The “izafe” will be glossed as linkadj for preadjectival linkers and linkposs for pre-possessor linkers. I will gloss possession with the Saxon genitive conventions (‘the boys’ book’) rather than ‘the book of the boys’ – although the latter is probably more transparent, we have not attempted to elicit an overt preposition. [Further note: M.K. suggests possessor is akin to ‘construct state’. Checking multiple possessors might confirm this affinity (is specificity of possessums only encoded on highest possessor? cf. Hebrew beyt ach hamorah ‘house brother the-teacher’ = ‘the house of the brother of the teacher’).]

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[M.K.: Perhaps ε → e in the env. (C) i. Only one consonant can intervene, cf. wendi.]

**Review: Possessives and Adjectives Together**

(1) kitab-o sur
book-linkadj.M red-M.
‘The red book’

(2) kitab-e layik-i-o sur
‘The boy’s red book’

[Question posed by N.R.: clitics or suffixes? Presence of two on preadjectival possessor legislates against ‘slot’-based morphological template for these.]

(3) qelem-a layik-i-a sur-ε
‘the boy’s red pen’

(4) qelem-e layik-i-e sur-i
‘the boy’s red pens’

(5) qelem-e layik-an-e sur-i
‘the boys’ red pens’

[Issue raised by N.R.: is -n- insertion a hiatus-breaking epenthesis? If so, conditions on hiatus resolution apply in case of a.e. but not other vowel sequences, perhaps *Low-High. A.N.: Perhaps structure is topicalization+resumption: qelem-e layik-a, ne sur-i ‘the boys’ pens, they’re red’.]

(6) qelem-e mehmmed-e sur-i
‘mehmed’s red pens’

**Predication**

(7) kitab-suro
‘the book is red’
(8) qələm-e sura
   ‘the pen is red’
(9) qələm-i sure
   ‘the pens are red’

[Predicate Adjectives show ‘Verbal’ agreement suffixes]

(10) Mohamed malemo.
    ‘Mohamed is a teacher (m)’
(11) Aisha malema.
    ‘Aisha is a teacher (f)’
(12) Aisha-u-Mohamed-i malem-e
    ‘Aisha and Mohamed are teachers’
(13) Mohamed-i-o Aisha malem-e
    Mohamed-comit.M-conj Aisha teacher-pl.
    ‘Mohamed and Aisha are teachers’

[‘Comitative’ affix i on masculine DPs appears regardless of position in conjunct. Apparent variation in conjunct morpheme u when preceded by i.]

(14) Hesen-i-o Mohamed-i maleme
    ‘Hesen and Mohamed are teachers’

Ditransitives

(15) Mehemedi kitab da malim-i
    M. book gave-M. teacher-obl.M.
    ‘Mohamed gave the book to the teacher’

[Possibility: ‘genitive marking’ used generally for obliques? With ‘give’ though, difficult to disentangle GOAL from BENEFACTIVE; if latter, genitive perhaps expected, regardless of oblique as distinct subclass of case.]

(16) Mehemedi qələm-e d-e malim-i
    M. pen gave-F. teacher-obl.M.
    ‘Mohamed gave the pen to the teacher’

[Suppose verb stem is da. Is da+e hiatus resolved here by deletion of 1st vowel?]}

(17) M. kitab-i-o qələme da-i malim-i
    ‘M. gave the book and pen to the teacher’
(18) M. kitab-i-o qələme de malim-i
(19) M. qələm-o kitab-i da malim-i

[2nd-conjunct agreement is optional.]

Past Monotransitives

(20) Mi maalim di
    I-erg teacher saw-M.
    ‘I saw the teacher’
(21) Mī maalim-č di-e
    I-erg teacher-F. saw-F.
(22) Mī maalim-i di
    I-erg teacher-Pl. saw-Pl.

[Is an i deleted in verbstem+pl di-i?]

(23) Mī maalim pači kərd
    I-erg teacher-M. kiss did-M.
    ‘I kissed the teacher’
(24) Mī maalim-e pači kərdč
    I-erg teacher-F. kiss did-F.
(25) Mī maalim pači kərdi
    I-erg teacher-Pl. kiss did-Pl.
    ‘I kissed the teacher’

[‘kiss’ expressed as a light verb construction: ‘kiss + do’, (cf. Urdu cognate kar, ‘do’) agreement varies with Kissee and not ‘incorporated object’]

(26) Mī o pači kərt
    I-erg he kiss did-M.
    ‘I kissed him’

[Fast speech: mī o becomes mo]

(27) Mī a pači kərdč
    I-erg she kiss did-F.
    ‘I kissed her’
(28) Mī e pači kərdi
    I-erg they kiss did-Pl.
    ‘I kissed them’
(29) Mī (šodir) a-o-o pači kərdi
    I-erg (morning) she-conj-he kiss did-Pl.
    ‘I kissed her and him (in the morning)’ (PlAgr)

[use of adverb for phonological curiosity; seems irrelevant to agreement]

(30) Mī a-o-o pači kərd
    I-erg she-conj-he kiss did-M.
    ‘I kissed her and him’ (2ConjAgr)
(31) Mī o-o-a pači kərdč
    I-erg he-conj-she kiss did-F.
    ‘I kissed him and her’ (2ConjAgr)
(32) Mī a-o-e pači kərdi
    I-erg she-conj-they kiss did-Pl.
    ‘I kissed her and them’
(33) a, mī pač kərdč
    she, I kiss did-F.
(34) a-o-e, mī pač kərdč
    her-and-him, I kiss did-Pl.

[Pause required between dislocated object and subject. Preliminary questions suggest dislocated objects have to be GIVEN]
(35) min-o braye-xo...
   I-conj. brother-linkposs.m-self’s...
   ‘I and my brother...’

(36) ez xo wineno
   I self see-M.
   ‘I see myself’

(37) Mi bra-e-xo di
   I-erg brother-linkposs.m-self’s saw-M.
   ‘I saw my brother’

(38) Mi way-a-xo di-e
   I-erg sister-linkposs.f-self’s saw-F.
   ‘I saw my sister’

(39) Bra-e mi ez dia
   Brother-linkposs.m my I saw
   ‘My brother saw me’

[Use of mi is as possessor here though it appears ident. to 1.erg
Use of dia instead of di a bit puzzling; even if ‘I’ is feminine, we expect di-e.]

(40) Maleme mi waya-xo di-e.
    Teacher my sister-self’s saw-F.
    ‘My teacher saw his/*my sister’

[Appears that binder of xo must c-command it and that linear precedence is insufficient]

**Kinship and Adjectival modification**

(41) bra-o qiskek / phi
    brother-linkadj.m younger-m. / older-m.

(42) way-a qiskek/ / phi
    sister-linkadj.f younger-f. / older-f.

(43) amik-a qiże
    mat.aunt-linkadj.f young-F.
    [mother’s sister. note: regressive voicing assimilation in qiskek? use of -kek as diminutive?]

(44) xalik-a qiże
    pat.aunt-linkadj.f young-f.
    [father’s sister]

(45) mae/ mai /phi kalik / phi
    mother/mothers/father/grandmother/grandfather

(46) ma-o-phi ma
    mother-conj-father-linkposs.pl my-pl.
    ‘my mother and father’

(47) phi io deuliti/ phi deuliti
    rich father / rich fathers

**Light Verb Constructions**

(48) Mi biriya maya xo kerdma
    I-erg missing-linkposs.f mother-link-poss.f self’s did-F.
    ‘I missed my mother’

[A.N. interpretation: ‘I did my mother’s missing’. Gloss of biriya as possessed not fully confirmed, but suggested by following data: use of genitive for Missee and invariance of verb agreement (which includes final -a - for feminine agreement with biriya?)]
(49) Mi biriiya de kərda
I-erg missing 3sgmasc-gen. did
‘I missed her’

(50) Mi biriiya dae kərda
I-erg missing 3sgfem-gen. did
‘I missed her’

(51) Mi biriiya dina kərda
I-erg missing 3pl-gen. did
‘I missed them’

(52) Mi may-a-xo xoviira kərda
I-erg mother-linkposs.f-self’s forgetting did-F(?)
I forgot my mother

(53) Mi a xoviira kərda
I-erg she forgetting did-F(?)
I forgot her

(54) Mi pʰii-e-xo xoviira kərda
I-erg father-linkposs.m-self’s forgetting did-M.
I forgot my father

End of Session