

**Problem 1**

Examine the data below, taken from several Neo-Aramaic varieties. Maṣlula represents a Western Neo-Aramaic dialect. Qaraqosh is a NENA dialect of Christians on the Mosul Plains in northern Iraq. This dialect is taken here as a representative of most of the NENA dialects in Iraq. The other NENA dialects, i.e. Jønnet, Atrun (Hertevin) and Ruma (Bohtan), used to be spoken by Christians in Southeast Turkey not far away from Țur Ṣabdin.

			Central		West		NENA			
			Villages	Midyat	Mlaḥsó	Maṣlula	Jønnet	Atrun	Ruma	Qaraqosh
1	'donkey'	*ḥmārā	ḥmoro	ḥmoro	ḥmoró	ḥmora	ḥmora	ḥmara	xmora	xmara
2	'dog'	*kalbā	kalbo	kalbo	kalbó	xalpa	kalba	kalwa	kalba	kalba
3	'he opens'	*pāteḥ	fotəḥ	fotəḥ	poséḥ	foḥaḥ	potəḥ	patəḥ	potəx	paθəx
4	'she opens'	*pāthā	fəḥo	fūḥo	poṣḥó	foḥha	paḥa	paḥa	patxa	paθxa
5	'he cries'	*bākē	boxe	boxe	boxé	box(i)	boḥə	baḥe	boxe	baxə
6	'she cries'	*bākyā	bəxyo	būxyo	boxyó	boxya	baḥya	baḥya	baxya	baxya
7	'he hears'	*šāmeḥ	šoməḥ	šoməḥ	šoméḥ	šomaḥ	šomə	šaməʔ	šomə	šamə
8	'she hears'	*šāmḥā	šəmḥo	šūmḥo	šomḥó	šomḥa	šama	šamʔa	šama	šamʔa
9	your (ms.)	*-āk	-ūx	-ox	-óx	-ax	-ūḥ	-ūḥ	-ūx	-ūx

Assuming that the first column is the oldest situation, answer the following questions:

- What happened to \*ā and \*a in the respective dialects above?
- How do you account for šama in C. Jønnet and C. Ruma?
- What happened to \*k and \*ḥ in the respective dialects above?

**Problem 2**

Examine the following data, taken from several Neo-Aramaic varieties:

		pre-mod. Aram.	Maṣlula	Ṭuroyo	NENA (C. Barwar)
1.	dog	* <i>kalbā</i>	<i>xalpa</i>	<i>kalbo</i>	<i>kalba</i>
2.	rock	* <i>kēpā</i>	<i>xēfa</i>	<i>kefo</i>	<i>kepa</i>
3.	place	* <i>dukkṭa</i>	<i>dokkṭa</i>	<i>dükṭo</i>	<i>dukṭa</i>
4.	king	* <i>malkā</i>	<i>malka</i>	<i>malko</i>	<i>malka</i>
5.	your (ms.)	* <i>-āk</i>	<i>-ax</i>	<i>-ūx</i>	<i>-ux</i>
6.	daughter	* <i>bartā</i> ~ * <i>brattā</i>	<i>berča</i>	<i>barṭo</i>	<i>brata</i>
7.	eggs	* <i>bēṣē</i>	<i>biṣó</i>	<i>beṣe</i>	<i>beṣe</i>
8.	four	* <i>ʔarbaʔ</i>	<i>arpaʔ</i>	<i>arbaʔ</i>	<i>arba</i>
9.	gold	* <i>dahbā</i>	<i>ḏahba</i>	<i>dahwo</i>	<i>dawa</i>
10.	wolf	* <i>dʔēbā</i>	<i>dēba</i>	<i>dewo</i>	<i>dewa</i>
11.	man	* <i>gabrā</i>	<i>ḡabr-ona</i>	<i>gawro</i>	<i>gawra</i>
12.	honey	* <i>deḡšā</i> ~ * <i>dubšā</i>	<i>ḏebša</i>	<i>dawšo</i>	<i>duša</i>
13.	week	* <i>šabbṭa</i>	<i>šoppṭa</i>	<i>šabṭo</i>	<i>šabṭa</i>
14.	big	* <i>rabbā</i>	<i>rappa</i>	<i>rābo</i>	<i>raba</i>
15.	shoulder	* <i>kaṭpā</i>	<i>xaffṭa</i>	<i>kaṭpo</i> ~ <i>kaṭfo</i>	-
16.	face	* <i>appayyā</i> ~ * <i>pāṭā</i>	<i>ffō</i>	<i>poṭo</i> ~ <i>foṭo</i>	<i>paṭa</i>
17.	soil, dust	* <i>ʔaṣrā</i>	<i>ʔafra</i>	<i>ʔafro</i>	<i>ʔupra</i>

d) Based upon these data, describe what happened to \**k* respectively \**ḡ* and \**b* respectively \**ḡ* in the above Neo-Aramaic languages.

e) What happened to \**p* (cf. 2 and 15 – 17)?

Problem 2

	<b>J. KS*</b>	<b>J. Urmi</b>	<b>J. Zaxo</b>		
1. 'eye'	ʔená	ená	ʔēna	<	*ʕaynā
2. 'soil'	ʔəprá	əprá	ʔəpra	<	*ʕəprā
3. 'door'	tārá	tará	tarʔa	<	*tarʕā
4. 'eggs'	beʔé	beé	beʔe	<	*bēʕē
5. 'throat'	bālotá	bal[ø]tá	baloʔta	<	*balloʕtā <sup>(?)</sup>
6. 'twenty'	ʔəsri	əsri	ʔəsri	<	*ʕəsrin
7. 'leg'	ʕaqlá	aqlá	ʔaqla	<	*ʕaqlā
8. 'mouse'	ʕaqubrá	aqubrá	ʔaqubra	<	*ʕaqubrā
9. 'scorpion'	ʕaqər wá	aqər wá	ʔaqərwa	<	*ʕaqarḅā
10. 'she cuts'	qatʕa	+qatʕa	qatʔa	<	*qāʕšā
11. 'barley'	zʕaré	+saré	ʕaʔāre	<	*sʕāre
12. 'taste'	təmʕá	+təmmá	təmʔa	<	*təmmā
13. 'burden'	təʕná	+tená	təʔna	<	*təʕnā
14. 'finger'	zboʕtá	+sbotá	ʕaboʔta	<	*ʕabboʕtā <sup>(?)</sup>
15. 'ten'	ʔəʕrá	+əsrá	ʔəsra	<	*ʕəsṛā
16. 'thirsty'	səhyá	+səhyá	ʕehya	<	*səhyā
17. 'eghty'	tmaʕní	+tmaní	tḡāne	<	*tmānin
18. 'three'	tlahá	+tlahá	tḡaha	<	*tlātā
19. 'water'	maʕé	+maé	māya	<	*mayyā
20. 'awake'	rʔiśá	+riśá	rʔiśa	<	*rḡiśā
21. 'he separates'		pale		<	*pāleḡ

(\*KS = Koy Sanjaq)

The +sign indicates “emphasis” (more precisely, suprasegmental backing) spreads over all sounds that follow it (mainly the entire word). Thus, essentially, +*tena* ‘burden, load’ is actually [təḡəḡ]. Assuming that the last column is the oldest situation, answer the following questions. You may disregard stress.

- What happens to /\* ʕ / in Jewish Zaxo (third column)?
- When is /\* ʕ / often preserved in Jewish Koy Sanjaq (first column)?
- In what way could the suprasegmental backing (marked by +) in Jewish Urmi (second column) be connected with the equivalent words in Jewish Koy Sanjaq?
- What is striking about words 16 – 19 in at least Jewish Koy Sanjaq and Jewish Urmi?
- What happened in the case of 20 and 21?

### Problem 3

The following data are from the Christian NENA dialects of Alqosh and Barwar and Ṭuroyo. They show feminine nouns with plurals ending in *-e*, which is more common among masculine nouns. Can you find (a) common semantic principle(s) of their meaning?

#### C. Alqosh:

	sg.		pl.	
1.	<i>beta</i>	'egg'	<i>beʔe</i>	'eggs'
2.	<i>šata</i>	'year'	<i>šanne</i>	'years'
3.	<i>yabešta</i>	'raisin'	<i>yabiše</i>	'raisins'
4.	<i>xabušta</i>	'apple'	<i>xabuše</i>	'apples'
5.	<i>ʔenwiθa</i>	'grape'	<i>ʔenwe</i>	'grapes'
6.	<i>xetṭiθa</i>	'a grain of wheat'	<i>xette</i>	'wheat'

#### C. Barwar:

	sg.		pl.	
7.	<i>nunta</i>	'(a) fish'	<i>nune</i>	'fish'
8.	<i>masta</i>	'(a) hair'	<i>mazze</i>	'hair(s)'
9.	<i>tenta</i>	'fig'	<i>tene</i>	'figs'
10.	<i>šəkwanta</i>	'ant'	<i>šəkwane</i>	'ants'

#### Ṭuroyo

11.	<i>bəḥto</i>	'egg'	<i>befe</i>	'eggs'
12.	<i>manθo</i>	'(a) hair'	<i>mene</i>	'hair(s)'
13.	<i>nənto</i>	'(a) fish'	<i>nune</i>	'fish'
14.	<i>nawto</i>	'louse'	<i>nowe</i>	'lice'
15.	<i>šabθo</i>	'week'	<i>šābe</i>	'weeks'
16.	<i>šāto</i>	'year'	<i>ašne</i>	'years'
17.	<i>dədwanto</i>	'a fly'	<i>dədwone</i>	'flies'
18.	<i>šəšwanto</i>	'ant'	<i>šəšwone</i>	'ants'
19.	<i>wāraqto</i>	'leaf; paper'	<i>waroqe</i>	'leaves; papers'
20.	<i>dābašto</i>	'bee'	<i>daboše</i>	'beehive; bees'
21.	<i>nābəšto</i>	'raisin'	<i>nābiše</i>	'raisins'
22.	<i>teno</i>	'fig'	<i>tene</i>	'figs'
23.	<i>ḥeṭo</i>	'a grain of wheat'	<i>ḥete</i>	'wheat'

**Problem 4**

The data below show the present imperfective (*qaṭəl-*) and past perfective(s) (*qam-qaṭəl-*, *qṭil-*) of *n-š-q* ‘kiss’ and *d-m-x* ‘sleep’ in the Jewish NENA varieties of ‘Amədyā (*lishana deni*) and Saqqiz (Trans-Zab). They correspond with *nošəq - nšəqlə* (*n-š-q*) ‘kiss’ and *doməx - dāməx* (*d-m-x*) ‘sleep’ in Țuroyo. Unlike the latter, NENA dialects have only one perfective base for stem I, namely *qṭil-*. Thus, there is no *\*\*qatṭil-*perfective. Assuming that these two verbs, *n-š-q* ‘kiss’ and *d-m-x* ‘sleep’, are representatives of transitive and intransitive verbs in these dialects, answer the following questions. You may disregard stress.

Look at the usage of the E-suffixes (like Țuroyo *-no*, *-ono*, *-ət* etc.) and L-suffixes (like Țuroyo *-li*, *-lūx*, *-lax* etc.) in terms of subject and object marking in J. ‘Amədyā. You can identify their shape by the following data for *n-š-q* ‘kiss’ and *d-m-x* ‘sleep’.

**J. ‘Amədyā:**

<i>qaṭəl-E</i>			<i>qṭil-L</i>		
1.	<i>našq-ax</i>	‘We kiss’	10.	<i>nšəq-lan</i>	‘We kissed’
2.	<i>našq-etun</i>	‘You <sub>PL</sub> kiss’	11.	<i>nšəq-loxun</i>	‘You <sub>PL</sub> kissed’
3.	<i>našq-i</i>	‘They kiss’	12.	<i>nšəq-lu</i>	‘They kissed’
4.	<i>našq-a</i>	‘She kisses’	13.	<i>nšəq-le</i>	‘She kissed’
5.	<i>našəq-Ø</i>	‘He kisses’	14.	<i>nšəq-la</i>	‘He kissed’
6.	<i>našq-ən</i>	‘I <sub>M</sub> kiss’	15.	<i>nšəq-li</i>	‘I <sub>M</sub> kissed’
7.	<i>našq-an</i>	‘I <sub>F</sub> kiss’	16.	<i>nšəq-li</i>	‘I <sub>F</sub> kissed’
8.	<i>našq-ət</i>	‘You <sub>MS</sub> kiss’	17.	<i>nšəq-lux</i>	‘You <sub>MS</sub> kissed’
9.	<i>našq-at</i>	‘You <sub>FS</sub> kiss’	18.	<i>nšəq-lax</i>	‘You <sub>FS</sub> kissed’

  

<i>qaṭəl-E</i>			<i>qṭil-L</i>		
19.	<i>damx-ax</i>	‘We sleep’	28.	<i>dməx-lan</i>	‘We slept’
20.	<i>damx-etun</i>	‘You <sub>PL</sub> sleep’	29.	<i>dməx-loxun</i>	‘You <sub>PL</sub> slept’
21.	<i>damx-i</i>	‘They sleep’	30.	<i>dməx-lu</i>	‘They slept’
22.	<i>damx-a</i>	‘She sleeps’	31.	<i>dməx-le</i>	‘She slept’
23.	<i>daməx-Ø</i>	‘He sleeps’	32.	<i>dməx-la</i>	‘He slept’
24.	<i>damx-ən</i>	‘I <sub>M</sub> sleep’	33.	<i>dməx-li</i>	‘I <sub>M</sub> slept’
25.	<i>damx-an</i>	‘I <sub>F</sub> sleep’	34.	<i>dməx-li</i>	‘I <sub>F</sub> slept’
26.	<i>damx-ət</i>	‘You <sub>MS</sub> sleep’	35.	<i>dməx-lux</i>	‘You <sub>MS</sub> slept’
27.	<i>damx-at</i>	‘You <sub>FS</sub> sleep’	36.	<i>dməx-lax</i>	‘You <sub>FS</sub> slept’

I. Now consider the following data, which show the imperfective respectively present and perfective respectively past of *n-š-q* ‘kiss’ with object marking.

<i>qaṭəl</i>				<i>qṭil</i>			
1.	<i>našq-áx-loxun</i>	‘We	kiss you <sub>PL</sub> ’	10.	<i>nšiq-átu-lan</i>	‘We	kissed you <sub>PL</sub> ’
2.	<i>našq-átu-lu</i>	‘You <sub>PL</sub>	kiss them’	11.	<i>nšiq-í-loxun</i>	‘You <sub>PL</sub>	kissed them’
3.	<i>našq-i-lan</i>	‘They	kiss us’	12.	<i>nšiq-ax-lu</i>	‘They	kissed us’
4.	<i>našq-a-le</i>	‘She	kisses him’	13.	<i>nšəq-Ø-la</i>	‘She	kissed him’
5.	<i>našəq-Ø-la</i>	‘He	kisses her’	14.	<i>nšiq-a-le</i>	‘He	kissed her’
6.	<i>našq-ən-nax</i>	‘I <sub>M</sub>	kiss you <sub>FS</sub> ’	15.	<i>nšiq-at-ti</i>	‘I <sub>M</sub>	kissed you <sub>FS</sub> ’
7.	<i>našq-an-nux</i>	‘I <sub>F</sub>	kiss you <sub>MS</sub> ’	16.	<i>nšiq-ət-ti</i>	‘I <sub>F</sub>	kissed you <sub>MS</sub> ’
8.	<i>našq-ət-ti</i>	‘You <sub>MS</sub>	kiss me <sub>F</sub> ’	17.	<i>nšiq-an-nux</i>	‘You <sub>MS</sub>	kissed me <sub>F</sub> ’
9.	<i>našq-at-ti</i>	‘You <sub>FS</sub>	kiss me <sub>M</sub> ’	18.	<i>nšiq-ən-nax</i>	‘You <sub>FS</sub>	kissed me <sub>M</sub> ’

- What are the functions of the E-suffixes in the *qaṭəl*-based present (1 – 9)?
- What are the functions of the E-suffixes in the *qṭil*-based past (10 – 18)?
- What are the functions of the L-suffixes in the *qaṭəl*-based present (1 – 9)?
- What are the functions of the L-suffixes in the *qṭil*-based past (10 – 18)?
- Are the functions symmetrically distributed between present and past? Why (not)?

II. Compare this to the following data from J. Saqqiz. The perfective of *d-m-x* and *n-š-q* are inflected differently:

<i>qṭil</i>			<i>qṭil</i>		
1.	<i>dmíx-exin</i>	‘We slept’	10.	<i>nšiq-lan</i>	‘We kissed’
2.	<i>dmíx-etun</i>	‘You <sub>PL</sub> slept’	11.	<i>nšiq-laxun</i>	‘You <sub>PL</sub> kissed’
3.	<i>dmix-i</i>	‘They slept’	12.	<i>nšiq-lu</i>	‘They kissed’
4.	<i>dmix-a</i>	‘She slept’	13.	<i>nšiq-la</i>	‘She kissed’
5.	<i>dmix-Ø</i>	‘He slept’	14.	<i>nšiq-le</i>	‘He kissed’
6.	<i>dmix-na</i>	‘I <sub>M</sub> slept’	15.	<i>nšiq-li</i>	‘I <sub>M</sub> kissed’
7.	<i>dmix-an</i>	‘I <sub>F</sub> slept’	16.	<i>nšiq-li</i>	‘I <sub>F</sub> kissed’
8.	<i>dmix-et</i>	‘You <sub>MS</sub> slept’	17.	<i>nšiq-lox</i>	‘You <sub>MS</sub> kissed’
9.	<i>dmix-at</i>	‘You <sub>FS</sub> slept’	18.	<i>nšiq-lax</i>	‘You <sub>FS</sub> kissed’

Taking *n-š-q* as representative for all transitive verbs and *d-m-x* for all intransitive verbs in J. Saqqiz, how, again, do these two sets of suffixes, E and L, differ in usage?

**Problem 5**

(continuation of Problem 4)

I. Examine the data below. J. Saqqiz differs from J. ʿAmədyā (see Problem 4) in terms of object marking:

<i>qtil</i>		
1. <i>nšiq-lan-laxun</i>	--	‘We kissed you <sub>PL</sub> ’
2. <i>nšiq-laxun-lu</i>	10. <i>nišq-í-laxun</i> <sup>1</sup>	‘You <sub>PL</sub> kissed them’
3. <i>nšiq-lu-lan</i>	--	‘They kissed us’
4. <i>nšiq-la-lev</i>	11. <i>nšiq-Ø-la</i>	‘She kissed him’
5. <i>nšiq-le-lav</i>	12. <i>nišq-a-le</i> <sup>1</sup>	‘He kissed her’
6. <i>nšiq-li-lax</i>	--	‘I <sub>M</sub> kissed you <sub>FS</sub> ’
7. <i>nšiq-li-lox</i>	--	‘I <sub>F</sub> kissed you <sub>MS</sub> ’
8. <i>nšiq-lox-li</i>	--	‘You <sub>MS</sub> kissed me <sub>F</sub> ’
9. <i>nšiq-lax-li</i>	--	‘You <sub>FS</sub> kissed me <sub>M</sub> ’

- How are the L suffixes used (1 – 9)?
- And how are the E-suffixes used (10 – 12)? What grammatical feature do these forms have in common against the absent forms (--)?
- The examples in 1 – 9 above appear to show stacking of L-suffixes in the *qtil*-based past in J. Saqqiz. Are these simply duplicates of L-suffixes? Why (not)?

d. Now compare this to the data below, taken from the (Christian) dialect of Hertevin:

<i>qaṭəl</i>			<i>qtil</i>		
1. <i>načq-aḥ-leḥon</i>	‘We kiss you <sub>PL</sub> ’	10. <i>nčeq-laḥ-leḥon</i>	‘We kissed you <sub>PL</sub> ’		
2. <i>načq-eton-ne</i>	‘You <sub>PL</sub> kiss them’	11. <i>nčeq-letón-ne</i>	‘You <sub>PL</sub> kissed them’		
3. <i>načq-i-lan</i>	‘They kiss us’	12. <i>nčeq-le-lan</i>	‘They kissed us’		
4. <i>načq-a-le</i>	‘She kisses him’	13. <i>nčeq-la-le</i>	‘She kissed him’		
5. <i>načeq-Ø-la</i>	‘He kisses her’	14. <i>nčeq-le-la</i>	‘He kissed her’		
6. <i>načq-en-naḥ</i>	‘I <sub>M</sub> kiss you <sub>FS</sub> ’	15. <i>nčeq-lén-naḥ</i>	‘I <sub>M</sub> kissed you <sub>FS</sub> ’		
7. <i>načq-an-noḥ</i>	‘I <sub>F</sub> kiss you <sub>MS</sub> ’	16. <i>nčeq-lán-noḥ</i>	‘I <sub>F</sub> kissed you <sub>MS</sub> ’		
8. <i>načq-et-ti</i>	‘You <sub>MS</sub> kiss me <sub>F</sub> ’	17. <i>nčeq-lét-ti</i>	‘You <sub>MS</sub> kissed me <sub>F</sub> ’		
9. <i>načq-et-ti</i>	‘You <sub>FS</sub> kiss me <sub>M</sub> ’	18. <i>nčeq-lát-ti</i>	‘You <sub>FS</sub> kissed me <sub>M</sub> ’		

Does this dialect exhibit constructions in the *qtil*-based perfective similar to J. Saqqiz? What is different?

<sup>1</sup> Ignore the shift in syllable structure in these forms, i.e. *nišq-i-laxun* and *nišq-a-le* have the same *nšiq*-base as 12. *nšiq-la*.

II. Several NENA dialects not only have such a *qtil*-perfective base, but also a distinct preverbal perfective past marker *qam-* (as opposed to *k-* much like Turoyo *ko-*), which modifies an imperfective (*qaṭəl*) of a transitive verb to the perfective past (respectively *k-qaṭlale* ‘she kills him’ and ***qam-qaṭlale*** ‘she killed him’). J. ‘Amədyā exhibits such a *qam-qaṭəl*-perfective past, which is based on the imperfective *qaṭəl-*, otherwise the basic ingredient for the present, but now also extended to the past. It is inflected as given below (exactly like the imperfective). Interestingly, it cannot be used without L-suffixes.

In another dialect, the Jewish dialect of Zaxo, the following corresponding forms exist for transitive verbs like *n-š-q* to refer to the perfective past with objects:

J. ‘Amədyā		J. Zaxo				
<i>qam-qaṭəl</i>	<i>qtil</i>	<i>qam-qāṭəl</i>	<i>qtil</i>			
1. <i>qam-našq-áx-loxun</i>	10. <i>nšiq-átu-lan</i>	19. <i>qam-našq-áx-loxun</i>	--	‘We	kissed	you <sub>PL</sub> ’
2. <i>qam-našq-étu-lu</i>	11. <i>nšiq-í-loxun</i>	20. <i>(qam-našq-étu-lu)</i>	28. <i>nšiq-i-loxun</i>	‘You <sub>PL</sub>	kissed	them’
3. <i>qam-našq-i-lan</i>	12. <i>nšiq-ax-lu</i>	21. <i>qam-našq-i-lan</i>	--	‘They	kissed	us’
4. <i>qam-našq-a-le</i>	13. <i>nšaq-Ø-la</i>	22. <i>(qam-našq-ā-le)</i>	29. <i>nšaq-Ø-la</i>	‘She	kissed	him’
5. <i>qam-našq-Ø-la</i>	14. <i>nšiq-a-le</i>	23. <i>(qam-nāšq-Ø-la)</i>	30. <i>nšiq-ā-le</i>	‘He	kissed	her’
6. <i>qam-našq-ən-nax</i>	15. <i>nšiq-at-ti</i>	24. <i>qam-našq-ən-nax</i>	--	‘I <sub>M</sub>	kissed	you <sub>FS</sub> ’
7. <i>qam-našq-an-nux</i>	16. <i>nšiq-ət-ti</i>	25. <i>qam-našq-an-nox</i>	--	‘I <sub>F</sub>	kissed	you <sub>MS</sub> ’
8. <i>qam-našq-ət-ti</i>	17. <i>nšiq-an-nux</i>	26. <i>qam-našq-ət-ti</i>	--	‘You <sub>MS</sub>	kissed	me <sub>F</sub> ’
9. <i>qam-našq-at-ti</i>	18. <i>nšiq-ən-nax</i>	27. <i>qam-našq-at-ti</i>	--	‘You <sub>FS</sub>	kissed	me <sub>M</sub> ’

Consider that there are no forms that stack L-suffixes like *\*\*nšaq-lax-li* ‘you (fs.) kissed me’.

- How does the *qam-qaṭəl*-based past (19 – 27) correlate with the *qtil*-based past forms (28 – 30) in J. Zaxo?
- Compare this to the data given for the Jewish dialect of ‘Amədyā. Why would this correlation not hold for the *qam-qaṭəl*-forms in this dialect (1 – 9)?



III. Let's consider another dialect: the Christian dialect of Koy Sanjaq. This dialect forms the imperfective, respectively present tense, like the aforementioned dialects. In the perfective past, however, there are **only two** inflection types, as given below. Other patterns such as those given above for other dialects do **not** exist.

<i>qam-qaṭəl</i>				<i>qṭil</i>			
1.	<i>qa-našq-áx-oxəm</i>	'We	kissed you <sub>PL</sub> '	10.	<i>nšəq-lan</i>	'We	kissed'
2.	<i>qa-našq-ítəm-lu</i>	'You <sub>PL</sub>	kissed them'	11.	<i>nšəq-loxəm</i>	'You <sub>PL</sub>	kissed'
3.	<i>qa-našq-i-lan</i>	'They	kissed us'	12.	<i>nšəq-lu</i>	'They	kissed'
4.	<i>qa-našq-a-le</i>	'She	kissed him'	13.	<i>nšəq-la</i>	'She	kissed'
5.	<i>qa-nāšəq-Ø-la</i>	'He	kissed her'	14.	<i>nšəq-le</i>	'He	kissed'
6.	<i>qa-našq-ən-ax</i>	'I <sub>M</sub>	kissed you <sub>FS</sub> '	15.	<i>nšəq-li</i>	'I <sub>S</sub>	kissed'
7.	<i>qa-našq-an-ux</i>	'I <sub>F</sub>	kissed you <sub>MS</sub> '	16.	<i>nšəq-li</i>	'I <sub>F</sub>	kissed'
8.	<i>qa-našq-ət-i</i>	'You <sub>MS</sub>	kissed me <sub>F</sub> '	17.	<i>nšəq-lox</i>	'You <sub>MS</sub>	kissed'
9.	<i>qa-našq-at-i</i>	'You <sub>FS</sub>	kissed me <sub>M</sub> '	18.	<i>nšəq-lax</i>	'You <sub>FS</sub>	kissed'

- What is the relationship between the *qam-qaṭəl*- and *qṭil*-based perfective in this dialect?
- Consider the distribution of the two sets of person markers. What roles do they mark? How does this differ from the dialects you've seen so far?