

SOME FEATURES OF THE GAZNAX DIALECT (SOUTH-EAST TURKEY)¹

ARIEL GUTMAN

1. INTRODUCTION

Gaznax² is the native name of a Chaldean village located in the Şırnak province in south-east Turkey. The name is derived, according to a traditional etymology, from Syriac ܨܙܢܐ ܕܢܘܗ *Gazzā d-Noḥ* 'Noah's Treasure', in accordance with the belief that Noah's ark landed on the nearby Mount Judi (Joseph Alichoran, personal communication). It was one of 8 Chaldean villages in this region.³ The inhabitants of these villages all spoke similar dialects of Neo-Aramaic, and were thus grouped together by Sinha (2000) as the Mount Judi (Cudi Dağı in Turkish) dialects. A first-hand de-

¹ I am grateful to members of the Yaramis family in France for sharing with me their knowledge of their dialect: Ciko, Herman, Isa, Joseph, Nouri, Paul and Zackarie Yaramis, as well as the late Memo Yaramis. Thanks are also due to Isa Hamdo and his family, for providing me with data on the Harbole dialect. Particular thanks go to Joseph Alichoran, lecturer of Soureth in the INALCO (Paris) and a native speaker of Neo-Aramaic, for the invaluable information he provided me with, and for his immense help which made the transcription of the interview with Memo Yaramis possible. I am also grateful for the comments of Dr. Eleanor Coghill and Prof. Eran Cohen on drafts of this paper. Finally, I would like to thank the participants of the Neo-Aramaic Dialectology conference in Jerusalem, where this paper was first presented, for their comments, and especially Dr. Hezy Mutzafi for pointing out some errors. The research was conducted and funded in the scope of the DFG project 'Neo-Aramaic morphosyntax in its areal-linguistic context' led by Dr. Eleanor Coghill.

² This is the linguistic transcription of the name, the last segment being a velar fricative. Common ways of writing the name include Gaznakh or Geznakh. The official Turkish name of the village Cevizaği (Sinha 2000: XV).

³ Sinha (2000: 5) provides a map with the location of the villages. An online map, created by the author, is available at <http://tinyurl.com/kaqv7a2>.

scription of these villages is given by Poizat (1986).⁴ Yaramis (2010), a native of Gaznax, gives an account of its life and folklore. Due to the armed conflict between the Turkish government and the Kurdistan Workers' Party (the PKK), the Chaldean inhabitants had to leave their villages by the beginning of the 1990's. Many of them moved first to Istanbul, and then left Turkey. The fate of Gaznax was not different: according to Yaramis (2010: 87), about 10,000 of the descendants of Gaznax live today in Iraq, Russia, the United States and Australia. In Europe, about 1,500 of them live in Belgium, France, Germany, Denmark and Sweden. Quite uniquely, however, some of the inhabitants of Gaznax have been able to return to their village since 2004, as reported by Thiry (2007). The current paper is based on field research which the author carried out with speakers of the Gaznax dialect from the Yaramis family, who live today in two suburbs north of Paris, namely Sarcelles and Villiers-Le Bel. The number of Gaznax speakers in this area is estimated to be around 400 (Yaramis 2010: 87), out of 10,000 Christian Aramaic speakers in the Parisian suburbs, most of which come from the Judi villages (Alichoran and Sibile 2013: 873).

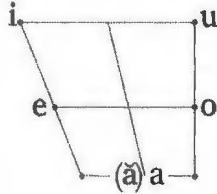
As mentioned, the dialect of Gaznax is quite similar to other Judi dialects, and in particular to the Bēšpən dialect described in detail by Sinha (2000).⁵ While Sinha does give some information regarding the variation among the other village dialects, she has little information on the dialect of Gaznax (Sinha 2000: 9ff.), since she had no recordings of it (personal communication). Nonetheless, this dialect merits attention due to its peripheral location amongst the Judi dialects, standing between them and the former Hakkari dialects. Indeed, the speakers of Gaznax clearly perceive it as distinct. In the diaspora situation, however, the speakers who were interviewed live in close proximity to speakers of other Judi dialects. The influence of the other dialects on their speech has clearly grown, leading to a blurring of the dialectal differences, especially in the younger generation, which was not born in Gaznax. The aim of the current paper is, thus, to elucidate some of the features of the Gaznax dialect, and, where possible, to contrast them with features of other Judi dialects.

⁴ Poizat included in his survey also some other villages, notably Arivan, or Hertevin, whose quite different dialect is described by Jastrow (1971 and 1988). Poizat also mentions Deran, Djenet, and Birinji, on which I have no further information.

⁵ The supra-dialect taught in Poizat (2008) is in fact also quite similar to the Judi dialects, as it is based partly on the speech of Joseph Alichoran, who is fluent in the Harbole dialect (Poizat, personal communication).

2. PHONOLOGY

Phonological system



Phonetic realizations

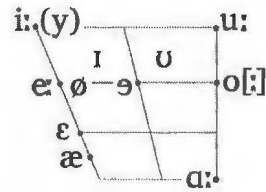


Figure 1: The vowel system of Gaznax

Phoneme	Tense	Lax
<i>i</i>	[i(:)]	[ɪ]
<i>u</i>	[u(:)]	[ʊ]
<i>e</i>	[e(:)]	[ɘ]
<i>o</i>	[o(:)]	[ɔ]
<i>a</i>	[ɑ(:)]	[æ]
<i>ǎ</i>	-	[æ]

Table 1: Vowels of Gaznax and their realisation

The phonological system of Gaznax is similar, if not identical, to that of Bēšpən. Thus, the consonants are those given by Sinha (2000: 48 ff.). It is worth noting that Gaznax is an /x/ dialect, as the former Aramaic /ħ/ phoneme has shifted to /x/, fusing thus with the [k] allophone of /k/, of which the allophony is no more productive (cf. Sinha 2000: 51).

As for the vowel system, we need to clearly distinguish between the phonetic and the phonological inventories, contrasted in Figure 1. As we can see, Gaznax has only 6 vocalic phonemes, but different phonetic realisations of these. For clarity, the phonemes are repeated in Table 1 together with their main realisations.

Generally speaking, vowels in an open syllable are realized as a tense and long allophone, while in a closed syllable they appear as a more centralized allophone of short duration.⁶ These distinctions are in general not phonemic, except marginally in

⁶ The two variants are termed “long” and “short” by Sinha (2000: 35ff.) and elsewhere, but

the opposition /a/~/ǎ/. The latter short vowel can appear in stressed open syllables, especially in verbal forms of weak roots. We find oppositions such as *măra* ‘it hurts’ vs. *mari* ‘my Lord’.

The phone [ɛ] only appears as a reduced variant of the diphthong /ay/, which is regularly realized as [ɛj]~[ɛɪ]~[ɛ] or sometimes as [aj] (usually near an emphatic consonant). It has no distinct phonemic status. The phones [y] and [ø] appear only in a handful of Turkish loanwords (such as the country name *Türkiye* ‘Turkey’ or the word *öğretmen* ‘teacher’, for which a native word *malpəna* exists as well), and are not part of the native system.

3. DISTINCTIVE LEXICAL ITEMS

Some lexical items of Gaznax differ from those in the other Judi dialects. Table 2 shows some of these differences, contrasting the Gaznax dialect with the Bēšpən and Harbole dialects.⁷

	Gaznax	Bēšpən/ Harbole
‘man’	<i>zalame</i>	<i>gawra/ gura</i> (Har.)
‘brother’	<i>xona</i>	<i>axona</i>
‘brothers’	<i>xunwata</i>	<i>axawata</i>
‘frog’	<i>peqa</i>	<i>pūqa</i>
‘sheep’	<i>para</i>	<i>barxa</i>
‘shepherd’	<i>raya</i>	<i>šwana</i> (< Kurdish)
‘red’	<i>smoka</i>	<i>smoqa</i>
‘all’	<i>kun</i>	<i>kul(e)</i>
‘want’, pres. base	<i>bay-</i>	<i>kibb-</i>
‘go’	<i>r-x-š</i>	² -z-l

Table 2: Distinctive Lexical Items of Gaznax

at least in the context of Gaznax such names would be somewhat misleading, since the tense allophones are generally realized without the length feature [ː] in an unstressed syllable. Note also that closed mono-syllabic words (not clitics) always have a tense and long allophone as their vocalic nucleus.

⁷ The data on Bēšpən come from Sinha (2000). The data from Harbole come the author’s fieldwork. Some lexical differences were pointed out to me by the Gaznax speakers. In addition to these differences in form, there are also identical lexemes which differ only in grammatical gender.

4. PRONOMINAL SYSTEM

The pronominal system of Gaznax is typical of the Judi dialects. Table 3 presents the independent pronouns, as well as the S-, L- and possessive pronominal suffixes. Note the 2sg. and 3pl. independent forms /ate/ and /an(e)/ respectively, *pace* Sinha (2000: 69):

	Ind.	-S	-L	-Poss.
1SG.M		-in	-li	-i
	<i>ana</i>			
1SG.F		-an	-li	-i
2SG.M		-it	-lux	-ux
	<i>ate</i>			
2SG.F		-at	-lax	-ax
3SG.M	<i>awa</i>	-∅	-le [lə]	-u
3SG.F	<i>aya</i>	-a	-la	-aw
1PL	<i>axnan</i>	-ux	-lan	-an
2PL	<i>axnutin</i>	-utin	-lawxun	-awxun
3PL	<i>an(e)</i>	-i	-lay [lɛ(ɪ)]	-ay [ɛ(ɪ)]

Table 3: Pronouns and pronominal suffixes of Gaznax

5. COPULAS

	Independent	Enc.	Past	Neg.	Neg.P.
1SG.M	ʔoli	iwin	<i>inwa</i>	lewin	<i>lenwa</i>
1SG.F	ʔoli	iwan	<i>inwa</i>	lewan	<i>lenwa</i>
2SG.M	ʔolux	iwit	<i>itwa</i>	lewit	<i>letwa</i>
2SG.F	ʔolax	iwat	<i>itwa</i>	lewat	<i>letwa</i>
3SG.M	ʔol(e)	ile	<i>iwa</i>	lele	<i>lewa</i>
3SG.F	ʔola	ila	<i>iwa</i>	lela	<i>lewa</i>
1PL	ʔolan	<i>iyux</i>	<i>ixwa</i>	lewux	<i>lexwa</i>
2PL	ʔolawxun	<i>itun</i>	<i>itunwa</i>	lewutin	<i>letinwa</i>
3PL	ʔolay	ilay	<i>iwa</i>	lele	<i>lewa</i>

Table 4: Copulas of Gaznax

The copular conjugation resembles in general the other Judi dialect forms, though there are some differences. Table 4 presents the independent, enclitic, past,

negative, and past negative copular forms. Those which differ significantly from the Bēšpən copular forms (Sinha 2000: 144–148) are marked by *italics*.

In contrast to the Bēšpən forms, the past affirmative and negative copulas do not have a /-wV-/ segment, as for example *iwənwa* (1sg.m.) or *iwanwa* (1sg.f.) in Bēšpən. Consequently, gender distinction disappears for these forms. As for the enclitic plural copulas, these are *iwux* (1pl.) and *iwútən* (2pl.) in Bēšpən.

5.1. Emergence of a Deictic Copula

	Deictic	General
Gaznax	<i>ho-</i>	ʔo-
Bēšpən	<i>ho-</i>	

Table 5: Split of the independent copula in Gaznax

The independent copula is used in the Judi dialects when talking about the immediate present (or in a narrative present). As such it also participates in the formation of the present progressive verbal tense paradigm (see below). Syntactically, it is the independent counterpart of the enclitic copula.

In most Judi dialects, the independent copula is formed by using the base /*ho*/ + L-suffix. In the Gaznax dialect, however, the corresponding base form is /ʔo/, which is regularly used in the present progressive paradigm, as well as in nominal clauses in the present tense.

Nonetheless, the base /*ho*/ is retained (or possibly innovated by dialect contact) for true deictic uses:

- (1) *ha* *ho-la*
 behold COP-3SG.F

‘It is here!’, ‘*Voici!*’

- (2) *ho-la* ʔaxa
 COP-3SG.F here

‘Here she is!’

Thus, in the Gaznax dialect the independent copula has split into two differing forms, as summarized in Table 5.

5.2. Sandhi of the Enclitic Copula

In the Judi dialects, the enclitic copula starts with an /i-/ segment.⁸ Following a singular predicate, this segment is regularly fused to a preceding /a/ vowel, resulting in the phonological diphthong /ay/ which is sometimes realized as the diphthong [ɛɪ], but more often in this context simply as the monophthong [ɛ] (cf. Sinha 2000: 147; Poizat 2008: 33).

However, in the Gaznax dialect, the presence of an emphatic consonant near the /ay/ diphthong alters its realisation to [aj] (instead of the regular [ɛ(ɪ)]).⁹

The effect of the emphatic consonant is, however, blocked in the presence of the feminine suffix /-ta/. As a consequence, the sandhi behaviour of the clitic copula with nouns containing an emphatic consonant depends on the gender of the noun. Table 6 shows the different sandhi patterns with the example of the adjective *ɬawa* ‘good’.¹⁰

Gender	Abstract form	Realisation	Sandhi realisation
M	/ɬawa = ile/	[ɬawajle]	[aj] or [æj]
F	/ɬawta = ila/	[ɬawtela]	[ɛ] or [ɛj]

Table 6: Sandhi patterns of enclitic copula with the adjective ‘good’

As described above, this phenomenon is simply a case of allophony of the /ay/ diphthong. Curiously, according to my observations, some speakers may have started to extend this pattern by analogy to other adjectives, which do not contain an emphatic consonant. In such a case, the allophonic pattern is becoming an allomorphic pattern. To ascertain this claim, however, more exact acoustic measurements are needed.

⁸ One may wonder whether this segment is simply part of the copular base, or is in fact the indicative prefix *i-* used in the verbal system, as has been suggested to me by Prof. Bruno Poizat. We note that the synchronic question is independent from the diachronic one, i.e. whether both have the same source.

⁹ Some variation as to the application of this rule is attested between speakers.

¹⁰ The sandhi pattern of the plural copula *ilay* with plural forms ending with /-e/ is another issue. The sequence /ey/ is sometimes realized as [e], sometimes as [ɛ], and sometimes as [i] (as if the /-e/ ending was simply elided).

6. VERBAL CONJUGATION

This section presents some features of the Gaznax verbal system, some of which are unique to this dialect, and some which are shared with other Judi dialects, but deserve special attention.

6.1. The Indicative Present

The indicative present is formed using the present base (e.g. *šaqł-* ‘take’) together with an S-pronominal suffix. Additionally, in most Judi dialects, a *y- ~ i-* prefix precedes the present base, similarly to the prefix *k-* in some other dialects (cf. Poizat 2008: 78). In Gaznax, however, the indicative prefix *y-* occurs only before vowel-initial present bases, which are derived from I /ʔ/ roots in the first stem formation.¹¹ Contrast the following two examples:

- (3) *y-atin*
IND-come.1SG

‘I come’

- (4) *našqin*
kiss.1SG

‘I kiss’

Notwithstanding this, the negation of present verbs remains constantly [lɛ], derived from /la/ + /y/, irrespective of whether /y-/ appears before the verb or not:

- (5) *lɛ y-axl-in-ne awa*
NEG IND-eat-A.1SG-P.3SG.M DEM.SG.M

‘I do not eat this!’

- (6) *lɛ šat-in-ne awa*
NEG drink-A.1SG-P.3SG.M DEM.MS

‘I do not drink this!’

¹¹ In the Bēšpən dialect, on the other hand, this prefix has a broader distribution. It can appear before any verb of the first stem formation, but not before verbs of other stem formations, which commence with an /m/ segment.

6.2. The Present Progressive

Sinha lists 3 present progressive constructions in the Judi dialects (see Table 7). Gaznax speakers use frequently only the construction formed using the independent copula together with the infinitive (e.g. *šqala* ‘to take’). A second construction, formed using the present base, does appear from time to time but to a lesser degree, and may very well be the product of contact with other Judi dialects.

Bēspən Construction	Occurrence in Gaznax
Ind. copula + (<i>b</i>) + infinitive	✓
Ind. copula + present base	rarer
(<i>b</i>) + infinitive + enclitic copula	not found

Table 7: Present progressive constructions in Judi dialects

In contrast to other Judi dialects, the *b-* prefix (stemming from the preposition *b-* ‘in’), which precedes the infinitive in the present progressive formation, occurs only before vowel-initial present bases.¹² Contrast:

- (7) *’o-li* *b-itaya*
 COP-1SG PREFIX-COME.INF

‘I am coming’.

- (8) *’o-li* *klaya*
 COP-1SG wait.INF

‘I am waiting’.

An interesting variant construction was presented by one speaker, who occasionally omitted the copula altogether. In the following example, note also the optionality of the object pronominal suffix on the infinitive:

- (9) *awa* *nšaqā{-w}* *brat-i*
 3SG.M kiss.INF- $\{$ 3SG.F $\}$ daughter-POSS.1SG

‘He is kissing my daughter’.

A similar construction was noted in the Barwar dialect (Khan 2008: 726).

¹² In the Bēspən dialect, the distribution of *b-* is similar to that of the *y-* indicative prefix: it appears only before infinitives of the first stem formation.

6.3. The Preterite

In Gaznax, as in all Judi dialects, there is no preverbal *qam* particle (or the like) for forming the preterite (cf. for example Cohen 2012: 458; Khan 2008: 176f.). Consequently, the preterite (i.e. perfective past) is always formed using the preterite base (e.g. *šqil* ‘took’). A suffixed L-suffix indexes the subject/agent¹³ of the verb (glossed A). As for the object/patient (glossed P), 3 possibilities exist:

For the direct object, the S-suffix can be used for all persons. In the following examples, note the S-suffixes which are glossed as patient (P) markers:

(10) *nšiq-ux-le*
kissed-P.1PL-A.3SG.M

‘He kissed us’.

(11) *nšiq-at-wa-li*
kissed-P.2SG.F-CONV-A.1SG.F

‘I had kissed you (f.)’

This usage is not restricted to the Gaznax dialect, but occurs in other Judi dialects as well. The following examples, which appear in an exercise of Poizat (2008: 97), are in fact based on true conversation of speakers from the Judi region:¹⁴

(12) *Yawsep, la xz-et-ti tama*
J. NEG saw-P.2SG.M-A.1SG there

‘Joseph, I did not see you there’.

(13) *la xz-en-nox men = sabab la te-li*
NEG saw-P.1SG.M-A.2SG.M from = reason NEG came-1SG

‘You did not see me because I did not come’.

These forms, however, are not so common, and did not seem to be entirely intuitive to the speakers during the elicitation sessions. An apparently easier and more frequent possibility is to use the preposition *b-* (originally meaning ‘in, with’) with a pronominal suffix:

¹³ The notions of Agent and Patient are used here as semantic macro-roles, much like the Actor and Undergoer in Gutman (2008).

¹⁴ The transcription of these examples is normalized according to the system used here.

- (14) *nšiq-li* *biy-ux*
 kissed-1SG ACC-2SG.M

'I kissed you (m.).'

- (15) *nšiq-wa-lax* *b-i*
 kissed-CONV-2SG.F ACC-1SG

'You had kissed me'.

The usage of the *b-* preposition as an object marker is also attested in the Bēspən dialect:

- (16) [...] *b-gawr-at* *b-i* [...]
 FUT-marry-2SG.F ACC-1SG

'... you (sg.f.) shall marry me ...' (Sinha 2000: 212 (181))

The fact that the same argument which can be indexed by an S-suffix is marked by a preposition shows that the *b-* preposition has been grammaticalized as an accusative marker. As a preposition *b-* has either a locative, instrumental, or comitative ('with') meaning. None of these meanings has been reported as having been grammaticalized as a direct object marker by the World Lexicon of Grammaticalisation (Heine and Kuteva 2002).

The path of the grammaticalisation may have gone through a different meaning, though. We note that in some cases *b-* adds a malefactive sense (MAL) to the argument:

- (17) *galak* *mindyane* (*w*)*ud-ux-wa* *biy-ay*
 many things do-1PL-CONV MAL-3PL

'We made many things against them'.

Such a use of *b-* is also known from Amharic (Kane 1990: 853). It may be this sense which served as an intermediate stage on the way to become an accusative marker.

We can contrast the use of *b-* with the preposition *il(l)-*. In some NENA dialects, the latter serves as a direct object marker (see, for example, Khan 2008: 808 (iv)). In Gaznax, however, it is reserved to mark a syntactically indirect (i.e. oblique) object, which can never be substituted by an S-suffix. Semantically, though, it can sometimes denote the patient of the action:

- (18) *kle-li* *ill-u*
 waited-1SG OBL-3SG.M

'I waited for him'.

- (19) *mxe-lox* *ill-i*
 struck-2MS OBL-1SG

‘You struck me’.

7. GENITIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

In the Gaznax dialect, as in other Judi dialects, the classical Semitic annexation construction with the old construct state is hardly apparent. Instead, three other constructions are available to mark the genitive relationship.¹⁵

Morphologically, the head noun may be marked functionally as a construct state noun by the *-id* ~ *-it* suffix:

- (20) *awa* *bayt-id* *bab-i*
 this house-CNST father-POSS.1SG

‘this house of my father’s’

- (21) *tre* *čant-id* *rizza*
 two sack-CNST rice

‘two sacks of rice’

In a separate, syntactic strategy, a linking particle /*ʔad*/ (glossed LNK) may intervene between the head NP and the genitive noun, especially when the head noun is modified additionally by an adjective (cf. Poizat 2008: 61):

- (22) *šula* *zaḥme* *ʔad* {*d*}-*awa* *zalame*
 work hard LNK GEN-this man

‘the hard work of this man’¹⁶

- (23) *bayta* *raba* *ʔad* *bab-i*
 house big LNK father-POSS.1SG

‘the big house of my father’

¹⁵ We deal here with the genitive construction involving two nouns. For genitive pronouns see Sinha 2000: 70ff.

¹⁶ The /*d*/ segment before *awa* is difficult to ascertain due to its position after the final /*d*/ of *ʔad*. If it is there, it can be seen as genitive case on the demonstrative pronoun, following Cohen (2010).

- (24) *awa bayta 'ad bab-i*
 this house LNK father-POSS.1SG

‘this house of my father’

Additionally, a *-(y)e* suffix (glossed EZ), probably borrowed from the Kurdish Ezafe, is used when the head and genitive nouns are both proper names, indicating affiliation relationships.

- (25) *Yaqo-ye Musa*
 Y.-EZ M.

‘Yaqo son of Musa’

8. A TEXT SAMPLE

The following section presents a short text sample, transcribed from an interview made with the late Memo Yaramis, who lived most of his life in Gaznax, until his migration to Istanbul and subsequently to France.¹⁷ The facts covered in the text are similar to those related by Yaramis (2010), which is also based on the memories of Memo Yaramis.

The transcription and translation of the text would not have been possible without the keen help of Joseph Alichoran. Time permitting, we hope to publish a longer extract of the text.

Unless marked otherwise, the word accent is penultimate. Note that clitics (separated by an = symbol) do not normally change the accent position. Intonation group boundaries are simply marked by punctuation marks (comma or final point, according to the context). Note also that initial glottal stops /ʔ/ are systematically omitted in the transcription. The symbol of 3 dots (...) in the text indicates hesitation of the speaker.

- (1) *ana šimm-i Mamo = le, u = bab-i*
 1SG name-POSS.1SG M. = COP.3SG.M and = father-POSS.1SG
- Xammo = le*
 X. = COP.3SG.M

‘My name is Memo, and my father is Khammo’.

¹⁷ This interview was conducted by Antoine Yalap and Pierre Palais for a show of Ishtar TV, featuring interviews with elderly speakers from villages of Mardin and Hakkari regions. I am grateful to the copyright holder (© Archives de Samuel Yalap) for granting me the right to use this text for scholarly purposes.

- (9) *maxket-id bab-i min*
 speech-CNST father-POSS.1SG from

Ṭiyare = ixwa tiye.
 T. = COP.PST.1PL come.RES.PL

‘According to my father, we came from Ṭiyare’.

- (10) *min = Ṭiyare, m = ...Ṭiyare ʿelayta, m = Bnene*
 from = T. from = T. upper, from = sons

Gippa te-lan
 G. came-1PL

‘From Ṭiyare, (hesitating) Upper Ṭiyare. We came from the Gippa Clan’.²¹

- (11) *duk-id malka = iwa, ay duk-id malka = iwa.*
 place-CNST king = COP.PST.3 DEM place-CNST king = COP.PST.3

‘(From) where the king was’.²²

- (12) *te-lay t̄lata xunwata: Išo, u = Qaša, ... Hawel*
 came-3PL three brothers I. and = Q. H.

‘There came three brothers: Išo, Qasha and (hesitating) Hawel’.

- (13) *ane t̄lata xunwata te-lay.*
 DEM.PL three brothers came-3PL

‘These three brothers came’.

- (14) *madya Išu u = ... Qaša, an kle-lay b = Gaznax.*
 regarding I. and = Q. DEM.PL stayed-3PL in = G.

‘Regarding Išo and (hesitating) Qasha, they stayed in Gaznax’.²³

²¹ Yaramis (2010: 13) links the Gippa Clan with Upper Tiyare as well. Nineb Lamassu (Cambridge University) pointed out to me, however, that the Gippa Clan was in fact in Lower Ṭiyare.

²² Yaramis (2010: 13) describes the king of Ṭiyare as the ‘Assyrian-Nestorian Duke’. Note that /*malka = iwa*/ is realized as [malkewa].

²³ The word *madya* ‘regarding’ may possibly be decomposed as *ma diya* ‘what of it (sg.f.)’.

(15) *madya Hawel, bre-la da naxošuta l-u*
 regarding H. happened-3SG.F INDF.SG.F disease to-3SG.M

‘Regarding Hawel, he got a disease’.

(16) *mxe-la u = rxiš il = ... il = dā mata*
 struck-3SG.F and = went.3SG.M to = to = INDF.SG.F village
’o-la qurb-id Oz
 COP-3SG.F close-CNST Oz

‘It struck him and he went to (hesitating) a village near Oz’.²⁴

REFERENCES

- Alichoran, Joseph, and Sibille, Jean. 2013. “L’araméen.” In *Histoire sociale des langues de France*, edited by Georg Kremnitz, 869–875. Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes.
- Cohen, Eran. 2010. “Marking Nucleus and Attribute in North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic.” *Proceeding of the VIII Afro-Asiatic Congress (September 2008, Naples), Studi Maghrebini (Nuova Serie) VII*, edited by Sergio Baldi, 79–94. Naples: Università degli Studi di Napoli.
- . 2012. *The Syntax of Neo-Aramaic: The Jewish Dialect of Zakho*. Gorgias Neo-Aramaic Studies 13, Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press.
- Gutman, Ariel. 2008. “Reexamination of the Bare Preterite Base in the Jewish Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Zakho.” *Aramaic Studies* 6 (1): 59–84.
- Heine, Bernd, and Kuteva, Tania. 2002. *World Lexicon of Grammaticalization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Jastrow, Otto. 1971. “Ein neuaramäischer Dialekt aus dem Vilayet Siirt (Ostanatolien).” *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 121: 215–222.
- . 1988. *Der neuaramäische Dialekt von Hertevin (Provinz Siirt)*, vol. 3. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

²⁴ The village of Oz, or Hoz, is one of the Judi villages. The form *rxiš* ‘went’ is quite particular since it lacks the L-suffix *-le* indexing the agent. This may be a lapsus caused by the adjacent preposition *il* ‘to’, which resembles an L-suffix. Alternatively it may be a rare usage of a bare preterite, in which the agent is understood from the context. Such cases have been attested in the Jewish dialect of Zakho, though predominantly with transitive verbs (Gutman 2008). Notice that the use of S-suffixes as agent markers of intransitive preterite forms is unattested in the Judi dialects, unlike some Jewish dialects of Iran (see for example Khan 2009: 71ff.).

- Kane, Tomas Leiper. 1990. *Amharic-English Dictionary*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Khan, Geoffrey. 2008. *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Barwar*, 3 vols. Leiden: Brill.
- . 2009. The Jewish Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Sanandaj. *Gorgias Neo-Aramaic Studies* 10, Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press.
- Poizat, Bruno. 1986. "The Sureth-Speaking Villages in Eastern Turkey." *Journal of the Assyrian Academic Society* 1: 17–23.
- . 2008. *Manuel de Soureth: Initiation à l'Araméen d'Aujourd'hui, Parlé et Écrit, Avec la collaboration de Yawsep Alichoran et Yohanan Binouissa*. Paris: Geuthner.
- Sinha, Jasmin. 2000. *Der neuostaramäische Dialekt von Bēšpən, (Provinz Mardin, Südosttürkei) Eine grammatische Darstellung*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Thiry, August. 2007. *Geznakh – Back to Hakkari*.
 [online] <http://www.shlama.be/shlama/content/view/11/12/> (accessed on 06/2012).
- Yaramis, Zackarie. 2010. *Gaznakh: Nid des Civilisations*. Millau: Transversales Editions.