

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

WHEN THEY CHANGE THE WAY THEY SPEAK:  
CONTACT-INDUCED WORD ORDER SHIFTS IN SEMITIC

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## CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 The question

In the Semitic language family where most languages have VSO and/or SVO as their basic word order, there are a few members displaying the SOV main constituent word order (§2.3). The most famous ones of them, Akkadian and the modern Ethiopian Semitic languages, have long been cited as classic examples of word order borrowing in studies on word order correlations such as Campbell, Bubenik, and Saxon (1988). Since these SOV Semitic languages are all found in contact areas where SOV non-Semitic languages are located, it is generally agreed that their word order became SOV due to influence from the SOV languages in contact, see e.g., Poebel (1923, 41) for Akkadian receiving the influence from Sumerian and Leslau (1945, 73) for modern Ethiopian Semitic receiving the influence from Cushitic. In contact linguistics, on the other hand, the influential theory that word order changes are very likely caused by imperfect language acquisition has been explicitly applied to Ethiopian Semitic (Thomason and Kaufman 1988).

The change from VSO to SOV involves shifting the position of the verb from the very beginning of a clause to the end of it. Should it have been so difficult that ancient learners acquiring the V-initial Semitic languages failed to notice the position of the verb?

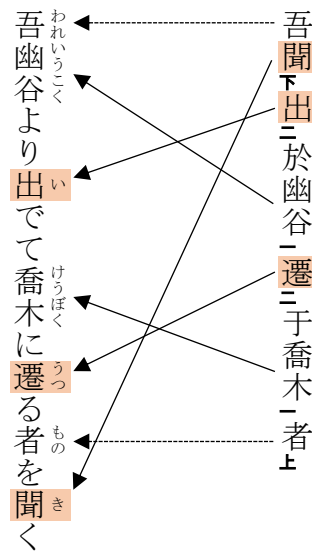
This immediately brings to mind the “Kanbun<sup>1</sup> Reading Punctuation” employed by the ancient Japanese people. In the old days of East Asia, not only the writing system but also many

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<sup>1</sup> This is the romanization of 漢文 *kan<sub>1</sub>bun<sub>2</sub>*, literally ‘Chinese<sub>1</sub> writing<sub>2</sub>.’ Crawcour (1965) renders it phonetically as “kambun.”

Classical Chinese texts were imported to Japan. To facilitate their reading of the Chinese texts, the ancient Japanese intellectuals developed<sup>2</sup> a system of in-text marking so that the Chinese sentences can be transformed and understood in Japanese. Among them, the “return marks” 返り点 *kaeri<sub>1</sub>-ten<sub>2</sub>* (literally ‘return<sub>1</sub> point<sub>2</sub>’) explicitly indicate how the Chinese SVO order should be rearranged so that the words are properly mapped onto the Japanese SOV, see the subscript marks in bold in Figure 1,<sup>3</sup> with the Japanese reading taken from Tsukamoto (1921, 316):

Figure 1 Illustrating the Kanbun “return marks”



Of course, together with the numerous Chinese loanwords that entered the Japanese lexicon, there are also some grammatical influences as a result of this ancient contact between Chinese and Japanese, but they are restricted to: (1) the persistence of archaic expressions till

<sup>2</sup> Such a marking system was in use no later than early Heian Period (794–1185 CE) (Crawcour 1965, xiv), i.e., the historical period directly following the Nara Period (710–794 CE) during which the Chinese writing system was borrowed to write Japanese.

<sup>3</sup> The shaded words are verbs; the “return marks” following their order of appearance are “下,” “二,” “一,” and “上.” The “下” (*shita*, literally ‘bottom’) signifies that the word marked by it should be shifted to the position following the one marked by “上” (*ue*, literally ‘top’) and “二” (*ni*, literally ‘two’) signifies that the word marked by it should be shifted to the position following the one marked by “一” (*ichi*, literally ‘one’). This sentence is from *Mencius* 孟子: *Teng Wen Gong A* 滕文公上 and a part of it will reappear as an example in §5.2.2.

modern era, (2) the addition of Chinese semantics to existing lexical items, and (3) the creation of new (mostly adverbial) expressions (Yamada 1953, 360–61), whereas there is hardly anything pertaining to word order. The Kanbun “return marks” demonstrate that ancient people can be very sensitive to the word order differences between their native language and a foreign one.

Of course, one can argue that the ancient Japanese were not *real learners* of Chinese and merely managed to devise a set of annotation techniques to decipher literary Classical Chinese and compose texts in the “frozen/dead”<sup>4</sup> or “mixed”<sup>5</sup> language. However, it cannot be denied that the SVO–SOV contrast was apparent to them *without* the need for modern linguistic analysis or language pedagogy. Considering such a situation in which the factor of word order, particularly the *main constituent word order*, does not appear to be unnoticeable, one wonders how the Semitic VSO could have escaped the attention of the ancient learners, why the speakers changed the way they spoke, and who were changing the canonical main constituent word order.

## 1.2 Organization of the chapters

Chapter 2 introduces the general theoretical background of this study devoted to word order shifts in the Semitic languages in contact settings. Word order phenomena have been studied in various linguistic approaches and because this study draws more from functional-typological perspectives, the focus is placed on previous typological studies on word order (§2.2.2). The details of the word order patterns in the Semitic language family are discussed (§2.3) before the introduction of the contact linguistic framework (§2.4). It is hoped that a

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<sup>4</sup> This is stressed by Robert (2001; 2006).

<sup>5</sup> Though not explicitly stating so, Takatsu (2008) analyzes it as a “pidgin-creole” language.

combination of several theories would help us better understand the two cases of Semitic VSO-to-SOV shift in this study, i.e., Ethiopian Semitic and Central Asian Arabic.

The first case study is presented in Chapter 3, which focuses on Ethiopian Semitic—more specifically, on the two older languages of this branch: Classical Ethiopic and Old Amharic. Philological studies on Classical Ethiopic, the classical language of the Horn of Africa, has a long history; studies on Old Amharic are more scattered in the literature, though the existence of manuscripts written in more archaic Amharic with some peculiarities were known to the earliest Ethiopianists. Because it appears to be believed that Ethiopian Semitic “copied” the OV order from Cushitic, following a review of previous studies pertaining to the word order in Ethiopian Semitic, I devote a section (§3.3) to investigate the Cushitic word order patterns in detail. Then, the corpus study of Classical Ethiopic word order is introduced, from various preparation work to the presentation of results, analyses, and discussions. In a similar fashion, I present the corpus investigation of Old Amharic following an overview of previous studies on Old Amharic. The focus of the chapter is placed on the O-V patterns found in Classical Ethiopic as well as the word order patterns in Old Amharic that are inconsistent with OV.

Chapter 4 presents the second case study—Central Asian Arabic. The variety selected for the corpus investigation is Bukharan Arabic. The review of relevant previous studies (§4.2.3) is also accompanied by some early studies on Central Asian Arabs and their linguistic situations (§4.2.1). Because it appears to be lacking in the literature, I made a thorough overview of the previous linguistic studies on Central Asian Arabic, but in order to avoid distraction from the main topic, it is placed in Appendix 6 together with a discussion on the varieties and the major linguistic features across the varieties. The discussion in Chapter 4 based on the corpus study

focuses on the O-V pattern which resembles the situation in Chapter 3 in that the fronting and resumption mechanism appears to be the key in the formation of the O-V patterns.

An interesting case in the Sinitic realm of East Asia is discussed in Chapter 5. Having sparked extremely heated linguistic debates in the past, the hypothesis of “Chinese word order change” is presented and discussed: while its conclusion is no longer considered valid, the various observations remain valuable and it does appear possible that a word order change took place in the remote past from Proto-Sino-Tibetan to Proto-Sinitic. The focus of this chapter is placed on the situations of the main constituent word order in two Sinitic varieties and one pidgin variety (§5.3). It is emphasized that the existing Sinitic topic prominence mechanism is crucial for the observed V-final patterns in the Sinitic varieties, and that the pidgin variety, with its SOV order forming congruence with the grammatical Sinitic O-V sequence, allowed the native Chinese speakers to converge due to the special colonial language ecology. Taking the East Asian situation as hints, I suggest to analyze the Semitic situations in a similar fashion involving speaker manipulation based on existing linguistic materials and mechanisms as the adaptation strategy.

A further attempt in Chapter 6 extends the discussion to the other instances of word order shifts in Semitic, suggesting that there could have also been similar agentivity of the native Semitic speakers involved. Finally, Chapter 7 summarizes and concludes the discussion in the previous chapters.

## 1.3 Some notes on conventions

### 1.3.1 Citation conventions

Since this study involves academic works by scholars using different naming traditions, it is necessary to make a note on the conventions used for the citations. The most important remarks are regarding the Ethiopian and Eritrean names.

Before changes brought about by the superimposed modern European FAMILY NAME convention, the patronymic naming system which conveys the lineage of an individual via the format GIVEN NAME + FATHER'S NAME (+ GRANDFATHER'S NAME) was traditional for all the Semitic speaking peoples and also in most parts of Africa. In other words, there is *no* FAMILY NAME for those using the patronymic naming system. This is precisely what we find with the Ethiopian and Eritrean names today. However, despite the existence of a detailed study on Amharic personal names (U.S. Central Intelligence Agency 1965), Ethiopian and Eritrean authors consistently appear in citations by their FATHER'S NAMES or their GRANDFATHER'S NAMES as if those were their FAMILY NAMES. Some authors, especially those living or having obtained their academic degrees in Europe or the US, are also found adapting their names to the Western FAMILY NAME system. Thus, it is extremely common to see, for instance, the renown Ethiopian philologist Getatchew Haile being cited as "Haile," or the Ethiopian linguist Girma Awgichew Demeke cited as "Demeke," even by himself. More significantly, it should be noted that there have been African and Ethiopian scholars openly addressing the issue of their names being misinterpreted or miscited, see e.g., the experiences with African scholars described by Appiah (2010), as well as Mesfin's (2010) article devoted to citation. Most recently, Meyer and Treis (in press) discuss this topic specifically in the context of linguistic publications and outline detailed rules together with practical solutions for citation tools.

Therefore, I decided to format the citations and bibliography of this study in response to the voiced opinions of the African scholars: all works by Ethiopian/Eritrean scholars are cited by their *own* GIVEN NAMES in accordance with the patronymic naming conventions *even if* some have already been cited improperly in the literature, e.g., the works by the linguist Hailu Fulass have been cited by “Fulass” in many publications, but I have formatted the citation using his GIVEN NAME “Hailu” instead. In the bibliography, neither comma nor the reversal of order is applied to Ethiopian and Eritrean names and they all appear in the GIVEN NAME + FATHER’S NAME (+ GRANDFATHER’S NAME) order. In essence, the rules outlined by Meyer and Treis (in press) are applied.

In addition, some remarks are needed regarding the Chinese authors. Some scholars publish both in Chinese and in English and in their English publications, their names are rendered differently depending on which romanization system was used. Generally speaking, authors from mainland China opt for the *Pīnyīn* system with the tone marks removed (e.g., Chaofen Sun 孫朝奮, cf. Sūn Cháofèn in *Pīnyīn*) whereas authors from outside of mainland China opt for a Wade-Giles style romanization (e.g., Chauncey C. Chu 屈承燾, cf. Qū Chéngxī in *Pīnyīn*). Therefore, I cite the Chinese authors according to their own preferred romanization in their publications. For works exclusively in Chinese (i.e., with no publication information in English), I cite the authors’ FAMILY NAMES in the corresponding *Pīnyīn* romanization *with* the tone marks included. In the bibliography, in accordance with the *Chicago Manual of Style*, the original scripts of titles in non-European languages are provided as they are in print, while the names of the authors in the original scripts follow the most common version, e.g., in the dictionary by Zhāng Chéngcái published in the traditional Chinese characters, his name is

rendered accordingly as 張成材, however, in the bibliography, the original script for his name follows its simplified Chinese version 张成材 as it is in the majority of his publications.

### 1.3.2 Transcription and glossing conventions

The majority of the examples cited in this study are languages using non-Latin writing systems, or languages that have been recorded/published in non-Latin scripts, such as the non-Standard-Mandarin Sinitic varieties. There are also some examples published in Romanized transliterations aiming at reflecting the non-phonetic writing system, such as the cuneiform languages. On the other hand, this study follows the common practice in linguistic typology studies which provides interlinear glossing with morpheme segmentation. Therefore, I provide transcriptions for all the examples in non-Latin scripts and the Romanized non-phonetic scripts before providing the segmentation and glossing. Since the transcribing process does involve one's analyses of the data, unless it is noted that the example in question is cited verbatim from the source with the author's original glossing included, all the transcription, segmentation, and glossing for the examples are my own. More details regarding the transliterations are provided in the sections on corpus processing and data presentation.

The interlinear glossing for the examples largely follows the *Leipzig Glossing Rules* (Comrie, Haspelmath, and Bickel 2015). The glossing abbreviations are also primarily those proposed in the *Leipzig Glossing Rules* with only a few exceptional cases:

(a) The two abbreviations PERF (“perfect”) and IMPF (“imperfect”) are used intentionally to be distinct from PFV and IPFV in the *Leipzig Glossing Rules* which stand for the “perfective” and “imperfective” *aspects* respectively. Without implying any stance regarding the debate on the tense or aspectual nature of the Semitic verbal systems, the labels PERF and IMPF

are used descriptively for Semitic:<sup>6</sup> PERF for the suffix conjugation and IMPF for the prefix conjugation. For Semitic languages with two prefix conjugations, IMPF indicates the long prefix conjugation, e.g.,  $y\partial C_1\ddot{a}C_2C_2\partial C_3$  of Classical Ethiopic, while mostly JUSS (“jussive”) indicates the short prefix conjugation, e.g.,  $y\partial C_1C_2VC_3$  of Classical Ethiopic, with the exception of PRET (“preterite”) for the Akkadian  $iC_1C_2VC_3$  due to its major function for past events.

(b) Those grammatical elements or categories that are slightly idiosyncratic or not so intuitive as they appear are all accompanied by footnotes clarifying what the labels represent and what those categories are: for instance, the use of CVB (“converb”) in a unified fashion for all Ethiopian Semitic languages, as well as the use of SFP (“Sentence-Final Particle”) for the Sinitic varieties. Some peculiar grammatical markings that are both beyond the inventory of the *Leipzig Glossing Rules* and extremely rarely encountered in the glossing are left unabbreviated, such as the Sinitic “DELIMITATIVE” and the Old Amharic “INJUNCTIVE.”

(c) As can be observed in the list below, occasionally different abbreviations are used for the same referent, e.g., both Prep and PREP are used for “preposition,” but they are used in different contexts. Generally speaking, those with capitalization appear in discussions of word order while those in SMALL CAPS are used for interlinear glossing or illustrations of structural patterns. The only instances where similar abbreviations are used for different referents which might lead to potential confusion are the capitalized PP for “Prepositional Phrase” vs the small-cap PP for “past participle” and the capitalized N for “Noun” vs the small-cap N for “neuter (gender).”

The following abbreviations are used:

1	first person
2	second person

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<sup>6</sup> The glossing abbreviation PERF is used once for the Greek *perfect* active participle.

3	third person
ABL	ablative (case)
ABS	absolutive (case)
ACC	accusative (case)
ACT	active (voice)
Adj	adjective
Adp	adposition
Adv	adverb
ADVLZ	adverbializer
AGR	agreement
AOR	aorist (tense)
APPL	applicative
ART	article
AUX	auxiliary
C	common (gender)
C	one consonant
Circump	circumposition
CL	classifier
COM	comitative (case)
COMPL	completive (aspect)
CONT	continuous (aspect)
COP	copula
CSTR	construct state [ <i>“status constructus”</i> ]
CVB	converb
DAT	dative (case)
DEF	definite
Dem	demonstrative
DEM	demonstrative
Det	determiner
DN	Divine Name
DO	direct object
DU	dual (number)
DUR	durative (aspect)
ERG	ergative (case)
EXIST	existential
EXPER	experiential (aspect)
EZ	<i>ezafe</i> (morpheme)
F	feminine (gender)
FOC	focus
FUT	future
Gen	genitive
GEN	genitive (case)
GN	Geographical Name
HABIT	habitual (aspect)
IMPF	“imperfect”: prefix conjugation
IMPV	imperative

INCH	inchoative (aspect)
IND	indicative
INDF	indefinite
INF	infinitive
INS	instrumental (case)
INT	interrogative
IO	indirect object
IPFV	imperfective (aspect)
JUSS	jussive
L1	first language
L2	second language
LK	linker
LOC	locative (case)
M	masculine (gender)
Mod	modifier
N	noun
N	neuter (gender)
NEG	negative
NMLZ	nominalization
NOM	nominative (case)
NP	Noun Phrase
Num	numeral
O	object
OBJ	object
OBL	oblique (case)
OPT	optative
PASS	passive (voice)
PERF	“perfect”: suffix conjugation
PFV	perfective (aspect)
PL	plural (number)
PN	Personal Name
Poss	possessive
POSS	possessive
Postp	postposition
PP	past participle
PP	Prepositional Phrase
Pred	predicate
Prep	preposition
PREP	preposition
PRES	present
PRET	preterite
PROG	progressive (aspect)
Pron	pronoun
PST	past
PTCP	participle
Q	polar question marker

QUOT	quotative (marker)
RC	relative clause
REL	relative (marker)
Rel	relative clause
S	subject
SBJV	subjunctive
SBRD	subordinate (marker)
SFP	sentence-final particle
SG	singular (number)
SUBJ	subject
T	topic
TOP	topic (marker)
V	verb
<i>V</i>	one (short) vowel
VENT	ventive
VOC	vocative (case)

## CHAPTER 2 GENERAL BACKGROUND

### 2.1 Overview

This chapter offers the background of this study in detail. First, I present an outline for the study of word order. As a salient surface phenomenon, word order—the surface linear ordering of the constituents<sup>1</sup>—can be and has been studied in most if not all linguistic approaches. Because this study draws chiefly from typological studies, only the generative approach is selected from the non-typological approaches to be presented in a very condensed manner for the sake of relevant previous studies in later chapters in the generative approach. Then, I present an overview of the main constituent word order in languages of the Semitic family, namely, a general VSO pattern with a deviation of SOV, together with SVO as a common alternative to VSO. After that, I present the major contact linguistic framework that this study relies on in analyses of the contact-induced word order shifts, including an outline of the adopted model and three additional theories that are useful for the discussions in later chapters, namely *Congruence Effects*, *Communication Adaptation*, and *Feature Pool*. The methods of this study are introduced towards the end of this chapter.

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<sup>1</sup> See, for instance, the synonymous use of “word order” and “constituent order” in the collected surveys of word order in European languages edited by Siewierska (1998).

## 2.2 Approaches to word order studies

### 2.2.1 Generative approach to word order

In the Generative Grammar tradition, the linear word order properties used to be of little interest due to the belief that “grammatical operations are structure-dependent and do not (by and large) exploit linear dependencies” (Hornstein, Nunes, and Grohmann 2005, 218). This is reflected in the initial view that word order has nothing to do with syntax because it belongs entirely to phonology.<sup>2</sup> Such a position is modified by Chomsky’s (1981) *Principles and Parameters* model, in which word order variations are configured by the “Head Directionality Parameter” (Baker 2001, 68–77). Later on, generative linguists gradually developed the theory of the universal linear order, as put forward by Kayne (1994).

Kayne’s *Linear Correspondence Axiom* (LCA) is abstractly stated (Kayne 1994, 6) as follows:

$d(A)$  is a linear ordering of  $T$ .

The axiom reads: for a given phrase marker  $P$ , with  $T$  as the set of terminals and  $A$  as the maximal set of ordered pairs  $(X_j, Y_j)$  such that for each  $j$ ,  $X_j$  asymmetrically c-commands  $Y_j$ , the set of terminals that  $A$  dominates—the image under the nonterminal-to-terminal dominance ( $d$ ) relation of  $A$ —is a linear ordering of  $T$ .

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<sup>2</sup> The early position is still reflected later, cf. Chomsky (1995, 334–35): “There is no clear evidence that order plays a role at LF or in the computation from N to LF. Let us assume that it does not. Then ordering is part of the phonological component, a proposal that has been put forth over the years in various forms. If so, then it might take quite a different form without affecting  $C_{HL}$  if language use involved greater expressive dimensionality or no sensorimotor manifestation at all. It seems natural to suppose that ordering applies to the output of Morphology, assigning a linear (temporal, left-to-right) order to the elements it forms, all of them  $X^0$ s though not necessarily lexical items. If correct, these assumptions lend further reason to suppose that there is no linear order in the  $N \rightarrow LF$  computation, assuming that it has no access to the output of Morphology.”

LCA theorizes that if a nonterminal category X c-commands<sup>3</sup> another nonterminal category Y (but not vice versa, hence, “asymmetrically”), then all terminal nodes in the syntactic tree dominated by Y follow those dominated by X. Thus, LCA implies only two possibilities for the Universal Order: either Specifier-Head-Complement (Spec-H-Comp) or Comp-H-Spec. And Spec-H-Comp is concluded as “the only order available to the subcomponents of a phrase” (Kayne 1994, 36). From Spec-H-Comp, various surface word orders are then realized via movement operations motivated by requirements of grammar. Whether LCA is accepted into the latest *Minimalist Program* (Chomsky 1995), it has undoubtedly led to much more attention to word order in generative linguistic research than before. On the other hand, the development of the generative theory has outdated many early studies attempting to formulate a large number of transformational rules (some of which could seem very ad-hoc) in order to achieve the surface constituent orders. This will be shown in the later chapters, particularly in the previous studies on Amharic word order (§3.2.2.3).

## 2.2.2 Typological approach to word order

As mentioned above, the first and foremost approach known for the study of word order is Linguistic Typology. Compared to the Generative Grammar approach, Linguistic Typology proposals tend to be more functional than formal. As Comrie (1989) explains, a given universal may “serve to make language more functional, either as a communication system in general, or more particularly relative to the communicative needs of humans” (Comrie 1989, 25–26), or facilitate the retrieval of meaning from the syntactic structure (Comrie 1989, 26), or have to do with the ease of processing various syntactic structures (Comrie 1989, 27), etc.

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<sup>3</sup> See Sportiche, Koopman and Stabler (2014, 161): “**C-command**: Node X **c-commands** node Y if a sister of X dominates Y [i.e., Y is a descendant of it].”

### 2.2.2.1 Establishment

Already at the emergence of the discipline, word order attracted the attention of von der Gabelentz (1870; 1875a; 1875b), the founding father<sup>4</sup> of Linguistic Typology. Greenberg's ([1963] 1966) seminal work marking the modern revitalization of typological studies sets up a model for studying implicational universals<sup>5</sup> via statistics across a large sample<sup>6</sup> of languages. A great number of his proposed universals (twenty-five out of the total forty-five) involve word order correlations. See, for instance, the following universal:

*Universal 5.* If a language has dominant SOV order and the genitive follows the governing noun, then the adjective likewise follows the noun (Greenberg [1963] 1966, 79).

The focus of typological word order research is the *basic* word order, which is generally defined by frequency,<sup>7</sup> distribution,<sup>8</sup> and markedness,<sup>9</sup> or in Siewierska's (1988, 8) words: "the order that occurs in stylistically neutral, independent, indicative clauses with full noun phrase

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<sup>4</sup> Although non-genetic language classification has been attempted since Adam Smith's *A Dissertation on the Origin of Languages* (1761) and Friedrich von Schlegel's *Ueber die Sprache und Weisheit der Indier* (1808) (Renzi 1976), it was Georg von der Gabelentz who coined "Typologie" as the name of this linguistic discipline (von der Gabelentz 1894), clearly differentiated genetic and typological classifications, abandoned the evaluative classification, and brought together morphological classification and cross-linguistic comparison (Graffi 2010).

<sup>5</sup> That is: generalizations with propositional variables  $p$  and  $q$  using logic expressions, such as  $p \supset q$  (Croft 2003, 54ff) or  $p \rightarrow q$  (Cysouw [2003] 2009, 53ff), which reads " $p$  implies  $q$ ." The  $p$  and  $q$  are linguistic properties: if a language has property  $p$ , then it has property  $q$ .

<sup>6</sup> The issue of proper sampling, such as bias from genetically related languages, have been discussed in the typology literature over the decades (Dryer 1989; Perkins 1989; Rijkhoff et al. 1993; Rijkhoff and Bakker 1998).

<sup>7</sup> See, e.g., Greenberg ([1966] 2005, 67): "In addition the frequency definition will cover at least one case in which none of the other criteria is present but which has been considered as an example of the marked/unmarked distinction by Jakobson; namely, normal (unmarked) versus emphatic (marked) word order. The so-called normal order, it would seem, is necessarily the most frequent."

<sup>8</sup> See, e.g., Dryer (2007, 74): "If one order is in some way more restricted in its distribution, then that can be used as an argument that the other order is basic."

<sup>9</sup> See, e.g., Dryer (2007, 76): "It can often be argued that one order in a language is pragmatically neutral while the other has some added pragmatic effect."

(NP) participants, where the subject is definite, agentive and human, the object is a definite semantic patient, and the verb represents an action, not a state or an event.” In reality, however, it is more complicated: Siewierska (1988, 12) notes that the nature of the text can greatly influence word order; Mithun (1992) warns that the existence of various criteria to determine the basic word order may lead to conflicting results<sup>10</sup> and emphasizes that word order typologies do not apply to “pragmatically based” languages.

#### **2.2.2.2 Development**

Greenberg ([1963] 1966) establishes the word order typology involving three elements S, V and O, which form six combinations of main constituent word order patterns (SVO, SOV, VSO, VOS, OSV, OVS). Following his work, typologists have been attempting to reduce this six-way typology into a simpler one contrasting OV with VO (W. P. Lehmann 1972c; 1973; 1978b; Vennemann 1973; 1974a). Similarly, Dryer (1997) writes in favor of establishing an SV-VS typology in addition to the OV-VO typology. Important generalizations stemming from these reductions include Lehmann’s *Fundamental Principle of Placement* and Vennemann’s *Principle of Natural Serialization*.

Lehmann (1970) follows Greenberg’s observations and explains the SOV features in Nordic languages (such as postpositions and loss of prefixation) as Uralic influence, suggesting that “some syntactic aberrancies of a language can be accounted for through the borrowing of transformational rules from a neighboring language” (W. P. Lehmann 1970, 302). This correlation approach is further refined in his study on New High German (W. P. Lehmann 1971).

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<sup>10</sup> “Sometimes the decision is based on textual frequency (see Hawkins 1983; Dryer 1983). Sometimes it is whatever order permits the simplest overall syntactic description (McCawley 1970). Sometimes it is the order accompanied by the least morphological marking (Hawkins 1983). Finally, it may be the least pragmatically marked, or neutral order, although identifying pragmatically neutral sentences is itself problematic” (Mithun 1992, 15).

Unlike other Indo-European languages that developed SVO features as they departed from the proto SOV order, German’s increasingly fixed V-final pattern in subordinate clauses is believed to be responsible for the development of its other orders that are “derived”<sup>11</sup> from SOV, such as postposed particles and preposed participial modifiers. Lehmann’s *Fundamental Principle of Placement* is eventually formulated as follows in terms of “consistency” (W. P. Lehmann 1973; 1978a), i.e., word order harmony (W. P. Lehmann 1972c, 173; 1973, 49; 1978b, 19):

$$\#QV(N^{Obj})\# \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \#QV(N^{Obj})\# / VO \\ \#(N^{Obj})VQ\# / OV \end{array} \right\}$$

The formula is read as: for a string of sentence boundaries (#), sentence qualifiers (Q), verb (V), and potential object (N<sup>Obj</sup>), “in consistent OV languages sentence qualifiers are placed after verbs, while in consistent VO languages they are placed before verbs” (W. P. Lehmann 1973, 49).

Vennemann (1973, 41) rephrases the *Principle of Natural Constituent Structure* originally proposed by Bartsch as “elements belonging together in the hierarchy of semantic representation tend to be lexicalized and serialized in the surface representation in such a way that hierarchical dependencies are directly reflected in categorial operator-operand relationships and the closeness of constituents to each other in the surface string.” The principle is formulated (Vennemann 1974a, 81) very comparably to Lehmann’s formula above:

$$\{\text{Operator } \{\text{Operand}\}\} \Rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} [\text{Operator } [\text{Operand}]] \text{ in OV languages} \\ [[\text{Operand}] \text{Operator}] \text{ in VO languages} \end{array} \right.$$

Thus, different elements of word order are classified as either an operator or an operand,

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<sup>11</sup> See Lehmann (1971, 23): “When modified, the underlying order of syntactic constructions, whether changed because of external or internal developments, would exert an effect on the order of syntactic patterns derived from it.”

patterned according the formula above. For instance, N belongs to the operand category and modifiers (Adj, Gen, RC, etc.) belong to the operator category. As in Lehmann's typology, consistency in word order is also a central concern for Vennemann's typology. In his examination of word order in German, English and Korean (Vennemann 1982), he places Korean on the "konsistente Präspezifikation" end of a continuum, with German and English sequentially placed near the opposite end labeled "konsistente Postspezifikation."

In contrast to these argument-centered generalizations and based on his observations of co-occurrences, Hawkins (1983) considers adpositions as "better type indicators" and proposes two word order types:<sup>12</sup> prepositional vs postpositional (Hawkins 1983, 116). Hawkins (1980; 1983) also argues for adding a tier of "distributional universal" in addition to implicational statements and proposes *Principle of Cross-Category Harmony* to capture the frequencies of the distributional universals, especially the abundance of harmonic word order patterns. This principle makes use of Vennemann's dichotomy of operator vs operand, stating that across various operands, the more similar their position relative to their operators, the more exemplifying languages there are (Hawkins 1980, 221). Hawkins (1983, 90–91) further proposes the *Heaviness Serialization Principle*—"heavier noun modifiers occur to the right" following his *Heaviness Hierarchy* (i.e.,  $\text{Rel} \geq \text{Gen} \geq \text{Adj} \geq \{\text{Dem, Num}\}$ )—and suggests there should be an ultimate psycholinguistic explanation involving language processing (Hawkins 1983, 98), in anticipation of his later processing-based theories.<sup>13</sup> In essence, he proposes to demonstrate that a

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<sup>12</sup> It should be noted that this is actually how Greenberg (1963a, 62) formulates his second implicational universal: "*Universal 2*. In languages with prepositions, the genitive almost always follows the governing noun, while in languages with postpositions it almost always precedes."

<sup>13</sup> With the belief that "words and constituents occur in the orders they do so that syntactic groupings and their immediate constituents (ICs) can be recognized (and produced) as rapidly and efficiently as possible in language performance" (Hawkins 1994, 57), Hawkins (1994) proposes the *Early Immediate Constituent* theory in an attempt to account for word order

certain word order is preferred because it facilitates processing and performance via calculations according to the model defined by his theory.

On the other hand, without reducing the six-way word order typology, Tomlin ([1986] 2014, 22) establishes a frequency hierarchy for the word order attestations:

$$\text{SOV} = \text{SVO} > \text{VSO} > \text{VOS} = \text{OVS} > \text{OSV}^{14}$$

He then proposes to explain this hierarchy with three principles, more or less descriptively named: *Theme First Principle*, *Verb-Object Bonding Principle*, and *Animated First Principle*, i.e., the theme or animate elements tend to come first while V and O tend to come together. The first and the third principles clearly echo Keenan's (1978, 191) principle of *Subject Front*: "The Subject occurs to the left of other major constituents of Ss." Tomlin's ([1986] 2014) proposal has been criticized especially for his treating multiple principles equally (Song 1991).

Dryer (1991; 1992) reinforces the reduced OV-VO typology proposed by Lehmann and Vennemann while showing at the same time the strength of expanded sampling and considerations of the areal distribution of languages. Dryer (1992, 89) proposes the *Branching Direction Theory* (BDT), but due to considerations of constituent structure, he further revises it—while providing an alternative version<sup>15</sup>—as follows (Dryer 1992, 114):

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variations in a quantified fashion using "IC-to-non-IC ratios." IC is essentially the internal constituents of a syntactic phrase structure, and the ratio is calculated according to the tree structure. In addition, the production factors are taken into consideration in Hawkins' (2004) revised theory *Performance-Grammar Correspondence Hypothesis*—"Grammars have conventionalized syntactic structures in proportion to their degree of preference in performance, as evidenced by patterns of selection in corpora and by ease of processing in psycholinguistic experiments" (Hawkins 2004, 3).

<sup>14</sup> The difference of frequency between VOS and OVS is dismissed due to their small numbers in the sample (ibid.) and the difference of frequency between SOV and SVO is not statistically significant (Tomlin [1986] 2014, 22, 128).

<sup>15</sup> See Dryer (1992, 116): "THE BRANCHING DIRECTION THEORY (alternate version): Verb patterners are heads and object patterners are fully recursive phrasal dependents. i.e., a pair of

THE BRANCHING DIRECTION THEORY (revised version): Verb patterners<sup>16</sup> are non-phrasal categories or phrasal categories that are not fully recursive, and object patterners are fully recursive phrasal categories in the major constituent tree. That is, a pair of elements X and Y will employ the order XY significantly more often among VO languages than among OV languages if and only if X is not a fully recursive phrasal category in the major constituent tree and Y is a fully recursive phrasal category in the major constituent tree.

In addition, Dryer (1992, 128) suggests to explain BDT by the ease of processing achieved via consistent branching directions. However, considering the hierarchical syntactic structure that BDT heavily relies on, Dryer (2009) emphasizes the relation between parsing and semantic units<sup>17</sup> and adopts flatter constituent structures while exploring the positions of articles and complementizers to show BDT's weakness and some strength of Hawkins' (2004) theory based on language processing. As the latter runs into difficulty handling the order of auxiliary and main verb, Dryer (2009, 205–6) invokes grammaticalization and suggests it may be possible that “the word order correlations are not a unified phenomenon” which may involve various factors.

A similar combination of semantic and grammaticalization factors also appears to underlie Bybee's (1985, 33–35) typology of affix ordering. She hypothesizes that verbal affixes are ordered according to the semantic “relevance” of the corresponding inflectional categories to the verb (Bybee 1985, 20–24), which can be expressed as: valence > voice > aspect > tense > mood > agreement, with “>” standing for “more relevant.” Vennemann's *Principle of Natural*

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elements X and Y will employ the order XY significantly more often among VO languages than among OV languages if and only if X is a head and Y is a phrasal dependent of X.”

<sup>16</sup> See Dryer (1992, 87): “If a pair of elements X and Y is such that X tends to precede Y significantly more often in VO languages than in OV languages, then (X, Y) is a CORRELATION PAIR, and X is a VERB PATTERNER and Y an OBJECT PATTERNER with respect to this pair.”

<sup>17</sup> See Dryer (2009, 189): “Parsing is ultimately a matter of determining the semantic units or semantic constituents of a sentence. In fact, one possible view of parsing is that that is all it is: a process of determining what the semantic units of a sentence are, of determining which words go together semantically.”

*Constituent Structure* is cited in support of this ordering (Bybee 1985, 39),

### **2.2.2.3 Diachrony**

Not only grammaticalization specifically but also diachrony in general have long been addressed in *Linguistic Typology* (Greenberg 1974, 57–72; Bybee 1988; Greenberg 1995; Comrie 2001). In fact, it was Lehmann’s (2011) typological conclusions on diachronic word order change that sparked the idea for the present study. Lehmann (2011, 18) proposes that word order changes take place dependently in a hierarchy (V&O > N&Adj > N&Gen > N&Adp) and that changes at a lower level presuppose a change at a higher level (see §3.2.2 for more details). This proposal is based on observations of the synchronic word order distribution in Ethiopian Semitic,<sup>18</sup> a branch of genetically related languages situated in the contact zone of the Horn of Africa. It should be noted that the factors of genera and areas have been proved to be of great importance regarding word order distribution (Dryer 1989; 1991; 1992; 2003; 2009).

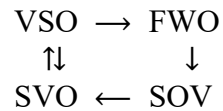
Additionally important to the present study is the notion “drift” going back to Sapir (1921) as he describes the linguistic changes happening in an unconscious way and naturally moving towards a certain direction as they accumulate.<sup>19</sup> Lakoff (1972) describes drift in more detail based on observations of developments in the Romance languages as compared with Latin, and believes drift is a “metacondition” that affects a language in such a way that its grammar changes as a whole. Lakoff (1972, 179) defines it as “historical fluctuation between syntheticity and analyticity.” In his reexamination of the phenomenon, Vennemann (1973) proposes to explain the drift as the natural—internally motivated—change due to the disambiguation

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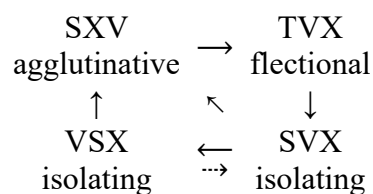
<sup>18</sup> The present author opts to use “Ethiopian Semitic” instead of the virtually interchangeably used designation “Ethio-Semitic.” See §3.2 for more comments.

<sup>19</sup> “Language moves down time in a current of its own making. It has a drift” (Sapir 1921, 160). “The drift of a language is constituted by the unconscious selection on the part of its speakers of those individual variations that are cumulative in some special direction” (Sapir 1921, 165–66).

principle: “languages do not tolerate systematic syntactic ambiguity” (Vennemann 1973, 26). He further suggests a model for word order change (Vennemann 1973, 40):



Thus, it is proposed that there are directionality factors in word order changes, and the change between VSO and SOV is not direct; a VSO language has to become a Free Word Order (FWO) language before becoming SOV, and this FWO stage can be characterized by the development of a case system. Vennemann (1974b) elaborates the change from SOV to SVO and suggests that the V shift is “a response to a topicalization problem resulting from the reduction of S-O morphology” (Vennemann 1974b, 360). He hypothesizes that V first shifts to a position following the topic (T) and then it is specialized in the second position: the former TVX stage led to the SVO like Romance (allowing proclitic object pronouns) whereas the latter stage resulted in SVO like Germanic. Thus, the model above with FWO is modified into one involving TVX and the word order pattern is also hypothesized to be changing together with changes in the morphological types (Vennemann 1974b, 371):



### 2.3 Semitic word order

In this study, whenever it is necessary to highlight the word order patterns, I visualize them by marking the **V** with a light orange shading, the **S** with a light blue shading, and the **O** with a light green shading. Illustrating sentences are all added with my own glossing, largely following the *Leipzig Glossing Rules* (Comrie, Haspelmath, and Bickel 2015). However, the

transcriptions for the glossing are not always readily available. Unlike texts published from more recent fieldwork (e.g., Tigré and Mehri), many older and classical texts are edited and published in the original Semitic scripts or conventional transliterations reflecting their orthography.

Considering the fact that the transcribing/normalizing and segmenting processes already involve interpretation and analysis, unless noted otherwise, I provide all the examples in this study in a consistent *four-line* format as follows: First, I produce the sentence or phrase in bold together with all the original diacritics, notations, and styles (e.g., italics) following as closely as possible **how it appears** in the published materials—be it in the original script, conventional transliteration, or transcription. This forms the *original text line*. Then, I render it into a proper **transcription** in italics according to the unified system used in this study with morpheme segmentation as the *transcription line*. After that, I provide an *analysis line* with my own **glossing** and a *translation line* with a relatively literal **translation**.

### 2.3.1 VS(O)

In the Semitic language family, with the exception of Akkadian<sup>20</sup> (see §2.3.2 below), classical languages as well as the majority of attested languages all display the common main constituent word order of the pattern VS(O) in verbal clauses. Examples of VSO are abundant; despite the potential redundancy, they are listed below in order to demonstrate how widespread the V-initial pattern is across the family. See the following verbal clauses from Biblical Hebrew (1a), Qur’anic Arabic (1b), Classical Ethiopic (1c), Ugaritic (1d), Phoenician (1e), Old Aramaic (1f), Syriac (1g), Safaitic (1h), Sabaic (1i), Mehri (1j), and Eblaite (1k):

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<sup>20</sup> The designation “Akkadian” here refers to the classical and early dialects of Akkadian, excluding the non-standard Akkadian varieties, e.g., the Akkadian in the Amarna letters from Byblos (Gianto 1990), which displays great difference from normative Akkadian in terms of word order.

(1) VSO order in Semitic

a. בְּרֵאשִׁית בָּרָא אֱלֹהִים אֶת הַשָּׁמַיִם וְאֶת הָאָרֶץ:

<i>bə=rē(')šît</i>	<i>bārā(')</i>	<i>'ēlohîm</i>	<i>'ēt</i>	<i>haš=šāmayim</i>	<i>wə='ēt</i>
in=beginning	create\PERF.3MSG	DN	ACC	DEF=heaven	and=ACC
<i>hā='āreš</i>					
DEF=earth					

‘In the beginning, God created the heaven and the earth.’ (Genesis 1:1)

b. وَأَخْتَارَ مُوسَى قَوْمَهُ سَبْعِينَ رَجُلًا لِمِيقَاتِنَا

<i>wa=</i>	<i>ḥtār-a</i>	<i>mūsā</i>	<i>qawm-a=hu</i>	<i>sab'īna</i>	<i>rağul-a=n</i>
and=	select\PERF-3MSG	PN	people-ACC=3MSG	seventy.OBL	man\PL-ACC=INDF
<i>li=mīqāt-i=nā</i>					

for=appointment-GEN=1CPL

‘And Moses chose from his people seventy men for Our appointment.’ (Qur’ān 7:155)

c. ወሰባ: ሰምዐ: ቅዱስ: መቃርስ: ዘገተ: ጸገዐ: ልቡ

<i>wä=sobä</i>	<i>säm'-ä</i>	<i>qaddus</i>	<i>māqarəs</i>	<i>zänt-ä</i>	<i>šan'-ä</i>
and=when	hear\PERF-3MSG	saint	PN	this.M-ACC	be_strong\PERF-3MSG
<i>labb=u</i>					
heart=3MSG					

‘And when Saint Macarius heard this, his heart became strong.’ (Dillmann 1866, 28)

d. *w . ybl . hw . mīt \ ḥrş .*

<i>wa</i>	<i>yabal-a</i>	<i>huwa</i>	<i>mi't-a</i>	<i>ḥurās-i</i>
and	carry\PERF-3MSG	3MSG.NOM	hundred-ACC	gold-GEN

‘And he has taken with him one hundred (shekels of) gold.’ KTU 2.72:27

(Bordreuil and Pardee 2009, 242)

e. *wbrk b'l krnryš 'yt 'ztdw bhym*

<i>w=</i>	<i>brk</i>	<i>b'l</i>	<i>krnryš</i>	<i>'yt</i>	<i>'ztdw</i>	<i>b=ḥy-m</i>
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and= bless\PERF.3MSG DN GN ACC PN with=living-MPL  
 ‘Baal of Krntryš blessed Azitawada with life.’ (Friedrich, Röllig, and Amadasi Guzzo 1999, 316)

f. *wśmw kl mlky` l mšr l hzrk*

*wśmw=w kl mlk-y` l mšr l hzrk*  
 place\PERF=3MPL all king-MPL.DET DEM.MPL siege upon GN  
 ‘All these kings laid siege to Hadhrak.’ (Degen 1969, 6)

g. *وَجَبَّ أَعْيُنُهُمْ لِحُكْمِهَا فَكَذَّبُوا وَأَلْفَاؤُهُمْ عَصَابَ الْمَكِيدَاتِ*

*wa= ktāb (h)wā` hannān tabūlārā` kull=meddem d=hāze`*  
 and= write\PERF.3MSG AUX PN tabularius every=thing REL=see\PTCP.3MSG  
*(h)wā` d= `ābed (h)wā` mšihā`*  
 AUX REL= do\PTCP.3MSG AUX Messiah  
 ‘And Ḥannān the tabularius wrote everything that he witnessed the Messiah doing.’ (Brockelmann 1912, 13\*)

h. *ngy qsr hmdnt*

*ngy qsr h=mdnt*  
 announce\PERF.3MSG PN DEF=province

‘Caesar announced the province (i.e., Provincia Arabia).’ (Al-Jallad 2015, 171)

i. *wḥmdy yšbh w`rbm hyl wmq`lmqhtḥwnb l`wm bdt...*

*w= ḥmd-y yšbh w=`rbm hyl w=mq`lmqhtḥwnb l`wm*  
 and= thank\PERF-3CDU PN and=PN power and=might DN  
*bdt...*

for...

‘And YŠBH and ‘RBM thanked the power and might of ‘LMQH-ṬHWN, Lord of ‘WM, because...’ (Stein 2003, 49–50)

j. *wzawmah <sup>A</sup>gawāz<sup>A</sup> ḥābū / wa-nūka bū sēlim bawmah hāl ḥibha*

*wzawm=ah gawāz ḥā=bū wa= nūk-a bū sēlim*  
 give\PERF.3MPL=3MSG passport DEF=people and= come\PERF-3MSG PN  
*bawmah hāl ḥib=ha*

here to father\PL=3MSG

‘The people gave him a passport, and Bū Sēlim came here to his parents.’

(Watson 2012, 431)

k. *wa<sup>a</sup> ú-íl en Û ma-lik-tum sa-ḥu-ra-ti ì*

<i>wa</i>	<i>yi-nassi<sup>21</sup>-ay</i>	<i>malik-um</i>	<i>wa malik-t-um</i>	<i>saḥurr-āt-i</i>	<i>samn-im<sup>21</sup></i>
and	3C-bring\IMPF-DU	ruler-NOM	and ruler-F-NOM	vessel-FPL-OBL	oil-GEN

‘And the king and the queen bring oil vessels.’ (Catagnoti 2012, 100)

All the examples above display the same VSO pattern, together with a few instances of VS such as the main clause in (1c), the relative clause in (1g), and the coordinated clause in (1j). (1j) also displays an interesting VOS, which is also a commonly attested pattern in Mehri narratives (Watson 2012, 260–61).

### 2.3.2 S(O)V

The greatest deviation from this order, namely S(O)V, is found first and foremost in the major East Semitic language, Akkadian. The SOV order is found in its old attested variety—Sargonic Akkadian—and remains stable in its later dialects (see more in §6.2). Similar deviations have also been noted for the Semitic languages in the Horn of Africa and the Neo-Arabic varieties in Central Asia. All these languages display a basic SOV order.

In addition, SOV is also possible in North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic, in which some varieties have it as the basic order while others have it as a marked order.<sup>22</sup> Compare the following

<sup>21</sup> Several elements of this normalization are hypothetical, i.e., the (quasi-)logograms ú-íl, en and ì. The nominal base for “queen” is taken from the syllabic writing, although it may as well be a lexicalized representation, judging from its invariable spelling with *tum* regardless of case, see discussions by Catagnoti (2012, 7) and Krebernik (1996).

<sup>22</sup> For instance, among the many possible word orders in Jewish Urmi Neo-Aramaic, S(O)V is the normal order while other orders generally carry discourse functions (Khan 2008, 324–28). However, in Christian Urmi Neo-Aramaic, VO is the normal order while the OV order carries various discourse functions (Khan 2016b, 335–41), see more in §6.3.2.

sentences in Sargonic Akkadian (2a), Amharic (2b), Tigrinya (2c), Tigré (2d), Bukharan Arabic (2e), and Jewish Urmi Neo-Aramaic (2f):

(2) SOV order in Semitic

a. *ù sum<sub>6</sub>-ma si-mu-ur<sub>4</sub>-ri-ù<sup>KI</sup> a-ti da-ni-ís ŠE la i-ma-ḥa-ru...*

<i>u</i>	<i>summa</i>	<i>Simurri</i> ’-ū	<i>’ade</i>	<i>dannis</i>	<i>’u</i> ’-am	<i>lā</i>	<i>yi-maḥḥar-ū</i>
and	if	PN-PL.NOM	till	greatly	barley-ACC	NEG	3M-receive\IMPF-PL

‘And if the Simurrians do not receive any barley at all...’ (Hasselbach 2005, 175)

b. ወሻሻው ትልቁን በቅሎ ነከሰ

<i>wəšša</i> =w	<i>təlləq</i> =u=n	<i>bāqlo</i>	<i>nākkäs-ä</i>
dog=DEF	big=DEF=ACC	mule	bite\PERF-3MSG

‘The dog bit the big mule.’ (Leslau 2000, 43)

c. ሰሎሙን ክልተ ጽቡቕት ደቂ ወሊዳ.

<i>sālomun</i>	<i>kəl(ət)tä</i>	<i>ṣəbbuq-at</i>	<i>däqqi</i>	<i>wälid-u</i>
PN	two	beautiful-PL	children	beget\CVB <sup>23</sup> -3MSG

‘Solomon begot two beautiful children.’ (Amanuel 1998, 99)

d. *rabbi* ‘*üstär wämədər fäträ*

<i>räbbi</i>	<i>’üstär</i>	<i>wä=mədər</i>	<i>fätr-ä</i>
DN	heaven	and=earth	create\PERF-3MSG

‘God created heaven and earth.’ (Raz 1983, 94)

e. *fat ādami baqar-īn kom misúḳ nayim*

<i>fat</i>	<i>ādami</i>	<i>baqar-īn</i>	<i>kom=m-i-sūq=nāyim</i>
INDF	man	cattle-PL	PST=IND-3M-drive\IMPF=sleep\PTCP.3MSG

‘A man was grazing cattle.’ (Vinnikov 1969, 255; Versteegh 1986, 446)

f. +šultaná dastúr hwəlle<sup>l</sup>

<sup>23</sup> The glossing label CVB here refers to the verbal category commonly designated as “gerundive” (Tsfay 2002), which has acquired a finite status in the Tigrinya verbal system despite its cognate in Classical Ethiopic with a non-finite status. See more in §3.4.3. For more a broader discussion with a focus on Amharic, see Kapeliuk (1997).

+šultana <sup>24</sup>	dastur	hwəl-le
king	order	give\ PST-3MSG

‘The king gave an order.’ (Khan 2008, 327)

Admittedly, there are instances where statistically it is not easy to conclude that the VSO order as displayed in (1) is necessarily the *basic* (see §2.2.2 above) word order, such as the situation of Ugaritic,<sup>25</sup> as well as that of Syriac.<sup>26</sup> Recent debates arise regarding this particular issue for Biblical Hebrew, see, e.g., Holmstedt (2009), Moshavi (2010), and especially Holmstedt (2002, 134–45; 2011) with the claim that a real V-initial basic word order practically does not exist on the basis that the V-initial clauses with “*wāw* consecutivum” (the *w*-prefixed prefix conjugation Vs) should not be considered because they are modals—this will be addressed again in §6.3.1. In addition, although one might attribute the VSO order in Eblaite to the fact that it is an East Semitic language in contact with West Semitic, as what has been suggested for its lexicon (Krebernik 1996), it is more likely that it has preserved VSO due to lack of the extensive contact that Akkadian had with Sumerian.

However, the VS(O) pattern is found in virtually every branch of the family and they show great resemblance to each other. Even in Akkadian, among the pre-Sargonic personal

<sup>24</sup> In accordance with Jacobi’s (1973) practice using the superscript plus sign (+) to mark the Neo-Aramaic pharyngealization over an entire word, Khan has been using it uniformly in all his works on Neo-Aramaic with this feature. Because there are minimal pairs differentiated solely by this suprasegmental emphasis, although this diacritic is marking a suprasegmental feature, it is still preserved in the transcription line.

<sup>25</sup> See, e.g., the various word order patterns classified by Tropper (2012, 870–76), as well as the comment by Bordreuil and Pardee (2009, 66): “On the basis of present evidence, therefore, it is impossible to say that Ugaritic is a primarily VSO language (namely, if verb – subject – direct object was normative) though, as in Biblical Hebrew, this is certainly the case in subordinate clauses.”

<sup>26</sup> See Nöldeke (1898, 226–27): “Das Subj. steht im Verbal- wie im Nominalsatz bald vor, bald nach, bald werden seine Theile gar durch Theile des Präd. gesprengt oder umgekehrt,” as well as the list of varied patterns nicely summarized by Goldenberg (1983, 135).

names (Westenholz 1988, 110–17) structured as verbal clauses, the VS pattern is the norm, such as the name *Imlik-Il*, attested as *im-lik-il* in Abū Šalābīkh and as *im₄-lik-il* in Ebla (Archi 1981, 187):

(3) ***im-lik-il / im₄-lik-il***

<i>yi-mlik</i>	<i>il</i>
3MSG-counsel\PRET	DN

‘Il counseled.’

These personal names most likely reflect an archaic V-initial word order in the earlier stage of Akkadian. Considering the fact that all of the languages displaying SOV order are found in contact with non-Semitic languages, by the principle of comparative reconstruction, a VSO basic word order for verbal clauses should be arguably reconstructible as a feature of Proto-Semitic.<sup>27</sup> Thus, it appears that in all the SOV descendent languages, the V is shifted to the end of the clause.

### 2.3.3 SV(O)

It is also important to note that several<sup>28</sup> of the VSO languages cited above have SV(O) as a commonly attested alternative pattern. This fits Greenberg’s (1963a) *Universal 6*:

All languages with dominant VSO order have SVO as an alternative or as the only alternative basic order (Greenberg 1963a, 63).

SVO is important to Semitic languages not only synchronically but also diachronically, as Givón’s (1971, 413) motto states: “Today’s morphology is yesterday’s syntax.” His idea is constantly repeated in the studies of the historical implications of typology (Croft 2003, 79) and

<sup>27</sup> This is addressed with great caution by Brockelmann (1913, 170–71): “Daß der erstere Stil der ältere sei [footnote omitted], ließe sich nur dann mit einiger Sicherheit behaupten, wenn sich den drei anderen Gruppen bestimmte Stellungsgesetze der Sprachen ihrer Wirtsvölker nachweisen ließen.”

<sup>28</sup> For instance, Ugaritic, Sabaic, Syriac, Mehri, to name a few; discussions of SV(O) as an alternative word order are readily found in the sources from which the examples are taken.

in the studies of grammaticalization (Hopper and Traugott 2003, 148–49). Givón (1971) examines languages from several families including Semitic. He highlights the positions of subject and object affixes in Amharic and suggests that the positions of the affixes correspond to older syntactic positions of their pronominal sources. In fact, such a idea was already noted by Möller ([1911] 1970): in his attempt to compare Indo-European with Semitic, he hypothesizes that a major difference between the two families lies in “die sich festsetzende abweichende Wortstellung” where the suffixal derivations in Indo-European is believed to correspond to the prefixal derivations in Semitic, “da ist das Element in der gemeinsamen Grundsprache ein (wenn auch bereits pro- oder enklitisch gewordenes) selbständiges Wort gewesen” (Möller [1911] 1970, XV).

The Semitic prefix conjugation—with its prefix coding the person category—is discussed in detail by Hasselbach (2013, 168ff) and she correctly points out that considering the prefix conjugation in Semitic reflects an underlying SVO pattern, it can be reconstructed that “Semitic had SVO order, or SUBJ – PRED at the time the prefix conjugation developed” (Hasselbach 2013, 179).

#### **2.3.4 Proto SOV?**

It should be mentioned that there are indeed proposals to reconstruct SOV for Proto-Semitic, according to which the attested SOV order would be retentions in most of the descendant languages. This opinion is represented on the one hand by Givón (1976a; 1976b) and on the other hand by Haayer (1986) and Liebermann (1986).

Givón (1976a; 1976b) correctly emphasizes that the person-marking prefix in the Semitic prefix conjugation should reflect pronominal elements in the preverbal position, but it is unclear why he finds it incompatible with VSO. Since the prefix conjugation is reconstructible to Proto-

Semitic, as he himself advocates (Givón 1971, 413), such a morphological clue should imply the syntactic pattern—the preverbal S position—of the former stage (Pre-Proto-Semitic) rather than the current stage (Proto-Semitic). Givón also notes that the Semitic case marking is realized via *suffixes*, which—if grammaticalized from adpositions—should reflect original postpositions. He thus reasons that because postposition is the adposition pattern “consistent” (§2.2.2.2) with OV languages, the SOV order is the only possible way to explain the hypothesized postpositions that became the Semitic case endings. However, as with the prefix conjugation, the suffixed case morphemes are also reconstructible to Proto-Semitic, which means if they were indeed grammaticalized from postpositions, the OV order may be hypothesized for Pre-Proto-Semitic, but it does not guarantee the same OV later in Proto-Semitic. In addition, this argument based on consistency would not hold if the source for the Semitic case morphemes is not postpositions but other postposed adnominal elements. One could perhaps cite the hypothesis which is “repeatedly pointed out” and traces the Berber case-marking prefixes to “a previous system of definiteness marking (something like fossilized articles)” (Sasse 1984, 122).

As for Haayer (1986) and Liebermann (1986), both rely heavily on connecting the pre-stem verbal derivational affixes *\*s-*, *\*t-*, and *\*n-* to personal pronouns, e.g., the Akkadian reflex of the causative *\*s-* as in *u-š<sub>3</sub>apris* (3-cause\_to\_divide\PRET) and the personal pronoun *šū* (3MSG.NOM). However, the causative morpheme is possibly of an Afroasiatic origin and the *\*s-* in Cushitic seems to be more likely originated from a verb with the meaning ‘make, do’ (Hetzron 1980, 92–94). Such a development also follows the grammaticalization path DO (‘to do, to make’) > CAUSATIVE (Heine and Kuteva 2002, 117), well attested in the languages of the world. It is therefore very dubious whether the cognate *\*s-* in Semitic should be connected to its third person pronoun, which further casts doubts to Haayer’s (1986) and Liebermann’s (1986)

argument treating those pre-stem derivational affixes as reflecting original pronouns in a preverbal O position of the alleged original SOV order.

For the reasons stated above, the Proto-SOV hypothesis is considered unconvincing. Therefore, I follow the traditional opinion and assume an original VSO order for Proto-Semitic, which means that the attested SOV in the Semitic languages does belong to innovation rather than retention.

## **2.4 The contact linguistic framework**

### **2.4.1 Theories of language contact**

Foundational works of contact linguistics go back to as early as the nineteenth century.<sup>29</sup> At the end of the nineteenth century, several contact varieties<sup>30</sup> in the European colonies were labeled as “creole” by Hugo Schuchardt, whose student Ernst Windisch formulated “Windisch’s Law,” emphasizing the influence of the foreign language on the learner’s native language.<sup>31</sup> These pioneering studies were followed by early twentieth-century contributions on contact linguistic phenomena.<sup>32</sup> However, it was not until the seminal work of Weinreich ([1953] 1963) that the first systematic approach was formulated to study language contact. In his discussion of

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<sup>29</sup> The structural similarity resulted from contact between languages of the Balkans was addressed for the first time by Jernej Kopitar (Kopitar 1829). Changes in the Dutch varieties outside the Netherlands attracted the attention of Dirk Hesseling who studied Afrikaans in South Africa (Hesseling 1899) and Negerhollands in the Danish West Indies (Hesseling 1905).

<sup>30</sup> These include Portuguese (Schuchardt 1882; 1883a; 1883b; 1884c; 1888a; 1890), Spanish (Schuchardt 1884a), English (Schuchardt 1884b), and French (Schuchardt 1888b).

<sup>31</sup> In his discussion on the Latin-learning Gauls, Windisch (1897) states that “[n]icht die erlernte fremde Sprache, sondern die eigene Sprache eines Volkes wird unter dem Einfluss der fremden Sprache zur Mischsprache” (Windisch 1897, 104). See Butts (2016, 13–16) for a concise account of the legacy of Windisch’s Law; the issue of directionality is discussed in detail by von Weiss (1959).

<sup>32</sup> These include the study on language maintenance (Kloß 1927), the first descriptions of the pidgin Russenorsk (Broch 1927; 1930), and the study on codeswitching (Braun 1938).

“grammatical interference” and the “complex resistance” to it, he points out the shortcoming of the traditional approaches (Weinreich [1953] 1963, 44):

The conventional evidence does not enable us to analyze the components of such resistance—purely structural considerations (incompatibility of new forms with existing ones), psychological reasons (e.g., unwillingness to adopt for ordinary usage material transferred in affective speech), and socio-cultural factors (favorable or unfavorable prestige associations of the transferred or reproduced forms, etc.).

This combination of structural, psychological and socio-cultural considerations thus became the core standard for proposals of contact linguistic theories. Numerous publications on contact linguistics flourished during the 1990s and the 2000s,<sup>33</sup> stimulated by the important theory of Thomason and Kaufman (1988). While all addressing Weinreich’s ([1953] 1963) concerns, different theories unsurprisingly involve different terminologies for classifying contact phenomena and sometimes the same label is used differently.<sup>34</sup>

Among these theories, Thomason and Kaufman’s (1988) model and Van Coetsem’s (1988; 1995) model remain the most influential frameworks for investigations in contact settings. The bi-directionality—influences from both parties of languages in contact affecting each other—are captured differently. Thomason and Kaufman (1988) differentiate *borrowing*, “the incorporation of foreign elements into the speakers’ native language” (Thomason and Kaufman 1988, 21), from *interference via shift*, “interference that results from imperfect group learning during a process of language shift” (Thomason and Kaufman 1988, 38). Whereas Van Coetsem (1988) makes a distinction between *borrowing*, or *recipient language (RL) agentivity*, “the transfer of material (and this naturally includes structure) from the source language to the

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<sup>33</sup> See Hickey (2010) for a useful overview of the various scholarly contributions.

<sup>34</sup> See Hickey (2010, 18–20) for more discussion on some common terms that “are not always used with the same meanings by all authors.” The definitions for *borrowing* below would be an illustrating example.

recipient language” (Van Coetsem 1988, 3) and *imposition*, or *source language (SL) agentivity*, “the transfer of material from the source language to the recipient [sic] language” (ibid.). The definitions cited here reveal a relatively less presumptive description in the latter’s approach, whereas the former insists on the contrast between maintenance and shift, and the factor of language acquisition, i.e., “imperfect group learning,” is essential in instances of language shift.

Although both models recognize the importance of speakers as “the ultimate locus of contact” (Weinreich [1953] 1963, 6), the crucial strength of Van Coetsem’s model lies in the recognition of language agentivity. This assigns great importance to the *linguistic dominance* relationships of the languages rather than the *social dominance* relationship in Thomason and Kaufman’s model. In other words, “Van Coetsem (1988) uses a psycho-linguistic criterion while Thomason & Kaufman (1988) use a socio-cultural criterion” (Smits 1998, 381). Linguistic dominance has the advantage of capturing not only the imbalanced social situation but also the imbalanced individual situation, namely the competence of the bi-/multilingual speaker in the two (or even more) linguistic systems. Comparisons of the two models are abundant in the literature, see, e.g., Buccini (1992, 326–227) and most recently Stolberg (2015, 16–25) and Butts (2016, 16–24). I cite below Stolberg’s (2015, 22) table comparing the two models for further illustration:

*Table 1 Models of Thomason & Kaufmann and Van Coetsem in comparison*

<b>model</b>	<b>direction of transfer</b>	<b>transferred material</b>
<i>language spoken: L1</i>		
Thomason/Kaufman (1988)	L2 → L1: Borrowing (Language Maintenance)	lexical; with intense contact also structural
Van Coetsem (1988/1995)	Recipient L agentivity: Source L → <u>Recipient L</u> <sup>35</sup>	primarily less stable components (lexicon)

<sup>35</sup> The underline is the notation for the dominant member established by Van Coetsem (1995, 64). Stolberg (2015) only abbreviates “language” as L, however, as noted above, Van Coetsem consistently abbreviates “Source Language” as SL and “Recipient Language” as RL.

	(L2 → L1) Borrowing Transfer	
<i>language spoken: L2</i>		
Thomason/Kaufman (1988) Van Coetsem (1988/1995)	L1 → L2: Language Shift Source L agentivity: <u>Source L</u> → Recipient L (L1 → L2) Imposition Transfer	structural + phonological primarily more stable components (phonology, grammar)

From this useful overview covering the gist of both models, it appears the two theories look very similar. However, what led to such an impression is precisely the setup of this comparison: assuming either L1 or L2 is spoken—as conditioned in the “model” column—would imply either language maintenance or language shift has occurred, i.e., what is prescribed by Thomason and Kaufman’s (1988) model. In situations like Iowa Dutch described by Smits (1998, 382–83), where the bilingual speakers did *not shift* to their *linguistically dominant* English (L2) but *maintained* their ancestral Dutch (L1), the outcomes are easily handled by Van Coetsem’s model, but less so by Thomason and Kaufman’s model: the maintained but non-dominant Iowa Dutch fits into the Van Coetsem’s category of imposition, with correct predictions (Smits 1998, 383) based on his *stability gradient of language*, which echoes the long-recognized borrowing hierarchies.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>36</sup> The proposal goes back to Whitney (1881, 19–20); Meillet (1914, 410–11) also comments on how borrowing in the lexical domain is much easier than that in the phonological and morphological domains. Several similar remarks have been made following the discussions of the “scale of adoptability” by Haugen (1950, 224) and Weinreich ([1953] 1963, 35), such as Moravcsik (1978), Singh (1980), Comrie (1981, 202–3; 1989, 209–10), Muysken (1981), Thomason and Kaufman (1988, 74–75), Romaine (1989, 63), Wilkins (1996, 112–13) and Matras (2009, 153–65). An abridged version of Wilkins’ (1996, 114) summary chart is cited below:

	<b>Whitney</b>	<b>Haugen</b>	<b>Weinreich</b>	<b>Mysken</b>	<b>Singh</b>	<b>Thomason &amp; Kaufman</b>	<b>Romaine</b>
more easily	N	N	Unintegrated morphemes	N	N		Lexical items

It is also important to note that both models have received later modification. Van Coetsem (1997; 2000) follows Buccini (1992, 329) and recognizes a third category of transfer: *neutralization*, occurring with “*symmetrical bilinguals*” whose virtually equal proficiency obscures the linguistic dominance (Van Coetsem 1997, 359). In such situations, the stability factor would be non-operational but the *increased language consciousness* would be at work (Van Coetsem 1997, 360; 2000, 42–43). The factor of *selection* and *manipulation* as Buccini (1992, 329, 354) suggests may involve any structural domain. See Table 2 made from the first two of the “Additional Synthesizing Diagrams” in Van Coetsem (2000) illustrating the model with language A and language B:

Table 2 Synthesis table of Van Coetsem’s updated model

linguistic dominance	transfer	operation	transmission type	governing factor	transmission domain
A	A→B	SL agentivity	imposition	stability	more stable
	B→A	RL agentivity	borrowing		less stable
B	A→B		SL agentivity		imposition
	B→A				
A↔B		neutralization	free transfer	selection	any

transferred	Other parts of speech	V	Full-fledged words	Adj	Adj	Content words	
		Adj		V			
↑		Adv	Grammatical words	Prep	Prep	Functional words & derivational affixes	Derivational morphology
		Prep		Coordinating conjunction			
↓		Interjection	Highly integrated inflectional endings	Quantifier		Inflectional affixes & categories	Inflectional morphology
				Determiner		Agreement & morphophonemics	
less easily transferred	Suffixes			Free pronoun			
				Clitic pronouns			
	Inflection			Subordinating conjunctions			
	Sounds						Syntax

On the other hand, Thomason (2003) recognizes some issues with Thomason and Kaufman's (1988) model and proposes two revisions: (1) what is crucial sociolinguistically is not language shift but whether there is imperfect group acquisition; (2) unless the lexicons are identical, in borrowing, interference starts with non-basic vocabulary (Thomason 2003, 692). Therefore, instead of maintenance vs shift, the speakers' fluency in the languages is given more attention: *borrowing* refers to transfer into the fluently mastered language while *interference via shift* refers to transfer into the imperfectly-learned language. However, even after the revision, it appears Van Coetsem's model still captures the contact phenomena better when changes occur to the linguistic dominance of an individual, especially temporarily (Smits 1998, 385–86).

Butts (2016) concludes that Van Coetsem's model "with its basis on the variable of linguistic dominance, is a more robust typology of language contact" (Butts 2016, 23), with which I fully agree. In view of its advantages and considering the speakers of the languages involved in this study are currently or have most likely been historically bi-/multilinguals, Van Coetsem's model is chosen as the overall theoretical guidance for this study to investigate the contact situations and the word order shift.

#### 2.4.2 Congruence Effects

In the sense of a *compatible relationship* in which *operations* with equivalent elements would yield equivalent results, the "congruence" in algebra<sup>37</sup> is close to its linguistic use,<sup>38</sup> which

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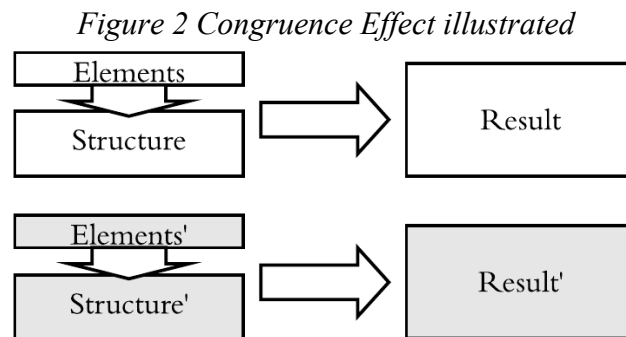
<sup>37</sup> See Freese and McKenzie (1987, 17–18): "A congruence of an algebra A is an equivalence relation on the universe of A that is induced by some homomorphism with domain A, i.e., two elements of A are related by the congruence if and only if they have the same image under the homomorphism."

<sup>38</sup> There is a general definition for "congruence," but it appears to be too vague to help with the discussion here: "A term used in linguistics to refer to a correspondence between the decisions made at one level of analysis (PHONOLOGY, GRAMMAR or SEMANTICS) and those made at another" (Crystal 2008, 100).

was first adopted by Krzeszowski (1967) for structural contrastive studies. *Congruence* is defined in connection with *equivalence*, i.e., the mutual translatability between constructions, by Krzeszowski (1971, 37–38):

Some of the equivalent constructions may consist of the same number of equivalent formatives arranged in the same order. Such constructions have been referred to as *congruent* and the relation obtaining between them has been referred to as *congruence*.

Krzeszowski (1967, 37) also notes that equivalent constructions are not necessarily congruent because of the lack of “formal” similarities. For this study, I follow this definition and emphasize that equivalent outputs occur as a result of equivalent input elements arranged in such equivalent constructions. Figure 2 below illustrates the equivalence/congruence via the identical shapes: equivalent results (Result ~ Result') are produced when the existing congruent structures (Structure ~ Structure') are loaded with equivalent input elements (Elements ~ Elements'):



The idea of *Congruence Effects* is not new in studies of language change and language contact. Sapir (1921, 214) emphasizes the “native drift” in his view on phonetic incorporation:

So long as its main phonetic concern is the preservation of its sound patterning, not of its sounds as such, there is really no reason why a language may not unconsciously assimilate foreign sounds that have succeeded in worming their way into its gamut of individual variations, provided always that these new variations (or reinforced old variations) are in the direction of the native drift.

The view that foreign structural elements enter a language on the basis of structural similarity, i.e., congruence, is more explicitly articulated by Jakobson (1938, 52):

Un changement de structure linguistique ne pourrait se produire dans un parler local s'il manquait une tendance collective identique vers ce changement.

For the purpose of this study, I would highlight the *tendency*<sup>39</sup> in Jakobson's statement. In other words, when foreign elements match the possible innovations fitting for the recipient linguistic system, they exert influence on the system (Vogt 1954, 372). Therefore, it is important to pay attention not only to the existing congruence but also to the congruent structural possibilities for innovation in the affected language. Weinreich ([1953] 1963, 25) recognizes Jakobson's position and goes into more details by noting that generally it is the "more explicit paradigm" that "serves as the model for imitation" (Weinreich [1953] 1963, 41), and argues that it is possible for all kinds of morphemes to transfer given the existence of certain favorable structural conditions, such as "a preëxisting similarity in patterns or the relatively unbound and invariant form of the morpheme" (Weinreich [1953] 1963, 44).

In accordance with the tradition outlined above, this study essentially adopts the position in the recent volume (Besters-Dilger et al. 2014) addressing the importance of the congruence effects in contact settings: "(perceived) structural resemblance favors contact-induced grammatical change irrespective of the genetic affiliation of the languages" (Besters-Dilger et al. 2014, 2).

### **2.4.3 Communication Accommodation**

*Communication Accommodation Theory* (CAT) evolved from *Speech Accommodation Theory* (SAT). SAT was originally developed (Giles et al. 1987) with a goal to understand who uses which language strategy, when and for what purposes (Giles and Coupland 1991, 105).

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<sup>39</sup> Another "tendency" is highlighted by Mühlhäusler (1980) who states from the point of view of creole studies that "borrowing occurs only if it is in agreement with the language-independent natural development tendencies" (Mühlhäusler 1980, 36), and that a pidgin has its own grammar determining what can or cannot be borrowed (Mühlhäusler 1980, 41).

CAT adopted its present name when the original speech-oriented SAT was expanded to include non-verbal and discursive dimensions of social interaction.

SAT was gradually enriched from Giles' (1973) attempt to explain what he termed "convergence,"<sup>40</sup> i.e., how one shifts his/her speech styles to resemble that of the interlocutor. Initially, Giles and Smith observe that speech styles are shifted to encourage further interaction and reduce the discrepancies perceived by the participants, and assumed that "in such situations, the speaker and the listener have shared a common set of interpretative procedures which allow the speaker's intentions to be (i) encoded by the speaker, and (ii) correctly interpreted by the listener" (Giles and Smith 1979, 46–47). Then, SAT was first modified to address non-accommodation in contexts such as intergroup communication and renamed CAT. The discussion in this study draws mainly from the core observations of CAT: the accommodative strategies.

In CAT, accommodative strategies are categorized as *convergence*, *divergence* and *maintenance*. These terms all refer to the adjustment of one's communicative behaviors in relationship to another's, namely, adjusting them to be more similar, more dissimilar, or sustaining the default. According to Dragojevic, Gasiorek, and Giles (2016), adjustments can be conceptualized differently, depending on: social value (adjusting upward/downward in variety prestige), degree (adjusting fully/partially), symmetry (adjustments being reciprocated or not),

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<sup>40</sup> Giles, Taylor, and Bourhis (1973, 180) equate "convergence" with "response matching," and Giles (1973, 90) describes "accent convergence" and "accent divergence" as the two directions of accent change of the sender (speaker) towards the receiver (listener). A clearer definition is given as "the processes whereby individuals shift their speech styles to become more like that of those with whom they are interacting" (Giles and Smith 1979, 46). Note that this is *not* the same as the concept of "convergence" used in Contact Linguistics: "A term used in SOCIOLINGUISTICS to refer to a process of dialect change in which the dialects become more like each other" (Crystal 2008, 113).

modality (adjusting single or multiple variables), and duration (short-/long-term adjustments). Furthermore, accommodation can be psychological (with motivations and intention of the speaker), subjective (individual's perception of the adjustments), or objective (observable or measurable adjustments). Motivations for accommodation can be affective (e.g., seeking approval from the interlocutors) or cognitive (e.g., desires to regulate comprehension). CAT assumes that interpersonal history, sociocultural norms, and intergroup relations prompt the initial adjustment, and people's stance to sustain the adjustments is dynamic depending on their personal/social identities and their perception of their interlocutors' motivations and behaviors (Dragojevic, Gasiorek, and Giles 2016, 51).

#### **2.4.4 Feature Pool**

The *Feature Pool* model was devised by Mufwene (2001) in the context of creole studies as part of a more general framework emphasizing the agentivity of population in language evolution.<sup>41</sup> Also invoking *linguistic ecology*—a concept already adopted by Voegelin, Voegelin, and Schutz (1967), Haugen (1971), and Mühlhäusler (1996)—for the social environment or socio-economic conditions for a language to be used,<sup>42</sup> Mufwene (2001) draws from “macroecology” in biology. He highlights both external and internal ecological factors in the evolution of species (Mufwene 2001, 153–62): for languages, ethnographical factors would be “external” while linguistic components and structural constraints would be “internal.”

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<sup>41</sup> For Mufwene (2001), “evolution” means “no more than the long-term changes undergone by a language (variety) over a period of time. They involve a succession of restructuring processes which produce more and more deviations from an earlier stage” (Mufwene 2001, 12).

<sup>42</sup> Voegelin, Voegelin, and Schutz (1967, 404ff) use “ecological” as a term to discuss of the socio-linguistic situations of bilingual or trilingual societies, in contrast to “ethnolinguistic” for monolingual societies. Haugen (1971, 19) defines “language ecology” as “the study of interactions between any given language and its environment.” Mühlhäusler (1996, 4–8) criticizes the term “given language” and warns that “the identification of languages and their subsequent naming ... can constitute a very serious trespass on the linguistic ecology of an area.”

Thus, the “Feature Pool” is step up as an “arena” in contact settings, with the horizontal level as the primarily level for language transmission (Mufwene 2001, 12) via competition-and-selection of features, i.e., “restructuring.” Speakers, as the medium for external ecologies, shape this process with combination of internal ecologies (Mufwene 2001, 194–95). Figure (3a) cited from Mufwene (2001, 4) demonstrates the basic mechanism for “koinéization”; Figure (3b) (Mufwene 2001, 6) shows the prevailing European languages in contact with other languages:

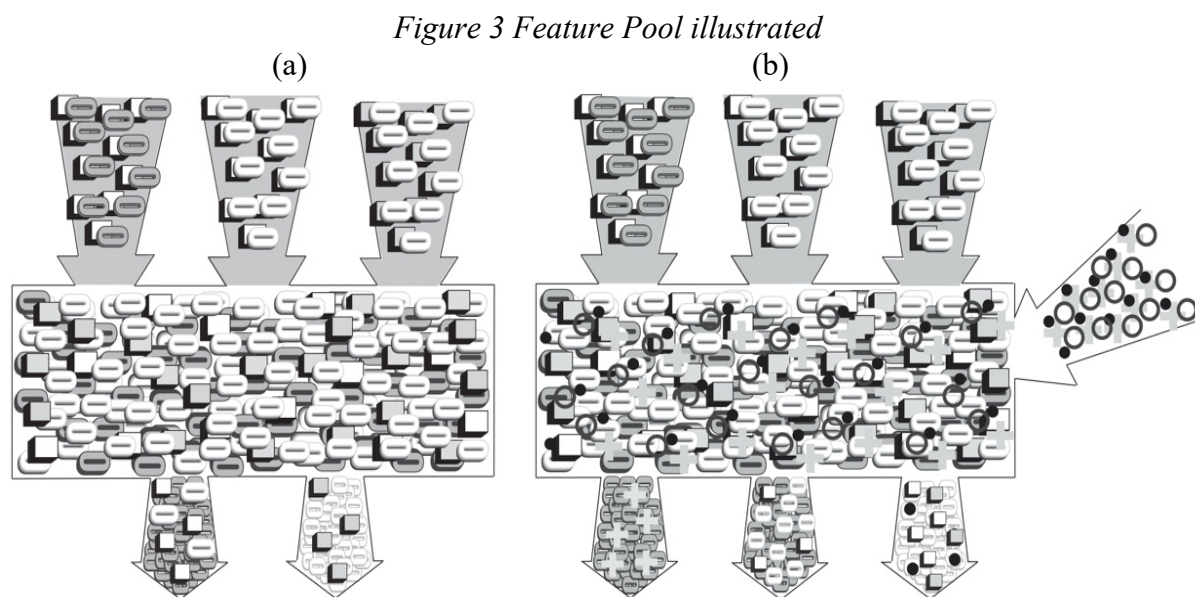


Figure (3a) depicts European languages brought by the colonists as three gray arrows in the upper tier. They jointly created the box in the middle tier, i.e., the feature pool—an arena where linguistic features of the same (or similar) functions come into competition and are eventually selected into the emergent system of the output of colonial varieties with different structures. There is no fixed input-to-output ratio for the number of varieties. Figure (3b) depicts the contact with other languages as a separate flow into the middle tier, where they also contribute to the feature pool. Features from the languages in contact can also be selected as part of the emergent variety. Crucially, the model emphasizes the internal ecology of those *historical non-standard* varieties serving as the input by the *Founder Principle*, which states that the

structural characteristics of the creoles are largely predetermined by the vernaculars of the populations founding the colonies (Mufwene 2001, 28–29).

The *Feature Pool* model offers a unified overall mechanism for languages in contact. The competition-and-selection view is proved useful (Aboh and Ansaldo 2006; Aboh 2009), whereas criticisms of the model—such as Plag (2011; 2013) and McWhorter (2012)—appear not so convincing (Mufwene 2014) and are generally from adherents of “creole exceptionalism,” the belief that creole languages constitute a phylogenetically or typologically exceptional class. Such a stance of creole exceptionalism is also reflected in Thomason and Kaufman (1988) theory,<sup>43</sup> and it is warned against by Givón (1979b) and strongly argued against by Mufwene (2000) and DeGraff (2003; 2004; 2005).

After outlining the two theories above, it should be noted that long-/short-term accommodation from CAT has already been invoked for dialect contact (Trudgill 1981; 1986). Mufwene (2001) also notes the importance of speaker *accommodation* in competition-and-selection: “[t]he mutual accommodations that speakers make to each other and their nonidentical creative innovations set in motion constant competition-and-selection processes that bring about changes of all kinds” (Mufwene 2001, 12). Thomason (2003) even includes “negotiation” as one of the “mechanisms of interference” which is equated with “mechanisms of contact-induced change” (Thomason 2003, 694). She illustrates “negotiation” with the example of bilingual Kadiwéu speakers choosing SVO out of six possible Kadiwéu word orders when translating sentences from Portuguese (Thomason 2003, 700). Therefore, it is believed a combination of

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<sup>43</sup> See, e.g., their claim that creole languages “resulted from a sharp break in transmission,” and that “all early-creolized creoles also have a nongenetic origin” because “the European languages were not acquired as whole languages by the slave populations” (Thomason and Kaufman 1988, 152).

these two theories will offer useful insights for the present study in analyzing the contact-induced word order shifts.

## 2.5 The present study

This study aims at studying the contact-induced word order changes in two groups of Semitic languages that greatly deviates from the classical Semitic main constituent word order, namely Ethiopian Semitic and Central Asian Arabic. Bearing in mind that both groups of languages are situated in contact area, this study will invoke and rely on the contact linguistic theories outlined above in the discussions of §5.4 and §6.4.

The typological proposal based on Ethiopian Semitic (C. Lehmann 2011) faces issues when the word order situation of Old Amharic<sup>44</sup> is considered: it appears that in Old Amharic, many word order changes are taking place without a straightforward order (see more discussion in §3.5 below). Moreover, the crucial descriptive data available which the typological investigation can be based on is at best incomplete. This is the case not only for Ethiopian Semitic, but also for Central Asian Arabic (see §3.5 and §4.2 below). Therefore, this study aims at creating parsed corpora of texts in the languages in question so that word order distributions can be statistically observed. A number of texts<sup>45</sup> in Classical Ethiopic and Bukharan Arabic<sup>46</sup> are selected together with one in Old Amharic for morphological analyses in the software *FieldWorks* developed by SIL International. In this sense, the nature of this study is descriptive and data-driven. Considering the traditional philological emphasis and the relatively low

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<sup>44</sup> The designation “Old Amharic” is used here in accordance with Girma (2014, 3) to refer to written attestations of pre-18<sup>th</sup> century Amharic. See more in §3.5.

<sup>45</sup> See below in Chapter 3 and Chapter 4 for introductions to the selected texts.

<sup>46</sup> The designation “Bukharan Arabic” is adopted to refer to the vernacular Arabic of the Arab population in Bukhara. See more in §4.2.2.

linguistic accessibility of older Semitic text editions,<sup>47</sup> it is hoped that this study could contribute and lay the foundation for further studies.

In addition, even though “there is no systematic investigation of what the grammatical structure actually is of the sentences and phrases of languages whose ordering is claimed to be driven by discourse [i.e., information structure] alone” (Hawkins 1994, 112), it seems factors of information structure could have led to the formation of variant word orders. The existing mechanisms in Semitic (i.e., constituent fronting) related to information structure is alluded to in connection to the situation of Sinitic languages in East Asia. Details are presented in §5.3; in a nutshell, we observe that among the “topic-prominent” (C. N. Li and Thompson 1976b) Sinitic languages, some VO varieties can display very strong O-fronting tendencies. In special historical circumstances, even OV pidgins were formed. However, the VO characteristic has been stable in the history of Chinese, together with many typologically disharmonic word order parameters such as RC-N. The change to OV only took place in certain varieties with ecologies that called for and sustained such a feature selection.

## **2.6 Conclusion**

In this chapter, I have detailed the overall background of this study. Starting from different linguistic approaches to word order, I moved on to present the basic facts of main constituent word order in the Semitic language family, hypothesizing an original VSO order. Then, for the purpose of analyzing the word order shifts in contact settings, I explained why Van

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<sup>47</sup> In the case of Classical Ethiopic, text editions are generally presented in the Ethiopic script and translation with no transliterations or parsing; in the case of Central Asian Arabic, text editions are generally presented in Latin transcriptions and Russian (or Georgian) translations with no parsing.

Coetsem's model is selected and mentioned three additional theories, namely *Congruence Effects*, *Communication Accommodation* and *Feature Pool*, which in combination with each other will be useful for the discussions in later chapters. This study is a corpus-based data-driven investigation in the word order situations in older Ethiopian Semitic and representative Central Asian Arabic, aiming at a descriptive account and a deeper understanding of their word order changes with the help of the above-mentioned theories.

## CHAPTER 3 ETHIOPIAN SEMITIC

### 3.1 Overview

This chapter investigates the main constituent word order of Ethiopian Semitic, specifically Classical Ethiopic and Old Amharic, in corpora settings. First, I present an overview of relevant previous studies of Ethiopian Semitic word order, which has been studied using various linguistic approaches. A general consensus seems to be that Modern Ethiopian Semitic languages shifted their main constituent word order from V(S)O to (S)OV and the OV patterns are considered borrowed from Cushitic. However, word order variations reflected by different native judgements show a certain degree of flexibility even in Modern Amharic. Then, I discuss the word order situation in Cushitic, the presumed word order “donor” for Ethiopian Semitic. The seemingly uniform V-final Cushitic, when examined in detail, presents a complex picture and word order shifts may have taken place in the history of the Cushitic family as well. After that, I present the corpora, from corpus building to statistics and results analysis, for Classical Ethiopic and subsequently for Old Amharic. A survey of previous studies and a summary of main features of Old Amharic are also included. Finally, I conclude this chapter with a brief discussion.

### 3.2 Ethiopian Semitic and previous studies of its word order

#### 3.2.1 A note on terminology

The designations “Ethiopian Semitic” and “Ethio-Semitic” (or “Ethiosemitic”) are used virtually interchangeably in the literature, see e.g., Huehnergard and Pat-El (2019). Even if the

coinage of the latter nomenclature was originally an attempt to avoid the political complications between the states of Ethiopia and Eritrea, I fail to see the merit of shortening the adjective to a (hyphenated) prefix: neither “Ethio-Semitic” nor “Ethiosemitic” contains any element for Eritrea and the prefix would still be intuitively perceived as “Ethiopian.”

Similar contentions can also be found for the geographical designation “Ethiopian Highlands,” and similar critiques on “Ethiopian Studies” as the discipline name are also found (Gebre-Medhin 1989). However, the element “Ethiopian” in these terms is clearly rooted in the historical designation for the region, namely “the cultural-geographic ‘Orbis Aethiopicus’... approximating the Horn of Africa” (Uhlig 2003, v), rather than the modern polity of Ethiopia. More importantly, it appears to be more conventional in linguistic classification to hyphenate parallel languages or language groups,<sup>1</sup> e.g., Serbo-Croatian, Indo-Iranian, and Sino-Tibetan, except for certain instances where some authors decide to use hyphenation for the “mixed” varieties, e.g., Hurro-Akkadian and Canaano-Akkadian. Because I do not see a parallel relationship between “Ethiopian” and “Semitic,” nor do I intend to suggest they are “mixed” varieties of Semitic, I opt to use “Ethiopian Semitic” to refer to this branch of Semitic languages in *Orbis Aethiopicus*. The same nuance applies to other terms in this study: “*Ethiopian* language area,” “*Ethiopian* literature,” etc.

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<sup>1</sup> This is also why the term “Afroasiatic” proposed by Greenberg (1950, 57) to replace “Hamito-Semitic” is better *not* hyphenated as “Afro-Asiatic.” Although it is admittedly less problematic than “Ethio-Semitic” since the geographic areas can be considered as in parallel and perhaps it may be compared to “Indo-European” (Gragg 2019, 22), we should not forget “Hamito-”/“Hamitic” is dismissed precisely because it suggests a linguistic unit in contrast to Semitic. Despite the existence of as many as twenty-seven proposed tree models for Afroasiatic (Peust 2012), there is no subgrouping model suggesting an “African Afroasiatic” unit in contrast to an “Asian Afroasiatic” one.

Unlike in a number of Leslau's works,<sup>2</sup> the term "Ethiopic" is reserved as an appellation for both "Classical Ethiopic"—attested in the manuscripts, i.e., "Gə'əz," as equated by Lambdin (1978)—and "Axumite Ethiopic"—attested in the inscriptions which shows some difference from its later classical descendant.

### 3.2.2 Studies of the Ethiopian Language Area and Ethiopian Semitic word order

#### 3.2.2.1 The Ethiopian Language Area

As introduced in §2.3, with the exception of Classical Ethiopic, Ethiopian Semitic is one of the major groups in the Semitic family which has shifted the VSO order to SOV. In general, it is assumed that V-initial Semitic adopted the V-final orders from Cushitic, the major language family that Semitic has been in contact with in the Horn of Africa. This contact zone, which is sometimes designated as the "Ethiopian Language Area," is also a general context for previous studies on Ethiopian Semitic word order.

Although the establishment of this language area is traditionally attributed to Ferguson (1970; 1976), M. L. Bender should be acknowledged<sup>3</sup> for advocating the idea and assembling the areal features, including eight phonological features (Bender 2003, 31):

- (1) /f/ but no /p/ in the phonemic inventory;
- (2) palatal consonants in phonemic inventory and palatalization as a process;
- (3) ejectives in phonemic inventory;
- (4) occurrence of implosive /~/;<sup>4</sup>
- (5) occurrence of pharyngeal spirants /h, i/;<sup>5</sup>
- (6) gemination of consonants

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<sup>2</sup> See Goldenberg (1992, 79): "Leslau refrains from using the term 'Ethiopic' as the name of the language; [footnote omitted] it is for him just the common appellation of the Ethiopian Semitic language-group. Leslau is largely responsible for destroying the differentiation, widely accepted in English, between 'Ethiopic' and 'Ethiopian'."

<sup>3</sup> Bender's "input in to Ferguson's 1976 article was quite extensive, almost to the level of co-authorship." (Bender 2003, 40). Bender (2003, 39–40) also mentions that his paper at the "1998 Canberra Workshop on genetic and areal linguistics" went unnoticed by Tosco who discussed the same topic at a 1999 Canberra meeting and that his 1998 paper ended up omitted from the proceedings whereas Tosco's paper published later (Tosco 2000b) "can be seen as replacing [his]."

<sup>4</sup> The "/~/" here is a misprint for "/d'/" likely due to font errors, cf. Ferguson (1976, 67).

<sup>5</sup> The "/h, i/" here is a misprint for "/ħ, ʕ/" likely due to font errors, cf. Ferguson (ibid.).

in phonemic inventory and as a process; (7) one or more non-low central vowels /t, a/;<sup>6</sup>  
(8) “helping vowel” breaks up CCC clusters;

and eighteen grammatical features (*ibid.*):

(1) SOV order; (2) subordinate clauses precede; (3) converb used in subordinate clauses; (4) postpositions; (5) “quoting clauses”; (6) compound verbs formed with auxiliary ‘say’; (7) suppletive negative copula; (8) nominal singular used with numerals; (9) possessive suffixes; (10) gender distinctions in second- and third-persons (usually sg. only) of pronouns and verbs; (11) prefix tense; (12) root and pattern in verb formation; (13) duplicated intensives; (14) broken plurals; (15) dichotomy of tenses in main/subordinate clauses; (16) some plurals have fem. sg. concord; (17) irregular imperative of verb ‘come’; (18) noun singulative marker.

In addition, prior to Ferguson, Greenberg has explicitly pointed out that there is a linguistic area in “Ethiopia and the various Somalilands” (Greenberg 1959, 24). Against the optimism of Ferguson and Bender, Zaborski (1991) is the first to question the majority of proposed features for the “Ethiopian Language Area,” arguing that they<sup>7</sup> are inherited from either Semitic or Afroasiatic while proposing to establish six subareas<sup>8</sup> instead (Zaborski 1991; 2003a). Tosco initially discusses the areal problems within the Ethiopian area (Tosco 1994a; 1996), but later rejects most of the features proposed by Ferguson and Bender (Tosco 2000b), arguing that the Ethiopian area does not constitute a language area as a whole although it is possible for smaller

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<sup>6</sup> The “/t, a/” here is a misprint for “/i, ε/” likely due to font errors, cf. Ferguson (1976, 68).

<sup>7</sup> Zaborski (1991, 124) names twelve out of Ferguson’s (1976, 72–74) eighteen grammatical features: “G7. Negative copula,” “G8. Singular with numbers,” “G9. Possessive suffixes,” “G10. Person-gender pattern,” “G11. Prefix tense,” “G12. Root and pattern,” “G13. Reduplicated intensives,” “G14. Broken plurals,” “G15. Independent and subordinate present,” “G16. Plural-feminine singular concord,” “G17. Imperative of ‘come,’” “G18. Singulative.” Tosco (2000b, 341) also stresses this.

<sup>8</sup> Zaborski (1991) first lists five proposed subareas: “1. Eritrean,” “2. Central,” “3. Southwest” (further included into “a. Northern Omo,” “b. Southern Omo,” “c. Sagan,” and “d. Maji”), “5. Western Peripheral,” and “6. Eastern Peripheral” (Zaborski 1991, 125–26) and then another “intermediate” subarea “Gurage-Sidamo” is added, linking the Southwestern and the Eastern subareas (Zaborski 1991, 127). In his discussion on the broader “North East African Language Macro-Area” incorporating the Ethiopian Language Area, the “Central” and “Gurage-Sidamo” subareas are renamed “Central Ethiopian” and “Gurage-Highland East Cushitic-Yemsa, Welamo etc.” respectively, and three more are proposed in addition to those six subareas, i.e., “Sudano-Eritrean,” “Kenyan,” and “Tanzaniyan” (Zaborski 2003a, 64).

areas to be defined. Recently, Tosco (2008) follows Zaborski's (1991) subarea approach and recognizes the "Northern Eritrean Language Area," but his theoretical stance that "language areas should not be overlapping" (Tosco 2008, 115) is disputed by Zaborski (2010, 31).

### 3.2.2.2 Descriptive analyses of Ethiopian Semitic word order

The earliest extensive descriptions and studies of Ethiopian Semitic were generally on Classical Ethiopic and Amharic; studies on Tigrinya and Tigré only started as the texts increased at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. In sharp contrast to the "normal" situation in Classical Ethiopic, the V-final feature of Amharic never missed the attention of 19<sup>th</sup>-century scholars in their descriptive works. The fact that "[t]he reigning Verb should be always at the end of the sentence, whether the object be simple, or complex, or compound" (Isenberg 1842, 178) is said to create a Turkish appearance (Rödiger 1842, 110) as if a Turk is attempting to translate into Semitic while retaining the Turkish word order (Praetorius 1879, 3)—apparently Turkish was the best known V-final language among the early Orientalists. Studies comparing Amharic with the Turkic languages reoccur in the 20<sup>th</sup> century: Polotsky (1960) compares Amharic with Turkish, briefly mentioning the word order correspondence (1960, 118) and gerundive/converb from the verb "say" (Amharic *bəlo* vs Turkish *diye*), but focuses on comparing the relative constructions in the two languages; Kapeliuk (1982) considers Amharic features—widespread subordinate predication<sup>9</sup> and adverbial use of "say" in a subordinate form—as characteristic of "langues «subordonnantes»" such as Neo-Ethiopian or Turkish; Kapeliuk (1990, 2377) comments that the two languages have "nearly identical" word order but the main focus is to expand Polotsky's (1960) discussion of the grammaticalized usages of "saying" rather than word order.

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<sup>9</sup> What Kapeliuk (1982, XI) discusses are the various structures with the "copule," but instead of the Amharic copula *nāw*, her "copule" refers to the copulative verb "be" in its various forms: *yä=hon-ä REL=be\PERF-3MSG*, *hon-o be\CVB-3MSG*, etc.

Reports and studies on several Cushitic languages (Afar, Saho, Somali, Oromo, and Beja) gradually grew in number around the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Detailed works by Leo Reinisch enabled Praetorius' earliest attempts to identify the "Hamitic" influence on Ethiopian Semitic (Praetorius 1889; 1893), in which morphemes like the abstract formative *-na* and vocative *-o*, and several lexical items are discussed. Tracing the development of the studies on Cushitic languages, Praetorius (1894) correctly classifies those languages as belonging to the same family (i.e., Cushitic), which is related to Semitic but is not a branch of Semitic. Noting that the strong Semitic influence on Cushitic is long recognized, he cautiously comments that it is "durchaus nicht immer leicht zu sagen, ob eine dem Äthiopisch-Amharischen und dem Kuschitischen gemeinsame Eigentümlichkeit semitischen oder kuschitischen Ursprungs ist" (Praetorius 1894, 321) and that the situation is more difficult than he has previously (Praetorius 1889) assumed. Apart from highlighting the bi-directional lexical influence, Praetorius (1894) also discusses the divergent Cushitic syntax, especially the differences in the positions of the NP modifiers—some such as Beja, Afar, and Saho have prenominal modifiers while others such as Oromo and Somali have postnominal modifiers (Praetorius 1894, 334–36). Hypothesizing a Cushitic internal word order change, he considers the syntax of Amharic, Tigré and Tigrinya was cushiticized while that of Oromo and Somali was semiticized (Praetorius 1894, 337). Among the Cushitic languages, Agaw is considered to be responsible for the cushiticization largely due to fact that the word order features in the other Cushitic languages do not match that in Ethiopian Semitic (see §3.3.1 for more details).

Conti Rossini (1912) questions the direct contact of Ethiopian Semitic with Agaw because it is difficult to explain the merger \*ʿ, \*ǵ > ʿ in Ethiopian Semitic due to the existence of the phoneme ǵ in Agaw (Conti Rossini 1912, 39). Therefore, he hypothesizes that the Eritrean

Highlands where the contact started were formerly occupied by the Kunama or the Nara<sup>10</sup> peoples (ibid.) living mostly in today's Eritrea whose languages are classified as Nilo-Saharan. Cohen (1931) assigns substratum Cushitic languages to major Ethiopian Semitic languages, essentially reflecting modern geographical vicinity: Beja for Tigré, Agaw for Gə'əz-Tigrinya and Amharic, and Sidamo for Gurage (Cohen 1931, 44–45). Perhaps also due to the mismatch of the modifier orders—Oromo has postnominal modifiers whereas Harari has prenominal modifiers, although Harari is currently surrounded by Oromo, it is hypothesized that it must have been in contact with Sidamo and Somali (Cohen 1931, 45).

Leslau (1945) offers the first attempt to catalog the Cushitic influences on Ethiopian Semitic. With a given phenomenon's "presence or absence in the other Semitic languages" (Leslau 1945, 61) as the general criterion, he lists a number of features in phonology, morphology, syntax, and vocabulary. The syntax section (Leslau 1945, 73–78) is almost entirely on word order features: V-final, COP-final, V-V<sub>AUX</sub>, subordinate-main, relative positions of N and Adj, N and RC, and N and Gen. It is important to note that Leslau (1945) very carefully addresses the variations of these features both within Ethiopian Semitic and within Cushitic.<sup>11</sup> For instance, regarding the position of the relative clause, he notes that: (1) both RC-N and N-RC orders are possible for Gə'əz, Tigré and Harari, while the other Ethiopian Semitic languages have the RC-N order; (2) normally the RC-N order is found in Cushitic languages like "Ometo"<sup>12</sup> and "Irob-Saho" while both RC-N and N-RC orders are equally possible in Sidamo;

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<sup>10</sup> Conti Rossini (1912, 39) uses "les Baria," the alternative designation for the Nara people.

<sup>11</sup> Leslau's (1945) "Cushitic" also included languages of the Omotic family, which was not yet separated from Cushitic in Afroasiatic classification at that time. See the footnote below.

<sup>12</sup> Ometo was originally classified as a subgroup of one branch of Cushitic, namely "Occidental Cushitic" (Moreno 1938, 54; Leslau 1945, 61) or "Western Cushitic" (Greenberg 1963b, 49). This former Cushitic branch is now more commonly accepted as the Omotic family, a sister

(3) although the other Semitic languages show N-RC, Soqotri allows both N-RC and RC-N (Leslau 1945, 76). This is in sharp contrast to later studies with simplistic views like Thomason (2001),<sup>13</sup> whose subchapter on the Ethiopian Language Area is criticized by Zaborski (2003b) as “either wrong or very imprecise.”

Moreno (1948; 1949) focuses on the indirect influence of Cushitic on Ethiopian Semitic and restrains the discussion to a few morphological elements, but in his concluding remarks towards a contact linguistic generalization, syntax is also taken into account. With the belief that language contact presumes bilingualism—“un ambiente bilingue è condizione necessaria all'azione d'una lingua sull'altra” (Moreno 1949, 129)—Moreno notes the Cushitic substrate has a sensible morphological influence on Ethiopian Semitic and has revolutionized the syntax of the latter. Therefore, in such a contact situation, there should also be the law of number (“legge materiale del numero”) operating with the law of prestige (“legge morale del prestigio”): the prestigious minority population impose their language while the majority population deform the language by virtue of being numerous (Moreno 1949, 130). Such a statement creates a strong claim for a sociolinguistic reconstruction which is not easily proven with the available evidence.

Echoing the observations made by Cohen (1936, 347–51; 1939, 343–47) regarding the deviations from the standard word order in Amharic, Kapeliuk’s (1968) dissertation on the conversational language in Modern Amharic literature devotes four sections (§80-83) to

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family of Cushitic in the Afroasiatic phylum (Bender 1971, 168ff; 1975; Fleming 1974; 1976). For a different stance, see Zaborski (2004).

<sup>13</sup> The modifier word order variations in Ethiopian Semitic as noted by Leslau (1945) are indeed mentioned by Thomason and Kaufman (1988, 131). However, when discussing features of the “Ethiopian language area” (§3.2.2.1), Thomason (2001, 113) makes a simplistic statement: “the Ethiopian area arose primarily through *imperfect learning, during a process of group language shift from Cushitic to Semitic ...* for the features listed here, judging by what we know now, the process of spread was *uniform and unidirectional* [emphasis added].”

“modifications in word order,” specifically the elements occurring after the verb which should by definition end a clause. These post-verbal elements include: nouns, pronouns, adverbs of time, “words of reference,”<sup>14</sup> and subordinate verbs. In general, deviations appear when the element in question is given more prominence, with movement of the main clause frontwards or the other elements backwards. Kapeliuk reports a comment by her informant that such word order deviations are possible only “in spoken Amharic as spoken in the street” and that “he feels it wrong even though he does it himself”<sup>15</sup> (Kapeliuk 1968, 268). Cohen (1936; 1939) calls such deviations “inversions” and seems inclined to attribute them to Gə‘əz influence from Gospel translations<sup>16</sup> which “paraissent souvent incorrectes, en regard de la norme,” however, it is also noted that those translations have been received and revised by some Ethiopians and that some of the “fautes” are also found in the original non-translated chronicles (Cohen 1939, 343–44). The comment by Kapeliuk’s (1968) informant shows the existence of a certain native standard for “good Amharic” which differs from the vernacular containing deviations or “inversions.” In relation to this study, it should be expected that scribes would also opt for the “good Amharic” to write down the sacred texts. Therefore, the value of old religious texts should not be hastily dismissed (see §3.5.2).

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<sup>14</sup> This translation is provided in the English version of the table of contents for “מילת התייחסות” which does not seem to be a commonly used Hebrew grammatical term (Glinert 2016, xxii–xxiii). Among Glinert’s list, the closest is “מלת־יחס” *preposition*. Kapeliuk (1968) exemplifies “מילת התייחסות” with sentences ending in *’angədiyass* “then, so then” and *’angədeh* “therefore, for that reason, now (thus), so, in any case,” which are classified by Leslau (1995, 858–59) as “derived adverbs.”

<sup>15</sup> "לדברי האינפורמנט שלי שינוי בסדר המילים אפשרי: "רק באמהארית מדוברת ממש, כמו שמדברים ברחוב." הוא עצמו נוהג כך אך הוא "מרגיש שזה לא בסדר" (יש לציין שזו הפעם היחידה שהוא השתמש בניסוח פוריסטי מעין זה).

<sup>16</sup> See also Cohen’s (1936, 4) criticism on Praetorius (1879): “Certains textes cités (traductions religieuses) ne sont pas du bon amharique.”

Taddese's (1973) dissertation focuses on the verb in Amharic and devotes one chapter to focus and topic in which an overview of Amharic word order is provided. The dominant constituent orders of verbal clauses are SOV and SV, but Taddese (1973, 179) provides native judgement that alternative orders are also grammatical, including: SVO, OSV, OVS, VSO, and VOS in transitive clauses, and even some VS in intransitive clauses. Similarly grammatical are all six orders for copulative/equational clauses (Taddese 1973, 185), but the copula *näw* is ungrammatical in S-COP-LOC, COP-S-LOC, and LOC-S-COP orders, unlike the copulative verb *allä* which follows the grammaticality of verbal clauses (Taddese 1973, 187–88). Focusing is realized with the cleft structure involving the copula *näw* and the relative clause (Taddese 1973, 194ff) and topicalization is found with constituent at the sentence initial position (Taddese 1973, 206). In addition, Getatchew (1971, 107) also briefly mentions the word order change in Amharic from V-initial to V-final and notes that “the untopicalized object and prepositional phrases seem to have an equal ‘second class’ level compared to the subject and the verb.”

### 3.2.2.3 Analyses in transformational-generative approaches

Bach (1970) raises questions regarding Amharic word order with respect to transformational grammar. Applying Ross' (1970) gapping theory—languages with different word orders allow different deletion patterns for the redundant verb in coordinated clauses that share the same verb—Bach (1970) argues that the deep structure of Amharic is not SOV but SVO (or VSO). According to him, the merit of a non-V-final grammar lies in the small number and low level of complexity of transformations. Thus, the *yä*- genitive structure (‘my house’) is considered a reduced *yä*- RC structure with deletion of the identical head noun and the copulative verb:

- (4) *yäne bet* ‘my house’



according to both Hudson (1972, 137) and Little (1974a, 33). Interestingly though, gapping in Amharic was recently discussed again (Metzing and Saba 2009) with grammaticality statements for its different patterns,<sup>18</sup> which poses the question regarding the role of native judgements used for or against certain theories (see the studies above and below). As for Bach's (1970) issue with *yä-* attachment, Hudson (1972) considers *yä-* as belonging to the "preposition" category and finds it appropriate to collapse the two rules into one "Prep-shift" rule: # X-Prep # → # Prep-X # (Hudson 1972, 152). Furthermore, he stipulates that the Prep-attachment rule should be applied cyclically before the "last-cyclic rule of Prep-shift" (Hudson 1972, 154–58). Unlike Bach who speculates a Cushitic source for the addition of the "verb-shift" rule (Bach 1970, 19), Hudson believes "[t]he ultimate concern of linguistic description is the psychological reality of a grammar rather than the form which directly reflects historical developments" (Hudson 1972, 150).

Both Bach's (1970) and Hudson's (1972) proposals stipulate transformation rules to obtain elegance of an outdated aspect of the theory. In the generative framework, "transformation" has long been submerged in the feature-based movement. If one follows Kayne's (1994) LCA (§2.2.1), then the Universal Order, i.e., Spec-H-Comp, would eliminate this debate regarding variations of word order in the "deep structure." In addition, Spec-H-Comp

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<sup>18</sup> See Metzing and Saba (2009, 287): "There is evidence that the following gapping patterns exist in Amharic: SO & SOV, SOV & SO, OS & OSV, OSV & OS, and are excluded [*sic*]: \*SO & OSV, \*SOV & OS; however, some non-parallel constructions are apparently possible: OSV & SO (if object – first or second one or both- is definite, i.e., known in context) and equally: SOV & OV (if V expresses a sequence of actions) and SOV & SV... As to Amharic, backward ellipsis in non-parallel constructions seems to be excluded." But importantly, the phenomenon that "the verb tends be plural marked when located at the end (coordination agreement)" (ibid.) is only noted but not involved in the discussion.

corresponds to an SVO order, which is in fact closer to Bach's (1970) VSO order than Hudson's (1972) SOV order.

Little's (1974a) dissertation is a case study on historical syntax methodology with Amharic selected as the research subject, which makes it a pioneering study of Amharic historical syntax. Little (1974a) discusses descriptions and linguistic studies of Amharic involving syntax prior to the 1970s and evaluates the major approaches to historical syntax. The comparative approach is considered unsuitable due to the shortcomings in the cognate data—modern Ethiopian Semitic languages share too many similar syntactic features whereas Gə'əz is often too flexible. The generative approach at that time focused on the difference between surface structure and deep structure and the transformational rules accounting for the surface structure (see comments above). Remarkably, Little (1974a, 49) is fully aware of the rapid development of the theory: her insight that “a universal base or an unordered base component would practically eliminate the usefulness of such an approach” presciently anticipates Kayne's (1994) Universal Order outlined in §2.2.1. Givón's (1971) synchronic morphological approach (§2.3.3) and Lehmann's word order correlation approach (§2.2.2.2) are given more attention, and the latter serves as the guiding checklist for the analysis of Amharic data. Both diachronic (see more discussion in §3.5.2) and synchronic word order phenomena are investigated to ascertain the change from VO patterns to OV patterns via support from Lehmann's principles. Then other approaches are examined against the Amharic data. Lakoff's drift approach and Vennemann's case marking loss approach (§2.2.2.3) both fail to account for the word order change in Amharic, which is considered to imply a non-internally motivated change (Little 1974a, 107).

### 3.2.2.4 Analyses in typological approaches

Little (1974b) further applies Lehmann’s (1972a; 1973) implications of typological harmony (see §2.2.2) to Amharic. She expands Bach’s (1970) study by comparing the VSO with the SOV hypotheses for other constructions affected by the deep order, including cleft sentences, “stacked” relatives, subordinate clauses, and gapping.<sup>19</sup> It is argued that whether the deep order is VO or OV is not significant except for the position of subordinate and relative clauses, both in harmony with the OV typology, which poses questions for Bach’s (1970) “analysis of Amharic as a practicing VSO language” (Little 1974b, 272). Furthermore, the grammaticality judgement accepting (Prep-)N-Postp and Prep-V<sub>RC</sub>-N-Postp but rejecting V<sub>RC</sub>-N-Postp is considered indicative of an ongoing change. Finally, special attention is given to Givón’s (1971) motto (§2.3.3) and Lehmann’s (1972a) hypothesis that Indo-European “absolute constructions”—syntactically isolated constructions formed by a nominal element and a non-finite verbal element—arose during a stage with ambivalent word order.<sup>20</sup> In line with Givón (1971), frozen

<sup>19</sup> As mentioned above, both Hudson (1972, 137) and Little (1974a, 33) find that gapping unacceptable to their consultants. In this instance, Little (1974b, 271) notes that “this gapping construction is not like Bach’s. My informant refused to accept those examples.” However, the example cited, i.e.,

*Wärqu ənqulal      Täklu gən      səga      bäll-u*  
 PN    eggs                  PN    but      meat    eat\PERF-3CPL

‘Worku ate eggs and Teklu meat,’

with the pattern S<sub>1</sub>-O<sub>1</sub>-S<sub>2</sub>-COORD-O<sub>2</sub>-V, is almost the same as Bach’s (1970, 11) example 5a [transcription altered according to convention in this study, *ä* instead of *ə*, *ə* instead of *i*; the expected form of ‘the man’ should be *säwəyyew*]:

*säw-əyyä<sup>sic!</sup>=w      bunna set-əyyo=wa      gən      šay      azzäz-äčč*  
 man-SPECIFIC=DEF    coffee woman-SPECIFIC=DEF but    tea    order\PERF-3FSG

‘The man ordered coffee, but the woman, tea [translation modified to be grammatical in English].’

The only difference is that the verb in the former example has 3PL agreement while the verb in the latter has 2FSG agreement. The PL agreement is noted by Metzinger and Saba (2009, 287).

<sup>20</sup> See Ruppel (2013) for a comprehensive study of early Indo-European absolute constructions proposing a reconstruction and development contra Lehmann (1972a): there was a restricted absolute construction in the locative case already existed in Proto-Indo-European.

compound nouns displaying N-Gen order are correctly argued to reflect the older syntax, whereas Lehmann’s (1972a) suggestion presupposing a stage of ambivalent word order is judged to be inapplicable to the development of Amharic converb<sup>21</sup> construction.

Heine (1975) investigates the convergence of basic word order among African languages in the Greenbergian typological approach (§2.2.2). Altogether, twenty-seven word order parameters<sup>22</sup> are chosen to be investigated in a sample of 300 languages of Africa. Regarding Bach’s (1970, 9) suggestion to establish a type of “free-word order” languages, Heine (1975, 30) notes that although some African languages are claimed to have no fixed word order, “such languages do not really exist after all.” Based on the statistical frequency of the word order features, Heine (1975) classified the 300 languages in the sample by establishing a Type A which can “derive” in four directions by adding or altering one or more of the features.<sup>23</sup> Such

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<sup>21</sup> The Amharic converb, also termed “gerund(ive)” (Leslau 1995, 355ff.), is cognate with the Classical Ethiopic category “perfective active participle” in Lambdin’s (1978, 140–41) terminology. The latter is glossed as CVB together with its cognate categories in Ethiopian Semitic throughout this study. Morphologically it is formed with the GEN personal suffixes (coding the agent) attached to a non-finite base, e.g.,

<i>säbr=o</i>	<i>säbr=äh</i>	<i>säbər=re</i>
break\CVB=3MSG	break\CVB=2MSG	break\CVB=1CSG
‘he having broken’	‘you (MSG) having broken’	‘I having broken’

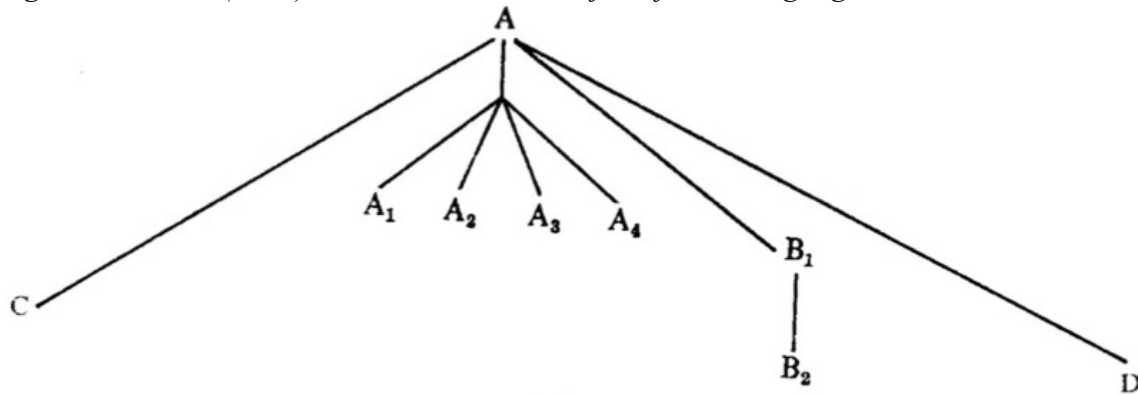
Thus, the Amharic base in the basic stem  $C_1\ddot{a}C_2C_3-$  can be directly compared to the Classical Ethiopic G-stem base  $C_1\ddot{a}C_2iC_3-$ , both having very similar functions.

<sup>22</sup> These twenty-seven parameters are: (1) S&V, (2) S&V&O, (3) S&V&Loc, (4) DO&IO, (5) Prep vs Postp, (6) N&Gen, (7) N&Adj, (8) N&Num, (9) N&Poss, (10) N&Dem, (11) Dem&Num, (12) Dem&Adj, (13) Num&Adj, (14) Poss&Adj, (15) Adj/Adv&qualifier, (16) PL&N, (17) V&INT, (18) V&Adv, (19) V&Pron<sub>A</sub>, (20) V&Pron<sub>O</sub>, (21) V&T, (22) V&NEG, (23) Pron<sub>A</sub>&Pron<sub>O</sub>, (24) Pron<sub>A</sub>&T, (25) Pron<sub>A</sub>&NEG, (26) T&Pron<sub>O</sub>, and (27) T&NEG. The abbreviations here are in accordance with those used elsewhere in this study, apart from the following: Loc – adverbial phrase, Pron<sub>A</sub> – subject pronoun, Pron<sub>O</sub> – object pronoun, T – tense marker.

<sup>23</sup> Type A is defined by seventeen out of the twenty-seven features (see their values in the table below), which can “derive”: Types A<sub>1</sub>, A<sub>2</sub>, A<sub>3</sub>, and A<sub>4</sub> via parallel modifications, Type B<sub>1</sub> via four modifications, which further derives B<sub>2</sub> with two modifications, Type C with eight modifications, Type D via one addition, together with reversals in fourteen features (see their values in the table below).

“derivations” do *not* necessarily contain historical or generative implications; they are the least modifications to Type A needed to describe the other types, e.g., by modifying the feature (7) of Type A from N-Adj to Adj-N, one arrives at the set of features defining Type A<sub>1</sub>. His classification scheme based on these “derivations” is illustrated \ in Figure 4:

Figure 4 Heine’s (1975) “derivation” scheme for African languages based on word order



The “derivation” relevant to this study is Type D, to which “[a]ll Ethiopian Semitic and all but two (Yaaku, Mbugu) Cushitic languages of the sample” belong. An interesting observation is that many of the “derivations” involve one or more “reversal rules,” and the most extensive reversal rules are found in the A-to-D “derivation”:

Table 3 Heine’s (1975) Type A and Type D, with the “reversal rules”

A			D	
(1) S-V	(2) S-V-O	→	(2) S-O-V	(1) S-V
(14) Poss-Adj	(3) S-V-Loc	→	(3) S-Loc-V	(14) Poss-Adj
(24) Pron <sub>A</sub> -T	(5) Prep-N	→	(5) N-Postp	(17) INT-V
	(6) N-Gen	→	(6) Gen-N	(24) Pron <sub>A</sub> -T
	(7) N-Adj	→	(7) Adj-N	
	(8) N-Num	→	(8) Num-N	
	(9) N-Poss	→	(9) Poss-N	
	(10) N-Dem	→	(10) Dem-N	
	(18) V-Adv	→	(18) Adv-V	
	(19) Pron <sub>A</sub> -V	→	(19) V-Pron <sub>A</sub>	
	(20) V-Pron <sub>O</sub>	→	(20) Pron <sub>O</sub> -V	
	(21) T-V	→	(21) V-T	
	(23) Pron <sub>A</sub> -Pron <sub>O</sub>	→	(23) Pron <sub>O</sub> -Pron <sub>A</sub>	
	(26) T-Pron <sub>O</sub>	→	(26) Pron <sub>O</sub> -T	
Reversal Rule				

The discussion of the word order change in Ethiopian Semitic is alluded to (Heine 1975, 39–40) in these observations. Furthermore, several convergence areas are established. Among them, relevant to this study is the “Chad-Ethiopia Area,”<sup>24</sup> in which all languages belong to Type D. As will be shown in §3.3.1, such a picture becomes much less straightforward when the Cushitic word order is examined in detail.

Little (1978) highlights the pragmatic function of determining Amharic word order by drawing from Thompson’s (1978)<sup>25</sup> typological proposal based on the function of word order. The pragmatic function of word order is that it distinguishes what is “known” from what is “not known” in a sentence via parameters such as “old-new, known-unknown, theme-rheme, topic-comment, and definite-indefinite” (Thompson 1978, 20). The grammatical function of word order is its function to signal grammatical properties such as “marking of subject (and to a lesser extent, object),” “questions and exclamations,” “whether a clause is main or subordinate,” and “negativ[ity]” (Thompson 1978, 23). In line with these observations, Little (1978) examines Amharic according to the nine implications of “word order grammatical” languages. As it turns out, Amharic: (1) is subject prominent; (2) has new information at sentence-initial position; (3) uses articles to distinguish old information from new, but with a more restricted use of the definite article than English; (4) has a promotion<sup>26</sup> operation for passive construction similar to

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<sup>24</sup> Heine (1975, 41–43) defines the Chad-Ethiopia Area as “stretching in a broad belt from the Lake Chad region in the west to the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean in the east.”

<sup>25</sup> Thompson (1978) is cited by Little (1978) according to the original 1976 Forum Lecture paper: Thompson, Sandra A. 1976. “Modern English from a typological point of view: some implications of the function of word order.” Forum lecture, 1976 Linguistic Institute.

<sup>26</sup> Little (1978, 85) uses the term “advancement operation” to refer to the passive formation in which the object is promoted (i.e., fronted) to the sentence initial position. However, this operation is not separately discussed in Thompson (1978) but submerged in the “structure-preserving” operations.

English, but also a “demotion”<sup>27</sup> operation not found in English; (5) has virtually no structure preserving operations producing outcomes resembling the default word order (such as raise-to-subject); (6) does not easily confuse any NP-NP-V with SOV due to various markings on NP; (7) has limited root transformation (movement away from the default word order) but alternative orders are found in topicalization and right dislocation; (8) does not require anaphoric pronouns due to the agreement marking on verbs; (9) has a limited number of verbs used impersonally, i.e., without subjects, resembling the empty subjects in English. Thus, Thompson’s (1978) typology is proved useful and Little’s (1978) observations form a helpful reference list of word order features.

As mentioned in §2.2.2.3, Lehmann (2011) proposes a typological cline for word order change based on Ethiopian Semitic. His proposal draws from the “OV drift” which was observed already by Gensler (1997, 139), as cited in Table 4:

*Table 4 Ethiopian Semitic “OV drift” compiled by Gensler (1997)*

	<b>Geez</b>	<b>Tigre</b>	<b>Tigrinya</b>	<b>Amharic</b>	<b>Harari</b>
<b>Prep/Postp</b>	Prep	Prep	Prep	Prep/Postp (Circump)	<i>Postp</i>
<b>N-Gen/Gen-N</b>	N-Gen	N-Gen	N-Gen/Gen-N	<i>Gen-N</i>	Gen-N
<b>N-Adj/Adj-N</b>	N-Adj	N-Adj/Adj-N (?)	<i>Adj-N</i>	Adj-N	Adj-N
<b>VSO/SOV</b>	VSO	<i>SOV</i>	SOV	SOV	SOV

In fact, a similar chart emphasizing the differences of word orders among the Ethiopian Semitic languages has already been noted in Campbell, Bubenik, and Saxon’s (1988, 216) discussion aiming at refining the word order universals. Lehmann (2011, 18) further elaborates Gensler’s “OV drift” in typological terms as he classifies four levels of syntactic word order patterns:

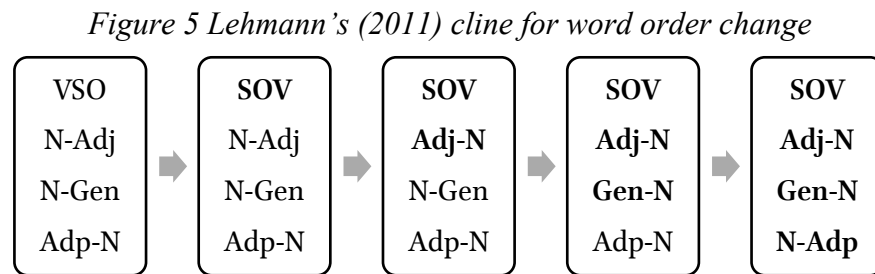
- i. main constituent (S, V and O) order in the clause,

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<sup>27</sup> Little (1978, 86) uses this term to refer to the valency increasing morphology which can change a SV clause to SOV with the original subject “moving” to the object position in “reverse advancement,” such as “be hot” → “heat up.” This is a typical Semitic verbal derivation in the factitive D-stem and causative C-stem.

- ii. the relative order of Adj and N,
- iii. the relative order of Gen and N,
- iv. the order of the adposition (Prep or Postp) and N.

The four levels are further stated as a typological cline: “[i]f at a given historical stage, a construction at a given level of the hierarchy acquires a new word order, then all the constructions at higher levels have acquired that order at earlier stages” (ibid.), which can be illustrated as follows:



This typological implication seems to fit the traditional assumption for Ethiopian Semitic.<sup>28</sup>

However, in light of the situation in Old Amharic, its validity may be questionable, see more in §3.5.

In essence, Lehmann’s (2011) proposal echoes Lehmann’s and Vennemann’s word order consistency (§2.2.2.2). Noting the relative order of V and O is fundamental for orders of other constructions, Lehmann (1972b, 272) suggests based on his observations of German that “we would expect a change in the order of verbs to affect the other constructions.” In addition to the operator-operand formula (§2.2.2.2), Vennemann (1974a, 81–82) argues that children deduce the serialization rule from the order of V and O, but instead of acquiring specific rules, they acquire the operator-operand rule “[w]ith their innate desire for general rules.” Then, they would regularize the exceptions via analogical changes, adjusting all word order patterns according to

<sup>28</sup> That is to say, the word order seems to have shifted in a “top-down” fashion as described in Lehmann’s (2011) hierarchy, cf. the chart above for the five Ethiopian Semitic languages cited from Gensler (1997, 139).

the relative order of V and O. However, when applied diachronically, the strong predictive force of the drift towards the ideal consistency would encounter issues when such sequential changes towards harmonic word order abruptly cease at a certain stage.

In summary, the relationship between Ethiopian Semitic and Cushitic has attracted significant scholarly attention even before different opinions regarding the contact zone in the Horn of Africa were formulated. Descriptive analyses since the early studies contributed many valuable observations in which careful suggestions—though frequently neglected later—are made regarding the possible complexities and bidirectional influences between Ethiopian Semitic and Cushitic. The Amharic word order has been studied in the early generative approach, but the transformational proposals are now outdated in light of the theoretical advancement. The typological studies on word order pertaining to Ethiopian Semitic have offered some important insights in which details of the Cushitic word order appear to be lacking. In addition, the consistency of word order appears to constitute a major concern in the discussions.

### **3.3 Everything non-(classical) Semitic from Cushitic?**

Attributing non-classical Semitic features of Ethiopian Semitic to borrowings from Cushitic has been a simple solution since the early days when scholars formed their biased observations due to their extensive knowledge of languages in the branch now known as “Central Semitic” (Hetzron 1976b; Faber 1980). For instance, this has been the case for many years in discussions of the glottalized emphatic consonants in Ethiopian Semitic.

Before the glottalization gained wide acceptance as the original realization of Semitic emphatic consonants (Dolgopolsky 1999), the ejective consonants in Ethiopian Semitic used to be considered “[g]anz eigenthümlich” and “offenbar durch den Einfluss der benachbarten Galla-

Sprachen hervorgerufen worden” (Trumpp 1874, 518). Even in light of the phonetic and grammatical works on Jibbali [Šherēt] (Fresnel 1938a; 1938b; 1938c) revealing the glottalized emphatics in Modern South Arabian languages, the position that Ethiopian Semitic developed their glottalized consonants under Cushitic influence still remains slightly preferred by Leslau (1945, 63). This hypothesis is reiterated decades later by Thomason and Kaufman (1988, 18, 130, 134), who have relied on Leslau (1945) but ignored his cautious mention of the long-existing opinion regarding the Proto-Semitic glottalized *q* (Brockelmann 1908, 121; Grimme 1909, 242) and Bergsträsser’s (1928, 5) conjecture that all emphatics were originally glottalized. Thomason (2001, 111) rectifies this in her discussion on the Ethiopian areal features by noting the glottalized emphatics as being an “exception – the occurrence of ejective (glottalized) stops, which was formerly thought to be an innovation in Ethiopic Semitic but is now believed by specialists to have been inherited from Proto-Semitic.”

### **3.3.1 Cushitic word order**

SOV is the main constituent word order pattern shared by all languages of the Cushitic family. The SOV pattern for the main constituents also constitutes an important areal feature (§3.2.2), but the other word order parameters of languages in the Cushitic family present a more complicated picture. Mous (2012) notes that from Banti’s (1988) presentation of the relative order of N and Adj, it can be deduced that “the distribution of head-final vs head-initial noun phrases is areal rather than genetic” (Mous 2012, 382).

Tosco (1994b) examines the parameters of modifier and head-noun order in the Eastern Cushitic languages, and surprisingly, the rigid V-final characteristics—Modifier-Head orders displaying typological consistency (§2.2.2.2)—are found in only one branch: Highland East

Cushitic (HEC). Mous (2012, 383) adopts Tosco’s (1994b, 418) summary with almost<sup>29</sup> no changes. His chart cited in Table 5 is checked with Tosco’s (1994b); the labels for the intended subgrouping of “*LEC*,” short for Lowland East Cushitic—“Dullay,” “Oromoid,” and “Omo-Tana”—are equally underlined and are not changed as in Mous (2012), where only “Oromoid” and “Omo-Tana” are italicized:

*Table 5 Modifier and head orders in the East Cushitic branch*

Language	Adj, N	Gen, N	N, Poss	Dem, N	Num, N	Rel, N	No. of Mod N orders	No. of N Mod orders
<b><i>HEC</i></b>								
Hadiyya	Adj N	Gen N	Poss+N	Dem N	Num N	Rel N	6	∅
Kambaata	Adj N	Gen N	Poss N, N+Poss	Dem N	Num N	Rel N	6	(1)
Sidamo	Adj N	Gen N	Poss+N	Dem N	Num N	Rel N	5	1
Gedeo	Adj N	Gen N	Poss N	Dem N	Num N	Rel N	6	∅
Burji	Adj N	Gen N	Poss N	Dem N	Num N	Rel N	6	∅
Afar	Adj N	Gen N	Poss N	Dem N	Num N	Rel N	6	∅
<b><i>LEC</i></b>								
<u>Dullay</u>	N Adj	N Gen	N+Poss	N Dem	N Num	N Rel	∅	6
<b><i>Oromoid</i></b>								
Konso	N Adj	N Gen	N Poss	N Dem	N Num	N Rel	∅	6
Oromo	N Adj	N Gen	N Poss	N Dem	N Num	N Rel	∅	6
<b><i>Omo-Tana</i></b>								
Somali	N Adj	N Gen, Gen N+Poss	N+Poss	N Dem	Num N	N Rel	1(2)	5
Arbore	N Adj	N Gen	N Poss	N Dem	N Num	N Rel	∅	6
Bayso	Adj N	N Gen	N Poss	Dem N	N Num	N Rel	2	4
Dhaasanac	N Adj	N Gen	Poss+N	N+Dem	N Num	N Rel	∅	6

Tosco (1994b) observes a shared pattern in HEC languages: their pronominal modifiers generally contain special suffixes that show gender agreement with the head noun, which he labels as a determiner: “Det,M/F.” This determiner element generally takes the shape of *-k* for M

<sup>29</sup> By “almost” I refer to the existence of very minor differences between Tosco (1994b) and Mous (2012): the latter changes the former’s “Afar” branch into an “Afar” sub-branch within “*HEC*,” i.e., Highland East Cushitic. The value of Sidamo’s “No. of N Mod orders,” originally as ∅, is likely a typo in Mous (2012), since the “N+Poss” is kept intact as that in Tosco (1994b).

and *-t* for F (Sidamo has another set with *-u* for M and *-te* for F) and the distribution is strikingly similar for Gen-N and Rel-N orders (Tosco 1994b, 442):

*Table 6 Patterns of Gen-N and Rel-N in HEC*

	<b>Gen-N</b>		<b>Rel-N</b>	
<b>Hadiya</b>	Gen (+ Det?)	N	Rel + Det,M/F	N
<b>Kambata</b>	Gen + Det(M/F?)	N	Rel + Det,M/F	N
<b>Sidamo</b>	Gen + Det,M/F	N	Rel + Det,M/F	N
<b>Gedeo</b>	Gen + <i>-n-</i> + Det,M/F	N	Rel + Det <sub>2</sub> ,M/F	N
<b>Burji</b>	Gen + <i>-n-</i> + Det,M/F	N	Rel + Det,M/F	N

In the possessive phrases, where the word order varies in HEC, similar determiner elements reflecting the *k/t* alternation can be found in the prenominal gender-sensitive Poss, which is morphologically more complex than the postposed Poss (ibid.):

*Table 7 Patterns of Poss-N vs N-Poss in HEC*

<b>Hadiya</b>	Poss+N
<b>Kambata</b>	N+Poss ~ Pron+Det,M/F N
<b>Sidamo</b>	N+Poss
<b>Gedeo</b>	Pron+Det,M/F N
<b>Burji</b>	Pron+Det,M/F N

Tosco (1994b, 423–26) notes that the same *k/t* alternation is reflected in the copula base of HEC. Noting the distribution of these gender-sensitive affixes, Tosco (1994b) argues for reconstructing consistent Head-Modifier orders (except for Dem-N) for Proto-East Cushitic and that HEC innovated the Modifier-Head orders from a grammaticalized cleft construction, i.e., copular clauses in left dislocation. Such a reconstruction also explains the connection between the determiner-gender affixes on prenominal modifiers in HEC and the *k/t*-based copula.

The word order summary of selected Cushitic languages above reflects only the situation in the Eastern branch, due to the fact that Tosco (1994b) aims at focusing on that particular branch. To provide a more complete picture of the Cushitic language family, I present below, in the same fashion as Tosco (1994b), the values of the same set of features in representative

languages from the other branches; the abbreviated labels are NC for North Cushitic, CC for Central Cushitic, and SC for South Cushitic:

*Table 8 Modifier and Head orders in the remaining branches of Cushitic*

Language	Adj, N	Gen, N	N, Poss	Dem, N	Num, N	Rel, N	No. of Mod N orders	No. of N Mod orders
<b>NC (Beja)</b>								
Beja <sup>30</sup>	Adj N, N Adj	Gen N (N Gen) <sup>31</sup>	N+Poss	Dem N	Num N	N Rel (Rel N)	4	3
<b>CC (Agäw)</b>								
Bilin <sup>32</sup>	N Adj	Gen N, N Gen	Poss N, N Poss	Dem N	Num N	N Rel	4	4
Khimt'anga <sup>33</sup>	Adj N	Gen N	Poss+N	Dem N	Num N	Rel N [N Rel] <sup>34</sup>	6	[1]
Kemantney <sup>35</sup>	Adj N	Gen N	Poss+N	Dem N	Num N	Rel N	6	∅
Awngi <sup>36</sup>	Adj N [N Adj] <sup>37</sup>	Gen N	Poss N	Dem N	Num N	Rel N	6	[1]
<b>SC</b>								
Iraqw <sup>38</sup>	N Adj	N Gen	N+Poss	N+Dem	N Num	N Rel	∅	6
Alagwa <sup>39</sup>	N Adj	N Gen	N+Poss, N Poss	N+Dem, N Dem	N Num	N Rel	∅	6

<sup>30</sup> Extracted from Vanhove (2017).

<sup>31</sup> Parenthesis is used here to refer to exceptionally noted word orders, for instance, regarding the N Gen order, Vanhove (2017, 158) comments that “[I]a plupart d'entre eux expriment des relations non possessives.”

<sup>32</sup> Extracted from Reinisch (1882) and Kiflemariam (1986).

<sup>33</sup> Extracted from Teshome (2015). For various designations of this language, namely “Chamir,” “Khamta,” “Khamtanga,” “Khimt'anga,” etc., see Teshome (2015, 9–10).

<sup>34</sup> Teshome (2015, 291) states that “[e]xcept the definite suffix, all adnominal components [= attributive adjectives, demonstratives, numerals, genitives (possessives) and relative clauses] precede the head noun they modify.” However, Hetzron (1976a, 30) notes that “[i]n Xamir, short relatives ending in *-a* and directly preceding the headnoun are used with a masculine singular headnoun only. Genitival relative may either precede or follow the headnoun.”

<sup>35</sup> Extracted from Zelealem (2003).

<sup>36</sup> Extracted from Hetzron (1967; 1969; 1995).

<sup>37</sup> Hetzron (1976a, 36) states that “[i]n Awngi, all qualifiers precede the qualified.” However, Conti Rossini (1912, 137) notes that “[I]a place de l'adjectif en agaw est assez variable... l'awiya semble assez irrégulier, p. ex. *filēy gēlgelā* chevreau et *galgal fīrasī* poulaine,” namely, adjectives can either precede or follow the modified noun.

<sup>38</sup> Extracted from Teshome (2015).

<sup>39</sup> Extracted from Mous (2016).

Table 8 Modifier and Head orders in the remaining branches of Cushitic (continued)

<i>(EC)</i>								
Dahalo <sup>40</sup>	N Adj	N Gen	N Poss	N Dem	N Num	N Rel	∅	6
<i>uncertain</i>								
Ongota <sup>41</sup>	N Adj	N Gen	N Poss	N Dem	N Num	N Rel	∅	6
<i>other</i>								
Ma'á <sup>42</sup>	N Adj	N Gen	N Poss	N Dem	N Num	N Rel	∅	6

From Table 8, we can observe the consistent head-initial word order in South Cushitic as well as the somewhat inconsistent situations in North and Central Cushitic. Thus, even though the main constituent order is uniformly V-final, the word order patterns in Cushitic present a highly complex picture.

Table 8 also shows that Central Cushitic (Agäw) displays a situation similar to HEC. Could Central Cushitic have followed a similar path like the reconstruction proposed for HEC? What Tosco (1994b, 439) has briefly commented on is expanded below.

In Central Cushitic, we find essentially the same gender-sensitive affixes. They also agree with the modified nominal head, showing up on the postnominal modifiers in Bilin (see the suffixes *-ax*“, *-ri*, *-əw* below in Table 9) but on pronominal modifiers in Awngi (see the suffixes *-w*, *-t*, *-k*“ below in Table 9):

<sup>40</sup> Extracted from Tosco (1991). Appleyard (2012) notes that Dahalo was originally classified as South Cushitic, but is now considered a separate branch of Eastern Cushitic, which is not reflected in Mous’ (2012, 346) diagram presentation of the Cushitic family tree quoted from Tosco (2000a). Therefore, it is included here with *SC* but with *EC* (East Cushitic) noted in brackets.

<sup>41</sup> Extracted from Savà and Tosco (2000). The classification of Ongota is disputed; Militarev (2004) tentatively classifies it with South Omotic. For a different opinion and overview of the various classification attempts, see Fleming (2006).

<sup>42</sup> Extracted from Mous (2003). Ma’á is included here only for the sake of completeness, since it has been cited widely as an example of the “mixed” languages with its “original Cushitic grammar” replaced by Bantu borrowings (Thomason 1983; Thomason and Kaufman 1988; Thomason 2001). However, see also the remarks on “Mbugu”—or rather more accurately “Inner Mbugu” (Mous 2003)—by Zaborski (2003b, 193): “What we do know about Mbugu (mainly thanks to M. Mous) at all, is that this is a Bantu language (as hypothetically assumed by myself already years ago) with a big number of Cushitic loan-words and it is used as a secret language.”

Table 9 Gender-sensitive affixes in Central Cushitic

<i>Bilin</i> <sup>43</sup>			
<b>Gen, N:</b>	Gen+ $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} [M]-\emptyset/i \\ [F]-\partial r \\ [PL]-\emptyset/a \end{array} \right\}$	N,	N $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} M \\ F \\ PL \end{array} \right\}$ Gen+ $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} -\partial x^w \\ -ri \\ -\partial w \end{array} \right\}$
<b>Poss, N:</b>	Pron <sub>OBL</sub> N,		N $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} M \\ F \\ PL \end{array} \right\}$ Pron <sub>OBL</sub> + $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} -\partial x^w \\ -ri \\ -\partial w \end{array} \right\}$
<b>Adj, N:</b>	N Adj $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} [M]-C/-a \\ [F]-Ci/-\emptyset \\ [PL]<as N> \end{array} \right\}$ ,	N $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} M \\ F \\ PL \end{array} \right\}$	Adj+ $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} -\partial x^w \\ -ri/di \\ -\partial w \end{array} \right\}$
<b>Rel, N:</b>	N[SUBJ] V <sub>REL</sub> ,		N[OBJ] $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} M \\ F \\ PL \end{array} \right\}$ V <sub>REL</sub> + $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} -\partial x^w \\ -ri \\ -\partial w \end{array} \right\}$
<i>Awngi</i> <sup>44</sup>			
<b>Gen, N:</b>	Gen+ $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} -w/-u/-ú \\ -t \\ -k^w \end{array} \right\}$	N $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} M(+i) \\ F \\ PL \end{array} \right\}$	
<b>Poss, N:</b>	Pron <sub>OBL</sub> ([PL]-s-) $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} -w \\ -t \\ -k^w \end{array} \right\}$		N $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} M \\ F \\ PL \end{array} \right\}$
<b>Adj, N:</b>	Adj+ $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} -\emptyset/-i \\ -a \\ -ka/-\emptyset \end{array} \right\}$	N $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} [M]-\emptyset/-i \\ [F]-a \\ [PL]-ka/-\emptyset \end{array} \right\}$	
<b>Rel, N:</b>	V <sub>REL</sub> (-ká) N[SUBJ],	V <sub>REL</sub> + $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} -w \\ -t \\ -k^w \end{array} \right\}$ (-ká)	N[OBJ] $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} M \\ F \\ PL \end{array} \right\}$

As Hetzron (1980) points out, the fact that these gender-sensitive markers occur in Bilin and Awngi, the northern and southern peripheries of the Central Cushitic branch, supports the reconstruction of this peculiar element to common Agäw, proposed as \*-ku, \*-ti, and \*-k<sup>w</sup>an(?) (Hetzron 1980, 59) for M, F, and PL agreements respectively. On the other hand, Tosco's (1994b) hypothesis that HEC innovated the Modifier-N orders brings together the "gender-marker" (1994b, 419) in HEC and the "connector" (1994b, 426) in LEC, which both clearly point to a \*-k in the M and a \*-t in the F. Both of them are further connected to the k/t bases for the Cushitic

<sup>43</sup> Extracted from Appleyard (2007), with Kiflemariam (1986) in comparison.

<sup>44</sup> Extracted from Hetzron (1969) and Hetzron (1978).

COP. This gender distinction with alternating *k/t* thus matches Hetzron's (1980) reconstruction of the same element in Proto-Agäw. This would mean that it is possible to extend Tosco's (1994b) reconstruction for East Cushitic to Central Cushitic, i.e., the Modifier-Head orders could have been innovations, which would further imply an original inconsistent word order situation for Cushitic.

### 3.3.2 Copying Cushitic word order(s)?

As shown in §3.3.1, it seems there is a similar situation in Central Cushitic to that in East Cushitic discussed by Tosco (1994b). If we extend his reconstruction to Central Cushitic, leaving aside Beja,<sup>45</sup> Proto-Cushitic could have been uniformly OV but head-initial in almost all of its word orders involving N and Modifier. The N-Modifier orders in question would then remain unchanged until the parallel innovations of the cleft grammaticalization took place within the Central branch and in HEC within the East Cushitic branch.

Speakers of Proto Ethiopian Semitic—which presumably had V-initial word order—must have come in contact with speakers of Cushitic at some point in history, however, it is not easy to determine exactly when it took place due to the lack of historical records. If the Semitic speakers had a chance to meet their neighbors speaking Proto-Cushitic, it should be expected that their neighbors' language would have been V-final but overall modifier-final. Thus, Cushitic would have offered no modifier-initial word order from which Semitic could have borrowed, i.e., completely against the suggestion that Ethiopian Semitic copied the word orders from Cushitic except for the OV order. Alternatively, one may propose a scenario in which Ethiopian Semitic speakers only came into contact with Cushitic speakers after Proto-Cushitic diversified into its

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<sup>45</sup> Beja—the only language constituting the North Cushitic branch—has been considered the outlier with features so peculiar that Mous (2012) decides to exclude it from his overview of Cushitic features,.

sub-branches, so that their word order “donor” could be Central Cushitic or Highland East Cushitic because of their Modifier-N order.

Despite the lack of textual and archeological evidence, the first scenario could be falsifiable, especially in the context of some hypotheses.<sup>46</sup> Ehret (1979; 2000) has been suggesting a very ancient status of Proto-Cushitic, which “dates back to the Early Holocene” and that “had already diverged into its primary daughter branches, one of which was Northern Cushitic, *before* the late 7th millennium B.C.E.” (Ehret 2014, 239). The hypothesis of Afroasiatic originating from Africa (McCall 1998; Ehret, Keita, and Newman 2004) seems to match genetic studies showing a subset of the population with “Ethio-Somali ancestry” migrating to the Levant and then reentering the Horn of Africa via Arabia (Hodgson et al. 2014). According to this theory, Proto-Semitic diversified from Afroasiatic and took root in the Near East, with the further diversified Proto-Ethiopian Semitic returning<sup>47</sup> to be in contact with Cushitic.

If the second scenario is to be adopted, at least some comparable Bayesian phylogenetic analyses for the Cushitic family are needed to support the relative time depths of the Central

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<sup>46</sup> It must be noted that quantitative comparative linguistic approaches such as lexicostatistics and glottochronology have been facing strong objections criticizing the methodology based on lexical comparisons. Therefore, results stemming from such studies should be viewed *critically*. Studies with more refined statistical models—notably *Bayesian Phylogenetics* which has been applied in recent studies on many language families: Indo-European (Atkinson et al. 2005; Bouckaert et al. 2012; Chang et al. 2015), Bantu (Rexová, Bastin, and Frynta 2006; Currie et al. 2013; Grollemund et al. 2015), Austronesian (Greenhill and Gray 2009; Greenhill, Drummond, and Gray 2010; Greenhill and Gray 2012), Semitic (Kitchen et al. 2009), Japonic (Lee and Hasegawa 2011), Dravidian (Kolipakam et al. 2018), Sino-Tibetan (M. Zhang et al. 2019; Sagart et al. 2019; H. Zhang et al. 2020), Turkic (Savelyev and Robbeets 2020), etc.—should be considered to be contributing optimal hypotheses for tree models *rather than providing decisive conclusions on language history*. As McMahon and McMahon (2005, 40) put it, a good work following such approaches must be “careful to build on the findings of the comparative method, and thus considers recurrent correspondences to decide on cognacy judgements.”

<sup>47</sup> According to the Bayesian phylogenetic analysis, the proposed date of this reentry is “approximately 2850 YBP” (Kitchen et al. 2009, 2707).

Cushitic and Highland East Cushitic subgroups. Considering the geographical proximity, Central Cushitic is certainly a preferable candidate. However, as shown in §3.3.1, even Central Cushitic is not uniformly head-final either. Perhaps the solution is to hypothesize that Central Cushitic influenced Semitic and imposed its head-final orders, whereas one of them (Bilin) was somehow influenced by Semitic and adopted some head-initial orders. To avoid the conflict, one may further attribute this influence on Bilin to a Semitic language entering the scene at a later period, perhaps Arabic. Indeed, Arabic has been considered responsible for the N-Adj word order in Gindaʿ Tigré (Elias 2005, 207, 292; 2014, 157, 247), presumably due to the influence of Islam. However, similarly under the influence of Islam, the Muslim Harari people have used the Arabic script in writing, yet the Harari language is almost consistently head-final.

It is hoped that the discussions above have demonstrated the difficulties in seeking the perfect word order “donor,” particularly considering the fact that as shown in §3.3.1, the Cushitic family is not as uniform/harmonic/consistent as typical SOV language families such as Turkic, Japonic, or Koreanic. What led to such difficulties is the rationale to seek a Cushitic word order “donor” for Ethiopian Semitic. This is especially necessary in the language shift approach (§2.4.1)—the Cushitic population, while shifting to Semitic, failed<sup>48</sup> to acquire the Semitic word order and transferred their own Cushitic word order patterns (Thomason and Kaufman 1988, 69, 131). Outside the European colonial contexts of Creole Exceptionalism, the presumed failed acquisition also seems problematic. Such a rationale is likely also behind Vennemann’s (2011; 2015) hypothesis that Cushitic was not originally SOV, especially considering his emphasis on

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<sup>48</sup> Thomason and Kaufman (1988, 133–34) also admit that “not all the Cushitic structure in Ethiopic Semitic can be attributed to the shifting speakers’ imperfect learning. Nevertheless, the shift itself is a historical fact, so in spite of this complication we can be confident that much of the structural interference resulted from the shift.”

word order consistency (§2.2.2.2). Under the assumption that as a member of Afroasiatic, Cushitic should have been more like Semitic, i.e., V-initial, Vennemann proposes a scenario in which Cushitic first adopted the V-final word order from (Old) Nubian, or “perhaps more cautiously,” from Nilo-Saharan (Vennemann 2011, 248–49; 2015, 109–11), because that is where the typical<sup>49</sup> V-final features are found. Then presumably Cushitic passed the V-final word order onto Semitic via the mechanism “the transitivity of language contact” (Vennemann 2002) which was originally proposed to seek a V-initial “donor” (Semitic) for features to be copied by Celtic and passed onto Celtic Englishes.<sup>50</sup>

With this background, I move on to investigate the word order patterns in corpora of Classical Ethiopic and Old Amharic, in an attempt to show that patterns in older Ethiopian Semitic could reflect the existence of available linguistic materials in common Ethiopian Semitic that could be the basis for later developments. This could provide a better understanding of the word order change in Ethiopian Semitic than seeking a word order “donor” from which “non-Semitic” word orders were copied/borrowed.

### **3.4 Corpus analysis of Classical Ethiopic word order**

#### **3.4.1 Text selection**

For a long time in history, from no later than the 4<sup>th</sup> century (the reign of King Ezana) until the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Classical Ethiopic—the sacred language of the Church—has been the

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<sup>49</sup> However, even in Old Nubian, its N-Adj order does not fit Vennemann’s consistency criterion (§2.2.2.2). Vennemann (2015, 110) himself cites from Browne (2002, 2) that “the genitive tends to precede its noun, while the adjective follows it.”

<sup>50</sup> The rationale is that as an Indo-European language, Celtic must have been OV in the past, but its V-initial features are believed to have influenced English. Therefore, Celtic must have shifted to VSO due to contact with some VSO languages—thus, Semitic is selected to be the “donor.”

dominant medium for Ethiopian literary composition; the other Ethiopian Semitic languages were not attested in writing until much later (§3.5.1). Ethiopian literature is, according to Cerulli (1961, 12), either court literature or religious literature:

La letteratura etiopica è, per secoli, letteratura di Corte (o comunque strettamente connessa con la vita della Corte); oppure è letteratura religiosa, ed ancora qui riconnessa, attraverso la Chiesa, col potere sovrano che in Etiopia ha accentrato tradizionalmente anche la giurisdizione in questioni della Chiesa.

Conti Rossini (1899, 198) sees it as “frutto di fatiche di stranieri passati in Etiopia” and it “rappresentano prevalentemente traduzioni.”

This state of affairs results in some issues for the linguistic investigation of older Ethiopian Semitic. By definition, texts are of a limited number of genres which may involve formulaic expressions. In addition, translations may reflect the structures of the original text. With these issues in mind, for the purpose of this study, I have selected the following texts for the corpus investigation.

The text *śanü fəṣṣät* “**Beauty of the Creation**” is a religious commentary on the biblical creation story. This text is selected due to the fact that it is very likely an original composition, although in his foreword to the text edition containing both an Amharic version and a Classical Ethiopic version, Ullendorff cites Cowley (1988, 125–28) to express his hesitance that “[t]he relationship between the Amharic and Classical Ethiopic texts is complex, and it must not be assumed that one is necessarily a straight translation -- or even a paraphrase -- of the other” (Getatchew and Misrak 1991, ix). Getatchew makes it clear in his review of Cowley (1988) that the Amharic text Cowley has commented on should be considered a translation from a Classical Ethiopic version because while editing the Amharic text, he finds the Classical Ethiopic original helpful “in understanding the ‘archaic’ structure of (and mistakes in) the Amharic” (Getatchew 1990, 379); see also the similar statement in the introduction (Getatchew and Misrak 1991, 1–2).

**Two letters** are chosen based on the assumption that epistolary documents tend to (though are not necessarily always) be stylistically distinct from literary texts. Admittedly, epistolary writing does involve particular formulae,<sup>51</sup> and it may also involve specific linguistic usages, e.g., the “epistolary perfect” (Pardee and Whiting 1987). However, there is a tendency for the epistolary language to be “speech in the written medium”—an idea going back to the ancient Epistolary Theorists (Malherbe 1988) and specifically noted for Arabic (Balfour 1885, 165, 475). The letters were sent by Emperor Ləbnä Dəngəl (1508-1540) and Queen ’Əleni<sup>52</sup> to the King of Portugal and they are edited and translated by Sergew (1974), according to whose opinion the letters represent genuine Ethiopic composition which was translated into Arabic and Portuguese afterwards (Sergew 1974, 565). The only other published edition I have managed to find is Təklä Şadəq Mäkwəriya’s (1966 [1973-1974]) work on the invasion led by Ahmad ibn Ibrahim al-Ghazi in which Emperor Ləbnä Dəngəl’s letter is fully cited in a lengthy footnote (Təklä Şadəq 1966 [1973-1974], 154–55). Some of its differences from Sergew’s (1974) edition help to clarify some issues.<sup>53</sup>

A few **narrative sections** are randomly selected from the *Glorious Victories of ‘Amdä Şəyon in 1332*—the earliest royal chronicle, first translated by Dillmann (1884). As for the original text, Perruchon (1890) provides the first edition based on two manuscripts and a

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<sup>51</sup> This is well-researched for various Semitic languages: Assyrian (Pfeiffer 1923), Aramaic (Fitzmyer 1974), Ugaritic (Kristensen 1977), Hebrew (Pardee, Whitehead, and Dion 1978), Sabaic (Stein 2008), etc.

<sup>52</sup> Queen ’Əleni was Emperor Ləbnä Dəngəl’s “step-grandmother, the Regent during his minority” (Huntingford and Beckingham [1961] 2016, 4).

<sup>53</sup> For instance, Sergew (1974, 559) reads the following clause from Ləbnä Dəngəl’s letter as **እስመ፡ እመንቱ፡ ስምዕ፡ ለኩሉ።**, in which the word **ስምዕ፡** *səm ‘ä* with the *-ä* ending finds no grammatical justification for being a noun or a verb. The same sentence is read as **እስመ፡ እመንቱ፡ ስምዕ፡ ለኩሉ።** by Təklä Şadəq (1966 [1973-1974], 154), i.e., **ስምዕ፡** *səm ‘*, as a noun meaning “testimony, witness,” etc., which fits grammatically because its syntactic position demands that it should be neither ACC nor CSTR (both marked by the *-ä* ending).

translation, on which Huntingford's (1965) translation is based. 'Amdä Şəyon's "chronicle" has been translated and edited multiple times;<sup>54</sup> the texts for this study are selected from the most recent comprehensive edition by Kropp (1994a) based on seven manuscripts. As Kropp (1994b, 2:XXIII) comments, compared to the later royal chronicles which are heavily Amharicized, this report of 'Amdä Şəyon's military campaign features "ein reines, flüssiges und elegantes Ge'ez," and its "zahlreiche Gerundialkonstruktionen sind Kennzeichen eines genuin äthiopischen Textes [footnote: Diese fehlen in statistisch auffälligem Ausmaße bei Übersetzungstexten aus dem Arabischen; vgl. KrÄthAr 339 f.]" (ibid.).

Finally, one additional text is selected for comparison purposes: *The Book of Baruch*, presented as text no. 1 in *Chrestomathia aethiopica* (Dillmann 1866, 1–15). The reason for selecting this text is the existence of the corresponding Greek text which can be consulted for the influence of translation. In the discussion, all examples from *The Book of Baruch* are provided with comparisons with the corresponding clauses/phrases from the Greek text edition (Herzer 2005) in the footnotes. Originally, one lengthy narrative Axsumite text<sup>55</sup> was also selected and analyzed in a separate sub-corpus due to the fact that it represents the Ancient Ethiopic language of the period when it was still used as a vernacular. However, the subsequent corpus analysis yielded no more insightful results than Bulakh's (2012) comprehensive study of the word order of Epigraphic Ethiopic, where it has already been demonstrated that: Epigraphic Ethiopic is

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<sup>54</sup> Apart from the aforementioned German translation (Dillmann 1884), the French translation with the text edition (Perruchon 1890), and the English translation (Huntingford 1965), it has also been translated into Portuguese (abbreviated) by Manuel de Almeida (Esteves Pereira 1890), into Russian by Turaev (1936, 15–52), and into Italian by Ducati (1939), and it has been edited by Marrassini (1993) based on seven manuscripts before Kropp (1994a).

<sup>55</sup> That is the longest Ezana Stone inscription, first copied by Rüppell (1840) and then edited and published as text no. 11 by Littmann (1913), and as text no. 189 by Bernand, Drewes, and Schneider (1991).

predominantly V-O (with N-Adj, N-Rel, N-Gen, and Dem-N); V-S is preferred; S-V and Adj-N are pragmatically marked orders; a small number<sup>56</sup> of O-V clauses are attested, mostly as marked topics. The Ezana Stone inscription examined for this study is perhaps only remarkable for attesting three secure instances<sup>57</sup> of O-V clauses and one questionable instance,<sup>58</sup> and two of the three O-V clauses are directly following the subordinate marker *'anzä* in temporal clauses, neither appearing to be motivated by topic marking.

### 3.4.2 Text processing

The selected texts mentioned in §3.4.1 were first converted to Unicode text format. This step was not without challenges. Unlike the *Book of Baruch*—which has been fully digitalized<sup>59</sup> albeit with issues<sup>60</sup>—none of the other texts to my knowledge were available in any kind of digital format. The text edition of *Beauty of the Creation* is published in handwritten characters, so it has to be manually entered. The letters and the chronicle are published in regular type font, however, even till now, the software affordable for me—Adobe® Acrobat and ABBYY® FineReader—both remain incapable of performing Optical Character Recognition (OCR) for the Ethiopian writing system. Because I only became aware of certain online options for Amharic

<sup>56</sup> Bulakh (2012) investigated 189 main clauses, counting only ten secure O-V clauses and one questionable instance (Bulakh 2012, 148). As for the O-V order in the subordinate clauses, she counts four questionable instances and three secure instances (Bulakh 2012, 149).

<sup>57</sup> These are: (1) *wätānbalānā wāḥāwaryanā zā[fānā][w]ku lotu yasmə 'əwo hedomu* ‘and our mediators and our envoys whom I sent to him so that they would hear him, they robbed them,’ Bulakh’s (2012) example [27]; (2) *'anzä dewa wāmāhraka yagäbä 'əḥzabəyā* ‘when my people brought back captivity and booty,’ Bulakh’s (2012) example [23] and [31]; (3) *wä 'anzä 'əḥmarihomu yasätəmu* ‘and when they submerged their boats,’ Bulakh’s (2012) example [33].

<sup>58</sup> This is Bulakh’s (2012) example [22]. See her footnote 9 (Bulakh 2012, 146) for the different interpretations.

<sup>59</sup> See <https://www.tau.ac.il/~hacohen/Baruch/Baruch%20txt.html>, courtesy of Ran HaCohen.

<sup>60</sup> For instance, the phrase **ዕፅ : ሕይወት :** in line 10 on page 14 of Dillmann’s (1866) edition appears as “**ዕፅ : ሕይወት :**” on the webpage.

OCR—which still hardly produce satisfying results that are immediately usable—in the later stages of the project, the majority of the texts ended up being manually entered.

Once the texts were transformed into Unicode characters, they were then loaded into SIL FieldWorks Language Explorer (FLEX) version 8.3.11 SE installed on a virtual Windows 10 operating system mounted via Parallels® Desktop for Mac. FLEX allows Unicode input for the original script of texts, so the display of the Gə‘əz script is fine as long as the fonts are properly configured. However, direct segmentation of morphemes is ideally not performed with the syllabic script, so the transliteration is done simultaneously as the segmentation analysis is executed. I was unaware of any parser ready to use in FLEX for Classical Ethiopic,<sup>61</sup> therefore, the parsing in FLEX was performed from scratch and corrected manually.

The transliteration generally follows Lambdin’s (1978) conventions, especially regarding the representation of consonantal gemination and ə-insertion (Lambdin 1978, 2). It is well-known that in all likelihood, several sound changes took place in Classical Ethiopic as reflected in the confusions of letters in the manuscripts: mergers of the phonemes  $d^{62} \sim \varsigma$ ,  $h \sim \text{ḥ} \sim \text{ḥ}$ , as well as mergers of the first- and fourth-order vowels following the gutturals, in addition to mergers of  $\acute{s} \sim s$  and  $\text{’} \sim \text{‘}$  reflecting the developments in Amharic (cf. § 3.5.1). However, the transliteration in this study aims at preserving the graphic representations in the original texts,

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<sup>61</sup> Some relevant Natural Language Processing studies, such as Abebe (2010), Desta (2010), and Yitayal (2014), became known to me at much later stages of this project. Especially notable is the TraCES project (<https://www.traces.uni-hamburg.de/>) and its products, including the text corpus, the annotator GeTa tool, and the morphological parser (Vertan 2016). However, they do not appear to be freely accessible either.

<sup>62</sup> This is the transliteration by both Lambdin (1978) and Leslau (1987) for the consonant of  $\theta$ , but as a lateral emphatic fricative, it should be rendered as  $\acute{s}$ . For the sake of display in FLEX, I have made the same compromise. Similarly, I have opted to use  $q$  instead of  $k$  for the consonant of  $\Phi$ , and  $\text{ḥ}$  instead of  $x$  for the consonant of  $\text{ጥ}$ , as in Leslau (1987), so that  $x$  can be reserved for the spirantized  $\text{ጥ}$  in Amharic and Tigrinya.

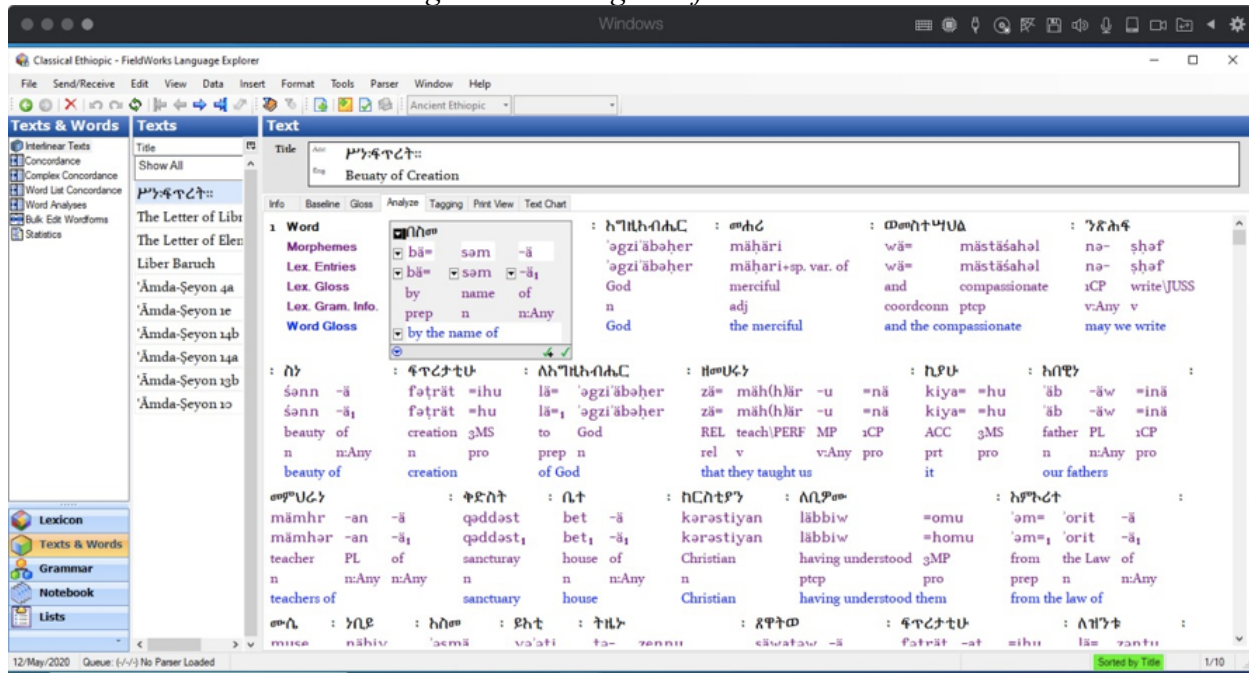
therefore, the consonants are rendered according to the writing, and the vowels are altered to achieve a uniform system—approximately in agreement with Krzyżanowska (2017, 212–13)—for Ethiopian Semitic (as in §2.3). The convention is illustrated in Table 10:

Table 10 Transliteration convention for the Gə‘əz syllabary

First	Second	Third	Fourth	Fifth	Sixth	Seventh
ሀ <i>hä</i>	ሁ <i>hu</i>	ሂ <i>hi</i>	ሃ <i>ha</i>	ሄ <i>he</i>	ሀ ለ <i>hə</i>	ሀ ለ <i>ho</i>
ሐ <i>hä</i>	ሐ ሁ <i>hu</i>	ሐ ሂ <i>hi</i>	ሐ ሃ <i>ha</i>	ሐ ሄ <i>he</i>	ሐ ሀ ለ <i>hə</i>	ሐ ሀ ለ <i>ho</i>
አ <i>‘ä</i>	አ <i>‘u</i>	አ <i>‘i</i>	አ <i>‘a</i>	አ <i>‘e</i>	አ <i>‘ə</i>	አ <i>‘o</i>

The lexical meanings are checked with Leslau’s (1987) comparative dictionary. Instead of the recommended tag set suggested by Hummel and Dickhut (2016), the part of speech tagging labels largely follows the *Leipzig Glossing Rules* (Comrie, Haspelmath, and Bickel 2015), with a few additions of my own (§1.3.2). The working interface looks like this:

Figure 6 Working interface in FLEx



### 3.4.3 Statistics and results

#### 3.4.3.1 General statistics

The corpora sizes as calculated by FLEx are as follows:

*Table 11 Classical Ethiopic corpus and sub-corpora size*

<b>Texts &amp; Words Statistics</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	
Total number of unique words (types):		
<i>Beauty of the Creation</i>	975	25%
<i>Letters</i>	728	19%
<i>‘Amdä Şayon</i>	1577	40%
<i>Book of Baruch</i>	1361	35%
<b>Overall</b>	<b>3904</b>	
Total word count (tokens):		
<i>Beauty of the Creation</i>	2003	24%
<i>Letters</i>	1117	13%
<i>‘Amdä Şayon</i>	2638	31%
<i>Book of Baruch</i>	2720	32%
<b>Overall</b>	<b>8478</b>	
Total number of sentences (segments):		
<i>Beauty of the Creation</i>	128	27%
<i>Letters</i>	70	15%
<i>‘Amdä Şayon</i>	154	33%
<i>Book of Baruch</i>	119	25%
<b>Overall</b>	<b>471</b>	

It should be noted that the sentence count in FLE<sub>x</sub> is based on the punctuation in the “baseline” where the text is loaded in the original script—the Gə‘əz *fidäl*. It should not be surprising that ancient scribes did not follow the sentence boundaries conventionalized today. Therefore, the sentence count does not necessarily reflect the actual number of sentences.

As noted in §2.2.2.2, the relative order of V and O has been considered crucial for word order correlations. The distribution of verb(al) forms in the corpus is shown in Table 12:

*Table 12 Verb(al) forms in the Classical Ethiopic corpus and sub-corpora*

<b>Verb(al) form</b>	<b>Count</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
VIMPF:		
<i>Beauty of the Creation</i>	148	25%
<i>Letters</i>	80	14%
<i>‘Amdä Şayon</i>	142	24%
<i>Book of Baruch</i>	216	37%
<b>Sum</b>	<b>586</b>	
VPERF:		
<i>Beauty of the Creation</i>	183	19%
<i>Letters</i>	71	7%
<i>‘Amdä Şayon</i>	362	37%

Table 12 *Verb(al) forms in the Classical Ethiopic corpus and sub-corpora (continued)*

	<i>Book of Baruch</i>	359	37%
	<b>Sum</b>	<b>975</b>	
VJUSS:			
	<i>Beauty of the Creation</i>	43	16%
	<i>Letters</i>	35	14%
	<i>‘Amdä Şayon</i>	76	30%
	<i>Book of Baruch</i>	101	40%
	<b>Sum</b>	<b>255</b>	
VIMPV:			
	<i>Beauty of the Creation</i>	3	2%
	<i>Letters</i>	11	8%
	<i>‘Amdä Şayon</i>	48	35%
	<i>Book of Baruch</i>	76	55%
	<b>Sum</b>	<b>138</b>	
VCVB: <sup>63</sup>			
	<i>Beauty of the Creation</i>	44	51%
	<i>Letters</i>	1	1%
	<i>‘Amdä Şayon</i>	18	21%
	<i>Book of Baruch</i>	23	27%
	<b>Sum</b>	<b>86</b>	
VPRET: <sup>64</sup>			
	<i>Beauty of the Creation</i>	53	33%
	<i>Letters</i>	2	1%
	<i>‘Amdä Şayon</i>	38	24%
	<i>Book of Baruch</i>	67	42%
	<b>Sum</b>	<b>160</b>	
	<b>Verb(al) form total:</b>	<b>2200</b>	

For these verb(al) forms, the distribution of transitivity is as follows:

Table 13 *Transitivity in the Classical Ethiopic corpus and sub-corpora*

	<b>Transitivity</b>	<b>Count</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
V <sub>transitive</sub> :			
	<i>Beauty of the Creation</i>	331	23%
	<i>Letters</i>	138	9%
	<i>‘Amdä Şayon</i>	453	31%
	<i>Book of Baruch</i>	531	37%
	<b>Sum</b>	<b>1453</b>	

<sup>63</sup> The category CVB, i.e., “converb,” follows Polotsky (1951, 41), which is the “perfective active participle” of Lambdin (1978, 140–41); the same label is used for the cognate Amharic category, traditionally labeled as “gérundif” (Cohen 1936, 181ff.), “Gerundium” (Hartmann 1980, 195ff.), “gerund” (Leslau 1995, 355ff.), etc.

<sup>64</sup> The PRET label here is only for the special prefix conjugation of ‘say’ (*yə-be* ‘he said’).

Table 13 Transitivity in the Classical Ethiopic corpus and sub-corpora (continued)

V <sub>intransitive</sub> :		
<i>Beauty of the Creation</i>	145	23%
<i>Letters</i>	62	12%
<i>‘Amdä Şayon</i>	236	28%
<i>Book of Baruch</i>	317	38%
<b>Sum</b>	<b>760</b>	

In the following sections, whenever an example is cited from the corpora, an index label is provided in parentheses following the text in the original script with the format “XXX No<sub>1</sub>.No<sub>2</sub>” in which “No<sub>1</sub>” stands for the paragraph<sup>65</sup> number, “No<sub>2</sub>” stands for the sentence number as detected by FLE<sub>x</sub>, and “XXX” indicates the sub-corpora via abbreviations: BC (*Beauty of the Creation*), LE (*Letter of ‘Əleni*), LLD (*Letter of Ləbnä Dəngəl*), ASxxx (*‘Amdä Şayon’s Glorious Victory, folio xxx*), and BB (*Book of Baruch*).

### 3.4.3.2 Tracking the relative order of V and O

Locating the nominal Os in the corpora is challenging not only because of the well-known fact that the ACC marking in classical Semitic languages is extremely multifunctional (Hasselbach 2013), but also because some transitive verbs are not always attested with an NP as their Direct Objects (DOs). Examples (6) and (7) with the verb *‘əwsə ‘ä* ‘to answer’ illustrate both issues:

- (6) **ወኢያውሥኢዎ፡ ለንጉሥ፡ ወኢአሐዳኒ፡ እምኔሆሙ፡ አላተ፡ ቃለ።** (AS14a 1.1)

*wä=’i=yawsə’-əw=wo*                      *lä=nəguś wä=’i=’äḥädu=ni*    *’əmənnə=homu*  
 and=NEG=answer\PERF-MPL=**3MSG**    to=king    and=NEG=one.M=FOC    from=3MPL  
*’äḥatt-ä*    *qal-ä*  
 one.F=**ACC**    word=**ACC**

‘They did not answer the king, not even one of them, with a single word.’

<sup>65</sup> The paragraph numbers are mostly identical to the paragraph divisions in the published text editions.

(7) ወካዕበ፡ አውሥኡ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ወይቤሎሙ፡ (AS14a 1.2)

wä=ka 'əb-ä 'äwsə'-ä nəgus wä=yə-bel=omu  
 and=second=ACC answer\PERF-3MSG king and=3M-say\PRET=3MSG  
 'And again, the king answered and (he) said to them.'

In (6), the DO of the transitive verb “answer” is structured in the *qätäl-o lä-nəgus* ‘he killed the king’ construction (Dillmann and Bezold [1907] 1974, 426–28; Lambdin 1978, 64–65; Tropper 2002, 167–68), with a proleptic 3MSG suffix and the nominal DO marked by the DAT preposition *lä-*, whereas in (7) the verb is (formulaically) used with no DO at all. In both sentences, the ACC *-ä* marks the adverbials.

### 3.4.3.3 OV in the Classical Ethiopic corpus

As shown in §2.3.1, Classical Ethiopic is among the Semitic languages that typically display the V-S-O order in the verbal clauses. This generalization, endorsed by Dillmann ([1907] 1974, 503), Gragg (1997, 255), Weninger (2001, 1764), etc., is further modified by Tropper (2002, 227) as V-S-O-A(dv). This is certainly true across the four Classical Ethiopic sub-corpora. However, there are also several instances of sentences with O-V patterns.

Classical Ethiopic, and Ethiopian Semitic in general, is known for frequent use of cleft structures (Voigt 1977, 100; Lambdin 1978, 128; Weninger 2001, 1771–72), which is certainly capable of creating a sequence of O-V as in (8):

(8) አኮ፡ ኪያከ፡ ዘንፈርህ፡ (AS14b 1.14)

'äkko	<b>kiya=kä</b>	<b>zä=nə-färrəh</b>
NEG	ACC=2MSG	REL=1CPL-fear\IMPF

'It is not you that we fear.'

However, the verbs in the cleft structure also carry the REL marker. Thus, these instances of O-V are excluded from the discussion here.

The genuine OV order appears first and foremost in some quasi-formulaic short combinations of O and V, e.g., the REL modifier (epithets of God) in (9), and the adverbial expression “having said this” in (10), which is attested seven times across the sub-corpora:

(9) **ወእግዚእ፡ ዘኾሎ፡ ይእኅዝ፡ ወኾሎ፡ ፈጠረ፡** (BB 5.3)<sup>66</sup>

<i>wä=’ægzi’</i>	<i>zä=</i>	<i>kʷəll=ə</i>	<i>yə-’əhhəz</i>	<i>wä=</i>	<i>kʷəll=ə</i>	<i>fätär-ä</i>
and=lord	REL=	all=3MSG	3M-seize\IMPF	and=	all=3MSG	create\PERF-3MSG

‘And the Lord, [He] who seizes everything and created everything.’

(10) **ወዘንተ፡ ብሂላ፡ ተመይጠት፡ ኣንጻረ፡ ንጉሥ፡** (AS1 1.13)

<i>wä=zäntä</i>	<i>bəhil=a</i>	<i>tämäyt-ät</i>	<i>’änšar-ä</i>	<i>nəguś</i>
and=this.M.ACC	say\CVB=3FSG	return\PERF-3FSG	direction-CSTR	king

‘And having said this, she returned to the direction of the king.’

There are, of course, many other instances that are apparently not formulaic expressions, such as:

(11) **ኣንትሙ፡ ተኣምሩ፡ ወንሕነሰ፡ ኅዳጠ፡ ነገርነ።** (AS14a 1.17)

<i>’äntämu</i>	<i>t-ä’ämmär-u</i>	<i>wä=nəhnä=sä</i>	<i>hədaṭ-ä</i>	<i>nägär-nä</i>
2MPL	2-know\IMPF-MPL	and=1CPL=FOC	a_small_amount-ACC	tell\PERF-1CPL

‘You know [it] and we said [only] a few things.’

As mentioned in §3.4.3.2, it is indeed possible that the ACC here marks *hədaṭ*<sup>67</sup> as an adverbial, i.e., ‘we tell slightly/briefly.’ However, in the semantically similar example in BB 2.1 **ወኣጽላለ፡**

<sup>66</sup> Greek (4 Baruch 9:6): **Κύριε παντοκράτωρ πάσης κτίσεως** (Herzer 2005, 34)

<i>kúri-e</i>	<i>pantokrátōr</i>	<i>pás-ēs</i>	<i>ktíse-ōs</i>
lord.M-SG.VOC	almighty.M.SG.VOC	all-F.SG.GEN	creation.F-SG.GEN

The corresponding Greek expression contains no finite verbal forms and is not structurally comparable to the Classical Ethiopic text.

<sup>67</sup> The word *hədaṭ* appears three more times across the sub-corpora: twice as Adjs: **ኅዳጥ፡ ሰብእ፡** (AS14b 1.9) ‘a few men,’ **ኅዳጥ፡ በለስ፡** (BB 2.16) ‘a few figs,’ both remarkably showing the Adj-N order, and once as a substantivized Adj: **ኅዳጣን፡ እምነ፡ ሠራዊት፡** (AS1e 2.1) ‘a few from the troops.’

**ከመ፡ ያዕርፍ፡ ንስተተ፡** ‘and he sought the shade so that he could rest a little,’ the ACC marked adverbial *nəstīt-ä* appears after the finite verb.<sup>68</sup> Considering Tropper’s generalization of the order V-S-O-Adv mentioned above, even if this *hədat-ä* in (11) is to be analyzed as an adverbial, it is still remarkable in terms of word order.

The OV in (12) involves a complex structure in the relative clause:

(12) **ወኢትዝከር፡ ኃጢአቶ፡ ወአበሳሁ፡ ለዝንቱ፡ ንብርከ፡ ዘኢትፈቅድ፡ ለኃጥእ፡ ሞተ፡ አላ፡**

**ግብአተ፡ ወሚጠተ፡ ትሁብ።** (AS10 1.12)

<i>wä=’i=tə-zkər</i>	<i>ḥaṭi’ät=o</i>	<i>wä=’äbbäsa=hu</i>	<i>lä=zəntu</i>
and=NEG=2-remember\JUSS	sin=3MSG	and=transgression=3MSG	to=this.M
<i>gäbr=əkä</i>	<i>zä=’i=tə-fäddəq</i>	<i>lä=ḥaṭə’</i>	<i>mot-ä</i>
servant=2MSG	REL=NEG=2-want\IMPF	to=sinful	death-ACC
		but	<i>gəb’ät-ä</i>
			return-ACC
<i>wä=miṭät-ä</i>	<i>tə-hub</i>		
and=return-ACC	2-give\IMPF		

‘Do not remember the sin and offense of this servant of yours, whom you do not want the sinner’s death, but to whom you give return and repent!’

A smoother translation such as “whom you *do not want to give* death but return” could be given if the final verb were not in its IMPF form *təhub* but in its JUSS form *tähäb*, however, no such variant is noted in the apparatus. As it stands, the coordinated clause is still OV. See more OV examples below containing Vs without any pronominal suffixes attached, including transitive CVB forms (that are not “having said”):

<sup>68</sup> Greek (4 Baruch 5:1): ... **ἐκάθισεν ὑπὸ τὴν σκιὰν αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἀναπαῖναι ὀλίγον** (Herzer 2005, 12)

<i>ekáthis-en</i>	<i>hypò</i>	<i>tēn</i>	<i>skiàn</i>	<i>autoú</i>	<i>toú</i>
sit.AOR-ACT.IND.3SG	by	ART.F.SG.ACC	shadow.F.-SG.ACC	3M.SG.GEN	ART.N.SG.GEN
<i>anapaēnai</i>	<i>olígon</i>				
stop.AOR.PASS.INF	little-N.SG.ACC				

The corresponding Greek text also places the adverbial at the end of the clause, agreeing with the Classical Ethiopic text, but the Greek text involves a non-finite form.

- (13) **ወመጥባሕተሂ፡ ዘውስተ፡ ሐቋሁ፡ ቤቶ፡ መተረ፡** (AS4a 1.14)

wä=mäṭbaḥt-ä=hi zä=wästä ḥäq<sup>w</sup>e=hu bet=o mätär-ä  
 and=dagger-ACC=FOC REL=in loin=3MSG house=3MSG cut\_off\PERF-3MSG

‘And he cut off the very dagger whose place was in his loin.’

- (14) **ወእንዘ፡ ጎበ፡ የሐውር፡ ኢያአምር።** (BB 2.9)<sup>69</sup>

wä=’anzä ḥäbä yä-ḥäwwär ’i=y-a ’ämmär  
 and=while where 3M-go\IMPF NEG=3M-know\IMPF

‘And while he does not know where he may go.’

- (15) **በዕለተ፡ እሁድ፡ ጁ፡ ፍጥረታተ፡ ፈጠረ፡** (BC 2.2)

bä=’älät-ä ’ahud 8 fəṭrät-at-ä fätär-ä  
 in=day-CSTR Sunday 8 creation-PL-ACC create\PERF-3MSG

‘On the day of Sunday, he created 8 creations.’

- (16) **ኮነ፡ ማይ፡ እምዝንቱ፡ ጠፈር፡ ታሕተ፡ ወአሚሃ፡ ከፊሎ፡ ምድረ፡ ጎበ፡ ጌ፡ ክፍል፡ ወእምነ፡ ጌ፡ ፩፡**

- ክፍለ፡ አእሚቆ።** (BC 10.2)

kon-ä may ’am=zəntu täfär tahtä wä=’ämeḥa  
 be(come)\PERF-3MSG water from=this.M firmament below and=at\_that\_time  
 käfil=o mədr-ä ḥäbä 7 kəfl wä=’əmännä 7 1  
 divide\CVB=3MSG earth-ACC toward 7 part and=from 7 1  
 kəfl-ä ’ä ’miq=o  
 part-ACC make\_deep\CVB=3MSG

‘The water was below this firmament, and at that time, he having divided the earth into 7 parts, and having made deep 1 part from the 7.’

<sup>69</sup> Greek (4 Baruch 5:15): ... μη εἰδὼς ποῦ ἀπέλθῃ (Herzer 2005, 14)

mē eid-ōs pou apélth-ēi  
 NEG know.PERF.ACT.PTCP-M.SG.NOM where go\_away.AOR-ACT.SBJV.3SG

The corresponding Greek text, with the sentence pattern containing a PTCP, has the V-O order, opposite to that in the Classical Ethiopic text.

The first CVB form *käfilo* in example (16) with its DO following it unfortunately involves textual variants with finite verbal forms as *käfälä* ‘he divided’ or *käfälü* ‘they divided’ (Getatchew and Misrak 1991, 68). Otherwise, this pair of CVB forms would display opposing VO and OV orders.

The V in (17) has a pronominal suffix attached:

(17) **ወኸሎ፡ ንዋየ፡ ዘቅኒሆሙ፡ መጠውዋ፡ ለምድር፡** (BB 1.26)<sup>70</sup>

<i>wä=kʷəll=ɔ nəway-ä</i>	<i>zä=qəne=homu</i>	<i>mättäw-əw=wa</i>	<i>lä=mədr</i>
and=all=3MSG vessel-ACC	GEN=servitude=3MPL	hand_over\PERF-MPL=3FSG	to=earth

‘And all the vessel(s) of their servitude, they handed over to the earth.’

Despite ‘earth’ may be more likely feminine<sup>71</sup> than ‘vessel,’ it is unlikely this 3FSG suffix should be interpreted together with *lä-mədr* as the proleptic pronoun in the *qätäl-o lä-nəguś* construction (§3.4.3.2). It should be best regarded as the resumptive pronoun for the ‘vessels.’

A number of OV occurrences in the corpus appear as fronting of the DAT marked DO in the *qätäl-o lä-nəguś* construction, i.e., reversed as *lä-nəguś qätäl-o*. As a result, the original proleptic pronominal suffix essentially functions as a resumptive pronoun. Some of these instances involve contextual contrasts. Example (18) attests two headless REL clauses as fronted objects in contrastive coordination (one with the DAT *lä-*), both marked by *-sä* (with different

<sup>70</sup> Greek (4 Baruch 3:14): ... **καὶ ἐπάραντες τὰ σκευή τῆς λειτουργίας παρέδωκαν αὐτὰ τῇ γῆ** (Herzer 2005, 8)

<i>kai epára-ntes</i>	<i>tà</i>	<i>skeú-ē</i>	<i>tēs</i>	<i>leitourgí-as</i>
and lift_up.AOR-ACT.PTCP.M.PL.NOM	ART.N.PL.ACC	vessel.N-PL.ACC	ART.F.SG.GEN	service.F-SG.GEN
<i>parédō-kan</i>	<i>autà</i>	<i>tēi</i>	<i>gēi</i>	
deliver.AOR-ACT.IND.3PL	3N.PL.ACC	ART.F.SG.DAT	earth.F.SG.DAT	

The corresponding Greek text involves a different sentence structure from that of the Classical Ethiopic text; the PTCP not contained in the latter displays the VO order, opposite to that of the Classical Ethiopic text.

<sup>71</sup> The gender agreement in Classical Ethiopic is known to be less strict for nouns denoting non-human beings (Lambdin 1978, 26–27).

morpheme positions), one of the sentence particles in Classical Ethiopic which seem to mark focality or topicality (Lambdin 1978, 232–34; Tropper 2002, 151–52):

(18) ወእለ፡ ሰምዑኩስ፡ አገብአሙ፡ ውስተ፡ ኢየሩሳሌም፡ ወለእለስ፡ ኢሰምዑኩ፡ ኢትጎድጎሙ፡

ይባኡ፡ ውስቴታ። (BB 4.1)<sup>72</sup>

<i>wä=’ällä</i>	<i>säm’-u=kä=sä</i>	<i>’-agäbbä’=omu</i>	<i>wästä</i>
and=REL.PL	hear\PERF-MPL=2MSG=FOC	1CSG-bring_back\IMPF=3MPL	in
<i>’iyärusalem</i>	<i>wä=lü=’ällä=sü</i>	<i>’i=säm’-u=kä</i>	<i>’i=tä-ḥdäg=omu</i>
Jerusalem	and=to=REL.PL=FOC	NEG=hear\PERF-MPL=2MSG	NEG=2-allow\JUSS=3MPL
<i>yä-ba’-u</i>	<i>wästet=a</i>		
3M-enter\JUSS-MPL	in=3FSG		

‘Those who listen to you, however, I will bring them back into Jerusalem; those who do not listen to you, however, do not let them enter.’

Example (19) with a similar pattern is remarkable for two other reasons. Firstly, the *-sä* particle is not attached to the entire fronted O. Secondly, the verbless REL clause displays the RC-N order (§3.4.3.4):

(19) ለከላከሰ፡ ፍጥረት፡ ኢያወርሶ፡ (BC 26.9)

<i>lä=zä=käma=kä=sä</i>	<i>fäträt</i>	<i>’i=y-awärräs=o</i>
to=REL=like=2MSG=FOC	creation	NEG=1CSG-cause_to_inherit\IMPF=3MSG

‘As for a creature that [is] like you, however, I will not allow him to inherit.’

<sup>72</sup> Greek (4 Baruch 8:3): **Καὶ διαπεράσωσιν οἱ ἀκούοντές σου, καὶ ἄρον αὐτοὺς εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ· τοὺς δὲ μὴ ἀκούοντάς σου, μὴ εἰσαγάγῃς αὐτοὺς ἐκεῖ.** (Herzer 2005, 30)

<i>kai</i>	<i>diaperás-ōsin</i>	<i>hoi</i>	<i>akoú-ont-és</i>	<i>sou</i>	<i>kai</i>	
and	go over.AOR-ACT.SBJV.3PL	ART.M.PL.NOM	hear.PRES-ACT.PTCP-M.PL.NOM	2SG.GEN	and	
<i>âron</i>	<i>autoùs</i>	<i>eis</i>	<i>Ierousalém</i>	<i>toùs</i>	<i>dè</i>	<i>mè</i>
take up.AOR.IMPV-2SG	3M.PL.ACC	to	Jerusalem.FSG.ACC	ART.M.PL.ACC	but	NEG
<i>akoú-ont-ás</i>	<i>sou</i>	<i>mè</i>	<i>eisagágēis</i>	<i>autoùs</i>	<i>ekeî</i>	
hear.PRES-ACT.PTCP-M.PL.ACC	2SG.GEN	NEG	bring in.AOR-ACT.SBJV.2SG	3M.PL.ACC	there	

In the corresponding Greek text, the first part involves two V-initial clauses (connected by the second *καὶ*); the structural parallelism between the first and the second part (connected by *δὲ*) is unlike that in the Classical Ethiopic text: only the PTCP in the second part is marked ACC and only the second part can be considered reflected in the Classical Ethiopic text.

The sentence particles need not to be present when the contrastive context is obvious. See (20), of which the preceding text describes how the people were taken into captivity because they did not listen to the divine word via Jeremiah:

(20) ለእለ፡ ሰምዑ፡ አወፅአሙ፡ እምባቢሎን፡ (BB 3.7)<sup>73</sup>

<i>lä</i> = 'əllä	säm 'u	'-awäddä '=omu	'əm=babylon
to=REL.PL	hear\PERF-MPL	1CSG-bring_forth\IMPF=3MPL	from=Babylon

'Those who listened, I will bring them forth from Babylon.'

Whereas in quite a few instances, the contexts hardly provide a clear contrast. Although quite often in these non-contrastive cases, we do find a sentence particle:

(21) ወለንጉሥስ፡ አድኃኖ፡ እግዚአብሔር። (AS4a 1.14)

<i>wä</i> =lä=nəguś=sä	'ädhan=o	'əgzi 'äbəher
and=to=king=FOC	save\PERF=3MSG	God

'And the king, however, God saved him.'

(22) ወለንጉሥሙኒ፡ ቀተሎ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ዘይፈስይዎ፡ ዕልዋን፡ ከመ፡ አምላክ፡ (AS13b1.1)

<i>wä</i> =lä=nəguś=omu=ni	qätäl=o	nəguś	zä=yə-ressəy-əw=wo
and=to=king=3MPL=FOC	kill\PERF=3MSG	king	REL=3M-place\IMPF-MPL=3MSG

'ələw-an    kāmā    'āmlak  
heretical-PL    like    lord

'Their king also, whom the hereticals revered as a god ..., the king killed him.'

The following example contains three Os which are not by *lä*- but do carry the ACC ending. A resumptive pronoun is found attached to the verb:

<sup>73</sup> Greek (4 Baruch 6:22): ὁ ἀκούων, ἀναφέρω αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς Βαβυλῶνος· (Herzer 2005, 22)

<i>ho</i>	<i>akouōn</i>	<i>anaphérō</i>	<i>autòn</i>	<i>ek</i>
ART.M.SG.NOM	hear.PRES-ACT.PTCP.M.SG.NOM	bring_up.PRES.ACT.IND-1SG	3M.SG.ACC	from
<i>tēs</i>	<i>Babylōn-os</i>			
ART.F.SG.GEN	Babylon.F-SG.GEN			

The corresponding Greek text shows some structural resemblance to the Classical Ethiopic text, but the former contains a NOM marked casus pendens (shaded in grey) whereas the latter contains the DO of the *qätäl-o lä-nəguś* construction marked by *lä*-.

(23) እግረ፡ ዘወሀብኩ፡ ለረዊጽ፤ እደ፡ ዘወሀብኩ፡ ከመ፡ ይግስስ፤ ጎይለ፡ ዘወሀብኩ፡ ከመ፡ ይጽናዕ፤

አኩኑ፡ በሕማም፡ ቀጥቀጥኩ፡ (AS10 1.7)

'əgr-ä	zä=wähäb-k=o	lä=räwiş	'əd-ä	zä=wähäb-k=o
foot-ACC	REL=give\PERF-2MSG=3MSG	to=run\INF	hand-ACC	REL=give\PERF-2MSG=3MSG
kämä	yə-gəsəs	hāyl-ä	zä=wähäb-k=o	kämä
so_that	3M-scrape_away\JUSS	might-ACC	REL=give\PERF-2MSG=3MSG	so_that
yə-şna'	'äkkə=nu	bä=həmam	qätqät-k=o	
3M-be_strong\JUSS	NEG=Q	by=pain	crush\PERF-2MSG=3MSG	

‘The foot that you gave him for running, the hand that you gave him so that he could scrape, the power that you gave him so that he could be strong, have you not crushed it (i.e., each one of them) by pain?’

Admittedly, this is a marked context of a rhetorical question, but none of the parallel fronted objects are marked by any of the sentence particles and if anything is contrastive in the context, it is the agent of the immediately following sentence which is marked by *-hi*:

(24) ወሠራዊተሂ፡ ዘወሀብኩ፡ ዘአልቦ፡ ጎልቁ፡ ኢሀለዉ፡ ምስሌሁ፡ ከመ፡ ይርአዩ፡ ሞቶ። (ibid.)

wä=šärawit-ä-hi	zä=wähäb-k=o	zä='älbo	h <sup>w</sup> əlq <sup>w</sup> -ä
and=troop\PL-ACC-FOC	REL=give\PERF-2MSG=3MSG	REL=there_is_not	number-ACC
'i=hälläw-u	məsle=hu	kämä	yə-r'äy-u
NEG=exist\PERF-MPL	with=3MSG	so_that	3M-see\JUSS-MPL
			death=3MSG

‘And the very troops that you gave him which have not number were not with him so that they would see his death.’

The word *šärawit* ‘troops’ here can be considered as contrasting with the parallel nouns in (23), but to justify their position as contrasted focus, we would have to hypothesize they are fronted in long anticipation of ‘troops’ in a sentence with a hardly parallel structure (except for the

modifying RC). Note that **ሠራዊተሂ**: *sārawit-ä-hi* is unexpectedly marked ACC<sup>74</sup> while it is the S of the intransitive V *hälläwä* ‘to exist.’ It seems marking it with *-hi* and putting it in contrast with the preceding ACC nouns might have led to a copied case marker. This confusion of case marking is, however, not in (25) where the O ‘all’ and the S ‘all’ in parallel are clearly differentiated:

(25) **እስመ፡ ኩሎ፡ ትክል፡ ወኩሎ፡ ይትከሀለክ።** (AS1 1.3)

<i>'asmä</i>	<i>kʷəll=ō</i>	<i>tə-kəl</i>	<i>wä=</i>	<i>kʷəll=u</i>	<i>yə-tkähhäl=äkä</i>
because	all=3MSG.ACC	2-be_able\IMPF	and=	all=3MSG	3M-be_possible\IMPF=2MSG

‘Because you can do everything, and everything is possible for you.’

The following two sentences appear hardly justifiable by factors of contrast/focus. In (26), the main emphasis is apparently placed on the S which is marked by *-sä*. In fact, this pattern “S=FOC O-ä V” has already showed up in (11). In (27), a possible explanation for the fronted Os is the long epithets following the king’s name which still continue after the end of the cited example:

(26) **ወእንተሰ፡ ጽድቀ፡ ረከብከ፡ በቅድመ፡ አምላክ፡** (BB 3.26)<sup>75</sup>

<i>wä= 'äntä=sä</i>	<i>ṣədq-ä</i>	<i>räkāb-kä</i>	<i>bä=qədmä</i>	<i>'ämlak</i>
and=2MSG=FOC	rightness-ACC	find\PERF-2MSG	in=before	lord

‘And as for you, you found rightness in front of the Lord.’

(27) **ዘንተ፡ መልእክተ፡ ወሐዋርያ፡ ይፌተ፡ ንጉሥነ፡ ልብነ፡ ድንግል፡ ንጉሠ፡ ነገሥት፡**

**ዘኢትዮጵያ፡ ...** (LLD 2.1)

<i>zäntä</i>	<i>mäl'əkt-ä</i>	<i>wä=häwarəya</i>	<i>yə-fennu</i>	<i>nəguś=ənä</i>	<i>ləbnä</i>
this.M.ACC	epistle-ACC	and=ambassador	3M-send\IMPF	king=1CPL	Ləbnä

<sup>74</sup> No variant spellings are noted in the apparatus.

<sup>75</sup> Greek (4 Baruch 7:23): ... **δίκαιος γὰρ εὐρέθης ἐναντίον αὐτοῦ** (Herzer 2005, 28)

<i>dikai-os</i>	<i>gār</i>	<i>heuréthē-s</i>	<i>enantíon</i>	<i>autoû</i>
righteous.M-SG.NOM	for	find.AOR.PASS.IND-2SG	before	3M.SG.GEN

The corresponding Greek text contains a different sentence structure (a PASS finite verbal form) from the Classical Ethiopic text, so there is no O to make the word orders comparable.

*dəngəl nəguś-ä nägäšt zä=’ityopəya*

Dəngəl king-CSTR king\PL GEN=Ethiopia

‘Our king, Ləbnä Dəngəl, Emperor of Ethiopia, ... , sends this letter and the ambassador.’

Finally, not only DOs but also the predicate of the copulative verb *konä* ‘to be(come)’—which is also marked ACC—can also occur fronted. See the following examples:

(28) **ከመ፡ እመ፡ ረ፡ ይኩን፡ በልብየ፡ ፈቃደክ፡ ለገቢር፡** (BB 3.3)<sup>76</sup>

*kämä ’əmmur-ä yə-kun* *bä=ləbb=əyä fäqad=äkä lä=gäbir*  
so\_that known-ACC 3M-be(come)\JUSS in=heart=1CSG will=2MSG to=do\INF

‘So that what you wish to do would be known in my heart.’

(29) **ወእግዚአብሔር፡ ረዳኤ፡ ኮነ፡ ወአንሀለ፡ ጥቅመክመ፡** (AS14b 1.16)

*wä=’əgzi’äbəher rāda’e kon-ä=ni wä=’ānhäl-ä*  
and=God helper.ACC be(come)\PERF-3MSG=1CSG and=destroy\PERF-3MSG

*ṭəqm=äkəmu*

fortification\_wall=2MPL

‘And God was a helper to me and he destroyed your fortification wall.’

### 3.4.3.4 Some other word orders of interest

Relative orders of N and its modifiers feature a number of previous studies with more focus on the N-Adj and Adj-N orders (Caquot 1952; Schneider 1959; Gai 1981). I present below examples of RC-N and Gen-N orders, well-known to be possible when these modifiers are short:

<sup>76</sup> Greek (4 Baruch 6:10): ... **καὶ γενοῦ γνῶσις ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ μου. Τί θέλεις ποιήσωμεν;** (Herzer 2005, 20)

*kai gen-ou gnōs-is en tēi kardí-ai*  
and be(come).AOR.IMPV- MID.2SG knowledge.F-SG.NOM in ART.F.SG.DAT heart.F-SG.DAT  
*mou tí thél-eis poiēs-ōmen*  
1SG.GEN what.NSG.ACC want.PRES.ACT.IND-2SG do.AOR.ACT.SBJV-1PL

The first clause in corresponding Greek text, with its V-initial sentence structure, cannot be directly compared to the Classical Ethiopic text; the OV in the second clause has a fronted interrogative and it is not comparable to the sentence structure of the Classical Ethiopic text which has no finite verbal forms.

- (30) **ወሮድዋ፡ ለሀገረ፡ አበልገ፡ ወአማሰኑ፡ ዘውስቴታ፡ ሕዝብ፡** (AS14b 1.5)

wä=rod-əw=wa    lä=hägär-ä     ’äbälgi   wä=’ämasän-u  
 and=capture\_by\_assault\PERF-MPL=3FSG   to=city-CSTR   ’äbälgi   and=ruin\PERF-3MPL  
 zä=wästet=a     **ḥəzb-ä**  
 REL=in=3FSG     **people-ACC**  
 ‘And they captured the city of ’Äbälgi by assault and they extinguished the  
 people who [were] in it.’

- (31) **አምሰልነ፡ ዘመርዓ፡ ትፍሥሕተ፡** (AS14b1.13)

’ämsäl=nä    zä=mär’a     **təfśəht-ä**  
 regard\_as\PERF=1CPL   GEN=wedding   **joy-ACC**  
 ‘We regarded [it] as pleasure of wedding.’

The Gen-N order is also attested for the *wäld-u lä-nəguś* ‘the king’s son’ construction (Dillmann and Bezold [1907] 1974, 426–28; Lambdin 1978, 44–45; Tropper 2002, 171–72), i.e., a GEN construction formed with a proleptic pronominal suffix on the possessee and a DAT preposition *lä-* on the possessor. See the following example with a reversed *wäld-u lä-nəguś* construction:

- (32) **ለፀሐይ፡ ፍጥረቱ፡ እሳት፡ ወነፋስ፡ ውእቱ።** (BC 17.3)

**lä=dähäy=ni**     fəṭrät=u    ’əssat     wä=näfas     wə’ətu  
 to=sun=FOC     creation=3MSG     fire     and=wind     3MSG  
 ‘Also, the creation of the sun is fire and wind.’

The determiner “all” *kʷəll-* is used with a pronominal suffix, with or without a preceding DEM: Dem-all+Pron, e.g., **ዝንቱ፡ ኩሉ፡** (AS13b 1.12) *zəntu<sub>1</sub> kʷəllu<sub>2</sub>* ‘all<sub>2</sub> this<sub>1</sub>’; all+Pron, as in (25). When a N is involved, it is attested in two patterns: all+Pron-N(-N-N...), e.g., **ኩሉ፡ ሰብአ፡ ቤትክሙ።** (LE 3.12) *kʷəllu<sub>1</sub> säb’äz bet<sub>3</sub>-əkəmu<sub>4</sub>* ‘all<sub>1</sub> [men of]<sub>2</sub> your<sub>4</sub> house<sub>3</sub>,’ **ኩሉሙ፡ ቅዱሳን፡ ወሰማዕታት፡ ወጻድቃን፡** (LLD 6.4) *kʷəll<sub>1</sub>-omu<sub>2</sub> qəddusan<sub>3</sub> wä<sub>4</sub>-säma’tats wä<sub>6</sub>-šadəqan<sub>7</sub>* ‘all<sub>1</sub> (of

them<sub>2</sub>) saints<sub>3</sub> and<sub>4</sub> martyrs<sub>5</sub> and<sub>6</sub> [righteous ones]<sub>7</sub>,’ and N-all+Pron, e.g., **ሠራዊተ፡ ኢትዮጵያ፡**

**ከሉሎ፡** (AS14a 1.19) *sārawitā<sub>1</sub> ’ityōpya<sub>2</sub> kʷəll<sub>3</sub>-omu<sub>4</sub>* ‘all<sub>3</sub> (of them<sub>4</sub>) [troops of]<sub>1</sub> Ethiopia<sub>2</sub>.’

The order Name-Title expected for Classical Ethiopic occurs very frequently, e.g.,

**ኤርምያስ፡ ካህን፡** (BB 2.12) *’erməyas<sub>1</sub> kahən<sub>2</sub>* ‘Jeremiah<sub>1</sub> the priest<sub>2</sub>,’ **ባሮክ፡ ሌዋዊ፡** (BB 2.12)

*barok<sub>1</sub> lewawiz<sub>2</sub>* ‘Baruch<sub>1</sub> the Levite<sub>2</sub>,’ **ናቡከደነጾር፡ ንጉሠ፡ ፋርስ፡** (BB 2.13, BB 3.28)

*nabkädänäšor<sub>1</sub> nəguśä<sub>2</sub> fars<sub>3</sub>* ‘Nebuchadnezzar<sub>1</sub>, [king of]<sub>2</sub> Persia.’ The opposite order is also

attested, such as **ቅዱስ፡ ጳውሎስ፡** (BC 16.7) *qəddus<sub>1</sub> päwlos<sub>2</sub>* ‘holy<sub>1</sub> Paul<sub>2</sub>,’ **ንጉሥ፡ ናዖድ፡** (LLD

5.1) *nəguś<sub>1</sub> na’od<sub>2</sub>* ‘King<sub>1</sub> Na’od<sub>2</sub>.’

### 3.4.3.5 Brief summary

Through the corpus investigation, we see the following patterns for OV order attested:

- i.  $lä=O_i(=FOC) V=PRON_i$
- i'.  $O_i=FOC V=PRON_i$
- ii.  $O_i-ä V(=PRON_i)$

Namely, the DAT *lä-* can, but does not need to, co-occur with one of those sentence particles (FOC). When *lä-* occurs on the DO, we find a co-indexed pronoun attached to the V. Whereas when the DO is marked with the ACC *-ä*, we do not find the sentence particle, and the co-indexed pronoun on the V becomes optional. In at least one instance (18), we also find a variant pattern with FOC marked DO not marked by *lä-*.

In several of these OV instances, we find pragmatic functions, i.e., the DO is likely fronted for focality or topicality. In these cases, the position of S seems variable, however, interestingly, we also find two instances in (11) and (26) where the contextual and grammatical focus is on the S, displaying the pattern “S=FOC O-ä V.” Together with some other word order features inconsistent for VO typology, most non-classical Semitic word order features in Modern

Ethiopian Semitic were already in existence in Classical Ethiopic, mostly as marked word orders. Such a situation will be compared with the corpus investigation of Old Amharic.

### 3.5 Old Amharic

As mentioned in §3.4.1, until the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Ethiopian literary composition was predominantly in the form of Classical Ethiopic Christian writings to the extent that Conti Rossini (1899, 198) believes that without Christianity, there would have been no Ethiopian literature, and perhaps there would not have even been an Ethiopian empire! Nevertheless, some manuscripts survived in the “secular” Amharic language and some of them display features different from Modern Amharic. The designation “Old Amharic” is thus coined to refer to these written attestations Amharic prior to the 18<sup>th</sup> century (Girma A. D. 2014, 3). The earliest of these Old Amharic texts “could have been composed starting from the 14<sup>th</sup> cent[ury], but were written down later” (Nosnitsin 2003, 238).

#### 3.5.1 Previous studies on Old Amharic

Being the first systematic works on Amharic, Iob Ludolf’s Amharic grammar (Ludolf 1698a) and Amharic-Latin lexicon (Ludolf 1698b) remain till this day an invaluable treasure for their documentation of the Amharic language in its early forms as well as some social situations such as the Amharic-Gə‘əz diglossia. Ludolf (1698a) notes the vernacular Amharic language *ləssanä `ämḥara* is also called “language of the king” *ləssanä nəguś*, which was confined to the royal court and then transferred to common usage (Ludolf 1698a, 1). Classical Ethiopic, on the other hand retained “sua dignitas & puritas” in the Holy Scriptures, writings of the Church fathers, ancient books, and royal epistolary (Ludolf 1698a, 2). The grammar contains sections on orthography-phonology, morphology and syntax, with some annotated text samples at the end,

including a chapter from the *Gospel of Luke* (the only interlinear text), the *Apostles' Creed*, some formulaic expressions, a poem by his informant Abba Gregorius, and the *Fragmentum Piquesii*. The descriptions are concise, illustrated with examples and paradigms, and at times compared to Classical Ethiopic. The traditional European grammatical framework can be found forced onto Amharic, e.g., the proximal DEM paradigm (Ludolf 1698a, 43) is categorized into four “cases” but in fact they are just DEMs with different particles (*yä-*, *lä-*, *-ən*) attached:

*Table 14 Ludolf's (1698) paradigm of the proximal DEMs, with my transliteration*

	Singularis		Pluralis Communis
	Mascul.	Fœm.	
<b>Nom.</b>	<b>ይኸ፡ &amp; ዜኸ፡</b> hic, hoc <i>yəx, zex</i>	<b>ዜኸኸኸ፡</b> ista <i>zexəčč</i>	<b>እለዜኸ፡</b> isti, ista <i>'əlläzex</i>
<b>Gen.</b>	<b>የይኸ፡ &amp; የዜኸ፡</b> hujus, istius <i>yä-yəx, yä-zex</i>	<b>የዜኸኸ፡</b> <i>yä-zexəčč</i>	<b>የእለዜኸ፡</b> istorum, istarum <i>yä-'əlläzex</i>
<b>Dat.</b>	<b>ለይኸ፡ &amp; ለዜኸ፡</b> huic, isti <i>lä-yəx, lä-zex</i>	<b>ለዜኸኸ፡</b> <i>lä-zexəčč</i>	<b>ለእለዜኸ፡</b> istis <i>lä-'əlläzex</i>
<b>Acc.</b>	<b>ይኸን፡ &amp; ዜኸን፡</b> hunc, hoc <i>yəx-ən, zex-ən</i>	<b>ዜኸኸን፡</b> istam <i>zexəčč-ən</i>	<b>እለዜኸን፡ &amp; የእለዜኸን፡</b> istos, istas <i>'əlläzex-ən, yä-'əlläzex-ən</i>

See Krawczuk (2013) for the most recent discussion on Ludolf's grammar and its value as the first grammar of the Amharic language.

Praetorius' (1879) comprehensive study of Amharic targets the modern language, but the author was well informed of Ludolf's works and of the early manuscripts. He mentions Amharic is called “Sprache des Königs” due to the 14<sup>th</sup>-century relocation of the royal residence and political center to the southern part of the country where Amharic was spoken (Praetorius 1879, 2). Praetorius (1879) believes that the texts from the 17<sup>th</sup> century (or earlier) are no more than isolated attempts “ohne nachhaltigen Einfluss für die allgemeine volkstümliche Entwicklung und Ausbreitung des Amharischen als Schriftsprache” (ibid.). This remark should be interpreted in line with Conti Rossini's (1899) comments on the marginal status of written Amharic, rather than as denial of the value of the Old Amharic texts. Praetorius (1879) also remarks on the

lexical and syntactic deviations in Old Amharic from Modern Amharic, and cautiously notes it is difficult to judge whether (and if so, to what extent) such peculiarities are due to influence from Classical Ethiopic (Praetorius 1879, 8).

In general, Old Amharic texts are confined to a few genres. Although not necessarily like Conti Rossini's (1899, 198) comments on Ethiopian literature—"Non è vera espressione del genio nazionale: non poesia epica, non lirica, non un solo canto d'amore," it is true that a great portion of the texts are religious in nature. In general, Old Amharic texts have been edited and studied separately by a few scholars.

**Poetry** is the first genre of Old Amharic texts that received modern scholarly treatment. The oldest poems—Praising Poems or Royal Songs—are also the oldest written witness of Old Amharic, though Strelcyn (1964b, 257) believes that it is impossible to decide what language these Royal Songs were composed in or whether they reflect Amharic of that time.

The Royal Songs praise the deeds of heroic emperors of Ethiopia: 'Ämdä Şəyon, Yəşhäq, Zär'ä Ya'qob, Gälawdewos, etc. Praetorius (1879, 499–502) is the first to present three poems together with translations. These three poems become Song I, lines 1–15 of Song IV, and Song XI in Guidi's (1889) collective edition containing twelve poems. In a lengthy footnote on "le pays de Hadyah," Basset (1897, 188–89) mentions that Emperor 'Ämdä Şəyon's victory there has been repeatedly commemorated in Guidi's (1889) Songs VIII and IX, and provides a translation of lines 5–10 from Song IX. Esteves Pereira (1898) translates Song XI praising Emperor Gälawdewos into Portuguese. Littmann (1907, 264–66) translates Songs IV and XI as illustrations for "Volksliteratur," and later he produces a full translation (Littmann 1914) of the eleven poems in Guidi's (1889) edition which are attested in both the Oxford and Paris codices, and an Old Amharic glossary (Littmann 1943; 1947). Conti Rossini (1923a) presents and

translates two poems not appearing in Guidi’s (1889) edition; he also translates Song VII (Conti Rossini 1923b, 494) to discuss the vulture cult, and Song VI (Conti Rossini 1923b, 514) to discuss the difficulties in its interpretation. Cerulli (1961, 63) translates the entire Song IX and selected lines (1–4, 9, 19–24, and 31–32) from Song VIII as an exemplar of “canti guerrieri.” The other full translation (into Polish) of the eleven poems is by Mantel-Niećko (1957), with an introduction and commentaries in the footnotes.

There are also several poetic works dated later than the Royal Songs—some from the 17<sup>th</sup> century, others cannot be dated with certainty but generally believed to be from the 17<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> century. Many are characterized by religious themes. Getatchew (1979a) edits and translates four poem (three in Old Amharic) praising the “warrior” (*hārbāñña*)<sup>77</sup> ‘Äbalä Kərəstos who “made the Galla fall in his *gut*-hair style” (*gallan bətarəgfāw qəddəm bəgutu*). Getatchew (1991) edits and translates four *qəne* poems—the Gə‘əz rhymed poem with rigid requirements of both immediate significance and inner meaning (Habtemichael 2010)—composed in Old Amharic expressing laments/penitence. Two poems edited by Getatchew (2005; 2014) are categorized as “Condemnation of Glory” (*mārgämä kəbr*) thematically—the glory/wealth of this world is deceitful and condemnable, and death and judgement come mercilessly; a new poem with this theme is recently found and published by Bulakh and Nosnitsin (2019). Goldenberg (2013b) presents a critical edition of *mištirä šaggeyat*, the Old Amharic version of the *Mysteries of the Rosary*—prayers recited in honor of Virgin Mary with meditations on the life of Jesus Christ (J. D. Miller 2002).

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<sup>77</sup> The title “warrior” is also used in the Royal Songs mentioned above for ‘Ämdä Şəyon, but the name of this hero and the historical event, together with examination of the manuscript collection enable Getatchew (1979a, 228–29) to date it to the 17<sup>th</sup> century.

**Non-poetic religious treatises** produced in Old Amharic are likely the result of native Orthodox resistance to the Amharic writings by the Portuguese attempts to promote the Catholic faith in the 16<sup>th</sup> century (Nosnitsin 2003, 238). Most likely in the course of this counter-activity, some texts were translated from Classical Ethiopic, e.g., the *śānā fəṭrät* “Beauty of Creation” (Getatchew and Misrak 1991), others were composed in Amharic, with some insertions in Classical Ethiopic. The treatise *təmhərtä haymanot* “Teaching of Faith” is translated with commentaries by Cowley (1974) and further commented by Getatchew (1980). A treatise on the theology of Trinity is translated with commentaries by Getatchew (1979b). A treatise with instructions on the use of Psalms entitled *mišṭirä dawit* “Mystery of the Psalms” is translated with commentaries by Strelcyn (1981). The text *Fragmentum Piquesii*—the story of Mary who anointed Jesus’ feet recorded in Ludolf’s (1698a) grammar—is attested in a few more manuscripts and is edited and translated by Cowley (1983a). A short catechesis entitled *’änqäṣä haymanot* “Gate of Faith” is edited and translated with commentaries by Getatchew (1983a). The texts from the manuscript EMMML<sup>78</sup> 7007 which were copied in the 18<sup>th</sup> century but with clear Old Amharic features are commented by Getatchew (1983b) without edition or translation. A treatise on the *qəb’at* theology—theology of the Uctionists who maintain that Jesus became the Son of God via the unction of the Holy Spirit—is edited and translated with commentaries by Getatchew (1986). A treatise on the *Nicene Creed*, *ṣälotä haymanot*, attested in several manuscripts is edited and translated by Appleyard (2003). However, certain important grammatical features—such as the *-t(t)* “copula” (see below)—are missing from the text, though it does show typical Old Amharic phonology. A short catechesis of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church is edited and translated with commentaries by Getatchew (2011). Most recently, a

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<sup>78</sup> Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library, Addis Ababa/Collegeville.

commentary on the genealogy of Jesus Christ copied in the 18<sup>th</sup> century as an introductory note to the Ethiopic Gospels is edited and translated by Getatchew (2017).

**Medical texts** constitute a special category in the Old Amharic corpus. Three Ethiopian medical treatises contained in three manuscripts discovered in 1958 and three other centuries-old collections in the British Museum are published as critical editions by Strelcyn (1961; 1968b). One of them—the Treatise on Therapeutics attested in four manuscripts—reveals a highly Amharicized Ethiopic text containing Amharic prescriptions in two of the manuscripts and Amharic translations of the text independent of the other two manuscripts. The archaic phonological and morphological features in these texts are analyzed by Strelcyn (1964a).

**Lexical/grammatical treatises**, or *sāwasəw*, preserved in a number of manuscripts, are also of great value as they recorded archaic spellings of Old Amharic lexical items. Brauner-Plazikowski (1913; 1914) presents the first analysis of a *sāwasəw*. Getatchew (1979b) presents a *sāwasəw* based on two manuscripts with Amharic entries glossed by Ethiopic or Arabic words in Gə‘əz script, and comments on the word forms of each entry.

Compared to philological studies of Old Amharic, linguistic studies of Old Amharic are more scattered in the literature. In fact, a great number of linguistic analyses are embedded in the commentaries of the text editions mentioned above.

The first comprehensive linguistic treatment of Old Amharic is the grammar by Girma (2014)—with a recent concise version (Girma A. D. 2019)—which draws significantly from many previous linguistic studies. There are two studies devoted entirely to the linguistic analysis of the Royal Songs: Richter’s (1997) conference paper briefly covers the peculiarities of the Royal Songs but the linguistic section takes up less than half of the paper; Mantel-Niećko’s 1956 MA thesis (Łykowska and Piłaszewicz 2009, 11–12; Witakowski 2010, 222), which is

described<sup>79</sup> as having the linguistic analysis of the Royal Songs as its core content, unfortunately appears to have never been published, nor was I able to obtain a copy. As mentioned above, Getatchew (1979b) focuses on the lexical forms in his commentaries of the *sāwasaw* entries.

Commentaries on orthography in the edited texts together with some later dedicated works have established some key grammatical features of Old Amharic, as listed below in Table 15. In the square brackets are Modern Amharic equivalents for comparison:

*Table 15 Major features of Old Amharic; Girma (2014) omitted*

<b>I. Orthography</b>	
a.	Varied renderings of palatalized consonants, e.g., ከገፏል <i>ña</i> [ḡ], አጽዋቶቸሽም <i>ča</i> [ḡ], ከእጽ <i>ḡ(ə)</i> [ḡ], ገጽምሮ <i>žä</i> [ɲ]
	Observed by: Geta[t]chew (1979a, 233–34) and Cowley (1983a, 20–21)
b.	ቸ <i>čä</i> written instead of ቸ <i>č(ə)</i> , e.g., ነበረቸ <i>näbbäräčč«ä»</i> [ነበረቸ]
	Observed by: Geta[t]chew (1970, 70, n. 10), Cowley (1974, 602; 1983a, 20), Strelcyn (1981, 73), and Bulakh and Nosnitsin (2019, 331)
c.	ቺ <i>či</i> & ሺ <i>ši</i> written instead of ቸ <i>č(ə)</i> & ሽ <i>š(ə)</i> , e.g., <i>näčči</i> ‘she is’ [näčč], <i>məšitu</i> ‘his wife’ [məštu]
	Observed by: Getatchew (1979a, 234; 1983b, 158–59; 2011, 72), Strelcyn (1981, 73), and Bulakh and Nosnitsin (2019, 331)
d.	Some particles written as separate words, e.g., <i>bäqəbe nna</i> <i>bäqəba</i> ‘with butter and with holy oil’ [ <i>bäqəbe-nna</i> <i>bäqəba</i> ]
	Observed by: Strelcyn (1981, 74), Richter (1997, 550), and Bulakh and Nosnitsin (2019, 331)
e.	COP <i>näw</i> joint to the preceding word, e.g., <i>fitnäw</i> ‘it is face’ [ <i>fit</i> <i>näw</i> ]
	Observed by: Getatchew (1979b, 121), Cowley (1983a, 25), and Bulakh and Nosnitsin (2019, 331)
f.	More etymologically correct *ḡ & *š, e.g., <i>’äsdänäggäḡ/šä</i> ‘to terrify’ [ <i>’äsdänäggätä</i> ], <i>käšəru</i> ‘from its root’ [ <i>käs/šəru</i> ]
	Observed by: Richter (1997, 548)

<sup>79</sup> See Mantel-Niećko (1957, 287, footnote): “Poniższy przekład zaopatrzony wstępem i komentarzem stanowi fragment pracy magisterskiej, napisanej pod kierunkiem prof. Stefana Strelcyna przy Katedrze Semitystyki Instytutu Orientalistycznego UW. Główny trzon pracy stanowi analiza językoznawcza Pieśni królewskich” (The following translation provided with an introduction and commentary is a fragment of a master’s thesis written under the direction of Prof. Stefan Strelcyn at the Department of Semitics, Oriental Institute, the University of Warsaw. The main stem of the work is the linguistic analysis of the Royal Songs).

Table 15 Major features of Old Amharic; Girma (2014) omitted (continued)

<p><b>II. Phonology</b></p> <p>a. <u>Preservation of *s as <b>ṣ</b> &amp; <b>ṣ</b>,</u>  e.g., <i>ṣaffətaččihu</i> ‘you are spiced/tasty’ [<i>ʃaffətaččəhu</i>]  Observed by: Strelcyn (1964a, 109–10; 1981, 75), Cowley (1974, 603), Getatchew (1979a, 234; 1983b, 161–62; 1991, 528), Richter (1997, 548), Appleyard (2003, 115), and Bulakh and Nosnitsin (2019, 333–34)  Studied by: Strelcyn (1968a) and Podolsky (1985; 1991)</p> <p>b. <u>General preservation of *h <b>ḥ</b>, *h <b>ḥ</b> &amp; *h <b>ḥ</b>,</u>  e.g., <i>ḥänd</i> ‘one’ [<i>ʔänd</i>], <i>ḥatta</i> ‘to miss, not to find’ [<i>ʔättə</i>],  <i>y«ä»wäqsän ḥäll</i> ‘he will charge us (with wrongdoing)’ [<i>yəwäqsän-all</i>]  Observed by: Cowley (1974, 605; 1983a, 21), Strelcyn (1981, 75), Getatchew (1991, 529), and Bulakh and Nosnitsin (2019, 332)</p> <p>c. <u>Some preservation of * <b>o</b> &amp; * <b>ḥ</b>,</u>  e.g., <i>mälkä</i> ‘am-a ‘pleasant’ [<i>mälkam</i>]  Observed by: Cowley (1974, 603; 1983a, 21), Strelcyn (1981, 74), and Bulakh and Nosnitsin (2019, 332)</p> <p>d. <u>Widespread spirantization of *k &gt; x/h <b>ḥ</b>,</u>  Observed by: Bulakh and Nosnitsin (2019, 334)  Studied by: Podolsky (1985; 1991)</p> <p>e. <u><i>geta</i> <b>ገታ</b> ‘master, lord’ spelt as <i>g<sup>w</sup>eta</i> <b>ገታ</b>,</u>  Observed by: Praetorius (1879, 202), Getatchew (1979a, 235; 1983b, 163; 1991, 527), and Cowley (1983a, 20)</p>	
<p><b>III. Morphology</b></p> <p>a. <u>PL suffix <i>-ačč(i)</i>,</u>  e.g., <i>läḡ-ačč</i> ‘children’ [<i>läḡ-očč</i>],  Observed by: Getatchew (1983b, 162; 1986, 234; 1991, 527), and Bulakh and Nosnitsin (2019, 335)</p> <p>b. <u>2MSG suffix <i>-xä -ḥ</i>,</u>  e.g., <i>ʔyəmsäl-xä</i> ‘may it not appear to you’ [<i>ʔyəmsäl-əḥ</i>],  <i>yäsämma-xä</i> ‘you who have heard’ [<i>yäsämma-h</i>]  Observed by: Getatchew (1991, 527) and Bulakh and Nosnitsin (2019, 335)</p> <p>c. <u>3MSG object suffix <i>-əw</i>,</u>  e.g., <i>ʔäynor-əw</i> ‘there will not be to him’ [<i>ʔäynor-üw</i>]  Observed by: Getatchew (1986, 235) and Bulakh and Nosnitsin (2019, 335)  Studied by: Goldenberg (2013a; 2017)</p> <p>d. <u>3FSG object suffix <i>-wat</i>,</u>  e.g., <i>mähḥärä-wat</i> ‘he forgave her’ [<i>mar-at</i>]  Observed by: Getatchew (1979b, 122),  Studied by: Goldenberg (2013a; 2017)</p> <p>e. <u>3CPL subject suffix <i>-(w)aččo</i>, (CVB) <i>-o</i>,</u>  e.g., <i>nä-waččo</i> ‘they are’ [<i>n-aččüw</i>]  Observed by: Cowley (1974, 603, 604), Getatchew (1983b, 122; 1986, 237), Goldenberg (2013b, 169), and Bulakh and Nosnitsin (2019, 335–36)  Studied by: Goldenberg (2013a; 2017)</p> <p>f. <u>3MSG DEM <i>yəxä</i>,</u></p>	

Table 15 Major features of Old Amharic; Girma (2014) omitted (continued)

Observed by: Getatchew (1986, 239) and Bulakh and Nosnitsin (2019, 335)
<u>g. DEM element -ll-,</u> e.g., 'allex, 'alläzzex 'these' [ 'ännäzzih, regional 'allih, 'älläzzih, 'ännih]
Observed by: Ludolf (1698a, 43) and Cowley (1974, 604)
<u>h. DEM element -zzex/h,</u> e.g., bāzzex 'here, in this (way)' [bāzzih]
Observed by: Geta[t]chew (1970, 74), Cowley (1974, 604), Appleyard (2003, 115), and Bulakh and Nosnitsin (2019, 335)
<u>i. yä- REL for negated IMPF,</u> e.g., y-a-ynoräw 'that there is not' [yämm-a-ynoräw]
Observed by: Getatchew (1970, 79–80; 1979a, 235; 1979b, 121; 1986, 234), Cowley (1974, 604; 1977, 139, 142), Goldenberg (1977, 488), Appleyard (2003, 115), and Bulakh and Nosnitsin (2019, 336–37)
<u>j. yä- REL for non-negated IMPF, or rather, IMPF without REL marker,</u> e.g., k-immälläs 'from (the fact) that he returns' [k-ämm-immälläs]
Observed by: Goldenberg (1977, 488), Cowley (1983a, 23), Getatchew (1983b, 164), and Bulakh and Nosnitsin (2019, 336)
<u>k. NEG main clause verb without -(ə)mm,</u> e.g., 'andet 'ü-lännässa 'how can I not be resurrected' [ 'andet 'ü-lännässa-mm]
Observed by: Getatchew (1986, 237; 1991, 530) and Bulakh and Nosnitsin (2019, 336)
<u>l. AUX -all can retain 3CPL suffix in compound verbal forms,</u> e.g., täbäläw-all-u 'they have been called' [täbäläw-all]
Observed by: Getatchew (1983b, 163)
<u>m. ACC -(ə)n can be on objects without DEF marking,</u> e.g., mäqabər-ən sikäftu 'when they opened [the] tomb' [mäqabər-u-n]
Observed by: Cowley (1974, 606) and Getatchew (1983b, 164–65)
<u>n. Contrasting PREPS: comitative tä- vs directive kä-,</u> Observed by: Praetorius (1879, 401), Littmann (1943, 483, 489, 493), and Bulakh and Nosnitsin (2019, 337–38)
<u>o. PREP 'ənbälä 'without' instead of yalä,</u> e.g., 'ənbälü ləbse 'without my clothes' [yalü ləbse]
Observed by: Cowley (1974, 606–7), Getatchew (1983b, 163), and Appleyard (2003, 115)
<b>IV. Syntax</b>
<u>a. Simple IMPF can occur in main clauses,</u> e.g., 'äb kəbäbun yämäsl 'Father resembles the circle.' [ 'äb kəbäbun yämäsl-all]
Observed by: Getatchew (1980, 579), Strelcyn (1981, 80), Cowley (1983a, 25), and Bulakh and Nosnitsin (2019, 338); cf. no compound IMPF in Royal Songs (Richter 1997, 550)
<u>b. COP (or perhaps rather FOC) -t(t),</u> e.g., täbayaččäw-ät(t) 'He is their nature.' [täbayaččäw (näw)] mässaleh yəh-ät(t) näw 'Is this your example?' [mässaleh näw]
Observed by: Goldenberg (1974, 247), Getatchew (1979b, 119–21; 1983a, 29; 1983b, 167–68; 1986, 238–40), Cowley (1983a, 25, 31–33; 1983b, 24–25), and Bulakh and Nosnitsin (2019, 339)
Studied by: Goldenberg (1976), Cowley (1977) and Crass et al (2005)
<u>c. Lack of rigid left-branching (§2.2.2.2) word order,</u>

*Table 15 Major features of Old Amharic; Girma (2014) omitted (continued)*

<p>e.g., <i>’askä 30 ’amät fäṣṣämäṽ hullun säwwänätO käḥaṭi ’ät bäqär<sub>ADV</sub></i>  ‘In the course of 30 years, He completed<sub>V</sub> His whole body<sub>O</sub> except for  sin<sub>ADV</sub>.’ [<i>’askä 30 ’amätat käḥaṭi ’ät bäqär<sub>ADV</sub> hullun säwwänätO fäṣṣämäṽ</i>]  Observed by: Cowley (1974, 606; 1983a, 26–27), Strelcyn (1981, 80–81), Getatchew  (2011, 72–73), and Bulakh and Nosnitsin (2019, 339)  Studied by: Little (1974a)</p>
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The features in Table 15 are taken into consideration by default in the text processing for the corpus analysis.

### 3.5.2 Corpus analysis of Old Amharic word order

#### 3.5.2.1 Text selection

As mentioned in §3.5.1, the oldest text available for Old Amharic is the collection of the Royal Songs, and it is very likely that they contain more archaic features than the later texts. For instance, feature IV-a in Table 16: the regular Modern Amharic main clause verb form—the compound IMPF (IMPF+AUX)—encounters many exceptions in Old Amharic texts, where both simple and compound IMPF can appear in the main clause, however, the Royal Songs attest no compound IMPFs at all. Nevertheless, due to the poetic nature of the Royal Songs with the requirements for rhyming verses, the “normal” word order is easily compromised. Therefore, for the purpose of this study, poems composed in Old Amharic are excluded from consideration.

We do have at our disposal a number of non-poetic texts but it is also important to note that the majority of these texts are religious in nature, and admittedly, the genre is restricted and may involve stylistic or structural considerations that affect the composition. Unfortunately, the medical texts did not become available to me until the later stage of this project, so I was only able to make my text selection from the group which I labeled as “**non-poetic religious treaties**” (§3.5.1).

The text selected is *Fragmentum Piquesii* (Cowley 1983a), and there are three reasons for selecting this text. Firstly, this text is essentially a narrative, telling the story of Mary who repented of her sins and went to anoint Jesus' feet with unguent. Generally speaking, narratives are considered a good source for the study of word order (Longacre 1990). Like the other religious commentaries, there is a significant portion composed as reflections to the story, with comments on the worldly deception and the spiritual eternity resonating with the "Condemnation of Glory" poems (§3.5.1). However, these reflections are realized as lengthy monologues of Mary, which might resemble the actual speech. Secondly, published in the *Journal of Semitic Studies*, this text is relatively easy to obtain and it is also among the few texts that have been edited and published with both the text and its images. The text that Little (1974a) has consulted (MS Clarke Or. 39) should also be worth investigating, but unfortunately neither Ullendorff's (1951) catalog nor the recent publication on that manuscript (Girma G. 2019) was available to me at the earlier stages of this project. Lastly, Cowley's (1983a) commentaries are rich but also at times overly concise, and there seems to be some remaining issues worth addressing in this text.

### 3.5.2.2 Text processing

Cowley's (1983a) edited text was first rendered in Unicode text similarly as in §3.4.2. As mentioned in §3.5.1, Old Amharic features a number of innovated graphic representations for palatalized consonants (Table 15, feature I-a) and several of them contained in this text are still not assigned any character codes in the latest Unicode 13.0 Ethiopic blocks:<sup>80</sup> ጰ, ጱ, ጲ, etc. These letters are altered to the corresponding letters in the Modern Amharic syllabary as long as

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<sup>80</sup> See the four Unicode 13.0 Character Code Charts for Ethiopic (Unicode, Inc 2020a; 2020b; 2020c; 2020d).

they are consistent throughout the text, e.g., for *ñ*, (**ጽገኗል** rendered as **ጽገኛል**). Then, as in §3.4.2, the text in Unicode characters was loaded into FLE<sub>x</sub> version 8.3.11 SE installed on the virtual Windows 10 operating system.

Transliteration is manually performed in FLE<sub>x</sub> in accordance with the principles outlined in §3.4.2, with the same goal to preserve the graphic representation as much as possible. The abovementioned innovative signs are treated in transliteration as their modern counterparts except for instances of different representations for the same consonant. For instance,<sup>81</sup>

- (33) Rendering different *çV* signs **ጽ** and **ጹ** (original image quality)
- a. (FP 5.6) as **አጸጥቶቸሽም** using **ጸ** with a macron (U+0304)  
*'äččawat-očč=əš=əmm*  
 entertainer-PL=2FSG=FOC  
 ‘Also/even your entertainers...’
- b. (FP 5.2) as **ሲጹምሩ** using **ጹ**  
*s=i-čämmər-u*  
 while=3M-add\IMPF-PL  
 ‘While they add...’

As mentioned in §3.5.1, Girma’s (2014) grammar is the only one available with many of the scattered materials gathered in one place, so it is consulted together with the reference grammars of Modern Amharic by Hartmann (1980) and Leslau (1995). Due to diachronic sound changes (especially the loss of the gutturals), Modern Amharic is characterized by a number of biradical verb classes with peculiar conjugation patterns (Leslau 1995, 507–48) that are different from those of the triradical verbs. An example is provided in Table 16 containing the different derivational stems contrasting the 3MSG forms of the biradical verbs of the *samä* class ( $\sqrt{sm} <$

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<sup>81</sup> Corpus index number of the examples are provided as “FP No<sub>1</sub>.No<sub>2</sub>” following §3.4.3.

\*√sCm) with the corresponding forms of the regular triradical verbs represented by *näggärä*

(√ngr):

Table 16 Modern Amharic paradigms: biradical Class *samä* vs triradical √ngr

	basic stem		<i>tä</i> -stem		<i>'ä</i> -stem		<i>'äs</i> -stem	
	biradical Class <i>samä</i>	triradical	biradical Class <i>samä</i>	triradical	biradical Class <i>samä</i>	triradical	biradical Class <i>samä</i>	triradical
PERF	<i>samä</i>	<i>näggärä</i>	<i>tälakä</i>	<i>tänäggärä</i>	<i>'älaqä</i>	<i>'änäggärä</i>	<i>'äsnaqä</i>	<i>'äsnäggärä</i>
IMPF	<i>yäsəm</i>	<i>yänägr</i>	<i>yällak</i>	<i>yännäggär</i>	<i>yaləq</i>	<i>yanägr</i>	<i>yasnəq</i>	<i>yasnäggər</i>
JUSS	<i>yəsam</i>	<i>yəngär</i>	<i>yällak</i>	<i>yännägär</i>	<i>yaləq</i>	<i>yangər</i>	<i>yasnəq</i>	<i>yasnäggər</i>

Where the gutturals are preserved in Old Amharic, the transliteration essentially renders it following the strong verb patterns as reconstructed forms. For instance:

(34) እም ያስምህረን (FP 7.7) \*√mhr, cf. modern *'äsmarä*, expected IMPF *yasmər*

'əmm=y-asməhhər=än

REL=3M-cause\_to\_forgive\IMPF=1CPL

'the one who causes to forgive us'

As for lexical meanings, apart from Littmann's (1943; 1947) glossary, I mainly rely on Modern Amharic dictionaries (Leslau 1976; Kane 1990) by reversing the sound changes and consulting the extremely helpful variant forms in d'Abbadie's (1881) entries.<sup>82</sup>

### 3.5.2.2 Statistics and results

#### 3.5.2.2.1 General statistics

The corpus size as calculated by FLEx is as follows:

<sup>82</sup> For instance, the word ሙኣያ *mu 'äya* (in ሌላስ፡ ሙኣያኤለው። *lelass mu 'äya- 'elläw*)—also cited by Girma (2019, 89) where it is glossed as 'function,' apparently based on Cowley's (1983a, 14) translation of this sentence 'it has no other function'—is not attested in this form in Modern Amharic but it is noted by d'Abbadie (1881, 101) in the entry "ሙኣያ ou ማያ, voyez ዋለ" where it is glossed as "gages de la journée, salaire" with variants ማያ and ዋያ. The forms without the guttural are attested in Modern Amharic as ሙያ *muya*, ዋያ *moya* or ማያ *m'äya*, with the meanings "skill, craft (skill), professional specialty, achievement, deed, virtue; grammatical category, e.g., subject, object, main verb; day's pay" (Kane 1990, 1476).

*Table 17 Old Amharic corpus size*

<b>Texts &amp; Words Statistics</b>	
Total number of unique words (types):	812
Total word count (tokens):	1113
Total number of sentences (segments):	48

As noted in §3.4.3, the sentence count is based on the punctuation in the original script, therefore it does not necessarily reflect the actual number of sentences.

The distribution of verb(al) forms in the corpus is as follows:

*Table 18 Verb(al) forms in the Old Amharic corpus*

<b>Verb(al) form</b>	<b>Count</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
VPERF	180	39%
VIMPF	214	46%
VJUSS	17	4%
VIMPV	16	3%
VCVB	43	9%
<b>Sum</b>	<b>470</b>	

Among them, two verbs are contained in an embedded Classical Ethiopic quotation: ባይለወጥ፡

ቃልኸ፡ ኢመጸዕኩ፡ ዕጸውዕ፡ ጻድቃነ፡ አላ፡ ጎጥአነ፡ ለንስሐ፡ (FP 11.1) ‘if your word is not changed, “I did not come to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance.”’

### 3.5.2.2.2 Tracking the O

As in §3.4.3, I target the transitive verbs for the purpose of tracking O. The distribution of transitivity in the corpus is as follows:

*Table 19 Transitivity in the Old Amharic corpus*

<b>Transitivity</b>	<b>Count</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
V <sub>transitive</sub>	264	56%
V <sub>intransitive</sub>	206	44%
<b>Sum</b>	<b>470</b>	

Note that in Table 18 and Table 19, the PTCP forms are not included because all PTCPs in the corpus functions as nominals. Only in one instance is the PTCP (of ‘say’) used with its DO: ባጁ፡ ባዩ፡ (FP 2.1) ‘the one saying “all right.”’

However, there are a few difficult cases among the transitive verbs. Semantically, these verbs could involve two participants, but structurally they may govern either an ACC or OBL noun or even appear only with their subjects: *mäkkärä* ‘to advise someone’ vs ‘to take counsel (with),’ *gäbba* ‘to enter some place,’ *\*täräbbähä* ‘to benefit someone’ or ‘to profit,’ *’ämmällätä* ‘to escape’ or ‘to miss something or someone,’ *\*täqwättä* ‘ä’ ‘to be(come) angry’ or ‘to scold someone,’ *\*tä’ämmänä* ‘to have faith’ vs ‘to trust someone,’ etc. These factors complicate the picture of transitivity in the corpus.

Thus, not all transitive verbs in the corpus occur with their DOs. Some appear to govern a DO inferred from context, while others never appear with a DO at all. As an example, the verb *’älä* ‘to say’ is selected for the following discussion relevant to pronominal resumption.

The verb *’älä* ‘to say’ naturally governs a direct speech as its DO, therefore, most occurrences of this verb are bare, but sometimes a pronominal suffix is attached to it:

(35) ተቂት፡ ቆዩም፡ አላለዋት። (FP 2.4)

*təqit*                      *qoy-i=mm*                      *’äl=al-ä=wat*  
 small amount    wait\IMPV-FSG=FOC    NEG=say\PERF-3MSG=**3FSG**  
 ‘Also/even “Wait a moment!” he did not say to her.’

In Modern Amharic, 3MSG and 3FSG suffixes appear as *-at* and *-äw* respectively on verbs ending in *-ä*.<sup>83</sup> As mentioned in §3.5.1, Goldenberg (2013a; 2017) points out that Old Amharic 3FSG object suffix is always *-wat*. Since the Gə‘əz *fidäl* does not indicate gemination, it is theoretically possible to interpret this written form *’ä-la-lä-wä-t(ə)* as *\*’älal-äw<sup>2</sup>-wat*, i.e., not only with the

<sup>83</sup> The form of the suffixes is conditioned by the ending of the verb. In sum, forms of the 3MSG and 3FSG suffixes relevant to the discussion here are as follows:

V ending in	-C	-š, -č	-w	-ä	-a	-e	-i	-u	o
3MSG	-äw	-əw	-ət	-(ä)äw		-w			-t
3FSG		-at		-(ä)at	-t	- <sup>y</sup> at			- <sup>w</sup> at

3MSG suffix but also with the 3MSG suffix as a resumptive pronoun. Similarly, the following sentence appears to contain a resumptive 3MSG suffix:

(36) የኅጢአቱዋነም፡ ብዝሃቱን፡ ልንገረዋቸው፡ (FP 4.1)

yä=häti'ät(=u)=wa=nä=mm bəzḥät=u=n      lə-ngär=äw<sup>2</sup>=waččəḥ<sup>w</sup>  
 GEN=sin(=DEF)=3FSG=?=FOC      abundance=3MSH=ACC 1CSG.JUSS-tell\JUSS=3MSG=2CPL  
 ‘As for the abundance of her sin, let me tell it<sup>2</sup> to you.’

Despite the problems<sup>84</sup> in the first word, the 2CPL suffix (modern *-aččəhu*) with a *w* is expected for Old Amharic, paralleling the *-at* ~ *-wat* alternation in 3FSG mentioned above. Reading an extra *w* even makes it easier to account for the *-ä-* vowel at the end of the verb, since unlike the PERF verb in the example above, *-ä* should *not* end a JUSS verb. However, such interpretations would form a sequence of ACC-DAT, i.e., DO-IO, which is contrary to Gensler’s (1998) observation of the V-IO-DO order overwhelmingly attested in the Semitic languages. The alternative solution is to assume an allomorphy for all the *-waX* suffixes, i.e., 3FSG *-(ä)wat*, 2CPL *-(ä)waččəḥ<sup>w</sup>*, 3CPL *-(ä)waččo*. But Ludolf’s (1698a, 51) examples do not support this, e.g., the following verb ending in a consonant attached with an *-waX* suffix<sup>85</sup> without epenthesis:

(37) ይሰጥዎቻል፡ *Dabitur vobis*

yə-sät=waččəḥ<sup>w</sup>=all  
 3M-give\IMPF=2CPL=AUX  
 ‘He will give (to) you.’

<sup>84</sup> Cowley’s (1983a, 4) apparatus notes a variant spelling የኅጢአትዋነም, i.e., *yähäti’ätwanämm*, without the *-u-* morpheme, which is expected considering the DEF article should not appear when the POSS suffixes are attached. In addition, the *-nä-* morpheme is unclear. Girma (2019, 90) glosses the same morphemes “*-nä-m*” in another word as “-Acc-focus,” which certainly works considering it is the DO. However, the Amharic ACC marker should be *-(ə)n*. See more discussion below in §3.6.

<sup>85</sup> It is also interesting that the 2CPL pronoun is the IO in this example.



The ambiguity arises due to the fact that REL verbs also take the DEF article for determination (Kapeliuk 1988, 75; Leslau 1995, 83ff.). However, such an analysis would force an interpretation of unmarked REL. Although unmarked REL is indeed possible (cf. Table 15, feature III-j), one would then expect that there is a COP<sup>87</sup> forming a cleft structure so that the verb can be more convincingly analyzed as an unmarked REL verb.

Examples (40) and (41) below likely attest 3MSG resumptive pronouns in non-REL environments:

(40) ያን፡ ጉሉ፡ መዝገብ፡ ሸጠቸው (FP 10.4)

ya=n      h<sup>w</sup>əllu      mägäb      šät-äčč=əw  
 that=ACC      all      treasury      sell\PERF-3FSG=3MSG  
 ‘All that treasure, she sold it/to him(?).’

(41) እምደው፡ እንደነፍሴ፡ እቅብዓው፡ ብዬ፡ (FP 10.4)

’əmm=ə-wädd=äw      ’əndä=näfs=e      ’ə-qäbbə ‘a=w<sup>88</sup>      bəy-ye  
 REL=1CSG-love\IMPF=DEF      like=soul=1CSG      1CSG-anoint\IMPF=3MSG      say\CVB-1CSG  
 ‘The one that I love like my soul, I intend<sup>89</sup> to anoint him.’

Yet in the given context, (40) is still ambiguous—Mary has been speaking with the unguent trader and this sentence closes the scene. Therefore, it is also possible that the 3MSG suffix refers

<sup>87</sup> The verb *yəḥon* as an AUX in the sentence is *not* the COP; it is used with simple IMPF verbs to express “possibility or probability in the present-future in a main clause” (Leslau 1995, 326).

<sup>88</sup> As it is spelled, this verb (እቅብዓው) should read ’əqəbbə ‘aw. No apparatus exists for manuscript variants in this section and the blurry image seems to show a faded stain to the left on the top of the vertical stroke resembling a ቅ, but it is unclear whether the faded stain is part of the letter. The expected form for this IMPF verb should be እቅብዓው, as attested three times elsewhere: 2FSG ትቅብዓው (FP 10.2 and FP 10.4), 3fsg ትቅብዓው (11.1). The transliteration here reflects the expected form.

<sup>89</sup> Literally: ‘The one that I love like my soul, “I will anoint him,” I having said.’ In Amharic, a direct speech followed by *bəl-* say\CVB expresses intention (Kane 1990, 1096).

to the trader, i.e., the omitted contextual IO. In (41), however, we do see a genuine 3MSG suffix resuming a headless REL clause.

Theoretically, the existence of an ACC marker should be a good indicator for object positions. Unfortunately, neither Modern Amharic—ACC on DEF DO (or its modifiers)<sup>90</sup>—nor Old Amharic (Table 15, feature III-m) marks all DO with ACC *-(ə)n*. With 264 occurrences of transitive verb(al) forms, the corpus attests seventy-nine occurrences of *-(ə)n* (Table 21), excluding the uncertain *-(ə)nä* which might be related to ACC marking. Of course, one should not expect every transitive verb(al) form to be accompanied by an overt nominal DO either.

Table 21 Distribution of the ACC marker

Occurrence of the ACC marker	Occurrence (×no. of ACC)	Percentage
V-O	3×2 + 1×1 + 1×7	18%
O-V	41×1 + 1×3 + 3×2	63%
Interrogative [“how many”] Adverb?	4×1	5%
[“as much as that,” “stand nakedly,” “like the earthly king,” “with that unguent,”] Topic? [“regarding my sin”] uncertain	7×1 1×1 1×3	9% 1% 4%
<b>Total</b>	<b>79</b>	

The morpheme *-(ə)nä* occurred five times in the corpus, all followed by the *-mm* particle which has multiple functions and seems to be marking some kind of focality. All of these *-(ə)nä-mm* occurrences are in O-V clauses, but it is doubtful that this *-(ə)nä* is to be analyzed as a variant of the ACC *-(ə)n*:

(42) Two examples with the uncertain morpheme *-(ə)nä*

a. እግዚአብሔርንም፡ አባቴሆይ፡ አቤቴ፡ ብለው፡ ይራርጎይ፡ እኮን፡ (FP 10.4)

'əgzi 'äbəher=ənä=mm    'äbbatehoy    'äbetu    b=ə-l=äw  
God=?=FOC                    O\_father            O\_my\_master    if=1CSG-say\IMPF=3MSG

<sup>90</sup> See Cohen (1936, 82) and Hetzron (1970, 308).

yə-rarrəḥä=yy 'əkkon

3M-be\_merciful\IMPF=1CSG? indeed

'If I say to God, "O, my father, O, my master!" he is sure to be merciful to me.'

b. የሰይጣንንም፡ ቸብቸቦውን፡ ደግሜ፡ እቈርጸው፡ (FP 10.6)

yä=säyṭan=ənä=mm čäbčäbbo=w=ən dägṃ-e

GEN=satan=?=FOC (severed)head=3MSG=ACC repeat\CVB-1CSG

'ə-qärṣ=äw

1CSG-cut\IMPF=3MSG

'I [should] again cut the neck of Satan.'

As noted above, the pronominal suffixes on the verb “to say” appear more likely to be the IO. Therefore, in (42a), there is no syntactic position for a DO at all. In (42b), it is remarkable that this *-(ə)nä* is written out orthographically as a ነ *nä* following the ን *n* of ሰይጣን *säyṭan*, which is *not* expected if the sequence is *-nnä-* or *-nä-*.<sup>91</sup> In fact, the DO marker is *not* expected to appear on *both* the modifier *and* the head noun of a GEN construction—as in (42b)—in Modern Amharic.<sup>92</sup> It is further remarkable that the this *-(ə)nä* is attested twice with the pattern Gen[GEN=N<sub>i</sub>=(ə)nä=mm] N=PRON<sub>i</sub> as in (42b). The other instance (የኅጢአቱዋንም፡ ብዝኅቱን፡) has already been cited in (36). This pattern closely parallels the reversed *wäld-u lä-nəguś* pattern used for the Gen-N order in Classical Ethiopic as in (32), where the fronted *lä-nəguś* part is also attached by a particle of emphasis: ለዕሐይኒ፡ ፍትረቱ፡ *lä=dähäy=ni fəträt=u*. It seems possible that this *-(ə)nä*—perhaps together with *-mm*—could be interpreted as marking topicality,

<sup>91</sup> Because geminate consonants are not expressed in the *fidäl* orthography, both *säyṭannä* and *säyṭanä* are to be written as ሰይጣነ *sä-yə-ṭa-nä* rather than that in የሰይጣንንም of (42b).

<sup>92</sup> See Leslau (1995, 184): “In a P+noun-noun complex the marker -ን is placed with the possessor.”

resulting in translations such as: “as for God, if I say to him...” and “as for that of Satan, I [should] again...”

### 3.5.2.2.3 Word orders not characteristic of V-final

In terms of statistics, Table 21 indeed shows an overall majority of V-final patterns. In addition to the ACC marked V-O occurrences, there are also a few other instances of intransitive V-S patterns. See the examples below:

- (43) **ንጽሕፋለን፡ በጥቂቱ፡ ቸርነቱን፡ የእግዚአብሔርን፡ ለእኛ፡ ያደረገልን፡** (FP 2.1)

<i>nə-ṣəḥf=</i> all-än	<i>bä=ṭəqit=</i> u	<i>čärənnät=</i> u= <i>n</i>
1CPL-write\IMPF=AUX-1CPL	in=small_amount=DEF	goodness=DEF/3MSG=ACC
<i>yä=</i> 'əgzi'äbəher= <i>ən</i>	<i>lä=</i> 'əñña	<i>y=</i> adärräg-ä= <i>ll=ən</i>
GEN=God=ACC	for=1CPL	REL=make\PERF-3MSG=APPL=1CPL

‘We write in brief the goodness of God which he did for us.’

- (44) **ጽሪልኝ፡ ያን፡ ነጋዴ፡ ዕፍረት፡ ያለውን፡** (FP 9.4)

<i>ṣər-i=</i> ll= <i>əññ</i>	<i>ya=</i> n	<i>näggade</i>	<i>‘əfrät</i>	<i>y=</i> all= <i>äw=ən</i>
call\IMPV-FSG=APPL=1CSG	that=ACC	merchant	unguent	REL=there_be\PERF=3MSG=ACC

‘Call for my benefit that merchant who has unguent!’

- (45) **የተቀበለኝ፡ እንደኞን፡ ነገሩን፡** (FP 8.3)

<i>yä=</i> täqäbbäl-ä= <i>ññ</i>	<i>‘əndäḥon</i>	<i>nägär=</i> u= <i>n</i>
REL=receive\PERF-3MSG=1CSG	if	matter=DEF=ACC

‘If he receives the matter for me, ...’

- (46) **ነበረች፡ ሐንድ፡ ሴት፡ ዕኑዕ፡ መልክዓማ፡** (FP 3.1)

<i>näbbär-äčč</i>	<i>ḥänd</i>	<i>set</i>	<i>dənu</i>	<i>mälkä</i>	<i>‘am=a</i>
be\PERF-3FSG	one	woman	determined	beautiful=INJUNCTIVE	

‘[Once upon a time] there was a determined and comely woman.’

- (47) **አለ፡ አኹንም፡ ብርድ፡ አስሐትያ፡** (FP 5.4)



(50) አውፅታ፡ ብትሐይ፡ የግምቱውን፡ ብዝሃት፡ የወርቁን፡ የብሩን፡ የጎንጎትን፡ የጸዓትን፡ የስብር፡

ስንጥርን፡ የቤት፡ አቅሐዋን፡ ቁጸሬታ፡ የሌለው፡ የአኻል፡ ብትሐይ፡ ስትል፡ (FP 9.2)

'äwdät-a                      bə=t-häy                      yä=gəmmät=u=w=ən                      bəzḥät  
 take\_out\CVB-3FSG    when=3FSG-see\IMPF    GEN=estimation=DEF=3MSG=ACC    abundance  
 yä=wärq=u=n                      yä=bərr=u=n                      yä=hängät=ən                      yä=šä'at=ən  
 GEN=gold=DEF=ACC                      GEN=silver=DEF=ACC                      GEN=neck=ACC                      GEN=finger=ACC  
 yä=səbər                      sənṭər=n                      yä=bet                      'äqḥä=wa=n                      q'äṭäreta  
 GEN=broken                      splinter=ACC                      GEN=house                      utensil(s)=3FSG=ACC                      enumerating  
 yä=lell=äw                      yä'äxəl                      bə=t-häy  
 REL=there\_be\PERF.SUBORD.NEG=3MSG    as\_much\_as                      when=3FSG-see\IMPF  
 sə=tə-l

while=3FSG-say\IMPF

‘When, having taken out, she saw’, when she saw the abundance of its estimation [value], of gold and of silver, of the ornaments for neck and finger, of her house utensils as much as which there was no number, she said:...

(51) በለዝያ፡ ማዕኸል፡ ክፉ፡ ምግባርሺን፡ ሲሰሙልሽ፡ በዚያ፡ ዱለት፡ የሚያሳፍር። (FP 6.7)

bä=lä=zzəya    ma'xäl    kəfu    mägbar=ši=n    s=i-säm-u=ll=əš  
 in=for=that    middle    evil    deed=2FSG=ACC    while=3M-hear\IMPF-PL=APPL=2FSG  
 bä=zziya    dulät    yämm=iy-assaffər  
 in=that    assembly    REL=3M-cause\_to\_measure\_out\IMPF

‘When, in the midst of those [angels], they heard you concerning your evil deed which caused [you] shame in that assembly.’

The examples above all contain postposed RCs; only in (51) is the RC separated from the head noun ‘deed.’ The lengthy example of (50) is remarkable because the ambiguously repeated ‘when she saw’ makes the long DO appear to be shared by two Vs in one V-O-V sequence. In addition, the postposed GENs will be mentioned again below. The following two examples also

likely display postposed RCs, although the RCs can also be interpreted as headless RCs in apposition to the preceding nouns:

(52) ብርድ፡ አስሐትያ፡ ገላ፡ የሚቆረጥም፡ ጥርስ፡ የሚያንቀጠቅጥ፡ (FP 5.4)

<i>bərd</i>	<i>’āshätya</i>	<i>gäla</i>	<i>yämm=i-q’ärätṭəm</i>	<i>ṭərs</i>	<i>yämm=iy-anqätäqqət</i>
cold	ice	body	REL=3M-munch\IMPF	tooth	REL=3M-cause_to_tremble\IMPF

‘cold [and] ice which shrivels the body [and] which makes the teeth tremble’

(53) አባታቸን፡ አዳም፡ ሙሉ፡ ፍጥረቱን፡ ያሰገደለት፡ በኅሉ፡ ላይ፡ ያነገሠው፡ (FP 7.3)

<i>’äbbataččun</i>	<i>’ädam</i>	<i>mulu</i>	<i>fəṭrät=u=n</i>	<i>y=asäggäd-ä</i>
Father	Adam	whole	creation=DEF=ACC	REL=cause_to_prostrate\PERF-3MSG

<i>=ll=ät</i>	<i>bä=h’əllu</i>	<i>lay</i>	<i>y=anäggäs-ä=w</i>
=APPL=3MSG	in=all	top	REL=cause_to_reign\PERF-3MSG=3MSG

‘Father Adam to whom He subjected the whole creation [and] whom He made to rule over all...’

Of the sixteen instances of the *Amharic* GEN constructions, i.e., those formed with the *yä-* prefix instead of those formed with the *-ä* suffix which is typical of Classical Ethiopic<sup>93</sup>, seven display the Gen-N order with individual GENS. Two instances display the N-Gen order, see “the goodness of God” in (43) above; one of them has six GENS in apposition following the head noun, already shown in (50) above. The remaining one instance involves a repeated preposition, although the entire Prep-Gen compound follows the Prep-N compound.

The determiner “all” *h’əllu* appears both before and after the noun when it is not used independently like (53) above. The corpus attests three instances of *h’əllu*-N: ኅሉ፡ ከሕል፡ (FP 6.1) *h’əllu<sub>1</sub> k’əhəl<sub>2</sub>* “all<sub>1</sub> this koh<sub>2</sub>,” ኅሉ፡ ጊዜ፡ (FP 6.9) *h’əlla<sub>1</sub> gize<sub>2</sub>* “all<sub>1</sub> [the] time<sub>2</sub>,” ያን፡ ኅሉ፡

<sup>93</sup> There is evidence that this marking may also have existed in Amharic (Little 1974a, 105).

**መዝገብ:** (FP 9.4, FP 10.4) *ya<sub>1</sub>-n h<sup>w</sup>əllu<sub>2</sub> mǝzǝb<sub>3</sub>* “all<sub>2</sub> that<sub>1</sub> treasure<sub>3</sub>,” and one instance of N-  
*h<sup>w</sup>əllu:* **ኸብቴን: ጉሉን:** (FP 9.1, FP 9.4) *xäbt<sub>1</sub>-e<sub>2</sub>-n h<sup>w</sup>əllu<sub>3</sub>-n* “all<sub>3</sub> my<sub>2</sub> treasure<sub>1</sub>.”

Also notable is the order of Name-Title—opposite to the “preposing juxtaposition” (Kapeliuk 1994, 74) which is typical for Modern Amharic—as in **ሙሴ: ነቢይ:** (FP 7.3) *muse<sub>1</sub> näbiy<sub>2</sub>* “Moses<sub>1</sub> the prophet<sub>2</sub>,” **ናምሮድ: ጎያል:** (FP 7.3) *namrod<sub>1</sub> häyyal<sub>2</sub>* “Nimrod<sub>1</sub> the strong<sub>2</sub> [one],” **ኖሃ: ጸድቅ:** (FP 7.3) *noh<sub>1</sub> şadəq<sub>2</sub>* “Noah<sub>1</sub> the righteous<sub>2</sub> [one],” **አግ: ጎያል:** (FP 7.3) *’ägi häyyal<sub>2</sub>* “Og<sub>1</sub> the strong<sub>2</sub> [one],” **ደዊት: ንጉሥ:** (FP 7.4) *däwit<sub>1</sub> nəguś<sub>2</sub>* “King<sub>2</sub> David<sub>1</sub>.” I speculate they might reflect a Head-Modifier word order. The Modern Amharic Title-Name order occurs only once in the corpus: **ቅዱስ: ጴጥሮስ:** (FP 2.3) *qəddus<sub>1</sub> petros<sub>2</sub>* “holy<sub>1</sub> Peter<sub>2</sub>.”

### 3.5.2.2.4 Unrigid O-V... topical O?

As mentioned above, in a number of instances, we find the resumptive pronouns in the V-final clauses. In Modern Amharic, the resumptive pronoun normally occurs when the DO is determined (Leslau 1995, 186–87), sometimes seemingly only for the purpose of “emphasis.” Together with determined DOs, the ACC marker *-(ə)n* is not surprising since it is necessary to differentiate the grammatical roles of the two determined nouns in an S<sub>[+def]</sub>-O<sub>[+def]</sub>-V sequence.

Some curious instances of OSV also occur in the corpus. See the following examples:

(54) **በምድር: ስንኳ: አውቃለጉ: ጌታውን: ሰው: ቢበድል:** (FP 8.3)

<i>bä=mədr</i>	<i>sənx<sup>w</sup>a</i>	<i>’-äwq=all-äh<sup>w</sup></i>	<i>g<sup>w</sup>eta=w=ən</i>	<i>säw</i>
in=earth	even	1CSG-know\IMPF=AUX-1CSG	lord=3MSG=ACC	man
<i>b=i-bäddəl</i>				
if=3M-(do_)wrong(_to)\IMPF				

‘I know even on earth if a man commits an offence against his master, ...’

(55) **ዳታን: ወአቤሮንን: ምድር: ወጎጠቸዋላ።** (FP 10.5)

<i>datan</i>	<i>wä=’äberon=ən</i>	<i>mədər</i>	<i>wähhäṭ-äčč=waččo</i>
PN	and=PN=ACC	earth	swallow\PERF-3FSG=3CPL

‘The earth swallowed Dathan and Abiram.’

There may be an explanation for the OSV order in (55) based on Tomlin’s ([1986] 2014) *Animate First Principle* (§2.2.2.2): the S ‘the earth’ is inanimate while the Os, being two personal names, are animate in (55). However, such an explanation would not be appropriate for (54) in which both the S ‘man’ and the O ‘lord’ are equally animate. The context for (54) is about forgiveness, in which the one who forgives is certainly more topical than the one who offends. The context for (55) is about what happens to sinners who “do not know” about repentance, and (55) is a response to a “how” question and it leads a list of examples functioning as topics. Immediately following (55), we find the following OV sentence:

(56) ሰዶም፡ ወገሞራኒም፡ እንዴሁ፡ በእሳትና፡ በዋግራ፡ አነደደዋኝ፡ (FP 10.6)

<i>sädom</i>	<i>wä=gämorra=nä=mm</i>	<i>’andehu</i>	<i>bä=’asat=ənna</i>	<i>bä=wagra</i>
GN	and=GN=?=FOC	likewise	in=fire=and	in=means_for_heating
	<i>’änäddäd-ä=waččo</i>			
	<i>cause_to_burn\PERF-3MSG=3CPL</i>			

‘He similarly burnt up Sodom and Gomorrah with fire and with vapor.’

This pair of biblical cities is in contrast with the biblical figures in (55) and they are marked by the *-(ə)nä* particle discussed above in §3.5.2.2.2, while the verb carries a resumptive pronoun. Thus, I would like to tentatively suggest a connection between the particle *-(ə)nä* and the particle *-(ə)n*, not in terms of marking ACC, but in terms of marking TOP. In this way, the preceding three examples can be potentially interpreted respectively as “*as for one’s lord*, if a man commits an offence against *him*,” “*as for Dathan and Abiram*, the earth swallowed *them*,” and “*as for Sodom and Gomorrah*, He burnt *them* up.”

### 3.6 Brief discussion

The corpus analyses in §3.4 and §3.5.2 show OV patterns in Classical Ethiopic tend to be a marked word order (likely for focus or topic marking) whereas the OV order in Old Amharic is significantly less rigid with some VO occurrences not easily explained as a marked pattern. How should we evaluate this situation? The Old Amharic text is almost certainly from a later period than those selected for the Classical Ethiopic corpus, and in later periods, the Royal Chronicles written in Classical Ethiopic are judged as heavily Amharicized. Therefore, it appears that for such a codified written language as Classical Ethiopic, the scribes' linguistic competence is considered to be in decline in *later* periods. Then, should we blame the *early* scribes of Classical Ethiopic for sporadically “contaminating” it with their own spoken language, given the nature of its status as the sacred language of the church? If such “contamination” is acceptable, it would mean that before the scribes had a chance to write in their vernacular, they had such a strong tendency to write in their vernacular that it affected their Classical Ethiopic proficiency. In that case, would it be fitting to hold the Old Amharic scribes accountable—when they finally had the opportunity to write in their vernacular—for unskillfully writing down their spoken language but somehow carrying over features of Classical Ethiopic?

Since I have been highlighting the existing mechanisms in Classical Ethiopic including pronominal resumption, it is necessary to comment on Hailu's (1983) proposal of two criteria regarding pronominal resumption for the purpose of identifying Classical Ethiopic compositions influenced by Tigrinya and/or Amharic. It is stated that unlike the other Ethiopian Semitic languages, Classical Ethiopic does *not* allow pronominal resumption of relativized DOs (Hailu 1983, 215–16), and that in Ethiopian Semitic languages other than Classical Ethiopic, REL verbs do not take DO suffixes unless they express “a particular state of affairs,” but Classical Ethiopic

does if the RC is formed with its *qätäl-o lä-nəguś* construction (Hailu 1983, 218–19). Both statements are problematic.

First of all, the first statement is based on absence of evidence. The fact that the pronouns resuming relativized DOs are frequently not present<sup>94</sup> and the fact that the resumptive pronouns regularly coexist with the commonly used *qätäl-o lä-nəguś* construction do not prove resumption of relativized DOs is ungrammatical. Such resumption is attested multiple times<sup>95</sup> in the corpus:

(57) **ወሳቤሃ፡ ኮነ፡ እብን፡ በርእየተ፡ ኤርምያስ፡ ዘይመስሎ።** (BB 5.19)<sup>96</sup>

<i>wä=sobeha</i>	<i>kon-ä</i>		<i>’abn</i>	<i>bä=rə’yät-ä</i>	<i>’erməyas</i>	<i>zä=</i>
and=then	be(come)\PERF-3MSG	stone	in=appearance-CSTR	PN	REL=	
<i>yə-mässəl=o</i>						
3M-resemble\IMPF=3MSG						

‘And then, the stone became in the appearance of Jeremiah whom it resembles.’

In addition, both statements are based on problematic interpretations of data used for judgements of grammaticality. The data in (58) are used to set up the judgements:

(58) Hailu’s (1983) examples with the original numberings and transcriptions

a. Hailu’s (1983, 215) data set for the first statement:

<sup>94</sup> The pronouns resuming relativized DOs are commonly omitted in the Semitic languages.

<sup>95</sup> There is another example in the BB sub-corpus: **ወኢት-መስሎ፡ ለቋዕ፡ ዘፈነዎ፡ ናጎ፡ ወአባየ፡ ገቢአ፡ ዳግመ፡ ኅቤሁ፡** (BB 3.14), but I have deliberately chosen the one in (57) because it does not involve the *qätäl-o lä-nəguś* construction anywhere. There are at least four examples in the AS sub-corpus (AS13b 1.1, AS14b 1.24, AS14b 1.4, AS14b 1.10), which by Hailu’s (1983) criteria would be regarded as influenced by Amharic. Outside the corpus of this study, the Gə‘əz Old Testament also attests the resumption of relativized DOs, e.g., in 1 Samuel 6:8, **ወገክተኒ፡ ንዋየ፡ ወርቅ፡ ዘትሁብዋ፡ ሞጻ፡ .**

<sup>96</sup> Greek (4 Baruch 9:26): **’Ο δὲ λίθος ἀνέλαβεν ὁμοιότητα τοῦ Ἰερεμίου.** (Herzer 2005, 36)  
*Ho* *dè lith-os* *anélab-en* *homoiótēt-a* *toú*  
 ART.M.SG.NOM but stone.M-SG.NOM take\_up.AOR-ACT.IND.3SG likeness.M-SG.ACC ART.M.SG.GEN  
*Ieremí-ou*  
 PN-GEN

The corresponding Greek text involves a completely different sentence structure which could not have influenced the structure of the Classical Ethiopic RC with the resumptive pronoun.

- (11:a) mäli?ikt zäs'ähafku lä?ihuyä<sup>sic!</sup>  
 (b) mäli?ikt zäs'ähafku lottu lä?ihuyä<sup>sic!</sup>  
 (c) \*mäli?ikt zäs'ähafkuwwo<sup>sic!</sup> ?ihuyä<sup>sic!</sup>

b. Hailu's (1983, 218–20) data set for the second statement:

- (28) wäzässä yafäk'k'ira länäfsu yigäddifa [Gə'əz original]  
 “He who loves his life loses it”  
 (32) ?ariwäta yirämid yibähurin<sup>97</sup> [Chaha, equivalent]  
 (34) näfsun yämmiwädd yat'äfatall [Amharic, equivalent]  
 (36a) näfsun yämmiwäddät<sup>sic!</sup> (säwiyye<sup>sic!</sup>) yat'äfatall [Amharic, specific]  
 (b) näfsun yämmiwäddäw (säwiyye<sup>sic!</sup>) yat'äfatall [Amharic, specific]

With “the letter which I wrote to my brother” intended, using (58a),<sup>98</sup> Hailu states that the relativized DO (“mäli?ikt”) cannot be resumed, because in his (11c), the sentence becomes ungrammatical if the pronominal suffix “-wwo” is added. However, the DAT preposition is missing from “my brother” (“?ihuyä” rather than “lä?ihuyä”), which led to the ungrammaticality of ‘I wrote it my brother.’ With (58b),<sup>99</sup> Hailu first cites a Classical Ethiopic New Testament verse (John 12:25), suggesting that the DO suffix (“-a”) on the verb (“yafäk'k'ira”) is possible only because of the *qätäl-o lä-nəguś* construction. In contrast, the equivalents in Ethiopian Semitic languages other than Classical Ethiopic—represented by *his own* renderings in Chaha Gurage and Amharic—do not use the DO suffix, because if the DO suffix (“-ät”<sup>sic!</sup> in his 36a) or the DEF (“-äw” in his 36b) is added, the sentences must refer to a specifically named person and

<sup>97</sup> Note that many aspects of Hailu's Chaha rendering, especially the REL verb form “yirämid,” are *not* the same as the verse in the published Chaha New Testament (Bible Society of Ethiopia 1982): አርዋታ ይረምድኹታ ያጠፋ፡፡ *'ärwata yərämədx<sup>w</sup>əta yatäf<sup>w</sup>an* [differences underlined].

<sup>98</sup> The first example of (58a) is glossed below (transcription altered according to the convention of this study):

*mäl'əkt*      *zä=šəhaf-ku*      *lä= 'əhu<sup>sic!</sup>=yä*  
 letter      REL=write\PERF-1CSG      to=brother=1CSG

<sup>99</sup> The Gə'əz example and the second Amharic example are glossed below (transcription altered according to the convention of this study):

*wä=zä=sä*      *y-afäqqər=a*      *lä=näfs=u*      *yə-gäddəf=a*  
 and=REL=TOP      3M-love\IMPF=3FSG      to=soul=3MSG      3M-lose\IMPF=3FSG  
*näfs=u=n*      *yämm=i-wädd=ät<sup>sic!</sup>*      (*säw-əyye*)      *y-atäf=at=all*  
 soul=3MSG=ACC      REL=3MSG-love\IMPF=3MSG      man-SPECIFIC      3M-lose=3FSG=AUX

“can never mean the universal statement” as it is in the Classical Ethiopic verse. This strong generalization is invalidated by the same New Testament verse in Tigrinya (59a) and in one Amharic version (59b), both *with* the 3FSG DO suffixes resuming the relativized nouns ‘life’ and ‘soul, life’:

(59) John 12:25 in Tigrinya and in one Amharic version

a. **እቲ ንሕይወቱ ዘፈትዎ ኪጥፍኦ እዩ፤**<sup>100</sup>

*'əti nə=ħəywät=u zi-fätw=a ke-təf'=a 'əyy=u*  
 that.M ACC=life=3MSG REL;3M-love\IMPF=3FSG FUT;3M-lose\IMPF=3FSG COP=3MSG

b. **ነፍሱን የሚወዳት ይጥላታል፤**<sup>101</sup>

*näfs=u=n yämm=i-wädd=at yə-təl=at=all*  
 soul=3MSG=ACC REL=3M-love\IMPF=3FSG 3M-drop\IMPF=3FSG=AUX

Therefore, one should not hastily apply Hailu’s (1983) criteria and dismiss the value of the Gə‘əz texts containing resumptive DO suffixes such as the AS sub-corpus of this study.

<sup>100</sup> This is cited from the printed version (The Bible Society of Eritrea 2000). There are two online versions containing minor differences but the DO suffix (-a) is consistent in both cases: one online version (<http://bible.geezexperience.com/tigrinya/list.php?book=43&chapter=12>) deleted the clause initial DEM and had additional spirantization marking across word boundaries **ንህይወቱ ዘፈትዎ ኪጥፍኦ እዩ፤** *nəħəywätu zifätw-a xətəf'a 'əyyu*, while the other online version (<https://live.bible.is/bible/TIRTBI/JHN/12>) has slightly different vowels **እቲ ንሕይወቱ ዘፈትዎ ኪጥፍኦ እዩ፤** *'əti nəħəywätu zəfätw-a kə-təf'a 'əyyu*, reflecting dialectal differences in monophthongization (Leslau 1939, 68).

<sup>101</sup> Although a few other Amharic translations have a bare REL verb like Hailu’s “yämmiwädd,” this one *does* carry the DO suffix -at. This version is available as two individually scanned PDFs (<http://www.medhanealem.se/bib/58.pdf> and <https://allaboutethio.com/books/library8ee6.pdf>) with traces of book bindings showing that it is not merely some inauthentic translations. However, I was not able to find the publication information of this Amharic edition of the Bible because the copyright page is missing from the scans. The PDF version appears to be identical with another online version entitled the “Orthodox-Septuagint Deuterocanonical Version” (<https://live.bible.is/bible/AMHSDV/JHN/12>). The first scanned PDF is among the Amharic Bible files provided by the Debre Selam Medhanealem Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church in Stockholm.

Appleyard (2004) discusses the DO markers in Ethiopian Semitic starting from the Amharic *-(ə)n*. In general, they display two patterns—either prenominal or postnominal—with the following morpheme shapes (Appleyard 2004, 298):

*Table 23 DO markers in Modern Ethiopian Semitic*

<i>-n</i> suffix	Amharic, Argobba, Gafat
<i>n-</i> prefix	Tigrinya
<i>'əl</i> ( <i>'əgəl</i> ) preposition	Tigré
<i>ä-/yä-</i> (variant <i>nä-/yä-</i> ) prefix	Gunnän-Gurage languages
<i>-ä</i> suffix	Zway, Səlṭi
<i>-u/-w</i> suffix	Harari

Taking into account the *n~l~y* alternations attested in many environments in Ethiopian Semitic (Appleyard 2004, 298–99), he argues for a unified etymological derivation of the Ethiopian Semitic DO markers from an original DAT marker similar to that in Ethiopic *qätäl-o lä-nəgus* construction. I consider his proposal convincing because such a development of DAT > ACC is also supported by observations of grammaticalization paths (Heine and Kuteva 2002, 38–39, 103) and it is well attested in the Semitic family (Rubin 2005, 104–9). Thus, except for Harari whose DO marker has been argued to be a helping vowel (Wagner 1997, 492), all modern Ethiopian Semitic languages developed their DO markers from the same linguistic material—a DAT marker for DEF DOs—likely available to them in Proto Ethiopian Semitic, as reflected in Gəʿəz, the oldest writtenly attested member of the branch.

In §3.5.2.2.4, I suggested a connection between the regular ACC marker *-(ə)n* and an uncertain *-(ə)nä* particle in Old Amharic. The connection seems to be related to topicalization. Recall that in §3.4.3.5, the OV patterns attested in Classical Ethiopic are also potentially connected to topicalization. If such hypotheses are feasible, the stage of Old Amharic would represent a period for expanded use of original marked word order formed with the existing linguistic materials, exactly like Appleyard’s (2004) hypothesis for the development of the DO

markers. The existing mechanisms for fronted DO in Classical Ethiopic would reflect the possibilities for creating OV order in common Ethiopian Semitic, from which the SOV descendants grammaticalized the fronted patterns, together with the original DO markers as argued by Appleyard (2004): the  $n\sim l\sim y$  markers from an OV pattern resembling “pattern i” in §3.4.3.5 and the  $-ä$  marker from an OV pattern resembling “pattern ii” in §3.4.3.5. Appleyard (2004, 299) suggests to seek potential explanations for the Amharic development—from prefix  $*l\ddot{a}-$  to suffix  $-(\partial)n$ —from its tendency of developing postpositions. I would like to additionally suggest a potential homophony if there had been a discourse marker like the  $-ni$  for TOP/FOC in Classical Ethiopic in the OV pattern as mentioned in §3.4.3.5:

$$(60) \quad *(nV_{ACC-})O_i(-nV_{TOP-FOC}) V=PRON_i \quad \rightarrow \quad O_i-n(V)_{TOP-FOC/ACC} V$$

The subtle distinction between ACC and TOP/FOC would then be preserved in the distinction between  $-(\partial)n$  and  $-(\partial)n\ddot{a}$  in Old Amharic.

### 3.7 Conclusion

In this chapter, I focused on Ethiopian Semitic and aimed at presenting a corpus analysis of Ethiopian Semitic word order. Starting from an overview of various previous studies, I moved on to expand the investigation of Cushitic word order. It is believed that searching for a word order “donor” is not an ideal approach for the study of Ethiopian Semitic word order. With this problem in mind, I have introduced the selection and processing of texts for Classical Ethiopic and presented some statistics and analyses. Furthermore, I devoted a section to Old Amharic, presenting a survey of previous studies and the major linguistic features, to pave way for the subsequent corpus analysis. The procedures of corpus building and processing are similarly introduced before the presentation of statistics and analysis. The OV patterns were “ready” in

Classical Ethiopic, although the corpus analyses could not identify them as becoming the dominant word order. However, with the belief that Old Amharic does reflect genuine archaic features and that good Classical Ethiopic texts reflect its linguistic structures, it is hoped that the analyzed examples and discussions can show that the OV order of Modern Ethiopian Semitic languages are rooted in the *existing linguistic mechanisms* which are likely shared by their common ancestor.

## **CHAPTER 4 CENTRAL ASIAN ARABIC**

### **4.1 Overview**

This chapter investigates the word order of Central Asian Arabic, to be more specific, that of Bukharan Arabic in corpus settings. First, I set up the background with an overview of previous studies on Central Asian Arabs and their vernacular. In this process, some detailed descriptions are added to clarify the incomplete and inaccurate information in the literature (§4.2.1 and §4.2.3.1). To avoid distraction from the main topic, I only mention some relevant studies on Central Asian Arabic, leaving the comprehensive overview of the other previous linguistic studies in Appendix 6, together with a nutshell synopsis of the key features of Central Asian Arabic varieties. After that, I present the corpus, from corpus building to statistics and result analysis, for Bukharan Arabic. The general consensus seems to be that the word orders of Central Asian Arabic were shifted to the OV patterns by copying the patterns of the surrounding Turkic and Iranian languages. However, details of its word order features appear to set it apart from what is typical for Turkic and Iranian. Finally, I conclude this chapter with discussion regarding the foreignness of some of the word order features in Bukharan Arabic, drawing a parallel between its resumptive mechanism and what has been discussed in Chapter 3.

### **4.2 Central Asian Arabs and Central Asian Arabic**

#### **4.2.1 Central Asian Arabs**

Central Asian Neo-Arabic varieties are the vernaculars of Arab minorities living in several Central Asian rural enclaves as indicated below on the map created by Seeger (2013):

Figure 7 Central Asian Arabic enclaves marked in red (Seeger 2013)



Historically settling in the Khanate of Bukhara and the northern plains of Afghanistan-Turkistan, speakers of Central Asian Arabic have been reported mainly from Uzbekistan, Iran and Afghanistan.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In addition, “Arabs speaking Uzbek, Tajik and Arabic” in **Tajikistan** are also indicated on Tolstova et al’s (1962) map “Ethnographic Map of Tajik SSR” (Этнографическая карта Таджикской ССР) as two small clusters on its southwestern border with Afghanistan, geographically very close to the Balkh enclaves on Seeger’s (2013) map. “Arabs” in **Turkmenistan** are indicated on Tolstova et al’s (1963) map “Ethnographic Map of Turkmen SSR” (Этнографическая карта Туркменской ССР) as one small cluster on its border with the Bukhara Region of Uzbekistan—in the Çarjew District: “в районе Чарджоу было довольно много арабов” (Tolstov et al. 1963, 12). “Arabs speaking Uzbek and Arabic” in **Kyrgyzstan** are indicated on Tolstova et al’s (1963) map “Ethnographic Map of Kyrgyz SSR”

Arabs living in Central Asia were first brought to European attention in the report by de Meyendorff who traveled to Bukhara in 1820. As de Meyendorff (1826, 191–92) describes:

Les Arabes se sont établis en Boukharie lorsque les califes s'emparèrent de ce pays; on les reconnaît au premier coup d'œil, à leur teint très-basané; ils demeurent dans des villages dont quelquesuns sont voisins de Boukhara. Quelques Arabes nomades, et d'autres demi-nomades, errent près de Carchi et du côté de Termez. Beaucoup d'Arabes, cultivateurs, ont des troupeaux qu'ils font paître dans les steppes; ce sont eux principalement qui fournissent au commerce les fameuses peaux d'agneaux avortés.

De Meyendorff's descriptions of the different Bukharan inhabitants always include remarks of their appearance, sometimes with racial bias, e.g., the oppressed<sup>2</sup> Tajiks had “la taille ramassée, les traits européens, un beau teint.” As cited above, the Arabs were also similarly described with easily identifiable traits, which indicates that they did not show a great degree of assimilation to the neighboring ethnic groups.

The nomadic parts of the region added to the difficulty in investigating the population in detail, therefore, de Meyendorff consulted some of the locals to obtain information so that he could make a somewhat satisfactory estimation (Meyendorff 1826, 196–97):

*Table 24 Estimation of Bukharan ethnic groups by de Meyendorff (1820)*

Uzbek.....	1,500,000	Persian.....	40,000	Afghan.....	4,000
Tajik.....	650,000	Kalmyk.....	20,000	Lezgi.....	2,000
Turkmen.....	200,000	Kyrgyz & Karakalpak....	6,000	Bohemian.....	2,000
Arab.....	50,000	Jew.....	4,000	<b>TOTAL.....</b>	<b>2,478,000</b>

However, early travelers' records like this provide very little information about the linguistic situation of the Central Asian Arabs. In his reports on the military force of Bukhara,

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(Этнографическая карта Киргизской ССР) as one small cluster on its Western border with the Andijan Region of Uzbekistan.

<sup>2</sup> De Meyendorff (1826, 189) explicitly notes that the Uzbeks were the “conquérante et dominante” class. Tolstova et al (1962, 94) also notes that in Bukhara the Tajiks were oppressed by the Uzbeks: “В Бухарском ханстве на положении угнетенного народа были таджики, притеснявшиеся привилегированной узбекской феодальной знатью”(In the Khanate of Bukhara, in the position of the oppressed people were the Tajiks, as opposed to the privileged Uzbek feudal).

Burnes (1834, 2:375) mentions that in the “troops south of the Oxus ... the Uzbeks are not numerous; a great proportion of the population, however, are Arabs.” Vámbéry’s (1865) reports from his 1863 travel describe the Bukharan Arabs as descendants of the troops that settled after the Islamic conquest of Turkestan. Remarking that they bore little resemblance to Hijazi and Iraqi Arabs except for their “physiognomy,” he notes that the number of the Arabs were “said to be 60,000” and that they “mostly settled in the environs of Vardanzi and Vafkend,” but he “found very few of them who even spoke Arabic” (Vámbéry 1865, 421).

Hints that some Arabs retained some vernacular Arabic mainly come from early Russian authors. Xanykov (1843, 57) reports that the Arabs gathered near Vardanzi (Uzbekistan) and Samarkand and that they spoke Arabic among themselves, but “it is not pure Arabic” (это не есть чистый Арабскій<sup>sic!</sup> языкъ). Grebenkin (1872) classifies the Arabs in Zeravshan (Uzbekistan) into two types, estimating that their total number “does not exceed 2,000 families,” which Volin (1941, 112) interprets as 10,000 people, but Sobolev (1874, 149) believes the number has been exaggerated and should be decreased to one third of Volin’s estimate. Grebenkin (1872, 113–14) notes that the first type of Arabs mainly living near Samarkand spoke Tajik while the second type mainly living near Katta-Kurgan spoke Uzbek, but “relatives” of the Tajik-speaking Arabs living in the western part of the Qarshi (Uzbekistan) spoke among themselves “corrupted Arabic (на испорченномъ арабскомъ языкѣ).” Хороšxin (1876, 515) reports a tribe *Garab*<sup>3</sup> among the “Uzbekistani tribes in Zeravshan” and notes that there is a “special hybrid (особая помѣсь)” of Arabs and Uzbeks in Bukhara speaking “poor Arabic (плохимъ арабскитъ языкомъ).” According to Vinnikov (1940, 6), P. Gaevskij’s 1919-1923

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<sup>3</sup> In Cyrillic: Гарабъ. The same transcription convention of using Cyrillic g (г) for Perso-Arabic *ʿayn* is also found in Xanykov (1843, 244).

report<sup>4</sup> on Kurgan-Tyube Bekdom mentions the Arabs living there spoke a language with many Arabic words making it difficult to communicate with them in Uzbek. Vinnikov (1940, 5–6) cites several more Pre-Soviet records reporting on Central Asian Arabs but without mentioning their vernacular language(s).

A clearer picture of Central Asian Arabs and their linguistic situation was finally revealed by the Soviet scientific expeditions. Andreev’s (1924) report of the 1921 expedition to Samarkand contains several sections on the local Arabs, mostly focusing on their customs and cults. Arabs are described as easily distinguishable from Uzbeks in appearance, retaining a clear view of their identity, but they are reported to have lost their language at least 100-150 years ago and shifted to Uzbek (Andreev 1924, 127). The 1924 expedition to Bukhara and Khorezm produced precise statistics of the number of Arabs in Uzbek SSR—45,446 in total—for the first time (Vinnikov 1940, 7) and reported names and sizes of several Arab tribes in Uzbek SSR, as well as the number of Arabs living in Tajik Bukhara (475) and Turkmen Bukhara (1,258). The first statistics recording the linguistic situation stemmed from the 1926 Soviet census, which also reported considerably fewer number of Arabs—24,664 in Uzbek SSR in total. Considering the indirect method used in the census, collecting information from the administrators<sup>5</sup> rather than interviewing individuals, on the basis of his own field experience, Vinnikov (1940, 7–8) argues that the 1926 census greatly underestimated the Arab population.

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<sup>4</sup> The original publication was unavailable to me.

<sup>5</sup> Burykina and Izmajlova (1930, 533) also mention that authorities in Bek-Budi claimed that Arabic was not used among Arabs in Qishlaq Jeynov where the existence of Arabic speakers had already be confirmed: “Возвращаясь через г. Бек-Буди, мы наводили справки в статбюро, исполкоме, животноводсоюзе и других учреждениях. Показания шли в разную сторону. Дело дошло до того, что нам сообщили, что арабы кишлака Джейнау не говорят по-арабски” (“Returning through the city of Bek-Budi, we made inquiries at the Statistical Bureau, Executive Committee, Livestock Union and other institutions. The testimony was inconsistent. It got to the point that we were informed that the Arabs of Jeynav village did not speak Arabic”).

During the first anthropological expedition dedicated to the Arabs of Uzbek SSR in 1927, N. N. Burykina and M. M. Izmailova reported the Bukharan Arabs' vernacular mixed with Tajik to I. Ju. Kračkovskij (Janes 2008, 281–82), who dispatched the 1929 expedition with a major goal “to determine whether the living Arabic language was preserved among them” (Burykina and Izmajlova 1930, 527). The okrugs (regions) for which the 1926 census recorded with more significant numbers of Arabic speakers<sup>6</sup>—Bukhara (1,026 among 5,849) and Qashqadaryo (704 among 7,974)—were selected as the destinations. Burykina and Izmailova note that the fact that there are speakers retaining Arabic in Qishlaq<sup>7</sup> Jeynov<sup>8</sup> was well-known to the Arabs of Qishlaq Arabxona (Samarkand), where the last speaker died two years before Burykina and Izmailova's visit (Burykina and Izmajlova 1930, 529). They also mention that an old qadi referred them to Qishlaq Jovgari for vernacular Arabic users but considered their language “corrupted and bad” (ibid.). During the expedition, it was confirmed that Jovgari Arabs were generally Tajik-Arabic

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<sup>6</sup> As mentioned above, unlike previous reports with general descriptions that Arabs lost their language, the 1926 census did record Arabic speakers among Arabs in other regions of Uzbek SSR, though with much smaller proportions: Zerafshan (67 among 4,088), Konimex (83 among 2,308), Andijan (61 among 1,792), Surxondaryo (111 among 1,589) (Burykina and Izmajlova 1930, 528).

<sup>7</sup> “Qishlaq,” or *qishloq* in Uzbek (literally “village”), is a Turkic term for rural settlements of nomadic tribe, cf. Žuk (2003, 42): “In general every nomadic group has one area called *yeylaq*, where it stays during the summer months, and a winter area is called *qishlaq*.” As in Uzbek, the root of the word *qish* is the Turkic noun for “winter.” In the Soviet era, the collective farms (*kolxoz*) were set up incorporating one or several local villages (*qishloq* or *aul*); as the Soviet institutional divisions were equated with terms in Central Asian languages, we find “village” as *selo* in Russian vs *qishloq* in Uzbek, “rural council (selsoviet)” as *sel'soveti* in Russian vs *qishloq komiteti* in Uzbek, etc. (Collins 2006, 82–83). Because the word *qishloq* also entered Uzbek administrative terminology, I decide to leave it untranslated in the names of the settlements.

<sup>8</sup> Pollical changes in Central Asia created much complication regarding place names. Russian forms, if transliterated, could add unnecessary complications as they diverge from the current Uzbek Latin convention. For instance, this former (<https://lex.uz/docs/1486855#1486903>) qishlaq named Джейнай in Russian would be transliterated into “Džejnau,” whereas its present Uzbek name is Жейнов, i.e., Jeynov. In this study, I attempt to use the current conventions as long as they are available and the Uzbek spellings are checked with the qishlaq names in the study by Soliev and Nazarov (2009).

bilinguals, but women in Jovgari hardly spoke Arabic, whereas women in Jeynov spoke better Arabic than men (Burykina and Izmajlova 1930, 531–32). Locals of the Qashqadaryo Region were reported to be aware of many places with Arabic speakers but at least some people misidentified Tajik as Arabic; similar local confusion was found in Karmana District where Iranian speakers were considered Arabs, whereas villagers of Qishlaq “Tam-Kök” who denied an Arab identity actually spoke Arabic (Burykina and Izmajlova 1930, 533–34).

The detailed statistics of Arabic speakers in Uzbek SSR became available with the 1938 expedition and is reproduced from Vinnikov (1940, 13) in Table 25. As will be shown (§4.2.3), in later publications, not only the statistical data appear to be never properly updated, but also these original data do not seem to have been properly consulted:

*Table 25 Arabic speakers in Uzbek SSR (end of 1938), higher administrative units added*

Age	Bukhara									Qashqadaryo						Total		
	G‘ijduvon						Vobkent			Beshkent								
	- <sup>9</sup>			Jovgari s/s			Кipchak s/s			Qamashi s/s			-					
	Jovgari <sup>10</sup>			Chag‘dari			Arabxona			Mušqoqi <sup>11</sup>			Jeynov					
♂	♀	Σ	♂	♀	Σ	♂	♀	Σ	♂	♀	Σ	♂	♀	Σ	♂	♀	Σ	
under 8	47	43	90	20	24	44	22	16	38	50	51	101	132	135	267	271	269	540

<sup>9</sup> Vinnikov (1940, 12–13) does not indicate all qishlaqs with this administrative level, i.e., “selsoviet” (*sel’sovet*), an area governed by a rural council. Where it is indicated, it is provided here with the notation “s/s” following the Russian abbreviation “c/c” in transliteration. This row is added because Qamashi is mentioned here as a selsoviet according to the result of the 1938 expedition—“Кишлак Мушқоқи Камашинского сельсовета Бешкентского района,” i.e., “Qishlaq Mušqoqi of Qamashi Selsoviet of Beshkent Region” (Vinnikov 1940, 13)—but as the destination of the 1927 expedition, it is mentioned as a “qishlaq” (Vinnikov 1940, 9; Tsereteli 1941, 135), potentially leading to Fischer’s (1961, 233) equal treatment of Qamashi and Jeynov.

<sup>10</sup> Qishlaq Jovgari was founded by joining three former qishlaqs (Vinnikov 1940, 12; 1949, 120): Jovgari, Shohanbek, and Arabxona (the name of this Arabxona coinciding with the qishlaq in Vobkent). Thus, Shohanbek is included as part of Jovgari, but somehow it is treated equally with the two G‘ijduvon qishlaqs as a separate location by Fischer (1961, 233) and repeatedly cited so in later studies (Schippers and Versteegh 1987; Dereli 1997; Versteegh 1997; 2014; Zimmermann 2002; 2009).

<sup>11</sup> It is uncertain why instead of the number of Arabic speakers, this column indicates the number of the entire Arab population in Qishlaq Mušqoqi, of which 15% were estimated to have retained the Arabic vernacular (Vinnikov 1940, 13).

Table 25 Arabic speakers in Uzbek SSR (end of 1938), higher administrative units added  
(continued)

8~15	24	25	49	10	10	20	10	8	18	31	18	49	97	69	166	172	130	302
15~20	15	19	34	1	3	4	6	2	8	5	12	17	49	52	101	76	88	164
20~30	50	38	88	25	24	49	14	16	30	28	39	67	83	68	151	200	185	385
30~40	36	23	59	13	6	19	15	8	23	28	26	54	65	62	127	157	125	282
40~50	14	10	24	5	11	16	6	2	8	20	8	28	54	46	100	99	77	176
50~60	12	10	22	4	3	7	4	7	11	9	19	28	28	19	47	57	58	115
60~70	7	6	13	—	—	—	6	1	7	13	10	23	19	13	32	45	30	75
70~80	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1	2	—	2	9	7	16	12	7	19
80~90	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1	2	—	2	3	—	3
	205	174	379	78	81	159	84	60	144	187	183	370	538	471	1009	1092	969	2061

After Vinnikov’s 1938 statistics of Uzbekistani Arabs, Central Asian Arabs keep showing up in descriptions with contradicting demographic information. Tolstov et al (1962, 13) remarks that they have merged with the local Uzbeks and Tajiks, losing their ethnographic features and native language, but “a portion of them still consider their native language Arabic.” Although the statistics are claimed to be drawn from the 1959 Soviet census, discrepancies appear within their edited volumes. The general introduction (ibid.) claims there were 8,000 or so Arabs among whom 2,500 considered their native language to be Arabic, 2,200 Uzbek, and 2,800 Tajik. However, the subsequent chapter devoted to Central Asian Arabs provides smaller numbers—a total of 6,400 (specifically, 5,400 in Uzbek SSR and 500 in Tajik SSR), of whom 2,077 considered their native language Arabic (Karmyševa 1963, 582). Basing on the *same* census, Bennigsen and Wimbush (1986, 125) present another description: Central Asian Arabs were “numbered 7,987 persons of whom only 2,727 spoke Arabic, 143 Russian, 2,776 Tajik, and 2,240 Uzbek.” This set of data supports the approximate numbers in Tolstov et al’s (1962) general introduction and with the numbers and percentages of Arabic speakers among the Arab population cited by Akiner (1986, 367–69), but Karmyševa’s (1963) inaccurate data have been

spread via the summary translation<sup>12</sup> in *Central Asian Review*. Table 26 is made according to the Soviet census available to me, showing the percentage of the Arabic speakers among the people self-identifying as Arabs:

*Table 26 Arabs and Arabic speakers in the USSR*

Year	Ethnic Arabs			Speakers of Arabic			Percentage
	Urban	Rural	Sum	Urban	Rural	Sum	
1926	1,205	26,757	27,962	150	4,945	5,095	18.22%
1937	-	-	27,621	-	-	-	
1939	-	-	*21,786	-	-	-	
1959	-	-	7,987	-	-	2,727	34.14%
1970	-	-	*8,024	-	-	-	
1979	-	-	*6,813	-	-	-	
1989	-	-	7,747	-	-	4,767	61.53%

Disregarding the politics behind the Soviet rubric “nationality” adopted in the census (Hirsch 2005), the results are still not without potential problems. As pointed out already by Vinnikov (1940) regarding the 1926 census, instead of conducting individual interviews, the census team used other methods such as surveying the rural administrations or the settlement representatives. In addition, Arabs might conceal their identity due to cultural and political reasons (Vinnikov 1940, 8–9). However, these figures remain all we have and they do reflect a decline of Central Asian Arabs in number, or perhaps more accurately, in their sense of identity. Karmyševa (1963, 582) mentions that over the course of forty years, Arabs in Samarkand changed from holding a clear sense of nationality—cf. Andreev’s (1924) description—to self-identifying as Uzbeks in official census. The Russian and Soviet authority established in the region also accelerated the ethnic merger. Reports on Samarkand Arabs note the loss of their

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<sup>12</sup> Repeatedly miscited as “Karmysheva (1964)” in the literature, the article “The Arabs and Jews of Central Asia” (*Central Asian Review* 12 (1964): 271–74) is an unauthored summary translation of two different chapters by *two different authors* from the volume by Tolstov et al (1963): the one on Central Asian Arabs is by Karmyševa and the other one on Central Asian Jews is by Ja. I. Karontarov.

former social privilege as tribesmen of the Prophet, although the local Uzbeks and Arabs did get along well (Andreev 1924, 128–29). On the other hand, the rebuilt neighborhoods and collective farm settlements brought the Arabs into a way of life much more mixed with all the other ethnic groups (Karmyševa 1963, 582). The fact that more and more Arabs accepted non-Arab identities and reported so in the census may help explain the curious increase of the percentage of Arabs considering Arabic as their native language.

The ethnographic and anthropological information of Arabs in Uzbekistan must have been updated in recent studies conducted by researchers of Uzbekistan on various ethnic groups in the country (Malikov 2018, 235). Sh. A. Iskandarov has conducted a great deal of fieldwork in the Arab qishlaqs and has been active in ethnographic studies<sup>13</sup> though updated linguistic details about Uzbekistani Arabic are beyond the scope of his research. Nazarov’s (2014) brief overview of Qashqadaryan Arabs and Uzoqov’s (2015) survey of sources related to the Uzbekistani Arabs both draw heavily from Rajabov (2012)—a study entitled *O‘zbekistondagi arablar tarixi va etnografiyasi (XIX asr o‘rtalari–XXI asr boshlari)* “History and Ethnography of the Arabs in Uzbekistan (Mid-19<sup>th</sup> to Early 21<sup>st</sup> Centuries),” extremely widely cited by Uzbek scholars, of which I could only briefly consult.<sup>14</sup> The author, R. A. Rajabov, has published extensively on

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<sup>13</sup> These include the mortuary rites of the Arabs (Iskandarov 2013) and the ethno-toponyms related to the Arabs (Iskandarov 2014b; 2017). In discussions regarding the Arabs’ ethnic and cultural identity (Iskandarov 2014a; 2018), he only cites Janes’ (2009, 164) report that by the time of January 1, 2007, there were 10,814 of the 19,000 Jeynov inhabitants self-identifying as Arabs (Iskandarov 2018, 170) without giving more updated information.

<sup>14</sup> Citations of Rajabov (2012) sometimes occur in a format showing the work was published as a monograph in the year “2011,” corresponding to the first item in the “List of Published Works” at the end of the author’s Russian abstract for his dissertation: “Ражабов Р. Ўзбекистондаги араблар тарихи ва этнографияси (XIX аср ўрталари–XXI аср бошлари).—Тошкент: Шарқ, 2011. —416 б.” However, I was not able to find any publication information of it, nor was I able to obtain a copy of the monograph. On the other hand, his 2012 dissertation in Uzbek submitted to the History Institute at Uzbek Academy of Sciences carries the same title, which is available for limited online view (<http://diss.natlib.uz/uz-Cyrl-UZ/ResearchWork/OnlineView/37574>) of

Arabs in Uzbekistan (his dissertation abstract lists 44 articles and monographs prior to 2012), but I was only able to obtain two articles: one with a very brief ethnographic description of the Arabs (Rajabov 2004) and the other with some discussion on the Uzbek dialect of the Arabs (Rajabov 2011). The former mentions names of some Arab settlements not commonly found in previous studies,<sup>15</sup> while the latter reveals some interesting aspects of the Arabs' vernacular Uzbek diverging from Modern Standard Uzbek.<sup>16</sup> According to the table of contents, apart from ethnography and history, Rajabov (2012) also includes the Arabs' "language features"<sup>17</sup> and their situations in the census and statistics,<sup>18</sup> which might have offered some updated insights about the Central Asian Arabs.

#### 4.2.2 A note on terminology

Considering the relatively small amount of literature on Central Asian Arabic, little can be said about any consensus regarding the designations of its different varieties. Unlike publications in Russian which uniformly specify the varieties via adjectival modifiers derived from place names, i.e., *buxar-skij arabskij dialekt* for the "Arabic dialect" of *Buxara*

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only the first fifty-five pages. Dr. A. Malikov (personal communication, July 22, 2020) confirms to me that Rajabov "defended his habilitation thesis and published this book in 2012."

<sup>15</sup> For instance, Rajabov (2004, 39) mentions the Bukharan qishlaq "Chuvilloq" and "Bog'li" together with (the better known) Arabxona for the "furnace-fire worship (ўчоққа сиғиниш – оташпарастилик)," although nothing is said about the linguistic situation there.

<sup>16</sup> Apart from using Turkic loans not found in Modern Uzbek, according to Rajabov (2011, 205–6), the Arabs pronounce the Uzbek *o* as a "soft *ä* (e)," e.g., *olma* 'apple' is pronounced as *älmä*, *bola* 'child' is pronounced as *bälä* ("Arapların Özbek ağzına mahsus özelliklerden Buhara, Semerkant ve Kaşkaderya şehirlerinde konuşulan Özbek ağzına özgü *o* (aslında *â*) ünlüsü Araplarca çoğu zaman yumuşak *ä* (e) olarak telaffuz edilir. Örneğin, Özbek edebî dilinde bir çeşit meyve olan elma *olma* (älmä) kelimesi Orta Asya Araplarınca *älmä* (elme) biçiminde, 'çocuk, veled' anlamındaki *bola* (bälä) kelimesi *bälä* biçiminde telaffuz edilir.") This could be very important in discussions on the contact situations and on the overall status of the reflexes of the etymological \**ā* in Central Asian Arabic.

<sup>17</sup> Section 2.3. Арабларнинг тил хусусиятлари, pp. 128-49.

<sup>18</sup> Section 3.2. Аҳоли рўйхатлари ва статистик маълумотларда араблар, pp. 162-210.

(“Bukhara”), non-Russian publications vary greatly,<sup>19</sup> which may have led to the varying terms by scholars familiar with Russian in their non-Russian publications.<sup>20</sup> On the higher level, apart from “Uzbekistan Arabic” one also finds “Uzbeki Arabic” (Hammarström, Forkel, and Haspelmath 2019), “het Oesbekistaans-Arabisch” (Thiel-Gnyp 1990), etc. Zaborski (2008, 409) insists on using lengthy designations like “el grupo de dialectos hablados en Uzbekistán” and criticizes that both “Uzbeki Arabic” and “Tajiki Arabic” have misleading connotations because “Uzbeki Arabic” can be interpreted as “Arabic spoken by Uzbeks (árabe hablado por uzbekos).”<sup>21</sup>

In this study, I uniformly specify the Central Asian Arabic varieties using adjectives derived from the place names, e.g., “Uzbekistani Arabic” for the vernacular of the Arabs in Uzbekistan. To stay consistent with such adjectival designations, I opt for “Bukharan Arabic” to designate the Uzbekistani variety in Bukhara, which is also consistent with the designation “Bukharan Tajik” in the recent linguistic publications on the Tajik vernacular used in the same region (Ido 2007; 2014).

#### **4.2.3 Some relevant previous linguistic studies**

After the 1929 Soviet expedition (§4.2.1), the pioneer ethnographers published preliminary linguistic data in their report (Burykina and Izmajlova 1930, 534–49) which were critically reviewed by Jušmanov (1931) and Nyberg (1933). Since 1935, Giorgi V. Tsereteli and Isaak N. Vinnikov conducted multiple fieldwork expeditions and their data laid the foundation of

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<sup>19</sup> See, e.g., “het Bukhara-dialect” (Thiel-Gnyp 1990), “Bukhara Arabic” (Ratcliffe 2005), “das arabische von Buchara” (Zimmermann 2002), and “the Arabic of Bukhara” (K. Miller 2014a).

<sup>20</sup> See, e.g., “Qashqadarian Arabic” in Chikovani (2000) but “Qashqa-darya Arabic (dialect)” in Chikovani (2001d).

<sup>21</sup> In fact, this may not be entirely necessary because the ethnonyms should be “Uzbek” and “Tajik” rather than “Uzbeki” and “Tajiki.”

the linguistic studies on Central Asian Arabic. Tsereteli's (1954a) condensed presentation on the Central Asian Arabs and features of their vernacular Arabic at the XXIII International Congress of Orientalists introduced Central Asian Arabic to scholars outside the USSR academia for the first time. Following Tsereteli's research tradition established in Georgia, Guram Chikovani produced the largest number of recent studies on Central Asian Arabic (A6.1.1.3).

The first non-Soviet synthesis of the grammatical features of Uzbekistani Arabic—Fischer (1961)—contains comments scattered in the descriptions regarding the borrowed syntax and word order. These comments are then summarized by Doerfer (1969, 298): the two-digit numbers in the pattern “units+tens,” the V-final order, and the paraphrastic verb with ‘do’ are listed as features shared by Uzbek and Tajik; the GEN construction with *-in* and the AUXs are listed as features specific to Tajik; the Turkic GEN construction [Gen<sub>i</sub> N=PRON<sub>i</sub>] and the Adj-N order are listed as features specific to Uzbek.

The study on Bukhara Arabic word order by Versteegh (1986) remains the only one providing statistics for the word order patterns, reporting that among the 141 examined sentences, 109 display SOV order. The other word order patterns are reviewed in terms of word order consistency (§2.2.2.2). As for word order change, Versteegh assumes it started from SVO following Versteegh's “pidginization” theory for Neo-Arabic (Versteegh 1984). Related to this study, it is very important to note his remark that “the influence of adjacent languages is not a question of initiating changes” (Versteegh 1986, 452).

In Jastrow's (1997) discussion of Uzbekistani Arabic, he observes that the Turkic influence appears to be stronger on syntax while the Iranian influence is stronger on lexicon. Jastrow examines several features that used to be considered foreign, including sound change of the interdental, the INF ending *-ān*, and the interrogative *išṭūr* “how.” Relevant to the approach

of this study, he argues that those “foreign” features are in fact rooted in the original Arabic system. The discussion of borrowed grammatical features are further expanded by Jastrow’s (2005) comparison of Uzbekistani Arabic examples with Turkish/Persian as well as Damascene Arabic and Muslim Baghdadi Arabic.

Ratcliffe (2005) lines up the peculiarities of Bukharan Arabic with rough equivalents in Tajik and Uzbek<sup>22</sup> to compare the foreign influence on Bukharan Arabic. He concludes that Bukharan Arabic is “converging toward the Uzbek pattern” and deduces that “there is extensive bi-(or multi-)lingualism and that the original L1 is maintained principally as a vehicle of in-group communication and a symbol of identity” (Ratcliffe 2005, 157). Also addressing multilingualism, with the conclusion that the Bukharan Arabic verbal morphology is regularly predictable, Miller (2014a, 231) suggests that the speakers “distilled the language to a very basic form – more easily transferable through generations faced with multilingualism.”

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<sup>22</sup> Although most comparisons are made to examples taken from Uzbek and Tajik reference grammars, in discussion of the Bukharan Arabic RC pattern (Ratcliffe 2005, 148), the sentence

*Iskandar muqūl-un fad amīr kon*

Alexander saying-pl(?) one prince was

‘There was a prince (whom they) called Alexander,’

with the verb *muqūlun* incorrectly glossed as if it were a PTCP—which should be analyzed as *m-u-qūl-un* IND-3M-say\IMPF-PL according to the conventions in this study—is compared to a Turkish sentence obtained via private communication:

*Iskandar derler bir amir-di*

Alexander say-pl one prince-was

Both the analyses and interpretation are problematic, cf. my analysis and translation below:

*Iskandar de-r-ler bir amir-di*

Alexander say-AOR-PL one prince-PST

‘The one [whom] they call Alexander was a prince.’

My literal translation for the purpose of reflecting the Turkish sentence structure is confirmed by both an advanced L2 learner (August Samie, personal communication) and a native speaker (Ömer Eren, personal communication) at the University of Chicago. As for the intended existential meaning, it would be rendered in Uzbek with the typical Turkic participial relative as:

*Iskandar de-gan bir emir bor e-di*

Alexander say-PTCP one prince EXIST be-PST

‘There was a prince [whom they] called Alexander.’

In addition, there are four MA theses on Uzbekistani Arabic—some not infrequently mentioned in bibliographies—with some important contributions. Unfortunately, all of them remain unpublished and generally difficult to obtain.<sup>23</sup>

Van Thiel-Gnyp (1990)<sup>24</sup> focuses on the phonological and morphological system of Bukharan Arabic to examine whether Bukharan Arabic should be classified as a creolized “new type of Arabic”—“the sum total of characteristics that set apart the modern Arabic dialects from the Classical standard” (Versteegh 1984, 1). Axvlediani’s (1985) grammar serves as the main source but is also criticized for the insufficient examples and printing errors as well as the data being chaotically presented (“dikwijls zeer chaotisch gepresenteerd”), therefore, works by Fischer (1961), Tsereteli (1941; 1970a), and Vinnikov (1962) are consulted for comparison. Van Thiel-Gnyp judges that the main distinction between the variants of Jovgari and Arabxona lies in anaptyxis (Thiel-Gnyp 1990, 116) and that Tajik influence is strong in phonology but limited in morphology whereas the Arabic structural properties are judged to be “undamaged”—“de Arabische structuur van het dialect niet is aangetast” (Thiel-Gnyp 1990, 119). As for the history

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<sup>23</sup> I greatly appreciate Prof. Kees Versteegh and Prof. Ulrich Seeger who kindly enabled me to access perhaps the only surviving copies of Dereli’s (1997) and Hofmann’s (2011) theses.

<sup>24</sup> It was not possible to verify the bibliographical information of this thesis: the version I managed to access via Leiden University’s interlibrary loan was a photocopy in hard cover binding, showing the image of a torn sticker (with only “[U]’IVE’RSITE’IT’” visible) which likely contained the degree-granting institution and the submission date. Seeger (2013) cites it as “1995” from “Universiteit van Amsterdam,” whereas Hammarström et al (2019) list it as “1990” from “Katholieke Universiteit Nijmegen,” though Hammarström was also only able to obtain the same copy as I did (personal communication, October 2, 2019). Dereli (1997, 99) cites it as “z.p. ca. 1990,” i.e., with uncertain date and no mention of the degree-granting institution. My friend Li LEI at Raboud University confirmed that the library holds a photocopy in comb binding (personal communication, June 14, 2019), with visible remains of a torn sticker, therefore, it should be the “original” of the photocopy I checked. The librarian of Amsterdam University library confirmed that their hard copy has no information of the degree-granting institution or submission date, but “someone has hand-written the code ‘90-03’” which “generally means the publication year was 1990” (personal communication, June 21, 2019).

of the Uzbekistani Arabs, van Thiel-Gnyp (1990, 2–4) outlines three theories—the Arabs arrived in Central Asia via: (1) the Islamic conquest by Qutayba b. Muslim in early 8<sup>th</sup> century, (2) the legendary exile of Arab troops by Tamerlane, (3) the 16<sup>th</sup>-century Arab migration through Central Asia—concluding that none can be definitively favored.

Based on two months of fieldwork in a Jovgari trilingual family in 1996, Dereli (1997) presents an updated linguistic analysis of Bukharan Arabic. Dereli (1997) gives some attention to the Arabs in Afghanistan and presents them separately. Some Soviet census data of Central Asian Arabs are cited (Dereli 1997, 13), but the statistics for Uzbekistani Arabs remain the inaccurate<sup>25</sup> numbers from Schippers and Versteegh (1987). Dereli (1997, 8–11) mentions four theories<sup>26</sup> regarding Central Asian Arabs and hypothesizes that the differences between the Bukharan and Qashqadaryan varieties could mean that the two groups of speakers were of different origins (Dereli 1997, 12). Three folklore narratives are presented with somewhat idiosyncratic glossing and non-literal Dutch translations, from which a brief analysis is made in comparison with information from Vinnikov (1957a; 1957b), Fischer (1961), and Tsereteli (1970a). The key differences are: *ō* instead of Tsereteli's (1970a) *ū*, loss of the emphatics, prominent gemination, *v* replacing *w* of Vinnikov (1957a; 1957b) and Tsereteli (1970a), IMPF

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<sup>25</sup> See Schippers and Versteegh (1987, 136) providing the approximate numbers: ± 400 in Bukhara and ± 1000 in Qashqadarya—“De huidige sprekers van het Arabisch in Uzbekistan zijn waarschijnlijk resten van die vroegere situatie, momenteel geconcentreerd in enkele dorpjes in de buurt van Bukhara (in 1938: ± 400 sprekers) en in twee dorpjes in het gebied van de Qashqadarya (in 1938: ± 1000 sprekers).” However, in 1938, according to Vinnikov's (1940, 13) data, there were 682 Arabic speakers in Bukhara (379 in Jovgari, 159 in Chag'dari, and 144 in Arabxona) and about 1065 Arabic speakers in Qashqadarya (370×15% in Mušqoqi and 1009 in Jeynov), cf. Table 26 in §4.2.1.

<sup>26</sup> The four theories incorporate the three theories mentioned by Van Thiel-Gnyp (1990). The second theory of Van Thiel-Gnyp (1990) is supplemented by Tamerlane's 1401 deportation of Damascene Arabs; for the third theory, Bactria is specified as the origin of the 16<sup>th</sup>-century migration. The added fourth theory is that Arabs arrived via nomadic migrations after the 8<sup>th</sup>-century Islamic conquest.

verbs used for past narrative, PTCP of  $\sqrt{gdy}$  “go” used for present imperfective, Uzbek loan superlative (“*eN*”) and emphatic particles (*-da* and *-yu/-ya*), and Tajik numerals for tens and hundreds (Arabic numerals for 1~6 and 10).

With two months of fieldwork conducted in 2002 via elicitations of wordlist and paradigms and short interviews, Zimmermann (2002) aims at clarifying the contradictions found in the synthesis she made from the existing grammatical descriptions. The three theories for the history of Central Asian Arabs are discussed in which the Tamerlane legend is judged to be the least reliable (Zimmermann 2002, 7). Although more data from Akiner (1986) are incorporated, the demographic data presented (Zimmermann 2002, 13) remain those from Schippers and Versteegh (1987). Thanks to the field methods and informants who appear to have been more cooperative than Dereli’s, based on grammaticality discussion with her informants, Zimmermann was able to obtain full paradigms and variant patterns that may be difficult to deduce from texts. The focus is placed on the paradigms and suffix attachment of perfective PTCPs as well as the LINKER morpheme *-in* and patterns of the REL clause. Only a 100-wordlist based on the Swadesh list and a conversation excerpt (six short pairs of questions and responses) are presented in the appendix.

Hofmann (2011) investigates fifteen short humorous anecdotes recorded in Qashqadaryan Arabic by Vinnikov (1963) which are reproduced in the appendix of the thesis with German translations. The first half of the thesis analyzes the cultural and literary significance of the protagonist—Afandi (also known as Ğuḥā or Nasreddin Hodja)—via a survey of related literature. The second half is a synthesized grammar sketch of Qashqadaryan Arabic with Chikovani’s (2008) grammar also taken into consideration. A brief comparison of major

differences between Qashqadaryan Arabic and Bukharan Arabic is presented (Hofmann 2011, 102–8) before an annotated glossary with etymological notes closing the study.

Finally, relevant to this study is the research objectives suggested by Chikovani. Over the years, Chikovani (2012b, 122; 2014a, 113; 2016, 170–72; 2017, 137) has been advocating a four-dimensional approach—not only to the study of Central Asian Arabic but also to the study of peripheral Neo-Arabic in general—in terms of: (1) preservation of Arabic/Semitic archaisms, (2) peculiar development of Arabic linguistic materials, (3) factors of language contact, and (4) the role of extra linguistic factors. A detailed list of illustrating features in Central Asian Arabic<sup>27</sup> are provided by Chikovani (2014a). For (1), he points out the grammatical parallels found in other Semitic languages, including: the “ten+units” order for numerals eleven to nineteen, mimation (*-Vm*) marking PL, and DEMs resembling Syrian Arabic. For (2), he names some characteristics deviating from Classical Arabic,<sup>28</sup> including: occasional diphthongization, *p* and *č* emerged via devoicing, leveled PL marker *-āt* for both M and F nouns, innovated INDF marker *fad*, modifying linking morpheme *-(i)n*, decimal formation via units+PL of ‘ten,’ peculiar forms of personal pronouns, some special IMPF forms of verbs, and fossilized IMPV verbal forms. For (3), he attributes some features to the influence from Uzbek and Tajik, including: formation of the tense system, the “Turkish Izafet” (see discussion in §4.4), code-switching to true<sup>29</sup> Turkic GEN

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<sup>27</sup> Note that Chikovani (2014a) mainly illustrates using examples from Qashqadaryan Arabic, the Uzbekistani Arabic variety that he investigated in most of his fieldwork. The examples from Bukharan Arabic are only occasionally cited.

<sup>28</sup> In fact, most if not all of these features are found in Neo-Arabic varieties; the INDF marker can be considered a shared innovation of Mesopotamian Arabic (A6.2).

<sup>29</sup> The Turkic GEN phrase is characterized by an optional POSS suffix on the possessor and an obligatory pronominal suffix on the possessee, e.g., the Uzbek GEN phrase  $N_{1i}$ -POSS  $N_{2}$ -PRON<sub>*i*</sub>; see §4.4 for more discussion. The Qashqadaryan Arabic examples provided by Chikovani (2014a, 118) are loan GEN phrases formed with the Turkic GEN pattern and are correctly identified as code-switching rather than a loan grammatical structure, because both the grammatical elements and the nouns involved are Uzbek: *dilmurōd=ning kitōb=i* PN=POSS

phrase, and the order Subject-Object-Predicate. For (4), he mentions that most native speakers of Central Asian Arabic are illiterate and elderly, that their ancestors were Muslim Bedouins who were not very religious, and that among the Arabs there are fluent bi-/trilinguals as well as elderly people and women with limited knowledge of Uzbek and Tajik.

### 4.3 Corpus analysis of Bukharan Arabic word order

#### 4.3.1 Text selection

Even as *the* Central Asian Arabic variety with the largest number of linguistic materials, Bukharan Arabic is still only available in texts of one genre—folklore narratives. Although as mentioned in §4.2.3.1, various elicitation methods are used during Zimmermann’s (2002) fieldwork, no text samples are made available. Therefore, genre is out of consideration for text selection. The oral nature of the folklore narratives accounts for some of the features in the texts: very frequent successive direct quotes among the characters of the stories (*A said, “...” B said, “...”*), repetitions that might not be found in elaborated literary texts (*he walked and walked and walked*),<sup>30</sup> few occurrences of sentences with complex clausal structures, etc.

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book=3SG ‘Dil-Murod’s book,’ *usman=ning ota=si* PN=POSS father=3SG ‘Usman’s father,’ cf. the Uzbek nouns *kitob* ‘book’ and *ota* ‘father,’ the Uzbek POSS marker *-ning*, and the Uzbek 3SG allomorphs *-i* and *-si*.

<sup>30</sup> One could compare such repetition to the similar pattern found in Mehri folklore narratives where “[r]epeated or extreme continuous action can be expressed by repetition of the verb or the manner demonstrative *wṭōh*, *wṭōmah* or *wṭakmah*: ... *maxṭār Bā Nwās [syōr, / syōr, / syōr, / syōr]*, *at-tā nūkaṣ at-tā ṭād ḡayj* ‘once Bā Nuwās walked and walked and walked, until he came across a man’ Sima38:2” (Watson 2012, 306). The three manner demonstratives all mean ‘so; like that’; *wṭōh* and *wṭōmah* are proximal and *wṭakmah* is distal; the repetition *syōr, syōr, syōr, syōr* parallels the repetitions in the Bukharan Arabic corpus such as *min hamān miyoḡdiyu nāyim miyoḡdiyu nāyim/ miyāni čōl miyoḡdi/ čōli ḡazṭrama miyoḡdi nāyim* (D1 2.3-2.4) ‘from here, he kept walking/ he kept walking/ he walked in the desert/ in the hot desert, he kept walking.’

The first group of texts are from Vinnikov's (1969) collection—due to my preference of Vinnikov's relatively phonological transcription (see more in §4.3.2) and for the purpose of smoother glossing using his dictionary (Vinnikov 1962). However, Vinnikov (1969) includes previously published texts, so two (no. 8 and no. 9) of the texts selected from Vinnikov (1969) are identical to texts no. 1 and no. 2 from Vinnikov (1956).

The texts are in general selected randomly from Vinnikov (1969), though with a slight preference for texts in the Arabxona dialect, due to the fact that I have also included the longest narrative (Sprookje 1) from the three stories in the Jovgari dialect recorded by Dereli (1997). The texts ended up selected from Vinnikov (1969) are: Jovgari texts no. 8, no. 9, no. 15, and no. 21; Arabxona texts no. 37, no. 39, no. 43, no. 56, no. 61, no. 64, no. 66, and no. 65. Detail sub-corpora sizes of the two dialects will be reported in §4.3.3.

Finally, because Chikovani's texts represent the newest materials of Bukharan Arabic, I have also included the first five texts (no. I ~ no. V) from Chikovani (2009).

#### **4.3.2 Text processing**

The selected texts are almost all collected as scanned documents. Although being in Latin based transcriptions, because neither Adobe® Acrobat nor ABBYY® FineReader is capable of performing OCR for diacriticized Latin scripts that are not the writing systems of natural languages, the digital files processed by the software are in general full of mistakes and have to be checked with the originals. Chikovani's grammar—which he kindly made available digitally on his personal website—did not have the font properly embedded, so all the diacriticized letters appear as Mojibake when copied directly from the PDF file. Eventually a large part of the corpus ended up manually typed.

The Bukharan Arabic texts do not involve as many Unicode issues as the Old Amharic text does (§3.5.2.2), but considering the nature of the corpus investigation in this study, prior to loading them into the software for further processing, some “normalizing” adjustments were made to the texts, mainly in order to reconcile the different transcription systems used by different authors. In general, Vinnikov’s transcription of the vowels is more phonological than Tsereteli’s which apparently influenced Chikovani’s system, whereas Dereli’s transcription involves much more idiosyncrasy. Dereli records all word stresses, while Vinnikov and Tsereteli record only some and Chikovani hardly records any. Superscripts are used by Vinnikov to record not only reduced realizations of certain sounds but also other morphemes such as the LINKER *-in*, and Chikovani uses the superscript *i* “<sup>i</sup>” for some palatalized realizations. Connected prosodic units are noted by the undertie “<sub>—</sub>” but its usages differ among the authors regarding which words or morphemes should be treated so. See the following samples contrasting the different systems:

- (61) Samples in their original typographical formats (including italics) illustrating the different transcription systems of (a) Tsereteli (1956, 33), (b) Vinnikov (1969, 148), (c) Dereli (1997, 67–68), and (d) Chikovani (2009, 63):

- a. dək pāšā — gulandām māḥeda, — kən qāḥil, ḡaj. min handək kasīr adəmī kən qatlīnnu, akát handək kasīr kušīn sauā', ḡak. hat pāšā qāl, ki—hallā mihmān ḡajin, dikam fūḡi ḡāḡ, 'arka misú.— pāšā ʔe mihmānīn masleḡa sauā'. šah zāda bahrām qāl: „ana li hama kušī'n maḡtilu“. ša 'arət saḡfūr ḡaraḡa. saḡfūr laḡak, ḡak. abu gulandām qāl: „saḡfūr hamad <sub>—</sub>mi?“—ha,—qāl,—hamát. abu gulandām qāl: „saḡfūr kušī'nu kullu sūrət adəmī ta-isār. hamūk ta-iḡi, ta-iḡet 'arak“.
- b. fát <sub>—</sub>aḡed qōl: «mógdi, liabūy máḡri!» fát <sub>—</sub>aḡed qōl: «mógdi, liaḡūy máḡri» fát <sub>—</sub>aḡed qōl: «mógdi, liúmmi máḡri!» Imōm Mahdī qōl: «mógdi, min <sub>—</sub>úmmi ánšit: hēn abūy hástmi, mīyetmi? abūy ukum <sub>—</sub>mīyet, ḡur'ōn aḡrī 'alā<sup>h</sup>!» ḡākin, min <sub>—</sub>úmmu našad: «ḡuragīni qōlu: fat <sub>—</sub>aḡdu qōl: „mógdi, 'al <sub>—</sub>abūy máḡri!“ fát <sub>—</sub>aḡdu qōl: „mógdi, 'al <sub>—</sub>aḡūy máḡri!“ anā ḡit, mínki našatt: abūy hástmi, mīyetmi?» úmmu qōlet: «abūk hast! abūk šer <sub>—</sub>álla mišōr; ḡátti a'lō bowōtak fī <sub>—</sub>madīna!» zaḡīr leyl nām. nehōr šor. min <sub>—</sub>úmmu ḡuwōb ḡadāh-u waro <sub>—</sub>abō<sup>h</sup> ḡadāk. i <sub>—</sub>kúla ḡadāk.

- c. *mē'qul ki 'ō 'momo qongo'zak i'sâb toġ'dîn. 'ana 'zōž dūra'hân 'moġdi. il'lay toġ'dîni-ya mit'qul, mē'qûl 'dōk. 'diki mit'qul ki 'ġēzak 'iġi mit'qul vê 'is tuz'rubni mit'qûl. 'dōk mē'qûl ki ha'mât ta'yôq, ha'mât a'sôti 'qati may'nitki ma'doq mē'qûl. 'ibi 'vahda, tuz'rubna a'na ma'mût. 'na 'moġdak mit'qûl. mē'kun 'toġdi 'ō 'toġdi 'toġdi, min gi'dâma 'ō vata'hid cō'pôn 'mitlah. i'sâb toġ'dîn 'momo qongo'zak mē'qul 'dōk. mē'qul ki, diki mit'qul ki a'na 'zōž dūra'hân 'moġdi.*
- d. *kāyin ma kāyin fat sawdogar kāyin. ... bowōṭi iš muqul: - waladī, hoy dabba 'eš misya? hay iaġriaku. - hamay toġdūna, muqul. hay mioġda, miġṭba hawli. hay miġṭba fat ṭoi ṭuluṭ. ṭoi dumma ašrafiayu, noġunu nuqra. 'eġlāf ṭoi 'elsān ṭala. sawdogar maratu fat 'ōšeḡ kōn 'enda. sawdogar sawdogaria ġadān, bāt haṭ ḡaṭīb hat walad kēn kober ki-maġder wihay taišrah, qul: - haṭ zaġīr baham ta-nenṭa ia šamiš ṭa-nsu, ta-nišrah. iġlāf ḡaṭīb qōl-ki i\_mara, i\_mart sawdogar kġōl-ki: - baraq suwenta haṭ ta-imût. had barak ḡadahu i-kalb rašša.*

From the randomly selected samples above, we can observe how Tsereteli's conventions are reflected in Chikovani's system, including  $\overset{\circ}{a}$  (used by Tsereteli for all reflexes of \* $\bar{a}$  whereas Chikovani uses both  $\overset{\circ}{a}$  and  $\bar{o}$ ) and the hyphenated *ta-* (cf. Tsereteli's *ta-iġi*). Vinnikov, on the other hand, uses the undertie much more frequently, but it does not seem justified to treat the preposition *li-* differently from the other prepositions, e.g., *liaġūy* vs *'al\_ahūy*, unless one compares it with the Masoretic Hebrew hyphen *maqqup̄*. Dereli's system contains many more idiosyncratic symbols:  $\epsilon$ ,  $\hat{g}$ ,  $\hat{c}$ ,  $\hat{s}$ ,  $\underline{h}$ ,  $\text{'}$ , etc.

Apart from the differences in the transcription systems, there are also some typographical issues. Vinnikov's transcription contains conflicting stress markings, which likely involves printing errors: *máḡri*, *máḡrí*, and *maḡrí*. Chikovani justifies his occasional phonetic renderings for the purpose of reflecting the actual pronunciation, but the texts<sup>31</sup> appear to contain many problems. In (61d) above, we can find many inconsistencies: *qul* vs *qōl* vs *kġōl*, *baraq* vs *barak*, *'eġlāf* vs *iġlāf*, *ḡaṭīb* vs *ḡaṭīb*, *taišrah* vs *ta-nišrah*, and *i\_mara* vs *i-kalb*. In addition, the expression *kēn kober* is cited as *kōn kober* in the commentaries (Chikovani 2009, 84, 108), and

<sup>31</sup> There is no way for me to obtain a hardcopy, so these remarks only address the texts as they are in the electronic file. Because the file is not a scanned PDF, these problems may also involve issues such as display errors caused by font configuration or preprint errors corrected in print.

the expression *ia šamiš ta-nsu* likely contains an extra space (*ia šamiš* should be *iašamiš*) and perhaps overly phonetic rendering (*ta-nsu* should be *ta-nisu*).

Therefore, in processing the texts, I eliminated all stress marks (acute and apostrophe), and hyphenation, leaving the morpheme boundaries to be marked in the segmentation process. Underties and some hyphens marking the prosodic connections are replaced by spaces: *i mara* and *i kalb* instead of *i<sub>~</sub>marā* and *i-kalb*. The superscripts are rendered as normal letters with the logic that no matter how reduced they may have been the sounds must have been audible enough to be assigned a distinctive value. Some consonantal letters are replaced to match the overall transliteration system in this study: *q* instead of *k*, *‘* instead of *’*, *ġ* instead of *ġ*, etc.; vowel letters are generally kept intact, except some by Dereli, e.g., the lunate epsilon *ε* for schwa (*mε'qûl*), and long vowels marked by both a macron below (*röhu*) and a circumflex above (*gi'dâmu*). Emendations to the texts are done only when the author corrects them (such as *kēn* to *kōn* mentioned above); extra spaces are dealt with only in the glossing, and inconsistencies caused by phonetic renderings are treated as variants. Then, as in §3.4.2 and §3.5.2.2, the texts in Unicode characters were loaded into FLEx version 8.3.11 SE installed on the virtual Windows 10 operating system for grammatical tagging. There is no parser for Central Asian Arabic so morphological segmentation and annotation are both conducted from scratch in the software.

In the analyses and discussions below, I extract sentences and tagging from the corpus, but in accordance with the format introduced in §2.3 and as exemplified already in the Bukharan Arabic example (2e) in §2.3.2, I retrieve the target sentences and present them according to the typesetting of the published version in the *original text line* before providing the *transcription line* with the “normalized” text and segmentation.

### 4.3.3 Statistics and results

#### 4.3.3.1 General statistics

Some minor differences indeed exist between the Jovgari and Arabxona dialects of Bukharan Arabic (A6.3), which is why I have attempted to balance the texts in the two dialects (§4.3.1). The sizes of the sub-corpora with regard to dialectal distribution as calculated by FLE<sub>x</sub> is as follows; the dialectal information is not specified for Chikovani's (2009) texts:

*Table 27 Bukharan Arabic corpus and dialectal sub-corpora sizes*

<b>Texts &amp; Words Statistics</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	
Total number of unique words (types):		
<i>Jovgari texts</i>	1503	54%
<i>Arabxona texts</i>	994	36%
<i>Texts from Chikovani (2009)</i>	690	25%
<b>Overall</b>	<b>2782</b>	
Total word count (tokens):		
<i>Jovgari texts</i>	3918	44%
<i>Arabxona texts</i>	3738	42%
<i>Texts from Chikovani (2009)</i>	1241	14%
<b>Overall</b>	<b>8897</b>	
Total number of sentences (segments):		
<i>Jovgari texts</i>	597	44%
<i>Arabxona texts</i>	573	42%
<i>Texts from Chikovani (2009)</i>	185	14%
<b>Overall</b>	<b>1355</b>	

Although covering only a period of a few decades, the corpus can also be divided into sub-corpora diachronically, with Dereli's (1997) text between the oldest ones from Vinnikov (1969) and the newest ones from Chikovani (2009):

*Table 28 Diachronic text distribution of the Bukharan Arabic corpus*

<b>Texts &amp; Words Statistics</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	
Total number of unique words (types):		
<i>Texts from Vinnikov (1969)</i>	1641	59%
<i>Text from Dereli (1997)</i>	710	26%
<i>Texts from Chikovani (2009)</i>	690	25%
<b>Overall</b>	<b>2782</b>	
Total word count (tokens):		
<i>Texts from Vinnikov (1969)</i>	6029	68%

*Table 28 Diachronic text distribution of the Bukharan Arabic corpus (continued)*

<i>Text from Dereli (1997)</i>	1627	18%
<i>Texts from Chikovani (2009)</i>	1241	14%
<b>Overall</b>	<b>8896</b>	
Total number of sentences (segments):		
<i>Texts from Vinnikov (1969)</i>	1023	75%
<i>Text from Dereli (1997)</i>	147	11%
<i>Texts from Chikovani (2009)</i>	185	14%
<b>Overall</b>	<b>1355</b>	

In the following, whenever an example is cited from the corpus, an index label is provided in parentheses following the original text in the format “XXX No<sub>1</sub>.No<sub>2</sub>” in which No<sub>1</sub> stands for the paragraph<sup>32</sup> number, No<sub>2</sub> stands for the sentence number as detected by FLE<sub>x</sub>, and XXX indicates the text source via abbreviations XXX: V<sub>xx</sub> (*Vinnikov 1969, text no. xx*), D1 (*Dereli 1997, sprookje 1*), Ch<sub>x</sub> (*Chikovani 2009, text no. x*). Where interlinear glossing is not provided, I use subscript numbers to indicate the correspondence between the word and its translation.

The distribution of verb(al) forms in the corpus is as follows:

*Table 29 Verb(al) forms in the Bukharan Arabic corpus*

<b>Verb(al) form</b>	<b>Count</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
V <sub>PERF</sub>	1523	52.4%
V <sub>IMPF</sub>	917	31.5%
V <sub>PTCP</sub>	239	8.2%
V <sub>IMPV</sub>	208	7.1%
V <sub>INF</sub>	20	0.7%
<b>Sum</b>	<b>2907</b>	

Some remarks should be added regarding the V<sub>PTCP</sub> category in Table 29 above. The label V<sub>PTCP</sub> only refers to the original active PTCP which—in its predicative function—have

<sup>32</sup> The paragraph numbers for the texts from Vinnikov (1969) are identical to their paragraph divisions in the original publication. The paragraph numbers for the texts from Chikovani (2009) differs from the original paragraph numbers when there is an introductory paragraph that is not assigned any number in the original publication. Dereli (1997) records the entire story as one paragraph but provides paragraph divisions in the Dutch translation, which I have followed for my paragraph numbering.

grammaticalized into a new finite verbal form with a perfective connotation, as noted in §4.3.2.

The eight<sup>33</sup> passive PTCPs attested in the corpus have retained their expected functions—seven as predicative adjectives and one substantivized—with no markings for person like those for the active PTCPs, therefore, the passive PTCPs are excluded from the VPTCP count.

In addition, the V count also included some active PTCPs that are in the process of being grammaticalized into Tense-Aspect-Mood (TAM) markers. In the terminology of Heine and Kuteva (2002, 2), it can be stated that there is clear semantic bleaching—loss in meaning content—because the original lexical meanings are mostly replaced by the DUR/PROG connotation added to the main verb. However, these PTCPs hardly display any phonetic reduction or decategorization, since they are identical to their non-grammaticalized counterparts. See the

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<sup>33</sup> It should be noted that two word forms included here analyzed as passive PTCPs are not entirely certain, both from Chikovani (2009) which contains most of the uncertain words.

In the first instance, *orbah<sub>1</sub> kaduwa<sub>2</sub> mahamala<sub>3</sub>* (Ch3 2.3), (assuming no typographical mistakes) the word *mahamala* appears only analyzable as an abnormal variant of ‘loaded’ *maḥammal-a* (load\PP-F), i.e., ‘Four<sub>1</sub> gourds/pumpkins<sub>2</sub> [were loaded]<sub>3</sub>.’ The form *maḥammal* is not included in Vinnikov’s dictionary.

In the second instance, *wo<sub>1</sub> bint<sub>2</sub> pōšō<sub>3</sub> ošiqu<sub>4</sub> manšūq<sub>5</sub> šōr<sub>6</sub>* (Ch3 13.4), the word *manšūq* as it is spelled appears only analyzable as a substantivized passive PTCP ‘entangled one’ and the sentence can be interpreted as ‘With<sub>1</sub> daughter<sub>2</sub> of [the Pasha]<sub>3</sub>, [he became]<sub>6</sub> [a lover]<sub>4</sub> and [an entangled one]<sub>5</sub>.’ However, it is the adjectival root of  $\sqrt{nsq}$ —*nasiqa* in Classical Arabic—that bears the meaning ‘to be caught, be entangled,’ which makes the passive PTCP derivation problematic. An alternative is to read *manšūq* as a variant of *ma šūq*, also as a substantivized passive PTCP ‘the loved one,’ which would fit the Uzbek expression *oshiq-ma’shuq*, an Arabic loan meaning ‘lovers, in love with each other,’ attested as *oshiqu ma’shuq* in one of Alisher Navoiy’s poems: “*Oshiqu ma’shuq bo’lmoq bir-birin tanishmayin, Biz ikovdin boshqa go’yo ahli davron tanimas*” (Alisher Navoiy 1990, 6:160). This analysis presumes a change ‘ > n, which may be compared to the derivation noted for the form “ta-nenṭa” (Chikovani 2009, 57): “ta-nenṭa < ta-ne’ṭa” (2009, 85, 108), although the note contains no additional remarks on the phonological change. Nevertheless, if “ta-nenṭa” is indeed the Bukharan Arabic verb ‘give (away),’ whose lexical form is consistently *anṭā* (< \*a’ṭā), the change is strictly diachronic—the etymological ‘ does not show up in the paradigms or in the derivations of this verb. It is thus unclear whether it is fitting to use this word to justify the synchronic alternation in the root  $\sqrt{šq}$ .

expected F form (with shortening of *ā* and syncope of *i*) of *nāyim*, active PTCP<sup>34</sup> from  $\sqrt{nw\text{m}}$ , in (62) below; another contrastive pair of examples with VIMPF *messīr* can be found in (83) and (91):

(62) *nayma* as a PTCP and as an auxiliary V

a. **‘āyyan: fat parī naymá** (V37 4.16)

<i>‘ayyan</i>	<i>fat</i>	<i>parī</i>	<i>naym-a</i>
look\PERF.3MSG	INDF	peri	sleep\PTCP-F

‘He looked [and saw that] a peri was lying [there].’

b. **‘šims ‘tiq‘ad ‘nayma** (D1 2.5)

<i>šims</i>	<i>ti-q‘ad</i>	<i>naym-a</i>
sun	3FSG-sit\IMPF	sleep\PTCP-F

‘The sun was setting.’

Therefore, it seems fitting to categorize these forms as auxiliary Vs. In contrast, many reflexes of the “be” V (*kōn*) should be considered (fully) grammaticalized TAM markers and are not included in the counts: unlike the auxiliary Vs, these reflexes of *kōn* went through semantic bleaching (only marking PST), phonetic reduction (vowel change and consonant assimilation), and decategorization (loss of inflection). See the following examples contrasting VPERF *kōn* with one of its variants as PST marker *kum*:

(63) VPERF *kōn* with inflection vs PST marker *kum* without inflection for both M and F

a. **handūg waḥt nuršōt šiy-yāt riḡāl kōn-in ilayha** (Ch5 9.1)

<i>handūg</i>	<i>waḥt</i>	<i>nuršōt</i>	<i>šiy-yāt</i>	<i>riḡāl</i>	<i>kōn-in</i>	<i>ilay=ha</i>
that.M	time	PN	clothes-(F)PL	man	be\PERF-FPL	to(/with?)=3FSG

<sup>34</sup> The aspectual *nāyim* has been traditionally assumed to be derived from the root  $\sqrt{nw\text{m}}$  ‘sleep’ as found in Classical Arabic. Recently Chikovani (2019a, 53–54) argues against this derivation and attempts to derive *nāyim* from the root  $\sqrt{n‘m}$  using its connection to the Classical Ethiopic particle *nä‘ä* ‘come.’

‘At that time, Nuršōt had man’s clothes.’

b. **ṭēra kum\_ midbīz, hat kum\_ mebī’a** (V8 1.5)

<i>ṭēra</i>	<i>kum</i>	<i>mi-d-bīz</i>	<i>hat</i>	<i>kum</i>	<i>m-e-bī’a</i>
hen	PST	IND-3FSG-lay_egg\IMPF	this.M	PST	IND-3-sell\IMPF=3FSG

‘The hen laid an egg, [and] he sold it.’

Based on the considerations above, I treat the auxiliary Vs as all other verbal forms with the same system of segmentation and glossing instead of one single grammatical glossing label for the other grammaticalized TAM markers.

### 4.3.3.2 The relative order of V and O

As in §3.4.3 and §3.5.2.2.2, I first target the transitive verb(al)s for the purpose of tracking the Os. The distribution of transitivity in the corpus is as follows:

*Table 30 Transitivity in the Bukharan Arabic corpus*

<b>Transitivity</b>	<b>Count</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
$V_{\text{transitive}}$	1754	61%
$V_{\text{intransitive}}$	1127	39%
<b>Sum</b>	<b>2881</b>	

By virtue of being folklore narrative texts, the corpus contains a large number of direct quotations, which are commonly introduced by the transitive V “say.” The order of the direct speech and “say” could reflect an underlying pattern for O and V, but as in storytelling in most languages, the place where “*X said*” is inserted may as well vary depending on the narrator’s stylistic choice. In Table 31 below, I also specify the explicit nominal and pronominal/DEM S but exclude five instances of VPTCP, four instances of VIMPV, thirteen instances of VIMPF, seven instances of VPERF, and all three instances of VINF, since they are not used with direct speeches:

*Table 31 Word order reflected by “say” and direct speech in Bukharan Arabic*

<b>Order of <math>S_N</math>, <math>V_{\text{say}}</math>, Direct Speech (DSp)</b>	<b>Count</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
$S_N$ - $V_{\text{say}}$ -DSp	179	40.2%
$S_{\text{PRON/DEM}}$ - $V_{\text{say}}$ -DSp	57	12.8%

Table 31 Word order reflected by “say” and direct speech in Bukharan Arabic (continued)

S <sub>N</sub> -DSp-V <sub>say</sub>	6	1.3%
S <sub>PRON/DEM</sub> -DSp-V <sub>say</sub>	5	1.1%
DSp-S <sub>N</sub> -V <sub>say</sub>	18	4.0%
DSp-V <sub>say</sub> -S <sub>N</sub>	5	1.1%
DSp-V <sub>say</sub> -S <sub>PRON/DEM</sub>	2	0.4%
V <sub>say</sub> -S <sub>N</sub> -DSp	1	0.2%
V <sub>say</sub> -DSp	78	17.5%
DSp-V <sub>say</sub>	73	16.4%
DSp-V <sub>say</sub> -DSp	21	4.7%
<b>Sum</b>	<b>445</b>	

The preposed ACC marker developed in Bukharan Arabic is also helpful for locating the Os. However, this ACC marker is not rigidly required and appears to be more frequently used for marking DEF DO. See more details and discussions in §4.4.3.3.3. Excluding the direct speech “say,” four instances of *našad* ‘ask’ which are all followed by a quoted question, and the unmarked pronominal Os (all suffixed to the V in the typical Semitic V-PRON pattern), the order of transitive V, O, and marked pronominal O in the corpus is as follows; note that the notation O below includes all instances that are not pronominal suffixes:<sup>35</sup>

Table 32 Order of V, O, and marked O<sub>PRON</sub> in Bukharan Arabic

Order of V <sub>transitive</sub> , O, and ACC marked O <sub>PRON</sub>	Count	Percentage
O V	523	73.5%
ACC O V	55	7.7%
ACC=O V	3	0.4%
ACC=O <sub>PRON</sub> V	25	3.5%
O <sub>CompCl</sub> V CompCl	5	0.7%
bare V: O V <u>V</u>	23	3.2%
V O	11	1.5%
V CompCl	63	8.9%
V ACC O	1	0.1%
bare V: <u>V</u> V O	2	0.3%
<b>Sum</b>	<b>711</b>	

<sup>35</sup> In most cases, it would be an O that is a noun or a nominal phrase. However, there are also instances where the ACC marker occurs before a DEM, e.g., *il<sub>ACC</sub> hat<sub>1</sub> qazabōh<sub>2</sub>* (V65 3.18), literally ‘[they grabbed him]<sub>2</sub> [this one]<sub>1</sub>,’ i.e., ‘they grabbed him (this one that has been referred to in the context),’ where the proximal DEM is used as an anaphoric pronoun. However, in the paradigm of Bukharan Arabic independent pronouns, only the third person pronouns are replaced by DEMs. Therefore, these DEMs are still treated as DEMs rather than personal pronouns.

A few Vs have Os in the form of a “Complement Clause (CompCl)”—containing a finite verbal form, either unmarked or marked by the SUJV prefix *ta-* or complementizer *ki*: ‘know that ...,’ ‘look [and see] that ...’ ‘order that ...’ and ‘can do something.’ When the O of the CompCl appears before the main V, the surface structure closely resembles the OVV pattern.

The “bare V” in Table 32 is not strictly “bare” like the 384 instances excluded from the counts due to contextual nominal O elision. Instead, they occur as a result of the overall loss of the conjunction *\*wa* in Bukharan Arabic, creating V-V chains including the auxiliary V structure mentioned in §4.3.3.1. Thus, two or even more independently inflected Vs can share arguments and denote one single event, which makes such V chains resemble the Serial Verb Construction, see Aikhenvald’s (2006) criteria “single predicate,” “one event,” and “shared arguments”:

(64) *mehru'qūn miqtilūnu 'zīb* (D1 12.4)

<i>m-ə-hruq-ūn</i>	<i>m-i-qtil-ūn=u</i>	<i>zīb</i>
burn\IMPF-MPL	IND-3-kill\IMPF-MPL=3MSG	wolf

‘They burned [and] killed the wolf,’ i.e., ‘They burned the wolf to death.’

However, their precise nature is complicated by the fact that frequently the suffixed particle *-u* (and its postvocalic allomorph *-yu*) is found on the preceding V. The Uzbek coordinative postposition *-u*—ultimately going back to Arabic *\*wa* but likely loaned via Persian<sup>36</sup>—is homophonous with one of its sentence-final emphasis particles (Kononov 1960, 137, 335). The coordinative function seems more fitting in Bukharan Arabic and the identification of this morpheme is further complicated by its homophony with the 3MSG suffix in postconsonantal positions:

<sup>36</sup> This is based on the fact that the Persian (loanword from Arabic *wa*) *و* *va* ‘and,’ when in non-sentence-initial positions or in non-postpausal readings, is prosodically suffixed to the preceding word and pronounced as *-o* with postvocalic allomorphs *-yo* and *-wo* (Yousef 2018, 138–39).

(65) *gi'dām 'boy mi'ġību-yu miriṣ'sāh, han'kīt miqti'lūnu meħru'qūnu* (D1 12.4)

<i>gidām</i>	<i>boy</i>	<i>m-i-ġīb=u=yu</i>	<i>m-i-riṣṣ=ah</i>	<i>hankīt</i>
before	bey	IND-3-bring\IMPF=3MSG= <b>and</b>	IND-3-throw\IMPF=3MSG	there
<i>m-i-qtil-ūn=u</i>		<i>m-ə-ħruq-ūn=u</i>		
IND-3-kill\IMPF-MPL=3MSG? <b>/and?</b>		IND-3-burn\IMPF-MPL=3MSG		

‘He brought (it) and threw it before the bey; there, they burned it/and killed it.’

In addition, the ACC marker is homophonous with the DAT preposition “to, for” in both of its most frequent varieties *i* and *il*. There are a few instances in which the less frequent variant of the DAT preposition *li-* can also mark the ACC. The same homophony is also found in Jewish Baghdadi Arabic (Bar-Moshe 2019, 61–62) with no morphological clues to distinguish these functions of its *l-* preposition. See more discussions in §4.4.

An attempt is made in the tagging process to treat the ACC marker and the DAT preposition as polysemy for differentiated glossing, and Table 33 shows the distribution of DAT marking patterns in the corpus; note that the notation N includes all instances that are not pronominal suffixes:<sup>37</sup>

*Table 33 Patterns of DAT marking in Bukharan Arabic*

Patterns of DAT marking	Count	Percentage
DAT N V	165	67%
DAT=PRON V	42+1?	18%
V DAT=PRON	20	8%
V DAT N	15	6%
DAT=PRON, DAT N	2	1%
<b>Sum</b>	<b>245</b>	

<sup>37</sup> This is for similar reasons as noted above for the notation O in Table 33. The notation “IO” is not used here because the DAT preposition ‘to’ not only marks the IO of transitive Vs but also marks the goal/direction of the motional intransitive Vs, i.e., the “(al)lative,” which are also included in the counts. The only instances excluded are those in which the ‘to’ preposition seems to mean ‘belonging to’ or even ‘with, at’ (as if semantically equivalent to the Classical Arabic *inda*), as my glossing “to(/with?)” for *ilayha* in example (63a) indicates. The DAT interpretation is hardly possible in instances like ‘go with me!’ *ya<sub>1</sub> ilāy<sub>2</sub> sir<sub>3</sub>* (V64 3.9), literally ‘go<sub>3</sub> with<sub>1</sub> [to me]<sub>2</sub>’ and ‘what do you want from me?’ *min<sub>1</sub> ilāy<sub>2</sub> iṣ<sub>3</sub> tilqi<sub>4</sub>* (V64 3.6), literally ‘what<sub>3</sub> [would you find]<sub>4</sub> from<sub>1</sub> [to me]<sub>2</sub>.’

There is one problematic case which Chikovani appears to have read as a marked pronominal IO: *ilī kalō* ‘To me he called them (?)’<sup>38</sup> but neither *ilī* nor *kalō* seems correct.<sup>39</sup> In two instances, the V should be considered as elided: *ana<sub>1</sub> hamāt<sub>2</sub> nasīḥa<sub>3</sub> illē<sub>4</sub>-kum<sub>5</sub>* ‘There<sub>1</sub>, [I give] this<sub>2</sub> advice<sub>3</sub> to<sub>4</sub> you<sub>5</sub>’ (D1 18.4), *i<sub>1</sub> min<sub>2</sub>* ‘To<sub>1</sub> whom<sub>2</sub> [shall I give]?’ (Ch4 11.6).

Thus, the OV order can obviously be established as the statistic majority. However, there are more details making the OV pattern in Bukharan Arabic an atypical OV. See §4.3.3.3 and especially §4.3.3.3.3 below.

### 4.3.3.3 More about word order patterns of Bukharan Arabic

#### 4.3.3.3.1 Order of Adj/Gen and N

In the overwhelming majority of cases, adjectives and GEN modifiers both follow the head noun they modify, displaying the orders N-Adj and N-Gen.

Excluding those with non-adjectival usages such as substantivized (e.g., ‘young’ used as ‘the young one’) and adverbial (e.g., ‘far’ used as ‘far away’), the adjectives in the corpus show the distribution in Table 34 (PTCPs are also not included):

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<sup>38</sup> Chikovani offers no commentary for the clause(s) where this example is attested ‘*iyāl<sub>1</sub>-u<sub>2</sub> gidām<sub>3</sub>-u<sub>4</sub> milim<sub>5</sub>-hun<sub>6</sub> ilī- kalō<sub>8</sub> – muqū<sub>9</sub>*, literally ‘[He gathers]<sub>5</sub> (them<sub>6</sub>) his<sub>2</sub> children<sub>1</sub> before<sub>3</sub> him<sub>4</sub> ?<sub>7</sub> ?<sub>8</sub> – [he says]<sub>9</sub>’ except for a note on the form *milimihun*. His reading can be rendered in English as ‘He calls (gathers) children. – [Here], **to me** [go! – he calls them and] says,’ cf. his original translations “იგი შვილებს მოიხმობს (შეკრებს). – [აქ], ჩემთან [მოდით – დაუძახებს მათ და] ეუბნება” (Chikovani 2009, 67) and “Он призовет (собирёт) детей. – [Сюда], ко мне [идите, – позовёт их и] говорит” (Chikovani 2009, 93). Note that in Chikovani’s translation conventions, the square brackets are used to indicate supplemented words that are not in the original text and the parentheses are used to indicate the literal meaning of the preceding word. Thus, “Here” and “go! – he calls them and” are all inferred by context and added to make the translation smoother, while “gathers” is the literal meaning of the verb translated as “calls.” Therefore, Chikovani’s translation do not contain any element between *ilī* “to me” and *muqūl* “says” that reflect the *kalō* between *ilī* and *muqūl*.

<sup>39</sup> The expected form for ‘to me’ should be *il(l)āy*. If the *k* in *kalō* was a phonetic rendering of *q*, the word could be a form of *qōl* ‘say, tell, call,’ however, ‘he called them’ is attested as *qōlum*. In addition, I am not able to find a justifiable explanation for the two vowels in *kalō*.

Table 34 Distribution of Adj and patterns of Adj&N in Bukharan Arabic

Occurrence of Adj	Count	Percentage
Adj N	20+3?	11.2%
N Adj	2+1?	1.5%
N= <i>in</i> Adj	94	45.6%
predicative Adj	86	41.7%
<b>Sum</b>	<b>206</b>	

The only adjective commonly attested prenominal in the corpus is *kasīr* ‘many, much’ (fifteen out of its total twenty-two occurrences). The other four instances of Adj-N are: *esqe<sub>1</sub> zamōn<sub>2</sub>* and *qadīm<sub>1</sub> zamōn<sub>2</sub>*, ‘old<sub>1</sub> time<sub>2</sub>’ (note that these two could also be loan<sup>40</sup> phrases), *kabir<sub>1</sub> dawla<sub>2</sub>* ‘great<sub>1</sub> wealth<sub>2</sub>,’ *kabīr<sub>1</sub> beyt<sub>2</sub>-in ahānī<sub>3</sub>* ‘big<sub>1</sub> iron<sub>3</sub> house<sub>2</sub>,’ and *waḥad<sub>1</sub> madint<sub>2</sub>-u<sub>3</sub>* ‘his<sub>3</sub> other<sub>1</sub> city<sub>2</sub>.’ The three uncertain cases include two instances of *dasti<sub>1</sub> rumolt<sub>2</sub>-u<sub>3</sub>* ‘his<sub>3</sub> handkerchief [manual<sub>1</sub> scarf<sub>2</sub>]’ if *dasti* is analyzed as a loan Adj,<sup>41</sup> and *qadīm<sub>1</sub>-i waḥt<sub>2</sub>* ‘old<sub>1</sub> time<sub>2</sub>’ with an unexpected *-i* or as the only occurrence of a loan<sup>42</sup> Adj *qadīmi*. The attested pattern of N-Adj in juxtaposition is very rare: *adami<sub>1</sub> sayb<sub>2</sub>* ‘just<sub>2</sub> man<sub>1</sub>,’ *šugl<sub>1</sub> zīn<sub>2</sub>* ‘good<sub>2</sub> work<sub>1</sub>,’ and one uncertain case involving an *-i* morpheme: *čōl<sub>1</sub>-i ḡazīrama<sub>2</sub>* ‘hot<sub>2</sub> desert<sub>1</sub>.’

Normally the modified N is suffixed by an *-in* morpheme “linking” it to the modifying Adj, which gives it the designation LINKER or CONNECTOR (Versteegh 1986; Dereli 1997). This *-in* seems to have been recorded with a few rare allomorphs: (1) postvocally, once as *-hin* by

<sup>40</sup> The lexical items (*eski*, *qadim*, *zamon*) are all in Uzbek and *eski* is also the common Turkic lexeme. In Uzbek, both *eski zamon* and *qadim zamon* are grammatical phrases, with the first more commonly used than the latter for ‘ancient time, old time.’

<sup>41</sup> There is an adjective *dastī* meaning ‘handmade, manual’ in Persian. Such a reading diverges from the original glossing and the intended analysis “*hand (IZ)*” (Dereli 1997, 39, 48), i.e., *dast-i* with the Persian/Tajik *ezāfe* morpheme, literally ‘hand of his handkerchief,’ which does not make sense. In the two other instances, the phrase is attested as *dast rumoltu*, without the *-i*. The attestation without *-i* can be explained as a loanword *dastrumol* shared by Tajik and Uzbek ultimately from Persian: cf. Tajik даструмол *dastrūmol* (with a variant даструймол *dastrūimol*), loaned into Uzbek as *dastro* ‘mol.’

<sup>42</sup> If it should be considered a loanword, the form *qadīmi* can be connected to the Uzbek adjective *qadimiy* which would explain the unexpected *-i*. The Uzbek word *qadimiy* itself is a loanword from Arabic.

Vinnikov, and four times as *-yin* by Dereli; (2) very sporadically, as *-un*, once by Dereli and four times by Chikovani, and as *-īn* and *-en*, once each by Chikovani. Cf. the expected (66) with the unexpected (67):

(66) *vat 'čöl=īn ġazīrama meṽud'diya* (D1 1.15)

*vat*      *čöl=īn*      *ġazīrama*      *m-ə-vuddi=ya*  
 INDF      desert=LK      burning      IND-3-lead\IMPF=3FSG  
 ‘He led it off [into] a hot desert.’

(67) *al-šahreī buḥōrō šayih=īn kabīr kōn* (Ch5 5.4)

*al*      *šahr=ei*      *buḥōrō*      *šayih=īn*      *kabīr*      *kōn*  
 toward      city=EZ      GN      sheikh=LK      big      be\PERF  
 ‘In the city of Bukhara, there was a great sheikh.’

Table 35 for the GEN construction excludes: those with pronominal suffixes as the GEN (N=PRON<sub>GEN</sub>), e.g., *bēt<sub>1</sub>-u<sub>2</sub>* ‘his<sub>2</sub> house<sub>1</sub>,’ numerical expressions, e.g., *salās<sub>1</sub> šaggāt<sub>2</sub>* ‘three<sub>1</sub> toils(?)<sub>2</sub>’ and *nuṣṣ<sub>1</sub> yūm<sub>2</sub>* ‘half<sub>1</sub> a day<sub>2</sub>,’ as well as those where the head noun from an original noun is synchronically used as a preposition or a quantifier (but except for *kul* ‘every, all’), e.g., *arūn<sub>1</sub>-a<sub>2</sub>* ‘inside<sub>1</sub> her<sub>2</sub>,’ *ba ‘āz<sub>1</sub>-um<sub>2</sub>* ‘some<sub>1</sub> of them<sub>2</sub>,’ and *heder<sub>1</sub> hōy<sub>2</sub>* ‘under<sub>1</sub> the wall<sub>2</sub>.’ All these excluded types of GEN constructions are formed in the typical Semitic N-Gen pattern. In Table 35, the four instances in which Gen is an INF or an independent pronoun are specified:

*Table 35 Order of Gen&N in Bukharan Arabic*

Order of Gen and N	Count	Percentage
N Gen	152+3 <sup>DEM</sup> +1 <sup>INF</sup> +4 <sup>?</sup>	71.7%
<i>kul</i> Gen	17	7.6%
<i>kul</i> =PRON <sub>i</sub> Gen <sub>i</sub>	4	1.8%
N= <i>in</i> Gen	1+1 <sup>?</sup> +2 <sup>?</sup>	1.8%
N= <i>i</i> Gen	5	2.2%
Gen <sub>i</sub> N=PRON <sub>i</sub>	21+3 <sup>INF</sup>	10.8%
Gen <sub>i</sub> <i>kul</i> =PRON <sub>i</sub>	4	1.8%
Gen N= <i>i</i>	4 <sup>?</sup>	1.8%
Gen N (O VINF)	1	0.4%
<b>Sum</b>	<b>223</b>	

The LINKER *-in* is found only once with certainty for the GEN construction in the entire corpus: *mamlakat<sub>1</sub>-in misr<sub>2</sub>* ‘kingdom<sub>1</sub> of Egypt<sub>2</sub>’ (Ch5 3.1), but cf. also *mamlakat misr* (Ch5 5.3). The one potential instance of *ādami<sub>1</sub>-n ḥarāmi<sub>2</sub>* (V64 3.4) ‘man<sub>1</sub> of thief<sub>2</sub>’ may follow the N=*in* Adj pattern depending on the nature of *ḥarāmi*—whether it can also be an Adj. In one uncertain attestation, *farz<sub>1</sub>-in faraz<sub>2</sub>* ‘horse<sub>1</sub> of horses<sub>2</sub>’ (D1 1.6), the form *faraz* is suggested to be a PL form, but everywhere else for the PL of *farz*, either *farz-īn* or *farz-ūn* is used. The other uncertain attestation, *waḥt<sub>1</sub>-in mitahān<sub>2</sub>-u<sub>3</sub>* ‘time<sub>1</sub> of his<sub>3</sub> dying/death<sub>2</sub>’ (V37 1.4), involves the INF form whose precise status is not entirely clear.<sup>43</sup> The LINKER *-in* has been argued to be the influence of the Persian/Tajik *ezāfe* morpheme (see more in §4.5), but what appears to be the *true* Persian/Tajik *ezāfe* occurs five times in the corpus on the possessee—glossed as EZ in (67) above. It is recorded as *-i* twice by Vinnikov *waḥt<sub>1</sub>-i ṣalō<sub>2</sub>* ‘time<sub>1</sub> of prayer<sub>2</sub>’ contrasting *waḥt ṣalō* (six attestations) and once by Dereli *waḥt<sub>1</sub>-i šab<sub>2</sub>* ‘time<sub>1</sub> of night<sub>2</sub>’ (D1 17.4), and also unexpectedly<sup>44</sup> recorded as *-ei* and *e*, once each by Chikovani: *šahr-ei buḥōrō* as in (67) contrasting *šahar buḥōrō* (Ch5 3.4), and *pišōna<sub>1</sub> e rās<sub>2</sub>* ‘forehead<sub>1</sub> of head<sub>2</sub>’ (Ch5 6.5). In

<sup>43</sup> There are instances in the corpus where it is uncertain whether the INF is to be analyzed as a noun or a clausal nominalization; the latter could turn this attestation paralleling with one of the REL patterns (§4.4.3.3.2) which would explain the appearance of *-in*. A morphological clue slightly in favor of a clausal status of INFs lies in the example *qayliyān<sub>1</sub> duk<sub>2</sub> min<sub>3</sub> iṣāb<sub>4</sub> nilqāh<sub>5</sub>* (V8 1.52), ‘From<sub>3</sub> where<sub>4</sub> [shall we find]<sub>5</sub> [what he<sub>2</sub> said]<sub>1</sub>?’ because the S of the INF *qayliyān* appears as an independent pronoun instead of a pronominal suffix expected on nouns. However, the pattern with pronominal suffixes is also attested: *qayliyān<sub>1</sub>-i<sub>2</sub> agal<sub>3</sub> issāh<sub>4</sub>* (V9 2.41) ‘If<sub>3</sub> [you would do]<sub>4</sub> [what I<sub>2</sub> said]<sub>1</sub>.’

<sup>44</sup> These forms are considered unexpected firstly because of the isolated status of *e* in contrast to the affixal status of *-ei*. Secondly, the *-ei*—if indeed representing a diphthong—cannot be explained by Persian/Tajik in which the variants of the *ezāfe* morpheme are expected to be [i] or [e] and postvocally [ji] or [je]. Lastly, the word ‘city’ in Bukharan Arabic is regularly attested not with the Persian/Tajik lexeme *šahr* but with the Arabic lexeme *madina* or the Uzbek lexeme *šahar*, and the word *šahr* is regularly used for ‘month.’

addition, except for *pišōna e rās*, all the other instances can arguably be loan phrases<sup>45</sup> from Persian/Tajik.

The normal GEN construction is formed with the typical Semitic N-Gen pattern which is also the normal pattern for *kul* (*kul* + N<sub>GEN</sub>). The nouns having a special CSTR form appear as such in the possessee position, as in all Semitic languages of the head-marking<sup>46</sup> type. There are four instances of N-Gen with N as a PL or DU ending in *-īn* which is not expected for Semitic CSTR forms: *adamīn<sub>1</sub> amīr<sub>2</sub>* (V37 2.2, 2.4) ‘men<sub>1</sub> of the emir<sub>2</sub>,’ *adamīn<sub>1</sub> ḥaramīn<sub>2</sub>* (V65 3.2) ‘men<sub>1</sub> of thieves<sub>2</sub>,’ and *maškīn<sub>1</sub> mū<sub>2</sub>-in aḥmar<sub>3</sub>* (V37 4.38) ‘[two wineskins]<sub>1</sub> of golden<sub>3</sub> water<sub>2</sub>.’ Examples (68) and (69) illustrate the N-Gen phrases with *mara* ‘woman’ (CSTR form *mart*, form with pronominal suffixes *marat-*) and *walad* ‘son’ (CSTR form *wald*, form with pronominal suffix *walad-*):

(68) **min** **mart** **amīr** **ana** **zīna** (V9 2.6, V9 2.14, V9 2.23)

<i>min</i>	<b><i>mart</i></b>	<i>amīr</i>	<i>ana</i>	<i>zīn-a</i>
from	woman.CSTR	emir	1CSG	beautiful-F

‘I am more beautiful than the wife of the emir.’

(69) **halōu ḡāu**, **wald ṣayyōt ḥadō<sup>h</sup>** (V37 2.11)

<i>halōu</i>	<i>ḡā-u</i>	<b><i>wald</i></b>	<i>ṣayyōt</i>	<i>ḥad-ō=h</i>
these.M	come\PERF-3MPL	son.CSTR	fisherman	take\PERF-3MPL=3MSG

‘They came and took the son of the fisherman.’

<sup>45</sup> Nearly all the lexical items involved are identical in Persian (P) and Tajik (T): P وقت *vaqt* T вақт *vaqt* ‘time,’ P صلا *salā* T сало *salō* ‘call’ (cf. P صلات *salāt* T салот *salot* ‘prayer’), P شب *šab* T шаб *šab* ‘night,’ P شهر *šahr* T шаҳр *šahr* ‘city,’ and P بخارا *boxārā* T Бухоро *buxoro* ‘Bukhara.’ Persian attests the Arabic loanword رأس *rās* ‘head.’ Only *pišōna* does not find a complete match: P پیشانی *pišānī* T пешона *pešona* ‘forehead,’ but cf. the Iranian loanword *peshana* in Uzbek. Therefore, *vaqt-e salā* or *vaqt-i salo*, *vaqt-e šab* or *vaqt-i šab*, *šahr-e boxārā* or *šahr-i buxoro* are all grammatical GEN phrases in Persian or Tajik respectively, and *pišānī-ye rās* would be grammatical in Persian.

<sup>46</sup> See Hasselbach (2013, 182ff) for the terminology and the comprehensive overview of the head-marking and dependent-marking patterns in the Semitic language family.

The pattern  $Gen_i N=PRON_i$  in which a pronominal suffix coindexed with the possessor is attached to the possessee is the only regular pattern for the prenominal GENs and a few instances of the postnominal *kul*:

(70) **hadī rāsa iššīlu, madīna adamīha tóklū** (V61 3.20)

*hadī rās=a*      *iš-šīl=u*      *madīna adamī=ha* *to-kl=u*  
 this.F head=3FSG    3FSG-lift\_up\IMPF=3MSG    city      men=3FSG    3FSG-eat\IMPF=3MSG  
 ‘Should it raise its head, it would eat the people of the city.’

The one instance of Gen-N is in fact an INF in the OV order: *avqōt<sub>1</sub> kālahān<sub>2</sub>* (D1 16.2) ‘eating<sub>2</sub> of food<sub>1</sub>.’ Three instances of extremely uncertain Gen-N are not included in the counts: one instance of *maktab<sub>1</sub> ḥona<sub>2</sub>* (Ch3 10.1) ‘school<sub>1</sub> house<sub>2</sub>’ is likely one single word (cf. Uzbek *maktabxona*); the other two instances of *šōh suffāt* are likely not to be understood literally as illustrated in (71) together with an ambiguous instance of *kul*:

(71) **'šōh suffāt 'fōqin qa'dīn bobo'yīn. 'kulum nā'sāt qa'dīn** (D1 11.5)

*šōh suff-āt*      *fōq=in*      *qa'd-īn*      *bobo-yīn*      *kul=um*      *nās-āt*  
 shah    estrade-(F)PL    on=3FPL    sit\PTCP-MPL    grandpa-MPL    all=3MPL    people-(F)PL  
*qa'd-īn*  
 sit\PTCP-MPL  
 ‘On the main estrades, old men were siting; all people were sitting.’

In (71), *šōh suffāt* is literally ‘estrades of shah (king),’<sup>47</sup> but it does not fit the context well. Whereas in Persian, شاه *šāh* can function as a prefix to form compounds denoting ‘main, best.’ Note that the locational expression with *fōq-in* could also be interpreted as a  $Gen_i N=PRON_i$  phrase. The *kul* phrase is interpreted as  $kul=PRON_i Gen_i$  only due to the punctuation, but one can

<sup>47</sup> Dereli (1997, 39) provides the gloss “*koninklijk*,” i.e., ‘royal, kingly,’ without further notes as if it is an adjective. However, it is not justified morphologically nor etymologically to treat *šōh* as an adjective.

imagine in a connected flow of the sentences, *boboyīn kull-um* may well be interpreted as ‘all old men.’

The pattern  $Gen_i N=PRON_i$  has been attributed to Turkic influence (see more in §4.4), but in fact, the *true* Turkic GEN is attested only as two phrases in four questionable<sup>48</sup> instances:

(72) \***arab-pulī** (V21 1.23, V21 1.25, V39 3.1)

*‘arab pul=i*

Arab money=POSS

‘money of Arab (i.e., the taxation imposed on Arabs)’

(73) \***rōba ‘tiġi fōh tan’dūr kufti ‘tirqi ‘tiq’ad** (D1 3.3)

*rōba ti-ġi fōh tandūr kuft=i ti-rqi*

fox 3FSG-come\IMPF on oven shoulder=POSS 3FSG-climb\_up\IMPF

*ti-q’ad*

3FSG-sit\IMPF

‘The fox came, climbed up, and sat down on the shoulder of the oven.’

#### 4.3.3.3.2 Order of RC and N

The general understanding one gets from examining the corpus is that there are not many RCs. There is a REL marker *il* in Bukharan Arabic (A6.3.2). Among the 26 instances of RCs

<sup>48</sup> These attestations are considered “questionable” because it is very possible for the two phrases to be loan phrases from Uzbek—the phrases would be *arab pul-i* and *tandir kift-i* in the standard dialect. For *tandūr kufti* in (73), I provide the full clause because my reading diverges from the original glossing “*rand*” and comment (“Afgeleid van het Arabische **kuffa**”) (Dereli 1997, 27). Translating the word as ‘edge’ fits the context semantically, but for the hypothetical *kuffa* (cf. Classical Arabic *kuffah*) become *kufti* with a *t*, one must assume it is either in the CSTR form or carrying a pronominal suffix, although the expected form would still be *kuffat-*. The elision of the *a* and the simplification of the geminate *ff* is not justified; neither is there a good explanation for the final *-i* if *kufti* is to be derived from the hypothetical *kuffa*. My gloss suggests to connect this *kufti* to the Uzbek lexeme *kift* ‘shoulder.’ Ultimately, Uzbek *kift* is borrowed from Arabic \**kutf-* with metathesis. Both *pūl* and *kuft* are attested Bukharan Arabic lexical items, so if these two instances of *-i* really represent a true morphological formation, it can be concluded that the true Turkic GEN pattern is extremely rare in Bukharan Arabic.

marked by *il*, there is one instance of the RC-N order (74) and two instances of N-RC as in (75); the other instances are all headless RCs as in (76):

(74) **hai il-hastu dagīk tidbaḥu** (Ch4 4.3)

*hai il hast=u dagīk ti-dbaḥ=u*  
 this.F REL COP=3MSG flour 3FSG-cook\IMPF=3MSG  
 ‘She cooked the flour that there was.’

(75) **bīnt<sup>in</sup> gidīr il ṣāyra qōlet** (V15 4.5)

*bīnt=in gidir il ṣayr-a qōl-et*  
 girl=LK boiler REL become\PTCP-F say\PERF-3FSG  
 ‘The girl who had turned into a boiler said.’

(76) **hama mir-rās rūḥa il-‘āber qōl<sup>tú</sup>** (Ch5 10.1)

*hama mir rās rūḥ=a il ‘āber qōl-et=u*  
 this.M<sup>sic!</sup> from head self=3FSG REL cross\PTCP say\PERF=3FSG=3MSG  
 ‘[S]he told from the beginning what had happened to herself.’

The headless RCs have a substantivized usage with the pattern O-*il*-VIMPF (77), literally ‘one that does something,’ used mostly for names of professions or tools. Even in this usage, the REL marker can be absent (78):

(77) **had árba<sup>h</sup> ‘ašrāt fuls il māl il mízbaḥ anṭā** (V61 2.9)

*had arbaḥ ‘ašr-āt fuls il māl il m-i-zbaḥ anṭā*  
 this.M four ten-(F)PL money to livestock REL IND-3-slaughter\IMPF give\PERF  
 ‘This one gave forty ducats to the butcher,’ literally ‘one who slaughters livestock.’

(78) **fat ādami šuk mebí<sup>‘</sup> kon** (V8 1.1)

*fat ādami šuk m-e-bī<sup>‘</sup> kon*  
 INDF man thorn IND-3-sell\IMPF be\PERF  
 ‘There was a firewood-seller man,’ literally ‘one who sells thorn.’

It seems that these headless RCs became lexicalized nouns; they make up nineteen of the twenty-three headless RCs in the corpus of which sixteen instances are *ši<sub>1</sub> il<sub>2</sub> meḥuṭṭūn<sub>3</sub>* ‘chest,’ literally ‘[one in] which<sub>2</sub> [they place]<sub>3</sub> thing<sub>1</sub>(s).’

RCs can also be unmarked. Among the attestations, four display the RC-N pattern as in (79) while two display the N-RC pattern as in (80):

(79) **Alakúz kom<sub>1</sub> muḥulūnu wāḥed išōn kōn** (V39 2.1)

<i>alakuz</i>	<i>kom</i>	<i>m-u-qul-ūn=u</i>	<i>wāḥed</i>	<i>išōn</i>	<i>kōn</i>
PN	PST	IND-3-say\IMPF-MPL=3MSG	one	ishon	be\PERF

‘There was an ishon whom they called Alakuz.’

(80) **il<sub>1</sub> hamduk ādami il<sub>2</sub> arb<sup>h</sup> fi zōhru kom<sub>3</sub> mišīlu isīr Iskandar qol<sub>4</sub> ki**  
(V43 4.1)

<i>il</i>	<i>hamduk</i>	<i>ādami</i>	<i>il</i>	<i>arb<sup>sic!</sup>=h</i>	<i>fi</i>	<i>zohr=u</i>	<i>kom</i>
to	that.M	man	ACC	father(?)=3MSG	in	back=3MSG	PST
<i>m-i-šīl=u</i>		<i>i-sīr</i>		<i>Iskandar</i>	<i>qol</i>	<i>ki</i>	
IND-3-lift <sub>up</sub> \IMPF=3MSG		3-walk\IMPF		PN	say\PERF	QUOT	

‘To that man who was walking while carrying his father on his back, Alexander said: ...’

In addition, interestingly, this *il* marking the REL is not attested in text D1 at all. D1 does contain several instances correctly analyzed by Dereli (1997) as RCs, one of which in the RC-N order contains an *in-* morpheme, which is unstressed as *il* and preposed to the REL V according to Dereli’s (1997) transcription (81), and it is attested four times in Chikovani’s texts, once as RC-N and three times as N-RC like (82):

(81) **'dabbit 'rōḥu 'kōn 'dōk. ḥa'rāmi in-sorqinnu 'dabba** (D1 11.16)

<i>dabbit</i>	<i>rōḥ=u</i>	<i>kōn</i>	<i>dōk</i>	<i>ḥarāmi</i>	<i>in=sorq=innu</i>	<i>dabba</i>
horse.CSTR	self=3MSG	be\PERF	3MSG	thief	REL=steal\PTCP=3MSG	horse

‘It was his own horse, the horse that the thief had stolen.’

(82) **fad adamin šūka inmiqūl - ilqū** (Ch5 8.3)

<i>fad</i>	<b>adam=in</b>	<i>šūka</i>	<i>in=m-i-qūl</i>	<i>ilq-ū</i>
INDF	<b>man=LK</b>	amusing_story(?)	REL=IND-3-say\IMPF	find\IMPV-3MPL

‘Find a man who tells an amusing story!’

Although it is possible for this *in-* to be a partial assimilation of *il*, the phonetic environments are too few to fully justify it as such. This allomorphy is not assumed by previous studies either. In addition, there is occasional full assimilation of the preposition *il* but it is attested assimilated to an *r*: *wald ir rūḥa* (V61 4.20) < \**wald il rūḥa* ‘her own son,’ literally ‘son to herself.’ Comparable full assimilation of the particle *l*—one function of which is marking REL—is found in Jewish Baghdadi Arabic (Bar-Moshe 2019, 16). On the other hand, as shown in (75) and (81), it is clear that there is a pattern involving the LINKER *-in* suffixed to the head noun, i.e., N=*in* RC. This pattern is attested 15 times in the corpus, among which three are marked by *il* and three are marked by *in-*. This will be discussed in a broader context in §4.4.

4.3.3.3.3 *More than simple OV—Resumptive pronouns and post-verbal elements*

The corpus statistics in §4.3.3.2 shows that in an overwhelming majority of cases, the relative order of V and O is indeed O-V, conforming to previous observations. However, as noted already by Versteegh (1986) and Ratcliffe (2005), Bukharan Arabic is more than simple OV. In the corpus, the pattern O<sub>i</sub>V=PRON<sub>i</sub> observed in Chapter 3 is repeatedly attested:

(83) **fat ‘ağūza wāḥ<sup>ḥ</sup>da bazūna tuzrūba messīr** (V61 1.6)

<i>fat</i>	<i>‘ağūz-a</i>	<b><i>wāḥed-a bazūna</i></b>	<i>tu-zrub=ha</i>	<i>me-s-sīr</i>
INDF	old (wo)man-F	<b>one-F cat</b>	3FSG-beat\IMPF=3FSG	IND-3FSG-walk\IMPF

‘An old woman was beating a cat.’

This pronoun is coindexed with not only nouns that are unmarked DOs as in (83) above, but also with nouns that are marked DOs (84) and IOs (85), and even with pronouns that are marked DOs (86) and IOs (87):

(84) **hat qōl: «bibī, šinī il\_bazūna tuzr**="bīna?»**** (V61 1.7)

<i>hat</i>	<i>qōl</i>	<i>bibī</i>	<i>šinī</i>	<b>il</b>	<b>bazūna</b>	<i>tu-zrub-īn=a</i>
this.M	say\PERF.3MSG	grandma	why	ACC	cat	2-beat\IMPF-2FSG=3FSG

‘This one said: “grandma, why do you beat the cat?”’

(85) **kāli il\_kubōra qōlum** (V65 5.2)

<i>kali</i>	<b>il</b>	<b>kubōra</b>	<i>qōl=um</i>
lousy-headed	to	old.PL	say\PERF=3MPL

‘The lousy-headed one said to the elders.’

(86) **«sīr, ilēyk amīr muḳūlak!» — qōlu** (V37 3.14-15)

<i>sīr</i>	<b>ilēy=k</b>	<i>amīr</i>	<b>m-u-qūl=ak</b>	<i>qōl-u</i>
walk\IMPV	ACC=2MSG	emir	IND-3-call\IMPF=2MSG	say\PERF-3MPL

“‘Go, the emir is calling you!’” they said.’

(87) **anā ilē=kum fils manṭīkum, ilāy inṭō<sup>h</sup>** (V64 2.11)

<i>anā</i>	<b>ilē=kum</b>	<i>fils</i>	<b>m-a-nṭī=kum</b>	<i>ilā=y</i>	<i>inṭ-ō=h</i>
1CSG	to=2MPL	money	IND-1CSG-give\IMPF=2MPL	to=1CSG	give\IMPV-3MPL=3MSG

‘I will give you money; give him to me!’

Such a pattern of DO/IO indexing on the sentence-final V is not a feature of Turkic and generally not found in Persian/Tajik.

The suffixed pronouns certainly appear after the Vs, but they still belong to the sentence-final verbal complex. Elements other than the pronominal suffixes occurring after the V-final Vs would be unusual for any V-final language, but it is what we find in Bukharan Arabic, including various prepositional phrase (88, 89), DAT phrase (90, 91), as well as adverbials (92, 93) like ‘come *home*,’ and even the S (94, 95), and the DO (96, 97):

(88) *vah'da vah'da mitil'lu<sup>c</sup>a mišur'ruqa i 'rôd* (D1 6.3)

<i>vahda</i>	<i>vahda</i>	<i>m-i-tillu</i> '=a	<i>m-i-šurruq</i> =a	<i>i</i>	<i>rôd</i>
one	one	IND-3-take_out\IMPF=3FSG	IND-3-spread\IMPF=3FSG	to	land

‘One by one he would take them out and spread them on the ground.’

(89) *i\_had zib kalah min idna* (Ch2 3.2)

<i>i</i>	<i>had</i>	<i>zib</i>	<i>kala</i> =h	<i>min</i>	<i>id</i> =na
ACC	this.M	wolf	eat\PERF=3MSG	from	hand=1CPL

‘The wolf ate him from our hands.’

(90) *dabbātak ḡabūnen, oḡūr<sup>in</sup> aḡmar sáwu ilēhen* (V8 2.12)

<i>dabb-āt</i> =ak	<i>ḡab-ū</i> =nen	<i>oḡūr</i> =in	<i>aḡmar</i>	<i>saw-u</i>
horse-(F)PL=2MSG	bring\PERF-3MPL=3FPL	manger=LK	golden	make\PERF-3MPL

<i>ilē</i> =hen
to=3FPL

‘They brought your horses; they made them a golden manger.’

(91) *ḡubza níṭi il\_bazūna, fi\_bíy<sup>et</sup> messīr* (V61 1.16)

<i>ḡubza</i>	<i>ni-nṭi</i>	<i>il</i>	<i>bazūna</i>	<i>fi</i>	<i>biyet</i>	<i>me-s-sīr</i>
bread	1CPL-give\IMPF	to	cat	in	house	IND-3FSG-walk\IMPF

‘We shall give the cat bread; it will walk in the house.’

(92) *hay mioḡda, miḡība hawli* (V61 1.16)

<i>hay</i>	<i>m-io-ḡd</i> =a	<i>m-i-ḡīb</i> =a	<i>hawli</i>
this.F	IND-3-take\IMPF=3FSG	IND-3-bring\IMPF=3FSG	courtyard

‘He took it and brought it [to] the courtyard.’

(93) *akaēīnu<sup>sic!</sup> miqla<sup>sic!</sup> ‘ūnu mioḡdūn madintin aḡhum pōšō insoyer* (Ch2 6.1)

<i>aka-īn</i> =u	<i>m-i-qla</i> ‘-ūn=u	<i>m-io-ḡd-ūn</i>	<i>madint</i> =in
older_brother-MPL=3MSG	IND-3-exit\IMPF-MPL=and	IND-3-go\IMPF-MPL	city=LK

<i>aḡu</i> =hum	<i>pōšō</i>	<i>in</i> =soyer
brother=3MPL	pasha	REL=become\PTCP

‘The older brothers came out and went [to] the city where their brother became a pasha.’

- (94) *'batnu mi'sib'u 'hād-u, ha'mât mi'yoğdi* (D1 16.11)

<i>batn=u</i>	<i>m-i-šib ' =u</i>	<i>hād=u</i>	<i>hamāt</i>	<i>mi-yo-ğdi</i>
stomach=3MSG	IND-3-saturate\IMPF=3MSG	<b>this.M=and</b>	this.M	IND-3-go\IMPF

‘He saturated his stomach, and he went [away].’

- (95) *maktab hōna ġadāk zağīr. qasōb ġābu* (Ch3 10.1)

<i>maktab</i>	<i>hōna</i>	<i>ġadāk</i>	<i>zağīr</i>	<i>qasōb</i>	<i>ġāb=u</i>
school	house	go\PERF.3MSG	<b>young</b>	butcher	bring\PERF=3MSG

‘The young one went [to] school; he brought the butcher.’

- (96) *mart amīr kasāl sáwet rūḥa* (V9 4.7)

<i>mart</i>	<i>amīr</i>	<i>kasal</i>	<i>saw-et</i>	<i>rūḥ=a</i>
woman.CSTR	emir	sick	make\PERF-3FSG	<b>self=3FSG</b>

‘The wife of the emir made herself sick (i.e., pretended to be sick).’

- (97) *muğ'zubu i han'dūk ka'bīrin-u vē 'hēt qa'ti ra'qabtu muḥ'noq mi'yoḥdu mi'ġību-yu* (D1 12.4)

<i>m-u-ğzub=u</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>handūk</i>	<i>kabīr=in=u</i>	<i>vē</i>	<i>hēt</i>	<i>qati</i>
IND-3-seize\IMPF=3MSG	<b>ACC</b>	<b>that.M</b>	<b>big=3FPL=and</b>	with	rope	with

<i>raqabt=u</i>	<i>m-u-ḥnoq</i>	<i>mi-yo-ḥd=u</i>	<i>m-i-ğīb=u=yu</i>
neck=3MSG	IND-3-strangle\IMPF	IND-3-take\IMPF=3MSG	IND-3-bring\IMPF=3MSG=and

‘He seized the biggest one of them, and took and strangled his neck with a rope, brought him, and ...’

In the V-final Uzbek and Tajik that are in contact with Bukharan Arabic, normally the V or the verbal complex with various TAM markers is expected in sentence-final position.

Therefore, constituents occasionally showing up after the Vs in such V-final languages would

assume discourse functions, however, the post-verbal constituents in the corpus as illustrated above do not seem to create very clear focus or emphasis in the context.

#### 4.4 Some discussions

Some of the word order patterns in §4.3.3.2 and §4.3.3.3 appear to be foreign to Arabic. Apart from the overall OV pattern, the LINKER *-in* is said to function like the Persian *ezāfe* morpheme (Ratcliffe 2005, 145) and the Gen<sub>i</sub> N=PRON<sub>i</sub> pattern has been termed “Turkic type construct” (Ratcliffe 2005, 147). The main question to be discussed in this section is—How foreign are these patterns in Central Asian Arabic?

Indeed, the distribution of the *-in* morpheme resemble the Persian *ezāfe*. See the following examples of the *ezāfe* morpheme in Persian *-(y)e* and Tajik *-(y)i*:

(98) Some canonical usages of the *ezāfe* in Persian (right) / Tajik (left)

a. N-Adj phrase

духтар-и зебо

*duxtar=i zebo*

girl=**EZ** beautiful

‘beautiful girl’ (Perry 2005, 73)

هوای معتدل

*havā=ye mo'tadel*

weather=**EZ** moderate

‘moderate weather’ (Yousef 2018, 51)

b. N-Gen phrase, including naming

аъзоҳо-и партия

*a'zo-ho=yi partiya*

member-PL=**EZ** party

‘members of the party’ (Perry 2005, 76)

سقفِ اتاق

*saqf=e otāq*

ceiling=**EZ** room

‘ceiling of room’ (Yousef 2018, 51)

шаҳр-и Душанбе

*šahr=i dušanbe*

city=**EZ** Dushanbe

کشورِ ایران

*kešvar=e irān*

country=**EZ** Iran

‘City of Dushanbe’ (Perry 2005, 76)      ‘Country of Iran’ (Yousef 2018, 52)

c. N-PRON phrase

**ҳавли-и онҳо**

*havli=***yi** *onho*

house=**EZ** 3PL

‘their house’ (Perry 2005, 77)

دوستان من

*dustān=***e** *man*

friend.PL=**EZ** 1SG

‘my friends’ (Yousef 2018, 57)

Note that the pattern in (98c) does not occur in Bukharan Arabic even though some of its independent pronouns (originally DEMs) *can* occur in the possessor position (as specified in Table 35). It has been pointed out in the earliest studies on Central Asian Arabic that the LINKER *-in* resembles the “dialectal *tanwīn*” attested in many Neo-Arabic varieties—to use Blau’s (1999, 167ff) term for the *-n* morpheme at the end of nouns resembling the *tanwīn* of Classical Arabic. Already in Jušmanov’s (1931) review, this *-in* has been compared to the similar nunation in Bedouin dialects. Tsereteli (1937) further draws parallels from dialects of Central Arabia. We can name, for instance, the nunation in the N-Modifier structure well-known in Najdi Arabic:

(99) Najdi INDF nunation (Ingham 1994a, 49)

a. *beet-in kibīr*

*bēt=***in** *kibīr*

house=**INDF** big

‘a big house’

b. *kalmit-in gāl-ō-hā-li*

*kalmit=***in** *gāl-ō=hā=l=i*

word=**INDF** say\PERF-3MPL=3FSG=to=1CSG

‘a word which they said to me’

Holes (2004) assembles a large amount of data in Neo-Arabic varieties of Bahrain, showing the morpheme *-n* and its allomorphs attached to isolated and modified nouns (e.g., *kill-in* ‘everyone,’ *mā-n ṭayyiba* ‘sweet water’), adverbial adjuncts (e.g., *ba ‘d-an* ‘then’<sup>49</sup>), and

<sup>49</sup> The *-a-* contained in these adverbials ending in *-an* likely reflects the original ACC case. Holes (2004, 94) also notes that the distribution of some adverbials with *-an* in the uneducated speech suggest they are genuine Neo-Arabic features, whereas some other adverbials with *-an* attested

conjunctions (e.g., *wakt-im ma* ‘when’). Holes (2011) discusses the morpheme *-(i)n(n)-* found on the verbalized PTCPs in Omani, Southern Yemeni, Emirati, and Shi‘ī Bahraini Arabic, rejecting its connection with Classical Arabic *tanwīn* while arguing for an ancient pre-conquest feature of Arabic to explain its existence in Central Asia and Nigeria. Miller (2014b) discusses the *-in* in Central Asian Arabic together with the *-in(n-)* morpheme attached to the PTCP when it is linked to a pronominal suffix marking the S, but does not take a stance except to dismiss the connection of *-in* to the case system. Ferrando (2018) details the distribution of a similar adnominal linkage morpheme *-an* in Andalusī Arabic, ascertains its widespread attestation, dismisses its connection to INDF marking and the *tanwīn* in Classical Arabic, and subscribes to Owens’ (2006) reconstruction of a nominal linker *\*-Vn* for a form of Arabic prior to the late seventh/early eighth century. Without entering the debate regarding the origin of the *-in(n)-* morpheme, it appears to me that the widespread attestation of the *-(i)n* marking indefiniteness and adnominal linkage sufficiently provided Bukharan Arabic with the linguistic material and basic functions for the development leading to its attested functions.

Another piece of data worth mentioning is not from my corpus nor is it Bukharan Arabic, but it appears highly relevant to the discussion of the *-in* morpheme and especially to the REL markers *il* and *in-* mentioned in §4.3.3.3.2. In the following Qashqadaryan Arabic example, Hofmann (2011, 90) analyzes the *-in* morpheme as a Turkic GEN suffix (“das türkisch-usbekische Genitivsuffix – *in*”):

(100) **dīhin-in ĵibī‘**

*dihin=in yi-bī‘*

oil=IN 3-sell\IMPF

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exclusively in the educated speech suggest their loan origins from other varieties and/or Modern Standard Arabic.

‘oil seller’ (Vinnikov 1963, 177)

This analysis should be rejected because the Turkic POSS suffix—cf. *-ning* in Uzbek—is never used alone without a GEN pronominal suffix on the head noun: the pattern  $\text{Gen}_i(=\text{POSS}) \text{N}=\text{PRON}_i$  is consistent throughout the Turkic language family and if anything is ever omitted, it would be the POSS suffix rather than the GEN pronominal suffix. The phrase “oil seller” can be expressed in (standard) Uzbek as follows, preferably without the POSS suffix:

(101) *yog'(ning) sotuvchisi*

*yog'(=ning) sot-uvchi=si*  
 oil(=POSS) sell-PTCP=3SG  
 ‘seller of oil, oil seller’

The *-in* suffixed to the head noun of a RC is standard in Qashqadaryan Arabic whereas an *il* marking the REL is expected in Bukharan Arabic, with or without the LINKER *-in* on the head noun, as shown in §4.3.3.3.2. The patterns for REL constructions with *in* create a surface resemblance to the N-Adj patterns, and when *il* and the unmarked possibility is considered, we seem to find a distribution which seems to parallel the Arabic DEF vs INDF RC patterns:

(102) Bukharan Arabic N-RC and N-Adj patterns

<table border="0"> <tr> <td style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">N</td> <td style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;"><i>il</i></td> <td style="padding: 2px;">RC</td> <td style="padding: 2px;">cf. marked RC in Classical Arabic</td> <td style="padding: 2px;"><math>\text{N}_{[+\text{DEF}]}</math></td> <td style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">REL</td> <td style="padding: 2px;">RC</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">N</td> <td style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;"><i>in</i></td> <td style="padding: 2px;">RC</td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">N</td> <td style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;"><i>=in</i></td> <td style="padding: 2px;">RC</td> <td style="padding: 2px;">cf. unmarked RC in Classical Arabic</td> <td style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;"><math>\text{N}_{[-\text{DEF}]}</math></td> <td style="padding: 2px;">∅</td> <td style="padding: 2px;">RC</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">N</td> <td style="padding: 2px;"></td> <td style="padding: 2px;">RC</td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">N</td> <td style="padding: 2px;"><i>=in</i></td> <td style="padding: 2px;">Adj</td> <td style="padding: 2px;">cf. definiteness AGR in Classical Arabic</td> <td style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;"><math>\text{N}_{[\pm\text{DEF}]}</math></td> <td style="padding: 2px;"></td> <td style="padding: 2px;">Adj<sub>[\pm\text{DEF}]</sub></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">N</td> <td style="padding: 2px;"></td> <td style="padding: 2px;">Adj</td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> </table>	N	<i>il</i>	RC	cf. marked RC in Classical Arabic	$\text{N}_{[+\text{DEF}]}$	REL	RC	N	<i>in</i>	RC					N	<i>=in</i>	RC	cf. unmarked RC in Classical Arabic	$\text{N}_{[-\text{DEF}]}$	∅	RC	N		RC					N	<i>=in</i>	Adj	cf. definiteness AGR in Classical Arabic	$\text{N}_{[\pm\text{DEF}]}$		Adj <sub>[\pm\text{DEF}]</sub>	N		Adj					
N	<i>il</i>	RC	cf. marked RC in Classical Arabic	$\text{N}_{[+\text{DEF}]}$	REL	RC																																					
N	<i>in</i>	RC																																									
N	<i>=in</i>	RC	cf. unmarked RC in Classical Arabic	$\text{N}_{[-\text{DEF}]}$	∅	RC																																					
N		RC																																									
N	<i>=in</i>	Adj	cf. definiteness AGR in Classical Arabic	$\text{N}_{[\pm\text{DEF}]}$		Adj <sub>[\pm\text{DEF}]</sub>																																					
N		Adj																																									

The comparisons in (102) does not imply that Central Asian Arabic is considered a descendant of Classical Arabic, however, the same pattern for DEF N to be modified by a marked RC as a general pattern is shared by the Neo-Arabic varieties where the DEF article is preserved.

The LINKER *-in* in Bukharan Arabic is likely related to the *-in/-an* in other Neo-Arabic varieties, and despite that both Owens (2006) and Ferrando (2018) strongly dismiss the indefiniteness marking function of this morpheme,<sup>50</sup> my Bukharan Arabic corpus does provide five instances (all in text D1) in which the *-in* is most likely to be a vestige of indefiniteness marking:<sup>51</sup>

(103) *tabīb-in 'môhu ġâ'buh 'kulu qatal'u* (D1 13.8)

*tabīb=in mō=hu ġāb-u=h kul=u qatal=u*  
 doctor=LK? NEG=3MSG bring\PERF-3MPL=3MSG every=3MSG kill\PERF=3MSG  
 ‘There is not one [single] doctor; they brought everyone; he killed him.’

Therefore, apart from an assimilatory explanation for the *in-* REL marker as reflecting *il* suggested in §4.3.3.3.2, it seems the *in-* and *-in* involved in RC marking could also be combined either as a reflex of the INDF nunation from the INDF RC pattern in which the head noun is marked by nunation, or simply as extended from the N-Adj pattern with the *-in* LINKER.

Interestingly, there is another phenomenon attributed to the same Persian *ezāfe* influence: the N-DEF-Modifier pattern found in Khorasan Arabic, in which the DEF article has not entirely disappeared. Such a pattern, allowed in Classical Arabic only for N-Gen phrases, is also used for N-Adj phrases. In Mansour’s (1991) discussion of the same pattern in Jewish Baghdadi Arabic, he draws attention to the same pattern attested in Mishnaic Hebrew, but his Arabic examples (Mansour 1991, 44) involve no RCs like the pattern in Hebrew. The description of this pattern is

<sup>50</sup> One of Ferrando’s (2018, 111) arguments is “indefiniteness in nouns is marked in practically all varieties of neo-Arabic by the absence of a morpheme to mark it.” It should be noted that in Faiḫi Arabic, definiteness is marked by the *m-* article while indefiniteness is marked by *not only* the absence of the *m-* article *but also* the existence of the final *-in* (Alfaifi and Behnstedt 2010, 61; Alfaife 2018, 84ff).

<sup>51</sup> Dereli (1997, 46) considers these as “lexicalized *ezāfe*” (“[d]e uitgang *-in* lijkt op de gelexicaliseerde *Izafet* in ‘**yōmin**’”). The form *yōmin* occurs twice in the text: *kul yōmin* (D1 8.2) ‘every day’ and *fat yōmin* (D1 16.1) ‘one day.’ It is not apparent to me how the “*Izafet*”—i.e., emphasizing the linkage function of the LINKER morpheme—could have become lexicalized in these isolated temporal expressions where modifiers are hardly necessary in the first place.

more detailed by Blanc (1964) across the three communal Baghdadi Arabic varieties. This “merger or near merger of noun-plus-qualifier phrases with construct phrases are attested in older stages of Arabic and in a number of present-day dialects” (Blanc 1964, 128). According to Blanc, there is a higher tendency in Jewish variety than the Christian or Muslim varieties to use the N-REL-RC pattern, i.e., syndetic REL clause modifying unmarked head nouns, and the REL marker is attested commonly as the DEF article (Blanc 1964, 127–28).

With these considerations in mind, one would hardly regard the “Persian” LINKER *-in* as a foreign pattern. In fact, even the so-called “Turkic GEN” is not entirely foreign to Arabic either. Fisher (1961, 244) comments briefly on the comparable structure in Arabic and illustrates it with an Egyptian Arabic example.<sup>52</sup> I expand this parallel and explain the reanalysis process below.

The Gen<sub>i</sub> N=PRON<sub>i</sub> pattern in Bukharan Arabic readily finds parallels in the sentence pattern analyzed in the Arabic grammatical traditions as *al-ğumlah al-wāqi‘ah ḥabaran* “predicate clause,” when the subordinate clause contains a different S from the main clause. See the following Classical Arabic example in comparison with the Bukharan Arabic one:

(104) وَالظُّلْمُ مَرْتَعُهُ وَخَيْمٌ

<i>wa</i> =	<i>l=ḍulm-u</i>	<i>marta‘-u=hu</i>	<i>waḥīm-u=n</i>
and=	DEF=tyranny-NOM	grazing_land-NOM=3MSG	unhealthy-NOM=INDF

‘And tyranny, its pasturing ground is unhealthy.’ (Fischer 2006, 170)

(105) **ṣayyōt mārātu ṭala‘et** (V37 2.3)

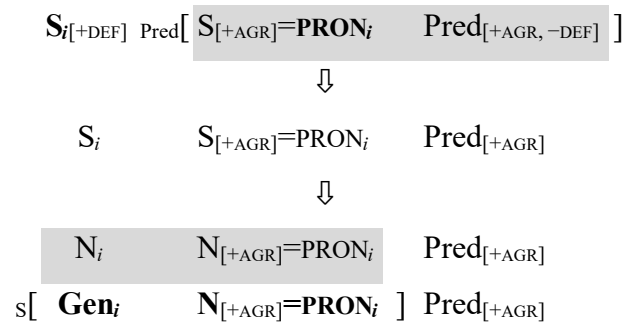
<i>ṣayyōt</i>	<i>marat=u</i>	<i>ṭala‘-et</i>
fisherman	woman=3MSG	come_out\PERF-3FSG

<sup>52</sup> “Die letztere Konstruktion ist allerdings im Arabischen bereits in Sätzen, in denen ein Nomen als isoliertes Subjekt am Satzanfang steht und dann im Satz durch ein rückweisendes Pronominalsuff. vertreten ist, vorgebildet, z. B.: (ägypt.) *ilwazīr bētu fī baladna* d. h. ‘das Haus des Ministers ist in unserem Dorf’.”

‘The wife of the fisherman came out.’

In the context, a group of men sent by the emir arrived at the fisherman’s house and were calling him out. It even does not seem too unfitting if we read example (105) as “[unexpectedly, instead of] the fisherman, his wife came out.” The sentence structure in (104) above thus serves as the starting point of the following reanalysis:

(106) Reanalysis leading to the “Turkic” GEN construction in Bukharan Arabic



The nominal/equational clause in Arabic generally relies on the definiteness feature [+DEF] to signify the S-Pred relationship. Incidentally, the DEF article is what was eventually lost in Bukharan Arabic, but other Arabic agreement features [+AGR], especially gender and number, are well-preserved overall. The  $S_{\text{main}}-S_{\text{subordinate}}$  sequence would then become an  $N_1-N_2$  sequence as the “new” S of a simple clause structured by [+AGR] between  $N_2$  and the Pred, whereas the pronominal suffix on  $N_2$  coindexed with  $N_1$  creates a POSS/GEN relationship with the surface structure closely resembling the Turkic pattern.

The function of the pronominal suffix which is coindexed with the subject of the main clause is referred to by the Arab grammarians as *al-‘ā'id*—the same “resumptive pronoun” that appears in structures such as fronting-topicalization as well as relativization. The “predicate clause” is equally analyzable as a topicalization process with the resumptive pronoun as the syntactic trace of the fronted GEN modifier. If we line up the two common word order patterns in Bukharan Arabic, the coindexed pronouns become unified in the resumption mechanism:

(107) A resumptive view of the head-final orders in Bukharan Arabic

(ACC=)	<b>O</b>	<sub><i>i</i></sub>	<b>V</b>	=PRON <sub><i>i</i></sub>
<b>Gen</b>	<sub><i>i</i></sub>	<b>N</b>	=PRON <sub><i>i</i></sub>	

In Chapter 3, I argued for a resumptive view of the OV word orders in Classical Ethiopic and Old Amharic, seeking their source in the typical Classical Ethiopic *qätäl-o lä-nəguś* construction. In §4.3.3.2, I mentioned the homophony between the ACC marker and the DAT preposition in Bukharan Arabic in the shapes of their common variants *i* and *il*. The close connection between the two particles can be further illustrated by instances in which the rare *li* variant of the DAT marker functions as an ACC marker. See the examples below contrasting the same verbs used both with and without *li* to mark the DO:

(108) DO of the V *laḥaq~milḥaq* ‘reach, catch up with’

a. **li-maḡsada laḥaqet** (Ch5 11.1)

<i>li</i>	<i>maḡsad=a</i>	<i>laḥaq-et</i>
ACC	purpose=3FSG	reach\PERF=3FSG

‘She reached her purpose.’

b. **murōdu maḡsadu laḥaq** (Ch4 14.1)

<i>murōd=u</i>	<i>maḡsad=u</i>	<i>laḥaq</i>
desire=and	purpose=3MSG	reach\PERF

‘He reached his desire and purpose.’

(109) DO of the V *şayyah~misīyeh* ‘call, shout’

a. **‘eyş iṭbahēn, li‘iyāl ‘aḡūza maşīyyéḥum** (V15 8.4)

<i>‘eyş</i>	<i>iṭbah-ēn</i>	<i>li=‘iyāl</i>	<i>‘aḡūza</i>	<i>m-a-şīyyeh=um</i>
food	cook\IMPV-FPL	ACC=children	old_woman	IND-1CSG-call\IMPF=3MPL

‘Cook [some] food; I will call the children of the old woman.’

b. **adamīn şayyáḥum** (V43 3.7)

<i>adam-īn</i>	<i>ṣayyah=um</i>
man-MPL	call\PERF=3MPL

‘He called [some] men.’

Unlike in Classical Ethiopic, marking the DEF DOs is indeed foreign for Classical Arabic while such a marking pattern is easily found in the contact zone: Uzbek with the postposition *-ni* and Tajik/Persian with the postposition *-ro/-rā*, both for DEF DOs. However, these “donors” are not necessary for Bukharan Arabic, since several Neo-Arabic varieties attest the DAT preposition used to mark DEF DOs, including Mesopotamian Arabic—to which Central Asian Arabic should belong (A6.2)—in which the proleptic pronominal suffix coindexed with the DO often appear on the V while many though not all varieties have the DOs introduced by *l-*:

(110) The “*qatal-a l-əl-malik*” in Mesopotamian Arabic

a. Muslim Baghdadi (Mesopotamian–*gəlat*–Central Iraqi group)

**kallafta laxūya**

*kallaft-t=a*                      *l=axū=ya*

entrust\PERF-1SG=3MSG    *to*=brother=1CSG

‘I entrusted my brother.’ (Blanc 1964, 129)

b. Jewish Baghdadi (Mesopotamian–*qaltu*–Tirgis group)

***lāzəm ʾišūf-u l-hāda l-wēḥəd l-axād-a***

*lāzəm*    *ət-šūf=u*                      *l=hāda*    *l=wēḥəd*    *l=aḥad=a*

necessary    2-find\IMPF=3MSG    *to*=this.M    DEF=one    REL=take\PERF=3FSG

‘You have to find the one who took it.’ (Bar-Moshe 2019, 192)

c. Jewish ‘Aqra (Mesopotamian–*qaltu*–Kurdistan group)

***waxt əlxasalūhu lxatan, kān az yə-ğīb-ūnu***

*əl=ḥasal-ū=hu*                      *l=ḥatan*                      *kān*                      *az*                      *yə-ğīb-ūn=u*

REL=wash\PERF-3CPL=3MSG    DEF=groom                      *be*\PERF    then    3-bring\IMPF-CPL=3MSG

‘When they bathed the groom, they brought him.’ (Jastrow 1990, 142)

Incidentally, even the *wāld-u lā-nəguś* construction in Classical Ethiopic finds its parallel in Neo-Arabic. Reported for Neo-Arabic of Syria, Lebanon and Palestine, the “epexegetic genitive”—with the pattern Gen=PRON<sub>i</sub> l=N<sub>i</sub> as in (111a)—is even more frequently (Eksell Harning 1980, 53) used without the *l-* exponent as in (111b):

(111) The “*walad-o (l-)əl-malek*” in Levantine Arabic

a. *wáynu ktābu ləl-wáleđ*

<i>wayn=u</i>	<i>ktāb=u</i>	<i>l=el=waleđ</i>
where=3MSG	book.MSG=3MSG	to=DEF=child

‘Where is the book of the child?’ (Feghali 1928, 211)

b. *šéft ef’ālu hal-mayđūb*

<i>šef-t</i>	<i>ef’āl=u</i>	<i>ha=l=mađdūb</i>
see\PERF-1CSG	deed\PL=3MSG	DEM=DEF=cursed.MSG

‘I saw the deeds of this cursed one.’ (Feghali 1928, 210)

Similarly, in Mesopotamian Arabic, the Gen=PRON<sub>i</sub> l=N<sub>i</sub> pattern is frequently found in Jewish Baghdadi Arabic, where it contains some emphatic connotation in Muslim Baghdadi Arabic:

(112) The “*walad-a lə-l-malik*” in Mesopotamian Arabic

a. Muslim Baghdadi (Mesopotamian–*gəlat*–Central Iraqi group)

*gubbathum lə jǰəhāl*

<i>gubbat=hum</i>	<i>lə=j=jəhāl</i>
room=3MPL	to=DEF=youngster\PL

‘[It is] the children’s room.’ (Abu-Haidar 2006, 231)

b. Jewish Baghdadi (Mesopotamian–*qəltu*–Tirgis group)

*aš əsm-u l-āđā*

<i>aš</i>	<i>əsm=u</i>	<i>l=āđā</i>
what	name=3MSG	to=this.M

‘What is the name of this?’ (Bar-Moshe 2019, 76)

Finally, a curious regular morphophonemic process might even help to explain the “missing” resumptive pronouns, as the  $O_iV=PRON_i$  pattern is commonly attested without the pronoun. The 3MSG pronoun appears as “-*u*, -*ū(h)*/-*h*,” see the synopsis table in A6.3.2, which is kept intact as in Seeger’s (2013) chart. However, in various conditions, the following set of rules has to be posited for the attested forms:

- (113) a. *\*hu* > *āh* / *\*ī*\_\_  
b. *\*hu* > *ōh* / *\*ū*\_\_  
c. *\*hu* > *āh* / *\*ā*\_\_  
d. *\*hu* > *ā/ēh* / *\*ay*\_\_ [Jovgari vs Arabxona?]  
e. *\*hu* > *u* / *\*C*\_\_

Rules (a) and (b) are consistent in Vinnikov’s texts. When the 3MSG pronoun is attached to a 3MPL V ending in *\*-ū*, the ending is always *-ōh*. In contrast, when the 3MSG pronoun is attached to verbal forms ending in *\*-ī*, which includes all Vs from the III-weak roots in IMPF and PTCP formations, the ending is always *-āh*: e.g., *lammōh* (*lammū* ‘they.M gathered’ + 3MSG) < *\*lammū-hu*, *abōh* ‘his father’ < *\*’abū-hu*, *manṭāh* (*manṭi* ‘I give’ + 3MSG) < *\*mi-’anṭī-hu*, *šufāh* (*šūfi* ‘see.2FSG!’ + 3MSG) < *\*šūfi-hu*, *ḥawlāh* ‘his courtyard’ < *\*ḥawli-hu*.

The synchronic reflexes of these long vowels may well be short, especially considering the three authors sometimes differ in their treatment of vowel length. The manner in which quantity and quality play their roles in the Bukharan Arabic vowel system remains unclear, but a crucial point reflected in the transcription systems is the tendency for Vinnikov to prefer the superscript *h* (<sup>h</sup>) for these 3MSG forms contrasting the tendency for Chikovani to drop the *h*, showing a very weak status of these *h*’s. Even Vinnikov himself records both *ilā<sup>h</sup>* ‘for it’ (V8 1.50) and *ilā* ‘to him’ (V8 1.16), both with the 3MSG pronoun, if it is not a printing error. Now, recall the Uzbek (ultimately Tajik/Persian) suffix *-u* ‘and’ mentioned in §4.3.3.2. The 3MSG

pronominal suffix is thus found in a situation where its consonantal reflex *-h* is extremely weak while its vocalic reflex *-u* is homophonous with a common loan morpheme that can appear in the same postnominal or postverbal slot (when no pronominal suffix is attached). It thus seems this resumptive pronoun is destined to gradually disappear.

Another factor that could have contributed to the disappearance of the resumptive pronouns is the quasi-serial verb constructions mentioned in §4.3.3.2. In those cases, when the nominal DO shared by two (or more) Vs are resumed, commonly the resumptive pronouns only occur on the last V, leaving bare transitive Vs with preverbal DOs:  $O_i V V V = \text{PRON}_i$ .

Therefore, both the linguistic material and the mechanisms are readily available for the word order changes in Bukharan Arabic as they are available in Ethiopian Semitic. Likely as suggested in Chapter 3, the existing mechanism of topicalization process with pronominal resumption served as the pivot for the change.

## 4.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, I focused on Central Asian Arabic and aimed at presenting the corpus analysis of Bukharan Arabic word orders. Starting from an overview of previous studies on Central Asian Arabs, I moved on to a few relevant linguistic studies on their vernacular. Then I introduced the selection and processing of texts for Bukharan Arabic. The procedures are similar to those in Chapter 3, followed by the presentation of statistics and analysis. Throughout the analyses and discussions, I attempted to focus on the peculiarities of some of the OV word orders of Bukharan Arabic and to emphasize the comparable features found in other Neo-Arabic varieties, which display structures comparable to those found in Classical Ethiopic. It is thus hoped that the analyzed examples tell a similar story: that the OV word orders of Central Asian

Arabic are also rooted in existing linguistic materials and mechanisms likely in its Neo-Arabic ancestor.

## CHAPTER 5 HINTS FROM EAST ASIA?

### 5.1 Overview

In this chapter, I present an interesting situation in East Asia regarding word order shifts which I consider comparable to the word order shifts in Ethiopian Semitic and Central Asian Arabic analyzed in the preceding two chapters. I first clarify the terminologies and present the arguments for the disputed hypothesis that there had been drastic word order shifts in the history of Chinese in the background of its typological anomaly: SVO with the Modifier-Head orders (§5.2.1). The past linguistic debate regarding the word order drift towards OV in “Chinese” was in fact only based on one of the many descendant varieties of Old Chinese. The present consensus is a much less drastic language history, with very stable typological disharmony and a prominent status of TOP. Then I present data from two modern Sinitic varieties and one pidgin variety, all with O-V patterns deviating from the typical Sinitic SVO. These O-V patterns are not all attributable to external OV feature donors but they are all easily formed via the Sinitic “topic prominence” mechanisms. Finally, I discuss the expansion of the O-V patterns in those Sinitic varieties in language contact, emphasizing the foundational importance of Congruence (§2.4.2) in the Feature Pool (§2.4.4) for Communication Accommodation (§2.4.3), and further suggest to evaluate the Semitic word order changes in a similar fashion.

### 5.2 The debate on Chinese word order drift

Chinese, or better designated as the Sinitic languages, is one of the major families in the Sino-Tibetan phylum. The great diversity within the Sinitic family makes the simplistic label “Chinese” very problematic. The famous linguistic debate regarding the word order drift in

“Chinese” was essentially a discussion based on the standard variety *Pǔtōnghuà* 普通話. Yet *Pǔtōnghuà*—(Modern) Standard Mandarin (Chinese)—is only one of the many varieties of “Mandarin” (*Guānhuà* 官話), which is one of the seven Chinese “dialect groups” *dà fāngyán* 大方言 (literally “great<sub>1</sub> [regional speech]<sub>2</sub>”) <sup>1</sup> universally recognized by Chinese dialectologists. The term *fāngyán* 方言 which is commonly translated as “dialect” is also highly misleading because it bears no consideration of mutual intelligibility. See more discussions by Handel (2017) whose terminologies I follow below.

In the following discussions, for all sentences cited from the original publications, unless noted otherwise, I supply my own transcription and glossing<sup>2</sup> in accordance with the same format I adopted for this study (§2.3). Tones are indicated via the four tone-mark diacritics in the *Pīnyīn* (拼音) orthography for Modern Mandarin Chinese and are omitted in the IPA phonetic transcriptions of the other Sinitic varieties. Following the conventions of linguistic studies on Ancient Chinese, I transcribe the ancient texts using *Pīnyīn* according to the Modern Standard Mandarin pronunciation rather than the Old/Middle Chinese reconstructions. In many instances, due to my disagreement with the translations of the ancient texts in the original publications, my translations differ from those provided by the cited authors.

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<sup>1</sup> With considerations similar to Handel’s (2017), Mair (1991; 2013) also argues against the misleading rendering “dialect” and proposes to use “topolect” to translate the Chinese term *fāngyán* 方言. See Francis (2016) for more discussions on treating *fāngyán* as “dialect.”

<sup>2</sup> It is a common practice for Chinese dialectologists to provide examples of different Sinitic varieties using Chinese characters when they publish in Chinese. In most cases, the characters used are etymologically justified, but sometimes they can be chosen only based on phonetic resemblance between their reading in the variety in question and that in Modern Standard Mandarin. Meanwhile, no phonetic transcriptions are provided and glossing/translation is only noted for words not existing in Modern Standard Mandarin or significantly diverging from the meaning of the character(s) in Modern Standard Mandarin. Therefore, when citing their examples, I have to supply the corresponding phonetic transcriptions myself.

### 5.2.1 Typological anomaly of (Standard Mandarin) Chinese word order

Standard Mandarin Chinese has both the SVO order and the Modifier-Head orders, a combination that is very rarely attested in the languages of the world. The fame of such a typological anomaly can be demonstrated by two quotes (emphasis added), one by a Sinologist, the other by a typologist:

It is also evident that Modern Chinese can be uniquely described in typological terms, at least in the East Asian context: it is *the only tonal language that places adjectives and other modifiers before nouns*. (Norman 1988, 12)

There are no languages I am aware of in which change to the *dispreferred combination (VO with prenominal relative clauses)* occurred during an attested period, although it is not inconceivable that this might have occurred as an intermediate stage in some of the Turkic varieties. Because *this combination is synchronically so uncommon*, it is hard even to find languages for which change in this direction is reconstructed. *Chinese is the only exception to this*. (Hendery 2012, 207)

To illustrate the situation, I cite the following distribution of the word orders among the languages of the world in Figure 8:

Figure 8 Order of RC&N combined with order of V&O in languages of the world

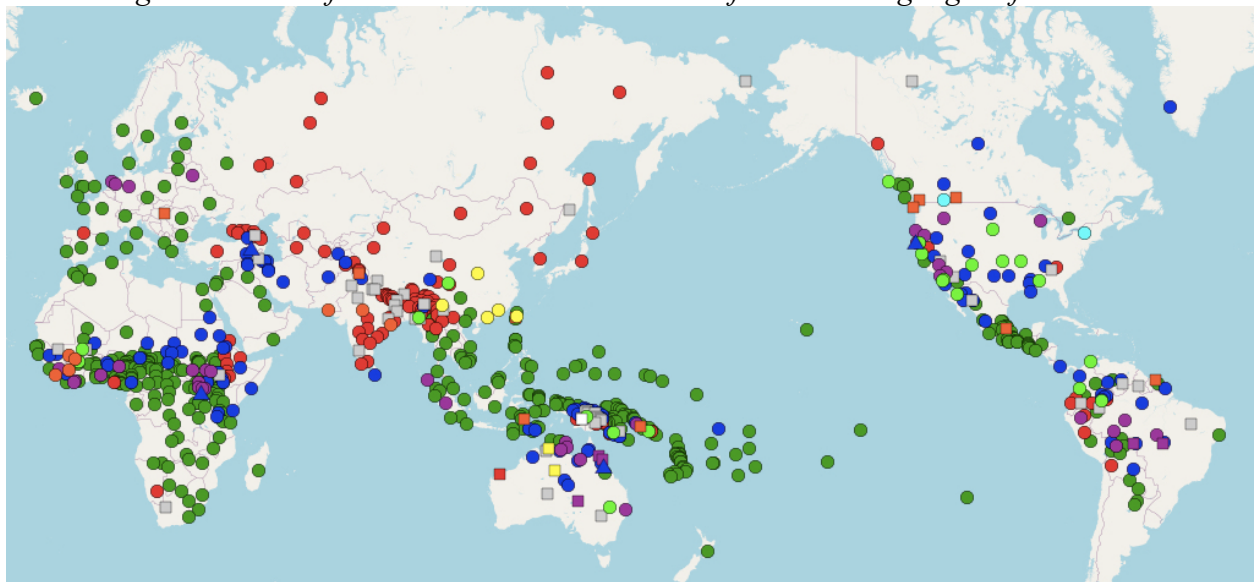

















Figure 8 is obtained from *WALS Online*<sup>3</sup> via an inquiry<sup>4</sup> for the feature combination of “Order of Relative Clause and Noun” and “Order of Object and Verb.” The counts of languages having dominant orders for both features are shaded in Table 36:

*Table 36 Order of RC&N combined with order of V&O in languages of the world*

Map legend	Order of RC & N	Order of V & O	Counts
	N-RC	VO	415
	RC-N	OV	132
	N-RC	OV	113
	Mixed	OV	50
	N-RC	No dominant order	37
	Internally headed	OV	22
	Mixed	VO	10
	Correlative	OV	7
	Adjoined	OV	5
	RC-N	VO	5
	Mixed	No dominant order	4
	Adjoined	No dominant order	2
	Internally headed	VO	2
	Adjoined	VO	1
	Doubly headed	OV	1

Among these, the five languages with both RC-N and VO orders—the apparent minority in the languages of the world according to *WALS Online*’s database—are Mandarin, Cantonese, Hakka, Bai, and Amis. The first three are all Sinitic (Sino-Tibetan phylum); the last one is a Formosan language (Austronesian phylum) in Taiwan; Bai is considered very likely a heavily “Sinicized Tibeto-Burman language”<sup>5</sup> (Sino-Tibetan phylum).

<sup>3</sup> Dryer, Matthew S. & Haspelmath, Martin (eds.) 2013. *The World Atlas of Language Structures Online*. Leipzig: Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology. (Available online at <http://wals.info>, Accessed on 2020-07-25.)

<sup>4</sup> [https://wals.info/combinations/90A\\_83A#2/](https://wals.info/combinations/90A_83A#2/).

<sup>5</sup> See Thurgood (2017, 7): “The situation concerning Bai is more controversial, more for political than linguistic reasons, but the data on Bai increasingly suggests it is a heavily Sinicized Tibeto-Burman language, otherwise as yet ungrouped. For Bai, a Lolo-Burmese connection is often suggested but the evidence is lacking.”

The rarity of this typological anomaly may not be as extreme as it seems because it also results from treating a large number of “Modern Chinese” varieties simplistically as one language, therefore, only five are counted in the example above. Among the five, one is “Mandarin,” but in fact, mutual intelligibility can be difficult even between certain varieties that are linguistically classified as “Mandarin.” If the Sinitic varieties are calculated differently, the result can certainly be more than only five.

### 5.2.2 The alleged Chinese word order change

Drawing support from Greenberg’s (1963a) typological generalizations, Tai (1973) attributes several features of Chinese to characteristics of SOV languages, arguing that Chinese has an underlying SOV order and that its surface SVO is derived from an NP-V inversion rule. As mentioned above, the “Chinese” under discussion is restricted to Modern Standard Mandarin. Tai (1976) further examines the situation in the “southern” varieties but includes only Min (閩語) examples and a few Cantonese ones for comparative purposes. Partially due to the fact that Tai (1976) found no example with V-final features in his “southern” samples, he adopts Hashimoto’s (1976; 1986) hypothesis of “Altaicization of Northern Chinese” that the OV features found in “Northern Chinese” are the result of the influence from “Altaic” languages in the north.

In this background, while disagreeing with Tai who attributes the drift to SOV as a result of the “Altaic” influence in northern China, Li and Thompson (1974a; 1974b; 1975) recognize Tai’s observations, but propose instead that the Chinese word order developed from the SOV in Pre-Archaic Chinese<sup>6</sup> to SVO and then before the SVO order “could fully mature,” it drifted

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<sup>6</sup> Li and Thompson (1974a; 1974b) define “Pre-Archaic Chinese” as the Chinese attested in texts before the 12<sup>th</sup> century BCE. In the following, I follow the periodization labels of Aldridge

again towards SOV as a result of the grammaticalization of the serial verb constructions. To illustrate the hypothesis below, I retain the ancient texts originally cited by Li and Thompson (with complements) but substitute their Modern Standard Mandarin examples with examples from the CCL corpus.<sup>7</sup>

The central piece of evidence for Li and Thompson’s hypothesis is the Modern Standard Mandarin “disposal construction” *chǔzhìshì* 處置式 (Wáng L. [1958] 2004, 474), a construction with *bǎ* 把 used in the pattern S-*bǎ*-O-V, in which the particle *bǎ* appears to function as an Object Marker (OM):

- (114) 開車的人耐着性儿等他，一直等到他不慌不忙，把郵戳蓋完，把信件包好，放在車上，——才將喇叭一按，加速駛去 (CCL, modern, literature, prose1)

<i>kāi</i>	<i>chē</i>	<i>de</i>	<i>rén</i>	<i>nài-zhe</i>	<i>xìngr</i>	<i>děng tā</i> ,	<i>yìzhí</i>	<i>děng</i>	
drive	vehicle	SBRD <sup>8</sup>	person	bear-PROG	temper	wait	3SG all_along	wait	
<i>dào</i>	<i>tā</i>	<i>bù</i>	<i>huāng</i>	<i>bù</i>	<i>máng</i> ,	<b><i>bǎ</i></b>	<i>yóuchuō</i>	<i>gái</i>	<i>wán</i> ,
until	3SG	NEG	panicky	NEG	rushed	<b>OM</b>	postmark	stamp	finish

(2013a, 40), which agrees with the general opinions held by Wáng L. ([1958] 2004), Chou (1963), and Peyraube (1988), but also adds some refinements:

Pre-Archaic Chinese:	14 <sup>th</sup> century BCE ~ 11 <sup>th</sup> century BCE (Shang)
Early Archaic Chinese:	10 <sup>th</sup> century BCE ~ 6 <sup>th</sup> century BCE (Zhou)
Late Archaic Chinese:	5 <sup>th</sup> century BCE ~ 3 <sup>rd</sup> century BCE (Warring States)
Early Middle Chinese:	2 <sup>nd</sup> century BCE ~ 2 <sup>nd</sup> century CE (Han)
Middle Chinese:	3 <sup>rd</sup> century CE ~ 6 <sup>th</sup> century CE (Six Dynasties)
Late Middle Chinese:	7 <sup>th</sup> century CE ~ 10 <sup>th</sup> century CE (Tang)

<sup>7</sup> The CCL corpus ([http://ccl.pku.edu.cn:8080/ccl\\_corpus/](http://ccl.pku.edu.cn:8080/ccl_corpus/)) is built by the Center for Chinese Linguistics at Peking University. Most if not all Modern Mandarin examples used by Li and Thompson (1974a; 1974b; 1975) are created based on the linguists’ own judgements involving idiolect preferences, which I try to avoid unless I argue based on my own idiolect.

<sup>8</sup> Functionally, the Modern Mandarin particle *de* marks GEN, nominalization, and attributive (Li and Thompson 1981; Yip and Rimmington 2016); there are many generative proposals regarding its syntactic nature (Paul 2012, 184–85) and the gloss SBRD represents the proposal that uniformly analyzes it as marking a subordinator. In the following, the cognates of this particle in the other Sinitic varieties will also be glossed as SBRD.

*bǎ* xìnjiàn bāo hǎo, fàng zài chē shàng, cái jiāng lǎba yī àn  
 OM letter wrap good place at vehicle on only\_then OM horn one press

*jiā sù shǐ qù*  
 add speed drive go

‘Holding his temper, the driver waited for him; he waited until he (the postman) unhurriedly finished stamping the postmarks, wrapped up the letters, and placed them on the vehicle—only then did he blow the horn and drove off speeding up.’

The example above contains not only the most commonly used OM *bǎ* but also its formal variant *jiāng* 将, both of which evolved from grammaticalized verbs with the meaning ‘take, hold in hand.’ Li and Thompson (1974a; 1974b) cite (115) from a Late Archaic Chinese prose to illustrate *bǎ*’s usage as a content verb and cite (116) from a Late Middle Chinese poem to illustrate its serial verb usage:

(115) 禹親把天之瑞令以征有苗 (Li and Thompson 1974a, 201; 1974b, 202)

*yǔ qīn bǎ tiān zhī rùi lìng yǐ zhēng yǒu miáo*  
 PN in\_person hold sky GEN jade\_token order to conquer country<sup>9</sup> PN

‘Yu held the heavenly jade order in hand to conquer the Miao country.’ (*Mozi*

墨子: *Book 5* 卷五: *Condemnation of Offensive War B* 非攻下)

(116) 詩句無人識 應[須]把劍看 (Li and Thompson 1974a, 201; 1974b, 202)

*shī jù wú rén shí yīng xū bǎ jiàn kàn*  
 poem sentence there\_is\_no person recognize should must hold sword look

<sup>9</sup> This *yǒu* 有 used in front of proper nouns (of country names) has been alternatively interpreted as a semantically void particle. The interpretation of “country” here follows the proposal by Qín and Zhāng (1985).

‘[As] no one appreciates poetry, [you/we]<sup>10</sup> should take hold of the sword [and] contemplate [it].’<sup>11</sup> (*Complete Tang Poems* 全唐詩: Book 496 卷四百九十六: *Gift to Du Guan Dismissing From Exam on Trip to the East* 送杜觀罷舉東游)

The serial verb construction with the pattern *bǎ*-O-V<sup>12</sup> thus served as the starting point of the process of *bǎ*'s grammaticalization from a verb into a particle in Late Middle Chinese (Wáng L. [1958] 2004, 475–77). Li and Thompson (1974a; 1974b) further set the *bǎ* construction in parallel with the Modern Mandarin PASS construction formed with *bèi* 被 which displays the order of NP<sub>patient</sub>-*bèi*-NP<sub>agent</sub>-V:

(117) 這姑娘甚至沒有訴說，在這十七年，她那年幼的身體，怎樣被太陽曝曬，怎樣被熱汗蒸騰，被風雨吹打，被飢餓消耗 (CCL, modern, literature, prose2)

<i>zhè</i>	<i>gūniang</i>	<i>shènzhì</i>	<i>méi</i>	<i>yǒu</i>	<i>sù-shuō</i>	<i>zài</i>	<i>zhè</i>	<i>shí-qī</i>	<i>nián</i>	<i>tā</i>
this	maiden	even	NEG	have	tell-speak	at	this	ten-seven	year	3SG
<i>nà</i>	<i>nián-yòu</i>	<i>de</i>	<i>shēn-tǐ</i>	<i>zě</i>	<i>yàng</i>	<i>bèi</i>	<i>tàiyáng</i>	<i>pùshài</i>		
that	age-young	SBRD	body-body	how	form	PASS	sun	sun_violently		

<sup>10</sup> The intended subject is ambiguous. However, considering the fact that this is a poem written *for someone else* as indicated by its title, it is not likely to be a verse about the poet himself as interpreted by Li and Thompson (1974a; 1974b) and Feng (2014, 541) via the supplied “I” in their translations. On the contrary, Chu (1987, 213) supplies “you,” with which I do agree, but I also believe it could be a comment on shared experiences, so I have additionally supplied “we” in my translation.

<sup>11</sup> Wáng L. ([1958] 2004, 476) considers the *bǎ*-O-V pattern of *bǎ jiàn kàn* as a *bǎ*-O<sub>1</sub>-V-O<sub>2</sub> with a contextually elided O<sub>2</sub>—followed by Feng (2014, 541)—which means what is “contemplated” should be “poetry” instead of “sword.” This is certainly not impossible since *bǎ*-O<sub>1</sub>-V-O<sub>2</sub> is also well attested and this example is a poetic verse where elision could occur due to considerations of rhyme and meter. However, this verse is ambiguous at best, so I supplied “it” in a similarly ambiguous fashion like Li and Thompson (1974a; 1974b), though it is very likely that the O “sword” is shared by both Vs, as indicated by Chu (1987, 213) and Xu (1996, 167).

<sup>12</sup> As noted above, *bǎ*-O<sub>1</sub>-V-O<sub>2</sub> is well attested. The structure with a coreferential O<sub>2</sub>—*bǎ*-O<sub>i</sub>-V-PRON<sub>i</sub>—could lead to the *bǎ*-O-V pattern when the O<sub>2</sub> (i.e., the coreferential pronoun) is elided. However, as Peyraube (1989) argues, there is early evidence of *bǎ* (and its equivalent *jiāng*) in non-poetic sentences ending in a V. Peyraube (1989) thus suggests the coexistence of two serial verb patterns for *bǎ*—*bǎ*-O<sub>1</sub>-V-O<sub>2</sub> and *bǎ*-O-V—and one of them, i.e., the *bǎ*-O-V pattern, eventually grammaticalized into the “disposal construction” in Modern Mandarin.

<i>zěn yàng</i>	<i>bèi</i>	<i>rè hàn</i>	<i>zhēng téng,</i>	<i>bèi</i>	<i>fēng yǔ</i>	<i>chuī dǎ,</i>
how form	PASS	hot sweat	steam soar	PASS	wind rain	blow beat
<i>bèi jī-è</i>		<i>xiāohào</i>				
PASS	hunger-hunger	consume				

‘This maiden did not even tell how her young body was scorched by the sun, steamed up by the hot sweat, battered by the wind and rain, and consumed by hunger in these seventeen years.’

Li and Thompson (1974a; 1974b) emphasize that in Archaic Chinese the PASS is formed completely differently and the grammaticalized *bèi* also finds its root in a content verb. They cite two examples from Late Archaic Chinese prose: (118) to illustrate the ancient PASS construction with the pattern NP<sub>patient</sub>-V-Prep-NP<sub>agent</sub> (i.e., with a postverbal agent phrase rather than the preverbal one in Modern Standard Mandarin) and (119) to illustrate *bèi* as a content verb in Late Archaic Chinese:

(118) 勞力者治於人 (Li and Thompson 1974a, 204; 1974b, 202)

<i>láo lì</i>	<i>zhě</i>	<i>zhì</i>	<i>yú rén</i>
toil strength	NMLZ	govern	by person

‘Those who toil [with] strength are governed by others.’ (*Mencius* 孟子: *Teng Wen Gong A* 滕文公上)

(119) 薄者被毀醜 (Li and Thompson 1974a, 204; 1974b, 203)

<i>bó</i>	<i>zhě</i>	<i>bèi</i>	<i>huǐ</i>	<i>chǒu</i>
slight	NMLZ	suffer	slander	disgrace

‘[In] those less severe cases, [they] suffer from condemnation.’ (*Mozi* 墨子: *Book 12* 卷十二: *Esteem for Righteousness* 貴義)

The grammaticalization of *bèi*-V into PASS started in the period between Late Archaic Chinese and Early Middle Chinese (Wáng L. [1958] 2004, 491) and Li and Thompson correctly note that initially the agent NP does not appear, as in the cited Early Middle Chinese example:

(120) 忠而被謗 (Li and Thompson 1974a, 204; 1974b, 203)

zhōng ér **bèi** bànɡ

loyal but **PASS** vilify

‘[He] was loyal but was vilified.’ (*Shiji* 史記: *Biographies of Qu Yuan and*

*Master Jia* 屈原賈生列傳)

The two structures S-*bǎ*-O-V and NP<sub>patient</sub>-*bèi*-NP<sub>agent</sub>-V are then treated as S-Prep-NP-V and Li and Thompson highlight the general difference in PP placement patterns with the Archaic Chinese V-PP contrasting the Modern Mandarin PP-V. They show the contrast by citing a Late Archaic Chinese example (121) and the corresponding modern rendering of their own (122):

(121) 出於幽谷 (Li and Thompson 1974a, 201; 1974b, 200)

chū yú yōu gǔ

exit from dark valley

‘come out from dark valley(s)’ (*Mencius* 孟子: *Teng Wen Gong A* 滕文公上)

(122) 從幽谷出來<sup>13</sup> (Li and Thompson 1974a, 202; 1974b, 200)

cóng yōu gǔ **chū lái**

from dark valley **come\_out** (literally: exit-come)

‘come out from dark valley(s)’

Therefore, the constructions discussed above uniformly display the following pattern which has become the norm in Modern Standard Mandarin but appears to be missing in Archaic Chinese:

<sup>13</sup> This Modern Standard Mandarin example is kept for the purpose of contrast; my own idiolect prefers a rendering with both a preposition and a postposition—從<sub>1</sub>幽<sub>2</sub>谷<sub>3</sub>裡<sub>4</sub>[出來]<sub>5</sub> “[come out]<sub>5</sub> from<sub>1</sub> **inside**<sub>4</sub> dark<sub>2</sub> valley<sub>3</sub>”—to theirs containing only the preposition.

Table 37 Development envisaged by Li and Thompson (1974a; 1974b)

Archaic Chinese			Modern Mandarin			
S	<i>bǎ</i>	O	S	[ <i>bǎ</i>	O	] V
S	<i>bèi</i>	O	NP <sub>patient</sub>	[ <i>bèi</i>	NP <sub>agent</sub>	] V
S	V	[ Prep NP ]	S	[ Prep	NP	] V

Li and Thompson (1974a; 1974b) further propose that *bǎ* not only grammaticalized from a verb into a preposition, but it should be considered an ACC case marker, like the case-marking on DO observed in many OV languages. To emphasize the OV characteristics of Chinese, they assemble a list of word order features of the NP in Early Archaic Chinese that are typologically consistent (§2.2.2.2) with OV languages, i.e., RC-N (123a), Gen-N (123b), Adj-N (123c), and Dem-N (123d), together with an example of the polar question particle in the sentence-final position (123e) in Late Archaic Chinese:

(123) Ancient V-final features (Li and Thompson 1974a, 207; 1974b, 206–7)

a. 敷前人受命

*fū*      *qián*    *rén*      *shòu*    *mìng*  
 apply    former    person    receive    mission

‘[I should] proclaim the heavenly order which [my] predecessor received.’

(*Shang Shu* 尚書; *Zhou Shu* 周書: *Great Announcement* 大誥)

b. [易]乃且南公旂

*cì*      *nǎi*    *zǔ*      *nángōng*    *qí*  
 bestow    2SG    grandfather    PN      flag

‘[I] bestow [to you] the banner of your grandfather Nan Gong.’ (*Da Yu ding*

inscription 大盂鼎銘文)

c. [非我]小國[敢弋殷命]

*fēi*      *wǒ*      *xiǎo*    *guó*    *gǎn*    *yì*    *yīn*    *mìng*  
 not\_be    1PL    small    state    dare    take    PN    mission

‘It was not us petty states that dared to snatch the heavenly order for Yin.’

(*Shang Shu* 尚書: *Zhou Shu* 周書: *Numerous Officers* 多士)

d. [嚮于]時夏

*xiàng yú shí xià*

go to this PN

‘..., going towards this [sovereign of] Xia.’ (*Shang Shu* 尚書: *Zhou Shu* 周書:

*Numerous Officers* 多士)

e. 管仲儉乎

*guǎnzhòng jiǎn hū*

PN frugal Q

‘Was Guan Zhong frugal?’ (*The Analects* 論語:<sup>14</sup> *Ba Yi* 八佾)

All of these ancient word order patterns are the norms in Modern Standard Mandarin.

Finally, they rightly mention the optional—cf. the VO in (124c)—but not infrequent preposing of pronominal DOs in Early (124b, 124c) and Late (124a) Archaic Chinese:

(124) DO preposing in Archaic Chinese (Li and Thompson 1974a, 208; 1974b, 208)

a. 吾誰欺 欺天乎

*wú shuí qī qī tiān hū*

1SG who deceive deceive sky Q

‘Whom do I cheat? Do I cheat the heaven?’ (*The Analects* 論語: *Zi Han* 子罕)

b. 民獻有十夫予翼

*mín xiàn yǒu shí fū yú jì*

people wise\_one have ten man 1SG assist

<sup>14</sup> This example is wrongly cited as from “*Mencius*” (Li and Thompson 1974a, 207; 1974b, 207) which was composed slightly later than *The Analects*, though it does not affect the periodization since both books belong to the Late Archaic Chinese period.

‘[Among] the wise ones of the people there were ten men assisting me.’ (*Shang Shu* 尚書: *Zhou Shu* 周書: *Great Announcement* 大誥)

c. 故天棄我 不有康食

gù tiān qì wǒ bù yǒu kāng shí  
therefore sky discard 1PL NEG have peaceful eat

‘Therefore, the heaven discarded us; there is no peaceful eating.’ (*Shang Shu* 尚書: *Shang Shu* 尚書: *Chief of the West’s Conquest of Li* 西伯戡黎)

Thus, they hypothesize that there must have been a consistent set of Pre-Archaic OV patterns leaving these vestigial OV features when the DO changed to the postverbal position. Then, the grammaticalization of the serial verb construction S-V-O-V toward S-[Prep-O]-V took place, resulting in the modern situation where not only the word orders of the NP compatible with V-final typology become favored, but also the *bǎ* construction (S-[*bǎ*-O]-V) becomes the manifestation of SOV.

### 5.2.3 The stably disharmonic Chinese

Li and Thompson’s hypothesis resulted in hot debates in Chinese linguistics. Some recognize the existence of those V-final features but denies Li and Thompson’s judgement of the word order change to SOV (Light 1979; Mei 1980). Others reject treating the *bǎ* construction as reflecting the basic/dominant word order (Chu 1984), which is the shared opinion held by scholars in China. In addition to evaluating the different proposals regarding Chinese word order, Chu (1984) studies one newspaper article and one short story (containing 80% of direct speech). The results show very few *bǎ* constructions and even if all S-[Prep-O]-V sentences are counted as SOV, the number of SOV still does not exceed that of SVO (Chu 1984, 140). Sun and Givón

(1985) also provide a corpus-based analysis of written Modern Standard Mandarin and spoken Mandarin, strongly opposing the SOV claim.

Disregarding the assessment of the *bǎ* construction in Modern Standard Mandarin, Li and Thompson’s observations of Archaic Chinese are generally valid with only some minor simplifications, such as the contrast of the ancient V-PP to modern PP-V—subsequent studies show that the PP-V order does exist in Archaic Chinese for some prepositions (C. Sun 1991), but V-PP is indeed *the* normal order for the preposition *yú* cited by Li and Thompson as in (121). However, the weakest part of their proposal lies in the insufficient examination of the existing Pre-Archaic Chinese data: unfortunately ignoring materials older than Early Archaic Chinese, they hypothesize the basic SOV order for Pre-Archaic Chinese whose textual evidence is available in the Oracle Bone Inscriptions, written in the script *jiǎgǔwén* 甲骨文 ‘shell<sub>1</sub>-bone<sub>2</sub> script<sub>3</sub>’ dated to the late 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium BCE.

While it is true that OV structures do exist in these Pre-Archaic Chinese inscriptions as they are in the later Archaic Chinese texts, the preposed DOs are highly restricted. In fact, it has long been observed that the regular main constituent word order in the Oracle Bone Inscriptions is SVO and the DO fronting occurs mostly<sup>15</sup> when a few specific particles are involved (Guǎn 1953, 15–18; Yáng 1954, 61–62; Chén 1956, 129–31; Krjukov 1973, 94–109; Takashima 1973; Serruys 1974, 67, 117): the NEG particle as in (126) contrasting with (125), the functional particle *huì* 奭 as in (127), and the functional particle *wéi* 隹 as in (128):

(125) 己未卜爭貞王亥求我

<i>jǐ-wèi</i>	<i>bǔ</i>	<i>zhēng zhēn</i>	<i>wáng</i>	<i>hài</i>	<i>jiù</i>	<i>wǒ</i>
jiwei.day	divine	PN	divine	king	PN	send_disaster_to
						IPL

<sup>15</sup> According to Qí (2015, 55), in affirmative clauses, unmarked pronominal O fronting is not attested, but unmarked nominal O fronting is indeed attested in sixty-five instances.

‘[On the] day of *jiwei* [there was] divining; Zheng divined: [is it that] King Hai [will] afflict us?’ (*Heji* 甲骨文合集: 7352 obverse 正)

(126) 貞王亥不我求

<i>zhēn</i>	<i>wáng</i>	<i>hài</i>	<i>bù</i>	<i>wǒ</i>	<i>jiù</i>
divine	king	PN	NEG	1PL	send_disaster_to

‘[He] divined: [is it that] King Hai [will] not afflict us?’ (ibid.)

(127) 乙卯卜設貞王夷土方正

<i>yǐ-mǎo</i>	<i>bǔ</i>	<i>què</i>	<i>zhēn</i>	<i>wáng</i>	<i>huì</i>	<i>tǔ</i>	<i>fāng</i>	<i>zhēng</i>
yimao.day	divine	PN	divine	king	HUI	PN	tribe	conquer

‘[On the] day of *yimao* [there was] divining; Que divined: [is it that] the king [will] campaign against the Tu tribe?’ (*Heji* 甲骨文合集: 6442=6443)

(128) 貞茲雨隹年囧

<i>zhēn</i>	<i>zī</i>	<i>yǔ</i>	<i>wéi</i>	<i>nián</i>	<i>huò</i>
divine	this	rain	WEI	harvest	bring_calamity_to

‘[He] divined: [is it that] this rain [will] devastate the harvest?’ (*Heji* 甲骨文合集: 10142)

This observation has been reinforced by numerous subsequent studies.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>16</sup> These include several studies by Chinese philologists with descriptive analysis aiming at classifying the various sentence types in the Oracle Bone Inscriptions (Huáng 1988; Zhāng Y. 1988; Jiāng 1990; Táng Y. 1990; Lǐ X. 2004). Djamouri (1988) counts 5,500 sentences with overt Os out of a total of 26,000, showing 94% reflecting SVO and 6% reflecting SOV. Peyraube’s (1988) diachronic study also shows only two of the six Pre-Archaic Chinese dative constructions have preverbal Os: (1) *yú* + IO + V + (DO), with *yú* + IO being the known information, i.e., the topic, accounting for 15% of his corpus; (2) *huì* + DO + V (+*yú*) + IO, with *huì* + DO being the topic, which occupies only 2% together with its inverted counterpart V (+*yú*) + IO + *huì* + DO. Peyraube (1997a; 1997b) offers more observations and discussions of the basic SVO word order in Archaic Chinese.

The discussions on the nature of the two particles *huì* and *wéi* are also abundant in the literature.<sup>17</sup> Major opinions include: “mood adverbs” (Zhāng Y. 1985; 1988), “emphasis particles” (Lǐ X. 2004), and focus markers (Shěn 1992; Qí 2015), contra markers/prepositions for fronted DO (Huáng 1988; Táng Y. 1990).

In addition, despite Li and Thompson’s (1976a) rejection of transformational solutions to the word order problem, the strongest criticisms of their hypothesis in fact stem from generative linguists working on Old Chinese. Djamouri’s (1988) formal linguistic study on the Oracle Bone Inscriptions initiated a surge of literature applying generative analyses to Archaic and Middle Chinese. Over the years, it has been established in accordance with generative principles that the Chinese OV constructions are syntactically derived via movement operations (§2.2.1). Djamouri (1988; 2001) proposes a focalization analysis for preverbal NPs and PPs: the two particles *wéi* and *huì* in *wéi/huì*-O<sub>PRON</sub>-V (127, 128) are analyzed as the affirmative copula and the NEG particle in NEG-O<sub>PRON</sub>-V (126) is analyzed as the NEG copula, therefore, the two O-V patterns can be analyzed as focalization clefts (Djamouri 2000; 2014). Similarly, Meisterernst (2010) analyzes the preposed DOs in Late Archaic Chinese also as focalization clefts. In this way, generative linguists demonstrate that the SOV patterns attested in restricted distributions can be accounted for in generative terms and that Chinese has been stably disharmonic with the basic SVO order since its very first written attestation (Djamouri, Paul, and Whitman 2013; Aldridge 2010; 2013a; 2013b; Djamouri 2015b; Djamouri and Paul 2019).

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<sup>17</sup> Citing Táng L. (1939, 2:32–34) as the first to identify of *huì* as a non-content word, Zhāng Y. (1985; 1988) emphasizes that *huì* and *wéi* are *yǔqìcí* 語氣詞 ‘mood<sub>1</sub> words<sub>2</sub>’ and they are adverbs in nature rather than DO markers. Lǐ’s 1988 dissertation (Lǐ X. 2004) argues that they are *zhùcí* 助詞 ‘help<sub>1</sub> words<sub>2</sub>’ for exerting emphasis which enables DO fronting. Shěn’s 1991 dissertation on word order of the Oracle Bone texts (Shěn 1992) dedicates an entire chapter to investigate the position of Os in verbal clauses and argues to analyze the two particles *huì* and *wéi* as focus markers.

#### 5.2.4 Proto word order?

The well-argued movement analyses mentioned above, such as focalization movement, are self-contained and are generally recognized by generative linguists.<sup>18</sup> Their implications for proto-language reconstruction, on the other hand, remain unclear.

Aldridge (2010) addresses the debate on whether there is evidence for an earlier OV order and emphasizes that Archaic Chinese provides no support for “base-generated OV word order.” Thus, it appears that a “base-generated OV” order of the oldest attestation is crucial for positing an OV order in the unattested proto-language. However, since it is well-known that the OV patterns are of restricted distribution in Archaic Chinese and they did gradually disappear in the history of Chinese, one wonders why they cannot be *diachronically* vestigial simply because they can be accounted for via *synchronic* grammatical rules from the VO order, especially considering the fact that many historical linguistic observations support Kuryłowicz’s fourth *Law of Analogy* (Kuryłowicz 1945, 30):

(IV) *Quand à la suite d'une transformation morphologique une forme subit la différenciation, la forme nouvelle correspond à sa fonction primaire (de fondation), la forme ancienne est réservée pour la fonction secondaire (fondée).*

One classic example of linguistic patterns in limited distribution reflecting older features is the conservatism in the subordinate clauses (Givón 1977, 192–93; 1979a, 259–61; Hock 1986, 332–36; Matsuda 1998; Bybee 2002).

In line with such historical linguistic considerations, some Sino-Tibetanists<sup>19</sup> argue to posit a proto SOV typology for Sino-Tibetan. The connection between the restricted OV patterns

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<sup>18</sup> Dealing with the less well-resolved issue that only pronominal Os are targeted for syntactic movement, Aldridge (2015) posits another movement derivation in which the pronominal Os are motivated to move by its need to value structural case, drawing from similar syntactic analyses posited for Slavic languages.

<sup>19</sup> Although Feng (1996) and Xu (2006) are cited among those who “view preverbal objects ... as vestiges of basic OV order in pre-Archaic Chinese” by Aldridge (2010, 86), it is important to

in Old Chinese and the overall OV patterns of Tibetan is speculated in Wáng L.'s ([1958] 2004) study on Old Chinese and the Sino-Tibetan connection is further explored by Yú (1980; 1981; 1987). LaPolla (1994; 2002; 2010) argues for an SOV Proto-Sino-Tibetan from the perspectives of Tibeto-Burman—the sister family<sup>20</sup> of Sinitic—because SOV is the only reconstructible main constituent word order for Proto-Tibeto-Burman. Thus, the Sinitic OV patterns attested in limited distributions, together with all the Modifier-N orders, are considered vestiges of the proto SOV order. Since the OV hypothesis is posited for Proto-Sino-Tibetan and the proto SOV order may or may not have passed onto Proto-Sinitic, I do not find it in conflict with the subsequent SVO order attested in Pre-Archaic Chinese.

Against the proto SOV hypothesis is Djamouri, Paul and Whitman's (2007) proposal to reconstruct SVO order for Proto-Sino-Tibetan, which Sagart (2008, 154, n. 2) regards as “convincingly argued.” However, it seems<sup>21</sup> that apart from arguing that Chinese has been SVO and stably disharmonic throughout its attested history, the only additional argument against Proto-Sino-Tibetan OV is the fact that the reconstructed Proto-Sino-Tibetan morphology makes more use of derivational prefixes than suffixes, which is not *typologically* expected for OV languages. However, according to their generative arguments, Chinese is acceptable to be *VO with typologically exceptional modifier orders*. One wonders why Proto-Sino-Tibetan is

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note that their approaches and concerns are very different: Feng (1996) argues for an SOV to SVO change due to prosody constraints, whereas Xu (2006) presents the word order change in the history of Chinese and actually emphasizes the typologically “mixed” nature of Old Chinese. In addition, neither of them draws support from nor argues for the SOV reconstruction for Proto-Sinitic/Proto-Sino-Tibetan in historical linguistic terms.

<sup>20</sup> Tibeto-Burman is the *only* universally accepted sister family of Sinitic in the tree model for the Sino-Tibetan phylum. Two other families, i.e., Tai-Kadai [Zhuàng-Dòng 壮侗] and Hmong-Mien [Miáo-Yáo 苗瑶], are included in the phylum by many Chinese scholars following Li (1937) but are rejected by most Western scholars (Thurgood 2017, 6).

<sup>21</sup> Since this conference paper remains unpublished, I could only infer from its abstract.

unacceptable to be *OV with typologically exceptional affix orders*, especially considering that affix orders, as Givón (1971, 413) advocates, should reflect former (i.e., Pre-Proto-Sino-Tibetan) rather than current (i.e., Proto-Sino-Tibetan) syntax.

To sum up, the debate outlined in this section has revealed that the ancestor of the Sinitic languages is characterized by a stable disharmonic word order—(S)VO but with prenominal modifiers. Of course, there have been structural changes during the millennia of development, but they are much less drastic than the repeated structural reordering (i.e., SOV→SVO→SOV) that was previously hypothesized. The key change lies in the distribution of adjunct phrase and this observation is recognized not only by historical linguists but also by generative linguists (Djamouri and Paul 2019, 114–19). Diachronically, it has been suggested that there is likely a word order shift from OV to VO prior to Pre-Archaic Chinese which could be attributed to “a change in the unmarked focus position” (LaPolla 2015).

### **5.3 Topic prominence and Sinitic varieties**

In connection with the debate on Chinese word order change, Li and Thompson (1976b) propose the notion “topic prominence” by contrasting Chinese to languages with overt TOP markers like Japanese and Korean to highlight the importance of the pattern Topic-Comment rather than Subject-Predicate for some languages in their sentence structures. Although criticized by generative linguists for lack of preciseness, the functional proposal “topic prominence” has prompted generative syntactic studies to establish several assumptions for structural TOP and FOC positions (Paul and Whitman 2017). No matter what the nature of “topic prominence” is, the emphasis here is that there are recognized mechanisms for both Ancient Chinese and Modern Standard Mandarin to form grammatical O-V sentences deviating from the basic SVO order and

that such mechanisms for “topic prominence” are inherited by different Sinitic varieties in different degrees.

This brings to mind Tai’s (1976) study mentioned in §5.2.2 in which Hashimoto’s (1976; 1986) hypothesis of “Altaicization of Northern Chinese” is endorsed on the basis that no V-final features are found in the “southern” Sinitic varieties. However, such a result is mainly due to inappropriate sampling. Qian’s (2009) study of the SOV order shows its existence in four groups of Sinitic varieties<sup>22</sup> and two of them are geographically “southern.” In the following, I present examples of DO fronting in two Sinitic varieties which can be attributed to the “topic prominence” feature. Situations of the second Sinitic variety is further combined with a short-lived pidgin to discuss the word order shifts in contact situations.

### 5.3.1 Wu (吳) dialect group: Shanghainese

Shanghainese is the local variety of the city of Shanghai and a representative member of the Wu dialect group (吳語)—one of the seven universally recognized Sinitic dialect groups, the other six being: Mandarin (官話 or 北方話), Min (閩), Hakka (客家), Cantonese/Yue (粵), Xiang (湘), and Gan (贛). Below is a map<sup>23</sup> illustrating the distribution of various Modern Sinitic varieties via two gray circles add by me. The map appears to have been created by Glossika according to Map A2 from the first edition of *Language Atlas of China*.<sup>24</sup> This milestone atlas

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<sup>22</sup> The four groups chosen for Qian’s (2009) investigation are: Northwestern Mandarin (西北官話), Xiangxi (湘西州方言), Wu (吳方言) and Eastern Mandarin (東部官話). Note that *not* all of these labels follow the more widely accepted linguistic classification of the Sinitic varieties, especially “Northwestern Mandarin,” see more in §5.3.2.

<sup>23</sup> Obtained online at [https://www.reddit.com/r/MapPorn/comments/dfqsu9/sinitic\\_languages\\_dialects\\_of\\_china\\_800\\_x\\_670/](https://www.reddit.com/r/MapPorn/comments/dfqsu9/sinitic_languages_dialects_of_china_800_x_670/)

<sup>24</sup> Zhōngguó Shèhuì Kēxuéyuàn yǔ Àodàliyà Rénwén Kēxuéyuàn 中国社会科学院与澳大利亚人文科学院 [Chinese Academy of Social Sciences and the Australian Academy of the Humanities], *Zhōngguó yǔyán dìtújí 中国语言地图集 [Language Atlas of China]* (Hong Kong: Longman Group Ltd, 1987-89).

not only applies the established classification criteria based on phonological innovations from Middle Chinese, but also proposes a few disputed dialect groups, e.g., according to the more widely accepted classification, the light teal colored “Hui dialect group” (徽語)—inaccurately as “淮南 Huainan” in the legends—should be a subgroup within the Wu dialect group in light blue color (the gray circle in the light blue area marks the location of Shanghai).

Figure 9 Glossika’s Sinitic distribution map (the two varieties to be discussed circled in gray)



Shanghaiese packs its modifiers maximally in the order Dem-Quantifier-Adj-N, all in the prenominal position. In Shanghaiese, nominal and pronominal modifiers and RCs also precede the N (Qián 1997, 258–59), and there are both prepositions and postpositions, like in

Standard Mandarin. However, although the main constituent word order is SVO, SOV is very commonly used, especially when the V carries aspectual markers or when it is followed by the “verb complement”—an additional verb or adjective expressing the effect of the verbal action.<sup>25</sup> SOV is also very common in polar questions (Qián 1997, 261). See the following examples:<sup>26</sup>

(129) 我電影看過了。(Qián 1997, 261)

<i>ŋu</i>	<i>dihin</i>	<i>kʰø-ku</i>	<i>ləʔ</i>
1SG	movie	see-EXPER	SFP <sup>27</sup>

‘I have seen a/the movie.’

(130) 儂回信收到了哦？(ibid.)

<i>noŋ</i>	<i>fiwecin</i>	<i>sɿ-tɔ-ləʔ</i>	<i>va</i>
2SG	response_letter	receive-arrive-PFV	Q

‘Have you received a/the response letter?’

(131) 大家酒先喫起來。(ibid.)

<i>daka</i>	<i>tɛjɿ</i>	<i>ɛi</i>	<i>tɛʰjɿʔ-tɛʰile</i>
everybody	alcohol	first	eat-OPT

‘Let’s drink some/the alcohol first.’

<sup>25</sup> The term *dòngcí bǔyǔ* 動詞補語—literally ‘complement<sub>2</sub> word<sub>3</sub> of verb<sub>1</sub>’—does *not* correspond to the notion of “complement” as an argument of the verb. Commonly rendered in English as the “resultative verb complement,” it evolved from the second verb in the original serial verb construction and is also the grammaticalization source of various (postverbal) aspect markers (Xu 2006, 112ff). Therefore, Qián’s description cited here involves some overlapping.

<sup>26</sup> The transcription of Shanghainese is rendered in IPA according to the phonological analysis by Qián (1997) which is followed in the dictionary by Qián, Xǔ, and Tāng (2007). The only differences are the glides [j] and [w] (instead of [i] and [u]) and the few signs not incorporated by the IPA: i.e., the syllabic dento-alveolar approximant [ɺ] replaced by [z] combined with the syllabic sign (◌̚), the open low central vowel [A] replaced by [a], the mid front unrounded vowel [E] replace by [e], and the voiced palatal nasal [ŋ] replaced by [ɲ].

<sup>27</sup> The abbreviation SFP stands for the “Sentence-Final Particle” (句末語氣詞), a common term used in Chinese grammars (Li and Thompson 1981, 238ff). Apart from the one for polar questions (Q), differentiating the precise nuances of the other ones may involve unnecessary complications, so they are all glossed as SFP.

(132) 我睇點卡片想借借。(Qián 1997, 262)

<i>ŋu</i>	<i>gəʔ</i>	<i>ti</i>	<i>kʰapʰi</i>	<i>ɛjã</i>	<i>teja~teja</i>
1SG	this	few	card	want	borrow.DELIMITATIVE

‘I would like to borrow these cards for a short while.’

(133) 我倒忘記脫了，我陸先生還嘸沒叫辣海。(ibid.)

<i>ŋu</i>	<i>tɔ</i>	<i>mãtɛʰi-tʰəʔ</i>	<i>ləʔ</i>	<i>ŋu</i>	<i>loʔ</i>	<i>ɛisã</i>	<i>ɦe</i>	<i>ŋmɔʔ</i>	<i>tejɔ-laʔɦe</i>
1SG	actually	forget-COMPL	SFP	1SG	PN	sir	still	not_have	call-CONT

‘I actually forgot [about it]; I have not yet called Mr. Lu.’

Qián (1997, 262) remarks that in all these S-O-V sentences, an additional “末” (*məʔ*) can be added following the DO. Since the pausal particle (提頓助詞) *məʔ* can mark TOPs in Shanghainese, as in (134), the fact that S-O-V and S-O-*məʔ*-V are equivalent demonstrates that these preverbal DOs are topicalized. Pronominal resumption can occur in topicalization, as in (135), but it is not obligatory:

(134) 奶油五香豆末，城隍廟出個是最正宗個。(Qián 1997, 201)

<i>na-ɦjɿ</i>	<i>ɦŋ-ɛjã-dɿ</i>	<i>məʔ</i>	<i>zənhwã-mjɔ</i>	<i>tsʰəʔ</i>	<i>ɦəʔ</i>	<i>zɿ</i>	<i>tsø</i>	<i>tsəntsoŋ</i>	<i>ɦəʔ</i>
milk-oil	five-spice-bean	TOP	city_god-temple	exit	SBRD	be	most	authentic	MNLZ

‘As for the creamed spiced [broad] beans (a local specialty snack), [those]

which the City God Temple sells/produces are the most authentic.’

(135) 睇對花瓶，我嫌伊忒大，儂拿仔轉去哦。(Qián 1997, 292)

<i>gəʔ</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>ɦo-bin</i>	<i>ŋu</i>	<i>ɦi</i>	<i>ɦi</i>	<i>tʰəʔ</i>	<i>du</i>	<i>noŋ</i>	<i>no-zɿ</i>	<i>tsø-tɛʰi</i>	<i>va</i>
this	CL	flower-bottle	1SG	dislike	3SG	too	big	2SG	take-DUR	turn-go	SFP

‘[As for] this pair of vases, I dislike them (literally it) being too big; why don’t you go back taking [them].’

It should be emphasized that *məʔ* is *not* the obligatory marker for topicalization but rather a way to further highlight the TOP that has already been fronted. Furthermore, *məʔ* is not the only

pausal marker with such a function either.<sup>28</sup> This connection between pausal markers and the mechanism related to fronted TOPs in Shanghainese parallels nicely with the proposal for the development of the ACC marker of Xining Mandarin in the following section.

The DO that has already been topicalized in the S-O-V clauses can be further fronted. With an unmarked topicalization rendering the DO as the sentential TOP, the result is an O-S-V sentence like (136), which is derived from example (129) above:

(136) 電影我看過了。(Qián 1997, 261)

<i>dihin</i>	<i>ŋu</i>	<i>kʰø-ku</i>	<i>ləʔ</i>
movie	1SG	see-EXPER	SFP

‘[As for] the movie,<sup>29</sup> I have seen [it].’

The Shanghainese O-V pattern is a shared characteristic in the Wu dialect group. Based on fieldwork materials across twelve Wu varieties, Liú (2001) reveals an overall higher tendency of V-final clauses in Wu than that in Standard Mandarin. Liú (2001, 335) emphasizes that these surface V-final clauses are not the genuine SOV word order but rather STV (Subject-Topic-Verb) or TSV, and that TSV reflects a topicalization operation rendering the DO as the primary TOP, whereas STV reflects a topicalization operation rendering the DO as the secondary TOP.

STV and TSV are certainly possible in Standard Mandarin with its topic prominence feature: I myself definitely have uttered a TSV sentence like (137) to my roommates during my college days; little school children must have heard an STV (rhetorical) question like (138) from their parents:

<sup>28</sup> The pausal particles in Shanghainese capable of highlighting the TOP are: “末” (*məʔ*), “呢” (*nəʔ/ni*), “啊” (*a*), and “是” (*zɿ*) (Qián 1997, 200–204).

<sup>29</sup> The translation with “the” here, as well as the “a/the” rendering in the preceding examples, are only for the sake of English grammar; bare Ns in Wu commonly contain a categorical sense and does not necessarily imply definiteness or indefiniteness.

(137) 今天晚飯你們打算幾點吃？

*jīntiān wǎ-fàn nǐ-men dǎsuàn jī-diǎn chī*  
 today evening-meal 2SG-PL plan how\_many-o'clock eat  
 ‘When do you guys plan to have dinner today?’

(138) 都幾點了，你作業還沒寫完？

*dōu jī-diǎn le nǐ zuòyè hái méi xiě-wán*  
 already how\_many-o'clock SFP 2SG homework still NEG write-finish  
 ‘How can you still have not finished your homework when it is so late already?’  
 (literally: ‘What time is it already? You still have not finished writing  
homework?’)

But many of the Shanghainese examples above would still be judged as odd in Standard Mandarin, in which fronted DOs are more commonly assigned contextual emphasis or contrast. Those DOs are allowed to be fronted without specific contextual emphasis or contrast due to the much higher degree of topic prominence in Shanghainese.

The degree of topic prominence appears to be even higher in other Wu varieties than in Shanghainese. Liú’s (2001, 337) tests the sentence with a determined DO ‘I have seen this movie’ in four Wu varieties. The Shanghainese version can be formed in its commonly attested STV pattern, closely resembling example (129) above, but with the DEM-CL compound *gəʔ-bu* added in front of the DO *dihin* ‘movie,’ i.e., *ŋu gəʔ-bu dihin kʰø-ku ləʔ*:

(129) 我睇部電影看過勒。(ibid.)

*ŋu gəʔ bu dihin kʰø-ku ləʔ*  
 1SG this CL movie see-EXPER SFP  
 ‘I have seen this movie.’

Other Wu varieties differ in their precise word choices for the DEMs, CLs, ‘see’ verbs, aspectual markers, and sentence final particles, but they share similar patterns in which these

words are packed. To avoid unnecessary complications, I show the results in Table 38 only via the shared patterns in the header row without citing the actual sentences with their precise wordings:

*Table 38 Judgements for three word orders of ‘I have seen this movie’ in four Wu varieties*

	S DEM-CL-O V-ASP SFP	DEM-CL-O S V-ASP SFP	S V-ASP DEM-CL-O SFP
<b>Shanghai</b>	✓	✓	✓
<b>Shaoxing</b>	✓	✓	ungrammatical
<b>Jiaojiang (Taizhou)</b>	-	✓	-
<b>Wenzhou</b>	✓	✓	ungrammatical

As it turns out, although both STV and TSV patterns can be used to express ‘I have seen this movie,’ unlike in Shanghainese where SVO is still grammatical, in some other Wu varieties, the speakers use only STV/TSV and even explicitly reject SVO.

Mǎ’s (2015, 21ff) study of several Wu varieties recorded in various works by Christian missionaries and Japanese textbooks ranging from mid-19<sup>th</sup> century to mid-20<sup>th</sup> century shows that the situation was similar a century ago. While topicalization/fronting of DOs exists in both Mandarin and Wu, it is much more frequent in Wu with much less restrictions than in Mandarin. Diachronically, Shanghainese is shown to be developing slightly more VO structures than the Wu variety of Ningbo (Lín 2015, 44), which appears to echo the judgements in Table 38 above. With a more active use of postpositions than Standard Mandarin, the Wu varieties in general appear to be drifting further away from typical Sinitic SVO. Such a change from SVO still fits and can be derived on the existing Sinitic topic prominence feature, but it cannot be attributed to any external influence.

### 5.3.2 Northwestern Mandarin area: Xining (西寧) Mandarin

“Northwestern Mandarin” (西北官話) is a label used in the past by some Chinese dialectologists (Yuán 2001, 24; Zhái 2003, 85) in discussions of dialectal classification.

However, it should be noted that “Northwestern Mandarin” is *not* an accepted subgroup of the Mandarin dialect group in terms of linguistic classification.<sup>30</sup> Its current usage, more commonly as “Northwestern regional speeches” (西北方言) than “Northwestern Mandarin,” refers rather to a geographically defined group of Mandarin varieties sharing some areal features. What falls under the umbrella of “Northwestern Mandarin” generally belongs to the subgroups of Lanyin Mandarin (蘭銀官話) and Central Plains Mandarin (中原官話).

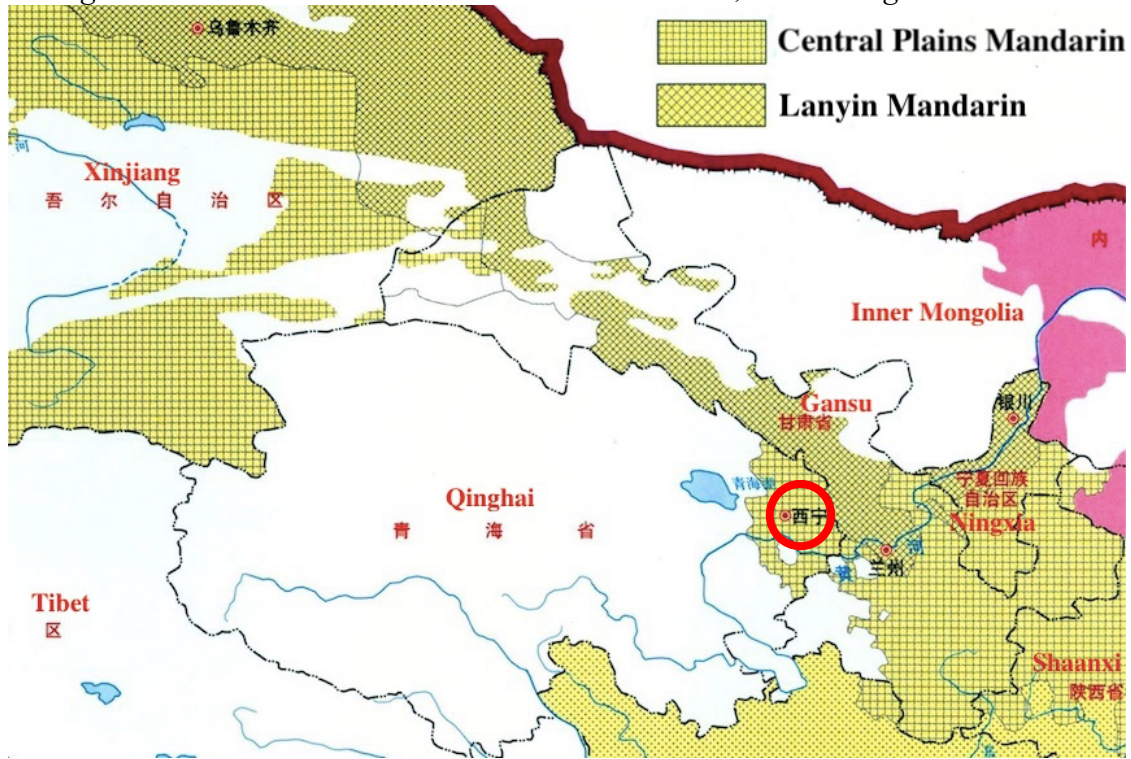
The word order data I present in this section come from Xining Mandarin, whose location is indicated by the gray circle on the left in the brown area in Figure 9. Xining Mandarin is the local Mandarin variety in the city of Xining, the capital of Qinghai province. According to the accepted classification, Xining Mandarin belongs to the Central Plains Mandarin subgroup. Geographically speaking, it borders the Lanyin Mandarin subgroup, as shown in the detailed map of the area in the following snapped image from the second edition of *Language Atlas of China*.<sup>31</sup> The red circle added by me to signify the location of Xining together with my English annotations for the legends and the names of the surrounding provinces:

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<sup>30</sup> In accordance with the established classification criteria which is based on the developments from Middle Chinese in terms of shared phonological innovations, the Mandarin dialect group is further divided into eight subgroups: (1) Beijing Mandarin (北京官話), (2) Northeastern Mandarin (東北官話), (3) Jiaoliao Mandarin (膠遼官話), (4) Jilu Mandarin (冀魯官話), (5) Central Plains Mandarin (中原官話), (6) Lanyin Mandarin (蘭銀官話), (7) Southwestern Mandarin (西南官話), and (8) Jianghuai Mandarin (江淮官話). This subgrouping scheme for Mandarin is followed by both editions of *Language Atlas of China* and by the majority of works on Chinese dialectology today.

<sup>31</sup> Zhōngguó Shèhuì Kēxuéyuàn Yǔyán Yánjiūsuǒ 中国社会科学院语言研究所 [Institute of Linguistics, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences], Zhōngguó Shèhuì Kēxuéyuàn Mínzúxué yǔ Rénlèixué Yánjiūsuǒ 中国社会科学院民族学与人类学研究所 [Institute of World Economics and Politics, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences], and Xiánggǎng Chéngshì Dàxué Yǔyán Zīxùn Kēxué Yánjiū Zhōngxīn 香港城市大学语言资讯科学研究中心 [Language Information Sciences Research Centre, City University of Hong Kong], *Zhōngguó yǔyán dìtújí 中国语言地图集 [Language Atlas of China]*, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (Beijing: The Commercial Press, 2012).

Figure 10 Mandarin varieties in Northwestern China, with Xining circled in red



The prenominal modifiers in Xining Mandarin involve so few surprising features that there are hardly any devoted studies. In contrast, its word order and adpositions have been discussed in many previous works. Although having SVO and both pre- and postpositions like in Standard Mandarin, Xining Mandarin is characterized by a much greater frequency of OV clauses and a much more diverse inventory of postpositions actively in use. See the following OV examples:<sup>32</sup>

(139) 阿爸一個洋糖兒給了。(Zhāng C. 2001, 27)

<sup>32</sup> In the transcription of Xining Mandarin, I mainly follow Kawasumi's (2009b) segmental phonological analysis in addition to consulting Zhāng C.'s (1994) dictionary and the recordings by a native speaker. Three approximants analyzed as allophones of syllabic /j/ by Kawasumi (2009b) are represented differently: the two Chinese vowel signs that the IPA has been refusing to incorporate, i.e., syllabic dento-alveolar approximant [ɲ] and syllabic retroflex approximant [ɳ], are replaced by [z] and [z] combined with the syllabic sign (◌̣). The similar syllabic (alveolo-)palatal approximant, for which Kawasumi (2009b) uses [ʝ], is rendered using [z] combined with the syllabic sign (◌̣) for consistency.

<i>apa</i>	<i>ʒ</i>	<i>kɔ</i>	<i>jõtʰõε</i>	<i>ki-ljɔ</i>
uncle	one	CL	candy	give-PFV <sup>33</sup>

‘[An/the] uncle gave [me] a piece of candy.’

- (140) 村長給家說話哩，你他哈叫來說。(Zhāng C. 1994, 44)

<i>tsʰɛn-tʂõ</i>	<i>ki</i>	<i>tɛja</i>	<i>fɔ-xwa</i>	<i>ʔ</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>tʰa</i>	<i>xa</i>	<i>tɛjɔ-le</i>	<i>fɔ</i>
village-chief	give	3SG	say-speech	SFP	2SG	3SG	ACC	call-come	say

‘The village president is speaking to him; he said: (you) call him to come.’

- (141) 致個東西幫肩五十斤有嘞。(Zhāng C. 2001, 27)

<i>tʂɛ</i>	<i>kɔ</i>	<i>twãεʒ</i>	<i>põtɛjã</i>	<i>ɣ-ʂɛ</i>	<i>tɛjã</i>	<i>ju-lja</i>
this	CL	thing	almost	five-ten	half_kilo	have-IMPV

‘This thing weighs (literally has) almost 25 kilograms.’

- (142) 錢兒倆官司平下了。(Rén 2004, 341)

<i>tɛʰjãε</i>	<i>lja</i>	<i>kwãsz</i>	<i>pʰjã-xa-ljɔ</i>
money	INS	lawsuit	flatten-down-PFV

‘[Someone] settled the lawsuit with money.’

As one of the most remarkable areal features of “Northwestern Mandarin,” such SOV clauses are in sharp contrast to the SVO pattern in Standard Mandarin. The existence of a postposed marker *xa* for ACC—as in (140) above—also stands out in the Mandarin dialect group. Many studies have highlighted the factors of language contact and attributed both the SOV order and the postpositions to influence/borrowing from the surrounding SOV languages. It is true that in Northwestern China, speakers of Mandarin have been in contact with speakers of Turkic, Mongolic, or Tibetic languages for a long time. The phonetic shape of the INS marker *lja*—as in

<sup>33</sup> A comprehensive reference grammar of Xining Mandarin has yet to become available, although the dissertations by Dede (1999), Kawasumi (2009a), and Bell (2017) have contributed many linguistic analyses. The glossing I made for the examples, especially that of the aspectual markers, is based on Wáng S. (2009b) and Bell (2017) as well as the parallel Standard Mandarin structures.

(141) above—has been considered a loan morpheme from *-la* of Monguor, a branch of Mongolic in the adjacent area (Xí 1989, 93–94).

The hasty search for OV feature donors has also resulted in proposals for Turkic origins of the *xa* morpheme citing the “ACC” of Kazakh “-ka/-ke” and the ACC of Chuvash—which is not even spoken in China—“-a” (Lǐ K. 1987, 28), or the Salar DAT (allomorphs) “‘-a’ ‘-qa’ ‘-ke’ ‘-ka’ ‘-ke’” (Mǎ W. 1997, 28) as its sources. However, these Turkic proposals must be dismissed. The OV examples above have already demonstrated the DO is not obligatorily marked. The following examples with *xa* and its variant *a* further show: (1) that the optionality does not have to do with definiteness like the Turkic pattern which only marks the definite DOs, (2) that *xa* has various other functions, such as marking the DAT (145, 146) and the comparative standard (144), and (3) that the DO marked by *xa* can start a sentence (147):

(143) 你介紹信(哈)帶上。(Sòng 1995, 93)

<i>ni</i>	<i>tɛʒʂɔ-ɛjǎ</i>	( <i>xa</i> )	<i>tɛ-sǎ</i>
2SG	introduction-letter	ACC	bring_along-on

‘(You) take the/a recommendation letter [with you]!’

(144) 傢我哈重著五斤。(Wáng S. 2009a, 242)

<i>teja</i>	<i>nɔ</i>	<i>xa</i>	<i>tʂwǎ-tʂɛ</i>	<i>ɣ</i>	<i>tejǎ</i>
3SG	1SG	than	heavy-DUR	five	half_kilo

‘He is 2.5 kilograms heavier than me.’

(145) 奈一本我啊接給個。(Zhāng C. 2001, 28)

<i>nɛ</i>	<i>ʒ</i>	<i>pǎ</i>	<i>nɔ</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>tɛʒ-ki-kɔ</i>
that	one	CL	1SG	DAT	receive-give-DELIMITATIVE

‘Pass that [book] to me!’

(146) 小王我哈教英語著。(Mǎ M. 2009, 119)

εjɔ-wǎ	nɔ	xa	tɛjɔ	jǎ̃z̄ <sup>w</sup>	tʂɛ	<a> <sup>34</sup>
small-PN	1SG	DAT	teach	English	DUR	<SFP>

‘Xiao Wang is teaching me English.’

(147) 書哈/啊我的同學借掉了。(Wáng S. 2012, 471)

fɥ	(x)a	nɔ	tsz̄	t <sup>h</sup> ǎ̃jɔ	tɛz̄-tjɔ-ljɔ
book	ACC?	1SG	GEN	classmate	borrow-drop-PFV

‘The book, my classmate has borrowed [it].’

Such multifunctionality of *xa* was observed already by Wáng and Wú (1981, 50–52) and Xu (2015) correctly judges that even if the Turkic proposals may provide phonetic forms close to *xa*, none of them explain its functional distribution. In fact, even the phonetic forms are *not* all properly cited: Lǐ’s (1987, 28) Kazakh forms are *not the ACC marker* but the DAT marker<sup>35</sup> and the *-a* is only one of the several Chuvash forms<sup>36</sup> marking the ACC likely because there was a Chuvash-internal DAT-ACC syncretism. In Turkic, the DAT markers are all characterized by a velar element and the ACC markers are all characterized by a nasal/velar element, cf. the reconstructible Proto-Turkic DAT *\*-nKA* and ACC *\*-nVG* (Róna-Tas 1998, 73). Mǎ’s (1997, 28) Salar forms are correct but it is unexplained why the DAT marker was borrowed to be extended to mark ACC when there is an ACC marker in Turkic ready to be borrowed.

The fact that Turkic should not be the proper source for contact influence can also be substantiated by Dungan—endonym *Xuèjǐzǔ jǔjān* (Хуэйзǔ йǔян, literally ‘Hui<sub>1</sub>-ethnic<sub>2</sub> language<sub>3</sub>’)—the language of the Hui Chinese expatriates who migrated to Kazakhstan and

<sup>34</sup> There are some minor differences between the cited examples and the recordings I obtained from the native speaker to whom these written sentences were presented. The additions are noted by “<>” and the omissions are noted by “<>.”

<sup>35</sup> See Kirchner (1998, 323): “acc. -NI” (for allomorphs *-ni*, *-ni*, *-di*, *-di*, *-ti*, *-ti*) and “dat. -GA” (for allomorphs *-ya*, *-ge*, *-qa*, and *-ke*).

<sup>36</sup> See Clark (1998, 439) for the “Dat.-acc.” allomorphs: *-na/-ne*, *-CCa/-CCe*, *-ye*, *-Cǎva/-Cěve*, *-a/-e*, *-sene*.

Kyrgyzstan in the 1870s and 1880s. Originally being varieties of the Central Plains Mandarin subgroup like Xining Mandarin and also originally situated in the same Northwestern contact zone, Dungan is also characterized by a high frequency of V-final clauses. However, it further evolved in Central Asia in close contact with Turkic languages *without* developing such a (x)a marker like the Sinitic varieties in the contact zone.

Therefore, both Xu (2015) and Kawasumi (2018) rightly consider Mongolic to be a more plausible contact factor than Turkic. Xu (2015, 224) provides a more comprehensive synopsis for the case markers than Kawasumi's (2018, 60), assembling six Mongolic languages, Amdo Tibetan, and four Sinitic varieties from the area. I present a heavily modified version of her synopsis in Table 39, with Classical Tibetan (2010) and Lhasa Tibetan (2003) added:

*Table 39 Case markings in the Gansu-Qinghai region, based on Xu (2015, 224), heavily modified with additions*

	Mongolic						Sinitic				Tibetic		
	Middle Mongol	Standard Mongolian	Eastern Yugur	Monguor (Tǔ)	Santa (Dōngxiāng)	Bonan (Bǎo'ān)	Linxia	Qinghai	Tangwang	Wutun	Amdo Tibetan	Classical Tibetan	Lhasa Tibetan
<b>NOM</b>											-∅	-∅	-∅
<b>ERG</b>	-∅	-∅	-∅	-∅	-∅	-∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	-kə -yə	-kyis -gis -gyis -yis -s	-ki?
<b>LOC</b>	-A	-t	-tə	-tu	-tə	-da	∅	∅	∅	?li	-na	-na	
<b>DAT</b>	-d/tA -d/tU(r)	-t <sup>h</sup>	-tə	-tə/u	-tə	-də	(x)a	(x)a	(x)a	xa	-Ca	-la -ra	-la
<b>ACC</b>	-ji -i	-I:(k) -k(I:)									-∅	-∅	-∅
<b>GEN</b>	-jin -Un -U	-I:ŋ -ŋ -Æ:	-n -in -ə	-nə	-ni -ji	-nə	∅	∅	∅	?tə	-kə -yə	-kyi -gi -gyi -'i -yi	-ki

Table 39 Case markings in the Gansu-Qinghai region, based on Xu (2015, 224), heavily modified with additions (continued)

<b>ABL</b>	-(A)tʃA -(ʼA)sA	-A:s	-sA	-sa -s/tsa	-sə	-sa -sə	ta	sa	ɛiɛ	la/ra	-ni	-las	-nɛʔ
<b>INS</b>	-ʼAr -bar -ijar	-A:r	-(G)A:r	-la -l/ra	-gala	-g(w)ala -galə	la	l(j)a	l(j)a	ljākə	-kə -yə	=ERG	-kiʔ
<b>COM</b>	-IU(ʼA) -IAA	-tʰÆ:	-IA	-tʰai -ti:	-lə						-hda	-dang	-tʰaŋ

There are a few necessary remarks on the modifications in Table 39:

- 1) The Mongolic INS and COM case markers are treated together for all the varieties by Xu (2015, 224), but they are not merged in most of them. Modifications made to the Mongolic data are according to: Rybatzki (2003) for Middle Mongol; Sechenbaatar (2003) for Standard Mongolian; Junast (1981a), Üjyediin Chuluu (1994c), and Nugteren (2003) for Eastern Yugur; Junast (1981b), Slater (2003), and Georg (2003) for “Monguor”; Liú (1981), Üjyediin Chuluu (1994b), and Kim (2003) for Santa; Böke and Liú (1982), Üjyediin Chuluu (1994a), and Wu (2003) for Bonan.
- 2) The vowel harmony omitted by Xu (2015, 224) is signified by capitalization to emphasize that there are more variants than one single form, e.g., the COM marker of Eastern Yugur -IA can be *-la*, *-le*, or *-lo*, rather than simply *-la*.
- 3) Transliterations for Mongolic use “voiced letters” *b*, *d*, *g*, etc. in a way similar to the *Pinyin* system, but in most varieties, it is not voicing but aspiration that is phonemic. Since the forms for spoken languages are based on IPA, I altered them accordingly.
- 4) The “Monguor (Tü)” forms are not distributional variants but different case markers in two related varieties: Mangghuer (above) and Mongghul (below), and dashes show the Halchighol/Naringhol variations. The Bonan forms also include the case markers of the Bonan variety in Gansu (below).
- 5) Wutun (五屯話) is sometimes labeled as a “mixed” language; as correctly noted by Xu (2015, 224), two of what has been labeled as “case markers” in the sources are questionable—*li* is the postposition *li* 裡 [liɿ] ‘inside,’ and *de* (rendered in IPA as “tə” here) is the multifunctional particle *de* 的 [tɿ] which can (but not solely) mark possession—and these forms and functions are shared by all Mandarin varieties.
- 6) Modifications to the Amdo Tibetan forms are according to Skal-bzang-’gyur-med and Skal-bzang-dbyangs-can (2002) and Ebihara (2008); Amdo dialects generally use one marker for ERG, GEN and INS, but innovative dialectal forms do exist; Xu (2015, 224) treats LOC and DAT as merged into “-ka”—which appears to be a typo for “-Ca” (C standing for various consonants of its allomorph)—but the merger does not seem justified only because of the allative function of the DAT -*Ca*: note that the LOC -*na* remains functionally distinct.

It is evident from the synopsis that it is only the Sinitic varieties that mark both ACC and DAT with the same *-(x)a*. The other languages neither display the same functional distribution nor

provide a similar phonetic shape. Amdo Tibetan—whose marking pattern has been argued by Dede (2007) as the source for *xa*—does have a *-Ca* for DAT, but it provides no ACC marking by virtue of being Tibetic which has an ergative alignment. With these considerations, Xu (2015) further explores the Chinese data and argues convincingly that the ACC *xa* developed from the pausal marker *(x)a* found in both contemporary and Yuan Dynasty (1271-1368) Chinese with the function of marking pauses as well as highlighting discourse TOPs—a function of pausal markers mentioned for Shanghainese in §5.3.1. This hypothesis is further supported by the ongoing development of *xa* in the Tangwang<sup>37</sup> pronominal system evolving from a pausal/TOP marker into an ACC marker. Such a development explains the multifunctionality of *xa* especially DO-*xa*-S-V like (147).

Meanwhile, Xu (2015, 236–37) appears to agree with the Mongolic origin of the INS marker *-la* and considers the *-lja* variant arose via “phonetic insertion.” However, the Wutun “INS” *liangge* (rendered in IPA as “ljākə” in Table 40) is obviously cognate with the Chinese numeral-CL compound *liang-ge* 兩個 [lɿɑŋɕɿ kɿŋ] ‘two-CL,’ and *-lja* may well be the Chinese *li* 兩 [lɿɑŋɕɿ]—the contraction of *liang-ge*. In fact, the Bonan INS-COM *-g(w)alal-galə* are very likely derived from the “collective” formation for the numeral two: *gwala/gwalə* ‘two together’ < *gwar* ‘two’ + *-la/-lə* COM. This derivational process is productive in all Mongolic languages in Table 39:<sup>38</sup> all the modern Mongolic languages except for Standard Mongolian attest a form for ‘two

<sup>37</sup> Although “Tangwang” (唐汪話) has been judged as a “M[iixed language]” (Smith 1995, 371) or that it “cannot be regarded as Chinese today” (Wurm 1995, 54), it is labeled as Sinitic in Table 40 next to the Mandarin varieties of Linxia and Qinghai, together with Wutun as a member of the Northwestern Mandarin area. Spoken in Tangwang Town of Dongxiang Autonomous County, Gansu Province, Tangwang is indeed influenced by Santa, but detailed studies has revealed its clear Sinitic traits and that the simplistic label of “mixed” is not fitting (Xu 2014; 2017).

<sup>38</sup> Middle Mongol: *qojar~qojor* ‘two,’ *qoja. ’ula ~ qoja.ala* ‘two together’ (Rybatzki 2003, 70); Standard/Chakhar Mongolian: *xəjər* ‘two,’ *xəj-ɔ:l* ‘two together’ (Sechenbaatar 2003, 243:75); Eastern Yugur *gu:r* ‘two,’ *gu:r-la* ‘two together’ (Nugteren 2003, 271–72); Mongghul *go:r~go:ri*

together’ very similar to *g(w)ala*, and Santa and Bonan even have a similar form marking INS and/or COM. Even in Monguor, where no such form is the default INS/COM marker, the form ‘two together’ *gula* can be alternatively used for INS and COM (Slater 2003, 314). Based on these facts, it seems to me that the Sinitic varieties did not borrow the Mongolic *-la* per se, but instead, we find a situation of congruence: not only there was the Mongolic usage of ‘two together’ for COM, the Chinese ‘two together’ also had COM usage that was originally highly restricted, cf. its restricted usage with personal pronouns in Standard Mandarin.<sup>39</sup>

Therefore, the Chinese ‘two together,’ i.e., *liangge*, may have been first extended to unrestricted COM marking, and then this COM marker might have been further grammaticalized to mark INS: ‘two together’ > ‘together with’ > ‘with’ following the grammaticalization path of COM > INS (Heine and Kuteva 2002, 84). This proposal of mine for the development of the COM-INS marker in the Sinitic varieties thus demonstrate again the importance of the existing linguistic mechanisms creating structural congruence in contact situations.

### 5.3.3 Wartime Pidgin Chinese

This pidgin variety was recorded to be mainly in use in the Japanese-occupied Manchuria (Northeastern China) from the Japanese occupation till the end of WWII. The variety has been given many different designations in Japanese sources, including *Nis<sub>1</sub>Shi<sub>2</sub>-gōben<sub>3</sub>-go<sub>4</sub>* 日支合弁/辦語 ‘Japano<sub>1</sub>-Chinese<sub>2</sub> merger<sub>3</sub> language<sub>4</sub>,’ *Hētai<sub>1</sub>-Shina<sub>2</sub>-go<sub>3</sub>* 兵隊支那語 ‘troop<sub>1</sub> Chinese<sub>2</sub>

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‘two,’ *go:r-la* ‘two together’ (Georg 2003, 296–97); Mangghuer *gula* ‘two together’ (Slater 2003, 314); Santa *gwa* ‘two,’ *gwa-la* ‘two together’ (Kim 2003, 354–55); Bonan: *gwar* ‘two,’ *gwa-la/gwa-lə* ‘two together’ (Wu 2003, 334–35).

<sup>39</sup> Xu (2015, 237, n. 39) illustrates it with *liang-ge*: 我們兩個去 ‘the two of us [will] go,’ but note that it is equally grammatical and synonymous with *lia*: 我們倆去 *wōmen liǎ qù*

<i>wō-men</i>	<i>liǎng-gè</i>	<i>qù</i>
1-PL	two-CL	go

language<sub>3</sub>,’ *Kyōwa*<sub>1</sub>-*go*<sub>2</sub> 協和語 ‘concord<sub>1</sub> language<sub>2</sub>,’ and many more (Sakurai 2012). Chinese scholars quote these Japanese terms directly using the Chinese logograms (Wáng W. and Gōu 1990; Gōng 2014; Yú X. and Zhāng 2014) and there does not appear to have been any English terminology before Sakurai (2015, 408) proposed the general<sup>40</sup> Japanese term *Senji-pijin-Chūgokugo* 戦時ピジン中国語 with its English equivalent “Wartime Pidgin Chinese.”

The most remarkable feature of Wartime Pidgin Chinese relevant to the present topic of Sinitic mechanism in language contact is the SOV order following that of Japanese. In the examples below, Japanese elements are noted by a superscript J (J) preceding the transcription:<sup>41</sup>

- (148) <sup>ニー デ セスユー</sup> 你的錢有か。(Sakurai 2015, 505)

<i>nī-de</i>	<i>sen</i>	<i>yū</i>	<sup>J</sup> <i>ka</i>
2SG-DE	money	have	Q

‘Do you have money?’

- (149) <sup>ター デ ワー デ ショーハイ デ プ ス</sup> 他的我的小孩的不是。(Sakurai 2015, 522)

<i>tā-de</i>	<i>wā-de</i>	<i>shō-hai-de</i>	<i>pu</i>	<i>su</i>
3SG-DE	1SG-DE	small-child-DE	NEG	be

‘He is not my kid.’

- (150) <sup>ホワカイカイ デ スー ラ ニー デ カイカイ デ メイタヌケーター</sup> 火快々の死了、你的快々の煤炭給他。(Sakurai 2015, 533)

<sup>40</sup> Sakurai (2015, 407) also proposes the terminology for the different varieties of Wartime Pidgin Chinese, classified into three groups: (1) *Manshū-Pijin-Chūgokugo* 「満州」ピジン中国語 “Manchurian Pidgin Chinese,” used by the Japanese living in Kantō, along the Southern Manchuria Railway, and in the Japanese-occupied Manchuria; (2) *Hētai-Shinago* 兵隊支那語 “Soldier Chinese,” used in the troops dispatched to China during WWII; (3) *Tailiku-Pijin-Chūgokugo* 大陸ピジン中国語 “Continental Pidgin Chinese,” used by the Japanese living outside of the Japanese-occupied Manchuria during WWII.

<sup>41</sup> In the transcription line, I render the original pronunciation guide—the Japanese Katakana noted above the Chinese characters—following the Modified Hepburn (修正へボン式) system adopted by the Library of Congress and the *Chicago Manual of Style*.

<i>hwa</i>	<i>kai~kai-de</i>	<i>sūra</i>	<i>nī-de</i>	<i>kai~kai-de</i>	<i>meitan</i>	<i>kē</i>	<i>tā</i>
fire	quick~quick-DE	die	2SG-DE	quick~quick-DE	coal	give	3SG

‘The fire is dying out; (you) give it [some] coal quickly!’

Apart from the overwhelming OV patterns as in (148), copulative sentences as in (149) are also attested with affirmative or negative “be” verb at the end. Occasionally, though, postverbal O elements occur, as in (150). As in the examples above, DOs are normally not marked. The pidgin is also characterized by frequent overuse of some lexical and grammatical elements: the lexical item *sūra* in (150) does mean ‘died’ in Chinese, but it is used for animate agents; the element *de*—a multifunctional morphosyntactic particle commonly marking GEN, nominalization, and attributive in Chinese<sup>42</sup>—likely retains its GEN marker function like *wā-de* in (149) but is frozen in most other instances such as those frozen “pronoun-*de*” forms. As shown in (151) and (152) below, Japanese grammatical markers are attested to be added to forms with *de* attached:

(151) <sup>ニー デ</sup> 你的な <sup>デ ター デ</sup> 一べん <sup>カヌカヌ</sup> 的 他の <sup>カヌカヌ</sup> を 看々 した。 (Sakurai 2015, 518)

<i>nī-de</i>	<i>nā-ben-de</i>	<i>tā-de</i>	<sup>J</sup> wo	<i>kan~kan-<sup>J</sup>shi-<sup>J</sup>ta</i>
2SG-DE	which-side-DE	3SG-DE	ACC	look~look-do.PFV-PST

‘Where did you see him?’

(152) <sup>ワー デ</sup> 我的 <sup>マイテヌマイテヌニー デ</sup> 每天 <sup>マイマイ</sup> 每天 <sup>マイマイ</sup> 你的 <sup>マイマイ</sup> の を 買賣 する ぢや ないか。 (Sakurai 2015, 544)

<i>wā-de</i>	<i>mai-ten~mai-ten</i>	<i>nī-de</i>	<sup>J</sup> no	<sup>J</sup> wo	<i>mai-mai <sup>J</sup>suru</i>	<i><sup>J</sup>jiyanai <sup>J</sup>ka</i>
1SG-DE	every-day~every-day	2SG-DE	NMLZ	ACC	buy-sell do.IPFV	COP.NEG Q

‘Is it not that I buy yours every day?’

<sup>42</sup> As noted already, the functions are generally agreed upon and there are many generative proposals regarding the nature of this *de* particle. It should also be noted that the “attributive marker” function only covers the *de* showing up between the attributive modifier and the modified noun, written as “的”; there is also a homophonous *de* that shows up between the adverbial modifier and the modified verb, as it is used in ‘quickly’ in (150), written as “地.”

Sakurai (2015, 425) notes that the fact that *de* [tɕ] in Chinese has a similar pronunciation to the multifunctional Japanese particle *de* (で) [de]—which can mark location, instrument, condition, reason, time, etc.—may have contributed to its mistakenly spread to cover other functions “temporarily,” e.g., to express more complicated clausal relations:

(153) ニ一 デ センザイガン ホ ジ ユー デ キユイメイユ一 デ ホ一 デンホワ デ ソ ホワホ一  
 你的現在幹活計有的 去沒有的好、電話的說話好。(Sakurai 2015, 517)

*nī-de*    *senzai* *ganhoji* *yū-de*    *kyui mei-yū-de* *hō*    *denhwa-de*    *sohwa* *hō*  
 2SG-DE    now    work    have-DE    go    have-DE    good telephone-DE    talk    good  
 ‘If you have work now, it is OK that you do not go; it is OK to talk by phone.’

It is also remarkable that these “errors” in the pidgin are well noticed. In fact, we are fortunate to have a relatively detailed documentation of the pidgin, thanks to the series of 34 commentary articles by Shikaji Nakatani 中谷鹿二 published (under the pseudonym 中谷螢光生) from February 11 to March 28 in 1925 in the newspaper *Manshū nichinichi shinbun* 滿洲日日新聞, and to Nakatani’s 1926 book entitled *From Janapo-Chinese Merger Language to Correct Chinese* (日支合辦語から正しき支那語へ). All examples cited in this section from Sakurai (2015) are in his appendices where Nakatani’s texts are reproduced. Nakatani knew Chinese well: in his publications, he first cited those “wrong” usages in the pidgin, and then provided the “correct” Chinese. For some typical mistakes, he also commented focusing on the differences between Japanese and Chinese, aiming at teaching better pronunciation and the proper grammar of Chinese to the Japanese<sup>43</sup> users of the pidgin. For instance, regarding the pidgin expression in (154), Nakatani corrected it to (155):

<sup>43</sup> Since the articles with the detailed commentaries are all published in Japanese, it is apparent that the intended readers were the Japanese speakers who occasionally used the pidgin rather than the other users who did not know Japanese.

- (154) めしガ ン ホ ワヌ ラ デ フアン ツ ソーソー  
飯幹活完了的 房子掃々。(Sakurai 2015, 535)

<sup>J</sup> <i>meshi</i>	<i>ganho</i>	<i>wanra-de</i>	<i>fang</i> <sup>44</sup> <i>zu</i>	<i>sō~sō</i>
meal	work	finished-DE	house	sweep~sweep

‘After finishing cooking the meal, sweep/clean the house (intended: room)!’

- (155) ツオーワヌ ラ フアヌ バウー ツ サオ イ サオ  
做完了飯把屋子掃一掃。(ibid.)

<i>tsō-wan-ra</i>	<i>fan</i>	<i>ba</i>	<i>ūtsu</i>	<i>sao</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>sao</i>
do-finish-PFV	meal	BA	room	sweep	one	sweep

‘After finishing cooking the meal, sweep/clean the room!’

According to the intended meaning, Nakatani first replaced the pidgin lexical items with proper Chinese words: *fan* instead of *meshi* (Japanese reading of the Chinese character), *tsō* (approximating the Chinese pronunciation, cf. Standard Mandarin [tswoʋ]) instead of *ganho* ‘work,’ and *ūtsu* (approximating the Chinese pronunciation, cf. Standard Mandarin [uʋʋ tszʋ]) instead of *fangzu* ‘house.’ Then he applied the Chinese PFV marker “*ra*” (approximating the Chinese [ɿ]) and noted the proper pronunciations: *sao* instead of *sō* which is the Japanese reading of 掃, cf. Standard Mandarin [sauʋ], and very remarkably, voiceless *tsu* instead of the voiced *zu* for 子, cf. Standard Mandarin [tszʋ]. Most importantly, he not only restructured the O-V clause in (154) as V-O in (155), but also commented on the “corrected” clause that *bǎ* is the proper Chinese equivalence to the Japanese ACC marker, therefore, if the speaker prefers keeping

<sup>44</sup> The transliteration “*fang*” is not conventional in the Modified Hepburn system. Since the different realizations of the coda nasal (ん/ㄢ) are not differentiated in modern Japanese phonology, the conventional transliteration only renders it as *n*. However, in the pronunciation guide for the pidgin above the Chinese characters, the alveolar nasal and the velar nasal are clearly differentiated—the former transcribed with *nu* (ヌ) while the latter transcribed with *n* (ン). See the contrastive renderings involved in this example: *wan-ra* for 完了 via *wa-nu-ra* (ワヌラ), cf. Standard Mandarin 完了 [wanʋ ɿ], and *fang-zu* for 房子 via *fa-n-zu* (フアンヅ), cf. Standard Mandarin 房子 [fanʋ tsz]. Therefore, I used “*ng*” for the velar nasal so that the original pronunciation guide can be properly reflected.

the DO in the preverbal position like the O-V order in Japanese, s/he should make sure to add the *bǎ* particle before the noun.<sup>45</sup> Such comments and corrections prove that these so-called “errors” are obvious enough for a native Japanese speaker who learned Chinese as a foreign language, therefore, they must have been much more apparent and easily detectable for the native speakers of Chinese.

In addition, Sakurai (2015, 395) cites descriptive records showing that it was common for the “Chinese language created by the Japanese (日本人の作った支那語)” to be used by local females in Manchuria. Nakatani’s texts contain a great number of exemplifying conversations involving the lower class in society: bargaining with market vendors, as in (152), giving orders to servants, as in (150), (153), and (154), interacting with rickshaw pullers, etc. The records thus reflect a highly imbalanced socio-economic structure in which such a pidgin with easily noticeable patterns deviating from normative Chinese was created by the Japanese colonists, but it was apparently understood and even used by some native Chinese speakers in interactions with the Japanese colonists.

## 5.4 Discussions

### 5.4.1 The Sinitic lesson

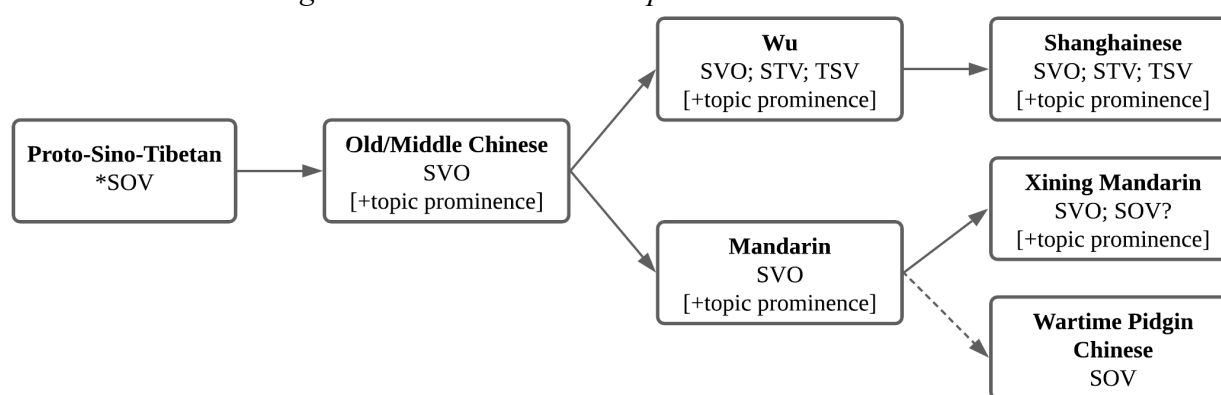
In §5.3, I have presented the word order situations in two Sinitic varieties and one pidgin variety. Inherited from their parent language, the modern Sinitic varieties such as Shanghainese and Xining Mandarin evolved from the stably disharmonic SVO pattern, together with the topic

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<sup>45</sup> See Sakurai (2015, 535): “「把」は邦語「……を」の「を」に當る言葉であるが、支那語では「把屋子」、「把錢」、「把鞋」の如く總て名詞の上に置く” (“*Bǎ*” is the word corresponding to the “*wo*” of “...-*wo*” in our national language, but in Chinese, like in “*bǎ wūzi*,” “*bǎ qián*,” and “*bǎ xié*,” it is placed in front of all nouns).

prominent feature as mechanisms to form OV sentences which deviate from SVO but are nevertheless grammatical: the STV pattern is very common in Wu varieties like Shanghainese and it does not have to contain pragmatic functions like marking contrastive FOC; in Xining Mandarin, we find clauses in the SOV order and more postposed particles. On the other hand, in Wartime Pidgin Chinese, the basic main constituent word order is SOV. The development can be illustrated with Figure 11:

*Figure 11 Word order development in the Sinitic realm*



Even if the hypothesis of “Altaicization of Northern Chinese” is true, as a “southern” Sinitic dialect group, the Wu varieties are naturally excluded from such scenarios. The development of the frequent STV (and TSV) patterns in Wu can hardly be attributed to any contact influence. As for the varieties that do involve contact factors, Xining Mandarin has been in contact with SOV languages for a long time, but it is not impossible that Xining Mandarin may still not be judged as an SOV language.<sup>46</sup> On the other hand, Wartime Pidgin Chinese shows strong SOV features following Japanese, but even if some of its SOV patterns made it into the

<sup>46</sup> Djamouri and Paul (2019, 124) make a similar comment on the VO syntax of Tangwang, another member in the Northwestern Mandarin area. Tangwang shares many features with Xining Mandarin. Like Xining Mandarin, it is also characterized by the expanded OV patterns which has been attributed to Mongolic influence. However, according to Djamouri (2015a), the preverbal and postverbal positions of the DO in Tangwang can be accounted for by syntactic and semantic constraints, which differs from the generalized OV patterns in Mongolic.

official documents of the Manchukuo puppet state (Wáng W. and Gōu 1990, 14–15), the pidgin disappeared as soon as the colonial rule collapsed.

To sum up the Sinitic situation:

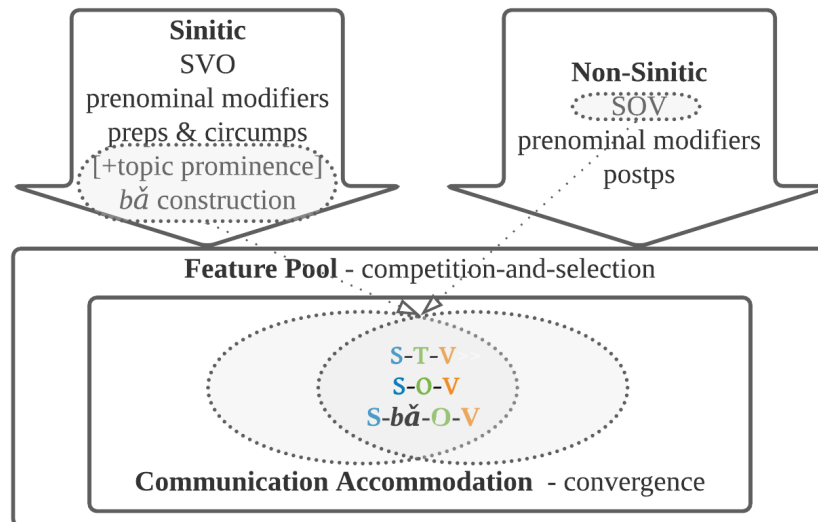
(1) The stably disharmonic history of Chinese demonstrates that typological consistency of word order does not have to govern the development of word order towards a certain direction;

(2) The change from SVO to something similar to SOV (i.e., the STV pattern in Wu) can be based on existing linguistic mechanisms (i.e., the topic prominence feature) without an SOV feature donor;

(3) Special contact situations could lead to the formation of SOV (i.e., Wartime Pidgin Chinese) noticeably deviating from SVO which is the norm form Sinitic. Such deviating patterns could even be accepted by native Sinitic speakers though remains unsustainable.

I believe both the formation and collapse of the SOV pidgin and the expanded OV in Xining Mandarin can be well explained by the combination of the theories outlined in §2.4, as illustrated by the visualization in Figure 12:

Figure 12 Visualization of word order in contact in the Sinitic realm



With Congruence Effects (§2.4.2), the structural resemblance perceived by the speakers facilitates grammatical changes in contact settings; among the strategies of Communication Accommodation (§2.4.3), the need to encourage further interaction and reduce the discrepancies lead to the convergence adjustment; the Feature Pool (§2.4.4) sets up a conceptual arena for the speakers to select from the features of the contact languages. Thus, the convergence adjustment would made it possible for the congruent features to be selected.

In contact situations, the Sinitic features with their mechanisms to shift the postverbal DOs serve to create the foundational congruence (represented as shaded in Figure 12) between the SVO Sinitic and the other SOV languages. The congruence would allow V-final outputs that are grammatical for both groups of speakers. Since the topic prominence feature also entered the feature pool, the congruent structure—the grammatical STV—can easily serve as the convergence strategy in the communication accommodation adjustment by speakers of both the SVO Sinitic and the SOV languages. Therefore, the outcomes of SOV or higher frequency of OV patterns need not solely reflect the features from non-Sinitic SOV languages being selected; they also reflect the Sinitic STV pattern. In Northwestern China, where various ethnic groups live side by side with each other, the daily communication needed would help to sustain the long-term accommodation.

As for Wartime Pidgin Chinese, its SOV order certainly came from Japanese, however, for the Chinese speakers who actually used it, there was also accommodation at work. In contrast to the contact situation in Northwestern China, under the Japanese colonial rule, the accommodation was highly asymmetrical: although the STV congruence could have also enabled the convergence strategy, native Chinese speakers who adopted the pidgin word order were adjusting their speech only out of the motivation to make a living by interacting with the

colonists whose troops waged wars to invade their land. Such accommodation is clearly short-termed and doomed to disappear when the motivation disappears.

#### 5.4.2 Congruence selected

Since I argued for an important role of congruence—the existing equivalent structures and mechanisms that enables equivalent outputs—one may question what happened to the S-*bǎ*-O-V pattern that Li and Thompson (1974a; 1974b; 1975) consider as proof for the SOV order of Standard Mandarin. Whether the emerging OV pattern exploits the overtly marked S-*bǎ*-O-V or the unmarked S-T-V should be a matter of competition-and-selection because they are both native Sinitic structures existing in the feature pool. Therefore, it should also be possible for the convergence adjustment to be realized via S-*bǎ*-O-V rather than S-T-V.

In fact, the former is indeed also used to form OV clauses in Xining Mandarin, as in (156) containing the pattern with *bǎ*'s Xining Mandarin cognate [pa↓(↓)]. Note that although this would be judged as a wrong usage of *bǎ* in Standard Mandarin, it would not create barriers for understanding:

(156) 我阿一次來嘯啊把你都見著。 (Zhāng C. 1997, 44)

<i>nɔ</i>	<i>a-z̄-tsʰz̄</i>	<i>lɛ</i>	<i>xɔ</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>pa</i>	<i>ni</i>	«tu»	<i>tɛjǎ-tʂɛ</i>
1SG	which-one-time	come	ADVLZ	SFP	<b>BA</b>	2SG	«all»	see-DUR

‘I see you whenever I come.’

The distribution, though, is not suggestive of an ACC marker status for *pa* like that for *xa* in Xining Mandarin. This “disposal construction” appears to have mostly retained the original semantics of “how a person is handled, manipulated, or dealt with; how something is disposed of; or how an affair is conducted,”<sup>47</sup> and according to Rén (2005, 131), the sentences with *pa*

<sup>47</sup> This is Li’s (1974, 200) translation of Wáng L.’s (1947, 1:160) description of the “disposal construction” cited by Li and Thompson (1981, 468).

express the strongest “imperative mood (祈使語氣)” when the imperative/jussive connotation is involved, showing a decreasing hierarchy: S-*pa*-O-V > S-O-(*x*)*a*-V > SVO.

The prediction that either S-*bǎ*-O-V or S-T-V could be selected is further verified by Dungan, the language of the Central Asian Chinese expatriates briefly mentioned in §5.3.2. In Dungan, OV clauses are formed in two patterns: either directly via DO fronting, i.e., S-T-V or T-S-V but *without* the particle (*x*)*a* as in Xining Mandarin, or via the *bǎ* construction, i.e., S-*ба*-O-V or *ба*-O-S-V, in which “*ба*” is the Dungan Cyrillic orthography<sup>48</sup> for the *bǎ* particle [paʌ]. The latter pattern has been greatly expanded in usage and the Standard Mandarin restrictions regarding what type and what form of Vs are allowed in the *bǎ* construction are “violated” in many instances (Hǎi and Wáng 2003), resulting in a much higher frequency of the *bǎ* construction than Standard Mandarin. In one randomly selected short text from Mašinxaeva (2019, 81–82) relating the folklore of Muhammad saved by the spider and doves (Appendix 4, containing 342 orthographic words), “*ба*” is used twenty-one times. The word order patterns of clauses with transitive Vs show the following distribution:

*Table 40 Order of V&O in one short Dungan folklore text*

Order of V <sub>transitive</sub> , and O/O <sub>PRON</sub>	Count	Percentage
V O	12	28.6%
V O <sub>PRON</sub>	1	2.4%
O V	0	0%
<i>ба</i> O V	17	40.5%
<i>ба</i> O <sub>PRON</sub> V	4	9.5%
bare V	8	19%
<b>Sum</b>	<b>42</b>	

<sup>48</sup> The Cyrillic orthography for Dungan does not record tones and renders the reflex of Mandarin *bǎ* as “*ба*” [paʌ], cf. Standard Mandarin *bǎ* [paʌ1]. Slightly complicated is the situation in clauses with ditransitive Vs in which the IO may involve a preposed V 给 [kiʌ] ‘give’ but the statement is still true for DOs: Wáng S. (2001, 225) provides one example with “*ki*-IO-*pa*-DO-give” meaning ‘give DO to IO.’

It is likely coincidental that the unmarked O-V pattern is not attested in this short text, as the O-V pattern is well documented for Dungan in previous studies. Among the attested O-V clauses formed with the *bǎ* construction, some like (158) below are perfectly grammatical in Standard Mandarin, while others like (157) and (159) would be judged either as odd or as ungrammatical in Standard Mandarin. For instance, in Standard Mandarin the *bǎ*-O-NEG-V pattern in (157) is ungrammatical and the grammatical pattern should be NEG-*bǎ*-O-V. However, the NEG pattern *bǎ*-O-NEG-V is not odd at all in the Northwestern area and it is grammatical in Xining Mandarin:

(157) **Ба йиче жың Шынжын даванли, кэсы ба вонзы мэ золян** (Mašinxäeva 2019, 81)

<i>pa</i>	<i>jite<sup>h</sup>ja</i>	<i>zəŋ</i>	<i>ʂəŋ-zəŋ</i>	<i>ta-vǎ</i>	<i>li</i>	<i>kʰəsɿ</i>	<i>pa</i>	<i>vanɿsɿ</i>	<i>mə</i>	<i>tsɔ-tejǎ</i>
BA	all	person	holy-person	hit-finish	SFP	but	BA	king	NEG	find-see

‘The Prophet finished fighting all the people but did not find the king.’

(158) **Фу кэкэ ба Шынжын цонхали** (ibid.)

<i>fu</i>	<i>kʰɛ-kʰɛ</i>	<i>pa</i>	<i>ʂəŋ-zəŋ</i>	<i>tsʰaŋ-xa</i>	<i>li</i>
tree	open-open	BA	holy-person	hide-PFV	SFP

‘The tree opened up and hid the Prophet.’

(159) **Жүжү ба Шынжын канжян, ви хўшан та, бянтуэ вонли** (Mašinxäeva 2019, 82)

<i>pfu~pfu</i>	<i>pa</i>	<i>ʂəŋ-zəŋ</i>	<i>kʰan-tejǎ</i>	<i>vi</i>	<i>xu-sjǎ</i>	<i>tʰa</i>	<i>pjan-tʰwə</i>	<i>van</i>	<i>li</i>
spider	BA	holy-person	look-see	for	protect-cover	3SG	weave-INCH	web	SFP

‘The spider saw the Prophet, and started weaving a web to protect him.’

Finally, it should also be noted that the *ба*-O-S-V pattern as shown in the Dungan example (157) further mirrors the O-*ха*-S-V pattern in the Xining Mandarin example (147) and it

also resembles the T-S-V pattern in the Shanghainese example (136). All these instances reflect the original Sinitic topic prominence mechanisms fronting the DO as the sentential TOP.

### 5.4.3 Ethiopian Semitic and Central Asian Arabic

As the title of this chapter suggests, I believe the word order situation in the Sinitic realm of East Asia can provide some hints for the word order changes in Ethiopian Semitic and Central Asian Arabic. The drastic shift of VSO to SOV in Ethiopian Semitic and Central Asian Arabic actually has much in common with the emergence and spread of the V-final patterns in Sinitic varieties, as shown in the corpus analyses of Chapter 3 and Chapter 4.

In Chapter 3, I showed that the OV order and many other “non-Semitic” patterns of word order in Ethiopian Semitic are found in Classical Ethiopic, mostly as marked structures. The OV attestations show the following patterns in which the original Ethiopic structures including *qätäl-o lä-nəguś* is reflected as fronting and resumption:

- i.  $lä=O_i(=FOC) V=PRON_i$
- i'.  $O_i=FOC V=PRON_i$
- ii.  $O_i-ä V(=PRON_i)$

Even the analytic GEN pattern *wäld-u lä-nəguś* can be inverted as *lä-nəguś wäld-u* to form the Gen-N order in instances of FOC. As Perruchon (1899, 200) observes, “l’inversion qui était l’exception en éthiopien étant devenu la règle en amharique.” But it is important to note that in Old Amharic, we do find quite a number of VO patterns and postnominal modifiers. In addition, it seems that in Old Amharic, we could find traces of a connection between the ACC marker and an uncertain FOC marker in terms of a TOP marking function, to which I further suggested a development from the inverted *qätäl-o lä-nəguś* in Old Amharic:

$$(60) \quad *(nV_{ACC-})O_i(-nV_{TOP-FOC}) V=PRON_i \quad \rightarrow \quad O_i-n(V)_{TOP-FOC/ACC} V$$

Such a development, following pattern (i) above, links the native Semitic mechanisms of fronting and resumption to the emergence of SOV in Ethiopian Semitic.

In Chapter 4, I showed that in the OV clauses of Bukharan Arabic, it is not at all rare to find pronominal resumption on the clause-final Vs and there are instances of postverbal elements that do not seem to be discourse motivated. In his thorough and illuminating discussion of the various functions of the OV order in Classical Arabic, Khan (1988) shows that in most of the cases, the DO is “the focus of a contrastive assertion” (Khan 1988, 58). This reminds us of the Classical Ethiopic OV which also functions as a discourse device. The ACC marker in Bukharan Arabic clearly evolved from the DAT preposition ‘to,’ which implies an original pattern of ACC=O<sub>i</sub> V=PRON<sub>i</sub> mirroring the inverted *qätäl-o lä-nəguś* in Classical Ethiopic. The source structure, i.e., the analytic ACC pattern V=PRON<sub>i</sub> DAT=O<sub>i</sub>, although not found in Classical Arabic, is clearly part of the Neo-Arabic mechanisms (as reflected in Mesopotamian Arabic) inherited by Central Asian Arabic. The same is true for the LINKER *-in* attested in many more Neo-Arabic varieties. Even the “non-Semitic” Gen-N pattern in Bukharan Arabic can be easily derived in a reanalyzed “predicate clause” of the pattern S<sub>i</sub> NP=PRON<sub>i</sub> Pred, also with the Semitic resumption mechanism.

Therefore, the emerging V-final word order in both Ethiopian Semitic and Central Asian Arabic are rooted in the existing Semitic mechanisms, whereas the various contact languages likely contributed to the expansion of the originally marked O-V patterns created via the existing Semitic mechanisms. Following what I have shown in this chapter for the Sinitic word order in contact, I illustrate the Semitic word order changes in Figure 13 and Figure 14 combining Congruence Effects (§2.4.2), Communication Accommodation (§2.4.3), and Feature Pool (§2.4.4):

Figure 13 Visualization of word order in contact for Ethiopian Semitic

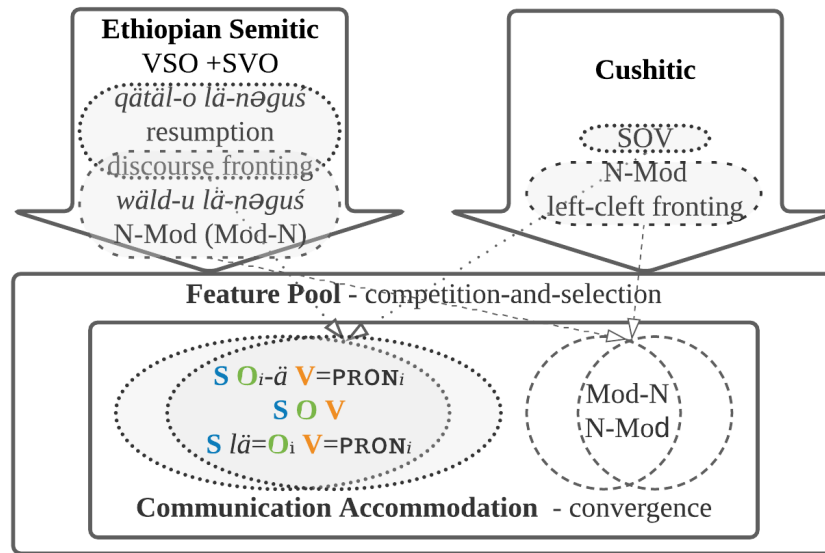
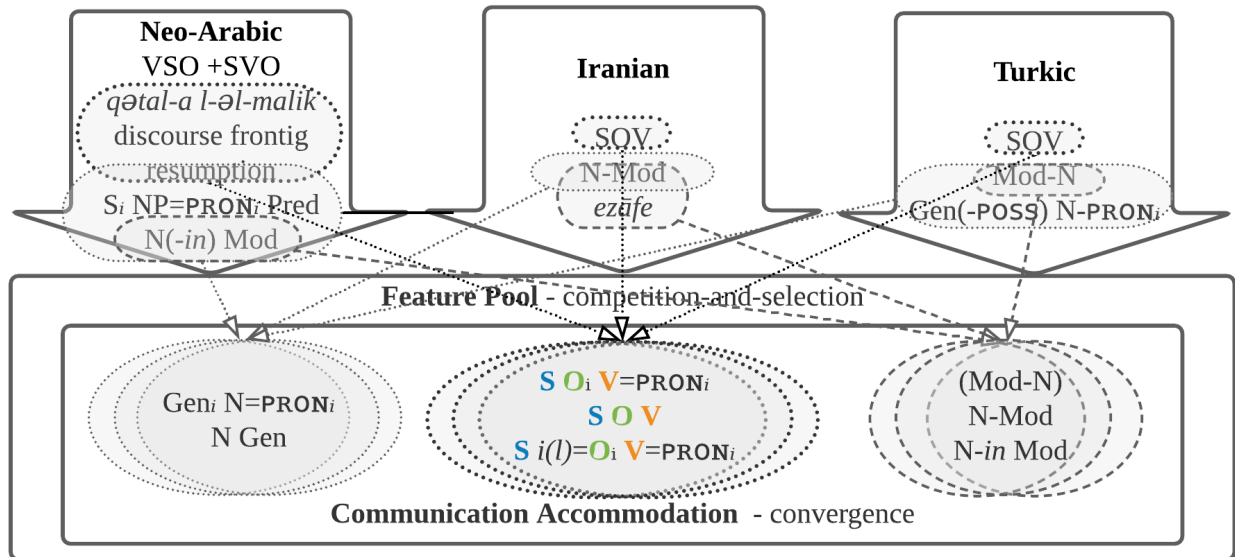


Figure 14 Visualization of word order in contact for Central Asian Arabic



In Figure 13, I tentatively included the reconstructed Proto-Cushitic word order pattern of postnominal modifiers. If one considers it absolutely ascertained that the contact took place between Semitic and Central Cushitic, perhaps it is better to consider the prenominal modifier order also having entered the feature pool.

In discussions of the development of the INDF article in Cypriot Arabic, Versteegh (1984, 33) notes such a development is also paralleled in other Neo-Arabic varieties, and comments that

“[o]ne should be careful not to attribute every similarity between the Arabic dialect and an adstratal language to external influence; in some cases the presence of the adstratal language may have acted as a catalyzer.” I would add to this that the existing congruence between the contact languages likely serves as the foundation for such a “catalyzer” to operate in the competition-and-selection process since the structures that are grammatical and shared by speakers in contact provides the best option available for their accommodation strategy.

The role of the native speakers as observed in the Sinitic situations should also be worth some attention when we evaluate the word order changes in Semitic. No matter how sparse their historical records are, the Semitic speakers in the Horn of Africa and in Central Asia definitely both played very important roles as the Sinitic speakers did in East Asia, and it seems unlikely that the Semitic speakers disappeared before non-Semitic learners could have an opportunity to acquire a basic set of linguistic features including the major constituent word order. It should also be mentioned that even for Tangwang, which was labeled a “mixed” language, via analyses both of its linguistic structure and of its speaker genetics, it has been shown that it has “developed among [Sinitic-speaking] Han people and some Sinicized Mongolian people (in the Tang family), but not among Dongxiang (Santa) people who learned the Chinese language as a second language” (Xu 2017, 46).

Just as the word order deviations in the pidgin were so apparent even to a Japanese learner of Chinese, the word order deviations hypothetically in the speech produced by non-Semitic learners must have also been similarly apparent to the Semitic native speakers. Therefore, it seems more likely to me that the Semitic word order shifts involved sustainable long-term native speaker convergence adjustment towards those “non-Semitic” patterns, which,

as have been shown, are not that foreign to Semitic anyways: the convergence was based on the congruence allowed by the existing Semitic mechanisms.

## 5.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have presented the Sinitic situation in East Asia which is comparable to the Semitic word order changes as analyzed in the preceding two chapters. I first explained the misconceptions involved in the issue and the typological peculiarity well known for the Sinitic language family, namely SVO with prenominal modifiers. In this background, I presented the arguments of a disputed hypothesis that Chinese went through drastic word order shifts in its history. This disputed hypothesis has its flaws and its merits: there was likely a stably disharmonic SVO throughout the history of Chinese, but there might be a more ancient change from OV to VO and there has been a prominent status of TOP from the ancient language to its numerous descendants in modern times. Then I demonstrated how this topic prominence feature created OV clauses in Shanghainese (not in contact with OV languages) and in Xining Mandarin (in contact with OV languages). With a further comparison to Wartime Pidgin Chinese, I have shown that the existing structural congruence laid the foundation for the competition-and-selection in the feature pool via the convergence strategy of communication accommodation. Finally, I have suggested that the word order changes in Ethiopian Semitic and Central Asian Arabic should be evaluated similarly. Since the congruence should be apparent from the analyses in the preceding chapters, I emphasized that the role of the native Semitic speakers should not be ignored, such as attributing the changes in Ethiopian Semitic solely to the *imperfect learning* of the Cushitic speakers (Thomason and Kaufman 1988, 69, 131). The Semitic native speakers

should have been at least equally important as they *selected* and *manipulated* (Van Coetsem 1997, 360; 2000, 42–43) the word order patterns.

## CHAPTER 6 OTHER INSTANCES IN SEMITIC

### 6.1 Overview

This chapter briefly expands the research topic to some other instances in the Semitic family, trying to remark on the word order changes in the East Semitic branch and the Northwest Semitic subgroup. In East Semitic, we find Akkadian shifting its main constituent word order to SOV, whereas its phrase-level word order essentially stayed stable throughout its history. In Northwest Semitic, we find Hebrew changing towards SVO and many North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic varieties changing to SOV. Following the arguments in the preceding chapters, it seems that the existing Semitic mechanisms could have also played an important role while the potential congruent structures were selected for adaptation. To summarize the discussion in the investigation so far, I address the complexity of contact situations and highlight the fact that when the language changes in contact situations, it could well be possible that the agentivity of the native speakers was involved, rather than solely with the non-native learners failing to acquire the language. The discussions in this study also demonstrates that caution is needed regarding the force of typological word order consistency.

### 6.2 East Semitic

#### 6.2.1 Akkadian V-final

As we have seen in §2.3, Akkadian is one of the Semitic languages displaying the S(O)V main constituent word order, deviating from the VS(O) order which should be reconstructible to Proto-Semitic (§2.3.2). Example (2a) from Sargonic Akkadian, the earliest Akkadian variety

with textual materials enabling a comprehensive analysis of its linguistic features, is repeated below as (160):

- (160) *ù summa si-mu-ur<sub>4</sub>-r<sub>1</sub>-ù<sup>KI</sup> a-ti da-ni-ís ŠE la i-ma-ḥa-ru...*  
*u summa Simurri'-ū 'ade dannis 'u'-am lā yi-maḥḥar-ū*  
 and if PN-PL.NOM till greatly barley-ACC NEG 3M-receive\IMPF-PL  
 ‘And if the Simurrians do not receive any barley at all ...’ (Hasselbach 2005, 175)

The SOV order stayed stable throughout the history of Akkadian.<sup>1</sup> The basic SOV order has been noted in studies on individual varieties: Old Babylonian (Huehnergard 2011, 19), Middle Babylonian though only explicitly for infinitival DO (Aro 1955, 124), Neo-Babylonian (Woodington 1982, 240), Old Assyrian (Kouwenberg 2017, 698), Middle Assyrian (de Ridder 2018, 478), and Neo-Assyrian (Hämeen-Anttila 2000, 116). I cite below one example in Old Babylonian (161) from the prose section of *The Code of Hammurabi* and one example in Neo-Assyrian (162) from the narrative of *The Annals of Sennacherib*:

- (161) *i-nu-ma<sup>DINGIR</sup>AMAR.UD a-na šu-te-šu-ur | ni-ši KALAM ú-si-im šu-ḥu-zi-im ú-wa-e-ra-an-ni ki-it-tam ù mi-ša-ra-am i-na KA ma-tim aš-ku-un ši-ir ni-ši | u-ṭi-ib*  
*inūma Marduk ana šutēšur nišī māṭ-im ūs-im*  
 when DN to set\_right\INF.CSTR people.CSTR land-GEN guidance-GEN  
*šūḥuz-im u-wa 'er=anni kīt-am u mīašr-am ina*  
 cause\_to\_hold\INF-GEN 3-order\PRET=1CSG truth-ACC and justice-ACC in

<sup>1</sup> The greatest exception is found in the corpus of the Amarna correspondences—the epistolary documents sent from the rulers of the Levantine city states to the Egyptian pharaohs recording events among the Near Eastern great powers in the 14<sup>th</sup> century BCE. These texts are well-known for verbal clauses deviating from the typical Akkadian V-final word order and V-initial clauses are not infrequently found. The nature of this system of “scribal code” (Pardee 1999) reflected in the Amarna letters has been explained in various approaches; major opinions include evaluating it as a contact language (Izre’el 2012), as an institutionalized interlanguage (Baranowski 2016), and even disputedly, as Akkadian words used graphically to write the Canaanite language(s) (von Dassow 2004; 2010).

<i>pī</i>	<i>māt-im</i>	<i>a-škun</i>	<i>šīr</i>	<i>nišī</i>	<i>u-ṭīb</i>
mouth.CSTR	land-GEN	1CSG-establish\PRET	meat	people.OBL	1CSG-make_good\PRET

‘When Marduk ordered me to give justice to the people of the land and to let [them] have [good] governance, I established truth and justice in the land [and] satisfied the people (literally make the meat of the people pleasant).’ (Driver and Miles 1960, 2:12)

(162) *šar* <sup>1</sup>*E-lam-ti* <sup>1</sup>*Par-su-aš* <sup>1</sup>*An-za-an* <sup>1</sup>*Pa-ši-ru* <sup>1</sup>*El-li-pi nap-ḥar* <sup>1</sup>*Kal-di* <sup>am</sup>*A-ra-me ka-li-šu-un kit-ru rabû(ú) ik-te-ra it-ti-šu a-di šar* <sup>1</sup>*Bâbili* <sup>ki</sup>*a-na a-ḥa-meš ik-ri-bu-ma a-na e-piš taḥâzi i-na irti-ia illiku-ni*

<i>arka</i>	<i>šar</i>	<i>Elamti</i>	<i>Parsuaš</i>	<i>Anzan</i>	<i>Paširu</i>	<i>Ellipi</i>	<i>napḥar</i>
afterwards	king.CSTR	GN	GN	GN	GN	GN	entirety.CSTR
<i>Kaldi</i>	<i>Aramē</i>	<i>kalī=šun</i>	<i>kitr-u</i>	<i>rabû</i>	<i>i-kter-a</i>		
GN	Arameans.OBL	all=3MPL	help-NONACC	big.NONACC	3-get_as_help\PRET-VENT		
<i>ittī=šu</i>	<i>adi</i>	<i>šar</i>	<i>Bâbili</i>	<i>ana</i>	<i>aḥāmeš</i>	<i>i-qrib-ū=ma</i>	
with=3MSG	including	king.CSTR	GN	to	one_another	3-approach\PRET-PL=and	
<i>ana</i>	<i>epēš</i>	<i>taḥāz-i</i>	<i>ina</i>	<i>irtī=ya</i>	<i>i-llik-ū-ni</i>		
to	do\INF.CSTR	battle-GEN	in	breast=1CSG	3-go\PRET-PL-VENT		

‘Afterwards, the king of Elam gathered to himself a large body of confederates: [the men] of Parsuas, Anzan, Pashiru, Ellipi, the entirety of Chaldea, and all the Aramaeans; with the king of Babylon, they drew near together, and marched toward me to do battle.’ (Luckenbill 1924, 88)

Example (162) also shows that the short prepositional phrase *ittīšu* follows the clause-final *V iktera*, reflecting one minor variation in Neo-Assyrian (Luukko 2004, 153ff). In fact, in the text from which (162) is taken, short elements—even short DOs—are sometimes found after the clause-final Vs. However, normally, as (162) illustrates, lengthy DOs and various adverbial phrases are all in the preverbal position, the same as what is illustrated by (161).

Exceptions to SOV certainly exist and alternative orders can be found not only in literary texts (Huehnergard 2011, 348) but also can in other genres due to discourse factors. Generally speaking, when the DO is emphasized, it is fronted and the common variant order OSV is formed, as what Kouwenberg (2017, 704) describes for Old Assyrian. In addition, there seem to have been some diachronic changes to this alternative OSV order: de Ridder (2018, 479) suggests that the more limited distribution of the OSV order in Middle Assyrian than that in Old Assyrian may reflect the growing importance of word order with the gradual loss of rigid case marking in Assyrian.

Contrary to the generally stable OV order on the clause level, on the phrase level, Akkadian displays equally stable word order features with patterns “consistent” with VO languages, e.g., N-Gen like *nišī<sub>1</sub> mātim<sub>2</sub>* ‘people<sub>1</sub> of the land<sub>2</sub>’ in (161), N-Adj like *kitru<sub>1</sub> rabû<sub>2</sub>* ‘great<sub>2</sub> help<sub>1</sub>’ in (162), Prep-N like *ana<sub>1</sub> epēš<sub>2</sub> taḥāzi<sub>3</sub>* ‘for<sub>1</sub> the doing<sub>2</sub> of battle<sub>3</sub>’ in (162), and N-RC—see the shaded RC following the modified ‘two of the merchants’ in (163) below. Deutscher (2000) discusses this stable inconsistency throughout the history of Babylonian Akkadian and correctly points out that even with the loss of rigid case marking, the resumptive pronouns on the clause-final Vs sufficiently serve to differentiate the DOs from the Ss. Recall that the Semitic resumptive mechanism has been repeated highlighted in Chapter 3 for Ethiopian Semitic and in Chapter 4 for Central Asian Arabic. See (163) below from the Old-Babylonian letter AbB13 96 = BM 80024+80039 (van Soldt 1994, 88) with an example of a lengthy DO resumed by the pronominal suffix (*-šunūti*) on the clause-final V:

(163) <sup>20</sup>[i]š-tu-ú-ma (rev.) <sup>21</sup>[m]i-im-mu-ú-k[a] a-ḫi <sup>22</sup>la i-pu-lu-ka <sup>23</sup>2 dam.gàr.meš  
 ša it-ti a-ḫi-ia <sup>24</sup>il-li-ku-ú-ma <sup>25</sup>ḳ-[w]a-a-tim mu-ḏu-ú <sup>26</sup>[a-na m]ḳ-a-ḫ-[r]i-ia <sup>27</sup>[tú-u]r-  
 da-aš-šu-nu-ti-ma <sup>28</sup>[i-n]a ma-ḫa[r] be-lí-ia <sup>29</sup>[l]u-ša-al-šu-nu-t[i-m]a

<i>ištūma</i>	<i>mimmū=ka</i>	<i>aḥ=ī</i>	<i>lā</i>	<i>ī-pul=ū=ka</i>	2
if_indeed	anything=2MSG	brother=1CSG	NEG	3-pay\PRET=SBRD=2MSG	2
<i>tamkār-ī</i>	<i>ša</i>	<i>itti</i>	<i>aḥī=ya</i>	<i>i-llik-ū=ma</i>	<i>awāt-im</i>
merchant-PL.GEN	REL	with	brother.CSTR.GEN=1CSG	3-go\PRET-MPL=and	matter-GEN
<i>mūdû</i>	<i>ana</i>	<i>maḥrī=ya</i>	<i>ṭurd=aš=šunūti=ma</i>	<i>ina</i>	
knowing.PL	to	front.CSTR.GEN=1CSG	send\IMPV=VENT=3MPL.ACC=and		in
<i>maḥar</i>	<i>bēlī=ya</i>	<i>lu-šāl=šunūti=ma</i>			
front.CSTR	lord.CSTR.GEN=1CSG	1CSG.JUSS-ask\PRET=3MPL.ACC=and			

‘If indeed my brother has not paid you something (he owes) you, send two (of the) merchants who travelled with my brother and who know about the matter to me so that I can question them in My Lord’s presence.’

### 6.2.2 Sumerian-Akkadian contact

The shift of the main constituent word order to S(O)V must have taken place very early for the V-final order to become one of the major features inherited by virtually all Akkadian dialects. The Akkadian speakers were migrants to Mesopotamia where the Sumerian people had already established their civilization and the Sumerian language is characterized by the SOV order. There are indications that Sumerian was considered ideologically superior in the scribal education (Crisostomo 2015, 163–68) and professional cuneiform scribes played a crucial role in ancient Mesopotamian society, as reflected by the diverse genres of cuneiform texts for various purposes of state administration, religious activities as well as daily communications. The ideological superiority of Sumerian in the scribal community can be considered a reflection of the culturally higher status of Sumerian: it is in this local language that legends and literary works have been passed down by generations in Mesopotamia.

The dynamics between Sumerian and Akkadian started to change gradually after Akkadian became the language of the Akkadian Empire (late-third millennium BCE). There

must have been a great number of Sumerian speakers who shifted to Akkadian while they gradually gave up Sumerian as their vernacular language at some time ranging from the third to mid-second millennium BCE (Michalowski 2005; 2006). However, it is important to note that the V-final pattern and general structure of Akkadian were “configured” before it assumed the status as the language of the empire: the word order features of Akkadian are as such in the earliest attested Sargonic Akkadian texts and remain so thereafter.

It is also important to note that contrary to the word order change, many other archaic features, including the phonological and morphological features lost in the later varieties of Akkadian, are well preserved in Sargonic Akkadian. See Table 41 showing the preservation and loss of some features in Sargonic Akkadian:

*Table 41 Selected features of Sargonic Akkadian*

		<b>Proto-Semitic</b>	<b>Sargonic Akkadian</b>	<b>Old Babylonian</b>	<b>Sumerian</b>
Phonemic <i>V</i> length		✓	✓	✓	X/✓/? <sup>2</sup>
Final short <i>V</i>	<i>a</i>	✓	X	X	✓
	<i>i</i>		✓		
	<i>u</i>		NOM.SG.CSTR		
Phonemic <i>e</i>		X	X	✓	✓
Syncope of <i>V</i>		✓ <sup>3</sup>	✓	✓	X
Phonemic aspiration		X	X	X	?/✓/✓
Apocope of <i>C</i> #		X	X	X	✓
Affricative <i>C</i>		✓	✓	X	?/✓/✓
Emphatic <i>C</i>		✓	✓	✓	X
Pharyngeal <i>C</i>		✓	✓	X	X
Velar fricative		✓	✓	only <i>x</i>	only <i>x</i>
Glottal <i>C</i>		✓	✓	(only <i>ʔ</i> )	?/h&ʔ/h&ʔ

<sup>2</sup> The Sumerian features are taken mainly from Michalowski (2004; 2020). Where there are three values indicated in the format x/y/z, the other two (y and z) are from Jagersma (2010) and Zólyomi (2017) respectively; the question mark stands for “not clearly stated” or “dispute noted.”

<sup>3</sup> Although Steiner (2012) argues for its Proto-Semitic status, it is uncertain if this feature should be reconstructed.

Table 41 Selected features of Sargonic Akkadian (continued)

Interdental C	✓	only $\theta$	✗	✗
Diphthongs	✓	✗	✗	✗/✓/?
#y-	✓	✓	✗	✗
C gemination	✓	✓	✓	✗
M-F gender	✓	✓	✓	✗ [animate-inanimate]
SG-DU-PL number	✓	✓	SG-PL vestigial DU	SG-PL
NOM-ACC-GEN case	✓	✓	✓	✗ [ERG-ABS + 7 OBL]
Inflected REL	✓	✓	✗	✗
SOV	✗	✓	✓	✓
N-Adj	✓	✓	✓	✓
N-Gen	✓	✓	✓	✓
N-RC	✓	✓	✓	✓
Prep-N	✓	✓	✓	✗

Just like the Modern English spelling (e.g., “**night**”)—which does not represent the contemporary pronunciation (i.e., [naɪt]) but certainly indicates the earlier pronunciation (i.e., Middle English [niçt])—even if some of the features deduced from the cuneiform orthography of Sargonic Akkadian might have been disappearing in the spoken language, they must have been there in the first place to have motivated the establishment of such written norms. The comparison above shows that Sargonic Akkadian has retained the majority of the features which are reconstructible for Proto-Semitic, especially in phonology and morphology,<sup>4</sup> while it has already established the SOV order. More importantly, many of the features retained in Sargonic Akkadian differs from those in Sumerian.

<sup>4</sup> Unlike the phonology, the morphological features preserved in Sargonic Akkadian does not appear to be impressive if one compares them to those in Old Babylonian, although a productive DU number does affect entire verbal and nominal paradigms. However, the emphasis here is more on what has been retained from the previous stage rather than what has been lost in the later stage(s).

Language shift of the Sumerian speakers may have accelerated the loss of certain features in later Akkadian; at the early stage, it does not appear likely that there could have been enough Sumerian speakers learning Akkadian to leave their marks of “imperfect learning.” Even *if* there had been such a scenario, they must have mastered their Semitic L2 well enough to ensure so many phonological and morphological features foreign to Sumerian were preserved. Then it would be unreasonable that such skillful learners could have failed to master the obvious Semitic VO order which is significantly deviating from their native OV order. As mentioned before, the evidence from the materials of Mesopotamian scribal education suggests a higher status of Sumerian, making the opposite scenario more likely: that it was Akkadian speakers who were learning both the Sumerian language and the Sumerian writing system.

The comparison of the word order features in Table 41 shows that there is a complete congruence of the N-Modifier orders between the two languages. If one insists on the strict consistency of word order, Akkadian would be considered the “donor” for the head initial orders for the noun phrases in Sumerian. However, the well-known loanword in Akkadian *ekallum* ‘palace,’ from Sumerian *e<sub>2</sub>-gal*, literally ‘house-big,’ displays an N-Adj order in Sumerian; the stacked GEN marking in Sumerian differs greatly from the non-stacked GEN marking pattern in Semitic, e.g., Sumerian *sa’ a dumu lugal-**ak-ak***, i.e., ‘cat son king-**GEN-GEN**’ for ‘the cat of the son of the king’ (Michalowski 2004, 32), which corresponds to Akkadian *šurān mār šarr-im*, i.e., ‘cat.**CSTR** son.**CSTR** king-**GEN**.’ It is thus unlikely that Sumerian copied the N-Modifier orders from Akkadian. Apart from the congruent orders in the noun phrase domain, the Semitic resumptive  $O_i V=PRON_i$  pattern available for Akkadian could yield another structural congruence with the Sumerian OV pattern: the Sumerian verb complex contains various resumptive elements reflecting various preverbal NPs in the sentence. Therefore, following the reasoning of this

study, it is not difficult to imagine the early Akkadian speakers adapting towards the Sumerian OV pattern via selecting these congruent structures.

### 6.3 Northwest Semitic

#### 6.3.1 A brief comment on Hebrew

In §2.3.1, Biblical Hebrew is cited together with the other Semitic languages with VSO order. For Biblical Hebrew, it has been widely recognized that its main constituent word order is VSO (Gesenius, Kautzsch, and Cowley 1910, 456; Schlesinger 1953; Brockelmann 1956, 49; Waltke and O’Connor 1990, 129; Jongeling 1991; de Regt 1991; Bandstra 1992, 115; Rudolf Meyer 1992, 352–53; Joüon and Muraoka 2013, 545). The argument against it relies on defining the clause-initial Vs with the *w-* prefix (“*wāw* consecutivum”<sup>5</sup>) as modals, as in (164) below:

(164) וַיִּקְרָא אֶל-מֹשֶׁה וַיְדַבֵּר יְהוָה אֵלָיו מֵאֹהֶל מוֹעֵד לֵאמֹר :

<b>way=</b> <i>yi-qrā(ʾ)</i>	<i>ʾel=mōšeh</i>	<b>wa=</b> <i>y-dabbēr</i>	<i>yhwh</i>	<i>ʾel=āʾw</i>	<i>mē=ʾohel</i>
<b>and=</b> 3M-call\IMPF	to=PN	<b>and=</b> 3M-speak\IMPF	DN	to=3MSG	from=tent
<i>mô ʿēd</i>	<i>lē(ʾ)mōr</i>				
meeting	QUOT				

‘And He called to Moses and YHWH spoke to him from the tent of meeting, saying...’ (Leviticus 1:1)

Since Siewierska’s (1988, 8) definition (§2.2.2.1) of basic word order includes the criterion of “indicative clause,” those who deny VSO as the basic main constituent word order of Biblical Hebrew thus follow this criterion and disqualify the large number of attested V-initial

<sup>5</sup> The *w-* is traditionally termed “*wāw* consecutivum” with the consideration that these *w-* prefixed Vs appear to have obtained their tense values by following a preceding V in a narrative sequence. However, it is important to note that there are examples like (164) at the beginning of a narrative with a V carrying this *w-*, i.e., there is nothing for it to follow.

clauses as in (164) because they are “modals.” However, such V-initial clauses only received the “modal” label because those *w-* prefixed Vs are *defined* as modal forms in the first place. Such a position is untenable if one disputes the very definition that *wāw* consecutivum forms a modal construction.

In Modern Hebrew, the “[b]asic order in all register is: Subject + Verb/Adjective + Object [and] Subject + Predicate Noun Phrase” (Glinert 1989, 413), i.e., SVO. Therefore, for Hebrew, diachronically there is a word order change from VSO to SVO. Although not explicitly stated, in Yadin-Israel’s discussion of language contact between Hebrew and other languages in the modern period (Yadin-Israel 2013, 600–601), the SVO order of Modern Hebrew appears to be considered to result from its contact with European languages (examples omitted, emphasis added):

Alongside these scholarly imports we find a much broader lexical expansion based on living contact with European languages, and this in a number of ways. The most evident is regular borrowing of European words... Moreover, foreign elements are regularly integrated into Hebrew semantic patterns, their consonants becoming, in effect, (Israeli) Hebrew roots... *The syntactic structure of Modern Israeli Hebrew is largely European, exhibiting the typically Indo-European SVO structure rather than the Semitic VSO*; the introduction of prefixes...; and, though this last point is a matter of controversy, adopting the ‘verbal have’ possessive...

In other studies emphasizing the “non-Semitic” characteristics of Modern Hebrew by contrasting it with Biblical Hebrew, be it in the extreme approach considering it “relexified Yiddish” (Horvath and Wexler 1997) or in the hybrid approach considering it “simultaneously” European and Semitic (Zuckermann 2006; 2009), the development of Hebrew prior to its modern revitalization often lacks due acknowledgement. In fact, many of those “non-Semitic” features are already established in Rabbinic Hebrew. The SVO order of Modern Hebrew is also rooted in its development prior to its revitalization, apart from the existing alternative Semitic SVO order in line with this study.

Givón (1977) shows that already in Biblical Hebrew there is word order drift from VSO toward SVO. More importantly, in the post-biblical period, the active participle developed the present tense value and entered the verbal system of Rabbinic Hebrew. The inherent Biblical Hebrew pattern for the participle in clauses consisting of a S and a Pred is S-Pred<sub>PTCP</sub>, i.e., with the predicative active participle following the (definite) S.<sup>6</sup> Therefore, it is natural that in Rabbinic Hebrew “when the verb takes the form of an active participle (expressing progressive or habitual aspect), it follows the subject” (Shivtiel 2013, 999). The likely frequent<sup>7</sup> use of present tense in this S-V pattern containing the original active participle would further strengthen the existing drift toward SVO. Therefore, the Hebrew word order change from VSO to SVO should not to be attributed to the influence from modern European languages which at most only reinforced the established SVO pattern if it was not yet settled completely.

### 6.3.2 Aramaic

As “one of the most long-lived of the Semitic languages” (Brock 1989, 11), Aramaic has an attestation history of three thousand years. From the Old Aramaic inscriptions of the tenth century BCE to the Neo-Aramaic varieties today, Aramaic spread in the Middle East and beyond, forming different Aramaic-speaking communities with various regional varieties. The adoption of Aramaic as the lingua franca of three ancient Near Eastern empires—the Neo-Assyrian Empire, the Neo-Babylonian Empire, and the Achaemenid Empire—created a vast geographical area for language contact of Aramaic with many other languages throughout its

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<sup>6</sup> According to Andersen’s (1970) statistic study on the patterns of the verbless clauses in the Pentateuch, out of the 332 clauses with a definite S and a participle or a participial phrase as the Pred, the sequence S-Pred occurred 304 times.

<sup>7</sup> See Bertinetto’s (2012) discussion on Italian, whose Present tense as the most frequently used verbal form covers a wide range of functions that are mostly “also available to the English Simple Present, showing that the situation described for Italian is far from idiosyncratic” (Bertinetto 2012, 55).

history. In fact, the VO order of Aramaic has been considered to have been at least partially responsible for the exceptional phenomenon mentioned in §6.2.1 where short DOs can be found following the clause-final Vs in Neo-Assyrian (Luukko 2004, 157).

### 6.3.2.1 (Neo-)Aramaic in contact with Iranian/Turkic

Among languages of the Semitic family, a number of the Neo-Aramaic varieties in the Middle East share a contact situation that is linguistically comparable to Central Asian Arabic (Chapter 4), i.e., with both Iranian and Turkic. Therefore, I briefly address both the similarities and differences of the word order outcomes.

The large-scale contact between Aramaic and Iranian in the Middle East goes back to the mid-sixth century BCE when Aramaic was adopted by the Achaemenid Empire as the official language of communication. The dialectal varieties of Middle Aramaic in some of the Iranian speaking regions continued to evolve directly or indirectly under the influence of the Ottoman Empire. Today, the various North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic varieties are found largely within the area where Kurdish (Western Iranian) is spoken, as shown on the map in Figure 15 below:

*Figure 15 Northeastern Neo-Aramaic and the Kurdish Lands*



Figure 15 is made with Khan’s (2016a, 22) overview map of Neo-Aramaic varieties and the borders of the “Kurdish Lands” are added in light gray according to one 1992 map.<sup>8</sup>

Apart from the strong presence of Kurdish, Azeri and Turkish (both Oghuz Turkic) are also used in the geographical region in Figure 15. Further complications added to the contact situation is the situation of *communal dialects* of North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic. Just like what Blanc (1964) demonstrates for the Jewish, Christian, and Muslim Neo-Arabic varieties of Baghdad, there are also dialectal differences among the Neo-Aramaic varieties used by the Jewish and Christian communities. An interesting situation in terms of the main constituent word order is found in Urmi Neo-Aramaic: in the Jewish variety, as already mentioned in §2.3.2, the default position for nominal DOs is preverbal (Khan 2008, 324) as in (165):

(165) *əl-bratéw +ràba gbéwala.*<sup>l</sup>

<i>əl=brat=ew</i>	<i>+ràba</i>	<i>gbe=wa=la</i>
to=daughter=3MSG	much	choose\PRES=PST=3FSG

‘He used to love his daughter a lot.’

Whereas in the Assyrian Christian variety, the default position for nominal DOs is postverbal (Khan 2016b, 335) as in (166):

(166) *+šàda | kàmta | ci-yávva | țàrpə | +xarta | ci-yavvála | țùnto.*<sup>l</sup>

<i>+šada</i>	<i>kàmta</i>	<i>ci=yavv-a</i>	<i>+țarpə</i>	<i>+xarta</i>	<i>ci=yavv-a=la</i>
almond	first	HABIT=give\PRES-3FSG	leaf.PL	then	HABIT=give\PRES-3FSG=3FSG
<i>+țunt=o</i>					
fruit=3FSG					

‘An almond [tree] first produces leaves [and] then produces its fruit.’

<sup>8</sup> [https://legacy.lib.utexas.edu/maps/middle\\_east\\_and\\_asia/kurdish\\_lands\\_92.jpg](https://legacy.lib.utexas.edu/maps/middle_east_and_asia/kurdish_lands_92.jpg), entitled “Kurdish Lands 1992,” produced by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, accessed November 1, 2020.

In the Jewish Urmi Neo-Aramaic example (165), we see the pronominal suffix on the clause-final V again: the “L-suffix” *-la* on the PRES<sup>9</sup> stem *gbe* marks the DO, i.e., the 3FSG pronoun is coindexed with the nominal DO *bratew* which is also marked by the preposition *əl-* ‘to, for.’ Such DO marking on the V is “attested mainly where the object is a definite human referent” (Khan 2008, 298). This  $O_i V=PRON_i$  pattern is not only available for Aramaic via the fronting and resumption mechanism but it is also rooted in the Aramaic prolepsis pattern which has been great expanded to a large number of structures in Syriac (Muraoka 2005, 88–89) and similarly in Jewish Babylonian Aramaic (Bar-Asher Siegal 2013, 201–4)—the Eastern Aramaic literary languages closely related to the ancestor of North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic. Typical Syriac prolepsis patterns for DOs are  $V=PRON_i O_i$  and  $V=PRON_i l=O_i$ . The latter pattern contains the DAT preposition *l-*, which closely resembles the *qätäl-o lä-nəguś* construction mentioned in Chapter 3, and of which *əl-bratew gbewa-la* in (165) is essentially a mirror image. The former pattern is likely reflected in *ciyavva-la +tunto* in (166).

Apart from the VO order in (166), Christian Urmi Neo-Aramaic also makes use of the OV order “frequently” (Khan 2016b, 335), however, preposed DOs have various specific pragmatic functions and Khan correctly identifies the OV order as the marked word order (ibid.). On the other hand, there are also occasional instances of postposed DOs in Jewish Urmi Neo-Aramaic, with the function of expressing “given information” (Khan 2008, 325) also as marked. The order of V and O presents an interesting situation when lined up with that of N and Adj. See

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<sup>9</sup> The PRES stem is important here because as a general pattern in Neo-Aramaic with the split ergative alignment (Coghill 2016), the “L-suffix”—the set of pronominal suffixes containing an *l-* reflecting the original DAT preposition—marks the S on the PST stem which is historically the Aramaic PP. However, on the PRES stem, the “L-suffix” marks the DO.

Table 42 contrasting the orders of V&O and N&Adj in Urmi Neo-Aramaic, (literary) Eastern Aramaic, Kurdish, and Azeri:

*Table 42 Orders of V&O contrasted with orders of N&Adj*

	<b>V-O</b>	<b>O-V</b>	<b>N-Adj</b>	<b>Adj-N</b>
<b>Christian Urmi Neo-Aramaic</b>	unmarked		non-restrictive	-
		marked, frequent	restrictive	restrictive
			-	evaluative
<b>Jewish Urmi Neo-Aramaic</b>		unmarked	non-restrictive	-
	marked, occasional		restrictive	restrictive
				-
<b>Eastern Aramaic</b>	unmarked		✓	-
		marked	✓	-
<b>Kurdish</b>		unmarked	✓	-
	marked		✓	-
<b>Azeri</b>		unmarked	-	✓
	marked		-	✓

The classification of Adjs are Khan’s semantic labels: “restrictive” Adjs provide “a description that limits the reference to one particular subset within the set of items denoted by the head noun” (Khan 2008, 217; 2016b, 38), and “evaluative” Adjs “express a subjective, emotion-driven evaluation of an item rather than an objective description of its properties” (Khan 2008, 218; 2016b, 39). Therefore, I consider them as marked. Thus, the innovations involved (shaded in Table 42) are: the markedness relationship between VO and OV in Jewish Urmi Neo-Aramaic reversing the original Aramaic relationship and converging towards the pattern shared by both Turkic and Iranian, and the Adj-N order in both varieties for marked functions converging towards Turkic.

### 6.3.2.2 Some speculations

The Urmi Neo-Aramaic word order situation briefly examined in §6.3.2.1 presents an interesting picture. Many more complicated issues exist especially involving the communities’

migrations. A complete explanation is beyond the scope of this study, but I would like to make some speculations based on the discussions in preceding chapters and sections.

It appears unlikely that there was a non-Aramaic speaking community whose speakers shifted completely to Aramaic leaving traces of the word order features from their original mother tongue in their newly learned language. Otherwise, the innovated Adj-N would suggest that this community should have been Turkic speaking, but somehow the Turkic unmarked OV and marked VO orders were inherited differently by different religious groups. Since the inherited Aramaic features are well-reflected in both varieties and the two varieties do resemble each other in many aspects of morphology, it does not seem fitting either to consider the Christian speakers have learned Aramaic better than the Jewish speakers particularly in terms of the main constituent word order. More importantly, the VO and OV orders in both varieties have identifiable pragmatic functions.

Noolander (2014) discusses the diversity between Jewish Neo-Aramaic varieties on the two sides of the Greater Zab River and demonstrates that while they all make use of Aramaic linguistic materials in convergence with Kurdish, they differ in the degree of adaptation: those to the west of the Greater Zab incorporate less than those to the east of it. We may state similarly, with Bukharan Arabic included, that there is a decrease of “resistance,” in other words, an increase of adaptation, in the VO-to-OV continuum: Christian Urmi Neo-Aramaic kept the original VO while extending the use of the marked OV; Jewish Urmi Neo-Aramaic made the extended OV unmarked while keeping the original VO for marked functions; Bukharan Arabic seems to have further reduced the markedness of VO which nevertheless remains an available narrative pattern. In all three cases, the pronominal resumption is retained.

## 6.4 When they change the way they speak

### 6.4.1 Complexity in contact situations

Echoing the analyses in the preceding chapters, the word order changes in the preceding sections also appear to show that the existing mechanisms have been exploited to various degrees. The formation of SVO in Modern Hebrew follows the word order drift already observable in Classical Hebrew; the existing alternative SVO order (§2.3.3) must have been naturally reinforced by the existing S-Pred pattern for participial predicates as the original active participle grammaticalized into the present tense verb. Even if the SVO order was not yet settled in Rabbinic Hebrew, it definitely formed a strong congruence with the SVO European languages to be easily selected during the revitalization of Modern Hebrew. That said, in Akkadian and Neo-Aramaic, the existing marked pattern  $O_i V=PRON_i$  must have formed the congruence easily selected by the speakers (see also Chapter 3 and Chapter 4).

However, the examples in this chapter, especially the example of North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic, have also amply demonstrated the complexity in situations of language contact. More importantly, based on the existing mechanisms available to the speakers due to particular linguistic ecology (Chapter 5)—the need to survive via limited communication with the colonists in the case of Wartime Pidgin Chinese—native speakers could also adapt toward the word order of the L2 learners' speech by selecting the congruent pattern. In addition, if the contact situation involves “symmetrical bilinguals” (Van Coetsem 1997; 2000), the speakers' selection and manipulation can lead to changes in any structural domain.

### 6.4.2 Agentivity of the native speakers

According to Van Coetsem's (1997; 2000) modified model of language contact (§2.4.1), there is a third category of transfer: *neutralization*, occurring with “*symmetrical bilinguals*”

whose virtually equal proficiency obscures the linguistic dominance (Van Coetsem 1997, 359). In such circumstances, the *increased language consciousness* would be at work (Van Coetsem 1997, 360; 2000, 42–43) and the factor of *selection* and *manipulation* may involve changes in any structural domain.

Many of the Central Asian Arabic and Urmi Neo-Aramaic speakers today are bilingual or even trilingual. In historical times, especially during the formative stages of these varieties, there does not appear to have been any factors preventing them from achieving similar proficiency in both their native language(s) and the contact language(s) as long as they needed to engage in inter-group communications. On the contrary, in recent decades, it is actually modern urbanization that has been altering the linguistic ecology to the disadvantage of the minority Arabic and Aramaic languages, leading to the sharp decline of proficiency among the younger generation in their native languages. For speakers of Akkadian and Ethiopian Semitic in the early days, similar situations of bilingualism could be imagined though the precise historical scenarios are difficult to ascertain.

Vinnikov (1940, 19–20) mentions heavy taxation specifically targeting the Arab population on top of the general taxation in all Bukhara. He thus suggests that the economic burden as well as the ethnic persecution may have led to the Arabs' attempts to hide their identity by altering their language, way of life, and even place of residence, which altogether greatly accelerated their assimilation process. It is unclear whether the factor of identity could have contributed to the retention of the VO order by the Christian Urmi Neo-Aramaic speakers, since VO is indeed closer than OV to their heritage religious language Syriac.

The conscious selection process by bilingual speakers also echoes the process in which existing structural congruence is selected from the feature pool when the selection involves

agentivity of the native speakers, i.e., the earliest speakers of Ethiopian Semitic, Central Asian Arabic, and Sinitic in the preceding chapters, and perhaps also the earliest speakers of Sargonic Akkadian and North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic. In all these instances, we observe a maximal exploitation of the existing Semitic/Sinitic mechanisms which are capable of creating structures congruent with the patterns in the contact languages. Thomason and Kaufman (1988, 351) note that “if they [i.e., speakers of Ethiopian Semitic] were not bilingual, then they cannot have borrowed structure from Cushitic.” In fact, the structural congruence could even be selected by speakers not due to manipulation by fluent bilinguals but because it is easily identifiable. As noted in the case of Wartime Pidgin Chinese, native *non-bilingual* speakers of Chinese using the pidgin *did* adapt to the colonists’ O-V structure because those O-V structures created easily identifiable congruence with the existing fronting mechanisms in Chinese.

Such existing linguistic mechanisms are certainly available to native speakers for various manipulations, whereas for potential learners from the contact populations, congruent structures could be easy to acquire or they could be challenging leading to learners’ errors. On the other hand, selecting the congruence may well be the most economical solution for effective communication—in the context of this study—between the native Semitic speakers and their non-Semitic speaking neighbors. With the possible agentivity of the native speakers to alter their language based on existing linguistic mechanisms, we should call for caution in reconstructing historical scenarios based solely on linguistic evidence. For instance, in the context of this study, one might suggest: that the SOV arose in Ethiopian Semitic because there must have been a Cushitic community whose members completely abandoned their native language shifting to Semitic but failed to learn their foreign language well, or that the SOV in Central Asian Arabic

must have arisen because the speakers of the non-Semitic V-final languages failed to acquire the Semitic word order.

### 6.4.3 Typological consistency and word order stability

Lehmann’s (2011) typological cline for word order change based on modern Ethiopian Semitic languages (§3.2.2) relies greatly on the proposals regarding word order consistency by Lehmann and Vennemann (§2.2.2.2). It seems as if for word order changes, the factor of consistency could be a driving force pushing languages towards the direction with patterns consistent with VO or OV. The analyses of Old Amharic in Chapter 3 revealed many variations in different aspects of word order and the analyses of Bukharan Arabic in Chapter 4 further cast doubts on copying the “donor” word order and changing towards the consistent word order typology. The cases of Sinitic and Akkadian both demonstrated that disharmonic word order patterns *can* stay stable and do not have to change in the direction of harmonic word orders.

In fact, in some cases, the degree of consistency can be very low in the first place. Table 43 below is made based on queries of word order combinations on *WALS Online*. The total number of languages differs in each case,<sup>10</sup> so I included the percentage of the word order combinations:

*Table 43 Word order correlations and consistency*

		V-O		O-V		Other	
		Count	Percentage	Count	Percentage	Count	Percentage
<b>RC</b>	N-RC	416	47.33%	113	12.85%	213	24.23%
	RC-N	5	0.57%	132	15.02%		
<b>Adj</b>	N-Adj	456	34.65%	332	25.23%	198	15.04%

<sup>10</sup> By the time this table was made, in the database of *WALS Online*, there were 879 languages available for inquiry of combinations of RC and N orders with V and O orders, 1,316 languages available for inquiry of combinations of Adj and N orders with V and O orders, 1,168 languages available for inquiry of combinations of Dem and N orders with V and O orders, 1,193 languages available for inquiry of combinations of Gen and N orders with V and O orders, and 1,172 languages available for inquiry of combinations of Adp and N orders with V and O orders.

Table 43 Word order correlations and consistency (continued)

	Adj-N	114	8.66%	216	16.41%		
<b>Dem</b>	N-Dem	374	32.02%	141	12.1%	132	11.3%
	Dem-N	155	13.27%	317	27.14%		
	Dem-N-Dem	6	0.51%	9	0.77%		
	Dem suffix	19	1.63%	7	0.6%		
	Dem prefix	2	0.17%	6	0.51%		
<b>Gen</b>	N-Gen	398	33.36%	32	2.68%	148	12.41%
	Gen-N	122	10.23%	493	41.32%		
<b>Adp</b>	Prep-N	456	38.91%	14	1.19%	158	13.48%
	N-Postp	42	3.58%	472	40.27%		

In Table 43, the “Other” column contains all the other situations not included in the combinations to the left, including situations of “no dominant order” as indicated in the *WALS Online* database. I have shaded the “consistent” word order correlations, but in order to include all of them, one has to lower the threshold to 15%, which would additionally include several other combinations making two correlations (for RC and Adj) meaningless. It appears the strongest correlations in terms of consistency are N-RC with V-O,<sup>11</sup> Gen-N with O-V, and N-Postp with O-V, all with over 40% attestations while the inconsistent orders attest less than 3%. When the consistent order has a percentage of around 30% while the inconsistent or the “other” orders account for more than 10%—of which there are quite a few in Table 43 above, one might question the significance of such consistency. This further poses questions about whether it is appropriate to treat inconsistent word order correlations as “instable” factors and calls for caution in invoking *stability* as a driving factor for historical word order changes.

<sup>11</sup> But recall the discussion in the preceding chapter, i.e., the stably disharmonic SVO and RC-N in the majority of the Sinitic varieties.

## 6.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, I provided brief overviews and discussions on the word order changes in the Semitic branches beyond the main focus of this study, i.e., in East Semitic and Northwest Semitic. In the former, there is Akkadian, a major Semitic language with SOV as its basic main constituent word order; in the latter, there is Hebrew with a change from VSO towards SVO and North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic with complicated situations but also varieties showing the basic SOV order. It is emphasized that the SOV order was established in Akkadian prior to the loss of a great number of its archaic Semitic features in later dialects and the disharmonic combination of O-V with N-Modifier orders remained stable in its history. Similarly emphasized is the word order difference in the different communal varieties of North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic. The discussions in this study highlight the important role of the existing Semitic mechanisms in situations of contact-induced word order changes as the structural congruence is selected for communication adaptation. Since conscious manipulation could bring about similar results as failed acquisition and interrupted transmission, considering the complexity in contact situations, I called for caution in inferring simplistic historical contact scenarios based solely on linguistic evidence, e.g., hypothesizing a speech community having completely shifted to a new language while failing to acquire it well. In addition, I called for caution in invoking word order stability based on consistency as a driving force for language change.

## CHAPTER 7 CONCLUSIONS

### 7.1 Imperfect learning of word order?

Learning a foreign language is no easy task, but is word order—more specifically the linear order of the main constituents—such an inevitable difficulty that it would lead to acquisition failure by an entire population? This study started with this question regarding the Semitic languages which have gone through the historical shift of the main constituent word order from VSO to SOV, which is a process involving switching the V from the beginning of a clause to the very end of it.

The representative Semitic languages attesting such a word order shift, namely, Ethiopian Semitic, Central Asian Arabic, as well as Akkadian, are all situated in contact areas where the Semitic speakers lived side-by-side with non-Semitic speakers for long periods of time. Considering the widely attested VSO main constituent word order as a shared pattern throughout the Semitic language family, including the traces of it in Akkadian, the VSO order can be arguably reconstructed to Proto-Semitic (§2.3), together with SVO as a typologically well-attested alternative order. Since the SOV Semitic languages were in contact with SOV non-Semitic languages, it is natural to attribute the word order shifts to the influence from those non-Semitic languages.

The prominent contact linguistic models (§2.4.1) have suggested different possible scenarios in contact settings. For some, whether there is language shift (Thomason and Kaufman 1988) or whether there is imperfect group acquisition (Thomason 2003) is crucial; for others, linguistic dominance of the bilingual speakers (Van Coetsem 1997; 2000) is crucial. Unlike the

seemingly vague and abstract notion of linguistic dominance, focusing on language shift or imperfect group acquisition, one can easily arrive at vivid historical reconstructions. However, at the same time, there is the danger of oversimplification: both language shift and imperfect group acquisition imply very specific processes.

Besides, it is questionable whether the L1 word orders should be an inevitable barrier for L2 acquisition. In the L2 *production* literature, it has long been argued that the learner's L1 has little impact on word order acquisition (Dulay and Burt 1974; Fathman and LoCoco 1989; Hyltenstam 1977; Rutherford 1983; Zobl 1986). Recent studies further reports that instead of L2 production, L1 word orders do exert some influence on the learners' L2 *processing*, but it only affects their online processing, not offline processing (Andersson, Sayehli, and Gullberg 2019). The fact that L1 word orders do not constitute the greatest challenge for L2 learners is also reflected in error analysis studies where L2 composition errors in word order are found with low frequency of occurrence and are not predictable by the learners' L1 word order features.<sup>1</sup> One may contest the implication of such error analysis studies, since they target learners in classroom

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<sup>1</sup> Among the most common error types in the Japanese compositions by foreign learners investigated by Oyama, Komachi, and Matsumoto (2013), "word order" errors are either among the lowest proportions or are indeed *the* lowest. Notably, the learners of Japanese (SOV) have L1 with different word orders and the speakers of SVO L1 do not necessarily make more mistakes in word order than those of SOV L1: Korean learners with their SOV L1 scored 0.6, even higher than learners with SVO L1 from Malaysia (0.3) and Singapore (0.0) (Oyama, Komachi, and Matsumoto 2013, 167). In another study on Turkish learners of English (Kirmizi and Karci 2017)—with the L1 being SOV and the target L2 being SVO—it is also shown that the "word order" error does not constitute the greatest challenge for the learners (8.76%). In fact, the error type labeled as "word order" (Kirmizi and Karci 2017, 45) involves much more subtle issues than the main constituent word order: included in this error type are thirteen instances of "Unnecessary words," four instances of "Wrong use of word group," and thirty-one instances of "Sequence of sentence"; the last subtype, attributed to "Turkish interference," is accompanied by two examples but neither involves the main constituent word order. It is therefore very obvious that the errors in the main constituent word order—if there are any—can only be less than the thirty-one counts.

settings, however, at least there is proof that classroom and naturalistic L2 acquisition of complex grammatical features such as word order follow similar route (Ellis 1989).

## 7.2 Speaker manipulation and congruence

One may also contest that the error analysis studies are both based on examinations of the learners' *written* language. Apart from what has been mentioned above in the L2 production literature, we should not forget the old Semitic languages are indeed attested as *written* records composed by professional scribes, both in the Horn of Africa and in Mesopotamia. Thus, it is highly questionable that the word order features of Old Amharic as analyzed and presented in §3.5 should be attributed to transfers from Classical Ethiopic. For individual scribes writing in Old Amharic, it is unlikely that there could be linguistic dominance of Classical Ethiopic over their native language, if we accept the common opinion that later Classical Ethiopic texts are generally Amharicized. This means that for later scribes, their spoken language (Amharic) is linguistically dominant, making the transfers from the less dominant Classical Ethiopic “Recipient Language agentivity” in Van Coetsem's (1997; 2000) model (§2.4.1) which is governed by stability and should involve the domains towards the less stable end. If we follow Romain's (2009, 153–65) stability scale [from unstable to stable] “LEXICAL ITEMS—DERIVATIONAL MORPHOLOGY—INFLECTIONAL MORPHOLOGY—SYNTAX,” such transfers should be more expected in the lexical domain rather than the syntactic domain.

As shown by the analyses of Classical Ethiopic and Old Amharic (Chapter 3) and the analyses of Bukharan Arabic (Chapter 4), surface O-V sequences created by the Semitic mechanisms of fronting and resumption are certainly not unknown to these languages and it is very likely that such mechanisms also existed in the parent languages of Ethiopian Semitic and

Central Asian Arabic. Furthermore, even if the learners' errors were involved in the contact settings, it is unlikely that the non-Semitic speakers did not have a chance to acquire the proper location of the Vs for clause formation, whereas it is likely that long-term contact between the Semitic and non-Semitic speakers created sizable communities of bilingual or even multilingual speakers, as it is the case for Central Asian Arabs.

The Sinitic situation introduced in Chapter 5 further demonstrated that based on the existing linguistic mechanisms—the Sinitic “topic prominence” feature and topic fronting—it is possible for STV patterns to expand in usage without the need for “donor” influence, as in the Wu varieties which display a much higher degree of topic prominence than Standard Mandarin. On the other hand, the Mandarin varieties in Northwestern China—a contact zone with several SOV languages—did eventually develop frequent OV clauses, but it is very likely that the SOV of the Sinitic varieties in Northwestern China represents the further expansion of the STV created via the topic prominence mechanism which certainly existed as a marked pattern in Mandarin. In addition, there are good arguments supporting that at least the major postposed “case” markers in those varieties originated from grammaticalized Sinitic particles based on original Sinitic functional distributions.

Thus, in the contact situations between Semitic VSO and non-Semitic SOV as well as the contact situations between Sinitic SVO and non-Sinitic SOV, we find the existing Semitic and Sinitic mechanisms creating O-V sequences that closely resemble the SOV main constituent word order in the contact languages. Such a structural congruence provides the bilingual speakers with a convenient middle ground and also a potentially efficient convergence strategy for necessary communication adaptation. The Wartime Pidgin Chinese introduced in Chapter 5 certainly inherited the SOV order from Japanese, however, due to the grammaticality of STV

pattern for native Sinitic speakers, the SOV order of the pidgin did not constitute barriers for communication. In addition, the native Sinitic speakers even adapted towards the colonists' pidgin due to the special colonial language ecology. The deviations of the main constituent word orders as well as other grammatical “issues” that were well noticed and commented by a Japanese learner of Chinese could not have missed the attention of the native Sinitic speakers, yet on the basis of congruence and adaptation, they manipulated their speech when they needed to interact with the colonists. I suggest similar native speakers' manipulation could have also been possible by the (likely) bilingual Semitic speakers in the contact settings—it is not only the imperfect group learning by the non-Semitic speakers that has led to the VSO-to-SOV word order shifts, but the Semitic native speakers must have also played an important role, as the speakers in such contact settings selected the congruent structures from the contact feature pool.

### **7.3 Limitations and prospects**

Because the less platform-restricted software ELAN demands audios/videos to initiate a corpus project, it was a helpless compromise for this text-based project to run the Windows-only FLEx software on a virtual machine. It was not an ideal working mode and the software failure due to some errors in the virtual system update was a painful lesson in the initial stage of corpus building. With the current limited diachrony in the corpus, there do not appear to be observable differences among the sub-corpora involving diachronic factors. If there were no constraints of time and energy, all the corpora could have been expanded to incorporate more texts with more refined corpus-internal chronological divisions to enable more diachronic discussions. This is particularly true for the Old Amharic mini-corpus, which I was only able to include one single text. Similarly, it would be interesting if more varieties of Central Asian Arabic could have been

included, however, since the reference materials on the non-Bukharan varieties are generally highly limited—even the revived forthcoming publication of Vinnikov’s manuscripts on Qashqadaryan Arabic (A6.1.1.4) is still of unknown progress—it would be difficult to build a Qashqadaryan Arabic corpus comparable to the size of the Bukharan Arabic one and it would also be highly time-consuming to work on such a corpus without a consultable dictionary like the one for Bukharan Arabic.

In Chapter 3, I have shown that in Classical Ethiopic, the typical *qätäl-o lä-nəguś* construction and the *wäld-u lä-nəguś* construction which are originally frequently used for V-O and N-Gen have been involved in creating the inverted marked O-V and Gen-N sequences that are congruent with the “non-Semitic” orders. Furthermore, there is likely a connection between the Ethiopian Semitic ACC marker and the DAT marking in some form of analytic object construction like the *qätäl-o lä-nəguś* in Classical Ethiopic, and I also suggested a functional merger due to the potential homophony of a *\*nV* marker for both ACC and FOC/TOP in Amharic. In Chapter 4, I showed a very conspicuous situation where the ACC marking of Bukharan Arabic, though not obligatory, also overlaps with the DAT marker in some cases and it is likely that there were also analytic constructions very similar to the Classical Ethiopic *qätäl-o lä-nəguś* in the Neo-Arabic ancestor of Central Asian Arabic. The resumptive pronouns marking the preverbal DOs and even IOs are still visible in Bukharan Arabic, suggesting the original analytic V-O construction being recycled in the creation of the new O-V sequence via the fronting and resumption mechanisms. Very similar scenarios can be found in the Sinitic realm where the fronting mechanisms creating the original marked STV sequence lost its marked value to become the new SOV. Particularly interesting is the fact that the emerging case marking, especially the

“ACC case” marker in the Sinitic varieties in Northwestern China, can be traced back to an original pausal marker with the function to highlight topics.

All these suggest that it is likely that instead of failed acquisition of word order, the set of linguistic materials and mechanisms for fronting and resumption were properly transmitted to be available in the speakers’ linguistic repertoire so that they can properly employed to form constructions that are grammatical in the first place. The production by the non-Semitic learner population—if they were an important factor in the contact process—was likely (prescriptively speaking) erroneous only in pragmatics: the marked O-V was overgeneralized since it forms the congruent pattern closely resembling the SOV in their native language(s). For the native Semitic speakers, the O-V sequences that are formed grammatically, though pragmatically problematic, would not hinder communication and would potentially offer an adaptive strategy due to the need for continuous communication. Therefore, in further quest for the possible historical scenarios, all these factors should be considered, and we should not forget the possibility of native speaker manipulation contributing to the selection of the congruent patterns from the contact feature pool.

## APPENDICES

### Appendix 1 Sample Classical Ethiopic text

This appendix contains a sample text from my Classical Ethiopic corpus, *The Book of Baruch* (Dillmann 1866, 1–15), as it is exported from FLEx.

1.1 ወኮነ			: ሰባ		: ዲወዎሙ		:	
wä=	kon	-ä	sobä	ፈewäw	=omu			
wä=	kon	-ä <sub>3</sub>	sobä	ፈewäw	=homu			
and=	be(come)\PERF	3MS	when	capture\PERF	=3MP			
coordconn	vi		v:Any	advlizer	vt		pro	
and he became			when		he captured them			
v			advlizer		pro			
ለደቂቅ		:	እስራኤል	:	ንጉሠ		:	
lā=	däqiq	-ä	'əsra'el	nəguś	-ä	käladewon	näbäb	=o
lā=1	däqiq	-ä <sub>1</sub>	'əsra'el	nəguś	-ä <sub>1</sub>	käladewon	näbäb	=hu
to=	offspring	of	Israel	king	of	Chaldean	speak\PERF	=3MS
prep	n	n:Any	n	n	n:Any	n	vt	pro
(to) offspring of		Israel	king of		Chaldean		he spoke to him	
prep		n	n		n		v	
: እግዚአብሔር	:	ለኤርምያስ	:	ወይቤሎ	:		:	ኤርምያስ
'əgzī'äbəher	lā=	'erməyas	wä=	yə-	bel	=o	'erməyas	
'əgzī'äbəher <sub>1</sub>	lā=1	'erməyas	wä=	yə-	be	=hu	'erməyas	
God	to=	Jeremiah	and=	3M	say\PRET	=3MS	Jeremiah	
n	prep	n	coordconn	v:Any	vt	pro	n	
God	(to) Jeremiah		and he said to him				Jeremiah	
n	n		v				n	

: ኅሩይየ	: ተንሥኢ	: ወፃኢ		: እምዛቲ	: ሀገር
həruy =əyä	tänśə'	wä=	ða'	'əm=	zati hägär
həruy =yä	tänśə' <sub>1</sub>	wä=	ða' <sub>1</sub>	'əm= <sub>1</sub>	zati hägär
chosen =1CS	arise\IMPV	and=	come forth\IMPV	from=	this.F city
adj pro	vi	coordconn	vi	prep dem	n
my chosen (one)	arise!	and	and come forth!	from this	city
adj	v	v		adv	n
: አንተ	: ወባሮክ		: እስመ	: ሀሎኩ	: አማሰና
'äntä wä=	barok	'əsmä	hallo	-ku	'- amasən =a
'äntä wä=	barok	'əsmä	hälläw	-ku	'ə- amasən <sub>1</sub> =ha
2MS	and=	Baruch	because	exist\PERF	1CS 1CS ruin\IMPF =3FS
pro	coordconn	n	advlizer	vi	v:Any v:Any vt pro
you	and Baruch		because	I existed	I destroy her
pro	n		advlizer	v	pro
: እምብዝህ		: ኅጢአቶም	: ለእለ	:	
'əm=	bəzḥ	-ä	ḥäṭi'ät	=omu lä=	'əllä
'əm= <sub>1</sub>	bəzḥ	-ä <sub>1</sub>	ḥäṭi'ät	=homu lä= <sub>1</sub>	'əllä
from=	abundance	of	sin	=3MP to=	REL.PL
prep n	n:Any	n	pro	prep rel	
from abundance of		their sin		(to) that	
adv		n		rel	
ይነብሩ		: ውስቴታ	: እስመ	: ጸሎትከኒ	:
yə-	näbbər	-u	wəstet	=a 'əsmä	ṣälot =əkä =ni
yə-	näbbər	-u	wəstä	=ha 'əsmä	ṣälot =kä =ni <sub>1</sub>
3M	dwel\IMPF	MP	in	=3FS because	prayer =2MS =also
v:Any vi	v:Any	prep	pro	advlizer	n pro post
they dwell		in her		because	your prayer, also
v		adv		advlizer	

ከመ	: ዐምድ	: ጽኑዕ	: በማእከሉ	: ሀገር	: ወከመ	: ቅጽር	:
kämä	'ämd	şənu'	bä=	ma'kälä	hägär	wä=	kämä qəşr
kämä	'ämd	şənu'	bä=	ma'kälä	hägär	wä=	kämä qəşr
like	pillar	strong	in=	among	city	and=	like wall
prep	n	adj	prep	prep	n	coordconn	prep n
like	pillar	strong	admist		city	and like	wall
prep	n	adj	prep		n	prep	n
ዘኢድማስ		: ዐውዳ		፤ ወይእኩኒ		: ተንሥኡ	:
zä=	'ädmas	'äwd	=a	wä=	yə'əzeni	tänśə'	-u
zä=	'ädmas	'äwdä	=ha	wä=	yə'əzeni	tänśə' <sub>1</sub>	-u
GEN=	adamant	surrounding	=3FS	and=	now	arise\IMPV	MP
prt	n	prep	pro	coordconn	adv	vi	v:Any
of	adamant	her	surrounding	and	now	arise!	
n		n		adv		v	
ወሓሩ			: ወግኡ			: ዘእንበለ	:
wä=	ħor	-u	wä=	ፈላ'	-u	zä'ənbälä	
wä=	ħor <sub>2</sub>	-u	wä=	ፈላ' <sub>1</sub>	-u	zä'ənbälä	
and=	go\IMPV	MP	and=	come forth\IMPV	MP	except (that)	
coordconn	vi	v:Any	coordconn	vi	v:Any	advlizer	
and	go!		and	come forth!		except (that)	
v			v			advlizer	

ይምጸእ : ኅይለ : ከላዴዎን :

yə- mša' ḥäyl -ä käladewon  
yə- mša' ḥäyl -ä<sub>1</sub> käladewon  
3M come\JUSS army of Chaldean  
v:Any vi n n:Any n  
he would come army Chaldean  
v n n  
ወይዑዳ : ለሀገር ::

wä= yə- 'ud =a lä= hägär  
wä= yə- 'ud =ha lä=<sub>1</sub> hägär  
and= 3M surround\JUSS =3FS to= city  
coordconn v:Any vt pro prep n  
and he would surround her (to) the city  
v n

It came to pass, when the children of Israel were taken captive by the king of the Chaldeans, (that) God spoke to Jeremiah, “Jeremiah, my chosen one, get up (and) depart from this city, you and Baruch, since I am going to destroy it because of the multitude of the sins of those who dwell in it. For your prayers are like a solid pillar in its midst and like an iron wall surrounding it. Now, then, get up and depart before the host of the Chaldeans surrounds it!”

1.2 ወነበበ : ኤርምያስ : እንዘ : ይብል :

wä= näbäb -ä 'erməyas 'ənzä yə- bəl  
wä= näbäb -ä<sub>3</sub> 'erməyas 'ənzä yə- bəl  
and= speak\PERF 3MS Jeremiah while 3M say\IMPF  
coordconn vt v:Any n advlizer v:Any vt  
and he spoke Jeremiah while he says  
n advlizer v

አስተባብሮስ : እግዚአብሔር : አዝዞ :

'- astäbäq<sup>w</sup>q<sup>w</sup>ə' =äkä 'əgzi' =əyä 'äzzəz =o  
'ə- astäbäq<sup>w</sup>q<sup>w</sup>ə' =kä 'əgzi' =yä 'äzzəz =hu  
1CS beseech\IMPF =2MS lord =1CS command\IMPV =3MS  
v:Any vt pro n pro vt pro  
I beseech you my lord command him!  
v n v

ለገብርክ		: ከመ	: ይትናገር		: ቅድሜክ	:	
lä=	gäbr	=əkä	kämä	yə-	tnaggär	qədme	=kä
lä=	gäbr <sub>2</sub>	=kä	kämä	yə-	tnaggär	qədmä	=kä
to=	servant	=2MS	so that	3M	speak\IMPF	before	=2MS
prep	n	pro	advlizer	v:Any	vt	adv	pro
(to)	your servant		so that	he	speaks	before	you
n			advlizer	v		pro	
ወይቤሎ			: እግዚአብሔር	:	ንብብ	:	ኅሩይየ
wä=	yə-	bel	=o	'əgzı'äbəher	nəbəb	həruy	=əyä
wä=	yə-	be	=hu	'əgzı'äbəher <sub>1</sub>	nəbəb	həruy	=yä
and=	3M	say\PRET	=3MS	God	speak\IMPV	chosen	=1CS
coordconn	v:Any	vt	pro	n	vt	adj	pro
and	he said	to him		God	speak!	my	chosen (one)
v				n	v	adj	

ኤርምያስ ።

'erməyas

'erməyas

Jeremiah

n  
Jeremiah

n

And Jeremiah answered, saying, "I beseech you, O Lord, permit me, your servant, to speak in your presence." And the Lord said to him, "Speak, my chosen one, Jeremiah."

1.3 ወነበበ				: ኤርምያስ		: ወይቤ			:
wä=	näbäb	-ä	'erməyas	wä=	yə-	be			
wä=	näbäb	-ä <sub>3</sub>	'erməyas	wä=	yə-	be			
and=	speak\PERF	3MS	Jeremiah	and=	3M	say\PRET			
coordconn	vt	v:Any	n	coordconn	v:Any	vt			
and he spoke			Jeremiah	and he said					
v			n	v					
አግዚአ	: ዘተሎ		: ትእዛዝ		: ትጫጠኑ				:
'əgzɪ'	=o	zä=	kʷəllo	tə-	'əh̥həz	tə-	mettu	=nu	
'əgzɪ'	=o	zä=	kʷəllo	tə- <sub>2</sub>	'əh̥həz	tə- <sub>2</sub>	mettu	=nu	
lord	=VOC	REL=	all.ACC	2	seize\IMPF	2	hand over\IMPF	=Q	
n	prt	rel	quant	v:Any	vt	v:Any	vt	q	
O lord		that	all	you	seize	do you	hand over		
n	det		v						
ዛተ	: ሀገረ		: ኅሪተ		: ውስተ	: እዴሆሙ			:
zatä	hägär	-ä	hərit	-ä	wəstä	'əde	=homu		
zatä	hägär	-ä <sub>2</sub>	hərit	-ä <sub>2</sub>	wəstä	'əd <sub>2</sub>	=homu		
this.F.ACC	city	ACC	chosen.F	ACC	in	hand	=3MP		
dem	n	n:Any	adj	n:Any	prep	n	pro		
this	city		chosen		in	their	hand		
dem	n		adj		prep	n			
ለከላዴዎን	: ከመ		: ይዘኅር		: ንጉሥ	: ምስለ	: ሕዝቢሁ		:
lä=	käladewon	kämä	yə-	zzähär	nəguś	məslä	həzb	=ihu	
lä=1	käladewon	kämä	yə-	zzähär	nəguś	məslä	həzb	=hu	
to=	Chaldean	so that	3M	boast\JUSS	king	with	people	=3MS	
prep	n	advlizer	v:Any	vi	n	prep	n	pro	
(to) the Chaldean		so that	he would	boast	king	with	his	people	
		advlizer	v		n	prep			

ወይበል			: ተገዳላኩ		: ወላተ	: ሀገረ	:
wä=	yə-	bäl	tähäyyäl	-ku	wə'ətä	hägär	-ä
wä=	yə-	bäl <sub>1</sub>	tähäyyäl	-ku	wə'ətä	hägär	-ä <sub>2</sub>
and=	3M	say\JUSS	prevail\PERF	1CS	that.M.ACC	city	ACC
coordconn	v:Any	vt	vi	v:Any	dem	n	n:Any
and he would say			I prevailed		that	city	
			v		dem	n	
ዘአምላክ	፤ ሓሰ		: እግዚእ		: እመሰ	: ፈቀድክ	
zä=	'ämlak	hasä	'əgzi'	=o	'əmmä	=sä	fäqäd -kä
zä=	'ämlak	hasä	'əgzi'	=o	'əmmä	=sä	fäqäd -kä
GEN=	lord	God forbid	lord	=VOC	if	=however	want\PERF 2MS
prt	n	interj	n	prt	advlizer	prt	vt v:Any
of lord		God forbid	O lord		if, however		you wanted
n		interj					v
: ወላተ	: በእዴክ		: ታማሰና		::		
wə'ətu	bä=	'əde	=kä	t-	amasən	=a	
wə'ətu <sub>1</sub>	bä=	'əd <sub>2</sub>	=kä	tə- <sub>2</sub>	amasən <sub>2</sub>	=ha	
3MS	by=	hand	=2MS	2	ruin\JUSS	=3FS	
pro	prep	n	pro	v:Any	vt	pro	
he [is]	by your	hand		you would	ruin her		
pro							

And Jeremiah spoke, saying, "O Lord Almighty, would you hand over the chosen city into the hands of the Chaldeans so that the king with the multitude of his people will boast and say, 'I gained power over God's holy city!?' No, my Lord, but if it is your will, let it be done away with by your (own) hands!"

1.4 ወይቤሎ				: እግዚእ	: ለኤርምያስ		: እስመ	:
wä=	yə-	bel	=o	'əgzɪ'	lä=	'erməyas	'əsmä	
wä=	yə-	be	=hu	'əgzɪ'	lä=1	'erməyas	'əsmä	
and=	3M	say\PRET	=3MS	lord	to=	Jeremiah	because	
coordconn	v:Any	vt	pro	n	prep	n	advlizer	
and he said to him				lord	(to)	Jeremiah	because	
				n			advlizer	
ኅሩይየ	: አንተ	: ተንሥእ	: ወግኡ				: አንተ	:
həruy	=əyä	'äntä	tänsə'	wä=	ɖa'	-u	'äntä	
həruy	=yä	'äntä	tänsə'1	wä=	ɖa'1	-u	'äntä	
chosen	=1CS	2MS	arise\IMPV	and=	come forth\IMPV	MP	2MS	
adj	pro	pro	vi	coordconn	vi	v:Any	pro	
my chosen (one)	you	you	arise!	and come forth!			you	
adj	pro	v					pro	
ወባሮክ	: እስመ	: ሀሎኩ		: አማሰኛ			:	
wä=	barok	'əsmä	hallo	-ku	'-	amasən	=a	
wä=	barok	'əsmä	hälläw	-ku	'ə-	amasən1	=ha	
and=	Baruch	because	exist\PERF	1CS	1CS	ruin\IMPF	=3FS	
coordconn	n	advlizer	vi	v:Any	v:Any	vt	pro	
and Baruch		because	I existed		I destroy	her		
n		advlizer	v		pro			
ቡጎጢአቶሙ	: ለእለ	: ይነብሩ					: ወስቴታ	
bä=	hätɪ'ät	=omu	lä=	'əllä	yə-	näbbər	-u	wəstet =a
bä=	hätɪ'ät	=homu	lä=1	'əllä	yə-	näbbər	-u	wəstä =ha
by=	sin	=3MP	to=	REL.PL	3M	dwel\IMPF	MP	in =3FS
prep	n	pro	prep	rel	v:Any	vi	v:Any	prep
by their sin			(to) that	they dwell			in her	pro

፤ ወኢንጉሥ			: ወኢጎይለ			: ዘኢሁ			:
wä=	'i=	nəguś	wä=	'i=	həyl	-ä	zi'ä=	=hu	
wä=	'i=	nəguś	wä=	'i=	həyl	-ä <sub>1</sub>	zä=	=hu	
and=	NEG=	king	and=	NEG=	army	of	GEN=	=3MS	
coordconn	verbprt	n	coordconn	verbprt	n	n:Any	prt	pro	
and not king			and not army				of him		
n			n				pro-form		
ኢይከል			: በዊኦ		: ወሱተ	: ሀገር	: ለእመ	: አነ	
'i=	yə-	kəl	bäwi'	-ä	wəstä	hägär	lä'əmmä	'änä	
'i=	yə-	kəl	bäwi'	-ä <sub>2</sub>	wəstä	hägär	lä'əmmä	'änä	
NEG=	3M	be able\IMPF	enter\INF	ACC	in	city	if	1CS	
verbprt	v:Any	vt	ger	n:Any	prep	n	advlizer	pro	
he is able			entering		in	city	if	I	
			ger		prep	n	advlizer	pro	
: ኢቀደምኩ			: ወኢያርጎውኩ						:
'i=	qädäm	-ku	wä=	'i=	yarhəw	-ku			
'i=	qädäm	-ku	wä=	'i=	'ärhəw	-ku			
NEG=	go before\PERF	1CS	and=	NEG=	open\PERF	1CS			
verbprt	vt	v:Any	coordconn	verbprt	vt	v:Any			
I did not first			and I did not open						
v									
አናቅዲሃ	፤ ተንሥኦ	: ይእኩኒ	: ወሐር		: ጎበ	: ባሮክ	:		
'änaqəş	=iha	tänśə'	yə'əzeni	wä=	hər	həbä	barok		
'änqäş	=ha	tänśə' <sub>1</sub>	yə'əzeni	wä=	hər <sub>2</sub>	həbä	barok		
gate.PL	=3FS	arise\IMPV	now	and=	go\IMPV	toward	Baruch		
n	pro	vi	adv	coordconn	vi	prep	n		
her gates		arise!	now	and go!		toward	Baruch		
n	v	adv	v			prep	n		

<b>ወዜንዎ</b>			: ዘንተ	: ነገረ		:
wä=	zenəw	=o	zäntä	nägär	-ä	
wä=	zenəw <sub>2</sub>	=hu	zäntä	nägär <sub>1</sub>	-ä <sub>2</sub>	
and=	inform\IMPV	=3MS	this.M.ACC	matter	ACC	
coordconn	vt	pro	dem	n	n:Any	
and inform him!			this	matter		
			dem	n		
<b>ወተንሢኢከሙ</b>			: ሰባ	: ኮነ		: ስድስቱ : ሰዓት
wä=	tänsi'	=äkəmu	sobä	kon	-ä	sədəstu sä'at
wä=	tänsi'	=kəmu	sobä	kon	-ä <sub>3</sub>	sədəstu sä'at
and=	arise\CVB	=2MP	when	be(come)\PERF	3MS	six hour
coordconn	icvb	pro-form	advlizer	vi	v:Any	cardnum n
and you having arisen			when	he became		six hour
			advlizer	v		cardnum n
<b>: ዘሌሊት</b>		<b>: ንዑ</b>	<b>: ውስተ</b>	<b>: ቅጽረ</b>	<b>: ሀገር</b>	<b>:</b>
zä=	lelit	nə'	-u	wəstä	qəsr	-ä hägär
zä=	lelit	nə'	-u	wəstä	qəsr	-ä <sub>1</sub> hägär
GEN=	night	come.IMPV	MP	in	wall of	city
prt	n	vi	v:Any	prep	n	n:Any n
of night		come!		in	wall of	city
n	v			prep	n	n
<b>ወአነ</b>		<b>: ኣርእየከሙ</b>		<b>: ወለእመ</b>		<b>: አነ :</b>
wä=	'änä	'-	arə''əy	=äkəmu	wä=	lä'əmmä 'änä
wä=	'änä	'ə-	arə''əy	=kəmu	wä=	lä'əmmä 'änä
and=	1CS	1CS	show\IMPF	=2MP	and=	if 1CS
coordconn	pro	v:Any	vt	pro-form	coordconn	advlizer pro
and I		I show you		and if		1CS
						pro

ኢቶደምኩ			: ኦማስኖታ		: ለሀገር	:
'i=	qädäm	-ku	'ämasənot	=a	lä=	hägär
'i=	qädäm	-ku	'ämasəno	=ha	lä=1	hägär
NEG=	go before\PERF	1CS	ruin\INF	=3FS	to=	city
verbprt	vt		v:Any	ger	pro	prep n
I did not first				ruining her		(to) the city
ኢይከሉ			: በዊኦታ		::	
'i=	yə-	kəl	-u	bäwi'ot	=a	
'i=	yə-	kəl	-u	bäwi'	=ha	
NEG=	3M	be able\IMPF	MP	enter\INF	=3FS	
verbprt	v:Any	vt		v:Any	ger	pro
I am not able					entering her	

And the Lord said to Jeremiah, “Because you are my chosen one: get up and depart from this city, you and Baruch, for I am going to destroy it because of the multitude of the sins of those who dwell in it. For neither the king nor his host will be able to enter it unless I first open its gates. Get up, then, and go to Baruch and tell him these words. And when you have arisen at the sixth hour of the night, go onto the city walls and I will show you: unless I first destroy the city, they cannot enter it.”

1.5 ወዘንተ		: ብሂሎ		: እግዚእ	: ኅለፈ	:
wä=	zäntä	bəhil	=o	'əgzi'	häläf	-ä
wä=	zäntä	bəhil <sub>2</sub>	=hu	'əgzi'	häläf	-ä <sub>3</sub>
and=	this.M.ACC	say\CVB	=3MS	lord	leave\PERF	3MS
coordconn	dem	tcvb	pro	n	vi	v:Any
and this		he having	said	lord	he left	
dem		cvb		n	v	
እምነበ	: ኤርምያስ	::				
'əm=	häbä	'erməyas				
'əm=1	häbä	'erməyas				
from=	with	Jeremiah				
prep	prep	n				
from with		Jeremiah				
prep		n				

When the Lord had said these things, he departed from Jeremiah.

1.6	ወኤርምያስ		: ሶቤሃ	: ሠጠጠ		: አልባሲሁ	:
wä=	'erməyas	sobeha	śäṭäṭ		-ä	'älbas	=ihu
wä=	'erməyas	sobeha	śäṭäṭ		-ä <sub>3</sub>	läbs	=hu
and=	Jeremiah	then	tear (apart)\PERF	3MS	clothing.PL	=3MS	
coordconn	n	adv	vt	v:Any	n	pro	
and	Jeremiah	then	he tore		his	clothings	
n		adv	v		n		
ወወደየ		:	ሐመደ	:	ዲበ	:	ርእሱ
wä=	wädäy	-ä	ḥämäd	-ä	dibä	rə's	=u
wä=	wädäy	-ä <sub>3</sub>	ḥämäd	-ä <sub>2</sub>	dibä	rə's	=hu
and=	put\PERF	3MS	ash	ACC	on	self	=3MS
coordconn	vt	v:Any	n	n:Any	prep	n	pro
and	he put		ash		on	himself	
v			n		prep	pro-form	
ወቦአ		:	ወሰተ	:	ቤተ	:	መቅደስ
wä=	bo'	-ä	wəstä	bet	-ä	mäqdäs	
wä=	bo'	-ä <sub>3</sub>	wəstä	bet <sub>1</sub>	-ä <sub>1</sub>	mäqdäs	
and=	enter\PERF	3MS	in	house	of	sactuary	
coordconn	vi	v:Any	prep	n	n:Any	n	
and	he entered		in	house		sactuary	
v			prep	n		n	

And Jeremiah tore his garments and put dust on his head and entered the sanctuary of God.

1.7 ወርእዮ				: ባርክ	: ለኤርምያስ	: እንዘ	: ምሉእ	:	
wä=	rə'y	=o	barok	lä=	'erməyas	'ənzä	məlu'		
wä=	rə'y	=hu	barok	lä=1	'erməyas	'ənzä	məlu'		
and=	see\PERF	=3MS	Baruch	to=	Jeremiah	while	filled		
coordconn	vt	pro	n	prep	n	advlizer	adj		
and he saw	him		Baruch	(to)	Jeremiah	while	filled		
			n			advlizer			
መሬተ	: ዲበ	: ርእሱ		: ወአልባሲሁኒ				: ሥጡጥ :	
märet	-ä	dibä	rə's	=u	wä=	'älbas	=ihu	=ni	śətuṭ
märet	-ä <sub>2</sub>	dibä	rə's	=hu	wä=	läbs	=hu	=ni <sub>1</sub>	śətuṭ
dust	ACC	on	self	=3MS	and=	clothing.PL	=3MS	=also	torn
n	n:Any	prep	n	pro	coordconn	n	pro	post	adj
dust		on	himself		and his clothes,	also			torn
n		prep	pro-form						adj
ጸርኅ		: በበይ		: ቃል	: እንዘ	: ይብል		: አቡዮ	
šärḥ	-ä	bä=	'äbiy	qal	'ənzä	yə-	bəl	'äbu	=yä
šärḥ	-ä <sub>3</sub>	bä=	'äbiy	qal	'ənzä	yə-	bəl	'äb	=yä
shout\PERF	3MS	in=	big	voice	while	3M	say\IMPF	father	=1CS
vt	v:Any	prep	adj	n	advlizer	v:Any	vt	n	pro
he shouted		in	big	voice	while	he says		my	father
v		adv		n	advlizer	v		n	

: ኤርምያስ	: ምንተ		: ኮንክ		: ወአየ		:
'erməyas	mənt	-ä	kon	-kä	wä=	'äyy	-ä
'erməyas	mənt	-ä <sub>2</sub>	kon	-kä	wä=	'äyy	-ä <sub>1</sub>
Jeremiah	what	ACC	be(come)\PERF	2MS	and=	which	of
n	interrog	n:Any	vi	v:Any	coordconn	adj	n:Any
Jeremiah	what		you became		and which		
n	interrog		v		adj		
ካጳጥጳ	: ገብሩ		: ሕዝብ	:			:
həṭi'ät	-ä	gäbr	-u	həzb			
həṭi'ät	-ä <sub>2</sub>	gäbr <sub>1</sub>	-u	həzb			
sin	ACC	do\PERF	MP	people			
n	n:Any	vt	v:Any	n			
sin		they did		people			
n	v		n				

Upon seeing him with dust on his head and his garments torn, Baruch cried out in a loud voice, saying, “Father Jeremiah, what (happened) to you or what sort of sin did the people commit?”

1.8 እስመ : ሰብ : ይኤብሱ : ሕዝብ : የሕዝን

'əsmä	sobä	yə-	'ebbəs	-u	həzb	yä-	həzzən
'əsmä	sobä	yə-	'ebbəs	-u	həzb	yə-	həzzən
because	when	3M	transgress\IMPF	MP	people	3M	be sad\IMPF
advlizer	advlizer	v:Any	vt	v:Any	n	v:Any	vi
because	when	they	commit a sin		people	he	becomes sad
advlizer	advlizer	v			n	v	
: ኤርምያስ	: ወይወዲ		: ሐመደ		: ዲብ	: ርእሱ	:
'erməyas	wä=	yə-	wäddi	hämäd	-ä	dibä	rə's =u
'erməyas	wä=	yə-	wäddi	hämäd	-ä <sub>2</sub>	dibä	rə's =hu
Jeremiah	and=	3M	put\IMPF	ash	ACC	on	self =3MS
n	coordconn	v:Any	vt	n	n:Any	prep	n pro
Jeremiah	and he puts			ash		on	himself
n	v		n			prep	pro-form

ወይዳሪ			: በእንተ		: ሕዝብ	: እስከ	:
wä=	yə-	şelli	bä=	'əntä	həzb	'əskä	
wä=	yə-	şelli	bä=	'əntä <sub>1</sub>	həzb	'əskä	
and=	3M	pray\ IMPF	by=	via	people	until that	
coordconn	v:Any	vi	prep	prep	n	advlizer	
and he prays			with regard to		people	until that	
v			prep		n	advlizer	
ይትገደግ			: ለሙሉ		: አበሳሰሉ		: ለሕዝብ
yə-	tḥäddäg	l=	=omu	'äbbäsa	=homu	lä=	həzb
yə-	tḥäddäg	lä=1	=homu	'äbbäsa	=homu	lä=1	həzb
3M	be forgiven\ IMPF	to=	=3MP	transgression	=3MP	to=	people
v:Any	vi	prep	pro	n	pro	prep	n
he is forgiven		(to) them		their transgression		(to) the people	
v		pro		n		n	

Because whenever the people sinned, Jeremiah would put dust on his head and pray for the people until their sin was forgiven.

1.9 ወተሰላሎ			: ባሮክ	: እንዘ	: ይብል		: አቡዮ	
wä=	täsə'əl	=o	barok	'ənzä	yə-	bəl	'äbu	=yä
wä=	täsə'əl	=hu	barok	'ənzä	yə-	bəl	'äb	=yä
and=	ask\PERF	=3MS	Baruch	while	3M	say\IMPF	father	=1CS
coordconn	vt	pro	n	advlizer	v:Any	vt	n	pro
and he asked him			Baruch	while	he says		my father	
v			n	advlizer	v		n	
: ኤርምያስ	: ምንተ		: ኮን		: ወምንተ			
'erməyas	mənt	-ä	kon	-kä	wä=	mənt	-ä	
'erməyas	mənt	-ä <sub>2</sub>	kon	-kä	wä=	mənt	-ä <sub>2</sub>	
Jeremiah	what	ACC	be(come)\PERF	2MS	and=	what	ACC	
n	interrog	n:Any	vi	v:Any	coordconn	interrog	n:Any	
Jeremiah	what		you became		and what			
n	interrog		v		n			
: ኮን		: አዝብ	።					
kon	-u	həzb						
kon	-u	həzb						
be(come)\PERF	MP	people						
vi	v:Any	n						
they became		people						
v		n						

And Baruch asked him, saying, “Father, what does this mean?”

1.10 ወይቤሎ				: ኤርምያስ	: ዕቅብ	: ከመ	:
wä=	yə-	bel	=o	'erməyas	'əqäb	kämä	
wä=	yə-	be	=hu	'erməyas	'əqäb	kämä	
and=	3M	say\PRET	=3MS	Jeremiah	guard\IMPV	so that	
coordconn	v:Any	vt	pro	n	vt	advlizer	
and he said to him				Jeremiah	guard!	so that	
v				n		advlizer	
ኢንሥጥጥ			: አልባሲነ	: አላ	:		
'i=	nə-	štəṭ	'älbäs	=inä	'älla		
'i=	nə-	štəṭ	läbs	=inä	'älla		
NEG=	1CP	tear (apart)\JUSS	clothing.PL	=1CP	but		
verbprt	v:Any	vt	n	pro	coordconn		
we would not tear			our clothes		but		
			n		coordconn		
ንሥጥጥ		: አልባሲነ	: ወኢንደይ				:
nə-	štəṭ	'älbäb	=inä	wä=	'i=	nə-	däy
nə-	štəṭ	läbb	=inä	wä=	'i=	nə-	däy
1CP	tear (apart)\JUSS	heart.PL	=1CP	and=	NEG=	1CP	put\JUSS
v:Any	vt	n	pro	coordconn	verbprt	v:Any	vt
we would tear		our hearts		and we would not put			
ማየ	: ውስተ	: ምዕቃላት	: ከመ	: ንብኪ	:		
may	-ä	wästä	mə'qal	-at	kämä	nə-	bki
may	-ä <sub>2</sub>	wästä	mə'qal	-at	kämä	nə-	bki
water	ACC	in	basin	PL	so that	1CP	cry\JUSS
n	n:Any	prep	n	n:Any	advlizer	v:Any	vi
water		in	basins		so that	we would cry	
n		prep	n		advlizer	v	

<i>Cቲዕ</i>		: እስከ	: ንመልአሙ		: አንብዕ		: እስመ	:
rətu'	-ä	'əskä	nə-	mällə'	=omu	'änbə'	-ä	'əsmä
rətu'	-ä <sub>2</sub>	'əskä	nə-	mällə'	=homu	'änbə'	-ä <sub>2</sub>	'əsmä
straight	ACC	until that	1CP	fill\IMPF	=3MP	tear	ACC	because
adj	n:Any	advlizer	v:Any	vt	pro	n	n:Any	advlizer
straightly		until that		we fill them		tear		because
adv		advlizer				n		advlizer
አምጺአዜ		: ኢይምኸርዖ					: ለዝ	:
'əmə=	yə'əze	'i=	yə-	məḥḥər	-əw	=wo	lä=	=zə
'əmə=1	yə'əze	'i=	yə-	məḥḥər	-u	=hu	lä=1	=zə
from=	now	NEG=	3M	have mercy\IMPF	MP	=3MS	to=	=this
prep	adv	verbprt	v:Any	vt	v:Any	pro	prep	dem
from now		they do not have mercy to him					(to) this	
አዝብ	::							
ḥəzb								
ḥəzb								
people								
n								
people								
n								

And Jeremiah told him, “Beware of rending your garments; rather, let us rend our hearts! And let us not draw water for the troughs; rather, let us weep and fill them with tears! For the Lord will not have mercy on this people!”

1.11	ወይቤ			: ባሮክ	: አቡዮ		: ኤርምያስ	:
	wä=	yə-	be	barok	'äbu	=yä	'erməyas	
	wä=	yə-	be	barok	'äb	=yä	'erməyas	
	and=	3M	say\PRET	Baruch	father	=1CS	Jeremiah	
	coordconn	v:Any	vt	n	n	pro	n	
	and he said			Baruch	my father		Jeremiah	
	v			n	n		n	
ምንተ		:	ኮንክ	:	ወይቤ		:	
mənt	-ä	kon	-kä	wä=	yə-	bel	=o	
mənt	-ä <sub>2</sub>	kon	-kä	wä=	yə-	be	=hu	
what	ACC	be(come)\PERF	2MS	and=	3M	say\PRET	=3MS	
interrog	n:Any	vi	v:Any	coordconn	v:Any	vt	pro	
what		you became		and he said	to him			
interrog	v							
ኤርምያስ	:	እስመ	:	አምላክ	:	ይሜጥዋ	:	ለሀገር
'erməyas	'əsmä	'ämlak	yə-	meṭṭəw	=a	lä=	hägär	
'erməyas	'əsmä	'ämlak	yə-	meṭṭu	=ha	lä=1	hägär	
Jeremiah	because	lord	3M	hand over\IMPF	=3FS	to=	city	
n	advlizer	n	v:Any	vt	pro	prep	n	
Jeremiah	because	lord	he	hands over	her	(to)	the city	
n	advlizer							
ውስተ	:	እዴሁ	:	ለንጉሠ	:	ከላዴዎን	:	እስመ
wəstä	'əde	=hu	lä=	nəguś	-ä	käladewon	'əsmä	
wəstä	'əd <sub>2</sub>	=hu	lä=1	nəguś	-ä <sub>1</sub>	käladewon	'əsmä	
in	hand	=3MS	to=	king	of	Chaldean	because	
prep	n	pro	prep	n	n:Any	n	advlizer	
in	his hand		(to)	the king of		Chaldean	because	
prep	n					n	advlizer	
ይዳውዎሙ			:	ለሕዝብ	:	በእኩት	::	
yə-	ḡewwəw	=omu	lä=	ḡəzb	bä=	'əkit		
yə-	ḡewwəw	=homu	lä=1	ḡəzb	bä=	'əkit		
3M	capture\IMPF	=3MP	to=	people	by=	evil		
v:Any	vt	pro	prep	n	prep	n		
he captures	them		(to)	the people	by	evil		

And Baruch said, “Father Jeremiah, what has happened?” 7 And Jeremiah said, “God will hand over the city into the hands of the king of the Chaldeans to take the people captive into Babylon.”

1.12	ወሰሚያ			: ዘንተ	: ኩሎ	: ባሮክ	:	
	wä=	sämi'	=o	zäntä	k <sup>w</sup> allo	barok		
	wä=	sämi' <sub>1</sub>	=hu	zäntä	k <sup>w</sup> allo	barok		
	and=	hear\CVB	=3MS	this.M.ACC	all.ACC	Baruch		
	coordconn	tcvb	pro	dem	quant	n		
	and he	having heard		this	all	Baruch		
	cvb			dem	det	n		
ሆጠጠ				: አልባሲሁ	: ወይቤ		:	
sätät	-ä	'älbas	=ihu	wä=	yə-	be		
sätät	-ä <sub>3</sub>	ləbs	=hu	wä=	yə-	be		
tear (apart)\PERF	3MS	clothing.PL	=3MS	and=	3M	say\PRET		
vt	v:Any	n	pro	coordconn	v:Any	vt		
he tore		his clothings		and he said				
v		n		v				
አቡዮ	: ኤርምያስ	: ምንተ		: ለአኩ	: ለከ	:	:	
'äbu	=yä	'erməyas	mənt	-ä	lä'äk	-u	lä=	=kä
'äb	=yä	'erməyas	mənt	-ä <sub>2</sub>	lä'äk	-u	lä= <sub>1</sub>	=kä
father	=1CS	Jeremiah	what	ACC	send\PERF	MP	to=	=2MS
n	pro	n	interrog	n:Any	vt	v:Any	prep	pro
my father		Jeremiah	what		they sent		to you	
n	n	interrog		v			adv	

And when Baruch heard these things, he himself tore his garments and said, “Father Jeremiah, what has been revealed that to you?”

1.13 ወይቤሉ				: ኤርምያስ	: ጽናሕ	: ምስሌየ	:
wä=	yə-	bel	=o	'erməyas	şənaḥ	məsle	=yä
wä=	yə-	be	=hu	'erməyas	şənaḥ <sub>2</sub>	məslä	=yä
and=	3M	say\PRET	=3MS	Jeremiah	wait\IMPV	with	=1CS
coordconn	v:Any	vt	pro	n	vi	prep	pro
and he said to him				Jeremiah	wait\IMPV	with me	
v				n	v	adv	
እስከ	: ስድስቱ	: ሰዐት		: ዘሌሊት	: ከመ	: ታእምር	:
'əskä	sədəstu	sä'ät		zä=	lelit	kämä	t- a'mər
'əskä	sədəstu	sä'at+SP. VAR. OF		zä=	lelit	kämä	tə- <sub>2</sub> a'mər
until that	six	hour		GEN=	night	so that	2 know\JUSS
advlizer	cardnum	n		prt	n	advlizer	v:Any vt
until that	six	hour		of night		so that	you would know
advlizer	cardnum	n		n		advlizer	v
ዘእምን	: ነገር	::					
zä=	'äman	nägär					
zä=	'äman	nägär <sub>1</sub>					
GEN=	truth	matter					
prt	n	n					
of truth		thing					
n		n					

And Jeremiah said to him, "Stay with me a while until the sixth hour of the night, so that you may know that this word is true."

1.14 ወነበሩ			: ቤተ		: መቅደስ	: እንዘ	:
wä=	näbär	-u	bet	-ä	mäqdäs	'enzä	
wä=	näbär	-u	bet <sub>1</sub>	-ä <sub>1</sub>	mäqdäs	'enzä	
and=	dwel\PERF	MP	house	of	sactuary	while	
coordconn	vi	v:Any	n	n:Any	n	advlizer	
	and they dwelled		house of		sactuary	while	
v			n		n	advlizer	
ይበክዩ		::					

yə-	bäkkəy	-u					
yə-	bäkki	-u					
3M	cry\IMPF	MP					
v:Any	vi	v:Any					
	they cry						
v							

So they remained in the temple weeping.

1.15 ወሰበ			: ኮነ		: ሰድስቱ	: ሰዐት	:		
wä=	sobä	kon		-ä	sədəstu	sä'ät			
wä=	sobä	kon		-ä <sub>3</sub>	sədəstu	sä'at+SP. VAR. OF			
and=	when	be(come)\PERF	3MS	six	hour				
coordconn	advlizer	vi	v:Any	cardnum	n				
	and when	he became		six	hour				
adv		v		cardnum	n				
ዘሌሊት	: ዘይቤሎ			: እግዚእ	: ለኤርምያስ	: ከመ	:		
zä=	lelit	zä=	yə-	bel	=o	'əgzi'	lä=	'erməyas	kämä
zä=	lelit	zä=	yə-	be	=hu	'əgzi'	lä= <sub>1</sub>	'erməyas	kämä
GEN=	night	REL=	3M	say\PRET	=3MS	lord	to=	Jeremiah	so that
prt	n	rel	v:Any	vt	pro	n	prep	n	advlizer
	of night		that he said to him			lord	(to) Jeremiah		so that
n		v				n			advlizer

ይገኝ		: ምስሊ	: ባሮክ	: ወበጽሑ		: ውስተ	:
yə-	ገጽ	məslä	barok	wä=	bäşh	-u	wəstä
yə-	ገጽ <sub>2</sub>	məslä	barok	wä=	bäşh	-u	wəstä
3M	come forth\JUSS	with	Baruch	and=	arrive\PERF	MP	in
v:Any	vi	prep	n	coordconn	vi	v:Any	prep
	he would come forth	with	Baruch	and	they arrived and		in
v		prep	n	v			prep
ቅጽረ	: ሀገር	: ወነበሩ			: እንዘ	:	
qəşr	-ä	hägär	wä=	näbär	-u	'ənzä	
qəşr	-ä <sub>1</sub>	hägär	wä=	näbär	-u	'ənzä	
wall	of	city	and=	dwel\PERF	MP	while	
n	n:Any	n	coordconn	vi	v:Any	advlizer	
wall of		city	and	they dwelled		while	
n	n	v				advlizer	
ይጸንሑ		:					
yə-	ጸንከ	-u					
yə-	ጸንከ	-u					
3M	wait\IMPF	MP					
v:Any	vi	v:Any					
	they wait						
v							

And when the hour of the night came, as the Lord had told Jeremiah, they came together on the walls of the city, Jeremiah and Baruch.

1.16	ወኮኅ			: ቃለ		: ቀርኝ	:
wä=	kon	-ä	qal	-ä	qär	n	
wä=	kon	-ä <sub>3</sub>	qal	-ä <sub>1</sub>	qär	n	
and=	be(come)\PERF	3MS	voice	of	horn		
coordconn	vi	v:Any	n	n:Any	n		
	and he became		voice of		horn		
v			n		n		
ወወፅኡ			: መላእክት	:	እምሰማይ		:
wä=	wäፈ'	-u	mäla'əkt	'əm=	sämay		
wä=	wäፈ'	-u	mäl'äk	'əm=1	sämay		
and=	come forth\PERF	MP	angel.PL	from=	heaven		
coordconn	vi	v:Any	n	prep	n		
	they came forth		angels	from	heaven		
			n				
ወበእደዊሆሙ			: ይጸውሩ				:
wä=	bä=	'əd	-äw	=ihomu	yə-	šäwwər	-u
wä=	bä=	'əd <sub>2</sub>	-äw	=homu	yə-	šäwwər	-u
and=	in=	hand	PL	=3MP	3M	carry\IMPF	MP
coordconn	prep	n	n:Any	pro	v:Any	vt	v:Any
	and in their hands				they	carry	
adv							

ብርሃናት			: እሳት	: ወቆሙ		: ውስተ	:
bərhan	-at	-ä	'əssat	wä=	qom	-u	wəstä
bərhan	-at	-ä <sub>1</sub>	'əssat	wä=	qom <sub>1</sub>	-u	wəstä
light	PL	of	fire	and=	arise\PERF	MP	in
n	n:Any	n:Any	n	coordconn	vi	v:Any	prep
lights of			fire	and they arose			in
			n				prep
ቅጽረ		: ሀገር	:				:
qəṣr	-ä	hägär					
qəṣr	-ä <sub>1</sub>	hägär					
wall	of	city					
n	n:Any	n					
wall of		city					
n		n					

And a trumpet sounded, and angels came out from heaven holding torches in their hands, and they set them on the walls of the city.

1.17	ወሰቤሃ		: ኤርምያስ	: ወባሮክ		: በከዩ		: እንዘ
	wä=	sobeha	'erməyas	wä=	barok	bäkäy	-u	'enzä
	wä=	sobeha	'erməyas	wä=	barok	bäkäy	-u	'enzä
	and=	then	Jeremiah	and=	Baruch	cry\PERF	MP	while
	coordconn	adv	n	coordconn	n	vi	v:Any	advlizer
	and then		Jeremiah	and Baruch		they cried		while
			n	n		v		advlizer
: ይብሉ			: እስመ	: ይእዙ	: አእመርኅ		: ከመ	:
yə-	bəl	-u	'əsmä	yə'əze	'ä'mär	-nä	kämä	
yə-	bəl	-u	'əsmä	yə'əze	'ä'mär	-nä	kämä	
3M	say\IMPF	MP	because	now	know\PERF	1CP	so that	
v:Any	vt	v:Any	advlizer	adv	vt	v:Any	advlizer	
they say			because	now	we knew		so that	
			advlizer	adv			advlizer	
አማን	: ነር	።						
'āman	nägär							
'ām(m)an	nägär <sub>1</sub>							
true	matter							
adj	n							
true	thing							
adj	n							

And when Jeremiah and Baruch saw them, they wept, saying, “Now we know that the word is true.”

1.18 ወአስተብቀዎሙ : ኤርምያስ : ለመላእክት : እንዘ :

wä= 'ästäbäq<sup>w</sup> =omu 'erməyas lä= mäla'əkt 'ənzä  
 wä= 'ästäbäq<sup>w</sup> =homu 'erməyas lä=1 mä'l'äk 'ənzä  
 and= beseech\PERF =3MP Jeremiah to= angel.PL while  
 coordconn vt pro n prep n advlizer  
 and he beseeched them Jeremiah (to) the angels while  
 n n advlizer

ይብል : አስተብቀዎከሙ : ከሎ :

yə- bəl '- astäbäq<sup>w</sup>q<sup>w</sup>ə' =äkəmu k<sup>w</sup>əllo  
 yə- bəl 'ə- astäbäq<sup>w</sup>q<sup>w</sup>ə' =kəmu k<sup>w</sup>əllo  
 3M say\IMPF 1CS beseech\IMPF =2MP all.ACC  
 v:Any vt v:Any vt pro-form quant  
 he says I beseech you all

v det  
 ኢታህጉሉ : ሀገረ : እስከ :

'i= t- ahg<sup>w</sup>əl -u hägär -ä 'əskä  
 'i= tə-2 ahg<sup>w</sup>əl -u hägär -ä2 'əskä  
 NEG= 2 destroy\JUSS MP city ACC until that  
 verbprt v:Any vt v:Any n n:Any advlizer  
 do not destroy! city until that  
 n advlizer

v n  
 እስከሎ : ለእግዚአብሔር : አሐተ :

'ə- sə''əl =o lä= 'əgzi'äbəher 'ähätt -ä  
 'ə- sə''əl =hu lä=1 'əgzi'äbəher1 'ähätti -ä2  
 1CS enquire\IMPF =3MS to= God one.F ACC  
 v:Any vt pro prep n cardnum n:Any  
 I enquire him (to) God one  
 v cardnum

ነገረ	፤ ወነበቦሙ				፡ እግዚእ	፡ ለመላእክት		፡
nägär	-ä	wä=	näbäb	=omu	'ægzi'	lä=	mäla'əkt	
nägär <sub>1</sub>	-ä <sub>2</sub>	wä=	näbäb	=homu	'ægzi'	lä= <sub>1</sub>	mäl'äk	
matter	ACC	and=	speak\PERF	=3MP	lord	to=	angel.PL	
n	n:Any	coordconn	vt	pro	n	prep	n	
matter		and he spoke to them			lord	(to) the angels		
n					n	n		
እንዝ	፡ ይብል		፡ ኢታህጉሉ			፡ ሀገረ		፡
'ənzä	yə-	bəl	'i=	t-	ahg <sup>w</sup> əl	-u	hägär	-ä
'ənzä	yə-	bəl	'i=	tə <sub>-2</sub>	ahg <sup>w</sup> əl	-u	hägär	-ä <sub>2</sub>
while	3M	say\IMPF	NEG=	2	destroy\JUSS	MP	city	ACC
advlizer	v:Any	vt	verbprt	v:Any	vt	v:Any	n	n:Any
while	he says		do not destroy!				city	
advlizer	v		v				n	
እስከ	፡ እትናገር		፡ ምስሉ	፡ ኤርምያስ	፡ ኅሩይየ		፡፡	
'əskä	'ə-	tnagär	məslä	'erməyas	həruy	=əyä		
'əskä	'ə-	tnagär	məslä	'erməyas	həruy	=yä		
until that	1CS	speak\JUSS	with	Jeremiah	chosen	=1CS		
advlizer	v:Any	vt	prep	n	adj	pro		
until that	I would speak		with	Jeremiah	my chosen (one)			
advlizer	v		prep	n	adj			

And Jeremiah besought the angels, saying, “I beseech you not to destroy the city just yet, until I speak a word to the Lord.” And the Lord said to the angels, “Do not destroy the city, until I speak to my chosen one, Jeremiah.”

1.19	ወሰቤሃ		: ተናገረ		: ኤርምያስ	: እንዘ	:
wä=	sobeha	tänagär	-ä	'erməyas	'ənzä		
wä=	sobeha	tänagär	-ä <sub>3</sub>	'erməyas	'ənzä		
and=	then	speak\PERF	3MS	Jeremiah	while		
coordconn	adv	vt	v:Any	n	advlizer		
and then		he spoke		Jeremiah	while		
		v		n	advlizer		
ይብል		: አስተባባሪ		: እግዚአብሔር	: አዝዝ		:
yə-	bəl	'-	astäbäq <sup>w</sup> q <sup>w</sup> ə'	=äkä	'əgzi'	=əyä	'əzzəz
yə-	bəl	'ə-	astäbäq <sup>w</sup> q <sup>w</sup> ə'	=kä	'əgzi'	=yä	'əzzəz
3M	say\IMPF	1CS	beseech\IMPF	=2MS	lord	=1CS	command\IMPV
v:Any	vt	v:Any	vt	pro	n	pro	vt
he says		I beseech you			my lord		command!
v					n		
ሊተ	: ከመ	: እትናገር		: ምስሌክ	:		:
l=	=itä	kämä	'ə-	tnagär	məsle	=kä	
lä=1	=itä	kämä	'ə-	tnagär	məslä	=kä	
to=	=1CS	so that	1CS	speak\JUSS	with	=2MS	
prep	pro	advlizer	v:Any	vt	prep	pro	
to me		so that	I would speak		with you		
		advlizer	v				

ወይቤሉ				: ንብብ	: ጎሩይየ	: ኤርምያስ	:
wä=	yə-	bel	=o	nəbəb	həruy	=əyă	'erməyas
wä=	yə-	be	=hu	nəbəb	həruy	=yă	'erməyas
and=	3M	say\PRET	=3MS	speak\IMPV	chosen	=1CS	Jeremiah
coordconn	v:Any	vt	pro	vt	adj	pro	n
and he said to him				speak!	my chosen (one)		Jeremiah
				v	adj		n

ዘትፈቅድ ::

zä= tə- fäqqəd

zä= tə-<sub>2</sub> fäqqəd

REL= 2 wish\IMPF

rel v:Any vt

that you wish

v

And he said, "I beg you, Lord, command me to speak in your presence." And the Lord said, "Speak, my chosen one, Jeremiah."

1.20 ወይቤሉ				: ኤርምያስ	: ናሁ	: ይእዜ	:
wä=	yə-	bel	=o	'erməyas	nahu	yə'əze	
wä=	yə-	be	=hu	'erməyas	nahu	yə'əze	
and=	3M	say\PRET	=3MS	Jeremiah	behold	now	
coordconn	v:Any	vt	pro	n	prt	adv	
and he said to him				Jeremiah	behold	now	
				n	prt	adv	

አእመርኅ ::

'ä'mär -nä

'ä'mär -nä

know\PERF 1CP

vt v:Any

we knew

And Jeremiah said, "Behold, now we know,

1.21	አግዚአቆ	:	ከመ	:	ትሜጥዋ	:	ለሀገር	:	ውስተ	:
	'əgzi'	=əyä	kämä	tə-	metṭəw	=a	lä=	hägär	wəstä	
	'əgzi'	=yä	kämä	tə- <sub>2</sub>	metṭu	=ha	lä= <sub>1</sub>	hägär	wəstä	
	lord	=1CS	that	2	hand over\IMPF	=3FS	to=	city	in	
	n	pro	comp	v:Any	vt	pro	prep	n	prep	
	my lord		that	you	hand over her		(to)	the city	in	
	n		comp						prep	
እደ	:	ጸላእታ	:	ወይነሥኣ	:	ሕዝብ	:			
	'əd	-ä	ṣäla't	=a	wä=	yə-	näśśə'	=a	həzb	
	'əd <sub>2</sub>	-ä <sub>1</sub>	ṣäla'i	=ha	wä=	yə-	näśśə'	=ha	həzb	
	hand	of	enemy.PL	=3FS	and=	3M	take\IMPF	=3FS	people	
	n	n:Any	n	pro	coordconn	v:Any	vt	pro	n	
	hand of		her enemy		and	he	takes	her	people	
	n								n	
ዘእምባቢሎን	:	ወምንተ	:	ትፈቅድ	:	ከመ	:			
	zä=	'əm=	babilon	wä=	mənt	-ä	tə-	fäqqəd	kämä	
	zä=	'əm= <sub>1</sub>	babilon	wä=	mənt	-ä <sub>2</sub>	tə- <sub>2</sub>	fäqqəd	kämä	
	REL=	from=	Babylon	and=	what	ACC	2	wish\IMPF	so that	
	rel	prep	n	coordconn	interrog	n:Any	v:Any	vt	advlizer	
	that [is]	from	Babylon	and	what		you	wish	so that	
									advlizer	
እግበር	:	ቅድስተ	:	ቅኔነ	:	ቦኅቡኣ	:			
	'ə-	gbär	qəddəst	-ä	qəne	=nä	bä=	həbu'		
	'ə-	gbär	qəddəst <sub>1</sub>	-ä <sub>1</sub>	qəne	=nä	bä=	həbu'		
	1CS	do\JUSS	sancturay	of	servitude	=1CP	by=	hidden		
	v:Any	vt	n	n:Any	n	pro	prep	adj		
	I would do		sancturay	of	our	servitude	in	hidden		
v			n							

ዘንትቀነይ : ወምንተ : ትፈቅድ :

zä= nə- tqännäy wä= mənt -ä tə- fäqqəd  
 zä= nə- tqännäy wä= mənt -ä<sub>2</sub> tə-<sub>2</sub> fäqqəd  
 REL= 1CP serve\IMPF and= what ACC 2 wish\IMPF  
 rel v:Any vt coordconn interrog n:Any v:Any vt  
 that we serve and what you wish

v  
 እግበር : ዲቤሆሙ ::

'ə- gbär dibe =homu  
 'ə- gbär dibä =homu  
 1CS do\JUSS on =3MP  
 v:Any vt prep pro  
 I would do on them

v  
 my Lord, that you are handing over your city into the hands of its enemies, and they will carry the people off to Babylon. What shall we do (with) your holy (things), (with) the holy vessels of your temple service? What do you want us to do (with) them?"

1.22 ወይቤሎ : እግዚእ : ንሥእሙ :

wä= yə- bel =o 'əgzī' nəśə' =omu  
 wä= yə- be =hu 'əgzī' nəśə' =homu  
 and= 3M say\PRET =3MS lord take\IMPV =3MP  
 coordconn v:Any vt pro n vt pro  
 and he said to him lord take them!

v  
 መጠጥጥ : ለምድር : ወለቤተ

wä= mäṭṭəw =a lä= mədr wä= lä= bet -ä  
 wä= mäṭṭəw<sub>3</sub> =ha lä=<sub>1</sub> mədr wä= lä=<sub>1</sub> bet<sub>1</sub> -ä<sub>1</sub>  
 and= hand over\IMPV =3FS to= earth and= to= house of  
 coordconn vt pro prep n coordconn prep n n:Any  
 and hand over to her! (to) the earth and to house of  
 v adv adv

: መቅደስ	: እንዘ	: ትብል		: ወአንተኒ		: ምድር	:
mäqdäs	'ənzä	tə-	bəl	wä=	'änti	=ni	mədr
mäqdäs	'ənzä	tə- <sub>2</sub>	bəl	wä=	'änti	=ni <sub>1</sub>	mədr
sactuary	while	2	say\ IMPF	and=	2FS	=also	earth
n	advlizer	v:Any	vt	coordconn	pro	post	n
sactuary	while	you say		and you, also			earth
n	advlizer	v		pro-form			n
ስምዒ		: ቃለ		: ፈጣሪኪ			:
səmə'	-i	qal	-ä	fäṭari	=ki		
səmə'	-i	qal	-ä <sub>1</sub>	fäṭari	=ki		
listen\ IMPV	2FS	word	of	creator	=2FS		
vt	v:Any	n	n:Any	n	pro		
listen!		word of	your	creator			
v		n		n			
ዘፈጠረኪ				: በጎይለ		: ማያት	:
zä=	fäṭär	-ä	=ki	bä=	hjäyl	-ä	may -at
zä=	fäṭär	-ä <sub>3</sub>	=ki	bä=	hjäyl	-ä <sub>1</sub>	may -at
REL=	create\ PERF	3MS	=2FS	by=	might	of	water PL
rel	vt	v:Any	pro	prep	n	n:Any	n
that he created you				by the	might of		waters
v				adv		n	
ዘጎተመኪ				: በ፯ማጎተምት			:
zä=	hätäm	-ä	=ki	bä=	7		maḥtämt
zä=	hätäm	-ä <sub>3</sub>	=ki	bä=	7		maḥtämt+FR. VAR. OF
REL=	seal\ PERF	3MS	=2FS	by=	7		seal
rel	vt	v:Any	pro	prep	cardnum	n	
that he sealed you				by 7	seals		
v							

ተመጠዋ		: ሥነኪ		: ወዕቀቢ		:		
tämätṭäw	-i	śənn	=äki	wä=	‘əqäb	-i		
tämätṭäw <sub>2</sub>	-i	śənn	=ki	wä=	‘əqäb	-i		
receive\IMPV	2FS	beauty	=2FS	and=	guard\IMPV	2FS		
vt	v:Any	n	pro	coordconn	vt	v:Any		
receive!		your beauty		and guard!				
v		n		v				
ንዋየ		: ቅኔኪ		: እስከ	: ምጽአቱ	: ለፍቁር		
nəway	-ä	qəne	=ki	’əskä	məṣ’ät	=u	lä=	fəqur
nəway	-ä <sub>1</sub>	qəne	=ki	’əskä	məṣ’ät	=hu	lä=	fəqur
vessel	of	servitude	=2FS	until that	arrival	=3MS	to=	beloved
n	n:Any	n	pro	advlizer	n	pro	prep	adj
vessel of		your servitude		until that	his arrival		(of) the	beloved (one)
n		n		advlizer	n		n	
∴								

And the Lord said to him, “Take them and consign them to the earth, that is, to the altar, saying, ‘Hear, O earth, the voice of him who created you in the abundance of the waters, who sealed you with seven seals, with seven epochs; and thereafter you will receive your beauty. Guard the vessels of the temple service until the gathering of the beloved one!’”

1.23 ወነበበ		: ኤርምያስ		: ወይቢ		:
wä=	näbäb	-ä	’erməyas	wä=	yə-	be
wä=	näbäb	-ä <sub>3</sub>	’erməyas	wä=	yə-	be
and=	speak\PERF	3MS	Jeremiah	and=	3M	say\PRET
coordconn	vt	v:Any	n	coordconn	v:Any	vt
and he spoke			Jeremiah	and he said		
v		n		v		
አስተብቅኑክ		: እግዚአቆ		: አርአየኒ		:
’-	astäbäq <sup>w</sup> q <sup>wə</sup> ’	=äkä	’əgzi’	=əyä	’är’əy	=äni
’ə-	astäbäq <sup>w</sup> q <sup>wə</sup> ’	=kä	’əgzi’	=yä	’är’əy	=ni <sub>2</sub>
1CS	beseech\IMPF	=2MS	lord	=1CS	show\IMPV	=1CS
v:Any	vt	pro	n	pro	vt	pro
I beseech you			my lord		show me!	
v		n		v		

ዘእገብር			: ለአቤሜሌክ		: ኢትዮጵያዊ		: ዘውእቱ		:
zä=	'ə-	gäbbär	lä=	'äbemelek	'ityopəyawī	zä=	wə'ətu		
zä=	'ə-	gäbbär	lä=1	'äbemelek	'ityopəyawī	zä=	wə'ətu <sub>1</sub>		
REL=	1CS	do\ IMPF	to=	Abimelech	Ethiopian	REL=	3MS		
rel	v:Any	vt	prep	n	adj	rel	pro		
that I do			to	Abemelech	Ethiopian	that he [is]			
v					adj				
ብዙሃ		: ዐቀብሙ		: ለሕዝብ					:
bəzuḥ	-ä	'äqäb	=omu	lä=	ḥəzb				
bəzuḥ	-ä <sub>2</sub>	'äqäb	=homu	lä=1	ḥəzb				
many	ACC	guard\ PERF	=3MP	to=	people				
adj	n:Any	vt	pro	prep	n				
many		he guarded them		(to) the	people				
adj				n					
ወለገብርከኒ				: ኤርምያስ	: ፈድፍድ	: እምኩሉ			:
wä=	lä=	gäbr	=əkä	=ni	'erməyas	fädfadä	'əm=	kʷəllu	
wä=	lä=1	gäbr <sub>2</sub>	=kä	=ni <sub>1</sub>	'erməyas	fädfadä	'əm=1	kʷəllu	
and=	to=	servant	=2MS	=also	Jeremiah	very much	than=	all	
coordconn	prep	n	pro	post	n	adv	prep	quant	
and to your		servant,	also		Jeremiah	very much	than	all	
					n	adv	adv		
ሰብአ		: ሀገር	: ወውእቱ		: አውፅአኒ				:
säb'	-ä	hägär	wä=	wə'ətu	'äwḍə'	-ä	=ni		
säb'	-ä <sub>1</sub>	hägär	wä=	wə'ətu <sub>1</sub>	'äwḍə'	-ä <sub>3</sub>	=ni <sub>2</sub>		
men	of	city	and=	3MS	bring forth\ PERF	3MS	=1CS		
n	n:Any	n	coordconn	pro	vt	v:Any	pro		
men of		city	and he		he brought me forth				
n		n							

እምውስተ	:	ዐዘቅተ	:	ዐምዐም	:	ወኢይፈቅድ	:	
'əm=	wəstä	'äzäqt	-ä	'äm'äm	wä=	'i=	yə-	fäqqəd
'əm=1	wəstä	'äzäqt	-ä <sub>1</sub>	'äm'äm	wä=	'i=	yə-	fäqqəd
from=	in	well	of	mud	and=	NEG=	3M	wish\ IMPF
prep	prep	n	n:Any	n	coordconn	verbprt	v:Any	vt
from	inside	well	of	mud	and	I do not	wish	
		n		n	v			
ሎቱ	:	ይርኢይ	:	ሙስናሃ	:	ወሀጉላ	:	
l=	=otü	yə-	r'äy	musəna	=ha	wä=	häg <sup>w</sup> l	=a
lä=1	=otü	yə-	r'äy	musəna	=ha	wä=	häg <sup>w</sup> l	=ha
to=	=3MS	3M	see\ JUSS	destruction	=3FS	and=	destruction	=3FS
prep	pro	v:Any	vt	n	pro	coordconn	n	pro
to	him	he would	see	her	destruction	and	her	distruction
		v						
ለሀገር	:	ከሙ	:	ኢይሕዘን	:	።		
lä=	hägär	kämä	'i=	yə-	hžän			
lä=1	hägär	kämä	'i=	yə-	hžän			
to=	city	so that	NEG=	3M	be sad\ JUSS			
prep	n	advlizer	verbprt	v:Any	vi			
(to)	the city	so that	he would	not	be sad			
		advlizer						

And Jeremiah said, "I beseech you, O Lord, show me what I should do to Abimelech, the Ethiopian, for he has done many good deeds to the people and to your servant Jeremiah. For he pulled me out of the pit of mud. And I do not want him to see the destruction and devastation of the city. He rather should not be grieved."

1.24 ወይቤሎ

: እግዚእ : ለኤርምያስ :

wä= yə- bel =o 'əgzı' lä= 'erməyas  
 wä= yə- be =hu 'əgzı' lä=1 'erməyas  
 and= 3M say\PRET =3MS lord to= Jeremiah  
 coordconn v:Any vt pro n prep n  
 and he said to him lord (to) Jeremiah

v  
 ፈንጎጎ : ውስተ : ዐጸደ : ወይን : ዘሀግሪጳስ :

fännəw =wo wəstä 'äšäd -ä wäyn zä= hägrıppas  
 fännəw =hu wəstä 'äšäd -ä1 wäyn zä= hägrıppas  
 send\IMPV =3MS in courtyard of vine GEN= Agrippa  
 vt pro prep n n:Any n prt n  
 send him! in courtyard of vine of Agrippa

በፍኖት : ዘደብር : ወአነ : እከድኖ :

bä= fənot zä= däbr wä= 'änä 'ə- käddeän =o  
 bä= fənot zä= däbr wä= 'änä 'ə- käddeän =hu  
 by= road GEN= mountain and= 1CS 1CS cover\IMPF =3MS  
 prep n prt n coordconn pro v:Any vt pro  
 by road of mountain and I I cover him

adv n v  
 እስከ : አገብኩሙ : ለሕዝብ : ውስተ : ሀገር ፤

'əskä '- agäbbə' =omu lä= həzb wəstä hägär  
 'əskä 'ə- agäbbə' =homu lä=1 həzb wəstä hägär  
 until that 1CS bring back\IMPF =3MP to= people in city  
 advlizer v:Any vt pro prep n prep n  
 until that I bring them back (to) the people in city  
 advlizer n prep n

ወአንተ	:	ኤርምያስ	:	ሐር	:	ምስለ	:	ሕዝብ	:	እስከ	:	
wä=		'äntä		'erməyas		ħor		məslä		ħəzb		'əskä
wä=		'äntä		'erməyas		ħor <sub>2</sub>		məslä		ħəzb		'əskä
and=	2MS	Jeremiah		go\IMPV		with		people		until		that
coordconn	pro	n		vi		prep		n		advlizer		
and you		Jeremiah		go!		with		people		until		that
		n		v		prep		n		advlizer		

ትበጽሑ	:	ምድረ	:	ባቢሎን	:	ወንበር	:
tə-	bäşşəḥ	-u	mədr	-ä	babilon	wä=	nəbär
tə- <sub>2</sub>	bäşşəḥ	-u	mədr	-ä <sub>1</sub>	babilon	wä=	nəbär
2	arrive\IMPF	MP	land	of	Babylon	and=	dwel\IMPV
v:Any	vi	v:Any	n	n:Any	n	coordconn	vi
you arrive			land of		Babylon	and dwell!	

ትትነበይ	:	ሎሙ	:	እስከ	:	አገብአሙ	:
tə-	tnebbäy	l=	=omu	'əskä	'-	agäbbə'	=omu
tə- <sub>2</sub>	tnebbäy	lä= <sub>1</sub>	=homu	'əskä	'ə-	agäbbə'	=homu
2	prophecy\IMPF	to=	=3MP	until that	1CS	bring back\IMPF	=3MP
v:Any	vi	prep	pro	advlizer	v:Any	vt	pro
you prophesy		(to) them		until that	I bring	them back	
v		pro		advlizer			

: ውስተ : ሀገራቸው ፤ ወለባሮከሂ :

wästä hägär =omu wä= lä= barok =hi  
wästä hägär =homu wä= lä=1 barok =hi  
in city =3MP and= to= Baruch =the very  
prep n pro coordconn prep n sentprt  
in their city and (to) Baruch, the very  
prep n  
ኅድገ : ህየ : ውስተ : ኢየሩሳሌም ::

hädäg =o həyyä wästä 'iyärusalem  
hädäg =hu həyyä wästä 'iyärusalem  
leave\IMPV =3MS there in Jerusalem  
vt pro adv prep n  
leave him! there in Jerusalem  
adv prep

And the Lord said to Jeremiah, “Send him to the vineyard of Agrippa by the mountain (trail). And I will protect him until I return the people to the city.” And the Lord said to Jeremiah, “Go with your people to Babylon and stay with them, announcing to them the good news, until I return them to the city! But leave Baruch here until I speak with him!”

1.25 ወገሮ : እግዚእ : ዘንተ : ኩሎ : ለኤርምያስ :

wä= nägär =o 'əgzi' zäntä kʷəllo lä= 'erməyas  
wä= nägär<sub>2</sub> =hu 'əgzi' zäntä kʷəllo lä=1 'erməyas  
and= tell\PERF =3MS lord this.M.ACC all.ACC to= Jeremiah  
coordconn vt pro n dem quant prep n  
and he told him lord this all (to) Jeremiah  
n dem det  
ወገሊፈ : እምነብ : ኤርምያስ : ውስተ : ሰማይ ::

wä= häläf -ä 'əm= hābä 'erməyas wästä sämay  
wä= häläf -ä<sub>3</sub> 'əm=1 hābä 'erməyas wästä sämay  
and= leave\PERF 3MS from= with Jeremiah in heaven  
coordconn vi v:Any prep prep n prep n  
and he left from with Jeremiah in heaven  
prep n prep n

Having said that, the Lord ascended from Jeremiah into heaven.

1.26	ወኔርምያስ		: ወባሮክ		: ቦኡ		: ውስተ	:
	wä=	'ermäyas	wä=	barok	bo'	-u	wästä	
	wä=	'ermäyas	wä=	barok	bo'	-u	wästä	
	and=	Jeremiah	and=	Baruch	enter\PERF	MP	in	
	coordconn	n	coordconn	n	vi	v:Any	prep	
	and Jeremiah		and Baruch		they entered		in	
	n		n		v		prep	
ቤተ		: መቅደስ	: ወክሎ		: ንዋየ		:	
bet	-ä	mäqdäs	wä=	k <sup>w</sup> ällo	nəway	-ä		
bet <sub>1</sub>	-ä <sub>1</sub>	mäqdäs	wä=	k <sup>w</sup> ällo	nəway	-ä <sub>2</sub>		
house	of	sactuary	and=	all.ACC	vessel	ACC		
n	n:Any	n	coordconn	quant	n	n:Any		
house of		sactuary	and all		vessel			
n		n	det		n			
ዘቅኔሆሙ			: መጠውዋ			: ለምድር	:	
zä=	qəne	=homu	mätṭäw	-əw	=wa	lä=	mədr	
zä=	qəne	=homu	mätṭäw	-u	=ha	lä=1	mədr	
GEN=	servitude	=3MP	hand over\PERF	MP	=3FS	to=	earth	
prt	n	pro	vt	v:Any	pro	prep	n	
of their	servitude		they handed her over			(to) the	earth	
n								
በከመ		: አዘዘመ		: እግዚእ	: ወሰቤሃ		:	
bä=	kämä	'äzzäz	=omu	'əgzi'	wä=	sobeha		
bä=	kämä	'äzzäz	=homu	'əgzi'	wä=	sobeha		
in=	that	command\PERF	=3MP	lord	and=	then		
prep	comp	vt	pro	n	coordconn	adv		
as		he commanded them		lord	and then			
advlizer				n				

ሠረበቶ			: ምድር	: ወነበሩ		:
śārāb	-ät	=o	mədr	wä=	näbär	-u
śārāb	-ät	=hu	mədr	wä=	näbär	-u
absorb\PERF	3FS	=3MS	earth	and=	dwel\PERF	MP
vt	v:Any	pro	n	coordconn	vi	v:Any
she absorbed him			earth	and	they dwelled	
			n			
ከልኤሆሙ		: ወበከዩ		::		
käl'e	=homu	wä=	bäkäy	-u		
käl'e	=homu	wä=	bäkäy	-u		
two	=3MP	and=	cry\PERF	MP		
n	pro	coordconn	vi	v:Any		
two of them		and	they cried			
		v				

But Jeremiah and Baruch went into the sanctuary and consigned the vessels of temple service to the earth as the Lord had told them. And immediately the earth swallowed them. And the two of them sat down and wept.

1.27 ወበሳኒታ			: ጸቢሐ	: ፈነዎ		: ኤርምያስ	:
wä=	bä=	sanita	şäbiḥo	fännäw	=o	'ermäyas	
wä=	bä=	sanita	şäbiḥo	fännäw	=hu	'ermäyas	
and=	by=	the next day	at dawn	send\PERF	=3MS	Jeremiah	
coordconn	prep	n	adv	vt	pro	n	
and			at dawn	he sent him		Jeremiah	
			adv			n	
ለአቤሜሌክ	: እንዘ	: ይብል		: ንሣእ	: ከረቦ	:	
lä=	'äbemelek	'ənzä	yə-	bəl	nəśa'	käräbo	
lä=1	'äbemelek	'ənzä	yə-	bəl	nəśa'	käräbo	
to=	Abimelech	while	3M	say\IMPF	take\IMPV	basket	
prep	n	advlizer	v:Any	vt	vt	n	
to Abimelech		while	he says	take!		basket	
		advlizer	v			n	

ወሐር		: እንተ	: ፍኖተ		: ደብር	: ውስተ	: ዐጸደ	
wä=	ḥor	'əntä	fənot	-ä	däbr	wəstä	'äšäd	-ä
wä=	ḥor <sub>2</sub>	'əntä <sub>1</sub>	fənot	-ä <sub>1</sub>	däbr	wəstä	'äšäd	-ä <sub>1</sub>
and=	go\ IMPV	via	road	of	mountain	in	courtyard	of
coordconn	vi	prep	n	n:Any	n	prep	n	n:Any
and go!		via	road		mountain	in	courtyard of	
v		prep	n		n	prep	n	
: ወይን	: ዘሀግሪጳስ		: ወአምጽእ			: ንስተተ		:
wäyn	zä=	hägrippas	wä=	'ämšə'	nəstit	-ä		
wäyn	zä=	hägrippas	wä=	'ämšə' <sub>1</sub>	nəstit	-ä <sub>2</sub>		
vine	GEN=	Agrippa	and=	bring\ PERF	a little	ACC		
n	prt	n	coordconn	vt	adj	n:Any		
vine	of	Agrippa			a little			
n	n				adj			
በለሰ		: ለድውያን			: ሕዝብ	: እስመ		:
bäläs	-ä	lä=	dəwəy	-an	ḥəzb	'əsmä		
bäläs	-ä <sub>2</sub>	lä= <sub>1</sub>	dəwuy+UNSPEC. VAR. OF	-an	ḥəzb	'əsmä		
fig	ACC	to=	sick	PL	people	because		
n	n:Any	prep	adj	n:Any	n	advlizer		
fig		(to)	the sick ones		people	because		
n					n	advlizer		
ትፍሶሳከተ		: እግዚእ	: ሀሎ	: ውስተ	: ርእሰከ			:
təfśəḥt	-ä	'əgzi'	hällö	wəstä	rə's	=əkä		
təfśəḥt	-ä <sub>2</sub>	'əgzi'	hälläw	wəstä	rə's	=kä		
joy	ACC	lord	exist\ PERF	in	head	=2MS		
n	n:Any	n	vi	prep	n	pro		
joy		lord	he existed	in	head			
n		n	v	prep				

ወስብሐቱ			፤ ወሐረ			: ወ-አቲኒ	:
wä=	səbhät	=u	wä=	ḥor	-ä	wə'ətu	=ni
wä=	səbhät	=hu	wä=	ḥor <sub>1</sub>	-ä <sub>3</sub>	wə'ətu <sub>1</sub>	=ni <sub>1</sub>
and=	praise	=3MS	and=	go\PERF	3MS	3MS	=also
coordconn	n	pro	coordconn	vi	v:Any	pro	post
and			and			he, also	
ባከመ		: አዘዞ		::			
bä=	kämä	'əzzäz	=o				
bä=	kämä	'əzzäz	=hu				
in=	that	command\PERF	=3MS				
prep	comp	vt	pro				
as		he commanded him					

advlizer

And when morning came, Jeremiah sent Abimelech away, saying, “Take the basket and go to the estate of Agrippa by the mountain trail; bring a few figs in it and give (them) to the sick among the people. For the favor of the Lord is on you, and his glory is on your head.” And he went away as he told him.

1.28 ወብሳኒታ			: ጸቢሐ	: ኅይለ		: ከላዴዎን	:
wä=	bä=	sanita	ṣäbiḥo	ḥäyl	-ä	käladewon	
wä=	bä=	sanita	ṣäbiḥo	ḥäyl	-ä <sub>2</sub>	käladewon	
and=	in=	the next day	at dawn	might	ACC	Chaldean	
coordconn	prep	n	adv	n	n:Any	n	
and	on the next day		at dawn	might		Chaldean	
			adv	n		n	
ዖድዋ		: ለሀገር		: ወነፍሳ			:
'od	-əw	=wa	lä=	hägär	wä=	näfh	-ä
'od	-u	=ha	lä= <sub>1</sub>	hägär	wä=	näfh	-ä <sub>1</sub>
surround\PERF	MP	=3FS	to=	city	and=	blow\PERF	of
vt	v:Any	pro	prep	n	coordconn	vt	n:Any
surround\PERF			(to) the city		and		

በቀር?	:	ዐቢይ	:	መልአክ	:	ወይቤ	:	ውላቱ	:
bä=	qärn	'äbiy	mäl'äk	wä=	yə-	be	wə'ətu		
bä=	qärn	'äbiy	mäl'äk	wä=	yə-	be	wə'ətu <sub>1</sub>		
by=	horn	big	angel	and=	3M	say\PRET	3MS		
prep	n	adj	n	coordconn	v:Any	vt	pro		
		big	angel		and he said		he [is]		
		adj	n	v			pro		
ባኡ		:	ካይላ	:	ከላዴዎን	:	ናሁ	:	ይትረጎሙ
ba'	-u	hāyl	-ä	käladewon	nahu	yə-	trähhāw		
ba' <sub>1</sub>	-u	hāyl	-ä <sub>2</sub>	käladewon	nahu	yə-	trähhāw		
enter\IMPV	MP	might	ACC	Chaldean	behold	3M	open\IMPF		
vi	v:Any	n	n:Any	n	prt	v:Any	vt		
enter\IMPV		might		Chaldean	behold	he	opens		
v		n		n	prt	v			
ለከሙ	:	አናቅጽ	::						
lä=	=kəmu	'ānaqəṣ							
lä= <sub>1</sub>	=kəmu	'ānqäṣ							
to=	=2MP	gate.PL							
prep	pro-form	n							
to you		gates							
		n							

And when morning came, behold, the host of the Chaldeans surrounded the city. And the great angel trumpeted, saying, “Enter the city, host of the Chaldeans, for behold, the gate has been opened for you.”

1.29	ወሰቤሃ		: ቦአ		: ንጉሥ	: ምስለ	: ሰራዊቱ	:
	wä=	sobeha	bo'	-ä	nəguś	məslä	särawit	=u
	wä=	sobeha	bo'	-ä <sub>3</sub>	nəguś	məslä	särwe	=hu
	and=	then	enter\PERF	3MS	king	with	troop.PL	=3MS
	coordconn	adv	vi	v:Any	n	prep	n	pro
	and then		enter\PERF		king	with	troop	
			v		n	prep		
	ወዳወወ		: ኩሎ		: አዝበ		:	
	wä=	ፈewäw	-u	k <sup>w</sup> ello	həzb	-ä		
	wä=	ፈewäw	-u	k <sup>w</sup> ello	həzb	-ä <sub>2</sub>		
	and=	capture\PERF	MP	all.ACC	people	ACC		
	coordconn	vt	v:Any	quant	n	n:Any		
	and they captured			all	people			
				det	n			

So, the king entered with his multitude and took all the people captive.

1.30	ወሰቤሃ		: ኤርምያስ	: ነሥኣ		: መራኻተ	:	
	wä=	sobeha	'erməyas	näs'	-ä	märaḥut	-ä	
	wä=	sobeha	'erməyas	näs'	-ä <sub>3</sub>	märḥo	-ä <sub>2</sub>	
	and=	then	Jeremiah	take\PERF	3MS	key.PL	ACC	
	coordconn	adv	n	vt	v:Any	n	n:Any	
	and then		Jeremiah	he took		keys		
			n	v		n		
	ዘቤተ		: መቅደስ	: ወወፅአ			: አፍኣ	
	zä=	bet	-ä	mäqdäs	wä=	wäḍ'	-ä	'äf'a
	zä=	bet <sub>1</sub>	-ä <sub>1</sub>	mäqdäs	wä=	wäḍ'	-ä <sub>3</sub>	'äf'a
	GEN=	house	of	sactuary	and=	come forth\PERF	3MS	outside
	prt	n	n:Any	n	coordconn	vi	v:Any	adv
	of house of			sactuary	and he came	forth		outside
	n		n					

አምሀገር	:	ወወገር		:	ለዝንቱ	:	መራኅት	:	ቅድመ
'əm=	hägär	wä=	wägär	=o	lä=	zəntu	märaḥut	qədmä	
'əm=₁	hägär	wä=	wägär	=hu	lä=₁	zəntu	märḥo	qədmä	
from=	city	and=	throw\PERF	=3MS	to=	this.M	key.PL	before	
prep	n	coordconn	vt	pro	prep	dem	n	adv	
from	city	and	he threw him		(of)	this	keys	before	
							n	adv	
:	ፀሓይ	:	እንዘ	:	ይብል	:	ለከ	:	እብለከ
däḥay	'ənzä	yə-	bəl	lä=	=kä	'ə-	bəl	=äkä	
däḥay	'ənzä	yə-	bəl	lä=₁	=kä	'ə-	bəl	=kä	
sun	while	3M	say\IMPF	to=	=2MS	1CS	say\IMPF	=2MS	
n	advlizer	v:Any	vt	prep	pro	v:Any	vt	pro	
sun	while	he says		to you		I say to you			
	advlizer	v				v			
ፀሓይ	:	ንግእ	:	መራኅት	:	ዘቤተ	:	አምላክ	:
däḥay	nəśa'	märaḥut	-ä	zä=	bet	-ä	'ämlak		
däḥay	nəśa'	märḥo	-ä₁	zä=	bet₁	-ä₁	'ämlak		
sun	take\IMPV	key.PL	of	GEN=	house	of	lord		
n	vt	n	n:Any	prt	n	n:Any	n		
sun	take!	keys of		of	house of		lord		
		n		n					
ወዕቀቦሙ			:	እስከ	:	መዋዕል	:		
wä=	'əqäb	=omu	'əskä	mäwa'əl					
wä=	'əqäb	=homu	'əskä	'əlät					
and=	guard\IMPV	=3MP	until that	day.PL					
coordconn	vt	pro	advlizer	n					
and	guard them!		until that	days					
			advlizer	n					

ዘይሴኣለኮ				: እግዚአብሔር	: በእንቲአሁ		፤ እስመ	:
zä=	yə-	sse''äl	=äkä	'ægzi'äbəher	bä=	'ənti'ä	=hu	'əsmä
zä=	yə-	sse''äl	=kä	'ægzi'äbəher <sub>1</sub>	bä=	'əntä <sub>1</sub>	=hu	'əsmä
REL=	3M	ask\IMPF	=2MS	God	by=	via	=3MS	because
rel	v:Any	vt	pro	n	prep	prep	pro	advlizer
that	he	asks	you	God	with	regard	to	him
				n				advlizer
ጎ		: ኢኮነ			: ድልወተ		: ልደትነ	:
lä=	=nä	'i=	kon	-ä	dəlwät	-ä	lədät	=ənä
lä=	=nä	'i=	kon	-ä <sub>3</sub>	dəlwät	-ä <sub>1</sub>	lədät	=nä
to=	=1CP	NEG=	be(come)\PERF	3MS	worthiness	of	birth	=1CP
prep	pro	verbprt	vi	v:Any	n	n:Any	n	pro
to	us	he	was	not	worthiness		our	birth
					n			
ለዐቂቦቱ				: እስመ	: ተረከብነ		: ንሕነሰ	:
lä=	'äqibot	=u	'əsmä	täräkäb	-nä	nəḥnä	=sä	
lä=	'äqib	=hu	'əsmä	täräkb	-nä	nəḥnä	=sä	
to=	guard\INF	=3MS	because	be found\PERF	1CP	1CP	=however	
prep	ger	pro	advlizer	vi	v:Any	pro	prt	
to	his	guarding	because	we	were	found	we,	however
			advlizer	v				
እንዘ	: ነሐፀኛ			: ለኅጢአትነ		::		
'ənzä	nä-	ḥäḍḍən	=a	lä=	ḥäṭi'ät	=ənä		
'ənzä	nə-	ḥäḍḍən	=ha	lä=	ḥäṭi'ät	=nä		
while	1CP	foster\IMPF	=3FS	to=	sin	=1CP		
advlizer	v:Any	vi	pro	prep	n	pro		
while	we	foster	her	(to)	our	sin		
advlizer								

And Jeremiah took the keys of the temple, went outside the city, and threw them into the presence of the sun, saying, "To you I say, O Sun, take the keys of the temple of God and guard them until the day when the Lord will ask you for them. For we have not been found worthy to guard them, because we became unfaithful trustees."

1.31	ወእንዘ		: ይበኪ		: ኤርምያስ		: ለሕዝብ		:
	wä=	'ənzä	yə-	bäkki	'erməyas	lä=	həzb		
	wä=	'ənzä	yə-	bäkki	'erməyas	lä=1	həzb		
	and=	while	3M	cry\ IMPF	Jeremiah	to=	people		
	coordconn	advlizer	v:Any	vi	n	prep	n		
	and while		he cries		Jeremiah	(to)	the people		
			v		n	n			
	አውፀእዎ		: እንዘ		: ያቱክልዎ				:
	'äwðə'	-əw	=wo	'ənzä	y-	atekkəl	-əw	=wo	
	'äwðə'	-u	=hu	'ənzä	yə-	atekkəl	-u	=hu	
	bring forth/PERF	MP	=3MS	while	3M	push\ IMPF	MP	=3MS	
	vt	v:Any	pro	advlizer	v:Any	vt	v:Any	pro	
	they brought him forth			while	they push him				
				advlizer					
	ወነድእዎ		: ምስለ		: ሕዝብ		: እስከ		: ባቢሎን
	wä=	näd'	-əw	=wo	məslä	həzb	'əskä	babilon	
	wä=	näd'	-u	=hu	məslä	həzb	'əskä	babilon	
	and=	drive\ PERF	MP	=3MS	with	people	until	Babylon	
	coordconn	vt	v:Any	pro	prep	n	prep	n	
	and they drove him				with	people	until	Babylon	
					prep	n	prep	n	

While Jeremiah was still weeping for the people, they were dragged off into Babylon.

1.32 ወባሮክሰ

: ነሥክ

: ሐመደ

:

wä=	barok	=sä	näs'	-ä	ḥämäd	-ä
wä=	barok	=sä	näs'	-ä <sub>3</sub>	ḥämäd	-ä <sub>2</sub>
and=	Baruch	=however	take\PERF	3MS	ash	ACC
coordconn	n	prt	vt	v:Any	n	n:Any
	and Baruch,	however	he took		ash	

ወወደየ

: ወስተ : ርእሱ : ወነበረ

wä=	wädäy	-ä	wästä	rə's	=u	wä=	näbär	-ä
wä=	wädäy	-ä <sub>3</sub>	wästä	rə's	=hu	wä=	näbär	-ä <sub>3</sub>
and=	put\PERF	3MS	in	self	=3MS	and=	dwel\PERF	3MS
coordconn	vt	v:Any	prep	n	pro	coordconn	vi	v:Any
	and he put		in	himself			and he dwelled	

v

: ወአስቆቀወ

prep

: ዘንተ

: ሰቆቃወ

:

wä=	'äsqqäw	-ä	zäntä	säqqaw	-ä
wä=	'äsqqäw	-ä <sub>3</sub>	zäntä	säqqaw	-ä <sub>2</sub>
and=	lament\PERF	3MS	this.M.ACC	lamentation	ACC
coordconn	vi	v:Any	dem	n	n:Any
	and he lamented		this	lamentation	

ወይቤ

: በእንተ

: ምንት

: ማሰነት

:

wä=	yə-	be	bä=	'əntä	mənt	masän	-ät
wä=	yə-	be	bä=	'əntä <sub>1</sub>	mənt	masän	-ät
and=	3M	say\PRET	by=	via	what	be ruined\PERF	3FS
coordconn	v:Any	vt	prep	prep	interrog	vi	v:Any
	and he said		because of	what	what	she was ruined	
			prep		interrog	v	

ኢየሩሳሌም	: አላ	: በእንተ	: ኅጢአቱ	: ለፍቁር	:
'iyärusalem	'älla	bä=	'əntä	hät'i'ät	=u lä= fəqur
'iyärusalem	'älla	bä=	'əntä <sub>1</sub>	hät'i'ät	=hu lä= <sub>1</sub> fəqur
Jerusalem	but	by=	via	sin	=3MS to= beloved
n	coordconn	prep	prep	n	pro prep adj
Jerusalem	but	because of	his sin		(of) the beloved (one)
	coordconn	prep			
አዝብ	: ወተውህበት		: በእደ	: ጸላኢሃ	:
həzb	wä=	täwəhb	-ät	bä= 'əd	-ä şäla'i =ha
həzb	wä=	täwəhb	-ät	bä= 'əd <sub>2</sub>	-ä <sub>1</sub> şäla'i =ha
people	and=	be given\PERF	3FS	by= hand	of enemy =3FS
n	coordconn	vi	v:Any	prep	n n:Any n pro
people	and she was given			in hand of	her enemy
n				prep	
በእንተ	: ኅጢአትነ	: ወዘአዝብ	: አላ	: ከመ	:
bä= 'əntä	hät'i'ät	=ənä wä=	zä=	həzb 'älla	kämä
bä= 'əntä <sub>1</sub>	hät'i'ät	=nä wä=	zä=	həzb 'älla	kämä
by=	via	sin	=1CP	and= GEN=	people but so that
prep	prep	n	pro	coordconn	prt n coordconn advlizer
because of	our sin			and of people	but so that
prep					coordconn advlizer
ኢይዘኅሩ			: ኃጥኣን	:	
'i=	yə-	zzähär	-u	hatə' -an	
'i=	yə-	zzähär	-u	hatə' -an	
NEG=	3M	boast\JUSS	MP	sinful	PL
verbppt	v:Any	vi	v:Any	adj	n:Any
they would not boast				sinful	(ones)

ወኢይበሉ : ክህልነት :  
 wä= 'i= yə- bäl -u kəhəl -nä  
 wä= 'i= yə- bäl<sub>1</sub> -u kəhl -nä  
 and= NEG= 3M say\JUUS MP be able\PERF 1CP  
 coordconn verbprt v:Any vt v:Any vt v:Any  
 and they would not say we were able

ህ ህ  
 ነግሥት : ለሀገረ : አምላክ : በጎይልነት :  
 näsi'ot =a lä= hägär -ä 'ämlak bä= həyl =ənä  
 näsi'<sub>1</sub> =ha lä=<sub>1</sub> hägär -ä<sub>1</sub> 'ämlak bä= həyl =nä  
 take\INF =3FS to= city of lord by= might =1CP  
 n pro prep n n:Any n lord prep n pro  
 her taking (to) the city of lord by our might  
 ኢኮነ : በጽንዕት

'i= kon -ä bä= šən' =əkəmu  
 'i= kon -ä<sub>3</sub> bä= šən' =kəmu  
 NEG= be(come)\PERF 3MS by= strength =2MP  
 verbprt vi v:Any prep n pro-form  
 he was not by your strength  
 ዘከህልክም : አላ : በጎጥኣትነት :

zä= kəhəl -kəməw =wa 'älla bä= həti'ät =ənä  
 zä= kəhl -kəmu =ha 'älla bä= həti'ät =nä  
 REL= be able\PERF 2MP =3FS but by= sin =1CP  
 rel vt v:Any pro coordconn prep n pro  
 that you were able her but by our sin

pro  
 ተወህበት : ለከም : ወአምላክነት :  
 täwəhb -ät lä= =kəmu wä= 'ämlak =ənä  
 täwəhb -ät lä=<sub>1</sub> =kəmu wä= 'ämlak =nä  
 be given\PERF 3FS to= =2MP and= lord =1CP  
 vi v:Any prep pro-form coordconn n pro  
 she was given to you and our God

v

ይምሕረት			: ወያገብአት				: ውስተ
yə-	məḥḥər	=änä	wä=	y-	agäbbə'	=änä	wəstä
yə-	məḥḥər	=nä	wä=	yə-	agäbbə'	=nä	wəstä
3M	have mercy\ IMPF	=1CP	and=	3M	bring back\ IMPF	=1CP	in
v:Any	vt	pro	coordconn	v:Any	vt	pro	prep
	he has mercy to us				and he brings us back		in
							prep

: ሀገር		: ወለከሙሰ				: አይወት	:
hägär	=ənä	wä=	lä=	=kəmu	=sä	ḥəywät	
hägär	=nä	wä=	lä=1	=kəmu	=sä	ḥəywät	
city	=1CP	and=	to=	=2MP	=however	life	
n	pro	coordconn	prep	pro-form	prt	n	life
	our city		and to you,	however			

n									
አልቦ		፤ ብፁዓን		: እሙንቱ	: አበዊነ			: አብርሃም	
'äl=	b=	=o	bəḍu'	-an	'əmuntu	'äb	-äw	=inä	'äbrəham
'äl=	bä=	=hu	bəḍu'	-an	'əmuntu	'äb	-äw	=inä	'äbrəham
NEG=	in=	=3MS	blessed	PL	3MP	father	PL	=1CP	Abraham
prt	prep	pro	adj	n:Any	pro	n	n:Any	pro	n
	there is not		blessed		they [are]	our fathers			Abraham

: ወይስሐቅ		: ወያዕቆብ		: እስመ	: ወፅኡ		:
wä=	yəshäq	wä=	ya'qob	'əsmä	wäd'		-u
wä=	yəshäq	wä=	ya'qob	'əsmä	wäd'		-u
and=	Issac	and=	Jacob	because	come forth\ PERF		MP
coordconn	n	coordconn	n	advlizer	vi		v:Any
	and Issac		and Jacob	because	they came forth		
				advlizer			

እምዝ	:	ዓለም	:	ወኢርእዩ	:	ሙስናሃ	:
'əm=	=zə	'aläm	wä=	'i=	rə'y	-u	musəna =ha
'əm=1	=zə	'aläm	wä=	'i=	rə'y	-u	musəna =ha
from=	=this	world	and=	NEG=	see\PERF	MP	destruction =3FS
prep	dem	n	coordconn	verbprt	vt	v:Any	n pro
from this		world	and they did not see				her destruction
		n					
ለዛቲ	:	ሀገር	:				
lä=	zati	hägär					
lä=1	zati	hägär					
to=	this.F	city					
prep	dem	n					
(to) that		city					
		n					

And Baruch put dust on his head, sat down, and wailed this lament, saying, “Why has Jerusalem been laid waste? Because of the sins of the beloved people it has been surrendered into the hands of enemies, because of our sins and those of the people. But let not the lawless (people) boast and say, ‘We were strong (enough) to take the city of God by our power.’ You did receive power over it, yet we were given up because of our sins. But our God will have mercy on us and will return us to our city. But you will not survive. Blessed are our fathers Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, because they departed from this world and did not see the destruction of this city.”

1.33 ወእምድጎረ	:	ዘንተ	:	ተናገረ	:		
wä=	'əm=	dəḥrä	zäntä	tänagär	-ä		
wä=	'əm=1	dəḥrä	zäntä	tänagär	-ä3		
and=	from=	afterward	this.M.ACC	speak\PERF	3MS		
coordconn	prep	adv	dem	vt	v:Any		
and from	afterward		this	he spoke			
adv			dem	v			
ወልክ	:	እንዘ	:	ይበከ	:	ወይቤ	:
wäd'	-ä	'ənzä	yə-	bäkki	wä=	yə-	be
wäd'	-ä3	'ənzä	yə-	bäkki	wä=	yə-	be
come forth\PERF	3MS	while	3M	cry\IMPF	and=	3M	say\PRET
vi	v:Any	advlizer	v:Any	vi	coordconn	v:Any	vt
he came forth		while	he cries		and he said		
v		advlizer	v		v		

ከሐዘን		: በእንቲአኪ		: ኢየሩሳሌም	:			
'ə-	hāzzən	bä=	'ənti'ä	=ki	'iyärusalem			
'ə-	hāzzən	bä=	'əntä <sub>1</sub>	=ki	'iyärusalem			
1CS	be sad\IMPF	by=	via	=2FS	Jerusalem			
v:Any	vi	prep	prep	pro	n			
					Jerusalem			
ወወፅኦ				: እምሀገር	:			
wä=	wäḏ'	-ä	'əm=	hägär				
wä=	wäḏ'	-ä <sub>3</sub>	'əm= <sub>1</sub>	hägär				
and=	come forth\PERF	3MS	from=	city				
coordconn	vi	v:Any	prep	n				
and	he came forth		from	city				
v								
ወጎደረ		: ውስተ	: መቃብር	:				
wä=	hädär	-ä	wästä	mäqabər				
wä=	hädär	-ä <sub>3</sub>	wästä	mäqbärt				
and=	reside\PERF	3MS	in	grave.PL				
coordconn	vi	v:Any	prep	n				
and			in	grave				
			prep	n				
ወይመጸኡ		: መላእክት	:					
wä=	yə-	mäššə'	-u	mäla'əkt				
wä=	yə-	mäššə'	-u	mäl'äk				
and=	3M	come\IMPF	MP	angel.PL				
coordconn	v:Any	vi	v:Any	n				
				angels				
				n				
ወይዘንወዎ		: በእንተ	: ከሉ	:				∴
wä=	yə-	zennəw	-əw	=wo	bä=	'əntä	k <sup>w</sup> əll	=u
wä=	yə-	zennəw	-u	=hu	bä=	'əntä <sub>1</sub>	k <sup>w</sup> əll	=hu
and=	3M	inform\IMPF	MP	=3MS	by=	via	all	=3MS
coordconn	v:Any	vt	v:Any	pro	prep	prep	det	pro
and	they inform him		with regard to	everything				
			prep	det				

Having said this, he (Baruch) left weeping and saying, “[Grieving] because of you, Jerusalem, I went out from you.” And he remained sitting in a tomb, while angels came and explained everything to him.

2.1 ወአቤሜሌክኒ		: አምጽአ		: በለሰ		: ጊዜ :	
wä=	'äbemelek	=ni	'ämşə'	-ä	bäläs	-ä	gize
wä=	'äbemelek	=ni <sub>1</sub>	'ämşə' <sub>1</sub>	-ä <sub>3</sub>	bäläs	-ä <sub>2</sub>	gize
and=	Abimelech	=also	bring\PERF	3MS	fig	ACC	time
coordconn	n	post	vt	v:Any	n	n:Any	n
and	Abimelech	also	he brought		fig		time
		v		n			
ቀትር	: እምነበ	: ለአኮ	: ኤርምያስ		:		
qätr	'əm=	hübä	lä'äk	=o	'erməyas		
qätr	'əm= <sub>1</sub>	hübä	lä'äk	=hu	'erməyas		
midday	from=	where	send\PERF	=3MS	Jeremiah		
n	prep	advlizer	vt	pro	n		
midday	from	where	he send him		Jeremiah		
n	prep			n			
ወረከበ	: ፅፀ		: ጽፍቅተ		:		
wä=	räkäb	-ä	'əḍ	-ä	şəfəqt	-ä	
wä=	räkäb	-ä <sub>3</sub>	'əḍ	-ä <sub>2</sub>	şəfəqt	-ä <sub>2</sub>	
and=	find\PERF	3MS	tree	ACC	dense.F	ACC	
coordconn	vt	v:Any	n	n:Any	adj	n:Any	
and	he found		tree		dense		
		n		adj			
ወነበረ	: ወአጽለለ		: ከሞ		:		
wä=	näbär	-ä	wä=	'äşläl	-ä	kämä	
wä=	näbär	-ä <sub>3</sub>	wä=	'äşläl	-ä <sub>3</sub>	kämä	
and=	dwel\PERF	3MS	and=	seek the shade\PERF	3MS	so that	
coordconn	vi	v:Any	coordconn	vi	v:Any	advlizer	
and	he dwelled		and	he sought the shade		so that	
						advlizer	

ያዕርፍ		: ንስተተ		: ወአስመከ		: ርእሶ	:
y-	a'rəf	nəstit	-ä	wä=	'äsmäk	-ä	rə's =o
yə-	a'rəf	nəstit	-ä <sub>2</sub>	wä=	'äsmäk	-ä <sub>3</sub>	rə's =hu
3M	rest\JUSS	a little	ACC	and=	lean\PERF	3MS	head =3MS
v:Any	vi	adj	n:Any	coordconn	vi	v:Any	n pro
he would rest		a little		and he leaned			himself
v		adj					
ዲበ	: መጋዳዳ		: በለስ	: ወኖመ		: ስሳ	:
dibä	muday	-ä	bäläs	wä=	nom	-ä	səssa
dibä	muday	-ä <sub>1</sub>	bäläs	wä=	nom	-ä <sub>3</sub>	səssa
on	basket	of	fig	and=	sleep\PERF	3MS	sixty
prep	n	n:Any	n	coordconn	vi	v:Any	cardnum
on	basket of		fig	and he slept			sixty
prep	n		n				cardnum
ወስድስተ		: ዓመተ		: ወአነቅሀ			:
wä=	sədəstä	'amät	-ä	wä=	'i=	näqh	-ä
wä=	sədəstä	'amät	-ä <sub>2</sub>	wä=	'i=	näqh	-ä <sub>3</sub>
and=	six.ACC	year	ACC	and=	NEG=	wake up\PERF	3MS
coordconn	cardnum	n	n:Any	coordconn	verbprt	vi	v:Any
and six		year		and he did not wake up			
		n		v			
እምንዋሙ		::					
'əṃ=	nəwam	=u					
'əṃ=1	nəwam	=hu					
from=	sleep	=3MS					
prep	n	pro					
from his sleep							

But Abimelech carried the figs in the heat (of day) and coming upon a tree, he sat down in its shade to rest a while. And leaning his head on the basket of figs, he fell asleep and slept for sixty-six years, and he was not awakened from his sleep.

2.2 ወእምድጎረዝ

: መዋዕል : ተጎሥኦ :

wä=	'əm=	dəhrä	=zə	mäwa'əl	tänśə'	-ä
wä=	'əm=1	dəhrä	=zə	'älät	tänśə'2	-ä3
and=	from=	afterward	=this	day.PL	arise\PERF	3MS
coordconn	prep	adv	dem	n	vi	v:Any
and	from	after	this	days	he arose	

n v

ወነቅሀ

: እምንዋሙ :

wä=	näqh	-ä	'əm=	nəwam	=u
wä=	näqh	-ä3	'əm=1	nəwam	=hu
and=	wake up\PERF	3MS	from=	sleep	=3MS
coordconn	vi	v:Any	prep	n	pro
and	he woke up		from	his sleep	

ወይቤ

: ዓዲ : ሰብ : ኖምኩ :

wä=	yə-	be	'adi	sobä	nom	-ku
wä=	yə-	be	'adi	sobä	nom	-ku
and=	3M	say\PRET	moreover	when	sleep\PERF	1CS
coordconn	v:Any	vt	adv	advlizer	vi	v:Any
and	he said		moreover	when	I slept	

adv advlizer

ንስተተ

: እስመ : ዓዲ : ይከብደኒ : ርእሰየ :

nəstit	-ä	'əsmä	'adi	yə-	käbbəd	=äni	rə's	=əyä
nəstit	-ä2	'əsmä	'adi	yə-	käbbəd	=ni2	rə's	=yä
a little	ACC	because	moreover	3M	be heavy\IMPF	=1CS	head	=1CS
adj	n:Any	advlizer	adv	v:Any	vi	pro	n	pro
a little		because	moreover	he is	heavy to me			my head

adj

advlizer adv

ወኢጥዒኩ

: ንዋሙ ::

wä=	'i=	ṭə'i	-ku	nəwam	-ä
wä=	'i=	ṭə'y	-ku	nəwam	-ä2
and=	NEG=	be healthy\PERF	1CS	sleep	ACC
coordconn	verbprt	vi	v:Any	n	n:Any
and	I did not	became	healthy	sleep	

v

n

After these things he awoke from his sleep (and) said, “I would gladly have slept a little longer; my head is heavy because I did not get enough [likely typo 'i-ṭə-di-] sleep.”

2.3 ወከሠተ			: ዝኩ		: ሙዳየ		: በለሰ	:
wä=	käsät	-ä	zək <sup>wä</sup>	muday	-ä	bäläs		
wä=	käsät	-ä <sub>3</sub>	zək <sup>wä</sup>	muday	-ä <sub>1</sub>	bäläs		
and=	reveal\PERF	3MS	that.M.ACC	basket	of	fig		
coordconn	vt	v:Any	dem	n	n:Any	n		
	and he revealed		that	basket of		fig		
v			dem	n		n		
ወረከበ			: ዝኩ		: በለሰ		: ሓዲሳነ	
wä=	räkäb	-ä	zək <sup>wä</sup>	bäläs	-ä	ḥäddis	-an	-ä
wä=	räkäb	-ä <sub>3</sub>	zək <sup>wä</sup>	bäläs	-ä <sub>2</sub>	ḥäddis	-an	-ä <sub>2</sub>
and=	find\PERF	3MS	that.M.ACC	fig	ACC	new	PL	ACC
coordconn	vt	v:Any	dem	n	n:Any	adj	n:Any	n:Any
	and he found		that	fig		new		
			dem	n		adj		
: ወያንጸፈጽፍ			: ሓሊቦን		:			
wä=	y-	anṣäfäṣṣəf	ḥälib	=on				
wä=	yə-	anṣäfäṣṣəf	ḥälib	=hon				
and=	3M	drip\IMPF	milk	=3FP				
coordconn	v:Any	vi	n	pro				
	and he drips		their	milk				

And when he uncovered the basket of figs he found them dripping (with their) milky sap.

2.4 ወፈቀደ			: ይኑም		: ዳግመ	: እስመ	:
wä=	fäqäd	-ä	yə-	num	dagämä	'əsmä	
wä=	fäqäd	-ä <sub>3</sub>	yə-	num	dagämä	'əsmä	
and=	want\PERF	3MS	3M	sleep\JUSS	again	because	
coordconn	vt	v:Any	v:Any	vi	adv	advlizer	
and he wanted			he would sleep		again	because	
			v		adv	advlizer	

ይከብዶ			: ርእሱ	:
yə-	käbbäd	=o	rə's	=u
yə-	käbbäd	=hu	rə's	=hu
3M	be heavy\IMPF	=3MS	self	=3MS
v:Any	vi	pro	n	pro
it is heavy to him			his head	

ወኢጥዕዩ				: ድቃስ	፤ ወይቤ		
wä=	'i=	ṭə'y	-ä	dəqqas	wä=	yə-	be
wä=	'i=	ṭə'y	-ä <sub>3</sub>	dəqqas	wä=	yə-	be
and=	NEG=	be healthy\PERF	3MS	slumber	and=	3M	say\PRET
coordconn	verbprt	vi	v:Any	n	coordconn	v:Any	vt
and he did not become healthy				slumber	and he said		

v				n	
: እፈርህ		: ከመ	: ኢይኑም		:
'ə-	färrəh	kämä	'i=	yə-	num
'ə-	färrəh	kämä	'i=	'ə-	num
1CS	fear\IMPF	so that	NEG=	1CS	sleep\JUSS
v:Any	vt	advlizer	verbprt	v:Any	vi
I fear		so that	I would not sleep		

v								
ወኢይገግዲ			: ከመ	: ኢይሒሰኒ				
wä=	'i=	yə-	g <sup>w</sup> ändi	kämä	'i=	yə-	his	=äni
wä=	'i=	'ə-	g <sup>w</sup> ändi	kämä	'i=	yə-	his	=ni <sub>2</sub>
and=	NEG=	1CS	tarry\JUSS	so that	NEG=	3M	scold\JUSS	=1CS
coordconn	verbprt	v:Any	vi	advlizer	verbprt	v:Any	vt	pro
and I would not tarry				so that	he would not scold me			
				advlizer				

: አቡዮ	: ኤርምያስ	: እስመ	: ጽሂፍ	: ፈነወኒ
'äbu =yä	'erməyas	'əsmä	ṣəhiq =o	fännäw -ä =ni
'äb =yä	'erməyas	'əsmä	ṣəhiq =hu	fännäw -ä <sub>3</sub> =ni <sub>1</sub>
father =1CS	Jeremiah	because	desire\CVB =3MS	send\PERF 3MS =also
n pro	n	advlizer	tcvb pro	vt v:Any post
my father	Jeremiah	because	he having desired	he sent me
	n	advlizer		

: በነግሠ	: ወይእኩኒ	: እትነሣእ	:
bä= nägh	wä=	yə'əzeni 'ə-	tnäśśa'
bä= nägh	wä=	yə'əzeni 'ə-	tnäśśa'
in= early morning	and=	now	1CS arise\IMPF
prep n	coordconn	adv	v:Any vi
in early morning	and now		I arise
	adv	v	

ወአሐውር	: እስመ	: ሞቀሰ	: ዋዕይ	:
wä= 'ä-	hāwwər	'əsmä	moqäs -ä	wa'y
wä= 'ə-	hāwwər	'əsmä	moqäs -ä <sub>3</sub>	wa'y
and= 1CS	go\IMPF	because	diminish\PERF 3MS	heat
coordconn v:Any	vi	advlizer	vt v:Any	n
		because	he diminished	heat
		advlizer	v	n

ወአለቦ	: ሶቦ	: የጎድግ	:
wä= 'äl=	b= =o	sobä yä-	hädädäg
wä= 'äl=	bä= =hu	sobä yə-	hädädäg
and= NEG=	by= =3MS	when 3M	leave\IMPF
coordconn prt	prep pro	advlizer	v:Any vt
and there is not		when	he leaves
		advlizer	v

በተለሂ	::
bä= k <sup>w</sup> əllähe	
bä= k <sup>w</sup> əllähe	
by= in every direction	
prep adv	
in every direction	

And he wanted to sleep a little because his head is heavy, but . He said: "I am afraid [Dillmann 1866, 5:13 -rā- vs Piovanelli 1985-86, 186:6 -rā-] that I might fall asleep (again) and wake up too late and Jeremiah, my father, would have a low opinion of me. For if he were not in a hurry, he would not have sent me today at dawn. So I will get up and proceed in the heat and go to where there is neither heat nor toil every day."

2.5 ወተንጊሥካ			: ወነጊሥካ			: መዳየ			:
wä=	tänsə'	-ä	wä=	näs'	-ä	muday	-ä		
wä=	tänsə'_1	-ä_3	wä=	näs'	-ä_3	muday	-ä_1		
and=	arise\IMPV	3MS	and=	take\PERF	3MS	basket	of		
coordconn	vi	v:Any	coordconn	vt	v:Any	n	n:Any		
and			and			basket of			
						n			
በለሱ	:	ወቦካ	:	ወስተ	:	ሀገረ	:		
bäläs	=u	wä=	bo'	-ä	wästä	hägär	-ä		
bäläs	=hu	wä=	bo'	-ä_3	wästä	hägär	-ä_1		
fig	=3MS	and=	enter\PERF	3MS	in	city	of		
n	pro	coordconn	vi	v:Any	prep	n	n:Any		
		and he entered			in	city of			
		v			prep	n			
ኢየሩሳሌም	:	ወኢየሩሳሌም	:	ሀገረ	:		:		
'iyärusalem	wä=	'i=	ya'mär	-ä	hägär	-ä			
'iyärusalem	wä=	'i=	'ä'mär	-ä_3	hägär	-ä_1			
Jerusalem	and=	NEG=	know\PERF	3MS	city	of			
n	coordconn	verbprt	vt	v:Any	n	n:Any			
Jerusalem	and he did not know				city of				
		v			n				
ወኢቤቶ	:	ወይቤ	:	ቡሩክ	:	አንተ	:		
wä=	'i=	bet	=o	wä=	yə-	be	buruk	'äntä	
wä=	'i=	bet_1	=hu	wä=	yə-	be	buruk	'äntä	
and=	NEG=	house	=3MS	and=	3M	say\PRET	blessed	2MS	
coordconn	verbprt	n	pro	coordconn	v:Any	vt	adj	pro	
and			and he said				blessed	you	
			v				adj	pro	

እግዚአ	:	እስመ	:	ዐቢይ	:	ድንጋጂ	:	ወረደ	:	ላዕሌሁ
'əgzɪ'	=o	'əsmä	'äbiy	dəngəɖe	wäräd	-ä	la'le	=hu		
'əgzɪ'	=o	'əsmä	'äbiy	dəngəɖe	wäräd	-ä <sub>3</sub>	la'lä	=hu		
lord	=VOC	because	big	astonishment	descend\PERF	3MS	above	=3MS		
n	prt	advlizer	adj	n	vi	v:Any	prep	pro		
O lord		because	big	astonishment	he descended		above	him		
n		advlizer	adj	n	v					
∴										

So he got up, took the basket of figs and placed it on his shoulders. And he entered Jerusalem, but he did not recognize it: neither the house nor the place nor his own family, and he said, “Blessed be the Lord, for a great trance has come upon me:

2.6 ወይቤ	:	አኮኑ	:	ዛቲ	:	ይእቲ	:	ሀገረ	:	
wä=	yə-	be	'äkkö	=nu	zati	yə'əti	hägär	-ä		
wä=	yə-	be	'äkkö	=nu	zati	yə'əti	hägär	-ä <sub>1</sub>		
and=	3M	say\PRET	NEG	=Q	this.F	3FS	city	of		
coordconn	v:Any	vt	prt	q	dem	pro	n	n:Any		
and he said			not?		this	she [is]	city of			
v					dem	pro	n			
ኢየሩሳሌም	፤ የጊ	:	እጊረ	:	እስመ	:	እንተ	:	ፍኖተ	:
'iyärusalem	yogi	'ə-	geggi	'əsmä	'əntä	fənot	-ä			
'iyärusalem	yogi	'ə-	geggi	'əsmä	'əntä <sub>1</sub>	fənot	-ä <sub>1</sub>			
Jerusalem	perhaps	1CS	go wrong\IMPF	because	via	road	of			
n	adv	v:Any	vi	advlizer	prep	n	n:Any			
Jerusalem	perhaps	I go wrong		because	via	road				
	adv	v		advlizer	prep	n				
ደብር	:	መጻእኩ	፤ ወእመ	:	አኮ	:	እስመ	:		
däbr	mäṣa'	-ku	wä=	'əmmä	'äkkö	'əsmä				
däbr	mäṣ'	-ku	wä=	'əmmä	'äkkö	'əsmä				
mountain	come\PERF	1CS	and=	if	NEG	because				
n	vi	v:Any	coordconn	advlizer	prt	advlizer				
mountain	I came		and if		NEG	because				
n	v		advlizer		prt	advlizer				

ይከብደኒ			: ርእሰየ		:			
yə-	käbbəd	=äni	rə's	=əyä				
yə-	käbbəd	=ni <sub>2</sub>	rə's	=yä				
3M	be heavy\IMPF	=1CS	head	=1CS				
v:Any	vi	pro	n	pro				
he is heavy to me			my head					
ወኢጥሲኩ					: ንዋመ		:	
wä=	'i=	tə'i	-ku	nəwam	-ä			
wä=	'i=	tə'y	-ku	nəwam	-ä <sub>2</sub>			
and=	NEG=	be healthy\PERF	1CS	sleep	ACC			
coordconn	verbprt	vi	v:Any	n	n:Any			
and I did not became healthy				sleep				
v				n				
ወይዘኛዎኒ			: ልብየ		: ወእፎ		:	
wä=	yə-	zänäggə'	=äni	ləbb	=əyä	wä=	'əfo	
wä=	yə-	zänäggə'	=ni <sub>2</sub>	ləbb	=yä	wä=	'əfo	
and=	3M	be crazy\IMPF	=1CS	heart	=1CS	and=	how	
coordconn	v:Any	vi	pro	n	pro	coordconn	adv	
and				my heart				
እኩኑ		: ዘንተ	: ነገረ		: በኅብ	: ኤርምያስ	:	
'ə-	zennu	zäntä	nägär	-ä	bä=	häbä	'erməyas	
'ə-	zennəw	zäntä	nägär <sub>1</sub>	-ä <sub>2</sub>	bä=	häbä	'erməyas	
1CS	inform\IMPF	this.M.ACC	matter	ACC	in=	with	Jeremiah	
v:Any	vt	dem	n	n:Any	prep	prep	n	
I inform		this	matter		among		Jeremiah	
v		dem	n		prep		n	
ዘከመ	: ተባዕደተኒ			: ሀገር	:			
zäkämä	täba'äd	-ät	=äni	hägär				
zäkämä	täba'äd	-ät	=ni <sub>2</sub>	hägär				
how	be unfamiliar\PERF	3FS	=1CS	city				
advlizer	vi	v:Any	pro	n				
how	it is unfamiliar to me			city				
advlizer	v			n				

And he said: "This is not the city. I lost my way because I came by the mountain trail when I awakened from my sleep. And since my head was heavy because I did not get enough sleep, I lost my way. This is an astonishing thing to say to Jeremiah, 'I lost my way.'"

2.7 ወገሠሠ		:	ተሎ	:	ትእምርተ	:	ዘሀሎ	:
wä=	häsäs	-ä	kʷəllə	tə'mərt	-ä	zä=	hällə	
wä=	häsäs	-ä <sub>3</sub>	kʷəllə	tə'mərt	-ä <sub>2</sub>	zä=	hälləw	
and=	seek\PERF	3MS	all.ACC	sign	ACC	REL=	exist\PERF	
coordconn	vt	v:Any	quant	n	n:Any	rel	vi	
and he sought			all	sign		that he existed		
			det	n		v		
ወስተ	: ሀገር	: ከመ	: ያእምር		: ለእመኑ	: ኢየሩሳሌም	:	
wəstä	hägär	kämä	y-	a'mər	lä'əmmä	=nu	'iyärusalem	
wəstä	hägär	kämä	yə-	a'mər	lä'əmmä	=nu	'iyärusalem	
in	city	so that	3M	know\JUSS	if	=Q	Jerusalem	
prep	n	advlizer	v:Any	vt	advlizer	q	n	
in	city	so that	he would know		if?		Jerusalem	
prep	n	advlizer						
ይእተ	::							
yə'əti								
yə'əti								
3FS								
pro								
she [is]								
pro								

And he went out of the city and when he looked carefully, he saw the landmarks of the city and said, "Indeed, this is the city, but I lost my way."

2.8 ወገብክ : ካዕበ : ውስተ : ሀገር :

wä= gäb' -ä ka'əb -ä wəstä hägär  
 wä= gäb' -ä<sub>3</sub> ka'əb -ä<sub>2</sub> wəstä hägär  
 and= return\PERF 3MS second ACC in city  
 coordconn vi v:Any adj n:Any prep n  
 and he returned again in city  
 v adv prep n

ወገሠሠ : ለእመቦ :

wä= häsäś -ä lä'əmmä b= =o  
 wä= häsäś -ä<sub>3</sub> lä'əmmä bä= =hu  
 and= seek\PERF 3MS if in= =3MS  
 coordconn vt v:Any advlizer prep pro  
 and he sought if there is

ዘያኣምሮ : ወገጥኣ ::

zä= y- a'ämmər =o wä= hət' -ä  
 zä= yə- a'ämmər =hu wä= hət' -ä<sub>3</sub>  
 REL= 3M know\IMPF =3MS and= not have\PERF 3MS  
 rel v:Any vt pro coordconn vt v:Any  
 that he knows him and he did not have

v

And again he went back into the city and searched, but he found no one of his own people.

2.9 ወይቤ			: ቡሩክ	: አንተ	: እግዚአ	: እስሞ	:
wä=	yə-	be	buruk	'äntä	'əgzı'	=o	'əsmä
wä=	yə-	be	buruk	'äntä	'əgzı'	=o	'əsmä
and=	3M	say\PRET	blessed	2MS	lord	=VOC	because
coordconn	v:Any	vt	adj	pro	n	prt	advlizer
and he said			blessed	you [are]	O lord		because
			adj	pro			advlizer
ዐቢይ	: ድንጋጌ	: ወድቀ		: ላዕሌየ	:		
'äbiy	dəngadə	wädq	-ä	la'le	=yä		
'äbiy	dəngadə	wädq	-ä <sub>3</sub>	la'lä	=yä		
big	astonishment	fall\PERF	3MS	upon	=1CS		
adj	n	vi	v:Any	prep	pro		
big	astonishment	he fell		upon	me		
adj	n	v					
ወወፅአ			: ካዕበ	: እምሀገር	:		
wä=	wäd'	-ä	ka'əb	-ä	'əm=	hägär	
wä=	wäd'	-ä <sub>3</sub>	ka'əb	-ä <sub>2</sub>	'əm=1	hägär	
and=	come forth\PERF	3MS	second	ACC	from=	city	
coordconn	vi	v:Any	adj	n:Any	prep	n	
and he came forth			again		from	city	
			adv				

ርሐቀ	:	ወነበረ	:	እንዘ	:	የሐዘን	:
rəḥuq	-ä	wä=	näbär	-ä	'ənzä	yä-	ḥäzzən
rəḥuq	-ä <sub>2</sub>	wä=	näbär	-ä <sub>3</sub>	'ənzä	yə-	ḥäzzən
far	ACC	and=	dwel\PERF	3MS	while	3M	be sad\IMPF
adj	n:Any	coordconn	vi	v:Any	advlizer	v:Any	vi
far		and he dwelled			while	he becomes	sad
adj					advlizer	v	
ወእንዘ	:	ኅበ	:	የሐውር	:	ኢያአምር	::
wä=	'ənzä	ḥäbä	yä-	ḥäwwər	'i=	y-	a'ämmər
wä=	'ənzä	ḥäbä	yə-	ḥäwwər	'i=	yə-	a'ämmər
and=	while	where	3M	go\IMPF	NEG=	3M	know\IMPF
coordconn	advlizer	advlizer	v:Any	vi	verbprt	v:Any	vt
and while		place where	he goes		he does not know		
		rel	v				

And he said, “Blessed be the Lord, for a great trance has come upon me.” And again he went out of the city. And he remained there grieving, for he did not know where to go.

2.10 ወእንበረ	:	ዝኩ	:	ሙዳየ	:	በለሱ	:
wä=	'änbär	-ä	zək <sup>w</sup> ä	muday	-ä	bäläs	
wä=	'änbär <sub>2</sub>	-ä <sub>3</sub>	zək <sup>w</sup> ä	muday	-ä <sub>1</sub>	bäläs	
and=	settle\PERF	3MS	that.M.ACC	basket	of	fig	
coordconn	vt	v:Any	dem	n	n:Any	n	
and he settled			that	basket of		fig	
			dem	n		n	
ወደቤ	:	እነብር	:	ዝየ	:	እስከ	:
wä=	yə-	be	'ə-	näbbär	zəyyä	'əskä	
wä=	yə-	be	'ə-	näbbär	zəyyä	'əskä	
and=	3M	say\PRET	1CS	dwel\IMPF	here	until that	
coordconn	v:Any	vt	v:Any	vi	adv	advlizer	
and he said			I dwell		here	until that	
			v			advlizer	

ያኣትት		: እግዚአብሔር	: ዘንተ	: ህየተ	:
y-	a'ättət	'əgzɪ'äbəher	zäntä	həyyät	-ä
yə-	a'ättət	'əgzɪ'äbəher <sub>1</sub>	zäntä	həyyät	-ä <sub>2</sub>
3M	remove\IMPF	God	this.M.ACC	amnesia	ACC
v:Any	vt	n	dem	n	n:Any
he	removes	God	this	amnesia	
v		n	dem	n	
እምላዕሌየ		::			
'əm=	la'le	=yä			
'əm= <sub>1</sub>	la'lä	=yä			
from=	upon	=1CS			
prep	prep	pro			
from	upon	me			

And he laid down the basket, saying, "I shall sit here until the Lord lifts this trance from me."

2.11	ወእምድኅረዝ		: ነቢሮ	: ርእየ	:		
wä=	'əm=	dəhrä	=zə	näbir	=o	rə'y	-ä
wä=	'əm= <sub>1</sub>	dəhrä	=zə	näbir <sub>1</sub>	=hu	rə'y	-ä <sub>3</sub>
and=	from=	afterward	=this	dwel\CVB	=3MS	see\PERF	3MS
coordconn	prep	adv	dem	tcvb	pro	vt	v:Any
and	from	after	this	he	having	dwelled	he
						saw	

ብእሴ		: ልሂቀ	: የአቱ	: እምሐቅል	:		
bə's	-e	ləhiq	-ä	yä-	'ättu	'əm=	həql
bə'si	-ä <sub>2</sub>	ləhiq	-ä <sub>2</sub>	yə-	'ättu	'əm= <sub>1</sub>	həql
man	ACC	old	ACC	3M	go home\IMPF	from=	field
n	n:Any	adj	n:Any	v:Any	vi	prep	n
man		old		he	go home	from	field
n		adj					

ወይቤሉ				: አቤሜሌክ	: ለከ	:		
wä=	yə-	bel	=o	'äbemelek	lä=	=kä		
wä=	yə-	be	=hu	'äbemelek	lä=1	=kä		
and=	3M	say\PRET	=3MS	Abimelech	to=	=2MS		
coordconn	v:Any	vt	pro	n	prep	pro		
and he said to him				Abimelech	to you			
አብላከ			: አንተ	: ለሂቅ	: አይቴ	: ይእተ	: ባተ	: ሀገር
'ə-	bəl	=äkä	'äntä	ləhiq	'äyte	yə'əti	zati	hägär
'ə-	bəl	=kä	'äntä	ləhiq	'äyte	yə'əti	zati	hägär
1CS	say\IMPF	=2MS	2MS	old	where	3FS	this.F	city
v:Any	vt	pro	pro	adj	adv	pro	dem	n
I say to you			you	old	where	she	this	city
v		pro				pro	dem	n
ወይቤሉ				: አረጋይ	: ኢየሩሳሌም	: ይእተ	:	:
wä=	yə-	bel	=o	'ärägay	'iyärusalem	yə'əti		
wä=	yə-	be	=hu	'ärägay	'iyärusalem	yə'əti		
and=	3M	say\PRET	=3MS	old person	Jerusalem	3FS		
coordconn	v:Any	vt	pro	n	n	pro		
and he said to him				old person	Jerusalem	she [is]		
				n		pro		

And while he was sitting, he saw an old man coming from the field. And Abimelech said to him, "I say to you, old man, what city is this?" And he said to him, "It is Jerusalem."

2.12 ወይቤሉ

: አቤሜሌክ : አይቲ : ሀሉ :

wä=	yə-	bel	=o	'äbemelek	'äyte	hällö
wä=	yə-	be	=hu	'äbemelek	'äyte	hälläw
and=	3M	say\PRET	=3MS	Abimelech	where	exist\PERF
coordconn	v:Any	vt	pro	n	adv	vi
and he said to him				Abimelech	where	he existed

v

ኤርምያስ : ካህን : ወባሮስ : ሌዋዊ : ወኸሉ :

'erməyas	kahən	wä=	barok	lewawi	wä=	kʷəllu
'erməyas	kahən	wä=	barok	lewawi	wä=	kʷəllu
Jeremiah	priest	and=	Baruch	Levite	and=	all
n	n	coordconn	n	adj	coordconn	quant
Jeremiah	priest	and Baruch		Levite	and all	
n	n	n		adj	det	

አዝባዝ : ሀገር : እስመ : አልቦ :

həzb	-ä	=zə	hägär	'əsmä	'äl=	b=	=o
həzb	-ä <sub>1</sub>	=zə	hägär	'əsmä	'äl=	bä=	=hu
people	of	=this	city	because	NEG=	in=	=3MS
n	n:Any	dem	n	advlizer	prt	prep	pro
people of this			city	because	there is not		
			n	advlizer			

ዘረከብኩ ::

zä= räkäb -ku

zä= räkäb -ku

REL= find\PERF 1CS

rel vt v:Any

that I found

v

And Abimelech said to him, “Where is Jeremiah the priest, and Baruch the Levite, and all the people of this city? For I could not find them.”

2.13 ወይቤሉ : አረጋይ : አኮኑ : እምዛቲ :

wä= yə- bel =o 'ärägay 'äkkko =nu 'əm= zati  
wä= yə- be =hu 'ärägay 'äkkko =nu 'əm=₁ zati  
and= 3M say\PRET =3MS old person NEG =Q from= this.F  
coordconn v:Any vt pro n prt q prep dem  
and he said to him old person not? from this

ሀገር : አንተ ፤ ወይእኩም

hägär 'äntä wä= yə'əze =ni =mä  
hägär 'äntä wä= yə'əze =ni₁ =mä  
city 2MS and= now =also =EMPH  
n city pro coordconn adv post prt  
city you [are] and now, also, indeed  
n pro

ትኩረት : ለኤርምያስ : ከመ : ትሰክል :

tə- zzekkär =o lä= 'erməyas kämä tə- ss''äl  
tə-₂ zzekkär =hu lä=₁ 'erməyas kämä tə-₂ ss''äl  
2 be mindful of\IMPF =3MS to= Jeremiah as 2 ask\IMPF  
v:Any vt pro prep n advlizer v:Any vt  
you are mindful of him (to) Jeremiah as you ask  
advlizer

በእንቲአሁ : ዘንተ : ከሎ : መዋዕለ : ነቢርከ ፤

bä= 'ənti'ä =hu zäntä kʷəllo mäwa'əl -ä näbir =äkä  
bä= 'əntä₁ =hu zäntä kʷəllo 'əlät -ä₂ näbir₁ =kä  
by= via =3MS this.M.ACC all.ACC day.PL ACC dwell\CVB =2MS  
prep prep pro dem quant n n:Any tcvb pro  
with regard to him this all day you having dwelled  
dem det n

ኤርምያስሰኬ				: ውስተ	: ባቢሎን	: ሀሎ	: ምስለ	: ሕዝብ	:
'erməyas	=sä	=ke	wəstä	babilon	hällö	məslä	həzb		
'erməyas	=sä	=ke	wəstä	babilon	hälläw	məslä	həzb		
Jeremiah	=however	=so then	in	Babylon	exist\PERF	with	people		
n	prt	sentprt	prep	n	vi	prep	n		
Jeremiah,	however,	so then	in	Babylon	he existed	with	people		
			prep	n	v	prep	n		
እስመ	: ተዲወወ			: ወተውህበ				: ውስተ	:
'əsmä	tä-	ḏewäw	-ä	wä=	täwəhb	-ä	wəstä		
'əsmä	tä-	ḏewäw	-ä <sub>3</sub>	wä=	täwəhb	-ä <sub>3</sub>	wəstä		
because	PASS	capture\PERF	3MS	and=	be given\PERF	3MS	in		
advlizer	v>v	vt	v:Any	coordconn	vi	v:Any	prep		
because	he was	captured		and he was	given		in		
advlizer	v						prep		
አዴሁ	: ለፍቡከደነጾር			: ንጉሠ		: ፋርስ	:		
'əde	=hu	lä=	nabukädänäşşor	nəguś	-ä	fars			
'əd <sub>2</sub>	=hu	lä= <sub>1</sub>	nabukädänäşşor	nəguś	-ä <sub>1</sub>	fars			
hand	=3MS	to=	Nebuchadnezzar	king	of	Persia			
n	pro	prep	n	n	n:Any	n			
his hand		to	Nebuchadnezzar	king of		Persia			
n				n		n			
ወሐረ				: ህዩ	: ከመ	: ይትነበይ	:		
wä=	ḥor	-ä	həyyä	kämä	yə-	tnäbäy			
wä=	ḥor <sub>1</sub>	-ä <sub>3</sub>	həyyä	kämä	yə-	tnäbäy			
and=	go\PERF	3MS	there	so that	3M	prophecy\JUSS			
coordconn	vi	v:Any	adv	advlizer	v:Any	vi			
and he went			there	so that	he would	prophecy			
			adv	advlizer	v				
ለመ	::								
l=	=omu								
lä= <sub>1</sub>	=homu								
to=	=3MP								
prep	pro								
to them									

And the old man said to him, “You are from this city, aren’t you? For today you remembered Jeremiah, seeing that you are asking about him after such a long time. For Jeremiah is in Babylon with the people, for they were taken captive by King Nebuchadnezzar, and Jeremiah is with them to announce to them the good news and to teach them the word.”

2.14	ወአሜሃ		:	ሰምዐ		:	አቤሜሌክ		:	እምነበ		:
	wä=	'ämeha		säm'			-ä	'äbemelek		'əm=		hjäbä
	wä=	'ämeha		säm'			-ä <sub>3</sub>	'äbemelek		'əm= <sub>1</sub>		hjäbä
	and=	at that time		hear\PERF		3MS		Abimelech		from=		with
	coordconn	adv		vt		v:Any		n		prep		prep
	and at that time			he heard				Abimelech		from with		
				v				n		prep		
ወአቱ	:	አረጋይ	:	ወይቤሎ				አቤሜሌክ	:	ሰበ		:
wə'ətu		'ärägay		wä=		yə-	bel	=o		'äbemelek		sobä
wə'ətu <sub>1</sub>		'ärägay		wä=		yə-	be	=hu		'äbemelek		sobä
3MS		old person		and=		3M	say\PRET	=3MS		Abimelech		when
pro	n			coordconn		v:Any	vt		pro	n		advlizer
he [is]		old person		and he said to him					Abimelech			when
pro	n			v					n			advlizer
ኣኮ	:	ብእሲ	:	ሐሂቕ	:	አንተ	:	እምጸዐልኩከ	:			:
'äkkko	bə'si	ləhiq		'äntä		'əm=	šä'al	-ku		=kä		
'äkkko	bə'si	ləhiq		'äntä		'əm= <sub>2</sub>	šä'al	-ku		=kä		
NEG	man	old		2MS		OPT=	revile\PERF	1CS		=2MS		
prt	n	adj		pro		prt	vt		v:Any		pro	
not	man	old		you		would that I	revile you					
prt	n			pro		v						
ወእምሠሐቁ								ላዕሊክ		አላ		:
wä=	'əm=	śähäq		-qu		lä'le		=kä		'älla		
wä=	'əm= <sub>2</sub>	śähäq		-ku		la'lä		=kä		'älla		
and=	OPT=	ridicule\PERF		1CS		above		=2MS		but		
coordconn	prt	vt				v:Any		prep	pro	coordconn		
and would that I		ridicule				above you				but		
										coordconn		

ኢይከውን			: ከመ		: ያስተላቅሩ		: ሰብአ	
'i=	yə-	käwwən	kämä	y-	astähäqər	-u	säb'	-ä
'i=	yə-	käwwən	kämä	yə-	astähäqər	-u	säb'	-ä <sub>2</sub>
NEG=	3M	be(come)\IMPF	so that	3M	revile\JUSS	MP	men	ACC
verbprt	v:Any	vi	advlizer	v:Any	vt	v:Any	n	n:Any
he does not become			so that	they would revile			men	
			advlizer				n	
: ውብእሴ			: ልሂቀ		: ወሰባ		: አኮ	:
wä=	bə's	-e	ləhiq	-ä	wä=	sobä	'äkkō	
wä=	bə'si	-ä <sub>2</sub>	ləhiq	-ä <sub>2</sub>	wä=	sobä	'äkkō	
and=	man	ACC	old	ACC	and=	when	NEG	
coordconn	n	n:Any	adj	n:Any	coordconn	advlizer	prt	
and men			old		and when		not	
n			adj		adv		prt	
ዘከመዘ		: እምእሴ			: ዘንጋዕከ		::	
zä=	kämä	=zə	'əm=	'ə-	be	zängä'	-kä	
zä=	kämä	=zə	'əm=2	'ə-	be	zängä'	-kä	
REL=	like	=this	OPT=	1CS	say\PRET	be crazy\PERF	2MS	
rel	prep	dem	prt	v:Any	vt	vi	v:Any	
that [is] like this			would that I said			you became crazy		
			prep			v		

As soon as Abimelech heard (this) from the old man, he said, "If you were not an old man, and if it were not improper for a person to upbraid one older than oneself, I would laugh at you and say that you are crazy

2.15	ወበእንተሰ			: ዘትቤ		: ሕዝብ	:
wä=	bä=	'əntä	=sä	zä=	tə-	be	həzb
wä=	bä=	'əntä <sub>1</sub>	=sä	zä=	tə <sub>-2</sub>	be	həzb
and=	by=	via	=however	REL=	2	say\PRET	people
coordconn	prep	prep	prt	rel	v:Any	vt	n
	and because,	however			that you say		people
	advlizer			v			n
ተግደወወ			: ውስተ	: ባቢሎን	: አስራብ		: ሰማይ
tä-	ጃwäw	-u	wəstä	babilon	'äsrab	-ä	sämay
tä-	ጃwäw	-u	wəstä	babilon	'äsrab	-ä <sub>1</sub>	sämay
PASS	capture\PERF	MP	in	Babylon	cataracts	of	heaven
v>v	vt	v:Any	prep	n	n	n:Any	n
	they were captured		in	Babylon	cataracts		heaven
			prep	n	n		n
ጥቀ	: ለእመ	: ወረደ		: ዲቤሆመ	:		
ጥጃጃ	lä'əmmä	wäräd	-ä	dibe	=homu		
ጥጃጃ	lä'əmmä	wäräd	-ä <sub>3</sub>	dibä	=homu		
extremely	if	descend\PERF	3MS	on	=3MP		
adv	advlizer	vi	v:Any	prep	pro		
extremely	if	he descended		on	them		
adv	advlizer	v					
ኢኮነ			: ጊዜሁ	: ከመ	: ይህኛ		:
'i=	kon	-ä	gize	=hu	kämä	yə-	hor -u
'i=	kon	-ä <sub>3</sub>	gize	=hu	kämä	yə-	hor <sub>3</sub> -u
NEG=	be(come)\PERF	3MS	time	=3MS	so that	3M	go\JUSS MP
verbprt	vi	v:Any	n	pro	advlizer	v:Any	vi v:Any
	he was not		his time		so that	go\JUSS	
			n		advlizer	v	

ወስተ	:	ባቢሎን	፤	ወአንተስ	:	ትቤ	:
wästä		babilon		wä=		'äntä =sä	tə- be
wästä		babilon		wä=		'äntä =sä	tə- <sub>2</sub> be
in		Babylon		and=		2MS =however	2 say\PRET
prep	n	coordconn	pro	prt	v:Any	vt	
in	Babylon	and you, however				you said	
prep	n				v		
ተግደወወ				ወስተ	:	ባቢሎን	::
tä-	ፈወገው	-u	wästä	babilon			
tä-	ፈወገው	-u	wästä	babilon			
PASS	capture\PERF	MP	in	Babylon			
v>v	vt	v:Any	prep	n			
they were captured			in	Babylon			
			prep	n			

because you say, 'The people have been taken captive to Babylon.' Had the heavenly torrents descended on them, there would not yet have been time to go to Babylon.

2.16 ወአንስ	:	ባከመ	:	ፈነወኒ	:	አቡየ
wä=	'änsä	bä=	kämä	fännäw	-ä	=ni 'äbu =yä
wä=	'änsä	bä=	kämä	fännäw	-ä <sub>3</sub>	=ni <sub>1</sub> 'äb =yä
and=	but I	in=	that	send\PERF	3MS	=also father =1CS
coordconn	<Not Sure>	prep	comp	vt	v:Any	post n pro
		as		he sent me		my father
		advlizer				n
ኤርምያስ	:	ሐርኩ	:	ወስተ	:	ወይን
'ermäyas	ḥor	-ku	wästä	'äšäd	-ä	wäyn
'ermäyas	ḥor <sub>1</sub>	-ku	wästä	'äšäd	-ä <sub>1</sub>	wäyn
Jeremiah	go\PERF	1CS	in	courtyard	of	vine
n	vi	v:Any	prep	n	n:Any	n
Jeremiah	I went		in	courtyard of		vine
n	v		prep	n		n

ዘሀግሪጳስ	:	በእንተ	:	ጎዳጥ	:	በለስ	:	ከመ	:		
zä= hägrippas	bä= 'əntä	hədaṭ	bäläs	kämä							
zä= hägrippas	bä= 'əntä <sub>1</sub>	hədaṭ	bäläs	kämä							
GEN= Agrippa	by= via	a small amount	fig	so that							
prt n of Agrippa	prep prep because of	n a small amount	n fig	advlizer so that							
n	prep	n	n	advlizer							
ነሀብ	:	ለድውያን			:	እለ	:	ውስተ	:	ሕዝብ	::
nä- häb	lä= dəwəy	-an	'əllä	wəstä	həzb						
nə- häb <sub>2</sub>	lä= <sub>1</sub> dəwuy+UNSPEC. VAR. OF	-an	'əllä	wəstä	həzb						
1CP give\JUUS	to= sick	PL	REL.PL	in	people						
v:Any vt we would give	prep adj to the sick ones	n:Any	rel that	prep in	n people						
			rel	prep	n						

For how long has it been since my father Jeremiah sent me to the estate of Agrippa for a few figs, so that I might give them to the sick among the people?

2.17 ሐርኩ	:	ወበጻእኩ	:	ህየ	:
hōr -ku	wä=	bäṣah	-ku	həyyä	
hōr <sub>1</sub> -ku	wä=	bäṣh	-ku	həyyä	
go\PERF 1CS	and=	arrive\PERF 1CS	there		
vi v:Any I went	coordconn and I arrived	vi v:Any adv there			
v	v	adv			
ወነህእኩ	:	ዘእዘዘኒ	:		
wä= näśa'	-ku	zä= 'əzzäz	-ä	=ni	
wä= näś'	-ku	zä= 'əzzäz	-ä <sub>3</sub>	=ni <sub>2</sub>	
and= take\PERF 1CS	REL=	command\PERF 3MS	=1CS		
coordconn vt and I took	v:Any	rel vt that he commanded me	v:Any	pro	
		v			

ወተመየጥኩ				: ወእንዘ		: አሐውር		:
wä=	tämäyät	-ku	wä=	'enzä	'ä-	häwwär		
wä=	tämäyät	-ku	wä=	'enzä	'ə-	häwwär		
and=	return\PERF	1CS	and=	while	1CS	go\IMPF		
coordconn	vi	v:Any	coordconn	advlizer	v:Any	vi		
and I returned			and while	I go				
					v			
ረከብኩ		: ዕፀ		: ወነበርኩ		: ታሐቴሃ		:
räkäb	-ku	'əḏ	-ä	wä=	näbär	-ku	taḥte	=ha
räkäb	-ku	'əḏ	-ä <sub>1</sub>	wä=	näbär	-ku	taḥtä	=ha
find\PERF	1CS	wood	of	and=	dwel\PERF	1CS	below	=3FS
vt	v:Any	n	n:Any	coordconn	vi	v:Any	prep	pro
I found		tree of		and I dwelled			below her	
		n						
ከመ	: አጽልል			: አስመ	: ጊዜ	: ቀትር	: ውእቱ	:
kämä	'-	aṣləl		'əsmä	gize	qätr	wə'ətu	
kämä	'ə-	aṣləl		'əsmä	gize	qätr	wə'ətu <sub>1</sub>	
so that	1CS	seek the shade\JUSS		because	time	midday	3MS	
advlizer	v:Any	vi		advlizer	n	n	pro	
so that	I would	seek the shade		because	time	midday	he [is]	
advlizer	v			advlizer		n	pro	
ወእምህየ				: አስመኩ	: ውስተ	: መዳየ	: በለስ	:
wä=	'əm=	həyyä	'äsmäk	-ku	wəstä	muday	-ä	bäläs
wä=	'əm= <sub>1</sub>	həyyä	'äsmäk	-ku	wəstä	muday	-ä <sub>1</sub>	bäläs
and=	from=	there	lean\PERF	1CS	in	basket	of	fig
coordconn	prep	adv	vi	v:Any	prep	n	n:Any	n
and from there			I leaned		in	basket of		fig
					prep	n		n

ወኖምኩ			: ወነቂህየ			:		
wä=	nom	-ku	wä=	näqih	=əyä			
wä=	nom	-ku	wä=	näqih <sub>2</sub>	=yä			
and=	sleep\PERF	1CS	and=	wake up\CVB	=1CS			
coordconn	vi	v:Any	coordconn	icvb	pro			
and I slept			and I woke up					
መሰለኒ			: ዘጎንደይኩ			:		
mäsäl	-ä	=ni	zä=	g <sup>w</sup> ändäy	-ku			
mäsäl	-ä <sub>3</sub>	=ni <sub>2</sub>	zä=	g <sup>w</sup> ändäy	-ku			
seem\PERF	3MS	=1CS	REL=	tarry\PERF	1CS			
vt	v:Any	pro	rel	vi	v:Any			
he seemed to me			that I tarried					
post		v						
ወከሠትኩ			: ዘንተ			: ሙዳየ		
wä=	käsät	-ku	zäntä	muday	-ä	bäläs		
wä=	käsät	-ku	zäntä	muday	-ä <sub>1</sub>	bäläs		
and=	reveal\PERF	1CS	this.M.ACC	basket	of	fig		
coordconn	vt	v:Any	dem	n	n:Any	n		
and I revealed			this	basket of		fig		
ወረከብኩ			: እንዘ			: ያንጸፈጽፍ		
wä=	räkäb	-ku	'ənzä	y-	anşäfäşşəf	hālib	bä=	kämä
wä=	räkäb	-ku	'ənzä	yə-	anşäfäşşəf	hālib	bä=	kämä
and=	find\PERF	1CS	while	3M	drip\IMPF	milk	in=	that
coordconn	vt	v:Any	advlizer	v:Any	vi	n	prep	comp
and I found			while	he drips		milk	as	
ካላእከዎሙ			: ኅሪይየ			: ወነዋ		
näsa'	-kəw	=womu	hāriy	=əyä	wä=	näwa		
näs'	-ku	=homu	hāriy	=yä	wä=	näwa		
take\PERF	1CS	=3MP	choose\CVB	=1CS	and=	behold		
vt	v:Any	pro	tcvb	pro	coordconn	prt		
I took them			I having chosem		and behold			

ትብል		: አንተሰ		: ተግወወወ		: ሕዝብ	: ውስተ
tə-	bəl	'äntä	=sä	tä-	ḍewäw	-u	ḥəzb wəstä
tə- <sub>2</sub>	bəl	'äntä	=sä	tä-	ḍewäw	-u	ḥəzb wəstä
2	say\IMPF	2MS	=however	PASS	capture\PERF	MP	people in
v:Any	vt	pro	prt	v>v	vt	v:Any	n prep
you say		you, however		they were captured		people	in
v						n	prep
: ባቢሎን	፤ ወንዞ		: ርኢ	: ከመ	: ኢጸምሀየየ		:
babilon	wä=	näwa	rə'i	kämä	'i=	ṣāmhäyäy	-ä
babilon	wä=	näwa	rə'i	kämä	'i=	ṣāmhäyäy	-ä <sub>3</sub>
Babylon	and=	behold	see\IMPV	so that	NEG=	wither\PERF	3MS
n	coordconn	prt	vt	advlizer	verbprt	vi	v:Any
Babylon	and behold		see!	so that	he did not	wither	
n	interj		v	advlizer			
በለሱኒ		።					
bäläs	=u	=ni					
bäläs	=hu	=ni <sub>1</sub>					
fig	=3MS	=also					
n	pro	post					
his fig, also							

And I went and brought them, and when I came upon a tree in the scorching heat of day, I sat down to rest a little and leaned my head on the basket and fell asleep. And when I awoke I uncovered the basket of figs supposing that I was late, and I found the figs dripping (with their) milky sap, just as I had picked them. And you say that the people have been taken captive to Babylon? But that you might know, take the figs and see!”

2.18	ወከሠተ		: ሎቱ		: ሙዳየ		: በለስ	:
wä=	käsät	-ä	l=	=otu	muday	-ä	bäläs	
wä=	käsät	-ä <sub>3</sub>	lä=1	=otu	muday	-ä <sub>1</sub>	bäläs	
and=	reveal\PERF	3MS	to=	=3MS	basket	of	fig	
coordconn	vt	v:Any	prep	pro	n	n:Any	n	
and he revealed			to him		basket of		fig	
	v				n		n	
ወክርአየ		፤ ወነጸረ				: አረጋይ	: ከመ	:
wä=	'är'äy	=o	wä=	näşşär	-ä	'ärägay	kämä	
wä=	'är'äy	=hu	wä=	näşşär	-ä <sub>3</sub>	'ärägay	kämä	
and=	show\PERF	=3MS	and=	look\PERF	3MS	old person	that	
coordconn	vt	pro	coordconn	vt	v:Any	n	comp	
and he showed him			and he looked			old person	that	
						n	comp	
ሐዲስ	: ወአቱ	: በለስ	: ወያንጸፈጽፍ		: ሐሊቡ	:	:	
häddis	wə'ətu	bäläs	wä=	y-	anşäfäşşəf	hālib	=u	
häddis	wə'ətu <sub>1</sub>	bäläs	wä=	yə-	anşäfäşşəf	hālib	=hu	
new	3MS	fig	and=	3M	drip\IMPF	milk	=3MS	
adj	pro	n	coordconn	v:Any	vi	n	pro	
new	he [is]	fig	and he drips			his milk		
adj	pro	n						

And he uncovered the basket of figs for the old man. And he saw them dripping (with their) milky sap.

2.19	ወሰቤሃ		: አንከረ		: ወ-አቱ	: አረጋይ	:
	wä=	sobeha	'änkär	-ä	wə'ətu	'ärägay	
	wä=	sobeha	'änkär	-ä <sub>3</sub>	wə'ətu <sub>2</sub>	'ärägay	
	and=	then	marvel\PERF	3MS	that.M	old person	
	coordconn	adv	vi	v:Any	dem	n	
	and then		he marveled		that	old person	
			v		dem	n	
ወይቤሉ				: ለአቤሜሌክ	: ጸድቅ	: አንተ	:
	wä=	yə-	bel	=o	lä=	'äbemelek	şadəq 'äntä
	wä=	yə-	be	=hu	lä=1	'äbemelek	şadəq 'äntä
	and=	3M	say\PRET	=3MS	to=	Abimelech	righteous 2MS
	coordconn	v:Any	vt	pro	prep	n	adj
	and he said to him				to	Abimelech	righteous
							pro
							adj
							pro
ወልድዮ		: እስመ	: ኢፈቀደ		: አምላክ	:	
	wäld	=əyä	'əsmä	'i=	fäqäd	-ä	'ämlak
	wäld	=yä	'əsmä	'i=	fäqäd	-ä <sub>1</sub>	'ämlak
	son	=1CS	because	NEG=	want\PERF	of	lord
	n	pro	advlizer	verbprt	vt	n:Any	n
	my son		because	NEG			lord
			advlizer				n
ያርኢክ			: ሙስናሃ		: ለሀገር	:	
	y-	ar'i	=kä	musəna	=ha	lä=	hägär
	yə-	ar'əy	=kä	musəna	=ha	lä=1	hägär
	3M	show\JUSS	=2MS	destruction	=3FS	to=	city
	v:Any	vt	pro	n	pro	prep	n
	show\JUSS			her destruction		(to) the city	
ወአምጽኦ				: አምላክ	: ኑዛዜ	: ላዕሌክ	:
	wä=	'ämşə'	-ä	'ämlak	nuzaze	lä'le	=kä
	wä=	'ämşə' <sub>1</sub>	-ä <sub>3</sub>	'ämlak	nuzaze	la'lä	=kä
	and=	bring\PERF	3MS	lord	consolation	above	=2MS
	coordconn	vt	v:Any	n	n	prep	pro
	and			lord	consolation	above	you
				n	n		

ወአህየየከ					: ናሁ	: የግፍ	: ስሳ	:
wä=	'ähyäy		-ä	=kä	nahu	yom	səssa	
wä=	'ähyäy		-ä <sub>3</sub>	=kä	nahu	yom	səssa	
and=	cause to disregard\PERF		3MS	=2MS	behold	today	sixty	
coordconn 2MS	vt		v:Any	pro	prt behold	adv day	cardnum sixty	
pro					prt	n	cardnum	
ወስድስቱ		: ዓመት	: ከነ		: እምአመ		:	
wä=	sədəstu	'amät	kon		-ä	'əm=	'ämä	
wä=	sədəstu	'amät	kon		-ä <sub>3</sub>	'əm=1	'ämä	
and=	six	year	be(come)\PERF	3MS	from=	when		
coordconn and six	cardnum	n year	vi he became	v:Any	prep from	advlizer when		
ተዳወወ			v		: አዝብ	: ውስተ	: ባቢሎን	::
tä-	ḍewäw	-u	həzb	wästä	babilon			
tä-	ḍewäw	-u	həzb	wästä	babilon			
PASS	capture\PERF	MP	people	in	Babylon			
v>v	vt	v:Any	n people	prep in	n Babylon			
they were captured			n	prep	n			

And when he saw them, the old man said, “O my son, you are a righteous man and God did not want to show you the desolation of the city, so God brought this trance upon you. Behold, it has been sixty-six years today since the people were taken captive to Babylon.

2.20	ወእመ		: ትፈቱ		: ታእምር		:
	wä=	'əmmä	tə-	fättu	t-	a'mər	
	wä=	'əmmä	tə <sub>-2</sub>	fättəw	tə <sub>-2</sub>	a'mər	
	and=	if	2	desire strongly\IMPF	2	know\JUSS	
	coordconn	advlizer	v:Any	vt	v:Any	vt	
	and if					you would know	
	advlizer				v		
	ወትጠይቅ			: ወልድየ	: ነጽር	: ወርኢ	
	wä=	tə-	ṭäyyəq	wäld =əyä	näşşər	wä=	rə'i
	wä=	tə <sub>-2</sub>	ṭäyyəq	wäld =yä	näşşər <sub>1</sub>	wä=	rə'i
	and=	2	ascertain\JUSS	son =1CS	look\IMPV	and=	see\IMPV
	coordconn	v:Any	vt	n	pro	vt	coordconn
	and			my son	look!	and	vt
					v		
	: ውስተ	: ገራውህ	: ከመ	: ሠርጸ	: አዝርአቲፕ	:	
	wəstä	gärawəh	kämä	śärş -ä	'äzrə't =iha		
	wəstä	gäraht	kämä	śärş -ä <sub>1</sub>	zär' =ha		
	in	field.PL	like	sprout	of	seed.PL	=3FS
	prep	n	prep	n	n:Any	n	pro
	in	field	like	sprout		seed	
	prep	n	prep	n			
	ወለበለስኒ			: ከመ	: ኢኮነ		:
	wä=	lä=	bäläs =ni	kämä	'i=	kon	-ä
	wä=	lä= <sub>1</sub>	bäläs =ni <sub>1</sub>	kämä	'i=	kon	-ä <sub>3</sub>
	and=	to=	fig =also	so that	NEG=	be(come)\PERF	3MS
	coordconn	prep	n	post	advlizer	verbprt	vi
				so that	so that	he was not	v:Any
				advlizer			

ጊዜሁ	፤ ወአእመረ				: ከመ	:			
gize	=hu	wä=	'ä'mär	-ä	kämä				
gize	=hu	wä=	'ä'mär	-ä <sub>3</sub>	kämä				
time	=3MS	and=	know\PERF	3MS	so that				
n	pro	coordconn	vt	v:Any	advlizer				
his time		and			so that				
n					advlizer				
አኮነ				: ዘመኑ	: ለዝ	: ከሉ		:	
'i=	kon	-ä	zämän	=u	lä=	=zə	k <sup>w</sup> əll	=u	
'i=	kon	-ä <sub>3</sub>	zämän	=hu	lä= <sub>1</sub>	=zə	k <sup>w</sup> əll	=hu	
NEG=	be(come)\PERF	3MS	time	=3MS	to=	=this	all	=3MS	
verbprt	vi		v:Any	n	pro	prep	dem	det	pro
he was not			his time		(to) this		all		
			n				det		

But that you may learn, child, that it is true, look at the field and see that the growth of the crops has (just) begun. Notice also the figs, that their time has not yet come, and understand."

2.21 ሶቤሃ	: አቤሜሌክ	: ይቤ		: በበቤይ	: ቃል	:			
sobeha	'äbemelek	yə-	be	bä=	'äbiy	qal			
sobeha	'äbemelek	yə-	be	bä=	'äbiy	qal			
then	Abimelech	3M	say\PRET	in=	big	voice			
adv	n		v:Any	vt	prep	adj	n		
then	Abimelech		he said		in big		voice		
adv	n		v		adv		n		
እባርከከ			: እግዚአ	: አምላኪየ	፤ አምላከ		:		
'ə-	barrək	=äkä	'əgzi'	=o	'ämlak	=iyä	'ämlak	-ä	
'ə-	barrək	=kä	'əgzi'	=o	'ämlak	=yä	'ämlak	-ä <sub>1</sub>	
1CS	bless\IMPF	=2MS	lord	=VOC	lord	=1CS	lord	of	
v:Any	vt		pro	n	prt	n	pro	n	n:Any
I bless you			O lord		lord		lord	of	
v			n						

ሰማይ	: ወምድር	፤ ዕረፍቶሙ	: ለነፍስ	: ጻድቃን	:
sämay	wä=	mædr	'äräft =omu	lä= näfs	şadəq -an
sämay	wä=	mædr	'äräft =homu	lä=1 näfs	şadəq -an
heaven	and=	earth	rest =3MP	to= soul	righteous PL
n	coordconn	n	n	pro	prep n
heaven	and earth		the rest of them	(to) the soul	adj n:Any
n		n		n	righteous (ones)
በኩሉ		: በሓውርት	::		
bä=	k <sup>w</sup> əll =u	bäḥawərt			
bä=	k <sup>w</sup> əll =hu	bəḥer			
in=	all =3MS	region.PL			
prep	det	pro	n		
in all			region		
adv		n			

Then Abimelech cried out in a loud voice, saying, “I will bless you, O Lord, God of heaven and earth, the Rest of the souls of the righteous in every place.”

2.22 ወይቤሎ		: ለአረጋይ	: አይ	: ውእቱ	:
wä=	yə-	bel	=o	lä= 'ärägay	'äyy wə'ətu
wä=	yə-	be	=hu	lä=1 'ärägay	'äyy wə'ətu <sub>1</sub>
and=	3M	say\PRET	=3MS	to= old person	which 3MS
coordconn	v:Any	vt	pro	prep n	adj pro
and he said to him			(to) the old person	which	he [is]
v			n	adj	pro
ዝንቱ	: ወርኅ	: ወይቤሎ		: በሁሩ	:
zəntu	wärḥ	wä=	yə-	bel	=o 'äsur =u
zəntu	wärḥ	wä=	yə-	be	=hu 'äsur =hu
this.M	month	and=	3M	say\PRET	=3MS the tenth day =3MS
dem	n	coordconn	v:Any	vt	pro n
this	month	and he said to him			the tenth day pro
dem	n	v		n	

ወሰኑዩ			: ለወርኅ		: ኔሳን	: ዘውላቱ	:
wä=	sänuy	=u	lä=	wärḥ	-ä	nesan	zä= wə'ətu
wä=	sänuy	=hu	lä=1	wärḥ	-ä1	nesan	zä= wə'ətu1
and=	the second day	=3MS	to=	month	of	Nisan	REL= 3MS
coordconn	n	pro	prep	n	n:Any	n	rel pro
and	his second day		(to)	the month	of	Nisan	that he [is]
n			n			n	
ሚያዝያ	:						
miyazya							
miyazya							
Miyazya							
n							
Miyazya							
n							

And to the old man he said, “What month is this?” And he said, “Nisan. And it is the twelfth (day).”

2.23 ወእምድኅረ			: ዝንቱ	: ወሀቦ		: አቤሜሌክ	:
wä=	'əm=	dəḥrā	zəntu	wähäb	=o	'äbemelek	
wä=	'əm=1	dəḥrā	zəntu	wähäb	=hu	'äbemelek	
and=	from=	afterward	this.M	give\PERF	=3MS	Abimelech	
coordconn	prep	adv	dem	vt	pro	n	
and	from	afterward	this	he gave	him	Abimelech	
adv			dem	v		n	
ለዝንቱ	: አረጋይ	: እምዲቦ		: ዝንቱ	: ኡብላስ	:	
lä=	zəntu	'ärägay	'əm=	dibä	zəntu	'äblas	
lä=1	zəntu	'ärägay	'əm=1	dibä	zəntu	bäläs	
to=	this.M	old person	from=	on	this.M	fig.PL	
prep	dem	n	prep	prep	dem	n	
(of)	this	old person	from	on	this	fig	
		n			dem	n	

ወይቤሉ				: አምላክ	: ይምራሕከ		: እንተ	:
wä=	yə-	bel	=o	'ämlak	yə-	mrah	=kä	'əntä
wä=	yə-	be	=hu	'ämlak	yə-	mrah	=kä	'əntä <sub>1</sub>
and=	3M	say\PRET	=3MS	lord	3M	lead\JUSS	=2MS	via
coordconn	v:Any	vt	pro	n	v:Any	vt	pro	prep
and he said to him				lord		may he lead you.M		via
v				n	v			prep
ላዕሉ	: ሀገረ			: ኢየሩሳሌም	::			
la'lu	hägär	-ä		'iyärusalem				
la'lu	hägär	-ä <sub>1</sub>		'iyärusalem				
above	city	of		Jerusalem				
adv	n	n:Any	n					
above	city of		Jerusalem					
adv	n		n					

And taking (a few) of the figs, he gave them to the old man and said to him, “God will lead you (by his) light to the city above, Jerusalem.”

2.24 ወተንሥኦ				: አቤሜሌክ	:	
wä=	tänsə'	-ä		'äbemelek		
wä=	tänsə' <sub>1</sub>	-ä <sub>3</sub>		'äbemelek		
and=	arise\IMPV	3MS		Abimelech		
coordconn	vi	v:Any	n			
and			Abimelech			
ወወፅኦ				: አፍኦ	: እምሀገር	:
wä=	wäፈ'	-ä		'äf'a	'əጠ=	hägär
wä=	wäፈ'	-ä <sub>3</sub>		'äf'a	'əጠ= <sub>1</sub>	hägär
and=	come forth\PERF	3MS		outside	from=	city
coordconn	vi	v:Any	adv	prep	n	
and he came forth			outside	from	city	
v			adv	adv		

ወጸለየ			: ጎበ	: እግዚአብሔር	: ወናሁ		:
wä=	şälläy	-ä	hābä	'əgzi'äbəher	wä=	nahu	
wä=	şälläy	-ä <sub>3</sub>	hābä	'əgzi'äbəher <sub>1</sub>	wä=	nahu	
and=	pray\PERF	3MS	toward	God	and=	behold	
coordconn	vi	v:Any	prep	n	coordconn	prt	
and he prayed			toward	God	and behold		
v			prep	n	interj		
መጸኣ		: መልአክ	: ወመርሐ		: ጎበ	: ባሮክ	:
mäs'	-ä	mäl'äk	wä=	märh	=o	hābä	barok
mäs'	-ä <sub>3</sub>	mäl'äk	wä=	märh	=hu	hābä	barok
come\PERF	3MS	angel	and=	lead\PERF	=3MS	toward	Baruch
vi	v:Any	n	coordconn	vt	pro	prep	n
he came		angel	and he led him			toward	Baruch
v		n	v			prep	n
ወረከቦ			: ውስተ	: መቃብር	: እንዘ	: ይነብር	::
wä=	räkäb	=o	wästä	mäqabər	'ənzä	yə-	näbbər
wä=	räkäb	=hu	wästä	mäqbärt	'ənzä	yə-	näbbər
and=	find\PERF	=3MS	in	grave.PL	while	3M	dwel\IMPF
coordconn	vt	pro	prep	n	advlizer	v:Any	vi
and he found him			in	grave	while	he dwells	
v			prep	n	advlizer	v	

After these things Abimelech went outside the city and prayed to the Lord. And behold, an angel of the Lord came and returned him to where Baruch was. And he found him sitting in a tomb.

3.1	ወሰብ		:	ተከምት		:		
	wä=	sobä		tä'aməḥ			-u	
	wä=	sobä		tä'aməḥ			-u	
	and=	when		kiss (in greeting)\PERF		MP		
	coordconn	advlizer	vi			v:Any		
	and when			they kissed (in greeting)				
	adv		v					
	ወተባከዩ				:	በበይናቲሆሙ	:	
	wä=	täbakäy		-u	bä=	bäynat	=ihomu	
	wä=	täbakäy		-u	bä=	bäynä	=homu	
	and=	weep together\PERF	MP		by=	between	=3MP	
	coordconn	vi		v:Any	prep	prep	pro	
	and they wept together				in	between	them	
	v				adv			
	ወተሳሰሙ				:	ወርእዮ	:	
	wä=	täsa'am		-u	wä=	rə'y	-ä	
	wä=	täsa'am		-u	wä=	rə'y	-ä <sub>3</sub>	
	and=	kiss one another\PERF	MP		and=	see\PERF	3MS	
	coordconn	vi		v:Any	coordconn	vt	v:Any	
	and they kissed one another				and he saw			
	v				v			
	በለሰ	:	ወስተ	:	ሙዳዩ	:	ወአልዐለ	:
	bäläs	-ä	wəstā	muday	=u	wä=	'äl'äl	-ä
	bäläs	-ä <sub>2</sub>	wəstā	muday	=hu	wä=	'äl'äl	-ä <sub>3</sub>
	fig	ACC	in	basket	=3MS	and=	raise up\PERF	3MS
	n	n:Any	prep	n	pro	coordconn	vt	v:Any
	fig		in	his basket		and he raised up		
	n		prep	n		v		

አዕይንቲሁ		: ውስተ	: ሰማይ	: ወጸለየ		: እንዘ	:	
'ä'yənt	=ihu	wəstä	sämāy	wä=	şälläy	-ä	'ənzä	
'äyn	=hu	wəstä	sämāy	wä=	şälläy	-ä <sub>3</sub>	'ənzä	
eye.PL	=3MS	in	heaven	and=	pray\PERF	3MS	while	
n	pro	prep	n	coordconn	vi	v:Any	advlizer	
his eyes		in	heaven	and he	prayed		while	
n		prep	n				advlizer	
ይብል		: ዐቢይ	: ውእቱ	: አምላክ	: ዘይሁቡሙ		:	
yə-	bəl	'äbiy	wə'ətu	'ämlak	zä=	yə-	hub	=omu
yə-	bəl	'äbiy	wə'ətu <sub>1</sub>	'ämlak	zä=	yə-	hub	=homu
3M	say\IMPF	big	3MS	lord	REL=	3M	give\IMPF	=3MP
v:Any	vt	adj	pro	n	rel	v:Any	vt	pro
he says		big	he [is]	lord	that he	gives	them	
v		adj	pro		v			
ዐስቡሙ		: ለጸድቃኒሁ			: ተደለዊ			:
'äsb	=omu	lä=	şadəq	-an	=ihu	tädälläw		-i
'äsb	=homu	lä= <sub>1</sub>	şadəq	-an	=hu	tädälläw <sub>2</sub>		-i
reward	=3MP	to=	righteous	PL	=3MS	prepare oneself\IMPV		2FS
n	pro	prep	adj	n:Any	pro	vi		v:Any
their reward		(to)	his righteous	ones		prepare yourself!		
n								
ነፍሱ		: ወተረሥሒ			: እንዘ	: ትነግሪ		
näfs	=əyä	wä=	täfäśśəḥ	-i	'ənzä	tə-	näggər	-i
näfs	=yä	wä=	täfäśśäh	-i	'ənzä	tə- <sub>2</sub>	näggər	-i
soul	=1CS	and=	rejoice\IMPV	2FS	while	2	tell\IMPF	2FS
n	pro	coordconn	vi	v:Any	advlizer	v:Any	vt	v:Any
my soul		and	rejoice!		while	you	tell	
					advlizer	v		

: ለባድን	: ዘሥጋ	: ለቤት	: ቅዱስ	: ወላሕኪ					
lä=	bädn	zä=	śəga	lä=	bet	qəddus	wä=	lah	=əki
lä=1	bädn	zä=	śəga	lä=1	bet1	qəddus	wä=	lah	=ki
to=	corpse	GEN=	flesh	to=	house	holy	and=	mourning	=2FS
prep	n	prt	n	prep	n	adj	coordconn	n	pro
(to) the corpse		of flesh		to house		holy	and her mourning		
		n		prep		adj			
: ይትመየጥ		: ውስተ	: ብርሃን	: ወእምድኅረዝ					:
yə-	tmäyyät	wəstä	bərhan	wä=	'əm=	dəhrä	=zə		
yə-	tmäyyät	wəstä	bərhan	wä=	'əm=1	dəhrä	=zə		
3M	convert\IMPF	in	light	and=	from=	afterward	=this		
v:Any	vi	prep	n	coordconn	prep	adv	dem		
he returns		in	light	and from	after	this			
v		prep	n						
ይመጽእ		: ምእመን	: ወያገብአኪ					: ውስተ	:
yə-	mäşşə'	mə'män	wä=	y-	agäbbə'	=äki	wəstä		
yə-	mäşşə'	mə'män	wä=	yə-	agäbbə'	=ki	wəstä		
3M	come\IMPF	believer	and=	3M	bring back\IMPF	=2FS	in		
v:Any	vi	n	coordconn	v:Any	vt	pro	prep		
he comes		believer	he brings you back				in		
		n					prep		
ባድንኪ	፤ ሐውጺ		: ውስተ	: ዘዘአኪ		: ድንግልና			:
bädn	=əki	həwwəş	-i	wəstä	zä=	zi'ä=	=ki	dəngələnna	
bädn	=ki	həwwəş2	-i	wəstä	zä=	zä=	=ki	dəngələnna	
corpse	=2FS	inspect\IMPV	2FS	in	REL=	GEN=	=2FS	virginity	
n	pro	vt	v:Any	prep	rel	prt	pro	n	
your corpse		inspect!		in	that [is]	of you		virginity	
		v		prep				n	

ሃይማኖት	:	ወእመኒ		:	ተሐይዊ		:
haymanot	wä=	'əmän	-i	tä-	hāyyəw	-i	
haymanot	wä=	'əmän	-i	tə- <sub>2</sub>	hāyyu	-i	
faith	and=	believe\IMPV	2FS	2	live\IMPF	2FS	
n	coordconn	vt		v:Any	v:Any	vi	v:Any
faith	and believe!			live!			
n				v			
ሐውጺ	:	ወስተዝ	:	በለስ	:	ነዋ	:
hāwwəṣ	-i	wəstā	=zə	bäläs	näwa	səssa	
hāwwəṣ <sub>2</sub>	-i	wəstā	=zə	bäläs	näwa	səssa	
inspect\IMPV	2FS	in	=this	fig	behold	sixty	
vt	v:Any	prep	dem	n	prt	cardnum	
inspect!		in this		fig	behold	sixty	
v				n		cardnum	
ወስድስቱ	:	ዓመት	:	እምስመ	:	ተቀሥመ	:
wä=	sədəstu	'amät	'əm=	'ämä	täqäśm	-u	
wä=	sədəstu	'amät	'əm= <sub>1</sub>	'ämä	täqäśm	-u	
and=	six	year	from=	when	be picked\PERF	MP	
coordconn	cardnum	n	prep	advlizer	vi	v:Any	
and six		year	from when		they became picked		
ወእመንሱ				v	ወእጼኡ		:
wä=	'i=	masän	-u	wä=	'i=	şe'	-u
wä=	'i=	masän	-u	wä=	'i=	şe'	-u
and=	NEG=	be ruined\PERF	MP	and=	NEG=	rot\PERF	MP
coordconn	verbprt	vi		v:Any	coordconn	verbprt	vi
and they did not become ruined					and they did not rot		v:Any

v

አላ	:	ሐሊቢሎ	:	ያንጸፈጽፉ	:	እስከ	:	ይእዘ	:
'älla		həlib =omu		y- anşäfäşşəf		-u 'əskä		yə'əze	
'älla		həlib =homu		yə- anşäfäşşəf		-u 'əskä		yə'əze	
but		milk =3MP		3M drip\IMPF		MP until that		now	
coordconn	n	pro	v:Any	vi		v:Any	advlizer	adv	
but		their milk		they drip			until that	now	
coordconn							advlizer	adv	
ከመዝ	:	ይትገባር	:	ዲቢኪ	:	ሥጋየ	:	እስመ	:
kämä	=zə	yə-	tgäbbär	dibe =ki	śəga =yä	'əsmä			
kämä	=zə	yə-	tgäbbär	dibä =ki	śəga =yä	'əsmä			
like	=this	3M	be done\IMPF	on =2FS	flesh =1CS	because			
prep	dem	v:Any	vi	prep	pro	n	pro	advlizer	
like this		he is done		on you		my body		because	
		v						advlizer	
ዐቀብኪ	:	ትእዛዘኪ	:	እምነብ	:	መልአኪ	:	ጽድቅ	:
'äqäb	-ki	tə'zaz	=äki	'əm=	həbä	mäl'äk	-ä	şədq	
'äqäb	-ki	tə'zaz	=ki	'əm=1	həbä	mäl'äk	-ä1	şədq	
keep\PERF	2FS	command	=2FS	from=	with	messenger	of	rightness	
vt	v:Any	n	pro	prep	prep	n	n:Any	n	
you guarded		your command		from with		messenger of		rightness	
v				prep					

ἰ	ΗΟΦΩ		: ἁ-ἄρ		: ΩΛΩ	: ὠ-ἄτ	: ἡδΩ	:
zä=	‘äqäb	-ä	muday	-ä	bäläs	wə’ətu	ka’əb	-ä
zä=	‘äqäb	-ä <sub>3</sub>	muday	-ä <sub>1</sub>	bäläs	wə’ətu <sub>2</sub>	ka’əb	-ä <sub>2</sub>
REL=	keep\PERF	3MS	basket	of	fig	that.M	second	ACC
rel	vt	v:Any	n	n:Any	n	dem	adj	n:Any
	that he kept		basket of		fig	that	again	
v			n		n	dem	adv	
የዐቅብኪ			: በጎይሊ		: ዚአሁ		::	
yä-	‘äqqäb	=äki	bä=	ḥäyl	-ä	zi’ä=	=hu	
yə-	‘äqqäb	=ki	bä=	ḥäyl	-ä <sub>1</sub>	zä=	=hu	
3M	keep\IMPF	=2FS	by=	might	of	GEN=	=3MS	
v:Any	vt	pro	prep	n	n:Any	prt	pro	
	he kept you		by	the might of		of	him	
pro						pro-form		

And when they saw each other, they both wept and kissed each other. But when Baruch looked up, he saw the figs protected in the basket. And he lifted up his eyes to heaven and prayed, saying, “There is a God who provides a reward for his holy ones. Prepare yourself, my heart, and be glad and rejoice in your tent, I mean, in your fleshly house, because your sorrow has been transformed into joy. For the Mighty One is coming and he will take you out of your tent, for you have not sinned. Revive, my virginal faith, and believe that you will live. Look at this basket of figs! For behold, they are sixty-six years old, yet they did not shrivel up or begin to stink, but they are still dripping milky sap. The same thing is going to happen to you, my flesh, if you do what has been commanded you by the angel of righteousness. He who preserved the basket of figs, he it is who will again preserve you by his power.”

3.2 ወከመዝ			: ብሂሎ		: ባሮክ	: አውሥኦ	:
wä=	kämä	=zə	bəhil	=o	barok	'äwśə'	-ä
wä=	kämä	=zə	bəhil <sub>2</sub>	=hu	barok	'äwśə'	-ä <sub>3</sub>
and=	like	=this	say\CVB	=3MS	Baruch	answer\PERF	3MS
coordconn	prep	dem	tcvb	pro	n	vt	v:Any
and like this			he having said		Baruch	he answered	
adv			cvb		n	v	
አቤሜሌክ	: ወይቤሎ				: ተንሥኦ	: ካዕበ	:
'äbemelek	wä=	yə-	bel	=o	tänśə'	ka'əb	-ä
'äbemelek	wä=	yə-	be	=hu	tänśə' <sub>1</sub>	ka'əb	-ä <sub>2</sub>
Abimelech	and=	3M	say\PRET	=3MS	arise\IMPV	second	ACC
n	coordconn	v:Any	vt	pro	vi	adj	n:Any
Abimelech	and he said to him				arise!	again	
	v				v	adv	
ንጸሊ	: ከመ	: ያርእየን			: እግዚእ	:	
nə-	şälli	kämä	y-	ar'əy	=änä	'əgzi'	
nə-	şälli	kämä	yə-	ar'əy	=nä	'əgzi'	
1CP	pray\JUSS	so that	3M	show\JUSS	=1CP	lord	
v:Any	vi	advlizer	v:Any	vt	pro	n	
let us pray		so that	he would show us		lord		
v		advlizer			n		

ቃላት			: ዘንጽሕፍ		: ለኤርምያስ		: ውስተ	:
qal	-at	-ä	zä=	nə-	şəf	lä=	'erməyas	wəstā
qal	-at	-ä <sub>2</sub>	zä=	nə-	şəf	lä=1	'erməyas	wəstā
word	PL	ACC	REL=	1CP	write\JUSS	to=	Jeremiah	in
n	n:Any	n:Any	rel	v:Any	vt	prep	n	prep
words			that	we	would	write	(to) Jeremiah	in
n			v					prep
ባቢሎን	: ክድነተ		: ዘክደነኒ		: ዲቤየ			::
babilon	kədnät	-ä	zä=	kädän	=äni	dibe	=yä	
babilon	kədnät	-ä <sub>2</sub>	zä=	kädän	=ni <sub>2</sub>	dibä	=yä	
Babylon	protection	ACC	REL=	protect\PERF	=1CS	on	=1CS	
n	n	n:Any	rel	vt	pro	prep	pro	
Babylon	protection		that	he	protected	also	on me	
n	n							

When Baruch had said this, he said to Abimelech; “Get up and let us pray that the Lord might make known to us how we might be able to send the message of your protection to Jeremiah in Babylon.”

3.3 ወጸለየ			: ባሮክ		: ወይቤ		:
wä=	şälläy	-ä	barok	wä=	yə-	be	
wä=	şälläy	-ä <sub>3</sub>	barok	wä=	yə-	be	
and=	pray\PERF	3MS	Baruch	and=	3M	say\PRET	
coordconn	vi	v:Any	n	coordconn	v:Any	vt	
and			Baruch	and	he	said	
ኅይልየ	: አምላክ	: እግዚእ	: ውእቱ	: ውብርሃን		:	
hāyil	=əyā	'āmlak	'əgzi'	wə'ətu	wä=	bərhan	
hāyil	=yā	'āmlak	'əgzi'	wə'ətu <sub>1</sub>	wä=	bərhan	
might	=1CS	lord	lord	3MS	and=	light	
n	pro	n	n	pro	coordconn	n	
		lord	lord	he [is]	and	light	
		n	n	pro			

ዘይወፅእ : እምአፉሁ : አበድር :

zä= yə- wäddə' 'əm= 'äfu =hu '- abäddər  
 zä= yə- wäddə' 'əm=₁ 'äf =hu 'ə- abäddər  
 REL= 3M come forth\IMPF from= mouth =3MS 1CS do eagerly\IMPF  
 rel v:Any vi prep n pro v:Any vt  
 that he comes forth from his mouth I do eagerly

v  
 አስተብቅላኩ : ወእነኒ :

'- astäbäq<sup>w</sup>q<sup>w</sup>ə' =äkä wä= 'ə- gänni  
 'ə- astäbäq<sup>w</sup>q<sup>w</sup>ə' =kä wä= 'ə- gänni  
 1CS beseech\IMPF =2MS and= 1CS submit\IMPF  
 v:Any vt pro coordconn v:Any vi  
 I beseech you and I submit

ለኒሩትከ ፤ ዐቢይ : ስምከ : ወአልቦ :

lä= ስጊሩት =əkä 'äbiy səm =əkä wä= 'äl= b= =o  
 lä=₁ ስጊሩት =kä 'äbiy səm =kä wä= 'äl= bā= =hu  
 to= goodness =2MS big name =2MS and= NEG= by= =3MS  
 prep n pro adj n pro coordconn prt prep pro  
 to your goodness big your name and there is not

ዘይክል : አእምሮቶ ፤ አፀምእ : ጸሎተ :

zä= yə- kəl 'ä'mərot =o 'äፈmə' şälot -ä  
 zä= yə- kəl 'ä'məro =hu 'äፈmə' şälot -ä₁  
 REL= 3M be able\IMPF know\INF =3MS heed\IMPV prayer of  
 rel v:Any vt ger pro vt n n:Any  
 that he is able his knowing head! prayer of

v

ገብርክ	:	ከመ	:	እመረ	:	ይኩን	:	
gäbr	=əkä	kämä	'əmmur	-ä	yə-	kun		
gäbr <sub>2</sub>	=kä	kämä	'əmmur	-ä <sub>2</sub>	yə-	kun		
servant	=2MS	so that	known	ACC	3M	be(come)\JUSS		
n	pro	advlizer	adj	n:Any	v:Any	vi		
your servant		so that	known			he would become		
		advlizer	adj		v			
በልብዩ	:	ፈቃደክ	:	ለገቢር	:	ወእፈኑ	:	
bä=	ləbb	=əyä	fäqad	=äkä	lä=	gäbir	wä=	'ə- fännu
bä=	ləbb	=yä	fäqad	=kä	lä= <sub>1</sub>	gäbir	wä=	'ə- fännu
in=	heart	=1CS	will	=2MS	to=	do\INF	and=	1CS send\JUSS
prep	n	pro	n	pro	prep	ger	coordconn	v:Any vt
in my heart			your will		to doing		and I would send	
ለካህነ			: ዚኦክ		: ኤርምያስ	: ውስተ	: ባቢሎን	::
lä=	kahən	-ä	zi'ä=	=kä	'erməyas	wästä	babelon	
lä= <sub>1</sub>	kahən	-ä <sub>1</sub>	zä=	=kä	'erməyas	wästä	babelon	
to=	priest	of	GEN=	=2MS	Jeremiah	in	Babylon	
prep	n	n:Any	prt	pro	n	prep	n	
to priest			of you		Jeremiah	in	Babylon	
					n	prep	n	

And Baruch prayed, saying, “Our power, O God our Lord, (is) the elect light that proceeded from his mouth; I entreat and beg of your goodness, O Great Name that no one can know, hear the voice of your servant and let it be known in my heart. What do you want us to do? How shall I send to Jeremiah in Babylon?”

3.4 ወእንዘ		: ዘንተ	: ይጸሊ		: መጽኅ		:
wä=	'ənzä	zäntä	yə-	şelli	mäş'	-ä	
wä=	'ənzä	zäntä	yə-	şelli	mäş'	-ä <sub>3</sub>	
and=	while	this.M.ACC	3M	pray\IMPF	come\PERF	3MS	
coordconn and while	advlizer	dem this	v:Any he prays	vi	vi he came	v:Any	
		dem	v		v		

መልእክ	: ወይቤሎ				: ባሮክ	: መካሬ		: ብርሃን
mäl'äk	wä=	yə-	bel	=o	barok	mäkar	-e	bərhan
mäl'äk	wä=	yə-	be	=hu	barok	mäkari	-ä <sub>1</sub>	bərhan
angel	and=	3M	say\PRET	=3MS	Baruch	counselor	of	light
n	coordconn	v:Any	vt	pro	n	ptcp	n:Any	n
angel	and he said to him				Baruch	counselor of		light
n					n	ptcp		n

: ኢተኅሊ			: ከመ	: ትፈኑ		: አንተ	: ኅበ	:
'i=	tä-	hälli	kämä	tə-	fännu	'äntä	hübä	
'i=	tə- <sub>2</sub>	hälli	kämä	tə- <sub>2</sub>	fännu	'äntä	hübä	
NEG=	2	decide\JUSS	so that	2	send\JUSS	2MS	toward	
verbprt	v:Any	vt	advlizer	v:Any	vt	pro	prep	
do not decide			so that	you would	send	you	toward	
verbprt			advlizer	v		pro	prep	
ኤርምያስ	፤ ጌሰመ		: በሰዓተ			: ብርሃን	:	

'erməyas	gesäm	-ä	bä=	sä'ät	-ä	bərhan
'erməyas	gesäm	-ä <sub>2</sub>	bä=	sä'at+SP. VAR. OF	-ä <sub>1</sub>	bərhan
Jeremiah	tomorrow	ACC	in=	hour	of	light
n	n	n:Any	prep	n	n:Any	n
Jeremiah	tomorrow		in hour of			light
n						n

ይመጽኑ : ኅቢክ : ንስር : ወአንተ : ለሊክ :

yə- mäššə' ḥäbe =kä nəsɾ wä= 'äntä lälikä

yə- mäššə' ḥäbä =kä nəsɾ wä= 'äntä lälikä

3M come\|IMPF toward =2MS eagle and= 2MS you yourself

v:Any vi prep pro n coordconn pro <Not Sure>  
 he comes toward you eagle and you you yourself

ሐውጽ : በእንተ : ኤርምያስ : ወጸሐፍ : ውስተ : መጽሐፍ :

ḥäwwəṣ bä= 'äntä 'erməyas wä= šähäf wəstä mäšḥäf

ḥäwwəṣ<sub>2</sub> bä= 'äntä<sub>1</sub> 'erməyas wä= šähäf<sub>2</sub> wəstä mäšḥäf

inspect\|IMPV by= via Jeremiah and= write\|IMPV in writing

vt prep prep n coordconn vt prep n  
 inspect! with regard to Jeremiah and in writing

v prep n prep

ወበሎሙ : ከመዝ : ለውሉደ : እስራኤል :

wä= bäl =omu kämä =zə lä= wəlud -ä 'əsra'el

wä= bäl<sub>2</sub> =homu kämä =zə lä=<sub>1</sub> wäld -ä<sub>1</sub> 'əsra'el

and= say\|IMPV =3MP like =this to= son.PL of Israel

coordconn vt pro prep dem prep n n:Any n  
 and like this to Israel

ዘይከውን : እንግዳ : በውስጥኩሙ :

zä= yə- käwwən 'əngəda bä= wəstet =əkəmu

zä= yə- käwwən 'əngəda bä= wəstä =kəmu

REL= 3M be(come)\|IMPF stranger in= in =2MP

rel v:Any vi n prep prep pro-form  
 that he becomes stranger in

v n

ይታረፍ		: እንተ	: ባሕቲቱ	: እስከ	: ዐሥር	:
yə- tfälät		'əntä	bahtit =u	'əskä	'äsur	
yə- tfälät		'əntä <sub>1</sub>	bahtit =hu	'əskä	'äsur	
3M	be separated\JUSS	via	alone =3MS	until that	the tenth day	
v:Any	vi	prep	adv pro	advlizer	n	
he would be separated		via	he alone	until that	the tenth	
v		prep	adv	advlizer		
ወሐሙስ		: ዕለት	: ወእምድኅረዝ			:
wä= hämus		'älät	wä= 'əm=	dəhrä	=zə	
wä= hämus+UNSPEC. VAR. OF		'älät	wä= 'əm= <sub>1</sub>	dəhrä	=zə	
and= fifth day		day	and= from=	afterward	=this	
coordconn	n	n	coordconn	prep	adv	dem
and fifth day		day	and from after this			
አበውአክሙ		: ውስተ	: ሀገር	: ይቤ	: እግዚአ	:
'- abäwwə'	=äkəmu	wəstä	hägär	yə- be	'əgzi'	
'ə- abäwwə'	=kəmu	wəstä	hägär	yə- be	'əgzi'	
1CS	lead in\IMPF	=2MP	in	city	3M	say\PRET lord
v:Any	vt	pro-form	prep	n	v:Any	vt n
I lead you in			in	city	he said	lord
			prep	n	v	n
ዘኢተፈልጠ			: በዐሥር			:
zä= 'i=	täfält	-ä	bä= 'äsur			
zä= 'i=	täfält	-ä <sub>3</sub>	bä= 'äsur			
REL= NEG=	be separated\PERF	3MS	in=	the tenth day		
rel	verbprt	vi	v:Any	prep	n	
that he was not separated				in	tenth day	
v						
ወሐሙስ		: እምባቢሎን	: ይባእ		: ኤርምያስ	
wä= hämus		'əm=	babilon	yə- ba'	'erməyas	
wä= hämus+UNSPEC. VAR. OF		'əm= <sub>1</sub>	babilon	yə- ba' <sub>2</sub>	'erməyas	
and= fifth day		from=	Babylon	3M	enter\JUSS	Jeremiah
coordconn	n	prep	n	v:Any	vi	n
and fifth day		from	Babylon	he would enter		Jeremiah
						n

: ውስተ	: ሀገር	: ወይዘላፎሙ			: ለሰብአ	:
wəstä	hägär	wä=	yə-	zləf	=omu	lä= säb' -ä
wəstä	hägär	wä=	yə-	zləf	=homu	lä=1 säb' -ä1
in	city	and=	3M	reprove\JUSS	=3MP	to= men of
prep	n	coordconn	v:Any	vt	pro	prep n n:Any
in	city	and he would reprove them				(to) the men of
prep	n					
ባቢሎን	: ይቤ		: እግዚእ	::		
babilon	yə-	be	'əgzɪ'			
babilon	yə-	be	'əgzɪ'			
Babylon	3M	say\PRET	lord			
n	v:Any	vt	n			
Babylon	he said		lord			
n	v		n			

And while Baruch was still praying, behold, an angel of the Lord came and said to Baruch, “Baruch, counselor of the light! Do not be anxious about how you will send to Jeremiah. For tomorrow at dawn an eagle is coming to you and you will send him to Jeremiah. So write in the letter, ‘Tell the children of Israel: Let the stranger who comes among you be separated, and let fifteen days pass; and after this I shall lead you into your city, says the Lord. He who is not separated from Babylon, {O Jeremiah, shall not come into the city; and I will censure them so that they are not welcomed again by the Babylonians!!!}, says the Lord.’ ”

3.5 ወዘንተ		: ብሂሎ		: መልአክ	: ኅሰፈ		:
wä=	zäntä	bəhil	=o	mäl'äk	hăläf	-ä	
wä=	zäntä	bəhil <sub>2</sub>	=hu	mäl'äk	hăläf	-ä <sub>3</sub>	
and=	this.M.ACC	say\CVB	=3MS	angel	leave\PERF	3MS	
coordconn and this	dem	tcvb he having said	pro	n angel	vi he left	v:Any	
dem		cvb		n	v		
እምነብ	: ባሮክ	: ወባሮክ		: ፈነዎ		: እስከ	: መርሕብ
'əm=	hābä	barok	wä=	barok	fännäw	=o	'əskä märhəb
'əm=1	hābä	barok	wä=	barok	fännäw	=hu	'əskä märhəb
from=	with	Baruch	and=	Baruch	send\PERF	=3MS	until wide space
prep from	prep with	n Baruch	coordconn and	n Baruch	vt he sent him	pro	prep until n wide space
prep ወእምጽአ	n	n					prep
			: ክርታስ		: ወማየ		:
wä=	'ämşə'	-ä	kərtas	-ä	wä=	may	-ä
wä=	'ämşə' <sub>1</sub>	-ä <sub>3</sub>	kərtas	-ä <sub>2</sub>	wä=	may	-ä <sub>1</sub>
and=	bring\PERF	3MS	parchment	ACC	and=	water	of
coordconn and he brought	vt	v:Any	n parchment	n:Any	coordconn	n and water of	n:Any
ሕመት	: ወጸሐፈ		n	: እንዘ	: ይብል		:
həmmät	wä=	şähäf	-ä	'ənzä	yə-	bəl	
həmmät	wä=	şähäf <sub>1</sub>	-ä <sub>3</sub>	'ənzä	yə-	bəl	
soot	and=	write\PERF	3MS	while	3M	say\IMPF	
n soot	coordconn and he wrote	vt	v:Any	advlizer while	v:Any he says	vt	
n				advlizer	v		

በእንተ	:	ባሮክ	:	ገብረ	:	አምላክ	:	ይጽሕፍ	:
bä=	'əntä	barok	gäbr	-ä	'ämlak	yə-	şəhhəf		
bä=	'əntä <sub>1</sub>	barok	gäbr <sub>2</sub>	-ä <sub>1</sub>	'ämlak	yə-	şəhhəf		
by=	via	Baruch	servant	of	lord	3M	write\IMPF		
prep	prep	n	n	n:Any	n	v:Any	vt		
with regard to		Baruch	servant of		lord		he writes		
prep		n	n			v			
መጽሐፈ	:	ለኤርምያስ	:	ውስተ	:	ዩዋ	:	ባቢሎን	:
mäşhäf	-ä	lä=	'erməyas	wəstä	ፈዌ	babilon	fəssəḥa		
mäşhäf	-ä <sub>2</sub>	lä= <sub>1</sub>	'erməyas	wəstä	ፈዌ	babilon	fəssəḥa		
writing	ACC	to=	Jeremiah	in	captivity	Babylon	joy		
n	n:Any	prep	n	prep	n	n	n		
writing		(to) Jeremiah		in	captivity	Babylon	joy		
n			prep	n	n				
ወሐሳይት	:	እስመ	:	አምላክ	:	ኢየሱስ	:		:
wä=	ḥäset	'əsmä	'ämlak	'i=	yä-	ḥäddäg	=änä		
wä=	ḥäset	'əsmä	'ämlak	'i=	yə-	ḥäddäg	=nä		
and=	happiness	because	lord	NEG=	3M	allow\IMPF	=1CP		
coordconn	n	advlizer	n	verbprt	v:Any	vt	pro		
and hapiness		because	lord		he does not allow us				
		advlizer		v					
ንፃእ	:	ሕዙናኒ	:	በእንተ	:	ጽዕለት	:		:
nə-	ፈላ'	ḥəzun	-an	=inä	bä=	'əntä	şə'lät		
nə-	ፈላ' <sub>2</sub>	ḥəzun	-an	=inä	bä=	'əntä <sub>1</sub>	şə'lät		
1CP	come forth\JUSS	sad	PL	=1CP	by=	via	reviling		
v:Any	vi	adj	n:Any	pro	prep	prep	n		
we would come forth		our sad (ones)			because of		reviling		
v					prep		n		

ወሙስና		፤ በእንተዝ		: አስተምሐረ		: እግዚእ :
wä=	musəna	bä=	'əntä	=zə	'ästämḥär	-ä 'əgzi'
wä=	musəna	bä=	'əntä <sub>1</sub>	=zə	'ästämḥär	-ä <sub>3</sub> 'əgzi'
and=	destruction	by=	via	=this	be merciful\PERF	3MS lord
coordconn	n	prep	prep	dem	vi	v:Any n
and	destruction		because of this		he became merciful	lord
				v		n
ዲበ	: አንበፅ	: ወተዘከረ			: ሥርዐተ	:
dibä	'änbə'	=ənä	wä=	täzäkkär	-ä	śər'ät -ä
dibä	'änbə'	=nä	wä=	täzäkkär <sub>2</sub>	-ä <sub>3</sub>	śər'ät -ä <sub>2</sub>
on	tear	=1CP	and=	be mindful of\PERF	3MS	arrangement ACC
prep	n	pro	coordconn	vt	v:Any	n n:Any
on	our tear		and	he became mindful of		arrangement
prep					n	
ዘአቅደመ				: ምስለ	: አበዊነ	: አብርሃም :
zä=	'äqdäm		-ä	məslä	'äb	-äw =inä 'äbrəham
zä=	'äqdäm		-ä <sub>3</sub>	məslä	'äb	-äw =inä 'äbrəham
REL=	happen previously\PERF		3MS	with	father	PL =1CP Abraham
rel	vt		v:Any	prep	n	n:Any pro n
tht	he happened previously			with	our fathers	Abraham
v				prep	pro	n
ይስሐቅ	: ወያዕቆብ	::				
yəshäq	wä=	ya'qob				
yəshäq	wä=	ya'qob				
Issac	and=	Jacob				
n	coordconn	n				
Issac	and	Jacob				
n						

And when the angel had said this, he departed from Baruch. But Baruch sent to the market of the Gentiles, got papyrus and ink, and wrote a letter reading as follows: "Baruch the servant of God writes to Jeremiah, who is in the captivity of Babylon: rejoice and exult since God did not allow us to depart from this body grieving for the city that has been laid waste and suffered outrage. Therefore the Lord had compassion on our tears and remembered the covenant that he established with our fathers Abraham and Isaac and Jacob.

3.6 ወፈነወ

			: መልአኮ		: ኅቤየ	
wä=	fännäw	-ä	mäl'äk	=o	häbe	=yä
wä=	fännäw	-ä <sub>3</sub>	mäl'äk	=hu	hübä	=yä
and=	send\PERF	3MS	angel	=3MS	toward	=1CS
coordconn	vt	v:Any	n	pro	prep	pro
and he sent			his angel		toward me	

ወነገረኒ : እላንተ : ነገረ :

wä=	nägär	-ä	=ni	'ellantä	nägär	-ä
wä=	nägär <sub>2</sub>	-ä <sub>3</sub>	=ni <sub>2</sub>	'ellantä	nägär <sub>1</sub>	-ä <sub>2</sub>
and=	tell\PERF	3MS	=1CS	these.F.ACC	matter	ACC
coordconn	vt	v:Any	pro	dem	n	n:Any
and he told me				these	matter	

ዘለአኩ : ኅቤከ : እላ : እግንቱ : ነገር :

zä=	lä'äk	-ku	häbe	=kä	'älla	'əmuntu	nägär
zä=	lä'äk	-ku	hübä	=kä	'älla	'əmuntu	nägär <sub>1</sub>
REL=	send\PERF	1CS	toward	=2MS	these.F	3MP	matter
rel	vt	v:Any	prep	pro	dem	pro	n
that I sent			toward you		these	they [are]	thing
v					dem		n

ዘነብረ : እግዚእ : አምላክ : እስራኤል :

zä=	gäbr	-ä	'əgzı'	'ämlak	-ä	'əsra'el
zä=	gäbr <sub>1</sub>	-ä <sub>3</sub>	'əgzı'	'ämlak	-ä <sub>1</sub>	'əsra'el
REL=	do\PERF	3MS	lord	lord	of	Israel
rel	vt	v:Any	n	n	n:Any	n
that he did			lord	lord of		Israel

ዘአውፅአኒ : እምድረ : ግብጽ :

zä=	'äwፈə'	-ä	=nä	'əm=	mədr	-ä	gəbş
zä=	'äwፈə'	-ä <sub>3</sub>	=nä	'əm= <sub>1</sub>	mədr	-ä <sub>1</sub>	gəbş
REL=	bring forth\PERF	3MS	=1CP	from=	land	of	Egypt
rel	vt	v:Any	pro	prep	n	n:Any	n
that he brought us forth				from land of			Egypt

v n

ዘእሳት		: እስመ	: ኢዐቀብከመ		: ኩሎ	:
zä=	'əssat	'əsmä	'i=	'äqäb	-kəmu	kʷəllo
zä=	'əssat	'əsmä	'i=	'äqäb	-kəmu	kʷəllo
GEN=	fire	because	NEG=	guard\PERF	2MP	all.ACC
prt	n	advlizer	verbprt	vt	v:Any	quant
of fire		because	you did not guard			all
n		advlizer				det
ጸድቃቴሁ		: አላ	: አለዐልከመ		: ልበከመ	:
şədq	-at	=ihu	'älla	'äl'äl	-kəmu	ləbb =äkəmu
şədq	-at	=hu	'älla	'äl'äl	-kəmu	ləbb =kəmu
rightness	PL	=3MS	but	raise up\PERF	2MP	heart =2MP
n	n:Any	pro	coordconn	vt	v:Any	n pro-form
his rightnesses			but	you raised up		your heart
			coordconn			n
ወአግዘፍከመ		: ከሳደከመ	: ቅድሜሁ		:	
wä=	'ägzäf	-kəmu	kəsad	=äkəmu	qədme	=hu
wä=	'ägzäf	-kəmu	kəsad	=kəmu	qədmä	=hu
and=	harden\PERF	2MP	neck	=2MP	before	=3MS
coordconn	vt	v:Any	n	pro-form	prep	pro
and you hardened			your neck		before him	
ወመጠወከመ		: ውስተ	: እኅነ		: ባቢሎን	:
wä=	mätṭäw	-ä	=kəmu	wästä	'əton	-ä babilon
wä=	mätṭäw	-ä <sub>3</sub>	=kəmu	wästä	'əton	-ä <sub>1</sub> babilon
and=	hand over\PERF	3MS	=2MP	in	furnance	of Babylon
coordconn	vt	v:Any	pro-form	prep	n	n:Any n
and he handed you over				in	furnance of	Babylon
				prep	n	n

እስመ	:	ኢሰጣዕከሙ	:	ቃልየ	:	ይቤ	:
'əsmä	'i=	säma'	-kəmu	qal	=əyä	yə-	be
'əsmä	'i=	säm'	-kəmu	qal	=yä	yə-	be
because	NEG=	hear\PERF	2MP	word	=1CS	3M	say\PRET
advlizer	verbprt	vt	v:Any	n	pro	v:Any	vt
because		you did not hear		my word		he said	
advlizer						v	
እግዚአብሔር	:	እምአፈ	:	ኤርምያስ	:	ቀዳሴ	::
'əgzɪ'äbəher	'əm=	'äf	-ä	'erməyas	q <sup>w</sup> əl'e	=hu	
'əgzɪ'äbəher <sub>1</sub>	'əm= <sub>1</sub>	'äf	-ä <sub>1</sub>	'erməyas	q <sup>w</sup> əl'e	=hu	
God	from=	mouth	of	Jeremiah	servant	=3MS	
n	prep	n	n:Any	n	n	pro	
God		from mouth of		Jeremiah	his servant		
n				n			

For he sent to me his angel, and he told me these words that I am sending to you. These, then, are the words that the Lord, the God of Israel, who led us out of the land of Egypt, out of the big furnace, has spoken. 'Because you did not keep my ordinances but your heart became haughty and you were stubborn in my presence instead, I became angry and in wrath I surrendered you into the furnace in Babylon. If you, therefore, says the Lord, listen to my voice that comes out of the mouth of Jeremiah, my servant,

3.7 ለእለ : ሰምዑ : አወጣጡ :

lä=	'əllä	säm'	-u	'-	awädðə'	=omu
lä=1	'əllä	säm'	-u	'ə-	awädðə'	=homu
to=	REL.PL	hear\PERF	MP	1CS	bring forth\IMPF	=3MP
prep	rel	vt	v:Any	v:Any	vt	pro
	(to) that	they heard		I	bring them forth	

እምባቢሉን : ወኢይከውኑ :

'əm=	babilon	wä=	'i=	yə-	käwwən	-u
'əm=1	babilon	wä=	'i=	yə-	käwwən	-u
from=	Babylon	and=	NEG=	3M	be(come)\IMPF	MP
prep	n	coordconn	verbprt	v:Any	vi	v:Any
	from Babylon	and	they do not	become		

ነገደ : እምኢየሩሳሌም : በባቢሎን ።

nägd	-ä	'əm=	'iyärusalem	bä=	babilon
nägd	-ä2	'əm=1	'iyärusalem	bä=	babilon
traveler	ACC	from=	Jerusalem	in=	Babylon
n	n:Any	prep	n	prep	n
traveler		from	Jerusalem	in	Babylon

n

the one who does heed I will bring back out of Babylon, but the one who does not listen will become a stranger to Jerusalem and to Babylon.

3.8 ወእመሰ

: ትፈቱ

:

wä= 'ämmä =sä tə- fättu  
 wä= 'ämmä =sä tə-2 fättəw  
 and= if =however 2 desire strongly\IMPF  
 coordconn advlizer prt v:Any vt  
 and if, however

advlizer

ታእምሮም

: ወታምክሮም

:

t- a'mər =omu wä= t- amkər =omu  
 tə-2 a'mər =homu wä= tə-2 amkər =homu  
 2 know\JUSS =3MP and= 2 advise\JUSS =3MP  
 v:Any vt pro coordconn v:Any vt pro  
 know\JUSS and

ፍትኖም

: በማየ

: የርዳኖስ

:

fətən =omu bä= may -ä yordanos  
 fətən =homu bä= may -ä1 yordanos  
 examine\IMPV =3MP by= water of Jordan  
 vt pro prep n n:Any n  
 examine\IMPV by Jordan  
 prep n

ወዘኢይሰምዕ

: ይትእምር

:

wä= zä= 'i= yə- sämmə' yə- t'ämmär  
 wä= zä= 'i= yə- sämmə' yə- t'ämmär  
 and= REL= NEG= 3M hear\IMPF 3M be known\IMPF  
 coordconn rel verbprt v:Any vt v:Any vi  
 he is known

v

በተኣምረ

: ዝንቱ

: ትእምርት

: ዘየዐቢ

: ማኅተም

::

bä= tä'amər -ä zəntu tə'mərt zä= yə- 'äbbi maḥtäm  
 bä= tə'mərt -ä1 zəntu tə'mərt zä= yə- 'äbbi maḥtäm  
 by= sign.PL of this.M sign REL= 3M be big\IMPF seal  
 prep n n:Any dem n rel v:Any vi n  
 by this sign that he becomes big seal  
 dem n v n

But you shall test them with the waters of the Jordan; the one who does not listen will be exposed. This is the sign of the great seal.' ”

3.9 ወተንሥኦክ : ባሮክ : ወወፅኦክ :

wä=	tänśə'	-ä	barok	wä=	wäd'	-ä
wä=	tänśə'₁	-ä₃	barok	wä=	wäd'	-ä₃
and=	arise\IMPV	3MS	Baruch	and=	come forth\PERF	3MS
coordconn	vi	v:Any	n	coordconn	vi	v:Any
and			Baruch	and he came forth		

ጽሁፎ : ከመዝ : እመቃብር ::

şəḥif	=o	kämä	=zə	'əm=	mäqabər
şəḥif	=hu	kämä	=zə	'əm=₁	mäqbärt
write\CVB	=3MS	like	=this	from=	grave.PL
tcvb	pro	prep	dem	prep	n
write\CVB		like this		from	graves
		adv			

And Baruch got up and went out of the tomb.

3.10 ወይቤሎ : ንስር : ባሐክ : ባሮክ :

wä=	yə-	bel	=o	nəsɾ	baḥä	=kä	barok
wä=	yə-	be	=hu	nəsɾ	baḥä	=kä	barok
and=	3M	say\PRET	=3MS	eagle	greetings	=2MS	Baruch
coordconn	v:Any	vt	pro	n	interj	pro	n
and he said to him				eagle	greetings		Baruch

መጋቤ : ሃይማኖት : ወይቤሎ : ባሮክ :

mäggab	-e	haymanot	wä=	yə-	bel	=o	barok
mäggabi	-ä₁	haymanot	wä=	yə-	be	=hu	barok
steward	of	faith	and=	3M	say\PRET	=3MS	Baruch
ptcp	n:Any	n	coordconn	v:Any	vt	pro	n
Mäggabit		faith	and he said to him				Baruch
n		n	v				n

እስመ	:	ኅዳይ	:	አንተ	:	እምነት	:	አዕዋፊ	:	ሰማይ	:					
'əsmä		həruy		'äntä		'əm=		kʷəllu		'ä'waf		-ä		sämay		
'əsmä		həruy		'äntä		'əm=1		kʷəllu		'of		-ä <sub>1</sub>		sämay		
because		chosen		2MS		than=		all		bird.PL		of		heaven		
advlizer		adj		pro		prep		quant		n		n:Any		n		
because		chosen		you		than all				birds of				heaven		
advlizer		adj		pro		adv								n		
ትትናገር				፤ እምብርሃን				፤ አዕይንቲክ				፤ እምር		፤ አንተ	፤	
tə-		tnaggär		'əm=		bərhan		-ä		'ä'yənt		=ikä		'əmmur		'äntä
tə- <sub>2</sub>		tnaggär		'əm=1		bərhan		-ä <sub>1</sub>		'äyn		=kä		'əmmur		'äntä
2		speak\ IMPF		from=		light		of		eye.PL		=2MS		known		2MS
v:Any		vt		prep		n		n:Any		n		pro		adj		pro
				from light of						your eyes				known		you
														adj		pro
ወይእኩኒ				፤ አርአየኒ				፤ ምንተ				፤ ትነብር				፤
wä=		yə'əzeni		'är'əy		=äni		mənt		-ä		tə-		näbbər		
wä=		yə'əzeni		'är'əy		=ni <sub>2</sub>		mənt		-ä <sub>2</sub>		tə- <sub>2</sub>		näbbər		
and=		now		show\ IMPV		=1CS		what		ACC		2		dwel\ IMPF		
coordconn		adv		vt		pro		interrog		n:Any		v:Any		vi		
and now				show\ IMPV				what				you dwell				
adv								interrog								
በዝየ		።														
bä=		zəyyä														
bä=		zəyyä														
in=		here														
prep		adv														
in here																

And the eagle answered in a human voice (and) said, “Hail, Baruch, steward of the faith!” And Baruch said to him, “You, who speak, are chosen from among all the birds of the sky, for this is clear from the gleam of your eyes. So, show me: What are you doing here?”

3.11 ወይቤሎ

: ንስር : ተፈኖኩ

: ዝየ

wä=	yə-	bel	=o	nəsr	tä-	fänno	-ku	zəyyä
wä=	yə-	be	=hu	nəsr	tä-	fännäw	-ku	zəyyä
and=	3M	say\PRET	=3MS	eagle	PASS	send\PERF	1CS	here
coordconn	v:Any	vt	pro	n	v>v	vt	v:Any	adv
and he said to him				eagle	I was sent			here
	v			n	v			
: ከመ	: ኩሎ	: ቃለ		: ዘትፈቅድ				:
kämä	kʷəllo	qal	-ä	zä=	tə-	fäqqəd		
kämä	kʷəllo	qal	-ä <sub>1</sub>	zä=	tə- <sub>2</sub>	fäqqəd		
so that	all.ACC	word	of	REL=	2	wish\IMPF		
advlizer	quant	n	n:Any	rel	v:Any	vt		
so that	all	word	of	that	you wish			
advlizer	det	n		v				
ትልእከኒ			: ከያየ	::				
tə-	l'äk	=äni	kiya=	=yä				
tə- <sub>2</sub>	l'äk	=ni <sub>2</sub>	kiya=	=yä				
2	send\JUSS	=1CS	ACC=	=1CS				
v:Any	vt	pro	prt	pro				
send\JUSS			me					
			pro					

And the eagle said to him, "I was sent here so that you might send by me whatever message you want."

3.12	ወይቤሎ			: ባሮክ	: ትክልኑ		:
wä=	yə-	bel	=o	barok	tə-	kəl	=nu
wä=	yə-	be	=hu	barok	tə- <sub>2</sub>	kəl	=nu
and=	3M	say\PRET	=3MS	Baruch	2	be able\IMPF	=Q
coordconn	v:Any	vt	pro	n	v:Any	vt	q
and he said to him				Baruch		are you able to?	
v				n	v		
አላንተ	: ነገረ		: አብጽኦሎ	: ኅብ	: ኤርምያስ	: ውስተ	:
'əllantä	nägär	-ä	'äbşəho	hübä	'erməyas	wəstä	
'əllantä	nägär <sub>1</sub>	-ä <sub>2</sub>	'äbşəho	hübä	'erməyas	wəstä	
these.F.ACC	matter	ACC	cause to arrive\INF	toward	Jeremiah	in	
dem	n	n:Any	ger	prep	n	prep	
these	matter		bringing	toward	Jeremiah	in	
dem	n		ger	prep	n	prep	
ባቢሎን	፤ ወይቤሎ			: ንስር	: በእንተዝ		:
babilon	wä=	yə-	bel	=o	nəsɾ	bä= 'əntä	=zə
babilon	wä=	yə-	be	=hu	nəsɾ	bä= 'əntä <sub>1</sub>	=zə
Babylon	and=	3M	say\PRET	=3MS	eagle	by= via	=this
n	coordconn	v:Any	vt	pro	n	prep prep	dem
Babylon	and he said to him				eagle	because of this	
n	v				n	adv	
ተፈነወኩ		::					
tä-	fännäw	-ku					
tä-	fännäw	-ku					
PASS	send\PERF	1CS					
v>v	vt	v:Any					

And Baruch said to him, “Can you carry this message to Jeremiah in Babylon?” And the eagle said to him, “Indeed, that is what I was sent for.” [!!!]



3.14 ወይቤሎ : ለከ : እብል : ንከር :

wä= yə- bel =o lä= =kä 'ə- bəl nəsɾ  
wä= yə- be =hu lä=1 =kä 'ə- bəl nəsɾ  
and= 3M say\PRET =3MS to= =2MS 1CS say\IMPF eagle  
coordconn v:Any vt pro prep pro v:Any vt n  
and he said to him to you I say eagle

ንጉሥ : ለተሎ : አዕዋፍ : ሐር : በሰላም :

nəguś =omu lä= kʷəll =omu 'ä'waf ḥor bä= sälam  
nəguś =homu lä=1 kʷəll =homu 'of ḥor2 bä= sälam  
king =3MP to= all =3MP bird.PL go\IMPV in= safety  
n pro prep det pro n vi prep n  
their king (to) all of them birds go! in safety

ወበከይወት ፤ ዜና : አምጽእ : ለጎ ፤

wä= bä= ḥəywät zena 'ämşə' lä= =nä  
wä= bä= ḥəywät zena 'ämşə'2 lä=1 =nä  
and= by= life news bring\IMPV to= =1CP  
coordconn prep n n vt prep pro  
and in life news bring! to us

ወኢትትመሰሎ : ለቋፊ :

wä= 'i= tə- tmässäl =o lä= qʷa'  
wä= 'i= tə-2 tmässäl =hu lä=1 qʷa'  
and= NEG= 2 become similar to\JUSS =3MS to= raven  
coordconn verbprt v:Any vt pro prep n  
and do not become similar to him (to) the raven

v

ዘፈነዎ			: ኖኅ	: ወአበየ					
zä=	fännäw	=o	noḥ	wä=	'äbäy	-ä			
zä=	fännäw	=hu	noḥ	wä=	'äbäy	-ä <sub>3</sub>			
REL=	send\PERF	=3MS	Noah	and=	refuse\PERF	3MS			
rel	vt	pro	n	coordconn	vt	v:Any			
	that he sent him		Noah		and he refused				
v			n	v					
ገቢአ		: ዳግመ	: ኅቤሁ	: አላ		:			
gäbi'	-ä	dagämä	ḥäbe	=hu	'älla				
gäbi'	-ä <sub>2</sub>	dagämä	ḥäbä	=hu	'älla				
return\INF	ACC	again	toward	=3MS	but				
ger	n:Any	adv	prep	pro	coordconn				
	returning	again	toward	him	but				
ger		adv	adv		coordconn				
ተመሰላ			: ለርግብ	: ዘሥልሰ	: አግብአት			:	
tämässäl		=a	lä=	rəgb	zä=	śəlsä	'ägbə'	-ät	
tämässäl		=ha	lä=1	rəgb	zä=	śəlsä	'ägbə' <sub>2</sub>	-ät	
become similar to\IMPV		=3FS	to=	dove	REL=	thrice	bring back\PERF	3FS	
vt		pro	prep	n	rel	adv	vt	v:Any	
	become similar to!		(to)	the dove	that	thrice	she brought back		
ቃለ		: ለኖኅ	: ከመሁ	: አንተኒ	: ገሣእ	: ዘንተ		:	
qal	-ä	lä=	noḥ	käma	=hu	'äntä	=ni	nəśa'	zäntä
qal	-ä <sub>2</sub>	lä=1	noḥ	käma	=hu	'äntä	=ni <sub>1</sub>	nəśa'	zäntä
word	ACC	to=	Noah	like	=3MS	2MS	=also	take\IMPV	this.M.ACC
n	n:Any	prep	n	prep	pro	pro	post	vt	dem
	word	to	Noah	like	him	you, also		take!	this
n									dem

ቃላት			: ሠናዩ		: ለኤርምያስ		:	
qal	-at	-ä	śännay	-ä	lä=	'erməyas		
qal	-at	-ä <sub>2</sub>	śännay	-ä <sub>2</sub>	lä= <sub>1</sub>	'erməyas		
word	PL	ACC	beautiful	ACC	to=	Jeremiah		
n	n:Any	n:Any	adj	n:Any	prep	n		
words			beautiful		(to)	Jeremiah		
n			adj					
ወለእለ			: ሀለዉ		: ምስሌሁ		: እስራኤል	: ከመ
wä=	lä=	'əllä	hälläw	-u	məsle	=hu	'əsra'el	kämä
wä=	lä= <sub>1</sub>	'əllä	hälläw	-u	məslä	=hu	'əsra'el	kämä
and=	to=	REL.PL	exist\PERF	MP	with	=3MS	Israel	so that
coordconn	prep	rel	vi	v:Any	prep	pro	n	advlizer
and to that			they existed		with him		Israel	so that
			v				n	advlizer
ሠናዩ		: ይኩንከ			: ወንሣኢ			:
śännay	-ä	yə-	kun	=kä	wä=	nəśá'		
śännay	-ä <sub>2</sub>	yə-	kun	=kä	wä=	nəśá'		
beautiful	ACC	3M	be(come)\JUSS	=2MS	and=	take\IMPV		
adj	n:Any	v:Any	vi	pro	coordconn	vt		
beautiful		he would	become for you		and take!			
adj								
ዘንተ		: ትፍሥሕተ		: ለሕዝብ		: ኅሩይነ		: አምላክ ::
zäntä	təfśəht	-ä	lä=	həzb	həruy	-an	-ä	'ämlak
zäntä	təfśəht	-ä <sub>2</sub>	lä= <sub>1</sub>	həzb	həruy	-an	-ä <sub>1</sub>	'ämlak
this.M.ACC	joy	ACC	to=	people	chosen	PL	of	lord
dem	n	n:Any	prep	n	adj	n:Any	n:Any	n
this	joy		(to)	the people	chosen	(ones) of		lord
dem	n							

and said to him, "To you, king of the birds, I say: Go in peace and good health and deliver the message for me! Do not be like the raven that Noah sent out and that never came back to him in the ark, but be like the dove that the third time brought a message to the righteous one. So, too, do you: Take this good message to Jeremiah and to those who are with him, so that good things may happen to you. Take this papyrus to the chosen people of God!

3.15 ወእመኒ

: ያዳክ

: አዕዋፍ :

wä= 'əmän -i 'od -u =kä 'ä'waf

wä= 'əmän -i 'od -u =kä 'of

and= believe\IMPV 2FS surround\PERF MP =2MS bird.PL

coordconn vt v:Any vt v:Any pro n  
and believe! they surrounded you birds

ተሉ : ወተሉሙ : ጸላእያነሃ : ለጽድቅ

k<sup>w</sup>əll =u wä= k<sup>w</sup>əll =omu şäla'əy -an =iha lä= şədq

k<sup>w</sup>əll =hu wä= k<sup>w</sup>əll =homu şäla'i -an =ha lä=₁ şədq

all =3MS and= all =3MP enemy PL =3FS to= rightness

det pro coordconn det pro n n:Any pro prep n  
all and all of them her enemies (to) rightness

det det : አንዘ : ይፈቅዱ : ይቅትሉከ : ተባደር

'ənzä yə- fäqqəd -u yə- qtəl -u =kä täbadär

'ənzä yə- fäqqəd -u yə- qtəl -u =kä täbadär

while 3M wish\IMPF MP 3M kill\JUSS MP =2MS race\IMPV

advlizer v:Any vt v:Any v:Any vt v:Any pro vi  
while they wish they would kill you race!

advlizer : ወእግዚእ : የሀብከ : ጎይላ :

wä= 'əgzī' yä- häb =kä häyl -ä

wä= 'əgzī' yə- häb₂ =kä häyl -ä₂

and= lord 3M give\JUSS =2MS might ACC

coordconn n v:Any vt pro n n:Any  
and lord he would give you might

ወኢትትመየጥ : ኢለየማን :

wä= 'i= tə- tmäyät 'i= lä= yäman

wä= 'i= tə-₂ tmäyät 'i= lä=₁ yäman

and= NEG= 2 return\JUSS NEG= to= the right hand

coordconn verbprt v:Any vi verbprt prep n  
and do not return not to the right hand

v

ወኢለፀጋም : ኣላ : ከመ : ሐጽ :  
 wä= 'i= lä= ḍägām 'älla kāmā ḥäṣ  
 wä= 'i= lä=₁ ḍägām 'älla kāmā ḥäṣ  
 and= NEG= to= the left hand but like arrow  
 coordconn verbprt prep n coordconn prep n  
 and not to the left hand but like arrow

ዘየሐውር : ርቱዕ : ሐር : በጎይለ : ኣምላክ  
 zä= yä- ḥäwwär rätu' -ä ḥor bä= ḥäyl -ä 'ämlak  
 zä= yə- ḥäwwär rätu' -ä₂ ḥor₂ bä= ḥäyl -ä₁ 'ämlak  
 REL= 3M go\|IMPF straight ACC go\|IMPV by= might of lord  
 rel v:Any vi adj n:Any vi prep n n:Any n  
 that he goes straightly go! by the might of lord  
 v adv v  
 #

Even if all the birds of the sky surround you and want to fight with you: struggle! May the Lord give you strength. And turn aside neither to the right nor to the left but fly straight as an arrow, and so go in the power of God!

3.16 ወዘንተ : ብሂሎ : ባሮክ : ሰረረ : ንስር :  
 wä= zäntä bəhil =o barok särär -ä nəsr  
 wä= zäntä bəhil₂ =hu barok särär -ä₃ nəsr  
 and= this.M.ACC say\CVB =3MS Baruch fly\PERF 3MS eagle  
 coordconn dem tvb pro n vi v:Any n  
 and this he having said Baruch he flew eagle  
 dem cvb n v n

ምስለ : መጽሐፍ : ወሐረ : ውስተ : ባቢሎን :  
 məslä məṣḥäf wä= ḥor -ä wəstä babilon  
 məslä məṣḥäf wä= ḥor₁ -ä₃ wəstä babilon  
 with writing and= go\PERF 3MS in Babylon  
 prep n coordconn vi v:Any prep n  
 with writing and he went in Babylon  
 prep prep n

ወአዕረፈ : ዲበ : ዐምድ : ዘአፍካ : እምሀገር :

wä= 'ä'räf -ä dibä 'ämd zä= 'äf'a 'əm= hägär

wä= 'ä'räf -ä<sub>3</sub> dibä 'ämd zä= 'äf'a 'əm=<sub>1</sub> hägär

and= rest\PERF 3MS on pillar REL= outside from= city

coordconn vi v:Any prep n rel adv prep n  
 and he rested on pillar that [is] outside from city

በመካን : ዘገዳም : ወጸንሐ : ህየ :

bä= mäkan zä= gädam wä= šänḥ -ä həyyä

bä= mäkan zä= gädam wä= šänḥ -ä<sub>3</sub> həyyä

in= place GEN= wilderness and= wait\PERF 3MS there

prep n prt n coordconn vi v:Any adv  
 in place of wilderness and he waited there

እስከ : የነልፍ : ኤርምያስ : ወባዕዳን : ሕዝብ ::

'əskä yä- ḥälləf 'erməyas wä= ba'əd -an ḥəzb

'əskä yə- ḥälləf 'erməyas wä= ba'əd -an ḥəzb

until that 3M pass\IMPF Jeremiah and= different PL people

advlizer v:Any vi n coordconn adj n:Any n  
 until that he passes Jeremiah and different (ones) people

advlizer v n n

Then the eagle flew away carrying the letter and went away to Babylon, and he rested on a post outside the city in a deserted place. And he kept silent until Jeremiah passed through, he himself and some others of the people.

3.17 ውኅለፉ

: እንተ : ህየ : ከመ :

wä=	ḥäläf	-u	'əntä	həyyä	kämä
wä=	ḥäläf	-u	'əntä <sub>1</sub>	həyyä	kämä
and=	leave\PERF	MP	via	there	so that
coordconn	vi	v:Any	prep	adv	advlizer
and they left			via	there	so that
			prep	adv	advlizer

ይቅብሩ

: ብእሴ

: ዘግጦተ

: እስመ :

yə-	qbər	-u	bə's	-e	zä=	mot	-ä	'əsmä
yə-	qbər	-u	bə'si	-ä <sub>2</sub>	zä=	mot <sub>1</sub>	-ä <sub>3</sub>	'əsmä
3M	bury\JUSS	MP	man	ACC	REL=	die\PERF	3MS	because
v:Any	vt	v:Any	n	n:Any	rel	vi	v:Any	advlizer
they would bury			man			that he died		because
v			n			v		advlizer
ሰአሎ			: ኤርምያስ			: ለናቡከደነጆር		: እንዘ :

sä'al	=o	'erməyas	lä=	nabukädänäşşor	'ənzä
sä'al	=hu	'erməyas	lä=1	nabukädänäşşor	'ənzä
enquire\PERF	=3MS	Jeremiah	to=	Nebuchadnezzar	while
vt	pro	n	prep	n	advlizer
he enquired him		Jeremiah	(to)	Nebuchadnezzar	while
		n			advlizer

ይብል	:	ሀብኒ	:	ምድረ	:	ኅብ	:
yə- bəl		hāb	=āni	mədr	-ä	hābä	
yə- bəl		hāb <sub>1</sub>	=ni <sub>2</sub>	mədr	-ä <sub>2</sub>	hābä	
3M	say\IMPF	give\IMPV	=1CS	land	ACC	where	
v:Any	vt	vt	pro	n	n:Any	advlizer	
he says		give me!		land		place where	
v		v		n		rel	
አቀብር	:	አምላክብዩ	:	ወወሀቦ			::
'ə- qäbbär		'əm=	həzb	=əyä	wä=	wähäb	=o
'ə- qäbbär		'əm= <sub>1</sub>	həzb	=yä	wä=	wähäb	=hu
1CS	bury\IMPF	from=	people	=1CS	and=	give\PERF	=3MS
v:Any	vt	prep	n	pro	coordconn	vt	pro
I bury		from my people			and he gave him		
v							

For they were coming out to bury a dead person, because Jeremiah had petitioned Nebuchadnezzar, saying, "Grant me a place where I may bury my people's dead!" And he granted (it) to him.

3.18 ወእንዘ	:	የሐውሩ	:
wä=	'ənzä	yä-	hāwwər -u
wä=	'ənzä	yə-	hāwwər -u
and=	while	3M	go\IMPF MP
coordconn	advlizer	v:Any	vi
and while		they go	v:Any
ወይበከዩ	:	ላዕለ	:
wä=	yə-	bäkkəy	-u
wä=	yə-	bäkki	-u
and=	3M	cry\IMPF	MP
coordconn	v:Any	vi	v:Any
		prep	rel
		above	that he died
		prep	v

በጽሑ።		: ቀድሞ	: ዝኩ	: ንስር	: ወጸርኅ		: ንስር
bäṣḥ	-u	qədmä	zəku	nəsɾ	wä=	ṣärḥ	-ä nəsɾ
bäṣḥ	-u	qədmä	zəku	nəsɾ	wä=	ṣärḥ	-ä <sub>3</sub> nəsɾ
arrive\PERF	MP	before	that.M	eagle	and=	shout\PERF	3MS eagle
vi	v:Any	adv	dem	n	coordconn	vt	v:Any n
they arrived		before	that	eagle	and he shouted		eagle
		adv	dem	n	v		n
: በዐቢይ	: ቃል	: ወይቤ			: ለከ	:	
bä=	'äbiy	qal	wä=	yə-	be	lä=	=kä
bä=	'äbiy	qal	wä=	yə-	be	lä=	=kä
in=	big	voice	and=	3M	say\PRET	to=	=2MS
prep	adj	n	coordconn	v:Any	vt	prep	pro
in big		voice	and he said			to you	
adv		n					
እብለከ			: ኤርምያስ	: ኅሩየ	: አምላክ	: ሑር	:
'ə-	bəl	=äkä	'erməyas	ḥəruy	-ä	'ämlak	ḥur
'ə-	bəl	=kä	'erməyas	ḥəruy	-ä <sub>1</sub>	'ämlak	ḥor <sub>2</sub> +FR. VAR. OF
1CS	say\IMPF	=2MS	Jeremiah	chosen	of	lord	go\IMPV
v:Any	vt	pro	n	adj	n:Any	n	vi
I say to you			Jeremiah	chosen	one of	lord	go!
v			n				v
ወአስተጋብአሙ				: ለኸሎሙ		: ሕዝብ	:
wä=	'ästägabə'	=omu	lä=	k <sup>w</sup> əll	=omu	ḥəzb	
wä=	'ästägabə' <sub>1</sub>	=homu	lä=	k <sup>w</sup> əll	=homu	ḥəzb	
and=	assemble\IMPV	=3MP	to=	all	=3MP	people	
coordconn	vt		pro	prep	det	pro	n
and assemble them!				(to)	all of them		people
				det			n

ወይምጸኡ				: ዝየ	: ከመ	: ይስምዑ		
wä=	yə-	mşə'	-u	zəyyä	kämä	yə-	smə'	-u
wä=	yə-	mşa'	-u	zəyyä	kämä	yə-	sma'	-u
and=	3M	come\JUSS	MP	here	so that	3M	hear\JUSS	MP
coordconn	v:Any	vi	v:Any	adv	advlizer	v:Any	vt	v:Any
and they would come				here	so that	they would hear		
					advlizer	v		
: ሠናየ		: ዜና	: ዘእምጸኡኩ		:			
śännay	-ä	zena	zä=	'ämşə'	-ku			
śännay	-ä <sub>2</sub>	zena	zä=	'ämşə' <sub>1</sub>	-ku			
beautiful	ACC	news	REL=	bring\PERF	1CS			
adj	n:Any	n	rel	vt	v:Any			
beautiful		news	that I brought					
adj		n	v					

And as they were going out with the body and weeping, they came opposite the eagle. And the eagle cried out, saying, "I say to you, Jeremiah, the chosen one of God: go, gather together the people and let them come here to listen to the good message that I have brought to you from Baruch and Abimelech."

3.19 ወሰጣጊያ				: ዘንተ	: ሰብሐ	:
wä=	sämi'	=o	zäntä	säbbəḥ	=o	
wä=	sämi' <sub>1</sub>	=hu	zäntä	säbbəḥ <sub>2</sub>	=hu	
and=	hear\CVB	=3MS	this.M.ACC	praise\PERF	=3MS	
coordconn	tcvb	pro	dem	vt	pro	
and he having heard			this	he praised him		
	cvb		dem			
እእግዚአብሔር	: ወሰቤሃ		: አስተጋብአ	: ኩሎ	:	
lä=	'əgzi'äbəḥer	wä=	sobeha	'ästägabə'	-ä	k <sup>w</sup> allo
lä=	'əgzi'äbəḥer <sub>1</sub>	wä=	sobeha	'ästägabə' <sub>2</sub>	-ä <sub>3</sub>	k <sup>w</sup> allo
to=	God	and=	then	assemble\PERF	3MS	all.ACC
prep	n	coordconn	adv	vt	v:Any	quant
(to) God		and then		he assembled		all
				v		det

አዝበ		: ወአንስተኛሆሙ		: ወደቂቆሙ		:	
həzb	-ä	wä=	'änəstiya	=homu	wä=	däqiq	=omu
həzb	-ä <sub>2</sub>	wä=	'änəstiya	=homu	wä=	däqiq	=homu
people	ACC	and=	women folk	=3MP	and=	offspring	=3MP
n	n:Any	coordconn	n	pro	coordconn	n	pro
people		and their	women folk		and their	offspring	

n	ወበጽሑ		: ኅበ	: ሀሎ	: ንስር	:
wä=	bäṣḥ	-u	ḥäbä	hällö	nəsr	
wä=	bäṣḥ	-u	ḥäbä	hälläw	nəsr	
and=	arrive\PERF	MP	where	exist\PERF	eagle	
coordconn	vi	v:Any	advlizer	vi	n	
and they arrived	and		place where	he existed	eagle	
v			rel	v	n	

Upon hearing this, Jeremiah praised God. And he went and gathered the people together with their wives and children, and he came to where the eagle was.

3.20 ወወረደ		: ዝኩ	: ንስር	: ኅበ	: ቢድን	:
wä=	wäräd	-ä	zəku	nəsr	ḥäbä	bädñ
wä=	wäräd	-ä <sub>3</sub>	zəku	nəsr	ḥäbä	bädñ
and=	descend\PERF	3MS	that.M	eagle	toward	corpse
coordconn	vi	v:Any	dem	n	prep	n
and he descended			that	eagle	toward	corpse
			dem	n	prep	

ወኪደ		: ወሐይወ		:	
wä=	ked	=o	wä=	ḥäyāw	-ä
wä=	ked	=hu	wä=	ḥäyāw	-ä <sub>3</sub>
and=	tread\PERF	=3MS	and=	live\PERF	3MS
coordconn	vi	pro	coordconn	vi	v:Any
and he trod him			and he lived		

ወዘንተ		: ገብረ		: ከመ		: ይእመኑ		:
wä=	zäntä	gäbr	-ä	kämä	yə-	'män		-u
wä=	zäntä	gäbr <sub>1</sub>	-ä <sub>3</sub>	kämä	yə-	'män		-u
and=	this.M.ACC	do\PERF	3MS	so that	3M	believe\JUSS		MP
coordconn	dem	vt	v:Any	advlizer	v:Any	vt		v:Any
and this		he did		so that		they woul believe		
dem		v		advlizer	v			
ወእንኩ			: ኩሉ		: ሕዝብ	: በእንተ		:
wä=	'änkär	-u	k <sup>w</sup> əll	=u	həzb	bä= 'əntä		
wä=	'änkär	-u	k <sup>w</sup> əll	=hu	həzb	bä= 'əntä <sub>1</sub>		
and=	marvel\PERF	MP	all	=3MS	people	by= via		
coordconn	vi	v:Any	det	pro	n	prep prep		
and they marveled			all		people	because of		
			det		n	prep		
ዘኮነ		∴						
zä=	kon	-ä						
zä=	kon	-ä <sub>3</sub>						
REL=	be(come)\PERF	3MS						
rel	vi	v:Any						
that he became								
v								

And the eagle lit on the deceased and he revived. This happened so that they might believe. All the people were astonished over what had happened,

3.21 ወይቤሉ : የጊ : ዝንቱ : ውእቱ : አምላክ :

wä=	yə-	bel	-u	yogi	zəntu	wə'ətu	'ämlak
wä=	yə-	be	-u	yogi	zəntu	wə'ətu <sub>1</sub>	'ämlak
and=	3M	say\PRET	MP	perhaps	this.M	3MS	lord
coordconn	v:Any	vt	v:Any	adv	dem	pro	n
and they said				perhaps	this	he [is]	lord
				adv	dem	pro	

ዘአስተርአዮሙ : ለአባዊነ : በገዳም :

zä=	'ästär'äy	=omu	lä=	'äb	-äw	=inä	bä=	gädam
zä=	'ästär'äy	=homu	lä= <sub>1</sub>	'äb	-äw	=inä	bä=	gädam
REL=	manifest\PERF	=3MP	to=	father	PL	=1CP	in=	wilderness
rel	vi	pro	prep	n	n:Any	pro	prep	n
that he manifested to them			(to)	our fathers			in	wilderness

v  
ምስለ : ሙሴ : ወተመስለ :

mäslä	muse	wä=	tämäsl	-ä
mäslä	muse	wä=	tämäsl	-ä <sub>3</sub>
with	Moses	and=	take the appearance of\PERF	3MS
prep	n	coordconn	vt	v:Any
with	Moses	and he took the appearance of		
prep	n	v		

በአምሳሌ			: ንስር	: ወአስተርአየ		: ለኒ	:
bä=	'ämsal	-ä	nəsr	wä=	'ästär'äy	-ä	lä= =nä
bä=	'ämsal	-ä <sub>1</sub>	nəsr	wä=	'ästär'äy	-ä <sub>3</sub>	lä= <sub>1</sub> =nä
in=	likeness	of	eagle	and=	manifest\PERF	3MS	to= =1CP
prep	n	n:Any	n	coordconn	vi	v:Any	prep pro
in	likeness	of	eagle	and	he manifested		to us
ከመ	: እንተ	: ንስር	: ዐቢይ	:			
kämä	'əntä	nəsr	'äbiy				
kämä	'əntä <sub>1</sub>	nəsr	'äbiy				
so that	via	eagle	big				
advlizer	prep	n	adj				
so that	via	eagle	big				
advlizer	prep	n	adj				

saying: “This is not the God who appeared to our fathers in the desert through Moses, is it, and now has appeared to us by means of this eagle?”

3.22 ወይቤሉ			: ንስር	: ለኤርምያስ	: እንዘ	:
wä=	yə-	bel	=o	nəsr	lä=	'erməyas 'ənzä
wä=	yə-	be	=hu	nəsr	lä= <sub>1</sub>	'erməyas 'ənzä
and=	3M	say\PRET	=3MS	eagle	to=	Jeremiah while
coordconn	v:Any	vt	pro	n	prep n	advlizer
and	he	said	to	eagle	(to) Jeremiah	while
ይቤሉ	: ነጻ	: ወስግዕ			: ዘንተ	:
yə-	bəl	nä'a	wä=	səma'	zäntä	
yə-	bəl	nə'	wä=	səma'	zäntä	
3M	say\IMPF	come.IMPV	and=	listen\IMPV	this.M.ACC	
v:Any	vt	vi	coordconn	vt	dem	
he	says	come!	and	listen!	this	
v		v			dem	

መጽሐፈ ፡ ወአንብብ ፡ ለአዝብ ፡  
 mäṣḥäf -ä wä= 'änbəb lä= ḥəzb  
 mäṣḥäf -ä<sub>2</sub> wä= 'änbəb lä=<sub>1</sub> ḥəzb  
 writing ACC and= recite\IMPV to= people  
 n n:Any coordconn vt prep n  
 writing and recite! (to) the people

n  
 ወአንብብ ፡ ለሙ ፡  
 wä= 'änbäb -ä l= =omu  
 wä= 'änbäb -ä<sub>3</sub> lä=<sub>1</sub> =homu  
 and= recite\PERF 3MS to= =3MP  
 coordconn vt v:Any prep pro  
 and he recited to them

v

And the eagle said to Jeremiah, “Come, untie this letter and read it to the people.” So he untied the letter and read it to the people.

3.23 ወሰን ፡ ሰምዑ ፡ አዝብ ፡ በከዩ ፡  
 wä= sobä säm' -u ḥəzb bākäy -u  
 wä= sobä säm' -u ḥəzb bākäy -u  
 and= when hear\PERF MP people cry\PERF MP  
 coordconn advlizer vt v:Any n vi v:Any  
 and when they heard people they cried  
 adv n v

ከሎሎ ፡ ኅብረ ፡ ወወደዩ ፡ ሐመደ ፡ ውስተ ፡  
 k<sup>w</sup>əll =omu ḥəburä wä= wädäy -u ḥämäd -ä wəstä  
 k<sup>w</sup>əll =homu ḥəburä wä= wädäy -u ḥämäd -ä<sub>2</sub> wəstä  
 all =3MP together and= put\PERF MP ash ACC in  
 det pro adv coordconn vt v:Any n n:Any prep  
 all of them together and they put ash in  
 det adv n prep

Cእሶሙ	:	ወይቤልዎ				:	ለኤርምያስ	:
rə's	=omu	wä=	yə-	bel	-əw	=wo	lä=	'erməyas
rə's	=homu	wä=	yə-	be	-u	=hu	lä=1	'erməyas
head	=3MP	and=	3M	say\PRET	MP	=3MS	to=	Jeremiah
n	pro	coordconn	v:Any	vt	v:Any	pro	prep	n
themselves							(to)	Jeremiah
አድገገ		፤ ምንተ		: ንግብር		: ከሙ		: ንግባእ
'ādḥən	=änä	mənt	-ä	nə-	gbär	kämä	nə-	gba'
'ādḥən <sub>1</sub>	=nä	mənt	-ä <sub>2</sub>	nə-	gbär	kämä	nə-	gba'
save\IMPV	=1CP	what	ACC	1CP	do\JUSS	so that	1CP	return\JUSS
vt	pro	interrog	n:Any	v:Any	vt	advlizer	v:Any	vi
save\IMPV		what		we would do		so that	we would return	
		interrog		v		advlizer	v	
:	ውስተ	:	ሀገር	:				:
wəstä	hägär	=ənä						
wəstä	hägär	=nä						
in	city	=1CP						
prep	n	pro						
in	our city							
prep	n							

And when the people heard (it), they wept and put dust on their heads and said to Jeremiah, "Save us and tell us what we have to do in order to enter our city again!"

3.24 ወተንጊሥካ : ኤርምያስ :

wä= tänśə' -ä 'erməyas  
 wä= tänśə'₁ -ä₃ 'erməyas  
 and= arise\IMPV 3MS Jeremiah  
 coordconn vi v:Any n  
 and Jeremiah

ወይቤሉሙ : ከሉ : ዘሰማዕከሙ : ውስተ  
 wä= yə- bel =omu kʷəllo zä= säma' -kəmu wəstä  
 wä= yə- be =homu kʷəllo zä= säm' -kəmu wəstä  
 and= 3M say\PRET =3MP all.ACC REL= hear\PERF 2MP in  
 coordconn v:Any vt pro quant rel vt v:Any prep  
 and he said to them all that you heard in  
 det v prep

: መጽሐፍ : ከማሁ : ግበሩ :  
 mäşhäf käma =hu gəbär -u  
 mäşhäf käma =hu gəbär -u  
 writing like =3MS do\IMPV MP  
 n prep pro vt v:Any  
 writing like him do!

ወያገብአከሙ : ውስተ : ሀገርከሙ ::  
 wä= y- agäbbə' =äkəmu wəstä hägär =əkəmu  
 wä= yə- agäbbə' =kəmu wəstä hägär =kəmu  
 and= 3M bring back\IMPF =2MP in city =2MP  
 coordconn v:Any vt pro-form prep n pro-form  
 and in your city  
 prep n

And Jeremiah answered and said to them, “Obey whatever you have heard from this letter, and (the Lord) will lead us into our city.”

3.25 ወጸሐፊ : ኤርምያስ : መጽሐፈ : ለባሮክ :

wä=	ṣähäf	-ä	'erməyas	mäṣḥäf	-ä	lä=	barok
wä=	ṣähäf <sub>1</sub>	-ä <sub>3</sub>	'erməyas	mäṣḥäf	-ä <sub>2</sub>	lä= <sub>1</sub>	barok
and=	write\PERF	3MS	Jeremiah	writing	ACC	to=	Baruch
coordconn	vt	v:Any	n	n	n:Any	prep	n
and he wrote			Jeremiah	writing		to	Baruch

n n

ከመዝ : እንዘ : ይብል : ወልድየ : ፍቁር :

kämä	=zə	'ənzä	yə-	bəl	wäld	=əyä	fəqur
kämä	=zə	'ənzä	yə-	bəl	wäld	=yä	fəqur
like	=this	while	3M	say\IMPF	son	=1CS	beloved
prep	dem	advlizer	v:Any	vt	n	pro	adj
like this		while	he says		my son		beloved
		advlizer	v				adj

ኢትዮጵያ : ጸሎተ : እንዘ : ትገኝ :

'i=	tə-	thäkäy	ṣälot	-ä	'ənzä	tə-	gänni
'i=	tə <sub>-2</sub>	thäkäy	ṣälot	-ä <sub>2</sub>	'ənzä	tə <sub>-2</sub>	gänni
NEG=	2	stop\JUSS	prayer	ACC	while	2	submit\IMPF
verbprt	v:Any	vt	n	n:Any	advlizer	v:Any	vi
do not stop			prayer		while	you	submit

n advlizer

ለአምላክ : በእንቲኦነ : ከመ : ይምርሱ : ውስተ :

lä=	'ämlak	bä=	'ənti'ä	=nä	kämä	yə-	mrəḥ	=änä	wəstä
lä= <sub>1</sub>	'ämlak	bä=	'əntä <sub>1</sub>	=nä	kämä	yə-	mrəḥ	=nä	wəstä
to=	lord	by=	via	=1CP	so that	3M	lead\JUSS	=1CP	in
prep	n	prep	prep	pro	advlizer	v:Any	vt	pro	prep
to lord		because of us			so that	he would lead us			in
					advlizer				prep

ፍኖትነ	:	እስከ	:	ንወፅእ	:	በትእዛዘ	:
fənot	=ənä	'əskä	nə-	wädḏə'	bä=	tə'zaz	-ä
fənot	=nä	'əskä	nə-	wädḏə'	bä=	tə'zaz	-ä <sub>1</sub>
road	=1CP	until that	1CP	come forth\IMPF	by=	command	of
n	pro	advlizer	v:Any	vi	prep	n	n:Any
our road		until that	we	come forth	by	command	of
		advlizer					
ዝንቱ	:	ንጉሥ	:	ኃጥእ	:		:
zəntu	nəguś	ḥatə'					
zəntu	nəguś	ḥatə'					
this.M	king	sinful					
dem	n	adj					
this	king	sinful					
dem	n						

And Jeremiah too wrote a letter to Baruch saying the following, “My beloved son, do not be negligent in your prayers beseeching (God) on our behalf, that he might direct our way until we get out of the jurisdiction of this lawless king.

3.26 ወአንተሰ	:	ጸድቀ	:	ረከብከ	:		
wä=	'äntä	=sä	ṣədq	-ä	räkäb	-kä	
wä=	'äntä	=sä	ṣədq	-ä <sub>2</sub>	räkäb	-kä	
and=	2MS	=however	rightness	ACC	find\PERF	2MS	
coordconn	pro	prt	n	n:Any	vt	v:Any	
and you,	however		rightness		you found		
			n				
በቅድመ	:	አምላክ	:	ዘኢሳይያስ	:		
bä=	qədmä	'ämlak	zä=	'i=	ḥädäg	-ä	=kä
bä=	qədmä	'ämlak	zä=	'i=	ḥädäg	-ä <sub>3</sub>	=kä
in=	before	lord	REL=	NEG=	allow\PERF	3MS	=2MS
prep	prep	n	rel	verbprt	vt	v:Any	pro
in front of		lord	that	he did not	allow	you	
prep			v				

ትምህርት	:	ምስሌት	:	ከመ	:	ኢትርካይ	:
tə- mʃa'		məsle =nä		kämä 'i=		tə- r'äy	
tə- <sub>2</sub> mʃa'		məslä =nä		kämä 'i=		tə- <sub>2</sub> r'äy	
2		come\JUSS		with =1CP		so that NEG=	
2						2	
v:Any vi		prep		pro		advlizer	
you would come		with us		so that		verbprt v:Any vt	
						you would not see	
						advlizer	
እኩየ	:	ዘይትገበር	:	ዲቤሆሙ	:	ለሕዝብ	:
'əkuy -ä		zä= yə-		tgäbbär		dibe =homu lä=	
'əkuy -ä <sub>2</sub>		zä= yə-		tgäbbär		dibä =homu lä= <sub>1</sub>	
evil ACC		REL= 3M		be done\IMPF		on =3MP	
evil		that he is done				to= people	
adj n:Any		rel v:Any vi				prep pro	
evil						prep n	
adj v						(to) the people	
በባቢሎን	:		:		:		:
bä= babilon							
bä= babilon							
in= Babylon							
prep n							
in Babylon							

For you have been found righteous before him, and he did not let you come in here with us lest you see the affliction that has fallen upon the people at the hands of the Babylonians.

3.27 በከመ	:	አብ	:	ዘቦ	:	ውሉደ	:	አሐደ	:
bä=	kämä	'äb	zä=	b=	=o	wəlud	-ä	'ähäd	-ä
bä=	kämä	'äb	zä=	bä=	=hu	wäld	-ä <sub>2</sub>	'ähädu	-ä <sub>2</sub>
in=	like	father	REL=	by=	=3MS	son.PL	ACC	one.M	ACC
prep	prep	n	rel	prep	pro	n	n:Any	cardnum	n:Any
as		father	that	there is		son		one	
prep		n				n		cardnum	
ወውአቱ	:	ተውህበ	:	ከመ	:	ይትኩነን	:		:
wä=	wə'ətu	täwəhb	-ä	kämä	yə-	tk'änän			
wä=	wə'ətu <sub>1</sub>	täwəhb	-ä <sub>3</sub>	kämä	yə-	tk'änän			
and=	3MS	be given\PERF	3MS	so that	3M	be punished\JUSS			
coordconn	pro	vi	v:Any	advlizer	v:Any	vi			
and he		he was given		so that		he would be judged			
		v		advlizer	v				
ወእለ	:	ሀለዉ	:	ኅበ	:	አቡሁ	:	እለ	:
wä=	'əllä	hälläw	-u	həbä	'äbu	=hu	'əllä		
wä=	'əllä	hälläw	-u	həbä	'äb	=hu	'əllä		
and=	REL.PL	exist\PERF	MP	with	father	=3MS	REL.PL		
coordconn	rel	vi	v:Any	prep	n	pro	rel		
and that		they existed		with	his father		that		
rel		v		prep			rel		
ይናዝዝዎ	:		:	ይከድኑ	:	ገጸሙ	:		:
yə-	nazzəz	-əw	=wo	yə-	käddən	-u	gäşş	=omu	
yə-	nazzəz	-u	=hu	yə-	käddən	-u	gäşş	=homu	
3M	console\IMPF	MP	=3MS	3M	cover\IMPF	MP	face	=3MP	
v:Any	vt	v:Any	pro	v:Any	vt	v:Any	n	pro	
they	console	him		they	cover		their	face	
ከመ	:	አይርአይዎ	:	ለአቡሁ	:		:		:
kämä	'i=	yə-	r'äy	-əw	=wo	lä=	'äbu	=hu	
kämä	'i=	yə-	r'äy	-u	=hu	lä= <sub>1</sub>	'äb	=hu	
so that	NEG=	3M	see\JUSS	MP	=3MS	to=	father	=3MS	
advlizer	verbprt	v:Any	vt	v:Any	pro	prep	n	pro	
so that		they would not	see	him		(to)	his	father	
advlizer									

የጎረቤት	:	ባሕር	:	ከመገ	:	ከጊዜ	:
yä- hässär		bä= häzän		kämä =zə		kiya= =kä	
yə- hässär		bä= häzän <sub>2</sub>		kämä =zə		kiya= =kä	
3M be wretched\IMPF		in= sadness		like =this		ACC= =2MS	
v:Any vi		prep n		prep dem		prt pro	
he becomes wretched		in sadness		like this		you	
v						pro	
ተሳሰለክ	:	አምላክ	:				
täśahäl -ä =kä 'ämlak							
täśahäl <sub>1</sub> -ä <sub>3</sub> =kä 'ämlak							
forgive\PERF 3MS =2MS lord							
vt v:Any pro n							
he forgave you						lord	
pro							
ወዲህም	:	ትምህርት	:	ባቢሎን	:		
wä= 'i= hädäg -ä =kä tə- mša' babilon							
wä= 'i= hädäg -ä <sub>3</sub> =kä tə- <sub>2</sub> mša' babilon							
and= NEG= allow\PERF 3MS =2MS 2 come\JUSS Babylon							
coordconn verbprt vt v:Any pro v:Any vi n							
and he did not allow you						you would come	Babylon
v							n
ከመ	:	አገርአይ	:	ምንዳቤ	:	ሕዝብ	::
kämä 'i= tə- r'äy mändabe həzb							
kämä 'i= tə- <sub>2</sub> r'äy mändabe həzb							
so that NEG= 2 see\JUSS affliction people							
advlizer verbprt v:Any vt n n							
so that you would not see						affliction	people
advlizer						n	n

For it is like a father who has (only) one son who is handed over for punishment. Those, then, who see his father and try to console him, cover his face lest he sees how (his) very (own) son is punished and is devastated even more by (his) sorrow. For thus God has had mercy on you and did not let you enter Babylon lest you see the affliction of the people.

3.28 እስመ : እምአመ : በጻሕነ : ውስተ : ዝንቱ : ሀገር :

'əsmä 'əm= 'ämä bäsah -nä wəstā zəntu hägär

'əsmä 'əm=₁ 'ämä bəṣḥ -nä wəstā zəntu hägär

because from= when arrive\PERF 1CP in this.M city

advlizer prep advlizer vi v:Any prep dem n  
because from when we arrived in this city

advlizer prep dem n

ኢያዕረፍነ : እስከ : የም : እምሐዘን : ስሳ :

'i= ya'räf -nä 'əskä yom 'əm= həzän səssa

'i= 'ä'räf -nä 'əskä yom 'əm=₁ həzän₂ səssa

NEG= rest\PERF 1CP until today from= sadness sixty

verbprt vi v:Any prep adv prep n cardnum  
we did not rest until day from sadness sixty

prep n cardnum

ወስድስቱ : ዓመት : የም : እንዘ : ነገሥሥ :

wä= sädəstu 'amät yom 'ənzä nä- həśśəs

wä= sädəstu 'amät yom 'ənzä nə- həśśəs

and= six year today while 1CP seek\IMPF

coordconn cardnum n adv advlizer v:Any vt  
and six year day while we seek

n advlizer

ንርከብ : እምሕዝብ : ስቆላን : እምነብ :

nə- rkäb 'əm= həzb səqul -an 'əm= həbä

nə- rkäb 'əm=₁ həzb səqul -an 'əm=₁ həbä

1CP find\JUSS from= people hung up PL from= with

v:Any vt prep n adj n:Any prep prep  
we would find from people hungup (ones) by

v adj prep

ናቡከደነጾር	:	ንጉሥ	:	እንዘ	:	ይበክዩ	:
nabukädänäşşor	nəguś	'ənzä	yə-	bäkkəy	-u		
nabukädänäşşor	nəguś	'ənzä	yə-	bäkki	-u		
Nebuchadnezzar	king	while	3M	cry\IMPF	MP		
n	n	advlizer	v:Any	vi	v:Any		
Nebuchadnezzar	king	while	they cry				
	n	advlizer	v				
ወይብሉ			:	ተሣሀለኝ		:	አምላክ
wä=	yə-	bəl	-u	täsahäl	=änä	'ämlak	sor
wä=	yə-	bəl	-u	täsahäl <sub>2</sub>	=nä	'ämlak	sor
and=	3M	say\IMPF	MP	forgive\IMPV	=1CP	lord	ox, bull
coordconn	v:Any	vt	v:Any	vt	pro	n	n
and they say				forgive us!	lord	ox, bull	
				v		n	
ወሶበ	:	ሰማዕኩ	:	ዘንተ	:	ነገር	:
wä=	sobä	säma'	-ku	zäntä	nägär	-ä	
wä=	sobä	säm'	-ku	zäntä	nägär <sub>1</sub>	-ä <sub>2</sub>	
and=	when	hear\PERF	1CS	this.M.ACC	matter	ACC	
coordconn	advlizer	vt	v:Any	dem	n	n:Any	
and when		I heard		this	matter		
				dem	n		
ሐዘንኩ	:	ወበክይኩ	:	ሶበ	:		
həzän	-ku	wä=	bäkäy	-ku	sobä		
həzän <sub>1</sub>	-ku	wä=	bäkäy	-ku	sobä		
be sad\PERF	1CS	and=	cry\PERF	1CS	when		
vi	v:Any	coordconn	vi	v:Any	advlizer		
I became sad		and I cried			when		
v		v			advlizer		

ይጸውዱ : ካልአ : አምላክ : ስቁላን :

yə- šewwə' -u kalə' -ä 'ämlak -ä səqul -an

yə- šewwə' -u kalə' -ä<sub>2</sub> 'ämlak -ä<sub>1</sub> səqul -an

3M call\|IMPF MP other ACC lord of hung up PL

v:Any vt v:Any adj n:Any n n:Any adj n:Any

they call other lord of hungup (ones)

v ordnum adj

ወይብሉ : ተሣሀላኝ ፤

wä= yə- bəl -u täśahäl =änä

wä= yə- bəl -u täśahäl<sub>2</sub> =nä

and= 3M say\|IMPF MP forgive\|IMPV =1CP

coordconn v:Any vt v:Any vt pro

and they say forgive us!

ወካዕበ : እኩከር : አነ : በዓለ :

wä= ka'əb -ä 'ə- zzekkär 'änä bä'al -ä

wä= ka'əb -ä<sub>2</sub> 'ə- zzekkär 'änä bä'al -ä<sub>2</sub>

and= second ACC 1CS be mindful of\|IMPF 1CS festival ACC

coordconn adj n:Any v:Any vt pro n n:Any

and a second time I become mindful of I festival

ዘገበርኝ : በኢየሩሳሌም : ዘእንበለ :

zä= gäbär -nä bä= 'iyärusalem zä'ənbälä

zä= gäbr<sub>1</sub> -nä bä= 'iyärusalem zä'ənbälä

REL= do\|PERF 1CP by= Jerusalem except (that)

rel vt v:Any prep n advlizer

that we did in Jerusalem except (that)

v advlizer

ንዲወው		: ወተዘኪር?		: እገብእ	
nə-	ፈፈewwäw	wä=	täzäkkir	=əyä	'ə- gäbbə'
nə-	ፈፈewwäw	wä=	täzäkkir	=yä	'ə- gäbbə'
1CP	be captured\IMPF	and=	be mindful of\CVB	=1CS	1CS return\IMPF
v:Any	vi	coordconn	tcvb	pro	v:Any vi
	we become captured		and I having been mindful of		I return
v					v
: ውስተ	: ቤትየ	: እንዘ	: እጸዐር	:	
wəstä	bet	=əyä	'ənzä	'ə-	ፍፍe'är
wəstä	bet <sub>1</sub>	=yä	'ənzä	'ə-	ፍፍe'är
in	house	=1CS	while	1CS	suffer pain\IMPF
prep	n	pro	advlizer	v:Any	vi
in	my house		while	I	suffer pain
prep			advlizer	v	
ወእብኪ		::			
wä=	'ə-	bäkki			
wä=	'ə-	bäkki			
and=	1CS	cry\IMPF			
coordconn	v:Any	vi			
		and I cry			

For grief has not left us since we entered this place sixty-six years ago today. For frequently as I went out (of the city) I found (some) of the people hung up by King Nebuchadnezzar, weeping and crying, 'Have mercy on us, God Zar!' When I heard that I would grieve and cry a twofold lamentation, not only because they were hung up but because they were calling on a foreign god, saying, 'Have mercy on us!' But I remembered the day of the festival that we celebrated in Jerusalem before we were taken captive. And as I remembered, I groaned and returned to my house suffering pains and weeping.

3.29	ወይይት		: አስተባባሪ		: ለአምላክ		:
wä=	yə'əzeni	'ästäbq'ə'	-u	lä=	'ämlak	=ənä	
wä=	yə'əzeni	'ästäbq'ə'	-u	lä=1	'ämlak	=nä	
and=	now	beseech\IMPV	MP	to=	lord	=1CP	
coordconn	adv	vt	v:Any	prep	n	pro	
and now		beseech!		(to)	our lord		
		v					
ባንባ	: ሀላውክሙ		: አንተ	: ወአቤሜሌክ		: በአንተ	:
bä=	häbä	hälläw	-kəmu	'äntä	wä=	'äbemelek	bä= 'əntä
bä=	häbä	hälläw	-kəmu	'äntä	wä=	'äbemelek	bä= 'əntä1
in=	with	exist\PERF	2MP	2MS	and=	Abimelech	by= via
prep	prep	vi	v:Any	pro	coordconn	n	prep
among		you existed		you	and	Abimelech	with regard to
prep		v		pro			prep
አዝብ	: ከሙ	: ይስምዱ		: ቃልየ		:	
həzb	kämä	yə-	smə'	-u	qal	=əyä	
həzb	kämä	yə-	sma'	-u	qal	=yä	
people	so that	3M	hear\JUSS	MP	word	=1CS	
n	advlizer	v:Any	vt	v:Any	n	pro	
people	so that	they would hear			my	word	
n	advlizer	v					

ወኅኅረ			: አፉየ	: ከመ	:
wä=	nägär	-ä	'äfu	=yä	kämä
wä=	nägär <sub>1</sub>	-ä <sub>1</sub>	'äf	=yä	kämä
and=	matter	of	mouth	=1CS	so that
coordconn	n	n:Any	n	pro	advlizer
and thing of			my mouth		so that
ይግኡ			: እምነ	: ፋርስ	∴
yə-	ፋ'	-u	'əmännä	fars	
yə-	ፋ' <sub>2</sub>	-u	'əmännä	fars	
3M	come forth\JUSS	MP	from	Persia	
v:Any	vi	v:Any	prep	n	
they would come forth			from	Persia	
			prep	n	

Now, then, pray in the place where you are, you and Abimelech, that this people might listen to my voice and to the decrees of my mouth, so that we [!!!] may get out of here.

3.30 ወይእዜኒ			: እብለከ	: ኩሎ	: መዋዕለ	:	
wä=	yə'əzeni	'ə-	bəl	=äkä	k <sup>w</sup> əllo	mäwa'əl	-ä
wä=	yə'əzeni	'ə-	bəl	=kä	k <sup>w</sup> əllo	'əlät	-ä <sub>2</sub>
and=	now	1CS	say\IMPF	=2MS	all.ACC	day.PL	ACC
coordconn	adv	v:Any	vt	pro	quant	n	n:Any
and now		I say to you			all	day	
ዘነበርኅ		v	: ዝየ	: አኅዙኅ		: እንዘ	:
zä=	näbär	-nä	zəyyä	'ähäz	-u	=nä	'ənzä
zä=	näbär	-nä	zəyyä	'ähäz	-u	=nä	'ənzä
REL=	dwel\PERF	1CP	here	possess\PERF	MP	=1CP	while
rel	vi	v:Any	adv	vt	v:Any	pro	advlizer
that we dwelled here			here	they possessed us			while
v							advlizer

ይብሉ			: ንግሩነ			: ማሕሌተ		:
yə-	bəl	-u	nəgər	-u	=nä	maḥlet	-ä	
yə-	bəl	-u	nəgər	-u	=nä	maḥlet	-ä <sub>2</sub>	
3M	say\ IMPF	MP	tell\ IMPV	MP	=1CP	song	ACC	
v:Any	vt	v:Any	vt	v:Any	pro	n	n:Any	
they say			tell us!			song		
						n		
ሐዲስ		: እመሐላይ		: ለጸዮን		: መሐልዩ		:
ḥäddis	-ä	'əm=	mäḥaləy	=iha	lä=	şəyon	mäḥaləy	-ä
ḥäddis	-ä <sub>2</sub>	'əm=1	maḥlet	=ha	lä=1	şəyon	maḥlet	-ä <sub>2</sub>
new	ACC	from=	song.PL	=3FS	to=	Zion	song.PL	ACC
adj	n:Any	prep	n	pro	prep	n	n	n:Any
new		from her	songs		(to)	Zion	song	
adj						n		
ዘእምላክከሙ		: ወንቤሎሙ				: እፎ		:
zä=	'ämlak	=əkəmu	wä=	nə-	bel	=omu	'əfo	
zä=	'ämlak	=kəmu	wä=	nə-	be	=homu	'əfo	
GEN=	lord	=2MP	and=	1CP	say\ PRET	=3MP	how	
prt	n	pro-form	coordconn	v:Any	vt	pro	adv	
of your	lord		and we said	to them			how	
n							adv	

ነሐሊ	:	ለከሙ	:	እንዘ	:	ሀሎጎ	:	ውስተ	:
nä-	hälli	lä=	=kəmu	'ənzä	hällö	-nä	wəstä		
nə-	hälli	lä=1	=kəmu	'ənzä	hälläw	-nä	wəstä		
1CP	sing\IMPF	to=	=2MP	while	exist\PERF	1CP	in		
v:Any	vt	prep	pro-form	advlizer	vi	v:Any	prep		
we	sing	to you		while	we existed		in		
v				advlizer	v		prep		
ምድረ	:	ነኪር	::						
mədr	-ä	näkir							
mədr	-ä1	näkir							
land	of	alien							
n	n:Any	adj							
land of		alien							
n		adj							

For I tell you: All the time that we have spent here, they prevented us from leaving, saying: 'Sing for us a song of the songs of Zion, the song of your God!' And we would reply to them, 'How shall we sing for you while we are in a foreign country?' "

3.31 ከመዝ	:	ጽሑፎ	:	ኤርምያስ	:	አሰረ	:	
kämä	=zə	ṣəħif	=o	'erməyas	'äsär	-ä		
kämä	=zə	ṣəħif	=hu	'erməyas	'äsär	-ä3		
like	=this	write\CVB	=3MS	Jeremiah	tie\PERF	3MS		
prep	dem	tcvb	pro	n	vt	v:Any		
like this		he having written		Jeremiah	he tied			
adv		cvb		n	v			
መጽሐፍ	:	ውስተ	:	ከሳደ	:	ንስር	:	
mäṣḥäf	=o	wəstä	kəsad	-ä	nəsɾ			
mäṣḥäf	=hu	wəstä	kəsad	-ä1	nəsɾ			
writing	=3MS	in	neck	of	eagle			
n	pro	prep	n	n:Any	n			
his writing		in			eagle			
n		prep			n			

ወይቤሉ			: ሐር		: በሰላም	:
wä=	yə-	bel	=o	ḥur	bä=	sälam
wä=	yə-	be	=hu	ḥor <sub>2</sub> +FR. VAR. OF	bä=	sälam
and=	3M	say\PRET	=3MS	go\IMPV	in=	safety
coordconn	v:Any	vt	pro	vi	prep	n
and he said to him				go!	in	safety
v				v		
ወእግዚእ		: የሐውጽ		: ላዕሌከ	:	:
wä=	'əgzi'	yä-	ḥäwwəṣ	lä'le	=kä	
wä=	'əgzi'	yə-	ḥäwwəṣ <sub>1</sub>	la'lä	=kä	
and=	lord	3M	look after\JUSS	above	=2MS	
coordconn	n	v:Any	vt	prep	pro	
and lord		he would look after		above you		
		v				

And after these things he tied the letter to the eagle's neck, saying, "Go in peace and may the Lord watch over both (of you)."

3.32 ወሐረ			: ንስር	: ወስረረ		:
wä=	ḥor	-ä	nəsɾ	wä=	särär	-ä
wä=	ḥor <sub>1</sub>	-ä <sub>3</sub>	nəsɾ	wä=	särär	-ä <sub>3</sub>
and=	go\PERF	3MS	eagle	and=	fly\PERF	3MS
coordconn	vi	v:Any	n	coordconn	vi	v:Any
and he went			eagle	and he flew		
v			n	v		
ወእብጽሐ			: መጽሐፈ	: ኅበ	: ባሮክ	:
wä=	'äbṣəḥ	-ä	mäṣḥäf	-ä	ḥäbä	barok
wä=	'äbṣəḥ	-ä <sub>3</sub>	mäṣḥäf	-ä <sub>2</sub>	ḥäbä	barok
and=	cause to arrive\PERF	3MS	writing	ACC	toward	Baruch
coordconn	vt	v:Any	n	n:Any	prep	n
and he brought			writing	toward		Baruch
v			n	prep	n	

ወነሥረክ			: ባርክ	: አንበበ		: መጽሐፈ	:
wä=	näsi'	=o	barok	'änbäb	-ä	mäshäf	-ä
wä=	näsi'₂	=hu	barok	'änbäb	-ä₃	mäshäf	-ä₂
and=	take\CVB	=3MS	Baruch	recite\PERF	3MS	writing	ACC
coordconn	tcvb	pro	n	vt	v:Any	n	n:Any
and he	having taken		Baruch	he recited		writing	
cvb			n	v		n	
ወበከየ			: ሰበ	: ሰምዐ		: አማኞም	:
wä=	bäkäy	-ä	sobä	säm'	-ä	həmam	=omu
wä=	bäkäy	-ä₃	sobä	säm'	-ä₃	həmam	=homu
and=	cry\PERF	3MS	when	hear\PERF	3MS	pain	=3MP
coordconn	vi	v:Any	advlizer	vt	v:Any	n	pro
and he	cried		when	he heard		their pain	
v			advlizer	v		n	
ለአዝብ		: ወምንዳቤሆም		::			
lä=	həzb	wä=	məndabe	=homu			
lä=₁	həzb	wä=	məndabe	=homu			
to=	people	and=	affliction	=3MP			
prep	n	coordconn	n	pro			
(to) the	people	and	their affliction				
n		n					

And the eagle flew away and carried the letter and gave it to Baruch. And having untied it, he read it and kissed it and wept when he heard about the sorrows and afflictions of the people.

3.33 ወኤርምያስ

: ነሥኦ

: ውእተ

:

wä=	'erməyas	=sä	näs'	-ä	wə'ətä		
wä=	'erməyas	=sä	näs'	-ä <sub>3</sub>	wə'ətä		
and=	Jeremiah	=however	take\PERF	3MS	that.M.ACC		
coordconn	n	prt	vt	v:Any	dem		
	and Jeremiah, however		he took		that		
n			v		dem		
በለስ		: ወወሀቦሙ			: ለደውያን		
bäläs	-ä	wä=	wähäb	=omu	lä=	dəwəy	-an
bäläs	-ä <sub>2</sub>	wä=	wähäb	=homu	lä=1	dəwuy+UNSPEC. VAR. OF	-an
fig	ACC	and=	give\PERF	=3MP	to=	sick	PL
n	n:Any	coordconn	vt	pro	prep	adj	n:Any
fig		and he gave them			(to) the sick ones		
n		v					
: ለእለ		: ውስተ	: ሕዝብ	: ወነበረ		: እንዘ	:
lä=	'əllä	wəstä	həzb	wä=	näbär	-ä	'ənzä
lä=1	'əllä	wəstä	həzb	wä=	näbär	-ä <sub>3</sub>	'ənzä
to=	REL.PL	in	people	and=	dwell\PERF	3MS	while
prep	rel	prep	n	coordconn	vi	v:Any	advlizer
(to) that		in	people	and he dwelled			while
		prep	n				advlizer

ይሚህረም		: ከመ	: ኢይግብሩ	:			
yə-	mehhər	=omu	kämä	'i=	yə-	gbär	-u
yə-	mehhər	=homu	kämä	'i=	yə-	gbär	-u
3M	teach\ IMPF	=3MP	so that	NEG=	3M	do\ JUSS	MP
v:Any	vt	pro	advlizer	verbprt	v:Any	vt	v:Any
he	teaches	them	so that	they would not do			
v			advlizer	v			
ምግባሮም		: ለሕዝብ		: ባቢሎን	:		
məgbar	=omu	lä=	həzb	-ä		babilon	
məgbar	=homu	lä=1	həzb	-ä1		babilon	
action	=3MP	to=	people	of		Babylon	
n	pro	prep	n	n:Any	n		
their	action	(to)	the people	of	Babylon		
v		n		n			

But Jeremiah took the figs (and) distributed them to the sick among the people. And he continued to teach them to abstain from the defilement of the Gentiles of Babylon.

4.1 ወሰብ		: በጽሐ	: ዕለት	: በዘ	:		
wä=	sobä	bäşh	-ä	'älät	bä=	zä=	
wä=	sobä	bäşh	-ä3	'älät	bä=	zä=	
and=	when	arrive\ PERF	3MS	day	in=	REL=	
coordconn	advlizer	vi	v:Any	n	prep	rel	
and	when	he arrived		day	in	that	
advlizer		v		n	rel		
የወፅአም		: አምላክ	: ለሕዝብ	: እምባቢሎን	:		
y-	awäddə'	=omu	'ämlak	lä=	həzb	'əm=	babilon
yə-	awäddə'	=homu	'ämlak	lä=1	həzb	'əm=1	babilon
3M	bring forth\ IMPF	=3MP	lord	to=	people	from=	Babylon
v:Any	vt	pro	n	prep	n	prep	n
he	brings forth	them	Lord	(to)	the people	from	Babylon
v			n				

ወይቤሉ			: እግዚእ : ለኤርምያስ			: ተንሥእ		: አንተ :
wä=	yə-	bel	=o	'əgzɪ'	lä=	'erməyas	tänsə'	'äntä
wä=	yə-	be	=hu	'əgzɪ'	lä=1	'erməyas	tänsə'1	'äntä
and=	3M	say\PRET	=3MS	lord	to=	Jeremiah	arise\IMPV	2MS
coordconn	v:Any	vt	pro	n	prep	n	vi	pro
and he said to him				lord	(to)	Jeremiah	arise!	you
				n			v	pro
ወሕዝብከ			: ወንድ			: ውስተ		: የርዳኖስ :
wä=	həzb	=əkä	wä=	nə'	-u	wästä	yordanos	
wä=	həzb	=kä	wä=	nə'	-u	wästä	yordanos	
and=	people	=2MS	and=	come.IMPV	MP	in	Jordan	
coordconn	n	pro	coordconn	vi	v:Any	prep	n	
and your people			and come!			in	Jordan	
						prep	n	
ወቢሎም			: ለሕዝብ			: ይፈቅድ		: እግዚእ :
wä=	bäl	=omu	lä=	həzb	yə-	fäqqəd	'əgzɪ'	
wä=	bäl2	=homu	lä=1	həzb	yə-	fäqqəd	'əgzɪ'	
and=	say\IMPV	=3MP	to=	people	3M	wish\IMPF	lord	
coordconn	vt	pro	prep	n	v:Any	vt	n	
and say to them			(to)	the people	he	wishes	lord	
							n	
ይከድን			: ምግባረ			: ዘሕዝብ		: ባቢሎን ፤
yə-	kdən	məgbar	-ä	zä=	həzb	-ä	babilon	
yə-	kdən	məgbar	-ä2	zä=	həzb	-ä1	babilon	
3M	pardon\JUSS	action	ACC	GEN=	people	of	Babylon	
v:Any	vt	n	n:Any	prt	n	n:Any	n	
he would pardon		action		of the people	of		Babylon	
v		n		n			n	

ወለተባዕት			: ዘአውሰበ			: አንስተ		:
wä=	lä=	täba't	zä=	'äwsäb	-ä	'änäst	-ä	
wä=	lä=1	täba't	zä=	'äwsäb	-ä3	'änäst	-ä2	
and=	to=	male	REL=	marry\PERF	3MS	women	ACC	
coordconn	prep	n	rel	vt	v:Any	n	n:Any	
and to male			that he married			women		
			v			n		
በዲቤክሙ			: ወአንስትኒ			: እለ	: አውሰባ	:
bä=	dibe	=kəmu	wä=	'änäst	=ni	'ällä	'äwsäb	-a
bä=	dibä	=kəmu	wä=	'änäst	=ni1	'ällä	'äwsäb	-a2
by=	on	=2MP	and=	women	=also	REL.PL	marry\PERF	3FP
prep	prep	pro-form	coordconn	n	post	rel	vt	v:Any
on you			and women, also			that	they married	
						rel	v	
እምኔሆሙ			: ንፍትኖሙ			፤ ወእለ		:
'əmənnə	=homu	nə-	ftən	=omu	wä=	'ällä		
'əmənnä	=homu	nə-	ftən	=homu	wä=	'ällä		
from	=3MP	1CP	examine\JUSS	=3MP	and=	REL.PL		
prep	pro	v:Any	vt	pro	coordconn	rel		
from them		we would	examine them		and that			
						rel		
ሰምዑከሰ			: አገብአሙ			: ውስተ		:
säm'	-u	=kä	=sä	'-	agäbbə'	=omu	wästä	
säm'	-u	=kä	=sä	'ə-	agäbbə'	=homu	wästä	
hear\PERF	MP	=2MS	=however	1CS	bring back\IMPF	=3MP	in	
vt	v:Any	pro	prt	v:Any	vt	pro	prep	
they heard you, however				I bring	them back		in	
							prep	
ኢየሩሳሌም			: ወለእለሰ			:		
'iyärusalem	wä=	lä=	'ällä	=sä				
'iyärusalem	wä=	lä=1	'ällä	=sä				
Jerusalem	and=	to=	REL.PL	=however				
n	coordconn	prep	rel	prt				
Jerusalem	and to that, however							

ኢሰምዑኩ				: ኢትዮጵያውያን			:
'i=	säm'	-u	=kä	'i=	tə-	hdæg	=omu
'i=	säm'	-u	=kä	'i=	tə- <sub>2</sub>	hdæg	=homu
NEG=	hear\PERF	MP	=2MS	NEG=	2	allow\JUSS	=3MP
verbprt	vt	v:Any	pro	verbprt	v:Any	vt	pro
they did not	hear you			do not	allow them		

ይባሉ				v			::
yə-	ba'	-u	wəstet	=a			
yə-	ba' <sub>2</sub>	-u	wəstä	=ha			
3M	enter\JUSS	MP	in	=3FS			
v:Any	vi	v:Any	prep	pro			
they would	enter		in her				

v

And the day came when God brought the people out of Babylon. And the Lord said to Jeremiah, "Get up, you and the people, and come to the Jordan. And you shall say to the people, 'Let everyone who desires the Lord forsake the works of Babylon, as well as the men who took wives from them and the women who took husbands from them as well!' And let those who heed you cross over; bring them to Jerusalem. But as for those who do not heed you, do not lead them into it."

4.2 ወኤርምያስ	:	ከመዝ	:	አንበበ	:	ሎሙ	:			
wä=	'erməyas	kämä	=zə	'änbäb	-ä	l=	=omu			
wä=	'erməyas	kämä	=zə	'änbäb	-ä <sub>3</sub>	lä= <sub>1</sub>	=homu			
and=	Jeremiah	like	=this	recite\PERF	3MS	to=	=3MP			
coordconn	n	prep	dem	vt	v:Any	prep	pro			
and Jeremiah		like this		he recited		to them				
n				v						
ዘንተ	:	ከሎ	:	ወአምጽአሙ	:	ወስተ	:	ዮርዳኖስ	:	ከመ
zäntä	k <sup>w</sup> əllo	wä=	'ämşə'	=omu	wästä	yordanos	kämä			
zäntä	k <sup>w</sup> əllo	wä=	'ämşə' <sub>1</sub>	=homu	wästä	yordanos	kämä			
this.M.ACC	all.ACC	and=	bring\PERF	=3MP	in	Jordan	so that			
dem	quant	coordconn	vt	pro	prep	n	advlizer			
this	all	and he brought	them		in	Jordan	so that			
dem	det				prep	n	advlizer			
:	ይፍትኖሙ		::							
yə-	ftən	=omu								
yə-	ftən	=homu								
3M	examine\JUSS	=3MP								
v:Any	vt	pro								
he would	examine	them								

And Jeremiah told them these words. And they arose and came to the Jordan to cross over,

4.3 ወእንዘ		: ይነግሮሙ		: ዘንተ		: ነገረ		:
wä=	'ənzä	yə-	näggär	=omu	zäntä	nägär	-ä	
wä=	'ənzä	yə-	näggär	=homu	zäntä	nägär <sub>1</sub>	-ä <sub>2</sub>	
and=	while	3M	tell\ IMPF	=3MP	this.M.ACC	matter	ACC	
coordconn	advlizer	v:Any	vt	pro	dem	n	n:Any	
and while		he tells	them		this	matter		
					dem	n		

ዘይቤሎ			: እግዚእ	: ናፈቁ				: እለ
zä=	yə-	bel	=o	'əgzi'	nafäq		-u	'əllä
zä=	yə-	be	=hu	'əgzi'	nafäq		-u	'əllä
REL=	3M	say\ PRET	=3MS	lord	divide (into two parts)\ PERF	MP		REL.PL
rel	v:Any	vt	pro	n	vt		v:Any	rel
that he said to him				lord	he divided (into two parts)			that
v				n	v			rel

: አውሰቡ		: ወኢፈቀዱ		: ከመ		:
'äwsäb	-u	wä=	'i=	fäqäd	-u	kämä
'äwsäb	-u	wä=	'i=	fäqäd	-u	kämä
marry\ PERF	MP	and=	NEG=	want\ PERF	MP	so that
vt	v:Any	coordconn	verbprt	vt	v:Any	advlizer
they married		and they did not want				so that
		v				advlizer

ይስምዕዎ		: ለኤርምያስ		: ወቦ		:		
yə-	smə'	-əw	=wo	lä=	'erməyas	wä=	b=	=o
yə-	sma'	-u	=hu	lä= <sub>1</sub>	'erməyas	wä=	bä=	=hu
3M	hear\ JUSS	MP	=3MS	to=	Jeremiah	and=	in=	=3MS
v:Any	vt	v:Any	pro	prep	n	coordconn	prep	pro
they would hear him				(to) Jeremiah		and there is		
እለ	: ይቤልዎ			: ኢነጎድግ		:		

'əllä	yə-	bel	-əw	=wo	'i=	nä-	hädädäg
'əllä	yə-	be	-u	=hu	'i=	nə-	hädädäg
REL.PL	3M	say\ PRET	MP	=3MS	NEG=	1CP	leave\ IMPF
rel	v:Any	vt	v:Any	pro	verbprt	v:Any	vt
that		they said to him			we do not leave		
rel							

አንስቲያን	:	ለዓለም	:	ንነሥኦን	:	ምስሌን	:
'änəstiya	=nä	lä=	'aläm	nə-	näśśə'	=on	məsle =nä
'änəstiya	=nä	lä=1	'aläm	nə-	näśśə'	=hon	məslä =nä
women folk	=1CP	to=	eternity	1CP	take\IMPF	=3FP	with =1CP
n	pro	prep	n	v:Any	vt	pro	prep
our women folk		forever		we take them		with us	pro
ውስተ	:	ሀገርን	፤	ወንሰፉ		:	እምዮርዳን
wəstä	hägär	=ənä	wä=	häläf	-u	'əm=	yordanos
wəstä	hägär	=nä	wä=	häläf	-u	'əm=1	yordanos
in	city	=1CP	and=	leave\PERF	MP	from=	Jordan
prep	n	pro	coordconn	vi	v:Any	prep	n
in	our city		and they left			from	Jordan
prep	n						
ወበጽሑ			:	ውስተ	:	ኢየሩሳሌም	::
wä=	bäṣḥ	-u	wəstä	'iyärusalem			
wä=	bäṣḥ	-u	wəstä	'iyärusalem			
and=	arrive\PERF	MP	in	Jerusalem			
coordconn	vi	v:Any	prep	n			
and they arrived and			in	Jerusalem			
v			prep				

and he (again) told them the words that the Lord had spoken to him. And half of those who had married from among them did not wish to listen to Jeremiah but said to him: “We will never ever forsake our wives; rather, let them join us in our return into our city.” So they crossed the Jordan and came to Jerusalem.

4.4 ወቆሙ			: ኤርምያስ	: ወባሮክ				
wä=	qom	-u	'erməyas	wä=	barok			
wä=	qom <sub>1</sub>	-u	'erməyas	wä=	barok			
and=	arise\PERF	MP	Jeremiah	and=	Baruch			
coordconn	vi	v:Any	n	coordconn	n			
and they arose			Jeremiah	and Baruch				
			n	n				
ወአቤሜሌክ		: እንዘ	: ይብሉ		: ኩሉ		: ብእሲ	:
wä=	'äbemelek	'enzä	yə- bəl	-u	k <sup>w</sup> əll	=u	bə'si	
wä=	'äbemelek	'enzä	yə- bəl	-u	k <sup>w</sup> əll	=hu	bə'si	
and=	Abimelech	while	3M say\IMPF	MP	all	=3MS	man	
coordconn	n	advlizer	v:Any vt	v:Any	det	pro	n	
and Abimelech		while	they say		all		man	
		advlizer			det		n	
ዘአውሰበ		: እምባቢሉን	: ኢይበውእ				: ውስተ	:
zä=	'äwsäb	-ä	'əm= babilon	'i=	yə- bāwwə'		wəstä	
zä=	'äwsäb	-ä <sub>3</sub>	'əm= <sub>1</sub> babilon	'i=	yə- bāwwə'		wəstä	
REL=	marry\PERF	3MS	from= Babylon	NEG=	3M	enter\IMPF	in	
rel	vt	v:Any	prep n	verbprt	v:Any	vi	prep	
that he married			from Babylon	he does not enter			in	
v							prep	
ሀገርነ	፤ ወይቤሉ			: እለ	: አውሰቡ			:
hägär	=ənä	wä=	yə- bel	-u	'əllä	'äwsäb	-u	
hägär	=nä	wä=	yə- be	-u	'əllä	'äwsäb	-u	
city	=1CP	and=	3M	say\PRET	MP	REL.PL	marry\PERF	MP
n	pro	coordconn	v:Any	vt	v:Any	rel	vt	v:Any
our city		and they said				that	they married	
n						rel		

አንስተ	:	ለቢያሎ	:	ተንሥኡ	:	ንግባኡ	:
'änəst	-ä	lä=	biş	=omu	tänsə'	-u	nə- gba'
'änəst	-ä <sub>2</sub>	lä= <sub>1</sub>	biş	=homu	tänsə' <sub>1</sub>	-u	nə- gba'
women	ACC	to=	fellow	=3MP	arise\IMPV	MP	1CP return\JUSS
n	n:Any	prep	n	pro	vi	v:Any	v:Any vi
women		to their	fellow		arise!		we would return
n						v	
ወስተ	:	ባቢሎን	:	ወገለፉ	:	ወገቡኡ	::
wəstä	babilon	wä=	hăläf	-u	wä=	gäb'	-u
wəstä	babilon	wä=	hăläf	-u	wä=	gäb'	-u
in	Babylon	and=	leave\PERF	MP	and=	return\PERF	MP
prep	n	coordconn	vi	v:Any	coordconn	vi	v:Any
in	Babylon	and they	left		and they	returned	
prep	n			v			

And Jeremiah arose, Baruch and Abimelech as well, saying, “No one married to Babylonian women will enter this city!” And they said to themselves, “Let us arise and return to Babylon, to our place.”

4.5 ወሰብ	:	ርእይዎሙ	:	ሰብኡ	:	ባቢሎን	:
wä=	sobä	rə'y	-əw	=womu	säb'	-ä	babilon
wä=	sobä	rə'y	-u	=homu	säb'	-ä <sub>1</sub>	babilon
and=	when	see\PERF	MP	=3MP	men	of	Babylon
coordconn	advlizer	vt	v:Any	pro	n	n:Any	n
and when		they saw	them		men of		Babylon
					n	n	
ወፅኡ	:	ከሙ	:	አይትቀበልዎሙ	:		:
wäd'	-u	kämä	'i=	yə-	tqäbbäl	-əw	=womu
wäd'	-u	kämä	'i=	yə-	tqäbbäl	-u	=homu
come forth\PERF	MP	so that	NEG=	3M	welcome\JUSS	MP	=3MP
vi	v:Any	advlizer	verbprt	v:Any	vt	v:Any	pro
they came forth		so that	they would not	welcome	them		
		advlizer					

: ወኢጎደግዎም				: ከም				:
wä=	'i=	hädäg	-əw	=womu	kämä			
wä=	'i=	hädäg	-u	=homu	kämä			
and=	NEG=	allow\PERF	MP	=3MP	so that			
coordconn	verbprt	vt		v:Any	pro	advlizer		
	and they would not allow them					so that		
						advlizer		
v								
ይባኡ			: ውስተ	: ባቢሎን	: እንዘ	: ይብሉ		:
yə-	ba'	-u	wästä	babilon	'ənzä	yə-	bəl	-u
yə-	ba'₂	-u	wästä	babilon	'ənzä	yə-	bəl	-u
3M	enter\JUSS	MP	in	Babylon	while	3M	say\IMPF	MP
v:Any	vi		prep	n	advlizer	v:Any	vt	v:Any
	they would enter		in	Babylon	while	they say		
			prep	n	advlizer			
v								
አንትሙ	: ቅድመ	: ኪያ		: ጸላእክሙኅ				:
'äntəmu	qədmä	kiya=	=nä	ṣäla'	-kəmu	=nä		
'äntəmu	qədmä	kiya=	=nä	ṣäl'	-kəmu	=nä		
2MP	before	ACC=	=1CP	hate\PERF	2MP	=1CP		
pro	adv	prt	pro	vt	v:Any	pro		
	you [are]		before	us	you hated us			
pro	adv	pro						
ወባጎቡእ			: ወግእክሙ		: እምጎቤነ			:
wä=	bä=	həbu'	wäḏa'		-kəmu	'əm=	häbe	=nä
wä=	bä=	həbu'	wäḏ'		-kəmu	'əm=₁	häbä	=nä
and=	in=	hidden	come forth\PERF	2MP	from=	with	=1CP	
coordconn	prep	adj	vi		v:Any	prep	prep	pro
	and in secret		you came forth			from	with	us
			v					

ወበእንተ			: ዝንቱ	: ኢትበውኡ			: ውስተ	:
wä=	bä=	'əntä	zəntu	'i=	tə-	bäwwə'	-u	wəstä
wä=	bä=	'əntä <sub>1</sub>	zəntu	'i=	tə <sub>-2</sub>	bäwwə'	-u	wəstä
and=	by=	via	this.M	NEG=	2	enter\IMPF	MP	in
coordconn	prep	prep	dem	verbprt	v:Any	vi	v:Any	prep
and concerning			this	you do not enter				in
			dem					prep
ሀገርነ		: እስመ	: ተማሐልነ				: በስመ	:
hägär	=ənä	'əsmä	tämaḥäl		-nä	bä=	səm	-ä
hägär	=nä	'əsmä	tämaḥäl		-nä	bä=	səm	-ä <sub>1</sub>
city	=1CP	because	take a mutual oath\PERF	1CP	by=	name	of	
n	pro	advlizer	vi		v:Any	prep	n	n:Any
our city		because	we took a mutual oath			by the name of		
n		advlizer	v					
ኢምላክነ		: ከመ	: ኪያከመ		: ወአዋልዲከመ			:
'ämlak	=ənä	kämä	kiya=	=kəmu	wä=	'äwaləd	=ikəmu	
'ämlak	=nä	kämä	kiya=	=kəmu	wä=	wäld	=kəmu	
lord	=1CP	so that	ACC=	=2MP	and=	son.PL	=2MP	
n	pro	advlizer	prt	pro-form	coordconn	n	pro-form	
our Lord		so that	you		and your sons			
n		advlizer	pro-form					
ኢንትዌክፍ		: እስመ	: በኅቡእ		: ኅለፍከመ			:
'i=	nə-	twekkäf	'əsmä	bä=	ḥəbu'	ḥäläf	-kəmu	
'i=	nə-	twekkäf	'əsmä	bä=	ḥəbu'	ḥäläf	-kəmu	
NEG=	1CP	receive\IMPF	because	by=	hidden	leave\PERF	2MP	
verbprt	v:Any	vt		advlizer	prep	adj	vi	v:Any
we do not receive				because	in hidden		you left	
				advlizer				
እምኅቤነ		∴						
'əm=	ḥäbe	=nä						
'əm=1	ḥäbä	=nä						
from=	with	=1CP						
prep	prep	pro						
from with us								

And they departed. But when they arrived at Babylon, the Babylonians came out to meet them, saying, “You shall not enter our city! For you hated us and went away from us secretly. Therefore you shall not come in to us. For we have sworn an oath to each other by the name of our god to receive neither you nor your children because you went away from us secretly.”

4.6	ወሰጣሪያም		: ከመዝ		: ገብኡ		: ውስተ	:
	wä=	sämi´	=omu	kämä	=zə	gäb´	-u	wästä
	wä=	sämi´ <sub>1</sub>	=homu	kämä	=zə	gäb´	-u	wästä
	and=	hear\CVB	=3MP	like	=this	return\PERF	MP	in
	coordconn	tcvb	pro	prep	dem	vi	v:Any	prep
	and they	having heard		like this		they returned		in
				adv				prep
ኢየሩሳሌም	: ወሐነጹ			: ሎም		: አህጉረ		:
'iyärusalem	wä=	hänäs	-u	l=	=omu	'ähgur	-ä	
'iyärusalem	wä=	hänäs	-u	lä=1	=homu	hägär	-ä <sub>2</sub>	
Jerusalem	and=	build\PERF	MP	to=	=3MP	city.PL	ACC	
n	coordconn	vt	v:Any	prep	pro	n	n:Any	
Jerusalem	and they	built		to them		city		
						n		
ውስተ	: አድያሚሃ		: ለኢየሩሳሌም		: ወሰመይዋ			
wästä	'äd Yam	=iha	lä=	'iyärusalem	wä=	sämäy	-əw	=wa
wästä	'äd Yam	=ha	lä=1	'iyärusalem	wä=	sämäy	-u	=ha
in	environs	=3FS	to=	Jerusalem	and=	name\PERF	MP	=3FS
prep	n	pro	prep	n	coordconn	vt	v:Any	pro
in	environs		to	Jerusalem	and they	named her		
prep								
: ለዝኩ	: ሀገር	: ሰማርያ	: ወፈነወ					:
lä=	zəku	hägär	sämarəya	wä=	fännäw	-ä		
lä=1	zəku	hägär	sämarəya	wä=	fännäw	-ä <sub>3</sub>		
to=	that.M	city	Samaria	and=	send\PERF	3MS		
prep	dem	n	n	coordconn	vt	v:Any		
(to) that		city	Samaria	and he	sent			
		n	n					

ኅቢሆሙ	:	ኤርምያስ	:	እንዘ	:	ይብል	:	ነሱሉ	:
hābe	=homu	'erməyas	'ənzä	yə-	bəl	nässəḥ	-u		
hābā	=homu	'erməyas	'ənzä	yə-	bəl	nässəḥ	-u		
toward	=3MP	Jeremiah	while	3M	say\IMPF	repent\IMPV	MP		
prep	pro	n	advlizer	v:Any	vt	vi	v:Any		
toward	them	Jeremiah	while	he says		they repented			
		n	advlizer	v		v			
ወነዋ	:	ይመጽእ	:	መልእክ	:	ጽድቅ	:		
wä=	nāwa	yə-	mäššə'	mäl'äk	-ä	šədq			
wä=	nāwa	yə-	mäššə'	mäl'äk	-ä <sub>1</sub>	šədq			
and=	behold	3M	come\IMPF	messenger	of	rightness			
coordconn	prt	v:Any	vi	n	n:Any	n			
and	behold	he comes		messenger	of	rightness			
interj		v		n		v			
ወያገብእከሙ				:	ወሱተ	:	መካንከሙ	:	
wä=	y-	agäbbə'		=äkəmu	wəstä	mäkan	=əkəmu		
wä=	yə-	agäbbə'		=kəmu	wəstä	mäkan	=kəmu		
and=	3M	bring back\IMPF	=2MP	in	place	=2MP			
coordconn	v:Any	vt	pro-form	prep	n	pro-form			
and	he	brings	you.MP	back	in	you place			
v				prep	n				
ዘነዋኅ	::								
zä=	nāwwaḥ								
zä=	nāwwaḥ								
REL=	elevated								
rel	adj								
that	[is]	elevated							
adj									

And upon learning this, they turned back and came to a deserted place far from Jerusalem, and they built a city for themselves and called its name Samaria. But Jeremiah sent to them, saying, "Repent, because the angel of righteousness is coming, and he will lead you to your exalted place."

5.1 ወነበኛ

: እንዘ : ይትፈራሥሑ :

wä=	näbär	-u	'ənzä	yə-	tfeśśəḥ	-u	
wä=	näbär	-u	'ənzä	yə-	tfeśśäh	-u	
and=	dwel\PERF	MP	while	3M	rejoice\IMPF	MP	
coordconn	vi	v:Any	advlizer	v:Any	vi	v:Any	
	and they dwelled		while	they	rejoice		
v			advlizer	v			
ወይሆውዑ			: ሰቡዐ		: ዕለተ		:
wä=	yə-	śäwwə'	-u	säbu'	-ä	'älät	-ä
wä=	yə-	śäwwə'	-u	säbu'	-ä <sub>2</sub>	'älät	-ä <sub>2</sub>
and=	3M	sacrifice\IMPF	MP	the seventh day	ACC	day	ACC
coordconn	v:Any	vt	v:Any	n	n:Any	n	n:Any
	and they sacrifice			the seventh day		day	
v				n		n	
በእንተ	: ሕዝብ	::					
bä=	'əntä	ḥəzb					
bä=	'əntä <sub>1</sub>	ḥəzb					
by=	via	people					
prep	prep	n					
	with regard to	people					
prep		n					

Those who were with Jeremiah remained, rejoicing and offering sacrifice for the people for nine days.

5.2 ወአመ		: ዐሁር	: ዕለት	: እምዘ	: ተገብረ			
wä=	'ämä	'äsür	'älät	'äm=	zä=	tä-	gäbr	-ä
wä=	'ämä	'äsür	'älät	'äm=1	zä=	tä-	gäbr1	-ä3
and=	when	the tenth day	day	from=	REL=	PASS	do\PERF	3MS
coordconn	advlizer	n	n	prep	rel	v>v	vt	v:Any
and when		the tenth	day	from that		he was done		
	advlizer	n	n			v		
: ዝገቱ	: አዕረገ		: ኤርምያስ	: መሥዋዕተ		: ባሕተቱ		::
zəntu	'ä'räg	-ä	'erməyas	mäs'wa't	-ä	bahtit	=u	
zəntu	'ä'räg	-ä3	'erməyas	mäs'wa't	-ä2	bahtit	=hu	
this.M	bring up\PERF	3MS	Jeremiah	sacrifice	ACC	alone	=3MS	
dem	vt	v:Any	n	n	n:Any	adv	pro	
this	he brought up		Jeremiah	sacrifice		he alone		
dem	v		n	n		adv		

But on the tenth day Jeremiah alone offered sacrifice

5.3 ወጸለየ		: ኤርምያስ	: እንዘ	: ይብል		: ቅዱስ		
wä=	šälläy	-ä	'erməyas	'ənzä	yə-	bəl	qəddus	
wä=	šälläy	-ä3	'erməyas	'ənzä	yə-	bəl	qəddus	
and=	pray\PERF	3MS	Jeremiah	while	3M	say\IMPF	holy	
coordconn	vi	v:Any	n	advlizer	v:Any	vt	adj	
and he prayed			Jeremiah	while	he says		holy	
	v		n	advlizer	v		adj	
: ቅዱስ	: ቅዱስ	: አንተ	: መዐዛ	: ጥዑም	: ለሰብእ	: ወብርሃን		:
qəddus	qəddus	'äntä	mä'äza	ṭə'um	lä=	säb'	wä=	bərhan
qəddus	qəddus	'äntä	mä'äza	ṭə'um	lä=1	säb'	wä=	bərhan
holy	holy	2MS	scent	sweet	to=	men	and=	light
adj	adj	pro	n	adj	prep	n	coordconn	n
holy	holy	you	scent	sweet	(to) the men	and light		
adj	adj	pro	n					

ዘበአማን		: ዘታበርህ		: ሊተ		: እስከ		: አነ	:
zä=	bä=	'äman	zä=	t-	abärrəh	l=	=itä	'əskä	'änä
zä=	bä=	'äman	zä=	tə- <sub>2</sub>	abärrəh	lä= <sub>1</sub>	=itä	'əskä	'änä
REL=	in=	truth	REL=	2	illuminate\IMPF	to=	=1CS	until that	1CS
rel	prep	n	rel	v:Any	vt	prep	pro	advlizer	pro
that	[is]	in truth	that	you	illuminate	to me		until that	I
				v				advlizer	pro
እበጽሕ		: ቅድሜክ		: አስተባባሪክ				: በእንተ	:
'ə-	bäṣṣəḥ	qədmə	=kä	'-	astäbäq <sup>w</sup> q <sup>w</sup> ə'	=äkä	bä=	'əntä	
'ə-	bäṣṣəḥ	qədmä	=kä	'ə-	astäbäq <sup>w</sup> q <sup>w</sup> ə'	=kä	bä=	'əntä <sub>1</sub>	
1CS	arrive\IMPF	before	=2MS	1CS	beseech\IMPF	=2MS	by=	via	
v:Any	vi	adv	pro	v:Any	vt	pro	prep	prep	
I arrive		before you		I beseech you			with regard to		
							prep		
ሕዝብክ		: ወእስእስክ						: በእንተ	:
ḥəzb	=äkä	wä=	'ə-	sə'əl	=äkä	bä=	'əntä		
ḥəzb	=kä	wä=	'ə-	sə'əl	=kä	bä=	'əntä <sub>1</sub>		
people	=2MS	and=	1CS	enquire\IMPF	=2MS	by=	via		
n	pro	coordconn	v:Any	vt	pro	prep	prep		
your people		and I enquire you				with regard to			
						prep			
ቃለ		: መዐርዒር		: ዘሱራራል		: ወበእንተ		: መዐዛ	:
qal	-ä	mä'är'ir	zä=	surafel	wä=	bä=	'əntä	mä'äza	
qal	-ä <sub>1</sub>	mä'är'ir	zä=	surafel	wä=	bä=	'əntä <sub>1</sub>	mä'äza	
word	of	sweet	GEN=	Seraphiel	and=	by=	via	scent	
n	n:Any	adj	prt	n	coordconn	prep	prep	n	
word of		sweet	of	Seraphiel	and concerning			scent	
n		adj	n					n	

ዕጣን	:	ዘኪሩቤል	፤	እስእለከ	:	እወ	:	ማሕሌታይ	:
'əṭan		zä= kirubel		'ə- sə''əl		=äkä		'əwwä maḥletay	
'əṭan		zä= kirubel		'ə- sə''əl		=kä		'əwwä maḥletay	
incense	GEN=	Kerubiel	1CS	enquire\IMPF	=2MS	indeed		singer	
n	prt	n		v:Any vt		pro	adv	n	
incense		of Kerubiel		I enquire you			indeed	singer	
n	n			v			adv	n	
ሚካኤል	:	መልእክ	:	ጽድቅ	:	ውእቱ	:	ዘያርኑ	:
mika'el	mäl'äk	şədq		wə'ətu	zä= y-	arḥu		'ānaqəş -ä	
mika'el	mäl'äk	şədq		wə'ətu <sub>1</sub>	zä= yə-	arḥu		'ānqäş -ä <sub>1</sub>	
Michael	angel	rightness	3MS	REL=	3M	open\JUSS	gate.PL	of	
n	n	n		pro	rel	v:Any vt		n	n:Any
Michael	angel	rightness		he [is]	that	he would open	gates	of	
	n			pro	v				
:	ጽድቅ	:	እስከ	:	ይበውእዎን	:			
şədq	'əskä	yə-	bäwwə'	-əw	=won				
şədq	'əskä	yə-	bäwwə'	-u	=hon				
rightness	until that	3M	enter\IMPF	MP	=3FP				
n	advlizer	v:Any	vi		v:Any	pro			
rightness	until that	they	enter	them					
	advlizer	pro							
አስተባባሪ				:	እግዚእ	:	ለኩሉ	:	ወእግዚእ
'-	astäbäq <sup>w</sup> q <sup>w</sup> ə'	=äkä	'əgzi'	lä=	k <sup>w</sup> əll	=u	wä=	'əgzi'	
'ə-	astäbäq <sup>w</sup> q <sup>w</sup> ə'	=kä	'əgzi'	lä= <sub>1</sub>	k <sup>w</sup> əll	=hu	wä=	'əgzi'	
1CS	beseech\IMPF	=2MS	lord	to=	all	=3MS	and=	lord	
v:Any	vt	pro	n	prep	det	pro	coordconn	n	
I	beseech	you	lord	(to)	all		and	lord	
			n	det					

ዘኩሎ	:	ይእኅዝ	:	ወኩሎ	:	ፈጠረ	:	
zä=	kʷəllo	yə-	'əḥḥəz	wä=	kʷəllo	fäṭär	-ä	
zä=	kʷəllo	yə-	'əḥḥəz	wä=	kʷəllo	fäṭär	-ä <sub>3</sub>	
REL=	all.ACC	3M	seize\IMPF	and=	all.ACC	create\PERF	3MS	
rel	quant	v:Any	vt	coordconn	quant	vt	v:Any	
that	all	he	seizes	and	all	he	created	
det				det		v		
ዘያስተርኢ				: ወዘኢተወልደ				
zä=	y-	astärə''i		wä=	zä=	'i=	täwäld	-ä
zä=	yə-	astärə''i		wä=	zä=	'i=	täwäld	-ä <sub>3</sub>
REL=	3M	become	visible\IMPF	and=	REL=	NEG=	be born\PERF	3MS
rel	v:Any	vi		coordconn	rel	verbprt	vi	v:Any
that	he	becomes	visible	and	that	he	was not born	
v								
: ዘኩሎ	:	ፈጸመ	:	ወኩሎ	:	ፍጥረት	: ኅቡእ	:
zä=	kʷəllo	fäṣṣäm	-ä	wä=	kʷəllu	fəṭrät	ḥəbu'	
zä=	kʷəllo	fäṣṣäm	-ä <sub>3</sub>	wä=	kʷəllu	fəṭrät	ḥəbu'	
REL=	all.ACC	complete\PERF	3MS	and=	all	creation	hidden	
rel	quant	vt	v:Any	coordconn	quant	n	adj	
that	all	he	complete	and	all	creation	hidden	
det		v		det		n	adj	
ሀሎ	:	ኅቡእ	:	ዘእንበለ	:	ይትገበኛ	:	
hällö	ḥäbe	=hu	zä'ənbälä	yə-	tgäbbär	-u		
hälläw	ḥäbä	=hu	zä'ənbälä	yə-	tgäbbär	-u		
exist\PERF	with	=3MS	except (that)	3M	be done\IMPF	MP		
vi	prep	pro	advlizer	v:Any	vi	v:Any		
he	existed	with	him	except (that)	they	are done		
v	adv		advlizer					
በኅቡእ	::							
bä=	ḥəbu'							
bä=	ḥəbu'							
by=	hidden							
prep	adj							
in	hidden							

and prayed, saying, “Holy, holy, holy, incense of the living trees, true light that enlightens me until I be lifted up to you. For the sweet voice of the two seraphim I beg you, for another fragrance of incense; I meditate on Michael, the archangel of righteousness, until he leads in the righteous. I beg you, Lord Almighty of all creation, unbegotten and incomprehensible, in whom all creation was hidden before these things came into existence.”

5.4 ወዘንተ			: ጸለየ	: ወፈጸገሞ			:	
wä=	zäntä	şälläy	-ä	wä=	fäşşim	=o		
wä=	zäntä	şälläy	-ä <sub>3</sub>	wä=	fäşşim	=hu		
and=	this.M.ACC	pray\PERF	3MS	and=	complete\CVB	=3MS		
coordconn	dem	vi	v:Any	coordconn	vt	pro		
and this		he prayed		and he having completed				
dem		v						
ጸሎት	: ቆመ		: ኤርምያስ	: ውስተ	: ቤተ	: መቅደስ	:	
şälot	=o	qom	-ä	'erməyas	wəstä	bet	-ä	mäqdäs
şälot	=hu	qom <sub>1</sub>	-ä <sub>3</sub>	'erməyas	wəstä	bet <sub>1</sub>	-ä <sub>1</sub>	mäqdäs
prayer	=3MS	arise\PERF	3MS	Jeremiah	in	house	of	sactuary
n	pro	vi	v:Any	n	prep	n	n:Any	n
his prayer		he arose		Jeremiah	in	house of		sactuary
		v		n	prep	n		n
ወምስሌሁ		: ባሮክ	: ወአቤሜሌክ					
wä=	məsle	=hu	barok	wä=	'äbemelek			
wä=	məslä	=hu	barok	wä=	'äbemelek			
and=	with	=3MS	Baruch	and=	Abimelech			
coordconn	prep	pro	n	coordconn	n			
and with him			Baruch	and Abimelech				
			n					

ወኮነ			: ኤርምያስ	: ከመ	: አሐዱ	: ብእሲ	:
wä=	kon	-ä	'erməyas	kämä	'ähädu	bə'si	
wä=	kon	-ä <sub>3</sub>	'erməyas	kämä	'ähädu	bə'si	
and=	be(come)\PERF	3MS	Jeremiah	like	one.M	man	
coordconn	vi	v:Any	n	prep	cardnum	n	
and he became			Jeremiah	like	one	man	
v			n	prep	cardnum	n	
ዘወፅአ			: ነፍሱ	: እምላዕሌሁ			::
zä=	wäd'	-ä	näfs	=u	'əm=	la'le	=hu
zä=	wäd'	-ä <sub>3</sub>	näfs	=hu	'əm=1	la'lä	=hu
REL=	come forth\PERF	3MS	soul	=3MS	from=	upon	=3MS
rel	vi	v:Any	n	pro	prep	prep	pro
that he came forth			his soul		from	upon	him
v							

While Jeremiah was saying this and was standing with Baruch and Abimelech at the altar, he became like one of those who had died.

5.5 ወሰቢሃ			: ወድቁ	: ባሮክ	: ወአቤሜሌክ	:
wä=	sobeha	wädq	-u	barok	wä=	'äbemelek
wä=	sobeha	wädq	-u	barok	wä=	'äbemelek
and=	then	fall\PERF	MP	Baruch	and=	Abimelech
coordconn	adv	vi	v:Any	n	coordconn	n
and then		they fell		Baruch	and	Abimelech
v				n		
ወወደዉ			: ብዕቢይ	: ቃል	:	
wä=	'äwyäw	-u	bä=	'äbiy	qal	
wä=	'äwyäw	-u	bä=	'äbiy	qal	
and=	lament\PERF	MP	in=	big	voice	
coordconn	vi	v:Any	prep	adj	n	
and they lamented			in big		voice	
			adv		n	

ወይቤሉ				: ወይ	: ለኅ		: አቡነ	:
wä=	yə-	bel	-u	wäy	lä=	=nä	'äbu	=nä
wä=	yə-	be	-u	wäy	lä=1	=nä	'äb	=nä
and=	3M	say\PRET	MP	woe	to=	=1CP	father	=1CP
coordconn	v:Any	vt	v:Any	interj	prep	pro	n	pro
and they said				woe	to us		our father	
				interj				
ኤርምያስ	: ካህነ		: አምላክ	: ኅለፈ		: እምነነ	:	:
'erməyas	kahən	-ä	'ämlak	hjaläf	-ä	'əmənne	=nä	
'erməyas	kahən	-ä1	'ämlak	hjaläf	-ä3	'əmənnä	=nä	
Jeremiah	priest	of	lord	leave\PERF	3MS	from	=1CP	
n	n	n:Any	n	vi	v:Any	prep	pro	
Jeremiah	priest of		lord	he left		from us		
n	n			v				

And Baruch and Abimelech kept weeping and crying out in a loud voice, “Our father Jeremiah, the priest of God, has left us behind and gone away.”

5.6 ወሰሚያሙ				: ከመዝ	: ሕዝብ	: ርጹ	:
wä=	sämi'	=omu	kämä	=zə	həzb	roş	-u
wä=	sämi'1	=homu	kämä	=zə	həzb	roş	-u
and=	hear\CVB	=3MP	like	=this	people	run\PERF	MP
coordconn	tcvb	pro	prep	dem	n	vi	v:Any
and they having heard			like this		people	they ran	
					n	v	
ኅቤሁ	: ወረከብዖ				: ለኤርምያስ	:	
hābe	=hu	wä=	rākāb	-əw	=wo	lä=	'erməyas
hābā	=hu	wä=	rākāb	-u	=hu	lä=1	'erməyas
toward	=3MS	and=	find\PERF	MP	=3MS	to=	Jeremiah
prep	pro	coordconn	vt	v:Any	pro	prep	n
toward him		and they found him				(to) Jeremiah	
adv							

ውዲቀ		: ወምውተ							
wəduq	-ä	wä=	məwət		-ä				
wəduq	-ä <sub>2</sub>	wä=	məwut+FR. VAR. OF		-ä <sub>2</sub>				
fallen	ACC	and=	dead		ACC				
adj	n:Any	coordconn	adj		n:Any				
fallen		and dead							
adj									
ወበከዩ			: ወሠጠጡ						:
wä=	bäkäy	-u	wä=	śätät		-u			
wä=	bäkäy	-u	wä=	śätät		-u			
and=	cry\PERF	MP	and=	tear (apart)\PERF		MP			
coordconn	vi	v:Any	coordconn	vt		v:Any			
and they cried			and they tore						
v									
አልባሲሆሙ		: ወወደዩ		: ሐመደ		: ዲበ		:	
'älbas	=ihomu	wä=	wädäy	-u	hämäd	-ä	dibä		
ləbs	=homu	wä=	wädäy	-u	hämäd	-ä <sub>2</sub>	dibä		
clothing.PL	=3MP	and=	put\PERF	MP	ash	ACC	on		
n	pro	coordconn	vt	v:Any	n	n:Any	prep		
their clothes		and they put			ash		on		
					n		prep		
ርእሶሙ		: ወበከዩ		: ብካዩ		: መሪረ		:	።
rə's	=omu	wä=	bäkäy	-u	bəkay	-ä	märir	-ä	
rə's	=homu	wä=	bäkäy	-u	bəkay	-ä <sub>2</sub>	märir	-ä <sub>2</sub>	
head	=3MP	and=	cry\PERF	MP	weeping	ACC	bitter	ACC	
n	pro	coordconn	vi	v:Any	n	n:Any	adj	n:Any	
themselves		and they cried			weeping		bitter		
					n		adj		

And all the people heard their lamentation, and they all ran to them and saw Jeremiah lying dead on the ground. And they tore their garments and put dust on their heads and wept bitterly.

5.7 ወእምድኅረ

: አስተዳለዉ

: በዘ

:

wä=	'əm=	dəhrä	'ästädaläw	-u	bä=	zä=
wä=	'əm=1	dəhrä	'ästädaläw	-u	bä=	zä=
and=	from=	afterward	prepare\PERF	MP	in=	REL=
coordconn	prep	adv	vt	v:Any	prep	rel
and from	afterward		they prepared		in that	

ይቀብርዎ

: መጽኅ

: ቃል :

yə-	qäbbär	-əw	=wo	mäs'	-ä	qal
yə-	qäbbär	-u	=hu	mäs'	-ä3	qal
3M	bury\IMPF	MP	=3MS	come\PERF	3MS	voice
v:Any	vt	v:Any	pro	vi	v:Any	n
they	bury him			he came		voice

ዘይብል

: ኢትዮጵያ

:

zä=	yə-	bäl	'i=	tə-	gnəz	-əw	=wo
zä=	yə-	bäl	'i=	tə-2	gnəz	-u	=hu
REL=	3M	say\IMPF	NEG=	2	prepare for burial\JUSS	MP	=3MS
rel	v:Any	vt	verbprt	v:Any	vt	v:Any	pro
that	he says		do not	prepare	him		

v

አያው	:	ውእቱ	:	ወነፍሱ	:	ትገብእ	:	ዲበ	:					
həyaw		wə'ətu		wä=		näfs =u		tə-		gäbbə'		dibä		
həyaw		wə'ətu <sub>1</sub>		wä=		näfs =hu		tə <sub>-1</sub>		gäbbə'		dibä		
living		3MS		and=		soul =3MS		3FS		return\IMPF		on		
adj		pro		coordconn		n		pro		v:Any		vi		prep
living		he [is]		and his soul				she returns				on		
adj		pro						v				prep		
ሥጋው	:	ዳግመ	:		:									
śəga		=hu		dagəmə										
śəga		=hu		dagəmə										
flesh		=3MS		again										
n		pro		adv										
his flesh				again										
				adv										

And after this they prepared themselves in order to bury him. And, behold, there came a voice, saying, "Do not bury the one who is still alive, for his soul is entering his body again."

5.8 ወሰጣሊያው	:	ዘንተ	:	ቃለ	:		:					
wä=		sämi'		=omu		zäntä		qal		-ä		
wä=		sämi' <sub>1</sub>		=homu		zäntä		qal		-ä <sub>2</sub>		
and=		hear\CVB		=3MP		this.M.ACC		word		ACC		
coordconn		tcvb		pro		dem		n		n:Any		
and they having heard						this		word				
						dem		n				
ኢንዝዎ	:	አላ	:	ነበሩ	:		:					
'i=		gänäz		-əw		=wo		'älla		näbär		-u
'i=		gänäz		-u		=hu		'älla		näbär		-u
NEG=		prepare for burial\PERF		MP		=3MS		but		dwell\PERF		MP
verbprt		vt		v:Any		pro		coordconn		vi		v:Any
they did not prepare him								but		they dwelled		
								coordconn				

እንዘ	:	የዐቅብዖ			:	ዐውዶ		:
'ənzä	yä-	'äqqəb	-əw	=wo	'äwəd	=o		
'ənzä	yə-	'äqqəb	-u	=hu	'äwəd	=hu		
while	3M	keep\IMPF	MP	=3MS	go around\CVB	=3MS		
advlizer	v:Any	vt	v:Any	pro	icvb	pro		
while	they	keep him			he having gone around			
advlizer								
ሠሉሰ	:	መዋዕለ		:	እስከ	:	ትገብእ	:
śälus	-ä	mäwa'əl	-ä	'əskä	tə-	gäbbə'		
śälus	-ä <sub>2</sub>	'əlät	-ä <sub>2</sub>	'əskä	tə <sub>-1</sub>	gäbbə'		
the third day	ACC	day.PL	ACC	until that	3FS	return\IMPF		
n	n:Any	n	n:Any	advlizer	v:Any	vi		
the third day		day		until that	she returns			
n		n		advlizer	v			
ነፍሱ	:	ውስተ	:	ሥጋሁ	::			
näfs	=u	wəstä	śəga	=hu				
näfs	=hu	wəstä	śəga	=hu				
soul	=3MS	in	flesh	=3MS				
n	pro	prep	n	pro				
his soul		in	his flesh					
		prep						

And when they heard the voice, they did not bury him but stayed around his tent for three days, talking and being at a loss as to when he would arise. And after three days his soul entered his body.

5.9 ወኮነ				: ቃል	: በማእከሉ	: ከሁሉም	:
wä=	kon	-ä	qal	bä=	ma'kälä	kʷəll	=omu
wä=	kon	-ä <sub>3</sub>	qal	bä=	ma'kälä	kʷəll	=homu
and=	be(come)\PERF	3MS	voice	in=	among	all	=3MP
coordconn	vi	v:Any	n	prep	prep	det	pro
and he became			voice	admist			all of them
v			n	prep		det	
ወይቤ				: ሰብኦ		: በአሁኑ	: ቃል :
wä=	yə-	be	säbbəḥ	-əw	=wo	bä=	'ähädu qal
wä=	yə-	be	säbbəḥ <sub>1</sub>	-u	=hu	bä=	'ähädu qal
and=	3M	say\PRET	praise\IMPV	MP	=3MS	in=	one.M voice
coordconn	v:Any	vt	vt	v:Any	pro	prep	cardnum n
and he said			praise him!			in one	voice
							n
ሰብኦ			: ለአምላክ	: ወከለሁ		:	
säbbəḥ	-əw	=wo	lä=	'ämlak	wä=	kʷəll	=əkəmu
säbbəḥ <sub>1</sub>	-u	=hu	lä= <sub>1</sub>	'ämlak	wä=	kʷəll	=kəmu
praise\IMPV	MP	=3MS	to=	lord	and=	all	=2MP
vt	v:Any	pro	prep	n	coordconn	det	pro-form
praise him!			(to) lord		and all of you.MP		
				det			
ሰብሐ		: ለምሲክ	: ወልደ	: አምላክ	:		
säbbəḥ	-u	lä=	mäsiḥ	wäld	-ä	'ämlak	
säbbəḥ <sub>2</sub>	-u	lä= <sub>1</sub>	mäsiḥ	wäld	-ä <sub>1</sub>	'ämlak	
praise\PERF	MP	to=	the Messiah	son	of	lord	
vt	v:Any	prep	n	n	n:Any	n	
they praised		(to) the Messiah	son of		lord		
v				n			

ዘያነቅሀከሙ : ወይካንከሙ :

zä= y- anäqqəh =äkəmu wä= yə- k<sup>w</sup>ennən =äkəmu  
 zä= yə- anäqqəh =kəmu wä= yə- k<sup>w</sup>ennən =kəmu  
 REL= 3M awaken\IMPF =2MP and= 3M rule\IMPF =2MP  
 rel v:Any vt pro-form coordconn v:Any vt pro-form  
 that he awakens you and he rules you

v  
 ኢየሱስ : ወልደ : አምላክ : ብርሃን : ለተሉ : ዓለም :

'iyäsus wäld -ä 'ämlak bərhan lä= k<sup>w</sup>əll =u 'aläm  
 'iyäsus wäld -ä<sub>1</sub> 'ämlak bərhan lä=<sub>1</sub> k<sup>w</sup>əll =hu 'aläm  
 Jesus son of lord light to= all =3MS world  
 n n n:Any n n prep det pro n  
 Jesus son of lord light (to) all world  
 n n n det n  
 ወማላቶት : ዘኢይጠፍእ :

wä= mahtot zä= 'i= yə- təffə'  
 wä= mahtot zä= 'i= yə- təffə'  
 and= lamp REL= NEG= 3M (light/fire) go out\IMPF  
 coordconn n rel verbprt v:Any vi  
 and lamp that he does not go out

v  
 ወእይወት : ዘሃይማኖት ::

wä= həywät zä= haymanot  
 wä= həywät zä= haymanot  
 and= life GEN= faith  
 coordconn n prt n  
 and life of faith  
 n

And he raised his voice in the midst of them all and said, “Glorify God, all glorify God and the Son of God who awakens us, Jesus Christ, the light of all ages, the inextinguishable lamp, the life of faith.

5.10 ወይከውን

: እምድኅረዝ

: መዋዕል

: ሠላስ

wä=	yə-	käwwən	'əm=	dəḥrǎ	=zə	mäwa'əl	śālas
wä=	yə-	käwwən	'əm=1	dəḥrǎ	=zə	'əlät	śālas
and=	3M	be(come)\IMPF	from=	behind	=this	day.PL	three
coordconn	v:Any	vi	prep	prep	dem	n	cardnum
and he becomes			from	after	this	day	three
						n	cardnum

: ምእት

: ወሠላስ

: ሰንበታት

: ዘመዋዕል

:

mə't	wä=	śālas	sānbät	-at	zä=	mäwa'əl
mə't	wä=	śālas	sānbät	-at	zä=	'əlät
hundred	and=	three	Sabbath	PL	GEN=	day.PL
cardnum	coordconn	cardnum	n	n:Any	prt	n
hundred	and three		Sabbaths		of	days

n

ለምጽአቱ

: ውስተ

: ምድር

: ዕፀ

: አይወት

: ዘሀሎ

lä=	məṣ'ät	=u	wəstä	mədr	'əፊ	-ä	ḥəywät	zä=	hällö
lä=1	məṣ'ät	=hu	wəstä	mədr	'əፊ	-ä1	ḥəywät	zä=	hälläw
to=	arrival	=3MS	in	earth	wood	of	life	REL=	exist\PERF
prep	n	pro	prep	n	n	n:Any	n	rel	vi
(to) his arrival			in	earth	tree	of	life	that	he existed

: ውስተ

: ገነት

: ወኢተተክለ

:

wəstä	gännät	wä=	'i=	tätäkl	-ä
wəstä	gännät	wä=	'i=	tätäkl	-ä3
in	garden	and=	NEG=	be planted\PERF	3MS
prep	n	coordconn	verbprt	vi	v:Any
in	garden	and he was not	planted		
prep					

ይሬስዮሙ			: ለተሉ	: ዕፅ :				
yə-	ressəy	=omu	lä=	kʷəll	=u	‘əፈ		
yə-	ressəy	=homu	lä=1	kʷəll	=hu	‘əፈ		
3M	place\IMPF	=3MP	to=	all	=3MS	tree		
v:Any	vt	pro	prep	det	pro	n		
he places them			(to) all		tree			
ዘያወፅእ			det	: ናሬ : ወይቡሳነ			: ከመ	
zä=	y-	awäፈፈə’	fəre	wä=	yəbus	-an -ä	kämä	
zä=	yə-	awäፈፈə’	fəre	wä=	yəbus	-an -ä <sub>2</sub>	kämä	
REL=	3M	bring forth\IMPF	fruit	and=	dry	PL ACC	so that	
rel	v:Any	vt	n	coordconn	adj	n:Any n:Any	advlizer	
that he brings forth			fruit	and dry (ones)		so that		
v			advlizer					
: ይገጽኡ			: ጎቢሁ	:				
yə-	mşə’	-u	häbe	=hu				
yə-	mşa’	-u	hübä	=hu				
3M	come\JUSS	MP	toward	=3MS				
v:Any	vi	v:Any	prep	pro				
they would come			toward him					
v			adv					
ወይሬስዮሙ			: ከመ	: ይግበሩ	: ናሬ			
wä=	yə-	ressəy	=omu	kämä	yə-	gbär	-u	fəre
wä=	yə-	ressəy	=homu	kämä	yə-	gbär	-u	fəre
and=	3M	place\IMPF	=3MP	so that	3M	do\JUSS	MP	fruit
coordconn	v:Any	vt	pro	advlizer	v:Any	vt	v:Any	n
and they place them			so that		they would do		fruit	
			advlizer					

: ወይሥረጸ				: ወፍሬሆሙ			:
wä=	yə-	śrāṣ	-u	wä=	fəre	=homu	
wä=	yə-	śrāṣ	-u	wä=	fəre	=homu	
and=	3M	sprout\JUSS	MP	and=	fruit	=3MP	
coordconn	v:Any	vi	v:Any	coordconn	n	pro	
and they would sprout				and their fruit			

ይነብር : ምስለ : መላእክት ::

yə-	näbbär	mäslä	mäla'äkt
yə-	näbbär	mäslä	mäl'äk
3M	dwell\IMPF	with	angel.PL
v:Any	vi	prep	n
he dwells		with	angels
v		prep	n

But after these times, 477 years more will elapse, and then (he) will come to the earth. And the tree of life, planted in the midst of paradise, will cause all the fruitless trees to bear fruit, and they will grow and sprout.

5.11 ወበእንተ				: ተከለ		: ዕፀው		: ከመ		:
wä=	bä=	'əntä	täkl	-ä	'əፈ	-äw	kämä			
wä=	bä=	'əntä <sub>1</sub>	täkl	-ä <sub>1</sub>	'əፈ	-äw	kämä			
and=	by=	via	plant	of	tree	PL	so that			
coordconn	prep	prep	n	n:Any	n	n:Any	advlizer			
and concerning			plant of		trees		so that			
			n		n		advlizer			

ይለምልሙ : ወይንት :

yə-	lämləm	-u	wä=	y-	anəḥ	-u
yə-	lämləm	-u	wä=	yə-	anəḥ	-u
3M	grow green\JUSS	MP	and=	3M	extend\JUSS	MP
v:Any	vi	v:Any	coordconn	v:Any	vi	v:Any
they would grow green			and they would extend			
v			v			

ከሁብ		: ጸባሕተ		: ለኢዮር		: ከመ	:
nä-	hāb	ṣäbbaḥṭ	-ä	lä=	'iyor	kämä	
nə-	hāb <sub>2</sub>	ṣäbbaḥṭ	-ä <sub>2</sub>	lä= <sub>1</sub>	'äyär+FR. VAR. OF	kämä	
1CP	give\JUSS	tribute	ACC	to=	air	so that	
v:Any	vt	n	n:Any	prep	n	advlizer	
we would give		tribute		to air		so that	
		n				advlizer	

ኢይይበስ				: ሥረዋሆሙ		: ከመ	: ተከል	:
'i=	yə-	ybäs	śəräw	=ihomu	kämä	täkl		
'i=	yə-	ybäs	śər <sub>w</sub>	=homu	kämä	täkl		
NEG=	3M	be dry\JUSS	root.PL	=3MP	like	plant		
verbprt	v:Any	vi	n	pro	prep	n		
he would not be dry			their root		like	plant		

ዘኢአኅዘ				: ሥርዐ		: ምድረ		::
zä=	'i=	'äḥäz	-ä	śər <sub>w</sub>	=u	mädr	-ä	
zä=	'i=	'äḥäz	-ä <sub>3</sub>	śər <sub>w</sub>	=hu	mädr	-ä <sub>2</sub>	
REL=	NEG=	seize\PERF	3MS	root	=3MS	earth	ACC	
rel	verbprt	vt	v:Any	n	pro	n	n:Any	
that he did not seize				his root		earth		
v						n		

And those that had sprouted and were haughty and said, 'We have stretched out our top into the air' —he will cause them to wither with the grandeur of their branches. And he will cause the firmly rooted tree to fall.

5.12 ወዘሕብረ

: ቀይሕ : ያጸዐዱ

: ከመ :

wä=	zä=	həbr	-ä	qäyəḥ	y-	aşä'äddu	kämä
wä=	zä=	həbr	-ä <sub>1</sub>	qäyəḥ	yə-	aşä'äddəw	kämä
and=	GEN=	color	of	red	3M	make white\ IMPF	like
coordconn	prt	n	n:Any	adj	v:Any	vt	prep
and one of	color of			red		he makes white	like
				adj	vt		prep

ፀምር : ወማይ

: ዘጥዑም

: መሪረ

: ይከውን

ፈጠር	wä=	may	zä=	tə'um	märir	-ä	yə-	käwwən
ፈጠር	wä=	may	zä=	tə'um	märir	-ä <sub>2</sub>	yə-	käwwən
wool	and=	water	GEN=	sweet	bitter	ACC	3M	be(come)\ IMPF
n	coordconn	n	prt	adj	adj	n:Any	v:Any	vi
wool	and water		of	sweet (one)	bitter			he becomes

n n

n

adj

v

: ወመሪረ

: ጥዑመ

: ይከውን

: በበይይ

:

wä=	märir	tə'um	-ä	yə-	käwwən	bä=	'äbiy
wä=	märir	tə'um	-ä <sub>2</sub>	yə-	käwwən	bä=	'äbiy
and=	bitter	sweet	ACC	3M	be(come)\ IMPF	in=	big
coordconn	adj	adj	n:Any	v:Any	vi	prep	adj
and bitter		sweet		he becomes		in big	
		adj		v		adv	

ሐሳት ፤ ወትፍሥሐታተ

: አምላክ

: ለደሰያት

: ከመ

ገጽ	wä=	təfśəḥt	-at	-ä	'ämlak	lä=	däsäyat	kämä
ገጽ	wä=	təfśəḥt	-at	-ä <sub>1</sub>	'ämlak	lä=	däset	kämä
happiness	and=	joy	PL	of	lord	to=	island.PL	so that
n	coordconn	n	n:Any	n:Any	n	prep	n	advlizer
happiness	and joys of				lord	to islands		so that
n								advlizer

: ይፍረዩ			: ፍሬ	: በነገረ		: አፋሁ	:
yə-	fräy	-u	fəre	bä=	nägär	-ä	'äfu =hu
yə-	fräy	-u	fəre	bä=	nägär <sub>1</sub>	-ä <sub>1</sub>	'äf =hu
3M	bear fruit\JUSS	MP	fruit	by=	matter	of	mouth =3MS
v:Any	vi	v:Any	n	prep	n	n:Any	n pro
they would	bear fruit		fruit	by thing of		his	mouth

v	ወለደ	:	ዚአሁ	::
wäld	-ä	zi'ä=	=hu	
wäld	-ä <sub>1</sub>	zä=	=hu	
son	of	GEN=	=3MS	
n	n:Any	prt	pro	
son of		of him		
n		pro-form		

And he will cause the crimson to become like white wool. The snow will turn black, the sweet waters will turn salty by God's great light of joy. And he will bless the islands to bear fruit by the word of the mouth of his Christ.

5.13 ወውአቱ	:	ለሊሁ	:	ይበውአ	:	ውስተ	:	ዓለም	:
wä=	wə'ətu	lälihu	yə-	bäwwə'	wästä	'aläm			
wä=	wə'ətu <sub>1</sub>	lälihu	yə-	bäwwə'	wästä	'aläm			
and=	3MS	he himself	3M	enter\IMPF	in	world			
coordconn	pro	<Not Sure>	v:Any	vi	prep	n			
and he		he himself	he enters		in	world			
					prep	n			

ወየኅሪ	:	ሎቱ	:	ሐዋርያተ	:		:
wä=	yä-	härri	l=	=otu	hāwarəya	-t	-ä
wä=	yə-	härri	lä=1	=otu	hāwarəya	-at	-ä <sub>2</sub>
and=	3M	choose\IMPF	to=	=3MS	apostle	PL	ACC
coordconn	v:Any	vt	prep	pro	n	n:Any	n:Any
and he chooses			to him		apostles		
					n		

ዐሥርተ		: ወክልኤተ		: ከመ		: ይትረከይ		:
‘äsärt	-ä	wä=	kəl’et	-ä	kämä	yə-	trä’äy	
‘äsärtu	-ä <sub>2</sub>	wä=	kəl’etu	-ä <sub>2</sub>	kämä	yə-	trä’äy	
ten	ACC	and=	two	ACC	so that	3M	be seen\JUSS	
cardnum	n:Any	coordconn	cardnum	n:Any	advlizer	v:Any	vi	
ten		and two			so that		he would be seen	
cardnum					advlizer	v		
ሎሙ		: ዘኣነ	: ርኢኩ		: ስርግወ		:	
l=	=omū	zä=	’änä	rə’i	-ku	sərgəw	-ä	
lä=1	=homū	zä=	’änä	rə’y	-ku	sərgəw	-ä <sub>2</sub>	
to=	=3MP	REL=	1CS	see\PERF	1CS	adorned	ACC	
prep	pro	rel	pro	vt	v:Any	adj	n:Any	
to them		that I		I saw		adorned		
				v		adj		
ዘይትፊኖ		: እምነበ		: አቡሁ		:		
zä=	yə-	tfenno	’əm=	hābä	’äbu	=hu		
zä=	yə-	tfenno	’əm=1	hābä	’äb	=hu		
REL=	3M	be sent\IMPF	from=	with	father	=3MS		
rel	v:Any	vi	prep	prep	n	pro		
that he is sent			from	with	his	father		
v		prep						
ዘይመጽእ		: ውስተ	: ዓለም	: ወውስተ		: ደብረ		:
zä=	yə-	mäşşə’	wästä	’alām	wä=	wästä	däbr	-ä
zä=	yə-	mäşşə’	wästä	’alām	wä=	wästä	däbr	-ä <sub>1</sub>
REL=	3M	come\IMPF	in	world	and=	in	mountain	of
rel	v:Any	vi	prep	n	coordconn	prep	n	n:Any
that he comes			in	world	and in		mountain	of
v		prep	n					

ዘይት	:	ይከይድ	:	ወያጸግብ	:	ነፍስ	:
zäyt	yə-	käyyəd	wä=	y-	aşäggəb	näfs	-ä
zäyt	yə-	käyyəd	wä=	yə-	aşäggəb	näfs	-ä <sub>2</sub>
olive	3M	tread\IMPF	and=	3M	satiate\IMPF	soul	ACC
n	v:Any	vi	coordconn	v:Any	vt	n	n:Any
olive	he	treads	and	he	satiates	soul	
n	v					n	
ርኅብተ	:	።					
rəḥəbt	-ä						
rəḥəbt	-ä <sub>2</sub>						
hungry.F	ACC						
adj	n:Any						
hungry							
adj							

For he himself will come and go out, and he will choose for himself twelve apostles to announce the good news among the nations. He whom I have seen adorned by his Father and coming into the world on the Mount of Olives will satisfy the hungry souls."

5.14	ወከመዝ	:	ነገረ	:	ኤርምያስ	:	በእንተ	:
	wä=	kämä	=zə	nägär	-ä	'erməyas	bä=	'əntä
	wä=	kämä	=zə	nägär <sub>2</sub>	-ä <sub>3</sub>	'erməyas	bä=	'əntä <sub>1</sub>
	and=	like	=this	tell\PERF	3MS	Jeremiah	by=	via
	coordconn	prep	dem	vt	v:Any	n	prep	prep
	and	like	this	he	tells	Jeremiah	with	regard
	adv			v		n	prep	to
ወልደ	:	አምላክ	:	ከመ	:	ይመጽእ	:	ውስተ
		።						።
wäld	-ä	'ämlak	kämä	yə-	mäşşə'	wəstä	'aläm	
wäld	-ä <sub>1</sub>	'ämlak	kämä	yə-	mäşşə'	wəstä	'aläm	
son	of	lord	as	3M	come\IMPF	in	world	
n	n:Any	n	advlizer	v:Any	vi	prep	n	
son	of	lord	as	he	comes	in	world	
n			advlizer			prep	n	

While Jeremiah was saying this about the Son of God, that he is coming into the world,

5.15 ወሰብ		: ሰምዑ		: ዘንተ		: ሕዝብ	:
wä=	sobä	säm´	-u	zäntä		həzb	
wä=	sobä	säm´	-u	zäntä		həzb	
and=	when	hear\PERF	MP	this.M.ACC		people	
coordconn	advlizer	vt	v:Any	dem		n	
and when		they heard		this		people	
				dem		n	
ተምዑ		: በእንተ		: ዘንቱ		:	
tämə“	-u	bä=	'əntä	zəntu			
tämə“	-u	bä=	'əntä <sub>1</sub>	zəntu			
become angry\PERF	MP	by=	via	this.M			
vi	v:Any	prep	prep	dem			
they became angry		because of		this			
v		prep		dem			
ወይቤሉ				: ዘንቱ	: ውእቱ	: ነገራት	:
wä=	yə-	bel	-u	zəntu	wə'ətu	nägär	-at
wä=	yə-	be	-u	zəntu	wə'ətu <sub>1</sub>	nägär <sub>1</sub>	-at
and=	3M	say\PRET	MP	this.M	3MS	matter	PL
coordconn	v:Any	vt	v:Any	dem	pro	n	n:Any
and they said				this	he [is]	things	
				dem	pro		
ዘኢሳይያስ	: ወልደ		: አምጽ	: ዘይብል		:	
zä=	'isayəyas	wäld	-ä	'ämoş	zä=	yə-	bəl
zä=	'isayəyas	wäld	-ä <sub>1</sub>	'ämoş	zä=	yə-	bəl
REL=	Isaiah	son	of	Amoz	REL=	3M	say\IMPF
rel	n	n	n:Any	n	rel	v:Any	vt
that Issiah		son of		Amoz	that he says		
		n		n	v		

Cኢኩ		: አምላክ		: ወልደ		: አምላክ	፤ ይአዜኒ	:	
rə'i	-ku	'ämlak	-ä	wäld	-ä	'ämlak	yə'əzeni		
rə'y	-ku	'ämlak	-ä <sub>2</sub>	wäld	-ä <sub>1</sub>	'ämlak	yə'əzeni		
see\PERF	1CS	lord	ACC	son	of	lord	now		
vt	v:Any	n	n:Any	n	n:Any	n	adv		
I saw		lord		son of		lord	now		
v		n		n					
ተንሥኡ		: ንግበር		: ዲቤሁ		: በከመ	: ገበርጎ		
tänśə'	-u	nə-	gbär	dibe	=hu	bä=	kämä	gäbär	-nä
tänśə' <sub>1</sub>	-u	nə-	gbär	dibä	=hu	bä=	kämä	gäbr <sub>1</sub>	-nä
arise\IMPV	MP	1CP	do\JUSS	on	=3MS	in=	that	do\PERF	1CP
vi	v:Any	v:Any	vt	prep	pro	prep	comp	vt	v:Any
arise!		we would do		on him		as		we did	
		v				advlizer			
: ዲበ	: ኢሳይያስ	: ወይቤሉ				: መንፈቆሙ		:	
dibä	'isayəyas	wä=	yə-	bel	-u	mänfäq	=omu		
dibä	'isayəyas	wä=	yə-	be	-u	mänfäq	=homu		
on	Isaiah	and=	3M	say\PRET	MP	half	=3MP		
prep	n	coordconn	v:Any	vt	v:Any	n	pro		
on	Issiah	and they said				half of them			
prep									
አልቦ		፤ ዳእመ		: በእብን		: ንወግሮ		::	
'äl=	b=	=o	da'əmu	bä=	'əbn	nə-	wäggər	=o	
'äl=	bä=	=hu	da'əmu	bä=	'əbn	nə-	wäggər	=hu	
NEG=	in=	=3MS	on the contrary	by=	stone	1CP	stone\IMPF	=3MS	
prt	prep	pro	adv	prep	n	v:Any	vt	pro	
there is not			on the contrary	by stone		we stone him			
			adv						

the people became angry and said, "These again are the words that were spoken by Isaiah, son of Amoz, saying, 'I saw God and the Son of God.' Therefore come and let us kill him, not by the same sort of death as his, but let us stone him with stones."

5.16 ወጸርኑ

			: ሎሙ		: ባሮክ	:
wä=	ፍጻኔ	-u	l=	=omu	barok	
wä=	ፍጻኔ	-u	lä=1	=homu	barok	
and=	shout\PERF	MP	to=	=3MP	Baruch	
coordconn	vt	v:Any	prep	pro	n	
and they shouted			to them		Baruch	

ወአቤሜሌክ		: እንዘ	: ይብሉ		: በዛቲ	: ሞት	:	
wä=	'äbemelek	'enzä	yə-	bəl	-u	bä=	zati	mot
wä=	'äbemelek	'enzä	yə-	bəl	-u	bä=	zati	mot <sub>2</sub>
and=	Abimelech	while	3M	say\IMPF	MP	by=	this.F	death
coordconn	n	advlizer	v:Any	vt	v:Any	prep	dem	n
and Abimelech		while	they say			in this		death
		advlizer						n

ኢትዮጵያ

'i=	tə-	qtəl	-əw	=wo
'i=	tə- <sub>2</sub>	qtəl	-u	=hu
NEG=	2	kill\JUSS	MP	=3MS
verbprt	v:Any	vt	v:Any	pro
do not kill him				

5.17	ወሐዘኑ		: ባሮክ	: ወአቤሜሌክ		: በእንተ	
	wä=	hāzän	-u	barok	wä=	'äbemelek	bä= 'əntä
	wä=	hāzän <sub>1</sub>	-u	barok	wä=	'äbemelek	bä= 'əntä <sub>1</sub>
	and=	be sad\PERF	MP	Baruch	and=	Abimelech	by= via
	coordconn	vi	v:Any	n	coordconn	n	prep prep
		and they became sad		Baruch		and Abimelech	because of
				n			prep
: ኤርምያስ	: ወዓዲ		: ኢጎደግዎ				:
'erməyas	wä=	'adi	'i=	hädäg	-əw	=wo	
'erməyas	wä=	'adi	'i=	hädäg	-u	=hu	
Jeremiah	and=	moreover	NEG=	allow\PERF	MP	=3MS	
n	coordconn	adv	verbprt	vt	v:Any	pro	
Jeremiah	and more over		they did not allow him				
n			v				
ይዘንዎሙ		: ኅቡአተ		: ዘርእየ			::
yə-	zenəw	=omu	həbu'	-at	-ä	zä=	rə'y -ä
yə-	zenəw <sub>1</sub>	=homu	həbu'	-at	-ä <sub>2</sub>	zä=	rə'y -ä <sub>3</sub>
3M	inform\JUSS	=3MP	hidden	PL	ACC	REL=	see\PERF 3MS
v:Any	vt	pro	adj	n:Any	n:Any	rel	vt v:Any
	he would inform them		hidden (things)			that he saw	
pro			adj		v		

At this frenzy Baruch and Abimelech became very grieved because they wanted to hear in full all the secrets he had seen.

5.18 ወይቤሎም : ኤርምያስ : አርምም :

wä=	yə-	bel	=omu	'erməyas	'ärməm	-u
wä=	yə-	be	=homu	'erməyas	'ärməm	-u
and=	3M	say\PRET	=3MP	Jeremiah	be silent\IMPV	MP
coordconn	v:Any	vt	pro	n	vi	v:Any
and he said to them				Jeremiah	be silent!	

ኢትብክዩ : እስመ : ኢይክሉ :

'i=	tə-	bkəy	-u	'əsmä	'i=	yə-	kəl	-u
'i=	tə- <sub>2</sub>	bki	-u	'əsmä	'i=	yə-	kəl	-u
NEG=	2	cry\JUSS	MP	because	NEG=	3M	be able\IMPF	MP
verbprt	v:Any	vi	v:Any	advlizer	verbprt	v:Any	vt	v:Any
you would not cry				because	they are not able			

ቀቲሎትዩ : እስከ : እዜንወክም : ኩሎ :

qätilot	=əyä	'əskä	'ə-	zennəw	=äkəmu	k <sup>w</sup> əllo
qätıl	=yä	'əskä	'ə-	zennəw	=kəmu	k <sup>w</sup> əllo
kill\INF	=1CS	until that	1CS	inform\IMPF	=2MP	all.ACC
n	pro	advlizer	v:Any	vt	pro-form	quant
killing me		until that	I inform you			all
		advlizer	v			det

ዘርኢኩ ፤ ወይእዜኒ : አምጽኡ : ሊተ :

zä=	rə'i	-ku	wä=	yə'əzeni	'ämşə'	-u	l=	=itä
zä=	rə'y	-ku	wä=	yə'əzeni	'ämşə' <sub>2</sub>	-u	lä= <sub>1</sub>	=itä
REL=	see\PERF	1CS	and=	now	bring\IMPV	MP	to=	=1CS
rel	vt	v:Any	coordconn	adv	vt	v:Any	prep	pro
that I saw			and now		bring!		to me	
v					v			

አሐተ		: እብነ		: ወአምጸአ		: ሎቱ		:
'ähätt	-ä	'əbn	-ä	wä=	'ämşə'	-u	l=	=otu
'ähätti	-ä <sub>2</sub>	'əbn	-ä <sub>2</sub>	wä=	'ämşə' <sub>1</sub>	-u	lä= <sub>1</sub>	=otu
one.F	ACC	stone	ACC	and=	bring\PERF	MP	to=	=3MS
cardnum	n:Any	n	n:Any	coordconn	vt	v:Any	prep	pro
one		stone		and they	brought		to	him
cardnum		n						
እብነ		: አሐተ		∴				
'əbn	-ä	'ähätt	-ä					
'əbn	-ä <sub>2</sub>	'ähätti	-ä <sub>2</sub>					
stone	ACC	one.F	ACC					
n	n:Any	cardnum	n:Any					
stone		one						
n		cardnum						

But Jeremiah said to them, “Be silent and stop your weeping, for they surely will not kill me until I have told you all I saw.” And he said to them, “Bring me a stone!” And they brought him a stone.

5.19 ወአቀማ				: ወይቤ		: ብርሃን		:
wä=	'äqäm	=a	wä=	yə-	be	bərhan		
wä=	'äqäm	=ha	wä=	yə-	be	bərhan		
and=	set up\PERF	=3FS	and=	3M	say\PRET	light		
coordconn	vt	pro	coordconn	v:Any	vt	n		
and he	set up her		and he	said		light		
						n		
ዘለዓለም		: ረሲ		: ዛተ		: እብነ		: ከመ
zä=	lä=	'aläm	rässi	zatä	'əbn	-ä	kämä	
zä=	lä= <sub>1</sub>	'aläm	rässi	zatä	'əbn	-ä <sub>2</sub>	kämä	
REL=	to=	eternity	place\IMPV	this.F.ACC	stone	ACC	that	
rel	prep	n	vt	dem	n	n:Any	comp	
that [is]	to	eternity	place!	this	stone		so that	
			v	dem	n		advlizer	

ርእየተ		: ሰብእ	: ትኩን		፤ ወሰቤሃ	:
rə'yät	-ä	säb'	tə-	kun	wä=	sobeha
rə'yät	-ä <sub>1</sub>	säb'	tə <sub>-1</sub>	kun	wä=	sobeha
appearance	of	men	3FS	be(come)\JUSS	and=	then
n	n:Any	n	v:Any	vi	coordconn	adv
appearance of		men	she would become		and then	
		n	v			
ኮነ		: እብን	: በርእየተ		: ኤርምያስ	:
kon	-ä	'əbn	bä=	rə'yät	-ä	'erməyas
kon	-ä <sub>3</sub>	'əbn	bä=	rə'yät	-ä <sub>1</sub>	'erməyas
be(come)\PERF	3MS	stone	in=	appearance	of	Jeremiah
vi	v:Any	n	prep	n	n:Any	n
he became		stone	in	appearance of		Jeremiah
v		n				n
ዘይመስሎ			::			
zä=	yə-	mässəl	=o			
zä=	yə-	mässəl	=hu			
REL=	3M	resemble\IMPF	=3MS			
rel	v:Any	vt	pro			
that he resembles	him					

v

And he set it up and said, “Light of the ages, cause this stone to take on my appearance!” And the stone took on the appearance of Jeremiah.

5.20 ወአኅዙ : ይውግርዎ :

wä=	'ähäz	-u	yə-	wgər	-əw	=wo	
wä=	'ähäz	-u	yə-	wgər	-u	=hu	
and=	begin\PERF	MP	3M	stone\JUSS	MP	=3MS	
coordconn	vt	v:Any	v:Any	vt	v:Any	pro	
and they began				they would stone him			
ለአብን	: እንዘ	: ይመስሉሙ			: ኤርምያስሃ		።
lä=	'əbn	'ənzä	yə-	mässəl	=omu	'erməyas	-ha
lä=1	'əbn	'ənzä	yə-	mässəl	=homu	'erməyas	-ä2
to=	stone	while	3M	seem\IMPF	=3MP	Jeremiah	ACC
prep	n	advlizer	v:Any	vt	pro	n	n:Any
(to) the stone		while	he seems to them			Jeremiah	
		advlizer				n	

And they stoned the stone, thinking it to be Jeremiah.

5.21 ወኤርምያስ : ዜነዎሙ : ለባርክ :

wä=	'erməyas	zenäw	=omu	lä=	barok	
wä=	'erməyas	zenäw	=homu	lä=1	barok	
and=	Jeremiah	inform\PERF	=3MP	to=	Baruch	
coordconn	n	vt	pro	prep	n	
and Jeremiah		he informed them		(to) Baruch		
n						
ወለአቤሜሌክ	: ኸሎ	: ዘርእየ				:
wä=	lä=	'äbemelek	kʷəllo	zä=	rə'y	-ä
wä=	lä=1	'äbemelek	kʷəllo	zä=	rə'y	-ä3
and=	to=	Abimelech	all.ACC	REL=	see\PERF	3MS
coordconn	prep	n	quant	rel	vt	v:Any
and (to) Abimelech			all	that he saw		
			det	v		

ኅቡአተ			: ወእምድኅረዝ			: ፈጸሞ	
həbu'	-at	-ä	wä=	'əm=	dəhrä	=zə	fäṣṣim =o
həbu'	-at	-ä <sub>2</sub>	wä=	'əm= <sub>1</sub>	dəhrä	=zə	fäṣṣim =hu
hidden	PL	ACC	and=	from=	afterward	=this	complete\CVB =3MS
adj	n:Any	n:Any	coordconn	prep	adv	dem	vt pro
hidden (things)			and from	after	this		he having completed

adj							
: ካረጅቶሙ		: ሐረ		: ወቆመ		: ማእከላ	:
näbirot	=omu	ḥor	-ä	wä=	qom	-ä	ma'kälä
näbir <sub>2</sub>	=homu	ḥor <sub>1</sub>	-ä <sub>3</sub>	wä=	qom <sub>1</sub>	-ä <sub>3</sub>	ma'kälä
dwel\INF	=3MP	go\PERF	3MS	and=	arise\PERF	3MS	among
n	pro	vi	v:Any	coordconn	vi	v:Any	prep
their dwelling		he went		and he arose			among

ሕዝብ	: ፈቂድ	v	: ከመ	v	: ይፈጽም	: ምግብ	::
həzb	fäqid	=o	kämä	yə-	fäṣṣəm	məggəb	=o
həzb	fäqid	=hu	kämä	yə-	fäṣṣəm <sub>1</sub>	məggəb	=hu
people	want\CVB	=3MS	so that	3M	complete\JUSS	ministry	=3MS
n	vt	pro	advlizer	v:Any	vt	n	pro
people	he having wanted		so that	he would complete		his ministry	
n			advlizer	v			

But Jeremiah shared with Baruch and Abimelech all the secrets he had seen. And after this he stood in this manner in the midst of the people wanting to fulfill his ministry.

5.22	ወሰቤሃ		: ጸርጎ		: ለመሙ		: ዝኩ		: እብን	:
	wä=	sobeha	šärḥ	-ä	l=	=omu	zəku	'əbn		
	wä=	sobeha	šärḥ	-ä <sub>3</sub>	lä= <sub>1</sub>	=homu	zəku	'əbn		
	and=	then	shout\PERF	3MS	to=	=3MP	that.M	stone		
	coordconn	adv	vt	v:Any	prep	pro	dem	n		
	and then		he shouted		to them		that	stone		
			v				dem	n		
ወይቤ			: አሉብዳን		: ደቂቀ		: እስራኤል	:		
	wä=	yə-	be	'o=	'äbd	-an	däqiq	-ä	'əsra'el	
	wä=	yə-	be	'o=	'äbd	-an	däqiq	-ä <sub>1</sub>	'əsra'el	
	and=	3M	say\PRET	VOC=	foolish	PL	offspring	of	Israel	
	coordconn	v:Any	vt	prt	adj	n:Any	n	n:Any	n	
	and he said			O foolish (ones)		offspring of		Israel		
			prt					n		
በእንተ		: ምንት	: ትጭግሩኒ		: እንዘ		:			
	bä=	'əntä	mənt	tə-	weggər	-u	=ni	'ənzä		
	bä=	'əntä <sub>1</sub>	mənt	tə- <sub>2</sub>	weggər	-u	=ni <sub>2</sub>	'ənzä		
	by=	via	what	2	stone\IMPF	MP	=1CS	while		
	prep	prep	interrog	v:Any	vt	v:Any	pro	advlizer		
	because of		what	you	stone me			while		
	prep		interrog					advlizer		

ታመስሉኝ				: ኤርምያስሃ		: ወኤርምያስ	:
t-	amässəl	-u	=ni	'erməyas	-ha	wä=	'erməyas
tə- <sub>2</sub>	amässəl	-u	=ni <sub>2</sub>	'erməyas	-ä <sub>2</sub>	wä=	'erməyas
2	regard as\IMPF	MP	=1CS	Jeremiah	ACC	and=	Jeremiah
v:Any	vt	v:Any	pro	n	n:Any	coordconn	n
	you regard me as			Jeremiah		and Jeremiah	
v				n		n	
ነዋ	: ማእከሉከሙ		: ይቀውም		:		
näwa	ma'käle	=kəmu	yə-	qäwwəm			
näwa	ma'kälä	=kəmu	yə-	qäwwəm			
behold	among	=2MP	3M	stand\IMPF			
prt	prep	pro-form	v:Any	vi			
behold	among you			he stands			
			v				

But the stone cried out, saying, "O, foolish children of Israel, why are you stoning me supposing I am Jeremiah? Behold, Jeremiah is standing in your midst."

5.23 ወሰብ				: ርእሱ		: ምስሉ	:	
	wä=	sobä	rə'y	-əw	=wo	roş	-u	məslä
	wä=	sobä	rə'y	-u	=hu	roş	-u	məslä
	and=	when	see\PERF	MP	=3MS	run\PERF	MP	with
	coordconn	advlizer	vt	v:Any	pro	vi	v:Any	prep
	and when		they saw	him		they ran		with
						v		prep
ብዙህ	: እብን	: ወፈረሙ		: ዐልዎ	:			
bəzuḥ	'əbn	wä=	fäşşäm	-u	'äləwo			
bəzuḥ	'əbn	wä=	fäşşäm	-u				
many	stone	and=	complete\PERF	MP				
adj	n	coordconn	vt	v:Any				
many	stone		and they completed					
adj	n							

<b>ወቀብርዖ</b>				<b>: ወነሥኡ</b>			<b>: ወአተ</b>		<b>:</b>	
wä=	qäbär	-əw	=wo	wä=	näs'	-u	wə'ətä			
wä=	qäbär	-u	=hu	wä=	näs'	-u	wə'ətä			
and=	bury\PERF	MP	=3MS	and=	take\PERF	MP	that.M.ACC			
coordconn	vt	v:Any	pro	coordconn	vt	v:Any	dem			
and they buried him				and they took			that			
							dem			
<b>እብነ</b>				<b>: ወአንብሩ</b>			<b>: ወስተ</b>		<b>: መቃብሪሁ</b>	<b>:</b>
'əbn	-ä	wä=	'änbär	-u	wəstä	mäqabər	=ihu			
'əbn	-ä <sub>2</sub>	wä=	'änbär <sub>2</sub>	-u	wəstä	mäqbärt	=hu			
stone	ACC	and=	settle\PERF	MP	in	sepulchre.PL	=3MS			
n	n:Any	coordconn	vt	v:Any	prep	n	pro			
stone				and they settled			in	his sepulchres		
							prep			
<b>ወረሰይዖ</b>				<b>: ከመ</b>			<b>: እንተ</b>		<b>: ማዕጾ</b>	<b>:</b>
wä=	rässäy	-əw	=wo	kämä	'əntä	ma'šo				
wä=	rässäy	-u	=hu	kämä	'əntä <sub>1</sub>	ma'šo				
and=	place\PERF	MP	=3MS	as	via	gate				
coordconn	vt	v:Any	pro	advlizer	prep	n				
and they placed him				as			via	lock		
				advlizer			prep	n		

ወጸሐፊ			: ውስቴቱ		: እንዘ		: ይብሉ	
wä=	ṣähäf	-u	wästet	=u	'enzä	yə-	bəl	-u
wä=	ṣähäf <sub>1</sub>	-u	wästä	=hu	'enzä	yə-	bəl	-u
and=	write\PERF	MP	in	=3MS	while	3M	say\IMPF	MP
coordconn	vt	v:Any	prep	pro	advlizer	v:Any	vt	v:Any
and they wrote			in him		while	they say		
					advlizer			
: ነዋ	: ዝንቱ	: ውእቱ	: ረድኡ		: ለኤርምያስ		:	
näwa	zəntu	wə'ətu	räd'	=u	lä=	'erməyas		
näwa	zəntu	wə'ətu <sub>1</sub>	räd'	=hu	lä= <sub>1</sub>	'erməyas		
behold	this.M	3MS	helper	=3MS	to=	Jeremiah		
prt	dem	pro	n	pro	prep	n		
behold	this	he [is]	his helper		(to)	Jeremiah		
	dem	pro						

And when they saw him, they immediately ran to him with many stones and (so) his ministry was completed. And Baruch and Abimelech came and buried him, and taking the stone they put it on his tomb and wrote on it the following, "This is the stone, the ally of Jeremiah."

## Appendix 2 Old Amharic text (*Fragmentum Piquesii*)

This appendix contains the Old Amharic text used for my mini-corpus investigation on Old Amharic, i.e., the text *Fragmentum Piquesii* (Cowley 1983a), as it is exported from FLEx.

1 በስመ	:	አብ	:	ወወልድ	:	ወመንፈስ	:	ቅዱስ	:
bä= səm -ä		'äb wä=		wäld wä=		mänfäs qəddus			
bä= səm -ä <sub>1</sub>		'äb wä=		wäld wä=		mänfäs qəddus			
in, by= name	GEN	father	and=	son	and=	spirit	holy		
prep n	Noun	n	coordconn	n	coordconn	n	adj		
in the name of		Father	and the Son		and spirit		holy		
፩አምላክ	:								
1		'ämlak							
1		'ämlak							
1		God							
cardnum	nprop								
1	God								

In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, one God,

2.1 ንጽሕፋለን	:	በጥቂቱ	:			
nə- səḥf	=all	-än	bä=	ṭəqit	=u	
nə- səḥf	=all	-än	bä=	ṭəqit	=u <sub>1</sub>	
1CP	write\IMPF	=AUX	1CP	in, by=	small amount	=DEF
v:Any	vt	v	v:Any	prep	n	def
we write	for us			in brief		
ቸርነቱን	:	የእግዚአብሔርን	:	ለእኛ	:	
čärənnät	=u	=n	yä=	'əgzi'äbəḥer	=ən	lä= 'əñña
čärənnät	=u <sub>1</sub>	=n <sub>1</sub>	yä=	'əgzi'äbəḥer	=n <sub>1</sub>	lä= 'əñña
goodness	=DEF	=ACC	GEN=	God	=ACC	for= 1CP
n	def	prt	prt	nprop	prt	prep pro
the goodness			of God			for us

ያደረገልን				: ለበጎ		: ባዩ		:	
y=	adärräg	-ä	=ll	=ən	lä=	bägge	bay	=u	
yä=	'adärräg	-ä <sub>2</sub>	=ll	=ən	lä=1	bägge	bay	=u <sub>1</sub>	
REL=	make\PERF	3MS	=APPL	=1CP	for=	all right	say\PTCP	=DEF	
rel	vt	v:Any	prt	pro	prep	interj	ptcp	def	
	that he made for us				for "all right"		the saying one		
	በንስሐ		: ለተመለስ		: የጎለፈ			:	
bä=	nəshä	lä=	tämälläs		yä=	hälläf	-ä		
bä=	nəshä	lä=2	tämälläs		yä=	halläf	-ä <sub>2</sub>		
in, by=	confession	REL?=	come back\PERF		REL=	pass\PERF	3MS		
prep	n	prt	vi		rel	vi	v:Any		
	in confession		he who (?) came back			that has passed			
	ጎጠላቱን		: ጎዘኖ		: አልቅሶ			:	
hät'i'ät	=u	=n	hāzn	-o	'älqəs	-o			
hät'i'at	=u <sub>2</sub>	=n <sub>1</sub>	hāzn	-o	'älqəs	-o			
sin	=3MS	=ACC	sorrow\CVB	3MS	weep\CVB	3MS			
n	pro	prt	icvb	cvb:Any	vi	cvb:Any			
	his sin		he having sorrowed			he having wept			
	ቢናዘዝ		: የቀደመውን				: ጎሉ	:	
b=	i-	nnazzäz		yä=	qäddäm	-ä	=w	=ən	h <sup>w</sup> əllu
bə=	yə-	nnazzäz		yä=	qäddäm	-ä <sub>2</sub>	=w <sub>2</sub>	=n <sub>1</sub>	h <sup>w</sup> əllu
if=	3M	confess\IMPF	REL=	precede\PERF	3MS	=DEF	=ACC	all	
prt	v:Any	vt		rel	vi	v:Any	def	prt	det
	if he confesses				that which precedes				all
	አይዘከርበትም								::
'ä=	yə-	zzäkkär		=bb	=ät	=əmm			
'äl=	yə-	zzäkkär		=bb	=ät	=mm <sub>1</sub>			
NEG=	3M	remember\IMPF	=APPL	=3MS	=NEG				
prt	v:Any	vt		prt	pro	prt			
	he will not remember to his disadvantage								

we write in brief the goodness of God, which he did for us. For the consenting one who turned back in repentance, if having sorrowed and wept he confesses his past sin, he (God) will not remember to his disadvantage all that preceded.

2.2 ርዕሰ ገጽ

: ገጽ ገጽ

:

rərruḥ	=n	-äw	g <sup>w</sup> eta	=ččunä	=ss
rərruḥ	=n <sub>5</sub>	-äw	g <sup>w</sup> eta	=aččən+SP. VAR. OF	=ss
compassionate	=COP	3MS	lord	=1CP	=as for
adj	prt	prt:Any	n	pro	prt
compassionate			our lord		

እንዴትና

: ርዕሰ ገጽ

:

'əndet	=t(t)	=ənna	rərruḥnät	=u
'əndet	=t(t)	=nna	rərruḥnät	=u <sub>2</sub>
how	=COP/FOC	=CONJ	state of being compassionate	=3MS

q	prt	prt	n	pro
how			his compassion	

ያልኸኝ

: እንዴትና : ገጽ ገጽ : ያል : :

y=	al	-x	=äññ	'əndäḥon	ḥ <sup>w</sup> älätt	qal
yä=	'äl	-x	=ññ	'əndäḥon	ḥ <sup>w</sup> älätt	qal
REL=	say\PERF	2MS	=1CS	if	two	word
rel	vt	v:Any	pro	prt	cardnum	n
that you	said to me			if	two	word
ልንርኸ			::			

lə-	ngär	=əx
lə-	ngär	=əx
1CS.JUSS	tell\JUSS	=2MS
v:Any	vt	pro
let me	tell you	

He is merciful. If you say to me, "But as for our Lord, of what kind is his mercy?" let me speak two words to you.

2.3 አልሰምናኸምው

: ቅዱስ : ጴጥሮስ :

'äl=	sämmə'a	-xä	=mm	=əw	qəddus	petros	
'äl=	sämmə'a	-x	=mm <sub>1</sub>	=w <sub>1</sub>	qəddus	petros	
NEG=	hear\PERF	2MS	=NEG	=3MS	holy	Peter	
prt	vt	v:Any	prt	pro	adj	nprop	
	you did not hear him				holy	Peter	
የከሀደው			: ጊዜ	: ተሎ	: አፍጥኖ		:
yä=	kəhhäd	-ä	=w	gize	tälo	'äftən	-o
yä=	kəhhäd	-ä <sub>2</sub>	=w <sub>1</sub>	gize	tälo	'äftən	-o
REL=	deny\PERF	3MS	=3MS	time	soon	hurry\CVB	3MS
rel	vt	v:Any	pro	n	adv	icvb	cvb:Any
	who denied him			time	soon	he having hurried	
ቢያለቅስ			: ሰማውና			: በእንተ	:
bi=	y-	aläqs	sämma		=w	=nna	bä'əntä
bə=	yə-	aläqs	sämmə'a+UNSPEC. VAR. OF		=w <sub>1</sub>	=nna	bä'əntä
when=	3M	weep\IMPF	hear\PERF		=3MS	=CONJ	concerning
prt	v:Any	vi	vt		pro	prt	prep
	when he weeps		and he heard him				concerning
ከሀደቱ		: መሐረው		: ነግ			:
kəhdät	=u	mähjär	-ä	=w	näg		
kəhdät	=u <sub>2</sub>	mähjär	-ä <sub>2</sub>	=w <sub>1</sub>	nägä+UNSPEC. VAR. OF		
betrayal	=3MS	forgive\PERF	3MS	=3MS	tomorrow		
n	pro	n	v:Any	pro	n		
	his betrayal	he forgave him			tomorrow		
ሰልሰትም			: አላለውም				::
säləst		=əmm	'äl=	al	-ä	=w	=əmm
säləst		=mm <sub>2</sub>	'äl=	'äl	-ä <sub>2</sub>	=w <sub>1</sub>	=mm <sub>1</sub>
the day after tomorrow	=also	NEG=	say\PERF	3MS	=3MS	=NEG	
n		prt	prt	vt	v:Any	pro	prt
	the day after tomorrow		he did not say to him				

Did you not hear? When straightway St. Peter speedily wept at the time when he denied him (Jesus), he heard him and forgave him in respect of his denial, and he did not postpone it.

2.4 ገደ		: ርድገነቱን			: ይኸን		:
həy	-u	rərruḥnät	=u	=n	yəx	=ən	
həy	-u	rərruḥnät	=u <sub>2</sub>	=n <sub>1</sub>	yəx	=n <sub>1</sub>	
see\IMPV	PL	state of being compassionate	=3MS	=ACC	this.M	=ACC	
vt	v:Any	n	pro	prt	dem	prt	
see!		his compassion			this		

ያነጋገረኝም : የማርያም : እንተ : ዕፍፈት :

y=	annägagär	-ä	=ññ	=əmm	yä=	maryam	'əntä	'əfrät
yä=	'ännägagär	-ä <sub>2</sub>	=ññ	=mm <sub>2</sub>	yä=	maryam	'əntä	'əfrät
REL=	talk to\PERF	3MS	=1CS	=also	GEN=	Mary	concerning	unguent
rel	vt	v:Any	pro	prt	prt	nprop	prep	n
that	which	talked to	me		of	Maryam	regarding	unguent

ወሬዋ : በተመሐረቹበት :

wäre	=wa	bä=	tä-	mähḥär	-äčču	=bb	=ät	
wäre	=wa	bä=	tä-	mähḥär	-äčč+SP. VAR. OF	=bb	=ät	
report	=3FS	if, when=	PASS	forgive\PERF	3FS	=APPL	=3MS	
n	pro	advlizer	v>v	n	v:Any	prt	pro	
her	report	when	she	was	forgiven	for	her	benefit

መጠን : ክርስቶስም : አፍጥኖ :

mätän	kərəstos	=əmm	'äftən	-o	
mätän	kərəstos	=mm <sub>2</sub>	'äftən	-o	
measure	Christ	=also	hurry\CVB	3MS	
n	nprop	prt	icvb	cvb:Any	
measure	Christ		he	having	hurried

እንደምሐረዎት				: ጥቂት	:	
'əndä	məḥḥär	-ä	=wat	ṭəqit		
'əndä	mäḥḥär+UNSPEC. VAR. OF	-ä <sub>2</sub>	=wat	ṭəqit		
as	forgive\PERF	3MS	=3FS	small amount		
advlizer	n	v:Any	pro	n		
as he forgave her				a little		
ቆዩም		: አላለዎት		:	:	
qoy	-i	=mm	'äl=	al	-ä	=wat
qoy	-i	=mm <sub>2</sub>	'äl=	'äl	-ä <sub>2</sub>	=wat
wait\IMPV	FS	=also	NEG=	say\PERF	3MS	=3FS
vi	v:Any	prt	prt	vt	v:Any	pro
wait! also			he did not say to her			

See his mercy, about which the report of Mary of the unguent makes me speak, that, inasmuch as she was forgiven, Christ speedily forgave her, and he did not say to her, "Wait a little".

3.1 ነበረች		: ሐንድ	: ሴት	: ፅኑ	: መልካም	:		
näbbär	-äčč	ḥänd	set	ḍənu'	mälkä'am	=a		
näbbär	-äčč	ḥänd	set	ḍənu'	mälkä'am	=a		
be\PERF	3FS	one	woman	determined	beautiful	=INJUNCTIVE		
vi	v:Any	cardnum	n	adj	adj	prt		
there was		one	woman	determined	beautiful			
ሐንድ	: አይጓደለዎት			: ክፍር	: ከግራ	:		
ḥänd	'ä=	y-	g <sup>w</sup> g <sup>w</sup> addäl	=äwat	kä=	ṭərs	kä=	'ayn
ḥänd	'äl=	yə-	g <sup>w</sup> g <sup>w</sup> addäl	=wat	kä=	ṭərs	kä=	'ayn
one	NEG=	3M	be unfulfilled\IMPF	=3FS	from=	tooth	from=	eye
cardnum	prt	v:Any	vi	pro	prep	n	prep	n
one	it is not unfulfilled to her				from		from	
ከከፍር	: ከአነጋጋር		: ከእጅ	: ጸት	: ከእግር	:		
kä=	känafer	kä=	'ännägagar	kä=	'əḡḡ	ṣat	kä=	'əḡər
kä=	känafer	kä=	'ännägagar	kä=	'əḡḡ	ṣat	kä=	'əḡər
from=	lips	from=	speech	from=	hand	finger, toe	from=	foot
prep	n	prep	n	prep	n	n	prep	n
from		from speech		hand		finger, toe	from foot	

ጻጉ	:	የጸጋዎ		:	ነገር	:	ብዙህ	:
ጻጉ		yä= ጻጎጎ	=wa	nägär	bəzuḥ			
ጻጉ		yä= ጻጎጎ	=wa	nägär	bəzuḥ			
finger, toe	GEN=	grace; asset	=3FS	matter	abundant			
n	prt	n	pro	n	adj			
finger, toe	of her	asset		matter	abundant			
ያጸጋጸጎ				: ወርቅ		:	ብሩ	:
y=	a=	y-	g <sup>w</sup> g <sup>w</sup> addäl	wärq	=u	bərr	=u	
yä=	'äl=	yə-	g <sup>w</sup> g <sup>w</sup> addäl	wärq	=u <sub>1</sub>	bərr	=u <sub>1</sub>	
REL=	NEG=	3M	be unfulfilled\IMPF	gold	=DEF	silver	=DEF	
rel	prt	v:Any	vi	n	def	n	def	
that it is not unfulfilled				the gold		the silver		
ቁጣሉ	:	ያን	:	ኑሉ	:	በዝሙት	:	
qumas	=u	ya	=n	ḥ <sup>w</sup> əllu	bä=	zəmmut		
qumas	=u <sub>1</sub>	ya	=n <sub>1</sub>	ḥ <sup>w</sup> əllu	bä=	zəmmut		
clothing	=DEF	that.M	=ACC	all	in, by=	fornication		
n	def	dem	prt	det	prep	n		
the clothing		that		all	by	fornication		
የዝሙት			::					
yä=	gäzza	-čč						
yä=	gäzza	-äčč						
REL=	purchase\PERF	3FS						
rel	vt	v:Any						
that which she purchased								

There was a woman, determined, comely, from whom nothing was lacking, from tooth, from eye, from lips, from speech, from finger, from toe, the matter of whose wealth was abundant, from whom gold, silver, clothing was not lacking, who purchased all that by fornication.

3.2 ለዓለም : ትሸለም :

lä= 'aläm tə- ššälläm  
 lä=1 'aläm tə-1 ššälläm  
 for= eternity 3FS be adorned\IMPF  
 prep n v:Any vi  
 always she would be adorned

ትኩረት : ነበረች :

tə- k<sup>w</sup>- k<sup>w</sup>əḥḥäl näbbär -äčč  
 tə-1 tä- k<sup>w</sup>äḥḥäl+SP. VAR. OF näbbär -äčč  
 3FS PASS apply kohl to eyelids\IMPF be\PERF 3FS  
 v:Any v>v vt vi v:Any  
 she would apply kohl to eyelids she was

አንድ ሰዓት : ሳትሸለም :

ḥänd äläť s= a= tə- ššälläm  
 ḥänd 'älät+UNSPEC. VAR. OF sə= 'äl= tə-1 ššälläm  
 one day while= NEG= 3FS be adorned\IMPF  
 cardnum n advlizer prt v:Any vi  
 one day while she is not adorned

አትውዕልም : ለምና :

'ä= t- wə'1 =əmm lämən =a  
 'äl= tə-1 wä'1 =mm<sub>2</sub> lämən =a  
 NEG= 3FS spend the day\IMPF =also why =INJUNCTIVE  
 prt v:Any vi prt adv prt  
 she would not spend the day why

ብትል : ታስሕትገግ ::

bə= tə- l t- a- šḥət =žəg(g)  
 bə= tə-2 l tə-1 'ä- šḥət =žəg(g)  
 if= 2 say\IMPF 3FS CAUS stray\JUSS =so that  
 prt v:Any vt v:Any v>v vi post  
 if you say so that she would cause stray

Always she was adorned, and salved her eyes. She would not spend a single day without being adorned; if you ask, "Why?", (it was) in order that she lead (men) astray.

4 የጎጠላቱዋንም

: ብዙነቱን

:

yä=	hät'i'ät	=u	=wa	=nä	=mm	bəzhät	=u	=n
yä=	hät'i'at	=u <sub>1</sub>	=wa		=mm <sub>2</sub>	bəzhät	=u <sub>2</sub>	=n <sub>1</sub>
GEN=	sin	=DEF	=3FS		=also	abundance	=3MS	=ACC
prt	n	def	pro		prt	n	pro	prt
	of the sin of hers					his abundance		
ፈንገረዋቸው					: ትዕቢተኛ	: ነበረች		:
lə-	ngär	=äw	=waččəh <sup>w</sup>	tə'əbitäñña	näbbär	-äčču		
lə-	ngär	=w <sub>1</sub>	=waččəh <sup>w</sup>	tə'əbitäñña	näbbär	-äčč+SP. VAR. OF		
1CS.JUSS	tell\JUSS	=3MS	=2CP	arrogant	be\PERF	3FS		
v:Any	vt	pro	pro	adj	vi	v:Any		
	let me tell y'll			arrogant	she was			
ተፈጋሪ	: ነበረች		: ዘማዊ	: ነበረች	: ንፋግ	: ነበረች		
täfäga'í	näbbär	-äčč	zämmawi	näbbär	-äčč	nəfug	näbbär	-äčč
täfäga'í	näbbär	-äčč	zämmawi	näbbär	-äčč	nəfug	näbbär	-äčč
reveling	be\PERF	3FS	fornicator	be\PERF	3FS	miserly	be\PERF	3FS
adj	vi	v:Any	n	vi	v:Any	adj	vi	v:Any
	revelling	she was	fornicator	she was		miserly	she was	
: ቅናተኛ			: ነበረች	: ቁጣነኛ	: ነበረች			: ሀካይ
qənnatäñña		näbbär	-äčč	quṭṭanäñña	näbbär	-äčč	häckkay	
qännatäñña+UNSPEC. VAR. OF		näbbär	-äčč	quṭṭanäñña	näbbär	-äčč	hakkay	
jealous		be\PERF	3FS	ill-tempered	be\PERF	3FS	lazy	
adj		vi	v:Any	adj	vi	v:Any	adj	
	jealous	she was		ill-tempered	she was		lazy	
: ነበረች		: ከሰብዓቱ		: ጎጠላት	: ምንም			
näbbär	-äčč	kä=	säb'at	=u	hät'i'ät	mənəmm		
näbbär	-äčč	kä=	säb'at	=u <sub>1</sub>	hät'i'at	mənəmm		
be\PERF	3FS	from=	seven	=DEF	sin	anything		
vi	v:Any	prep	cardnum	def	n	pro-form		
	she was	from the	seven		sin	anything		

አይገደለዋት				: በከብት		:		
'ä=	y-	g <sup>w</sup> g <sup>w</sup> addäl	=äwat	bä=	käbt			
'äl=	yə-	g <sup>w</sup> g <sup>w</sup> addäl	=wat	bä=	käbt			
NEG=	3M	be unfulfilled\IMPF	=3FS	in, by=	wealth			
prt	v:Any	vi		pro	prep	n		
		it is not unfulfilled to her				in wealth		
የከበረች			: የአኸል		: በጎጠኢቱም		: ከብር	:
yä=	käbbär	-äčč	yä'äxəl	bä=	hät'i'ät	=u	=mm	kəbər
yä=	käbbär	-äčč	yä'axəl	bä=	hät'i'at	=u <sub>1</sub>	=mm <sub>2</sub>	kəbər
REL=	get rich\PERF	3FS	(as much) as	in, by=	sin	=DEF	=also	honor
rel	vi	v:Any	prt	prep	n	def	prt	n
	which she got rich		(as much) as		in the sin			honor
ከበረች	: ያም		: ጸላዔ	: ሠናዖት	: ሰይጣን	:		
näbbär	-äčč	ya	=mm	šäla'e	šännayat	säyṭan		
näbbär	-äčč	ya	=mm <sub>2</sub>	šäla'e	šännayat	säyṭan		
be\PERF	3FS	that.M	=also	enemy.CSTR	good things	Satan		
vi	v:Any	dem	prt	n	n	n		
	she was	that, also		enemy of	good things	Satan		
ያጣጥዕምላት					: ከብር	።		
y-	aṭṭatə'əm		=əl	=at	näbbär			
yə-	aṭṭatə'əm		=l	=at	näbbär			
3M	make good or pleasing\IMPF		=APPL	=3FS	be\PERF			
v:Any	vt		prt	pro	vi			
	he makes pleasing for her				he was			

Let me tell you the abundance of her sin. She was proud, she was a reveller, she was lustful, she was mean, she was jealous, she was quick to anger, she was lazy, from whom of the seven sins nothing was lacking. In the measure that she was splendid in wealth, so was she also splendid in sin, and that enemy of good, Satan, would make (it) delicious for her.

5.1 ሐንድላት			: እንደወትሮዋ		: ተሸልማ		:
ḥänd	əlät		’əndä	wätro	=wa	täšälləm	-a
ḥänd	‘əlät+UNSPEC. VAR. OF		’əndä	wätro	=wa	täšälləm	-a
one	day		like	always	=3FS	be adorned\CVB	3FS
cardnum	n		prep	adv	pro	icvb	cvb:Any
one day			as	her usual way		she having adorned	
በመስትሐዮት			: ፊትዋንብትሐይ				:
bä=	mästəḥäyot		fit	=wa	=n	bə=	t- ḥäy
bä=	mästəḥäyot+UNSPEC. VAR. OF		fit	=wa	=n <sub>1</sub>	bə=	tə- <sub>1</sub> ḥay
in, by=	mirror		face	=3FS	=ACC	when=	3FS see\IMPF
prep	n		n	pro	prt	prt	v:Any vt
in mirror			when she sees her face				
የመልኩዓን			: ነገር			: ብትመለከት	:
yä=	mälkä’	=wa	=n	nägär	bə=	tə-	mmäläkkät
yä=	mälkä’	=wa	=n <sub>1</sub>	nägär	bə=	tə- <sub>1</sub>	mmäläkkät
GEN=	appearance	=3FS	=ACC	matter	when=	3FS	look at\IMPF
prt	n	pro	prt	n	prt	v:Any	vt
of her appearance			matter	when she looks at			
ስታኑከር			: ሐንድ			: ሰዓት	: ቆየቸ
sə=	t-	anäkkər	ḥänd	sä’at	q <sup>w</sup> äyy	-äčč	
sə=	tə- <sub>1</sub>	anäkkər	ḥänd	sä’at	q <sup>w</sup> äyy	-äčč	
while=	3FS	immerse\IMPF	one	hour	wait\PERF	3FS	
advlizer	v:Any	vi	cardnum	n	vi	v:Any	
while she immerses			one	hour	she waited		

የዕለት	: ምርጫቢ-ኖንላት								: ሐጭር :
yä=	‘älät	-ä	mərça	b=	i-	hon	=əll	=at	hăççər
yä=	‘älät	-ä <sub>1</sub>	mərça	bə=	yə-	hon <sub>1</sub>	=ll	=at	hăççər
GEN=	day	GEN	election	when=	3M	be\IMPF	=APPL	=3FS	brief
prt	n	Noun	n	prt	v:Any	vi	prt	pro	adj
that of day of		election when he is for her benefit						brief	
ሐሳብ	: ተመስላላት								:
hässab	tämässäl			-ä	=ll	=at			
hässab	tämässäl			-ä <sub>2</sub>	=ll	=at			
idea	be similar, good\PERF		3MS	=APPL	=3FS				
n	vi		v:Any	prt	pro				
idea	he became good for her benefit								

One day when, adorned in her usual way, she saw her face in a mirror, when she looked at her appearance, she remained for one (whole) hour lost in admiration, when it was for her the day of a lover. A brief thought occurred to her,

5.2 ስትልወየ	: ሞት								: አል	: ይኸ	: ኅሉ	:
sə=	tə-	l	wäyyo	mot	’äll		yəx		h <sup>w</sup> əllu			
sə=	tə <sub>-1</sub>	l	wäyyo	mot <sub>1</sub>	’äll		yəx		h <sup>w</sup> əllu			
while=	3FS	say\IMPF	EXCLAM	death	there be\PERF	this.M	all					
advlizer	v:Any	vt	interj	n	vi	dem	det					
while she says woe				death	there was	this	all					
ይለወጣል	: ይኸም								: መልክዕ	:		
yə-	l-	läwwät	=all	yəx	=əmm	mälkä’						
yə-	tä-	läwwät	=all	yəx	=mm <sub>2</sub>	mälkä’						
3M	PASS	change\IMPF	=AUX	this.M	=also	appearance						
v:Any	v>v	vt	v	dem	prt	n						
he will be changed				this		appearance						
ይደብሳል	: ይኸም								: ሽታ	: ይገምአል	:	
yə-	däbs	=all	yəx	=əmm	šətta	yə-	gäm’	=äll				
yə-	däbs	=all	yəx	=mm <sub>2</sub>	šətta	yə-	gäm’	=all				
3M	fade\IMPF	=AUX	this.M	=also	scent	3M	stink\IMPF	=AUX				
v:Any	vi	v	dem	prt	n	v:Any	vi	v				
he will fade			this		scent	he will stink						

ይኸም	:	ኅይል	:	ይደከማል	:	የኋላ	:
yəx	=əmm	ḥäyl	yə-	däkm	=all	yäh <sup>w</sup> ala	
yəx	=mm <sub>2</sub>	ḥayl	yə-	däkm	=all	yäh <sup>w</sup> ala	
this.M	=also	strength	3M	be weak\ IMPF	=AUX	behind	
dem this ኋላም	prt	n strength : የኦሪግናል	v:Any	n he will be weak	v	<Not Sure> behind :	
ḥ <sup>w</sup> ala	=mm	yä-	'ärädd	-u	=wall		
ḥ <sup>w</sup> ala	=mm <sub>2</sub>	yə-	'ärädd	-u	=all		
behind	=also	3M	grow old\ IMPF	PL	=AUX		
<Not Sure> behind, also የሚወድም	prt	v:Any	vi they will grow old	v:Any	v		
			: ይጸልካል			:	
yämm=	i-	wädd	=əmm	yə-	ṣäl'	=äll	
yä=	yə-	wädd	=mm <sub>2</sub>	yə-	ṣäl'	=all	
REL=	3M	love\ IMPF	=also	3M	hate\ IMPF	=AUX	
rel	v:Any	vt	prt	v:Any	vt	v	
that he loves, also እቀርብም				he will hate			
				: ያለ		:	
'ə-	qärb	=əmm	y=	al	-ä		
'ə-	qärb <sub>2</sub>	=mm <sub>2</sub>	yä=	'äl	-ä <sub>2</sub>		
1CS	come close\ IMPF	=also	REL=	say\ PERF	3MS		
v:Any	vi	prt	rel	vt	v:Any		
I will come close, also ይርኅቃል				that he said			
				: ብዙኅ	: ነገር	: ክል	: ምን
yə-	rḥäq	=all	bəzuḥ	nägär	'äll	mən	
yə-	rähq+UNSPEC. VAR. OF	=all	bəzuḥ	nägär	'äll	mən	
3M	be far\ IMPF	=AUX	abundant	matter	there be\ PERF	what	
v:Any	vi	v	adj	n	vi	interrog	
he will be far			abundant	matter	there was	what	

ይገኛል		: ኢየተቀመጡ					: ግን :	
yə-	ggäññ	=all	'iyä=	täqämmäd	-u	gən		
yə-	ggäññ	=all	'əyyä=+UNSPEC. VAR. OF	täqämmäd	-u	gən		
3M	be found\IMPF	=AUX	while=	remain\PERF	PL	but		
v:Any	vi	v	advlizer	vi	v:Any	conn		
he will be found		while they remain				but		
እዳ : በእዳ		: ሲጨምሩ				:		
'əda	bä=	'əda	s=	i-	čämmər	-u		
'əda	bä=	'əda	sə=	yə-	čämmər <sub>1</sub>	-u		
debt	in, by=	debt	while=	3M	add\IMPF	PL		
n	prep	n	advlizer	v:Any	vt	v:Any		
debt in debt		while they add						
ይኖሩዋል		: ይልህቅ					: ኩነኔ :	
yə-	nor	-u	=wall	yəlhəq	kʷənäne			
yə-	nor	-u	=all	yəlhəq	kʷənäne			
3M	remain\IMPF	PL	=AUX	rather	condemnation			
v:Any	vi	v:Any	v	<Not Sure>	n			
AUX				rather	condemnation			
ይፈገግዋል		: በሙሉ					: ዓለም :	
yə-	fädäffəd	=all	bä=	mulu	'aläm			
yə-	fädäffəd	=all	bä=	mulu	'aläm			
3M	be in excess\IMPF	=AUX	in, by=	whole	world			
v:Any	vi	v	prep	adj	n			
he will be in excess		in full		world				
ያለ		: ከብት		: ግን		: በሰጡ		:
y=	all	-ä	käbt	gən	b=	i-	sät	-u
yä=	'äll	-ä <sub>2</sub>	käbt	gən	bə=	yə-	sät	-u
REL=	there be\PERF	3MS	wealth	but	if=	3M	give\IMPF	PL
rel	vi	v:Any	n	conn	prt	v:Any	vt	v:Any
that there was		wealth		but	if they give			

ከእርግጥና		:	ከክፍላት	:	አያድግንም		:	
kä=	'ərgənnə	=nna	kä=	kəf'ät	'ä=	y-	adəhn	=əmm
kä=	'ərgənnə	=nna	kä=	kəf'at	'äl=	yə-	adəhn	=mm <sub>2</sub>
from=	old age	=CONJ	from=	evil	NEG=	3M	save\IMPF	=also
prep	n	prt	prep	n	prt	v:Any	vt	prt
and from old age			from evil		NEG			
ወፈድ፣ፋዳ፣ነም		:	ከሞት	:				
wä=	fädfadunämm		kä=	mot				
wä=	fädfadunämm		kä=	mot <sub>1</sub>				
and=	much less		from=	death				
coordconn	adv		prep	n				
and much less			from death					
አያመልጡም					::			
'ä=	y-	amält	-u	=mm				
'äl=	yə-	amält	-u	=mm <sub>1</sub>				
NEG=	3M	escape\IMPF	PL	=NEG				
prt	v:Any	vt	v:Any	prt				
they do not escape								

while she said, "Alas, there is death; all this will be changed, and this form will fade, and this scent will stink, and this strength will weaken, and in the end one will become old, and the one who loves will hate, and the one who said, 'Let me come near' will draw away. There are many matters - (but) what will be obtained? But (people), while they remain as they are, spend their time adding debt upon debt. Especially, condemnation will abound. But if they gave the wealth that is in the whole world, it would not save from old age and from evil, and in particular they will not escape from death.

5.3 ይኸስ		: አይኸንም				: አንቸ	: ነፍሴ	:
yəx	=əss	'ä=	y-	xon	=əmm	'änč	näfs	=e
yəx	=ss	'äl=	yə-	hon <sub>1</sub> +SP. VAR. OF	=mm <sub>2</sub>	'anč	näfs	=e
this.M	=as for	NEG=	3M	be\IMPF	=also	2FS	soul	=1CS
dem	prt	prt	v:Any	vi	prt	pro	n	pro
this.M, as for		NEG				2FS	my soul	
ነይ		: ምክሪ		: አለቸዋት		: ምን		:
näy	məkär		-i	'äl	-äčč	=awat	mən	
näy	məkär		-i	'äl	-äčč	=wat	mən	
come.IMPV.FS	take counsel\IMPV		FS	say\PERF	3FS	=3FS	what	
vi	vi		v:Any	vt	v:Any	pro	interrog	
come!	take counsel!			she said to her			what	
ታመኸን		: ይኸን		: ከዚያ			:	
t-	ammäxann		yə-	xon	kä=	=zziya		
tə- <sub>2</sub>	ammäxann		yə-	hon <sub>1</sub> +SP. VAR. OF	kä=	=zziya		
2	use as an excuse\IMPF		3M	be\IMPF	from=	=that		
v:Any	vt		v:Any	vi	prep	dem		
you use as an excuse			he was		from that			
መከጋን		: ዓለም	: የደረሰኝ		: ጊዜ	: እርሱ	: ግን	:
mäk <sup>w</sup> ännən	-ä	'aläm	yä=	därräs	-əš	gize	'ərsu	gən
mäk <sup>w</sup> ännən	-ä <sub>1</sub>	'aläm	yä=	därräs	-š	gize	'ərsu	gən
judge	GEN	world	REL=	arrive\PERF	2FS	time	3MS	but
n	Noun	n	rel	vt	v:Any	n	pro	conn
judge of		world	that you arrived			time	3MS	but

ይላል : እንዳገኝ : የሚናገር :

yə- 1 =all 'ənd agäññ yämm= i- nnaggär

yə- 1 =all 'əndä 'ägäññ yä= yə- nnaggär

3M say\IMPF =AUX as find\PERF REL= 3M speak\IMPF

v:Any vt v advlizer vt rel v:Any vt  
 he will say as that he speaks

ይኩነናል : በደይን ::

yə- k<sup>w</sup>- k<sup>w</sup>ännän =all bä= däyn

yə- tä- k<sup>w</sup>ännän =all bä= däyn

3M PASS judge\IMPF =AUX in, by= judgment

v:Any v>v vt v prep n  
 he will be judged by judgement

But this shall not be; you, my soul, come, take counsel", she said to her (i.e. her soul). "What excuse will you give at the time when you arrive before that judge of the world? But he will say, 'The one who speaks improperly will be condemned by judgment'.

5.4 ወደነፍሴ : ማን : ይውሰስሽ :

wäy näfs =e man yə- wḥäs =əš

wäy näfs =e man yə- wḥäs =š

EXCLAM soul =1CS who 3M stand surety for\JUSS =2FS

interj n pro interrog v:Any vt pro  
 my soul! who he would stand surety for you

ይኸን : ምን : ይውጥጥሽ :

yə- xon mən yə- wḥəṭ =əš

yə- ḥon<sub>1</sub>+SP. VAR. OF mən yə- wḥəṭ =š

3M be\IMPF what 3M swallow\JUSS =2FS

v:Any vi interrog v:Any vt pro  
 he was what let him swallow you

ይኸን : ሄት : ትገቢው :

yə- xon het tə- gäb -i =w

yə- ḥon<sub>1</sub>+SP. VAR. OF het tə-<sub>2</sub> gäb -i =w<sub>1</sub>

3M be\IMPF where 2 enter\IMPF FS =3MS

v:Any vi <Not Sure> v:Any vt v:Any pro  
 he was where you enter him

ይኾን		: ሄት		: ትደርሽው		:			
yə-	xon	het	tə-	därš	=əw				
yə-	hon <sub>1</sub> +SP. VAR. OF	het	tə- <sub>2</sub>	därš	=w <sub>1</sub>				
3M	be\IMPF	where	2	arrive\IMPF.FS	=3MS				
v:Any	vi	<Not Sure>	v:Any	vt	pro				
he was		where	you arrive to him						
ይኾን		: ትእዛዝ		: የወጸ		: ጊዜ		: ከዚያ	
yə-	xon	tə'əzaz	yä=	wäşša	gize	kä=	=zziya		
yə-	hon <sub>1</sub> +SP. VAR. OF	tə'əzaz	yä=	wäşša	gize	kä=	=zziya		
3M	be\IMPF	command	REL=	go out\PERF	time	from=	=that		
v:Any	vi	n	rel	vi	n	prep	dem		
he was		command	that he went out		time	from that			
ኡነኛ	: ጌታ	: ውሳኔዎት		: ያለ			: ጊዜ	:	
'unäñña	g <sup>w</sup> eta	wəsäd	-u	=wat	y=	al	-ä	gize	
'unäñña	g <sup>w</sup> eta	wəsäd	-u	=wat	yä=	'äl	-ä <sub>2</sub>	gize	
true	lord	take(away)\IMPV	PL	=3FS	REL=	say\PERF	3MS	time	
adj	n	vt	v:Any	pro	rel	vt	v:Any	n	
true	lord	take her away!			that he said			time	
ከዚያ		: ጸልመት		: ከዚያ		: እሳት		: የሰደዱሽ	
kä=	=zziya	şəlmät	kä=	=zziya	'əsat	yä=	säddäd	-u	=š
kä=	=zziya	şəlmät	kä=	=zziya	'əsat	yä=	säddäd	-u	=š
from=	=that	darkness	from=	=that	fire	REL=	banish\PERF	PL	=2FS
prep	dem	n	prep	dem	n	rel	vt	v:Any	pro
from that		darkness	from that		fire	that they banished you			
: ጊዜ		: እሳቱም		: ያይበርድ				:	
gize	'əsat	=u	=mm	y=	a=	y-	bärd		
gize	'əsat	=u <sub>1</sub>	=mm <sub>2</sub>	yä=	'äl=	yə-	bärd		
time	fire	=DEF	=also	REL=	NEG=	3M	cool down\IMPF		
n	n	def	prt	rel	prt	v:Any	vi		
time	the fire, also			that he does not cool down					

እንጨቱም			: አይገልጽ			: ያነዱ			:
'ənčät	=u	=mm	'ä=	y-	hälq	y=	anädd	-u	
'ənčät	=u <sub>1</sub>	=mm <sub>2</sub>	'äl=	yə-	hälq	yä=	anädd	-u	
wood	=DEF	=also	NEG=	3M	end\IMPF	REL=	ignite\IMPF	PL	
n	def	prt	prt	v:Any	vi	rel	vt	v:Any	
the wood, also			he does not end			that they ignite			
አይሻእ			: በዜኸ			: ብታ			:
'ä=	y-	ša'	bä=	=zzex	bätta				
'äl=	yə-	ša'	bä=	=zzex	bätta				
NEG=	3M	want\IMPF	in, by=	=this	alone				
prt	v:Any	vt	prep	dem	adv				
he does not want			by this		alone				
ያመልጡዋል			: አይምስልሽ					: ነፍሴ	
y-	amält	-u	=wall	'ä=	y-	msäl	=əš	näfs	=e
yə-	amält	-u	=all	'äl=	yə-	msäl	=š	näfs	=e
3M	escape\IMPF	PL	=AUX	NEG=	3M	seem\JUSS	=2FS	soul	=1CS
v:Any	vt	v:Any	v	prt	v:Any	vt	pro	n	pro
they will escape				he does not seem to you				my soul	
: አለ			: አኹንም		: ብርድ	: አስሐትያ		: ገላ	:
'äll	-ä	'äxun	=əmm	bərd	'äshätya	gäla			
'äll	-ä <sub>2</sub>	'äxun	=mm <sub>2</sub>	bərd	'ashatya	gäla			
there be\PERF	3MS	now	=also	cold	ice	body			
vi	v:Any	adv	prt	n	n	n			
there was		now, also		cold	ice	body			
የሚቆረጥም			: ጥርስ		: የሚያንቀጠቅጥ				:
yämm=	i-	q <sup>w</sup> ärätṭəm	ṭərs	yämm=	iy-	anqätäqqəṭ			
yä=	yə-	q <sup>w</sup> ärätṭəm	ṭərs	yä=	yə-	anqätäqqəṭ			
REL=	3M	munch\IMPF	tooth	REL=	3M	cause to tremble\IMPF			
rel	v:Any	vt	n	rel	v:Any	vt			
that he munches			tooth	that he causes to tremble					

ዕረፍት : የሌሌው : ሞት :

‘əräft yä= lell -e =w mot  
 ‘əräft yä= lell =w<sub>1</sub> mot<sub>1</sub>  
 rest REL= there be\PERF.SUBORD.NEG =3MS death  
 n rel vi pro n  
 rest that there was not death

ቢለምኑ : አይገኝ ::

b= i- lämmən -u ’ä= yə- ggäññ  
 bə= yə- lämmən -u ’äl= yə- ggäññ  
 if= 3M beg\IMPF PL NEG= 3M be found\IMPF  
 prt v:Any vt v:Any prt v:Any vi  
 if they beg he will not be found

Alas, my soul, who may be surety for you? What may swallow you up? Where may you enter? Where may you arrive, at the time when a command goes out from that true Lord, when he says, 'Take her away to that darkness', when they exile you to that fire, of which neither does the fire cool, nor is the wood exhausted, which does not need (people) who ignite (it). By this alone do not think that they will escape, my soul. And now there is cold (and) ice, which shrivels the body, which makes the teeth tremble, which has no rest, in which, if they plead for death, it will not be found.

5.5 ስሚዕ : አኹንም : ነፍሴ : ልምከርሽ :

səmi‘ ’äxun =əmm näfs =e lə- mkär =əš  
 səmi‘ ’äxun =mm<sub>2</sub> näfs =e lə- mkär =š  
 listen\IMPV.FS now =also soul =1CS 1CS.JUSS counsel\JUSS =2FS  
 vt adv prt n pro v:Any vt pro  
 listen! now, also my soul let me counsel with you

ማን : ይረዳሽ : ይመስልሻል :

man yə- räda =š yə- mäsl =əš =all  
 man yə- räda =š yə- mäsl<sub>1</sub> =š =all  
 who 3M help\IMPF =2FS 3M seem\IMPF =2FS =AUX  
 interrog v:Any vt pro v:Any vt pro v  
 who he helps you it seems to you

በዚያ	:	ዕለት	:	ማን	:	ይለምንልሽ	:
bä=	=zziya	‘älät	man	yə-	lämmən	=əll	=əš
bä=	=zziya	‘älät	man	yə-	lämmən	=ll	=š
in, by=	=that	day	who	3M	beg\IMPF	=APPL	=2FS
prep	dem	n	interrog	v:Any	vt	prt	pro
in that		day	who	he begs for your benefit			
ይመስልኛል				:	ማላዲም	:	ኤል
yə-	mäsl	=əš	=all	malad	=u	=mm	’ell
yə-	mäsl <sub>1</sub>	=š	=all	malad	=u <sub>1</sub>	=mm <sub>2</sub>	’ell
3M	seem\IMPF	=2FS	=AUX	intercessor	=DEF	=also	there be\PERF.NEG
v:Any	vt	pro	v	n	def	prt	vi
it seems to you				the intercessor			there was not
ዋህስም	:	አይገኝ	:	ዕለት	:		
wahäs	=əmm	’ä=	yə-	ggäññ	‘älät		
wahäs	=mm <sub>2</sub>	’äl=	yə-	ggäññ	‘älät		
surety	=also	NEG=	3M	be found\IMPF	day		
n	prt	prt	v:Any	vi	n		
surety, also		he will not be found			day		
አይሉበት				:	ገሰሐ	:	
’ä=	y-	l	-u	=bb	=ät	nəšhä	
’äl=	yə-	l	-u	=bb	=ät	nəšhä	
NEG=	3M	say\IMPF	PL	=APPL	=3MS	confession	
prt	v:Any	vt	v:Any	prt	pro	n	
they do not say to his disadvantage						confession	
አይረብሐበት				:	ገዳር	:	ጸዳር
’ä=	yə-	rräbbəḥä	=bb	=ät	gä‘ar	šä‘ar	
’äl=	yə-	rräbbəḥa	=bb	=ät	gä‘ar	šä‘ar	
NEG=	3M	profit\IMPF	=APPL	=3MS	cry	agony	
prt	v:Any	vt	prt	pro	n	n	
he does not benefit to his disadvantage					cry	agony	

አይቋረጽበት : የጥረሱዋት :

'ä= yə- q<sup>w</sup>q<sup>w</sup>arräṣ =əbb =ät yä= təḥḥäl -u =wat

'äl= yə- q<sup>w</sup>q<sup>w</sup>arräṣ =bb =ät yä= təḥḥäl -u =wat

NEG= 3M be interrupted =APPL =3MS REL= throw\PERF PL =3FS

prt v:Any vi prt pro rel vt v:Any pro  
he is not interrupted to his disadvantage that they threw her

የመነኩዋት : ነፍስ : ይኸት : ቦታዋ ::

yä= männän -u =wat näfs yəx =ət(t) bota =wa

yä= männän -u =wat näfs yəx =t(t) bota =wa

REL= reject\PERF PL =3FS soul this.M =COP/FOC place =3FS

rel vt v:Any pro n dem prt n pro  
that they rejected her soul this is her place

And now listen, my soul; let me counsel you. Who do you think will help you, who do you think will plead on your behalf on that day, on which there is no intercessor, and on which no surety will be found, which they do not call 'day', on which repentance will not profit, in which wailing and agony will be uninterrupted? For the soul which they threw out, which they rejected, this is her place.

5.6 ስሚዕ : አኸንም : ነፍሴ : ልምከርሽ :

səmi' 'äxun =əmm näfs =e lə- mkär =əš

səmi' 'äxun =mm<sub>2</sub> näfs =e lə- mkär =š

listen\IMPV.FS now =also soul =1CS 1CS.JUSS counsel\JUSS =2FS

vt adv prt n pro v:Any vt pro  
listen! now, also my soul let me counsel you

አጻዋቶቻሽም :

'äččawat -očč =əš =əmm

'äččawat -očč =š =mm<sub>2</sub>

entertainer PL =2FS =also

n n:Any pro prt  
your entertainers, also

ከይረብሉሽም : ዓለም-ም :

'ä= yə- rräbbəḥ -u =š =əmm 'aläm =u =mm  
 'äl= yə- rräbbəḥa -u =š =mm<sub>2</sub> 'aläm =u<sub>1</sub> =mm<sub>2</sub>  
 NEG= 3M profit\IMPF PL =2FS =also world =DEF =also  
 prt v:Any vt v:Any pro prt n def prt  
 they do not profit you the world, also  
 ጎላፊነው : ወፈድፋዱነም : ወዳጆቻሽ :

ḥälafi =n -äw wä= fädfadunämm wädağ -očč =əš  
 ḥalafi =n<sub>5</sub> -äw wä= fädfadunämm wädağ -očč =š  
 transient =COP 3MS and= much less friend PL =2FS  
 adj prt prt:Any coordconn adv n n:Any pro  
 transient, he is and much less your.F friends  
 ለጎላፊነት : የሚያፈቅሩሽ :

lä= ḥäti'ät yämm= iy- afäqqər -u =š  
 lä=1 ḥati'at yä= yə- afäqqər -u =š  
 for= sin REL= 3M adore\IMPF PL =2FS  
 prep n rel v:Any vt v:Any pro  
 for sin that they adore you.F

And now listen, my soul; let me counsel you. Your playmates will not profit you - the world is transient - and especially your friends who adore you for sin." /

6.1 ዓይንዋን : ሃይታ : ስትል :

'ayn =wa =n hayt -a sə= tə- l  
 'ayn =wa =n<sub>1</sub> ḥayt+SP. VAR. OF -a sə= tə-<sub>1</sub> l  
 eye =3FS =ACC see\CVB 3FS while= 3FS say\IMPF  
 n pro prt tcvb cvb:Any advlizer v:Any vt  
 her eye she having seen while she says  
 ዓይኖቼ : ይኸ : ኑሉ : ተስል :

'ayn -očč =e yəx ḥwəllu k'wəḥəl  
 'ayn -očč =e yəx ḥwəllu k'wəḥəl  
 eye PL =1CS this.M all kohl  
 n n:Any pro dem det n  
 my eyes this all kohl

ይረብሐዋቸውን

: ተስፋ :

yə- rräbbəhā =waččəhu =nə täsfä

yə- rräbbəha =waččəh<sup>w</sup>+SP. VAR. OF =nə täsfä

3M profit\IMPF =2CP =Q hope

v:Any vt pro q n  
does he profit y'll? hope

ይኾነዋቸኹን

: ይኖን

: ምት

yə- xon =äwaččäxu =nə yə- ḥon mət

yə- ḥon<sub>1</sub>+SP. VAR. OF =waččəh<sup>w</sup>+SP. VAR. OF =nə yə- ḥon<sub>1</sub> mot<sub>1</sub>+SP. VAR. OF

3M be\IMPF =2CP =Q 3M be\IMPF death

v:Any vi pro q v:Any vi n  
is he for y'll? he is death

: የደረሰዋቸኹ

: ጊዜ

: ምን

:

yä= däffän -ä =waččəh<sup>w</sup> gize mən

yä= däffän -ä<sub>2</sub> =waččəh<sup>w</sup> gize mən

REL= fill in; inter a dead person\PERF 3MS =2CP time what

rel vt v:Any pro n interrog  
that he intered y'll (dead) time what

ትሉ

: ይኖን

::

tə- l -u yə- ḥon

tə-<sub>2</sub> l -u yə- ḥon<sub>1</sub>

2 say\IMPF PL 3M be\IMPF

v:Any vt v:Any v:Any vi  
y'll say he is

Seeing her eyes, she said, "My eyes, shall all this salve profit you, shall it be hope for you? What will you say when death covers you over?"

6.2 ወይ	: አፈ	: ወዮ	: ያን	: የአኻል	: ጸፍጥ	: ሙብልፅ	:	
wäy	'əf	=e	wäyyo	ya	=n	yä'äxəl	čäffət	mäblə'
wäy	'əf	=e	wäyyo	ya	=n <sub>1</sub>	yä'axəl	čäffət	mäblə'
EXCLAM	mouth	=1CS	EXCLAM	that.M	=ACC	(as much) as	tasty	food
interj	n	pro	interj	dem	prt	prt	adj	n
woe	my mouth		woe	that		as much as	tasty	food

ይረብሐኸኛ : ጸጥጥ : ጥጥ : :

yə-	rräbbəḥä	=š	=ənnä	šəwwa'a	mot
yə-	rräbbəḥä	=š	=nna	šəwwa'a	mot <sub>1</sub>
3M	profit\IMPF	=2FS	=CONJ	cup	death
v:Any	vt	pro	prt	n	n
he profits you and				cup	death

ሳለ : ሙረር ::

s=	all	-ä	märir
sə=	'äll	-ä <sub>2</sub>	märir
while=	there be\PERF	3MS	bitter
advlizer	vi	v:Any	adj
while there was			bitter

Alas, my mouth, alas! Shall so much tasty food indeed profit you, while the cup of death is bitter?

6.3 ወይ : አንደበቴ : ስንቱን : የሸነገልኸው :

wäy 'ändäbät =e səntu =n yä= šänäggäl -x =äw

wäy 'andäbät =e səntu =n<sub>1</sub> yä= šänäggäl -x =w<sub>1</sub>

EXCLAM tongue =1CS how many =ACC REL= coax\PERF 2MS =3MS

interj n pro q prt rel vt v:Any pro  
 woe my tongue how many that you coaxed him

ስንቱን : የሸነገልኸው : ሞት :

səntu =n yä= šäffät -x =äw mot

səntu =n<sub>1</sub> yä= šäffät -x =w<sub>1</sub> mot<sub>1</sub>

how many =ACC REL= cajole\PERF 2MS =3MS death

q prt rel vt v:Any pro n  
 how many that you cajoled him death

የዘጋኸ : ዕለት : ምን : ትናገር : ይኖን :

yä= zägga =x 'älät mən tə- nnaggär yə- ḥon

yä= zägga =x 'älät mən tə-<sub>2</sub> nnaggär yə- ḥon<sub>1</sub>

REL= close\PERF =2MS day what 2 speak\IMPF 3M be\IMPF

rel vt pro n interrog v:Any vt v:Any vi  
 that he closed you.M day what you speak he is

Alas, my faculty of speech, you who deceived so many, who duped so many, in the day when death shuts you up, what will you say

6.4 ለዚያለኩሉ : ጌታ ።

lä= =zziya lä= ስጋላ ልግ

lä=<sub>1</sub> =zziya lä=<sub>3</sub> ስጋላ ልግ

for= =that GEN?= all lord

prep dem <Not Sure> det n  
 for that of all lord

to that Lord of all?

6.5 ወይ	: እደቼ			: ትሸለሙ			:
wäy	'əd	-očč	=e	tə-	ššälläm		-u
wäy	'əd	-očč	=e	tə-2	ššälläm		-u
EXCLAM	hand	PL	=1CS	2	be adorned\IMPF		PL
interj	n	n:Any	pro	v:Any	vi		v:Any
woe	hand				you are adorned		
የነበረችኩ				: በየቅልፁ	: በወርቅ	: አምባር	:
yä=	näbbär	-aččəḥ <sup>w</sup>	bäyyäqəl'u	bä=	wärq	'ämbar	
yä=	näbbär	-aččəḥ <sup>w</sup>	bäyyäqəl'u	bä=	wärq	'ämbar	
REL=	be\PERF	2CP	individually	in, by=	gold	(metal) bracelet	
rel	vi	v:Any	adv	prep	n	n	
that	which	you were	individually	by	gold	(metal) bracelet	
በብር		: አምባር	: በሰንኬቻ				:
bä=	bərr	'ämbar		bä=	sänkeč		
bä=	bərr	'ämbar		bä=	sänkeč		
in, by=	silver	(metal) bracelet		in, by=	little finger		
prep	n	n		prep	n		
by	silver	(metal) bracelet		by	little finger		
ጸዓቶቼ				: በቀለበት	: በፈርጽ	: ብዙኅ	:
šä'at		-očč	=e	bä=	qäläbät	bä=	färş bəzuḥ
šat+UNSPEC. VAR. OF		-očč	=e	bä=	qäläbät	bä=	färş bəzuḥ
finger, toe		PL	=1CS	in, by=	ring	in, by=	jewel abundant
n		n:Any	pro	prep	n	prep	n adj
my fingers				in	ring	by	jewel abundant

ዋጋው : እንዴት : ትንቀጠቀጡ : ይሆን : ሞት :

wagaw	'əndet	tə-	nnqätäqqät	-u	yə-	hon	mot
wagaw	'əndet	tə- <sub>1</sub>	nnqätäqqät	-u	yə-	hon <sub>1</sub> +SP. VAR. OF	mot <sub>1</sub>
price	how	3FS	tremble\IMPF	PL	3M	be\IMPF	death
n	q	v:Any	vi	v:Any	v:Any	vi	n
price	how	tremble			he is		death

ቢደርስባቸው ::

b= i- dārs =əbb =aččəh<sup>w</sup>  
 bə= yə- dārs =bb =aččəh<sup>w</sup>  
 if= 3M arrive\IMPF =APPL =2CP  
 prt v:Any vt prt pro  
 if he arrives to your disadvantage

Alas, my hands, you who used to be adorned individually with a gold bracelet, with a silver bracelet, with a ring for the little finger, my fingers (who used to be adorned) with a ring, with jewels of great price, how shall you tremble, if death comes upon you?

6.6 ወይ : ጎንጎቱ : የተሸለጸሽው : በወርቅ

wäy	hängät	=e	yä=	tä-	šälläm	-š	=əw	bä=	wärq
wäy	hängät	=e	yä=	tä-	šälläm	-š	=w <sub>2</sub>	bä=	wärq
EXCLAM	neck	=1CS	REL=	PASS	adorn\PERF	2FS	=DEF	in, by=	gold
interj	n	pro	rel	v>v	vt	v:Any	def	prep	n
woe	my neck		the one	that	you.F	were	adorned	by	gold

: በብር : በሰናፍጭ : በግባግብት : በእንጥልጥል :

bä=	bərr	bä=	sänafəč	bä=	gəbagəbt	bä=	'əntəltəl
bä=	bərr	bä=	sänafəč	bä=	gəbagəbt	bä=	'əntəltəl
in, by=	silver	in, by=	brooch(?)	in, by=	ornament	in, by=	pendant
prep	n	prep	n	prep	n	prep	n
by	silver	in	brooch	in	ornament	in	pendant

በሉል : በፈርጽ : እንዴት :

bä=	lul	bä=	färs	'əndet
bä=	lul	bä=	färs	'əndet
in, by=	pearl	in, by=	jewel	how
prep	n	prep	n	q
in	pearl	by	jewel	how

ትቀጠፊው : ይኸን :

tə-	qqäṭṭäf	-i	=w	yə-	xon
tə-2	qqäṭṭäf	-i	=w <sub>1</sub>	yə-	ḥon <sub>1</sub> +SP. VAR. OF
2	be killed in childhood or youth\IMPF	FS	=3MS	3M	be\IMPF
v:Any	vi	v:Any	pro	v:Any	vi
	you will die prematurely				he is
በሞት	::				
bä=	mot				
bä=	mot <sub>1</sub>				
in, by=	death				
prep	n				
	in death				

Alas, my neck, you who were adorned with gold, with silver, with sänafəç, with ornaments, with a pendant, with pearls, with jewels, how shall you be spoiled in death?

6.7 ወይ : ሥጋዬ : የተፈግግሽው :

wäy	səga	=ye	yä=	täfäggə <sup>‘</sup> a	-š	=əw
wäy	səga	=e	yä=	täfäggä <sup>‘</sup> +UNSPEC. VAR. OF	-š	=w <sub>1</sub>
EXCLAM	flesh	=1CS	REL=	live a life of pleasure\PERF	2FS	=3MS
interj	n	pro	rel	vi	v:Any	pro
woe	my flesh			the one that you.F lived a lefe of pleasure		
በቁማሽ			: መልበስ	:		

bä=	qumaš	mälbäs
bä=	qumas+UNSPEC. VAR. OF	mälbäs
in, by=	clothing	clothing (G)
prep	n	n
	in clothing	clothing (G)

በየኅብሩ : እንዴት :

bä=	yä=	ḥəbr	=u	’əndet
bä=	yä=	ḥəbr	=u <sub>1</sub>	’əndet
in, by=	GEN=	having various kinds of colors	=DEF	how
prep	prt	n	def	q
		in one of the various colors		how

ትኾንው			: ይኾን			: እራቁትሽን		:
tə-	xon	=əw	yə-	xon		'əraqut	=š	=ən
tə-2	ḥon <sub>1</sub> +SP. VAR. OF	=w <sub>2</sub>	yə-	ḥon <sub>1</sub> +SP. VAR. OF		'əraqut	=š	=n <sub>1</sub>
2	be\IMPF	=DEF	3M	be\IMPF		naked	=2FS	=ACC
v:Any	vi	def	v:Any	vi		adj	pro	prt
that you will be			he was			your.F	naked one	
ያቆሙሽ					: ጊዜ	: በእልፍ		:
y-	a-	qom	-u	=š	gize	bä=	'əlf	
yə-	'ä-	qom	-u	=š	gize	bä=	'əlf	
3M	CAUS	stand\IMPF	PL	=2FS	time	in, by=	thousandfold	
v:Any	v>v	vi	v:Any	pro	n	prep	n	
that they make you stand			time		time	in	thousandfold	
አእላፋት	: መላእክት	: ፊት	: በለዝያ			: ማዕከል	: ክፉ	:
'ä'əlafat	mäla'əkt	fit	bä=	lä=	=zzəya	ma'xäl	kəfu	
'əlf	mäla'əkt	fit	bä=	lä=1	=zziya	ma'xäl	kəfu	
thousandfold.PL	angels	face	in, by=	for=	=that	middle, center	evil	
n	n	n	prep	prep	dem	n	n	
thousandfold	angels	face	by that			middle, center	evil	
ምግባርሺን	: ሲሰሙልሽ							:
məgbar	=ši	=n	s=	i-	säm	-u	=ll	=əš
məgbar	=š	=n <sub>1</sub>	sə=	yə-	säm'a	-u	=ll	=š
deed	=2FS	=ACC	while=	3M	hear\IMPF	PL	=APPL	=2FS
n	pro	prt	advlizer	v:Any	vt	v:Any	prt	pro
your deed			while they hear for the benefit of you					

በዚያ : ዱለት :

bä= =zziya dulät

bä= =zziya dulät

in, by= =that assembly

prep dem n  
in that assembly

የሚያሳፍር

::

yämm= iy- a- ssaffər

yä= yə- 'ä- ssaffər

REL= 3M CAUS measure out, camp opposite one another\|IMPF

rel v:Any v>v vi

that he causes to camp opposite one another

Alas, my flesh, you who rejoiced to wear a dress of every color, how shall you be at the time when they stand you naked in front of myriads of angels, when, in the midst of those (angels), they hear concerning you your evil deeds, which cause (you) shame in that assembly.

6.8 ወይ : ሥጋዬ : በላሽ : ጠጣሽ :

wäy səga =ye bälla -š täṭṭa -š

wäy səga =e bälla -š täṭṭa -š

EXCLAM flesh =1CS eat\|PERF 2FS drink\|PERF 2FS

interj n pro vt v:Any vt v:Any

woe my flesh you ate she drank

አምሐርሽ : ሰብሐሽ : ለመለምሽ :

'ämḥär -š säbbəḥä -š lämalläm -š

'ämḥär -š säbbəḥä -š lämalläm -š

be beautiful\|PERF 2FS be fat\|PERF 2FS be verdant\|PERF 2FS

vi v:Any vi v:Any vi v:Any

you became beautiful she is fat she was verdant

ለምስጥ : ሌላሰ : ሙኢያኤለው ::

lä= məst̥ lela =ss mu'äya 'ell =äw

lä=₁ məst̥ lela =ss mu'äya 'ell =w₁

for= termite other =as for skill; salary there be\|PERF.NEG =3FS

prep n adj prt n vi pro

for termite other, as for there is no skill/salary

Alas, my flesh, you ate, you drank, you became beautiful, you became plump, you thrived - for the termites; it has no other function.

6.9 ወይ	: እግሮቼ		: እምትራወጹ				
wäy	'əgər	-očč	=e	'əmm=	tə-	rrawwäs	-u
wäy	'əgər	-očč	=e	yä=	tə-2	rrawwäs	-u
EXCLAM	foot	PL	=1CS	REL=	2	walk in all directions\IMPF	PL
interj	n	n:Any	pro	rel	v:Any	vi	v:Any
woe	my feet			that y'll	walk in all directions		
: ለዝሙት	: ኅላ		: ጊዜ	: እንበለ	: እረፍት	: እዮ	:
lä=	zəmmut	hʷəlla		gize	'ənbälä	'əräft	'əyo
lä=1	zəmmut	hʷəllu+UNSPEC. VAR. OF		gize	'ənbälä	'əräft+SP. VAR. OF	
for=	fornication	all		time	without (G)	rest	
prep	n	det		n	prep	n	
for	fornication	all		time	without (G)	rest	
ሞት	: የአስረዋቸኑ		: ዕለት	: እሸሽ	:		
mot	yä=	'äsrä	=waččəhʷ	'əlät	'ə-	šäs	
mot1	yä=	'äsrä	=waččəhʷ	'əlät	'ə-	šäs	
death	REL=	tie\CVB?	=2CP	day	1CS	flee\IMPF	
n	rel	tcvb	pro	n	v:Any	vi	
death	that y'll	having tied		day	I	flee	
ቢሉ			: አያመልጡ			:	
b=	i-	l	-u	'ä=	y-	amält	-u
bə=	yə-	l	-u	'äl=	yə-	amält	-u
if=	3M	say\IMPF	PL	NEG=	3M	escape\IMPF	PL
prt	v:Any	vt	v:Any	prt	v:Any	vt	v:Any
if they say				they do not	escape		
በኩባት	: አይማለድ		: ቃልሐዔ				
bä=	käbt	'ä=	yə-	mmalläd		qal	ḥaṣe
bä=	käbt	'äl=	yə-	mmalläd		qal	ḥaṣe
in, by=	wealth	NEG=	3M	be entreated, be merciful\IMPF		word	emperor title
prep	n	prt	v:Any	vi		n	n
in	wealth	he is not	merciful			word of	emperor

: አያደል			: እንድአዘዙ			:
'ä=	y-	adäl	'ənd	'äzzäz	-u	
'äl=	yə-	adäl	'əndä	'äzzäz	-u	
NEG=	3M	favor\IMPF	as	order\PERF	PL	
prt	v:Any	vt	advlizer	vt	v:Any	
he does not favor			as they order			
የሚፈጽም			: ዛሬታኸ			:
yämm=	i-	fäṣṣəm	zare	tax	bä=	qäṣṣ -u
yä=	yə-	fäṣṣəm	zare	bä=	qäṣṣ	-u
REL=	3M	finish\IMPF	today	if, when=	discipline\PERF	PL
rel	v:Any	vt	n	advlizer	vt	v:Any
that he finishes			today	when they disciplined		
ይበጃል			::			
yə-	bäḡḡ	=all				
yə-	bäḡḡ	=all				
3M	turn out well\IMPF	=AUX				
v:Any	vi	v				
he will turn out well						

Alas, my feet, you who run around for fornication all the time without rest, alas (for) the day when death binds you, which they will not escape if they say, 'I will flee', which will not be interceded with by wealth, on which the royal spokesman will show no favor, who fulfils what they commanded; it would have been better if they had constrained (you) today.

7.1 እስኩ		: ከልባቸን		:	
'əsku	kä=	ləbb	-ačč	=ən	
'əsku	kä=	ləbb	-očč+UNSPEC. VAR. OF	=ən	
lo and behold (G)	from=	heart	PL	=1CP	
interj	prep	n	n:Any	pro	
lo and behold (G)		from our hearts			
ንመራመረው		: ይኸንን		:	
nə-	märammār	=äw	yə-	xon	=nə
nə-	märammār	=w <sub>1</sub>	yə-	ḥon <sub>1</sub> +SP. VAR. OF	=nə
1CP	examine somewhat\IMPF	=3MS	3M	be\IMPF	=Q
v:Any	vt	pro	v:Any	vi	q
we examine him somewhat		is he?			

ይኾን				: ማዕረግያቸን				: በእግር	:
yə-	xon			ma'särəyya	-čč		=ən	bä=	'əgər
yə-	hon <sub>1</sub> +SP. VAR. OF			ma'särəyya	-očč+UNSPEC. VAR. OF		=ən	bä=	'əgər
3M	be\IMPF			means of binding	PL		=1CP	in, by=	foot
v:Any	vi			n	n:Any		pro	prep	n
he is				our means of binding				in foot	
ብረትን				: በሰንሰለትን				: በገመድን	
bərät	=nə	bä=	sänsälät	=nə	bä=	gämäd	=nə	'əndet	=nə
bərät	=nə	bä=	sänsälät	=nə	bä=	gämäd	=nə	'əndet	=nə
iron	=Q	in, by=	chain	=Q	in, by=	rope	=Q	how	=Q
n	q	prep	n	q	prep	n	q	q	q
iron		in chain?			in rope			how	
ይኖን				: ስትል				: እንደምድራዊ	: ንጉሥን
yə-	hon	sə=	tə-	l	'əndä	mədrawi	nəguś	=ən	
yə-	hon <sub>1</sub>	sə=	tə- <sub>1</sub>	l	'əndä	mədrawi	nəguś	=n <sub>1</sub>	
3M	be\IMPF	while=	3FS	say\IMPF	like	earthly	king	=ACC	
v:Any	vi	advlizer	v:Any	vt	prep	adj	n	prt	
he is		while she says			like earthly		king		
ገና		: ያሰሩልናል						: ይኾን	:
gäna	y-	asär	-u	=ll	=ən	=all	yə-	xon	
gäna	yə-	asär	-u	=ll	=ən	=all	yə-	hon <sub>1</sub> +SP. VAR. OF	
just	3M	tie\IMPF	PL	=APPL	=1CP	=AUX	3M	be\IMPF	
prt	v:Any	vt	v:Any	prt	pro	v	v:Any	vi	
just	they will tie for our profit						he is		
ወይም		: ይዋዳልናለን						:	
wäyäm	yə-	wad	-u	=ll	=ən	=all	-än		
wäyäm	yə-	wad	-u	=ll	=ən	=all	-än		
or	3M	redeem\IMPF	PL	=APPL	=1CP	=AUX	1CP		
conn	v:Any	vt	v:Any	prt	pro	v	v:Any		
or	they will redeem for our profit								

ይኅን	: ከተአሰረኛ						:		
yə-	hon	kä=	tä-	'ässär	-ä	=mm			
yə-	hon <sub>1</sub>	kä=	tä-	'ässär	-ä <sub>2</sub>	=mm <sub>2</sub>			
3M	be\IMPF	after=	PASS	bind\PERF	3MS	=also			
v:Any	vi	advlizer	v>v	vt	v:Any	prt			
he is		since [if] he was bound, also							
ያመልጡዋል	: ተሸሸኑ						:		
y-	amält	-u	=wall	täšäšög	-o	=mm			
yə-	amält	-u	=all	täšäšög	-o	=mm <sub>2</sub>			
3M	escape\IMPF	PL	=AUX	be hidden\CVB	3MS	=also			
v:Any	vt	v:Any	v	icvb	cvb:Any	prt			
they will escape				he having been hidden					
ይትገቡዋል	:								
yə-	t-	hät		-u	=wall				
yə-	tä-	hät		-u	=all				
3M	PASS	lack, miss, forget (?)\IMPF	PL	=AUX					
v:Any	v>v	vt		v:Any	v				
they will be lacked									
አይምሰልኹ	: አይደሉም						: እንዴኹስ	: ግዳን	:
'ä=	yə-	msäl	=əx	'äydolläm	'ənd	=ex	=əss	gəddun	
'äl=	yə-	msäl	=əx	'äydolläm	'əndä	=ex	=ss	gəddun	
NEG=	3M	seem\JUSS	=2MS	no, not so	like	=this	=as for	necessarily	
prt	v:Any	vt	pro	<Not Sure>	prep	dem	prt	adv	
may he not seem to you				no, not so	like this			necessarily	
ሞት	: አል	::							
mot	'äll								
mot <sub>1</sub>	'äll								
death	there be\PERF								
n	vi								
death	there was								

So then, shall we examine it from our hearts? If you say, 'Will our bond be with leg irons (or) with a chain (or) with a rope? How will it be? Will they perhaps bind us like an earthly king, or will they perhaps redeem us?', do not think that one will escape if he is bound, or, being hidden, will fail to be found. Not at all! Like this, then, of necessity, there is death.

7.2 በዕድሜ	:	በዝንጎት	:	ያመልጡዋል	:			
bä=	‘ədme	bəzḥät	y-	amält	-u	=wall		
bä=	‘ədme	bəzḥat	yə-	amält	-u	=all		
in, by=	age	abundance	3M	escape\ IMPF	PL	=AUX		
prep	n	n	v:Any	vt	v:Any	v		
in age		abundance		they will escape				
ትል	:	እንደኛን	:	ከአዳም	:	ገናኖሮ		
tə-	1	’əndäḥon	kä=	’adam	žəmmər	-o	’əskä	zare
tə-2	1	’əndäḥon	kä=	’adam	žəmmər	-o	’əskä	zare
2	say\ IMPF	if	from=	Adam	start\ CVB?	3MS	until	today
v:Any	vt	prt	prep	nprop	icvb	cvb:Any	prep	n
you say		if	from	Adam	he having started		until	today
ደረሰ	:	የተፈጠሩ	:	ሄት	:	ደረሱ	:	
dəräs	yä=	tä-	fättär	-u	het	därräs	-u	
dəräs	yä=	tä-	fättär	-u	het	därräs	-u	
up to	REL=	PASS	create\ PERF	PL	where	arrive\ PERF	PL	
<Not Sure>	rel	v>v	vt	v:Any	<Not Sure>	vt	v:Any	
up to			that they were created		where	they arrived		
ትላለኽ	:		:		:		:	
tə-	1	=all	-äx					
tə-2	1	=all	-äx					
2	say\ IMPF	=AUX	2MS					
v:Any	vt	v	cvb:Any					
you will say								

If you say, 'One will escape by great age', you will say, 'Where have they gone, who were created, beginning with Adam, until now?'

7.3 አባታችን	:	አዳም	:	ሙሉ	:	ፍጥረቱን	:	
'ābbataččun		'ādam		mulu		fəṭrät		=u =n
'ābbataččun		'adam		mulu		fəṭrät		=u <sub>1</sub> =n <sub>1</sub>
Father		Adam		whole		creation		=DEF =ACC
n		nprop		adj		n		def prt
Father		Adam		whole		the creation		
ያስገደለት								: በኅሉ :
y=	a-	säggäd		-ä	=ll	=ät	bä=	h <sup>w</sup> əllu
yä=	'ä-	säggäd		-ä <sub>2</sub>	=ll	=ät	bä=	h <sup>w</sup> əllu
REL=	CAUS	prostrate in worship\PERF		3MS	=APPL	=3MS	in, by=	all
rel	v>v	vi		v:Any	prt	pro	prep	det
that he caused to prostrate in worship for his benefit in all								
ላይ	:	ያገሰው		:	ሄት	:	አል	:
lay	y=	a-	näggäs	-ä	=w	het	'äll	
lay	yä=	'ä-	näggäs	-ä <sub>2</sub>	=w <sub>1</sub>	het	'äll	
(on) top	REL=	CAUS	reign\PERF	3MS	=3MS	where		there be\PERF
n	rel	v>v	vt	v:Any	pro	<Not Sure>	vi	
(on) top	he who made him reign					where		there was
ኖካ	:	ጸድቅ	:	ዓለሙን	:	በላይ	:	አይካ
noḥ	ṣadəq	'alām	=u	=n	bä=	may	-ä	'äyh
noḥ	ṣadəq	'alām	=u <sub>1</sub>	=n <sub>1</sub>	bä=	may	-ä <sub>1</sub>	'äyh
Noah	righteous	world	=DEF	=ACC	in, by=	water	GEN	Deluge
nprop	ptcp	n	def	prt	prep	n	Noun	n
Noah	righteous	the world			in water of			Deluge
ሲያጠፋ				: እርሱን		: ያድኅነው		:
s=	iy-	aṭäfa		'ərsu	=n	y=	adhän	-ä =w
sə=	yə-	aṭäfa		'ərsu	=n <sub>1</sub>	yä=	'ädhän	-ä <sub>2</sub> =w <sub>1</sub>
while=	3M	destroy\IMPF		3MS	=ACC	REL=	save\PERF	3MS =3MS
advlizer	v:Any	vt		pro	prt	rel	vt	v:Any pro
while he destroys him that he saved him								

ሄት	:	አል	:	ሙሴ	:	ነቢይ	:	ተእግዚአብሔር	:	ቃል	:
het		'äll		muse		näbiy		tä= 'əgzi'äbəher		qal	
het		'äll		muse		näbiy		tä= 'əgzi'äbəher		qal	
where		there be\PERF		Moses		prophet		with= God		word	
<Not Sure>		vi		nprop		n		prep nprop		n	
where		there was		Moses		prophet		with God		word	
ሊቃል		:		የተነጋገረ		:		ሄት		:	አል
lä=	qal	yä=	tänägaggär			-ä	het			'äll	
lä=4	qal	yä=	tänägaggär			-ä <sub>2</sub>	het			'äll	
along=	word	REL=	speak to one another\PERF			3MS	where			there be\PERF	
prep	n	rel	vi			v:Any	<Not Sure>			vi	
along	word		that he conversed				where			there was	
:	የቀሩም		:	ነቢያት		:	ሞቱ		:	:	
yä=	qärr	-u	=mm	näbiy	-at	mot	-u				
yä=	qärr	-u	=mm <sub>2</sub>	näbiy	-at	mot <sub>2</sub>	-u				
REL=	remain\PERF	PL	=also	prophet	PL	die\PERF	PL				
rel	vi	v:Any	prt	n	n:Any	vi	v:Any				
	those who remained, also			prophet		they died					
እንኳይ	:	ኅይለኛ	:	ያመልጥው	:	ትል	:		:		
'ənkiya'		häylänña	y-	amält	=əw	tə-	l				
'ənkiya'		häylänña	yə-	amält	=w <sub>1</sub>	tə- <sub>2</sub>	l				
therefore, in that case		powerful	3M	escape\IMPF	=3MS	2	say\IMPF				
<Not Sure>		adj	v:Any	vt	pro	v:Any	vt				
therefore, in that case		powerful		he escapes him		you say					
እንደኛን	:	ናምሩድ	:	ኅይል	:	ሄት	:	አል	:	ሶምሶን	:
'əndäḥon	namrud	häyyal	het	'äll		somson	het				
'əndäḥon	namrud	häyyal	het	'äll		somson	het				
if	Nimrod	powerful	where	there be\PERF		Samson	where				
prt	nprop	adj	<Not Sure>	vi		nprop	<Not Sure>				
if	Nimrod	powerful	where	there was		Samson	where				

ከል	:	አግ	:	ጎያል	:	ሄት	:	ከል	:	ጎልያድ	:	ጎያል	:			
'äll		'äg		häyyal		het		'äll		golyad		häyyal				
'äll		'äg		häyyal		het		'äll		golyad		häyyal				
there be\PERF		Og		powerful		where		there be\PERF		Goliath		powerful				
vi		nprop		adj		<Not Sure>		vi		nprop		adj				
there was		Og		powerful		where		there was		Goliath		powerful				
ሄት	:	ከል	:	ባቄላ	:	የአኸል	:	ዳንገያ	:							
het		'äll		baqela		yä'äxəl		dangäya								
het		'äll		baqela		yä'axəl		dangäya								
where		there be\PERF		bean		(as much) as		rock								
<Not Sure>		vi		n		prt		n								
where		there was		bean		as much as		rock								
የጎደለው					:	የቀሩም			:	ብዙህ			:			
yä=		gäddäl		-ä		=w		yä=		qärr		-u		=mm		bəzuḥ
yä=		gäddäl		-ä <sub>2</sub>		=w <sub>1</sub>		yä=		qärr		-u		=mm <sub>2</sub>		bəzuḥ
REL=		kill\PERF		3MS		=3MS		REL=		remain\PERF		PL		=also		abundant
rel		vt		v:Any		pro		rel		vi		v:Any		prt		adj
that he killed him								those who remained, also								abundant
እንዴኸ	:	ያሉ						ጥቶ	:					::		
'ənd		=ex		y=		all		-u		mot		-u				
'əndä		=ex		yä=		'äll		-u		mot <sub>2</sub>		-u				
like		=this		REL=		there be\PERF		PL		die\PERF		PL				
prep		dem		rel		vi		v:Any		vi		v:Any				
like this				that there were						they died						

Where is our father Adam, to whom he (God) subjected the whole creation, and whom he made king over all? Where is Noah, the righteous one, whom he saved when he destroyed the world with the flood? Where is Moses, the prophet, who conversed with God face to face? The other prophets also died.' So, if you say, 'The powerful one will escape him', where is Nimrod the powerful? Where is Samson? Where is Og the powerful? Where is Goliath the powerful, whom a stone the size of a bean killed? And many others like this died.

7.4 የገገሠግዎ				: ያመልጥ		: ትል		:
yä=	näggäs	-ä	=mm	y-	amält	tə-	l	
yä=	näggäs	-ä <sub>2</sub>	=mm <sub>2</sub>	yə-	amält	tə- <sub>2</sub>	l	
REL=	reign\PERF	3MS	=also	3M	escape\IMPF	2	say\IMPF	
rel	vt	v:Any	prt	v:Any	vt	v:Any	vt	
	the one who reigned, also			he escapes		you say		
እንደኛን	: ሄት	: ደረሰ		: ሳኦል	: ንጉሥ	: ሄት	: ደረሰ	: ደዊት
'əndäḥon	het	därräs	sä'ol	nəguś	het	därräs	däwit	
'əndäḥon	het	därräs	sä'ol	nəguś	het	därräs	däwit	
if	where	arrive\PERF	Saul	king	where	arrive\PERF	David	
prt	<Not Sure>	vt	nprop	n	<Not Sure>	vt	nprop	
if	where	he arrived	Saul	king	where	he arrived	David	
:	ንጉሥ	: የቀሩግዎ		:	ነገሥታት	: ኅሉግዎ	:	
nəguś	yä=	qärr	-u	=mm	nägästat	ḥ <sup>w</sup> əllu	=mm	
nəguś	yä=	qärr	-u	=mm <sub>2</sub>	nəguś	ḥ <sup>w</sup> əllu	=mm <sub>2</sub>	
king	REL=	remain\PERF	PL	=also	king.PL	all	=also	
n	rel	vi	v:Any	prt	n	det	prt	
king	those who remained, also			king	all			
ግዎቱ	::							
mot	-u							
mot <sub>2</sub>	-u							
die\PERF	PL							
vi	v:Any							
they died								

If you say, 'The one who reigned will escape', where did Saul the king go? Where did David the king go, also the other kings? They all died also.

7.5 የተጠበቀ

: ያመልጥ

: ትል

yä= tätäbbäb -ä =mm y- amält tə- 1  
 yä= tätäbbäb -ä<sub>2</sub> =mm<sub>2</sub> yə- amält tə-<sub>2</sub> 1  
 REL= become wise\PERF 3MS =also 3M escape\IMPF 2 say\IMPF  
 rel n v:Any prt v:Any vt v:Any vt  
 that he became wise, also he escapes you say  
 : እንደኛን : ከሰሎሞን : ይልህቅ : ጠቢብ :

'əndäḥon kä= sälonon yəlhəq təbib  
 'əndäḥon kä= sälonon yəlhəq təbib  
 if from= Solomon rather wise person

prt prep nprop <Not Sure> n  
 if from Solomon rather wise person  
 አልተፈጠረም : እርሱም : ከሞት :

'äl= tä- fättär -ä =mm 'ərsu =mm kä= mot  
 'äl= tä- fättär -ä<sub>2</sub> =mm<sub>2</sub> 'ərsu =mm<sub>2</sub> kä= mot<sub>1</sub>  
 NEG= PASS create\PERF 3MS =also 3MS =also from= death  
 prt v>v vt v:Any prt pro prt prep n  
 NEG he, also from death

አላመለጠም : መልካም : ያመልጥ

'äl= amällät -ä =mm mälkə'am =a y- amält  
 'äl= 'ämällät -ä<sub>2</sub> =mm<sub>1</sub> mälkə'am =a yə- amält  
 NEG= escape\PERF 3MS =NEG beautiful =INJUNCTIVE 3M escape\IMPF  
 prt vt v:Any prt adj prt v:Any vt  
 NEG beautiful he escapes

: ትል : እንደኛን : ስንቱት : ምልክቶች :

tə- 1 'əndäḥon səntu =(t) mälkə'am -očč  
 tə-<sub>2</sub> 1 'əndäḥon səntu =(t) mälkə'am -očč  
 2 say\IMPF if how many =COP/FOC beautiful PL  
 v:Any vt prt q prt adj n:Any  
 you say if how many beautiful (ones)

የሞቱ		: በዓለ		: ጸጋ		: ያመልጥ		:
yä=	mot	-u	bä'al	-ä	šägga	y-	amält	
yä=	mot <sub>2</sub>	-u	bä'al	-ä <sub>1</sub>	šägga	yə-	amält	
REL=	die\PERF	PL	owner	GEN	grace; asset	3M	escape\IMPF	
rel	vi	v:Any	n	Noun	n	v:Any	vt	
	who have died		owner of		asset		he escapes	
ትል		: እንደሆነ		: ሄት		: አል		:
tə-	1	'əndāhon		het		'äll		
tə- <sub>2</sub>	1	'əndāhon+SP. VAR. OF		het		'äll		
2	say\IMPF	if		where		there be\PERF		
v:Any	vt	prt		<Not Sure>		vi		
	you say	if		where		there was		
የሚሸለሙ				: አያሳሉት				:
yämm=	i-	ššälläm		-u	'iyä=	'ələt	=u	
yä=	yə-	ššälläm		-u	'əyyä=+UNSPEC. VAR. OF	'ələt	=u <sub>1</sub>	
REL=	3M	be adorned\IMPF	PL	every=		day	=DEF	
rel	v:Any	vi		v:Any	<Not Sure>	n	def	
	that they become adorned				every day			
ቁመሽ		: ኅሉም		: ሞቱ		: ከብቱም		:
qumäš		h <sup>w</sup> əllu	=mm	mot	-u	käbt	=u	=mm
qumas+UNSPEC. VAR. OF		h <sup>w</sup> əllu	=mm <sub>2</sub>	mot <sub>2</sub>	-u	käbt	=u <sub>1</sub>	=mm <sub>2</sub>
clothing		all	=also	die\PERF	PL	wealth	=DEF	=also
n		det	prt	vi	v:Any	n	def	prt
clothing		all		they died		the wealth		
የጎልፋል		: አይከተልም						:
yä-	hälf	=all	'ä=	yə-	kkättäl	=əmm		
yə-	hälf	=all	'äl=	yə-	kkättäl	=mm <sub>1</sub>		
3M	pass\IMPF	=AUX	NEG=	3M	follow\IMPF	=NEG		
v:Any	vi	v	prt	v:Any	vt	prt		
	he will pass		NEG					

ያለቅሬና : አይወስድም :

yalä=	qərre	=nna	'ä=	yə-	wäsd	=əmm
yalä=	qərre	=nna	'äl=	yə-	wäsd	=mm <sub>1</sub>
without=	remainder(?)	=CONJ	NEG=	3M	take(away)\IMPF	=NEG
<Not Sure>	n	prt	prt	v:Any	vt	prt
and without remainder			NEG			

ያም : ለምስጥ ::

ya	=mm	lä=	məst
ya	=mm <sub>2</sub>	lä=1	məst
that.M	=also	for=	termite
dem	prt	prep	n
that, also		for	termite

If you say, 'The wise one will escape', no man wiser than Solomon was created, but he did not escape from death. If you say, 'The comely will escape', how many are the comely who died! If you say, 'The rich person will escape', where are the ones who are adorned each day in (new) clothes? They all died also. The wealth will pass away; it will not follow after, without any remainder; one will not take it away - and that (will be) for the termites.

7.6 የገዙም : የጎልፋል :

yä=	gäzz	-u	=mm	yä-	häf	=all
yä=	gäzza	-u	=mm <sub>2</sub>	yə-	häf	=all
REL=	govern, rule over\PERF	PL	=also	3M	pass\IMPF	=AUX
rel	vt	v:Any	prt	v:Any	vi	v
	that they governed, also				he will pass	

የበለም : የጠጡም :

yä=	bäll	-u	=mm	yä=	tät	-u	=mm
yä=	bälla	-u	=mm <sub>2</sub>	yä=	tätta	-u	=mm <sub>2</sub>
REL=	eat\PERF	PL	=also	REL=	drink\PERF	PL	=also
rel	vt	v:Any	prt	rel	vt	v:Any	prt
	that they ate, also				that they drank, also		

የጎልፋል : የሰሐቁም :

yä- hälf =all yä= səhhäq -u =mm  
yə- hälf =all yä= səhhäq+UNSPEC. VAR. OF -u =mm<sub>2</sub>  
3M pass\IMPF =AUX REL= laugh\PERF PL =also  
v:Any vi v rel vi v:Any prt  
he will pass that they laughed, also  
የተፈገፀም :

yä= täfäggä<sup>‘</sup> -u =mm  
yä= täfäggä<sup>‘</sup> -u =mm<sub>2</sub>  
REL= live a life of pleasure\PERF PL =also  
rel vi v:Any prt  
that they lived a life of pleasure, also  
የዘመወወም : ሌላው : ጎሉ : እንዴኸ :

yä= zämmäw -u =mm lela =w ከወላላ ሕይወት =ex  
yä= zämmäw -u =mm<sub>2</sub> lela =w<sub>2</sub> ከወላላ ሕይወት =ex  
REL= fornicate\PERF PL =also other =DEF all like =this  
rel vi v:Any prt adj def det prep dem  
that they fornicated, also the other all like this  
ያለ : ነገር : የጎልፋል : በዚህ :

y= all -ä nägär yä- hälf =all bä= =zzex  
yä= ’äll -ä<sub>2</sub> nägär yə- hälf =all bä= =zzex  
REL= there be\PERF 3MS matter 3M pass\IMPF =AUX in, by= =this  
rel vi v:Any n v:Any vi v prep dem  
that there was matter he will pass by this  
ዓለም ::

‘aläm  
‘aläm  
world  
n  
world

The ones who ruled so will pass away. Both the ones who ate and the ones who drank will pass away, also the ones who laughed, who made merry, who fornicated. Everything else like this will pass away in this world.

7.7 እስኩ	: ንግግር	: ነፍሴ	:
'əsku	nə-	mmakär	näfs =e
'əsku	nə-	mmakär	näfs =e
lo and behold (G)	1CP	take counsel together\JUSS	soul =1CS
interj	v:Any	vi	n pro
lo and behold (G)	let us take counsel together		my soul
ለጥንት	: የሚሆንን		: ነገር :
lä=	tənt	yämm=	i- hon =ən nägär
lä=1	tənt	yä=	yə- ḥon1+SP. VAR. OF =n1 nägär
for=	beginning, ancient times	REL=	3M be\IMPF =ACC matter
prep n		rel	v:Any vi prt n
for beginning		that he is	matter
እምጅገልፉን		: ቲተን	: እመነያልፉን :
'əmm=	yə- ḥälf	-u =n	tit =än
yä=	yə- ḥälf	-u =n1	tət+UNSPEC. VAR. OF =n4
REL=	3M	pass\IMPF PL	=ACC leave\CVB =1CP
rel	v:Any	vi	v:Any prt tcvb pro
that they pass			we having left
በማን	: እንምነፀን	: ይሆን	:
bä=	man 'ənnə-	mməḥäddän	yə- hon
bä=	man 'ənnə-	mməḥäddän	yə- ḥon1+SP. VAR. OF
in, by=	who	1CP	seek refuge with\IMPF 3M be\IMPF
prep interrog	v:Any	vi	v:Any vi
in whom	I seek refuge (with)		he is
እምጅስምህረን		: ይኸን	: ብላ :
'əmm=	y- asməhhər	=än	yəx =ən bəl -a
yä=	yə- asməhhər	=n4	yəx =n1 bəl -a
REL=	3M	cause to forgive\IMPF	=1CP this.M =ACC say\CVB 3FS
rel	v:Any	vt	pro dem prt tcvb cvb:Any
who causes to forgive us			this she having said

ስትናገር			: ደረትዋን			: ስትመታ		:
sə=	tə-	nnaggär	därät	=wa	=n	sə=	t-	mäta
sə=	tə- <sub>1</sub>	nnaggär	därät	=wa	=n <sub>1</sub>	sə=	tə- <sub>1</sub>	mäta
while=	3FS	speak\IMPF	chest	=3FS	=ACC	while=	3FS	beat\IMPF
advlizer	v:Any	vt	n	pro	prt	advlizer	v:Any	vt
while she speaks			her chest			while she beats		
ሊቃልዋም			: ቢሐይ			: እግዚአብሔር		:
lä=	qal	=wa	=mm	b=	i-	häy	'əgzi'	äbəher
lä= <sub>1</sub>	qal	=wa	=mm <sub>2</sub>	bə=	yə-	hay	'əgzi'	äbəher
for=	word	=3FS	=also	when=	3M	see\IMPF	God	
prep	n	pro	prt	prt	v:Any	vt	nprop	
for her word, also				when he sees			God	
ራርጎላት				: መንፈስ		: ቅዱስ		:
rarrəḥ		-ä	=ll	=ät	መንፈስ	qəddus		
rarrəḥ		-ä <sub>2</sub>	=ll	=ät	mänfäs	qəddus		
be merciful\PERF	3MS	=APPL	=3MS	spirit	holy			
vi	v:Any	prt	pro	n	adj			
he was merciful for his benefit				spirit	holy			
ከሠተላት			∴					
käśśät		-ä	=ll	=at				
käśśät		-ä <sub>2</sub>	=ll	=at				
reveal\PERF	3MS	=APPL	=3FS					
vt	v:Any	prt	pro					
he revealed for her benefit								

So then, let us take counsel together, my soul, about the matter which will be eternal, leaving that which passes away (for) what does not pass away. In whom shall we seek refuge, who will cause us to be forgiven?" While she was saying this, while she was beating her breast, God took pity on her when he beheld her word. The Holy Spirit revealed (this) to her,

8.1 ስትል			: አላኮን		: መድኅኔ	: ዓለም	: ከሰማይ	:
sə=	tə-	l	'älla	kon	mādhāne	'alām	kä=	sāmay
sə=	tə- <sub>1</sub>	l	'älla	hōn <sub>2</sub>	mādhāne	'alām	kä=	sāmay
while=	3FS	say\ IMPF	but	be\ PERF	savior of	world	from=	heaven
advlizer	v:Any	vt	conn	vi	n	n	prep	n
while she says			but he was		savior of	world	from	heaven
ወርዶ			: ከድንግል		: ተወልዶ		:	
wārd	-o	kä=	dəngəl	tāwäld			-o	
wārd <sub>1</sub>	-o	kä=	dəngəl	tāwäld			-o	
descend\ CVB	3MS	from=	virgin	be born\ CVB	3MS			
icvb	cvb:Any	prep	n	icvb	cvb:Any			
he having descended		from	virgin	he having been born				
አለ		: በእንተ	: ፍቅር	: ሰብእ	: ዕውር	:		
'äll	-ä	bä'əntä	fəqr	-ä	säb'	'əwwər		
'äll	-ä <sub>2</sub>	bä'əntä	fəqr	-ä <sub>1</sub>	säb'	'əwwər		
there be\ PERF	3MS	concerning	love	GEN	man	blind		
vi	v:Any	prep	n	Noun	n	adj		
there was		concerning	love	man	blind			
ያበራህ		: ሐንጻስ	: ያረታዕ		: ለምጽ	:		
y=	abärrah	hänk <sup>w</sup> as	y=	arätta'		lämş		
yä=	'äbärrah	hänk <sup>w</sup> as	yä=	'ärätta'		lämş		
REL=	restore vision\ PERF	limping	REL=	straighten\ PERF		leprosy		
rel	vt	adj	rel	vt		n		
that he restored vision		limping	that he straightened			leprosy		
ያንዲህ		: መግባዕ	: ያሸዓረ		: በጠጁ	:		
y=	anäşşah	mādag <sup>wə</sup> '	y=	aş'ar	-ä	bä=	38	
yä=	'änäşşah	mādag <sup>wə</sup> '	yä=	'aş'ar	-ä <sub>2</sub>	bä=	38	
REL=	purify\ PERF	paralytic (G)	REL=	cure\ PERF	3MS	in, by=	38	
rel	vt	adj	rel	vt	v:Any	prep	cardnum	
that which purifies		paralytic	that he cured			in, by		

ግመቱ : ከተሰመመ : መጥ : ያነሣ :  
 ‘amät =u kä= tähämmäm -ä mut y= anäśśa  
 ‘amät =u<sub>2</sub> kä= tähämmäm -ä<sub>2</sub> mut yä= ’änäśśa  
 year =3MS after= fall ill\PERF 3MS dead REL= raise\PERF  
 n pro advlizer vi v:Any adj rel vt  
 his year after he fell ill dead that he raised  
 የርገበን : ያጸገብ :  
 yä= rəḥäb -ä =n y= aṣäggäb  
 yä= rəḥäb -ä<sub>2</sub> =n<sub>1</sub> yä= ’äṣäggäb  
 REL= be hungry\PERF 3MS =ACC REL= satiate\PERF  
 rel vi v:Any prt rel vt  
 that he became hungry that he satiated  
 በጠቂት : ነገር : ጎጠእን : እሚምሀር :  
 bä= tiqit nägär ḥäṭi’ =ən ’əmm= i- məhr  
 bä= ṭəqit+UNSPEC. VAR. OF nägär yä= yə- məhr  
 in, by= small amount matter REL= 3M forgive\IMPF  
 prep n n rel v:Any vt  
 in brief matter that he forgives  
 ሀለበት : ዚግ : ዕርራ : ልሂድ :  
 hällä =bb =ät zig ‘ərəra lə- hid  
 ’äll+UNSPEC. VAR. OF =bb =ät lə- hid  
 there be\PERF =APPL =3MS 1CS.JUSS go\JUSS  
 vi prt pro v:Any vi  
 there was to his disadvantage let me go

ደርሻ		: ግዳጅን		: ብነግረው		:
därəšš	-e	gəddağ	=e =n	b= ə-	nägr	=äw
därəšš	-e	gəddağ	=e =n <sub>1</sub>	bə= 'ə-	nägr	=w <sub>1</sub>
arrive\CVB.1CS	1CS	need	=1CS =ACC	if= 1CS	tell\IMPF	=3MS
icvb	cvb:Any	n	pro prt	prt v:Any	vt	pro
I having arrived		my need		if I tell him		
ደሰግጠኝ		: እኝን	::			
yə-	säm'a	=ññ	'əxxon			
yə-	säm'a	=ññ	'əxxon			
3M	hear\IMPF	=1CS	indeed			
v:Any	vt	pro	prt			
1CS			indeed			

and she said, "So there is a Savior of the World; having descended from Heaven, he has been born of a virgin, for love of man, who made the blind see, who straightened the lame, who cleansed the leper, who cured the paralytic in his 38th year after he became sick, who raised the dead, who satisfied the hungry with a small thing. Let me go to where the one who forgives sins is; for he will indeed hear me if I come and tell him my need.

8.2 ድረውነስ	: ለማን	: ብሎ	: መጸ	: ለ'ጢአተኛ	:		
dərowənäss	lä=	man	bəl	-o	mässa	lä=	hätı'ätännä
dərowənäss	lä= <sub>1</sub>	man	bəl	-o	mässa	lä= <sub>1</sub>	hätı'ätännä
earlier	for=	who	say\CVB	3MS	come\PERF	for=	sinner
<Not Sure>	prep	interrog	tcvb	cvb:Any	vi	prep	n
earlier	for whom		he having said		he comes	for	sinner

እንጂ ::

'əngi

'əngi

EMPH

prt

EMPH

As for the past, for whom did he come? For the sinner, of course!

8.3 የተቀበለኝ

: እንደኛን : ነገሩን : ምሉዕ :

yä= täqäbbäl -ä =ññ 'əndäḥon nägär =u =n məlu'  
 yä= täqäbbäl -ä<sub>2</sub> =ññ 'əndäḥon nägär =u<sub>1</sub> =n<sub>1</sub> məlu'  
 REL= receive\PERF 3MS =1CS if matter =DEF =ACC full  
 rel vt v:Any pro prt n def prt adj  
 that he received me if the matter full

መሐሪነው : ርሩጎ : ዛሬስ : ቆይ :

mähäri =n -äw rərruḥ zare =ss qoy  
 mähäri =n<sub>5</sub> -äw rərruḥ zare =ss qoy

merciful =COP 3MS compassionate today =as for wait\IMPV  
 adj prt prt:Any adj n prt vi  
 he is merciful compassionate today, as for wait!  
 አልሰምዳሽም : ቢለኝም :

'ä= l- säm'a =š =əmm b= i- l =äññ =əmm  
 'äl= 'ə- säm'a =š =mm<sub>2</sub> bə= yə- l =ññ =mm<sub>2</sub>  
 NEG= 1CS hear\IMPF =2FS =also if= 3M say\IMPF =1CS =also  
 prt v:Any vt pro prt prt v:Any vt pro prt  
 I do not hear you.F, also if he says to me

አላገረመርምም : አይሻልም :

'ä= l- ag<sup>w</sup>rämärm =əmm 'ä= yə- ššal =əmm  
 'äl= 'ə- ag<sup>w</sup>rämärm =mm<sub>2</sub> 'äl= yə- ššal =mm<sub>2</sub>  
 NEG= 1CS grumble\IMPF =also NEG= 3M be advisable\IMPF =also  
 prt v:Any vi prt prt v:Any vi prt  
 I do not grumbel he is not advisable  
 ኅጢአትሽም : ብዙኅነው :

ḥäti'ät =əš =əmm bəzuḥ =n -äw  
 ḥäti'at =š =mm<sub>2</sub> bəzuḥ =n<sub>5</sub> -äw  
 sin =2FS =also abundant =COP 3MS  
 n pro prt adj prt prt:Any  
 your sin abundant, he is

ቢሉኝም					: ለምና		: በምድር		:
b=	i-	l	=äññ	=əmm	lämən	=a	bä=	mədər	
bə=	yə-	l	=ññ	=mm <sub>2</sub>	lämən	=a	bä=	mədər	
if=	3M	say\IMPF	=1CS	=also	why	=INJUNCTIVE	in, by=	earth	
prt	v:Any	vt	pro	prt	adv	prt	prep	n	
if he says to me					why		on	earth	
ስንኳ			: አውቃለኑ						:
sənx <sup>w</sup> a		'-	äwq	=all	-äḥ <sup>w</sup>				
sənk <sup>w</sup> a+UNSPEC. VAR. OF		'ə-	'awq	=all	-ku+UNSPEC. VAR. OF				
even		1CS	know\IMPF	=AUX	1CS				
adv		v:Any	vt	v	v:Any				
even		I know							
ይታውን		: ሰው	: ቢቢድላ				: መሐር		:
g <sup>w</sup> eta	=w	=ən	säw	b=	i-	bäddəl		mähär	
g <sup>w</sup> eta	=w <sub>1</sub>	=n <sub>1</sub>	säw	bə=	yə-	bäddəl		mähär	
lord	=3MS	=ACC	man	if=	3M	(do) wrong (to)\IMPF		forgive\IMPV	
n	pro	prt	n	prt	v:Any	vt		vt	
his lord			man		if he does wrong (to)			forgive!	
ብሉ			: ቢሉ			: ነግ			:
bəl	-o	b=	i-	l	-u	näg			
bəl	-o	bə=	yə-	l	-u	nägä+UNSPEC. VAR. OF			
say\CVB	3MS	if=	3M	say\IMPF	PL	tomorrow			
tevb	cvb:Any	prt	v:Any	vt	v:Any	n			
he having said		if they say				tomorrow			
ይኹን		: ጥቂት		: ይብረድይ		: ይላል			
yə-	xun	təqit		yə-	bräd	=əyy	yə-	l	=all
yə-	xun	təqit		yə-	bräd		yə-	l	=all
3M	be\JUSS	small amount	3M		cool\JUSS	3M	say\IMPF	=AUX	
v:Any	vi	n	v:Any	vi	v:Any	vt	v		
let him be		a little	may he cool (for me?)		he will say				
∴									

If he receives the matter for me, he is fully forgiving (and) merciful. But if he says to me, 'As for today, wait, I will not hear you', I will not grumble. And if he says to me, 'It is not possible; your sin is very great', (I will not complain) because I know even on earth if a man commits an

offence against his master, if they say (to the master), 'Forgive', he will say, 'Let it be tomorrow; let it cool off a little for me' -

8.4 ስንኳ	: ፈጣሪ	: ሰማያት	: ወምድር	:
sənk <sup>w</sup> a	fätare	sämay	-at	wä= mädər
sənk <sup>w</sup> a	fätare	sämay	-at	wä= mädər
even	creator of	heaven	PL	and= earth
adv	n	n	n:Any	coordconn n
even	creator of	heaven		and

how much more (will) the creator of Heaven and earth (do this),

8.5 ይኸንን	: የአኸል	: እዳ	: ሳለብኝ	:
yəxənnän	yä'äxəl	'əda	s= all	-ä =bb =əññ
yəxənnän	yä'äxəl	'əda	sə= 'äll	-ä <sub>2</sub> =bb =ññ
this.ACC	(as much) as	debt	while= there be\PERF	3MS =APPL =1CS
dem	prt	n	advlizer vi	v:Any prt pro
this	as much as	debt	while there was to my disadvantage	

ለነገሩ	: ቢኖን	: ቀርቦን
lä=	nägär =u	b= i- xon qärb -o =n
lä= <sub>1</sub>	nägär =u <sub>1</sub>	bə= yə- ḥon <sub>1</sub> +SP. VAR. OF qärb <sub>1</sub> -o =n <sub>3</sub>
for=	matter =DEF	if= 3M be\IMPF come close\CVB 3MS =1CP
prep	n def	prt v:Any vi icvb cvb:Any pro
for the matter		if he is he having approached us
: ሳል	: ነይ	: ዓይን : ደርቆ

s=	all	näy	'ayn	därq	-e
sə=	'äll	näy	'ayn	därq	-e
while=	there be\PERF	come.IMPV.FS	eye	be bold\CVB	1CS
advlizer	vi	vi	n	icvb	cvb:Any
while there was		come!	eye	I having been bold	

ልኸጂ	: በግዳ	: በዓይን	:	
lə-	xiğ	bä=	gədd =u	bä= 'ayn
lə-	hid+UNSPEC. VAR. OF	bä=	gədd =u <sub>1</sub>	bä= 'ayn
1CS.JUSS	go\JUSS	in, by=	necessity =DEF	in, by= eye
v:Any	vi	prep	n	def prep n
let me go		in the necessity		in eye

ድርቀት	:	አይደል	:	ደም	:	ይውገዘዋት	:	የነበር	:
dərqät	=wa	'äydoll	däm	yə-	wḥäz	=awat	yä=	näbbär	
dərqät	=wa	'äydoll	däm	yə-	wḥäz	=wat	yä=	näbbär	
stubbornness	=3FS	COP.NEG	blood	3M	flow\ IMPF	=3FS	REL=	be\ PERF	
n	pro	prt	n	v:Any	vi	pro	rel	vi	
her stubbornness		is not	blood	3FS			that he was		
አሥራኩለት	:	ዓመት	:	የልብሱን	:	ዘርፍ	:	ብትይገዝ	
'äsrah <sup>w</sup> älätt	'amät	yä=	ləbs	=u	=n	zärf	bə=	tə-	yəḥəz
'äsrah <sup>w</sup> älätt	'amät	yä=	ləbs	=u <sub>1</sub>	=n <sub>1</sub>	zärf	bə=	tə <sub>-1</sub>	yəḥəz
twelve	year	GEN=	garment	=DEF	=ACC	fringe	if=	3FS	grab\ IMPF
cardnum	n	prt	n	def	prt	n	prt	v:Any	vt
twelve	year	of the garment				fringe	if she grabs		
:	መረጃ		:						
mähḥär	-ä	=wat							
mähḥär	-ä <sub>2</sub>	=wat							
forgive\ PERF	3MS	=3FS							
n	v:Any	pro							
he forgave her									

while a debt as great as this is upon me! So, if the matter is to be, while he is near to us, come (my soul!), let me go boldly, of necessity. Was it not by her boldness, when (the woman) from whom blood flowed (for) twelve years grasped the edge of his garment, that he forgave her?

8.6 ተአማኒ : እንዲ : አይወድም : ብላ :

tä`amani	'əndi	'ä=	y-	wädd	=əmm	bəl	-a
tä`amani	'əndi	'äl=	yə-	wädd	=mm <sub>2</sub>	bəl	-a
believer (G)	but	NEG=	3M	desire\ IMPF	=also	say\ CVB	3FS
n	conn	prt	v:Any	vt	prt	tcvb	cvb:Any
believer (G)	but	NEG				she having said	

አለቸኛ

'äl	-äčč	=əmma
'äl	-äčč	=mma
say\ PERF	3FS	=CONJ
vt	v:Any	prt
she said and		

(He did it) for the believer, but does not wish (to do it for the unbeliever)." (So) she said, and,

8.7 ከዚያ : ተነሥታ : ከቤተ : መዝገብዋ :  
 kä= =zziya tänäšt -a kä= bet -ä mǎzgǎb =wa  
 kä= =zziya tänäšt -a kä= bet -ä₁ mǎzgǎb =wa  
 from= =that arise\CVB 3FS from= house GEN treasury =3FS  
 prep dem icvb cvb:Any prep n Noun n pro  
 from there she having arisen from house of her treasury

ገባች

::

gǎbba -čč  
 gǎbba -äčč  
 enter\PERF 3FS  
 vt v:Any  
 she entered

rising from there, she entered her treasury.

9.1 ገብታ : ገረድዋን : ጸራችና :

gǎbt -a gǎräd =wa =n šärra -čč =ǎnna  
 gǎbt -a gǎräd =wa =n₁ šärra -äčč =nna  
 enter\CVB 3FS maid =3FS =ACC call\PERF 3FS =CONJ  
 icvb cvb:Any n pro prt vt v:Any prt  
 she having entered her maid she called and

እስኪ : ያን : ኸብቴን : ኸላሉን :

’ǎski ya =n xäbt =e =n ḥwǎllu =n  
 ’ǎski ya =n₁ käbt+UNSPEC. VAR. OF =e =n₁ ḥwǎllu =n₁  
 come now, please that.M =ACC wealth =1CS =ACC all =ACC  
 interj dem prt n pro prt det prt  
 come now, please that my wealth all

አንቆ : አለችዋት :

’ǎnč ’äl -äčč =äwat  
 ’ǎnč ’äl -äčč =wat  
 bring.IMPV.FS say\PERF 3FS =3FS  
 vt vt v:Any pro  
 bring.IMPV.FS she said to her

ያለውን					: ከብትዋን			: በሙሉ	:
y=	all	-ä	=w	=ən	käbt	=wa	=n	bä=	mulu
yä=	'äll	-ä <sub>2</sub>	=w <sub>2</sub>	=n <sub>1</sub>	käbt	=wa	=n <sub>1</sub>	bä=	mulu
REL=	there be\PERF	3MS	=DEF	=ACC	wealth	=3FS	=ACC	in, by=	whole
rel	vi	v:Any	def	prt	n	pro	prt	prep	adj
	the one who there is				her wealth			in full	
	አመጸቸላት				::				
'ä-	mäṣṣa	-čč	=əll	=at					
'ä-	mäṣṣa	-äčč	=ll	=at					
CAUS	come\PERF	3FS	=APPL	=3FS					
v>v	vi	v:Any	prt	pro					
	she brought to her								

Having entered, she called her maid, and said to her, "So, then, bring all that wealth of mine!"  
She brought to her, in full, all her wealth that there was.

9.2 አውጦታ					: ብትሐይ			:	
'äwdət	-a	bə=	t-	ḥäy					
'äwdət	-a	bə=	tə- <sub>1</sub>	ḥay					
cause to go out\CVB	3FS	when=	3FS	see\IMPF					
tcvb	cvb:Any	prt	v:Any	vt					
she having taken out		when she sees							
የግምቱውን				: ብዝነት		: የወርቁን		:	
yä=	gəmmət	=u	=w	=ən	bəzḥät	yä=	wärq	=u	=n
yä=	gəmmət	=u <sub>1</sub>	=w <sub>1</sub>	=n <sub>1</sub>	bəzḥat	yä=	wärq	=u <sub>1</sub>	=n <sub>1</sub>
GEN=	estimation	=DEF	=3MS	=ACC	abundance	GEN=	gold	=DEF	=ACC
prt	n	def	pro	prt	n	prt	n	def	prt
	of the estimation of his(?)				abundance		of that gold		
የብሩን				: የጎንጎትን		: የጸግትን			
yä=	bərr	=u	=n	yä=	ḥängät	=ən	yä=	ṣä'at	=ən
yä=	bərr	=u <sub>1</sub>	=n <sub>1</sub>	yä=	ḥängät	=n <sub>1</sub>	yä=	ṣat+UNSPEC. VAR. OF	=n <sub>1</sub>
GEN=	silver	=DEF	=ACC	GEN=	neck	=ACC	GEN=	finger, toe	=ACC
prt	n	def	prt	prt	n	prt	prt	n	prt
	of the silver				of neck			of finger	

: የሰብር	: ስንጥርን	: የቤት	: አቅሐዋን	:
yä= səbər səntər =n	yä= bet 'äqhä =wa =n			
yä= səbər səntər =n <sub>1</sub>	yä= bet 'äqhä =wa =n <sub>1</sub>			
GEN= broken splinter =ACC	GEN= house utensil(s) =3FS =ACC			
prt adj n prt prt n n pro prt	of the broken one splinter of house her utensil(s)			
ቁጸሬታ	: የሌለው		: የአኸል	:
q <sup>w</sup> ätäreta yä= lell	=äw yä'äxəl			
q <sup>w</sup> ätäreta yä= lell	=w <sub>1</sub> yä'äxəl			
enumerating REL= there be\PERF.SUBORD.NEG	=3MS (as much) as			
n rel vi	pro prt			
enumerating that there was not to him	as much as			
ብትሐይ	: ስትል		: አንተ	: ሸንጋጋይ
bə= t- häy sə= tə- l	'äntä šänga<ga>y käbt			
bə= tə- <sub>1</sub> hay sə= tə- <sub>1</sub> l	'äntä šängay käbt			
when= 3FS see\IMPF while= 3FS say\IMPF	2MS blandisher wealth			
prt v:Any vt advlizer v:Any vt	pro n n			
when she sees while she says	you blandisher wealth			
: ስንቱን	: ያጠፋኸ		: ከኔ	:
səntu =n y= aṭäffa -x	kä= ne			
səntu =n <sub>1</sub> yä= 'äṭäffa -x	kä= ne			
how many =ACC REL= destroy\PERF	2MS from= 1CS			
q prt rel vt	v:Any prep pro			
how many that you.M destroyed	from me			
ቀድሞኸ	: ስንቱን		: የሰንገልኸዋቶ	:
qäd <sup>m</sup> -äx səntu =n	yä= sängäl -x =äwatto			
qäd <sup>m</sup> -äx səntu =n <sub>1</sub>	yä= sängäl -x			
precede\CVB 2MS	how many =ACC REL= coax(?)\PERF 2MS			
icvb cvb:Any q prt rel vt	v:Any			
you having preceded how many	that you coaxed(?) them(?)			

አለኩ			:	አለኩ			:
'äll	-äh <sup>w</sup>			'äll	-äh <sup>w</sup>		
'äll	-ku+UNSPEC. VAR. OF			'äll	-ku+UNSPEC. VAR. OF		
there be\PERF	1CS			there be\PERF	1CS		
vi	v:Any			vi	v:Any		
I was there				I was there			
ስትል			:	ያትከተል			: ወትሮ :
sə=	tə-	1		y=	a=	tə-	kkättäl wätro
sə=	tə- <sub>2</sub>	1		yä=	'äl=	tə- <sub>2</sub>	kkättäl wätro
while=	2	say\IMPF		REL=	NEG=	2	follow\IMPF always
advlizer	v:Any	vt		rel	prt	v:Any	vt adv
while you say				that you do not follow			always
ላ--ያደልሐውን				: ስትሸኝ			:
laXX	y=	adälhäu	-ä =n	sə=	t-	šänñ	
				sə=	tə- <sub>2</sub>	šänñ	
				while=	2	escort\IMPF	
				advlizer	v:Any	vt	
				while you escort			
ያለውን				: ስትቀበል			: ወዳጅ
y=	all	-ä	=w	=ən	sə=	tə-	qqäbbäl wädağ
yä=	'äll	-ä <sub>2</sub>	=w <sub>2</sub>	=n <sub>1</sub>	sə=	tə- <sub>2</sub>	qqäbbäl wädağ
REL=	there be\PERF	3MS	=DEF	=ACC	while=	2	receive\IMPF friend
rel	vi	v:Any	def	prt	advlizer	v:Any	vt n
the one who there is					while you.M receive		friend

: መስለኸ		: ስታጠፋ		: አሰጥ		: ኢያለ :
mäsl	-äx	sə=	t-	aṭäfa	'ə-	sät
mäsl <sub>2</sub>	-äx	sə=	tə- <sub>2</sub>	aṭäfa	'ə-	sät
seem\CVB	2MS	while=	2	destroy\IMPF	1CS	give\IMPF
tcvb	cvb:Any	advlizer	v:Any	vt	v:Any	vt
you having seemed		while you.M	destroy		I give	
ይ---ተኸል	: ስትል		::			
	sə=	tə-	1			
	sə=	tə- <sub>2</sub>	1			
	while=	2	say\IMPF			
	advlizer	v:Any	vt			
	while you say					

When, having taken (it) out, she looked at (it), when she saw its great value, of gold and of silver, the ornaments for neck and finger, the house utensils which were without number, she said, "You deceitful wealth, who destroyed so many prior to me, who deceived so many, who, while you boast in your presence, do not follow forever, while you send on its way the one which is lacking, while you receive the one who is there, destroying while appearing to be my friend, saying, ' . . . . . ', while you say 'I will give!'.

9.3 እንግዲኸስ		: አወቅኸ-ብኸ		:
'əngədex	=əss	'äwwäq	-xu	=bb =əx
'əngədex	=ss	'awwäq	-ku+UNSPEC. VAR. OF	=bb =əx
therefore, so	=as for	discover\PERF	1CS	=APPL =2MS
<Not Sure>	prt	vt	v:Any	prt pro
therefore, so		I discovered to your disadvantage		
ያልሸሸም		: አያመልጥኸ		::
y=	al=	šäšš	=əmm 'ä=	y- amält =əx
yä=	'äl=	šäšš	=mm <sub>2</sub> 'äl=	yə- amält =əx
REL=	NEG=	flee\PERF	=also NEG=	3M escape\IMPF =2MS
rel	prt	vi	prt prt	v:Any vt pro
that he did not flee			he does not escape you.M	

So now I have found you out! The one who does not flee will not escape you."

9.4 ይኸነን	:	አለቸና--ዋን							:	ጸርታ	:
yəxənnän	'äl	-äčč	=əнна	XX	=wa	=n	şärt	-a			
yəxənnän	'äl	-äčč	=nna	=wa		=n <sub>1</sub>	şärt	-a			
this.ACC	say\PERF	3FS	=CONJ	=3FS		=ACC	call\CVB	3FS			
dem this	vt	v:Any	prt	pro		prt	tcvb	cvb:Any			
	she said and her...						she having called				
ሆኗ	:	ተሎ	:	አፍጥነሽ	:	ጽረልኝ	:				
həğ	tälo	'äftən	-äš	şər	-i	=ll	=əññ				
həğ	tälo	'äftən	-äš	şər	-i	=ll	=ññ				
go\IMPV.FS	soon	hurry\CVB	2FS	call\IMPV	FS	=APPL	=1CS				
vi	adv	icvb	cvb:Any	vt	v:Any	prt	pro				
go!	soon	you having hurried		call for my benefit!							
ያን	:	ነጋዴ	:	ዕፍረት	:	ያለውን	:				
ya	=n	näggade	'əfrät	y=	all	=äw	=ən				
ya	=n <sub>1</sub>	näggade	'əfrät	yä=	'äll	=w <sub>1</sub>	=n <sub>1</sub>				
that.M	=ACC	merchant	unguent	REL=	there be\PERF	=3MS	=ACC				
dem	prt	n	n	rel	vi	pro	prt				
that		merchant	unguent	that there is to him							
አለቸቻት			:	ገረድዋም	:	ተሎ	:	ሄደቸና	:		
'äl	-äčč	=äwat	gäräd	=wa	=mm	tälo	hed	-äčč	=əнна		
'äl	-äčč	=wat	gäräd	=wa	=mm <sub>2</sub>	tälo	hed <sub>1</sub>	-äčč	=nna		
say\PERF	3FS	=3FS	maid	=3FS	=also	soon	go\PERF	3FS	=CONJ		
vt	v:Any	pro	n	pro	prt	adv	vi	v:Any	prt		
she said to her			her maid, also			soon	she went and				
አመጸቸው			:	ስትለው	:						
'ä-	mäşša	-čč	=əw	sə=	t-	l	=äw				
'ä-	mäşša	-äčč	=w <sub>1</sub>	sə=	tə- <sub>1</sub>	l	=w <sub>1</sub>				
CAUS	come\PERF	3FS	=3MS	while=	3FS	say\IMPF	=3MS				
v>v	vi	v:Any	pro	advlizer	v:Any	vt	pro				
she brought him				while she is speaking to him							

ያን		:	ኅሉ	:	መዝገብ	:	አሳየቸውና		:	
ya	=n		ከግግረ		māzgäb		'äsayy	-äčč	=əw	=ənna
ya	=n <sub>1</sub>		ከግግረ		māzgäb		'äsayy	-äčč	=w <sub>1</sub>	=nna
that.M	=ACC		all		treasury		show\PERF	3FS	=3MS	=CONJ
dem	prt	det	n	vt	v:Any	pro	prt			
that		all	treasury		she showed him and					
----ነን		:	ኸብቴን			:	ኅሉን		:	
XXXX	=n	-än	xäbt	=e	=n	ከግግረ	=n			
			käbt+UNSPEC. VAR. OF	=e	=n <sub>1</sub>	ከግግረ	=n <sub>1</sub>			
			wealth	=1CS	=ACC	all	=ACC			
			n	pro	prt	det	prt			
			my wealth			all				
እስጥኸ		:	አያምልጥኸ			:				
'ə-	sṭ	=əx	'ä=	y-	amləṭ	=əx				
'ə-	sṭ	=əx	'äl=	yə-	amləṭ	=əx				
1CS	give\JUSS	=2MS	NEG=	3M	escape\JUSS	=2MS				
v:Any	vt	pro	prt	v:Any	vt	pro				
I give you.M			may he not escape you							
ከዕፍረትኸ		:	ስጠኝ	:	አለቸው		::			
kä=	'əfrät	=əx	səṭ	=änn	'äl	-äčč	=əw			
kä=	'əfrät	=əx	səṭ	=ññ	'äl	-äčč	=w <sub>1</sub>			
from=	unguent	=2MS	give\IMPV	=1CS	say\PERF	3FS	=3MS			
prep	n	pro	vt	pro	vt	v:Any	pro			
from your.M	unguent		give me!		she said to him					

She said this, and, calling her maid, she said to her, "Go quickly, make haste and call for me that trader who has unguent." Her maid went quickly and brought him. When she (Mary) spoke to him, she showed him all that treasure, and said to him, "We are ..... Let me give you all my wealth. Let it not escape you. Give me of your unguent."

10.1 ያ---ያን : የአኸል : ከብት : ቢሐይ :

yaXXX ya =n yä'äxəl kəbt b= i- həy  
 yä'axəl kəbt bə= yə- həy  
 (as much) as wealth when= 3M see\IMPF  
 prt n prt v:Any vt  
 as much as wealth when he sees

ደነገፀ

dänäggäd -ä  
 dänäggäd -ä<sub>2</sub>  
 be startled\PERF 3MS  
 vi v:Any  
 he was startled

When that ..... saw that much wealth, he was startled,

10.2 ሲለዋት : ምንኸንሽ :

s= i- l =awat mən xon -š  
 sə= yə- l =wat mən hən<sub>1</sub>+SP. VAR. OF -š  
 while= 3M say\IMPF =3FS what be\IMPF 2FS  
 advlizer v:Any vt pro interrog vi v:Any  
 while he speaks to her what are you

እመቤቱ : መልካማን : ጉልማሳ :

'əmmäbet mälkə'am =a =n g<sup>w</sup>əlmassa  
 'əmmäbet mälkə'am =a =n<sub>1</sub> g<sup>w</sup>əlmassa  
 lady of the house beautiful =INJUNCTIVE =ACC vigorous young man  
 n adj prt prt n  
 lady of the house beautiful vigorous young man

ሐይተሽ : በዜኸ : ሽታ : እሽንግለው :

həyt -äš bä= =zzex šətta 'ə- šänäggəl =äw  
 həyt+UNSPEC. VAR. OF -äš bä= =zzex šətta 'ə- šänäggəl =w<sub>1</sub>  
 see\CVB 2FS in, by= =this scent 1CS cajole\IMPF =3MS  
 tcvb cvb:Any prep dem n v:Any vt pro  
 you having seen by this scent I cajole him

ብለሽ		: ወይም	: በዓለ		: ብዙጎ	: ከብትን	:		
bəl	-äš	wäyəm	bä'al	-ä	bəzuḥ	käbt	=ən		
bəl	-äš	wäyəm	bä'al	-ä <sub>1</sub>	bəzuḥ	käbt	=n <sub>1</sub>		
say\CVB	2FS	or	owner	GEN	abundant	wealth	=ACC		
tcvb	cvb:Any	conn	n	Noun	adj	n	prt		
she having said		or	owner of		abundant	wealth			
ብትሐይ			: አስረገፍው				:		
bə=	t-	ḥäy	'-	äsräggäf			=əw		
bə=	tə- <sub>2</sub>	ḥay	'ə-	asräggəf+UNSPEC. VAR. OF			=w <sub>1</sub>		
when=	2	see\IMPF	1CS	make s.b. drop s.th. from his hands\IMPF			=3MS		
prt	v:Any	vt	v:Any	vt			pro		
when you see			I will make him drop from his hands						
ብለሽ		: ወይም	: ወዳጅሽት		: ሞቶ		:		
bəl	-äš	wäyəm	wädağ	=š	=ət(t)	mot	-o		
bəl	-äš	wäyəm	wädağ	=š	=t(t)	mot <sub>3</sub>	-o		
say\CVB	2FS	or	friend	=2FS	=COP/FOC	die\CVB	3MS		
tcvb	cvb:Any	conn	n	pro	prt	icvb	cvb:Any		
she having said		or	her friend			he having died			
ፊቱን		: ትቀብሩው			: ምነው		:		
fit	=u	=n	tə-	qäbbə'	-i	=w	mən	=n	-äw
fit	=u <sub>1</sub>	=n <sub>1</sub>	tə- <sub>1</sub>	qäbbə'a	-i	=w <sub>1</sub>	mən	=n <sub>5</sub>	-äw
face	=DEF	=ACC	3FS	anoint\IMPF	FS	=3MS	what	=COP	3MS
n	def	prt	v:Any	vt	v:Any	pro	interrog	prt	prt:Any
the face			she anoints him				what is he		

ውስጡ	:	ይኸን	:	የአኸል	:	
wäst	=u	yəx	=ən	yä'äxəl		
wäst	=u <sub>1</sub>	yəx	=n <sub>1</sub>	yä'axəl		
interior	=DEF	this.M	=ACC	(as much) as		
n	def	dem	prt	prt		
the interior		this		as much as		
የእምድትግሀሽ				: አለዋት		።
yä'əmm=	y-	atgəhä	=š	'äl	-ä	=wat
yä=	yə-	atgəhä	=š	'äl	-ä <sub>2</sub>	=wat
REL=	3M	render diligent\JUSS	=2FS	say\PERF	3MS	=3FS
rel	v:Any	vt	pro	vt	v:Any	pro
that may he		render you diligent		he said to her		

and said to her, "What has become of you, madam - having seen a comely youth, are you saying, 'I will entrap him with this perfume', or, when you saw a possessor of much wealth, are you saying, 'I will relieve him of it', or is it your friend - having died, you will anoint his face? What is the secret, that makes you persevere so much?" (So) he said to her.

10.3 ስትለው	:	እርስዎም	:	ይኸን	:	ኑሉ	:
sə=	t-	l	=äw	'ərswa	=mm	yəx	h <sup>w</sup> əllu
sə=	tə- <sub>1</sub>	l	=w <sub>1</sub>	'ərswa	=mm <sub>2</sub>	yəx	h <sup>w</sup> əllu
while=	3FS	say\IMPF	=3MS	3FS	=also	this.M	all
advlizer	v:Any	vt	pro	pro	prt	dem	det
while she is speaking to him			she, also			this	all
ያልኸን	:	ኡንኸ	:	መልክዓማን	:		:
y=	al	-x	=än	mälkä'am	=a		=n
yä=	'äl	-x	=n <sub>4</sub>	mälkä'am	=a		=n <sub>1</sub>
REL=	say\PERF	2MS	=1CP	beautiful	=INJUNCTIVE	=ACC	
rel	vt	v:Any	pro	adj	prt		prt
that you said to us				beautiful			
ጉልማሳ	:	ሐይተሽ	:	በዜኸን	:	ሽታ	:
g <sup>w</sup> əlmassa		häyt		-äš	bä=	=zzex	šötta
g <sup>w</sup> əlmassa		häyt+UNSPEC. VAR. OF		-äš	bä=	=zzex	šötta
vigorous young man		see\CVB		2FS	in, by=	=this	scent
n		tcvb		cvb:Any	prep	dem	n
vigorous young man		you having seen			by this		scent

አሸንግለው			: ብለሽ		: ያልኸን			:
'ə-	šänäggəl	=äw	bəl	-äš	y=	al	-x	=än
'ə-	šänäggəl	=w <sub>1</sub>	bəl	-äš	yä=	'äl	-x	=n <sub>4</sub>
1CS	cajole\IMPF	=3MS	say\CVB	2FS	REL=	say\PERF	2MS	=1CP
v:Any	vt	pro	tcvb	cvb:Any	rel	vt	v:Any	pro
I	cajole him		she	having said	that you	said to us		
የተሸንግለደሰ					: እንደሆነ			:
yä=	tä-	šänäggäl	-ä	=yy	=əss	'əndähon		
yä=	tä-	šänäggäl	-ä <sub>2</sub>	=yy	=ss	'əndähon+SP. VAR. OF		
REL=	PASS	coax\PERF	3MS	=1CS (?)	=as for	if		
rel	v>v	vt	v:Any	pro	prt	prt		
that he	coaxed me(?)				if			
ለመልከው			: ምሳሌ		: የሌለው			:
lä=	mälkä'	=u	məssale	yä=	lell		=äw	
lä=	mälkä'	=u <sub>2</sub>	məssale	yä=	lell		=w <sub>1</sub>	
for=	appearance	=3MS	likeness	REL=	there be\PERF.SUBORD.NEG		=3MS	
prep	n	pro	n	rel	vi		pro	
for his	appearance		likeness	that there	was not to him			
ቦዳለ		: ብዙኅ	: ከብትን		: ብትሐይ			:
bä'al	-ä	bəzuh	käbt	=ən	bə=	t-	ḥäy	
bä'al	-ä <sub>1</sub>	bəzuh	käbt	=n <sub>1</sub>	bə=	tə- <sub>1</sub>	ḥay	
owner	GEN	abundant	wealth	=ACC	when=	3FS	see\IMPF	
n	Noun	adj	n	prt	prt	v:Any	vt	
owner of		abundant	wealth		when she	sees		
አስረግፈው					: ብለሽ			:
'-	äsräggəf			=äw	bəl	-äš		
'ə-	äsräggəf			=w <sub>1</sub>	bəl	-äš		
1CS	make s.b. drop s.th. from his hands\IMPF	=3MS	say\CVB	2FS				
v:Any	vt	pro	tcvb	cvb:Any				
I	will make him drop from his hands		she	having said				

ያልኸኝ : አዋ : ከብተም : ይኸን  
y= al -x =änn 'äwa käbt =u =mm yəx =ən  
yä= 'äl -x =ññ 'äwa käbt =u<sub>2</sub> =mm<sub>2</sub> yəx =n<sub>1</sub>  
REL= say\PERF 2MS =1CS certainly (G) wealth =3MS =also this.M =ACC  
rel vt v:Any pro interj n pro prt dem prt  
that you said to me certainly (G) his wealth this  
: የአኸል : ያይሉ :

yä'äxəl y= a= yə- l -u  
yä'axəl yä= 'äl= yə- l -u  
(as much) as REL= NEG= 3M say\IMPF PL  
prt rel prt v:Any vt v:Any  
as much as that they do not say

የተረፈውን : የሚናኝ : ለኳስ :

yä= tärräf -ä =w =ən yämm= i- naññ  
yä= tärräf -ä<sub>2</sub> =w<sub>1</sub> =n<sub>1</sub> yä= yə- naññ  
REL= be extra\PERF 3MS =3MS =ACC REL= 3M disperse\IMPF  
rel vi v:Any pro prt rel v:Any vt  
that he became extra (for him?) that he disperses

በጀሰያለኝ : እንደኖን :

bägge sə= y- al =änn 'əndäḥon  
bägge sə= yə- 'äl =ññ 'əndäḥon  
all right while= 3M say\PERF =1CS if  
interj advlizer v:Any vt pro prt  
all right! while he said to me if

አስረግፈው : ብዬ ::

'- äsräggəf =äw bəy -ye  
'ə- asräggəf =w<sub>1</sub> bəl -e  
1CS make s.b. drop s.th. from his hands\IMPF =3MS say\CVB 1CS  
v:Any vt pro tcvb cvb:Any  
I will make him drop from his hands I having said

And she said to him, "All this which you said to me is true. You asked me if, having seen a comely youth, I intend to entrap him with this perfume, but, supposing he were entrapped by me, there is no likeness to his appearance! You asked me if, having seen a possessor of much

wealth, I intend to relieve him of it - yes! He who has inestimable wealth and who freely distributes his surplus, if indeed he consents for me, I intend to relieve him of it.

10.4 ወዳጅሽት			: ሞቶ			: ፊቱን			:
wādaḡ	=š	=ət(t)	mot	-o	fit	=u	=n		
wādaḡ	=š	=t(t)	mot <sub>3</sub>	-o	fit	=u <sub>2</sub>	=n <sub>1</sub>		
friend	=2FS	=COP/FOC	die\CVB	3MS	face	=3MS	=ACC		
n	pro	prt	icvb	cvb:Any	n	pro	prt		
your friend			he having died		his face				
ትቀብረው			: ያልሽን			: አዎ			:
tə-	qäbbə‘	-i	=w	y=	al	-x	=än	’äwa	
tə- <sub>2</sub>	qäbbə‘a	-i	=w <sub>1</sub>	yä=	’äl	-x	=n <sub>4</sub>	’äwa	
2	anoint\IMPF	FS	=3MS	REL=	say\PERF	2MS	=1CP	certainly (G)	
v:Any	vt	v:Any	pro	rel	vt	v:Any	pro	interj	
you	anoint him			that you said to us				certainly (G)	
እምወደው			: እንደነፍሴ			: እቅብዓው			:
’əmm=	ə-	wädd	=äw	’əndä	näfs	=e	’ə-	qäbbə‘a	=w
yä=	’ə-	wädd	=w <sub>2</sub>	’əndä	näfs	=e	’ə-	qäbbə‘a	=w <sub>1</sub>
REL=	1CS	love\IMPF	=DEF	like	soul	=1CS	1CS	anoint\IMPF	=3MS
rel	v:Any	vt	def	prep	n	pro	v:Any	vt	pro
the one that I love				like my soul		I	anoint him		
: ብዬ		: ይኸንን		: አለቸና		: ያን		: ኅሉ	
bəy	-ye	yəxənnän	’äl	-äčč	=ənna	ya	=n	ḥwəllu	
bəl	-e	yəxənnän	’äl	-äčč	=nna	ya	=n <sub>1</sub>	ḥwəllu	
say\CVB	1CS	this.ACC	say\PERF	3FS	=CONJ	that.M	=ACC	all	
tcvb	cvb:Any	dem	vt	v:Any	prt	dem	prt	det	
I having said		this	she said and		that			all	
መዝገብ			: ሸጠቸው			: ዕፍረት			:
māzgäb	šät	-äčč	=əw	ya	=n	’əfrät	čämmər	-a	
māzgäb	šät	-äčč	=w <sub>1</sub>	ya	=n <sub>1</sub>	’əfrät	čämmər <sub>2</sub>	-a	
treasury	sell\PERF	3FS	=3MS	that.M	=ACC	unguent	add\CVB	3FS	
n	vt	v:Any	pro	dem	prt	n	tcvb	cvb:Any	
treasury	she sold him			that		unguent	she having added		

ስትኬድ				: በእምነት		: ልብ	:
sə=	t-	ked		bä=	'əmnät	ləbb	
sə=	tə-1	hed <sub>2</sub> +UNSPEC. VAR. OF		bä=	'əmnät	ləbb	
while=	3FS	go\IMPF		in, by=	faith	heart	
advlizer	v:Any	vi		prep	n	n	
while she goes				in faith		heart	
ስትል				: እግዚአብሔርስ		: መሐሪ	: ከ? : አባት :
sə=	tə-	l		'əgzi'äbəher	=əss	mähäri	kən 'äbbat
sə=	tə-1	l		'əgzi'äbəher	=ss	mähäri	kən 'äbbat
while=	3FS	say\IMPF	God	=as for	merciful	be\IMPV	father
advlizer	v:Any	vt	nprop	prt	adj	vi	n
while she says			as for God		merciful	be!	father
ልጁን			: ቢቁጥግው			: አባቴሆይ	: አቤቴ
läğ	=u	=n	b=	i-	q <sup>w</sup> q <sup>w</sup> ättə'a	=w	'äbbatehoy 'äbetu
läğ	=u <sub>2</sub>	=n <sub>1</sub>	bə=	yə-	q <sup>w</sup> q <sup>w</sup> ättə'a	=w <sub>1</sub>	'äbbatehoy 'äbetu
child	=3MS	=ACC	if=	3M	be angry\IMPF	=3MS	O father O my master
n	pro	prt	prt	v:Any	vi	pro	<Not Sure> <Not Sure>
his child				if he is angry with him			O father O my master
: ቢለው				: ይራራኝ		:	
b=	i-	l	=äw	yə-	rarraḥä		
bə=	yə-	l	=w <sub>1</sub>	yə-	rarraḥä		
if=	3M	say\IMPF	=3MS	3M	be merciful\IMPF		
prt	v:Any	vt	pro	v:Any	vi		
if he says to him				he is merciful			
ኤለ?				: እግዚአብሔርነም		: አባቴሆይ	:
'ell		-ä	=nə	'əgzi'äbəher	=nä	=mm	'äbbatehoy
'ell		-ä <sub>2</sub>	=nə	'əgzi'äbəher		=mm <sub>2</sub>	'äbbatehoy
there	be\PERF.NEG	3MS	=Q	God		=also	O father
vi		v:Any	q	nprop		prt	<Not Sure>
was there not?				God, also			O father

አቤቱ	:	ብለው	:					
'äbetu	b=	ə-	l	=äw				
'abetu	bə=	'ə-	l	=w <sub>1</sub>				
O my master	if=	1CS	say\IMPF	=3MS				
<Not Sure>	prt	v:Any	vt	pro				
O my master	if I say to him							
ደራርጎይ					: እኮን		:	
yə-	rarrəḥä		=yy	'əkkon				
yə-	rarraḥä+UNSPEC. VAR. OF		=yy	'əxxon+UNSPEC. VAR. OF				
3M	be merciful\IMPF		=1CS (?)	indeed				
v:Any	vi		pro	prt				
he is merciful (to me?)				indeed				
በአርአያው		:	በአምሳሉ		:	ፈጥሮኝ	:	
bä=	'är'äya	=w	bä=	'ämsal	=u	fäṭr	-o	=ññ
bä=	'är'äya	=w <sub>1</sub>	bä=	'ämsal	=u <sub>2</sub>	fäṭr	-o	=ññ
in, by=	example	=3MS	in, by=	image	=3MS	create\CVB	3MS	=1CS
prep	n	pro	prep	n	pro	tcvb	cvb:Any	pro
in his example			in his image			he having created me		
ደጥላላኝን			: ጠባዩ		:			
yə-	təḥl	=ännñ	=nə	täbay	=u			
yə-	təḥl	=ññ	=nə	täbay	=u <sub>2</sub>			
3M	throw\IMPF	=1CS	=Q	nature	=3MS			
v:Any	vt	pro	q	n	pro			
he throws me?				his nature				
ቢያርጎቅን				: እንጂ	:	አኑንም	:	
b=	iy-	arəḥq	=nə	'əngi	'äḥ <sup>w</sup> ən			=əmm
bə=	yə-	arəḥq	=nə	'əngi	'äxun+UNSPEC. VAR. OF			=mm <sub>2</sub>
if=	3M	render distant\IMPF	=Q	EMPH	now			=also
prt	v:Any	vt	q	prt	adv			prt
if he renders distant?				EMPH	now, also			

ተመለስኩ		: ብለው		:	
tämälläs	-h <sup>w</sup>	b=	ə-	l	=äw
tämälläs	-ku+UNSPEC. VAR. OF	bə=	'ə-	l	=w <sub>1</sub>
come back\PERF	1CS	if=	1CS	say\IMPF	=3MS
vi	v:Any	prt	v:Any	vt	pro
I came back		if I say to him			
አይሰደኝም		: ጥንቱኮ			:
'ä=	y-	sädd	=änn	=əmm	təntun =äko
'äl=	yə-	sädd	=ññ	=mm <sub>1</sub>	təntun
NEG=	3M	banish\IMPF	=1CS	=NEG	already (a long time)
prt	v:Any	vt	pro	prt	adv
he does not banish me				originally	
መንግሥተ	:	ሰማያትን	:	ለማን	: ሰርዓው
mängəst	-ä	səmay	-at	=ən	lä= man särrə'a =w
mängəst	-ä <sub>1</sub>	səmay	-at	=n <sub>1</sub>	lä= man särrə'a =w <sub>1</sub>
kingdom	GEN	heaven	PL	=ACC	for= who make\PERF =3MS
n	Noun	n	n:Any	prt	prep interrog vt pro
kingdom of		heavens		for whom	he made him
ለሰው	:	እንጂ	:	ምግባራቸን	: አይደል
lä=	səw	'ənḡi	məgbar	=aččən	'äydoll b= i- käfa si'ol
lä=	səw	'ənḡi	məgbar	=aččən	'äydoll bə= yə- käfa si'ol
for=	man	EMPH	deed	=1CP	COP.NEG if= 3M be bad\IMPF Sheol
prep	n	prt	n	pro	prt prt v:Any vi nprop
for man		EMPH	our deed		is not if he is bad Sheol
:	ንወርዳለን			:	የተመለስኩ
nə-	wärd	=all	-än	yä=	tämälläs -n =äw
nə-	wärd <sub>2</sub>	=all	-än	yä=	tämälläs -n =w <sub>2</sub>
1CP	descend\IMPF	=AUX	1CP	REL=	come back\PERF 1CP =DEF
v:Any	vi	v	v:Any	rel	vi v:Any def
we will descend				that we came back	

እንደኹን	:	ለማን	:	ይሰጠው	:	ኅኖኖ	:
'əndäx <sup>w</sup> än		lä=	man	yə-	sät	=äw	hono
'əndäḥon+UNSPEC. VAR. OF		lä=1	man	yə-	sät	=w1	hono
if		for=	who	3M	give\IMPF	=3MS	nevertheless
prt		prep	interrog	v:Any	vt	pro	prt
if		for whom		he gives him			nevertheless
ለንገሩ	:	ሕይዳ	:	ሲደርሱ			:
lä=	nägär	=u	ḥəyyəta	s=	i-	därs	-u
lä=1	nägär	=u1	ḥəyyəta	sə=	yə-	därs	-u
for=	matter	=DEF	view	while=	3M	arrive\IMPF	PL
prep	n	def	n	advlizer	v:Any	vt	v:Any
for the matter			view	while they arrive			
ቢሰማሙ				:	ይሻል		::
b=	i-	ssämamm		-u	yə-	ššal	
bə=	yə-	ssämamm		-u	yə-	ššal	
if=	3M	be in agreement\IMPF	PL	3M	be better\IMPF		
prt	v:Any	vi		v:Any	v:Any	vi	
if they are in agreement				he is advisable			

You asked me if it is my friend - having died, I will anoint his face - yes! I intend to anoint the one I love like my (own) soul". She said this, and sold him all that treasure. When she went, with a believing heart, taking that unguent, she said, "God, be forgiving. If a father is angry with his child, and he says to him, 'O, my father, here I am!', will he not be merciful? And if I say to God, 'O, my father, here I am!', he is sure to be merciful to me. His nature may move me far away, but will he cast me off, having created me in his appearance and in his likeness? And now, if I say to him, 'I have turned back', he will not send me away. Originally, for whom did he make the Kingdom of Heaven? (Not for another) but for mankind! Is it not our conduct - if it is bad, we will descend to Sheol? If we turn back, to whom will he give it? Nevertheless, when they arrive at an examination of the matter, it is better if they agree together.

10.5 ነገር	: ዓዋቂ	: ተሰው	: የተጻለ				: እንደ-ኖን	
nägär	‘awaqi	tä=	säw	yä=	täşalla		’endäḥon	
nägär	‘äwaqi	tä=	säw	yä=	täşalla		’endäḥon	
matter	intelligent	with=	man	REL=	quarrel with one another\PERF		if	
n	adj	prep	n	rel	vi		prt	
matter	intelligent	with man		that he	quarreled with one another		if	
: ሕዳኛሳይደርስ				: ቀድሞ			:	
ḥə=	dañña	s=	a=	y-	därs	qädm	-o	
ḥə=	dañña	sə=	’äl=	yə-	därs	qädm	-o	
to=	judge	while=	NEG=	3M	arrive\IMPF	precede\CVB	3MS	
prep	n	advlizer	prt	v:Any	vt	icvb	cvb:Any	
		while he does not arrive to the judge				he having preceded		
ቢታረቅ			: እዳውም				:	
b=	i-	tarräq		’əda	=w	=əmm		
bə=	yə-	tarräq		’əda	=w <sub>1</sub>	=mm <sub>2</sub>		
if=	3M	be reconciled\IMPF	debt	=3MS	=also			
prt	v:Any	vi	n	pro	prt			
		if he is reconciled		his debt, also				
የአንስሊታል			: ከዳኝነትም				:	
yä-	’äns	=əll	=ät	=all	kä=	daññənät	=əmm	
yə-	’äns <sub>2</sub>	=ll	=ät	=all	kä=	daññənät	=mm <sub>2</sub>	
3M	be less\IMPF	=APPL	=3MS	=AUX	from=	judgement	=also	
v:Any	vi	prt	pro	v	prep	n	prt	
		that he will be less for his benefit			from judgement, also			
ያመልጣል		: ይኸን	: ያልዳወቅ			: እንደ-ኖን	:	
y-	amält	=all	yəx	=ən	y=	al=	’awwäq	’endäḥon
yə-	amält	=all	yəx	=n <sub>1</sub>	yä=	’äl=	’awwäq	’endäḥon
3M	escape\IMPF	=AUX	this.M	=ACC	REL=	NEG=	know\PERF	if
v:Any	vt	v	dem	prt	rel	prt	vt	prt
	he will escape		this		that he did not know			if

ግን	: ብዙኅ	: እዳ	: ይደርስበታል						
gən	bəzuḥ	'əda	yə-	därs	=əbb	=ät	=all		
gən	bəzuḥ	'əda	yə-	därs	=bb	=ät	=all		
but	abundant	debt	3M	arrive\IMPF	=APPL	=3MS	=AUX		
conn	adj	n	v:Any	vt	prt	pro	v		
but	abundant	debt	he will arrive to his disadvantage						
ከብቱም			: ይጠፋል			: ተገጠአት			:
käbt	=u	=mm	yə-	täf	=all	tä=	ḥäti'ät		
käbt	=u <sub>2</sub>	=mm <sub>2</sub>	yə-	täfa	=all	tä=	ḥäti'at		
wealth	=3MS	=also	3M	be lost\IMPF	=AUX	out of=	sin		
n	pro	prt	v:Any	vi	v	prep	n		
his wealth			he will be lost				out of sin		
ያሞታል			: ሲከል	: ይወርዳል			: እንዴትን	:	
yə-	mot	=all	si'ol	yə-	wärd	=all	'əndet	=nə	
yə-	mot <sub>4</sub>	=all	si'ol	yə-	wärd <sub>2</sub>	=all	'əndet	=nə	
3M	die\IMPF	=AUX	Sheol	3M	descend\IMPF	=AUX	how	=Q	
v:Any	vi	v	nprop	v:Any	vi	v	q	q	
he will die			Sheol	he will descend			how		
ያልኸኝ			: እንደኖን	: ዳታን	: ወአቤሮንን				:
y=	al	-x	=äññ	'əndäḥon	datan	wä=	'äberon	=ən	
yä=	'äl	-x	=ññ	'əndäḥon	datan	wä=	'äberon	=n <sub>1</sub>	
REL=	say\PERF	2MS	=1CS	if	Dathan	and=	Abiram	=ACC	
rel	vt	v:Any	pro	prt	nprop	coordconn	nprop	prt	
that you said to me				if	Dathan	and Abiram			
ምድር	: ወገጠቸዋኝ								::
mädər	wähḥät	-äčč	=waččo						
mädər	wähḥät	-äčč	=waččo						
earth	swallow\PERF	3FS	=3CP						
n	vt	v:Any	pro						
earth	she swallowed them								

If a person of experience has quarreled with another, his debt will be reduced for him, and he will escape from judgement, if he is previously reconciled, before he reaches the judge. But if he did not know this, a great debt will fall upon him, his wealth will be destroyed, he will die

from sin, he will descend to Sheol. If you ask me, 'How?', the earth swallowed Dathan and Abiram;

10.6 ስድም : ወገሞራኒም : እንዴሁ :

sādom	wä=	gämorra	=nä	=mm	'əndehu
sādom	wä=	gämorra		=mm <sub>2</sub>	'əndihu+UNSPEC. VAR. OF
Sodom	and=	Gomorrah		=also	likewise
nprop	coordconn	nprop		prt	adv
Sodom	and Gomorrah, also				likewise

በእሳትና : በዋግራ :

bä=	'əsat	=ənnä	bä=	wagra
bä=	'əsat	=nna	bä=	wagra
in, by=	fire	=CONJ	in, by=	means for heating
prep	n	prt	prep	n
by fire and			in perfume	

አነደደዋች : እንደዚኸ :

'ä-	näddäd	-ä	=waččo	'əndä	=zzix
'ä-	näddäd	-ä <sub>2</sub>	=waččo	'əndä	=zzex+SP. VAR. OF
CAUS	burn (vi)\PERF	3MS	=3CP	like	=this
v>v	vt	v:Any	pro	prep	dem
he made them burn				like this	

ያለ : ብዙኅ : ኅኅነ :

y=	all	-ä	bəzuh	hon	-ä
yä=	'äll	-ä <sub>2</sub>	bəzuh	hon <sub>2</sub>	-ä <sub>2</sub>
REL=	there be\PERF	3MS	abundant	be\PERF	3MS
rel	vi	v:Any	adj	vi	v:Any
that there was			abundant	he was	

አንአውቅ : ላሉ : ሰው :

'ä=	nə-	'äwq	l=	al	-u	säw
'äl=	nə-	'awq	lä=2	'äl	-u	säw
NEG=	1CP	know\IMPF	REL?=	say\PERF	PL	man
prt	v:Any	vt	prt	vt	v:Any	n
we do not know			that they said			man

ለአወቁ			: ግን	: ቢኖን		: ሰብአ	:
lä=	'äwwäq	-u	gən	b= i-	xon	säb'	-ä
lä=2	'awwäq	-u	gən	bə= yə-	hən <sub>1</sub> +SP. VAR. OF	säb'	-ä <sub>1</sub>
REL?=	know\PERF	PL	but	if=	3M	be\IMPF	man GEN
prt	vt	v:Any	conn	prt	v:Any	vi	n Noun
that(?)	they know		but	if he is			man of
ነነዌን		: መሐረዋቶ				: የዲት	: ሆሎፎርኒስን
nänäwe	=n	mähḥär	-ä	=watto	yodit	holofornis	=ən
nänäwe	=n <sub>1</sub>	mähḥär	-ä <sub>2</sub>	=waččo+SP. VAR. OF	yodit	holofornis	=n <sub>1</sub>
Nineveh	=ACC	forgive\PERF	3MS	=3CP	Judith	Holofernes	=ACC
nprop	prt	n	v:Any	pro	nprop	nprop	prt
Nineveh		he forgave them			Judith	Holofernes	
: ቸብቸቦውን			: ቁረጸቸው		: እግዚአብሔርንም		
čäbčäbbo	=w	=ən	q <sup>w</sup> ärräš	-äčč	=əw	'əgzi'äbəḥer	=nä =mm
čäbčäbbo	=w <sub>1</sub>	=n <sub>1</sub>	q <sup>w</sup> ärräš	-äčč	=w <sub>1</sub>	'əgzi'äbəḥer	=mm <sub>2</sub>
(severed) head	=3MS	=ACC	cut\PERF	3FS	=3MS	God	=also
n	pro	prt	vt	v:Any	pro	nprop	prt
his (severed) head			she cut him			God, also	
: እንደዚህኸ		: የትእመነው			: ሰው	:	
'əndä	=zzex	yä=	tä'ämmän	-ä	=w	säw	
'əndä	=zzex	yä=	tä'ämmän	-ä <sub>2</sub>	=w <sub>1</sub>	säw	
like	=this	REL=	have faith in\PERF	3MS	=3MS	man	
prep	dem	rel	vt	v:Any	pro	n	
like this		that he had faith in him				man	
አይጠፋም			: የሰይጣንንም			:	
'ä=	y-	ṭäfa	=mm	yä=	säyṭan	=ənä	=mm
'äl=	yə-	ṭäfa	=mm <sub>1</sub>	yä=	säyṭan		=mm <sub>2</sub>
NEG=	3M	be lost\IMPF	=NEG	GEN=	Satan		=also
prt	v:Any	vi	prt	prt	n	prt	
he will not be lost				of Satan			

ቸብቸብውን			: ደግሜ		: እቁርጸው		:
čäbčäbbo	=w	=ən	dägm	-e	'ə-	q <sup>w</sup> ärş	=äw
čäbčäbbo	=w <sub>1</sub>	=n <sub>1</sub>	dägm	-e	'ə-	q <sup>w</sup> ärş	=w <sub>1</sub>
(severed) head	=3MS	=ACC	repeat\CVB	1CS	1CS	cut\IMPF	=3MS
n	pro	prt	tcvb	cvb:Any	v:Any	vt	pro
his (severed) head			I having repeated		I cut him		
አኑን		: ጊዜውት		: ብላ		: ሄደች	
'äḥ <sup>w</sup> ən		gize =w	=ət(t)	bəl	-a	hed	-äčč
'äxun+UNSPEC. VAR. OF		gize =w <sub>2</sub>	=t(t)	bəl	-a	hed <sub>1</sub>	-äčč
now		time =DEF	=COP/FOC	say\CVB	3FS	go\PERF	3FS
adv	n	def	prt	tcvb	cvb:Any	vi	v:Any
now		the time, he is		she having said		she went	
::							

similarly he burnt up Sodom and Gomorrah with fire and with vapour. Much like this happened to people who said, 'We do not know'. But as for the ones who knew - he forgave the people of Nineveh. Judith cut the neck of Holofernes - and the one who trusts God like this will not be lost. And now it is the time that I should again cut the neck of Satan"; having said (this), she went.

11 ኢየሱስ	: ክርስቶስም		: ጌታችን		: በቤተ		:
'iyäsus	kərəstos	=əmm	g <sup>w</sup> eta	=ččän	bä=	bet	-ä
'iyäsus	kərəstos	=mm <sub>2</sub>	g <sup>w</sup> eta	=aččən+SP. VAR. OF	bä=	bet	-ä <sub>1</sub>
Jesus	Christ	=also	lord	=1CP	in, by=	house	GEN
nprop	nprop	prt	n	pro	prep	n	Noun
Jesus	Christ, also		our lord		in house of		
ስምዖን	: ተቀምጦ		: ሳለ		:		
səm'on	täqämmət	-o	s=	all	-ä		
səm'on	täqämmət	-o	sə=	'äll	-ä <sub>2</sub>		
Simon	sit\CVB	3MS	while=	there be\PERF	3MS		
n	icvb	cvb:Any	advlizer	vi	v:Any		
Simon	he having sat		while there was				

ደረሰቸበት				: በዓይን		: ደርቀትዋ	:
därräs	-äčč	=əbb	=ät	bä=	‘ayn	dərqät	=wa
därräs	-äčč	=bb	=ät	bä=	‘ayn	dərqät	=wa
arrive\PERF	3FS	=APPL	=3MS	in, by=	eye	stubbornness	=3FS
vt	v:Any	prt	pro	prep	n	n	pro
she arrived to his disadvantage				in eye		her stubbornness	
ገባቸዋል			: እግሩን			:	
gäbba	-čč	=ənna	’əgər	=u	=n		
gäbba	-äčč	=nna	’əgər	=u <sub>2</sub>	=n <sub>1</sub>		
enter\PERF	3FS	=CONJ	foot	=3MS	=ACC		
vt	v:Any	prt	n	pro	prt		
she entered and			his foot				
የሰጠችው				: በእንባዋ		:	
yä=	häšš	-äčč	=əw	bä=	’ənbə’a	=wa	
yä=	häšš	-äčč	=w <sub>1</sub>	bä=	’ənbə’a	=wa	
REL=	rub gently\PERF	3FS	=3MS	in, by=	tear	=3FS	
rel	vt	v:Any	pro	prep	n	pro	
that she rubbed him gently				by her tear			
ሐጸበችው		: በራስ		: ጭገርዋ		:	
häššäb	-äčč	=əw	bä=	ras	čəgär	=wa	
häššäb	-äčč	=w <sub>1</sub>	bä=	ras	čəgär	=wa	
wash\PERF	3FS	=3MS	in, by=	head	body hair	=3FS	
vt	v:Any	pro	prep	n	n	pro	
she washed him			in head		her body hair		
መዘመዘችው			: ያን		: ዕፍረት	:	
mäzämmäz	-äčč	=əw	ya	=n	’əfrät		
mäzämmäz	-äčč	=w <sub>1</sub>	ya	=n <sub>1</sub>	’əfrät		
absorb (water)\PERF	3FS	=3MS	that.M	=ACC	unguent		
vt	v:Any	pro	dem	prt	n		
she dried him			that		unguent		

ስትቀብዓው				:	ስትል			:	አቤት		:
sə=	t-	qäbbə'a	=w	sə=	tə-	l		'abet			
sə=	tə- <sub>1</sub>	qäbbə'a	=w <sub>1</sub>	sə=	tə- <sub>1</sub>	l		'abet			
while=	3FS	anoint\IMPF	=3MS	while=	3FS	say\IMPF		EXCLAM			
advlizer	v:Any	vt	pro	advlizer	v:Any	vt		interj			
while she	annoints	him		while she	says			EXCLAM			
ኅጢአቱን		: መሐረኝ		: ድሮውኅም		: ለምሕረት		:			
hät'i'ät	=e	=n	mähär	=änñ	dərowənäm	lä=		məhrät			
hät'i'at	=e	=n <sub>1</sub>	mähär	=ññ	dərowənäm	lä= <sub>1</sub>		məhrät			
sin	=1CS	=ACC	forgive\IMPV	=1CS	formerly	for=		forgiveness			
n	pro	prt	vt	pro	adv	prep	n				
my sin			forgive me!		formerly	for	forgiveness				
ወረድኸ			: ለምኖ		: ኅጥአንን		:				
wärräd	-x	lämən	=a		hätə'an	=ən					
wärräd	-x	lämən	=a		hätə'an	=n <sub>1</sub>					
go down\PERF	2MS	why	=INJUNCTIVE	sinner.PL	=ACC						
vi	v:Any	adv	prt	n	prt						
you went down		why		sinner							
አምሀር		: ብለኸ		: አንተ	: አልኸ		:				
'ə-	mhər	bəl	-äx	'äntä	'äl	-x					
'ə-	mḥər+SP. VAR. OF	bəl	-äx	'äntä	'äl	-x					
1CS	forgive\IMPF	say\CVB	2MS	2MS	say\PERF	2MS					
v:Any	vt	tcvb	cvb:Any	pro	vt	v:Any					
I forgive		you having said	you	you	you said						
ባይለወጥ		: ቃልኸ		: ኢመጻዕኩ		:					
b=	a=	y-	läwwät	qal	=əx	'i=	mäša'	-ku			
bə=	'äl=	yə-	läwwät	qal	=əx	'i=	mäša'	-ku			
if=	NEG=	3M	change\IMPF	word	=2MS	NEG=	come\PERF	1CS			
prt	prt	v:Any	vt	n	pro	prt	vi	v:Any			
if he does not	change			your.M	word	NEG					

ዕጸውዕ		: ዳድቃጎ		: አላ	: ኅጥአጎ		:	
‘ə-	šäwwə‘	šadəq	-an	-ä	’älla	hätə’an	-ä	
’ə-+SP. VAR. OF	šäwwə‘	šadəq	-an	-ä <sub>2</sub>	’älla	hätə’an	-ä <sub>2</sub>	
1CS	call\ IMPF	righteous	PL	3MS	but	sinner.PL	3MS	
v:Any	vt	ptcp	Participle	v:Any	conn	n	v:Any	
I call		righteous.PL			but	sinner		
ለንስሐ	: ከኔ	: የበአሰ			: ኅጥዕ	: ማን	:	
lä=	nəshä	kä=	ne	yä=	bä’s	-ä	hätə‘	man
lä=1	nəshä	kä=	ne	yä=	bä’s	-ä <sub>2</sub>	hätə‘	man
for=	confession	from=	1CS	REL=	be bad\PERF	3MS	sinner	who
prep	n	prep	pro	rel	vi	v:Any	n	interrog
for	confession	from	me	that	he became bad		sinner	who
አላ		: አቤቱ		: ለዳድቃንስ				: ምንም
’äll	-ä	’äbetu	lä=	šadəq	-an	=əss	mənəmm	
’äll	-ä <sub>2</sub>	’abetu	lä=1	šadəq	-an	=ss	mənəmm	
there be\PERF	3MS	O my master	for=	righteous	PL	=as for	anything	
vi	v:Any	<Not Sure>	prep	ptcp	Participle	prt	pro-form	
there was		O my master	for	the	righteous ones		anything	
: አይጓደለአኮን						::		
’ä=	y-	g <sup>w</sup> g <sup>w</sup> addäl		’əkkon				
’äl=	yə-	g <sup>w</sup> g <sup>w</sup> addäl		’əxxon+UNSPEC. VAR. OF				
NEG=	3M	be unfulfilled\ IMPF		indeed				
prt	v:Any	vi		prt				
he is not unfulfilled		indeed						

And while Jesus Christ our Lord was sitting in the house of Simon, she reached him. In her boldness, she entered, and, while she stroked his foot, she washed it with her tears, she dried it with her hair. When she anointed it with that unguent, she said, "O Lord! Forgive me my sin. Formerly, you came down for mercy, because you said, 'I will forgive sinners'. If your word is not changed, 'I did not come to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance', who is a worse sinner than I? So, O Lord, for the righteous, nothing is lacking."

### Appendix 3 Sample Bukharan Arabic text

This appendix contains a sample text from my Bukharan Arabic corpus, Dereli's (1997)

Sprookje 1, as it is exported from FLEx.

1.1	kōyin	ma		kōyin	kōyin	ma		kōyin	,	qadīm
	kōyin	ma		kōyin	kōyin	ma		kōyin		qadīm
	kōyin	mā+UNSPEC. VAR. OF		kōyin	kōyin	mā+UNSPEC. VAR. OF		kōyin		qadīm
	be\PTCP	NEG		be\PTCP	be\PTCP	NEG		be\PTCP		ancient
	vi	verbprt		vi	vi	verbprt		vi		adj
	he was	not		he was	he was	not		he was		ancient
	ptcp	verbprt		ptcp	ptcp	verbprt		ptcp		adj
	zamōn	sanātīn		gidāmin	'ubrād	fat		marēka		
	zamōn	sanāt	=in	gidām	=in	fat		mar		-ēka
	zamōn	sanāt	=in <sub>1</sub>	giddām	=in <sub>1</sub>	fat		mara		-eyka+SP. VAR. OF
	time	years	=LK	before	=LK	INDF		woman		DIM
	n	n	prt	prep	prt	indf		n		n>n
	time	years		before		a		young		woman
	n	n		prep		indf		n		
	kayna			.						
	kayn			-a						
	kōyin			-a						
	be\PTCP			F						
	vi			n:Any						
	she was									
	ptcp									

Once upon a time, in acient times, there was a woman.

1.2	hay	marēka		bōru		bisōta		fat
	hay	mar	-ēka	bōr	=u	bisōt	=a	fat
	hay	mara	-eyka+SP. VAR. OF	bōr	=u	bisōt	=ha	fat
	this.F	woman	DIM	load (T)	=and	belongings (U/T<A)	=3FS	INDF
	dem	n	n>n	n	coordconn	n	pro	indf
	this	young woman		load and		her belongings		a
	dem	n		coordconn		n		indf
	valadkay		'inda					.
	valad		kay 'ind		=ha			
	walad+DIAL. VAR. OF		kay <sub>2</sub> 'end+DIAL. VAR. OF		=ha			
	son		PST at		=3FS			
	n		prt prep		pro			
	son		with her					
	n		adv					

This woman had only one son.

1.3 hāt	valada		mitqul			ki	akun	
	hād	valad	=ha	mi-	t-	qūl	ki	akun
	hād	walad+DIAL. VAR. OF	=ha	mi-	ti- <sub>1</sub>	qūl <sub>1</sub>	ki	akūn+UNSPEC. VAR. OF
	this.M	son	=3FS	IND	3FS	say\IMPF	that	now
	dem	n	pro	v:Any	v:Any	vt	prt	adv
	this	her son		she	says		that	now
	dem	n		vt			prt	adv
oğlim	hin	yoğ	bozōr	,	'al	laḥim	paḥim	gazar
oğlim	hin	yoğ	bozōr		'al	laḥim	paḥim	gazar
oğlim	hīn <sub>2</sub> +DIAL. VAR. OF	yoğ	bozōr		'al	laḥim	laḥim+UNSPEC. VAR. OF	gazar
my son	well		go\IMPV	bazaar	on	meat	meat	carrot
n	interj	vi	n	prep	n	n		n
my son	well	go!	bazaar	on	meat	meat		carrot
n	pro	vi	n	prep	n	n		n
pazar		ištar	ta'āl	.				
pazar		ištar	ta'āl					
gazar+UNSPEC. VAR. OF		ištar	ta'āl					
carrot		buy\IMPV	come\IMPV					
n		vt	vi					
carrot		buy!	come!					
n		vt	vi					

She said to her son: "Well, my son, go to the market and buy meat, etc, carrots, etc.

1.4	ḥūš	i	bēt	avqōt	mān	tanitbaḥ			
	ḥūš	i	bēt	avqōt	mān	ta-	ni-	ṭbaḥ	
	ḥūš	i	bēt	avqōt	mān	ta-	ni-	ṭbaḥ	
	good	DAT	house	food	NEG	SBJV	1CP	cook\ IMPF	
	adj	prep	n	n	prt	v:Any	v:Any	vt	
	well	DAT	house	food	there is not	we would	cook		
	interj	prep	n	n	prt	vt			
	tanōkil				ḥubza	pubza	ištar	ta'āl	
	ta-	nō-	kil		ḥubza	pubza	ištar	ta'āl	
	ta-	ni-	kil		ḥubza	ḥubza+UNSPEC. VAR. OF	ištar	ta'āl	
	SBJV	1CP	eat\ IMPF	bread	bread		buy\ IMPV	come\ IMPV	
	v:Any	v:Any	vt	n	n		vt	vi	
	we would	eat		bread	bread		buy!	come!	
	vt			n	n		vt	vi	

There is no food at home to cook and eat, buy and bring bread etc."

1.5	ḥay	məqūl			hāt	valadayu			fat
	ḥay	m-	ə-	qūl	hād	valad	=ha	=u	fat
	ḥay	mi-	yi-	qūl <sub>1</sub>	hād	walad+DIAL. VAR. OF	=ha	=u	fat
	okay (U)	IND	3	say\ IMPF	this.M	son	=3FS	=and	INDF
	interj	v:Any	v:Any	vt	dem	n	pro	coordconn	indf
	okay	he says			this	her son, and			a
	interj	vt			dem	n			indf
	dabba	kōn	'indu						
	dabba	kōn	'ind			=u			
	dabba	kōn	'end+DIAL. VAR. OF			=hu			
	horse	be\ PERF	at			=3MS			
	n	vi	prep		pro				
	horse	he was	with him						
	n	vi	adv						

"Good," her son said; he had a horse.





1.9	hāt	adami		ḥarāmi	kōnda		ibrōḥu	,
	hād	adami		ḥarāmi	kōn	=da	ib= rōḥ	=hu
	hād	ādami+UNSPEC. VAR. OF		ḥarāmi	kōn	=da	bi= rūḥ	=hu
	this.M	man		thief	be\PERF	=EMPH	by= self	=3MS
	dem	n		n	vi	prt	prep n	pro
	this	man		thief	he was		by himself	
	dem	n		n	vi			
	miyānidarb			midḡalmar				nāyim
	miyān	id darb	m-	i-	d-	ḡalmar		nāyim
	miyāna	il <sub>1</sub> darb	mi-	yi-	t-	ḡalmar		nāyim
	middle	to way, road	IND	3	REFL	roll (on the ground)	sleep\PTCP	
	n	prep n	v:Any	v:Any	v>v	vi		vi
	middle of road		he rolls (on the ground)					he slept
	n		vi					ptcp

This man was actually a thief and rolling on the ground in the middle of the road:

1.10	voy	ana		kasal	surt			
	voy	ana		kasal	sur		-t	
	wōy+DIAL. VAR. OF	anā+UNSPEC. VAR. OF		kasal	ṣōr <sub>1</sub>		-t <sub>1</sub>	
	Ah	1CS		sick	become\PERF		1CS	
	interj	pro		adj	vi		v:Any	
	Ah	I		sick	I became			
	interj	pro		adj	vi			
	mamūt			məqul				nāyim
	m-	a-	mūt	m-	ə-	qul		nāyim
	mi-	a-	mūt	mi-	yi-	qūl <sub>1</sub> +UNSPEC. VAR. OF		nāyim
	IND	1CS	die\IMPF	IND	3	say\IMPF		sleep\PTCP
	v:Any	v:Any	vi	v:Any	v:Any	vt		vi
	I die			he says				he slept
	vi			vt				ptcp

voy	ana				kasal surt	
voy	ana				kasal sur	-t
wōy+DIAL. VAR. OF	anā+UNSPEC. VAR. OF				kasal şōr <sub>1</sub>	-t <sub>1</sub>
Ah	1CS				sick become\PERF	1CS
interj	pro				adj vi	v:Any
Ah	I				sick I became	
interj	pro				adj vi	
mamūt			məqūl			nāyim ,
m-	a-	mūt	m-	ə-	qūl	nāyim
mi-	a-	mūt	mi-	yi-	qūl <sub>1</sub>	nāyim
IND	1CS	die\IMPF	IND	3	say\IMPF	sleep\PTCP
v:Any	v:Any	vi	v:Any	v:Any	vt	vi
I die			he says			he slept
vi			vt			ptcp
midǧalmar					nāyim	.
m-	i-	d-	ǧalmar		nāyim	
mi-	yi-	t-	ǧalmar		nāyim	
IND	3	REFL	roll (on the ground)		sleep\PTCP	
v:Any	v:Any	v>v	vi		vi	
he rolls (on the ground)					he slept	
vi					ptcp	

"Oh, I got sick, I'll die," he said, "Oh, I got sick, I'll die," he said," He kept saying and kept rolling on the ground.

1.11	hā	məqūl		hāt	sabī	hāt		
	hā	m-	ə-	qūl	hād	sabī	hād	
	hā	mi-	yi-	qūl <sub>1</sub>	hād	şabi+DIAL. VAR. OF	hād	
	okay, yes	IND	3	say\IMPF	this.M	young man	this.M	
	interj	v:Any	v:Any	vt	dem	n	dem	
	okay	he says			this	boy	this	
	interj	vt			dem	n	dem	
	zağīrik		, iş			missu		
	zağīr	-ik		iş		mi-	s-	su
	zağīr	-eyka+UNSPEC. VAR. OF		īş+UNSPEC. VAR. OF		mi-	tī- <sub>2</sub>	sū <sub>1</sub> +UNSPEC. VAR. OF
	young	DIM		what	IND	2	do\IMPF	
	adj	n>n		interrog	v:Any	v:Any	vt	
	young one			what	you.M	do		
	n			interrog	vt			
	nayminnak			miyāniddarb		.		
	naym	-innak	miyān	id	darb			
	nāyim	-innak	miyāna	il <sub>1</sub>	darb			
	sleep\PTCP	2MS	middle	to	way, road			
	vi	ptcp:Any	n	prep	n			
	you.M slept		middle of road					
	ptcp		n					

"Okay," said the boy, the little one, "what are you doing in the middle of the road? "

1.12	voy	ana		kasal	illay	
	voy	ana		kasal	illa	=y
	wōy+DIAL. VAR. OF	anā+UNSPEC. VAR. OF		kasal	il <sub>1</sub> +DIAL. VAR. OF	=ī
	Ah	1CS		sick	ACC	=1CS
	interj	pro		adj	prep	pro
	Ah	I		sick	me	
	interj	pro		adj	pro	
	vudnī	yoġ	duḥtur	, ana		hān
	vud	=nī	yoġ	duḥtur	ana	hān
	wudd	=nī	yoġ	duḥtur	anā+UNSPEC. VAR. OF	hān
	lead, carry\IMPV	=1CS	go\IMPV	doctor	1CS	here
	vt	pro	vi	n	pro	adv
	lead me!		go!	doctor	I	here
	vt		vi	n	pro	adv
	mamūt		nayminni			.
	m-	a-	mūt	naym	-inni	
	mi-	a-	mūt	nāyim	-inni	
	IND	1CS	die\IMPF	sleep\PTCP	1CS	
	v:Any	v:Any	vi	vi	ptcp:Any	
	I die			I slept		
	vi			ptcp		

"Ah, I'm sick; take me to the doctor; I'm dying here."

1.13	ḥay	məqūlu			varōh			
	ḥay	m-	ə-	qūl	=u	varō	=h	
	ḥay	mi-	yi-	qūl <sub>1</sub>	=u	warō+DIAL. VAR. OF	=hu	
	okay (U)	IND	3	say\IMPF	=and	behind	=3MS	
	interj	v:Any	v:Any	vt	coordconn	prep	pro	
	okay	he says, and				behind him		
	interj	vt				pro		
	miribku				, fōq	dabba	mirkab	
	m-	i-	ribk	=u	fūq	dabba	m-	i-
	mi-	yi-	rikkib	=hu	fūq	dabba	mi-	yi-
	IND	3	put on\IMPF	=3MS	on	horse	IND	3
	v:Any	v:Any	vt	pro	prep	n	v:Any	v:Any
	he puts him on				on	horse	he mounts	
	vt				prep	n	vt	
	miyōḥid				, dabba	məsūqu		
	mi-	yō-	ḥid	dabba	m-	ə-	sūq	=u
	mi-	yi-	ḥid	dabba	mi-	yi-	sūq <sub>1</sub>	=hu
	IND	3	take\IMPF	horse	IND	3	drive\IMPF	=3MS
	v:Any	v:Any	vt	n	v:Any	v:Any	vt	pro
	he takes			horse	he drives him			
	vt			n	vt			
	mimšiyu				ḡōdi	.		
	m-	i-	mši	=yu	ḡōdi			
	mi-	yi-	mši	=u	ḡōdi			
	IND	3	go\IMPF	=and	go\PTCP			
	v:Any	v:Any	vi	coordconn	vi			
	he goes, and				he went			
	vi				ptcp			

"Good", he said and put him on the horse behind him, he mounted and took the horse, drove the horse, and went away.

1.14	vat		ħirīki	darb	maša	, dōk	min	varō
	vat			darb	maša	dōk	min	varō
			fat+UNSPEC. VAR. OF	darb	maša	dūk+DIAL. VAR. OF	min <sub>1</sub>	varō+DIAL. VAR. OF
			INDF	way, road	go\PERF	that.M	from	behind
			indf	n	vi	dem	prep	prep
			a	way, road	he went	that	from	behind
			indf	n	vi	dem	prep	prep
	məqafu			hamāt	Hidir		izin	hāt
	m-	ə-	qaf	=hu	hamāt	Hidir	izin	hād
	mi-	yi-	qaf	=hu	hamad	ħeder+DIAL. VAR. OF	izin	hād
	IND	3	stand\IMPF	=3MS	this.M	under	ear	this.M
	v:Any	v:Any	vi	pro	dem	prep	n	dem
	and				this	under	ear	this
	coordconn				dem	n	n	dem
	mi'iddil			, vat		šappōtiya		
	m-	i-	'iddil	vat		šappōti	-ya	
	mi-	yi-	'iddil	fat+UNSPEC. VAR. OF		šappōti	-a	
	IND	3	cure\IMPF	INDF		slap (U)	SGV	
	v:Any	v:Any	vt	indf		n	n>n	
	he cures			a		one slap		
	vt			indf		n		
	məduq				čappa	məsōr		,
	m-	ə-	duq		čappa	m-	ə-	sōr
	mi-	yi-	duqq+UNSPEC. VAR. OF		čappa	mi-	yi-	šōr <sub>1</sub> +DIAL. VAR. OF
	IND	3	chop\IMPF		upside down	IND	3	become\PERF
	v:Any	v:Any	vt		adv	v:Any	v:Any	vi
	he chops				upside down	he becomes		
	vt				adv	vi		



1.15	hāt	dabtu		məvuđđiya				
	hād	dabt	=u	m-	ə-	vuddi		=ya
	hād	dabba	=hu	mi-	yi-	wuddi		=ha
	this.M	horse	=3MS	IND	3	lead, carry\IMPF		=3FS
	dem	n	pro	v:Any	v:Any	vt		pro
	this	his horse		he leads	her			
	dem	n		vt				
	miyođđi			, vat		čōlin		ğazīrama
	mi-	yo-	đđi	vat		čōl	=in	ğazīrama
	mi-	yi-	đđi	fat+UNSPEC. VAR. OF	čōl		=in <sub>1</sub>	ğazīrama
	IND	3	go\IMPF	INDF		desert	=LK	burning (U)
	v:Any	v:Any	vi	indf		n	prt	adj
	he goes			a		desert		burning
	vi			indf		n		adj
	məvuđđiya							
	m-	ə-	vuddi					=ya
	mi-	yi-	wuddi					=ha
	IND	3	lead, carry\IMPF					=3FS
	v:Any	v:Any	vt					pro
	he leads	her						
	vt							

He took his horse and went away. He brought it to a hot desert.

1.16	vat		boy	vat		čōpōnin		kabīr
	vat		boy	vat		čōpōn	=in	kabīr
	fat+UNSPEC. VAR. OF		boy	fat+UNSPEC. VAR. OF		čōpōn	=in <sub>1</sub>	kabīr
	INDF		Bey	INDF		shepherd (U/T<P)	=LK	big, old
	indf		n	indf		n	prt	adj
	a		rich man, Bey	a		shepherd		big
	indf		n	indf		n		adj
	məvud			mibī'				
	m-	ə-	vud	m-	i-	bī'		
	mi-	yi-	wuddi+UNSPEC. VAR. OF	mi-	yi-	bī' <sub>1</sub>		
	IND	3	lead, carry\IMPF	IND	3	sell\IMPF		
	v:Any	v:Any	vt	v:Any	v:Any	vt		
	he would	lead		he sells				
	vt			vt				
	mifir			miyogdi				
	m-	i-	fir	mi-	yo-	gdi		
	mi-	yi-	firr <sub>1</sub>	mi-	yi-	gdi		
	IND	3	run away\IMPF	IND	3	go\IMPF		
	v:Any	v:Any	vi	v:Any	v:Any	vi		
	he runs	away		he goes				
	vi			vi				

He brought it to a rich man, a great shepherd, sold it and fled away.

2.1	hāt	sabī		hāt	zaġīr	min	rōdu												
	hād	sabī		hād	zaġīr	min	rōd	=u											
	hād	ṣabi+DIAL. VAR. OF		hād	zaġīr	min <sub>1</sub>	rod+DIAL. VAR. OF	=hu											
	this.M	young man		this.M	young	from	place	=3MS											
	dem	n		dem	adj	prep	n	pro											
	this	boy		this	young one	from	his place												
	dem	n		dem	n	prep	n												
məqūm				mi'ayn		ki	lā	farzīn											
m-	ə-	qūm		m-	i-	'ayn	ki	lā	farz	-īn									
mi-	yī-	qūm <sub>1</sub>		mi-	yī-	'ayyin <sub>2</sub>	ki	lā	farz	-īn <sub>3</sub>									
IND	3	arise\ IMPF		IND	3	look\ IMPF	that	NEG	horse	MP									
v:Any	v:Any	vi		v:Any	v:Any	vt	prt	verbprt	n	ptcp:Any									
he	arises			he	looks		that	not	horses										
vi				vt			prt	verbprt	n										
hast	, lā	hāt	adami		hast	, hiškim		mān		.									
hast	lā	hād	adami		hast	hiškim		mān											
hast	lā	hād	ādami+UNSPEC. VAR. OF		hast	hičkim+DIAL. VAR. OF		mān											
COP	NEG	this.M	man		COP	nobody		NEG											
prt	verbprt	dem	n		prt	pro		prt											
is	not	this	man		is	nobody		there	is	not									
prt	verbprt	dem	n		prt	pro		prt											

The boy rose from his place and saw that he no longer had a horse, that the man was no longer there. There was no one.

2.2	məqūm			rāsu		mistafar													
	m-	ə-	qūm	rās	=u	m-	i-	stafar											
	mi-	yī-	qūm <sub>1</sub>	rās	=hu	mi-	yī-	stafarr+UNSPEC. VAR. OF											
	IND	3	arise\ IMPF	head	=3MS	IND	3	spin\ IMPF											
	v:Any	v:Any	vi	n	pro	v:Any	v:Any	vi											
	he	arises		his	head	he	spins												
	vi			n		vi													

He stood up. His head was spinning.

2.3 min hamān miyoğdiyu nāyim  
 min hamān mi- yo- ğdi =yu nāyim  
 min<sub>1</sub> hamān mi- yi- ğdi =u nāyim  
 from here IND 3 go\IMPF =and sleep\PTCP  
 prep adv v:Any v:Any vi coordconn vi  
 from here he goes, and he slept  
 prep adv vi ptcp  
 miyoğdiyu nāyim , miyāni čōl  
 mi- yo- ğdi =yu nāyim miyāni čōl  
 mi- yi- ğdi =u nāyim miyāna+UNSPEC. VAR. OF čōl  
 IND 3 go\IMPF =and sleep\PTCP middle desert  
 v:Any v:Any vi coordconn vi n n  
 he goes, and he slept middle desert  
 vi ptcp n n  
 miyoğdi .

mi- yo- ğdi

mi- yi- ğdi

IND 3 go\IMPF

v:Any v:Any vi

he goes

vi

He went away and walked on. He walked through the desert.

2.4 čōli ğazīrama miyoğdi nāyim .

čōl =i ğazīrama mi- yo- ğdi nāyim

čōl =i<sub>3</sub> ğazīrama mi- yi- ğdi nāyim

desert =EZ (P/T) burning (U) IND 3 go\IMPF sleep\PTCP

n prt adj v:Any v:Any vi vi  
 desert burning he goes he slept

n adj vi ptcp

He walked through the hot desert; he continued to walk.

2.5	šims	tiq'ad	nayma	.	
	šims	ti-	q'ad	naym	-a
	šims	ti- <sub>1</sub>	q'ad	nāyim	-a
	sun	3FS	sit\ IMPF	sleep\ PTCP	F
	n	v:Any	vi	vi	n:Any
	sun	she (would)	sit	she slept	
	n	vi		ptcp	

The sun was setting.

2.6	lab	darb	fat	tandūrin	köhna	kōn	.
	lab	darb	fat	tandūr	=in	köhna	kōn
	lab	darb	fat	tandūr	=in <sub>1</sub>	köhna	kōn
	edge	way, road	INDF	oven	=LK	old (U/T<P)	be\ PERF
	n	n	indf	n	prt	adj	vi
	edge	way, road	a	oven		old	he was
	n	n	indf	n		adj	vi

On the side of the road, there was an old oven.

2.7	iš	sovahānu	ma	yi'rif	.
	iš	sovahān	=u	ma	yi- 'rif
	īš+UNSPEC. VAR. OF	sowahān+DIAL. VAR. OF	=hu	mā+UNSPEC. VAR. OF	yi- 'rif
	what	do.INF	=3MS	NEG	3 know\ IMPF
	interrog	ger	pro	verbprt	v:Any vt
	what	his doing		not	he would know
	interrog	ger		verbprt	vt

What was he supposed to do? He did not know.

2.8	min	ḡayvōnāt		məḡōf		min	šēr	yōlbars	
	min	ḡayvōn	-āt	m-	ə-	ḡōf	min	šēr	yōlbars
	min <sub>1</sub>	ḡayvōn	-āt	mi-	yi-	ḡōf <sub>1</sub>	min <sub>1</sub>	šēr	yōlbars
	from	animal	(F)PL	IND	3	be afraid\ IMPF	from	lion (U<P)	tiger (U)
	prep	n	n:Any	v:Any	v:Any	vi	prep	n	n
	from	animals		he	becomes	afraid	from	lion	tiger
	prep	n		vi			prep	n	n

ayəq .

ayəq

ayəq

bear (U)

n

bear

n

He was afraid of animals, for the lion, the tiger, the bear.

2.9 hamazay		ḥayvōnāt		la			
hamazay		ḥayvōn	-āt	la			
hamazayli+UNSPEC. VAR. OF		ḥayvōn	-āt	lā			
in this manner		animal	(F)PL	NEG			
adv		n	n:Any	verbprt			
in this manner		animals		not			
adv		n		verbprt			
yoklinni					məqūl		
yo-	kl	-in	=ni	m-	ə-	qūl	
yi-	kil	-īn <sub>4</sub> +UNSPEC. VAR. OF	=nī+UNSPEC. VAR. OF	mi-	yi-	qūl <sub>1</sub>	
3	eat\IMPF	FP	=1CS	IND	3	say\IMPF	
v:Any	vt	v:Any	pro	v:Any	v:Any	vt	
they.F	would eat me			he	says		
vt				vt			
hāt	zaḡīri	.					
hād	zaḡīr	=i					
hād	zaḡīr	=i <sub>4</sub>					
this.M	young	=INDF? (P/T)					
dem	adj	prt					
this	young one						
dem	n						

"Such animals can not eat me," said the small one.

2.10 arūn		tandūr		mushulu						fi
arūn		tandūr	m-	u-	shul	=u				fi
adrūn+UNSPEC. VAR. OF		tandūr	mi-	yi-	dḥul+UNSPEC. VAR. OF	=u				fi
inside		oven	IND	3	enter\IMPF	=and				in
prep		n	v:Any	v:Any	vi				coordconn	prep
inside		oven			he enters, and					in
n		n			vi					prep
ḥašim		tandūr	vat		lattitin					köhna
ḥašim		tandūr	vat		lattit	=in				köhna
ḥašm+FR. VAR. OF		tandūr	fat+UNSPEC. VAR. OF		latta	=in <sub>1</sub>				köhna
mouth		oven	INDF		cloth (U)	=LK				old (U/T<P)
n		n	indf		n	prt				adj
mouth		oven	a		cloth					old
n		n	indf		n					adj
miriššiya										
m-	i-	rišši			=ya					
mi-	yi-	rišši			=ha					
IND	3	throw\IMPF			=3FS					
v:Any	v:Any	vt			pro					
he	throws	her								

vt

He went into the oven and hung an old cloth for the opening of the oven.

2.11 arūn	tandūr mushul			
arūn	tandūr m-	u-	shul	
adrūn+UNSPEC. VAR. OF	tandūr mi-	yi-	dhul+UNSPEC. VAR. OF	
inside	oven	IND	3	enter\IMPF
prep	n	v:Any	v:Any	vi
inside	oven	he enters		
n	n	vi		
minām	.			
m-	i-	nām		
mi-	yi-	nām <sub>1</sub>		
IND	3	sleep\IMPF		
v:Any	v:Any	vi		
he sleeps				
vi				

He went into the oven and went to sleep.

3.1 hāt	kul	lēla	umūman	ōš	dunya
hād	kul	lēl	-a	umūman	ōš
hād	kul	lēl	-a	umūman	učč+UNSPEC. VAR. OF
this.M	every, all	night	SGV	generally	face
dem	n	n	n>n	adv	n
this	every, all	one night	generally	face	world
dem	n	n	adv	n	n
išqasam	ḥayvōn yikun				,
išqas	=am	ḥayvōn	yi-	kun	
išqās+UNSPEC. VAR. OF	=am	ḥayvōn	yi-	kūn+UNSPEC. VAR. OF	
how much	=also	animal	3	be\IMPF	
quant	prt	n	v:Any	vi	
how many		animal	he would be		
quant		n	vi		

kullukum		miği			, hamay töğri	maylis
kullu	=kum	m-	i-	ği	hamay töğri	maylis
kul+UNSPEC. VAR. OF	=kum	mi-	yi-	ği	hamay töğri	maylis
every, all	=2MP	IND	3	come\IMPF	this	straight, right (U) meeting
n	pro	v:Any	v:Any	vi	dem	adj
all of you.MP		he comes			this	straight
n		vi			dem	n
kun	misu					n
kun	m-	i-	su			
kon <sub>1</sub> +DIAL. VAR. OF	mi-	yi-	sū <sub>1</sub> +UNSPEC. VAR. OF			
PST	IND	3	do\IMPF			
prt	v:Any	v:Any	vt			
PST	he does					
prt	vt					

Usually every night, no matter how many animals on the earth, they all came. They held meetings at that location.

3.2	hayvōnāt	eN	dōnōyin	ki	tulkiya	
	hayvōn	-āt	eN	dōnō	=yin	ki tulki -ya
	hayvōn	-āt	eN	dōnō	=hin	ki tulki -a
	animal	(F)PL	SUPL	wise (U<P)	=3FP	that fox (U) F
	n	n:Any	prt	adj	pro	prt n n:Any
	animals		SUPL	wise one of them.F	that	fox
	n		prt	n	prt	n
	mitkun					

mi-	t-	kun
mi-	ti- <sub>1</sub>	kūn+UNSPEC. VAR. OF
IND	3FS	be\IMPF
v:Any	v:Any	vi
she is		
vi		

The most cunning of animals was the fox.

3.3	rōba	,	rōba	tiği		fōḥ		tandūr
	rōba		rōba	ti-	ği	fōḥ		tandūr
	rōba		rōba	ti- <sub>1</sub>	ği	fūq+UNSPEC. VAR. OF		tandūr
	fox (P)		fox (P)	3FS	come\IMPF	on		oven
	n		n	v:Any	vi	prep		n
	fox		fox	she (would)	come	on		oven
	n		n	vi		prep		n
	kufti				tirqi			tiq'ad
	kuft			=i	ti-	rqi		ti- q'ad
	kift+UNSPEC. VAR. OF			=i <sub>2</sub>	ti- <sub>1</sub>	rqi		ti- <sub>1</sub> q'ad
	shoulder (U<A)			=POSS (U)	3FS	climb up\IMPF	3FS	sit\IMPF
	n			prt	v:Any	vi		v:Any vi
	shoulder				she (would)	climb up		she (would) sit
	n				vi			vi

The fox came, climbed on the edge of the oven and sat down.

3.4	i		arūn		hāt	tandūr	adami
	i		arūn		hād	tandūr	adami
	i		adrūn+UNSPEC. VAR. OF		hād	tandūr	ādami+UNSPEC. VAR. OF
	to		inside		this.M	oven	man
	prep	prep			dem	n	n
	to	inside			this	oven	man
	prep	n			dem	n	n
	kaynahānu				hiškim		ōdamzōt
	kaynahān			=u	hiškim		ōdamzōt
	kayniyān+DIAL. VAR. OF			=hu	hičkim+DIAL. VAR. OF		ōdamzōt
	be.INF			=3MS	nobody		human being (U<P)
	ger			pro	pro		n
	his being				nobody		human being
	ger				pro		n

kaynahānu			ma		yi'rif			, fat
kaynahān	=u		ma		yi-	'rif		fat
kayniyān+DIAL. VAR. OF	=hu		mā+UNSPEC. VAR. OF		yi-	'rif		fat
be.INF	=3MS	NEG			3	know\IMPF		INDF
ger			pro	verbprt		v:Any	vt	indf
his being				not		he would know		a
ger				verbprt		vt		indf
tulkiya		ti'rif			, fat	ibrōḥa		, rōba
tulki	-ya	ti-	'rif		fat	ib=	rōḥ	=a rōba
tulki	-a	ti- <sub>1</sub>	'rif		fat	bi=	rūḥ	=ha rōba
fox (U)	F	3FS		know\IMPF	INDF	by=	self	=3FS fox (P)
n	n:Any	v:Any		vt	indf	prep	n	pro n
fox				she (would) know	a	by herself		fox
n		vt			indf	adv		n
ti'rif								
ti-	'rif							
ti- <sub>1</sub>	'rif							
3FS				know\IMPF				
v:Any		vt						
she (would) know								
vt								

No one knew that a person, a human being, was present in the oven; only the fox herself knew it.

4.1	ḥilāf ḥayvōnāt	eN	zōrin		kabīrin		šēr
	ḥilāf ḥayvōn	-āt	eN	zōr	=in	kabīr	=in šēr
	ḥilāf ḥayvōn	-āt	eN	zōr	=hin	kabīr	=hin šēr
	then animal	(F)PL	SUPL	strong (U<P)	=3FP	big, old	=3FP lion (U<P)
	adv n	n:Any	prt	adj	pro	adj	pro n
	then animals		SUPL	strong one of them.F	big one of them.F		lion
	adv n		prt	n	n		n

məkunda .

m-	ə-	kun	=da
mi-	yi-	kūn+UNSPEC. VAR. OF	=da
IND	3	be\IMPF	=EMPH
v:Any	v:Any	vi	prt
he is			
vi			

Then, the strongest and largest of the animals was the lion.

4.2	šēr	savōl	minti		dōk		ḥayvōnāt
	šēr	savōl	m-	i-	nti	dōk	ḥayvōn -āt
	šēr	savōl	mi-	yi-	nṭi+DIAL. VAR. OF	dūk+DIAL. VAR. OF	ḥayvōn -āt
	lion (U<P)	question	IND	3	give\IMPF	that.M	animal (F)PL
	n	n	v:Any	v:Any	vt	dem	n n:Any
	lion	question	he gives			that	animals
	n	n	vt			dem	n
	pošōhin				dōk		
	pošō		=hin		dōk		
	pōšō+UNSPEC. VAR. OF		=hin		dūk+DIAL. VAR. OF		
	Pasha		=3FP		that.M		
	n		pro		dem		
	Pasha of them.F				that		
	n				dem		

The lion was giving question. He was the pasha of the animals.

4.3	hint	məqūl		, zīb	, hint	čōpōn		, zīb	, bōri	,
	hint	m-	ə-	qūl	zīb	hint	čōpōn	zīb	bōri	
	hint	mi-	yi-	qūl <sub>1</sub>	zīb	hint	čōpōn	zīb	bōri	
	2MS	IND	3	say\IMPF	wolf	2MS	shepherd (U/T<P)	wolf	wolf (U)	
	pro	v:Any	v:Any	vt	n	pro	n	n	n	
	you.M	he	says		wolf	you.M	shepherd	wolf	wolf	
	pro	vt			n	pro	n	n	n	
	zīb	məqul			ki	hint	išāit			
	zīb	m-	ə-	qul	ki	hint	išāit			
	zīb	mi-	yi-	qūl <sub>1</sub> +UNSPEC. VAR. OF	ki	hint	išāet+UNSPEC. VAR. OF			
	wolf	IND	3	say\IMPF	that	2MS	which (one)			
	n	v:Any	v:Any	vt	prt	pro	interrog			
	wolf	he	says		that	you.M	which (one)			
	n	vt			prt	pro	interrog			
	čōpōn	kam	na'ģitu		kalēta					.
	čōpōn	kam	na'ģit	=u	kalē	-t	=a			
	čōpōn	kam	na'ģa	=hu	kalā	-t <sub>2</sub>	=ha			
	shepherd (U/T<P)	how many	sheep	=3MS	eat\PERF	2MS	=3FS			
	n	interrog	n	pro	vt	v:Any	pro			
	shepherd	how many	his sheep		you.M	ate	her			
	n	interrog	n	vt						

"You," he said, "wolf, you," he said, "of the shepherd how many sheep did you eat?"

4.4 i	tulkiya		məqul			hinti kam	hurūfa
i	tulki	-ya	m-	ə-	qul	hinti kam	hurūfa
i	tulki	-a	mi-	yi-	qūl <sub>1</sub> +UNSPEC. VAR. OF	hinti kam	hurūfa
DAT	fox (U)	F	IND	3	say\IMPF	2FS	how many lamb
prep	n	n:Any	v:Any	v:Any	vt	pro	interrog n
DAT	fox		he says			you.F	how many lamb
prep	n		vt			pro	interrog n
kalētiya			kam	‘anza kam	vataḥda		saḥla .
kalē	-ti	=ya	kam	‘anza kam	vataḥda		saḥla
kalā	-ti	=ha	kam	‘anza kam	fat aḥeda+UNSPEC. VAR. OF		saḥla
eat\PERF	2FS	=3FS	how many	goat	how many	one	lamb
vt	v:Any	pro	interrog	n	interrog	<Not Sure>	n
you.F	ate her		how many	goat	how many	one	lamb
vt			interrog	n	interrog	num	n

To the fox he said: "How many sheep did you eat, how many young goats, how many lambs

4.5 hamallān		qatalīhinmi		
hamallān		qatal	-tī	=hin =mi
hamalān+DIAL. VAR. OF		qatal	-ti	=hin =mi
these.F		kill\PERF	2FS	=3FP =Q
dem		vt	v:Any	pro
these		you.F	killed	them.F?
dem		vt		

did you kill them?

4.6 illay		lī	ma	ḡibti	
illa	=y	lī	ma	ḡib	-ti
il <sub>1</sub> +DIAL. VAR. OF	=ī	lī	mā+UNSPEC. VAR. OF	ḡāb	-ti
DAT	=1CS	why	NEG	bring\PERF	2FS
prep	pro	interrog	verbprt	vt	v:Any
to me		why	not	you.F	brought
		interrog	verbprt	vt	

why did not you bring me anything?"

4.7 ḥūš i ayəq məqūl hint iš šuǵl  
ḥūš i ayəq m- ə- qūl hint iš šuǵl  
ḥūš i ayəq mi- yi- qūl<sub>1</sub> hint īš+UNSPEC. VAR. OF šuǵl  
good DAT bear (U) IND 3 say\IMPF 2MS what work  
adj prep n v:Any v:Any vt pro interrog n  
well DAT bear he says you.M what work  
interj prep n vt pro interrog n

savēt .

savē -t

sawā -t<sub>2</sub>

make\PERF 2MS

vt v:Any

you.M made

vt

"Well," to the bear he said, "What kind of work did you do?"

5.1 hōkazō hamāt maylis hamān davōm məvud .  
hōkazō hamāt maylis hamān davōm m- ə- vud  
hōkazō hamad maylis hamān davōm mi- yi- wuddi+UNSPEC. VAR. OF  
like this this.M meeting here contiunation IND 3 lead, carry\IMPF  
adv dem n adv n v:Any v:Any vt  
like this this meeting here contiunation he would lead  
adv dem n adv n vt

Thus, the meeting went through.

5.2 fat sō'ami soḥtēnmi davōm  
 fat sō'a =mi soḥt -ēn =mi davōm  
 fat sō'a =mi sō'a -ēn =mi davōm  
 INDF hour =Q hour DU =Q contiunation  
 indf n q n n:Any q n  
 a hour? hours? contiunation  
 indf n n n  
 māvud .  
 m- ə- vud  
 mi- yi- wuddi+UNSPEC. VAR. OF  
 IND 3 lead, carry\IMPF  
 v:Any v:Any vt  
 he would lead  
 vt  
 It went on for an hour or two.

5.3 maylis	mitām				, kulum		ʼal
maylis	m-	i-	tām		kul	=um	ʼal
maylis	mi-	yi-	tamm <sub>2</sub> +UNSPEC. VAR. OF		kul	=hum	ʼal
meeting	IND	3	finish\ IMPF		every, all	=3MP	on
n	v:Any	v:Any	vi		n	pro	prep
meeting	he	finished			all of them.M		on
n	vi				n		prep
tuštušum		ğavōb		mintūn			
tuštuš	=um	ğavōb		m-	i-	nt	-ūn
tuštuš	=hum	ğawōb+DIAL. VAR. OF	mi-	yi-	nṭi+DIAL. VAR. OF		-ūn
place(?)	=3MP	answer	IND	3	give\ IMPF		MP
n	pro	n	v:Any	v:Any	vt		v:Any
their.M	place	answer	they.M	give			
n		n	vt				
miyoğdūn							
mi-	yo-	ğd					-ūn
mi-	yi-	ğdi					-ūn
IND	3	go\ IMPF					MP
v:Any	v:Any	vi		v:Any			
they.M	go						
vi							

The meeting ended; all of them gave answer to and went away.

5.4 fat	ubrōḥa			, rōba	titli		fōḥ
fat	ub=	rōḥ	=ha	rōba	ti-	tli	fōḥ
fat	bi=+UNSPEC. VAR. OF	rūḥ	=ha	rōba	ti- <sub>1</sub>	tli	fūq+UNSPEC. VAR. OF
INDF	by=	self	=3FS	fox (P)	3FS	stay\IMPF	on
indf	prep	n	pro	n	v:Any	vi	prep
a	by herself			fox	she (would) stay		on
indf	adv			n	vi		prep

tandūr .

tandūr

tandūr

oven

n

oven

n

Except for herself (the fox). The fox remained on the oven.

5.5	rōba	mitqul		ki	hey	ōdamzōt	hint
	rōba	mi-	t-	qūl	ki	hey	ōdamzōt
	rōba	mi-	ti- <sub>1</sub>	qūl <sub>1</sub>	ki	hey	ōdamzōt
	fox (P)	IND	3FS	say\IMPF	that	hey	human being (U<P) 2MS
	n	v:Any	v:Any	vt	prt	interj	n
	fox	she says			that	hey	human being
	n	vt			prt	interj	n
	arūn		tandūr	naymahānak		ana	handōk
	arūn		tandūr	naymahān	=ak	ana	handōk
	adrūn+UNSPEC. VAR. OF		tandūr	naymahān	=k	anā+UNSPEC. VAR. OF	hamdūk
	inside		oven	sleep.INF	=2MS	1CS	that.M
	prep		n	ger		pro	pro
	inside		oven	your.M	sleeping	I	dem
	n		n	ger		pro	dem
	kun		ma'rifu				.
	kun	m-	a-	'rif		=u	
	kon <sub>1</sub> +DIAL. VAR. OF	mi-	a-	'rif		=hu	
	PST	IND	1CS	know\IMPF		=3MS	
	prt		v:Any	v:Any	vt		pro
	PST		I know	him			
	prt		vt				

The fox said, "Hey, man, you slept in the oven, I knew that.

5.6	agar	kun	maqūl		illēk		agar
	agar	kun	m-	a-	qūl	illē	=k agar
	agar	kon <sub>1</sub> +DIAL. VAR. OF	mi-	a-	qūl <sub>1</sub>	il <sub>1</sub> +DIAL. VAR. OF	=k agar
	if	PST	IND	1CS	say\IMPF	DAT	=2MS if
	advlizer	prt	v:Any	v:Any	vt	prep	pro advlizer
	if	PST	I say			to you.M	if
	advlizer	prt	vt		adv		advlizer
ana	kullə		ḥayvōnāt		illēk	fat	darinagi
ana	kullə		ḥayvōn	-āt	illē	=k fat	darinagi
ana <sub>2</sub>	kul+UNSPEC. VAR. OF	ḥayvōn	-āt	il <sub>1</sub> +DIAL. VAR. OF	=k fat	darinagi	
there (U)	every, all	animal	(F)PL	ACC	=2MS	INDF	nail, claw (?) (U)
interj	n	n	n:Any	prep	pro	indf	n
there!	every, all	animals		you.M		a	nail, claw (?)
interj	n	n		pro		indf	n
ma	kun		milḥaq				
ma	kun	m-	i-		lḥaq		
mā+UNSPEC. VAR. OF	kon <sub>1</sub> +DIAL. VAR. OF	mi-	yi-		lḥaq		
NEG	PST	IND	3		reach\IMPF		
verbprt	prt	v:Any	v:Any	vt			
not	PST	he reaches					
verbprt	prt	vt					

laḥmak			kun	
laḥm	=ak		kun	
laḥim+UNSPEC. VAR. OF	=k		kon <sub>1</sub> +DIAL. VAR. OF	
meat	=2MS	PST		
n	pro	prt		
you.M		PST		
n		prt		
miyoklinnu				
mi-	yo-	kl	-in	=nu
mi-	yi-	kil	-īn <sub>4</sub> +UNSPEC. VAR. OF	=hu
IND	3	eat\IMPF	FP	=3MS
v:Any	v:Any	vt	v:Any	pro
they.F	eat	him		
vt				

If I would have told you, all animals would have eaten your meat as if you were a grain / nail (?), which would not be enough.

5.7	ana	illēk		akun		vat
	ana	illē	=k	akun		vat
	anā+UNSPEC. VAR. OF	īl <sub>1</sub> +DIAL. VAR. OF	=k	akūn+UNSPEC. VAR. OF		fat+UNSPEC. VAR. OF
	1CS	ACC	=2MS	now		INDF
	pro	prep	pro	adv		indf
	I	you.M		now		a
	pro	pro		adv		indf
	zēni		asū			
	zēn	=i	a-	sū		
	zīn+UNSPEC. VAR. OF	=i <sub>4</sub>	a-	sū <sub>1</sub>		
	beautiful	=INDF? (P/T)	1CS	do\IMPF		
	adj	prt	v:Any	vt		
	a beautiful thing		I would do			
	n		vt			

Let me do you a favor now.

6.1	vaḥtun			salō		bar vaḥ		min
	vaḥt	=un		salō		bar vaḥ		min
	waḥt+DIAL. VAR. OF	=in <sub>1</sub> +UNSPEC. VAR. OF		ṣalō+DIAL. VAR. OF		barvaḥt+UNSPEC. VAR. OF		min <sub>1</sub>
	time	=LK		prayer		early; timely (U/T<P)		from
	n	prt		n		adv		prep
	time			prayer		early		from
	n			n		adv		prep
	halyam	šims ki	tala'it		,	min	nīš	
	halyam	šims ki	tala'	-it		min	nīš	
	halyamm	šims ki	ṭala'+UNSPEC. VAR. OF	-et		min <sub>1</sub>	nīš	
	this side	sun	that come out\PERF	3FS		from	sting (?) (U<P)	
	adv	n	prt vi	v:Any		prep	n	
	this side	sun	that she came out			from	sting (?) (U<P)	
	adv	n	prt vi			prep	n	
	tinti		nayma		,	min	rōd	handūk
	ti-	nti	naym	-a		min	rōd	handūk
	ti- <sub>1</sub>	nṭi+DIAL. VAR. OF	nāyim	-a		min <sub>1</sub>	rod+DIAL. VAR. OF	hamdūk+DIAL. VAR. OF
	3FS	give\IMPF	sleep\PTCP	F		from	place	that.M
	v:Any	vt	vi	n:Any		prep	n	dem
	she would give		she slept			from	land, place	that
	vt		ptcp			prep	n	dem

vaḥ	fat	mūš	min	fat	gōr	mitlaḥ			min
vaḥ	fat	mūš	min	fat	gōr	m-	i-	tlaḥ	min
waḥt+DIAL. VAR. OF	fat	mūš	min <sub>1</sub>	fat	gōr	mi-	yi-	ṭlaʿ	min <sub>1</sub>
time	INDF	mouse	from	INDF	hole	IND	3	come out\IMPF	from
n	indf	n	prep	indf	n	v:Any	v:Any	vi	prep
time	a	mouse	from	a	hole	he comes out			from
n	indf	n	prep	indf	n	vi			prep
arūn		rōd		.					
arūn		rōd							
adrūn+UNSPEC. VAR. OF	rod+DIAL. VAR. OF								
inside		place							
prep		n							
inside		land, place							
n		n							

If the sun has risen early in the morning prayer on this side and gives light from the ground, at that moment a mouse will emerge from a hole from the ground.

6.2	čil	tanga	ʿandu	,	čil	tillō	,	arabʿun	da
	čil	tanga	ʿand	=u	čil	tillō		arabʿun	=da
	čil	tanga	ʿend+UNSPEC. VAR. OF	=hu	čil	tillō		arabʿun	=da
	forty	coin	at	=3MS	forty	gold coin		forty	=EMPH
	num	n	prep	pro	num	n		cardnum	prt
	forty	coin	with him		forty	(gold) coin		forty	EMPH
	num	n	adv		num	n		cardnum	prt
akun		čil	tillō	.					
akun		čil	tillō						
akūn+UNSPEC. VAR. OF		čil	tillō						
now		forty	gold coin						
adv		num	n						
now		forty	(gold) coin						
adv		num	n						

He has forty coins, forty coins.

6.3 hamay mushjul

vaḥda

hamay m-	u-	sḥul		vaḥd	-a
hamay mi-	yi-	dḥul+UNSPEC. VAR. OF		wāḥed+UNSPEC. VAR. OF	-a
this	IND	3	enter\IMPF	one	F
dem	v:Any	v:Any	vi	num	n:Any
this	he enters			one	
dem	vi			num	
vaḥda			mitillu'a		
vaḥd		-a	m-	i-	tillu'
					=a
wāḥed+UNSPEC. VAR. OF	-a	mi-	yi-	ṭullu' <sub>1</sub> +UNSPEC. VAR. OF	=ha
one	F	IND	3	take out\IMPF	=3FS
num		n:Any	v:Any	v:Any	vt
one			he takes her out		pro
num			vt		
mišurruqa			i	rōd	.
m-	i-	šurruq	=a	i	rōd
mi-	yi-	šurruq	=ha	i	rod+DIAL. VAR. OF
IND	3	spread\IMPF	=3FS	DAT	place
v:Any	v:Any	vt	pro	prep	n
he spreads her			DAT	land, place	
vt			prep	n	

He will go in and take them one by one and spread them out on the ground.

6.4 i hamāt čil tillō qati mil'ab .

i hamāt čil tillō qati m- i- l'ab

i hamad čil tillō qati mi- yi- l'ab

ACC this.M forty gold coin with (T) IND 3 play\IMPF

prep dem num n post v:Any v:Any vt  
ACC this forty (gold) coin with he plays

prt dem num n post vt

He will play with those forty coins.

6.5	‘ō		ħilāf hamay miluħħud					
	‘ō		ħilāf hamay m-	i-		luħħud		
	‘ōd+UNSPEC. VAR. OF		ħilāf hamay mi-	yi-		luqquṭ+UNSPEC. VAR. OF		
	again		then this	IND	3	clean up\IMPF		
	adv		adv dem	v:Any	v:Any	vt		
	again		then this			he cleans up		
	adv		adv dem	vt				
	miduħħula			i		bētu		
	m-	i-	duħħul	=a	i	bēt	=u	
	mi-	yi-	duħħul	=ha	i	bēt	=hu	
	IND	3	bring in\IMPF	=3FS	DAT	house	=3MS	
	v:Any	v:Any	vt	pro	prep	n	pro	
	he brings her in				DAT	his house		
	vt				prep	n		
	mida‘iya			agar		handūk		hint
	m-	i-	da‘i	=ya	agar	handūk		hint
	mi-	yi-	da‘ <sub>1</sub>	=ha	agar	hamdūk+DIAL. VAR. OF		hint
	IND	3	place\IMPF	=3FS	if	that.M		2MS
	v:Any	v:Any	vt	pro	advlizer	dem		pro
	he places her				if	that		you.M
	vt				advlizer	dem		pro
	id‘iddiya				agal		, čil tillō	ki
	id-		‘iddi	=ya	agal		čil tillō	ki
	ti- <sub>2</sub> +UNSPEC. VAR. OF		‘edd+UNSPEC. VAR. OF	=ha	agar+DIAL. VAR. OF		čil tillō	ki
	2		count\IMPF	=3FS	if		forty gold coin	that
	v:Any		vt	pro	advlizer		num n	prt
	you.M (would) count her				if		forty (gold) coin	that
	vt				advlizer		num n	prt

talla'a		kula		, handūk		vaḥt		hint	
talla'	=ha	kul	=ha	handūk		vaḥt		hint	
ṭalla'+DIAL. VAR. OF	=ha	kul	=ha	hamdūk+DIAL. VAR. OF		waḥt+DIAL. VAR. OF		hint	
take out\PERF	=3FS	every, all	=3FS	that.M		time		2MS	
vt	pro	n	pro	dem		n		pro	
he took her out		all of her		that		time		you.M	
vt		n		dem		n		pro	
agal	īdak		pššt	itqul					
agal	īd	=ak	pššt	it-	qul				
agal+DIAL. VAR. OF	īd	=k	pššt	ti-2	qūl <sub>1</sub> +UNSPEC. VAR. OF				
if	hand	=2MS	pššt	2	say\IMPF				
advlizer	n	pro	interj	v:Any	vt				
if	your.M	hand	pššt	you.M	would say				
advlizer	n		interj	vt					
tuzruba		agar	, uži	mūš	miyoğdi			i	
tu-	zrub	=ha	agar	uži	mūš	mi-	yo-	ğdi	i
ti-2	zrub	=ha	agar	uži	mūš	mi-	yi-	ğdi	i
2	beat\IMPF	=3FS	if	already (R)	mouse	IND	3	go\IMPF	DAT
v:Any	vt	pro	advlizer	adv	n	v:Any	v:Any	vi	prep
you.M	(would) beat her		if	already	mouse	he goes			DAT
vt			advlizer	adv	n	vi			prep
bētu		müşul				miyoğdi			.
bēt	=u	m-	u-	şul		mi-	yo-	ğdi	
bēt	=hu	mi-	yi-	dḥul+UNSPEC. VAR. OF		mi-	yi-	ğdi	
house	=3MS	IND	3	enter\IMPF		IND	3	go\IMPF	
n	pro	v:Any	v:Any	vi		v:Any	v:Any	vi	
his house		he enters				he goes			
n		vi				vi			

Then he will clean them up again and put them back in his house and put them away. If you count them, if they have pulled out all forty coins, and if you clasp your hands at that moment and say "pššt", then the mouse goes to his house, goes in.

6.6 hint	čil	tillō	tulqud		tōḥida			, 'al
hint	čil	tillō	tu-	lqud	tō-	ḥid	=ha	'al
hint	čil	tillō	ti-2	lquṭ+DIAL. VAR. OF	ti-2	ḥid	=ha	'al
2MS	forty	gold coin	2	collect\IMPF	2	take\IMPF	=3FS	on
pro	num	n	v:Any	vt	v:Any	vt	pro	prep
you.M	forty	(gold) coin	you.M	(would) collect	you.M	(would) take her		on
pro	num	n	vt		vt			prep
dast	rumoltak			miššiddiya				, i
dast	rumolt		=ak	mi-	š-	šiddi	=ya	i
dast	rumola		=k	mi-	ti-2	šidd	=ha	i
hand (U<P)	handkerchief		=2MS	IND	2	tie\IMPF	=3FS	DAT
n	n		pro	v:Any	v:Any	vt	pro	prep
hand	your.M	handkerchief	you.M	tie her				DAT
n	n			vt				prep
činčōlak				mithittiya				, hint hamay
činčōl			=ak	mi-	t-	ḥitti	=ya	hint hamay
čintōl+DIAL. VAR. OF			=k	mi-	ti-2	ḥiṭṭ+DIAL. VAR. OF	=ha	hint hamay
pocket			=2MS	IND	2	set\IMPV	=3FS	2MS this
n			pro	v:Any	v:Any	vt	pro	pro dem
your.M	pocket		you.M	set her			you.M	this
n				vt			pro	dem
qati	boy			missōr				.
qati	boy		mi-	s-	sōr			
qati	boy		mi-	ti-2	šōr <sub>1</sub> +DIAL. VAR. OF			
with (T)	Bey		IND	2	become\PERF			
post	n		v:Any	v:Any	vi			
with	rich man, Bey		you.M	become				
post	n			vi				

You collect the forty coins You take them, tie them in your handkerchief and put them in your pocket. In this way you will become a bey."

6.7	'al	čil	tillō	dūk	vaḥt	qarīb	fat	sad
	'al	čil	tillō	dūk	vaḥt	qarīb	fat	sad
	'al	čil	tillō	dūk	waḥt+DIAL. VAR. OF	qarīb <sub>1</sub>	fat	sad
	on	forty	gold coin	that.M	time	close	INDF	hundred
	prep	num	n	dem	n	adj	indf	num
	on	forty	(gold) coin	that	time	close	a	hundred
	prep	num	n	dem	n	adj	indf	num
	i'bir	kinni	mintida			'al	fulsa	
	i'bir	kinni	m-	i-	nti	=da	'al	fuls =a
	ib'ir+UNSPEC. VAR. OF	kinni	mi-	yi-	nṭi+DIAL. VAR. OF	=da	'al	fuls =ha
	camel	as if	IND	3	give\IMPF	=EMPH	on	money =3FS
	n	prt	v:Any	v:Any	vt	prt	prep	n pro
	like camel		he gives				on	her money
	n		vt				prep	n

For forty coins at that time about the value of a hundred camels was given.

7.1	'ō	ḥilāf	miyāni	čōl	vat	ḡaraba
	'ō	ḥilāf	miyāni	čōl	vat	ḡarab -a
	'ōd+UNSPEC. VAR. OF	ḥilāf	miyāna+UNSPEC. VAR. OF	čōl	fat+UNSPEC. VAR. OF	ḡarab -a
	again	then	middle	desert	INDF	tree SGV
	adv	adv	n	n	indf	n n>n
	again	then	middle	desert	a	one tree
	adv	adv	n	n	indf	n
	tinbān	nayma				
	ti-	nbān	naym			-a
	ti-1	nbān	nāyim			-a
	3FS	be visible\IMPF	sleep\PTCP	F		
	v:Any	vi	vi	n:Any		
	she (would) be visible		she slept			
	vi		ptcp			

"Then, in the middle of the desert is a tree.

7.2 handūk		ġaraba		toġdi		agal		min
handūk		ġarab	-a	to-		ġdi		agal
hamdūk+DIAL. VAR. OF		ġarab	-a	ti-2		ġdi		agar+DIAL. VAR. OF min <sub>1</sub>
that.M		tree		SGV 2		go\IMPF	if	from
dem		n	n>n	v:Any	vi	advlizer		prep
that		one tree		you.M (would)	go	if		from
dem		n		vi		advlizer		prep
varaġita	tiqta'				agal		, vat	, fat
varaġit	=a ti-	qta'			agal		vat	fat
waraġa	=ha ti-2	qta'+DIAL. VAR. OF		agar+DIAL. VAR. OF		fat+UNSPEC. VAR. OF		fat
leaf	=3FS 2	tear\IMPF			if		INDF	INDF
n	pro	v:Any	vt			advlizer		indf
her leaf		you.M (would)	tear			if	a	a
n		vt				advlizer		indf
dōna	agar	, bint	pōšō	kasal	mitmūt			
dōna	agar	bint	pōšō	kasal	mi-	t-	mūt	
dōna	agar	bint	pōšō	kasal	mi-	ti-1	mūt	
piece (U<P)	if	daughter	Pasha	sick	IND	3FS	die\IMPF	
n	advlizer	n	n	adj	v:Any	v:Any	vi	
piece	if	daughter	Pasha	sick	she dies			
n	advlizer	n	n	adj	vi			

nayma		, davō	ma		yigdir		
naym	-a	davō	ma		yi-	gdir	
nāyim	-a	davō	mā+UNSPEC. VAR. OF		yi-	gdir	
sleep\PTCP	F	medicine	NEG		3	can\IMPF	
vi	n:Any	n	verbprt		v:Any	vt	
she slept		medicine	not			he would be able to	
ptcp		n	verbprt		vt		
tayilqūn			naymīn			‘aleyya	.
ta-	yi-	lq	-ūn	naym	-īn	‘aley	=ya
ta-	yi-	lqi	-ūn	nāyim	-īn <sub>3</sub>	‘al	=ha
SBJV	3	find\IMPF	MP	sleep\PTCP	MP	on	=3FS
v:Any	v:Any	vt	v:Any	vi	ptcp:Any	prep	pro
they.M	would find			they.M slept		on her	
vt			ptcp			adv	

If you go to that tree and pick one leaf, the pasha's daughter is sick and dying, and he can not find a cure for her.

7.3 handiki	agal	, hint	agal				
handiki	agal	hint	agal				
hamdīki+DIAL. VAR. OF	agar+DIAL. VAR. OF	hint	agar+DIAL. VAR. OF				
that.F	if	2MS	if				
dem	advlizer	pro	advlizer				
that.F	if	you.M	if				
dem	advlizer	pro	advlizer				
tuvdән	tintiya			'al	mō	,	bint
tu-	vdән	ti-	nti	=ya	'al	mō	bint
ti-2	wdin+DIAL. VAR. OF	ti-2	nṭi+DIAL. VAR. OF	=ha	'al	mū+DIAL. VAR. OF	bint
2	soak\IMPF	2	give\IMPF	=3FS	on	water	girl
v:Any	vt	v:Any	vt	pro	prep	n	n
you.M	(would) soak	you.M	give her		on	water	girl
vt		vt			prep	n	n
pōšō	zēn	missōr					
pōšō	zēn	mi-	s-	sōr			
pōšō	zīn+UNSPEC. VAR. OF	mi-	ti-1	šōr1+DIAL. VAR. OF			
Pasha	good	IND	3FS	become\PERF			
n	adj	v:Any	v:Any	vi			
Pasha	good		she becomes				
n	adj	vi					

if you do it, if you bring and give her in the water, then the daughter of the pasha will become well."

8.1	ḥilāf	fat	boy	dah	hazōr	na'ğa	'indu	,	
	ḥilāf	fat	boy	dah	hazōr	na'ğa	'ind	=u	
	ḥilāf	fat	boy	dah	hazōr	na'ğa	'end+DIAL. VAR. OF	=hu	
	then	INDF	Bey	ten (P/T)	thousand (U/T<P)	sheep	at	=3MS	
	adv	indf	n	num	cardnum	n	prep	pro	
	then	a	rich man, Bey	ten	thousand	sheep	with him		
	adv	indf	n	num	cardnum	n			
	hamāt	kim	išqas		ḥizmatči	'indu	,		
	hamāt	kim	išqas		ḥizmatči	'ind	=u		
	hamad	kim	išqās+UNSPEC. VAR. OF		ḥizmatči	'end+DIAL. VAR. OF	=hu		
	this.M	who (U)	how much		servant (U)	at	=3MS		
	dem	interrog	quant		n	prep	pro		
	this	who	how much		servant	with him			
	dem	interrog	adv		n				
	yetīma			hast	, hamāt	na'ğa	, dabba	, farzīnin	kasīr
	yetīm		-a	hast	hamāt	na'ğa	dabba	farz -īn	=in kasīr
	iytīm+UNSPEC. VAR. OF		-a	hast	hamad	na'ğa	dabba	farz -īn <sub>3</sub>	=in <sub>1</sub> kasīr
	orphan		F	COP	this.M	sheep	horse	horse	MP =LK many
	n		n:Any	prt	dem	n	n	n	ptcp:Any prt adj
	orphan			is	this	sheep	horse	horses	many
	n			prt	dem	n	n	n	adj

, dabbōt	, ana	i'bīr	, baqar	, kasīr	māl
dabb -ōt	ana	i'bīr	baqar	kasīr	māl
dabba -āt	anā+UNSPEC. VAR. OF	ib'īr+UNSPEC. VAR. OF	baqar	kasīr	māl
horse (F)PL	1CS	camel	cattle	many	livestock
n horses	n:Any pro I	n camel	n bull	adj many	n cattle
n 'indu	pro	n , kasīrin	n kasīr	adj 'indu	n
'ind	=u	kasīr	=in kasīr	'ind	=u
'end+DIAL. VAR. OF	=hu	kasīr	=in <sub>1</sub> kasīr	'end+DIAL. VAR. OF	=hu
at	=3MS	many	=LK many	at	=3MS
prep with him	pro	adj many	prt adj many	prep with him	pro
		adj	adj		

"Then, there is a lord, he has ten thousand sheep. I know how many servants, he has orphans, sheep, horses, many horses, camels, cows; he has lots of wealth, has many many.

8.2 hamāt kul	yōmin	zīb	fat	dabtu
hamāt kul	yōm	=in zīb	fat	dabt =u
hamad kul	yōm+DIAL. VAR. OF	=in <sub>1</sub> zīb	fat	dabba =hu
this.M every, all day		=LK wolf	INDF	horse =3MS
dem this	n every, all	n day	prt wolf	n a his horse
dem	n	n	n	indf n
məftur		miyoklu		
m- ə-	ftur	mi-	yo-	kl =u
mi- yi-	fʔur+DIAL. VAR. OF	mi-	yi-	kil =hu
IND 3	rip open\IMPF	IND 3	eat\IMPF	=3MS
v:Any he rips open	v:Any vt	v:Any he eats him	v:Any vt	pro
vt		vt		

Every day the wolf tears one of his horses and eats it.

8.3	agal	toğdi	agal	, hint	hankīt	fat
	agal	to-	ğdi	agal	hint	hankīt
	agar+DIAL. VAR. OF	ti-1	ğdi	agar+DIAL. VAR. OF	hint	hamqīd+DIAL. VAR. OF
	if	3FS	go\IMPF	if	2MS	there
	advlizer	v:Any	vi	advlizer	pro	adv
	if	she (would) go	if	if	you.M	there
	advlizer	vi	advlizer	pro	adv	indf

dabba vōqif .

dabba vōqif

dabba wōqef+DIAL. VAR. OF

horse stand\PTCP

n vi  
horse he stood

n ptcp

If you go, and there is a horse,

8.4 iħtimōl ki dabbit rōħak yikūn .

iħtimōl ki dabbit rōħ =ak yi- kūn

iħtimōl ki dabba rūħ =k yi- kūn

possible that horse self =2MS 3 be\IMPF

adj prt n n pro v:Any vi  
possible that horse of yourself.M he would be

adj prt n n vi

it is possible that it becomes your own horse.

8.5 handōk	tirkabu			agal		izzīḥu			
handōk	ti-	rkab	=u	agal		iz-	zīḥ	=u	
hamdūk	ti-2	rkab	=hu	agar+DIAL. VAR. OF		ti-2	zīḥ	=hu	
that.M	2	mount\IMPF	=3MS	if		2	drive\IMPF	=3MS	
dem	v:Any	vt	pro	advlizer		v:Any	vt	pro	
that	you.M	(would) mount	him	if		you.M	drive	him	
dem	vt			advlizer		vt			
tiq'ad		, hamāt	zībāt	pōditin		qati	kabīrin		
ti-	q'ad	hamāt	zīb	-āt	pōdit	=in	qati	kabīr	=in
ti-2	q'ad	hamad	zīb	-āt	pōda	=hin	qati	kabīr	=hin
2	sit\IMPF	this.M	wolf	(F)PL	flock (U<P)	=3FP	with (T)	big, old	=3FP
v:Any	vi	dem	n	n:Any	n	pro	post	adj	pro
you.M	(would) sit	this	wolves	their.F	flock	with	big	one of them.F	
vi		dem	n	n		post	n		
tuǧzubu			zōr	agal		, tiqtilu			
tu-	ǧzub	=u	zōr	agal		ti-	qtil	=u	
ti-2	ǧzub	=hu	zōr	agar+DIAL. VAR. OF		ti-2	qtil	=hu	
2	seize\IMPF	=3MS	strong (U<P)	if		2	kill\IMPF	=3MS	
v:Any	vt	pro	adj	advlizer		v:Any	n	pro	
you.M	seize	him	strong one	if		you.M	kill	him	
pro			n	advlizer		vt			
agal		, kulin	min	hān					
agal		kul	=in	min	hān				
agar+DIAL. VAR. OF		kul	=hin	min <sub>1</sub>	hān				
if		every, all	=3FP	from	here				
advlizer		n	pro	prep	adv				
if		all of them.F		from	here				
advlizer		n		prep	adv				

miḥarin

m-	i-	ḥar	-in
mi-	yi-	ḥar	-īn <sub>4</sub> +UNSPEC. VAR. OF
IND	3	leave\IMPF	FP
v:Any	v:Any	vi	v:Any

they.F leave

vi  
miḥribin

m-	i-	hrib	-in
mi-	yi-	hrib	-īn <sub>4</sub> +UNSPEC. VAR. OF
IND	3	flee\IMPF	FP
v:Any	v:Any	vi	v:Any

they.F flee

vi  
miyoḡdin

mi-	yo-	ḡd	-in
mi-	yi-	ḡdi	-īn <sub>4</sub> +UNSPEC. VAR. OF
IND	3	go\IMPF	FP
v:Any	v:Any	vi	v:Any

they.F went

vi

If you mount it and start to drive it, and catch the biggest and strongest of the wolves, which are wolves with a group, and kill it, then all of them will all run away from there and flee.

9.1 hamāt	nagziti		illay		, hamāt	salās
hamāt	nagzit	=i	illa	=y	hamāt	salās
hamad	nagzia	=ī+UNSPEC. VAR. OF	il <sub>1</sub> +DIAL. VAR. OF	=ī	hamad	salās
this.M	excellence	=1CS	to	=1CS	this.M	three
dem	n	pro	prep	pro	dem	num
this	my excellence		to me		this	three
dem	n				dem	num
šaggāt			, illēkin			
šagg	-āt	illē	=k	=in		
šāqq+UNSPEC. VAR. OF	-āt	il <sub>1</sub> +DIAL. VAR. OF	=k	=in <sub>1</sub>		
toil (?)	(F)PL	DAT	=2MS	=LK		
n	n:Any	prep	pro	prt		
toil (?)		to you.M	that			
n						
qaylinīhin		hamallān		, mitqul		
qayl	-inī	=hin	hamallān	mi-	t-	qūl
qōyil	-inni+UNSPEC. VAR. OF	=hin	hamalān+DIAL. VAR. OF	mi-	ti- <sub>1</sub>	qūl <sub>1</sub>
say\PTCP	1CS	=3FP	these.F	IND	3FS	say\IMPF
vt	ptcp:Any	pro	dem	v:Any	v:Any	vt
I said them.F			these	she	says	
ptcp			dem	vt		

tulkiyayu			handūk		rōbi	
tulki	-ya	=yu	handūk		rōbi	
tulki	-a	=u	hamdūk+DIAL. VAR. OF		rōba+UNSPEC. VAR. OF	
fox (U)	F	=and	that.M		fox (P)	
n	n:Any	coordconn	dem		n	
fox, and			that		fox	
n			dem		n	
tinzil			mitfir		toḡdi	
ti-	nzil		mi-	t-	fir	to- ḡdi
ti-1	nzil		mi-	ti-1	firr <sub>1</sub>	ti-1 ḡdi
3FS	go down\IMPF	IND	3FS	run away\IMPF	3FS	go\IMPF
v:Any	vi		v:Any	v:Any	vi	v:Any vi
she went down			she runs away			she (would) go
vi			vi			vi

This favor of mine; these three demands, that's what I've just told you," said the fox, went down and went off.

9.2 hamāt ḡōdahāna qati hay mitfir

hamāt	ḡōdahān	=a	qati	hay	mi-	t-	fir
hamad	ḡōdahān	=ha	qati	hay	mi-	ti-1	firr <sub>1</sub>
this.M	go.INF	=3FS	with (T)	this.F	IND	3FS	run away\IMPF
dem	ger	pro	post	dem	v:Any	v:Any	vi
this	her going		with	this	she runs away		
dem	ger		post	dem	vi		

toḡdi

to-	ḡdi
ti-1	ḡdi
3FS	go\IMPF
v:Any	vi
she (would) go	
vi	

It went off quickly.

9.3	hāt	zaġīr	arūn	tandūr	nāyim	.
	hād	zaġīr	arūn	tandūr	nāyim	
	hād	zaġīr	adrūn+UNSPEC. VAR. OF	tandūr	nāyim	
	this.M	young	inside	oven	sleep\PTCP	
	dem	adj	prep	n	vi	
	this	young one	inside	oven	he slept	
	dem	n	n	n	ptcp	

The small one stayed in the oven.

10.1	mullō	azōn	vaḥtin	salō	qati
	mullō	azōn	vaḥt	=in salō	qati
	mullō	azōn	vaḥt+DIAL. VAR. OF	=in <sub>1</sub> ṣalō+DIAL. VAR. OF	qati
	mullah (U<A)	early dawn (U<A)	time	=LK prayer	with (T)
	n	n	n	prt n	post
	mullah	early dawn	time	prayer	with
	n	n	n	n	post
	mi'ayn		ki šims nēš	tuzrub	
	m-	i-	'ayn ki šims nēš	tu-	zrub
	mi-	yi-	'ayyin <sub>2</sub> ki šims nīš+UNSPEC. VAR. OF	ti- <sub>1</sub>	zrub
	IND	3	look\IMPF that sun sting (?) (U<P)	3FS	beat\IMPF
	v:Any	v:Any	vt prt n n	v:Any	vt
	he looks		that sun sting (?)	she (would)	beat
	vt		prt n n	vt	
	titla'		nayma		
	ti-	tla'	naym -a		
	ti- <sub>1</sub>	ṭla'	nāyim -a		
	3FS	come out\IMPF	sleep\PTCP	F	
	v:Any	vi	vi	n:Any	
	she (would)	come out	she slept		
	vi		ptcp		

During the morning prayer he saw that the sun was shining and rising.

10.2	min	hama		ğōr	tandūr	mi'ayyin		nāyim	ki	
	min	hama		ğōr	tandūr	m-	i-	'ayyin	nāyim	ki
	min <sub>1</sub>	hamad+UNSPEC. VAR. OF		ğōr	tandūr	mi-	yi-	'ayyin <sub>2</sub>	nāyim	ki
		from this.M		hole	oven	IND	3	look\ IMPF	sleep\ PTCP	that
	prep	dem		n	n	v:Any	v:Any	vt	vi	prt
	from	this		hole	oven	he looks			he slept	that
	prep	dem		n	n	vt			ptcp	prt
mūš	ḥaқиqattan	mitlaḥ					min	ğōr	.	
mūš	ḥaқиqattan	m-	i-	ṭlaḥ			min	ğōr		
mūš	ḥaқиqattan	mi-	yi-	ṭla'			min <sub>1</sub>	ğōr		
mouse	truely		IND	3	come out\ IMPF		from	hole		
n	adv		v:Any	v:Any	vi		prep	n		
mouse	truely		he comes out				from	hole		
n	adv		vi				prep	n		

From the opening of the oven he saw that the mouse did indeed appear.

10.3	mitla'u					'ū		gašta
	m-	i-	ṭla'	=u		'ū		gašta
	mi-	yi-	ṭla'	=u		'ōd+DIAL. VAR. OF		gašta
	IND	3	come out\ IMPF	=and		again		returned (?) (P)
	v:Any	v:Any	vi	coordconn		adv		adv
	he comes out,	and				again		returned
	vi					adv		adv
mushul				,	halyam	ğoyam		
m-	u-	shul			halyam	ğoyam		
mi-	yi-	dḥul+UNSPEC. VAR. OF			halyamm	ğōdiyamm+UNSPEC. VAR. OF		
IND	3	enter\ IMPF			this side	the other side		
v:Any	v:Any	vi			adv	adv		
he enters					this side	the other side		
vi					adv	adv		

mi'ayyin			mūš	, hiškim	ma
m-	i-	'ayyin	mūš	hiškim	ma
mi-	yi-	'ayyin <sub>2</sub>	mūš	hičkim+DIAL. VAR. OF	mā+UNSPEC. VAR. OF
IND	3	look\IMPF	mouse	nobody	NEG
v:Any	v:Any	vt	n	pro	verbprt
he looks			mouse	nobody	not
vt			n	pro	verbprt
yinban			.		
yi-	nban				
yi-	nbān+UNSPEC. VAR. OF				
3	be visible\IMPF				
v:Any	vi				
he would become visible					
vi					

He came out of the hole and went back inside. He looked around, and he saw that there was no one.

10.4	tillō	mətullu'			vaḥda	
	tillō	m-	ə-	tullu'	vaḥd	-a
	tillō	mi-	yi-	ṭullu'₁+DIAL. VAR. OF	wāḥed+UNSPEC. VAR. OF	-a
	gold coin	IND	3	take out\IMPF	one	F
	n (gold) coin	v:Any	v:Any	vt	num one	n:Any
	n	vt			num	
	vaḥda			, tillō	, čil	tillō
	vaḥd		-a	tillō	čil	tillō
	wāḥed+UNSPEC. VAR. OF		-a	tillō	čil	tillō
	one		F	gold coin	forty	gold coin
	num one		n:Any	n (gold) coin	num n forty	n (gold) coin
	num məšurruq			n məda'iya	num n	
	m-	ə-	šurruq	m-	ə-	da'i =ya
	mi-	yi-	šurruq	mi-	yi-	da'₁ =ha
	IND	3	spread\IMPF	IND	3	place\IMPF =3FS
	v:Any	v:Any	vt	v:Any	v:Any	vt pro
	he spreads			he places her		
	vt			vt		

He took out the coins one by one, he spread them out and laid them down.

10.5	handūk		vaḥt		kōn	ki	hāt	
	handūk		vaḥt		kōn	ki	hād	
	hamdūk+DIAL. VAR. OF		waḥt+DIAL. VAR. OF		kōn	ki	hād	
	that.M		time		be\PERF	that	this.M	
	dem		n		vi	prt	dem	
	that		time		he was	that	this	
	dem		n		vi	prt	dem	
	zaḡīrik		fššt	misu			īdu	
	zaḡīr	-ik	fššt	m-	i-	su	īd	=hu
	zaḡīr	-eyka+UNSPEC. VAR. OF	pššt	mi-	yi-	sū <sub>1</sub> +UNSPEC. VAR. OF	īd	=hu
	young	DIM	pššt	IND	3	do\IMPF	hand	=3MS
	adj	n>n	interj	v:Any	v:Any	vt	n	pro
	young one		pššt	he does			his hand	
	n		interj	vt			n	
	muzrubayu					mihrib		
	m-	u-	zrub	=ha	=yu	m-	i-	hrib
	mi-	yi-	zrub	=ha	=u	mi-	yi-	hrib
	IND	3	beat\IMPF	=3FS	=and	IND	3	flee\IMPF
	v:Any	v:Any	vt	pro	coordconn	v:Any	v:Any	vi
	he beats her, and					he flees		
	vt					vi		

miyoḡdi			hāt	mūš	arūn	ḡōr
mi-	yo-	ḡdi	hād	mūš	arūn	ḡōr
mi-	yi-	ḡdi	hād	mūš	adrūn+UNSPEC. VAR. OF	ḡōr
IND	3	go\ IMPF	this.M	mouse	inside	hole
v:Any	v:Any	vi	dem	n	prep	n
he goes			this	mouse	inside	hole
vi			dem	n	n	n
mushul						
m-	u-	shul				
mi-	yi-	dhul+UNSPEC. VAR. OF				
IND	3	enter\ IMPF				
v:Any	v:Any	vi				
he enters						
vi						

It was then that the boy said "fšššt" and clapped his hands, after which the mouse fled and entered the hole.

10.6	hāt	zaḡīr	mitla'		min
	hād	zaḡīr	m-	i-	tla'
	hād	zaḡīr	mi-	yi-	ṭla'
	this.M	young	IND	3	come out\ IMPF from
	dem	adj	v:Any	v:Any	vi
	this	young one	he comes out		prep from
	dem	n	vi		prep
hankīdu			kula	čil	tillō
hankīd		=u	kul	=ha	čil tillō
hamqīd+UNSPEC. VAR. OF		=hu	kul	=ha	čil tillō
there		=3MS	every, all	=3FS	forty gold coin
adv		pro	n	pro	num n
his place			all of her		forty (gold) coin
n			n		num n

mulqutayu						'al	dast	
m-	u-	lqut	=a	=yu		'al	dast	
mi-	yi-	lquṭ+DIAL. VAR. OF	=ha	=u		'al	dast	
IND	3	collect\IMPF	=3FS	=and		on	hand (U<P)	
v:Any	v:Any	vt	pro	coordconn	prep	n		
he	collects	her, and			on	hand		
vt					prep	n		
rumoltu		mišiddiya			, i	činčōlu		
rumolt	=u	m-	i-	šiddi	=ya	i	činčōl	=u
rumola	=hu	mi-	yi-	šidd	=ha	i	čintōl+DIAL. VAR. OF	=hu
handkerchief	=3MS	IND	3	tie\IMPF	=3FS	DAT	pocket	=3MS
n	pro	v:Any	v:Any	vt	pro	prep	n	pro
his	handkerchief	he	ties	her	DAT	his	pocket	
n		vt			prep	n		
miḥittiyayu					miyoğdi			
m-	i-	ḥitti	=ya	=yu	mi-	yo-	ğdi	
mi-	yi-	ḥuṭṭ+DIAL. VAR. OF	=ha	=u	mi-	yi-	ğdi	
IND	3	set\IMPF	=3FS	=and	IND	3	go\IMPF	
v:Any	v:Any	vt	pro	coordconn	v:Any	v:Any	vi	
he	would	set	her, and		he	goes		
vt					vi			
məkun			mimši		ğōdi		.	
m-	ə-	kun	m-	i-	mši	ğōdi		
mi-	yi-	kūn+UNSPEC. VAR. OF	mi-	yi-	mši	ğōdi		
IND	3	be\IMPF	IND	3	go\IMPF	go\PTCP		
v:Any	v:Any	vi	v:Any	v:Any	vi	vi		
he	is		he	goes		he	went	
vi			vi			ptcp		

The small one came out from his hiding place, collected all forty coins, tied them in his handkerchief, put them in his pocket and went away.

11.1	'al	handūk	ġaraba	miyāni	čōl
	'al	handūk	ġarab	-a miyāni	čōl
	'al	hamdūk+DIAL. VAR. OF	ġarab	-a miyāna+UNSPEC. VAR. OF	čōl
	on	that.M	tree	SGV middle	desert
	prep	dem	n	n>n n	n
	on	that	one tree	middle	desert
	prep	dem	n	n	n
	miyoġdi .				

mi- yo- ġdi

mi- yi- ġdi

IND 3 go\IMPF

v:Any v:Any vi

he goes

vi

He went to that tree in the middle of the desert.

11.2	'al	ġaraba	miyoġdi	,	ħaqqattan	min	hamāt
	'al	ġarab	-a mi-	yo-	ġdi	ħaqqattan	min hamāt
	'al	ġarab	-a mi-	yi-	ġdi	ħaqqattan+UNSPEC. VAR. OF	min <sub>1</sub> hamad
	on	tree	SGV	IND	3	go\IMPF	truely from this.M
	prep	n	n>n	v:Any	v:Any	vi	adv prep dem
	on	one tree		he goes			truely from this
	prep	n		vi			adv prep dem
	ġarabtin kabīra .						

ġarab -t =in kabīr -a

ġarab -a =in<sub>1</sub> kabīr -a

tree SGV =LK big, old F

n n>n prt adj n:Any

one tree big

n adj

He went to the tree and indeed

11.3 min	varaqita		vat		dontēn		isnēn	
	min	varaqit	=a	vat	dont	-ēn	isnēn	
	min <sub>1</sub>	waraqa	=ha	fat+UNSPEC. VAR. OF	dōna	-ēn	isnēn	
	from	leaf	=3FS	INDF	piece (U<P)	DU	two	
	prep	n	pro	indf	n	n:Any	num	
	from	her leaf		a	twp pieces		two	
	prep	n		indf	n		num	
	miqta'u				, i	hamāt dasti	rumoltu	
m-	i-	qta'		=u	i	hamāt dasti	rumolt	=u
mi-	yi-	qta'+DIAL. VAR. OF	=hu		i	hamad dasti	rumola	=hu
IND	3	cut\IMPF	=3MS	DAT	this.M	manual	handkerchief	=3MS
v:Any	v:Any	vt		pro	prep	dem	adj	n
he	cuts	him			DAT	this	manual	his handkerchief
	vt				prep	dem	adj	n
	mišidduyu					miyoğdi		'ū
m-	i-	šidd	=hu	=yu	mi-	yo-	ğdi	'ū
mi-	yi-	šidd	=hu	=u	mi-	yi-	ğdi	'ōd+DIAL. VAR. OF
IND	3	tie\IMPF	=3MS	=and	IND	3	go\IMPF	again
v:Any	v:Any	vt	pro	coordconn	v:Any	v:Any	vi	adv
he	ties	him, and			he	goes		again
	vt				vi			adv
	.							

picked a few of her leaves, put them in that handkerchief, and went away again.

11.4 hamāt	mimšiyu					ġōdi	miyoġdi		
hamāt	m-	i-	mši	=yu		ġōdi	mi-	yo-	ġdi
hamad	mi-	yi-	mši	=u		ġōdi	mi-	yi-	ġdi
this.M	IND	3	go\IMPF	=and		go\PTCP	IND	3	go\IMPF
dem	v:Any	v:Any	vi	coordconn		vi	v:Any	v:Any	vi
this	he goes,	and				he went	he goes		
dem	vi					ptcp	vi		
miyoġdi			miyoġdi			, mi'ayn			ki
mi-	yo-	ġdi	mi-	yo-	ġdi	m-	i-	'ayn	ki
mi-	yi-	ġdi	mi-	yi-	ġdi	mi-	yi-	'ayyin <sub>2</sub>	ki
IND	3	go\IMPF	IND	3	go\IMPF	IND	3	look\IMPF	that
v:Any	v:Any	vi	v:Any	v:Any	vi	v:Any	v:Any	vt	prt
he goes			he goes			he looks			that
vi			vi			vt			prt
miyāni		čōlin		ġazīrama	fat	Hōzin	kabīr	hast	.
miyāni		čōl	=in	ġazīrama	fat	Hōz	=in	kabīr	hast
miyāna+UNSPEC. VAR. OF		čōl	=in <sub>1</sub>	ġazīrama	fat	Hōz	=in <sub>1</sub>	kabīr	hast
middle		desert	=LK	burning (U)	INDF	lake	=LK	big, old	COP
n		n	prt	adj	indf	n	prt	adj	prt
middle		desert		burning	<sup>a</sup>	lake		old	is
n		n		adj	indf	n		adj	prt

He walked and walked and walked and saw that there was a large lake in the middle of the hot desert.

11.5	šōh	suffāt		fōqin		qa'dīn		boboyīn
	šōh	suff	-āt	fūq	=in	qa'd	-īn	bobo -yīn
	šōh	suffa	-āt	fūq	=hin	qā'ed	-īn <sub>3</sub>	bobo -īn <sub>3</sub>
	shah	estrade	(F)PL	on	=3FP	sit\PTCP	MP	grandpa MP
	n	n	n:Any	prep	pro	vi	ptcp:Any	n
	shah	estrades		on her		they.M sat		grandfather
	n	n		adv		ptcp		n
kulum		nāsāt				qa'dīn		.
kul	=um	nās	-āt			qa'd	-īn	
kul	=hum	nās	-āt			qā'ed	-īn <sub>3</sub>	
every, all	=3MP	people	(F)PL			sit\PTCP	MP	
n	pro	n	n:Any	vi		ptcp:Any		
all of them.M		people		they.M		sat		
n		n				ptcp		

A veranda on which old men were sitting, there were all people.

11.6	kulum		'ēš			miyoklun		
	kul	=um	'ēš		mi-	yo-	kl	-un
	kul	=hum	'eyš+DIAL. VAR. OF		mi-	yi-	kil	-ūn+UNSPEC. VAR. OF
	every, all	=3MP	food		IND	3	eat\IMPF	MP
	n	pro	n		v:Any	v:Any	vt	v:Any
	all of them.M		food		they.M	eat		
	n		n			vt		
naymīn			.					
naym			-īn					
nāyim			-īn <sub>3</sub>					
sleep\PTCP			MP					
vi			ptcp:Any					
they.M			slept					
ptcp								

They were all eating.

11.7	hat		zagīram		assalōmən		‘aleykum	
	hat		zagīr	=am	assalōmən		‘aley	=kum
	hād+UNSPEC. VAR. OF		zagīr	=am	assalom+UNSPEC. VAR. OF		‘al	=kum
	this.M		young	=also	peace		on	=2MP
	dem		adj	prt	n		prep	pro
	this		the young one	also	peace		on you.MP	
	dem		n		n		adv	
	məqūl		miyoǧdi		īdātu			
	m-	ə-	qūl	mi-	yo-	ǧdi	īd	-āt =u
	mi-	yi-	qūl <sub>1</sub>	mi-	yi-	ǧdi	īd	-āt =hu
	IND	3	say\IMPF	IND	3	go\IMPF	hand (F)PL	=3MS
	v:Any	v:Any	vt	v:Any	v:Any	vi	n	n:Any pro
	he says			he goes			his hands	
	vt		vi			n		
	mīǧsilinu					miq‘ad		
	m-	i-	ǧsil	=in	=u	m-	i-	q‘ad
	mi-	yi-	ǧsil	=hin	=u	mi-	yi-	q‘ad
	IND	3	wash\IMPF	=3FP	=and	IND	3	sit\IMPF
	v:Any	v:Any	vt	pro	coordconn	v:Any	v:Any	vi
	he washes them.F, and					he sits		
	vt					vi		

The boy greeted, went to wash his hands and sat down.

11.8 hādān batnu  
 hād =am batn =u  
 hād =am baṭn+DIAL. VAR. OF =hu  
 this.M =also stomach =3MS  
 dem prt n pro  
 this also his stomach  
 dem n

mišib'ū

m- i- šib' =u  
 mi- yi- šibbe'₁+UNSPEC. VAR. OF =hu  
 IND 3 saturate\IMPF =3MS  
 v:Any v:Any vt pro  
 he saturates him

vt

He filled his stomach.

11.9 hā boy bobō iš gap  
 hā boy bobō iš gap  
 hā boy bobo+UNSPEC. VAR. OF īš+UNSPEC. VAR. OF gap  
 okay, yes Bey grandpa what word (U<P)  
 interj n n interrog n  
 okay rich man, Bey grandfather what word, matter  
 interj n n interrog n

"Bey, father, what is the matter?"

11.10 ē		hamāt	,	kul		lēla		,	hamāt	kul	yōm
ē		hamāt		kul		lēl	-a		hamāt	kul	yōm
	īš+UNSPEC. VAR. OF	hamad		kul		lēl	-a		hamad	kul	yōm+DIAL. VAR. OF
	what	this.M		every, all	night	SGV			this.M	every, all	day
	interrog	dem	n	n	n>n	dem	n	n	dem	n	n
	what	this		every, all	one night		this	every, all	day		
	interrog	dem	n	n		dem	n	n			
fataḥid		min	hamāt	farzunna							
fataḥid		min	hamāt	farz	-un			=na			
fat aḥed+SP. VAR. OF	min <sub>1</sub>	hamad	farz		-ūn+UNSPEC. VAR. OF			=na			
one		from	this.M	horse	MP			=1CP			
<Not Sure>	prep	dem	n	v:Any				pro			
one		from	this	our horse							
num		prep	dem	n							
miyōkil			nāyim	,	zībāt						
mi-	yō-	kil	nāyim	zīb	-āt						
mi-	yi-	kil	nāyim	zīb	-āt						
IND	3	eat\IMPF	sleep\PTCP	wolf	(F)PL						
v:Any	v:Any	vt	vi	n	n:Any						
he eats			he slept	wolves							
vt			ptcp	n							

miyoklin				naymāt		, faras	farzūn	
mi-	yo-	kl	-in	naym	-āt	faras	farz	-ūn
mi-	yi-	kil	-īn <sub>4</sub> +UNSPEC. VAR. OF	nāyim	-āt	faras	farz	-ūn
IND	3	eat\IMPF	FP	sleep\PTCP	(F)PL	horse	horse	MP
v:Any	v:Any	vt	v:Any	vi	n:Any	n	n	v:Any
they.F	eat			they.F	slept	horse	horses	
vt				ptcp		n	n	
məqūl			, akun	dabba	.			
m-	ə-	qūl	akun	dabba				
mi-	yi-	qūl <sub>1</sub>	akūn+UNSPEC. VAR. OF	dabba				
IND	3	say\IMPF	now	horse				
v:Any	v:Any	vt	adv	n				
he	says		now	horse				
vt			adv	n				

"Well, every night, every day he eats one of our horses, the wolves eat one of the horses," he said, "now, the horse."

11.11	ḥay	ana		hamāt	zībāt	min	hamān	agal
	ḥay	ana		hamāt	zīb	-āt	min	hamān
	ḥay	anā+UNSPEC. VAR. OF		hamad	zīb	-āt	min <sub>1</sub>	hamān
	okay (U)	1CS		this.M	wolf	(F)PL	from	here
	interj	pro		dem	n	n:Any	prep	adv
	okay	I		this	wolves		from	here
	interj	pro		dem	n		prep	adv
	aqittilinu			yöq		asīnin		agar
	a-	qittil	=in =u	yöq		a-	sī	=nin
	a-	qittil	=hin =u	yöq		a-	sū <sub>1</sub>	=hin
	1CS	kill\IMPF	=3FP =and	there is not (U)	1CS	do\IMPF	=3FP	if
	v:Any	vt	pro	coordconn	prt	v:Any	vt	pro
	I	would kill them.F,	and		there is not	I	make them.F	if
	vt			prt		vt		advlizer

‘ō	illay		akun	vat	šī
‘ō	illa	=y	akun	vat	šī
‘ōd+DIAL. VAR. OF	iġ <sub>1</sub> +DIAL. VAR. OF	=ī	akūn+UNSPEC. VAR. OF	fat+UNSPEC. VAR. OF	šī
again	DAT	=1CS	now	INDF	thing
adv	prep	pro	adv	indf	n
again	to me		now	a	thing
adv	adv		adv	indf	n
tintūnimiya					

ti-	nt	-ū	=ni	=mi	=ya
ti- <sub>1</sub>	nṭi+DIAL. VAR. OF	-ū	=nī+UNSPEC. VAR. OF	=mi	=ya
3FS	give\IMPF	3MP	=1CS	=Q	=EMPH
v:Any	vt	v:Any	pro	q	prt
you.MP	would give me?				
vt					

"All right, if I kill those wolves and eliminate them from here, would you give me something?"

11.12	ēštin		itqūl		handūk
	ēšt	=in	it-	qūl	handūk
	īš+UNSPEC. VAR. OF	=in <sub>1</sub>	ti- <sub>2</sub>	qūl <sub>1</sub>	hamdūk+DIAL. VAR. OF
	what	=LK	2	say\IMPF	that.M
	interrog	prt	v:Any	vt	dem
	what		you.M	would say	that
	pro		vt		dem
mantah					

m-	a-	nta	=h
mi-	a-	nṭi+DIAL. VAR. OF	=hu
IND	1CS	give\IMPF	=3MS
v:Any	v:Any	vt	pro
I	give	him	
vt			

"Whatever is said, I'll give it to you."

11.13	ḥay	laykun			məqūl				,
	ḥay	la-	y-	kun	m-	ə-	qūl		
	ḥay	la-	yi-	kūn+UNSPEC. VAR. OF	mi-	yi-	qūl <sub>1</sub>		
	okay (U)	JUSS	3	be\IMPF	IND	3	say\IMPF		
	interj	v:Any	v:Any	vi	v:Any	v:Any	vt		
	okay	let him be			he says				
	interj	vi			vt				
handūk		dabtin		handūk		mašdūd	illay		
handūk		dabt	=in	handūk		mašdūd	illa	=y	
hamdūk+DIAL. VAR. OF	dabba	=in <sub>1</sub>	hamdūk+DIAL. VAR. OF	mašdūd	il <sub>1</sub> +DIAL. VAR. OF	=ī			
that.M	horse	=LK	that.M	tie\PP	DAT	=1CS			
dem	n	prt	dem	pp	prep	pro			
that	horse		that	tied	to me				
dem	n		dem	pp	adv				
intuh			.						
int	-u	=h							
inṭ+UNSPEC. VAR. OF	-ū	=hu							
give\IMPV	3MP	=3MS							
vt	v:Any	pro							
give him!									
vt									

"All right, may it be," he said, "Give me that horse that's tied up.

11.14	anā	handūk		arkabu				
	anā	handūk		a-	rkab	=u		
	anā	hamdūk	+DIAL. VAR. OF	a-	rkab	=hu		
	1CS	that.M		1CS	mount\IMPF	=3MS		
	pro	dem		v:Any	vt		pro	
	I	that		I	would mount him			
	pro	dem		vt				
	mi'	azzīk		məqul			dōk	,
	m-	i-	'azzī	=k	m-	ə-	qul	dōk
	mi-	yi-	'azzī	=k	mi-	yi-	qūl <sub>1</sub>	+UNSPEC. VAR. OF dūk
	IND	3	bite\IMPF	=2MS	IND	3	say\IMPF	that.M
	v:Any	v:Any	vt	pro	v:Any	v:Any	vt	dem
	he	bites	you.M		he	says		that
	vt			vt				dem
	dabba	qarību	hiškim	ma		yigdar		
	dabba	qarīb	=u	hiškim	ma	yi-	gdar	
	dabba	qarīb <sub>1</sub>	=hu	hičkim	+DIAL. VAR. OF	mā	+UNSPEC. VAR. OF	yi-
	horse	close	=3MS	nobody		NEG	3	can\IMPF
	n	adj	pro	pro		verbprt	v:Any	vt
	horse	his	vicinity	nobody		not	he	would be able to
	n	n	pro			verbprt	vt	
	tayo	ġdi		dōk				
	ta-	yo-	ġdi	dōk				
	ta-	yi-	ġdi	dūk	+DIAL. VAR. OF			
	SBJV	3	go\IMPF	that.M				
	v:Any	v:Any	vi	dem				
	he	would	go	that				
	vi			dem				

Let me ride him." "He will bite you," he said, "no one can come close to that horse."



11.16 ḥarāmi insorqinnu dabba .

ḥarāmi	in=	sorq	=innu	dabba
ḥarāmi	in=	sōreq	=hu	dabba
thief	REL?=	steal\PTCP	=3MS	horse
n	prt	vt	pro	n
thief	that	he stoled	him	horse
n	ptcp			n

The horse that the thief had stolen.

11.17 hā i hamāt bay'innu i boy .

hā	i	hamāt	bay'	=innu	i	boy
hā	i	hamad	bāye'	=hu	i	boy
okay, yes	ACC	this.M	sell\PTCP	=3MS	DAT	Bey
interj	prep	dem	vt	pro	prep	n
okay	ACC	this	he sold	him	DAT	rich man, Bey
interj	prt	dem	ptcp		prep	n

Yes, the horse he had sold to the bey.

11.18 hamāt ēgar misah , ḥizāmu

hamāt	ēgar	m-	i-	s	=ah	ḥizām	=u
hamad	ēgar	mi-	yi-	sū <sub>1</sub>	=hu	ḥezām+UNSPEC. VAR. OF	=hu
this.M	saddle (U)	IND	3	do\IMPF	=3MS	girth	=3MS
dem	n	v:Any	v:Any	vt	pro	n	pro
this	saddle	he	does	him		his girth	
dem	n	vt				n	

miğirrah , mirkabu ,

m-	i-	ğirr	=ah	m-	i-	rkab	=u
mi-	yi-	ğirr <sub>2</sub>	=hu	mi-	yi-	rkab	=hu
IND	3	drag\IMPF	=3MS	IND	3	mount\IMPF	=3MS
v:Any	v:Any	vt	pro	v:Any	v:Any	vt	pro
he	drags	him		he	mounts	him	
vt				vt			

ḥēt	miyoḥduyu										
ḥēt	mi-	yo-	ḥd	=u	=yu						
ḥīt+DIAL. VAR. OF	mi-	yi-	ḥid	=hu	=u						
rope	IND	3	take\IMPF	=3MS	=and						
n	v:Any	v:Any	vt	pro	coordconn						
rope	he takes him, and										
n	vt										
miḥit	min hamān mizīḥ ,										
m-	i-	ḥit	min	hamān	m-	i-	zīḥ				
mi-	yi-	ḥuṭṭ+DIAL. VAR. OF	min <sub>1</sub>	hamān	mi-	yi-	zīḥ				
IND	3	set\IMPF	from	here	IND	3	drive\IMPF				
v:Any	v:Any	vt	prep	adv	v:Any	v:Any	vt				
he sets			from	here	he drives						
vt	prep adv vt										
rāsu	misirdihu , miyoḡdi										
rās	=u	m-	i-	sirdih	=u	mi-	yo-	ḡdi			
rās	=hu	mi-	yi-	serdeḥ <sub>2</sub> +DIAL. VAR. OF	=hu	mi-	yi-	ḡdi			
head	=3MS	IND	3	let go\IMPF	=3MS	IND	3	go\IMPF			
n	pro	v:Any	v:Any	vt	pro	v:Any	v:Any	vi			
his head	he lets him go				he goes						
n	vt vi										
'al	ḡabalātin			'āliyāt	miyoḡdi			ki	fat	dabba	
'al	ḡabal	-āt	=in	'āliy	-āt	mi-	yo-	ḡdi	ki	fat	dabba
'al	ḡabala	-āt	=in <sub>1</sub>	'āliy	-āt	mi-	yi-	ḡdi	ki	fat	dabba
on	mountain	(F)PL	=LK	high	(F)PL	IND	3	go\IMPF	that	INDF	horse
prep	n	n:Any	prt	adj	n:Any	v:Any	v:Any	vi	prt	indf	n
on	mountain			high	he goes				that	a	horse
prep	n			adj	vi				prt	indf	n



12.2	hamāt	miyoğdi		, rās	dabba			
	hamāt	mi-	yo-	ğdi	rās	dabba		
	hamad	mi-	yi-	ğdi	rās	dabba		
	this.M	IND	3	go\IMPF	head	horse		
	dem	v:Any	v:Any	vi	n	n		
	this	he goes			head	horse		
	dem	vi			n	n		
	misirdihu				, mizīḥu			
	m-	i-	sirdih	=u	m-	i-	zīḥ	=u
	mi-	yi-	serdeḥ <sub>2</sub> +DIAL. VAR. OF	=hu	mi-	yi-	zīḥ	=hu
	IND	3	let go\IMPF	=3MS	IND	3	drive\IMPF	=3MS
	v:Any	v:Any	vt	pro	v:Any	v:Any	vt	pro
	he lets him go				he drives him			
	vt				vt			
	miq'ad							
	m-	i-	q'ad					
	mi-	yi-	q'ad					
	IND	3	sit\IMPF					
	v:Any	v:Any	vi					
	he sits							
	vi							

He (the boy) went (to it), mopped his horse and gave him the spurs.

12.3	diklan	kulin	mihribin				
	diklan	kul	=in	m-	i-	hrib	-in
	dikalān+DIAL. VAR. OF	kul	=hin	mi-	yi-	hrib	-īn <sub>4</sub> +UNSPEC. VAR. OF
	those.F	every, all	=3FP	IND	3	flee\IMPF	FP
	dem	n	pro	v:Any	v:Any	vi	v:Any
	those.F	all of them.F	they.F	flee			
	dem	n	vi				

They all fled.

12.4 muğzubu				i	handūk			
m-	u-	ğzub	=u	i	handūk			
mi-	yi-	ğzub	=hu	i	hamdūk+DIAL. VAR. OF			
IND	3	seize\IMPF	=3MS	ACC	that.M			
v:Any	v:Any	vt		pro	prep dem			
he	seizes	him			ACC that			
vt				prt	dem			
kabīrinu		vē		hēt	qati	raqabtu		
kabīr	=in	=u	vē	hēt	qati	raqabt	=hu	
kabīr	=hin	=u	wey+DIAL. VAR. OF	hīt+DIAL. VAR. OF	qati	raqaba	=hu	
big, old	=3FP	=and	with	rope	with (T)	neck	=3MS	
adj	pro	coordconn	prep	n	post	n	pro	
biggest			with	rope	with	his neck		
adv			prep	n	post	n		
muḥnoq				miyoḥdu				
m-	u-	ḥnoq		mi-	yo-	ḥd	=u	
mi-	yi-	ḥnuq+UNSPEC. VAR. OF		mi-	yi-	ḥid	=hu	
IND	3	strangle\IMPF		IND	3	take\IMPF	=3MS	
v:Any	v:Any	vt		v:Any	v:Any	vt	pro	
he	strangles			he	takes	him		
vt				vt				
miḡṭbuyu					, gidām	boy		
m-	i-	ḡṭb	=u	=yu	gidām	boy		
mi-	yi-	ḡṭb <sub>1</sub>	=hu	=u	giddām	boy		
IND	3	bring\IMPF	=3MS	=and	before	Bey		
v:Any	v:Any	vt	pro	coordconn	prep	n		
he	brings	him, and			before	rich man, Bey		
vt					prep	n		

miğt̄buyu					miriššah				,
m-	i-	ğt̄b	=u	=yu	m-	i-	rišš	=ah	
mi-	yi-	ğt̄b <sub>1</sub>	=hu	=u	mi-	yi-	riššī	=hu	
IND	3	bring\IMPF	=3MS	=and	IND	3	throw\IMPF	=3MS	
v:Any	v:Any	vt	pro	coordconn	v:Any	v:Any	vt	pro	
he brings him, and					he throws him				
vt	hankīt				vt	miqt̄ilūnu			
hankīt		m-	i-	qtil	-ūn	=u			
hamq̄id+DIAL. VAR. OF	mi-	yi-	qtil	-ūn	=hu				
there	IND	3	kill\IMPF	MP	=3MS				
adv		v:Any	v:Any	n	v:Any	pro			
there		he kills him							
adv		vt							
məḥruqūnu					,	šīH			
m-	ə-	ḥruq	-ūn	=u	šīH				
mi-	yi-	ḥruq	-ūn	=hu	šīḥ+DIAL. VAR. OF				
IND	3	burn\IMPF	MP	=3MS	thorn				
v:Any	v:Any	vt	v:Any	pro	n				
they.M	burn	him				thorn			
vt					n				
məqta'ūn					,	zav			
m-	ə-	qta'	-ūn	zav					
mi-	yi-	qta'+DIAL. VAR. OF	-ūn	zav+DIAL. VAR. OF					
IND	3	cut\IMPF	MP	fire					
v:Any	v:Any	vt	v:Any	n					
they.M	cut				fire				
vt					n				

misirdihūn				, məḥruqūn			
m-	i-	sirdih	-ūn	m-	ə-	ḥruq	-ūn
mi-	yi-	serdeḥ <sub>2</sub> +DIAL. VAR. OF	-ūn	mi-	yi-	ḥruq	-ūn
IND	3	let go\IMPF	MP	IND	3	burn\IMPF	MP
v:Any	v:Any	vt		v:Any	v:Any	v:Any	vt
they.M	let go			they.M	burn		
vt				vt			
miqṭilūnu				zīb	.		
m-	i-	qṭil	-ūn	=u	zīb		
mi-	yi-	qṭil	-ūn	=hu	zīb		
IND	3	kill\IMPF	MP	=3MS	wolf		
v:Any	v:Any	n	v:Any	pro	n		
he	kills	him			wolf		
vt				n			

He caught the biggest of them, tied a rope tight around his neck, took him, brought him before the bey, threw him down. There they killed him, they burned him; they picked hay, made a fire, burned and killed the wolf.

12.5	hāt	zībāt	tālahānin	kulin		
	hād	zīb	-āt	tālahān	=in	kul =in
	hād	zīb	-āt	tālahān	=hin	kul =hin
	this.M	wolf	(F)PL	stay.INF	=3FP	every, all =3FP
	dem	n	n:Any	ger	pro	n pro
	this	wolves		their.F	staying	all of them.F
	dem	n		ger		n

mihribin

m-	i-	hrib	-in
mi-	yi-	hrib	-īn <sub>4</sub> +UNSPEC. VAR. OF
IND	3	flee\IMPF	FP
v:Any	v:Any	vi	v:Any
they.F	flee		

vi

miyoğdin

mi-	yo-	ğd	-in
mi-	yi-	ğdi	-īn <sub>4</sub> +UNSPEC. VAR. OF
IND	3	go\IMPF	FP
v:Any	v:Any	vi	v:Any
they.F	went		

vi

The wolves that were left, all fled away.

12.6 ba'īd vaHad mamlaka miyoğdin

ba'īd	vaHad	mamlaka	mi-	yo-	ğd	-in
ba'īd	waḥad+DIAL. VAR. OF	mamlaka	mi-	yi-	ğdi	-īn <sub>4</sub> +UNSPEC. VAR. OF
far	another	kingdom	IND	3	go\IMPF	FP
adj	det	n	v:Any	v:Any	vi	v:Any
far	another	kingdom	they.F	went		
adv	adv	n	vi			

They went far away to another kingdom.

13.1 hankīt	akun		hāt	,	hamāt	dabba	illēk	
hankīt	akun		hād		hamāt	dabba	illē	=k
hamqīd+DIAL. VAR. OF	akūn+UNSPEC. VAR. OF		hād		hamad	dabba	il <sub>1</sub> +DIAL. VAR. OF	=k
there	now		this.M		this.M	horse	DAT	=2MS
adv	adv		dem		dem	n	prep	pro
there	now		this		this	horse	to you.M	
adv	adv		dem		dem	n	adv	
antētū			məqūl				.	

antē	-t	=u	m-	ə-	qūl			
antā+DIAL. VAR. OF	-t <sub>1</sub>	=hu	mi-	yi-	qūl <sub>1</sub>			
give\PERF	1CS	=3MS	IND	3	say\IMPF			
vt	v:Any	pro	v:Any	v:Any	vt			
I gave him			he	says				
vt			vt					

Now, this one (bey) said: "I give this horse to you."

13.2 ḥay	məqūl			,	hamāt	dabba		
ḥay	m-	ə-	qūl		hamāt	dabba		
ḥay	mi-	yi-	qūl <sub>1</sub>		hamad	dabba		
okay (U)	IND	3	say\IMPF		this.M	horse		
interj	v:Any	v:Any	vt		dem	n		
okay	he	says			this	horse		
interj	vt				dem	n		
mirkabu				,	min	hankīt		hoyt
m-	i-	rkab	=u		min	hankīt		
mi-	yi-	rkab	=hu		min <sub>1</sub>	hamqīd+DIAL. VAR. OF		
IND	3	mount\IMPF	=3MS		from	there		
v:Any	v:Any	vt	pro		prep	adv		
he	mounts	him			from	there		
vt					prep	adv		

məqūl			, rāsu		misirdihu			
m-	ə-	qūl	rās	=u	m-	i-	sirdih	=u
mi-	yi-	qūl <sub>1</sub>	rās	=hu	mi-	yi-	serdeḥ <sub>2</sub> +DIAL. VAR. OF	=hu
IND	3	say\IMPF	head	=3MS	IND	3	let go\IMPF	=3MS
v:Any	v:Any	vt	n	pro	v:Any	v:Any	vt	pro
he says			his head		he lets him go			
vt			n		vt			
miḡi			'al hāt		mamlaka			
m-	i-	ḡi	'al hād		mamlaka			
mi-	yi-	ḡi	'al hād		mamlaka			
IND	3	come\IMPF	on this.M		kingdom			
v:Any	v:Any	vi	prep dem	n				
he comes			on this	kingdom				
vi			prep dem	n				

"Good," he said (boy), mounted the horse, said "forti" and called him and arrived in this kingdom.

13.3	'al	fat	šahrin		kabīr	miḡi		, madīna	,
	'al	fat	šahr	=in	kabīr	m-	i-	ḡi	madīna
	'al	fat	šahr <sub>2</sub>	=in <sub>1</sub>	kabīr	mi-	yi-	ḡi	madīna
	toward	INDF	city (P)	=LK	big, old	IND	3	come\IMPF	city
	prep	indf	n	prt	adj	v:Any	v:Any	vi	n
	toward	<sup>a</sup>	city		big	he comes			city
	prep	indf	n		adj	vi			n
madintin			kabīra						
madint	=in		kabīr	-a					
madīna	=in <sub>1</sub>		kabīr	-a					
city	=LK		big, old	F					
n	prt	adj		n:Any					
city		big							
n		adj							

He came to a big city, a city, a big city.

13.4	miği			ħidir		gidām	‘ark	,	
	m-	i-	ği	ħidir		gidām	‘ark		
	mi-	yi-	ği	ħeder+DIAL. VAR. OF		giddām	‘ark		
	IND	3	come\IMPF	under		before	citadel (U/T<P)		
	v:Any	v:Any	vi	prep		prep	n		
	he comes			under		before	citadel		
	vi			n		prep	n		
	miği			gidām	poytaħt		, mi‘ayyin		ki
	m-	i-	ği	gidām	poytaħt	m-	i-	‘ayyin	ki
	mi-	yi-	ği	giddām	poytaħt	mi-	yi-	‘ayyin <sub>2</sub>	ki
	IND	3	come\IMPF	before	capital (city) (U<P)	IND	3	look\IMPF	that
	v:Any	v:Any	vi	prep	n	v:Any	v:Any	vt	prt
	he comes			before	capital (city)	he looks			that
	vi			prep	n	vt			prt
	, hamāt	dabba	mišiddiya			, kullə	mōtam		.
	hamāt	dabba	m-	i-	šiddi	=ya	kullə	mōtam	
	hamad	dabba	mi-	yi-	šidd	=ha	kul+UNSPEC. VAR. OF	mōtam	
	this.M	horse	IND	3	tie\IMPF	=3FS	every, all	mourning (U<P)	
	dem	n	v:Any	v:Any	vt	pro	n	adj	
	this	horse	he ties	her			every, all	mourning	
	dem	n	vt				n	adj	

He came near the city gate, in front of the capital. He saw that - tied his horse - everyone was in mourning.

13.5	hā	iš	gap	.
	hā	iš	gap	
	hā	īš+UNSPEC. VAR. OF	gap	
	okay, yes	what	word (U<P)	
	interj	interrog	n	
	okay	what	word, matter	
	interj	interrog	n	

"Hey, what is the matter?"

13.6	ē	bint	pōšō	mitmūt		nayma		, kasal .
	ē	bint	pōšō	mi-	t-	mūt	naym	-a kasal
	ē <sub>2</sub>	bint	pōšō	mi-	ti <sub>-1</sub>	mūt	nāyim	-a kasal
	ah (U)	daughter	Pasha	IND	3FS	die\IMPF	sleep\PTCP	F sick
	interj	n	n	v:Any	v:Any	vi	vi	n:Any adj
	ah	daughter	Pasha	she dies			she slept	sick
	interj	n	n	vi			ptcp	adj

"Well, the king's daughter is dying, [she is] sick.

13.7	'al	diki	hiškim	ma
	'al	diki	hiškim	ma
	'al	dīki+DIAL. VAR. OF	hičkim+DIAL. VAR. OF	mā+UNSPEC. VAR. OF
	on	that.F	nobody	NEG
	prep	dem	pro	verbprt
	on	that	nobody	not
	prep	dem	pro	verbprt
	yigdar		'iddila	.
	yi-	gdar	'iddil	=a
	yi-	gdir+UNSPEC. VAR. OF	'eddil <sub>1</sub> +DIAL. VAR. OF	=ha
	3	can\IMPF	cure\PTCP	=3FS
	v:Any	vt	vt	pro
	he would be able to		he cured her	
	vt		ptcp	

No one can cure her.

13.8	tabībin		mōhu		ğābuh		
	tabīb	=in	mō	=hu	ğāb	-u	=h
	tabīb	=in <sub>1</sub>	mā+UNSPEC. VAR. OF	=hu	ğāb	-ū	=hu
	doctor	=LK	NEG	=3MS	bring\PERF	3MP	=3MS
	n	prt	verbprt	pro	vt	v:Any	pro
	doctor		he is not		they.M	brought	him
	n	prt			vt		
	kulu		qatalu				
	kul	=hu	qatal	=hu			
	kul	=hu	qatal	=hu			
	every, all	=3MS	kill\PERF	=3MS			
	n	pro	vt	pro			
	all of him		he killed	him			
	n		vt				

There is no doctor [left]; he brought them and he has killed all of them."

13.9	ana		ma'iddila		bint	pōšō	.
	ana	m-	a-	'iddil	=ha	bint	pōšō
	anā+UNSPEC. VAR. OF	mi-	a-	'eddil <sub>2</sub> +DIAL. VAR. OF	=ha	bint	pōšō
	1CS	IND	1CS	cure\IMPF	=3FS	daughter	Pasha
	pro		v:Any	v:Any	vt	pro	n
	I		I cure	her		daughter	Pasha
	pro		vt			n	n

"I'll heal her, the daughter of the king."

13.10	hint	agal	la	ti-	gdar				
	hint	agal	la	ti-	gdar				
	hint	agar+DIAL. VAR. OF	lā	ti-2	gdir+UNSPEC. VAR. OF				
	2MS	if	NEG	2	can\IMPF				
	pro	advlizer	verbprt	v:Any	vt				
	you.M	if	not	you.M	(would) be able to				
	pro	advlizer	verbprt	vt					
ti'iddila			agar	,	illēk		rāsin		yōš
ti-	'iddil	=ha	agar		illē	=k	rās	=in	yōš
ti-2	'eddil <sub>2</sub> +DIAL. VAR. OF	=ha	agar		il <sub>1</sub> +DIAL. VAR. OF	=k	rās	=in <sub>1</sub>	yōš
2	cure\IMPF	=3FS	if		to	=2MS	head	=LK	young
v:Any	vt	pro	advlizer	prep		pro	n	prt	adj
you	would cure her		if	to	you.M		head		young
vt			advlizer	adv			n		adj
'indak		,	hint	mitmūt		,	illēk		
'ind	=ak	hint	mi-	t-	mūt		illē	=k	
'end+DIAL. VAR. OF	=k	hint	mi-	ti-2	mūt		il <sub>1</sub> +DIAL. VAR. OF	=k	
at	=2MS	2MS	IND	2	die\IMPF	ACC		=2MS	
prep	pro	pro	v:Any	v:Any	vi	prep		pro	
with you		you.M	you.M	die		you.M			
		pro	vi			pro			
miqtilak			pōšō	.					
m-	i-	qtil	=ak	pōšō					
mi-	yi-	qtil	=k	pōšō					
IND	3	kill\IMPF	=2MS	Pasha					
v:Any	v:Any	n	pro	n					
he	kills you			Pasha					
vt				n					

"If you can not heal her, and you're so young, you will die, the Pasha will kill you."

13.11 mayli tayiqtilni .

mayli	ta-	yi-	qtil	=ni	
mayli	ta-	yi-	qtil	=nī+UNSPEC. VAR. OF	
all right	SBJV	3	kill\IMPF	=1CS	
interj	v:Any	v:Any	n	pro	
all right	he would kill me				
interj	vt				

"All right, let him kill me."

13.12 hāt məvuddūnu

hād	m-	ə-	vudd	-ūn	=hu
hād	mi-	yi-	wuddi	-ūn	=hu
this.M	IND	3	lead, carry\IMPF	MP	=3MS
dem	v:Any	v:Any	vt	v:Any	pro
this	they.M lead him				
dem	vt				

miyoğdūn				gidām	pōšō	.
mi-	yo-	ğd	-ūn	gidām	pōšō	
mi-	yi-	ğdi	-ūn	giddām	pōšō	
IND	3	go\IMPF	MP	before	Pasha	
v:Any	v:Any	vi	v:Any	prep	n	
they.M	go			before	Pasha	
vi				prep	n	

They brought him to the king.

13.13	məqūl		, ana		bintak	
m-	ə-	qūl	ana		bint	=ak
mi-	yi-	qūl <sub>1</sub>	anā+UNSPEC. VAR. OF		bint	=k
IND	3	say\IMPF	1CS		daughter	=2MS
v:Any	v:Any	vt	pro		n	pro
	he says		I		your.M	daughter
	vt		pro		n	
ma	'iddila			, davō	'indī	.
m-	a-	'iddil	=ha	davō	'ind	=ī
mi-	a-	'eddil <sub>2</sub> +DIAL. VAR. OF	=ha	davō	'end+DIAL. VAR. OF	=ī
IND	1CS	cure\IMPF	=3FS	medicine	at	=1CS
v:Any	v:Any	vt	pro	n	prep	pro
	I cure her			medicine	with me	
	vt			n	adv	

He said, "I will heal your daughter, I have the medicine."

13.14 ḥay məqulūn ,  
ḥay m- ə- qul -ūn  
ḥay mi- yi- qūl<sub>1</sub>+UNSPEC. VAR. OF -ūn  
okay (U) IND 3 say\IMPF MP  
interj v:Any v:Any vt v:Any  
okay they.M say  
interj vt

miduḥḥulūnu , gidām bintēka  
m- i- duḥḥul -ūn =u gidām bint -ēka  
mi- yi- duḥḥul -ūn =hu giddām bint -eyka+SP. VAR. OF  
IND 3 bring in\IMPF MP =3MS before girl DIM  
v:Any v:Any vt v:Any pro prep n n>n  
they.M bring him in before young girl  
vt prep n  
miyoḡdi .

mi- yo- ḡdi  
mi- yi- ḡdi  
IND 3 go\IMPF  
v:Any v:Any vi  
he goes  
vi

"Good," they said (the counselors) and let him inside. He went to the daughter.

14.1 ḥarīm qa'dāt .  
ḥarīm qa'd -āt  
ḥarīm qā'ed -āt  
wives sit\PTCP (F)PL  
n vi n:Any  
wives they.F sat  
n ptcp

That's where the harem stayed.

14.2	vat		čoynika		mōyin		ḥār
	vat		čoynik	-a	mō		=yin ḥār
		fat+UNSPEC. VAR. OF	čoynik	-a	mū+DIAL. VAR. OF	=in <sub>1</sub>	ḥarr+UNSPEC. VAR. OF
	INDF		teapot (U<R)	SGV	water	=LK	hot
	indf		n	n>n	n	prt	adj
	a		one teapot		water		hot
	indf		n		n		adj
	dam		suvin			,	ta'āl
	dam		suv	-in			ta'āl
	dam		sū <sub>2</sub> +UNSPEC. VAR. OF	-īn <sub>4</sub> +UNSPEC. VAR. OF			ta'āl
		breath; steam (U<P)	make\IMPV	FP			come\IMPV
	n		vt	v:Any			vi
	steam		make!				come!
	n		vt				vi
	məqulin				, mōyin		ḥār
	m-	ə-	qul	=in	mō	=yin	ḥār
	mi-	yi-	qūl <sub>1</sub> +UNSPEC. VAR. OF	=hin	mū+DIAL. VAR. OF	=in <sub>1</sub>	ḥarr+UNSPEC. VAR. OF
	IND	3	say\IMPF	=3FP	water	=LK	hot
	v:Any	v:Any	vt	pro	n	prt	adj
	he says to them.F				water		hot
	vt				n		adj

bərīq	čoy minfaḥina					
bərīq	čoy m-	i-	nfah	-īn	=ha	
bṛīq+UNSPEC. VAR. OF	čoy mi-	yi-	nfah	-īn <sub>4</sub>	=ha	
water jug	tea	IND 3	blow\IMPF	FP	=3FS	
n	n	v:Any	v:Any	vt	v:Any	pro
water jug	tea	they.F	boiled	her		
n	n	vt				
miḡin						
m-	i-	ğ		-īn		
mi-	yi-	ği		-īn <sub>4</sub>		
IND	3	come\IMPF	FP			
v:Any	v:Any	vi		v:Any		
they.F	came					
vi						

They prepared a pot of tea and said, "Come." They poured hot water in a pot of tea and came (sitting there).

14.3 ana	, hāt	čoyḥūriya	min	dasti	rumoltu		ū / hō	min
ana	hād	čoyḥūriya	min	dasti	rumolt	=u	ū	min
ana <sub>2</sub>	hād	čoyḥūriya	min <sub>1</sub>	dasti	rumola	=hu		min <sub>1</sub>
there (U)	this.M	teacup	from	manual	handkerchief	=3MS		from
interj	dem	n	prep	adj	n	pro		prep
there!	this	teacup	from	manual	his handkerchief			from
interj	dem	n	prep	adj	n			prep
dōk	ğaraba		varaqtin		qōti'a			
dōk	ğarab	-a	varaqt	=in	qōti'	=a		
dūk+DIAL. VAR. OF	ğarab	-a	waraqa	=in <sub>1</sub>	qōte'+SP. VAR. OF	=ha		
that.M	tree	SGV	leaf	=LK	cut\PTCP	=3FS		
dem	n	n>n	n	prt	vt	pro		
that	one tree		leaf		he cut her (?)			
dem	n		n		ptcp			

məvuddinayu						, bintēka
m-	ə-	vudd	-īn	=ha	=yu	bint -ēka
mi-	yi-	wuddi	-īn <sub>4</sub>	=ha	=u	bint -eyka+SP. VAR. OF
IND	3	lead, carry\IMPF	FP	=3FS	=and	girl DIM
v:Any	v:Any	vt	v:Any	pro	coordconn	n n>n young girl
they.F led her, and						
vt						n
miširru						.
m-	i-	širrub		=ha		
mi-	yi-	širrib+UNSPEC. VAR. OF		=ha		
IND	3	have drink\IMPF		=3FS		
v:Any	v:Any	vt		pro		
he makes her drink						
vt						

They brought her the teacup in which the leaf he had picked from that tree had been taken out of his handkerchief. He let the daughter drink it.

14.4	bintēka		malq	min	‘ēnāta		
	bint	-ēka	malq	min	‘ēn	-āt	=ha
	bint	-eyka+SP. VAR. OF	malq	min <sub>1</sub>	‘eyn+UNSPEC. VAR. OF	-āt	=ha
	girl	DIM	meeting-place	from	eye	(F)PL	=3FS
	n	n>n	n	prep	n	n:Any	pro
	young	girl	meeting-place	from	her eyes		
	n		n	prep	n		
	mithillīnin				, zēn		
	mi-	t-	ḥillī	=nin	zēn		
	mi-	tī <sub>-1</sub>	ḥill+UNSPEC. VAR. OF	=hin	zīn+UNSPEC. VAR. OF		
	IND	3FS	open\IMPF	=3FP	good		
	v:Any	v:Any	vt	pro	adj		
	she	opens	them.F		good		
	vt				adj		
	missōr						
	mi-	s-	sōr				
	mi-	tī <sub>-1</sub>	ṣōr <sub>1</sub> +DIAL. VAR. OF				
	IND	3FS	become\PERF				
	v:Any	v:Any	vi				
	she	becomes					
	vi						
	The daughter opened her eyelids; she became well.						

14.5 hāt	kartēn		, salās karāt		, salās čoyḥūriyāt		, min hamāt	
	hād	kart	-ēn	salās kar	-āt	salās čoyḥūriy	-āt	min hamāt
	hād	karra	-ēn	salās karra	-āt	salās čoyḥūriya	-āt	min <sub>1</sub> hamad
	this.M	time	DU	three time	(F)PL	three teacup	(F)PL	from this.M
	dem	n	n:Any	num n	n:Any	num n	n:Any	prep dem
	this	two times		three times		three teacups		from this
	dem	n		num n		num n		prep dem
mō		miširru					, bintēka	
mō		m-	i-	širrub		=ha	bint -ēka	
mū+DIAL. VAR. OF	mi-	yi-	širrib+UNSPEC. VAR. OF		=ha	bint	-eyka+SP. VAR. OF	
water	IND	3	have drink\IMPF		=3FS	girl	DIM	
n		v:Any	v:Any	vt		pro	n n>n	
water		he makes	her drink			young	girl	
n		vt				n		
mitnat				, mitqum			min	
mi-	t-	nat		mi-	t-	qum	min	
mi-	ti- <sub>2</sub>	naṭṭ+DIAL. VAR. OF		mi-	ti- <sub>1</sub>	qūm <sub>1</sub>	min <sub>1</sub>	
IND	2	jump\IMPF		IND	3FS	arise\IMPF	from	
v:Any	v:Any	vi		v:Any	v:Any	vi	prep	
she jumps				she arises			from	
vi				vi			prep	
rōda			, ḥavli	kullə			rōd	
rōd		=ha	ḥavli	kullə			rōd	
rod+DIAL. VAR. OF		=ha	ḥawli+SP. VAR. OF	ku+UNSPEC. VAR. OF			rod+DIAL. VAR. OF	
place		=3FS	courtyard	every, all			place	
n		pro	n	n		n		
her place			courtyard	every, all		land, place		
n			n	n		n		

mitqiššah			, mid‘ayyin			, zēn	
mi-	t-	qišš	=ah	mi-	d-	‘ayyin	zēn
mi-	ti- <sub>1</sub>	qišš	=hu	mi-	t-	‘ayyin <sub>2</sub>	zīn+UNSPEC. VAR. OF
IND	3FS	sweep\IMPF	=3MS	IND	REFL	look\IMPF	good
v:Any	v:Any	vt	pro	v:Any	v>v	vt	adj
she sweeps				she looks			good
vt				vt			adj
misōr			ḥudi		asli		qadīm
m-	i-	sōr	ḥudi		asli		qadīm
mi-	yi-	ṣōr <sub>2</sub> +UNSPEC. VAR. OF	ḥudi		aṣli+DIAL. VAR. OF		qadīm
IND	3	become\IMPF	exactly (U/T<P)		completely		ancient
v:Any	v:Any	vi	adv		adv		adj
he becomes			exactly		completely		ancient
vi			adv		adv		adj
misōr			.				
m-	i-	sōr					
mi-	yi-	ṣōr <sub>2</sub> +UNSPEC. VAR. OF					
IND	3	become\IMPF					
v:Any	v:Any	vi					
he becomes							
vi							

He had her drink two, three times, three tea cups of that water. The daughter jumped up, got up from her place, and wiped all the corners of the house. She looked and it was good. It was as it was in the past again.

14.6	pōšō	‘ō		iḥlāf , hamāt bintī		illēk	
	pōšō	‘ō		iḥlāf hamāt bint	=ī	illē	=k
	pōšō	‘ōd+UNSPEC. VAR. OF		iḥlāf hamad bint	=ī	i  <sub>1</sub> +DIAL. VAR. OF	=k
	Pasha	again		then this.M daughter	=1CS DAT		=2MS
	n	adv		adv dem n	pro	prep	pro
	Pasha	again		then this my daughter		to you.M	
	n	adv		adv dem n		adv	
	mantiya			məqūl		,	
	m-	a-	nti	=ya	m-	ə-	qūl
	mi-	a-	nṭi+DIAL. VAR. OF	=ha	mi-	yi-	qūl <sub>1</sub>
	IND	1CS	give\IMPF	=3FS	IND	3	say\IMPF
	v:Any	v:Any	vt	pro	v:Any	v:Any	vt
	I	give	her		he	says	
	vt				vt		
	minkaḥ			mintiya		i	hāt .
	m-	i-	nkaḥ	m-	i-	nti	=ya i hād
	mi-	yi-	nkaḥ	mi-	yi-	nṭi+DIAL. VAR. OF	=ha i hād
	IND	3	marry\IMPF	IND	3	give\IMPF	=3FS DAT this.M
	v:Any	v:Any	vt	v:Any	v:Any	vt	pro prep dem
	he	marries		he	gives	her	DAT this
	vt			vt			prep dem

The king, then: "I give you my daughter," said he. He married her and gave her to him.

14.7	hāt	akun		məqūl		ki	taqsīr	pōšō	,
	hād	akun		m-	ə-	qūl	ki	taqsīr	pōšō
	hād	akūn+UNSPEC. VAR. OF		mi-	yi-	qūl <sub>1</sub>	ki	taqsīr	pōšō
	this.M	now		IND	3	say\ IMPF	that	your honor (U<A)	Pasha
	dem	adv		v:Any	v:Any	vt	prt	n	n
	this	now		he says			that	your honor	Pasha
	dem	adv		vt			prt	n	n
ana		i	hān	la	maq'ad			.	
ana		i	hān	la	m-	a-	q'ad		
anā+UNSPEC. VAR. OF		i	hān	lā	mi-	a-	q'ad		
1CS		DAT	here	NEG	IND	1CS	sit\ IMPF		
pro		prep	adv	verbprt	v:Any	v:Any	vi		
I		DAT	here	not	I	sit			
pro		prep	adv	verbprt	vi				

This one now said: "King, I will not live here.

14.8	ana		akun		vat				
	ana		akun		vat				
	anā+UNSPEC. VAR. OF		akūn+UNSPEC. VAR. OF		fat+UNSPEC. VAR. OF				
	1CS		now		INDF				
	pro		adv		indf				
	I		now		a				
	pro		adv		indf				
umkun					'indī			,	vat
um			kun		'ind		=ī		vat
umm+UNSPEC. VAR. OF			kon <sub>1</sub> +DIAL. VAR. OF		'end+DIAL. VAR. OF		=ī		fat+UNSPEC. VAR. OF
mother			PST		at		=1CS		INDF
n			prt		prep		pro		indf
mother, he was					with me				a
vi					adv				indf

kambağal	ana		, ana	moğdi			'al
kambağal	ana		ana	m-	o-	ğdi	'al
kambağal	anā+UNSPEC. VAR. OF		anā+UNSPEC. VAR. OF	mi-	a-	ğdi	'al
poor (U/T<P)	1CS		1CS	IND	1CS	go\ IMPF	on
adj	pro		pro	v:Any	v:Any	vi	prep
poor	I		I	I go			on
n	pro		pro	vi			prep
hamāt	mamlakat	rōḥī	, hamāt	vaḥat		rōd	.
hamāt	mamlakat	rōḥ =ī	hamāt	vaḥat		rōd	
hamad	mamlaka	rūḥ =ī	hamad	waḥad+UNSPEC. VAR. OF		rod+DIAL. VAR. OF	
this.M	kingdom	self =1CS	this.M	another		place	
dem	n	n	dem	det		n	
this	kingdom of	myself	this	another		land, place	
dem	n	n	dem	det		n	

I have a mother; I am poor; I will go to my own country; that is another place."

14.9	ħay	toğdi		itkūn		agar	,	fat
	ħay	to-	ğdi	it-	kūn	agar		fat
	ħay	ti-2	ğdi	ti-2	kūn	agar		fat
	okay (U)	2	go\IMPF	2	be\IMPF	if		INDF
	interj	v:Any	vi	v:Any	vi	advlizer		indf
	okay	you.M	(would) go	you.M	would be	if		a
	interj	vi		vi		advlizer		indf
	yamak		čöl	taykūn				, fat
	yam	=ak	čöl	ta-	y-	kūn		fat
	yamm+UNSPEC. VAR. OF	=k	čöl	ta-	yi-	kūn		fat
	side	=2MS	desert	SBJV	3	be\IMPF		INDF
	n	pro	n	v:Any	v:Any	vi		indf
	your.M	side	desert	he	would be			a
	n		n	vi				indf
	yamak		zurā'a	taykūn				.
	yam	=ak	zurā'a	ta-	y-	kūn		
	yamm+UNSPEC. VAR. OF	=k	zurā'a	ta-	yi-	kūn		
	side	=2MS	arable land	SBJV	3	be\IMPF		
	n	pro	n	v:Any	v:Any	vi		
	your.M	side	arable land	he	would be			
	n		n	vi				

"Well, if you go, then your one side may be desert and your other side may be arable land."

15.1	hamazayli	rōd		fat	baħar	labu		miyoğdi	
	hamazayli	rōd		fat	baħar	lab	=u	mi-	yo-ğdi
	hamazayli	rod+DIAL. VAR. OF		fat	baħar	lab	=hu	mi-	yi-ğdi
	in this manner	place		INDF	river	lip	=3MS	IND	3 go\IMPF
	adv	n		indf	n	n	pro	v:Any	v:Any vi
	in this way	land, place		a	river	his	side	he	goes
	adv	n		indf	n	n		vi	

He went to such a place, to the shore of a lake.

15.2 i	hāt	fat	mamlakatin		kabīra		fat	makōn	
	i	hād	fat	mamlakat	=in	kabīr	-a	fat	makōn
	i	hād	fat	mamlaka	=in <sub>1</sub>	kabīr	-a	fat	makōn
	DAT	this.M	INDF	kingdom	=LK	big, old	F	INDF	place
	prep	dem	indf	n	prt	adj	n:Any	indf	n
	DAT	this	a	kingdom of		big		a	place
	prep	dem	indf	n		adj		indf	n
miḥit					mintah				
m-	i-	ḥit		m-	i-	nta		=h	
mi-	yi-	ḥuṭṭ+DIAL. VAR. OF		mi-	yi-	nṭi+DIAL. VAR. OF		=hu	
IND	3	set\IMPF		IND	3	give\IMPF		=3MS	
v:Any	v:Any	vt		v:Any	v:Any	vt		pro	
he sets				he gives him					
vt				vt					

He (the king) had him build a house in a large country and gave it to him.

15.3	šōh	suffāt		, mū	, Hōz	, āy	vat	huddi
	šōh	suff	-āt	mū	Hōz	āy	vat	huddi
	šōh	suffa	-āt	mū	Hōz	āy	fat+UNSPEC. VAR. OF	huddi
	shah	estrade	(F)PL	water	lake	Oh (U)	INDF	ridge (?)
	n	n	n:Any	n	n	interj	indf	n
	shah	estrades		water	lake	Oh	a	ridge (?)
	n	n		n	n	interj	indf	n
vat		rōdin				, vat		ğannatkinni
vat		rōd		=in	vat			ğannat kinni
fat+UNSPEC. VAR. OF	rod+DIAL. VAR. OF			=in <sub>1</sub>	fat+UNSPEC. VAR. OF			ğannat kinni
INDF	place			=LK	INDF			heaven (U<A) as if
indf	n			prt	indf			n prt
a	place				a			like paradise
indf	n				indf			n
mihit				mintah				.
m-	i-	hit		m-	i-	nta		=h
mi-	yi-	huṭṭ+DIAL. VAR. OF		mi-	yi-	nṭi+DIAL. VAR. OF		=hu
IND	3	set\IMPF		IND	3	give\IMPF		=3MS
v:Any	v:Any	vt		v:Any	v:Any	vt		pro
he sets				he gives him				
vt				vt				

A terrace, water, a lake, yes, he gave it to him; a place like a paradise.

15.4	fat	ummu		qati	,	marātu		qati	miq'ad		
	fat	umm	=u	qati		marāt	=hu	qati	m-	i-	q'ad
	fat	umm	=hu	qati		his wife		qati	mi-	yi-	q'ad
	INDF	mother	=3MS	with (T)	n			with (T)	IND	3	sit\IMPF
	indf	n	pro	post				post	v:Any	v:Any	vi
	a	his mother		with				with	he sits		
	indf	n		post				post	vi		
	farzan					mišūf					
	farzan					m-		i-			šūf
	farzan					mi-		yi-			šūf <sub>1</sub>
	child (U/T<P)					IND		3			see\IMPF
	n					v:Any		v:Any			vt
	child					he sees					
	n										vt

Only with his mother and his wife did he live and had children.

16.1	fat	yōmin				misōru					pēšin
	fat	yōm		=in	m-	i-		sōr		-u	pēšin
	fat	yōm+DIAL. VAR. OF		=in <sub>1</sub>	mi-	yi-		šōr <sub>1</sub> +DIAL. VAR. OF		-ū	pēšin
	INDF	day		=LK	IND	3		become\PERF		3MP	noon (U<P/T)
	indf	n		prt	v:Any	v:Any		vi		v:Any	n
	a	day			they.M	become					noon
	indf	n						vi			n
	'ēš				kun			sovīn			
	'ēš				kun			sov		-īn	
	'eyš+DIAL. VAR. OF				kon <sub>1</sub> +DIAL. VAR. OF			sōwi+DIAL. VAR. OF		-īn <sub>3</sub>	
	food				PST			make\PTCP			MP
	n				prt			vt			ptcp:Any
	food				PST			they.M			made
	n				prt			ptcp			

One day, they were making lunch,

16.2 vaḥt		‘ēš		, avqōt kālahān					
vaḥt		‘ēš		avqōt kālahān					
waḥt+DIAL. VAR. OF		‘eyš+DIAL. VAR. OF		avqōt kaliyān+DIAL. VAR. OF					
time		food		food eat.INF					
n		n		n ger					
time		food		food eating					
n		n		n ger					
vaḥtum		handūk		ḥarāmiyin dabtuyin					min
vaḥt	=um	handūk		ḥarāmi =yin dabt =u					=yin min
waḥt+DIAL. VAR. OF	=hum	hamdūk+DIAL. VAR. OF		ḥarāmi =in <sub>1</sub> dabba =hu					=in <sub>1</sub> min <sub>1</sub>
time	=3MP	that.M		thief =LK horse =3MS					=LK from
n	pro	dem		n prt n pro prt					prep
their time		that		thief his horse					from
n		dem		n n					prep
hādin	sorqinnu		, kul	fat nōḥūnu			fat		bilis
hād	=in sorq	=innu	kul	fat nōḥūn		=u	fat		bilis
hād	=in <sub>2</sub> sōreq	=hu	kul	fat nōḥūn		=hu	fat		bilis
this.M	=REL steal\PTCP	=3MS	every, all	INDF nail ([U]/T<P)		=3MS	INDF		span
dem	prt vt	pro	n	indf n		pro	indf n		
this, that	he stole him		every, all	a his nail		a	span		
dem	ptcp		n	indf n			indf n		
sōyir	, kullə		šiyāt	maharratāt			, iḡrāt		
šōyir	kullə		šiy	-āt maharrat		-āt	iḡr		-āt
šōyir	kul+UNSPEC. VAR. OF	šī	-āt	maharrat		-āt	iḡir		-āt
become\PTCP	every, all		clothes	(F)PL tear\PP		(F)PL	leg		(F)PL
vi	n		n	n:Any pp		n:Any	n		n:Any
he became	every, all		clothes	torn			leg		
ptcp	n		n	pp			n		

ğalmūdāt		miği							, salōm
ğalmūd	-āt	m-	i-	ği					salōm
ğalmūd	-āt	mi-	yi-	ği					salōm
rock	(F)PL	IND	3	come\IMPF					Salaam (greeting)
n	n:Any	v:Any	v:Any	vi					n
rock		he comes							Salaam (greeting)
n		vi							n
minti				miği					miq'ad
m-	i-	nti		m-	i-	ği	m-	i-	q'ad
mi-	yi-	nṭi+DIAL. VAR. OF		mi-	yi-	ği	mi-	yi-	q'ad
IND	3	give\IMPF		IND	3	come\IMPF	IND	3	sit\IMPF
v:Any	v:Any	vt		v:Any	v:Any	vi	v:Any	v:Any	vi
he gives				he comes			he sits		
vt				vi			vi		

at dinner, the thief came, who had stolen his horse from him and whose nails became a span long and whose clothes became torn and whose legs became rocks. He greeted, came and sat down.

16.3	īdātak		īgsilin		məqul				hāt
	īd	-āt	=ak	īgsil	=in	m-	ə-	qul	hād
	īd	-āt	=k	īgsil	=hin	mi-	yi-	qūl <sub>1</sub> +UNSPEC. VAR. OF	hād
	hand	(F)PL	=2MS	wash\IMPV	=3FP	IND	3	say\IMPF	this.M
	n	n:Any	pro	vt	pro	v:Any	v:Any	vt	dem
	your hands			wash them.F!		he says			this
	n			vt		vt			dem

i dōk

i dōk

i dūk+DIAL. VAR. OF

DAT 3MS

prep pro

DAT him

prep pro

"Go wash your hands," he (the boy) said to him.

16.4	īdātu				miġsilin			, batnu	
	īd	-āt	=u	m-	i-	ġsil	=in	batn	=u
	īd	-āt	=hu	mi-	yi-	ġsil	=hin	baṭn+DIAL. VAR. OF	=hu
	hand	(F)PL	=3MS	IND	3	wash\IMPF	=3FP	stomach	=3MS
	n	n:Any	pro	v:Any	v:Any	vt	pro	n	pro
	his hands			he washes them.F				his stomach	
	n			vt				n	
	mišib'ū							, ana	
	m-	i-	šib'			=u		ana	
	mi-	yi-	šibbe' <sub>1</sub> +UNSPEC. VAR. OF			=hu		anā+UNSPEC. VAR. OF	
	IND	3	saturate\IMPF			=3MS		1CS	
	v:Any	v:Any	vt			pro		pro	
	he saturates	him				I			
	vt							pro	
	məqūl			dabtak		kun		sorqinnak	
	m-	ə-	qūl	dabt	=ak	kun		sorq	=innak
	mi-	yi-	qūl <sub>1</sub>	dabba	=k	kon <sub>1</sub> +DIAL. VAR. OF		sōreq	=innak
	IND	3	say\IMPF	horse	=2MS	PST		steal\PTCP	=2MS
	v:Any	v:Any	vt	n	pro	prt		vt	pro
	he says			your.M	horse	PST		he stole you.M	
	vt			n		prt		ptcp	

kun	zorbinnīkin			, ma
kun	zorb	-innī	=kin	ma
kon <sub>1</sub> +DIAL. VAR. OF	zorib	-inni	=kin	mā+UNSPEC. VAR. OF
PST	hit\PTCP	1CS	=2FP	NEG
prt	vt	ptcp:Any	pro	verbprt
PST	I hit you.FP			not
prt	ptcp			verbprt
mītinnakmi				.
mīt	-innak	=mi		
mīyet <sub>2</sub> +UNSPEC. VAR. OF	-innak	=mi		
die\PTCP	2MS	=Q		
vi	ptcp:Any	q		
you.M died?				
ptcp				

He washed his hands and filled his stomach. "I am the one who stole your horse and hit you, did you not die?"

16.5	lā	ana	ma	mītinni			,
	lā	ana	ma	mīt		-inni	
	lā	anā+UNSPEC. VAR. OF	mā+UNSPEC. VAR. OF	mīyet <sub>2</sub> +UNSPEC. VAR. OF		-inni	
	NEG	1CS	NEG	die\PTCP		1CS	
	verbprt	pro	verbprt	vi		ptcp:Any	
	not	I	not	I died			
	verbprt	pro	verbprt	ptcp			
handūk	vaḥ	min	ḥāl	ki	ḡōdinni		, hin
handūk	vaḥ	min	ḥāl	ki	ḡōd	-inni	hin
hamdūk+DIAL. VAR. OF	waḥt+DIAL. VAR. OF	min <sub>1</sub>	ḥāl	ki	ḡōdi	-inni	hin
that.M	time	from	situation	that	go\PTCP	1CS	2MS (?)
dem	n	prep	n	prt	vi	ptcp:Any	pro
that	time	from	situation	that	I went		you (?)
dem	n	prep	n	prt	ptcp		pro

dabti		ki	hōdinnak		ki	vōdinnak	
dabt	=i	ki	hōd	-innak	ki	vōd	-innak
dabba	=ī+UNSPEC. VAR. OF	ki	hōdi	-innak	ki	wodd+UNSPEC. VAR. OF	-innak
horse	=1CS	that	take\PTCP	2MS	that	lead, carry\PTCP	2MS
n	pro	prt	vt	ptcp:Any	prt	vt	ptcp:Any
my	horse	that	you.M took		that	you.M led	
n		prt	ptcp		prt	ptcp	
ki	bay'innak	.					
ki	bay'	-innak					
ki	bāye'	-innak					
that	sell\PTCP	2MS					
prt	vt	ptcp:Any					
that	you.M sold						
prt	ptcp						

"No, I did not die, at that moment I lost my consciousness when you took my horse, taken it away and sold it."

16.6	voy	ištur	hayzalli	boy
	voy	ištur	hayzalli	boy
	wōy+DIAL. VAR. OF	ištūr+DIAL. VAR. OF	hamazayli+UNSPEC. VAR. OF	boy
Ah	how	in this manner	Bey	
interj	interrog	adv	n	
Ah	how	in this manner	rich man, Bey	
interj	adv	adv	n	
surt	.			
sur	-t			
šōr <sub>1</sub>	-t <sub>2</sub>			
become\PERF	2MS			
vi	v:Any			
you.M	became			
vi				

"How did you become such a bey?"

16.7 ana		hān hamōk		, hān hamōk		, hint
ana		hān hamōk		hān hamōk		hint
		anā+UNSPEC. VAR. OF	hān hamūk+DIAL. VAR. OF	hān hamūk+DIAL. VAR. OF		hint
1CS		here like that		here like that		2MS
pro		adv adv		adv adv		pro
I		here like that		here like that		you.M
pro		adv adv		adv adv		pro
zarabnī		, min dabba waqa't		min ēsu		
zarab	=nī	min dabba waqa'		-t min ēs		=u
zarab	=nī	min <sub>1</sub> dabba waqa'+DIAL. VAR. OF		-t <sub>1</sub> min <sub>1</sub> ēs		=u
beat\PERF	=1CS	from horse fall\PERF		1CS from mind (U)		=and
vt	pro	prep n vi		v:Any prep n		coordconn
he beat me [sic!]		from horse I fell		from mind and		
vt		prep n vi		prep n		
hušši			ġōdi , qumt			
hušš	=i		ġōdi qum		-t	
hūš+UNSPEC. VAR. OF	=ī+UNSPEC. VAR. OF		ġōdi qum		-t <sub>1</sub>	
sense (U<P)	=1CS		go\PTCP arise\PERF		1CS	
n	pro	vi	vi	v:Any		
my sense		he went	I arose			
n		ptcp	vi			
rāsi		istafarra	, ġadēt		, min čōl	
rās	=i	istafarra	ġadē		-t min čōl	
rās	=ī+UNSPEC. VAR. OF	istfarrā+SP. VAR. OF	ġadā		-t <sub>1</sub> min <sub>1</sub> čōl	
head	=1CS	spin\PERF	go\PERF		1CS from desert	
n	pro	vi	vi	v:Any	prep n	
my head		he spun	I went		from desert	
n		vi	vi		prep n	

miyāniddarb qati ġadēt ġadēt , i fat tandūr  
 miyān id darb qati ġadē -t ġadē -t i fat tandūr  
 miyāna il<sub>1</sub> darb qati ġadā -t<sub>1</sub> ġadā -t<sub>1</sub> i fat tandūr  
 middle to way, road with (T) go\PERF 1CS go\PERF 1CS DAT INDF oven  
 n prep n post vi v:Any vi v:Any prep indf n  
 middle of road with I went I went DAT a oven  
 n post vi vi prep indf n  
 daħalt .  
 daħal -t  
 daħal -t<sub>1</sub>  
 enter\PERF 1CS  
 vi v:Any  
 I entered  
 vi

"I, sister, and so, you hit me and I fell off the horse, I lost my consciousness, got up and my head was spinning, I went to the desert, followed the road, and got on and on. I entered an oven."

16.8 min rāsu in'abrū kullu  
 min rās =u in'abr -ū kull =u  
 min<sub>1</sub> rās =hu in'abr -ū kul =hu  
 from head =3MS be passing (by)\PERF 3MP every, all =3MS  
 prep n pro vi v:Any n pro  
 from his head they.M were passing all of him  
 prep n vi n  
 məquluda .  
 m- ə- qul =hu =da  
 mi- yi- qūl<sub>1</sub>+UNSPEC. VAR. OF =hu =da  
 IND 3 say\IMPF =3MS =EMPH  
 v:Any v:Any vt pro prt  
 he said him  
 vt

He told everything that happened to him.

16.9 ē	lēl	numt		məqul					
ē	lēl	num	-t	m-	ə-	qul			
ē <sub>2</sub>	leyl+UNSPEC. VAR. OF	nām <sub>2</sub>	-t <sub>1</sub>	mi-	yi-	qūl <sub>1</sub> +UNSPEC. VAR. OF			
ah (U)	night	sleep\PERF	1CS	IND	3	say\IMPF			
interj	n	vi	v:Any	v:Any	v:Any	vt			
ah	night	I slept		he says					
interj	n	vi		vt					
ḥayvōnāt	tōda	ki							
ḥayvōn	-āt	tōda							
ḥayvōn	-āt	tōda							
animal	(F)PL	gathering (U<P)	that						
n	n:Any	n	prt						
animals		gathering	that						
n		n	prt						
misōrin						, hankīt		anā	
m-	i-	sōr	-in			hankīt		anā	
mi-	yi-	ṣōr <sub>1</sub> +DIAL. VAR. OF	-īn <sub>4</sub> +UNSPEC. VAR. OF			hamqīd+DIAL. VAR. OF		anā	
IND	3	become\PERF	FP			there		1CS	
v:Any	v:Any	vi	v:Any			adv		pro	
they.F	become					there		I	
vi						adv		pro	
yirtqič	kullu		, ana			bišān		handūk	
yirtqič	kull	=u	ana			bišān		handūk	
yirtqič	kul	=hu	anā+UNSPEC. VAR. OF			bišān		hamdūk+DIAL. VAR. OF	
predator (U)	every, all	=3MS	1CS			because of		that.M	
n	n	pro	pro			prep		dem	
predator	all of him		I			because of		that	
n	n		pro			prep		dem	

məqūl			hāt	tulkiya		illay		nağziya
m-	ə-	qūl	hād	tulki	-ya	illa	=y	nağziya
mi-	yi-	qūl <sub>1</sub>	hād	tulki	-a	il <sub>1</sub> +DIAL. VAR. OF	=ī	nağzia+SP. VAR. OF
IND	3	say\IMPF	this.M	fox (U)	F	DAT	=1CS	excellence
v:Any	v:Any	vt	dem	n	n:Any	prep	pro	n
he says			this	fox		to me		excellence
vt			dem	n		adv		n
savēt		, ana			ğīt		ana	
savē	-t	ana			ğī	-t	ana	
sawā	-et	anā+UNSPEC. VAR. OF			ğā	-t <sub>1</sub>	anā+UNSPEC. VAR. OF	
make\PERF	3FS	1CS			come\PERF	1CS	1CS	
vt	v:Any	pro		vi		v:Any	pro	
she made		I		I came			I	
vt		pro		vi			pro	
hamazayli	, ana			hōkiya		zīb	qataltu	,
hamazayli	ana			hōkiya		zīb	qatal	-t =u
hamazayli	anā+UNSPEC. VAR. OF	hamūk+UNSPEC. VAR. OF				zīb	qatal	-t <sub>1</sub> =hu
in this manner	1CS			like that		wolf	kill\PERF	1CS =3MS
adv	pro			adv		n	vt	v:Any
in this way	I			like that		wolf	I killed him	pro
adv	pro			adv		n	vt	
gidam	boy	ğīt		, dabbitu		antah		,
gidam	boy	ğī	-t	dabbit	=u	anta		=h
giddām	boy	ğā	-t <sub>1</sub>	dabba	=hu	anṭā+DIAL. VAR. OF		=hu
before	Bey	come\PERF	1CS	horse	=3MS	give\PERF		=3MS
prep	n	vi	v:Any	n	pro	vt		pro
before	rich man, Bey	I came		his horse		he gave him		
prep	n	vi		n		vt		

bint	pōšō	min	handōk	varaḡit	ḡaraba	qati	diki	
bint	pōšō	min	handōk	varaḡit	ḡarab	-a	qati	diki
bint	pōšō	min <sub>1</sub>	hamdūk	waraḡa	ḡarab	-a	qati	dīki+DIAL. VAR. OF
daughter	Pasha	from	that.M	leaf	tree	SGV	with (T)	that.F
n	n	prep	dem	n	n	n>n	post	dem
daughter	Pasha	from	that	leaf of	one tree		with	that
n	n	prep	dem	n	n		post	dem
'addalta			, ana				handōk qati	pōšō bintu
'addal	-t	=ha	ana				handōk qati	pōšō bint =hu
'addal	-t <sub>1</sub>	=ha	anā+UNSPEC. VAR. OF	hamdūk	qati		pōšō bint	=hu
cure\PERF	1CS	=3FS	1CS				that.M with (T) Pasha daughter	=3MS
vt	v:Any	pro	pro			dem	post	n n pro
I cured her			I			that	with	Pasha his daughter
vt			pro			dem	post	n n
antaha			illay			ana		hamazayli
anta		=a	illa		=y	ana		hamazayli
anṡā+DIAL. VAR. OF		=ha	il <sub>1</sub> +DIAL. VAR. OF		=ī	anā+UNSPEC. VAR. OF		hamazayli
give\PERF		=3FS	DAT		=1CS	1CS		in this manner
vt		pro	prep		pro	pro		adv
he gave her			to me		I			in this way
vt			adv		pro			adv
ana		boy		surt			ḡadēt	.
ana		boy		sur		-t	ḡadē	-t
anā+UNSPEC. VAR. OF		boy		ṡōr <sub>1</sub>		-t <sub>1</sub>	ḡadā	-t <sub>1</sub>
1CS		Bey		become\PERF		1CS	go\PERF	1CS
pro		n		vi		v:Any	vi	v:Any
I		rich man, Bey		I became			I went	
pro		n		vi			vi	

"Well, I slept at night," he said, "when the animals were holding a meeting, there I was, among all the wild beasts, therefore," he said, "a fox has shown me a favor. I have come and so have killed a wolf, I have come to the lord, he has given me his horse, I have healed the daughter of the king with that leaf of the tree, and therefore the king has given me his daughter That is how I became a lord."

16.10	'al	laykun			, illēk		hint
	'al	la-	y-	kun	illē	=k	hint
	'al	la-	yi-	kūn+UNSPEC. VAR. OF	il <sub>1</sub> +DIAL. VAR. OF	=k	hint
	on	JUSS	3	be\IMPF	ACC	=2MS	2MS
	prep	v:Any	v:Any	vi	prep	pro	pro
	on	let him be			you.M		you.M
	prep	vi			pro		pro
boy		kun		sayrinnak			,
boy		kun		sayr			-innak
boy		kon <sub>1</sub> +DIAL. VAR. OF		şōyir+UNSPEC. VAR. OF			-innak
Bey		PST		become\PTCP			2MS
n		prt		vi			ptcp:Any
rich man, Bey		PST		you.M became			
n		prt		ptcp			
anaham				moğdi	li		hangoyam
ana		=ham	m-	o-	ğdi	li=	hangoy
		=am	mi-	a-	ğdi	li=	hamğōy+DIAL. VAR. OF
1CS		=also	IND	1CS	go\IMPF	DAT=	there
pro		prt	v:Any	v:Any	vi	prep	adv
I also			I go			DAT	there also
pro			vi			prep	adv

"If that is possible, if you were able to become a lord, then I will also go there."

## 16.11 batnu

## mišib'u

batn	=u	m-	i-	šib'	=u			
batn+DIAL. VAR. OF	=hu	mi-	yi-	šibbe' <sub>1</sub> +UNSPEC. VAR. OF	=hu			
stomach	=3MS	IND	3	saturate\IMPF	=3MS			
n	pro	v:Any	v:Any	vt	pro			
his stomach		he	saturates	him				
n			vt					
hādu		, hamāt	miyoḡdi		, hamāt	ḡōdahān	qati	
hād	=u	hamāt	mi-	yo-	ḡdi	hamāt	ḡōdahān	qati
hād	=u	hamad	mi-	yi-	ḡdi	hamad	ḡōdahān	qati
this.M	=and	this.M	IND	3	go\IMPF	this.M	go.INF	with (T)
dem	coordconn	dem	v:Any	v:Any	vi	dem	ger	post
this, and		this	he	goes		this	going	with
dem		dem	vi		dem	ger	post	
muzrub			məkun					
m-	u-	zrub	m-	ə-	kun			
mi-	yi-	zrub	mi-	yi-	kūn+UNSPEC. VAR. OF			
IND	3	beat\IMPF	IND	3	be\IMPF			
v:Any	v:Any	vt	v:Any	v:Any	vi			
he	beats		he	is				
vt			vi					
mimšiyu				ḡōdi	.			
m-	i-	mši	=yu	ḡōdi				
mi-	yi-	mši	=u	ḡōdi				
IND	3	go\IMPF	=and	go\PTCP				
v:Any	v:Any	vi	coordconn	vi				
he	goes, and			he	went			
vi				ptcp				

He filled his stomach and left. With his departure he set it on a walk.

17.1	hādam	tō	lēla	darb	mimši				
	hād	=am	tō	lēl	-a	darb	m-	i-	mši
	hād	=am	to+SP. VAR. OF	lēl	-a	darb	mi-	yi-	mši
	this.M	=also	until (P)	night	SGV	way, road	IND	3	go\IMPF
	dem	prt	prep	n	n>n	n	v:Any	v:Any	vi
	this	also	until	one night		way, road	he goes		
	dem		prep	n		n		vi	
	darbin		ba'īd	miyoḡdi					
	darb	=in	ba'īd	mi-	yo-	ḡdi			
	darb	=in <sub>1</sub>	ba'īd	mi-	yi-	ḡdi			
	way, road	=LK	far	IND	3	go\IMPF			
	n	prt	adj	v:Any	v:Any	vi			
	way, road		far	he goes					
	n		adj	vi					

He too ran until it was night. He went very far away.

#### 17.2 handōk tandūr milqah

handōk	tandūr	m-	i-	lq	=ah
hamdūk	tandūr	mi-	yi-	lqi	=hu
that.M	oven	IND	3	find\IMPF	=3MS
dem	n	v:Any	v:Any	vt	pro
that	oven	he finds	him		
dem	n	vt			

He found that oven.

17.3 anāyam		mashul				arūn		tandūr
anā	=yam	m-	a-	shul		arūn		tandūr
anā	=am	mi-	a-	dḥul+UNSPEC. VAR. OF		adrūn+UNSPEC. VAR. OF		tandūr
1CS	=also	IND	1CS	enter\IMPF		inside		oven
pro	prt	v:Any	v:Any	vi		prep		n
I also		I enter				inside		oven
pro		vi				n		n
manām				məqūl		, arūn		tandūr
m-	a-	nām	m-	ə-	qūl	arūn		tandūr
mi-	a-	nām <sub>1</sub>	mi-	yi-	qūl <sub>1</sub>	adrūn+UNSPEC. VAR. OF		tandūr
IND	1CS	sleep\IMPF	IND	3	say\IMPF	inside		oven
v:Any	v:Any	vi	v:Any	v:Any	vt	prep		n
I sleep			he says			inside		oven
vi			vt			n		n
mushul				, vat		čippōnin		
m-	u-	shul		vat		čippōn		=in
mi-	yi-	dḥul+UNSPEC. VAR. OF		fat+UNSPEC. VAR. OF		čippōn		=in <sub>1</sub>
IND	3	enter\IMPF		INDF		tattered garments (P)		=LK
v:Any	v:Any	vi		indf		n		prt
he enters				a		tattered garments		
vi				indf		n		

köhna	fī	ḥašim	tandūr	miriššahu				
köhna	fī	ḥašim	tandūr	m-	i-	rišš	=ah	=u
köhna	fī	ḥašm+FR. VAR. OF	tandūr	mi-	yi-	riššī	=hu	=u
old (U/T<P)	in	mouth	oven	IND	3	throw\IMPF	=3MS	=and
adj	prep	n	n	v:Any	v:Any	vt	pro	coordconn
old	in	mouth	oven	he throws him, and				
adj	prep	n	n	vt				
minām			arūn	tandūr	.			
m-	i-	nām	arūn	tandūr				
mi-	yi-	nām <sub>1</sub>	adrūn+UNSPEC. VAR. OF	tandūr				
IND	3	sleep\IMPF	inside	oven				
v:Any	v:Any	vi	prep	n				
he sleeps			inside	oven				
vi			n	n				

"I'm going in too and going to sleep in the oven." He went into the oven, hung an old cloth for the opening of the oven, and went to sleep in the oven.

17.4 lēl	misōr			, namōšōm	,
lēl	m-	i-	sōr	namōšōm	
leyl+UNSPEC. VAR. OF	mi-	yi-	şōr <sub>2</sub> +UNSPEC. VAR. OF	namōšōm	
night	IND	3	become\IMPF	sunset prayer (U<P)	
n	v:Any	v:Any	vi	n	
night	he becomes			sunset prayer (U<P)	
n	vi			n	
ħuftan	, bi	vaħti		şab	,
ħuftan	bi=	vaħt	=i	şab	
ħuftan	bi=	vaħt+DIAL. VAR. OF	=i <sub>3</sub>	şab	
evening (prayer) (U/T<P)	by=	time	=EZ (P/T)	night (U<P)	
n	prep n		prt	n	
evening	by	time		night	
n	prep n			n	
lēl	misōr			.	
lēl	m-	i-	sōr		
leyl+UNSPEC. VAR. OF	mi-	yi-	şōr <sub>2</sub> +UNSPEC. VAR. OF		
night	IND	3	become\IMPF		
n	v:Any	v:Any	vi		
night	he becomes				
n	vi				

It was night, midnight, and it was night.

17.5	handōk	vaḥt		kulin		ḥayvōnāt				
	handōk	vaḥt		kul	=in	ḥayvōn	-āt			
	hamdūk	waḥt+DIAL. VAR. OF		kul	=hin	ḥayvōn	-āt			
	that.M	time		every, all	=3FP	animal	(F)PL			
	dem	n		n	pro	n	n:Any			
	that	time		all of them.F		animals				
	dem	n		n		n				
	miḡin				, min	kullu		gidām	tulkiya	
	m-	i-	ḡ	-īn	min	kull	=u	gidām	tulki	-ya
	mi-	yi-	ḡi	-īn <sub>4</sub>	min <sub>1</sub>	kul	=hu	giddām	tulki	-a
	IND	3	come\IMPF	FP	from every, all		=3MS	before	fox (U)	F
	v:Any	v:Any	vi	v:Any	prep	n	pro	prep	n	n:Any
	they.F	came			from	all of him		before	fox	
	vi				prep	n		prep	n	
	tiḡi									
	ti-	ḡi	rōba							
	ti- <sub>1</sub>	ḡi	rōba							
	3FS	come\IMPF	fox (P)							
	v:Any	vi	n							
	she (would) come		fox							
	vi		n							

At that time all the animals came. Before them all came the fox.

17.6	min	fōḥ		tandūr	tulkiya		tiq'ad			
	min	fōḥ		tandūr	tulki	-ya	ti-	q'ad		
	min <sub>1</sub>	fūq+UNSPEC. VAR. OF		tandūr	tulki	-a	ti- <sub>1</sub>	q'ad		
	from on			oven	fox (U)	F	3FS	sit\IMPF		
	prep	prep		n	n	n:Any	v:Any	vi		
	from on			oven	fox			she (would) sit		
	prep	prep		n	n			vi		

The fox sat on top of the furnace.

17.7 šēr	miġi						, yōlbars	
šēr	m-	i-	ġi				yōlbars	
šēr	mi-	yi-	ġi				yōlbars+UNSPEC. VAR. OF	
lion (U<P)	IND	3	come\IMPF				tiger (U)	
n	v:Any	v:Any	vi				n	
lion	he comes						tiger	
n	vi						n	
miġi				, zīb	miġi		, šaġōl	
m-	i-	ġi		zīb	m-	i-	ġi	šaġōl
mi-	yi-	ġi		zīb	mi-	yi-	ġi	šaġōl
IND	3	come\IMPF	wolf	IND	3	come\IMPF	jackal	
v:Any	v:Any	vi		n	v:Any	v:Any	vi	n
he comes				wolf	he comes			jackal
vi				n	vi			n
miġi				, kullə			ḥayvōn tōda	
m-	i-	ġi		kullə			ḥayvōn tōda	
mi-	yi-	ġi		kul+UNSPEC. VAR. OF			ḥayvōn tōda	
IND	3	come\IMPF	every, all				animal gathering (U<P)	
v:Any	v:Any	vi		n			n n	
he comes				every, all			animal gathering	
vi				n			n n	

misōr				maylis
m-	i-	sōr		maylis
mi-	yi-	ṣōr <sub>2</sub> +UNSPEC. VAR. OF		maylis
IND	3	become\IMPF		meeting
v:Any	v:Any	vi		n
he becomes				meeting
vi				n
mi'ibrūnu				
m-	i-	'ibr	-ūn	=u
mi-	yi-	'bir+UNSPEC. VAR. OF	-ūn	=hu
IND	3	cross\IMPF	MP	=3MS
v:Any	v:Any	vt	v:Any	pro
they cross him				
vt				

the lion came, the tiger, the wolf, the jackal and all the animals formed a group, they attended the meeting,

17.8 ē	, hay	tulkiya		hōkiya	, hay
ē	hay	tulki	-ya	hōkiya	hay
īš+UNSPEC. VAR. OF	hay	tulki	-a	hamūk+UNSPEC. VAR. OF	hay
what	this.F	fox (U)	F	like that	this.F
interrog	dem	n	n:Any	adv	dem
what	this	fox		like that	this
interrog	dem	n		adv	dem
hōkiya	mitqūl			, rōba	, ē
hōkiya	mi-	t-	qūl	rōba	ē
hamūk+UNSPEC. VAR. OF	mi-	ti- <sub>1</sub>	qūl <sub>1</sub>	rōba	īš+UNSPEC. VAR. OF
like that	IND	3FS	say\IMPF	fox (P)	what
adv	v:Any	v:Any	vt	n	interrog
like that	she says			fox	what
adv	vt			n	interrog

mitqūl				, hintu	ḥayvonīn		ma		
mi-	t-	qūl		hintu	ḥayvon	-īn	ma		
mi-	ti- <sub>1</sub>	qūl <sub>1</sub>		hintu	ḥayvōn	-īn <sub>3</sub>	mā+UNSPEC. VAR. OF		
IND	3FS	say\IMPF	2MP	animal	MP	NEG			
v:Any	v:Any	vt		pro	n	ptcp:Any	verbprt		
she says				you.MP	animals		not		
vt				pro	n		verbprt		
ti'rifūn				, mana	agar	hintu	ti'rifūn		
ti-	'rif	-ūn		mana	agar	hintu	ti-	'rif	-ūn
ti- <sub>2</sub>	'rif	-ūn		mana	agar	hintu	ti- <sub>2</sub>	'rif	-ūn
2	know\IMPF	MP		here! (U)	if	2MP	2	know\IMPF	MP
v:Any	vt		v:Any	interj	advlizer	pro	v:Any	vt	v:Any
you MP	(would) know			here!	if	you.MP	you MP	(would) know	
vt				interj	advlizer	pro	vt		
agar	fat	ölğa	i	arūn		tandūr	nāyim	, mana	hāt
agar	fat	ölğa	i	arūn		tandūr	nāyim	mana	hād
agar	fat	ölğa	i	adrūn+UNSPEC. VAR. OF		tandūr	nāyim	mana	hād
if	INDF	prey (U)	to	inside		oven	sleep\PTCP	here! (U)	this.M
advlizer	indf	n	prep	prep		n	vi	interj	dem
if	a	prey	to	inside		oven	he slept	here!	this
advlizer	indf	n	prep	n		n	ptcp	interj	dem
ōdamzōtin				, hāt	ḥarāmī		, hamādam		
ōdamzōt		=in	hād	ḥarāmī		hamād		=am	
ōdamzōt		=in <sub>1</sub>	hād	ḥarāmī+UNSPEC. VAR. OF		hamad+UNSPEC. VAR. OF		=am	
human being (U<P)		=LK	this.M	thief		this.M		=also	
n		prt	dem	n		dem		prt	
human being			this	thief		this also			
n			dem	n		dem			

ma	tigdirūn			tatšufūn			
ma	ti-	gdir	-ūn	ta-	t-	šuf	-ūn
mā+UNSPEC. VAR. OF	ti- <sub>2</sub>	gdir	-ūn	ta-	ti- <sub>2</sub>	šūf <sub>1</sub>	-ūn
NEG	2	can\IMPF	MP	SBJV	2	see\IMPF	MP
verbprt	v:Any	vt	v:Any	v:Any	v:Any	vt	v:Any
not	you.MP (would) be able to		you.MP would see				
verbprt	vt			vt			
ma	ti-	'rif	-ūn	=u	=mi		
mā+UNSPEC. VAR. OF	ti- <sub>2</sub>	'rif	-ūn	=hu	=mi		
NEG	2	know\IMPF	MP	=3MS	=Q		
verbprt	v:Any	vt	v:Any	pro	q		
not	you.MP know him?						
verbprt	vt						

The fox said, "Well," she said. "your animals do not know. Notice, if you would know that a loot is sleeping in the oven ... See, this person, this thief, you can not see him, do not you know? "

17.9	ana		miğūn			, tandūr	
	ana	m-	i-	ğ	-ūn	tandūr	
	anā+UNSPEC. VAR. OF	mi-	yi-	ği	-ūn	tandūr	
	1CS	IND	3	come\IMPF	MP	oven	
	pro	v:Any	v:Any	vi	v:Any	n	
	I	they.M came				oven	
	pro	vi				n	
	mifičqunnuyu					, i	
	m-	i-	fičq	-un	=nu	=yu	i
	mi-	yi-	fittiq+UNSPEC. VAR. OF	-ūn+UNSPEC. VAR. OF	=hu	=u	i
	IND	3	break\IMPF	MP	=3MS	=and	ACC
	v:Any	v:Any	vt	v:Any	pro	coordconn	prep
	they.M break him, and						ACC
	vt						prt

hāt ḥarāmī ḡabar ḡabar  
 hād ḥarāmī ḡabar ḡabar  
 hād ḥarāmi+UNSPEC. VAR. OF "fast and greedy"

this.M thief adv

dem n  
 this thief

dem n  
 məqut'in

m- ə- qut' -in

mi- yi- quttu' -in<sub>4</sub>

IND 3 tear into pieces\IMPF FP

v:Any v:Any vt v:Any

they.F tear into pieces

vt

miyoklinnu

mi- yo- kl -in =nu

mi- yi- kil -in<sub>4</sub>+UNSPEC. VAR. OF =hu

IND 3 eat\IMPF FP =3MS

v:Any v:Any vt v:Any pro

they.F eat him

vt

Then they came, the oven broke open They tore up thief and quickly ate him.

17.10	hāt	ḥarāmī		mimūt		miyoğdi		,	
	hād	ḥarāmī		m-	i-	mūt	mi-	yo-	ğdi
	hād	ḥarāmī+UNSPEC. VAR. OF		mi-	yi-	mūt	mi-	yi-	ğdi
	this.M	thief		IND	3	die\IMPF	IND	3	go\IMPF
	dem	n		v:Any	v:Any	vi	v:Any	v:Any	vi
	this	thief		he dies			he goes		
	dem	n		vi			vi		
	hamāt	qati	ana	murōdu		maqsada			
	hamāt	qati	ana	murōd	=u	maqsad			=ha
	hamad	qati	anā+UNSPEC. VAR. OF	murōd	=u	maqsad+DIAL. VAR. OF			=ha
	this.M	with (T)	1CS	desire	=and	purpose			=3FS
	dem	post	pro	n	coordconn	n			pro
	this	with	I	desire and		her purpose			
	dem	post	pro	n		n			
	tilḥaq		, hay	ḥarūfa	tamōm	missōr			.
	ti-	lḥaq	hay	ḥarūfa	tamōm	mi-	s-		sōr
	ti-1	lḥaq	hay	ḥarūfa	tamōm	mi-	ti-1		şōr1+DIAL. VAR. OF
	3FS	reach\IMPF	this.F	fable	finished	IND	3FS		become\PERF
	v:Any	vt	dem	n	adj	v:Any	v:Any	vi	
	she (would)	reach	this	fable	finished	she	becomes		
	vt		dem	n	adj	vi			

The thief died, so she (fox) reached her wish and goal and the fairytale ended.

18.1	igri	bilan	tōğri		qaylahān	gap		.
	igri	bilan	tōğri		qaylahān	gap		
	igri	bilan	tōğri		qoylahān+SP. VAR. OF	gap		
	crooked (U)	with (U)	straight, right (U)		say.INF			word (U<P)
	adj	post	adj		ger			n
	crooked	with	straight		saying			word, matter
	n	post	n		ger			n

The saying goes as follows:

18.2 a'vāḡi		sayb	.
a'vāḡ	=i	sayb	
a'vāḡ	=i <sub>4</sub>	ṣayb+DIAL. VAR. OF	
crooked	=INDF? (P/T)	straight, right	
adj	prt	adj	
crooked one		straight, right one	
n		n	

The wrong and the good.

18.3 adamin	sayb	hama	vaḥtam				
adam	=in sayb	hama	vaḥt	=am			
ādami	=in <sub>1</sub> ṣayb+DIAL. VAR. OF	hamad+UNSPEC. VAR. OF	waḥt+DIAL. VAR. OF	=am			
man	=LK straight, right	this.M	time	=also			
n	prt adj	dem	n	prt			
man	straight, right	this	time also				
n	adj	dem	n				
zēn	mičraḥ		zēn	miyōkil			
zēn	m- i-	čraḥ	zēn	mi- yō-	kil		
zīn+UNSPEC. VAR. OF	mi- yi-	čraḥ	zīn+UNSPEC. VAR. OF	mi- yi-	kil		
good	IND 3	live\IMPF	good	IND 3	eat\IMPF		
adj	v:Any v:Any	vi	adj	v:Any v:Any	vt		
well	he lives		well	he eats			
adv	vi		adv	vt			
, adamin	a'vāḡ ḥimlin	a'vāḡam	ba'īd ma				
adam	=in a'vāḡ ḥiml	=in a'vāḡ	=am ba'īd ma				
ādami	=in <sub>1</sub> a'vāḡ ḥiml	=in <sub>1</sub> a'vāḡ	=am ba'īd mā+UNSPEC. VAR. OF				
man	=LK crooked load	=LK crooked	=also far NEG				
n	prt adj n	prt adj prt	adj verbprt				
man	crooked load	crooked also	far not				
n	adj n	adj	adv verbprt				

yoğdi	,	adamin	a'vāğ	zēn	yašamiš
yo-	ğdi	adam	=in a'vāğ	zēn	yašamiš
yi-	ğdi	ādami	=in <sub>1</sub> a'vāğ	zīn+UNSPEC. VAR. OF	yašamiš
3	go\IMPF	man	=LK crooked	good	living (U)
v:Any	vi	n	prt	adj	n
he would go		man		crooked good	living
vi		n		adj	n
maysu					, murōdu
ma	y-	su			murōd =u
mā+UNSPEC. VAR. OF	yi-	sū <sub>1</sub> +UNSPEC. VAR. OF			murōd =u
NEG	3	do\IMPF			desire =and
verbprt	v:Any	vt			n coordconn
not he would make					desire and
vt					n
maqsadu		ma			yilḥaq
maqsad	=u	ma	yi-		lḥaq
maqsad+DIAL. VAR. OF	=hu	mā+UNSPEC. VAR. OF	yi-		lḥaq
purpose	=3MS	NEG	3		reach\IMPF
n	pro	verbprt	v:Any	vt	
his purpose		not	he would reach		
n		verbprt	vt		
mimūt		miyoğdi			.
m-	i-	mūt	mi-	yo-	ğdi
mi-	yi-	mūt	mi-	yi-	ğdi
IND	3	die\IMPF	IND	3	go\IMPF
v:Any	v:Any	vi	v:Any	v:Any	vi
he dies			he goes		
vi		vi			

A good person will also have a good life and good food, a bad person will have a bad burden and will not get far, a bad person will not live well, will not achieve his wish and goal and will die.

18.4	ana	hamāt	nasīḥa	illēkum	.
	ana	hamāt	nasīḥa	illē	=kum
	ana <sub>2</sub>	hamad	nasīḥa	il <sub>1</sub> +DIAL. VAR. OF	=kum
	there (U)	this.M	advice	DAT	=2MP
	interj	dem	n	prep	pro
	there!	this	advice	to you.MP	
	interj	dem	n	adv	

See here, this advice is for you.

18.5	ana	hamazayli	adami	sayb	yikūn
	ana	hamazayli	adami	sayb	yi- kūn
	ana <sub>2</sub>	hamazayli	ādami+UNSPEC. VAR. OF	şayb+DIAL. VAR. OF	yi- kūn
	there (U)	in this manner	man	straight, right	3 be\IMPF
	interj	adv	n	adj	v:Any vi
	there!	in this way	man	straight, right	he would be
	interj	adv	n	adj	vi
agar	hamavaḥ			şuġlu	zēn
agar	hama		vaḥ	şuġl =u	zēn
agar	hamad+UNSPEC. VAR. OF		waḥt+DIAL. VAR. OF	şuġl =hu	zīn+UNSPEC. VAR. OF
if	this.M		time	work =3MS	good
advlizer	dem		n	n pro	adj
if	this time			his work	good
advlizer	adv			n	adj

So, if a person is good, his work will also run well.

18.6	ana	tamōm	.
	ana	tamōm	
	anā+UNSPEC. VAR. OF	tamōm	
	1CS	finished	
	pro	adj	
	I	finished	
	pro	adj	

I am done.

## Appendix 4 Dungan text

This appendix contains the Dungan text (Mašinxäeva 2019, 81–82) randomly selected for discussion in §5.4.2. The story is published in the Dungan folklore collection of Mašinxäeva (2019) containing the original Cyrillic texts, the “transcription” in simplified Chinese characters, and the Russian translations.

Since the inclusion of this Dungan text is solely for the purpose of illustrating its main constituent word order patterns, instead of providing a version with interlinear glossing as the other Semitic texts, I have only produced the original text and shaded the **V** and the **DO**, in accordance with the shading conventions used in this study for the purpose of visualizing the main constituent word order. The particle **ба** relevant to the discussion is shaded in gray in accordance with the emphatic shading throughout this study.

**ВИСА ЩИЧЁ ДА ЗУЙНИ ТЎ ДАНДИНИ,**  
**ВИСА БА ЖЎЖЎ ДЭ ГЭЗЫ БУ ЖЁ ДА.**

Жыгэ сычинсы шонвоньяншон йухади. Нэгэ сыхур Мухармэ Шынжын лян дўшман дажондини. Тади дин дади дўшмансы Жўхўти. **Ба йичс жын Шынжын даванли**, кэсы **ба вонзы** мэ **зожян**. Фалиди йимяр, та **щён** щехуанни.

Кэсы **йиканса**, Жўхўти нади чёнпо вон та гынчян шыдини.

Шынжын потуэли, йинцысы та **мэю чёнпо**. Жухўти **ба та няншонли**.

Полэ-почи, та доли йигэ фу гынчянли. Фу кэкэ **ба Шынжын цонхали**, кэсы тади йишон жинзы шындо вэтули.

Зэ данлин фушон зуэди щичё ба жыгэ канжянли. Та фидо Жүхүти гыичян ба йиче фэгили. Шынжын да фу литу чүлэ ба щичё жули:

- Нисы мэю лёнщинди чёр. Да жирди жызы ни бу щя дан. Ни да зуйни тў данни.

Жысыма, щичё до вужинди сыхур да зуйни тў дандини.

Лойуанни Шынжын ба вон та гынчян поди Жүхүти канжянли. Мэ цуэ сыхур, та потуэли. Полэ-почи, доли йигэ жү жүан гынчянли. Йиканса, тади мянчян йи луэ цо. Нэтар та зу цонхали. Шынжынди хуту Жүхүти е пошонлэли. Жиндо жүан литу, мангэчүр канлиха, кэсы ба сый ду мэ канжян.

Мынмынди дыйдо да нани лэлигэ луэзы. Та подо йи луэ цо гынчян на тизы дантуэли, лян ту фантуэ цоли. Шынжын ба жыгэ тинжян, мэ жынчү ба луэзы жули:

- Нисы мэю лёнщинди есын. Да жыгэ сыхур ни шэ эрнүни.

Йинви нэгэ луэзы мэю эрнү.

Ба хуа фэба, Шынжын потуэли, Жүхүти хуту ба та няншонли. Шынжын полэ-почи, канжянлигэ шын дун. Зуандо литу та цонхали. Жүжү ба Шынжын канжян, ви хўшан та, бянтүэ вонли. Бялэ-бянчи, та бянлигэ да вон. Зу зэ та литу ба Шынжын цонхали, гэжя шындо вон гынчянли. Жыгэ сыхуршон дун гыгачян фишонлэли йи базы гэзы. Таму бутын хутуэ тонли.

Жүхүти подо дун гынчян, ба литу йиканса, фэди:

- Жытар, данпа, мэю Шынжын. Йинцысы вон е хулундини, зэмусы чёр ду щётинди ху тондини. Та жуангуэлэ зудёли.

Зу жымужя жүжү дэ гэзы ба Шынжын хўшанхали. Мухармэ Шынжын ба таму жуанчын гуйжундили.

Ниму жиха: ба жыгэ есын бу нын вон сыни да. Дансы ю са жин-ё сычинли, ба гэзы  
ё лян жин додор, йин бабар зэни.

Данлинжя будыйчын.

## **Appendix 6 Central Asian Arabic—previous linguistic studies & key features**

This appendix contains the brief overview of the previous linguistic studies on Central Asian Arabic which is left out from Chapter 4. In the course of working on Bukharan Arabic, I noticed only occasionally scattered brief introductions to the research history. Therefore, it is hope that this collection of previous research contributions to the best of my ability would offer a more thorough and complete picture. In addition, I have also included some information of the other related Neo-Arabic varieties, as well as the key features of Central Asian Arabic varieties in comparison, with a tentative suggestion for classification.

### **A6.1 Fieldwork and previous linguistic studies**

#### **A6.1.1 Central Asian Arabic in Uzbekistan**

As mentioned in §4.2.1, the 1929 expedition was conducted with linguistic goals. The pioneer ethnographers published preliminary linguistic data in their report (Burykina and Izmajlova 1930, 534–49), including: general descriptions (pp.534-537), some conversational expressions (p.537), one short folklore sample (p.538), three jokes (p.538), one list of kinship terms (pp.539-540), and a glossary (pp.540-549). These linguistic materials are reviewed by Jušmanov (1931) and also constitute the main part of Nyberg's (1933) review of Arabic dialectology publications in the 1930 volume of *Le Monde oriental*. Recognizing the great value of the data, both reviews point out some severe inconsistencies and flaws and provide similar corrections and alternative analyses. Jušmanov (1931, 77) concludes that the data reveal a “Tajikized and partially Uzbekized variety of Mesopotamian Neo-Arabic (таджикизованное и отчасти узбекизованное месопотамское наречие новонарабского языка).”



identifies “Nestan-Darejan”—a female character created by Georgian poet Shota Rustaveli in his 12th-century epic—with the Central Asian Arabic folklore character “Nestar-Ġahōn,” which appears to have an Iranian origin. Tsereteli (1939) presents more detailed analysis of phonology and sound changes, together with a Jovgari text in transcription and translation followed by lexical and grammatical commentaries. The analyses of the sound system focus on the dialect of Jovgari but also mention some contrasts with the dialect of Jeynov.<sup>4</sup> Tsereteli (1941) offers to the USSR Arabists a more detailed and organized description of the linguistic features and Tsereteli’s (1954a) condensed introduction to the Central Asian Arabs and features of their vernacular Arabic presented at the XXIII International Congress of Orientalists made Central Asian Arabic further known worldwide. The folklores Tsereteli recorded appear to have been only partially<sup>5</sup> published: Tsereteli (1956) gathers texts in Bukharan Arabic in one volume, with Russian-English introductory remarks and Russian translations and commentaries. Nine short texts in Qashqadaryan Arabic are presented with translations and commentaries on the grammatical forms and some etymologies following Tsereteli’s (1954b) brief description of its sound system.

Meanwhile, Vinnikov was also contributing his publications. Apart from field trips, he invited in 1937 Toš Ganī, whom he judged to be the best speaker from Arabxona, to the “Cabinet of Experimental Phonetics” at Leningrad State University to observe the long vowels and emphatic consonants (Vinnikov 1962, 3). His dissertation *Arabs in the USSR* defended in 1941 (Janes 2008, 283) never occurred in print but a large amount of information seems to have been

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<sup>4</sup> For instance, as Tsereteli (1939, 260) mentions the reflex of \**ḍ* is *d* in Jovgari, it is also noted that in Jeynov, the reflex is *z*, and that the sources for *z* in Jovgari are most often \**z*, \**d*, and \**ḍ*, less often \**ḍ*.

<sup>5</sup> The 1956 volume is entitled “Volume I” of “Central Asian Arabic”; Volume II, presumably on the dialect of Qashqadarya, appears to have never not made it in print.

included in his article (Vinnikov 1940) with the same title. His reports on the difficult working conditions for the third expedition (Janes 2008, 284) shed light on a potential factor leading to language endangerment apart from the “assimilation” process: Young Arabs were recruited to fight in the war while the non-recruited were burdened with more workload on the collective farms. Vinnikov (1949) presents a few texts recorded from Qishlaq Jovgari during the 1938 expedition, together with Russian translations and a glossary. More about the expeditions with some ethnographic information is offered in Vinnikov’s (1956) sample of texts and translations; the autobiography of his consultant ‘Ālima b. Qurbāna, which has already appeared in Russian (Vinnikov 1949, 120–21), is exceptionally transcribed in Cyrillic (Vinnikov 1956, 184–85). A few more Bukharan Arabic texts were released later: Vinnikov (1957a) in the Jovgari dialect and Vinnikov (1957b) in the Arabxona dialect with remarks on some dialectal differences. Texts from these samples reappeared in the final text collection of Bukharan Arabic (Vinnikov 1969). After his Bukharan Arabic dictionary (Vinnikov 1962) came out in print, a sample of short texts in Qashqadaryan Arabic with translations and some lexical and grammatical footnotes appeared in Vinnikov (1963).

#### *A6.1.1.2 Analytic studies since the 1960s*

The linguistic materials published up to the 1960s enabled more analytic works on Uzbekistani Arabic. Cowan (1960) compares Central Asian Arabic forms contrasting *ō* and *ā*, e.g., *mōt* vs *nām*, reflexes of *\*awa*,<sup>6</sup> and *dawō*, *ṣalō* vs *anā*, reflexes of *\*āh*, *\*ā’* or *\*ā#*, and argues to reconstruct a Proto-Arabic *\*ō*. The contrasting forms are intriguing observations but forms with *ō* are too hastily taken as evidence since neither dialectal variation (e.g., *māt* in

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<sup>6</sup> More words are cited by Cowan (1960, 61); these two forms in particular, should reflect the triphthong *\*awi* rather than *\*awa*, i.e., originally *\*mawita* and *\*nawima*.

Qashqadaryan Arabic) nor shared lexical items in Tajik/Uzbek (containing  $\bar{o}$ ) are considered. Fischer (1961) presents the first non-Soviet synthesis of the grammatical features of Uzbekistani Arabic based on the available linguistic materials. The differences between Tsereteli's and Vinnikov's transcription conventions are appreciated to enable a better view of the phonology (Fischer 1961, 234). Among the descriptions are a great number of proposals for the historical morphology. Cowan (1967) argues strongly against Fischer's assumption that sound changes in Central Asian Arabic were triggered by contact with Tajik: the loss of interdental and the stress patterns both find parallels in other Neo-Arabic varieties, thus, they need not to be explained solely by Tajik influence. Doerfer (1969) investigates the Uzbek loanwords in Bukharan Arabic and composes a list of 121 words, noting Uzbek and common Turkic etymologies as well as Tajik forms for those shared lexical items. Doerfer (1969, 298) also summarizes and clarifies Fischer's (1961) scattered comments on the borrowed features.<sup>7</sup>

Tsereteli (1970a) emphasizes the strong Tajik influence on Central Asian Arabic vocalic system as reflected in  $\bar{a} > \bar{o}$  and  $aw > \bar{o} > \bar{ü}$ .<sup>8</sup> Tsereteli (1970b) discusses the *m(i)-* prefix on the Bukharan Arabic prefix conjugation verbs: the particle conveys present/future and verbs with

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<sup>7</sup> A. Features shared by Uzbek and Tajik: (1) frequent  $\bar{a} > \bar{o}$ ; (2) existence of *p* and *č*; (3) non-emphatic *z, š, d, t*; (4) loss of DEF article; (5) two-digit numbers in the pattern "units+tens"; (6) V-final; (7) paraphrastic verb with 'do.'

B. Features specific to Tajik: (1) *hama* 'just this'; (2) occasional *ki* REL; (3) GEN construction with *-in*; (4) IMPF with *mi-*; (5) *kam* 'how many'; (6) AUXs.

C. Features specific to Uzbek: (1) Turkic GEN construction [Gen<sub>i</sub> N=pron<sub>i</sub>]; (2) Adj-N order; (3) loss of the comparative; (4) Q particle *-mi*.

Feature A1 may need to be reevaluated in light of Rajabov (2011, 205–6) report on the Arabs' Uzbek vernacular in which the Uzbek *o* is pronounced as a "soft *ä* (e)" (§4.2.1).

<sup>8</sup> Tsereteli (1970a, 170) describes this  $\bar{ü}$  as "a labial mixed vowel, lower than  $\bar{u}$  and higher than  $\bar{o}$ , with an original fronted timbre" corresponding to orthographic  $\bar{y}$  in Tajik. The notation seems misleading since the Tajik  $\bar{y}$  "lies phonetically between [u] and [y], i.e., halfway to the Umlaut, a little lower than Eng. *good* as pronounced in lowland Scottish (imitated spelling, *guid*), but higher than French *peu*" (Perry 2005, 18), which would fit the IPA /ø/. The transcription  $\bar{ü}$  can be easily misinterpreted as the IPA /y/.

*m(i)*- occurs more frequently than those without. Its distribution is compared to the *b(i)*- prefix in Egyptian and Levantine Arabic, and its absence in the paradigm is explained by the need to maintain syllable quantity.<sup>9</sup> Axvlediani (1985) presents a concise but comprehensive grammar of Bukharan Arabic, as an expansion of his earlier analysis (Axvlediani 1983) on the nominal morphology. Important differences between the Jovgari and Arabxona varieties are generally noted but sometimes suffer from imbalanced or inconsistent data displays.<sup>10</sup> Versteegh (1986) studies Bukhara Arabic word order typology and remains the only study providing statistics for the word order patterns: 109 of the 141 examined sentences display the SOV order; other word order patterns are examined with considerations of word order consistency (§2.2.2.2). Versteegh (1986, 452) makes an important remark that “the influence of adjacent languages is not a question of initiating changes”; the change is assumed to have started from SVO following his “pidginization” theory for Neo-Arabic (Versteegh 1984).

Jastrow (1996; 1998) reassesses the features of Uzbekistani Arabic within the *qaltu-galāt* dichotomy of Mesopotamian Arabic. Uzbekistani Arabic is shown to have not participated in the innovations of the *qaltu* varieties nor those of the *galāt* varieties. Thus, he argues Uzbekistani Arabic should be a descendant of the Mesopotamian Arabic prior to the *qaltu-galet* split, and the Qashqadaryan dialect has some affinity with the *galāt* Bedouin varieties. Jastrow (1997) also

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<sup>9</sup> The prefix is absent in 3FSG, 2, and 1CPL of triradical strong verbs and also verbs with strong first and second radicals, i.e., in cases where “the following syllable begins with two consonants” (Tsereteli 1970b, 294). However, the necessity to “avoid a change in the original structure of the verbal form (with respect to quantity of syllables) in triliteral sound verbs” (ibid.) is only stated as a rule without any substantiation.

<sup>10</sup> For instance, in the comparison chart for personal pronoun variants of 3FSG, 3MPL and 3FPL, only the 3FPL of the Arabxona form is left blank (Axvlediani 1985, 51). For proximal DEM forms related to *hal*, several variants are separated by commas, among which one *halō* is noted as Arabxona and another *halō* is noted as Jovgari, whereas for the FPL forms, a semicolon is used between *hadalān* (noted as Arabxona) and *halān* (noted as Jovgari) (Axvlediani 1985, 53).

discusses the affiliation of Uzbekistani Arabic and examines the contact influence: Turkic influence seems stronger on syntax while Iranian influence is considered stronger on lexicon; several features initially considered foreign—sound change of the interdental, the INF ending *-ān*, and the interrogative *ištūr* “how”—are argued to be rooted in the original Arabic system.

Jastrow (2005) expands the discussion on the borrowed grammatical features, comparing Uzbekistani Arabic examples with Turkish/Persian as well as Damascene Arabic and Muslim Baghdadi Arabic. Ratcliffe (2005) lines up the peculiarities of Bukharan Arabic with approximately equivalent features and structures in Iranian and Turkic, in an attempt to compare the influence from two groups onto Bukharan Arabic. He concludes that Bukharan Arabic is “converging toward the Uzbek pattern” and deduces that “there is extensive bi-(or multi-)lingualism and that the original L1 is maintained principally (*sic*) as a vehicle of in-group communication and a symbol of identity” (Ratcliffe 2005, 157). Jastrow (2014) compares the two varieties of Uzbekistani Arabic and highlights seven phonological and morphosyntactic differences<sup>11</sup> between them, showing that in the aspects where Qashqadaryan Arabic diverges from Bukharan Arabic, it aligns itself with *gəlat*-type Iraqi Arabic. Miller (2014a) examines Bukharan Arabic verbs by applying Finkle and Stump’s “Principal Parts Analysis”<sup>12</sup> using their online tool to find the essential principal parts and analyze the predictive relationships. The goal is to find out if it is possible to show how much of the non-concatenative Semitic morphology

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<sup>11</sup> These features in Qashqadaryan Arabic are: (1) *\*fa ʿil > fi ʿil*; (2) first stage of the Gahawa Syndrome, i.e., *\*aGC > aGaC*, an *a*-epenthesis between a guttural and another consonant; (3) pronominal suffix 3MSG *-a* and 3FSG *-ha*; (4) suffix conjugation 3FSG and construct ending *-at*; (5) suffix conjugation 3MPL *-aw* word finally, and *-ū* before pronominal suffixes; (6) general present without preverbal modifier; (7) PROG formation with PTCP of  $\sqrt{q}d$ .

<sup>12</sup> Raphael Finkle, and Gregory Stump, “Principal Parts and Morphological Typology.” *Morphology* 17, no. 1 (2007): 39-75. The “principal parts” is based on the pedagogical key forms to derive a paradigm; Finkle and Stump propose to use “adaptive analysis” and “dynamic analysis” to reduce the inventory of principle parts needed to identify a lexeme’s paradigm class.

has been affected by the concatenative contact languages. The results identify the IMPF 1CSG form as the only one principal part needed to deduce the entire paradigm, which means Bukharan Arabic verbal morphology is regularly predictable. Miller (2014a, 231) thus suggests that the speakers “distilled the language to a very basic form – more easily transferable through generations faced with multilingualism.” The *-in(n)-* morpheme, noted in Miller (2014a) with the “‘innovative’ inflections,” is further investigated in Miller (2014b).

#### *A6.1.1.3 Tbilisian studies*

The research tradition established in Tbilisi University by Tsereteli in the 1930s is carried on by G. Chikovani who authored the largest number of publications on Central Asian Arabic in recent years. It might have been a coincidence that neither Vinnikov nor Tsereteli managed to complete their multivolume publication plans<sup>13</sup> yet both prioritized publishing Bukharan Arabic materials. Recognizing the relative abundance of studies on Bukharan Arabic, Chikovani devoted most of his works to the less published Qashqadaryan Arabic.

The initial fieldwork results are presented in Georgian, analyzing the numerals and pronouns (Chikovani 1987), the auxiliaries (Chikovani 1988), and the vowel system (Chikovani 1991). Later studies include analyses on selected features of the verbal system (Chikovani 1999a), compound verbs (Chikovani 1999c), peculiar verb formation (Chikovani 2001d), nominal structures (Chikovani 2000), and phonetics and phonology (Chikovani 2003a). Further studies situate Uzbekistani Arabic in a broader context: Chikovani (1999d) discusses several features in Yemeni Arabic of Mukala comparable to those found in Uzbekistani Arabic;

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<sup>13</sup> Vinnikov’s planned series include: Volume I, Qashqadaryan Arabic folklores and dictionary; Volume II (in two parts) Bukharan Arabic folklores; Volume III, Bukharan Arabic dictionary (Janes 2008, 287). Tsereteli’s planned series include: Volume I, Bukhara Arabic texts and translations; Volume II, Qashqadaryan Arabic texts and translations; Volume III, Dictionary for both varieties; Volume IV, Studies on Central Asian Arabic (Tsereteli 1954b, 253).

Chikovani (2002b) compares the verbal systems between Bukharan Arabic and Qashqadaryan Arabic; Chikovani (2003b) discusses the lexical peculiarities (compounding, borrowing, and codeswitching) of Uzbekistani Arabic (actually more on Qashqadaryan Arabic), and more special linguistic features of Qashqadaryan Arabic are examined in terms of diachronic development (Chikovani 2003c; 2007a; 2007b) with other Semitic languages cited in comparison; Chikovani (2012a) emphasizes the Arabic-internal potentials for features developed in Central Asian Arabic; Chikovani (2014b) and Chikovani (2019a) investigate the immediate future and progressive present tenses with several new proposals for sources of the grammaticalized morphemes; Chikovani (2013; 2017) discusses Central Asian Arabs' history and ethnography as reflected in the dialectal materials; Chikovani (2018) integrates materials from his previous publications and examines Uzbekistani Arabic with regard to the *qāltu-gālat* dichotomy, reaching conclusions similar to Jastrow (1996; 1998; 2014). His field materials are collectively published in four monographs and one article,<sup>14</sup> offering valuable new information such as linguistic differences from previous records and the relocation of Jovgari Arabs to a new qishlaq called “Lyabrud” (Chikovani 2009, 24, 47).

The history of the Central Asian Arabs has been an important research topic to which Chikovani devoted several studies, including his earliest studies on names (Chikovani 1983) and on their migration (Chikovani 1985), as well as later discussions combining the issue of their language and history (Chikovani 1998; 1999b; 2004), outline of their general history (Chikovani

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<sup>14</sup> These are: one monograph in Georgian with English summary for Qashqadaryan Arabic phonology, grammar, and vocabulary (Chikovani 2002a), one monograph in Georgian for Qashqadaryan Arabic texts with translations and commentaries (Chikovani 2007c), one article in Georgian for Qashqadaryan Arabic text samples (Chikovani 2007d), and two parallel volumes for the two dialects—one Russian monograph on Qashqadaryan Arabic (Chikovani 2008), and one Georgian-Russian bilingual monograph for Bukharan Arabic (Chikovani 2009).

2001a), description of their language situation (Chikovani 2001b), and the oral traditions of the Qashqadaryan Arabs (Chikovani 2001c). In general, Chikovani is of the opinion that ancestors of the Qashqadaryan Arabs settled in Central Asia in the 7<sup>th</sup>-10<sup>th</sup> centuries while the ancestors of the Bukharan Arabs settled in the 14<sup>th</sup> century.

Other recent Tbilisian contributions include Parseghashvili's (2016) study on the historical development of a few lexical items, Zhvania (2016)'s phonological comparison between Central Asian Arabic and Chaha Gurage, and Tskhvediani's (2019) study on vowel harmony.

#### *A6.1.1.4 Important latest fieldwork and studies*

The MA theses on Uzbekistani Arabic mentioned in §4.2.3 by Van Thiel-Gnyp (1990), Dereli (1997), Zimmermann (2002), and Hofmann (2011) are four important recent studies. In addition, two recent field projects involving Uzbekistani Arabic should also be mentioned.

The 2004-2007 research initiative<sup>15</sup> on Uzbekistani Arabs led by Efim A. Rezvan yielded highly valuable ethnographical materials on the culture and traditions of Jeynov Arabs, such as Careva's (2015) account of their carpet-production and Janes' (2009) survey of their national identity. The project scholars discovered Vinnikov's manuscripts on Qashqadaryan Arabic in the museum archives and the monograph was expected to be published in 2008 (Janes 2008, 290), but to date, it is still not found in print.

Most recently, Chikovani and Tskhvediani (2019) reports a two-month expedition in 2018 devoted to a renewal investigation of Uzbekistani Arabic dialects; the overall impression

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<sup>15</sup> An brief introduction can be found at <http://web1.kunstkamera.ru/jeynov/eng/index.htm>, the exhibition project "Jeynov – 'We arrived'" (Rezvan 2004, 4) in celebration of the 290<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography a.k.a. Kunstkamera.

shows they have become severely endangered (Chikovani 2019b). In fact, previous reports already revealed clues to their endangerment: Chikovani (2009, 24, 47) reports the difficulty in finding one elderly speaker in Qamashi during his 1980 fieldwork and the inability to make any recordings there again in 2000. Then, merely two years after the latter fieldwork establishing the “preservation of Arab speech in the *qishlaqs šoḥanbeg* and *čagdarē*” (Chikovani 2003b, 3), Zimmermann (2002, 69–70) reports that Arabic is no longer found spoken in “Shahan-Bek.”

### **A6.1.2 Central Asian Arabic outside Uzbekistan**

As noted in §4.2.1, Arabs in Central Asia have been inhabiting in an area larger than the modern polity of Uzbekistan. While the 1960s can be considered as marking the turn towards analytic studies of Uzbekistani Arabic, it was after the last few decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century that Neo-Arabic varieties in regions outside Uzbekistan gradually become known.

Although first brought to scholarly attention by Morgenstierne’s (1926) quoting the governor of Mazar-i-Sharif that “some nomadic tribes to the west of that city still speak *Arabic*,” Afghanistani Arabic was not confirmed until Farhādī (1959; 1969) reporting their existence in “village Zâri, env. 100 km S de Balkh, SSW de Mazâr, dans la région de Keshen-Deh (W de Darra-e Sûf, NE de Sang-e Chârak) qu’une population semi-nomade parle encore arabe (5000 env.).” The over one thousand Arabic speakers in the Balkh Region only became known via Sîrat’s (1341 [1962]) report. This Persian publication offers quite a few examples but also contains many typographic issues in the transcriptions, which are corrected in the later elaborated analysis (Sîrat and Knudsen 1973). The data in the latter publication are more organized for phonology and semantics, and further expanded for morphosyntax, revealing many features shared with Uzbekistani Arabic. Ethnographical works on Afghanistani Arabs appeared decades

later (Kieffer 1980; Barfield 1981; Dupaigne 1982), and texts in Afghanistani Arabic did not become available until after 1990s (Ingham 1994b; 2003; Kieffer 2000).

Iranian Arabic, on the other hand, remained little known until Ingham's works in 1970s. Ingham (1973) discusses the differences between urban and rural Khuzestani Arabic, classifying it as the *gəlat* type of Mesopotamian Arabic following Blanc's (1964) dichotomy. Ingham (1976) situates Khuzestani Arabic in the broader Southern Mesopotamian region and focuses on phonological comparisons, concluding four<sup>16</sup> regional varieties of which three can be classified as the *gəlat* type. Dahlgren (2003) reports ethnographical information of what appears to be a large-scale project documenting the Arabic varieties in Eastern Iran, but it is followed up by only a (relatively incomplete) grammar sketch and five short text excerpts (Dahlgren 2005). Shabibi (2006) analyzes several contact-induced grammatical changes in Khuzestani Arabic, of which a condensed version with addition of borrowed features in phonology and lexicon are presented by Matras and Shabibi (2007). Khorasani Arabic remained little known until the publication of Seeger's (2002; 2009) ethnographical information and texts from his fieldwork in the 1990s.

In addition, Hooglund (2008, 100) notes an overall estimate of "1.0 to 1.3 million Arabs" living in Iran in 1996, with the majority in Khuzestan, most others "along the Persian Gulf coast between Bushehr and Bandar-e Abbas," and "small scattered tribal groups living in central and eastern Iran." The second group of Arabs appear to have attracted much less scholarly attention until the latest *Atlas of the Languages of Iran* (2015-2021).<sup>17</sup> Based on individual fieldwork

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<sup>16</sup> (1) Shaṭṭ al-‘Arab and lower Kārūn, (2) ‘Amāra and surrounding marshlands, (3) The Euphrates, (4) Zubair and parts of Fāu (Ingham 1976, 76–80). Khuzestani Arabic is among (1) and (2).

<sup>17</sup> Anonby, Erik, Mortaza Taheri-Ardali, et al. (eds.). 2015-2021. *Atlas of the Languages of Iran (ALI)*. Ottawa: Geomatics and Cartographic Research Centre. Online address: <http://iranatlas.net> (retrieved 2020-07-30). Figures 16 and 18 and Table 44 are made via inquiries on the website.

reports, the *Atlas* now displays a remarkable number of settlements with Arabic speakers in the southwestern coastal province of Bushehr.<sup>18</sup> The location, size, and estimated language distribution of these settlements are shown in Figure 16 and Table 44:

Figure 16 Arabic in Iran according to *Atlas of the Languages of Iran* (in blue)



Table 44 Population and language distribution of the Arabic speaking settlements in Bushehr, Iran (from north to south)

Settlement	Population	Language distribution estimate	
		Arabic	Other languages
Sami'ā	266	80%	Dashtesuni 20%
Khārḱ (city)	7722	25%	Tehrāni Persian 10%, Bushehri 15%, mixed 50%
Hammud	70	40%	Dashtesuni 60%
Rostami	104	40%	Dashtesuni 60%
Farākeh	< 4 households	40%	Dashtesuni 60%
Jazireh-ye Shif	3363	85%	Bushehri 5%, mixed 10%
Choghādak	18072	20%	Bushehri 45%, mixed 35%
Bushehr (city)	195222	9.95%	Tehrāni Persian 15%, Koroshi 0.05%, Bushehri 25%, mixed 50%

<sup>18</sup> [http://iranatlas.net/index.html?module=module.language-distribution.single\\_language](http://iranatlas.net/index.html?module=module.language-distribution.single_language).

*Table 44 Population and language distribution of the Arabic speaking settlements in Bushehr, Iran (from north to south) (continued)*

Heyleleh	2238	20%	Tehrāni Persian 5%, Bushehri 20%, Tangesiri 50%, mixed 5%
Bandargāh	2509	10%	Tehrāni Persian 5%, Bushehri 30%, Tangesiri 50%, mixed 5%
Banak (city)	11515	43%	Koroshi 22%, Kanguni 35%
Bandar-e Kangān (city)	76329	25%	Koroshi 0.3%, Kanguni 60%, mixed 14.7%
Tonbak	658	100%	
Nakhl-e Ghānem	183	90%	Kanguni 10%
Berkeh Chupān	689	100%	
Qal'eh Miān	359	90%	Kanguni 10%
Akhtar	1658	70%	Kanguni 30%
Bāgh-e Sheykh	59	70%	Kanguni 30%
Bāgh Ku	52	100%	
Sirāf (city)	7137	90%	Kanguni 10%
Chāh-e Majnun	155	55%	Kanguni 45%
Parak	2955	100%	
Nakhl-e Taqi (city)	11503	80%	Koroshi 2%, Kanguni 18%
Asaluyeh (city)	7884	30%	Tehrāni Persian 10%, Kanguni 40%, mixed 20%
Bidkhun	5269	55%	Kanguni 45%
Bozbāz	805	100%	
Deh Now	968	55%	Kanguni 45%
Gowd-e Akhand	37	100%	
Akhand	2918	100%	
Askari	847	100%	
Khiāru	655	100%	
Bostānu	1330	100%	
Hāleh	726	100%	
Basātin	922	100%	
Safieh	130	100%	
Zobbār	805	100%	
Chāh Mobārak	3348	100%	
Moru'	462	100%	
Bonud	558	100%	
Konār Kheymeh	486	100%	
Kherreh	578	100%	
Savāhel	384	100%	
Sahmu-ye Shomāli	1168	100%	
Sahmu-ye Jonubi	1039	100%	
Dozdāneh	< 4 households	100%	
Bandu	621	100%	

In addition to Bushehr, Anonby, Taheri-Ardali, and Hayes (2019, 217) also mentions the province of Hormozgan and their inquiry result indeed shows many spots in Hormozgan, see their Figure 13 (ibid.) cited as Figure 17. However, my inquiry returned no results (Figure 18) in the Hormozgan Province at all. Compare the zoomed-in view of Figure 16 in Figure 18, in which the southern group of Bushehr settlements lies north of the Bushehr-Hormozgan border.

Figure 17 Anonby, Taheri-Ardali, and Hayes's (2019) inquiry result

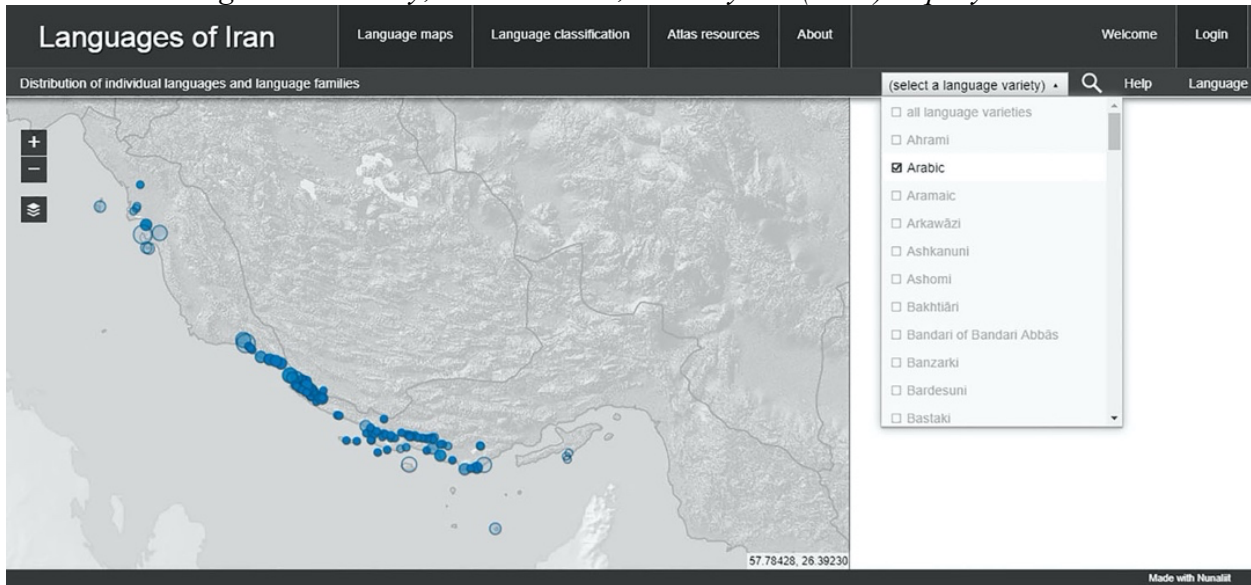
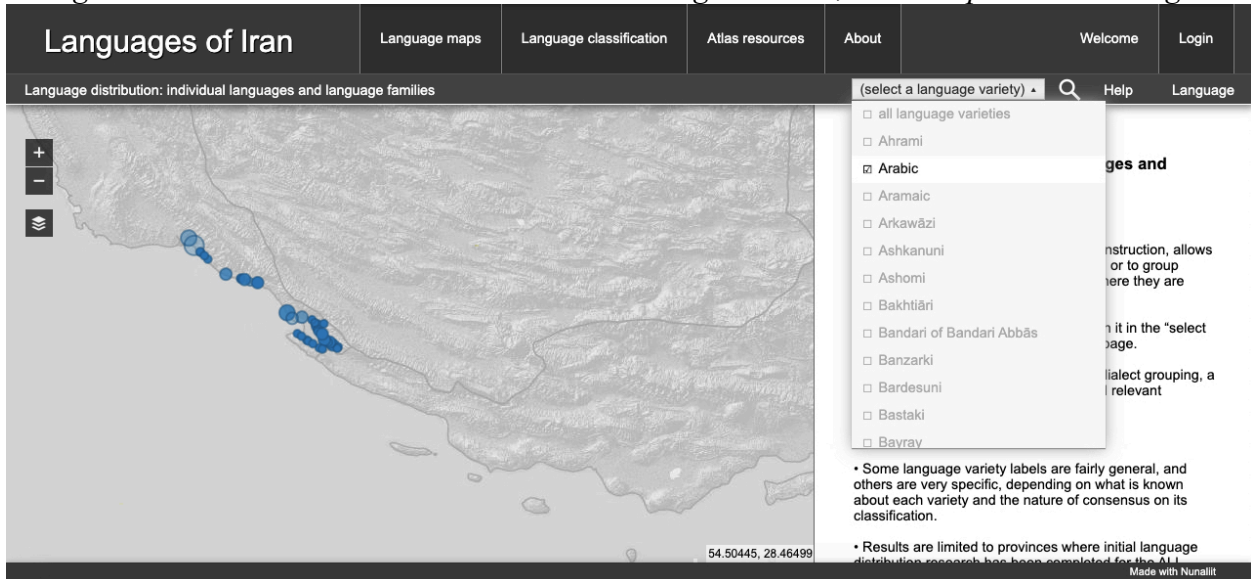


Figure 18 Zoomed-in view at the Bushehr-Hormozgan border, with no spots in Hormozgan



To date, there do not seem to be anything available about the features of these Arabic varieties and their linguistic affiliations.

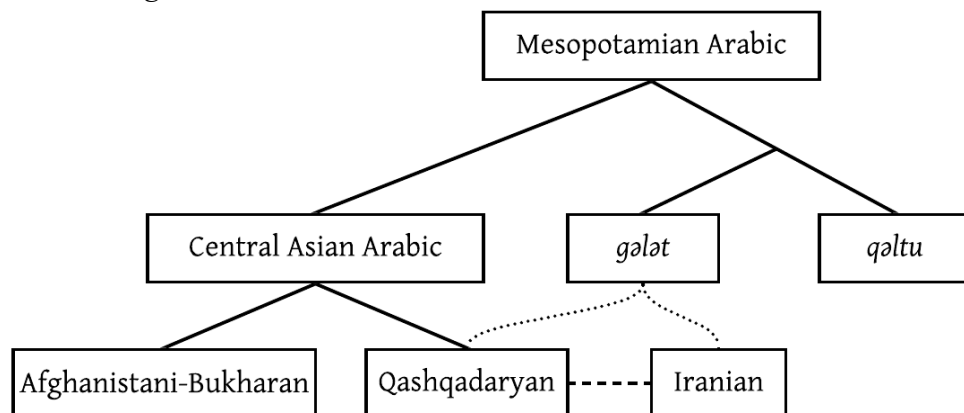
## **A6.2 Varieties and classification**

Central Asian Arabic varieties can be classified geographically as outlined in A6.1, although as mentioned in A6.1.2, those varieties of the Arabic speaking settlements of Iran remain largely unknown. Strictly speaking, Iranian Arabic is only somewhat related to Central Asian Arabic. The southwestern coastal regions of Iran are not included in Behnstedt and Woidich's dialect atlas—see the survey sites “Irak” and “Saudi-Arabien, Oman” (Behnstedt and Woidich 2011, 9–10). Abboud-Haggar's (2010, 127) dialect map does not differ, also excluding the same region. However, “Khuzistan”—and its capital “Ahvāz” in particular—which is marked on Behnstedt and Woidich's survey site “Irak,” is treated differently. The (Bedouin) variety of Ahwaz is classified as belonging to the “extreme northeast” subgroup of the “group of north, center and northeast of Arabia” in the Peninsular Arabic area (Abboud-Haggar 2010, 112–13, 126), whereas the Mesopotamian Arabic area is described as “delimited by the southern slope of the Zagros Mountains” (Abboud-Haggar 2010, 114), which should include Khuzestan and Bushehr, cf. their locations on Figure 16. Considering the fact that the classification of Bedouin vs sedentary varieties is largely based on linguistic criteria (Palva 2006, 606) and that Bedouin varieties “exist in almost all regions of the Arabic-speaking world” (Rosenhouse 2006, 259), it does not seem fitting to mark geographical areas based on the borders of Bedouin Arabic varieties.

As with all Neo-Arabic varieties in general, linguistic classification strictly based on principles of the Comparative Method is not straightforward for Central Asian Arabic either. As

mentioned in A6.1.1.1, Uzbekistani Arabic has been identified (Jušmanov 1931, 77) as a variety of Mesopotamian Arabic, and it is further argued to have spread to Central Asia prior to the *qaltu-galāt* split (Jastrow 1996; 1998). If the category of the INDF article *fad* < *\*fard-* can be considered as a shared innovation of Mesopotamian Arabic, and if the verbal prefix *m(i)-* in prefix conjugation (see §4.3.2) can be considered as a shared morphological innovation, we can tentatively propose a hypothetical tree to illustrate the relationship between the various Central Asian Arabic varieties within the Mesopotamian Arabic context. I demonstrate it in Figure 19, acknowledging it is highly idealized. With the limited information about Iranian Arabic, it can be only considered relatively closer to the *galāt*-type Mesopotamian Arabic and to Qashqadaryan Arabic:

*Figure 19 Central Asian Arabic in an idealized tree model*



The relationship demonstrated above will become clearer with the feature synopsis in A6.3 below.

### **A6.3 Key features of Central Asian Arabic**

In addition to the grammatical studies mentioned in §4.2.3 and A6.1.1, updated concise descriptions are now available in the in *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics*

(Versteegh et al. 2006-2009): Ingham (2006) on Afghanistani Arabic, Ingham (2007) on Khuzestani Arabic, and Zimmermann (2009) on Uzbekistani Arabic. A useful synopsis of important features in four<sup>19</sup> Central Asian Arabic varieties is presented by Seeger (2013), which I follow and expand in the tables below. The additions I made to Seeger’s (2013) comparison chart are shaded; the values that I could not verify are indicated with “«»”; changes are made based on the grammar sketches cited above, and for Qashqadaryan Arabic in particular, Vinnikov (1965) and Chikovani (2002a; 2008) are consulted. It should be pointed out that there are clearly some differences between the Jovgari and Arabxona dialects of Bukharan Arabic, however, features of the Arabxona dialect are only briefly commented on in Vinnikov’s (1957b) introduction and noted relatively systematically in Vinnikov’s (1962) dictionary, and Axvlediani’s (1985) grammar sparsely adds the variant forms in a much less systematic fashion. Therefore, attempts are made to show the dialectal differences of wherever it is possible.

### A6.3.1 Phonology

Central Asian Arabic varieties retained the pharyngeal phonemes ‘ and *ħ* and developed a few consonantal phonemes not found in Classical Arabic but certainly not uncommon in the Neo-Arabic varieties, such as *p* and *č*. Although these new consonants are commonly found in loan words—e.g., *gap* < *гап* [gæp] ‘word,’ *čöl/čül* < *чӱл* [tʃøɫ] or [tʃøɫ] ‘desert, steppe,’ *pūl* < *пул* [pul] ‘money’—native historical phonological processes also result in words containing them, e.g., *giddām* < \**qiddām*- ‘before,’ and *učč* < \**wağh*- ‘face,’ the latter being the same process producing the Jewish Baghdadi Arabic form *wučč* (Mansour 1991, 35).

The same is true for vowels, e.g., *ō* occurs both in loan words—*čōy* < *чоӱ* [tʃɔj] or [tʃɔj] ‘tea’—and as a result of the monophthongization of inherited Arabic forms, e.g., *gōr* < \**gawr*-

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<sup>19</sup> Bukharan, Qashqadaryan, Afghanistani and Khorasani.

‘hole.’ Some important phonological features of the Central Asian Arabic varieties are listed in

Table 45:

Table 45 Selected phonological features of Central Asian Arabic

Feature	Bukharan		Afghani- stani	Qashqa- daryan	Iranian	
	Jovgari	Arabxona	Balkh	Jeynov	Khorasani	Khuze- stani
Affrication of *q (>g/ġ), *k (>k/ċ)	×	×	×	×	✓	✓
Interdental	stop/sibilant	stop/sibi- lant	<i>t&gt;s, d&gt;d</i>	sibilant	sibilant (>inter- dental)	interdental
Final devoicing	✓	✓	partially	✓	×	×
Emphatic	partially	partially	×	reduced	×	✓
Sporadic <i>w~b</i>	✓	×			×	
<i>aw&gt;ō</i>	✓ [ōwal]	×	<i>ō</i> or <i>aw</i>	×	<i>ō</i> , <i>aww~oww</i>	
<i>a&gt;i</i> in short syllable	✓? [šīġar]	×	×	✓	✓	urban ✓ rural ×
<i>ā&gt;ō</i> in G PTCP	<i>kōtib</i>	<i>kātib</i>	<i>kātib</i>	<i>kātib</i>	<i>nāfug</i> , <i>ġā’adīn</i>	<i>kātib</i>
’Imālah of FEM -a	×	×	×	×?	✓	×
’Imālah of pron. suffixes -ha/-na	×	×	×	×	✓	×
Gahawa syndrome	×	×	×	1 <sup>st</sup> /2 <sup>nd</sup> step	1 <sup>st</sup> step	
Epenthesis	<i>isnēn</i>	<i>sinīn</i>		<i>isnēn</i>		(ə)tnēn

Most features above should be self-explanatory from the brief descriptive headings and examples; a few additional remarks should be sufficient:

- 1) The sporadic *b~w* alternation (Fischer 1961, 237) appears to be a Jovgari peculiarity, e.g., Jovgari *ġarb* vs Arabxona *ġaru* ‘whelp’ (\**ġarw-*), Jovgari *bubar* vs Arabxona *ubar* ‘wool, hair’ (\**wabar-*). A similar alternation exists in Uzbek, where *b* is realized as *w* (orthographically *v/v*) intervocalically or after *r*,<sup>20</sup> e.g., *baravar* < *barabar* ‘equal, together,’ *to’rva* < *to’rba* ‘sack’;

<sup>20</sup> See Кононов (1960, 26): “*б* в позиции между гласными, а иногда и после сонорных (особенно после *p*) реализуется как губно-губной звонкий шумный *в* (*w*): *баравар* (< *барабар*) ‘равный’, ‘одинаковый’; *арава* (< *араба*) ‘арба’; *кавоб* (< *кабоб*) ‘шашлык’; *галвур* (< *қалбур*) ‘решето’; *тўрва* (< *тўрба*) ‘торба’; *шўрва* (< *шўрба* < *чўрба*) ‘шурпа (мясной суп)’; *тарвуз* (< *тарбуз* < *арбуз*) ‘арбуз’.”

- 2) The term “*imālah*” covers the phenomenon of the raising of the low vowel *a/ā*, usually to mid-low or mid-high positions producing *e/ē*, which is typical for *qaltu* Mesopotamian Arabic (Jastrow 1978, 65ff) but not generally so in Central Asian Arabic. It is unclear whether certain sporadic instances of *-e* in Qashqadaryan Arabic should be considered as “*imālah* of FEM *-a*”: Chikovani (2008, 34) records a few forms of the ordinal numerals with a final *-e*, e.g., *hāmise*, *sātite*, and *āšire*, but these forms are recorded in Chikovani (2002a, 96–97) with the pattern  $C_1\bar{o}C_2iC_3\bar{a}$ , i.e., with a final *-a*, which is analyzed as an allophone of *e*;
- 3) Although there is an overall tendency for Arabic *\*ā* to be reflected as *ō*—a change that has been attributed to Tajik influence (Fischer 1961; Tsereteli 1970a), as Cowan (1960) correctly points out, there are clearly other complexities, and the G-stem PTCL is just one of them;
- 4) The “Gahawa syndrome” (Jastrow 1996, 99; de Jong 2007) can be described as a vowel epenthesis targeting a sequence of  $CaC_{[+guttural, +fricative]}C-$ , which can further progress with a stress-shift, and deletion of the original syllable nucleus, making a three-step syllable restructuring:  $CaCC > C\acute{a}CaC > CaC\acute{a}C > CCaC$ ; it is named after the reflexes of ‘coffee’: (*\*qahwah* >) *gahwa* > *gáhawa* > *gaháwa* > *ghawa*.

### A6.3.2 Morphosyntax

Apart from the well-known main constituent word order described as SOV, many other features of morphosyntax are shared by Central Asian Arabic varieties. Below are some morphological forms and syntactic structures as well as some noteworthy paradigm suppletions, e.g., the third person independent pronouns. Some morphological forms are apparently due to the phonological changes, e.g., the characteristic consonant (*d* vs *z*) in the DEMs:

Table 46 Selected morphosyntactic features of Central Asian Arabic

Feature		Bukharan		Afghanistani	Qashqadaryan	Iranian	
		Jovgari	Arabxona	Balkh	Jeynov	Khorasani	Khuze-stani
Personal pronoun	2	<i>hint-</i>	<i>hint-</i>	<i>hint-</i>	<i>int-</i>	<i>int-</i>	<i>ənt-</i>
	1PL	<i>naḥna</i> <i>/nəḥna,</i> <i>ruḥna</i>	<i>naḥna</i>	<i>niḥna</i>	<i>naḥna,</i> <i>naḥnāt</i>	<i>aḥne,</i> <i>iḥne, eḥna</i>	<i>əḥna</i>
	3MSG	<i>dūk</i>	<i>duk</i>	<i>duk</i>	<i>zōk, haw</i>	<i>uhū</i>	<i>əhwa</i>
	3FSG	<i>dīki</i>	<i>dūki, dukī</i>	<i>duki</i>	<i>zīka, hay</i>	<i>ihī</i>	<i>əhya</i>
	3MPL	<i>dikalō</i>	<i>duk(a)lāw,</i> <i>dukalō</i>	<i>duklaw</i>	<i>ziklōn,</i> <i>ziklonāt,</i> <i>zōkāt</i>	<i>uhumm</i>	<i>əhma</i>

Table 46 Selected morphosyntactic features of Central Asian Arabic (continued)

	3FPL	<i>dikalān, dikilān</i>	<i>dukālan</i>	<i>duklan</i>	<i>zicklānna</i>	<i>ihinn</i>	<i>əhna</i>
Suffi- xal pron.	3MSG	<i>-u, -ū(h)/-h</i>		<i>-u«/-h»</i>	<i>-a(h)/ lengthening</i>	<i>-ah/-h</i>	<i>-a(h)</i>
	2FSG	<i>-ki</i>	<i>-ki</i>	<i>-ki</i>	<i>-ki</i>	<i>-ič</i>	<i>-(ə)č</i>
	2FPL	<i>-kin</i>	<i>-kin</i>	<i>-kin</i>	<i>-kinna</i>	<i>-čin</i>	<i>-čan</i>
Proxi- mal DEM	MSG	<i>had, hat, (hā), hal</i>	<i>had, hat, (hā), hal</i>	<i>had</i>	<i>hāza, hād</i>		<i>hād(a)</i>
	FSG	<i>hadī, (hādi), hay</i>	<i>hadī, (hādi)</i>	<i>hadi, hay</i>	<i>hāzi, hādi</i>		<i>hādī, hāy</i>
	MPL	<i>had(a)lāw, hadlaw, hadlōw, halō</i>	<i>had(a)lāw, hadlaw, hadlōw, halāw, halōw, halō</i>	?	<i>halān</i>		<i>(hā)dol(a)</i>
	FPL	<i>halān</i>	<i>had(a)lān</i>	?	<i>hazlōn</i>		<i>(hā)danni</i>
Distal DEM	MSG	<i>dūk</i>	<i>dūk</i>	<i>duk</i>	<i>zōk(a)</i>		<i>dāk(a)</i>
	FSG	<i>dīki</i>	<i>dūki, dukī</i>	<i>duki</i>	<i>zīk</i>		<i>(hā)dīč</i>
	MPL	<i>dukāt, duk(a)lō, dikalō</i>	<i>dukāt, duk(a)lō(w), duk(a)lāw, dukalaw</i>	<i>duklaw</i>	<i>zicklōn?</i>		<i>dolāk(a)</i>
	FPL	<i>dukālan, dikalān</i>	<i>dukālan</i>	<i>duklan</i>	<i>zicklānna?</i>		<i>(hā)dannič</i>
REL	<i>il, ki</i>		<i>ki «/lidūk»</i>	<i>ki, li</i>	<i>al</i>		
DEF	χ	χ	χ	<i>il</i>	<i>al</i>	<i>(ə)l</i>	
INDF	<i>fat~fad</i>	<i>fat~fad</i>	<i>fad</i>	<i>fat~fad</i>	<i>fal-</i>	<i>fad</i>	
LINKER <i>-in</i>	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		
Class merger of G geminate with D III-weak verbs	✓	✓	✓	χ?	✓		
PERF 3MPL	<i>-ū</i>	<i>-ū</i>	<i>-u</i>	<i>-aw</i>	<i>-ow</i>	<i>-aw</i>	
PERF 3FPL	<i>-in</i>	<i>-in</i>	<i>-in</i>	<i>-anna</i>	<i>-an</i>	<i>-an</i>	
IMPF prefix 3MSG	<i>m-</i>	<i>m-</i>	<i>m-</i>	<i>y-</i>	<i>y-</i>	<i>y-</i>	
Long IMPF	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
INF ending in <i>-ān</i>	✓ <i>-(y)ān</i>	✓ <i>-(h)ān</i>	✓	✓	χ		
PTCP with O suffix	<i>zorbinnak</i>		<i>hādīha hādankinyaha</i>	?	<i>lāqtunnah</i>		
PTCP with S suffix	<i>zorbin(n)ak</i>		<i>kātbinnak</i>	<i>zorbin(n)ak</i>	χ		

Table 46 Selected morphosyntactic features of Central Asian Arabic (continued)

Q particle		-mi	-mi	-mi	-mi	X		
Compound verb		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		
COP		rare, only 3		✓	?	✓		
DO marker		<i>i, il</i>		<i>li, ila</i> (animate DO)				
SBJV/FUT marker		<i>ta-</i>	<i>ta-</i>	<i>ta-</i>	<i>ta-</i>		<i>raḥ-</i>	
PERF	SG	3M	<i>katab</i> <i>daḥal</i> <i>labas</i> <i>hil(i)k</i>	<i>katab</i> <i>daḥal</i> <i>libis</i> <i>hilk</i>	<i>katab</i> <i>libis</i> <i>rikb</i>	<i>katab</i> <i>daḥal</i> <i>liḥig</i>	<i>čitab</i> <i>ḍurab</i> <i>ḥelab</i>	<i>kətab</i>
		3F	<i>katabi/et</i>	<i>katabit</i> <i>hilket</i>	<i>katabit</i> <i>libsit</i>	<i>kataba/et</i>	<i>čitibat</i> <i>ḍurubat</i> <i>ḥelebat</i>	<i>kətabat</i>
		2M	<i>katabt</i>	<i>katabt</i> <i>hilikt</i>	<i>katabt</i> <i>libist</i>	<i>katabt</i>	<i>čitabt</i> <i>ḍurabt</i> <i>ḥelabt</i>	<i>kətabət</i>
		2F	<i>katabtī</i>	<i>katabtī</i>	<i>katabti</i>	<i>katabti</i>	<i>čitabti</i>	<i>kətabti</i>
		1C	<i>katabt</i>	<i>katabt</i>	<i>katabt</i>	<i>katabt</i>	<i>čitabt</i>	<i>kətabət</i>
	PL	3M	<i>katabū</i>	<i>katabū</i> <i>hilkū</i>	<i>katabu</i> <i>libsū</i>	<i>katabaw(āt)</i>	<i>čitibow</i>	<i>kətabaw</i>
		3F	<i>katabi/en</i>	<i>katabin</i> <i>hilkin</i>	<i>katabin</i> <i>libsīn</i>	<i>katabanna</i>	<i>čitiban</i>	<i>kətaban</i>
		2M	<i>katabtū</i>	<i>katabtū</i>	<i>katabtu</i>	<i>katabtu(wāt)</i>	<i>čitabtu</i>	<i>kətabtu</i>
		2P	<i>katabti/en</i>	<i>katabtin</i>	<i>katabtin</i>	<i>katabtinna</i>	<i>čitabtan</i>	<i>kətabtan</i>
		1C	<i>katabnā</i>	<i>katabnā</i>	<i>katabna</i>	<i>katabna</i>	<i>čitabne</i>	<i>kətabna</i>
IMPF	SG	3M	<i>miktib</i> <i>mudḥul</i> <i>milbis</i> <i>mihlik</i>	<i>miktib</i> <i>mudḥul</i> <i>milbis</i> <i>mihlak</i>	<i>miktib</i>	<i>yuktub</i> <i>yudḥul</i> <i>yilḥag</i>	<i>yičtib</i> <i>yudrub</i> <i>yahaḥlib</i>	<i>yəktəb</i>
		3F	<i>tiktib</i>	<i>tiktib</i>	<i>tiktib</i>	<i>tuktub</i>	<i>tičtib</i>	<i>təktəb</i>
		2M	<i>tiktib</i>	<i>tiktib</i>	<i>tiktib</i>	<i>tuktub</i>	<i>tičtib</i>	<i>təktəb</i>
		2F	<i>tiktibīn</i>	<i>tiktibīn</i>	<i>tiktibīn</i>	<i>tuktubīn</i>	<i>tič'tibīn</i>	<i>ətəkətəbīn</i>
		1C	<i>maktib</i>	<i>maktib</i>	<i>maktib</i>	<i>aktub</i>	<i>ačtib</i>	<i>aktəb</i>
	PL	3M	<i>miktibūn</i>	<i>miktibūn</i>	<i>miktibūn</i>	<i>yuktubūn(āt)</i>	<i>yič'tbūn</i>	<i>yəkətbūn</i>
		3F	<i>miktibin</i>	<i>miktibin</i>	<i>miktibin</i>	<i>yuktubinna</i>	<i>ič'tiban</i>	<i>yəkətbān</i>
		2M	<i>tiktib</i>	<i>tiktib</i>	<i>tiktibūn</i>	<i>tuktubūn(āt)</i>	<i>tič'tbūn</i>	<i>ətəkətbūn</i>
		2P	<i>tiktibin</i>	<i>tiktibin</i>	<i>tiktibin</i>	<i>tuktubinna</i>	<i>tič'tban</i>	<i>ətəkətbān</i>
		1C	<i>niktib</i>	<i>niktib</i>	<i>niktib</i>	<i>nuktub</i>	<i>nič'tib</i>	<i>nəktəb</i>
III-w/y IMPV 3MSG		<i>imš</i>	<i>imš</i>	<i>irm</i>	<i>ilg, uḡda</i>		urban <i>əmši</i> rural <i>əməš</i>	

Some additional notes and comments on the less self-explanatory feature headings are as follows:

- 1) The values for the 2 and 1PL independent pronouns are expanded to show the forms in a clearer fashion. Seeger (2013) only notes concisely whether the 2 pronouns are “mit *h-*” or “ohne *h-*” and whether the 1PL pronoun is “mit *n-*” or “ohne *n-*”;
- 2) The “LINKER *-in*” is a compromised designation of the *-in* morpheme mostly linking the modified noun and its modifier (see more details in §4.4.3.3);
- 3) “IMPF prefix 3MSG” describes the *m(i)-* prefix attached to IMPF verbs which exists in Bukharan and Afghanistani Arabic: *miktib* < \**mi-yiktib*, *mudḥul* < \**mi-yudḥul*;
- 4) “Long IMPF” is Seeger’s (2013) designation for the IMPF verbs that have suffixes ending in *-n*: *miktib-ūn*, *miktib-in*, etc.;
- 5) The active PTCP grammaticalized into a verbal form with perfect connotation and pronominal suffixes are attached to mark agent or patient, which has been argued to be of Kurdish influence (Windfuhr 2005). As mentioned in §4.2.3, detailed paradigms are only available for Jovgari Arabic;
- 6) “Compound verb” refers to a X+V combination used to express the verbal action contained in the meaning of X, which is commonly an abstract noun; the verb ‘to do’ *sawā* is especially frequently used to form such compounds. Such constructions are paralleled in both Uzbek (with *qilmoq* or *etmoq* ‘to do’) and Tajik (with *kardan* ‘to do’), and it is extremely common for the same Arabic abstract noun to be shared in Central Asian Arabic, Uzbek and Tajik, e.g., Bukharan Arabic *amr sawā*, Uzbek *amr qilmoq*, and Tajik *amr kardan*, all literally ‘order+do’ with the meaning ‘to order.’

### A6.3.3 Some lexical items

A number of lexical isoglosses can be found across the different varieties of Central Asian Arabic; the following are a few some salient examples (Table 47). Most if not all of these lexical forms are also attested in other Mesopotamian Arabic varieties. Reports vary regarding when Arabic numerals start to be replaced by loan numerals in Qashqadaryan Arabic, and even in Bukharan Arabic, which preserved all the Arabic numerals, loan forms can also be found.

Table 47 Selected representative lexical items in Central Asian Arabic

Feature	Bukharan		Afghanistani	Qashqadaryan	Iranian	
	Jovgari	Arabxona	Balkh	Jeynov	Khorasani	Khuze-stani
Arabic numeral	✓	✓	to 5 or 6, 10	to 4, (5/6/7), 10	to 5	✓

Table 47 Selected representative lexical items in Central Asian Arabic (continued)

‘what’	ěš, eyš, iš	ěš, eyš, iš	iššay, iš-	eš, iš	ěš	sənu, š- yāhu, yāhaw, - man
‘who’	mīn	mīn	min	min	min	šlōn
‘how’	ištūr, uštūr	ištū	ištū(n)	kif	ištow	wēn
‘where’	hēn, hīn, e(y)šāb, i(y)šāb	hēn, hīn, eyšab, īšab, iyšab	kō, ēsō	išqō	vēn	yamta
‘when’	matā	matā	mata	imit	ēmta	gutt <sup>ʔ</sup> š
‘nothing’	qaṭṭiš, hičči	qaṭ[tiš]	quttiš	gaṭṭiš	gutt <sup>ʔ</sup> š	
‘good, well’	zīn	zīn	zīn	zeynin, zēn	dēn(in)	zēn
‘do’	sawā~misū	sawā ~misū	sava~misi	sawā ~yisiwi/yisī	tava~yiṭay	
‘go’	ḡadāk ~miyoḡdi	ḡadāk ~miyoḡdi	ḡada(k/k/i/n) ~muḡdi	ḡada ~yaḡadi	ḡida~yoḡodi	māša ~yāmši
‘come’	ḡāk~miḡi	ḡāk~miḡi	ḡak(k)~miḡi	ḡā ~yiḡa	ḡē~yiḡi	yā~əyyi
‘give’	anṭā~minṭī	anṭā~minṭī	anta~minti	anṭā~yinṭi ahṭā~yihṭi	inta~yinti	anṭa ~yanṭi
‘ask’	našad~minšid	našad ~minšid	našad~minšid	sāl/sayyal~	tāyal~yiṭāyil	nāšad ~yanšad

All the features included here are considered in the corpus analysis of Bukharan Arabic in

§4.3.

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