

# The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Telkepe

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## 1 Introduction<sup>1</sup>

The dialect described here is a dialect of North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic (NENA) spoken by the Chaldean Catholic Christians of the town of Telkepe. It, and other Christian dialects, are known as *sūraθ* to their speakers. The Telkepe dialect is similar to the dialects of the surrounding Chaldean villages but distinct enough to require a separate description. It is generally well understood by other Iraqi Chaldeans, because the *təlkəpnāyə* (natives of Telkepe) have formed a large part of Chaldean communities in the diaspora, in Baghdad and Detroit especially.

Telkepe [*təlkəpə*] (Arabic Tall Kayf) is a small town situated at the southern end of the Mosul Plain, about fifteen kilometres north of the city of Mosul. Historically Christian, it gained a sizable Muslim population as well. In 2014, with the surge of Islamic State in Iraq, Telkepe was captured and almost all its Christian inhabitants were forced to flee. Telkepe has since been recaptured, but it remains to be seen how many will return.

Telkepe is at the southern tip of a string of Neo-Aramaic-speaking villages leading north from Mosul: Telkepe, Baṭnāya, Baqopa, Tisqopa and Alqosh. To the south-east of Mosul there are three other Neo-Aramaic-speaking villages: Karimlesh, Qaraqosh/Baghdede and Barīṭle/Bartīlle. Most of the inhabitants of these Neo-Aramaic-speaking villages belong to the Chaldean Catholic Church, but the inhabitants of Qaraqosh and Barīṭle adhere mainly to the Syriac Catholic Church and the Syriac Orthodox Church respectively. There are also Arabic and Kurdish speakers of various ethno-religious backgrounds living in the local area (especially Christians, Yezidis and Shabaks).

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The etymology of the name Telkepe is apparently ‘the mound of stones’ (Arab. *tall* ‘mound’, Aramaic *kepā* ‘stones’). This refers to the large archaeological tell at the edge of the village. It has not been excavated due to the village cemetery situated on it.

According to Wilmshurst, the earliest mention of Telkepe is in an inscription commemorating the restoration of a nearby monastery in 1403 “by the residents of Telkepe”, and he suggests that Telkepe “may well have been founded as late as the fourteenth century”.<sup>2</sup> Of course, the tell points to an ancient habitation on the site; it is not known what the name was of the Assyrian settlement now hidden under the tell.

Formerly adhering to the Church of the East, Telkepe was one of the first villages to unite with the Catholic Church.<sup>3</sup> According to Wilmshurst, there were Catholic missionaries in Telkepe in the 17th century and there were a significant number of converts by the end of the century.<sup>4</sup> By the beginning of the 19th century, those in union with Rome were in the majority.

Already in the 19th century Telkepe was the largest Christian village in the plain of Mosul and many of the clergy of the Chaldean Church were its sons. Its prominence in the Chaldean Church continues to this day. In the late 19th century, it had two churches, the churches of Saint Cyriacus and of the Virgin Mary;<sup>5</sup> within a few decades the number grew to six. There are also several shrines.<sup>6</sup>

Telkepe is notable for its history of emigration, and communities of *tālkəpnāyā* are now found in all the major cities of Iraq, as well as abroad, especially in Detroit, Michigan. In Iraq the *tālkəpnāyā* are prominent in the management of hotels, while in Detroit they have predominantly worked in the grocery business. Emigration to Detroit began in the early 20th century, and the *tālkəpnāyā* are the largest group in the huge Chaldean community there.<sup>7</sup>

Until recently there was little published specifically on the dialect of Telkepe, although there were two articles by Sabar with texts and grammatical notes.<sup>8</sup> More generally on the dialects of the area of the Mosul Plain, there are several early works providing information.<sup>9</sup> Unfortunately these do not distinguish between the dialects of the area, which, though highly mutually intelligible, nevertheless are also clearly distinct in phonology, morphology, syntax and lexicon.

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<sup>2</sup> Wilmshurst, 2000, p. 223. The inscription was noted by Sachau, 1883, p. 361.

<sup>3</sup> Fiey, 1965, p. 360.

<sup>4</sup> Wilmshurst, 2000, p. 224–226.

<sup>5</sup> Sachau, 1883, p. 367.

<sup>6</sup> Fiey, 1965, p. 369.

<sup>7</sup> Sengstock, 2005.

<sup>8</sup> Sabar, 1978 and Sabar, 1993.

<sup>9</sup> Socin, 1882; Guidi, 1883; Sachau, 1895; Rhétoré, 1912; Maclean, 1895; Maclean, 1901.

More recently, studies have been published on individual dialects of this area, such as the varieties spoken in Tisqopa, Qaraqosh, Alqosh, Karimlesh and Baritle.<sup>10</sup> In recent years I have also published a number of papers covering individual aspects of the dialect of Telkepe.<sup>11</sup>

We are fortunate in having a number of manuscripts of religious poetry composed in the dialects of the Mosul Plain,<sup>12</sup> with the earliest dating to the 16th and 17th centuries. These early texts clearly show dialectal features of this region, while also exhibiting archaic features now lost, as well as lacking certain analytic verbal constructions which presumably developed later. They are therefore a priceless source for the historical development of the NENA dialects of this region.<sup>13</sup>

This study of the dialect of Telkepe was carried out as part of the North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic Project at Cambridge University, funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Board. Most of the fieldwork on which it is based was carried out during two fieldwork trips to Detroit in 2004 and 2007. Some other interviews were conducted in London and Chicago in 2006, while further interviews were also carried out by telephone.

This paper will focus on the basic phonology, morphology and lexicon of the dialect, rather than the syntax, on which I have published elsewhere and which will also be treated in a separate monograph.<sup>14</sup> I have tried here to keep to the same structure as in my other paper-length dialect descriptions, for maximum comparability.<sup>15</sup>

## 2 Phonology

### 2.1 Phonemic inventories

#### 2.1.1 Consonants

The inventory of consonant phonemes in the dialect of Telkepe is given in table 1. Note the IPA values for the following symbols: *č* [tʃ], *j* [dʒ], *ž* [ʒ] (as an allophone of *š*), *y* [j], *ġ* [ɣ], *h* [ħ], *ʿ* [ʕ], *ʾ* [ʔ]. Other symbols have their IPA values. Apart from *h*, consonants with a dot under are the emphatic (velarised/

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<sup>10</sup> See Rubba, 1993a and Rubba, 1993b for Tisqopa; Khan, 2002 for Qaraqosh; Coghill, 2004, Coghill, 2005 and Coghill, forthcoming-b for Alqosh; Borghero, 2008 for Karimlesh; and Mole, 2015 for Baritle.

<sup>11</sup> See Coghill, 2008; Coghill, 2009; Coghill, 2010a; Coghill, 2010b; Coghill, 2014; Coghill, 2015.

<sup>12</sup> See e.g. Pennacchietti, 1990; Poizat, 1990; Poizat, 1993; Mengozzi, 2002a; Mengozzi, 2002b; Mengozzi, 2011.

<sup>13</sup> For diachronic studies using these texts as sources, see Mengozzi, 2012; Coghill, 2010b, pp. 377–379; Coghill, 2016, especially pp. 234–239, 268–282.

<sup>14</sup> See Coghill, 2010a; Coghill, 2010b; Coghill, 2014.

<sup>15</sup> See Coghill, 2013 on Peshabur; Coghill, forthcoming-b on Alqosh.

**Table 1.** Consonant inventory

		Bilabial	Labio-dental	Dental	Alveolar	Post-alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Pharyngeal	Laryngeal
<b>Stops/affricates</b>											
plain	voiceless	<i>p</i>		<i>t</i>		<i>č</i>		<i>k</i>	<i>q</i>		ʔ
	voiced	<i>b</i>		<i>d</i>		<i>j</i>		<i>g</i>			
	voiceless			<i>t̥</i>		<i>č̥</i>					
emphatic	voiced										
<b>Fricatives</b>											
plain	voiceless		<i>f</i>	<i>θ</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>š</i>		<i>x</i>		<i>ħ</i>	<i>h</i>
	voiced		<i>(v)</i>	<i>ð</i>	<i>z</i>			<i>ġ</i>			
	voiceless				<i>ʃ</i>						
emphatic	voiced			<i>ð̤</i>							
<b>Nasals</b>		<i>m</i>			<i>n</i>						
<b>Lateral approximant</b>					<i>l</i>						
<b>Tap/trill</b>											
plain					<i>r</i>						
emphatic					<i>r̥</i>						
<b>Approximants</b>		<i>w</i>					<i>y</i>				

pharyngealised) versions of the undotted consonant; for instance, the symbol *ð̤* represents [ðʕ].

Unemphatic voiceless plosives are lightly aspirated, while emphatic or voiced stops are unaspirated:

<i>talθa</i>	[tʰɛlθæ]	‘the year before last’
<i>tūrâ</i>	[tʰu.rʕv]	‘mountain’
<i>dax</i>	[dɔx]	‘how?’

Some phonemes are only found in loan-words, but are nevertheless common; for example /ð̤/ occurs in words from Arabic. On the other hand, /v/ is only attested in the Kurdish loan-word *šivānâ* ‘shepherd’.

Voiced plosives and fricatives are devoiced in word-final position: *mez* [me:s] ‘table’ (K. *mêz*), *primuz* [pri:mus] ‘primus stove’. This devoicing also occurs in Alqosh, and is an areal feature also found in the Qəltu-Arabic dialects of Mosul and Anatolia, as well as Kurdish dialects.<sup>16</sup> The voicing is preserved when the word is followed by a suffix: *mezât* [me:zæ:t] ‘tables’, *primuzât* [pri:muzæ:t] ‘primus stoves’.

<sup>16</sup> For the dialects of Mosul, see Jastrow, 1979, p. 41; for those of Anatolia, see Jastrow, 1978, p. 98; for Kurdish dialects, see Mackenzie, 1961, pp. 48–49.

### 2.1.2 Vowels

There are nine vowel phonemes, five of them long and four short. The distinction between long and short is not phonemic in all environments. The phonemes /o/, /e/, and /i/ are usually realised as long, but are not marked as such in order to minimise the number of diacritics. The vowel phonemes are:

Long vowels: /i/ /e/ /ā/ /o/ /ū/

Short vowels: /ə/ /a/ /ǎ/ /u/

The most common realisations of these vowels (in the environment of non-emphatic consonants) are shown below. In an emphatic environment, they may be backed and lowered, at least in the onset. Long vowels may be realised as mid-long, or even short, in an unstressed syllable.

/i/ = [i:]

/e/ = [e:]; it is often diphthongised, with a lowering of the tongue, [e̞e̞]

/ā/ = [æ:]

/o/ = [o:]

/ū/ = [u:]; before /y/ it may be realised as [y:]: *rūyā* ['ry:jɔ] 'grown up'

/ə/ = [ɪ] ~ [e̞] or a close-mid central vowel, [ə]

/a/ = [æ] or centralised to [ɜ]; in final position sometimes long, [æ:]

/u/ = [u] or a more lax [ʊ]

/ǎ/ = open back to mid central, slightly rounded, [ɔ], [ɐ] or [ə<sup>o</sup>]: *hallǎ* ['hællɔ] 'give her', *idǎ* ['i:ðə<sup>o</sup>] 'hand'

In an unstressed final open syllable, the length distinction of /a/–/ā/ and /u/–/ū/ is neutralised, and so only the following vowels occur: /i/, /e/, /o/, /ə/, /a/, /u/ and /ǎ/, and the diphthong /ay/. In fact, /ǎ/ only occurs in this position.

What is unusual among NENA dialects is the presence of two distinct 'a' phonemes in final position, /a/ and /ǎ/, where other NENA dialects have one:

*skinǎ* 'knife'

*skina* 'her knife'

*qtǎlla* 'she killed'

*qtǎlla* 'they killed'

*'ānǎ* 'I'

*'āna* 'those'

The realisation of these two vowels is quite distinct: final /a/ is a front vowel [æ], not normally centralised (unlike non-final /a/), with more tendency to be pronounced long as [æ:]; /ǎ/ is a back-central vowel, usually slightly rounded. Given the phonetic similarity of the former to the non-final /a/ phoneme, I have chosen to write them the same. Arguably, however, one could alternatively view *ǎ* [ɔ] as an allophone of non-final /a/, given that when word stress is shifted on to it, it changes to /a/:

'arbā	'four (m)'	'arbā=gūrə	'four men'
šātā	'year'	šātā=xurtā	'next year'
'əkmā	'how many?'	'əkmā='armonə	'how many pomegranates?'
xənnā	'other'	xənnā='axonā	'another brother'

There is one diphthong in Telkepe, normally only found in final open syllables (stressed or unstressed), usually a third person plural morpheme. It may also be found in certain Classical Syriac loans.

/ay/ = [ɛy]; e.g. *beθáy* 'their house', *kullay* 'all of them', *bassay!* 'enough for them', *wāway* 'they were', *way!* (similar to German *doch!*), *haymānūθā* 'faith', *suraytūθā* 'Christianity' (< *surāyā* 'Christian')

## 2.2 Word stress

Word stress is mostly penultimate, as is generally the case in Christian dialects of Iraq; e.g. *mašəlxāna* 'robber', *kəməšəqəllə* 'he took it'. Non-penultimate stress can be found in specific verbal forms, e.g. *mášəlxu* 'rob! (pl)', *kpāθəxwālə* 'he used to open it'. As a result of this, stress is marginally phonemic:

*mbāšəllə* 'cook it!'                      *mbāšəllə* '(that) he may cook it'

In this paper, word stress will only be marked where it is not penultimate.

## 2.3 Synchronic sound rules<sup>17</sup>

### 2.3.1 Assimilation

Assimilation of consonants to each other is very common in Telkepe, as in other NENA dialects. It involves voicing, nasality, place of articulation and

<sup>17</sup> Some forms and phrases in this paper are glossed, with a full list of abbreviations given in the Appendix; the Leipzig Glossing Rules are used where possible. Note, however, that, for economy, the NENA Present Base forms are not explicitly glossed as Present Base; all other verb forms are glossed with their category name. Thus the Present Base form *k-šāqəl* 'he takes' is glossed as [IND-go.3MS], while the Past Base form *šqəl-lə* 'he took' is glossed as [take.PAST-L.3MS]. Words and morphemes are often combined in phrases containing a single stress: one element may be a clitic, but this is not necessarily the case. The long equals sign '=' is used where the stress is on the second component, e.g. *xā=xənnā* 'each other'. The short equals sign '=' is used where the stress is on the first component, e.g. *xoš='ixālā* 'good food' and *gāre=lə* 'it is a roof'. For affixes a simple hyphen is used. Note, however, that the distinction between affixes and clitics is somewhat blurred. For instance, the monoconsonantal prepositions (*b-*, *l-* and *m-*), as well as the genitive marker *d-*, are somewhere between.

emphatic spread. Usually a consonant assimilates to the following one (regressive/anticipatory assimilation), but in emphatic spread consonants before and after may be affected.

Assimilation is very common with grammatical prefixes, and in these cases it will be indicated in the transcription; for example *p-siyārā* ‘in the car’ is underlyingly *b- + siyārā*. When it affects part of the root, on the other hand, assimilation will not be indicated in the orthography; e.g. *xzelā* ‘he saw’ is produced with a voiced initial consonant, as [ɣze:lə] (compare *kxāzā* [kxa:zə] ‘he sees’). Assimilation, especially voicing assimilation, also commonly occurs over the word boundary, but such sandhi will not be indicated in the transcription. Assimilations which are shown in the examples in this section but which are normally ignored in my transcription will be put here in square brackets.

Most consonants regularly assimilate to a following consonant in voicing:

<b>Underlying form</b>	<b>Assimilation</b>	
<i>b- + šāqəl</i> [FUT- + take.S.3MS]	<i>p-šāqəl</i>	‘he will take’
<i>k- + zad-ux</i> [IND- + fear-S.1PL]	<i>g-zadux</i>	‘we fear’
<i>kaləbθā</i>	<i>kalə[p]θā</i>	‘bitch’
<i>bas dahā</i>	<i>ba[z] dahā</i>	‘but now’

There are certain consonants that neither cause nor undergo voicing assimilation: the laryngeals /ʔ/ and /h/, the pharyngeal approximant /ʕ/ and the ‘sonorants’, that is, the nasals /m/ and /n/, the liquids /l/ and /r/ and the semivowels /y/ and /w/, as well as any emphatic counterparts of these.

An emphatic consonant will normally make a neighbouring consonant emphatic also. Emphatic spread may also affect consonants not immediately adjacent:

<b>Underlying form</b>	<b>Assimilation</b>	
<i>qiṣ- + -tā</i> [cut.RES.PTCP- + -FS]	<i>qəṣtā</i>	‘cut’
<i>ṭūrā</i> [mountain]	<i>ṭūrā</i>	‘mountain’
<i>ltexəd + ṭūrā</i> [down + mountain]	<i>ltexət=ṭūrā</i>	‘down the mountain’

The consonants /d/ and /b/ may, before a nasal, themselves become the equivalent nasal consonant, /n/ and /m/ respectively. This is obligatory with /b/ before /m/ and very common (though not obligatory) with the other combinations:

<b>Underlying form</b>	<b>Assimilation</b>	
<i>b- + mašloxə</i> [in- + rob.INF]	<i>m-mašloxə</i>	‘robbing’
<i>b- + nāpəl</i> [FUT- + fall.S.3MS]	<i>m-nāpəl</i>	‘he will fall’
<i>b- + mez</i> [in/on- + table]	<i>m-mez</i>	‘on to the table’
<i>ltexəd + mez</i> [underneath + table]	<i>ltexən=mez</i>	‘underneath the table’

There are two cases where a consonant consistently assimilates to the following one in terms of its place of articulation: /n/ becomes an [m] before the bilabial /p/ (the sequence /nb/ is not attested) and /k/ is backed to [q] before uvular /q/:

<b>Underlying form</b>		<b>Assimilation</b>	
<i>npālā</i>	[fall.INF]	[m]pālā	‘to fall’
<i>k- + qem-ən</i>	[IND- + get_up-S.1MS]	qqemən	‘I (m) get up’

Sometimes a plosive assimilates to a following fricative, although this is not obligatory. In the following cases this results in total assimilation:

<b>Underlying form</b>		<b>Assimilation</b>	
<i>yom-əd + šabθā</i>	[day-CST + week/Saturday]	<i>yoməš=šabθā</i>	‘Saturday’
<i>k- + xašw-an</i>	[IND- + think-S.1FS]	<i>x-xašwan</i>	‘I (f) think’
<i>kud + θe-li</i>	[when + come.PAST-L.1SG]	<i>ku[θ] θeli</i>	‘when I came’

### 2.3.2 Secondary gemination

There is a tendency (but not a rule), where a short vowel is in an open syllable, for the syllable to be closed by means of the gemination of the following consonant. The main cases of this are presented below:

<i>*la= + piš(ən)</i>	<i>lappəš</i>	‘there is/are no ... left’
[NEG= + there_is_left]		
<i>la= + zilə</i>	<i>la=zzilə</i>	‘he is not going to’
[NEG= + PRSP.3MS]		
<i>k- + zālə</i>	<i>kəzzālə</i>	‘he goes’
[IND- + go.3MS]		
<i>kəm- + (‘)āxəl-lə</i>	<i>kəmmāxəllə</i>	‘he ate it’
[PST_PFV- + eat.S.3MS-L.3MS]		

### 2.3.3 Plosivisation of interdental adjacent to /l/

As is common across NENA, there is a tendency for an interdental fricative adjacent to an /l/ to become a stop:

<b>Underlying form</b>	<b>Output</b>	
<i>yaldā (ylǝ I)</i>	<i>yaldā</i>	‘she may give birth’
<i>məθ- + -lə</i>	<i>mətlə</i>	‘he died’

### 2.3.4 Vowel length alternations

A selection of the synchronic vowel alternations in this dialect are presented here. Syllable closure, through the addition of a suffix, usually results in the shortening of a vowel: /ā/ to /a/, /i/ to /ə/, /ū/ to /u/ and /o/ to /o/ ~ /u/ ~ /a/:

Open syllable	Closed syllable
<i>'azāla</i> 'going' (msg active participle)	<i>'azaltā</i> 'going' (fsg active participle)
<i>pθixā</i> 'open (msg)'	<i>pθəx-tā</i> 'open (fsg)'
<i>yarūqā</i> 'green (msg)'	<i>yaruq-tā</i> 'green (fsg)'
<i>qʔol</i> 'kill!'	<i>qʔol-li ~ qʔal-li</i> 'kill me!'
<i>komā</i> 'black (msg)'	<i>kum-tə</i> 'black (fsg)'
<i>šaxlopə</i> 'to change' (infinitive)	<i>šaxlap-tā</i> 'changing' (fsg infinitive)

Vowel lengthening also takes place, in a similar way as in Alqosh, either through the opening of a syllable or when a suffix is added that places the vowel in a non-final open syllable:

<i>čangal</i> 'fork'	<i>čangāli</i> 'my fork'
<i>k-xāzə</i> 'he sees'	<i>k-xāzela</i> 'he sees her'
<i>θelə</i> 'he came'	<i>θələlan</i> 'there came to us'
<i>p-kāθu</i> 'he will write'	<i>p-kāθūlə</i> 'he will write it'

Both short final 'a' vowels shift to /ā/ under the latter condition:

<i>k-xāza</i> 'they see'	<i>k-xāzālə</i> 'they see him'
<i>k-šaqlā</i> 'she takes'	<i>k-šaqlālə</i> 'she takes him'

Vowel shortening often takes place when the stress is shifted from an open syllable making it pretonic:

<i>ʔāle</i> 'to him'	<i>ʔaláy</i> 'to them'
<i>gūdā</i> 'wall'	<i>gudānə</i> 'walls'

Vowels are also shortened when moved to a stressed position before two or more syllables:

<i>b-zālux</i> 'you (msg) will go'	<i>b-záloxu</i> 'you (pl) will go'
<i>k-šaqlūtu</i> 'you (pl) take'	<i>k-šaqlátūlə</i> 'you (pl) take him'
<i>θelə</i> 'he came'	<i>θələlan</i> 'there came to us'

The shift /e/ > /ə/, seen in the previous example, is morphologically conditioned; it does not occur before the anterior suffix:

*θeli* ‘I came’      *θéwāli* ‘I came (remote past)’

## 2.4 Historical developments

### 2.4.1 *Beḡadkeḗṯ* and other consonant changes

As in NENA generally, the plosive and fricative allophones of Late Aramaic \**b*, \**g*, \**d*, \**k* and \**t* have for the most part become separate phonemes.<sup>18</sup> As usual, \**p* is the exception to this: its allophones have merged as plosive /*p*/:

Stop	Fricative	Examples of fricative reflexes
* <i>b</i> → <i>b</i>	* <i>b̥</i> → <i>w</i>	<i>šwāwā</i> ‘neighbour’ (Syr. <i>š<sup>o</sup>bābā</i> )
* <i>g</i> → <i>g</i>	* <i>g̥</i> → ’	<i>ra’olā</i> ‘valley’ (Syr. <i>rāḡōlā</i> )
* <i>d</i> → <i>d</i>	* <i>d̥</i> → <i>ð</i>	<i>’idā</i> ‘hand’ (Syr. <i>’idā</i> )
* <i>k</i> → <i>k</i>	* <i>k̥</i> → <i>x</i>	<i>rakixā</i> ‘soft’ (Syr. <i>rakkīkā</i> )
* <i>p</i> → <i>p</i>	* <i>p̥</i> → <i>p</i>	<i>’uprā</i> ‘soil’ (Syr. <i>’apṛā</i> )
* <i>t</i> → <i>t</i>	* <i>t̥</i> → <i>θ</i>	<i>māθā</i> ‘village’ (Syr. <i>mātā</i> )

As indicated above, Telkepe, like other dialects of the Mosul Plain, is among those dialects which have preserved \**t̥* and \**d̥* as interdental (/θ/ and /ð/), rather than merging them with the dental stops.

Original \**h* has merged with \**k̥* as /*x*/, e.g. *xəṯṯə* ‘wheat’ (< *ḥeṯṯē*), as in most but not all NENA dialects.<sup>19</sup> Original \*’ and \**ḡ* have generally merged, both shifting to /’/, e.g. *’amrā* ‘wool’ (Syr. *’amrā*) and *š’ārā* ‘fuel, kindling’ (Syr. *š<sup>o</sup>ḡārā* ‘kindling’). Immediately before or after a consonant, the resultant /’/ may have been elided, e.g. *šubetā* ‘finger’ (< \**šubə’ta* < \**šube’ta*, Syr. *šeb<sup>o</sup>’tā*), *ṯəmā* ‘taste’ (< \**ṯəm’a* < \**ṯem’ā*, Syr. *ṯa’mā*), *xāta* ‘thorn-bush’ (< \**xa’ta* < \**xaḡta*, Syr. *ḥāḡtā*). Two cases where it was not elided are *pa’lā* ‘labourer’ (Syr. *pā’lā*) and *pə’lā* ‘radishes’ (< \**peḡlē*, Syr. *puḡlē* ~ *paḡlē*).

Apparent exceptions to these sound shifts, where the original sounds are preserved (as *h*, ’ and *ḡ*), are usually borrowings from Classical Syriac (see section 2.4.3).

Historical gemination of consonants has mostly been lost where it followed /*a*/, e.g. *yāmā* ‘sea’ (Syr. *yammā*), *rābā* ‘big’ (Syr. *rabbā*), *rakixā* ‘soft’ (Syr. *rakkīkā*), *mzābān* ‘he may sell’ (Syr. *m<sup>o</sup>zabbēn*).<sup>20</sup> Gemination loss and the resultant presence of single post-vocalic plosives is one of the reasons for the phonemicisation of the plosive-fricative distinction in NENA.

<sup>18</sup> In Syriac, these consonants were realised as fricatives when they occurred after a vowel, unless they were geminated (when they were realised as a plosive). In all other positions they were realised as plosives.

<sup>19</sup> The two are merged as /*h*/ in the dialects of Hertevin (Jastrow, 1988, p. 6), Umra (Hoback, 2000, p. 22–24) and Derabün (my own fieldwork data).

<sup>20</sup> In stressed syllables the vowel was lengthened in compensation for the loss of gemination.

## 2.4.2 Vowel changes

The vowel phonology of Telkepe is relatively conservative within NENA, except that the old diphthongs have been monophthongised. The reconstructed proto-forms in what follows are based on Syriac forms, as well as those of other NENA dialects.

Original \**ō* (as in the eastern pronunciation of Classical Syriac) is preserved as /o/, e.g. \**rāḡōlā* > *ra'olā* 'valley' and \**b<sup>o</sup>rōnā* > *brona* 'boy, son'. Original \**ē* is preserved as /e/ [e:] in non-final position and as /ə/ in final position, e.g. \**rēšā* > *rešā* 'head' and \**hāzē* > *xāzə* 'he may see'. In its preservation of \**ō* and \**ē*, Telkepe resembles most other dialects native to northern Iraq and much of the Hakkari province in Turkey.<sup>21</sup>

The old diphthong \**aw* (< \**aw*, \**aḥ* and \**aḥ*, where \**a* in some cases < \**ā*) is also realised as /o/:

* <i>gawzā</i>	>	<i>gozā</i>	'walnut'
* <i>zabnā</i>	>	<i>zonā</i>	'time'
* <i>tlāḥē</i>	>	<i>tlaxə</i>	'lentils'

This matches what is found for other documented Mosul Plain dialects: Alqosh, Tisqopa (e.g. *zon-* < \**zawn-* Present Base 'sell'), Barīṭle (e.g. *gora* < \**gawra* < \**gabrā* 'man'), and Qaraqosh.<sup>22</sup>

The old diphthong \**ay* (and \**āy*) has been monophthongised in Telkepe and merged with \**ē* in most positions (non-final and stressed final), unlike in Alqosh, where it is monophthongised but kept distinct as /ɛ/,<sup>23</sup> or other dialects such as Peshabur, where it is preserved as a diphthong /ay/ [ei]:<sup>24</sup>

* <i>baytā</i>	>	TK <i>beθā</i>	Alq. <i>bεθa</i>	Pesh. <i>bayθa</i>	'house'
* <i>payšā</i>	>	TK <i>pešā</i>	Alq. <i>pεša</i>	Pesh. <i>payša</i>	'she may become'
* <i>xzay</i>	>	TK <i>xze</i>	Alq. <i>xzε</i>	Pesh. <i>xzay</i>	'see (pl)!'

In a final, unstressed, open syllable, \**ay* is also monophthongised, but as /a/:

* <i>xāzay</i>	>	TK <i>xāza</i>	Alq. <i>xāzε</i>	Pesh. <i>xāzay</i>	'they may see'
* <i>šqəl-lay</i>	>	TK <i>šqalla</i>	Alq. <i>šqalle</i>	Pesh. <i>šqallay</i>	'they took'
* <i>'annay</i>	>	TK <i>'āna</i>	Alq. <i>'āne</i>		'those'

<sup>21</sup> This contrasts with some dialects of eastern Hakkari, such as Jilu, and the Christian dialects of Urmi, in which \**ē* has in many cases shifted to /i/ and \**ō* to /u/ (i.e. \**rēšā* > *riša* 'head' and \**b<sup>o</sup>rōnā* > *bruna* 'boy, son'). For Jilu, see Fox, 1997, pp. 17–18, 127; for Urmi, see Khan, 2016, pp. 186–87, 190–91.

<sup>22</sup> For Alqosh, see Coghill, 2004, p. 78; for Tisqopa, see Rubba, 1993a, p. 175; for Barīṭle, see Mole, 2015, p. 112; and for Qaraqosh, see Khan, 2002, p. 54.

<sup>23</sup> Coghill, 2004, p. 78.

<sup>24</sup> Coghill, 2013, p. 39.

There are a few cases where *\*ay* in a final unstressed syllable is realised as /e/. These are the feminine imperatives of *verba tertiae* /y/ in derivations **II**, **III** and **Q**, which usually end in /e/, even though this goes back to unstressed *\*ay*, which should be realised as /a/. This exception results presumably from analogy with the forms in derivation **I**, which end in /e/ (e.g. *xzé* ‘see (f)!’).

\**mšāray* (*šry* **II**) > TK *mšāre* ‘begin (f)!’  
 \**māhkay* (*hky* **III**) > TK *māhke* ‘speak (f)!’

An exception to the exception is *meθa* ‘bring (fsg)!’ (< *\*mayθay*, *’θy* **III**), suggesting that the analogy is not made consistently.

The historical 3pl pronominal suffix *\*-ayhən*<sup>25</sup> has become a diphthong *-ay*, e.g. *beθáy* ‘their house’ (compare Alq. *beθéy*). In some forms the suffix does not take the stress, but the diphthong remains: e.g. *kúllay* ‘all of them’, *mánnay* ‘from them’ and *’arbáθnay* ‘four of them’.

Telkepe may be contrasted with another dialect of the northern Mosul Plain, namely Tisqopa. In this dialect *\*ay* has also generally merged with *\*ē* to /e/, e.g. *\*mayθa* > *meθa* ‘she may die’.<sup>26</sup> On the other hand, final unstressed *\*ay* is preserved as a diphthong: *kxāzey* ‘they see’, 3pl L-suffix *-ley*.<sup>27</sup>

The existence of two ‘a’ vowel qualities in this dialect has already been mentioned. The back /ā/ vowel, found only in unstressed final open syllables, is usually a reflex of original *\*a* < *\*ā*<sup>28</sup> in final position, as found in nominal and adjectival inflection and some pronouns, e.g. *nāšā* ‘person’, *māθā* ‘village’, *skināθā* ‘knives’, *rābā* ‘big’ and *’āwā* ‘that (m)’, as well as in the anterior suffix *-wā* (< *\*(h)wā*), when word-final.

The front /a/ vowel in unstressed final position is usually a reflex of original *\*ay*, as mentioned above. Both ‘a’ vowels, however, also go back to original *\*-ah* < *\*-āh*, but in different morphological contexts. The 3fsg possessive suffix on nouns and prepositions, *\*-ah* < *\*-āh*, is realised as *-a*, e.g. *barāna* ‘her ram’. The 3fsg L-suffix, *\*-l-ah* < *\*-l-āh*, on the other hand, is realised as *-lā*. I have elsewhere suggested that already in early NENA the /h/ was lost in the L-suffix, but retained in the possessive suffix in order to disambiguate it from the nominal inflection *\*-a*.<sup>29</sup> Various dialects preserved this distinction in different ways: some by preserving the /h/ or by reinforcing it as a pharyngeal /ħ/. In Telkepe, the /h/ was lost, but the vowel quality distinguished the possessive suffix *-a* from the nominal inflection *-ā*, which now had a back vowel.

<sup>25</sup> See Hoberman, 1988, p. 565 for this reconstruction.

<sup>26</sup> Rubba, 1993a, p. 176.

<sup>27</sup> Rubba, 1993a, pp. 71–72.

<sup>28</sup> The original Aramaic ending was *-ā*, but across NENA it is normally a short *-a*. A 12th century source for early NENA also suggests a short vowel; see Khan, 2008b, p. 97.

<sup>29</sup> See Coghill, 2008, pp. 91–97.

### 2.4.3 Borrowed phonemes

The following consonants are introduced into Telkepe Neo-Aramaic primarily through loan-words from neighbouring languages, mainly Kurdish and Arabic:

- ð (< Arab.) *manðofə* ‘to clean’
- č (< K. and Iraqi Arab.) *čāyi* ‘tea’, *čangal* ‘fork’, *ču* = ‘no’
- f (< Arab.) *flān-* ‘such and such’, *fyārā* ‘to fly’
- j (< Arab. and K.) *jullə* ‘clothes’, *mjawobə* ‘to answer’

The following consonant is found only marginally:

- v (< K.) *šivānā* ‘shepherd’ (the native synonym *marə* ‘yānā is also used)

The sounds /ʻ/, /ħ/ and /ğ/ (i.e. *ḡ*), which mostly underwent sound changes in the native lexicon, have been reintroduced into the language through loan-words from Arabic and Classical Syriac; e.g. *‘āšərtā* ‘evening’ (< Arab. *‘ašr*), *ya ‘qu* ‘Jacob’, *haqquθā* ‘truth’ (< Arab. *haqq*), *haššā* ‘suffering, Passion’ (< Syr. *haššā*), *ḡliṭā* ‘wrong’ (< Arab. *ḡli* i ‘to err’), *paḡrā* ‘body (of Christ)’ (< Syr. *paḡrā*).

## 3 Morphology

### 3.1 Pronouns

In table 2 are the independent personal pronouns as well as the pronominal suffixes which can be affixed to nouns (with possessive function) and to prepositions.

**Table 2.** Personal pronouns

Independent pronouns		Pronominal suffixes			
3 msg	<i>‘āwu</i>	‘he’	-e	<i>beθe</i>	‘his house’
fsg	<i>‘āyi</i>	‘she’	-a	<i>beθa</i>	‘her house’
pl	<i>‘ani</i> ~ <i>‘āni</i>	‘they’	-āy	<i>beθāy</i>	‘their house’
2 msg	<i>‘āyət</i>	‘you (msg)’	-ux	<i>beθux</i>	‘your (fsg) house’
fsg	<i>‘āyat</i>	‘you (fsg)’	-ax	<i>beθax</i>	‘your (msg) house’
pl	<i>‘axtu</i>	‘you (pl)’	-óxu	<i>beθóxu</i>	‘your (pl) house’
1 sg	<i>‘ānā</i>	‘I’	-i	<i>beθi</i>	‘my house’
pl	<i>‘axni</i>	‘we’	-an	<i>beθan</i>	‘our house’

In the third person singular possessive suffixes, Telkepe contrasts with some other dialects of the Mosul Plain (Tisqopa, Alqosh, Karimlesh and Qaraqosh),

which, instead of losing the \**h* of 3msg \*-*eh* and 3fsg \*-*ah*, have strengthened it to a pharyngeal, -*əħ* and -*aħ*.<sup>30</sup>

The independent possessive pronouns are formed on the stem *diy-*, e.g. *diy* ‘mine’. These are typically, though not only, used predicatively, e.g. *lelə diy-oxu* [NEG.COP:3MS POSS:2PL] ‘It is not yours (pl)’.

Table 3 gives the demonstrative pronouns in both their independent and attributive forms.

**Table 3.** Demonstrative pronouns

Near deixis		Far/absent deixis	
Independent	Attributive	Independent	Attributive
sg <i>'āyi</i> ~ <i>'ādi</i>	<i>'āyi</i> ~ <i>'aθ</i>	msg <i>'āwā</i>	<i>'āwā</i> ~ <i>'o</i>
		fsg <i>'āyā</i>	<i>'āyā</i> ~ <i>'e</i>
pl <i>'āni</i>	<i>'an</i> ~ <i>'āni</i>	pl <i>'āna</i>	<i>'āna</i>

The attributive forms usually form a stress phrase with the following noun. The stress may fall either on the demonstrative or the noun. As shown in the table, Telkepe, similarly to Alqosh and Qaraqosh,<sup>31</sup> has only two distinctions in deixis: e.g. *'an=nāšə* ‘these people’ vs *'āna=nāšə* ‘those people’. Contrast this with dialects further north, such as Peshabur, which distinguish between ‘near’ and ‘far’ (both of which can be pointed towards) and ‘absent’ deixis (where the direction is unknown or irrelevant); the masculine singular forms in Peshabur are *'awwa* ‘this (here)’, *'awāħa* ‘that (there)’ and *'āwa* ‘that (absent/past time)’.<sup>32</sup>

The reflexive pronoun is formed from *gyānā* ‘soul, self’ with possessive suffixes, e.g. *la=ma iq-at gyān-ax!* [not=bother-S.2FS self-2FS] ‘Don’t bother yourself (f)’. Reciprocity can be expressed with *'əğdādə* or *xā=xanna* (with feminine form *ğdā=xurta/xarta*) [one=other] ‘each other’, e.g. *'anna xā=xanna* [help.PAST:3PL one.M=other.M] ‘They (m or mixed) helped each other’, *'anna ġdā=xartā* ‘They (f) helped each other’.

### 3.2 Nouns

Masculine nouns usually end in -*ā*, e.g. *gorā* ‘man’, *kalbā* ‘dog’ and *kθāwā* ‘book’. Feminine nouns usually end in -*Tā*, that is, either -*tā* (< \*-*ta*) or -*θā* (< \*-*tā*), e.g. *sustā* ‘mare’, *šabθā* ‘week’ and *betā* ‘egg’. There are also some unmarked feminine nouns, which end in -*ā*: *yammā* ‘mother’, *dūkā* ‘place’, *'aqər wā* ‘scorpion’, *'anānā* ‘cloud’, *'arā* ‘earth’, *'əzzā* ‘goat’, *'almā* ‘world’, *'addānā* ‘time’ and *berā* ‘well’.

<sup>30</sup> See Coghill, 2008, pp. 96–97 for an explanation for the various developments these suffixes have undergone.

<sup>31</sup> Deixis in Alqosh is described in Coghill, 2004, pp. 112–113; and the system of Qaraqosh in Khan, 2002, pp. 81–82.

<sup>32</sup> In Peshabur, furthermore, greater distance in far deixis can be indicated by lengthening the stressed syllable: *'awāāħa* or *'awa'ħa* ‘that one, way over there’. For a description of deixis in Peshabur, see Coghill, 2013, pp. 97–100.

Nouns with other endings may be masculine or feminine: e.g. *gārə* (m) ‘roof’, *lelə* (f) ‘night’, *xūwə* (f) ‘snake’, *məndi* (m) ‘thing’, *kālu* (f) ‘bride’.

Female beings (animals or humans) are always feminine, e.g. *yəmmā* ‘mother’, as are most place names, e.g. *bağdad* ‘Baghdad’, *təlkepə* ‘Telkepe’.

The feminine endings *-Tâ* and *-iθâ* are often used for derivations that, in relation to the source noun, are female, singulative or diminutive, e.g. *qāṭu* (m) ‘tomcat’, *qaṭuθâ* (f) ‘female cat’; *məzzə* (pl) ‘hairs’, *məzzətâ* (f) ‘(single) hair’; *quprānâ* (m) ‘shelter, booth’, *qupraniθâ* (f) ‘small shelter, booth’. As in Alqosh, *-u* also occurs as a diminutive suffix, especially in hypocoristic names, e.g. *sotu* ‘little old lady’ (< *sotâ* ‘old woman, granny’), *maxxu* ‘Mike’ (< *mixâ* ‘il’ ‘Michael’), and *šammu* ‘Sam’ (< *šmu* ‘él’ ‘Samuel’). Another diminutive suffix is *-onâ*; the examples elicited with this suffix were of animals and people with disabilities, e.g. *kalbonâ* ‘little dog’, *səmyonâ* ‘blind man’.

There are eight plural suffixes, whose distribution is lexically defined. The plural *-ât* is borrowed: it derives from Arabic *-āt* but occurs not only with Arabic loans but also with European loans (perhaps via Arabic). The suffixes, along with examples, are:

<i>-ə</i>	<i>torâ</i> (m) ‘bull’, pl <i>torə</i> ; <i>’abəštâ</i> (f) ‘raisin’, pl <i>’abišə</i>
<i>-ānə</i>	<i>gūdâ</i> (m) ‘wall’, pl <i>gudānə</i> ; <i>dūkâ</i> (f) ‘place’, pl <i>dukānə</i>
<i>-āθâ</i>	<i>’aqlâ</i> (f) ‘leg’, pl <i>’aqlāθâ</i> ; <i>šišəltâ</i> (f) ‘chain’, pl <i>šəšlāθâ</i>
<i>-awāθâ</i>	<i>deṛâ</i> (m) ‘monastery’, pl <i>deṛawāθâ</i> ; <i>ammâ</i> (m) ‘paternal uncle’, pl <i>ammawāθâ</i>
<i>-wāθâ</i>	<i>nāšâ</i> (m) ‘person’, pl <i>našwāθâ</i> ; <i>səpθâ</i> (f) ‘lip’, pl <i>səpwāθâ</i>
<i>-yāθâ</i>	<i>’itotâ</i> (f) ‘party’, pl <i>’itoyāθâ</i> ; <i>xawərθâ</i> (f) ‘(female) friend’, pl <i>xawəryāθâ</i>
<i>-āCe</i>	<i>təllâ</i> (m) ‘hill’, pl <i>təllālə</i> ; <i>səkθâ</i> (f) ‘ploughshare’, pl <i>səkkākə</i>
<i>-ât</i>	<i>mez</i> (m) ‘table’, pl <i>mezât</i> (also <i>mezə</i> ); <i>primuz</i> (m) ‘primus stove’, pl <i>primuzât</i>

Alqosh and Qaraqosh have also borrowed the Arabic plural *-ât*, but in those dialects it has lost the stress, in line with the native penultimate stress, e.g. Alq. *maḥállə* ‘town quarter’, pl *maḥállat*.<sup>33</sup>

There exist irregularities in the plurals of some common words. Some are the same as in Alqosh, e.g. *gorâ* ‘man’, pl *gūrə* (Alq. *gūrə*), while others are different, e.g. *’axonâ* ‘brother’, pl *’axawāθâ* (Alq. *’axunwāθa*). Both *bronâ* ‘boy, son’ and *brātâ* ‘girl, daughter’ show nasal assimilation in their plurals, *mnonə* (Alq. *bnonə*) and *mnāθâ* (Alq. *bnāθa*) respectively. The following are entirely irregular: *gā* ‘time’, pl *gāyi*; and *’aji* ‘child’ (< Mosul Arab.), pl *’ajāyâ*.

<sup>33</sup> Coghill, 2005; Coghill, forthcoming-c.

### 3.3 Adjectives

As generally in NENA, adjectives show at most a three-way distinction in gender and number: masculine singular, feminine singular and common plural. There are four patterns of inflection in Telkepe adjectives, shown in table 4. The first three patterns vary only in the feminine inflection; the last class is uninflected (invariable).

**Table 4.** Adjective inflections

Pattern	Masculine	Feminine	Plural
1	- <i>â</i>	- <i>Tâ</i>	- <i>ə</i>
2	- <i>â</i>	- <i>ə</i>	- <i>ə</i>
3	- <i>â</i>	- <i>Tə</i>	- <i>ə</i>
4	- <i>∅</i>	- <i>∅</i>	- <i>∅</i>

Inflectional patterns 2 and 3 are only used for certain very restricted sets of adjectives. Pattern 4 is used with certain Arabic loan adjectives. All other adjectives take inflectional pattern 1, which is the original Aramaic inflection.

Adjectives which take a particular inflectional pattern tend to follow certain morphological and derivational patterns, which will also be discussed here. Adjectives taking inflectional pattern 1 include derivations ending in *-ānâ* or *-(n)āyâ*, as well as the following common adjectival patterns: *CCiCâ*, *CaCiCâ*, *CaCCiCâ*, *CaCūCâ* and *CaCāCâ*.

Adjectives taking inflectional pattern 2 include certain loan-words, of both Arabic and Kurdish origin. The feminine inflection *-ə* is borrowed from vernacular Arabic, and is identical to the (native) plural inflection. As in other dialects, such as Alqosh,<sup>34</sup> some adjectives which take this pattern belong to the lexical field of disabilities; e.g. *ṭaršâ* (m), *ṭaršə* (f), *ṭaršə* (pl) ‘deaf’ (< Arab.). They also all have a stem of the form *CaCC-*. Other attested adjectives taking this inflection are: *randâ* ‘fine’ (< K.), *xarsâ* ‘dumb’ (< Arab.), *baršâ* ‘albino’, *arjâ* ‘lame’ (< Arab.), *zarqâ* ‘blue’ (< Arab.), *sahlâ* ‘easy’ (< Arab.) and *ša bâ* ‘difficult’ (< Arab.).

Inflectional pattern 3 is a mixed inflection, where the feminine is doubly marked in a combination of *-Tâ* (the native inflection of pattern 1) and *-ə* (the borrowed Arabic form of pattern 2), resulting in *-Tə*. Adjectives taking this inflection are all of Aramaic origin. This inflection is, to the author’s knowledge, not yet attested in other dialects; in Alqosh, for instance, the same words take inflectional pattern 2. What these adjectives have in common is unusual or unique consonant-vowel patterns: none of the common adjectival patterns occur in this group.<sup>35</sup> The attested members of this group, next to a representation of their consonant-vowel patterns, are:

<sup>34</sup> Coghill, 2004, pp. 282–283.

<sup>35</sup> Note that it is the patterns that are unusual, in that few adjectives appear in them. The adjectives themselves are common.

<i>CāCā</i>	<i>rābā</i> (m), <i>rabθə</i> (f), <i>rābə</i> (pl) ‘big’ <i>tāwā</i> (m), <i>totə</i> (f), <i>tāwə</i> (pl) ‘good’ <i>xāθā</i> (m), <i>xathə</i> (f), <i>xāθə</i> (pl) ‘new’
<i>CoCā</i>	<i>zorā</i> (m), <i>zurtə</i> (f), <i>zorə</i> (pl) ‘small’ <i>komā</i> (m), <i>kumtə</i> (f), <i>komə</i> (pl) ‘black’
<i>CCoCā</i>	<i>smoqā</i> (m), <i>smuqtə</i> (f), <i>smoqə</i> (pl) ‘red’
<i>CCāCā</i>	<i>xwārā</i> (m), <i>xwartə</i> (f), <i>xwārə</i> (pl) ‘white’

Inflectional pattern 4 consists of no inflection at all. Adjectives following this pattern are probably recent borrowings from Arabic, which have not been adapted to Aramaic morphology or phonology, e.g. *ḏa* ‘if’ ‘weak, thin’ (< Arab.), *ḏa* ‘if (f), *ḏa* ‘if (pl). Other examples of unadapted uninflected adjectives are: *lā-ṣaḥ* ‘ill’ (< Arab.), *’arzan* ‘cheap’ (< K.), *’agran* ‘expensive’ (< K.), *rəṣāši* ‘grey’ (< Arab.), *qahwāyi* ~ *qahwā* ‘i’ ‘brown’ (< Arab.), *qərməzi* ‘purple’ (< Arab.), *’ašla* ‘bald’ (< Arab.). The lack of agreement is illustrated by the following examples: *šuqtā qərməzi* ‘a purple shirt (f)’, *’āni ḏa* ‘if’ ‘the weak ones’.

The loan-word *xoš* ‘good’ is also invariable, but is different to the other words here in that it precedes the noun: *xoš* = *’ixālā* ‘good food’.

### 3.4 Annexation constructions

A genitive relationship between two (or more) nouns is usually expressed by means of the head-marking (construct) suffix *-əd*, e.g. *yoməd=da* ‘wā’ ‘the day of the wedding’ (cf. *yomā* ‘day’). Two irregular forms are *bərt* ‘son of’ (cf. *bronā* ‘son’) and *bərtəd* ‘daughter of’ (cf. *brātā* ‘daughter’).

The older dependent (genitive) marker *d-* is also found, especially when the possessor is predicated, e.g. *wāwā d-gūrə* [PST.COP.3PL GEN-men] ‘they were the men’s’.

The /d/ consonant of both morphemes undergoes anticipatory assimilation (see section 2.3.1), e.g. *nāšəz=zāxu* ‘the people of Zakho’ (cf. *nāšə* ‘people’) and *’āyi betā, k-oyā t-kepā* [this egg IND-be.3FS GEN-stone] ‘this egg, it is of stone’.

The old Aramaic apocopate construct is preserved in the following productive prefixes: *bi-* ‘house of’, *mar-* ‘owner of’, e.g. *bi-kālu* ‘the family of the bride’ and *mar-beθā* ‘house-owner’.

Measurements of quantity are usually simply placed in juxtaposition with the noun, e.g. *ḡḏa=maṭamiθā məšxā* ‘a spoonful of oil’, *tətté=tanayāθā sūraθ* ‘two words of Surath’.

### 3.5 Numerals and the indefinite article

The numerals 1–10 are given in table 5. These numerals, and only these numerals, inflect for gender to agree with the noun modified. Before a noun the

stress is usually shifted onto the final syllable and any /â/ replaced by /a/, e.g. 'arbé='ənsə 'four women' and 'arbá=gūrə 'four men' (see section 2.1.2). Sometimes the stressed vowel is lengthened, e.g. 'əšwā='ənsə 'seven women'. The forms for 'one' undergo shortening when used attributively: xa= (m) and ġđa= (f).

**Table 5.** Independent numerals (1–10)

	one	two	three	four	five	six	seven	eight	nine	ten
m	xā'	tre'	tlāθā	'arbā	xamšā	'əštā	šo'ā	tmānyā	təš'ā	'əsřā
f	ġđā'	tätte	ṭəllaθ	'arbe	xamməš	'əššət	'əšwā	tmāne	təššā	'əssar

The indefinite specific article (expressing 'a certain') is identical to the attributive numeral 'one' and thus also inflects for gender: xa= (m) and ġđa= (f).

The numerals 11–19 are: *xadesar*, *tresar*, *təltāsar*, 'arbāsar, *xamšāsar*, 'əštāsar, *šo'āsar*, *tmānyāsar*, *čāsar*. The multiples of ten are: 'əsri 'twenty', *tlāθi*, 'arbi, *xamši*, 'əšti, *šo'i ~ šu'i*, *tmāni*, *təš'i*. 'Hundred' is 'umḡā and 'thousand' is 'alpā. Combinations of tens and units are ordered with the unit first; note that this order varies across NENA dialects. Stress is placed on the final syllable of the unit: 'arbā-w=əsri 'twenty-four'.

Cardinal numerals, as in other NENA dialects, are expressed by annexation constructions (see section 3.4), but also with gender agreement, e.g. *gorā dətre* 'second man', *baxtā t-tätte* 'second woman'.

## 3.6 Verbs

### 3.6.1 Derivational patterns and verbal bases

There are five main verb derivation patterns (*binyānīm*): four triradical and one quadriradical. Derivations **I**, **II** and **III** are derived from earlier Aramaic *p<sup>3</sup>al*, *pa'el* and *aph'el* derivations respectively. Derivation **II**<sub>2</sub> is a variant of **II** found with roots where the last two radicals are the same (e.g. √*xll*): in this derivation the original gemination of *pa'el* is preserved. The bases used in the verbal system are formed according to the derivation (see table 6). They are: the Present Base, Past Base, Imperative, Infinitive, Resultative Participle, and Active Participle.

Like some other NENA dialects (including Alqosh and Qaraqosh), Telkepe has acquired new derivations, borrowed from Arabic, in particular the **Ct-** derivation (with infixed *-t-* after the first radical), borrowed from the Arabic eighth derivation, and the **St-** derivation (with prefixed *st-*), borrowed from the Arabic tenth derivation.<sup>36</sup> Their existence as independent derivations is

<sup>36</sup> In personal correspondence, David Enochs reports of a further borrowed derivation used by Telkepe speakers living in America, namely the Arabic fifth derivation, loaned along with the Arabic verb *mny v* 'to wish', where the *t-* prefix is also transferred into the Telkepe forms. The precise paradigm still needs to be confirmed, however, so it has not been listed here.

**Table 6.** Verbal bases

	I	II	II <sub>2</sub>	III	Q
	<i>qtl</i>	<i>bšl</i>	<i>xll</i>	<i>šlx</i>	<i>šxlp</i>
	‘to kill’	‘to cook’	‘to wash’	‘to rob’	‘to change’
Present Base	<i>qaṭl-</i>	<i>mbašl-</i>	<i>mxall-</i>	<i>mašəlx-</i>	<i>mšaxəlp-</i>
Present Base 3msg	<i>qāṭəl</i>	<i>mbāšəl</i>	<i>mxalləl</i>	<i>mašləx</i>	<i>mšaxləp</i>
Past Base	<i>qṭəl-</i>	<i>mbušəl-</i>	<i>mxulləl-</i>	<i>mušləx-</i>	<i>mšuxləp-</i>
Imperative	<i>qtol</i>	<i>(m)bāšəl</i>	<i>(m)xalləl</i>	<i>mašləx</i>	<i>(m)šaxləp</i>
Infinitive	<i>qṭālā</i>	<i>(m)bašolə</i>	<i>(m)xallolə</i>	<i>mašloxə</i>	<i>(m)šaxlopə</i>
Res. Ptcp. m	<i>qṭilā</i>	<i>mbušlā</i>	<i>mxullā</i>	<i>mušləxā</i>	<i>mšuxləpā</i>
Res. Ptcp. f	<i>qṭəltā</i>	<i>mbušəltā</i>	<i>mxulləltā</i>	<i>mušləxtā</i>	<i>mšuxləptā</i>
Act. Ptcp.	<i>qaṭālā</i>	<i>mbašlānā</i>	?	<i>mašəlxānā</i>	<i>mšaxləpānā</i>

undermined somewhat by the fact that they are only found with borrowed Arabic verbs. Nevertheless, like the other derivations they have their own paradigms, even if these show some variation, as shown in table 7.<sup>37</sup>

**Table 7.** Arabic verbal bases

	Ct-	St-
	<i>ḥrm</i> Ct- ‘to respect’, <i>ḥfl</i> Ct- ‘to celebrate’, <i>xlf</i> Ct- ‘to differ’	<i>‘ml</i> St- ‘to use’
Present Base	<i>maḥtarm-</i> <i>məḥtaf-</i> <i>maxtəlf-</i>	<i>məsta</i> ‘aml- ~ <i>məsta</i> ‘məl- ~ <i>məsta</i> ‘əml-
Present Base 3msg	<i>maḥtarəṃ</i>	?
Past Base	<i>muḥtarəṃ-</i> <i>məḥtəfəl-</i>	<i>mustə</i> ‘məl-
Imperative	?	?
Infinitive	<i>maḥtaromə</i>	<i>məsta</i> ‘molə
Res. Ptcp. m	<i>muḥtərmā</i>	<i>mustə</i> ‘əmlā
Res. Ptcp. f	<i>muḥtəramtā</i>	<i>mustə</i> ‘məltā
Act. Ptcp.	?	?

The Present, Past and Imperative bases are inflected for person and used as verb forms themselves. The main person indexes are the S- and L-suffixes (see table 8). The Infinitive and the Resultative and Active Participles, as nominal/adjectival forms, require auxiliary verbs such as the copula to lend them verbal force.

<sup>37</sup> More detail on Arabic loan derivations in Telkepe and other dialects can be found in Coghill, 2015.

**Table 8.** Verb inflection paradigms

	S-suffixes	Present Base with S-suffixes	L-suffixes	Past Base with L-suffixes	Past Base with S-suffixes
3	msg —	<i>šāqəl</i>	<i>-lə</i>	<i>šqəllə</i>	<i>šqil</i>
	fsg <i>-ā</i>	<i>šaqlā</i>	<i>-lā</i>	<i>šqəllā</i>	<i>šqilā</i>
	pl <i>-i</i>	<i>šaqli</i>	<i>-la</i>	<i>šqəlla</i>	<i>šqili</i>
2	msg <i>-ət</i>	<i>šaqlət</i>	<i>-lux</i>	<i>šqəllux</i>	?
	fsg <i>-at</i>	<i>šaqlat</i>	<i>-lax</i>	<i>šqəllax</i>	?
	pl <i>-ūtū</i>	<i>šaqlūtū</i>	<i>-loxu</i>	<i>šqəlloxu</i>	?
1	msg <i>-ən</i>	<i>šaqlən</i>	<i>-li</i>	<i>šqəlli</i>	<i>šqilən</i>
	fsg <i>-an</i>	<i>šaqlan</i>	<i>-li</i>	<i>šqəlli</i>	<i>šqilan</i>
	pl <i>-ux</i>	<i>šaqlux</i>	<i>-lan</i>	<i>šqəllan</i>	<i>šqilux</i>

The Present Base takes S-suffixes to index the subject and may take L-suffixes to index an object:

<i>k-šaql-ux</i>	<i>k-šaql-ux-la</i>
IND-take-S.1PL	IND-take-S.1PL-L.3PL
‘we take’	‘we take them’

The Past Base takes L-suffixes to index the subject and may take S-suffixes to index a feminine or plural third person pronominal object:

<i>šqəl-lan</i>	<i>šqil-i-lan</i>
take.PAST-L.1PL	take.PAST-S.3PL-L.1PL
‘we took’	‘we took them’

The Past Base is also used in a passive construction, where it takes S-suffixes to index the subject (and no L-suffixes). This can be elicited from certain older speakers, but has not been documented in spontaneous speech.<sup>38</sup> It expresses a passive: the examples offered by speakers all have present perfect aspect, but it is not known whether it is restricted to this function:

- (1) *sayārətt-i mzubn-ā*  
 car(f)-1SG sell.PAST-S.3FS  
 ‘My car has been sold.’

As in Alqosh, L-suffixes undergo regressive assimilation to a previous consonant: to the final /n/ of a root and to a final rhotic (/r/ or /r̥/):

<i>*zwən + li</i>	>	<i>zwənni</i>	‘I bought’		
<i>*gwər + lə</i>	>	<i>*gwərrə</i>	>	<i>gwerə</i>	‘he married’

<sup>38</sup> The Past Base with S-suffixes is used to express a passive in some other NENA dialects; see Coghill, 2016, pp. 268–269. It seems, however, to be undergoing a general decline in favour of analytical passive constructions: in the closely related dialect of Alqosh it is not productive but survives only in fixed idioms and proverbs; see Coghill 2004, pp. 191–192.

They also assimilate to the final consonants of S-suffixes, i.e. /n/ and /t/:

\**k-šaqlən + lux* > *k-šaqlənnux* ‘I (m) take you (msg)’  
 \**k-šaqlat + li* > *k-šaqlatti* ‘you (fsg) take me’

Note that /t/ as part of a *root* does not trigger assimilation: *fətlə* ‘it passed’ (*fyt* I).

There is another set of suffixes, B-suffixes, which are found predominantly attached to the existential particle *ʾiθ* in a form which expresses ‘to be able’ (see section 3.6.5). These have the same form as L-suffixes, except with the /l/ replaced by /b/, e.g. *-bə* (3msg) and *-bā* (3fsg).

The main verb forms of NENA, Telkepe included, originate in Late Aramaic participles. The Present Base derives from the Late Eastern Aramaic active participle and the Past Base from the passive participle. The S- and L-suffixes have quite different historical origins. The S-suffixes originate in gender and number inflection of the participles which merged with enclitic first and second pronouns. The L-suffixes originate in the Late Aramaic dative preposition *l-* with pronominal suffixes attached. This preposition flagged direct as well as indirect objects of the active participle construction. With the passive participle it flagged firstly experiencers (with verbs such as ‘to hear’), then was extended to all agents.<sup>39</sup> The B-suffixes have a similar origin, except that they were formed on the locative/instrumental preposition *b-*.

### 3.6.2 Tense-aspect-mood categories and verbal modifiers

The Past Base inflected with L-suffixes expresses the past perfective: this includes present perfect aspect, e.g. *šqəl-li* ‘I took’, ‘I have taken’.

The inflected Present Base may occur without a prefix as the present subjunctive, in which case it expresses deontic modality, or forms part of a verbal complement. Other tense-aspect-mood (TAM) values are expressed by means of prefixes on the Present Base or an auxiliary (pseudo-)verb with or without the complementiser *d=*, as shown in table 9.

As in other NENA dialects, the past perfective prefix *kəm-* always co-occurs with object suffixes: *kəm*-Present Base normally serves in place of Past Base forms, when an object needs to be indexed, as only 3fsg and 3pl objects may be indexed on the Past Base.

The prefixes *k-*, *b-* and *šud-* follow the normal rules or tendencies of assimilation (see section 2.3.1), as in the following examples:

*k- + bāxə* > *gbāxə* ‘he weeps’  
*b- + pāyəš* > *ppāyəš* ‘he will be’  
*b- + maθyāli* > *mmaθyāli* ‘she will bring to me’

<sup>39</sup> See Coghill, 2016 for a description of the development of the NENA verbal system and accompanying alignment change in the language.

**Table 9.** TAM modifiers of Present Base forms

Modifier	Main function	In combination	Translation
Ø-	jussive	<i>yalpā</i>	‘let her learn’
Ø-	complement	<i>kəbā d=yalpā</i>	‘she wants to learn’
<i>k-</i>	indicative	<i>k-yalpā</i>	‘she learns’
<i>b-</i> (~ <i>bəd-</i> )	future	<i>b-yalpā</i> ~ <i>bəd-yalpā</i>	‘she will learn’
<i>šud=</i>	jussive	<i>šud=yalpā</i>	‘let her learn’
<i>kəm-</i>	past perfective	<i>kəm-yalpā-lə</i>	‘she learned it’
<i>zi-</i>	prospective	<i>zi-yalpā</i>	‘she is going to learn’
<i>šwoq/šoq d=</i>	jussive	<i>šoq d=yalpā</i>	‘let her learn’
<i>xoš d=</i>	cohortative	<i>xoš d=yalpux</i>	‘let us learn’
<i>lāzəm/garag</i>	necessitive	<i>lāzəm yalpā</i>	‘she must learn’
<i>zil-S/zi-L</i>	prospective	<i>zilā yalpā</i>	‘she is going to learn’

Prefixes also follow the rules of syllable structure, disallowing *CCC*, so that when the addition of an affix causes a consonant cluster, an epenthetic vowel, *a*, is usually inserted to break it up:

*k-* + *mbāšəl* > *kəmbāšəl* ‘he cooks’

When *kəm-* or *b-* (> *m-*) is prefixed to a stem beginning with *mC*, one /m/ is elided. This can cause ambiguity:

*kəm-* + *mbāšəllā* > *kəmbāšəllā* ‘he cooked it (f)’  
*kə-* + *mbāšəllā* > *kəmbāšəllā* ‘he cooks it (f)’  
*b-* + *mbāšəl* > *mbāšəl* ‘he will cook’  
 Ø + *mbāšəl* > *mbāšəl* ‘he may cook’

Another common feature is the loss of /’/ after a prefix ending in a consonant, e.g. *bd-āwəð* ‘he will make’ (< \**bəd-’āwəð*). It is not always consistent, e.g. *kəm-amrannax* ~ *kəm-’amrannax* ‘I (f) said to you (f)’.

Verbs formed on the Present and Past Bases may take an affix *-wā* (*-wā-*) directly after the base, or after the S-suffix, if there is one, but before any L-suffix. This shifts the time reference (further) into the past: present subjunctive *darsən* ‘I (m) may study’, past subjunctive *darsənwā* ‘I (m) might study’; present indicative *k-āθa* ‘they come’, past habitual *k-āθāwā* ‘they used to come’; past perfective *məθlə* ‘he died, he has died’, remote past perfective *māθwālə* ‘he had died’. In Telkepe the past habitual usually takes the indicative prefix, unlike in Alqosh,<sup>40</sup> but it sometimes occurs without, in which case it is indistinguishable from the past subjunctive, e.g. *nablīwāla* [*nabl-i-wā-la*] *l-ħarub* [take-S.3PL-ANT-L.3PL to-war] ‘they used to take them to war’.

<sup>40</sup> Coghill, 2004, p. 139.

The Imperative is inflected for singular (-Ø) and plural (-u), e.g. *pθox* ‘open (sg)!’, *pθūx-u* ‘open (pl)!’ (cf. Alq. *pθox*, *pəθx-u*). *Verba tertiae* /y/ in all derivations also distinguish between masculine and feminine singular, as does the irregular verb *ʔl I* ‘to go’. The Imperative takes initial stress, as in many other NENA dialects, e.g. *māšəlx-u* ‘rob (pl)!’. As in Alqosh, the Imperative is sometimes combined with a particle *di-* ~ *də-*, adding some kind of emphasis, e.g. *di-pθox šubbak!* ‘Come on, open a window!’. A similar particle (in form and function) is found in Kurmanji and Qəltu Arabic.<sup>41</sup>

Verbs are negated by the preposed negator particle *la=*, which takes stress. For negated imperatives there is a suppletive construction, namely the inflected Present Base with no further prefixes, e.g. *la=dārət* [not=put:S.2MS] *qesā b-nuqbəd dəbborə* ‘Don’t put a stick in a hornet’s nest!’.

The auxiliary verb *pyš I* can be used in various tenses, aspects and moods (more in its sense ‘to become’ than ‘to be’) to express a dynamic passive, e.g. *malkā lāzəm pāyəš qtilā* [king necessary become.S.3MS kill.RES.PTCP.MS] ‘The king must be killed’.

### 3.6.3 Weak verbs

The following are some of the less predictable weak classes of verbs.

*Verba primae* /ʔ/ fall into two groups. In type 1, the /ʔ/ is not necessarily elided and the verbs conjugate as strong verbs, e.g. *k-ʔārəq* ~ *k-ārəq* ‘he runs’ (*ʔrq I* ‘to run’). Type 2, which is weak, includes *ʔxl I* ‘to eat’, *ʔmr I* ‘to say’, *ʔsq I* ‘to climb’, *ʔsr I* ‘to tie’, *ʔθy I* ‘to come’, *ʔwð I* ‘to make, do’, *ʔwr I* ‘to enter’ and *ʔtw I* ‘to sit’, as well as the irregular verb *ʔl I* ‘to go’.<sup>42</sup> When these verbs are used with the indicative prefix *k-*, the /ʔ/ is always elided. There is, however, no change of vowel: *kāxəl* ‘he eats’ (cf. Alq. *kixəl*). In Past Base forms and the Resultative Participle, the first radical is elided: *xəl-li* ‘I ate’, *xilā* ‘eaten (m)’. For the Imperative we find *ʔixul* (sg), *ʔaxlu* (pl) ‘eat!’, *ʔimor* (sg), *ʔəmru* (pl) ‘say!’ (cf. Alq. *mor*, *muru*). Infinitives begin with (ʔ): *ʔixālā* ‘to eat’, *ʔimārā* ‘to say’.<sup>43</sup>

*Verba tertiae* /y/ behave much like in other NENA dialects, for instance with a msg/fsg distinction in the Imperative: *k-xāzə* ‘he sees’, *k-xazyā* ‘she sees’, *k-xāzotu* ‘you (pl) see’, *xzələ* ‘he saw’, Resultative Participle *xəzyā* (msg), *xziθā* (fsg), *xəzyə* (pl) ‘seen’, Imperative *xzi* (msg), *xze* (fsg), *xzo* (pl) ‘see!’, Infinitive *xzāyā* ‘to see’.

<sup>41</sup> Jastrow, 1978, pp. 310–311.

<sup>42</sup> Membership of this class varies somewhat from that of Alqosh, where *ʔwr I* is type 1, and some other verbs that are type 2 in Telkepe are *primae* /y/ in Alqosh. See Coghill, 2004, pp. 143, 146.

<sup>43</sup> The initial glottal stop is elided after the preposition *b-*, as in the progressive construction, e.g. *ʔilə b-ixālā* ‘he is eating’.

### 3.6.4 Irregular verbs

The irregular verb *'zl I* 'to go' has a suppletive Present Base stem *zā-* inflected with L-suffixes, e.g. *zālā* 'he may go', *zāloxu* 'you (pl) may go'. This is used with all Present Base TAM modifiers (unlike in Alqosh where the indicative has a different stem), e.g. *b-zālā* 'he will go' and *šud=zālā* 'let him go'. It also takes the anterior suffix, e.g. *zā-wā-li* 'I used to go'. After indicative *k-* a shwa is inserted, often followed by gemination: *kə-zālā ~ kə-zzālā* 'he goes'. There is a three-way distinction in the Imperative: *si* (msg), *se* (fsg) and *so* (pl) 'go!'. This verb also has a special form based on the Past Base (*zil-/zi-*) inflected with a mixture of S- and L-suffixes. It may be used as an independent verb with immediate future reference, e.g. *zilā l-šūqā* 'He's about to go to the shops', or as an auxiliary marking prospective aspect, e.g. *zilā zālā š<sup>l</sup>-šūqā* [PRSP:3MS go:L.3MS to-market] 'He's going to go to the shops'. In the latter sense it may also occur as a particle, eroded to *zi-* ~ *si-*, e.g. *zi-zālā l-šūqā* [PRSP-go:L.3MS to-market] 'He's going to go to the shops'.<sup>44</sup>

Other irregular verbs, with some examples, are the following:

*'θy I* 'to come' has Present Base *'āθā* 'he may come', *'aθyā* 'she may come', *k-āθā* 'he comes', *k-aθyā* 'she comes', *bd-āθā* 'he will come', *št-aθyā* 'let her come'. The Past Base is *θe-*, e.g. *θeli* 'I came'. There is a suppletive Imperative *hayyu ~ hay* (sg), *hayyo* (pl) 'come!', and the Infinitive is *'iθāyā* 'to come'.

*b'y I* 'to want' behaves as a regular *tertia* /y/ verb, with /' / unelided, except for the Present Base with *k-*, which has the irregular stem *kəb-*; contrast *ba'yā* 'she may want' with *kəbā* 'she wants'.

*hwy I* 'to be' is a regular verb of the *verba tertiae* /y/, apart from the lack of a Past Base form (except in the meaning of 'to be born') and the changes that prefixes make to the Present Base forms: *hāwə* 'he may be', *k-āwə* 'he is (generally)', *pt-āwə* 'he will be', *t-āwə* 'that he may be'.

*yδ' I* 'to know' has an irregular Present Base stem with *k-*, namely *kəδ- ~ keδ-*, e.g. *yaδux* 'we may know', *kəδux ~ keδux* 'we know'. The final radical /' / is elided, or in some cases treated like /y/: *yaδ-i ~ yaδ-a* 'they may know'.

*ywl I* 'to give' has an irregular Present Base stem: *yāwəl* 'he may give', *yāw-i* 'they may give'. After the *kəm-* prefix, this is sometimes altered to *-ewəl-/ew-*, e.g. *kəmm-ewəl-lā* 'he gave to her'. The

<sup>44</sup> See Coghill, 2010b and Coghill, 2012 for the forms, functions and development of this form in the Mosul Plain dialects.

/y/ is elided in Past Base forms and the Resultative Participle: *walli* ‘I gave’, *wilâ* ‘given (m)’. The Imperative is irregular: *hal* (sg), *hallu* (pl) ‘give!’.

### 3.6.5 Copulas and other pseudo-verbs

Telkepe has a Present Copula and a Past Copula, both available in independent form (occurring before the predicate) and enclitic form. Both may also be negated, in which case the copula stands before the predicate:

<i>'ilâ</i>	<i>'āxâ</i> , <i>'āxa=lâ</i>	‘she is here’
<i>wāwâ</i>	<i>'āxâ</i> , <i>'āxâ=wāwâ</i>	‘she was here’
<i>lelâ</i>	<i>'āxâ</i>	‘she is not here’
<i>la=wāwâ</i>	<i>'āxâ</i>	‘she was not here’

These copulas are ‘pseudo-verbs’, that is, they take special inflection unlike normal verbs. Other TAM values are expressed with *hwy* I ‘to be’ or *pyš* I ‘to become, be’, e.g. *purtenâ*, *k-āwə smoqâ* [flea(m) INF-be.3MS red.MS] ‘The flea, it’s (generally) red’, *hāwotun brixə* [be:2PL blessed.PL] ‘May you (pl) be blessed’, *hwi/poš iāwâ* [be.IMP.MS/be.IMP.SG good.MS] ‘Be (msg/sg) good!’.

The copula paradigms are presented in table 10.

**Table 10.** Copulas

	Present independent	Present enclitic	Negative Present	Past independent	Past enclitic	Negative Past
3 msg	<i>'ilə</i>	<i>=ilə</i>	<i>lelə</i>	<i>(i)wewâ ~ (i)wāwə</i>	<i>=wewâ ~ =wāwə</i>	<i>la=wewâ</i>
fsg	<i>'ilâ</i>	<i>=ilâ</i>	<i>lelâ</i>	<i>(i)wāwâ</i>	<i>=wāwâ</i>	<i>la=wāwâ</i>
pl	<i>'ila</i>	<i>=ila</i>	<i>lela</i>	<i>(i)wāwâ</i>	<i>=wāwâ</i>	<i>la=wāwâ</i>
2 msg	<i>'iwət ~ 'it</i>	<i>=iwət ~ =it</i>	<i>lewət ~ let</i>	<i>(i)wətwâ</i>	<i>=wətwâ</i>	<i>la=wətwâ</i>
fsg	<i>'iwat ~ 'it</i>	<i>=iwat ~ =it</i>	<i>lewat ~ let</i>	<i>(i)watwâ</i>	<i>=watwâ</i>	<i>la=watwâ</i>
pl	<i>'iwotu ~ 'itu</i>	<i>=iwotu ~ =itu</i>	<i>léwotu ~ letu</i>	<i>(i)wútuwâ</i>	<i>=wútuwâ</i>	<i>la=wotuwâ</i>
1 msg	<i>'iwən ~ 'in</i>	<i>=iwən ~ =in</i>	<i>lewən ~ len</i>	<i>(i)wənwâ</i>	<i>=wənwâ</i>	<i>la=wənwâ</i>
fsg	<i>'iwan ~ 'in</i>	<i>=iwan ~ =in</i>	<i>lewan ~ len</i>	<i>(i)wanwâ</i>	<i>=wanwâ</i>	<i>la=wanwâ</i>
pl	<i>'iwux ~ 'ix</i>	<i>=iwux ~ =ix</i>	<i>lewux ~ lex</i>	<i>(i)wuxwâ</i>	<i>=wuxwâ</i>	<i>la=wuxwâ</i>

The /i/ of the Present Copula merges with a final vowel of the predicate: *dax=ilə* ‘how is he?’, *'āxâ + =ilə > 'āxa=lə* ‘he is here’, *gārə + =ilə > gāre=lə* ‘it is a roof’.

Telkepe is relatively unusual among NENA dialects in using *'ilə* as an unbound copula preceding the predicate as well as in clitic form.<sup>45</sup> In many other dialects it only occurs as an enclitic, and there is a separate deictic copula

<sup>45</sup> The *'ilə* copula may still occur in unbound form, taking its own stress, in the Christian dialect of Barwar, typically between the subject and predicate; see Khan, 2008a, pp. 181, 622, 625–628. Deictic functions are, however, expressed by the deictic copula *hole*.

which covers some of the functions of Telkepe *'ilə*, for instance expressing the present progressive in combination with the infinitive. Further north this is usually *holə* or a variant thereof (*'olə* in Tisqopa, *wolə* in Alqosh), while in the eastern Mosul Plain one finds *kilə*.<sup>46</sup> Compare the Telkepe present progressive expression *'iwan bə-syāqā* [PRS.COP.1FS in-drive.INF] 'I am driving' with Alqosh *wo-la kās-i bə-mrā'a* [DEIC.COP-3FS stomach-1SG in-hurt.INF] 'My stomach is hurting.'

Presumably unbound *'ilə* existed in the common ancestors of the dialects, but a cliticised form arose and the unbound variant eventually disappeared in most. The distinct deictic copulas, *holə* and *kilə*, would then be innovative forms that were never adopted in Telkepe. The first probably derives from a deictic element plus *-ilə*; the second from the indicative present prefix *k-* plus *-ilə*. The purely deictic functions of these copulas may be expressed in Telkepe by combinations of the demonstratives *'āyi* 'this' and *'āwā* 'that (msg)' with the enclitic copula, e.g. *'āyi=wan* 'Here I (f) am!' and *'āwa=lə* 'There he is!'

The copulas and verbs 'to be' (*hwɣ* I, *pyš* I) are used in a variety of analytic verb forms. For example, they may be combined with the Resultative Participle to express perfect or stative aspect:

- (2) *'ilə*                    *'əθyā*                    *ta maxrowə.*  
 PRS.COP.3MS    come.RES.PTCP.MS    for    destroy.INF  
 'He has come to destroy.'
- (3) *wewā*                    *dmixā.*  
 PST.COP.3MS    sleep.RES.PTCP.MS  
 'He was asleep.'
- (4) *bağdad*    *lewan*                    *xziθā.*  
 Baghdad    NEG.PRS.COP.1FS    see.RES.PTCP.FS  
 'Baghdad, I haven't seen.'

Such constructions may also express passive voice, in which case the preposition *l-* 'to' may mark the agent:

- (5) *'ilə*                    *xilā.*  
 PRS.COP.3MS    eat.RES.PTCP.MS  
 'It has been eaten.' or 'He has eaten.'
- (6) *'ilə*                    *mulpā*                    *l-polus.*  
 PRS.COP.3MS    teach.RES.PTCP.MS    to-Paul  
 'He has been taught by Paul.'

<sup>46</sup> This Qaraqosh form is from Khan, 2002, p. 128; the same form is also found in Karimlesh (Roberta Borghero, personal communication) and Baritle (Kristine Mole, personal communication).

The copulas or verbs ‘to be’ may also be combined with the Active Participle, in which case they express a kind of scheduled future:

- (7) *bd-aθy-at*      *şaprá?*      –      *la’,*      *’iwan*      *palattá.*  
 FUT-come-2FS    tomorrow      no,    PRS.COP.1FS go\_out.ACT.PTCP.FS  
 ‘Will you come tomorrow? – No, I’m going out.’

With the Infinitive prefixed by *b-* ‘in’, they express a present progressive:

- (8)      *’iwan*      *b-ixālá*  
 PRS.COP.1FS    in-eat.INF  
 ‘I’m eating.’

The deictic copulas may be combined with the inflected Past Base to emphasize the here-and-now:

- (9)      *’āyi=wat*      *mte-lax!*  
 this=PRS.COP.2FS    arrive.PAST-L.2FS  
 ‘Here you are, arrived!’, i.e. ‘You’re already here!’
- (10)      *’āwa=lə*      *θe-lə!*  
 that=PRS.COP.3MS    come.PAST-L.3MS  
 ‘There he is, just come!’

Other pseudo-verbs are formed from the existential particle *’iθ ~ ’iθən* ‘there is/are’ and its negated equivalent *leθ ~ leθən* ‘there is/are not’. The corresponding past forms are *’əθwá* ‘there was/were’ and *laθwá* ‘there was/were not’. With L-suffixes, these express possessive predication, that is, ‘to have’. As in Alqosh, the sequence *\*tl* is realised as */t/*. Some examples are: *’əttə* [EXIST:L.3MS] ‘he has’, *lattux* [NEG.EXIST:L.2MS] ‘you (m) don’t have’, *’əθ-wā-lan* [EXIST-ANT-L.1PL] ‘we had’.

With B-suffixes (see section 3.6.1), the existential particle expresses ability or location. In this form the */θ/* is elided before the */b/*. Some examples are: *’ibə* [EXIST:B.3MS] ‘he can’, *’əθ-wā-bə* [EXIST-ANT-B.3MS] ‘he couldn’t’, *le-ba t=palt-i* [NEG.EXIST-B.3PL COMP=get\_out-S.3PL] ‘they can’t get out’, *le-bə taṭawwur* [NEG.EXIST-B.3MS development] ‘there’s been no development in it’.

Both L- and B-suffixes can also be combined with the 3msg Present Base form of *hwy I* ‘to be’ to express other TAM values, e.g. *d=la=hāwe-bə də=mḥārək* [COMP=not-be.S.3MS-B.3MS COMP=move.S.3MS] ‘so that he would not be able to move’.

L-suffixes are also combined with various 3msg Past Base verbs, expressing (dis-)possession/affectedness, e.g. *θále-lan nāšə* [come.PAST:L.3MS-L.1PL people] ‘people have come to us’ (i.e. ‘we have guests’).<sup>47</sup>

Some other pseudo-verbs are the following:

*bass-* ‘it’s enough for’ is inflected with the possessive suffixes, e.g. *bassa!* ‘It’s enough for her!’.

*ba ‘d-* ‘to be still X’ is inflected with the possessive suffixes, e.g. *ba ‘de tāmā* ‘He is still there’.

*xəšt-* ‘to resemble, to be like’ takes the same person inflection as the L- and B-suffixes, e.g. *xəšt-a ʻənglezāyə* ‘They resemble English people’ and *xəšt-ā qaqwānā* ‘She is like a partridge’ (i.e. she is beautiful).

## 4 Lexicon

Presented in this section are the main members of some restricted lexical sets, as well as common words which are known to vary between dialects of NENA.

### 4.1 Prepositions

Prepositions, as the name suggests, always precede the noun or noun phrase. They are formed in various ways, with some meanings being represented by two or more forms (e.g. *l-*, *rešəd*, *rəš* ‘on’ and *m-*, *mən* ‘from’).

When they govern personal pronouns, prepositions take the possessive suffixes (see table 2), and they have special stems for this. In the lists below, the attachable stem is given, attached to the 3msg suffix, e.g. *mənn-e* ‘from him’.

Some prepositions consist of only a single consonant in their basic form, and this must be attached to another word. This often assimilates to a following consonant, or takes an epenthetic vowel before a consonant cluster.

<i>l-</i>	<i>ʻəll-e</i>	‘to’, ‘on’, ‘about’, agent of passive
<i>b-</i>	<i>bgāw-e</i>	‘in’, ‘into’, ‘at’, ‘on’, ‘with’ (instrumental)
<i>m-</i>	<i>mənn-e</i>	‘from’

Other prepositions are independent words, though often unstressed.

<sup>47</sup> See Coghill, 2016, pp. 210–211 and Coghill, forthcoming-a for more examples and discussion.

<i>baθər ~ baθər m-</i>	<i>baθr-e</i>	‘after’, ‘behind’
<i>ben ~ benaθ</i>	<i>benāθ-e</i>	‘between’
<i>ta</i>	<i>ṭāl-e</i>	‘to, for’
<i>mən</i>	<i>mənn-e</i>	‘from’
<i>barqul ~ darqul</i>	<i>b/darqul diy-e</i>	‘opposite, against’
<i>wəl</i>	–	‘until’

Other prepositions end in the construct suffix, *-əd*. The /d/ of the suffix usually assimilates to a following consonant, as described in section 2.3.1, e.g. *bgāwəš=šomā* ‘in Lent’. Some of these prepositions are derived from nouns, e.g. *p-palgəd* ‘in the middle of’ < *b-* ‘in’ + *palgā* ‘half’ + *-əd*. Others, such as *’amm-əd* ‘with’ (originally *’əm-* ‘with’), have presumably acquired the ending *-əd* by analogy.

<i>xwāθəd</i>	<i>xwāθ-e</i>	‘like’
<i>’amməd</i>	<i>’amm-e</i>	‘with’
<i>(l-)xoθəd</i>	<i>(l-)xoθ-e</i>	‘under’
<i>dormadārəd</i>	<i>dormadār-e</i>	‘around’
<i>xawəḏrānəd</i>	<i>xawəḏrān-e</i>	‘around’
<i>p-palgəd</i>	<i>p-palg-e</i>	‘in the middle of’
<i>ltexəd ~ ltex m-</i>	<i>ltex mənn-e</i>	‘below’

Some prepositions have forms both with and without the *-əd* suffix.

<i>go ~ (b-)gāwəd</i>	<i>(b)gāw-e</i>	‘in’
<i>geb ~ gebəd</i>	<i>geb-e</i>	‘beside’, ‘at the house of’ (French <i>chez</i> )
<i>l-rəš ~ l-rəšəd</i>	<i>rəš-e</i>	‘on’
<i>qam ~ qāməd</i>	<i>qām-e</i>	‘before’

A different type of preposition is the particle *dla=* ‘without’, formed from the genitive marker *d-* and the negator *la=*.

When a demonstrative pronoun or deictic adverb (e.g. *’āxā* ‘here’) beginning in /’/ follows a preposition, the genitive marker *d-* is sometimes inserted between the two and the /’/ is elided; e.g. *l-d-aθ=beθā* [to-GEN-this.SG=house] ‘to this house’, *mən d-o=gūda xənnā* [from GEN-that.MS=wall(m) other.MS] ‘from the other wall’, *mən d-āni* [from GEN-these] ‘from these’, *wəl d-āyā ’etā* [up\_to GEN-that.FS church(f)] ‘up to that church’, *mən d-āxā* [from GEN-here] ‘from here’.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>48</sup> See Gutman, 2016, pp. 282–289 for an analysis of genitive *d-* and its development in NENA.

## 4.2 Interrogatives

*man* ~ *māni* ~ *mani* ‘who?’, *mahā* ~ *mā* ‘what?’, *’emā* ‘which’, *’ekā* ‘where, whither?’, *’iman* ‘when?’, *dəx* ‘how?’, *’ukmā* ~ *’əkmā* ‘how many?’, *māqā* ‘how much?’, *qāyi* ~ *qay* ‘why?’, *ta-mahā* ‘how come?, why?’

## 4.3 Conjunctions

*u* ‘and’, *lo* ‘or’, *’aw* ‘or’, *yā* ‘or’, *fa* ‘so, for, you see’, *bas* ‘but’, *lākən* ‘but’, *d=* ‘which, who; that’ (relativiser, complementiser), *kud* ‘when’, *’ən* ‘if’, *wəl* ‘until’, *tad=* (<*ta-d=* ‘for’ + complementiser) ‘so that’, ‘in order to’.

## 4.4 Miscellaneous

*hādax* ‘thus’, *ham* ‘also’, *har* ‘just, exactly; always, constantly’, *bas* ‘only, just’, *ba’ad* ‘still’, *lappəš* ‘no longer’, *’égahā* ~ *’ega* ‘then, at that time’, *’āxā* ‘here’, *tāmā* ‘there’, *l’el* ‘above’, *ltex* ‘below’, *təmmal* ‘yesterday’, *šapra* ‘tomorrow’, *’omā xənnā* ‘the day before yesterday’, *mxuškā* ‘in the morning’, *kabirā* ‘much, a lot, very’, *kabirə* ‘many’, *xaššā* ~ *xa-qəššā* ‘a little’, *qəššā* ‘little, few, not often’, *tərwəθ-* ‘the two of, both of’, *nxθ I* ‘to go down’, *’sq I* ‘to go up’, *pyš I* ‘become’.

## 5 Syntax

Syntax will be covered in a monograph to be published on the Telkepe dialect, but some syntactic features have already been discussed in various papers, in particular ditransitive constructions, differential object marking and grammatical relations.<sup>49</sup>

## 6 ‘Weddings’ (glossed text)

The following text was recorded by the author in Detroit in 2004 with an elderly lady who grew up in Telkepe. Note that SMALL CAPS indicates the nuclear stress in the intonation phrase, while | marks the intonation phrase boundary.

1. *kud* *GGORIWĀ*, | *nāšə* *P-QAMEθĀ*, /  
*kud*    *k-gor-i-wā*                      *nāš-ə*            *b-qameθā*  
when    IND-marry-S.3PL-ANT            person-PL    in-before  
‘When they used to marry, people, formerly,’

<sup>49</sup> See Coghill, 2010a for a presentation of ditransitive constructions; Coghill, 2014 for differential object marking; and Coghill, forthcoming-a on grammatical relations. Coghill, 2016, pp. 12–13, 145–146, 210–211, 226, 236, 270, 285 also deals with some aspects of syntax in Telkepe.

2. *kud=gðā L-BEΘA kāθāwā kəmbarxiwālā.*  
*kud=gðā l-beθ-a k-āθā-wā kə-mbarx-i-wā-lā*  
 each=one.F to-house-3FS IND-come.S.3PL-ANT IND-bless-S.3PL-ANT-L.3FS  
 ‘each (bride), they would come to her house and bless her.’
3. *’ānā pəšli šātā ʔLƏBTĀ.*  
*’ānā pəš-li šātā ʔləb-tā*  
 I remain.PAST-L.1SG year engage.RES.PTCP-FS  
 ‘I remained engaged for a year.’
4. *u ’iman d=’āθewā GEBAN.*  
*u ’iman d=’āθe-wā geb-an*  
 and when REL-come.S.3MS-ANT chez-1PL  
 ‘and whenever he came around to ours.’
5. *la=maḥəkyanwā ’emme u ’ARQANWĀ.*  
*la=maḥəky-an-wā ’emm-e u ’arq-an-wā*  
 not=speak-S.1FS-ANT with-3MS and run-S.1FS-ANT  
 ‘I didn’t speak with him, but I would run away.’
6. *zāwāli GEBĀY. | la-’atwanwā MAḤƏKYAN=ƏM(ME).*  
*zā-wā-li geb-áy la-’atw-an-wā maḥəky-an=əm(m-e)<sup>50</sup>*  
 go-ANT-L.1SG chez-3PL not-sit-S.1FS-ANT speak-S.1FS=with-3MS  
 ‘I used to go to them. I didn’t sit and talk with him.’
7. *dahā <?> ’iwotu bəxzāyā mā=’iθ BƏBRĀYĀ.*  
*dahā <?> ’iwotu bə-xzāyā mā=’iθ bə-brāyā*  
 now <?> PRS.COP.2PL in-see.INF what=EXIST in-happen.INF  
 ‘Now <?> you see what is happening.’
8. *yā ’ĀLAHA=lloxu. | kʔahmūtu m=in BIMĀRĀ? | YA ’NI.*  
*yā ’ālaha=ll-oxu k-ʔahm-ūtu m=in b-imārā? ya ’ni*  
 O God=on-2PL IND-understand-S.2PL what=PRS.COP.1SG in-say.INF it.means  
 ‘O God be upon you. You understand what I’m saying? So-so.’
- [Interviewer: ‘How old were you when you got married?’]
9. *’umri wewā ... tmanesar ŠƏNNƏ.*  
*’umr-i wewā tmanesar ŠƏNNƏ*  
 age-1SG PST.COP.3MS eighteen years  
 ‘I was ... eighteen years old.’
10. *li’an bābi MƏθWĀLƏ.*  
*li’an bāb-i məθ-wā-lə*  
 because father-1SG die.PAST-ANT-L.3MS  
 ‘Because, my father had died.’

<sup>50</sup> The speaker stops before finishing the word: (*me*) is a reconstruction of the end of the word.

11. *wanwā ʔləbtā=w bābi məθwālə,*  
*wanwā ʔləb-tā=w bāb-i məθ-wā-lə*  
 PST.COP.1FS engage.RES.PTCP-FS=and father-1SG die.PAST-ANT-L.3MS  
 ‘When I was engaged, my father had already died.’
12. *pəšlan ʔARBÉ=šənnə.*  
*pəš-lan ʔarbé=šənnə*  
 remain.PAST-L.1PL four.F=years(f)  
 ‘We remained four years (thus)(?)’
13. *p-qameθā la=mbarxíwā ʔALLÁ ...| qameθā=wāwā lə-TRESAR=šənnə,*  
*b-qameθā la=mbarx-í-wā ʔallā ...| qameθā=wāwā lə-tresar=šənnə.*  
 in-before not=bless-S.3PL-ANT except before=PST.COP.3FSto-twelve=years  
 ‘Before, they didn’t bless/marry you except ... Formerly, it was at twelve years.’
14. *baθər mə-TRESAR=šənnə,| w-<sup>Eng</sup>either<sup>Eng</sup> ʔARBĀSAR.*  
*baθər mə-tresar=šənnə w-either ʔarbāsar*  
 after from-twelve=years and-... fourteen  
 ‘after twelve years or fourteen.’
15. *d-arbāsar. ʔānā ʔumri ʔarbāsar mətlə BĀBI.*  
*d-arbāsar ʔānā ʔumr-i ʔarbāsar mət-lə bāb-i*  
 GEN-fourteen I age-1SG fourteen die.PAST-L.3MS father-1SG  
 ‘The fourteenth (year). Myself, my age was fourteen when my father died.’
16. *pəšli ʔLƏBTĀ,*  
*pəš-li ʔləb-tā*  
 become.PAST-L.1SG engage.RES.PTCP-FS  
 ‘I got engaged.’
17. *ya ʔnə wanwā ... xwāθəd= ʔARBE=šənnə,*  
*ya ʔnə wanwā xwāθəd= ʔarbe=šənnə*  
 it.means PST.COP.1FS like=four=years  
 ‘I mean, I was ... around four [*sic*] years’
18. *ya ʔnə KƏBÉWĀLL.*  
*ya ʔnə k-əbé-wā-li*  
 it.means IND-want.S.3MS-ANT-L.1SG  
 ‘I mean, he was in love with me.’
19. *la=muħkeli ʔƏMME!| u LA=MUħKELƏ ʔəmmi!| ʔE.*  
*la=muħke-li ʔəmm-e u la=muħke-lə ʔəmm-i ʔe*  
 not=speak.PAST-L.3MS with-3MS and not=speak.PAST-L.3MS with-1SG yes  
 ‘I didn’t speak with him! And he didn’t speak with me. Yes.’

20. *HĀDAX=wuxwā ya 'nə.*  
*hādax=wuxwā ya 'nə*  
 thus=PST.COP.1PL it.means  
 'That's what we were like, you see.'
21. *bə-ḥtišām=u laθwā 'əθwā ya 'nə ...*  
*bə-ḥtišām=u laθ-wā 'əθ-wā ya 'nə*  
 in-decency=and NEG.EXIST-ANT EXIST-ANT it.means  
 'With decency and there wasn't – there was, I mean ...'
22. *'əθwā 'adab KABIRĀ geban./*  
*'əθ-wā 'adab kabirā geb-an*  
 EXIST-ANT manners much chez-1PL  
 'There were good (lit. a lot of) manners among us.'
23. *kud θela kəmbaxilan bgāwəd=BEΘĀ./*  
*kud θe-la kə-mbarx-i-lan bgāwəd=beθā*  
 when come.PAST-L.3PL IND-bless-S.3PL-L.1PL in=house  
 'When they came, they blessed us in the home.'
24. *u qameθā 'iman kālu D=GORĀWĀ./*  
*u qameθā 'iman kālu d=gor-ā-wā*  
 and formerly when bride COMP=marry-S.3FS-ANT  
 'And formerly, whenever a bride got married.'
25. *kmarəkwiwālā L-SUSTĀ./*  
*k-marəkwi-wā-lā l-sustā*  
 IND-make\_ride-S.3PL-ANT-L.3FS on-mare  
 'they had her ride on a mare.'
26. *kmarəkwiwālā l-sustā=w*  
*k-marəkwi-wā-lā l-sustā=w*  
 IND-make\_ride-S.3PL-ANT-L.3FS on-mare=and  
 'They made her ride on a mare and'
27. *gdārāwā xa='aji ZORĀ qāma.*  
*k-dārā-wā xa='aji zorā qām-a*  
 IND-put.S.3PL-ANT a.M-child small.M before-3FS  
 'put an infant in front of her.'
28. *NIŠAN ya 'nə,| šaprá mmaθyā YĀLƏ. | 'E./*  
*nišan ya 'nə šaprá b-maθy-ā yālə 'e.*  
 sign it.means tomorrow FUT-bear-S.3FS children yes  
 'A sign, you see. Tomorrow she will bear children. Yes.'

29. *u katwiwā bgāwəd=BƏGNŪNƏ,| b-āyā QURNIΘĀ,|*  
*u k-atw-i-wā bgāwəd=bəgnūnə b-āyā qurniθā*  
 and IND-sit-S.3PL-ANT in=bridal\_chamber in-that.F corner  
 ‘And they sat in a bridal chamber, in that corner,’
30. *kođiwālā xa=məndi <?> xwāθəd=BƏGNŪNƏ,|*  
*k-ođ-í-wā-lā xa=məndi <?> xwāθəd=bəgnūnə*  
 IND-make-S.3PL-ANT-L.3FS a-thing <?> like=bridal\_chamber  
 ‘they made it/for her something <?> like a bridal chamber.’
31. *’ađ-bəgnūnə katwāwā šabθā kullā, kālu BGĀWA,|*  
*’ađ-bəgnūnə k-atw-ā-wā šabθā kull-ā kālu bgāw-a*  
 this=bridal\_chamber IND-sit-S.3FS-ANT week all-3FS bride in-3FS  
 ‘This bridal chamber, she sat a whole week in it, the bride.’
32. *leθ MAĤKOYƏ,| u knaxpāwā d=AXLĀWĀ,|*  
*leθ maĥkoyə u k-naxp-ā-wā d=axl-ā-wā*  
 NEG.EXIST speak.INF and IND-be\_shy-S.3FS-ANT COMP=eat-S.3FS-ANT  
 ‘There was no speaking. And she was too shy to eat.’
33. *knaxpāwā ta-d=AXLĀWĀ,|*  
*k-naxp-ā-wā ta-d=axl-ā-wā*  
 IND-be\_shy-S.3FS-ANT for-COMP=eat-S.3FS-ANT  
 ‘She was too shy to eat.’
34. *’e ... ’iwewā ya ’nə zonānət=QAMEΘĀ,|*  
*’e ... ’iwewā ya ’nə zonān-ət=QAMEΘĀ*  
 yes PST.COP.3PL it.means times-CST=before  
 ‘Yes ... they were the old times.’
35. *ba ’dén ... duni KƏMBADLĀ,|*  
*ba ’dén duni kə-mbadl-ā*  
 later world IND-change-S.3FS  
 ‘Later, the world changes.’
36. *w-ilā kamri MṬUWERĀ ya ’nə,| DAHĀ,|*  
*w-ilā k-amr-i mṭuwər-lā ya ’nə dahā*  
 and-PRS.COP.3FS IND-say-S.3PL develop.PAST-L.3FS it.means now  
 ‘And they say it’s progressed, you see, now.’
37. *u ’iwotu bəxzāyā mā=’IΘƏN,| ’ĀYI=LĀ,|*  
*u ’iwotu bə-xzāyā mā=’IΘƏN ’āyi=lā*  
 and PRS.COP.2PL in-see.INF what=EXIST this=PRS.COP.3FS  
 ‘And you see what there is. That’s it.’

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## Appendix: Abbreviations and glosses

<b>I, II, II<sub>2</sub>, III, Q</b>	NENA verbal derivation patterns
<b>Ct-, St-, T-</b>	NENA verbal derivation patterns borrowed from Arabic
<b>i, v, viii, x</b>	Arabic verbal derivation patterns
=	links two words or morphemes in a phrase with a single stress on the second component (including but not limited to proclitics)
=	links two words or morphemes in a phrase with a single stress on the first component (including but not limited to enclitics)
	intonation phrase boundary
<?>	inaudible speech
SMALL CAPS	nuclear stress in intonation phrase
ACT.PTCP	active participle
Alq.	Alqosh dialect
ANT	anterior (shifting the time reference back, glossing -wā~-wā)
Arab.	Arabic
B	B-suffix
COMP	complementiser
COP	copula
CST	construct state suffix -əd
EXIST	existential (particle)
F	feminine
FS	feminine singular
FUT	future (tense)
GEN	genitive marker d-
IND	indicative
INF	infinitive
K.	Kurdish
L	L-suffix
M	masculine

MS	masculine singular
NEG	negator/negated
PAST	Past Base
Pesh.	Peshabur dialect
PL	plural
PRS	present (tense)
PRSP	prospective (aspect)
PST	past (tense)
PST_PFV	past perfective (glossing <i>kəm-</i> )
REL	relativiser
RES.PTCP	resultative participle
S	S-suffix
SG	singular
Syr.	Classical Syriac
TK	Telkepe dialect