological distinctions.
Table 35. Commonly truncated verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>short form</th>
<th>long form</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bu</td>
<td>brō</td>
<td>go:2sIMPER</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ra/ raf</td>
<td>raft</td>
<td>go:3sREAL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ām/ āma</td>
<td>āmad</td>
<td>come:3sREAL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>giš</td>
<td>gidiš</td>
<td>do:3sREAL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rēsi</td>
<td>rēsid</td>
<td>arrive:3sREAL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ċu</td>
<td>ċō(t)</td>
<td>go:3sIMPF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rum</td>
<td>raftum</td>
<td>go:1sREAL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wāb/ wābu</td>
<td>wābur</td>
<td>become:3sREAL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tō</td>
<td>tō’a</td>
<td>become:3sIMPF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rin</td>
<td>raftin</td>
<td>go:3pREAL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gin</td>
<td>gaftin</td>
<td>say:3pREAL</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Truncated marking also occurs in the verbs of subordinated clauses, where the full form is marked on the main clause verb, and in medial verbs of a clause chain, where the full form is marked on the final verb. Subordinated clauses and clause chains are discussed in §9.4.

4.3.6 Other multi-verb constructions

There is a high degree of morphosyntactic interdependence among verbs in Kumzari multi-verb constructions: some share verbal categories, and some have uninflected or truncated forms indicating their morpho-syntactic dependence on another verb. Multi-verb constructions include compound verbs, auxiliary verb constructions, serial verb constructions, and clause chains (all of these contain verbs with shared subjects; otherwise subjects not shared are obligatorily made explicit). Of these, compound verbs, auxiliary verb constructions, and other serial verb constructions are monoclausal; the verbs share a single grammatical subject, and neither coordination nor subordination is attested between the verbs, which instead form a unified predicate.

Serial verb constructions function to describe joined actions. The first verb in a serial verb construction is often a motion verb such as ‘go’ or ‘come.’ It has reduced marking of verbal categories, but is understood to have the same aspect, modality, mirativity, person, and number as latter verbs in the construction:

(302) K101
sā wa āma qaṣṣa yē gid-iš,...
now if/when come:3s cutting 3s do:REAL-3s
‘Now when he came to cut it up,...’

In the following example, the first verb in the serial verb construction ċu ‘go’ has reduced marking of aspect, mood, mirativity, person, and number, but the second verb tāra ‘bring’ is fully inflected. Note that the auxiliary verb ēwana ‘be able’ applies to both verbs in the serial verb construction:

(303) K766
kē ēwān-a ċu asp-an insiy-an tār-a?
who be.able:IMPF-3s go:3s horse -PL humanlike -PL bring:IMPF-3s
‘Who can go bring the magic horses?’
Serial verb constructions that are compounds and form one grammatical word allow only single marking of shared verbal categories (Aikhenvald 2006:40). Auxiliary verb constructions, with their potential for separate marking, thus fall outside the designation of compounds, although they are monoclausal and represent one event.

Medial verbs in a clause chain are morphosyntactically dependent and, like compound verbs, rely on the final verb for verbal category marking; however, they differ from compounds in that they represent separate, though related, events, and of course they are not monoclausal. Clause chains, and the relationships among the verbs in them, are described in §9.49.4.2.3.

Giving cross-linguistic typological evidence, Aikhenvald (2006:3) explains that “serial verb constructions come in a variety of guises… their components may always be contiguous… or they may be interruptable by other constituents”. Her further report that “some verbal categories may have to be marked on every verb in a series… or just once per construction” supports the findings of a range of multi-verb and serial verb construction types in Kumzari (Aikhenvald 2006:3).
5 Existential

5.1 Existential by definition

Kumzari has a set of six pronominal enclitics that function to link subjects and predicates. Despite this sounding much like the definition of a copula (cf. Pustet 2003:5-7), the enclitics in Kumzari are in fact existentials, are unlike copulas in a number of respects, and have properties both resembling and differing from verbs.

Their ambiguity as a word class stems from their idiosyncratic history. Although in many languages copulas are verbs, in Kumzari the equivalent word class is the existential enclitics, which appear to have developed out of a copular verb such as the Old Persian *h-existential by shedding the verb stem at a much earlier stage of the language, probably more than a millenium ago. With only the pronominal endings left, the existential enclitics broadened their syntactic and semantic scope to accommodate all non-verbal predicates.

The existential enclitics can serve as predicates in a clause, but require a complement. Existentials are not compatible with another verb, and they occupy the same syntactic position as a verb: clause-final. However, in dropping their verb stem the existentials have properties that are synchronically unverblike: they are timeless, do not conjugate, and do not have any indication of tense, aspect, mood, voice, or mirativity; thus, they do not fill in a paradigm as verbs do (cf. Stassen 1997:76). They are enclitics, meaning they can combine with many kinds of predicate nuclei (cf. Sorani, Samvelian 2007:265). They are semantically empty. In addition, the existential enclitics differ formally from both the pronominal verbal affixes and the possessive pronouns (see section 3.2.2 possessive pronouns). Negation of existentials uses the negative enclitic, which falls after the existential (see chapter 10).

Although fulfilling most of the technical criteria of a copula, the Kumzari enclitic is called an existential for a number of reasons. Firstly, the existential is neither a prototypical verbal copula nor a prototypical nonverbal copula. Although it is similar to a verbal copula, it does not have the definitive TAMM inflection and verbal paradigm, and thus lacks “the morphological features which distinguish verbs in the language” (Stassen 1997:76). While some languages possess a nonverbal copula, these are all traced to either morphosyntactic marking of information structure or separate pronouns (Stassen 1997:76ff, cf. Pustet 2003:54). Secondly, copulas can in many languages have verbs as complements (Pustet 2003:62), but in Kumzari, existentials and verbs are mutually exclusive in the predicate. Thirdly, the verb bur ‘become’ in Kumzari is a more apt custodian of the term copula, for reasons laid out in chapter 9. Fourthly, the use of the term ‘existential’ for a similar morpheme has precedents in the related languages Sorani (Blau 2000:76, Thackston 2006:30) and Domari (Matras 1999:33), in Iranian Central Plateau dialects (Windfuhr 1991), in the contact language Aramaic (G.Khan 2008:838,842), and in the nearby varieties Khorasan Arabic (Windfuhr 2006) and Bandari (Pelevin 2002).

5.2 Morphological structure of the Existential

The six existential enclitics are given in Table 36 below.

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77 The Kumzari existential’s incompatibility with verbs suggests that the existential was formed, and the *h-verb stem dropped, at some point before Middle Persian adopted the istad forms.
The existentials are enclitics; that is, unlike the verbal suffixes which can only attach to verbs, the existentials cliticise to the end of any word class or phrase other than verbs. However, being clitics they are also unlike the separate pronouns in that they are “grammatical words but not independent phonological words” (Dixon & Aikhenvald 2002:35); they undergo morphophonemic alternation to form a phonological unit with the word they follow (cf. Matthews 2002:278). Existential enclitics are unstressed, and being vowel-initial, an epenthetic glottal stop appears when they attach to vowel-final stems (e.g. ḡanī = ‘they are rich’ but apsīt=īn ‘they are upset’) 78.

5.3 Syntactic distribution of the Existential

5.3.1 Semantic categories taking the Existential

Kumzari takes the existential enclitic on all three semantic types of predicates delineated by Pustet’s typological cross-linguistic examination (Pustet 2003): “existential predicates” (e.g. there are goats), “ascriptive predicates” (e.g. they are goats), and “identificational predicates” (e.g. he is Shaiky-the-Goat). Following are examples of the existential performing in all three predicate functions:

(304) K597 [existential predicate]
ka pi yē si-ta=īn ā, ka pi yē bātar!
if from 3s three-COUNT =EX:3p SUB if from 3s better
‘If there were three of them, it would have been even better!’

(305) S419 [ascriptive predicate]
ammū šan ţank-an =īn ya’nī.
all 3p woman-PL =EX:3p that is to say
‘That is to say, all of them were women.’

(306) A110 [identificational predicate]
tō ahmad =ī? mē ahmad tka =um.
2s ahmad =EX:2s 1s ahmad ‘does-it’=EX:1s
‘You are Ahmad?’ ‘I am Ahmad-Does-It.’

5.3.2 Syntactic categories taking the Existential

As an enclitic, the existential can attach to words of various syntactic categories:

nouns:

---
78 This is very similar to the diachronic development of a copula from a verb in Turkish, of which at present only the pronominal endings and an intervocalic glide –y remain (Pustet 2003:56-57).
(307) P981
šmā  martk-an=ē
2p  man-PL =EX:2p
‘As for you, you are men’

(308) G22
kōʾ=in.
mountain.bedouin =EX:3p
‘They are mountain bedouins.’

adjectives:

(309) A311
dūr =in  yaʾnī  pi  gēr-ē.
far =EX:3p  that.is.to.say  from  grave-the
‘That is to say, they were far from the grave.’

(310) S477
xālaš =in.  d itk-o  raft.
finished =EX:3p  girl-the  go:3sREAL
‘They were finished. The girl left.’

deverbs:

(311) B656
šaraʾ =in  walēyit-ē.
docked =EX:3p  country-a
‘They were docked in a country.’

(312) S756
sā  laffa =in.
now  swarming =EX:3p
‘Now they were swarming.’

and perfect participles:

(313) G155
sātē  gēla- an  mē  xōs =in.
now  grain-PL 1s  eat:PERF =EX:3p
‘Now my grain is eaten.’

(314) G12
mām, bap, iš  na.  mām  yē  murs-ē =Ø,  bap  yē  murs-ē =Ø.
mother  father  any  NEG  mother 3s  die:PERF-3s =EX:3s  father 3s  die:PERF-3s =EX:3s
‘Mother, father, there weren’t any. His mother was dead, his father was dead.’

as well as to inflected words:
and to entire phrases:

(317) R381
si-ta żīn =in.
three-COUNT thief =EX:3p
‘There were three thieves.’

(318) B1256
mē wa brār-an mē aft kas =im.
1s and brother-PL 1s seven PERS =EX:1p
‘I and my brothers are seven people.’

(319) R117
tō wā šan =ī na.
2s with 3p =EX:2s NEG
‘You are not with them.’

Other than perfect participles, the existential enclitic does not co-occur with verbs in the predicate. The fact that non-participial verbs are mutually exclusive with the existential enclitic points to its verbal origin.

5.4 Semantics of the Existential

While the categories of verbal inflection are six TAMM forms, the existential has only a single form that is used for all contexts. Consisting of the former verbal endings, however, the existential enclitic retains the six person-number forms.

The existential enclitics do not express demarcation as to time (past, present, future):

(320)
pīru mē murḥum, ammū wā ye=um bē.
grandfather 1s late (died) always with 3s=EX:1s only
‘My late grandfather, I was always only with him.’

If time must be pragmatically expressed, a verb or explicit time reference is used:

(321) K577
mē dūšīn ḡarra=um.
1s yesterday mistaken=EX:1s
‘Yesterday I was mistaken.’
Aspect, mood, mirativity, and voice are also undifferentiated in the existential, so that if these must be communicated, a verb is used, often the verb tō’a ‘become’:

(322) P900

ḥamala biš šēx-ō!  
careful become:2sIMPER sheikh-the

‘Watch out for the sheikh!’

5.5 Existential in Poetics

This poem, embedded in the tale Abūyi salaḥnī, Ummī rakabnī, uses the existential in cataphora. The third-person plural existential enclitic is repeated at the end of eight successive lines in the list portion of the poem, to elaborate on the abundance of things carried away by the newlyweds.

Table 37. Existentials in the poem Newlyweds carry things away

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Poem: U515</th>
<th>(Newlyweds carry things away)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nwāẓ mičē tāt-im ā, tambār-im.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ba siyyārit =in,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ba jāmal =in.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka xōrdin =in,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka šākar =in,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka brinz =in,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wa ka mēčûrī =in,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wa ka širx =in,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wa ka… filḥāl,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dām… ċa qaymit,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čintā malyūn,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ambād-iš yē.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

“Tomorrow, whatever we want, let’s carry away.”

They are in cars,

They are on camels:

- There was also food,
- There was also sugar,
- There was also rice,
- And there was also fish,
- And there was also money,
- And there was also gold
- And also... in any case,

I don't know what value,

How many millions’ worth,

They carried it off.

rhetorical structure of the poem:

- carry

  on {large value} plural existential

  on {large value} plural existential

  also {valuable} plural existential

  also {valuable} plural existential

  also {valuable} plural existential
and also {valuable} **plural existential**
and also {valuable} **plural existential**
and also {valuable} **plural existential**
and also…

{large value}
{large value}
carry
6 Modifier

6.1 Adjectives

Cross-linguistically, adjectives are words designating properties and functioning as attributes (Pustet 2003:10-11). In Kumzari, adjectives follow the noun they modify in a noun phrase, preceding a possessor noun or pronoun.

(323) S51
sōnty-č gap byār.
raft -a big bring:2sIMPER
‘Bring a big raft.’

Syntactically, adjectives function both attributively and predicatively. In predicates, adjectives may appear with the existential enclitic or with the verb tō’a ‘become.’

(324) R1220
čēnāq =in.
thirsty =EX:3p
‘They are thirsty.’

(325) P608
xwas wābur.
well become:3sREAL
‘She became well.’

Adjectives have a less significant role in Kumzari relative to that of other word classes. Expression of attributes relies more heavily on nouns, deverbs, abstract plurals, and verbs, both in lexical resources and in frequency of use. The following four examples illustrate the semantic role of an adjective being fulfilled by a verbal participle, an abstract plural, a deverb, and a noun, respectively.

(326) U181
ğāzal -č murs-č
gazelle -a die:PERF-3s
‘a dead gazelle’

(327) N8
ğātal -an
storm -PL
‘stormy [weather]’

(328) G285
ğawya wābur.
lost become:3sREAL
‘He became lost.’

(329) B1260
bap mē kōr būs-č.
father 1s blind.person become:PERF-3s
‘My father has become blind.’

Like Persian and Baluchi adjectives (Axenov 2006:86), Kumzari adjectives are flexibly able to function as nouns, with only semantic limitations in this regard. The line between nouns and adjectives is thin; adjectives can take nominal suffixes such as definite -ā, indefinite -ē, and plural -an, while nouns can take the adjectival comparative suffix –tar and the intensifier xaylē ‘very’ and can ‘modify’ another noun. An adjective with nominal inflection can even take on the syntactic role of a noun as an argument in a clause, completing the disguise:

(330) S27 [adjective as subject of clause]

\[\text{gap-an raft-in xāna ba rōr-an āmō xō.}\]
big-PL go:REAL -3p marriage with child-PL uncle (paternal) REFL

‘The older ones [literally: ‘bigs’] married their cousins.’

The general rule for adjectives is that in attributive function, adjectives agree in definiteness/genericness and number with the noun they modify, and in predicative function, they do not.

(331) B425 [attributive adjective]

\[\text{qīz’an -ō gap -ō} \]
cauldron—the big—the

‘the big cauldron’

(332) P1109 [predicative adjective]

\[\text{šō’ -ō drāẓ} \]
night—the long

‘the night was long’

Another distinction between an adjective’s attributive and predicative functions is syntactic: in the first example below, the adjective is attributive, being part of the noun phrase, while in the second, the adjective is predicative, following the noun phrase.

(333) [attributive adjective]

\[\text{gōsin gišnağ šan} \]
goat hungry 3p

‘their hungry goat’

(334) [predicative adjective]

\[\text{gōsin šan gišnağ} \]
goat 3p hungry

‘their goat is hungry’

However, because of the presence of gapped relative clauses, and generic nouns, as well as the zero-realised existential enclitic in the third-person singular, the syntactic function and even word class of a form may be ambiguous.

(335) G147

\[\text{knār -ē gap} \]
jujube.tree -a big

‘a big jujube tree’ or
?'a jujube tree [that is] big’ or
?'a jujube tree, big one’ or
?'a jujube tree is big’

In such cases, context may provide a clue. In the following example, the adjectives *bālağ* ‘ripe’ and *xālal* ‘unripe’ are most likely predicative in gapped relative clauses with the zero-realised third person singular existential enclitic, because ‘a melon [that is] ripe’ contrasts with ‘a melon [that is] unripe’ in the next sentence.

(336) B737

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ana } & \text{xāyar -ē } bālağ \ fatta \ tō' \ fānd -um \ yē \ ba \ tō \ ā, \\
\text{if } \text{melon -a } \text{ripe succulent become:3sIMPF } \text{send:REAL -1s } 3s \text{ to } 2s \text{SUB} \\
\text{yē } & \text{mē } \text{xānā } \text{tāt -um. } \text{wa } \text{midam } \text{xāyar -ē } xālal, \\
\text{DEM } 1s \text{ marriage want:IMPF -1s } \text{and otherwise melon -a } \text{unripe} \\
\text{ḥasa } & \text{xānā } \text{tāt -um } \text{na.} \\
\text{still } \text{marriage want:IMPF -1s } \text{NEG} \\
\text{‘If I send you a ripe, juicy melon, that means I want to marry. And if on the other hand [I send you] an unripe melon, I still do not want to marry.’}
\end{align*}
\]

The semantic properties of indefinite nouns make them more disposed to modification by gapped relative clauses rather than by attributive functions, since the attributes of a known entity are more likely to also be known.

6.1.1 Adjective types

Kumzari adjectives are typologically scalar, being more noun-like or more adjective-like, according to their morphosyntactic properties. The more noun-like adjectives can function as the argument of a verb and can take nominal suffixes. These include even the cross-linguistically prototypical semantic types of adjectives articulating the properties of age, value, dimension, and colour (Payne 1999:63; cf. Dixon 2004:3-4), such as those in Table 38.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>semantic type</th>
<th>adjective examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>age</td>
<td><em>čikk</em> ‘young, small’, <em>šēbab</em> ‘young’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>value</td>
<td><em>jwān</em> ‘good’, <em>banj</em> ‘bad’, <em>lawt</em> ‘weak’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dimension</td>
<td><em>drāẓ</em> ‘tall’, <em>kōta</em> ‘short’, <em>šēw</em> ‘thin’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>colour</td>
<td><em>ṣirx</em> ‘red’, <em>ẓraq</em> ‘blue’, <em>sawz</em> ‘green’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Among adjectives that are more adjective-like, some contain the vestigial Persian ending *ağ* and do not have nominal morphosyntax.
Table 39. Adjectives with final ḡ

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adjective</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ḡarmağ</td>
<td>‘hot’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gišnağ</td>
<td>‘hungry’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bālağ</td>
<td>‘ripe’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čēnağ</td>
<td>‘thirsty’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḡindağ</td>
<td>‘alive’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xēnağ</td>
<td>‘funny’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka’nağ</td>
<td>‘old’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other adjectives have patently Indo-European roots.

Table 40. Adjectives of Indo-European provenance

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adjective</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pāk</td>
<td>‘clean’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nēẓik</td>
<td>‘near’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šarm</td>
<td>‘ashamed’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>narm</td>
<td>‘soft’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bētar</td>
<td>‘better’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sard</td>
<td>‘cold’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dēr</td>
<td>‘late’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.1.2 Derived adjectives

As described in §4.1, some adjectives are of Semitic provenance and follow the pattern CaCC with the triliteral root as a basis.

Table 41. Adjectives derived from deverbs (CaCC)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adjective</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ḡhaps</td>
<td>‘bound’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xays</td>
<td>‘filthy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḡayb</td>
<td>‘absent’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tarr</td>
<td>‘wet’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḡafs</td>
<td>‘rotten’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xabq</td>
<td>‘holey’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lawt</td>
<td>‘weak’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some adjectives are derived from other constituents, usually nouns, with the suffix –ī.
As described in chapter 3, adjectives may be derived from locational or spatial nouns with the addition of the derivational suffix –ī.

Table 42. Derived adjectives with the suffix –ī

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adjective</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>avwwēlī</td>
<td>‘first’ (avwal ‘first, firstly’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>warrī</td>
<td>‘pink’ (ward ‘flower’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zērānī</td>
<td>‘lower’ (from zēran n. ‘bottom’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rastī</td>
<td>‘right’ (cf. Pers. rāst ‘right’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imarātī</td>
<td>‘Emirati’ (imarat ‘The [United Arab] Emirates’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sangī</td>
<td>‘heavy’ (cf. Pers. sang ‘stone’)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
6.2 Demonstratives

Demonstratives indicate deictic reference. They form part of the noun phrase, preceding the noun they modify. Unlike pronouns which may stand alone in place of a noun (see §3.2), demonstratives in Kumzari must be accompanied by a noun and modify it. There are only two demonstratives: proximal yā and distal yē.79

A noun modified by a demonstrative always takes the definite suffix –ō.

(337) B228
yē čāb kin, yē šāhar -ō ā? gardīdiš xō ṭēr –ē.
3s how do:MIR DEM sorcerer -the INTERR turn.into:3sREAL REFL bird -a
‘How did he do it, that sorcerer? He turned himself into a bird.’

(338) P394
yā arḍ -ō bar mē.
DEM land -the belonging.to 1s
‘This land belongs to me.’

The demonstratives yē and yā are also used in topicalisation, as noted in §3.3. The syntax of the demonstrative changes when it is used for topicalisation: a topicalised noun that is the subject of the verb takes the demonstrative after the noun it modifies, and a topicalised noun that is the object of the verb takes the demonstrative before the noun it modifies (the topicaliser =ā remains after the noun in either case). In a topicalised subject, the demonstrative coalesces with the topicaliser to form y’=ā.

(339) A608 [topicalised subject]
šēx -ō y’=ā, ḥayara bur āqīl yē.
sheikh -the DEM =TOP wracking (brain) become:3sREAL reason 3s
‘This sheikh, he wracked his brain.’

(340) B766 [topicalised object]
yē rōk -ō =ā, tēmiš -in yē āntē.
DEM boy -the TOP see:IMPF -3p 3s there
‘That boy, they would see him there.’

6.3 Quantifiers

A quantifier in Kumzari modifies a noun to express an amount. Some Kumzari quantifiers are listed in Table 43.

---

79 There are some prefix-like parts of words with demonstrative meaning (ē- for proximal and ān- for distal), but these do not follow a consistent pattern across sets of words. Instead, they are deemed to be parts of other morphemes in the synchronic analysis.
A Grammar of Kumzari

Table 43. Quantifiers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Quantifier</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ay</td>
<td>‘any’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iš</td>
<td>‘none, any’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dasta</td>
<td>‘a number’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nikta</td>
<td>‘a bit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kam</td>
<td>‘a little’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>habba</td>
<td>‘a few’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qadar</td>
<td>‘some’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ammū</td>
<td>‘all’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Like other modified nouns, nouns with quantifiers are marked for number (singular or plural) but not for definiteness. Quantifiers precede the noun they modify:

(341) G139

iš ğēla na.
any grain NEG
‘There was not any grain.’

(342) K48

nikta arma đī’-in ba mā.
a.bit date give:IMPF-3p to 1p
‘They would give a bit of dates to us.’

However, they may be separated from the noun they modify by a prepositional phrase:

(343) S421

iš wā šan martk- -an na.
any with 3p man- -PL NEG
‘There were not any men with them.’

Quantifiers may also act as pronouns, replacing a noun rather than modifying it. This is explained in §3.2.

6.4 Ordinal Numerals

Table 44 sets out the ordinal numerals. Ordinals incorporate the count words, plus an adjectivising suffix –ī. They follow the noun they modify, and the modified noun carries the definite suffix, e.g. xānağı’-ō sitā’ī ‘the third house’. Ordinals beyond three are simply referred to as pištū’ī ‘next’. Different systems of ordinal numerals are applied to days, things, and people, as in the table below.
### Table 44. Ordinal numerals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Numeral</th>
<th>Cardinal</th>
<th>Ordinal (days)</th>
<th>Ordinal (non-living)</th>
<th>Ordinal (living)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>yak</td>
<td>awwal / awwa bārī</td>
<td>awwal / awwa bārī</td>
<td>awwal / awwa bārī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>dō</td>
<td>dirōzī</td>
<td>ditā’ī</td>
<td>dikēsī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>sō</td>
<td>sirōzī</td>
<td>sitā’ī</td>
<td>sikēsī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>čār</td>
<td>piştū ī ‘next’</td>
<td>piştū ī ‘next’ (used for all subsequent ordinals)</td>
<td>piştū ī ‘next’ (used for all subsequent ordinals)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 6.5 Adverbs

There are two morphosyntactically distinct types of adverbs in Kumzari, although they have the same phonological shape, often consisting of only one or two syllables. Post-verbal adverbs modify the verb directly, following the verb. Clause-initial adverbs function on the clause or sentence level rather than simply modifying the verb, since the verb is clause-final.

(344) R860 [post-verbal adverb]
wa martk- -Ō mād bē.
and man–the stay:3sREAL only
‘And the man just stayed.’

(345) S99 [clause-initial adverb]
balkē mān –um zindağ.
perhaps stay:IRR -1s alive
‘Perhaps I will stay alive.’

Clause-initial adverbs can be negated separately without negating the verb, whereas post-verbal adverbs cannot be so negated unless the verb they modify is also negated. Considering the syntactic rule that all verbal complements in Kumzari must be negated when their verb is negated, the fact of clause-initial adverbs’ separate negation potential must lead to their analysis as non-complements.

(346) P641
ḥasa na majma gid-ī.
still NEG speaking do:REAL -2s
‘Still you have not spoken.’

(347) N28
quṭ gōsin mē jīs -ī ā?
ever goat 1s see:PERF -2s INTERR

quṭ na.
ever NEG
—‘Have you ever seen my goat?’
—‘Never.’

Clause-initial adverbs are distinct from post-verbal adverbs in their syntax and semantics, but they also differ from other elements in clause-initial position such as discourse particles, preposed adverbial expressions (PAEs), and evidentials (refer to sections***). The latter two form separate clauses and take the subordinator ā, which clause-initial adverbs do not. Unlike discourse particles, clause-initial adverbs have semantic content, and they function on
the sentence level rather than in discourse structuring. Discourse particles, PAEs, and evidentials do not vary from their clause-initial position, while adverbs effectively do.

Below are some examples of postverbal adverbs, falling immediately after the verb to modify it directly.

(348) U559
tiyr tî’-im šarg.
finished become:IMPF-1p quickly
‘We’re becoming finished quickly.’

(349) R353
ğaẓ -an gis –in jārī.
money -PL take:PERF-3p already
‘They had already taken the money.’

(350) R451
mē č-um indur awwal.
1s go:IMPF-1s inside firstly
‘I will go in first.’

(351) U382
mē iš gō’–um na. tō gaw bē.
1s any say:IMPER-1s NEG 2s say:2sIMPER only
‘I will not say anything. Only you say it.’

Adverbial complements, including locatives such as ēwō ‘here’ and āntē ‘there’, are treated in chapter 3.

Following are some examples of clause-initial adverbs, modifying the entire clause or sentence.

(352) R1331
gab twāra wābur ḡuzr-ō.
immediately shelter become:3sREAL depth –the
‘Immediately he took shelter in the deep [part of the well].’

(353) S99
balkē mān -um žindaġ.
perhaps stay:IRR-1s alive
‘Perhaps I will stay alive.’

(354) R428
awwa šām xōr wā mā.
firstly supper eat:2sIMPER with 1p
‘Firstly eat supper with us.’

Certain clause-initial adverbs, such as awwa ‘firstly’, ḥata ‘even’, and āxur ‘afterward’, may function as conjunctions, in which case the subordinator ā follows the entire subordinated clause; however, even these neither necessarily nor often act as conjunctions (see §9.4.1.1).
6.5.1 Derived adverbs

As described in §4.1, the derivational suffix -ītī is added to a deverb, noun, or adjective to describe manner; that is, it turns a deverb, noun, or adjective into an adverb. These derived adverbs require a verb, and occur in post-verbal position.

(358) U203
kišt-iš yē ḡalal -ītī wa šīwī yē gid-iš ba xō.
kill:REAL-3s 3s ritually.approved -manner and grilling 3s do:REAL-3s for REFL
‘He killed it in the ritually correct way, and he grilled it for himself.’

(359) N28
ništ -iš kūn -ītī inda maglēs –ō.
sit:REAL-3p bottom -manner in sheikh’s court -the
‘They sat on their bottoms in the sheikh’s court.’

(360) K753
maxluq -an ādamī mird -in wuxr -ītī.
crowd -PL person die:REAL-3p instant -manner
‘Crowds of people died instantly.’

Languages are commonly referred to using derived adverbs:

(361) N29
majma tk-a kumẓar –ītī.
speaking do:IMPF-3s Kumzari -manner
‘She is speaking Kumzari.’

(362) N30
majma tk-a arab –ītī.
speaking do:IMPF-3s Arabic -manner
‘He is speaking Arabic.’
6.6 Modifiers in poetics

Anaphora of the modifier *qadar* effects composition of the poem ‘the sorcerers’ assembly’ embedded in the tale *Kanēdō*. Its parallelistic structure and translation are provided in the table below.

Table 45. Embedded poem K715  the sorcerers’ assembly

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Structure</th>
<th>Kumzari</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>all night <strong>long</strong>, the crowd [of sorcerers] assembled.</td>
<td>šaw drāẓ ā, sūqū būrin maxluqān:</td>
<td>All night <strong>long</strong>, The crowd [of sorcerers] assembled.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they had some {sorcerer’s things}, and they had some {sorcerer’s things}, and they had some {et cetera}, and they would {do} some {sorcerer’s things}, and they had some {sorcerer’s things}.</td>
<td>qadar qiz’ān wā šān wa qadar tālim wā šān wa qadar brinz wā šān wa qadar dām ēt wā šān na wa qadar matfa bžēn -in, wa... qadar dubbāba wā šān wa qadar tāfaq wā šān.</td>
<td>They had some cauldrons, They had some platters, and They had some rice, and They had some I-don’t-know-what else, and They would fire some cannons, and They had some tanks, and They had some guns.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in any case, this house, it [was so full that] it wouldn’t take any [more].</td>
<td>filḥāl, xānağ -ō y’ā, iš diga na.</td>
<td>In any case, <strong>this</strong> house, it [was so full that] it wouldn’t take any [more].</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Modifiers play an essential role in both the structure and the function of the poem. Its frame contains the adjective *drāẓ* and the demonstrative *yā*, both in topicalised noun phrases, setting off the first and last lines. Semantically, the slight quantifier *qadar* ‘some’ in the list contrasts with the frame of superlatives; the night is *drāẓ* ‘long’ and the *maxluqān* ‘crowd’ assembles, and the house is so full that it cannot hold any more, yet what it holds is only ‘some’ of this and ‘some’ of that. Linguistically, too, the noun phrases with their minor modifiers in the list add up, line upon line, repeating seven times until the poem is bursting rhetorically with its contents of *qadars*, and must be dammed with a closure discourse particle *filḥāl* in the frame.
7 Evidential

7.1 Evidentiality

7.1.1 Evidentials

Grammatical coding of information source is expressed in Kumzari through a three-term system of clause-initial evidentials. The three evidentials correspond to the first three divisions of Willett’s semantic types of evidentiality (1988): attested (tamna), reported (awa), inferring (ēka). The evidential tamna is more specifically a marker of firsthand information gathered from sensory sources, thus it is hereafter referred to as a sensory evidential. Table 46 shows the three evidentials and their common equivalents in translation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Evidential type</th>
<th>Kumzari</th>
<th>English translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sensory</td>
<td>tamna</td>
<td>[a person] saw/ heard/ felt that</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reportive</td>
<td>awa</td>
<td>[a person] said that</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inferred</td>
<td>ēka</td>
<td>[a person] knows that / obviously / it must be</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7.1.2 Evidentiality in related languages

In some Iranian languages, the perfect verb form has developed evidential-like extended meanings of non-firsthand information as a secondary strategy to its verbal meaning (Aikhenvald 2004:11,38-9,77; Bulut 2000:176-8; Lazard 1985; Perry 2005:230-233, Soper 1996, Windfuhr 1982). However, unlike those evidentiality strategies which typically have a single non-firsthand term or extension, Kumzari distinguishes between reported information and inferred information, and information source is the evidentials’ primary meaning.

Evidentiality in Arabic is also not grammaticalised (Aikhenvald 2004:10). Yet because of the time-depth of Kumzari’s history on the edge of the Arabian peninsula and adjacent to Iran, it is not surprising that Kumzari exemplifies Isaksson’s assertion that it is only “in border areas … where contact phenomena are prominent,” “…in locations at the periphery of a language region, is an Arabic dialect likely to develop grammaticalised evidential categories” (Isaksson 2000:383,397).

7.1.3 Grammaticalisation of evidentiality

Evidentials in Kumzari are a grammaticalised word class “in that they are invariant and occur only in clause-initial position” (Palmer 2001:49). They have grammatical meaning, and are devoid of lexical meaning, despite their potentially lexical origins.

Non-firsthand sources of information, either reportive (awa) or inferred (ēka), are obligatorily marked. Unmarked information is assumed to be first-hand, but the sensory evidential tamna emphasises the fact that the information has been obtained by means of the immediate senses. An anecdote will illustrate the implications of this imbalance. A Kumzari man was in his house when a guest came to see him. The man did not want to see anyone so he told his little brother to answer the door and to tell the guest: brār mē ēwō na ‘my brother is not here’.

---

81 Kumzari represents B1 evidentiality system according to the terminology of Aikhenvald 2004:70.
Instead, the little brother used the reportive evidential: *awa ā brār mē ēwō na* ‘he said that my brother is not here’. The guest realised that the man was avoiding him, because the little brother’s answer was not firsthand information. The fact that *tamna* emphasises otherwise unmarked firsthand information is in accordance with DeLancey’s (2001:379) observation that “the unmarked form in an evidential system typically represents information which the speaker knows from first-hand, visual perception.”

Evidentials are distinct from other grammatical categories\(^{82}\), such as adverbs. Unlike adverbs, evidentials are obligatorily marked in contexts where their semantic parameters apply (i.e. where the information source is sensory, reportive, or inferred). They are also morphologically, syntactically, and semantically distinct from adverbs.

Evidentials take the subordinator alone; adverbs take a subordinator only as part of a subordinated clause. Adverbs vary in clause position but usually follow the verb; evidentials are always clause-initial. An adverb has lexical meaning and modifies a verb while an evidential has only grammatical meaning, denoting information source at clause level, even in verbless clauses.

Semantically, evidentials are distinct from other parts of speech. Replacing an evidential with an adverb or a different evidential results in a meaning change. For example, one could see Ḥāmēdō’s sandals at the door and use the inferred evidential to say Ḫēkā Ḥāmēdō ēwō ‘it must be that Ḥāmēdō is here’. However, the same sentence would be incorrect if one saw Ḥāmēdō in person; in the latter case one would rather say *tamna Ḥāmēdō ēwō* ‘I see that Ḥāmēdō is here’. Further, using both an evidential and a periphrastic can function to specify both information source and exactly which sense was used, e.g. *tamna* she heard or *tamna* she saw, or exactly who is was that reported it, e.g. *awa* the horse said or *awa* the boy said. This is an attested typological characteristic of evidentials: “one can add a lexical explanation to an evidentially marked clause, to disambiguate an evidential which has several meanings” (Aikhenvald 2004:10).

Evidentiality is also unrelated to epistemic concerns. Cross-linguistic typological research clearly delineates its separateness from modality: evidentiality “covers the way in which the information was acquired, without necessarily relating to the degree of speaker’s certainty concerning the statement or whether it is true or not” (Aikhenvald 2004:3). In Kumzari, epistemic modality is denoted in verb form: the Realis-Irrealis distinction. Unexpectedness of information, reflecting lack of prior knowledge, is revealed in the verb form as well: the Mirative. Thus Kumzari is one of those languages demonstrating that “there is a clear logical distinction between mirativity and evidentiality” and in which expressions of mirativity “have no grammatical connection to any evidential system” (DeLancey 2001:370, cf. Lazard 1999:101).

### 7.2 Morphosyntax of evidentials

#### 7.2.1 Subordinator

All three evidentials are followed by the subordinator.

---

\(^{82}\) The criteria laid out in this section follow Dendale & Tasmowski (2001:344), who list determinants of evidentiality’s status in a language.
He saw that a talking horse was in it and a pool of gold.

The subordinator may appear as a lengthening of the final vowel of the evidential.

**Clause-initial position**

Evidentials occur at the beginning of a clause:

She saw that a boy was coming down.

**Complement**

An evidential is followed by its complement in the form of a clause or noun phrase:

‘Obviously it was this crow.’

**Semantics of evidentials**

Evidentials categorise information source as sensed (tamna), reported (awa), or inferred (ēka).

**The sensory evidential tamna**

The Kumzari sensory evidential tamna marks immediate perception of sensory information, including visual, auditory, and even emotion and premonition. It is not marked in all cases where information is gleaned directly from a firsthand source. Rather, it emphasises the information source as being sensorily acquired. It is common diachronically for evidentials to become grammaticalised this way, from being optional to obligatory. In Kumzari, unmarked propositions are assumed to have a firsthand information source; this parallels DeLancey’s statement that firsthand knowledge is cross-linguistically “typically the unmarked member of the system” (DeLancey 1997:35).

**The sensory evidential in nearby languages**

The sensory evidential tamna has several potential origins, as morphemes with similar form and function occur in several languages of the wider region. Perhaps it was a lexical borrowing from the Arabic tūmna ‘then’ and later developed into an evidential (on tūmna and Arabic evidentiality see Isaksson 2000:396 and Aikhenvald 2004: §9.2.3). In the Arabic variety nearest to Kumzari, Shihhi, there is a clause-initial presentative particle trōh meaning...
something like ‘to see’ (Bernabela 2011:62), and it uses the third person, masculine, singular form for all referents.

A few of the Baluchi languages that have been analysed show signs of evidentiality. In Turkmenistani Baluchi, a conjunction *ta* or *tā* is used as a complementiser (Axenov 2006:246), and is glossed as ‘that’ and translated as ‘saw that’, followed by a complement clause (Axenov 2006:243, 168). Just as *tamna* in Kumzari is used in discourse to convey vividness at the peak, the examples of *ta* cited from Baluchi could be considered to be a pragmatic extension of the visual evidential used for discourse peak: a boy and girl see *ta* that many demons are chasing them, and a woman comes and sees *ta* that her husband’s head has been cut off.

The sensory evidential *tamna* is likewise similar to what is called a ‘mirative evidential’ *ta* in Sistani Baluchi (Barjasteh 2010:113). It is noteworthy that, like *tamna* in Kumzari, when the word *ta* is present, perception verbs may be omitted, since *ta* implies visual perception (Barjasteh 2010:92).

In the Indo-Aryan language Palula, a particle *ta* (Liljegren 2008:341) is similarly translated as ‘they saw’ and followed by a complement clause. Examples in Liljegren’s grammar show that *ta* is used to cite auditory information (hearing drumming, singing, and a message) (Liljegren 2008:211, 219, 284, 347), recall a memory of killing an evil spirit (Liljegren 2008:122), experience itching (Liljegren 2008:315) or stomach pain (Liljegren 2008:119)\(^\text{83}\), as well as visual information (Liljegren 2008:112, 149, 150, 152, 217, 273, 296). This accords with the varied sensory experiences attached to *tamna* in Kumzari. In several cases in the Palula data, *ta* is translated or glossed as ‘when’ but takes a complement clause which may coincide with discourse peak-like events: ‘we came, *ta* an avalanche struck and swept us away’, and ‘the monster came inside, *ta* the man was eating’ (Liljegren 2008:110, 124, 164). In these same contexts, Kumzari would have *tamna* both for its primary meaning of a sensory evidential and its extended meaning as peak discourse marker. Incidents featuring the appearance of a bear, leopard, lion, dragon, or other dangerous or surprising thing seems to increase the probability that *ta* will be used in a Palula sentence. Also like *tamna*, the Palula particle *ta* is used for switch-reference to mark different subject clauses in chaining (Liljegren 2008:312).

A similar morpheme occurs in the South Arabian languages. In Mehri a particle written *tē* / *tē* / *ta* and in Soqotri a particle *tōli* or *twōli*, and in Hobyot *twāli* (Simeone-Senelle 1997:411; Rubin 2010:125, 201) are comparable to Kumzari *tamna*. The morphemes are glossed variously as adverbs or prepositions (e.g. ‘then when’), but precede clauses with dramatic events or counterexpectation semantics. Further research is needed to determine their exact grammatical function.

### 3.1.2 The sensory evidential in context

Usually *tamna* expresses information that is visually acquired:

---

\(^{83}\) sensory evidentials are employed to register pain in other languages, see Littell & Mackie 2012.
‘Now when he showed up at the banana garden, he saw his brothers were bound.’

but it can also refer to an auditory information source:

‘They heard he was knocking on the door.’

‘She heard he was coming down. He had screeched.’

or information obtained by other senses, like feeling:

‘He felt hungry.’

or even a sixth sense, like a premonition:

‘He saw a pearl in its stomach!’ (battle over the pearl ensues throughout the story)

Additionally, it may coincide with the introduction of a new character in the text:
A Grammar of Kumzari

(372) P766
tamma ā yak-ē dgur āmad ba yē. kō’T-ē.
SENS SUB one–a other come:3sREAL to 3s mountain.bedouin-a
‘She saw another person was coming toward her: a mountain bedouin.’

or denote a magical appearance:

(373) B351
wa wākd-iš y’=ā, tamma ā asp-ē insī inda yē.
if/when open:3sREAL 3s= SUB SENS SUB horse–a humanlike in 3s
‘When he opened it, he saw there was a talking horse inside.’

7.3.2 The reportive evidential awa

The non-firsthand evidential awa labels reported information source, and includes both quotative (verbatim speech):

(374) K699
awa ā dō’-um yē na ba yē na.
REP SUB give:IMPF-1s 3s NEG to 3s NEG
‘He said “I will not give her to him.”’

(375) R166
awa ā dg-in ba yē tō kē =ī ā?
REP SUB say:IMPF-3p to 3s 2s who =EX:2s INTERR
‘They actually said to him, “Who are you?”’

and hearsay (indirect speech):

(376) P914
šēx wālēyt-ō, awa ā ar čōt pi tō, tār-a.
sheikh country-the REP SUB that/which/who go:3sIMPF from 2s bring:IMPF-3s
‘O sheikh of the country, it is said whatever leaves you, comes back!’

(377) R550
awa ā zīn-ō kišt-in.
REP SUB thief-the kill:REAL-3p
‘It is said they killed the thief!’

When combined with a verb in the imperative, awa has a precative nuance:

(378) P650
tō awa ā byō, āw ād ba mē!
2s REP SUB come:2sIMPER water give:2sIMPER to 1s
‘Please! I’m asking you, come on, give me water!’

7.3.3 The inferred evidential ēka
The evidential ēka labels information that is not firsthand but that has been inferred from the situation. Often inferred evidentials take on a disclaimer role; in Uzbek and Kazakh, there is a “copular perfect” morpheme ekan called a “non-confirmative” (Straughn 2011:9).

The Kumzari evidential ēka incorporates information inferred from sensory evidence:

(379) G213
ar ġēla-an mā gis-❝ ā, ēka ā yā ġrāb-ō.
that/which/who wheat -PL 1p take:PERF-3s SUB INF SUB this crow -the
‘The one who has taken our wheat, it must have been this crow.’

and information inferred from general knowledge:

(380) S244
ēka ā yā kas tāt-a yē na.
INF SUB this PERS want:IMPF-3s 3s NEG
‘Obviously no one wanted this.’ (an abandoned boat covered in barnacles)

The inferred evidential also includes explanations appealing to the hearer’s deduction:

(381) G22
sā wa dimistān-an ā, kō’t =in
now if/when winter -PL SUB of.mountain =EX:3p
ēka ā bāram tō’-a na,
INF SUB rain become:IMPF-3s NEG
‘Now when it was wintertime, they were in the mountains as you know it doesn’t rain,’

(382) U176
ēka ā yā-an ā, pi drāz=in ā,… ḍaby-an. ġāzalē-ē.
INF SUB DEM-PL SUB from long=EX:3p SUB oryx-PL gazelle-a
‘You know these ones which, that are long [antlers]… oryxes. A gazelle.’

The inferred evidential has pragmatic functions conveying irony:

(383) A581
afa’lla ēka ā ḥubbō tō, nakt-ē pī jāmal dār-iś ba mē.
Ar:God’s bounty INF SUB grandmother 2s little –a fat camel give:REAL-3s to 1s
‘It must be from God’s bounty, your grandmother gave me a little camel fat.’ (the speaker knows that in fact it was stolen.)

or to deceive:

(384) G746
ēka ā rōk-ō bap mē kišt-ē.
INF SUB boy -the father 1s kill:PERF-3s
‘This boy has obviously killed my father.’ (in fact he did not, but it looks as though he did)

or to convey disbelief:
7.4 Evidentials in discourse

Further to their place in syntax, evidentials have a compelling role as narrative devices. In the tale about the crow Ğrābō, the bedouins see tamna that their wheat has been eaten, they infer ēka that it must have been the crow who ate it, and later the crow caws to report āwa that someone is lying.

Although all three evidentials are used in narrative discourse, none of them is a token of a genre. Rather, certain evidentials characterise different aspects of the plot.

7.4.1 Sensory evidential in foregrounding

In discourse grounding at the sentence level, commonly a backgrounding sā clause precedes a foregrounding tamna clause, for the effect of contrast and to highlight what is seen, heard, or felt:

(387) A316
sā  wa  raft  awwa bār ā,  tamna  ā  ḥāraš-an  ba  yē!
now  if/when  go:3sREAL  first  time  SUB  SENS  SUB guard-PL  to  3s
‘Now, when he went the first time, he saw that the guards were with it [at the grave]!’

As in many languages, the sensory evidential is also used as a strategy to convey vividness (Aikhenvald 2004:313). In the tale Kanēdō, a boy climbs to the top of a wild fig tree in the evening to await the arrival of a magic horse, whom he hopes to catch:

(388) K170
tamna ā,  asp-ē  rēsid,  di-ta  rōr  wā  yē.
SENS  SUB  horse-a  arrive:3sREAL  two-COUNT  child  with  3s
‘He saw that a horse came, with two foals.’

In the tale of Ahmad Tka, the thief evades capture only to return home to a criminal-sniffing police camel:

(389) A442
sā  wa  qaḥama  y’=ā  āma  barra ā,
now  if/when  jumping  up  3s=SUB  come:3s  outside  SUB

tamna ā  jāmal-ē  raxama  inda  ḥawy  yē.
SENS  SUB  camel–a  reclining  in  courtyard  3s
‘Now when he jumped up and came outside, he saw a camel reclining in his courtyard.’
As an extension of its primary meaning citing a sensory information source, the evidential *tamna* marks the pivot in Kumzari discourse; as such, it directly precedes plot-significant information. In the tale *Rōran Šēxō*, the appearance of a snake is the catalyst for the gay youngest brother to prove his courage by killing it while the six macho brothers are too frightened:

(390) R209

* tamna ā mār-ē! mār-ō āntē rāstī jāga xō, ḥūšu tka.
SENS SUB snake-a snake-the there correct place REFL slithering do:3sIMPF

‘They saw a snake! The snake was really there in its own place, it was slithering.’

The role of *tamna* in discourse is treated in more detail in chapter 11.

### 7.4.2 Sensory evidential in switch reference

With the verb *gō* ‘say’, the sensory evidential is used to denote switch reference within a conversation:

(391) B94

* dgō ba yē, ... īs wā mā rōr na.
say:IMPF-3p to 3s ... any with 1p child NEG

‘They said to him,... “we have no children.”’

* tamna ā dgō, mē rōr-an dō’-um ba śmā.
SENS SUB say:3sIMPF 1s child-PL give:IMPF-1s to 2p

[it was heard] he said, “I myself will give children to you.”’

and for change of syntactic subject:

(392) B787

* inča ba’ada būr-in farra ā,
like this this distancing become:IMPF-3p far.away SUB

* tamna ā dgō ba xwē xō,
SENS SUB say:3sIMPF to sister REFL

ēja! īn mē mād, ba šang-ō.
oh! what’s-it-called 1s stay:3sREAL for comb-the

‘Like this they became far away, [Then] she said to her sister, “Oh! I left this comb of mine.”’

### 7.4.3 Reportive evidential in non-speech discourse

The conclusion of a tale prohibits direct speech (see chapter 11). In the tale *Sōntyō*’s coda, the homecoming of the sheikh’s daughter technically complies with this rule by using the reportive evidential instead of direct speech. In this context, the reportive evidential is used to indicate that no particular character is saying it, but the words are just “noise in a crowd”:
(393) S880
adala bur ġār-ō.
going on become:MIR racket-the
‘The racket [of celebration] went on!’

ḥawly-an! wa
male goat-PL and
Male goats! and
tāfaq-an! wa
gun-PL and
guns! and
matfa-ē bzand-in! wa
cannon-a hit:REAL-3p and
they fired a cannon! and
awa ā dit mā āmad! wa
REP SUB daughter 1p come:3sREAL and
it was said that ‘our daughter came [home]!’ and
awa ā rōr-ē wā yē! wa
REP SUB child-a with 3s and
it was said that ‘she has a child!’ and
awa ā ditk-ō šēx fālan gis-ē.
REP SUB daughter-the sheikh so-and-so take:PERF-3s
it was said that ‘the daughter has taken Sheikh so-and-so [in marriage]!’”
8 Preposition

8.1 Prepositions: Morphosyntax and semantics

Prepositions in Kumzari represent the head of prepositional phrases, consisting of a preposition followed by its complement. Prepositions have simple shapes, containing one or two syllables. Certain locational prepositions derive to form nouns or adjectives.

Kumzari prepositions precede the noun phrase that is their complement, and within a clause the entire prepositional phrase most often occurs after the noun or verb phrase to which it refers. Exclusively prepositional syntax distinguishes Kumzari as belonging to the southwestern branch in the Indo-Iranian language family, since its northwestern cousins Kurdish and Baluchi have postpositions as well (Stilo 2012b:4).

The most common prepositions in Kumzari are ba, pi, wā, and inda. These and others are set out in Table 47 below and examples of each follow.

Table 47. Prepositions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>preposition</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ba</td>
<td>to, for, of, on, with</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bağa</td>
<td>without</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bar</td>
<td>belonging to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ğay</td>
<td>except</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>āhta</td>
<td>until</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inda</td>
<td>in, inside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mayya</td>
<td>between, among</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naxa</td>
<td>aboard (a vehicle)</td>
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<tr>
<td>pana</td>
<td>beside, near</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pi</td>
<td>from, than, since</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sīna</td>
<td>toward</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tē</td>
<td>before</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wā</td>
<td>with, at, -ward</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The preposition ba has instrumental, spatial, beneficiary, comitative, and purposive meanings, and is glossed ‘to’, ‘for’, ‘of’, ‘on’, or ‘with’:

(394) R1099
filhāl, kaw bard -iš ba yē.
in.any.case marriage.contract carry:REAL -3s to 3s
‘In any case, he carried the marriage contract to him.’

(395) G250
jamağ xō wād -iš, faraša yē gid -iš ba gawd -ō ...
man’s.skirt REFL bring:REAL -3s spreading out 3s do:REAL -3s on cave -the
wa bard sōd -iš ba yē.
and stone put:REAL -3s on 3s
‘He brought his skirt, spreading it out over the cave… and he put a stone on it.’
(396) S73
jäga kin ba mē inda yē ba nwāḍ.
place do:2sIMPER for 1s in 3s for prayer
‘Make a place in it for me for prayer.’

(397) P1060
dit šēx -ō xistārī gid -in ba mē.
daughter sheikh–the engagement do:REAL -3p to 1s
‘They engaged the sheikh’s daughter to me.’

(398) U218
qaṣṣa māraq yē gid -iš ba ġuṣṣ -ō.
cutting throat 3s do:REAL -3s to 1s
‘They engaged the sheikh’s daughter to me.’

(399) S117
sōnī -ē wād -iš pi ēwō ḥata šāhārē -ō ba blind -ī.
raft–a bring:REAL -3s from here until cabinetry–the in high -NOM
‘He brought a raft [measuring] from here up to the cabinet in height.’

(400) P939
dgō ba mē ba yē na ḥata šaw -ō, xwaw -ō gid -iš mē.
say:3sIMPF to 1s it’s.all.right until night–the sleep–the take:REAL -3s 1s
‘She said to me, “It’s all right,” until the night, sleep overtook me.’

(401) S709
ṭiyar tē’ -ē pi čāẓ ā, brē’ –ē wā= zēran
finished become:IMPF -2p of lunch SUB go:IMPER -2p -ward down
pana sōntī -ō wa grē’ –ē.
beside raft–the and cry:IMPER -2p
‘When you have finished of [eating] lunch, go down beside the raft and cry.’

The spatial preposition ina is equivalent to ‘in’, ‘into’, or ‘inside’:

(402) G226
raft ina xilxil -an.
go:3sPERF into small.wadi -PL
‘It had gone into the small wadis.’

The prepositions pana ‘beside’ and naxa ‘aboard’ both refer to spatial relations, as demonstrated in this sentence:

(403) S817
tō tāṭ -ī xwā -ī pana mē naxa sōntū –ō.
2s want:IMPF -2s sleep:IRR -2s beside 1s aboard raft -the
‘You want to sleep beside me aboard the raft.’
The opposite of *ba* ‘with’ in its instrumental and comitative meanings is the preposition *bağ* *a without*:

(404) A281
lakin maxlōq -ō, *bağ* muxx kas dān -a yē kī na.
but crowd -the without head PERS know:IMPF -3s 3s who NEG
‘But the crowd, without a head nobody knew who he was.’

The abstract preposition *ğay* indicates exception:

(405) K345
ṣayaḥa tk-a, išī na *ğay* wōwōwō wa čēnağī
shouting do:IMPF-3s anything NEG except woe and thirst

wōwōwō wa šē’id -ē.
woe and Islamic.death.creed -a
‘He was shouting, [saying] nothing except ”Woe!” and ”Thirst!” and a dying man's creed.’

The preposition *tē* marks both temporal and spatial meanings:

(406) G198
nakt-ē *tē* bang -ō ā, tēr āmad, ḡrāb -ē.
little-a before sunset –the SUB bird come:3sREAL crow -a
‘A little before sunset, a bird came: a crow.’

‘Belonging to’ or ‘of’ is represented by the preposition *bar*:

(407) G70
āšina n wa’b wā šan, wa şumr *bar* yē wa xār *bar* yē.
those.ones field with 3p and acacia belonging.to 3s and thorn.tree belonging to 3s
‘Those ones had a field, and acacia trees belonged to it, and thorn trees belonged to it.’

The spatial preposition *mayya* (or *mayka*) has the meaning of ‘between’ or ‘among’:

(408) K427
dō’-um ba tō xānäğ -ē palla ġēnum wa jā *mayya* angar.
give:IMPF-1s to 2s house –a full.of wheat and barley between/among each.other
‘I will give to you a house, full of wheat and of barley among each other [mixed together].’

(409) G638
miyit -ō ā, ē- im ġēr yē tk -im *mayya* ġēr -an
dead.person –the TOP go:IMPF -1p burying 3s do:IMPF -1p between/among grave -PL.

ādamī tēmuş -in mà.
someone see:IMPF -3p 1p
‘That dead person, [if] we go to bury him between the graves, someone will see us.’

As do many languages, Kumzari uses body terminology for directionals, such as the preposition *sīna* ‘toward’; the word also means ‘chest’ in Kumzari:
and a word similar to the body term for ‘back’ in Kumzari, *pištu*, is used as a spatial and logical preposition meaning ‘behind’ or ‘after’:

(411) R1385

brār šmā ra *pištu* šmā.
brother 2p go:3sREAL after/behind 2p

‘Your brother went after you.’

(412) B1260

bap mē kōr būs-ē *pištu* mē.
father 1s blind become:PERF-3s after/behind 1s

‘My father has become blind because of me.’

8.2 Prepositional Derivation

Some prepositions take an –an (or –r) to become a locational noun or adjective. In prepositional form they require a complement. Examples of the derivation of prepositions are in Table 48 below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>preposition</th>
<th>noun/ adjective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ẓēr</td>
<td>‘under, below’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naxa</td>
<td>‘aboard’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inda</td>
<td>‘in, inside’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mayka</td>
<td>‘between’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ţay</td>
<td>‘except’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8.3 Verbal goal arguments

Arguments that are verbal goals, including those of motion verbs, present without prepositions; rather, they follow the verb phrase directly. This phenomenon occurs in many Western Iranian languages (Haig 2011). In the following examples of verbal goal arguments, no prepositions are required.

(413) S83

bō kard mē *dirya* –ō.
go:2sIMPER drop:2sIMPER 1s sea–the

‘Go and drop me into the sea.’

84 Comparable dual syntactic properties of certain noun-like prepositions in Persian are discussed in Pantcheva 2008c:11ff.

85 Another possible derivational pair is the temporal preposition ţē ‘before’ and the locational noun ţēgar ‘before, in front of.’
Right away they buried him with stones.

I want to take him as a husband.

Now I will make salt fish and green onion for you for lunch.

Watch out for the sheikh! He will kill you!

Water would be cut off at the channel.

The possessive construction may be used as a factive, in which case it takes factive syntax, appearing at the beginning of the clause. This frequently occurs at the beginning of a narrative to introduce a character or posit one’s existence.

The preposition wā in its possessive capacity is glossed as ‘with’. The Northern Luri word for ‘with’ is the likely cognate vārd (MacKinnon 2011).

"Factive verbs are those that describe the coming into existence of some entity” (Payne 1997:59). In Kumzari factivity is expressed only syntactically; the verb (or wā possessive as in this case) is promoted to the clause-initial position.
A Grammar of Kumzari

(420) S12
raft \šēx\ wālēyit –ō, wā yē si- ta ditk -an.  
go:3sIMPF sheikh country –the with 3s three- COUNT daughter -PL
‘There was a sheikh of the country; he had three daughters.’

Besides possession, the preposition wā additionally indicates direction (glossed as ‘at/-ward’), taking a locational noun as a complement. In its possessive function, wā does not lose stress to its complement. However, as a directional it cliticises to its complement: its vowel shortens, or drops out altogether if its complement begins with a long vowel, and stress shifts to the complement.

(421) R309
č -in wā= ēbar wa tā’ –in wā= ēbar.  
go:IMPF -3p at/-ward= over here and come:IMPF -3p at/-ward= over here
‘They would go here and there.’

(422) P548
inda mina =in, č –in wā= bāla arafāt nwāz.  
in Mina =EX:3p go:IMPF -3p at/-ward= up Arafat tomorrow
‘They were in Mina, they would go upward to Arafat the next day.’

(423) R1512
šaš -ta žangērir -an mē, si- kas ba kitf yē wā= rāstī ā,  
six COUNT slave –PL 1s three- PERS of shoulder 3s at/-ward= right SUB
wa si- kas ba kitf yē wā= asrē.  
and three- PERS of shoulder 3s -ward= left
‘My six slaves: three at his shoulder to the right, and three at his shoulder to the left.’

Table 49 below shows some common directionals with cliticised wā and locational nouns.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>locational noun</th>
<th>prepositional phrase with wā</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>žēran   bottom, below</td>
<td>wā= žēran downward</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bāla    top, above</td>
<td>wā= bāla upward</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tēğar   past, before</td>
<td>wā= tēğar forward</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pištō   back</td>
<td>wā= pištō backwards</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>indur   inside</td>
<td>wā= indur inward</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>barra   outside</td>
<td>wā= barra outward</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ambar   over there</td>
<td>wā= ambar toward there</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ēbar    over here</td>
<td>wā= ēbar toward here</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rāstī   right side</td>
<td>wā= rāstī to the right</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>asrē    left side</td>
<td>wā= asrē to the left</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some related languages also use prepositions in the possessive construction. Jügel notes that Old Persian “does not have a verb to have, and uses the possessive construction of the mihi est type instead” (Jügel 2009:144). Kurdish likewise uses a ‘to-me there-is’ construction: a possessive pronoun plus the third-person existential indicates possession (Thackston 2006:32). Domari, an Indo-Aryan language that borrows heavily from Arabic, has a
possessive construction much like that of Kumzari, with a directional preposition ‘at, with’ before its complement, a possessive pronoun \(^88\).

On the Domari possessive construction, Matras comments, “Although contact influence will not have been the source of the absence of ‘to have’, the specific Domari possessive expression \(wāšī-m\) ‘with-me, at-mine’ for ‘I have’ (rather than a construction of the type ‘to-me there-is, as in other Indo-Aryan languages) does resemble Arabic \(ṣīnd-ī\) ‘at mine’” (Matras 2007:156). Interestingly, the possessive construction in Domari is formally very close to that of Kumzari, as shown in Table 50.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 50. The possessive construction in three Eurasian languages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Domari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kumzari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arabic</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This is not to imply contact between Kumzari and Domari, however; rather it is apparent that both of these languages retain areal influence of Arabic at its northern and southeastern points. A similar possessive construction, with a possessive ‘connecting particle’ affixed to a pronoun, occurs in Modern South Arabian languages (Simeone-Senelle 1997:386).

### 8.5 Prepositions in Poetics

Prepositional phrases being non-obligatory and clause-final may seem to relegate them to minor status in the poetic programme. However, through repetition and rhythmic symmetry, even marginal constituents can become etched on the memory like a chant.

The poem about people giving charity wheat (G20) embedded in the folktale Ğrābō highlights the role of prepositional phrases in the rhetorical structure. The four lines of the poem’s list end with the same prepositional phrase \(ba \, šan\) ‘to them’, despite this repetition being unnecessary from the perspective of understanding the basic meaning of the section: ‘people brought them wheat.’ Still, the phrase repetition and grammatical symmetry is essential to understanding the tale’s emphasis on both the recipients of the quantities of wheat and their act of receiving it.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 51. Prepositional phrases in the poem about people giving charity wheat</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Poem: G20 (people giving charity wheat)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ğēla) tkard-in,  (ğēla) dig-in.  (wā) xuşbā.  (y’=ā) xā... (man-ē) Ĺār -a (ba , šan),  (wa) (y’=ā) nīmī Ĺār -a (ba , šan),  (wa) ān ā, (rub’-ē) Ĺār -a (ba , šan),  (wa) ān ā, nuşnuşuf Ĺār -a (ba , šan) ...  (laba) panj mā, şaş mā,  (panj) mā (ğēla) hasala tk-in nā.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

They were harvesting wheat,  They were gathering wheat, wheat.

---

88 Thackston (2006:37) mentions a directional \(wār\)- meaning ‘up’ that is used as a preverb in Sorani. This is possibly related to the Kumzari directional \(wā=\).
[The land] was flourishing.
These households... they brought a measure [of wheat] to them,
and these [people], they brought a half [of wheat] to them,
and those [people], they brought a quarter [of wheat] to them,
and those [people] brought a small share [of wheat] to them...
about five months’ [worth], six months’ [worth],
five months’ [worth] of wheat that they were getting.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>rhetorical structure of the poem:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>harvest wheat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gather wheat, wheat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>these brought {quantity of wheat} to them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>these brought {quantity of wheat} to them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>those brought {quantity of wheat} to them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>those brought {quantity of wheat} to them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>get wheat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
9 Clause

9.1 Constituent order

9.1.1 Basic word order

The clause in Kumzari consists minimally of subject and predicate. The subject may be not be overtly stated, and a predicate verb may be replaced with an existential enclitic, the verb tō’a ‘become’, an evidential, a possessive construction, or an abstract plural. A deverb may operate with a light verb or existential enclitic to form a predicate. Unmarked constituent order is Subject-Object-Verb. Order may be altered to signify factivity or topicalisation. In simple clauses, subjects and objects are in the form of nouns or noun phrases or pronouns.

(424) G765
sā mā yā ġēla’-an dī’-im ba tō.
now 1p this wheat –PL give:2sIMPF -1p to 2s
‘Now we will give this wheat to you.’

(425) G198
ṭēr āmad.
bird come:3sREAL
‘A bird came.’

Discourse markers and evidentials are clause-initial. Subject, object, and verb phrase are followed by verb goal arguments and prepositional phrases, each of which must additionally mark negation if the verb is negated:

(426) P418
sā tany-um na wā tō na.
now stay:IMPF-1s NEG with 2s NEG
‘Now I am not staying with you.’

As described in §4.3, when the object is in the form of a noun or noun phrase it precedes the verb or deverb, and when it is in the form of a pronoun it follows the verb or deverb:

(427) R1386
mā jīr-im yē na. mā brār xō jīr-im na.
lp see:REAL-1p 3s NEG 1p brother REFL see:REAL-1p NEG
‘As for us, we didn’t see him. As for us, we didn’t see our brother.’

(428) U416
jayb xō kand-iš. sōd-iš yē żēr bālišt-ō.
gold diadem REFL put.away:REAL-3s put:REAL-3s 3s under pillow-the
‘She put away her diadem. She put it under the pillow.’

9.1.2 Minimal clauses

When a subject is not overt, a clause may consist of only an intransitive verb:
(429) G176  
ništ.  
sit:3sREAL  
‘She sat down.’

(430) K289  
raft.  
go:3sREAL  
‘He went.’

(431) G191  
bumr-in!  
die:IMPER-3p  
‘May they die!’

Some clauses appear as consisting of only a deverb, if there is a zero-marked existential enclitic (third-person singular), and the deverb is acting as an intransitive predicate, and there is no overtly-marked subject:

(432) S485  
xabqa=Ø.  
pierced =EX:3s  
‘It was pierced.’

(433) S750  
faja’a=Ø.  
shocked =EX:3s  
‘She was shocked.’

With the zero-marked existential enclitic (third-person singular), even a single noun or adjective may constitute a clause:

(434) K343  
fālaj-ē=Ø.  
water.channel-a =EX:3s  
‘It is a water channel.’

(435) G20  
bazza-ē=Ø.  
poor.person-a =EX:3s  
‘She was a poor person.’

(436) R1560  
xālaṣ =Ø.  
finished =EX:3s  
‘It’s finished.’

(437) G147  
knār-ē=Ø.  
jujube tree-a =EX:3s  
‘There was a jujube tree.’
9.1.3 Word order variation

9.1.3.1 Factive syntax

Word order is modified to indicate factivity; that is, the coming into existence of an entity. In factive syntax, that subject is post-posed to clause-final position. More information is given in § 4.3.

(438) K5
raf rōk-ē.
go boy-a
‘There was a boy.’

(439) P241
ka byō wā= bāla ditk-ō.
PEAK come:MIR -ward= up girl -the
‘Suddenly, there was the girl coming up!’

(440) G300
ām ba yē barra žank-ō wa martk-ō.
come:IRR to 3s outside woman -the and man -the
‘There was a woman and a man coming to him outside.’

Factive syntax applies even to non-verbal predicates:

(441) S14
wā yē si-ta ditk-an.
with 3s three-COUNT daughter-PL
‘There were three daughters he had.’

This modified syntax to specify existence operates similarly to the way in which Kurdish uses alternate word order with the same verb to distinguish between static and processual senses of the copula (Haig 2007:178).

9.1.3.2 Topicalisation

While factive syntax moves the subject to the end of the clause, topicalisation moves a highlighted argument to the beginning of a clause. When the object in a clause is topicalised, it takes clause-initial position:

(442) B766
yā rōk-ō Ḃ, tēmiš-in yē ḃntē.
DEM boy-the SUB see:IMPF-3p 3s there
‘That boy, they would see him there.’

(443) B1100
yā tēra-ō Ḃ, ar ċō ba yē Ḃ, radda tō'-a na.
DEM path-the SUB that/which/who go on 3s SUB returning become:IMPF- NEG 3s
‘That path, whoever goes down it does not return.’
Other morphosyntactic markers of topicalisation are discussed in §3.3 and §9.4.

9.2 Types of simple clauses

9.2.1 Declarative clauses

Declarative clauses consist of a subject and a predicate.

(444) R1397
kō’ī-ō āmad.
mountain.bedouin -the come:3sREAL
‘The mountain bedouin came.’

9.2.2 Interrogative clauses

Polar interrogatives (yes/no questions) have the same word order as declaratives, but the interrogative enclitic ā follows at the very end of the clause:

(445) U452
ẓan mē bra wā mē =ā?
wife 1s go:3sIMPER with 1s INTERR
‘Should my wife go with me?’

In constituent interrogatives (information questions), an interrogative pronoun (see §3.2) occurs in clause-initial position and the interrogative enclitic is clause-final:

(446) R108
gīya brār-an mē ā?
where brother-PL 1s INTERR
‘Where are my brothers?’

The interrogative pronoun may also take the same syntactic slot as the constituent it replaces. This example uses an interrogative pronoun in place of the object:

(447) R400
šmā ēi wās-ē ā?
2p what bring:PERF-2p INTERR say:REAL-3p to 3s 1p rupee bring:REAL-1p
“What have you brought?” They said to him, “We brought rupees.”

In this example, the interrogative pronoun replaces the subject:

(448) K766
kē čwān-a čōt asp-an īnsī-an tār-a ā?
who can:IMPF-3s go:3sIMPF horse-PL humanlike-PL bring:IMPF-3s INTERR
‘Who can go [and] bring the talking horses?’

9.2.3 Imperative clauses

Imperative clauses have the same word order as declaratives, but use the imperative verb form:
Chapter 9 - Clause

9.3 Types of predicates

9.3.1 Verbal predicates

9.3.1.1 Intransitive verbal predicates

In predicates with an intransitive verb, the pronominal suffix on the verb agrees with its subject (the subject may or may not be stated).

(450) S573
qady-ō āmad.
judge-the come:3sREAL
‘The judge came.’

(451) G956
ḥubbō yē tmur-a!
grandmother 3s die:IMPF-3s
‘His grandmother will die!’

(452) K544
qēṣar-īn-an rēsid-in.
date.sp.–person.of-PL arrive:REAL-3p
‘The date-eaters arrived.’

9.3.1.2 Transitive verbal predicates

In predicates with transitive verbs, the verb’s pronominal suffix agrees with its subject, and the object precedes the verb or deverb. If the object is a pronoun, it follows the verb or deverb instead.

(453) S640
dāmar-ō wād-in.
groom-the bring:REAL-3p
‘They brought the groom.’

(454) K287
ḥaraqa yē kin.
burning 3s do:2sIMPER
‘Burn it.’

Imperatives are treated in detail in chapter 4.
9.3.1.3 Deverbal predicates

Deverbal predicates follow the same syntactic rules as verbal predicates, with the deverb taking the syntactic role of the verb in the clause; that is, an object in the form of a full noun precedes the deverb, and an object in the form of a pronoun it follows the deverb:

(456) G817
\[\text{panj-} \text{ta } \text{gūnī } \text{gēla } \text{šabaḥa } \text{gid-in}\]
five-COUNT sack wheat tying on do:REAL-3p
‘They tied on five sacks of wheat.’

(457) U79
\[\text{mām-ō } \text{čō } \text{qāhwē } \text{šaraba } \text{k-a}\]
mother-the go:3sIMPF coffee drinking do:IRR-3s
‘The mother would go to drink coffee’

(458) K591
\[\text{mahana } \text{mē } \text{tk-ī}\]
bothering 1s do:IMPF-2s
‘You are bothering me’

(459) S858
\[\text{šayaxa } \text{yē } \text{gid-in}.\]
appointing.as sheikh 3s do:REAL-3p
‘They appointed her as sheikh.’

9.3.1.4 Verbal predicates with complements

Kumzari does not morphosyntactically differentiate an indirect object from an oblique argument; there is no grammatical marking particular to either. Diagnostics of omission and of relativisation for both yield equally ambivalent results; that is, indirect objects and obliques are equally capable of being omitted or relativised (Keenan and Comrie 1977:65). The indirect object as distinct from an oblique is ambiguous in many languages (Andrews
Both obliques and indirect objects in Kumzari follow the verb phrase and are marked by a preposition. This is the case for indirect objects in intransitive verbal predicates:

(462) K416
sat-ta ādamī murs-in ba yē.
one.hundred-COUNT person die:PERF -3p for 3s
‘One hundred people have died for her.’

(463) A690
tabaqa tk-a ba rkaḥ-ō
sticking do:IMPF -3s to shoe-the
‘It was sticking to the shoe’

(464) P938
ğalata gid-um ba yē.
harming do:REAL-1s to 3s
‘I did harm to her.’

and indirect objects in transitive verbal predicates:

(465) S652
dar-ō wākid-iš ba yē.
door-the open:REAL-3s to 3s
‘She opened the door to him.’

(466) K206
jō’ar mē ād ba mē.
pearl 1s give:2sIMPER to 1s
‘Give me my pearl.’

(467) P933
salāḥ-an mē gid-iš pi mē.
weapon-PL 1s take:REAL-3s from 1s
‘She took my weapons from me.’

(468) A582
ēka ā nakt-ē pi jāmal dar-iš ba mē.
INF SUB little-a fat camel give:REAL-3s to 1s
‘You know, she gave a little camel fat to me.’

(469) K117
mē mēy-ō fōšnīs -um ba šmā.
1s fish-the sell:PERF-1s to 2p
‘I have sold the fish to you.’

as well as oblique objects of both transitive and intransitive verbs:
Although indirect objects and oblique arguments are treated with the same prepositional phrase structure and placement after the verb phrase, Kumzari gives word order preference to indirect objects when both occur:

(472) K362
nakt-ē āw nakata tk-in ba mē ba gurmān-ō.
little-a water dripping do:IMPF-3p for 1s of cotton-the
‘They are dripping a little water for me from the cotton.’

(473) K310
mē lāṭī-ē wās -um ba xō ba tēnur xō.
1s small.amount -a bring:PERF-1s for REFL of stone-oven REFL
‘I have brought a small amount for myself for my stone-oven.’

Locational complements also take a preposition and follow the verb phrase:

(474) S640
sōd-in yē pana sōnty-ō.
put:REAL -3p 3s beside raft-the
‘They put him beside the raft.’

(475) B1111
qāhama kin ba kāmar yē.
jumping do:MIR on back 3s
‘He jumped onto its back!’

In contrast, verb goal arguments are distinguished in not being marked with a preposition and by following the entire verb phrase, including direct and indirect objects (see chapter 8 for further details):

(476) A465
gambil-ē kin ḥawy-ō.
hole-a do:MIR courtyard-the
‘He made a hole in the courtyard!’

(477) R1545
bard-in šan xalwat-ē.
carry:REAL -3p 3p wilderness-a
‘They took them to a wilderness.’
Chapter 9 - Clause

9.3.2 Non-verbal predicates

Kumzari employs several strategies to form non-verbal predicates. Existentials, evidentials, abstract plurals, and possessive constructions fulfill the role of verbs. The verb tō’a ‘become’ also takes other predicates.

9.3.2.1 Clauses with existentials

Existentials are non-verbal in that they do not have verbal properties, such as the expression of tense, aspect, mood, and mirativity. There is a different existential enclitic for each person and number, but these are distinct from the pronominal suffixes found on verbs. In addition, the existential enclitics can attach to any predicate: adjectival, nominal, locative, or deverbal. On predicates with more than one word, the existential enclitic attaches to the entire predicate.

Despite their similar appearance, the Kumzari existential enclitic and the Persian pronominal copula are morphosyntactically different. Unlike the copula in Persian, the Kumzari existential enclitic is incompatible with a verb. When a deverb precedes the existential, the deverb is in its predicative role and functions more as an adjective than a verb. The existential’s paradigm of forms also differs from that of the verbal suffixes. Existentials are treated in chapter 5.

An existential enclitic is obligatory in both nominal predicates (šēx below) and adjectival predicates (ādī below):

(479) U12
šēx=în na ā, ādī=în.
sheikh =EX:3p NEG SUB normal =EX:3p
‘They were not royalty; they were common.’

and with locational predicates (āntē below):

(480) P570
žangērīr -an āntē=în.
slave –PL there =EX:3p
‘The slaves were there.’

The existential enclitic occurs on predicates with deverbs (i.e., deverbs without a light verb)(ğafala and halla below):

---

89 It is conceivable that the Kumzari existential enclitics derived from the Old Persian h-existential, while these same forms merged with the Old Persian astīy verb (istad ‘stand’) to become the hast/ast of Middle Persian (Cheung 2007:152). In Kumzari the initial h would have been eventually dropped, leaving only the pronominal endings.
(481) A166
āwwa bār maxlōq-an ġafala=in.
first time people -PL unsuspecting =EX:3p
‘The first time the people were unsuspecting.’

(482) B599
ḥalla ba ṭa’r =in.
landing on mountain- ledges =EX:3p
‘They are landing on mountain- ledges.’

and on predicates with perfect participles:

(483) N24
bukrit-an źās-in=in.
kid-PL give.birth:PERF-3p =EX:3p
‘The kids are born.’

and on predicates with prepositional phrases:

(484) R944
ammū šan inda xānağ-an=in wā dar–an qafl.
all 3p in house-PL =EX:3p with door-PL locked
‘All of them were in the houses with doors locked.’

(485) P548
inda munna=in.
in Mina (city) =EX:3p
‘They were in Mina.’

The existential enclitic attaches to the entire predicate, even to those with multiple words:

(486) P285
wēkil rōk-ō=T?
guardian boy-the =EX:2s
‘Are you the boy’s guardian?’

9.3.2.2 Predicates with the verb tō’a ‘become’

When a time reference or inchoative aspect of existentiality must be made explicit for pragmatic reasons, the fully-inflectable verb tō’a ‘become’ is used rather than the existential enclitic. The wa= morpheme evident in the Realis form of the verb wābur ‘become:3s’ represents inchoative aspect, and occurs in similar preverbal forms (wa-, vā-, vī, or ver-) in verb systems of other Western Iranian languages (Stilo 2012, Windfuhr 2012, MacKinnon 2011, Skjærvø 1988).

The first of the examples below has the existential enclitic, and the second has the same predicate with the verb tō’a ‘become’ to designate inchoative aspect:
In this example, both the existential enclitic and the verb tō’a ‘become’ are used with the same predicate to specify aspect:

(489) S730
sā ditk-ō wustin=Ø. wustin wābur.
now girl-the pregnant=EX:3s pregnant become:3sREAL
‘Now, the girl was pregnant. She became pregnant.’

Like the existential enclitic, the verb tō’a ‘become’ can take nominal, adjectival, or locational predicates:

(490) K72
paštin tō’-a.
mid-afternoon become:IMPF-3s
‘It is becoming mid-afternoon.’

(491) B1242
bāram išk wābur pi wā= ġarbī.
almond.tree dry become:3sREAL from -ward west
‘The almond tree became dry from the west.’

(492) G231
jīr-iš yē daxl wābur gawd-ō.
see REAL-3s 3s inside become:3sREAL cave-the
‘He saw it go [lit. ‘become’] inside the cave.’

In its intransitive form, the verb tō’a ‘become’ has the sense of ‘happening’:

(493) R1095
 tō’-a na! gur dit xō! dgō ba yē, abdin!
become:IMPF-3s NEG take:2sIMPER daughter REFL say:3sIMPF to 3s never
‘It shall not happen! Take your daughter!’ He said to him, “Never!”

In its capacity as a light verb, tō’a ‘become’ is used in a compound verb in place of tka ‘do’ with a deverb to produce the passive voice (see chapter 4):

(494) S714
pis šēx-ō adafa būs-ē.
son sheikh-the injured become:PERF-3s
‘The sheikh’s son has been hurt!’
9.3.2.3 Predicates with evidentials

Evidentials fulfil the syntactic role of transitive verbs in a clause, requiring a complement (see §9.4.2.5.2.5). The complement may take the form of a complement clause or a noun phrase:

(495) B148
\[
\text{sā tamna ā xōd-in.}
\]
\text{now EVID SUB eat:REAL-3p}
\text{‘Now he saw that they ate.’}

(496) G22
\[
\text{ēka ā bāram tō’-a ma.}
\]
\text{EVID SUB rain become:IMPF-3s NEG}
\text{‘You know it doesn’t rain.’}

(497) R1547
\[
\text{tamna ā ar yak-ē ma’r-ē ba kūn yē.}
\]
\text{EVID SUB each one-a tattoo-a on buttocks 3s}
\text{‘They saw that each one had a tattoo on his backside.’}

(498) G213
\[
\text{ēka ā yā ġrāb-ō.}
\]
\text{EVID SUB DEM crow-the}
\text{‘It must be this crow.’}

(499) P790
\[
\text{awa ā xwaf-t.}
\]
\text{EVID SUB sleep:3sREAL}
\text{‘She said he is asleep.’}

(500) S879
\[
\text{ēka ā dit šmā.}
\]
\text{EVID SUB daughter 2p}
\text{‘You know your daughter…’}

(501) G442
\[
\text{tamna ā jāmal-ē raxama=Ø inda ġhawy yē.}
\]
\text{EVID SUB camel-a reclining=EX:3s in courtyard 3s}
\text{‘He saw a camel reclining in his courtyard.’}

9.3.2.4 Predicates with possessives

Clauses with the possessive construction do not require a verb. As described in chapter 8, the preposition \( wā \) is followed by the possessor in the form of a noun or noun phrase:

(502) K35
\[
\text{zōraq-ē wā yē.}
\]
\text{zōraq.boat-a with 3s}
\text{‘He had a zōraq boat.’}
9.3.2.5 Predicates with abstract plurals

A noun with the abstract plural can be a predicate without a verb, forming a complete clause. Abstract plurals used alone as clauses frequently depict a general situation, especially about time, location, or weather:

(506) šartağ-an.
storm-PL
‘It’s stormy.’

(507) P371
balya-an.
problem-PL
‘It was problematic.’

(508) B649
bang-an.
dusk-PL
‘It was dusk.’

The abstract plural is described in detail in chapter 3.

9.4 Complex clauses

9.4.1 Coordination

Syntactic coordination is a complex clause “linking two clauses of equal grammatical status” (Payne 1999:336). However, in some complex clauses, it is ambiguous whether the component clauses are equal, and thus in coordination, or dependent, and thus in subordination. This is the case in many languages, as Haspelmath explains: “The formal symmetry of the terms coordination and subordination does not correspond to a similar conceptual symmetry” (Haspelmath 2007:46). Some conjunctions in Kumzari may signal conditionality, depending on the semantics of the two clauses and whether the subordinating enclitic ā is present. Such cases, with flexibility in their status of coordination or subordination, reveal the typological fact that “the category of coordinators does not have
sharp boundaries” (Haspelmath 2007:48). Conjunctions that function alternately as conditionals are thus described as well in §9.4.2 on subordination.

Coordination in Kumzari generally uses one of the linking forms: conjunction (wa ‘and’; ka ‘also’), disjunction (wala, wana ‘or’; kana, midam ‘otherwise’), adversative coordination (lakin ‘but’; balkē ‘however’), or causal coordination (ka ‘so’). Most are of transparently Semitic origin (cf. coordination in Iranian languages: Stilo 2004:273), but do not necessarily function similarly. Examples of each type of coordinated clause are given below.

9.4.1.1 Conjunction

Conjunction in Kumzari uses wa ‘and’ between clauses. The subjects of clauses conjoined by wa ‘and’ may be coreferential:

(509) P126
sēẓda-ta ruppī dār-iš ba yē wa pačaxčē-ō kardīd-iš
thirteen –COUNT rupees give:REAL-3s to 3s and chest –the drop:REAL-3s

wā= yē.
-ward 3s
‘He gave him thirteen rupees and he laid down the chest before him.’

(510) P348
ḥubbō-ō xaṭṭ-ē kataba gid-iš. wāqā gid-in wa
grandmother-the message-a writing do:REAL-3s signature do:REAL-3p and

fānd-in yē.
send:REAL-3p 3s
‘The grandmother wrote a message. They signed and they sent it.’

or the subjects of the two clauses may have disjoint reference:

(511) R1365
ẓank-an raft-in na wa šan raft-in.
woman-PL go:REAL-3p NEG and 3p go:REAL-3p
‘The women didn’t go and they [the brothers] went.’

In cases where the subjects of coordinate clauses are coreferential, the subject is usually not re-stated in the second clause, not even with a pronoun:

(512) P278
pis yē xēris-ē mē wa fans-ē mē.
son 3s buy:PERF-3s 1s and send:PERF-3s 1s
‘Her son has bought me and has sent me.’

There is no grammatical limit to the number of consecutive clauses that may be conjoined by wa, as demonstrated by this example:
S557

nwāẓ  paštin  ā,  byār-ē...  źuly-an  wa
prayer  mid-afternoon  SUB  bring:MIR  furniture-PL  and
‘At the late afternoon prayer, they brought... furniture! and’

ēwō  pāk  k-ē  wa
here  clean  make:MIR-2p  and
‘here they cleaned! and’

indō-an  āmad-in  baladiyya  wa
Indian, person-PL  come:REAL-3p  garbage  and
‘the Indians came to [pick up] garbage, and’

pāk  yē  gid-in  wa
clean  3s  make:REAL-3p  and
‘they cleaned it and’

sōnty-ō  čōrid-in  wa  ka
raft-the  wash:REAL-3p  and  LIST
‘they washed the raft and also’

gmēẓ  pana  yē  pāk  gid-in  wa  ka
dirt  beside  3s  clean  make:REAL-3p  and  LIST
‘they cleaned up the dirt beside it and also’

xā  ḥmām-ō  pana  yē  pāk  gid-in  wa
house  pigeon-the  beside  3s  clean  make:REAL-3p  and
‘they cleaned up the pigeon house beside it and’

źūly-ē  sōd-in  wa
furniture-a  put:REAL-3p  and
‘they put in furniture and’

šēx-ō  āmad  wa
sheikh-the  come:3sREAL  and
‘the sheikh came and’

rōr-an  āmō  yē  āmad-in  wa
child-PL  uncle (paternal)  3s  come:REAL-3p  and
‘his uncle’s children came and’

qaḍy-ō  āmad  wa
judge-the  come:3sREAL  and
‘the judge came and’

ništ-in  pana  sōnty-ō.
sit:REAL-3p  beside  raft–the
‘they sat beside the raft.’

The conjunction wa can be combined with the marker of listing parallelism ka ‘also’ to present consecutive conjunction. As an emphatic conjunction, ka is distinguished
A Grammar of Kumzari

semantically from *wa* in its emphasis that “each coordinand belongs to the coordination, and each of them is considered separately” (Haspelmath 2007:15):

(514) S632
šaw ā, ka maylat gid-in, wa ka ammū čī gid-in
night SUB LIST wedding.poetry do:REAL-3p and LIST all thing do:REAL-3p

wa ka srō kēšid-in wa ṭiya būr-in.
and LIST sung poetry pull:REAL-3p and finished become:REAL-3p

‘At night, also they did the Maylad [poetry], and also they did everything, and also they sang the Sro [poetry], and they finished.’

9.4.1.2 Causal coordination

The conjunction *ka* is used alone for causal coordination (Haspelmath 2007:2):

(515) U457
tō āmō mē ka zan xō gr-um b-um wā=
father-in-law 1s so wife REFLE take:IMPF-1s go:IMPF-1s -ward

mām xō, bap xō ā.
mother REFLE father REFLE INTERR

‘You are my father-in-law, so let me take my wife and go to my own mother and father?’

(516) B773
xalaqa ba yē ka tāt-um dig-um yē šū-ī.
(good).looks to 3s so want:IMPF-1s take:IMPF-1s 3s husband-ADVR

ṣi ṭa dō-um ba yē.
gold give:IMPF-1s to 3s

‘He is handsome, so I want to take him as a husband.’

9.4.1.3 Disjunction

Disjunction in Kumzari uses the word *waḷa* ‘or’ between clauses to indicate alternative possibilities:

(517) P468
kam gāz dō-um ba yē waḷa šīrxi tāt-a ā,
how.much money give:IMPF-1s to 3s or gold want:IRR-3s SUB

šīrxi dō-um ba yē.
gold give:IMPF-1s to 3s

‘I will give her however much money, or if she wants gold, I will give her gold.’

(518) R767
inda ūmā ā waḷa inda żan-an ūmā ā?
in 2p INTERR or in wife-PL 2p INTERR

‘Is it in you or is it in your wives?’

Emphatic disjunction uses the bisyndetic *wana* ‘either, or’ preceding each clause. Emphatic disjunction “emphasizes the contrast between both coordinands and requires that they be considered separately” (Haspelmath 2007:15):
In this example of emphatic disjunction, the verb and the preposition have undergone ellipsis:

(520) N33

wana tay ba bazza-ē, wana pačē-ē.

‘It could come to either a poor person or a rich person.’

There is no clause-linking mechanism attested for emphatic negative disjunction (‘neither/nor’). As described in chapter 10, in noun phrases expressing rejection, the negative particle precedes each of its referents:

(521) A393

na ṭarb, na šuğul, na īn.

‘Neither wound, nor mark, nor anything.’

As a linking device between clauses, the counterfactual unreality conditional kana ‘otherwise’ (see §9.4.2.4.8) can function in substitutive disjunction (Thompson, Longacre, & Hwang 2007:263):

(522) N34

ka ūsū būs-um żāman awwal ā, kana ar rōz-ē ē-um ēmaāg tk-um.

‘If I had lived long ago, I would have gone to collect firewood every day.’

(523) N35

ḡāz-an mē byār kana č-um šurṭa škēwī tk-um bā tō.

‘Bring my money or I will go to the police and lay an accusation against you.’

(524) N9

šnaw majma-an pīru xō kana ‘alamā tī-ī na čābē ūsū bī-ī na.

‘Listen to the words of your grandfather or you will never learn how to live.’

Likewise, the counterfactual conditional midam can function in explicative disjunction (Haspelmath 2007:48) between clauses:
9.4.1.4 Adversative coordination

There are two conjunctions of adversative coordination. The first is the same as the Arabic adversative coordinator \textit{lakin} ‘but’:

(526) P772
\[\text{sū mē wā mē ēwō lakin sā šū mē raft pi mē.}\]
husband 1s with 1s here but now husband 1s go:3sREAL from 1s
‘I have a husband here, but now my husband left me.’

(527) R419
\[\text{rōz-ē č-um tē šmā, lakin wa rōz-ō raft-um ā,}\]
day-a go:IMPF-1s before 2p but if/when day-the go:REAL-1s SUB
tēmuš-um xizinā-ō wa ẓīs-ē.
see:IMPF-1s treasure-the if/when steal:PERF-3s
‘One day I will go ahead of you, but when I go today, I will see whether the treasure is stolen.’

(528) R675
\[\text{ammū šmā br-ē, ar šaš kas-an šmā, lakin}\]
all 2p go:IMPER-2p each six PERS-PL 2p but
\[\text{rōk-ō cikk-ō pē ūny-a wā mē.}\]
boy-the small-the only stay:IMPER-3p with 1s
‘All of you go, all six of you, but the youngest boy only shall stay with me.’

(529) S426
\[\text{ka byō ba yē lakin adliy-ē ba yē.}\]
right.away come:MIR to 3s but gown-a to 3s
‘Right away he came to her but she was wearing a gown!’

The second conjunction of adversative coordination is partially also of Arabic origin: \textit{balkē} ‘however’ (Stilo 2004:273):

(530) A599
\[\text{ān, ājuẓō na’āta tk-in, balkē raft-ē ġarbī,}\]
3s.ANA old.person awaiting do:IMPF-3p however go:PERF-3s west
\[\text{raft-ē šarqī, raft-ē ēbar ēbar, maḍya būs-ē,}\]
go:PERF-3s east go:PERF-3s over.here over.here lost become:PERF-3s
‘The other one, they were waiting for the old person; however, having gone to the west, having gone to the east, having gone here and there, she had become lost.’

9.4.1.5 Asyndetic coordination
Some instances of coordination are asyndetic, lacking an overt coordinator. This strategy uses simple juxtaposition and varying intonation over the complex clause to link component clauses. The same patterns of intonation in asyndetic coordination are found in Iranian languages (Stilo 2004:277). Rising intonation between coordinated clauses, and falling intonation at the end of the sentence, are indicated in the following examples with rising and falling lines:

(531) P391

\[
\text{ādamī ba kāra-ō, nām yē fālan.}
\]

person to gate-the name 3s such-and-such

‘There’s someone at the gate; his name is such-and-such.’

(532) R527

\[
gambil kan ba yē, dakka kin za xōr-ō, wēl.
\]

hole dig:MIR for 3s burying do:MIR under donkey-the leave:MIR

‘He dug a hole for it, he buried [them] under the donkey, he left [them]!’

(533) K529

\[
gēnum azala gid-in, jā azala gid-in.
\]

wheat separating do:REAL -3p barley separating do:REAL -3p

‘They separated the wheat, they separated the barley.’

9.4.2 Subordination

9.4.2.1 Subordination strategies spanning all categories

Subordination in Kumzari is achieved by a number of morphosyntactic strategies. There are also subordination strategies that span more than one type of complex clause construction. It is thus extremely useful at this point to look at T. Payne’s continuum of degree of grammatical integration between two verbs in a multiple verb construction (1999:272).

one serial complement adverbal clause relative coordination two
clause verbs clauses clauses chains clauses separate clauses

\[\begin{array}{ccccccc}
\text{high degree of} & \text{grammatical integration} \\
\text{no} & \text{grammatical integration}
\end{array}\]

(reproduced with permission from T. Payne 1999:272)

This 4.3 chapter will first describe those strategies with overlapping functions among the different types of subordinated clauses. Thereafter it will explore four types of multiple verb construction found in Kumzari, from lowest to highest degree of grammatical integration between the two verbs: relative clauses, clause chains, adverbal clauses, and complement clauses. Serial and compound verbs are described in §4.3. In complex clauses, more integrated verbs use the subordinating enclitic ā to signal clause relationships, while less integrated verb constructions tend to use conjunctions.
9.4.2.1.1 The subordinating enclitic ā

9.4.2.1.1 Morphology, syntax, and semantics of the subordinator ā

The subordinator is a clause-final enclitic with grammatical, not lexical, meaning. It is the morpheme ā, with allomorphs wā and yā, following non-low back vowels and non-low front vowels respectively:

(534) R625
nwāšam-ī yā, šēx -ō ām ba yē.
evening -ADVR SUB sheikh -the come:3s to 3s
‘In the evening, the sheikh came to him.’

Usually a subordinator following a non-low-vowel-final word, inserts semi-vowels between them (yā or wā). However, commonly in cases of topicalisation and juxtaposition, the subordinator instead coalesces with the final vowel:

(535) U68
sā mām -ō ō, ċu xa indarāg -an xō.
now mother -the SUB go:3sIMPF house neighbour -PL REFL
‘Now the mother, she would go to her neighbours’ houses.’

Juxtaposition of two independent clauses, with only the subordinator and no subordinating conjunction, is used to signal temporal and logical relations between two clauses:

(536) K146
asp -an insē-an byār ba mē ē, byō jō’ar tō
horse -PL humanlike -PL bring:2sIMPER to 1s SUB come:2sIMPER pearl 2s
dō’ -um ba tō.
give:IMPF 1s to 2s
‘Bring me the talking horses, [and then] come, I will give you your pearl.’

(537) A290
carry:REAL -3p this corpse -the SUB burying 3s do:REAL -3p in grave -the
‘Carrying this corpse, they buried it in the grave.’

Infrequently the subordinator can also be realised as a lengthened final vowel before a consonant in the last word of a clause:

---

90 Similar morphemes with subordinating function in Indo-Iranian languages are found in Luri –ā (MacKinnon 2011), Kurmanji =sa (Haig 2007:173), Baluchi ālē (Axenov 2006:57, 240), and Palula ta (Liljegren 2008:352), and in the Arabic conditional wa (Johnstone 1991:112).
The subordinator must be marked on every complement of the verb in a subordinated clause, thus the ā follows both the verb and the verbal complement:

(539) B649

wa āmad -in ā ba xwā ā, bang -an.
if/when come:REAL -3p SUB for salt SUB dusk -PL

‘When they came for the salt, it was nightfall.’

The subordinator ā is elusive. Despite being ubiquitous, the subordinator is difficult to trace because of its similarity to other segments. When it occurs in careful speech its presence is obvious, but in ambiguous cases it is not possible to ascertain its absence. One key is to look at clause-level intonation, for there is invariably rising intonation between subordinated clauses and falling intonation at the end of a sentence. The subordinator ā and rising intonation occur in the same functional contexts; in fact, it is probable that diachronically, the subordinator is in decline and is merging into intonation; hence its somewhat ambiguous allomorphs.

Sentence-level intonation has a role in many kinds of subordination, such as clause chains, anadiplosis, and conditionals, but even two independent clauses may show rising-falling intonation similar to that which occurs between a subordinate clause and a main clause, suggesting a logical link between the two clauses:

(540) B205

\\
\\
tumr -ī, bumur!
die:IMPF -2s die:2sIMPER

‘Drop dead!’ [lit: ‘You’re going to die, die!’]

(541) P590

\\
\\
bağa s’āl, jwāb.
without question answer

‘[There was] an answer without a question.’

(542) G176

\\
\\
wa ništ. ēwō, za knār -ō, āšinan raft-in.
and sit:3sREAL here under jujube.tree -the those.ones go:REAL-3p

‘And she sat down. There, under the jujube tree, [while] those ones left.’
A Grammar of Kumzari

(543) K677

mū ḥaraqa kin, mā tā’-im ba tō.

‘Burn the hair [so that] we will come to you.’

Adverbial clauses and complement clauses, as well as other semi-subordinate constructions such as medial clauses in a chain and repeated clauses in anadiplosis, take the subordinating enclitic ā clause-finally. More specific lexical-semantic information of the clause falls on the subordinating conjunction (such as wa), if there is one, or on implicit information in the pragmatic and linguistic context.

9.4.2.1.1.2 ā in adverbial clauses

The subordinator is used in all types of adverbial clauses, at the end of the clause:

(544) R1397

paštin –ī ā, kō’t-ō āmad.

‘In the afternoon, the mountain bedouin came.’

9.4.2.1.1.3 ā in complement clauses

The subordinating enclitic also joins to the end of various complement clauses:

(545) P110

mār, aqrab inda yē ā, dām na.

‘I don’t know [whether] there was snake or scorpion in it.’

9.4.2.1.1.4 ā on evidentials

The subordinator occurs with all three evidentials, following the evidential:

(546) B1138

sā wa barza wāb ba bāġ almowż ā, tamna ā

brār-an yē ḥaps=in.

‘Now when he showed up at the banana garden, he saw that his brothers were bound.’

Much further discussion on the relationship between complement clauses and evidentials is in §9.4.2.5.2.5.

9.4.2.1.1.5 ā in clause chains

Medial clauses in clause chains take the subordinating enclitic because they are not independent clauses:
wa āw xwiš pi asp–ō ā,
and water drink:3sREAL from horse–the SUB
… ‘and he drank water from the horse,’…

9.4.2.1.1.6 ā in topicalisation

Thompson and Longacre (1985:229) point out that topicalisation and subordination share common functional features as well as the same morpheme in many languages. This is the case in Kumzari, where the a subject or an object is brought into focus by the enclitic ā:

(548) G992
xānağ–ō y’=ā, qētil -ē.
house–the DEM=SUB deadly -a
‘That house, it’s deadly.’

In its topicalisation function, ā can be distinguished from other functions because a topicaliser is marked on a noun phrase; thus it is found even in simple clauses. Pragmatically, topicalisation is parallel to anadiplosis, highlighting given or old information, but anadiplosis repeats an entire clause rather than a noun phrase only.

9.4.2.1.1.7 ā in anadiplosis

Anadiplosis is a grounding strategy in which a clause is repeated, sometimes with an alternate verb form or pronoun, and followed by ā to connect it to the following clause:

(549) B238
ka jaḥha kin ba rōk–ō awēlī, rōk–ō jwān -ō.
PEAK swooping do:MIR for boy -the first boy -the fine -the
jaḥha kin ba yē ā wa sayy yē pi mayya rōk- an.
swooping do:MIR for 3s SUB and lift:up:MIR 3s from midst boy -PL
‘Immediately he swooped for the first boy, the fine one. He swooped on him and lifted him up from among the boys!’

9.4.2.1.2 The consecutive subordinating enclitic bēw

Like ā, and used in its place for linked clauses in logical or temporal sequence, bēw is a consecutive subordinating enclitic:

(550) N6
amū rēsid ba čō-ō bēw, āw gid-iš ba xō.
once arrive:3sREAL to well-the SUB water take:REAL-3s to REFL
‘Once she arrived at the well, then she drew water.’

91 Similar particles are used for topicalisation in Baluchi (u), Palula (ba), Bakhtiar, Kurmanji, and Gilaki (am) (Axenov 2006:233; Liljegren 2008:377; Lockwood 2012:210).
They were greeting [each other], then he ran still to there, “Serve the supper, O mother!”

Irrealis verbs are used to signal that one clause is subordinate to another clause, usually with a different verb form:

‘Make a house for me inside it, [that] locks from the inside, [so that] water does not go in it.’

Kumzari employs irrealis verbs in temporal and other adverbial clauses:

‘Before he reached it, the crow flew away.’

Irrealis verbs are also commonly used as a complementation strategy:

‘She let him eat fish.’ [lit. ‘she-let him fish that-he-eat.’]

In certain circumstances, such as subordinate clauses, verbs are shortened to the stem; that is, they have no affixes marking tense, aspect, mood, or mirativity:

‘He went to the women, to bring them.’ or ‘Going to the women, he brought them.’

Reduced-TAMM verbs are used in logical and other adverbial clauses:
9.4.2.1.4.2 Reduced-TAMM verbs in complement clauses

Verbs are reduced to lack TAMM marking as a complementation strategy:

(557) G990
dām na rin giya na.
know:1sIMPF NEG go:3p where NEG
‘I don’t know where they went.’

9.4.2.1.4.3 Reduced-TAMM verbs in serial verb constructions

In Kumzari serial verb constructions, tense, aspect, modality, and mirativity are understood as encompassing the whole construction; thus the initial verb may have reduced TAMM markings:

(558) S679
āma ēnar yē gid -iš
come:3s henna 3s do:REAL -3s
‘she came [and] did his henna’

Serial verb constructions are described in more detail in §4.3.

9.4.2.1.4.4 Reduced-TAMM verbs in clause chains

A medial verb from a clause chain, about a boy’s survival in the desert, shows reduced tense-aspect-mood-mirativity marking. The TAMM is instead marked on the final verb of the chain.

(559) U218
wa jumr wāš ba xō pi nixn–an asp–ō ā,
and ember bring:3sREAL for REFL from hoof–PL horse–the SUB
… ‘and he struck a spark on the horse’s hooves,’…

9.4.2.1.4.5 Reduced-TAMM verbs in anadiplosis

In anadiplosis, repeated information can take a verb with reduced tense-aspect-mood-mirativity marking, since the TAMM is already known:

(560) A69
rēsid dbay. rēsi dbay ā,… sā kas dāna na.
arrive:3sREAL Dubai arrive:3s Dubai SUB now no one know:3sIMPF NEG
‘He arrived at Dubai. Arriving at Dubai, …now he knew no one.’
9.4.2.1.5 Participles signalling subordination

The perfect form of the verb is used as a participle, in an extension of aspect, to indicate the subordinate status of a clause.

9.4.2.1.5.1 Participles in relative clauses

The participle operates as a subordinate verb form in relative clauses:

(561) A485
wa ān ǯujǭ’-ǭ xwaft -ē indur, măm yē, xābr na.
and that old.person-the sleep:PERF -3s inside mother 3s in.the know NEG
‘And that old person sleeping inside, his mother, [she] didn’t know.’

9.4.2.1.5.2 Participles in adverbial clauses

Perfect participles are employed in adverbial clauses, including clauses of reason:

(562) S244
ēka ā y’=ā kas tāt –a yē na, kaft -ē ba ğāf -ǭ bē.
INF SUB DEM=SUB PERS want:IMPF -3s 3s NEG fall:PERF -3s on beach-the only
‘Obviously no one wanted this, [since] it was just left on the beach.’

9.4.2.1.5.3 Participles in complement clauses

Complement clauses make use of the participle’s subordination function:

(563) B931
dit mē ṭal bur tō gis -ī xustār -ī.
daughter 1s decided become:3sREAL 2s take:PERF -2s fiancé-ADVR
‘My daughter has decided that you be taken as a fiancé.’

9.4.2.1.6 Deverbs signalling subordination

Deverbs in Kumzari have a flexibility that enables them to designate their status as less active than that of a verb in an independent clause. In this function, deverbs appear in subordinate clauses of all kinds.

9.4.2.1.6.1 Deverbs in relative clauses

A deverb can be the indicator of the relative status of a clause:

(564) P94
pačaxčē -ē qafala pi indur, lēlām tk -in ba yē suq -ǭ.
chest –a locked from inside peddling do:IMPF -3p to 3s souq -the
‘A chest that was locked from the inside, they were peddling it in the souq.’

9.4.2.1.6.2 Deverbs in adverbial clauses

Adverbial clauses take advantage of the less-verblike qualities of deverbs:
9.4.2.1.6.3 Deverbs in complement clauses

Deverbs are found as subject or object expansions in complement clauses:

(566) R360
ātiš -ē jīr -iš, ātiš -ē āntē čō-ō ā, ātiš -ē labaqa.
fire -a see:REAL -3s fire -a there well -the SUB fire -a burning
‘He saw a fire, a fire that was there by the well, a burning fire.’

9.4.2.1.7 Conjunctions signalling subordination

Subordinating conjunctions occur clause-initially, and may combine with other strategies in subordinate clauses. Certain prepositions, such as pi ‘from’, ħata ‘until’, āxur ‘after’, wa ‘when’, and others, also serve as subordinating conjunctions (cf. Schachter 1985).

9.4.2.1.7.1 Subordinating conjunctions in relative clauses

The relativising morpheme ka found in many Western Iranian languages now occurs in Kumzari only in idiomatic connective phrases such as inēka ‘in this way’ and byō tā bār ka ‘it came about one time that’ and ambē ka ‘already’:

(567) S254
sā byō tā bār ka pis šēx walēy-ō ču xāna.
now it.came.about one time that son sheikh country -the go:3sIMPF marriage
‘Now it came about one time that the son of the sheikh of the country was to be married.’

(568) G741
ambē ka guryid, xinnō gidiš.
already that cry:3sREAL wailing -the do:3sREAL
‘He had cried already, [now] he wailed!’

The role of ka as a relativiser has been replaced by the clause-final particle na. Details on the relativiser na are in §9.4.2.2.2.

9.4.2.1.7.2 Subordinating conjunctions in adverbial clauses

A preposition in its subordinating conjunction role may be the head of an adverbial clause. The following two examples have prepositions ħata ‘until’ and āxur ‘after’ serving as adverbialisers in subordinated clauses:

(569) G142
ḥata tay wā=bašla ā gōsin-an txōr-in.
until come:3sIMPF -ward=up SUB goat -PL eat:IMPF-3p
‘The goats were eating until he came up.’
A Grammar of Kumzari

9.4.2.1.7.3 Subordinating conjunctions in complement clauses

Prepositions can likewise function as complementisers in subordinated clauses:

(571) S357

pí giya āmad, dām na.
from where come:3sREAL know:1sIMPF NEG

‘I don’t know where she came from.’

The conditional conjunction ka can equally function as a complementiser:

(572) N20

šwāl mām xō gid-iš ka jilbē yē čišt-ē.
question mother REFL do:REAL-3s if/when scarf 3s wash:PERF-3s

‘She asked her mother whether she had washed her scarf.’

9.4.2.2 Relative clauses

A relative clause, which describes the referent of a head noun (Comrie 1989:143), is recognised in Kumzari by three strategies: a relative pronoun ar, a relative particle na, and a gapped relative clause with nominalised verb form. A fourth strategy, employing a prepositional phrase, is used to relativise an argument.

9.4.2.2.1 The relative pronoun ar

The basic strategy for forming relative clauses in Kumzari is the use of the clause-initial relative pronoun ar. The relative pronoun has two allomorphs: /ar/ replaces an argument and may thus properly be called a complementiser, while /a/ “delimits the reference of a noun phrase” (Andrews 2007:206), occurring post-nominally. As for syntactic distinctions, within a complement ar precedes the main clause and as a non-complement relative clause it follows the main clause. When it is not part of a complement clause, the relative pronoun is externally headed, being coreferential to its head in the matrix clause (as in the first two examples below, the heads of the relative clauses are šū yē and surxan, respectively). An ar relative clause within a complement clause is internally headed (Comrie 1989:146), being self-referential (as in the third and fourth examples below, the heads of both relative clauses are ar).

(573) P1044

šū yē šwānd-iš, a kardīd-iš yē żēr pi qiṣr-ō.
husband 3s hear:REAL-3s that/which/who drop:REAL-3s 3s down from palace -the

‘She listened to her husband, the one who had thrown her down from the palace.’

(574) P511

sā širx-an wā yē a żank-ō wād-iš.
own gold -PL with 3s that/which/who woman -the bring:REAL-3s

‘Now, she had gold, that which the woman had brought.’
(575) K322

Kumzari also uses a relative particle *na* to encode relative constructions, giving additional information about the head. The relative particle *na* occurs clause-finally, but when the relative clause is embedded in a complement clause, the relative particle *na* takes penultimate position in the clause, followed by and fused with the subordinator *ā* to form *nā*:

(576) U213

In this case, it is often a correlative strategy, in which the antecedent noun phrase is repeated rather than reduced:

(577) A641

Like Arabic, Kumzari has verbless relative clauses. Instead of a finite verb, a relative clause may comprise an existential enclitic, an adjective or deverb, or a participial verb. The relative particle *na* is particularly favourable in such cases of relative clauses with implied predicates:

(578) B945

(579) S51

‘Bring a big raft, that is a big, wooden one, and make me a house inside it.’
A frequently-occurring extension of the role of *na* in clause combination is in discourse as a topicaliser, making a subject from the object of the previous sentence:

(580) A695

\begin{align*}
\text{ḥafara} & \text{ gambil-} ë \text{ tk-} a & ë, & \text{sō} & \text{ yē} \text{ inda} \text{ yē}.
\end{align*}

\text{digging} \quad \text{hole} -a \quad \text{do:IMPF-}3s \quad \text{SUB} \quad \text{put:}3s\text{IMPF} \quad 3s \quad \text{in} \quad 3s

\text{yā} \quad \text{na}, \quad \text{naqala} \quad \text{wābur!}

\text{DEM} \quad \text{of.which} \quad \text{disappearing} \quad \text{become:}3s\text{REAL}

‘Digging a hole, he puts [the gold] in it. \textbf{This [gold]}, it disappeared!’

9.4.2.2.3 Gapped relative clauses

Cross-linguistically, nominalised and participial verbs are a very common feature of relative clauses, especially in languages with abundant verbal morphology (Payne 1999:294). Instead of using an overt relative marker, relative clauses in Kumzari may use a gap strategy of a nominalised verb in the form of a deverb or perfect participle. The following two examples are gapped relative clauses using the deverbs *ḥaraqa* and *qafal*:

(581) P1099

\begin{align*}
\text{xəṭṭ-} ë & \text{āma} \quad \text{ba} \text{ mē}, \quad \text{law} \quad \text{yē} \quad \text{ḥaraqa}. \\
\text{message} -a & \text{do:}3s \text{ to} \quad \text{1s} \quad \text{edge} \quad \text{3s} \quad \text{sealed.with.wax}
\end{align*}

‘A message came to me, \textbf{[of which]} its edge was \textbf{sealed with wax}.’

(582) S57

\begin{align*}
\text{xānağ-} ë & \text{kin} \quad \text{ba} \text{ mē} \quad \text{inda} \quad \text{yē}, \quad \text{qafala} \quad \text{pi} \quad \text{wā=} \text{indur}, \\
\text{house} -a & \text{do:}2s\text{IMPER} \quad \text{for} \quad \text{1s} \quad \text{inside} \quad \text{3s} \quad \text{locking} \quad \text{from} \quad -\text{ward=inside}
\end{align*}

\text{āw} \quad \text{byāt} \quad \text{na} \quad \text{inda} \quad \text{yē} \quad \text{na}.

\text{water} \quad \text{come:}3s\text{IRR} \quad \text{NEG} \quad \text{inside} \quad \text{3s} \quad \text{NEG}

‘Make a house for me inside it, \textbf{[that]} locks from the inside, [so that] water does not go in it.’

This relative clause uses a perfect-participial form of the verb, without a relativiser:

(583) A570

\begin{align*}
\text{sā} & \text{ őjuż-} ë \quad \text{y’}=ā, \quad \text{āmas-} ë \quad \text{pī-an} \quad \text{jōr-} a \quad ë, \\
\text{now} \quad \text{old.person} \quad \text{-the} \quad \text{DEM=SUB} \quad \text{come:PERF-}3s \quad \text{fat-PL} \quad \text{look for:IRR-}3s \quad \text{SUB}
\end{align*}

\text{ra} \quad \text{barra} \quad ë, \quad \text{ahma} \quad \text{tka} \quad \text{maltaqā} \quad \text{yē} \quad \text{wābur}

\text{go:}3s \quad \text{outside} \quad \text{SUB} \quad \text{Ahmad-Does-It} \quad \text{face-to-face.meeting} \quad 3s \quad \text{become:}3s\text{REAL}

\text{ba} \quad \text{kāra} \quad \text{dar-} ë. \quad \text{at} \quad \text{entryway doo} \quad \text{-the}

‘Now, that old person, \textbf{[who was] coming} to look for some fat, went outside, came face to face with Ahmad Tka at the entryway of the door.’

9.4.2.2.4 Prepositional phrases

Arguments employ prepositional phrases as a relativisation strategy:
Chapter 9 - Clause

9.4.2.5 Embedded relative clauses

A relative clause can be a complementation strategy (Dixon & Aikhenvald 2006:6, 35); in Kumzari a relative clause can function as both subject complement, as in the first example below, and object complement, as in the second example below. A relative clause serving as an object complement (as in S454* below) needs a resumptive pronoun to replace it in its usual position in the matrix clause; a subject complement (as in B1051* below) does not need a resumptive pronoun because the relative pronoun *ar fulfills this function. Because these relative clauses are embedded in complement clauses, they must take the subordinator *ā.

(584) P530
fān yē ba rōk-ō, pi raft-ē ḥijj.
send:2sIMPER 3s to boy—the from go:PERF-3s hajj.pilgrimage
‘Send it to the boy, who has gone on the Hajj pilgrimage.’

(585) U176
ēka ā yā-an ā, pi drāz=in ā,... ḍaby-an. ṣāzalē-ē.
INF SUB DEM-PL SUB from long=EX:3p SUB oryx-PL gazelle-a
‘You know these ones which, that are long [antlers]... oryxes. A gazelle.’

The particular use of the preposition *pi ‘from’ as a relativiser bears a resemblance to the endemic use of a relativiser *bū (in place of illi) in Arabic dialects of northern Oman (see Eades 2009:91).

9.4.2.2.5 Embedded relative clauses

A relative clause can be a complementation strategy (Dixon & Aikhenvald 2006:6, 35); in Kumzari a relative clause can function as both subject complement, as in the first example below, and object complement, as in the second example below. A relative clause serving as an object complement (as in S454* below) needs a resumptive pronoun to replace it in its usual position in the matrix clause; a subject complement (as in B1051* below) does not need a resumptive pronoun because the relative pronoun *ar fulfills this function. Because these relative clauses are embedded in complement clauses, they must take the subordinator *ā.

(586) B1051 (relative clause embedded in subject complement)
ar čō ba yā tēra-ō ā, sō yē na!
that/which/who go:3s on this path SUB put:3sIMPF 3s NEG
‘Whoever goes by this path doesn’t survive!’

(587) S454 (relative clause embedded in object complement)
ṭāraf adliyē-ō kaft-ē āntē pana šēx-ō ā,
side gown-the fall:PERF-3s there beside sheikh-the SUB
xabaqa yē gid-iš ba mqaṣṣ-ō.
piercing 3s do:REAL-3s with scissors-the
‘The side of the gown that had fallen there beside the sheikh, he pierced it with the scissors.’

9.4.2.3 Clause chains

A clause chain is a set of clauses in which the verb of the first or last clause is inflected, while verbs of medial clauses in the chain are “less finite than the verbs in independent clauses of the language, lacking the marking of one or more tense-aspect-modality operators” (Dooley 2010a:4). Since medial verbs may consist of a simple root and are neutral with respect to verbal categories, they “receive their finite feature designations from the final verb” (Watters 2002:323). The fully-inflected verb of the initial or final clause thus stands for the morphology of all chain-medial verbs.
The pattern of Kumzari clause chains is two or more clauses with truncated verbs\(^{92}\) and the subordinating enclitic, followed by a final, independent clause with a fully inflected verb (or alternatively with the sensory evidential *tamna*\(^{93}\)). The clauses have the same subject unless otherwise explicitly specified, and are linked by semantics or sequence of action.

Cross-linguistically, there is typically a strong semantic affiliation between subordination and chaining. This closeness is apparent in Kumzari morphosyntax, as chaining uses the same subordinating enclitic as other subordinated clauses, but without subordinating conjunctions, instead morphologically demoting medial verbs. Thompson, Longacre, & Hwang note that “both chaining and juxtaposition may occur in some languages to signal clause relationships which other languages use subordination for.” (Thompson, Longacre, & Hwang 2007:242)

In chaining structures, it is recognised that syntactic ordination of clauses is gradient rather than binary (Givón 2001b:327-328). Cosubordination may be called a midway point on the scale, and it is different from both embedding (subordination) and juxtaposition (coordination) (Haspelmath 1985:20-27). In clause chains, medial verbs are cosubordinate; they are “syntactically and semantically dependent on a main clause, but are not syntactically or semantically a part of that clause” (Terrill 2004:440). The term cosubordination is used to describe such chain-medial clauses that, unlike subordinated clauses, do not modify the main clause, yet can neither stand alone as can coordinated clauses (van Valin & LaPolla 1997).

Along with clause chains in Kumzari, in colloquial Persian and most other languages of western Iran there are long lists of serial-like verbs which form a syntactic unit and usually do not have overt coordination (Stilo 2004:294,296). Instead, these juxtaposed clauses are linked by ‘sustained’ (comma) intonation, different from that of coordinated clauses (Stilo 2004:277,294). It is not yet known whether lists in these languages also have truncated verbs with reduced morphology.

In Kumzari clause chains, medial clauses are subordinated with the enclitic =ā, and verbs show truncated marking of verbal categories, which are instead marked on a final finite verb for the whole chain. In the following clause chain from the tale *Bāǧ al-Mōwţ*, medial clauses with shortened verb forms (*ka* ‘do’, *sō* ‘put’) are cosubordinated to the final clause, which contains the fully inflected Imperfect verbs *tka* ‘do’ and *tāra* ‘bring.’

In the glossed summary of the clause chain structure immediately below, medial verbs in the chain are italicised and final verbs with complete finite marking are in boldface font; the subordinating enclitic is marked with a <:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>clause chain structure B422</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘When he comes &lt;, he will bring a cauldron, you know the kind of big cauldron with chains on it &lt;, he will put it over the fire pit &lt;, he will fill it with water, he will ignite it [a fire] with kerosene, put kerosene on the firewood &lt;, and he will put logs under it &lt;, it will <strong>foam</strong>, the water on it will be white like this &lt;, and he will <strong>bring</strong> a drum for himself.’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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\(^{92}\) See §4.3.5.

\(^{93}\) Evidentials may take the place of verbs (see chapter 7).
When he comes, he will bring a cauldron, you know the kind of big cauldron with chains on it,

he will put it over the fire pit, he will fill it with water,

he will ignite it [a fire] with kerosene, put kerosene on the firewood,

and he will put logs under it,

and he will bring a drum for himself."

Semantically, clause chains bring together discrete but related actions within a single event. The following clause chain, in the tale *Abūyi salaḥnī, Ummī rakabnī*, describes a boy acting out desert survival:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>clause chain structure U218</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘He cut the gazelle’s throat with a sharp stone, and he slit it apart, and he struck a spark on the horse’s hooves, and he drank water from the horse, [sweat] from the horse’s hair, he ate the gazelle, and he finished.’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘He cut its throat with a sharp stone,

and he slit it apart,

and he struck a spark on the horse’s hooves,
wa āw xwiš pi asp–ō ā,
and water drink:3sREAL from horse –the SUB
and he drank water from the horse,

pi mū asp–ō ā,
from hair horse –the SUB
from the horse’s hair,

ğazalē-ō xōd-üş, wa ṭiya wābur.
gazelle –the eat:REAL-3s and finished become:3sREAL
he ate the gazelle, and he finished.’

Since the clauses forming a chain comprise parts of a whole—a set of actions—clause chaining contributes to cohesion in Kumzari discourse.

Clause chains in Kumzari and other languages are frequently begun by anadiplosis. The second half of the anadiplosis reveals itself as the orientational initial clause in the chain that contains background information, “by repeating the final clause of the preceding sentence, it is presupposed” (Dooley 2010a:4). In restricting the information to that which is already known, anadiplosis in a clause chain serves “to limit the applicability of the main predication to a certain restricted domain” (Chafe 1976:50).

In clause chaining examples cited by Dooley (2010a:4), an initial clause is dependent and contains background, repeated information, similar to the repeated clause with the subordinator ā in Kumzari anadiplosis. This verges into one or more dependent (medial) clauses containing foreground information, which are followed by a final independent clause in the foreground, marking verbal categories for all verbs in the chain. The pattern is exhibited in the following clause chain in the tale Rōran Šēxō, which describes a boy catching some thieves. The clause chain is initiated by anadiplosis, with the presupposed background information ‘he took a place for himself’, and ends with the foreground information of the thief going to the treasury gate and the boy killing him:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>clause chain structure R462</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘He took a place for himself &lt;, (now in this way he could strike with the what's-it-called, he could strike with the sword, killing them &lt;), he took a place for himself &lt;, he took the gold and things and what's-it-calleds out of his way &lt;, he finished, it was heard &lt;, “OK, come!”), he [a thief] went to the gate &lt;, he went to the gate &lt;, he went [in to where the boy was]. He cut off his head with the sword!”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(590) R462
jāga gid –iš ba xō ā,
place take:REAL-3s for REFL SUB
‘He took a place for himself,
inča sā ḫīn–ō bžēn –a, šamšīr –ō bžēn –a, kš –a šan ā,
like this now what’s-it-called –the hit-3s sword –the hit-3s kill-3s 3p SUB
(now in this way he could strike with the what's-it-called, he could strike with the sword, killing them)

94 see §12.6 on the function of anadiplosis in discourse.
jāga g -iš ba xō ā,  
place take -3s for REFL SUB  
he took a place for himself,

axča mēnu g -iš pi xō ā. kār wa īn…  
gold move.aside take -3s from REFL SUB thing and what’s-it-called  
he took the gold and things and what’s-it-calleds out of his way,

xālaṣ wābu tamna ā. hē, byō.  
finished become SENS SUB yes come:2sIMPER  
he finished, it was heard, “OK, come!”;

yē ra ba kāra -ō ā. ra ba kāra –ō ā. raft.  
3s go to gate – the SUB go to gate – the SUB go:3sREAL  
he [a thief] went to the gate, he went to the gate, he went [in to where the boy was].

qaṣṣa sar yē kin ba šamšīr –ō.  
cutting head 3s do:MIR with sword – the  
He cut off his head with the sword!

In chains, consecutive cosubordinate clauses put focus on the whole action sequence and direct attention to the outcome of the final clause. Pragmatically, the listener must continue until the end of the chain to find out what happened; non-final intonation is an additional signal that the medial clauses are part of a logical sequence.

Although not technically clause chains, embedded poems exhibit features similar to chains, suggesting that ordination of verbs and clauses is a broad trend in the language (see §11.3.1 and Givón 2001b:355). Phrases or clauses that make up the LIST section of the poem tend to be verbless (preferring existential or possessive constructions) or to contain Irrealis verbs. Emphasis on action in the poem is then allocated to the finite verb(s) within the final part of the FRAME. The first part of the FRAME, as well as the LIST, is also likely to contain one or more subordinators, and the embedded poem is often begun or directly preceded by anadiplosis. The following embedded poem is given below as an example of the chain-like structures encountered in them (anadiplosis preceding the poem is included in this example):

(591) S82  
xālaṣ tō’at ā,  
finished become:3sIRR SUB  
‘When it is finished,’

bō kard mē dirya –ō.  
go:2sIMPER plunge:2sIMPER 1s sea – the  
‘go and plunge me into the sea.’

kard -ī mē dirya -ō ā,  
plunge:IRR -2s 1s sea – the SUB  
‘Plunging me into the sea.’

bar mē ba mōmur, wākiš mē.  
carry:2sIMPER 1s to (island name) release:2sIMPER 1s  
‘carry me to Momur Island, [there] release me.’
ar jāga b -um  
any place go:IMPER -1s  
‘I shall go anywhere.’

**Table 52. Chain-like structures in an embedded poem**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rhetorical Structure of Poem S82 (daughter goes on the raft)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>When it is finished SUB,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go and plunge me into the sea.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plunging me into the sea SUB,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>carry me to Momur Island, [there] release me.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{place} should I go.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>should I die in {place} SUB,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>should I become in {place}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>should I go {place},</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>should I go {place},</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>should I go {place},</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

murd -um ka wābur -um inda sōntī -ō yā ā,  
die:REAL -1s if become:REAL -1s in raft – the DEM SUB  
‘If I should die on that raft,’

inda ḥamya bur –um,  
in beached become:IRR -1s  
‘should I become beached.’

wa ra’-um wā= bāla,  
and go:IRR -1s at/ward= up  
‘and should I go up,’

ra’ -um mağrab,  
go:IRR -1s west  
‘should I go west,’

ra’ -um mašraq,  
go:IRR -1s east  
‘should I go east,’

ana yā tk -ī ba mē ā,  
if DEM do:IMPF -2s for 1s SUB  
‘if you do these things for me,’

balkē mān –um zindağ,  
perhaps stay:IRR -1s alive  
‘perhaps I will stay alive.’

wa ana tēl –ī mē jāga mē inda wālēyīt –ō ā,  
and if leave:IMPF -2s 1s place 1s in country – the SUB  
‘And if you make me [stay] where I am [this] country,’
	
tumr –um.  
die:IMPF -1s  
‘I will die.’
if you do these things for me SUB, perhaps I will stay alive. And if you make me [stay] where I am (lit. ‘let me my-place’) \{place\} in \{place\}, I will die.

It is apparent from the examination of clause chains that clause ordination is not binary. Kumzari takes its place among languages that exhibit longer clause-combining structures signalling coherence in the context of discourse.

9.4.2.4 Adverbial clauses

Thompson, Longacre, & Hwang note that there is a difference cross-linguistically in types of adverbial subordinated clauses, between those that can be substituted by a single word and those which cannot (Shopen 2007:243). This distinction is useful in the analysis of Kumzari adverbials, since in the first group, clauses usually need either a conjunction or a preposition in addition to the subordinator, and in the second group, only the subordinator is generally required. An exception to this generalisation is conditionals, which we have discussed.

Adverbials encompass a range of semantic roles, including, but not limited to, the following:

9.4.2.4.1 Time clauses

(592) P165
wa ĝurbit-ō ā zank-ō raf xā indaraģ-an xō.
if/when sunset-the SUB woman-the go:3sREAL house neighbour–PL REFL
‘When it was sunset, the woman went to her neighbours’ house.’

(593) S272
sā wa ṭabil-an ʂnuft-iš ā, dar-ō wākid-iš.
now if/when drum-PL hear:REAL-3s SUB door-open:REAL-3s
‘Now when she heard the drums, she opened the door.’

9.4.2.4.2 Location clauses

(594) B1031
inda qiṣr-ō ā, sā mardk-ō pā yē drāz.
in palace-the SUB now man-the leg 3s stretched.out
‘In the palace, now, the man, his legs were stretched out.’

9.4.2.4.3 Purpose clauses

(595) S125
tāt-um tō hajrit-ē kin inda yē ā, ba ditk-ō y’=ā,
want:IMPF-1s 2s room-a do:2sIMPER in 3s SUB for girl-the DEM=SUB
nwāẓ tk-a inda yē ā, txwā-ā inda yē ā,
praying do:IMPF-3s in 3s SUB sleep:IMPF-3s in 3s SUB
‘I want you to make a room in it, for this girl, so that she prays in it, so that she sleeps in it…’

9.4.2.4.4 Reason clauses
A Grammar of Kumzari

9.4.2.4.5 Circumstantial clauses

(597) B647
jōr-iñ ſan ă, axara būr-in pi ſan.
search:IMPF-3p SUB delayed become:REAL-3p from 3p
‘By searching for them, they were delayed by them.’

9.4.2.4.6 Simultaneous clauses

(598) S350
wa xwaft-ī ă, ditk-ē āmad.
if/when sleep:PERF-2s SUB girl-a come:3sREAL
‘While you were asleep, a girl came.’

9.4.2.4.7 Additive clauses

(599) S31
č-um na ă xāna na ă, tany-um na ēwō na.
go:IMPF-1s NEG SUB marriage NEG SUB stay:IMPF-1s NEG here NEG
‘Not only am I not going to marry; I am not staying here either.’

9.4.2.4.8 Conditional clauses

Kumzari has several ways of expressing conditionality, both real and unreal, and including present, habitual, hypothetical and predictive, as well as counterfactual. Much of the semantics of conditionals depends on which verb forms are used with them, rather than having a direct or exact correspondence with other systems.

All of these subordinating conjunctions are clause-initial, and generally must take the clause-final subordinating enclitic ā. Similarly to the negative particle in Kumzari, the subordinator ā must be marked on each complement. In the same category as ā is another clause-final subordinator bēw, used much less often but having semantics of sequentiality and certainty, such as ‘having done so’; thus it cannot be used with the unreality conditionals.

9.4.2.4.8.1 Clauses with wa ‘if/when’

The conditional of reality is wa. It is clause-initial, and occurs on the subordinated clause It is the most common subordinating conjunction of conditionality, and it is also a subordinating conjunction of temporal adverbial clauses on noun phrases:

(600) B54
wa bang-ō ā, yak-ē mālāḷā āmad ba kāra-ō.
if/when dusk-the SUB one–a beggar come:3sREAL to gate-the
‘When it was dusk, one beggar came to the gate.’

With an imperfect verb, wa refers to generic reality conditions:

(596) P608
ẓank-ō yak mā sō ă, xwaš wābur.
woman-the one month survive:3sIRR SUB well become:3sREAL
‘The woman, surviving one month, became well.’
9.4.2.4.8.2 Clauses with *wana* ‘if/when’

With a realis verb, the subordinating conjunction *wana* can denote either reality conditional of past situations, or predictive (this is linked to the fact that the realis verb form signifies epistemic certainty rather than temporal notions):

(607) N17

*wana* šnuft-iš tō ā, tikš-a tō.

if/when hear:REAL-3s 2s SUB kill:IMPF-3s 2s

‘If he heard you, he will kill you.’

With an imperfect verb, *wana* is predictive:
With an irrealis verb, *wana* is hypothetical:

(609) B124

\[
\text{mā } \text{wana } \text{šū } \text{mā aft-ta } \text{rōr } \text{wā } \text{yē } \text{ā, yak-ë } \text{cōt,}
\]

\[
\text{1p if/when husband 1p seven-COUNT child with 3s SUB one – a go:3sIRR}
\]

\[
\text{šaš kas wā yē.}
\]

\[
\text{six PERS with 3s}
\]

‘As for us, if our husband had seven children, and one left, he would [still] have six.’

The same conjunction *wana*, when used without its clause-final subordinating counterpart *ā*, denotes a threat:

(610) R124

\[
\text{ād } \text{ba } \text{mē ayya } \text{zāmē } \text{xōr-ë, } \text{šamšir-ë } \text{wana tukš-um } \text{tō.}
\]

\[
\text{give:2sIMPER to 1s quickly immediately donkey-a sword-a if/when kill:IMPF-1s 2s}
\]

‘Quickly! Immediately give me a donkey [and] a sword, or else I’ll kill you.’

Both clauses in a threat may take the conjunction *wana*, signalling a condition:

(611) S791

\[
\text{wana } \text{dar-ō } \text{wākiš, } \text{wana } \text{nwāẓ } \text{nijjar-an } \text{tār-um.}
\]

\[
\text{if/when door-the open:2sIMPER if/when tomorrow boatbuilder-PL bring:IMPF-1s}
\]

‘Either you open the door, or else I will bring the boatbuilders.’

9.4.2.4.8.3 Clauses with *ka* ‘if/when’

Contrasting with *wa* is the conditional of unreality notions *ka*. *Ka* can be used for hypothetical (with imperfect or irrealis verbs), or predictive (with realis verbs). No matter which verb form is paired with it, *ka* carries the connotation of a promise, suggestion, or plan.

(612) P1036

\[
\text{ka } \text{sā } \text{ādam-ë } \text{dgur } \text{jāga } \text{mē } \text{ā, qaṣṣa } \text{sar } \text{tō } \text{tk-a.}
\]

\[
\text{if/when now person-a other place 1s SUB cutting head 2s do:IMPF-3s}
\]

‘Were another person in my place now, he would cut off your head.’

(613) U110

\[
\text{ka } \text{sō’-um } \text{tō } \text{rē’in } \text{inda } \text{asp-ë } \text{ā, } \text{ḥata } \text{asp-ō } \text{byār-um,}
\]

\[
\text{if/when put:IMPF-1s 2s bond in horse-a SUB so.that horse-the bring:IRR-1s}
\]

\[
\text{āxur } \text{dug-um } \text{tō.}
\]

\[
\text{after take:IMPF-1s 2s}
\]

‘If I were to put you up as collateral for a horse, so that [when] I brought the horse back, afterward I would get you.’
(614) U280

\( \text{ka} \)  čwānid-\( \text{iš} \)  bā  tō  ba  sālfīt  ā,  yē  dug-\( \text{ī} \)  ţēnī  na.

\( \text{If} \) she overcomes you with a riddle, you will not marry her.

Similar to the \( \text{wa} \) without \( ā \) meaning 'whether', the discourse marker of listing parallelism \( \text{ka} \) probably has its origins in the conditional \( \text{ka} \) without \( ā \):

(615) G765

\( \text{sā} \)  mā  yā  ǧēla-an  dī-\( \text{im} \)  ba  tō.  \( \text{ka} \)  āẓār  man-an

\( \text{if/when} \) be:REAL-\( \text{3s} \) against \( \text{2s} \) of riddle \( \text{SUB} \) \( \text{3s} \) take:IMPF-\( \text{2s} \) as\( \text{a} \) wife \( \text{NEG} \)

\( \text{If} \) she overcomes you with a riddle, you will not marry her.

9.4.2.4.8.4  Clauses with \( \text{kana} \) ‘otherwise’

The counterfactual unreality conditional is \( \text{kana} \). This example shows the contrast of \( \text{kana} \) with the unreality conditional \( \text{ka} \):

(616) R1256

\( \text{ka} \)  č-\( \text{um} \)  ţēran  čō-\( \text{o} \)  ā,  ar  šaš  kas-an  šmā  ma’r=\( \text{c} \),

\( \text{if/when} \) go:IMPF-\( \text{1s} \) down well \( \text{the SUB each six} \) PERS- \( \text{PL} \) 2p tattoo =EX: \( \text{2p} \)

\( \text{If} \) I go down the well, all six of you must get tattooed; I will brand tattoos on your bottoms. And \text{otherwise}, I will not go.’

In this example, \( \text{kana} \) contrasts with the reality conditional \( \text{wa} \):

(617) R902

\( \text{wa} \)  jinjāwir  ā,  ar  sbū’-\( \text{ē} \)  čō  ţēran  wālēyit

\( \text{if/when} \) master.sorcerer TOP each \( \text{week} \) \( \text{a} \) go:3sIMPF down \( \text{country} \)

\( \text{If} \) the master sorcerer goes down to the sheikh’s country every week, he eats a girl. \text{Otherwise} [\( \text{if he doesn’t} \)], the water is cut off at the water channel.’

Without the clause-final subordinator \( ā \), \( \text{kana} \) is the substitutive disjunction 'instead' or 'rather' (Thompson, Longacre, & Hwang 2007:263):
204 A Grammar of Kumzari

(618) K460
dō'-um ba tō čō-ē palla āw. wa šabahā tō'-um
give:IMPF-1s to 2s well—a full of water if/when waking.in.the.morning become:IMPF-1s

ā, kana yā čō-ō šārar, iš inđa yē āw na.
SUB instead DEM well—the dry any in 3s water NEG
‘I will give you a well full of water; when I wake up in the morning, instead this well [must be] dry, without any water in it.’

9.4.2.4.8.5 Clauses with midam ‘otherwise’

Another counterfactual is midam ‘on the other hand’ or ‘otherwise’:

(619) B737
ana xāyar-ē bālag fatta tō fānd-um yē ba tō ā,
if/when melon -a ripe succulent become:3sIMPF send:REAL-1s 3s to 2s SUB

yē mē xāna tāt-um. wa midam xāyar-ē xālal,
3s 1s marriage want:IMPF-1s and otherwise melon-a unripe

ḥasa xāna tāt-um na
still marriage want:IMPF-1s NEG
‘If I sent you a ripened, juicy green melon, it would mean that I wanted to marry. And if on the other hand [I sent you] an unripe melon, I still do not want to marry.’

9.4.2.4.8.6 Clauses with ana ‘if’

The hypothetical conjunction ana is used the same way as other unreality conditionals but is restricted to hortative speech acts (Thompson, Longacre, & Hwang 2007:267), such as those with conditional commands and general requests. Often it is the case that the verb in the matrix clause is an imperative, but not necessarily.

(620) S391
wa wād-iš wā xō yē, ana ḡaṭṭa tk-a bā
if/when bring:REAL-3s with REFL 3s if/when sound.sleeping do:IMPF-3s against

mē ā, āmad ā, mār mē k-ē, qaraṣa mē k-ē.
1s SUB come:3sREAL SUB awake 1s do:IMPER-2p pinching 1s do:IMPER-2p
‘When she comes along, if I fall fast asleep, when she comes, wake me up, pinch me.’

(621) S41
ana ē-um xāna ba rōr āmō xō, tumr-um.
if/when go:IMPF-1s marriage to child uncle REFL die:IMPF-1s
‘If I marry my uncle’s son, I will die.’ (this is followed by the girl’s request that instead of marrying she be put aboard a raft…)

Without the subordinator ā, ana signals a polite request:

(622) P693
ana sayy kūš xō? dār-iš ba yē.
if/when lift:2sIMPF lap REFL give:REAL-3s to 3s
‘Perhaps put it on your lap?’ He gave it to her.’
9.4.2.4.8.7 Clauses with *ida* ‘if ever’

The conditional *ida* is a remote hypothetical ‘if ever’ often used in threats:

(623) G935

\[
\text{ida \ ṭubbō \ mē \ murd, \ dīnyēʾē, \ lūmū}
\]

if.\,ever grandmother 1s \, die:3s\,REAL \, listen\,\,to\,\,what\,\,I\,\,am\,\,saying \, blaming

mē \, k-ē \, na!
1s \, do:IMPER-2p \, NEG
‘If my grandmother dies, listen to what I am saying: don’t blame me!’

9.4.2.4.8.8 Absolutive conditional clauses

Conditionality can be conveyed via juxtaposition, with only the subordinator *ā*:

(624) B119

\[
yāk-ē \, d-ē \, ba \, mē \, ā, \, mē \, tār-um \, ba \, šmā.
\]

one-a \, give:IMPER-2p \, to \, 1s \, SUB \, 1s \, bring:IMPF-1s \, to \, 2p
‘Give one to me, I will bring [the boys] to you.’

9.4.2.4.9 Absolutive clauses

Most adverbial clauses other than conditionals\(^{95}\) and temporals could be classed as absolutive clauses. That is, there are many clauses in Kumzari which are marked as subordinate with the morpheme *ā*, yet their relationship with the main clause is not otherwise made explicit lexically; it must be determined through inference:

(625) B778

\[
sā \, šan \, č-in \, ā, \, yē \, tāy \, ḥawṭ-ō.
\]

now \, 3p \, go:IMPF-3p \, SUB \, 3s \, come:3s\,IMPF \, orchard\,\,pool \, -the
‘Now upon their going, he would come to the orchard pool.’

(626) B141

\[
č-um \, pi \, šmā \, ā, \, wa \, barq-an \, wa \, bāram-an \, ā,
\]

go:IMPF-1s \, from \, 2p \, SUB \, if/when \, lightning-PL \, and \, rain-PL \, SUB

\[
tā-um \, ba \, šmā.
\]

come:IMPF-1s \, to \, 2p
‘[Although] I am leaving you, during the lightning and rains, I will come to you.’

In several languages conditionals, topics, and questions share the same morphology, and this can also extend to other categories like concession, reason, and time clauses. Thompson, Longacre, & Hwang offer the reasoning that these “can be presupposed parts of their sentences.” (Shopen 2007:292).

9.4.2.5 Complement clauses

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\(^{95}\) Even some conditionals are absolutive; they have the subordinator and conditional semantics despite their lack of a conditional conjunction (see §9.4.2.4.8).
A complement clause functions as the core argument of a clause (Dixon & Aikhenvald 2006:4). A complement is known as an argument of a predicate (Noonan 2007:52) and a sentential replacement of a subject or object (Longacre 2007:374). In consideration of more precise definitions of complementation (Dixon & Aikenvald 2006:7, 15), it is essential to further distinguish between complement clauses and complementation strategies; the latter are not core arguments of the matrix verb in a clause, yet describe a proposition and are functionally equivalent alternatives to noun phrases. Kumzari has four types of complement clause, and four complementation strategies.

Kumzari allows subject, object, and oblique complements. Like adverbial clauses, complement clauses have the subordinator ā and may take a diminished or nominalised verb form, such as irrealis, the perfect participle, a deverb, or reduced tense-aspect-mood-mirativity marking. Negation of complement clauses applies and is marked on both the matrix verb and the entire complement clause, and rather than on the verb itself that is within the complement.

9.4.2.5.1 Syntactic roles of complements

9.4.2.5.1.1 Subject complements

A complement can be the subject argument of the verb:

(627) G167
mukē ġēlā-an gis-ē ā yumkin byāt pi sa ħata nwāšam.
whoever wheat-PL take:PERF-3s SUB perhaps:3sIRR from now until evening
‘Whoever has taken the wheat shall perhaps come between now and evening.’

9.4.2.5.1.2 Object complements

A complement clause can fill the object slot in a sentence:

(628) B19
tāt-a rōr-an biyār-a.
want:IMPF-3s child-PL bring:IRR-3s
‘He wanted to beget children.’

9.4.2.5.1.3 Oblique complements

An oblique argument may take the form of a complement clause (Dixon & Aikhenvald 2006:10). In Kumzari this often involves the prepositions pi and ba. A resumptive pronoun is required to replace the oblique in its usual position in the matrix clause.

(629) U30
ar tāy wālēyit-ō ā, čāẓ tk-in ba yē.
of.which come:3sIMPF city-the SUB lunch do:IMPF-3p for 3s
‘Anyone who came to the city, they would make lunch for them.’

9.4.2.5.2 Complement clause types

9.4.2.5.2.1 The subordinator ā: a conjunction of complementation
The subordinator distinguishes complement clauses (first example below) from noun phrase arguments of the verb (second example below):

(630) U515
nwāẓ miċē āt-im ā, tambār-im.
tomorrow whatever want:IMPF-1p SUB carry off:IMPF-1p  
‘Tomorrow let’s carry away whatever we want.’

(631) N21
nwāẓ jāmal-an tambār-im.
tomorrow camel-PL carry off:IMPF-1p  
‘Tomorrow let’s carry away camels.’

Like the subordinator in other contexts, in complement clauses ā must be marked on each complement of the verb:

(632) P112
yak-ē pi ahla šan ā, ya’nī pi walēyit yē ā,
one-a from relatives 3p SUB that.is.to.say from country 3s SUB  
tay pi kwēt.  
come:3sIMPF from Kuwait  
‘Someone who was from his family, that is to say, from his country, was coming from Kuwait.’

Because it occurs in clause-final position and is a conjunction of general subordination, the subordinator ā is not the exclusive marker of complementation.

9.4.2.5.2.2 ar complement clauses

A clause employing the relative pronoun ar as a complementiser designates a relative clause embedded in a complement clause. In this case, syntactic, morphemic, and phonological factors distinguish it from the relative clause: the ar clause generally precedes the matrix clause, the complement clause takes the subordinator ā clause-finally, and the complementiser’s realisation is /ar/ rather than /a/. The following is a diagram representing a relative clause with the relative pronoun ar as its head embedded in a complement clause:

(633) P563
ar čō arafāt ā, lakin radda wābur.
of.which go:3s Arafat SUB instead returning become:3sREAL  
relative pronoun ←relative clause→ subordinator ←------------matrix clause------------→  
←-----------------complement clause-----------------→ ←------------matrix clause------------→  
‘The one who was going to Arafat instead returned.’

The ar relative pronoun is explained in further detail in §9.4.2.2.1.

9.4.2.5.2.3 inna complement clauses

In Kumzari there is a word from Arabic inna, which acts as a complementiser used specifically for oaths. What follows inna is a complement clause consisting of the terms of the oath:
‘Now they believed the oath that he had a wife was true.’

It can also be spoken as a pronouncement of the oath itself (cf. Dixon & Aikhenvald 2006:29):

‘He tattooed them. “By this oath I declare that you are my slaves.”’

9.4.2.5.2.4 Deverb complement clauses

Deverbs are a distinct constituent in Kumzari, although their origins in Semitic roots are transparent. Morphosyntactically they share properties of verbs, nouns, and adjectives. More information on this part of speech is given in §4.1. For the current discussion, it is sufficient to say that in complement clauses, deverbs function as verbs, taking their own arguments with the same constituent structure as that of a clause. They occur in compound verbs with a ‘light verb’ in the matrix clause, light verbs being a closed class with only two members: gidīš ‘do’ and wābur ‘become’, with active-passive correlates. When it is in a compound verb with ka ‘do’, a deverb is transitive and can take its own object. When it is in a compound verb with bur ‘become’, a deverb is intransitive. TAMM is not marked on the deverb; rather, TAMM marking on the light verb covers the entire compound verb. Deverb complement clauses conform to clause-internal syntactic rules of verbs and objects: an object in the form of a full noun phrase always precedes its verb and an object in the form of a pronoun always follows its verb.

‘They appointed him sheikh.’ [lit. ‘They did appoint-as-sheikh him.’]

‘They appointed the boy sheikh.’ [lit. ‘They did appoint-as-sheikh the boy.’]

Deverbs may take the place of a noun phrase as an argument of a verb. In the following example, the matrix complement-taking verb is ‘do’, and the object is a complement clause lōḥ-ō šaraxa ‘chopping the wood.’ The position filled by a deverb complement clause is comparable to that filled by a noun phrase such as in the second example below xujm-ō ‘the work’:

‘They will chop the wood.’ [lit. ‘they will do chopping the wood.’]
9.4.2.5.2.5 Evidentials and complementation

Evidentials function as transitive verbs which require a complement clause or noun phrase. As effective complement-taking verbs, evidentials take the subordinator $\tilde{a}$ for their complementiser. According to Dixon (Dixon & Aikhenvald 2006:38), in some languages the complementiser forms part of the matrix clause rather than the complement clause, and this would explain the appearance in Kumzari of the subordinator on evidentials. In the example below, the complement clause of the sensory evidential tamna is mard-$\tilde{e}$ $\tilde{s}am$ txōra ‘a man was eating supper.’

\[(640)\] G398
\[\text{tamna} \tilde{a} \text{mard-$\tilde{e}$} \text{ $\tilde{s}am$ txōra.} \]
\[\text{SENS} \quad \text{SUB} \quad \text{man-} \quad -\text{a} \quad \text{supper eat:3sIMPF} \]
\[\text{‘He saw that a man was eating supper.’} \]

It is not uncommon cross-linguistically to find morphemes with verbal origins but without TAM marking “functioning as a complementizer for indirect quotation, cognition, and perception verbs” (Payne 1999:283): exactly the roles of the triad of evidentials in Kumzari. Considering that the Kumzari evidentials can be otherwise glossed as complement-taking verbs with complementisers (awa ‘they said that’, ēka ‘they thought/reasoned that’, and tamna ‘they saw/heard that’), it is not astonishing to find that evidentials take complement clauses (see chapter 7).

9.4.2.5.3 Complementation strategies

In addition to the complement clause types with dedicated grammatical structures already discussed, a number of ways of forming complements are to be found in Kumzari complex constructions. Some comprise a nominalised or diminished form of the verb: irrealis, perfect participles, and reduced tense-aspect-mood marking. Others are simply joined to the matrix clause without so much as a conjunction.

9.4.2.5.3.1 Irrealis verbs

Irrealis verbs may be used to replace a noun phrase as an argument:

\[(641)\] P439
\[\text{tāt-um} \text{ tō br-$\tilde{e}$ $\tilde{hi}$ijj.} \]
\[\text{want:IMPF-1s} \quad \text{2s go:IRR-2s Hajj:pilgrimage} \]
\[\text{‘I want you to go on the Hajj pilgrimage.’} \quad \text{[lit. ‘I want that-you-go …’]} \]

9.4.2.5.3.2 Participles

Complementation may use a perfect participial form of the verb:
A Grammar of Kumzari

(642) R422
tē mi š-um xēzina-ō wa ǧīs-ē.
see:IMPF-1s treasure-the if steal:PERF-1s
‘I will see whether the treasure is stolen.’

9.4.2.5.3.3 Reduced-TAMM verbs

Tense-aspect-mood-mirative marking may be omitted on a verb that is part of a complement clause:

(643) P916
ar čō pi tō, tār-a.
of.which go:3s from 2s come:IMPF-3s
‘Whatever leaves you comes back.’

9.4.2.5.3.4 Juxtaposition

Like many languages, Kumzari has one strategy for complementation that would seem to be a non-strategy: juxtaposition of the complement and the matrix clause without a conjunction or other overt signal of complementation. Occasionally these cases have to do with some technically verbless clauses, such as the copula or the wā ‘having’ preposition:

(644) S673
sā ahla yē gnūnus-in na yā ẓank-ō wā yē na.
now relatives 3s believe:PERF-3p NEG DEM woman-the with 3s NEG
‘Now, his relatives had not believed that this woman was with him.’

Often, however, there is juxtaposition of a complement with a full verb form:

(645) G231
jīr-īš yē daxl wābur gawd-ō.
see:REAL-3s 3s inside become:3sREAL cave-the
‘He saw [that] it went inside the cave.’

The juxtaposition strategy is particularly used for direct quotes with the verb ‘say’:

(646) U503
dgō-m ba tō ḥakama kin ēwō ā?
say:IMPF-1s to 2s ruling do:2sIMPER here INTERR
‘Am I to tell you [that] you must rule here?’ [lit.: ‘Shall I say to you “Rule here!”’?]
10 Negation

The negative particle in Kumzari is na. Normally it follows the constituent being negated.

10.1 Verb negation

10.1.1 Post-constituent negation

When the verb is negated, the negative particle follows the verb in every aspect, mood, and mirativity:

(647) G992
xānağ-ō y’=ā... qētil-ē. sā ḥubbō yē tumr-a na ā?
house –the DEM =SUB deadly-a now grandmother 3s die:IMPF-3s NEG INTERR
‘This house, it’s deadly. Now won’t his grandmother die?’

The following pair of examples contrasts positive and negative, from the same section of text:

(648) B275
bap-ō kōr wābur.
father –the blind become:3sREAL
‘The father became blind.’

(649) B281
mām-ō kōr bur na.
mother –the blind become:3sREAL NEG
‘The mother did not become blind.’

Arabic and Iranian languages have pre-constituent negation. Post-constituent negation occurs in Shihhi and in the South Arabian languages Mehri, Jibbali, Harsusi, Bathari, and Hobyot. Watson and Eades (2012:3) note that this word order has been suggested as an innovation in the South Arabian languages, and that it is “an issue of typological interest for research on grammaticalisation and negation.”

In Kumzari, the object is not negated when the verb is negated:

(650) S105
šū tāt-um na.
husband want:IMPF-1s NEG
‘I don’t want a husband.’

Even complex objects as full nouns (not pronouns) do not take the negative particle:

(651) R1388
mā brār xō jīr-im na.
1p brother REFL see:REAL-1p NEG
‘We didn’t see our brother.’
However, when the object is a pronoun and not a whole noun, it follows the verb, and the negative particle then follows the object pronoun as it is part of the verb phrase:

(652) P503
mēš-um  yē  na  wa  bass.
see:IMPER-1s  3s  NEG  and finished
‘May I not see him, ever.’

(653) P630
tēl-ī  mē  na!
leave:IMPF-2s  1s  NEG
‘You’re not leaving me!’

This is also the case with compound verbs. Preverbs are not negated; rather, compound verbs are treated as a whole, taking the negative particle once:

(654) R864
bard  gid-iš  yē  na.
stone  do:REAL-3s  3s  NEG
‘He didn’t turn him into stone.’

(655) S293
sā  ḥasa  ēnar  gis-in  na.
now  yet  henna  do:PERF-3p  NEG
‘Now they hadn’t put henna on yet.’

The following pair of examples contrasts negated clauses with a full noun object and a pronoun object, from the same section of text:

(656) S771
dar-ō  twākš-um  na.
door –the open:IMPF-1s  NEG
‘I will not open the door.’

(657) S775
twākš-um  yē  na.
open:IMPF-1s  3s  NEG
‘I will not open it.’

This rule includes relative and interrogative pronouns:

(658) A281
bağa  muxx  kas  dān-a  yē  kī  na.
without  head  PERS  know:IMPF-3s  3s  who  NEG
‘Without a head no one knew who he was.’

---

96 Note that this is the regular syntax of verb phrases; the full noun precedes the verb and the pronoun follows the verb (see similar syntax in Mehri: Rubin 2010:265). Thus the rule for negation is no different; the negative particle follows the verb phrase including its object. See §4.3.
Mehri, a South Arabian language of Oman, also varies negation syntax depending on whether the subject is in the form of a noun or pronoun. In Mehri, pronoun subjects of nonverbal clauses take the negative particle ә before the item, and noun subjects take it after the negated constituent. As in Kumzari, “the result is that the nominal subject is essentially fronted” (Rubin 2010:265).

10.1.2 Double marking of negation

Because normative word order in Kumzari is verb-final, negation is obligatorily marked on each complement following a negated verb, including indirect objects, verb goals, modifiers, and post-posed nominal direct objects. Two contrasting examples below, from the same section of text, demonstrate this rule. In the first example, the direct object is post-posed to an unusual position after the verb, so it must be additionally negated. In the second example below, the direct object is in its usual place and is not negated, because it shares the negation of the verb:

(660) S511 [post-posed nominal direct object]

mē tāt-um na dit āmu xō na.
1s want:IMPF -1s NEG daughter uncle (paternal) REFL NEG 
‘As for me, I do not want [to marry] my uncle’s daughter.’

(661) S516 [nominal direct object in usual position]

mē dit āmu xō tāt-um na.
1s daughter uncle (paternal) REFL want:IMPF -1s NEG 
‘As for me, I do not want [to marry] my uncle’s daughter.’

Following are examples with double marked negation of complements:

(662) K117

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

(663) B734

mē č-um na xāna na.
1s go:IMPF -1s NEG marriage NEG 
‘I am not going to marry.’

(664) B488

wana kardīd-ī yē na īnda yē na, tumr-ī.
if drop:REAL -2s 3s NEG in 3s NEG die:IMPF -2s 
‘If you do not drop him into it, you will die.’
A Grammar of Kumzari

(665) R567
raft-ē na wā brār-an xō na!
go:PERF-3s NEG with brother -PL REFL NEG
‘He hadn’t gone with his brothers!’

(666) B900
mē dit xō dō-um na ba yē na.
1s daughter REFL give:IMPF-1s NEG to 3s NEG
‘I am not giving my daughter to him.’

Multiple complements of a negated verb must also be additionally negated:

(667) G389
raft na mużgit na ãntē na.
go:3sREAL NEG mosque NEG there NEG
‘He didn’t go there to the mosque.’

(668) P419
sā tany-um na wā tō na xān tō na.
now stay:IMP-1s NEG with 2s NEG house 2s NEG
‘Now I will not stay with you in your house.’

In Persian and Arabic, negation is only marked once per clause. However, cases of double-marked negation are attested in Oman’s South Arabian languages Mehri, Jibbali, and Hobyot; the grammatical context for these is yet unclear (Rubin 2010:32, 129, 134; Simeone-Senelle 1997:406-7,414). Miestamo (2007:555) lists typological studies of non-circumfixal double negation.

10.1.3 Negative interrogative

In negative questions, the interrogative clitic ā follows the negative particle:

(669) R173
dān-ē mē na ā?
know:IMPF-2p 1s NEG INTERR
‘Don’t you know me?’

10.1.4 Prohibitive (negative imperative)

Prohibitive is not morphologically distinct from the negated Imperative, so it is formed the same as Realis negation, with the negative particle after the verb:

(670) P891
tīkš-a tō! inča gaw na!
kil:IMPF-2s 2s like this say:2sIMPER NEG
‘He will kill you! Don’t talk like that!’

As in realis negation, prohibitive must have the negative particle on each complement following the verb:
10.2 Verbless clause negation

10.2.1 Negation of existentials

Existential enclitics for all persons and numbers are negated in the same manner as are verbs; that is, they are followed by the negative particle *na*:

(673) P664

sā šmā kūī=ē ā, ēšinan=in na.

now 2p mountain.bedouin=EX:2p SUB these.ones=EX:3p NEG

‘Now you *are* mountain bedouins, these ones *are not*.’

(674) R117

tō wā šan=ī na.

2s with 3p=EX:2s NEG

‘You *are not* with them.’

(675) B144

bazza-ē=Ø na. šāhar-ē=Ø.

beggar-a=EX:3s NEG sorcerer-a=EX:3s

‘He *was not* a beggar; he *was* a sorcerer.’

(676) G538

mē xābr=um na ba yē na.

1s in.the.know=EX:1s NEG of 3s NEG

‘I *am not* in the know about it.’

(677) K558

urtut-ē=Ø na. čō-ō jārī=Ø, ġēla azala=Ø.

trace --a=EX:3s NEG well -the finished=EX:3s grain separated=EX:3s

‘There *was not* a trace. The well *was finished*, the grain *was separated*.’

(678) G325

żank-ō ā, xaykē rāṭī=Ø na. lakin martk-ō rāṭī=Ø.

woman -the SUB very agreeing=EX:3s NEG but man -the agreeing=EX:3s

‘The woman, she *was not* really in agreement, but the man *was* in agreement.’

This is the case whether existentials occur with predicate nominatives or predicate adjectives:
(679) U12
šēx=īn na. ādī=īn.
sheikh=EX:3p NEG normal=EX:3p
‘They were not royalty. They were commoners.’

(680) G102
ḥayžēna jwān=Ø na.
construction good=EX:3s NEG
‘[Its] construction was not good.’

Each complement following the existential additionally takes the negative:

(681) K408
tō bētar=ī na pi dit mē na.
2s better=2s NEG from daughter 1s NEG
‘You are not better than my daughter.’

(682) B698
rōk-ō xābr=Ø na ba yē na.
boy-the in.the.know=EX:3s NEG of 3s NEG
‘The boy was not in the know about it.’

10.2.2 Negation of possessive constructions

The possessive construction consisting of the preposition wā ‘with’ + the possessor noun is negated by inserting the negative particle clause-finally:

(683) U212
iš wā yē āw na. iš wā yē ikka na. iš wā yē kard na.
any with 3s water NEG any with 3s match NEG any with 3s knife NEG
‘He didn’t have any water. He didn’t have any matches. He didn’t have any knife.’

(684) B900
y’=ā ūšā’it wā yē na.
3s=SUB means with 3s NEG
‘This one, he does not have means.’

10.3 Pre-posed negation

Certain grammatical functions move the negative particle to pre-constituent position.

10.3.1 Rejection

In rejection, the negative particle precedes its referent:

(685) P1195
tō āmad-ī na sāl na jwāb.
2s come:REAL-2s NEG question NEG answer
‘You came [with] neither question nor answer.’
Pre-posed, the negative particle differs from its meaning when following the verb, as illustrated by the following two examples:

(688) G100
na wa’b gid-iš
NEG field make:REAL-3s
‘He made no field’

To say ‘He didn’t make a field’, the negative particle would follow the verb:

(689) wa’b gid-iš na
field make:REAL-3s NEG
‘He didn’t make a field’

For emphasis, the negative particle can be pre-posed for a meaning like ‘not at all.’ In one case, a woman with her face completely veiled coming from the port greeted a group of women who knew her, but a few didn’t recognise her because of the veil. One said:

(690) na danus-um yē!
NEG know:PERF-1s 3s
‘I didn’t even recognise her!’

10.3.2 Subject negation

As in the marked syntax of rejection, the negative particle is fronted when a subject is particularly emphasised as being negative:

(691) R1362
šmā na wās-ē mā. ar wās-ē mā, yēē.
2p NEG bring:PERF-2p 1p that/which/who bring:PERF-3s 1p 3s.EMPH
‘It was none of you who brought us. The one who brought us was him.’

10.4 Negation compounds

10.4.1 Absolute existential negation iš na ‘there is no’

The occurrence of both an absolute quantifier (e.g. iš ‘any’) and a negative signals absolute existential negation, i.e. ‘there is no’: 
A Grammar of Kumzari

(692) G139
iš ḡēla na.
any grain NEG
‘There isn’t any grain.’

(693) G12
mām, bap, iš-ē na.
mother father any-a NEG
‘Mother, father, he hadn’t [lit. there weren’t] any.’

Qualifications following iš ‘any’ must also be negated:

(694) R25
xalafa gid-iš aft tā kōrk-an. iš na ditk-an na.
begetting do:REAL-3s seven COUNT boy –PL any NEG daughter –PL NEG
‘Seven sons he had. He hadn’t [lit. there weren’t] any daughters.’

A stated object can also take the quantifier iš ‘any’, in which case the verb is followed by the negative particle na:

(695) R291
iš ḡāz tāt-um na.
any money want:IMP-1s NEG
‘I don’t want any money.’

10.4.2 Personal negation kas na ‘no one, not there’

The personal negative compound kas na uses the personal particle kas as a subject pronoun, with the negative particle na following the verb or existential:

(696) P800
kas=Ø na.
PERS=EX:3s NEG
‘There’s no one.’

(697) R458
kas ḡār ka na.
PERS making.noise do:3sIMPER NEG
‘No one should make noise.’

(698) R939
kas nasaxa tk-a na.
PERS breathing do:IMPF-3s NEG
‘No one was breathing.’

(699) R1523
kas-ē ma’r-ē ba kūn yē na.
PERS -a tattoo –a on bottom 3s NEG
‘Not one has a tattoo on his bottom.’

It can be specified by adding a full noun phrase subject:
The rule of negating multiple complements following the verb applies in this case too:

(701) S162
kas xābr na ba yē na ġay bap-ō na.
PERS in.the.know NEG of 3s NEG except father-the NEG
‘No one knew about her except the father.’

It is possible to combine negative compounds īš and kas:

(702) A198
kas īš dgō-a na.
PERS any say:IMPF-3s NEG
‘No one was saying anything.’

10.5 Complex clause negation

10.5.1 Subordinate clause negation

In the case of a negated verb with an embedded clause, since the embedded clause falls after the verb, the whole embedded clause must be additionally negated by the negative particle following the whole embedded clause:

(703) R827
gaš na ba yē na brār-an mē wa
say:3sREAL NEG to 3s NEG brother-PL 1s and
ditk-an tō inča gis-in na.
daughter-PL 2s like.this do:PERF-3p NEG
‘He didn’t tell him, “My brothers and your daughters have done this”.’

(704) S673
sā ahla yē gnūnus-in na yē ẓank-ē wā yē na.
now relatives 3s believe:PERF-3p NEG 3s woman-a with 3s NEG
‘Now his relatives had not believed that he had a woman with him.’

A negated verb followed by a relative clause must also have the additional negative particle following the whole relative clause:

(705) K367
tō ajaba būs-ī na pi y’=ā
2s amazed become:PERF-2s NEG from DEM=SUB
ar asp-an insī-an wās-ē na ā?
that/which/who horse-PL humanlike-PL bring:PERF-3s NEG INTERR
‘You were not amazed at the one who brought the talking horses?’
However, a subordinate clause preceding a negated verb phrase does not take the negative particle:

(706) S517

yē ar č-um ba yē xāna ā, tāt-um yē na.

3s that/which/who go:IMPF-1s with 3s marriage SUB want:IMPF-1s 3s NEG

‘The one whom I am to marry, I do n’t want her.’

10.5.2 Auxiliary verb negation

Auxiliary verbs such as rāy ‘to be able to’ may act as the main verb, taking the negative particle themselves, while the second verb acts as a complement, also taking na:

(707) S191

rāy-in na ābaša yē tk-in na.

can:IMPF-3p NEG catching 3s do:IMPF-3p NEG

‘They can n’t catch it.’

(708) R1453

mē rāy-um na dug-um šan na ēšinan na. mē bazza=um.

1s can:IMPF-1s NEG take:IMPF-1s 3p NEG these.ones NEG 1s beggar =EX:1s

‘I can n’t take them, these ones. I am a poor person.’

In other cases the verb rāy ‘to be able to’ and other preverbs act as auxiliary verbs, pairing with the main verb to form a verb phrase, which takes a single negative particle to encompass the whole phrase:

(709) R194

sātē rāyis-im raft-im na. ništ-im.

now can:PERF-1p go:PERF-1p NEG sit:PERF-1p

‘We have n’t been able to go now. We have stayed.’

(710) A240

yē tāt-a tār-a yē bāla na.

3s want:IMPF-3s bring:IMPF-3s 3s up NEG

‘He did not want to bring him up.’

(711) K687

wayda ād yē na.

hold:2sIMPER give:2sIMPER 3s NEG

‘Don’t keep giving her!’

10.6 Evidential negation

Since evidentials occur before the verb and apply to the whole proposition, the evidential itself does not take the negative particle, but the proposition takes it, following rules as above:
10.7 Negation in poetics

The mirror image property of the negative is exploited in Kumzari’s poetically-structured language. Several texts juxtapose negative and positive in successive lines, with the same grammatical structure and parallel semantics:

(715) P635

dgō ba yē, “ḥā, tēl-ī mē na!”
dgō ba yē, “sā tō! rēsid-ī,
ḥasa na majma gid-ī,
wa ḥasa na šaw wābur,
wa ḥasa maxluq-an ʾīn wā= bāla,
wa ḥasa maxluq-an tāʾ-īn wā= zēran."
“tēl-ī mē na!”
She said to him, “Oh, don’t leave me!”
He said to her, “Now, you! You arrived!
Still no word have you spoken,
And still no night has come,
And still many people are going up there,
And still many people are coming down there!”
“Don’t leave me!”

In the text above from the tale Pačaxēō, the prohibitive clause tēlī mē na! is repeated in the frame at the beginning and end. In the list section between the lines of the frame, the four lines beginning with ḥasa mirror each other, with two negative clauses and two positive clauses.

A different pattern using negative clauses occurs in this section of text from the tale Bāğ al-Mowż:

(716) B7
yak-ē mardk-ē na,
There was a certain man who

He had a wife,

He had no children;

A man had just a wife.

He tried to have children,

He tried to have children,

He didn’t have any.

So he went and married another wife.

Time went by,

One year, two years,

He didn’t have any.

Then he married another wife.

In all, he married seven of them.

Seven wives,

He didn’t have any children.

Even with all seven [wives],

That are these ones,

God hadn’t given them any.

In the text above, the pattern of positive-negative parallels its semantic content. A man makes repeated attempts, but then always experiences setbacks. In the text structure, this collocation is substantiated in two or three positive lines followed by a negative clause (highlighted above), with the pattern repeated five times.
11 Discourse

“Since discourse is an embodiment, a filter, a creator and recreator, and a transmitter of culture, then in order to study culture we must study the actual forms of discourse produced and performed by societies and individuals, the myths, legends, stories, verbal duels, and conversations that constitute a society’s verbal life. But discourse is also an embodiment of language. Grammar provides a set of potentials. Since these potentials are actualized in discourse they can only be studied in discourse.” (Sherzer 1987:306)

“Linguistics made it possible at once to spell out how narrative differs from a mere series of propositions, and to clarify the enormous mass of elements that go into the making of a narrative.” (Barthes 1975:241-242)

11.1 The analysis of discourse

In keeping with the methodological principle of using natural rather than elicited data, and to not segregate language from its context, the present grammatical description accounts for the structures of Kumzari discourse. Scholars who have studied natural language data of spoken language, usually of English or other languages in societies where written language is more highly valued, find that speech is unstructured and its meaning-effect depends on non-verbal or contextual strategies rather than inherent lexical and grammatical forms (Ochs 1979; Ong 2002; cf. Tannen 1982:3). This is not the case, however, in oral societies where spoken language still holds some degree of sacredness (Bright 1984:80; Holes 1995:57). In contexts where literacy is not widespread, patterns of oral language preserve elaborate discourse cohesive structures (Hymes 2003:305,370ff; Martin 2000:118). Cross-linguistic data suggest that in situations of language contact, particularly through media and schooling, discourse structures are the first casualty (Aikhenvald 2006:4,6). The present study bridges a chasm between anthropology and folklore, on the one hand, and linguistics and discourse analysis, on the other hand, to describe a language at the level of discourse which has not been tainted by literacy.

The central question of this chapter is one that has occupied discourse analysts since anyone thought to ask: what makes a text a text? “What is it that makes a sequence of sentences into a coherent whole as opposed to a chaotic assemblage?” (Johnson-Laird 1983:356). Discourse concerns “the principles of connectivity which bind a text together and force co-interpretation” (Brown & Yule 1984:190). It examines the particular way in which a language combines formal linguistic features in a pattern in a text.

In this chapter, we are confined to those aspects of Kumzari discourse structure which are grammatical; that is, its constants (cf. Brown & Yule 1984:117, 121). The variable components of discourse, which may nevertheless be conventionalised, are not to be ignored in the study of a whole language; they are catalogued in chapter 12. Discourse grammar includes a minimally defined set of elements without which one cannot produce a text in a language: “an implicit system of units and rules” (Barthes 1975:238). Elements of a text that contribute to grounding, but not definitively so, are part of Poetics and Rhetoric. The delineation between discourse and poetics can be likened to asking ‘what makes a story?’ versus ‘what makes a good story?’.
11.2 Coherence and grounding

Coherence in discourse is a principle of textual unity, enabling a hearer to construct an overall mental representation. Coherence is established through cohesion in the surface structure of the text. Underlying notional structure in discourse is held together in a particular structural organisation by cohesive ties, an inventory of linguistic resources. Pinault (1992:23) notes that in the tales of the 1001 Arabian Nights, “formal patterning allows the audience the pleasure of discerning and anticipating the structure of the plot as it unfolds.” Grounding is the realisation of coherence, a means of marking information salience in a text. In the case of narrative discourse, grounding articulates the development of the plot.

Foreground and background are parallel axes in the structure of a text. Foreground is comprised of “the parts of the narrative which relate events belonging to the skeletal structure of the discourse” (Hopper 1979:213), consisting generally of “asserted sequential punctiliar events” (Dooley 2010a:4) that are high in “narrative prominence” (Dry 1992:438). The foreground of a tale, sometimes also called the event line, theme line, or story line, “carries the discourse forward, contributes to the progression of the narrative or argument … develops the theme of the discourse.” (Roberts 2009:80). In contrast, clauses relating information in the background of a discourse “support, amplify, or comment on” events in the foreground (Hopper 1979:215), and do not “contribute directly to the progression of the theme” (Roberts 2009:80).

Each constituent of a narrative directly affects the continuation of a story: “it either initiates or resolves an uncertainty” (Barthes 1975:248). In this sense, prominence can be seen as roughly equivalent to tension, which is a function of the series of possibilities for a certain outcome in an episode (Vansina 1997:74-75). Foregrounding and backgrounding tendencies have also been seen as a division between “progression and digression” (Levinsohn 1976). In terms of information structure, background reveals presuppositions, and foreground makes assertions. However, grounding within a text is scalar rather than absolute, having “inherent relativity” (Dry 1992:445). Thus it is the case that “many different kinds of structures may function as foreground, since structures become foreground, not by virtue of possessing certain inherent qualities but rather by virtue of contrasting with an appropriate background” (Dry 1992:444-445). This allows for the analysis of narrative constituents (narremes), not as binary foreground or background, but as containing clusters of features which produce higher or lower prominence. In Kumzari, a complex array of discourse structures distinguish information that is more or less integral to a tale’s plot.

The morphosyntax of Kumzari plot structure will be treated in §11.4. Below is a summary of structure and terms to serve as a guide for the discourse feature inventory that follows.

Table 53. Kumzari plot structure constituents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>part of tale</th>
<th>Exposition</th>
<th>Body</th>
<th>Conclusion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aperture, Introduction, &amp; Nodus</td>
<td>Inciting Incident</td>
<td>Intentus, Accalmie, &amp; Peak</td>
<td>Dénouement</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
11.3 Discourse feature inventory

Just as languages have inventories of sounds and words, languages have inventories of potentials for structuring texts. Text structuring commands the listener’s focus on information that is important to the plot or notional structure. It is encoded in sets of discourse particles, verb forms, speech types, formulae, pre-posed adverbial expressions, syntactic variation, parallelism, repetition, codeswitching, and participant reference. Like phonemes in words, while not all of these features must be included in every narrative, a combination of features make it intelligible as a coherent text. Discourse features are governed by grammatical rules, determining where and how each operates within a text. The set of discourse features in Kumzari narrative texts are described below. Grammatical rules governing distribution of the features are set out in §11.4.

11.3.1 Verb forms in discourse

Verbs forms have already been described in chapter 4. This section will detail their place in discourse, and how different verb forms produce text structure. The role of verb form for grounding in the structuring of discourses has been examined by Hopper (1979), Fleischman (1985), Longacre (1996), Roberts (2000), and others.

Verb forms in Kumzari discourse are on a scale of prominence (see Table 54). Verb forms displaying higher prominence lend themselves to foregrounding, while lower-prominence forms have a propensity to make up the background in a text.

Table 54. Scale of prominence/grounding by verb form

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>more foregrounded (=high prominence)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mirative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>realis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imperfect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>perfect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>verbless</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>more backgrounded (=low prominence)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

11.3.1.1 Mirative in discourse

The Mirative is used in narrative discourse for sudden, unexpected, or surprising happenings, and above all for magical or violent events. Mirative verb forms occur at pivots and at the peak. There is often a conspicuous change in the text from Realis verb forms to Mirative verb forms, marking high prominence in information structure. This accords with the observation that such foregrounding features as mirativity fulfill the criterion of textual salience due to their “unpredictableness or unexpectedness in a given context” (Dry 1992:440). Mirativity attracts attention because it “deviates from ordinary language” (Dry 1992:440). The following excerpt from the tale Sōntyō occurs at the peak of the discourse. At the moment when the princess appears in public unveiled, the verb form switches from realis to mirative:

At the moment when the princess appears in public unveiled, the verb form switches from realis to mirative:
A Grammar of Kumzari

(717) S741

xinn-ō gid-in. wā wā wā wā wā wā wā pis šēx-ō
wailing -the do:REAL-3p [mourning chant] woe! woe! woe! son sheikh -the
cēksa ā. ka dar-ō wākid-iš. qaḥama kin barra.
right here SUB PEAK door -the open:REAL-3s jumping up do:MIR outside

bağa jilbē. bağa burqa. fājā’a. ya’ni.
without headscarf without mask shocked that is to say
‘They wailed. narrator sings a mourning chant: “Woe! Woe! Woe! If only the sheikh’s son were here!” [crying, mourning as if he had died.] Right away she opened the door. She tumbled out! Without a headscarf. Without a burqa. That is to say, she was shocked.’

11.3.1.2 Realis in discourse

Although it is not as high on the prominence scale as is the mirative, realis is still generally more attributable to foreground because it embodies action, and not peripheral information (Hopper 1979:213). The realis is found in events, actions, and accomplishments that carry the plot. The example below from the tale Kanēdō contrasts a punctiliar event (buying a net) in the realis with habitual activity (laying out a net) in the imperfect. Acquisition of a net is an action which enables the main character to catch a fish with a pearl inside it, thus it is crucial to the plot.

(718) K67

lēx xērid-iš ba xō wa raft našaba yē tk-a diryā’-ō
fishing net buy:REAL-3s for REF and go:3sREAL standing 3s do:IMPF-3s sea -the
‘He bought a fishing net for himself, and he went to place it in the sea.’

paštīn tō’at, lēx-ō jēl tk-a ā,
mid-afternoon become:3sIMPF fishing.net -the laying out do:IMPF-3s SUB
‘In the mid-afternoon, he would lay out the fishing net;’

sābaḥ tō’at, sayy-a yē.
morning become:3sIMPF lift up:IMPF-3s 3s
‘in the morning, he would retrieve it.’

(Irrealis is not described in this chapter because it does not have a particular function in Kumzari discourse.)

11.3.1.3 Imperfect in discourse

The imperfect is used in discourse for backgrounded information that is not part of the main story line, such as habitual or ongoing action, states, and information peripheral to the plot. The line below makes up part of the introduction in the tale Abūyi Salaḥnī, Ummī Rakabnī. It is background information conveying habitual activity of one character.

(719) U72

bap-ō ā. ču maglis šēx-ō xōr-a šām, čāz, nāsta.
father -the SUB go:3sIMPF sheikh’s court sheikh -the eat:IRR -3s supper lunch breakfast
‘The father, he would go to the sheikh’s court... to eat supper, lunch, breakfast.’
11.3.1.4 Perfect in discourse

When a section of text is already backgrounded, to convey an action that is even less prominent or temporally prior, the perfect is used. In the following example, we find a perfect expressing a state, as part of a background section explaining about an abandoned raft:

(720) S244
ēka ā yā kas tāt-a yē na. kaft-ē ba čāf-ō bē, INF SUB DEM no.one want:IMPF-3s 3s NEG fall:PERF-3s on beach-the only

lōḥ-ē gap.
wood -a big
‘Obviously no one wanted this; it was just left on the beach, a big wooden thing.’

The sentence begins by using the imperfect but must relay information that is one step lesser in prominence, so uses the perfect.

11.3.1.5 Verblessness in discourse

Longacre asserts that “in most languages, clauses which are descriptive and equative [e.g. use ‘to be’ or are verbless] are excluded from the storyline [=foreground]” (Longacre 1996:22). In Kumzari narrative, this is borne out in the verbless nature of both the exposition and conclusion. Verbless clauses include the existential enclitic and the preposition wā signifying possession (‘having’).

11.3.2 Discourse Particles

Discourse particles provide orientation and structuring within a text. There has been much discussion on the definition of discourse particle. Early structuralist linguistics looked for discourse particles in “recurrent patterns of morphemes, independent of either their meaning, or their relationship with non-textual factors” (Schiffrin 1994:7). Longacre recognised them as units of text-structuring that “have a function which relates to a unit larger than the sentence, i.e. to the paragraph and the discourse” (Longacre 1976:468). He later refined his definition to “particles that indicate either the beginning or the end of a paragraph” (Longacre 1979:117). Hymes, a linguistic anthropologist who termed them ‘initial particles,’ saw them as being “means of shaping the story, means of defining through repetition the structure the narrator intended the text to disclose” (Hymes 2004: [1981b]:7). Although it includes pragmatic considerations, Hymes’ definition is very similar to Givón’s description of the marking of thematic continuities and discontinuities in a text (1983). Schiffrin (2003:142) generalises discourse markers as “normally marginal in word class, heterogeneous in form, of high frequency, phonetically short, outside the syntactic structure of the clause, sentence-initial, lacking in propositional content, optional, difficult to translate, and stylistically stigmatised. Moreover, they exhibit all of the textual functions—grounding, saliency or peak marking, narrative segmentation…” . Although they may be ‘optional’ within a sentence, discourse particles are an integral constituent in a discourse. A story without discourse particles is not a story.

For the purposes of this study, discourse particle will be taken to mean a word that is meaningful at the discourse level, whose grammatical role in text-structuring of establishing
coherence is distinct from, or occurs in the absence of, semantic content. They can include adverbs, connectives or other constituents (or even more than one word) that have been grammaticalised in the discourse structure of a particular language.

Nine discourse particles are identified as most commonly occurring in Kumzari discourse; they are described in the following section.

11.3.2.1  *ka* and *amū* and *sā sā* discourse particles

These three discourse particles, *ka*, *amū*, and *sā sā*, may be glossed interchangeably as ‘right away’, ‘immediately’, ‘quickly’, or ‘suddenly’. They occur at the peak of a narrative, and at important pivots. At a climactic point in the tale *Bāğ al-Mowż* foregrounding is achieved with many such discourse particles:

(721) B560

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{bārē } & \text{ gid-iš, dikkara sātē. sā sā sikkara ba yē, wa bast kin} \\
\text{once } & \text{ do:REAL-3s twice now right.away thrice to 3s and finishing do:MIR} \\
\text{ya'ñī, } & \text{ wa } \text{ ka } \text{ dakka pā kin bā yē žamyō. amū byō} \\
\text{that.is.to.say } & \text{ and quickly digging foot do:MIR on 3s ground -the immediately come:MIR} \\
\text{rāstağ } & \text{ y ka byō dist xō sō žekon yē ka byō y } \\
\text{straight } & \text{ come:MIR for 3s inside come:MIR put:MI backsid 3s suddenl come:MIR on 3s } \\
\text{wa } & \text{ ka kēsaft̄ kin inda yē, inda qiz’an –ō.} \\
\text{and suddenly plunging do:MIR inside 3s inside cauldron -the} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘He did it once, twice now. Right away, as he was going around the third time, and he is just finishing, I mean, and quickly he [the boy] stands firmly on the ground. Immediately he [the sorcerer] comes in line with him, suddenly he [the boy] comes and puts his hands on his [the sorcerer’s] backside. Suddenly he comes to him, and suddenly he plunges him into it, into the cauldron.’

11.3.2.2  *byō* discourse particle

Similarly to the three peak discourse particles, and often co-occurring with them, *byō* consistently highlights a pivot. It may be translated as ‘it came about that’. When not pre-posted to clause-initial position, it can also have the literal meaning of ‘come’ in the imperative or mirative form.

In the tale *Pačaxçıō*, a boy rashly buys a locked chest with unknown contents for a high price. It is a pivotal event because it exposes the boy’s foolish nature and because the chest contains a genie who plays a major role in the story:

(722) P104

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{byō } & \text{ yē ka lašaṭa yē kin, ba ša šaṭṭa, xērid-iš yē. it.came.about 3s suddenly snatching.up 3s do:MIR for six hundred buy:REAL-3s 3s} \\
\text{‘It came about that suddenly he [the boy] snatched it [the locked chest] up, for six hundred, he bought it.’}
\end{align*}
\]
11.3.2.3  *tamma* discourse particle

Evidentials are often used in languages as “a way of making one’s story-telling more effective” (Aikhenvald 2004:154). Sensory evidentials are particularly apt to shape plot structure, since, as Fleischman observes, “the foregrounding and backgrounding of information in discourse… correlates with the visual notion of focus” (1995:539). Aikhenvald similarly notes that “the narrative can switch into the firsthand (‘confirmative’) for ‘vividness’, and this may result in striking effects” (2004:311). This is attested as the sensory evidential *tamma* in Kumzari tales. As an extension of its primary sense of information source, and particularly since firsthand knowledge is commonly unmarked, the sensory evidential is very useful in oral traditions for conveying a here-and-now effect to the text. In Kumzari narrative discourse, *tamma* consistently marks pivots, directly preceding information crucial to the plot. In this example from the tale *Kanēdō*, the poor boy’s sudden finding of a pearl in the stomach of a fish he has caught marks a turning point in his fate:

(723) K104
	*tamma* ā jō’ar-ē škum yē!
SENS SUB pearl -a stomach 3s
‘He saw a pearl in its stomach!’

The sensory evidential in its discourse context often introduces a new character:

(724) P766
	*tamma* ā yak-ē dgur āmad bā yē. kō’tē.
SENS SUB one -a other come:3sREAL toward 3s mountain.bedouin -a
‘She saw another person coming toward her, a mountain bedouin.’

or denotes a magical appearance:

(725) B351
wa wākid-īš y’=ā, *tamma* ā aspē insī inda yē.
when open:REAL-3s 3s=SUB SENS SUB horse -a humanlike inside 3s
‘When he opened it, he saw a talking horse inside it.’

Additionally, it is used for premonitions or visions:

(726) K686
sā wa ān dīt-kō kṭēb-ō wākid-īš ā,
now when 3s.ANA girl -the book -the open:REAL-3s SUB
	*tamma* ā, tēra-ē tay ba šan.
SENS SUB path -a come:3sIMPF to 3p
‘Now when the girl looked into the future, she saw a path coming to them.’

The manner in which *tamma* is used in discourse, stretching the definition of sensory evidence, concurs with Aikhenvald’s observation that “overall narrative conventions override the particular conventionalised evidentials chosen for various types of experience” (Aikhenvald 2004:312).

11.3.2.4  *sā* discourse particle
The *sā* discourse particle functions at two levels, corresponding with Schiffrin’s local and global coherence of discourse (1994:24). At the level of local coherence, *sā* precedes an explanation, much like an aside, communicating background or circumstantial information that the audience is otherwise not privy to, but which is necessary for making sense of the plot. In this sense, *sā* directly precedes the explanation. When the discourse particle *sā* provides orientation, it signals the imminence of a pivotal event. As this occurs at a global level of text coherence, rather than directly preceding the pivotal clause, *sā* can precede an entire section that is important: the commencement of the tension build-up that leads to the peak. In this case, *sā* is the cue for the audience to listen well, because something is about to happen. A cluster of several instances of *sā* may precede a pivotal scene.

In the following instance in the tale *Sōntyō*, the particle *sā* signals an explanation of circumstances, setting the stage for the next event: the princess, known only as a foreigner at the wedding party, is asked to apply the groom’s henna:

(727) S293

*sā* ḥasā ēnar gis-in na.
now yet henna do:PERF-3p NEG

‘Now, they hadn’t put henna on yet.’

The discourse particle of explanation and orientation *sā* can be paired with *tamna* to throw the *tamna* into relief, much like the pairing of accalmie and peak; a backgrounding feature makes the foreground appear sharper.

(728) B1138

*sā* wa barza wāb ba bāğ almowž ā,
now when appearing become:MIR to garden Ar:(the- banana) SUB

*tamna* ā brār-an yē haps=in.
SENS SUB brother –PL 3s bound =EX:3p

‘Now when he showed up at the banana garden, he saw that his brothers were bound!’

It must be noted that occurrence of the *sā* within speech is not as a discourse particle. Instead, the use of *sā* in direct speech is consistently correlated with a reproach:

(729) P1032

*sā* brē na yā majma-an yā ǧalaṭa kē na
now go:IMPER-2p NEG DEM word -PL DEM harming do:IMPER-2p NEG

‘Now don’t go and slander…’

or a decision, pronouncing a resultant judgment, verdict, or command that is a consequence of a prior event:

(730) P419

*sā* tūny-um na wā tō na
now stay:IMPF-1s NEG with 2s NEG

‘Now I am not staying with you…’

Although the discourse particle *sā* is glossed in English as ‘now’, in its literal temporal (i.e. non-discourse) meaning ‘now’ generally appears with the temporal-spatial suffix –*tē*, thus as *sātē*: 
11.3.2.5 ṭāb ḳīn? discourse particle

This formulaic expression is difficult to translate, because the second word, a verb, is the mirative form of ‘do’. The best acceptable gloss of ṭāb ḳīn? is ‘how did they do it?!’. Its function as a discourse particle, however, is clearer. A ṭāb ḳīn? section occurs immediately before a pivot, or more often before the peak, in the accalmie, and draws out a long explanation with details of what someone did, as a digression from the plot. In fact, by distracting from pivotal information, it increases dramatic tension in the plot by highlighting the peak. Thus ṭāb ḳīn? is a backgrounding device. It coincides with other backgrounders such as repetition and audience interaction. In the following example from the tale Ahmad Tka, the main character is covertly stealing gold coins that the sheikh has strewn on the ground as a trap to catch the thief:

A shoe, he put on a shoe. Ahmad-Does-It. yes. These shoes that he put on, he had smeared them with tar, of which there was about a kilogram. It sticks, you know, that it gets on... into the grooves of them. He tared this to it underneath. He walked. When he went up there, a hundred were sticking to what’s-it-called... to the bottom of the shoes! You know, in this way, they were picking up pebbles, the what’s-it-called of them. The shoes were picking up pebbles, the tar that was on the shoes. He arrives there, in a wilderness. He looks for an escape for himself, he comes to a place to bury [the gold], and [then] went back down fifty times to pick it up. With the shoes he wasn’t bending down! He was only walking, if it was sticking to the shoes like this, pebbles were getting stuck to the [tar] of the shoes, he arrives at the lower mountain peak, digging a hole, he puts it in it. This [gold] from there, it disappeared!’ […]continues…]

11.3.2.6 lumrād and filḥāl discourse particles

Both lumrād and filḥāl, glossed as ‘in any case’ or ‘finally’, conclude a set of actions, closing a pivotal scene. They are frequently found at episode boundaries. Their specific role in the discourse is to resolve an agreement, as in this example:
“(733) U292

tō ḡēlbū yē gid-i, yē dig-i zēnī.

2s winning 3s do:REAL-2s in.this.case take:IMPF-2s as.a.wife

ka yā ḡēlbū tō gid-iš, qaṣṣa sar tō tk-um.

if/when DEM winning 2s do:REAL-3s cutting head 2s do:IMPF-1s

dgō ba yē bā yē na. filḥāl, nwāz nwāxistin gid-in.
say:3sIMPF to 3s all.right in.any.case prayer evening do:REAL-3p

‘If you win over her, then you will marry her. If she wins over you, I will cut off your head.” He said to him, “All right.” In any case, they prayed the evening prayer.’

Or to remedy a situation; in the following example, seven women have just agreed to take pomegranate seeds as an antidote for their childlessness:

(734) B133

lumrād dār-iš ba šān aft-ta ḥabb, aft-ta ḥabb

in.any.case give:REAL-3s to 3p seven-COUNT seed seven-COUNT seed

ānar. inda kaw-an šān waraḥa gid-in wā= angar.
pomegranate inside palm of hand–PL 3p swallowing do:REAL-3p with together

‘In any case, he gave it to them, seven seeds, seven pomegranate seeds; they swallowed all together from the palms of their hands.’

The discourse particles may be set on a scale of prominence indicating their role in foregrounding or backgrounding, as per Table 55.

Table 55. Scale of prominence/grounding by discourse particle

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>More foregrounded (=high prominence)</th>
<th>More backgrounded (=low prominence)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ka, amū, sā sā</td>
<td>lumrād, filḥāl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>byō (including bīyāyē)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tamna</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sā</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čāb kin?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In addition to these standard discourse particles, there are formulae and pre-posed adverbial expressions (PAEs).

11.3.3 Formulae in discourse

Like discourse particles, formulae function in text structuring. However, formulae refer to the structure of the text as a whole, operating at the level of the whole text; whereas discourse particles make divisions within the text, operating at the level of the narreme. To illustrate, it may be cited that there is only one instance of aperture formula qiṣṣitē wa ḥakāyitē in a given text, but there can be many instances of the foregrounding discourse particle ka. Formulae are also bound by stricter rules with regard to timing and placement within the text. They are
Chapter 11 - Discourse 233

obligatory as to genre; in Kumzari narrative the aperture and finis will always have at least one formula (for opening and closing, respectively).

Although the surface structure of formulae and PAEs may appear to be similar, formulae do not have semantic content. As an example, the finis formula in Kumzari consists of the words meaning ‘you went, I came.’ This has nothing to do with characters in the story, or even the narrator and audience, coming or going. It simply signals the conclusion of the tale.

In this strict definition of formula, there are only four in Kumzari narrative: two in the exposition, and two in the conclusion (see Table 56). The aperture has two formulae: qiṣṣitē wa ḥakāyitē ‘a story and a telling’, followed by identification of the main character through the formula raft yēkē ‘there went someone’ (‘someone’ can be replaced by ‘a boy’ or ‘a grandmother’, etc.). The finis of a tale has two formulae, but only the first is obligatory. At the end of a story the narrator, perhaps expressing a way to “take the listener from the imaginary world back to real life” (Kossmann 2000:76), says tō raftī wa mē āmadum, ‘you went and I came’, and then, when it is included, a second formula xalaṣ ‘the end’.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 56. Kumzari narrative formulae</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Narrative Formula</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qiṣṣitē wa ḥakāyitē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>raft yēkē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tō raftī wa mē āmadum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xalaṣ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In addition to these narrative formulae, there is a type of formula for each tale encapsulating the theme of the tale. Thematic formulae, as these are termed, are described in §12.7. The two types of formula are comparable to the two types Kossmann describes regarding Eastern Moroccan fairy tales: one is used in all fairy tales for opening and closing, the other is particular to each tale and alludes to its theme (Kossmann 2000:74-75). Narrative formulae have conventional wording with little variation across all the tales, and they are pronounced only once in each tale. Thematic formulae are different for each tale, but are repeated several times throughout the tale.

11.3.4 Pre-posed adverbial expressions in discourse

In contrast with discourse particles, pre-posed adverbial expressions (PAEs) have semantic or propositional content relevant to the context, generally concerning spatial, temporal, or logical identifications. This reflects how discourse is segmented: “when one looks at the content of the narrative in such places, one usually discovers a significant change in scene, time, character configuration, event structure, and the like” (Chafe 1987:43). Although they have a tendency to occur clause-initially and at narreme boundaries, the placement of PAEs is more flexible and they are not strictly labels of grammatical structure as are formulae and discourse particles. Still, adverbial expressions that are pre-posed have iconic, rather than literal, meaning when compared to adverbials in their regular place. Kossmann, calling them ‘connective phrases,’ notes that they frequently have formulaic qualities such as repetition, assonance, and consisting of the same words (Kossmann 2000:49). Some common pre-posed adverbial expressions in Kumzari are listed in Table 57.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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</tr>
</thead>
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1.3.4 pre-posed adverbial expressions in discourse

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pre-posed Adverbial Expression</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Being repetitive and familiar, PAEs tie in to Chafe’s description of information in discourse as flowing from known to unknown; Chafe stated that because of this property, adverbial clauses, especially in the initial position, prototypically act as orienters for understanding the information they precede (1984). Givón concurred, noting that such expressions mark segments in a text, which he labelled ‘thematic groupings’ (1995). Reflecting their segmenting function, McDowell (2000:22) calls PAEs ‘transition lexicon’ that indicate sets of phrases as discourse constituents. Their placement at the beginning of a clause is ideal in terms of the structuring of a text. Cross-linguistic data confirm this as well: initial adverbial clauses function as orienters for the whole text following them, whereas final adverbial clauses modify only the main clause.

In the Kumzari tales, pre-posed adverbial expressions designate time, place, or cause-and-effect relations. They coincide with other plot structure divisions and are found along with discourse particles in the initial position of narremes in the body of a tale.

11.3.5 Speech Type in discourse

Three variables in speech type are present in Kumzari narrative discourse: no speech, quoted speech, and drama speech. Quoted speech is speech that has a quote tag, also called a margin or speech orienter, e.g. ‘she said’. Drama speech is here defined as quotation without a margin (Dooley & Levinsohn 2000:51). It is apparent from the data that the presence of speech varies by narreme, and the type of speech varies by prominence. The relationships can be explained more succinctly by Table 58 below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 58. Speech (+) vs. no speech (-) in Kumzari plot structure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>part of tale</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aperture, Introduction, &amp; Nodus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inciting Incident</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intentus, Accalmie, &amp; Peak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dénouement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coda, Finis, &amp; Epilogue</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The exposition section of a fairy tale, including the Aperture, Introduction, and Nodus, does not have speech. Neither does any narreme in the conclusion: Coda, Finis, or Epilogue. Speech found in the body of a tale is drama and more foregrounded, such as at pivots, or quoted and more backgrounded, following the scale in Table 59.

Table 59. Scale of prominence/grounding by speech type

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>more foregrounded (=high prominence)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>speechless (acclalmie &amp; peak)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>drama speech</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>quoted speech</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>more backgrounded (=low prominence)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>speechless (exposition &amp; conclusion)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Within narratives, drama speech is reserved for pivots and speech acts (Searle 1969). Very high-prominence and low-prominence narremes contain no speech, while within the middle level of grounding, prominence can be distinguished by speech being drama, and thus higher, or quoted, and thus lower. Speech acts utilise drama speech and include several categories: greetings (certain formulae communicate the arrival of a character), blessings and curses, pronouncements, orders, and announcements of decisions that are expected to be followed. Action represented in drama speech is understood to have happened, without necessarily explicit reference to it happening in the story outside of the speech. This is not the case with quoted speech.

Other instances in which drama speech replaces quoted speech are those in which discourse deixis clarifies the speaker, as in the follow-on of conversation within an action scene, when drama speech is bounded (before and after) by quoted speech. In these cases, the next speaker doesn’t need a new introduction, because the audience knows from the context who is speaking. Drama speech is also used when there is no specific addressee. This includes monologues, in which a character makes a long speech talking to himself (thinking aloud) or to props or offstage characters; and polylogues, when many people are talking to each other as in a crowd.

11.4 Plot structure

As long ago as Aristotle, scholars have recognised that narratives exhibit grammatical structure, but each has described the system using different terminology. Barthes calls it “the narrative code” (1975:265). Longacre terms it “notional structure” (1996:34). Olrik’s treatise on the “epic laws” refers to the same system (1921:42). Chafe calls it a “narrative schema” (1994:135), and Hymes identifies discourse structure as the “pattern of narrative logic” (2003:218). To describe the discourse structure of Kumzari, the most relevant points have been taken from all of these. However, Kumzari discourse must be expressed on its own terms, by taking as the standard the lowest common denominator of each narreme, and then examining aspects of the narremes in each tale for similarities and differences within the corpus.
Discourse structure is taken to be “the form of repetition and variation, of constants and contrasts, in verbal organisation. Such structure is manifest in linguistic form… the matrix of meaning and effect…” (Hymes 2004: [1981b]:42). Plot is referenced in the context of fairy tales as “the all-embracing principle of coherence in a narrative which surface structure cohesion reflects” (Longacre 1996:33). The present analysis aims to accord, at least in spirit, with Propp’s typology of narrative structures: “a description of the tale according to its component parts and the relationship of these components to each other and to the whole” (Propp 1928:19). However, whereas Propp analysed fairy tales only in terms of content, this study examines narremes, which are the minimal meeting of both content (meaning) and structure (form).

11.4.1 Narremes of plot structure

Kumzari plot structure contains eleven narremes; that is, meaningful structural elements of a narrative. Below is a summary, and further description of each narreme with its prototypical formal characteristics follows.

Table 60. Summary of plot structure narremes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Exposition</th>
<th>Body</th>
<th>Conclusion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aperture</td>
<td>incubiting incident</td>
<td>coda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>introduction</td>
<td>intentus</td>
<td>resolution of central conflict, homecoming</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nodus</td>
<td>acclalmie</td>
<td>finis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>peak</td>
<td>“you came, I went. the end.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dénouement</td>
<td>epilogue</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

11.4.1.1 Exposition

11.4.1.1.1 Aperture

There are two kinds of formula which make up the aperture. Each tale will have at least the second one, but usually both are represented. The first formula explains that this is a fairy tale. The second formula introduces the central character with a simple phrase, such as ‘there was a boy.’ The first formula has no verb, the second formula either has no verb or the verb raft ‘went’, in the realis. The second formula leads right into the introduction, which is less formulaic. The tale Söntyö begins thus:

(735) S9
qiṣṣit-ē wa ḥakāyit-ē. raft šēx wālēyit-ō. tale-a and telling-a go:3sREAL sheikh country-the
‘A tale and a telling. There was a sheikh of the country.’
11.4.1.1.2 Introduction

This section introduces [other] characters and setting. There are often no verbs, but if there are verbs, they are in the imperfect. The introduction may use no PAEs, or it may use backgrounding PAEs such as sā. There is much repetition in the introductory section, both lexical repetition and paraphrase.

The introduction of Abūyi Salaḥnī, Ummī Rakabnī displays much repetition in the form of paraphrase, anadiplosis, and lexical repetition; no adverbials; imperfect verbs and verbless clauses (wā and copulas); and its content is background information: how the family came to be poor (so poor that the boy had to trade his father for a gun and his mother for a horse so that he could make his way in the world):

(736) U12

šēx-an na, ya’nī, na. ādī’=in. mārd-ē wa żānk-ē
sheikh-PL NEG that.is.to.say NEG ordinary =EX:3p man –a and woman –a

wā šān tā kōrk-an. wā šan, māl dunya-ō. māl dunya-ō wā šan.
with 3p one boy-PL with 3p wealth world-the wealth world-the wealth with 3p

māl dunya-ō wā šān a, wa kērim =in, bidān ma’na. ar
wealth world–with 3p SUB and generous.person Ar: that/which/who

=EX:3p without.limit
tay wālēyit-ō, čāẓ tk-in ba yē, nāṣta tk-in ba yē,
come:3sIMPF city-the lunch do:IMPF-3p for 3s breakfast do:IMPF-3p for 3s

nāṣta tk-in wa šām tk-in wa čāẓ tk-in wa… ba ādamī,
breakfast do:IMPF-3p and supper do:IMPF-3p and lunch do:IMPF-3p and for person

ayya ādamī.
any person

‘They were not royalty, that is to say, they were common people. A man and a woman, one son they had. The wealth of the world, they had it. They had the wealth of the world. They had the wealth of the world, and they had limitless generosity! Anyone who came to the city, they would make lunch for them, they would make breakfast for them. They would make breakfast and they would make supper and they would make lunch and… for people, for anyone.’

11.4.1.1.3 Nodus

The complication, conflict or problem that becomes the focus of the story, the nodus extends the setting following the introduction of characters but before anything happens, i.e. before the first pivot of the inciting incident. Didactically, the nodus ties the knot that must be gradually tightened leading up to the peak and ultimately unravelled in the dénouement. The content of the nodus is unservingly centred on wealth (not enough or losing it somehow) and lineage (difficulties in marrying or bearing children). Morphosyntactically, it is generally speechless and verbless. Like other narremes of the exposition, the nodus contains much repetition, including parallelism, lexical repetition, and paraphrase. Representing the inversion of the dénouement, the nodus closes the exposition section of a tale just as the dénouement closes the body of a tale.
In the tale Rōran Šēxō, a sheikh has seven sons. The nodus is presented here:

(737) R33
šaš kas-an ḥarr=in. yak-ē maxnat-ē. čikk-ō maxnat-ē.
six PERS PL macho person =EX 3p one -a gay man -a young -the gay man -a
‘Six were macho. One was gay. The youngest was gay.’

11.4.1.2 Body

11.4.1.2.1 Inciting incident

The inciting incident is signalled by an abrupt switch from imperfect verb forms (or no verbs) to realis verb forms, and is initiated by the tale’s first instance of direct speech. Discourse particles such as tamna and bīyō characterise the inciting incident. It is at the culmination of the inciting incident that the main character is thrust into the wide world away from his home, variably by going on a trip, looking for a job or taking up a profession, hunting a thief, casting out to sea, or being kidnapped by a sorcerer. However the conclusion of the tales always find the young person back at home. The content of the inciting incident is comparable to Propp’s function of ‘absentation’ (Propp 1928:26).

The main character in Ahmad Tka supplies the initial speech in the tale, and then sets out on his pilgrimage:

(738) A43
tamma ā dgō ba yē, mamā nummağ ruppī jīr-um, č-um hijj.
SENS SUB say 3s IMPF to 3s O mother half rupee find REAL 1s go IMPF 1s Hajj

nummağ… č-ī hijj ba nummağ ruppī?! č-ī hijj, č-ī
half go IMPF 2s Hajj with half rupee go IMPF 2s Hajj go IMPF 2s

ḥijj ba nummağ ruppī-ē?! č-ī hijj, č-ī hijj ba nummağ ruppī-ē?! Hajj with half rupee -a
goj IMPF 2s Hajj go IMPF 2s Hajj go IMPF 2s Hajj with half rupee -a
tō’-a na! dgō ba yē, č-um! č-ī walla āka
become IMPF 3s NEG say 3s IMPF to 3s go IMPF 1s go IMPF 2s truly there

tēra’ō! raft.
way the go REAL
‘Then he said to her, “O Grandmother, I have found a half rupee, I am going on Hajj.” “Half... you’re going on Hajj with a half rupee?! You’re going on Hajj, you’re going on Hajj with a half rupee?! You’re going on Hajj, you’re going on Hajj with a half rupee?! It will never happen!” He said to her, “I'm going!” “[If] you’re really going, there’s the way!” He left.’

11.4.1.2.2 Intentus

Developing the tension through foregrounded and backgrounded information, the intentus is a series of pivots making way for the plot’s progression toward the peak. It provides straightforward description of action, with little repetition. Each pivot is like a mini-peak, so is backgrounded immediately before the action. Pivots may begin with the discourse particles tamna and bīyō and conclude with lumrād. Foreground uses realis and mirative
verb forms and drama speech, and background tends toward imperfect verbs and quoted speech, as well as the discourse particle sā and such PAEs as “ṣābha wābur pi ṣābah ā…”

In terms of structuring the discourse, pivots are like “signposts along the dramatic arc,” and in terms of the story-line, they are like “igniting devices that keep the dramatic tension moving inexorably forward” (Diarassouba 2007:164). The following section in the Intentus of the tale Bāgh al-Mowz contains the pivot in which a boy is kidnapped by a sorcerer. Both structurally and dramatically, this event leads to the peak of the story: the boy pushing the sorcerer into a boiling cauldron.

(739) B181

sātē laba inčī ba nummağ di- mā-an si- mā-an ā,
now approximately like: this to half two-month –PL three-month –PL SUB

tamnā ā rēs. yā ādamī rēs. byō ba šān ba kāra-ō
SENS SUB arrive:MIR this person arrive:MIR come:MIR to 3p to gate -the

salām alēkum, walēkum salām biyāyē giya rōr mē? āmas-um ba
Ar: peace.to.you.and.to.you.peace it.came.about where child 1s come:PERF-1s for

īn xō. āmas-um ba rōr xō. amu byō zank-an
what’s-it-called REFL come:PERF-1s for child REFL immediately come:MIR woman -PL

burwād-in sīna madrasit-ō. ar yak-ē rōr xō byār-a wa byō
run:REAL-3p toward school -the each one –a child REFL bring:IMPF-3s and come:MIR

xānāg- dg-in ba yē kī dgō-a rōr xō dī-im ba tō ā?
house – say:IMPF- to 3s who say:IMPF- child REFL give:IMPF- to 2s INTERR
the 3p

tumr-ī? bumur! rōr-an xō dī-im na ā, mā tā rōr
die:IMPF-2s die:2sIMPER child -PL REFL give:IMPF-1p NEG SUB 1p one child

wā mā byār-im, mā tā tā rōr wā mā. rōr xō ā,
with 1p bring:IMPF-1p 1p one.by.one child with 1p child REFL SUB

dī-im ba tō! dī-im na! lumrād raft pi šan.
give:IMPF-1p to 2s give:IMPF-1p NEG in.any.case go:3sREAL from 3p

mād-in rōk-an xānāg-ō, di- rōz, si-rōz, čār- rōz. bard-in šan
stay:REAL-3p boy -PL house-the two-day three-day four-day carry:REAL-3p 3p

madrasit-ō bār-ē dgur. sā madrasit-ō in-ē inda yē, ya’nī
school -the time -a other now school -the what’s-it-called -a inside 3s that.is.to.say

rōzīn-ō. rōzin-ē inda yē inčka bālā yē-ō kāra-ō.
vent.window -a vent.window -a inside 3s just like above 3s -the gate -the

yē čāb kin yē šāhar-ō ā? gardid-iš xo tēr-ē. wāšt-iš
3s how? do:MIR 3s sorcerer -the INTERR turn.into:REAL-3s REFL bird -a let:REAL-3s
rōk-an. dawaxa wāb inda madrasit-ō ā, wa ka jaḥḥa kin
boy -PL concentrating become:MIR inside school -the SUB and PEAK swooping do:MIR

ba rōk-ō awēlī, rōk-ō jwān-ō. jaḥḥa kin ba yē ā wa
for boy -the first boy -the good -the swooping do:MIR for 3s SUB and

sayy yē pi mayya rōk-an. gur yē wa burwā, yē rōk-ō
lift up:MIR 3s from midst boy -PL take:MIR 3s and run:MIR 3s boy -the

gid-iṣ.
take:REAL-3s

‘Now around half-way through, two or three months [later], they saw that he arrived! This person arrived! He came to them, to the gate! [They greeted each other:] “Salam aleikum.” “Wa aleikum salam.” Immediately he goes, “Where’s my child? I have come for my what’s-it-called, I have come for my child.” Immediately the women came [and] ran toward the school! Each one of them brings her child and comes to the house! They say to him, “Who says we would give our own children to you? Drop dead! We won't give our own children, we who have only brought forth one child [each]. We only have one child each. Our own children, are we to give them to you? We shall not give [them]!” Anyway, he went from them. The boys stayed at home two days, three days, four days. They took them once again to the school. Now, in the school was a what’s-it-called, I mean, a vent-window. There was a vent-window in it just like there is above this, the gate. How did he do this, this sorcerer? He turned himself into a bird. He let the boys be [he didn’t yet attack]. They were absorbed in their work at the school and, and he immediately swooped for the first boy, the fine one! He swooped on him and lifted him up from among the boys! He took him and ran! He took the boy.’

11.4.1.2.3 Accalmie

This ‘calm before the storm’ is backgrounded information that draws out tension in order to highlight the peak. It is a purposeful lull in the drama that includes evaluation, review, or summary statements, and repetition such as embedded poems. The accalmie can use realis and mirative verbs, generally has minimal speech (like the peak and unlike the intentus), and uses the discourse particle sā. List sequences and formulae like ‘cāb kin?’ accommodate the narrator’s foray into details about peripheral information.

The accalmie in Kanēdō includes a drawn-out description of people-eating sorcerers preparing for the war which takes place at the peak. The repetition in the list of items they have in their arsenal simultaneously builds tension and digresses from the onset of the actual battle:

(740) K713

|haraqa mū-an gid-iṣ. šaw drāz ā, sūqū būr-in| maxluq-an.
burning hair -PL do:REAL-3s night long SUB gathering become:REAL-3p crowd -PL

|qada qiz’an wā šan qada tālim wā ša w qada brin wā ša w|
some cauldro wit 3p some platter wit 3p and some rice wit 3p and

|qadar dām čī wā šan na wa qadar matfa bžēn-in,
some know:1sIMPF what with 3p NEG and some cannon hit:IMPF-3p|
Chapter 11 - Discourse

11.4.1.2.4 Peak

Peak is the high point of the plot, the eruption of the initial conflict that has been intensifying up until this point. At the peak, the audience finds speech replaced by action. Discourse particles *ka* and *amū* and *sā sā* (meaning ‘immediately’ or ‘quickly’, ‘right then’), and *byō* (‘it came about that’) are common. Usually there is the ‘crowded stage’ effect (concentration of characters on the scene), and the content involves physical interaction that is often violent. The peak is characterised by vivid detail, highlighted by the sensory evidential *tamna* and mirative verb forms. Similar structures which function to “heighten the tension in a scene” are observed in the 1001 Arabian Nights: “throughout *Alf laylah* dramatic visualization is reserved especially for scenes which form the heart of a given narrative” (Pinault 1992:28).

Mirative verb forms and several peak discourse particles occur in this short piece of text at the peak of *Bāğ al-Mowz*:

(741) B553

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ṭabil-ō} & \quad \text{abaša} \quad \text{kin} \quad \text{wa} \quad \text{sā sā} \quad \text{tay-a} \quad \text{tāt-a} \quad \text{tk-a} \\
\text{drum-the} & \quad \text{holding} \quad \text{do:MIR} \quad \text{and} \quad \text{right.now} \quad \text{come:IMPF-3s} \quad \text{want:IMPF-3s} \quad \text{do:IMPF-3s} \\
\text{tay-a} & \quad \text{wā=} \quad \text{tēğar} \quad \text{ba} \quad \text{ṭīn-ō}, \quad \text{wātō}, \quad \text{ba} \quad \text{qız’an-ō}, \quad \text{hata} \quad \text{come:IMPF-3s} \quad \text{-ward} \quad \text{forward} \quad \text{for} \quad \text{what’s-it-called} \quad \text{-the} \quad \text{just.so} \quad \text{for} \quad \text{cauldron} \quad \text{-the} \quad \text{until} \\
\text{āxur} & \quad \text{rōk-ō} \quad \text{inča} \quad \text{k-a} \quad \text{ya’nī}. \quad \text{bār-ē} \quad \text{ gid-iš}, \quad \text{dikkara} \quad \text{sātē}. \quad \text{after} \quad \text{boy-the} \quad \text{like:his} \quad \text{do:IRR-3s} \quad \text{that.is.to.say} \quad \text{time-a} \quad \text{do:REAL-3s} \quad \text{twice} \quad \text{now} \\
\text{sā sā} & \quad \text{sikkar-ē} \quad \text{bā yē} \quad \text{wa} \quad \text{bast} \quad \text{kin} \quad \text{ya’nī} \quad \text{wa} \quad \text{ka} \quad \text{right.now} \quad \text{three.times-a} \quad \text{of} \quad \text{3s} \quad \text{and} \quad \text{finishing} \quad \text{do:MIR} \quad \text{that.is.to.say} \quad \text{and} \quad \text{PEAK} \\
\text{dakka} & \quad \text{pā} \quad \text{kin} \quad \text{ba} \quad \text{yē} \quad \text{ẓarān-ō}, \quad \text{amu} \quad \text{byō} \quad \text{rāstağ} \quad \text{yē}, \quad \text{ka} \quad \text{digging} \quad \text{foot} \quad \text{do:MIR} \quad \text{to} \quad \text{3s} \quad \text{earth} \quad \text{-the} \quad \text{immediately} \quad \text{come:MIR} \quad \text{straight} \quad \text{3s} \quad \text{PEAK} \\
\text{byō} & \quad \text{dist} \quad \text{xō} \quad \text{sō} \quad \text{zekon} \quad \text{yē}, \quad \text{ka} \quad \text{byō} \quad \text{yē} \quad \text{wa} \quad \text{ka} \quad \text{come:MIR} \quad \text{hand} \quad \text{REFL} \quad \text{put:MIR} \quad \text{backside} \quad \text{3s} \quad \text{PEAK} \quad \text{come:MIR} \quad \text{3s} \quad \text{and} \quad \text{PEAK} \\
\text{kēsif} & \quad \text{yē} \quad \text{kin} \quad \text{inda} \quad \text{yē}, \quad \text{inda} \quad \text{qız’an-ō}. \quad \text{plunging} \quad \text{3s} \quad \text{do:MIR} \quad \text{in} \quad \text{3s} \quad \text{in} \quad \text{cauldron} \quad \text{-the}
\end{align*}
\]

97 Bayshak (2002:12) notes a special exclamation word *ka* in Shihhi, and explains its origins in a similar Akkadian word.
‘He took hold of the drum, and right then, he comes, wants to make him come forward, for whatever, just like this, for the cauldron. Until after the boy does it this way, I mean, he did it once, twice now. Right then, as he was going around the third time, and he was just finishing, I mean, and right away he [the boy] stood firmly on the ground, immediately he [the sorcerer] comes in line with him, right away he [the boy] comes and puts his hands on his [the sorcerer’s] backside, right away he comes to him, and right away he plunges him into it, into the cauldron.’

11.4.1.2.5 Dénouement

Following the peak there is a didactic peak or dénouement. It may have mirative verbs but none of the peak discourse particles, and thus provides slow release of the tension from the peak. Speech is a prominent feature of the dénouement, in contrast to the peak which has no speech. In fact, it is common that the dénouement consists entirely of quoted speech. The dénouement parallels the inciting incident in that it is the final scene in the tale with speech, just as the inciting incident is initiated by the tale’s first speech. Verbs other than those in the mirative are in the realis. There are usually no PAEs, but the few that occur are such summarising markers as lumrād and filhal. Being part of the themeline of the tale, the dénouement resolves the events of the peak. There is a strong theme of justice in this narreme, of putting matters to right and people getting what they deserve. There can also be themes of peace and reconciliation in the dénouement.

The following dénouement from the tale Sōntyō directly unties the events of the peak: the princess was humiliated by her new husband, the prince, but he apologises and takes her up for the customary post-wedding meeting with his family. Quoted speech predominates:

(742) S787
róz-an dgu ṡwāšam y=ā, ra ba yē dgō ba yē
day -PL next evening 3s=SUB go:3sREAL to 3s say:3sIMPF to 3s
maš, ähl wana dar-ō wākiš, wana nwāz nijjar-an
see:2sIMPER well either/or door -the open:2sIMPER or.else tomorrow boatbuilder -PL.
tār-um, lōh-ō šaraxa tk-in. taftafa yē tk-im ba ēmağ.
bring:IMPF-1s wood-the chopping do:IMPF-3p smashing 3s do:IMPF-1p for firewood.
šan wā maqṭa-an šan wa mīṣar-an šan, wa ādāmī txēn-in bā tō.
3p with chisel -PL 3p and saw -PL 3p and person laugh:IMPF-3p against 2s
dar-ō wākid-īs ba yē. dgō ba yē maš, hā! mē
doors-the open:REAL-3s for 3s say:3sIMPF to 3s see:2sIMPER well 1s
ẓan tō=um. gīd-ī mē, wa lakin tāt-ī tēbur-ī mē wā=
wife- 2s =EX:1s take:REAL-2s 1s and except want:IMPF-2s carry:IMPF-2s 1s -ward
xā- ṣmā ahla tō mēš-in mē ā, wa raft-ī ba mē xāna
house 2p relatives 2s see:IRR-3p 1s SUB and go:PERF-2s with 1s marriage
róz-ē, di-rōz, bar mē xā ṣmā. ādī ē-um wā tō, bāla
day -a two- day carry:2sIMPER 1s house 2p normal go:IMPF-1s with 2s up
11.4.1.3 Conclusion

11.4.1.3.1 Coda

The coda begins immediately or soon after the dénouement. Verbs are in the realis. There is no speech and no PAEs. The coda generally consists of the narrator telling the resolution of the story; e.g., the young person returns home. As well it often includes an element addressed to the audience: a rhetorical question or explanation.
Everything comes together in the coda of the tale Kanēdō, the boy’s ordeals each represented by what he has gained in the end. In the example below, the finis is included to demonstrate how it follows on directly from the coda, even with the conjunction wa ‘and’.

(743) K792

šayaxa yē gid-in. nadaba gid-in ba yē, wa żan yē appointing as sheikh 3s do:REAL-3p war.cry do:REAL-3p for 3s and wife 3s

mād wā yē, wa asp-an yē mād wā yē, wa jō’ar yē stay:3sREAL with 3s and horse -PL 3s stay:3sREAL with 3s and pearl 3s

mād wā yē, wa tō raft-ī wa mē āmad-um. xālaṣ. stay:3sREAL with 3s and 2s go:REAL-2s and 1s come:REAL-1s finished ‘They made him sheikh. They cheered for him with the war cry, and his wife stayed with him, and his horses stayed with him, and his pearl stayed with him, and you went and I came. The End.’

11.4.1.3.2 Finis

As in the example above, there is no pause before the finis, which consists only of a line or two. The first formula, tu raftī wa mē āmadum. ‘you left and I came’ is obligatory, and it is sometimes supplemented with xalas ‘the end.’

11.4.1.3.3 Epilogue

The epilogue is a brief interaction with the audience, either asking for their approval (“Was it a good tale? Was it wonderful?”) or summing up the tale’s inciting incident (“It was just that the boy found half a rupee!”). Such epilogic addresses are reminiscent of the classical ending of Arabic and Persian qaṣīdas: “the poet’s praise of his own proficiency (fakhrīya) and a prayer (du’ā) or a request (talab) to the patron” (Utas 2006:227).

The thread running through the plot of the tale Ğrabō was the cover-up of a murdered man. Thus the apt epilogue:

(744) G1045

ba sābab-ō ēka ā yē ādamī-ō ar kišt-iš y’=ā! for reason –the INF SUB 3s person –the that/which/who kill:REAL-3s 3s=SUB ‘All because they thought he was the person who killed him!’
12 Poetics

12.1 Poetics in linguistics

Halliday accounted for poetics in linguistics thus: “a straightforward linguistic description of a literary text, in which the text is treated in exactly the same way as any other text that is being subjected to linguistic analysis, reveals a great deal both about that text in particular and about literary language in general” (Halliday 2002:8). However, it is also acknowledged that in oral societies such as that of Kumzari, literary language and non-literary language do not face each other across a great chasm as they do in societies with long written traditions (Bright 1984:81). The language of ‘prose’ in oral societies is structured similarly to the language of ‘poetry’; it is “measured and allusive speech” (McDowell 2000:213), inflected with patterns of meaning and sound at all levels of the grammar (Johnstone 1991:114). Poetic attributes are usual in a “skilfully improvised literary text” (Kossmann 2000:88).

In many cultures with a long written tradition, such as in Europe, written tradition developed separately and often as a different genre (e.g. for religious or legal purposes) with distinct structures alongside a colloquial spoken language. Where literacy has become widespread across a community and over generations, many oral traditions and linguistic competencies have been lost. In contrast, in languages spoken by predominantly oral societies, literary and colloquial language is more unified, making the analysis of poetic forms essential to grammatical description.

Grammatical patterns in a language naturally create poetic qualities, which in turn create meaning and function (Blommaert 2006:8). A speaker of the language uses the grammatical resources of the language to organise a text and promote focus on the subject at hand, and accordingly “finds and exploits the irregularity that the patterns allow, and in doing so superimposes a further regularity” (Halliday 2002:9, emphasis original).

Sounds are inherently meaningless, but they function as meaning-holders once they are set into a pattern that is assigned meaning by a cultural context. So it is with poetics: poetic qualities such as rhyme and repetition in a text have no intrinsic meaning, but in a cultural context they are understood to compose meaning in literature. In that context a poem can be defined as “a text in which linguistic form—phonological, syntactic, and lexical— is organised in such a way as to carry an aesthetic content which is at least as important, as regards the response of the receiver, as is the cognitive content carried by the same text” (Bright 1984:134).

Poetics follows one of the “universal principles” of narrative structure used by Hymes in his linguistic analysis of indigenous American literature (Hymes 2003:340), namely, that “there is always a general aesthetic organisation to the story, a more global form of organisation that connects the story to culturally embedded understandings of the logic of activities and experiences.” These patterns may accessed by the analysis of equivalences in sounds, words, clauses, and texts in a language.

Ethnopoetic analysis “brings out the intricate and delicate correlations between linguistic form, thematic development (scenes, episodes) and the general (‘cultural’) formal architecture of the story” (Blommaert 2006:7). The components of Kumzari literature have already been explicated in chapter 11, particularly in the section on plot structure (§11.4). In contrast to the grammar of discourse, the present discussion focuses on the features that contribute to the thematic development of particular texts. It examines patterns of
equivalence that hold within a text, acknowledging that “any noticeable reiteration of the
same grammatical concept becomes an effective poetic device” (Jakobson 1987:122).

12.2 Repetition and Parallelism

Repetition has several functions in discourse. Observing its common occurrence in oral tales, Ong (2002:40) also noted that repetition provides a means of making a tale more fluent and allowing an audience to keep track of events. Pinault (1992:22) alludes to similar grounding functions in the Tales from Arabian Nights: “In those stories from the Alf laylah … which are especially well crafted, the structure is disposed so as to draw the audience’s attention to certain narrative elements over others. Recurrent vocabulary, repeated gestures, accumulations of descriptive phrases around selected objects: such patterns guide the audience in picking out particular actions as important in the flow of narrative.”

Perhaps most obviously, repetition provides an aide-mémoire in verbal communication. Referring to Arabic sung poetry of the Gulf and to oral traditions in general, Jargy (1989:184-185) states that repetition in texts is used to facilitate memorisation, as well as “to give rhythm its predominance and color”. Jargy further notes that in fact, repetition is pre-eminent for this purpose over the text and its thematic content. This is because enacting repetition has rhetorical force beyond the lexical denotation of the words used. Holes, in his analysis of Baharna Arabic, calls this iconic: “the act of repetition has iconic meaning: it is a time-consuming act whose performance requires effort, and by making this effort the aunt is seeking to prove her point” (Holes 1995: 78). Repeating words, or using parallelism, stands for something else; in the same way that a speech act like an oath, pronouncement, curse, or spell has a function larger than its immediate meaning, repetition and parallelism are grammaticalised in many languages. Jakobson (1960) referred to this as establishing “equivalence”, a pattern of repetition or parallelism among lines and paragraphs in a discourse that relate to the overall organisation in a text. In Kumzari, discourse equivalence can be discerned in various forms, and at all levels of the language. Examples of equivalence are reviewed below.

12.3 Phonetic parallelism

In phonetic parallelism, sound and meaning are brought together through repetition of words, alliteration, and ideophones, to form patterns that gives phonetic structure to the whole text. Phonetic assonance is achieved both by phrase repetition in the embedded poems and inter-paragraph verb repetition. In the following cases, the “combination of several identical elements to express intensity of an action or a high degree of a property” has been termed “augmentative conjunction” (Haspelmath 2007:25); repetition here denotes the passing of time or continuation of an action:

(745) B750
mād, mād, mād.
Stayed, stayed, stayed. [things stayed the same for a time]

(746) B785
raft-in, raft-in, raft-in, raft-in,
inča ba’ada būr-in farra ā...
They went, went, went, went. [they kept going]
like this becoming far away…
Phonetic repetition structures the narrative; however, even within speech, assonance gives weight to the discourse. Rather than rhyming syllables at the end of a line, Kumzari more often uses anaphora; that is, successive lines beginning with words of the same sounds. Observable in the tale Pačaxčēō, in a speech reprimanding a girl in the desert, in four successive lines a bedouin repeats the adverb ḥasa ‘still’. In the first of these two lines it is negated with na following the adverb, and the latter three lines are joined with the conjunction wa.

(747) P635

ḍgō ba yē, “ḥā, tēl-ī mē na!”
ḍgō ba yē, “sā tō! rēsid-ī.
ḥasa na majma gid-ī,
   wa ḥasa na šaw wābur,
   wa ḥasa maxluq-an ć-in wā= bāla,
   wa ḥasa maxluq-an tā’-in wā= ūeran.”

“tēl-ī mē na!”
She said to him, “Oh, don’t leave me!”
He said to her, “Now, you! You arrived!
Still you did not speak,
And still it’s not night,
And still many people are going up there,
And still many people are coming down there!”

“Don’t leave me!”

Phonetic equivalence in the form of ideophones permeates narrative discourse, and in many cases these sound-meaning junctions help to carry the story line. In the tale of The Crow, Ğrābō, the cawing sound made by the crow draws auditory focus. It is said that the crow caws whenever someone lies, and so throughout the story, the plot hinges on the sound of the crow cawing:

(748) G198

nakt-ē tē bang-ō ā.
ṭēr āmad, ĝrāb-ē.
   ēka ā yā=in ar qāq tk-in ā,
   yā ĝrāb-an baṭna ā,
   qā qa tk-in na ā,
   hē, ĝrāb-an gap-an.

ništ inda knār-ō.
A little before sunset,
A bird came: a crow.
   You know these ones that caw,
   These crows from the Batinah coast,
   The ones that say ‘caw, caw’,
   Yes, the big crows.

It sat in the jujube tree.

Later in the story, the crow’s cawing reveals some characters’ murderous secrets:

(749) G525
“qāl!”
“čumbū yē na!?”
“yē fēṭahit må tk-a wa...”
“hā måa! bābā!”
“Caw!”
“What is the matter with it?!?”
“It is telling on us and...”
“Oh my...! O son...!”

12.4 Morphological parallelism

Morphological parallelism is displayed in the list below, with the plural suffix –an present on all five nouns of the semantic domain of food items, as well as the conjunction wa and the peak discourse marker ka prefacing each item in the middle of the list. The rhythm of morphological symmetry in the list also supplies phonetic assonance.

(750) P190
yā nēy-t-an wās-in, bā yē na ā,
   nēy-t-an xōd-iš.
   šām-an,
wa ka nān-an,
wa ka brinž-an,
wa ka qūt-an,
   mēčūrī-an,
yā’nī, yē xōd-iš.
These charity foods that were brought, it didn’t matter,
she ate the charity foods.
Suppers!
And then breads!
And then rice dishes!
And then soups!
   Fish stews!
That is to say, she ate it.

Morphological parallelism is frequently employed in formulae and in the list section of embedded poems, discussed in §12.8.

12.5 Lexical repetition

Lexical repetition emphasises the information being communicated and effects memorability. A section of the tale Rōran Šēxō is given below to demonstrate its complete saturation with lexical repetition. Three types of lexical repetition are evident in this section: lexical couplets, synonymous parallelism, and inverted parallelism. The back-and-forth of the repeated lexemes shapes the story at a crucial point in the tale’s thematic development; it signals the divide in characters echoed from the beginning of the story: contrasting the six macho brothers and the youngest gay brother whom they bury in a well (dropped by his jāmağ-skirt), and the seven princesses who decide to stay with the youngest brother rather than abandoning him.
ēwō bass=im. here enough =EX:1p

‘“Here we [have done] enough.”’

bass=im bēw ka kēš-in yē ba nummağ Enough =EX:1p already PEAK pull:MIR-3p 3s to halfway

‘“We [have done] enough already,” so right away they pulled him [up] halfway!’

kēš-in yē ba nummağ ā, pull:MIR-3p 3s to halfway SUB ‘Pulling him [up] halfway,

ka kārd-ō sī'-in ba īn-ō, PEAK knife-the put:MIR-3p to what’s-it-called -the

‘right away they put the knife to the what’s-it-called!’

šamšir-ō sī'-in ba jāmağ-ō, sword-the put:MIR-3p to man’s skirt-the

‘they put the sword to the skirt!’

kard-in yē inda yē, drop:MIR-3p 3s inside 3s

‘They dropped him [the boy] into it [the well]!’

qaṣṣa yē gid-in cutting 3s do:REAL-3p

‘They cut him [off].’

kard-in yē bēw, drop:MIR-3p 3s already…

‘Once they dropped him,’

wa gab twāra wābur ḡuzr-ō, and suddenly shelter become:3sREAL deep -the

‘he immediately took shelter in the deep [part of the well].’

wa ka dafana ān gid-in bard. and PEAK burying 3s.ANA do:REAL -3p stone

‘And right away they buried that one with stones.’

dafana ān gid-in. burying 3s.ANA do:REAL -3p

‘They buried that one.’

bard kardīd-in ba yē ā, stone drop:REAL -3p on 3s SUB

‘Dropping stones on him,’

ḥawż yē dār –in ba yē level 3s give:REAL -3p on 3s

‘they levelled [the ground] over him,’
sātē murd.
now die:REAL
‘Now he [must] be dead.’

dgīn ba xō murd.
say:3pIMPF to REFL die:3sREAL
‘They said to themselves, “He is dead.”’

dgīn ba żank- -an byā -č č-im.
say:3pIMPF to woman- -PL come:IMPER -2p go:IMPF -1p
‘They said to the women, “Come, we are going.”’

żank- -an dgīn ba šan, mā č-im na wā šmā na.
woman- -PL say:3pIMPF to 3p 1p go:IMPF -1p NEG with 2p NEG
‘The women said to them, “We are not going with you.”’

mā šū mā murs –č ba čō –ō.
1p husband 1p die:PERF -3s in well -the
‘As for us, our husband has died in the well;’

mā bumr –im ba čō –ō.
1p die:IMPER -1p in well -the
‘May we die in the well!’

šmā na wās –č mā ā,
2p NEG bring:PERF -2p 1p SUB
‘None of you brought us.’

ar wās –č mā ā, yēč.
that/which/who bring:PERF -3s 1p SUB 3s.EMPH
‘The one who brought us was him.’

żank- -an raft-in na.
woman- -PL go:IMPF -3p NEG
‘The women didn’t go.’

wa šan raft-in.
and 3p go:IMPF -3p
‘And they [the brothers] went.’

The first type of repetition is called lexical couplets, because the repeated words and phrases are almost always found in pairs. In the text above, spanning 54 seconds of time, more than 16 lexical couplets of exactly repeated words or phrases are found, such as the following:

(752) R1333
wa ka dafana ţin gid-in bard.

dafana ţin gid-in. bard kardīd-in ...
‘And right away they buried that one with stones.
They buried that one. Dropping stones…’
Synonymous parallelism repeats the word or phrase but uses a synonym instead of the exact word or phrase. This second type is exploited in the embedded poems, as will be described in §12.8 of the present chapter. Synonymous parallels are often found in groups of three or more, prompting linguists observing this rhetorical device in Arabic to call it “listing parallelism” (Johnstone 1991:102). In the text above, these sets of synonymous parallels are heard:

(753) R1324
kārd-ā sīʾ-in ... šamšir-ā sīʾ-in ... qaṣṣa yē gid-in
‘they put the knife’ … ‘they put the sword’ … ‘they cut him [off]’

(754) R1344
dafana ān gid-in. bard kardīd-in ba yē ā, ḥawz yē dār-in ba yē.
‘They buried that one. Dropping stones on him, they levelled [the ground] over him.’

The third type of lexical repetition, inverted parallelism, repeats the word or phrase but inverts its syntax or meaning. Kumzari often contrasts a negative/positive pair, as in this example from the text above:

(755) R1362
šmā na wās-ē mā ā,
   ar wās-ē mā ā, yēē.
żank-an raft-in na.
   wa šan raft-in.
   “None of you brought us,
   The one who brought us was him.”
   The women didn’t go.
   And they [the brothers] went.’

The following pair of parallel lines uses both inverted syntax and opposite meaning:

(756) R1354
dgīn ba żank-an, byā-ē, č-im.
żank-an dgīn ba šan, mā č-im na wā šmā na.
‘They said to the women, “Come, we are going.”
The women said to them, “We are not going with you.”’

12.6 Syntactic parallelism

Syntactic parallelism takes various forms: anaphora, epiphora, anadiplosis, chiasmus, and word order variation. All of these exploit the repertoire of Kumzari’s clause structure for poetic effect.

Anaphora is syntactic parallelism that repeats the initial element of a clause in successive lines. It commonly occurs in speeches and in backgrounded sections of a text. In the following example from the tale Sōntyā, anaphora is among several types of parallelism contained in the princess’ request to her father:

(757) S82
murd-um ka bur-um inda sōnty-ō yʾ=ā,
ində hamya bur-um,
ra’-um wa=bāla,
ra’-um mağrab,
ra’-um mašraq,
aña yā tk-i ba mē āa,
balkē mān-um zindağ.

If I should become dead on that raft,
Should I become beached,
Should I go up,
Should I go west,
Should I go east,
If you do these things for me,
Perhaps I will stay alive.

In the type of syntactic parallelism called epiphora, the latter part of a clause is repeated, and may be paraphrased or elaborated in successive lines. In the tale Bāğ al-Mowz, seven women use epiphora in explaining to a beggar what they are doing:

(758) B69
pi tāraf mā āa, kār-an tk-im,
yā’ni, qadar qayit-an tk-im,
wa qadar kār-an tk-im.

From our side, we’re working.
That is to say, we’re doing some embroidery,
And we’re doing some work.

As is often the case in repetition, the meaning of the epiphoric clause may be amplified or may alternate with synonyms or negated antonyms:

(759) B281
wa mām-ō mād bağa kōr.
kōr būr na.
And the mother remained without blindness.
She did not become blind.

Anadiplosis, also called ‘lexical overlap’ (Thompson, Longacre, & Hwang 2007:275), repeats a clause, whole or in part, in the next line. In many languages, anadiplosis contributes to cohesion in a discourse. In the Indo-Aryan language Palula, repeated clauses unify a text by “not adding any new information but instead highlighting the temporal relationship between the two events” (Liljegren 2008:315). In Kumzari, anadiplosis and other types of syntactic repetition are commonly found in the introduction of a tale, and represent backgrounding devices. The repeated clause in anadiplosis is followed by the subordinator ā, and an independent clause that continues the progression of the tale:

(760) A69
rēs-id dbay. rēs-id dbay ā, … cōt dukkan-ē.
He arrived at Dubai. Arriving at Dubai, … he goes to a shop.

Anadiplosis is often found at episode boundaries, recapitulating what has happened and moving on to tell about something new in the foreground of the story. For this reason it has
been called a ‘bridging device’ in clause-linking syntax (Dixon & Aikhenvald 2008:8). In the following example of anadiplosis, the repeated line is about a couple who agree to adopt a boy if he helps them with work. After they take the boy in, they discover that he has a crow that caws whenever someone is not telling the truth:

(761) G331

{lumrād} gid-in yē ba xō. gid-in yē ba xō ā, xābr-in ba yē sā yē ġrāb-ō...

So they took him in. Taking him in, they found out from him that now there was this crow…

Chiasmus is a type of syntactic parallelism that repeats words or clauses but reverses their order. In just twelve seconds of speech given by a sorcerer in the tale Bāğ al-Mowz, there are three pairs of lines showing chiasmus:

(762) B104
1. dō-um ba šmā af-ta ḫabb ānar.
   af-ta ḫabb ānar dō-um ba šmā ā...
   I will give to you seven pomegranate seeds.
   Seven pomegranate seeds I will give to you...

2. wa=angar zā-ē,
   wa af-ta rōk-an tār-ē wa=angar...
   All together, you will give birth,
   and you will bring forth seven sons all together...

3. lakin yak-ē ba mē.
   yak-ē dē ba mē ā…
   But one of them to me.
   One of them give to me…

Chiasmus on a larger scale is seen in this passage from the tale Sōntyō, in which lines from the first half are mirrored in lines of the second half:

(763) S516
mē dit āmō xō tāt-um na.
yē ar č-um ba yē xāna ā, tāt-um yē na.
č-um xāna ba sōnty-ō.
čābē č-i xāna ba sōnty-ō ā?
yā lōh-ē ā?!
sāl-ē di-sāl kaft-ē durya-ō!
palla ġū, palla kār,
čābē č-i xāna ba sōnty-ō ā?
mē č-um xāna ba sōnty-ō.
kaw tubr-um ba sōnty-ō.
dit āmō xō tāt-um na.

“As for me, I do not want [to marry] my uncle’s daughter.
The one whom I am to marry, I do not want her.
I will marry the raft.”

“How is it that you would marry the raft?! This wooden thing?!
For a year or two, it has been in the sea!
It is full of excrement, full of things,
How is it that you would marry the raft?!”
“As for me, I will marry the raft.
I will sign the marriage contract with the raft.
I do not want [to marry] my uncle’s daughter.”

The diagram below outlines the passage’s chiasmus structure.

A“(As for me,) I do not want [to marry] my uncle’s daughter.
B The one whom I am to marry, I do not want her.
C I will marry the raft.”
D “How is it that you would marry the raft?!
this wooden thing?!!
E For a year or two, it has been in the sea!
It is full of excrement, full of things,
D How is it that you would marry the raft?!”
C “(As for me,) I will marry the raft.
B I will sign the marriage contract with the raft.
A I do not want [to marry] my uncle’s daughter.”

Aside from the two mē declarations, lines A, C, and D are repeated word for word in reverse order. The lines B are semantic mirror images of each other, both regarding the formalities and traditions of the marriage contract. Three lines E in the centre of the passage are on the same subject, degrading the raft’s qualities.

Variation in word order is a syntactic device that can produce foregrounding, drawing out certain information as more salient to the text. Johnstone (1991:94-95) calls this the creation of ‘rhetorical presence.’ A subject or object may be pre-posed or post-posed from its regular position vis-à-vis the verb. Dislocation of constituents can even “function grammatically as a topic-switching mechanism,” as Givón points out (1984:193). A sentence in the tale Rōran Šēxō introduces čō’-ē ‘a well’ at a point in the discourse where the six brothers are thirsty and need water, incorporating both lexical repetition and word order variation to convey its centrality to the plot:

(764) R1225
čō’-ē ām ba šan, čō’-ē.
A well they came upon, a well.

An illustration of pre-posing a subject can be found in this sentence, where a clause begins with “as for us...” (lit.: 1PL) to foreground a topic [‘us’] that is different from the subject of unmarked syntax [our husband]:

(765) B124
mā wana šū mā af-ta rōr wā yē ā, yak-ē čō, šaš kas wā yē.
“As for us, if our husband has seven children, one leaves, he [still] has six.”

There are also instances of post-posed subjects. In the following case, post-posing the subject functions in participant reference in the text; the object of the previous sentence rōk-ō ‘the
boy’ is becoming the subject of this sentence, so post-posing it draws attention to the fact that there is a different subject:

(766) B248
sayaha gid-iš y’=ā rōk-ō.
Shouted this boy.

An example of the function of word order variation in discourse grammar is the use of factive syntax to track participant reference by expressing the “coming into existence” of a character or key object in a text, when they are introduced for the first time in a scene. In factive syntax, the entity that ‘comes into existence’ is post-posed to clause-final position (see §4.3.2.3 on factive verb phrase syntax):

(767) A514
ka ām šēx-ō.
Immediately came the sheikh.

12.7 Semantic parallelism

Cohesion is discerned more generally in a text through semantic equivalence. Clive Holes (1995:67) notes that this subtle strategy is used in the Arabic spoken in Bahrain, where he describes “repetitive routines which involve larger chunks of language, and which serve higher-level cohesive and presentational discourse functions.”

Equivalence in the content of the discourse is similar to the parallelism of action distinguished by Kossmann in his study of Eastern Moroccan Berber fairy tales (2000:46,99). Whole sections may be previewed or reviewed, as in the Kumzari tale Bāğ al-Mowż: the horse instructs the boy in minute detail what will happen with the sorcerer, and when it actually happens, the entire scene is recounted. In the same way, the sorcerer foretells what will happen when the women eat the magic pomegranate seeds, and the events are repeated when they actually occur in the story.

This kind of preview in Kui (Mon-Khmer) discourse is explained: “when the narrator aims to underline an event as crucial information, she may alert the lister by letting a participant talk about that event before it actually happens” (Burusphat 1993:156). Not only does this semantic repetition highlight certain key elements in the tale; it also perfects the intrinsic balance of expectation and fulfillment in the story.

In the tale Pačaxčēō, one character displays a juxtaposition of traits: rationality and rashness. The boy’s divergent decisions in the story correspond with his contrasting movements away from home and back to it. He first makes a rational financial decision to go to Kuwait to work, then “drops money” at the souq to impulsively buy an expensive locked chest without knowing what was inside it. Later in the tale, the boy makes a rational financial decision to go on the ḥijj pilgrimage to fulfill his community obligations, then he “drops money” in Mecca for a costly voyage back home to appease his paranoia over a false rumour. His sensible decisions were made at home, in consultation with his family. His foolish expenditures were made in faraway lands, incited by his reckless mind. Such parallels as are seen in the boy’s decisions and locations in this story have been termed ‘semantic rhyme’ (Blommaert 2006:17).
Semantic parallelism is observed too in thematic formulae in a text. As described in chapter 11, like narrative formulae these are repeated, but thematic formulae are specific to a text and its thematic content. They are “closely linked to the contents of the story, and may be an inomissible part of the story-line” (Kossmann 2000:75). The tale just discussed contains in its thematic formula a warning against foolish presumption: ‘bağa s’āl, jwāb ‘Without a question, an answer’. These two lines are repeated throughout the text. When formulae encapsulate general themes, they resemble proverbs in that they “encourage the audience to reflect on their position in the real world, and to connect this to their reception of the story. In this way the storyteller links the narrative universe with the real one…” (Yamamoto 2010:256).

As a text progresses, semantic parallels facilitate the development of expectation structures on the part of listeners. They also lend coherence to the sequence of events, creating an intersection of “linguistic form, thematic development… and… architecture of the story” (Blommaert 2006:7).

12.8 Embedded poems

The linguistic forms already discussed for their poetic qualities come together in a certain pattern to build poems that are embedded into the Kumzari tales. Poetic language such as they exhibit has been defined simply as “a highly patterned and organised mode of verbal expression” (Stankiewicz 1960:70). However, since the tales themselves have been shown to be highly patterned, the embedded poems represent a structure within a structure: they have their own linguistic patterns within the discourse grammar of the tale.

Utas (2006:240) notes that in Persian folktales, dramatic language builds a sort of skeleton for the storyteller to structure the details of the story around, and these points function as traditional memorising notes. Embedded poems in Kumzari have their place within the context of the discourse as well; they usually occur in the acalmie of a tale, that is, in the backgrounded section just before the peak. Although the content of the poems is often intriguing or surprising in nature, it also tends to hold information that is crucial to the plot of the tale. Falling just before dramatic high points in the story-line, further action is contingent on what has taken place as expressed in the poems.

In the Kumzari story Bāğ al-Mowż, a sorcerer abducts a boy and takes him to his abode on a faraway mountaintop, where there are seven houses containing the makings of black magic. This poem is set at the point in the tale just before the boy discovers a talking horse in the seventh house, who helps him make his dramatic escape:

**Table 61. Poem: The Seven Houses (B313 from the tale Bāğ al-Mowż)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Poetic Structure</th>
<th>Kumzari</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>this boy TOP</td>
<td>mād yā rōk-ō ā,</td>
<td>He kept going, this boy,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go in this house TOP</td>
<td>raf yā šiş-ta xānağ-an ā:</td>
<td>into these six houses, you know:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>one house full of {sorcerer’s things}</td>
<td>tā xānağ palla xwā,</td>
<td>One house full of salt,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>one house full of {sorcerer’s things}</td>
<td>tā xānağ palla ğātaťf,</td>
<td>One house full of rope-wood,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>one house full of {sorcerer’s things}</td>
<td>tā xānağ palla knux-an ādamī,</td>
<td>One house full of worn-out people,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>one house full of {sorcerer’s things}</td>
<td>tā xānağ palla ādam-an alaqa,</td>
<td>One house full of hanged,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>one house full of {sorcerer’s things}</td>
<td>tā xānağ palla ādam-an ḍīl,</td>
<td>One house full of samar, samar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>own things</td>
<td>tā xānağ palla qiz ‘an,</td>
<td>firewood,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>great things in NEG</td>
<td>ar tā-ē ya’ni ba kār-an xō,</td>
<td>One house full of cauldrons,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go in this house NEG</td>
<td>iš kār-an jwān inda yē na,</td>
<td>Each one of them, I mean, had its</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ğēr yā xānağ-ō ar dgō ba yē</td>
<td>own things, except that house which</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The characteristic that most distinguishes embedded poems from their discourse context is the parallelism they exhibit. Jakobson calls parallelism “the fundamental problem of poetry” (1960:368), suggesting that likeness and difference be explored to determine equivalence on different linguistic levels.

The Kumzari poems’ structure is that of a FRAME and LIST, with both parts displaying parallelism at all linguistic levels. The first and last few lines of a poem constitute its FRAME, which encompasses the poem’s topic. The FRAME surrounds the sequence of parallel lines that comprises the list. The poem’s topic is brought into focus in the FRAME with a subordinator-topicaliser (ā) at the beginning and/or end, as well as demonstratives (yā) and stated subjects (rather than default pronoun-drop) in a highlighting function. Most frames exhibit grammatical symmetry between the opening and closing of the poem, giving the audience an “expectation of outcome” as described in Hymes’ ethnopoetics analyses (2003:248). In the poem ‘The Seven Houses’ above, the repeated elements in the FRAME are the verb raf ‘go’, the demonstrative yā, and the topic xānağ ‘house’. The clause-final subordinator ā on the first two lines is paralleled by the clause-final negator na on the last two lines. In the last three lines of the poem, both the preposition inda ‘in’ and the noun kār-an ‘things’ are repeated.

Within the FRAME is a LIST of semantically similar items. The LIST is comprised of different types of one item, or related actions, or reiterations of a statement; however, the varying items in the LIST are connected grammatically by using the same verb, or the same heading, demonstrative or adverbial phrase. In “The Seven Houses” poem, the repeated part of the LIST is the anaphoric phrase tā xānağ palla ‘one house full of…’, while the variation is shown in the contents of each house, which are different kinds of things typically belonging to sorcerers (firewood, cauldrons, and salt for eating people).

In “The Clairvoyant Camel” poem below, the FRAME repeats the word ‘camel’ four times, and the LIST repeats the verb ‘knows’ four times. Of the four morphemes in each line of the LIST, epiphora of the same three morphemes- andān- illustrates phonetic parallelism. The other morpheme constituting the ‘slot’ in the LIST is filled with different things about thieves that the clairvoyant camel knows, each item taking the plural suffix.

Ferioli (2010) explains how this system of listing is useful in the oral composition of poetry, as it functions in the poetic eddas of Iceland. The lists “follow a very strict pattern with minimal variations, so that most of the times only the concept-word […], filling a specific metrical slot, and few other elements change in the stanza.” Citing Acker (1998:64), Ferioli notes that the lists “build up a “slot-filler system” which can perfectly be filled ad libitum and
potentially *ad infinitum* by the poet. This provides him with a very useful tool to remember not only poetic synonyms (and kennings) for substantives, but also the verbs and phrases which are most likely to accompany them in a context of oral composition.” A poem with such a listing structure is “exactly the kind of poem which, although on the one hand featuring a very fixed structure, is on the other hand extremely flexible, in that it can be reduced or extended according to the needs of the poet, and its constituents can be substituted with anything the poet considers relevant” (Ferioli 2010). The paradox of patterned variation is evident in the lists of Kumzari embedded poems. In the poem below, the **LIST** is composed of the things the girl has taken: a camel and all of its owner’s belongings. Although each item in the **LIST** is different, all of them are subjects of the same prepositional phrase and are members of the same semantic domain: weapons and supplies. Epiphora is exhibited in the phrase ‘she has’ occurring eight times, and numerical and semantic parallelism in the general summary or ‘et cetera’ following each set of four times: kār-an ‘things’ or kawada ‘heaps’ or ‘all kinds’. The topic of the poem’s **FRAME** is the motion of the camel and a character’s movements with regard to the camel; synonymous parallelism is shown in the six different verbs used in the **FRAME** to describe their movements.

### Table 63. Poem: Girl Takes off with the Camel and Weapons (P724 from the tale Paçaaxčēō)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Poetic Structure</th>
<th>Kumzari</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>go {camel}</td>
<td>bō pē yē wā=bāla nakt-ē</td>
<td>“Go ahead, upward a little bit and it will go and it will break into a gallop.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go {camel} gallop {camel}</td>
<td>wa čōt wa ka sō ba yē.</td>
<td>One for speed and One for hurrying it along.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>speed {camel}</td>
<td>tā bārē wa</td>
<td>She has a gun and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hurry {camel}</td>
<td>tā māzad yē tk-a.</td>
<td>She has weapons and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tāfaq wā yē wa</td>
<td>She has the cartrdige-belt and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tāha wā yē wa</td>
<td>She has the cloak and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>maḥzōm-ō wā yē wa</td>
<td>things,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>biśi-ō wā yē wa</td>
<td>She has everything,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kār-an,</td>
<td>She has a comb,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ammū wā yē,</td>
<td>She has fish stew,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>šāng-ē wā yē,</td>
<td>She has headrings, and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mēčūrī wā yē,</td>
<td>so many things!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngāl wā yē,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wā kawada!</td>
<td>Now, when a camel runs [away], you, you run after it!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>run {camel}</td>
<td>sā jāmal-ē tirwā ā,</td>
<td>Where are you bringing it from?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>run after {camel}</td>
<td>tō tirwāl pištu yē!</td>
<td>And take it!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bring {camel}</td>
<td>tā-ē yē pi gīya ā?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>take {camel}</td>
<td>wā gur yē!</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Jakobson commented on the ‘same and different’ elements of poetry by explaining that “grammatical categories, whether reiterative or contrasting, [have] compositional function” (1980d:112). The following poem, about people giving charity grain, displays both repetition of the ‘grain’ topic in the **FRAME** and variation in the quantities of grain in the **LIST**. Three lines in the **FRAME** begin with the word ġēla ‘grain’ and end with the third-person plural suffix –in on semantically-related verbs for harvesting grain. The semantic subject (different people) varies in the **LIST** but the words referring to the people are in pairs with the subordinator-topicaliser: demonstrative ū ā in the first two lines and anaphoric pronoun ān ā in the second two lines. Also prominently repeated and creating assonance in the poem is the verb phrase tāra ba šan at the end of each **LIST** line. Jakobson recognised the interplay of rhyme and repeated grammatical elements as a general characteristic of poetry: “Rhymes may hinge on similar derivational and grammatical suffixes or may emphasise certain phonemic features at the expense of other, more marginal features” (Jakobson 1960:77).
Table 64. Poem: People Giving Charity Grain (G20 from the tale Ğrābō)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Poetic Structure</th>
<th>Kumzari</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>harvest grain</td>
<td>ğēla tkar-d-in,</td>
<td>Grain they were harvesting.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gather grain, grain</td>
<td>ğēla, ğēla d-g-in.</td>
<td>Grain, grain they were gathering.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>these brought to them {quantity}</td>
<td>wa xuṣbā.</td>
<td>[The land] was flourishing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>these brought to them {quantity}</td>
<td>y’=ā xā... man- ē tār-a ba šān,</td>
<td>These [people], of a house...brought them a measure,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>those brought to them {quantity}</td>
<td>wa y’=ā nīmī tār-a ba šān,</td>
<td>and these [people], brought them a half,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>those brought to them {quantity}</td>
<td>wa ān ā, rub’-ē tār-a ba šān,</td>
<td>and those [people], brought them a quarter,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{quantity}</td>
<td>wa ān ā, nūṣnuṣif tār-a ba šān...</td>
<td>and those [people] brought them a small share...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{quantity}</td>
<td>laba panj mà,</td>
<td>about five months’ [worth],</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{quantity}</td>
<td>šāš mà,</td>
<td>six months’ [worth],</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>get grain</td>
<td>panj mà ġēla ḥasala tk-in.</td>
<td>five months’ [worth] of grain they were getting.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tannen (1989:51) explained that this type of repetition in a text, including both same elements and varying elements, “foregrounds and intensifies the part repeated, and also foregrounds and intensifies the part that is different.” The view that repetition lends to foregrounding makes clear that the significance of the list in the poem above is not specifically each quantity of grain and who brought it, but rather the fact that there were many people who brought it and that there were all kinds of grain. The storyteller could have just as properly inserted different quantities; in fact, in other poems, items in the list seem to be almost random, as long as they follow the pattern. Stankiewicz recognised that the inherent flexibility of poetic language, sometimes disparaged as “deviation”, is actually regularised, patterned, and systematic (1960:70).

Poetry draws on the grammar of a language to make metaphors. Jakobson called this the “poetic exploitation of morphological possibilities” (1987:127) and he explains, “By full exploitation of the resources of the linguistic system, the poet is able to arrange his themes or the formal elements, such as rhyme and syntactic parallelism, to coincide with phonemic or grammatical oppositions” (Jakobson 1960:77). Systematic use of linguistic potentials in the Kumzari embedded poems reveals parallelism at various levels of the grammar, often in combination. This poem in the tale Kan’ēdō makes use of the placeholder pronoun īn-ē to create chiasmus through syntactic variation, reversing the order of the prepositional phrase wā yē ‘he had’ and the subject noun żōraq-ē ‘a zoraq boat’:

(768) K32
īn-ē wā yē, żōraq-ē.
żōraq-ē wā yē ā...
He had a what’s-it-called, a zoraq boat.
Having a zoraq boat...

The same poem uses the limits of the vocabulary to create lexical and semantic parallelism. The boy asks about his late father’s livelihood, and most of the poem is the grandmother explaining what he did. At the beginning of the poem, she uses the words ‘boat’ and ‘go’, and the boy echoes these words at the end, thus completing the frame of the poem. Synonymous lexemes for ‘small fishing boat’—żōraq and māšuwē—are repeated in the frame, both with the indefinite suffix. The same verb ‘go’ is in the third person at the beginning of the frame and takes the first-person suffix at the end of the frame:

(769) K35
żōraq-ē wā yē ā,
ēdū dirya.
[...]
Having a zōraq boat,
He would go fishing at sea.

Now as soon as I build myself a māšuwē boat,
I shall go.

As well as repetition pairs in the FRAME, numerical forms in listing parallelism are very clear in this poem, which contains four sets of three-item lists. Below is the entire poem, constructing an account of the boy’s father’s profession. There are sets of three fishing activities, kinds of fish, mentions of different people’s houses, and types of small payments given to the fishers:

Table 65. Poem: Boy Asks about his Father’s Livelihood (K32 from the tale Kan’ēdō)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Poetic Structure</th>
<th>Kumzari</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3S said to 3S:</td>
<td>dgō ba yē kān awwal,</td>
<td>She said to him, “Before, he had a what’s-it-called, a zoraq boat.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>have a boat</td>
<td>in-ē wā yē, zōraq-ē.</td>
<td>Having a zoraq boat,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go [fishing activity]</td>
<td>li jēl tka.</td>
<td>He would go fishing at sea.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[fishing activity] fish:</td>
<td>mī’ī sayya.</td>
<td>He would lay out fishing nets.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[kind of fishes]</td>
<td>kan’ēd-an wa</td>
<td>He would catch fish:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[kind of fishes]</td>
<td>mēy-an wa</td>
<td>kan’ad fishes and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[kind of fishes]</td>
<td>būt-an wa...</td>
<td>fishes and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to house carry</td>
<td>tēbar-a ba xānāq-an,</td>
<td>He would take them to the houses,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to house sheikh</td>
<td>ba xā sēx-ō wa</td>
<td>to the sheikh’s house and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to house people:</td>
<td>ba xānāq-an ādamī,</td>
<td>to people’s houses.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>some give to us [small payment] and some give to us [small payment] and our living from this work:</td>
<td>qadar ya’ni nakt-ē arma dī-in ba mā wa qadar ḥabbē brinz dī-in ba mā wa qadar-ē pē qrūnī dī-in ba mā wa</td>
<td>Some, well, would give us a few dates, and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3S said to 3S:</td>
<td>iṣī’it mā pi yā kāra-ō, ya’ni.</td>
<td>Some would give us a bit of rice, and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>make a boat</td>
<td>dgō ba yē bā yē na.</td>
<td>Some would even give us a qrūnī coin, and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go</td>
<td>sā ka māšuwē-ē xujmu k-um ba xō ā,</td>
<td>Our living was from this work, I mean.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>č-um.</td>
<td>He said to her, “All right, then.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Covering background information of the discourse, the poem is artfully placed at a point within the tale where it signals an imminent dramatic turn in the protagonist’s fate. The grandmother’s description of his family’s profession is the impetus for the boy to take up fishing. The poem thus launches the boy into adventure. Soon afterward he repeats his father’s actions from the poem: he has a boat, he catches a kan’ad fish, he takes it to the sheikh’s house. But the boy finds a huge pearl in its stomach, and throughout the story endeavors to keep his fortune. The conclusion of the tale reflects the outcome of the boy’s livelihood discovered in the poem: he regains his pearl that he had earned by making a boat, catching a kan’ad fish, and taking it to the sheikh’s house.

The embedded poems are an encapsulation of patterning grammatical potentials to highlight semantic symmetry. Holes’ assessment of the ‘iconic meaning’ of the act of repetition (1995:78) has particular relevance to the embedded poems. It does not matter what exactly the LIST of things literally entails, rather that there is much of it: much work to do, many kinds of fish, many houses to sell to, and much payment to earn, and the LIST section in the Kan’ēdō poem is summarised by the statement iṣī’it mā pi yā kāra-ō ‘our living was from this work’. By elaborating using synonyms and types of the same, the storyteller is giving
evidence for the truth of what he is saying. Johnstone, also citing Arabic, explains how this has representative impact: “restating until the reader’s only defense is to concede the importance of the problem” (1991:93). Looking only for literal explanations of what are actually higher-level grammatical functions can lead to dismissal of their importance in the logical progression of the tale. As Jakobson said, “poeticalness is not a supplementation of discourse with rhetorical adornment but a total re-evaluation of the discourse and all of its components whatsoever” (1960: 377).
Appendix 1: Folktales

Pačaxčēō

0 A story great to tell. That is to say, a tale.
11 There was a certain man who had a grandmother. That boy, he had a grandmother.
23 His mother had died. His father had died. But that boy had a grandmother.
30 Now, some property was in his possession. That is, he had a plot of land.
33 A plot of land... enough to build two or three palaces upon!
37 The property belonged to the boy, for it was his inheritance from his father's estate.
40 In those days, they would kill him, for no reason; they didn’t care, in those immoral times,
44 in that country.
46 So he said to his grandmother, “Grandmother, let me go to Kuwait.
50 Let me go and work for myself in Kuwait.
52 I mean, toda today I will take ten rupees,
55 and by the end of this month I will make three hundred rupees!”
57 She said to him, “If you are going, then go!”
61 As for the grandmother, he left a guardian with her.
63 [The boy] went to someone, to his neighbours,
65 and said to him [them], “Listen carefully to what I am saying:
66 You know my grandmother: you are her guardian.
68 Provide her with food.
70 If there is not enough food, whatever
71 happens to her, that is to say,
72 whatever is needed I will give it.”
75 The boy left them and went to Kuwait.
78 Well, he made two or three months' salary,
81 Six hundred rupees per month… he was working.
83 Three months' salary, even four he made,
88 three months to start, then four months went by.
90 Going to the lower souq,
94 A chest that was locked from the inside.
99 They were peddling it for six hundred.
104 It came about that suddenly he [the boy] snatched it [the locked chest] up, for six hundred, he bought it.
110 There could’ve been a snake or a scorpion in it, for all I know.
112 And someone came, who was from his family, I mean,
115 from his country,
116 he was leaving Kuwait. He was leaving the country.
120 He said to him, “You see, this [thing] I am giving to you [to take back],
121 how much will it cost?”
122 He said to him, “A dinar. Thirteen rupees.”
126 He gave him thirteen rupees.
129 and he laid down the chest before him,
130 saying to him, “Take it with you to my grandmother.”
134 He brought the boy’s chest,
137 [and] laid it down, in the courtyard.
142 He said to the grandmother,
143 “You know this thing:
144 your grandson has sent it.
146 He is doing fine, and he sends his greetings to you.”
152 The grandmother laid it down in the yard,
156 she laid it down in the yard, over there, in
158 their courtyard, I mean.
160 And people brought her supper, and provisions, and work.
165 Now, this [woman], when it was sunset,
167 the woman went to [visit at] her neighbours’ house.
170 [The chest’s] lid was lifted,
171 it was opened,
172 the lid of the chest was opened
173 by a girl!
174 Her beauty made the world turn!
176 And this! This mound of gold that she had,
177 it surpasses description.
179 She had much, much in the what’s-it-called…
182 in the chest! That treasure,
183 it would fetch maybe four or five million!
185 She went in to where the charity food was kept.
188 This charity food [people] had brought, she didn’t care,
190 she ate the charity food.
192 Suppers! And the breads! And the rice dishes!
194 And the soups! And fish stew!
195 That is to say, she ate it. And afterward,
197 she would go into the what’s-it-called, her own place,
200 she would go into the chest, and lock herself in.
203 Now when the poor old woman came,
204 She found her what’s-it-calleds [provisions], eaten.
206 Her things! Her own provisions, eaten!
209 Well, she complained:
211 “Whatever kind of thief,
212 whatever kind of robber,
213 whatever kind of I-don’t-know-what,
214 I mean, my things eaten…!”
216 (this person was acting not unlike Aliko Shobubu,[the narrator])
220 So.
221 Now, the guardian said to her, “Be quiet!
222 Don’t be so loud, you be quiet!
224 Don’t make a sound.
226 As for me, tomorrow, she will come to here.
228 By this time [tomorrow], you be gone!
231 Don’t say a word now. ”
233 When it was about the next day,
235 the guardian came inside.
236 He came inside, that is to say, the husband (guardian)
238 and the woman left.
241 And then! The girl came up,
She said to the guardian, “It’s all right.”

And she has eaten this food, it was her. And as you can see, she came out from inside the chest, from the cabinet, came up, and so on and so forth, you will completely settle payment for the building arrangements for.

Then the woman said to her, “Well, this child here, this girl was with him and...”

And the guardian went to make business and make a bid on a palace.

She said to him, “Yes.”

As for me, no one looked for me, not until I was to show myself.

And they brought them and built them, two palaces.

And the guardian said to him, “Tomorrow, go down and make a bid on a palace.”

And this girl was with him and...”

The grandmother came back. And as you can see, she came out from inside the chest, from the cabinet, came up, and so on and so forth, you will completely settle payment for the building arrangements for.

And the guardian went to make business and make a bid on a palace.

She said to him, “What are you, the guardian?”

She said to him, “I mean, one for me, one for my grandmother.”

And the guardian went to make business and make a bid on a palace.

She said to him, “Yes.”

As for me, no one looked for me, not until I was to show myself.

As for me, since I am with them (that is) here, since I have come out of his chest.

Since he put me in the house like this, I am like their child.”

I am like their child.”

As for me, since I have come out of his chest.

As for me, no one looked for me, not until I was to show myself.

As for me, no one looked for me, not until I was to show myself.

As for me, no one looked for me, not until I was to show myself.

As for me, since I am with them (that is) here, since I have come out of his chest.

As for me, since I am with them (that is) here, since I have come out of his chest.

As for me, since I am with them (that is) here, since I have come out of his chest.

As for me, since I am with them (that is) here, since I have come out of his chest.

As for me, since I am with them (that is) here, since I have come out of his chest.
ylā xaṭṭ-ē kataba kin
baraqa yē kin
fān yē ba rōk-ō byāt
ūny-a na kwēt na
wēkil-ō xaṭṭ-ē kataba gid-iś
ḥubbū-ō xaṭṭ-ē kataba gid-iś
waqā gid-in wa ēnd-in yē
awa=a li kullu ḥāl byō
wayda ēn-i na
yā čāb kin
di- tā zangērīr xērid-iś
di- tā zangērīr zāng-ān
sō-a šān ba kārō-ō
kas xutýō k-a na
mād tamā-ā saw=a
rōk-ō rēsūd
sā wa rōk-ō nazāla yē tk-a
šiyārāt-ō=ā
balya-an yā ni
balya-ē ō
wā ard-ō xān yē ē’ū lakin yē qiṣr
yā bēnīyat-an yē qiṣr-ō
yā šāqala na yē fakara
swāl zānq-ō gid-iś
dgō ba yē ya’ni
zānq-ō yē=a qiṣr bażzā-ō yē=a
ḥubbū mē ēwū wā yē xānāq-ō ba mē wa
na mē wā ē kāmil
zangērīr rin bāla ba yē
dgūn ba yē ādamī ba kārō-ō
nām yē ēlān
āmas-ē dgū ba mē
yā ard-ō bar mē yā bar mē
sā čābē ēlīyā
dgūn ba yē gaw ba yē byāt
ya’ni bard-in yē ba yē
ḥubbū-ō dīt-ō āntē wējī yē gid-iś

dgū ba yē ba ḥsēb tō xērus-i mē
wa mē yā xūmūt gis-um ba ḥsēb xō ya’ni
lakin sā nāvāz brō Ḿeṟān
qāḏī-ō byār šēx wālēyīt-ō
ka čīz ādamī ēlān
wa byā kāwā
bēr ba mē ba sinnit
ālā u ṛasūla
bass ya’ni ṣān
sā tūn-yum na wā tō na
xān tō na
tō māhrām=ī ba mē
māhrām=um ba tō
dgū ba yē jwān-ē
ṣābāha wābūr pi šabh-ā
raft ṣeṟān
qāḏī-ō wād-iś ba šēx-ō wād-ā
  340 “Hurry! Write a message,
  341 seal it,
  342 send it to the boy so that he will come.
  344 Don’t let him stay in Kuwait!”
  347 The guardian wrote a message,
  348 the grandmother wrote a message,
  350 they signed it and sent it.
  352 It said, “In any case, you should come.
  353 Don’t keep staying there.”
  355 So how did she do this?
  356 She bought two slaves,
  357 two female slaves,
  358 putting them at the gate,
  361 so that no one would trespass.
  364 Things stayed as they were. They saw, in the
  368 the boy arrived.
  369 Now when the boy got out
  370 of the car,
  371 there was a problem, I mean. [he thought he was at
  372 he was confused [he couldn’t find his house]!
  374 Where his land was, and his house had once stood,
  379 There were these buildings, this palace,
  380 This was not his doing. He had to think.
  381 He questioned the [slave] woman.
  383 He said to her, I mean,
  385 to this woman, at the palace of that poor one,
  386 “My grandmother was here, and this house is mine, and...
  387 she had no one except me.”
  389 The slaves went up to her.
  391 They said to her, “There’s someone at the gate,
  392 his name is such-and-such.
  393 He has come, he said to me,
  394 “This land is mine, this is mine,
  395 now what has happened? What is this?”
  396 They [the girl] said to her [the slave], “Tell him to
come.”
  398 That is to say, they escorted him to her.
  399 The grandmother, the girl there shook hands with him.
  402 She said to him, “I... expense... You bought me,
  405 And I built this at my own expense, I mean.
  409 But now tomorrow, go down,
  411 bring the judge, and the sheikh of the land,
  414 also any other important people,
  415 and bring the marriage contract,
  416 carry it to me at the court,
  417 by God and the Prophet!”
  418 So that was it. That is to say, the woman...
  419 “Now I am not staying with you any longer,
  420 in your house.
  421 You are marriageable to me,
  422 I am marriageable to you.”
  423 He said to her, “Fine.”
  425 When he woke up in the morning,
  426 he went down,
  427 he brought the judge and he brought the sheikh,

Appendix 1: Folktales 265
430 and he carried the marriage contract to her.
432 He married her.
435 Now having married her,
437 when he had lived with her about a year,
439 she said to him, “I want you to go on the Hajj pilgrimmage.
442 at my expense,
443 for it is commanded of you, it is your own responsibility.”
444 Now importantly, he said to her,
446 the woman, he said to her, “All right,”
448 He decided to go on the flight,
450 Now when his flight landed,
453 one of the rogues, of the villains,
457 said to his own wife, he said to her,
459 “Go up to that girl,
461 the one whom the boy married,
462 if she lets me do this,
464 if she agrees with me on this,
466 much how, however much,
468 I will give her any amount of money;
469 or [if] she wants gold, I will give her gold.”
471 The woman went to her, she said to her,
472 “My husband there has sent me, she said to him, if you want to become his,
474 he will give you whatever you want.”
477 She said to her, “Bring a gold bridal necklace,
480 and a gold bridal diadem, and
482 what do you call those that they put in the ears…
485 earrings”… She told him to come… later in the evening.
490 and said, the woman went and said to the slaves,
493 “If that man ever comes up appearing at the gate,
497 if my face sees him (and I catch sight of him),
499 your heads will be cut off.
500 if my face sees him, you will immediately attack him.
501 or [if] she wants gold
504 or [if] she wants gold
507 the woman, he said to her, “All right,”
508 and a gold bridal diadem, and
509 what do you call those that they put in the ears…
511 Now, she had the gold that the woman had brought…
513 right away they attacked him.
515 right away they attacked, taking whatever they wanted from him,
517 they left him for dead; his situation was like that of the ground.
519 They spilled his blood out.
520 God have mercy on his soul!
522 He descended to death.
524 What have they done? They wrote a message.
528 They sealed it shut.
530 Send it to the boy, who has gone on the Hajj pilgrimmage.
533 “You have gone on a journey, and your wife!
536 She has a couple guys outside, a few guys inside.
539 The people with her aren’t your friends either!
541 All sorts of men are with her, that are [doing] bad things...
543 all kinds of them.”
Now, that day they were going to Arafat.

They were in Mina, they were going up to Arafat the next day.

He went to book the flight, he paid the airfare!

On that long night,

however much [the agent] demanded of him,

he gave it to him,

he just snapped up [the ticket].

To this land of his,

to his house, he went back.

The one who was going to Arafat,

instead he returned [to his country].

If the message hadn’t reached him, he wouldn’t have left.

He went upstairs, the slaves were there,

he went up to find the woman asleep on the bed,

asleep, reclining by what’s-it-called, by a window.

Right away he took hold of her and her mattress

and brought her to the window,

dropped her down... behind the palace.

And he looked down behind the palace.

Whether she died or whether she was [only] injured,

I don’t know.

He didn’t go [down] to see her.

There was the answer, without even a question.

Time went by. When he woke up in the morning,

he went by car,

searching for the woman. She was moaning.

He went to her, took her, here and there,

carried her to the hospital.

And they took care of her at the hospital,

she stayed there a month.

When a month had passed, [her healing] was finished.

The woman, being there a month, became well again.

They said to her, “Madam, you can go home now.”

Now, since she was a stranger in the house,

she did not know that country,

or which one was her house.

Since she was a [distant] relative, that is to say, she
didn’t have any possessions there.

She went on her way.

She came to the desert.

Now, she was thirsty!

She saw that a boy was coming toward her.

He had a camel, and he was mounted on his camel.

She said [to herself], now if I can, I will do it. “Salam
aleikum, aleikum salam.”

And he looked down behind the palace.

Overnight he returned [to his country].

And when you eat something, give me some food
and...

I’m asking...” And he gave water to her.

And he gave food to her.

Appendix 1: Folktales 267
But he was armed; he had a camel, and weapons.

He said to her, “Now you are mountain bedouins, [but] those people are not...

Now, how about you get up on the what’s-it-called, on the camel?

You won’t fall off?”

She said to him, “No, I won’t fall off.”

She said to him, “That gun, and that cartridge belt,

and those things that you have, just where are you putting them?”

Perhaps lift it onto your lap,” he told her,

giving it to her.

He gave her his gun

and he gave her his cartridge belt,

his robe and his headrings and his cloak, she put them all on her lap.

The camel got up.

Come and I will put you on the camel myself,

come and sit on it.”

So finally she got up on the camel.

She sat astride it.

Then she said to him, “That gun, and that cartridge belt,

and those things that you have, just where are you putting them?”

“Perhaps lift it onto your lap,” he told her,

giving it to her.

He gave her his gun

and he gave her his cartridge belt,

his robe and his headrings and his cloak, she put them all on her lap.

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and those things that you have, just where are you putting them?”

Perhaps lift it onto your lap,” he told her,

giving it to her.

He gave her his gun

and he gave her his cartridge belt,
Now the young people have clothed the sheikh for to them, that everyone was gazing at her. Her cheeks were so beautiful, so white were they, they were staring at her! When they went to the sheikh’s court, of th Now, one of the old men compared her beauty to that sheikh’s wife, her and her daughter. because it would be forbidden for her, for the not putting her up at that house, not The daughter stayed with her mother, to make her their sheikh! They carried her to the house of the sheikh, clothes, They took her and… on the way, her in her man’s clothes, put away her pan her dress, Now when that one had gone halfway, she put away climb down from Sal. But you sleep, hopefully tonight, when you and I..., it will all work out.” but now my husband has left me, he didn’t come back again and I’m thirsty and I’m hungry and…” So he gave her water. Then she said to him, “Don’t leave me!” He said to her, “Now then, right now, it’s no use! But you sleep, hopefully tonight, when you and I.... it will all work out.” Oh yes, he is asleep. Slowly, slowly, slowly, she took his what’s-it-calleds, Her weapons, she had each of them again, her guns, and her things, and… looking for it, she mounted her camel, looking for it, she left. Now again she left, no one was there; sleep had overtaken him. In any case, they arrived higher up from the country, just like Sal [is above Kumzar], you know? Just like now, [when] we are in Kumzar, you have to climb down from Sal. Now when that one had gone halfway, she put away her dress, put away her pantaloons, and girded her loins with a man’s wrap! She put on a shirt like a man; she put on an Arabic thobe. She combed her long hair. She looked just like a... I don’t know what! A sheikh! A sheikh! A real sheikh, like from days of old, yeah! She went down to the city. When she arrived in the city, the sheikh of the country had died. That day, about ten days earlier [he had died]; he had left a daughter of 15; she was A real sheikh, like from days of old, yeah! She combed her long hair. She looked just like a... I don’t know what! A sheikh! A sheikh! She put on a shirt like a man; she put on an Arabic thobe. She combed her long hair. She looked just like a... I don’t know what! A sheikh! A sheikh! She put on a shirt like a man; she put on an Arabic thobe. She combed her long hair. She looked just like a... I don’t know what! A sheikh! A sheikh!
a Grammar of Kumzari

270

pi ṭaraf yē-ā yē xalaq ẓank-an
čā čā tikš-a tō inča gaw na

ana šnēw-a tō bzhēn-a tō
ēkā=ā pi čā ẓumit mē gāyam tō=at ba yē byā=ā
hāmala bīš-xē-tukš-a tō
fiḥāl ḫkūmīt gurgur māzāḏī maxlōq-an
śwānd-in
śwānd-īš śwānd-ış
țāqāq-īn=ī byō żēran
awa=ā śēx wālēyit-ō awa=ā
ar ċō pi tō ṭār-a rēsad
salām alēkum alēkum salām
dgō ba yē śēx majma tō tk-um

dgō ba yē gaw
dgō ba yē kān ādamī śwānd-um
dgī-īn awa=ā śēx-ō wa ċīz-ē čōt
pi ādamī-ā ūla’t-a tk-a

sā bāba=ā mē=ā ẓank-ē ẓamād ba mē ẓank-ē
jāmal-ē wā yē slah-an mē gid-īs pi mē
wa ḥaqqat xō gaf-t-um ba yē
ya’īn ġalata gid-um bā yē
dgō ba mē bā yē na ḫata ṣaw-ō
xawā-ō gid-īs mē wa
kār-an xō gid-īs kār-an mē gid-īs wa raft
sā ānas-um tō bō bāba=ā
balkē ya’īn swāl k-l ya’īn
pi ādamī-ān tō kās-an ūla’t-a tk-an
iš ba mā mā hāfala bīš

dgō ba yē sōbur kin ḫata nwāż

dgō ba yē mē swāl tk-um
sar-an ša’bō-ō tk-um
yē wā yē xā šan
šabaha wābur pi šabha-ē wād-īs ba yē

sā qadar dgū xērid-īs jāmal-ē dgū xērid-īs
jāmal-ē yā wašt-īs yē ānbīd-īs yē
sā xatya mardk-ō yā dūsīn-ī ān jāmal-īn-ō=a
wadara gid-īs xērid-īs ba xo bār dgū
wād-īs ba yē wa ān āmad wa
dgō ba yē yā ān-an na dgō ba yē hē

dgō ba yē sā yā šmā mardk-an=ē
kō’t-ān=ē ya’īn

ar kās-an tēmuš-ē tēra-in bzhēn-in ba ādamī-an
wa kār-an pi ādamī tēl-in na
yā kār-an na yā’īn na
sā yēk-ē jīs-ē pi jāmat
yē gis-ē ba ẓan yē āmar yē
wa ġalata gis-ē ba ẓan yē
wa jīs-ē wād-in pē yē mrād yē dās-ē na

wa sā br-ē yā k-ē na

888 Some say, his looks are that of a woman.”
891 “What are you saying?! You’ll be killed! Don’t talk like that!
893 If he hears you he will strike you down!
896 Come on now, why am I staring at her?!
900 Watch out for the sheikh! He will kill you”
903 In any case, the hardheaded, corrupt government,
they listened to all the people.
909 She listened, listened
910 to the gun-man: “Approach the court!”
914 “They say, O sheikh of the country, it is said that…”
916 whatever leaves you, comes back! He came.
920 “Peace be upon you.” “And upon you be peace.”
923 He said to her, “O Sheikh, allow me to speak with you.”
924 She said to him, “Speak!”
925 He said to her, “It is the case that I have heard people
say that the sheikh, when something leaves
from someone [i.e. when someone is robbed], he restores it.
930 Now, sir, as for me, a woman came to me, a woman.
933 She had a camel. She took my weapons from me,
937 And... to be honest I admit, I said to her...
938 I mean, I wronged her.
939 She said to me, “It’s all right,” until the night came;
941 when sleep overtook me and
942 she took her things, she took my things and left.
944 Now I have come to you, O sir,
946 in spite of it, I mean, if you would ask, well,
948 if there might be someone of your people to join with me,
they would be welcome.”
952 She said to him, “Wait until tomorrow.”
954 He said to her, “I beseech you,
956 I must do it, for the sake of the public!”
959 He stayed at her house (i.e. that night).
960 When he awoke in the morning, he was brought to her.
962 Now, she had bought some more. She had bought another camel.
967 This camel, she had left it alone, tying it up.
969 Now, this man’s clothes from the previous day,
977 she got rid of them. She bought other clothes for herself again.
976 He was summoned to her and that one came, and
977 He said to her, “That’s not them.” She said to him, “Yes.”
981 She said to him, “Now, [if] you who are men,
982 [if] you who are mountain bedouin [can be robbed], I mean,
983 anyone who is seen on the road could be struck by these people,
986 I say, people’s things they wouldn’t leave alone,
991 Now, she had seen someone in the crowd.
992 He had taken his wife’s possessions,
994 and he had hurt his wife,
995 And she had looked for him, he was brought to her,
he hadn’t given his account/ reason.
998 And “now go; don’t do these things [anymore].”
šabaha wābur pi šab=ā jámal yē gid-iš
bard-iš yē ba yē ba kār-an maglēs-ō
kār-an wā yē rēsud
dgō ba yē jámal tō=ā
dgō ba yē hē
dgō ba yē yā tāfaq tō=ā kār-an tō=ā
dgō ba yē hē
ar faḍalat but šēx-ō
dgō ba yē yā kār-an k-ē na
sā br-ē na yā majma-an yā ǧalaṭa k-ē na
ba żān-kē ǧādī na wa ǧādī ḥamalā šmā
tkin na
ka sā ǧādī dgh jāga mē=ā
qaṣṣa sar tō tk-a
lakīn sā ḥata rajama gid-um wa raft
sū yē ǧwand-iš
ar kardīd-iš yē za pē ǧiš-ō
awa=ā yā wālēyit-ō=ā awa=ā
ādāmī kār ǧât pi yē ṭala’a tk-a
sā ǧ-um ba żān xō dām giya na
yēk-ē ǧât pi ǧiš-ō sā ǧ-ī ba yē=ā
yalla sā dīt šēx-ō xīstārī gid-in ba mē
na šabah dišumbur ǧ-um xāna
lumraḍ rēṣīd salām alēḵum alēḵum salām
hā żān-ō dānīd-iš yē sū yē
yē dānūs-ē yē na čāb-ē dān-ā yē=ā
yā-ē bēnē muxx yē wa ǧišīt yē ba ēwū wa
chwān-ī hāra tk-ī na ba yē na
salām alēḵum alēḵum salām
tamna=ā dgō ba yē šēx majma tō tk-um
dgō ba yē gaw
dgō ba yē kār-an mē
żān-ē gid-um wa raft-um ǧiḥ
xaṭṭ-ē ʾamād ba mē law yē ǧaraqa
awa=ā žān tō č-ē
kārā yē inča inča=īn

1000 She went and solved their problems.
1003 The camel-rider arrived.
1005 They greeted each other.
1006 She said to him, “Yes?” He said to her,
1007 “As for me, they took the camel from me, a woman
1009 and... my things, my weapons and...
1011 And now they say that the government is a just one
1013 so I have come to you.”
1014 She said to him, “You stay the night [here].
1016 I will hear [the cases of] all the people. Personally, I
don’t know [about your case] yet.”
1020 When she awoke in the morning, she took his
camel,
1021 She took it with her with [his other] things to the
majlis.
1023 She had [his] things, he arrived.
1025 She said to him, “Is this your camel?”
1026 He said to her, “Yes.”
1027 She said to him, “This is your gun? These are your
things?”
1028 He said to her, “Yes.”
1029 (the ones that would be acquired by the sheikh.)
1030 She said to him, “Don’t do these things,
1032 now don’t go and slander
1034 someone’s wife and people who are cautious of
you.
1036 Were another person in my place,
1038 he would cut off your head.
1040 However, now I trusted you.” So he left.
1044 She heard her husband[’s case]/ Her husband was
listening.
1046 The one who had thrown her down from the palace
[window],
1048 “They say that in this country, they say that
1050 when a person loses something [i.e. is robbed], he
restores [i.e. takes action].
1051 Now I go to [find] my wife... I don’t know where
she is.”
1055 [sheikha thinking:] Someone is leaving the palace
and now you are going after her?
1060 “Well, now, the sheik’s daughter has made me a
marriage proposal,
1062 in fact, Monday morning I am to be married.”
1069 In any case, he arrived. [They greeted each other.]
1073 Oh! The woman recognised him, it was her
husband.
1078 He didn’t recognise her. How would he recognise
her?
1080 This, between her head and [the ends of] her locks
of hair, it was to here [she was covered] and…
1083 You can’t see her.
1088 [They greeted each other.]
1089 Then he said to her, “O Sheikh, allow me to speak
with you.”
1091 She said to him, “Speak!”
1092 He said to her, “My things!
1095 I married a woman and I went on pilgrimage.
1099 A message came to me, its edge sealed with wax.
1101 It said, your wife is leaving...
1103 It happened like this, like this...
You have no means, don't go here and there.
I don't know, now you go ahead [be the judge],
And truly, I mean, that day I was at Arafat,
And I came, [travelling] the whole night,
And I lifted her up from... mattress... what's-it-called...
the bed,
I dropped her down behind the palace,
her and her mattress.
She didn't die. She didn't die.
She was injured and someone carried her to the hospital, carried her somewhere
and what's-it-called, I don't know, now you go ahead [be the judge],
[That's why] I have come to ask you."
She said to him, "Sir, you will dine with me today.
You will dine with us at our house.
And she will sit beside us at our house.
You have no means,
I don't go here and there.
And I will ask to call and see someone. [i.e. I will look into your case]
She said to her, "All right." He stayed with her.
Night came. She read it [the court cases] in her majlis.
Dinner was brought to him.
When he had finished [eating], he went to her.
He went up to the rooftop.
She said to him, "Let me speak with you."
He said to her, "Speak."
She said to him, "Yes, you let me
and I will restore your wife [to you].
If you let me, then I will do this act in you,
and I will
She said to him, "Let me speak with you.
When he had finished [eating], he went to her.
Dinner was brought to him.
Night came. She read it [the court cases] in her majlis.
He said to her, "All right." He staye
And I will ask to call and see someone. [i.e. I will look into your case]
She said to him, "You are just like a gay man [i.e. male prostitute]!
She jumped up!
And her luck and her jumping up,
She said to him, "You are just like a gay man [i.e. male prostitute]!
She jumped up!
And her luck and her jumping up,
She said to him, "Yes I do! I agree, bring it on!"
I will gi
I will come, I will restore your what's
If you let me, then I will do this act in you,
and I will
She said to him, "Let me speak with you.
When he had finished [eating], he went to her.
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She said to him, "Let me speak with you.
When he had finished [eating], he went to her.
Dinner was brought to him.
Night came. She read it [the court cases] in her majlis.
He said to her, "You are just like a gay man [i.e. male prostitute]!
She jumped up!
And her luck and her jumping up,
There was a story and a telling...
There was a man and a woman.
They were not royalty, that is to say, they were not; they were common people.
A man and a woman, they had one son.
The wealth of the world, they had it.
They had the wealth of the world.
They had the wealth of the world,
and they had limitless generosity!
The wealth of the world, they had
They were not royalty, that is to say, they were not;
There was a story and a telling...
There was a man and there was a woman...
When [he] got up in the morning, the what’s-it-called [the sheikha] wasn’t there.
He went, they saw, down to the town.
They told him, “She has fled!
If I ask you, is your sheikh the wife of someone?”
He said, “She’s my wife!”
And he stood there dreaming of it...
How in these circumstances would she get married?
Obviously she wouldn’t get married.
In the end, they went back to their own house.
You went, I came. The End. Was it good? Was it wonderful?
A Grammar of Kumzari

91 as for us, this is not working out. Let’s leave.
92 You [lit.: we] go over there,
93 and she [i.e. the mother] goes over there,
94 but I am shy.
95 Where am I to go? Where am I to eat?
100 Now, on the other hand, O my father, if I were to put you up as collateral
103 for a gun, would you stay?”
107 He said to him, “Yes, I will stay.”
109 He said to his mother,
110 “If I were to put you up as collateral for a horse,
112 if they would give me a horse,
114 and I put you up with them as collateral,
115 that is to say, so that I bring the horse back,
116 then I would get you,
118 and for my father I would get a gun from the sheikh,
121 I would put you up as collateral for it.
122 Afterward, when I brought the gun back, I would get you.”

274 kišt rōr ğā ša’ā ba bayšak ša’ā rōr ğā rōr tamna=ā škum yē b ra ba yē ğā ḍ sātē īn tamna=ā gišnağ rēs nummağ walēyit=ā

inda tāfaq-ē=ā tanyī=ā
dgō ba yē hē tany-um
dgō ba mām xō
ka sō-um tō rē’in inda asp-ē=ā
asp-ē dī’-in ba mē=ā
wa sō-um tō wā șan rē’in
ya’nl ğaṭa asp-ō byār-um
āxur dug-um tō
wa bap mē tāfaq-ē jōr-um ba xō pi șēx-ō
sō-um tō wā yē rē’in
āxur tāfaq-ō țār-um-ā dug-um tō

dgō ba yē bā yē na rāfī=um
fihāl ra ba șēx-ō
dgō ba șēx-ō tāt-um tō
tāfaq ād-l ba mē
bap xō sō-um wā tō rē’in
ēkṣa bap mē yā
ra pi mā yēk-ē dgur
ba qāḏī-ō
dgō ba yē bāba=ā
mām xō sō-um wā tō rē’in
asp-ē ğaṭa mē
ğaṭa byār-um asp-ō dō-um ba tō
mām xō dug-um
dgō ba yē bā yē na
rubā kīn asp xō
nwaž ʂaḥaṣa kīn rukbō kīn
yā rōk-ō yē-ā
jur yē șaw drāz-ān
rōz drāz-ān
wa șaw drāz-ān
fihāl fakka șawbr fajr-ō=ā giṣnağ
rēs inda waļyīṭ kō-ō saḥrā=ā ya’nī
rēs nummağ waļyīṭ=ā
tamma=ā giṣnağ
sāṭē īn-ē murs-ē inda ģēlīla-ō
ēkā=ā yā=ā na=ā pi drāz=īn na

dāby-an ģaṭalē-ō
gaṭalē murs-ē inda īn-ō ģēlīla-ō
ra bā yē
tamma=ā șkum yē ḥežən-ə xō
rōr-ē inda yē
gaṭalē-ō șkum yē
rōr-ē inda yē
șa’aṣt șkum yē gid-iṣ ba īn-ō
ba șaysak-ō
șa’aṣt șkum yē gid-iṣ
īn-ō wād-iṣ pi yē bāla
rōr gaṭalē īn=ā
kīś-iṣ yē ḥalalīf

275 203 A gazelle fawn
204 200 he brought this out of it:
205 203 A gazelle fawn like this,
206 203 he killed it in the correct way,
207 200 he cut open its belly,
208 204 with the stone dagger
209 197 he felt hungry.
210 196 He went to it,
211 198 He saw that its belly was moving!
212 199 197 there was a fawn.
213 195 196 he felt hungry.
215 191 The gazelle, in its belly,
216 192 191 there was a fawn.
217 184 He went to it,
218 188 He saw that its belly was moving!
219 189 188 there was a fawn inside it.
220 186 He went to it,
221 182 A gazelle had died in the what’s-it-called, the lagoon.
222 181 182 called, the lagoon.
223 179 oryxes. A gazelle.
224 178 A gazelle had died in the what’s-it-called, the lagoon.
225 177 You know this thing, you know, that has long [antlers] you know...
226 169 when he had reached halfway to the city,
227 170 he felt hungry.
228 173 Now, a what’s-it-called had died in the lagoon.
229 176 You know this thing, you know, that has long [antlers] you know...
230 179 oryxes. A gazelle.
231 178 A gazelle had died in the what’s-it-called, the lagoon.
wa šwī yē gid-iš ba xō
rōr-ō kišt-iš
iš wā yē ʾāw na
iš wā yē ikka na
āʾā iš wā yē kārd na
qasṣa màraq yē gid ba ḡuṣṣ-ō=ā
wa fālaqa yē gid-iš pi āngar=ā
wa jumr wād-iš ba xō rō pi nixin-an asp-ō=ā
wa ʾāw xōd-iš pi āsp=ā
ḡāzāl-ē xōd-iš
wa ʾtiyar wābūr ʾākīš yē
āʾā wād-iš pi mū-an asp-ō ʾāraq-an
wa ṣātī-ō labaqa gid-iš pi nixin-an yē
wa rēsād inda wāliyīt-ē
tammā=ā yā wāliyīt-ō=ā
yā sātī’ī gaff-um yē dit xōr šīt’anē

waša maṭlēʾī šimiś=ā
yē dit xōr šīt’anē
tammā=ā rēsād ba yē
salām alēkum ālēkum salām
labā ʾāmas-um ba tō bāba=ā

dit tō xistārī tk-um
ḍūh ba yē dit mē=ā
lakin yē rōk-ē yaʾnī inā ḥiṣn jāmāl
ḍūh ba yē dit mē=ā
labā šāṭa adāmī murs-in ba yē

inčka sāṭi’ī yēk-ē kam
sāṭe rōżō sāṭe dit mē=ā
šām txōr-ē ṣ-ē tany-ī pēna yē
ka ġwānīd-īs ba tō ba sālīfīt
ṭālīb yē gid-ī=ā yē dug-ī ʾānī

sālīfīt-an bē yāʾnī bē ḡākk-īn yāʾnī
wa ka rāyīd-iš na ba tō na=ā
tō ṭālībū yē gid-ī
dūh-ī ʾānī
ka yā ṭālībū tō gid-iš
qaṣṣa sar tō tk-um
dgō ba yē bā yē na
filḥāl nwaḏ nwaḵistīn gid-in
ṭiyar būr-in raft-in mqiḥālit
inā jāgā-ē
sā baḡa ḡa baḡa kāwān yaʾnī
sā wa dinṭ-ō rōk-ō ḡir-iš=ā
dīnṭ-ō dīl yē ʾbānd-īš in-ō
rōk-ō lū majma wā yē=ā
wa ḡwān-a bā yē na sā dgō-a na
byō rōk-ō ka gaft-iš
dgō ba yē ḡa
dgō ba yē waļa
ahūyī salabnī wa ummī rakahnī

205 and he grilled it for himself.
208 He killed the fawn.
212 He didn’t have any water.
213 He didn’t have any matches.
215 He didn’t have any knife.
218 He cut its throat with a sharp stone,
220 and he slit it apart,
223 and he struck a spark on the horse’s hooves,
225 and he drank water from the horse,
227 from the horse’s hair,
229 he ate the gazelle,
230 and he finished. He untied it [the horse].
233 He drank water from the horse’s hair, the sweat.
237 And he lit the fire from its hooves.
242 He arrived in a city.
247 He saw this city...
248 [to audience:] In this one [tale] that I have just now
spoken of, was it the daughter of Khor Shetane
250 or of Matlei Shimishī?
253 So this is [the city of] the daughter of Khor Shetane.
254 He saw that he reached it [where she was].
256 They greeted each other.
257 He reached the father.
259 He [the boy] said to him [the father], “I have come to
you, Sir,
260 to [ask if I may] be engaged to your daughter.”
263 He [the father] said to him [the boy], “My daughter,
264 that is to say, she will only have a boy who is very
handsome.”
266 He [the father] said to him [the boy], “My daughter,
269 about one hundred people have died for her [i.e. trying to
court her].
271 Just like now, one less [than one hundred. i.e.: “you will
be the hundredth”]
274 Now, today, now my daughter...
278 You will eat supper, you will go and sit beside her.
280 If she overcomes you with a riddle,
283 if you [she] wins [over] her [you], then you [shall not]
marry her.
286 That is to say, only riddles, I mean, telling [riddles].
289 And if she cannot overcome you,
292 if you win her,
294 then you [may] marry her.
295 And if she wins over you,
296 I will cut off your head.”
299 He [the boy] said to him [the father], “All right.”
300 In any case, they prayed the evening prayer,
303 they finished, they went to the meeting
306 somewhere.
308 Now they didn’t have the what’s-it-called, that is to say,
they didn’t have the marriage contract.
310 Now when the girl saw the boy [the boy saw the girl],
314 he was love-struck by the girl, the what’s-it-called,
316 the boy, so that he couldn’t say a word,
318 and he was powerless against her, now he was
speechless.
320 It came about that the boy then said it.
323 She said to him, “Well?”
325 He said to her, “I swear.
326 My father provided me with weapons and my mother
yisrah ilhalal ben ilharam
yisrah bilma'i ben issamawi
wa ben ilard
a gaw ye=a
a pe barea=a
ar dik-o dgo ba ye ke

dgo ba ye abiyi salahnwi wa ummi rakabni

yakil ilhalal ben ilharam
u yisrah bilma'i ben issamawi
wa ben ilard
i-sh-e na
majma jor-a pi zank-e ish-e na
wa majma rok-0
ye ke ka raji-ba ye
gaw ye ya'nii
fihlah fafka wabur fajir-0
tamma=a dgo-a ba bo-p-0
pi tarafe me gelib in to gid-um dit to

bop-o dgo ba ye ke dgo-a=0
pe nwaz pe shaw-0 shaw-0

amad bagur
dgo ba ye gaw
dgo ba ye to gaw na
dgo ba ye a'a
me is gaw-um na to gaw be

dgo ba ye abiyi salahnwi u ummi rakabni

u yisrah ilhalal ben ilharam
u yakil bilma'i ben issamawi wa ben ilard

u yakkil bilhalal ben ilharam
u yisrah ilma'i ben issamawi wa ben ilard

u yaya tari hatlu ra'si ala zandi
ye amad ba ye wat0
ye amad xwaft pena ye=a
zank-o shaw-0 yah=a
muxx xo sod-iw ba bogal ye
sa ye dgo ya'nii
tari hatlu ra'si ala zandi
siiloo risha tahit
risha ya'nii in-e jayb-e

jayb xo kand-iw
sod-iw ye za balist-o
sa ye rok-o pe wad-iw ba ye
rozo pistu'ti wa amad xwaft pena ye
kardidi-xo pena ye

fihhal sabaha wabur pi sahby=a
racyid-iw na ba ye na gid-iw ye
gid-iw ye zeni ya'nii
wa madd wa xamom xo
laba da roz-an yazda roz-an
dgo-a ba

provided me with a horse.

330 It drinks what is permitted out of what is forbidden.
332 It drinks of the water between the heavens
334 and the earth.”
336 [girl says:] “Please tell me what was that??
338 Please [say the riddle] once more?,”
339 This is what the girl said to him. Yes.
341 He said to her, “My father provided me with weapons
and my mother provided me with a horse.
345 It eats what is permitted out of what is forbidden,
348 and it drinks of the water between the heavens
350 and the earth.”
352 There was no [reply].

355 He looked for a word from the woman, there was nothing.
358 and a word, the boy:
359 “Just this, if you can do it,
360 say it [the answer to the riddle], that is to say.”
362 In any case, the dawn prayer was called.
364 Then he said to the father,
365 “In my opinion, I have won over your what’s-it-called.
Your daughter.”
367 The father said to him, “Who says so?!
371 [Give her more time:] even tomorrow, even the night.
[another] night, [another] night!"
377 He came again.
378 She said to him, “Say [it]!”
380 He said to her, “You haven’t guessed [the riddle yet]?”
381 She said to him, “No.
382 I will not say anything. Only you say it.”
385 He said to her, “My father provided me with weapons
and my mother provided me with a horse,
389 and it eats what is permitted out of what is forbidden,
390 and it eats of the water between the heavens and the earth.
392 and it eats what is permitted out of what is forbidden,
395 and it drinks of the water between the heavens and the earth.
398 and a bird came up to him and laid its head on his arm.”
401 and there! She came to him.
403 She came to sleep beside him,
404 The woman, that night,
405 she put her head on his arm [shoulder].
408 Now he said, that is to say,
409 “A bird laid its head on his arm,
412 he put a golden bridal diadem underneath,“
414 a golden bridal diadem, that is to say, a what’s-it-called,
a golden bridal diadem...

416 she put away her diadem,
417 she put it under the pillow.
418 Now this boy even brought it to her,
420 the next day when he came to sleep beside her,
421 He laid down beside her.
426 In any case, when she woke up in the morning,
427 she could not overcome him [i.e. guess his riddle]. He
married her.
429 That is to say, he married her,
431 and he stayed with the household of his father-in-law
433 about ten days, eleven days,
436 she said to...
There was gold and also...

There was money, and there was fish soup, and there was sugar, and there was food.

They went into the drawing room.

They greeted each other.

The woman said to him, "Tomorrow, whatever we want, let's take away."

"Yes, all right."

He said 'go, take your wife, [and] go.'

He said to her, "Dear madam, your father is where you are on camels:"

"Take your wife, [and] go."

The woman said to him, "Tomorrow, whatever we want, let's take away."

"Yes, all right."

He said 'go, take your wife, [and] go.'

He said to her, "Dear madam, your father is wherever you go, she should go with you."

"I cannot make a living?"

He said to him [the bedouin], "Actually, yes."

"Should my wife go with me? She won't go."

I will go to another city."

If you go to Mumbai, if you go on a trip, wherever you go, she should go with you.

Now you are the sheikh!

My wife wouldn't go with me.

To go with me somewhere, to work for myself.

So what do you say, when in this city, here.

If he [the sheikh] says to him [the bedouin] that [his] wife should go with [him],

If I were to take my wife, [and] leave, the woman wouldn't go with me.

A mountain bedouin. Now [to] the father,

Someone will come to my father.

If he [the sheikh] says to him [the bedouin] that [his] wife shouldn't go with me? She won't go.'

But if, I mean, [and] leave, the woman wouldn't go with me.

If he [the bedouin] will say to him [the sheikh], 'If I were to take my wife, [and] leave, the woman wouldn't go with me.'

If the sheikh says to him [the bedouin], [if] I were to take my wife, [and] leave, the woman wouldn't go with me.

If I were to take my wife, [and] leave, the woman wouldn't go with me.

If the sheikh says to him [the bedouin], [if] I were to take my wife, [and] leave, the woman wouldn't go with me.

If he [the sheikh] will say to him [the bedouin], 'A mountain bedouin.

In any case, there was gold and also..."
dām čē qaymit
činta malyūn ambūd-iš yē
wa raft rēsid walēyit-ō
walēyit xō ya‘nī
tāfaq-ō bar xā šēx-ō
bap xō wād-iš āmad
asp-ō bar yē xā qāḏi-ō
mām xō wād-īs wa āmad
wa sōd-īs yē inda xānağ-ō
wa zar yē wā yē
wa tō raft-ō wa mē āmad-um
bass čikk-ē xālaṣ
yē čikk-ē kōta-ē
jwān-ē banj-ē dām
jwān-ē
sātē tiyar tī-im şarg

527 I don’t know how much they took, it was worth so much!
528 how many millions’ worth, you know, they took it with them.
529 And [they] left, [They] arrived in the city.
530 That is to say, [in the boy’s] own city.
531 He took the gun back to the sheikh’s house.
532 He brought his father back, he came.
533 The horse, he took it to the judge.
534 And he put [them] in the house.
535 And he had his wife.
536 And you went and I came.
537 It’s finished. It was a little one. It’s over.
538 This was a little one. It was a short one.
539 Whether it was a good one, or whether it was a bad one, I don’t know.
540 (audience:) It was a good one!
541 Now, we’ve finished quickly.
542 Whether it was a good one, or whether it was a bad one, I don’t know.
543 (audience:) It was a good one!
544 Now, we’ve finished quickly.

 раft yēk-ē ḥubbō wā yē ḥubbō-ē
mām bap iš na mām yē murs-ē bap yē murs-ē
ḥubbō-ē wā yē ḥubbō-ō zindağ ya’nī
bazzā-ē
sā wa dimistan-an-ā kō’t=ān ēkā=ā bāram tō-a na
ğēla tkard-in ēla ḡēla dug-in
wā xuṣb-an
yā xānağ man-ē tār-ā ba śan
wa yā nīm-ē tār-ā ba śan
wa ān=ā rub’-ē tār-ān ba śan
wa ān nuṣnusf tār-ān ba śan ...
labā panj mā šās mā
panj mā ēla ḡ%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%ala tk=ān=ā
sāṭē ḥubbō-ō dgō bē yē ēla xō tī’-im ńa
ŧēl-im ba xō
sā ba dimistan-ā tī-im tkard-im ba xō kō-ō
ana panj mā ēla wā mā=ā bīs mā dug-im
dgō ba yē bē yē na
wašt inda xumba-ō
wa xwā sōd-in mayka yē
ḥēta=ā dimistan
bāram wābur=ā
sā kō’t-an č-im āys tk-in
ḡēla-an dug-in č-im kō-ō
āśinan wa’b wā śan

6 There went someone. It was a boy; he had a grandmother. A grandmother.
12 Mother, father, he hadn’t any. His mother had died, his father had died.
15 The grandmother was with him, the grandmother was alive, that is to say.
20 They were poor.
22 Now when it was wintertime, they were mountain bedouins, as you know it doesn’t rain there,
25 They were beginning to harvest the wheat. Wheat, they were harvesting wheat.
28 [The land] was flourishing.
31 These [people], at the house of... they brought them a measure [of wheat],
32 and these [people], they brought them a half,
33 and those [people], they brought them a quarter,
35 and those [people] brought them a small share...
36 about five months’ [worth], six months’ [worth],
38 They got five months’ [worth] of wheat...
40 At that time, the grandmother said to him, “We will not eat our wheat.
46 We will keep it.
48 So when it is wintertime, we will go and cultivate for ourselves on the mountain.
50 If we have five months’ [worth] of wheat [seed to sow now], we would harvest twenty months’ [worth].”
54 He said to her, “All right.”
56 It was left in the clay granary jar,
58 And they put salt with it.
60 Until winter.
65 Since the rains were coming,
67 the mountain bedouins were going to migrate at that time.
69 They were going to cultivate wheat, [so] they were going to the mountains.
70 Those ones had a field,
May grief befall them,
someone has harvested [it].
Your wheat is completely gone, without a trace.
"Where is our wheat, O child?"
They went to the house, they ate lunch.
Those ones left.
And she sat down. There, under the jujube tree.
So. I will not live here.
And she sat down. There, under the jujube tree.
Whoever has taken the wheat,
shall perhaps come between now and evening.
When he comes, I will recognise him.
I will not leave here.
And she sat down. There, under the jujube tree.
Those ones left.
They went to the house, they ate lunch.
"Where is our wheat, O child? [she is asking her grandson]"
Someone has harvested [it].
Your wheat is completely gone, without a trace.
280 A Grammar of Kumzari

kār wa čm ča kār tār wa laqmit txōr ba āmrī'it šmā xānagī
dgō ba yā-an=ā qāq tk-in=ā yā ěrah bā tan=ā qā tk-in na=ā

hē ěrah-an gap-an inšt in da ěrah ěm ğēla gadda gis-ē=ā

sā čōt ba yē bāla abaša yē tk-a
tē ba rēs-a ba yē=ā ěrah-ō pōrid
wa ěrahara tk-a ba yē
raft in da xīlim-an ěntē kō=ō raft ěgawd-ē

jīr=ī yē daxl wābur ěgawd-ō
sā ěgawd-ō dān-a
sā ěrah-an ěyāt yē
yē ra ba yē wa čōt pišt-ō yē
č-um abaša yē k-um pē ěgawd-ō
yē raft raft raft trēs-a yē
pišt-ōbang-ō
głiyāt yē nwāxīstin=a ěresid ba ěgawd-ō
jāmaq xō wād-īs
farāša yē gid-īs ba ěgawd-ō ěnca=ā
pi byāt-a barra=ā
wa bard sōd-is ba yē wa īn

wa ra ba yē Ěndur abaša yē gid-īs
tō=i ěl-a mā xōs-ī=ā
alja qaba=tō ka wa ēm čī na
par-an yē ěbn ba ēngar
wa ěbn wa kassa kassa kin ěnca=ā
wa ěbn wa sō yē źē xātī-ō
xāfī xō say bāla
wa sō yē ěwū ěrah-ō ěū=ā xāfī bā yē

sā sā čāb-ē brat
dānīs na wālēyīt xō na
ğıwyā wābur
ra ba sar ba rō xō
kaft wālēyīt-ē wālēyīt yē na
ra ba xānag-ē ěmād ba xānag-ē
daqqa gid-īs ba xānag-ō
āmād ba yē barra žānk-ō wa mardk-ō
hā sā yē żānk-ē wa mardk-ē ěwā ěm ēm rōr na

dgō ba yē bāba=ā mi tāt-um tany-um wā źēmā xānagī
ba ēmrī'it źēmā
wa laqmit txōr-um wā źēmā
wa žān-ān źēmā čor-um
wa kār tār-um ba źēmā
č-um wā źēmā ěbar
mi txēr-um ba źēmā
wa č-um wā źēmā ěbar
kār-an źēmā tk-um

317 I will buy fish for you
316 I will go with you over there:
315 and, I will bring things
314 and, I will wash your dishes,
312 and, I will eat a bit with you,
311 at your service.
in your house,

280 he knocked on the house.
279 He went up to a house. Coming up to a house,
278 he came upon a city. It wasn’t his own city.
277 He went as he though best, by his o
276 he became lost.
275 He didn’t know where his own country was.
274 right then, now how could he [the boy] go out?
273 and put it here, on the crow here, a robe was over
272 he lifted up its feathers together,
271 and he tied, and
270 He tied its feathers together,
269 and he put a stone by it [to hold the skirt in place],
268 spreading it out over the cave [entrance] like this,
267 He brought his skirt,
266 It was almost nightfall when he arrived at the cave.
265 and he put a stone by it [to hold the skirt in place],
264 and tied up, and put them under the robe...
263 He went to it, and to chase after it.
262 “I am going to catch it out of the cave.”
261 He went, went, went to get to it,
260 after sunset,
259 He brought his skirt,
258 spreading it out over the cave [entrance] like this,
257 and went in to it [the crow], he caught it.
256 “You! You who has eaten our wheat,
255 and he tied, and, crumpled, crumpled [them] like this,
254 so that he could come out [later].
253 and he put a stone by it [to hold the skirt in place],
252 and what’s-it-called,
251 He went up to [try to] catch it.
250 Before he reached it, the crow flew away.
249 And he was looking around for it,
248 at to the vadi pass, in the mountain over
247 there, it went into a cave.
246 He went up to [try to] catch it.
245 to the vadi pass, in the mountain over
244 it then, now how could he [the boy] go out?
243 he knocked on the house.
242 He went up to a house. Coming up to a house,
241 he came upon a city. It wasn’t his own city.
240 He went as he thought best, by his o
239 he became lost.
238 He didn’t know where his own country was.
237 right then, now how could he [the boy] go out?
320 They said to him, “Fine. Come.”
323 The man said to him, “Good.”
325 Well, the woman, she was really not in agreement,
328 but the man agreed.
331 So they took him in.
334 Taking him in,
335 They found out from him that there was this crow,
337 They saw it with him, amazing!
338 The man saw it with him,
340 Now when it was sunset,
342 The woman said to him, the woman:
344 “O child, go and sit beside the mosque,
346 at the entrance to the mosque.
347 If the mosque-goers
348 are greeting down there,
349 are greeting up there,
351 come and say to me, “O mother,
352 the mosque-goers are coming up;
354 serve the what’s it called: supper.”
356 I will serve supper.”
359 Now as for this one, he left.
362 He sat beside the mosque, at the entrance to the mosque.
365 They were greeting [each other], then he ran still to...
368 there, “Serve the supper, O mother!”
369 “Serve the supper, O grandmother!”
373 Now the woman, she had a lover.
376 Now this one, when it was still dusk, he would come to her.
380 Now he [the boy] stayed with her [the woman]...
381 about a month, twenty days.
383 He said [the boy is thinking to himself:], “Now it was important that I should sit beside the entrance to the mosque until when?
385 I will stay here and... if they don’t appear,
387 I will see them close to the house.”
389 He didn’t go there to the mosque.
391 He stayed here. Once the mosque-goers had already come up,
395 he [the boy] ran to go and serve supper!
398 He saw a man eating supper.
400 He had a platter of supper, he was sitting eating supper... on the floor.
403 He [the boy] served supper to him, he [the boy] came, the man went out.
407 He [the boy] took all the supper [that the man had been eating], he [the boy] put [it] in the wooden chest, in the cabinet.
411 He [the boy] closed the lid.
415 And the father came. Now the man had left.
418 The father came, now they were eating lunch,
421 She brought their supper, the woman,
424 Now he [the boy] squeezed the what’s-it-called...
426 he squeezed the bird.
427 The bird cawed (when it became uncomfortable, it would caw).
430 The father said to him, “Oh! Son,
432 what happened to your bird that it should sing like that?
436 What does it want?”
sā mê tālaq tō dō-um
ťaqq tō dō-um tō bō ba ahla xō
iža gaw yē ba bajā xō
sū mê yē mardk-ē kiš-ē=ā
mē dgōm ba šan yē=ā
mi jir-um yē ba zan xō
mi kišt-um yē pi ṭaqq mê
ka tō dğ-i nā=ā
 ámbiš t-i ēka=ā mē=ā
 balkē tarqit-ē tk-im ba yē wa
 wa kas xābar na tō brō xān xō
tālaq tō dās-um bass xālaš
mī dgō-um na
dgō ba yē dgōm
ḥaqq yē dār-īs ba yē
wa raft xā màm xō
dgō ba yē čumbū=ā

dgō ba yē bass sū mê tālaq mē dār-īs
fând-iš ba yē hāp-ō ba sū yē
čumbū zan tō=ā
mē xō tālaq dās-um ēwāz katbit-ō
bass pi āmaxt-ō wā mê sā sāt-um yē na
sā ništ-ē mà inā xānāg-ō yē wa rōk-ō tēr-īn-ō
sā dgō ba dgō ba yē tēr
rōk-ō dgō ba yē ba mà ō
dgō ba yē majma-ē dgōm ba tō
dgō ba yē gaw
sā dgō ba yē miyyit-ō=ā
č-im gēr yē tk-im mawya gēr-an
ādamī tēmuš-in mà
mā ēzār yē tk-im ādamī tēmuš-in mà
lakin āxur burwā ka bō xōr-ē xar xōr-ē
sō yē ba xōr-ō wa qiššit-ō yē=ā sā-im ba yē
wa jāmağ xō ḡaẓemità tk-im ba yē
wa dūg-um yē wa č-um č-um pi č-ū
ar jāga bēr-um yē
tēbur-um yē dür
śaw drāz-ē ya’nī inā kō-ō
kas xābar na ba tō na
wa șabaḥা t-i=ā yē kas na wa
tămna=ā dgō ba yē jwān-ē āmō
majma-ē jwān
fīlīḥāl tēr xō gid-īs xōr-ō wād-in
wa sód-iš yē ba yē
pā wā=ēbar wa pā wā=ēbar
wa jāmağ-ē sód-iš škum yē

574 Now I will give you a divorce.
577 I am giving you alimony. Go to your relatives.
580 If you say this to your father:
582 “My husband, he has killed this man”,
585 then I will say this to them:
587 “I found him with my wife,
589 so I killed him, as my own prerogative.”
592 If you don’t say anything,
594 if you are silent about me, you know,
597 perhaps we will sing a eulogy for him and...
600 and no one will know; you go to your own house.
602 I have given you a divorce; it’s enough, it’s finished.
604 I won’t say anything.”
605 She said to him, “I’ll say it.”
607 He gave her her alimony,
608 and she went to her mother’s house.
610 She [the woman’s mother] said to her [the woman],
 “What happened to you?”
611 She said to her, “It’s over. My husband gave me a divorce.”
615 She sent the father to him, to the husband.
616 “What’s the matter with your wife?”
617 “I myself divorced her, fate’s limit.
621 It’s over. She has been with me for a long time; now
I don’t want her anymore.”
622 Now they were sitting in the middle... of the house,
he and the boy. The bird-boy,
631 Now he [the man] said to... he [the man] said to him,
the bird[-boy]...
632 [to] the boy, he [the man] said to him [the boy]
“What [ever has happened] to us...?!”.
633 He [the man] said to him [the man], “Let me have a
word with you.”
634 He [the man] said to him [the boy], “Speak.”
635 Now he [the boy] said to him [the man], “The dead
person,
636 He [the man] said to him [the boy], “Speak.”
637 She [the woman’s mother] said to her [the woman],
“The dead person,
638 Now he [the boy] said to him [the man], “The dead
person,
639 [if] we go to make his grave in the cemetary,
640 people will see us.
641 If we throw it [the body away], people will see us.
642 So instead afterward, run, a donkey go and buy, a
donkey.
650 Put him on the donkey and the [other] piece of him
we will put on [top of] it,
652 and we will tie his man’s skirt around him tightly [his
two halves, to hold them together]...
654 and I will take him and leave. I will leave here.
655 Let me take him somewhere.
661 The whole night, I mean. In the mountains.
666 Where you wake up in the morning, he won’t be
there... and...”
667 Then he [the man] said to him [the boy], “All right,
Nephew,
670 if you are silent about me, you know,
672 it’s a good word [plan].”
674 In any case, he took his bird, they brought the
donkey,
680 and he [the boy] sat him [the body]
681 astride it.
682 and he put a man’s skirt around his
waist,
مَنْ وُلِّيَانِ ۖ وَهُمْ مَهِينُونِ

wā ʿōdūd-īs yē wa raft

a*ṣṭa mēš tk-a r-in bāla šīl-ō

wa qāmī nwāzī rēsīd sal

palla ǧēla-an yē-ā raft-ē bāla

āzār man nā šad man ar yē šad man

ǧēla ǧō ǧōʾ-ān sā gadda gis-in

ǧēla xō na=ā sā yē-ā kawada āntē

wa ċār tā ādamī āntē ništ-in=ā

sā xōr-ō wākud-īs

rūk-ō wākud-īs yē pi xō ban yē

wa ra ba mardk-an wējī šan tk-a

sālām alēkum

sā xōr-ā ra ba ǧēla-an txūr-ān=ā

sā ādamī-ō yē-ā pēna ǧēla-an na=ā

pēna mardk-an nā=ā ǧēla-an ba yē

āmad bard gid-iš ba xō bard

āfūr īn-ā ād-ē āfūr xōr-ō ād-ē

huūs huūs

sā xōr-ō farra wābur

amu bīyāyē ādamī-ō qaṣṣa wāb

ka ǧēla txūr-a

wa yā an jam pā-an mād ba xōr-ō

ambē ba guryidd xīnn gid-iš

wōwōwō wā wā wā bāl mē kišt-ē
dīnīyē-ē ēka=ā rūk-ō bāl mē kišt-ē=ā

bāp mē zindaq

xōr-ō ra bāla dasta ǧēla txūr-a

sātē bāp mē kišt

būba=ā rāstī ādamī ba yē
yā fānd-in yē bard-ē āmad ba yē
dī-ē tiqsēṭt gid-iš yē=ā

sā čāb tkī-ī

sā mā yā ǧēla-an dī-im ba tō
tā ādamī mašan-an

wā ba panj šad man-an

wā ba dō ādamī mašan-an
dī-im ba tō jāga bāp tō
dūg̱ ba šan ba yē na
tā dē-ē bā mē
tā bēr-ē wā=mē xān mē
tā sāy yē bēr-ē xān mē
tā wā=mē bāxšī smā iš dūg̱-um na

mardk-ō dūg̱-ā dō-um ba yē

kā bāp yē kišt-um

wād-in yē wā gēr bōp-ō gid-in

ṣīnān ār panj kas-ān šan
gēr mardk-ō gid-in

wā bāš tā pandā tā jāmal wād-in

labā bāš tā sī tā mardk-an=ā

bĀs tā sī tā jāmal=ā

685  and held it fast, and left.
688  He walked slowly, they went up to the rocky plain.
692  By dawn prayer time, he had reached Sal village.
696  It was full of wheat there, piled high!
698  A thousand bushels, nine hundred bushels, hundreds of bushels!
701  The wheat!!! So the mountain bedouins had harvested it,
703  it wasn’t their own wheat, now there are heaps of it here!
706  And four people were sitting there,
709  He untied the donkey.
711  The boy untied it from its rope.
714  and he went to greet the men.
715  “Peace be upon you!”
718  Now the donkey, going to eat the wheat,
720  since this person [who was to guard the wheat] was not beside the wheat,
722  it was not beside the men, so he [the donkey] had the wheat to himself.
724  He [the man guarding the wheat] came, stones he picked up, stones.
727  He threw stones at the what’s-it-called. He threw stones at the donkey.
730  “Hie, hie!”
731  Now the donkey fled.
733  Suddenly it came about that the person was split [in two].
735  He split [and fell] to the ground.
737  and that half with his legs stayed on the donkey.
741  He had cried already, now he wailed!
743  “Waaaaaaaah! No! No! You have killed my father!
746  Listen, everyone! The boy has obviously killed my father, since
749  my father was alive!
750  The donkey went up to eat some wheat,
752  Now, my father is killed.”
755  “Can it be true? Someone was with him.
759  This one threw it, a stone came to him.
760  He broke him into two pieces?! [i.e. with a stone!]
762  Now how did this happen?!
765  Now we will give this wheat to you.
768  If it’s a thousand bushels,
769  or if it’s five hundred bushels,
770  or if it’s two thousand bushels,
772  We will give it to you for your father’s sake.”
775  He said to them, “All right.
776  If you are giving it to me,
777  carry it to me at my house.
779  Pick it up, carry it to our house,
782  and... [regarding] me, your case is settled. I won’t say anything.”
788  The man said, “I will give [it] to him,
789  since I killed his father.”
792  They brought him, and the father, they buried.
794  There were four or five of them.
796  The man, they buried.
799  And they brought twenty or fifteen camels.
803  About twenty or thirty men,
805  twenty or thirty camels,
They filled with wheat.
809 Sacks. Sacks they brought, sacks.
811 There were about five hundred sacks!!!
813 And on each camel they put five [sacks].
817 They tied on five sacks of wheat.
821 About twenty-five or thirty camels,
824 about a thousand bushels of wheat,
826 hundreds, nine hundred bushels.
828 They had finished, he mounted the donkey,
831 and those people were behind him.
832 Each one had a gun.
835 They were armed, they had their guns.
838 Now, he arrived at his house,
840 at their house after sunset.
843 “Yes, well, Grandmother, I brought my wheat.”
846 “You brought it from where?”
849 “They killed someone over there!!!
851 And... he must have done it, and I went, I brought from him.
853 I went inside the storehouse.”
857 It being done, he went to them.
860 He said to them, “Now, excuse me.
862 Now I will make supper for you,
863 I will slaughter a goat for you,
864 except this is a bad time [for it].
865 Now salt fish and onion I will make for you for lunch.
868 Onion and salt fish. Supper is on me.”
871 They said to him, [a saying in Arabic:] “Onions and salt are better than anything else.”
875 In any case, they ate supper after sunset.
879 He brought them salt fish and onions for supper.
885 He said to them, “Sirs, bring your guns.
889 Bring your own guns.
892 Someone might come and steal your things.
894 I will put them away with me for you
895 until tomorrow, [then] come and get your what’s-it-calleds, your guns.”
899 They took all of the guns,
900 They carried them to beside the wheat,
902 In the house there the place where they sleep,
903 he and the bullets, the cartridge belts.
906 Cartridge belts, that were X-shaped,
908 and guns they took and carried to the house.
911 He finished, he came to them.
914 He said to them, “For the sake of my father whom you killed,
917 so my grandmother,
918 So you see her.”
919 he brought... He brought his grandmother, she came.
922 “My grandmother, if someone passes gas,
925 My grandmother will die. Her death is in the gas.
930 either fart or gas.
932 My grandmother would certainly die.
935 If my grandmother dies,
937 listen to what I’m saying: don’t blame me!”
940 He locked the door on them from the outside.
945 He barred the door on them!
286  A Grammar of Kumzari

wa čiši=na= ğāram xaya=in
si tā mardk- an
ka yeč-ē tiss-ē ādō-a ba şaw=ā
hurst yē tumr-a ē
yē marg-ē marg-ē na ye na
bap yē murd sā pē hurst yē tumr-a ē
na amala yē kīn
raft xān săn
şaw=ā gu gid-īs inā qādaḥ-ē
qisšīt-ē qādaḥ-ā
gu gid-īs inā yē wa gmē āw
wa qāmi nwāz=ā wād-īs yē
sōd-īs yē inā xānağ-ō
dar-ō wēl tilq wa raft
wa sayd-īn xo=ā arf tiss
arft gu na=ā ēja! ēja!
wā wā ar kas-ō=in burwā
ar tāfaq-an xō wēl-in burwā-in
farrā būr-in dām on r-in giya na
xānağ-ō yā-ā qētil-ē
sā hurbū yē tumr-a na=ā
kō‘-ān raft-in
lumrād burwād-in raft-in
tāfaq-an mād ba yē ramyit-an mād ba yē
gēla-an yē wā yē wa tēr yē wā yē
wa tō raft-ī wa mu āmad-un
ba ba săbab-ō ēka=ā yē ādamī-ō or kišt-īs
yē=ā

Bāğ al-Mawż

The Banana Garden
0 A well-told tale.
4 Now shall I tell it in Kumzari?
7 [Arabic:] There was a man [end Arabic], there was a
certain man, a certain man
13 had a wife, he had no children; a man had
18 just a wife.
19 He tried to have children,
20 he tried to have children,
21 he didn’t have any.
23 So he went and married another wife.
25 Time went by, one year, two years, he didn’t have any
[children].
28 Then he married another wife. In all, he married seven
of them.
30 Seven wives, and he had no children.
35 Even with all seven wives, that were these ones,
36 God hadn’t given them any [children].
38 Then it came about one time...
39 [Mal:] The women, did they stay with him or
40 did he divorce them?
41 Pardon?
In any case, he gave it to them, seven seeds,

Then he said to them, "All right."

As for us, if our husband had seven children,

They said to him, "We will give [him] to you.

to you."

but one [of them] for me.

and you will bring forth seven sons all together...

Al

All together, swallow [them],

Seven pomegranate seeds I will give to you.

He said to them, "I will give seven pomegranate seeds to you.

They said to him, "You, how can you give children

Then he said, "I myself will give children to you."

and we have no children.

wives, of one man?"

They said to him, "Yes," they said to him,

"Yes, we are with one man, we have a single husband,

and we are seven

If you want, that is to say, whatever you want, go take it for yourself.

As for us, we don’t have any children,

not even a child of our own to send."

As for us, we are doing some embroidering...

we're not getting our hands dirty for you.

If you want, that is to say, whatever you want, go take it for yourself.

As for us, we don’t have any children,

and we’re doing some work,

we can’t tell you "Al

If you want, that is to say, whatever you want, go take it for yourself.

As for us, we don’t have any children,

and we’ve got to eat, and heaps [of things]!

we're not getting our hands dirty for you.

we’re not getting our hands dirty for you.

If you want, that is to say, whatever you want, go take it for yourself.

As for us, we don’t have any children,

and we’re doing some work,

and we’re doing some work,

we're not getting our hands dirty for you.

If you want, that is to say, whatever you want, go take it for yourself.

As for us, we don’t have any children,

and we’re doing some work,

and we’re doing some work,

we're not getting our hands dirty for you.

If you want, that is to say, whatever you want, go take it for yourself.

As for us, we don’t have any children,

and we’re doing some work,

and we’re doing some work,

and we’re doing some work,

and we’re doing some work,
A Grammar of Kumzari

wa di-mē=in si-mē=in=ā
wustūn būr-in
sāl-ē di-sāl na’-mē=’in da’-mē=’in wa żād-in

af’ta kūrk-an wād-in
sā rōk-ō żānk-ō awēlī awēlī bātar pi īn-an
bātar pi rōk-ān ya’nī xalaqa yē bātar
pi xalaqa rōk-an čēsin-an pištū yē=’in

sātē laba čār panj sāl wābūr
panj šaś sāl wābūr ba śa=’ā
af’t sāl-ē sid-in sān madrēsit-ō
amnū šan wā=’angar sāf’ awwal ya’nī
sātē laba īnči ba nummaq di-mā=in sī-mā=’in=ā
tamma=’ā rēs
yā ādamī rēs
byō ba śa ba kārō-ō
salām alēkum
wa alēkum salām
biyāyē giyā rōr mē
āmās-um ba īn xo
āmās-um ba rōr xo
anu byō żānk-an
burwād-in sīna madrēsit-ō
ar yēk-ē rōr xo byār-a wa
byō xānāq-ō
dgūn ba yē kē dgū-ā rōr xo
dīm ba tō=’ā
tum-r bārum
rōr-ān xo dīm na mā tā rōr wā mā byār-im
mā ta ta rōr wā mā
rōr xo=’ā dīm ba tō
dīm na
lumrād ra pi śa
mād-in rōk-an xānāq-ō di-rōz si-rōz čār rōz
bard-in śa sān madrēsit-ō bār-ē dgū
sā madrēsit-ō īn-ē inda yē ya’nī rōzīn-ē
rōzīn-ē inda yē īnčka bāla yē-ō kārō-ē
yē čāb kin yē šāhara=’ā
gardīd-īx xo tēr-ē
wašt-īx rōk-an
dawaxa wāb-in inda madrēsit-ō=’ā
wa ka jaḥha kin ba rōk-ō awēlī rōk-ō jwān-ō

134 seven pomegranate seeds;
137 they swallowed all together from the palms of their hands.
140 And he left from them, saying to them,
141 “I am leaving you,
142 During the lightning and rains, I will come to you.”
144 On the contrary, this one, he was not a poor person;
he was a sorcerer.
148 Now seeing that they ate, the man left.
151 About two or three months later,
153 they became pregnant.
155 [A year, two years...] Nine or ten months later, they gave birth.
160 They had seven sons.
162 Now the very first wife’s boy was better than what’s-it-called,
166 better than the other boys, that is to say, his looks were better
168 than the looks of the other boys, the ones after him
[in rank].
171 Now about four or five years went by,
173 five or six years having gone by for them,
175 seven years, they put them in school...
177 all of them together in grade one, that is to say.
181 Now around half-way through, two or three months
[later].
184 they saw that he arrived.
187 This person arrived.
188 He came to them, to the gate.
189 “Peace be upon you.”
190 “And upon you be peace.”
192 He goes, “Where’s my child?
193 I have come for what’s-it-called,
194 I have come for my child.”
195 Immediately the women came
196 [and] ran toward the school.
200 Each one of them brings her child and
202 comes to the house.
203 They say to him, “Who says we would
204 give our own children to you?
205 Drop dead!
206 We won’t give our own children, we who have only
brought forth one child [each].
209 We only have one child each.
210 Our own children, are we to give them to you?
211 We shall not give [them]!”
213 Anyway, he went from them.
215 The boys stayed at home two days, three days, four
days.
217 They took them once again to the school.
220 Now, in the school was what’s-it-called, I mean, a
vent-window.
224 There was a vent-window in it just like there is above
this, the gate.
228 How did he do this, this sorcerer?
231 He turned himself into a bird.
233 He let the boys be [he didn’t yet attack].
235 When they were absorbed in their work at the school,
238 and he immediately swooped for the first boy, the
fine one!
Appendix 1: Folktales

241 He swooped on him and lifted him up from among the boys!
242 He took him and ran! He took the boy.
243 This boy shouted:
244 “The almond tree near the house, the almond tree in the courtyard, I mean,
245 If, I mean, the almond tree has become dry from the west,
246 then search for me in the east.
247 If half of the almond tree has become dry from the east,
248 then search for me in the west.
249 Any green place,
250 search for me, I mean, come for me there.”
251 Right then, they ran, those boys, to their mothers, to their father.
252 and they went to tell them.
253 “Our father, our brother- the man took him and went away.”
254 And the father became blind, because of what’s-it-called, because of the boy.
255 And the mother remained without blindness, she did not become blind.
256 In any case, he took him and left.
257 He landed there by himself.
258 In it [the country] were seven houses, without people.
259 Only he lived there by himself.
260 He would go, this boy,
261 [added by Mal:] every day he put some f
262 [added by Mal:]...
263 He said to him, “These houses,
264 don’t go into it.
265 [you can] go inside them.
266 He landed and he [the sorcerer] gave seven keys to him [the boy].
267 He said to him, “These houses,
268 [you can] go inside them.
269 He landed and he [the sorcerer] gave seven keys to him [the boy].
270 He landed and he [the sorcerer] gave seven keys to him [the boy].
271 and they went to tell t
272 their father.
273 And the mother remained without blindness, she did not become blind.
274 And the father became blind, because of what’s
275 “O our father, our brother
276 and they went to tell their father.
277 Right then, they ran, those boys, to their mothers, to their father.
278 Any green place,
279 then search for me in the west.
280 If, I mean, the almond tree has become dry from the west,
281 if, I mean, the almond tree has become dry from the east.
282 Each one of them, I mean, had its own things.
283 One house full of cauldrons,
284 One house full of acacia wood,
285 One house full of people hanged,
286 One house full of salt,
287 into these six houses:
288 He landed and he [the sorcerer] gave seven keys to him [the boy].
289 And the mother remained without blindness, she did not become blind.
290 In any case, he took him and left.
291 He landed there by himself.
292 In it [the country] were seven houses, without people.
293 Only he lived there by himself.
294 He would go, this boy,
295 [added by Mal:] every day he put some f
296 [added by Mal:]...
297 He said to him, “These houses,
298 [you can] go inside them.
299 He landed and he [the sorcerer] gave seven keys to him [the boy].
300 He said to him, “These houses,
301 [you can] go inside them.
302 He landed and he [the sorcerer] gave seven keys to him [the boy].
303 He said to him, “These houses,
304 don’t go into it.
305 [you can] go inside them.
306 Open [them], but this one...
307 In it [the country] were seven houses, without people.
308 Only he lived there by himself.
309 He landed and he [the sorcerer] gave seven keys to him [the boy].
310 I mean, it’s not meant for you.”
311 He would go, this boy,
312 into these six houses:
313 One house full of salt,
314 One house full of rope-wood,
315 One house full of fingernails,
316 One house full of people hanged,
317 One house full of acacia-wood, acacia firewood,
318 One house full of cauldrons,
319 One house full of rope-wood,
320 One house full of people hanged,
321 One house full of acacia-wood, acacia firewood,
322 One house full of cauldrons,
323 Each one of them, I mean, had its own things.
324 One house full of rope-wood,
325 One house full of people hanged,
326 One house full of cauldrons,
327 Each one of them, I mean, had its own things.
328 There was nothing great inside them,
329 except that house which he was forbidden to enter.
330 And he kept feeding him: zira rice [tahdig?], and wheat bread,
331 He would go, this boy,
332 into these six houses:
333 One house full of salt,
334 One house full of rope-wood,
335 One house full of fingernails,
A Grammar of Kumzari

290

A Grammar of Kumzari

290

 chcą-ě lakin axča-an sirx
ka biyō wa ka bağaça în xō kin inda

hawt-ō
linkit xo na
wa ka labasa wābiś ba yē axča
pi čë-ā ḥatā čë-ū

körk-ō tay talaqa yē k-a talaqa bur na
dgō ba yē asp-ō dgō ba yē
miskin rōk-ō yā-a
xabala ba ḥisn-ō wā tō
amma na yē tabaqwa wābur ba tō-ā
pi yē člkē-ā bap tō tay-ā dgō' ba tō
yā'nī čumb-ī
laffa linkit xō wa tukš yē šēx kurd ēmağ qu bap tō pē rō wa lakin dinyē'ē-ā yē dignūn na tō na
gaw ba yē asp tō linkit xō ka bīyō wa ka bağa īh

quz’an-an tār-ā barra
emqān-tār-ā barra
kurd-an xajm-ō tk-a
yē ṣēx-e ṣāhar-ān-ē
wa tukā-tō ba īn-ān ba ŏḥar-ān

brinz sō ba tō wa tā-in
txor-in tō sabaña jfjarā pišt ba nwāż

lakin tō-ā ēka-ā majma-ē dgōm ba tō
sā ālamt yē tk-ā asp-ō ya’ni
tō wayda turs xo byār-ā na
tō wayda amma kin na
wana āmad-ā
tār-a qu’z-an-ē ēka-ā qu’z-an-ō gap-ō sinsla-ān
ba yē-ā
sō yē ba kirdan-ā pulla yē k-a āw
wa labaqwa yē k-a ba ḥalgażī
ḥalgażī yē k-a ba ēmqā-an
wa ŏambar-ān sō zēr yē-ā
faqāra tk-a aw spēr ēnca ba yē

wa tār-ā ba xō tabl-ē
wa tay grā-ā
dgō ba tō gard ba īn-ō
gard ba qu’z-an-ō inca-ē
dgō sā ŏḥar-ō dgō ba rōk-ō
gard ba yē
sā yā na asp-ō dgō ba yē
dikkara sikkara gard ba yē bass
dikkara bēr-ē dikkara dist xō dō’-ba tō
wa tkard-ā tō inda īn-ō inda qu’z-an-ō

ışk tī-ī wa tumr-ī wa tār-in tō bāla

wa āxur-ā šan tō waža’a tō tk-in ba qu’z-an-ān

359 a pool, but golden.
363 Then it came about, and right then he dipped his what’s-it-called in
364 the pool.
365 his finger, you know?
366 And immediately his finger was clothed with gold,
368 from here up to here [motions with finger, tip to base
369 of finger].
370 The boy tries to peel it off, it won’t peel off!
374 He said to him, the horse said to him,
376 O you poor wretched boy.
377 Alas, for the beauty which is yours!
379 What a pity that this sticking has happened to you,
382 after some time, your father will come and say to
383 “What happened to you?”

Bandage your finger with a piece of cloth,
385 and tell him, “The horse has bitten me.”
389 He will not believe you.
391 But listen carefully to what I am saying:
393 Today and tomorrow, your father will not yet leave
398 for work.
400 He will bring cauldrons outside,
402 He will make fire pits.
403 He is a chief of sorcerers,
405 and he will kill you for those... for [the other]
390 sorcerers.
408 He will put rice on you, and they will come;
410 they will eat you, at this time in the morning, the day
after tomorrow.
414 But as for you, you see, I am telling you:
416 (Now, you understand, the horse is teaching him:)
418 Hold on, don’t be afraid,
420 Hold on; don’t feel sorry for yourself.
422 When he comes,
425 he will bring a cauldron, you know the kind of big
427 cauldron with chains on it,
429 putting it over the fire pit, filling it with water,
433 lighting it [a fire] with kerosene,
434 putting kerosene on the firewood,
435 and putting logs under it,
437 and it will foam, the water on it will be white like
440 this,
444 and he will bring a drum for himself.
445 When it comes to a boil,
447 he will tell you to go around the what’s-it-called,
449 go around the cauldron like this,
450 “Go around it.”
451 Now, this, you know, the horse said to him,
454 “Twice, thrice; thrice only walk around it.
457 twice... the second time, he will give his hand to you,
459 and he will drop you into the what’s-it-called ... into
the cauldron.
462 You will dry out and you will die, and they will take
you out.
464 And afterward, they will distribute you among the
[other] cauldrons,
making food for many people, for sorcerers.
and they will come for you to eat you.
but you must tell him:
when he comes, say to him,
“O Father, I don’t know [how to go around the cauldron].
First, you do it, then I will do it after you.”
But he [the sorcerer] will do it three times only.
When he comes with a drum,
twice, a third time,
if you don’t drop him into it, you will die.
Once you have dropped him into it,
run, come to me.
Climb onto me and go and let’s leave,
although I don’t know whether we’ll be safe.
[audience says:] “Really?” [Aliko says:] “Yes indeed,
I don’t even know if it is safe.”
In any case, he did it. Upon waking up in the morning,
he carried the logs outside,
cauldrons and things and digging,
He said to him, “O Father, what are you doing?”
He said to him, “We are making a wedding.
We are inviting some people tomorrow.”
He (the boy) said, “That’s good; that’s fine.”
And now, that boy, he stayed right by him [the sorcerer].
He [the sorcerer] said to him [the boy], “What has happened
to your hand?”
He [the boy] says to him [the sorcerer], “My hand... I
happened to your hand?”
He [the sorcerer] said to him [the boy], “What ha
sorcerer].
And now, that boy, he stayed right by him [the
516  He (the boy) said, “That’s good; that’s fine.”
512  We are inviting some people tomo
510  He said to him, “We are making a wedding.
511  He s
519  He [the sorcerer] said to him [the boy], “What ha
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508  He said to him, “O Father, what are you doing?”
507  cauldrons and things and digging,
506  he carried the logs outside,
505  he carried the logs outside,
500  although I don’t know whether we’ll be safe.
494  Climb onto me and go and let’s leave,
493  run, come to me.
491  Once you have dropped him into it,
488  if you don’t drop him into it, you will die.
486  twice, a third time,
484  once he does it, walks around the cauldron,
483 When he comes with a drum,
477  First, you do it, then I will do it after you.”
476  “O Father, I don’t know [how to go around the cauldron].
474  when he comes, say to him,
472  but you must tell him:
470  and they will come for you to eat you.
467 making food for many people, for sorcerers.
466  First you do it; I will watch you,
464  'O Father, I don’t know [how].
462  Once, twice do it, fine, that’s all.”
461  that’s all.”
460  he did it once, twice now.
458  Until after the boy does it this way, I mean,
457  Right away, as he was going around the third time,
456  for whatever, just like this, for the cauldron.
455  he comes, wants to make him come forward,
453  He took hold of the drum, and suddenly,
450  Once, twice do it, fine, that’s all.”
448  Afterward, I myself will do it.
445  If you don’t drop him into it, you will die.
442  if you don’t drop him into it, you will die.
438  “Come, Son, you know this drum,
436  and it foamed, may God save us!
434  and it foamed, may God save us!
432  he filled [the cauldrons] with water.
431  He [the sorcerer] filled [the cauldrons] with water.
430  and it foamed, may God save us!
429  Fine. Things stayed as they were. When he got up in the
508  He said to him, “O Father, what are you doing?”
507  cauldrons and things and digging,
506  he carried the logs outside,
505  he carried the logs outside,
500  although I don’t know whether we’ll be safe.
494  Climb onto me and go and let’s leave,
493  run, come to me.
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488  if you don’t drop him into it, you will die.
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474  when he comes, say to him,
472  but you must tell him:
470  and they will come for you to eat you.
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464  'O Father, I don’t know [how].
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505  he carried the logs outside,
500  although I don’t know whether we’ll be safe.
494  Climb onto me and go and let’s leave,
493  run, come to me.
491  Once you have dropped him into it,
488  if you don’t drop him into it, you will die.
486  twice, a third time,
484  once he does it, walks around the cauldron,
483 When he comes with a drum,
477  First, you do it, then I will do it after you.”
476  “O Father, I don’t know [how to go around the cauldron].
474  when he comes, say to him,
472  but you must tell him:
470  and they will come for you to eat you.
467 making food for many people, for sorcerers.
466  First you do it; I will watch you,
464  'O Father, I don’t know [how].
462  Once, twice do it, fine, that’s all.”
461  that’s all.”
460  he did it once, twice now.
458  Until after the boy does it this way, I mean,
457  Right away, as he was going around the third time,
456  for whatever, just like this, for the cauldron.
455  he comes, wants to make him come forward,
453  He took hold of the drum, and suddenly,
450  Once, twice do it, fine, that’s all.”
448  Afterward, I myself will do it.
445  If you don’t drop him into it, you will die.
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431  He [the sorcerer] filled [the cauldrons] with water.
430  and it foamed, may God save us!
429  Fine. Things stayed as they were. When he got up in the
508  He said to him, “O Father, what are you doing?”
507  cauldrons and things and digging,
506  he carried the logs outside,
505  he carried the logs outside,
500  although I don’t know whether we’ll be safe.
494  Climb onto me and go and let’s leave,
493  run, come to me.
491  Once you have dropped him into it,
488  if you don’t drop him into it, you will die.
486  twice, a third time,
484  once he does it, walks around the cauldron,
483 When he comes with a drum,
amū byō rāstāğ yē
ka byō dist xō sō zākon yē
ka byō yē
wa ka kasaṭa yē kin inda yē
inda quz-an-ō
nasāba wābur inda yē inča
burwā śina asp-ō
ambād-īš ba xō xwā ambād-īš ba xō ġātaf
wa wākiṣ yē
tā ba yē wa tā māzad yē tk-a
asp-ō yā dān-um ēt na
ḥāta pišt-ō pišin pišt-ō pišin
mayya pišin wa nwā pišin
tamna=ā dgō ba yē ḥāṛhara kīn

sā sā ča tēmuṣ-ī
inda aqł-an ān-an wālleyit-an=in=ā
dgō’ ba yē ḥalla ba ta’r=in ammū yē gīrāq-ē

dgō ba yē ammū yē ādamī=in
ammū ādamī sā č-in ba īn xō

sā č-in čāz txōr-in
mēš yē gūd-iš dgō ba yē ḥāṛhara kīn
sā čt tēmuṣ-ī
dgō ba yē sātē gap=in tēr-an=in

dgō ba yē wā=tō tā-in sātē
qadar dgard-in xō mār wa qadar aqrab

qadar gāwd-an jōr-in mardk-ō
wa yāllā
dgō ba yē ḥāṛhara kīn
dgō ba yē sātē gap=in gōsin-an
wa yāllā gītaf kard
gītaf-ō kardīd-īš
wa mēš kin
dērya dgō ba yē ḥāṛa kīn
dgō ba yē sātē gap-an gā-an=in
ayya nēzik būr-in
xwā kard
sā trēs-in ba rēsid-in ba gītaf-an=in

wa qaffa būr-in wātō
ar mardk-ē dgīl-in ē ’ū-in
ēka=ā gītaf-an kaf’t-in na=ā ē ’ū-in ya’nī
jōr-in šan=ā axara būr-in pi šan

wa āmad-in=ā ba xwā=ā bang-an
wa filhāl bang-ō wābur ba šan
rāyid-in na bā šan na
šara’a=in wālleyit-ē ēka=ā inčka sātē ṭyō
bīstan-ē muq

568 immediately he [the sorcerer] comes in line with him,
569 right away he [the boy] comes and puts his hands on
his [the sorcerer’s] backside,
570 right away he comes to him,
571 and right away he plunges him into it,
572 into the cauldron.
573 He was sticking straight down into it, like this.
575 He [the boy] ran toward the horse
578 He loaded for himself salt, he loaded for himself
wood to make ropes,
581 and he set it off [made the horse run],
582 one [spur] on it, and he added another [spur].
583 This horse [ran like] I don’t know what!
587 Until after early afternoon, afternoon,
590 between early afternoon and late afternoon prayer-
time.
593 Then he [the horse] said to him [the boy], “Look
around!”
596 What do you see right now?”
597 “On the mountains, are those cities?”
599 He [the boy] said to him, “They are landing on
mountain-ledges, all those ants.”
602 He [the horse] said to him, “All of those are people,”
605 “All of the people are now going to their what’s-it-
called,
607 now they’re going to eat lunch.”
609 He made him [the horse] fly [on]. He [the horse] said
to him, “Look around!”
611 Now what do you see?”
612 He [the boy] said to him, “Now they are the size of
birds.”
614 He [the horse] said to him, “They are coming for you
now.”
616 “Some [of them] will turn themselves into snakes and
some [into] scorpions.
620 Some of them will search in caves for the man,
623 and O God!”
625 He said to him, “Look around!”
626 He said to him, “Now they are the size of goats.”
628 “Now quickly, drop the wood for rope-making.”
630 He dropped the wood for rope-making.
632 And they flew!
634 After a long time, he said to him, “Look around.”
636 He said to him, “Now they are the size of cows.”
637 That means they became near.
638 [horse says:] “Drop the salt!”
640 Now they are reaching to... they reached the wood to
make rope.
643 and they came to a stop, just like that.
644 Everybody said, “They’re here.
645 Since this must be the wood for making rope that was
dropped, it means they are here.”
647 Since they were looking for them, they were delayed
by them [i.e., because they thought they were by the
wood].
649 When they came for salt, it was nightfall.
652 and right then, nightfall came upon them;
653 they didn’t catch them.
656 They came to dock in a country you know like about
this time [10 pm], at a date palm garden.
Now, the young girl was enchanted by him.

That boy, they would see him there.

that is to say, they would go to the orchard pool to bathe.

hair oil and things and whatnot and …

These girls, they would comb their hair.

They would comb their hair, they would plait their hair in two braids,

These girls, they would comb their hair.

Now, on Thursday nights, and on Mondays, time went by, and more time, and more time.

He said to her, “All right. Your uncle’s children do not want to marry.

And as long as [I send you] an unripe melon, I still marry, I will send you it would mean that I wanted to marry. {If I want to marry, I will send you a ripe, juicy green melon,}

She said to her father, “I am not going to marry.”

He had only one left: he had the youngest daughter.

Two of them had married.

Now, the sheikh had three daughters.

The other one waters the date palms, he does the sh work.

The other one waters the date palms, he does the sh work.

The horse said to him, “Now as for you, I am giving you [some of my] hair.”

He gave hair to him, it was around this much hair

This hair, you know, take with you.

If things turn against you,

If [evil] happens to you,

burn [the hair], [and] I will come to you.

Any place, I mean.

And now, you go into this date palm orchard, you know, and stay inside it.

Tomorrow a peasant will come, he will water the date palms,

Say to him, a gardener, I... will work shifts with you.

You don’t come, don’t come back. I myself will work the shift.

When morning comes, it comes, and lunch and [at] breakfast time,

bring a bit of his food for me with you:

food from the house of the gardener himself!

That is to say, all of these were from the sheikh.

The boy didn’t know about it.

Here, in any case, and he stayed in the house, in the date palm orchard.

[The] peasant came. He said to him, “Oh, [you’re] only a boy.”

He said to him, “Yes?”

He said to him, “I want to stay with you.

The peasant, you are the peasant, I will work shifts with you.

And just, a little bit, a tiny bit of food bring for me and yourself from the house, from your what’s-it-called.

He said to him, “So that you don’t despair,

begin working on it.”

The other one waters the date palms, he does the shift work.

Now, the sheikh had three daughters.

Two of them had married.

He had only one left: he had the youngest daughter.

She said to her father, “I am not going to marry.”

If things turn against you,

This hair, you know, take with you.

The horse said to him, “Now as for you, I am giving you [some of my] hair.”
A Grammar of Kumzari

294

772 She said, “This boy, he is good,
773 that is to say, he is so handsome
774 that I want take him as a husband, he [will be] my fiancé.”
778 Now when they would go there, he would come to the orchard pool.
781 Now the girl left her comb behind at the orchard pool, the comb,
783 that comb with which they would comb their hair.
785 And they went, went, went, went,
787 like this when they had become far away,
788 then she said to her sister, “Oh! I left this comb of mine.”
790 “I left my comb at the what’s-it-called, at the orchard pool.”
793 “I will go to it, I will bring it. [You] go ahead.”
795 They said to her, “We will go with you.”
796 She said to them, “No, don’t go. I will go myself.”
799 And she went.
800 When he appeared at the orchard pool,
802 this boy in the orchard pool, he was radiant!
804 So white was he that he glistened in the water.
808 She took hold of the comb, and… came.
812 Right away the next day, [she was] in the garden of green melons.
814 A green melon that was ripe and juicy,
815 she gave to… She sent it to her father.
818 “My father said that… “now…
820 see that you go to your father.” She said to him, “The produce of my what’s-it-called…”
822 “My daughter wants what’s-it-called… she wants to marry.
825 And now, it’s all right.
826 I will have her marry her uncle’s son.”
829 The father came, he said to her, “Yes, child?”
832 “You want to marry?”
833 “Which of your uncle’s sons do you want?”
835 She said to him, “O father, I want to marry.”
837 “Except a cousin, [someone] o
839 “Which of your uncle’s sons do you want?”
841 “My father said that… “now…
842 See that you go to your father.” She said to him, “The produce of my what’s-it-called…”
845 I will sit up on top of the palace.”
847 And whichever men are in the country,
849 bring them, all of them.
851 Don’t leave anyone [out]! Neither beggar nor peasant!
854 I will throw the pomegranates from the what’s-it-called… from the palace.
857 I will come to the one who is my fiance.
859 It could be a poor man or a wealthy man.”
862 He said to her, “Are you sure?” She said to him, “Yes.”
865 Then, they brought, the peasant and with him the beggar, the beggar and…
870 And the lineage of Dawoud and the lineage of El the Mullah, the lineage of Saleh the son of Abdullah Saleh, that of Saleh Zaiduni and… obnoxious boys those!
880 And they had the headdress rings on, their headdress rings were on them [for the formal occasion]
èsin-an ñè’it tår-in ya’nì

èsin-an ñè′è ññaron-à=à
hè bass=ìn hè bass=ìm
wa amu ñàn pela amu taqqa ëx-a inda bazza-ò

ar zam-è tà-ë fihål aft tà ñmad bà yè
kà sèx-ò ñgò mè dít xò dòm na bà yè na yè
çàb ñgò … yà ñs’it wà ýè na
bìdàr-è à’ì ràddà ëx-a bà bìdàr mè
sà mè kàna dít xò àd-ùm bà yè=à

dgùn bà yè qawm ël ñàsìmè

dgùn-è âdàmì-àn gap-àn=à

dgùn bà yè tò’at na
yà âdàmì-è-à dìtk-ò rök-ò yà jór-a
tè dít xò dì bà yè dìtk-ò šàr-ò kìn bà yè ya’nì

anà ajaza wàbùr pì ñàsàt-ò=à
àxùr dít xò àd na bà yè na

hà kànà yè tàt-à yè ò
jwàn ra bà sèx-ò
dgò bà yè hè
dìt mè tàl bòr tò gìš-ì xìsìtar dûg-à tò

wa làkìn nà bà šàrò dò gò bà yè bà šàrò gàw

gaw dògò bà yè tàt-ùm qìsr-è
dwâzdà tà tàbàq-àn qùblò qìsr dìt mè gis-è
yà qìsr dìt mè na qìsr dûrg tàbàq qùblò yè
gis-è ya’nì
ç-ì ndà yè=à wà′daxl-ò tì-ì ndà yè
wa ç-ì ndàr … jìsr-è bà yè
wa tàt-ùm hawt-è ñrìx àxà-è
wa hawt-è spèr
yà ndà yè
ròz pùnsùm bubù ñjùmàt sañhà tì-im jùmàt
yà ndà yè
dìt xò kàwà tèbùm-ùm bà tò bà hàqq

wa làkìn yà ndà yè na qàsṣà tò sàr tò

dgò bà yè ñòbùr kin
ka ràyaùd-ùm-à ròz jùmàt=à
yè ka ràyaùd-ùm ka ràyaùd-ùm nà=à
là àl’hàlàllà
sàw-ò ràfà ñàraàà mù gìd-iś pi ñsp-ò
ñsp-ò ñèśì bà yè
dgò bà yè hà
dgò bà yè sèx-ò çàb inçà inçà

dgò bà yè tà qìsr
wa dì-tà hawt-àn tà wà mù jàjìrì … yèk bè
inìalâ
sàw jùmàt àsàbà bùn pènà yè qìsr-è dûrg
warya wàbìši wàlèyìt-ò

and about one hundred important people [were there],
883 That is to say, these [one hundred elders] were
brought as witnesses.
885 These came for whom? The pomegranate...
889 Yes, there were enough: Yes, we were enough.
894 And immediately she threw it [the pomegranate],
immediately it pummeled the poor person.
895 Each time one, in all seven [of them] came to him.
900 So that the sheikh said, I am not giving my daughter
to him, how do I say this... this one doesn’t make a living.
905 A peasant! No! He works shifts for my peasant!
907 Now [indignation] has it befallen me that I would
rather give my own daughter to this?
909 They said to him, “This is the lineage of El
Hamimee,
910 these being important people;”
911 they said to him, “It shall not be.
913 The girl chooses that very person, that boy.
917 Before you give your daughter to him, that is to say,
he must give her the bridewealth.
920 Perhaps the bridewealth bothers him?
922 [In that case] after all don’t give your daughter to
him!
925 Eh? Lest she should want that fellow!
928 Well. He went to the sheikh.
930 He said to him, “Well.
931 My daughter has decided on you to take as a fiancé,
she will take you.
935 But without any bridewealth.” He said to him, “With
bridewealth. You name it!”
938 He said to him, “I want a palace,
941 twelve stories [high], to be presented to my daughter.
945 This palace that is for my daughter, it is another
multi-storeyed palace
948 to be presented to her, I mean.
950 When you go into it, get inside it,
953 when you go in... there is a bridge.
954 And I want a golden pool— of pure gold—
956 and a pool of silver.
958 These inside it [the palace].
960 On Thursday, Friday’s eve, when morning dawns on
Friday,
964 I will carry the marriage contract for my daughter to
you for the bridewealth.
968 However unless these [things] are inside it, your head
will be cut off.”
970 He said to him, “Wait.”
973 If I am able, on Friday,
976 then I am able. If I am not able,
979 may God save us!
983 That night he went to burn the hair from the horse.
986 The horse came to him.
987 He said to him, “Yes?”
988 He said to him, “The sheikh how... like this, like
this.”
990 He said to him, “One palace
992 and two pools, we have one already... [so then] only
one? God willing!”
998 Friday’s eve standing before him was another palace!
1002 It shone out over the country.
They went down a path [of] the banana garden.

Six boys were going by; [here]...

She said to him, “Hey, just now your brothers were me, say it! What did you see?!”

He said to her, “What! Whatever you have to tell

She said to him, “Never mind.”

Six boys were going by;

Six boys were going by;

A pool of gold and a pool of silver were in it.

This muezzin before [people] were awake, he gave the [dawn] call to prayer.

now they were just waking... It was light [shining from] the palace. Yes!

He saw this light [shining from] the palace.

They said to the sheikh, “So.

You say he can’t do it?!”

One... single... in a single day, this could not have happened!

If it is his doing, I will give her to him. Let him marry her.

They gave her to him [in marriage].

They woke up Friday morning.

If it is his doing, I will give her to him.

No one can do it!

You say he can’t do it?!”

They said to the sheikh, “So.

He saw this light [shining from] the palace. Yes!

They were Friday. And man... the woman, his head [was in] what’s-it-called,

At all!

They said to him, “That is to say, it’s the the banana garden.”

This garden that we are talking about, you know, that is to say, it is the banana garden.

It’s the tale of The Banana Garden.

Now when he was on this path, and going by [them],

whoever goes there, dies.

A sorcerer is in it.

(a voice calls:) “Whoever goes by this path won’t survive!”

At all!

They said to him, “That is to say, it’s the the banana garden.”

This garden that we are talking about, you know, that is to say, it is the banana garden.

It’s the tale of The Banana Garden.

Now when he was on this path, and going by [them],

whoever goes there, dies.

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At all!

They said to him, “That is to say, it’s the the banana garden.”

This garden that we are talking about, you know, that is to say, it is the banana garden.

It’s the tale of The Banana Garden.

Now when he was on this path, and going by [them],

whoever goes there, dies.

A sorcerer is in it.

(a voice calls:) “Whoever goes by this path won’t survive!”

At all!
Appendix 1: Folktales

wa yē tēra-ō=ā ar čōt ba yē
radda tō’at na
sātē tē pišin=in jārī

wa ka ḥaraqa mú-an kin
wa ka rēsīd ba yē asp-ō
abaša šamsir xō kin qaḥama kin ba kāmar yē yē tēğar wa asp-ō wa žān-k pišt-ō yē

jilib yē ba käwa yē lablab yē tēğar wa asp-ō ka rēsid ba yē a

asi ḥa ka rēsid ba yē lakin tā

la

wān xō tkēš ṭa yē lā

la

wān xō tkēš ṭa yē lā

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A Grammar of Kumzari

Immediately he put it in the middle of his crack, like this, tickling, like this, tickling, and immediately gave it to him.

Then he [the sorcerer] said to him [in Arabic:], “Add [strike me again]!”

He [the sorcerer] sheddered like this; he collapsed. He [the boy] jumped down. He went to his brothers. And they met, shaking hands, And the woman did not arrive [until now, for] she was on foot. She was in tears. [Hamedo:] That woman was behind them just [now]?

Yes, just behind them, she only arrived now.

[Mal:] Yes, the banana garden...

And they flew!

In any case, now this garden was given [by the boy] to make peace with the sheikh.

[Mal:] Yes, the banana garden...

Well, God save you, this is the story of “Ahmad Does It”, it is so...

There was an old person. An old woman, she had a grandchild, a grandchild.

I mean, he was nearly full grown... fifteen or twenty
It will never happen!"
55 He said to her, "I’m going!"
56 "[If] you’re really going, there’s the way."
59 He left. "You’re departing, [so] go!"
60 He went now, like into the town, like Khasab,
61 He went, he went, and he fell upon Dubai.
62 He arrived at Dubai. Arriving at Dubai,
63 now, he went [there], now he knew no one.
64 He went into a shop, like this and like that,
65 You, now if you go on Hajj,
66 you would go to [a] travel agency.
67 [Audience:] He was going his own way.
68 He arrived at a shop,
69 He asked him a question.
70 They greeted each other.
72 Well, the merchant shopkeeper, this one was the owner
73 of the shop.
74 Then he said to him, "What is your name?"
75 Now this Ahmad Does It fellow, this boy, the beggar,
77 he found a rupee, a rupee on the path.
78 His mother had died, [so] this [boy] was an orphan.
79 to the old person, [who] was not his mother.
80 He found a rupee, he came to his grandmother.
81 to the old person, [who] was not his mother.
82 His mother had died, [so] this [boy] was an orphan.
84 He arrived at a shop,
85 They greeted each other.
87 for there wasn’t any other place that he knew, you see?
88 He was with his brothers to each other.
89 Then he said, "OK", now they became related to each
90 He found a rupee, he came to his grandmother.
91 to the old person, [who] was not his mother.
92 His mother had died, [so] this [boy] was an orphan.
93 He lived in... with his grandmother.
94 Then he said to her, “O Grandmother, I have found a
95 "Half... you’re going on Hajj with a half-rupee?!
96 You’re going on Hajj, you’re going on Hajj with a half-
97 rupee?"
98 You’re going on Hajj, you’re going on Hajj with a half-
99 rupee?!
100 "Your name is Ahmad? My name is Ahmad Does It!
101 "My name is Ahmad."
102 He said, "My name is Ahmad."
103 "Your name is Ahmad? My name is Ahmad Does It!
104 Could it be that we are brothers?"
105 "Eh? You are Ahmad?"
106 "I am Ahmad Does It."
107 Then he said, “OK”, now they became related to each
108 they were brothers to each other."
109 He was with him a day or two,
110 for there wasn’t any other place that he knew, you see?
111 "I am Ahmad Does It."
112 Then he said, “OK”, now they became related to each
113 other by blood, they were brothers to each other."
114 He left. "You’re departing, [so] go!"
115 He went now, like into the town, like Khasab,
116 He went, he went, and he fell upon Dubai.
117 He arrived at Dubai. Arriving at Dubai,
118 now, he went [there], now he knew no one.
119 He went into a shop, like this and like that,
120 You, now if you go on Hajj,
121 you would go to [a] travel agency.
122 [Audience:] He was going his own way.
123 He arrived at a shop,
124 He asked him a question.
125 They greeted each other.
126 the merchant shopkeeper, this one was the owner
127 of the shop.
128 Then he said to him, "What is your name?"
129 Now this Ahmad Does It fellow, this boy, the beggar,
130 he said to the shopkeeper, "What is your name?"
131 "[If] you’re really going, there’s the way."
132 He left. "You’re departing, [so] go!"
133 Then he said, “OK”, now they became related to each
134 other by blood, they were brothers to each other."
135 He was with him a day or two,
136 for there wasn’t any other place that he knew, you see?
137 Now since he took lodging with him, with this
138 merchant, the merchant said to this one, “OK, now we are
139 brothers.”
140 [Ahmad Tka says:] “But tonight let’s go and rob the
141 sheikh’s house.”
142 [Ahmad Tka says:] “You’re going on Hajj and now you’re
143 stealing?”
144 289
ar tät-a dğō ba ahmad ān
dğō ba ahmad dikkaninō awwal bär mē
yē=um
awwal bär tō=tī
dğō ba yē hē
sā yā yā pe na muxx wā yē=ā
amu rōž-ō pişt-ī
lāzug ādamī xābar tī-in wa
wa ādamī sabara tkīn ba walēyīt-ō wa šīgl
awwal bär maxluq-an ģafala=īn
sā niyyīt ahmad tka ānēlyā yē=ā
tamma=ā dğō ba yē ka z-im awwal bär mē
yē=um
rōž-ō mē č-um z-um
sā č-im wā=ān āgūr lān mē č-um teğar
swābūr-ā ba xubrīt
br-im ba xaznīt-an šēx-ō dž-im
sōğ-ō gid-in wād-in ammū xaznīt gid-in
šaβaḥa būr-in pi šaβ=ā awa=ā xā šēx-ō źīs-in
ešīnār źīs-in šēx-ō pä�m ba yē
kas īs dğō na
šaw-ō sabara tk-im čābē šīgl-ō=ā
lāzug tā-in bāgūr
sā čāb kin šēx-ō=ā
ejā yā xānąq-ō xaznīt-an inda yē īn-an na
хаfara kin dār ma dār
sā yā ba ar tay ar ģarraw-ā
sā rōž-ō pišt-ī ba yē=ā
ba ahmad ādamī dikkaninō
meš kin mēš kin mēš kin sā č-in ba yē kafī
gambar-ō
kaft inđa yē=ā gis-im īs ba yē tehra bağā bāla
na
wa yē tät-a tār-ā yē bāla na
tāt-ā tukš-ā yē
ādamī ahmad bazza=ā tāt-ā tukš-ā yē
ka dğō ba yē čābē=ā dğō ba yē čābē=ā
če ḥaṭa tī-im
aḥsān pī muخx tō qaṣṣa k-um pī ādamī dān-
in tō
maxluq-ō bağa rū wā tō dān-ī=ā
dān-ī yē ba rū yē
dğō ba yē ka muxx yē qaṣṣa kīn
muxx yē qaṣṣa kīn
jitt-ō wašt-iś yē inĎa gambl-ō
muxx-ō gur brō
yā śnuft-ē yē jārī qaṣṣā mē
muxx-ō gur brō
čen yē muxx-ō
tamma=ā dğīn awa=ā xā šēx-ō źīs-in

148 Whatever he wanted he told to that Ahmad,
151 He said to Ahmad the shopkeeper... “the first time it is
me.”
155 “The first time it is you?”
157 He said to him, “Yes.”
158 Now this [Ahmad Tka] also, you know, he had a head
on his shoulders/ was a clever fellow:
160 Immediately the following day,
162 someone must find out whether...
164 whether they are standing guard for the country’s
Ministry.
166 The first time everyone is unsuspecting.
168 Thus was the scheming of Ahmad Does It.
170 Then he said to him, “When we steal, the first time it
will be me [my turn].
173 Today I am going to steal.
175 Now we will go together, but I will go ahead.
178 When night came, on to the plan of action…
180 “Let’s go and steal the sheikh’s valuables.
182 They took the souq, they brought, they took all of the
valuables.
183 When they got up in the morning, it was said that they
had robbed the sheikh’s house.
193 These people who had robbed the sheikh, even they
kept quiet/ even the sheikh kept quiet.
198 No one was saying anything.
200 Tonight we will keep watch [and see] how the thing
turns out,
203 They will certainly come another time.
207 Now how is he doing it/ how must he do it, the sheikh?
209 This place, the house valuables which are in the
what’s-it-called,
212 He dug all around it!
221 Now, this is for whoever comes, whoever makes a
mistake, eh?
225 Now the next day it was his turn.
228 [the turn of] Ahmad, the shop-keeper fellow.
231 They walked, walked, walked, now they are going to
it, he fell into the hole.
236 He fell into it, “I am taken!” There was no way for him
to come up [to get out of the hole].
240 And he [Ahmad Does It] did not want to bring him out,
242 he wanted to kill him.
244 That poor Ahmad fellow, he wanted to kill him.
248 So he said to him(self?), “How could this be?” He said,
“How could this be?”
249 What will become of us?
251 Better that I cut off your head than that someone
recognise you.
255 Will all the people recognise you without a face?
259 You recognise him by his face!
262 He told him to cut off his head.
265 He cut off his head,
267 the corpse, he left it in the hole.
271 Take the head, go!
272 [to audience] Have you heard this already from me?
275 Take the head, go!
276 Hide it, the head.
278 Then they said that [someone] had robbed the sheikh’s
house,
kaf-in bā šan
lakin maxlōq-ō bağa muxx kas dān-a yē kī na
kas dān-a yē kī na
yā údū billā
bard-in yā jitt-ō-ā dakk yē gid-in
inda maqberit-ō
šēx-ō čābē kin jwān
sabara kin ba métaw
läżum muxx-ō tār-in ba gēr-ō
wašt-īs da’ tā zangērir
ḥāraš-an ba gēr-ō sabara tk-in
sabara tk-in kē muxx-ō tār-a
dār-īn yā’īn pi gēr-ō-ā
tā bār ūn mēś-in šēx=āa āra
sā wa raft awwa bār=ā
tamma=āā Ḥāraš-an ba yē radda wāb
radda wāb byō xāngā-ō
yē-ā aḥmad tā yē-ā
byō xāngā-ō cā’ī Y ūrī palla kin cā’ī
wa samama yē kin
amu samn kard inda yē
gur ba xō adada šan da’ tā finjan
xōb sā wa qublū bur-a=ā tamma=āā dig-in
wā=smā
āka ūn-ō
muxx-ō ēkā=ā šmā sabara tk-in=ā
čā’ī wās-ūm ba šmā pi šēx-ō pi xā šēx-ō
ūn-ī jāga xō č-ē giya
ūn-ī jāga xō
muxx-ō pē čāb tk-a ba y’=ā
sā wašt-īs šan jāga šan sakana gid-īs
dgō ba šan ēkā=ā šēx-ō gaft-ē ba mē
abāsa xōr-in wā-āngar
panj tā da’ tā in-ē abāsa kīn=ā
šāra ba kīn wā-āngar
ar ṭxōr-a yē tumra-a
ar da’ kas-an šan mūr-mūn
samm-ō kīst-īs šan samm-ē qātal
muxx-ō sō inda gēr-ō
šābaḫa būr-in pi šāb=ā
tamna=āā dig-in awa-āā Ḥāraš-an ar da’ kas-
an šan murs-in
yā ūn-yā giya
sā yā šēx-ō ajaža būr
čābē šīgā-ō yē-ā
čābē yē da’ tā čābē mūr-mūn
na ṭarba na šīgā na ṭin
jwān sā šēx-ō-ā jāmal wā yē jāmal-ē jāmal-ē
nasaba tō’āt ba inčka dūr-ī
kalb al-būlīs ha=ā
īn-an dān-a kāra dān-a žīn-an
dān-a šīgā-ān dān-a ēhē
280 they fell in with them,
281 but all the people, without a head nobody knew who he
was.
285 No one knew who he was!
288 Only God knew!
290 Carrying this corpse [away], they buried it.
292 In the grave.
294 How is the sheikh doing? So.
296 He kept watch in the moonlight!
298 They had to bring the head to the grave.
302 He left ten slaves [to guard the grave].
305 The guards at the grave, they kept the night watch.
309 They kept watch [to see] who would bring the head.
311 They were far, that is to say, from the grave,
313 so that once they [the thieves] came, they [the slaves]
would see where... so that they would see [the thief].
316 Now, when he went the first time,
317 he saw the guards with it [at the grave], he came back!
320 He came back, he came to the house!
324 (There he was, it was him, this Ahmad Does It.)
325 He came to the house with tea, he filled up the tea-pot
with tea,
330 and poisoned it!
333 Right away he dropped poison into it.
335 He picked up the number of them ten teacups.
338 Well. Now, when he approaches, then let them call you
[to come] over.
342 There’s the thief!
344 Since it must be you who are guarding the head,
346 I have brought you tea from the sheikh, from the house
of the sheikh.
350 Stay in your own place. Where are you going?
352 Stay there in your own place.
354 Just the head- what did he do with it?!
356 Now he left them to stay in their place [where] they
were staying.
358 He said to them, “Of course the sheikh has told me.”
360 They take and drink together!!
362 Five of them, ten of them drink! Really!
366 They drink together!
368 Whoever drinks it will die.
371 All ten of them died.
374 The poison killed them, poison made from Qatal fish
venom.
378 He put the head in the grave!
380 When they woke up in the morning,
383 they heard it was said that the guards, all ten of them,
had died.
386 Where was he [the killer]?
388 Now this sheikh became troubled.
390 How did that happen?
392 How were those ten, how did they die?
393 Neither wound, nor mark, nor anything.
397 So. Now, the sheikh... he had a camel, a camel. A
camel.
406 It stood up like a what-do-you-call-it,
409 a police dog, right?
412 He knows the what’s-it-calleds. He knows the
happenings, he knows the thieves,
415 he knows things.
sā yā jāmal-ā kalī wā mē na
417 he would see in the morning whose shoes did it.
418 Now this camel, since he could see in front of him
what would come to pass,
sā ṣanwā sā bēw antē yē čābitnī yē na
419 he would see in the morning whose shoes did it.
420 Now he would know it was the thieves’ [shoes] that
did it.
sā yā jāmal-ā yē lāwūwa yē na
421 It was like this now… in Kuwait,
sā wa ahmad-ā yē ḍam barra=ā
422 even I saw....
sē ğa ir ē bar ngā ḍam barra=ā
423 police dog. [of the] police.
sē ēbar ngā yā xasafa wābur
424 Now the den of thieves where the rascal was, he knew.
sē ēbar ngā rō rōrī ṣārī-ā
425 So when Ahmad [Tkā] when in this case he came
outside,
sē ēbar ngā yē ātē tāsī-ā
426 he saw a camel reclining in his courtyard.
sē ēbar ngā yē ātē tāsī-ā
427 oh, yes, it is an issue.
sē ēbar ngā yē ātē tāsī-ā
428 Now when they woke up in the morning,
sē ēbar ngā yē ātē tāsī-ā
429 where could the camel be?!
sē ēbar ngā yē ātē tāsī-ā
430 There he is! Beside the house where who lives? Beside
the house of whom?
sē ēbar ngā yē ātē tāsī-ā
431 What is to be done about this?
sē ēbar ngā yē ātē tāsī-ā
432 Once he came outside, he brought a digging stick with
him.
sē ēbar ngā yē ātē tāsī-ā
433 And a shovel, and made a hole in the courtyard.
sē ēbar ngā yē ātē tāsī-ā
434 He made a hole in the courtyard, he made a deep
hole...
sē ēbar ngā yē ātē tāsī-ā
435 See, he cut the neck of the camel.
sē ēbar ngā yē ātē tāsī-ā
436 He cut its throat.
sē ēbar ngā yē ātē tāsī-ā
437 And he skinned it.
sē ēbar ngā yē ātē tāsī-ā
438 And took its fat from it.
sē ēbar ngā yē ātē tāsī-ā
439 And once he had buried the whole thing in the hole,
sē ēbar ngā yē ātē tāsī-ā
440 he left it alone, completely levelled.
sē ēbar ngā yē ātē tāsī-ā
441 Nobody would know what is in it.
sē ēbar ngā yē ātē tāsī-ā
442 And that old person sleeping inside, his mother,
sē ēbar ngā yē ātē tāsī-ā
443 she didn’t know. He buried it... he finished.
sē ēbar ngā yē ātē tāsī-ā
444 They woke up in the morning.
sē ēbar ngā yē ātē tāsī-ā
445 They looked for the camel near that city.
sē ēbar ngā yē ātē tāsī-ā
446 Where is it? This was destroyed.
sē ēbar ngā yē ātē tāsī-ā
447 They looked for the camel near that city.
sē ēbar ngā yē ātē tāsī-ā
448 Where is it? This was destroyed.
sē ēbar ngā yē ātē tāsī-ā
449 They looked for the camel near that city.
sē ēbar ngā yē ātē tāsī-ā
450 They looked for the camel near that city.
sē ēbar ngā yē ātē tāsī-ā
451 They looked for the camel near that city.
sē ēbar ngā yē ātē tāsī-ā
452 They looked for the camel near that city.
sē ēbar ngā yē ātē tāsī-ā
453 They looked for the camel near that city.
sē ēbar ngā yē ātē tāsī-ā
454 They looked for the camel near that city.
sē ēbar ngā yē ātē tāsī-ā
455 They looked for the camel near that city.
sē ēbar ngā yē ātē tāsī-ā
456 They looked for the camel near that city.
sē ēbar ngā yē ātē tāsī-ā
457 They looked for the camel near that city.
sē ēbar ngā yē ātē tāsī-ā
458 They looked for the camel near that city.
sē ēbar ngā yē ātē tāsī-ā
459 They looked for the camel near that city.
sē ēbar ngā yē ātē tāsī-ā
460 They looked for the camel near that city.
sē ēbar ngā yē ātē tāsī-ā
461 They looked for the camel near that city.
sē ēbar ngā yē ātē tāsī-ā
462 They looked for the camel near that city.
čōt wā=bālā=ā
štā tabaqa ba įn-ō ba rkaḥ-an pi žerān
ěka=ā inčka rēg-an sayyya ba xō įn-ō na
rkaḥ-ō rēg-an sayyya ba xō sīyāfī-ō ba rkaḥ-ō na
trēs-ā ānsū xalwat-ē jōr-ā ba xō maqqa
tay dakka tk-ā jāga-ē
wa čōt wā=žerān panja tā sayyya
ba rkaḥ-an jamma tk-ā na
mēš tk-ā bē
ana tabaqa tk-ā ba rkaḥ-ō inčka
rēg-an ěka-ā tabaqa tk-ā ba rkaḥ-an tō-a=ā
trēs-ā sar-ō žerānī=ā
ḥafara gambil-ē tk-ā=ā sō yē īnda yē
yā na naqala wābūr
wa kas jamma tk-ā na
cābē šigl-ō yē=ā
iš mād na
inda šīrg ē yē=ā
yā axča=ā yā mēš tk-ā dūsō ba yē
tabaqa ba pā yē
cōt sar-ō žerānī iš na maqluq ānsō na
ḥafara ḫafara gambil-ē gid-īš
šīr-āx kāf īnda yē
sā dān-ā jāga xō
radda tō tay wā=bālā
bāgur bīs tā rēg tabaqa ba įn yē
trēs-ā sar-ō bālī’t
gambil-ō ḫafara yē tk-ā tūr-ā bālā
sā jārī wābūr wa kas jamma tk-ā
tā sayyya na
yā ūdū bīllā šēx-ō gaft-īš ba yā
mād rōz-ē dō rōz-ē=ā alana gid-īš šēx-ō
alana gid-īš wa ahad u amān
mē=ā kī inča gis-ē yē=ā
ḥūkm-ō ba yē jāga mē
hē mē kī inča gis-ē yē=ā
ḥūkm-ō ba yē jāga mē
hā āman dār-īš ba maqlōq-an ya’nī
iš tk-um na bā yē ya’nī na
inča ka sā kas xābar yē kī yē na
tamma=ā sā ahad gid-īš pi šēx-ō
wa ahad dār-īš ba čāf-ō ammū šaŋ
mē kē yē=ā ar yā axča gis-ē
wa yā inča gis-ē
wa inča gis-ē hōkūm-ō ba yē dīnya-ē yā
mē tany-um bē
tamma=ā radda kin gaw mē=um

---

Let us see you come back [turn yourself in]! Say, “it’s me.”

When he went up there,

You see, in this way, they were picking up pebbles, the what’s-it-called, you know?

The shoes were picking up pebbles to the tar that was on the shoes.

He arrives there, in a wilderness.

He looks for an escape (place to deposit) for himself,

and [then] went back down fifty times to pick it up.

He went there was bending down!

He was only walking,

if it was sticking to the shoes like this,

you know, pebbles were getting stuck to the shoes.

He arrives at the lower mountain peak,

Digging a hole, he puts it in it!

This [gold that he had], it disappeared!

And no one was bending down!

How was this working?!

Nothing stayed!!

In that street there!

That gold there!... That one was walking, stepping on it,

it stuck to his feet.

He went to the lower mountain peak, where there were no people,

He dug, and dug, and made a hole.

He dropped the gold into it!

Now, he knew its place,

Returning, he came upward,

twenty more times, with it stuck to his what’s-it-called [shoes].

He arrives at the upper mountain peak,

at the hole he had dug, he brought it up there.

Now he had finished, and no one was bending down or

picking them up!

“I give up!” the sheikh said of this.

He stayed a day or two, then he spoke to the assembly, the sheikh.

He spoke to the assembly. And [he gave the thief] amnesty.

“I swear, whoever has taken this [gold] like this,

he shall have the government in my place.

Yes! I swear, whoever has taken this [gold] like this,

he shall have the government in my place.

So. That is to say, he gave his guarantee to all the people:

“I am not doing anything with him [to punish him], I mean.”

This way, now, no one knew about who he/it was.

Now that he heard the promise from the sheikh,

And he gave the promise on the beach to all of them,

“I swear, whoever it is who has taken this gold...

And has taken like this, that one shall have the
government, listen to what I am saying!

I am only living/staying...
Materials for a Tale

Appendix 1: Folktales

Rōran Šēxō

raft yēk-ē qissit-ē wa ḥakīyat-ē
šēx walāyīt-ō šēx-ō
inda walāyīt-ō na šēx-ō ya’nī
xalāfa gid-īs aft tā kūrk-ēn
īs na dīt-ān na
aft tā kūrk-ēn xalāfa gid-īs
šās kas-ān har-ē=in
yak-ē maxnat-ē
čīkk-ō maxnāt-ē
cōt bāz tk-ā wā kān-ēn wā dīt-ān
būz tk-ā wā dīt-ān īns bāz-ē
sā ēšīnān-ā šās kas-ān gap-ān-ē
dūn bā bāp xō bābā=ā ē-im
xīstar jōr-ēm bā xō
mā pī tā mām tā bāp
šās tā zānk-ān jōr-ēm bā xō
pī tā mām tā bāp
dīt-ān šēx yā’nī pī jāgā dīg
yēk-ē yēk-ē dūg-ām nā
yā maxnat-ā-ē wašt-ēn yē
gafft-ēn nā bā xēn nā
būp-ō dūg bā šān br-ē
jōr-ē bā xō
šābāža būr-in raft-ēn
raft-ēn rēsid-in bā nummağ
ya rōk-ē xābār nā
āmād bāz tk-ē=ā dīt-ē bāzand-ē
yēk-ē dīt-ē bāzand-ē
dīt-ē īmā bāzand-ē yē
dīt-ē dūg bā yē tō kā mārāk-ē=ī
kā raft-ē wā bār-ān xō
īka rin xūntū tk-in bā xō=ā
kā raft-ē wā śān
āmās-ē bāz tk-ē wā dīt-ān
ām bālā xā śān=ā
tamā=ā dūg bā bāp xō bābā=ā gīyā
bār-ān mē=ā
būp-ō dūg bā yē bār-ān tō r-in

777 Come on! How is it [going to be]?
779 Come on, is it you? Haven’t you had enough?
781 Maybe the government seeks a lie, [such as:]
782 Like this and like this and like this and like this and I have cut off the heads of all the people,
786 I carried them to a certain place, you know?
787 Bring the camel to me, where to bury [it] where is it buried?
789 And bring the camel’s fat,
790 And feast on his gold,
793 He handed over the government to him, the sheikh.
796 We ourselves lived in our house,
797 We’re just talking about him. It is him.
800 The End. You went, I came.
805 [audience:] This half rupee! [audience:] This half rupee.

7 There went one. A story and a telling.
19 A sheikh of a country. The sheikh.
22 That is to say, he was the sheikh of the country.
25 Seven sons he had.
27 He hadn’t any daughters.
28 He had seven sons.
33 Six were macho.
35 One was a gay.
37 The youngest was a gay.
38 He would go and play with those, with the girls.
42 He would play with the girls on the mountainside.
46 Now these ones, the six older ones.
50 they said to their father, “O father, we are going
to find fiancées for ourselves.
56 We [who are] from one mother, one father,
58 we will look for six women
from one mother, one father.
61 That is to say, sheikh’s daughters. From another place.
65 We won’t marry one at a time.”
69 This gay one, they left him.
70 They didn’t tell him.
73 The father said to them, “Go.
74 Look for yourselves.”
76 They got up in the morning, they left.
83 They left, they arrived halfway.
88 This boy didn’t know.
90 When he came to play, he hit a girl.
94 He hit one girl.
95 one of the girls like this size, he hit her.
98 The girl said to him, “Since you are a man,
you should have gone with your brothers,
and since they have gone to get themselves engaged,
so you should have gone with them.
99 We ourselves lived in our house,
104 [Instead] you have come to play with girls?”
106 Coming up to their house,
108 then he said to his father, “O Father, where are my brothers?”
111 The father said to him, “Your brothers went
I, I have a thief in the country, a thief, he steals things.

They said to him, "We have come to present our suits/get engaged.

They went to the sheikh.

They were from one far country.

The sheikh of this country, he had seven daughters, the girls.

They came upon a country. Another country.

They got up in the morning, and they left.

He killed the snake.

The boy, the gay one.

He came and struck it with [his] walking stick.

It was jumping up, jumping up toward them like this, and

A snake just like this, you know, a serpent, you know?

They went to it, and they said to them [him], "Up ahead there."

He said to them, "Where is it?"

We couldn't go now. We are staying."

Then he said to him [them], "Where is it?"

They went to it, and they said to them [him], "Up ahead there."

They saw: a snake! The snake was really there in its own place. It was slithering.

A snake just like this, you know, a serpent, you know?

It was jumping up, jumping up toward them like this, and

He came and struck it with [his] walking stick.

He struck the snake. The boy, the gay one.

He killed the snake.

In any case, they banded together, all seven of them.

And they left.

They got up in the morning, and they left.

They came upon a country. Another country.

The sheikh of [the country] had seven daughters.

He went and gave to him a donkey and a sword.

He said to him, "Quickly. Immediately give me

playing with girls.

Now why are you sitting here?

How could you go to get engaged,

and not tell me?

They greeted each other.

He [the father] said to him [the boy], "You, you are not

Why did you not tell me?"

To get themselves engaged."

He [the boy] said to him [the father], "[What about me, why did you not tell me?"

He [the father] said to him [the boy], "You, you are not with them.

Son, they are not in the country, and

They went by road, they were taking a rest,

all six of them.

He came, he arrived at where they were.

They greeted each other.

He [all six of them].

They were sitting by the road, they were taking a rest,

after sunset, he saw:

They said to them, "There is a snake on the road. A snake!

A snake. It will jump up and eat us!

They said to him, "There is a snake on the road. A snake!

Now why are you sitting here?"

You really don't know me?

Who am I? Don't you know me?

They actually said this to him, "Who are you?"

He said to them, "Who are you supposed to be?!!

Who am I? Don't you know me?

They went by road, they were taking a rest,

after sunset, he saw:

They said to him, "There is a snake on the road. A snake!

A snake. It will jump up and eat us!

They said to him, "There is a snake on the road. A snake! A snake. It will jump up and eat us!

They actually said this to him, "Who are you?"

He said to them, "Who are you supposed to be?!!

Who am I? Don't you know me?

They went by road, they were taking a rest,

after sunset, he saw:

They said to him, "There is a snake on the road. A snake! A snake. It will jump up and eat us!

They said to him, "There is a snake on the road. A snake! A snake. It will jump up and eat us!

They actually said this to him, "Who are you?"

He said to them, "Who are you supposed to be?!!

Who am I? Don't you know me?
Appendix 1: Folktales

263 He has stolen my treasure, he has finished taking it.
264 I cannot [catch] him.
266 Whoever kills the thief,
269 shall have my seven daughters.
272 He shall have all seven of them,
274 any one of you who kills the thief.
276 I will give [my] seven daughters to him.
280 I will give the seven to someone.
285 And afterward you, you are your own persons [it’s up to you].
288 Whoever kills the thief,
289 [my] seven daughters will be his.
290 Without bridewealth. I don’t want any money.”
295 It was not yet morning, in the night,
296 the oldest boy left.
297 He gave them a house, and they stayed in it.
300 Leaving at night,
301 he walked around, and how did he do it?
303 He slept beside the hearth.
304 The gay boy, he would eat supper, and he would go to sleep,
308 They [the other brothers] would socialise,
309 and covered his body with it; he left.
311 The oldest boy left, he didn’t find anyone.
315 [unclear text] The next night, another boy left,...
319 The youngest left, he didn’t find anyone.
320 In any case, six of them had gone, [and had] not [found]
325 Now, it was his turn, it was his night, the gay one.
330 When it was night, he left.
332 Leaving them to sleep,
338 he picked up a burlap sack,
339 and covered his body with it; he left.
342 Going like this from the Ghoshbani clan’s shore,
344 going like this toward the Aqali clan’s shore,
345 he arrived at the top of the lagoon.
347 Indeed, he went into the treasure house.
350 Having gone, he went to the treasure house.
351 He saw that they had robbed the treasure house.
353 The door was open, and they had already taken the money.
357 Now [as] he was going to the beach like this and up and up,
360 He saw a fire, a fire there by the well,
364 a fire burning!
365 He came and went to the fire.
370 Now he, setting there, his sword,
374 and tying up his donkey there a ways away,
376 and put his burlap sack there,
380 and came to the fire.
381 He saw that there were three. There were three thieves.
386 Each of them had a burlap sack full of rupees.
390 They greeted each other.
393 “So!! It’s you [who] have stolen?
396 You have already gone to the treasure house?”
398 They said to him, “Yes.”
400 “What have you brought?”
403 They said to him, “We have brought rupees.”
407 Why haven’t you come across [any] gold?!”
410 They said to him, “We don’t know about the gold.
jīs-im na mayya ar ēr mayya=ā ruppī=in
dgō ba šan šmā č-um pišt-ō šmā=ū
rōz-ē č-um ti šmā
lakin wa rōz-ō raft-um=ā
tēmīs-um xēzīna-ō wa zīs-ē
mē=ā axča-an dān-um
ayya awwal šām xōr wā mā
šām xōr tīya tī-č-īm
yē=ā ruppī-an tēbūr-im wa axča tār-im
yē jwān-ē mē=ā gūnī mē āntē jārī
šām xōd-in wā šan tīya būr-in raft-in
dgō ba yēk-ē
tō ūn-ī ba kārō-ō ēwō
yēk-ī ūn-ī wā=īnča wa
yēk-ī ūn-ī wā=īnča wa
mī č-um indur awwal
gūnī xō-ī palla tk-um
āxur bang šmā bēzēn-im=ā
arzmē u tā-č-ē byāt
kas ġār k-ā na
raft indur=ā ājā gīd-iš ba xō=ā
īncā sā īn-ō bēzēn-a
šāmshīr-ō bēzēn-a kīš-ā šān=ā
ājā gīd-iš ba xō-ā
axča mēnū gīd-iš pi xō=ā kār wa īn
xālaš wābur tamna=ā ēh byō
yē ra ba kārā-ō=ā raft ba kārā-ō=ā raft
qašsa sar yē kin ba šāmshīr-ō
wa bāgā yēk kin bar yē inča=ā
muxx-ō bard-iš āntē=ā
kār jwān tk-ā
tīya bur hē yēk-ē dgur byāt
eyēk-ē dgur āmad
qašsa sar yē kin
wa bard-iš yē pēnā yē
wa yēk-ē dgur āmad wa qašsa sar yē kin
si-ḵas kīš-iš
tīya wābur dist xō bźānd-iš inda xwēm-ān
amšīd-iš ba şētūf-ō āntē bāla=ā
āntē qālīma kīn wā=bāla na
tabaqā kīn ba şētūf-ō
da šētūf-ō ān bālī tī yā
ḥāta ba dar-ō=ā
wa muxx-an gur ar si-ta=in
brō dakkī kīn za xōr-ō
xōr xō gur wa brō
muxx-an dakkī kīn zēr yē
gambil kan ba yē dakkī kīn za xōr-ō wēl
raft zērān xō šān xwaft
qāmī nwāz dār-in=ā
brār-an yē sayd-in xō hā tō-ī=ā
zīn-ō tukš-ī yē ū ḫēkā=ā šmā kīš-ē yē na
413 We haven’t found any. The only thing to be found there is rupees.”
417 He said to them, “You, I go behind you,
419 one day I will go ahead of you.
421 But today when I go,
422 I will see whether the treasure is stolen.
425 “As for me, I know what gold is.”
428 “So first eat supper with us.
430 Eat supper; when you have finished, we will go.
433 This way, we will carry [home] rupees, and we will bring gold [too].”
438 “This is a good [plan]. As for me, my burlap sack is there already.”
443 They ate supper with them, they finished, they left.
446 He said to one,
447 “You stay here at the gate.
448 One of you stay like this and
450 one of you stay like this and
451 I will go in first.
453 I will fill my own sack.
455 After I call out to you,
456 you will come one at a time.
458 “No one should make noise.”
462 He went inside, he took a place for himself,
465 Now in this way he could strike with the what’s-its-called,
466 he could strike with the sword to kill them,
468 he took a place for himself,
469 He took the gold and things and what’s-its-calleds out of his way,
472 he finished, they heard, “OK, come!”
475 He [a thief] went to the gate. He went to the gate, he went
[in to where the boy was].
482 He [the boy] cut off his head with the sword!
485 and he stabbed it! He carried it like this!
487 Carrying the head over there,
489 he does a good job of it,
490 he finished it, [he called out,] “OK, let another one come.”
493 Another one came.
494 He cut off his head!
496 And he carried it to beside it [the other one].
498 And another one came. And he cut off his head!
504 He killed three.
505 Having finished, he struck his hand into the blood.
508 He wiped it on the lintel, there on top,
510 there where he jumped up to,
512 he smeared it on the lintel!
515 on the lintel that is the upper part,
517 up to the door,
519 and he took the heads, all three that were there,
522 and he went to bury them under the donkey!
524 He took his donkey, and he left!
525 He buried the heads under it!
527 He dug a hole for it, he buried them under the donkey, he
left them!
532 He went down to their house. He went to sleep.
536 At dawn,
537 his brothers got up, “Oh? It’s you?
540 Have you really killed the thief? Obviously you could not
have killed him!”
After a long time, they came to them, the police.

“They said that they killed the thief.” “Let them come up.”

Those ones, the six of them, went.

[There was] a crowd of people. He [the gay brother] slept where he was.

He said to them, “I won’t go.

I couldn’t.”

He didn’t go with his brothers.

The brothers left.

Now, there was water there, water. A clay jar of water.

A clay jar of water [that] he stuck his hand into the clay jar.

He jumped up to wash off the blood!

To wash off the lintel, you know.

No one could reach. No one could do it.

Everyone in the country.

Everyone said, “I cannot do it.”

They said, “We must find where your brother is.”

Of course they said, “Are there seven of us, [or] are there six?!”

That brother of ours is asleep

and he cannot and he doesn’t know how and...”

“Go and bring him! You must go and bring him!”

They went to him, the police,

They brought him and... they came.

Now when [they] were there, they put up their hands like this,

right away it wasn’t going smoothly.

Right away he lifted up the clay water jar [and] washed the blood.

Finishing, he said to the police officer,

“From under the donkey. Those heads that are there, bring [them].”

He brought the heads.

The thieves that were killed, all three of them, were inside.

They buried them.

That evening, the sheikh came to him.

He said to him, “Come. My daughters

are for you, all seven of them.”

He said [this] to the youngest boy.

The boy said to him, “As for me, seven wives, I cannot.

I am the youngest [brother], [so] the youngest [daughter] is for me.

He is the oldest [brother], [so for him] is the oldest [daughter].

The older [brother], the older [daughter] for him.

He is the oldest [brother], so for him is the oldest

I am the youngest [brother], so for me

To wash off the lintel, you know,

A clay jar of water [that] he stuck his hand into the clay jar.

He jumped up to wash off the blood!

To wash off the lintel, you know.

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The thieves that were killed, all three of them, were inside.

They buried them.

That evening, the sheikh came to him.

He said to him, “Come. My daughters

are for you, all seven of them.”

He said [this] to the youngest boy.

The boy said to him, “As for me, seven wives, I cannot.

I am the youngest [brother], [so] the youngest [daughter] is for me.

He is the oldest [brother], [so for him] is the oldest [daughter].

The older [brother], the older [daughter] for him.

He is the oldest [brother], so for him is the oldest

I am the youngest [brother], so for me
Now when that girl looked into the future, she saw a path was coming to them, a path!

There were two paths, one went this way, and one went that way.

She said to them, “This path, the one that goes this way, to the left-hand side, go on it.”

Now the girl said to her husband, “Tell your brothers: you know the path that comes to them.

Let them not go on this upper path, the right-side one.

They should go on this one, on the left side, that other one, a sorcerer is on it.”

He was saying to them, he said to them, “Listen to what I am saying! If you go, two paths will come to you.”

The two paths, don’t go on them!

Go on this one: this one on the right side.

Now when they went, when they came to the paths, there were six [brothers], and six women: there were twelve people [in all].

Then he said to him, [this line is all a mistake, corrected in 734]

They said, “Now why should we follow his plan?

We... [who] killed the thieves, killed a snake, now we [who] have taken wives with us, now he says to us, “Don’t go on this path!””,

We will not heed him.

Why? We will go.

We don’t believe him.”

They went on that path, the bad path.

They came, into the meadow, there was a house there, a house, a sorcerer was coming down from it!

there was a house there, a house,

That is to say, we have each taken wives, [so] we are going.”

He said to them, “All of you go, all six of you.

except the youngest boy only, he shall stay with me.

Tomorrow and the day after tomorrow, [he will come] after you.”

She said to them, “[Shall I eat] you or the women?”

Not us, not any of us.”

Us, not us, not our wives.

“[Is my desire to eat] in you or in your wives?”

“[Shall I eat] you or the women?”

They said to him, “[Eat] neither us nor the women.

A sorcerer was coming down from it!

there was a house there, a house, We... [who] killed the thieves, killed a snake, We... [who] killed the thieves, killed a snake,

They said, “Now we [who] have taken wives with us, killed a snake, We... [who] killed the thieves, killed a snake,

He said to them, “All of you go, all six of you.

except the youngest boy only, he shall stay with me.

Tomorrow and the day after tomorrow, [he will come] after you.”

He was saying to them, he said to them, “Listen to what I am saying! If you go, two paths will come to you.”

The two paths, don’t go on them!

Go on this one: this one on the right side.

Now when they went, when they came to the paths, there were six [brothers], and six women: there were twelve people [in all].

Then he said to him, [this line is all a mistake, corrected in 734]
Appendix 1: Folktales

799 She said to him [her husband, the youngest brother], "Your brothers,"
801 The sorcerer. They went on the bad path,  
802 the sorcerer has made stones out of them.
803 All twelve of them.
804 And there are also some other people there.
805 If [he wants to eat] you and the woman.
812 Either you or your wife, let him take you.
814 If he cannot [eat] you, and he cannot [eat] the women,  
816 He will turn you to stone, he will make a stone of you."
819 Time passed. When morning came, he left.
823 He said to his father-in-law, "Give me your leave [and] I shall go."
827 He didn't tell him what the brothers
831 and his daughters had done. And he left.
837 Now when he arrived, the woman said to him,  
839 "If he comes to you, tell him he should eat the women.
842 Let him take me,
843 if [he wants to eat] the women, he will take the woman.
845 If [he wants to eat] me, he will take the man."
849 They saw that he [the sorcerer] arrived.
850 Then he said to him,
851 "[Shall I eat] you or the women?"
853 S/he said to him, '[Eat] the women."
854 He took the woman.
856 Taking the woman, he carried her to the house.
857 He [the sorcerer] had the [a] wife there.
858 He put her [the girl] beside his wife.
860 And the man just stayed.
864 He stayed where he was. He [the sorcerer] did not turn him into stone.
867 Yes. He just stayed. He [the sorcerer] would go and come.
869 In the morning, he would go down to the palace.
872 She [the gay man’s wife] said to the woman,
873 She asked this wife of his, "This person,
875 where is his spirit kept?
877 Where is his soul kept?"
880 She asked her, saying to her:
881 "Your husband’s soul, where is it kept?"
884 She [the sorcerer’s wife] said to this one, "My husband’s
885 soul, it is kept in a bottle.
889 And the bottle, it is kept in the stomach of a master sorcerer.
891 "Your brothers, their sisters, let him take you.
893 And there are also some other people there.
895 if [he wants to eat] the women, he will turn you to stone, he will make a stone of you."
896 Otherwise the water is cut off, from the water channel.
904 When the master sorcerer, every sabbath he stayed.
905 he eats a girl;
906 Otherwise the water is cut off, from the water channel.
908 Now before the next day, the day after,
911 On Fridays, he goes there.
915 He goes there, he eats a girl. A girl.
917 Afterward the water flows.
918 And if he doesn’t eat a girl,
920 their water is cut off.
923 Every Friday, he comes down.”
926 She said, “All right.”
929 Now on Friday, in the morning, he left.
933 The boy left. At dawn, he left. He went on foot.
wa rēsid āntē=ā tamna=ā dar-an bast-ē kas nasaxa tk-a na ammū dar-an bast-ē marrē saw wā šan ammū šan inā xānāq-an=in wa dar-an qafala

tā dikt-ē tay bāla=ā dikt-ē dunyā-ō čōt=ā čōt wā yē dikt-ē šēx xars-an čum-an tay ġērēn rēsid ba čō-ō=ā ba jāga tūkš-ā yē ārd-ō=ā qayit-ē
dikt-ō dgō ba rōk-ō ništ-ē č’ū ba čī=ā sayy xō bō čānār xō jinjāwir-ē tay ba mē ġērēn sā txōr-ā mē dgō ba yē ya’ā nākara ala’ā kin

wēl yē byāt tamna=ā dgō tamna=ā tay ġērēn

yē ēdīr-ē gis-ē sā rōk-ō šāxi-ē kin šāxi-ē inča dgō ba šāhar-ō yē ba tō yē ba mē ana kaft-un ġārām tō kiš mē wa ana ka-l āhām mē tūkš-un tō sā wa nāqala kin=ā dikt-ō=ā ġjabē yē gīd-iš pi yē=ā sōd-iš yē śkum xō=ā dār-iš yē ba dikt-ō ēka=ā inča bāz ḫawlī tk-ī=ā wa yē yē mardk-ō šamšīr-ō wā yē wa dikt-ō pīšt-ō yē inča qahama tk-a wā yē

inča qaḥama tk-a wā yē inča qaḥama tk-a wā yē sā jinjāwir-ō na qaḥama tk-a tāt-ā tay txōr-ā šan=ā sā yē walamā ba yē wāto jinjāwir-ō inča čōt=ā qadama xō tk-a ba yē jinjāwir-ō inča čōt=ā qalaba xō tk-a ba yē jinjāwir-ō inča čōt=ā qalaba xō tk-a ba yē ka kāf ġārām šan kāf ġārām šan wa kā ād yē ka qaṣṣa yē kin ba di-ta qīšīt dgō ba yē zād dgō ba yē abīyi ma xallaf allē’ī laqmit il’āṣīd abīyi xallaf allē’ī darb ilḥadīd falaqa wābīš pi angar

ra ba yē śkum yē dīrd-īš śkum jinjāwir-ō wād-īš pi yē bāla ġāzalē-ē rōr-ē ġāzalē-ē wa šīṣa-ō umr yē sōs-ē inā ġāzalē-ō

937 When he arrived there, he saw that the doors were closed.
938 No one [dared to] breathe, all of the doors were closed.
942 Life was like deep night for them.
944 All of them were in the houses and the doors were locked.
947 One girl came up,
949 a girl whose beauty made the world turn.
953 A sheikh’s daughter. [Her] tears were falling down.
956 Arriving at the well,
958 at the place where he would kill her, the piece of land, an open space.
963 the girl said to the boy, “What are you sitting here for?
966 Get up, go and hide yourself!
968 A master sorcerer is coming down to me
969 so he will eat me!”
973 He [the boy] said to her, “Well, remember God [i.e. because you’re going to die].
975 Let him [the sorcerer] come.”
978 He saw he was coming down [the sorcerer came down in the form of a giant albatross].
980 He screeched.
982 Now the boy made a line with a stick, a stick like this!
987 He said to the sorcerer, “This is for you. This is for me.
991 If I fall into your territory, kill me.
993 And if you fall into my territory, I shall kill you.”
997 Now when he came down,
999 the girl, he took her headscarf from her,
1003 he put [tied it] around his waist, he gave it [the scarf end] to the girl.
1005 You know, it’s like the hawli game that you play…
1007 And he, this man [the boy], he had a sword.
1010 And the girl was behind him.
1011 Like this he was jumping up with him, [the boy is mirroring the sorcerer’s moves].
1012 Like this he was jumping up with him,
1013 Like this he was jumping up with him,
1016 Now that master sorcerer who was jumping up,
1018 he wanted to come and eat him.
1020 but aha! He [the boy] was ready for him!
1022 The master sorcerer was coming like this,
1023 advancing toward him.
1024 The master sorcerer was coming like this,
1025 he turned to avoid him.
1026 The master sorcerer was coming like this,
1027 he turned to avoid him.
1028 Right away he fell into their territory.
1029 [the sorcerer] fell into their territory,
1030 and right away [the boy] struck him.
1032 Right away he cut him in two.
1034 He [the sorcerer] said to him, “Strike again!”
1035 He said to him, “My father didn’t teach me small bites;
1037 my father taught me blows of iron!”
1038 They [the two halves of the sorcerer] split from each other!
1043 He went to him, he slit his stomach,
1046 the master sorcerer’s stomach.
1047 He [they boy] brought up from it,
1048 a gazelle. A fawn of a gazelle.
1052 and the bottle, his soul was put in the gazelle.
Appendix 1: Folktales

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Text</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1054</td>
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<td>he brought the bottle out from it.</td>
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<td>“The man killed him.”</td>
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<td>“Where is the man?” “The man is right there.”</td>
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<td>He went up to the sheikh.</td>
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<td>1069</td>
<td>Here is my daughter,</td>
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<td>she is for you without bridewealth,</td>
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<td>1071</td>
<td>I am giving her to you,</td>
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<td>take her as your wife, without bridewealth, that</td>
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<td>I do not require of you.</td>
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<td>Take her as a trust,</td>
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<td>by God!”</td>
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<td>1076</td>
<td>“It shall not happen, take your daughter!”</td>
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<td>“Never!”</td>
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<td>He gave it to him.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1183</td>
<td>They arrived in the city,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1184</td>
<td>His wife’s place was there.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1185</td>
<td>Now the sorcerer, his wife was with him,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1186</td>
<td>And... his wife who was still there with him,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1187</td>
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<td>The master sorcerer is dead! The sorcerer is dead!”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1189</td>
<td>“O father, open the door!”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1190</td>
<td>They heard knocking on the door!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1191</td>
<td>The girl went down.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1192</td>
<td>It is finished; he will not come to you.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1193</td>
<td>[say:] Open your doors.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1197</td>
<td>Now the sorcerer, his wife was with him,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1198</td>
<td>And... his wife who was still there with him,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1199</td>
<td>He was saying... [Arabic] “And my soul!”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1200</td>
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<td>1214</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1215</td>
<td>The girl went down.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A Grammar of Kumzari

314
dgūr-ā
burrā-ē tīrwā-in
ṭharaka tk-in
čī dard šmā tk-a-ā
kāmar-an šmā faxt-an šmā xālaš būr-in
jwān-in jwān-ā ā
amu byār yē ka sayy yē
būlītar pi sar xō
amu ād yē ba żamī-ō
murd mardk-ō murd
sīša-ō taftafa wābur
yē ka ba żamī-ō
sāḥar murd
sā čāṅ kīn ba żan xō wād-iš

zan yē ām ba yē
zan sāḥar-ō dgō ba yē mē pē č-um
msilman-ē jwān-ē ārabī-ē ya’nī
mē č-um wā tō
dug-tō tō zēnnī
kāwān-ō bō bar ba mē
brār-an xō wād-iš
wa kāwān-ō bard-iš ba yē
wa gid-iš yē
si-kas żan-k-ān ḥaṣala gid-iš
zan sāḥar-ō wa żan yē wa żan šēx-ō
cār kas-an yēk-ē yēk-ē
sā yā maznāt-ō
wa rīn żēran
rēsdūn-āntē ba nummaq-ā čēnaq-in
iš wā šan āw na
čō-ē ām ba šan čō-ē
inda kō-ō
āw tkēs-īn pi yē ba gōsin-an-ā kō’t-an
wa sātē iš wā šan na
wa čēnaq-in ammuš šan
dgō ba brār-an xō
br-ē żēran
pi šmā yēk-ē āndi āw
īn madda k-a ba mā āw
mā mṣarr-an xō tabn-im ba angar
jāmāq-an xō na
mṣarr tō wa mṣarr mē
yē-ā dandala tk-im ba yē
yē qālāš wā šan
āw só ba mā in yē txōr-im
dgūn ba yē č-im na tō brō
dgō ba šan ka č-um żēran čō-ō-ā
ar šās kas-an šmā ma’r-ē
mār bżēn-im ba kūn-an šmā ma’r
mār tk-um ba šmā
wa ka na č-um na
dgūn ba yē bā yē na
mār bżan ba mā
mār bżan ba kūn-an mā
sā niyyit-ē brār-an
amū čōt čō-ō bēw
tikš-in yē
dafana yē tk-in ya’nī

1168 They ran! They were running.
1170 They were moving.
1171 “What is hurting you?”
1173 Your backs, your thighs, they are finished.”
1177 “We are well.” “You are well?”
1181 Immediately he brought it, right away he lifted it
1182 over his head,
1183 Immediately he smashed it on the ground.
1185 He died. The [sorcerer] died.
1187 The bottle was smashed.
1188 It fell to the ground,
1189 The sorcerer died.
1193 Now what would he do with his wife whom he had
brought?
1195 His wife, she was silent.
1196 The sorcerer’s wife said to him [the boy], “I’m going too: you are Muslims, you are good, that is to say, you are Arabs.
1200 I shall go with you.
1201 I shall marry you.
1202 Go and bring me the marriage contract.”
1204 He brought his brothers,
1205 and he carried the marriage contract to her
1206 and married her.
1207 He got three wives:
1209 the sorcerer’s wife and his wife and the sheikh’s wife.
1212 There were four people, counting one by one.
1215 (Now this was the guy man!)
1216 And they went down.
1220 When they reached halfway there, they were thirsty.
1223 They didn’t have any water.
1225 They came to a well, a well.
1227 In the mountain.
1229 They were watering their goats, the mountain bedouins.
1232 And now they didn’t have anything.
1234 And all of them were thirsty.
1237 He said to his brothers,
1238 “Go down,”
1239 one of you, to the water,
1240 Pass what’s-it-called to us, water.
1242 We will tie our headdresses together,
1243 of our skirts,
1244 Your headdress and my headdress,
1245 These, we will dangle down to him.”
1247 They had this glass:
1249 “Put water for us in it, we will drink.”
1251 They said to him, “We will not go. You go.”
1256 He said to them, “If I go down the well,”
1259 all six of you mē pē č
1261 I will burn tattoos on your bottoms, tattoos.
1263 I will put tattoos on you.
1264 And if not, I will not go.”
1267 They said to him, “All right.
1268 Tattoo us.
1269 Burn tattoos on our bottoms.”
1272 Now the brothers were scheming:
1274 once he had just gone into the well,
1275 they were going to kill him.
1276 That is to say, they were going to bury him.
1276 That is to say, they were going to bury him.
sא yeq raft zēran cō-ō
ma’r-an šan gid-iš
bard-iš šan āntē inda xalwat-ē inča-ā
ma’r-an šan gid-iš
inna yeq-ā
ząngērir mē-ē
yeq-ā ząngērir mē-ē yeq-ā ząngērir mē-ē
yē yē kār-an yeq-in
cāb gis-in-ā
ammū gaš ba šan
wa raft zēran cō-ō
āw dār-īš ba šan
ammū šan āw xōd-in
sā cō-ō-ā
tā jēlumb
gār ina yē
inča guzr-ē ya’ni
hē ġambur-ē ba yē
ġambur-ō inča cō-ō dabdaba
ēkā=ā bard-an tāk-ō ē-ū
yē twāra tō-a
tay na ba yē na
bā’is-ē bā yē-ā
inča twāra
ē’ī bass-im
bass-im bēw ka kēš-in yē ba nummağ
kēš-in yē ba nummağ=ā
ka kārd-ō sī’-in ba in-ō
šāmũr-ō sī’-in ba jāmāg-ō
kard-in yē inda yē
qāṣa yē gid-in
kard-in yē bēw
wa gab twāra wābur guzr-ō
wa ka dafana ān gid-in bard
dafana ān gid-in
bard kardīd-in ba yē
hawz yē dār-in ba yē
sāṭe mūrd
dgīn ba xō mūrd
dgīn ba žān-an byā-ē c-im
žān-an dgīn ba šan
mā c-im na wā šmā na
mā būm-im ba cō-ō
šmā na wās-ē mā
ar wās-ē mā yē
žān-an raft-in na
wa šan raft-in
rēsid-in inda wālēyt-ō-ā
matfā-an naqa gud-iš
awa=ā rōr-an šēx-ō āmad-in
ar šās-ān šan
wa ān maxnāt-ō kas na
giya brār šmā-ā
brār mā xō-ā wašt-im yē wa raft-im
na brār mā wā mā
brār šmā ra pišt-ō šmā
mā jīr-im yē na

1277 Now he went down into the well,
1280 he tattooed them.
1281 Taking them there into a wilderness like this,
1283 tattooing them,
1284 “By this I declare that
1285 you are my slaves.
1286 By this you declare that you are my slaves. By this you
1287 declare that you are my slaves.”
1288 This one, this one, they are his belongings.
1289 How did they do this?
1290 He said this to all of them.
1292 And he went down the well.
1295 He gave water to them.
1297 All of them drank water.
1299 Now in the well,
1301 [he was off to] one side,
1302 he was shouting from inside it.
1304 That is to say, it was a deep hole like this,
1306 yes, it had a niche,
1307 a niche just like the well of Dabdaba.
1311 It must be that stones are falling here
1312 He took cover.
1313 It didn’t [hit] him.
1314 Shielding himself from them,
1316 like this, he took cover.
1317 “Here we have done enough.
1319 We have done enough already,” so right away they
1320 pulled him [up] halfway.
1322 Pulling him [up] halfway,
1324 right away they put the knife to the what’s-it-called,
1325 they put the sword to the skirt,
1327 they dropped him [the boy] into it [the well].
1328 They cut him [off].
1330 Once they had dropped him,
1331 he immediately took shelter in the deep [part of the well].
1333 And right away they buried that one, with stones.
1334 They buried that one.
1347 They dropped stones on him,
1350 they levelled the ground over him,
1351 “Now he [must] be dead,”
1352 they said to themselves, “he is dead.”
1354 They said to the women, “Come, let’s go.”
1356 The women said to them,
1357 “We are not going with you.
1358 As for us, our husband has died in the well;
1360 may we die in the well!
1362 None of you brought us.
1363 The one who brought us was him.”
1365 The women didn’t go.
1367 And they [the brothers] went.
1372 When they arrived in the country,
1373 cannons were fired.
1374 It was said that the sheikh’s children had come,
1375 all six of them.
1376 And that gay one was not there.
1378 “Where is your brother?”
1380 “Our own brother, we left him and went.
1383 No brother of ours was with us...”
1385 “Your brother went after you.”
1386 “We didn’t see him.”

Appendix 1: Folktales 315
mā=ā brār xō jūr-im na
ra-im jāga fālan-ē
šaš tā dik-an āntē-in
ar šaš kas-an šan
xistārī šan gid-im
wa āmad-im
paštin-t-ē kōt-ē āmad
dū yē laba bīs tā gōsīn=ā
haawiša gōsīn wa
wā yē ban-ē wa dēlō
dū bā ḫān-an
cō-ō yē-ā ḫawīt-ō ba yē
yā’īnī ba gōsīn-an
zaŋ-an ḡōn ba yē ẓank-an
sā tēmūs-in yē īnda cō-ō
dīn ba yē
āka šū mā kaff-ē cō-ō=ā
byār yē bāla
wa yēk-ē pi mā dug-im tō zēnī
āmad wa dēlō dandala gīd-iš ba yē wa
wa abmīd-iš yē īnda škūm xō
ēwō-ā hazītī xō
wā=ēbar ōdas-ē yē dist xō
wa āntē ẓank-an ar si-kas-an šan wa
mardk-ō
wa ījah īchīk-ē īchīkē
wa īchīk-ē īchīkē
wa īchīk-ē īchīkē
taḥa’a yē gīd-in ba īn-ō bāla
sātē dī-kas gīd-iš
dīgō ba yē ẓank-an ga ba yē
tō šū mā byār bāla
wa yēk-ē dug-im tō
yēk-ē gur ba xō pi mā
kārīm-ē tāt-i-ē
dīgō ba yē mi rāy-um na
dug-um šan na ēšīna na
mi bāzza=um
zaŋ-an tō ba tō=in
mi ḫē tāt-um na
ɡīdī dār-iš ba yē
zaŋ-ō yē ar ītī šēx-ō=ā
ɡīdī wā yē
ɡīdī dār-iš ba kōt-ō
wa ẓank-an xō gīd-iš ar si-kas-an šan
wa xōr xō wa rīn ērān
wa nūsām-ī šaw=wā rāsīd-in
rin xānaq-ō wa kas xābar ba šan na
šaḥalā bū̇r-in pi šahē-ā rīn ērān
rin ērān māglēs-ō
sā bū̇p-ō ništ-ē ēwō
si-kas pi brār-an yē
ništ-in wā=īnča wa si-kas wā=īnča wa
yē byār-ē ba kārō-ō
wa īndur ājah
ēkā=ā brār šmā āmas-ē=ā
kana mā na k-a ba bāx wējī yē kīn
wa ništ-ē ba zamī-ō
gō ba šan ka ḫaqq ba mē
ḥaqq gr-ē ba mē
Appendix 1: Folktales

0 A story and a telling...
5 There went, there went, [someone like] Malallah, a one, a boy.
9 He had a mother and a father.
12 [Then] the mother died, the father died.
15 He had remaining the mother.
17 It
19 =ā
20 Now, saying to his grandmother,
23 (he
25 19 =ā
27 0 0 A story and a telling...
ar xuşimū yē tκ-a awwal=ā tī=ā
dgō ba yē kana awwal īn-ē wā yē
zōraq-ē
zōraq-ē wā yē=ā čôt diyā
lē jēl tk-a may sayyya
kan’ad-an wa mēy-an wa büt-an wa
tēbur-a ba xānāg-an ba xā šēx-ō wa
ba xānāg-an ādamī
qadar ya’nī naktē arma dī-in ba mā
wa qadar ḥabb-ē brinz dī-in ba mā
wa qadar-ē pēqrūnī dī-in ba mā wa
iṣṭ’ī mā pī yē kār-ō ya’nī
dgō ba yē bā yē na
sā ka māsūwe-ē xuşimū k-um ba xō=ā č-um
dgō ba yē rāy-ī wa č-ī
bō dabara xō kin
raft māsūwe-ō gid-iš ba xō
māsūwe swuk ēka=ā inčka ādamī-an sar
kardē-ō=ā
wa lē xērīd-iš ba xō
wa raft nasaba yē tk-a diryā-ō
paṣṭīn tō-a=ā lēx-ō jēl tk-a=ā
šabha tō=a sayyya yē
man-ē dī-man si-man
mēy sayy-ā inā yē būt
wa dgō-a ba hubbō-ō=ā
tēbur-a xānāg-an
nikta nika xōrīd dī-in ba šan
arma wa šīl wa wa šīs būr-in pi yē kār-
ō
ka byō tū bār ka kan’ad-ē sayd-iš
laba si-man mēy inda yē
fōṣnid-iš yē ba xā šēx-ō
sā xā šēx-ō dār-in yē ba yē
dgīn ba yē brō ḳi in yē kin
bō qaṣṣa yē kin
pāk yē kin ba mā ya’nī
sā wa āmad qaṣṣa yē gid-iš
pāk yē tk-a šaraxa škum gid-iš=ā
tammā=ā jō’ar-ē škum yē
labā inča yē=ā
sā žānk-ō dgō ba yē jō’ar-ō bar mā
mēy-ō ba mā wa jō’ar-ō bar mā
rōk-ō dgō ba yē amala tk-a na
mē mēy fōṣnīs-um ba šmā
jō’ar-ō fōṣnīs-um na ba šmā na
wā šān šadayit-ē wābūr wā=šan ya’nī
yē dgō ba yē tō mēy-ō fōṣnīs-ī ba mā
mār inda yē aqrab bar mā
dgō ba yē ā’ā
ka mēy-ō xābar=um ba yē jō’ar-ē inda
yē=ā
tfōsīn-um na ba šmā na

30 the work he did before, what was it?”
32 She said to him, “Before, [when he was alive.] he had this:
34 a zorāq boat.
35 Having a zorāq boat, he would go fishing at sea.
38 He would lay out fishing nets. He would catch fish:
41 kanad fish and fishes and buut fish and...
43 He would take them to the houses, to the sheikh’s house
and
45 to people’s houses.
48 Some well, would give us a few dates,
50 and some would give us a bit of rice,
51 and some would even give us a qruuni coin, and
53 from this work we made our living, I mean.”
55 He said to her, “All right, then.
57 Now as soon as I build myself a small mushuwe boat,
58 I shall go.”
59 She said to him, “You’re able to and you’re going?”
60 Go earn a living.”
62 He went and built himself a skiff-
63 a light little skiff, you know, just like the people here in Sar
Kardeo have-
67 and he bought a fishing net for himself,
68 and he went to place it in the sea.
72 In the mid-afternoon, he would lay out the fishing net;
73 When he woke up in the morning, he would retrieve it.
74 A measure [of fish], two measures, or three measures,
76 he would retrieve fish from it [the net], small buut fish.
78 When he would tell the grandmother
79 to take them to the houses,
80 [people] would give a bit, a little bit of food to them,
82 dates and things and... and they made a living from this work.
85 Then it came about one time that he caught a kanad fish.
88 It had about three measures’ worth [12 kg] of fish in it.
91 He sold it to the sheikh’s household.
94 Now the sheikh’s household, they gave it to him,
96 saying to him, “Go and do this:
97 go and cut it up.
99 That is to say, clean it for us.”
101 Now when he came to cut it up,
102 he cleaned it, slitting its stomach,
104 He saw a pearl in its stomach!
106 about like this [big], here, you see? [Aliko shows its size
109 [says: tam..., then corrects self and says: sā] Now, the
woman [of the sheikh’s house] said to him, “The pearl belongs
to us.
112 The fish is ours so the pearl is ours.”
115 The boy said to her, “That will not work.
117 I sold the fish to you,
119 I did not sell the pearl to you.”
121 They had a what’s-it-called, that is to say, they had an
argument.
124 She said to him, “You sold us the fish.
126 [if there had been] a snake in it, [or] a scorpion, [it would]
belong to us.”
128 He said to her “No.
129 If I had known that in the fish there was a pearl,
ba inča inča na
fiḥhāl šēx-ā āmad
tamna=ā dgō ba yē bā yē na
jō’-ār-ō wā mā
lakin inča jō’-ār-ō xō tāt-ī=ū
burwā inda kō-ō
asp-an insī-an ar inda kō-ō asp-an insī-
asp-an insī-an byār ba mē=ū
byō in tō dō-um ba tō jō’-ār tō
sā asp-an insī-an tār-a
fiḥhāl mād šēx-ō bāla kin šām xōr
wa brō mēṣāw pandā
brū ūnī ba ḥaṣī-ō
ba ḥaṣī-ō ba ḥō-ō ya’nī
sā ḥō-ē ēwō ṭō-ē ba yē
lētab-ē gap yē raft ništ qummīt īn-ū
qummīt lētab-ō
šaw wābur=ā tamna=ā asp-ē rēsid
di-ta rōr wā yē
asp-ē insī rēsid wa di-ta rōr wā yē
sā āw txōr-in pi ḥaṣī-ō=ū
yē-ū āsta āsta āsta=ū rukbō kin ba mām-ō
pi lētab-ō ya’nī
rukbo kin ba kāmar mām-ō
tā ṣārāx wā=ēbār tā ṣārāx wā=ēbār rōk-ō
ṭīya būr-in pi āw=ū
yaḷḷa ayya abāsa bā yē ūnī kā mēṣ kīn
hā mām-ō tēgar wa rōr-an pištū yē=īn
byār yē ba kāra xā šēx-ō wa indur
wa dar-ō abnīd-in wa
awa=ā ēkā asp-ō
ēkā yē-ū rōr-an yē wā yē
māxloq-an żan’ar=in
jō’-ār mē ād ba mē
ḍōgō ba yē ā’ā
jō’-ār tō dō-um na
yē asp-an insī-an=ā bar mā=īn
wa raft-in pi mā wa sā tō wās-ī šān
jubbār yē=ū
raft wa tay raft wa tay
tamna=ā dgō
ka lāzum lāzum jō’-ār tō dō-um ba tō=ū
bō dīt matlē’ē šimiṣā byār ba mē
sā dīt matlē’ē šimiṣā kē tār-a yē=ū
fiḥhāl nwāz šābaḥa kīn bō bāla
bāla maṅnāqō
rēsad kafāne’ān=ā tamna=ā yēk-ē tay
żerān
labā pi ć’ō kinb ba ma’raq yē-ū
ḥāta xā ḥama qḍorō
grām-ē kīn kīn-ē ēkā=ū yē=ū
pi čiṅk-ē čiṅk-an=ū

129 not like this, [for this small price].
130 In any case, the sheikh came.
131 Then he [the sheikh] said to him [the boy], “All right now.
132 We have the pearl.
133 But [since] like this you want your pearl,
134 run to the mountains.
135 The magic horses which are in the mountains, magic horses:
136 bring me the magic horses,
137 then I will give you your what’s-it-called. Your pearl.”
138 Now, he [the boy] would bring the magic horses.
139 But [firstly] anyway, he stayed with the sheikh, he went up and ate supper,
140 and [then] he left! It was a full moon.
141 He went, he sat by the water reservoir.
142 by the reservoir, that is to say, by the well.
143 Now the well there, it had a what’s-it-called by it:
144 a big wild fig tree. He went and sat at the very top of the what’s-it-called:
145 at the top of the wild fig tree.
146 When night fell, he saw a horse came,
147 two foals with it.
148 A magic horse came, and two foals with it.
149 Now [as] they were drinking water from the pool,
150 this [boy], he slowly slowly mounted the mother.
151 From the wild fig tree, that is to say.
152 He got up on the back of the mother,
153 straddled with one leg on each side of her. The boy.
154 They had finished with [drinking] the water,
155 so he quickly took hold of the reins and made them walk!
156 there... the mother was in front, and the foals were behind her.
157 He brought her to the entryway of the sheikh’s house, and [walked] right inside.
158 And they closed the door and...
159 they said, “Ooooh! This must be the horse!
160 [And] there must be its foals with it!”
161 All the people were amazed.
162 [boy:] “Give me my pearl.”
163 He [the sheikh] said to him, “No.
164 I will not give you your pearl.
165 These magic horses, they belong to us,
166 and they went [ran away] from us and now, you have brought them [back]. “
167 (This [sheikh] was abusing his power.)
168 Back and forth, back and forth [they argued],
169 then he said... [text unclear]
170 “If it is really necessary that I give you your pearl,
171 [first] go and bring to me the daughter of Matlei Shimish.”
172 Now this daughter of Matlei Shimish, who can bring her?!
173 In any case, the next day he woke up, he went up,
174 up above Maxnāqo.
175 When he arrived at Kafanean, he saw someone coming down [carrying a tree in his arms in front of him].
176 About from here, [there was] a kinb tree from his throat
177 [stretching] all the way to the house of Mohammed Qdoro.
178 a bundle of kinb tree, you know this kinb tree,
179 how small it is! [hyperbole]
sā wa rēsid rāstağ yē
amma=ā yē rēk-ō ḏgō-a wōwōwō
byā-ē ba kīnb-ē ba says-a ba xō wōwō

čā!
amma=ā ḏgō ba yē tō gēna=tī
abala=tī yē wās-um yē wūrū-čī

yā grām-čī na
lakīn tō ajaba būr-ī na
pi yē=ā asp-an inš-an wās-ē na
ajaba būr-ī pi ya na
dgō ba yē hē
ar asp-an inš-an wās-ē mê=um
mājın kin jwān tō=tī
āyya qaša mâ-ō=tī
mū qaša kin ād ba yē
ēka=ā mū-ō dō-um ba tō

ana ḥādis-ē gardid ba tō=ā
mü-an ĵin ĵīn
hāraqa yē kin tā-um ba tō
wa raft
rēsid-in ālām=ā
amma=tī yēk-ē dgur málṭaqa yē wābur
ay ay ay ar tumī-an kō-ō ammū says-ē
tumī tumī-an ĵn-an kīnb-an yē=ā tumī-an
amma=ā ḏgō ajā! ajā! ō-ō
byār ba maxlōq-ō=tī
kīnb-an wa tumī-an says-ē ō-ō
awa=ā sā tu āţābē=tī
mē lāṭī-ē wās-um ba xō ba tēnur xō
ēka=ā tō tumī sayy-tī
ka says-um xō=ā
pi ē′ō sayy-um=ā āṭā dām gīya na
ka ḏgō ba yē ajaba būr-ī na

pi yē=ā ar asp-an inš-an wās-ē yē
ajaba būr-ī pi umnē=ā
amma=ā ḏgō ba yē ar asp-an inš-an
cē-ō mê=um
amma=ā ḏgō ba yē tō=ī=ā
dgō ba yē hē
dgō ba yē gur mū
ana ēţē-ē gardid ba tō=ō
hāraqa kin tā-um ba tō wa raft
rēsid ba ālām=ā
tamma=tī ādamī xwaft-ē bāla dī yē
dī-ō wā=bāla
fālaj-ē āw tīrwā-a škum yē pi sāma-ō
fālaj-ē
sayya ta aš-ē na
gāy wōwōwō wā-cēnağī
wōwōwō wa șe'id-ē
sā ēţē şīğī tō tō'at
fālaj-ē āw tīrwā-a škum tō

252. Now when he arrived beside him,
253. he heard that boy was saying, "wow!"
254. Come [everyone]! Look at [this] a tree he has picked up!
255. Amazing!
256. What?!”
257. Then he [kīnbino] said to him, “You are crazy!
258. You are acting like a madman! I brought this, is this a
259. small bundle of sticks?
260. This that is [merely] a bundle!
261. Yet you were not surprised
262. at these, talking horses that were brought?
263. Were you not amazed by this?”
264. He [boy] said to him [kīnbino], “Well,
265. the one who brought the talking horses was me!”
266. [kīnbino:]”Speak the truth! It was you?!”
267. So, [kīnbino] cutting the hair,
268. he cut the hair, he gave it to him!
269. [kīnbino says:]”You understand, I am giving [my] hair to
270. you.
271. If misfortune befalls you,
272. Do this to the hair:
273. burn it, [and] I will come to you.”
274. And he left.
275. When they arrived at Alam ridge,
276. He saw that he came face to face with someone else, [who
277. said:]
278. “Ooooh! Every tumī tree on the mountain, they were all
279. were uprooted.
280. The tumī trees... Those tumī trees, the kīnb trees, these
281. tumī trees.”
282. Then he said, “Oh my, oh my! What...?!”
283. Bring to all the people
284. the kīnb trees and the tumī trees that are uprooted, oh my!
285. I say, why you, what is the matter with you?! [to tumino]
286. [tumino says:] I have brought a small amount for myself,
287. for my stone-oven.”
288. “Obviously you could uproot the tumī trees,
289. if I carried, I could carry however much!
290. I could carry it from here to anywhere!
291. So then he [tumino] said to him [the boy], “Were you not
292. amazed
293. by him, the one who brought him these talking horses?
294. Yet you were still amazed even by me?!”
295. Then he [the boy] said to him [tumino], “The one who
296. brought the talking horses was me.”
297. Then he [tumino] said to him [the boy], “It was you?”
298. He [the boy] said to him [tumino], “Yes!”
299. He [tumino] said to him [the boy], “Take the hair.
300. If anything happens to you,
301. burn it, [and] I will come to you.” And he left.
302. When he arrived at Alam ridge,
303. He saw someone sleeping on his back,
304. facing up.
305. A water channel ran into his stomach from heaven.
306. A water channel.
307. He was shouting, saying nothing
308. except “Woe!” and “Thirst!”,
309. “Woe!” and a dying man’s creed.
310. “Now how was this thing of yours happening?
311. A water channel is running into your stomach.
Appendix 1: Folktales 321

sayaha tk-i wā=čēnağī
tamma=ā dgō ba yē sä tu abala=i waλa
čī=ī
iyēy ar nikta dēqiqit-ē panj tā dēqiqit
sā’it-ē wa
nikta āw nakata tk-in ba mē ba gurman-ō

yē čēbē sēr mē tka=ā
tō ajaba būs-ī na-
pi yē=ā ar asp-an ins-ān wās-ē na
ajaba būr-ī pi ummē=ā
dgō ba yē ar asp-an ins-ān wās-ē

yē=ā mē=um
tō=ī=ā dgō ba yē hē
dgō ba yē gur mū-an
wa dār-īs ba yē wa
lumrād awya kin xwēr
tamma=ā ē’ū walēyit ba matlē’ī śimišt
jwān
sā wa rēsid walēyt-dō=ā mardk-dō=ā
yē adāmt-ō=ā šara’a bōp-dō kin
dgō ba yē āmas-um ba tō
āmas-um ba tō ba tō ba dit tō
ba īn ba xistar
sā dgō ba yē na
šēx-ō fāns-ē mē wa
dit xo ād at yē wa īn na
mē āmas-um ba tō dit tō xistar-ē tk-um
dgō ba yē dit mē xistar tk-ī=ā
dit mē bēṭar na pi tō na
wa tō bēṭar=i na pi īn mē na
pi dit mē na
wa lakīn dit mē
xāna yē ba šārt bāba=ā
šaṭta adāmt murs-in ba yē yēk-ē kam
sā tu sā tu kēs-ē

yumkin šad kēs-ē ājāl tō’amat
tamma=ā dgō ba yē hā

dgō ba yē dō-um ba tō

xānağ-ē palla
gēnum wa jā mayya anγar
maxluṭ ya’ān xānağ-ē
palla gēnum wa jā
wa sābaṭha tō-um=ā
gēnum-an rukd-ē wa jā-an rukd-ē

wa dō-um ba tō buxcar-ē palla qēṣarit
arma qēṣarit
wa sābaṭha tō-um=ā
tak-an jra’āl arma-an jra’āl
wa dō-um ba tō čō-ē palla āw

355 You are shouting from thirst?”
357 Then he [awino] said to him, “Why you...! Are you crazy or what?!)
359 That [water], [there is only] a little of it every minute or every five minutes an hour and...
362 [it’s as if] they are dripping a bit of water for me from the [a piece of] cotton.
364 How will [this] ever quench my [thirst]?
367 You have not been amazed
368 at him, at the one who brought the talking horses,
370 [yet] you were amazed even at me?)
371 He [the boy] said to him [the awino], “The one who brought the talking horses,
372 this one, it was me.”
373 [awino:]”It was you??” He [boy] said to him [awino],

...”Yes.”
375 He [awino] said to him [boy], “Take the hair.”
377 and he gave it to him and...
378 in any case, he climbed down to Xwair hamlet!
380 He saw that here was the city of Matlei Shimish!
384 So!
385 Now when he arrived in the city, the man [boy],
389 that person, he approached the father.
393 He [the boy] said to him [the father], “I have come to you.
395 I have come to you, to your daughter,
396 for this: to be her suitor.”
398 Now, he didn’t tell him [that]
399 the sheikh sent me and
to give him your daughter [in marriage] which is for [in return for] this [pearl].
401 [awino:]”I have come to you to be a suitor to your daughter.”
405 He [the sheikh] said to him [the boy], “You want to be a suitor for my daughter?
407 My daughter is not better than you,
408 and you are not better than my what’s-it-called,
411 than my daughter.
412 However my daughter,
413 Sir, her marriage will be with bridewealth.
416 One hundred people have died for her [i.e. trying to be her suitor], less one.
420 Now you [watch out]... now you [watch out]! [You may be the hundredth] person,
421 perhaps the hundredth person will come to this fate.”
425 So he [the boy] said to him [the girl’s father], “Yes.” [i.e. I accept]
427 He [the girl’s father] said to him [the boy], “I will give to you
430 a house, full of
433 wheat and of barley mixed together.
435 mixed up, that is to say. A house[full].
437 Full of wheat and barley.
441 And when I wake up in the morning,
444 all the wheat must be in one corner and all the barley in another.
447 And I will give you a storehouse full of Qesarit, Qesarit dates.
452 When I wake up in the morning,
455 the date syrup baskets must be separated from the dates.
460 And I will give you a well full of water.
When I wake up in the morning, instead this well must be dry; without any water in it. [In this case] you shall have my daughter without [any other] bridewealth!"

He [the boy] said to him, “All right.”

He brought [them] out one at a time onto the platter! right away he burned the hairs, one after the other!

The water man arrived.

He [awino] said to him, “Yes?”

He [the boy] said to him, “Can you drink...

can you drink the well?”

“What?! There is only one of them?! Are you not going to get two of them from him for me?!

Is there only one well?!”

He said to him, “Yes, there’s only one of them.”

As soon as he had begun he had finished, he did, you know, like this to it [loud slurping sound]

Right away it came about that “qi’!” [choking on dirt sound]

between now and tomorrow, separate [the grains]?”

He said to him... this: that they should come down,

a crowd of about five thousand sorcerers.

[For] each person, [there was] approximately this much:

there wasn’t [even] a cup for each of them.

there wasn’t [even] a quarter-cup for each [of them].

They separated the wheat, they separated the barley.

One who was coming down,

[when] they had finished, [he said] what about me too!?

One who was coming down,

[In this case] you shall have my daughter without [any water in it.

Instead this well must be dry.

They mixed up some [grain] for him!

[when] they had finished, [he said] what about me too?!

Sir, stay!

They mixed up some [grain] for him!

in a cup,

And they brought and put the wheat here

and the barley there.

The date-eaters arrived.

“Yes? [Shall we eat] these [dates] and their date syrup baskets? or without?

These and their date syrup baskets, shall we eat?”

[boy:] “No. Leave the date syrup baskets.”

“Must we really leave the baskets?"

Could you not even have told him two storehouses?"

He said to them, “There is only one storehouse of them.”

In any case, when morning dawned, there was not a trace. The well was finished, the grain was separated, the dates were finished.

He [the boy] came to him [the sheikh]. Then he [the sheikh] said to him [the boy], “No.

in fact, you have to do that] for two storehouses.

For two storehouses of grain, grain.

For two [storehouses of] dates, them and their baskets.

No. Leave the date syrup baskets.
580 “You were mistaken? Even though you had told me [to do it] for only one at a time!
583 Now you tell me [to do it] for two. All right.”
587 He left. When night came,
588 right away he burned the water-man’s hair,
591 [awino says:] “What! It’s you bothering me for one [well] again!”
593 [boy says:] “No, now there are two of them.”
594 [awino says:] “There are two? Well, thank-you very much!
597 If... if only there were three, it would be even better!”
599 And he drank them,
600 one after the other.
602 [awino says:] “It’s all good,
603 a little bit came around to my throat today.
604 I’m all well!!”
607 So, those people arrived, the date-eaters.
610 “There are two storehouses?!
611 Māshāllāh! These and their date syrup baskets?
613 May Mohammed rest in peace!
615 You have done good today!”
616 They swallowed [the dates].
619 The grain-separators arrived, oh my!
622 In the midst of this [crowd of sorcerers], what person would laugh at us?!
624 Even if there are two [of the storehouses], what will become of us?
626 [boy:] “Yes in fact, there are two today. [sorcerers:] All right, fine.”
629 There was a kilogram for each of them.
631 Three quarter-cups of wheat and three quarter-cups of barley.
634 In any case, he got the bridewealth.
638 When he woke up in the morning,
639 he married her.
640 He gave her to him.
643 And he left.
644 Time went by, it was two or three days since he married his wife,
645 And he had all kinds of things, such as gold,
647 and stuff, and he left.
649 Arriving at Alam ridge,
651 he burned the hairs. He and his wife.
654 All three of them came to him.
655 That is to say, these were these chiefs of sorcerers.
657 Each one of these people was a chief [of sorcerers].
660 Those people were a coven [of sorcerers].
662 He [one of the sorcerers] said to him [the boy], “Here you’re taking the girl and you’re going,
664 don’t go and give her to the sheikh.
667 Take her to your house and she’s your wife,
669 now that [what was] forbidden is allowed.
671 You have finished; the woman is for you.
673 If you see that you could be up against him,
675 if he starts a war with you, or makes a move,
677 burn the hair, we will come to you.
678 As for you, there is nothing for you to do.
679 Neither guns, nor stuff, nor things,
681 there is nothing for you to do.
682 Just leave it up to us.
683 Leave it to be our concern.
A Grammar of Kumzari

784 It’s a matter between us and him.
786 If your wife is [indeed] your wife,
787 don’t go giving her.
788 [otherwise] I will kill you.”
790 In any case, then he arrived. The sheikh arrived.
792 He said that the daughter of Matlei Shimish was with him
793 [the boy].
796 He said that they will send for her,
797 He said that [he] must send the woman to him.
799 No sir, he said that I will not give her to him.
801 I myself have brought her
802 and I have married her.
805 He said that he would not give her.
808 He would not give her?
809 “Let’s go! Hurry up! What are you sitting there for?!!
810 We will have a gun war with him.”
813 He burned the hairs.
815 All night long.
816 the crowd [of sorcerers] assembled.
817 They had some cauldrons,
819 they had some platters, and
820 they had some rice, and
821 they had some I don’t know what else, and
823 they would fire some cannons, and
824 they had some tanks, and
825 They had some guns.
827 In any case, this house, it [was so full that] it wouldn’t take any [more].
830 When it was almost dawn,
833 when it was dawn,
835 the sheikh said to them,
836 “Strike like this with one or two guns, what’s-it-called,
838 firing stray shots, to frighten him…”
840 And right away they opened fire with two or three guns
843 from the sheikh’s house. And right away they [the sorcerers] opened fire!
847 They were sorcerers... and they fell in to the blood-battle.
850 Immediately they knocked down the sheikh’s house.
852 The mosque fell.
853 Crowds of people died in an instant,
855 that is, they were injured.
856 And it kept going, the war went on.
858 The [sheikh’s] people said, “This isn’t working! We are
going to die!”
861 And now we have only fired two guns,
863 [but] these! All of these that they have,
864 these are no humans, are they!!!
865 Who can bring the daughter of Matlei Shimish?
866 Who can go [and]
867 bring the magic horses?
869 You are finished! We are saying to the sheikh that it is
finished! We don’t want you.
873 Raise the white flag!
874 The sheikh [for us] is this boy.”
877 They raised the white flag.
878 The slaves came and said, “You are [now] the sheikh.”
879 [boy:] “I am [now] the sheikh! First bring my pearl!!
884 Lest they finish [fighting before I get the pearl].
885 He must bring the pearl with him.
886 First he must bring my magic horses.
raft yēk-ē
qissit-ē wa ḥakiyit-ē
raft šēx walēyt-ō
wā yē sī-ta ditk-an
cīn-an si-kas-an=ā raft-in madrast-ō
darasa gid-in
xāla būr-in pi madrast-ō
gap-an raft-in xāna ba rōr-an āmō xō
čīk-ō dgō ba bap xō
mē=ā c-um na xāna na
č-um mē na=ā xāna na=ā
tan-um na ē′ū na
ana tan-um ēwō tumr-um
ana č-um xāna ba rōr āmō xō tumr-um
hā bābā=ā č tūt-ī
dgō ba yē kin ba mē sōntī-ē
sōntī-ē gap byār
lōhī gap-ē na
wa kin ba mē inda yē xānağ-ē
xānağ-ē kin ba mē inda yē
qafala pi wā=indur
āw byāt na inda yē na
āw sōr-ō na
sō ba mē inda yē
qūt-ī slandar-ē xōrdin żād
wa kiswit wa čādir wa tan-um
jāga kin ba mē inda yē ba nwāż
wa txwā-um inda yē
waft sayy-um xō na
rāy-um na
ba kūnītī bē
xāla tō’at=ā
bō kard mē dirya-ō
kard-ī mē dirya-ō=ā
bar mē ba mōmur wākiš mē
a jāga br-um
murd-um ka wābūr-um inda sōntī-ō yā=ā
inda šamyā būr-um
wa ra-um wā=bāla
ra-um mağrab
ra-um mağraż
ana yā tk-ī ba mē=ā
balkī mān-um żindağ
wa ana tēl-ī mē jāga mē
inda walēyt-ō=ā tumr-um
pi ahla xō rōr-ē

Sōntīō

5 There was a person.
9 A story and a telling.
12 There was a sheikh of the country.
14 He had three daughters.
18 Those three, they went to school.
21 They studied.
25 They completed their schooling.
27 The older ones married the [sons] of their uncle.
30 The young one said to her father,
31 “As for me, I am not going to marry.
35 Not only am I not going to marry,
36 I am not staying here either.
39 If I stay here, I will die.
41 If I marry my uncle’s [son], I will die.”
45 “Well, child, what do you want?”
47 She said to him, “Make me a raft.
51 Bring a big raft,
52 that is a big wooden one,
55 and make me a house inside it.
57 Make a house for me inside it,
58 [that] locks from the inside,
59 so that water cannot go in.
61 (so that) seawater (cannot go in).
64 Put inside it for me...
65 A stove. A coal box. Food, lots [of it].
70 and clothes and linens and I will live...
73 make a place in it for me to pray
75 and I will sleep in it
76 and I will not stand up.
78 I won’t be able to.
80 [I will] only [sit] on my bottom.
82 When it is finished,
83 go and plunge me into the sea.
85 Plunging me into the sea,
87 carry me to Momur Island, [there] release me.
90 I shall go anywhere.
92 If I should die on that raft,
93 if I should become beached,
94 and if I should go up,
95 if I should go west,
96 if I should go east,
97 if you do these things for me,
99 perhaps I will stay alive.
100 And if you make me [stay] where I am
102 in [this] country, I will die.
104 From my relatives, a [son]...

89 He must bring the magic horses with him.”
790 They brought [them] to him. They made him sheikh.
793 They cheered for him, giving the war cry.
794 And his wife stayed with him,
796 and his horses stayed with him,
797 and his pearl stayed with him, and
798 You went and I came. The End.
803 (audience:) Look! I mean, how amazing!
I don’t want a husband.”

What was the father to do now?

If she were to stay, she would die!

If she were to be married, she would die!

He went to a boatbuilder,

he brought a raft [that was] from here

up to the cabinet in height.

He said to him, “Yes?”

“Want you to make a room in it,

for this girl,

so that she might pray in it,

sleep in it,

[have] a stove in it,

she has rice,

she has coffee,

and she has her things,

so that water cannot go in it,

(so that) seawater (cannot go in it)

We shall plunge her into the sea,

locking it from the inside, and

her key and,

we will make a deal on it.

and hopefully, for twenty-five thousand.

We will make a deal for twenty-five thousand.

[Arabic:] Twenty-five.”

And it was finished... they finished it,

and they built it from wood, even in a month

or two months, it was finished.

At night, the girl went inside it.

No one knew about her: no one except the father.

And they locked its door,

and in the morning they brought Indians to it [the raft],

and dragged it [the raft] by cart,

they carried it to the water.

And he gave it to the dhow,

to carry it to Momur Island.

There they released it.

Like, the tide was going out,

it [the tide] took her to Quxayg Rock.

and when the tide came in,

it carried her to Cape Misto.

When dhow saws it [the raft],

they went to it, they couldn’t catch it.

They were not able to bring it aboard,

it being such a big one!

It was covered with green algae,

It was covered with barnacles. It was covered with oysters.

and it sank into the water,

until it was one with the water [it sunk to the level of the water’s surface].

Like this, there was green algae on it

and oysters on it and...

time went by, about three months,

four months, she was at sea,

four or five months.

She w

it, they couldn’t catch it.

They were not able to bring it aboard,

it being such a big one!

It was covered with green algae,

It was covered with barnacles. It was covered with oysters.

And it sank into the water,

until it was one with the water [it sunk to the level of the water’s surface].

Like this, there was green algae on it

and oysters on it and...
nāšī-ō āmad ḥamya wābur inda walēyit-ē

inda rās xaymē

inda laymay inda jāgē’ē ya’nī

ḥamya wābur ba čāf-ō

nāšī-ō wād-i yē

ḥamya gid-iš bāla ba āw-ō gābanō-ō

arāta yē gid-iš

āw-ō čōt pi yē zēran

rö̧k-an tā-in gū tik-in ba yē

bāz tik-in pēna yē wa

ēka=yā kas tāt-a yē na

kaft-ē ba čāf-ō bē lōḥ-ē gap

gapa xānağ-ō=ā

lakin inca blind-i yā=ā

sā byō tā bār ka

pis sēx wāleýt-ō čōt xāna

adala wābur sūran

daqqā wāb m’allāyē-ō

bālītar pi yē

m’allāyē-ō bžēn-in

sā ēnar īn-ō tik-in

sū xō tkīn na čō xāna na

sā wa ţařīl-an ſnaft-īs=ā

dar-ō wākid-īs āmad barra

adliyē ba yē pi ēwū tā bār ka

dita xānağ kēkē āmad in čōt pi yē

Ū bē lō  āmad barra

raft ra ba m’allāyē

wa barza wābur=ā

salām alēkum alēkum salām

dīk-an ništ-in

wa di-kas ništ-in ba sayyam-ō

āmō šan wā šan

sā ḥasa ēnar gis-in na

qāhama gid ba yē zēran

yēk-ē pi zāngēr-īn

wa dōg ba yē fādała biš

tā pä wa tā dist kin ba āmō mē

wa yē xwē tē pā

wa tā dist ba yē

ěnar yē gid-ē

dist rāstī ēnar gid-iš pi rāstī

ān=ā dist asrē ēnar gid-iš pi asrē

āmō ḥwaf-ē sēx-ō xābar na

śabha wābur pi śahb=ā

tamma=ā ēnar-an yē ġēr=īn

yē-ā na-ā bātar=in yē-ā na=ā xaykē na

yē-ā ġhar-ē yā=ā sīrāx-ē

ra ba źan-a āmad-iš šan

zāngēr-īn ar di-kas-an šan

dōg ba yē āmō

skafya kē na pi mē na

nor’easter.

222 A storm wind blew up, [the raft] became beached in a country,

228 in Ras al-Khaimah,

229 in Lima, in somewhere, that is to say,

231 [The raft] became beached on the shore,

232 the storm wind brought it,

233 beached it high on the spring tide.

235 It [the storm] stuck it [the raft].

237 Water flowed down from it.

240 Boys would come and defecate on it.

241 They would play beside it and,

244 obviously no one wanted this,

247 [since] it was just left on the beach, a big wooden thing,

250 The size of a house,

251 but this tall, like this, you see [narrator gestures to show height].

254 Now it came about one time that...

256 the son of the sheikh of the country was to be married.

260 It was taking place, the wedding celebration.

263 They were beating drums for the men’s M’allayo dance.

264 Up above [the raft].

265 They were drumming for the M’allayo dance [narrator claps like drumbeat],

267 now they were putting henna on the what’s-it-called.

269 they were putting henna on their fiancés, whom they were marrying.

272 Now when she heard the drums,

274 she opened the door. She came outside.

279 She had a gown that stretched all the way from here to there!

282 She left. She went to the M’allayo dance.

285 When she appeared,

286 She greeted everyone.

288 Girls were seated,

290 and two people were seated on the platform,

291 Their father-in-law was with them.

293 Now they hadn’t put henna on yet.

296 He jumped down to her,

297 one of the slaves,

300 and he said to her, “Go ahead.

301 Do one foot and one hand of my uncle.

303 and this sister of mine [i.e. another slave] will do one

304 and one hand.”

307 She put henna on it.

310 She put henna on the right hand from the right side.

312 That one [the other person doing henna], the left hand,

317 The uncle was asleep. The sheikh’[s son] didn’t know.

322 When he awoke in the morning,

323 he saw that his henna was different.

327 That one was better. The other one, not so much.

329 this one here was brown, this one here was red.

332 He went to the women, to bring them.

335 The slaves, both of them.

337 He said to [them], “Nieces [slaves]…

339 Don’t conceal anything from me.
calleds, what
463  He poured chickpeas inside it,
461  He made a hole in it.
458  he cut it off with the scissors.
beside the sheikh,
454  The side of the wedding gown that had fallen there
450  They woke him. He awoke.
448  They pinched him. They surprised him.
445  on his feet.
440  Right away sh
438  we give you the responsibility of doing our henna.
henna,
436  My father
435
433
432  He said to her, she heard,
430  it trailed behind her.
428  from here up to there
427  But she was wearing a wedding gown
426
423  Really, he was terribly overcome with desire,
421  There were no men with them.
419  that is to say, all of them were women.
418  At the house they were celebrating,
415  and the M
414  He gathered them up and,
410  Treats. (It was the man.)
408  and chickpeas and these things:
405  nuts and seeds
403  He brought like, sweets with him:
401  He brought scissors with him.
262x232]
363  She put henna on the right hand from the right side.
358  This girl, she is stunningly beautiful!
357  I don
355  in the [whole] country, she is not from us.
352  A girl, I don
350  while you were asleep, a girl came,
348  One of them sa
343  Who was with you putting henna on?
342  I am going to give each one of you a thousand rupees!
341  “And upon you be peace.”
340  “Come here, my dear... so...
338  No one will put henna on me; otherwise she won’t do it again,
337  Let no [one] put henna on me; otherwise she won’t do it again,
336  “Peace be upon you.”
333
331x312]right away he came up to her.
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1
As for me, I don’t want [to marry] my uncle’s daughter.”

When he woke up in the morning,

he said to his father,

“As for me, I don’t want [to marry] my uncle’s daughter.

The woman whom I am to marry, I don’t want her.

I will marry the raft.”

“How are you going to marry the raft, this wooden thing!?”

For a year or two, it has been in the sea!

How are you going to marry the raft?!”

“As for me, I am going to marry the raft.

I will sign the marriage contract with the raft.

I do not want [to marry] my uncle’s daughter.

They went to the judge.

The judge said to him, “It’s all right:

Let him sign the marriage contract with the raft,

we will sign the marriage contract.”

He came, he prayed the early afternoon prayer,

at the late afternoon prayer, they brought...

furniture and they cleaned here and

the Indians came,

[they cleaned up] the garbage and they cleaned it

and they washed the raft and

also the excrement that was beside it they cleaned up,

and also they cleaned up the pigeon house beside it and,

they put in a bathroom,

and the sheikh came,

and his uncle’s children came and

the judge came and

they sat beside the raft.

Now the judge, he had a walking stick with him, a cane.

He hit the raft like this with it. “Yes?”

Raft! Do you agree to marry

the sheikh’s son?”

She said from inside it, “Squeak!”
“Oh! Oh! Listen! Yes! It agrees!”

It squeaked like this, as if it had a horn, as if she was pressing on something, “Hey! Listen! Well!!

It is agreed! It said that it agrees!

Raft!

Do you agree to marry the sheikh’s son?”

“There, it is agreed, yes!”

Only once [more]. Hey! Raft! Wooden thing!

Do you agree to marry the sheikh’s son?”

“There!”

“It is agreed.

Is it agreed? Yes!”

They got married.

They signed the marriage contract.

Once they had signed the marriage contract, once they had finished, the people left.

They went to the sheikh’s court.

That night, they sang the Maylad wedding poetry, and they did everything, and they sang the Sro poetry, and they finished, now when the crowds of people had finished and left,

they brought the groom, they put him beside the raft.

The people having left, he knocked on it.

They locked the door on themselves.

they bled and left, and they did everything, and they sang the Sro poetry,

That night, they sang the Maylad wedding poetry,

They went to the sheikh once they had finished, the people left. They signed the marriage contract.

They got married.

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They went to the sheikh once they had finished, the people left. They signed the marriage contract.

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Is it agreed? Yes!

Only once [more]. Hey! Raft! Wooden thing!

Squeak!

Hey! Listen! Well!

Oh! Oh! Listen! Yes! It agrees!

Hey! Listen! Well!!

It is agreed.

Is it agreed? Yes!”

They got married.

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Once they had signed the marriage contract, once they had finished, the people left.

They went to the sheikh’s court.

That night, they sang the Maylad wedding poetry, and they did everything, and they sang the Sro poetry, and they finished, now when the crowds of people had finished and left,
Appendix 1: Folktales

721 he will say to her, “Tomorrow I am going up to go hunting.

724 I will go hunting tomorrow.

725 so don’t wait up late for me.

727 When I wake up in the morning, I am going hunting.”

730 Now, the girl was pregnant.

731 She had become pregnant.

735 Now these boys,

736 the mother and sisters

737 and the relatives and the cousins and...

739 they came down beside the raft wailing like this.

741 They waited:

743 [signing:] “Woe! Woe! Woe!” [they cried, mourning as if he had died.]

746 Right away she opened the door.

747 She stumbled out.

749 Without her headscarf.

750 Without her burqa. That is to say, she was shocked.

753 “The sheikh has gone hunting!”

755 She went into the crowd.

756 Now when they swarmed around,

757 she went into the what’s-it-called,

758 into the raft.

759 She locked herself in.

760 Now she was caught.

762 Now they believed

764 [the oath] that he had a wife was true.

767 That night, the sheikh[’s son] came to her.

769 He said to her, “Open the door.”

771 She said to him, “I will not open the door.”

774 He said to her, “Open the door!”

775 She said to him, “I will not open it.

777 You have come on a path, go. [go back the way you came]”

780 Going up to their house, he slept.

782 The next evening, he went.

784 She said to him, “I will not open it.”

787 In the evening of the next day,

789 he went to her, he said to her, “See here.

791 Either you open the door,

792 or else I will bring the boatbuilders,

793 [and] they will chop the wood.

794 We will smash it into firewood [they will make matchsticks out of it]!

797 They, they have their chisels and their saws.

799 And people will laugh at you.”

802 She opened the door to him.

803 She said to him, “See here.

805 As for me, I am your wife. You married me,

807 and unless you want to take me

809 to your house so that your relatives can look at me...

811 since you have been married to me a day or two,

814 you must take me to your house.

815 That is to say, it’s tradition that I go up with you.

817 You want to sleep beside me on the raft,

819 and now you! You have thrown me into calamity!

821 [saying:] “Tomorrow I am going up hunting...”

823 and telling your relatives to come to m...
A Grammar of Kumzari

Appendix 2: Lexicon

\begin{center}
\begin{longtable}{l|l}
\textbf{A} & \textbf{abāra prep} like; it seems
\textbf{adv yes/no question marker; request marker} & \textbf{abāra prep} like; it seems
\textbf{-a v.sfx 3s:IMPF; 3sIRR; 3sIMPER} & \textbf{abāra prep} like; it seems
\textbf{abala dv acting crazy} & \textbf{abāra prep} like; it seems
\textbf{abara dv floating} & \textbf{abāra prep} like; it seems
\textbf{abaşa dv holding; catching} & \textbf{abāra prep} like; it seems
\hline
\end{longtable}
\end{center}
amara dv sealing; finishing; smoking the waterpipe
amza dv massage
ambar v load: IMPER
ambār v load: ROOT; IMPER, IRR
ambās v load: PERF
amē n paternal aunt, father’s sister
amiča adv; just like this
amma dv grief; grieving; pitying
amma n female relative
amma conj however
ammū adj; ignorant, simple
ammū det; adv all; always
amr n stuff, means, resources
amš v sweep/wipe: ROOT, IMPER, IRR
amšād adv lately
amšādī v sweep/wipe: REAL
amšāsī v sweep/wipe: PERF
amū adv immediately
amūt conj once/when
amyya adj oblivious
-an n.sfx PL
ana conj if; perhaps
anasa dv relaxing
anda n round woven mat with handles used for carrying (sardines)
andak n small amount
andiyē n water channel (irrigation)
angar n; pn each other; together
angarēzīt adj; n English
angīz n squid, cuttlefish
anna dv prickling
annābī adj; dark red
antēlē n metal digging stick
anpū n food (children’s speech)
apṣīt adj; upset, angry
aqāba dv tying; banding together
aqbit n.der knot
aqīl n mountain
aqīl n.prop (Kumzari clan name)
aqrāb n scorpion
aqrub n heel
ar det each/very
ar det; pn rel that, which, who
ar conj.rel whichever; whatever; whoever, any
ara ḍīv familiarising; meeting; smelling
araga dv limping
arasa dv; adj crushing; worn out
arāṭa dv obstructing
ardē n tahina (sesame paste)
ardī n plot of land
ardī n.der powerful sorcerer
arīt n.der smell
arg n.der lameness
arjama n stomachache
arma n date (fruit); dark, preserved stage
arma gōšan n.com earwax
armal n widower

Appendix 2: Lexicon
Armala n. widow
Arnab n. hare
Arraf n. side (direction)
Arraf n. breeze from the west
Arřab n. fresh date (fruit)
Arya dv. being high up; thinking highly of oneself
Ayyit n. der. chatter
Ayyamē adv.com. repeatedly
Arrān adj. inexpensive
Assara dv. wringing out
Askar n. soldier, police officer
Asp n. horse
Asp n. moth
Asp n. seahorse
Arsē n. left side
Asīt adj. existing; alive
Asīl n. origin
Assā dv. pressing; tightening
Asāra dv. pointing, indicating
Asān conj. because
Ašsad interj. well done!
Ašnum eight
Ašṣadnum eighty
Atāqa dv. bonded, bought (slave)
Atta dv. wetting
Atāla dv. hurting
Aṭ‘āṭa dv. shivering
Aww conj or
Awa evid. reportive evidential
Awada dv. accustomed
AWalōr adv. previously
Awāqa dv. suffering with chronic pain
Awwēl adj. bent, crooked
Awwa interj. good night! (children’s speech)
Awwā bār conj.com. once, when
Awwal adv. firstly; already; before
Awwaṣ ḳ noise (sound)
Awwēlī adj. der. first, previous, old (former)
Awyā dv. descending on foot
Axara dv. be late
Axā n. gold; precious metal
Axā glīt n.com. synthetic gold
Axā sīrx n.com. gold
Axā spēr n.com. silver
Axāṣ n. gold; precious metal
Axu pīṣn n.com. mid afternoon
Axx interj. yuck!
Ay det any
Ay interj. oh!
Aya interrog.part; conj.sub. shall (yes/no question); would you (with imperative verb form); perhaps; if adv. (suggestion marker)
Ayata dv. being promiscuous or irresponsible
Ayb n. insult; shame
Ayda num. eighteen
Ays n. ploughing; walking about; migrating
Ayyit n.der. prostitution
Ayaya conj so (therefore)
Azāka dv. grunting (from effort)

A Grammar of Kumzari

Azala dv. sorting; separating
Azama dv. inviting
Azamē adv.com. repeatedly
Ayyit n. mourning

ā =ā clit (subordinating enclitic)
ā interr question particle
Ābat n. large traditional fishing net
Ābā’ v. trap fish: ROOT
Ābn v. close, tie: ROOT
Ād v. give: IMPER
Ād adj. silent
Ādāb n. manners
Ādāb n. latrine
Ādād n. count; uncountable number
Ādamī n. person
Ādas n. lentils
Āḍi adj. normal; easy-going
Āḍō v. give: IRR; succumb: IRR
Āḍū n. enemy; antagonising; not being on speaking terms
Āf n. shorts (short pants)
Āfur n. stone-throwing
Āfur n. gale
Ājāl n. fate
Āka adv.com. there
Ākba n. plant-drying pit
Ākṣa adv. right there
Ālāg n. side (body part); side (position)
Ālallā interj. Ar: for God
Ālam n. tumour
Ālam n. flag
Ālamīt n.der. teaching
Ālamu banjō n.com.infl. cancer
Ālaq n. needlefish
Ālēkum salām express Ar: and upon you be peace
Ālīj n. healing, caring for
Ālō n. potato
Ālō n. hat (stick)
Ām v. come: ROOT
Ām n. silence
Āmad v. come: REAL
Āmar n. seal, finish
Āmarātō n.com.prop.infl. United Arab Emirates
Āmas v. come: PERF
Āmajt n.com. a long time ago
Āmarā n.com. over there
Āmin n. summer
Āmit n. paternal aunt; mother-in-law; stepmother
Āmō n. paternal uncle; father-in-law; stepfather
Āmṛṭ n. service
Ān pn. anaphoric that one; the other one
Ānār n. pomegranate
Ānānis n. pineapple
Ānē n. former unit of currency
Ānsū n.com. there
Āntē n.com. there
Āpīd v. cover, hide: REAL
Āpis v. cover, hide: PERF
Āpiṣ v. cover, hide: MIR
Appendix 2: Lexicon

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Problem after another</th>
<th>Balké adv maybe; however</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Balya dv problem; having a problem</td>
<td>Balyit n.der problem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bambō n bump</td>
<td>Bambōqit n bump</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ban n rope; reins</td>
<td>Banada dv turning off, closing</td>
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<tr>
<td>Banaftají adj purple</td>
<td>Bandar n cove</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bandēra n ship’s flag</td>
<td>Bandōlō n mast box</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bang n dusk; call out; call to prayer</td>
<td>Bang n bank (financial institution)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Banj adj bad</td>
<td>Banjā’i n.der evil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banṭālōn n trousers</td>
<td>Bap n father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bar v carry:IMPER, MIR, ROOT</td>
<td>Bar prep to; for; belonging to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barāha dv appear under water</td>
<td>Baraq dv flashing, glistening</td>
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<tr>
<td>Barbaqa dv poking in the eyes</td>
<td>Bard v carry:REAL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bard n stone</td>
<td>Barg n type of medicinal leaf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barq n lightning</td>
<td>Barm n wave</td>
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<tr>
<td>Barr n seed</td>
<td>Barnūs n blanket</td>
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<tr>
<td>Barr n land; wilderness</td>
<td>Battil, dhow (type of boat)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barra n outside</td>
<td>Bārdūnī n washing (a child)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basbūsa n coconut cake</td>
<td>Bars v carry:PERF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barṣā dv avoiding</td>
<td>Bayra dv avoiding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barṣa dv appearing</td>
<td>Barzit n.der drawing room</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barzung n cradle</td>
<td>Basmā sa dv smiling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basama sa dv smiling</td>
<td>Basāsūsa n coconut cake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Batsī n type of date</td>
<td>Bass adj only; finished; enough</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Batara dv being anxious, having a meltdown</td>
<td>Bast v close:PERF, REAL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Batīt n batil, dhow (type of boat)</td>
<td>Baṭṣā dv sprawling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bāṭil n bottle</td>
<td>Bāṭja dv opening; quitting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baxara dv filling with smoke, scenting with incense</td>
<td>Baxāa dv distancing</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

B

b v become:IRR
ba prep to; for; with; of; belonging to
badīl n container for drawing water from a well
badya dv start
bafr adj frigid
baga’a dv puncturing; stabbing; cutting a hole
bagga dv breaking up
bagā prep without*
baḡal n upper arm*
baḡara dv shouting to someone
baḡaṭa dv dipping
baḡābaqa n parrot
baḡga dv thinking highly of oneself
baḡl n type of date
baḥbaḥa n fish (children’s speech)
bajjā dv start
bakara dv prepare waterpipe
baladīyya n garbage bin
balaḡa dv judgement (court)
balaḡa dv maturing; ripening
balafīyiṭ n vermicelli noodles
balas̱a dv staring
balā’in n tonsils; glands (throat)
balbalāa dv talking very quickly; having one
bā n vow, oath; curse, reproach
bā v trap fish, pull in:IMPER
bā n armspan
bā prep on; against; about; compared to
bā yē na express all right; it doesn’t matter
būbā n.voc O father; O child; O sir; O madam
būdām n nut; nut tree
būgīl n perforated metal cone on waterpipe
būgur adv again; another time
būg n garden
būlī adj thin
būkūr n cane (stick)
būla adv; n above; up; high; on top of; inland; going up; raising; standing
būlaqūq adj mature; ripe
būlīšt adj pillow
būlīštār adv.above; higher
būlīlī ’adj.der upper; highest
būm n giant sea turtle
būn n type of fish net
būnnāt n traditions, customs
būqara n cow; ox; stupid person
būqūlī n large beans
būrī n time (occasion)
būrī n strength; speed; intensity; discomfort
būrī būrī adv.com sometimes
būram n rain
būrām n almond
būrā adj; adv better
būrālī n hero; robust
būwāsīrī n hemorrhoid
būz n playing; game; dance
būzārī kūrā n football
būzārī pakkis n.com type of board game
būzārī pās n.com cards (game)
būzārī wallam n.com sport played with sticks
būzātī n play (children); toys
bū’īdī v trap fish, pull in:REAL
bū’īsī v trap fish, pull in:PERF
bē adv only; although; already
bēdīlī n exchange
bēlī adj actually yes!
bēnītī n building (action); building (edifice)
bēr v carry:IRR
bēr v grind:IMPER
bērāqī n flag
bēradī v grind:REAL
bērisī v grind:PERF
bēš adj stuffed with food
bētarī adj; adv better
bēw conj already
bēxīlī adj miserly
bēyādī n memory; recollection
bīdīlī n funeral gathering
bīdīlī n torch (flashlight)
bīdīlī n seed

bijīlī n torch (flashlight)
billa dv slobber
billā interj Ar: to God!
bīnjī n thigh
bīrmīt n hard candy
bīrīdē n refrigerator
bīsmillāh interj In the name of God!
bīstān n garden; farm
bīs’ n strong taste
bīsī v become:2sIMPER
bīšāram bēsīrī n.com gull
bīštī n cloak
bīyāyē disc it came about
bībī mattō n.com parrot
bīdarī n peasant
bīdarī adj landless
bīmārītī adj bedridden
bīsī num twenty
blaṁlūkī n chewing gum
blaṁwūtī n plywood
blindī adj high
bōgī n wallet
bōgālī n upper arm
bōrī bōrī n.com beetle; type of large shell
bōsī n kiss
bōwin n.prop Kumzari clan name
bōya n large plastic buoy
brī v go:IMPER
brī v go:IRR
bratī v go:3sIRR
bratō n,voc O my brother!
brārī n brother
brāsēsī v cause to arrive:PERF
brāsīdī v cause to arrive:REAL
brāsnī v cause to arrive:IMPF
brēsī v arrive, reach:IMPER
brēsnī v cause to arrive:IMPER
brēsī v vomit:IMPER
brēzī v pour:IMPER, IRR, ROOT
brēzīdī v pour:REAL
brēzīsī v pour:PERF
brīnī n rice
brīsī v vomit:IMPER
brīštī adj cooked
brōī v go:2sIMPER
brōī v go:MIR
brūsī n broom; toothbrush
buğgārī adj demanding; screaming
bukkāri n upper stem of waterpipe
bukrī n firstborn
bukrītī n newborn goat
bumī v go:1sIMPER
bumurī v die:IMPER
buqbaqī n bubble
burī v become:ROOT
būrdī v accomplish, sign contract:REAL
burkā n cistern
burqā n woman’s face-mask
burī v accomplish, sign contract:PERF
Burqūqī n orange
Appendix 2: Lexicon 337

burwa v run:IMPER, MIR, IRR, ROOT
burwad v run:REAL
burwas v run:PERF
burxīt n.prop legendary place name; lost
bur‘an n. joker, funny person
buṣṣar n witch, warlock
but v become:3sIRR
butṭī n duck
buxxar n storehouse
būm n owl
būm n floor
būm n dhow, large type of traditional boat
būmīd v crush:REAL
būmir v crush:IMPF, IMPER, ROOT
būmis v crush:PERF
būr v become:REAL
būrṣad n berry
būs v become:PERF
būt n type of small fish
būxad v dive:REAL
būxar v dive:IMPER
būxas v dive:PERF
būxīr n chin
byā v come:IMPER
byār v bring:IMPER, IMPF, IRR
byāt v come:3sIRR
byō v come:2sIMPER, MIR
byōh v come conj it came about
bżan v hit:IMPER, ROOT
bżand v hit:REAL
bżans v hit:PERF
bżār n hot spice mixture
bżēn v hit:IMPER, IMPF, IRR
b’ām n thumb
č ĉ v go:IMPF
čāba dv pouring (large amount)
čān n body
čān čišnan n.com bathing
čān g comb
čangala dv twisting, curling
čap n paddle blade; paddling
čap interj shut up!
čarača dv charged; charging
čarača dv slitting, straddling, splitting
čarači adv. der straddling
čaračiž adv. der straddling
čarača dv charging (electrical)
čara dv slipping; sliding
čarrax n straddled leg
čarrīt n zipper
čādë pn.interr how?
čābīnī? pn.interr.phr how are you doing?
čādir n bedsheets
čāf n beach, shore
čāf v reach:IMPF, IRR
čāfčāf n.com the water’s edge, right at the shore
čāfid v reach:REAL
čāfis v reach:PERF
čāl n fabric covering, including blankets,

călakī adj haphazard; messy
cār num four
čārak n worthless or broken thing
cārda num fourteen
čāśumbur n.com Wednesday
čāwanaq n bowl
čāwuz n rabbitfish
čāz n lunch
čāl‘ī n tea
čē pn.interr. what?
čēl n albatross; slow person
čēnāq adj thirsty
čēnāqī n.der thirst
čī qadar pn.interr.com.; pn.com how much/many?;
however much/many
čiğāra n cigarette
čiğli n; adj Shihul; Shihhi
čiğliži adv. der in the Shihhi dialect
čikk adv. n little; young; child
čikkīt n string of fish
čīl num forty
čīn pn.interr.com how many?
čįnka n corrugated metal; roof
čirbasē n slide, slippery rock used as a slide
čišt v wash:ROOT, PERF, REAL
čiçcax n stream that forms during heavy rain
čī v go:2sIMPF
čīk n push
čīkē n.der a little bit
čīz n thing
člağ n.der mother’s post-birth coming-out day
čō n well
čō v go:ROOT, 3sIMPF
čōr v wash:IMPF, IMPER, MIR
čōrid v wash:REAL
čōt v go:3sIRR
črā n traditional lamp
čum n eye
čum buqbaq n.com metal snap button
čum rukbit n.com kneecap
čumbu pn.interr what happened?
čupš n lobster
čurk adj dusty
čük n type of shark
čūlā n traditional lamp
čūz n vagina
čūzak n wire fish trap
čwān v be able:IMPF, IRR
čwānīd v be able:REAL
čwānis v be able:PERF

da det a number of
dabaga dv falling
dabara dv providing
dabbā n water jug
dadē n.voc dear
dafama dv burying (item)
daff adv deaf
daftar n notebook
A Grammar of Kumzari

dafya $dv$ staying out of the cold
dağba $dv$ being busy
dağbēr $n$ thick, dusty haze
dahr $n$ a very long time
dahqa $dv$ staring into space
dahya $dv$ sliding
dakara $dv$ remembering
dakk $n$ burden
dakka $dv$ digging; burying in; packing in; hammering; banging; copulating (male); being dead drunk
dalla $dv$ standing upright
dalla $n$ coffeepot/carafe
dalla $dv$ untangling; combing
dallal $n$ guide, agent, negotiator
dama’a $dv$ making it all the way to somewhere
damb $n$ sin
dandama $dv$ getting lightheaded
dandala $dv$ dangling
dandana $dv$ being utterly exhausted
dandānē $n$ type of men’s dance
dang $n$ cyst, boil
dangara $dv$ turning
daqana $dv$ picking up, gusting (wind)
daqdaqa $dv$ knocking
daqqa $dv$ knocking; beating (drums)
daqqus $n$ hot pepper sauce
dar $n$ traditional Gulf calendar
dar $n$ door
dar $n$ hurt
darada $dv$ being hurt
darama $dv$ curing with medicine
darasa $dv$ teaching; studying
dard $n$ pain; bruise
darman $n$ medicine
dars $n$ lesson
dassa $dv$ slipping in; hiding in
dasta $det$ a number of
dastur $n$ lower sail crossbar
dašt $n$ open sea
dawaxa $dv$ being dizzy
dawām $n$ job
dawm $n$ sea between tides
daw $n$ calm (water)
daww $n$ yoghurt drink
daxala $dv$ entering
daxl $n$.der inside; inner part
daxtar $n$ hospital
daxxa $dv$ going along merrily
dayl $n$ hem
daymē $n$ beginning of summer
dayit $n$ communal sickness; plague
dayn $n$ loan
dazza $dv$ inciting
da’num $n$ ten
da’ama $dv$ colliding
da’bar $dv$ chattering
da’da’ $adj$ disoriented
da’ya $n$ non-ritual prayer
dāba $n$.prop Dibba
dādē $n$.voc child (children’s speech)
dādrō $n$ type of short dhow
dāfū $dv$ protesting
dāg $n$ noisy talking
dākār $n$ penis
dām $n$ type of coral
dām $v$ know:1sIMPF
dāmar $n$ groom; son-in-law; brother-in-law
dāmu $adj$ work (employment)
dām... $exp$ I don’t know
dān $v$ know:IMPF, ROOT, IMPER, IRR
dāndānē $n$ type of men’s dance
dānīd $v$ know:REAL
dānīs $v$ know:PERF
dānū $n$ hate
dār $v$ give:REAL, ROOT
dār $n$ stick
dār ālō $n$.com bat (for sports)
dār āndārī $ālō$ com ship’s flagpole
dār ālī $n$.com cinnamon
dās $v$ give:PERF
dāya $n$ midwife
dāzā $n$ turmeric
dē $v$ give:IMPF, IRR
dēbahīt $n$ full-grown male goat
dēlāma $n$ pump, esp. electric water pump
dēlō $n$ pail
dēqiqt $n$ minute
dēr $n$: $adj$ a long time; late
dēw $n$ demon
dg $v$ say:IMPF
dgard $v$ go around, turn into, happen:IMPF
dgō $v$ say:IMPF
dgur $adj$ other; next
dibīt $n$ wedding ring
diflahē $n$ heater
dig $v$ take:IMPF
dikin $adj$ dark
dikkā $n$ shop
dikkanīn $n$.infl shopkeeper
dikkara $adv$.com twice
dil $n$ heart
dimistan $n$ winter
dinya $n$ world; the present life
dinye’ē $exp$ listento what I’m saying!
dir $v$ slit:2sIMPER, IMPF
dird $v$ slit:REAL
dirs $v$ slit:PERF
diryā $n$ sea; fishing
diryē’tī $n$.infl fisher
dismal $n$ handkerchief
dist $n$ hand/arm
diśmal $n$ vulgarity
dit $n$.poss girl, daughter
ditk $n$.infl girl; daughter
dixx $n$ smoke
diẓ $v$ steal, rob:2sIMPER
dī $v$ give:IMPF
dīb $n$ wolf
dībē $n$ Great White Shark
Appendix 2: Lexicon 339

dīdh n milk (children’s speech)
dīlub n strong, swirling current
dīn n religion
dīnar n unit of currency
dağ n sock
dnān n tooth
dō v give:ROOT, IMPF
dō num two
dōl n mast
dōrbīn n camera
dōṣag n mattress
dōz v sew, milk:ROOT, IMPER, IMPF
dōṣid v sew:REAL; milk:REAL
dōzīs v sew:PERF; milk:PERF
dr v slit:IMPER
drām n water tank
drāz adj:ln longest; length/height; stretched out
drēwal n driver, chauffer
drīša n window
drō n lie (untruth)
drūṣu n.com liat
dubb n bear
dūbah n butcher
duff ideo bang!
dug v take:IMPF
dumb n stupid person
dummit n tuft of hair below the lower lip
dunyō’ō n.inf the world
dupsī n type of insect; plague of insects
duqqū adj fallen (children’s speech)
durb n unstable, wavering thing (esp. a boat)
durj n drawer
durrō n celebratory wedding procession
duṣumbur n.com Monday
duwux n smoker
dūbāy n metal fish trap
dūbū adj melted
dūbyō n laundromat; launderer
dūm n tail; back of boat
dūr n smoke
dūr adj far
dūsū n.der step on
dūš n date syrup
dūśin n yesterday
dwāżda num twelve
dwēs num two hundred
dz v steal; rob:IMPF
d‘ān n palm thatch

D

dābb n type of large lizard
dābb n beautiful young woman
dāby n oryx
dāb’ n hyena
daḏ n blocking, hindering
daḍama dv being maligned
daḍamma dv hugging
daṛbit n blustering wind
daṛbit n bonanza
daṛra dv being sociable
daṛyf n guest
dālum n tyrant
dāman n guarantee
dēṣa n type of stinging insect
dīfū n invitation

-č n.sfx a (indeterminateness)
-č v.sfx 3sPERF
=č clot be:2p (second person plural existential)
čbar n.com over here
čbē n woman’s black cloak
čbin v close:2sIMPER
čbn v close, tie:MIR
čda dnān n.com toothache
čda göş n.com earache
čda sar n.com headache
čdan n.pl pain
čdīl adj straight
čdīlit n co-wife
čdur n a noise
čdū n enemy; antagonizing; not being on speaking terms
čgīn n dough
čhil n relative
čhē n type of dance
čja interj oh! hey! wow! well!
čka evid INF (inferred evidential)
čkṣa adv right here
čl n cardamom
čl mātarī n.com type of date
čling n bracelet
čmağ n firewood
čmiš v sweep/wipe:IMPER
čnad v hide:REAL
čnār n henna
čnār v hide:ROOT, IMPER, MIR
čnāran n.pl wedding henna nights
čnas v hide:PERF
čnāwī adj burgundy colour
čr n exposed rock in sea
čɾaraḏ n type of bream fish
črisa n thick paste with chicken
črisin n oar, paddle
črīkū n argument; insult
čsār n woven plastic mat
čsū n here
čṣīl n ancestor
čṣīman pn these ones
čṭ n gear
čōwō n here
čēgē n mourning
č‘ū n here

F

faḍala dv going ahead
fağara dv foaming
fahama dv understanding
faḥd n cheetah
fahl n male date palm
fajara dv exploding
fajja dv awakened suddenly; shocked
fajr n early morning prayer
faj’a’dv shocking; being rudely shocked
fakara dv thinking
fakka dv opening wide
falaha dv correcting
falaja dv freezing
falaqa dv splitting open; slitting open; slicing
falj n ice
falq n crack, split
famfōxīt n goose egg (swollen bump)
fanana dv being super
fanaša dv quitting
faqama dv losing weight (person)
faqāša dv peeling
faq n porcupinefish
faqqāš n bark (tree); shell (egg); peeling skin
farāhā dv being happy
faraka dv scrubbing
faraga dv being different
farāša dv spreading out (e.g. cloth)
farata dv leaving suddenly
fard n pistol
farnī n white pudding
farra dv escaping; becoming far away
fartrūgit n comb (rooster), crown (hoopoe)
fars n fishing net thread
farsaš n moment
farš n carpet; furniture
fart n commandment
farzd n nostril-stud
fās spēr n.com diamond
faṣṣ n jewel; metal snap button; light switch
fašā dv deflating
fataka dv slicing open; being sliced open
fatfata dv deflating (food)
fatta dv ripening (food)
fatta dv wearing out
faṭaṇa dv understanding
faṣṭ n thigh
fa’ala dv doing sexual acts
fa’azā dv helping out
fağur n big liar
fālaj n channel
fālan n so-and-so
fān v send, throw:ROOT, IMPER, MIR, IRR
fānd v send, throw:REAL
fāns v send, throw:PERF
fär n flying fish
fāsid n bad person
fāσiḍ n liar
fātaḍ n gold ring worn on big toe
fāyḍit n benefit
fāżū n defeat; success
fērīd n red-bean stew
fēṭaḥit dv telling on someone
fēżar n freezer
fijmē n black dolphin
fīfīl n pepper
fīrīl adv in any case
fīltan n so-and-so (female)
findan n sweet potato
finjāl n coffee/tea cup
finjān n coffee cup
fīrn n oven
fīss n hissing gas
fītr n thumb-index span (measurement)
fīlū dv evading
fīqit n person who is free (available)
fīqū dv being free (available)
fītū dv filling to overflowing
fīlā n wick
fūdar n detergent
fūdālī adj obnoxious; troublemaking
fūrīgīt adj: n.der foreign; Portuguese
fūsīn v sell:IMPER
fūsīn v sell:ROOT
fūsīnīd v sell:REAL
fūsīnis v sell:PERF
fūxiṭ n thigh
frāx n width
fīlāq n hernia
furi n clever, wily goat
fūṭīman n.pl weaning period
fūṭa n handkerchief

G
gā v take:2sIMPER, 3sREAL
gā v say:IRR
gab adv suddenly
gaćē n mortar
gadda dv harvesting
gaf v say:ROOT, PERF, REAL
gaga’a dv snatching
gābhl n watermelon
gamaga dv going onto shore quickly in order to
take a boat out of the water and store it on the
beach
gamaza dv snatching
gambil n large hole, pit
gannīt n stack of dried fish
gantar adj tired out
gap n big person or thing; great; elder; much
gapa n size
garagumba n type of fish
gard v go around, turn into:ROOT, IRR, IMPER
gardan n neck
gardīd v go around, turn into:REAL
gardīs v go around, turn into:PERF
gargērīt n unpaved road surface
gargur n small wire fish cage
gargur n stubbornness; stubborn person
gārī n shipping lane
garm n warmth, heat; hot-head; fever
garmağ adj hot
gāṣā’a dv burping
gaw v say:2sIMPER
gawd n cave
gawgaw n type of rabbitfish
gayyīt n time (occasion)
gaz n forearm span (measurement)
gazara dv taking the easy way out
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ga</td>
<td>bull</td>
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<tr>
<td>gbanō</td>
<td>exceptionally high level (tide); (proxigean) spring tide</td>
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<tr>
<td>gāl</td>
<td>men’s headdress rings</td>
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<tr>
<td>gārad</td>
<td>thief</td>
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<tr>
<td>gārāk</td>
<td>opium</td>
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<tr>
<td>gārāwīn</td>
<td>pl. toddlers</td>
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<tr>
<td>gārī</td>
<td>wheelbarrow; cart; trailer; rolling platform (cannon)</td>
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<tr>
<td>gā’t</td>
<td>morning gusts</td>
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<td>gdār</td>
<td>wall</td>
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<tr>
<td>gē</td>
<td>say: IMPER</td>
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<tr>
<td>gēdā</td>
<td>waterpipe</td>
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<tr>
<td>gēlō</td>
<td>catfish</td>
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<tr>
<td>gēnum</td>
<td>wheat</td>
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<tr>
<td>gēr</td>
<td>grave; burying (person)</td>
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<tr>
<td>gēmar</td>
<td>hunger</td>
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<tr>
<td>gēlō</td>
<td>dirt; clay</td>
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<tr>
<td>gē</td>
<td>type of shrub</td>
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<tr>
<td>gē</td>
<td>testicle</td>
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<tr>
<td>gē</td>
<td>small fan</td>
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<tr>
<td>gēlō</td>
<td>type of fish</td>
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<tr>
<td>gē</td>
<td>cat</td>
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<tr>
<td>gē</td>
<td>plastic button</td>
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<tr>
<td>gē</td>
<td>slow person</td>
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<tr>
<td>gē</td>
<td>round basket</td>
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<tr>
<td>gēlō</td>
<td>headdress rings</td>
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<tr>
<td>gēn</td>
<td>type of fish</td>
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<tr>
<td>gē</td>
<td>excrement</td>
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<tr>
<td>gē</td>
<td>men’s goal (esp. football)</td>
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<td>gö</td>
<td>goat</td>
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<td>gösīn</td>
<td>ear</td>
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<tr>
<td>göş</td>
<td>mattress</td>
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<tr>
<td>göş</td>
<td>meat; pretty person</td>
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<td>göz</td>
<td>walnut</td>
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<tr>
<td>gö’al</td>
<td>hook</td>
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<tr>
<td>grā</td>
<td>adj. boiling</td>
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<tr>
<td>grām</td>
<td>bundle</td>
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<tr>
<td>grān</td>
<td>expensive</td>
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<tr>
<td>grā</td>
<td>id v boil: PERF, REAL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grē</td>
<td>cry: IMPER</td>
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<tr>
<td>grumba</td>
<td>flawed spherical item</td>
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<td>grū</td>
<td>n plastic button</td>
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<td>gubb</td>
<td>slow person</td>
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<td>gūlō</td>
<td>round basket</td>
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<td>gūlō</td>
<td>n beard style</td>
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<td>gūm</td>
<td>fist</td>
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<tr>
<td>grān</td>
<td>prepared tobacco</td>
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<tr>
<td>grā</td>
<td>n singing</td>
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<tr>
<td>grān</td>
<td>n. der song</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grāq</td>
<td>n. der singing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grāq</td>
<td>n. der swallowing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grā</td>
<td>n. der sunset; being away from home</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grābī</td>
<td>west</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grā</td>
<td>n. der sunset; being away from home</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grā</td>
<td>prep. except</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grāya</td>
<td>covering up for modesty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grā</td>
<td>getting on one’s nerves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grā</td>
<td>n. der meddlesome person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grā</td>
<td>falling asleep; sleep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gräya</td>
<td>covering</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>grā</td>
<td>being meddlesome person</td>
</tr>
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</table>

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**Appendix 2: Lexicon**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>341</td>
<td>Appendix 2: Lexicon</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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**Ğ**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ğābanā</td>
<td>being sad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ğafala</td>
<td>dozing; not paying attention</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ğaf</td>
<td>adj. dozing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ğalaqa</td>
<td>baring</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ğalaśa</td>
<td>doing something wrong; harming</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ğalla</td>
<td>sprouting; growing to maturity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ğalq</td>
<td>adj. difficult</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ğalyn</td>
<td>prepared tobacco</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ğambara</td>
<td>screaming silently</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ğambur</td>
<td>niche</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ğanlı</td>
<td>rich</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ğanna</td>
<td>n. der</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ğaraqa</td>
<td>n. der</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ğaraqa</td>
<td>n. der</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ğarbīt</td>
<td>n. der</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ğarbīt</td>
<td>n. der</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ğar</td>
<td>being away from home</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ğar</td>
<td>west</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ğargör</td>
<td>adam’s apple; larynx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ğarr</td>
<td>being meddlesome person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ğas</td>
<td>prep. except</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ğasıya</td>
<td>covering up for modesty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ğatta</td>
<td>getting on one’s nerves</td>
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<tr>
<td>ğattit</td>
<td>n. der meddlesome person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ğatta</td>
<td>falling asleep; sleep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ğawya</td>
<td>being meddlesome person</td>
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<tr>
<td>ğaw</td>
<td>n. der</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ğay</td>
<td>prep. except</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ğayaba</td>
<td>finishing with</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ğazara</td>
<td>plunging</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ğabana</td>
<td>groove; inlet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ğabas</td>
<td>n period before dawn; early morning prayer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ğadab</td>
<td>n act of God, punishment from God</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A Grammar of Kumzari

H

hajr n funeral reception
hall interj what?!; hey!
haraba dv being frightened off; being terrified
haqqā dv being angry
hā interj well; oh!; so
hād v give, strike; MIR
hē interj well; yes; eh?
hidī interj you did what?!; you see?
hisht interj go away! (to large animals)
hād interj knock-knock!

H

hābasā dv being still (surface of the water)
hābb n seed; bit; spot; pimple
hābba dv loving
hābbē det.infl some, a bit of
hābibī n moon (children’s speech)
hābsit n.der stillness, calm
hābsāmān n freckle
hāčča dv listening, paying attention, heeding,
learning from one’s mistakes
hadd n tip
hadd n Sunday
haddad n bad person
hadd n luck
hādran n bridewealth; showing of the bridewealth;
bridewealth parade; green headdress worn by groom
haf n trimming
ḥafara dv digging
ḥafit n celebration
ḥajaza dv; n emprisoning; enclosing with rocks or thorns to keep goats out
ḥajjāj n someone who goes on the Hajj pilgrimage
ḥakama dv ruling
ḥakaya dv telling (a tale)
ḥakka dv itching; scratching
ḥakkā n palm fibres pounded into twine
ḥakkit n itch
ḥakkiyān n.der person who chats; storyteller
ḥakyit n.der telling of a tale
ḥalāba dv raining heavily and constantly
ḥallāwa n sweets
ḥalgāzī n.com kerosene
ḥallāhal dv alighting; descending; bending over; low-lying
ḥallībī adj beige
ḥall n grease; hair oil
ḥalla dv landing; coming down; bending down; providing a solution to a riddle: flat
ḥamada dv thanks, praise
ḥamala dv being careful
ḥamaqqā dv lusting; being overcome with desire
ḥambul n newborn
ḥamdilīla interj; adj well; on the mend
ḥaml n month’s highest tides
ḥamra n hyena
ḥamya dv docking; beaching
ḥan n iron
ḥanna banna dv.com tying up loose ends
ḥanna dv trapping (with a metal trap)
ḥantāl n colocynth tree; bitter
ḥaps adj tied up; bound
ḥaqa interj really!
ḥaqada dv remembering
ḥaqqīt n.der truth
ḥaqm n domestic pigeon
ḥaqq n correctness; justice; alimony; prerogative; bridewealth; compensation
ḥaqqa dv seeing clearly
ḥara dv looking
ḥarakat dv moving
ḥarakat n change
ḥaraqqā dv burning; sealing with wax
ḥarhrāra dv looking around
ḥarkit n movement; change
ḥarr n macho person
ḥasa adv.com still; yet
ḥasaka dv hating; being angry
ḥasāsī n psoriasis
ḥasāṭē adv.com still; yet
ḥassa dv feeling; wishing misfortune
ḥasāla dv obtaining
ḥasāra dv drowning out with noise
ḥasrit n.der noise from all directions
ḥasṣa dv being destructive; demolishing
injwan interj come on!
inna complr that (used with oaths, pronouncements)
inmnē n type of stingray
innik dūnik ide:o in a flash
innit n goat pen
insi adj humanlike, talking (of animals)
insa:la adv God willing
inta: n sun
intō n treats; sweets
iqi n mountain
irra:gi n toque
irramit n:der decayed thing; lazy person
isalō n.com.infl this year
issi n urine (children’s speech)
isti interj go away! (to large animals)
is det any; none
-īs v.sfx 3sREAL
issā’it n nothing at all
isık adj dry; hard
iska adv like
iswō: n.com.infl tonight
isnā n nest
ıštāka adj revolting
ıttō pn.emph 2sEMPH
ıtr n perfume
ıxtarō n.inf the choice
iyō v come:IMPF
iyyar n whiner
iyyē pn.emph 3sEMPH

-i v.sfx (derivational suffix forming an adjective, adverb, or noun)
-ı v.sfx 2s
=ı: clit:be:2s (second person singular existential)
Id n holiday
İdiyē n.inf festival monetary gift
İdū adj having continuous, severe pain
İē n type of fish
İıt n health
İn- n what’s-it-called (placeholder pronoun)
-ın n.sfx person of (attribute, profession, etc.)
İsštē n:der living
İsštū adj living
-ıštī sfx.adv, manner
İtwiś n following (chronologically)
İtwi adj roosting

J
jabara dv obliging
jadada dv renewing
jağbib n type of fish
ja:ha dv swooping; closing in on
jalaba n clay jar with narrow mouth
jalata dv skinning (an animal)
jam n side
jamala dv pooling of funds (e.g. fishing income)
jamma dv bending; bowing
jang n war
janjēbil n ginger

jannit n paradise
jar adv very; really
jarabā dv trying
jars adj biting (wind)
jawāsmē’an n.prop.pl Qawasim
jawāz n identification document
jawn n mortar (for crushing)
jaww n weather, climate
jawwā:fa n type of tree
jawxa dv reclining, sitting
jawxa dv supreme
jayb n gold bridal diadem; gold necklace
jaydar n type of tuna fish
jayl n army
jazama dv breaking
jâ n barley
jāgā n place
jākit n jacket
jām adj hooked (fish)
jām n jam (fruit conserve)
jāmağ n man’s skirt
jāmağšūrī n.com laundry
jāmal n camel
jāmā’it n:der group
jāras n bell
jārid n type of fish
jārīf n type of large traditional fishing net
jārī adv already
jāwar n type of large sea turtle
jāz n ship
jāzrī n northeast wind
jēdīl n pair of braids
jēk n pitcher, jug
jēl n departure; laying out of fish nets
jēlumb n side; clan
jērda dv opening orchard canals
jērhī n wound
jēžīrit n island
jēzurtō n.prop.infl Goat Island
jahannamlye n bougainvillea tree
jīfn n eyelid
jīhs n fierce person
jiks n lock of hair
jīlbē n woman’s headscarf
jild n skin
jīlt mišt adj stark naked
jinjāwir n master sorcerer; giant; grown-up
jinn n jinn
jism n body
jisr n bridge
jišt v look for, ask:REAL, PERF
jittīt n corpse
jīmī n entirety; whole; all
jir v see, find:ROOT, REAL
jirī n sand
jis v see, find:PERF
jizē adj parched with thirst
jmāt n Friday
jmēs n type of shark
jnāh n wing
jōbō n water-collecting rock hollow
jō'gur n liver
jōr v look for, ask:IMPF, IMPER, IRR, MIR
jōtī n shoe
jōwa n spring (season)
jō'ar n pearl
jīlāt adj separate
jubbar n abuse of one’s position for gain
jubbārī n type of shark
judārī n chicken pox (varicella)
jum n shore
jumr n ember
jurbārī n type of fish
jūsī v look for, ask:ROOT
jūrit n comical person; ridiculous person
jwāb n answer
jwān n goodness; good

K
k v do:ROOT, IMPER, IRR
ka XX conj.relr XX that
ka v fall:REAL, 3sIRR
ka conj.advr if/when; then; since, thus, so
ka disc.peak right away
ka disc.list also
kabara dv treating with condescension; acting superior
kabba dv pouring (a large amount)
kaf v fall:MIR
kaf n palm/sole
kaf n bracelet
kafata dv tying
kafrağ n left
kaft v fall:ROOT, PERF, REAL
kafya dv turning over
kahrabā n electricity
kalaha dv staring
kalaka dv stuttering
kam adj; adv little; less
kamala dv finishing
kambar n thick rope
kan v dig, put away:ROOT
kana conj otherwise; on the contrary; instead
kanazāa dv pressing
kand v dig, put away:REAL
kandarkas n.prop Orion’s belt
kandēšīn n air conditioner
kans v dig, put away:PERF
kansala dv cancel
kan’ād n type of fish
kapš n sheep
kara n time (occurrence)
karahā dv working to the point of exhaustion
karama dv being generous
karaxa dv slapping
karb n thick end of palm branch; buoy
kard v drop:ROOT, IMPER, IRR, MIR
kard n flock, school (fish), cluster (dates), bunch (people)
kard n comportment, responsibility
kardīd v drop:REAL
kardīs v drop:PERF
kara’a dv hating
karfīt n.der exhausting work
karnāš n.prop Khasab coastal road (corniche)
karrōba n needle (medicinal)
karsa n thick rope
karxīt n.der slap
kass n person; someone; anyone
kas quant (count of persons)
kasaľa dv making filthy
kasib n livelihood
kaskasa dv crumbling
kasna adj; com absent
kasr n period of very high tides
kassa dv crumbling
kasseh n fame person
kaš v pull, pass over, turn off (switch), dish out:2sIMPER, MIR
kašaxa dv being super
kašk n dried yoghurt
kašmir n glasses, sunglasses
kašt n twist
kataba dv writing
katbit n.der writing; word; destiny
kaw n palm of hand; marriage contract
kawada n; interj heaps; a lot
kawl n wind
kawl bālī’ī n.com east wind
kawšī n east-southeast wind
kawwağ n pottery; incense burner
kawwağinā n.infl the potter
kawya dv medicinally branding
kay pn.interj when?
ka’bētī n.prop.infl the Kabba
ka’nağ adj old (thing)
ka’nağ n cross-beam (boat)
kaşāb n cooked meat
kaşbat n cabinet
kaşćak n underarm
kaşfur n pagan
kaşgud n paper
kaşlak n fish cheek
kaşlat n fort, castle
kaşlat bālī’ī n.com Kumzari Castle
kaşlat žēranī n.com Khasab Castle
kaşmar n back
kaşmil adv totally
kaşn sikkānī n.com tiller (rudder handle)
kaşr n work; thing
kaşrā n mouth; opening; entryway; gate
kaşrabō n white dolphin
kaşramit n generosity
kaşrağ n type of fish
kaşrād n knife
kaşrim pn.interj which?
kaşsāl n sardine
kaşrīt n small drum
kaş v cultivate:ROOT, IMPER
kaşṣid v cultivate:REAL
kaşṣis v cultivate:PERF
kāwarī n pottery shard
kāwaša n earring
kē n who?; whoever
kēk n cake, doughnuts
kēl n dry measure of one kilo
kēn v dig, put away: IMPER, IRR, MIR
kēr n penis
kēr pāčak n.com sea cucumber
kēš v pull:ROOT; pass over:ROOT
kēš v pull, pass over, turn off (switch), dish out: IMPER, IRR
kēšid v pull, pass over, turn off (switch), dish out: REAL, PERF
kēšis v pull, pass over, turn off (switch), dish out: PERF
kēyō n.infl a while
kieč n kilo
kiekl n upper arm or shoulder
kilwiskit n type of date
kin v do:2sIMPER, MIR
kīn n type of tree
kirdan n ripening date
kirdan n fire pit
kiswit n clothing
kis v kill: IMPER, IRR
kis interj go away! (said to small creatures)
kissit n lock of hair; tassel
kist v kill: ROOT, PERF, REAL
kit interj go away! (said to cats)
kitf n shoulder
kitmān n underreporting, minimizing
kittāre n scimitar
kixx interj sit! (to children); shush!
kībal n buoy
kīl n paved surface
kīlō n kilogram
kīsa n pocket; plastic bag
kële n hat
kīl n key
kīlak n kidney
kmā n type of tuna fish
knār n lap
knār n jujube
knēr n cheese
kō n mountain
kō v fall:ROOT, IRR
kōb n cup, small tea glass
kōfar n type of fish
kōl n braided rope joint
kōr n whale
kōr n blind person
kōr n type of fish
kōrk-n boy
köš v advise: ROOT, IRR
köshā n wedding banner
köshe n advice for responsible living
köṣid v advise: REAL
kösis v advise: PERF
kōt n coat
kōta adj short
kōṭi n.infl of the mountain; mountain bedouin
krāḥ n sandal
ktēb n book
kuffit n scrap (e.g. of paper of bread)
kumbit n dune
kumkuma n plastic water jug
kumzar n. prop Kumzar village
kundur n chewing gum
kups n mound; porch
kurdan n three-stone fireplace
kurfāyē n bed
kurī n worm
kurraf n deep-sea fishing nets
kursī n chair
kurš n bladder; potbelly; chamber (of instrument)
kurš pā n.com calf (of leg)
kuruxda n old person
kurxānē n sewing machine
kūkū n type of fish
kūlī n shark
kūn n buttocks
kūnīt adv.der on one’s bottom
kūš n lap, loins
kwār n clay fireplace
kyē n quarter-cup measure

labā prep approximately
labāqa dv lighting; burning; turned on (light); igniting
labasa dv clothing; covering
labaṭa dv shudder; shaking
lablabā dv hasty and reckless
lada’a dv biting
laḍḍa dv flashing, shining, glistening
laff n bandage
lafta dv bandaging; covering; swarming; swathing
laftū dv gathering up scattered items
laṛya dv talking incessantly
laḥa prep about
laḥaqa dv hassling
laḥlah n type of fish
laḥm n flesh; body
lakaša dv being round, fat
lakin conj: adv but; only; except
lam n peep
lamaṭha dv glimpsing
lamata’a dv licking
lama’a dv glistening
lamamba n lamp
lambiya n lullaby; swim on one’s back
langal n anchor
lanj n dhow
laqaṣa dv hassling
laqmit n morsel
laṣaṭa dv whipping; snatching up
lašt n type of fish
latta dv slapping
latta’a dv slapping
laṭmīt n slap
law n lip; edge
maddit n distance
madfa n cannon
madrēgē n rooftop stairs; ladder
madrēsit n school
madwax n pipe (for smoking)
madya dv being lost
mafsal pā n.com ankle
magdab n container for drawing water from a well
maglis n sheikh’s court
mağrab n west
maḥana dv bothering
maḥdaqa n fish habitat
maḥḥar n oyster
maḥja dv pleading a case, explaining a problem
maḥjad n needing
maḥmas n bread lifter (tool)
maḥram n marriageable person
maḥrēgit n.infl dump
maḥzam n belt; cartridge-belt
majima dv word; language
makara dv being devious
makarōna n pasta
maktab n office
malaka dv giving wedding ring
malbaq n matches
malkut n silver anklet
malla dv being bored
maltaqa dv meeting face-to-face
malyūn n million
mal’ab n pitch (football field)
mammū adj illegal
man n traditional measure (4 kg)
mangur n wheel
manjum n mine (for minerals)
mankab n elbow
manqāb n beak
manqāb n type of shark
manqāḥ n traditional restaurant
manqar n wood chisel
manšāb n birdlime
manṭa n marlin
manṭara n mirror
maqbērit n grave
maqfaṭ n trap
maqī n myrrh
maqqā dv coming apart; taking apart
maqṣa n small metal chisel
marada dv being unemployed
marāḍa dv being profoundly ill
marāğa dv being exhausted
marāba dv resting during travel
marasa dv softening
mard n man
mardk- n man
marē adv perhaps
marfēṣit n stairs to roof
marg n death
marḥaba interj greetings!
marfī’t n necklace
markūṭi n.com.infl fish caller

Appendix 2: Lexicon

mabrūk interj congratulations!
madda dv extending

lawağă dv smearing
lawaṭa dv shrivelling; wrinkling; being weak
lawt n.der weak person or thing, withered thing
lawya dv curling up/around; rolling up; wrapping
lawyit n wrapping
layaka dv leaking
laymay n.prop Lima
la’aba dv roaring
la’ata dv panting
la’la’a dv being parched with thirst
lawaža dv being on one’s deathbed
la’yay dv being late; making someone late
lāḥit adv it is necessary that; certainly
lāğan n bowl
lāğā n language
lāḥafi n type of fish
lākō n type of fish
lāmū n chewing
lāqab n nickname
lāṭī adj short (non-human); low; few
lāzum adv it is necessary that; certainly; must
lāzuq n type of fish
lā’illāhī interj.com O God!
lbān n frankincense
lē n fishing net
lēdām n type of fish
lēlām n; interj peddling; goods for sale!
lēt n electric light
lētāb n type of wild fig
lētum n orphan
lēwan n alcove, space in a building
li kūkū n.com gill net
likk n quantity of one hundred thousand
likkit n.der roundness, fatness
līkit n finger
līkit pā n.com toe
līzq n bandage
lībū n swat
līf n date palm root strands; scouring pad
līmē dv gesturing to call someone far away
līmō n lime
lōḥya n beans
lōḥ n wood
lōsān n perfume, aftershave
lōṭī n wild-living person
luṭū n riddle
lumbā n sea urchin
lumrād adv in any case
lupp n marrow
lutti n collection of scattered items
lū n means
lū conj so that ... not; preventing
lūgū n whack
lūlū n type of date
lūlū n eye (children’s speech)
lūmū n blame; accusation

M

M
marr n quantity of fifty items
marr a dv meeting
marr a dv disappearing
marrē adv really
masbah n shower (place)
mat adj tired, tiresome
maxn n metal bowl with handles
masya n evening
masya būrī interj.com good evening!
masa dv sucking
maš ve see, look:2sIMPER
mask n goatskin for churning
maskat n.prop Muscat
masraq n east
masšīt n walking; speed
matal n proverb
matraqi n bobbin
matta dv cleaning up, cleaning out, scrubbing, wiping, sweeping away
mat’ar n outdoor bathing area
matba n kitchen
matlī’n strong east wind
matmatu dv tying with cord
matraqua n hammer
matrub n minstrel
matṭār n hot-water bottle
mat’am n restaurant
mawara dv congratulations
mawsīqat n tying
mawz n banana
maxbāz n bakery
maxlab n claw
maxlēdi adj pertaining to the date palm
maxluq n person; living being
maxluṭ adj mixed
maxnāt n gay man
maxraż n laces
maxzan n storage depot
may n fish
mayg n shrimp
mayka prep between, among
maykar n middle
maylad n birthday; wedding poetry
maysānī type of fish
mayšatā n palm frond broom
maywa n produce (food)
maywuz n raisins
mayya prep between, among; midst
mažraẓ n type of fish
ma’dafl n undersea mountain
ma’laq n coat hanger
ma’laq sīna n.com lungs
ma’na n meaning, importance
ma’r n tattoo
ma n month
mann 1p (first person plural pronoun)
ma aft n.com July
ma ast n.com August
ma čať n.com April
ma da’ n.com October
mā dō n.com February
mā dwāzd n.com December
mā na’ n.com September
mā pān n.com May
mā sō n.com March
mā šaš n.com June
mā yak n.com January
mā yāzd n.com November
mād v stay:REAL
mād disc things stayed as they were
mādad n octopus ink
māl adj; n beautiful; excellent; wealth
māla[i]a n wealth of God (beggar)
mām n mother
mām abū kō n.com butterfly
māmadī n type of fish
mān v stay:ROOT, IMPER, IRR
māqulē interj really!!
mār adj awake, alert
mār n snake
mārad n desire, reason, account
māraq n throat (outer)
māraq n sauce; soup; broth; rice water
māraqt n chest congestion
mārarit n bile
māraṣin n intestines
mārānī n type of eel
mās v stay:PERF
māšuwē n skiff
māw n metal, steel
māwrid n rosewater
māya n payment for fishing
māyikan n handle on a traditional boat
māzad n increase; addition; hurry
māzādī adv.der a lot
mdallē n coffeepot/carafe
mē 1s (first person singular pronoun)
mēčūrī n fish soup
mēd n type of fish
mēdīh n tribute (oration)
mēdiq n type of date
mēkana n motor
mēlat n bowl
mēlīt n boredom
mēmit n style of tying men’s headdress
mēna n port
mēnū n move aside; disallowing
mēš v see, look:at:ROOT, IMPER, IRR
mēš n fly
mēš n walk; flight; working (in working order); spread (of fire)
mēš ḥasal n.com bee
mēšid v see, show:REAL
mēšis v see, show:PERF
mētar n electrical meter (buildings)
mētaw n moon
mētaw n full moon
mēyam n hull
mgāl n headdress rings
mḥallātō n.infl the shops
mḥāfiḏ n governor
mḥāmadi n currency unit
mhuwwil n power bar (set of electrical outlets)
mīchē pb.com however
mīṭē pb.com whatever; everything; all kinds
middah n young, strapping person
middīt n a while
midum adv as long as
miɣlya pb.com wherever
mihā n seine net rope
mijnāz n type of date
mikē pb.com whoever
milla n devout person
millas n ladle
mintab n hooked stick to pull fish nets
mirr n myrrh
misbaḥ n prayer beads
miskin adj pitiable
mismar n clove; nail (metal)
miswak n toothbrushing stick
mišk n mouse
miyyit n dead person
miẓ n type of tree
miʃar n saw
miẓān n scale (for weighing)
mif n fish
miʃum n metal studs
mkabb n cone
mkindī n type of fish
mnaxx n large hook
mōnū n type, kind
mōtar n car
mōzar n drawing water; filling to overflowing
mqāṣṣ n scissors
mqawwa n plywood; linoleum
mqawwil n travel agency
mqābalit n meeting
mqāwil n large-scale merchant; large business transaction
mrabbā n lumber
mrāja n appointment (meeting)
mrād n desire, reason, account
mrū n chicken
msajal n device for playing recorded music
msandam n.prop Musandam Island
msaww n fishing net weight
msilman n Muslim
msīr n trip (travel)
mṣart n men’s headdress (turban)
mṣaww n barnacle
mṣibbit n calamy
mṣabb n hand-held fan (esp. of woven palm leaf)
ṃṭār n label
mugīya pb everywhere; anywhere
mugh n date palm
mugītī n type of venomous snake
mughū n mix-up
mukkir adj devious
mur v die:ROOT, IRR
murd v die:REAL
murdēgân n.infl.pl the dead
murḥūn adj late (deceased)
murs v die:PERF
murwa barrō n.com domestic chicken
murwa kō‘ō n.com sandgrouse
murwaḥ n flat place
muʃkilt adj difficult
muxwaš n pin to clean waterpipe holes
muxx n head
muẓgit n mosque
muẓlaq adj stuck
mü n hair
müll n; adv total; totally
müṣiqā n music
mwāṭan n cherished person
mīẓāz n very salty thing
m’alāyē n type of men’s dance
m’āš n salary

N

na rel of which
na clit NEG not
nabaḥa dv yelping
nadaba dv giving a war cry
nadama dv regretting
nadbit n.der war cry
nafala dv being messy, scattered about
nafasa dv breathing
nafaṭa dv shaking
nafaxa dv blowing
naffa dv sprinkling (scattered raindrops)
nafnaf n scattered raindrops
nafs det same
nagrō n type of fish
nāghara dv spanning
nāḏnaḏa dv leeching off of other people
nahaba dv robbing
nahasa dv being unlucky
nabhā n henna (child’s speech)
nahlit n.der nosy person
nahs n unlucky person
nahaja dv passing (test)
nakaba dv stubbing
nakara dv hiding; missing
nakata dv dripping
naktē n; det small amount; bit, a bit; a few
nall n faucet
namakī n salty snacks
nammōnūt n.der amazing, extraordinary
naqaba dv pecking
naqada n seeing from a distance
naqala dv disappearing
naqashā dv decorating
naqṣāta dv dripping, coming out one at a time
naqī n cash
naqmīt n.der judgment
naqqā n com beating (heart)
nakkab n beak
naqqādē n far-seeing person
naqṣ n design
naqta n drop; pollen
narm adj soft
nasala dv coming into view; approaching
nasama dv giving birth
nasaxa dv breathing
nasabīa dv standing
nasabīa dv dividing in half
nasara dv winning
našada dv concerning oneself with
našara dv sprouting; spreading; communicating
našāa dv snatching
naša dv buzzed (from drink)
naťa dv plucking
naťa dv butting (with the head)
naťa dv awaiting
naťa dv jumping
nawara dv illuminating
nawaxa dv being extremely ill
nawl n fare
nawxasa n young man
naxa prep aboard (a vehicle)
naxara dv sneering
naxaxa dv poking
naxbara dv cracking
nayama dv laid up; admitted to hospital
naša ḏa ḏraining
naša ḏa ḏcoming down; bringing down
našu n pristine situation, crystal-clear view
na num′ nine
na′aba dv plundering
na′mit n blessing
na′na′a dv bleating
na′śī n north-northeast wind; nor′easter
na′ṭ n carpet
naḥbat n date palm pollen
naḥbīṭi adj vegetable
naḥī n gull
naḏur n clever person
naḡil n coconut; waterpipe chamber
naḡruẓ n first month of autumn
naḡal n type of date
naḡaš n type of shrub used for kindling
naḡur n type of shrub
naḥiyit n melody
nām n name
nām n bread
nāsax n breath
nāšabā ḏv after a while
nāšī ᷁. n.dar north and northeast wind; nor′easter
nāšī ārābī n.com north wind
nāšī fāršī n.com northeast wind
nāstā n breakfast
nāwā ḏg navel
nāwukō n type of shark
nāxē n beginning of fishing net rope
nāyīlō n nylon thread
nēbī n.prop the prophet
nēdur n sacrificing; providing a meal; requesting
something from God
nēfif n scattered raindrops
nēfur n west/northwest wind
nēgar n ebbing tide
nējīb n brilliant person, very intelligent person
nēṯ n shared food
nēxan n aboard
nēzik adj; n near; close relative
nēl n headdress rings
nēdāra n glasses
nēglis n elaborate gold necklace
nējjar n carpenter; boatbuilder
nēšīl n fishing line
nēšīt n flag
nēši v sit, stay:ROOT, REAL, PERF
nītār n stone anchor, weight
nīxī n nail (finger/toe); claw
nīxīrī n peas, chickpeas
nīyyīt n harmful plan; devising
nīḍī n dew, mist
nīm der half
nīman n.com traditional measure (2 kg)
nīmrūz n.com noon, early afternoon, height of the
day, heat of the day
nō adj new
nōf n surrender flag
nōr n radiance; illumination; shining
nōwad num ninety
nōxada n Ar: captain (of a ship)
nōzda num nineteen
nōr n treats; sweets
nuṣīn n.infl emotionally sensitive person
nuṣṭēubō n value
num n cloud
nummaḏ n; det half
numr n leopard, panther, tiger
nuṣīrī n careful clean-out
nuṣnuṣī n small portion
nuṣīrīt n nose
nādō n sleepiness
nwāṣam n evening; this evening
nwāxa n captain (ship); commanding (ship)
nwāxistin n evening prayer
nwāz n tomorrow; the next day
nwāz n prayer
nwāz ēwis n.com the day after tomorrow
n′āṭ n strength, willpower, resolve

ō part what?!
-ō n.sfx the (definiteness suffix)
ōbī n soothing (infant)
ōbur n vessel (boat)
ōd interj knock-knock!
ōdad v hold:REAL
ōdar v hold:REAL
ōdas v hold:PERF
ōdi! interj heave! (call to pull boat ashore)
ōfur n west/northwest wind
ōgār n ebbing tide
ōjūžī n old person
ōkid v hit:REAL
ōkis v hit:PERF
ōkit v hit:PERF
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pīšin</td>
<td>noon prayer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plīṭa</td>
<td>wick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pnēr</td>
<td>cheese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pōkō</td>
<td>salty snack; popcorn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pōr v</td>
<td>f ly; ROOT, IMPER, IRR, MIR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pōrid v</td>
<td>REAL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pōrīn</td>
<td>a while ago</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pōritis v</td>
<td>fly; PERF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pōstīn</td>
<td>skin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pōstīnō‘ō</td>
<td>n.com goatskin hung on a boat’s prow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>puryā</td>
<td>n flowing tide</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pūpū</td>
<td>n robe, dress, dishdasha (children’s speech)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pxa n.prop</td>
<td>Bukha (town)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pxūn</td>
<td>n approaching rain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pačaxēn</td>
<td>small wooden chest; phonograph</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pakkīs n</td>
<td>cowrie shell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>palla</td>
<td>dv full of; filling; full thing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pang</td>
<td>n poker at the top of a palm tree; sword</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>panj</td>
<td>num five</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>panja</td>
<td>num fifty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>panka</td>
<td>num fan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pānsūmbur n.com</td>
<td>Thursday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paqpaqa</td>
<td>dv churning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paqqūt</td>
<td>n spot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>par</td>
<td>n feather</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pašmak</td>
<td>n Iranian sweet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pašṭīn</td>
<td>num afternoon prayer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paw</td>
<td>num type of ray</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>payman</td>
<td>n armspan (2 m)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pā’n</td>
<td>adj wide, fat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pān</td>
<td>foot/leg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pāča sūd</td>
<td>wealthy person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pāk</td>
<td>adj clean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pānda</td>
<td>num fifteen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pārawē</td>
<td>n type of fish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pārin</td>
<td>n last year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pčāl</td>
<td>adj soiled; even</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pē adv also</td>
<td>also</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pēčak</td>
<td>n wooden club</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pēčak n</td>
<td>type of shark</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pēdatam</td>
<td>n swelling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pēna prep</td>
<td>beside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pēnum</td>
<td>n lantern</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pērar</td>
<td>n two/several years ago</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pēšē</td>
<td>n coin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pēš n adv</td>
<td>front; in front of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pis n possess</td>
<td>son</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pistan</td>
<td>num breast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pistaq n</td>
<td>pistachio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pišt n prep</td>
<td>after/beyond; according to; because of; back</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pišt n</td>
<td>shallows far from land</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pištū n</td>
<td>num afternoon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pištūt adj数</td>
<td>following, next</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pīza prep.com</td>
<td>under</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pī n fat</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>pīma n</td>
<td>onion, green onion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pip n</td>
<td>beef (child’s language)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pīro n</td>
<td>grandfather; ancestor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>piś n</td>
<td>date palm frond or leaf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qa jannur n.com</td>
<td>type of date</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qa jā’far n.com</td>
<td>type of date</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qa şunrē n.com</td>
<td>type of date</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qa şurbē n.com</td>
<td>type of date</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qabaḥa dv</td>
<td>disfiguring</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qabbē n.prop</td>
<td>Qaba (village)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qaqbāb n</td>
<td>small crab; quick person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qad n measurement</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qadaḥa dv</td>
<td>walking about; blowing hard (wind); impaired (mental state)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qadama dv</td>
<td>stepping forward</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qadar det</td>
<td>some</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qadara dv</td>
<td>being able</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qaqduḥ n</td>
<td>type of date</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qafala dv</td>
<td>locking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qafl adj, der</td>
<td>locked</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qaḥama dv</td>
<td>jumping; jumping up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qaḥba n female prostate</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qaḥmit n jumping up</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qaḥwēn coffee</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qalaḥa dv</td>
<td>turning over</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qalafa dv</td>
<td>making from wood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qalb n</td>
<td>pendant necklace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qallaf n</td>
<td>carpenter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qałma’a dv</td>
<td>wrangling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qałyā n sauce</td>
<td>stew</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qaṁbāb n</td>
<td>type of fish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qaṁbusṣō n</td>
<td>hedgehog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qaṁsama dv</td>
<td>murmuring</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qaṇaṣa dv</td>
<td>shooting; hunting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qaṇḍaḥa n</td>
<td>rainbow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qaṇib n small anchor</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qaṇmīt n stacking</td>
<td>(dried fish)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qaṇṣ n shooting, hunting</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qaṣpē n spoon</td>
<td>rounded chisel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qaraḥa dv dropping very low (water)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qarama dv</td>
<td>denigrating; gossiping</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qaraṣa dv</td>
<td>pinching</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qaraṭa dv</td>
<td>bruising</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qaraṣa dv</td>
<td>rumbling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qar qarn</td>
<td>horn; pointed stud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qarraś n</td>
<td>mosquito</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qart n loan</td>
<td>money</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qartabō n type of fish</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>qaryīt n village</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>qar’ā n type of large louse</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>qar’ā n middle buoy in a fishing net</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>qar’ā n squash</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>qāš tābayaq n.com type of date</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qāṣada dv intending; directing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qāṣala dv breaking (something small)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qāṣama dv dividing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qāṣaṣa dv cutting</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qāṣṣ n scissors</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qāṣṣa dv cutting; cutting a deal; splitting</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>qāṣ ŏrās n.com type of date</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qāṣ ḫāṇaš n.com type of date</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qāṣ māšlafl n.com type of date</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qāṣ xurṣid n.com type of date</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qāṣara dv scraping</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qāṣa’a dv tipping over</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qāṣ n type of date</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>qāṣsad n shark sauce</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>qāṭa’ā dv cutting off</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qāṭā’t it scabbard, sheath</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qāṭqāṭa dv tickling</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qawala dv singing qawl (short poems)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qawaqā dv trumpeting</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>qawlī dv strong</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>qawl n short poem</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>qawm n group</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>qawqawa dv crowing (rooster)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>qaww n permission; agreement</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>qawwa n plywood</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>qawyē dv corrupt</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>qayyatan n embroidery</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>qayd n bond; leash, lead; cuff, fetter</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qaym adf.der standing</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>qażam n puny person or thing</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>qā ideophone caw! (sound of crow)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>qāba n shirt</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>qādān container</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qādam n end of fishing net rope</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>qādar n respect</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>qāḍī n judge</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qāḥwē n coffee</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>qāḥlam n pen; waterpipe mouthpiece</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qāḥlub n large buoy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qāmārī n night wind</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qāmēt n waking up very early; rising very early</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qāmī nwāź n.com early morning prayer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qāmuṣ n dictionary</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qānūn n shooting, hunting</td>
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<tr>
<td>qānun n law/custom</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>qāḥt n type of fish</td>
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<tr>
<td>qāq ideophone crowing (rooster)</td>
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<tr>
<td>qāqá n date (children’s speech)</td>
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<tr>
<td>qāqum adf up (children’s speech)</td>
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<tr>
<td>qār n paved surface</td>
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<tr>
<td>qāṣaṣa n cage</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>qāṣṣ n intention; working on something; taking care of something</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qāṣū n premature baby</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
rit adj dirty
rīm n pus/abcess
rīm n beautiful woman
rīq n throat (inner); saliva
rīš n beard
rīša n pick (for stringed instruments)
rīsū n type of goatfish
rkāḥ n sandal; shoe
rmīm det myriad
rō v go:ROOT
rōb n yoghourt
rōbāyō n type of fish
rōh n soul; depression in lower throat; enjoyment
rōk n.infl boy
rōqum n number
rōn n child
rōwn n oil
rōz n day
rōzāg n adj fast; fasting
rōzīn n vent window
rōzō n.infl today
ršās n lead (metal); silver (colour); bullet
ršād n pestle
ršēš n neem tree
rubāt n type of stingray
rubyan n prawns
rubī n; num quarter; traditional measure (1 kg)
rubkid n.der knee
rubkūdū dv mounting (animal)
rupplī n rupee
ruqq n shallow place
ruṭūbit n humidity
rū n face; front; side
rwał v run:IMPF
ryādūt n physical exercise
ryāni adj naked
rzāq n provisions

S
sabara dv night watch; guarding
sabb n dv being vulgar, rude, improper
sabbīt n der vulgarity
sabgī n dice
sabū n type of fish
sadd n dam; pact
sadda dv settling; having a pact
safalī n drying
safara dv travelling
safara dv rotting, turning mouldy, discolouring
saffa dv weave (palm work); braid, plait
sağ n dog; detestable person
sağānā dv reserved for
sağānā dv dragging
sağhē n type of dance
sağada dv worshipping
sağalā dv recording
sakana dv inhabiting; dwelling
sakara dv being drunk
sakara dv blocking, stuffing, constipating
sakata dv being silent
salaṣya dv armed
salama dv making safe; reconciling; making sure;
completing a transaction
salaxa dv skinning (animal); taking off one’s shirt
salām alēkum express peace be upon you
salj n ice
sallē n laundry basket
salq n type of large battil (boat)
samaḥa dv excusing, forgiving
samakin n.infl fisher
samatā dv poisoning
sama’ā dv listening
samba n fenugreek
samma n.der poison
samma dv pushing; heaving; starting something
difficult
samsābal n peanut
sandāqa n goat pen
sangī adj heavy
sanksar n type of fish
santala dv reforming
sapt n Saturday
saqī n ceiling
saqqā n type of bird
sar n head; top; mountain peak; lid; concern; cape
sar sālō n.com.infl new year
saramīk n floor tiles
sard adj cold; calm, slow to react (person)
sarf n small change (money)
sarī h n herd
sarm n date palm sapling
sarma n cold
sawaxa dv listening
sawdāna dv knocking out
sawgārd n cormorant
sawgī n jeweller
sawgāt n treats
sawkē n red algal bloom
sawz adj green
saxt adj thick, fat, solid
say n traditional net
sayb n stray gunshots
saydī v lift up, rise:REAL
saykal n bicycle
sayr n category of dates
sayrs v lift up:PERF
sayvy v lift up, rise:ROOT, IMPER, MIR, IMPF
sayya dv picking up; picked up; catching; caught
sa’āla dv coughing
sa’aya dv forgetting
sa’k n fishy thing (hand)
sa’n n plate/dish
sā disk now; at that time; now (reproach)
sābab n reason
sābalō n monkey
sāban n wasp nest
sādū n help
sāfar n.der trip
sāfīn n type of fish
sāgā n type of fishing net
sāl  n year
sālam  n peace; greetings
sālāwī  n breeze from the east
sālīf  n conversation; true story; account; scenario
sāmā  n heaven
sāmār  n soot
sāmāwī adj light blue
sāmūhī a.der forgiveness; excuse
sān v shave:ROOT, IMPF, IMPER
sānd v shave:REAL
sāns v shave:PERF
sāq  n tree trunk
sāṭeq adj now; at that time
sāwarāq  n fish brine condiment
sāxī  n bow (of boat)
sāyā  n shadow
sāyasir adj halfway, balanced
sā'īt  n hour; clock
sābō  n week
sē v put:IMPF
sēd  n thoughts turning around in one’s mind
sēfī  n big spender
sēḥak  n guitarfish
sēlam  n type of acacia tree
sēlamit n.der: interj safety, health; get well soon!
sēlējē  n morgue
sēlik  n morf eel
sēr adj full (of food)
sēr nāwaq n.com umbilical cord
sērīr  n bed
sēwō  n dye
sāyāyam  n traditional bed; platform
sēṣda  n.com thirteen
sḥabba dv loving
sīfūk  n type of fish
ṣīh  n easy thing
sīkkan  n rudder
sīkkara adv.com three times
sīkkē  n stern (back of ship)
sīkkit  n avenue
sīkl  n Cobia fish
sīkya  n traditional measure (½ kg)
sīlsīlit  n descendant
sīnn  n net anchor
sīnnit  n sunna; voluntary ritual prayer
sīnsla  n metal chain
sīrg  n palm-frond shelter
sīṛg  n saddle
sīrīx adj; n red; gold (metal)
sīst adj loose
sītrab  n type of plant
sītraq  n razor blade
sītraq n type of fish
sīttāre  n curtain
sīxxam  n charcoal
sīya adj black
sīyāḥa  n tourist
sīyyādit  n prayer carpet
sīyyāli  n tar
sīyyārit  n car
sī num thirty
sī v put:IMPF, IMPER
sīd v put:REAL
ṣif  n beach
ṣiflindō n type of eel
ṣīh n wilderness; open rocky area
ṣīh n large swells (waves)
ṣīhū n pulling fish into a net
sīna prep chest; front; toward
sīšī n pee (children’s speech)
sīfaya  n concealing
skandarkas n.prop Orion’s belt (stars)
sīndan n type of fish
sīndar  n gas cylinder; coal box
sīlāh  n weaponry
sma n type of drum
smēt  n palm floor mat
sīmīt  n cement
sīnumm  n wimp
sō num three
sō v put, survive:ROOT, IMPF, IMPER, MIR, IRR
sōd v put:REAL
sōk adj light (weight)
sōntī  n raft
sōq  n market
sōr  n seawater; salt fish; brine; pickled food
sōs v put:PERF
spēr  n white; silver
sranDal  n gas cylinder
srār  n bunch
srō  n genre of sung poetry
staği  n pit (date)
stağ  n citoris
stād  n professor
stārg  n star
stār  n storage depot
subbaḥ  n light colour, brightness
suffit  n palm work
sufflā  n braid; braiding
sumsum  n type of beetle
suqāb  n type of fruit
surbān  n roof
suṣumbar n.com Tuesday
sūmī  n price request, offer
sūqū n driving; gathering in large numbers
sūr  n wedding
sūrū  n wasp
swāk adj light (weight)
swētar  n coat
swēč  n vehicle ignition switch; vehicle keys
sīfaya  n concealing
s’al  n question

Ş
ṣabağā dv decorating
ṣabağā dv waking up
ṣabba dv smearing; plastering; giving an excess of something
ṣabbīt n.der sealant, plaster
ṣabha būri interj.com good morning!
ṣabṣaba dv piling on top
sad num hundred
ṣadaqa dv believing, trusting
ṣadda dv blocking
ṣdq adj.der honest
ṣdqit n.der performing charity work; blessing the dead
ṣafqa dv clapping
ṣafara dv whistling
ṣaff n grade (school level)
ṣaffa dv progressing
ṣafrit n whistling
ṣafṣuf n sparrow
ṣahmit n government social assistance
ṣahara dv enchanting
ṣahb n.der morning
ṣahh adj true; right
ṣahhiit n health
ṣahne n crushed dried sardines
ṣahra n desert
ṣalahva dv pissing; driving rain
ṣamm n hardness; hard thing
ṣamm adj deaf
ṣanduh n forehead
ṣantara n tangerine
ṣahva dv levelling
ṣawara dv photographing
ṣawz n green
ṣayaha dv calling; shouting
ṣa’ada dv climbing in (a vehicle)
ṣabun n soap
ṣabuj n jellyfish
ṣafayah n hinge
ṣahb n owner; manager; boss
ṣahar n sorcerer; clever person; crazy person; fierce person; sorcery
ṣaharē n cabinetry
ṣil n type of fish
ṣim n handle
ṣimur n stone weight for fishing
ṣīmnam n idol
ṣaqatan n type of tuna fish
ṣärn n type of queenfish
ṣawarag n type of plant
ṣawawē n type of fish
ṣēdīq n friend
ṣērah n animal’s milk
ṣēram n type of net; container for fresh fish
ṣēfīf n lintel
ṣīll n fish oil wood sealant
ṣīm’ n type of rifle
ṣirx adj red; gold
ṣirx n calm (sea)
ṣīsxam n charcoal
ṣīm n shin
ṣnafē n type of rabbitfish
ṣōbur n waiting time
ṣōf n wool
ṣōman n type of fish
ṣubbah n radiance
ṣurf n copper, brass
ṣufrit n make-up (face)
ṣufrit n type of bird
ṣuşuf n sparrow
ṣubbū dv dragging
ṣulh n peace
ṣumr n type of acacia tree
ṣuntwan n pillar, column (of building)
ṣuqr n osprey, falcon
ṣu’b adj difficult
ṣūrit n photograph
ṣūzin n needle (medicinal)
swāl n question; asking
ṣāba ha dv tying on
ṣābaka dv fixing, riveted
ṣābaṣa dv clambering up
ṣaba’a dv resembling
ṣabba dv shining
ṣabbē n deodorant powder
ṣaddit n tension, pull; dispute
ṣafta dv inhaling
ṣāgala dv working; turning on
ṣākara dv thanking
ṣaṣkār n diabetes
ṣākasa dv cutting (palm leaves)
ṣākkit n ache in abdomen or chest
ṣakl n appearance; similarity
ṣaja’a dv supporting
ṣalala dv being lame
ṣal n spear
ṣallīt n type of dance
ṣalwāl n pants (trousers)
ṣalwar n pants (trousers)
ṣamata dv individual dancing, bellydancing
ṣambara dv staggering; walking unsteadily
ṣamraxa dv scratching
ṣamīr n sword
ṣamsīrī n.der sawfish
ṣam’a n sword
ṣan pn 3p (third person plural pronoun)
ṣang n comb
ṣang n butterflyfish
ṣangaw n type of crab
ṣantā n bag
ṣaqqa dv accuse
ṣaqqit n slitting in half (fish)
ṣaqṣaqa dv being funny, being giggly
ṣaraba dv drinking
ṣaraqa dv choking
ṣaraqa dv dawning
ṣarara dv drying
ṣārāxa dv splitting
ṣara’a dv docking; putting up in (lodging)
ṣarbaqa dv tangling
ṣarg n fast person or thing
ṣarm n shame; inhibition
ṣarqū n east
ṣarrax n straddled leg
ṣartaq adj choppy (seas)
ṣart n condition (requirement); demand made of a
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>تَكْنَ n date syrup basket</td>
<td>tēl v leave, let:IMPF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>تَكْتَوْنَ interj come! (said to cats)</td>
<td>tēlā āwan n.com place where the waves wash onto the shore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>تَكْنُ interj come! (said to cats)</td>
<td>tēla n inner railing (boat)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>تَكْيَتَ n leaning; back cushion</td>
<td>tēmiš v see, show:IMPF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>تَلَافَأَ n telephone</td>
<td>tēnār v hide:IMPF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>تَلَافِقَ n peeling</td>
<td>tēnur n stone oven</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>تَلَفْنَ n television</td>
<td>tērā n way</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>تَلَفَرَ n ice</td>
<td>tērās v vomit:IMPF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>تَلَفْنَ n being vagrant</td>
<td>tērigīt n wedding poem; eulogy poem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>تَلَبَār v load, carry off:IMPF</td>
<td>tēriy v grind:IMPF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>تَلَبَّلِنَ n wattles (goats’ neck appendages); pair of headdress ring tassels</td>
<td>tēš n scythe-like axe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>تَلَمَحَنَ conj; evid then; SENS (sensory evidential)</td>
<td>tēxa n goat hair rope</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>تَلَمْشَ v sweep/wipe:IMPF</td>
<td>tēţ adj sharp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>تَلَمَشَ v sit, stay:IMPF</td>
<td>tfān v send, throw:IMPF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>تَلَقَ نَ v knocking; hitting; tapping</td>
<td>tfōšn v sell:IMPF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>تَلْقُبَانِ adv almost</td>
<td>tīhādī n type of fish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>تَلَقْمَنَ n calendar</td>
<td>tik dv slitting (fish)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-تَتَ.sfx more</td>
<td>tikš v kill:IMPF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>تَلْبَحُنَ n vaccination</td>
<td>tilq adj open</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>تَلَوَنَ n sickness</td>
<td>timī n type of shrub</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>تَلَوَقَ dv whipping</td>
<td>timpēdar adj half-dressed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>تَلَوَقَ dv coming:IMPF; approximately</td>
<td>timsah n crocodile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>تَلَوْقُ v come:IMPF</td>
<td>tīn n thin thing; slicing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>تَلَوْقَ dv tiring</td>
<td>tīr n fast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>تَلَوْقَ dv stuttering</td>
<td>tirš n sourness, sour thing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>تَلْوَمَ n one; one by one; one each</td>
<td>tixxēnit n type of shark</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>تَلَوْحَ n storey</td>
<td>tixxēnit milkfish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>تَلَوَّنَ n ceiling</td>
<td>tiss n small fast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>تَلَوَّبَ n trap fish:IMPF</td>
<td>tī v become:IMPF, IRR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>تَلَوْنَ n gun</td>
<td>tīn n fig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>تَلَوْنَ n crown; crest (bird)</td>
<td>firma n first month of winter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>تَلَوْنَ n platter</td>
<td>tîs n tale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>تَلَوَّنَ v stay:IMPF</td>
<td>tîs n chick; coward</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>تَلَوْنَ n stay:IMPF</td>
<td>tk v do:IMPF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>تَلَوْنَ n second (of time)</td>
<td>tkard v drop, plunge:IMPF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>تَلَوْنَ v come:IMPF</td>
<td>tkāš v cultivate:IMPF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>تَلَوْنَ n cover:IMPF</td>
<td>tkē v fall:IMPF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>تَلَوْنَ v bring, pluck:IMPF</td>
<td>tkēk v repetition of words for clarification</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>تَلَوْنَ n load</td>
<td>tkēn v dig, put away:IMPF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>تَلَوْنَ v pull, pass over, catch (fish), dish out:IMPF</td>
<td>tkēš v pull, throw:IMPF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>تَلَوْنَ v hit:IMPF</td>
<td>tkī v fall:IMPF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>تَلَوْنَ v back:IMPF</td>
<td>tkō v fall:IMPF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>تَلَوْنَ v advise:IMPF</td>
<td>tkōša v advise:IMPF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>تَلَوْنَ n balance (for weighing)</td>
<td>tō pn 2s (second person singular pronoun)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>تَلَوْنَ n ablings</td>
<td>tō v become:IMPF, IRR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>تَلَوْنَ n history</td>
<td>tōdar v hold:IMPF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>تَلَوْنَ n container</td>
<td>tōkt v hit:IMPF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>تَلَوْنَ v want:IMPF, IRR</td>
<td>tōmān n former currency unit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>تَلَوْنَ v walking (children’s speech)</td>
<td>tōpur v fly:IMPF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>تَلَوْنَ n hand (children’s speech)</td>
<td>tōr n bull; large, stupid person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>تَلَوْنَ n convex metal bread pan</td>
<td>tōxār v dive:IMPF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>تَلَوْنَ v pull, throw:IMPF</td>
<td>tō’at v become:IRR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>تَلَوْنَ n traditions, heritage</td>
<td>trās n traditions, heritage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>تَلَوْنَ n distorted</td>
<td>trēs v arrive, reach:IMPF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>تَلَوْنَ n ceiling</td>
<td>trēţ v pour:IMPF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>تَلَوْنَ n wheel</td>
<td>trinj n citron</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>تَلَوْنَ n merchant</td>
<td>trīk n light bulb, electric light</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>تَلَوْنَ n wheel</td>
<td>tsayy v lift:IMPF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>tuḥr</strong></td>
<td>v accomplish (sign contract): IMPF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>tuffaḥ</strong></td>
<td>n apple</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>tuffe</strong></td>
<td>n type of seed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>tumbak</strong></td>
<td>n tobacco</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>tumī</strong></td>
<td>n type of tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>tumr</strong></td>
<td>v die: IMPF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>tuṣs</strong></td>
<td>v fear: ROOT, IMPER, IMPF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>tuṣs</strong></td>
<td>v fear: REAL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>tuṣs</strong></td>
<td>v fear: PERF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>turwā</strong></td>
<td>v run: IMPF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ṭūrās</strong></td>
<td>n palm work (weaving palm leaves)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ṭūṭu</strong></td>
<td>n scattered raindrops</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ṭwākal</strong></td>
<td>n pure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ṭwākš</strong></td>
<td>v open: IMPF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ṭwāl</strong></td>
<td>n knotted scarf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ṭwām</strong></td>
<td>n pair of twins</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ṭwāra</strong></td>
<td>n shelter; doing rotten things to someone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ṭxāy</strong></td>
<td>v bite: IMPF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ṭxēn</strong></td>
<td>v laugh: IMPF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ṭxēr</strong></td>
<td>v buy: IMPF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ṭxōr</strong></td>
<td>v eat, drink: IMPF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ṭxwā</strong></td>
<td>v sleep: IMPF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ṭxwān</strong></td>
<td>v read: IMPF; put or push down: IMPF</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| **ṭāba** | dv playing the drum |
| **ṭaba** | dv wetting |
| **ṭaban** | dv cooking |
| **ṭabl** | n type of drum |
| **ṭaṣa** | dv rotting |
| **ṭaḥ** | n bitterness; bitter thing |
| **ṭah** | adj pure |
| **ṭalā’a** | dv going up; growing up; deriving; restoring; exorcising |
| **ṭal’it** | n sitting in a boat waiting for fish |
| **ṭamara** | dv completely burying |
| **ṭambur** | n log |
| **ṭamma** | dv being selfish |
| **ṭaraqa** | dv prompting |
| **ṭarb** | n wound; blow |
| **ṭarḥ** | n netting. type of fishing net |
| **ṭarra** | dv ripping |
| **ṭarraq** | n prompter |
| **ṭarrādē** | n motorboat |
| **ṭarz** | n model (manufactured item) |
| **ṭawya** | dv winding |
| **ṭa’** | τa’ ‘interj.com come! (said to sheep) |
| **ṭa’r** | n flat area (on land or in water), plateau, ledge |
| **ṭabar** | n stupid person |
| **ṭābug** | n brick, cement block |
| **ṭāf** | n rope around fishing net edge |
| **ṭāf** | n twenty-four hour gale |
| **ṭāfur** | n type of shrub; auburn hair colour |
| **ṭāgiyit** | n dictator |
| **ṭālab** | n fishing instructions |
| **ṭālaq** | n divorce |
| **ṭālūb** | n amount owning |
| **ṭālū** | n looking |
| **ṭāma** | n solemn charge, commission |
| **ṭāmū** | n taste |

| **ṭāraf** | n side |
| **ṭāriš** | n messenger |
| **ṭāzaq** | adj messenger |
| **ṭēṣ** | adj fresh; unripe |
| **ṭēr** | n bird |
| **ṭēr ṉābl** | n.com type of gull |
| **ṭēz** | adj sharp |
| **ṭfār** | n diaper (nappie) |
| **ṭiyar** | adj ready; finished |
| **ṭiyārī** | n airplane, flight |
| **ṭōbī** | n type of drum |
| **ṭrādīn** | n.imfl motorboat driver |
| **ṭrajē** | n motorboat |
| **ṭubla** | n square gold pendant |
| **ṭufs** | adj vile |
| **ṭyāḥ** | n sardine season |
| **ṭ’fl** | adj thin (person) |

| **ubbub** | n type of plant |
| **uddā** | n going by |
| **ūff** | n blow (breath, wind) |
| **ūffū** | n cooked white rice (children’s speech) |
| **ūjr** | n good deeds |
| **-um** | v.sfx 1s (first person singular verbal suffix) |
| **=um** | clit be:1s (first person singular existential) |
| **ummē** | n type of fish |
| **ummū** | n drinking water (children’s speech) |
| **unnē** | pn.emph 1sEMPH |
| **ummu** | adj must, need |
| **umn** | n age; soul |
| **ununū** | n prickling (of limbs) (‘pins and needles’) |
| **urq** | n root |
| **urqu ḥmar** | n.com stark naked |
| **urtut** | n trace |
| **usb** | n stomach ailment from food |
| **uxrē** | n phlegm |

| **ūd** | n oud (musical instrument) |
| **ūling** | n type of waterpipe |
| **ūmat** | n sardine |
| **ūni** | v sit, stay: ROOT, IMPER, MIR, IRR |
| **ūrd** | n powder; snow |
| **ūrū** | n kindling |

| **wa** | conj if/when |
| **wa xiwja x̌o’i express** | please!; I beg of you! |
| **wadara** | dv throwing away |
| **wagg** | n tip of a palm frond’s midrib |
| **waqiyit** | n time (occasion) |
| **wahaba** | dv yawning |
| **wajada** | dv present (there) |
| **wajja** | dv squeezing; aching |
| **wakka** | dv doing something unsteadily or hastily |
| **walama** | dv readying |
| **walēyit** | n city; country; region |
| **wallam** | n small stick used as a projectile |
| **waln** | dv fighting |
| **walax conj or** | walla interj truly |
wana conj if/when; whether; perhaps; or else;
either/or
wanna dv groaning (with pain); humming
wannan n siren
waqaʃa da v collecting
waqa ə da v signing (name)
waqqi n racket (noise)
waqt n time
wara wara adv.com quickly
warahə dv swallowing
waraka dv waking early
ward n flower
wardi adj pink
warq n leaf
warya dv flaring, flashing
waswaʃa dv vascillating
waswεʃit n vascillation; murmuring to oneself;
plotting evil
waʃafə da v describing
waʃʃiʃ n medium; middle
waʃm n tattoo
waʃt v leave, let:ROOT, PERF, REAL
waθhəram n bastard
waṭo interj:adv aha!: just like that
waωa da v acting fearfully
waxt n; adv time; in good time
wayaqa dv waking up with difficulty
waʃa ə da v distributing
waʃa ə dv yawning
waʃ n field
waʃıt n gift
waʃiʃ n stifling place
wa[w prep with; at; having
wa interj woe!
wə= clit to; toward
wə wə express no!
wəb v become:MIR
waʃiʃ v become:MIR
waʃbəʃ interj woe!
waʃıɾ v become:3sREAL
waʃd v bring:REAL
waʃdar v hold:ROOT, IMPER
waʃdar a xə express good-bye!
wəha n making it to an event
waʃ v open:ROOT
waʃık v open, take off, unite:REAL
waʃıʃ v open:PERF
waʃıʃ v open, take off, unite:2sIMPER, MIR
waʃıʃ v open, take off, unite:IMPER
waʃl n slit (a shark)
waʃlı n governor
waʃır v bring:ROOT
waʃ v bring:PERF
waʃaʃ n description
waʃıʃx n piece of rubbish
waʃt v want:ROOT, REAL
waʃıt v want:PERF
waʃıʃ v hurt (children’s speech)
wəʃıʃ n Kohl (eyeliner)
wəḥıd adj few in number
wəkıl n guardian; sponsor
wəl v leave, let:ROOT, IMPER, IRR, MIR
wəζır n government minister
wını n winch
wədı n wadi (dry riverbed)
wıʃı n wadi (dry riverbed)
wır n tuna fish
wisu n repair
wəwəwə n; interj wailing; amazement; woe!
wər v hip
wurt n inheritance
wustın adj pregnant
wuxrıtı dv briefly; instantly
wuxıyı dv partially blind

X

xabala interj alas!
xaqa dv piercing
xaʃa ə dv being numerous
xaʃaʃa da v shuffling; moving
xaʃə n small hole
xabya dv concealing
xadə da v limping (habitually)
xafı da v being crazy
xalaʃa da v begetting; having (children)
xalaʃa dv smelling bad (water)
xalaʃa dv consoling
xalaʃa dv creating; causing to live
xalaʃa dv being attractive
xalaʃa dv mixing
xall n passive homosexual lover
xall n seaweed; string green algae
xalla dv soaking
xalqıʃ n looks (appearance)
xalıʃt adj.der mixed
xalwıʃ n wilderness
xamma dv treating badly
xanxta knows dv doing rotten things to someone
xan v laugh:ROOT, 2sIMPER
xan n compartment
xanafıʃ n sidetube
xanaʃa dv strangling
xanayıʃ n treachery
xand v laugh:REAL
xandaʃa dv going:passageway
xanjar n curved dagger
xans v laugh:PERF
xanıʃə n pig
xar v buy:IMPER
xar n donkey; stupid person
xaraʃa dv reminiscing; babbling on
xarama dv craving
xarası dv wetting
xarkut n parrotfish
xarmaʃa dv messing up
xarmit n.der craving
xars n tears
xartuʃ n peninsula, something jutting out, corner
xarxə n storehouse, shed
xasafa dv destroying
Appendix 2: Lexicon

xassa dv owning
xaš xaš ideophone crunch, crackle, munch
xašbē n.infl gallows
xaš’a dv revering, being devout
xaška n type of waterpipe
xašxaša dv rattling
xataṭa dv planning
xațīt n diarrhea
xațṭ n message
xațṭar n guest
xawara dv embroidering
xawwar n embroidery
xawża n type of slimy green algae
xayara dv choosing
xayasa dv being filthy
xaykē quant much, many
xaylē quant very; much, many
xays adj.der filthy
xaytar n.der more
xažala dv ratching
xażiţi n.infl:voc my dear
xażnit n treasure
xazyāa dv shaming
xbabar n; adj news; knowing the news
xībdum n servant
xāġur n type of Bream fish
xāk adj worthless; low-grade
xāl n type of board game
xāla n maternal aunt
xālal n green or unripe thing (esp. date)
xālaq n looks (appearance)
xālaq n type of Grouper fish
xālaş adj finished
xāfī adj empty
xālō n maternal uncle
xāna n marriage
xānaq n house; household; room
xānit n benefit
xār n bone; thorn
xār xnēḏī n.com type of date
xārab adj broken
xārīd v scratch:REAL
xārīştān n ashes
xāśab n.prop Khasab (city)
xāśarit n sale at a loss
xāśrit n side (of body)
xāshar n kid (young goat)
xātan n circumcision/excision; circumcised/excised person
xāți n robe
xāṭar n danger, harm
xāwārī n type of stone
xāy v bite:ROOT, IMPER, IRR
xāyar n melon
xāyɡ n egg
xāyīd v bite:REAL
xāyīs v bite:PERF
xādēwī n type of rifle
xādīrī adj brown-grey colour
xēbus n semolina porridge

xēlak n fabric
xēlįj n gulf (in ocean)
xēmūr n yeast
xēn v laugh:IMPER
xēnağ n humour
xēnağı n.der laughter
xēnō n type of fish
xēr v buy:ROOT, IMPER, IRR
xēr n fine thing
xērīd v buy:REAL
xērīs v buy:PERF
xēsīn n axe; castration
xēşū n swat
xēzīna n safe (place for storing valuables)
xēf n type of cheese
xīlq n crowd
xīlxal n anklet rattle
xīlxīl n small wadi (dry streambed)
xinx n wail
xīstār n fiancée; fiancé; suitor
xīstārī n.der engagement
xīswānī n type of shark
xīš n cheek; side (boat)
xīşxaš n rattle
xīyyī n tailor, tailor’s shop
xīzmiṭī n stem-post
xīl n medicine
xını́ n betray, mutiny
xınē n wailing
xınēţī n type of date
xō pn (reflexive pronoun) self, one’s own
xōd v eat:REAL
xōr n inlet (ocean)
xōr n feeding
xör v eat:ROOT, IMPER, IRR, MIR
xōrdīn n food
xōrxur n place for handwashing
xōs v eat:PERF
xōsi bōsi n.com type of game
xōx n peach
xrō n rooster
xrō diryī n.com type of fish
xsāb n type of date
xsūr n sister-in-law
xsūl n washing bowl
xubā n rain cloud
xubbaţ n type of fish
xubr n type of fish
xubrīt n life experience
xujmū n making; working; building
xumba n clay storage jar
xumēsī n type of rifle
xummār n drinker
xumr n alcoholic drink
xurman n mucus
xurt n stable thing (esp. a boat)
xus n dear
xuṣb n flourishing (plants)
xutṛ́ n tread; trespass; sin
xūyū n swarm (fish)
xūzik n spit
xwaft v sleep:ROOT, PERF, REAL
xwaș adj well (healthy)
xwaw v sleep:2sIMPER
xwaw n sleep; dream
xwā n salt
xwā v sleep:ROOT, IMPER, IRR
xwānd v read:REAL
xwāns v read:PERF
xwār n calm sea with gentle breeze
xwē n sister
xwēn n blood
xyār n cucumber; zucchini

Ya dem that
yak num one
yalla interj O God!; let’s go!
yalla ayya interj.com quick!; come on!; let’s go!!
yamama dv ritually washing before prayer
yambay adv from both ends
yasara dv providing
ya’nī adv that is to say
yāzdā num eleven
yē pn; dem 3s (third person singular pronoun) he, she; it; this
yirz n jerz (small-headed axe)
yumkin adv maybe

Ẓ

Ẓ v steal, rob:IMPER, IRR
za prep under; below; at the foot of
za kāčak n.com armpit
zabala dv being very full or stuffed (with food)
zaflağ n wooden chest
zama’a dv fainting
zambil n woven mat with handles
zāmī n ground
zan n woman; wife
zand v hit:REAL
zandiq adj wicked
zangalūlī n type of flower
zangērīr n slave; black person
zankin- n.der promiscuous man
zanna dv spinning
zanqalāftī adj casual
zan’at adj astonished
zaplağ n wooden chest
zar’a dv cultivating
zarad adj yellow
zardaga n yolk
zarkīn n thread
zarrā dv throwing
zarzur n cowrie chain hung on a boat’s prow
zawa’a dv joking, kidding; experimenting
zawd adv a lot, much
zaw’tīt n joke
zyagē adj numerous
za’r n animosity; quarrel
zā v give birth:ROOT, IMPER, IMPF
zbīd n foam on water

Zād v give birth:REAL
zādin n birth
zām n time; occasion
zāman n period of history
zāmē adv right away
zār n demon possession; exorcism though dance
zās v give birth, be born:PERF
zāwarit n ‘visits’ to the drums at a dance
zbayšō n type of fish
zbēdi n type of fish
zburda n sheer strake (boat)
zē prep; n under; below; at the foot of
zēflağ n wooden chest
zēni adv,der as a woman; as a wife
zēpilağ n wooden chest
zēr prep under; down
zēran n bottom; down; lower place; oceanward place; the north; long ago
zēranī adj;adv lower; long ago
zēribit n goat pen
zgurda n sheer strake (boat)
zgurtī n healthy young person
zganya adv surviving
žhr n salty food
zindağ adv alive
zinj n black person; slave
zinjēbal n ginger
žirraḥ n type of flying insect
žitti n wicked person; immoral person
žyārīt n visit
žl v steal, rob:ROOT
žīd v steal, rob:REAL
žīla bailing can, pail
žīn n thief
žīnit n metal studs (on wooden items)
žīq n tension
žīra n pot-bottom rice
žīs v steal, rob:PERF
žīlāğ n sock
žnān n dish
žōk n memory (that is lost); forgetfulness
žōkīn- n.der forgetful person
žōraqa n type of small boat
zraq adj blue colour
zraq n type of illness
zubd n butter
zubdt n type of gecko
zuknīt n cold (virus)
zuqquṃ n searing heat
žūřī n furniture; latrine
žwān n tongue; complaining
ž’ār n lower abdomen
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Curriculum vitae

Christina van der Wal Anonby was born on the 5th of March 1975 in Kitchener, Ontario, Canada. After graduating with honours from Hugh Sutherland Secondary School in 1993, she studied linguistics and anthropology at McGill University in Montreal, Canada. She completed the Bachelor of Arts degree at Trinity Western University in 1997. From 1998 to 2000, she studied for her Master’s degree in International Education and Policy Studies at the University of Alberta, Canada. As a teacher in Kuwait for one year, she made several field trips to Shiraz and Esfehan in Iran. Another year conducting field research in Iran culminated in her thesis on culture and education among Luri nomads; she was awarded the Master’s degree in 2002. Following a brief expedition to northern Oman in 2006, she began doctoral research on Kumzari in 2007 as an associate of Leiden University Centre for Linguistics. This dissertation is the result of fieldwork in the Kumzari language area in Oman.
Samenvatting

Een grammatica van Kumzari

Dit boek geeft een diepgaande grammaticale beschrijving van het Kumzari, een gemengde taal die gesproken wordt op het schiereiland Musandam in het noorden van Oman. Hoewel Kumzarisprekers en sprekers van het Arabisch en Perzisch elkaar niet kunnen verstaan, deelt het Kumzari met beide talen een erfenis van invloeden uit respectievelijk de Semitische taalfamilie en het Middel-Perzisch.

Dit werk is geschreven vanuit een synchroon perspectief. In de inleiding wordt ingegaan op de geschiedenis van deze taal, voor zover deze kan worden vastgesteld op basis van overgeleverde bronnen. Deze taalgescchiedenis is van cruciaal belang voor het verkrijgen van een beter begrip van de gemengde aard van het Kumzari. Na de inleiding volgen hoofdstukken over de diverse onderdelen van de grammatica: fonologie, zelfstandig naamwoord, werkwoord, existentialis, bepalingen, evidentialis, prepositie, zinsneden, ontkening en discours. Het twaalfde hoofdstuk geeft een analyse van de retorische aspecten van de taal en behandelt de structuren van de narratieve orale traditie van het Kumzari. In de appendices zijn transcripten van Kumzari teksten vergezeld van een lexicon opgenomen.

Specifiek het vermelden waard zijn de miratieve werkwoordsvorm, de uitgebreide rol van de subordinator, de evidentialis en de woordklasse van de deverben. Vanuit een vergelijkend perspectief is de post-verbale ontkening in het Kumzari uniek binnen de familie van Iraanse talen. De emfatische medeklinkers voorkomend in woorden van niet-Semitische herkomst vormen een andere bijzonderheid in het Kumzari.

Deze taalbeschrijving is gebaseerd op veldwerk waarbij de natuurlijke spraak centraal staat. De taalkundige gegevens worden beschouwd vanuit hun culturele context. In dit werk wordt een weinig bekende taal gedocumenteerd, een taal gesproken in afgelegen dorpen die alleen per boot te bereiken zijn. De beschrijving is met name van belang voor hen die Iraanse en Arabische talen bestuderen, alsmede voor hen die zich bezighouden met taalkundige typologie.