CHAPTER FOUR

MORPHOLOGY AND MORPHOSYNTAX

4.1. Pronouns

4.1.1. Independent Pronouns

a. The inventory of independent pronouns in JChalla is

1 c.s. ُانا
2 c.s. ُاهات
3 c.s. ُأيا، ُأ
1 c.pl. ُأختار
2 c.pl. ُأختن
3 c.pl. ُأني

b. It is noteworthy that there is only one form for masculine and feminine in all persons, both singular and plural. It would appear that the feminine forms of the 2nd person singular and 3rd person singular have replaced the 2nd person and 3rd person singular masculine forms. The epicene forms may be the result of the adstrata influence of Kurdish and Turkish.

c. ُاهات (sometimes ُات; § 3.18.g) is used for both the masculine and feminine, unlike in other lishana deni dialects, where one finds 2 m.s. ُاهات and 2 f.s. ُاهات.

d. The 3rd person ُأيا is used for both masculine and feminine, unlike in other lishana deni dialects, where one finds m. ُأوا، f. ُأيا. In the Jewish dialects of the Trans-Zab area, however, one also finds a 3 c.s. form, albeit different: ُأ < ُأُه.١ُأيا sometimes contracts to ُأ (§ 3.15.a), particularly in rapid speech and before the postpositive particle -ژ (ُأ-ژ ُأ also he). ُأيا also functions as a far demonstrative (§ 4.1.7.b).

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e. The 1 pl. ‘axnan is also attested in some lishana deni dialects (JAmid, JGzira, JZakho), but not in others (‘axni in JDohok, and JNerwa texts). JBetan has both ‘axnan and ‘axni.

f. The independent pronouns function as subjects of clauses. In the following example the independent pronoun ‘âna appears to function as a direct object:

\[ \text{marri } ^Hm\mbox{mâ\'}\mbox{\'smi et-(h)a } m\mbox{\'starâ}^H, \text{ lá-}^Hg\mbox{mâ\'}\mbox{\'smi}^H \text{ ‘âna.} \]
\[ ‘\text{I said: “They will accuse the police. They aren’t accusing me.”’} \]

In this example ‘âna parallels the Hebrew direct object marker ‘et (אֵל), though it may be just be an awkwardly-formed sentence in which one might have expected ‘âna ‘as for me’, at the beginning of the clause.

### 4.1.2. Pronominal Suffixes on Nouns

a. The pronominal suffixes in JChalla are

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 c.s.</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>besi (‘my house’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 m.s.</td>
<td>-ox</td>
<td>besox</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 f.s.</td>
<td>-ax</td>
<td>besax</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 m.s.</td>
<td>-e</td>
<td>bese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 f.s.</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td>besa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 c.pl.</td>
<td>-an, -eni</td>
<td>besan, beseni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 c.pl.</td>
<td>-exun</td>
<td>besexun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 c.pl.</td>
<td>-u</td>
<td>besu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b. Representative examples include

- lbbi ‘my heart’
- sâwi ‘my grandfather’
- pârox ‘your (m.s.) money’
- pâsox ‘your (m.s.) face’
- ymmmax ‘your (f.s.) money’
- xaswâsax ‘your (f.s.) sisters’
- kusise ‘his hat’
- ‘ide ‘his hand’
- pumma ‘her mouth’
- ‘ena ‘her eye’
- lišaneni ‘our language’
- hudayeni ‘our Jews’
- rešan ‘our heads’
- besan ‘our house’

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2 In additional passages where one finds occurrences of ‘āya that might be interpreted as a direct object, it is preferable to explain it as a demonstrative (§ 4.1.7.b).