The Neo-Mandaic Dialect of Khorramshahr

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Article begins on next page
There is no tracing the connection of ancient nations, but by language; and therefore I am always sorry when any language is lost, because languages are the pedigree of nations.

*Samuel Johnson*
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Acknowledgments

I first learned about the Mandaeans of Iraq and Iran through my mother, Janet Elizabeth Haberl, who cultivated my interests and inspired me to always pursue them, no matter where they might lead me. Not unlike many other scholars of the ancient Near East, I developed an interest in the region, including its history, religions, and languages, at a very early age. These interests—particularly those related to its languages and religions—were not entirely satisfied by the sort of literature that was directed towards children, and so I also developed an interest in ancient magical and ritual practices, in the hope of acquiring a fuller picture of the world at which the literature only hinted. Many concerned parents would have attempted to stifle such an interest; my mother, who was a public school teacher and knew well the importance of stimulating intellectual curiosity, attempted to cultivate these interests and channel them into more scholarly venues. In addition to introducing me to the world of museums and libraries, she bought me a reprint of E.A. Wallis Budge’s *Amulets and Superstitions*, which contains a brief discussion of the Mandaeans and the British Museum’s collection of Mandaic amulets.\(^1\) At the time, I was intrigued by this survival of this ancient faith, but had no idea that the political situation in the Middle East had brought a small community of its adherents to within thirty miles of my hometown.

This same book (despite all of its flaws, which were myriad) also inspired me to study epigraphy with William A. Ward, the former Dean of Faculty at the American University of Beirut and Director of the Program in Ancient Studies at Brown University. At one point during the course of my studies, Ward reminisced about the students to whom he had previously taught epigraphy in Beirut, some of whom

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were descendents of the Assyrian and Chaldean Christians that had settled in Lebanon in the early part of the century and who spoke Neo-Aramaic natively. These students had a unique perspective on the texts we studied in class; in his words, “they were able to read these inscriptions as if they were reading the Sunday Times.” It was then that the germ of this project was first sown in my mind. Unfortunately, Ward passed away in 1996, and my mother passed away four years later. I profoundly regret that the two people who were most influential in my decision to pursue these studies are not alive to share in the progress of the work they inspired.

It was not until after I had begun my studies at Harvard University that I had the opportunity to meet speakers of Neo-Aramaic, in the form of the very same community that had attracted my attention so many years before and which had come to settle in my own backyard. In 1999, I was approached by James F. Coakley, who was organizing the Thirteenth International Conference of the ARAM Society on the Mandaeans in concert with Jorunn J. Buckley, the foremost scholar in North America on the Mandaean religion and the modern community. He enlisted me to acquire the necessary permits for the conference and to aid the participants (many of whom were Mandaeans from Iraq, Iran, and the diaspora community) in finding a place to stay during the conference. In the course of our search to find appropriate places for the priests to stay and perform various rituals, including a baptism in the Charles River, we sought the help of two Mandaeans: Nasser Sobbi, to inspect these locations to ensure that they were suitable for the priests, and Wisam Breegi, to test the waters of the river to ensure that they were potable and met exacting standards of ritual purity. It was in this capacity that I was first introduced to the modern Mandaean community and my chief informant.

While it need hardly be mentioned that this grammar would not have been possible without Nasser Sobbi’s participation, I feel compelled to do proper justice to his role in its development. With limitless hospitality, he opened his home to me and welcomed me into the fold of his family, and with the patience of a saint he tolerated the barrage of questions to which I subjected him, many of which must have seemed peculiarly trivial (if not downright peculiar). Without his
patient support and that of his family, including his wife Shukrieh, his son Isa, and his daughters Freshteh and Juliette, I would have neither been able to collect this data nor process it in such a short period of time.

I feel uniquely honored to have worked with an informant who was so knowledgeable, not only in matters related to his own language and culture, but in practically every sphere of life. In subsequent encounters with members of the Mandaean community, including Sinan Abdullah, Lamea Abbas Amara, Mamoon and Shafia Aldolaimi, Abdolkarim and Saeed Moradi, Suhaib Nashi, Qais Saidi, and many others who have taken the time to interact with me and encourage me in my studies, I discovered that although Sobbi’s hospitality and generosity were far from uncommon among the Mandaeans, he was cherished and esteemed by all who knew him. It was not long before I came to realize exactly why Nasser Sobbi is held in such high esteem by the members of his community—my own life has been immeasurably enriched by knowing him, far beyond the subject matter of this grammar.

Just as this project would not have been possible without the contributions of Sobbi and the Mandaean community, it would also not have been possible without the knowledge base imparted to me by my professors. I owe John Huehnergard for the present status of my knowledge about comparative Semitics and the historical grammar of the various Semitic languages. He supported my decision to pursue this extremely demanding project, and his support carried me to its successful completion. I was first introduced to Neo-Aramaic dialectology by Wolfhart P. Heinrichs, who taught me Turoyo and inspired me to examine about the other Neo-Aramaic dialects in a comparative light. I was first introduced to the Iranian languages and cultures by Antonio Panaino, who taught me Old Persian through the grammar written by Prods Oktor Skjærvø and inspired me to pursue the study of the Iranian languages in addition to the Semitic languages. Consequently, when I came to Harvard I welcomed the opportunity to learn much more from Skjærvø himself. In addition to extending my studies in Iranian languages, Skjærvø introduced me to Iranian religious traditions such as Zoroastrianism and Manichaeism. I
also consider myself privileged to have had the ability to study with other scholars such as Jo Ann Hackett, who endowed me with a rigorous methodology for the study of individual classical and epigraphic Semitic languages, Wheeler M. Thackston, who tutored me in the languages of the modern Middle East such as Persian and colloquial Levantine Arabic, and Lisa Lavoie, who taught me the linguistic field methods that I would use in the preparation of this grammar. That they succeeded in imparting anything at all to me is a testament to their skill in pedagogy.

My own efforts at scholarship eventually drew the attention of other scholars both Mandaean and non-Mandaean, including Sabah Aldihisi, John Bolender, Julie Ebadirad, and John Harnsberry, who contributed so much to my understanding of the modern Mandaean community and its precarious position within the Middle East today. I have also had the opportunity to present the results of my research at the meetings of the Harvard Semitic Seminar, the American Oriental Society, and the North American Conference on Afroasiatic Linguistics, and benefited immensely from the discussions that ensued on each occasion. In the course of writing this grammar, both my colleagues and the members of my committee reviewed my drafts and offered much advice and insightful criticism. In this regard I would particularly like to thank my good friends Yuhan S.D. Vevaina and Melissa Haynes, who also performed an invaluable service by putting me up (and putting up with me) on the numerous occasions when I returned to Boston from “the field” to meet with my advisors and consult the libraries at Harvard. As I prepared the manuscript for publication, I also came to appreciate the support of the series editor, Otto Jastrow, and the tireless attention of the staff at Harrassowitz, particularly Reinhard Friedrich and Miriam Würfel. Obviously, despite the help I received from these and other individuals, all mistakes and omissions to be found within it are mine alone.

I would also not have been able to finish this grammar without the generous support of my employers over the years. Throughout the eight years that I was engrossed in my graduate studies, I worked in a variety of capacities for the Semitic Museum at Harvard University, and would like to thank its Director, Lawrence E. Stager, Assistant
Director Joseph A. Greene, Assistant Curator James A. Armstrong, and Administrative Assistant Dena Davis. I was also employed by the Shelby White–Leon Levy Program for Archaeological Publications and would like to thank Shelby White, Philip J. King, and Kimberley Connors-Hughes for all of the help they have given me over the years. During this time I also worked for Vieco, LLC, and would like to thank its proprietors, May and Greg Guitteau. In my final year, I received a dissertation completion fellowship from the Harvard Graduate Society, which permitted me to focus exclusively on writing. This fellowship was made possible through a generous grant from Sidney R. Knafel.

I would also like to thank my colleagues among the faculty and staff at the Center for Middle Eastern Studies (CMES) at Rutgers, the State University of New Jersey. I am much obliged to my colleagues Peter Golden, Jawid Mojaddedi, and our Administrative Assistant Aretha Crayton for their help and support, without which I would not have been able to raise the requisite subvention for the publisher. I am also very much indebted to the faculty of the newly established Department of African, Middle Eastern, and South Asian Languages and Literature (AMESALL), my colleagues Richard Serrano, Ousseina Alidou, Alamin Mazroui, Paul Sprachman, our Administrative Assistant Stephanie Gutierrez, and many other present and former colleagues at Rutgers.

I cannot conclude these remarks without acknowledging the emotional (and at times financial) support that I have received over the years from the administrative staff at the Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, including Jennifer Petrallia, Maggie Stanley, Kathleen Cloutier, Kim Sue De Wall, Mary Medlin, and Brenna Wells. I owe a debt of gratitude to all of these individuals.

C.G. Häberl
Astoria, NY, 2008
Preface

This work is a description of a previously undocumented dialect of Neo-Mandaic, a Semitic language belonging to the Eastern subgroup of Aramaic dialects. This description is based upon newly collected texts, and constitutes the most thorough description of any dialect of Neo-Mandaic.

The data contained within are unique for numerous reasons. Neo-Mandaic, which represents the latest stage of the phonological and morphological development of Classical Mandaic, is the only surviving dialect of Aramaic directly descended from any of the attested dialects of Late Antiquity. While vernacular dialects of Aramaic do survive elsewhere in the Middle East, the other dialects thus far documented do not appear to be descended from any of the attested literary dialects. Furthermore, in most other dialects, the verbal system has been completely restructured; the synthetic forms characteristic of earlier dialects of Aramaic such as the suffix conjugation, the prefix conjugation, the imperative, and the entire system of derived stems have been replaced by new analytic forms. Neo-Mandaic preserves most of the original forms with the exception of the prefix-conjugation. Finally, as the modern reflex of Classical Mandaic, the liturgical language of the Mandaean religion, Neo-Mandaic deserves to be considered as both a living language of the modern Middle East and also the vehicle of one its greatest religious traditions, much like Hebrew, Arabic, and Persian. It is my belief that an increase in our understanding of the living language can only lead to a renewed appreciation of Mandaic as a classical language.

Unfortunately, contemporary attitudes towards Neo-Mandaic, both within the Mandaean community and outside it, range from the blithely indifferent to the hostile. The Mandaeans’ Arab neighbors describe it as a kind of ‘mixed-up’ or ‘backwards’ Arabic, and allophone Mandaeans describe it as a kind of Persian or Arabic jargon,
overlain with a few Mandaic words. The scholar most responsible for our knowledge of the modern Mandaean community, Ethel S. Drower, described the vernacular language in pejorative terms throughout her career, and even Rudolf Macuch, the first scholar to document a Neo-Mandaic dialect, called its value into question, except in regard to its potential to illustrate aspects of the written language. Although I too embarked upon my study of the modern language with more than a few concerns, engendered by the educated opinions of scholars such as these, I have since observed the value of documenting Neo-Mandaic for its own right, not merely for the study of the classical language and other related Aramaic dialects, and it is my hope that my work will restore a sense of perspective regarding the language and demonstrate its value to both the scholarly and the Mandaean communities.

Mandaic is severely endangered today, and all signs indicate that it will become extinct with the current generation of speakers. As an account of an endangered language, this work also addresses one of the chief concerns of linguistics in the 21st century, namely the impending loss of the majority of the world’s languages and the concomitant blow to both linguistic and cultural diversity that it represents. While it will not be possible to save all of the world’s languages from extinction, we may still have an opportunity to document many of them before they disappear without a trace. This work is my own modest contribution to this task.

Like other first attempts at description, my efforts to write this grammar were confounded by the lack of an appropriate model. Despite the two collections of texts published by Macuch, which were furnished with sketch grammars, and the information on Neo-Mandaic contained within his *Handbook of Classical and Modern Mandaic*, many features of the grammar of Neo-Mandaic are documented for the first time herein. I have opted to follow the most current standards for language documentation, even though these standards have not been extensively applied to other languages of the Middle East. As the methodology of language documentation evolves, it is inevitable that field linguists will discover some practices that apply well to one language or language family do not necessarily apply as well to
another language or language family. It is my hope that I have successfully balanced these standards with the demands and reality of documenting an endangered Middle Eastern language like Neo-Mandaic.

One minor deviation from these standards is the unfortunate fact that nearly all of the information contained in this grammar has been collected from one individual, Nasser Sobbi of Flushing, New York. This was necessitated by the small size of the Mandaean community in the United States and the even smaller number of Mandaeans who speak Neo-Mandaic in their daily life. While his wife Shukrie, who is also a fluent speaker of Mandaic, was willing to communicate in Mandaic with me, and often contributed vocabulary during the rare moments when Sobbi himself was at a loss for words, she was not comfortable with being taped. Sobbi’s brother Dakhil Shooshtary also speaks Mandaic fluently, but his work schedule prevented him from meeting with us during the times that I was visiting with Sobbi and his family. I did speak with him over the phone on several occasions during this period, and also communicated with Abdolkarim Moradi of Syosset, NY, who also speaks Neo-Mandaic fluently. Moradi was thrilled that I had taken an interest in his language and encouraged me (in Mandaic) to continue my studies, but was also unable to meet with me. In the future I hope to collect information from these two individuals to complement that which I have already collected from Sobbi. Fortunately, for the time being, scholars interested in Neo-Mandaic dialectology may avail themselves of the two text collections published by Macuch from his two informants.

During my early recording sessions in 2003, I made use of a Sony MZ-R30 Portable MiniDisc Recorder equipped with a noise-canceling microphone to record my sessions with Sobbi. I was unhappy with the quality of the recordings that were thus produced and found it difficult to reproduce them or convert them to other formats. I decided to adopt the Moving Pictures Experts Group Audio Layer 3 (MP3) format, as recordings in this format preserve most of their original fidelity at one tenth of their original size, making samples of the texts I had collected more portable and more easily reproduced. I purchased a Macintosh iBook laptop computer and recorded subsequent sessions with
SoundStudio 2.2.4, a freeware audio recording and editing tool developed by Felt Tip software. I then converted the resulting (uncompressed) data in Audio Interchange File Format (AIFF) generated by SoundStudio into MP3 format with iTunes, a proprietary digital media player application developed by Apple Computer. Although the MP3 files are much smaller in size, making them more easy to store and distribute, the compression involved in their conversion compromises the data, rendering them useless for phonological analysis. For this reason, I have retained the original uncompressed files and have arranged to have them archived at the Semitisches Tonarchiv of Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg (http://www.semarch.uni-hd.de/index.php4).

In addition to the Swadesh list (Table 5) and the ten texts which can be found in the text collection, I have also collected a number of other texts which I hope to publish separately. With the aid of these texts, and the data gathered by Drower and Macuch, in addition to the samples of Neo-Mandaic found in Nicholas Siouffi and Jacques de Morgan (see §1.5), I intend to produce a complete reference grammar of Neo-Mandaic. Such a reference grammar would necessarily require a more comparative and diachronic approach than the present work, the focus of which is primarily descriptive and synchronic, and thus restricted primarily to the phonology, inflectional paradigms, and morphosyntax of one particular dialect as derived from the texts in the accompanying text collection.

After a general introduction to the language, its speakers, and the history of scholarship, the phonology is described in the second section. The third section is dedicated to the noun phrase, the fourth to the pronouns, and the fifth chapter to the verb phrase. Section six concludes the discussion of the grammar some general observations about the language. Most of the examples in these chapters are culled from a collection of ten texts (five long texts, and five shorter ones), which are included in the second volume; the text of origin for examples drawn from the text collection is cited after each example.2

2 Some of the data, such as paradigms, isolated vocabulary items, and a few examples of morphosyntactictic constructions in context, were drawn from other sources such as the ones mentioned above.
The final portion of the grammar is a lexicon, which is followed by a brief bibliography.

A Note on Transcription

For ease of reference and comparison, most of the words given in this grammar have been transcribed according to the conventions generally used for their language of origin. All Neo-Mandaic words, including loan words, follow the phonemic transcription system outlined in Tables 7 and 9. Classical Mandaic proper nouns that are still in common use (such as the titles of religious texts) are likewise transcribed according to this system. Other Classical Mandaic words are printed in bold type, according to the conventions adopted by Drower and Macuch in their dictionary, to distinguish them from Neo-Mandaic.

In several places throughout the grammar (but primarily in section 2), the International Phonetic Alphabet is employed to illustrate the phonology of Neo-Mandaic. Phonemic transcriptions are enclosed within /slashes/; phonetic transcriptions are enclosed within [brackets]. On rare occasions (e.g. in the Persian words derived from Arabic), a transcription reflecting the orthographic representation of a given phoneme or word will be indicated within <angle brackets>.

The transcription system adopted for examples from Arabic and Persian is also outlined in Tables 1 and 2. Transcriptions of Arabic vowels reflect the phonemic distinction between quantitatively long and short vowels, a : ā, i : ī, and u : ū. This distinction is not characteristic of Persian, which distinguishes between lax and tense vowels, a : ā, e : i, and o : ū. The transcription of vowels in Persian words (including Persian words of Arabic origin) reflects this distinction rather than the quantitative distinction of Arabic. Likewise, as the transcription of Persian words (including those derived from Arabic) represents phonemic distinctions rather than orthographic ones, the consonants <h> and <ḥ> will always be represented as /h/, <s>, <ṣ> and <ṭ> will always be represented as /s/, and <z>, <ẓ>, <d>, and <ḍ> will always be represented as /z/, regardless of their orthographic representation. The citation form for verbs in Neo-Mandaic within the text consists of the three principal parts (i.e. the
perfective stem, the imperative stem, and the active participle), e.g. ʾḥabḥ~ḥḥb (ḥḥb) ‘to give.’ Within tables and the lexicon, verbs are cited and arranged according to their consonantal root, e.g. ʾ-h-ḥ ‘to give.’ The citation form for Persian verbs is the infinitive, e.g. dādan ‘to give.’

Whenever the original form of a loan word is offered, the transcription generally represents the standard form of the language of origin (e.g. Modern Standard Arabic) rather than the specific dialect that yielded the word (e.g. the colloquial dialect of Khorramshahr). Exceptions are made for purely colloquial words with no equivalents in the standard language. While this has the effect of obscuring the precise origin of these loan words, it reflects the current state of knowledge on the Arabic of Khorramshahr, which is limited.

Commonly known proper names and other familiar words are cited according to their conventional English-language form without any diacritics. Hence, the name of the capital of the Ninawa governorate in northern Iraq is given as ‘Mosul,’ not al-Mawṣil. The names of contemporary Mandaeans are also reproduced in their conventional English-language forms without diacritics, e.g. ‘Nasser Sobbi’ instead of ‘Nāṣir Şubbî.’

Interlinear Morpheme-by-Morpheme Glosses

Samples of Neo-Mandaic are given a line-by-line analysis with interlinear glosses, utilizing a slightly modified version of the Leipzig Rules, followed by a free translation. I opted to use the Leipzig Rules because they reflect current notational conventions in glossing morphosyntax and because they have the most currency among linguists. Each example is left-aligned, vertically, word for word, with the gloss beneath it.

Example:

\[(0.1) \quad anā \quad agar \quad gōn-it \quad āt \quad guš \quad Əbud-ọ \]

- If you hear me asleep, keep a lookout. (IV.46)

Segmentable morphemes are separated by a hyphen. On occasion, an expected morpheme may not be overt (e.g. the number of Əbud above), in which case it is indicated by ọ. Obviously, one morpheme in the object language may correspond to several in the gloss language, in which case they are separated in the gloss language by periods, with the exception of person and number. Clitic boundaries are indicated by an equal sign, in both the example and the gloss.

Example:

\[(0.2) \quad šerš=an \quad m=awwål \quad ālm \quad həw-at \]

- Our religion has existed from the first epoch of time. (I.8)

In the examples above, each distinct morpheme is indicated by an abbreviated grammatical category label. In addition to the standard ones most commonly used among linguists, I have also adopted a few extra category labels to represent those features of Neo-Mandaic not generally found in other languages (a full list of category labels follows). Wherever possible, I have attempted to keep the gloss as simple as possible, by restricting the category labels to reflect only the distinctions present in the language itself. Furthermore, the morphosyntactic glosses should not be mistaken for a direct translation, which is given in the line that follows them. It is often the case that more than one English word is required to express a single Neo-Mandaic word in different contexts; this is particularly true with regard to the prepositions. In such instances, I have assigned the most common English gloss to the Neo-Mandaic word without regard to context.
### Abbreviations and Symbols

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>adj.</td>
<td>adjective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adv.</td>
<td>adverb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>consonant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CM</td>
<td>Classical Mandaic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>coll.</td>
<td>collective noun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>conj.</td>
<td>conjunction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dem. pron.</td>
<td>demonstrative pronoun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f.</td>
<td>feminine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>indef. pron.</td>
<td>indefinite pronoun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>indep. pron.</td>
<td>independent pronoun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>interject.</td>
<td>interjection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imperf.</td>
<td>imperfective aspect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>impv.</td>
<td>imperative</td>
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<tr>
<td>m.</td>
<td>masculine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n.</td>
<td>noun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NM</td>
<td>Neo-Mandaic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PCM</td>
<td>Post-Classical Mandaic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s.o.</td>
<td>someone (animate argument of verb)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s.t.</td>
<td>something (inanimate argument of verb)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>subj.</td>
<td>subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>subjv.</td>
<td>subjunctive mood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pass. ptc.</td>
<td>passive participle</td>
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<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>plural</td>
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<tr>
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<td>prep.</td>
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<td>rel. pron.</td>
<td>relative pronoun</td>
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<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>vowel</td>
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<tr>
<td>v.i.</td>
<td>intransitive verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v.t.</td>
<td>transitive verb</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Grammatical Category Labels

1  First Person
2  Second Person
3  Third Person
AUG  Nominal Augment
C  C-Stem, Causative
COMP  Comparative Suffix
COP  Copula
D  D-Stem, Transitivity/Denominal
EZ  Persian ezāfe
F  Feminine
G  G-Stem, Basic Stem
IMP  Imperative
IPFV  Imperfective Aspect
IMPF  Imperfect (a.k.a. Prefix Conjugation)
IND  Indicative Morpheme
INDF  Indefinite / Non-Specific Morpheme
M  Masculine
NEG  Negative Morpheme
OBJ  Enclitic Object Marker
PASS  Passive Participle
PFV  Perfective Aspect (a.k.a. Suffix Conjugation)
PL  Plural
PTC  Active Participle
Q  Q-Stem, Quadriradical Verbs
REF  Referential Object Marker
REL  Relativizer
RES  Restrictive Clause Antecedent Marker
SBJV  Subjunctive Mood
SG  Singular
tC  Middle of C-Stem (originally with prefixed t-)
tD  Middle of D-Stem (originally with prefixed t-)
tG  Middle of G-Stem (originally with prefixed t-)
1. Introduction

1.1 The Name of the Language

The term that the Mandaeans most often employ to describe themselves is Mandāʾî or Mandāyí ‘Mandean.’ To their non-Mandaean neighbors in Iraq and Iran, they are more commonly known as the șābīʿūn, i.e. ‘the Sabians,’ or colloquially as the șubba. The singular of this term, șubbi, is not an uncommon surname for Mandaeans from Iran, including the family of my chief informant, Nasser Sobbi of Flushing, NY. Unlike most other terms by which ethnic groups are known to outsiders, the term ‘Sabian’ is in no way pejorative, but instead refers to one of the four ‘peoples of the book’ (ahl al-kitāb) with whom the Mandaeans have traditionally been identified by their Muslim neighbors. According to one hypothesis, this term derives from the Aramaic root related to baptism, in reference to the most characteristic Mandaean sacrament; the cognate in Neo-Mandaic is șābā ~ șābi (șābī) ‘to baptize.’

The language which is the subject of this grammar is also known as mandāyí. The Mandaeans further distinguish between a written form, Genzā ‘treasure’ after the title of their chief scripture, the Genzā Rabbā ‘Great Treasure,’ and a spoken form, raṭnā, a word which comes from the root meaning ‘to whisper or mutter.’ This is also the term used for the language of profane or magical texts, which are generally written in a later stage of the language than that found in the sacred texts. Interestingly, this same root has a cognate in Arabic, raṭana ~ yarṭunu (raṭâna), which means ‘to speak gibberish.’

4 In classical Mandaic, mandaiaa, the plural of which is Mandayānā ‘Mandaeans’ in Neo-Mandaic.
An account of numerous origins proposed for the term *mandāyī* would compose a study of no small scale in itself. Drower cites in passing no fewer than three possible etymologies for this word.\(^5\)

- **manda** ‘knowledge’ (cf. Biblical Aramaic מַנְדַע in Dan. 2:21, 4:31, 33, and 5:12), which would make the Mandaeans the only known group from Late Antiquity to identify *themselves* as Gnostics (as opposed to being identified as such by other groups). This is the conventional etymology, and the one most often cited.
- **mandia** ‘a cultic hut,’ a word apparently derived from Pahlavi m̀nd m̀nd ‘dwelling place.’ According to this theory, the term *mandaiia* was coined on the analogy of *mašknaia*, those of the *maškna*-sanctuary, which was another ancient name for members of the sect.
- **madai** ‘Media,’ elsewhere described in unflattering terms;\(^6\) in the *Harran Gāwēṭā*, the *naṣuraiia* or Mandaean priesthood is described as having originated in the *ṭura d-madai* ‘Mountain of Media.’ Intriguingly, nowhere in this document is the term Mandaeans ever employed.\(^7\)

Presiding over this discussion is the Mandaeans savior spirit, **manda d-hiiia Mandā d-Ḥeyyi**, whose name can be translated as either ‘Knowledge of Life’ or ‘Abode of Life,’ given the aforementioned possible etymologies for *manda*. While I prefer the conventional etymology, I feel obliged to note that the identification of *manda* with ‘Gnosis’ was a product of western scholarship and was not current among the Mandaeans themselves until relatively recently. Edmondo Lupieri voiced another reservation against identifying *mandaiia* with the term ‘Gnostic,’ namely that this term generally designates the lay people, whereas the initiated priesthood—the true Gnostics—are known explicitly as the *naṣuraiia*, i.e. those who possess *naṣiruta* ‘esoteric knowledge.’\(^8\)

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6 Macuch noted that Sheikh Abdallah Khaffagi of Ahvāz, his primary source for the traditional pronunciation of the written language, pronounced this word as *manday* rather than the expected *madday*; Rudolf Macuch, *Handbook of Classical and Modern Mandaic* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1965), li.
Given that it is entirely possible that the name of the Mandaeans may derive from a savior figure (like the Christians), their land of origin (like the Jews), their house of worship (like the Templars), or a defining characteristic of their religion (like the Muslims), the issue of the origins of their name will probably remain insoluble until further information becomes available.

1.2 Ethnology

While a complete ethnography of the Mandaeans would merit a monograph of its own, it is nonetheless important to acquaint oneself with the people who speak a language in order to fully understand that language. Even though such an ethnography of the Mandaeans has yet to be written, we are fortunate to have detailed descriptions of Mandaean life during the 1930s, courtesy of Drower, and of contemporary Mandaeans, courtesy of Jorunn J. Buckley. For this reason, a few remarks on the ethnology of the Mandaeans will suffice.

1.2.1 Religion

Just as Mandaic represents the only classical Aramaic dialect to survive to the present day, the Mandaean religion is the only surviving member of the pre-Islamic Gnostic sects from late antiquity. While the relationship of the Mandaeans to these other Gnostic sects has long been a matter of debate, and the validity of traditional scholarly conceptions about what constitutes Gnosticism has lately come into question, Mandaeism shares numerous important features with the other sects that have been called Gnostic. According to Drower, these features include a supreme being which delegates the creation of the material and spiritual worlds to beings of its own creation; dualism,

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which manifests itself in binary oppositions such as good and evil, light and darkness, the material and the spiritual, and so on; the concept of the soul as an exile and a prisoner; a belief in the influence of planets and stars, which are places of detention after death; a savior spirit which assists the soul in its journey to the afterlife; ‘mysteries’ or sacraments to aid and purify the soul, often based upon preexisting seasonal or traditional rites; an esoteric cult language of metaphors and personified ideas; and the great secrecy enjoined upon the initiates.\textsuperscript{12}

In terms of their religious practices in daily life, the Mandaeans show some similarities with other Middle Eastern religions (such as Zoroastrianism, Judaism, Christianity, Islam), but do not agree with any of these traditions according to all of their practices. They are bound by strong dietary taboos, like Jews and Muslims but unlike Christians and Zoroastrians. In addition to foods that are also forbidden to the first two groups, such as camels, horses, pigs, dogs, cats, rats, rabbits, and hares, Mandaeans refrain from eating beef, birds of prey, seafood without scales, and even mushrooms. Strong drink is also prohibited. Much like Jews, Zoroastrians, and Muslims, but unlike Manichaeans, Mandaeans view celibacy as a sin, and consider marriage and the procreation of children to be religious obligations.\textsuperscript{13} Unlike Jews and Muslims, but like Christians and Zoroastrians, they do not practice circumcision; in fact, circumcision renders male Mandaeans ineligible for the priesthood.\textsuperscript{14}

\subsection*{1.2.2 Society}

In their literature, Mandaeans are often described as having led a communal lifestyle. A prophecy related in the \textit{Genzā Yaminā} tells of “a conference to ensure that the great shall not receive more honor than the slave,” and the Mandean folktales frequently make mention

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{12} Ethel S. Drower, \textit{The Secret Adam: A Study of Naṣorean Gnosis} (Oxford: Clarendon, 1960), xvi.
\item \textsuperscript{13} Drower, \textit{The Mandaeans}, 41–48.
\item \textsuperscript{14} Ibid., 147.
\end{itemize}
of a Golden Age of equality for all, without wealth or poverty. Unlike Persian, which distinguishes between different registers of familiar and polite speech, Neo-Mandaic does not feature any formal forms of address; in fact, the Mandaeans recognize very few titles at all. In Drower’s time, the secular leaders of the individual Mandaean communities, designated by the austere title Rab Mandayānā, ‘Leader of the Mandaeans,’ were elected by their peers, although this practice has fallen into obsolescence. According to Drower, good health is the only sign of nobility recognized by Mandaean society, and the major divisions in Mandaean society are between the secular and the sacred rather than between economic classes. The priesthood is theoretically open to all but in practice tends to be hereditary, due to the rather strict standards of purity enjoined upon priests, which must be maintained over multiple generations. The clergy is divided into three classes: the esgandā, or acolyte; the tarmidā, or priest, and the ganzibrā, or high priest. Once the aspiring priest has learned to read and write Mandaic, he is known as a yalupā ‘disciple;’ once he has been initiated as a tarmidā, he is called by the title šiex ‘sheikh,’ a loan word from Arabic. The office of the ganzibrā, who presides over weddings and death masses, is the highest position which most Mandaean priests can hope to attain. According to Drower, a ganzibrā automatically becomes a rišāmmā or “head of the people” after consecrating five priests, but the consecration of priests is a rare event today.17

1.2.3 Family Life

Closely-knit families are a hallmark of Mandaean communities, and the extended family is the basis for a wide-ranging social network. In

15 Ibid., 385: “There was such justice that there was no wrongdoing. There was no strife and no war. None were rich and none were poor, for all were equal.”
16 In the modern dialect, this term has come to be applied to all literate Mandaeans, both priestly and lay.
17 Drower, The Mandaeans, 173. Sheikh Abdullah (currently resident in London), who has been responsible for the consecration of twenty priests, is considered to be a rišāmmā by his Iraqi compatriots, but most Iranian Mandaeans reject this identification. Jorunn Buckley, personal communication, March 19, 2006.
Drower’s day, marriages were often arranged, albeit with lineage as the primary concern rather than wealth, and a first cousin was considered to be an ideal match (preferably between paternal cousins rather than maternal cousins). Polygamy was permitted, albeit uncommon, and most Mandaeans maintained (and still maintain) that monogamy is superior. Divorce was not permitted, although a husband could separate from his wife if he found her morally lacking or careless about following the standards for ritual purity. Women were not allowed to remarry so long as their husbands were still alive and rarely remarried after their husbands had died.\(^\text{18}\) Today, many of these traditions are no longer followed, and Mandaeans generally observe the laws and the customs of the people among whom they live.

Most of the Mandaean kinship terms are unsurprisingly derived directly from the classical language; only the colloquial names for the grandparents, aunts, and uncles been borrowed from the neighboring languages, such as Arabic. Several of the kinship terms have irregular plurals, which are indicated below.

**Table 1: Kinship Terms**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Paternal Grandparents</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jeddu</td>
<td>Jedde</td>
<td>Jedde</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Babbā</td>
<td>Bibi; Māmā</td>
<td>Bibi; Māmā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bāhā</td>
<td>Emmā</td>
<td>Emmā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Ammu</td>
<td>'Amme</td>
<td>Xāle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xālu</td>
<td>Hāṭā (pl. ahwāṭā)</td>
<td>Hāṭā (pl. ahwāṭā)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahhā</td>
<td>Ah bellā / Ettā</td>
<td>Ah bellā / Ettā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ebbōr 'Ammu / Xālu</td>
<td>Bērat 'Ammu / Xālu</td>
<td>Bērat 'Ammu / Xālu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ebbōr Ahhā / Hāṭā</td>
<td>Bērat Ahhā / Hāṭā</td>
<td>Bērat Ahhā / Hāṭā</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{18}\) Ibid., 59.
The kinship terms for elder members of the family are bipolar; when addressing their juniors, elders will often refer to them using their own kinship term, and be addressed in kind. Consequently, Nasser Sobbi might refer to his grandson as jedduye ‘my grandfather’ and likewise be addressed as jedduye.19

1.2.4 Population Distribution

Regarding the Mandaean community in her day, Drower wrote,

To-day, the principal centers of the Šubba are in Southern Iraq, in the marsh districts and on the lower reaches of the Euphrates and Tigris; in the towns of Amarah, Nasoriyah, Basrah, at the junction of the two rivers at Qurnah, at Qal‘at Salih, Halfayah, and Suq-ash-Shuyukh. Groups of them are to be found in the more northerly towns of Iraq: Kut, Baghdad, Diwaniyah, Kirkuk, and Mosul all have Šubbi communities of varying size. The skill of the Šubbi as craftsmen takes them far afield, and Šubbi silver-shops exist in Beyrut, Damascus, and Alexandria. In Persia the Mandaeans were once numerous in the province of Khuzistan, but their numbers have diminished, and the settlements in Muhammerah and Ahwaz along the banks of the Karun river are not so prosperous or so healthy as those in Iraq.20

After the First Gulf War, Saddam Hussein embarked upon an aggressive program to drain the marshes of southern Iraq, in retaliation against the Ma‘dān or “Marsh Arabs,” who had risen up in rebellion against his regime at the conclusion of that war. As a result, the inhabitants of these marshes—Arab and Mandaean alike—were displaced, bringing an end to their traditional way of life. Today, most of the Mandaeans who live in Iraq and Iran reside in urban centers, although many continue to work as jewelers, as they did in Drower’s time. Outside of Iraq and Iran, the largest communities of Mandaeans are found in Sweden, Australia, and the United States, although many Mandaeans fled to Jordan and Syria following the occupation of Iraq

19 Bipolarity in kinship terms is a typical feature of most colloquial Arabic dialects; for more information on this phenomenon, see Mahmoud Aziz F. Yassin, “Bi-polar Terms of Address in Kuwaiti Arabic,” Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies 40.2 (1977): 297–301.
20 Ibid., 1–2.
in 2003, and small groups of Mandaeans can be found in most large cities throughout the world, from Madrid to Tokyo.

The dialect described here is that of Khorramshahr (formerly Muḥammara), an Iranian river port city located at the confluence of the Kārūn River and the Shatt el-Arab in the province of Khuzestān. This province, which is bounded on the south by the Persian Gulf and on the west by Iraq, stands geographically, historically, and culturally between Mesopotamia and Iran. As late as the 19th century, Neo-Mandaic dialects were spoken in the streets of several cities in northern Khuzestān, including Shushtar, Dezful, and Shāh Wāli. At some point, the Mandaeans of these communities were forced to leave, as a result of persecution or disease, and took up residence in Khorramshahr and Ahvāz.21

1.3 Demography

No consensus exists regarding the total number of Mandaeans in Iraq or Iran, and the figures for the number of Neo-Mandaic speakers remaining are almost entirely speculative. Conservative estimates for the former range from 40,000 to 60,00022 and perhaps 100-200 speakers for the latter, almost all of whom are located in Iran and nearly all of whom are fifty years of age or older. There are no speakers of Neo-Mandaic under thirty years of age.23

A rough census of all the Mandaean communities in what is today Iraq and Iran was last made in 1877 by the orientalist A. Houtum-

21 According to tradition, the local governor of Shūshtar instigated a massacre against Mandaeans in the region, drowning them in wells. The ruler of Persia at the time, Nāseroddin Shāh (1848–1896), intervened on behalf of the Mandaeans and stopped the massacres; Buckley, The Mandaeans, 6. One of his chief architects, Abdolghaffār Najmolmolk, subsequently visited the region and reported that two hundred households of Mandaeans still resided there, but that there were many others in the Ottoman Empire who had come from Khuzestān. See Abdolghaffār Najmolmolk, Safarnāme-ye Khuzestān (Tehran: Elmi, 1962).
23 Jorunn J. Buckley, personal communication. Buckley last visited Iran in 1996.
1.3 Demography

Schindler.24 Houtum-Schindler arrived at the following numbers for the major Mandaean communities:

Table 2: Census of Mandaean Families, 1877

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Number of Families</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'Amâra</td>
<td>Iraq</td>
<td>130 families</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sûq ash-Shuyûkh</td>
<td>Iraq</td>
<td>120 families</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basra</td>
<td>Iraq</td>
<td>50 families</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muḥammara</td>
<td>Iran</td>
<td>30 families</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Huwayza</td>
<td>Iran</td>
<td>10 families</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dezful</td>
<td>Iran</td>
<td>seven families</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shushtar</td>
<td>Iran</td>
<td>two families</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Houtum-Schindler also estimated that about 200 families lived in various Arab camps along the Tigris and the Shatt el-Arab, for a total of roughly 550 families altogether. When he returned in 1886, he arrived at the same numbers. Curzon quoted these same figures in his *Persia and the Persian Question*, but noted that the Mandaeans were in numerical decline.25

According to Nasser Sobbi, nearly all of the Mandaeans in Muḥammara (today Khorramshahr) spoke Neo-Mandaic during his youth (the 1920s and 1930s), with the exception of two families who had originally come from Iraq. Indeed, the situation of Neo-Mandaic in Iraq a century ago must have been equivalent to the situation of Neo-Mandaic in Iran today; older members of the community, predominantly of Persian origin,26 continued to speak Neo-Mandaic in their homes and even compose letters in it, as the texts collected by Jacques de Morgan attest, but the majority of the Iraqi Mandaeans, including the priests, did not speak the language natively.

Since the time of Curzon and Houtum-Schindler, widely divergent figures have been given for the population of Mandaeans in Iran and the number of Mandaic speakers among them. In his article on the

26 Such as Drower’s informant Hirmiz bar Anhar, whose family ultimately originated in Shushtar, according to Sobbi.
status of Mandaean studies, published in 1966, Edwin Yamauchi noted that there were likely only a few thousand Mandaeans left.\(^{27}\) One of the most frequently quoted figures for the total Mandaean population (in Iraq and Iran) is that of Kurt Rudolph, who estimated a number of 15,000 Mandaeans total, without citing any source for this number.\(^{28}\) Yamauchi, among many others, adopted this figure, and added on his own authority that there were perhaps only 200 speakers of Neo-Mandaic remaining.\(^{29}\) In 1989, the total population of Mandaeans in Iran was reported to be 6,200,\(^{30}\) a figure which subsequently came to be adopted by the United Nations High Commission in its reports.\(^{31}\)

More recent figures come from Hezy Mutzafi of the Dept. of Hebrew and Semitic Languages at Tel Aviv University. In the article on Mandaic in the fourteenth edition of *Ethnologue*, Mutzafi is cited as providing an estimate of 23,000 Mandaeans in Iraq, of whom none speak Neo-Mandaic natively. In Iran, out of a total population of 5,000 Mandaeans, only a small number (ca. 800-1000) speak Neo-Mandaic by his reckoning. In the latest edition of *Ethnologue*, the number of native speakers has dropped to 500, but Mutzafi’s other figures have been retained.\(^{32}\)

*Şābe‘īn-e Irān Zamin*, an album of photographic images of Mandaean life in Iran, placed the number of Iranian Mandaeans at


\(^{31}\) See, for example, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees *Report: Iran: Information on the Mandaean Religion and Whether or not the Children of Mandaeans are taken from their Homes and Forcibly Converted to Islam by Iranian Authorities*, August 26, 1997.

25,000 and that of the Iraqi Mandaeans at 70,000.\(^{33}\) In the foreword that she composed for the 2002 reprint of Ethel S. Drower’s *The Mandaeans of Iraq and Iran*, Buckley cited figures of 100,000 to 140,000 Mandaeans worldwide, with the majority residing in Iraq.\(^{34}\)

### 1.4 Genetic Affiliation

Neo-Mandaic represents the latest stage of the phonological and morphological development of Classical Mandaic, a Northwest Semitic language of the Eastern Aramaic sub-family. Along with the other surviving dialects of Aramaic, it is classified as Neo-Aramaic; these form a constellation of dialects ranging from Lake Van and Lake Urmia in the north to Damascus and Ahvâz in the south, clustered in small groups. Having developed in isolation from one another, most Neo-Aramaic dialects are mutually unintelligible and should therefore be considered separate languages; however, determining the exact relationship between the various Neo-Aramaic dialects is a difficult task, fraught with many problems, which arise from our incomplete knowledge of these dialects and their relation to the Aramaic dialects of antiquity.\(^{35}\)

Aramaic became widespread throughout the Fertile Crescent largely as a result of the policies of the Neo-Assyrian (ca. 934-609 B.C.E.) and Neo-Babylonian (ca. 627-520) empires. The Achaemenids (576-330 B.C.E.) adopted it as an auxiliary language both for international communication and internal administrative use. It gradually came to supplant the native languages of the region, but due to its wide geographic distribution and political circumstances following the collapse of the empire, it soon evolved into two major sub-families—the Western sub-family, comprising Jewish Palestinian, Christian Palestinian, and Samaritan, and the Eastern sub-family,

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comprising Late Babylonian, Syriac, and Mandaic. Some scholars (e.g. Stephen A. Kaufman and Daniel Boyarin) place Syriac in a third group, separate from Western and Eastern Aramaic.

Mandaic was first identified as an Aramaic dialect in 1604, the year in which Gerolamo Vecchietti, an Italian traveler, encountered a small village of Mandaeans en route to Basra from Baghdad:

I wanted to write a reminder of some of the words and, since the man was courteous, I sent for writing materials from the boat. Once I had written down many words I realized that the language was Chaldean [i.e. Aramaic].

This identification was subsequently corroborated by the Carmelite mission in Basra; Basil of St. Francis, a Portuguese Carmelite who founded the mission, reported to the Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide that, while their language was similar to Syriac, Chaldean priests and Mandaeans “understood each other very little” when attempting to communicate in their respective idioms.

In his grammar of Mandaic, Theodor Nöldeke recognized the close affinity that Mandaic had with Syriac, but identified it more closely with the language of the Aramaic portions of the Babylonian Talmud:

Mandaic is closely related to the ordinary dialect of the Babylonian Talmud. Both the dialects are neighbors, geographically speaking [...] actually, we may assume that the language of the Babylonian Talmud was that used in Upper, and Mandaic that used in Lower Babylonia.

He attributed their close relationship to a common descent from the language of the Nabaṭ al-ʾIrāq, i.e. the language of the pre-Islamic Aramaean inhabitants of Iraq:

A close relationship between Mandaic and the Talmudic language is apparent throughout the grammar: Mandaic, however, appears to be a later form than Talmudic, but not throughout, for the Mandaic texts are
linguistically purer and not as mixed with foreign elements, and represent
the Aramaic speech of Babylon better than the Talmud. Had the Arabs
preserved for us something more than a few accidentally introduced words
of the dialect of the Iraqi Nabataeans, (i.e. the Aramaic-speaking inhabitants
of Babylonia), we should again find the main features of Mandaic and
Talmudic, and far more clearly than is now possible.40

Most of the Neo-Aramaic dialects which survived to the present day
belong to the Eastern sub-family; these include Central Neo-Aramaic
(Țüröyo and Mlaḥsò), Northeastern Neo-Aramaic (the largest Neo-
Aramaic group, which includes various Jewish Neo-Aramaic dialects,
and the dialects of the Assyrian and Chaldean Christians), and Neo-
Mandaic. The only surviving remnant of the Western sub-family is
Western Neo-Aramaic, spoken in the villages of Ma‘lūla, Bakh‘a, and
Jubb ‘Adīn to the northeast of Damascus. Of all of these dialects,
Eastern or Western, only Neo-Mandaic can be described with any
certainty as the direct descendent of one of the Aramaic dialects
attested in Late Antiquity.41 For this reason, it is potentially of great
value in reconstructing the history of this sub-family and the precise
genetic relationship of its members to one another.

1.5 Previous Research

Neo-Mandaic was quite possibly the first of the Neo-Aramaic dialects
to attract scholarly attention, and more so than any other Neo-Aramaic
dialect it has captured the interest of some of the greatest Semitists of
each age. Unfortunately, scholarship on Neo-Mandaic was fraught
with numerous frustrations, false starts, and near-misses. While it
would fall outside the scope of this grammar to describe the entire
three hundred and fifty years of scholarship on Mandaic in detail,42
four periods of scholarly activity stand out. During the first period, the
study of Mandaic was essentially the study of the spoken language, as
the classical dialect remained virtually unknown. After a hiatus of
over a century, the broad outlines of the classical language became

40 Ibid., xxvi.
41 Macuch, Handbook, lv.
42 For further details on the history of western scholarship on the Mandaean, consult Lupieri, The Mandaean, 61–126.
known, beginning with the publication of an edition of a classical text (the *Genza Rabbâ*) and culminating in a grammar of the written language. Within a fairly short time, numerous editions of classical texts began to appear, as well as incantation texts and manuscripts in a postclassical form of the language and even five written documents in Neo-Mandaic. Finally, the twentieth century saw a marked increase in the number of Mandaic texts available to scholarship and the first attempts at a descriptive grammar of a Neo-Mandaic dialect.

1.5.1 The Early Period

European scholars first became aware of the existence of the Mandaeans, or “St. John Christians,” as they were initially known, in 1555. The first encounters between the two occurred in the kingdom of Hormuz, which was then under Portuguese rule. Members of the Mandaean community in Basra traveled to Hormuz in the hopes of convincing the Portuguese to liberate them from their Muslim suzerains. Initially, the Portuguese assumed that they were a Christian community within the Ottoman Empire, occupying territory coveted by the Portuguese, persecuted by their Muslim neighbors, and willing to accept papal authority. In the following decades, several abortive attempts were made to establish a base in Basra; it was not until 1623, however, after the Persians had captured Hormuz with the help of the British and came to menace Basra as well, that the Augustinians and the Discalced Carmelites were permitted to establish missions there. At least three of the Carmelites attached to the mission in Basra devoted their attention to the Mandaic language, as it was spoken in that day.

The first of the Carmelite scholars of Mandaic, an Italian by the name of Ignazio di Gesù, who lived in Basra between 1641 and 1652, is credited with a work entitled *Scriniun quattuor lingvarum orientalium, scilicet Persicae, Arabicae, Turcicae, et Mendaicae, in*

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43 It should be noted that an itinerant monk by the name of Ricoldo di Montecroce encountered them as early as the 13th century, but his account was not publicized until the 1940s: Lupieri, *The Mandaeans*, 69.

1.5 Previous Research

quo continentur ea, quae pro incipientibus necessaria sunt ad recte, et cito loquendum his quattuor idiomatibus, which was apparently finished some time before 1656. This work has been lost, although a copy of his Scrinium duarum, limited to Persian and Arabic, is preserved at the National Library of Rome.\textsuperscript{45} Ignazio de Gesù was also the author of the Narratio originis, rituum et errorum Christianorum S. Joannis, which remained the standard reference on the religion of the Mandaeans for over two centuries.\textsuperscript{46}

Matteo di San Giuseppe, another Italian Carmelite who took part in missions to Syria, Persia, Mesopotamia, and India, announced his intention to compose a “dictionary of the Mandaean language [...], which is almost unknown, and of Arabic, Turkish, Persian, and Latin,” in 1651. This dictionary was presumably finished by 1667, the year in which he next mentions it in his correspondence. Roberta Borghero has suggested convincingly that this document is to be identified with the Glossarium Sabico-Arabicum-Latinum-Turcum-Persicum at the University Library in Leiden.\textsuperscript{47} A French Carmelite, Ange de Saint Joseph, also made mention of Matteo di San Giuseppe’s dictionary, which he described as an “alphabetum, nec non onomasticon huiusce linguae,” in the introduction to his 1681 Pharmacopoea Persica. In the same work, he also disclosed his intention to write a “clavis linguae Sabaitarum,” which has unfortunately not survived, if it was ever completed.\textsuperscript{48}

These same missionaries also assiduously collected Mandaic manuscripts, which eventually found their way to libraries in Rome

\textsuperscript{45} Borghero, Glossary, 316–17. Ignazio di Gesù’s Scrinia were intended to be handbooks of oriental languages, containing the basic information necessary for beginners who want to speak these languages correctly.

\textsuperscript{46} Ignazio di Gesù, Narratio originis, rituum et errorum Christianorum S. Joannis, cui adiungitur discursus per modum dialogi in quo confutantur XXXIII errores eiusdem nationis (Rome: Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide, 1652).

\textsuperscript{47} Borghero, Glossary, 318. This Glossarium was to have a perennial influence upon future Mandaeologists; it was consulted by Theodor Nöldeke and Rudolf Macuch in the preparation of their grammars, and the contents of its Mandaic column were incorporated into the dictionary that Ethel S. Drower and Rudolf Macuch co-authored.

\textsuperscript{48} Borghero, Glossary, 313–14.
and other cities of Europe.\textsuperscript{49} The manuscripts collected by the missionaries were the basis for most of the editions published in the 19\textsuperscript{th} century; western scholars would not acquire new manuscripts, for the most part, until the 20\textsuperscript{th} century.

\subsection*{1.5.2 The Nineteenth Century}

After a long hiatus, a new impetus was given to the study of Mandaic by the Swedish orientalist Matthias Norberg, who transcribed a manuscript of the \textit{Genzâ Rabbâ} into Syriac characters and produced a translation of the text into Latin.\textsuperscript{50} This was followed by a lexicon in 1816\textsuperscript{51} and an onomasticon in 1817.\textsuperscript{52} Unfortunately, neither his transcription nor his translation withstood academic scrutiny. Scholarship would have to wait for half a century before an acceptable edition of the \textit{Genzâ Rabbâ} became available and well over a century before a full translation appeared.\textsuperscript{53}

This period also coincides with renewed efforts at field work among the Mandaeans. The first European to do so was the Assyriologist J.E. Taylor, who served for twelve years as the British vice-consul at Basra. In 1825, during the time that he served at Basra, he made the acquaintance of the priest Adam Yuhana. Over the next few years, Adam Yuhana instructed Taylor in Mandaic language and literature, and Taylor taught French, English, and Armenian (or perhaps German) to Adam’s son, Yahia Bihram. According to Yahia

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{49} The oldest Mandaic manuscripts in Rome were acquired by Ignazio di Gesù, and the oldest ones in Britain were acquired by Ange de Saint Joseph for Robert Huntingdon; Lupieri, \textit{The Mandaeans}, 106, fn. 98.
\item \textsuperscript{50} Matthias Norberg, \textit{Codex Nasaraeus: Liber Adami appellatus, Syriace transscriptus, loco vocalium, ubi vicem literarum gutturalium praestiterint, his substitutis Latineque redditus a Matth. Norberg} (Lund: Berlingianus, 1815–16).
\item \textsuperscript{51} Matthias Norberg, \textit{Lexidion Codicis Nasaraei: cui Liber Adami nomen / edidit Matth. Norberg} (Lund: Berlingianus, 1816).
\item \textsuperscript{52} Matthias Norberg, \textit{Onomasticon Codicis Nasaraei: cui Liber adami nomen / edidit Matth. Norberg} (Lund: Berlingianus, 1817).
\item \textsuperscript{53} Lupieri, \textit{The Mandaeans}, 114–15.
\end{itemize}
Bihram, Taylor was so moved by his education in the faith that he

In 1854, the year in which Taylor conducted the British Museum excavations at Ur (Tall al-Muqayyar), he visited the German orientalist J. Heinrich Petermann at nearby Sūq ash-Shuyūkh. Petermann was traveling throughout the Middle East in the hopes of studying the Samaritans, the Druze, and the Mandaean, and had settled in Sūq ash-Shuyūkh in the hopes of learning something about the Mandaeans. During the three months that he lived in Sūq ash-Shuyūkh, he studied Mandaic language and literature with the very same Yahia Bihram whom Taylor had tutored; Taylor was, in fact, the only European whom he saw during his stay in Sūq ash-Shuyūkh.

Upon returning to Europe, Petermann published the account of his travels in the Middle East, including his stay in Sūq ash-Shuyūkh, in his \textit{Reisen im Orient}.\footnote{J. Heinrich Petermann, \textit{Reisen im Orient}, vol. I–II (Leipzig: Von Veit, 1860 and 1861). The Mandaean are discussed in volume II.} In addition to providing western scholars with the first concrete accounts of the Mandaeans community in nearly two hundred years, Petermann collected a number of Mandaean folktales, including the legend of the “Bridge of Shushtar,” which is the most famous of Mandaean legends.\footnote{This legend is the subject of Text IV in the text collection.} Several years later, Petermann published a critical edition of the \textit{Genzā Rabbā} on the basis of four 16\textsuperscript{th} and 17\textsuperscript{th} century manuscripts.\footnote{J. Heinrich Petermann, \textit{Thesaurus sive Liber Magnus vulgo Liber Adami appellatus, opus Mandaecorum summi ponderis}, vol. I–II (Leipzig: J.O. Weigel, 1867), now available in a reprint edition through Gorgias Press (Piscataway, NJ: 2007).} This edition, the first Mandaic manuscript to be published in facsimile, included a brief introduction in Latin, but appeared without any commentary or translation. Despite the fact that a translation of this text would not appear until 1925,\footnote{Mark Lidzbarski, \textit{Ginza: Der Schatz; oder, Das grosse Buch der Mandäer} (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1925).} Petermann’s edition quickly became the basis for all studies of
Mandaic language and literature and remained so until Jacques de Morgan and Ethel S. Drower brought new manuscripts to scholarly attention.

Petermann’s efforts spurred a new growth of interest in the Mandaeans in Europe. Shortly after the publication of *Reisen im Orient*, the German philologist Theodor Nöldeke published an article on “the dialect of the Mandaeans,” which relied primarily on Norberg’s edition and the few other Mandaic texts which had been published since it. This article became the germ of the grammar he was to produce thirteen years later. Over the next ten years, the Swiss orientalist Albert Socin traveled to the Middle East several times in the hopes of duplicating Petermann’s successes, but was unable to enlist the aid of Yahia Bihram or, indeed, any other Mandaean. In the same year in which Petermann published his edition of the *Genzâ Rabbâ*, Julius Euting published a transcription of one third of the *Qolastâ*, the Mandaean prayer book, based upon manuscripts in Paris and London.

In 1873, the French vice-consul in Mosul, a Syrian Christian by the name of Nicholas Siouffi, sought Mandaean informants in Baghdad without success. Two years later, he was introduced to a young Mandaean priest from Shushtar named Adam, who had recently converted to Catholicism. This Adam was likely the grandson of Yahia Bihram, who had taught Mandaic to Petermann, and the great-grandson of the Adam who had taught Mandaic to Taylor.


60 I.e. his *Mandäische Grammatik*.


62 This is perhaps not so great a coincidence as it might otherwise seem. The Mandaeans were, at this time, extremely secretive about their religion and were not well-disposed towards revealing either their texts or aspects of their dogma.
According to Siouffi, Mandaic was the only language that Adam was able to read and write fluently, although he attended services in the East Syrian Rite and claimed to be able to understand “almost everything.” Over the next few years, he taught Siouffi to read Mandaic, and Siouffi transcribed the names and the texts which Adam gave him into an ad hoc system based upon French orthography. The samples which Siouffi published in his book on the Mandaeans betray numerous features which are typical of Neo-Mandaic rather than Classical Mandaic, such as the transcriptions *mambouha* and *masbetta* for Classical Mandaic *mambuga* and *mašbuta*, or the centralization of the vowel /u/ suggested by the transcription *chichtroio*. Siouffi’s work represents the first attempt, however unsystematic, to represent the current pronunciation of Mandaic.

Nöldeke’s grammar, which was published the year in which Siouffi first met Adam, was produced too soon to take advantage of Siouffi’s attempts at transcribing Mandaic; Nöldeke himself considered the absence of such data to be the primary weakness of his work:

I regard the fact that I know the language exclusively through its literature, without almost any idea of the traditional pronunciation, to be the greatest deficiency of my book. In particular, the section on phonology has suffered as a result. Hopefully, this will soon be supplemented by the research of Prof. Petermann, the sole scholar (as far as we know) who has precise

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63 The East Syrian (i.e. Chaldean) Rite to which Siouffi subscribed is delivered in Syriac, thus explaining the facility with which Adam followed the Mass. Lupieri, *The Mandaeans*, 121.

64 Nicholas Siouffi, *Études sur la religion des Soubbas ou Sabéens: leurs dogmes, leurs moeurs* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1880). The examples are taken from pp. 4, 162, and 23, respectively. They correspond to Neo-Mandaic *mambuhā* [mam'buḥɔ] ‘ritual drink,’ *mašbettā* [mas'bɛtta] ‘baptism,’ and *šuštrāyā* [ʃuʃˈtrɔːjɔ] ‘resident of Shushtar,’ respectively.
knowledge of that pronunciation. It is even more urgently wished that the highly esteemed scholar would publish his research on the traditional interpretation of the Mandaean books; if these were to be lost, we would be robbed of a possibly irreplaceable aid for the understanding of the writings. My friend Socin has still not managed to learn anything from the Mandaeans, among whom there are very few cognoscenti, about their language or literature. With some reliable knowledge about the exegetical tradition, we will undoubtedly arrive at a rather precise understanding and a dependable dictionary; without such knowledge, however, the interpretation [of the texts] will remain extremely spotty and uncertain.\footnote{Nöldeke, \textit{Mandäische Grammatik}, vii, translated by the present author. Nöldeke’s grammar was published in 1875, five years before Siouffi published the data he had collected from Adam.}

J. Heinrich Petermann died the following year without publishing his notes. Albert Socin never did find a Mandaean informant in Iraq; he and his colleague Eugen Prym eventually turned their attention to the Neo-Aramaic dialect of Ṭūr ʿAbdin, from which they published some folktales with translations in 1881.\footnote{Eugen Prym and Albert Socin, \textit{Der neuaramäische Dialekt des Tur Abdin} (Göttingen: Vanderhoech, 1881).} In the following year he published an edition of Jewish and Christian literary texts in Neo-Aramaic he had collected in the region between Urūmiya and Mosul,\footnote{Albert Socin, \textit{Die neuaramäischen Dialekte von Urmia bis Mosul}, vols. I–II (Tübingen: Laupp, 1882).} the fact that Socin was unable to collect similar texts from the Iraqi dialect (or dialects) of Neo-Mandaic, which would disappear virtually without a trace within the next few generations, is one of the greatest tragedies to befall the study of Semitic languages in the modern era.

1.5.3 Turn of the Century

Over the next fifty years, the most significant developments in the study of Mandaic were related to the publication of new data on all stages of the Mandaic language—Classical, Postclassical, and Neo-Mandaic—in the form of new manuscripts and archaeological finds such as incantation bowls and lead amulets. The pioneer translator of Mandaic literature was the Dutch scholar A.J.H. Wilhelm Brandt, who
used Petermann’s edition and the grammar published by Nöldeke to produce an edition of a few tractates from the *Genzâ Rabbâ* in 1893.\(^{68}\)

To this period also belong Jacques de Morgan’s discovery and subsequent publication of facsimiles of portions from the *Qolastâ*, as well as three legends and two letters in Neo-Mandaic, the first such texts to be published and the only samples of Neo-Mandaic writing ever published.\(^{69}\) In the same year (1904), a photographic reproduction of a Mandaic divan, the *Divân Aḥṭar*, originally brought to Rome by Ignazio di Gesù, was published by Julius Euting and B. Poertner.\(^{70}\) These publications dramatically increased the number of Mandaic texts available to western scholars, including the German scholar Mark Lidzbarski, who published a series of new editions of the *Drāši d-Yahya*, the *Qolastâ*, and the *Genzâ Rabbâ* from the manuscripts that had become available in the previous fifty years.\(^{71}\) In order to do so, he gathered lexical material from all of the manuscripts in European libraries, which he collected on index cards. This material was subsequently used by Drower and Macuch in their *A Mandaic Dictionary*.\(^{72}\) Lidzbarski’s editions of the *Drāši d-Yahyâ* (his *Johannesbuch*) and the *Genzâ Rabbâ* remain the standard editions to the present day.


\(^{71}\) For the *Drāši d-Yahya*, see Mark Lidzbarski, *Das Johannesbuch der Mandäer* (Giessen: Töpelmann, 1915); for the *Qolastâ*, see Lidzbarski, *Mandäische Liturgien*, and for the *Genzâ Rabbâ*, see Lidzbarski, *Ginza*.

The first Mandaic incantation bowls were collected and published by Henri Pognon, the French consul at Aleppo. While incantation bowls in other scripts and dialects of Aramaic had been published, Pognon’s commentary on the proper names found within the bowls and the glossary that accompanied the publication became an indispensable tool for all future publications of these texts and drew scholarly attention to a formerly unknown phase of the language. Pognon dated the texts to the period immediately following the Islamic conquest on the basis of an Arab name in one of the bowls, but taking into consideration the the lack of Arabic influences elsewhere within the corpus. In his review of Pognon’s work, Nöldeke noted that these incantation texts, as well as many other profane texts, were written in a later stage of the language than the classical texts. Chronologically more proximate to the language of the classical texts (but still belonging to the postclassical stage of the language) are the lead amulets, the first of which was published by Lidzbarski, who dated it to the 5th century.


74 The first Mandaic incantation text was published by Pognon himself five years prior to his Inscriptions mandaites. Other Aramaic incantation texts, in the Estrangela and “Jewish” square scripts rather than the Mandaic script, had been published piecemeal since Thomas Ellis’ publication of seven bowls in 1853. See J.B. Segal and E.C.D. Hunter, Catalogue of the Aramaic and Mandaic Incantation Bowls in the British Museum (London: British Museum Press, 2000), 21 for the most recent word on the history of the scholarship of the incantation bowls. I have reviewed this catalogue in a forthcoming issue of Orientalistische Literaturzeitung.

75 Theodor Nöldeke, review of Inscriptions mandaites des coupes de Khouabir by Henri Pognon, Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlands 12 (1899): 143.

76 Mark Lidzbarski, “Ein mandäisches Amulett,” in Florilegium ou recueil de travaux d’érudition dédiés à M. le Marquis Melchior de Vogüé à l’occasion du quatre-vingtième anniversaire de sa naissance, ed. G.C.C. Maspero (Paris: Geuthner, 1909), 349–73. Lidzbarski attributed the amulet to the 5th century on the basis of the palaeography; for more information on the script of the lead amulets, see my “Iranian Scripts for Aramaic Languages: The Origin of the
1.5 Previous Research

Within fifteen years of Pognon’s publication, another corpus of incantation bowls discovered in an archaeological context, namely those from Nippur excavated by the University Museum in Philadelphia, was published by James A. Montgomery.\(^77\) Montgomery’s publication was the most exhaustive yet attempted and established the standard for the publication of these texts even to this day. One of the many important contributions that Montgomery made to the debate was the assignation of a seventh-century C.E. date for the bowls on the basis of their archaeological provenance.\(^78\) This confirmed both Pognon’s suspicions about the age of the bowls and Nöldeke’s suspicions about the relation of their language to that of the classical texts. Montgomery’s dating has been upheld by subsequent archaeological excavations.\(^79\)

1.5.4 The Twentieth Century

The most recent phase of scholarship on the Mandaic language begins in 1930, with the death of Theodor Nöldeke and the beginning of Ethel S. Drower’s research on the Mandaeans.\(^80\) In 1932, when Drower first visited Ahvāz and Khorramshahr (then Muḥammara) and met a young Nasser Sobbi, she mentioned to him that the Mandaeans in Iraq and even their priests were unable to understand Mandaic, but in Iran even the children were able to speak it.\(^81\) We may assume that she was engaging in a bit of hyperbole; even though she later wrote

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\(^78\) Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts*, 104: “The archaeological evidence then for the *terminus ad quem* of our texts is the seventh century (probably its beginning), with a fair leeway back into the preceding century.”

\(^79\) One bowl, excavated at Ana, has been securely dated within the 8\(^{th}\) century; see Erica C.D. Hunter, “Two Mandaic Incantation Bowls from Nippur,” *Baghdader Mitteilungen* 25 (1994): 607.


\(^81\) See Text II, line 21.
that the colloquial dialect was falling into disuse all over the country in her day, she did not experience Socin’s difficulty in enlisting the aid of native speakers, such as Hirmiz bar Anhar, who later became a friend and colleague to Sobbi. She even recorded (in an ad hoc transcription system of her own devising) a version of the “Bridge of Shushtar” legend that Petermann had collected eight decades earlier, but unfortunately never published it. Rudolf Macuch was the first to publish this legend in the original language, although he never published it in its entirety, and the portion that he did publish differs in some respects from those of Petermann and Drower.

Five years later, however, Drower did publish an abridged translation of the legend in *The Mandaeans of Iraq and Iran*, along with some samples of what she called “bastard colloquial Mandaean [sic].” Like Nöldeke before her, she attributed the irregularities of post-classical texts to the influence of the vernacular, which she dubbed a “debased jargon intermixed with foreign words.” Although Drower’s ethnographic work among the Mandaeans is surprisingly modern in its sensitivity and objectivity, traits which were by no means common among her contemporaries, her wholly unjustified attitude towards the vernacular language belongs to an earlier era. This attitude may have contributed in part towards the mixed and often negative perceptions of the spoken language today within the Mandaean community itself (see §1.6 below). Nevertheless, the dozens of manuscripts that she brought to scholarly attention and furnished with exacting translations (which remain the standard to this day) have made it possible for scholars to apprehend the grammar of

82 Petermann, *Reisen im Orient*, 100.
83 The text is published for the first time here as Text IV in the text collection, courtesy of Jorunn J. Buckley, who possesses the original manuscript.
86 Ibid., 214.
the written language to a degree that would not have been possible otherwise.\textsuperscript{88}

Nearly three decades after Drower visited Ahvâz and Khorramshahr, Rudolf Macuch visited the community in Ahvâz. His encounter with the vernacular there was to have a profound influence upon his research. Although his \textit{Handbook} treated the vernacular dialect as an auxiliary to the grammar of the Classical language, which was his primary focus, Macuch emphasized the importance of the vernacular in the first few pages of the book:

Nöldeke as well as a whole generation of mandaeologists [sic] after him knew nothing of the existence of a living colloquial Mandaic in Khuzistan, the language of the Mandaean quarters of Ahvâz and Khorramshahr, in which a part of classical forms and vocabulary continues its life until our day. Although this modern idiom with simplified morphology, overlaid [sic] with Arabic and Persian expressions and subdued to manifold foreign influences can furnish us only a very imperfect picture of original Mandaic as it was spoken sixteen or seventeen centuries ago, it is not void of interest. It may prove to be of similar importance as the study of modern Persian for Pahlavi.\textsuperscript{89}

He made no mention of Drower’s trips to Ahvâz and Khorramshahr in 1932 nor of the references to the colloquial dialect in her 1937 and 1943 publications, which is surprising in light of Macuch and Drower’s collaboration on \textit{A Mandaic Dictionary}. This dictionary was published two years previously and made numerous references to colloquial forms, including those which Macuch had culled from the \textit{Glossarium}.\textsuperscript{90} Drower, who was the preeminent Mandaeologist of her

\textsuperscript{88} The work of producing translations and text editions of Mandaic manuscripts continues until the present day. One of the more recent editions published is that of the \textit{Diwān Malkūṭā Ḍleṭā}; Jorunn J. Buckley, \textit{The Scroll of Exalted Kingship} (\textit{Diwan malkuta ḏaita}), Mandaean Manuscript No. 34 in the \textit{Drower Collection, Bodleian Library, Oxford} (New Haven, CN: American Oriental Society, 1993). The publisher of this volume has only just recently released several new text editions in its series \textit{Mandäistische Forschungen}.

\textsuperscript{89} Rudolf Macuch, \textit{Handbook}, liv.

\textsuperscript{90} Macuch notes the fundamentally colloquial nature of the forms contained in the \textit{Glossarium} at the very beginning of his \textit{Handbook}; Macuch, \textit{Handbook}, 1–2. He also deduces from the defective orthography employed by the author of the
time and by all accounts not only aware of the vernacular but also fairly fluent in it, surely must have informed Macuch about its existence, despite his claims to the contrary.\(^91\)

Unfortunately, his departure from Iran in 1965 and the premature death of his informant Nasser Saburi in the same year prevented him from collecting any new data about Neo-Mandaic until 1990. The Handbook was released in 1965 to a mixed reception, which was somewhat mitigated by the fact that the data contained in it were available nowhere else and that it addressed an egregious lacuna in our understanding of Late Aramaic and Neo-Aramaic languages. Nevertheless, it suffered from some serious flaws:

The decision to combine the description of two widely divergent historical stages of the same language into a single handbook was perhaps not entirely felicitous and has raised some scholarly criticism. As a matter of fact, in the Handbook the modern vernacular is seen not so much as a language in its own right but as a continuation of a classical language; diachronic and synchronic treatments are merged. The picture of Neo-Mandaic which emerges from this treatment is somewhat blurred. There is no phonological analysis, the transcription is inconsistent and leaves the reader to guess what the underlying phonemic system might be. Similarly the morphological structure remains vague since the morphological categories and their functions are described only as reflexes of pre-existing older forms.\(^92\)

Although Macuch intended his handbook to encompass all stages of the language, he obstinately refused to incorporate any discussion of the incantation bowls into the dictionary or the Handbook, which was widely viewed as a serious omission.\(^93\)

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\(^91\) Macuch, Handbook, xlvi: “The existence of a vernacular dialect ... remained completely unknown until my personal discovery at the occasion of my visit to the Mandaean community of Ahwāz in 1953.”


\(^93\) See, for example, Cyrus H. Gordon, review of Handbook of Classical and Modern Mandaic by Rudolf Macuch, Journal of Near Eastern Studies 26.2
Among the many scholars who tempered their praise for Macuch’s contribution with a few sober notes of criticism was Joseph L. Malone, who composed a review of the Handbook targeted towards the general linguist. Shortly after the publication of this review, Macuch contacted Malone directly and provoked him into publishing an apology in a subsequent issue of the same journal. Several years later, Macuch savaged Malone (along with most of his other critics) in his Zur Sprache und Literature der Mandäer, protesting that he did not write his grammar for linguists, labeling Malone as “a complete beginner” and attributing to him an ignorance of “the elementary concepts of Mandaic verbal morphology.” It is perhaps not surprising, under the circumstances, that few other scholars took an interest in Neo-Mandaic during this time. To his credit, Malone continued to contribute to the study of Classical and Neo-Mandaic over the following decades, working primarily from Macuch’s data.

Macuch’s grandstanding and the shortcomings of his Handbook should not detract from the considerable contributions he made to the study of Neo-Mandaic, without which any future work would have been at a severe disadvantage. Macuch continued to work on Mandaic until the end of his life, finally publishing the texts he had gathered in

96 Rudolf Macuch, Zur Sprache und Literatur der Mandäer (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1976), 98. It should be noted that the subject of Malone’s doctoral dissertation, completed two years before his review of the Handbook, was “A Morphological Grammar of the Classical Mandaic Verb.”
Ahvāz in 1953 (after a hiatus of thirty-six years), along with his transcriptions of the texts published by de Morgan in 1904 and the portion of the “Bridge of Shushtar” legend that he had first published in 1965. 98 These were accompanied by a sketch grammar, the first attempt to describe the grammar of any Neo-Mandiac dialect as distinct from that of the classical language. Unfortunately, the flaws of the Handbook identified by Otto Jastrow above—namely his idiosyncratic transcription system and his failure to distinguish between diachronic and synchronic concerns—were retained in this new Chrestomathie.

The following year Macuch invited another Ahvāzi informant, Sheikh Salem Choheili, to Berlin. Macuch hosted Choheili for a full month and recorded thirteen cassette tapes of new material, the first Neo-Mandaic texts collected since 1953. He published these texts in transcription, accompanied by a second sketch grammar, only four months before his death in 1993. 99 In the introduction to his final work, Macuch wrote,

Under the current circumstances, the most urgent task facing Neo-Mandaic dialect research (which is at any rate rather restricted) remains the collection of samples from the dialect of Khorramshahr—formerly the strongest and most pure of the dialects, but today threatened by extinction. The dialect of Ahvāz will be preserved for future generations in its standardized form, but the dialect of Khorramshahr, which has never been standardized, will be lost without a trace. In a few years, it may already be too late to gather reliable traces of it. 100

I have outlined the history of Mandaic scholarship in order to illustrate a point. Although the Neo-Mandaic dialect of Khorramshahr has never been documented, and like many of the world’s languages it is primarily unwritten, the business of preparing a descriptive grammar of Neo-Mandaic is unlike that of almost any other undocumented and unwritten language. Directly or indirectly, it has been the subject of

100 Ibid., xvii. Translated by the present author.
western scholarship for three and a half centuries. Throughout most of this time little or no distinction was made between the modern form of the language and the classical form, for which two excellent grammars and a dictionary exist. Most scholars were first introduced to the colloquial form of the language well over forty years ago. Consequently, a work such as this cannot be undertaken without constant reference to the scholarly tradition that precedes it. Many of these scholars may wish that I had employed a format analogous to that of Macuch for my description; others will perhaps feel that I have permitted his and Nöldeke’s descriptions of the classical language to influence my own description of the modern one. In any case, an understanding of the history of scholarship surrounding this language is not only relevant but also crucial to any attempt at describing it.

1.6 Sociolinguistic Situation

My chief informant, Nasser Sobbi, was born in Khorramshahr on March 13, 1924. At the time, Khorramshahr, which was then known as Muhammara, was the capital of the virtually autonomous sheikhdom of the same name, which controlled the province of ‘Arabistān (which corresponded roughly to contemporary Khuzestān). The following year, Reza Pahlavi invaded Muhammara and brought its ruler, Sheikh Khaz‘al Khan, to Tehran, where he was placed under house arrest. For all official purposes, the province ceased to be known as ‘Arabistān, and it was placed under the direct control of the central government in Tehran. In 1937, after the death of Khaz‘al Khan, the Iranian cabinet voted to change the name of the city to Khorramshahr.

Among the many other changes brought by Reza Pahlavi to Khorramshahr was the introduction of universal and compulsory education in the language of the state, i.e. Persian, even among the largely Arabic-speaking inhabitants of the province. Not coincidentally, Sobbi’s generation will almost certainly be among the last to speak Neo-Mandaic.

Until he was 18, Sobbi spent his life between Khorramshahr and Abadan, where he had worked as an apprentice jeweler to his uncle, Abdolkarim Moradi (currently of Syosset, NY), from the age of 14.
After the outbreak of the Second World War, he traveled to Basra and Baghdad in search of work. In 1945, he returned to Khorramshahr and Abadan, as the oil industry had brought numerous foreigners (particularly British and Americans) to Khorramshahr and an attendant rise in the demand for jewelry. His family left Iran in 1952 to emigrate to Kuwait, where they resided until 1970. In that year, his family immigrated to the United States, where they have since resided.

1.6.1 Multilingualism and Language Attitudes

There are no monolingual speakers of Neo-Mandaic, and it is likely that there have not been any monolingual speakers for centuries, as they have always lived in close proximity to Arabs and have frequently been the minority in the places where they have dwelled. The remaining speakers of Neo-Mandaic are trilingual, also speaking the local dialects of Arabic (which are similar to that of Basra) and Persian, the language in which they were educated. Sobbi is probably unique in that he can read and write all three of these languages, as literacy in Mandaic is extremely uncommon.

The few remaining speakers of Neo-Mandaic are proud of their native tongue and would very much like to see it preserved. Members of the community in New York occasionally seek Sobbi out for lessons in the language, and the Mandaean community in Ahvāz has recently established a Mandaic-language school for children. Unfortunately, most Mandaeans (particularly those from Iraq) are completely unaware of the continued existence of their language, thinking it is only a part of the distant past. Other Mandaeans, who are aware of the existence of the modern dialect but do not speak it themselves, consider it to be a patois or even a kind of Arabic or Persian jargon.\footnote{That is, Arabic (or Persian) with a few Mandaic words added. The Arabs of Khuzestān who have come into contact with Neo-Mandaic recognize that it has some similarities to Arabic, but is a completely different language; in the words of one Ahvāzi, \textit{hum ‘idhum fād luğa yahcūn-ha, mitl ‘arabiyya has maqlūb} ‘they have a language that they speak, which is like Arabic but backwards.’ John Harnsberry, personal communication.} As mentioned previously, such attitudes towards
undocumented languages are not uncommon, but, as in the case of Neo-Mandaic, they are often unjustified.

1.6.2 Contexts of Use and Language Choice

Sobbi speaks Neo-Mandaic natively and continues to use it on a regular basis with his wife Shukrieh and his brother Dakhil Shooshtary, as well as his uncle Abdolkarim Moradi, who has also immigrated to the United States. He has five children: four daughters, Freshteh, Juliette, Labiba, and Nabila, and one son, Isa. None of his children speaks Neo-Mandaic, although his son-in-law, Labiba’s husband Tony Ebadi, grew up in a Neo-Mandaic-speaking household and can understand it. Consequently, the primary languages of his household are Arabic and English; his daughter Freshteh informed me that her parents speak in Mandaic when they do not wish to be understood by their children. Sobbi was educated in the standard dialect of Persian and can read and write all three of these languages. He has also become conversant in Urdu from his years of working in Kuwait with guest workers from Pakistan.

Sobbi describes his three primary languages thus:

When I was born, I spoke Mandaic. That was my mother and my father’s language, and it was the language I grew up speaking. Our neighbors were Arabs, and so we talked Arabic with them. Later, when I went to school, I learned how to speak Persian, because Persian was the language of the schools.

Much has changed since his childhood, and today few of his relatives speak Neo-Mandaic. As noted above, he uses Neo-Mandaic primarily with his wife, his brother, and his uncle Moradi. Neo-Mandaic’s sphere of usage is undeniably shrinking, as it has been shrinking for much of the last century. In the introduction to his Handbook, Macuch predicted:

As the knowledge of the literary language is dispensable to a Mandaean layman, since the sacramental rites produce their effect ex opere operato, so is also the knowledge of the vernacular, since living in an Arabic milieu all Mandaeans speak Arabic and in Iran mostly also Persian. Vernacular Mandaic as an exclusive language of Mandaean quarters and silversmith-workshops is of no great use to them. It survives only on account of its
simplicity in domestic and inter-Mandaean use being daily more and more invaded by the foreign elements by which it is surrounded.\textsuperscript{102}

1.6.3 Language Viability

The prognosis for the continued survival of Neo-Mandaic is grim. At this point in history, even the survival of the Mandaeans as a religious community is uncertain.

The dialect of Khorramshahr will almost certainly become extinct with the death of its few remaining speakers. Since Nasser Sobbi and his family left Khorramshahr, circumstances have resulted in the complete dispersion of the Khorramshahr community. During the Iranian Revolution in 1979, Khorramshahr was the scene of heavy fighting between the revolutionary guards and Arab nationalists. The following year, Saddam Hussein invaded and occupied Khorramshahr, which was subsequently recaptured by the Iranians in 1982. In the process, most of the city was destroyed and abandoned by its residents. Although the city has since been reconstructed, I am informed that the Mandaean community has not returned.\textsuperscript{103}

The Mandaeans elsewhere in Iran have not fared much better. Traditionally, the Mandaeans enjoyed a protected status as one of the peoples of the book. As a monotheistic religious community with a divinely-revealed scripture (the Genzā Rabbā) and a prophet (John the Baptist), they were free to practice their religion and could not be coerced to convert to Islam; prior to the Revolution, their status was codified in the laws of Iran. After the Iranian Revolution, the constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran ceased to recognize them:

\begin{quote}
Zoroastrian, Jewish, and Christian Iranians are the only recognized religious minorities, who, within the limits of the law, are free to perform their religious rites and ceremonies, and to act according to their own canon in matters of personal affairs and religious education.\textsuperscript{104}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{102} Macuch, \textit{Handbook}, lxiv–lxv.
\textsuperscript{103} Nasser Sobbi, personal communication, June 13, 2003. Some Mandaeans have rebuilt their houses, but prefer to rent these out to non-Mandaean tenants rather than return; Jorunn Buckley, personal communication, March 19, 2006.
\textsuperscript{104} Article 13 of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran.
As a result, the Mandaeans have been plunged into a legislative limbo. In theory, they do not enjoy the freedom to practice their religion, nor do they have any representation in the Consultative Assembly, whereas Jews and Zoroastrians each elect one representative, Assyrian and Chaldean Christians jointly elect a single representative, and the Armenians elect two representatives. To this day, their status under the laws of Iran has been a frequent subject of debate in the Consultative Assembly, but it has not yet been clarified.

In 1989, the government confiscated the mandi of Ahvāz, the chief Mandean house of worship, and converted it into the headquarters for the Islamic religious police, the Komiteh. After waiting six years for the other shoe to drop, the Mandaeans were relieved when the Supreme Jurisprudent of Iran, Ali Khamenei, issued a fatwa stating that the Mandaeans possess the requisite characteristics to be considered a people of the book. Although the Consultative Assembly has not yet amended the law to recognize the Mandaeans, they were subsequently permitted to open a private school in which their children could be schooled in their language. Much like other private schools in Iran, however, the headmaster must be a Muslim appointed by the Ministry of Education, and the curriculum must be approved by the same ministry. Only time will tell if this will prevent the seemingly inevitable extinction of the Mandaic language.

### 1.6.4 Loan Words

Neo-Mandaic is unusual in that words borrowed from other languages are marked both phonologically and morphologically; foreign nouns will only take possessive suffixes via an intermediary morpheme, -d-, and are pluralized using a different morpheme than that employed for native or nativized vocabulary. Considering that the remaining speakers of Neo-Mandaic are fluent in Arabic and

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105 Ibid., Article 64.
107 Arabic loan words are commonly identified as such by the presence of phonemes not found elsewhere in the lexicon, such as d, g, h, j, and  j.
108 For more information on the morpheme -d-, which appears on loan words before possessive suffixes, see Hāberl, “Relative Pronoun.”
Persian as well, most can identify loan words from these languages with near complete certainty. For these reasons, I have adopted a modified transcription system for words of foreign origin which have not yet been nativized to the Neo-Mandaic lexicon.\textsuperscript{109}

The loan words are not as pervasive as Drower and Macuch believed. Out of a list of two hundred and seven basic terms found in Table 5 at the end of this chapter,\textsuperscript{110} there are only fourteen loan words originally from Arabic, eleven loan words originally from Persian, and one possibly of Romance origin. There are also some common phrasal verbs that are calqued upon Persian verbs or incorporate Arabic and Persian elements.

### Table 3: Loan Words in Neo-Mandaic

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mandaic Form</th>
<th>English Gloss</th>
<th>Language of Origin</th>
<th>Original Form</th>
<th>English Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>waḥšī</td>
<td>animal</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>waḥšī</td>
<td>wild (adj.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jiḥel</td>
<td>child</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>jāḥil</td>
<td>ignorant (adj.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḡobār</td>
<td>dust</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>ḡubār</td>
<td>id.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baʾid</td>
<td>far</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>baʾīd</td>
<td>id.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʾajāj</td>
<td>fog</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>ʾajāj</td>
<td>dust cloud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j-m-d</td>
<td>to freeze</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>j-m-d</td>
<td>id.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʂunʾa</td>
<td>good</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>ʂunʾ</td>
<td>benefit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥaššāš</td>
<td>grass</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>ḥaššāš</td>
<td>id.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʂayd</td>
<td>hunt</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>ʂayd</td>
<td>id.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qarn</td>
<td>horn</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>qarn</td>
<td>id.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jaḍrā</td>
<td>root</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>jaḍr</td>
<td>id.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ǧoṣnā</td>
<td>stick</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>ǧuṣn</td>
<td>id.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hāfīf</td>
<td>thin</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>xāfīf</td>
<td>id.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭ-w-ḥ</td>
<td>to throw</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>ṭ-w-ḥ</td>
<td>id.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>doros</td>
<td>correct</td>
<td>Persian</td>
<td>dorost</td>
<td>id.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>perzi</td>
<td>a few</td>
<td>Persian</td>
<td>porze</td>
<td>a scrap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jangal</td>
<td>forest</td>
<td>Persian</td>
<td>jangal</td>
<td>id.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>miwā</td>
<td>fruit</td>
<td>Persian</td>
<td>mive</td>
<td>id.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{109} This convention is comparable to the English orthographic convention of using Roman type for native and nativized words and italics for words still considered to be foreign.

\textsuperscript{110} This is the Swadesh list, which is commonly used for basic lexicography. The full 207 word list can be found in a number of sources, including Bert Vaux and Justin Cooper, \textit{Introduction to Linguistic Field Methods} (Munich: LINCOM Europa, 1999), 44–45.
Table 3 (Cont.):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mandaic Form</th>
<th>English Gloss</th>
<th>Language of Origin</th>
<th>Original Form</th>
<th>English Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nazdik</td>
<td>near</td>
<td>Persian</td>
<td>nazdik</td>
<td>id.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gird</td>
<td>round</td>
<td>Persian</td>
<td>gird</td>
<td>id.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tiz</td>
<td>sharp</td>
<td>Persian</td>
<td>tiz</td>
<td>id.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>narmā</td>
<td>smooth</td>
<td>Persian</td>
<td>narm</td>
<td>id.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rās</td>
<td>straight</td>
<td>Persian</td>
<td>rāst</td>
<td>id.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dēraxt</td>
<td>tree</td>
<td>Persian</td>
<td>dēraxt</td>
<td>id.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>par</td>
<td>leaf</td>
<td>Persian</td>
<td>par</td>
<td>id.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bābā</td>
<td>father</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šerrā 'b-d</td>
<td>to fight</td>
<td>Persian</td>
<td>jang kardan</td>
<td>id.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šēnā 'b-d</td>
<td>to swim</td>
<td>Persian</td>
<td>šēnā kardan</td>
<td>id.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hol 'b-d</td>
<td>to push</td>
<td>Persian</td>
<td>hol dādan</td>
<td>id.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>talg n-h-t</td>
<td>to snow</td>
<td>Persian</td>
<td>barf āmadan</td>
<td>id.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fēkr 'b-d</td>
<td>to think</td>
<td>Persian</td>
<td>fēkr kardan</td>
<td>id.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ohrā 'z-g-w/ /</td>
<td>to walk</td>
<td>Persian</td>
<td>rāh raftan</td>
<td>id.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note that some of these loan words differ substantially in meaning from the original form in the donor language, and a few have become partially nativized through the addition of the augment -ā. Even if we include words of foreign origin that have been completely adapted to Neo-Mandaic phonology, thus obscuring their origins, and phrasal verbs calqued upon other languages but composed entirely out of native lexical items, only 15% of the basic vocabulary in Table 5 can be attributed to foreign influence (primarily Arabic and Persian); the remaining 85% consists entirely of reflexes of Classical Mandaic vocabulary. When one considers the total lexicon of Neo-Mandaic, the proportion of loan words to native vocabulary rises; in this regard, however, Neo-Mandaic is comparable to most other languages, including Persian and even English. Certain semantic categories are dominated by loan words, while others remain virtually free of any foreign influence. The numbers employed, for example, are almost always the Persian ones, not the Mandaic ones; while speakers are generally familiar with both, they will only use the latter when they are making a conscious effort.
1.7 Subdialects

After comparing his data from Ahvāz with recordings from Iraq made by Drower in 1953 and by Rudolph in 1969, Macuch declared in his contribution to *Zur Sprache und Literatur der Mändaer* that there were no differences in dialect between the Mandaean communities in Iraq and Iran. While his conclusions undoubtedly hold true for the traditional pronunciation of Classical Mandaic, the recordings which he analyzed do not offer any idea of the pronunciation, grammar, or lexicon of the Iraqi vernacular, which was already moribund in 1937 and had most likely become entirely obsolete in 1969.

A better picture of the Iraqi vernacular is offered by the letters published by de Morgan in 1904, which originated in Baghdad. While it is difficult to draw conclusions about the phonology of Iraqi Neo-Mandaic on the basis of these texts, the grammar and the vocabulary of the texts seem to accord closely with what we know about the two Iranian Neo-Mandaic dialects—including a liberal use of Persian loan words. Both Macuch’s informant, Nasser Saburi, and my informant, Nasser Sobbi, were easily able to read these texts and even declared them to be highly entertaining. This is also true for the text sample which Drower had collected in Baghdad, which presented Sobbi with few difficulties in reading.

According to the testimony of Abdolğaffār Najmolmolk, many of the Mandaeces who were living in the Ottoman Empire toward the end of the 19th century were originally from Khuzestān. Drower and Sobbi have also confirmed that the knowledge of the vernacular was not widespread in Iraq in the early part of the last century, and at least one of the Iraqi Mandaeces who spoke Neo-Mandaic, Hirmiz bar Anhar, was descended from Mandaeces from Shushtar. On the basis of this anecdotal evidence and the indisputable conformity between the Iranian dialects and the few samples that we possess of the Iraqi dialects, it might be posited that the original Iraqi vernacular first encountered by Gerolamo Vecchietti in 1604 had died out at some

111 Macuch, *Sprache und Literatur*, 75.
113 See fn. 21 above.
point before the 19th century and that the Neo-Mandaic speakers encountered by Taylor, Petermann, and Drower in Iraq were the descendents of Mandaean refugees fleeing persecution in Shushtar, Dezful, and Shāh Wāli.

The Mandaeans of Shāh Wāli settled predominantly in Ahvāz, just as the Mandaeans of Shushtar and Dezful settled in Khorramshahr. As the Mandaeans rarely settled down in one place for very long, but were constantly traveling from community to community, these dialects were never in isolation from one another and remained mutually intelligible. Nonetheless, slight differences do exist, as illustrated by the samples in Table 4:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>beţ</td>
<td>bieţ</td>
<td>beţ</td>
<td>house</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mienā</td>
<td>mienā</td>
<td>menā</td>
<td>water</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waxt</td>
<td>vaxt</td>
<td>waqt</td>
<td>time</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>doţon</td>
<td>diyōţon</td>
<td>doţon</td>
<td>come (pl.)!</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>klāţā</td>
<td>tlāţā</td>
<td>klāţā</td>
<td>three</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>orke</td>
<td>mork</td>
<td>orke</td>
<td>with</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ılli</td>
<td>ke</td>
<td>ke</td>
<td>which</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Salem Choheili, Macuch’s informant in 1989, is a yalupā from Ahvāz, and a member of the chief priestly family in that city. Nasser Saburi, his informant in 1953, was also from Ahvāz, but not from a priestly family; like Nasser Sobbi, however, he was literate in Classical Mandaic. The most obvious distinction between the three columns is the distinction in vocabulary used by Sobbi and Saburi against Choheili. Both Sobbi and Saburi use the word klāţā for three instead of tlāţā, and the preposition orke instead of mork. Macuch mentions in his *Handbook* that the members of priestly families employ a different vocabulary than lay Mandaeans, which might explain the phenomenon observed here.114 Also note that Sobbi employs the colloquial Arabic

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relative pronoun *illi* to introduce non-restrictive relative clauses and the Persian relative pronoun *ke* to introduce restrictive relative clauses, whereas the two Mandaeans from Ahvāz both use the Persian *ke* for both restrictive and non-restrictive clauses.

With regard to the phonology of the two subdialects, note that the vowel in the accented syllable of the words for ‘house’ and ‘water’ has broken in the speech of Sobbi and Choheili, but not in that of Saburi. Breaking is a typical feature of the Arabic dialects of southern Iraq and Khuzestān and may have spread into Neo-Mandaic within the last fifty years, which would explain why Saburi’s speech does not share this feature. Also note that the voiceless uvular stop /q/ has been fricativized in the Arabic word *waqt* ‘time’ as pronounced by Sobbi and Choheili, but not Saburi; while fricativization does occasionally occur in Saburi’s speech, it does not appear to be as pervasive as it is in the speech of the others. The fricativization of this word can be directly attributed to the influence of Persian, in which the word is commonly pronounced /væχt/. All occurrences of the voiced bilabial approximant /w/ in Sobbi and Saburi appear to correspond to the voiced labiodental fricative /v/ in Choheili, although, as Jastrow noted, it is difficult to ascertain the phonetic realization of this phoneme from Macuch’s transcriptions.

A further feature of Choheili’s speech, not found in either Sobbi or Saburi’s speech, is the glide that often appears in accented syllables, e.g. *diyōtōn* ‘(all of you) come!’ The centralization of lax vowels in accented syllables is typical of both Choheili and Sobbi’s speech; this feature was also typical of the speech of Siouffi’s informant, but it has spread much further in Choheili’s speech than it has in any of the others.

116 No examples of breaking appear in the “Bridge of Shushtar” text collected by Drower, ca. 1932.
117 Macuch, *Neumandäische Chrestomathie*, 42.
118 Jastrow, review of *Neumandäische Chrestomathie*, 545.
One of the most prominent differences between the subdialect of Sobbi and his wife and that of Macuch’s informants is the complete absence of feminine plural forms in the paradigm of the verb. Both Saburi and Choheili gave second and third feminine plural forms of the verbal paradigm when they were elicited, and presumably used them in their daily speech, but these forms are not present at all in Sobbi’s speech. Whether these represent a conscious archaism on the part of Macuch’s informants or a genuine survival of the Classical Mandaic feminine plural forms is difficult to say.

The question of the differences between the various subdialects of Neo-Mandaic and their relationship to the classical language will be reexamined in Chapter 6. Further speculation on the dialect geography of Neo-Mandaic is hampered by the lack of informants from other dialect groups. Although more informants from Khorramshahr and Ahvāz are necessary to complete the picture, much more information could be derived from Macuch’s texts if they were re-transcribed with a phonemic transcription system such as the one employed in this grammar. This is a necessary first step to writing the grammar of the dialect of Ahvāz, which Macuch never completed during his lifetime. Additionally, the contribution of a Neo-Mandaic speaker descended from the community of Dezful, such as Asad Askari of Ahvāz, would go very far towards completing the picture of the dialect geography of Neo-Mandaic.

Table 5: Swadesh List of 207 Common Terms in Neo-Mandaic

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Neo-Mandaic</th>
<th>IPA</th>
<th>Transcription</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>all</td>
<td>gaš</td>
<td>[ɡɛʃ]</td>
<td>geš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>204</td>
<td>and</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>[wɔ]</td>
<td>wɔ-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>animal</td>
<td>uahšī</td>
<td>[ˈwɛhʃi]</td>
<td>wahšī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>168</td>
<td>ashes</td>
<td>tauša / ṭauša</td>
<td>[ˈtɔ워ʃo]</td>
<td>ṭawšā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>201</td>
<td>at</td>
<td>qar</td>
<td>[qɔɹ]</td>
<td>qār</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>88</td>
<td>back</td>
<td>butar</td>
<td>[ˈbɔːθaɾ]</td>
<td>bāgar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>186</td>
<td>bad</td>
<td>bṭala</td>
<td>[bɔˈtˤɔ]; [bɔˈtˤɔː]</td>
<td>battālā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>bark</td>
<td>mašk šagra</td>
<td>[ˌmeʃkˈʃɪʤrɔ]</td>
<td>mešk šejrā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>206</td>
<td>because</td>
<td>ka</td>
<td>[ke]</td>
<td>ke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85</td>
<td>belly</td>
<td>karša</td>
<td>[ˈkarsa]</td>
<td>karsā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>big</td>
<td>rabu</td>
<td>[ˈɾæbbo]</td>
<td>rabbā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>bird</td>
<td>supra</td>
<td>[ˈɾɔprɔ]</td>
<td>soprā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>94</td>
<td>bite</td>
<td>nakti</td>
<td>[nɔˈχɔt]</td>
<td>n-ƙ-t</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 5 (Cont.):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Neo-Mandaic</th>
<th>IPA</th>
<th>Transcription</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>176</td>
<td>black</td>
<td>akumu</td>
<td>[o'kumɔ]</td>
<td>okumá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64</td>
<td>blood</td>
<td>dma / zama</td>
<td>[da'mɔ:]</td>
<td>dma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>98</td>
<td>(it) blows</td>
<td>rahu ata</td>
<td>[ˌrehu ɛθɔː]</td>
<td>rehu 't-&quot;w-/r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65</td>
<td>bone</td>
<td>garma</td>
<td>['gemeɔ]</td>
<td>germá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>89</td>
<td>breast</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>99</td>
<td>breathe</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>169</td>
<td>burn</td>
<td>qla</td>
<td>[qɔˈli:]</td>
<td>q-L-w/-r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>child</td>
<td>ghal</td>
<td>['ɖiːhel]</td>
<td>jihel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>160</td>
<td>cloud</td>
<td>aua</td>
<td>['iːvɔ]</td>
<td>ibá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>181</td>
<td>cold</td>
<td>msi</td>
<td>[maˈsiː]</td>
<td>məsi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>122</td>
<td>come</td>
<td>duti</td>
<td>['doːti]</td>
<td>'t-&quot;w/-r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>196</td>
<td>correct</td>
<td>durust</td>
<td>[doˈros]</td>
<td>dorós</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>139</td>
<td>count</td>
<td>mni</td>
<td>[maˈniː]</td>
<td>m-n-&quot;w/-r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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2. Phonology

2.1 Preliminary Considerations

A number of factors complicate the study of Neo-Mandaic phonology. The first and most obvious complication is language contact. Extensive borrowing from languages such as Arabic and Persian has expanded the phonemic inventory of Neo-Mandaic. Four loan-phonemes, the postalveolar affricates č /ʧ/ and j /ʤ/ and the pharyngeal fricatives ʕ /ʕ/ and h /ħ/, characteristic of Arabic and Persian but not originally of Mandaic, have been introduced into the phonology. Three other segments, a voiced interdental fricative ḋ试 /ð/ its pharyngealized equivalent ḫreat /ðˁ/, and a voiced alveolar fricative ḧ /zˁ/, are found in a few loan words of Arabic origin. They have been excluded from the phonemic inventory of Neo-Mandaic due to their marginal status. Furthermore, the fricatives /v/, /ʁ/, /δ/, /χ/, and /θ/ have a much different distribution in loan words; typically, their occurrence in word-initial position identifies a word as being of foreign origin.

Loan words which are identifiable as such (due to the presence of loan-phonemes among other factors) take a separate set of plural and possessive morphemes indicating their foreign origins. For these reasons, the phonemes /f/, /v/, /x/, or /ς/ are assigned the values .FILE/, v, x, and .inverse f whenever they appear in words of foreign origin (rather than 𐤀, 𐤁, 𐤃, and 𐤄 respectively). The orthography of a given word should therefore indicate whether the word is a loan word or not and,

119 It should be noted that č /ʧ/ does appear in a small number of Mandaic words in which the phonemes t /t/ and š /ʃ/ are articulated together. The absence of these phonemes in earlier stages of the language is clear from the fact that they appear only in loan words and are not consistently represented in the traditional writing system, which lacks characters for these phonemes and employs a variety of ad hoc orthographic strategies to represent them.
consequently, whether it is likely to be marked as such in the morphology.

A second and more challenging obstacle (if less immediately obvious) is posed by the relatively large number of allophones attested for each phoneme. Among the thirty-five distinct consonantal and vocalic segments, at least two allophones are attested for all but nine segments, and thirteen segments have three or more regular realizations. Furthermore, a variety of sound changes have obscured the original phonemes of the language and given rise to new phonemes (such as /æ/, §2.3.2.4). Their allophones are generally conditioned by syllable structure, neighboring segments, and the position of the accent in relation to the syllable in which the segment occurs (§2.4); /r/, for example, is realized as a voiced alveolar trill \( [r] \) in syllable-initial position and an approximant \( [ɹ] \) in post-vocalic position (see §2.3.1.4 below). The transcription system, which is phonemic, does not reflect these allophones; nor does it reflect sporadic assimilations, deletions, and other features of allegro speech.

Whenever I have established the phonemic status of a given segment, I have attempted to isolate the precise phonological environment that determines each of its allophones. The success of these attempts has been mitigated by a third important complication: unexplained phonetic variation. I hesitate to attribute all examples of unexplained phonetic variation to free variation, as it is clear that some of them (such as the alternation between Persian and Arabic pronunciations of the same Arabic word) have sociolinguistic or dialectal explanations.\(^{120}\) Another important source of variation is the analogical and paradigmatic leveling of phonemes within a word. Even where a particular phoneme has multiple allophones determined by its environment, phonemes tend to be leveled towards one realization across inflectional paradigms no matter what the phonetic environment may be. This is the case with the phoneme /v/ in the

\(^{120}\) Unfortunately, as noted in §1.7, I have only just begun to collect the evidence for Neo-Mandaic dialect variation, which falls beyond the scope of this grammar.
verbal root ʾ̣eḥaḥ ~ ʾ̣eḥoh (āheḥ) ‘to give,’ which is most often realized as a [v], regardless of its environment.

2.2 Phonological Units

This inventory of Neo-Mandaic phonemes begins with the consonants (see Table 6 below), and is organized primarily according to point of articulation and secondarily by presence or absence of voice and pharyngealization. Each consonant phoneme is introduced by its value in the transliteration scheme adopted specifically for Neo-Mandaic (details are found in Table 7 below) and is followed by its value in the International Phonetic Alphabet (given between /slashes/) and its chief allophones (given within [brackets]). Minimal pairs are supplied for consonants only where the phonemic independence of a particular phoneme might be considered controversial, because its allophones merge with those of other phonemes. The consonants are followed by the vowels, which are also organized by articulation and furnished with minimal pairs to demonstrate their phonemicity.

Wherever possible, I have attempted to supply examples from the text collection that accompanies this grammar in the second volume. Each such example is followed by a series of numbers indicating the number of the text and the specific line from which it has been collected. The Roman numeral (I-X) corresponds to the relevant text from among the ten, and the Arabic numeral (1-150) that follows it corresponds to the line within the text. Letters (a-z) indicate the arbitrary divisions in each line that correspond to the lines of the interlinear morphosyntactic glosses that follow each text. In some cases, it was not possible to supply examples directly from the text collection, in which case examples were taken from other material collected (including the Swadesh list, Table 5). These examples are not followed by any cipher.
2. Phonology

Table 6: Phoneme Inventory (Consonants)

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<th>Labiodental</th>
<th>Interdental</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
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Fricatives

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Sonorants

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Table 7: Transcription Scheme (Consonants)

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Fricatives

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</table>

Sonorants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sonorants</th>
<th>Bilabial</th>
<th>Labiodental</th>
<th>Interdental</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Post-Alveolar</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Uvular</th>
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</tbody>
</table>

* The use of f, v, ñ, x, ñ, or ñ in a word indicates that it is of Arabic or Persian origin.
There are 35 distinctive segments in Neo-Mandaic: 28 consonants (§2.3.1) and 7 vowels (§2.3.2). The consonants are organized according to their points and manner of articulation as well as any coarticulations; each section includes a description of the most common allophones and the environments in which they occur. The vowels are also organized according to articulation and include descriptions of their most common allophones.

### 2.3.1 Consonants

There are 28 distinctive consonants in Neo-Mandaic, including two pharyngeal consonants (§2.3.1.9) that are found only in loan words borrowed from Arabic (see §1.6.4), and two post-alveolar affricates (§2.3.1.5) that are found primarily in loan words borrowed from that language and Persian (but see §2.1 above).
2. Phonology

2.3.1.1 Labials

\[
p \quad /p/ \quad [p^h], [p] \\
b \quad /b/ \quad [b] \\
m \quad /m/ \quad [m], [m̩] \\
w \quad /w/ \quad [w], [u], [v], [u]
\]

**Voiceless bilabial stop (aspirated):** /p/ is lightly aspirated in most positions, except when it is the first element in a consonantal cluster, as in (2.2), or when it follows a fricative, as in (2.3). Nevertheless, aspiration is not generally indicated in the transcriptions, apart from those given below.

(2.1) pol \[p^h\text{o}l\] bridge (IV.19)
(2.2) epseqni \[ɛp.ˈsɜq.ni\] we died out (I.14)
(2.3) kaspā \[ˈkæs.pə\] silver (III.5)

**Voiced bilabial stop:** This phoneme is sporadically weakened to the voiced labiodental fricative /v/ in post-vocalic position (see 2.4.1.6). Nonetheless, the phonemic opposition between /b/ and the voiced labiodental fricative /v/ is demonstrated by the minimal pair (2.4) and (2.5).

(2.4) zabnu \[ˈzɑb.nu\] he sold them (V.5)
(2.5) zabnu \[ˈzɑv.nu\] he bought them

**Bilabial nasal sonorant:** Much like the other sonorants (q.v.), this segment becomes syllabic in word-initial position when followed by a consonant, particularly in the participial forms of the derived stems; in the phonemic transcriptions, [m] is represented by the digraph əm, as in (2.6); the syllabic status of the phoneme is confirmed by the absence of the usual anaptyctic /ə/ to break up the consonant cluster, as in (2.7), or the prothetic /ə/ before the initial consonant, as in (2.8); see §2.3.2.4 for the normal outcome of /ə/ in these environments.

(2.6) əmbašqer \[m.ˈbaʃ.qeɾ\] knowing (IV.35)
(2.7) **məbašqer \[mə.ˈbaʃ.qeɾ\] id.
(2.8) **əmbašqer \[ɛm.ˈbaʃ.qeɾ\] id.
Labial-velar approximant: In the environment of the back vowels /u/, /o/, or /ɔ/, as in examples (2.9) – (2.11), /w/ is most often realized as a voiced labial-velar approximant [w], even in word-initial position. When following a back vowel, particularly /o/, /w/ is generally pronounced as [u], forming a diphthong with the preceding vowel, e.g. (2.12) and (2.13).

(2.9)  gāwwu  [ˈgɔ̀.wu]  in them (I.11)
(2.10)  wusle  [ˈwasə."le]  piece (IX.12)
(2.11)  ziiwā  [ˈziː.wɔ]  splendor (I.9)
(2.12)  əlāw  [ə."lɔʊ]  to (III.13)
(2.13)  gāw  [gɔʊ]  in (I.4)

/w/ is frequently realized as a voiced labiodental fricative [v] in intervocalic position whenever it follows or precedes a closed front vowel, either /e/, as in (2.14), or /i/, as in (2.15) and (2.16), but note (2.17).

(2.14)  hawén  [hæ."ven]  may we be (I.14)
(2.15)  gāwwi  [ˈgɔʊ.vi]  in him (X.1)
(2.16)  diwā  [ˈdiː.vɔ]  demon (IV.45)
(2.17)  huwi  [ˈhuː.wi]  he (IV.35)

In certain environments, /w/ may become syllabic, in which case it merges with the close back vowel /u/. For examples and further details, see §2.4.2.5 below.

Previously this phoneme was distinct from the voiced labiodental fricative /v/, but the two have merged in many environments. There is also a considerable degree of variation in the realizations of both these phonemes. Nevertheless, these two phonemes remain distinct in the verbal root, as /v/ is retained throughout the inflectional paradigm of the verb whereas /w/ generally succumbs to deletion whenever it appears as the second or third radical consonant of the verbal root.

2.3.1.2 Labiodentals

\[ \tilde{p} / f \]  /f/  [f]
\[ b / v/ \]  [v], [w], [u]
2. Phonology

**Voiceless labiodental fricative:** The independence of this phoneme from /p/ is demonstrated by the minimal pair (2.18) and (2.19).

(2.18) ṣoprā ['s’oprə] bird
(2.19) ṣoprā ['s’ofrə] yellow

**Voiced labiodental fricative:** /v/ is generally realized as a voiced labiodental fricative in intervocalic and post-vocalic position in the environment of a close front unrounded vowel, either /e/, as in (2.20) and (2.21), or /i/, as in (2.22).

(2.20) ṣḥyī ['s’ev.ji] he baptized him (I.9)
(2.21) qābed ['qæv.ed] he will do (IV.22)
(2.22) lāhirī ['læh.rɪ.vi] he hasn’t destroyed it (IV.71)

When occurring in the environment of an open back rounded vowel /u/, as in (2.23), /o/, as in (2.24), or /ɔ/, as in (2.25), /v/ is frequently realized as the labial-velar approximant [w], even in word-initial position, as in (2.26).

(2.23) ṣḥud [ə.'wud] do (f.sg.)! (IV.46)
(2.24) ṣḥod [ə.'wod] do (m.sg.)! (IV.62)
(2.25) qəmahreḥāt [qə,mahe.ʁə.ˈwɔt] you will destroy (IV.58)
(2.26) ḥābā ['wɑː.ɔ] door (IX.5)

2.3.1.3 Interdental

\[
t \quad /θ/ \quad [θ]
\]

**Voiceless interdental fricative:** The minimal pair (2.27) and (2.28) illustrates the contrast between this phoneme and the voiceless alveolar stop /t/.

(2.27) aṭṭon ['a.θo.ɔn] they brought (IV.14)
(2.28) aṭṭon ['at.θon] you (pl.) (IV.110)

2.3.1.4 Alveolars

\[
t \quad /t/ \quad [tʰ], [t]
d \quad /d/ \quad [d]
t \quad /t̪/ \quad [t̪], [t]
\]
2.3 Phonetic Characteristics of Distinctive Segments

Voiceless alveolar stop: /t/ is generally aspirated, as in (2.28), except when it occurs as the initial segment in a consonant cluster or following a fricative, as in (2.29) and (2.30). Apart from these examples, aspiration is not noted in the transcription. This phoneme is occasionally weakened to the voiceless interdental fricative /θ/ in intervocalic position or in word-final position after a vowel; see 2.7.1.7.

(2.28) āt [ɔtʰ] you (sg.) (V.23)
(2.29) etθer [ˈɛt.θer] it broke (IX.12)
(2.30) ēstā [əʃ.ˈtɔː] now (I.10)

Voiced alveolar stop: This phoneme does not have any significant allophonic variation. In one instance, this phoneme is weakened to the voiced interdental fricative /ð/; see §2.7.1.7.

(2.31) ehdā [ˈɛh.dɔ] one (IV.43)

Voiceless pharyngealized alveolar stop: The pharyngeal articulation of the voiceless alveolar stop is very weak, at times barely audible, which is typical of secondary articulations in Neo-Mandaic such as aspiration. It is often lost when it is the first segment in a consonantal cluster, as in (2.33). When /tˁ/ is weakened to [t] in other environments, it remains distinct from /t/, which is generally pronounced with aspiration.

(2.32) tāb [tˤɔ], good (IV.38)
(2.33) baṭluktā [bat.ˈluχ.tɔ] misfortune (I.14)

Voiceless alveolar sibilant: This phoneme has no significant allophonic variation.
2. Phonology

Voiced alveolar sibilant: This phoneme has no significant allophonic variation. In fast speech, it is occasionally devoiced before voiceless stops; see §2.7.1.1.

(2.34)  săqat  ['sɔː.qɑt]  she went up (IV.145)

(2.35)  qāzi  ['qɒː.zi]  he goes (VIII.1)

Voiceless pharyngealized alveolar sibilant: Much like other secondary articulations in Mandaic, such as the aspiration on the voiceless stops and the pharyngealization of the voiceless alveolar stop /tˁ/, the pharyngeal articulation of this phoneme is very weak, even barely audible at times. Additionally, it is lost when followed by a second consonant in a cluster, as in examples (2.37) and (2.38).

(2.36)  šəbyi  ['səv.ji]  he baptized him (I.9)
(2.37)  eštəbyon  [ɛs.təb.jon]  they were baptized (I.10)
(2.38)  mīsrā  ['mɪs.ro]  boundary (IV.20)

Alveolar nasal sonorant: Before a velar stop, /n/ is realized as [ŋ]. This allophone is characteristic of loan words of English and Persian origin, e.g. (2.40) and (2.41). Vowels in syllables closed by /n/ are regularly nasalized; this is generally not indicated in the transcription unless the following nasal is lost (see §2.7.1.6).

(2.39)  nodā  ['noː.dɔ]  earthquake (IV.115)
(2.40)  Inglizī  [ɪŋ.ɡlɪ.ˈzi]  English (II.14)
(2.41)  čangā  [ʧæŋ.ˈɡɑː]  harps (IV.81a; Persian čang-hā id.)

In certain environments, /n/ can be syllabified to [ŋ]; in the phonemic transcription system, syllabic [ŋ] is represented by the digraph ən. For more information and further examples, see §2.4.2.5.

Alveolar lateral approximant: The Neo-Mandaic /l/ generally has a “clear” (i.e. alveolar) pronunciation, except in two environments: as the second segment in a consonant cluster, following a voiceless stop, it is devoiced, as in (2.43), and in the Arabic word Allāh (and consequently all names containing it) it is velarized to [ɬ], as in (2.44).
2.3 Phonetic Characteristics of Distinctive Segments

(2.42) elliye [ˈɛl.li.je] where is it (X.14)
(2.43) klāṭā [ˈklā.θɔ] three (III.1)
(2.44) ‘Abdalla [ˈab.ˈdɑl.λa] Abdallah (II.8)

In certain environments, /l/ can be syllabified to [l]; in the phonemic transcription system, syllabic [l] is represented by the digraph ɵl. For examples and more information, see §2.4.2.5.

Voiced alveolar trill: The Neo-Mandaic alveolar trill /ɾ/ has two different realizations, depending upon its position within the syllable. In word-initial position, e.g. (2.45), syllable-initial position after another consonant, e.g. (2.46), when doubled, e.g. (2.47), and in intervocalic position, e.g. (2.48), /ɾ/ is realized as a voiced alveolar trill [r]. In word-internal, syllable-final, and word-final positions, e.g. (2.49) and (2.50), it is realized as a voiced alveolar approximant [ɻ].

(2.45) rabbā [ˈræb.bɔ] great (X.11)
(2.46) gaʻrā [ˈgæv.ɾɔ] man (V.18)
(2.47) barra [ˈbɑr.ɾa] outside (II.13)
(2.48) qārī [ˈqɔː.ɾi] by him (IV.12)
(2.49) karsi [ˈkaɾ.si] his stomach (X.2)
(2.50) əmar [ə.ˈmaɾ] he said (V.14)

In certain environments, /ɾ/ can also appear as a syllabic consonant [ɾ]; in the phonemic transcription system, it is represented by the digraph ɵr. See §2.4.2.5 for details.

2.3.1.5 Post-Alveolars

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{š} & /ʃ/ & [ʃ] \\
\text{č} & /ʧ/ & [ʧ] \\
\text{j} & /ʤ/ & [ʤ] \\
\end{array}
\]

Voiceless post-alveolar sibilant: This phoneme has no significant allophonic variation.

(2.51) ešmi [ˈɛʃ.mi] his name (II.7)
2. Phonology

**Voiceless post-alveolar affricate**: the voiceless post-alveolar affricate /\textipa{ʧ}/ is primarily, but not exclusively, limited to loan words from the languages with which speakers of Neo-Mandaic have come into contact; e.g. (2.52) and (2.53). It is also found in the number nine, (2.54), and all numerals derived from it, e.g. (2.55) and (2.59).

(2.52) čāre [\textipa{ʧʰəɾe}] remedy (IV.40; Persian čāra id.)
(2.53) gač [gæʧ] gypsum (IV.4; Persian gač id.)
(2.54) eččā [\textipa{ʧʰeʧə}] nine (II.22; CM tša id.)
(2.55) čin [ʧin] ninety (III.1; CM tšin id.)
(2.56) čemmā [\textipa{ʧʰəm.mə}] nine hundred (III.1; CM tšima id.)

**Voiced post-alveolar affricate**: Like its voiceless counterpart /\textipa{ʧ}/, the few examples of /\textipa{ʤ}/ collected in the texts derive predominantly from Arabic and Persian; see (2.57), (2.58), and (2.59).

(2.57) jihel [\textipa{idʒi.hɛl}] child (II.16; Arabic jāhil ‗ingénu‘)
(2.58) minjo-di [mɪn.ˈʤoː.di] out of (X.3b; Arabic min juwwa id.)
(2.59) mujur [\textipa{mə.ʤuɾ}] how (V.24; Persian ě-jur ‗how‘)

2.3.1.6 Palatal

\textipa{y} /\textipa{j}/ [j], [i], [i]

**Palatal approximant**: /\textipa{j}/ has a tendency to form a diphthong with the preceding vowel when closing a syllable, as in (2.61).

(2.60) yəhom [jə.ʰom] sit down! (IV.140)
(2.61) ayhimi [aɪ.ʰiː.mi] he made him sit down (IV.77)

In certain environments, /\textipa{j}/ may become syllabic, in which case it merges with the close front vowel /\textipa{i}/. For examples and further details, see §2.4.2.5 below.

2.3.1.7 Velars

\textipa{k} /\textipa{k}/ [kʰ], [k]
\textipa{g} /\textipa{g}/ [g]

**Voiceless velar stop**: /\textipa{k}/ is lightly aspirated in most positions, except when the first element in a consonantal cluster, as in (2.62) or
following a fricative or sibilant (2.63). Nevertheless, aspiration is not generally indicated in the transcriptions, apart from those given below.

(2.61) **kandi** [ˈkʰæn.di] yet, still (IV.78)
(2.62) **klaṭāyā** [kl̥ɛ.oː.jɔ] third (VIII.9)
(2.63) **askar** [ˈæs.kaɹ] army (IV.103)

**Voiced velar stop.** This phoneme has no significant allophonic variation.

(2.64) **gomlānkon** [gom.ˈlɔn.χon] your camels (IV.124)

2.3.1.8 Uvulars

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>phoneme</th>
<th>phonetic value</th>
<th>transcription</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>q</td>
<td>/q/</td>
<td>[q], [ʁ], [g]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k/x</td>
<td>/χ/</td>
<td>[χ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ġ/g</td>
<td>/ʁ/</td>
<td>[ʁ]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Voiceless uvular stop:** When this phoneme closes an accented syllable, it is often realized as a voiced uvular fricative /ʁ/, as in (2.66); this appears to be the result of Persian influence and not to be related to the other examples of fricativization listed in §2.7.1.7. /q/ also occasionally alternates with the voiced velar stop /g/, particularly in word-initial position, e.g. (2.67), possibly as a result of colloquial Arabic influence. Neighboring vocalic segments are regularly colored by the constriction of the uvula; this is not indicated in the transcriptions.

(2.65) **qazğān** [qaz.ˈʁɔn] cooking pot (X.2)
(2.66) **lāqbèn** [l̥aːq.ᵇeːn] we don’t want (IV.109)
(2.67) **qohazelli** [ga.ˈzɛl.li] they see him (IV.7)

**Voiceless uvular fricative:** The near-minimal pair (2.68) and (2.69) indicates the phonemic independence of /χ/ from /k/. Neighboring vocalic segments are regularly colored by the constriction of the uvula; this is not indicated in the transcriptions.

(2.68) **yek** [jɛk] one (IV.13)
(2.69) **šiex** [ʃiɛχ] sheikh (II.7)
2. Phonology

Voiced uvular fricative: /ʁ/ is a comparatively rare phoneme that is more characteristic of Arabic and Persian loan words than reflexes of the Classical Mandaic lexicon. Neighboring vocalic segments are regularly colored by the constriction of the uvula, although this is not indicated in the transcriptions.

(2.70)  ḥaḡās  [bɔ.ˈʁasː]  he stopped, stood still (IV.50)

2.3.1.9 Pharyngeals

\[ \begin{array}{ccc}
\text{h} & /\text{ḥ}/ & [h], [h] \\
\hat{c} & /\text{k}/ & [ʕ], [ʔ], [Ø]
\end{array} \]

Voiceless pharyngeal fricative: The voiceless pharyngeal fricative /ḥ/ is characteristic of loan words from Arabic. Neighboring vocalic segments are regularly colored by the constriction of the pharynx, although this is not indicated in the transcriptions. On occasion, this phoneme is pronounced as a voiceless glottal fricative /h/, possibly as a result of influence from Persian, e.g. (2.72). When asked about the different outcomes of this phoneme, the consultant responded that sometimes Mandaeans pronounce words containing it “the Arab way,” and other times they pronounce them “the Persian way.”

(2.71)  ḥākem  [ˈʰʔak.ɛm]  governor (IV.30; Arabic ḥākim ‘judge’) 
(2.72)  ḥasīš  [hæ.ˈʃiʃ]  hashish (VII.6; Arabic ḥasīš ‘grass’)

Voiced pharyngeal fricative: Like /ḥ/, the voiced pharyngeal fricative /ʕ/ is also typically found in loan words of Arabic origin. Neighboring vocalic segments are regularly colored by the constriction of the pharynx, and Arabic loan words containing this phoneme are likely to have a “Persian” pronunciation as well as an “Arabic” one, in which case the voiced pharyngeal fricative is realized as a glottal stop /ʔ/, as in (2.74), or even deleted, as in (2.75).\(^{121}\) The consultant opted not to exclude either pronunciation and insisted that the alternation between the two allophones was in no way an impediment to comprehension.

\(^{121}\) Note that the glottal stop /ʔ/ appears only in Arabic loan words containing /ʔ/ or as an allophone of /ʕ/.
(2.73) ᵜᵘⁿ‘ᵃ [ˈsʰən.ʰɑ] good (VI.2; Arabic ᵜᵘⁿ‘‘benefit’’)
(2.74) ʲᵃᵐⁱ‘ᵃ [dʒə.ˈmiː.ʔa] all (IV.15; Arabic ʲᵃᵐⁱ‘id.)
(2.75) ᵇᵃᵐ‘ [ʃam] candle (IV.20; Arabic ᵇᵃᵐ‘id.)

2.3.1.10 Glottal

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c}
\text{\(h\)} & /\text{h}/ & [h], [x], [Ø] \\
\end{array}
\]

Voiceless glottal fricative: In word-final position, /h/ is regularly deleted; cf. (2.76) and (2.77), as well as (2.78) and (2.79). When closing a syllable, however, it is often strengthened to [x] before a consonant; e.g. (2.80). See §2.4.1.3 for more information on the treatment of /h/.

(2.76) ῦʳᵉᵣᵢⱼᵃ [r.ˈqiː.hɔ] sky (augmented) (IV.145)
(2.77) ῦʳᵉᵣᵢ [r.ˈqiː] sky (contextual) (IX.12)
(2.78) Ὺᵉᵣᵢⱼⁱ [pɛ.ˈɾɔː.hi] some money (VI.1; cf. Turkish para id.)
(2.79) ῦᵣᵢᵢ [pɛ.ˈɾɔː] money (V.V)
(2.80) qᵉḥᵃᶻⁱⁿᵏᵒⁿ [qa.ˈzin.χon] I see you (pl.) (I.4)\[^{122}\]

2.3.2 Vowels

The vowel system in Neo-Mandaic is composed of seven distinct vowels, of which six (i /i/, u /u/, e /e/, o /o/, and ə /ə/) are principal phonemes, and one (ɔ /ɔ/) is marginal. There are also five diphthongs, ey /eː/, ay /aː/, aw /aʊ/, āy /ɔː/, and āw /ɔː/; these will be discussed in §2.4.2.3 below. The vowels are distinguished by quality rather than quantity.

As with the consonants, there is a considerable amount of allophonic variation among the vowels. In most cases, the allophonic realization of any given vowel can be determined by the syllable structure and the position of the stress. Three of the principle vowels, the “tense” vowels i, u, and ə, are frequently lengthened in open accented syllables, to [iː], [uː], and [ɔː] or [ɔː]. i and u are generally realized as [i] and [u] whenever they occur in closed syllables, either accented or unaccented. The other three principle vowels, the “lax”

\[^{122}\] Also [qa.ˈzin.χon] ‘I see you (pl).’
vowels *o*, *e*, and *a* appear only exceptionally in open accented syllables. *e* is realized as [e] in open syllables and [ɛ] in closed syllables. *a* is realized as [a] in closed accented syllables, and [a] or [æ] elsewhere.

Schwa (ə) has the widest allophonic variation of all the vowels. It is regularly fronted, backed, raised, or lowered in harmony with the vowel of the following syllable. Whenever it is followed by *w*, it is regularly raised and backed to [ʌ]. When the accent falls on a syllable containing schwa, it becomes fronted and raised to [ɛ].

### Table 10: Some Minimal and Near-Minimal Pairs (Vowels)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowels</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>i</em></td>
<td>bieòti</td>
<td>['biê.ti]</td>
<td>his house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bieòte</td>
<td>['biê.te]</td>
<td>my house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>i</em></td>
<td>aklit</td>
<td>['aɣlit]</td>
<td>I ate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>aklet</td>
<td>['aɣlet]</td>
<td>you ate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>u</em></td>
<td>guèhod</td>
<td>[.guə'wod]</td>
<td>watch out (f.!)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>guèbud</td>
<td>[.guə'bud]</td>
<td>watch out (m.!)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>o</em></td>
<td>horini</td>
<td>[ho'riːni]</td>
<td>another</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>horini</td>
<td>[ho'riːni]</td>
<td>we defecated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>o</em></td>
<td>obdî</td>
<td>['ɔv.dî]</td>
<td>do it!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ābdi</td>
<td>['əv.dî]</td>
<td>he does it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>a</em></td>
<td>bieòta</td>
<td>['biê.tə]</td>
<td>her house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bieòtâ</td>
<td>['biê.tə]</td>
<td>house</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.3.2.1 Close front unrounded vowel: *i* is generally realized as a close front unrounded vowel [i] in open unaccented syllables, e.g. (2.81). In open accented syllables, *i* is lengthened, e.g. (2.82); In closed syllables, *i* is realized as [i]; in open pretonic syllables, *i* is occasionally reduced to [i]; see §2.6.2.2.
2.3 Phonetic Characteristics of Distinctive Segments

(2.81) bəratti [bə.ˈrɑt.ti] his daughter (IX.7)
(2.82) diwā [ˈdiː.vɔ] demon (IV.45)
(2.83) mimrā [ˈmɪmrɔ] literature (I.5)

/ɪ/ often breaks in open accented syllables, particularly in the environment of labial consonants (including the bilabial and labiodental consonants) and those articulated on either side of the palate (such as the postalveolar and velar consonants). See §2.5.3.5 for examples and further details.

/ɪ/ and the Diphthong /aɪ/: The diphthong /aɪ/ appears in very few words, most of which are derived from foreign languages; see 2.3.1.6.1. It was originally much more common; already in the classical language, however, this diphthong had collapsed to a monophthong in closed syllables, cf. (2.84) and (2.85). The resulting vowel */e/ subsequently merged with /ɪ/. The remaining examples of */aɪ/ in open accented syllables also collapsed and merged with /ɪ/, except in a few forms borrowed from the classical language such as (2.86). In unaccented open syllables, /e/ was preserved, e.g. (2.87) and (2.88). The modern reflex of this diphthong contrasts with /ɪ/ in (2.88) and (2.89).

(2.84) baiţa *[ˈbai.tɔ] house (emphatic state)\(^{124}\)
(2.85) biţ *[beθ] house (construct state)
(2.86) ešmehon [ɛʃ.ˈmeː.hon] their names (I.1)
(2.87) hemanuţan [ˌhe.ma.ˈnuː.θæn] our faith (I.8)
(2.88) biţe [ˈbiɛ̆.θe] my house (V.16)
(2.89) biţi [ˈbiɛ̆.θi] his house (IX.4)

2.3.2.2 Close back rounded vowel: /u/ is generally realized as a close back unrounded vowel [u] in open unaccented syllables, e.g. (2.90). In open accented syllables, /u/ is lengthened, e.g. (2.91). In accented and

\(^{123}\) There is some evidence that this is a relatively recent change; it does not appear to have occurred in the attested samples of the dialect of Iraq.

\(^{124}\) See §3.4 for more information on the states and their reflexes in Neo-Mandaic. Each noun has only one basic form, and those derived from the classical status emphaticus (q.v., §3.4.1) lose the augment -ā whenever they are followed by another word in juncture.
unaccented closed syllables, /u/ is generally realized as [ʌ], as in (2.92) and (2.93).

(2.90)  ehlū  ['ɛh.lu]  they have (IV.45)
(2.91)  nurā  ['nu.ro]  fire (IV.114)
(2.92)  dukkā  ['dʌk.kɔ]  place (I.V)
(2.93)  guṭlukta  [ɡʌtˤ.ˈlʌχ.tɔ]  massacre (I.14)

/u/ and the Diphthong /au/: Both the labial-velar approximant /w/ (see §2.3.1.1) and the voiced labiodental fricative /v/ (see §2.3.1.2) form diphthongs with /a/ when they close a syllable containing this vowel. The diphthong /au/ is also found in words of foreign origin. Much like the Classical diphthong */aʊ/, this diphthong was formerly more common, but had already collapsed in closed accented syllables in the classical language; compare (2.94) with (2.95). The outcome merges with /u/, e.g. (2.95); subsequently the remaining examples of */aʊ/ in open accented syllables collapsed and merged with /u/ or /o/, e.g. (2.96) and (2.97).

(2.94)  taurā  [ˈtɔu.rɔ]  bull
(2.95)  turtā  [ˈtɔɾ.tɔ]  cow (CM turta id.)
(2.96)  yumā  [ˈjuː.ɾɔ]  day (IV.123; CM iuma id.)
(2.97)  nodā  [ˈnoː.dɔ]  quake (IV.115; CM nauda id.)

2.3.2.3 Close-mid front unrounded vowel: /e/ is generally realized in the region of the open-mid front unrounded vowel [ɛ] in closed syllables, e.g. (2.98), and the close-mid front unrounded vowel [e] in open syllables, e.g. (2.99). /e/ generally does not appear in open accented syllables, except in loan words and certain archaic forms; see (2.86) above. In closed syllables, [ɛ] tends to freely vary with the fairly close, fairly front unrounded vowel [ı], e.g. (2.100) and (2.101).

(2.98)  geš  [geʃ]  all (I.3)
(2.99)  luṁnāye  [luh.ˈnx.jɛ]  he isn’t here (IX.10)
(2.100)  šeḥyānā  [ʃe.h.ˈjɔː.nɔ]  ruler (IV.9)
(2.101)  šeḥyānā  [ʃe.h.ˈjɔː.nɔ]  ruler (IV.42)
2.3 Phonetic Characteristics of Distinctive Segments

2.3.2.4 Mid central unrounded vowel: /ə/ is generally realized as a mid-central unrounded vowel [ʌ] in open syllables (2.102), and as an open-mid front unrounded vowel [ɛ] in closed syllables (2.103). At first glance, /ə/ is an unlikely candidate for an independent phoneme, as it is regularly inserted as an anaptyctic vowel to break up initial consonant clusters (see § 2.5.3.2) or derives from a reduced lax vowel in a pretonic syllable (see § 2.6.2.2). Nonetheless, its appearance is synchronically unpredictable, as demonstrated by the near minimal pair (2.104) and (2.105).

(2.102) həziṇu [ho.ˈziː.nu] we saw them (V.9)
(2.103) nəfqa [ˈnɛf.qa] she exited (II.15)
(2.104) smālā [ˈsmɔː.lɔ] left
(2.105) səmāqā [sə.ˈmɔː.qə] red

/ə/ has a wide variety of allophones, varying with [ɪ] and [ɛ] in a closed syllable (as noted above) or even in a pretonic open syllable, e.g. (2.106).\(^\text{125}\) It is often deleted whenever it appears as the first element in an open, pretonic, word-initial syllable, e.g. (2.107), (2.108), and (2.109) or when it appears in an open syllable immediately preceding an accented syllable, the first element of which is a fricative or approximant, as in (2.110) and (2.111). See §2.4.7 below for other possible outcomes of /ə/.

(2.106) e马拉 [e.ˈmal.li] he said to him (X.15)
(2.107) e马拉 [ˈməl.li] id. (VI.5)
(2.108) ə马什 [ˈnə.ʃɔ] people (VII.5)
(2.109) ə巴达 [ˈwə.ˈdə] deed (IV.137)
(2.110) ə万 [hə.ˈæ] he was (III.20)
(2.111) ə拉约 [ˈprəd.jən] they fled (III.23)

2.3.2.5 Close-mid back rounded vowel: /o/ is generally realized as the close-mid back rounded vowel [o] in all closed syllables, e.g. (2.112) and (2.113), as well as open unaccented syllables, e.g. (2.114). /o/ is

\(^{125}\) Malone describes this process as ‘promotion without schwa coloring,’ ibid., 145.
rare in open accented syllables; when it occurs, it is generally lengthened to [oː]; see (2.115) below.

(2.112) **aʔdonni** [av.'don.ni] they did it (III.20)
(2.113) **aʔadyon** [ə.'vad.jon] they did (III.21)
(2.114) **doʔon** [do.'θon] come (pl.)! (VII.8)
(2.115) **doʔi** [ˈdoː.θi] come (m.sg.)! (I.5)

### 2.3.2.6 Open front unrounded vowel: /a/ is normally realized as the open front unrounded vowel [a] in open and closed unaccented syllables, e.g. (2.116) and (2.117). [a] generally does not occur in open accented syllables, except in loan words and the first person singular and plural independent pronouns, where it is realized as [aː], e.g. (2.118). In closed accented syllables, /a/ is often realized as the open back unrounded vowel [ɑ], e.g. (2.119), unless it is followed by the vowel /ɔ/, in which case it is raised to /æ/; see §2.5.2.2 below. [a] is also the regular allophone in the environment of an uvular consonant, e.g. (2.120), with few exceptions, e.g. (2.121).

(2.116) **lektə** [ˈlɛχ.ta] she is not (I.13)
(2.117) **bandir** [bæn.'diz] bound (IV.146)
(2.118) **anɑ** [ˈaː:no] I (I.4)
(2.119) **əmallu** [ə.'mal.lu] he said to them (X.5)
(2.120) **qalın** [qa.'lin] I go (IV.64)
(2.121) **qɔlɑkṭi** [qɛ.'læχ.tˁi] he seizes him (V.18)

### 2.3.2.7 Open back rounded vowel: /ɔ/ is regularly realized as [ɔ] in open syllables, e.g. (2.122), although it may be realized as [ɒ] in the same environment, e.g. (2.123). In open accented syllables, the phoneme is lengthened, e.g. (2.122) and (2.123). This phoneme is generally realized as [ɔ] in closed accented syllables, e.g. (2.124), but is often realized as [ɑ] in contextual forms, even when the loss of the augment results in the closing of the preceding syllable, e.g. (2.125). In open pretonic syllables, /ɔ/ is reduced to [a]; see §2.4.4.1.

(2.122) **qɔbánen** [qɔ.'bɔː.nen] they build (IV.17)
(2.123) **qɔnąpɛq** [qɔ.'nɔː腓eq] he exits (V.8)
2.4 Phonotactics

The list of allophones associated with each of the segments described above is by no means exhaustive. Excluding examples of free variation, the allophones of a given segment in Neo-Mandaic are determined by phonotactic considerations—the structure of the syllable in which they are found (§2.4.1), the position they occupy within this syllable and within the word of which it is a part (§2.4.2 and §2.4.3), the segments in neighboring syllables, and suprasegmental features such as the position of the accent within the word and the intonation of the sentence (§2.4.4).

In addition to the regular allophonic processes described in this section, the phonemes of Neo-Mandaic are often affected by sporadic changes in fast or “Allegro” speech; see §2.7 for a partial inventory of these changes.

2.4.1 Syllable Structure

The lexicon of Neo-Mandaic is composed of words of one, two, three, four, and five syllables.

(2.126) **min** [mn] from (I.13)
(2.127) **mendi** ['men.di] something (I.7)
(2.128) **qanayā** [qa'₇əjə] smith (III.5)
(2.129) **Muṣmanānā** [muʃ.mʌn.ə.nə] Muslims (IV.150)
(2.130) **āmalpēnanni** [e.ˌmal.fɛ.ˈnən.ni] we will teach him (IV.92)

Neo-Mandaic syllables consist of an onset (which is optional in word-initial syllables) and a rime. The rime consists of a nucleus (usually a vowel or a syllabic consonant) with or without a coda. The onset and the coda which frame the nucleus consist of consonants; the onset is mandatory for all word-internal syllables, but the coda is optional in all environments. The syllable patterns V, VC, CV, and CVC are the most common.
2. Phonology

(2.131)  ámb [ɔː]  this (contextual) (I.5)
(2.132)  ámbχ [ɔχ]  that (contextual) (II.2)
(2.133)  mʊ [mu]  what (IV.33)
(2.134)  tʊm [tum]  then (II.12)

Considerably less common are syllables containing clusters of consonantal or vocalic segments, such as VCC, CCV, CCVC, CVCC, CVVC, and even CVVCC. For information on the consonant or vowel clusters tolerated in syllable-initial or syllable-final environment, consult §2.4.2.5 below.

(2.135)  ámb [ahl]  family (IV.105)
(2.136)  klátā [ˈkl̥ɔːθ]  three (III.1)
(2.137)  šánє [ˈstɔn.je]  he is a boy
(2.138)  wʊx [væχt]  time (IV.18)
(2.139)  bieţ [biɛ̆θ]  house (contextual) (III.11)
(2.140)  šiɛltχon [ˈʃiɛlt.χon]  I asked you (pl.)

2.4.2 Distribution of Non-Syllabic Segments

All consonants can open or close a syllable, with the exception of the labial-velar and palatal approximants /w/ and /j/ (§2.4.2.1), the voiced labiodental fricative /v/, the labial-velar approximant /w/ (§2.4.2.2), the voiced pharyngeal fricative /ʕ/ (§2.4.2.3), and the voiceless glottal fricative /h/ (§2.4.2.4).

Certain consonants, including the voiceless labiodental fricative /θ/, the voiceless interdental fricative /θ/, the voiceless uvular fricative /χ/, and the voiced uvular fricative /ʁ/ are not generally found in word-initial position in Mandaic words. Words beginning with these segments are typically loan words.

2.4.2.1 Approximants /w/ and /j/ – Both approximants may open a syllable, e.g. (2.141) and (2.142), but tend to form a diphthong with the preceding vowel when closing a syllable, e.g. (2.143) and (2.144).

(2.141)  yəmuţā [jə.'muː.θɔ]  oath (IV.120)
(2.142)  qamāy [qa.'mɔ]  before (IV.41)
2.4 Phonotactics

(2.143)  *wusle*  [wuʦʼ.lɛ]  piece (IX.12)
(2.144)  *gāw*  [gɔʊ]  in (I.4)

2.4.2.2 Fricative /v/ and Approximant /w/: The distributions of these two phonemes (and the environments in which they merge) are discussed in sections §2.3.1.1 and §2.3.2.1 above. The enclitic conjunction *w-* is most often realized as a syllabic [u]. For more details on this conjunction, see §2.5.7 below.

2.4.2.3 Voiced Pharyngeal Fricative /ʕ/: The closure of a syllable by this phoneme is avoided through the insertion of an epenthetic vowel [a], e.g. (2.145). In word final environment, this epenthetic vowel is lowered and fronted to [a], as in (2.146).

(2.145)  *yaʼani*  [ʼja.ʔa.ni]  meaning (II.2)
(2.146)  *jamiʻa*  [dʒɛ.ʼmi.ʔa]  entirety, all (IV.15)

2.4.2.4 Voiceless Glottal Fricative /h/: Neo-Mandaic does not generally tolerate /h/ in syllable-closing or word-final position, and generally deletes it in the latter environment and inserts an anaptyctic /ə/ in the former environment (see §2.7.1.9 below).

*Word-Final /h/:* /h/ is regularly deleted in word-final environment; see §2.3.1.10.1 for examples. Word-final /h/ is occasionally preserved in words of foreign origin, e.g. (2.147).

(2.147)  *farwāh*  [faʼwɔh]  thanks (I.5; origin uncertain)

*Syllable-Closing /h/:* /h/ is very unstable in this environment. Whenever it closes a word-internal syllable, it may be preserved through the insertion of an anaptyctic /ə/ (see 2.7.1.9) or simply deleted; if the syllable is accented and contains a lax vowel, the onset of the following syllable is geminated to maintain the syllable structure, as in (2.148) and (2.149).

(2.148)  *ahni*  [ʼan.ni]  they (IV.17)
(2.149)  *ehli*  [ʼeł.li]  he has (V.26)
2.4.2.5 Consonant Clusters

Permissible consonant clusters in Neo-Mandaic fall into two categories: clusters that form at the beginning or the end of a syllable, and clusters that span syllable boundaries. The former are strictly limited to certain combination of segments. The latter are less restricted; with few exceptions, Neo-Mandaic tolerates most clusters of two or occasionally even three consonants across a syllable boundary.

Word-Initial Consonant Clusters: Consonant clusters consisting of a stop followed by a sonorant, such as (2.150), a sibilant followed by a sonorant, as in (2.151), or a sibilant followed by a stop, such as (2.152), are tolerated in both syllable-final and syllable-initial environments.

(2.150) klāṭā [ˈkl̥ɔː.θɔ] three (III.1)
(2.151) šliḥā [ˈʃliː.hɔ] apostle (I.9)
(2.152) šṭānā [ˈstˁɔː.nɔ] boy (X.17)

Note that sonorants are not tolerated as the initial segment of a syllable- or word-initial consonant cluster. In this environment, they generally become syllabified, as in (2.153) and (2.154). The approximants [w] and [j] are generally resolved through the insertion of an anaptyctic /ə/ between the first and the second segment of the cluster, but see (2.155) and (2.156).

(2.153) əmhedēt [m.ḥa.'deθ] I speak (I.7)
(2.154) ərbiāhā [r.bi.'jɔː.hɔ] fourth
(2.155) u ʿgenz ʿnās [u 'gence ẹ.'nɔʃ] and many people (I.14)
(2.156) ʾimā [ʾiː.mɔ] he swore (IV.121)

/ə/ is regularly inserted as an anaptyctic vowel to break up initial consonant clusters, as in (2.157) and (2.158).

(2.157) təmānā [tə.'mɔː.nɔ] eight (II.4)
(2.158) rəwāhā [rə.'wɔː.hɔ] relief (II.34)

Words built upon biradical roots tend to resolve initial consonant clusters through prothesis rather than anaptyxis (see §2.5.3.3). A few
doublets manifest the effects of both strategies, e.g. (2.159) and (2.160), as well as (2.161) and (2.162). Both members of such doublets are typically accented on the final syllable rather than the initial syllable, unlike most other bisyllabic nouns with initial e-; cf. (2.163).

(2.159) ʰənə [ʰə.ˈnɔː]  here (II.21)
(2.160) əhnə [əh.ˈnɔː]  here (IV.70)
(2.161) šətə [ʃə.ˈtɔː]  now (II.29)
(2.162) əštə [ɛʃ.ˈtɔː]  now (I.10)
(2.163) ɛhdə [ˈɛh.də]  one (IV.43; never **ʰədə)

Whenever the voiceless uvular stop q- appears after the phoneme /i/, the anaptyctic /ə/ disappears and the cluster is broken with a prothetic /ə/. A glide is then inserted to eliminate the hiatus created by the two vowels in contact, e.g. (2.164). This sound change also affects the perfective of the verb qərā ~ qorī (qūrī) ‘to read,’ and even the initial syllable of nouns beginning with the syllable q-, e.g. (2.165) and (2.166).

(2.164) บำзи əqdarʾ ələw štənī
   [ˈbɔː.zi ˈjɛq.də.ˈrɛ.ləw ˈstəː.ni]  A hawk seizes a boy (V.25)
(2.165) buṭi əqrā
   [ˈbuː.θi ˈjɛq.ɾə]  he read a prayer (IV.19)
(2.166) loḥašnī əqmāšānān
   [ˈlɔw.ʃnɪ ˈjɛq.mə.ʃɔː.nən]  we put on our clothes (III.10)

**Word-Final Consonant Clusters:** Consonant clusters consisting of a sonorant and a stop or a sonorant and a fricative are tolerated in word final environment alone, e.g. (2.153) and (2.154).

(2.167) kalb [kælб]  dog (contextual)
(2.168) perz [pɛɛz]  few (contextual) (V.1)

All other word-final clusters are not tolerated; note, however, that clusters in loan words borrowed from Arabic and Persian such as (2.169) and (2.170) are generally not subject to these restraints.

(2.169) ahl [ahl]  family (IV.105)
(2.170) wāxt [væxt]  time (IV.18)
Whenever a sonorant forms the second element of a word-final consonant cluster, the cluster is eliminated by syllabifying the sonorant, as demonstrated in examples (2.171) to (2.176). Note that the coda of the accented syllable is geminated; see §2.4.4.2 for more details about this phenomenon.

(2.171) ʾeššem  [ˈɛʃ.ʃm]  name (contextual) (I.9)
(2.172) qaʾmahgeššen  [ qa.ˈmab.ʕəs.ʃə]  I will stop (contextual) (IV.108)
(2.173) šekal-da  [ˈʃek.kl.da]  her appearance (II.33b; Arabic šikli id.)
(2.174) ohhar  [ˈoh.hr]  road (contextual) (III.3)
(2.175) eli  [ˈel.li]  where (contextual) (IX.11)
(2.176) rehhu  [ˈreh.hu]  wind (contextual)

In the environment of the pharyngeal fricatives /ʕ/ and /ħ/, anaptyctic /ə/ is realized as [a], e.g. (2.177) and (2.178). Note syllable-closing /ʕ/ is not tolerated in Neo-Mandaic (see §2.4.2.3 above); as a result, anaptyctic /ə/ will always intervene between /ʕ/ and a following consonant, as in (2.179), but never between /ʕ/ and a preceding consonant; e.g. (2.180) and (2.181). As noted in §2.4.2.3 above, Neo-Mandaic does not tolerate /ə/ in word-final position; in this position, /ə/ is fronted and lowered to /a/.

(2.177) baʿad  [ˈba.ʕad]  after (X.2; Arabic baʿd id.)
(2.178) šāyah  [ˈʃən.jah]  scream (V.22; Arabic šayh id.)
(2.179) baʿaden  [ba.ʕa.ˈden]  afterwards (III.10; Arabic baʿdayn id.)
(2.180) šunʿa  [ˈʃən.ʕə]  well (VI.2; Arabic ʿunʿ ‘benefit’)
(2.181) šunʿaye  [sˤən.ʕə.jɛ]  he is well (II.4)

Clusters of Three or More Consonants: No more than two consonants may appear in a word-initial or word-final cluster. Whenever three consonants come into contact in either of these environments, an anaptyctic vowel, /ə/, intervenes between the first and the second of the three segments, as in example (2.182), in which the conjunction w- and the indicative morpheme q- are appended to a verb in the imperfective, or example (2.183), in which the conjunction w- and the negative morpheme lá- are appended to a noun which begins with a consonant.
2.4 Phonotactics

(2.182) *w-ọqdaƙarna*  
\[\text{[weq.da.ˈχa.nɔ]}\]  
and I remember (II.33)

(2.183) *w-ọl-Masiħi*  
\[\text{[wel.mo.si.ˈhi]}\]  
and not Christian (I.12)

Word-internal clusters of as many as three consonants are permitted, provided that they span a syllable boundary, e.g. (2.184) and (2.185).

(2.184) *šieltƙon*  
\[\text{[ˈʃiɛ̆lt.χon]}\]  
I asked you (pl.)

(2.185) *genztar*  
\[\text{[ˈɡɛnz.tær]}\]  
utmost\(^{126}\)

*The Cluster /m/ + /t/*: Neo-Mandaic does not tolerate clusters of the bilabial nasal /m/ and the alveolar trill /t/ in any environment. The voiced bilabial stop /b/ regularly intervenes between these two segments, e.g. (2.186) and (2.187), even across word boundaries, e.g. (2.188) and (2.189).

(2.186) *Mohammarâ*  
\[\text{[mo.ˈhæm.bro]}\]  
Mohammerah (II.6)

(2.187) *lákamri*  
\[\text{[ˈla.kam.bri]}\]  
he didn’t return it (X.12)

(2.188) *ître khu*  
\[\text{[ˈɪtɾɛˈbɾiʃjum]}\]  
from the first day (I.7)

(2.189) *ités šettâ*  
\[\text{[ˈɪtɾɛʃɛt.tɔ]}\]  
from new year’s day (IV.3)

*Consonant Clusters with /h/*: Cluster of the voiceless glottal fricative /h/ with another consonant are also not tolerated, even across a syllable boundary. If /h/ is the first item in the cluster, it is often deleted as mentioned above, in §2.4.2.4; if it is the second element in the cluster, it will also be deleted, and the first element will replace the /h/ as the onset of the following syllable, e.g. the plural morpheme -\(\text{-hā}\) becomes -\(\text{-ā}\) after a consonant.

(2.190) *jihelel*  
\[\text{[ˈʤiː.i.ɛl]}\]  
child (III.14)

(2.191) *jihelela*  
\[\text{[ˈʤi.he.ˈlɔː]}\]  
children (II.4)

The voiced stops /b/, /g/, and /d/ are fricativized whenever they appear before voiceless stops in syllable-final or word-final clusters. Additionally, the voiceless interdental /θ/ becomes /h/ whenever it is followed by the alveolar lateral approximant /l/. See §2.5.4.1 and §2.5.4.2 below for more details on these two sound changes.

126 Malone, “Mandaic Phonology,” 143.
2.4.3 Admissible Vowels

The Neo-Mandaic vowel system consists of six principal vowels and the reduced vowel /ə/; see §2.3.2 for more details. Under the right circumstances, such as those described in §2.3.1.1 and §2.4.2.5, the sonorants /m/, /n/, /r/, /w/, and /j/ can become syllabic as well. All of these may form the nucleus of a syllable.

2.4.3.1 Word Final Vowels

Of the six primary vowels, five may appear in word-final position; e.g. (2.192) to (2.196). The close-mid vowel /o/ never appears in word-final position. /ə/ may not appear in word-final environment; in the event that an anaptyctic vowel is required in word-final position, e.g. to prevent a pharyngeal from closing a final syllable, anaptyctic /ə/ is fronted and lowered to /a/; see §2.4.2.3 and §2.4.2.5 above for examples.

(2.192) ehli [ˈɛh.li] he has (V.26)
(2.193) ehlu [ˈɛh.lu] they have (IV.45)
(2.194) nafša [ˈnæf.ʃa] her personality (II.33)
(2.195) bieṭā [ˈbiɛ̆.θa] the house (X.8)
(2.196) bieṭā [ˈbiɛ̆.θe] my house (V.16)

The syllabic allophones of the sonorants may also appear in word-final position; see §2.4.2.5 above for examples.

2.4.3.2 Word-Initial Vowels

With the exception of /u/, all vowels appear in word-initial position, as in examples (2.197) to (2.202); note that all internal syllables must begin with a consonant, i.e. the onset of the syllable is optional in the initial syllable of the word but not word-internally.

(2.197) inā [ˈiː.ŋa] eye (VI.2)
(2.198) ellinon [ˈɛl.li.non] where they are (III.22)
(2.199) amallī [ɑː.ˈmal.li] he said to him (VI.5)
(2.200) obrā [ˈob.rar] mouse (V.10)
The syllabic allophones of the sonorants may also appear in word-initial position; see §2.4.2.5 above for examples.

/ɔ/ is particularly unstable in this position; see §2.3.2.4 above for further information on its allophones in this environment. It is regularly deleted in proprotonic position, and raised and fronted to /e/ in closed initial syllables; see §2.4.2.5 above and §2.5.3.3 below for details on prothesis.

2.4.3.3 Diphthongs

Neo-Mandaic has a complement of five diphthongs: /ɛɪ/, /aɪ/, /aʊ/, /ɔɪ/, and /ɔʊ/. Words which contain the diphthong /ɛɪ/ are most often loan words, but this diphthong does form whenever /e/ and the palatal approximant /j/ come into contact, e.g. (2.203) and (2.204).

(2.203) qabeyyen [qa.ˈbeɪ.jen] they want (II.6)
(2.204) heyyi [ˈhei.ji] life (I.9)

The diphthong /au/ forms whenever the palatal approximant /j/ closes a syllable containing /a/; see §2.3.1.6 above. Likewise, the CM diphthong */au/ became /u/ in closed syllables and /o/ or /u/ in open syllables (see §2.3.2.2 above). The same diphthong regularly forms from the combination of the vowel /a/ and the labial-velar approximant /w/ or voiced labiodental fricative /v/ in syllable-closing position; see §2.3.1.1 and §2.3.1.2 above, respectively.

The collapse of these diphthongs is demonstrated synchronically by the paradigms of the verbs in which the third radical consists of a labial-dental or palatal approximant. Following the example of the third masculine singular imperfective, the first common singular imperfective, and the masculine singular imperative forms of the strong verb, which are vocalized CăCeC, CaCeCnă, and CăCoC, respectively, e.g. (2.205), (2.207), and (2.209), one would expect the diphthongs [ɛi] and [ɔi] in the second syllable of the analogous forms in verbs with final weak radicals. Instead, the expected diphthongs have collapsed to [i:], e.g. (2.206), (2.208), and (2.210).
2. Phonology

(2.205) qeqātel  [qa.'gɔː.tˁɛl]  he will kill
(2.206) qeqāri    [qa.'dɔː.ri]  he will take
(2.207) qeqatelnā  [qa.ga.'tˁɛl.nɔ]  I will kill
(2.208) qeqarīnā   [qa.de.'ri:nɔ]  I will take¹²⁷
(2.209) gətōl     [gə.'tɔl]  kill (m. sg.)!
(2.210) dōri       [də.'riː]  take (m. sg.)!

The final two diphthongs, /ɔi/ and /ɔʊ/, are retained in open accented syllables, as examples (2.211) and (2.212) attest:

(2.211) qamāy   [qa.'mɔi]  before (IV.93)
(2.212) gəw       [ˈgɔʊ]  in (I.10)

2.4.3.4 Hiatus

Hiatus (the clustering of syllabic segments) is not uncommon in Neo-Mandaic, particularly as the result of breaking (see §2.5.3.5 for a description of this phenomenon). Generally, hiatus is eliminated through two strategies in Neo-Mandaic: either gliding the initial vocalic segment, as in (2.213), or inserting a glide between the two segments in hiatus, as in (2.214).

(2.213) bieţwātkon  [bʲɛθwɔθɔn]  your houses (IV.123)
(2.214) bieţ        [bʲeθ]  house (contextual) (III.12)

Hiatus is also occasionally the result of the loss of intervening nonsyllabic segments, in words such as šəbiḥāhā ‘evil spirit,’ a back formation from CM šibiahia ‘planets,’ cf. Syriac ḫēḏeq šəḇ'[āye ‘the seven planets.’¹²⁸ As with the examples of the broken vowels examined above, the hiatus in this word is eliminated either through gliding the initial vowel, as in (2.215) or the insertion of a glide between the two vowels in hiatus, as in (2.216).

¹²⁷ The vowel /e/ in the first syllable is the result of umlaut; see §2.4.3.5 below.
¹²⁸ The Mandaeans consider this word to be a portmanteau composed of šubḥā ‘seven’ and āḥā ‘brother;’ Macuch, Handbook, 98 considers the /h/ to be the reflex of the original */j/ attested in the Syriac cognate (possibly arising through dissimilation with the preceding /i/), and compares it to modern ḫrbiyāṭ [rbiˈjɔː] ‘fourth’ (cf. Syriac ḫēḏeq ḫrbiyāye), which can also be pronounced ḫrbiḥā[ˈhɔː].
2.4 Phonotactics

A homorganic glide regularly develops after the high vowels /i/ and /u/ in hiatus, even across a word boundary; see §2.4.2.5 above for examples. This also occurs whenever the phonemes /l/ and /h/ (q.v.) are deleted in an intervocalic position, e.g. (2.217), (2.218), and (2.219).

(2.217) sêbu'a [sə.ˈbuː.wa] week (VIII.9)
(2.218) jami'a-daχon [ʤæ.mi.ˈja.də.χon] all of you (IV.124)
(2.219) jihel [ˈʤiː.jɛl] child (II.1)

2.4.4 Suprasegmental Features

Suprasegmental features in Neo-Mandaic include vowel length (§2.4.4.1), consonant gemination (§2.4.4.2), word stress (§2.4.4.3), and sentence intonation (§2.4.4.4). With the exception of word stress, none of these suprasegmental features are phonemic.

2.4.4.1 Vowel Length

Vowel length is entirely predictable in Neo-Mandaic, and depends entirely upon the placement of the accent and the syllable structure. As noted above (§2.3.2), vowels occurring in open accented syllables are invariably long, i.e. [iː], [ɛː], [uː], [oː], and [ɔː], and those in open pretonic syllables are invariably short, i.e. [i], [ɛ], [o], [u], [a], and [ɔ]. See §2.6.2.2 for further details on pretonic reduction.

2.4.4.2 Consonant Gemination

Consonant gemination in Neo-Mandaic occurs in two forms. The first type of gemination, “phonological” gemination, affects consonants following an accented lax vowel. It may occur only in this environment, and the consonants thus affected become simplified whenever the accent moves from the lax vowel (see §2.5.6 below). The gemination of the second radical in the D-stem of the verb belongs to this category (see §5.1.1.3). It does not typically occur in loan words. The other type, “lexical” gemination, comprises a large
number of geminated consonants inherited from earlier stages of the language, borrowed from other languages, or resulting from the total assimilation of one consonant to another. Lexical geminates are much more durable than phonological ones (i.e. less subject to simplification) and may occur in any word-internal environment.

As noted above in §2.4.1, all word-internal syllables must have an onset. Furthermore, the vowels /e/ and /o/ are rare in open accented syllables (save where they are the outcome of a collapsed diphthong), as is the vowel /a/ (which often merges with /ɔ/ in this environment); consult §2.3.2 for further information. Whenever a vowel is added to a closed accented syllable containing one of these three vowels, the coda of the accented syllable is geminated to provide the following syllable with an onset. The geminated consonant thus straddles the syllable boundary, e.g. (2.220), (2.221) and (2.222). If the second syllable is deleted, or the accent shifts from the first syllable, the gemination will be lost; see §2.6.2 for further details.

(2.220) čemmā [ˈʧɛm.mɔ] nine hundred (III.1; CM tšima id.)
(2.221) zamā [ˈzaːm.mɔ] blood
(2.222) bellā [ˈbɛl.ɪɔ] husband

Phonological gemination most often occurs whenever an inflectional morpheme (e.g. a pronominal suffix) is added to a closed accented syllable containing a lax vowel. The coda of the closed accented syllable is geminated, leaving the syllable structure intact, e.g. (2.223) becomes (2.224).

(2.223) həzon [hə.ˈzon] they saw (X.3)
(2.224) həzonna [hə.ˈzon.na] they saw her (IV.142)

With one exception, all Neo-Mandaic consonants can be geminated in this manner. The exception is the voiceless interdental fricative /θ/. Whenever /θ/ closes an accented syllable to which a vowel is added, the outcome is the cluster [χt] rather than the expected [θθ]. For example, when the pronominal suffixes are appended directly to the

129 Cf. the more colloquial domā [də.ˈmɔː] ‘blood;’ both forms appear in CM: dma and zma.
copula *et [εθ] (CM ‘it), it regularly takes the form ekt- [εχt], e.g. (2.225).

(2.225) ektak ['ɛχ.tak] you (m.sg.) are (IV.51)

This sound change affects the conjugation of the verb met ~ mot (māyet) to die; cf. (2.226) and (2.227) with (2.228). It is also responsible for the modern form of the abstract ending -uktā (CM - uta), e.g. (2.229). Additionally, it is attested in a rare variant of the word for cow, (2.230).

(2.226) met [meθ] he is dead (X.15)
(2.227) mieł [miεθ] I will die (contextual) (IV.84)
(2.228) mektat ['meχ.tat] she is dead (II.34)
(2.229) guṭluktā [gʌt.ˈlʌχ.tɔ] massacre (I.14)
(2.230) turektā [tu.ˈrɛχ.tɔ] cow[130]

Examples of the sequence [θθ] do occur in Neo-Mandaic. Such examples are either lexical or result from the assimilation of certain consonants (such as dentals and, in an earlier stage of the language, nasals) to a following interdental fricative /θ/, e.g. (2.231) from CM ‘nta (cf. Syriac ṭattā ‘woman’) and (2.232) from the verb ḥaddet ~ ḥadder (?mḥaddet) ‘to speak.’

(2.231) ettā ['ɛθ.θa] woman (II.24)
(2.232) qemḥatten [qm.ˈhaθ.θen] they speak (II.21)

2.4.4.3 Word Stress

As noted above, the lax vowels /e/ and /o/ only occur in open accented syllables as the reflex of a Classical Mandaic diphthong, the lax vowel /a/ generally merges with /ə/ in this environment, and the semi-vowel /ɔ/ is never found in this position.[131] The accent generally falls upon a

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[131] An apparent exception to this rule is found at X.7, qamṭkon [qam.'do.χõ] ‘for you (pl.),’ in which the word takes primary sentence stress, but in other
tense vowel, either /i/, /u/ or /ɔ/, and preferably upon a closed syllable. The placement of the accent is determined from the final syllable; if this syllable is not suitable, the accent will move towards the initial syllable until it comes to rest upon a suitable syllable. Effectively, nearly all words in Neo-Mandaic are accented upon the ultimate, penultimate, or antepenultimate syllable.

**Ultimate Stress:** Any final syllable (or ultima) that is closed and contains a long vowel automatically receives the accent, e.g. (2.233) and (2.234).

(2.233) ʕarwaḥ  [faɬ.'wɔː]  thanks (I.5)
(2.234) ʔawmahɾobăt  [qə.mæh.re.'wɔt]  you destroy (IV.58)

Likewise, whenever a word contains no tense vowels, the stress falls on the final syllable if there are no suitable preceding syllables, e.g. (2.235) and (2.236).

(2.235) ʔkal  [a.ˈχɔl]  he ate (V.11)
(2.236) ʔază  [hə.ˈzɔː]  he saw (VIII.3)

**Penultimate Stress:** In words of two syllables, if the final syllable is open or contains a lax vowel, then the accent will fall upon the penultimate syllable, if it contains a tense vowel or is closed, e.g. (2.237), (2.238), and (2.239).

(2.237) ɡabră  [ˈɡæv.ræ]  man (V.18)
(2.238) ɓăbă  [ˈbɔː.wɔ]  father (I.8)
(2.239) ʔalā  [ˈqal.łɔ]  she goes (IV.102)

**Antepenultimate Stress:** In words of three or more syllables, if neither the ultima nor the penultima is suitable for receiving the accent, then it recedes to the antepenultimate syllable, if that syllable is closed or contains a tense vowel.

(2.240) ɡaṭelănākon  [ɡa.ˈtˤel.nɔː.χɔn]  I will kill you (IV.93)

contexts this vowel does not take the word stress, e.g. ɡešdoṅon  [ɡɛʃ.dɔː.χɔn]  ‘all of you.’
Under certain conditions and within certain environments, however, the stress is not predictable from the syllable structure:

*Independent Pronouns:* Pronouns comprising more than one syllable always take stress on the initial syllable.

Table 11: Independent Pronouns and Stress

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Stress</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 sg.</td>
<td>anā</td>
<td>[ˈaː.nə]</td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd sg.</td>
<td>āt</td>
<td>[ət]</td>
<td>you (sg.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd m.sg.</td>
<td>huwi</td>
<td>[ˈhuː.wi]</td>
<td>he</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd f.sg.</td>
<td>hidā</td>
<td>[ˈhiː.də]</td>
<td>she</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st pl.</td>
<td>anni</td>
<td>[ˈaː.ni]</td>
<td>we</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd pl.</td>
<td>ātton</td>
<td>[ˈat.ton]</td>
<td>you (pl.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd pl.</td>
<td>honni</td>
<td>[ˈhon.ni]</td>
<td>they</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note that the first singular and plural personal pronouns receive stress on the penultima, despite the presence of a tense vowel in the ultima, giving rise to the attested, anomalous forms, instead of the expected forms (2.241) and (2.242).

(2.241) **ənā** [ə.ˈnə:] I
(2.242) **ənī** [ə.ˈnī:] we

*Contextual Forms:* Apocopated or “contextual” forms preserve the stress in the same position as their augmented or “lexical” counterparts. In the paradigm of the verb in the derived stems, this has given rise to a phonemic contrast between the third plural form of the imperfective (2.243) and the apocopated form of the first plural imperfective (2.244), from (2.245).

(2.243) qəmtallen [q̱m.tʰal.len] they play
(2.244) qəmtallén [q̱m.tʰal.ˈlen] we play (contextual) (II.4)
(2.245) qəmtallenni [q̱m.tʰal.ˈlen.ni] we play (lexical)

*Loan Words:* Loan words from other languages follow the rules of their language of origin governing stress. For this reason, non-nativized Persian loan words are generally stressed on the final syllable, e.g. (2.246). Likewise, in the phrasal verb construction, the
non-verbal element of the construction takes primary stress, and the verb retains secondary stress, e.g. (2.247).

(2.246) komák [ko.ˈmak] help (III.2)
(2.247) komák əbadyon [ko.ˈmak ə.ˈvad.jon] they helped (III.2)

**Enclitic Suffixes**: Enclitic suffixes, including those introduced by the enclitic morpheme -d-, do not cause the accent to shift, e.g. (2.248) and (2.249).

(2.248) bienā-dan ['biɛŋ.nɔ.dan] among us (IV.81)
(2.249) gešəδəkon ['ɡɛʃ.də.χon] all of you (IV.124)

**Accented Morphemes**: Several morphemes take primary stress whenever they are affixed to a word. These include the derivational suffix -i, e.g. (2.250). In Mandaic, this morpheme is identical with the Persian abstraction morpheme, which makes abstractions out of substantives. This morpheme appears primarily on loan words from Persian, e.g. (2.251), which contrasts with (2.252). Another morpheme which takes primary stress is the plural morpheme -hā, which appears on loan words, e.g. (2.253) and (2.254).

(2.250) mandāyi [ˌmaen.ˈdɔ.jiː] Mandaic (II.15)
(2.251) najāri [nə.ˈʤɔː.ˈriː] carpentry
(2.252) najāri [nə.ˈʤɔː.ˈri] a carpenter\(^{133}\)
(2.253) jiheši [ˌʤi.hɛ.ˈʃi] children (II.4)
(2.254) xiyaβānḥā [ˌχi.ˈja.ˌbɒn.ˈhɔː] avenues (III.22)

**Negation**: Much like the negative morpheme na- in Persian, the Neo-Mandaic negative morpheme lá- is prefixed to the verb that it modifies, and takes the primary stress of the word, e.g. (2.255), which becomes (2.256) when negated.

\(^{132}\) Wolfhart Heinrichs suggests another intriguing possibility for Mandāyi. If we assume that the final -i in this word is, in fact, the abstraction suffix rather than the adjectival suffix, then the term would mean ‘Mandaism,’ rather than ‘Mandaic,’ in parallel with the term *Hulawlā* (< *Hūdāyūtā* ‘Judaism’), the name of the Jewish Neo-Aramaic dialect of Sanandaj (and other local dialects).

\(^{133}\) Note that the enclitic indefinite morpheme -i does not take the accent.
2.5 Segmentable Morphophonology

As Neo-Mandaic morphemes are combined, allomorphs arise as they are modified by neighboring segments. This influence of these neighboring segments may be divided into several broad categories, including assimilatory processes (§2.5.1), dissimilatory processes (§2.5.2), insertion (§2.5.3), lenition (§2.5.4), loss (§2.5.5), and geminate simplification (§2.5.6). In each category, sound changes affecting consonants will be listed first, followed by sound changes affecting vowels.

2.5.1 Assimilatory Processes

Both consonantal segments and vocalic segments may assimilate to neighboring segments. The assimilation of the former is illustrated in
§2.5.1.1. Vocalic segments may either assimilate to other vocalic segments in neighboring syllables (§2.5.1.2) or become “colored” by consonantal segments in their environment (§2.5.1.3).

2.5.1.1 Assimilation

All of the examples of assimilation between consonantal segments involve the complete assimilation of one segment to the following segment (total anticipatory contact assimilation).

d > θ / _θ: /d/ regularly assimilates whenever it comes into contact with /θ/ in the paradigm of the verb ḥaddet  ḥaddet (əmḥaddet) ‘to speak; ’ see §2.4.4.2 above. An apparent exception to this otherwise regular sound rule is (2.261), which occurred only once, in the context of the speech that Nasser Sobbi delivered at Harvard University; the regular form is given in (2.260). This may well be an example of metanalysis on the model of the forms in which the /d/ is preserved.

(2.259) əmḥadet [m.ha.'deθ] I speak (subjunctive) (I.7)
(2.260) əmḥattetton [m.haθ.'0et.ton] you speak (subjunctive)
(2.261) əmḥadıtton [m.hat.'0et.ton] you speak (subjunctive) (I.4)

In other environments, the regular assimilation of /n/ to a following consonant is extremely rare, though not unattested; most examples are inherited from earlier stages of Aramaic, e.g. (2.265), the feminine of (2.264).

(2.262) qâmren ['qpm.ren] they say (V.1)
(2.263) qamrelli [qam.'rel.li] they will tell him (II.11)
(2.264) horinā [ho'.ri.na] other (m.) (VII.8)
(2.265) horettā [ho.'ret.to] other (f.) (III.2)

r > C / _C[+alveolar][+sonorant]: /t/ regularly assimilates to the following alveolar sonorant in the paradigm of the verb əmar əmor (āmer) ‘to say’, e.g. (2.267), particularly before the object marker l-, e.g. (2.268),
but note (2.270) in place of the expected (2.269), which is likely a metanalysis of the sort seen in example (2.261) above, which also occurred in the same text (a speech delivered at Harvard University).

(2.267) rāst qamennā [rɒst qa.ˈmɛn.nɔ] I speak the truth (V.15)
(2.268) ĕmalli [ə.ˈmɑl.li] he said to him (X.15)
(2.269) mallonni [mal.ˈlon.ni] they said to him (IV.16)
(2.270) ĕmarlonnan [ə.ma.ɹ.lon.næn] they said to us (I.5)

2.5.1.2 Umlaut

The term “umlaut” here refers to a number of different sound changes which result in the assimilation of a class of vowels to vocalic segments in a neighboring syllable.

Whenever an open syllable containing the lax vowel /a/ is followed by an accented syllable containing the tense vowel /i/, the first vowel is raised and fronted to [ɛ]. This sound change is regular throughout the Mandaic lexicon, even among loan words, e.g. (2.271), but is most commonly encountered in the paradigm of the verbs with third weak radicals; e.g. (2.272), (2.273), and (2.274). When the accent falls upon the second syllable of the stem, the underlying diphthong collapses to /i/. This then causes the vowel of the initial syllable to raise and front to [æ] in a number of forms, including the first common singular and the third masculine singular forms of the imperfective with object suffixes.

(2.271) wazirÁ [vɛ.zi.ˈrɔː] advisor (IV.11; Persian vazir-hā id.)
(2.272) aṭiton [ɛ.ˈθiː.ton] you came (I.3)
(2.273) hazin [he.ˈzin] I see (IX.3)
(2.274) láqdari [ˈlɒq.dɛ.ri] he doesn’t take it (V.26)

Likewise, the vowel of the proclitic negative morpheme, lá-, is regularly raised to [æ] before an accented syllable containing /i/, as in (2.275).

(2.275) lášiyelni [ˈle.ʃi.jɛl.ni] we didn’t ask

Umlaut does not occur when the initial syllable begins with an uvular or pharyngeal consonant, e.g. (2.276) and (2.277).
(2.276) qatinā [qa.'0iː.nɔ] I will come (IV.41)
(2.277) qabin [qa.'bin] I want (I.3)

A similar change affects /ə/ in pretonic syllables; see §2.7.2.2 in the allegro rules below. Umlaut is not indicated in the transcription.

2.5.1.3 Vowel Coloring

In accented syllables closed by the voiced alveolar approximate [ɹ], [ɛ] is lowered to the open central unrounded vowel [a], e.g. (2.278) and (2.279).

(2.278) qemptytqart [qm.baf.'qat] you know (I.6)
(2.279) amzahara [m.za.'hau.la] may he protect her (II.35)

2.5.2 Dissimilatory Processes

Dissimilatory processes affect both consonantal segments (§2.5.2.1) and vocalic segments (§2.5.2.2 and §2.5.2.3).

j > h / 'jɔː.ˈ_ɔ: Whenever /jɔ/ follows a stressed syllable /jɔ/, it becomes /hɔ/, thus differentiating it from the preceding syllable. This sound change is apparent in word šəbijāḥā ‘evil spirit,’ a back formation from CM šibiahia ‘planets;’ cf. Syriac ḫaˌbīˌāye ‘the seven planets;’ it also affects the ordinal morpheme -yā, e.g. (2.281), which occasionally becomes -hā in (2.282) alongside the more common -yā (2.283).

134 Macuch, Handbook, 98. As the original numbers have largely dropped out of use in Neo-Mandaic, to be replaced by Arabic and Persian numbers, it should not be surprising that the Mandaeans would employ a learned (classical) form like (2.283) rather than a colloquial form, like (2.282).
a > æ / ˈC.Cɔ: The phoneme /a/ in closed accented syllables is regularly raised and fronted to [æ] rather than the expected outcome [ɑ].

(2.284) nahrā ['næh.ɾɔ] river (III.13)
(2.285) rabbā ['ræb.ɾɔ] great (I.14)

a > æ / ˈC.Cɔ: Whenever /a/ appears in pretonic position followed by two open syllables containing /ɔ/, it is raised to /æ/ or even /e/, thereby differentiating it from the following vowels. This most commonly happens when the syllable in question is followed by the augmented form of the plural morpheme, -ānā, e.g. (2.286) becomes (2.287) in the plural. In this example, the vowel /ɔ/ in the tonic syllable is reduced to /a/ when the accent moves to the following syllable (see §2.6.2.2), and it then undergoes dissimilation. Other examples include (2.289), which is the plural of (2.288), and (2.291), the plural of (2.290).

(2.286) barnāsā [bæn.ˈɾɑsɔ] person (IV.16)
(2.287) barnāsānā [bæn.ˈɾɑs.nɔ] people (I.8)
(2.288) hēwārā ['hew.ɾɔ] white
(2.289) hēwerānā [hu.ˈɾe.ɾɔnɔ] whites (IV.31)
(2.290) Mandāyī [,maen.də.ˈjiː] Mandaean (III.16)

2.5.3 Insertion

Epenthetic processes in Neo-Mandaic generally involve consonant clusters (§2.4.2.5 above) and include the excrescence of a consonant in a consonant cluster (§2.5.3.1), the insertion of an anaptyctic /ɔ/ between the first and the second element of a consonant cluster (§2.5.3.2), and the insertion of a prothetic vowel in word-initial position before consonant clusters (§2.5.3.3). A forth form of epenthesis involves the insertion of the voiceless glottal fricative /h/ between two morphemes (§2.5.3.4).

135 Otto Jastrow noted the former outcome (but not the latter) in his review of Macuch’s Neumandäische Chrestomatie; 546.
2. Phonology

2.5.3.1 Excrecence

Excrecence involves the insertion of the voiced bilabial stop /b/ between two sonorants, the bilabial nasal /m/ and the alveolar trill /r/. This most commonly occurs when the proclitic preposition ʾem- ‘from’ is attached to a word beginning with /r/. See §2.4.2.5 above for examples.

2.5.3.2 Anaptyxis

Most Neo-Mandaic consonant clusters are regularly divided through the insertion of an anaptyctic /ə/; see §2.4.2.5 for examples of this process.

2.5.3.3 Prothesis and Triradicality

Prothesis is often employed as one of a number of strategies to resolve initial consonant clusters, particularly among words formed from biradical root patterns. The majority of words of Mandaic origin are derived from triradical roots, and consequently those which preserve only two root consonants (or are derived from biradical roots) are susceptible to analogical leveling towards the model provided by these roots. In Neo-Mandaic, this leveling is most frequently accomplished through the addition of a prothetic vowel, most commonly /e/, as in example (2.292).

(2.292) ehdā [ˈɛh.dɔ] one (IV.43; cf. CM had id.).

In many cases, the analogical change results in the coexistence of two forms—the new form taking its place beside the old. Generally, the new form assumes the original meaning of the word, while the original form survives in a more restricted sense. For example, (2.293) becomes (2.294) when deprived of its augment (i.e. when followed by a noun in a construct relation, when followed by a vowel in juncture, or when appearing at the end of an utterance). In the

136 This is consistent with Kuryłowicz’s fourth law of analogy; Hans Henrich Hock, Principles of Historical Linguistics (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1991), 223–27.
2.5 Segmental Morphophonology

patronymic, however, the word appears as (2.295), reflecting the original form.

(2.293) ebrā \([ˈɛb.ɾɔ]\) son (lexical) (V.29)
(2.294) ebbēr \([ˈɛb.ɾɾ]\) son (contextual) (I.7)
(2.295) bar \([bæɾ]\) son of PN (IV.53; CM bar id.)

This is also the case with the noun (2.296), which regularly becomes (2.297) when deprived of its augment. The original form, (2.298), is preserved in the name of the gold ring which is part of the priest’s ritual clothing, (2.299), as well as certain divine epithets, e.g. (2.300).

(2.296) ešmā \([ˈɛʃ.mɔ]\) name (lexical)
(2.297) eššēm \([ˈɛʃ.ʃm̩]\) name (contextual) (I.9)
(2.298) šom \([ʃom]\) name (CM šum id.)
(2.299) šom yāwar \([ʃom \ˈjɒ.wort]\) Name of Yāwar
(2.300) Šom Heyyi \([ʃom \ˈhɛ.ji]\) Name of Life (PN)

2.5.3.4 /h/-Epenthesis

Whenever the enclitic form of the copula (q.v., §5.1.1.4) is attached to a noun bearing a possessive suffix ending in a vowel, the voiceless glottal fricative /h/ is inserted between the vowel of the suffix and the copula, e.g. (2.301).

(2.301) bābahye \([bɔ.ˈwah.ɾe]\) he is her father (IX.14)

2.5.3.5 Breaking

The close front unrounded vowel /i/ often breaks in open accented syllables, particularly in the environment of labial consonants (including the bilabial and labiodental consonants) and those articulated on either side of the palate (such as the postalveolar and velar consonants). These include the bilabial stops /p/ and /b/, the bilabial nasal /m/, the voiceless post-alveolar sibilant /ʃ/, and the voiceless velar stop /k/, e.g. (2.302), (2.303), (2.304), (2.305), and (2.306) - but note (2.307). As the singular is the stem of the other

137 See Macuch, Neumandäische Texte, for further examples from the dialect of Ahwāz.
inflected forms of the noun, the broken vowel is retained even when the syllable is closed, e.g. (2.308).

(2.302) pienā ['piə.nɔ] evening (V.16)
(2.303) bieğā ['biə.θɔ] house (IX.6)
(2.304) mienā ['miə.nɔ] water (IV.7)
(2.305) šielni ['ʃiəl.ni] we asked (III.10)
(2.306) kief [kiəf] humor
(2.307) kef ābden ['kefˌpə.den] they made merry (IV.72)
(2.308) bieţwāt [biəθ.ˈwɔθ] houses (contextual) (III.13)

The breaking of vowels in this environment is an areal feature affecting Neo-Mandaic as well as the local dialects of Arabic, including the Muslim dialect of Baghdad and the dialects of Southern Iraq and Khuzestān.138 This phoneme also breaks in accented syllables within Arabic loan words, such as (2.309) and (2.310).139 Even the occasional Persian loan word is susceptible to this sound change, e.g. (2.311).

(2.309) rafieeqā-di ['ra.ʃiə.ˈqɔː.di] his friends (IV.98)
(2.310) šiex ['ʃiər] sheikh (II.7)
(2.311) miez ['miəz] table (Persian miz id.)

2.5.4 Lenition

Two forms of lenition occur regularly in Neo-Mandaic, both of which involve consonants. Stops may be fricativized (§2.5.4.1) and fricatives may lose oral contact and become glottals (§2.5.4.2).

138 Bruce Ingham, Languages of the Persian Gulf, in Alvin J. Cottrell (ed.), The Persian Gulf States: A General Survey (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1980), 323–24 gives a number of examples, including biet (house), shiex (sheikh), and bien (between), which are similar to the forms found in Mandaic.
139 Werner Arnold, review of Neumandäische Texte im Dialekt von Ahwāz, by Rudolf Macuch, Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft 146 (1996): 201 compares this feature to the breaking found in the Western Neo-Aramaic dialect of Jubb ʿAdin and the neighboring Arabic dialects of Qalamūn.
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2.5.4.1 Fricativization

Fricativization or spirantization, i.e. the change of a stop to a fricative, is a general Aramaic phenomenon. In earlier stages of the language, the voiced stops /b/, /ɡ/, and /d/, and their voiceless counterparts /p/, /k/, and /t/ (the so-called beğadkeπat series) were regularly fricativized to [v], [ʁ], [θ], [χ], [f], and [θ] after vowels. This specific process is no longer productive in Neo-Mandaic or any other Neo-Aramaic dialect.

Fricativization does, however, regularly occur in Neo-Mandaic. The voiced stops /b/, /ɡ/, and /d/ become the voiceless fricatives /f/, /χ/, and /θ/ before voiceless stops. This typically occurs when the comparative suffix -tar is added to an adjective ending in /b/, e.g. (2.313), which is the comparative of (2.312).  

Note also that the voiced velar stop /ɡ/ has become /χ/ throughout the conjugation of the verb laḵat ~ laḵot (lākeṭ) ‘to seize’ (CM lgaṭ ~ lgut (lagiṭ) id.), the dental stop /d/ has become /θ/ before the voiceless uvular fricative /χ/ in (2.314), and the voiceless velar stop /k/ in the modern reflex of Classical Mandaic kd kma (2.315).

(2.312) rabbā [ˈræb.bɔ] great (I.14)
(2.313) raṭtar [ˈræf.tæɹ] greater
(2.314) dota-t-ṭon [do.ˈθaθ.χon] both of you
(2.315) kaṭkammā [ˈkæθ.kæm.mɔ] how much (I.14)

2.5.4.2 Oral Depletion

The loss of oral contact, but retention of glottal friction, results in the voiceless interdental fricative /θ/ becoming /h/ before a syllable beginning with /l/. This sound change, and the inability of /θ/ to be lengthened (see §2.4.4.2) are responsible for the allomorphs of the copula *#ɛθ (CM ‘it). When followed by the preposition l- for, the copula takes the form eh- [ɛθ], e.g. (2.316). See §5.1.1.4 for further details on the copula.

For more examples of /b/ becoming /f/ before /l/ in the classical language, consult Nöldeke, Mandäische Grammatik, 48 and Macuch, Handbook, 56–57. Malone (“Mandaic Phonology,” 148) suggests a rule: “a heterophonous cluster XY, X a nonrilled obstruent (especially b, β, q) and Y a stop (especially t) may dissimilate X in manner to become a spirant but assimilate X in voice.”
(2.316) \textit{ehle} \hspace{1cm} ['ɛh.le] \hspace{1cm} 

In addition to the copula, this sound change also affects the paradigm of the object suffixes. When the third feminine singular preterite form of a verb takes a pronominal object with \textit{l}-, the \textit{/θ/} is invariably weakened to an \textit{/h/}, which then disappears, causing the following \textit{/l/} to become geminated, e.g. (2.317); for another example of [h] lost in this position and the concomitant gemination of the following consonant, see examples (2.148) and (2.149) under 2.4.2.4.2 above.

(2.317) \textit{märenli} \hspace{1cm} [mo.'rɛn.li] \hspace{1cm} she told him (IX.10)

The voiced uvular fricative \textit{/ʁ/} is depleted to \textit{/h/} in two words, both in the environment of the closed back rounded vowel \textit{/u/}, i.e. the example given in (2.319), from (2.318), and the learned form found in (2.320), which is pronounced as in (2.321) colloquially.

(2.318) \textit{zāğ} \hspace{1cm} [zɔk] \hspace{1cm} chicken (Arabic \textit{zāğ} ‘crow’)

(2.319) \textit{zəhunāŋkon} \hspace{1cm} [ze.hu.'nɔn.ˈχɔn] \hspace{1cm} your (pl.) chickens (IV.124)

(2.320) \textit{mambūɡā} \hspace{1cm} [mam.'bu.ʁɔ] \hspace{1cm} sacramental water

(2.321) \textit{mambuḥā} \hspace{1cm} [mam.'bu.hɔ] \hspace{1cm} id.

\section*{2.5.5 Loss}

In addition to the voiceless glottal fricative \textit{/h/}, which is lost in a number of environments (§2.5.5.1), vowels in word-final position are susceptible to loss (§2.5.5.2 and (§2.5.5.3).

\subsection*{2.5.5.1 Voiceless Glottal Fricative \textit{/h/}}

The voiceless glottal fricative \textit{/h/} is lost in several environments. When it is the second element in a consonant cluster, it is deleted (see §2.4.2.5 above). This deletion manifests itself in the allomorphs of the

\begin{itemize}
  \item This is presumably derived from a form like *\textit{amrahli} < *\textit{amraṭli} < *\textit{amrat} + \textit{li}.
  \item Macuch observed this alternation in the dialect of Ahvāz as well; Macuch, \textit{Neumandäische Texte}, 17.
  \item Note the appearance of the morpheme -\textit{un}- before the plural morpheme -\textit{ān}-.
    This may represent the ‘Tehruni’ pronunciation of Persian or the Luri plural morpheme /\textit{un}/ which is used for animate beings.
\end{itemize}
plural morpheme -ḥā, which appears regularly as -ḥā after vowels, e.g. (2.322) and -ā after consonants, e.g. (2.323), on loan words in Neo-Mandaic.

(2.322) ṣubbiḥā [ṣ'əbbi.ˈhɔː] Sabians (III.12; Persian ṣobbi-ḥā id.)
(2.323) ʒihelā [ʒi.ˈhel.ə] children (II.15; Arabic ʒāhil ‘ingénus’)

/h/ is also regularly lost in word-final environment; see (2.77) and (2.79) in section §2.3.1.10 for two examples of words in which this phoneme is deleted whenever it appears in word-final environment, after the loss of the augment (for which, see §2.5.5.2 below). Other environments in which /h/ is weakened or deleted include those described in §2.7.1.9 under the allegro rules below.

2.5.5.2 Apocope

Apocope is extremely common in Neo-Mandaic. Whenever a word is immediately followed by a word with which it is in juncture, i.e. semantically linked, the nominal augment, an unaccented word-final /ɔ/ found on most Neo-Mandaic nouns, is regularly apocopated. The form which preserves the augment is known as the lexical form; the apocopated form is known as the contextual form. The forms most likely to be in contextual form are pronouns followed by verbs, e.g. (2.325), nouns in construct with another noun, e.g. (2.327), nouns modified by adjectives, e.g. (2.329), generic nouns incorporated into the meaning of a verb, e.g. (2.331), quantifiers modifying nouns, e.g. (2.333), and adverbs modifying verbs, e.g. (2.335).

(2.324) anā [ˈaː.nɔ] I (I.4)
(2.325) an həwit [an ˈhə.vit] I was (II.16, III.4)
(2.326) bieṯā [ˈbiewolf] house (X.8)
(2.327) bieṯ dusti [bięθ ˈdus ti] the house of a friend (V.4)
(2.328) šarrā [ˈʃer.ɾɔ] war
(2.329) šer horettā [ʃer ˈhore.tɔ] the Second (World) War (II.2)
(2.330) ziφā [ˈziː.ʃɔ] lie
(2.331) ziφ qahΩt [zif ˈqah.vɛt] you lie (V.23)
(2.332) perzā [ˈpɛɾ.zɔ] little
(2.333) perz perāhi [pɛɾzs ˈpɛɾ.ɾɔː.hi] a little money (V.1)
(2.334)  \textit{peršā}  [ˈpɛr.ʃɔ]  tomorrow (V.19)
(2.335)  \textit{perš qaṭinā}  [ˈpɛrʃ qaθiː.nɔ:]  I’ll come tomorrow (V.17)

It is also susceptible to loss at the end of an utterance, e.g. (2.336) and (2.337).

(2.336)  \textit{Mandayān}  [,mæn.de.'jɔn]  Mandaean (I.5, III.12)
(2.337)  \textit{ĕrqi}  [r.ˈqiː]  heaven (X.12)

2.5.5.3 Elision

Much like apocope, elision involves the loss of the final vowel of a word when immediately followed by a second word. Elision differs from apocope in that any vowel or diphthong (not only /ə/) can be elided, and elision occurs only when the second word begins with one of the six primary vowels (excluding /ə/) or syllabic segments. In the transcriptions, elision is indicated with an apostrophe.

(2.338)  \textit{qamšielā}  [qm.ˈjiː.lɔ]  she asks
(2.339)  \textit{qamšiel' əmḥattā}  [qm.ˈpɛl ˈməhɑθ.ɔs]  she asks to speak (II.31)
(2.340)  \textit{aklelli}  [aχ.ˈlel.li]  they eat it
(2.341)  \textit{aklelli əl-ḥadid}  [aχ.ˈlel.li.ˈhɑdɪd]  they eat iron (V.12)
(2.342)  \textit{jawāb-de}  [ʤa.ˈwɒb.de]  my answer
(2.343)  \textit{jawāb-d’ahbiṭa}  [ʤa.ˈwɒb,dəh.ˈvi.tɔ]  I answered her (II.19, II.20)
(2.344)  \textit{ke}  [ke]  which (III.19)
(2.345)  \textit{k’ehli}  [ˈkɪl.li]  which has (V.26)

Elision is regular before the independent object marker əl- and verbal complements in the subjunctive. Elsewhere, elision is more characteristic of allegro speech (see §2.7 below).

2.5.7 Other Alternations between Segments

The monosyllabic proclitic morphemes, i.e. the preposition b- ‘in,’ the object marker əl-, the negative morpheme lá- ‘not,’ the preposition əm- ‘from,’ the indicative morpheme q-, and the conjunction w- ‘and’ have different allomorphs in response to the segments which immediately follow them, such as a consonant, a vowel, or a consonant cluster, as illustrated in Table 12. These allomorphs
represent a combination of the morphophonemic changes described above, such as anaptyxis and elision, as well as regular allophones of the segments involved, such as the syllabification of [w].

Table 12: Allomorphs of the Proclitic Morphemes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent</th>
<th>+ CV</th>
<th>+ V</th>
<th>+ C(ə)C</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>bə-[bə]</td>
<td>b-[b]</td>
<td>bə-[bə]</td>
<td>in, at, with</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>min [mən]</td>
<td>m̩-[m̩]</td>
<td>m̩-[m̩]</td>
<td>m̩-[m̩]</td>
<td>with</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qā [q̣ə]</td>
<td>q̣-[q̣]</td>
<td>q̣-[q̣]</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>IND</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u [u]</td>
<td>u-[u]</td>
<td>w-[w]</td>
<td>ẉ-[ẉ]</td>
<td>and</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note that anaptyctic /ə/ is deleted after a proclitic morpheme, bringing the two consonantal segments formerly divided by the /ə/ back into contact.

2.6 Suprasegmental Morphophonology

The position of the accent, while largely predictable, plays a minor role in distinguishing between several morphemes (§2.6.1), and a much more considerable role in determining the phonological structure of the Neo-Mandaic word (§2.6.2).

2.6.1 Stress and Morphological Processes

Stress plays a role in three morphological processes: distinguishing the abstraction morpheme from the indefinite morpheme (§2.6.1.1), distinguishing the plural morpheme found on loan words from the nominal augment found on original Mandaic vocabulary, (§2.6.1.2), and distinguishing the third person singular and plural of the derived stem imperfectives from the contextual forms of the first person singular and plural of these imperfectives (§2.6.1.2).
2.6.1.1 The Abstraction and Indefinite Morphemes

The abstraction morpheme -í (see §2.4.4.3) resembles the indefinite morpheme -i; these two morphemes are distinguished by stress alone. See §2.4.4.3 for examples.

2.6.1.2 The Foreign Plural Morpheme and the Nominal Augment

The plural morpheme -hā (originally derived from Persian; see §2.4.4.3) is used to pluralize loan words exclusively, including those from languages other than Persian. Whenever it follows a consonant, it assumes the form -ā, which closely resembles the nominal augment -ā, e.g. (2.346) and (2.347). These two morphemes appear in complementary distribution, i.e. the former exclusively on non-nativized loan words and the latter exclusively on native vocabulary and nativized loan words, e.g. (2.348). Nonetheless, it was deemed necessary to indicate the stress on the plural morpheme.

(2.346) darwišā [dæ.ɾi.ʃɔː] dervishes (IV.20; Persian darwiš id.)
(2.347) mimrā [ˈmɪm.rɔ] literature (I.5; CM mimra id.)
(2.348) jisrā [ˈʤɪs.rɔ] bridge (IV.12; Arabic jisr id.)

2.6.1.3 The Contextual Forms of the Verb

The third person plural forms of the imperfective, e.g. (2.350), are identical to the contextual forms of the first person plural, e.g. (2.349), and the third person singular forms of the imperfective, e.g. (2.352), are nearly identical to those of the third person singular, e.g. (2.351) throughout most of the verbal paradigm, except for the location of the accent and the gemination of the middle radical.

(2.349) qəmḥattén [qm.ˈhaθ.ən] we speak (contextual) (II.22)
(2.350) qəmḥatten [qm.ˈhaθ.ən] they speak (II.21)
(2.351) əmhadeʃ [m.ˈhaθ.'] I speak (subjunctive) (I.7)
(2.352) qəmḥaddet [qm.ˈhad.deθ] he speaks

The exception is the paradigm of the G-stem, in which the presence of a tense vowel in the accented syllable also distinguishes between the two forms; for more details, see §5.1.1.2.
2.6.2 Stress and Phonological Structure

A shift in the position of the accent provoked by a morphological process has profound implications for the phonological structure of a word in Neo-Mandaic; it can result in the simplification of a geminate consonant (§2.6.2.1), the reduction of a vowel in the preceding syllable (§2.6.2.2), the loss of /ə/ in word-initial position (§2.6.2.3), and the complete syncope of a word-internal vowel (§2.6.2.4).

2.6.2.1 Geminate Simplification

As described above in §2.4.4.2, there are two distinct types of geminated consonants in Neo-Mandaic, lexical and phonological geminates. The latter arise regularly whenever the accent falls upon a lax vowel in an open syllable; if the accent shifts, phonological gemination will be lost, as illustrated in examples (2.353) and (2.354).

(2.353) qemmédiað [qm.'häd.deθ] he speaks
(2.354) qemmiđețnā [qm.ha.'deθno] I speak

Geminates (both lexical and phonological) are also regularly simplified in word-final position, e.g. (2.355), which is the contextual form of (2.356).

(2.355) rab [ræb] leader (II.2)
(2.356) rabbā [r'æb.β̥] leader (II.3)

2.6.2.2 Pretonic Reduction

Vowels in open pretonic syllables in Neo-Mandaic are regularly subjected to reduction. The tense vowel /ɔ/ is regularly reduced to its lax equivalent /a/ in an open syllables, whenever the accent is drawn away from the syllable, e.g. (2.358) from (2.357).

(2.357) qěgāêtel [qə.'gā.t̪e̞l] he will kill
(2.358) qeqatelnā [qə.ɡa.'t̪el.na] I will kill

Its lax equivalent /a/ becomes /ə/ whenever the accent moves to the following syllable; cf. the lexical form (2.360) with its contextual form (2.359). Note that the other tense vowels /i/ and /u/ are also
reduced to their lax allophones [ɪ] and [ʌ] in pretonic position, as in (2.362).

(2.359) əbd     [əvd]     he did (contextual) (I.11)
(2.360) əbad    [ə.ˈvad]   he did (V.27)
(2.361) mu       [mu]       what (VI.6)
(2.362) mujur    [mʌ.ˈʤu.ɾə]  how I am (IX.3; Persian če-juríd.)

2.6.2.3 Aphaeresis

Word-initial /ə/ may only occur immediately before the accent, i.e. in pretonic position, as the outcome of a reduced tense vowel. If the accent shifts from the syllable immediately following word-initial /ə/, it will be deleted.

(2.363) əhabyon  [ə.ˈhəv.jon]  they gave
(2.364) hablonni  [həb.ˈlon.ni]  they gave it (X.10)

2.6.2.4 Syncope

Neo-Mandaic does not tolerate lax vowels in open pretonic syllables. For this reason, closed unstressed syllables which become open are subjected to one of two treatments if they contain a lax vowel; the most common treatment involves the syncope of the lax vowel. The vowel in the newly open consonant is deleted and the initial segment of the syllable closes the preceding syllable, provided that the syllable preceding it is open as well. Much like the accent, the vowel to be syncopated is always calculated retrogressively; i.e. from the final syllable back toward the initial one.

This sound change has a respectable pedigree within the language, being shared by other varieties of Aramaic as well. For example, compare the third masculine singular perfective form (2.365) with the third feminine singular preterite form (2.366).\textsuperscript{145} The first form derives from *naŋaq after pretonic reduction of the vowel in the first syllable (see §2.6.2.2 above) while the second is realized after syncope of the vowel in the second syllable of the underlying form,

\textsuperscript{145} These are the forms attested in other dialects of Aramaic as well; cf. Syriac naŋaq and nepqat.
**napaqát.** This sound change is still productive; elsewhere in the conjugation of the verb, the /e/ found in the second syllable of the root of the imperfective is syncopated whenever the following syllable begins with a vowel, e.g. (2.367) and (2.368).

(2.365) nəfaq [nə.'faq] he came out (VIII.7)
(2.366) nəpqat [nəf.qat] she came out (II.15)
(2.367) qābed [q̪̆r.ved] he does (IV.22)
(2.368) qābden [q̪̆v.den] they do (IV.20)

The verb abā (bāyi) ‘to want,’ which possesses a lax vowel in the initial syllable of most of its forms, frequently succumbs to syncope whenever it is negated with the proclitic negative morpheme lá-, cf. (2.369) and (2.370). Other verbs also undergo syncope after the negative lá-, whenever it is prefixed to a form containing a /ə/ in an open initial syllable, e.g. (2.371). Likewise, after (2.372) is negated with lu [lu] ‘non-,’ the /ə/ is syncopated, as demonstrated in (2.373).

(2.369) qabén [qa.'ben] we want (contextual) (IV.132)
(2.370) láqbèn [ləq.'ben] we don’t want (IV.109)
(2.371) lábĝesyon [ləb.ɾəsˁ.jon] they did not stay (IV.146)
(2.372) hənâye [hə.'nɔː.je] it is here
(2.373) luhnâye [luh.'nɔː.je] it is not here (IX.10)

Note that syncope cannot occur if the preceding syllable is closed. Consequently the lax vowel in the pretonic syllable of (2.374) has not succumbed to syncope, but is merely reduced to /ə/. In the event that the preceding syllable becomes open by any means (e.g. through the deletion of /h/), the vowel will immediately undergo syncope, as in (2.375).

(2.374) qəmahrəbāt [qə.mah.rə.'wɔt] you destroy (IV.58)
(2.375) qəmahrəbātī [qə.mæ.rə.'wɔː.ti] you destroy it (IV.59)

Alternately, when preceded by a closed syllable, the lax vowel may be “lengthened” to its tense equivalent; this is most frequently the case in the imperfective paradigm of quadriradical verbs, e.g. (2.376), which becomes (2.377) with the addition of the second person singular
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This also appears to be the case for loan words that have not yet been accommodated to Neo-Mandaic phonology; e.g. (2.378), which becomes (2.379) when augmented, instead of **ḥākmā. In either case, this has the effect of preserving the syllable structure of the word.

(2.376) qembašqer [qm.ˈbaʃ.qe.r] he knows (IV.35)
(2.377) qembašqret [qm.baʃ.ˈqiː.rt] you know (IV.106)
(2.378) ḥakem [ˈħɒː.kem] governor (IV.30; Arabic ḥākim ‘judge’)
(2.379) ḥākimā [ˌħɒ.ki.ˈmɔː] governor (augmented) (IV.65)

2.7 Allegro Rules of Neo-Mandaic

With the exception of Text I, a formal speech which was delivered slowly and deliberately, the elicited texts were delivered in a normal tone of voice, and at times tended towards fast or “allegro” speech. The following should be considered a partial inventory of the features of allegro speech. Unfortunately, without further data, it is impossible to outline the full inventory of sound changes attributable to allegro speech, and some of the examples cited here may well represent allophonic variation or the results of regular sound changes for which we simply have insufficient data. Most of the examples are culled from the text collection; as a general rule of thumb, the more examples that follow a feature of allegro speech, the more common the phenomenon is within the text collection.

2.7.1 Consonants in Allegro Speech

Consonantal segments may be subject to both contact assimilation (between immediately neighboring segments) and distant assimilation (across one or more intervening segments). Either form of assimilation may be anticipatory (in which case the segment assimilates to a following segment) or perseverant (in which case the segment assimilates to a preceding segment). Furthermore, the assimilation may be total (in which case one segment completely assimilates to another) or partial (in which case one feature of a segment, such as its point or manner of articulation, assimilates to another). Other phenomena sporadically affecting consonants in Neo-Mandaic include
nasal lenition (§2.7.1.5), fricativization (§2.7.1.6), paragoge (§2.7.1.7) and the devoicing of final stops (§2.7.1.8). The various allophones of the voiceless glottal fricative /h/ in allegro speech are treated in a separate section (§2.7.1.9).

2.7.1.1 Partial Anticipatory Contact Assimilation

Partial anticipatory contact assimilation involves the assimilation of a segment in voice, place of articulation, or manner of articulation to the segment immediately following it.

v > m / _n: /v/ assimilates in its manner of articulation (but not in place of articulation) to /n/ in examples (2.380) and (2.381), the latter of which is the contextual form of laqmahrebnā.

(2.380) qāhebnak [qɔˈhɛm.nɑχ] I will give you (V.29)
(2.381) laqmahrem ['laq,mah.rem] I won’t destroy (IV.61)

v > m / _n: /v/ assimilates in its manner of articulation (but not in place of articulation) to /n/ in examples (2.380) and (2.381), the latter of which is the contextual form of laqmahrebnā.

(2.382) nəpqat barra ['nəf,qad 'bər.ra] she came outside (II.15)

v > m / _n: /v/ assimilates in its manner of articulation (but not in place of articulation) to /n/ in examples (2.380) and (2.381), the latter of which is the contextual form of laqmahrebnā.

(2.383) ana qaʃed qam-daʃ ['aː.na qaˈvet 'qam.dɑχ] I will do it for you. (IV.63)

v > m / _n: /v/ assimilates in its manner of articulation (but not in place of articulation) to /n/ in examples (2.380) and (2.381), the latter of which is the contextual form of laqmahrebnā.

(2.384) perz perɔhi [pɛ.ɾɔː.hi] a little money (V.1)

v > m / _n: /v/ assimilates in its manner of articulation (but not in place of articulation) to /n/ in examples (2.380) and (2.381), the latter of which is the contextual form of laqmahrebnā.

(2.385) rezqā-dan [rɛs.'qɔx.dæn] our livelihoods (IV.132)
(2.386) Dezful [des.'ful] Dezful (III.6)
(2.387) həztonne [hes.'ton.ne] you saw me
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(2.388) Dezful  [dez.'ful]  Dezful (III.7)

ʃ > s / u.t: In examples (2.389) and (2.390), the phoneme /ʃ/ frequently alternates with the voiceless alveolar sibilant /s/. This outcome is presumably conditioned by the closed back vowel as well as the following alveolar consonant /t/, to which it assimilates in point of articulation; but notice that this alternation does not occur in either (2.391) or (2.392).

(2.389) Šuštar  [ʃuʃ.tæɹ]  Shushtar (IV.65)
(2.390) kušṭā  [kus.'tɔː]  truth (I.9)
(2.391) dešṭā  [deʃ.'tɔ]  land (IV.98)
(2.392) əštā  [ɛʃ.'tɔː]  now (I.10)

2.7.1.2 Total Anticipatory Contact Assimilation

Total anticipatory contact assimilation involves the complete assimilation of a segment to the segment immediately following it.

v > n / _n: /v/ assimilates completely to /n/ in (2.393). More frequently, it assimilates in manner of articulation but not place of articulation in this environment (see 2.7.1 above).

(2.393) ahebnak  [a.'hen.nak]  I give you (VIII.10)

l > C / _C: The /l/ of the proclitic preposition əl- assimilates to the following segment in (2.394) and (2.395); the same phoneme also assimilates across a word boundary in example (2.396).

(2.394) bašqir əl-nabšak
   [baʃ.'qiɾ ən.'næʃ.ʃɔʃ]  know yourself (m.sg.)!
(2.395) qamahgēsson əl-dešṭā
   [qa.mab.'ɾæs.sɔn əd.'deʃ.'tɔ]  I will stop the ground (IV.108)
(2.396) čehēl ruz
   [ʧɛɾ.rʊz]  forty days (IV.137)

n > m / _m: /n/ assimilates in place of articulation to /m/ across a word boundary in (2.397).

(2.397) šeršan m-awwāl əlm həwat
   [ʃəɾʃan m.ɔwɔn əl mæɾ hɛ.ɾɔt]
   Our religion has existed from the first epoch of time. (I.8)
2.7 Allegro Rules of Neo-Mandaic

2.7.1.3 Partial Anticipatory Distant Assimilation

Partial anticipatory distant assimilation involves the assimilation of a segment to another segment in voice, manner of articulation, or place of articulation, over one or more intervening segments.

\[ b > p /_\text{VC}_{[-\text{voice}]}: /b/ \text{ assimilates in voice to the following voiceless stops in example (2.398)}. \]

\[(2.398)\]  
\[b\text{êd}qu\quad [\text{pet.qu}] \quad \text{he put them (V.4)}\]

2.7.1.4 Partial Perseverant Contact Assimilation

Partial perseverant contact assimilation involves the assimilation of a segment in voice, manner of articulation, or place of articulation to that of a segment which immediately follows it.

\[ v > f / C_{[-\text{voice}]}: /v/ \text{ assimilates in voice to a preceding /t/ in example (2.399)}. \]

\[(2.399)\]  
\[\text{e}t\text{h}er\quad [\text{'st.fei}] \quad \text{it broke off (IX.12)}\]

\[m > n / n_+: /m/ \text{ assimilates in place of articulation to a preceding [n] across a word boundary in (2.400)}. \]

\[(2.400)\]  
\[\text{mæh}\text{atten Mandåyi}\]
\[[\text{ma.'ha0.0en ,næn.dɔ.'ji]}\quad \text{they speak Mandaic (II.32)}\]

2.7.1.5 Paragoge

Paragoge is the word-final insertion of a segment, and is famously sporadic cross-linguistically. In Neo-Mandaic, it occurs in example (2.401), in which a voiced alveolar approximate [ɪ] is inserted in word-final position. On one occasion, (2.402), the original Persian form, bandi ‘prisoner,’ was employed.

\[(2.401)\]  
\[\text{band}i\quad [\text{bæn.'di}] \quad \text{prisoner (IV.129)}\]

\[(2.402)\]  
\[\text{bandi}\quad [\text{bæn.'di:}] \quad \text{id. (IV.133)}\]

2.7.1.6 Nasal Lenition

In syllable-final and particularly word-final position, /n/ is susceptible to weakening or loss after non-high vowels such as:
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/æ/
(2.403) qømtallén [qm.tˤal.'lɛ] we play (II.4)
(2.404) qømḥatten [qm.'haθ.ʔɛ] they speak (II.21)
(2.405) qājen m-Erāq [qɛr.ʔɛ mɛ.rɒq] they came from Iraq (II.23)

/a/
(2.406) geš-dan [ˈgeʃ.dā] all of us (II.4)
(2.407) qønwadyātan [qm.'væ.di.jɔ,tā] you will take us (IV.122)

/o/
(2.408) dukkān [dʌk.'kɔ] places (I.4)
(2.409) ṣøgünān [ze.'ru.'nɔ] chickens (IV.142)
(2.410) pørāhān [pɛ.rɔ.'hɔ] money (VIII.8)

/o/ (2.411) pardason [pæj.'daː.sɔ] they left (II.12)
(2.412) genz hilānnon [ɡɛn.z hɪ.ˈlɔn.nɔ] they are very strong (V.4)
(2.413) qamdøkɔn [qam.'do.χɔ] for you (pl.) (X.7)

As demonstrated by the examples, the preceding vowel continues to remain nasalized even after the weakening or loss of the nasal.

2.7.1.7 Fricativization

‗Fricativization‘ or ‗spirantization,‘ the change of a stop to a fricative, is a general Aramaic phenomenon, although the process is no longer productive in Neo-Mandaic (with few exceptions; see §2.5.4.1 above) or indeed any other Neo-Aramaic dialect. The phonemes /t/, /b/, and /q/ are sporadically fricativized in post-vocalic position:

\[ t \rightarrow θ / V_\_ : \] The voiceless alveolar stop /t/ is sporadically fricativized in post-vocalic position.

(2.414) høwit [hɪ.ˈviθ] I was (II.16, III.5)
(2.415) aṭṭit [ɛ.'θiθ] I came (II.17)
(2.416) amrate [ˈam.ra.θɛ] she told me (II.26)
(2.417) metelā [me.θɛ.'lɔ] stories (III.20)
(2.418) azimat [a.zi.'maθ] invocation (IV.20)
b > v / V_: The voiced bilabial stop /b/ is sporadically fricativized in post-vocalic position.

(2.419) *qabûn* [qa.ˈvin] I want (II.17)
(2.420) *Hibêl* [ˈhiː.vel] Hibêl (p.n.) (IV.1)
(2.421) *mu qêbāt* [ma.ˈqʷɔt] what do you want (IV.63)
(2.422) *gâw welât* [ˈgɔʊ ˈwel.ɔt] in the city (V.20, V.26)

q > χ / V_: The voiceless uvular stop /q/ is sporadically fricativized in post-vocalic position. This rule is also typical of Persian, in which it is regular.

(2.423) *naʃaq* [na.ˈfɔʁ] he exited
(2.424) *lâqbben* [ˈlɑʁ.bɛn] I don’t want (IV.109)
(2.425) *lâqder* [ˈlɑʁ.deɾ] he didn’t take (V.26)

d > ð / V_: In one example, (2.426), the voiced alveolar stop /d/ was weakened to the voiced interdental fricative [ð] in intervocalic position. While this segment is otherwise rare in Neo-Mandaic, it must have enjoyed a much broader distribution in an earlier period of the language, as attested by a number of doublets in which the expected realization *[ð]* has merged with the voiced alveolar sibilant /z/, cf. (2.427) with the literary expression (2.428); see also the rhyming pair (2.429) and (2.430), of which both mean ‘gold,’ but only the former is in current use. 146

(2.426) *šadder* [ˈʃaː.ðɛɾ] send (m.sg.)! (IV.11)
(2.427) *dêmâ* [də.ˈmɔɾ] blood
(2.428) *besrā u zammâ* [ˈbɛɾ.ɾɔ.ˈzæm.mɔɾ] flesh and blood
(2.429) *dahbā* [ˈdæh.wɔɾ] gold
(2.430) *zahbā* [ˈzæh.wɔɾ] gold

146 Rudolf Macuch, “Some Orthographic-Phonetic Problems of Ancient Aramaic and the Living Aramaic Pronunciations,” *MAARAV* 5–6 (1990): 226 considers the occurrence of this doublet and others where /z/ alternates with /d/ at the beginning of a word either to be relics of the historical orthography or “hyperarchaizing pseudo-corrections,” but also notes the fact that the Mandaic orthography is otherwise phonetic, lacking in historical spellings, which militates against his argument.
Defricativization: Fricativization was not observed in any other stops, and in one instance, example (2.431), a voiceless uvular fricative was realized as a voiceless velar stop, although this may be attributable to Arabic influence (as the second person pronominal suffix here mirrors the form of the Arabic suffix).

(2.431) ahebnak [a.'hen.nak] I give you (VIII.10)

2.7.1.8 Devoicing of Final Stops

Voiced stops in word-final position are occasionally devoiced to voiceless stops. This is best illustrated by example (2.432), which is ultimately derived from the Arabic bilād, pl. of balad ‘place.’ In this word, the final stop is always devoiced, and occasionally even fricativized, as in (2.433). Other Arabic loan words, such as (2.434), on the other hand, are often devoiced, but not always, as in (2.435).

(2.432) welāt [ve.'lɔt] city or region (IV.20)
(2.433) welāt [ve.'lɔ0] id. (III.11)
(2.434) ‘ād [ʕɔt] yet (III.13, III.14, III.15)
(2.435) ‘ād [ʕɔd] yet (X.17)

2.7.1.9 Syllable-Closing and Intervocalic /h/

Neo-Mandaic does not generally tolerate /h/ in syllable-closing or intervocalic environments, and employs a wide variety of strategies to prevent it from appearing in those environments, including deletion, anaptyxis, and, in one instance, voicing.

Cə.hVC > CVC: /h/ is frequently deleted in intervocalic position, particularly when following /ə/, in which case /ə/ is deleted as well, e.g. examples (2.436) – (2.440).

(2.436) qəhazīkon [qa.'zin.xon] I see you (pl.) (I.4)
(2.437) qəhazēn [qa.'zen] we saw (II.14)
(2.438) qəhāfer ['qɔr.feɾ] he dug (IV.125)
(2.439) čehel ruz [ʧe.ruz] 40 days (IV.137)
(2.440) yəhem [jem] settled (IV.144)
h > ? / V_V: When /h/ is deleted in intervocalic position, a glottal stop /ʔ/ can be substituted in its place.

(2.441) *waxti hōwīt* ['væχ.ti hɐˈvɪt'] a time when I was (II.1)

CVh.CV > CV.h.CV: An anaptyctic /ə/ is occasionally inserted between syllable-closing /h/ and the initial consonant of the following syllable, to preserve /h/ from being deleted in that position (see 2.4.2.5).

(2.442) *nahrā* ['næ.ha.ɾə] river (III.8)
(2.443) *ehlu* ['e.ha.lu] they have (IV.45)
(2.444) *qədāhλen* ['qa.ˈdæ.ha.леn] they will be afraid (IV.98)
(2.445) *qāl ahβat* ['qɔl a.ha.ˌvat] it made a noise (IV.139)

h > j / (C)V.C: In one instance, (2.446), a loan word from Persian, the /h/ underwent a voicing process, becoming a voiced glide /j/ and forming a diphthong with the preceding vowel.

(2.446) *mehman-de* [mɜɪ.ˈmæn.də] my guest (V.16)

2.7.2 Vowels in Allegro Speech

The vowels of Neo-Mandaic are also subject to allegro rules. These rules include centralization in closed accented syllables (§2.7.2.1), vowel harmony (§2.7.2.2), anaptyxis (§2.7.2.3), and reduction in word-final environment (§2.7.2.4).

2.7.2.1 Centralization

The four principal non-open phonemes, /i/, /u/, /e/, and /o/, are occasionally centralized in closed accented syllables.

/ i / > / ɨ /: /i/ is infrequently centralized to the close central unrounded vowel /ɨ/ in closed accented syllables.

(2.447) *mišrā* ['mɪs.rą] boundary (IV.20)

/ u / > / ʉ /: /u/ is occasionally centralized to the close central rounded vowel /ʉ/ in closed accented syllables.

(2.448) *kuštā* ['kʊʃ.tˤɑ] truth (IV.118)
(2.449) *Šuštar* ['ʃʊʃ.təɾ] Shushtar (III.19)
(2.450) *šubbā* [ʃuːw.o] seven (III.18)
(2.451) *dukki* [dʌk.ki] his place (IV.140)

/ɵ/ > /ɜ/: /ɵ/ is frequently centralized to the open mid central vowel /ɜ/ in closed accented syllables.

(2.452) *amhadeṭ* [m̩.ha.'ðə] I will say (I.7)
(2.453) *qamabøssøn* [qə.mab.'øs.øn] I will stop (IV.108)
(2.454) *etør* ['st.fer] it broke off (IX.12)
(2.455) *lekøtan* ['løχ.tan] we are not (I.12)
(2.456) *pøhørøye* [pɛ.'høje] it is flying (V.21)

/ø/ > /ø/: /ø/ is occasionally centralized to the close-mid central rounded vowel /ø/ in open unaccented syllables.

(2.457) *sotør-di* [sø.'to.di] his razor (VIII.3)

2.7.2.2 Umlaut

The marginal phoneme /ø/ is highly susceptible to influence from vowels in neighboring syllables.\(^\text{147}\) Nearly all examples of this influence are restricted to /ø/ in an open pretonic syllable (with the single exception of *qamdošøn* [qə.m.ˈdo.χə] ‘to/for you’ (X.7), which reflects the influence of the sentence intonation, §2.4.4.4). The result is a wide variety of realizations for /ø/, in addition to the more usual [ø] and [Ø]. Examples include:

ø > e / _Ci: /ø/ is often fronted and raised to [i] or [ɛ] before an accented syllable containing /i/.

(2.458) *høwit* [hɾ.ˈvit] I was (II.16, III.5, V.21)
(2.459) *høwini* [hɾ.ˈviː.ni] we were (II.22)
(2.460) *høziti* [hɾ.ˈziː.ti] I saw him (III.21)
(2.461) *bønøli* [bɛ.ˈniː.li] he built it (IV.3)
(2.462) *møtø* [mr.ˈøt] lift! (IV.108)
(2.463) *yømøi* [jɾ.ˈmiː] swear! (IV.120)

ø > e / _Cɛ: /ø/ is often fronted and raised to [i] or [ɛ] before an accented syllable containing /e/:

\(^{147}\) Malone (“Mandaic Phonology,” 144) refers to this process as ‘schwa coloring.’
(2.464) amer [ɛ.'mɛɾ] I would say (I.3, II.1)
(2.465) nešemti [nɛ.'ʃɛmti] a soul (IV.96)
(2.466) paherye [pɛ.'hɛɾ.ɛ] it is flying (V.21)
(2.467) g̥ehek [gɛ.'hɛχ] he laughed (V.26, X.17)
(2.468) yehem [je.'hɛm] he sat (VI.2, VII.2)

ə > o / _Cu: /ʊ/ is occasionally backed and raised to [o] or [ʌ] before an accented syllable containing /u/:

(2.469) guš əbud [ɡuʃ ʌ.'wud] take a look (f.)! (IV.46)

ə > o / _Co: /ʊ/ is often backed and raised to [o] or [ʊ] before an accented syllable containing /o/:

(2.470) əmork [o.'mɔk] with (I.5)
(2.471) yehomyon [jo.'hom.ɹɔn] you sit (I.5)
(2.472) qamdošon [qam.'do.χɔ] to/for you (X.7)

ə > a / _Ca: /ʊ/ is often fronted and lowered to [a] or [æ] in the environment of /a/:

(2.473) əkal [a.'χɔl] he ate (V.11)
(2.474) əlab [tɚ.'lɔb] he asked (X.1)

ə > ə / _Ca: /ʊ/ is often backed and lowered to [ə] or [ʊ] in the environment of /ʊ/:

(2.475) qəbānən [qə.'bənən] they build (IV.17, IV.42)
(2.476) xabar məṭā [χa.'bæɾ mə.'tə] the news arrived (IV.145)
(2.477) qəbəyi [qə.'bəjɪ] he wants (V.2)

ə > u / _w: Similarly, /ʊ/ often raises and backs to [ʌ] when it is followed by [w]:

(2.478) həwā [hə.'wɔɾ] he was (II.3, VIII.1, X.6)
(2.479) həwālu [hə.'wɔɾ.lu] they had (II.29)
(2.480) rəwāhā [rə.'wɔɾ.hə] spirit (II.34)
(2.481) šəbəbānī [ʃə.'wɔɾ.ɹənɪ] his neighbors (X.1)
(2.482) šəbəq [ʃə.'wæq] he left (X.13)
2.7.2.3 Anaptyxis

Anaptyctic /ə/ is often employed to break up clusters of /b/ and /r/, e.g. (2.483) and (2.484).

(2.483) əmranˈkon [əm.bə.ˈron.χon] your sheep (IV.124)
(2.484) obrɪ ['o.bə.ri] a mouse (V.8 and V.9)

An anaptyctic /ə/ will often intervene in a consonant cluster composed of a consonant followed by the palatal approximant /j/, even across a syllable boundary, if the syllable containing /j/ is accented. In this environment, it is always realized as [ɪ]:

(2.485) qaʃaryˈəte [qə.ʃa.ˈri.ʃə.te] you will free me (IV.119)
(2.486) qaʃmwadyˈətan [qə.mə.də.ʃə.tən] you will take us (IV.118)

On rare occasions this same anaptyctic /ə/ will intervene even when the following syllable is not accented, e.g. (2.487) and (2.488).

(2.487) pəɾadyˈon [pə.ˈra.di.jon] they fled (IV.105)
(2.488) amˈtyu [ˈam.tə.ʃu] he brought them (IV.144)

2.7.2.4 Word-Final Reduction

Lax vowels in word-final environment, such as the /a/ in (2.489) and the /e/ in (2.490), (2.491), and (2.492) are occasionally reduced to /ə/.

(2.489) ‘Abdalla [‘ab.ˈdɔl.ə] Abdallah (II.8 and II.27)
(2.490) muyye [ˈmə.jə] what is it? (IV.106)
(2.491) banaʃˈane [ˈba.nə.ʃə.nə] my people (IV.118)
(2.492) mehman-de [mə.ˈmæn.də] my guest (V.16)
3. The Noun

The noun phrase (NP) consists of a noun (or pronoun; see Chapter 4) and any associated modifiers. Nouns serve to identify a person, e.g. (3.1), place, e.g. (3.2), thing, e.g. (3.3), e.g. quality (3.4), or action, e.g. (3.5).

(3.1) ganzibrā ganzibra
(3.2) Šuštar Shushtar
(3.3) mienā water
(3.4) hitraktā happiness
(3.5) əḇāḏā work

In Neo-Mandaic, nouns may be identified by the following attributes:

- They can be inflected for masculine or feminine gender (see §3.2), singular or plural number (§3.4), identifiability and referentiality (§3.6).
- They can be syntactically or morphologically marked as subjects (see §3.5.1), objects (§3.5.2) and other complements (§3.5.4) of verbs.
- They do not inflect for tense and aspect (§5.2), or mood (§5.3).
- They can be incorporated into the meaning of a verb (§3.5.2) and serve as the preverbal element in phrasal verbs (§5.1.1.4).
- They can be modified by other nouns in apposition (§3.7.1), adjectives (§3.7.2.1), and ordinal numbers (§3.7.3.1), all of which immediately follow the contextual form of the noun they modify. Cardinal numbers (§3.7.3.1) and most other quantifiers precede the noun.
- In an existential sentence, predicate nominals are indicated by the independent copula rather than the clitic form (§5.1.1.4).
- They constitute an open class, i.e. one that can be expanded through compounding, derivation, coining, borrowing, etc.

148 Unless otherwise indicated, the term ‘noun’ refers specifically to noun substantives, and ‘adjective’ refers to noun adjectives.
3. Structure of the Noun

Nouns may be inflected for gender, number and/or referentiality. The structure of the noun is as follows:

STEM ± GENDER SUFFIX ± NUMBER SUFFIX ± INDEFINITE SUFFIX or ± AUGMENT

The basic lexical form of most Neo-Mandaic nouns is that of the stem and the augment -ā, the presence or absence of which is determined largely by phonological factors (see §2.5.5.2). The feminine suffix (see §3.2 below) follows immediately after the stem. It is followed in turn by the plural morphemes (see §3.3 below), which precede the augment. The indefinite morpheme (see §3.6.3 below) takes the place of the augment. Non-nativized loan words possess the same structure as other nouns, but dispense with the augment.

Notwithstanding the influence of other languages upon the lexicon of Neo-Mandaic, the vast majority of noun stems may be organized according to both root and pattern, as in other Semitic languages. The former is the sequence of consonants (generally three in number, although two or four are not uncommon) that stay constant across a set of nouns and verbs that also share meanings within some semantic field. The latter consists of those characteristics which are independent of its root or any additional morphemes (such as those marking number and gender). These include the sequence of vowels within the stem, known as its “melody,” and the arrangement of consonants and vowels, which is called a “template.”¹⁴⁹ While the internal pattern system of the noun is not nearly as consistent or well-understood as that of the verb, it is nonetheless significant from a morphological perspective as an important means of derivation.

¹⁴⁹ Despite the synchronic nature of this description, I have adopted the terminology used by Joshua Fox in his diachronic analysis of the noun pattern across the Semitic languages, *Semitic Noun Patterns*, Harvard Semitic Series 52 (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2003). This terminology is defined on pp. 37–46.
3.1 Structure of the Noun

3.1.1 Unaugmented Patterns

Traditionally, the citation form for the various patterns is represented by a dummy root based upon three “strong” radicals (i.e. those radical consonants that remain unaffected by the inflection of the root), which is modified by the addition or subtraction of radicals to represent biradical or quadriradical roots. For the purposes of this description, the paradigmatic root will be $g{-t}-l$ for triradical roots, $g{-l}$ for biradical roots, and $g{-t}-l-d$ for quadriradical roots. Note that the glottal stop /ʔ/ (which is not transcribed when it appears in initial position) may also stand for the initial radical $g$. “Augmented patterns” (see §3.1.2 below) are those in which additional afformatives have been affixed to the original root. Far more numerous are the basic “unaugmented patterns,” in which no consonants other than the radicals are found.

3.1.1.1 The CVC- Template

The monosyllabic biconsonantal template comprises a large number of nouns, many of which are of foreign origin (predominantly Persian and Arabic).

$g\text{al}$-

Most of the nouns belonging to this pattern are of foreign origin, predominantly from Persian.

(3.6) gac gypsum (Persian)
(3.7) par leaf (Persian)
(3.8) pas pass; (English)

$g\text{al}$-

Many of the words belonging to this pattern are of Mandaic origin:

(3.9) bahba door (3.12) raza secret
(3.10) halaa sand (3.13) tahba good
(3.11) qalaa sound

There are also a substantial number of words of foreign origin:

(3.14) baz hawk (Persian)
(3.15) mah month (Persian)
3. The Noun

(3.16) māl property (Arabic)
(3.18) sāl year (Persian)
(3.19) yād memory (Persian)

**gil-**

Most of the words belonging to this pattern are of Mandaic origin:

(3.20) diwā demon (3.24) inā eye
(3.21) hilā power (3.25) rihā smell
(3.22) ibā cloud (3.26) rišā head
(3.23) ēdā hand (3.27) zīpā lie

There are also a few words of foreign (mostly Persian) origin:

(3.28) miwā fruit (Persian)
(3.29) tīz sharp (Persian)

Within certain phonetic environments (see §2.5.3.5 for details), this pattern becomes **giel-**:

(3.30) bietā house
(3.31) piēnā evening
(3.32) mienā water
(3.33) šīex sheikh (Arabic)

**gel-**

Nearly all of the words belonging to this pattern are of foreign origin:

(3.34) geš all (possibly Arabic)
(3.35) kef good humor (Arabic kayf)
(3.36) ler spittle (Persian layr)
(3.37) ser numb (Persian sayr)
(3.38) tel hill (Arabic)
(3.39) wel detached (Persian)

Another example of this pattern is derived from a biradical root:

(3.40) demā blood (contextual dem)

Two words of Persian origin appear to be examples of this pattern extended with the nominal augment -ā, but actually belong to a separate pattern, **gelā**, the final vowel of which is inseparable:

(3.41) nedā proclamation (Persian)
(3.42) šenā swimming (Persian)
3.1 Structure of the Noun

This pattern includes words of both native and foreign origin:

(3.43) kol all
(3.44) nodā earthquake
(3.45) hokā scratch
(3.46) hol push (Persian)
(3.47) pol bridge (Persian)
(3.48) gol flower (Persian)

This pattern also includes words of diverse origin:

(3.49) buṭā prayer
(3.50) nurā fire
(3.51) ūrā mountain
(3.52) yumā day
(3.53) guš ear (Persian)
(3.54) ruz day (Persian)

3.1.1.2 The CVCC- Template

The monosyllabic triradical template is the most common template in the Mandaic language. Whenever the augment is deleted, resulting in a final consonant cluster, an epenthetic /ə/ is generally inserted between the second and third radicals of the root (see §2.4.2.5 for more details).

This pattern is one of the most common in the Mandaic language:

(3.55) alpā thousand (3.64) maṭrā rain
(3.56) bazrā seed (3.65) nahrā river
(3.57) gabrā man (3.66) napšā self
(3.58) gatrā smoke (3.67) palgā split
(3.59) kabdā liver (3.68) radpā persecution
(3.60) karsā belly (3.69) rātā dialect
(3.61) kaspā silver (3.70) šamnā fat
(3.62) mandā knowledge (3.71) tafšā stewpot
(3.63) manzā hair (3.72) talgā snow
Also included in this pattern are numerous words of foreign origin, particularly Arabic loan words:

(3.73)  \( \text{ahl} \)  people (Arabic)
(3.74)  \( \text{alm} \)  knowledge (Arabic)
(3.75)  \( \text{‘aq\(\text{\text{"o}}\)l} \)  mind (Arabic)
(3.76)  \( \text{čang} \)  harp (Persian)
(3.77)  \( \text{jad\(\text{\text{"r}}\)\(\text{\text{"a}}\)} \)  root (Arabic)
(3.78)  \( \text{man\’a} \)  prohibition (Arabic)
(3.79)  \( \text{mand} \)  maund (Persian)
(3.80)  \( \text{narm\(\text{\text{"a}}\)} \)  smooth (Persian)
(3.81)  \( \text{qarn} \)  horn (Arabic)
(3.82)  \( \text{rag\’a} \)  patch (Arabic)
(3.83)  \( \text{waxt} \)  time (Arabic via Persian)
(3.84)  \( \text{xarj} \)  expenditure (Arabic)

A subset of vocabulary based upon this pattern contains a semivowel as its second (\( \text{gawl-} \) and \( \text{gayl-} \)) or third (\( \text{ga\(\text{\text{"a}}\)w-} \) or \( \text{ga\(\text{\text{"a}}\)y-} \)) radical. In the latter case, the semivocalic radical becomes a full vowel when the augment is lost (see §2.4.2.5 for more details):

(3.85)  \( \text{Ôaw\(\text{\text{"a}}\)} \)  dirt
(3.86)  \( \text{Òayd} \)  hunt (Arabic)
(3.87)  \( \text{kasy\(\text{\text{"a}}\)} \)  secret
(3.88)  \( \text{ma\(\text{\text{"a}}\)w\(\text{\text{"a}}\)} \)  rope
(3.89)  \( \text{pa\(\text{\text{"a}}\)y\(\text{\text{"a}}\)} \)  wide

Another subset of this pattern, \( \text{gall-} \), is characterized by a reduplicated final radical, which is simplified when the augment is lost (see §2.6.2.1 for further details):

(3.90)  \( \text{ahh\(\text{\text{"a}}\)} \)  brother
(3.91)  \( \text{bab\(\text{\text{"a}}\)\(\text{\text{"a}}\)} \)  grandfather
(3.92)  \( \text{gapp\(\text{\text{"a}}\)} \)  wing
(3.93)  \( \text{hatt\(\text{\text{"a}}\)} \)  new
(3.94)  \( \text{rabb\(\text{\text{"a}}\)} \)  great
(3.95)  \( \text{yamm\(\text{\text{"a}}\)} \)  sea

\text{gātl-}

This is a small pattern comprising words of both native and foreign origin:

(3.96)  \( \text{ālm\(\text{\text{"a}}\)} \)  world
(3.97)  \( \text{rā\(\text{\text{"a}}\)st} \)  true (Persian)
3.1 Structure of the Noun

geÔl-

Another common monosyllabic pattern, primarily comprising native vocabulary:

(3.98) besrā flesh (3.106) germā bone
(3.99) deqnā beard (3.107) lebbā heart
(3.100) deštā ground (3.108) mehlā salt
(3.101) ebrā son (3.109) mendā thing
(3.102) emrā sheep (3.110) meškā skin
(3.103) enšā women (3.111) persā tomorrow
(3.104) ešmā name (3.112) sērā moon
(3.105) genzā treasure (3.113) šērā religion

A few foreign words also belong to this pattern:

(3.114) fēkor thought (Arabic)
(3.115) perzā few (Persian)
(3.116) rezq livelihood (Arabic)
(3.117) šekēl appearance (Arabic)

As in §3.1.2.1 above, a subset of vocabulary based upon this pattern contains a semivowel as its second or third radical. In the latter case, the semivocalic radical becomes a full vowel when the augment is lost (see §2.4.2.5 for more details):

(3.118) rehwā wind (3.119) hēwyā snake

Finally, another subset of this pattern, gelI-, is characterized by a reduplicated final radical:

(3.120) bellā husband (3.125) hēyyi life
(3.121) beyyā egg (3.126) šēnnā tooth
(3.122) demmā tail (3.127) šērā war
(3.123) emmā mother (3.128) šēttā year
(3.124) eṭṭā woman

giṭl-

The number of nouns belonging to this pattern is relatively small, and contains words of both foreign and native origin:

(3.129) gird round (Persian)
(3.130) hītrā rejoicing
(3.131) jisrā bridge (Arabic)
(3.132) mimrā literature
Likewise, a subset of vocabulary based upon this pattern contains a semivowel as its second or third radical.

(3.135) *lilyā* night

**goṭl-**

This is another small pattern primarily comprising words of native origin:

(3.136) *gobrates* men
(3.140) *obrates* mouse
(3.137) *goemlō* camel
(3.141) *oerān* road
(3.138) *koakthā* star
(3.142) *soprā* bird
(3.139) *logrā* leg

Another subset of this pattern, *gooll-*, is characterized by a reduplicated final radical:

(3.143) *onnē* ear
(3.144) *pomme* mouth

**guṭl-**

This small pattern comprises words both of native and foreign origin:

(3.145) *ʿumār* age (Arabic)
(3.146) *burkā* knee
(3.147) *dust* friend (Persian)
(3.148) *dukkā* place
(3.149) *gubshā* twilight (Arabic)
(3.150) *gusnē* branch (Arabic)
(3.151) *husan* beauty (Arabic)
(3.152) *kuštā* truth
(3.153) *sunʿa* benefit (Arabic)
(3.154) *turtē* cow
(3.155) *tulyā* worm
(3.156) *wušle* piece (Arabic)

### 3.1.1.3 The CVCVC- Template

The first of the bisyllabic triradical templates comprises a wide variety of patterns. The first syllable of the template most commonly contains the vowel /a/, although all other vowels are attested. Most of the words
belonging to this template are of foreign origin, as a result of the reduction of short vowels in the pretonic syllable (see §2.6.2.2), which yields the ġīvīl- template (see §3.1.1.4 below).

**gaṭal-**

This pattern is composed of loan words from Arabic and Persian:

(3.157)  
\[ nāfār \]  individual (Persian)

(3.158)  
\[ safār \]  travel (Arabic via Persian)

(3.159)  
\[ xabār \]  news (Arabic via Persian)

**gaṭāl-**

This pattern is also composed of loan words for the most part, although there are a few words of native origin:

(3.160)  
\[ ḥaṭāyā \]  sin

(3.161)  
\[ jawāb \]  answer (Arabic)

(3.162)  
\[ qanāyā \]  smith

(3.163)  
\[ qarār \]  decision (Arabic)

(3.164)  
\[ sawār \]  rider (Persian)

(3.165)  
\[ šabāḥ \]  morning (Arabic)

(3.166)  
\[ tamām \]  perfection (Arabic)

**gaṭīl-**

As with §3.1.3.2 above, this pattern also corresponds to loan words for the most part, although there are a few words of native origin, of which all are adjectives:

(3.168)  
\[ ba‘id \]  far (Arabic)

(3.169)  
\[ dāxīl \]  ward (Arabic)

(3.170)  
\[ hafīf \]  thin (Arabic)

(3.171)  
\[ ḥadīd \]  iron (Arabic)

(3.172)  
\[ ḥašīš \]  grass (Arabic)

(3.173)  
\[ kadrā \]  heavy

(3.174)  
\[ jamī‘a \]  all (Arabic)

(3.175)  
\[ mariz \]  sick (Arabic)

(3.176)  
\[ wazīr \]  minister (Arabic)

(3.177)  
\[ yaminā \]  right

(3.178)  
\[ zalīlā \]  narrow
Within certain phonetic environments (see §2.5.3.5 for details), this pattern becomes *gaṭiel*:

(3.179) *rafieq*  
friend (Arabic)
(3.180) *hatieqā*  
old (inanimate objects)

*gaṭol*

This pattern corresponds to a small number of nouns of native origin:

(3.181) *hayoṭā*  
survival
(3.182) *yaroqā*  
green

*gaṭul*

This pattern corresponds to a small number of nouns of both foreign and native origin:

(3.183) *haruḡā*  
ruined
(3.184) *qabūl*  
acceptance (Arabic via Persian)
(3.185) *yalūḡā*  
scholar

*gaṭel*

This pattern is most commonly used to derive the G-stem active participle from verbal roots (for which, see §5.1.1.2). Apart from those nouns which are derived from the active participle, nearly all nouns belonging to this pattern are of foreign origin:

(3.186) *gāmeš*  
buffalo (Persian)
(3.187) *hāzēr*  
present (Arabic via Persian)
(3.188) *ḥākem*  
governor (Arabic)
(3.189) *kāfer*  
infidel (Arabic)
(3.190) *šāheb*  
owner (Arabic)
(3.191) *šāmeš*  
sun
(3.192) *tājēr*  
merchant (Arabic via Persian)

*gaṭil*

This pattern corresponds to a small number of nouns of foreign origin:

(3.193) *āxīr*  
last (Arabic via Persian)
(3.194) *gāwi*  
strong (Arabic)
(3.195) *qābin*  
mariage (Middle Persian)
3.1 Structure of the Noun

**getāl-**
This pattern corresponds to nouns of foreign and native origin:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Origin</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.196</td>
<td>welāt</td>
<td>country</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.197</td>
<td>ḥiṣān</td>
<td>horse</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.198</td>
<td>ḥizām</td>
<td>belt</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.199</td>
<td>lešānā</td>
<td>tongue</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**getel-**
This pattern is represented by two words, one of which is augmented by the -t- affix:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Origin</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.200</td>
<td>metelā́</td>
<td>stories</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.201</td>
<td>nešemtā</td>
<td>soul</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**gitāl-**
This pattern is represented by one word, ultimately of Persian origin:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Origin</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.202</td>
<td>diwān</td>
<td>scroll</td>
<td>Persian</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**gitel-**
This pattern is represented by one word, ultimately of Arabic origin:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Origin</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.203</td>
<td>jīhel</td>
<td>child</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**goṭal-**
This pattern corresponds primarily to nouns of foreign origin; note that the final vowel in (3.205) is inseparable, being part of the pattern, and so its pattern is technically goṭalā, although it is synchronically indistinguishable from other plural nouns ending in the plural morpheme -ā:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Origin</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.204</td>
<td>komāk</td>
<td>help</td>
<td>Persian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.205</td>
<td>olamā</td>
<td>Islamic scholars</td>
<td>Arabic via Persian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.206</td>
<td>qolāstā</td>
<td>collection</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**goṭił-**
Both native and nativized words belong to this pattern:
3. The Noun

(3.207) honinā  little
(3.208) horinā  other
(3.209) fonidā  fish (origin uncertain)

**goṭol-**

This pattern corresponds to a small number of nouns of Persian origin:

(3.210) dorós  correct (Persian)
(3.211) sotór  razer (Persian)

**goṭul-**

This pattern corresponds to a small number of nouns of native and foreign origin:

(3.212) okumā  black
(3.213) poqutṭā  neck (origin unknown)
(3.214) zobūn  shirt (Persian)

**guṭāl-**

This pattern corresponds to a small number of nouns of Arabic origin:

(3.215) ḡubār  dust (Arabic)
(3.216) muḥāl  absurd (Arabic)

3.1.1.4 The CCVC- Template

The initial consonant cluster at the beginning of this template is a result of the reduction of short vowels in the pretonic syllable (for which, see §2.6.2.2), affecting words originally belonging to the gyṭv- template (see §3.1.3 above). Consequently, nearly all of the words pertaining to this template are of native origin. As Neo-Mandaic does not tolerate most word-initial consonant clusters (see §2.4.2.5), an anaptyctic /s/ is often inserted between the two consonants to break up the cluster.

**gtāl-**

This is a very common pattern corresponding almost entirely to substantives and adjectives of native origin:
3.1 Structure of the Noun

A few examples of this template are built upon a root with a weak second or third radical; this radical behaves in precisely the same manner as the strong radicals:

- (3.229) ̄h̄wārā white
- (3.230) ̄hayānā alive
- (3.231) ̄kārāyā leg

When the second syllable becomes closed (for example, through the addition of the -t- affix), its vowel is unexpectedly reduced to /a/ despite the fact that the accent remains on the closed syllable (see §2.3.2):

- (3.234) ̄ḡalaltā stone
- (3.235) ̄š̄enartā queen cat

Unlike most other noun patterns, this pattern is still “productive” in Neo-Mandaic, in the sense that terms for professions originally belonging to the Arabic fa‘āl pattern are often “nativized” by fitting their root into this pattern:

- (3.236) ̄ḥ̄adādā blacksmith
- (3.237) ̄n̄ajārā carpenter

**gṭil-**

This pattern is generally associated with the G-stem passive participle (see §5.4.3.1), as well as many adjectives and a few nouns, often (but not necessarily) derived from the passive participle. Like gātel- and gtāl- above, it continues to be productive in Neo-Mandaic. The word swireikā ‘thick,’ which does not appear in Classical Mandaic, appears to be derived from the root √s-m-k.

- (3.238) swireimā fat (adj.)
- (3.239) swireikā long
- (3.240) swireiqihā heaven
- (3.241) swireisi cold (adj.)
- (3.242) ewirehirā nose
- (3.243) swireiṭikā thick
- (3.244) swireirī rotten
- (3.245) swireiṭihā apostle
A perfect example of the productivity of this pattern was illustrated for me when Nasser Sobbi and I were discussing some of the texts in Macuch’s *Neumandäische Texte*. We came upon the Arabic word َُِّٛةَْيَاًرَ ‘airplane,’ which is ultimately derived from the root √تُ-يُ-رَ ‘to fly.’ Sobbi shook his head and said to me, “I don’t understand why he used that word. We have a perfectly good Mandaic word – َُِّٛةَْهَرَ.” The Mandaic root √جُ-يُ-رَ corresponds in meaning to the Arabic root √تُ-يُ-رَ. Clearly, َُِّٛةَْهَرَ is a neologism, as neither the word nor its referent exist in Classical Mandaic.

gُتَل-
Few examples of this pattern are attested, and fewer still are based upon roots with three strong radical consonants. One of them, َُِّٛةَْعَ رَا ‘week,’ is based upon an Arabic root. The word َُِّٛةَْمُتَا ‘oath,’ is not attested in Classical Mandaic, even though it is clearly derived from the root √يُ-مُ-يَر which means ‘to swear;’ the regular word for oath in Classical Mandaic is َُِّٛةَْعَ مَاتَا. This suggests that this pattern, though rare, may still be somewhat productive.

(3.246) َُِّٛةَْعَ يَا ‘hole’
(3.247) َُِّٛةَْعَ رَا ‘week (Arabic)’
(3.248) َُِّٛةَْمُتَا ‘oath’

3.1.1.5 The CVCCVC- Template
This marginal template corresponds to a very small number of nouns, which are for the most part of foreign origin.

gَّتَتَل-
This pattern is here represented by one word of Arabic origin:

(3.249) َّتَتَلَا ‘first (Arabic via Persian)’

gَّتَتَل-
This pattern is also represented by one word of Arabic origin; note terms refering to professions or occupations, which usually
correspond to this pattern in Arabic, generally become reformed along the analogy of the \( g\tilde{a}l \)-pattern described in §3.1.4.1 above.

(3.250) \( \hat{h}amm\hat{a}m \)  bathhouse (Arabic)

\( g\tilde{a}\tilde{t}\tilde{t}el \)-

Another pattern represented by a single word, in this case of indeterminate origin. Macuch and Drower derive this word from the Classical Mandaic root \textbf{HUQ 1} ‘to be distressed’ (q.v.); the possibility also exists that it may somehow be derived from the Aramaic root \( \sqrt{\text{y-q}} \) (id.) or the Arabic word \( d\text{ayyiq} \) ‘tight.’

(3.251) \( \text{wayyeq} \)  distress (origin unknown)

3.1.1.6 Quadriradical Patterns

Due to the comparative paucity of quadriradical roots within the original Aramaic and Mandaic vocabulary, most of the words that correspond to these patterns are predictably of foreign origin.

\( g\tilde{a}\tilde{t}\tilde{lad} \)-

(3.252) \( \text{\'askar} \)  army (Arabic)
(3.253) \( jangal \)  forest (Persian)

\( g\tilde{a}\tilde{t}\tilde{l\acute{a}}d \)-

(3.254) \( \text{\'arw\acute{a}h} \)  thanks (possibly Persian)
(3.255) \( qaz\acute{g\grave{a}n} \)  cooking pot (Persian)

\( g\tilde{a}\tilde{t}\tilde{l\acute{i}}d \)-

(3.256) \( \text{darwi\acute{s}} \)  dervish (Persian)
(3.257) \( nazdik \)  near (Persian)

\( g\tilde{e}\tilde{t}\tilde{l\acute{a}}d \)-

(3.258) \( mehm\dot{a}n \)  guest (Persian)
3. The Noun

3.1.2 Augmented Patterns

As mentioned above (§3.1.1), “augmented patterns” are those in which afformatives have been affixed to the original root. Some afformatives, such as the sufformatives -āyā, -ī, and -uṭā, are applied to existing lexemes in such a way as to change their meanings in a consistent and predictable manner. Other afformatives do not appear to impart any consistent meaning to the newly derived lexeme.

3.1.2.1 Preformative m-

A number of nouns, particularly (but not exclusively) those of Arabic origin, bear the m- preformative, which is characteristic of deverbal nouns as well as what Macuch calls nouns of time, place, and instrument.150

(3.262) maḥallāt neighborhood (Arabic via Persian)
(3.263) mambuhā ritual water
(3.264) maxṣuṣ especially (Arabic)
(3.265) maṣʿul responsible (Arabic)
(3.266) mašbettā baptism
(3.267) mašknā sanctuary

3.1.2.2 Preformative t-

The t- preformative is characteristic of Arabic vocabulary, particularly verbal nouns, but is also found on some native vocabulary.

(3.268) tablīği proselyte (Arabic via Persian)
(3.269) tarmidā a Mandaean priest

150 Macuch, Handbook, 188.
3.1.2.3 Sufformative -t-

This is one of the most common and productive afformatives in any Semitic language. It often marks the feminine gender on a noun, and regularly serves as a suffix marking the feminine on adjectives, but can also appear as part of an augmented pattern without any clear derivational role. Due to the fact that this sufformative appears not only on originally Mandaic words but also on Arabic vocabulary, including those Arabic words which have been borrowed by way of Persian, it is represented by five separate allomorphs: -t-, -ṭ-, -āt, -a, and -e. The first two allomorphs are characteristic of native vocabulary, and the following three allomorphs indicate Arabic loan words, often borrowed via Persian. The allomorph -āt in particular indicates that the word to which it is affixed was borrowed from Persian rather than directly from Arabic.

-t-

(3.270) bərattā daughter (3.274) mašbettā baptism
(3.271) dēholtā fear (3.275) nešemtā soul
(3.272) dukṭā place (3.276) qolastā collection
(3.273) gəlaltā stone (3.277) turtā cow

-ṭ-

(3.280) qəmolṭā louse
(3.278) hajā sister
(3.279) qamieṭā noon

-āt

(3.281) amānāt deposit (Arabic via Persian)
(3.282) azimāt incantation (Arabic via Persian)
(3.283) aziyāt harm (Arabic via Persian)
(3.284) mahallāt neighborhood (Arabic via Persian)
(3.285) mehnāt misery (Arabic via Persian)
(3.286) qumāt police station (Arabic via Persian)
(3.287) quwwāt strength (Arabic via Persian)
(3.288) sāāt hour (Arabic via Persian)
3. The Noun

-a
(3.289)  benāya building (Arabic)

-e
(3.290)  ‘amme paternal aunt (Arabic)
(3.291)  qahwe coffeehouse (Arabic)
(3.292)  xāle maternal aunt (Arabic)

3.1.2.4 Sufformative -ānā
Formally identical to the plural morpheme, this sufformative does not serve any consistent derivational role.

(3.293)  kenyānā family name
(3.294)  šehyānā ruler
(3.295)  tawšānā dirty
(3.296)  ziḥānā liar

3.1.2.5 Sufformative -āyā
This sufformative was formerly used to derive adjectives from proper nouns, common nouns, and ordinal numbers. While it is fairly common within the native vocabulary, it is no longer productive, its function having been assumed by sufformative -í (§3.1.2.6).

(3.297)  Šuštrāyā Shushtary
(3.298)  Yĕhuwĕyā Jewish
(3.299)  ʾorbiyāyā fourth
(3.300)  Manḍāyā Mandaean
(3.301)  Manḍayānā Mandaean
(3.302)  mašknāyi another classical term for Mandaean
(3.303)  našorāyī Nazoreans

The sufformative -āyā regularly becomes -ayānā in the plural (see §2.5.2), but the original plural form inherited from Classical Mandaic, -āyī, survives in a few isolated words:

(3.300)  Mandāyā Mandaean
(3.301)  Mandayānā Mandaean
(3.302)  mašknāyi another classical term for Mandaean
(3.303)  našorāyī Nazoreans

The feminine singular form, which is sparsely attested, is -etā:

(3.306)  ṣeleṭā exalted
(3.307)  gāweṭā inner
3.2 Nouns and Gender

3.1.2.6 Sufformative -í

This sufformative corresponds to several foreign morphemes, including the Arabic yāʾ an-nisba. It fulfills the same role as the -āyā sufformative (§3.1.2.5) and is most commonly found on words of foreign origin, although it is occasionally found on words of native origin, sometimes in conjunction with the sufformative -āyā as demonstrated by the example of Mandāyī ‘Mandaic’ below:

(3.308) amriki American (3.311) Mandāyī Mandaic
(3.309) Fārsī Persian (3.312) masihi Christian
(3.310) Inglizī English

3.1.2.7 Sufformative -uṭā / -uxtā

The Classical Mandaic abstraction morpheme -uṭā serves to denote an abstract concept, much like the English morphemes -ship or -ness. It survives mainly on inherited vocabulary from the classical language, particularly in religious terminology:

(3.313) asuṭā healing
(3.314) hemanuṭā faith
(3.315) malkuṭā kingship
(3.316) naṣiruṭā esoteric knowledge
(3.317) taḥuṭā banquet

This form of the abstraction morpheme is no longer productive. The productive form of this morpheme, -uxtā, is an allomorph produced by an unusual sound change affecting the voiceless interdental fricative /θ/ when geminated (see §2.4.4.2). It is still used to generate vocabulary for abstract concepts in Neo-Mandaic:

(3.318) baṭluKERNELgtā misfortune (3.319) guṭluKERNELgtā massacre

3.2 Nouns and Gender

Neo-Mandaic distinguishes between masculine and feminine gender, which generally correspond to natural gender in animate beings. Inanimate objects are also divided into (grammatically) masculine and feminine gender, with the former predominating. For most nouns, this grammatical distinction is indicated through agreement rather than any specific marking. Comparatively few feminine nouns take the
morphological marker of the feminine gender. For this reason, and the fact that the grammatical gender of a given lexical item is generally arbitrary, it is often difficult to ascertain whether a given lexical item is masculine or feminine, if it appears without modifiers.

The bulk of feminine nouns refer to logically feminine animate beings; examples include the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(3.320)</th>
<th>bərattā</th>
<th>daughter</th>
<th>(3.323)</th>
<th>hāštā</th>
<th>sister</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(3.321)</td>
<td>ēmmā</td>
<td>mother</td>
<td>(3.324)</td>
<td>turtā</td>
<td>cow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3.322)</td>
<td>ēttā</td>
<td>woman</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Furthermore, all paired body parts are considered to be feminine:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(3.325)</th>
<th>burkā</th>
<th>knee</th>
<th>(3.328)</th>
<th>kɔrɔ́yā</th>
<th>foot/leg</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(3.326)</td>
<td>Ĭdā</td>
<td>hand</td>
<td>(3.329)</td>
<td>loγrā</td>
<td>leg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3.327)</td>
<td>īnā</td>
<td>eye</td>
<td>(3.340)</td>
<td>ɔnnā</td>
<td>ear</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Several non-paired body parts take feminine gender as well, e.g. (3.341) – (3.344); the remainder take masculine gender, e.g. (3.345) – (3.347).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(3.341)</th>
<th>haʃšā</th>
<th>back (f.)</th>
<th>(3.345)</th>
<th>appā</th>
<th>face (m.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(3.342)</td>
<td>karsā</td>
<td>belly (f.)</td>
<td>(3.346)</td>
<td>nαhırā</td>
<td>nose (m.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3.343)</td>
<td>pomnā</td>
<td>mouth (f.)</td>
<td>(3.347)</td>
<td>rišā</td>
<td>head (m.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3.344)</td>
<td>ʃennā</td>
<td>tooth (f.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

While the majority of inanimate objects are masculine by default, a surprising number of them take feminine gender, e.g. (3.348) – (3.352). Loan words from Arabic generally retain their original gender, e.g. (3.353); loan words from Persian, which lacks grammatical gender, usually assume the logical gender, as in (3.354).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(3.348)</th>
<th>bieʃtā</th>
<th>house (f.)</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(3.349)</td>
<td>deʃtā</td>
<td>ground (f.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3.350)</td>
<td>kɔdābā</td>
<td>book (f.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3.351)</td>
<td>ohrā</td>
<td>road (f.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3.352)</td>
<td>nurā</td>
<td>fire (f.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3.353)</td>
<td>šerrā</td>
<td>war (f.; possibly Arabic šɪrra ‘angriness’)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3.354)</td>
<td>bāz</td>
<td>hawk (m.; Persian bāz id.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.3 Nouns and Number

Neo-Mandaic nouns have two numbers: singular, which is unmarked, and plural, which is marked, depending on the referentiality of the noun. In addition, mass nouns are obligatorily unmarked.

3.3.1 Inflectional Plurals

Nouns are marked as plural by adding the suffix -ān- after the stem of the noun but before the augment. This suffix is the default plural marking for all nouns, animate and inanimate, masculine and feminine.\(^\text{151}\)

(3.355) tarmid-ā disciple (m.) tarmid-ān-ā disciples (m.)
(3.356) tur-ā bull (m.) tur-ān-ā bulls (m.)
(3.357) kōdāb-ā book (m.) kōdāb-ān-ā books (m.)
(3.358) kərāy-ā leg (f.) kərāy-ān-ā leg (f.)

3.3.2 Lexicalized Plurals

There are a number of feminine nouns that take the feminine plural suffix -(ʍ/y)āt-. This suffix is obligatory in the plural for all nouns marked with the sufformative -t- (see §3.1.2.3 above)

(3.359) nešem-t-ā soul (f.) nešm-āt-ā souls (f.)
(3.360) tur-т-ā cow (f.) tur-āt-ā cows (f.)

Other feminine nouns are not explicitly marked as feminine, but take the feminine plural morpheme nonetheless.

(3.361) bieṭ-ā house (f.) bieṭ-wāt-ā houses (f.)
(3.362) dešt-ā ground (f.) dešt-āt-ā lands; wilderness (f.)
(3.363) hewān-ā animal (f.) hewān-yāt-ā animals; cattle (f.)

In addition to the feminine plurals, some nouns form their plurals upon different nominal stems. These include both masculine and feminine nouns.

(3.364) bəra-itt-ā daughter (f.) bən-āt-ā daughters (f.)

\(^{151}\) This suffix is likely the Iranian plural morpheme -ān, which was more productive in Middle Persian than it is today. Macuch, *Handbook*, 224–25 derives this morpheme from the rare Classical Mandaic suffix -ania, which appears primarily on plurals of plants and related products.
3.3.3 Number Marking of Loan Words

Most loan words which have not yet been assimilated into the lexicon are marked not with the default plural morpheme -ān- but with the plural morpheme -hā (-ā after consonants; see §2.4.2.5), which was also originally borrowed from Persian. The use of the Persian plural morpheme is perhaps a reflection of the fact that Persian is the largest source of foreign vocabulary in Neo-Mandaic, including many words ultimately of Arabic origin. Nevertheless, this suffix is also applied to words that were not borrowed from Persian. As this suffix never appears on original Mandaic vocabulary, its use explicitly marks a noun as a loan word, regardless of the etymological origin of the noun.

(3.372) čang  harp  čang-ā  harps  (Persian)
(3.373) darwiš  dervish  darwiš-ā  dervishes (Persian)
(3.374) jihel  child  jihel-ā  children (Arabic)
(3.375) rafieq  friend  rafieq-ā  friends (Arabic)
(3.376) rezq  livelihood  rezq-ā  livelihoods (Arabic)
(3.377) šubbi  Sabian  šubbi-hā  Sabians (Arabic)
(3.378) wazir  vizier  wazir-ā  viziers (Arabic)

A much smaller set of loan words retain the plurals from their source languages.
As foreign loan words become assimilated to the Neo-Mandaic lexicon, they take the default plural suffix -ān, though often without the augment.

Much like other lexicalized plurals, some loan words are doubly marked as plural, through the addition of the default plural ending.

The word olamā ‗Islamic scholars‘ (originally from Arabic ‘ulamā’, plural of ‘ālim ‘scholar’) has entered the Neo-Mandaic lexicon as a collective noun via Persian olama.

### 3.3.4 Noun Compounds and Number

When a noun is compounded with another substantive (noun or adjective), then the plural suffix -ān attaches to the end of the compound (3.386). The compound thus resembles the construct phrase (3.387), but is distinguished from a noun modified by an adjective (3.388), in which the plural suffix attaches to the head noun in the chain.

### 3.4 Nouns and State

In addition to gender and number, the noun was formerly characterized by a third inflectional category, conventionally known as state. In Classical Mandaic, nouns appeared in three states:
emphatic, absolute, and construct. Nouns in the emphatic state were distinguished from those in the absolute and the construct by the presence of the augment. These latter two were further distinguished in most nouns by different allomorphs. Because the presence of the augment is determined largely by phonological considerations rather than morphological ones (see §2.5.5.2), and the unaugmented forms of the noun (formerly corresponding to the construct and the absolute states) have been leveled to a single form, the states have given way to a new system contrasting lexical and contextual forms. Nevertheless, some vestiges of this inflectional category survive in Neo-Mandaic.

3.4.1 The Emphatic State

The augment, which served as a definite article in earlier stages of Aramaic, had ceased to play this role by the time of Classical Mandaic and merely served to indicate the emphatic state of the noun. The lexical forms (those possessing the augment) correspond to the Classical Mandaic emphatic state.

3.4.2 The Construct State and the Ezāfe

The construct state is indicated by the absence of the augment. Nouns in the construct state always appear in their contextual forms. Two or more nouns may thus be linked in a genitive relationship with a variety of functions. This construction is known as the construct chain. The first element in the construct chain, known as the head noun, may be modified by a noun substantive (3.389), a noun adjective (3.390), or even a second construct chain (3.391). Independent pronouns cannot modify a noun in this manner.

(3.389) ḥākem welāt
governor city
governor of the city (IV.83)

(3.390) rab Manday-ān-ā
leader Mandaean-PL-AUG
leader of the Mandaeans (II.2)

(3.391) riš ēm yum šerš-ān
head day religion-1PL
The start of our religion (I.7)
The construct chain may consist of any number of nouns, so long as the chain is not broken by any attributive adjectives or demonstrative pronouns, in which case the relationship between the nouns will be indicated by means of a preposition, as in (3.68).

\[(3.392)\quad \text{siddar raqt \( al=Manday-an \)}\]
\[\quad \text{book \ great \ to=Mandaean-PL} \quad \text{The great book of the Mandaeans.}\]

Note that the noun modified by the adjective appears in the contextual form. Nouns modified by an attributive adjective resemble those in construct.

Traditionally, the construct chain was used to form Mandaean patronymics, which take the form “son/daughter of PN”:

\[(3.393)\quad Hadiyye \ børat \ Kanjar\]
\[\quad \text{PN \ daughter \ PN} \quad \text{Hadiyye, daughter of Kanjar (II.10)}\]
\[(3.394)\quad Čečawā \ bar \ Čečawā\]
\[\quad \text{PN \ son \ PN} \quad \text{Chechawa the son of Chechawa (IV.52)}\]

More recently, Mandaeans have started following the naming conventions of the countries in which they reside. The patronymic has become largely obsolete, although most observant Mandaeans continue to be given a matronymic \textit{malwāši} name which follows the same format.

The Persian \textit{ezāfe} construction (from the Arabic word \textit{idāfā} ‘addition’) occasionally intrudes into Neo-Mandaic speech. Like the Neo-Mandaic contextual forms (but unlike the construct state of many Semitic languages), this morpheme indicates a relationship between two nouns (substantive or adjective) corresponding to a variety of functions (generally attributive or genitive):

\[(3.395)\quad kol \ dukkān=e \ Amrik-ān\]
\[\quad \text{all \ store=EZ \ American-PL} \quad \text{all the American stores (III.4)}\]
Macuch identifies the ezāfē as an integral part of the subdialect of Ahvāz. The ezāfē has a much more restricted application in the speech of my informants.

3.4.3 The Absolute State

In Neo-Mandaic, the absolute state of the noun has become indistinguishable from the contextual forms of the noun in the emphatic state. Traces of the absolute state survive in the participles used to form the imperfective (see §5.1.1.2), the subjunctive mood (see §5.1.1.2), and the analytic passive voice (see §5.1.1.4 and §5.4.3.1), as well as the plurals of the cardinal numbers and nouns following ordinals (see §3.7.3.1 below).

3.5 Nouns and Case-Marking

The grammatical function of a noun within a clause is indicated by word order, verb agreement, and the use of prepositions. Neo-Mandaic is a nominative-accusative language. The subject of an intransitive verb and the agent of a transitive verb are unmarked, and the verb agrees with them in number and gender. The object (or patient) of a transitive verb generally follows the verb and may be marked by a preposition under some circumstances (see §3.5.2). The verb does not agree in number or gender with its object in the perfective, unlike most other Eastern Neo-Aramaic dialects.

3.5.1 Subject of a Transitive or Intransitive Verb

The subject of a clause is not introduced by any preposition. The verb typically agrees with the number and person of the subject by verb inflections. Even when the subject is a generic noun (and hence not marked for plural, see §3.3 above), the verb still reflects a plural subject, as illustrated in (3.74) below.
3.5 Nouns and Case-Marking

(3.396) kŏrāy=i ser tamm-at
leg=3SG.M numb become.PFV-3SG.F
His leg went numb. (VII.3)

(3.397) bāb āmmām ʔhab-o=l=i pērā
father bathhouse give.PFV-3SG.M=OBJ=3SG.M money
The owner of the bathhouse gave him some money. (VIII.5)

(3.398) barnās-ā ḋāb=ān-en ḥattā jisr
person-AUG IND=build-3PL anew bridge
The people rebuilt the bridge. (IV.42)

3.5.2 The Object of a Transitive Verb

The position of the object within the verb phrase is governed primarily by the specificity of the referent and secondarily by its identifiability (see also §3.6 below). If the referent is generic, the object is incorporated into the meaning of the verb, appearing before it and any adverbs or the negative morpheme.

(3.399) darwiš-ā azimāt q=ābd-en šam‘
dervish-PL invocation IND=do.PFV-3PL candle
Dervishes [...] made invocations,
q=masriḥ-en u misr-ā q=ābd-en
IND=light.C.PFV-3PL and boundary-AUG IND=do.PFV-3PL
lit candles, and drew [magic] boundaries. (IV.20)

If the object is indefinite and non-specific (i.e. explicitly marked with the indefinite morpheme -ī), it will also generally appear before the verb.

(3.400) ʔzg-īt mend-ī ʔmḥassel-nā
go.PFV-1SG thing-INDF obtain.SBJV-1SG
[...] I would have gone, to pick something up. (III.16)

(3.401) jisr-ī tum ʔbad-yon
bridge-INDF again do.PFV-3PL
They built another bridge. (III.21)

If the referent of the object of a verb is identified by the speaker as a specific, particular entity (i.e. as referential), it is introduced by the referential object marker ʔl- and an anticipatory pronominal suffix on the verb (which is generally elided before the referential object marker, when the referential object marker directly follows it). This
object marker is identical with the preposition ṣl- ‘to/for’ (from which it is derived).\textsuperscript{153}

(3.402) \textit{q}=mahreb-āt=\textit{o} \quad ṣl=\textit{pol}
IND=be.destroyed.C.IPFV-2SG=3SG.M \quad REF=bridge
You keep destroying the bridge! (IV.58)

(3.403) \textit{an} \quad q=mandi-n=\textit{o} \quad ṣl=dešt-ā
I \quad IND=shake.IPFV-1SG=3SG.F \quad REF=ground-AUG
I will cause the earth to quake. (IV.98)

The referential object marker ṣl- is a phrasal clitic; it attaches to the entire noun phrase, as is clear from examples (3.80) and (3.81).

(3.404) \textit{abd-onn}=\textit{o} \quad ṣl=ā \quad konfrens
do.PFV-3PL=3SG.M \quad REF=this \quad conference
They held this conference. (I.5)

(3.405) \textit{abd-o}=\textit{o} \quad ṣl=kol \quad alm-ān-ā
do.PFV-3SG.M=3SG.M \quad REF=all \quad world-PL-AUG
He created all of the worlds. (I.11)

In some cases (generally before proper nouns or noun phrases), the proclitic ṣl- is optionally replaced by the independent preposition ṣlāw to.

(3.406) \textit{ḥadeṭ-onn}=\textit{o} \quad ṣlāw \quad šerš \quad lešān
speak.D.IMP-3PL=3SG.M \quad REF \quad religion \quad language
Discuss the religion, language,

\textit{qoyān} \quad \textit{u} \quad \textit{mimr-ā} \quad d=Manday-ān
culture \quad and \quad literature-AUG \quad of=Mandaean-PL
culture, and literature of the Mandaeans. (I.5)

(3.407) \textit{zarz-at}=\textit{o} \quad ṣlāw \quad ānāš \quad ARĀM
inform.PFV-3SG.F=3PL \quad REF \quad people \quad PN
She informed the members of ARAM. (I.6)

The referential object marker ṣl- does not appear on nouns that have been marked with a possessive suffix, possibly because these are already explicitly marked as referential.

\textsuperscript{153} Macuch (\textit{Neumandäische Texte}, 95) identifies this marker as the Arabic definite article al-. He fails to explain why this particle marks the noun as definite when it is the object of a verb but not elsewhere.
3.5 Nouns and Case-Marking

3.5.3 Nouns and Phrasal Verbs

After a phrasal verb (see §5.1.1.4), the direct object of the verb is generally marked with the preposition *qam* to/for. The oblique complements of the verb may be marked with *qam* (as in 3.409) or with another preposition (as in 3.410).

3.5.4 Nouns as Complements and Adjuncts

In addition to appearing as the subject or object of the verb, the noun may also serve as the complement or adjunct of a noun or verb phrase. In these capacities, it generally appears as a constituent of a prepositional phrase.

The adjunct contributes non-essential information. It generally follows the phrase it modifies, whether noun, as in (3.411), or verb, as in (3.412).

The oblique complement of a transitive verb is generally introduced by a preposition. For example, the preposition *b*- ‘with’ indicates accompaniment in (3.413), *ba‘ad* ‘after’ indicates time in (3.414), *bienā* ‘among’ indicates manner in (3.413), *əm*- ‘from’ indicates source in (3.418), *gāw* ‘in’ expresses instrument in (3.415), *hemke* ‘like’ indicates manner in (3.416), *qam* ‘for’ indicates destination in
and recipient in (3.421), qār ‘at’ indicates destination in (3.418) and location in (3.419), and tum ‘until’ indicates duration in (3.415).

(3.413) əmhatt-én  bien=d=an  be=l=ənāš-ā
speak.IPV-1PL among=of=1PL with=NEG=people-AUG
Let’s talk among ourselves, without anybody else. (IV.81)

(3.414) ba’ad  so  ruz  kammar-о
after three day return.PFV-3SG.M
After three days, he came back. (X.2)

(3.415) q=əmbarək-о  haw-én  həyânə  tum  ãxîr
IND=pray.tD.IPV-1SG be.SBJV-1PL alive until last
I pray that we will remain alive until the final
ālм-ā  gāw  hil  Heyyi Rabbi
world-AUG in power PN
epoch of time, by the power of Heyyi Rabbi. (I.14)

(3.416) qə=hâzy-ā  hemke  ibly-ā  atā-о
IND=see.IPV-3SG.F like cloud-AUG come.PFV-3SG.M
She saw something like a cloud arrive. (IV.49)

(3.417) həwā-о  ork=e  yeki
be.PFV-3SG.M with=1SG someone
There was someone with me. (III.8)

(3.418) at-at  əm=Bagdād  qār  Šiex  ‘Abdalla
come-3SG.F from=PN to Sheikh PN
She had come from Baghdad to Sheikh Abdallah’s place. (II.27)

(3.419) ayhin-о=i  qār=i
sit.C.PFV-3SG.M=3SG.M with=3SG.M
He sat him down beside him.

(3.420) ak=waxt  ezgi-ni  qam  Haft Tappe
that=time go.PFV-1PL to PN
Then we went to Haft Tappe. (III.6)

(3.421) genz  əbdād  abd-at  qam  Manday-ān-ā
much work do.PFV-3SG.F for mandaean-PL-AUG
She did much work for the Mandaeans. (I.6)

The complement of a verb of desire or communication (e.g. ask, desire, demand, suggest, request) is introduced by the preposition min ‘from’ or its enclitic form əm-.
3.6 Identifiability and Referentiality

Identifiability (also known as “definiteness”) and referentiality are two pragmatic statuses that are marked in Neo-Mandaic. For the purposes of this discussion, the term “definite” with reference to the noun phrase implies that its referent is identifiable to both the speaker and listener. In English, definiteness is indicated appropriately enough by the definite article, as in (3.425) and (3.426).

(3.425) the man
(3.426) the woman

By contrast, the term “indefinite” implies that the referent is not identifiable to the listener. This is indicated by the indefinite article ‘a’ / ‘an’ or the quantifier ‘some.’ Examples include (3.427) and (3.428).

(3.427) a man
(3.428) some men

The referentiality of a noun phrase concerns whether its referent is a specific entity (and therefore considered referential) or a non-specific entity or an entire category of entities (in which case it is considered to be non-referential); this is known as objective referentiality. If the referent has already appeared in the discourse, it must also be considered referential whenever it is subsequently mentioned, regardless of its initial pragmatic status; this is known as discourse referentiality.155 In English, the entity indicated as indefinite may be

154 Cf. de Morgan, Mission Scientifique V, 282, ln. 8–9
unique or merely a member or members of a category. In the former case, the referent is said to be specific; in the latter, it is said to be non-specific. The definite article, by contrast, may indicate that the referent is specific, or that it is generic, representing an entire category. In count nouns (unlike mass nouns such as “water,” “rice,” “money,” etc.), generic referents may be indicated either by the plural of the noun without the definite article or the singular with the definite article, e.g. (3.429) and (3.430).

(3.429) Croissants were invented in 1689
(3.430) The croissant was invented in 1689

Both examples refer to the entire category of croissants rather than any particular croissant. Note that identifiability is similar to, but not identical with referentiality; while definite (or identifiable) entities are commonly referential, and indefinite (or unidentifiable) entities are often non-referential, they need not be, as the example of the crossaint suggests.

3.6.1 Nonmorphological Marking of Referentiality

Most unmarked noun phrases are ambiguous as to referentiality and may refer to specific entities, as in (3.431) and (3.432), or generic categories, as in (3.433).

(3.431) ganzibr-ā gāw Moḥāmrah ēkt=i
ganzibra-AUG in PN COP=3SG.M
The ganzibra is in Khorramshahr.

(3.432) ḥāb-t=ell=i qam ḥākem
give.PFV-1SG=OBJ=3SG.M to judge
I gave it to the judge.

(3.433) barnāš-ā af-on min ģer welāt
person-AUG come.PFV-3PL from outside country
People came from outside the country.

There are, however, a number of words in Neo-Mandaic, such as proper names, demonstrative pronouns, and personal pronouns, that necessarily refer to an objectively referential entity. Independent of its position within the discourse, a noun phrase must be interpreted as objectively referential:
3.6 Identifiability and Referentiality

- if it is modified by a demonstrative adjective (3.434), a possessive pronoun (3.435), or an ordinal number (3.436);

(3.434) ā ett-ā
    this woman-AUG       this woman (II.24)

(3.435) biēf-e
    house=1SG           my house (IV.118)

(3.436) awwál barnāš
    first person       the first people (I.11)

- if it is marked as plural with the plural morpheme -ānn;

(3.437) manday-ān-ā
    mandaeans-PL-AUG    the Mandaeans (I.3)

- if it is the head noun of a construct chain (see §3.4.2);

- if it is followed by a restrictive relative clause (see §4.3.3.2).

3.6.2 Morphological Marking of Referentiality

The enclitic preposition āl-, introduced above in §3.5.2, marks the referent of the object of a verb as specific. Generally, it also indicates that the referent is identifiable, as well; its primary function, however, is to identify the referentiality of the object, as the following examples will demonstrate. In (3.458), the relative pronoun man ‘who’ is used to represent a particular individual (the one whom). In this example, the referent is both specific and definite, and therefore it takes the referential object marker āl-.

(3.438) gēṭl-o=ọ āl=man qē=rahem-o=l=i
    kill.PFV-3SG.M=3SG.M REF=who     IND=love.IPFV-3SG.M=OBJ=3SG.M
    He killed the one whom he loves.

In (3.439), the direct object is the indefinite pronoun hemman ‘whomever.’ The referent of this pronoun is indefinite and generic, and therefore does not take the referential object marker.

(3.439) gēṭl-ọ hemman qē=rahem-o=l=i
    kill.PFV-3SG.M whomever IND=love.IPFV-3SG.M=OBJ=3SG.M
    He killed whomever he loves.
In (3.440) the direct object is the indefinite pronoun *yeki* ‘someone.’ In this example, the referent is indefinite and non-specific, and therefore does not take the referential object marker.

(3.440) \( gətal-ø \quad yeki \quad qə=rahem-ø=l=i \)  
\( \text{kil} \).PFV-3SG.M \quad \text{someone} \quad \text{IND=love.PFV-3SG.M=OBJ=3SG.M} \)  
He killed somebody he loves.

As noted above in §3.6, once an entity has been introduced into the discourse, all subsequent referents to the same entity must be considered referential, regardless of whether the entity was marked as objectively referential at the moment it was introduced. Note that a specific individual who has already been identified to the listener may be marked both with the enclitic preposition \( əl- \) (or its independent form \( \text{əlāw} \)) and the indefinite morpheme \( -i \), as in (3.441).

(3.441) \( tājēr \quad əmar-ø \quad an \quad həz-it \quad yə \quad bāz-i \)  
\( \text{merchant say.PFV-3SG.M} \quad \text{I see.PFV-1SG} \quad \text{a hawk-INDF} \)  
The merchant said, “I saw a hawk \( dər-ø \quad yə \quad ebr-i \quad pəher=ye \)  
\( \text{take.PFV-3SG.M} \quad \text{a son-INDF} \quad \text{fly.PASS=COP.3SG.M} \)  
who had seized a boy flying off.” \( aμanatdār \quad sāyah \quad məhā-ø \)  
\( \text{trustee scream hit.PFV-3SG.M} \)  
The trustee screamed. \( mυ \quad q=āmr-ø \quad bāz-i \)  
\( \text{what IND=say.IPV-2SG} \quad \text{hawk-INDF} \)  
“What are you saying, ‘a hawk \( əq=dar-ø=ø \quad əlāw \quad štān-i \)  
\( \text{IND=take.IPV-3SG.M=3SG.M} \quad \text{REF boy-INDF} \)  
took a boy.”  
\( u \quad qə=pəher-ø \)  
\( \text{IND=fly.IPV-3SG.M} \)  
and flew off?” (V.21-25)

In this example from Text V, the trustee is searching for his son, who was kidnapped by the merchant. The merchant lies to the trustee,

156 Namely, the aforementioned one, explicitly referential. Cf. Persian *pesar-ī-rā* ‘a (particular) boy (obj.)’
telling him that he saw a hawk fly off with a boy. At first, the object of
the verb is not marked with the referential object marker, because the
merchant is offering it as an non-referential and presumably
unidentifiable entity. Having thus been introduced into the discourse,
the boy is subsequently marked as referential by the object marker,
despite the fact that the two parties in the conversation continue to
refer to him as unidentifiable.

\[(3.442) \text{Gāw } \text{wełāt-i } \ k' \ \text{ch}=l=i \ \text{obr-ā} \]
\[\text{in country-RES } \text{REL } \text{COP}=to=3\text{SG.M } \text{mouse-AUG} \]

In the country that has mice

\[Ø \ \text{sad } \text{mand } \text{ḥadīd } \text{qā-ākel-φ} \]
\[\text{REL } 100 \ \text{maund } \text{iron } \text{IND}=\text{eat.IPFV}-3\text{SG.M} \]

who can eat 100 maunds of iron,

\[\text{mujur } \text{bāz-i } \ \text{lā=q=dar-φ=φ} \]
\[\text{what.way } \text{hawk-INDF } \text{NEG=IND}=\text{take.IPFV}-3\text{SG.M}=3\text{SG.M} \]

“How could a hawk not take a boy

\[\text{šl=εbr-i } \ \text{ke } \ \text{dah } \text{mand } \text{ch}=l=i \]
\[\text{REF=son-RES } \text{REL } 10 \ \text{maund } \text{COP}=to=3\text{SG.M} \]

who weighs only 10 maunds?” (V.26)

In this example, taken from the same conversation, the boy is marked
with both the referential object marker šl- and the morpheme -i, which
performs a demonstrative function analogous to the Persian yā-ye
cšārat when it is followed by the restrictive relative pronoun ke (for
which, see §4.3.2.2).

Even generic nouns can be marked with the referential object
marker once they have been introduced into the discourse, as in
example (3.443). In addition to nouns that have already been
introduced into the discourse, certain types of noun phrases that
inherently refer to specific entities will therefore always take the
referential object marker šl-. These include proper names (3.444),
nouns marked as plural (3.445), nouns modified by a demonstrative
pronoun (3.446) or a possessive pronoun (3.447), and nouns in
construct with another noun (3.448).

157 See Gernot L. Windfuhr, *Persian Grammar: History and State of its Study*
(The Hague: de Gruyter, 1979), 37.
The Noun

(3.443) obr-ā  genz qo=rahem-∅=l=∅  əl=ḥādīd
mouse-AUG   very IND=love.IPFV-3SG.M=OBJ=3SG.M  REF=iron
The mouse really loves iron. (V.12)

(3.444) əmal-∅=l=∅  əl=Joḥa  mu=yye  āḥā
say.PFV-3SG.M=OBJ=3SG.M  REF=PN  what-3SG.M  this
He said to Joha, “What is this?” (X.4)

(3.445) dər-∅=∅  əl=prāḥ-ēn   əm=bāḥ  hammām
take.PFV-3SG.M=3SG.M  REF=money-PL  from=father  hammam
He took the money from the owner of the hammam. (VIII.8)

(3.446) abd-omn=∅  əl=ā  konfērens
do.PFV-3PL=3SG.M  REF=this  conference
They held this conference. (I.5)

(3.447) bōdq-∅=∅  əl=kārāy=i  tut=i
put.PFV-3SG.M=3SG.F  REF=leg=3SG.M  under-3SG.M
He stuck his leg beneath him. (VII.2)

(3.448) əzgā-∅  əmal-∅=l=∅  əl=bāḥ  hammām
go.PFV-3SG.M  say.PFV-3SG.M=OBJ=3SG.M  REF=father  hammam
He went to talk to the owner of the hammam. (VIII.4)

3.6.3 Marking of Identifiability

As noted above in §3.6, indefiniteness is a pragmatic status, indicating that the referent is offered to the listener as unidentifiable. It can be marked with ya ‘a / one’ as in (3.450), the indefinite morpheme -i, or both ya and -i. Both indicate that the referent of the noun is unidentifiable, but are ambiguous as to whether it is referential or non-referential (that is, whether it indicates a specific or non-specific entity).

(3.449) ya  kōdāḥ  mandāyi
a book  Mandaic  a Mandaic book (III.16)

(3.450) tarmīd-i
tarmida-INDF  a tarmida (II.8)

(3.451) ya  tājēr-i
a merchant-INDF  a merchant (V.1)

When added to the plural endings, the indefinite morpheme -i indicates a restrictive (but still unidentifiable) selection out of a
3.6 Identifiability and Referentiality

generic unit (3.452) or a plurality (3.453); in the latter case, the noun it modifies is occasionally preceded by the preposition min ‘from.’

(3.452) mien-i
water-INDF (some) water

(3.453) min barnaš-ān-i
from person-PL-INDF some people (I.13)

In these examples, the noun modified by the morpheme -i contrasts with the unmodified noun stem (with or without the augment), which often has a generic sense, e.g. mienā ‘water,’ barnašā ‘people;’ see example (3.476) below under §3.6.4. In Persian grammar, this morpheme is known as the yā-yē vahdat or ‘-i of unity.’

This function of the morpheme is clearly evident in the phrasal verbs, as demonstrated by the following examples:

(3.474) ēbād q=ābed-nā
deed IND=do.PTC-1SG I am working (lit. deed-doing).

(3.475) ēbād-ī q=ābed-nā
deed-INDF do.PTC-1SG I am doing something.

3.6.4 Genericness

Generic reference denotes an entire category of referents rather than a single entity. Unless marked as referential or identifiable by any of the morphemes introduced in §3.6.2 and §3.6.3 above, such as the plural morpheme, the indefinite morpheme, pronominal clitics, or the object markers, any common noun can be construed as having a generic referent.

(3.456) attī-ō šehyān-ā barnaš-ā
come.D.PFV-3SG.M ruler-AUG person-AUG

qō=bān-en hattā
IND=build.IPFV-3PL new

The ruler brought people who built [it] anew. (IV.17)

158 See Windfuhr, Persian Grammar, 38.
3.7 Modifiers

Within the noun phrase, the noun may be modified by one or more additional elements, including a second noun in an appositive relationship (§3.7.1), an attributive, predicate, or comparative adjective (§3.7.2), a numeral or non-numeral quantifier (§3.7.3), and a possessor (§3.7.4).

3.7.1 Appositive Nouns

A noun may also be modified by other nouns in an appositive relationship. This applies particularly to geographic expressions.

(3.457)  šuštar welāt
            PN  city  the city Shushtar

3.7.2 Adjectives

Adjectives fall into three categories in Neo-Mandaic: attributive adjectives (§3.7.2.1), predicate adjectives (§3.7.2.2), and comparative adjectives (§3.7.2.3). All three categories express some property of the head noun that they modify, such as age, dimensions, value, or color. The first two categories of adjective may be employed to introduce the properties of indefinite and definite referents (i.e. those that have not yet been introduced onto the discourse stage as well as those that have already been introduced), whereas the third category can only apply to definite referents (i.e. those that have already been introduced onto the discourse stage and are identifiable to the speaker and his audience).

3.7.2.1 Attributive Adjectives

Attributive adjectives directly follow the noun which they modify, e.g. (3.458) and (3.459). As the examples below demonstrate, the head noun may be inflected to reflect gender and number, e.g. (3.460); most adjectives do not agree with the head noun in gender and number, although a few do, cf. (3.461) with (3.462). The nominal augment on the head noun is deleted whenever it is modified by an attributive adjective, as when the head noun is followed by a second noun in construct. Unlike the construct chain (see §3.7.4.2 below), a noun
followed by an attributive adjective may be construed as either definite or indefinite; in the latter case, the indefinite morpheme is appended at the end of the noun phrase rather than on the constituent elements (3.458).

(3.458)  
qazgān  
cauldron  
\text{honin}-i  
small-INDF  
a small cooking pot (X.2)

(3.459)  
kədāb  
book  
\text{Mandāyj}  
Mandaic  
a Mandaic book (III.16)

(3.460)  
biet-wāt  
house-PL.F  
\text{ba’id}  
distant  
far-off houses (III.10)

(3.461)  
barnāš  
person  
\text{horin}-ā  
other-AUG  
another person

(3.462)  
šer  
war  
\text{horet-t}-ā  
other-F-AUG  
Second World War (III.2)

3.7.2.2 Predicative Adjectives

Predicative adjectives are always accompanied by the copular verb (3.463) or the enclitic copula (3.464); for further details on the copula, see (§5.1.1.4).

(3.463)  
\text{ya}  
\text{yeki}  
\text{hōwā}-o  
\text{mariz}-i  
a someone  
be.PFV-3SG.M  
ill-INDF  
There once was a man who was ill. (VI.1)

(3.464)  
\text{hōwā}-o  
\text{ya}  
\text{yeki}  
pahli=d=i  
be.PFV-3SG.M  
a someone  
beside=of=3SG.M  
There was someone who was sitting

\text{yahem}=ye  
\text{sāt}-o=i  
sit.PASS=COP.3SG.M  
listen.PFV-3SG.M=3SG.M  
beside him, who heard him. (VI.3)

3.7.2.3 Absolute and Relative Comparison

A noun may be modified by an adjective to express two forms of comparison: relative comparison, in which the noun is explicitly compared with a second noun, or absolute comparison, in which it is compared against all other members of its category. In Neo-Mandaic, as in most other Semitic languages, relative comparison is expressed
by means of a predicative adjective (describing the property being compared) modified by a complement with the preposition min or its enclitic form ëm-, see (3.465).

(3.465) mienā beh ëm=bira
    water-AUG good from=beer Water is better than beer.

Absolute comparison, by contrast, is always expressed with the Persian suffix -tar. Adjectives modified by this suffix can be used predicatively (3.466) or attributively (3.467). They may also be used adverbiawaly (3.468).

(3.466) awwāli raṗ-tar u=xorda=xorda honin-tar qē=hāw-en
    first big-COMP and=little=little small-COMP IND=be.IPFV-3PL
The first was bigger, but little by little they became smaller.

(3.467) q=āt-en gāw mentekār raṗ-tar-i
    IND=come.IPFV-3PL in motor.car big-COMP-INDF
They came in a larger car.159

(3.468) šobb-ā šett-ā eštā qamā-tar
    seven-AUG year-AUG now before-COMP
Seven years ago. (III.18)

The superlative is expressed with the absolute comparative and the word geš ‘all.’

(3.469) beh-tar ëm=geš
    good-COMP from=all the best

3.7.3 Quantifiers

Quantifiers are a subset of noun modifiers that indicate how many or how much of the referent is intended. There are two basic types of quantifiers in Neo-Mandaic: numerals such as cardinal numbers (§3.7.3.1) which indicate a definite quantity of the referent, and non-numeral quantifiers (§3.7.3.2), which indicate an indefinite quantity. Ordinal numbers (§3.7.3.1), by contrast, indicate the order of a referent with respect to other members of its class, rather than the quantity of the referent. These are treated exactly like attributional

159 Examples (3.466) and (3.467) are adapted from Macuch, Neumandäische Texte, 118, ln. 196 and 198 ln. 1062, respectively.
adjectives in Neo-Mandaic (§3.7.2.1) but have been included here with the other number words.

3.7.3.1 Numerals

Numerals fall into two broad categories in Neo-Mandaic: cardinal numbers, which indicate the quantity of the referent, and ordinal numbers, which indicate the order of the referent with respect to other members of its class. The former precede the noun that they modify, and the latter follow it.

**Cardinal Numbers**

The cardinal numbers most commonly used in Neo-Mandaic are borrowed from colloquial Persian, although the original Neo-Mandaic numbers survive alongside them. Regardless of their origin, cardinal numbers appear before the noun, and are invariable; they do not agree in gender with the noun. Likewise, the noun modified by the number always appears in the singular.

**Table 13: Cardinal Numbers**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Traditional</th>
<th>Modern</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Traditional</th>
<th>Modern</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ehdä</td>
<td>yek</td>
<td>one</td>
<td>asrā</td>
<td>dah</td>
<td>ten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tren</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>two</td>
<td>esrin</td>
<td>bis</td>
<td>twenty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>klātā</td>
<td>so</td>
<td>three</td>
<td>klātin</td>
<td>si</td>
<td>thirty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arbā</td>
<td>čahār</td>
<td>four</td>
<td>ārbīn</td>
<td>ēchēl</td>
<td>forty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hamšā</td>
<td>panj</td>
<td>five</td>
<td>hamšīn</td>
<td>panjāh</td>
<td>fifty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šettā</td>
<td>šeš</td>
<td>six</td>
<td>šettīn</td>
<td>šast</td>
<td>sixty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šubbā</td>
<td>haft</td>
<td>seven</td>
<td>šubbīn</td>
<td>haftād</td>
<td>seventy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tomānā</td>
<td>hašt</td>
<td>eight</td>
<td>tomānīn</td>
<td>haštād</td>
<td>eighty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eččā</td>
<td>noh</td>
<td>nine</td>
<td>eččīn</td>
<td>navād</td>
<td>ninety</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The number esrin ‘twenty’ is a reflex of the dual of the number asrā ‘ten;’ the other decades are formed on the basis of the numbers 3-9 with the old absolute plural morpheme appended (see §3.4.3). Despite the fact that the addition of this morpheme causes the accent to shift, allomorphic variation (such as the pretonic reduction of the preceding syllable or the simplification of the geminate consonant) does not
result. The fact that they do not behave in same manner as the rest of the Neo-Mandaic lexicon underscores their learned status.

All numbers apart from the units and the decades are formed from compounds. Numbers 11-19 are formed from the unit in juncture with the contextual form of asrā ‘ten.’ My informant had difficulty producing these, as in (3.470). In other compound numbers, the unit and the decade are combined by the conjunction u ‘and,’ e.g. (3.471). The centuries are formed from the units in juncture with the word for one hundred, emmā, e.g. čemmā ‘nine-hundred.’ The word for one thousand is alpā. In counting, centuries always precede decades, and millennia always precede centuries, e.g. (3.472).

(3.470) čin=assar šett-ā  
90=10 year-AUG  
nineteen years (III.14)\(^{160}\)

(3.471) čin u=hamš-ā  
90 and=five-AUG  
ninety-five (III.18)\(^{161}\)

(3.472) alp-ā u=čemmā u=čin u=hamš-ā  
1000-AUG and=900 and=90 and=five-AUG  
nineteen ninety-five (III.18)

**Ordinal Numbers**

Ordinal numbers generally behave more like attributive adjectives than the other numerals and non-numeral quantifiers. They appear infrequently in the text collection. The Classical Mandaic ordinal qadmāyā ‘first’ appears in the first text, (3.473), in a frozen expression, alongside the more common awwál, (3.474), which is a loan word; the adjectives horinā and horettā, introduced above (see §3.7.2.1), are used in the place of the ordinal ‘second;’ klatāyā ‘third’ appears once, (3.474), and the loan word āxīr ‘last’ appears frequently, e.g. (3.475), instead of the classical batraia. Note that, with the exception of the loan words awwál and āxīr, ordinals follow the noun that they modify.

\(^{160}\) Macuch provides the form eččassar for this number in the dialect of Ahvāz; cf. CM ātšasar ‘nineteen.’ Macuch, *Handbook,* 231.

\(^{161}\) Macuch indicates that the unit precedes the decade in the dialect of Ahvāz, in the Persian manner; e.g. ārba u sрин, ‘twenty-four.’ Ibid., 231.
3.7 Modifiers

(3.473) Ádam gohr-á qadmây-i
PN men-AUG first-ES.PL Adam, the First Man (I.8)

(3.474) ani Manday-án-á awwál barnâš həw-ini
we mandaean-PL-AUG first person be.PFV-1PL We Mandaean were the first people [who]... (I.11)

(3.475) səbu‘a klatây-ã week third-AUG the third week (VIII.10)
(3.476) āxîr ālm-ã last world-AUG the last world (I.14)

3.7.3.2 Non-Numeral Quantifiers

Non-numeral quantifiers are terms which express an indefinite quantity. Like cardinal numbers, they precede the noun that they modify.

(3.477) genzâ much, many genz ənâš many people
(3.478) perzâ few perz porâhi a little money
(3.479) ba‘az some ba‘az awqât sometimes
(3.480) kol all kol barnâšânâ everybody

3.7.4 Nouns and Possession

Possession may be expressed in five ways: the use of objective / possessive pronominal clitics (§3.7.4.1), the construct chain (see §3.4.2 above and §3.7.4.2), the use of the prepositions qâr ‘at’ and əl-‘to’ (§3.7.4.3), the use of the relative pronoun d- (§3.7.4.4), and the use of the noun mâl ‘property’ (§3.7.4.5). The first four constructions may express either alienable or inalienable possession; mâl is used to indicate alienable possession only.

3.7.4.1 Pronominal Clitics

The pronominal clitics which indicate the object, complement, or adjunct of a verb may also serve to indicate possession of a noun; see §4.1.2 for further details.
3.7.4.2 The Construct Chain

The Construct Chain, introduced in §3.4.2 above, also serves to indicate possession:

\[
\text{POSSESSED} + \text{POSSESSOR}
\]

The possessor can be any noun or noun phrase. The possessed must always appear in its contextual form, but otherwise neither the possessor nor the possessed is morphologically marked to indicate possession.

\[(3.481)\]  
\[
\text{ebbr} \quad \text{eb}=i \\
\text{son} \quad \text{son}=3\text{SG.M} \\
\text{his grandson, lit. his son’s son (1.10)}
\]

\[(3.482)\]  
\[
\text{qazgân} \quad \text{šabḥāb}=i \\
\text{cauldron} \quad \text{neighbor-AUG} \\
\text{the neighbor’s cooking pot}
\]

\[(3.483)\]  
\[
\text{bāb} \quad \text{ḥammām} \\
\text{father} \quad \text{bathhouse} \\
\text{the owner of the bathhouse (VIII.4)}
\]

3.7.4.3 Possession Indicated By Preposition

The preposition \(\text{əl}\) is used for general possession, most often with people and other animate beings; see (3.504). It is also employed in situations where the genitive construct chain would be inappropriate (for example, when the head noun is indefinite), as in (3.505). This same preposition can be applied to the interrogative pronoun \textit{man} ‘who,’ as in (3.506).

\[(3.484)\]  
\[
\text{risāmm}=i \quad \text{əl}=\text{Manday}=ān=i \\
\text{rishama-AUG} \quad \text{to}=\text{Mandaean-PL-AUG} \\
\text{The leader of the Mandaeans (IV.35)}
\]

\[(3.485)\]  
\[
\text{eb}=i \quad \text{əl}=\text{gabr}=i \\
\text{son-INDF.SG} \quad \text{to}=\text{man-ES.SG} \\
\text{IND=seize.PTC-3SG.M-3SG.M} \\
\text{He seized one of the man’s sons. (V.18)}
\]

\[(3.486)\]  
\[
\text{ahni} \quad \text{əl}=\text{man}=\text{non} \\
\text{those} \quad \text{to}=\text{who}=3\text{PL} \\
\text{Whose are they? (III.11)}
\]

The preposition \(\text{qār}\), by contrast, is employed to specifically indicate that the object possessed is on the possessor’s person or that the possessor otherwise has immediate access to it; see (3.507).
3.7 Modifications

3.7.4.4 The Relative Pronoun \(d\)-

In Classical Mandaic, possession is generally expressed by the relative pronoun \(d\)- (which is usually written with a separate letter of the alphabet, transcribed \(d\)-).\(^{162}\) The relative pronoun \(d\)- can either follow the noun in the emphatic state, as in (3.488) or the noun modified by an anticipatory pronominal suffix, as in (3.489). In addition to these frozen expressions, this construction continues to be used in some epithets and in archaizing expressions, e.g. (3.490) and (3.491); note the obligatory appearance of the augment on the Arabic word \(hākem\) ‘governor’ in (3.491), despite the fact that the augment would not otherwise appear on a non-nativized loan word.

(3.488) \(rāz-ā\quad qār=\text{e}\)  
secret-AUG  at=1SG  my secret (IV.92)

(3.488) \(raṯn-ā\quad d=\text{Hibel Ziwā}\)  
idiom-AUG  of=PN  idiom of Hibel Ziwā (IV.1)

(3.489) \(b=ešm-e=\text{hon}\quad z̄d=\text{Heyy-i}\quad Rabb-i\)  
in=name-PL.CS=3PL  of=life-PL.ES  great-PL.ES  
In the name of the Great Life (I.1)

(3.491) \(Mand-ā\quad d=\text{Heyyi}\)  
knowledge-AUG  of=life  Knowledge of Life (I.9)

(3.492) \(ḥākim-ā\quad d=\text{Ṣuṣtar}\)  
governor-AUG  of=PN  the governor of Shushtar (IV.65)

3.7.4.5 \(māl\) Construction

The noun \(māl\) ‘property’ is used, albeit rarely, to express alienable possession. This construction is likely derived from one of the colloquial Iraqi dialects of Arabic in which \(māl\) is the usual “genitive” particle. (3.493) is the single example of the \(māl\) construction elicited from the texts from Khorramshahr, although it is also attested in the Iraqi dialects of Neo-Mandaic, as example (3.494), collected by Drower, demonstrates.

162 See Häberl, “The Relative Pronoun \(d\)-,” for further details on the classical relative pronoun and its reflexes in Neo-Mandaic.
(3.493) \textit{biet māl ṣobbi-hā}  
house property Sabian-PL the Sabians’ houses (III.12)

(3.494) \textit{zidq-a brikh-a māl gmāsh-i}  
oblation-AUG blessed-AUG property clothes-PL 
The blessed oblation of the clothes.\textsuperscript{163}

\textsuperscript{163} Drower, \textit{Mandaeans}, 215.
4. Pronouns

Pronouns may be substituted for any noun phrase. There are five types of pronouns in Neo-Mandaic: personal pronouns (§4.1), demonstrative pronouns (§4.2), relativizers (§4.3), indefinite pronouns (§4.4), and interrogative pronouns (§4.5). The first three refer endophorically to an antecedent, such as a noun phrase already introduced within the context of the discourse; the fourth category indicates non-specific referents, and the final category is used in interrogative clauses to indicate the type of information which is being requested.

4.1 Personal Pronouns

Personal pronouns may represent the subject of a transitive or intransitive verb, the object of a transitive verb, and any nominal or verbal complement or adjunct that has already appeared in the context of the discourse. There are four types of personal pronouns in complementary distribution: independent personal pronouns (§4.1.1), enclitic personal pronouns (§4.1.2), reflexive personal pronouns (§4.1.3), and reciprocal personal pronouns (§4.1.4).

4.1.1 Independent Personal Pronouns

The independent personal pronouns in Neo-Mandaic are composed of one or two syllables; they distinguish between genders only in the third person singular. All pronouns are lightly accented on the first syllable. The first person pronouns, singular and plural, fall together in their contextual forms:
Table 14: Independent Personal Pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lexical</td>
<td>Contextual</td>
<td>Gloss</td>
<td>Lexical</td>
<td>Contextual</td>
<td>Gloss</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anā</td>
<td>an</td>
<td>I</td>
<td></td>
<td>ani</td>
<td>an</td>
<td>we</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>āt</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>you (sg.)</td>
<td></td>
<td>atton</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>you (pl.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>huwi</td>
<td>huw</td>
<td>he</td>
<td></td>
<td>honni</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>they</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hidā</td>
<td>hid</td>
<td>she</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although the second person is generally expressed without reference to gender, gender can be indicated by the word “man” or “woman,” which follows the independent pronoun.

(4.1) āt ettā you (f. sg.)
(4.2) āt gaḥrā you (m. sg.)

The Neo-Mandaic independent personal pronouns are not often used. They are employed exclusively to represent the subject of a transitive or intransitive verb. Their presence in this role is purely optional, and they effect no change in the meaning of the utterance when omitted. Whenever they are employed, they appear before the verb in their contextual forms; see (§4.3). The lexical form of the independent personal pronouns may be employed in a contrastive or emphatic function, as in (§4.4).

(4.3) (an) yōhm-it pahli=d=ak
    (1SG) sit.PFV-1SG beside=of=2SG.M
    I sat beside you.

(4.4) anā yōhm-it pahli=d=ak
    1SG sit.PFV-1SG beside=of=2SG.M
    I (was the one who) sat beside you.

4.1.2 Enclitic Personal Pronouns

The enclitic personal pronouns are in complementary distribution with the independent personal pronouns; they may represent the object of a transitive verb (§4.1.2.1), a nominal or verbal complement or adjunct (§4.1.2.2), or indicate possession on the noun (§4.1.2.3). They cannot, however, ever be substituted for the enclitic copula or the independent personal pronouns.
Table 15: Objective / Possessive Pronominal Clitics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Masculine Singular</th>
<th>Feminine Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>-e</td>
<td></td>
<td>-an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>-ak</td>
<td>-ek</td>
<td>-kon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td>-u</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.1.2.1 Pronominal Object Suffixes

The enclitic pronominal suffix may serve as the object of a transitive verb; in this function, they are attached to the inflected form of the verb either directly, as in (4.5) or via an enclitic preposition, -l-, as in (4.6). The third masculine singular suffix can be dropped whenever it is pragmatically inferable; see, for example, (4.28) below.

(4.5) tum šat-onn=i
then hear.PFV-3PL=3SG.M Then they heard him. (VII.7)

(4.6) amal-o=i willā doṭi-o pard-én
say.PFV-3SG.M=OBJ=3SG.M yikes come.IMP-2SG.M flee.SBJV-1PL
He said to him, “Yikes! Let’s make a run for it!” (VII.8)

4.1.2.2 Pronominal Adjuncts and Complements

These enclitic pronominal suffixes may also appear on prepositions in the place of nominal adjuncts or complements (see §3.5.4 above).

(4.7) qam-yon barābar=d=u
stand.PFV-3PL opposite=of=3PL They stood before them. (IV.76)

(4.8) at-it=i qam=da=kon
go.D.PFV-1SG=3SG.M for=of=2PL I brought it for you. (X.7)

4.1.2.3 Pronouns and Possession

One of the most common roles of the enclitic pronominal suffixes is to indicate possession. On originally Mandaic vocabulary and nativized loan words, the suffixes attach directly to the noun or the noun phrase.

(4.9) babb=e
grandfather=1SG my grandfather (II.2)
(4.10) \( \text{bāb emm}=e \)
father mother-1SG
my mother’s father (II.2)

(4.11) \( \text{napš}=e \)
self-1SG
myself

Nouns borrowed from other languages take pronominal clitics after an enclitic morpheme -\(d\)-, which appears after any other inflectional morphemes on the noun:

(4.12) \( \text{‘umār}=d=e \)
age=of=1SG
my age (III.14)
(Arabic)

(4.13) \( \text{jami’a}=d=\text{kon} \)
entirety=of=you
all of you (IV.124)
(Arabic)

(4.14) \( \text{rezq-ā}=d=\text{an} \)
livelihood-PL=of=1PL
our jobs (IV.132) (Arabic)

Whenever the enclitic copula (see §5.1.1.4) is attached to a noun modified by the first person singular pronominal suffix and the third person pronominal suffixes, an epenthetic -\(h\)- (see §2.5.3.4) intervenes between the pronominal suffix and the copula.

(4.15) \( \text{mujur bāb}=ah=ye \)
what.way father=3SG.F=COP.3SG.M
What’s her father like? (IX.14)

4.1.2.4 Personal Pronouns on Quantifiers

The plural enclitic pronominal suffixes also modify quantifiers such as doṭā ‘both’ and geš ‘all.’ The indefinite pronoun ehdi ‘one’ is also included to complete the paradigm, even though the enclitic pronouns are attached to the independent preposition min ‘from’ rather than the enclitic morpheme -\(d\)-.
4.1 Personal Pronouns

Table 16: Quantifiers with Enclitic Pronominal Suffixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>One</th>
<th>Two(^{164})</th>
<th>Three or More</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ehdi minn-an</td>
<td>one of us</td>
<td>doṭā-d-an</td>
<td>geš-d-an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ehdi min-kon</td>
<td>one of you</td>
<td>doṭā-t-kon</td>
<td>geš-do-kon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ehdi minn-u</td>
<td>one of them</td>
<td>doṭā-d-u</td>
<td>geš-d-u</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Unlike other the quantifiers introduced in (§3.7.3), the quantifiers doṭā ‘both’ and geš ‘all’ cannot govern a noun in a construct chain, e.g. (4.16), and are obliged to take the pronominal clitic. They can, however, be governed by a noun, much like an adjective, in which case they follow it and take a resumptive clitic, e.g. (4.17).

(4.16) kol līlyā every night
(4.17) līlī geš-di the entire night

These quantifiers with the enclitic pronominal suffixes are frequently used to modify the plural independent personal pronouns, intervening between the independent pronoun and the verb.

(4.18) atton doṭā=ṣ=kon hab-tonn=i qamdi=d=i
       2PL both=of=2PL give.PFV-2PL=3SG.M to=of=3SG.M
Did both of you give it to him?

4.1.3 Reflexive Pronouns

The reflexive personal pronoun is employed within the verb clause to refer to an antecedent within the same clause. It is formed from the noun naṗšā ‘soul, personality, self’ with the enclitic pronominal suffixes.

Table 17: Inflected Forms of the Reflexive Pronoun

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Masculine Singular</th>
<th>Feminine Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1(^{st})</td>
<td>naṗš-e</td>
<td></td>
<td>naṗš-an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2(^{nd})</td>
<td>naṗš-ak</td>
<td>naṗš-ek</td>
<td>naṗš-kon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3(^{rd})</td>
<td>naṗš-i</td>
<td>naṗš-a</td>
<td>naṗš-u</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

164 This quantifier is composed of the Persian do ‘two’ and the Persian classifier ṭā. Note that the voiced dental stop /d/ becomes fricativized before the voiceless velar stop /χ/; see §2.5.4.1.
4.1.3.1 Reflexive Pronouns as Anaphoric Objects

The reflexive pronoun most commonly appears in object position, functioning as an object, and referring back to the subject of the sentence, though the subject may be dropped as in other sentence constructions.

In the classical language, the reflexive pronoun supplemented the so-called reflexive stems of the verb (for which, see §5.1.1.3), although they have since become the sole means of forming the reflexive in Neo-Mandaic, in conjunction with the referential object marker \( \mathbf{\textit{al}} \), as in (4.58).

\[(4.19)\]
\[
\text{bašqir-} \quad \mathbf{\textit{al}}=\text{naφš}=\text{ak}! \\
\text{know.IMP-2SG} \quad \text{REF=2SG.M} \quad \text{Know yourself!}
\]

4.1.3.2 Emphatic Uses of the Reflexive Pronoun

As in the classical language, the reflexive pronoun is often employed to emphasize one of the constituents of the verb phrase rather than serve as an anaphoric object; compare (4.20), in which the reflexive pronoun is not expressed, with (4.21).

\[(4.20)\]
\[
\text{yǝhom-} \quad \text{demme} \\
\text{sit.IMP.M-SG} \quad \text{down} \quad \text{Sit down!}
\]

\[(4.21)\]
\[
\text{ayhim-} \quad \text{naφš}-\text{ak} \quad \text{demme} \\
\text{sit.C.IMP-SG-2SG.M} \quad \text{self-2SG.M} \quad \text{down} \quad \text{Sit yourself down! (lit. make yourself sit yourself down!).}
\]

4.1.3.3 Reflexive Pronouns and Possession

Governed by another noun, the word naφšā ‘self’ suffixed with the enclitic pronominal suffixes can also express a reflexive possessive.

\[(4.22)\]
\[
\text{Nāser} \quad \text{bēnā-} \quad \text{bieť} \quad \text{naφš}=\text{i} \\
\text{PN} \quad \text{build.PFV-3SG.M} \quad \text{house} \quad \text{self=3SG.M} \quad \text{Nasser built his own house.}
\]

4.1.4 Reciprocal Pronouns

Neo-Mandaic has two reciprocal pronouns, ha\textit{m} and hədādā. The first, ha\textit{m} ‘each other,’ is a Persian loan word. In Neo-Mandaic, it is used to
modify verbs directly as an oblique complement. In Persian, however, it usually appears as part of constructions such as be-ham-digār ‘to one another.’ The second pronoun, hādādā, can either be employed as an object or governed by a preposition as an adjunct or complement, e.g. mork hādādā ‘with one another,’ be-hādādā ‘to one another.’ These examples show reciprocals functioning as the object of a verb in (4.23), an object complement in (4.24) and (4.25), as an oblique complement in (4.26), and as an adjunct to a verbal phrase in (4.27).

(4.23) anī kol=waxt qā=hāz-ēn hādādā
we always IND=see.PTC-1PL one another
We always see one another.

(4.24) anā genz hēt=r=nān qā=hazi-n=ḵon
I very rejoice.PTC.PASS=1SG IND=see.IPFV-1SG=2PL
I’m very happy to see you all
geš mork hādādā gāw Harvard University
all with one.another in PN
together at Harvard University. (I.4)

(4.25) atton kol=waxt q=hāz-e=l=ḵon ork hādādā
2PL always IND=see.PTC-3PL=2PL with one another
You were all seen together.

(4.26) qānāy-ān-ā u inš-ān-ā tamm-on əras-yon
smith-PL-AUG and womin-PL-AUG become.PFV-3PL marry.PFV-3PL
The jewelers and women became married
be=hādādā hattā
to=one.another anew
again to one another. (IV.148)

(4.27) geš=d=an əhab-ni ham əhāb-ā
all=of=1PL give.PFV-1PL each other gift-AUG
All of us gave each other gifts.

4.2 Demonstrative Pronouns

Neo-Mandaic distinguishes between near-deixis and far-deixis in the singular demonstrative pronouns, but not in the plural. It also makes no distinction in gender. The original far-deictic plural demonstrative pronoun ahnī ‘those’ has assumed the function of a general plural
4. Pronouns

demonstrative pronoun. This same demonstrative pronoun is often employed in the place of the third plural personal pronoun, as in (4.28).

(4.28)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Demonstrative Pronoun</th>
<th>Lexical</th>
<th>Contextual</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Lexical</th>
<th>Contextual</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>āhā</td>
<td>å</td>
<td>this</td>
<td>āku</td>
<td>ak</td>
<td>those</td>
<td>that</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ahni</td>
<td></td>
<td>these</td>
<td>ahni</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

They heard [it] from non-Mandaean Mandaeans. (I.13)

The singular forms of the demonstrative pronouns possess lexical and contextual allomorphs.

Table 18: Forms of the Demonstrative Pronouns

The demonstrative pronouns usually precede the noun they modify. In this position, they assume their contextual forms.

(4.29)  ā bieţā this house
(4.30)  āk enšā that man

Note that there is no contextual form for the plural demonstrative pronoun; because contextual forms lack any overt expression of number, the contextual forms of the singular pronouns are also used for plural nouns, e.g. (4.31). In some cases, a demonstrative pronoun and a noun function together with an adverbial significance, e.g. (4.32) and (4.33).

(4.31)  ā šeršānā these religions (never **ahni šeršānā)
(4.32)  ā yumā today (lit. “this day”)
(4.33)  āk waxt then (lit. “that time”)

165 NM ahni ‘these; those’ is derived from CM hania ‘those.’ Macuch (Neumandäische Texte, 56) cites a far-deictic plural demonstrative pronoun ānnex or ān̄nex ‘dasselbe,’ which he describes as having been supplanted by Persian hamu in the dialect of Ahvāz; neither form is employed by my informant.

166 In the text collection there is a single exception: deštā āhā ‘this land’ (IV.105).
4.2 Demonstrative Pronouns

When the demonstrative pronouns are not employed to modify a noun, they appear in their lexical forms.

(4.34) \( \text{mu=y} \text{ye} \quad \text{āḥā} \)
what=3SG.M this what’s this?

(4.35) \( \text{mu=y} \text{ye} \quad \text{a} \text{ku} \)
what=3SG.M that what’s that?

4.2.1 Locative Demonstrative Pronouns

Neo-Mandaic has two locative demonstrative pronouns, \( ḫ\text{nā} / \text{ehnā} \) ‘here’ and \( \text{ekkāk} \) ‘there.’ These typically follow the verb, but may also appear at the beginning of the phrase, as in (4.38) and (4.39).

(4.36) \( \text{man} \quad \text{huw} \quad \text{yōhem-ō} \quad \text{hānā} \quad \text{qamā-tar} \)
who 3SG.M sit.PFV-3SG.M here before-COMP
Who was sitting here earlier?

(4.37) \( \text{7-1} \text{l} \quad \text{hōwā-o=}=\text{l}=\text{u} \quad \text{ekkāk} \)
PN be.PFV-3SG.M=to=3PL there
They had a 7-11 there. (III.6)

(4.38) \( \text{hānā} \quad \text{ḥatta} \quad \text{jihel-ā} \quad \text{q}=\text{ḥātt}-\text{en} \)
here even child-PL IND=speak.IPFV-3PL
Here, even the children speak it! (II.21)

(4.39) \( \text{ekkāk} \quad \text{ya} \quad \text{bəzuy-i} \quad \text{hōwā-o} \)
there a hole-INDF be.PFV-3SG.M
There was a hole there. (V.8)

4.2.2 Anomalous Forms of the Demonstrative Pronoun

In Text IV, Hirmiz bar Anhar’s account of the legend of the Bridge of Shushtar, as retold by Nasser Sobbi, the far-deictic demonstrative pronoun \( tā \) appears in two places (IV.33, IV.39); while this pronoun is attested in other Neo-Mandaic dialects, it does not appear elsewhere in the texts collected, and for this reason I did not include it in Table 18. Likewise, in VIII.16, the form \( hā \) appears after the preposition \( gāw \); while one might be tempted to identify this form with Classical Mandaic \( \text{ha} \) ‘this,’ it is also possible that this form represents \( āḥā \) after the initial vowel has been elided.
4.3 Subordinating Conjunctions

Subordinating conjunctions introduce a relative clause. The type of conjunction employed depends upon the presence or absence of a head noun, and whether the relative clause is referential (§4.3.1) or non-referential (§4.3.2). An indefinite pronoun (§4.3.3) may be employed to introduce a headless relative clause, and a relativizer (§4.3.4) is used to introduce a relative clause that refers back to an entire clause or verb phrase rather than a nominal antecedent.

If the relative clause depends upon a head noun, the type of relative pronoun employed is further determined by whether the antecedent is definite or indefinite, and whether the clause is restrictive or non-restrictive. As mentioned above (§3.6.3), nouns may be morphologically marked as indefinite (in opposition to definite nouns, which are unmarked), and syntactically or morphologically marked as non-specific (as opposed to specific or generic, which are unmarked). If the antecedent is the object of the verb of the subordinate clause (direct, indirect, or oblique), it must be marked by a resumptive pronoun on the verb.

4.3.1 Indefinite Antecedents

Relative pronouns are completely absent from relative clauses headed by indefinite antecedents. In examples (4.40) and (4.41), the gap left by the absence of the relative pronoun is indicated by the null sign Ø. This indicates that the speaker assumes that his or her audience cannot identify the referent of the head noun; note also that none of the relative pronouns may introduce a headless relative clause, this function being relegated to the indefinite pronouns kol mā ‘whatever’ and kol man ‘whoever’ (see §4.3.3 below).

(4.40)  gāw  Ahwāz  hōwā-o  tarmid-i  in  PN  be.PFV-3SG.M  tarmida-INDF
        Ø       ešm-i      Šīex      ‘Abdalla
        REL     name-3SG.M sheikh  PN
In Ahvāz, there was a tarmida,
whose name was Sheikh Abdallah. (II.8)
4.3 Subordinating Conjunctions

4.3.2 Definite Antecedents

Whenever the head noun of the clause is presumed to be identifiable to the audience, Neo-Mandaic employs one of two relative pronouns, which have been borrowed from the languages with which it has come into contact, Arabic and Persian:

(4.42) *illi* which (Colloquial Arabic *illi*)

(4.43) *ke* that (Persian *ke*)

The primary distinction between the two relative pronouns lies in the type of relative clauses which they govern. The relative pronoun *illi* is employed to introduce non-restrictive relative clauses (§4.3.2.1), namely those which contribute supplemental information to the main clause. The second relative pronoun, *ke*, introduces restrictive clauses (§4.3.2.2), namely those which contribute information essential to the understanding of the main clause.

4.3.2.1 Non-Restrictive Relative Clauses

The relative clause introduced by the relative pronoun *illi* contributes supplemental information about the head noun to which it refers.

(4.44) \[ q=\text{abi-}n \quad \text{ämer-}o \quad \text{genz} \quad \text{farwâh} \quad \text{Profesor Buckley} \]

IND=want.PTC-1SG say.SBJV-1SG many thanks PN

I want to give many thanks to Professor Buckley,

illi genz \( \text{ābād} \) \( \text{ābd-at} \) qam Manday-ān-ā
REL much work do.PFV-3SG.F for mandaean-PL-AUG

who has done so much work for the Mandaeans. (I.6)

4.3.2.2 Restrictive Relative Clauses

Relative clauses introduced by *ke* contribute information essential to the understanding of the main clause, as in (4.45). When the preceding
noun is marked with -i, it must always be interpreted as demonstrative in meaning, as in (4.46) and (4.47). Note that the antecedent is the object of the verb of the subordinate clause in these two examples, and that the verb or copula takes a resumptive pronoun.

(4.45) \( att-on \) \( barnaš-ān-ā \) \( ke \)
\( \text{come.D.IMP-PL} \ \text{person-PL-AUG} \ \text{REL} \)
Bring the people who
\( Šibtih-ān-ā \) \( kābh-š-e=l=u \)
\( \text{demon-PL-AUG} \ \text{subdue.IPFV-3PL=OBJ=3PL} \)
will subdue the planets! (IV.14)

(4.46) \( gāw \) \( welāt-i \) \( k’ \) \( eh=l=i \) \( obr-ā \)
in \( \text{city-RES} \ \text{REL} \ \text{COP=to=3SG.M} \ \text{mouse-AUG} \)
in a (specific) city that has mice
\( \text{sad} \ \text{mand} \ \text{ḥadid} \ \text{q=āḵel-o} \)
100 maund iron \( \text{IND=eat.IPFV-3SG.M} \)
that can eat 100 maunds of iron (V.26)

(4.47) \( ebr-i \) \( ke \) \( dah \) \( mand \) \( eh=l=i \)
\( \text{son-INDF} \ \text{REL} \ 10 \ \text{maund} \ \text{COP=to=3SG.M} \)
a boy who weighs only 10 maunds (V.26)

The morpheme -i, which generally indicates the noun as indefinite in other contexts, here imparts a demonstrative meaning upon the antecedent, in a manner analogous to the Persian \( yā-ye ešārat \) (see §3.6.2). Once again, the resumptive object pronoun on the verb in (4.48) refers back to the antecedent.

(4.48) \( dukk-ān-i \) \( ke \) \( hāz-š=it=u \) \( awwāl \)
\( \text{place-PL-RES} \ \text{REL} \ \text{see.PFV-1SG=3PL} \ \text{before} \)
The places which I saw before (III.19)

4.3.3 The Relativizer

Ke can also serve as a relativizer after verbs of perception and verbs that introduce direct speech.
Throughout the city it was proclaimed,

“a boy has gone from us.” (V.20)

In this example, it is more accurate to identify *ke* as a relativizer rather than a relative pronoun, as it does not represent the head noun within the relative clause. The information introduced by these verbs always assumes the form of direct speech, whether it is introduced by *ke* or not:

Swear to me, “I will take you to Œmšuni Kuštā.” (IV.120)

4.3.4 Headless Relative Clauses

The indefinite pronouns *kol man* and *kol mā* (§4.4.3) are used to introduce headless relative clauses, e.g. (4.51).

Whatever happens, happens (cf. Italian *che sarà, sarà*). (VIII.12)

4.4 Indefinite Pronouns

The following nouns (§4.4.1) and adjectives (§4.4.2), modified by the indefinite morpheme *-i*, are employed as pronouns to indicate non-specific or indefinite referents. As these indefinite pronouns cannot be modified by an adjective or govern another word in a construct chain, they never occur in contextual forms. A third category of indefinite pronouns (§4.4.3) consists of indefinite nouns or pronouns governed by a quantifier.

4.4.1 Indefinite Pronouns Derived from Nouns

The indefinite morpheme *-i* can be used to derive an indefinite pronoun from a noun. These indefinite pronouns may refer to an unspecified animate or inanimate referent.
4. Pronouns

(4.52)  *enši*  someone, anyone (lit. a person)
(4.53)  *yeki*  someone, anyone (Persian *yak* id.)
(4.54)  *mendi*  something, anything (lit. a thing)
(4.55)  *ēbādi*  something, anything (lit. a deed)

The indefinite pronouns *enši* and *yeki* are used for nonspecific human beings and other animate referents, such as demons. The indefinite pronoun *mendi* is employed to indicate nonspecific inanimate referents. For nonspecific actions, the indefinite pronoun *ēbādi* is used.

(4.56)  *ēbād-i*  *ēbod-о*  qamd=in
deed-INDF  do.IMP.M-SG  for=1SG
Do something for me.

4.4.2 Indefinite Pronouns Derived from Quantifiers

There are a few quantifiers which may take the indefinite morpheme to form indefinite pronouns.

(4.57)  *ehdi*  one (lit. a one)
(4.58)  *perzi*  a little, a few
(4.59)  *genzi*  a lot, many

The indefinite pronoun *ehdi* is derived from the numeral *ehdā* ‘one’ modified by the indefinite morpheme *-i*. The other two are derived from the non-numeral quantifiers *perzā* ‘few/little’ and *genzā* ‘much/many.’ All three can indicate either animate or inanimate referents. These three indefinite take nominal adjuncts with the partitive preposition *əm*-, as in (4.60), or pronominal adjuncts with *men*, as in (4.61).

(4.60)  *ehd-i*  *m=ā*  šerš-ān
one-INDF  from=this  religion-PL
one of these religions (I.13)

(4.61)  *ehd-i*  *minn=an*
one-INDF  from=1PL  one of us

Much like the indefinite pronouns derived from nouns above, these two take *əm*- / *min* to imply a portion of the noun modified:

(4.62)  *perz-i*  *minn=an*
few-INDF  from=1PL  a few of us
4.4 Indefinite Pronouns

(4.63) \[ \text{perzi} \quad \text{enši} \]
\[ \text{few-INDF} \quad \text{someone} \]
\[ \text{from=water-AUG} \quad \text{a little of the water}^{167} \]

4.4.3 Compound Indefinite Pronouns

In addition to indefinite pronouns formed from nouns and adjectives with the indefinite morpheme, there are a number of compound indefinite pronouns composed of a quantifier or an interrogative preposition and a second nominal or pronominal element.

(4.64) \[ \text{kol enši} \]
\[ \text{everybody} \]
(4.65) \[ \text{kol mendā} \]
\[ \text{everything} \]
(4.66) \[ \text{kol dukkā} \]
\[ \text{everywhere} \]
(4.67) \[ \text{kol waxt} \]
\[ \text{every time} \]
(4.68) \[ \text{kol man} \]
\[ \text{whoever} \]
(4.69) \[ \text{kol mā} \]
\[ \text{whatever} \]
(4.70) \[ \text{hemman} \]
\[ \text{whoever} \]

Unlike most indefinite pronouns, \text{kol man} and \text{kol mā} can also introduce headless relative clauses (see §4.3.3 above).

In the verb phrase, most indefinite pronouns are negated by the compound indefinite pronoun with \text{lá}-, as in (4.72).

(4.71) \[ q=\text{ambašqer-en} \quad \text{enši} \]
\[ \text{IND=know.PTC-3PL} \quad \text{someone} \] They know somebody.

(4.72) \[ \text{lá}=q=\text{ambašqer-en} \quad \text{kol enši} \]
\[ \text{NEG=IND=know.PTC-3PL} \quad \text{everybody} \] They know nobody (lit. they don’t know everybody).

(4.73) \[ āhā \quad qam \quad \text{enši} \quad \text{lá}=q=malleφ-ø \]
\[ \text{this to anybody} \quad \text{NEG=IND=teach.IPV-3SG.M} \]
\[ \text{This cannot be taught to anyone (IV.84a-b).} \]

In the compound indefinite pronouns, examples (4.64) – (4.69) above, the original Semitic quantifier \text{kol} ‘all’ is replaced by the Persian quantifier \text{hič} ‘any/no’ whenever these pronouns serve as the argument of a negative verb.

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167 Compare with \text{perz mienā} ‘a little water.’ Nouns which follow \text{perz} are inevitably in the singular, much like Persian \text{čand}; e.g. \text{perz beyyi} ‘a few eggs.’
4. Pronouns

(4.74)  hič  waxt
         no   time               never
(4.75)  hič  mend-i
         no   thing-INDF        nothing

4.5 Interrogative Clauses

Neo-Mandaic has two different ways of indicating that a given utterance is a request for information rather than a declarative speech act. Requests for a simple yes/no answer are indicated by a rising intonation; e.g. (4.76).

(4.76)  āt qallet?
        [āt ˈqɑ́llet]          are you going?

Questions that expect a more elaborate response employ a number of interrogative pronouns or question words to elicit specific information, e.g. (4.77) – (4.86)

(4.77)  man   who
(4.78)  mu    what (contextual form mu-)
(4.79)  ēlyā   where (contextual form ellī)
(4.80)  hemdā  when
(4.81)  qamu  why
(4.82)  kammā  how (contextual form kam)
(4.83)  hem   which
(4.84)  mujur  how; in what way
(4.85)  čand  how much
(4.86)  kaṭkammā  how much/many (contextual form kaṭkam)

4.5.1 Interrogative Pronouns

The words man and mu are the only interrogative pronouns in Neo-Mandaic that may substitute for either the subject or the object of a verb. They generally appear at the beginning of the clause, regardless of the function they serve within the phrase. In either case, the interrogative pronoun must be followed by a verb.
4.5 Interrogative Clauses

4.5.1.1 Interrogative Pronoun as Subject

In example (4.88), the interrogative pronoun *man* ‘who’ takes the place of the pronoun *huwi* ‘he,’ which is the subject of the sentence. It remains at the beginning of the clause.

(4.87)  

huwi  amph-o=l=ak
3SG.M  say.PFV-3SG.M=OBJ=2SG.M  he told you

(4.88)  

man  amph-o=l=ak
who  say.PFV-3SG.M=OBJ=2SG.M  who told you?

4.5.1.2 Interrogative Pronoun as Object

In the example (4.90), the interrogative pronoun *mu* what replaces the object *rāzi* ‘a secret.’ The interrogative pronoun is then fronted to the beginning of the clause, leaving a gap behind, which is here indicated by the null sign Ø.

(4.89)  

huwi  amph-o=l=ak  rāzi
3SG.M  say.PFV-3SG.M=OBJ=2SG.M  secret-INDF
He told you a secret.

(4.90)  

mu  amph-o=l=ak  Ø
what  say.PFV-3SG.M=OBJ=2SG.M
What did he tell you?

When the interrogative pronoun anticipates the object of the verb rather than the subject, it may be followed by the copula (for which see §5.1.1.4), as in (4.91). More frequently, however, the copula is omitted in this position, as in (4.92).

(4.91)  

mu=yxe  hab-t=ell=i
what=3SG.M  give.PFV-2SG=OBJ=3SG.M
What did you give him?

(4.92)  

mu  hab-t=ell=i
what  give.PFV-2SG=OBJ=3SG.M
What did you give him?

The interrogative pronouns may also introduce a dependent clause as a relative pronoun. In this function, they may appear after the verb, particularly when their referent is specific and definite, as in (4.93).
4. Pronouns

Otherwise, they will appear at the beginning of the sentence, as in (4.94).

(4.93)  
\[ \text{g}at\{-\text{o}=\text{o}\} \quad \text{a}l=\text{man} \quad q\rightarrow\text{rahem-}\text{o}=l=i \]
\[ \text{kill.PFV-3SG.M=3SG.M} \quad \text{REF=who} \quad \text{IND=love.PTC-3SG.M=OBJ=3SG.M} \]
He killed the one whom he loves.

(4.94)  
\[ \text{mu} \quad q=ab\ddot{a}-t \quad \text{ana} \quad q\rightarrow\text{abed-}\text{o} \quad q\text{amd}=\text{ak} \]
what \quad \text{IND=want.IPV-2SG} \quad 1SG \quad \text{IND=do.IPV-1SG} \quad \text{for=2SG.M}
Whatever you want, I’ll do for you. (IV.63)

4.5.2 Other Question Words

Other question words in Neo-Mandaic include elyā ‘where,’ hemdā ‘when,’ qamu ‘why,’ kammā ‘how,’ hem ‘which’ (in compounds), mujur ‘how, in what way,’ and kaṭkammā ‘how much/many.’ The interrogatives elyā, hemdā, qamu, kammā, and mujur are primarily adverbial.

(4.95)  
\[ \text{amal-}\text{o}=l=a \quad \text{elli} \quad \text{azgā-}\text{o} \]
\[ \text{say.PFV-3SG.M=OBJ=3SG.F} \quad \text{where} \quad \text{go.PFV-3SG.M} \]
He said to her, “Where did he go?” (IX.11)

(4.96)  
\[ \text{hemdā} \quad q\rightarrow\text{mwady-}\text{āt}=\text{an} \]
\[ \text{when} \quad \text{IND=take.IPV-2SG=1PL} \]
“When will you take us?” (IV.122)

(4.97)  
\[ \text{qamu} \quad h\ddot{a}r\dot{e}b-\text{o} \quad \text{pol} \]
\[ \text{why} \quad \text{be.destroyed.PFV-3SG.M} \quad \text{bridge} \]
Why was the bridge destroyed? (IV.29)

(4.98)  
\[ \text{pešimān} \quad \text{tamm-on} \quad \text{kammā} \quad \text{bandir} \quad \text{lá}=\text{bēges-yon} \]
\[ \text{penitent} \quad \text{become.PFV-3PL} \quad \text{prisoner} \quad \text{NEG=stop.PFV-3PL} \]
They regretted how they had not stayed put.

(4.99)  
\[ \text{mu} \quad \ddot{a} \quad \text{om}=\text{hem} \quad \text{ohh}\dot{e}\ddot{r} \quad \text{honni} \quad \text{ezg-}\text{on} \]
\[ \text{what} \quad \text{this} \quad \text{with=which} \quad \text{road} \quad 3PL \quad \text{go.PFV-3PL} \]
Which way did they go?

(4.100)  
\[ \text{qabul} \quad \text{lá}=\text{q=ābed-}\text{o} \quad \text{mujur} \quad \text{meš-}\text{o} \]
\[ \text{acceptance} \quad \text{NEG=IND=do.IPV-3SG.M} \quad \text{what.way} \quad \text{die.PFV-3SG.M} \]
He would not believe how it could have died. (X.17)

(4.101)  
\[ \text{kaṭkamm-ā} \quad \text{hozi-ni} \quad \text{baṭlukt-ā} \]
\[ \text{how.much-AUG} \quad \text{see.PFV-1PL} \quad \text{misfortune-AUG} \]
We have seen so much misfortune. (I.14)
The interrogatives *hem*, *hemdā*, *mujur*, and *katkammā* are fused compounds; compounds of question words and prepositions are not uncommon in Neo-Mandaic.

(4.102) \( m=ely-ā \)
from=where-AUG whence

(4.103) \( aem=hem \ ohhār \)
with=which road whither

(4.104) \( min \ mujur \)
with what.kind in comparison with, like

Question words may not introduce relative clauses, this function having been assumed by the interrogative pronouns *man* and *mu* or relativizers such as *ke* and *illi*.

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168 These were originally compound pronouns; Noeldeke, *Mandäische Grammatik*, 94, suggests the first came from a fossilized prepositional phrase such as *hai minhun* ‘which of them,’ and Macuch, *Handbook*, 160 fn. 30, suggests that *hemdā* derives from *hai mn ‘dan* ‘which of the time.’ *Mujur* derives from *mu ‘what’ and the Persian word *jur ‘kind,’ and *katkammā* is likely derived from the classical relative pronoun *kd ‘like, as’ and the question word *kma ‘how.’
5. The Verb

The verb phrase functions primarily as the predicate of a clause. It consists of a verb, its auxiliaries, its complements, modifiers such as adverbs, and any other adjuncts; it is normally structured in this order when the object is definite and specific:

\[
\text{[SUBJECT ±]} \ \text{ADVERB ± VERB ± OBJECT}
\]

If the object is non-specific or generic, it becomes incorporated into the meaning of the verb, and it appears before the verb rather than after it, as described in §3.5.2. The adverb may still intervene between the verb and any noun that has become incorporated into its meaning.

\[
\text{[SUBJECT ±]} \ \text{OBJECT ± ADVERB ± VERB}
\]

5.1 The Structure of the Verb

The Neo-Mandaic verb may appear in two aspects: perfective and imperfective; three moods: indicative, subjunctive, and imperative; and three voices: active, middle, and passive. Its inflected forms are built upon two basic stems: the \(G\)-stem or basic verbal stem for most triradical roots, and the \(Q\)-stem, which is reserved for verbs built upon four root consonants. The \(G\)-stem may yield as many five derived stems: the \(D\)-stem or transitivizing verbal stem, the \(C\)-stem or causative verbal stem, and the so-called reflexive forms, which were originally derived from the preceding stems with the insertion of an infixed \(t\) before the first root consonant, which has since been deleted in most verbs (see §2.5.4.2 for other examples of this sound change). Each stem normally yields three principle parts: a perfective, an imperfective, and a participle, upon which the derivational and inflectional morphemes are affixed.

The unmodified base forms of the perfective and the imperative are identical with the third masculine singular of the former and the singular of the latter. The imperfective is built upon the active
participle of the verb, in the absolute state (§3.4.2), and is inflected in
the indicative and subjunctive moods with personal morphemes that
agree with its subject in number and gender. The passive voice may
either be formed periphrastically from the passive participle (§5.4.3.1)
or with an impersonal construction (§5.4.3.2). While all stems can
theoretically yield an active participle, only transitive stems yield a
passive participle.

Verbs are cited according to their perfective, imperative, and
imperfective base forms. The paradigmatic “strong” verb (that is, one
which possesses no fewer or more than three consonants that remain
stable throughout all inflectional paradigms) is gêêtal ~ gêêtol (gâêtel) ‘to
kill.’

5.1.1 Verb Classes

Neo-Mandaic verbal roots can be divided into classes according to the
vowel patterns in their perfective and imperative base forms
(§5.1.1.1), the composition of their root consonants (§5.1.1.2), the
stems in which they appear (§5.1.1.3), and the role they play within
the syntax of the sentence (§5.1.1.4).

5.1.1.1 Thematic Vowel Classes

The unmodified G-stem perfective and imperfective both comprise
two syllables. The vowel of the initial syllable of the root generally
succumbs to pretonic reduction (§2.6.2.2), reducing to /ə/, whereas the
vowel of the second syllable is preserved. Three vowels are attested in
the perfective: /a/, /e/, and /o/. In the imperative, the vowel of this
syllable regularly becomes /o/ (or /u/ in the feminine singular
imperative). The combination of the thematic vowel of the perfective
with the thematic vowel of the imperative yields three thematic vowel
classes.

gêêtal ~ gêêtol (a ~ o): This is the largest class. Members of this class
are predominantly active and often transitive.
Table 19: (a ~ o) Thematic Vowel Class

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Transitive</th>
<th>Intransitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bōdaq ~ bōdoq</td>
<td>hōdar ~ hōdor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḏakar ~ ḏakor</td>
<td>nāpāl ~ nāpōl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gōṭal ~ gōṭol</td>
<td>nāpqaq ~ nāpōq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥāpar ~ ḥāpor</td>
<td>pōrad ~ pōrod</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kōbaš ~ kōboš</td>
<td>sēbaq ~ sēboq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kēdāb ~ kēdoñ</td>
<td>to write</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kētañ ~ kētoñ</td>
<td>to fetter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lēbaš ~ lēboš</td>
<td>to wear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lēkāt ~ lēkōt</td>
<td>to seize</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nēkāt ~ nēkoñ</td>
<td>to bite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zēhan ~ zēboñ</td>
<td>to buy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zēraz ~ zēroñ</td>
<td>to inform</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A number of transitive verbs, which formerly belonged to other thematic vowel classes, have become associated with this class in the Neo-Mandaic dialect of Khorramshahr:

bāqas ~ bāqōṣ to stand (CM bāgis ~ bāgus ‘to stay, wait’)
gōḥak ~ gōḥok to laugh (CM ghik ~ ghuk ‘to laugh’)

Triradical roots borrowed from other languages such as Arabic are also generally incorporated into this thematic vowel class:

ṭolab ~ ṭolōb to request
jōmad ~ jōmōd to freeze

dēhel ~ dēhol (e ~ o): This class is much smaller than the former class. Many of the verbs that appear as (e ~ o) verbs in earlier stages of the language and in other dialects have become associated with the (a ~ o) class. It consists mostly of intransitive and stative verbs.

Table 20: (e ~ o) Thematic Vowel Class

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intransitive</th>
<th>Stative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yōhem ~ yōhom</td>
<td>dēhel ~ dēhol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zōhem ~ zōhom</td>
<td>hōreb ~ hōroþ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The third masculine singular prefective of verbs in this class is likely to be confused with the passive participle of the G-stem.
5.1 The Structure of the Verb

$kêdor \sim kôdor (o \sim o)$: The smallest of the three thematic vowel classes, this class consists mainly of statives and intransitives. Macuch identified two verbs of this class in the dialect of Ahvâz, $kêdor \sim kôdor (kâder)$ ‘to be a burden’ and $šêkôb \sim šêkôb (šâkêb)$ ‘to lie down.’ Of these two, only $kêdor \sim kôdor (kâder)$ is attested in the dialect of Khorramshahr, as the verb $gëni \sim gëni (gâni)$ is normally used in the place of $šêkôb \sim šêkôb (šâkêb)$.

Table 21: ($o \sim o$) Thematic Vowel Class

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intransitive</th>
<th>Stative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$šêkôb \sim šêkôb$</td>
<td>to lie down</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$kêdor \sim kôdor$</td>
<td>to be a burden</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.1.1.2 Root Consonant Classes

Verbs may also be categorized according to the composition of their root consonants. Most verbal roots are composed of three root consonants. In many stems, one or more of these root consonants is susceptible to assimilatory changes or loss in certain environments. These consonants are called “weak consonants.” The position of the root consonant is identified by one of three Roman numerals (I, II, and III) corresponding to each of the three root consonants. Three basic root consonant classes exist: the strong verb, roots with weak initial root consonants (I-weak verbs), roots with weak final consonants (III-weak verbs), and a composite class derived from roots that originally had weak middle consonants (II-weak verbs) or identical second middle and final root consonants (Geminate verbs), the two of which have fallen together in Neo-Mandaic. There are also four verbs defy easy categorization according to root consonants: $abä (bâyi)$ ‘to want’ (no imperative); $ezgâ \sim ezgi (âzi)$ ‘to go;’ $tammâ$ ‘to become’ (no imperative or imperfective); and $yâd$ ‘to know’ (a Persian loan word).169

169 Macuch, *Handbook*, 161 fn. 15 originally derived the root of this pseudo-verb from the participle of the verb $yêdä \sim yêdi (yâdi)$ ‘to know,’ but it does not behave like any of the other III-weak verbs; if it were derived from this participle rather than the Persian word, the stem would likely take the form $yâdi$- before consonant-initial suffixes such as -$kon$. See §5.1.1.2 below.
5. The Verb

Strong Verbs

The largest single root consonant class of verbs is composed of those whose three root consonants are not subject to deletion or assimilation in any position. In Neo-Mandaic, this class also includes verbs beginning with the consonants /n/ or /j/, which are subject to deletion or assimilation in other Aramaic dialects, including Classical Mandaic.

Strong Perfective and Imperative

Both the perfective and imperative stems of the verb may have as many as three allomorphs, the appearance of which depends upon the prefixes and suffixes that are appended to it. Without any suffixes and before suffixes beginning with a consonant, the perfective assumes the form CĕCVC, e.g. (5.1), but before suffixes beginning with a vowel, it assumes the form CĕCC-, e.g. (5.2). After the negative morpheme lá- it assumes the form -CCVC-, e.g. (5.3).

(5.1) gətałṭon you killed
(5.2) gəṭlat she killed
(5.3) lāgṭal he did not kill

The imperative CəCoC assumes the form CoCC- before object suffixes beginning with vowels, such as (5.4) and the form CəCoC- elsewhere, e.g. the plural imperative form (5.6). The feminine singular of the imperative is CəCuC, e.g. (5.5), although this too becomes CoCC- before object suffixes beginning with vowels. Intransitive and stative verbs do not yield the latter form as they do not take object suffixes. The imperative form never receives the negative morpheme, as prohibitions are derived from the subjunctive rather than the imperative.

When suffixes beginning with a vowel are added to the perfective, its second syllable becomes open, as the final consonant of the stem becomes the onset of the following syllable. The accent retreats to the preceding closed syllable, necessitating the insertion of /ə/, which becomes raised to [ɛ] in the closed syllable. The thematic vowel in the second syllable, which has become open and unaccented, is deleted.
5.1 The Structure of the Verb

(5.4)  gölī  kill (sg.) him!
(5.5)  gölul  kill (f. sg.)!
(5.6)  gölolygon  kill (pl.)!

Note also that the presence of a syllable-closing /r/ results in the coloring of the vowel /e/ to /a/ in stressed syllables (see §2.5.1.3). More commonly, however, the vowels which appear are those typical for each allomorph, as in (5.7).

(5.7)  porki  rub (sg.) it!

Strong Indicative and Subjunctive

With the exception of the perfective, which is by its nature indicative, and the imperative, which belongs to the broader category of directive modalities, the imperfective is the basis for both the indicative and the subjunctive forms of the verb.

The base of the imperfective is CāCeC, regardless of the thematic vowel class of the corresponding verbal root. In the indicative, the morpheme q- is frequently (but not always) prefixed to this form of the verb, and an anaptyctic vowel intervenes between the morpheme and the initial consonant of the participle, e.g. (5.8). This vowel disappears when the negative morpheme is prefixed, e.g. (5.9). Neither morpheme affects the shape of the active participle.

(5.8)  qenāpeq  he comes out
(5.9)  lāqenāpeq  he doesn’t come out

Before a suffixed morpheme beginning with a consonant, the stress of the active participle is pulled forward to the second syllable and the vowel of the initial syllable is reduced to /al/, e.g. (5.10). Before a suffix beginning with a vowel, the participle assumes the form CāCC- after the syncope of the vowel of the second syllable. This is the form assumed before the feminine morpheme -ā, e.g. (5.11), and the plural morpheme -en, e.g. (5.12). The first and second singular forms of the verb are based upon the masculine active participle, regardless of gender, and the plural inflected forms of the verb are based upon the plural active participle.
The subjunctive is also based upon the imperfective. Subjunctive verbs generally follow another verb in the contextual form and never take the indicative morpheme. Their forms are largely identical to the contextual forms of the indicative imperfective, with the notable exception that the vowel of its initial syllable, which is open, reduces to /ə/ in pretonic position, cf. (5.13) with (5.14). Note that the stress in the subjunctive form remains in the second syllable even though the first person singular suffix has been deleted.

(5.13) qənəpeqnâ I will go out
(5.14) qâbin nəpeq I want to go out

**Personal Suffixes on the Strong Verb**

Table 22 illustrates the personal suffixes found on the perfective, the imperative, and the imperfective. Because the syllable structure of the root changes as inflectional morphemes are added to the stem, the syllable structure is indicated to the left of each column. In this column, the syllables are separated by periods (.). In this column, personal suffixes and object suffixes are separated from the stem by dashes (-).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Perfective</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
<th>Imperfective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3 sg m</td>
<td>C₁aC₂V C₃</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>qə-C₁ā.C₂eC₃</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 sg f</td>
<td>C₁aC₂. C₃-at</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>qə-C₁āC₂.C₃-ā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 sg</td>
<td>C₁aC₂a C₃-t</td>
<td>C₁a. C₂oC₃</td>
<td>qə-C₁āC₂.C₃-et</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 sg</td>
<td>C₁aC₂. C₃-it</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>qə-C₁a.C₂eC₃-nā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 pl</td>
<td>C₁a.C₂VC₃-yon</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>qə-C₁āC₂.C₃-en</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 pl</td>
<td>C₁a.C₂VC₃-ton</td>
<td>C₁a. C₂oC₃-yon</td>
<td>qə-C₁aC₂.C₃-eton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 pl</td>
<td>C₁a.C₂VC₃-ni</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>qə-C₁aC₂.C₃-enni</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The third person singular forms of the imperfective derive from the masculine and feminine active participles, respectively, and the plural forms of the imperfective are built upon the plural participle. As
mentioned above, the feminine singular imperative is built on the pattern $C_1C_2uC_3$, e.g. (5.5).

Some of the personal suffixes also have contextual forms, which are used most commonly before complements. The contextual form of the third plural perfective personal suffix and the imperative plural personal suffix is -on rather than -yon. The first singular form of the imperfective loses its personal suffix entirely and resembles the third masculine singular imperfective, and the first plural form of the imperfective reduces from -énni to -én, retaining the accent.

*The Strong Verb with Object Suffixes*

The addition of object suffixes (and occasionally the enclitic object marker -l-) results in substantial changes to the form of the preceding personal suffixes and verbal root. Table 23 illustrates the paradigmatic verb *gøtal ~ gøtol* (*gåtel*) ‘to kill’ in the perfective with the third masculine singular and second plural object suffixes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Verb + V-</th>
<th>Verb + C-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3 sg m</td>
<td>C₁C₂,VC₃-</td>
<td>gøṭl-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 sg f</td>
<td>C₁,aC₂VC₃-t-</td>
<td>gøṭal-t-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 sg</td>
<td>C₁aC₂VC₃-t-</td>
<td>gøṭal-t-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 sg</td>
<td>C₁aC₂VC₃-t-</td>
<td>gøṭal-t-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 pl</td>
<td>C₁aC₂,VC₃-on.n-</td>
<td>gøṭl-onn-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 pl</td>
<td>C₁aC₂VC₃-ton.n-</td>
<td>gøṭal-tonn-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 pl</td>
<td>C₁aC₂VC₃-n-</td>
<td>gøṭal-n-i</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The second plural object suffix -kon is the only object suffix that begins with a consonant. This suffix cannot appear on second person forms of the verb. Note that the first plural perfective with the third masculine singular object suffix is identical to the first plural perfective without any object suffix.

Table 24 illustrates the paradigmatic verb *gøtal ~ gøtol* (*gåtel*) ‘to kill’ in the imperative with the third masculine singular object suffix.
Table 24: The Strong Imperative with Object Suffixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Verb + V-</th>
<th>Verb + C-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2 sg</td>
<td>C₁oC₂C₃ - goṭl-i</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 pl</td>
<td>C₁oC₂C₃-on.n- goṭl-onn-i</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note that the masculine and feminine singular forms of the imperative merge before object suffixes beginning with a vowel. As the only object suffix beginning with a consonant is the third plural, and the imperative cannot take this suffix, these are the only forms given.

Table 25 illustrates the paradigmatic verb goṭal ~ goṭol (gātel) ‘to kill’ in the imperfective with the third masculine singular and second plural object suffixes.

Table 25: The Strong Imperfective with Object Suffixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Verb + V-</th>
<th>Verb + C-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3 sg m</td>
<td>qa-C₁a.C₂eC₃-l- qa-gatel-l-i</td>
<td>qa-C₁a.C₂eC₃-lø- qa-gatel-lō-kon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 sg</td>
<td>qa-C₁a.C₂C₃-āt- qa-gatāl-āt-i</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 sg</td>
<td>qa-C₁a.C₂eC₃-n- qa-gatel-n-i</td>
<td>qa-C₁a.C₂eC₃-nā- qa-gatel-nā-kon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 pl</td>
<td>qa-C₁a.C₂eC₃-ton.n- qa-gatel-tonn-i</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The second plural and singular forms of the imperfective are rare; the imperative is preferred. Note that all third person imperfective forms take the enclitic object marker -l- before the object suffix. The final consonant of the third plural personal suffix -en regularly assimilates to the object marker (§2.5.1.1).

I-Weak Verbs

This class includes roots that historically began with the phonemes /ʔl/ and /ʕl/, which had merged already in Classical Mandaic, as well as ĕhaΩ ~ ĕhoΩ (āheΩ) ‘to give,’ the root of which began with /j/ in Classical Mandaic but has since assimilated to this class.
**I-Weak Perfective and Imperative**

The allomorphs of the I-weak perfective and imperative generally follow the same patterns as those of the strong verbal, with the obvious absence of an initial radical. The bare perfective stem assumes the form $\varepsilon C_2 VC_3$; this is also the form assumed before suffixes beginning with a consonant, e.g. (5.15), but before suffixes beginning with a vowel, it assumes the form $aC_2 C_3$, e.g. (5.16).

(5.15) $\varepsilon\text{bdy}on$  they did  
(5.16) $a\text{bd}at$  she did

The vowel which emerges in the initial syllable before suffixes beginning with a vowel is /$a$/ rather than the /$e$/ attested in the paradigm of the strong verb. After the negative morpheme $lá$- both allomorphs preserve their form. Before the bare perfective stem $\varepsilon C_2 VC_3$, the vowel of the negative morpheme is generally preserved, rather than elided, e.g. (5.17), as vowels are not elided before /$ə$/ (see 2.5.5.3).

(5.17) $lá-\varepsilon\text{bd}$  he did not do

The imperative assumes the form $oC_2 C_3$- before object suffixes beginning with vowels, such as (5.18) and the form $\varepsilon C_2 oC_3$ elsewhere, e.g. the plural imperative form (5.19). The feminine singular of the imperative is $\varepsilon C_2 uC_3$, e.g. (5.20), although this too becomes $oC_2 C_3$- before object suffixes beginning with vowels.

(5.18) $o\text{bd}$  do (sg.) it!  
(5.19) $\varepsilon\text{bdy}on$  do (pl.)!  
(5.20) $\varepsilon\text{bd}$  do (f. sg.)!

**I-Weak Indicative and Subjunctive**

The conjugation of I-weak participles is not appreciably different from that of the strong verb. In the indicative, the prefix $q$- is appended directly to the participle, e.g. (5.21). Otherwise, few differences distinguish the conjugation of the I-weak verbs from that of the strong verb.

(5.21) $q\text{bd}$  he does
Personal Suffixes on the I-Weak Verb

The personal suffixes on I-weak verbs are identical to those found on the strong verb. They are illustrated in Table 26.

Table 26: Personal Suffixes on the I-Weak Verb

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Perfective</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
<th>Imperfective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3 sg m</td>
<td>œ.C₂VC₃</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>q-ā.C₂oC₃</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 sg f</td>
<td>aC₂.C₃-at</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>q-āC₂.C₃-ā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 sg</td>
<td>œ.C₂aC₃-t</td>
<td>aC₂oC₃</td>
<td>q-āC₂.C₃-et</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 sg</td>
<td>aC₂.C₃-it</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>q-āC₂.C₃-ā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 pl</td>
<td>œ.C₂VC₃-yon</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>q-āC₂.C₃-en</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 pl</td>
<td>œ.C₂VC₃-ton</td>
<td>aC₂oC₃C₃-yon</td>
<td>q-aC₂.C₃-eton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 pl</td>
<td>œ.C₂VC₃-ni</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>q-aC₂.C₃-en</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The I-Weak Verb with Object Suffixes

The addition of object suffixes (and occasionally the enclitic object marker -l-) results in substantial changes to the form of the preceding personal suffixes and verbal root, much as it does in the paradigm of the strong verb. Table 27 illustrates the perfective with the third masculine singular and second plural object suffixes by means of the verb ṝḥad ~ ṕḥod (āḥed) ‘to do.’

Table 27: The I-Weak Perfective with Object Suffixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Verb + V-</th>
<th>Verb + C-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3 sg m</td>
<td>aC₂.C₃-</td>
<td>aḥd-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 sg f</td>
<td>aC₂VC₃-t-</td>
<td>ṕḥad-t-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 sg</td>
<td>aC₂VC₃-t-</td>
<td>ṝḥad-t-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 sg</td>
<td>aC₂VC₃-t-</td>
<td>ṝḥad-t-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 pl</td>
<td>aC₂.C₃-on.n-</td>
<td>aḥd-ommen-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 pl</td>
<td>aC₂VC₃-ton.n-</td>
<td>ṕḥad-ommen-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 pl</td>
<td>aC₂VC₃-n-</td>
<td>ṝḥad-n-i</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The paradigm of the imperative of the I-weak verb, as illustrated in Table 28, offers no surprises.
5.1 The Structure of the Verb

Table 28: The Imperative of the I-Weak with Object Suffixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Verb + V-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2 sg</td>
<td>oC₂.C₃-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 pl</td>
<td>oC₂.C₃-on.n-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The paradigms of the verbs ʾamar ~ ʾamor (āmer) ‘to say’ and ʾahab ~ ʾahob (āheb) ‘to give’ present a few irregularities not found in other I-weak verbs. Both of these verbs take the enclitic -l- before object suffixes in all singular forms of the paradigm as well as the third plural forms, and lose their initial syllables in propretonic position. The final consonant of the stem of ʾamar ~ ʾamor (āmer) assimilates to the following sonorant with which it comes into contact (§2.5.1.1). Furthermore, the third and second plural forms are derived from the singular forms, with the addition of the plural morpheme -on after the enclitic -l- but before the object suffix. Table 29 illustrates the perfective with the third masculine singular and second plural object suffixes.

Table 29: Irregular I-Weak Perfectives with Object Suffixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Verb + -V / -VC</th>
<th>Verb + CVC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3 sg m</td>
<td>ʾamar</td>
<td>ʾahab</td>
<td>ʾamal-l-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 sg f</td>
<td>amr-at</td>
<td>ahb-at</td>
<td>mår-el-l-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 sg</td>
<td>ʾamar-t</td>
<td>ʾahab-t</td>
<td>mar-t-ell-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 sg</td>
<td>amr-it</td>
<td>ahb-it</td>
<td>mar-t-ell-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 pl</td>
<td>ʾamar-yon</td>
<td>ʾahab-yon</td>
<td>mal-l-onn-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 pl</td>
<td>ʾamar-ton</td>
<td>ʾahab-ton</td>
<td>mar-t-onn-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 pl</td>
<td>ʾaman-ni</td>
<td>ʾahab-ni</td>
<td>man-nann-i</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The forms of the imperative of these two verbs with suffixes, as illustrated in Table 30, are even more irregular.

Table 30: Irregular I-Weak Imperatives with Object Suffixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Verb + V-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2 sg m</td>
<td>ʾamor</td>
<td>ʾahob</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 sg f</td>
<td>ʾamur</td>
<td>ʾahub</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 pl</td>
<td>ʾamor-yon</td>
<td>ʾahob-yon</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 31 illustrates the paradigm of the imperfective with the third masculine singular and second plural object suffixes on the verb ܐܒܕ (~ ܐܒܬ (ܐܒܬ) ‘to do.’ The verbs ܐܡܪ (~ ܐܡܬ (ܐܡܬ) ‘to say’ and ܐܗܒ (~ ܐܗܬ (ܐܗܬ) ‘to give’ do not deviate from this paradigm in any significant way, although the final consonant of the stem of ܐܡܪ (~ ܐܡܬ (ܐܡܬ) continues to assimilate when it comes into contact with a following sonorant.

Table 31: The I-Weak Imperfective with Object Suffixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Verb + -V / -VC</th>
<th>Verb + CVC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3 sg m</td>
<td>q-a.C₂eC₃-l-</td>
<td>q-a.C₂eC₃-l-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 sg f</td>
<td>q-aC₂.C₃-āl-</td>
<td>q-ābd-āl-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 sg</td>
<td>q-a.C₂.C₃-āt-</td>
<td>q-ābd-āt-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 sg</td>
<td>q-a.C₂eC₃-n-</td>
<td>q-ābed-ni-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 pl</td>
<td>q-aC₂.C₃-āl.l-</td>
<td>q-ābd-āl.l-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 pl</td>
<td>q-a.C₂eC₃-ton.n-</td>
<td>q-ābed-tonn-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 pl</td>
<td>q-a.C₂eC₃-nann-</td>
<td>q-ābed-nann-i</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

II-Weak and Geminate Verbs

In contrast to the two classes of roots above, the roots of this class are monosyllabic throughout most of their paradigms, and comprise a large number of verbs from a wide variety of sources. These include roots with /j/ and /w/ as their middle radicals, e.g. ܩܩ (~ ܩܩ (ܩܝܐ) ‘to stand,’ and ܡܡ (~ ܡܡ (ܡܝFramebuffer}

II-Weak and Geminate Perfective and Imperative

The root remains relatively stable throughout the paradigm, with few allomorphs, although the final radical of the root is often geminated to preserve the syllable structure whenever the syllable would otherwise become open (see §2.4.4.2). The verb ܡܡ (~ ܡܡ (ܡܝFramebuffer}
unique case. In environments such as those in which the interdental fricative /θ/ would be subject to gemination, the consonant cluster /χt/ is instead produced, e.g. (5.21) instead of (5.22). See §2.4.4.2 for further details on this phenomenon.

(5.21)  
\textit{meχtat}  
\textit{she died}

(5.22)  
\textit{**meṭṭat}  
\textit{she died}

\textit{II-Weak and Geminate Indicative and Subjunctive}

Much like the perfective and imperative forms, the forms derived from the participle are fairly stable throughout its conjugation. In the indicative, the morpheme \textit{q} is often prefixed to the imperfective form of the verb, and an anaptyctic vowel intervenes between the morpheme and the initial consonant of the imperfective, e.g. (5.23). In open accented syllables, the expected diphthong \textit{*āy} collapses to /i/, e.g. (5.24); see §2.3.2.1 for further details about the collapse of this diphthong. Among a subset of verbs within this class, the vowel /i/ breaks in stressed syllables after segments originating in area of the lips or the region between the alveolar ridge and the soft palate, becoming /i̯ɛ/, e.g. (5.25); see §2.3.2.1 for more information on breaking. The subjunctive is also derived from the imperfective, with the obligatory absence of the indicative morpheme.

(5.23)  
\textit{qašāyet}  
\textit{he listens}

(5.24)  
\textit{qašītet}  
\textit{you (sg.) listen}

(5.25)  
\textit{mieṭnā}  
\textit{I will die}

\textit{Personal Suffixes on II-Weak and Geminate Verbs}

The personal suffixes attached to the monosyllabic verb roots and participles are identical to those found on the strong verb. In the perfective and imperative, the stem remains monosyllabic throughout the paradigms. In the imperfective, the stem behaves much like the strong roots in the third and first singular persons, but becomes monosyllabic in other persons. In Table 32, the paradigm of this root category with personal suffixes is illustrated.

171 Note that the verb \textit{qam} \textit{qom} (qāyen) ‘to stand’ does not take the indicative morpheme.
5. The Verb

Table 32: Personal Suffixes on II-Weak and Geminate Verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Perfective</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
<th>Imperfective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3 sg m</td>
<td>C₁VC₃</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>qα-C₁ā.yeC₃</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 sg f</td>
<td>C₁V.C₃-at</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>qα-C₁i.C₃-ā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 sg</td>
<td>C₁VC₃-t</td>
<td>C₁oC₃</td>
<td>qα-C₁i.C₃-et</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 sg</td>
<td>C₁V.C₃-it</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>qα-C₁i.yeC₃-nā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 pl</td>
<td>C₁VC₃-yon</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>qα-C₁i.C₃-en</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 pl</td>
<td>C₁VC₃-ton</td>
<td>C₁oC₃-yon</td>
<td>qα-C₁i.C₃-etton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 pl</td>
<td>C₁VC₃-ni</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>qα-C₁i.C₃-enni</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The addition of the personal suffixes beginning with vowels opens the preceding syllable, lengthening the stem vowel. In the imperfective, the shifting of the accent causes the triphthong -āye- to collapse to a monophthong in most forms of the verb.

The feminine singular form of the imperative is C₁uC₃.

(5.26) duš enter (f. sg.)!

II-Weak and Geminate Roots with Object Suffixes

As with the other verbal root forms, the addition of object suffixes (and occasionally the enclitic object marker -l-) results in substantial changes to the form of the preceding personal suffixes and verbal root. Table 33 illustrates the paradigm of the verb šat ~ šot (šāyet) ‘to listen’ with the third masculine singular and second plural object suffixes. Normally this verb takes its object with the preposition miṃ; when the direct object is appended directly to the verb, it means ‘to watch s.o. or s.t.’ rather than ‘to listen to s.o. or s.t.’

Table 33: II-Weak & Geminate Perfectives w/ Object Suffixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Verb + V-</th>
<th>Verb + C-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3 sg m</td>
<td>C₁V.C₃-šāt-i</td>
<td>C₁V.C₃-šat-kon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 sg f</td>
<td>C₁VC₃-t-šāt-t-i</td>
<td>C₁V.C₃-at-šāt-at-kon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 sg</td>
<td>C₁VC₃-t-šāt-t-i</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 sg</td>
<td>C₁VC₃-t-šāt-t-i</td>
<td>C₁V.C₃-it-šāt-it-kon</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 33 (Cont.):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Verb + V-</th>
<th>Verb + CVC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3 pl</td>
<td>C₁V₂C₃-n-</td>
<td>ṣat-onn-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 pl</td>
<td>C₁VC₂-ton.n-</td>
<td>ṣat-tonn-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 pl</td>
<td>C₁VC₂-n-</td>
<td>ṣat-n-i</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 34 illustrates the paradigm of the verb ṣat ~ ṣot (ṣāyet) ‘to listen’ in the imperative with the third masculine singular. Note that the masculine and feminine singular forms of the imperative merge before object suffixes beginning with a vowel.

Table 34: II-Weak & Geminate Imperatives w/ Object Suffixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Verb + V-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2 sg</td>
<td>C₁o₁C₂-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 pl</td>
<td>C₁o₁C₂-ton.n-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 35 illustrates the paradigm of the verb ṣat ~ ṣot (ṣāyet) ‘to listen’ in the imperfective with the third masculine singular and second plural object suffixes. Note that all third person imperfective forms take the enclitic object marker -l- before the object suffix; the final consonant of the third plural personal suffix -en assimilates to the enclitic object marker.

Table 35: II-Weak & Geminate Imperfectives w/ Object Suffixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Verb + -V / -VC</th>
<th>Verb + CVC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3 sg m</td>
<td>qα-C₁i.yeC₂₃-l-</td>
<td>qα-ṣiyet-l-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 sg f</td>
<td>qα-C₁i.C₂₃-āl-</td>
<td>qα-ṣit-ā-l-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 sg</td>
<td>qα-C₁i.C₁C₂₃-ḥāt-</td>
<td>qα-ṣit-ḥāt-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 sg</td>
<td>qα-C₁i.yeC₂₃-n-</td>
<td>qα-ṣiyet-n-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 pl</td>
<td>qα-C₁iC₂₃-ton.n-</td>
<td>qα-ṣit-tonn-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 pl</td>
<td>qα-C₁iC₂₃-nann-</td>
<td>qα-ṣit-nann-i</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

III-Weak Verbs

Much like the II-weak and geminate roots, III-weak roots derive from a variety of sources. These include roots with the semivowels /j/ and /w/ as their third radicals (e.g. hɔzā ~ ḥɔzi (ḥazı) ‘to see’); roots originally terminating in /ʔ/ and /ʕ/ (e.g. ʃɔbā ~ ʃɔbî (ṣābi) ‘to
baptize’); and roots originally ending in /h/ and /h/, which merged to /h/ and were eventually lost in this position.\textsuperscript{172} The verb \textit{gənāb} – \textit{gənōḥ} (\textit{gāneh}) ‘to steal’ also occasionally behaves like a member of this class (in which case it is conjugated exactly like \textit{gənā} – \textit{gōnī} (\textit{gānī}) ‘to sleep’).

**III-Weak Perfective and Imperative**

The root likewise remains relatively stable throughout the paradigm, with few allomorphs. The basic form of the perfective is C\textsubscript{1}C\textsubscript{2}ā, e.g. (5.27). The masculine singular form of the imperative is C\textsubscript{1}C\textsubscript{2}i, e.g. (5.28), and the feminine singular form of the imperative is C\textsubscript{1}C\textsubscript{2}e, e.g. (5.29). Before personal suffixes beginning with a vowel, both the perfective and the imperative become C\textsubscript{1}C\textsubscript{2}-, e.g. (5.30). Before personal suffixes beginning with a consonant, they become C\textsubscript{1}C\textsubscript{2}i-, e.g. (5.31). In contrast with the other root consonant classes, the third plural personal suffix of the perfective and the plural personal suffix of the imperative are both -\textit{on}, e.g. (5.32).

\begin{align*}
(5.27) & \ hōzā \ & \text{he saw} \\
(5.28) & \ hōzi \ & \text{see (m.sg.)!} \\
(5.29) & \ hōze \ & \text{see (m.sg.)!} \\
(5.30) & \ hōzit \ & \text{I saw} \\
(5.31) & \ hōziton \ & \text{you (pl.) saw} \\
(5.32) & \ hōzon \ & \text{they see or see (pl.)!}
\end{align*}

When preceded by the negative morpheme, the stem assumes the form -C\textsubscript{1}C\textsubscript{2}-, e.g. (5.33), or -C\textsubscript{1}C\textsubscript{2}i-, e.g. (5.34).

\begin{align*}
(5.33) & \ lāhzat \ & \text{she didn’t see} \\
(5.34) & \ lāhziton \ & \text{you (pl.) didn’t see}
\end{align*}

As noted above, the stem of a III-weak verb always assumes the form C\textsubscript{1}C\textsubscript{2} before personal suffixes beginning with a vowel. Before the object suffixes that begin with a vowel, the root assumes the form C\textsubscript{1}C\textsubscript{2}i-, e.g. (5.35). Consult the section on object suffixes for more details.

\textsuperscript{172} This group is represented by the passive participles \textit{pāṭi} ‘empty’ (CM \textit{ptia} ‘open, wide, broad’) and \textit{amšabbā} ‘praised’ (CM \textit{mšaba} id.)
5.1 The Structure of the Verb

(5.35) ṣəḥyī he baptized him

This category also includes a few verbs that have another weak radical in addition to the weak final radical, such as the verbs ṣādā ~ ḏōṭi (āṭi) ‘to come’ and ḥwāwā ~ ḥāwī (hāwī) ‘to be.’ The latter root behaves like a III-weak verb, as the middle radical is treated as a strong radical in the conjugation of the verb. The former root manifests some of the features of the I-weak roots as well as the III-weak root in the perfective, as illustrated in Table 36.

Table 36: The Perfective and Imperative of ṣādā ~ ḏōṭi (āṭi)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Independent</th>
<th>Verb + V or VC</th>
<th>Verb + CV or CVC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Perfective</td>
<td>ṣādā</td>
<td>ḏā-</td>
<td>ḏā-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neg. Perfective</td>
<td>lāṭā</td>
<td>lāṭ-</td>
<td>lāṭi-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperative</td>
<td>ḏōṭi</td>
<td>ḏōṭ-</td>
<td>ḏōṭi-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The prefix ḏ- found on the imperative of ṣādā ~ ḏōṭi (āṭi) is anomalous and not attested in Classical Mandaic. Macuch suggests that it is derived from a “modern Syriac” adverb du ‘so, then.’ Another potential candidate is the colloquial Iraqi Arabic particle d(i), which intensifies the meaning of the ordinary form of the imperative. This particle also appears in the Neo-Aramaic dialect of Jilu.

III-Weak Indicative and Subjunctive

Much like the perfective and imperative, the imperfective is fairly stable throughout its conjugation. In the indicative, the morpheme q- is optionally prefixed to this form of the verb, and an anaptyctic vowel intervenes between the morpheme and the initial consonant of the participle, as in the strong verb, e.g. (5.36).

(5.36) qāḍārī he takes

The stem of the III-weak imperfective, $C_1\dot{a}C_2i$, takes the form $C_1\dot{a}C_2$- before personal suffixes beginning with vowels, e.g. (5.37), and the form $C_1\dot{a}C_2i$- before object suffixes beginning with vowels, e.g. (5.38) and (5.39), with the exception of the third masculine singular suffix -i (see Table 38 below). Note that the first and second plural personal suffixes are disyllabic, and therefore draw the accent away from the initial syllable of the participle, causing the vowel to become reduced to its lax equivalent, /a/, resulting in the pattern $C_1\dot{a}C_2$-, e.g. (5.40).

(5.37) $q\text{m}\ddot{a}h\text{en}$ they hit
(5.38) $q\text{m}\ddot{a}h\text{ya}$ he hits her
(5.39) $q\text{haw}\ddot{i}n\ddot{a}$ I will be
(5.40) $q\text{\ddot{a}h\ddot{e}nni}$ we will baptize

In the imperfective of atā ~ doṭī (āṭī) ‘to come,’ the morpheme $q$- is usually prefixed directly to the participles that begin with a vowel, e.g. (5.41). The vowel of the initial syllable does not succumb to umlaut, due to the fact that it is regularly uvularized after the imperfective suffix $q$-. It will, however, be reduced to its lax equivalent /al/ in pretonic position, e.g. (5.42).

(5.41) $q\ddot{a}ti$ he comes
(5.42) $q\ddot{a}tin\ddot{a}$ I come

**Personal Suffixes on the III-Weak Verb**

Table 37 illustrates the personal suffixes found on the perfective, imperfective, and the imperative.

Table 37: Personal Suffixes on III-Weak Verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Perfective</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
<th>Imperfective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3 sg m</td>
<td>$C_1\dot{a}.C_2\ddot{a}$</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>$q\ddot{a}-C_1\ddot{a}.C_2i$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 sg f</td>
<td>$C_1\dot{a}.C_2-\dot{a}t$</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>$q\ddot{a}-C_1\ddot{a}C_2y-\ddot{a}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 sg</td>
<td>$C_1\dot{a}.C_2-e-t$</td>
<td>$C_1\dot{a}.C_2i$</td>
<td>$q\ddot{a}-C_1\ddot{a}.C_2e-t$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 sg</td>
<td>$C_1\dot{a}.C_2-\dot{e}t$</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>$q\ddot{a}-C_1\ddot{a}.C_2i-n\ddot{a}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 pl</td>
<td>$C_1\dot{a}.C_2-\dot{on}$</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>$q\ddot{a}-C_1\ddot{a}.C_2-\ddot{en}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 pl</td>
<td>$C_1\dot{a}.C_2i-\dot{ton}$</td>
<td>$C_1\dot{a}.C_2-on$</td>
<td>$q\ddot{a}-C_1\ddot{a}.C_2-\ddot{etton}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 pl</td>
<td>$C_1\dot{a}.C_2i-\dot{mi}$</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>$q\ddot{a}-C_1\ddot{a}.C_2-\ddot{enni}$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Much like the personal suffixes found on the strong verb, these personal suffixes also have contextual forms, which are used most commonly before complements. Unlike the strong verb, the third plural form of the perfective does not have a contextual form. The contextual form of the first singular personal suffix of the imperfective is -\( n \) rather than -\( n\ddot{a} \), and the contextual form of the first plural morpheme of the imperfective is -\( \acute{e}n \) rather than -\( enn\ddot{i} \) (note that the accent is retained on the first syllable of the morpheme).

### The III-Weak Verb with Object Suffixes

The addition of object suffixes (and occasionally the enclitic object marker -\( l \)) results in substantial changes to the form of the stem and any personal suffixes that may be attached to it. Table 38 illustrates the paradigm of the verb \( h\ddot{a}z\ddot{a} \sim h\ddot{a}zi \) (\( h\ddot{a}zi \)) ‘to see’ in the perfective with the third masculine singular and second plural object suffixes.

#### Table 38: The III-Weak Perfective with Object Suffixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Verb + V-</th>
<th>Verb + C-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3 sg m</td>
<td>C(_1)(\ddot{a}).C(_2)-</td>
<td>(h\dot{a}z)-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 sg f</td>
<td>C(_1)(\ddot{a}).C(_2)-(\acute{a}t)-</td>
<td>(h\dot{a}z)-(\acute{a}t)-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 sg</td>
<td>C(_1)(\ddot{a}).C(_2)-(\acute{a}t)-</td>
<td>(h\dot{a}z)-(\acute{a}t)-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 sg</td>
<td>C(_1)(\ddot{a}).C(_2)-(\acute{i}t)-</td>
<td>(h\dot{a}z)-(\acute{i}t)-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 pl</td>
<td>C(_1)(\ddot{a}).C(_2)-on.n-</td>
<td>(h\ddot{a}z)-onn-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 pl</td>
<td>C(_1)(\ddot{a}).C(_2)-ton.n-</td>
<td>h(\ddot{a}zi)-t(\ddot{a}n)-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 pl</td>
<td>C(_1)(\ddot{a}).C(_2)-n-</td>
<td>h(\ddot{a}zi)-n-i</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note that the final vowel of the third masculine singular form of the verb is elided before the third masculine singular object suffix. This also occurs to the first plural form of the verb before the same object suffix, with the result that the form with this object suffix, i.e. “we saw him,” is identical to the form with any object suffix, i.e. “we saw.” Table 39 illustrates the paradigm of the verb \( h\ddot{a}z\ddot{a} \sim h\ddot{a}zi \) (\( h\ddot{a}zi \)) ‘to see’ in the imperative with the third masculine singular and second plural object suffixes.
Table 39: The III-Weak Imperative with Object Suffixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Verb + V-</th>
<th>Verb + C-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2 sg</td>
<td>C₁o.C₂- hoz-i</td>
<td>or hoz-y-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 pl</td>
<td>C₁o.C₂-on.n- hoz-onn-i</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note that the masculine and feminine singular forms of the imperative merge before the object suffixes. Note also that the final vowel of the third masculine singular form of the verb is elided before the third masculine singular object suffix, as in the perfective, although it occasionally reappears.

Table 40 illustrates the paradigm of the verb hozā ~ hōzi (hāzi) ‘to see’ in the imperfective with the third masculine singular and second plural object suffixes.

Table 40: The III-Weak Imperfective with Object Suffixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Verb + V-</th>
<th>Verb + C-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3 sg m</td>
<td>qʰ-C₁a.C₂i-l- qʰ-hazi-l-i</td>
<td>qʰ-C₁a.C₂i-l- qʰ-hazi-l-kon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 sg f</td>
<td>qʰ-C₁aC₂.y-āl- qʰ-hazy-ā-l-i</td>
<td>qʰ-C₁aC₂.y-āl- qʰ-hazy-ā-l-kon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 sg</td>
<td>qʰ-C₁aC₂.y-āt- qʰ-hazy-āt-i</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 sg</td>
<td>qʰ-C₁a.C₂i-n- qʰ-hazi-n-i</td>
<td>qʰ-C₁a.C₂i-n- qʰ-haz-in-kon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 pl</td>
<td>qʰ-C₁a.C₂-el.l- qʰ-haz-el-l-i</td>
<td>qʰ-C₁a.C₂-el- qʰ-haz-el-kon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 pl</td>
<td>qʰ-C₁aC₂-ton.n- qʰ-haz-tonn-i</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 pl</td>
<td>qʰ-C₁aC₂-nann- qʰ-haz-nann-i</td>
<td>qʰ-C₁aC₂-nan- qʰ-haz-nan-kon</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note that all third person imperfective forms take the enclitic object marker -l- before the object suffix; the final consonant of the third plural personal suffix -en assimilates to the enclitic object marker. In this particular verb, the final consonant of the stem assimilates in voice to the initial consonant of the personal suffix in the second plural form: qʰ-haztonni [qʰaesťonni] ‘you see him.’

Irregular Verbs

A number of important verbs defy classification, either because they are deficient in one or more of their principle parts or make use of suppletive stems. These include the verbs abā (bāyi) ‘to want’ (no imperative); ezgā ~ ezgi (āzi) ‘to go;’ tammā ‘to become’ (no
imperative or imperfective); and the pseudo-verbs yād ‘to know’ (a Persian loan word) and qomb-.

The Verb abā (bāyī)

The verb abā (bāyī) ‘to want’ generally behaves like ástā ~ doṭī (āṭī) ‘to come’in the perfective; Table 41 illustrates its forms with the personal suffixes.

Table 41: The Perfective of abā (bāyī)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3 m</td>
<td>abā</td>
<td>ab-on</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 f</td>
<td>ab-at</td>
<td>ab-on</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>abe-t</td>
<td>abi-ton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ab-it</td>
<td>abi-ni</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The verb abā (bāyī) has no imperative form. When the negative morpheme lá- is prefixed to the verbal root, its vowel is elided, e.g. (5.42).

(5.42) labit I didn’t want

The imperfective of the verb, illustrated in Table 42, is formed with the suppletive stem b- /y- w/.

Table 42: The Imperfective of abā (bāyī)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3 m</td>
<td>qo-bāyī</td>
<td>qo-beyy-en</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 f</td>
<td>qo-beyyā</td>
<td>qo-beyy-en</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>qo-bā-t</td>
<td>q-ab-etton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>q-abi-nā</td>
<td>q-ab-enni</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The third singular and plural forms of the paradigm appear to be derived from the root b- /y- w/ with II- and III-weak radical consonants, as is the second singular form. In these forms, an anaptyctic vowel intervenes between the morpheme and the initial consonant. By contrast, all of the other forms appear to be derived from the root 2-b- /y- w/ with I- and III- weak radical consonants like ądā ~ doṭī (āṭī). In these forms, the indicative morpheme is attached directly
to the participle. No subjunctive or passive forms are associated with this verb.

*The Verb ezgā ~ ezgi (āzi)*

The conjugation of the verb *ezgā ~ ezgi (āzi)* ‘to go’ resembles that of the III-weak verbs in the perfective and the imperative; Table 43 illustrates the forms of its perfective and imperative forms with the personal suffixes.

**Table 43: Perfective and Imperative of ezgā ~ ezgi (āzi)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Perfective</th>
<th>Perfective</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>Plural</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 m ezgā</td>
<td>ezg-on</td>
<td>ezg-on</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 f ezg-at</td>
<td>ezg-on</td>
<td>ezgi</td>
<td>ezg-on</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 m ezg-et</td>
<td>ezgi-ton</td>
<td>ezgi</td>
<td>ezg-on</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 f ezg-et</td>
<td>ezgi-ton</td>
<td>ezgi</td>
<td>ezge</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 ezg-it</td>
<td>ezgi-ni</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When the negative morpheme *lá-* is prefixed to the verbal root, the vowel of the negative morpheme is elided, e.g. (5.43).

(5.43) *lezgini* we didn’t go

The conjugation of the imperfective of the verb, illustrated in Table 44, is characterized by a pair of suppletive forms, much like *abā* (bāyi). Unlike *abā* (bāyi), however, the second of the two suppletive forms of the imperfective is derived from a separate root, CM *al* ~ ‘ul (aiil) ‘to enter.’ Furthermore, either one of these two forms may be employed for each inflected form of the root, although the forms derived from CM *al* ~ ‘ul (aiil) are more common (with the exception of the third masculine singular form, which is not attested).

**Table 44: Imperfective of ezgā ~ ezgi (āzi)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3 m q-āzi</td>
<td>q-āz-en</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>q-all-en</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 f q-āz-yā</td>
<td>q-āz-en</td>
<td></td>
<td>q-all-ā</td>
<td>q-all-en</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 q-āz-e-t</td>
<td>q-az-etton</td>
<td>q-alle-t</td>
<td>q-all-etton</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 q-azi-nā</td>
<td>q-az-enni</td>
<td>q-ali-nā</td>
<td>q-all-enni</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5.1 The Structure of the Verb

The first of the two participles appears to be derived from the root ezgā ~ ezgi (āzi). The radical consonant /g/ has been deleted, with the result that the participle more closely conforms to the pattern of atā ~ doti (āti) and other III-weak verbs. Of the inflected forms of these participles, however, only the third masculine singular is regularly used; note the similarity to the paradigm of the verb hāzā ~ hāzi (hāzi) above, particularly after the syncope of the initial /h/ (see §2.5.5.1).

By contrast, the suppletive root associated with this verb never appears in the third masculine singular. In fact, no perfective or imperative is associated with this root; it has no independent existence or function apart serving as the imperfective form of this verb. The inflected forms of the imperfective resemble those of the monosyllabic verb, with the exception of the first singular, which conforms to the paradigm of the III-weak verbs. These inflected forms are much more frequently employed in the imperfective of this verb than the forms derived from ezgā ~ ezgi (āzi).

The subjunctive forms are derived from the imperfective, without the indicative marker q-. This verb also has a passive participle, ezgi ‘gone,’ e.g. (5.44).

\[(5.44)\ hāz-o=ō \ sāl=qāmāš-ān=i \ geš \ ezgeyy=en\]
\[\text{see.PFV-3SG.M}=\text{3SG.M} \ \text{REF}=\text{clothes-PL}=\text{3SG.M} \ \text{all} \ \text{go. PASS-3PL}\]
He saw that his clothes were all gone. (VIII.16)

The Verb tammā

The verb tammā ‘to become’ behaves like the III-weak verbs in the perfective; Table 45 illustrates its forms with the personal suffixes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3 m</td>
<td>tammā</td>
<td>tamm-on</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 f</td>
<td>tamm-at</td>
<td>tamm-on</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>tamme-t</td>
<td>tamī-ton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>tamm-it</td>
<td>tamī-ni</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The contextual form of the third masculine singular is tam. As this verb is often followed by its object, this is the form most frequently
encountered. This verb is also frequently found in light verbal constructions (see §5.1.1.4 below).

The verb *tammā* has no imperative or imperfective forms. The functions of the latter are always rendered by the imperfective of *hōwā* ~ *hōwi* (*hāwi*) ‘to be,’ e.g. (5.45), which becomes (5.46) in the imperfective.

(5.45)  
\[
\text{tamām} \quad \text{tammā-ō} \\
\text{finished} \quad \text{become.PFV-3SG.M} \quad \text{it was finished (IV.25)}
\]

(5.46)  
\[
\text{tamām} \quad \text{q=ḥāwi-ō} \\
\text{finished} \quad \text{IND=be.IPFV-3SG.M} \quad \text{it will be finished}
\]

*The Pseudo-Verbs* yād and qomb

The Persian loan word *yād* ‘memory’ is employed in a pseudo-verbal construction, which has seemingly the same semantic range as the verb *bašqer* ~ *bašqer* (*embašqer*) ‘to know,’ but is the less common of the two in the dialect of Khorramshahr. All aspects, moods, and voices of this pseudo-verbal construction, save for the imperfective, are formed analytically with the verb *hōwā* ~ *hōwi* (*hāwi*) ‘to be.’ In its form as well as its etymological origins, it is parallel to Persian expressions such as (5.47).

(5.47)  
\[
\text{yād-am} \quad \text{bud-ō} \\
\text{memory-1SG} \quad \text{is.PFV-3SG} \quad \text{I remembered (my memory was)}
\]

In the imperfective, it is generally preceded by the indicative morpheme *q=*, but takes the enclitic pronominal suffixes (see §4.1.2) rather than the personal suffixes.

**Table 46: Imperfective of yād**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3 m</td>
<td><em>q=ya̱d-i</em></td>
<td><em>q=ya̱d-u</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 f</td>
<td><em>q=ya̱d-a</em></td>
<td><em>q=ya̱d-u</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 m</td>
<td><em>q=ya̱d-ak</em></td>
<td><em>q=ya̱d-kon</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 f</td>
<td><em>q=ya̱d-ek</em></td>
<td><em>q=ya̱d-kon</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td><em>q=ya̱d-e</em></td>
<td><em>q=ya̱d-an</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Frequently the anaptyctic /ə/ is deleted between the indicative morpheme and the root. Table 47 illustrates the inflected forms of yād in the perfective.

**Table 47: Perfective of yād**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3 m</td>
<td>qə-yād-i ḥwā</td>
<td>qə-yād-u ḥw-on</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 f</td>
<td>qə-yād-a ḥw-āt</td>
<td>qə-yād-u ḥw-ōn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 m</td>
<td>qə-yād-ak ḥuw-ēt</td>
<td>qə-yād-ēk ḥuw-ēt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 f</td>
<td>qə-yād-ak ḥuw-ēt</td>
<td>qə-yād-ēk ḥuw-ēt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>qə-yād-as ḥuw-it</td>
<td>qə-yād-as ḥuw-it</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Persian, the grammatical subject of this construction is yād ‘memory,’ as in (5.47); note that the copula does not inflect to agree with the logical subject. In Neo-Mandaic, the logical subject of this construction is also the grammatical subject, and the copula inflects to agree with it, as illustrated in Table 47 above. This verb does not appear in the imperative. The pseudoverb qomb- ‘to be able,’ which is treated below with the other modals (introduced in §5.1.1.4), is conjugated in an identical fashion.

5.1.1.3 Verbal Stem Classes

Neo-Mandaic verbs may appear in any one or more of seven verbal stems, which are derived from the root of the verb through various inflectional processes, such as vowel apophony, the gemination of root consonants, and the affixation of derivational morphemes, as well as any combination of the preceding. These seven stems include the two basic stems, the G-stem or triradical ground stem, and the Q-stem or quadriradical verbal stem, and the five derived stems, the D-stem or double stem, characterized by a geminated middle radical, the C-stem or causative verbal stem, and the so-called reflexives, the tG-, tD-, and tC-stems, characterized by a prefixed derivational morpheme t-. These last three stems express the middle voice of their counterparts in the G-, D-, and C-stems. Most Neo-Mandaic roots appear as G-stem verbs, although some are attested only as D- or C-stem verbs; many roots acquired from other languages appear only as D- or Q-stem verbs.
The G-Stem

The G-stem or “ground stem,” also known as the *Peel* in grammars of Syriac and other Aramaic languages, is the basic stem for most Neo-Mandaic verbal roots. Unless otherwise noted, all the examples cited in the preceding sections have been culled from the paradigm of the G-stem.

The D-Stem

The D-stem or “double stem,” also known as the *Pael*, comprises a large range of verbal roots, including those that also occur as G-stem verbs and those that do not occur in any other stem. The perfective and imperative forms of verbs that appear only within the D-stem include transitive and intransitive verbs, as illustrated in Table 48.

Table 48: D-Stem Verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Transitive</th>
<th>Intransitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>allep ~ allep (mallep)</td>
<td>to teach  hawwer ~ hawwer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arreq ~ arreq (marreq)</td>
<td>to spill  (omhawwer) to wash up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kammer ~ kammer (omkammer)</td>
<td>to return  tallel ~ tallel (omtallel) to play</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šadder ~ šadder (omšadder)</td>
<td>to organize</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šayyel ~ šayyel (omšiyel)</td>
<td>to ask</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zahher ~ zahher (omzahher)</td>
<td>to protect</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Many of the verbal roots loaned from Arabic appear only as D-stem verbs. All of the examples given below are transitive.

| haddet ~ haddet (omhaddet) | to speak |
| hassel ~ hassel (omhassel) | to obtain |
| tawweh ~ tawweh (omtawweh) | to throw |
| waddi ~ waddi (omwaddi) | to move |

The primary morphological characteristics of the D-stem are the gemination of the middle radical and the vowel pattern C₁aC₂C₂eC₃ in both the perfective and imperative. The imperfective is formed on the pattern omC₁aC₂C₂eC₃. With the addition of personal or object suffixes to this stem, the accent is moved from the second syllable of the stem, resulting in the simplification of the geminated second radical to omC₁aC₂C₂eC₃. (see §2.6.2.1 for more information on
5.1 The Structure of the Verb

geminate simplification). Note also that the vowel /e/ is colored to /a/ in stressed syllables whenever it is followed by a syllable-closing /r/ or a pharyngeal consonant (see §2.5.1.3). Consequently, the roots kammer ~ kammer (omkammer), šadder ~ šadder (omšadder), zahher ~ zahher (omzahher) and īawweḥ ~ īawweḥ (omīawweḥ) yield the forms kamar-, šadar-, zahar-, and īawah- when the accent is drawn to the second syllable of the root.

G-Stem and D-Stem Verbs

Verbal roots that appear in the D-stem as well as the G-stem are distinguished from their G-stem equivalents semantically, as illustrated in Table 49.

Table 49: G-Stem Roots with D-Stem Equivalents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>G-Stem</th>
<th>D-Stem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yəleφ ~ yəleφ (yāleφ)</td>
<td>alleφ ~ alleφ (malleφ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qarā ~ qarī (qārī)</td>
<td>qarri ~ qarri (ωmqaqarri)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zabben ~ zabben (zāben)</td>
<td>zabben ~ zabben (ωmzabben)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

to learn

to teach

to read

to call

to buy

to sell

While it is difficult to draw any conclusions on the basis of such a small sample size, it would seem that the primary effect of the D-stem upon such roots is to increase their transitivity, either by making intransitive verbs transitive, e.g. examples given in (5.48) and (5.49), or by increasing the semantic valence of the verbal root to encompass greater numbers of arguments, e.g. examples (5.50) and (5.51).

(5.48) anā yəlāφ-it lešānā d=ṣopārā
  I learn.PFV-1SG tongue of=bird
  I have learned the language of the birds. 177

(5.49) āhā qam enṣi lā=q=malleφ-∅
  this to anybody NEG=IND=teach.IPFV-1SG
  I won’t teach this to anyone. (I.13)

176 Payne, Describing Morphosyntax, 169–75.
177 Macuch, Neumandäische Chrestomathie, 190.
5. The Verb

(5.50)  
\[ \textit{ani qar-én əlāw šəbīh-ān-ā} \]
we read.IPFV-1PL OBJ evil spirit-PL-AUG  
We will enchant the evil spirits. (IV.16)

(5.51)  
\[ \textit{q=əmgar-el=ʔ=an ebdī m=ā šerš-ān ek̪t-an} \]
IND=call.D.IPFV-3PL=OBJ=1PL one from=this religion-PL COP-1PL  
They label us one of these religions. (I.13)

It is also not apparent from the small sample whether these distinctions between the G-stem and the D-stem represent a productive inflection of the verb or frozen forms restricted purely to the lexicon.

Inflected Forms of the Strong D-Stem

As noted above, the past and present stems of the D-stem verb are identical, and the participles are formed with the sufformative \( m- \) (here \( əm- \)). Whenever the initial syllable loses the accent, the geminated middle radical is simplified (see §2.6.2.1). Before suffixes beginning with a vowel, the vowel of the second syllable has a tendency to be deleted and the gemination of the middle radical is simplified to accommodate the loss of the second syllable of the stem. Table 50 illustrates the personal suffixes found on the perfective, the imperative, and the imperfective.

Table 50: Personal Suffixes on the Strong D-Stem Verb

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Perfective</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
<th>Imperfective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3 sg m</td>
<td>C₃aC₂₂.₂eC₃</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>q-əm.C₃aC₂₂.₂eC₃</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 sg f</td>
<td>C₃aC₂₂.₂a₃-at</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>q-əm.C₃aC₂₂.₂a₃-ā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 sg</td>
<td>C₃aC₂₂.₂-œ₃-et</td>
<td>C₂₃aC₂₂.₂eC₃</td>
<td>q-əm.C₃aC₂₂.₂-œ₃-et</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 sg</td>
<td>C₃aC₂₂.₂-œ₃-it</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>q-əm.C₃aC₂₂.₂-œ₃-nā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 pl</td>
<td>C₃aC₂eC₃-yon</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>q-əm.C₃aC₂eC₃-ën</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 pl</td>
<td>C₃aC₂eC₃-ton</td>
<td>C₃aC₂eC₃-yon</td>
<td>q-əm.C₃aC₂eC₃-etoṭon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 pl</td>
<td>C₃aC₂eC₃-ni</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>q-əm.C₃aC₂eC₃-enni</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note that the D-stem does not distinguish between masculine and feminine forms of the singular imperative, unlike the G-stem. Also note that the final radical of this root, /n/, does not assimilate to the following consonant as it does elsewhere (see §2.5.1.1 for further details).
Many of the personal suffixes have contextual forms, which are used most commonly before complements. The contextual form of the first singular form of the imperfective is identical to the third masculine singular of the imperfective, and the contextual form of the first plural form of the imperfective is identical to the third plural form of the imperfective, but remains accented. The contextual form of the imperative plural personal suffix is -on. The subjunctive is derived from the imperfective without the indicative marker.

Table 51 illustrates the object suffixes on the strong D-stem perfective on the verb zabben ~ zabben (omzabben) ‘to sell.’ The forms marked by an asterisk are included to illustrate the paradigm, but the use of the second plural personal suffix with this verb was rejected by the informant.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Verb + V-</th>
<th>Verb + C-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3 sg m</td>
<td>C_1aC_2C_3-</td>
<td>zabn-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 sg f</td>
<td>C_1aC_2eC_3-t-</td>
<td>zaben-t-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 sg</td>
<td>C_1aC_2eC_3-t-</td>
<td>zaben-t-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 sg</td>
<td>C_1aC_2eC_3-t-</td>
<td>zaben-t-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 pl</td>
<td>C_1aC_2.C_3-on.n-</td>
<td>zabn-onn-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 pl</td>
<td>C_1aC_2eC_3-ton.n-</td>
<td>zaben-tonn-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 pl</td>
<td>C_1aC_2eC_3-n-</td>
<td>zaben-n-i</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The paradigm of the D-stem perfective with object suffixes resembles that of the G-stem perfective with object suffixes; while the root takes the form C_1aC_2C_3- or C_1aC_2C_3- depending upon whether it is immediately followed by a suffix with a vowel or a consonant (thus opening or closing the preceding syllable), the form of the personal suffixes and object suffixes remains consistent from paradigm to paradigm. Table 52 illustrates the paradigm of the D-stem imperative with object suffixes.
Table 52: The Strong D-Stem Imperative with Object Suffixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Verb + V-</th>
<th>Verb + C-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2 sg</td>
<td>C₁aC₂.C₃  - zabn-i</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 pl</td>
<td>C₁aC₂.C₃-on.n-     zabn-onn-i</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note that the only distinction between the paradigm of the D-stem imperative with object suffixes and that of the G-stem imperative with object suffixes is the form of the root. Table 53 illustrates the paradigm of the D-stem imperative with object suffixes.

Table 53: The Strong D-Stem Imperfective with Object Suffixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Verb + V-</th>
<th>Verb + C-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3 sg m</td>
<td>q-әm.C₁a.C₂eC₃-ʃ-</td>
<td>q-әm.C₁a.C₂eC₃-la-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>q-әmzaben-ʃ-i</td>
<td>*q-әmzaben-la-ʃ-kon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 sg f</td>
<td>q-әm.C₁aC₂.C₃-әl-</td>
<td>q-әm.C₁aC₂.C₃-әl-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>q-әmzabn-әl-i</td>
<td>*q-әmzabn-әl-ʃ-kon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 sg</td>
<td>q-әm.C₁aC₂.C₃-әt-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>q-әmzabn-әt-i</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 sg</td>
<td>q-әm.C₁a.C₂eC₃-n-</td>
<td>q-әm.C₁a.C₂eC₃-nә-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>q-әmzaben-n-i</td>
<td>*q-әmzaben-nә-kon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 pl</td>
<td>q-әm.C₁a.C₂eC₃-әl.l-</td>
<td>q-әm.C₁a.C₂eC₃-әl-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>q-әmzabn-әl.l-i</td>
<td>*q-әmzabn-әl.l-kon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 pl</td>
<td>q-әm.C₁a.C₂eC₃-ton.n-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>q-әmzaben-tonn-i</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 pl</td>
<td>q-әm.C₁a.C₂eC₃-nann-</td>
<td>q-әm.C₁a.C₂eC₃-nәn-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>q-әmzabn-nann-i</td>
<td>*q-әmzabn-nәn-kon</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Once again, the forms marked by an asterisk are included to illustrate the paradigm, but the use of the second plural personal suffix with this verb was rejected by the informant. Note that the final radical of this root, /n/, does not assimilate to the following consonant as it does elsewhere (see §2.5.1.1 for further details).
I-Weak Roots in the D-Stem

The paradigm of I-weak verbal roots is identical in most respects to that of the strong verb, with the difference that the sufformative found on the participles assumes the form m-, e.g. *allep̱ ~ allep̱ (mallep̱) ‘to teach.’ The paradigm of the perfective, imperative, and imperfective is illustrated in Table 54.

**Table 54: Personal Suffixes on the I-Weak D-Stem Verb**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Perfective</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
<th>Imperfective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3 sg m</td>
<td>aC₂C₂eC₃</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>qa-maC₂C₂eC₃</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 sg f</td>
<td>aC₂C₂-at</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>qa-maC₂C₂-ā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 sg</td>
<td>aC₂C₂C₂-t</td>
<td>aC₂C₂C₂</td>
<td>qa-m aC₂C₂C₂-t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 sg</td>
<td>aC₂C₂-it</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>qa-maC₂C₂-nā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 pl</td>
<td>a.C₂eC₃-yon</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>qa-maC₂C₂-en</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 pl</td>
<td>a.C₂eC₃-ton</td>
<td>a.C₂eC₃-yon</td>
<td>qa-maC₂C₂-etton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 pl</td>
<td>a.C₂eC₃-ni</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>qa-maC₂C₂-enni</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 55 illustrates the objective suffixes on the I-weak D-stem perfective, as they appear on the verb *allep̱ ~ allep̱ (mallep̱) ‘to teach.’

**Table 55: The I-Weak D-Stem Perfective with Object Suffixes**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Verb + V-</th>
<th>Verb + C-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3 sg m</td>
<td>aC₂C₃-</td>
<td>alp̱-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 sg f</td>
<td>a.C₂eC₃-t</td>
<td>alep̱-t-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 sg</td>
<td>a.C₂eC₃-t</td>
<td>alep̱-t-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 sg</td>
<td>a.C₂eC₃-t</td>
<td>alep̱-t-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 pl</td>
<td>aC₂.C₂-on.n</td>
<td>alp̱-onn-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 pl</td>
<td>a.C₂eC₃-ton.n</td>
<td>alep̱-tonn-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 pl</td>
<td>a.C₂eC₃-n</td>
<td>alep̱-n-i</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The paradigm of the D-stem perfective with object suffixes resembles that of the G-stem perfective with object suffixes; while the root takes the form aC₂eC₃- or aC₂C₃- depending upon whether it is immediately followed by a suffix with a vowel or a consonant (thus opening or closing the preceding syllable), the form of the personal suffixes and object suffixes remains consistent from paradigm to paradigm. Table 56 illustrates the paradigm of the D-stem imperative with object suffixes.
5. The Verb

Table 56: The I-Weak D-Stem Imperative with Object Suffixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Verb + V-</th>
<th>Verb + C-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2 sg</td>
<td>aC₂C₃ -</td>
<td>alṭ-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 pl</td>
<td>aC₂C₃on.n-</td>
<td>alṭ-onn-i</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Once again, the only distinction between the paradigm of the D-stem imperative with object suffixes and that of the G-stem imperative with object suffixes is the form of the root. The D-stem Table 57 illustrates the paradigm of the D-stem imperfective with object suffixes.

Table 57: The I-Weak D-Stem Imperfective with Object Suffixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Verb + V-</th>
<th>Verb + C-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3 sg m</td>
<td>qō-maC₂C₃-l-</td>
<td>qō-maC₂C₃-lō-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>qō-malep-l-i</td>
<td>qō-malep-lo-kon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 sg f</td>
<td>qō-maC₂C₃-āl-</td>
<td>qō-maC₂C₃-ā-l-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>qō-malp-ā-l-i</td>
<td>qō-malp-ā-l-kon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 sg</td>
<td>qō-maC₂C₃-āt-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>qō-malp-āt-i</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 sg</td>
<td>qō-maC₂C₃-n-</td>
<td>qō-maC₂C₃-nā-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>qō-malep-n-i</td>
<td>qō-malep-nā-kon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 pl</td>
<td>qō-maC₂C₃-āl-</td>
<td>qō-maC₂C₃-āl-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>qō-malp-āl-l-i</td>
<td>qō-malp-āl-kon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 pl</td>
<td>qō-maC₂C₃-ton.n-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>qō-malep-tonn-i</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 pl</td>
<td>qō-maC₂C₃-nann-</td>
<td>qō-maC₂C₃-nan-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>qō-malep-nann-i</td>
<td>qō-malep-nan-kon</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Inflected Forms of the II-Weak and Geminate D-Stem Verb

Those verbal roots with semivowels as their middle radical, which become monosyllabic throughout most of their G-stem paradigms, are conjugated exactly like strong verbs in the perfective and imperative forms of the D-stem, e.g. ṭawweḥ ~ ṭawweḥ (emṭawweḥ) ‘he threw.’ The chief exception to this is the verb šayyel ~ šayyel (emšiyel) ‘to ask,’ which is reproduced in Table 58 in its entirety.
Table 58: The Paradigm of šayyel ~ šayyel (əmšiyel)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Perfective</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
<th>Imperfective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3 sg m</td>
<td>šayyel</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>q-əmšiyel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 sg f</td>
<td>šiel-at</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>q-əmšiel-ā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 sg</td>
<td>šayyel-t</td>
<td>šayyel</td>
<td>q-əmšiyel-t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 sg</td>
<td>šiel-ṭ</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>q-əmšiyel-ṭ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 pl</td>
<td>šiyel-yon</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>q-əmšiel-en</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 pl</td>
<td>šiyel-ton</td>
<td>šiyel-yon</td>
<td>q-əmšiel-etton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 pl</td>
<td>šiyel-ni</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>q-əmšiel-enni</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The irregularities of the paradigm are due to the collapse of the diphthong /au/. In the forms collected from Sobbi, the original form of the stem with a geminated middle radical is preserved in the perfective and imperfective (cf. CM ša’il ‘he asked’), but collapses with the addition of the personal suffixes. With the addition of a suffix beginning with a vowel, the second syllable becomes open and its vowel is syncopated (see §2.6.2.4), resulting in a diphthong (CM šailit ‘I asked’). In Neo-Mandaic, this diphthong collapses to /i/ (see §2.3.2.1) and the resulting vowel breaks (see §2.5.3.5). Whenever the addition of a suffix would cause the second syllable to remain closed but receive the accent, the diphthong in the preceding syllable collapses to /i/. In the imperfective, the diphthong has collapsed in every form. No examples of originally geminate roots are attested in the D-stem.

Inflected Forms of the III-Weak D-Stem Verb

III-weak verbal roots behave much as they do in the G-stem; the vowel of the second syllable, /i/, is preserved before suffixes that begin with a consonant but elided before suffixes beginning with a vowel. Table 59 illustrates the paradigm of the personal suffixes on the III-weak D-stem verb.
In the former forms, the paradigm of the III weak stem resembles that of the III perfective, using the verb read (f.sg.)! The latter forms become $C_1aC_2C_2$-on in context; the other contextual forms resemble those of the III weak stem, e.g. (5.53). The feminine singular imperative is built upon the pattern $C_1aC_2C_2e$, e.g. (5.54).

Note that the geminated second radical is simplified whenever the accent shifts from the first syllable of the stem, e.g. (5.52), or the stem is followed by -yon, the third plural personal suffix in the perfective and the plural personal suffix in the imperative. In the former forms, the simplification is accompanied by the umlaut of the vowel of the initial syllable (see §2.5.1.2). The latter forms become $C_1aC_2C_2$-on in context; the other contextual forms resemble those of the III weak stem, e.g. (5.53). The feminine singular imperative is built upon the pattern $C_1aC_2C_2e$, e.g. (5.54).

(5.52) $qamwadin$ I will take (contextual)
(5.53) $qamwadén$ we will take (contextual)
(5.54) $qarre$ read (f.sg.)!

Table 60 illustrates the objective suffixes on the III weak $D$-stem perfective, using the verb waddi ~ waddi ($əmwaddi$).

Table 59: Personal Suffixes on the III-Weak $D$-Stem Verb

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Perfective</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
<th>Imperfective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3 sg m</td>
<td>$C_1aC_2.C_2$</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>$q-əm.C_1aC_2.C_2$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 sg f</td>
<td>$C_1aC_2.C_2$-$at$</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>$q-əm.C_1aC_2.y-ā$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 sg</td>
<td>$C_1aC_2.C_2$-$e$-$t$</td>
<td>$C_1aC_2.C_2C_3$</td>
<td>$q-əm.C_1aC_2.C_2$-$e$-$t$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 sg</td>
<td>$C_1aC_2.C_2$-$i$-$t$</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>$q-əm.C_1a.C_2i$-$nā$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 pl</td>
<td>$C_1a.C_2$-$yon$</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>$q-əm.C_1aC_2.C_2$-$en$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 pl</td>
<td>$C_1a.C_2$-$i$-$ton$</td>
<td>$C_1a.C_2C_3$-$yon$</td>
<td>$q-əm.C_1a.C_2$-$etton$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 pl</td>
<td>$C_1a.C_2$-$i$-$ni$</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>$q-əm.C_1a.C_2$-$enni$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The paradigm of the III weak $D$-stem perfective with object suffixes resembles that of the III weak $G$-stem perfective, with the exception of the vowel in the initial syllable. The root assumes the form

Table 60: The III-Weak $D$-Stem Perfective with Object Suffixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Verb + V-</th>
<th>Verb + C-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3 sg m</td>
<td>$C_1aC_2.i$-</td>
<td>wadi-$i$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 sg f</td>
<td>$C_1a.C_2i$-$t$-</td>
<td>wadi-$t$-$i$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 sg</td>
<td>$C_1a.C_2i$-$t$-</td>
<td>wadi-$t$-$i$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 sg</td>
<td>$C_1a.C_2i$-$t$-</td>
<td>wadi-$t$-$i$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 pl</td>
<td>$C_1a.C_2$-$on.n$-</td>
<td>wad-onn-$i$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 pl</td>
<td>$C_1a.C_2i$-$i$-$o.n$-</td>
<td>wadi-tonn-$i$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 pl</td>
<td>$C_1a.C_2i$-$i$-$n$-</td>
<td>wadi-$n$-$i$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
C₁aC₂C₂- or C₁aC₂i- depending upon whether it is immediately followed by a suffix with a vowel or a consonant (thus opening or closing the preceding syllable). The form of the personal suffixes and object suffixes remains consistent from paradigm to paradigm. Table 61 illustrates the paradigm of the D-stem imperative with object suffixes.

Table 61: The III-Weak D-Stem Imperative with Object Suffixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Verb + V-</th>
<th>Verb + C-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2 sg</td>
<td>C₁aC₂-</td>
<td>wad-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 pl</td>
<td>C₁a.C₂-on.n-</td>
<td>wad-onn-i</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note that the masculine and feminine forms of the imperative merge before object suffixes. Note also that the vowel of the root is subjected to umlaut in the forms in which the geminated radical is simplified and followed by the vowel /i/. Table 62 illustrates the paradigm of the D-stem imperfective with object suffixes.

Table 62: The III-Weak D-Stem Imperfective w/ Object Suffixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Verb + V-</th>
<th>Verb + C-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3 sg m</td>
<td>q-ǝmC₁a.C₂j-i-l-</td>
<td>q-ǝmC₁a.C₂j-i-l-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 sg f</td>
<td>q-ǝmC₁aC₂.y-ál-</td>
<td>q-ǝmC₁aC₂.y-ál-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 sg</td>
<td>q-ǝmC₁a.C₂-át-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 sg</td>
<td>q-ǝmC₁a.C₂i-n-</td>
<td>q-ǝmC₁a.C₂i-nā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 pl</td>
<td>q-ǝmC₁aC₂e-l-l-</td>
<td>q-ǝmC₁aC₂e-l-l-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 pl</td>
<td>q-ǝmC₁aC₂-ton.n-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 pl</td>
<td>q-ǝmC₁aC₂-nann-</td>
<td>q-ǝmC₁aC₂-nann-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Q-Stem

The quadriradical verbs attested in Neo-Mandaic are primarily built upon roots derived from other languages. This category includes a number of fairly common verbs, such as andeš ~ andeš (mandeš) ‘to think, worry’ (Persian) and pardas ~ pardas (ĕmpardas) ‘to be finished’ (Persian). There are also a small number of originally Mandaic verbs, such as bašqer ~ bašqer (ĕmbašqer) ‘to know;’ this verb originally meant ‘to examine’ in Classical Mandaic, and appears to be related to the root b-q-r ‘to enter into; examine.’

The vowel pattern of the Q-stem is identical to that of the D-stem in all tenses, aspects, and moods, but unlike that of the D-stem, the vowel of the second syllable of the Q-stem never reduces before vocalic suffixes.

Perfective and Imperative Forms of the Q-Stem Verb

The Q-stem of the perfective and imperfective remains fairly stable throughout the conjugation of the verb. Without suffixes or before suffixes which begin with consonants, the stem assumes the pattern C₁aC₂C₃eC₄, or, in the case of pardas ~ pardas (ĕmpardas), C₁aC₂C₃aC₄. The lax vowel in the second syllable of the root is generally lengthened to its tense equivalent whenever the syllable becomes open and stressed, yielding the pattern C₁aC₂C₃iC₄, e.g. (5.55). The root pardas ~ pardas (ĕmpardas) has succumbed to paradigmatic pressure, yielding the form pardis- rather than the expected **pardin-, e.g. (5.56).

(5.55) andišit I thought, was concerned
(5.56) pardisit I was finished

When the negative morpheme lá- is prefixed to the root andeš, the vowel is elided, just as it is elided before the I-weak verbal roots (see §2.5.5.3). Note also that the presence of a syllable-closing /r/ results in the opening of the vowel /e/ to /a/ in stressed syllables, as outlined in §2.5.1.3, e.g. (5.57).

178 The new root is possibly derived from a metanalysis of the šaph'eI form of the stem after the metathesis of the causative morpheme and the initial consonant of the root. For the šaph'eI in Classical Mandaic, see Macuch, *Handbook*, 248.
5.1 The Structure of the Verb

The Structure of the Verb

Q-Stem Indicative and Subjunctive

Participles derived from the quadriradical verbs assume the form C₁aC₂.C₃eC₄CeC. The indicative morpheme q- is generally prefixed to the participle, e.g. (5.58). I-weak quadriradical verbs such as andeš ~ andeš (mandeš) ‘to be worried’ formally resembles the C-stem of a strong triradical root (see §5.1.1.3).

(5.57) bašqarni we knew
(5.58) qambašqarnā I know
(5.59) mandeš worried

The subjunctive is identical to the contextual of the imperfective, without the indicative morpheme. The absence of open syllables precludes any of the vowels from being reduced, as they are in the subjunctive of the strong triradical roots.

Table 63 illustrates the forms of the personal suffixes on the perfective, imperfective, and imperative of the quadriradical verbs.

Table 63: Personal Suffixes on Quadriradical Verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Perfective</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
<th>Imperfective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3 sg m</td>
<td>C₁aC₂.C₃eC₄</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>q-om.C₁aC₂.C₃eC₄</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 sg f</td>
<td>C₁aC₂.C₃i.C₄-at</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>q-om.C₁aC₂.C₃i.C₄-ā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 sg</td>
<td>C₁aC₂.C₃i.C₄-it</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>q-om.C₁aC₂.C₃eC₄-nā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 pl</td>
<td>C₁aC₂.C₃eC₄-ni</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>q-om.C₁aC₂.C₃eC₄-enni</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Much like the personal suffixes found on the strong verb and the III-weak verbs, these personal suffixes also have contextual forms, which are used most commonly before complements. The contextual form of the third plural perfective and the third plural imperative personal suffixes is -on, e.g. (5.60). The contextual form of the first person singular of the imperfective dispenses with the suffix entirely, e.g. (5.62), and the contextual form of the first person plural suffix of the imperfective -én, e.g. (5.64). Note that these forms are easily distinguished from the analogous third person forms, in the paradigm
of the verb \( \text{bašqer} \sim \text{bašqer} (\text{embašqer}) \) ‘to know,’ e.g. (5.61) and (5.63).

(5.60) \( \text{bašqiron} \) they knew; know (pl.)!
(5.61) \( \text{qembašqer} \) he knows
(5.62) \( \text{qembašqar} \) I know (contextual)
(5.63) \( \text{qembašqiren} \) they know
(5.64) \( \text{qembašqerén} \) we know (contextual)

**The Quadriradical Verb with Object Suffixes**

The quadriradical verb behaves much like the strong verb before object suffixes. The stem of the verb remains stable throughout the paradigm, the only variation occurring in the second syllable of the stem, the vowel of which becomes tense whenever that syllable becomes open and stressed.

**The C-Stem**

The C-stem or causative stem, also known as the Aphel, comprises a large number of verbal roots, including those that also occur as G-stem verbs and those that do not occur in any other stem. The verbal roots attested within the C-stem are transitive, as illustrated in Table 64.

**Table 64: C-Stem Verbs**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>(Root)</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>abğeş ~ abğeş</td>
<td>(mabğeş)</td>
<td>to stop (trans.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aḥbi ~ aḥbi</td>
<td>(maḥbi)</td>
<td>to keep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aḥreḇ ~ aḥreḇ</td>
<td>(mahreḇ)</td>
<td>to destroy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amṭi ~ amṭi</td>
<td>(mamṭi)</td>
<td>to bring</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>andi ~ andi</td>
<td>(mandi)</td>
<td>to shake (trans.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anheṭ ~ anheṭ</td>
<td>(manheṭ)</td>
<td>to bring down</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>asreḵ ~ asreḵ</td>
<td>(masreḵ)</td>
<td>to light</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>atti ~ atti</td>
<td>(matti)</td>
<td>to bring</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ayhem ~ ayhem</td>
<td>(mayhem)</td>
<td>to seat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aymı ~ aymı</td>
<td>(maymı)</td>
<td>to promise</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The primary morphological characteristics of the C-stem are the gemination of the middle radical and the vowel pattern \( aC_1C_2eC_3 \) in both the perfective and imperative; note that these two forms are
identical, e.g. the D- and the Q-stems. The imperfective is formed on the pattern maC₁C₂eC₃.

**G-Stem and C-Stem Verbs**

Verbal roots that appear in the C-stem as well as the G-stem are distinguished from their G-stem equivalents semantically, as illustrated in Table 65.

**Table 65: G-Stem Roots with C-Stem Equivalents**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>G-Stem</th>
<th>C-Stem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aṭā ~ ḏoti (āṭi)</td>
<td>atṭi ~ atṭi (matti)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baḡeš ~ baḡoš (bāḡeš)</td>
<td>abḡeš ~ abḡeš (mabḡeš)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hāreḇ ~ hāroḥ (hāreḇ)</td>
<td>ahreḇ ~ ahreḇ (mahreḇ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>māṭi ~ māṭi (māṭi)</td>
<td>amṭi ~ amṭi (mamṭi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nādā ~ nādi (nādī)</td>
<td>andi ~ andi (mandi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qam ~ qom (qāyem)</td>
<td>aqqem ~ aqqem (maqqem)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yāḥem ~ yāḥom (yāḥem)</td>
<td>ayḥem ~ ayḥem (mayḥem)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yāmā ~ yāmi (yāmī)</td>
<td>aymī ~ aymī (maymī)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In each case, with the exception of the last, the C-stem is the causative equivalent of the G-stem, as illustrated in examples (5.65) to (5.68). The final verb, aymī ~ aymī (maymī) ‘to promise,’ illustrated in examples (5.69) and (5.70), is also found in the C-stem with the meaning ‘to adjure’ in Classical Mandaic, although the initial consonant of the root becomes /w/ in the C-stem, not /j/.

179 E.g. maumina ‘I adjure;’ see Nöldeke, *Mandäische Grammatik*, 246.
(5.67) *mē-ôn qār ahl-ān=d-u*
arrive.PFV-3PL at family-PL=of=3PL
They arrived at their families’ homes. (IV.113)

(5.68) *amty-o=u qār yāhem Œmšuni Kušṭā*
arrive.C.PFV-3SG.M=3PL to sit PASS.PTC PN
He brought them to a settling place in Œmšuni Kušṭā. (IV.144)

(5.69) *yāmā-o Čečāwā bā=rāz-ā d=kasy-ā*
swear.PFV-3SG.M PN on=secret-AUG of=private-AUG
Čečāwā swore upon the private secret. (IV.121)

(5.70) *qē=maymi-n=aχ an at-it*
IND=swear.C.IPFV-1SG=2SG.M 1SG come.PFV-1SG
I promise you, I came

*ekkā gāw ḥammām*
thus in hammam
like this to the hammam. (VIII.18)

The form of the I-Y participles in the C-stem, which are not directly inherited from Classical Mandaic but rather reformed on the analogy of the strong verb, suggest that this stem continues to be productive in Neo-Mandaic, rather than a purely lexical phenomenon.

**Inflected Forms of the Strong C-Stem**

As noted above, the past and present stems of the C-stem verb are identical, and the participles are formed with the derivational morpheme *m*-.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 66: Personal Suffixes on the Strong C-Stem Verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 sg m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 sg f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 sg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 sg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 pl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 pl</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The stem remains fairly stable throughout the paradigm; the feminine participle, upon which the third feminine singular imperfective is based, assumes the form maCCiCā; the plural participle, which is the basis for the plural form, maCCiCen, becomes maCCaCen- when the accent moves from the second syllable of the stem. The C-stem of strong roots does not distinguish between masculine and feminine forms of the singular imperative, like the D-stem of strong roots but unlike the G-stem of strong roots. In this particular verb, the final radical of the root assimilates in voice to the the consonant that immediately follows it, e.g. ahreβton [ah'refton] ‘you destroyed.’

As with these other stems, some of the personal suffixes have contextual forms. The contextual form of the third plural perfective and the plural imperative personal suffixes is -on, e.g. (5.71). Unlike the G-stem, the contextual forms of the first person singular (5.73) and plural (5.75) of the imperfective do not fall together with the third person singular (5.72) and plural (5.74).

(5.71) ahreβon they destroyed; destroy (pl.)!
(5.72) qemahreβ he destroys
(5.73) qemahremen I destroy (contextual)
(5.74) qemahreiben they destroy
(5.75) qemahrẹbẹn we destroy (contextual)

Table 67 illustrates the object suffixes on the strong C-stem perfective using the verb ahreβ ~ ahreβ (mahreβ) ‘to destroy.’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Verb + -V / -VC</th>
<th>Verb + CVC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3 sg m</td>
<td>aC₁.C₂eC₃-t-</td>
<td>ahreβ-t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 sg f</td>
<td>aC₁.C₂eC₃-t-</td>
<td>ahreβ-t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 sg</td>
<td>aC₁.C₂eC₃-t-</td>
<td>ahreβ-t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 sg</td>
<td>aC₁.C₂eC₃-t-</td>
<td>ahreβ-t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 pl</td>
<td>aC₁.C₂eC₃-on.n-</td>
<td>ahreβ-onn-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 pl</td>
<td>aC₁.C₂eC₃-on.n-</td>
<td>ahreβ-tonn-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 pl</td>
<td>aC₁.C₂eC₃-n-</td>
<td>ahreβ-n-i</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

180 The /n/ of the first person suffix is usually preserved in the C-stem contextual forms; e.g. qemabẹgẹssẹn ‘I stopped.’
The paradigm of the $C$-stem perfective with object suffixes resembles that of the $G$-stem perfective with object suffixes; while the stem takes the form $aC_1C_2iC_3$- whenever the second syllable is open and accented, the form of the personal suffixes and object suffixes remains consistent from paradigm to paradigm. Table 68 illustrates the paradigm of the $C$-stem imperative with object suffixes.

**Table 68: The Strong C-Stem Imperative with Object Suffixes**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Verb + V-</th>
<th>aC₁.C₂i.C₃ -</th>
<th>ahrib-i</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td></td>
<td>aC₁.C₂a.C₃,on.n-</td>
<td>ahrab-onn-i</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note that there is no distinction between the masculine and feminine forms of the imperative in the $C$-stem. Table 69 illustrates the paradigm of the $C$-stem imperfective with object suffixes.

**Table 69: The Strong C-Stem Imperfective with Object Suffixes**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Verb + -V / -VC</th>
<th>Verb + CVC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3 sg m</td>
<td>$qə$-maC₁.C₂eC₃-</td>
<td>$qə$-maC₁.C₂eC₃-l₇-n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$qə$-mahreḇ-l-i</td>
<td>$qə$-maḥreḇ-l₇-kon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 sg f</td>
<td>$qə$-maC₁.C₂a.C₃-</td>
<td>$qə$-maC₁.C₂a.C₃-ā I-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$qə$-maḥreḇ-ā-l-i</td>
<td>$qə$-maḥreḇ-ā-l-kon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 sg</td>
<td>$qə$-maC₁.C₂a.C₃-ā It</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$qə$-maḥreḇ-āt-I</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 sg</td>
<td>$qə$-maC₁.C₂eC₃-</td>
<td>$qə$-maC₁.C₂eC₃-n₇</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$qə$-mahreḇ-n-I</td>
<td>$qə$-maḥreḇ-n-I-kon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$qə$-maḥreḇ-əl-l-I</td>
<td>$qə$-maḥreḇ-əl-kon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 pl</td>
<td>$qə$-maC₁.C₂eC₃-ton.n-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$qə$-maḥreḇ-tonn-I</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 pl</td>
<td>$qə$-maC₁.C₂eC₃-nann-</td>
<td>$qə$-maC₁.C₂eC₃-nan-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$qə$-maḥreḇ-nann-I</td>
<td>$qə$-maḥreḇ-nan-kon</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Inflected Forms of the I-Weak C-Stem Verb

The paradigm of I-weak verbal roots in the C-stem has fallen together with that of the D-stem. Whenever the accent falls on a syllable containing a lax vowel, like the initial syllable of the strong verbal roots in the C-stem, the onset of the following syllable is geminated (which corresponds to the second root consonant) and the accented syllable becomes closed (see §2.4.4.2). As the accent shifts, the gemination is lost (see §2.6.2.1), just as it is in the D-stem.

The only example of a I-weak verb in the C-stem attested in the texts, *atti ~ atti* (matti) ‘to bring,’ is doubly weak, and will be discussed below with the III-weak verbs.

Inflected Forms of the II-Weak and Geminate C-Stem Verb

Those verbal roots with semivowels as their middle radical, which become monosyllabic throughout most of their G-stem paradigms, resemble the I-weak verbs in their conjugation, e.g. *aqqem ~ aqqem (maqqem) ‘to raise,’ from qam ~ qom (qāyem) ‘to stand.’ When the stress falls upon the initial syllable, which contains a lax vowel, the onset of the following syllable (here corresponding to the first root consonant rather than the second root consonant) is geminated and the accented syllable becomes closed. When stress moves away from the initial syllable of the root, the gemination is lost. No examples of geminate verbs were attested in the C-stem.

Inflected Forms of the III-Weak C-Stem Verb

III-weak verbal roots behave much as they do in the G-stem; the vowel of the second syllable, /i/, is preserved before suffixes that begin with a consonant but elided before suffixes beginning with a vowel. Table 70 illustrates the paradigm of the personal suffixes on the III-weak C-stem verb.
Table 70: Personal Suffixes on the III-Weak C-Stem Verb

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Perfective</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
<th>Imperfective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3 sg m</td>
<td>aC₁.C₂i</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>qa·maC₁.C₂i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 sg f</td>
<td>aC₁.C₂-at</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>qa·maC₁.C₂-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 sg</td>
<td>aC₁.C₂-e-t</td>
<td>aC₁.C₂i</td>
<td>qa·maC₁.C₂-ét</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 sg</td>
<td>aC₁.C₂-it</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>qa·maC₁.C₂-iₙā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 pl</td>
<td>aC₁.eC₂-yon</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>qa·maC₁.C₂-en</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 pl</td>
<td>aC₁.eC₂-ton</td>
<td>aCeC-yon</td>
<td>qa·maC₁.C₂-etton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 pl</td>
<td>aC₁.eC₂-ni</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>qa·maC₁.C₂-enni</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note the two chief allomorphs of the stem, aCeC- before personal suffixes beginning with consonants, and aCC- before those beginning with vowels. Like III-weak verbs in the D-stem, III-weak verbs in the C-stem distinguish between masculine and feminine forms of the imperative; the feminine imperative has the form aCCe, e.g. aḥbe put away (f.sg.)! The contextual forms of the third plural perfective and the plural imperative are identical to their lexical forms. The contextual form of the first singular imperfective (5.76) is distinguished from the third singular imperfective (5.76), but the third plural imperfective (5.78) and the contextual form of the first plural imperfective (5.79) are distinguished by accent alone, as in the G-stem.

(5.76) qa·mahbi he keeps
(5.77) qa·mahbin I keep (contextual)
(5.78) qa·mahben they keep
(5.79) qa·mahben we keep (contextual)

Table 71 illustrates the objective suffixes on the perfective of the III-weak C-stem verb aḥbi ~ aḥbi (mahbi) ‘to keep.’

Table 71: The III-Weak C-Stem Perfective with Object Suffixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Verb + -V / -VC</th>
<th>Verb + l- or CVC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3 sg m</td>
<td>aC₁.C₂-ahb-i</td>
<td>aC₁.C₂-ahbi-kon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 sg f</td>
<td>aC₁.eC₂-t-ahb-t-i</td>
<td>aC₁.eC₂-t-ahb-t-kon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 sg</td>
<td>aC₁.eC₂-ahb-t-i</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 sg</td>
<td>aC₁.eC₂-ahb-t-i</td>
<td>aC₁.eC₂-ahb-t-kon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 pl</td>
<td>aC₁.C₂-ahb-oon-i</td>
<td>aC₁.C₂-ahb-oon-kon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 pl</td>
<td>aC₁.eC₂-ahb-tonn-i</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 pl</td>
<td>aC₁.eC₂-ahb-n-i</td>
<td>aC₁.eC₂-ahb-n-kon</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The III-weak C-stem perfective is distinguished by several traits. The first is the elision of the final vowel of the third masculine singular form before the third masculine singular object suffix,\(^{181}\) with the result that it resembles the bare stem of the third masculine singular form. The second is the insertion of an anaptyctic vowel between the last two root consonants before suffixes beginning with a consonant, thus preventing a cluster from forming, and giving much of the paradigm (with the exception of the third masculine singular form) the appearance of a I-weak D-stem perfective.

The C-stem verb \textit{atti} \sim \textit{att}i (matt\text{ī}) ‘to bring,’ which also has a weak first radical, also resembles the D-stem in the perfective. It is illustrated with the object suffixes in Table 72.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Verb + V / -VC</th>
<th>Verb + l- or CVC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3 sg m</td>
<td>a.C(_2)i-</td>
<td>att-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 sg f</td>
<td>a.C(_2)i-t-</td>
<td>att-i-t-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 sg</td>
<td>a.C(_2)i-t-</td>
<td>att-i-t-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 sg</td>
<td>a.C(_2)i-t-</td>
<td>att-i-t-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 pl</td>
<td>a.C(_2)-on.n-</td>
<td>at-onn-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 pl</td>
<td>a.C(_2)-ton.n-</td>
<td>at-tonn-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 pl</td>
<td>a.C(_2)-n-</td>
<td>ati-n-i</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As a result of the simplification of the geminated consonant, the paradigms of the C-stem verb \textit{atti} \sim \textit{att}i (matt\text{ī}) ‘to bring’ resembles that of the G-stem verb \textit{at\text{ā}} \sim \textit{ati} (\text{ā}ti) ‘to come’ before the object suffixes; fortunately the latter does not take object suffixes, and therefore no semantic confusion between the two is possible. Table 73 illustrates the paradigm of the C-stem imperative with object suffixes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Verb + V-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2 sg</td>
<td>aC(_1).C(_2)-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 pl</td>
<td>aC(_1).C(_2)-on.n-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{181}\) But not, apparently, before the third masculine plural suffix; e.g. \textit{amtyu} ‘he brought them’ (IV.144).
Note that the feminine and the masculine forms of the singular imperative merge before the object suffixes. The paradigm of the imperative of the doubly weak verb *atti ~ atti (matti)* with object suffixes is given in Table 74.

**Table 74: Imperative of *atti ~ atti (matti)* with Object Suffixes**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Verb + V-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2 sg</td>
<td>a.C₂-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 pl</td>
<td>a.C₂-on.n-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 75 illustrates the paradigm of the C-stem imperfective with object suffixes.

**Table 75: The III-Weak C-Stem Imperfective w/ Object Suffixes**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Verb + -V / -VC</th>
<th>Verb + CVC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3 sg m</td>
<td><em>qɔ</em>-ma.C₁eC₂-l-</td>
<td><em>qɔ</em>-ma.C₁eC₂-l-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>qɔ</em>-maḥeb-l-ı</td>
<td><em>qɔ</em>-maḥeb-l-ı-kon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 sg f</td>
<td><em>qɔ</em>-maC₁,C₂-ā-l-</td>
<td><em>qɔ</em>-maC₁,C₂-ā-l-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>qɔ</em>-maḥ́-ā-l-ı</td>
<td><em>qɔ</em>-maḥ́-ā-l-ı-kon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 sg</td>
<td><em>qɔ</em>-maC₁,C₂-āt-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>qɔ</em>-maḥ́-āt-ı</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 sg</td>
<td><em>qɔ</em>-ma.C₁e,C₂-n-</td>
<td><em>qɔ</em>-ma.C₁e,C₂-n-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>qɔ</em>-maḥeb-n-ı</td>
<td><em>qɔ</em>-maḥeb-nā-kon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 pl</td>
<td><em>qɔ</em>-maC₁,C₂-él-</td>
<td><em>qɔ</em>-maC₁,C₂-él-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>qɔ</em>-maḥ́-él-ì</td>
<td><em>qɔ</em>-maḥ́-él-ì-kon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 pl</td>
<td><em>qɔ</em>-ma.C₁eC₂-ton.n-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>qɔ</em>-maḥeb-tonn-ı</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 pl</td>
<td><em>qɔ</em>-ma.C₁eC₂-nann-</td>
<td><em>qɔ</em>-ma.C₁eC₂-nann-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>qɔ</em>-maḥeb-nann-ı</td>
<td><em>qɔ</em>-maḥeb-nان-kon</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Once again, the final vowel is elided before personal suffixes, and an anaptyctic vowel is inserted between the first and the second radical, giving the verb the appearance of a I-weak D-stem verb.

Table 76 illustrates the C-stem imperfective paradigm of *atti ~ atti (matti)* with object suffixes. Note again the resemblance to the paradigm of the D-stem imperfective.
Table 76: Imperfective of *atti* ~ *atti* (*mati*) with Object Suffixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Verb + -V / -VC</th>
<th>Verb + l- or CVC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3 sg m</td>
<td>qa-ma.C₂₁-l-</td>
<td>qa-ma.C₂₁-l-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 sg</td>
<td>qa-ma.C₂-āt-</td>
<td>qa-ma-āt-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 sg</td>
<td>qa-ma.C₂₁-n-</td>
<td>qa-mañi-n-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 pl</td>
<td>qa-ma.C₂-ēl-</td>
<td>qa-mañēl-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 pl</td>
<td>qa-ma.C₂₁-ton.n-</td>
<td>qa-mañi-tonn-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 pl</td>
<td>qa-ma.C₂₁-n-</td>
<td>qa-mañi-n-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Reflexive Stems

The so-called “reflexive” stems were originally formed with a derivational morpheme *-t*, which was prefixed to the root of the verb. This derivational morpheme was metathesized with the following radical whenever the root began with a sibilant, e.g. *eštallem* ~ *eštallem* (*meštallem*) ‘to be baptized.’ In all other roots, the derivational morpheme remained in its position before the root and subsequently succumbed to oral depletion (see §2.5.4.2).

Table 77: tG-Stem Verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tG-Stem</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Stem Type</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>ehṭer</em> ~ <em>ehṭer</em></td>
<td>(meḥṭer)</td>
<td>to be pleased (from <em>h-t-r</em> ‘to rejoice’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>epseq</em> ~ <em>epseq</em></td>
<td>(mepeq)</td>
<td>to become extinct, lit. to be cut off</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ešṭābā</em> ~ <em>ešṭābī</em></td>
<td>(mešṭābī)</td>
<td>to be baptized</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>etḥer</em> ~ <em>etḥer</em></td>
<td>(meṭḥer)</td>
<td>to break (intrans.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The tG-stem verbs resemble those in the C-stem, save for the forms in which the derivational morpheme has been preserved. For the majority of verbs (i.e. those in which the morpheme has been lost), the vowel pattern is eC₁C₂eC₃ in both the perfective and the imperative of the tG-stem. The participle derived from this root is built on the pattern meC₁C₂eC₃.

The tD-stem survives in two verbs, *kammar* ~ *kammar* (*mekammar*) ‘to turn back’ and *barrak* ~ *barrak* (*mebarrak*) ‘to pray.’ The vowel of the final syllable and the form of the

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182 Macuch (Neumandäische Texte, 65) also sites this verb, in addition to one other, *eštallem* ~ *eštallem* (*meštallem*) ‘to be welcome,’ as examples of tD-
derivational morpheme *me*- set this verb apart from the regular *D*-stem paradigm. The *tC*-stem is also represented, albeit only by a single unambiguous example, *etaqlab* ~ *etaqlab* (*metaqlab*) ‘to turn around’ (originally from Arabic). In addition, the verb *ettar* ~ *ettar* (*mettar*) ‘to wake up’ may also belong to the *tC*-stem. Macuch classifies this verb as a *tC*-stem verb due to the pattern of its vowels and cognate forms in other Aramaic languages, e.g. Syriac *אֵתְתַעְר* ‘to wake up.’ Unfortunately, this root is not attested in Classical Mandaic, but a secondary root (presumably derived from the original *tC*-stem) is attested in the *G*-stem, ‘*tar* ~ ‘*tar* (*atir*)’ ‘to wake up.’ Consequently, it is not clear whether *ettar* ~ *ettar* (*mettar*) ‘to wake up’ is a *tG*-stem form derived from the secondary root or a *tC*-stem form derived from the original root, which is unattested in Classical Mandaic.

The lack of other examples of *tD*- and *tC*-stem verbs can just as easily be attributed to the small size of the material collected as the obsolescence of these particular stems. Pending further research, their paradigms will not be reproduced.

G-Stem and *tG*-Stem Verbs

Verbal roots that appear in the *tG*-stem as well as the *G*-stem are distinguished from their *G*-stem equivalents semantically, as illustrated in Table 78.

Table 78: *G*-Stem Roots with *tG*-Stem Equivalents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><em>G</em>-Stem</th>
<th><em>tG</em>-Stem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>pasaq</em> ~ <em>pasoq</em> (<em>pāseq</em>) to cut</td>
<td><em>epseq</em> ~ <em>epseq</em> (<em>mepseq</em>) to die out</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>šōbā</em> ~ <em>šōbi</em> (<em>šābi</em>) to baptize (trans.)</td>
<td><em>ešṭōbā</em> ~ <em>ešṭōbi</em> (<em>mešṭōbi</em>) to baptize (intr.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tōbar</em> ~ <em>tōhor</em> (<em>tāḥer</em>) to break (trans.)</td>
<td><em>eṭhēr</em> ~ <em>eṭhēr</em> (<em>methēr</em>) to break (intr.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


---

stem verbs in the Neo-Mandaic dialect of Ahwāz. The latter verb was not known to my chief informant.

Macuch, *Neumandäische Texte*, 65–66. Macuch also cites this verb and an additional verb, *etarraq* ~ *etarraq* (*metarraq*) ‘to be poured,’ as examples of the *tC*-stem. The latter was not recognized by my chief informant.

Macuch, *Neumandäische Texte*, 76.
Contrary to Macuch’s observations, the tG-stem primarily expresses the middle voice, not the reflexive, of the G-stem, as examples (5.80) and (5.81) demonstrate. Note that the grammatical subject of the verb in (5.81) is both the agent of the action described by the verb (the baptizers) as well as the patient (the baptized), thus eliminating the distinction between these two. As a result, translations of verbs in this stem have ranged from the reflexive (e.g. they baptized themselves) to the passive (e.g. they were baptized). Neither truly captures the sense of this stem; note that the impersonal passive (§5.4.3.2), which is the most productive form of the passive in Neo-Mandaic, implies an agent, even though the role of the agent is downplayed, e.g. (5.82).

(5.80)  Hibēl Ziwā  ṣābi-o=ọ  ọl=Ādam
PN  baptize.PFV-3SG.M=3SG.M  REF=PN
Hibēl Ziwā baptized Ādam. (I.9)

(5.81)  estōb-yon  gāw  napš  mašbett-ā
baptize.tG.PFV-3PL  in  same  baptism-AUG
They baptized according to the same baptism ceremony
illi  əštā  qo=mešṭāb-ēn  gāww-a
REL  now  IND=baptize.tG.IPFV-1PL  in-3SG.F
with which we baptize today. (I.10)

(5.82)  ṣōbonni  he was baptized (lit. ‘they baptized him’)

Text IX also provides a textbook example of a verb in the middle voice:

(5.83)  etber-ọ
break.tC.PFV-3SG.M
A piece broke off of it. (IX.12)

Inflected Forms of the Strong Reflexive Stem Verbs

Due to the fact that only a limited number of examples of the other so-called “reflexive” stems are thus far attested in the Neo-Mandaic dialect of Khorramshahr, the forms given in this section will represent the $tG$-stem alone. Table 79 illustrates the personal suffixes found on the perfective, the imperative, and the imperfective.

Table 79: Personal Suffixes on the Strong $tG$-Stem Verb

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Perfective</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
<th>Imperfective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3 sg m</td>
<td>eC₁,C₂eC₃</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>qœ-meC₁,C₂eC₃</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 sg f</td>
<td>e.C₁eC₂,C₃-at</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>qœ-mC₁eC₂,C₃-ā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 sg</td>
<td>eC₁,C₂eC₃-t</td>
<td>eC₁,C₂eC₃</td>
<td>qœ-mC₁eC₂,C₃-et</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 sg</td>
<td>e.C₁eC₂,C₂-it</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>qœ-meC₁,C₂eC₃-nā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 pl</td>
<td>eC₁,C₂eC₃-yon</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>qœ-mC₁eC₂,C₃-en</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 pl</td>
<td>eC₁,C₂eC₃-ton</td>
<td>eC₁,C₂eC₃-yon</td>
<td>qœ-mC₁eC₂,C₃-etton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 pl</td>
<td>eC₁,C₂eC₃-ni</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>qœ-mC₁eC₂,C₃-enni</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The perfective and imperative of the $tG$-stem verb are identical, and the participles are formed with the derivational morpheme $m$-. Note that the accent is usually retained on the initial syllable of the stem, with the result that the vowel of the second syllable is not lengthened as it is in the $Q$-stem. The $tG$-stem of strong roots does not distinguish between masculine and feminine forms of the singular imperative, like the other derived stems of strong roots.

As in the other stems of the verb, some of the personal suffixes have contextual forms, which are used most commonly before complements. The contextual form of the third plural perfective personal suffix and the plural imperative personal suffix is -on. The contextual form of the first singular form of the imperfective is distinguished from that of the third masculine singular only by accent, as are the contextual forms of the first plural and the third plural forms of the imperfective. The subjunctive is derived from the imperfective without the indicative marker.

As the $tG$-stem represents the middle voice, verbs in this stem do not appear with object suffixes.
The Verb ‘To Baptize’

The only verb attested in the reflexive stems with a weak radical also happens to be one of a small number of verbs to preserve the derivational morpheme t- (another, observed by Macuch but not attested in the Neo-Mandaic dialect of Khorramshahr, is the verb eštallam ~ eštallam (meštallam) ‘to be welcome’). Table 80 illustrates the personal suffixes found on the perfective, the imperative, the imperfective of the verb eštobā ~ eštobi (meštobi) ‘to baptize (intr.).’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Perfective</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
<th>Imperfective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3 sg m</td>
<td>eštobā</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>qa-meštobi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 sg f</td>
<td>eštob-at</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>qa-meštob-ā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 sg</td>
<td>eštob-et</td>
<td>eštobi</td>
<td>qa-meštob-et</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 sg</td>
<td>eštob-it</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>qa-meštob-nā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 pl</td>
<td>eštob-yon</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>qa-meštob-en</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 pl</td>
<td>eštob-ton</td>
<td>eštob-yon</td>
<td>qa-meštob-etton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 pl</td>
<td>eštob-ni</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>qa-meštob-enni</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Naturally, several of the forms given in this paradigm also appear in contextual forms. The contextual form of the third plural perfective personal suffix and the plural imperative personal suffix is -on. The contextual form of the first singular form of the imperfective is distinguished from that of the third masculine singular only by accent, as are the contextual forms of the first plural and the third plural forms of the imperfective. The subjunctive is derived from the imperfective without the indicative marker.

The verb eštobā ~ eštobi (meštobi) ‘to baptize (intr.)’ does not take object suffixes.

5.1.1.4 Verb Category Classes

Neo-Mandaic verbs can be classified as lexical verbs, phrasal verbs, copular verbs, auxiliary verbs, and modal verbs according to their meaning and syntactic function.
Lexical Verbs

Lexical verbs (or main verbs) compose the largest category of verbs in the Neo-Mandaic lexicon. Unlike phrasal verbs, the meaning of the verb is derived entirely from the verb itself, which constitutes the minimal predicate of the clause. The morphology of the lexical verb is described in sections §5.1.1.1 through §5.1.1.3. Further examples of the lexical verb are given in (5.84) and (5.85).

\[(5.84) \quad \text{bōdq-} \bar ϐ = \bar o \quad \text{al=karāy=} \bar i \quad \text{tu} \bar f = i \]
\[
\text{put.PFV-3SG.M=3SG.F} \quad \text{REF=leg=3SG.M} \quad \text{under=3SG.M}
\]
He stuck his leg beneath him. (VII.2)

\[(5.85) \quad \text{hāfe} \quad \text{horet-t-ā} \quad \text{atā-} \bar o \quad \text{Joḥa}
\quad \text{week} \quad \text{other-F-AUG} \quad \text{come.PFV-3SG.M} \quad \text{PN}
\]
Joha came the following week. (X.9)

Phrasal Verbs

Phrasal verbs, which compose a very large and productive class of verbs in Neo-Mandaic, consist of a verbal element and a non-verbal element, which form a single semantic and syntactic unit. The non-verbal element is most often a noun such as ʾēdād ‘deed,’ e.g. the compound ʾēdād ʾāhad ~ ʾāhod (ābed) ‘to work or to do something,’ or an adjective such as ḥāyānā ‘alive,’ e.g. the compound ḥāyānā tammā ‘to survive,’ although prepositions such as qār ‘at,’ e.g. the compound qār tammā ‘to be born to s.o.,’ are attested.

Although phrasal verbs are attested in Classical Mandaic, most Neo-Mandaic phrasal verbs are calqued upon Persian phrasal verbs, and most non-verbal elements are Persian or Arabic loan words. Even those phrasal verbs attested in Classical Mandaic have not escaped the influence of the Persian compounds. Compare the Classical Mandaic phrasal verb in (5.86) with the Neo-Mandaic phrasal verb in (5.87), which has probably been influenced by the Persian phrasal verb in (5.88).

\[(5.86) \quad \text{ziπa abid} \quad \text{he lies (lit. he lie-does)}
\]
\[(5.87) \quad \text{ziπ qāheb} \quad \text{he lies (lit. he lie-gives)}
\]
\[(5.88) \quad \text{ferib midehad} \quad \text{he lies (lit. he lie-gives)}
\]
In many phrasal verbs, the verbal element is a “light” verb, which serves only to indicate verbal inflections such as person, tense, mood, and aspect; the meaning of these compounds is primarily derived from the non-verbal element. The most common light verbs are ʰbad ~ ʰbud (עבד) ‘to do,’ ʰhab ~ ʰhoθ (עיהב) ‘to give,’ ʰmāh ~ ʰmiθ (]string‘to hit,’ and tammā ‘to become,’ which closely correspond to the Persian light verbs kardan, dādan, zadan, and šodan. Other phrasal verbs are formed when a generic or non-specific noun becomes incorporated into meaning of the verb and ceases to be treated as its grammatical patient. The non-verbal element always precedes the verbal element.

Table 81: Some Examples of Phrasal Verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Main or Light Verb</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Phrasal Verb</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ʰbad ~ ʰbud (עבד)</td>
<td>to do</td>
<td>ʰhitr ʰbad ~ ʰbud (עבד)</td>
<td>to celebrate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʰhab ~ ʰhoθ (עיהב)</td>
<td>to give</td>
<td>ʰsubāh ʰhab ~ ʰhoθ (עיהב)</td>
<td>to say good morning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʰmāh ~ ʰmiθ (]string</td>
<td>to say</td>
<td>ʰfārwh ʰmāh ~ ʰmiθ (]string</td>
<td>to thank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʰaṭa ~ ḍoṭi (זית)</td>
<td>to come</td>
<td>ʰwayeq ʰaṭa ~ ḍoṭi (זיית)</td>
<td>to become distressed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʰboqeś ~ ʰboqos (בגשות)</td>
<td>to stand</td>
<td>ʰbandi ʰboqeś ~ ʰboqos (בגשות)</td>
<td>to confine oneself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʰmar ~ ʰmiθ (]string</td>
<td>to take</td>
<td>ʰḥammām ʰmar ~ ʰmiθ (]string</td>
<td>to bathe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʰezgā ~ ʰezgi (אגי)</td>
<td>to go</td>
<td>ʰohrē ʰezgā ~ ʰezgi (אגי)</td>
<td>to walk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʰhāzā ~ ʰhāzi (זאזי)</td>
<td>to see</td>
<td>ʰradφ ʰhāzā ~ ʰhāzi (זאזי)</td>
<td>to be persecuted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʰmāh ~ ʰmiθ (]string</td>
<td>to hit</td>
<td>ʰsafār ʰmāh ~ ʰmiθ (]string</td>
<td>to start a journey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʰmātā ~ ʰmiθ (מית)</td>
<td>to lift</td>
<td>ʰid ʰmātā ~ ʰmiθ (מית)</td>
<td>to give up, desist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʰšaṭ ~ ʰṭiθ (שת)</td>
<td>to drink</td>
<td>ʰḥasiš ʰšaṭ ~ ʰṭiθ (שת)</td>
<td>to smoke hashish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tammā</td>
<td>to become</td>
<td>tamām tammā</td>
<td>to be finished</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Stress in Phrasal Verbs

Primary stress in the Phrasal verb (indicated by an acute accent) falls on the last syllable of the non-verbal element; the verbal element also receives secondary stress (indicated by a grave accent) on the expected syllable (see §2.4.4.3).

(5.89) ʰat-on qābın ʰbād-yn m=Ahwāz
come.PFV-3PL marriage do.PFV-3PL from=PN
They came from Ahwāz to hold a wedding. (II.10)

(5.90) ʰtājér jawāb ʰhab-o rāst q=ʾamr-et
merchant answer give.PFV-3SG.M right IND=speak.IPFV-2SG
The merchant responded, “You are correct.” (V.12)
Negation in Phrasal Verbs

The negative morpheme *lá-* is prefixed to the verbal element of the phrasal verb to negate it. Because the negative morpheme is always stressed, the primary stress of the phrasal verb moves to the negative morpheme, leaving a secondary stress on the pre-verbal element.

(5.92) ā Čečāwā zīp lá=q=āheb-ọ
this PN deceit NEG=IND=give.IPFV
This Čečāwā doesn’t lie. (IV.134)

(5.93) peśimān tāmm-on kammā bandīr lá=bğęš-yon
penitent become.PFV-3PL how prisoner NEG=stop.PFV-3PL
They regretted that they had not stayed put. (IV.146)

Generic Objects in Phrasal Verbs

Generic and non-specific objects do not follow the verb, but become incorporated into the meaning of the verb, and appear before it (see §3.5.3). As a result, they are not marked with the referential object marker.

(5.94) ḥašiš qo=šiṭ-en
hashish IND=drink.IPFV-3PL
They smoked hashish (lit. they hashish-drank). (VII.1)

(5.95) šam’ qo=mastīk-en
candle IND=light.C.IPFV-3PL
They lit candles (lit. they candle-lit). (IV.20)

Object Agreement in Compound Verbs

Definite nouns may be identified as the object of the verb by the referential object marker *ọl-* (see §3.5.2) or form oblique complements (see §3.5.4) by means of prepositions:

(5.96) qo=beyy-en komāk abđel=ọ=ọl=Rusya
IND=want.IPFV-3PL help do.SBJV-3PL=OBJ=3SG.F REF=PN
They wanted to help Russia. (III.2)
5.1 The Structure of the Verb

(5.97) qābin əḥad-yon qam yeki qałāw ett=i
marriage do.PFV-3PL to someone to woman=INDF
They married someone to a woman. (II.10)

The object pronominal suffixes are generally attached to the non-verbal element of the compound verb rather than the verbal element.

(5.98) əẓgā-o rag’a=d=a əḥbed-o
go.PFV-3SG.M patch=of=3SG.F do.SBJV-3SG.M
He has gone to patch her up (lit. do her patching). (IX.12)

Many non-verbal elements can also take a possessive suffix. In the event that the non-verbal element already has a possessive suffix attached, the object pronominal suffix appears on the verbal element.

(5.99) genz jawāb=d=ə ahb-it=a
much answer=of=1SG give.PFV-1SG=3SG.F
I answered her many times (lit. I gave her many of my answers). (IV.20)

(5.100) rag’a=d=aḵ əḥbed-o=l=u geš=d=u
patch=of=2SG.M do.IPFV-3SG.M=OBJ=3PL all=of=3PL
He will fix all of those things for you. (VI.6)

Copular Verbs and Predicate Nominals

In existential declarative or interrogative statements, the subject of the statement may simply be juxtaposed with its predicate, or linked to it by means of an existential particle with long and short forms. In the latter construction, subject agreement is indicated by means of suffixes on the existential particle. This existential particle does not inflect for tense, aspect, or mood. In other tenses, the verb ḥōwā ~ ḥōwī (ḥāwī) ‘to be’ is employed as a copular verb to link the subject and the predicate.

Long and Short Forms of the Copula

In addition to indicating that a question word anticipates the object of a verb, the copula is also used to join the subject of an existential declarative or interrogative statement with a predicate nominal, adjective, or locative. For this purpose, Neo-Mandaic employs long (independent) and short (enclitic) forms of an existential particle.
Table 82: The Short Copula

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>šabd-ye</td>
<td>he is good</td>
<td>šabd-non</td>
<td>they are good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>šabd-yāt</td>
<td>you are good</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>šabd-nā</td>
<td>I am good</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note that the copula does not distinguish between masculine and feminine gender, and that there are no short forms for the second and first persons plural. The short copula is also employed as an auxiliary verb in the analytic passive construction, with the notable exception of the plural form, which appears only on predicate nominals, e.g. (5.101); the analytic passive plural employs the long copula instead, e.g. (5.102).

(5.101) šabd-non
        good=3PL
        They are well.

(5.102) ỵḥem  ekt=u
        sit.PASS  COP=3PL
        They are seated.

The enclitic pronominal copula is most commonly used with question words, e.g. (5.103), predicate adjectives, e.g. (5.104), and predicate locatives, e.g. (5.105).

(5.103) man=ye?
        who=3SG.M
        Who is he?

(5.104) šabd=nā
        good=1SG
        I am well.

(5.105) ahni  barra  am=belāt=non
        they  outside  from=city=3PL
        They are outside the city. (III.11)

The independent and enclitic forms are generally interchangeable. The enclitic forms are negated with the prefix lu-, which appears on the noun modified by the copula. The existential particle, which takes the enclitic personal pronouns introduced in §4.1.2, is negated with the negative morpheme lá- not:

186 The long form of the copula is employed in their place; see Table 83.
5.1 The Structure of the Verb

Table 83: The Long Copula (and its Negation)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Copula</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>lá- + Copula</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ekt-i</td>
<td>he is</td>
<td>l-ekt-i</td>
<td>he is not</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ekt-a</td>
<td>she is</td>
<td>l-ekt-a</td>
<td>she is not</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ekt-ak</td>
<td>you (m.) are</td>
<td>l-ekt-ak</td>
<td>you (m.) are not</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ekt-ek</td>
<td>you (f.) are</td>
<td>l-ekt-ek</td>
<td>you (f.) are not</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ekt-e</td>
<td>I am</td>
<td>l-ekt-e</td>
<td>I am not</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ekt-u</td>
<td>they are</td>
<td>l-ekt-u</td>
<td>they are not</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ekt-ako</td>
<td>you are</td>
<td>l-ekt-ako</td>
<td>you are not</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ekt-an</td>
<td>we are</td>
<td>l-ekt-an</td>
<td>we are not</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The existential particle always follows the predicate or question word, e.g. (5.106). Predicate nominals, e.g. (5.107), and negative predicates, e.g. (5.108), are indicated by the existential particle or the copular verb *hawā ~ hawi* (hāwi) exclusively. 187

(5.106)  
man  ekt-ak  COP=2SG.M  Who are you? (IV.51)

(5.107)  
an  qanāy-ā  d=kasp-ā  ekt=e  
1SG  smith-AUG  of=silver-AUG  COP=1SG  
I am a silver smith.

(5.108)  
šābir  l=ekt=e  
good  NEG= COP=1SG  I am not well.

When followed by the proclitic preposition *l-* ‘to, for,’ the copula is used for possessive clauses. The long copula is more commonly used for possessive clauses, e.g. (5.109), although the short copula may also be employed, e.g. (5.110).

(5.109)  
ch=l=i  rāz-ā  d=Šāmeš  
COP=to=3SG.M  secret-AUG  of=PN  
He has the secret of Šāmeš. (IV.135)

(5.110)  
ahni  øl=man=non  
these  to=who=3PL  Whose are these? (III.11)

187 Compare the distribution of the Spanish copulas *ser* and *estar*, e.g. Ofelia está enferma ‘Ofelia is sick,’ Ofelia es enferma ‘Ofelia is a sick woman,’ and Ofelia es profesora ‘Ofelia is a teacher,’ but never **Ofelia está profesora** (examples from Payne, Describing Morphosyntax, 120).
Note the unexpected allomorph of the long copula before the proclitic *l*. The discrepancy between the phonetic realizations of the two allomorphs, *ekt*- and *eh*- , is attributable to regular sound changes; see §2.4.4.2 and §2.5.4.2. The forms of the long copula before proclitic *l* are given in Table 84.

Table 84: The Long Copula with Proclitic *l* (and its Negation)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Copula + <em>l</em></th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th><em>lɑ</em> - + Copula + <em>l</em></th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>eh</em>-l-<em>i</em></td>
<td>he has</td>
<td><em>l</em>-eh-l-<em>i</em></td>
<td>he doesn’t have</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>eh</em>-l-<em>a</em></td>
<td>she has</td>
<td><em>l</em>-eh-l-<em>a</em></td>
<td>she doesn’t have</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>eh</em>-l-âk</td>
<td>you (m.) have</td>
<td><em>l</em>-eh-l-âk</td>
<td>you (m.) don’t have</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>eh</em>-l-êk</td>
<td>you (f.) have</td>
<td><em>l</em>-eh-l-êk</td>
<td>you (f.) don’t have</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>eh</em>-l-e</td>
<td>I have</td>
<td><em>l</em>-eh-l-e</td>
<td>I don’t have</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>eh</em>-l-u</td>
<td>they have</td>
<td><em>l</em>-eh-l-u</td>
<td>they don’t have</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>eh</em>-l-ökon</td>
<td>you (pl.) have</td>
<td><em>l</em>-eh-l-ökon</td>
<td>you (pl.) don’t have</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>eh</em>-l-an</td>
<td>we have</td>
<td><em>l</em>-eh-l-an</td>
<td>we don’t have</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This construction always stands at the head of possessive clauses, e.g. (5.111), in contrast with other declarative clauses, in which the predicate nominal always precedes the copula.

(5.111)  
\[
\text{eh}=l=e \quad \text{pas}-i  \\
\text{COP=to}=1\text{SG} \quad \text{pass-INDF} \quad \text{I have a pass. (III.4)}
\]

The perfective of the copula is formed with the verb *hɔwâ~ hɔwi* (*hāwi*) ‘to be,’ the forms of which are given in Table 85.

Table 85: The Verb “To Be” with Proclitic *l* (and its Negation)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Copula + <em>l</em></th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th><em>lɑ</em> - + Copula + <em>l</em></th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>hɔwâ</em>-l-<em>i</em></td>
<td>he had</td>
<td><em>l</em>-ehwâ-l-<em>i</em></td>
<td>he didn’t have</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>hɔwâ</em>-l-<em>a</em></td>
<td>she had</td>
<td><em>l</em>-ehwâ-l-<em>a</em></td>
<td>she didn’t have</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>hɔwâ</em>-l-âk</td>
<td>you (m.) had</td>
<td><em>l</em>-ehwâ-l-âk</td>
<td>you (m.) didn’t have</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>hɔwâ</em>-l-êk</td>
<td>you (f.) had</td>
<td><em>l</em>-ehwâ-l-êk</td>
<td>you (f.) didn’t have</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>hɔwâ</em>-l-e</td>
<td>I had</td>
<td><em>l</em>-ehwâ-l-e</td>
<td>I didn’t have</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>hɔwâ</em>-l-u</td>
<td>they have</td>
<td><em>l</em>-ehwâ-l-u</td>
<td>they didn’t have</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>hɔwâ</em>-l-ökon</td>
<td>you (pl.) have</td>
<td><em>l</em>-ehwâ-l-ökon</td>
<td>you (pl.) didn’t have</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>hɔwâ</em>-l-an</td>
<td>we had</td>
<td><em>l</em>-ehwâ-l-an</td>
<td>we didn’t have</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Auxiliary Verbs

There are two verbs in Neo-Mandaic that are regularly employed as auxiliaries. The first, the copula, is used to form the passive voice, as in English. The second, *qam ~ qom (qāyem)* ‘to stand,’ is employed as an inchoative auxiliary verb.

The Copula and the Analytic Passive

The passive voice is occasionally rendered by means of the passive participle with the copula (i.e. the long copula, the short copula, or the copular verb *hōwā ~ hōwi (hāwi) ‘to be’) in an analytic construction. The paradigm of the construction is illustrated with the verb *gētal ~ gētol (gātel)* ‘to kill’ in Table 86.

Table 86: The Copula in the Analytic passive

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Short Copula</th>
<th>Long Copula</th>
<th>Perfective</th>
<th>Imperfective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3 sg m</td>
<td>gōtel-ye</td>
<td>gōtel ekt-i</td>
<td>gōtel hōwā</td>
<td>gōtel qā-hāwi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 sg f</td>
<td>gōtil-i</td>
<td>gōtil ekt-a</td>
<td>gōtil hāw-at</td>
<td>gōtil qā-hāwyā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 sg m</td>
<td>gōtel-yāt</td>
<td>gōtel ekt-ak</td>
<td>gōtel hōw-et</td>
<td>gōtel qā-hāwet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 sg f</td>
<td>gōtel-yāt</td>
<td>gōtel ekt-ek</td>
<td>gōtel hāw-et</td>
<td>gōtel qā-hāwet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 sg</td>
<td>gōtel-nān</td>
<td>gōtel ekt-e</td>
<td>gōtel hāw-it</td>
<td>gōtel qā-hāwi-nā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 pl</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>gōtel-ekt-um</td>
<td>gōtel hāw-on</td>
<td>gōtel qā-hāw-en</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 pl</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>gōtel-ekt-ūkon</td>
<td>gōtel hāwi-ton</td>
<td>gōtel qā-haw-etton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 pl</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>gōtel-ekt-an</td>
<td>gōtel hāwi-ni</td>
<td>gōtel qā-haw-enni</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note that there are no plural forms of the short copula. As the existential particle is used for all existential and simple present statements, e.g. (5.112), the imperfective is reserved for statements in the progressive present or the future tense, e.g. (5.113). Likewise, the subjunctive of *hōwā ~ hōwi (hāwi) ‘to be,’ which is regularly derived from the imperfective after the removal of the indicative marker and pretonic reduction, is used to indicate suggestions, wishes, and hopes, e.g. (5.114).

(5.112) yēhim-en ekt=an COP=1PL We are seated.

(5.113) yēhim-en qā=haw-enni IND=be.IPFV-1PL We are being / will be seated.
5. The Verb

(5.114) yōhim-en haw-én
sit.PASS-PL be.SBJV-1PL Let us be seated.

Even though the analytic passive is well represented in Classical Mandaic, the impersonal passive construction (§5.4.3.2) is much more common in Neo-Mandaic.

The Inchoative Auxiliary Verb

When followed by a verb in the imperfective, qam ~ gom (qāyem) ‘to stand’ serves to indicate the beginning of an action, state, or event. In this capacity, it appears only in the perfective, and inflects to reflect the subject. The subject may precede the auxiliary verb, e.g. (5.116), or intervene before the auxiliary verb and main or compound verb that it modifies, e.g. (5.117) and (5.118).

(5.115) qam-yon qō=mḥatt-en bienā=d=u
stand.PFV-3PL IND=talk.D.IPVF-3PL among=of=3PL
They started talking among themselves. (IV.89)

(5.116) darwiš-ā qam-yon qār-en
dervish-PL stand.PFV-3PL read.IPVF-3PL
The dervishes began chanting. (IV.20)

(5.117) qam-ō Čečāwā qā=hāper-ō
stand.PFV-3SG.M PN IND=dig.IPVF-3SG.M
Čečāwā began digging.

(5.118) qam-ō šehyān-ā ṭabūt-ā q=āḥed-ō
stand.PFV-3SG.M ruler-AUG banquet-AUG IND=do.IPVF-3SG.M
The ruler proceeded to prepare a banquet. (IV.22)

In addition to serving as an auxiliary verb, the verb qam ~ gom (qāyem) ‘to stand’ is also an independent verb in its own right.

(5.119) qam-yon barābar=d=u
stand.PFV-3PL opposite=of=3PL They stood before them. (IV.76)

189 It also serves in this role in the Neo-Aramaic dialect of Aradhin; see George Krotkoff, A Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Kurdistan (New Haven, CN: American Oriental Society, 1982), 56. Crosslinguistically, this is not uncommon; cf. Italian il sole sta per tramontar “the sun is about to set.”
Modal Verbs

There are two modal verbs in Neo-Mandaic: abā (bāyi) ‘to want’ and šəbaq ~ šəboq (šābeq) ‘to permit.’ These regularly take a complement verb in the subjunctive to express a notion of modality. All three are independent verbs in their own right. In addition, the pseudoverb qomb- ‘to be able’ and the modal particle bāyad ‘must’ are used in modal constructions. Macuch claims that the Mandaeans have borrowed the Persian particle šāyad ‘might’ in addition to bāyad, but aside from one isolated example of bāyad in his Handbook, neither of these two particles appears in any of the texts he has published. Additionally, there is a pseudoverb in Text IV, lābod ‘must,’ which takes a complement subjunctive verb.

The Modal Verb ‘To Want’

The first of the modal verbs, abā (bāyi) ‘to want,’ is used to express optative modality (§5.3.2.2), and is illustrated with a complementary subjunctive verb, ĕmar ~ ĕmor (āmer) ‘to say,’ in Table 87.

Example of the modal verb abā (bāyi) ‘to want’ in the texts include:

\[(5.120)\] q=abī-n ĕmer-ō farwāḥ=kon geš

IND=want.IPFV-1SG say.SBJV-1SG thanks=2PL all

I want to thank all of you. (I.3)

190 Macuch, Handbook, 486: bāyad bālyč botqāti ‘you have to be smart.’
191 Both bāyad and šāyad are conspicuously absent from his Neumandäische Chrestomathie and Neumandäische Texte im Dialekt von Ahwāz.
5. The Verb

(5.121)  
\[ qə=beyy-en \qquad min=ṣubāḥ \]
IND=want(IPFV-3PL from=morning
The next day, they wanted
\[ ohr-ā \qquad all-en \qquad əlāww=i \]
way-AUG go.SBJV-3PL to-3SG=M
to walk on it. (IV.6)

*Abā (bāyi) ‘to want,’ can also appear in independent usage.

(5.122)  
\[ mu \qquad qə=bā-t \]
what IND=want(IPFV-2SG
What do you want? (IX.8)

*The Modal Verb ‘To Permit’*

The modal verb *šəbaq ~ šəboq (šābeq) ‘to permit’* is conjugated in Table 88 with the third masculine singular subjunctive of *ḥaddet ~ ḥaddet (əmḥaddet) ‘to speak.’

Table 88: The Modal Verb ‘To Permit’ with the Verb ‘To Speak’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3 sg m</td>
<td>qə-šābeq-l-i əmḥaddet</td>
<td>he lets him speak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 sg f</td>
<td>qə-šāboq-ā-l-i əmḥaddet</td>
<td>she lets him speak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 sg</td>
<td>qə-šāboq-āt-i əmḥaddet</td>
<td>you let him speak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 sg</td>
<td>qə-šābeq-n-i əmḥaddet</td>
<td>I let him speak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 pl</td>
<td>qə-šāboq-el-l-i əmḥaddet</td>
<td>they let him speak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 pl</td>
<td>qə-šābeq-tōn-n-i əmḥaddet</td>
<td>you let him speak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 pl</td>
<td>qə-šābeq-nānn-n-i əmḥaddet</td>
<td>we let him speak</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note that the subject of the subjunctive verb, which is the object of the modal verb, is anticipated by an object pronominal suffix on the modal verb. Note also that the third masculine singular form of the modal verb complemented by a subjunctive verb in the same number and gender, e.g. (5.123), would not be construed as a reflexive. The reflexive requires the reflexive pronoun *nabš-, e.g. (5.124).*

(5.123)  
\[ qə=šābeq-o=|=i \qquad əmḥaddet-o \]
IND=let(IPFV-3SG.M=OBJ=3SG.M say.SBJV-3SG.M
He lets him say.
5.1 The Structure of the Verb

(5.124) $qəq$-$šहēq$-$o$-$l$=$o$ $əl$=$ñ$-$b$=$i$ $əm$-$h$-$d$-$d$-$t$-$o$

IND=leave.IPFV-3SG.M=OBJ=3SG.M REF=SELF=3SG.M say.SBJV-3SG.M

He lets himself say.

Examples of the modal verb $šəbaq$ ~ $šəboq$ ($šahēq$) in the texts include:

(5.125) $šəboq$-$o$ $əl$=$d$ešt-$ā$ bāğs-$ā$

leave.IMP.M-SG REF=ground-AUG stop.IPFV-3SG.F

Let the ground stop [shaking]. (IV.109)

(5.126) $lā$=$šahq$-onn=$an$ all-enni ekkāk

NEG=leave.PFV=3PL=1PL go.SBJV-1PL there

They wouldn’t let us go there. (III.13)

This verb also appears independently:

(5.127) $z$i$p$ān-$ā$ $šəbaq$-$o$ $u$ $p$ərad-$o$

liar-AUG leave.PFV-3SG.M and flee.PFV-3SG.M

The liar left and ran off. (IX.13)

The Pseudoverb ‘To Be Able’

The pseudoverb $qomb$- ‘to be able’ is used to express possibility. The present is illustrated here with the verb $h$addet ~ $h$addet ($əm$-$h$addet) ‘to speak.’

Table 89: The Modal Verb ‘To Be Able’ w/ the Verb ‘To Speak’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3 sg m</td>
<td>$qomb$-$i$ $əm$-$h$addet</td>
<td>he can speak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 sg f</td>
<td>$qomb$-$a$ $əm$-$hatt$ā</td>
<td>she can speak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 sg</td>
<td>$qomb$-$a$ $əm$-$h$attet</td>
<td>you can speak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 sg</td>
<td>$qomb$-$e$ $əm$-$h$addet</td>
<td>you can speak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 sg</td>
<td>$qomb$-$e$ $əm$-$h$addet</td>
<td>I can speak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 pl</td>
<td>$qomb$-$u$ $əm$-$hatt$en</td>
<td>they can speak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 pl</td>
<td>$qomb$-$ə$ $əm$-$hattet$ton</td>
<td>you can speak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 pl</td>
<td>$qomb$-$ə$ $əm$-$hatt$en</td>
<td>we can speak</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note that the subject of $qomb$- is indicated by a possessive suffix on the pseudoverb, exactly like the pseudoverb $yād$ ‘to know’ above (see §5.1.1.2). Likewise, the other tenses and aspects are indicated by the copula $həwā$ ~ $həwi$ ($hāwi$) ‘to be.’ In the example below, taken from
the dialect of Salem Choheili, this pseudoverb takes the form *yomb*-rather than *qomb*- as in the dialect of Nasser Sobbi and Nasser Saburi (for which, see section §1.7 on the modern dialects of Neo-Mandaic).

(5.128) \[ yomb=u \quad h\ddot{a}vi-\phi \quad \ddot{sh}ibr \]
be.able=3PL be.SBJV-3SG.M good

(So that) they may be able to read and

\[ q\ddot{a}r-en \quad u=k\ddot{a}d\ddot{b}-en \quad g\ddot{u} \quad mand(y)\ddot{o}y\ddot{y}i \]
read.SBJV-3PL and=write.SBJV-3PL in Mandaic

write well in Mandaic.\(^ {192} \)

**The Modal Particles** bāyad and lābod

The final modal is the particle bāyad‘must,’ which has been borrowed from Persian. Unlike the pseudoverbs yād‘to know’ and qomb-‘to be able,’ bāyad does not inflect for tense, mood, aspect, or person. The paradigm of this particle with the verb ḥaddet ~ haddet (əmḥaddet) ‘to speak’ can be found below.

Table 90: The Modal Particle “Must” with the Verb “To Speak”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3 sg m</td>
<td>bāyad əmḥaddet</td>
<td>he must speak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 sg f</td>
<td>bāyad əmḥāṭā</td>
<td>she must speak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 sg</td>
<td>bāyad əmḥāṭet</td>
<td>you must speak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 sg</td>
<td>bāyad əmḥadeṭ</td>
<td>I must speak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 pl</td>
<td>bāyad əmḥāṭen</td>
<td>they must speak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 pl</td>
<td>bāyad əmḥāṭetton</td>
<td>you must speak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 pl</td>
<td>bāyad əmḥāṭen</td>
<td>we must speak</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Another pseudoverb, lābod‘must,’ appears in the legend of the Bridge of Shushtar (Text IV) in the place of the modal verb bāyad. In this text, it is complemented by a verb in the subjunctive and is invariable like bāyad. The form, derived from Arabic lā budda ‘inevitably,’ lit. ‘no escape,’ expresses a wide range of deontic modalities (§5.3.2.1). Examples of lābod in the texts include (5.129).

\(^ {192} \) Macuch, *Neumandäische Texte*, 124.
5.2 Tense and Aspect

Tense and aspect are closely related in Neo-Mandaic, although aspect is the more salient of the two within the verbal system. At first glance, the Neo-Mandaic verbal system appears to be based on the distinction of tenses. The perfective is the general form used in simple past narratives. In opposition to the imperfective (which Macuch indeed calls the “participial present-future tense”), it appears to correspond to the past tense. Nonetheless, aspect is as basic to the Neo-Mandaic verbal system as tense; the inflected forms derived from the participle are imperfective, and as such indicate habitual actions, progressive or inchoative actions, and actions in the future from a past or present perspective. The perfective forms are not only preterite but also resultative-stative, which is most apparent from the verbs relating to a change of state, e.g. *mēt ~ mot* (*māyet*) ‘to die.’ For these reasons, it is more accurate to discuss the Neo-Mandaic verbal system in aspectual terms rather than simply treating it as a system of tenses.

5.2.1 The Perfective

The perfective has simple past (§5.2.1.1), past perfect (§5.2.1.2), and resultative-stative (§5.2.1.3) meanings.

5.2.1.1 The Simple Past

The most common use of the perfective is to render the simple past.

(5.131) *Mār=e abd-ø al=kol alm-ān-ā*

lord=1SG do.PFV-3SG.M REF=all world-PL-AUG

God (lit. my Lord) created all the worlds. (I.11)
5. The Verb

(5.132) bāḥ  hammām  ṣḥab-ō=l=i  pērā
father  hammam  give.PFV-3SG.M=OBJ=3SG.M  money
The owner of the bathhouse gave him some money. (VIII.5)

5.2.1.2 The Past Perfect

The perfective may also be used to indicate an event that has occurred before another action in the past.

(5.133) hōz-it-i  jisər  sun'a=ye
see.PFV-1SG-3SG.M  bridge  good=3SG.M
I saw that the bridge was repaired (lit. I saw “it is a good bridge”),

u  jisr-i  tum  əbud-yon
and  bridge-INDF  again  do.PFV-3PL
and another bridge had been built. (III.21)

(5.134) ba'ad  se  ruz  kammar-ə
after  three  day  return.PFV-3SG.M
After three days, he came back,

bədaq-ə  kər=ə  qazgān  honı-n
put.PFV-3SG.M  belly=3SG.M  cauldron  small-INDF
having put a small pot inside it. (X.2)

5.2.1.3 The Resultative-Stative

With inherently stative verbs or stative compounds (usually formed with tammā ‘to become’), the perfective indicates a state or situation resulting from a completed event. When verbs of knowledge and opinion (such as bašqer ~ bašqer (əmbašqer) ‘to know,’ dəkar ~ dəkor (dāker) ‘to remember,’ fəkr əbud ~ əbud (ābed) ‘to think,’ qabul əbud ~ əbud (ābed) ‘to believe’) appear in the perfective, they have a resultative-stative meaning.

(5.135) mekt-at  əstā
die.PFV-3SG.F  now
Now she is dead. (II.34)

(5.136) kərāy=e  wel  tamm-at
leg=1SG  independent  become.PFV-3SG.F
[He said]: “My leg has come off!” (VII.5)
5.2 Tense and Aspect

(5.137) ani Manday-ān-ā awwal barnāš hōw-ini
we mandaean-PL-AUG first person be.PFV-1PL
We Mandaens were the first people

ke bašqar-ní o=Mār=e ehd-i ekt=i
REL know.PFV-1PL REF=lord=1SG one-INDF COP=3SG.M
who recognized that God (lit. my Lord) is a single being. (I.11)

5.2.2 The Imperfective

The imperfective is formed from the active participle of the verb. It can represent the simple present (§5.2.2.1), habitual present (§5.2.2.2), habitual past (§5.2.2.3), narrative present (§5.2.2.4), and future tenses (§5.2.2.5).

5.2.2.1 The Simple Present

The simple present is the most common tense represented by the imperfective.

(5.138) q=abi-n əmer-o farwāh=kon ɡeš
IND=want.IPFV-1SG say.SBJV-1SG thanks=2PL all
I want to thank all of you. (I.3)

(5.139) qǝ=haz-én bieţ-wāt baʿid
IND=see.IPFV-1PL house-PL.F distant
We see houses in the distance. (III.10)

5.2.2.2 The Progressive Present

The progressive aspect implies an action or condition which is currently in process (as opposed to the resultative-stative aspect, which indicates that the event which resulted in the current state has already been completed).

(5.140) qǝ=mšaddar-t=ǝ o=M=konfrens
IND=organize.D.IPFV-2SG=3SG.M REF=this conference
You are organizing this conference. (I.6)

(5.141) qamu əziyāt q=ābd-et
why harm IND=do.IPFV-2SG
Why are you causing such trouble? (IV.57)
5.2.2.3 The Habitual Present

The habitual present denotes an action or situation that occurs regularly or continuously.

(5.142) $kol \ \overset{\text{šett-ā}}{\text{qo=ban-ann=i}}$

Every year-AUG IND=build.IP-FV-1PL=3SG.M

Every year we build it,

$u \ \overset{\text{qo=hāreb-o}}{\text{IND=be.destroyed.IP-FV}}$

and it is destroyed! (IV.34)

(5.143) $q=\overset{\text{all-én}}{\text{ekkaχ \ kol \  spep-t-ā}}$

IND=go.IP-FV-1PL there every Friday-AUG

We go there every Friday.

5.2.2.4 The Habitual Past

The imperfective is also used for actions that occurred regularly or continuously in the past; these are often introduced by another past tense verb to contextualize them. Verbs of knowledge and opinion (such as $bašquer \sim bašquer (əmbašqer) \text{‘to know,’}$ $dəkər \sim dəkor (dāker) \text{‘to remember,’}$ $fekr əðad \sim əðod (əbed) \text{‘to think,’}$ $qabul əðad \sim əðod (əbed) \text{‘to believe’}$) generally appear in the imperfective with a habitual present or habitual past tense meaning; when they do appear in the perfective, they have a resultative-stative meaning (§5.2.1.3).

(5.144) $q=\overset{\text{all-én}}{\text{qam \ Dezful}}$

IND=go.IP-FV-1PL for PN

We used to go to Dezful

$7-11 \ \overset{\text{həwā-o=l=u}}{\text{ekkaχ}}$

PN be.PFV-3SG.M=to=3PL there

(they had a 7-11 there). (III.6)

(5.145) $mu \ \overset{\text{q=əmbašqir-et}}{\text{ak=waxt}}$

what IND=know.IP-FV-2SG that=time

What did you know then?

(5.146) $\overset{\text{goβr-ā}}{\text{ekkaχ}} \overset{\text{la=q=əmbašqer-en}}{\text{men-AUG \ there \ NEG=IND=know.IP-FV-3PL}}$

The men there didn’t know
5.2 Tense and Aspect

5.2.2.5 The Narrative Present

The Narrative or Historical Present tense is extremely common in the text collection. Generally, clauses in the Narrative Present are first introduced by a perfective verb, which places the situation or action described in a past tense context.

(5.147)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{at-it} & \quad \text{qamāy=}a \\
\text{come.PFV-1SG} & \quad \text{before=}3\text{SG.F} \\
\text{I came up to her} & \\
\text{q=abi-n} & \quad \text{bas} & \quad \text{məḥadeṭ-σ} & \quad \text{ork=}a \\
\text{IND=want.IPV-1SG} & \quad \text{only} & \quad \text{speak.SBJV-1SG} & \quad \text{with=}3\text{SG.F} & \text{I want only to speak with her. (II.17)}
\end{align*}
\]

(5.148)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{aẓgā-σ} & \quad \text{qəlāw} & \quad \text{tel} \\
go.PFV-3\text{SG.M} & \quad \text{to} & \quad \text{hill} \\
\text{He went up a hill,} & \\
\text{w=ebri-ı} & \quad \text{a=抑制-ā} & \quad \text{q=laqt-σ=ı} \\
\text{and=}3\text{INDF} & \quad \text{to=}3\text{man-AUG} & \quad \text{IND=seize.IPV-3\text{SG.M}=3\text{SG.M}} & \text{and seizes one of the man’s sons. (V.18)}
\end{align*}
\]

5.2.2.6 The Future

The imperfective is also used to describe events in the near and distant future.

(5.149)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{min} & \quad \text{ḥənā} & \quad \text{tum} & \quad \text{ārbin} & \quad \text{yum-ā} \\
\text{from} & \quad \text{here} & \quad \text{until} & \quad 40 & \quad \text{day-AUG} \\
\text{Forty days from now,} & \\
\text{qə=mati-n=kon} & \text{IND=come.C.IPV-1SG=2PL} & \text{I will bring you. (IV.126)}
\end{align*}
\]

(5.150)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{amal-σ=ı=i} & \quad \text{perš} & \quad \text{q=atı-nā} \\
say.IPV-3\text{SG.M}=OBJ=3\text{SG.M} & \quad \text{tomorrow} & \quad \text{IND=come.IPV-1SG} & \text{He said to him, “I will come tomorrow.” (V.17)}
\end{align*}
\]
5.3 Moods and Modalities

Speakers of Neo-Mandaic employ the indicative, the subjunctive, and the imperative moods to indicate their position on a given situation, including their purpose in stating the situation and their belief in its reality and likelihood.

5.3.1 The Indicative Mood

The indicative mood is used to make assertions or declarations about situations which the speaker holds to have happened (or, conversely, which have not happened), or positions which he maintains to be true. It is also the mood used for questions and other interrogative statements. The perfective, by its very nature, refers to situations that the speaker holds to have happened or not to have happened, and thus pertains to the indicative, except in explicitly counterfactual statements (see §5.3.4.6).

The imperfective, on the other hand, is used to describe situations which have yet to happen, or about which there exists some uncertainty or doubt; when accompanied by the indicative marker, it is used to express assertions and questions, just like the perfective. When it is not explicitly marked as indicative, it indicates subjunctive mood (see section §5.3.2) and may correspond to any one of a wide variety of modalities.

5.3.1.1 Declarative Statements

All assertions and declarative statements are, by their nature, made in the indicative mood.

(5.151)  an at-it ēkkā gāw hammām
         I come.PFV-1SG thus in hammam
         I came like this to the bathhouse! (VIII.18)

(5.152)  obr-ā genz q̪ =rahem-ı̂̄=l=ö ṣ̄̄=hadid
         mouse-AUG very IND=love.IPFV-3SG.M=OBJ=3SG.M REF=iron
         Mice really love iron. (V.12)

5.3.1.2 Interrogative Statements

Interrogative statements are also made in the indicative mood.
5.3 Moods and Modalities

(5.153) əmar-ə=l=u mu q=əmr-etton əlāw tā pol
say.PFV-3SG.M=OBJ=3PL what IND=say.IPFV-2PL for that bridge
He said to them, “What do you suggest for that bridge?” (IV.33)

(5.154) man qabūl q=ābed-ə
who acceptance IND=do.IPFV-3SG.M
“Who believes (=would believe)

qazgān mujur qə=māyet-ə
cauldron what.way IND=die.IPFV-3SG.M
that a cooking pot dies (=would die)?” (X.16)

5.3.2 The Subjunctive Mood

Neo-Mandaic forms the subjunctive mood from the imperfective. In the G-stem of the verb (with the exception of the II-weak and geminate root classes), the subjunctive is also marked by the pretonic reduction of the vowel in the initial syllable to /ə/; in all other root classes and stems, the subjunctive is identical to the indicative without the indicative morpheme q-. The subjunctive mood is used to express three distinct modalities: deontic (§5.3.2.1), optative (§5.3.2.2), and potential (§5.3.2.3).

5.3.2.1 The Deontic Modality

The deontic modality indicates the subject’s duty or obligation to perform an irrealis act, which is expressed by a verb in the subjunctive mood. Deontic modalities may be either volitive, e.g. (5.155) and (5.156), commissive, e.g. (5.157), or directive, e.g. (5.158). The latter two modalities are introduced by the modal particles bāyad ‘must’ (or lābod ‘inevitably’ in the legend from Iraq).

(5.155) lā hāreb-ə pol Šuštar
NEG be.destroyed.SBJV-3SG.M bridge Šuštar
May the bridge of Shushtar not be ruined! (IV.24)

(5.156) ani nešemt-i la=gāṭl-ēn
1PL soul-INDF NEG=kill.SBJV-1PL
Let’s not kill any living being. (IV.96)
5. The Verb

(5.157) lābod kef ābd-en ənāš-ā
certainly pleasure do.SBJV-3PL people-AUG
Surely the people will celebrate! (IV.72)

(5.158) lābod malφ-āt=e
certainly teach.SBJV-2SG=1SG
You must teach me. (IV.86)

The imperative (§5.3.3) also belongs to the class of directive modalities, but has a separate form.

5.3.2.2 The Optative Modality

The subjunctive is used after verbs of desire to indicate the object of a wish.

(5.159) ani q-ab-én safar mah-én
1PL IND=want.IPFV-1PL trip hit.SBJV-1PL
We want to travel. (IV.132)

(5.160) q=əmbarak-ø haw-én əyānā tum āxir ālmā
IND=pray.tD.IPFV-1SG be.SUBJ-1PL alive until last world
I pray that we will survive until the end of time. (I.14)

5.3.2.3 The Potential Modality

The subjunctive may also be used for potential situations or the possible results of an action.

(5.161) gobr-ā ekkak la=q=əmbašqer-en
men-AUG there NEG=IND=know.IPFV-3PL
The men there didn’t know
əmhatt-ø Mandājī
speak.SBJV.3PL Mandaic
how to speak Mandaic. (II.25)

(5.162) ātî-ø belwā=d=an ābed-ø
come.IPFV-3SG.M disturbance=of=1PL do.SBJV-3SG.M
He may come to make trouble for us. (VII.9)

5.3.3 The Imperative

The imperative, in contrast to the indicative, does not assert that a situation has occurred, but orders that it come about. The imperative
and the prohibitive belong syntactically to the broader class of directive modalities. All of these modalities, including the prohibitive, are expressed using the subjunctive, with the single exception of the imperative.

5.3.3.1 Commands

The imperative is the mood in which commands are issued.

(5.163) yœmi-öt qamd=ín qœ=mwedi-n=kon Ømšuni Kušṭā
swear.IMP.M-SG to=me IND=take.IPFV-1SG-2PL PN
Swear to me, “I will take you to Ømšuni Kušṭā.” (IV.120)

(5.164) id mœti-ot minn=e
hand lift.IMP.M-SG from=1SG
Release me (lit. lift your hand from me)! (IV.108)

5.3.3.2 Negative Commands and Prohibitions

The imperative cannot be directly negated in Neo-Mandaic, as in other Neo-Aramaic dialects and in other Semitic languages more generally.193 As in these other languages, the subjunctive is used in the place of the imperative for negative commands and prohibitions.

(5.165) l=all-etton ţer welât
NEG=go.SBJV-2PL outside city
Do not go outside the city. (IV.124)

5.3.4 Moods and Adverbial Clauses

Mandaic uses verbs in the subjunctive mood, and to a lesser extent the indicative mood, to indicate adverbial clauses. These adverbial clauses contribute information about the time, location, manner, purpose, and reason of the action or situation in the main phrase, as well as indicating situations or actions that are simultaneous to the main clause. Simple, hypothetical, and counterfactual conditional clauses also constitute a category of adverbial clauses.194

5.3.4.1 Time Clauses

Clauses that indicate the time when a particular action or situation will occur take verbs in the subjunctive rather than the indicative.

(5.166) $q\text{w}mâ\text{y} ~ m\text{alp}\text{=t}=i ~ \text{ana} ~ g\text{at}=\text{n}=\text{kon} ~ \text{ge}\text{s}$

before teach.SBJV-2SG=3SG.M 1SG kill.SBJV-1SG=2PL all

Before you teach him, I will kill you all! (IV.93)

(5.167) $\text{an} ~ q=\text{mba}\text{šqir}=it ~ q\text{w}mâ\text{y} ~ \text{âbed}=o=l=a$

1SG IND=know.IPV-1SG before do.SBJV-3SG.M=OBJ=3SG.F

I knew before he did it.

5.3.4.2 Circumstantial Clauses

Verbs found in adverbial clauses which provide supplemental information about the circumstances in which the main clause is situated usually appear in the indicative rather than the subjunctive.

(5.168) $a\text{t}=\text{on} ~ \text{om}=\text{ohh}r ~ \text{Mo}\text{ḥamr}=\text{a} ~ q=\text{mwadd}=\text{en} ~ \text{ekkak}$

come.PFV-3PL from=road PN IND=take.IPV-3PL there

They came along Khorramshahr Road [where] they were sent. (III.3)

(5.169) $n\text{âq}=\text{yon} ~ \text{barra} ~ \text{ani} ~ q=\text{m}\text{ṭall}=\text{én}$

exit.PFV-3PL outside we IND=play.D.IPV-1PL

They came outside [where] we were playing. (II.13)

5.3.4.3 Purpose Clauses

Clauses which indicate the purpose for the main clause take verbs in the subjunctive.

(5.170) $\text{âzg}=\text{it} ~ \text{ya} ~ k\text{dâb}h ~ m\text{and}=\text{y}=\text{i} ~ \text{âm}\text{ḥa}\text{šel}=\text{n}=\text{a}$

go.PFV-1SG a book Mandaean obtain.SBJV-1SG

I would have gone to pick up a Mandaic book. (III.16)

(5.171) $q=\text{all}=\text{én} ~ \text{omzab}=\text{n}=\text{én} ~ q\text{al}w\text{w}=u$

IND=go.IPV-1PL sell.D.SBJV-1PL to=3PL

We used to go to sell to them. (III.6)

5.3.4.4 Reason Clauses

Verbs in clauses which indicate the reason for which the action or situation in the main clause occur typically appear in the indicative.
5.3 Moods and Modalities

(5.172) at-on  gāw  Irān  qa=beyy-en
come.PFV-3PL  in  PN  IND=want.IPFV-3PL
They came to Iran [because] they wanted

komak  ābdol=l=∅  āl=Rusya
help  do.SBJV-3PL=OBJ=3SG.F  REF=PN
to help Russia. (III.2)

5.3.4.5 Simultaneous Clauses

The verb of a clause in which the action or situation occurs simultaneously with that in the main clause will appear in the subjunctive.

(5.173) āmar-∅  ā  tājér  narm  tammā-∅
say.PFV-3SG.M  this  merchant  soft  become.PFV-3SG.M
He thought to himself, “This merchant has gone soft in the head,”

āmer-∅  rāst  q=amen-nā
say.SBJV-3SG.M  right  IND=say.IPFV-1SG
while saying, “I’m telling the truth.” (V.14-15)

(5.174) āṭi-∅  belwā=d=an  ābed-∅
come.SBJV-3SG.M  disturbance=of=1PL  do.SBJV-3SG.M
He may come to make trouble for us,

āmer-∅  gōnab-tonn=∅  ol=kārāy=e
say.SBJV-3SG.M  steal.PFV-2PL=3SG.F  REF=leg=1SG
saying, “You stole my leg!” (VII.9)

5.3.4.6 Conditional Clauses

Neo-Mandaic recognizes three basic types of conditional clauses: simple conditionals, hypotheticals, and counterfactuals.
The indicative is used in the protasis to form simple conditional clauses. The copula may also appear in the protasis, e.g. (5.175). The verb of the apodosis of the simple conditional clause is either found in the indicative or the imperative, e.g. (5.176).

(5.175) \textit{agar pərəh-ā eh=l=e turt-i qə=zaβen-nə}
\textit{When I have money, I will buy a cow.}^195

(5.176) \textit{anā agar gən-it āt guš əbud-ō}
\textit{If I fall asleep, keep a look out.} (IV.46)

**Hypothetical Conditional Clauses**

Hypothetical conditional clauses employ the subjunctive in the protasis to posit hypothetical or imaginary situations in the past, and the indicative to posit such situations in the present. These differ from counterfactual conditional clauses (see below) in that the apodosis appears in the imperfective, rather than the perfective, indicating that the situation, while hypothetical, is not outside the realm of possibility.

(5.178) \textit{an agar gəw ā ‘aqəl hawi-nə əzg-it}
\textit{If I knew then what I know today, I would have gone.} (III.16)

(5.179) \textit{āhā qam enši la=q=mallep-ō w=agar}
\textit{I will not teach this to anyone, for if I did teach it, I could die.} (IV.84)

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^195 Example adapted from Macuch, \textit{Handbook}, 432. Compare with example (5.181) below.
^196 Lit. ‘if I were in this mind.’
Counterfactual Conditional Clauses

In counterfactual conditional clauses, the perfective is used to indicate that the information contained in the apodosis is explicitly counterfactual.

(5.180) agar  an  lá=hw-it
if 1SG  NEG=be.PFV-1SG
If I had not been there,

lá=att-at=∅  aît=yanq-ā
NEG=come.D.PFV-3SG.F=3SG.M  REF=baby-AUG
she would not have given birth to the baby.197

(5.181) agar  pərāh-ā  həwā=∅=turt-i  zaḥn-it
if money-AUG  be.PFV=to=1SG  cow-INDF  buy.PFV-1SG
If I had had money, I would have bought a cow.198

5.4 Voice

In Neo-Mandaic, the relationship of the action or state described by the verb to its arguments can be described by one of three voices: the active voice (§5.4.1), the middle voice (§5.4.2), and the passive voice (§5.4.3).

5.4.1 The Active Voice

When the action described by the verb is initiated by its grammatical subject, the verb is described as being in the active voice, and the grammatical subject is described as its agent. The forms of the active voice are outlined in §5.1 above.

5.4.2 The Middle Voice

The t-stem verbs described in §5.1.1.3 represent the middle voice in Neo-Mandaic. The agents of the actions described by verbs in these stems, which are syntactically active and intransitive, experience the results of these actions as if they were also the patient; in many cases, the action of the verb appears to occur on its own, e.g. (5.182)

and (5.183). As a result, verbs in these stems are often translated as if they were agentless passives, e.g. (5.184), or reflexive actions that the subject takes on its own behalf, e.g. (5.185).

(5.182) \textit{amānātār} \textit{ehter-ō}  

| Trustee | Pleased.tG.PFV-3SG.M  
|---|---  
| The trustee was pleased. (V.13)  

(5.183) \textit{bāb-ā} \textit{ettar-ō}  

| Father-AUG | Awaken.tC-3SG.M  
|---|---  
| The father woke up. (IV.54)  

(5.184) \textit{eṭber-ō} \textit{minn=i wuśle}  

| Break.tC.PFV-3SG.M | From=3SG.M Piece  
|---|---  
| A piece broke off of / was broken from it. (IX.12)  

(5.185) \textit{eṣṭab-yon} \textit{gāw nāpš maṣbett-ā}  

| Baptize.tG.PFV-3PL | In Same Baptism-AUG  
|---|---  
| They baptized / were baptized according to the same baptism. (I.10)  

5.4.3 The Passive Voice

In the passive voice, the grammatical subject of the verb is the recipient of the action described by it, namely the patient. There are two ways of forming the passive voice in Neo-Mandaic: the analytic passive (§5.4.3.1) and the much more common impersonal passive (§5.4.3.2). The agent of the action is expressed neither by the inflection of the verb nor by an oblique complement in these two constructions; the agent of the action can only be expressed in the active or middle voice.

5.4.3.1 The Analytic Passive

As described in §5.1.1.4, the analytic passive is formed from the passive participle of the verb and the long or short forms of the copula.

Not all verbal roots yield a passive participle. Furthermore, many of the intransitive verbs yield passive participles that are passive in form but active in meaning, as in Syriac. The basic forms of the passive participles for the paradigmatic verbs found in §5.1 are given in Table 91.
Table 91: The G-Stem Passive Participles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root Class</th>
<th>Masc.</th>
<th>Fem.</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strong</td>
<td>C₁C₂eC₃</td>
<td>ătel</td>
<td>C₁C₂iC₃ā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I-Weak</td>
<td>ăC₂eC₃</td>
<td>ăbed</td>
<td>ăC₂iC₃ā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II-Weak</td>
<td>C₁iC₃</td>
<td>diš</td>
<td>C₁iC₃ā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III-Weak</td>
<td>C₁C₂i</td>
<td>hazi</td>
<td>C₁C₂yā</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The basic form of the passive participle of the strong verb is C₁C₂eC₃. Note that this form resembles the forms of the subjunctive with pretonic lenition, e.g. (5.186). The form C₁C₂eC₃ is retained before suffixes beginning with a consonant, e.g. (5.187) but becomes C₁C₂iC₃- before the feminine morpheme -ā and other suffixes beginning with a vowel, e.g. (5.189) and (5.190).

(5.186) qabin āmer I want to say (subjunctive, not passive)
(5.187) yăhemye he is seated
(5.188) yăhīmā the seated woman
(5.189) yăhīmen the seated ones

The third personal forms of the short copula are obligatory on the passive participle only when it is used predicatively. The third feminine singular personal suffix takes the form -ī; this unusual form (which is identical to the third masculine singular object and possessive suffix) presumably arose after the collapse of the diphthong produced by the feminine morpheme -ā and the short copula, e.g. (5.190). The final consonant of the first singular personal suffix -nān is often subject to deletion, e.g. (5.191).

(5.190) yăhīmi she is seated (from *yăhīmā-ye)
(5.191) yăhemnā I am seated

For the derived stems, it is not possible to reproduce a full paradigm of passive participles. The D-stem is represented by one passive participle, ămšabbā ‘praised,’ which belongs to the III-weak root consonant class. The C-stem is also represented by one III-weak passive participle, maḥḥā ‘kept.’
5. The Verb

(5.192) ṭamšabbā-ō  Mār=e praise.D.PASS-SG  lord=1SG  Praised be my Lord!

(5.193) kol  waxt  rāz-i  maḥb=i every time  secret-INDF  keep.C.PASS=3SG.F
It has always been kept a secret. (I.13)

5.4.3.2 The Impersonal Passive

The most common and productive form of the passive is the impersonal passive construction, in which an impersonal ‘they’ occupies the role of the agent. Whereas most personal pronouns correspond to a noun phrase that has already been introduced into the discourse, the impersonal ‘they’ is immediately distinguished by the fact that it has no referent within the context of the discourse.

(5.194) jīsr=i  tum  ẓbad-yon bridge-INDF  again  do.PFV-3PL
Another bridge had been built. (III.21)

(5.195) nedā  ẓbad-yon  gāw  welāt herald  do.PFV-3PL  in  city
It was proclaimed in the city. (V.20).

The patient of this impersonal passive is expressed either by the enclitic object suffixes or by the noun in object position.

(5.196) la=šִּבq-onn=an  all-enni  ekkak NEG=leave.PFV-3PL=1PL  go.SBJV-1PL  there
We weren’t allowed to go there. (III.13)

(5.197) gaṭl-onn=u  geš=d=u kill.IPFV-3PL=3PL  all=of=3PL
They were all killed. (III.23)

Frequently, the impersonal passive appears in topic-comment or resumptive sentence form, the patient being expressed as the topic and the passive verb (with a resumptive enclitic object suffix) following as its comment. Note that the patient, once topicalized, does not take the enclitic object marker; cf. (5.198) with (5.199).

(5.198) ā  xūtb  šadr-onn=i  qamd=ین this  letter  send.PFV-3PL=1SG  to=1SG
This letter was sent to me.
This letter was sent to me.
6. Conclusion

6.1 Classical Mandaic and the Modern Dialects

In light of the data outlined in the preceding chapters, it is possible to make a few general comments about the relationship between Classical Mandaic and the Neo-Mandaic dialects of Ahvāz and Khorramshahr, as well as the relationship between the two contemporary dialects. My remarks here will necessarily be brief and far from comprehensive, as a full description of the historical grammar of the modern dialects falls beyond the scope of this grammar. They should, however, serve to give a general idea of the differences between these three dialects.

6.1.1 Phonology

Classical Mandaic is written with a rudimentary alphabet rather than one of the abjads employed by other Aramaic dialects (and, indeed, most other Semitic languages). The advantages of the Mandaic script against these other scripts are two-fold: it employs distinct vowel signs rather than *matres lectionis*, which serve both as consonants and as vowels, and its orthography represents the contemporary pronunciation of the language to a more consistent degree than that of the other Aramaic dialects, the orthographies of which are generally a composite of vernacular forms and historical spellings preserved by the literary tradition. As a result, it is possible to divine a great deal about the phonology of Classical Mandaic.

Unfortunately, there are a number of phonemic distinctions that are not represented by the Mandaic script. These include some

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199 An abjad is a writing system in which each grapheme represents a consonant. Vowels may be represented by vowel markings on the basic graphemes. Alphabets, by contrast, have basic graphemes for both vowels and consonants. For more on this distinction and its relevance to the Mandaic script, see Häberl, “Iranian Scripts for Aramaic Languages.”
qualitative and all quantitative distinctions in the vowels, in addition to consonant gemination, stress, and the fricativization of the /bl/, /gl/, /dl/, /kl/, /pl/, and /tl/ series of stops. Consequently, a full understanding of Classical Mandaic phonology is possible only with the aid of historical reconstruction (of which the first and only exhaustive attempt was Nöldeke’s *Mandäische Grammatik*, published in 1875), the traditional pronunciation of the texts (documented by Macuch in his *Handbook*, published in 1965), and the modern dialects (documented in Macuch’s *Handbook*, his two text collections from 1989 and 1993, and this grammar). A full account of Classical Mandaic phonology in light of this evidence remains to be done and is a basic prerequisite for any discussion of the historical phonology of the modern dialects. Nonetheless, it is possible to draw a few conclusions about the development of Mandaic phonology, from the classical language to the modern dialects.

The first (and most obvious) innovation is the introduction of new phonemes not found in Classical Mandaic, such as č/ʧ/, j/ʤ/, ʕ/ and ḫ/ (see §2.1). Later stages of the language, such as Post-Classical Mandaic and Neo-Mandaic, use digraphs and diacritics to indicate these new phonemes in writing, as they are not indicated in the Classical Mandaic script. Additionally, segments that were formerly allophones of Classical Mandaic phonemes, such as the spirants /v/, /ʁ/, /χ/, /f/, and /θ/, which were allophones of /b/, /g/, /d/, /k/, /p/, and /t/ in post-vocalic position, have become phonemic in Neo-Mandaic and have a slightly different distribution, occurring in word-initial position among other places.

Another innovation is the collapse of the Classical Mandaic diphthongs /au/ and /ao/ to /i/ and /u/. In Classical Mandaic, these diphthongs had already collapsed in closed accented syllables. In the dialects of Ahvāz and Khorramshahr, these diphthongs have also collapsed in open accented syllables. See §2.3.2.1 and §2.3.2.2 for further details. There is some evidence that the collapse of diphthongs in open accented syllables had not yet occurred in the Iraqi dialect documented by Drower (see §2.3.2.1). Other diphthongs (listed in §2.4.3.3), including those in words borrowed from other languages or resulting from inflectional processes, are retained in the dialect of
Khorramshahr, but in Ahvāz other diphthongs appear to be succumbing to this process; compare Khorramshahr gāw /gɔʊ/ ‘in’ with Ahvāz gu/ɡuː/ id.

Closely tied to the collapse of the diphthong /aɪ/ in open accented syllables is the breaking of its outcome, /iː/, in the same environment; see §2.5.3.5 for further details. This sound change is typical of both Ahvāz and Khorramshahr but is not present in either the text from Iraq collected by Drower or the earlier texts collected by Macuch in Ahvāz. The later texts from Ahvāz also show some evidence of palatalization not found in Khorramshahr. The final conclusion must be that the phonology of the dialect of Khorramshahr is slightly more conservative than that of Ahvāz, although both dialects have experienced substantial phonological changes in recent years.

6.1.2 Morphology

Both of the documented modern dialects retain much of the morphology of the classical dialect. While the morphology of the noun has been heavily influenced by Persian, the morphology of the verb remains fairly intact and free of contact influence. Much more about the morphology of the verb can be divined from the dialect of Ahvāz than that of Khorramshahr, although this is primarily due to the larger corpus of texts collected from that dialect. Despite all the evidence for the morphology of both dialects that has thus far been collected, much more work remains to be done.

6.1.2.1 The Noun

The nominal morphology of Neo-Mandaic has been greatly affected by contact with Persian. The classical system of states (see §3.4) has become obsolete, and only vestiges of it survive in some frozen forms and grammatical constructions. The primary distinctions made by the morphology of the noun reflect referentiality and identifiability (see §6.1.3 below). As a result, the most common inflectional morphemes associated with the states have been replaced by morphemes borrowed

200 See Table 4 in this grammar and §2.3.1 in Macuch, Neumandäische Texte, 38 for examples.
from Persian, such as the plural morphemes (§3.3.1) and (§3.3.3), the indefinite morpheme (§3.6.3), and the *ezāfe* (§3.4.2). This last morpheme, which appears in both the dialects of Ahvāz and Khorramshahr, is far more characteristic of the speech of the former rather than the latter.

Despite the collapse of the system of states, much of the morphology of the noun has been preserved, and the influence of Persian has not been as pervasive as it initially might seem. Grammatical gender (which is not found in Persian) and its morphological markers have been preserved (§3.2), and many of the original heteroclite plurals have also been retained (§3.3.2), even though the most common plural morpheme *-ia* has been replaced by one borrowed from Persian (§3.3.1). It is also worth noting that Neo-Mandaic has innovated a system to keep loan words distinct from the native vocabulary by morphologically marking them in the plural and before possessive suffixes. This system is unique among the living Semitic languages (most of which aggressively assimilate loan words to their own phonology and morphology) and perhaps among the languages of the world.

One of the major innovations of both dialects of Neo-Mandaic vis-à-vis Classical Mandaic is the new means of marking referentiality and identifiability on the noun (see §3.6). These means include morphological indicators such as the referential object marker (§3.6.2) and the indefinite morpheme (§3.6.3), as well as various syntactic ways of indicating referentiality (§3.6.1). This is an areal phenomenon affecting languages straddling the border between the Semitic world, Iran, and Anatolia, including Neo-Mandaic and various other Neo-Aramaic dialects. The first attestations of the indefinite morpheme, originally borrowed from the Iranian languages, are found already in the Classical Mandaic texts.²⁰¹

Related to the general category of referentiality is the phenomenon of noun incorporation (§3.5.2). Whenever the object of the verb refers to an entire class of referents rather than one specific referent, it appears before the verb rather than after it and is incorporated into its meaning. Once incorporated in this fashion, the noun may take the

indefinite morpheme, indicating a restrictive selection out of the range implied by the generic noun.

6.1.2.2 The Verb

As mentioned above, the Neo-Mandaic dialects preserve much of the morphology of the Classical Mandaic verb. All of the forms employed in Neo-Mandaic are also attested in Classical Mandaic, and Neo-Mandaic preserves (to varying extents) all Classical Mandaic forms with the exception of the prefix conjugation, described by Macuch as the imperfect.202 The derived stems, including the *D*-stem, the *C*-stem, and the so-called “reflexive” stems, are also attested in both dialects of Neo-Mandaic, although more examples are attested in the dialect of Ahvāz than that of Khorramshahr. This is likely due to the greater volume of texts collected from the former. The reflexive stems are quite uncommon in Classical Mandaic, and varnishingly rare in both modern dialects. The passive forms of the other derived stems are fairly well attested in the modern dialect, even though they appear to be giving way to the impersonal passive construction (see §6.1.3 below).

Both dialects preserve three of the six thematic vowel classes of Classical Mandaic (see §5.1.1.1), although the thematic vowel of the perfective of many of the verbs originally from the \(e \sim o\) and the \(o \sim o\) thematic vowel classes have leveled towards that of the \(a \sim o\) vowel class, which is the largest and most productive of the three in Neo-Mandaic. This process, which had begun already in the classical dialect, appears to have advanced further in the Neo-Mandaic dialect of Khorramshahr than it has in that of Ahvāz, which preserves more verbs in the former two classes than the dialect of Khorramshahr does.

With regard to the different root classes of the verb (see §5.1.1.2), both modern dialects show important innovations in comparison with the classical dialect. While the paradigm of the strong verb remains much the same, the paradigm of the *I*-\(n\) and *I*-\(γ\) verbs have been reformed on the analogy of the strong verbs, and the collapse of the

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202 All functions of the classical imperfect have been assumed by the Neo-Mandaic imperfective (which Macuch calls the “participial present-future tense”). Participles inflected as verbs are found already in Classical Mandaic.
original Classical Mandaic diphthongs /aɪ/ and /aʊ/ has wreaked havoc upon the II-weak verbs and affected the paradigm of the III-weak verbs. Many geminate verbs had already been reformed on the analogy of the middle-weak verbs in Classical Mandaic. The reduction in the number of root classes found in Neo-Mandaic is thus the latest stage of a process which had already begun in Classical Mandaic.

The modern dialects are further distinguished from the classical dialect by the forms of the personal morphemes on the verb. The full third person plural suffix on the Classical Mandaic perfective is -u. The form used in the modern dialects is -yon, which is attested in the classical as -un or –iun, albeit less frequently. Conversely, in Neo-Mandaic, the final -n is consistently dropped from the first person plural suffix on the perfective, -nin, Neo-Mandaic -ni. Neo-Mandaic preserves the classical personal suffixes on the imperfective (Macuch’s “participial present-future”), although once again the final -n is consistently dropped from the first person plural suffix, -inin, Neo-Mandaic -enni. The form of this suffix before object suffixes, -nan-, retains the final -n, but the vowel of the modern suffix differs from that of the classical dialect.

One of the more obvious differences between the two modern dialects is the absence of the third and second feminine plural forms in the verbal paradigms of the dialect of Khorramshahr. Furthermore, there is a second feminine singular form in the dialect of Ahvāz, formally identical to the first common singular, that is attested in neither the dialect of Khorramshahr nor in Classical Mandaic. It appears to be a complete innovation in the dialect of Ahvāz.

In his Handbook, Macuch claims that the Neo-Mandaic third plural forms are “rare in the classical, but they are used with absolute consistency in modern Mandaic,” and that the second feminine plural, though often conflated with the masculine in Classical Mandaic, is “still used with relative consistency” in Neo-Mandaic. In the paradigms offered in his two text collections, however, the feminine forms are enclosed within brackets, suggesting that he may have changed his mind about the consistency of their appearance. The brevity of the sketch grammars attached to both text collections

prevents us from drawing any concrete conclusions about the
distribution of these forms. In any case, more research is necessary to
determine whether the use of the feminine forms in Ahvāz is an
innovation in that dialect, an unconscious (or perhaps deliberate)
archaism on the part of his informants (both of whom were literate in
the classical dialect), or a genuine survival of the classical forms,
albeit with a different distribution in the modern language.

Another major innovation is the impersonal passive (§5.4.3.2),
which is the most productive form of the passive in Neo-Mandaic and
coexists alongside the analytic passive construction inherited from
earlier stages of the language.

6.1.3 Syntax

The syntax of Classical Mandaic has received little attention since the
days of Theodor Nöldeke. As Macuch himself notes, 204 syntax was the
aspect of Mandaic grammar least addressed by him in his Handbook
and the two text collections. As a proper examination of the
comparative syntax of the various Mandaic dialects would fall beyond
the scope of this grammar, I will restrict myself to a few general
remarks about this subject. A full study of the syntax of Neo-Mandaic
must remain a desideratum for the immediate future.

It would appear that Neo-Mandaic preserves the SVO word order
of Classical Mandaic, despite its longstanding contact with Persian
(which follows SOV word order). Topic-fronting, which tends to
obscure the word order, is typical of all three languages. Simple
sentences consist of a subject, which may be implied in the verb, and a
predicate, which is headed by a verb or the copula (see §5.1.1.4). The
independent forms of the copula introduce predicate nominal and
predicate locative constructions, and the enclitic forms introduce
predicate adjectives. Much like other Semitic languages, Neo-
Mandaic employs a predicate locative construction to express the
notion of possession. In the simple present tense, this construction
uses the independent form of the existential particle *ēṯ and the
preposition l- ‘to/for,’ which takes the enclitic suffixes introduced in

204 Macuch, Handbook, 383.
Table 15. Before $l$, the existential particle assumes the form $eh$-, yielding the forms $ehli$ ‘he has’ (lit. ‘there is for him’), $ehla$ ‘she has,’ and so forth. In tenses, aspects, and moods other than the simple present, the copular verb $h\dot{ow}\dot{a}$ ~ $h\dot{ow}i$ ($h\dot{awi}$) is used in the place of the existential particle, e.g. $agar$ $por\dot{ah}a$ $h\dot{ow}ale$, $turti$ $za\dot{uhn}it$ ‘if I had money, I would have bought a cow.’

Compound sentences combine two or more simple sentences with coordinating conjunctions such as $u$ ‘and,’ $am\dot{m}a$ ‘but,’ $lo$ ‘or,’ and the correlative conjunction -$lo$ … -$lo$ ‘either … or.’ Complex sentences consist of a main clause and one or more dependent clauses introduced by a relative pronoun, provided that the referent of the antecedent of the clause is definite—if it is indefinite, no relative pronoun is used. The Classical Mandaic relative pronoun $d$ has not survived, having been replaced by $illi$, an Arabic loan that introduces non-restrictive relative clauses (§4.3.2.1), and $ke$, a Persian loan that introduces restrictive relative clauses (§4.3.2.2), both of which appear immediately following the antecedent of the clause. It is worth noting that the distinction between restrictive relative clauses and non-restrictive relative clauses is not found in Classical Mandaic, and therefore constitutes an important innovation distinguishing the contemporary language from the classical. The antecedents of restrictive relative clauses are marked with the restrictive morpheme -$i$, which resembles the indefinite morpheme in form alone, e.g. $ezgit$ $duk\dot{k}ani$ $ke$ $h\dot{oz}itu$ $aww\dot{al}$ ‘I went to the places which I saw before (III.19).’ If the antecedent is the object of the relative clause, it will be represented within the relative clause by a resumptive relative pronoun, as in the example above ($h\dot{oz}itu$ ‘I saw them’).

6.1.4 Lexicon

As indicated in the introduction (§1.6.4), the Neo-Mandaic dialect of Khorramshahr preserves much more of the vocabulary of Classical Mandaic than scholars such as Macuch and Drower have previously indicated. As much of 85% of the “basic” vocabulary of Neo-Mandaic (here represented by the 207 term Swadesh list) is Aramaic in origin; the remaining 15% derives from Arabic, Persian, and the other languages with which it has come into contact. While there has been
some semantic development (e.g. *barrak* ~ *barrak* (*mebarrak*) ‘to pray’ is derived from the classical verb meaning ‘to kneel’ or ‘to bless’ in the *D*-stem), the majority of this vocabulary also appears to preserve its original meaning. There are even a few words that appear to be classical in form (e.g. *yəmugā* ‘oath’, cf. CM *umamata* id.) but are not attested in any of the classical texts.

Within the modern dialects, certain differences in vocabulary distinguish speakers of the two surviving dialects from one another, e.g. Ahvāz *mork* ‘with’ vs. Khorramshahr *orke* ‘with.’ Unfortunately, due to the small size of the remaining communities of speakers and the absence of a written standard, the total vocabulary of Neo-Mandaic (as distinct from that of Mandaic in general, including the written language) is restricted almost entirely to that of the individual speakers, and vocabulary outside of the domain of ‘basic’ vocabulary is often freely borrowed from other languages. Nevertheless, the vocabulary collected herein and in Macuch’s publications comprises several thousand terms. If these terms were combined with the vocabulary collected from other sources and other informants, they could serve as the basis for a very extensive dictionary of this Neo-Aramaic language, which would be extremely useful for all scholars of Aramaic.

Certain semantic areas (e.g. cultural terms, modern technology, numerals) have become thoroughly saturated with loans. Even so, most recent loan words continue to be marked with a separate set of morphemes in the plural (§3.3.3) and before possessive pronouns (§4.1.2.3). These morphemes are not found in the Classical language but are typical of the modern dialects. It is my impression<sup>205</sup> that the dialect of Khorramshahr preserves much more of the original vocabulary, and that the lexicon of Ahvāz has been more heavily influenced by Persian. Without a dictionary of the modern language, however, this impression must remain unsubstantiated. The situation

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<sup>205</sup> This impression is derived primarily from my sessions of reading Macuch’s *Neumandäische Texte* with Sobbi who, during the course of these sessions, would occasionally remark, “I don’t know why he used that word. We have a perfectly good word…”
is complicated by the fact that my chief informant has an unusual gift for coining neologisms; this was confirmed for me when he took issue with Choheili’s use of the word ṭayyāra ‘airplane’ (a word found in Persian and many colloquial Arabic dialects, originally coined by the Ottomans), claiming that the word poḥirā was the proper Mandaic term for airplane.

6.2 Conclusions and Desiderata

The Neo-Mandaic dialects are characterized by a remarkable uniformity, as few differences separate the dialect of Khorramshahr from that of Ahvāz or the Iraqi dialect documented by Drower. The two surviving dialects that have thus far been documented are mutually intelligible to the point that speakers of either dialect will deny that there are any differences. A possible explanation for the uniformity between these dialects is given in the introduction (see §1.7). There are, however, sufficient differences to justify examining them as separate dialects in their own right, owing to their different origins and the ways in which they have diverged from one another in terms of their phonology, morphology, and lexicon.

The ensemble of the features described above suggest that the grammar of Neo-Mandaic is remarkably conservative in comparison with that of Classical Mandaic, and that most of the features that distinguish the former from the latter are the result of developments already attested in Classical and Postclassical Mandaic. Though it was not the chief focus of this grammar or either of Macuch’s text collections, a thorough historical grammar of Mandaic could potentially be derived from the collected material on the modern dialects and the existing grammars of the classical dialect. Given the position of Neo-Mandaic within the Aramaic family (being a distinct branch of the Eastern Aramaic sub-group and the only documented form of Neo-Aramaic derived directly from a literary dialect), such a grammar would naturally be of great interest not only to Semitists but also to linguists in general.
As “the most massive and inclusive art we know, a mountainous and unconscious work of anonymous generations,” language necessarily defies any attempt at a fully comprehensive treatment. Furthermore, the exigencies of documenting endangered languages often make comprehensive treatments impossible. For these reasons, grammars such as this one can only be the latest word on the subject, never the final one. If I had extended the same treatment to Neo-Mandaic syntax that I have already extended to phonology and morphology, I could easily have filled another volume. Likewise, I have avoided analyzing the Neo-Mandaic dialect of Khorramshahr from a diachronic perspective, an analysis which is also worthy of its own separate treatment. Those volumes, and many others, remain to be written.

7. Text Collection

I am fortunate to have found in Nasser Sobbi a consummate storyteller and a fount of information about the Mandaeans and their religion. Nasser Sobbi is equally at home discussing religion, politics, history, and nearly any other subject related to the Middle East. He is able to draw from a vast store of knowledge accumulated during a lifetime of experiences and from his personal library, much of which was unfortunately destroyed during the Battle for Khorramshahr (1980).

Consequently, it was not difficult to elicit texts from him on a wide variety of subjects that were both interesting and illustrative of the finer points of Neo-Mandaic grammar. I have selected ten of these texts for inclusion in this grammar. All of these texts were recorded in the basement of the Sobbi household, in which Nasser Sobbi’s office and personal library are found, as well as a pantry, a laundry room, and a guestroom. The elicitation sessions all took place in the early afternoon, between the hours of 3-5 PM. Unless otherwise noted, the only people immediately present were Nasser Sobbi and myself, although his wife Shukrieh was always within earshot, and would often wander into the basement as she performed her household chores, occasionally commenting on the session or contributing some information.

It seemed only natural to begin the text collection with the speech that he gave at the ARAM Thirteenth International Conference, “The Mandaeans” (Harvard University 13-15 June 1999), on the opening day of the conference. I recorded the text on a second occasion on June 13, 2003, in the company of my friend Cliff Shin from nearby Great Neck, NY.

The following two texts are autobiographical anecdotes, both recorded on December 13, 2003. The first details his encounter with Lady Drower in the year 1932, when he was only eight years old. The second text describes two trips he made to the cities of Shushtar and
Dezful in northern Khuzestān, the chief cities of the Mandaeans in Iran during the 19th century. The first trip took place during the Second World War, in 1943, and the second trip occurred in 1995.

The fourth text, collected on March 27, 2004, is the largest of the ten, and the most interesting from a literary perspective. Jorunn J. Buckley first drew my attention to this legend, which is a Neo-Mandaic version of the most famous Mandaean folktale, the Bridge of Shushtar. The basic outline of the plot is as follows: the ruler of Shushtar seeks to build a bridge over the river Karun. The first time the bridge is built, it collapses overnight. The collapse of the bridge is attributed to supernatural causes. The second time it is built, the ruler enlists dervishes and wise men to aid the builders while they are constructing the bridge. Once again, the bridge collapses overnight. The third time the bridge is built, the elders of the city advise the ruler to seek the help of the chief priest of the Mandaeans, who are widely regarded for their skills in fighting demons. The chief priest is summoned and instructs the ruler to rebuild the bridge a third time, and that he and his daughter will stand watch over the bridge once it is completed. Surely enough, the demon arrives and attempts to destroy the bridge, but before he can do so, he is tricked by the daughter into revealing his name. Armed with the knowledge of the demon’s name, the chief priest enslaves him and commands him to stop destroying the bridge.

When the chief priest informs the ruler that he has succeeded in trapping the demon, the ruler demands that he relinquish control over the demon to him. The demon refuses to allow the Mandaeans to teach anyone else his secret (swearing that he will kill them first), and so the chief priest instructs him to cause the earth around Shushtar to quake, in the hopes of compelling the ruler to give up his demands. While the earth is quaking, the ruler approaches the chief priest for help. The chief priest agrees, provided that the ruler stops demanding the secret from him. Once the ruler agrees, the chief priest summons the demon and asks him to stop shaking the earth.

He then asks the demon to move the entire Mandaean quarter of Shushtar out of the city, and the demon agrees to do so in exchange for his freedom. He instructs the Mandaeans to stay within their
quarter for forty days while he diggs beneath it. The jewelers, the carpenters, and the blacksmiths disobey these commands and leave the city before the demon lifts it into the air and carries it away.

The first half of this folktale is ultimately based upon the near-universal motif of the foundation sacrifice, despite the fact that the sacrifice itself has been thwarted in this version. Similar legends, involving the construction of a bridge or some other building that is repeatedly destroyed by a supernatural agency, circulate throughout the Balkans, Anatolia, Kurdistan, and even India. In nearly all of these tales, the mason responsible for building the bridge (or fortress) must sacrifice a female relation (either a wife or a daughter) in order to placate the supernatural agency responsible for destroying the bridge, usually by immuring her in its foundation. The Mandaeans have placed a uniquely Mandaean spin upon this legend—by having the daughter trick the demon into revealing his name, they reaffirm their age-old reputation as master magicians and trappers of demons. The Mandaean contribution to this folktale is apparent only once all of its variants have been compared and the principle of the selection of each variant has been determined.

The second half of this folktale, which is specific to the Mandaeans and not found in the other versions, is clearly etiological; it explains why the Mandaeans of Khuzestān traditionally work in these three professions, and also explains the presence of a large pit outside the city of Shushtar, known to the residents of that city as the Naṣṣat-e Sobba ‘Pit of the Sabians.’ Versions of this folktale appear in translation in Petermann’s Reisen im Orient and Drower’s The

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207 Alan Dundes has written on the distribution of this particular folktale and the folly of trying to attribute it to a particular region or people; see Alan Dundes, “How Indic Parallels to the Ballad of the ‘Walled-Up Wife’ Reveal the Pitfalls of Parochial Nationalistic Folkloristics,” Journal of American Folklore 108, no. 427 (Winter, 1995), 38–53. For a variant in the Neo-Aramaic dialect of the Jews of Zakho, not mentioned by Dundes, see Donna Shai, “A Kurdish Jewish Variant of ‘The Bridge of Arta,’” Association for Jewish Studies Review 1 (1976): 303–310.

208 This principle was established by Vladimir S. Propp in his Morphology of the Folktale, translated by Laurence Scott (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1968), 9.

209 Petermann, Reisen im Orient, 100.
Mandaean
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as well as a partial version in the Neo-
Mandaic dialect of Ahvāz collected by Macuch. This particular
version was collected by Drower herself in Neo-Mandaic using an ad
hoc transcription system, but never published. Even though this
version differs from the one given in her book and she did not record
the name of her informant, the source for this story can be none other
than her old friend Hirmiz bar Anhar, a silversmith from Baghdad.
Bar Anhar, whom Sobbi met during the 1940s, was also descended
from the Mandaeans of Shushtar, and given the many similarities
between the dialect of this version of the story and Sobbi’s own
dialect, it is clear that the tale originated with him, like so many others
found in Drower’s book. With the help of Sobbi, I was able to make
sense out of Drower’s text, and recorded his rendition of it for this
collection.

The fifth text, recorded on November 7, 2004, is a second folktale,
which has an even more convoluted history than that of the Bridge of
Shushtar. It is a selection from the Kalīla-o Demne-ye Bahrāmshāh, a
12th century Persian translation of Ibn al-Muqaffa’s 8th century Arabic
Kalīla wa-Dīmna made by Abolma‘āli Nasrollāh ibn-e Mohammad.
The Arabic itself was allegedly translated from a lost Pahlavi translation of the Sanskrit Bidpai fables. In this tale, a merchant leaves
a consignment of iron with a friend before departing on a long
journey. While the merchant is gone, his friend sells the entire
consignment and pockets the money. Upon his return, the merchant
demands his iron back. His friend tells him an improbable story about
the iron having been eaten by mice.

To his astonishment, the merchant appears to accept this
improbable story and departs. As he is leaving the house, the merchant
spots his friend’s young son and kidnaps him. When he returns the
next day, his friend tells him that his son has gone missing, and the
merchant tells him an equally improbable story, claiming that his son
has been snatched away by a hawk. The friend declares that the
merchant’s story is ludicrous, but the merchant retorts, “in the city

where mice can eat iron, shouldn’t a hawk be able to carry off a young boy?” Realizing that the merchant is much shrewder than he previously thought, he exchanges the money from the iron for his son.

Four of the last five short texts are all traditional jokes, originally told in colloquial Arabic and retold in Neo-Mandaic. All five were recorded on November 27, 2004. Sobbi assures me that all of these jokes are very familiar to him and were of the sort that he and his friends would tell one another when he was a young man. The last one is taken from the cycle of stories surrounding the character Joha, also known as Mollah Nasreddin (in Persian) or Nasrettin Hoca (in Turkish). I have seen versions of this particular tale both in Classical Arabic and colloquial Levantine Arabic, as well as Turkish and even Ladino (Djudezmo) versions.

In a previous version of the present work, the texts were presented in interlinear format (much like the examples in the preceding chapters). In the interest of preserving space, the texts are here presented without interlinearization, followed by a free translation on the facing page or immediately below in the case of the shorter texts (VI-X).

Original text of speech given by Nasser Sobbi at Harvard University on June 13, 1999, in Sobbi’s own handwriting.
(1) B-ešmehon ed-Heyyi Rabbi!


(15) Farwāḥḵon geš.
In the name of the Great Life! (2) Greetings, ladies and gentlemen.

(3) I want to thank all of you who came to the conference on the religion of the Mandaeans. (4) I’m very happy that I am seeing you all together at Harvard University, having come from all over of the world to discuss the survival of the Mandaeans. (5) I want to thank the members of ARAM who held this conference, and who said to us, “Come, sit with the scholars, and talk about the religion, language, culture, and literature of the Mandaeans. (6) I want to give many thanks to Professor Buckley, who has done so much work for the Mandaeans, and informed the members of ARAM that you are organizing this conference, and that you know the Mandaeans.

(7) I want to say a few things, from the beginning of our religion, from Ádam, No, and his son Sām, his grandson Rām, until today. (8) As for us Mandaeans, according to our beliefs, our religion has existed from the first epoch of time, and Adam, the Primal Man, is the father of all people. (9) It is written in our sacred book, the Genzā Rabbā, that Hibel Ziwā, the apostle of God’s truth, baptized Adam in the name of Life, God (lit. my Lord), and Knowledge of Life (three divine epithets). (10) Noah, his son Shem, and his grandson Aram baptized with the same baptism ceremony with which we baptize today. (11) We Mandaeans were the first people who recognized that God (lit. my Lord) is a single being, and that he created all the worlds, and everything within them.

(12) We are neither Zoroastrian, nor Jewish, nor Christian, nor Manichaean. (13) Our religion is non-proselytizing, and has always been kept a secret, and some people, those who labeled us one of these religions, those people heard [it] from non-Mandaeans.213 (14) We have experienced so much misfortune and hardship, and we experienced many massacres, and experienced persecution from our neighbors, and many people were concerned that all of us had been exterminated, but we have survived until now, and I pray that we will remain alive until the final epoch of time, by the power of Heyyi Rabbi.

(15) Thank you all.

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213 The third masculine singular suffix is occasionally omitted, as noted in §4.1.2.1.
Text II: Meeting Lady Drower

(1) Qabin āmer mendè eqdakarnā, ke ḥowit jihel, waxtī ke ḥowit jihel. (2) Āk waxt babbe ḥowā—bāb emme ya’ānī—ḥowā ḍab Mandayānā. (3) Lu ganzi bribiye, ḥowā rabbā ākkā. 


I want to say something that I remember from when I was a child, the time when I was a child. At that time, my grandfather, that is to say, my mother’s father, was the leader of the Mandaeans. He wasn’t a ganzibrā, he was the leader there. When I was seven or eight, I don’t remember well, the year was seven or eight, all of us children were playing in the neighborhood. (Some people) came from Ahvāz. They wanted to perform a marriage in Mohammerah. We had a ganzibrā in Mohammerah, whose name was Sheikh Masboob. In Ahvāz, there was a tarmidā whose name was Sheikh Abdallah. They didn’t used to have ganzibrās, but now they have one. They came from Ahvāz to marry someone named Yusef to a woman whose name was Ḥadiyye, the daughter of Kanjar. He was Yusef - he was called Šabuṭ, but his name was Yusef. Then they finished. They came outside where we were playing. We saw that there was an English woman with them. She came outside to ask the children to speak Mandaic. I came up to her - I only want to speak to her. But English? I don’t know English! She spoke Mandaic with me, I answered her. She talked a lot because I gave her a lot of answers. Then she said, “In Iraq, the tarmidās and the ganzibrās don’t speak Mandaic; here, even the children speak (it)!” Ninety-nine percent or more of us spoke Mandaic. We all had Mandaic in Mohammerah, except for those (families) who came here from Iraq, the ‘Azāzi and the Gilāni (families), who didn’t speak Mandaic. Do you know who this woman was? I didn’t know what Iraq was, I didn’t know that the tarmidās and the ganzibrās and the men there didn’t know how to speak Mandaic. This woman said (that she was) Ms. Drower! She came from Baghdad to Sheikh Abdallah. In Ahvāz, they had a wedding. They wanted to come (to) Mohammerah, that is, Khorramshahr now, and they came to Sheikh Masboob. They had a wedding. She came out, asking to speak to the children. That’s because, (in) Mohammerah, everybody used to speak Mandaic.

I still remember her appearance and her personality. May she rest in peace. She’s dead now. May God (lit. my Lord) protect her.

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214   A type of priest; see §1.2.2.
215   Another type of priest, of lower rank than the ganzibrā, see §1.2.2.
Text III: Two Trips to Shushtar

(1) Qabin āmer mendi eqdakernā, gāw šet alľā u āemmā, ārbin u klāţā. (2) Hōwat šer horettā, u geš āton, maxsūs Amrikān, Ḥgiliz, āton gāw Irāň, qābeyyen komāk aḥdell’ al-Rusya. (3) Āṭon am-ohār Mohāmār, qām waddēn ekkāk.

(4) An ḥowit am-Prostit Marshāl (qambasqarle) ehlē pāsi kol dukkān-e Amrikān qāmzabnēn ѹlāwwu. (5) Ḥowit qanāyyā d-kaspā (silversmith) aḵ wāxt ḥowit.

(6) Aḵ wāxt ezzgīnī qam Haft Ṭappē, u qallēn qam Bandar-e Mašūr, qallēn qam Dezful (7-11 ḥwālu ekkāk), qallēn qāmzabnēn qālāwwu. (7) Ezzgīt am-Ṣolḥabād (ẖwini gāw Ṣolḥabād) u qallennī, qam Dezful ḥozīnī aḵ wāxt.

(8) An ḥwā orke yeki (ṟwāhā nehwili) Ḥyabber, meṯ Ḥyabber, ezzgīnī ekkāk, ḥozin’ șl-nahrā. (9) Ūnā șabdnī ekkāk, šamnī u bārānṇī. (10) Ba’āden lebašnī eqmāšānān, šiyelnī, “Qeḥāzen bītราวāt ba’id. (11) Ahnī am-manno, lek barra șm-belāmōn?”

(12) Ḫmaryn “ahni,” gāw Fārsī, “xāne kāfērān,” ya’āni bītราวāt ke illī (lāqambasqer) şer lehlu, bīt māl șobbīhā, xāne kāfērān, șubbīye, șābī’e, ya’ni bīt Mandayān.


(18) Gāw šet ēstā, ya’āni šubiḥā șettā ēstā qamātār, ya’āni alľā u āemmā u čin u hamsā, yeah, ezzgīt ekkāk yektā tum. (19) Ezzgīt Dezful, ezzgīt Ūštār, dokkānī ke ḥozitu awwāl, (20) qamşehyel, jisor ke ḥwā ekkāk, șobrā ke gāw metelā Mandāyā abdonni, ẖwā pseeq aḵ wāxt. (21) Ėstā ḥoziti jisor șun’aye, u jisri tum șābydon. (22) Ellīnīn bīt Mandayānā, lekkā - șe daronnu w-abdonnu, xiyābānḥā abdonnu, street abdonnu, bōnon bōnon bēnāyāt - u mendi lekkā. (23) Ya’āni, Mandayānān geš paradyon, gaṭlonnī geš-du, šabqon am-Űštār u Dezful u Šawālī. (24) Ėstā lek enšī, bītราวāt ām daronnu. (25) Ā metelā Muṣmanān orke Mandayānā.
I want to say something that I remember, [that happened] in 1943. It was the Second World War, and everybody came, especially the Americans and the British, they came to Iran, because they wanted to help Russia. They came along Khorramshahr Road, they sent (them) there.

I had from the Provost Marshal (who knew me) a pass for all the American stores to which we would sell. I was a silversmith at that time, I was. At that time we went to Haft Tappe, and we used to go to Bandar-e Ma‘šur, we used to go to Dezful (they had a 7-11 there), we used to go to sell to them. I went from Solhabad (we were in Solhabad) and then we went to see Dezful.

There was someone with me, Yabber, God bless him [lit. may he have relief], Yabber is dead, we went there and we saw the river. We swam there, performed our ablutions, and prayed. Afterwards, we put on our clothes, and we asked, “We see distant houses.” They said, in Persian, “Those are the houses of unbelievers,” meaning the houses of those who (he didn’t know) don’t have a religion, the Sabians’ houses, the houses of unbelievers; they are the Şubba, the Sabians, that is, Mandaean houses.

I saw houses which had a Mandaean temple by the river, but I didn’t go up, we weren’t allowed to go there. I was just a child then, I was, that is to say, 20 years, that was my age, (in Mandaic:) 19 years, no - wait - 20 years. No, I didn’t go up then. We went back. If I knew then what I know today (lit. I were in this mind), I would have gone, to pick up a Mandaic book or something.

In this year, that is to say, seven years ago, that is, 1995, I went there once again. I went to Dezful, I went to Shushtar, the places which I saw before. I asked about the bridge that was there, the men who, according to the stories, were Mandaeans who did it; it was broken then. Now I saw that it had been repaired [lit. I saw “the bridge is good”], and another bridge had been built. Wherever there were Mandaean houses, (now) there weren’t. They were taken away and avenues and streets were built, building after building, and there was nothing left. That is, the Mandaeans had all fled, or they were all killed; they left Shushtar and Dezful and Shāh Wāli. Now there isn’t anyone left, and even the houses have been taken away. These are the stories of the Muslims with the Mandaeans.

Impersonal passive; see §5.4.3.2.
Text IV: The Bridge of Shushtar

(1) Ḥakīmāt gāw Manḏāyā, raṯnā d-Hībel Ziwā, anḥīʿaḏ-ad-ʿAdam.
(26) So rūz qāllēn min ʿubāh. (27) Geš hareb! (28) Ėlmā u barnašānā, olamā u darwišā wayyeq tam gāwwu. (29) Qamu hareb pol?
(36) Šehyānā šadder ʿalāw rišāmmā. (37) Aṭā qāri rišāmmā u so tarmīdʾ orki. (38) Aṭon qār šehyānā u ʿubāḥ tāb habblonī.
Text IV: The Bridge of Shushtar

(1) A story in Mandaic, the idiom of Hibel Ziwā, which he sent down to Adam.

(2) In Shushtar, there is a ruler who wants to build a bridge. (3) He built it from the beginning of one year to the beginning of the next. (4) They build [it] solidly, entirely out of stone and gypsum. (5) Then they finish it. (6) The next day, they want to walk to it. (7) They see that it is completely ruined, (and that) everything is going into the water. (8) They become distressed [lit. distress comes into them]! (9) The ruler and the people become distressed! (10) They don’t know what is destroying it.

(11) He sent for the ministers and the scholars. (12) They came to him and he asks them, “What is destroying the bridge like this?” (13) They say, “It is the work of the planets that is destroying it.” (14) The ruler said to them, “Bring the people who will subdue the planets!”

(15) All who are versed in the knowledge of evil spirits came. (16) They said to the ruler, “Bring people, and [re-]build it, and we will enchant the evil spirits and ward them off.” (17) The ruler brought people who [re-]built [it] anew, and those scholars read morning, noon, and night. (18) They read three times, while the others are building. (19) Women came and enchanted the water, and cast [sc. incantations] to the bridge. (20) Dervishes came from outside the country and began to chant, make incantations, light candles, and draw [magic] boundaries, and for twelve months they build within it. (21) Then it was finished.

(22) The ruler proceeded to prepare a banquet for the people, and they eat. (23) They pray, “O God, may the bridge of Shushtar not be ruined!” (25) Then it was done.

(26) Three days later, they go in the morning. (27) Everything is destroyed! (28) Everybody [lit. the world]—the people, the scholars, and the dervishes—became distressed [lit. distress became within them]! (29) Why was the bridge destroyed?

(30) The governor of Shushtar was distressed. (31) He sent for the elders [lit. white beards]. (32) They came to him. (33) He said to them, “What do you suggest for that bridge? (34) Every year we build it, and it is destroyed!” (35) They said to him, “Send for the riśāmmā of the Mandaees, and he will know these things.”

(36) The ruler sent for the riśāmmā. (37) The riśāmmā came to him along with three tarmidās. (38) They came to the ruler and wished him a good morning.

217 The third masculine singular suffix is occasionally omitted, as noted in §4.1.2.1. The imperfective here appears without the indicative marker, but remains indicative in meaning; see §5.1.1.2.

218 The archons are the rulers of the material world, and identified with the seven visible planets.

219 As noted in fn. 217 above, the third masculine singular suffix is occasionally omitted.

220 The highest grade of priest in the Mandaean priesthood; see §1.2.2.
(39) Ἔmallu, “Qabin mīkōn čāre āḥdetton qamdīn qam tā jisār. (40) Kol šettā qābannanni u qāhāreb, u čāre qārak, yā rīsamā?”
(41) Ἔmalli rīsamā, “Bonyi haṭṭā u an qaṭinā qamāy mahreḥlī.”
(42) Qām šehyānā āḥdelli ḫattā. (43) Qōmatīq barnāsā qābānīn ḫattā jisār. (44) Ehdā šettā bānēn ġāwi. (45) Qamāy ōmpardas so rūz, rīsamāmā ātā, huwi u bārattī, alm eḥlu qāhāzen diwā u šibihānā.
(48) ġūbšā! (49) Qāhāzya hemke iẖā ātā qāl eẖli. (50) Barābaru bārattā bāḡeš iẖā.
(51) Mārellī, “Man eḵtāk?”
(52) Ἔmalla, “Ana Ĉečāwā bar Ĉečāwā. (53) Ana ekkā ḥusān laḥzīt!”
(60) Aẓiyyāt qāḥdēt!”
(61) Ἔmall’ al-rīsamāmā, “Tum lāqmahrem, u ana daxīl-dokon.”
(62) Ἔmallī ganziqibrā, “ʾObādi ʾebbod qamīn!”
(63) Diw ʾamali, “Mu qebāt, ana qagbed qamdak.”
(64) Rīsamāmā Ἔmall’ al-diwā, “An qalīn biṯtā, u āt doṭī qāre qam šehyānā.”
(65) Ḥākimā d-Šuṣṭar, huwi u bārınašānī, sewār ʾhisān tammon. (66) Āṭon guš qāḥbēn. (67) Qāhāzen pol lāhāreb. (68) Jisrā d-Šuṣṭar! (69) Keft ʾḥadyon! (70) Bārınašānī u wazirā mallonni, “M-eḥnā tum ḥaffāt hazēn!”
(71) Ἔmallu ḥākem, “Lājur lāḥribī ā-yumā, tum lāqḥāreb.”
(72) Ἔmallu ḥākem, “Lābud keft ʾḥbden ṣnāṣā?”
(73) Mallonni wazirā, “Ṣadder ʾlāw rīsamāmā qāṭī qārak.”
(74) Ṣadder ʾlāw rīsamāmā āṯī qārī. (75) Āṯā rīsamāmā qāri huwi u so tarmīdā qār ḥākem.
(39) He said to them, “I want you to fix that bridge for me. (40) Every year we build it and it is destroyed, so do you have a solution, rišāmānā?”

(41) The rišāmānā said to him, “Build it again and I will come before it is destroyed [lit. before he destroys it].”

(42) The ruler arose, they rebuild it, he brings some people to rebuild the bridge.

(43) For one year they build [it]221 strong. (44) Three days before it is finished, the rišāmānā and his daughter came. (45) They have the knowledge to see demons and evil spirits.

(46) He said to his daughter, “If I fall asleep, keep a look out.” (47) The father fell asleep, and the daughter watches.

(48) Twilight! (49) She sees that something like a cloud has arrived, which has a voice. (50) The cloud stopped in front of the daughter. (51) She said to him, “Who are you?”

(52) He said to her, “I am Čečāwā, son of Čečāwā. (53) I have never seen such beauty!”

(54) The father awoke. (55) The rišāmānā lit a fire and began reading a prayer of Šāmeš,222 “Demon-Trapper” [lit. “Seize the demon,” the name of the prayer]. (56) He said to the ganzibrā, “I am at your mercy!” (57) The ganzibrā said to the demon, “Why are you causing such trouble? (58) You keep destroying the bridge. (59) Every year, they build it, and you destroy it! (60) You’re doing [a lot of] damage!”

(61) He said to the rišāmānā, “I won’t destroy (it)223 any longer, since I am at your mercy.”

(62) The ganzibrā said to him, “Do something for me.”

(63) The demon said to him, “Whatever you want, I will do for you.”

(64) The rišāmānā said to the demon, “I am going home, so you come with me to the ruler.”

(65) The governor of Shushtar, along with a few other people, rode on horseback [lit. became horse-riders]. (66) They came to take a look. (67) They see that the bridge had not been destroyed! (68) The Shushtar bridge! (69) They celebrated!

(70) The people and the ministers said to him, “Let’s see a week from now!”

(71) The ruler told them, “Since he didn’t destroy it today, he will no longer destroy it.”

(72) The governor told them, “The people must celebrate!”

(73) The advisors told him, “Send for the rišāmānā to come before you.”

(74) He sent for the rišāmānā to come before him. (75) The rišāmānā came to the governor along with three tarmidās.

221 Once again, the third masculine singular suffix has been omitted; see §4.1.2.1.
222 Šāmeš is the sun, one of the seven archons who govern the fates of mankind. He is traditionally identified with the god of the Jews (CM adunai).
223 Note again the omission of the third masculine singular suffix; see §4.1.2.1.
Qamyon barābar-du, u ḥākem lāḳt’ ʾal-ganzibrā. (77) Ayhimī qārī, u Ṣmallʾ ʾal-ganzibrā, “Mu ʾqāmret? (78) Jisrā qoḥāreb kandi?”

(79) Ganzibrā Ṣmallʾ ʾal ḥākem, “Tum láqḥāreb.”

(80) Keft aḥad ʾeshyānā, geš-du keft aḥadyon. (81) Čangā mḥon, hiṭrā aḥadyon, inšā u goḥrā, u ʾeshyānā Ṣmallʾ ʾal-ganzibrā, “Doṭī qāre, āt u tarmidānā, ʾemḥaṭṭén bienā-dan bel-enāšā.”

(82) Ezgon qārī so tarmidā u rišāmmā. (83) Ḥākem welāt Ṣmallu, ḥākem Ṣmallʾ ʾal-ganzibrā, “Qābin minnak malpāṭe buṭā d-Šāmessa ke lāḳt’ ʾal-diwā.”

(84) Ganzibrā Ṣmallī, “ʾĀhā qam enši láqmalφ, w-agar qămalleφ, meṭ. (85) Āhā rāzā d-kasyā.”

(86) Ḥākem wayyeq aḥad gāw ganzibrā, “Lābud malpāṭe!” (87) Ganzibrā Ṣmallʾ ḥākem Ṣmallī, “ʾĒm-eḥnā tum so māḥ, anā xabār qaḥebnak.”

(88) Atā ganzibrā ʾal-biṭi, huwi u so tarmidā. (89) Qamyon qaḥaṭṭen bienā-du.

(90) Mallonni tarmidānā ʾal-ganzibrā, “Šadder ʾalāw Čečāwā bar Čečāwā!” (91) Qam ganzibrā nur asreḵ, ḫuṭi eqrā, ḥāzēr tammā Čečāwā bar Čeče wa qar ganzibrā. (92) Ganzibrā Ṣmallī ʾal-Čeče waq, “Ḥākem welāt qabāyʾ Ṣmalṭennā224 rāzā qāre.”

(93) Čeče waq, “Qamāy malpāṭi, ana qaṭelnākon geš!”

(94) Ṣmalt ʾal-ganzibrā ʾal-Čeče waq, “Ya ʾarē ḥezī qaṃdān!”

(95) Čeče waq ʾal-ganzibrā, “Qobāṭ alīn qaṭeln’ ʾal-ḥākem?”

(96) Ganzibrā Ṣmallī, “Ani nešemti lāqaṭṭān, (97) Ḥāzāyā qāran láqḥāwi.”

(98) Čeče waq ʾal-ganzibrā, “An qaṃandin’ ʾal-deštā, u ḥākem u jamīʾa raṭīqā-di qaḏāḥen u qaṃṣadder ʾalāwwaq.”

(99) Čeče waq ʾezgā gāw Šuštar welāt. (100) Ganā tul deštā. (101) Deštā qaṭmat. (102) Qallā u qātyā u qaṃidā, u qāl šāyaḥ qaṃīḥyā deštā. (103) Ḥākem u ʾaskar qaḥaryon min welāt gāw deštātā.

(104) Ḥākem leq aḵal, huwi u wazirā qar ganzibrā ezgon. (105) Ṣmalt, “Deštā áhā Šuštar qaṃidā genzā, w-ahl Šuštar geš qaḥaryon, inšā u goḥrā. (106) Lābo Ṣmbāqṣiret muyye āḥā!”

(107) Ganzibrā Ṣmallī ʾal-ḥākem, (108) “Id mēṭi minne, w-anā qaṃbaqṣṣān ʾal-deštā.” (109) Ḥākem u wazirā mallonni ʾal-ganzibrā, “Lāqbēn malpāṭan, ṣoḥq’ ʾal-deštā bāqṣā!”

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224 This form is a biform for Ṣmālṭennā; see Table 57.
They stood before them, and the governor took the *ganzîbrâ*. (77) He sat him beside him, and said to the *ganzîbrâ*, “What do you say? Will he destroy the bridge any more?”

The *ganzîbrâ* said to the ruler, “He won’t destroy it any longer.”

The ruler celebrated, all of them celebrated! They played harps, everybody rejoiced, and the ruler said to the *ganzîbrâ*, “Come with me, along with the *tarmidâs*, let’s talk among ourselves, without anybody else.”

The three *tarmidâs* and the *rîsâmmâ* went with him. The governor of the city said to them, the governor told the *ganzîbrâ*, “I want you to teach me the prayer of Šâmeš that captured the demon.”

The *ganzîbrâ* told him, “I will not teach this to anyone, for if I did teach it, I would die.” This is a private secret.”

The ruler threatened [lit. made distress for] the *ganzîbrâ*, “You must teach me.” The *ganzîbrâ* said to the ruler, “I will tell you in three months.”

The *ganzîbrâ* and the three *tarmidâs* came to his house. They started talking among themselves. The *tarmidâs* said to the *ganzîbrâ*, “Send for Čečâwâ bar Čečâwâ!” The *ganzîbrâ* rose, kindled a fire, recited a prayer, and Čečâwâ bar Čečâwâ appeared before the *ganzîbrâ*. The *ganzîbrâ* said to Čečâwâ, “The ruler of the country wants us to teach him the secret I have.”

Čečâwâ said to him, “Before you teach him, I will kill you all!”

The *ganzîbrâ* said to Čečâwâ, “Find a solution for us!”

Čečâwâ said to the *ganzîbrâ*, “Do you want me to go kill the governor?”

The *ganzîbrâ* said to him, “Let’s not kill anyone [lit. a living being], lest the sin be upon us.”

Čečâwâ said to the *ganzîbrâ*, “I will cause the earth to quake, and the governor and all of his friends will become afraid, and he will send for you.”

Čečâwâ went into the city of Shushtar. He lay down beneath the ground. It goes back and forth, heaves, and makes a noise [lit. screamed a noise]. The governor and the army fled from the city into the wilderness.

The governor and the ministers turned around [lit. ate spittle] and went to the *ganzîbrâ*. He said to him, “This land, Shushtar, is shaking very much, and the people of Shushtar—every last one of them [lit. women and men]—have all fled. You surely know what is behind this (lit. what this is).”

The *ganzîbrâ* told the ruler, “Lay off me, and I will make the earth stop.” The governor and the ministers said to the *ganzîbrâ*, “We don’t want you to teach us, just let the earth stop.”

Lit. ‘women and men.’ This is a merism, a conventional phrase representing a totality by listing several of its more conspicuous parts.
(110) Ğanzibrä  ámballi  ámb-ḥākem, ámballu, “Atton ezgon, u anā ʾaṣreyā qāmābģeşna.”
(116)  Şeḥyānā u anāšā kef ʾabadyon! (117) ʿUmar ḥāṭṭī atā qamdi-du!
(120) Ģanzibrā ámballi  ámb-Čečāwā, “Anā qāṣarīnāk bi-ṣumāta, wa-laken āt yomi qamdi, ‘Qāmwadinkon Əmšuni Kuşṭā’.”
(121) Yomā Čečāwā eb-rāzā d-kasyā qam ġanzibrā, “Qāmwadinkon Əmšuni Kuşṭā.”
(122) Ģanzibrā ámballi  ámb-Čečāwā, “Hemdā qāmwadyātan?”
(123) Ə ámballu Čečāwā, “Ārbin yumā yāhomīyon bīetwātḥon, u ʿād m-ehnā tum ārbin yumā yāhomīyon. (124) Lālletton ġer wēlāt, u anā qāmwadinkon, inšā, u goḵrā, u torātā, u ġameš, u əmrānḵon, u qomlānḵon, u zehunānḵon - jamīʿa-daḵon! (125) Ya dukkī yāhomīyon u anā qāẖafer deštā qāmaṭinkon. (126) Mīn ḥanā tum ārbin yumā qāmaṭinkon.”
(127) Qam Čečāwā qāẖāper. (128) Ənāšā u qanayānā ārbin yumā əmaryon, “Mu qāmaṭilān ámb-deštā?” (129) Ārbin yumā bandir tammon. (130) Qənayānā u najarānā u ḥedādānā ezgon qār ġanzibrā.
(131) Qamellooni,226 “Mu qāmaṭil’ ámb-deštā? (132) Dahel ziṭ qāheb u anā qabēn safār mahēn əlāw rezqā-dan.”
(137) Baʿad ēchēl ruz boḵasyon deštā u deštā lāmṭyat, u qanayānā ezgon min şubāḥ. (138) ʾAṣreyā sāʿāt d-ʾaḥta qāḥaζen deštā nādāt. (139) Qāl aḥbat, u mṭyat deštā barnašānā u inšānā u jiḥelā. (140) Ganzibrā ámballu, “Ḥem man yəhom dukkī!”
(141) Deštā pehrat gāw buşme, halpāt əlāw Baḡdād. (142) Ənāš Baḡdād hozonna, u torātā, u ġameš, u zehunūn. (143) Sāyāh qāmāhen!
(144) Am̱tu ʿār yəhom Əmšuni Kuşṭā, u qanayān tammon gāw safār. (145) Xabar maṭā qārū, “Aḥlān-daḵon u gənəziṛə, deštā sāqat gāw ərqiḥā u ezgon!” (146) Pešimān tammon kammā bandir lábgešyon. (147) “ ġanzibrā ámballu, Čečāwā ziṭ láqāheb!”

226 This appears to be a hybrid form. The personal morpheme is regularly found on the perfective stem of the verb, not the imperfective.
(110) The ganzibrā told the governor, he said to them, “Leave, and I will make it stop this afternoon.”

(111) The ruler and the ministers went from the ganzibrā. (112) They went at noon. (113) They arrived at their families’ homes, and the earth continued to shake. (114) Then, in the afternoon, the ganzibrā kindled a fire, read a prayer, (and) Čečāwā came to him.

(115) The earth stopped quaking. (116) The ruler and the people celebrated! (117) A new age had dawned upon them!

(118) The ganzibrā told Čečāwā, “Since you have power (to do) such things, I would like you to take my house and people away to Ōmšuni Kuštā (lit. the Sublimated of Truth).” (119) Čečāwā said to the ganzibrā, “I will take you, (if) you swear to release me.”

(120) The ganzibrā told Čečāwā, “I will release you from the oath, but swear to me, ‘I will take you to Ōmšuni Kuštā.’”

(121) Čečāwā swore to the ganzibrā upon the private secret, “I will take you to Ōmšuni Kuštā.”

(122) The ganzibrā said to Čečāwā, “When will you take us?”

(123) Čečāwā told them, “For forty days, remain in your homes, and stay put for the next forty days. (124) Do not go outside the city, and I will take you, the women and the men, the cows and the buffalos, and children, as well as your sheep, camels, and chickens - all of you! (125) Stay put in one place, and I will dig up the earth, and bring you. (126) Forty days from now, I will bring you.”

(127) Čečāwā began to excavate. (128) For forty days, the people and the jewelers said for forty days, “What will bring the land for us?” (129) For forty days, they were confined [to their homes].

(130) The jewelers and the carpenters and the blacksmiths went to the ganzibrā. (131) They said to him, “What will bring the land? (132) I fear that he is lying, and we want to hit the road for the sake of our jobs.”

(133) The ganzibrā said to them, “Stay confined (within your homes). (134) This Čečāwā doesn’t lie. (135) He has the secret of Šāmeš.” (136) The jewelers went.

(137) After they had stood on the [patch of] land for forty days and the earth hadn’t risen, the jewelers left in the morning. (138) At one o’clock in the afternoon, they see the ground shaking. (139) There was a noise, and the [patch of] land rose, [as well as] the people, the women, and children! (140) The ganzibrā said to them, “Everyone, stay in place!”

(141) The [patch of] land flew through the air, passing over Baghdad. (142) The people of Baghdad saw it and the cows and buffalos and chickens. (143) They screamed out loud!

(144) He brought them to settle in Ōmšuni Kuštā, while the jewelers were still on the road. (145) Word reached them that “your families, the ganzibrā, and the ground rose up into the sky and they went.” (146) They regretted that they had not stayed put. (147) “The ganzibrā told us, ‘Čečāwā doesn’t lie!’”
Text V: The City of Mice who Eat Iron

(1) Qāmren ya tājēri ḫwā, ḫwāli perz pərāhī. (2) Qəbāyi səfār ābed. (3) ḫwāli emmā man ḥadid. (4) Bedqu amānātu əlaw ya bīet dustī ehli u ezgā. (5) Bas tājēr ezgā, amānātār dərišu, zabnu geš, u pərā xarj-di əḥad geš-di.

(6) Tājēr yumī atā qam ḥadid-di.

(7) Ǧaḥor əmalli, “Ḥadidānāk əm-duktā qərār biete āhebtu, (8) əkkakə ya bəzuyi ḫwā obri qənāpeq menni. (9) Əkkək obri ḫwā ke ḡaxti ke an aṭiḥ hezinu əḥād əbdət geš-du əklu! (10) Obrā ākəl geš ḥadidanā.”

(11) Ya’ani, obri sad man ḥadid əkal!

(12) Tājēr jawāb əḥab, “Rāst qāmret, obrā genz qəraheml’ əl-ḥadid, u šenāni genz hilānnon ākəlle’ əl-ḥadid.”


(22) Amānātār sayaḥ məbā. (23) Əmar, “Āt ziḥ qahbēt! (24) Ā muḥālye! Mujur?! (25) Mu qəmret, bəzı eqder’ əlāw əṭəni u qəpəhər?

(26) Tājēr goheḵ əmalli, “Gəw wəltət k’ ehli obrā sad mand ḥadid qə-əkəl, mujur bəzı ləqder’ əl-ebrī ke dah mand ehli?

The jewelers and some women became married again to one another, (their) women and children having gone with the ganzihrā. They came to see that the [patch of] land had risen. The Muslims [also] came to look, and they said to one another, “[this is] the Pit of the Sabians.”

Text V: The City of Mice who Eat Iron

It is said that there once was a merchant, who had [only] a little cash. He wanted to go on a trip. He had 100 maunds of iron. He placed them as a deposit [for a loan] in a house of a friend of his and went. As soon as the merchant left, the trustee took them, sold them all, and spent all of the money.

One day, the merchant came back one day for his iron. The man said, “In the place in my house where I put away your iron for safekeeping, there was a hole, out of which comes a mouse. There was a mouse there which, no sooner had I arrived, I saw that he had eaten everything I had done. The mouse is eating all the iron.”

That is, a mouse ate 100 maunds of iron!

The merchant responded, “You are correct – the mouse really loves iron, and his teeth are very strong so that they can eat the iron.”

The trustee was pleased. He said to himself, “This merchant has gone soft in the head,” while saying, “I’m telling the truth.” He said to him, “This evening, come to my house, be my guest.”

He said to him, “I will come tomorrow.” He went up a hill and seized one of the man’s sons with him there and put him away.

The next day they went to the prefecture. Throughout the city it was proclaimed that “a boy had gone from us,” and so forth.

The merchant said, “I saw a hawk who had seized a boy flying off.”

The trustee screamed. He said, “You’re lying! This is absurd. How?!” What are you saying, a hawk took a boy and flew off?

The merchant laughed and said to him, “In a city that has a mouse that can eat 100 maunds of iron, how could a hawk not be able to take a boy who weighs only 10 maunds?”

The trustee understood. He said to him, “The mouse did not eat it. Bring back the boy, I’ll give you back your iron.”

Impersonal passive; see §5.4.3.2.
Texts VI-X: Short Texts


(1) There once was a man who was ill. (2) He sat down and he asked God [lit. my Lord], “Heal my eye, and my ear, and my belly, and my arm, and my leg.” (3) There was someone who was sitting beside him, who listened to him. (4) Then he finished. (5) He said to him, “My Lord! (6) Instead of patching up all those things for you, He could make somebody new for him!


(1) There was a coffee shop in which hashish was smoked. (2) There once was someone, who sat down and stuck his leg beneath him. (3) His leg went numb. (4) He didn’t know his leg was cut off. (5) He said, “Oh my God, hey people, my leg has come off (lit. become detached)!” (6) There were two sitting beside him who were also smoking hashish. (7) Then they heard him. (8) One of them said to the other, he said, “Yikes! Let’s make a run for it! (9) He may come to make trouble for us, saying, “You stole my leg!”


228 Impersonal passive; see §5.4.3.2.
229 The verb is in the G-stem but behaves like a passive or middle verb.
(15) Daš gāwwa, hawwar, tum nāqaq. (16) Hāz’ ʾal-qāmāšāni geš ezgeyyen, bas ḥizām bodeqye. (17) Qam lebš’ ʾal-ḥizām w-aṭā qam bāb ḥammām. (18) Ṣmalli, “Qāmāymināq, an aṭīt ektā gāw ḥammām bas gāw hā!”

(1) There once was a man who went to a hammam. (2) When he came out, he wanted to put on his clothes. (3) He saw that his razor had been stolen. (4) He went to talk to the owner of the hammam. (5) The owner gave him some money.

(6) He came a second week and went in. (7) He took a bath and then came out. (8) He saw that his undershirt was gone. (9) He took the money from the owner.

(10) The third week he came, [and the owner] said, (11) “I can’t let you go [in]. (12) It can’t be like this, with me giving you money every week.” (13) He said to him, “Sir [lit. grandfather], you won’t be responsible. (14) Whatever happens, happens.”

(15) He went inside, he washed, then came out. (16) He saw that his clothes were all gone, and that only his belt was left. (17) He got up and put on the belt, and came to the owner. (18) He told him, “I swear to you, I came like this to the hammam, in this alone!”


(9) Əmalli, “Qābin bāhek.”

(10) Mārelli, “Bābe luhnāye.”

(11) Əmalli, “Elli ezgā?”

(12) Mārelli, “Ərqi; eṭhār minni wusle, ezgā rag’a-da ābed.”

(13) Ziḥāna šaqaq u ṣurad. (14) Əmar, “Bārat ekkā ziḥ gāheb, mujur bābahye?”

(1) There once was a man who lied very much. (2) One day, he heard about someone who also lied very much. (3) He said, “I want to see what a liar he is, in comparison with me.” (4) Then he went to his house. (5) He knocked on the door. (6) He didn’t see him in the house. (7) He did, however, see his daughter. (8) His daughter asked him, “What do you want?”

(9) He said to her, “I want (to see) your father.”

(10) She said to him, “My father is elsewhere.”

(11) He said to her, “Where did he go?”

(12) She told him, “Heaven; a piece broke off of it, and he has gone to patch it up.”

(13) The liar left and ran off. (14) He said, “If the daughter lies like that, then what’s her father like?”
One day, Joha went to ask his neighbors for a cooking pot. Three days later, he came back, having put a small pot inside it. His neighbors saw the pot, and he took it out of it. He said to Joha, “What is this?”

Joha told them, “This is your cooking pot. While it was at my place, it gave birth to a child (lit. the child became at it). I brought it for you.”

The owner of the house said to him, “That’s absurd,” took it and kept it. The second week Joha came and asked him for a cooking pot. They gave him a large stew pot. He took the large one. He didn’t return it to them. A week later, the neighbor went to Joha. He said to him, “Where is my cooking pot?”

He said, “The cooking pot has died.”

He told Joha, “Who would believe that a cooking pot could die?”

Joha laughed, [and] said to him, “Who would believe that a cauldron has given birth to a boy, but not believe that it has died?”
8. Lexicon

Organization of the Lexicon

The nouns in this lexicon are organized according to their lexical form (elicited in isolation), followed by contextual forms and inflected forms. Each entry is followed by its attestations in the texts; in some cases, the lexical form was not independently elicited, in which case it is not followed by these attestations. Verbs are organized according to their triradical or quadriradical root, followed by their inflected forms. In the interests of preserving space and presenting the data in as concise a manner as possible, a minimum of data has been provided about each form, in the following format:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>entry</th>
<th>[IPA transcription] part of speech gloss; language of origin original form ‘gloss;’ attestations within the texts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[IPA transcription] inflection gloss; attestations</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The gender of a given noun should be assumed to be masculine unless otherwise indicated. Likewise, it should be assumed that the forms given are lexical or isolated forms, unless it is specifically noted that they are contextual forms. For example, the noun *qanāyā* ‘smith’ appears in the lexicon as:

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qanāyā [qaˈnɔːjɔ] n. smith; CM qanaia id.; III.5
qɐnayänɐ [qənaˈjɔːn̩ɔ] pl. smiths; IV.144, IV.136, IV.128, IV.130, IV.137, IV.148
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The entry indicates that the lexical form, *qanāyā*, pronounced [qaˈnɔːjɔ], is a noun meaning ‘smith,’ derives from Classical Mandaic *qanai*, which also means ‘smith,’ and occurs once in Text III at line 5. Note that the classical forms are transcribed according to the system developed by Drower and Macuch for their *A Mandaic Dictionary*. The plural of this word, *qənayänɐ*, is pronounced [qənaˈjɔːn̩ɔ], means ‘smiths,’ and occurs six times in Text IV.
Phrasal verbs are organized according to the non-verbal element (as the meaning of the verb is primarily derived from the non-verbal element). The phrasal verb *kef ǝḥad ~ ǝḥod (ǝḥed) ‘to celebrate, have fun’ appears in the lexicon as follows:

\[
\begin{align*}
\textit{kef} & \quad \textit{ɓ-d} \\
\text{v.i.} & \quad \text{to celebrate, have fun; Arabic } \textit{kaʃ} ‘\text{good humor;’ cf. } \\
Persian & \quad \textit{kaʃ} \textit{kardan} ‘\text{to enjoy oneself, have fun}’ \\
\textit{kef ǝḥadyon} & \quad [\textit{ˈkef ǝˌv ɑdjən}] \text{ G perf. } 3^{rd} \text{ pl. they celebrated; IV.69, IV.72, IV.80 (x2)} \\
\textit{kef ʎạden} & \quad [\textit{ˈkef ˌv ɛn}] \text{ G subjv. } 3^{rd} \text{ pl. they celebrate; IV.72}
\end{align*}
\]

This entry indicates that it is an intransitive verb meaning ‘to celebrate’ and ‘to have fun,’ and that it is calqued upon Persian *kayf kardan*, which means the same thing. The inflected forms that appear within the text collection include *kef ǝḥadyon*, the third person plural of the perfective of the verb, in the *G*-stem, which means ‘they celebrated.’ This form occurs four times in Text IV. For phrasal verbs, secondary stress is always indicated; elsewhere it is only indicated if it is not otherwise predictable according to the normal rules governing stress (see §2.4.4.3).

Most of the loan words in Neo-Mandaic have Arabic origins, either indirectly borrowed via Persian or directly borrowed from the colloquial dialect of the city of Khorramshahr, which closely resembles the *gilīt* dialects of southern Iraq, in particular the dialects around Basra.\(^{230}\) Nevertheless, whenever reference is made to Arabic, it should be assumed that the form cited reflects Modern Standard Arabic rather than the colloquial dialect, unless otherwise noted. The citation form for verbs borrowed from Arabic and other Semitic languages is the triradical root. The citation form for verbs borrowed from the Iranian languages (including Middle Persian, Classical Persian, and modern Persian) is the infinitive (e.g. *kardan* ‘to do’).

The corpus of written material in Neo-Mandaic currently available to scholarship is extremely limited, comprising only the texts collected by Rudolf Macuch and Jaques de Morgan in addition to the present collection. Nearly all of this material has been published in transcription, and only five texts—those collected by de Morgan—

have ever been published in their original script. For this reason, and because of the fact that knowledge of the Mandaic script is far from commonplace, the entries in the lexicon are organized not according to the order of the original script (as in Macuch’s publications), but according to the following order:

`\[\text{A} \text{B} \text{B} \text{C} \text{Č} \text{D} \text{Ď} \text{Œ} \text{F} \text{G} \text{Ğ} \text{Ğ} \text{H} \text{Ḥ} \text{I} \text{J} \text{K} \text{Ḳ} \text{L} \text{M} \text{N} \text{O} \text{P} \text{Ƥ} \text{Q} \text{R} \text{Ș} \text{Ș} \text{T} \text{T} \text{Ț} \text{U} \text{W} \text{X} \text{Y} \text{Z}\]`
**8. Lexicon**

### ʾb-d

**v.t.** to do, to make; CM **ABD**; see also **azimát** ʾb-d, **aziyát** ʾb-d, **behwá** ʾb-d, **cārē** ʾb-d, **ahād** ʾb-d, **fekār** ʾb-d, **gīr** ʾb-d, **hītā** ʾb-d, **kēf** ʾb-d, **kumāk** ʾb-d, **manāʾ ʾb-d**, **mīśrāʾ ʾb-d**, **nedāʾ ʾb-d**, **qādīn** ʾb-d, **qabūl** ʾb-d, **ragāʾ ʾb-d**, **safār** ʾb-d, **šenā ʾb-d**, **tamām** ʾb-d, **ṭabūtā** ʾb-d, **wayyeq** ʾb-d, **xarj** ʾb-d

- **abd** [ʿavad] G perf. 3rd m.sg. (contextual) he did; I.11
- **aḥdat** [ʾavdat] G perf. 3rd f.sg. she did; I.6
- **aḥadyon** [ʾavadjon] G perf. 3rd pl. they made; III.21
- **aḥdon** [ʾavdon] G perf. 3rd pl. (contextual) they did it; III.20
- **aḥdonnu** [ʾavdonnu] G perf. 3rd pl. + 3rd pl. they made them; III.22, III.22
- **aḥdenni** [ʾavdenni] G perf. 3rd pl. + 3rd m.sg. they did it; III.22
- **aḥdenni** [ʾavdenni] G perf. 3rd pl. (contextual) + 3rd m.sg. they did it; III.20
- **aḥdenni** [ʾavdenni] G perf. 3rd pl. + 3rd pl. they made them; I.14
- **aḥdenni** [ʾavdenni] G perf. 3rd pl. + 3rd m.sg. they did it; III.22
- **aḥde** [ʾavde] G imperf. sg. + 1st sg. make me; VI.2

### ʾb-w/y

See **b-w/y**.

### ʾh-b

**v.t.** to give; CM **AHB** id.; see also **gutḥáltā** ʾh-b, **jawāb** ʾh-b, **qalī ʾh-b**, **qarār ʾh-b**, **ṣubḥā ʾh-b**, **xabār ʾh-b**, **ziḥ ʾh-b**

- **aḥabli** [ʾḥauli] G perf. 3rd m.sg. + 3rd m.sg. he gave him; VIII.5
- **aḥahyōn** [ʾḥavjon] G perf. 3rd pl. they gave
- **ḥahlonni** [ʾḥalonnī] G perf. 3rd pl. + 3rd m.sg. they gave him; X.10
- **aḥānī** [ʾḥānī] G perf. 1st pl. we gave; I.14
- **qaḥṣānk** [ʾqāḥṣānχ] G imperf. 1st sg. + 2nd m.sg. I will give you; V.29
- **aḥṣānk** [ʾḥāṣānχ] G imperf. 1st sg. + 2nd m.sg. I give you; VIII.10

### ʾk-d

**v.t.** to take, seize; CM **AKD** id.

- **aḥkādi** [ʾḥkādi] G perf. 3rd m.sg. + 3rd m.sg. he took it; X.3
### 8. Lexicon

#### 2-k-l

**v.t.** to eat; CM **AKL** id.

- **akal** [aˈχal] *G perf. 3rd m.sg.* he ate; **V.11**
- **aklu** [ˈaχlu] *G perf. 3rd m.sg. + 3rd pl.* he ate them; **V.9**
- **lá-aklu** [ˈlɑʔaχlu] *G neg. perf. 3rd m.sg. + 3rd pl.* he didn’t eat them; **V.28**

- **qākel** [ˈqoʔχel] *G imperf. 3rd m.sg.* he eats; **V.26**
- **ākel** [ˈoʔχel] *G subjv. 3rd m.sg.* he eats; **V.10**
- **qə-āklen** [qəʔaχlɛn] *G imperf. 3rd pl.* they eat; **IV.22**
- **aklelli** [aχˈlɛlli] *G subjv. 3rd pl. + 3rd m.sg.* they eat it; **2.340**
- **aklell’** [ˈaχlelli] *G subjv. 3rd pl. + 3rd m.sg.* (contextual) they eat it; **V.12**

#### 2-l-l

**v.i.** to go (only imperf.); CM **ALL** id.; see also *

- **qallā** [ˈqalːɛ] *G imperf. 3rd f.sg.* she goes; **IV.102**
- **qallat** [ˈqalːɛt] *G imperf. 2nd sg.* you go; **VIII.10**
- **qalin** [qaˈlin] *G imperf. 1st sg. (contextual)* I am going; **IV.64**
- **alin** [aˈlin] *G subjv. 1st sg.* I go; **IV.95**
- **allen** [ˈaˈlin] *G subjv. 1st m.sg.* we go; **III.13**

#### 2-l-ḥ

**v.i.** G to learn; D to teach; CM **YLP** id. see also **yuhalāpā**

- **qəmalleph** [qaˈmallef] *D subjv. 3rd m.sg.* (if) I were to teach; **IV.84**
- **lāqmalleph** [ˈlaqˌmallef] *D neg. imperf. 3rd m.sg. (contextual)* I will not teach; **IV.84**
- **malpāṭi** [mælˈfɑṭi] *D subjv. 2nd sg. + 3rd m.sg.* you could teach him; **IV.93**
- **malpāte** [mælˈfɑṭe] *D subjv. 2nd sg. + 1st sg.* you teach me; **IV.83, IV.86**
- **malpātan** [mælˈfɑtɛn] *D subjv. 2nd sg. + 1st pl.* you teach us; **IV.109**
- **əməlpenanni** [əmælˈfɛnənni] *D subjv. 1st pl. + 3rd m.sg.* we will teach him; **IV.92**

#### 2-m-r

**v.t.** to tell, say; CM **AMR** id.; see also **fårwāh**

- **əmar** [əˈmar] *G perf. 3rd m.sg.* he said; **V.14, V.21, V.23, IX.3, VII.5, IX.14**
- **əmall’** [əˈmal] *G perf. 3rd m.sg. + 3rd m.sg.* (contextual) he said to s.o.; **IV.41, IV.46, IV.56, IV.57, IV.61, IV.62, IV.63, IV.64, IV.77**
8. Lexicon


 ámballi [ ámballi] G perf. 3rd m. sg. + 3rd m.sg. he said to him; IV.87, IV.92, IV.98, IV.118, VI.5, VIII.11, X.8, X.15

 ámballa [ ámballa] G perf. 3rd m.sg. + 3rd f.sg. he said to her; IV.52, IX.9, IX.11

 ámballu [ ámballu] G perf. 3rd m. sg. + 3rd pl. he said to them; IV.14, IV.33, IV.39, IV.71, IV.83, IV.110, IV.123, IV.133, IV.140, X.5

 ámballan [ ámballan] G perf. 3rd m.sg. + 1st pl. he said to us; IV.147

 ámbrat [ ámbrat] G perf. 3rd f.sg. she said; II.21, II.26

 ámbrelli [ ámbrelli] G perf. 3rd f.sg. + 3rd m.sg. she said to him; IV.91, IX.10, IX.12

 ámbaryon [ ámbaryon] G perf. 3rd pl. they said; III.12, IV.128

 mallonni [ mallonni] G perf. 3rd pl. + 3rd m.sg. they said to him, IV.16, IV.35, IV.70, IV.73, IV.90, IV.109

 ámbaronnán [ ámbaronnán] G perf. 3rd pl. + 1 pl. they told us; I.5

 ámbér [ ámbér] G subjv. 3rd m.sg. he said; V.15, VII.9

 ámbert [ ámbert] G imperf. 2nd sg. you say; IV.77, V.25

 ámbern [ ámbern] G subjv. 1st sg. (contextual) I say; I.3, I.5, I.6, II.1, III.1

 ámbren [ ámbren] G imperf. 3rd pl. they say; IV.13, V.1

 ámbrelli [ ámbrelli] G imperf. 3rd pl. + 3rd m.sg. they call him; IV.111

 ámbellonni [ ámbellonni] G imperf. 3rd pl. + 3rd m.sg. they said to him; IV.131

 ámbrettón [ ámbrettón] G imperf. 2nd pl. you say; IV.33

 'n-d-š v.i. Q to think, consider, be worried; Middle Persian bāndšidān id. via CM ANDŠ id.

 anděšyon [ anděšjon] Q perf. 3rd pl. they were worried; I.14

 mandeš [ mandeʃ] Q act. ptc. worried

 'r-q v.t. D to empty; to spit; CM ARQ 2 to empty, to pour out

 'r-s v.t. to marry; CM ARS id.

 'rasyon [ 'rasyon] G perf. 3rd m.sg. they married; IV.148

 't-r v.i. G to be awake; CM ATR id. secondary root from the tC-stem of 'v/-r, cf. Syriac ʿeṭṭəʿr ‘to wake up.’

 ettar [ ettar] tG perf. 3rd m.sg. he awoke; IV.54
v.i. G to come, D and C to bring; CM ATa id.; see also wayyeq  mogła w.
ațā [əˈɔtə] G perf. 3rd m.sg. he came; IV.37, IV.44, IV.49, IV.74, IV.75, IV.89, IV.114, V.8, VIII.6, VIII.9, VIII.15, X.9
ațat [əˈɔtat] G perf. 3rd f. sg. she came; II.27
ațit [əˈɔtɨ] G perf. 1st sg. I came; II.17, V.9, VIII.16
ațiton [əˈɔtɨton] G perf. 2nd pl. they came; II.5, II.10, II.29, III.3, IV.12, IV.15, IV.19, IV.20, IV.32, IV.38, IV.66, IV.149, IV.150
qāțā [ˈqɔtə] G imperf. 3rd m.sg. he comes; IV.9; IV.73
qāțī [ˈqɔtī] G subjv. 3rd m.sg. he comes; VII.9
qāṭyā [ˈqɔtjə] G imperf. 3rd f.sg. she comes; IV.102
qāṭinā [kaˈtɨnə] G imperf. 1st sg. I will come; IV.41, V.17
qāṭen [ˈqɔtən] G imperf. 3rd pl. they come; II.23
āṭen [ˈɑtən] G imperf. 3rd f.sg. she comes; IV.102
āṭi [ˈɑtɨ] G perf. 1st sg. I come; II.17, V.9, VIII.16
āṭon [ˈɑtɨon] G perf. 2nd pl. they came; II.17, V.9, VIII.16
āṭon [ˈɑtɨon] G perf. 2nd pl. you came; I.3, I.4
qāti [ˈqɔtɨ] G imperf. 3rd m.sg. he comes; IV.8; IV.73
qāṭti [ˈqɔtɨtɨ] G perf. 1st sg. 3rd m.sg. I brought it; X.7
qāṭtī [ˈqɔtətɨ] G perf. 3rd m.sg. he brought; IV.17
qāṭton [ˈɑtətən] G imperf. 3rd pl. bring; II.23
qāṭtī [ˈɑtətɨ] G perf. 3rd f.sg. she brought; IV.42
qāṭtī [ˈɑtətɨ] G perf. 3rd f.sg. she brings her; IV.131
qāṭtī [ˈɑtətɨ] G imperf. 3rd m.sg. + 1st f.sg. he will bring for us; IV.128
qāṭtī [ˈɑtətɨ] G imperf. 3rd m.sg. + 1st f.sg. he will bring you; IV.125, IV.126

v.i. to go; CM SGA id.; the modern form is derived from the C-stem rather than the G-stem, resulting in the assimilation of the first radical to the second and the initial vowel. See also  {-l-}, which complements this root in the imperfective.
ezgā [ɛzˈgə] Q perf. 3rd m.sg. he went; IV.99, V.4, V.5, V.18, V.20, VIII.2, VIII.4, IX.4, IX.11, IX.12, X.1, X.13
ezgat [ɛzˈgət] Q perf. 3rd f. sg. she went; IV.144
ezgit [ɛzˈgit] Q perf. 1st sg. I went; III.7, III.16, III.18, III.19 (x2)
ezgīni [ɛzˈgini] Q perf. 1st pl. we went; III.6, III.8
lezgīni [ˈlezɡini] Q neg. perf. 1st pl. we didn’t go; III.17
8. Lexicon

qāzi
[ˈqɑːzi] Q imperf. 3rd m.sg. he goes; IV.7, VIII.1, VIII.12 (x2)
qāzen
[ˈqɑːzen] Q imperf. 3rd pl. they go; IV.26
ezgī
[ezˈɡiː] Q pass ptc. gone; VIII.7
ezgeyyen
[ezˈɡɛjɛn] Q pass ptc. + 3rd pl. they were gone; VIII.14

ʿAbdalla
[ʕabˈdaɭa] prop. n. Abdallah, the tarmidā from Ahvāz who accompanied Lady Drower to Khorramshahr ca. 1932; II.8, II.27

ʿād
[ʕɑːd] adv. yet, then; colloquial Arabic ʿād ‘then;' III.13, III.14, III.15, X.17

ʿajāj
[ʕɑːˈʤɒʤ] n. fog; Arabic ʿajāj ‘dust storm’

ʿamme
[ʕaˈmɑmme] n. (paternal) aunt; Arabic ʿamma id.
bərat ʿamme
[ˌbərɑt ʿɑmme] n. cousin
ebbər ʿamme
[ˌebbr ʿɑmme] n. cousin

ʿammu
[ʕaˈmʊmʊ] n. (paternal) uncle; Arabic ʿamm id.
bərat ʿammu
[ˌbərɑt ʿɑmmʊ] n. cousin
ebbər ʿammu
[ˌebbr ʿɑmmʊ] n. cousin

ʿaqel
[ʕɑqɛl] n. mind; Arabic ʿaqel ‘mind, intellect;' III.16

ʿaskar
[ʕaˈskɑɾ] n. army; Arabic ʿaskar id.; IV.103

ʿaṣreyā
[ʕaˈʃɾeɪjɑɾ] adv. in the afternoon; Arabic ʿaṣr ‘afternoon;' IV.17, IV.110, IV.114, IV.138

ʿAzāzī
[ʕaˈzɒzɪ] prop. n. The ʿAzāzī, a Mandaean family originally from Sūq esh-Shuykh that settled in Khorramshahr; II.23

ʿumōr
[ʕaˈmɔɾ] n. age; Arabic ʿumr ‘number; age;' IV.117
ʿumōr-de
[ʕaˈmɔɾdɛ] + 1st sg. my age; III.14
8. Lexicon

A

ä  
See ähā

ad  
[ad] prep. until, as far as CM ad id.; IV.1

Ādam  
[ˈɑːdɑm] prop. n. Adam; CM adam id.; I.7, I.8, I.9, IV.1

agar  
[ˈaɡær] conj. if; Persian āgar ‘if;’ III.16, IV.46, IV.84

āhā  
[ˈɑːhɑ] dem. pron. this; CM aha id.; IV.84, IV.85, IV.106, X.4, X.5

ā  

hā  
[ɦaː] this; VIII.16

ahhā  
[ˈæhhɑ] n. brother; CM aha id.

ah bellā  
[ˌæh 'bellə] n. brother-in-law

ah eṭṭā  
[ˌæh 'ɛθθə] n. brother-in-law

ahl  
[æl] n. people; Arabic ahl ‘people;’ IV.105 (x2)

ahlān-dɔkɔn  
[æhˈlɔndɔkɔn] pl. + 2nd pl. your families; IV.145

ahlān-du  
[æhˈlɔndu] pl. + 3rd pl. their families; IV.113

ahni  
[æhˈniː] dem. pron. those/these; they; CM hania ‘those;’ I.13, III.11, III.12, IV.17

ahtā  
[ˈæhtɑ] quant. one (f.); CM ahta id.; IV.138

Ahwāz  
[ɑːˈwɔːz] prop. n. Ahvāz, a city of SW Iran, north-northeast of Basr, Iraq. Ahvāz is the main center of Mandaean life in Iran today; II.5, II.8, II.10, II.28

aku  
[ɑˈkuː] dem. pron. that; CM hak id., cf. Iraqi Arabic aku id.

ak  
[ɑˈkɑː] that (contextual); II.2, II.21, III.5, III.6, III.7, III.14, III.15, III.20

alm  
[ɑlm] n. knowledge; cf. Arabic ‘ilm id.; IV.15, IV.45
ālmā ['ɑlmɔ] n. world; epoch of time; people, beings; CM alma id.; I.4, I.8, I.14, IV.28
almānā [al'mɔnɔ] pl. worlds, epochs of time; I.11

alpā ['ɑlfɔ] quant. thousand; CM alpa id.; III.1

amānāt [amp'nət] n. deposit; Arabic amāna id. via Persian amānat id.; V.4

amānātār [amp'nət'dɔɾ] n. trustee; Persian amānātār id.; V.5, V.13, V.27, V.22

ammā ['æmmə] conj. but; colloquial Arabic amma id.; I.14, II.9, II.11

amrikī [amri'ki:] adj. American; Arabic amrikī id. via Persian amrikī id.
amrikān [amri'kɔn] pl. Americans; III.2, III.4

anā ['ænə] pers. pron. I; CM ana; I.4, IV.46, IV.87, IV.108, IV.120, IV.125
ana ['ænə] pers. pron. I; IV.53 (x2), IV.56, IV.61, IV.63, IV.93, IV.110, IV.119, IV.124
an [æn] pers. pron. (contextual) I; II.16, II.25, III.4, III.8, III.13, III.16, IV.41, IV.64, IV.98, V.9, V.21, VIII.16

anī ['æni] pers. pron. we; CM anin id.; I.8, I.11, I.12, I.13, I.14, I.14, II.13, IV.16, IV.96, IV.132
an [æn] (contextual) we; II.22

ARĀM [a'rɔm] prop. n. ARAM Society for Syro-Mesopotamian Studies; I.5, I.6

arbā ['ɑrbo] quant. four; CM arba id.

ārbin ['ɑrbin] quant. forty; CM arbin id; III.1, IV.123, IV.123, IV.126, IV.128, IV.129

asutā ['ɑsʊtɔ] n. healthiness; CM asuta id.; I.2
8. Lexicon

`asutā h-w-/ l-`

`asutā nehwilχon`

v.i. to be welcome, lit. to have health

[əˈsuːθ ɔn ɛhˌvilχon] G imperf. 3rd m.sg. + 2nd pl. you are welcome; lit. may health be for you; I.2

`ät`

[ət] pers. pron. you (sg.); CM anat id.; V.23, VIII.9, VIII.11

`atton`

[əˈtton] pers. pron. you (pl.); CM anatun id.; IV.110

`awwāl`

[avˈvæl] adj. first; Arabic awwal id. via Persian avval id.; I.8, I.11, III.19

`āxîr`

[nˈχɪɾ] adj. last, final; Arabic āxîr id. via Persian āxîr id.; I.14

`azimāt ʔ-b-d`

v.i. to make an incantation; Arabic ‘azîma ‘incantation’ via Persian azimat id.

`azimāt qâbd-en`

[aziˈmɑθ qɒvdɛn] G imperf. 3rd pl. they invoked; IV.20

`aziyāt ʔ-b-d`

v.i. to do wrong; Arabic adîya ‘harm, injury’ via Persian aziyat id.

`aziyāt qâbdet`

[aziˈjut qɒvdɛt] G imperf. 2nd m.sg. you have done wrong; IV.57, IV.60
b-

**[eb]** prep. in, with, by; CM b id.; I.1, IV.81, IV.121, IV.148, IV.150

**be-l-**

[bel] prep. without; IV.81

**b-d-q**

v.t. to put, place; CM BDQ id.

**b̄d̄aq** [b̄d̄aq] G perf. 3rd m.sg. (pausal) he put; X.2

**b̄deqye** [b̄deqye] G pass. ptc. + 3rd m.sg. cop. it was put; VIII.14

**b̄dq’** [b̄dq’] G perf. 3rd m.sg. (contextual) he put; VII.2

**b̄d̄q̄u** [p̄t̄q̄u] G perf. 3rd m.sg. + 3rd pl. he put them; v.4

**b-ğ-ṣ**

v.i. G to stand, stay; cease; C to stop (trans.); CM BGŠ id. See also bandi(r) b-ğ-ṣ

**b̄ğ̄es** [b̄ğ̄es] G perf. 3rd m.sg. he stayed; IV.50

**bağsat** [ˈb̄aʁsət] G perf. 3rd f.sg. she stayed; IV.115

**b̄ğ̄asyon** [b̄ğ̄aʃon] G perf. 3rd pl. they stayed; IV.137

**bāğsā** [ˈb̄aʁsə] G imperf. 3rd f.sg. she ceases; IV.109

**q̄m̄aḥ̄ğ̄esna** [q̄m̄āb̄ʼaṣ̄sna] C imperf. 1st sg. + 3rd f.sg. I will stop her; IV.110

**q̄m̄aḥ̄ğ̄esn̄a** [q̄m̄āb̄ʼaṣ̄s̄n̄a] C imperf. 1st pl. (contextual) I will stop; IV.108

**b-n-\w/y**

v.t. to build; CM BNA id.; see also benyān b-n-\w/y

**b̄n̄i(li)** [b̄n̄ili] G perf. 3rd m.sg. + 3rd m.sg. he built it; IV.3

**b̄n̄on** [b̄n̄on] G perf. 3rd pl. they built; III.22

**q̄b̄aḥ̄nen** [q̄b̄aḥ̄nen] G imperf. 3rd pl. they build; IV.17, IV.20, IV.42

**b̄n̄en** [ˈb̄n̄en] G imperf. 3rd pl. they build; IV.4, IV.42, IV.43

**b̄n̄elli** [b̄n̄elli] G imperf. 3rd pl. + 3rd m.sg. they build it; IV.59

**q̄b̄aḥ̄n̄anni** [q̄b̄aḥ̄n̄anni] G imperf. 1st pl. + 3rd m.sg. we build it; IV.34, IV.40

**b̄n̄yi** [ˈb̄n̄yi] G imp. m.sg. + 3rd m.sg. build it; IV.16, IV.41

**b-r-k**

v.i. to bless; to kneel; tD to pray; CM BRK id.

**baraḵni** [bar'arḵni] D perf. 1st pl. we prayed; III.9

**q̄m̄baraḵ** [q̄m̄bar'arḵ] D imperf. 1st sg. I pray; I.14

**q̄m̄b̄aʁken** [q̄m̄b̄aʁken] D imperf. 3rd pl. they pray; IV.23

**b-š-q-r**

v.t. to know, understand; CM BŠQR ‘to recognize, examine’; possibly a secondary root from CM BQR ‘to cleave; examine’ in the Š-stem, produced by the
metathesis of the derivational morpheme and the initial radical of the stem.

**bašqarni**  
[baˈʃɑːnɪ] Q perf. 1st pl. + 3rd m.sg. we recognized; I.11

**qəmbašqer**  
[qmˈbaʃəqlɛ] Q imperf. 3rd m.sg. he knows; IV.35

**qəmbašqarle**  
[qmˈbaʃəqlɛ] Q imperf. 3rd m.sg. + 1st m.sg. we recognized; III.4

**läqəmbašqer**  
[ˈlɑqəmbaʃəqlɛ] Q neg. imperf. 3rd m.sg. he doesn’t know; III.12

**qəmbašqirat**  
[qmˈbaʃəqrɪt] Q imperf. 2nd sg. you know; IV.106

**qəmbašqart**  
[qmˈbaʃəqrɪt] Q imperf. 2nd sg. (contextual) you know; I.6

**läqəmbašqar**  
[ˈlɑqəmbaʃəqlɛ] Q neg. imperf. 1st sg. (contextual) I don’t know; II.18

**läqəmbašqerən**  
[ˈlɑqəmbaʃəqlɛn] Q neg. imperf. 3rd pl. they didn’t know; II.25

**bašqir əl-naḥşak**  
[baʃˈqrən ˈnæʃɑχ] Q impv. m.sg. + 2nd m.sg. know yourself

*bəw*/*w*/*y*  
**qəbəyi**  
[qəˈbɔjɪ] G imperf. 3rd m.sg. he wants; V.2

**qəbəy**  
[qəˈbɔjɪ] G imperf. 3rd m.sg. (contextual) he wants; IV.2, IV.92, VIII.2

**qəbət**  
[qəˈbɔt] G imperf. 2nd sg. you want; IV.63, IV.95, IX.8

**qabin**  
[qaˈbiːn] G imperf. 1st sg. I want; I.3, I.5, I.6, I.7, II.1, II.17, III.1, IV.39, IV.83, IV.118, IX.3, IX.9, IV.6

**qabeyyen**  
[qaˈbeɪjɛn] G imperf. 3rd pl. they want; II.6, II.29, III.2

**qabên**  
[qaˈbeːn] G imperf. 1st pl. (contextual) we want; IV.132

**läqbên**  
[ˈlɑʁbɛn] G neg. imperf. 1st pl. (contextual) we don’t want; IV.109

**baˈad**  
[ˈbaʃad] prep. after; Arabic baˈd id.; X.2, X.13

**baˈaden**  
[baʃˈaˈden] adv. afterwards; Arabic baˈdayn id.; III.10

**baˈaz**  
[ˈbaʃəz] quant. some; Arabic baˈd id.

**baˈid**  
[baˈɪd] adj. far, distant; Arabic baˈid id.; III.10

**bəbə**  
[ˈbɔɔwɔ] n. father, proprietor; CM baba 2 id.; Tab. 1.1, Tab. 1.3, Tab. 1.5, I.8d, II.2b, IV.47, IV.54

**bəb əməmm**  
[ˈbɔɔ əməmˌmɛm] the proprietor of a hammam; VIII.4, VIII.5, VIII.8, VIII.15
bābahye [bɔ'wahje] + 3rd f.sg. + 3rd m.sg. cop. he is her father; IX.14
bābek [bɔ'weχ] + 2nd f.sg. your father; IX.9
bāhe [bɔwe] + 1st sg. my father; IX.10

babbā [bæbba] n. grandfather; VIII.11
babbe [bæbbe] + 1st sg. my grandfather; II.2

Bagdād [baɾdɔd] prop. n. Baghdad, the capital of Iraq; II.27, IV.141, IV.142

balwā ʔ-b-d v.t. to make trouble, cause a disturbance (+ -d- for s.o.); cf. Persian balvā kardan id.
balwā-dan āhed [bælwæ'dan ɔwɛd] G imperf. 3rd m.sg. + 1st pl. he will make trouble for us; VII.9

Bandar-e Maʾṣur [bænˌdare maʔʃuɾ] prop. n. Bandar-e Maʾṣur, a port city in southwest Iran; III.6

bandi b-ḡ-ṣ v.i. to stay put; see §2.7.1.5 for forms with final /ɾ/; Persian banḍi ‘prisoner;’ see also banḍi t-m-m
bandi boḡosyon [bæn'di ɔboʃɔsɔŋ] G impv. pl. stay put; IV.133
bandir lábğesyon [bæn'di ɬabɣəsɔŋ] G neg. perf. 3rd pl. they did not stay put; IV.146

bandi t-m-m v.i. to be confined; see §2.7.1.5 for forms with final /ɾ/; Persian banḍi ‘prisoner;’ see also banḍi b-ḡ-ṣ
bandir tammon [bæn'di ɬəmmon] G perf. 3rd pl. they were confined; IV.129, IV.146

barābar [bæɾoˈbæɾ] prep. opposite; Persian barābār id.; IV.50
barābar-du [bæɾoˈbæɾdu] + 3rd pl. suff. opposite them; IV.76

barnāšā [bæɾnɔʃɔɾ] n. person; CM br ˀnaʃa id; IV.16, IV.17, IV.42
barnāš [bæɾnɔʃ] person (contextual); I.11
barnāšānā [bæɾnɔʃɔɾnɔ] pl. people; I.8, IV.9, IV.14, IV.28, IV.70, IV.139
barnāšānī [bæɾnɔʃɔɾni] pl. indef. (some) people; I.13, IV.65
barnāšāne [bæɾnɔʃɔɾne] pl. + 1st sg. my people; IV.118

barra [ˈbarra] adv. outside; Arabic barra id.; II.13, II.15, III.11
bas  [bæs] **adv.** only, just; colloquial Arabic *bas* id.; II.17, V.5, VIII.14, VIII.16

bāṭar  [ˈbɔːθaɾ] **adv.** behind; CM *abatar* id.

baṭluktā  [baːˈtluːkɔ] **n.** misfortune; cf. CM *baṭla* ‘vain.’ I.14

bāz  **n.** hawk; Persian *bāz* id.

bāzi  [ˈbɔːzi] indef. a hawk; V.21, V.25, V.26

bāzrā  [ˈbæzɾɑ] **n.** seed; CM *bazira / bazra* id.

behtar  [bɛhɔɾ] **adj.** good; Persian *beh* id.

behtar  [bɛhˈtæɾ] **adv.** better; Persian *behtar* id.

bellā  [ˈbellɔ] **n.** husband; CM *bila* id.

benāya  **n.** building; Arabic *bināya* id.

benāyāt  [bnɔˈjat] **pl.** buildings; III.22

benyān b-n-*/s.*  **v.i.** to build; cf. Persian *benā kardan* id.

benyān qābānen  [bnɛˈnɔn qɔːˈbɔːnɛn] *G imperf. 3rd pl.* they build; IV.17

besrā  [ˈbɛsrɑ] **n.** meat, flesh; CM *bisra* id.

beyyā  [ˈbɛjɔɾ] **n.** egg; CM *baia* id.

bərattā  [bɔˈrattɔ] **n.** (pausal) daughter; CM *brata* id.; IV.47, IV.50

bərat  [bɔˈrat] (contextual) daughter; II.10, IX.14

bəratti  [bɔˈratti] + 3rd *m. sg.* his daughter; IV.44, IX.7, IX.8

bərat ahhā  [bɔˈrat ˈæhho] **n.** niece

bərat bərattā  [bɔˈrat bɔˈrattɔ] **n.** granddaughter

bərat ebrā  [bɔˈrat ˈebru] **n.** granddaughter

bərat hātā  [bɔˈrat ˈhɔːtɔ] **n.** niece

bərat xāle  [bɔˈrat ˈχɑːle] **n.** cousin

bərat xālu  [bɔˈrat ˈχɑːlu] **n.** cousin

bənātā  [bɔˈnɔtɔ] **pl.** daughters

bəṭlālā  [bɔˈtɛlɔ] **adj.** bad; cf. CM *baṭla* ‘vain, useless’

bəzuyā  **n.** hole; CM *bzuia* id.

bəzuyi  [bɪˈzuːji] indef. a hole; V.8
bi [bi] prep. without; Persian bi id.; IV.120

bibi [ˈbiːbi] n. grandmother

bienā [ˈbiŋna] prep. between, among; Arabic bayna id.
bienā-dan [ˈbiŋnədan] prep. + 1st pl. among ourselves; IV.81
bienā-du [ˈbiŋnədu] prep. + 3rd pl. among themselves; IV.89

bieṯā [ˈbiθə] n. house (f.); CM baita (pl. baitauata) id.; IV.64, IX.6, X.8
bieṯ [ˈbiθ] (contextual) house; III.11, III.12, III.22 V.4
bieṯwāṭ [ˈbiθwɔθ] pl. houses; III.13, III.10, III.12, III.24
bieṯī [ˈbiθi] indef. a house; IV.88, IX.4
bieṯe [ˈbiθe] + 1st sg. my house; IV.118, V.16
bieṯwāṭkon [ˈbiθwɔθɔn] + 2nd pl. your houses; IV.123

bis [bis] quant. twenty; Persian bist id.; III.14 (x2)

biṣtar [ˈbiʃtar] adj. more; Persian biṣtar id.; II.22

burkā [ˈbʌrkɔ] n. knee

bušme [ˈbuʃme] n. sky, air; IV.141

butā [ˈbutɔ] n. prayer; CM buta id.
butā d-Šāmeš [ˈbutɔdʃɔməʃ] n. prayer of Šāmeš, the sun; IV.55, IV.83
buti [ˈbuti] indef. a prayer; IV.91, IV.114

butī q-r-w/y v.i. to recite a prayer
butī eqrā [ˈbuti ʃeqɾɔ] G perf. 3rd m.sg. he prayed; IV.114
309

8. Lexicon

B

ḥābā  [ˈwɔwɔ]  *n.*  door, gate; CM *baba* 1 id.; IX.5

Č

cand  [tʃænd]  *adv.*  how much; Persian *cand* id.
cang  *m*-h-<sub>/y</sub>  *v.i.*  to play a harp; cf. Persian *cang zadan* id.
cangā məhon  [tʃæŋgə məhon]  *G perf.*  3<sup>rd</sup> pl.  they played harps; IV.81
cāre  [ˈtʃɔre]  *n.*  remedy; Persian *cāre* id.; IV.40
cāre  -b-<sub>d</sub>  *v.t.*  to remedy (+ *qam* obj.  + *qam* for s.o.); cf. Persian *cāre kardan* id.
cāre aḥDETTON  [ˈtʃɔre avˌdɛtton]  *G imperf.*  2<sup>nd</sup> pl.  you will fix; IV.39
Čečāwā  [tʃɛtʃɔwɔ]  *prop. n.*  Čečāwā bar Čečāwā, the name of a cloud-shaped demon that is capable of moving the earth; IV.53 (x2), IV.92, IV.93, IV.94, IV.95, IV.98, IV.99, IV.114, IV.119, IV.120, IV.121, IV.122, IV.123, IV.127, IV.134, IV.147
Čečāwā bar Čečāwā  [tʃɛtʃɔwɔ baɾ tʃɛtʃɔwɔ]  *prop. n.*  Čečāwā, son of Čečāwā; IV.90, IV.91
čehél  *quant.*  forty (used in counting); Persian *čehel* forty
čehél ruz  [ˈtʃɛrruz]  *quant.*  forty days; IV.137
čemmā  [ˈtʃɛmма]  *quant.*  nine hundred; CM *tšima* id.; III.1
čin  [ˈtʃin]  *quant.*  ninety; CM *tšin* id.; III.1
činASSER  [tʃiˈnessɾ]  *quant.*  nineteen (probably the result of metanalysis; the expected form is *eččassər*; cf. CM *tšasər* id.); III.14
D

**d-**

[d] **rel. pron.** (archaism) of; CM d-; I.1, I.9 (x2), IV.55, IV.65, IV.68, IV.83, IV.85, IV.121, IV.135, IV.138

**d-h-l**  
v.i. to fear, be afraid; CM **DHL** id.  
*dahel*  
[da'hel] G imperf. 1st sg. (contextual) I am afraid; IV.132  
*qadâhlen*  
[qa'dohilen] G imperf. 3rd pl. they will be afraid; IV.98

**d-k-r**  
v.t. to remember; CM **DKR**  
*lâqda kar*  
[laqda'χai] G neg. imperf. 1st sg. (contextual) I don’t remember well; II.4  
*qâdakânâ*  
[qadâ'χane] G imperf. 1st sg. I remember; II.1, II.33, III.1

**d-r-**

v.t. to take; CM **DRA** id.; see also hâmâm *d-r-*

**dâr**  
[de'ri] G perf. 3rd m.sg. + obj. (contextual) he took; VIII.8, X.11  
*dârâ*  
[de'ri:ɔ] G perf. 3rd m.sg. he took; V.21  
*dâri*  
[de'ri:ri] G perf. 3rd m.sg. (contextual) he took; X.8  
*dârîlu*  
[de'ri:lu] G perf. 3rd m.sg. + 3rd pl. he took them; V.5  
*dâronnu*  
[de'ronnu] G perf. 3rd pl. + 3rd pl. they took them; III.22, III.24  
*qâdâri*  
[qa'dôri] G imperf. 3rd m.sg. he will take  
*eqdar*  
[eq'de'ri] G imperf. 3rd m.sg. + obj. (contextual) he takes it; V.25  
*lâqdar*  
[lâqdaβe] G neg. imperf. 3rd m.sg. + obj. (contextual) he doesn’t take it; V.26  
*qâdarînâ*  
[qadâ'ri:nə] G imperf. 1st sg. I will take  
*dâri*  
[de'ri] G impv. m.sg. take!

**d-**

v.t. to enter; CM **DUŠ** and **DIŠ** ‘to trample down’  
*daš*  
[de'ʃ] G perf. 3rd m.sg. he entered; VIII.6, VIII.13

*dah*  
[de'ʃ] **quant.** ten (used in counting); Persian *dah* id.; V.26

*dahbâ*  
['dæh.wɔ] n. gold; CM **dahba** id.

*darwiš*  
[de'viʃ] n. dervish; Persian **darwiš** id.

*darwišâ*  
[de'viʃɔ] pl. dervishes; IV.20, IV.28
8. Lexicon

*dawāzdāh* [dævɒz’dæh] *quant.* twelve (used in counting); Persian *davāzdah* id.; IV.20

daxil [dæˈχil] *n.* charge, ward; Arabic *daxīl* id.

*daxil-daḵ* [dæˈχilɗax] + 2<sup>nd</sup> *m.sg.* your ward, under your control; IV.56

*daxil-deḵon* [dæˈχilɗeχon] + 2<sup>nd</sup> *pl.* your ward, under your control; IV.61

demmā [ˈdemma] *n.* tail; CM *dinba* id.

deqnā [ˈdeqna] *n.* beard; CM *ziqna* and *diqna* (st. abs. *daqin*) id.

*daqqen hwarānā* [ˈdaqqen huwɛrɔnɔ] elders, lit. “white beards”; IV.31


*deštātā* [deʃˈtɔθɔ] *pl.* wilderness; CM *dištata* id.; IV.103

*Dezful* [dɛzˈful] *prop. n.* Dezful, a city in northern Khuzestān, Iran; III.6, III.7, III.19

*dĕholtā* [dəˈholto] *n.* fear; CM *dhulta* id.;

demā [dəˈmɔː] *n.* blood; CM *dma* id.

deraxt [dəˈræχt] *n.* tree; Persian *deraxt* id.

dĕros [dəˈros] *adj.* correct; Persian *dorost* id.

diwa [ˈdiːvɔ] *n.* demon; Middle Persian *dēw* id. via CM *daiua* id.; IV.45, IV.55, IV.57, IV.64, IV.83

*diw* [diˈwɔn] *prop. n.* a type of scroll, usually illustrated; CM *diuan* id., cf. Persian *divān* a small book (usually of poetry)

*Dīwān* [dɪˈvɔn] *n.* an illustrated description of the Lightworld

*Dīwān Aḥāfar* [dɪˈvɔn aˈwɔθɔɾa] *prop. n.* an illustrated description of the Lightworld
8. Lexicon

*Diwān Malkūṭa Əleṯā*  
[diˌvɒn malˌkuːəˈleːθɔ] *prop. n.* the “Scroll of Exalted Kingship,” an esoteric commentary on the initiation of the *tarmidā*

*do*  
[do] *quant.* two (used in counting); Persian *do* id.; VII.6  
*doṭa-t-kuṇ*  
[doˈθaθɔˈkuṇ] + 2nd pl. two of you, both of you

*Drāši*  
[ˌdrɒʃi] *n.* teachings; CM *drašia* id.  
*Drāši d-Yahya*  
,[ˌdrɒʃiˈdiθjæ] *prop. n.* the Teachings of John, one of the primary Mandaean religious texts

*dukkā*  
[ˈdʌkko] *n.* place; CM *duka* id.; I.4; see also *duktā*  
*kol dukkā*  
[kolˈdʌkkɔ] every place, every part  
*dukki*  
[ˈdʌkki] *indef.* a place; IV.125  
*dukki*  
[ˈdekkı] + 3rd *m.* sg. his place; IV.140  
*dukkānī*  
[ˈdʌkkɔnɪ] pl. + rest. the places (which) III.19

*dukkān*  
[ˈdʌkkɔn] *n.* store; Arabic *dukkān* id. via Persian *dokkān* id.; III.4

*duktā*  
[ˈdʌktɔ] *n.* place; CM *duka* id.; see also *dukkā*; V.7

*dust*  
[ˈdʌst] *n.* friend; Persian *dust* id.  
*dusti*  
[ˈdʌstɪ] *indef.* a friend; V.4
8. Lexicon

E

ebrå

[ˈɛbrɔ] n. son; CM abra and bra id.; V.29

ebri

[ˈɛbri] + 3rd m sg. his son; I.7, I.10, V.18, V.20, V.21, V.26

bar

[bər] son (only in patronymic or matronymic); IV.53

ebbər ahhā

[ˈɛbr əhho] n. nephew

ebbər borattā

[ˈɛbrəˈboːratta] n. grandson

ebbər ebrā

[ˈɛbrə ɛbrə] n. grandson; CM bra id.
ebbər ebri

[ˈɛbrə ɛbri] + 3rd m sg. his grandson; I.7, I.10

ebbər hātā

[ˈɛbrə hɔtɔ] n. nephew

ebbər xāle

[ˈɛbrə ˈχəle] n. cousin
ebbər xālu

[ˈɛbrə ˈχəlu] n. cousin

eččā

[ˈɛʧʧɔ] quant. nine; CM tša id.; II.22

eččin

[ˈɛʧ ˈʧin] pl. ninety; CM tšin id.; II.22
eččā eččin

[ˈɛʧʧɔ ɛʧˈʧin] ninety-nine; II.22

ehdā

[ˈɛhðɔ] quant. one; CM hda id.; cf. Arabic ibdā ‘one (f.)’; IV.43
ehdi

[ˈɛhði] indef. (a particular) one; I.11, I.13

ehl-

pseudoverb to have (lit. there is s.t. for s.o.); CM ‘t l- id.;
see also ekt-, asutā ehl-, and rəwāhā ehl-
ehli

[ˈɛhlili] + 3rd m sg. he has; IV.49, IV.135, V.4, V.26, V.26

ehlaq

[ˈɛhlak] [ˈɛhlak] + 2nd m sg. you have; IV.118

ehle

[ˈɛhle] + 1st sg. I have; III.4

ehlu

[ˈɛhlulu] + 3rd pl. they have; IV.45

lehlú

[ˈlehlulu] neg. + 3rd pl. they don’t have; III.12

ehlan

[ˈɛhlən] + 1st pl. we have; II.23

həwāli

[hoˈwɔli] G perf. 3rd m sg. + 3rd m sg. he had, it was for him; V.1, V.3

həwālu

[huˈwɔlu] G perf. 3rd m sg. + 3rd pl. they had; II.29, III.13

lehwəlu

[ˈlehwɔlu] G neg. perf. 3rd m sg. + 3rd pl. they didn’t have; II.9

həwəlan

[hoˈwəlan] G neg. perf. 3rd m sg. + 1st pl. we had; II. 7

ehnā

see hənā

ekkā l

[ˈɛkkɔ] dem. pron. there (is/are); CM ‘ka id.; II.3, IV.2, VIII.10, VIII.16, IX.14
lekka
[ˈlskkɔ] *neg.* there isn’t (anything); III.22
lek enši
[lsk ‘mʃi] *neg.* (contextual) there isn’t anyone; III.24

**ekkā 2**
[ˈekkɔ] *adj.*; CM 'ka *id.*; IV.53, IV.118
**ekkā ekkā**
[ˈɛkkɔˈɛkkɔ] such and such, etc. etc.; V.20

**ekkā 3**
[ˈekkɔ] *adv.* thus; CM 'ka *id.*; IV.12

**ekkak**
[ek'kaχ] *dem. pron.* there; possibly derived from CM 'ka ‘there’ + CM hak ‘that;’ II.3, II.25, III.3, III.6, III.8, III.9, III.13, III.18, III.20, V.8, V.9, V.18

**ekt-**
*cop.* copula; CM ‘it *id.*; see also ehl-

**ekti**
[ˈɛkti] + 3rd *m.sg.* he is; I.11c

**lekta**
[ˈlɛkta] *neg.* + 3rd *f.sg.* she is not; I.13a

**lektan**
[ˈlɛktan] + 1st *pl.* we are not; I.12a

**ektak**
[ˈɛktak] + 2nd *m.sg.* you are; IV.51

**lektak**
[ˈlɛktak] *neg.* + 2nd *m.sg.* you are; VIII.11b

eyā
[ˈɛljɔ] *interrog. and indef. pron.* where; CM ‘lia *id.*

**elli**
[ˈɛlli] where (contextual); IX.11

**elliyɛ**
[ˈellije] where is it; X.14

**ellinon**
[ˈellinon] + 3rd *pl.* where they are; III.22

emmā 1
[ˈɛmmɔ] *n.* mother; CM ‘ma *id.*

**emme**
[ˈɛmme] + 1st *sg.* my mother; II.2

emmā 2
[ˈɛmmɔ] *quant.* 100; CM ma *id.*; V.3

emrā
[ˈɛmbra] *n.* sheep; CM ‘mbra *id.*

**emrâŋkon**
[ˈɛmbraŋkon] + 2nd *pl.* your sheep; IV.124

ensā
See ettā

ensi
[ˈɛnʃi] *indef. pron.* anyone; cf. CM ‘niš *id.*; III.24, IV.84

Enyāni
[ɛnˈʃɔni] *n.* antiphonal responses, part of the Canonical Prayerbook of the Mandaeans; CM ‘niania *id.*

esbu’a
[ɛsˈbuːʕa] *n.* week; colloquial Arabic isbāʾ *id.*; X.13

sobu’a
[sɔˈbuːwa] week; VIII.9
esrin  [es'rin] **quant.** twenty; CM ‘srin id.; III.14

ešgandā  [eʃ’gændɔ] **n.** acolyte; CM šganda id.

ešmā  ['eʃmɔ] **n.** name; CM šum 1 and šuma id.
  eššom  [eʃʃɔm] name (contextual); I.9
  šom  [ʃɔm] name (contextual); CM šum id.
  ešmi  ['eʃmi] + 3\textsuperscript{rd} m.sg. his name; II.7, II.8, II.10, II.11
  ešma  ['eʃma] + 3\textsuperscript{rd} f.sg. her name; II.10
  ešmehon  [eʃ'mehon] pl. + 3\textsuperscript{rd} pl. their names; I.1

eštā  [iʃ'tɔ:] **adv.** now; CM hašta id.; I.10c, I.14e, II.33a (x2, II.34, III. 18a; III.18b III.21, III.24a
  šetā  [ʃiʃ'tɔː] now; II.29b

ettā  **n.** woman, wife (f.); CM ‘nta id.; II.24, II.26
  et  [eθ] woman (contextual); II.14
  ętti  ['eθi] **indef.** a woman; II.10
  inšā  ['inʃa] **coll.** women; CM ‘nšia id.; I.2, IV.81, IV.105, IV.124
  inšānā  [inʃˈaːnɔ] **pl.** women; IV.19, IV.139, IV.148, IV.148

ewaz  [aˈvaz] **prep.** instead of; Arabic ‘iwaḏa id. via Persian (dar) evaz id.; VI.6
ēbāda  ['wɔdɔ] *n.* work; CM 'bada id.; IV.137
ēbād  [ə'wɔd] (contextual) work; IV.13
ēbādu  [ə'wɔdu] + 3rd *pl.* their work; IV.138
ēbādā  'b-d  *v.i.* to do something, work; cf. Persian kār kardan id.
ēbād abdat  [ə'wɔdəvdat] G perf. 3rd *f. sg.* she has worked, done work; I.6
ēbād abdit  [ə'wɔdəvdit] G perf. 1st *sg.* I did something; V.9
ēbādī abdod  [ə'wɔdəvdo] G impv. *m.sg.* do something; IV.62
ēhāba  [ə'hɔwɔ] *n.* gift; CM ahaba ‘presentation, giving’
ēl-  [il] *prep.* to, for; referential object marker (clitic form); CM ‘l id.; I.5 (x2), I.6, I.9, I.11 (x2), III.2, III.8, III.11, IV.35, IV.55, IV.56, IV.57, IV.58, IV.61, IV.64, IV.76, IV.77, IV.79, IV.81, IV.83 (x2), IV.87, IV.88, IV.90, IV.92, IV.94 (x2), IV.95, IV.98, IV.107, IV.109 (x2), IV.119, IV.120, IV.122, IV.131, V.12 (x2), V.18, V.25, V.26, V.29, VII.2, VII.8, VII.9, VIII.4, VIII.7, VIII.8, VIII.15, IX.5, IX.7, X.3, X.4, X.11, X.16
ēlāwwi  [ə'lɔwvi] + 3rd *m.sg.* to it; IV.6
ēlāwwak  [ə'lɔwvaχ] + 2nd *m.sg.* for you; IV.98
ēlāwwu  [ə'lɔwvu] + 3rd *pl.* to them; III.4
ēlimā  [ə'lɪmɔ] *adj.* thick; CM ‘lima youthful; strong, sturdy
ēm-  See *men*
ēmšabbā  [m'ʃabbɔ] *adj.* praised; CM mšaba id.
ēmšuni Kušā  [mʃuniˈʃuːs] *prop. n.* the “Sublimated of Truth,” i.e. the Realm of Ideals; CM mšunia kuša id.; IV.118, IV.120, IV.121, IV.144
ēnāšā  [ə'nɔʃɔ] *n.* people (collective; takes plural referents) CM ‘naša id.; IV.22, IV.72, IV.81, IV.116, IV.128, VII.5
ēnāš  [ə'nɔʃ] people (contextual); I.5, I.6c, I.14d, IV.142a
8. Lexicon

ărbiāhā [rbi'jɔhɔ] adj. fourth; cf. Syriac ܐܒܝܝܐ rāḇīyā id.

ărbiāyā [rbi'jɔjo] adj. fourth; cf. Syriac ܐܒܝܐ rāḇīyā id.

әрикә [ә'рикә] adj. long; CM ܪ rk id.

әрқих [r'qiha] n. heaven; CM ܪղא sky, firmament; IV.145

әрқи [r qi:] heaven (contextual); IX.12

F

faqat ke ['faqat'] prep. except; Arabic faqat ‘only’ via Persian faqat-ke ‘except;’ II.23

Fārsī [fɔ'ɾsi] adj. Persian; Persian Fārsī id.; III.12

fārq [faɾq] n. difference; Arabic fārq id.

fārqī ['faɾqi] indef. a difference

fārwāḥ [faɾwɔh] n. thanks; cf. CM pruk, possibly Persian farrox ‘fortunate’ or Arabic ḥaraṯ ‘joy;’ I.5, I.6; see also fārwāḥ 2-m-r

fārwāḥkôn [faɾwɔʃɔn] + 2nd pl. thank you; I.3

fārwāḥkôn geš [faɾwɔʃɔn ˈgɛʃ] + 2nd pl. thank you all; I.15

fārwāḥ 2-m-r v.t. to thank, say thanks

әмер fārwāḥkôn [e'mɛɾ faɾwɔʃɔn] G subjv. 1st sg. + 2nd pl. I thank you; I.3

fēkər 2-h-d v.t. to think; Arabic fikr ‘thought;' cf. Persian fekr kardan ‘to think, reflect;' Tab. 1.3, Tab. 1.5

fēkər әbədyon [fekre'vɔdjon] G impv. pl. think; alternate reading for II.24

fonidā [fo'nidɔ] n. fish
8. Lexicon

**G**

- **g-h-κ**  
  _v.i._ to laugh; CM GHK id.  
  - _gheκ_  
    - [gʰeχ] *G* perf. 3<sup>rd</sup> m.sg. he laughed; v.26, x.17

- **g-h-w/y**  
  _v.i._ to vomit; CM GSA to vomit, perhaps conflated with CM GHA to sob

- **g-n-β**  
  _v.t._ to steal; CM GNB id.  
  - _gnaβton_  
    - [ge'natɔn] *G* perf. 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. you stole; vii.9
  - _gaβh_  
    - [ge'niː] *G* pass. ptc. stolen; viii.3

- **g-n-w/y**  
  _v.i._ to sleep, lie down; CM GNA id.  
  - _gαnα_  
    - [ge'nɔ] *G* perf. 3<sup>rd</sup> m.sg. he slept; iv.47, iv.100
  - _gαnit_  
    - [ga'nit] *G* perf. 1<sup>st</sup> sg. I slept; iv.46

- **g-č-l**  
  _v.t._ to kill; CM GTL id.  
  - _gačlɔnnu_  
    - [gaτʰlɔnnu] *G* perf. 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. + 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. they killed them; iii.23
  - _qagātel_  
    - [qa'gɔntel] *G* imperf. 3<sup>rd</sup> sg. he will kill
  - _qagātɛnα_  
    - [qaɡaɾˈteɲɔ] *G* imperf. 1<sup>st</sup> sg. I will kill
  - _gačlɔn'α_  
    - [gaɾˈtʰɛlnɔ] *G* subjv. 1<sup>st</sup> sg. + obj. I should kill; iv.95
  - _gačlɔnəkɔn_  
    - [gaɾˈtʰɛlnɔŋɔn] *G* imperf. 1<sup>st</sup> sg. + 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. I’ll kill you; iv.93
  - _lągətlɔn_  
    - ['lagɔtʰlen] *G* neg. subjv. 1<sup>st</sup> pl. let’s not kill; iv.96
  - _gačol_  
    - [gaɾˈtol] *G* impv. m.sg. kill!

- **gāβrā**  
  [ˈɡavrɔ] _n._ man; CM gabra id.; v.18
  - _gabβɔr_  
    - [ɡavvrɔ] man (contextual); v.7
  - _gọβrā_  
    - [ˈɡɔvrɔ] _pl._ men CM gubria id.; ii.25, iii.20, iv.81, iv.105, iv.124
  - _gọβrānα_  
    - [ɡɔvrˈɔmɔ] _men_; i.2
  - _gọβrā qadmaia_  
    - [ɡovr̩qadˈmɔjji] _prop._ _n._ the Primal Man; CM gabra qadmaia but pronounced in NM as if plural, i.e. gubria qadmaia; i.8

- **gač**  
  [ɡaɾʃ] _n._ gypsum; Persian gač id.; iv.4

- **gāmeš**  
  [ˈɡameʃ] _n._ buffalo; Middle Persian gāwmēš via PCM gamiš id.; iv.124, iv.142
ganzibră [gan'zeərə], [gan'zivrə] n. ganzibra, the highest rank currently occupied by Mandaean priests today (below riš āmmā, q.v.); CM ganzibra id.; II.21, II.25, IV.56, IV.57, IV.62, IV.76, IV.77, IV.79, IV.81, IV.83, IV.84, IV.87 (x2), IV.88, IV.90, IV.91, IV.92 (x2), IV.94, IV.95, IV.96, IV.104, IV.107, IV.109, IV.110, IV.112, IV.118, IV.119, IV.120, IV.121, IV.122, IV.130, IV.133, IV.140, IV.145, IV.147, IV.148

ganzi bri [gæn'zivrɪ] indef. a ganzibra; II.3

gappā ['gæppə] n. feather; wing; CM kanpa / ganpa id.

gāw [gə] prep. in(to); about; through; according to; (made) from; NM gāw assumes many of the functions of CM b-; CM gaua ‘inside,’ cs. gu ‘in;’ I.4, I.8, I.9 (x2), I.10, I.14, II.4, II.4, II.6, II.7, II.8, II.21, II.23, II.28, III.1, III.2, III.7, III.12, III.16, III.18, III.20, IV.1, IV.2, IV.4, IV.7, IV.15, IV.86, IV.99, IV.103, IV.118, IV.141, IV.144, IV.145, V.20, V.26, VIII.16 (x2), IX.6

gāwwi ['gɔovi] prep. + 3 m. sg. in him; IV.8, IV.20, IV.30, X.1

gāwwa ['gɔowa] + 3rd f.sg. in her; I.10, VIII.13

gāwwu ['gɔuwu] + 3rd pl. in them; I.11, IV.9, IV.28

gāwi ['gɔvi] adj. strong; colloquial Arabic gawī id.; IV.4, IV.43

genzā 1 n. treasure; CM ginza 1 id.

Genzā Rabbā ['genza ˈrabba] prop. n. the Great Treasure; CM ginza rba id.; I.9

Genzā Yaminā ['genza ˈjɛmiːnɔ] prop. n. the Right Ginz, the first portion of the Genzā Rabbā; CM ginza iamina id.

genzā 2 ['genza] adv. very; many; much; CM ginza 2 id.; IV.105

genz [genz] very, much (contextual); I.14, I.4, I.6, II.20, II.20, V.12, V.12, IX.1, IX.2

germā ['gɛmɔ] n. bone; CM girma id.

geš [gɪʃ] n. entirety, all; possibly from √q-š-š ‘to collect, gather,’ see Häberl, “Relative Pronoun;” I.3, I.4, I.15, II.32; IV.4, IV.7 (x2), IV.27, IV.93, IV.105, V.5, V.10, VIII.14

ges-dī ['geʃdɪ] + 3rd m. sg. all of it; V.5

ges-du ['geʃdu] + 3rd pl. all of them; III.23, IV.80, VI.6, V.9

ges-dan ['geʃdan] + 1st pl. all of us; I.14, II.4, II.22
8. Lexicon

**gēlālā** [gəˈlalə] *n.* stone; CM glala id.; IV.4

**gēlaltā** [gəˈlaltə] *n.* stone; CM glalta id.

**gāṭānā** [gəˈtɔːnə] *adj.* short; CM gtana id.

**gird** [giəd] *n.* round; Persian gird id.

**Giyālin** [gijoˈlin] *prop. n.* the Gilānis, a Mandaean family from Basra that settled in Khorramshahr; II.23

**goḥrā qadmāyi** See gaḥrā

**gomlā** ['gomlɔ] *n.* camel; CM gumla id.

  **gomlānχon** [gomˈlɔnχɔn] *pl.* + 2nd pl. your camels; IV.124

**guš jabi-d** *v.i.* take a look, keep an eye out; Persian guš ‘ear,’ cf. Persian guš kardan to listen

  **guš əbadyon** ['guʃ əvadjon] *G perf.* 3rd pl. they took a look; IV.149, IV.150

  **guš əbud** [guʃ əˈwud] *G impv.* f.sg. you keep an eye out; IV.46

  **guš qābdon** [guʃ Ɂ dvədɔn] *G imperf.* 3rd pl. they are taking a look; IV.66

**guṭluktā jabi-h** *v.i.* to be massacred

  **aḥānī guṭluktā** [aˈhavni gətˈləχtɔ] *G perf.* 1st pl. we were massacred; I.14

**guṭrā** ['ɡətɾɔ] *n.* smoke; CM guṭra 1 id.
Ger  

[ʃeɾ] **adv.** outside; Arabic ג ayr ‘unlike, different;’ IV.20, IV.124

**ג́רְוֹ**  
v.t. to understand (+ -d- s.o.); Persian ג awr ‘bottom, depth,’ cf. Persian ג awr kardan ‘to meditate, reflect’

**ג́רְוֹיָד**  
[ˈʃor e,vad] G perf. 3rd m.sg. he understood; V.27

**ג́בּאֶר**  
[ʃaˈbɔɹ] **n.** dust; Arabic ג uba̱r id.

**ג́בּשֶא**  
[ʃaˈbʃɔɹ] **n.** twilight; Arabic ג ubša ‘twilight’ (before dawn); IV.48

**ג́שׁנַא**  
[ʃaˈsnɔɹ] **n.** root; Arabic ג usn id.
8. Lexicon

H

h-d-r

v.i. to turn; CM HDR 1 id.

h-l-ḥ

v.t. to pass over; CM HLP id.

ḥalḥat

[ḥalḥat] G perf. 3rd f.sg. it passed over; IV.141

h-ḥ-ḥ

v.t. to dig; CM HPR id.; Tab. 1.5

qāḥāḥer

[ʼqāfe] G imperf. 3rd m.sg. he digs; IV.127

qāḥāḥer

[qu′fe] G imperf. 1st sg. I will dig; IV.125

h-ḥ-ḥ

v.s. G to be ruined, destroyed, C to ruin, destroy; CM HRB id.; see also harubah

ḥareḥ

[ho’ro] G perf. 3rd m.sg. it was destroyed; IV.27, IV.29

láḥareḥ

[lo ‛ḥarə] G perf. subjv. 3rd m.sg. may it not be destroyed; IV.24

lahriḥi

[ʼlæhriv] C neg. perf. 3rd m.sg. + 3rd m.sg. he has not destroyed it; IV.71

mahreḥli

[mahərv] C imperf. 3rd m.sg. + 3rd m. suff. he destroys it; IV.10, IV.13, IV.41

qāmahreḥāt

[qāmahəvət] C imperf. 2nd m.sg. + 3rd m.sg. you destroy; IV.58

qāmahreḥātī

[qāmahəvət] C imperf. 2nd m. + 3rd m. you destroy it; IV.59

láqmahrem

[laq’mahrem] C neg. imperfect. 1st sg. I won’t destroy; IV.61

h-ḥ-r

v.i. to rejoice, show pride, be glad; CM HTR id.; see also hitrā ʔ-h-d

ḥaṭernān

[heθämən] G pass. ptc. + 1st sg. I am glad; I.4

eḥter

[ehθə] tG perf. 3rd m.sg. he was delighted; V.13

h-w-ʔ/y

v.t. to be; CM HWA id.; see also ehl ‘to have,’ høyānā

h-w-ʔ/y

həwā

[ho′wə] G perf. 3rd m.sg. he was; II.2 (x2), II.3, II.8, II.11, II.23, II.32, III.8, III.20, V.1, V.8, V.9, VI.1, VI.3, VII.2, VII.6, VIII.1, IX.1, X.6
8. Lexicon

**hawat** [həˈvət] G perf. 3rd f.sg. she was; I.8, II.14, II.24, III.2, VII.1

**hawit** [həˈvit] G perf. 1st sg. I was; II.1 (x2), II.16, III.5 (x2), III.4, III.14 (x2)

**hawini** [həˈvini] G perf. 1st pl. we were; I.11, II.4, II.22, III.7

**láqháwi** [ˈləq.həvı] G neg. imperf. 3rd m.sg. let it not be; IV.97, VIII.12

**hawinā** [həˈvino] G imperf. 1st sg. I am; III.16

**hawén** [həˈvən] G subjv. 1st pl. (contextual) may we be; I.14

**hōwi** [həˈvəi] G impv. m.sg. be; V.16

**h- w/y-r** v.t. to wash, lit. to make white; CM HWR id.

**hawwer** [ˈhəwweɾ] D perf. 3rd m.sg. he washed (himself); VIII.13

**h- w/y-t** v.t. to sew; CM HUṬ id.

**h-z- w/y** v.t. to see, to seek; CM HZA id.; see also radpā h-z- w/y

**hōzā** [həˈzə] G perf. 3rd m.sg. he saw; VIII.3

**hōz’** [hez] G perf. 3rd m.sg. (contextual) he saw; VIII.7, VIII.14, IX.7

**lahzi** [ˈləhzi] G perf. 3rd m.sg. + 3rd m.sg. he didn’t see him; IX.6

**hōzit** [həˈziteit] G perf. 1st sg. I saw; V.21

**hōzitu** [ˈhəzītu] G perf. 1st sg. + 3rd pl. I saw them; III.19

**lahzit** [ˈləhzi] G neg. perf. 1st sg. I have not seen; IV.53

**hōzon** [həˈzon] G perf. 3rd pl. (contextual) they saw; X.3

**hōzonna** [həˈzənna] G perf. 3rd pl. + 3rd f.sg. they saw her; IV.142

**heztone** [hezˈtənə] G perf. 2nd pl. + 1st sg you saw me

**hōzini** [həˈzini] G perf. 1st pl. we saw; I.14, III.7

**hōzin** [həˈzın] G perf. 1st pl. we saw; III.8

**qāhāzen** [qaˈhəzən] G imperf. 3rd pl. they see; IV.45, IV.138, IV.67

**qāhāzyā** [qaˈhəzya] G perf. 3rd f.sg. she sees; IV.47, IV.49

**hāzin** [heˈzın] G subjv. 1st sg. I see; IX.3

**hōzinu** [heˈzınu] G imperf. 1st sg. + 3rd pl. I see them; V.9

**qāhzinkon** [qaˈhəzinkon] G imperf. 1st sg. + 2nd pl. I see you; I.4

**qāhazellī** [qaˈləzelli] G imperf. 3rd pl. + 3rd m.sg. they see him; IV.7

**qāhazén** [qəˈhəzən] G imperf. 1st pl. (contextual) we see; II.14, III.10

**hazén** [haˈzen] G imperf. 1st pl. (contextual) let’s see; IV.70

**hōzi** [həˈzi] G impv. m.sg. seek; IV.94

**hā** See āhā

**hafif** [ˈhəfif] n. thin; Arabic xaffif id.
8. Lexicon

Haft Tappe [ʰæftæp'pe] prop. n. Haft Tepe, the “Seven Hills,” is an archaeological site in Khuzestān, located midway between Susa and Chogha Zambil; III.6

hafté [ʰæft'teː] n. week (f.); Persian hafte id.; IV.70, VIII.6, VIII.10, X.9

hālā [ʰɔːlɔ] n. sand; CM hala 1 id.

ham [ʰæm] adv. also, even; Persian ham id.; III.24, VII.6

hām [ʰæm] n. father-in-law

hamātā [ʰæ'mɔːtɔ] n. mother-in-law

hamim [ʰæ'mim] adj. warm; Arabic hamim id. via Persian hamim id.

hamšā [ʰæmʃɔ] quant. five; CM hamša id.; III.18

Harrān Gāweṭā [,haraŋ'ɡʷɛtɔ] prop. n. a legend detailing the events surrounding the Mandaeans’ settlement in the Arsacid empire; CM haran gauaita id.

haruṇā adj. destroyed; CM haruḇa id.

haruḇ [ha'ruu] it was destroyed (contextual); IV.7

Harvard University [ha'vɔd junɔvɔsiti] prop. n. Harvard University in Cambridge, MA; I.4

hātā [ʰɔtɔ] n. sister

ahwātā [əh'wɔtɔ] pl. sisters

hāt bellā [,hɔt ˈbellɔ] n. brother-in-law

hāt ettā [,hɔt ˈɛtɔ] n. sister-in-law

hattā [,ʰætɔ] adv. anew; CM hadta (pl. hatia) id.; IV.17, IV.41, IV.42, IV.42, IV.148

hatti [ʰætɔi] indef. a new (thing); IV.117, VI.6

hatieqā [ʰætienia] adj. old (inanimate objects); CM hatiqa id.

haṭayā [haˈtɔjɔ] n. sin; CM haṭaiia id.; IV.97
### Lexicon

**hayoṯā**  
[haˈjoːθa] **n.** survival; CM **haiuta** 3 *life*

**hayoṯ**  
[haˈjoθ] survival (contextual); I.4

**hāzēr t-m-m**  
v.i. to appear before, be present; Arabic hādīr ‘present’ via Persian hāzēr id., cf. Persian hāzēr šodan ‘to appear before, be present.’

**hāzēr tammā**  
[hoˈzeː tamˈmɔ] G perf. 3rd m.sg. he appeared, became present; IV.91

**hemanuṭā**  
[hemaˈnuθɔ] **n.** faith, belief; CM **haimanuta** id.

**hemanuṭan**  
[hemaˈnuθɔn] + 1st pl. our faith; I.8

**hem**  
[hem] **pron.** which

**hemdā**  
[hemdo] **pron.** (interrogative) when; CM *hai mn ‘dan which of time;’ IV.122

**hemke**  
[hemke] **prep.** like; PCM **hamkia** or **hamka** id.; IV.49

**hemman**  
[hemmæn] **indef. pron.** whoever; IV.140

**hewyā**  
[heˈvjɔ] **n.** snake; CM **hiui̯a** id.

**Heyyi Māre**  
[hɛˈji mɔːre] **prop. n.** epithet of God, lit. life, my lord; CM **hiia marai** id.; I.9

**Heyyi Rabbi**  
[hɛˈji ræbbi] **prop. n.** Great Life, one of the epithets of God; nb. “life” is plural; CM **hiia rbia** id.; I.1, I.14

**ḥādādā**  
[heˈdɔdɔ] **pron.** one another; CM **hda had** id.; I.4

**be-ḥādādā**  
[beheˈdɔdɔ] **pron.** to one another; IV.148, IV.150

**ḥānā**  
[haˈnɔ] **dem. pron.** here; Arabic **hunā** id.; II.21, IV.126

**ḥānāye**  
[haˈnɔje] + 3rd m.sg. it is here

**luhūnāye**  
[luhˈnɔje] neg. + 3rd m.sg. it is not here; IX.10

**ḥawārā**  
[hɔˈwarɔ] **adj.** white; CM **huara** id.

**ḥawārānā**  
[huweˈɾɔnɔ] **pl.** white; IV.31

**ḥayānā h-w-”**  
v.i. to survive, lit. to be alive; see also **ḥayānā t-m-m**

**hawēn ḥayānā**  
[hæˈvɛn hˈɔnɔ] G subjv. 1st pl. (contextual) we will survive; I.14
8. Lexicon

\( h\text{\=y}ānā \ t-m-m \)  
\( \text{v.i. to survive, lit. to stay alive; see also } h\text{\=y}ānā \ h-w^{-w/∅} \)

\( \text{tammini } h\text{\=y}ānā \)  
\( [\text{tammini } ʰ\text{\=y}ənə] \ G \text{ perf. } 1^{st} \text{ pl. we survived, I.14} \)

\( hič \)  
\( [hiť] \text{ adv. any, no; Persian } hič \text{ id.} \)

\( hiṭrā \)  
\( [ʰhiθara] \text{ n. rejoicing, merrymaking, pomp; CM } hitra \text{ id.} \)

\( hiṭrā ʰ-b-d \)  
\( \text{v.i. to rejoice, celebrate; cf. CM } hitra ‘rejoicing, merrymaking, pomp’ \)

\( hiṭrā əbadyon \)  
\( [ʰhiθra ʰvadjon] \ G \text{ perf. } 3^{rd} \text{ pl. they rejoiced; IV.81} \)

\( hitruktā \)  
\( [hiθrɛχtɔ] \text{ n. happiness; cf. CM } hitra ‘rejoicing, merrymaking, pomp’ \)

\( Hibel \)  
\( [ʰhiβɛl] \text{ prop. n. Abel; CM } hibil \text{ id.; I.9} \)

\( hidā \)  
\( [ʰhidɔ] \text{ pron. she (f.); CM } hɛ \text{ id.; II.26} \)

\( hid \)  
\( [ʰhid] \text{ she (contextual); II.31} \)

\( hilā \)  
\( [ʰhilɔ] \text{ n. power; CM } hila \text{ id.} \)

\( hil \)  
\( [ʰhil] \text{ power (contextual); I.14} \)

\( hilānnon \)  
\( [ʰhilɔnnon] \text{ pl. } +3^{rd} \text{ pl. cop. they are powerful; V.12} \)

\( hokā \)  
\( [ʰhoχɔ] \text{ n. scratch; CM } hauka ‘irritation, scab, itching’ \)

\( \text{from CM } HKK / HUK ‘to itch, irritate’ \)

\( hol ʰ-b-d \)  
\( [ʰhol] \text{ n. push; Persian } hol \text{ id.} \)

\( hol ʰ-b-d \)  
\( \text{v.t. to push; cf. Persian } hol \text{ d\=adan } \text{id.} \)

\( honinā \)  
\( [hoˈniːnɔ] \text{ adj. small, little; CM } hunina \text{ id.} \)

\( honini \)  
\( [hoˈniːni] \text{ indef. a small (thing); X.2} \)

\( honni \)  
\( [ʰhonni] \text{ pron. they; CM } hinun \text{ id.} \)

\( horinā \)  
\( [hoˈrɪnɔ] \text{ adj. other; second; next, following; CM } hurina \text{ id.; VII.8} \)

\( horettā \)  
\( [hoˈrɛtta] \text{ f. other; second; next, following; CM } hurintia \text{ id.; III.2, VIII.6, X.9} \)

\( huwi \)  
\( [ʰhuwi] \text{ pron. he; CM } hu \text{ id.; IV.35, IV.44, IV.65, IV.75, IV.88, IV.104} \)
8. Lexicon

Ḥ

ḥ-b̰-\text{w/y} v.t. C to keep, put away; Arabic ḥ-b̰-‘II ‘to conceal’ or ḥ-f̱-\text{w/y}, IV id., cf. CM ḤBA id.;

*aḥbi* ['aḥvi] C perf. 3\textsuperscript{rd} m.sg. he put away; V.18, X.8

*māḥbi* ['māḥvi] C imperf. 3\textsuperscript{rd} m.sg. he conceals; I.13

ḥ-ḏ-ṭ v.t. D to speak, discuss; Arabic ḥ-ḏ-ṭ II id.

*ḥattat* ['ḥaṭṭaṭ] D perf. 3\textsuperscript{rd} f.sg. she spoke; II.19, II.20

*q̱ām̱ḥaddet* [q̱m̱ḥaddet] D imperf. 3\textsuperscript{rd} m.sg. he speaks

*q̱ām̱ḥattā* [q̱m̱ḥaṭṭā] D imperf. 3\textsuperscript{rd} f.sg. she speaks; II.31

*q̱ām̱ḥattā‘* [q̱m̱ḥaṭṭā‘] D imperf. 3\textsuperscript{rd} f.sg. (contextual) she speaks; II.15

*q̱ām̱ḥadeṯnā* [q̱m̱ḥadeṯnā] D imperf. 1\textsuperscript{st} sg. I speak

*ām̱ḥadeṭ* [ām̱ḥaḍeṭ] D subjv. 1\textsuperscript{st} sg. (contextual) I speak; I.7, II.17

*q̱ām̱ḥattēn* [q̱m̱ḥaṭṭēn] D imperf. 3\textsuperscript{rd} pl. they speak; II.21, IV.89, IV.150

*m̱ḥattēn* [m̱ḥaṭṭēn] D subjv. 3\textsuperscript{rd} pl. they speak; II.32

*lāq̱ām̱ḥattēn* [lāq̱aṁ̱ḥaṭṭēn] D neg. imperf. 3\textsuperscript{rd} pl. they don’t speak; II.21, II.23

*ām̱ḥattā‘* [ām̱ḥaṭṭā‘] D subjv. 3\textsuperscript{rd} pl. they speak; II.25

*ām̱ḥattēton* [ām̱ḥaṭṭēton] D subjv. 2\textsuperscript{nd} pl. you are discussing

*ām̱ḥadeṯēton* [ām̱ḥaḍeṯēton] D subjv. 2\textsuperscript{nd} pl. you are discussing; I.4

*q̱ām̱ḥattēn* [q̱m̱ḥaṭṭēn] D imperf. 1\textsuperscript{st} pl. (contextual) we speak; II.22

*ām̱ḥattēn* [ām̱ḥaṭṭēn] D subjv. 1\textsuperscript{st} pl. (contextual) let’s talk; IV.81

*ḥadēton* [ḥaḍēton] D impv. pl. discuss; I.5

ḥ-s̱-l v.t. D to obtain, get; Arabic ḥ-s̱-l II id.

*ām̱ḥassēlēnā* [ām̱ḥas̱sēlēnā] D imperf. 1\textsuperscript{st} sg. I would get; III.16

ḥādīd n. iron (bullion); Arabic ḥādīd ‘iron;’ V.3, V.11, V.12, V.12, V.26

ḥādīd-dī n. [ḥaḍīd-dī] + 3\textsuperscript{rd} m.sg. his iron (bullion); V.6

ḥādīd-dānā n. [ḥaḍīd-dānā] pl. iron bullion; V.10

ḥādīd-dānāk n. [ḥaḍīd-dānāk] pl. + 2\textsuperscript{nd} m.sg. your iron bullion; V.7, V.29

Hadiyye [haḍiye] prop. n. Hadiyye, the bride at the wedding in Khorrashahr; II.10

\(\text{ḥakīmā d-Šuštar}\) [\text{ˈḥɔːkiˌmɔ edˈʃustaɾ}] the governor of Shushtar; IV.65

\(\text{ḥak̪yātā}\) [\text{hakˈjɔtɔ}] \text{n.} story, tale; cf. Arabic \(\text{ḥikāya}\) id.; IV.1

\(\text{ḥammām}\) [\text{hamˈmɔm}] \text{n.} bath(house); Arabic \(\text{ḥammām}\) id.; VIII.1, VIII.4, VIII.5, VIII.8, VIII.15, VIII.16

\(\text{ḥammām d-r-}^{\text{w/y}}\) v.i. to bathe, take a bath

\(\text{ḥammām dərā}\) [\text{hamˈmɔm deˈɾɔ}] \(G\) perf. 3\(^{\text{rd}}\) m.sg. he bathed; VIII.7

\(\text{ḥašiš}\) [\text{haʃiʃ}] \text{n.} hashish; Persian \(\text{ḥašiš}\) id. via Arabic \(\text{ḥašiš}\) id.; VII.1, VII.6

\(\text{ḥatta}\) [\text{ˈḥatta}] \text{adv.} even; Arabic \(\text{ḥatta}\) ‘until, even;’ II.21

\(\text{ḥišān}\) [\text{hiˈʃɔn}] \text{n.} horse; Arabic \(\text{ḥišān}\) id.; IV.65

\(\text{ḥiżām}\) [\text{hiˈʒɔm}] \text{n.} belt, girdle; Arabic \(\text{ḥiżām}\) id.; VIII.14, VIII.15

\(\text{ḥədādā}\) [\text{ḥəˈdɔdɔ}] \text{n.} blacksmith; cf. Arabic \(\text{ḥaddād}\) id.

\(\text{ḥədədānā}\) [\text{ḥədeˈdɔnə}] \text{pl.} blacksmiths; IV.130

\(\text{ḥusn}\) [\text{ˈħuʃn}] \text{n.} beauty; Arabic \(\text{ḥusn}\) id.; IV.53
I

ibä  ['i:və] n. cloud, mist; CM aiba id.; IV.49, IV.50

idā  ['i:do] n. hand (f.); CM 'da id.

ide  ['ide] + 1st sg. my hand; VI.2

idā m-t-\textsuperscript{w}/y v.t. to release, desist (obj. + men); CM 'da 'hand' + m-t-\textsuperscript{w}/y 'to lift;' cf. Persian dast bar dāštan id.

id məṭi menne [id mɪθi 'mnne] G impv. m.sg. lay off me, leave me alone; IV.108

illi  ['ɪlli] rel. pron. that, which; who; used to indicate a non-restrictive clause dependent upon a grammatically definite noun; colloquial Arabic illi id.; I.3, I.5, I.6, I.10, III.12, III.13

inā  ['i:nə] n. eye (f.); CM ain, st. abs. and cs. 'in id.

ine  ['i:nə] + 1st sg. my eye; VI.2

Inglizí [ɪŋglɪzi:] adj. English; II.14, II.18 (x2)

Ingliz [ɪŋɡlɪz] pl. (collective) British; III.2

Irān  [i'ɾɒn] prop. n. Iran; III.2

Irāq  [i'ɾɒq] prop. n. Iraq; II.21, II.23, II.25
8. Lexicon

J

j-m-d  
v.i. to freeze; Arabic j-m-d id.

jadērā  
[ˈʤaːdɾa]  
 n. root; Arabic jadr id.

jami’a  
[ʤɛˈmiːʔa]  
 n. entirety; total, all; Arabic jamīʾ id.; IV.15, IV.98

jami’a-daḵon  
[ʤɛmiˈjadɔχon] + 2nd pl. all of you; IV.124

jangal  
[ʤæŋɡal]  
 n. forest; Persian jangal id.

jawāb  
[ʤæˈwɔb]  
 n. an answer; Arabic jawāb id. via Persian javāb id.

jawāb-de  
[ʤæˈwɔbdɛ] + 1st sg. my answer

jawāb ‘-h-ḥ  
v.t. to answer; Arabic jawāb ‘answer’ via Persian javāb id.; cf. Persian javāb ḏādan id.

jawāb-d’ ḥabita  
[ʤæˈwɔbdɛhɪta] G perf. 1st sg. + 3rd f. sg. I answered her; II.19, II.20

jawāb əḥaḥ  
[ʤaˈwɔb ḥaḥ] G perf. 3rd m.sg. he responded; V.12

jedde  
[ˈʤɛd deberá]  
 n. grandmother; Arabic jadda id.

jeddu  
[ˈʤɛdду]  
 n. grandfather; Arabic jadd id.

jedduye  
[ʤɛdˈdьjɛ] + 1st sg. my grandfather

jihel  
[ˈʤiːhel]  
 n. boy, child; Arabic jāhil ‘ignorant,’ here in the sense of ‘ingēnu;’ II.1, II.1, II.16, III.14, X.6

jihelā  
[ʤiːhelә]  
pl. children; II.4, II.15, II.31, IV.124, IV.139

jihelā-du  
[ʤiːhelәdʊ] pl. + 3rd pl. their children; IV.148

jisrā  
[ˈʤiːsrә]  
 n. bridge; Arabic jisr id.; IV.12, IV.19, IV.78

jisr  
[ˈʤiːsr]  
 n. bridge (contextual); III.20, IV.39, IV.42

jisrā d-Šuṣtar  
[ˈʤiːsrәdʃuʃtәɾ]  
 prop. n. Shushtar bridge; IV.68

jisrī  
[ˈʤiːsɾi]  
 indef. a bridge; III.21, IV.2

Joḥa  
[ˈʤoːha]  
 prop. n. Joh, aka Nasrettin Hoca or Mullah Nasreddin; X.1, X.4, X.5, X.9, X.13, X.16, X.17
8. Lexicon

\[ \textbf{K} \]

\textit{k-ḥ-š} \quad \textit{v.t.} to subdue; CM KBŠ id.

\textit{kaḥšêllu} \quad [kavˈʃellu] \text{ G imperf. 3\textsuperscript{rd} pl. + 3\textsuperscript{rd} pl. they subdue them; IV.14}

\textit{k-d-ḥ} \quad \textit{v.t.} to write; CM KDB id.; see also \textit{kādābā}

\textit{kādebye} \quad [kəˈdevje] \text{ G pass. ptc. + 3\textsuperscript{rd} m.sg. it is written; I.9}

\textit{k-d-r} \quad \textit{v.s.} to be heavy, be a burden; CM KDR id.

\textit{k-m-r} \quad \textit{v.t. D} to turn, return (trans.); \textit{tD} return (intrans.); CM KMR id.;

\textit{lākamri} \quad [ˈlakambri] \text{ D neg. perf. 3\textsuperscript{rd} m.sg. he didn’t return it; X.12}

\textit{kammar} \quad [ˈkammaɾi] \text{ tD perf. 3\textsuperscript{rd} m.sg. he returned; X.2}

\textit{kamarni} \quad [kaˈmaɾni] \text{ D perf. 1\textsuperscript{st} pl. we returned, we went back; III.15}

\textit{k-t-ṣ} \quad \textit{v.t.} to trap; cf. Arabic \textit{k-ṭ-ṭI} ‘to fetter, shackle’

\textit{kotṣѣ} \quad [kʌtf] \text{ G impv. m.sg. trap; IV.55}

\textit{kabdā} \quad [ˈkæbdə] \text{ n. liver; CM kabda id.}

\textit{kadirā} \quad [keˈdirə] \text{ adj. heavy; CM kadira id.}

\textit{kāfēr} \quad [koˈfer] \text{ n. infidel, unbeliever; Arabic kāfīr via Persian kāfēr id.}

\textit{kāferān} \quad [kəfeˈɾɒn] \text{ pl. unbelievers; III.12}

\textit{kalbā} \quad [ˈkaelbo] \text{ n. dog; CM kalba id.}

\textit{kammā} \quad [ˈkæmmarə] \text{ inter. pron. how; CM kma id.; IV.146}

\textit{kandi} \quad [ˈkændi] \text{ adv. yet, still, again; CM kandia id.; IV.78}

\textit{Kanjar} \quad [ˈkændʒəɾ] \text{ prop. n. father of the bride at Khorramshahr; II.10}

\textit{karsā} \quad [ˈkæsə] \text{ n. stomach, belly; CM karsa id.}

\textit{karsi} \quad [ˈkəsi] + 3\textsuperscript{rd} m.sg. his stomach; X.2

\textit{karse} \quad [ˈkəse] + 1\textsuperscript{st} sg. my stomach; VI.2
8. Lexicon

kaspā

[ˈkæspə] n. silver; CM kaspa; III.5

kasyā

[ˈkæsja] adj. hidden, secret; CM kasia id.; IV.85, IV.121

kaṭkammā

[ˈkæθkæm̩mə] adj. so much; CM kd kma id.; I.14

ke 1

[ke] rel. pron. who; Persian ke id.; I.11, I.13, III.12, III.20, IV.14, IV.15, V.9, V.26, IX.2

ke 2

[ke] rel. pron. that (indicating a restrictive clause; preceded by -i); Persian ke id.; III.19, IV.83, V.20, V.26

ke 3

[ke] conj. when; Persian kay id.; II.1 (x2), II.2

ke 4

[ke] conj. because; II.20

kef

[kef] n. good humor; Arabic kayf id.

kef’-b-d

v.i. to celebrate, have fun; Arabic kayf ‘good humor;’ cf. Persian kayf kardan ‘to enjoy oneself, have fun’

kef Əhadyon

[kef əvɒdJon] G perf. 3rd pl. they celebrated; IV.69, IV.72, IV.80

kef Āḥden

[kef ˈɒvɒdJon] G subjv. 3rd pl. they celebrate; IV.72

kədābā

[ˈkɔdɔwɔ] n. book (f.); CM kdaba id.

kədāb

[ˈkɔdɔwu] book (contextual); I.9, III.16

kərāyā

[ˈkɔrɔʒja] n. leg (f.); CM kraia ‘foot, leg, paw’

kərāyi

[ˈkɔrɔʒi] + 3rd m.sg. his leg; VII.2b, VII.3, VII.4

kərāye

[ˈkɔrɔʒe] + 1st sg. my leg; VI.2, VII.5, VII.9

kief

[ˈkiʃ] n. good humor; Arabic kayf id.

klātā

[ˈkɔlɔtə] quant. three; CM tlata id.; III.1

klətāyā

[ˈkəlɔtɔjə] adj. third; CM tlitaia id.; VIII.9

kokba

[ˈkɔkɔwɔ] n. star; CM kukba id.; I.9

kol

[kol] quant. each, every; (+ pl.) all; CM kul id.; I.4, I.8, I.11, I.11, III.4, IV.34, IV.40, IV.59, VIII.10

kol waxt

[ˈkolwɔxt] adv. always; I.13

kol mā

[ˈkolmə] indef. pron. whatever; VIII.12
komáč ɔb-d  
V.T. to help, give aid; Persian komák ‘aid,’ cf. Persian komak kardan ‘to help’

komáč abdel' [komáč abdel] G subj. 3rd m.sg. + 3rd f.sg. they help (Russia); III.2

konfrens [kɔfərɛ̃s] N. conference; French conférence ‘conference’; I.3, I.5

kuštă [kuʃtə] N. truth; CM kušta; I.9
8. Lexicon

L

l₂-b-š v.t. to wear, put on (a garment); CM LBŠ id.

l₁bš [lef|] G perf. 3rd m.sg. (contextual); VIII.15
l₁beš [le'veʃ] G subjv. 3rd m.sg. he put on; VIII.2
l₁bašni ['lʷəqni] G perf. 1st pl. we put on (our clothes); III.10

l₂-k-t v.t. to seize, take; hold; CM LGŢ id.

l₁kt’ [lɔχt’] G perf. 3rd m.sg. + obj. he seized; IV.76, IV.83
qəlakti [qe'leχi] G imperf. 3rd m.sg. + 3rd m.sg. he takes him; V.18

lábod [l'əbod] adv. necessarily, certainly; Arabic lā budda ‘no escape’ via Persian lábod ‘necessarily, certainly;’ IV.72, IV.86, IV.106

lājur [lo'ʤu] conj. since; IV.71, IV.118

lebbā [lʻebbɔ] n. heart; CM liba id.

lek [lek] adv. thither; CM lka id.; III.11

ler [leʃ] n. spittle; Persian layr id.

ler -k-l v.i. and v.t. to turn around; cf. Persian layr ‘spittle’

ler ǝkal [leʃ e'ʃal] G perf. 3rd m. sg. he turned around; IV.104

lešānā [leʃ'ɔna] n. tongue, language; CM lišana id.

lešān [leʃ'ɔn] (contextual) language; I.5

lilyā [liljɔ] n. night; CM lilia 1 id.

lo [lo] conj. or

-lo ... -lo [lo] correlative conj. either ... or

loğrā [loɣɔɾɔ] n. leg; CM ligra id.

lu- [lu] adv. non-; used to negate the enclitic copula; CM la-
    1 id.; I.13, II.3, IX.10
8. Lexicon

M

m- See men

m-h-\(w/y\) v.t. to strike, hit, beat, stab; CM MHA id.; see also čang

máh\(^7\) [meh] G perf. 3\(^{rd}\) m.sg. (contextual) he hit; IX.5

m-l-\(w/y\) v.t. and v.i. to fill, be full; CM MLA id.

m-n-\(w/y\) v.t. to count; CM MNA id.

m-t-\(w/y\) v.i. G to arrive, C to bring; CM MTA id.; see also xabár

mǽton [mæˈtɔn] G perf. 3\(^{rd}\) pl. they arrived; IV.113

am̩týu [ˈam̩tju] C perf. 3\(^{rd}\) m.sg. + 3\(^{rd}\) pl. he brought them
(came to arrive); IV.144

m-t-\(w/y\) v.t. to lift up; CM MTA ‘to stretch, to straighten;’ see also idā m-t-\(w/y\)

mǽtyá̆t [ˈmeθɔt] G perf. 3\(^{rd}\) f.sg. it lifted (itself) up; IV.139, IV.149

l̩̩mǽtyá̆t [ˈlaˌmeθɔt] G neg. perf. 3\(^{rd}\) f.sg. it hadn’t lifted (itself) up; IV.137

m-\(w/y\)-\(t\) v.i. to die; CM MUT id.

mǽt [meθ] G perf. 3\(^{rd}\) m.sg. he is dead; III.8b, X.15, X.17

mek̩t̩at [ˈmeθt̩at] G perf. 3\(^{rd}\) f. sg. she is dead; II.34

q̩am̩āy̩et [qɔˈmaʃjɛθ] G imperf. 3\(^{rd}\) m.sg. he will die; X.16

mię́t [miɛθ] G subjv. 1\(^{st}\) sg. I will die (contextual); IV.84

Madday [maθˈdai] prop. n. Media; CM madai id.

mā́h [mæn] n. month; Persian māh id.; IV.20, IV.87, X.16, X.17

mahallát [maθˈhalatˈ] n. neighborhood, quarter (of a city); Arabic mahalla id. via Persian mahallát id.; II.4

mā́l [mn] n. property, possession; Arabic māl ‘wealth, possessions,’ cf. also Persian māl id.; II.12
māmā

['mɔːmə] n. grandmother; likely a contraction of *em* emmā “mother’s mother.”

mambugā

[mam’buːʁə] n. consecrated water used in rituals; CM mambuga id.

mambuhā

[mam’buːhə] n. consecrated water used in rituals; CM mambuga id.

man

[men] inter. pron. who; CM man id.; II.24, IV.51

el-mannon

[el'mænon] + 3rd pl. whose are they? III.11

man’a ‘b-d

v.t. to prevent, prohibit; Arabic *man* ‘prohibition,’ cf. Persian man’kardan id.

man’a qaβednannu

[‘man’a qaβednannu] G imperf. 1st pl. + 3rd pl. we will prevent them; IV.16

mand

[men] n. maund, a unit of measure (here ca. 14 lbs); Persian man id.; V.3, V.11, V.26, V.26

Mandā

[‘mændɔ] n. knowledge; CM manda; cf. Biblical Aramaic יד id.

Mandā d-Heyyi


Mandāyí

[‘mændo’jiː] adj. Mandaean, Mandaic (language); CM mandaia id.; II.15, II.19, II.21, II.22, II.23 (x2), II.25, II.32, III.16, IV.1

Mandayānā

[‘mændo’jɔːnɔ] pl. mandaean(s); I.3, I.5, I.6 (x2), I.8, I.11, I.13, III.25, IV.35

mandayān

[‘mændo’jɔn] pl. mandaeans (contextual); III.12

mandi

[men’di] n. a cultic hut; CM bimandia id.; III.13

Māni

[‘mɔnɪ] adj. Manichaean; CM mania ‘Mani;’ I.12

manzā

[‘mænzɔ] n. hair; CM manza id.

mārā

[‘mɔrɔ] n. lord; CM mara id.

māre

[‘mɔɾe] + 1st sg. God (lit. my lord); I.9 (x2), I.11, II.35 V1.2, V1.5
mariz  [mæ'rɪz]  adj. sick, ill; Arabic marîd id. via Persian mariz id.;

marizi  [mæ'riːzi]  indef. a sick person; VI.1

mas'ul  [mas'əul]  adj. responsible; Arabic mas'ûl id. via Persian mas'ûl id.; VIII.11b

Masbub  [mas'bub]  prop. n. Sheikh Masbub, the ganzihrâ in Khorramshahr during the 1930s; II.7, II.29

masihi  [masi'hî]  adj. Christian; Arabic masîhî id. via Persian masihi id.; I.12

maşbettâ  [masbəttə]  n. baptism; CM maşbûta id.; I.10

maşknâ  [ˈmaʃknə]  n. (religious) sanctuary; CM maşkna id.

maşknayî  [ˈmaʃknəjî]  n. those of the maşkna, an early term for the Mandaeans; CM maşknaiia id.

maşwâ  [ˈmaʃwâ]  n. rope; CM maşua id.

maṭrâ  [ˈmatrə]  n. rain; CM miṭra 1 id.

maxsus  [məχ'sus]  adv. especially; Arabic maxsus 'special,' and Persian maxsus id.; III.2

mehlâ  [ˈmehlə]  n. salt; CM miḥla id.

mehmân  [meh'mən]  n. guest; Persian mehmân id.

mehman-de  [məm'məndə]  + 1st sg. my guest; V.16

mehnât  [meh'nât]  n. hardship, misery, misfortune; cf. CM miḥna id., probably Arabic miḥna id. via Persian mehnat id.; I.14

mendâ  n. thing; CM mindam id.

mendi  [ˈmendî]  indef. pron. something; I.7, I.11, I.1, III.16, III.22

mendânâ  [men'dənə]  pl. things; IV.35, IV.118

mentekâr  [menteˈkɔr]  n. car; English motor car id.

meşkâ  [ˈmeʃkə]  n. skin; CM miška id.

meşk šijrâ  [ˈmeʃkʃɪjɾə]  bark
metel  [mɛ'tel] n. story; cf. CM mitla id.

metelā  [mɛ'telɔ] pl. stories; III.20, III.25

məsi  [mə'si] adj. cold; CM msia ‘solidified’

məşammar  [mə'sammar] adj. wet; swollen

mətā  [mə'tə] n. place

mienā  [ˈmiɛ̆nə] n. water; CM mia id.; IV.7, IV.19

miez  [ˈmiɛ̆z] n. table; Persian miz id.

mimrā  [ˈmimrə] n. literature; CM mimra id.; I.5

min  [mɪn] prep. from; (+ pl.) some; at (a particular time); CM mn from, with; I.13, IV.6, IV.20, IV.26, IV.103, IV.112, IV.126, IV.137, IX.3

minni  [ˈmɪnni] + 3rd m.sg. from him; V.8, IX.12, X.9

minnak  [ˈmɪnnək] + 2nd m.sg. from you; IV.83, IV.118

minne  [ˈmɪnnə] + 1st sg. from me; IV.108

minnu  [ˈmɪnnu] prep. + 3rd pl. from them; some of them; VII.8

mınkon  [ˈmɪnkɔn] + 2nd pl. from you; some of you; IV.39

mınnan  [ˈmɪnnæn] + 1st pl. from us; V.20

minjo  prep. from within; cf. Arabic juwwa ‘in it, within; inside’

minjo-di  [mɪnˈdʒɔdi] out of it, from within it; X.3

əm-  [m] prep. from; CM ‘m ‘with;’ I.4, I.7, I.13, I.14, II.5, II.23, II.26, III.3, IV.3, IV.115, V.7, VI.2, VII.8, X.1

m-  [m] from (before vowel); I.8, I.13, II.10

m-chnā  [ˈmɛχnə] adv. henceforth; CM ‘m with + Arabic hunā ‘here;’ IV.70, IV.87, IV.123

minjo  See min

misrā  ʔ-ʔ-d  v.i. to draw a (magical) boundary; cf. CM mišra ‘boundary’

misrā qāhdan  [ʻmɪsrə ʔqɒvdən] G imperf. 3rd pl. they draw (magical) boundaries; IV.20

miwā  [ˈmɪwɔ] n. fruit; Persian mive id.
moqaddas

[moqad'das] adj. sacred, holy; Arabic muqaddas id. via Persian moqaddas id.

moqaddas-dan

[moqad'dasdan] + 1st pl. our holy (book); I.9

m-ork

See orke

mohāl

[mo'hāl] adj. impossible, absurd; Arabic muḥāl id., cf. Persian mohal id.

mohālye

[mo'hālye] + 3rd m.sg. it is impossible; V.24, X.8

Moḥamrā

[mo'hambrā] prop. Mohammerah (today Khorramshahr); Arabic Muḥammara; II.6, II.7, II.23, II.29, II.32, III.3

Ms. Drower

[ˌmɪsə'draʊvə] prop. n. Ms. Drower, i.e. Lady Ethel Stefana Drower; II.26

mu

[mu] inter. pron. (independent form) what; CM ma id.; IV.33, IV.77, IV.128, IV.131, V.25, VI.6, IX.3, IX.8; see also mujur

muyyey

[ˈmʌjje] + 3rd m.sg. what is it; IV.10, IV.12b, X.4

muyyay

[ˈmʌjja] + 3rd f.sg. what is it; IV.106

mujur

[ˈmʌʤɔːl] inter. pron. how, in what way; CM ma ‘what’ + Persian jur ‘sort, kind;’ V.24, V.26, IX.14, X.16, X.17

mujurnā

[ma'dʒurnɔ] + 1st sg. how I am; IX.3

Mušmānā

n. Muslim; PCM mušmana id.

Mušmanānā

[maʃme'nɔmɔ] pl. Muslims; IV.150

Mušmanān

[maʃma'nɔn] pl. (contextual) Muslims; III.25
8. Lexicon

N

n-h-t 
v.i. to come down, descend; CM NHT id.

anhit’
[en’hiθ] C perf. 3rd m. sg. + 3rd f.sg. he brought it down; IV.1

n-k-t 
v.t. bite; CM NKT id.

n-p-l 
v.i. to fall; CM NPL id.

n-p-q 
v.i. to exit, come out; CM NPQ id.

na’aq
[na’aq] G perf. 3rd m.sg. he exited; VIII.7, VIII.13

na’aqat
[na’aqat] G perf. 3rd f.sg. she exited; II.15, II.31

na’aqyon
[na’aqyon] G perf. 3rd pl. they exited; II.13

qənāpeq
[qə’nəfəeq] G imperf. 3rd m.sg. he exits; V.8

n-\w/d 
v.i. to shake; CM NUD and NDA; see also nodā

nādat
[’nədat] G perf. 3rd f.sg. it shook; IV.138

qənīdā
[qə’nī:də] G imperf. 3rd f.sg. it shook; IV.102, IV.105

qəmandin’
[qəmən’din] C imperf. 1st sg. I will make (s.t.) shake (contextual); IV.98

nafār
[na’far] n. individual (used in counting); Arabic nafār id.

via Persian nafar id.; VII.6

nahrah
[’nəhrə] n. river; CM nahra id.; III.8, III.13

napšā 
[’nafəʃə] n. soul, personality, self; same; CM napša id.

napš masbetta
[’nafʃ mas’betta] (contextual) the same baptism; I.10

napša
[’nafʃa] + 3rd f. sg. her personality; II.33

narmā
[’namə] adj. smooth; Persian narm ‘soft, smooth’

narm t-m-m 
v.i. to go soft (in the head); Persian narm ‘soft, smooth’

narm tammā
[’nam t’tammə] G perf. 3rd m.sg. he went soft (in the head); V.14

naśirutā 
[nas’iruθə] prop. n. esoteric knowledge; CM naširuta id.
našorayí [nasʰɔrɔˈji:] prop. n. Nasoreans, a generic term for the initiated priesthood; CM našuraiia id.

Našsat-e Šubba [nasʰeʃ′ate ʃ′Abba] prop. n. a large pit outside of Shushtar (q.v.), said to be the location of the Mandaean quarter of town before Čečawā bar Čečawā (q.v.) carried it off to Ōmšuni Kušṭā (q.v.); IV.150

nazdik [næz′dik] prep. near; Persian nazdik id.

nedā [ne′dɔ:] n. proclamation; Persian nedā id.

nedā 'b-d v.i. to proclaim, announce; Persian nedā ‘proclamation,’ cf. nedā kardan id.

nedā aḥadyon [ne′dɔ: ˈvadjon] G perf. 3rd pl. they proclaimed; v.20

nešemtā [neʃemtɪ] n. soul, living being (f.); CM nišimta id.

nešemtī [neʃemtɪ] indef. a soul, living being; IV.96

nəhirā [nəhɪrɔ] n. nose; CM nɪhɪra id.

naʃarā [naʃɔɾaɾa] n. carpenter; PCM nagara id. from Arabic naʃarā id.

naʃari [naʃɔɾi] indef. a carpenter

naʃarānā [naʃɔɾəɾaɾa] pl. carpenters; IV.130

naʃari [naʃɔɾiɾi] n. carpentry

No [no:] prop. n. Noah; CM nu id.; I.7

nodā [ˈnɔdɔ] n. earthquake, turmoil; CM nauda id.; IV.115

Nuḥ [nuh] prop. n. Noah; Arabic Nuḥ id.; I.10

nurā [ˈnʊɾaɾa] n. fire; CM nura id.; IV.114

nur [nʊɾ] (contextual) fire; IV.55, IV.91
8. Lexicon

O

obrā ['ɔbrə] n. mouse; CM aubr, ʿubra id.; V.10, V.12, V.26, V.28

obri ['ɔbrɪ] indef. a mouse; V.8, V.9, V.11

ohrā ['ɔhrə] n. road, path (f.); CM ʿuhra id.

ohhār ['ɔhhə] road (contextual); III.3

ohrā 'z-g-w/y v.i. to walk; cf. Persian rāh raftan 'to go, walk'

ohrā allen ['ɔhrə 'aļɛn] G imperf. 3rd pl. they walk; IV.6

okumā [o'kuːmɑ] adj. black; CM ʿkuma id.

olamā [o'læ'mɑː] n. wise men, scholars (collective); Arabic ʿulamāʾ 'scholars' (pl. of ʿālim 'scholar') via Persian olamā id.; IV.11, IV.17, IV.28

onnā ['ɔnɔ] n. ear; CM ʿudna id.

onne ['ɔnne] + 1st sg. my ear; VI.2

orke ['ɔrke] prep. with; PCM ʿurkia id.; III.25, IV.148

orki ['ɔrki] + 3rd m.sg. with him; IV.37, V.18

orka ['ɔrka] 3rd f. sg. with her; II.17

orke ['ɔrke] + 1st sg. with me; II.19, III.8

orku ['ɔrku] + 3rd pl. with them; II.14

m-orke [mouk] prep. with (Ahvāzi); CM ʿm id.; I.4, I.5
8. Lexicon

P

p-h-r  v.t. to fly, fly off; CM PRA 2; PHR id.

pahrat  [ˈpahrat] G perf. 3rd f.sg. it flew; IV.141
qepāher  [qəˈpʰəɾə] G imperf. 3rd m.sg. it flies; V.25
pāherye  [pəˈhelə] G pass. ptc. + 3rd m.sg. it is flying; V.21

p-r-d  v.t. to flee; CM PRD id.

pārad  [pəˈrad] G perf. 3rd m.sg. he fled; IX.13
pāradyon  [pəˈradjon] G perf. 3rd pl. they fled; III.23, IV.103, IV.105
pārdēn  [pəˈdən] G imperf. 1st pl. (contextual) let’s free; VII.8

p-r-k  v.t. to rub; CM PRK II to crush, bind together

p-r-d-s  v.t. to be finished, to be done; CM PRDS id.; Middle Persian pardastan ‘to be done with, be free of,’ commonly supplanted in modern Persian with the causative, pardāxtan id.; see H.S. Nyberg, A Manual of Pahlavi II (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1974), 151-52.

pardas  [pəˈdəs] Q perf. 3rd m.sg. he was finished; IV.21, VI.4
pardason  [pəˈdəson] Q perf. 3rd pl. they were finished; II.12
ampardas  [məˈpədəs] Q imperf. 3rd m.sg. it was done; IV.44

p-r-q  v.t. to free; CM PRQ id.

parqi  [ˈpaɾqi] G perf. 3rd m.sg. + 3rd m.sg. he freed him

p-s-q  v.t. to cut (off); CM PSQ id.

pāsqt  [ˈpaɾsqt] G perf. 3rd f.sg. she cut off; VII.4
pāseq  [pəˈseq] G pass. ptc. cut off; III.20
epseqni  [epˈseqn̩] G perf. 1st pl. we were exterminated (cut off); I.14

pahli  [pəˈhli:] prep. beside; Persian pahlū ‘side’
pahli-di  [pəˈhliːdi] + 3rd m.sg. beside him; VI.3, VII.6

palgā  [ˈpalɡə] n. split; CM palga 1 share, portion

par  [pəɾ] n. leaf; Persian par id.

pas  [pas] n. pass; English pass id.
pasi  [ˈpaɾsi] indef. a pass; III.4


8. Lexicon

**patyá**

['pæθɔjɔ] *adj.* wide; CM *ptia* ‘open, wide, broad’

**pelti**

[pɛlti] *adj.* few, little (Dezful)

**peršā**

['peʃa] *n.* tomorrow; CM *pirša 1* ‘dawn;’ V.19

**perš**

['peʃ] (contextual) tomorrow; V.17

**perzā**

['pejza] *adj.* few, little; cf. Persian *porze* ‘a scrap or piece’

**perzi**

['pezi] (indef.) a little

**perz**

['pejz] (contextual) little; V.1

**pešimān t-m-m**

v.i. to repent, be sorry; Persian *pašimān šodan* id.

**pešimān tammon** [peʃi’mon tæmmon] G perf. 3rd pl. they were sorry; IV.146

**pəhīrā**

[pəhɪɾa] *n.* airplane; neologism from √p-h-r ‘to fly’

**pərā**

[pə’ɾa] *n.* money; Ottoman Turkish *pār*, a coin first introduced during the reign of Murat IV (1623 to 1640); cf. (Modern) Turkish *para* ‘money;’ V.5, VIII.5, VIII.10

**pərāhi**

[pə’ɾahi] indef. some money; V.1

**pərāhā**

[pə’ɾa’hɔː] pl. money; VIII.8

**pəçi**

[pə’çiː] *adj.* empty; cf. CM *ptia* ‘open, wide, broad’

**pienā**

['pienɔ] *n.* evening; CM *paina* id.; V.16

**pol**

[pɔl] *n.* bridge; Persian *pul* id.; IV.19, IV.24, IV.29, IV.33, IV.58, IV.67

**pommā**

['pɔmɔː] *n.* mouth; CM *puma* id.

**Profesor Buckley**

['profesɔ ʰəkli] *prop. n.* Jorunn Jacobsen Buckley, historian of religions and Mandaean advocate; I.6

**Provost Marshal**

['provosmaʃæl] *n.* the chief of the military police; English *provost marshal;* III.4
8. Lexicon

\[ \bar{P} \]

\( \ddot{p}\text{oqutt} \ddot{a} \) [\( \text{fo'qat}t\ddot{o} \)] \text{n.} neck, throat; CM \textit{pquta} id.

\textbf{Q}

\( q- \) [\( \text{qa} \)] \textit{prep.} to, for (enclitic form); CM \textit{qa-} id.; II.31

\( q-l^{\text{w}/y} \) \text{v.i.} to burn; CM \textit{QLA} id.

\( q-r^{\text{w}/y} \) \text{v.t.} G to read, to recite; (+\( \text{\text{"a}l\ddot{a}w} \)) to enchant; D to call; CM \textit{QRA} id.; see also \textit{bu\ddot{a}t} \textit{q-r^{w}/y}.

\begin{align*}
\text{q\ddot{a}r\ddot{a}} & \quad [\text{qa'r\ddot{a}:}] \text{ G perf. 3\textsuperscript{rd} m.sg. he read; IV.91} \\
\text{q\ddot{a}r\ddot{i}} & \quad [\text{'q\ddot{a}ri}] \text{ G ptc. pres 3\textsuperscript{rd} m.sg. he reads; IV.55} \\
\text{q\ddot{a}ren} & \quad [\text{'q\ddot{a}ren}] \text{ G imperf. 3\textsuperscript{rd} pl. they read; IV.17, IV.18, IV.19, IV.20} \\
\text{qar\ddot{e}n} & \quad [\text{qa'\ddot{e}n}] \text{ G imperf. 3\textsuperscript{rd} m.sg. (contextual) we will read; IV.16} \\
\text{q\ddot{a}mqar\ddot{e}llan} & \quad [\text{q\ddot{a}mqar\ddot{e}llan}] \text{ D imperf. 3\textsuperscript{rd} pl. + 1\textsuperscript{st} pl. they call us; I.13}
\end{align*}

\( q^{\text{w}/y-m} \) \text{v.i.} to stand, rise; \textit{v.t.} (as an auxiliary) to begin; CM \textit{QUM} id.

\begin{align*}
\text{qam} & \quad [\text{qam}] \text{ G perf. 3\textsuperscript{rd} m.sg. he stood; he started; IV.22 (x2), IV.42, IV.55 (x2), IV.91, IV.127, VIII.17} \\
\text{q\ddot{a}mat} & \quad [\text{'q\ddot{a}mat}] \text{ G perf. 3\textsuperscript{rd} f. sg. she arose; IV.101} \\
\text{qamyon} & \quad [\text{'qamyon}] \text{ G perf. 3\textsuperscript{rd} pl. they began; IV.20, IV.76, IV.89}
\end{align*}

\( q\ddot{a}b\ddot{i}n \) [\( \text{qp'vin} \)] \text{n.} marriage; likely Middle Persian \textit{k\ddot{a}b\ddot{e}n} ‘dowry’ via CM \textit{q\ddot{a}bin} ‘marriage;’ II.6, II.28

\( q\ddot{a}b\ddot{i}n \ 'b-d \) \text{v.i.} to have a wedding; cf. Persian \textit{arus kardan} id.

\begin{align*}
\text{q\ddot{a}b\ddot{i}n \ a\ddot{v}adyon} & \quad [\text{qp'vin \ a\ddot{v}adyon}] \text{ G perf. 3\textsuperscript{rd} pl. they had a wedding; II.10, II.30}
\end{align*}

\( q\ddot{a}b\ddot{u}l \ 'b-d \) \text{v.t.} to accept, believe; Arabic \textit{q\ddot{a}b\ddot{u}l} ‘acceptance’ via Persian \textit{q\ddot{a}bul} id., cf. Persian \textit{q\ddot{a}bul kardan} id.

\begin{align*}
\text{q\ddot{a}b\ddot{u}l \ q\ddot{a}bed} & \quad [\text{qa'\ddot{u}l \ 'q\ddot{a}bed}] \text{ G imperf. 3\textsuperscript{rd} m.sg. he believes; X.16, X.17} \\
\text{q\ddot{a}b\ddot{u}l \ l\ddot{a}\ddot{q}\ddot{a}bed} & \quad [\text{qa'\ddot{u}l \ l\ddot{a}q\ddot{a}bed}] \text{ G neg. imperf. 3\textsuperscript{rd} m.sg. he doesn't believe; X.17}
\end{align*}

\( \text{qahwe} \) [\( \text{'qahve} \)] \text{n.} coffeehouse; colloquial Arabic \textit{qahwa} id.

\( \text{qahwi} \) [\( \text{'qahvi} \)] \text{indef.} a coffeehouse; VII.1
qālā

[qɑːlɑ] n. sound, noise; CM qala id.

qāl [qɑl] (contextual) sound, noise; IV.49, IV.102

qālā -h-β v.i. to make a noise; cf. Persian sadā dādan id.

qāl ahḥat [qɑl ˈahḥat] G perf. 3rd f. sg. it made a noise; IV.139

qam [qɑm] prep. to or for; CM qam id.; I.3, I.4, I.6, II.10, III.6 (x3), III.7, IV.39, IV.64, IV.84, IV.121, V.6, VIII.15, X.13

qamdi [qɑmdɪ] + 3rd m.sg. for him; VI.6

qamdaḵ [qɑmdɑχ] + 2nd m.sg. for you; IV.63

qamdin [qam'dɛn] + 1st f.sg. for me; IV.139

qamdi-du [qɑmdiːdu] + 3rd f. pl. for them; IV.117, X.12

qamdaḵoŋ [qamdaχoŋ] + 2nd pl. for you; X.7

qamdan [qamdaɛn] + 1st pl. for us; IV.94

qamāy [qaˈmɑɹ] prep. before; CM qadmaïa ‘first;’ IV.41, IV.44, IV.93

qamāya [qaˈmɑja] + 3rd f. sg. before her; II.17

qamātar [qamɔˈtɑɹ] adv. (comparative) prior; III.18

qamieţā [qaˈmiɛθɑ] n. noon and adv. at noon; CM qamaita noontime devotions; IV.17, IV.112

qamu [ˈqamu] inter. pron. why; cf. CM ʿl mahu / almahu / amu id.; IV.29, IV.57

qanāyā [qaˈnɑɾə] n. smith; CM qanaïa id.; III.5

qənayānā [qənəˈnɑɾə] pl. smiths; IV.144, IV.136, IV.128, IV.130, IV.137, IV.148

qār [qɑɾ] prep. at, before, in the presence of, to, by, with; semantically similar to French chez and Arabic ʿinda; CM qar id.; II.27, II.29, IV.38, IV.75, IV.91, IV.104, IV.130, IV.144, V.16, V.19

qārī [ˈqɑɾɪ] + 3rd m.sg. to him; IV.12, IV.32, IV.37, IV.73, IV.74, IV.75, IV.77, IV.82, IV.114

qārak [ˈqɑɾɑɾɑχ] + 2nd m.sg. with you; IV.40, IV.73

qārē [ˈqɑɾe] + 1st sg. to me; with me = I have; IV.64, IV.81, IV.92, X.6

qāru [ˈqɑɾu] + 3rd pl. with them; IV.145

qāran [ˈqɑɾan] + 1st pl. with us = we have; IV.97
8. Lexicon

**qarār** -h-ḥ

v.t. to place, fix, set up; Arabic and Persian *qarār* ‘decision,’ cf. Persian *qarār dādan* id.

**qarār biete əhaštə**

[qaˈrəɾ ˈbiːθə əˈhæftu] *G perf.* 1st sg. + 3rd pl. you placed them in my house (for safekeeping); V.7

**qarn**

[qarn] *n*. horn; Arabic *qarn* id.

**qazğān**

[qəzˈɡɔn] *n*. cooking pot; Persian *qazğān* id., cf. Arabic *qazān* id. and Turkish *kazan* id.; X.2, X.3, X.15, X.16, X.17

**qazğāni**

[qəzˈɡɔni] *indef.* a cooking pot; X.1, X.9

**qazğān-de**

[qəzˈɡɔnde] + 1st sg. my cooking pot; X.14

**qazğān-𝑘on**

[qəzˈɡɔnˈkɔn] + 2nd pl. your (pl.) cooking pot; X.5

**qəlław-**

[qəˈlɔu] *prep.* to, for; CM *qa- + ɫau-*; II.10, V.18

**qəmoltā**

[qəˈmoltɔ] *n*. louse

**qəmāšā**

*n*. (article of) clothing

**qəmāšānī**

[qəmɔˈʃɔnɪ] *pl. + 3rd m.sg.* his clothes; VIII.2, VIII.14

**qəmāšānān**

[qəmɔˈʃɔnən] *pl. + 1st pl.* our clothes; III.10

**qəyānā**

*n*. culture

**qəyān**

[qəˈjɔn] (contextual) culture; I.5

**Qolastā**

[qoˈlæsta] *n*. collection; the Canonical Prayerbook of the Mandaeans; CM *qulasta* id.

**qumāt**

[quˈmɑt] *n*. prefecture; possibly Arabic *qawamat* (pl. of *qāˈem* ‘administrator, prefect’); V.19

**quwwāt**

[quvˈvɑt] *n*. strength, force, authority; Arabic *quwwāt* id. via Persian *quvvat* id.; IV.118
8. Lexicon

**R**

*r-h-m*  
**v.t.** to love; CM **RHM** id.  
*qāraheml’*  
[qāraheml] *G imperf. 3rd m.sg. + 3rd m.sg. (elided) he loves (s.t.); V.12

*rabbā*  
*[ˈræbbo]** adj.** great, big; CM **rba** id.; X.11

*raptā*  
*[ˈræfta]** f.** great; CM **rabtia** id.

*rabbi*  
*[ˈræbbi]** *indef.* a large (thing); X.10

*raptar*  
*[ˈræftar]** comp.** greater

*rabbā*  
*[ˈræbbo]** *n.* leader; II.3

*rab*  
*[ˈræb]** (contextual) leader; II.2

*radpā*  
*[ˈrædfɔ]** *n.* persecution; CM **radpa** id.; I.14

*radpā h-z-/*w/*y*  
**v.i.** to be persecuted; CM **radpa** ‘persecution,’ cf. Persian *ranj didan* id.

*radpā hɔzini*  
*[ˈrædfɔ hɔˌziːni] G perf. 1st pl. we were persecuted; I.14

*rafieq*  
*[ræˈfiɛq]** *n.* friend, companion; Arabic & Persian **rafīq** id.

*rafieq̣-di*  
*[ræfˈiɛḍi] pl. + 3rd m. sg. his friends; IV.98

*rag’a *-b-d*  
**v.t.** to fix, patch up (s.o. or s.t. -d-); Arabic *ruq’a* ‘a patch or a scrap,’ cf. Persian *ruq’a doxtan / ruq’a zadan* ‘to patch up’

*rag’a-da ăbed*  
*[ragˈʔada ɔvɛd] G imperf. 3rd m.sg. + 3rd f.sg. he patches it (the sky) up; IX.12

*rag’a-daŋ ăbedu*  
*[ragˈʔadɔx̌ ɔvɛdu] G imperf. 3rd m.sg. + 3rd pl. + 2nd m.sg. he fixes them for you; VI.6

*Rām*  
*[ˈrɔm]** prop. n.** Aram, the son of Shem and grandson of Noah; CM **ram** id.; I.7, I.10

*rāst*  
*[ˈrɒst] or [ˈrɔʃ]** adj.** true; straight; Persian **rāst** id.

*rāst *-m-r*  
**v.i.** to speak the truth; Persian **rāst** ‘true,’ cf. Persian **rāst goftan** id.

*rāst qāmret*  
*[rɒst ˈqɒmret] G imperf. 2nd sg. you speak the truth; V.12

*rāst qamennā*  
*[rɒst qaˈmɛnnɔ] G imperf. 1st sg. I speak the truth; V.15
raṭnā

[‘raːt’nə] n. dialect (espec. the colloquial dialect of Mandaic against the written form, genzā); CM raṭna id., cf. Arabic G r-t-n ‘to speak gibberish’

raṭnā d-Hibel Ziwā

[‘raːt’nad hiːvel ẓiːwɔ] prop. n. the idiom of Hibel Ziwā, i.e. Mandaic; IV.1

rāzā

[‘rɔːza] n. secret, mystery; CM raza id.

rāz’ ed-kasyā

[‘rɔːzed ˈkæʃɔ] closely guarded secret; CM raza kasia id.; IV.85, IV.121

rāz’ ed-Šāmeš

[‘rɔːzed [ɔːmeʃ] secret of Šāmeš, the archon ruling the sun and one of the șobihānā (q.v.); IV.135

rāzā qāre

[‘rɔːza ˈqɔːre] the secret that I have; IV.92

rāzi

[‘rɔːzi] indef. a secret; I.13

rehwā

[‘rehwɔ] n. wind; CM rihua id.

rehhu

[,]rehhu (contextual) wind

rehhu ‘-w/y

[,]rehhu eθɔː G perf. 3rd m.sg. the wind blew

rezq

[resq] n. livelihood; Arabic rizq id. via Persian rezq id.; cf. CM rziqa id.

rezqā-dan

[reṣqɔːdæn] pl. + 1st pl. our livelihoods; IV.132

rōwāhā

[roːˈwɔ:hɔ] n. relief, solace; CM ruaha id.; II.34, III.8

rōwāhā ehli-

v. i. to rest in peace (lit. to have relief; said of those who are dead)

rōwāhā nehwili

[roːˈwɔ:hɔ nehˈviːli] G impf. 3rd m.sg. + 3rd m.sg. may he rest in peace (lit. may he have relief); III.8

rōwāhā nehwila

[roːˈwɔ:hɔ nehˈviːla] G impf. 3rd m.sg. + 3rd f. sg. may she rest in peace (lit. may she have relief); II.34

rihā

[‘rihiː] n. smell; CM riha id.

rišā

[‘riʃɔ] n. head, beginning; CM riša id.

riš šettā

[riʃ ‘ʃɛtːɔ] the beginning of the year, i.e. New Year’s Day; IV.3 (x2)

rišāmmā

[riʃ ‘ɔmmɔ] n. “head of the people,” the highest rank of the Mandaean priesthood; CM rišama id.; IV.35, IV.36, IV.37, IV.40, IV.41, IV.44, IV.55, IV.61, IV.64, IV.73, IV.74, IV.75, IV.82

riš yum

[riʃ jum] the first day, the start (in time); I.7
Rusya

[Rusya] prop. n. Russia; III.2

ruz

[ruz] n. day (used in counting); Persian ruz id.; IV.26, IV.44, IV.137, X.2

S

s-d-r

v.t. D to organize; CM SDR id.

q̂omsadart

[q̃msədæɾt] D imperf. 2nd sg. (contextual) you are organizing; I.6

s-l-q

v.i. to go up; CM SLQ id.

sāqat

[ˈsɑqɑt] G perf. 3rd f. sg. it (the ground) went up; IV.145

lāsāqit

[ˈlaςɑqιt] G neg. perf. 1st sg. I didn’t go up; III.13, III.15

s-r-k

v.t. to kindle or light; CM SRK ‘to kindle’

nurā asrek

[ˈnuɾɔ ˈæsɾɛχ] C perf. 3rd m. sg. he made light; IV.114

nur asrek

[ˈnuɾi ˈæsɾɛχ] C perf. 3rd m. sg. he made light; IV.55, IV.91

šam q̂omasrikeyn

[ʃɑm q̃ɔmɑsˈriːχɛn] C imperf. 3rd pl. they light candles; IV.20

sāʿat

n. hour; Arabic sâʿa id. via Persian sāʿat id.

sāʿat d-ahtā

[ʃɑˈʕɑt ˈdæhtə] one o’ clock; IV.138

sad

[sæd] quant. 100; Persian sad id.; V.11, V.26

safār

[sæʃfæɾ] n. travel, journey; Arabic safar id. via Persian safar id.; IV.144

safār ʿ-b-d

v.i. to travel; Persian safar kardan id.; see also safar m-h-

safār ʿābed

[w/ y]

[sæʃfæɾ ʿɔːvɛɾd] G subjv. 3rd m.sg. he travels; V.2

safār m-h-

[w/ y]

v.i. to go traveling, “hit the road;” cf. Persian safar orfādan id.; see also safār ʿ-b-d

safār mahēn

[w/ y]

[sæʃfæɾ maˈhɛn] G subjv. 1st pl. we travel; IV.132

sāl

[sɔl] n. year (used in counting); Persian sāl id.

bis sālu ʿumār-de

[bis ˈʃɔlʊ ʿʌmɑɾde] + 3rd pl. my age is twenty years (lit. twenty years are my age); III.14
Sām

[son] prop. n. Shem, son of Noah; CM ʂūm id.; I.7.1.10

sawār t-m-m

v.t. to ride s.t., lit. to become a rider of s.t.; Persian sawār ‘rider,’ cf. Persian sawār-e s.t. ʂodan id.

sawār ʰiṣān tammon

[seqwɑn ʰɪ ʃən təmˈmon] G perf. 3rd pl. they rode horseback, lit. they became a horserider; IV.65

ser t-m-m

v.i. to become numb, insensate; Persian sayr ʂodan id.

ser tammat

[seqˈtammat] G perf. 3rd f.sg. it (the leg) became numb; VII.3

serrā

[ˈserɾa] n. moon; CM sira id.

sēbu’a

See esbu’a

sēmāqā

[seqˈmɑqɑ] adj. red; CM sumaqa id.

sēmikā

[seqˈmiɾiɡə] adj. thick; cf. CM sumka ‘thickness’

sēri

[seqˈri] adj. rotten; cf. CM saria 3 stinking, putrid, act. ptc. from SRA I to stink, be putrid

sidrā


Sīdrā d-Nēshmātā

[ˌsidɾa d ʰnəʃˈmɑtə] prop. n. the “Book of Souls,” a collection of baptismal hymns from the Canonical Prayerbook of the Mandaeans; CM sidra d-niṣmatā id.

so

[so] quant. three (used in counting); Persian se id.; IV.18, IV.26, IV.37, IV.44, IV.75, IV.82, IV.87, IV.88, X.2

sotór

[soˈtɔɾ] n. razor; Persian sotor id.

sotór-di

[soˈtɔɾdɪ] + 3rd m.sg. his razor; VIII.3

street

[strɪt] n. sg. street; English street id.; III.22
8. Lexicon

§

ṣ-ḅ-w/y  v.t. G to baptize (trans.); tG to baptize (intrans.); CM ‼ ‿ BA id.
ṣuḥy  [ṣuḥy] G perf. 3rd m. sg. + 3rd m.sg. he baptized him; I.9
esṭəbyon  [esṭəbyon] tG perf. 3rd pl. they baptized (intrans.); I.10
qəmeṣṭəbēn  [qəmeṣṭəbēn] tG imperf. 1st pl. we baptized (intrans.); I.10

ṣ-m-r  v.i. to swell, become wet; CM ‼ ‿ MR 1 to inflame, become red

ṣ-ṛ-w/y  v.t. C to squeeze; CM ‼ ‿ RR 2 to surround, tie up

ṣ-wyz-t  v.t. to hear (+ s.o.) to watch, (+ min) to listen; CM ‼ ‿ UT id.
ṣat  [ṣat] G perf. 3rd m.sg. he heard; IX.2
ṣāti  [ṣāti] G perf. 3rd m.sg. + 3rd m.sg. he watched him; VI.3
ṣatyon  [ṣatyon] G perf. 3rd pl. they heard; I.13
ṣatonni  [ṣatonni] G perf. 3rd pl. + 3rd m.sg. they watched him; VII.7

ṣābi'e  [ṣābi'e] coll. Sabians; Arabic ṣābi'a id.; III.12
ṣābi'un  [ṣābi'un] pl. Sabians

ṣāheb  [ṣāheb] n. owner; Arabic ṣāhib id.; X.8

ṣāyah m-ḥ-w/y  v.i. and v.t. to scream; Arabic ṣāyah ‘scream,’ cf. Persian ṣayhe zadan id.
ṣāyah məbə  [ṣāyah məbə] G perf. 3rd m.sg. he screamed; V.22
ṣāyah qəmåhyā  [ṣāyah qəmåhyā] G imperf. 3rd f. sg. she screamed; IV.102
ṣāyah qəmåhen  [ṣāyah qəmåhen] G imperf. 1st pl. they screamed; IV.143

ṣayd  [ṣayd] n. hunt; Arabic ṣayd id.

ṣəbəh  [ṣəbəh] n. morning; Arabic əbəh id., Persian sobh id; IV.6, IV.17, IV.26, IV.137, IV.138
śabāḥ tāḥ ’-h-ḥ
śabāḥ tāḥ ḥaḇlonni

v.t. to wish someone a good morning
[śɔ’bɒh tɔ’ɔ luɔ’lɔnni] G perf. 3rd pl. + 3rd m.sg. they wished him a good morning; iv.38

smālā

[ˈsmɔlɔ] adj. left; CM smala id.

ṣoprā

[ˈsɔprɔ] n. bird; CM ṣipra 1 id.

ṣoprā

[ˈsɔ프ra] adj. yellow; cf. CM ṣipra 2 dawn

ṣubbi

[ˈʃɔbbi] n. Sabian; Arabic ṣubbi id.

ṣubba

[ˈʃɔbba] coll. Sabians; Arabic ṣubba id.

ṣubbihā

[ˈʃɔbbiχɔ] pl. Sabians; III.12

Ṣulḥabād

[ʃɔlhaˈbɔd] prop. n. a city in Iran; III.7

ṣun’a

[ˈʃɔνa] adv. well; Arabic ṣun ‘‘benefit, favor;’’ v.1.2

ṣun’aye

[ˈʃɔnajɛ] + 3rd m. sg. suff. it was fixed; II.4, III.21

ṣṭānā

[ˈʃtɔnɔ] n. boy; CM ṣṭana id.; X.17

ṣṭāni

[ˈʃtɔni] indef. a boy; v.25
8. Lexicon

Š

š-b-q

v.t. to leave; to permit; CM ŠBQ id.

šaḫaq

[šaʔaq] G perf. 3rd m.sg. he left; IX.13

šaḇqon

[šaʔbqon] G perf. 3rd pl. (contextual) they left; III.23

lāšaḇqonan

[laʔaʔbqonan] G neg. perf. 3rd pl. + 1st pl. they didn’t let us; III.13

lāqšaḇqonā

[laʔaquqonā] G neg. imperf. 1st sg. I can’t permit; VIII.9

šoḥq

[ʃuʔq] G impv. m.sg. (contextual) free, permit, allow; IV.109

š-d-r

v.t. to send (+ ʾalāw for s.o.); CM ŠDR id.

šadder

[ʃaʔdəɾ] D perf. 3rd m.sg. he sent; IV.11, IV.31, IV.35, IV.36, IV.73, IV.74, IV.90

qomšadder

[qomʃaʔdəɾ] D imperf. 3rd m.sg. he will send; IV.98

š-k-b

v.i. to lie down (Ahwaz); CM ŠKB id.

š-r-w/y

v.t. to loosen, untie, free; open (a bottle); CM ŠRA id.

qošaryāte

[qoʃaɾjəɾəte] G imperf. 2nd sg. + 1st sg. you will release me; IV.119

qošarınaḵ

[qoʃəɾinəɾax] G imperf. 1st sg. + 2nd sg. I will release you; IV.120

š-w/r-l

v.t. D to ask; CM ŠAL id.

šiyelti

[ʃiʔjelti] D perf. 1st sg. + 3rd m.sg. I asked him; IX.8

šiyeļni

[ʃiʔjelni] D perf. 1st pl. we asked; III.10

qomšiyellu

[qomʃiɭjelɭu] D imperf. 3rd m. sg. + 3rd pl. he asks them; IV.12

qomšielā

[qomʃiɭjel] D imperf. 3rd f. sg. she asks

qomšiel’

[qomʃiɭjel] D imperf. 3rd f. sg. (contextual) she asks; II.31, II.15

qomšiyel

[qomʃiɭjel] D imperf. 1st sg. (contextual) I ask; III.20

š-w/r-m

v.i. to perform ablutions (not attested in the classical language)

šamni

[ʃamni] G perf. 1st pl. we performed our ablutions; III.9

š-w/r-t

v.t. to drink, suck; to smoke; CM ŠTA id. cf. Arabic š-r-b ‘to drink; to smoke (cigarettes, etc.)’ and Turkish içmek id.
qəšiten \([\ˈq̃itθen] \) G imperf. 3\(^{rd}\) pl. they are smoking (hashish); VII.1, VII.6

Šabut \([\ˈaˈbuθ] \) prop. n. name of Yusef (q.v.); II.11

šam‘ \([\ˈam] \) n. candle; Arabic šam‘ id. via Persian šam id.; IV.20

šamnā \([\ˈæmno] \) n. fat; CM šamina id.

Šameš \([\ˈʃomeʃ] \) n. the sun and prop. n. the archon who governs the sun, one of the šobihānā (q.v.); identified with adunai, the god of the Jews; CM šamiš id.; IV.55, IV.83, IV.135

šawāli \([\ˈawɔliː] \) prop. n. Shāh Vāli, a town in northern Khuzestan, Iran, near Shushtar, and formerly the home of a large Mandaean population, the majority of which settled in Ahwaz; III.23

šehyānā \([\ˈʃɛˈhjɔːni] \) or \([\ˈʃɪhjɔːni] \) n. ruler; king; prince; PCM šihiana id.; IV.9, IV.14, IV.16, IV.17, IV.22, IV.36, IV.38, IV.42, IV.64, IV.80, IV.81, IV.116

šehyāni \([\ˈʃɛˈhjɔːni] \) indef. ruler; IV.2

šekol \([\ˈʃɛkl] \) n. appearance; Arabic šikl id. and Persian šekl id.

šekol-da \([\ˈʃɛkldə] + 3^{rd} f.sg. her appearance, II.33

šenā \([\ˈʃɛˈnɔː] \) n. swimming; Persian šenā id.

šenā ‘-b-d v.i. to swim; Persian šenā ‘swimming,’ cf. Persian šenā kardan id.

šenā oḥadni \([\ˈʃɛˈnɔː oˈwɔdni] \) G perf. 1\(^{st}\) pl. we swam; III.9

šennā \([\ˈʃɛnɔː] \) n. tooth; CM šina 1 id.

šenāni \([\ˈʃɛˈnɔːni] \) pl. + 3\(^{rd}\) m.sg. his teeth; V.12

šerrā \([\ˈʃɛrɔː] \) n. war (f.); possibly Arabic širra ‘disaster, calamity’

šer horettā \([\ˈʃɛɾ hɔˈrɛtto] \) Second World War; III.2
šerrā [-b-d] vi. to wage war; possibly Arabic širra ‘disaster, calamity,’ cf. Persian jang kardan id.

šeršā | [ʃɛɾʃɑ] n. religion; CM širša ‘tribe; community; religion’
šerš | [ʃɛɾʃ] (contextual) religion; I.3, III.12
šeršan | [ʃɛɾʃɑn] + I′ th pl. our religion; I.7, I.8, I.13
šeršān | [ʃɛɾʃɑn] pl. (contextual) religions; I.13

šettā | [ʃɛtta] n. year; CM šidta id.; II.4, IV.34, IV.40, IV.43, IV.59
šet | [ʃɛt] (contextual) year; II.4, III.1, III.18

šḥābā | [ʃoˈwɔːwɔ] n. neighbor; CM *šababa id.; X.13
šḥābānī | [ʃuwoˈwɔnɪ] + 3′ th m.sg. his neighbors; X.1, X.3
šḥābānān | [ʃɔwoˈwɔnæn] + 1′ th pl. our neighbors; I.14

šḥiāhā | [ʃɔvɪˈɔho] n. evil spirit; CM šibiahia ‘planets; archons;’ IV.13, IV.45
šḥiḥānā | [ʃɔvɪˈhɔnɔ] pl. evil spirits; IV.14, IV.15

šənārā | [ʃɔˈnɔɾɔ] n. (tom) cat; CM šunara id.
šənartā | [ʃɔˈnɔrɪtɔ] f. (queen) cat; CM šinarta id.

štā | See eštā

šiex | [ʃiɛx] n. sheikh; Arabic šayx ‘old man;’ II.7, II.8, II.27, II.29

šlihā | [ʃlihɔ] n. messenger, apostle; CM šliha id.; I.9

šom | See ešmā

Šom Yāwar | [ʃom ˈjɔwɔɾ] prop. n. Name of Yāwar; CM šum iauar id.

Šom Heyyi | [ʃom ˈheɪjɪ] prop. n. Name of Life; CM šum hiia id.

šubhā | [ʃuwwɔ] quant. seven; CM šuba id.; III.18

Šuštār | [ʃuʃtæɾ] prop. n. Shushtar, a city in northern Khuzestan, formerly home to a large Mandaeans population, the greater part of which settled in Khorramshahr; III.19, III.23, IV.2, IV.24, IV.30, IV.65, IV.68, IV.99, IV.103, IV.105, IV.105

Šuštāyā | [ʃuʃˈtɔɾjɔ] adj. pertaining to the city of Shushtar
357

T

8. Lexicon

\( t \)-\( b \)-\( r \) v.t. to break (down, spoil, destroy; CM TBR id.

\( et\)\( b\)er \[ˈɛtber\.\] \( tG \) perf. 3\(^{rd}\) m.sg. it broke (middle); IX.12

\( t \)-\( l \)-\( w \)/\( y \) v.t. to pull; CM TLA id.

\( t \)-\( m \)-\( m \) v.i. to become; (+ \( q \)\( ā \)) to give birth; CM TMM id.; see also \( h \)\( ā \)\( y \)-\( m \)-\( m \), \( s \)\( ā \)\( r \)-\( m \)-\( m \), \( w \)-\( y \)-\( m \)-\( m \), \( t \)-\( m \)-\( m \), \( s \)\( ā \)\( w \)-\( r \)-\( m \)-\( m \), \( t \)-\( m \)-\( m \)-\( m \), \( w \)-\( y \)-\( m \)-\( m \)-\( m \)

\( t \)-\( p \)-\( w \)/\( y \) v.t. to cook; CM TPA 4 (from APA 1) id.

\( t \)-\( à \)p\( i \) \[ˈtæpi\.\] \( G \) subjv. 3\(^{rd}\) m.sg. he cooks; X.1

tā [t\( ò\)] demonstr. pron. that; PCM ta id.; IV.33, IV.39

tabl\( ı \)\( ğ \)i \[ˈtablįː\( ı \)\.\] adj. proselyte; Arabic tabl\( igator \) id. via Persian tabl\( igator \) id.; I.13

taf\( š \)ā \[ˈtæfʃ\.\] n. stewpot; Arabic taf\( š \)a id.; X.10

tāj\( ě \)r \[t\( o\)ˈd\( ě\)ri\.\] n. merchant; Arabic tāj\( ě \)r id. via Persian tāj\( ě \)r id.; V.5, V.6, V.12, V.14, V.21, V.26

\( t \)-\( á \)j\( é \)r \[t\( o\)ˈd\( ě\)rí\.\] indef. a merchant; V.1

talg\( ā \) \[ˈtælɡ\.\] n. snow, ice; CM talga id.

talg \( n \)-\( h \)-\( ţ \) v.i. to snow; CM talga ‘snow,’ cf. Persian barf\( ą \)mad\( an \) id.

tam\( ā \)m \( ɔ \)-\( b \)-\( d \) v.t. to complete; Arabic tam\( ā \)m ‘perfection, completeness,’ via Persian tam\( ā \)m id., cf. Persian tam\( ā \)m k\( ā \)rd\( an \) ‘to complete;’ see also tam\( ā \)m \( t \)-\( m \)-\( m \)

tam\( ā \)m \( a \)b\( ð \)d\( ī \) \[tæm\( ım \)m a\( v \),d\( ī \)li\.\] \( G \) perf. 3\(^{rd}\) pl. + 3\(^{rd}\) m.sg. they completed it; IV.5
tamām t-m-m

**v.t.** to be complete, finished; Arabic *tamām* ‘perfection, completeness,’ via Persian *tamām* id., cf. Persian *tamām tamām šodan* ‘to be complete;’ other tenses take *h-w-y*; see also *tamām* 'b-d

tamām tammā

[tamām tammā] G perf. 3rd m. sg. it was finished; IV.25

tamām qahāvi

[tamām qahāvi] G imperf. 3rd m. sg. it will be finished

tarmidā

[ta'midā] n. the first grade of the Mandaean priesthood; CM *tarmida* id.; IV.75, IV.88

tarmid

[ta'mid] (contextual) priest; IV.37, IV.82

tarmidi

[tamidi] indef. a priest; II.8, II.21, II.25

tarmidānā

[tamidānā] pl. priests; IV.81, IV.90

tel

[tel] n. hill; Arabic *tall* id. via Persian *tel* id.; V.18

tomānā

[tomānā] quant. eight; CM *tmana* id.; II.4 (x2)
tiz

[tiz] n. sharp; Persian *tiz* id.
tren

[tren] quant. two; CM *trin* id.
tu

See *tum* 3

tul

See *tut*
tulyā

[tulyā] n. worm; CM *tulita* id.
tum 1

[tum] conj. then, after that; (+ neg.) any longer; CM *tum* 1 id.; II.12, IV.5, IV.21, IV.24, IV.61, IV.71, IV.79, VII.7, VI.4, VIII.7, VIII.13, IX.4

tum 2

[tum] prep. until, for (the duration of a period of time); CM *tum* 1 ‘then;’ L.7, L.14 (x2), II.33, IV.3, IV.70, IV.87, IV.123, IV.126

tum 3

[tum] adv. again (follows noun), also; III.18, IX.2
[**tu**] adv. again (follows noun), also; BTA *tū* id.; III.21

turā

[turā] n. bull; CM *taura* id.
turektā

[turektā] n. cow (f.); CM *turita* id.
turtā

[turtā] n. cow (f.); CM *turta* id.
turātā

\[ \text{turātā} \quad \text{pl.} \quad \text{cows; IV.124, IV.142} \]

tuṭ

\[ \text{tuṭ} \quad \text{prep.} \quad \text{under; CM atutia id.} \]

tul

\[ \text{[tul]} \quad \text{under; IV.100} \]

tuṭi

\[ \text{[tuṭi]} \quad + 3^{rd} \text{m.sg.} \quad \text{under it; VII.2} \]

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{tū}{-l-b} \\
\text{G perf. 3}^{rd} \text{m.sg.} \quad \text{he requested; X.1, X.9} \\
\text{qātāleb} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{tū}{-l-l} \\
\text{D to play; CM ŢLL id.; Tab. 1.5} \\
\text{qāmtallen} \\
\text{G imperf. 3}^{rd} \text{pl.} \quad \text{they play} \\
\text{qāmtallenni} \\
\text{G imperf. 1}^{st} \text{pl. (lexical) we play} \\
\text{qāmtallén} \\
\text{G imperf. 1}^{st} \text{pl. (contextual) we play; II.4, II.13} \\
\text{tū}{-w/-h} \\
\text{D to toss; Arabic t-w-h id.} \\
\text{qāmtāhen} \\
\text{D imperf. 3}^{rd} \text{pl.} \quad \text{they tossed; IV.19} \\
\text{tāḫā} \\
\text{[tā'ḫā] adj.} \quad \text{good CM Ţaba id.; IV.38} \\
\text{tābuṭā} \quad ^{-b-d} \\
\text{v.i.} \quad \text{to hold a banquet; CM Ţabu(ta) ‘ritual food; a banquet’} \\
\text{tābuṭā qābed} \\
\text{G imperf. 3}^{rd} \text{m.sg.} \quad \text{he holds a banquet; IV.22} \\
\text{tawšā} \\
\text{[tawšā] n.} \quad \text{dirt, ashes; CM Ţupša id.} \\
\text{tawšānā} \\
\text{[tawšānā] adj.} \quad \text{dirty; CM Ţupšana id.} \\
\text{ṭurā} \\
\text{[ṭurā] n.} \quad \text{mountain; CM Ţura id.} \\
\text{Ṭurā d-Madday} \\
\text{[ṭurā mad‘dai] prop. n.} \quad \text{the “Mountain of Media” (or “Median mountain country”); CM Ţura d-madai id.} \\
\end{array}
\]
8. Lexicon

U

[u] conj. and (independent form); CM u id.; I.3, I.5 (x2), I.6, I.9, I.10, I.11 (x2), I.13 (x2), I.14 (x5), II.21, II.22, II.25 (x2), II.29, II.33, III.1 (x2), III.2, III.6, III.7, III.9, III.18 (x3), III.21, III.22, III.23 (x2), IV.16 (x2), IV.17, IV.18, IV.19, IV.20 (x2), IV.22, IV.28 (x2), IV.34, IV.35, IV.37, IV.40 (x2), IV.41, IV.44, IV.45, IV.47, IV.55, IV.59, IV.61, IV.64, IV.65, IV.70, IV.75, IV.76, IV.81 (x3), IV.82, IV.88, IV.98 (x3), IV.102 (x2), IV.103, IV.105, IV.109, IV.110, IV.116, IV.118 (x2), IV.123, IV.124 (x4), IV.128, IV.132, IV.137, IV.139 (x3), IV.142 (x3), IV.145, IV.148 (x2), IV.124, IV.137, IV.104, V.4, V.5, V.12, V.18, V.25, V.26, VI.2 (x4), IX.13, X.3, X.8, X.9

w- [w] and (proclitic); IV.17

w- [w] and (proclitic, before vowels); I.7, I.8, III.22, IV.11, IV.16, IV.17, IV.84, IV.105, V.108, V.18, VIII.15

we- [we] and (proclitic, before clusters); I.12 (x2), I.14, II.33

W

w- See u

w-d-w/ y v.t. D to take; Arabic w-d-‘Il ‘to see off, bid farewell’ or Arabic w-d-‘IV ‘to entrust’

q̱mwad́ṉkṉṉ [qm`v`d`n`n`] D imperf. 1st sg. + 2nd pl. suff. I will take you; IV.119, IV.120, IV.121, IV.124

q̱mwadḏṉ [qm`w`d`n`n`] D imperf. 3rd pl. they take; III.3

q̱mwad́yátaṉ [qm`w`d`j`ɔ`tɑ`n`] D imperf. 2nd sg. + 1st pl. you take us; IV.122

amwadyáṉ [m`w`d`j`ɔ`tɑ`n`] D subjv. 2nd sg. + 1st pl. you take us; IV.118

w-w/-q v.t. D to tie; cf. CM HUQ 1 ‘to be distressed,’ cf. Aramaic ʿ-y-q id. and Arabic dayyiq ‘tight’

wa-lákin [wælækɪn] conj. but; Arabic wa-lákin id.; IV.120

waḥši [wæhʃi] n. time; Arabic waḥši ‘wild’

waxt [væxt] n. time; Arabic waxt id. via Persian vaxt id.; IV.18

awqāṭ [auˈqaθ] pl. times
waxtī ke [ˈvæxʃtike] conj. when (lit. the time that); II.1, V.9
ak waxt [ˈɑxwaʃt] then, that time; II.2, II.21, III.5, III.6, III.7, III.14, III.15, III.20
kol waxt [ˈkolwaʃt] always; I.13

wāy interj. woe; Arabic wāy id., Persian vāy id.
wāylāk [ˈwuliːk] + 2nd m.sg. woe to you; VII.5a

wayyeq [ˈvaʃjeq] n. distress; CM HUQ 1 ‘to be distressed,’ cf. Aramaic ʾy-q id. and Arabic ḏayyiq ‘tight;’ IV.8, IV.9, IV.28, IV.30, IV.86

wayyeq ʾ-b-d v.t. to distress, threaten (+ gāw s.o.)
wayyeq ʾbād gāwwi [ˈvaʃjeq ʾvad ʾgɔvi] G perf. 3rd m.sg. he threatened him (lit. he made distress in him); IV.86

wayyeq ʾ-j-w/y v.i. (+ gāw) to become upset, lit. distress came into s.o.
wayyeq ʾqṭi gāwwi [ˈvaʃjeq ʾqɔːθi ʾgɔvi] G imperf. 3rd m.sg. he became upset (lit. distress came in him); IV.8, IV.9

wayyeq t-m-m v.i. to be distressed, lit. distress became in s.o.
wayyeq tam gāwwu [ˈvaʃjeq tam ʾgɔwu] G imperf. 3rd pl. they were distressed (lit. distress became in them); IV.28, IV.30

wazīr [vɛˈzir] n. vizier; Arabic wazīr id. via Persian vazīr id.
wazirā [vɛziˈɾːa] pl. ministers; IV.11, IV.70, IV.73, IV.104, IV.109

wel t-m-m [vɛl] n. loose, detached; Persian vel id.; 3.39
wel t-m-m v.i. to become loose, detached; Persian vel šodan id.
wel tammat [vɛl ʾtemmat] G perf. 3rd f.sg. it (the leg) became loose; VII.5

welāti [vɛˈlɔːti] rest. the country (that); V.26

willā [wilˈlɔː] interj. oh! (surprise); Arabic wa-llāḥi id.; VII.8

wusle [wʌsˈleː] n. piece; Arabic wuṣla ‘connecting piece, junction,’ via Persian vosle id.; IX.12
8. Lexicon

xabar

[xaˈbaɾ] n. news, word; Arabic xabar id. via Persian xabar id.; IV.145

xabármāṭā qāru

[xaˈbaɾ  maˈtˤa  qˤaru] G perf. 3rd m.sg. word reached them; cf. Persian xabar rasid ke ‘word arrived that . . . ’; IV.145

xabáρ ʰ-hʰ

v.t. to inform; Persian xabar dādan id.

xabár qahebnak

[xaˈbaɾ qaˈheβnɑɾ] G imperf. 1st sg. + 2nd sg. I will let you know; IV.87

xāle

[ˈχɒːle] n. (maternal) aunt; Arabic xāla id.

xālu

[ˈχnːlu] n. (maternal) uncle; Arabic xāl id.

xāne

[ˈχɒːne] n. house; Persian xāne id.; III.12 (x2)

xarj ʰ-b-d

v.t. to spend (-d- s.t.); Persian xarj kardan id.

xarj- di əbad

[ˈχarjdi  əβd] G perf. 3rd m.sg. + 3rd m.sg. he spent it; V.5

xiyābān

[xijˈɔːbɔɾn] n. avenue; Persian xiyābān id.

xiyābānhā

[xijˈɔːbɔɾnχɔɾ] pl. avenues; III.22

Xorramšahr

[χɔrromˈʃɑɾ] prop. n. Khorramshahr, Persian name for Mohammerah after 1924; II.29

xorde

[xɔɾˈdeɾ] adj. little; Persian xorde id.

xorde-xorde

[xɔɾˈdeɾ-xɔɾˈdeɾ] adj. little by little

xuṭb

y-h-m

v.i. to sit; CM YTB id.

yəhem [jo'hem] G perf. 3rd m.sg. he sat; VI.2
yəhom [jo'hom] G impv. m.sg. sit; IV.140
yəhomyon [jo'homjon] G impv. pl. sit; I.5, IV.123, IV.123, IV.125
yəhem [jo'hem] G pass. ptc. sitting; IV.144, VII.2
yəhemye [jo'hemje] G pass. ptc. + 3rd m.sg. cop. he is sitting; VI.3
yəhimen [jo'himen] G pass. ptc. pl. sitting; VII.6
ayhimi [ai'himi] C perf. 3rd m.sg. + 3rd m.sg. he made him sit; IV.77
ayhimu [ai'himu] C perf. 3rd m.sg. + 3rd pl. he made them sit; IV.76

y-l-?p

Ahwaz variant of ː-l-?p (q.v.)

y-m-w/y

v.t. G to swear, C to promise; CM YMA id.

yəmā [jo'ma] or [i'ma:] G perf. 3rd m. sg. he swore; IV.121
qəyāmet [qa'jemet] G imperf. 2nd sg. you swear; IV.119
yəmi [jo'mi] G impv. m.sg. swear; IV.120
qəmeyminə [qa'mai'minə] C imperf. 1st pl. + 2nd m.sg. I promise you; VIII.16

ya [jæ] quant. one, a (single); Persian yak id. and ya id.; III.16, IV.94, IV.125, V.1, V.4, V.8, V.21 (x2), VI.1, VI.3, VII.1, VII.2, VIII.1, IX.1, IX.2, X.1, X.9, X.10
yeki [jek:] indef. pron. someone; Persian yaki id.; II.10, III.8, VI.1, VI.3, VI.6, VII.2, VII.8, VIII.1, IX.1, IX.2
yektə [jekte] adv. once; Persian yak tā ‘simple, single;’ III.18

yā [jɑ:] interject. oh (vocative); Arabic yā‘ id.; IV.40, IV.23, VII.5

ya‘ani [jɑ'ani] or [jani] interject. meaning, that is to say, etc.; Arabic ya‘ni ‘it means;’ II.2, II.29, II.32, III.14, III.18, III.18, III.23, V.11

Yabber [jæbbr] prop. n. Yabber, a friend of Nasser Sobbi, who accompanied him to Shushtar; III.8 (x2)

yabušā [jæbʊʃɔ] adj. dry
yá
[jɔ] conj. or; Persian yā id.

yād
[jɔd] n. memory; Persian yād id.

láqyādi
[ˈlɑqjɔdɪ] G neg. imperf. 3rd m.sg. + 3rd m.sg. he doesn’t know; VII.4
láqyāde
[ˈlɑqjɔdɛ] G neg. imperf. 3rd m.sg. + 1st sg. I don’t know; II.25 (x2)
qayādu
[qɔˈjɔdu] G imperf. 3rd m.sg. + 3rd pl. they know; IV.15
láqyādu
[ˈlɑqjɔdu] G imperf. 3rd m.sg. + 3rd pl. they don’t know; IV.10

yaluφā
[jæˈluːfɔ] n. scholar; CM ialupa orig. ‘disciple,’ hence ‘literate person, one who can read and write Mandaic’
yəluφānā
[jɔluˈfɔnɔ] pl. scholars; I.5

yaminā
[jɛˈmiːnɔ] adj. right; CM iamina id.

yammā
[ˈjæmmɔ] n. sea, lake; CM iama id.

yanqā
[ˈjænqɔ] n. infant; CM ianqa id.

yaroqā
[jæˈroːqɔ] adj. green; cf. CM iaruqa ‘herbs, green-stuff’
yeki
See ya

yektā
See ya

yəhuwətāyā
[jɔˈhuwətˈɔjɔ] adj. Jewish; CM iahutaiia id.; I.12

yəmuṭā
[jɔˈmuθɔ] n. oath; cf. CM ʿumamata id.; IV.120

yumā
[ˈjumɔ] n. day; CM iuma id.; IV.123 (x2), IV.126, IV.128, IV.129
ā yumā
[ˈjumɔ] adv. today; cf. CM iumai id.; I.7, IV.71
yum
[jum] (contextual) day; I.7
yumi
[ˈjumɪ] indef. a day; V.6, IX.2, X.1

Yusef
[ˈjusef] prop. n. Yusef, the bridegroom at the wedding in Khorramshahr, also known as Šabuṭ (q.v.); II.10, II.11
Z

**z-b-n**

v.t. G to buy, D to sell; CM **ZBN** id.

**zabnu**

['zavnu] G perf. 3rd m.sg. + 3rd pl. he bought them

**zabnu**

['zabnu] D perf. 3rd m.sg. + 3rd pl. he sold them; v.5

**qəzməznən**

[qm’azəbnən] D imperf. 1st pl. we sell; III.4

**əmznəbnən**

[m’aznəbnən] D subjv. 1st pl. we sell; III.6

**z-h-r**

v.t. D to protect; CM **ZHR** id.

**əmznəharla**

[mzə’həula] D subjv. 3rd m.sg. + 3rd f.sg. may he protect her; II.35

**z-m-r**

v.t. and v.i. to sing; CM **ZMR** id.

**z-r-z**

v.t. to inform; CM **ZRZ** ‘to equip, be prepared’

**zarzat**

['zæzəzət] G perf. 3rd f.sg. she informed; I.6

**zāg**

[zāg] n. chicken; Arabic zāg ‘crow’ via Persian zāg id.

**zehunān**

[zehu’nā] pl. chickens; IV.142

**zehunānkən**

[zehu’nən̥kən] pl. + 2nd pl. your chickens; IV.124

**zahbə**

['zæhwə] n. gold; CM **zahba** id.

**zalilə**

[zæ’liːlə] adj. narrow; CM **zalila** light, fine, slender; Tab. 1.5

**zammə**

['zæmmə] n. blood; CM **zma** id.

**zardošti**

[zædəʃ’tiː] adj. Zoroastrian; Persian zardošti id.; I.12

**zıpə**

['zıfsə] n. lie; CM **zipa** id.; cf. Arabic zayf‘falseness’

**zīp**

[zif] (contextual) lie; IV.132, IV.134, IV.147, V.23, IX.1, IX.2, IX.14

**zıpə ‘h-β**

v.i. to lie, deceive; cf. Persian *farib dādan* id.

**zıp qāhebə**

[zif ’qəhev] G imperf. 3rd m.sg. he lies; IV.132, IX.1, IX.2, IX.14

**zıp láqāhebə**

[zif ’laqəhev] G neg. imperf. 3rd m. sg. he doesn’t lie; IV.134, IV.147

**zıp qahbət**

[zif ’qahbət] G imperf. 2nd sg. you are lying; v.23
zipānā  [zi'fɔːnɔ]  n. liar; CM zipana ‘false; cheat, deceiver;’ IX.13
zipānī  [zi'fɔːnɪ]  indef. a liar; IX.3
ziwā  ['ziwɔ]  n. splendor; CM ziuа id.; I.9
zobūn  [zo'bun]  n. (under-)shirt; Persian zobun id.
zobūni  [zo'buni]  + 3rd m.sg. his undershirt; VIII.7
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