

Neo-Aramaic and Kurdish Folklore from Northern Iraq

A Comparative Anthology with a Sample of Glossed Texts

VOLUME 1



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1. INTRODUCTION TO A COMPARATIVE CORPUS OF ORAL LITERATURE¹

Paul M. Noorlander and Dorota Molin

1.0. The Aramaic and Kurdish Dialects of Northern Iraq

1.1. The Dialects of NENA

The Neo-Aramaic dialects represented in this collection are all subsumed under ‘North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic’ and its acronym NENA, which are most closely related to the Neo-Aramaic dialects of Ṭur ‘Abdin (Ṭuroyo) and Mlaḥsô in south-eastern Turkey, also known as Central Neo-Aramaic, and Neo-Mandaic spoken further south-east in Iranian Khuzestan. The NENA dialects are generally referred to by their geographic location, i.e. the name of the town, as well as the religious affiliation of the community, i.e. Christian (represented in this anthology by the abbreviation ChA., i.e. Christian Aramaic) or Jewish (represented by the abbreviation JA.). The Christian and Jewish stories are thus nar-

¹ We gratefully acknowledge Masoud Mohammadirad’s helpful comments on Section 1.2. in an earlier draft of this chapter.

rated in the respective Neo-Aramaic dialect of these communities. The Jewish dialects belong to the subgroup *lishana deni* ‘our language’ distinct from the eastern Jewish dialects subsumed under Trans-Zab Jewish NENA (Muftazi 2008). A sample of ChA. Duhok and ChA. Zakho texts with a linguistic commentary may be found in Sabar (1995). For the JA. Duhok dialect, see Molin (2021b), and for the syntax of JA. Zakho, Cohen (2012).

The following varieties of Neo-Aramaic are represented in the corpus and referred to as:

| North-Western Iraq | | North-Eastern Iraq |
|--------------------|---------------|--------------------|
| Jewish | Christian | |
| JA. Duhok | ChA. Duhok | ChA. Shaqlawa |
| JA. Zakho | ChA. Zakho | |
| | ChA. Dure | |
| | ChA. Enishke | |
| | ChA. Harmashe | |

The locations of these towns are displayed on Map 1. Some features of these dialects are listed in Table 1. and 2. at the end of this section.

The Christian dialect of Shaqlawa, spoken in north-eastern rather than north-western Iraq, differs from the other NENA dialects in a number of ways. The NENA varieties in this region are known for the alveolar articulation of the affricates that correspond to postalveolar affricates in other dialects, e.g.

| ChA. Shaqlawa | Elsewhere | |
|---------------|---------------|-------------|
| <i>tsə</i> | <i>ču, čə</i> | ‘not any’ |
| <i>’axtsa</i> | <i>’axča</i> | ‘only’ |
| <i>xantsa</i> | <i>xanča</i> | ‘a little’ |
| <i>tsōl</i> | <i>čōl</i> | ‘wasteland’ |

ChA. Shaqlawa Elsewhere

| | | |
|--------------|-------------|-------------|
| <i>dzwān</i> | <i>jwān</i> | ‘beautiful’ |
|--------------|-------------|-------------|

| | | |
|----------------|---------------|------------|
| <i>dzwanqa</i> | <i>jwanqa</i> | ‘handsome’ |
|----------------|---------------|------------|

The ChA. Shaqlawa dialect furthermore does not preserve the historical Aramaic interdentalals *θ and *ð, which shifted to alveolar plosives *t* and *d* respectively. This shift incidentally also took place in ChA. Zakho, with the exception of the existential particle, e.g. *liθən* ‘there is not’.

The ChA. Enishke dialect furthermore shares an affinity with the varieties from the nearby Barwar region (Christian dialects), represented in this corpus by material from the village Dure,² which in some cases also makes it diverge from the nearby ChA. Duhok and/or ChA. Zakho and/or ChA. Harmashe. Both ChA. Enishke and ChA. Barwar lie in the mountains east of Duhok and Zakho. An example of this parallel between ChA. Enishke and ChA. Barwar in contrast to ChA. Duhok and ChA. Zakho is the double marking of pronominal recipients of ditransitive verbs, attested in both dialects, and illustrated here by ChA. Enishke (the double object marking is indicated here in bold):

(1) *yawax xa brata **ṭale diye***

If we [do not] give a girl **to him**. (ChA. Enishke, Text 36: *Mar Giwargis*, §2)

The Jewish and Christian dialects of Duhok are at face value rather similar. Both communities have preserved the interdentalals /θ/ and /ð/ and have the preverb *k-* / *g-* throughout. The historically low vowel /a/ is raised in the indicative stem of the

² For ChA. Barwar, see Khan (2008), vols. 1-3.

historically initial-aleph verbs, e.g. **kaxəl* > JA. Duhok *kexəl*, ChA. Duhok *kixəl*. Compare:

| JA. Duhok | ChA. Duhok | |
|----------------|----------------|------------------------|
| <i>gəbe</i> | <i>gəbe</i> | ‘he wants’ |
| <i>muxḏaḏe</i> | <i>ʾuxḏaḏe</i> | ‘(with) each other’ |
| <i>θele</i> | <i>θele</i> | ‘he came’ |
| <i>ʾaθe</i> | <i>ʾaθe</i> | ‘that he come’ (subj.) |
| <i>keθe</i> | <i>kiθe</i> | ‘he comes’ (ind.) |
| <i>kiʾe</i> | <i>kiḏe</i> | ‘he knows’ (ind.) |

In other respects, the dialects of this town diverge more strongly, for example the possessive suffixes of the third person and the third plural L-suffix, as shown below. It is not unlikely, however, that the Jewish and Christian varieties of Duhok would have been largely mutually intelligible.

| JA. Duhok | ChA. Duhok | |
|--------------|--------------------|--------------|
| <i>šəmmu</i> | <i>šəmmay(hən)</i> | ‘their name’ |
| <i>šəmmē</i> | <i>šəmmeh</i> | ‘his name’ |
| <i>šəmma</i> | <i>šəmmaḥ</i> | ‘their name’ |
| <i>wədlu</i> | <i>wəḏlay</i> | ‘they did’ |

The distinct confessional communities betray starker differences further west in the town of Zakho. In JA. Zakho, the interdental fricatives **θ* and **ḏ* have shifted mainly from flat to grooved fricatives, i.e. /s/ and /z/ respectively, whereas they shifted to equivalent stops /t/ and /d/ in the corresponding Christian variety. Contrary to other dialects where the preverb *k-*/*g-* prevails, the Christian dialect mainly uses the indicative preverb *y-*, and only sporadically *k-*:

JA. Zakho ChA. Zakho

| | | |
|---------------|----------------|------------------------|
| <i>gəbe</i> | <i>kəbe</i> | ‘he wants’ |
| <i>ʔəzɡas</i> | <i>ʔəxdade</i> | ‘each other’ |
| <i>sele</i> | <i>tele</i> | ‘he came’ |
| <i>ʔase</i> | <i>ʔate</i> | ‘that he come’ (subj.) |
| <i>kese</i> | <i>yate</i> | ‘he comes’ (ind.) |
| <i>kiʔe</i> | <i>yede</i> | ‘he knows’ |

Here, too, the differences are even more drastic in the third person possessive suffixes, but in this case not the 3pl. L-suffix:

JA. Zakho ChA. Zakho

| | | |
|--------------|----------------|------------|
| <i>didu</i> | <i>diyehən</i> | ‘theirs’ |
| <i>dide</i> | <i>diyu</i> | ‘his’ |
| <i>dida</i> | <i>diyaw</i> | ‘hers’ |
| <i>ʔuzlu</i> | <i>wədlu</i> | ‘they did’ |

Table 1. and 2. at the end of this section offer lists of a few features of the Jewish and Christian dialects of NENA in this book.

1.2. The Dialects of Kurdish

Kurdish dialects are generally divided into Northern, Central and Southern Kurdish (Haig and Öpengin 2014, 110–11). The Northern Kurdish varieties represented in this book have been recorded in the Duhok province of Iraq and, together with the Hakkari province of Turkey, comprise a dialect region that is generally referred to as Badini, Bahdinī, or Southeastern Kurmanji

(Öpengin and Haig 2014).³ This book includes the following varieties of Northern Kurdish: Zakho, Duhok, Dure (in the Barwari Bala region) and Khizava (district of Zakho); see Map 1 for their respective location. These varieties share a number of features that set them apart from the rest of Northern Kurdish or the rest of Kurmanji respectively. Central Kurdish, also more generally known as Sorani, is represented by the dialect of Shaqlawa, which is situated between the regional dialects of Mukri (north-western Iran) and Hewlêr (Erbil).

The aforementioned Kurdish dialects will be referred to as follows:

| Northern Kurdish | Central Kurdish |
|-------------------------|------------------------|
|-------------------------|------------------------|

| | |
|-------------|--------------|
| NK. Zakho | CK. Shaqlawa |
| NK. Duhok | |
| NK. Dure | |
| NK. Khizava | |

Table 3. offers a list of a few common features of the Northern Kurdish varieties and Shaqlawa represented here. A selection of features will be discussed further below.

Generally speaking, Northern Kurdish is distinct from Central Kurdish by features such as its preservation of nominal gender in the singular, its predominant use of independent pronouns rather than enclitic pronominals, and the lack of a definite article (Haig and Öpengin 2014), e.g.

³ A grammatical synopsis of Bahdinî can be found in Haig (2018, 287–295).

Northern K. Central K. (Shaqlawawa)

| | | |
|-----------------|----------------|---------------|
| <i>wī got</i> | <i>got=ī</i> | ‘he said’ |
| <i>wē got</i> | <i>got=ī</i> | ‘she said’ |
| <i>nāvē mən</i> | <i>nāw=əm</i> | ‘my name’ |
| <i>gundak</i> | <i>gundak</i> | ‘a village’ |
| <i>gund</i> | <i>gundaka</i> | ‘the village’ |

The Northern Kurdish dialects of north-western Iraq differ from the dialects further north in Turkey in a number of respects. For instance, the Iraqi varieties exhibit the pharyngealisation of the consonants /t̤/, /s̤/ and /z̤/, as has been observed *inter alia* by other scholars (MacKenzie 1961, 35–36; Haig 2018, 288). Such pharyngealisation is absent in the rest of Kurdish, as the contrast below demonstrates. The dialect of Shaqlawa, however, may also retain this backing in Arabic loanwords, e.g. *maṭrān* ‘bishop’, and words of Iranian origin, e.g. *ša* ‘dog’.

Dure (NK) Shaqlawa (CK)

| | | |
|-------------|-------------|---------------------|
| <i>ṭars</i> | <i>tars</i> | ‘fear’ |
| <i>ṣānī</i> | <i>zānī</i> | ‘know’ (pres. 2sg.) |

The loss of the labial articulation in the sequence /xw/, which is typical of Bahdinī (Haig and Öpengin 2018; Haig 2018, 288), is generally but not always also found in the Northern Kurdish material, and sporadically also in Shaqlawa:

| Duhok (NK) | Khizava (NK) | Shaqlawawa (CK) | |
|-------------------|---------------------|------------------------|----------------|
| <i>xārən</i> | <i>xwārən</i> | <i>xwārdən</i> | ‘food; to eat’ |
| <i>xodē</i> | <i>xodē</i> | <i>xodā</i> | ‘god’ |

The Central Kurdish dialect of Shaqlawa also deviates from the Northern Kurdish varieties in its alveolar articulation of the

affricates that correspond to postalveolar affricates in other dialects, similarly to the Christian Neo-Aramaic dialect of the same town (see above):

Shaqlawā (CK) Northern

| | | |
|---------------|--------------|-------------|
| <i>tsə</i> | <i>čə</i> | ‘what’ |
| <i>dzəwān</i> | <i>jəwān</i> | ‘beautiful’ |
| <i>tsīrok</i> | <i>čīrok</i> | ‘tale’ |

The velar stops /k/ and /g/ have the palatalised allophones [t͡ɕ] and [d͡ʒ] before front vowels in the dialect of Shaqlawā.⁴

In nominal inflection, the north-western Iraqi varieties exhibit the distinctive plural suffixes *-ē* and *-ēt* characteristic of Bahdinī, e.g.

Duhok (NK) Standard (NK)

| | | |
|--------------------|-------------------|--------------------------|
| <i>kuř-ēt mīrī</i> | <i>kur-ēn mīr</i> | ‘the sons of the prince’ |
| <i>kuř-ēt wī</i> | <i>kur-ēn wī</i> | ‘his sons’ |

The dialect of Shaqlawā, by contrast, generally follows the pattern typical of Central Kurdish with the generalised linker/*ezafe* *-ī*, but sporadically still shows instances of feminine *-ē*.

As for the personal pronouns, the dialect of Duhok shows the following distinctive second person plural forms:

Duhok (NK) Standard (NK)

| | | |
|------------------|----------------|--------------|
| <i>hīn, hawa</i> | <i>hūn, wa</i> | ‘you’ (2pl.) |
|------------------|----------------|--------------|

A feature unique to the Bahdinī dialects is the use of a construction dedicated to the future, which is otherwise identical to

⁴ Mohammadirad (p.c.).

the indicative present. The future particle *dē* and its alternative *-ē* in the dialects of Duhok and Khizava is followed by the subjunctive to form the future:

| Duhok (NK) | Khizava (NK) | Shaqlawa (CK) | |
|------------------|-----------------|---------------|-------------|
| <i>az dē čəm</i> | <i>az=ē čəm</i> | <i>a-čəm</i> | ‘I will go’ |

The subjunctive form of the verb is also combined with the verbal particle *dā* to express the past habitual in Northern Kurdish (cf. Chyet 1985, 246-47), e.g.

(2) *har ro dā bēžē*

Every day he would say. (NK. Khizava, Text 7: *Zanbil-firosh—The Basket-Seller*, §9)

These dialects also generally use the enclitic *-ē*, a reduced form of the oblique third person pronouns, to denote a recipient or addressee. It is attached directly to the inflected verbal form. In other dialects of Kurdish the recipient or addressee is generally expressed by an adpositional phrase:

| Duhok (NK) | Standard (NK) | |
|-----------------------|--------------------------|-------------------|
| <i>(awē) got=ē</i> | <i>wē ž-ē ra got</i> | ‘she said to him’ |
| <i>(aw) at-bēžt=ē</i> | <i>aw ž-ē ra dā-bēža</i> | ‘she says to him’ |

The Northern Kurdish storytellers use this enclitic more frequently than not with the past base of the verb *gotin* ~ *gūtīn* ‘say’ without an explicit reference to an agent, e.g.

Ø *got=ē* ~ *gūt=ē* ‘he/she/they said to him/her/them’

By contrast, the addressee is generally not expressed with the verb *gotin* in the Shaqlawa narratives. This verb also has the

present stem *bēž* in Northern Kurdish in contradistinction to Shaqlawa *rē*, e.g. *pē-y a-rē* ‘she says to him’.

Features shared between the Northern Kurdish dialects and the Central Kurdish dialect of Shaqlawa are the distinctive 1pl. ending *-in/-yn*, (Öpengin and Haig 2014, 162), which in other dialects merges with the 3pl. and 2pl. suffix *-ən*, and the aspectual and directional particles *-ava* / *-awa* and *-a* respectively.

Table 1. Selection of features of Jewish dialects of NENA

| | Duhok | Zakho |
|--------------------------------|-----------|-----------|
| * <i>θ</i> (<i>t</i>) | /θ/ | /s/ |
| * <i>ð</i> (<i>d</i>) | /ð/ | /z/ |
| 3sg.m. pronoun | ʾawa | ʾawa |
| pronoun ‘what’ | ma | ma |
| indicative preverb | k- / g- | k- / g- |
| indicative stem of *yðy ‘know’ | kiʾ- | kiʾ- |
| past perfective preverb | qam- | qam- |
| recipient marker | ta / ʔal- | ta / ʔal- |
| 3pl. L-suffix | -lu | -lu |
| 3pl. possessive | -u | -u |
| 3sg.m. L-suffix | -le | -le |
| 3sg.m. possessive | -e | -e |

Table 2. Selection of features of Christian dialects of NENA

| | Duhok | Harm. | Enish. | Zakho | Shaql. |
|-----------------------------------|----------------------|-------|-------------|---------|---------|
| * <i>θ</i> (<i>t</i>) | /θ/ | /θ/ | /θ/ | /t/ | /t/ |
| * <i>ð</i> (<i>d</i>) | /ð/ | /ð/ | /ð/ | /d/ | /d/ |
| 3sg.m. pronoun | ʾaw ʾahu | ʾaw | ʾaw ʾawu | ʾaw | ʾaw |
| pronoun ‘what’ | mi, ma | ma | ma | ma | ma |
| indicative pre- verb | k- / g- | k- | y- / k-* | y- / k- | k- / č- |
| indicative stem of *yðy ‘know’ | kið- | kið- | yăð- | yed- | čăð- |
| past perfective preverb | gəm- ʾəm- qam- | ḵum- | qam- | kəm- | qam- |

* k- with the verb ‘to want’, e.g. *k-əbe* ‘he wants’.

Table 2. Selection of features of Christian dialects of NENA (cont.)

| | Duhok | Harm. | Enish. | Zakho | Shaqi. |
|-------------------|------------------------------|--|------------------|------------------|------------------|
| recipient marker | <i>ta / ʔal-</i> | <i>ta / ʔal-</i> | <i>ta / ʔal-</i> | <i>ta / ʔal-</i> | <i>qa / qat-</i> |
| 3pl. L-suffix | <i>-lay</i> <i>-le(y)</i> | <i>-lay</i> <i>-ley</i> <i>-na</i> | <i>-lu</i> | <i>-lu</i> | <i>-lu</i> |
| 3pl. possessive | <i>-ay(hən)</i> | <i>-ay</i> | <i>-ey</i> | <i>-ehən</i> | <i>-u</i> |
| 3sg.m. L-suffix | <i>-le</i> | <i>-le</i> | <i>-le</i> | <i>-le</i> | <i>-le</i> |
| 3sg.m. possessive | <i>-eḥ / -e</i> | <i>-eu</i> | <i>-e</i> | <i>-u</i> | <i>-u</i> |

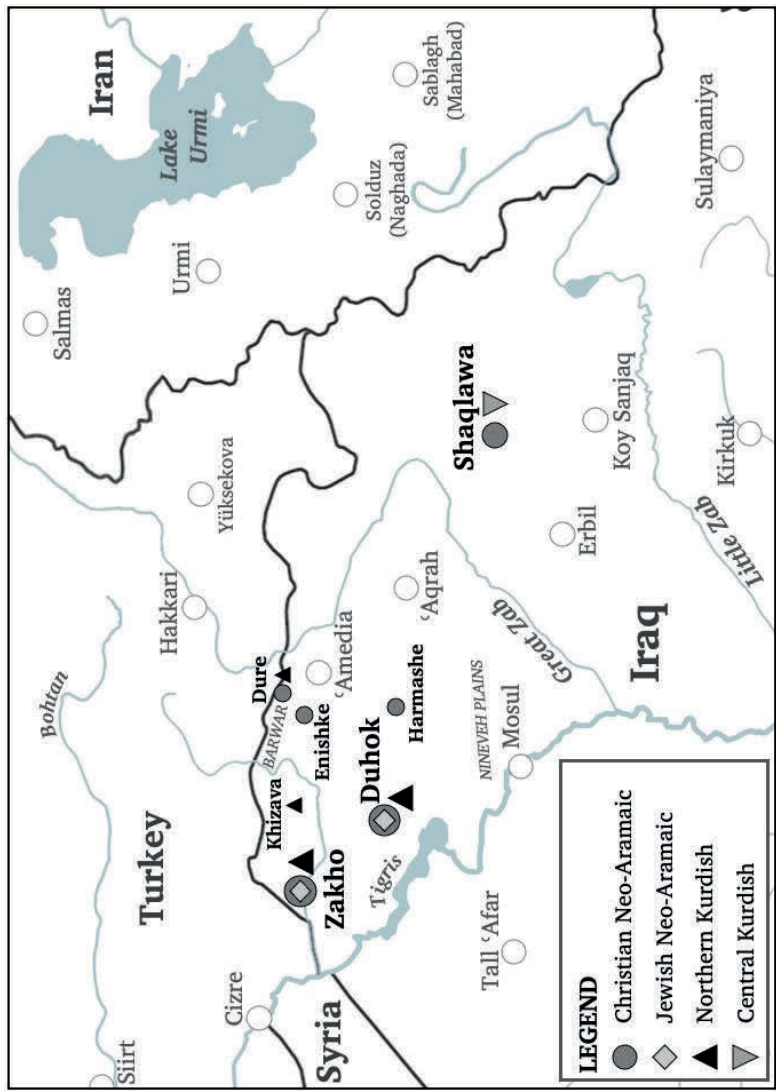
Table 3. Selection of features of Northern and Central Kurdish

| | Northern (Duhok, Khizava) | Central (Shaqiawa) |
|------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--|
| 3sg. oblique | m. (a)wī f. (a)wē | (a)wī* (a)wī* |
| ezafe inflection | sg.m. -ē sg.f. -ā pl. -ē(t) | sg.m. -ī** sg.f. -ē, -ī** pl. -ī** |
| ‘who’ | <i>kē, kī</i> | <i>kē</i> |
| ‘my name’ | <i>nāv-ē mə(n)</i> | <i>nāw=əm</i> |
| indicative preverb | (ə)t- | a- |
| ‘I will go’ (future) | <i>az=ē/dē čəm</i> | <i>a-čəm</i> |
| ‘we are doing’ (1pl. ending) | <i>tə-kayn</i> | <i>a-kayn</i> |
| ‘he wants’ | <i>wī t-vētən</i> | <i>da=y-hawē</i> |
| aspectual particle | -(a)va | -awa, -o |
| directional particle | =a | =a |
| prefect particle | -- | =a |
| past habitual particle | dā | -- |

* This is generally expressed by a series of enclitic pronouns in Central Kurdish.

** In Central Kurdish, the plural morpheme *-ān* as well as the definite article *-ak(a)* are generally added before the linker *-ī*, e.g. *gund-ak-ān-ī dawrī Xošnawati* ‘the villages around Khosnaw’, or added to the following adjective, e.g. *haqāyat kurdi-ak-ān* ‘the Kurdish stories’.

Map 1. The respective locations of the dialects of Aramaic and Kurdish represented in this book



2.0. Transcription

2.1. Common Transcription

The general transcription practices that are common to both the Kurdish and Neo-Aramaic texts in this collection are summarised in Table 4. The more language-specific transcription practices are discussed in the next subsections. Throughout the corpus, unaspirated stops are indicated by a circumflex accent below or above the relevant consonant, e.g. *k̲* [k] as opposed to *k* [k^h]. Palatalisation is indicated by a superscript *y*, e.g. *g^y* [g^j] as opposed to *g* [g]. Additional backing, manifested in pharyngealisation or velarisation respectively, is marked by a dot below the respective consonant, concurring with the so-called ‘emphatics’ in Semitic languages, e.g. *ṭ* [ṭ~ṭ^v~ṭ^s]. When a speaker prolongs a consonant or vowel for considerable time, this may be reflected in the transcription by a series of three or more letters, e.g. *aaa*.

Furthermore, enclitic constituents are separated from the preceding host by the short equals sign (=). This applies to the enclitic copula and other enclitic argument markers, the cliticised codordinator ‘and’, and the directional particle *-a*.

(1) Neo-Aramaic

| | |
|----------------------|------------------------|
| <i>ma=ȳle</i> | ‘what is it?’ |
| <i>bréle=llan</i> | ‘it happened to us’ |
| <i>kayf=u şafay</i> | ‘pleasure and jollity’ |
| <i>ʾarwe=w tawre</i> | ‘sheep and cows’ |

(2) Kurdish

| | |
|--------------------|---------------------------|
| <i>čī-ya</i> | ‘what is it?’ |
| <i>got-ī</i> | ‘he / she said’ |
| <i>jəl-ū barg</i> | ‘clothes and covering’ |
| <i>čēlā-w gāyā</i> | ‘of cows and bulls’ |
| <i>hāt-a mālē</i> | ‘he / she came back home’ |

These elements are written separately when they do not cliticise to the preceding word, e.g.

(3) Neo-Aramaic

| | |
|------------------------|-------------------------|
| <i>ʔu brele ʔallan</i> | ‘and it happened to us’ |
| <i>ʔu ʔana ʔiwən</i> | ‘and I am’ |

(4) Kurdish

| | |
|------------------|---------------|
| <i>ū awī gōt</i> | ‘and he said’ |
| <i>ū az</i> | ‘and I’ |

The hyphen (-) used in transcription does not serve the same purpose as in glossing (see §4). Hyphens have been added to aid the reader in the identification of bound elements often consisting of merely one consonant or vowel. It is convenient to distinguish these from the core lexeme, for instance, to match this with the translation or to search for a particular verbal form. These elements are mainly prefixal prepositions and preverbal Tense-Aspect-Mood modifiers, e.g.

(5) Neo-Aramaic

| | |
|---------------------|---|
| <i>b-aw waqət</i> | ‘at that time’ (preposition <i>b-</i>) |
| <i>l-qašra</i> | ‘to the palace’ (preposition <i>l-</i>) |
| <i>b-qaṭəllan</i> | ‘he will kill us’ (future preverb <i>b-</i>) |
| <i>qam-šaqaḷlan</i> | ‘he took us’ (past perfective preverb <i>qam-</i>) |
| <i>d-ənnā</i> | ‘of such-and-such’ (attributive <i>d-</i>) |
| <i>d-zale</i> | ‘that goes’ (subordinator <i>d-</i>) |
| <i>t-ile</i> | ‘that is’ (subordinator <i>d-</i>) |

(6) Kurdish

| | |
|------------------|--|
| <i>l-gundakə</i> | ‘in a village’ (preposition <i>l-</i>) |
| <i>a-čəm</i> | ‘I go’ (indicative preverb <i>a-</i>) |
| <i>na-t-ḵam</i> | ‘I don’t do’ (negative <i>na-</i> and indicative <i>t-</i>) |
| <i>bə-xom</i> | ‘I eat’ (subjunctive preverb <i>bə-</i>) |

Neo-Aramaic prepositions and linking particles that serve as a basis for a respective independent series of pronouns are not separated by a hyphen in transcription, e.g.

(7) Neo-Aramaic

| | |
|--------------|-------------------------|
| <i>ʿəbbe</i> | ‘(with) me’ |
| <i>ʿəlli</i> | ‘(to / for / on) me’ |
| <i>dide</i> | ‘his’ |
| <i>diyi</i> | ‘mine’ |
| <i>daw</i> | ‘of him; of that (one)’ |
| <i>dað</i> | ‘of him; of this (one)’ |

Finally, a speaker’s hesitation is indicated by ellipsis (...). A reconstruction of barely audible segments or instances of unclear speech are placed between square brackets []. Inserted

words and phrases from another contemporary language such as (Iraqi) Arabic are added with the initial in supercript, e.g.

(8) Neo-Aramaic

^Aal ʾasās^A from Arabic على أساس

^Eokay^E from English okay

2.2. Kurdish Transcription

The Kurdish transcription in this collection largely follows that of MacKenzie (1961). An overview is provided in Table 5. at the end of this section with the corresponding romanisation in a widely accepted form of Kurdish orthography. The main differences are the absence of the macron in <o>, and the use of <ə> to represent the centralised front unrounded vowel to make the transcription more uniform across the two languages.

2.3. NENA Transcription

The transcription of NENA is based on earlier approaches, relying mainly on more recent grammars of Khan such as ChA. Barwar (Khan 2008). The correspondences between Kurdish and NENA vowels as well as the alveolar trill [r] and velarised lateral approximant [ɭ] are given in Table 6. The main difference is reflected in the indication of length by means of the macron, e.g. *ā* [a:] as opposed to *a* [æ]. The quality and length of NENA tense and lax vowels are more or less predictable in inherited Aramaic words, and, depending on the dialect, the difference between tense and lax vowels is largely neutralised in post-tonic open syl-

lables. The tense vowels [a~ɑ], [i], [e], [o] and [u] typically occur in open syllables and are pronounced longer in stressed syllables,⁵ e.g.

naše ['na:ʃe]

broni ['bro:ni]

nura ['nu:.ræ]

The lax counterparts [æ], [ɪ] and [ʊ] typically occur in closed syllables and are always short, e.g.

ʔaxni ['ʔæx.ni]

ʔupra ['ʔʊpʰ.ræ]

pəšle ['pʰɪʃ.le]

In NENA transcriptions, the macron, e.g. *ā*, is only used when the respective tense and long vowel occurs in contexts contrary to the aforementioned tendency, namely in a closed syllable. The breve, e.g. *ă*, by contrast, is used when the lax and typically short vowel occurs in a stressed or pretonic open syllable, e.g.

ḥălăl [ħæ.'la:l]

Dŭhok ['dɔ.hokʰ] ~ ['dʊ.hokʰ]

čōl ['tʃʰo:l]

Many of the instances where the lax vowels occur in an open syllable in inherited Aramaic words are historically closed syllables, for example, in ChA. Shaqlawa:

ʔăra < *ʔar^ca

⁵ For the morpho-phonological rules that govern the distribution of vowel quantity, see Khan (2008, 66–76) and Molin (2021b, 79–88).

kūla < **kulla*

Hence, the NENA transcription of the words below would correspond to the Kurdish ones as follows:

| NENA | Kurdish | |
|------------------|-----------------|-------------------------|
| <i>xandaq</i> | <i>xandaq</i> | ‘ditch’ |
| <i>naxwa</i> | <i>naxwa</i> | ‘otherwise; indeed’ |
| <i>gālak</i> | <i>galak</i> | ‘very; much’ |
| <i>wārāqa</i> | <i>waraqa</i> | ‘paper’ |
| <i>dargāvana</i> | <i>dargavān</i> | ‘gatekeeper’ |
| <i>sāwāl</i> | <i>sawāl</i> | ‘livestock’ |
| <i>jwān</i> | <i>juwān</i> | ‘beautiful’ |
| <i>gəra</i> | <i>gər</i> | ‘hill’ |
| <i>xēr</i> | <i>xēr</i> | ‘good’ |
| <i>hedī</i> | <i>hēdī</i> | ‘slow’ |
| <i>žī</i> | <i>žī</i> | ‘also’ |
| <i>Dūhok</i> | <i>Duhok</i> | ‘Duhok’ |
| <i>čōl</i> | <i>čol</i> | ‘wilderness, wasteland’ |
| <i>’u</i> | <i>’ū</i> | ‘and’ (non-enclitic) |

An exception to these rules are short monosyllabic words—typically particles and prepositions—that have an open syllable, for instance:

| | | |
|-----------|-------|-----------------------------------|
| <i>la</i> | [læ] | ‘no, not’ (verbal negator) |
| <i>ču</i> | [tʃu] | ‘not any’ (nominal negator) |
| <i>ta</i> | [ta] | ‘to, for’ (prep.) |
| <i>gu</i> | [gu] | ‘in’ (prep.) |
| <i>xa</i> | [xa] | ‘one, a certain’ (indef. article) |

The vowel in these words tends to be short. Since this shortness in monosyllabic words is predicable, however, it is not indicated with the breve sign. Similarly, word-final open syllables generally have a short vowel, which is left here without a breve sign. Thus, it is

dargāvana [dær.gæ.'va:.næ] 'gatekeeper'

2.4. Prosody

Intonation unit boundaries of utterances are indicated by a vertical line in superscript ('). The nuclear accent of the prosodic unit is marked with a grave accent (à) on the stressed syllable of the respective word. Such intonational phrases need not correspond to syntactic units. To illustrate, in example (9) below taken from the Kurdish dialect of Duhok, the phrases *az Bîžān Xoşavî 'Āhmat* 'I am Bizhan Khoshavi Ahmad' and *ḵuṛē Šukriyāyē* 'son of Shukirya' each constitute their own intonation unit separated by means of a vertical line ('). The same holds for the independent pronoun 'ana 'I, me' in (10) below, taken from the Christian Neo-Aramaic dialect of Duhok, which occurs with its own prosodic contour, coinciding with the function of topicalisation.

- (9) *az Bîžān Xoşavî 'Āhmat, | ḵuṛē Šukriyāyē.*[|]
 'I am Bizhan Khoshavi Ahmad, son of Shukriya.' (NK Duhok, Text 17: *A Woman and a Leopard*, §1)
- (10) 'ana[|] šəmmi Yawsəp brōnd 'Eliša 'Išhaq Mîxo.[|]
 'My name is Yawsep, son of Elisha Išhaq Mikho.' (ChA. Duhok, Text 32: *Mirza Muhammad and the Forty Monsters*, §1)

Sporadically, one prosodic unit may be characterised as having two instances of a nuclear accent, often because two concepts are represented as two alternatives such as *āxāftənaḵā kərēt* ‘an offensive word’ and *āxāftənaḵā saqāt* ‘an inappropriate word’ in (11) below.

- (11) *ū bēyī kū āxāftənaḵā kərēt ān āxāftənaḵā saqāt bēžit=a mən.*[|]
without telling me an offensive word or an inappropriate
word (NK. Duhok, Text 17: *A Woman and a Leopard*, §22)

Lexical stress is generally penultimate in NENA dialects. A deviation from this general rule of stress placement is indicated using the acute accent (*á*). In (12) below, for example, there are two intonation unit boundaries; the nuclear accent falls on *ḥàkəm* in the first, and on *yàle* in the second. Since the words *ʾəθwale* ‘he had’ and *ṭlaθá* do not follow the penultimate stress rule, their deviating lexical stress is indicated by means of the acute accent.

- (12) *ʾəθwa xa ḥàkəm*[|] *ʾəθwale ṭlaθá yàle.*[|]

There once was a ruler who had three children. (ChA. Duhok, Text 32: *Mirza Muhammad and the Forty Monsters*, §3)

2.5. Transcription Tables

Table 4. General transcription of Kurdish and Neo-Aramaic

| Transcription | IPA | Transcription | IPA |
|----------------------|---------------------------------------|---------------|---------------------------------------|
| <i>k</i> | [k ^h] | <i>ḥ</i> | [ħ] |
| <i>ḵ</i> | [k] | <i>ṣ</i> | [s ^y] ~ [s ^s] |
| <i>k^y</i> | [k ^j] ~ [c] ~ [tḳ] | <i>ṣ</i> | [z ^y] ~ [z ^s] |
| <i>g^y</i> | [g ^j] ~ [j] ~ [dḳ] | <i>ž</i> | [ʒ] |
| <i>ḡ</i> | [ɣ] ~ [ʁ] | <i>š</i> | [ʃ] |
| <i>x</i> | [x] ~ [χ] | <i>č</i> | [tʰ] |
| <i>p</i> | [p ^h] | <i>j</i> | [dʒ] |
| <i>ḥ</i> | [p] | <i>ʿ</i> | [ʕ] |
| <i>t</i> | [t ^h] | <i>ʾ</i> | [ʔ] |
| <i>ṭ</i> | [t ^y] ~ [t ^s] | <i>ə</i> | [ɪ ~ i ~ ə] |
| <i>t̤</i> | [t] | <i>o</i> | [o:] |

Table 5. Basic transcription of Kurdish in this collection

| Standard Orthography | MacKenzie (1961) | This book | IPA |
|----------------------|------------------|-----------|--------------|
| a | ā | ā | [a: ~ a ~ ɔ] |
| ê | ē | ē | [e:] |
| o | ô, ô | o | [o:] |
| û | ū | ū | [u:] |
| î | ī | ī | [i:] |
| o | ø | ö | [œ ~ ø] |
| -- | û | ü | [y:] |
| e | a | a | [ɛ ~ æ ~ a] |
| i | i | ə | [i ~ ɪ] |
| u | u | u | [ʊ] |
| ş | š | š | [ʃ] |
| j | ž | ž | [ʒ] |
| ç | č | č | [tʰ] |
| c | ǰ | j | [dʒ] |
| r (rr) | ṛ | ř | [r] |
| l (ll) | l̥ | l̥ | [ɬ] |

Table 6. Correspondence between Kurdish and NENA transcription

| Kurdish | NENA | IPA |
|----------|------------------------|--------------|
| <i>ā</i> | <i>a</i> | [a(:)~ɑ(:)] |
| <i>ē</i> | <i>e</i> | [e(:)] |
| <i>o</i> | <i>o</i> | [o(:)] |
| <i>ū</i> | <i>u</i> | [u(:)] |
| <i>ī</i> | <i>i</i> | [i(:)] |
| <i>a</i> | <i>a</i> (ă), <i>ε</i> | [æ~a~ɑ], [ε] |
| <i>u</i> | <i>u</i> (ũ) | [u~ɔ] |
| <i>ə</i> | <i>ə</i> | [i ~ ɪ] |
| <i>ř</i> | <i>rr</i> | [r] |
| <i>ł</i> | <i>l</i> | [ɭ] |

3.0. Texts

3.1. Organisation

The thirty five texts in Volume II are organised thematically. The seven themes are as follows:

- I: Zambilfrosh (The Basket Seller)
- II: The Bridge of Dalale
- III: Animals and Humans
- IV: Social Status
- V: Family Relations
- VI: Mirza Muhammad
- VII: Religious Legends

The texts are numbered 4–38 and each assigned to one of the themes above. They are arranged by author and subsequently by language and dialect. The title of the story has been added by the respective author, not the storyteller. The Christian and Jew-

ish dialects of Neo-Aramaic are abbreviated to ChA. and JA. respectively before the name of the respective dialect, e.g. ChA. Duhok and JA. Duhok. The abbreviations of Northern and Central Kurdish are placed before the relevant toponym, e.g. NK. Duhok and CK. Shaqlawa.

Texts are divided into numbered paragraphs at the discretion of the author. Reference to the paragraphs of the folktales is given using abbreviations, accompanied by the story title and a number indicating the specific paragraph being referenced. For instance, (ChA. Duhok, Text 14: *A Man and a Lion*, §7) refers to the 7th paragraph of the story *A Man and a Lion*, narrated in the Aramaic dialect of the Christians of Duhok.

3.2. Genre of the Texts

The corpus represents a wide array of genres, and sometimes multiple categorisations are possible. Table 7. below lists the stories according to genre. Nevertheless, the genre of some stories is not altogether clear, as is further discussed in Molin, Chapter 2 this volume. A list of the international folkloristic motifs which are attested in the Aramaic and Kurdish stories is given in Table 9 (Molin, Chapter 2, this volume).

Table 7. The stories categorised according to genre

| Genre | Story |
|--|---|
| Legends (including saint stories) | 4–7: <i>Zambilfrosh (The Basket-Seller)</i> 35: <i>Mar Yohanan (St. John)</i> 36: <i>Mar Giwargis (St. George)</i> 8–11: <i>The Bridge of Dalale</i> 37: <i>The Prophet's Horse</i> |
| Folktales | 17: <i>A Woman and a Leopard</i> 14: <i>A Man and a Lion</i> 16: <i>A Man and a Wolf</i> 15: <i>A Man and a Snake</i> 20: <i>A Family Horse</i> 30: <i>The Girl, Her Evil Stepmother and the Old Witch</i> 23: <i>The Poor Girl and Her Horse</i> 24: <i>A Woman Builds her Home</i> 31: <i>Firyat and Khajija</i> 25: <i>As Precious as Salt</i> 16: <i>The Girl Pomegranate Grain</i> |
| Monster Narratives | 32: <i>Mirza Muhammad and the Forty Monsters</i> 30: <i>The Girl, her Evil Stepmother and the Old Witch</i> 36: <i>Mar Giwargis (St George)</i> |
| Sung Stories and Ballads | 9: <i>The Bridge of Dalale (ChA. Duhok)</i> 4: <i>Zambilfrosh (ChA. Shaqlawa, by A. Sher)</i> |
| Epic | 32–34: <i>Mirza Muhammad</i> |
| Proverbs | At the end of: 17: <i>A Woman and a Leopard</i> 14: <i>A Man and a Lion</i> 16: <i>A Man and a Wolf</i> |

Table 7. The stories categorised according to genre (cont.)

| Genre | Stories |
|------------------|--|
| Fables | 22: <i>A Talking Goat</i> 12 & 13: <i>A 'Pious' Fox</i> 18: <i>A Wolf, a Dog and a Ewe</i> 19: <i>A Ewe and a Wolf</i> |
| Aetiology | 8–11: <i>The Bridge of Dalale</i> 31: <i>Firyat and Khajija</i> (' <i>The Spring of Sorrow</i> ') |
| Anecdotes | 38: <i>The Foul-mouthed Priest</i> 28 & 29: <i>Two Mullahs</i> 27: <i>The Indecent Neighbour</i> 21: <i>A Man and his Dog</i> |

3.3. Neo-Aramaic and Kurdish Versions

Several stories have different versions⁶ and are presented in multiple dialects of Neo-Aramaic as well as (corresponding) Kurdish

Table 8. Stories with multiple versions in the corpus

| Story | Language | Dialects | No. |
|-----------------------------|----------|-------------------------------|-----|
| <i>Zambilfrosh</i> | NENA | ChA. Shaqlawa (by A. Sher) | 4 |
| | | ChA. Shaqlawa (by W. Toma) | 5 |
| | | ChA. Enishke | 6 |
| | Kurdish | NK. Khizava | 7 |
| <i>The Bridge of Dalale</i> | NENA | ChA. Dure | 8 |
| | | ChA. Duhok | 9 |
| | | ChA. Zakho | 10 |
| | Kurdish | NK. Zakho | 11 |

⁶ There are also stories that overlap with other narratives in a less overarching way, but still in a fashion that suggests a shared origin. For further details, see Molin (Chapter 2, this volume).

Table 8. Stories with multiple versions in the corpus (cont.)

| Story | Language | Dialects | No. |
|----------------------------|----------|---|-----|
| A 'Pious' Fox | NENA | ChA. Shaqlawa | 12 |
| | Kurdish | CK. Shaqlawa | 13 |
| A Human and a Beast | NENA | ChA. Duhok (A <i>Man and a Lion</i>) | 14 |
| | | JA. Duhok (A <i>Man and a Wolf</i>) | 16 |
| | Kurdish | NK. Dure (A <i>Woman and a Leopard</i>) | 17 |
| | | | |
| A Wolf and a Ewe | NENA | ChA. Duhok | 18 |
| | Kurdish | CK. Shaqlawa | 19 |
| Two Mullahs | NENA | ChA. Shaqlawa | 28 |
| | Kurdish | CK. Shaqlawa | 29 |
| Mirza Muhammad | NENA | ChA. Duhok | 32 |
| | | ChA. Harmashe | 33 |
| | Kurdish | NK. Duhok | 34 |

3.4. List of Speakers with Notes on Idiolect and Style

3.4.1. Neo-Aramaic

ChA. Duhok

Madlen Patu Nagara (Texts 9, 24) uses *qam-* as a transitive past perfective preverb against *gəm-* in the speech of the other informant of ChA. Duhok, and *mi* as opposed to *ma* for 'what'. She has an elaborate story-telling style, though tends to leave some sentences unfinished, which sometimes impedes comprehension.

Yawsep Elisha Yishaq (Texts 14, 15, 18 and 32) has a slightly different dialect from M.P. Nagara (see above). Unlike M.P. Nagara, he uses the transitive perfective preverb *gəm-* alternating with *ʔəm-*. The interdental fricatives *θ* and *ð* sporadically shift to their respective stops *t* and *d* before L-suffixes, e.g. *məθle* ‘he died’ alternates with *mətle*. He often uses the filler *hənnə* or *ʔənnə* ‘thingy, what’s-it-called’, and feels the need to clarify Kurdish words with an Arabic equivalent, e.g. K. *dargāvāna* alongside Arab. *ḥarās* ‘gatekeeper; guard’. His speech is clear overall and at a variable pace. Occasionally, he speaks slowly but dynamically, accenting every word in a sentence, and at other times he can speak rather fast.

JA. Duhok

Sabi Abraham (Text 16) was interviewed in Jerusalem in 2018 by Dorota Molin. Despite having lived in a predominantly Hebrew-speaking environment for 70 years, he remembers in great detail many Neo-Aramaic folktales.⁷ He learnt these from his father—a story teller—and he, in turn, had learnt some stories from his Kurdish neighbours.

ChA. Dure

Dawid Adam (Text 8) was interviewed in Turku, Finland, in 2005 by Geoffrey Khan. He was a storyteller in his native village of Dure in Barwar-i Bala. He tells stories with a fluent style and often includes sung ballads in his narratives. The dialect of

⁷ For another folktale by Sabi Abraham, see Molin (2021a).

Dure belongs to the ChA. Barwar cluster, whose distinctive features include the following (see Khan 2008). The diphthong *ay shifts to /ɛ/, e.g. *bεθa* < **bayθa* ‘house’. When a historically long *ī occurs in a closed syllable and is shortened, it retains its tense quality /i/, e.g. *ʾiθwa* ‘there was’. The past perfective preverb has the form *qəm-*, which is formally distinct from the preposition *qam* ‘before’.

ChA. Enishke

Zarifa Toma (Texts 6 and 36) has a very elliptical narrative style, so that her stories are for the most part simply summaries of the original creations. Her speech is interspersed with narrator questions (e.g. ‘What did he do?’).

ChA. Harmashe

Salim Daniel Yomaran (Text 33) was interviewed on site by Khan, Molin and Noorlander on a field trip in Iraq in 2019. He is a fluent speaker of the dialect and an animated storyteller. The interdental /θ/ is preserved before L-suffixes, e.g. *məθle* ‘he died’. The diphthong /ay/ can be raised to [ɛy], and the vowels [o] and [u] are not always clearly distinguished in his speech, e.g. *zura* ‘little’, *hule* ‘there is’, but *smoqa* ‘red’, *gora* ‘big’, *xona* ‘brother’. The transitive past perfective preverb *qam-* (or *qām-*) alternates with *ḵum-* and *ḵəm-* and may also be omitted. He tends to construct a negative imperative with *lakun* followed by a subjunctive starting with the morpheme ʾət, e.g. *lakun ʾət ʾamrutu ta ču naša* ‘Do not tell anyone!’.

ChA. Shaqlawa

Ayshok Yalda (Text 35) was recorded by Geoffrey Khan and Nineb Lamassu in Shaqlawa 2017.

Warina Toma (Text 5), **Sare Sawrish** (Text 23), **Angel Sher** (Text 4) and **Sayran Sher** (Text 12 and 28) were all recorded by Lourd Hanna in Shaqlawa between 2019 and 2020.

They are all lively storytellers and typically speak very fast when they become animated. Some distinctive features of the ChA. Shaqlawa dialect include the following (Khan 2022). The 3sg.m. and 3pl. possessive suffixes both have the form *-u*. There are some asymmetries in the inflection of the various types of copula, e.g. in the 3pl. enclitic positive copula *-ina*, negative copula *lewu*, past enclitic *wənwā*. The particle *na* is used by speakers to express epistemic contrastive focus. It is used to correct what the speaker assumes the hearer believes or presupposes to be the case. Most of the storytellers introduce numerous Arabic and Kurdish words into their speech. A notable loan from Turkic is the particle *gorin*, which is placed after a noun and functions as a definite article, e.g. *yala gorin* ‘the boy’. Embedded within the story of Zambilfrosh told by Angel Sher there is a sung ballad that is in the ChA. Alqosh dialect rather than the ChA. Shaqlawa dialect.

ChA. Zakho

Ameen Essa Shimoun’s (Text 10) speech contains a significant amount of Arabic material, not only loanwords, but also entire phrases with Aramaic-Arabic code-switching. This includes many Modern Standard (as opposed to dialectal) Arabic phrases

and expressions (e.g. *wa-laysa* ‘and not’ or ‘*əlmiyan* ‘scientifically (speaking)’, which probably serve to elevate the register.

JA. Zakho

Samra Zaken (Text 25) was recorded by Oz Aloni in July 2011 in Jerusalem, in conversation with **Batya Aloni**. As is the case with most Jewish speakers, her speech includes Aramaic—Modern Hebrew code-switching and loanwords. Samra Zaken was born in Zakho around 1930. She moved to Jerusalem in 1951.

3.4.2. Kurdish

NK. Dure

Herish Rashid Tawfiq Beg’s (Texts 20, 37) speech contains significant pharyngealisation of native words, e.g. *ḥaʃp* ‘horse’. His speech features only a few Arabic loanwords. He consistently uses the 3pl. impersonal form of the verb ‘to say’ *at-bēžan* ‘it is said’ to signal episode transition in both of his stories.

NK. Duhok

Bizhan Khoshavi Ahmad’s (Texts 17, 26, 30) speech is characterised by only limited influence from Arabic, which could be an indication of his education in Kurdish. Occasionally Central Kurdish elements are found in his speech, (e.g. *lā* ‘at the place of’), reflecting the sociolinguist situation of Kurdish varieties in Iraqi Kurdistan, namely CK being the official language and the one associated with more prestige. His speech is also characterised by free variation between /ū/, and /o/ in some lexical items,

e.g. *bo* vs. *bū* ‘was’. Bizhan’s dialect contains the largest number of what appears to be unaspirated stops among NK speakers.

Viyan Ramazan’s (Texts 34) speech exhibits considerable variation from that of Bizhan. Her speech contains little influence from Standard Bahdini Kurmanji taught in schools and features more Arabic loanwords than Bizhan’s. She has an elaborate story-telling style. She uses frequently the verb *inā* ‘S/he brought’ to mark transitions in the episodes of the tale. She uses a variant of 3pl. oblique pronoun *wāna*, not attested in the speech of other NK story tellers.

NK. Zakho

Saeid Razvan’s (Texts 11) speech exhibits distinctive features of NK. Zakho, e.g. lack of heavy verb stems. He uses Arabic words such as ‘*arrāf*’ ‘fortune-teller’ rather than the Kurdish equivalent *xēvzānk* to reflect his literacy in Arabic and the high prestige associated with it among older speakers of Kurdish.

NK. Khizava

Ahmad Abubakir Sleman’s (Texts 7, 31) speech contains a considerable number of Arabic loanwords, which also include discourse markers such as *muhām* ‘anyway’, *tab’an* ‘indeed’. His dialect shows similarities with the dialect of Zakho, e.g. the (occasional) lack of heavy verb stems, lack of directional particle after verbs of speech. He is from Gulli’s tribe, for which a scant grammatical sketch and a text are provided in MacKenzie (1961; 1962).

CK. Shaqlawa

Hawsar Najat Bapir's (Texts 13, 19, 22, 29) speech exhibits some influence from Standard Central Kurdish, e.g., the occasional use of the near singular demonstrative *ama* instead of the distance-neutral *awa* form. He tends to elaborate on the Kurdish culture and folktales associated with Shaqlawa in his tales.

Jalal Sher (Texts 21, 27, 38) is a Neo-Aramaic speaker who is bilingual in Kurdish. His speech is characterised by the use of the impersonal verb 'to say' to mark transition between episodes of the tale. His speech is less influenced by Standard Central Kurdish than that of Hawasar.

4.0. Glossing

A sample of partly glossed texts is given at the end of Volume I, one for each dialect represented here. The glossing is consistent with the Leipzig Glossing Rules, except in the following cases. A few terms have been taken over from Iranian linguistics in the glossing of Kurdish, notably:

EZ for the so-called *ezafe*, i.e. nominal annexation morphemes, and DIR and OBL for the so-called *direct* and *oblique* case, i.e. the unmarked form in contrast to the case that is used in a broad range of other contexts otherwise subsumed under accusative, dative, genitive, and ergative cases. The abbreviation DRCT stands for the 'directional' particle used typically when verbs of movement are followed by goal arguments. The abbreviation TELIC stands for the 'telicity' distinctions, most crucially the endpoint of an action, expressed by the particle (a)va-/-(a)va in Northern Kurdish and the cognate -(a)wa in Central Kurdish. The

particle can be used in alternations marking a change in verbal deixis such as counterdirectionality, e.g. *čūn* ‘to go’ vs. *čūn-ava* ‘to go back’, or a shift in lexical semantics, e.g. *xwārdən* ‘to eat’ : *xwārdən-ava* ‘to drink’, *kərən* ‘to make’ : *va-kərən* ‘to open’. The abbreviation NA is used to indicate that a morpheme has not been analysed, i.e. the author refrains from judgement on the analysis of the corresponding morpheme.

In the glossing of NENA texts demonstratives, independent personal pronouns, and pronominal affixes on prepositions and nominals are glossed lexically. OBL is used to refer to a dedicated set of genitive third person pronouns corresponding with so-called oblique pronouns in Iranian used in the *ezāfe*. Object suffixes on verbs are tagged with ‘O’, while other grammatical relations, such as subjects, are left unmarked. The participle (PTCP) specifically means the resultative participle, also used in perfect/anterior constructions. The tag INV for ‘invariable’ is used for non-inflectable adjectives.

5.0. English Translation

The English translation of texts aims to reflect faithfully the original text narrated in the source language with a combination of more formal and dynamic approaches. The outcome of this blending may vary from one translator to the next.

Where the translator has opted for periphrasis, the more literal equivalent rendering is given in footnotes or round brackets (). The frequent use of the verbs literally equivalent to English *rise* and *stand/get up* to express the transition to a new sequence

of events is often rendered with the conjunction ‘then’ or left untranslated. The translation may deviate from the literal equivalent to show stylistic variation. The particles *yāni* or *ya’ni*, for instance, may be translated ‘I mean’, ‘you know’, ‘indeed’, ‘that is’ and so forth. Similarly, the Neo-Aramaic phrase *mhaymən* or *hemən* may be rendered as ‘believe me’, ‘truly’, ‘really’ and so forth. Frequently used discourse markers such as *žī* or *-(i)š* are left untranslated, unless an English equivalent readily presents itself. Repetition in the original language is not always reflected in the English translation.

Finally, words that are missing or implicit in the original text but required for proper use of English and/or for understanding the text have been added between square brackets []. To aid the reader in following the discourse, the referents of pronouns are added in parentheses or directly in the text with a footnote expressing the literal equivalent.