

**THE JEWISH NEO-ARAMAIC DIALECT
OF PERSIAN AZERBAIJAN**

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NICOLAI VAN WIJK DEDICATA

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CORNELIS H. VAN SCHOONEVELD

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THE JEWISH NEO-ARAMAIC DIALECT OF PERSIAN AZERBAIJAN

LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS
AND FOLKLORISTIC TEXTS

by

IRENE GARBELL

JERUSALEM



1965

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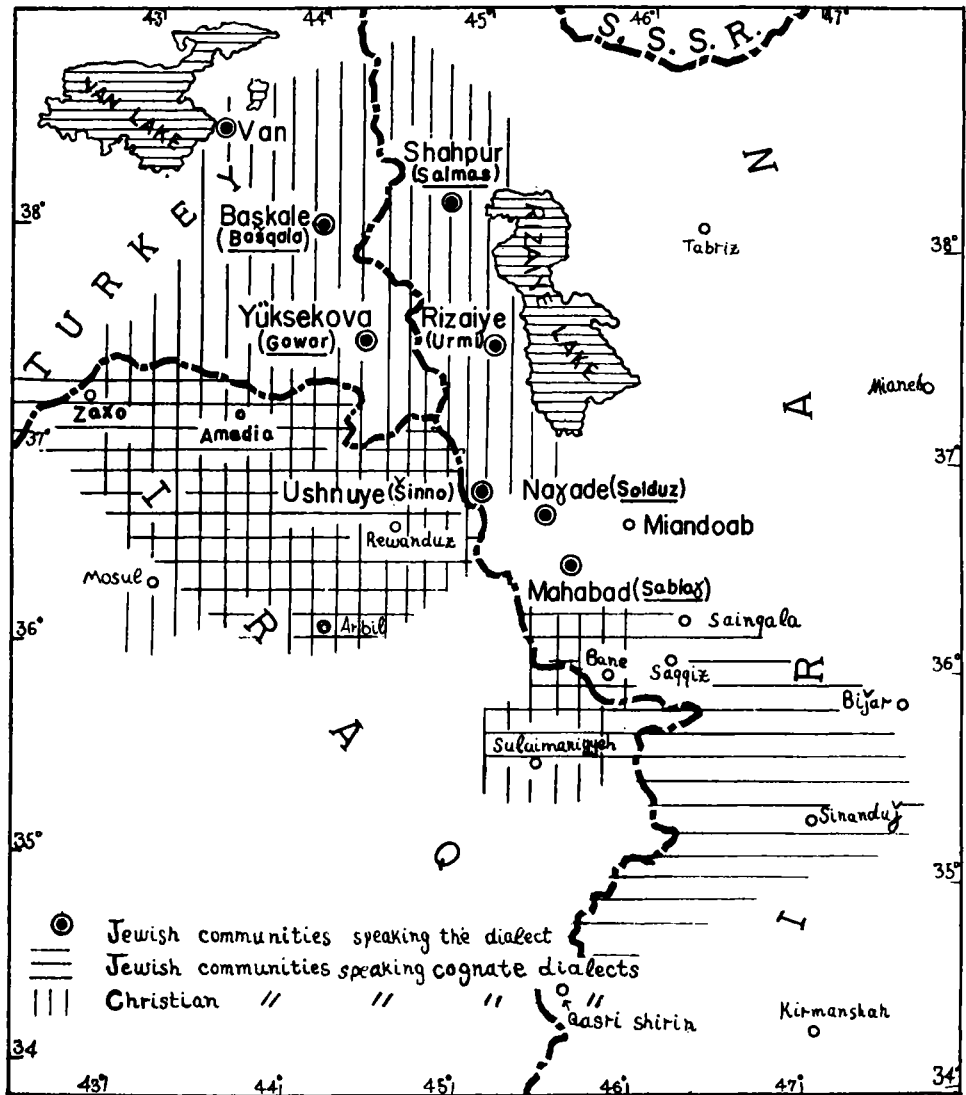
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Jewish Eastern Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Azerbaijan.

FOREWORD

1. The dialect whose description is attempted here is spoken by the Jews living in the towns and townships of Northern Persian Azerbaijan: Urmi (U, official name Rizaiye), *Salmas* (*Sal*, official name Shahpur), and the adjoining districts of Turkey: *Başqala* (*Ba*, official name Başkale in the Van vilayet) and *Gawar* (*Ga*, official name Yüksekova in the Hakkâri vilayet) – all of which are marked N; and of Southern Persian Azerbaijan: Šino (Ši, official name Ushnuye) and *Solduz* (*Sol*, official name Naghade) – all of which are marked S (see Map).

The language as a whole, in all its dialects and sub-dialects (including the Western dialect of Iraqi Kurdistan), is called by its speakers *liššanit targum* (in most dialects) ~ *lišanit targum* (in S) “the language of the Targum” – a purely traditional designation, as the language has little in common with that of the Aramaic translations of the Bible of the first centuries A.D.

The cognate sub-dialect of *Sablay*, which – together with the dialects (or dialect?) of Eastern Iraqi and Persian Kurdistan – is also called by its speakers *jabali*, is outside the scope of this monograph.

The “language of the Targum” as spoken by contemporary Jews outside Babylonia is first mentioned in literature in the 12th century, in all probability with reference to the dialect of central Persian Kurdistan.¹

Texts in the North-Western dialect, which forms the subject of this study, have been published by Duval (*Sal*)² and Lopatinski (U)³ (all folk-tales); Maclean (U)⁴ (a translation of Psalms 2 and 3); Idelsohn (*Sablay*)⁵ (a rhymed legend); Rivlin (U)⁶

¹ *Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela*, transl. and ed. by A. Asher, (New York, 1840), Hebrew text p. 76, transl. p. 121; cf. note on p.p. 158-162. A word list in the sub-dialect of Sihne (Sanandu) in Southern Persian Kurdistan has been published by J.-J. de Morgan, *Le dialecte Israélite de Sihneh* (in his *Mission Scientifique en Perse*, t. 5: *Etudes linguistiques*, Paris, 1904, pp. 312-322), who assumed it to be a corrupt form of Kurdish; cf. F. Perles, “Ueber das Semitische im jüdischen Dialekt von Sihneh”, *OLZ*, 1904, pp. 483-486.

² R. Duval, *Les dialectes néo-araméens de Salamas* (Paris, 1883), pp. 91sq.; cf. the review by Th. Nöldeke, *ZDMG*, 1883, p. 598ff.

³ I. Lopatinski, *Yevr'eysko-aram'eysk' iye t'eksti (Sborn'ik mat'eriyalov dl'a op'isan'iya m'estnost'ey i pl'em'en Kavkaza*, vip. 20, otd. 2, pp. 1-32) (Tiflis, 1894).

⁴ A. J. Maclean, *Grammar of the Dialects of Vernacular Syriac, etc.* (Cambridge, 1895), pp. 340-344.

⁵ A. Z. Idelson, *Sippurim ballašon ha'āramit haḥādasa*, Haššiloah (Jerusalem, 1913), pp. 121-130.

⁶ J. J. Rivlin, *Širat hattargum* (Jerusalem, 1958), pp. 289-300.

(an epic poem on the battle of David and Goliath). None of these investigators seem to have been familiar with the dialect.

The dialect which forms the subject of this study has no recorded history and hardly any written literature (with the exception of a few manuscripts containing versions of homilies and hymns and the manuscript containing the full translation of the Bible by the late *Haxam* Jišaj of U, undertaken at the initiative of Professor Rivlin and acquired by the National and University Library in Jerusalem).

2. The speakers of the dialect formed in their country of origin – at least during the last decades – a purely urban population group, the men being almost exclusively engaged in commerce in the towns and peddling in the neighbouring rural districts. There were some landowners among them, but – in contrast to Jewish communities in other countries – hardly labourers, workmen, or even artisans. All the men possessed, and knew the use of, firearms.

The basic social unit among them was the patriarchal household (*bela*, *bnā*, *klifta*); the individual households were loosely grouped into larger families (*mišpaha*), but there were no clans properly speaking. Communal organization was little developed, but social intercourse amongst kinsmen and friends was lively, and the degrees of hospitality and formulas of politeness numerous and varied.

The education was mainly confined to primary schools (*midraš*); the most famous of these were the boys' school of *Haxam* Jišaj (d. 1946 in Jerusalem) and the girl's school (an almost unique case in the East) of the learned Ribbi *Hawa* (Eve, d. 1958 in Tel Aviv), both in Urmi. In that city there was also a Talmudic house of learning (*ješiwa*).

For want of a census of the population in Persia no exact data are available on the number of the speakers of the dialect; it can be assumed that at no time it exceeded 5,000. During and immediately after World War I, most of the speakers of N, who had suffered greatly at the hands of the invading armies and the rebels of various other communities, emigrated to other countries, mainly to Iraq (Kurdistan, Baghdad), and eventually to Palestine (later Israel); thus the community of *Sal* was entirely evacuated in 1916. Previous to that there had already been small communities of emigrants in Tiflis (Georgia) and Istanbul. At a later period, many of the speakers of S followed suit.

At present the great majority of the speakers of N and a considerable part of the speakers of S are living in Israel, where the older people are engaged in various trades, while the young men chiefly excel as technicians and mechanics.

3. All sub-dialects of both N and S are mutually intelligible. This is mainly due to the fact that owing to their occupations and also for historical reasons (see above 2) the inhabitants of smaller towns and townships frequently changed their place of residence. This also led to the formation of mixed sub-dialects, e.g. that of *Sol*, where

numerous grammatical forms proper to both N and S coexist and vary freely with one another; the sub-dialects of U and of Ši, on the other hand, are more conservative, the first owing to the fact that U was considered the spiritual and cultural centre of Jewish life in Azerbaijan (see above 2), and the second owing to the relative geographical segregation of a community living in a mountainous region at a distance from the main trade routes.

A comparison between certain grammatical features in S and N respectively shows that the former has on the whole retained more of the older forms, e.g. {-ó+i→ój-} (vs. their coalescence into {-ú-} in N), the preponderance of copular suffixes in the inflection of the durative stem, the greater frequency of the lack of subordinate conjunctions, etc. This observation is further confirmed by the comparison between the lexical items in S and in older traditions as reflected mainly in the Bible translation of *Haxam* Jišaj and the translations of other religious texts. As for the domains of morphology and syntax, the language of the translations constitutes a faithful reproduction of the structure of Biblical and post-Biblical Hebrew, the individual forms of which are reproduced word for word in their original order. This phenomenon, which is observable in the translation of religious texts in all Jewish dialects without exception (and also in certain archaizing styles of narration, e.g. the texts published by Duval), renders the languages of translation entirely different from the dialects of the spoken languages, with the description of one of which this monograph is solely concerned.

All speakers of the dialect are multilingual, speaking, besides their native dialect, Azeri Turkish (in all districts), as well as Kurdish (mainly in S) and to a certain degree Persian (mainly the younger men of U who have attended government schools). All these languages have influenced the dialect to a marked degree.

4. The task of presenting a structural analysis of a dialect which has hitherto not been described in a traditional manner, but whose antecedents are to a certain degree known to the analyst, has been far from easy. Some of the outstanding difficulties in this respect and attempts to solve them have been:

(a) the lack of familiarity on the part of the majority of the readers with the lexical material and the grammatical structure of the dialect necessitated the adducing of a considerable number of examples to illustrate both the grammatical formulas presented and the relative frequency of certain forms (such as the patterns of noun-formation or syntactical construction).

(b) the analysis of the formation and inflection of nouns has been greatly complicated by the numerous loanwords, which are particularly frequent in this form-class. These forms – many of which are known to the speakers of the dialect as imported – have been integrated into the grammatical structure of the dialect in varying degrees; thus, a form like /a^{ya}/ “lord, master” is considered mono-morphemic ({a^{ya}}; cf. {a^{ya}+at} “lord of”, {a^{ya}+i} “my lord”), while in other forms ending in /-a/ the final phoneme is analysed as a singular indicator (e.g. {šuš+a} “glass (mat.),

bottle"; cf. {šuš+it} ~ {šuš+ø} "bottle of", {šuš+i} "my bottle"), while the analysis of yet other forms varies according to the group of sub-dialects (e.g. /miswa/ "meritorious deed", pl. {miswa+e} (S) ~ {misw+e} (N)).

(c) in the analysis of both complex and compound forms of nouns, prepositions and particles, it has in many cases been difficult if not impossible to disregard purely diachronical factors, of which the speakers of the dialect are no longer conscious (in contrast with other cases, where forms like {lixm+ida} "small leaf" and {pilg+lele} "midnight" were analyzed by the informants themselves as <loaf-of+hand> and <middle-of+night>). A few examples may suffice:

(i) the loaned derivational suffixes have been analyzed as separate morphemes only if they are productive in the dialect (e.g. -či, -i and others, in contrast with -luy ~ līγ).

(ii) bases in compound and complex (loan) forms have been analyzed as such if they occur otherwise (e.g. {ham+an} "the same", cf. {ham+kin} "equally", {ham} "both, also"; in contrast with forms like *onda* (N) "then", *albahal* "immediately, which are complex and compound respectively in the source languages but whose bases do not occur otherwise in the dialect).

(d) the lack of written tradition has led to a considerable freedom of syntactic construction, both with regard to word order (e.g. in the sequence qualifier+head ~ head+qualifier in phrases, nominal phrase+verbal phrase ~ verbal phrase+nominal phrase in sentences) and with regard to the use of phrases of varying descriptions as topical subjects of a sentence. It must be pointed out in this connection that the list of the possibilities given in the chapter on syntax is by no means complete and that a number of additional variations are apt to be signalled with any accretion to the corpus (which comprises, besides the texts given in part two of this monograph,⁷ material noted in the course of informal conversations and presented by the Bible translation (see p. 11).

5. The investigation of the dialect was undertaken by the author in the years 1957–1959 with the help of the Mary E. Wooley Fellowship granted to her by the International Federation of University Women; in addition a publishing grant has been awarded to her by the Alexander Kohut Memorial Foundation in New York; for both these grants she expresses her deepest gratitude to the donors. Her chief informants (unless stated otherwise in Jerusalem) were: for *Sol* Josef Ben-Rahamim, B. A. (J B-R, then student of the Hebrew University and teacher), his brother Menashe, parents Lewi (L B-R) and *Warda*, and their relations Mirjam Ben-Šalom (M B-Š) and Šalom *Johanan*; for *Ši*: *Tamar* Kohen (T K), her husband *Isaq* (Isaac, I K), and *Mordexaj* *Elijahu* (M E); for *U*: *Aharon* *Elijahu* *Mizrahi* (A M), his wife *Riwqa* (R M), *Sara* *Jedidja* (S J), and Josef *Haxamof* (J H), in Tel Aviv; for *Ba*: *Mordexaj* Šalom Lewi (M L); for *Ga*: Šemto Dawid (the material has not been used in the texts).

In addition, the author spent three months in the autumn of 1957 in Istanbul in order to collect written and spoken material on Azeri Turkish and Kurdish.

To all her informants, who had become her personal friends, she extends her heartfelt thanks for their unvarying patience, understanding and hospitality.

PART ONE

Phonology and Grammar

1 PHONOLOGY

1.1 SEGMENTAL PHONEMES

1.11 Consonants

1.11.1 *Inventory and actualization.* There are twenty-four consonantal phonemes, of which eight (including the marginal /ʔ/) are stops, two affricates, ten fricatives, two nasals, one is a flap and one a lateral.

(1) The stops:

/p/ – a tense bilabial stop

/b/ – a lax bilabial stop

/t/ – a tense apico-dental stop

/d/ – a lax apico-dental stop

/k/ – a tense dorso-velar stop

/g/ – a lax dorso-velar stop

/q/ – a tense radico-uvular stop

/ʔ/ – a glottal stop.

/p/ /t/ /k/ are breathed except as first members of consonant clusters and as second members of clusters following a tense breathed fricative: /pel/ [p'ɛːl] “he falls, will, may fall”, /tel/ [t'ɛːl] “string (of instrument)”, /kel/ N [k'ɛːl] “he measures, will, may measure”; /naxope/ S [naxɔpɛː], N [naxɔp'ɛː] “being ashamed”, /makke/ [makk'ɛː] “maize”, /mato/ S [máːt'ɔ], N [máːt'ɔ] “how”; /naxip/ [nɑːxíp] “he (habitually) is, will, may be ashamed”, /at/ [áːt] “you (sg.)”, /xek/ [xɛːk] “it itches, will, may itch, he scratches, will, may scratch”; /mpille/ [mp'íllɛ] “he brought to fall”, /amto/ S [ʌmt'óː], N [ʌmt'óː] “paternal aunt”, /danka/ S [dʌŋk'ɔ], N [dʌŋk'á] “unit”; /plixle/ [plíxlɛ] “he/it opened”, /tpire/ [tp'ířɛ] “it burned (anger)”, /klelta/ S [klelt'ɔ], N [klelt'á] “hen” S /špiria/ [špiːrɔ] “good”, /baxta/ S [bʌxtɔ], N [bʌxtá] “wife, woman”, /šifte/ [šíftɛː] “groat dumplings”.

/b/ /d/ /g/ are fully voiced intervocalically and between sonant or other lax C and V; in other positions and in individual speech they are partly or totally unvoiced: /abe/ [abɛː] “he may want, like”, /gbe/ [gbɛː] “he wants, likes, will want, like”, /abja/ [abjɔ] “she may want, like”; /madex/ [madɛx] “we (shall, may) bring”, /mdi/ [mdíː] “bring”, /madja/ [madjá] “she brings, will, may bring”, /agăr/ [agăr] “if, when”, /mgisle/

[mgfslɛ] “he tired (someone)”, /gdeni/ [gdɛ·nɪ] “they will, may come”, /beli/ [bɛ·li] “my house”; N /šbira/ [šbɪ·rɔ] “good”, /gab salmas/ [gaɓ salmá·s] “in the direction (or vicinity) of Salmas”; /lógab/ S [ló·gaɓ] N [lɔ·gaɓ] “in that direction”, /daren/ [ɖarɛ·n] “I (m.) (shall, may) return”, /šdīru/ [šɖɪ·ru] “they sent”, /b-idxun/ [biɖxún] “in your (pl.) hand(s)”, /b-garid/ [bga·rɪɖ] “he is going to grate”; /gora/ S [gó·rɔ], N [gó·rɔ] “man, husband”, /kafgir/ [kafgi·r] “skimmer”, /arugta/ S [Arúgt·ɔ], N [Arúgt·ɔ] “apricot”, /xdug/, S [xɖu·g], N [xɖy·g], “worry (n.)”.

In S, /k/ and /g/ are actualized as palatal stops preceding front vowels: /ki/ [cʰi] “that, which”, /keli/ [cʰɛ·li] “they will, may measure”. /gisa/ [ji·sɔ] “tired”, /géna/ [jɛ·na] “again, yet”.

/q/. In S it is totally unvoiced in all positions; in N it is partly voiced in word initial and totally voiced intervocalically, between vowel and /j/ and between sonant and vowel, in which case it tends to become an affricate or fricative: /qimle/ [qɪmlɛ] “he rose”, /maqe/ [maɖɛ· ~ maɳɛ·] “he speaks, will, may speak”, /mqi/ [mɖi· ~ mɳi·] “speak”.

(2) The affricates are:

/č/ – a lamino-palatal tense breathed affricate

/j/ – a lamino-palatal lax voiced affricate

(3) The fricatives are:

/f/ – a labio-dental tense breathed fricative

/w/ – a bilabial grooved or non-grooved, or labio-dental lax voiced fricative

/s/ – a lamino-alveolar tense breathed grooved fricative

/z/ – a lamino-alveolar lax voiced grooved fricative

/ʃ/ – a lamino-palatal tense breathed grooved fricative

/ž/ – a lamino-palatal lax voiced grooved fricative

/j/ – a dorso-palatal lax voiced half-vowel

/x/ – a dorso-postvelar tense breathed fricative

/ɣ/ – a dorso-postvelar lax voiced fricative

/h/ – a glottal flat fricative, voiced intervocalically and postvocally and breathed in other positions:

In S, /w/ is actualized as [w] in the vicinity of /a/ and back vowels: /waxt/ [waxt] “(specified) time”, /hawe/ [hawɛ] “he/it (they) may be”, /idaw/ [i·dáv] “her hand(s)”, /šwoi/ [šwoi] “70”, /płow/ [plɔw] “pilav”, /wud/ [wúɖ] “do, make”, /kluw/ [klv(w)] “write” (cf. 1.2.4). In the vicinity of front vowels it varies freely between [w] and [β] as member of a consonant cluster and in word final: /hwílli/ [hwílli ~ hβílli] “I gave”, /klíwlan/ [klíwlan ~ klíβlan] “we wrote”, /swélu/ [swɛ·lɔ ~ sβɛ·lɔ] “they were satiated”, /jtiw/ [jtɪ·w ~ jtɪ·β] “he is sitting” (cf. 1.2.4), /idew/ [ide·w ~ idé·β] “his hand(s)”; in word initial and intervocalically it is actualized as [β]: /wéli/ [βɛ·li] “was”, /widen/ [βide·n] “I (m.) have done, made”, /klíwi/ [klí·βi] “they have been written”.

In N, /w/ is actualized as [w] only as second member of a consonant cluster following /š/ and preceding /a/ (and when following such a sequence): /ušwa/ [ɻšwá] “7”, /šwawa/ [šwa·wá] “neighbour”; in the same position preceding front vowels, /o/ [ø]

and /u/ [ɤ] (also following /j/) is it actualized as [w̥]: /šwéle/ [šw̥é·lɛ] “he/it was worth”, /ušwoi/ [ɤšw̥õí] “70”, /(našu) nišwu/ [(našy) nišw̥ý] “their (kith and) kin”, /jwé/ [jw̥e] “different”. In all other positions it varies freely between [β] and a lax voiced labiodental with very little friction: /widen/ [βidɛ·n ~ ʋidɛ·n] “I (m.) have done, made”, /wéli/ [βɛ·lí ~ ʋɛ·lí] “I was”, /wakil/ [βak̚·í·l ~ ʋak̚·í·l] lieutenant”, “/wud/ [βɤɖ ~ ʋɤɖ] “do, make”; /hawe/ [haβɛ· ~ haʋɛ·] “he (they) may be”, /hawa/ [haβá ~ haʋá] “she may give”; /kwil/ kβíl ~ [kʋíl] “he gives, will give”, /kwe/ [kβɛ· ~ kʋɛ·] “he (habitually) is, will be”, /kwa/ [kβá ~ kʋá] “she gives, will give”; /kiwja/ [k̚·íβjá ~ k̚·íʋjá] “she (habitually) is, will be”, /šawja/ [šaβjá ~ šaʋjá] “she is (will be) worth”; /jtiw/ [jt̚·í·β ~ jt̚·í·ʋ] “he is sitting”, /belew/ [βɛlɛ·β ~ βɛlɛ·ʋ] “his house”, /idaw/ [i·dádβ ~ i·dádʋ] “her hand(s)”.

In both groups of sub-dialects /w/ is actualized as [w] in the conjunctive suffix: /soni-w soti/ S [so·níwsɔ·t̚·í] N [sɔ·níwsɔ·t̚·í] “my grandfather and grandmother”, /gure-w niše/ S [ǵurɛ·wniʃɛ·], N [ǵyrɛ·wniʃɛ·] “men and women”, /xamša-w xamši/ [xamšáw·xamši] “55”, /kalo-whatan/ S [k̚·alɔ·whatá·n], N [k̚·alɔ·whatá·n] “bride and bridegroom”, /jalu-w jal jalu/ S [ja·lúwja·lja·lú], N [ja·lúwja·lja·lý] “their children and children’s children”. (cf. also 1.11.2(2)).

/z/ is partly unvoiced before tense consonant or in pause: /tez/ “quickly”, /te-z tez xíre/ [t̚ɛz t̚ɛ·z xíre] “quickly he looked”.

/j/ is produced with very little friction. As first member of an initial cluster it is actualized as extra-short [ɪ]: /jtiwli/ [ɪt̚·íwli ~ ɪt̚·íβli] “I sat down”.

/h/ is lax and voiced intervocalically between sonant and vowel and postvocally: /sahil/ [sa·híl] “he witnesses, will, may, witness”, /jhita/ S [jhi·t̚·ɔ], N [jhi·t̚·á] “tired-out (f.)”, /dehwa/ S [d̚ɛh̥wɔ], N [d̚ɛh̥βá ~ d̚ɛh̥ʋá] “(piece of) gold”.

(4) The nasals are:

/m/ – a bilabial lax voiced nasal

/n/ – an apico-dental lax voiced nasal.

In both groups of sub-dialects /n/ is actualized as a dorso-velar nasal [ŋ] preceding /k/, /g/ and /q/: /danka/ S [d̚·aŋk̚·ɔ], N [d̚·aŋk̚·á] “unit, a certain”, /rang/ [r̚·aŋg] “colour” /jwanqa/ S [j̚·waŋqɔ], N [j̚·βaŋGá] “young man”. Preceding /w/ it is produced labiodentally: /gezínwa/ S [ǵɛ·zím̥wɔ], N [ǵɛ·zím̥ʋɔ] “I (m.) used to go”, /gezánwa/ S [ǵɛ·zám̥wɔ], N [ǵɛ·zám̥ʋɔ] “I (f.) used to go”.

(5) /l/ is an apico-alveolar lax voiced lateral. In N it is somewhat velarized.

(6) /r/ is an apico-alveolar lax voiced flap, becoming partly unvoiced preceding a tense consonant and in word final: /mirta/ S [m̥írt̚·ɔ], N [m̥írt̚·á] “she has said”, /dar/ [d̚·á·ɾ] “he returns, will, may, return”. With some speakers of S it tends to be fronted in this position: [m̥íɾ̚·t̚·ɔ], [d̚·á·ɾ̚].

1.11.2 Distribution. The consonants occur in all positions with the following limitations:

1) General: (a) prohibited consonant clusters (see 1.22) (b) mutations in juncture see 1.11.3).

(2) Specific: /ʒ/ does not occur in word final except in juncture (see 1.2.3). /ɣ/ occurs

initially only in one instance (a manifest loanword); in all other positions it occurs in the vicinity of non-front vowels only in flat words (see 1.31). /h/ rarely occurs in word final except in flat words. In S, /w/ and /j/ are usually replaced by zero in the vicinity of /u/ and /i/ respectively: /wud/ ~ /ud/ “do, make!”, /kluw/ ~ /klu/ “write!”, /léwu/ ~ /léu/ “they are not”, /xizjile/ ~ /xizile/ “he saw them”, /w/, /g/, /j/, /j/ and /h/ do not occur in (medial) geminate clusters, and /r/ rarely occurs in this position. /p/: /pela/ “radish”, /xaporé/ “digging”, /naxip/ “he becomes (will, may become) ashamed”, /lappe/ “hulled child-peas”

/b/: /bela/ “house”, /ebéle/ “he wanted”, /sabāb/ “cause, reason”, /libba/ “heart”

/t/: /tara/ “door; outside”, /máto/ “how”, /at/ “you (sg.)”, /atta/ “now”

/d/: /dar/ “he returns (intr.), will, may return”, /ade/ “he may come”, /od/ “he may do, make”, N /siddur/ “prayer-book”

/k/: /kepa/ “stone”, /léka/ “where, whither”, /xek/ “it itches, will, may itch; he scratches, will, may scratch”, /makke/ “maize”

/g/: /guda/ “wall”, /agār/ “if (also ‘when’)”, /jarig/ “he arrays, will, may array”

/q/: /qinna/ “nest”, /jaqura/ “heavy, honoured”, /duq/ “knock”, /diqqa/ “mercery goods”

/č/: /čajnik/ “tea-pot”, /načole/ “plucking”, S /hič/, N /heč/ “not at all”

/j/: /julle/ “clothes”, /majobe/ “answering”, /guj/ “force (n.)”

/f/: /fand/ “trick”, /safār/ “journey”, /kef/ “well-being, good mood”, /kaffew/ “its foam”

/w/: /wéle/ “he was”, /kawa/ “window-hole, niche”, /qliw/ “it has been cleaned”

/s/: /salda/ “basket”, /kasa/ “belly, stomach”, /mis/ “brass, copper”, /fisse/ “money”

/z/: /zaqore/ “weaving”, /bezi/ “they will, may spill (tr. and intr.)”, /mez/ “table”

/š/: /šimma/ “name”, /maše/ “beans”, /kuš/ “go, come down”, /tašši/ “spindle”

/ž/: /žane/ “birth-pangs”, S /taži/ “greyhound”, /urmižna/ “of Urmi”, S and arch. /dižmin/ “enemy”

/j/: /jala/ “child”, /mija/ “bowel”, /aj/ “this (allomorph); (N also: belonging to)”

/x/: /xala/ “new”, /maxoe/ “striking, beating”, /mix/ “nail (implement)”, /kjixxe/ “we (shall) know him”

/ɣ/: /ɣer/ “only, just, must needs”, /maɣara/ “cave”, N /doɣ/ “sizzling-hot”

/h/: /haman/ ~ /hamun/ “the same”, /dahole/ “striking, beating”, /illah/ “must needs”

/m/: /ma/ “what”, /amona/ “paternal uncle”, /tem/ “it (habitually) is, will, may be, completed”, /šimma/ “name”

/n/: /nura/ “fire”, /ana/ “I”, /din/ “religion”, /šinne/ “years”

/l/: /luš/ “knead, dress”, /mola/ “death”, /pul/ “fall (imper.)”, /gilla/ “grass”

/r/: /reša/ “head”, /peri/ “they will, may pass”, /mar/ “say, let”, /sarraf/ “money-changer”

/ʔ/ is a marginal phoneme occurring only in medial clusters in lexically specified cases: /m-nʔ-j/O “withhold”, /qurʔan/ “the Koran”, /zarʔa/ “seed, posterity”; a somewhat doubtful instance of its significance is given by the pair /zarʔew/ s.g. “his seed, posterity” – /zarew/ (pl.) “his dice”.

1.11.3 *Mutations in juncture*

(1) tense single consonants are replaced by the corresponding lax ones

(a) preceding external open juncture (indicated by space between words) if followed by a lax consonant, sonant or vowel: /b(e)-naxip/ “he will be ashamed” → /b(e)-naxib minnu/ “he will be ashamed of them”, /mat kaliw/ “whatever he writes” → /mad abet/ “whatever you (sg.m.) wish”, /halak/ “meanwhile” → /halag mdélu/ “meanwhile they brought”, /šuš/ “bottle of” → /šuž bira/ “beer bottle” /mindix/ (S) “thing” → /mindiy la widten/ “I (f.) have not done anything”, /geč/ (N) “late” → /gej ila/ “it is late”.

(b) preceding external close juncture (indicated by hyphen; see 2.0) under the same conditions: /baqox/ S ~ /baox/ (N) “to you (sg.m.)” → /baqóγ-iš/ ~ /baóγ-iš/ “to you also”, /it/ “there is”, /id illu/ “they have”

(c) preceding external hesitation juncture (indicated by three dots): /attat/ (S) “until” → /attad...mištxále/ “until... he found her; /mindix/ (S) “thing” → /mindiy ...kalba/ “what’s-his name...the dog”.

(2) /š/ is replaced by an anticipatory consonant in external open juncture followed by /s/, /č/ or /j/: /biš/ “more” → /bis sqilta/ more beautiful (f.)”, /bij jwan/ “better”, /bič čatin/ “more difficult”.

(3) affricates tend to lose their occlusive element in external open juncture if followed by a consonant with oral occlusion (stop or nasal): /hič/ (S) ~ /heč/ (N) “no... at all” → /hiš mindix/ (S) ~ /heš mindiy/ (N) “nothing at all”, /muč/ (S) “because of” → /muž do/ “because of that”.

(4) /r/ in external open juncture followed by /l/ is replaced by /l/ in N: /mar l-ezil/ → /mal l-ezil/ “let him not go”. /l/ is in external close juncture followed by /n/ is replaced by /n/ in S: /il-nóšew/ → /in-nóšew/ “to himself”.

For mutations in internal open juncture (morpheme juncture) see ch. 2.

1.12 *Vowels*

There are five vowel phonemes: /i/ /e/ /a/ /o/ /u/.

1.12.1 *Inventory and actualization*

/i/ Its chief allophone – when phonetically long (see below 1.33) – is an unrounded high-front vowel slightly lower than high: /gami/ [ǵamí-] “ship”, /it/ [í-tʰ] “there is/are”, /bšílu/ S. [bší-lu], N [bší-ly] “they have cooked”, /si/ [sí-] “go”. In unstressed open syllables it is slightly more lowered: /ilana/ S [ila-nó], N [ila-ná] “tree”, /nóši/ S [nó-ši], N [nø-ši] “myself”. When phonetically or phonemically short (see 1.33), it varies freely between lower-high centralized [ɪ] and mean-mid central [ə], the latter variant occurring most frequently before sonants: /škíl/ [škíɫ ~ škál] “picture”, /bilbíl/ [bílɪbíl ~ bəlbál] “nightingale”, /fkíre/ [fkíɾe ~ fkáɾe] “he understood”, /itti/ [ítɪ] “I have”; before geminate non-stop clusters in unstressed syllables it is actualized as syllabicity of the preceding C (if a sonant) or of the first member of the following cluster (in all other cases): /riwwa/ S [ɾwwó], N [ɾββá] “large, great, big”,

/missan/ [mssán] “I (f.) am (shall be) able”, /fissé/ [fšsé] “money”, /bizza/ S [bʒzɔ], N [bʒzá] “hole”, /kɪmma/ S [kɪmmɔ], N [kɪmmá] “how much, many”.

/e/ Its chief allophone is an unrounded mean-mid front vowel; /idjéla/ [ɪdjéla] “she came”, /b-ezen/ [bɛzɛn] “I (m.) am going to go”, /bále/ [bǎlé] “but; o yes”. In an open unstressed syllable preceding a syllable centering in /i/ it approaches the higher-mid position: /beli/ [bɛli] “my house”, S /tremín/ [tremí.n], N /tremínji/ [tre.mínji] “second (num.)”. With some speakers of the Ši sub-dialect in S it is still higher in unstressed word final: /xille/ [xíllɛ] “he ate”. Before a consonant cluster beginning with /h/ it is centralized mean-mid [ɛ̃]: /dehwa/ S [dɛ̃hʷɔ], N [dɛ̃hʷá] (“piece of) gold”, /sehra/ S [sɛ̃hrɔ], N [sɛ̃hrá] “moon”.

/a/ Its chief allophone in the vicinity of at least one acute consonant is an unrounded low front to front-central a: /palix/ [p’a.líx] “he/it opens, will, may open”, /bále/ [bǎlé] “but, o yes”, /at/ [a.t] “you (sg.)”, /dar/ [ɖa.r] “he returns, will, may return (intr.)”, /makke/ [makk’ɛ] “beans”, /máni/ [mánji] “who”, /agǎr/ [agǎr] “if”, /gare/ [gǎrɛ] “he shaves, will, may shave”, /qale/ S [qalɛ], N [qalɛ] “he roasts, will, may roast”, /čatin/ [čat’i.n] “difficult”, /jagir/ S [ja.gír], N [ja.gír] “he (habitually) grows (will, may grow) angry”; in the vicinity of grave consonants only in stressed syllables and in open syllables immediately preceding stress it is more backed: /ma/ [má] “what”, /bama/ [bá.ma] N “why”, /šwawa/ S [šwa.wɔ] N [šwa.wá] “neighbour”, /xamir/ [xɑ.mír] “it ferments, will, may ferment”; in unstressed closed syllables or in syllables not immediately preceding stress it is a centralized lower-mid [ʌ]: /baxta/ S [baxtɔ], N [baxtá] “wife, woman”, /axni/ [ʌxni] “we”, /xarupa/ S [xarɥ.pɔ], N [xarɥ.pá] “sharp”.

In word final it is actualized in S as a rounded low back, slightly nasalized [ɐ], in N as an unrounded low back [ɑ], and by the female speakers of the U sub-dialect in N as a rounded back lower-mid [ɔ]: /ida/ S [i.dɔ], N [i.dá], female speakers of U [i.dó] “hand”; /léka/ S [lɛ.kɔ], N [lɛ.kɔ], female speakers of U [lɛ.k’ɔ] “where”. [ɔ] is also an allophone of /a/ in the sequence /-ao-/: /baox/ [bɔɔx] “to/for you (sg.m.)”; in U /a/ has a centralized allophone [ä] preceding open juncture followed by /j/: /isra jarxe/ [ɪsrä.jarxɛ] “ten months”; in S preceding /-ci-/: jariq [järiq] “he runs, will, may run away”.

/o/ is a rounded mean-mid vowel with a higher mid allophone in an open syllable preceding a syllable centering in /i/; it is back in S and varies freely from back to central to centralized front in N; in the vicinity of post-velars and the uvular /q/ the back allophone alone occurs: /tora/ S [t’ɔ.rɔ], N [t’ɔ.rá] “ox”, /nóšan/ S [nɔ.šan], N [nɔ.šan], “ourselves”, /tori/ S [t’o.rí], N [t’ɔ.rí] “my ox”, /nóši/ S [nɔ.ši], N [nɔ.ši] “myself”, /rešox/ [rɛ.šɔx] “your (sg.m.) head, your heads”, /qor/ S [qɔ.r], N [qɔ.r] “he buries, will, may bury”.

/u/ Its chief allophone is a rounded back vowel slightly lower than high, with fronted allophones in N corresponding to those of /o/; in an open syllable preceding a syllable centering in /i/ it reaches the high tongue position: /belu/ S [bɛ.lú], N [bɛ.lý] “their house”, N /úle/ [ý.le] “there he is”, /wud/ S [(w)úɖ], N [βyɖ] “do, make”,

/sanula/ S [sanu·lɔ́], N [sany·lɔ́] “ugliness”, /duši/ S [ɖu·ʃí], N [dy·ʃí] “my honey”. In unstressed closed syllables and in the imperative of the verb “to rise” it is a lower-high centralized [u] in S and [ɣ] in N; /símun/ S [sɪ·mun], N [sɪ·mɣn] “go (pl.)”, /xalunta/ S [xalUntɔ́] N [xalɣntɔ́] “sister”, /qú(lax)/ S [qu(lax)], N [qɣ(lax)] (both flat) “get up (sg.f.)”.

1.12.2 Distribution

Vowels occur in all positions with the following limitations:

(1) General: Mutations in juncture (see 1.12.3.)

(2) Specific: /i/ /e/ /o/ do not occur in syllables closed with a consonant cluster, /o/ does not occur in monosyllabics of the type CCV, /u/ does not occur in monophonemic free forms.

/i/: /ít(a)/, “there is/are”, /zaif/ “weak”, /gami/ “ship”, /ida/ “hand”, /si/ “go”, /kwi/ “they (will) give”

/e/: /ezil/ “he may go”, /e/ “yes”, /le/ “he is not”, /gbe/ “he wants, likes, will, may want, like”, /meir/ m.n., /amane/ “tools”

/a/: /aman/ “tool”, /ma/ “what”, /gba/ “she wants, likes, will, may want, like”. /taaddula/ “on purpose” /sepa/ “sword”

/o/: /olka/ “country”, /o/ “he/she; that (pron.)”, /od/ “he may do, make, /daroew/ “his putting”, /kalo/ “bride”

/u/: /umud/ “hope (n.)”, /pru/ (S) “their soil, land”, /plux/ “open (imper.)”, /xaula/ “state of being alive”, /kahu/ “lettuce”.

In stressed closed syllables in flat words (1.31), /i/ varies freely with /u/: /plítle/ ~ /plútle/ “he went/took out”; /smiǎli/ ~ /smúxli/ “I stood, waited”. Similarly, the sequence /-iw-/ varies freely with /-u-/: /jtúwla/ ~ /jtúla/ “she sat down”. In the vicinity of /q/ it varies freely with /a/ [ʌ] /qímle/ ~ /qámle/ “he rose”.

1.12.3 Mutations in juncture

(1) The final vowel in /la/ “not” and /ma/ “what” is elided in external open juncture when followed by a verbal form of the imperfective aspect with initial vowel (/la/ and /ma/ thus become monophonemic proclitics; see 2.0): /l-ezil/ “he may not go”, /l-ezilwa/ “he should not have gone”; /m-oden/ “what shall I (m.) do”, /m-odínwa/ “what should I (m.) have done?”

(2) The initial /i/ before /CC-/ is optionally elided following external open juncture preceded by a vowel or /-w/ joined to the first member of the tagmeme by external close juncture; the stress is in this case shifted to the following syllable: /la ídje/ ~ /la dje/ “he has not come”, /xa brona ítwa/ ~ /xa brona twá/ “he had a son”; /imma-w ičča/ ~ /imma-w čča/ “109”; rarely before a single C: /kixwe it/ ~ /kixwe-t/ “there are stars”.

1.2 THE SYLLABLE

1.21 There are following types of syllables:

V: /i/ (S) “of, belonging to”, /e/ “yes”, /o/ “he/she; that (demonstr. sg.)”

- CV: /si/ "go", /le/ "he is not (allomorph.)", /xa/ "one", /to/ (S) "good", /qu/ "rise"
 VC: /it/ "there is/are", /ej/ "oh (voc. particle)", /at/ "you (sg.)", /od/ "(that) he do, make", /ud/ (S) "do, make"
 CVC: /biz/ "it (m.) has been spilled", /qem/ "he rises, will, may rise", /mar/ "say, let", /tor/ "he breaks, will, may break" (tr. and intr.), /pur/ "pass"
 VCC: ašq (S) ~ išq (N) "love", /asr/ "evening"
 CCV: /xzi/ "see", /gde/ "he comes, will, may come", /kre/ "hire (n.)", /šwa/ (S) "week", /tku/ "their place"
 CVCC: /taxt/ "throne", /šixt/ (S) "line", /tund/ "strong (colour, taste)"
 CCVC: /twir/ "he/it has broken (intr.)", /fkir/ "thought", /gden/ "I (m.) shall come", /sfat/ (N) ~ /swat/ (S) "countenance", /plow/ "pilav", /kwat/ "you (sg. f.) (will) give", /jtuw/ "sit down"
 CCVCC: /drang/ (S) "late", /tfang/ "rifle"

1.22 Consonant clusters in syllable borders

(1) *Initially*. In principle, any two consonants may cluster initially, provided they are not geminates (but see below), homorganic (but see below), near-homorganic (except *kx-*) and tense-lax (except /q/) as first member. /ž/ does not cluster initially with any consonant; /ɣ/ occurs only following /j/ in one single instance; /č/, /j/, /h/, /l/ are infrequent as first members; /w/ occurs as first member preceding /j/ in one single instance. In practice, however, only the following clusters occur initially (the instances may be partly due to chance in view of the limited corpus):

- | | |
|--|---|
| /pt/: /ptille/ "he twisted" | /bl/: /blita/ "ticket" |
| /pd/: /pdéle/ "he ransomed", delivered | /br/: /brona/ "son, boy" |
| /pq/: /pqéle/ "he burst" | /tp/: /tpurta/ "finger-nail" |
| /ps/: /psinne/ "he praised" | /tb/: /tbille/ "he sneezed" |
| /pš/: /pšire/ "he/it melted" | /tk/: /tka/ "place" |
| /pj/: /pjala/ "falling" | /tq/: /tqire/ "he touched" |
| /ph/: /phire/ N "he yawned" | /tf/: /tfinka/ "nostril" |
| /pl/: /plixle/ "he/it opened" | /tw/: /twire/ "he/it broke" |
| /pr/: /pra/ S "earth" | /ts/: /tšéle/ "he hid (tr. and intr.)" |
| /bt/: /btille/ "it became empty" | /tj/: /tjasa/ "sticking-in" |
| /bd/: /bdéle/ (lit.) "he/it began" | /tx/: /txinne/ "he ground" |
| /bq/: /bqire/ "he asked" | /th/: /thire/ "he became ritually clean" |
| /bs/: /bsimle/ "he grew well" | /tm/: /tméle/ "he tasted; he became unclean" |
| /bš/: /bšille/ "he/it cooked" | /tn/: /tnéle/ "he spoke (lit.), he learned by rote" |
| /bj/: /bjaza/ "spilling" | |
| /bx/: /bxéle/ "he wept" | |
| /bh/: /bhire/ "it grew light (opp. to dark)" | /tl/: /tloxta/ "lentil" |
| | /tr/: /tre/ "two" |
| /bn/: /bnéle/ "he built; he counted (S)" | /db/: /dbéle/ "he slaughtered" |

/dg/:	/dgílle/ "he lied"	/jh/:	/jhita/ "tired out (f.)"
/dw/:	/dwíqle/ "he caught, held; it cost"	/jn/:	/jnívle/ "he devoured"
/dj/:	/djara/ "returning (intr.)"	/jl/:	/jlíqle/ "he tore to pieces"
/dh/:	/dhílle/ "he struck, beat"	/jr/:	/jréle/ "it (m.) flowed"
/dm/:	/dmux/ "go to sleep"	/ft/:	/ftíšle/ "he searched"
/dr/:	/dréle/ "he put"	/fk/:	/fkíre/ "he understood"
/kp/:	/kpana/ "shoulder"	/fs/:	/fšang/ "ammunition"
/kt/:	/ktana/ "cottonflax"	/fh/:	/fhímle/ (lit.) "he understood"
/kc/:	/kčulta/ "kidney"	/fl/:	/flan/ "so-and-so"
/kw/:	/kwi/ "they (will) give"	/fr/:	/frita/ "wide (f.)"
/ks/:	/ksila/ "hat"	/wj/:	/wjara/ "entering"
/kj/:	/kjala/ "measuring"	/sp/:	/spilta/ S "lip"
/kx/:	/kxíkile/ "he laughed"	/sb/:	/sbilta/ N "lip";
/km/:	/kmir/ "he says, will say"	:	/sbadila/ "cushion"
/kn/:	/kništa/ "synagogue"	/st/:	/stol/ "chair"
/kl/:	/klelta/ "hen"	/sk/:	/skita/ "knife"
/kr/:	/kre/ "hire, lease"	/sq/:	/sqilta/ "beautiful (f.); ring"
/gb/:	/gbéle/ "he chose"	/sf/:	/sfat/ N "countenance"
/gd/:	/gdéni/ "they (will) come"	/sw/:	/swéle/ "he was satisfied"
/gw/:	/gwira/ "married"	/sj/:	/sjama/ "shoe"
/gz/:	/gzíre/ "he circumcized"	/sx/:	/sxéle/ "he swam, bathed"
/gj/:	/gjasa/ "growing tired"	/sh/:	/shéle/ "he grew thirsty"
/gn/:	/gnívle/ "he stole"	/sm/:	/smoqa/ "red"
/gl/:	/glala/ S "string"	/sn/:	/snita/ "ugly, hateful (f.)"
/gr/:	/gréle/ "he shaved"	/sl/:	/slola/ "prayer"
/qb/:	/qbílle/ "he received, accepted"	/sr/:	/sríqle/ "he combed"
/qt/:	/qtéle/ "he cut off, ceased"	/zb/:	/zbínne/ "he sold"
/qd/:	/qdiša/ "holy"	/zd/:	/zdela/ "fear (n.)"
/qf/:	/qfil/ "padlock"	/zk/:	/zkéle/ "he was rewarded (in a rel. sense)"
/qw/:	/qwita/ "strong (f.)"	/zq/:	/zqíre/ "he wove"
/qz/:	/qzanja/ "pot"	/zj/:	/zjada/ "increasing (intr.)"
/qj/:	/qjama/ "rising"	/zh/:	/zhímle/ "it became sprained"
/qh/:	/qhíre/ "he grew sad"	/zm/:	/zmíre/ "he sang"
/qn/:	/qnana/ "horn"	/zn/:	/znéle/ "he committed adultery"
/ql/:	/qlila/ "key"	/zl/:	/zlum/ (lit.) "injustice"
/qr/:	/qrawa/ "battle, war"	/zr/:	/zréle/ "he sowed, planted"
/čq/:	/čqéle/ "he/it tore"	/šp/:	/špíra/ S "good"
/jb/:	/jbíre/ "he overpowered"	/šb/:	/šbíra/ N "good"
/jg/:	/jgar/ "liver"	/št/:	/štéle/ "he drank"
/jj/:	/jjara/ "urinating"	/šd/:	/šdíre/ "he sent"
/jw/:	/jwan/ "good"	/šk/:	/škil/ "picture"
/jy/:	/jyara/ "cigarette"		

/šq/:	/šqille/ "he bought; lit. also: took"	/mc/:	/mčimle/ "he shut (his eyes or ears)"
/šf/:	/šfiqle/ "he had mercy upon"		
/šw/:	/šwawa/ "neighbour"	/mj/:	/mjfzle/ "he importuned"
/šj/:	/šjaša/ "waving"	/mw/:	/mwille/ "he used"
/šx/:	/šxinne/ "he/it became hot"	/ms/:	/msala/ "scales for weighing"
/šm/:	/šméle/ "he heard, listened"	/mz/:	/mzidle/ "he added, increased"
/šl/:	/šlixle/ "he took off (clothes)"	/ms/:	/mséle/ "he washed clothes"
/šr/:	/šrata/ "lamp"	/mj/:	/mjala/ "dying"
/jp/:	/jpéla/ "she baked"	/mx/:	/mxéle/ "he struck, beat"
/jt/:	/jtúwle/ "he sat down"	/mh/:	/mholta/ "delay"
/jd/:	/jdilla/ "she gave birth"	/mm/:	/mmille/ "he asked the price of"
/jq/:	/jqíre/ "it (m.) grew heavy"	/mn/:	/mnéle/ "he counted"
/js/:	/jsíre/ "he bound"	/ml/:	/mléle/ "he/it filled"
/jz/:	/jzilla/ "she spun"	/mr/:	/mréle/ "it (m.) ached"
/jm/:	/jméle/ "he swore"	/np/:	/npixle/ "he vomited"
/jl/:	/jlípale/ "he learned"	/nt/:	/ntíre/ "he watched, observed"
/jr/:	/jríwle/ "he mixed"	/nd/:	/ndíre/ "he vowed"
/xp/:	/xpíre/ "he dug"	/ng/:	/ngízle/ (S) "he bit"
/xt/:	/xtéle/ "he sinned"	/nč/:	/nčille/ "he plucked"
/xd/:	/xdaa/ "species of Sabbath food"	/ns/:	/nsíwle/ (lit.) "he planted"
/xw/:	/xwara/ "white"	/nw/:	/nwita/ "prophetess"
/xs/:	/xsille/ "he reaped"	/nš/:	/nšiqle/ "he kissed"
/xz/:	/xzéle/ "he saw"	/nj/:	/njaxa/ "resting; going out (fire, light)"
/xš/:	/xšilta/ "jewelry"		
/xj/:	/xjara/ "looking"	/nx/:	/nxípale/ "he grew ashamed"
/xm/:	/xmara/ "ass"	/nh/:	/nhal(t)a/ "ear"
/xn/:	/xníqle/ "he suffocated" drowned"	/lt/:	/ltixle/ "he clave; it stuck"
/xl/:	/xlula/ "wedding"	/lq/:	/lqítale/ "he inlaid"
/xr/:	/xriwa/ "bad"	/lw/:	/lwíšle/ "he dressed (himself), put on"
/hq/:	/hqéle/ (arch. and S) "he spoke, told"	/lj/:	/ljaša/ "kneading"
/hg/:	/hǵéle/ "he spelled, pronounced"	/rp/:	/rpéle/ "it (m.) grew soft, thin (liquid)"
/hw/:	/hwille/ "he gave"		
/hs/:	/hsille/ "he earned, gained"	/rd/:	/rdéle/ "he accepted; fell in love with"
/mp/:	/mpille/ "he brought to fall, let fall"		
/mb/:	/mbíre/ "he took in"	/rk/:	/rkiwle/ "he mounted, rode"
/mt/:	/mtéle/ "he arrived at, had the time to; it came by right"	/rj/:	/rjímle/ "he stoned"
		/rq/:	/rqille/ "he danced"
/md/:	/mdípale/ "he folded"	/rw/:	/rwéle/ "he grew"
/mk/:	/mkípale/ "he bent (tr.)"	/rj/:	/rjaqa/ "spitting"
/mg/:	/mgíšle/ "he tired out"	/rx/:	/rxíšle/ "he walked"
/mq/:	/mqéle/ "he spoke, told"	/rh/:	/rhímle/ "he took mercy upon"

Monophonemic prefixes of any kind may cluster even with homorganic or near-homorganic consonants: /b-pinni/ “with my mouth”, /b-parqíwa/ “they were about to come to an end”, S /b-fare/ “he is going to fly”; /b-banet/ “you (sg.m.) are going to build”; /g-kawa/ “in the window-hole/niche”, /g-guda/ “in the wall”, /g-qawra/ “in the file”; /m-pele/ “than the radishes”, /m-bela/ “out of/than the house”, /m-fand/ “than the trick”, /m-waxtit/ “from the time that”; /m-píre/ “he let (caused) to pass”.

The geminate clusters /bb-/ and /ll-/ occur following close external juncture (cf. 1.2.4.(2)): S /xíre bbéw/ “he looked at him”, S and N /hiwáli llew/ “I gave them to him” (cf. also the verbal post-junctural forms *kkil* etc., 2.52.12(2)(a)(i)).

All initial clusters are actualized optionally – and those consisting of geminate, homorganic and near-homorganic stops obligatorily – by aid of an anaptyctic disjunctive vowel: Cj- and jC- by [i], Cw- by [ũ] S ~ [ɣ] N, and other clusters by [ə] or [ǎ]; in sonant+C the anaptyctic vowel varies freely with syllabicity of the sonant. Examples: /pjali/ [pǎja-lí] “my falling”, /jtiwli/ N [jít’íβli] “I sat down”, /plixle/ [p’ǎlfxlɛ] “he/it opened”; /g-guda/ S [ǵǵu-dǔ], N [ǵǵy-dá] “in the wall”, /b-per/ [bǎp’ɛ-r] “he/it is going to pass”, /m-bela/ S [mǎbɛ-lo], N [mǎbe-lá] “out of/than my house”, /nxipli/ [nǎxípli] “I was ashamed”, /lwa/ S [lǔwǒ], N [lýβá] “inside”, /qrawa/ /qarawá/ ~ [qaraβá] “war, battle, fight”. In slow or deliberate speech anaptyxis serves to disjoin a monophonemic prefix also from a zero consonant in nominal stem initial: N /g-olka/ S [ǵǵolk-ǒ], N [ǵǵǒlk-ǎ] “in the city/country”, /m-eni/ [mǎɛ-ní] “out of/than my eye(s)”. Initial three-consonant clusters occur only in sandhi (1.12.3): /ana ntjáli/ “I took her/it”.

(2) *Final*. The following two-consonant clusters occur:

- (a) stop+fricative: /-bs/:/habs/ “(im)prison(ment)”
- (b) stop+sonant: /-br/:/sabr/ “patience”, /-ql/:/aql/ “sense”
- (c) fricative+stop: /-st/:/sǐkast/ “infirm”, /-št/:/tašt/ “basin”, /-xt/:/taxt/ “throne”, /-šq/: ašq S ~ išq N “love”,
- (d) fricative+sonant: /-wr/:/dawr/ “generation”, /-sr/:/qasr/ “castle”, /-xr/:/axr/ “(at) last”, /-hm/:/sihm/ “fear”, /-hn/:/tahn/ (S) “mockery”, /-hr/:/sihr/ “sorcery”;
- (e) fricative+fricative: /-jf/:/hajf/ “in vain; a pity”, /-hš/:/wahš/ “savage”
- (f) sonant+stop: /-nd/:/fand/ “trick”, /-ng/:/hawang/ “mortar (impl.)”, /-rt/:/šart/ “condition, covenant”, /-rd/:/dard/ “pain (mental)”, /-rk/:/kurk/ (S) “hatching”
- (g) sonant+affricate: /-nj/:/tanj/ “crown”
- (h) sonant+fricative: /ɣ/:/šaly/ (S) “cummerbund”, /-rs/:/dars/ “lesson”, /-rx/:/čarx/ “wheel”.

Final consonant clusters with a sonant as second element and /-jf/ are disjoined by an anaptyctic vowel: /aql/ S [ǎqǎl], N [ǎ-ǵǎl] “sense”, /asr/ [ǎ-sǎr] “evening”, /axr/ [ǎ-xǎr] “(at) last”, /dawr/ S [dǎwǎr], N [dǎvǎr] “generation”, /sabr/ [sǎbǎr] “patience”, /sihm/ [sǐhm] “fear”, /tahn/ (S) [t’ǎhn] “mockery”, /sihr/ [sǐhr] “sorcery”, /hajf/ [hájif] “in vain, a pity”.

Final homorganic consonant clusters are simplified: {pinn-} (base of “mouth”) → /pin (tara)/ “entrance” <mouth of gate>.

1.23 The syllable cut in polysyllabic words

(1) in sequences of two medial phonemes:

(a) -V. V-: /bee/ [bɛ.ɛ̃] “eggs”, /bai/ (N) [bɑ.ĩ] “to/for me”, /daew/ (S) [dɑ.ɛ̃.w] “his mother”, /gaaw/ S [gɑ.ɑw], N [gɑ.ɑβ] “in her/it”, /baox/ (N) [bɑ.ɔx] “to you (sg.m.)”, /balau/ [bɑ.lɑ.ũ] “their misfortune” /boe/ S [bɔ.ɛ̃], N [bɔ.ɛ̃] “roast seeds”.

The sequence /-aa-/ is actualized in fluent speech as [ã] ~ [ɑ̃] with a two-peak primary or secondary stress diminishing in force during the second *mora* (symbolized by a circumflex): /taazja/ [tʰɑ̃.zjɑ̃] “mourning”, /gaaw/ S [gɑ̃.w], N [gɑ̃.β] “in her/it”, /tafaat/ (N) [tʰɑ̃.fɑ̃.t̃] “difference”.

On the other hand, in careful speech the syllable cut may be actualized as a non-phonemic glottal consonant, which is generally [ʔ]: [bɔʔɛ̃], [dɑʔĩ], [gɑʔɑw], [bɑʔɔx]; in S it is [ɦ] in the sg. and pl. of /zaa/ “time (*iter.*): [za.ɦɔ̃], [zaɦɛ̃].

(b) -V.CV-: /bašole/ S [bɑ.ʂɔ̃.lɛ̃], N [bɑ.ʂɔ̃.lɛ̃] “cooking”, /ziliwa/ N [zɪ.lɪ̃.wɑ], S [zɪ̃.lɪ̃wɔ̃] “they were gone”, /sanula/ S [sa.nɔ̃.lɔ̃], N [sa.nɔ̃.lɔ̃] “ugliness”.

(c) -VC.CV-: /havsala/ S [hɑw.sã.lɔ̃], N [hɑ̃.sã.lɔ̃], “patience”, /kodinta/ (S) [kʰõ.dɪ̃n.t̃ɔ̃] “mule”, /skinye/ [skɪ̃n.jɛ̃] “knives”, /imma/ S [ɪ̃m.mɔ̃], N [ɪ̃m.mɔ̃] “100”, /bilbilli/ [bɪ̃l.bɪ̃l.lɪ̃] “I looked for”.

In rare cases medial geminate clusters are disjoined by anaptyxis in verbal forms: /xalli/ [xalɛ̃lɪ̃] “they (will, may) wash”.

(2) In sequences of three medial consonants the syllable cut is as follows (the two-consonant cluster belonging to the same syllable being optionally disjoined by an anaptyctic vowel; cf. above 1.22 (1) and (2)):

(a) -VCC.CV-, if one of the consonants is a sonant followed and/or preceded by a fricative or a heterogenic sonant: /manxpi/ [ma.nɪ̃x.pɪ̃] “they will, may put to shame”, /marxtinne/ [mɑ̃.rɪ̃x.tɪ̃nne] “I (sg.m.) shall, may make him run”, /mamrjana/ N [mã.mɔ̃r.jɑ̃.nɑ̃] “one who hurts”, /marjtilu/ S [mã.rɪ̃j.tɪ̃lɔ̃] “they will, may make them tremble”, /matmjat/ [mɔ̃tʰ.ɪ̃m.jɑ̃.t̃] “you (sg.f.) (will, may) give to taste; you etc. pollute”, /maxlpinnax/ [mã.xɪ̃l.pʰɪ̃n.nɑ̃x] “(m.) shall, may exchange you (sg.f.)”, /maqrwex/ S [mã.qɪ̃r.βɛ̃.x] N [mã.βɪ̃r.βɛ̃.x] “we shall, may bring near”, /misrqa/ S [mɪ̃.sɪ̃r.qɑ̃], N [mɪ̃.sɪ̃r.qɑ̃], “comb (n.)”, /sihmlu/ S [sɪ̃.hɪ̃m.lɔ̃] “fearful”, /sihrbaz/ [sɪ̃.hɪ̃r.bɑ̃.z̃] “sorcerer”, /magwrixxe/ [mã.gɪ̃β.rɪ̃x.xɛ̃] “we shall, may marry him (e.g. our son)”.

This rule does not apply if the last two consonants of the sequence belong to the morpheme -lxun (2nd p. pl. of the pronominal actor suffix): /ritlxun/ [rɪ̃t.lɔ̃.xʊ̃n] “you (pl.) trembled”, /qimlxun/ S [qɪ̃m.lɔ̃.xʊ̃n], N [qɪ̃m.lɔ̃.xʊ̃n] “you (pl.) rose”.

(b) -VC.CCV- in all other cases: /balbli/ [bal.bɔ̃.lɪ̃] “they will, may seek”, /šaj-

dnet/ [šaj.dš.ně-t'] "you (sg.m.) (will, may) become mad", /maspjan/ [mas.pl.já-n] "I (f.) shall, may hand over; I order", /maskri/ [mas.kš.rí-] "they will, may lose, become lost".

Between a sonant (especially when geminate) and the morpheme -xun (2nd p. pl. of the actor suffix) the anaptyctic vowel [ə] varies freely with [ǝ]: /zillxun/ [zíl.lš.xun ~ zíl.lǝ.xun] "you (pl.) went", /tunnxun/ S [t'un.nə.xun ~ t'un.nǝ.xún] "both of you".

1.3 PROSODIC FEATURES

1.31 *Flatting*

There exists a phonological opposition between words (and occasionally syllables) consisting of plain phones and those consisting of flat phones.

Flat phones are produced in contrast to plain ones in the following manner: all oral consonants are strongly velarized; labials are produced with a marked protrusion and rounding of the lips; *r* is actualized as a trill; in the production of *p*, *t*, *k* the glottis is entirely closed in S and only slightly opened in N; all consonants (including *h*) are more or less pharyngealized according to the individual speakers; the high and mid vowels *i*, *u*, *e*, *o* have markedly lowered on-glides and/or off-glides in contact with consonants; the rounded vowels have no fronted allophones in N; the allophones [ɪ] and [ə] of /i/ are replaced by central [ɪ̠], and in contact with labials "by back-central" [u̠]; the allophones [a], [ʌ] and [ɑ] of /a/ are replaced by [ɑ̠] and [ɒ̠] respectively; all vowels are more or less pharyngealized according to individual speakers.

(1) *Flat words*. The distribution of flat words in the subdialects is unequal; certain words are flat in the subdialect of U in contrast to other sub-dialects, especially of S, where they are plain e.g.: /bate/ "houses", /bilwana/ "pocket", /blane/ "daughters, girls", /daa/ "mother", /gala/ "sack-cloth", /gana/ "body-and-soul", /gare/ "roof, ceiling", /glala/ "string", /kalo/ "bride", /mazzal/ "luck", /qala/ "voice" (which is thus homophonic with /qala/ "fortress"), /qajda/ "rule".

In addition, a great number of individual female speakers of U over seventy replace practically all the plain words of their sub-dialect (except those containing /u/ and /o/ by flat ones, thereby neutralizing the opposition in question. No account of this will be taken in the following analysis.

Instances of minimal a nearly-minimal word pairs illustrating the opposition plain vs. flat are: /aman/ "tool, instrument" vs. /aman/ "mercy, safeguard", /amra/ "she may say" vs. /amra/ "wool", /aqlew/ "his foot (feet), leg(s)" vs. /aqlew/ "his sense", /ara/ "earth, ground" vs. /ara/ "interval, space", /bali/ "my mind" vs. /bali/ "my young, children", S /blane/ "daughters, girls" vs. /blane/ "pockets", /dréle/ "he put" vs. /dréle/ "he strewed, scattered", /gori/ "they will, may marry" vs. /gori/ "they (will) enter", /hawa/ "she may give" vs. /hawa/ "air; Eve", /lwa/ "lair" vs. /lwa/ "inside", /lwaša/ "(she is) dressing" vs. /lwaša/ "flat cake of bread", S /mala/

“village” vs. /*mala*/ “trowel”, S /*mali*/ “my village” vs. /*mali*/ “my possessions” /*mréle*/ “it ached” vs. /*mréle*/ “he/it grazed, he pastured”, /*pjala*/ “(she is) falling”, vs. /*pjala*/ “goblet, tumbler”, /*pul*/ “fall down” vs. /*pul*/ “stamp (S also: money)”, S /*qala*/ “voice, sound” vs. /*qala*/ “tower” (for N see above), /*reša*/ “head” vs. /*reša*/ “she awakes, will, may awake”, /*swéle*/ “he became satiated” vs. /*swéle*/ “he became stiff (S slang also: “he outwitted)”, /*sjami*/ “my shoe(s) vs. /*sjami*/ my fasting”, /*šamala*/ “torch” vs. /*šamala*/ “candle”, /*šréle*/ “he untied” vs. /*šréle*/ “he passed judgment”, /*tréle*/ “he became wet” vs. /*tréle*/ “he drove”, /*tawilla*/ “stable (n.)” vs. /*tawilla*/ “ritual immersion”, /*tena*/ “fig” vs. /*tena*/ “load”, /*tora*/ “ox” vs. /*tora*/ “the Law” (S also “book of a religious nature”), /*tore*/ “oxen” vs. /*tore*/ “nets”, /*o wada*/ “she is doing, making” vs. /*o wada*/ “(at) that time”, /*xala*/ “new” vs. /*xala*/ S “maternal uncle”, /*xjaru*/ “they are looking” vs. /*xjaru*/ “their cucumbers”, /*zréle*/ “he sowed, planted” vs. S /*zréle*/ “he scattered”.

(2) *Flat syllables* of the type CaC occur only when base final: /*ijar*/ “2nd Jewish month”, /*nisan*/ “1st Jewish month”, /*nišan*/ “mark, sign”, /*dajirman*/ “mill”, /*dušman*/ N “enemy”, /*šulhan*/ “table”, /*finjan*/ “cup”, /*jejran*/ “gazelle” /*namakdan*/ “salt-cellar” vs. /*tuman*/ “myriad”.

All derivational suffixes following a base with final flat syllable are likewise flat: /*nišanqula*/ “engagement”, /*dajirmanči*/ “miller”.

1.32 *Stress*

Syllable stress is generally accompanied by a raise of pitch (for syntactic (word) stress and pitch see ch. 4). It is conditioned morphologically.

In the following stress will be marked unless ultimate.

(1) In simplex forms (including verbal forms with zero suffix) and in complex forms with prefixes only stress is generally ultimate: /*talis*/ “sack”, /*qajjš*/ “belt”, /*qaza*/ “accident, misfortune”, /*qabay*/ “cover, lid; in front of”, /*sabāb*/ “cause, reason”, /*xandāq*/ “ditch, trench”, /*čangāl*/ “fork”, /*safon*/ “north”, /*awun*/ “sin”, /*gugurd*/ “sulphur, match”, /*palix*/ “he opens, will, may open (tr. and intr.)”, /*ade*/ “he may come”, /*b-hawil*/ N “he is going to give”, /*miskir*/ “he has become lost”, /*marim*/ “he raises, will, may raise”.

Exceptionally, stress is penultimate (a) in nouns ending in /-ušum/ /*awrūšum*/ “silk”, /*qurqušum*/ “lead (metal)”; (b) in lexically specified Hebrew loanwords, where the penultimate syllable centers in /i/ or /e/: /*efrájim*/ “Ephraim”, /*mizbéa*/ “altar”, /*gnédem*/ “Paradise”, /*néder*/ “vow”, /*pésa*/ “passover”, /*séder*/ “ceremonial meal on Passover Eve”, /*séfer*/ “Scroll of the Law”.

(2) In complex forms stress is determined by the nature of the suffix (or suffixes) and will be treated in ch. 2. It must, however, be noted that in lively speech penultimate stress may be shifted to the ultimate.

Instances of opposition in place of stress are: /*(istkane)* twire/ “broken (glasses)” vs.

/(*istkane*) *twire*/ “he has broken (glasses)”, N /(*úla*) *qatula*/ “(here is) the cat” vs. /(*úla*) *qatúla*/ “(here) she is cutting”.

An instance of (syntactically) non-distinctive contrast is /*zdelu*/ “their fear” – /*zdélu*/ “they became afraid”.

(3) In compound forms stress is generally penultimate in uninflected forms (see 2.6) and occasionally also in nouns with singular suffix: /*idjo(m)*/ “to-day”, /*idlel*/ “to-night”, /*šítqel*/ “last year”, /*šwáxet*/, S /*ušwáxet*/ N “last week”, /*šwéxet*/ “(a) different one(s)”; /*pilgjóma*/, S /*pilgóma*/, N “midday”, /*pilgléle*/ “midnight” (in contrast with /*lixmida*/ “small loaf of bread”).

Stress which is ultimate according to (1) and (2) is shifted to a penultimate open syllable in the following cases:

(a) in vocative forms of nouns denoting relatives: S /*dáe* ~ *dáje*/, N /*dáe*/ “mother-er!”, /*bróni*/ “my son!”, S /*xáli*/, N /*dóji*/ “my (maternal) uncle!”, /*amóni*/ (N); usually /*ámi*/ “my (paternal) uncle!”.

(b) in disyllabic nominal forms with singular suffix and verbal forms with zero suffix in utterance final and preceding open juncture, if the latter is followed by a stressed syllable beginning with a single consonant: /*bela* (*xalé-le*)/ “the house (is new)” – /(*zille*) *béla*/ “(he went) home” and /(*xa*) *béla zóra*/ “(a) small house”; /(*o*) *léle* (*dmíxlu kpine*)/ “(that) night (they went to sleep hungry)” – /(*xdíre*) *léle*/ “night (came)” and /*léle* (*zille meša*)/ “(at) night (he went to the forest)”; /*tara* (*qardé-la*)/ “outside (it is cold)” – /(*plitle*) *tára*/ “(he went) out”; /*tara* (*xalé-le*)/ “the door (is new)” – /*tára* (*dúqle*!)/ “(shut) the door (!)”; /*be-pálix* (*baqatta*)/ “it will open (to-morrow)” – /(*baqatta*) *be-pálix* +/ “(tomorrow) it will open!” and /(*baqatta*) *be-pálix* (*xa tkana*)/ “(to-morrow) he will open (a shop)”, /(*kadé*) *palé* (*ba mewané*)/ “he distributes (cakes to the guests)” – /*pále buz*/ “he distributes ice”; /*málle*/ “enough!”.

(c) in compound numeral forms (11–19) when standing alone: *xéssar* “11”, *ar-bássar* “14”.

On the other hand, initial stress is shifted forward in the case of post-junctural elision of /i-/; see 1.12.13 (2).

1.33 Vowel quantity

In general, vowel quantity is automatic, being conditioned prosodically (place of the stress, syllable structure) and/or morphologically (see also ch. 2), but there are some typical and specific cases of distinctive opposition in quality.

1.33.1 *Automatic vowel quantity*. The conditioning of quantity is unequally distributed among the different vowels, which renders its analysis somewhat involved.

(1) Vowels are relatively long in stressed syllables:

(a) in open non-final syllables – all vowels other than /i/ in certain forms (see below 1.33.2.) and /u/: /*zili*/ “they are gone”, /*šméle*/ “he heard”, /*xizjálan*/ “we