

Rudolf Macuch

HANDBOOK
OF CLASSICAL AND
MODERN MANDAIC



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To my respected and beloved Master

JÁN BAKOŠ,

Professor Emeritus of Semitic Languages
at Comenius' University in Bratislava

'thib lašualia auquria rba (DC 53, p. 5:16)

“Datum est discipulo honorare magistrum”

man 'allamani ḥarfan

qad šayyaranī 'abdan (a Muslim tradition)

“Qui mihi verbum docuit

me sclavum suum reddidit”

163969

CORRECTIONS

- XXXII: 5 F: confunctions — R: conjunctions
XXXIX: 17 F: mandaiïes — R: mandaïtes
XLVIII: 26 F: ist anerkennt — R: ist, anerkennt
10: 11 F: *ḡā aksa* — R: *ḡā halqa*
10: 12 F: *pā aksa* — R: *pā halqa*
12: 7 F: to to — R: to
32: 29 F: BGS — R: BGS̄
42: 22 F: *wanḡ — R: *wanḡḡ
45: 22 F: II 2 — R: II ḡ
78: 10 F: atteste — R: attested
97: 22, 418: 15 F: **iahbalan** — R: **iahblan** (Both references are to be completed in the index, p. 579b:21)
107: 14 F: as to as — R: as to
119: 7 F: the always — R: the *ī* always
126: 30 F: cofusion — R: confusion
130: 29 F: *earum* — R: *earum*
161 n. 15 (l. 3): F: an — R: and
164: 3 F: suffixe — R: suffix
165: 10 F: considers — R: considered
173: 22 F: “cauldron — R: “cauldron”;
178: 7, 290: 26, 320: 8; 403: 21, 462: 8 F: I. — R: I.
186: 24 F: “lower, part” — R: “lower part”
188: 15 F: text — R: texts
189: 3 F: temple “as — R: temple” as
194: 19 F: “vessel the — R: “vessel, the
196: 18 F: **masrana** — R: **mašrana**
197: 14 F: *yōm* — R: *yōm*
197: 22 F: **פְּעוּל** — R: **פְּעוּל**
204: 10 F: “man — R: “man”
210: 6 F: **dbar** — R: **gbar** (though right in the index 562a: ult.)
215: 33 F: with — R: as
220: 19 F: singular. — R: singular).
260: 29 F: impf. — R: impf. of

- 265:33 F: correspondind —
R: corresponding
- 270:14 F: dircet — R: direct
- 298:24 F: behabe — R: behave
- 305:25 (f.) F: ypu — R: you
- 307:24 F: ace — R: acc.
- 313:2 F: *yehmat* — R: *yehamt*
- 313:30 F: he — R: the
- 333:18 F: **-iun** — R: **-un**
- 335:20 F: for sake — R: for the sake
- Ibid. F: **hṭin** — R: **hṭin uḥṭainin**
- 346 n. 336 F: 325 — R: 335
- 368:2 F: “they — R: “he
- 373:23 F: **niminun** — R: **niminium**
- 389:24 F: no — R: only
- 394:12 F: be as — R: be — as
- 402:7 F: fire — R: light
- 412:34 F: *-yve* — R: *-ye*
- 413:3 F: endl. — R: encl.
- 413:21 F: whover — R: whoever
- 416:25 F: withou — R: without
- 424:24 F: he”. — R: him”.
- 424:33 F: we” — R: us”
- 427 n. 66 F: *bīš*, — R: *bīš*),
- 428:31 F: they — R: he, she
- 435 n. 82 F: paralle — R: parallel
- 438:20 F: noun the — R: noun of the
- 440:3 F: knew”) — R: knew”,
- 440:7 F: mentioned — R: mentioned
- 441:26 F: I — R: me
- 442:18 F: **mahu** — R: **manu**
- 444:9 F: ⁹⁴ — R: ⁹³
- 444:12 F: laughed”. — R: laughed”).
- 447:1 F: **lika l’ka** — R: **lika, l’ka**
- 447:10 Delete: the af. of
- 447:21 F: go — R: do
- 454:31 F: (a) — R: (at)
- 456:13 F:) — R:),
- 460:14 F: greetings — R: greeting
- 462:1 F: form — R: from
- 462:18 F: sentence — R: clause
- 467:16 F: Br. — R: Or.
- 470:paen. F: Mandaen — R: Mandaean
- 471:1 F: Ritua — R: Ritual
- 474:30 F: Di3 — R: Die
- 475:17 F: Xumran — R: Qumran
- 476:4 F: Xuestions — R: Questions
- 476:ult. F: Prientalistik —
R: Orientalistik
- 493b:antep. F: *tamma* — R: *tāmmā|a*
- 500a:8 F: *a’šeyṭā ‘aḫal*—
R: *‘ašeyṭā aḫal*
- 545:21 F: no — R: not
- 555b:8 F: ARMIL — R: ARML
- 558a:5 F: *barabær(dī)* — R: *barābær (dī)*
- 558a:21 F: *baṭeriš* — R: *bāṭeriš*

Preface

The purpose of this book is to complete the knowledge of classical Mandaic by a direct study of traditional and colloquial pronunciations as well as of vernacular morphology and syntax. As the importance of these three parts of modern Mandaic grammar for a better understanding of the classical diminishes according to their respective order, corresponding disproportions in their presentation appeared unavoidable. Contrary to Nöldeke's *Mandäische Grammatik*, which this work intends to complete, the phonetics is the largest and most important part, while the syntax, treated exhaustively by Nöldeke, had to be limited to the essentials.

The grammatical part as well as parts A—C of the Appendix were written in the year 1955 and the work was ready for publication before the preparation of the Mandaic Dictionary started in Oxford in summer 1956. But the history of its publication was in no way pleasant. Accepted for publication by Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften in East-Berlin in autumn 1956, the manuscript lay six years in the Akademie-Verlag, its printing being continually postponed *ad Kalendas Graecas*. After six years of resultless and discouraging waiting I had to withdraw the manuscript. It was returned on 27nd July 1962 accompanied by a letter stating: „Wir müssen gestehen, daß wir Ihre Arbeit sehr ungerne aus der Hand geben. Wir waren sehr daran interessiert, sie bei uns herauszugeben und hatten uns auch nach Kräften um die Drucklegung bemüht, denn sie erschien uns als eine außerordentliche Bereicherung der Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Orientforschung, einer Schriftenreihe, die sich im In- und Ausland großer Anerkennung erfreut. Trotz aller unserer Bemühungen ist es uns nicht gelungen, Termine für die Drucklegung in der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik zu erhalten. Sie werden verstehen, daß wir das außerordentlich bedauern“.

In the seventh year after the completion of the manuscript I stood again before the problem of looking for an editor. Former experiences which I had had with several publishers who, without seeing the manuscript, were interested only in a subsidy, as well as the demoralizing effect of endless procrastination in the Academy deprived me of the forces of facing the same problems once again, and I was about to abandon the idea of publication.

The book would hardly appear if at that time of my moral depression two Professors of the Freie Universität Berlin, Franz Altheim und Ruth Stiehl, had not become keenly interested in my manuscript and intervened for its publication. At their recommendation, Walter de Gruyter & Co. immediately accepted the publication.

At that time, Mandaic was transcribed in Hebrew letters and all other Oriental words and quotations in the manuscript were given in the original scripts. The production of the work in its original form would have been extremely expensive. As I was at that time still in Teheran, and the sending of the manuscript back to Persia seemed not at all to be recommended, Altheim and Stiehl went so far in their zeal that they put aside their own work and started to transliterate the Oriental words in my manuscript. I must confess that this generous action of theirs had an extremely blessed effect on my demoralized soul. For the first time after seven years I felt that my manuscript had not been written in vain and that there are people bringing self-sacrifice to help its publication. They have transliterated one hundred pages of my manuscript which are published almost unaltered. And although the publishers later agreed to print Hebrew, Jewish-Aramaic and Talmudic words in Hebrew type, I decided to leave certain of their transliterations (e. g. 4:5 f.) as a pleasant souvenir of their collaboration which the reader, realizing that the book would hardly be in his hands without their keen interest, will also have to appreciate.

Other difficulties were fortunately alleviated by the decision of the Philosophical Faculty of Freie Universität Berlin which in February 1963 invited me to its chair of Semitics. I was then able to accomplish the transliterations, revise the manuscript, make the corrections of the proofs and prepare the indices. The alterations I made in the original manuscript are minimal. As much of my original material went into the Dictionary which was prepared and published during the seven hard years while the manuscript of the Grammar was waiting for publication, it appeared advisable to shorten it rather than to enlarge. Many references which the reader will easily find in the Dictionary have been omitted or, at least, reduced. On the other hand, the Appendix D as well as certain references to the Dictionary and a new Introduction appeared necessary. But as no literature of linguistic importance came out, there was no need for further additions.

The transliterations posed several problems. In the case of literary Mandaic it occurred to me before I started to prepare the manuscript of the Dictionary

that, apart from the roots which are mere grammatical abstractions, all words and quotations must be transliterated with absolute consistency without regard to the vocal or consonantal character of the semivowels, the spirantisation of the *begadkefat* and the length of the vowels, hence mechanically and without any attempt at a simultaneous interpretation. Such a system is the only right and admissible one. The reader is entreated not to seek useless reasons against it (see Appendix D: Addition to the Preface of the Dictionary). As to pronunciation and modern words, they are given in their phonetic form. The facultative length of the vowels has been indicated in my manuscript by the prolongation-sign in brackets. As, however, its printing caused typographical difficulties and the forms as *genzā/a* produce no good effect in the text, the reader is referred to the index of Mandaic words where such facultative pronunciations are consistently indicated¹. Syriac, Arabic and Persian words are transliterated mechanically unless there was a special reason to indicate the pronunciation.

I should like to express special gratitude to Sheikh Abdollah Khaffāji, the *tarmīda* of the Mandaean community in Ahwāz, for his information concerning the traditional pronunciation and conception of the classical language and to mention with gratitude the late *yalīfa* ("literate") Nāṣer Šābūrī, the "ritual slaughterer" of the same community, who taught me the vernacular. Both of them broke the traditional prejudices against people of another religion. Nāṣer especially became a sincere friend of mine, and with great patience gave me valuable information found nowhere else. His help made it possible for me to study the vernacular in its full extent and to present the fruits of this study to scholars interested in this language. My study of modern Mandaic could not have been realized without his competent help. I greatly deplore the loss of this sincere friend who always proved his devoted friendship to me, but especially a few days before his sudden death, in a most impressive way.

¹ In a few verbal roots (such as ABD, AHB, AKL, BHT etc.) it was necessary to indicate the spirantization of the *begadkefat*, since it consistently appears in all their verbal and derived nominal forms. This could, of course, not be done in the case of ZBN (34: 28 ff.), LBS (35: 3 ff.) and similar roots in which there are differences of pronunciation. In the grammatical part of this work, I gave up the attempt at a consistent indication of the spirantization in classical roots. It is safer to leave some liberty to the reader than to venture on practices which could occasionally mislead him. But as the reader may be interested in my opinion about the spirantization in each single Mandaic root, I consistently indicate it in all roots, in which it appears to be reasonably certain, in the philological index.

In Summer 1956 I informed him by letter of my going to Oxford. Desirous of telling me personally "Good bye!" he set out for Teheran. Unfortunately, he arrived only one day after my departure, became sick on the journey and died a few days after his return to Ahwāz. May the Great Life be gracious to him in his dwellings in the World-of-Light!

My visit to the Mandaean community in Ahwāz in winter, 1953 was prepared by Ing. Ḥossein Shaghāghī, former general director of Iranian railroads, who not only offered me hospitality in his house in Ahwāz but also invited Šābūrī to his house in Teheran for the whole summer of 1954. His kind interest in this work deserves sincere mention. The book could hardly have been prepared without his understanding, encouragement and help.

In spite of these facilities, the preparation of such a work in Teheran was hindered by many difficulties. Almost all scholarly literature was accessible to me only in microfilm. I should like to express my sincere appreciation to Professor Parwīz Nātel Khānlārī, former director of Teheran University Press, State Secretary of the Interior and Minister of Education successively, who founded a microfilm library in the University, and to Professor Hans R. Roemer, at that time at the University of Mainz, who sent me about 30 microfilms containing all essential literature in mandaology and related fields. Without this help my research in Mandaic would have been completely impossible.

Another difficulty consisted in the lack of possibility of discussing many problems involved in this work. Only a few questions could have been discussed by letter with Lady E. S. Drower (Oxford) and Professor Franz Rosenthal (Yale University). Professor J. Fück (Halle University) who reviewed my manuscript for Berlin Academy was so friendly as to give me in his letter of 1st April 1957 many valuable suggestions some of which have been used in my revision of the manuscript. He also rightly drew my attention to the necessity of discussing more in detail the problem of Mandaean bilingualism in the Introduction.

Special thanks are due to the publishers Walter de Gruyter & Co. who not only agreed to undertake this expensive publication without a subsidy but also produced the book in a technically impeccable and pleasant form. The printers and all other collaborators of the publishers who participated in this difficult and painstaking production deserve sincere appreciation.

Berlin, March 1965

R. Macuch

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Abbreviations

abs.	absolute, absolutus (s. st. abs.)
abstr.	abstract
act.	active
adv.	adverb(ial)
af.	afel
AGG	Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen
AIW	Bartholomae, Altiranisches Wörterbuch, Straßburg 1904
AJSSL	American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures
Akk.	Akkadian
AM	<i>Afar Malwašia</i> (published by E. S. Drower, The Book of the Zodiac)
AMG	Annales du Musée Guimet
Angl. TR	Anglican Theological Review
antep.	antepenult, antepaenultima
AO	Archív Orientální
APAW	Abhandlungen der Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften
Ar.	Arabic
Aram.	Aramaic
ARR	<i>Alma Rišaia Rba</i> (published by E. S. Drower, A Pair of Naṣoraeen Commentaries)
ARW	Archiv für Religionswissenschaft
ARZ	<i>Alma Rišaia Zuṭa</i> (published by E. S. Drower, A Pair of Naṣoraeen Commentaries)
Ass.	Assyrian
ATŠ	<i>Alf Trisar Šuialia</i> (published by E. S. Drower)
Bab.	Babylonian
B.-Aram.	Bible-Aramaic
BO	Bibliotheca Orientalis
BZ	E. S. Drower, The Book of the Zodiac (refers to translation)
Can.	Canaanite
Chr. Pal.	Christian-Palestinian Aramaic
cl.	classical
col.	column(s)
coll.	colloquial(ly)
com.	common, <i>commune</i> (: for both genders)
CP	E. S. Drower, The Canonical Prayerbook of the Mandaeans
DA	E. S. Drower, Diwan Abathur
DC	The Drower's Collection of Mandaean Manuscript, Bodleian Library, Oxford
def.	defective (s. scr. def.)

denom.	denominative
der.	derivative(s)
DLZ	Deutsche Literaturzeitung
du.	dual
emph.	emphatic
encl.	enclitic(s)
ERE	Hasting's Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics
eštaf.	eštafal
Eth.	Ethiopic
ethpa.	ethpaal
ethpe.	ethpeel
ettaf.	ettafal
f(em.)	feminine
FGLANT	Forschungen zur Geschichte und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
Florilegium	see Lidzbarski, Ein mandäisches Amulett (Bibliography)
Fr.	French
Fränkel	S. Fränkel, Die aramäischen Fremdwörter im klassischen Arabisch
GGA	Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen
Gen.	Genesis
Ges.	Gesenius-Buhl, Hebräisches und aramäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament
Ginzā	Lidzbarski, Ginzā (Bibliography)
Gl.	Glossarium Sabico-Arabicum . . . (MS of the Library of Leiden University)
Gr.	Greek
Gs.	<i>Ginzā smāla</i>
gutt.	guttural
Gy	<i>Ginzā yamīna</i>
H.	Hebrew
HG	<i>Diwān Harān Gawaiṭā</i> (Bibliography, s. Drower)
imper.	imperative
impf.	imperfect
inf.	infinitive
It.	Italian
JA	Journal Asiatique
JAOS	Journal of American Oriental Society
Jb	Lidzbarski, Johannesbuch der Mandäer
JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature (Philadelphia)
Jew.(-Aram.)	Jewish-Aramaic
JPTh	Jahrbuch für protestantische Theologie
JRAS	Journal of Royal Asiatic Society
JSS	Journal of Semitic Studies
JThS	Journal of Theological Studies
Justi	Justi, Iranisches Namenbuch, Marburg 1895
Lat.	Latin

LC	Literarisches Centralblatt
Lidzb.	Lidzbarski
lit.	literary
loanw.	loan-word
LQR	The London Quarterly Review
m.	masculine
Mand.	Mandaic
masc.	masculine
Mat.	Gospel of Matthew
MD	Drower-Macuch, A Mandaic Dictionary
M-d-H	Mandā-(a)d-Heyyī
MG	Nöldeke, Mandäische Grammatik
ML	Lidzbarski, Mandäische Liturgien
MMII	E. S. Drower, The Mandaeans of Iraq and Iran
MO	Le Monde Oriental
mod.	modern
Morg.	De Morgan, Textes mandaiïes (see Bibliography)
MSt	Pallis, Mandaean Studies
MZ	Lidzbarski, Mandäische Zaubertexte (see Bibliography)
neg.	negative
NF	Neue Folge
nom. act.	nomen actionis
nom. ag.	nomen agentis
Nöld.	Nöldeke
NRT	Nouvelle Revue Théologique (Louvain)
NS	New Series, Nova Series
NT	New Testament
OLZ	Orientalistische Literaturzeitung
OP	Old Persian
Or.	Orientalia, Commentarii periodici Pontificii Institutii Biblici
OST	Bezold, Orientalische Studien Theodor Nöldeke zum siebzigsten Geburtstag gewidmet
OT	Old Testament
OTF	Oriental Translation Fund
Oxf.	Oxford
p.	person
P.	Persian
pa.	pacl
paen.	paenultima, penult
Pal.	Palestinian
Palm.	Palmyrenian
Par.	Paris
pass.	passive
pe.	peal

pers.	person(al)
Pct.	Petermann
pf.	perfect (tense)
Phen.	Phoenician
Phl.	Pahlavi
pl.	plural
postcl.	postclassical
pr.	proper
pres.	present (tense)
pr. n.	proper name
procl.	proclitic(s)
Ps.	Psalm
PSBA	Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology
pt.	participle
Q	Qolasta (Bibliography, s. Euting)
Qm.	Qmāha (: phylactery, charm)
Qm. d-H-Z.	<i>Qmāha (a)d-Hibil Ziwa</i>
rad.	radical
RA	Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie Orientale
RB	Revue Biblique
RCAJ	Royal Central Asiatic Journal
RCHL	Revue Critique d'Histoire et de la Littérature
RE	Real-Encyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche
REJ	Revue des Etudes Juives
Rev.	Review
RGG	Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart
RH	Revue Historique
RHR	Revue de l'Histoire des Religions
Riv. d. St. Or.	Rivista degli Studi Orientali
RN	Revue Numismatique
RSE	Revue Sémitique d'Épigraphie et d'Histoire Ancienne
Šāb(ūrī)	the late Nāṣer Šābūrī of Ahwāz, informant (see Preface)
saf.	safel
scr. def.	scriptio defectiva
scr. pl.	scriptio plena
SEA	Svensk Exegetisk Årsbok
Sem.	Semitic
sg.	singular
Sh.	Sheikh
Sh. Abd.	Sheikh Abdullah Khaffāji, the <i>tarmida</i> of Ahwāz, informant
SPAW	Sitzungsberichte der Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften
ST	Studi e Testi
st. abs.	status absolutus
st. cstr.	status constructus

st. emph.	status emphaticus
suff.	suffix(es)
s. v.	sub voce
šaf.	šafel
Syr.	Syriac
Talm.	Talmudic
Targ.	Targumic
ThBl.	Theologische Blätter
ThLBl.	Theologisches Literaturblatt
ThLZ	Theologische Literaturzeitung
ThR	Theologische Rundschau
trad.	traditional
transl.	translation
ult.	ultima, last line
UUA	Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift
var.	variant
varr.	variants
VG	Brockelmann, Grundriß der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen
WZKM	Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes
ZA	Zeitschrift für Assyriologie
ZDMG	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft
ZNW	Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft
Zotb.	Zotenberg, Catalogue des manuscrits . . . (Bibliography)
ZS	Zeitschrift für Semitistik
ZWT	Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie

Introduction

Classical Mandaic has received in Th. Nöldeke's „Mandäische Grammatik“ (Halle 1875; photomechanical reprint: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, Darmstadt 1964) a classical grammatical treatment¹ which it would be impossible to replace. Even Nöldeke's self-critical feeling: „Als den größten Mangel meines Buches empfinde ich es, daß ich die Sprache nur aus der Literatur kenne, fast ohne jede Notiz über die traditionelle Aussprache zu besitzen“² seems not to have been felt so tragically by the users of his book as by the author himself. Owing to the author's genius, whose merits inexpressibly surpassed his shortcomings, his work remains as a model of a maximum of a systematic knowledge of a language which can be gathered from literature. Nevertheless, it is hard to understand that during almost a century since the appearing of Nöldeke's Mandaic Grammar nobody thought of removing the deficiencies mentioned by its author by a direct study of the language. Petermann³ died with his knowledge of the traditional pronunciation. Socin⁴ found no access to the Mandaeans. Siouffi's informations⁵ communicated by a convert have proved not only to be insufficient but, in many points, also untrustworthy. The situation of Mandaean studies was so lamentably confused that W. Brandt in his article „Mandaeans“ expressed a pessimistic view: „Whether any Mandaean communities still exist the present author is not in a position to say“⁶.

Nöldeke's disclosure of philological treasures of Mandaic exclusively from literature has been followed by the translator, Mark Lidzbarski, who, entangled by the many difficulties of the „Johannesbuch der Mandäer“ (**drašia d-iahia**) published (1905) and translated by himself ten years later (1915), fully realized

¹ Cf. F. Rosenthal, *Die aramaistische Forschung seit Th. Nöldeke's Veröffentlichungen* p. 228, quoted by A. Schall in his „Vorbemerkung“ to the Appendix of the photomechanical reprint of the mentioned Nöldeke's work, p. 489.

² MG, p. VII: 13 ff.

³ MG, p. VII: 17 ff.

⁴ *Ibid.* VII: 22, cf. Nöldeke, *ZDMG* 1870, 461 ff. and Baumgartner, *Zur Mandäerfrage*, p. 44 f.

⁵ *Erudes sur la religion des Soubbas ou Sabéens* (Paris 1880), cf. Baumgartner, *l. c.* 44: 3 ff.

⁶ ERE 392 b § 45.

what an immediate access to the living Mandaean tradition would mean. Having no possibility of such an immediate access to this tradition he, at least, sought the help of an Oriental scholar acquainted with the Mandaeans, Père Anasthase, who was able to elucidate many obscure points of this relatively late work of Mandaean literature with which Lidzbarski started his career of translator from Mandaic⁷. The difficulties apparently diminished when Lidzbarski was translating older documents of Mandaean literature, namely the Mandaean liturgies (1920) and the *Ginzā* (1925). In order to achieve this work, especially the translation of the latter, Lidzbarski had to make a lexicographical survey of the whole Mandaean literature found in his days in Europe⁸. His card-file index of a Mandaic Lexicon, though incomplete and containing nothing more than Mandaic words and references to printed books and manuscripts, has been appreciated as an excellent help in the preparation of a Mandaic Dictionary published with increased material thirty five years after Lidzbarski's death in Oxford⁹.

Lidzbarski's work has been successfully continued by Lady Ethel Stefana Drower who disclosed a completely new period of Mandaean studies. Not only has she succeeded where Socin completely and Siouffi greatly failed, but her scholarly development and achievements are simply unbelievable and yet absolutely true. Having started her literary career as a novel-writer, in about fifty years of her age without any previous scholarly training she started with extreme enthusiasm her most fruitful Mandaean research to which all future generations of mandaeologists will be indebted. Thanks to her long stay in Iraq she won the confidence of Mandaean priests and laymen, became acquainted with their traditions, religious practices, popular beliefs and customs and acquired from them a complete collection of 56 Mandaean manuscripts which are now deposited as "Drower's Collection" in the Bodleian Library in Oxford. Her well-known book "The Mandaeans of Iraq and Iran", a treasury of first-hand information about the Mandaeans proves that Socin¹⁰ has done a very bad service to the Mandaean studies and Siouffi only a very poor one.

Lady Drower's enthusiasm, assiduity and personal discipline helped with her practical knowledge of Mandaean traditions, rites and customs facilitated

⁷ See the numerous annotations in „Johannesbuch der Mandäer II“ with quotations from Père Anasthase's letters.

⁸ Lidzbarski, *Ginzā*, p. XV: 35 ff.

⁹ See next p.

¹⁰ Cf. Baumgartner, l. c. 44 n. 8.

her penetration into the extremely difficult Mandaean texts; she published, translated and commented upon almost all manuscripts of her Mandaean collection. There remains very little to be done, and our knowledge of Mandaean literature will be complete.

Lady Drower's collection, editions and translations also meant an important step towards the realization of a Mandaic Dictionary. Like Lidzbarski⁹ and before him Pognon¹¹ she also had to prepare a word-index of Mandaic for her private use. But unlike her predecessors she had the complete Mandaean literature in her hands. Transliterating and translating her manuscripts during almost thirty years she was daily completing her word-index. As she translated all her manuscripts, even those not yet published, each new word was sure to enter into her lexicographical collection which thus grew into a complete treasury of Mandaean words gathered in literature and surpassed in material all preceding Mandaic word-indices. She also undertook the trouble of putting this material in typescript-form and of providing a copy of Lidzbarski's card-index which, thanks to Professor J. Fück (Halle/Saale), was also made accessible in a copy-book-form.

The material was waiting for scholarly redaction. Upon Lady Drower's proposal I was invited by the Faculty of Oriental Studies of Oxford University, and started to work in August 1956. Lady Drower had put such a rich material into my hands that my work was mostly of technical character, such as the completing of missing references and scholarly literature, combining of Lady Drower's, Lidzbarski's and mine own lexicographical collections, etymological explanations, control of forms and meanings and the establishing and justification of the latter in doubtful cases, appropriate shortening of quotations, distinction between the essential and unessential as well as a complete rearrangement and elaboration of the entries and sub-entries according to their grammatical and semantic categories with the division of the numerous homonyms according to their origin and actual meaning. Such an elaboration of an exhaustive mass of lexicographical material of a language in a fluid phonetic state in a limited time was no easy task. But I will always consider those two years of sleepless nights spent in the preparation of the Mandaic Dictionary as the most blessed in my life. The feeling of having in my hands

⁹ See Drower-Macuch, *A Mandaic Dictionary*, p. V.

¹¹ See R. Basset, *Nécrologie* (for H. Pognon), *JA* 1921, p. 337—339, cf. Rosenthal, *l. c.*, p. 238 n. 2.

complete material gathered during more than half a century was encouraging and produced an increased effort which made it possible to produce the Dictionary during two years of my leave from Teheran University.

In spite of these undoubtedly considerable achievements which have raised Mandaic and Mandaean studies on a very high degree of exact information there has been a very unpleasant lacuna in that part with which the study of each language ought to begin — the phonetics. And although Lady Drower's work proved that the access to the Mandaeans is no way so impossible, as Socin⁴ thought, and that Mandaean priests are not so ignorant of their religious texts, as he imagined, nobody was tempted to get in contact with these people and become acquainted with their traditional pronunciation in order to be able to say a word about it. Lady Drower in her previously mentioned monumental work transcribed some texts, as she heard them, using an inopportune English transcription. But such an important matter would have deserved the attention of a well-trained phonetician. The existence of a vernacular dialect spoken by Mandaean laymen in Khūzistān, which as a living language deserves, at least, as much attention as the traditional pronunciation of the literary tongue, remained completely unknown until my personal discovery at the occasion of my visit to the Mandaean community of Ahwāz in 1953. In brief, the "research" was completely satisfied with Nöldeke's mentioned² discontent.

It is obvious that such a stagnation could have no good consequences. No progress in scholarship means retrogression. This is what actually happened. Without seeking any information about the still spoken Mandaic, people started to speculate about its pronunciation. As Nöldeke was not satisfied with his own solution of the problems of Mandaic phonetics, why should they be satisfied with it?! And forgetting the elementary notions of Mandaic or even general Aramaic phonetics and without taking a step forward they criticized his conclusions, or simply ignored them. It is not so simple to rationalize about the phonetics of an unheard language without having Nöldeke's knowledge and perspicacity. His phonetics of Mandaic — in spite of its shortcomings which he himself realized better than anybody else — will always remain a maximum of phonetic knowledge of a language gathered from literature. In order to disprove his rationalistic concept of Mandaic phonetics there must be stronger reasons than imagination and phantasy.

It is extremely unpleasant to me to have to make the following remarks. Yet in the interest of scholarship which has not to mislead people but to

lead them on the right way these remarks cannot be avoided. It is the more lamentable that they concern scholars who have done some useful research and would not have compromised their names if they only had not pronounced their opinion concerning things about which they knew very little or absolutely nothing.

W. Sundberg (106 n. 237) declared: "Nevertheless, even a Nöldeke can make a mistake"¹² without realizing the mistake in which he himself was involved. He wasted five pages of paper without having thought that **b'dana**¹³ *abīdānā* ever could be pronounced with a prosthetic vowel as well as **abmambugia**¹⁴ *abmambūyī*. In **uanamia**¹⁵ *u-anāmī* the pronunciation of the proclitic with a prosthetic vowel is inadmissible merely on the account of the vocal pronunciation of the proclitic conjunction **u** as *u* differently from the proclitic prepositions **b** (*a|eb*) and **l** which became completely confused with **ʿl** (*el*). For the same reason Nöldeke's reading **u-ʿh**¹⁵ (i. e. *u-ibī*) was correct, while Sundberg's "instead of **u-ʿh**"¹⁶ is completely mistaken and absolutely inadmissible¹⁷. Shortly, W. Sundberg's attempt to criticize Nöldeke's concept of the vocalisation of Mandaic proclitics is in no way better than his "What is the meaning of 'Mandaeans'?"¹⁸ which would rather deserve a title "What is *not* the meaning of 'Mandaeans'?"

The importance of Mand. phonetics has been disregarded by A. Spitaler in his „Zur Frage der Geminatendissimilation im Semitischen, zugleich ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis der Orthographie des Reichsaramäischen"¹⁹. This presumed contribution meant to correct the traditional Aram. pronunciations is so inconsistent that it is hard to understand what its author did mean, and it is difficult to believe that he really meant what he actually said in it. His article has been published in a place where it escaped the attention of semitists, and as people who read it were easily misled by it and accepted it without any special protest which such a contribution deserves, its author might have thought he had done a very right and useful thing. As his false theory endangers the pronun-

¹² L. c. 32: 12.

¹³ Ibid. 33: 24.

¹⁴ Ibid. 33: 20.

¹⁵ MG 86 n. 2, the division being rightly made by Sundberg, l. c. 33 n. 20.

¹⁶ Sundberg, *ibid.*

¹⁷ Cf. the rules about the vocalisation of proclitics, p. 105: 11 ff.

¹⁸ See my „Anfänge der Mandäer“, p. 83 n. 19.

¹⁹ Zeitschr. f. Indogerm. Forschungen LXI, p. 257—266.

ciation of the name “Mandaean”, I already refuted it in mine article „Anfänge der Mandäer“²⁰. But in order to avoid all possible misunderstandings the following remarks are necessary.

As the pre-Aramaic (= Akkadian) and the non-historical Aramaic, esp. Mandaic orthography and both the traditional and the colloquial pronunciation of the latter prove, a *n* appearing in the script was always pronounced whether it was etymological, or resulting from dissimilation, or a merely analogical infix. The dissimilation of geminated consonants is already a pre-Aramaic (42:19) and generally Aramaic phenomenon attested from the most ancient period of this language until our day. As the same phenomenon occurs also on the other side of the Semitic world in classical Ethiopic (42:21 f.)²¹ and Amharic (42:22) as well as in Arabic²², there can be absolutely no doubt that this phenomenon is very ancient and must have existed already in the preliterary period of Semitic languages. Its sign is everywhere and always a *n* taking the place of the dissimilated consonant. This dissimilation is a well-established fact, and there can be absolutely no doubt about its existence in *Reichsaramäisch* as well as in Mandaic and many other Aramaic dialects and mentioned Semitic languages and as well as its *n* can in no way be considered as a “mere sign of the reduplication of the following consonant”, as A. Spitaler wanted not only to believe but also to declare in an absolutely categorical way.

He not only did not notice many quite general facts of Aramaic phonetics but seems to have been absolutely determined to go against the facts even known to him, cf. his own words: „Wenn das BA²³ die Annahme etymologischer Orthographie dadurch ad absurdum zu führen scheint, daß die masoretische Vokalisation das *ḡ* da, wo es geschrieben ist anerkennt und seine angebliche Aussprache sanktioniert, statt zwischen Qerē und Ketib zu unterscheiden, so ist das nur geneigt, das Vertrauen auf die Zuverlässigkeit der masoretischen Tätigkeit bzw. Überlieferung auch in diesem (sic) Punkte zu erschüttern“²⁴. How could such a misstatement be pronounced after a lucid interval in which he said: „Es ist natürlich nicht zu leugnen, daß in der lebenden Sprache Formen mit und ohne Dissimilation nebeneinander denkbar

²⁰ In Altheim-Stiehl, *Die Araber in der alten Welt II*, p. 88 f.

²¹ Cf. also H. Fleisch, *Traité de philologie arabe I*, p. 79 (§ 10b).

²² *Ibid.*, 61: ult., 79: bottom, 502 (§ 105 d).

²³ Bible-Aramaic.

sind und auch wirklich vorkommen²⁵, is enigmatic to me. Did A. Spitaler think that *Reichsaramäisch* and Bible Aramaic could be treated independently from the living Aram. dialects, or did he think that the two percents of the people able to write could have exerted such an influence on the illiterate population that a merely graphical sign would have become an actual infix *n* as one of the most living phenomena of spoken Aramaic?!

The masorets have preserved us in this particular case a very old pronunciation which had already existed in the day in which the infix *-n-* appeared in the script in early pre-Aramaean times. There is absolutely no doubt that this old pronunciation was as living at the time of the masorets, as it is living in the neo-Aramaic dialects in our days. In the case of the latter, A. Spitaler also sought a detour in order to misunderstand their phonetic phenomena²⁶. He did not deny that in the dialect of Ma'lūla there are according to voice-records, at least, two facultative imperfect-forms *yinfuq*, *yinhūč* for the assimilated *yiffuq*, *yehhūč*. But he preferred to explain them as „analogische Augenblicksbildungen, nach dem Perf. *infeq* und *inhēč*“, because such an explanation suited better his purpose. According to our knowledge of the assimilated and non-assimilated forms of verbs 𐤓𐤁 (293f.) it would be perhaps more normal to consider the quoted double Ma'lūla-forms as real double forms. Although we have to do with a different dialect, it is difficult to believe that we would have to do with an essentially different phenomenon. As to modern Syriac *mindī*²⁷, the most frequent word in this language, there can hardly be any doubt that its *-nd-* cannot be treated differently from modern Mandaic **mindia** *mendī* (44: 11, 48: 4ff.) or from other Mandaic words containing the same dissimilated group, hence certainly not as an „analogische Augenblicksbildung“ but as a proof of the same dissimilatory tendency lasting over long centuries.

A. Spitaler's main argument was that the sibilants and laryngeals cannot be dissimilated²⁸. In the case of the former his imagination is false (45: 12—17 + Arabic *ḥinzīr* and similar cases); as to the latter, he forgot the rule of analogy applied by himself (see a few lines above) in a doubtful case, or ignored it in the case where such an explanation is the only possible one. As he wanted

²⁴ L. c. 263.

²⁵ Ibid. 262: ult. f.

²⁶ Ibid. 263 n. 10.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Ibid. 262.

to know nothing about the extreme popularity of the infix *n* in Aramaic dialects in order to be able to reduce it to a mere graphical sign, he made a daring step farther to “unburden” not only the Aramaic phonetics but also the Semitic etymologies. Since the sibilants according to his wrong point of view and the laryngeals quite objectively cannot be dissimilated, the *ṣ* in such cases can be nothing else but etymological! By “etymological” he must have meant something else than what is normally meant by it, for it is impossible to believe that he would have been ready to run all the risks which such a designation would necessarily imply. Unfortunately, this wrong expression meant to drive out the right designation “phonetic infix” could only lead to fatal misunderstandings. Nöldeke²⁹ quoted by A. Spitaler³⁰ would regret to be so terribly misinterpreted. He simply said: „Bei einigen Wörtern bleibt es jedoch *zweifelhaft*³¹, ob ein solches *n* ursprünglich oder sekundär ist“. “Secondary” is certainly quite different from “etymological”! That Nöldeke could have meant a mere „graphische Übertragung des *ṣ*“ in such secondary cases, would be an unjustified interpretation of his clear idea.

The dissimilation of sibilants which A. Spitaler wanted to deny is a well-established rule. Moreover, no ancient Aramaic unvoiced consonant shows principal enmity against *n* which became the most popular sound of this language. The groups *tt*, *pp*, *kk*, *ss*, *ʃʃ*, *ʧʧ* could be dissimilated as easily as *dd*, *bb*, *gg*, *ʒʒ*, and as well as an etymological *n* could avoid assimilation before each of these sounds as single and even appear on the analogy before the laryngeals. No language gives us more persuasive proof of this phonetic phenomenon than Mandaic. Spitaler himself recognized that the Mandaic orthography is in no way historical³². What a pity that he was able to use this important recognition only as an argument against himself!

The reasons A. Spitaler gives for his erroneous concept are in no way persuasive. He must have had apparently better reasons in mind which, being captivated by his phantasmagoriae, he did not sufficiently express. Let us try to discover them:

In Syriac there are cases like *a(n)tā*, *a(n)tōn* (= *attā*, *attōn*), *a(n)pē* (= *appē*), *ga(n)bārā* (= *gabbārā*), in which the *n* is merely graphical and provided with

²⁹ MG, p. 75: 11.

³⁰ L. c., p. 265 n. 12.

³¹ Underlined by me.

³² L. c. 260 n. 6.

a *talqānā*³³. It may be noteworthy that the Syriac *talqānā* appears mostly in such cases where the assimilation of an etymological *n* or simplification of formerly dissimilated geminated consonants appears also in later Mandaic (cf. **anat** = modern *āt*, **anpia** *anpī* = modern *appā* 46: 6f.; **gabara** *gabāra* 34: 26). An attempt to generalize such Syriac exceptions would be misleading as to earlier stages of Aramaic in which the groups *mb*, *nd*, *ng*, *nʒ* etc. were so extremely popular, because they actually sounded better than geminated consonants, not because they would have looked better in the script.

The living colloquial Syriac offers persuasive examples that dissimilated double consonants must have existed in earlier periods of the spoken language as well as they exist to-day. Literary Syriac is a normalized language. The normalization due to its purpose of presenting the language not as it was but as it ought to be spoken has hidden many of its living phenomena. Therefore, a radical opposite of A. Spitaler's view is the only solution of the problem made up by himself. The dissimilation of geminated consonants must have been *much more* frequent in the spoken language, than it appears in the script³⁴. But whenever it appears, there can be absolutely no doubt that its *n* was really and fully pronounced as a sound extremely pleasant to the ears and was by no means meant to be an unimaginable sign of the inopportune and rightly avoided reduplication.

My Mandaean friends would certainly be horrified about Spitaler's proposal „zur Entlastung der aramäischen Lautlehre“³⁵ according to which they would have to change their name to “Maddaeans(!)”. Moreover, Sheikh Abdullah “burdens” his phonetics by pronouncing even **madai** “Media” as *manday* instead of the expected *madday*, although the *n* of his pronunciation is „etymologisch unberechtigt“ and does even not appear in the script. The reader himself can judge whether the Sheikh has the right to follow the inherited tendencies of his language, or Spitaler had the right to say: „Die Schreibung vom etymologisch unberechtigten 1 + Konsonant kann in keinem (sic) Fall eine phonetische ratio haben“³⁶. Is anybody entitled to issue such dogmatic prohibitions and to prevent the Aramaeans from speaking their language as they are used to and from writing as they pronounce?!

³³ In fact, Spitaler mentions the first two and the last one, l. c. 263: 19, 265 n. 13.

³⁴ Quite particularly contra Spitaler, l. c. 263: 1—3.

³⁵ L. c. 266.

³⁶ L. c. 266: 5 f.

An acceptance of A. Spitaler's proposal would — *sit venia verbo* — lead to endless belly-aches in the whole Semitic world. The Arabs would have to pronounce *ubbūb* instead of *umbūb*, *subbul* instead of *sumbul*, *ḥizḥīr* instead of *ḥimḥīr* etc. The Persians would also have to “unburden” their phonetics by pronouncing their Aramaic loan-words *ṣanbah*, *ṣanbīl* etc. as *ṣabba*, *ṣabbīl* instead as *ṣambe*, *ṣambīl* etc. But the Germans and the French would also have to “unburden” their phonetics by pronouncing “*Sabstag*” and “*sabedi*” instead of their actual pronunciation of these words, because the latter reposes on a dissimilated non-etymological form of נבש forbidden by Spitaler!

A. Spitaler's dogmatic prohibition of the phonetic existence of a non-etymological *n* is absurd already for the reason that this sound before a *b* regularly and without exception follows the law of regressive assimilation of labialization. A *n* which in contact with a following labial must necessarily be labialized can in no way be considered as a mere graphical sign of the reduplication of the following consonant. And this fact alone suffices to prove the phonetic existence of the secondary *n* in all other cases (before dentals, palatals, sibilants and laryngeals) where the labialization could not take place, because the dental or liquid character of this sound articulatorily sufficed. No ultra-sceptician could require any further proof of this fact. But if he still needs it, one can tell him that, contrarily to the labialization of *n* before a labial *b*, the labial *m* necessarily becomes dentalized before a dental *d* (cf. mand. DNDM < דנדר ³⁷, which proves that its sporadic doublet DMDM³⁸ represents no phonetic but an etymological writing). Due to its liquid character the sound *n* is susceptible of articulatory accommodations to both plosives and spirants, and can as easily be dissimilated as assimilated in either case ^{38a}.

³⁷ Drower-Macuch, A Mandaic Dictionary, p. 113 a.

³⁸ Ibid., p. 111 b.

^{38a} It requires mention that A. Spitaler's idea has deservedly been ignored in the paragraph on dissimilation between consonants in “An Introduction to the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages” by S. Moscati, A. Spitaler, E. Ullendorff, W. von Soden (Porta Linguarum Orientalium NS VI, O. Harrassowitz — Wiesbaden 1964) § 9.10, p. 59. As, however, the coordinator S. Moscati says: “It is, of course, clear that not in every single case was it possible to bring my views into harmony with those of my three collaborators” (p. 2), it remains unclear whether A. Spitaler himself has abandoned his view, or it has only been rejected by the coordinator. The former would certainly render an excellent service to his good name by a revocation of his former mistake.

As to the *n* in Syriac *ga(n)bārā* and similar words provided with a *talqānā*, there can hardly be a better explanation of this sign than real pronunciation of the dissimilated double consonant forbidden by the normalization. A pronunciation *gambārā* must really have existed at the time when it appeared in the script (cf. Mand. **gan/mbar(u)ata**), but as it was merely facultative, the normalizers did not recommend it, and, therefore, provided the *n* with a *talqānā*. Spoken language was naturally free not to follow the *talqānās* of the normalizers, and, therefore, the unnormalized facultative pronunciation had also to appear in the script which — thanks to a simple *talqānā*-device — was in a position to register both pronunciations.

The infix *-n-* had a very serious purpose in the language, namely to preserve the double-consonantism otherwise exposed to simplification (cf. Syriac *ga(n)bārā* > mod. *gabārā*, Maclean 53 b). Two sounds having exactly the same point of articulation tended to melt together unless they were dissimilated. The old Akkadian loan-word *tannūr* “oven” is commonly pronounced *tanūr* (with a single *n*) by the Persians. A similar modern Syriac pronunciation is given by Maclean (Dictionary 323 b). I was, therefore, struck by the pronunciation *tandūr* heard from an “Assyrian” (Maclean quotes it only as a facultative Persian pronunciation otherwise unknown to me). Simplification of geminated consonants on the one hand and their dissimilation on the other were two extreme motors of the phonetics of Oriental Aramaic. The latter obviously had to prevent the former and can by no means be reduced to a mere orthographical problem. The pronunciation of *n* resulting from dissimilation of geminated consonants is, in fact, the most characteristic phonetic feature of this language and is sufficiently proved by both the traditional and the colloquial pronunciation of Mandaic as well as by its phonetic orthography.

Many vain imaginations and blunders about the phonetics of Mandaic and other Aramaic dialects could have been avoided if the phonetics of this still living dialect had been investigated by a direct study of its pronunciation. Nöldeke ninety years ago presented the best possible rationalistic solution of the problems of Mandaic phonetics. It was certainly not his fault that people of much lesser knowledge misunderstood, criticised, or ignored him instead of undertaking the trouble of finding out how this language really is pronounced. Even the best rationalistic thinking and the most exact rationalistic method cannot discover all the secret ways and paths of such an independent organism as a language. Already the phonetic material which Nöldeke

gathered from literature sufficed to point out that the phonetics of Mandaic could be considered as one of the most interesting phenomena of Semitic philology. Such a phenomenon certainly deserves more attention than a rationalistic, deductive treatment could give it. Direct contact with the Mandaeans and practical study of their phonetics was an aim of which a trained semitist should have thought. No further speculation about the pronunciation of a still living language without hearing it could claim to be justified.

Even as to phonetic transcription of Mandaic, Nöldeke was more precautionous than people who dared to undertake it, cf. his words in this respect. „Für ganz verkehrt muß ich es aber halten, wenn man, ohne eine sichere Überlieferung zu haben, mit mehr oder weniger Willkür durch Hinzufügung von Vocalpunkten die Aussprache genauer bestimmen will. Selbst wenn ich genau wüßte, wie die heutigen Mandäer ihre heiligen Bücher lesen, würde ich das kaum wagen, da es im höchsten Grade unwahrscheinlich ist, daß sie die alte Aussprache ganz treu erhalten hätten. Freilich ein sehr wichtiges Mittel, dieselbe annähernd wieder zu erkennen, wäre die Kenntnis der heutigen Überlieferung allerdings“³⁹. These precautionous words should certainly have been followed by all those, who dared to transcribe Mandaic in Latin letters, instead of deviating from the principle “a single sign — a single letter” (528 ff.). As to Nöldeke’s suspicion concerning the traditional pronunciation of Mandaic I had many occasions to approve of it (cf. esp. 104: 6) as well as of his recognition of its approximative value (cf. esp. 108 n. 243). But on account of the latter its study ought not to be neglected, although in many cases Nöldeke’s and Lidzbarski’s rationalistic concepts of Mandaic phonetics may seem to be preferable (2: 27 ff.).

But Nöldeke as well as a whole generation of mandaeologists after him knew nothing of the existence of a living colloquial Mandaic in Khuzistan, the language of Mandaean quarters of Ahwāz 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 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 study of modern Persian for Pahlavī,

³⁹ MG, p. 12·2 ff

and is certainly of no lesser interest than study of modern Syriac for a better understanding of the linguistic phenomena of the classical language. Compared to modern Syriac which presents an independent and more complicated morphological system than the classical tongue, modern Mandaic represents only simplification of the classical grammar. For the same reason, modern Mandaic, though contaminated with foreign influence, can still be considered as a final stage of phonetic and morphological development of the classical language unlike modern Syriac which shows a much looser relationship to the classical⁴⁰. Under these circumstances, it is obvious that study of modern Mandaic deserves our attention and ought not to be neglected. Its pronunciation may not only be considered as a means of control of the traditional pronunciation of the literary and liturgical language, but in many points it will serve as a better and more reliable guide to the study of the phonetic phenomena of the latter (92: 25 ff., 104: 7—9).

A comparison of the traditional and colloquial pronunciations with Nöldeke's rationalistic treatment of Mandaic phonetics provides us with a great deal of interesting and often unexpected and unsuspected facts. In many cases Nöldeke's opinion will be found admirably exact (e. g. 4: 9ff.); in some others both pronunciations are wavering and uncertain, and although this uncertainty may be quite old — as is proved by frequent variants of the forms affected by them in literature —, Nöldeke's scholarly concept may still be preferred. But there are also many cases of very common words about which both mentioned pronunciations are absolutely certain and consistent. As their graphical forms were not unambiguous and admitted two or several ways of reading, Nöldeke and scholars depending on him were misled by their written form and inferred to Mandaic phonetics rules which are absolutely foreign to it (43: 16ff., 55: 3—12, 77: 18—22, 92: 16ff.). Such wrong concepts certainly need correction and must not be repeated. If there were only the traditional pronunciation, one could share Nöldeke's doubt about its value³⁹. But as we have to do with common words of daily use in a living dialect, it is impossible to ignore its rules. The circumstance that Syriac (55: 3—12) or other Aramaic dialects follow different phonetic rules in such cases need not disturb us, for such dialectal differences may be well justified especially if they follow a strict regularity. Even such amazing and unexpected Mandaic

⁴⁰ Nöldeke, *Neusyr. Gr.*, p. XXXVf.; similarly Maclean, *Grammar*, p. K. G. Tsereteli (*Sovremennyi assirijskij jazyk*, Moskva 1964, p. 8:11) is satisfied with pointing out its general relationship with Talmudic, Mandaic and classical Syriac.

pronunciations (as 37: 3—11) which contradict generally Aramaic and Semitic rules can only be designated as peculiar Mandaic pronunciations, though we could not designate them as very old. But the safest thing will be to decide absolutely nothing about their age and to be satisfied with the fact that they are well attested in Mandaic, suffer no exceptions, and hence are very typical for this language.

As to the date at which this pronunciation and the Mandaean vernacular itself came into existence, no definitive answer can be given for the moment. The problem is too complicated. Its difficulty is connected with the obscure history of Mandaean literature and with a relatively late date of the oldest Mandaean manuscript. It is, however, significant that the oldest dated manuscript (Par. XI from year 936 H = 1529 30)⁴¹ already contains a wedding formulary written in a language close to the modern idiom. But this wedding formulary must certainly be centuries older than the mentioned manuscript. It may be still more significant that already in the lead rolls which are certainly older than the oldest manuscripts there occur some forms unknown in classical Mandaic and can be satisfactorily explained by the daily modern Mandaic use⁴². These lead rolls are archaic, their script is of a much more primitive character than that of manuscripts. Their publishers will value them as very ancient, and their antiquity can certainly not be disproved⁴³. But their dating can be only arbitrary and in no way exact. The writing on lead rolls must have continued long centuries, and it is in no case possible to determine the century in which a lead-roll-text was written. One has to be satisfied with a general statement that such texts are undoubtedly ancient. But even if they are not more ancient than Mand. religious texts, they certainly come from a different sphere which was closer to the vernacular than the language of sacred books, of the revelation and of Naṣōraean speech. Occasional occurrence of some colloquial expressions in these ancient documents proves that the vernacular is composed of ancient elements and that not all its words which do not occur in literature could be considered as neologisms.

Moreover, modern Mandaic uses some original Aramaic expressions or good Aramaic formations which by coincidence do not occur in classical

⁴¹ MG, p. XXIV:2.

⁴² I am preparing some such documents for publication in the 1st part of the 2nd vol. of „Die aramäische Sprache unter den Achaimeniden“ (in collaboration with F. Altheim u. R. Stiehl).

⁴³ Cf. Macuch, *Anfänge der Mandäer*, p. 118f

literature (cf. *appeyyī*, *mahaṭṭā*, *sābūra*, *partonna*, see Appendix D s. vv.). Similarly to modern Syriac which uses some uncontracted and hence more ancient forms of demonstrative pronouns which became contracted in classical Syriac⁴⁴, modern Mandaic uses some ancient demonstrative pronouns which occur quite sporadically only in later literature or not at all but correspond to the Talmudic (164: 20ff., 165: 21; about 165: 27, cf. 166: 16).

But modern Mandaic presents, at least, a few particularly surprising proofs of its antiquity. Modern *giš-* as an expression of totality (Appendix D s. v.) is completely unknown in literature as well as in the neighbouring languages. It is hardly believable that this most frequent exclusively mod. Mandaic word could come from a language dead several thousands of years ago. In spite of this obvious difficulty I find no other suggestion about its origin than the Sumerian expression of totality GÍŠ to which it corresponds both formally and materially in a quite striking way, how ever unbelievable this etymology may seem. But I am afraid that the scepticians will encounter insurmountable difficulties in suggesting another equally corresponding etymology. I would, therefore, recommend to consider this suggestion unless a better one can be made, for it is certainly impossible that a most frequent word of a language would have simply fallen down from heaven.

A similar though less surprising example is the common mod. and post-classical word *kankūza* (discussed at large in Appendix D s. v.) which is equally unknown in classical literature. Its Akkadian origin is certain so that it could not come into existence first in the postclassical and modern periods of the language. The sporadic var. **kanzuza** represents an older phonetic form in which the word was borrowed. As there are no older known copies of AM than from the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century, one could suppose that the progressive assimilation which produced the exclusive present form did not happen a very long time before the date of the oldest known copy. Both forms could still be a certain time facultatively used until *kankūza* drove completely out the older, original form. But it is equally possible that their facultative use continued a long time before the original form became sporadic and the secondary one completely prevailed.

Another common colloquial word *boqwāš* "sunset" which puzzled me over ten years has been explained to me by F. Altheim from Old Persian (Appendix

⁴⁴ Nöldeke, *Neusyr. Gr.*, p. XXXV: antep.

E: Addition to 451: 3). It is possible that my readers will find further convincing etymologies from ancient languages for some modern Mandaic words which I was able to explain only insufficiently (e. g. *fonida*, *prunda* 37 n. 10) or not at all (e. g. *donda* 45: 1). As the mentioned examples prove, ancient languages can reveal some modern Mandaic etymologies where the modern neighbouring languages fail.

So far as part of the classical vocabulary and classical forms survive in modern Mandaic, the study of their pronunciation is undoubtedly of great importance for the knowledge of the phonetics of the classical language, still greater than the traditional pronunciation. The vernacular is a language spoken without hesitation, sure of its phonetic facts, although it admits doublets and facultative pronunciations which were always popular in Mandaic. The traditional pronunciation, however, often fails when the priests have to read texts they do not know by heart. Pronunciation of a dead language and words with forgotten meaning is certainly less reliable than that of a fluent living language. But the tradition also possesses enormous strength of conservatism. Each candidate of priesthood has to memorize the "Book of Souls" and other liturgical texts which are the most ancient in Mand. literature. Their rhythm not only helps memory but also the correct pronunciation and accentuation. Priestly recitations may for this reason be more reliable than their explanations of the texts which, on the whole, prove that their meaning does not fully escape them. When both the traditional and the colloquial pronunciation correspond to each other there is a good criterion of its correctness. When they differ their respective correctness must usually be decided from one case to another. In such cases often both become suspect. Even then the vernacular can hardly be blamed, because as a living language it had full right to evolve. But as it contains very ancient words and forms, it will probably contain also some very ancient phonetic elements which, at any rate, deserve consideration.

There must of course, have been minor differences between the language of the Naṣoraeans and that of the common people since the time both languages came into existence. Both groups had different needs to express. The former needed many abstract expressions in order to formulate their speculative doctrines, the latter used to express only their daily needs. The language of literature and science is always much richer than the colloquial speech. A great part of the so-called classical vocabulary might have been forgotten simply for the reason that it was never really used by larger masses of common

people. On the other hand, there was little need in Naṣōraean literature for such common notions as “beggar”, “flea” etc. (p. 180: 16, 196: 27) and for this reason these good original Aramaic expressions have not been preserved in Mandaean books. Šābūrī told me that the priests used the word *paršōfa* (37: 24) for the common *kankūza*. There might have been many similar differences between both mentioned groups. The Great Life, his uthras and Naṣōraeans could hardly speak the language of the common people. Their speech had to be more ancient, uncommon and pathetic. Already in the second half of the 3rd century when Zāzai d-Gawaztā redacted the first collection of Mandaean liturgies⁴⁵ the speech of this copy pretending to come from the Great Life must have differed in many points from the language of common Mandaean people. The Naṣōraean scholars and the common Madaeans must always have used two parallel speeches. The former came to expression in sacred books and speculative literature, the latter in magic documents and daily life and has found its final form, in the colophons of the last centuries and the nowadays colloquial Mandaic.

In the present work, I have undertaken a parallel description of both mentioned idioms. Apart from the mentioned bilingualism of the Naṣōraeans and the Madaeans, the difficulty of this undertaking consists in the circumstance that the forms in which both are known to us are of two quite different dates. Between the latest Naṣōraean writings and the modern Mandaic dialect there is at least, a space of thousand years. Popular Mandaic was either not at all or only very poorly literarily cultivated. Older magic documents and postclassical books showing some expressions known only from spoken language give us some opportunity of insight into its earlier periods, but they are far from being in a position of giving us a complete picture of its living phenomena in the past. Magic bowls and rolls usually contain a mass of hardly decipherable or completely incomprehensible nonsense. They were written against the demons who were supposed to understand their magic language. Their defective and often careless writing makes their reading difficult and their interpretation doubtful. The picture of the language they give us is very incomplete. Postclassical books still try to imitate the language of classical literature. Occasional occurrence of vernacular words in the writings of this period also fails to give us a complete picture of the spoken language. European scholarship has got used to the inappropriate name of Mandaean

⁴⁵ Macuch, *Anfänge der Mandäer*, p. 159: 22 ff.

literature to the point that it would be difficult to break this tradition. But one has to realize that the brilliant classical literature which we call Mandaean is not at all Mandaean but Naṣoraeen⁴⁶. It may be called only so far Mandaean as the Mandaeans like to possess copies of the sacred books written for themselves in order to assure themselves a place in the World-of-Light. But there were always only very few Mandaean literates able to read and understand it. Common Mandaeans have either none or only very poor literature.

A further difficulty is that a colloquial language without any literary tradition could only subconsciously preserve its old elements but could not defend itself consciously against foreign influences. Non-Mandaic elements found way into modern Mandaic in such a great extent that Nöldeke characterized this language known to him only from colophons with „eine Verwilderung der Grammatik“⁴⁷. But even apart from such foreign elements Mandaeans are poor writers. The same judgement may be pronounced about nowadays Naṣoraeans (as the right *naṣiruta* died in 1247 A. H. = 1831 A. D.⁴⁸). They are hardly able to produce more than a short colophon or a very poor letter. The words are regularly misspelt. The rules which are still observed in speech are often neglected in writing. I understood quite well my informant Šābūrī when he was speaking, but I had often difficulties to understand his letters written in the same idiom. He himself had difficulties with modern texts published by De Morgan⁴⁹, although their idiom is very close to his own. It would then be not only extremely difficult but also hardly reliable to base a systematic description of modern Mandaic on modern texts. The difficulties can be taken up much more easily by studying the spoken language. This would be, in fact, a necessary course to take even if there were sufficient and well redacted texts. In this way, the study of modern Mandaic may still be of some use, at least, for a better understanding of some phonetic and morphological problems of the classical language.

Studying this modern idiom, as it is spoken, I have found its grammar much less puzzling than it appears from badly written modern texts. The grammar of this idiom represents a very high degree of simplification and consistently avoids many inconsistencies and ambiguities in which the classical

⁴⁶ Cf. E. S. Drower, *The Secret Adam*, p. IX.

⁴⁷ MG XXIV: 28 f.

⁴⁸ Cf. my „Anfänge der Mandäer“ p. 185: bottom.

⁴⁹ *Mission scientifique en Perse, Tome V, Deuxième partie: Textes mandaites*, p. 273 to 286.

grammar was involved (159: 25 ff., 225: 11 f.). The classical imperfect died out and the participial present-future is consistently used in its place. This tense started to drive out the former already in the classical and esp. in the postclassical language as well as in other neo-Aramaic dialects. Similarly to other neo-Aramaic dialects⁵⁰ modern Mandaic usually replaces reflexive stems by active constructions with *nāβī* (a usage shown already by the classical, 406: 1—15), or by passive constructions (268: 8—16, 283: 8—22, 433: 21—29). But whenever a reflexive stem is used it consistently appears without *t* in the prefix (267: 20—30, 286: 1—10) unlike in the classical where the tendency of dropping the *t* was much less consistent.

All these simplifications prove that many simplificatory tendencies of classical Mandaic have reached their completion in this modern idiom. But the practical sense of this language went much farther and produced phenomena which hurt the eminent classical feeling of Nöldeke⁴⁷. Let us discuss them.

His abhorrence was produced⁵¹ (a) by the modern use of the Indogermanic comparative suffix *-tar* (e. g. *rabtar* “greater”) and (b) the use of Arabic grammatical forms in late postclassical texts (e. g. *iidhar* = Ar. *yaḏhur*). As to the modern non-Semitic comparative suffix, one must finally recognize its practical importance. From the point of view of a language which possessed no proper comparative form and was seeking better ways of expression the borrowing of this suffix certainly was the easiest and the most reasonable way of securing greater clarity and exactness of expression. The original Aramaic form of comparison, i. e. the positive + the preposition *ܡܢ* can suffice only when the comparandum is expressed. But there was no form of expression for the frequent comparative absolute (: *comparativus sine comparatione*). The adoption of a special comparative form was, therefore, a necessity which has contributed to the clarity of modern Mandaic. Does not also modern Syriac use a foreign comparative expression *būš* (= P. *bīš*) “more”⁵² before an adjective in comparative expressions? Similarly does modern Hebrew often use the expression *רַב־* in the same position for the same purpose.

The other form which amazed Nöldeke and similar Arabic forms can sometimes be found in postclassical literature. But I never heard them in

⁵⁰ Cf. K. Tsereteli, Über die Reflexivstämme in den modernen aramäischen Dialekten, *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* 1964, p. 125—132.

⁵¹ MG, p. XXV: 3 f.

⁵² Nöldeke, *Neusyr. Gr.*, p. 166: 15.

the conversation with my Mandaean friends or read them during my long correspondence with them, although their speech abounded with Arabic and Persian words. Such forms are certainly no samples of good Mandaic. They could have appeared in literature at a time when the classical language was becoming forgotten and the writers did not yet dare to use the vernacular.

Nöldeke's feeling that this is no language but „nur ein unerquickliches Gemisch von Formen der alten Sprache, welche man noch immer zu schreiben meint, und ganz jungen“⁵³ was equally as right as his remark: „Hätten wir in diesen Stücken wirklich einen modernen lebenden Dialekt, so wären sie von großer Wichtigkeit“⁵³. Such parts of postclassical literature which represent only a mixture of old Mandaic and Arabic forms are deprived of our interest. But colloquial Mandaic is a real modern dialect of some importance, although it never appeared properly in writing. Arabic and Persian words are, of course, often used by the Mandaeans, but they exerted no more influence on the genuine substance of their language than Arabic words in modern Persian which did not influence the really Iranian substance of modern Persian grammar.

Modern Mandaic has learned from modern Persian many practical ways esp. the forming of new idiomatic verbal expressions with the help of the verbs *eβad*, *tāmmā* and *məhā* corresponding in this function to P. *kard(an)*, *šud(an)* and *zad(an)*, the last one also to Ar. *ḡaraba*. I have already given examples of such idioms in my introduction to a modern Mandaic legend "The Bridge of Shushtar"⁵⁴ to which the reader is referred.

These recent idioms which hardly go back more than three or four last centuries have greatly contributed to the simplicity and facility of modern Mand. use, but they have also created a new syntactic basis. Therefore, the study of mod. Mand. syntax is of very little value for a knowledge of the highly archaic classical syntax, while the study of modern phonetics and morphology may still contribute to the solution of many phonetic and morphological problems of classical Mandaic. For this reason my attention was mainly paid to these two parts of Mandaic grammar rather than to the last one. One can hardly add much to Nöldeke's minute description of Mandaic syntax. In order not to increase the volume of this work above reasonable measure I had to summarize Nöldeke's classical syntax rather than making many

⁵³ MG, p. XXIV: bottom.

⁵⁴ In *Studia Semitica Ioanni Bakoš Dicata*, Bratislava 1965, p. 153 ff.

additions to it. For the sake of comparison I asked my informant to translate some classical quotations so far as he was able to do it. It is, however, clear that such translations could be nothing else but forced and cannot replace examples from free living modern usage. Therefore, I quote them only so far as their usage still corresponds to the classical, i. e. only those which Šābūrī could easily translate and expressly approved of them as possible in the vernacular. In other cases it was preferable to choose simple examples from daily speech.

The difference between the literary and the vernacular syntax must always have been greater than the differences in phonetics and morphology. The most ancient Naṣōraean writings are of poetic character and abound in constructions which would be absolutely unimaginable in a colloquial language (393: 10—17). The obscure language of the Naṣōraeans used in the priestly commentaries (461—463) could hardly have been understood by common people, although it uses expressions which they occasionally could use. Simple colloquial speech could hardly use the complicated constructions of speculative thinking. The abyss between the language of the Naṣōraean scholars and the simple colloquial speech was produced by the literature. There were always very few literates among the Mandaean laymen, and even the best among them could hardly understand more than simple legendary texts whose syntactic construction was closer to their daily idiom than that of the two other mentioned parts of Mandaean literature. But even the legends composed at a certain date in the popular language could exercise no special lasting influence on the daily speech of the people whose contact with literature was minimal. Certain syntactic resemblances which still survive are explainable by their natural simplicity and vitality rather than by literary influences.

Nevertheless, there are certain influences of the literary language on colloquial Mandaic outside the sphere of the syntax. It can hardly be considered as a coincidence that all roots ʾⲛⲉ are treated as strong except NPQ as well as SLQ which in the afel follows the classical analogy of these roots (§ 211, p. 294f.). Can there be another explanation of this phenomenon than by the influence of the two prominent Mandaean religious notions **mapiqta** and **masiqta** (189: 20f.)?

It may be similarly significant that the classical abstract ending *-ūθa* has generally become *-oχta* (38: 35 ff.) except in the inherited religious terms and in **asuta** which has become *sūθ* (213: 32). In the case of the last one it is

impossible to think of any another influence than that of the utmost frequent greeting formula **asuta uzakuta niuilak!**

In spite of the mentioned difficulties it seemed to me desirable and necessary to compare classical Mandaic with the modern daily speech of the members of this ethnic and religious group, for the advantages of such a systematic comparative description surpass its difficulties and disadvantages. Modern Mandaic has never been systematically described, and a scholarly description of this idiom is impossible without comparison with classical Mandaic. The latter has never been compared with this living idiom which remains a testing-stone of its phonetics and of a great part of its morphology. It is then obvious that both idioms will profit from such a comparison. Moreover, modern Mandaic, being a language without literature and spoken only by a limited group of the inhabitants of the Mandaean quarters of the Persian cities Ahwāz and Khorramshahr, is deprived of any practical importance and can attract only a scholar interested in linguistic problems of the classical language. Even the English-Mandaic vocabulary of the vernacular I am giving in the Appendix C which, according to its form, might seem to be destined for practical purposes is merely supposed to substitute a more complete vocabulary of this idiom arranged according to Mandaean entries which may be compiled or not if a sufficient amount of vernacular texts is gathered and published.

Our generation may be among the last ones which have the possibility of direct study of this still living dialect. The secularizing changes which Lady Drower noticed after forty four years since her first stay with the Madaeans of Iraq⁵⁵ are observable in the Iranian Mandaean communities as well. Although the situation is not as tragical as Sheikh Abdollah of Ahwāz thought when he said to me: "When I die, all Madaeans of Khuzistan will die!", and the religion will survive, yet the vernacular is certainly approaching its death with each new generation. The religion does not save the vernacular. This has already been proved by the fact that in Iraq the vernacular has been completely swallowed up by Arabic⁵⁶, although the Madaeans are much more numerous there than in Iran. 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 Madaeans speak Arabic

⁵⁵ The Thousand and Twelve Questions, p. 1 f.

⁵⁶ See the Introduction to my "Bridge of Shushtar" (n. 54).

and in Iran mostly also Persian. Vernacular Mandaic as an exclusive language of Mandaeen quarters and silversmith-workshops is of no great use to them. It survives only on account of its simplicity in domestic and inter-Mandaeen use being daily more and more invaded by the foreign elements by which it is surrounded.

The history of Mandaic can be divided in three main periods: classical, postclassical and modern, but without possibility of precise limitation of their respective beginnings and duration. Classical literature appears in its acme already in its most ancient part, the liturgical songs and prayers, whose final redaction, according to the testimony of the first copyist in early Islamic times (CP 99: 2—6), was achieved by Zāzai d-Gawaztā in the year 272 A. D. As the language of this old Mandaean poetry represents a fully developed Babylonian-Aramaic idiom and a poetic skill which has been neither surpassed nor equalled in Mandaean literature, it unavoidably postulates an early existence of Mandaeism in Mesopotamia and a longer period of its incomparable flourishing⁵⁷. This classical period ends with the redaction of the *Genza* in the first half of the first Muslim century⁵⁸.

But the influence of the classical language continues in the postclassical period so that many of the later forms may still be designated as classical. A characteristic mark of this period is the penetration of Arabic words and forms which appear already in the “Recitations of Yahyā (sic)” and still more in the astrological work known as “Book of the Zodiac”⁵⁸. Nevertheless, the classical language was still imitated, and many of its forms nowadays completely unknown in the vernacular (e. g. the classical imperfect) must still have been living.

A special problem is set by the Naṣoraean commentaries which preserved their ancient scroll-form. The people who wrote them were certainly no poets, they were strict casuists. Their language is tiresome and obscure. But the difficulties it causes are not of linguistic nature; they consist in their special logic which is diametrically different from our western thought as well as in their special problematic and symbolism which is only partly known to us and often impossible to elucidate. But it is significant that they contain no single Arabic word and no problems caused by the Islamic conquest.

⁵⁷ For details see my „Anfänge der Mandäer“, esp. the chapter „Die ältesten mandäischen Schriften“, p. 158—165.

⁵⁸ Sie *ibid.*, chapter „Mandäer in frühislamischer Zeit“, p. 176—185.

Such an important fact must have been mirrored in them and the influence of the powerful Arabic language would certainly have reached them if they had been composed after the Arab invasion.

I was, therefore, greatly amazed to read in Jonas C. Greenfield's critical review of Lady Drower's "The Secret Adam" the following statement: "The author's claims that the secret teaching, based upon the mystic Adam, goes back to the first or second centuries (p. XV) will be greeted with doubt when it becomes apparent that many of the elements of this *naṣirutha* are late and cannot be traced back to the earlier and more public classics such as *Ginza Rba* and *Draša d Yahya* (sic)"⁵⁹. Did the reviewer believe that the "Recitations of Yahyā" should be more ancient than the secret Naṣoraean scrolls? Such a belief can in no way be proved and can very easily be disproved. The circumstance that the former was earlier published in Europe than the latter is certainly no proof of its higher antiquity. The "Recitations of Yahyā" certainly contain ancient elements, but their late redaction apparent in the language bearing persuasive traces of Arabic influence only prove that their oral tradition had to wait longer for being put down than that of the liturgies or of the later *Ginza*. The priestly commentaries certainly had no oral tradition. They were too complicated for being kept in memory. Their language is also complicated but free from arabisms. If J. C. Greenfield had taken the trouble of comparing them with certain parts of the "Recitations of John" he could hardly have pronounced his hasty categorical statement based on nothing else but an unfounded imagination.

The Mandaean colophons ought not to remain unconsulted when one wants to decide about the date of the redaction of Mandaean scrolls and books. They give an important clue to the solution of the problem which must not be disregarded as it perfectly corresponds to the mentioned criteria of the antiquity of Mandaean writings. The scrolls as well as the liturgies originally also written in a scroll-form (*diuan* CP 99: 1 f.) are traced back to Zāzai d-Gawaztā. One may indeed doubt whether all these writings could have been produced by the same man in the second half of the third century. But at the same time one must be surprised that this statement cannot be refuted. The writings traced back to the mentioned Zāzai bear absolutely no sign of Islamic times. Why do the colophons not trace the *Ginza* (Gy 395: 1, Gs 138: 12), the Recitations of Yahyā (Jb I 283: 4, 290: 2) or the Book of

⁵⁹ JAOS 1963, p. 247a: middle.

the Zodiac (AM 256: 27) back to Zāzai in early pre-Islamic times instead of ending abruptly with a later name and with the statement that there were no further copies? Because their redaction in Islamic times is obvious! A close study of the colophons may give us more information about the history of Mandaean literature than this literature itself.

These colophons are already written in modern Mandaic. Apart from long lists of copyists they contain short but precious information about the life in Mandaean communities in the last centuries. I have already promised their publication⁶⁰, but collecting them may take a longer time. Each colophon represents a part of history, and its study ought not to be neglected.

As to the problems of the oldest Mandaean history, I refer the reader to my „Anfänge der Mandäer“. The essay of a historical picture of Mandaicism I have sketched there corresponds to the picture Lidzbarski had in mind, but its single traits are confirmed, reinforced and completed by new material unknown in Lidzbarski's days. The Mandaean exodus from the Jordan-valley to the Median highland must have taken place during the reign of the Parthian king Artabanos III. K. Rudolph's attempt to place the exodus in the time of Artabanos V⁶¹ and E. Bammel's opinion that it could have taken place during the short reign of Artabanos IV⁶² prove to be mere anachronisms. Before the end of the Parthian dynasty, the Mandaeans were already spread over the whole Mesopotamia. Their script derived from the Nabataean has been taken over by the Elymaeans and the Mesenians in the second Christian century⁶³. The Manichaeism is a systematic development of the primitive Mandaicism as well as a consistent ascetic reaction against the ideologically inconsistent enjoyment of life in the latter.

My original introduction written eleven years ago dealt also with the problems connected with the „Religionsgeschichte“ of Mandaicism. After the publication of K. Rudolph's detailed monographical study who in two large volumes with which I in essence agree⁶⁴ was able to say much more about this complicated interesting phenomenon than I could in a confined introduction I gladly discard those pages.

⁶⁰ Anfänge der Mandäer, p. 190 n. 26.

⁶¹ Die Mandäer I, p. 100: 18—21.

⁶² Orientalia 1963, p. 225 n. 2.

⁶³ Macuch, Anfänge der Mandäer, p. 168—176.

⁶⁴ See my review in ThLZ 1962, col. 739—746.

Certain parallel phonetic and morphological tendencies can be observed in all living Aramaic dialects. The circumstance that they mostly repose on independent development during long centuries lessens in no way the interest and importance of their comparative study. I often had recourse to mod. Syriac parallels. But western neo-Aramaic of Antilebanon also offers interesting material for comparison: In the root \overline{ATA} the second radical is consistently aspirated in Mandaic (40: 2 ff., 302: 24 ff., 305: 3—12, 372: 5—11) as well as in Ma'lūla⁶⁵, although its original spirantisation has been completely given up by the Iranian "Assyrians"⁶⁶. Especially interesting is the comparison of AMR with the encl. *l*, showing both the aphaeresis of *a* and the regressive assimilation of *r* to the encl. *l* in both mod. Mandaic (134: 17 ff., 303: 27 ff.) and Ma'lūla⁶⁷. As, however, the dialect of Ma'lūla is not known to me from autopsy, I have to refer the reader to A. Spitaler's excellent phonetic and morphological treatment of this dialect. For this reason, I have to express my double regret about mine unavoidable criticisms on A. Spitaler's mentioned article (XLVIIIf.) written in an unpropitious day.

⁶⁵ A. Spitaler, *Grammatik des neuaramäischen Dialekts von Ma'lūla (Antilibanon)*, S. 180 ff.

⁶⁶ According to Maclean (*Dictionary of the Dialects of the Vernacular Syriac* 22b), the *r* in this verb was aspirated in Alqoš (dialects of the plain of Mošul) and Kurdistan (Ašīrat districts).

⁶⁷ A. Spitaler, *Op. c.* 177, cf. also p. 179.

Preliminary Remarks on Pronunciation of Mandaic

I

The phonetics of Mandaic is one of the most interesting phenomena of Semitic philology. The reasons for this fact are clear: The Mandaic phonetic system presents an admirable elasticity equalled by no other Semitic language. 5 The phonetic inventory of Mandaic is the simplest of all Semitic languages, and the pronunciation of Mandaic phonemes presents no real difficulty, but this simplification of the phonetic system is in itself peculiarly characteristic.

II

The simplicity of the phonetic system of Mandaic may be partly inherited 10 from Akkadian. Since, however, the phonetics of Akkadian can be reconstructed only on the basis of deciphered complicated texts, our knowledge of Akkadian phonetics remains incomplete and uncertain, whilst Mandaic, which, owing to its complete alphabet, is capable of phonetic writing, including vowels, presents a complete picture of its phonetic phenomena. Besides, 15 Mandaic having survived as the liturgic language of the sect together with traditional pronunciation, as well as a still spoken colloquial language offers unique opportunities of study to a phonetician.

III

In spite of these advantages, the current state of achievement in the field of 20 Mandaic phonetics is very far from satisfactory. Apart from Nöldeke's rationalistic conception of the phonetics of this language, there has been no systematic analysis of its phonetic facts. Only the pronunciation of a few words and of some shorter texts has been given by people who were in touch with Mandaicans. As for modern (: mod.) Mandaic, which developed the phonetic 25 freedom of the classical (: cl.) to a very high degree, we possess no description at all. The author of the "Glossarium Sabico-Arabicum-Latinum-Turcum-Persicum" gives some words as pronounced only as a proof of his ignorance of the regular spelling. Reading his work before my visit to the Mandaicans,

I was especially struck by the word **tlata** “three” written with an initial **k** as **klata**. I imagined that the author was partially deaf. My interviews with the Mandaeans, however, proved to me that this dissimilated form represents the real pronunciation (§ 36g). Observation of actual pronunciation corrected my view concerning this Glossary in many points. The frequent confusion of the emphatic **ṣ** with the non-emphatic **s** does not go back — as Nöldeke thought¹ — to the similarity of the Mandaic **s** to the Ar. **ṣ**, but is, as well as the confusion between the emphatic **ṭ** and the non-emphatic **t**, based on actual pronunciation. The author of the Gl. would naturally understand this side of the Semitic less than his Mandaean informant, but the Mandaeans themselves confuse the emphatics with their non-emphatic counterparts. The letters, which my Mandaean friends write to me, are full of such confusions. They often write even the word **ṣubia** (: Ar. *ṣubbī*) with **s**. Šābūrī wrote to me about his planned consecration: **an qīṭrsilai** “they will consecrate me”. This spelling of TRṢ as ṬRS was confirmed also by a letter from Sheikh Abdullah who wrote on the same subject: **uan qabina minak atit bṭrast naṣr** “I want thee to come to Nāṣer’s consecration”. Since such wrong spellings are common in mod. Mandaic, the author of the Gl. can hardly be taken to task for similar lapses. What, however, weakens his work still more in addition to his own mistakes is that he used, as a rule, the *scriptio defectiva*, although he sometimes tried to indicate the vowels in an amazing non-Mandaic way with help of the Ar. *fatha*, *kasra* and *damma*.

IV

As regards Nöldeke’s deductive Phonetics, he himself expressed his discontent². In spite of that, his phonetic conception of Mandaic, as well as that of his follower Lidzbarski, although based exclusively on literature, deserves appreciation. A comparison of Nöldeke’s and Lidzbarski’s assumptions with the traditional pronunciation fully rehabilitates these two mandaeists. Even where traditional pronunciation differs from that which was supposed by Nöldeke and Lidzbarski, their concepts cannot be lightly dismissed. Information about the pronunciation of cl. Mandaic offered by Mandaean priests to enquirers usually exhibits their poor knowledge of the language, as do also their interpretations of cl. texts. It would, therefore, be an

¹ MG, p. XXV n. 2.

² Ibid., p. VII: middle.

error to oppose oneself to the scholarly conception of Mandaic phonetics merely on the basis of the pronunciation given by Mandaean priests and literates. The problem cannot be solved in such an easy way. Many instances prove that the original pronunciation of words and forms concerned has undergone the strangest changes. I should mention here only two most typical instances: 5

1. The name **iuhana** is pronounced *Ihāna* (Sh. Abd.), not *Yōhānā*, or *Yōhannā*. One cannot consider the disappearance of the original *ō* as an influence of the Mandaic script, which makes no difference between **h** and **uh** (§ 11a), because of the very frequent use of the name. It was rather the frequent use and the expiratory accent (cf. Brockelmann, VG I 73f.), which 10 affected the pronunciation of this name: *Yōhānā* > *Yōhānā* > *Yōhānā* > *Ihānā*.

2. The second name is **iurba**, transcribed always by Lidzbarski as *Jōrabbā*, but pronounced by the Mandaeans *Yurba*. Lady Drower, giving this traditional pronunciation, says: “*Yurba* (Lidzbarski transcribes mistakenly *Jorabba*)”³. It is, however, not Lidzbarski’s concept but the traditional pronunciation of 15 this name which is mistaken. The pronunciation *Yurba* seems to be only an incorrect reading of the spelling of this name, as it would be incorrect to read **rba rabbā** “great” as *erbā*, although the spelling of the word would perfectly admit it. The traditional pronunciation *Yurba* proves that the original meaning of the name was forgotten. Lidzbarski was right to interpret it as “the Great 20 *Yō*”⁴. In Gy 381: 11f. it is identified with *Adōnāi*: **iurba d-iahuṭaiia qarilh adunai** “the Great *Yō*, whom the Jews call *Adōnāi*”. It is true that later he was confused with a personified light-being **iur**, **iura** *Yūr*, *Yūra* and called **iura rba** *Yūra rabbā*, esp. in the XVth book of Gy, and identified with **šamiš** “the Sun”. It is obvious that this identification is of a later date, since it began 25 in Babylonian territory. But even in this later form **iura rba** (or **iur rba**) it is impossible to read *rabbā* without *a* after *r* and without the reduplication of *b*. There is little doubt that if Lidzbarski had been aware of the traditional pronunciation of **iurba** *Yōrabbā* as *Yurba*, he would not have given up his etymological transcription of this name. 30

V

In spite of several instances of this kind, the traditional pronunciation, and especially the still living language, give us much opportunity for better

³ MMII 261.

⁴ Ginza 258 n. 1.

understanding of the phonetic phenomena of Babylonian Aramaic. Such cases, as mentioned in IV, are found especially in proper names and some older expressions, whose original meaning was either forgotten, or changed in further development on the basis of popular etymologies. So far as the living grammatical forms and a part of the vocabulary still living are concerned, the traditional and colloquial pronunciations are, on the whole, useful assistants to study of the phonetics of Babylonian Aramaic and may help to enlighten obscure phonetic problems occurring in this and cognate languages.

Nöldeke, treating the assimilated ethpeel forms **dgar* "was heaped", "were crowded", **triš* "was erected", *mipsiq* "is cut off", *mihšib* "is cogitating" etc⁵, indicated the supposed original reduplication of the 1st radical with a *tasdād*, but being unaware of the actual pronunciation, he did not dare to answer the question of whether the reduplication remained or not. His strong linguistic instinct, however, made him feel that the case of these forms should be the same as that of the Talmudic *'ysq* "he laboured", *'y'lma* "she hid", *'y'rb* "he perished" etc⁶. The actual pronunciation proves that Nöldeke's opinion was admirably exact, the Mandaic forms quoted above being pronounced *edgar*, *etres*, *mipsiq*, *mihšib* without reduplication (§ 36a)⁷. In the ethpaal, the reduplication of the first radical naturally remained for euphonic reasons, because the 1st radical is there between two short vowels (§ 102); the second radical maintains the reduplication in the same position, **nibaṭal**, **tibaṭal** being pronounced *nibbaṭṭal*, *tibbaṭṭal*, but in pl. **nibaṭlun** **tibaṭlun** *nibbaṭlun*, *tibbaṭlun* (not *nibbaṭṭalūn*, *tibbaṭṭalūn*).

Because of close affinity with Talmudic, the study of Mandaic phonetics is of great importance for the phonetics of Talmudic, which, otherwise, would remain purely rationalistic.

VI

In such words, which passed to the vernacular from cl. Mandaic, the pronunciation of the former may be considered as a valuable help to the study of the phonetics of the latter. But one must not forget that long cen-

⁵ MG, § 164, p. 212f.

⁶ Ibid., p. 213: 4ff.

⁷ The *t* of the ethpe.-prefix is often syncopated before consonantal groups also in Syriac traditional pronunciation in spite of a consistent etymological orthography, cf. *e(ṭ)qrē' : eṭqrē > eqrē*, but *etyiled : etiled*. (The brackets in the transliteration of the first Syriac word substitute the *talqānā* of the Syriac script.)

tures have elapsed since the sacred books were written. On the other hand, traditional pronunciation of words and forms, the meaning of which has been forgotten can hardly be considered as trustworthy. Unfortunately, many words frequent in the classical have been replaced in the vernacular by Arabic, Persian and other foreign expressions. Although these foreign elements have been in great measure accomodated to the phonetic laws of Mandaic, they considerably disturbed the original unity of its phonetic structure. 5

VII

There is no standard pronunciation of Mandaic. It is possible to hear many nunances of pronunciation, sometimes even from the inhabitants of the same city. This can be said especially about the vocal timbre (§ 63). The reading of texts is, naturally, influenced by such local, or individual personal pronunciations. Sh. (: Sheihk) Abdullah from Ahwāz reads **nihuilkun** as *nehwil(lo)χon*, while the late Sh. Yarolla Mandowī from Sūq-esh-Shuyūkh read it as *nahwilχon*. Sh. Abdullah pronounces the preposition **l** as *el*, Nāṣer Ṣābūrī from the same city as *lə*, or *lo*. The consonantal inventory presents less difficulties of this kind, but a foreign observer will probably find it difficult to distinguish emphatics from non-emphatics, and sometimes also the liquids *r*, *l* and *n* (§§ 27—28). That the Mandaeans themselves did not care about exact pronunciation, is proved by their writings, in which these and other sounds are frequently confused. 10 15 20

I. Script and Pronunciation¹

§ 1. The Mandaic alphabet is called *ahāgāda*, the letters being called *ā, bā, gā, dā* and not *alef, bēth, gimel, dalet* etc. The original number of letters of the Semitic alphabet, 22, was extended to the full number of day-hours by adding *d-* and repeating the first letter *a* at the end of the alphabet. Without this repetition the alphabet would not be considered as complete for magical purposes. The number 24 was not reached by counting the supplementary Arabic *‘ayn*, as Nöldeke supposed².

§ 2. Alphabet.

Form	With vowels	Transliteration		Pronunciation
		Latin	Hebrew	
○	(<i>halqa</i>)	a	א	a, ā, ā
𐤁	bā 𐤁 bī 𐤁 bū 𐤁 äb 𐤁	b	ב	b, β
𐤂	gā 𐤂 gī 𐤂 gū 𐤂 äg 𐤂	g	ג	g, γ
𐤃	dā 𐤃 dī 𐤃 dū 𐤃 äd 𐤃	d	ד	d, δ
𐤄	hā 𐤄 hī 𐤄 hū 𐤄 äh 𐤄	h	ה	h
𐤅	(-ūšenna)	u	ו	o, u, ū
	wā 𐤆 wī 𐤆 wū 𐤆 äw 𐤆	u	ו	w, v
𐤇	zā 𐤇 zī 𐤇 zū 𐤇 äz 𐤇	z	ז	z
		h	ה	ī
𐤈	ṭā 𐤈 ṭī 𐤈 ṭū 𐤈 äṭ 𐤈	ṭ	ט	ṭ
𐤉	(<i>aksa</i>)	i	י	e, i, ī
	yā 𐤊 yī 𐤊 yū 𐤊 äy 𐤊	i	י	y
𐤋	kā 𐤋 kī 𐤋 kū 𐤋 äk 𐤋	k	כ	k, χ
𐤌	lā 𐤌 lī 𐤌 lū 𐤌 äl 𐤌	l	ל	l
𐤍	mā 𐤍 mī 𐤍 mū 𐤍 äm 𐤍	m	מ	m
𐤎	nā 𐤎 nī 𐤎 nū 𐤎 äñ 𐤎	n	נ	n
𐤏	sā 𐤏 sī 𐤏 sū 𐤏 äs 𐤏	s	ס	s
		‘	ע	ī (e, i)
𐤐	pā 𐤐 pī 𐤐 pū 𐤐 äp 𐤐	p	פ	p, f
𐤑	ṣā 𐤑 ṣī 𐤑 ṣū 𐤑 äs 𐤑	ṣ	צ	ṣ
𐤒	qā 𐤒 qī 𐤒 qū 𐤒 äq 𐤒	q	ק	q
𐤓	rā 𐤓 rī 𐤓 rū 𐤓 är 𐤓	r	ר	r
𐤔	šā 𐤔 šī 𐤔 šū 𐤔 äš 𐤔	š	ש	š
𐤕	tā 𐤕 tī 𐤕 tū 𐤕 ät 𐤕	t	ת	t, ṭ
𐤖	(<i>adu, or dušenna</i>)	d-	ד-	(a) d
○		a	א	a

¹ MG, p. 487 and 1—13: Schriftlehre.

² Ibid., p. 1: paen.

§ 3. Spelling.

The words are spelled with the vowels with which they are written, the signs **a** *halqa*, **i** *aksa*, **u** *-ūšenna* being used for the vowels. The names of these signs indicate their form, *halqa* meaning "circle", *aksa* "turning back", but *-ūšenna* indicates at the same time the sound *u* and the form, *šenna* meaning "tooth". The consonants with no vowel sign are pronounced with an *ä*, or *e* set before (: *äb*, *äg*, *äd* etc) and called *læðlī menda* "having nothing", i. e. having no vowel sign, nor sound, after the consonantal sound concerned. The syllables are then spelled as follows: **ba** *bā halqa*, **bi** *bī aksa*, **bu** *būšenna*, **b** *læðlī menda*; **ga** *gā halqa*, **gi** *gī aksa*, **g** *ag læðlī menda* etc. The word *kankuza* *kankūza* "chin" is spelled: *kā halqa*, *an læðlī menda*, *kūšenna*, *za aksa*; the cl. **paršupa** *paršōfa* "face" is spelled: *pā halqa*, *ar læðlī menda*, *šūšenna*, *pā aksa* etc.

§ 4. Order of letters.

The order of the letters is that of the original Semitic alphabet, as ist is presented by the Hebrew and Aramaic alphabets and Arabic *ḥurūf al-abğad*. Although **h**, standing in the place of the original *het*, and **‘** in the place of the original *‘ayn* lost their original guttural sounds, being both pronounced as *ī*, they keep their original place in the alphabet.

§ 5. The letter **d̄**-, explained by Nöldeke as graphical abbreviation of *dy* (: *dī*), or simply *d̄*³, has practically disappeared from mod. Mandaic. It had been used in two forms in the classical: 1. as an independent relative word, and 2. in combination with **k** as **kd̄**. There was no third form of its use. **d̄**- is a mere graphical form of **d** used as an independent relative, both of them being pronounced *ad*. That this form was merely graphical, is proved by the traditional pronunciation of its combinatory graphical variant **d**, used after the proclitics **u**, **b**, **l**, which is pronounced in the same way as this particular **d̄**:- **ldiatbia** (Gy 389: 23) "to those who are sitting", pron. *el-ad-yātbi*; **ldqaimia** (Gy 94 ult) "to those who are standing", pron. *el-ad-qāymi*; **udtlatma** (Gy 128 ult., 129: 2) "and of the three hundred", pron. *u-ad-ilāðmā*. The forms without proclitics **d̄-iatbia**, **d̄-qaimia** would be pronounced with the same *ad* (: *ad-yāt-bī* etc.) Before a vowel, both **d̄**- and **d** are pronounced

³ MG § 84, p. 92; cf. also Zotenberg 225, left col.

simply *d*: **drašia ḡ-iahia drašidiḡa** “Recitations of John” (“Johannesbuch”), **bra ḡ-nhura** (*e*)**brā danḡura** “son of Light” etc. Šābūrī often read **ḡ-** as *d*: **psaqa ḡ-šata psāqa dišāḡa** “the cutting of the fever” etc. For palaeographical reasons, this pronunciation may be considered as more original than *ad*, given by Sh. Abdullah in the cases quoted above.

Later **ḡ-** started to be pronounced *t*, and this pronunciation found way even into the script. Nöldeke⁴, quoting the examples **ṭabid biš maška ṭab** (Jb 9: 2f.) “who is doing evil will find good” and **ṭabid ṭab maška ṭab** (Jb 34: 11) “who is doing good will find good”, explained this use of *t* instead of **ḡ-** as influenced by *t* of **ṭab**. In the same way, Lidzbarski explained the name of the hill **ṭabdana** (Gy 54: 12) = **ḡ-abdana** “of perdition” as influenced by *t* of **ṭura** “hill”⁵. These explanations, however, do not suffice to explain the replacing of **ḡ-** by *t* in numerous cases where there is no other *t* in the sentence. Nöldeke knew only one such example **ruha ṭabahatan** (Q. 14: 5) “the spirit of our fathers”⁶. Further examples are: **ṭabagada** (DA) “of the A-B-C-D”; **muṭamarnalun** (DC 43: *Dablulia* 32) “*quod dico eis*”; **muṭamartliḡ lḡduia ṭazia b’uḡra uḡahik** (ŠQ no. 460) “What didst thou say to the bridegroom that he goeth on the road and laugheth”?, where **muṭ** = **mud**, i. e. **mahu ḡ-** (§ 114a), and **ṭazia** = cl. **ḡ-masḡia**. In mod. Mandaic the relative **ḡ-** is used only in the frequent religious formula **bšum ḡ-hiia ubšum ḡ-manda ḡ-hiia** “In the name of the Life and in the name of M-d-H.”, where it is pronounced as *t*: *bišmi-t-beyyī u-bišmi-t-mandā-t-beyyī*.

The other form **kḡ**, in which this letter occurred frequently in the Classical, is used in mod. Mandaic in two different forms: **kt** *keḡ* and **ki** *ke* (§ 113b).

§ 6. This alphabet, sufficient for original Mandaic, was not equal to the task of conveying all the sounds of later periods of the language. Cl. Mandaic had already been forced to use combinations of letters to express the foreign *ğ* and *ǰ*⁸. Besides that attempt, foreign sounds were rendered approximately by letters of similar phonetic value.

⁴ MG 93: 14 ff.

⁵ Ginzā 49 n. 2.

⁶ MG 93: 13.

⁷ In the vernacular the whole sentence would be: *mo-martelli lš-dāmād ke qāzī obrī u-gābex*.

⁸ Examples in MG 2 n. 1. Many miscopyings of those examples as well as their actual pronunciations prove that the fate of those attempts has not been better than that of the Persian transcription of the Russian word *car* (= *tsar*), which is now pronounced *tszār*.

In the postclassical period, diacritical dots were introduced to designate certain foreign sounds.

As an addition, there are in the Mandaean script the following letters, which are not in the alphabet:

- 5 A supplementary letter ‘*ayn*, borrowed from the Arabic alphabet, and used regularly in borrowed Arabic words containing this letter, and sometimes also to express the Arabic *hamza*, as in **qurṣan** = Ar. *qurʿān*. In the last case, it is usually omitted when the *hamza* is preceded by a vowel: **mamuriat** (= Ar. *maʿmūriat*) is generally preferred to **maḥmuriat**.

- 10 Diacritical dots can be used with the following letters:

ḡ = γ (= Ar. ḡ)	ḫ = χ (= Ar. and P. ḫ)
ḏ = δ (= Ar. ḏ, sometimes <i>z</i> and <i>ḏ</i>)	ḥ = f (Ar. and P.)
ḥ = h (Ar.)	ṣ = ċ (P.), ḡ (Ar. and P.), ž (P.)
ṭ = Ar. ḏ, z (sometimes even ḏ)	ṭ = θ (= Ar. ṭ)

- 15 Aspiration of the letters of *begadkefat* (§ 20) is not indicated and even in foreign words diacritical dots can be omitted.

§ 7. Double consonants are not indicated in the script, except in two cases:

- a) When a morphem ends and the next one begins with the same consonant, both can be written side by side⁹: **mitt meḏt** “thou didst die”, **mittun meḏton**
20 “ye died” (§ 20 t) **šakibbh** *šāyeβbī* “he sleeps in it”.

- b) When *y* follows the diphthong *ay*, *ey*: **hiia qadmaia beyyī qadmayyī** “the First Life”, **ar(a)baia arabayyī** “Arabs”, **mandaiia mandayyī** “Mandaean”. An exception to this rule is the cl. **mia meyyā** (scr. def., § 14 b). Other exceptions, or possibilities of omitting the second *i* were mentioned by Nöldeke¹⁰.
25 Besides, **ii** is used not only to indicate *yy* but also *ye*, or *iyē*. Such cases are esp. frequent in mod. Mandaic: **šbiriia**, **šbiriia**, or simply **šbiria** *šəβīrye* “is good, nice” etc. But the reduplication of **u** (*wūšenna*) is, as a rule, avoided in the Mandaean script¹¹, perhaps for calligraphical reasons.

⁹ MG § 13, p. 12.

¹⁰ Ibid., § 9, p. 8 & n. 1.

¹¹ Ibid.

Originally double consonants are not indicated in the script, and when the vowel following them disappears they vanish also from pronunciation: **rba rabbā** “great”, but st. abs. **rab rab**, fem. **rabtia rabtī**, mod. **raptia rafī**.

This phenomenon is frequent in mod. Mandaic in borrowed Ar. words *mediae geminatae*, in which the reduplication was preserved by the *tanwīn* 5 in cl. Arabic. After the loss of the *tanwīn*, the reduplication disappeared from pronunciation: Ar. *mubimm^m* is pron. *mohem*. But the reduplication is restored when a vowel follows: *ye barnāšī mohemmī* “an important man” but *bāḡ mohemye* “this is important” (differently from P. *īn mohemm-ast*, colloquially *mohemme*, which is followed by a vowel). 10

§ 8. The Mandaic *scriptio plena* is famous.

a) *Front vowels* are, as a rule, indicated at the beginning of the word by **ʿ**; in the middle by *aksa*, or **ʿ** (the latter being used esp. after the letters **n, k, p, ʒ** probably for the sake of calligraphy¹², but sometimes also in other cases); at the end of words by **ia** (in mod. Mand. **a** is often omitted, § 9b), by **h** (used 15 originally only as the pronoun suffix of the 3rd p. sg., but later extended also to other cases of the final **-ī**, § 53 end), and by **ʿ** (esp. after **n, k, p, ʒ**). Sometimes, *e* is indicated by a *halqa* (cf. s. b). In a few cases, the front vowel (*aksa*) is written with **-ūšenna** and vice versa (examples s. c).

b) *Central vowels* are indicated by *halqa* without difference of length, but a short *a* (*æ*) can be written with an *aksa*, cf. the variants **girgla** and **gargla** *gærgalā*, *garglā* “wheel”, **rahaṭia** and **rihaṭia** *rahaṭī* “streams”, **lgaṭ** and **lgiṭ** *elḡat*, *laḡat* “he grasped”; but also without variants: **ligra** *laḡrā* “foot” (§ 117a), **aṭirpa aṭarfa** “foliage” (as Syr. *ṭarfā*), **aminṭul**, **minṭul** *amanṭol* “because”¹³, **minuna** *manōna* (= Syr. *māmūnā* Μᾶμμωνᾶς) etc. 20

A double *aksa* is often used to write *ya*, which can be spelled *yā halqa* as well as *yī aksa* (§ 3): **iahia** and **iihia** *Yahya* “John” (but **drašia** **ḡ-iahia**, or **drašia** **ḡ-iihia** is pron. *drašidiḡya*, § 5), **iahra** and **iihra** *yahrā* “month” (§ 67a). The *yī aksa* in such variants can be explained by the predilection of copyists for doubling **i** (§ 7). But in some cases, the *halqa* is used as a graphical variant of 30 the *aksa* to indicate the front vowel *e*: **iadlat** and **iidlat** *yedlat* “she brought

¹² MG § 5, p. 5.

¹³ The word presents a peculiar development of the Talm. **אמטול** (differently from Syr. *meṭṭūl*).

forth”, **šarša** and **širša** *šeršā* “root”, **ganzaihun** and **ginzaihun** *genzeyhōn* “their treasure” etc.¹⁴.

At the beginning of the word, *balqa* can be omitted, esp. if the first consonant is not followed by a vowel, such a consonant being always pronounced as *læθlī menda* (§ 3). So we have **nhura** and **anhura** *anhūra* “light”, and **(a)hšuka** *abšūχa* “darkness”, **šualia** and **ašualia** *ašwalya* “pupil” etc (§ 77). The possibility of writing or dropping the initial *a* was then extended also to such words, in which the initial *a* originally belonged to the root (§ 87). On the other hand, the pf. of the cl. verb **ba** (< *b’ā*) “he wanted” has become **aba** *abā* in mod. Mand., although no prosthetic vowel was needed.

The initial **a** is often confused with **ʿ** in both writing and pronunciation: **abra**, **ʿbra** (apart from **bra**) (*e*)*brā* “son”, **aspar**, **ʿspar** *asfar* “book” etc. In general, the spelling follows the real pronunciation, but often both pronunciations are facultative.

c) *Back vowels* are indicated by *-ūšenna* without difference of length or vocal timbre. It usually designates *ū, u, o*, but in the last syllable also a back *ā*: **abatur** *Aβāθār*, **zapur** *zāfār* “stinking”, **taqun** *tāqān* “firm”, “clear”; **taqup** *tāqāf* “strong” etc (§ 65 b).

An *-ūšenna* is sometimes found after the letters **k, n, p, ṣ** to indicate a short *a*, or a *šwa*. As it occurs in this function only after the letters mentioned, this indication of *a* may be considered only as special form *scriptio defectiva* conditioned by the special form of these letters (§ 14).

In **šuma** *ošma* “name” and **ešma** “he heard”, the **u** before **m** is merely part of the latter (§ 12). This form of **m** can be found more frequently at the beginning of the word, where it requires a consideration whether (*e*)*m* or *um* is to be read. The sign **u** before **m** in this position can be considered either as a calligraphical beginning of the letter **m** or as an attempt to designate the labialization of *am læθlī menda*, since the words beginning with *m* can be pronounced with a prosthetic *u*.

As an exception to this rule, *-ūšenna* can also indicate a front vowel and vice versa (s. a). But in such cases, there are usually variants representing a more regular spelling. Examples of such variants, quoted by Nöldeke¹⁵, are pronounced as follows: **hukumta**, **hikumta** *huχemθa* “wisdom” (the pronunciation recommends rather a comparison with Jew.-Aram. *ḥūḫm’lū*

¹⁴ Cf. MG § 15, p. 13.

¹⁵ MG § 15, p. 13 f.

than with Syr. *heḫmā*); **niṣubta**, **niṣibta** *nīṣobṯa* “plant” (again nearer to Jew. *nīṣb’lā* than to Syr. *neṣblā*); **birikta**, **birukta**, **burukta** (apart from **birakta**) *bereḫṯa* “blessing” (= Jew. *birḫ’lā* rather than Syr. *burḫlā*, § 14a); **šumbilta**, **šumbulta** and even **šimbilta** *šumbolṯa* “ear (of corn)”, “Spica”, “Virgo” (vowel like in Jew. *šūblā*, not like in Syr. *šebbelā*). As these comparisons show, such variants occur especially in cases, where the Jewish vocalisations differ from the Syriac. Therefore, these variants appear to be based on two dialectal pronunciations: the one near to Talmudic, the other influenced by Syriac pronunciation. The Persian school of pronunciation is based on the former, which was uninfluenced by Syriac. This theory, however, does not suffice to explain the pronunciation of **sugudta**, **sigudta** *sugudṯa*, *sogodṯa* “worship”, different from both Jew. *sīgd’lā* and Syr. *segdlā*. If the pronunciation given by Sh. Abdullah is correct, this noun followed the analogy of nouns with *u* after the first radical.

In some rare cases, the back vowel is written with an *aksā*: **ganzibra** *gan- zoḅbra* “treasurer” (title of Mandaean highpriest), **šiqupta** (= **šuqupta**) *šoḡofṯa* “blow”, **šinda** *šonda* “grain” (without varr. with *u*) etc.

In **šaba** *šoḅḅa* “seven” the back vowel is written etymologically with a *halqa*, the pronunciation with the back vowel being a result of labialization as well as in **ganzibra** above (§ 73).

§ 9. Since vowel signs indicate only the respective position of vowels but not their length and timbre, knowledge of the phonetic structure of the Mandaic word is indispensable in order to establish the latter two. Paragraphs of the Phonetics section are devoted to this matter. The knowledge of the etymology of the words concerned is helpful in many cases. I quote here some verifications of pronunciations supposed by Nöldeke¹⁶ so far as the words quoted by him are still living in mod. Mandaic:

a) *α, a, ā*: **amar** *āmar* “he says”, **amrin** *āmren* “they say”, **abid** *ābed* (< אָבִיד “he does”, **abdia** *ābdī* (< אָבְדִּי “they do”, **arba** *arba* (< אַרְבָּע “four”, **šakib** *šāḫeḅ* = “he lies down”, **huat** *ehwat* (= אָוַת “she was” (with a short vowel instead of an unexpected long), **qal**, **qala** *qāl*, *qālā* “voice”, **hua** *ehwā*, *howā* = אָוַה (אָוַה) “he was”, **bka** *boḫā* “he wept”, **malka** *malkā* “king”, **man** *man* “who”.

¹⁶ MG §§ 3—6, pp. 3—7.

b) *e, i, ī*: **'da īda** = Syr. *īdā* "hand", **'ma emmā** = Syr. *emmā* "mother", **'bdit eβdīt** "I did". The indication of an initial *ī* by **'i** (*ī aksa*) is frequent in mod. Mand.: **'da īda** is often written **'ida**. But when this **'i** is followed by a vowel, it must naturally be pronounced *iy*. Otherwise, **i** after the Ar. *'ayn* indicates only a short *i* (or sometimes a short *a*, § 7): **Ḥidauat** (AM 275: 30, var. **Ḥadauat**) = Ar. *'adāwa* "enmity", **Ḥidalat** (ibid. 281: 38) = Ar. *'adālat* "justice", **Ḥiz** (ibid. 254: 5, 21) = Ar. *'izḡ* "power", **Ḥilat** (ibid. 257: 10) = Ar. *'illat* "cause", "reason", **Ḥimarāt** (ibid. 163: 3) = Ar. *'imārāt* "buildings", **Ḥilim** (ibid. 163: 12) = Ar. *'ilm* "science" etc.

10 Examples of medial *ī* (*e*) quoted by Nöldeke: **ziua zīwa** = syr. *zīwā* "brilliance", **brik b(ə)riḡ** = Syr. *brīḡ* "blessed", **riša rīša** "head", **hinun bennon** "they".

The mere graphical **a** of the final **-ia -ī** is often omitted in mod. Mandaic. When, however, it is to be read *yā*, the **a** cannot be omitted: **hau(a) m.** (written also **hauīh** in mod. Mand.) *hāwī* = 𐤆𐤀𐤌, but fem. **hauia hāwyā** = 𐤆𐤀𐤌𐤁¹⁷, **(a)šualia ašwalyā, ašwalya** "novice", "disciple" etc.

c) *u, ū, o, ō*: **'ur ūr** = 𐤀𐤌 name of the king of darkness, **'u ō** = 𐤀𐤌 "or" (: mod. **lu lō, lo**, the length, or shortness of the vowel depending on the speed of the speech), **ruha rūba** = Syr. *rūḡā* "spirit" (mother of *Ūr* and other devils), **iuma yūma** = 𐤁𐤀𐤌 "day", **qum qom** "stand up!" etc; but in **'udna odna** (> mod. *onna*, pl. *onāni*) "ear" both the cl. and the mod. language have a short *o* instead of *ū* of 𐤀𐤌𐤁.

As the above examples show, the comparison with the close Aramaic dialects is helpful for the establishing of the length and timbre of Mandaic vowels in many cases. It is obvious that this deductive method cannot suffice absolutely in all cases for the reason that all other Aramaic dialects, except mod. Syriac and some minor dialects, are known only in their ancient form, while our practical study of Mandaic pronunciation is based on its actual traditional and colloquial pronunciations, which during more than ten centuries continued to deviate from its original features, and where false analogies showed their full strength, as will appear more clearly from our treatment of the diphthongs (§ 10). In many cases, the original length of vowels has become merely facultative (§§ 63f), the originally long *-ā* of the st. emph. being usually shortened, esp. if it is preceded by a long vowel.

¹⁷ MG, p. 5: 8.

§ 10. Diphthongs.

a) The original diphthongs *au* and *ai* still exist in mod. Mandaic, but in many cases they contracted. Examples quoted by Nöldeke¹⁸, so far as they still exist in the mod. language, are pronounced as follows: **aitia** *eyθī* = Syr. *ayī* “he brought” (af., in mod. Mand. the pa. *aθθī* is used), **aila** *āyla* = **ܐܝܠܐ** “she enters” (replaced by **daiša** *dāyša*, mod. pronunciation *dīša*; the same contraction took place in all pres. participles **ܝܘܘܫܐ**, cf. **qaima** *qāyima* > mod. *qīma* “she stands”, § 221 b).

In the 3rd p. fem. sg. and 1st p. sg. of the pa. pf. and in the 3rd p. fem. sg., 2nd p. sg. and 3rd p. pl. of the participial present of verbs II **ܐ** (or **ܘ**) the original diphthong *ai* became *ey* in traditional pronunciation (Sh. Abd.), but it contracted in the colloquial: **šailat**, **šiiilat** “she asked”, **šailit**, **šiiilit** “I asked”, **qmšaila** “she asks”, **qmš(a)iilit** “thou askest” **qmšailin** “they ask” being pronounced traditionally: *šeylat*, *šeylīt*, *qmšeylā*, *qmšeylet*, *qmšeylen*, colloquially: *šēlat*, *šēlīt*, *qmšēlā*, *qmšēlet*, *qmšēlen* etc. (§§ 223, 224).

The diphthong was contracted in the cl. **autib** *otteb* (Sh. Abd., § 20 t) = Syr. *awteḥ* “he seated”, cl. and mod. **hzaī** *həzē* = Syr. *ḥzāy* “see!” (imper. fem.) as in many other cases. In all afel forms of verbs **ܘܘܐܘܐ** (incl. **ܘܘܐܘܐ**) and **ܘܘܐܘܐ** the diphthong *au* became first *ou* and then *ō* (even *o*). The diphthong *ai* had a similar fate (> *ey* > *ē/e*).

Nevertheless, there is a secondary diphthong *au* = *aβ* resulting from the aspiration of **b** after *a*. This secondary diphthong never becomes *ou* and cannot be contracted: **gabra** *gaβrā*¹⁹ “man” etc. Another secondary diphthong *eu* = *eβ* is treated s. b.

An initial **ai** often indicates only a long *ī*, not a diphthong, so that **a** is used only as a support for the vowel (as ‘ in other Semitic languages) instead of the Mandaic ‘, or ‘i. Almost in each such case there are variants with an initial ‘: **airan** (AM 186:1, where Šābūrī’s copy has ‘**ran**) = P. ‘*irān*; **airuta** apart from ‘**ruta** *irūḥa* “irradiation”; **ait-**, ‘**it**, ‘**iit**, ‘**t iḥ** = Syr. *īḥ* “there is”²⁰; **aimanuta** apart from ‘**manuta** *imanūḥa* “profession”; **aurus**, var. **auruz** (Gy 59:5) *Oros* (pronounced with no diphthong, but with the same vowel as e. g. ‘**utra** *Oḥra*). The analogy of such cases might be transferred also to words, in

¹⁸ MG § 7, p. 7.

¹⁹ Sh. Abdullah, asked about the pronunciation of this word, answered me laughing: “The *man* has a bad name”, making an allusion to its homonym **gaura** “adultery”, in which the diphthong *au* is original.

²⁰ MG § 4, p. 4: 11 f.

which **ai**, or **au** originally was a diphthong. But **aiba** *iβa* = Syr. 'ēbā “cloud”, **aina** *īna* = Syr. 'ainā “eye” etc cannot be explained by simple misreading because of their frequent, still living use; the long *ī* instead of the diphthong in such cases comes directly from the analogy of the st. abs. 'in, or from the sharpening of *ē* of אֵי. For the same reason, **autib** *otteb*, quoted above, cannot be considered as a misreading, but as a contracted form, in which *t* was reduplicated secondarily for euphonic reasons (§ 102).

On the other hand, a diphthong is pronounced in many cases, where it is not indicated in the script: **binia** *beynī* “between”, **mhita** (*e*)*mbeyθā* “blow”, cl. **ḡ(u)rurita** (Gy 137: 11, 15) *ḡororeyθā* “salamander” etc. This defective writing is used esp. in the fem. ending-*eyθā*, rarely in other cases.

b) There seems to be no original diphthong *eu* in Mandaic, although Nöldeke quoted two examples²¹. In his first example, 'udun (Gy 96: 25) “*perierunt mihi*”, there was no original semivowel **u** but a consonant (an aspirated **b** = β), and could, therefore, form no diphthong with the preceding vowel. His second example, **liuiatan**, is spelled by Mandaeans (cf. § 3): *lī aksa, wī aksa, ā halqa, tā halqa, an ləθlī menda*. The word is then divided into syllables: *lī-wī-a-θan*, so that *w* of the *wī aksa* of the second syllable is to be considered as a consonant, and can form no diphthong with the vowel of the first syllable.

The diphthong -*ūi* of the cl. **abuia** (= אבוא) “his father” disappeared, being consistently replaced by a simple *ī* = *i* (cf. mod. *bāβī* “his father” etc). Cl. verbal forms with suffixes, as **qiriuia** *qeryyī* “they called him”, **hiziuia** *hez yīyī* “they saw him”, are replaced by full mod. forms *qaronnī, hezonnī* etc.

The ending -*uia*- in proper names is pronounced -*owī*: **manduia** *Mandowī* (not *Mandua*, BZ., p. 68), **saiuia** *Sāyowī* (neither *Saiwia*, *ibid.*, nor *Sāyōyā*, ML, p. 231).

c) The foreign Arabic and Persian words were borrowed with their diphthongs. Although these words are often spelt inconsistently, it is usually not difficult to decide where in such cases a diphthong is to be pronounced, since such words usually preserve their original phonetic structure. It is easy to recognize in **ḡib** the Ar. 'eyb, or in **nukar** the P. *nowkar*, although the diphthong is formally not expressed in the script. Even in these words the

²¹ Ibid. § 7, p. 7: bottom.

diphthong is sometimes contracted. **nukar** has two facultative pronunciations: *nowkar* and *nōkar*.

§ 11. a) In § 7 we mentioned that Mandaean avoid the *wūšemma*, although *yī akša* is frequently used and even abused. An economy in using the letter **u** is further attested in its combination with letters beginning with an indented spiral, **h** and **ʕ**²². As a rule, **u** is not written before these letters, as if it was contained in the first indent. Since **h** is usually written with two or three indents and **ʕ** with two or one, and the copyists cared for no greater clearness, it requires a little consideration whether to read in such cases *uh* or *hu* or simply *h*, or *uʕ* or *un* or simply *ʕ*.

b) The difficulty in recognizing *hn* from *uʕ*²³ is of no great account, since *hn* can occur only in a few words: in the rt. HNN “to caress” (mod. der. *bonīna* “little”²⁴, HNA “to please”, HNQ “to strangle”, GHN “to bow”, DHN “to shine”, “to rise”: **dahna** (frequent in AM) *dāhna* (pt. fem.) “it shines”; further **kahnia** *kāhni* “Jewish priests”, **bihnuš** *bebnoš*²⁵, **mahnuš** *māhnoš*²⁶ ŠHN “to be dirty”: **šahnia** (Gy 279: 9) *šāhni* “impuri”, ŠHN “to get hot, mad” and some others.

§ 12. *Šwa mobile*²⁷ was, as a rule, not indicated in cl. Mandaic, but it was fated to go three different ways, indicated by the traditional and colloquial pronunciations:

a) It was changed to a *šwa quiescens* with or without the help of the prosthetic vowel (esp. in traditional pronunciation): **lbar** *elbar* “except”, **nhura**, **anhura** *anhūra* “light”, **hšuka** *abšūḫa* “darkness”, **lgaṭ**, **lgiṭ** *elyaṭ* “he seized”, “he grasped”, cl. **lhil** *elhel* “beyond”, “in the other world”, **luat** *elwāṭ* “toward”, **l el** “to”, **l'el** *el'el* = Syr. *l'el*, **lbuša** *elβūša* “garment”, **mhita** (*e*) *mbeyṭa* “blow”, **nbiha**, **nbiha** *enbiha* “prophet”, cl. **nṭita** *anṭīṭa* “affliction”.

In the case of the cl. **škinta** “(celestial) dwelling” Sh. Abd. gave me the pronunciation *šxenta* (not *ešxenta*), although the var. **aškinta** is not rare;

²² MG § 10, p. 8f.

²³ MG 9 n. 1.

²⁴ The word may have the same semantics as Fr. “*petit*” with regard to Lat. “*postere*”.

²⁵ cf. ZDMG 1955, p. 361.

²⁶ cf. Bartholomae AIW 1135.

²⁷ MG § 8, p. 8.

but the group $\xi\chi$ is pronounced without the *šwa mobile*, as it would necessarily result in *ešχenta* (§ 20 k). The same pronunciation was given me in the case of the words **kšāša** $\chišāša$ “contact”, “touching”, “exploration” (§ 20 k), **šiqupta** $\xi qofta$ (Sh. Abd., aside from *šoqofta* given by Šābūrī, pl. **šiqupiata** $\xi qofyā\theta a$) “blow” (cf. s. c), **šrara** $\xi rāra$ “truth”, **šrira** $\xi rīra$ “true”, **triša** $trīša$ “erected”, “consecrated”, **trin** “two” naturally *trēn* (as in all Aramaic dialects, and even in H. **ܬܪܝܢ** *štayim*). The above examples show that the prosthetic vowel has become facultative in those cases, where the pronunciation of the consonantal group presented no difficulty. Such groups are esp. $\chi\xi$, $\xi\chi$, $q\xi$, ξq , ξt and *tr*.²⁸ The group *tš* became *č* in **tša**, **tša** *ečča* “nine”, which, after the fusion of *tš* into *č*, could not be pronounced without the prosthetic vowel, which is, therefore, secondary as well as the reduplication of *č*. This process (*tš* > *č*) is the more interesting as *ečča* is the only original Mand. word, in which the sound *č* occurs²⁹, this sound being otherwise a mark of foreign words. The phonetic writing **ša** is generally preferred in mod. Mandaic to the cl. etymological **tša**, **tša**.³⁰ The pronunciation of the Talm. **יָצֵדֵסֵן** must have had the same first consonant as the Mand. **tšasar**, var. **tšasar** *eččessar* “nineteen”.

The quietening of the *šwa* without the prosthetic vowel did not go as far as in Syriac, but the pronunciation shows that the prosthetic vowel is merely facultative: **bra d-nhura** *brā denbūra* “son of Light”, **gbina** *gbīna* “brow”, **gdulta** *gdolta* “lock of hair” etc, where variants with the prosthetic vowel are admissible as well.

One of the most frequent modern words **šbir** “good”, “nice” is pronounced $\xi\beta ir$, but also $\xi\beta\beta ir$, and even $\xi\beta\beta ir$, although it comes from cl. **šapir** pronounced $\xi\alpha p(p)ir$ by the priests.

Therefore, the auxiliary prosthetic vowel can be freely omitted, since its purpose is merely ease of pronunciation. With the numerals, the prosthetic vowel is used only in the case of **hda**, **hda** *ehda* “one” and **tša**, **tša**, **ša** *ečča* quoted above. In other numerals, **trin** *trēn* “two”, **tlata** *tlā\theta a* (mod. *klā\theta a*) “three” and **tmania** *tmānya* “eight”, the *šwa* was considered as quiescent

²⁸ In Syriac, according to mod. pronunciation, this process was extended to all consonantal groups without exception, the prosthetic vowel being used only in some local dialects.

²⁹ A reduplicated affricate *č* is similarly attested in this numeral by its mod. Syriac pronunciation as *ečča* (Urmia).

³⁰ MG § 1, p. 2: 16f.

like in Syr. In the case of *šita šitta* “six”, Mandaic developed a full vowel with the reduplication of the following consonant (while in Syriac in the place of the double classical form *štd, ištā*, we find only *ištā*, from which even a fem. *išet* instead of the cl. *šet* was formed).

b) *šwa mobile* was maintained without being indicated in the script, esp. in verbal forms: **gʔal** *gəʔal* “he killed”, **gʔalt** *gəʔalt* “thou didst kill”, **gʔaliun** *gəʔalyōn* “they killed”, **gʔaltun**, fem. **gʔaltin** *gəʔalton*, fem. *gəʔalten* “ye killed”, **gʔalnin** *gəʔalni(n)* “we killed”. The mod. pronunciation often restores a full vowel in such cases: **dhil** *dehel* “he feared”, **bsum** *besom* “he pleased”, and some writers even indicate it in the script by an *aksa*. In forms with suffixes, the *šwa* is not indicated either: **gʔalth** *gəʔalthi* “thou hast killed him”, “I killed him”, **gʔalnḥ** *uqʔarnḥ* *gəʔalni uqʔarni* “we killed and buried him”.

In nominal forms, the *šwa mobile* was not indicated in the cl.: **kdaba** *kadāḅa* “book”, **kšira** *kešira* “just”, “right”, **mazgda** *mazgādā* “chapel” etc.

c) A full vowel was restored and indicated in the script³¹: **hurina** *horīna* “other” perhaps by the analogy of **lʔuhuran** *el-ohorān* = **לְאַחֵרֵינוּ** “behind us”; **ʔubada** (the odd pronunciation *iḅāda*, given by Sh. Abdullah, may be disregarded) = **אֲבָדָה**, **אֲבָדָה**³², but modern only *ḅāda* “work”; cl. **šururita**, var. **šururita** *šororeyḅā* “salamander”; **qudam** “in front of” is pronounced by Sh. Abdullah even with a diphthong in **lqudamh** *elqoudāmi* “in front of him”. But **šuma** (= Syr. *šmā*) is pronounced *ošma*, *ešma* with a prosthetic vowel as in Ar. *ism*, the **u** before **m** constituting merely a calligraphical form of the latter as well as in the 3rd p. pe. of the verb **šMA** “to hear”, written also **šuma** *šma*, pronounced *ešma* in both cases (§ 8 c).

Replacement of the *šwa* by a back vowel³³ still continues in mod. Mandaic. The most frequent word, the proclitic preposition **l**, has become *lo* > *lo*, a form which is unknown in the classical. A simple quiescent *l* can still be used when the preceding word ends with a vowel, while *lo* can be used in either case. Another proclitic, **q**, **qa**, **qi**, used to introduce the participial present, has extended its meaning, and is also used as a preposition, replacing the cl. **b** “in”. It has three facultative pronunciations: *q*, *qə* and *qo*. These proclitics originally were pronounced with a back vowel before the labials, esp. before *m*, followed by *b*, as in **qombašqerli** “he knows him”, but this use was soon

³¹ MG § 27.

³² Ibid., p. 28 n. 2.

³³ Ibid., p. 28 & n. 4.

extended by analogy to all other cases. The preposition **mn** *men* “of”, “from”, “with” has lost the final *n*, and is also used proclitically in mod. Mandaic, being pronounced *mo* with the same auxiliary vowel. The full form *men* is used only with personal suffixes (§§ 14b 1, 15, 26b). The conjunction **u** is rarely pronounced *wə* but almost always *u* both traditionally and colloquially.

In some cases we find **a** or **u** in the place of the original *šwa*. These signs are sometimes pronounced *a* or *i*, sometimes *o*. My verification of the examples quoted by Nöldeke³⁴ gives the following result: **haṭaiia** *haṭāyī* “sins”, **hamar** *hamar* “wine” (analogy of the st. emph. **hamra** *hamrā*), cl. **qarabтана**, **qarap-тана** *qarastāna* “warrior”, cl. **siṭar** *siṭṭar* “aside”, “beyond”, cl. **simadra** *simādra* “vine-blossom”, **simaka** *simāḫa* “support”. But **šaba** “seven” (§ 8c) is pronounced *šobβa*; in mod. Mandaic it is also written **šuba**. **limalia** (with a more frequent var. **lmalia**) “*cur mihi?*” is *limālī* in the traditional pronunciation, *lomāle* in the colloquial.

In brief, there is no unity in writing as there is none in pronunciation.

§ 13. In borrowed Ar. nouns, esp. of the form *fā'l(un)*, *fī'l(un)*, *fu'l(un)*, frequent in mod. Mandaic, an auxiliary vowel is inserted between the 2nd and 3rd radicals as in colloquial Ar. pronunciation. In cl. Arabic the pronunciation of this group was facilitated by the *tanwīn*, so that such words could be divided in two syllables: *fik-run*, *quf-lun*. The dropping of the *tanwīn* made the pronunciation of these words rather difficult. The difficulty is solved either by inserting an auxiliary vowel into the consonantal group, or, in some cases, when there is a liquid, by the metathesis:

1. cl. Ar. *fikr* is pronounced *feker*; *baḡl* “mule” is written as pronounced **bagal** *bayal* (AM 278:4); *'umr* > *'omer* “age”; *ṣubḥi* > *ṣobaḥ* (**ṣubaḥ**) “morning”.

2. With metathesis: *qufl* > *qolf* etc.

There is no reason not to indicate the inserted auxiliary vowel in the script but the prejudice of preserving the original Arabic orthography. Sh. Abd. writes **pikr** *'bdiṭ* (like Morg. 276: 4), Šābūrī **pikir** *'bdiṭ*; they both pronounce *feker eβdiṭ* “I thought”. The Persian word *agər* “if”, presenting a similar group, is written by Sh. Abd. **agr** (an exact transliteration of the Persian written

³⁴ Ibid., p. 29.

form), while Šābūrī writes completely phonetically 'gir; de Morgan's mod. texts have **agar** (275: ult.). The P. comparative suffix *-tar* can be written either **-tr** as in Persian, or fully **tar** (Nöldeke, MG, p. XXV: 3, quotes a *scriptio plena* **rabtar**; Gl., p. 32:14 has a *scriptio defectiva*).

§ 14. a) *Scriptio defectiva* is rarer in books than in magical bowls, amulets and mod. texts. It affects especially short vowels. So we find **brkta** and **birkta** besides the regular **birikta** *bereχḏa* and the less regular **birukta** and **burukta** (§ 8c). Almost in all such cases, there are varr. with *scriptio plena*. In the mod. language the defective writing may be explained by the Ar. and P. influences (§ 13). Sh. Abd. was horrified when I wrote his family name *χaffāgī* with **ḵā halqa**, because it is not *χāfāgī*. This name occurs in the lists of copyists as **kupašia** (i. e. **ḵupašia**). It is, however, interesting in this form that **p** is not attached directly to **k**, as it is regularly done in the following three consonantal groups **kp**, **np** and **sp**, but the vowel *a* seems to be written with *-šenna* as in **pudana** = **pdana** = *plene padana fadāna* "plough", although in **purṭta** = **puruṭta** (= **pruṭta**)³⁵ *pruṭḏā* "split" the same *-šenna* stands in the place of a *šwa quiescens*, and in **kurasan** (AM 203:11) "Khorasan", mod. **punida fonīda** "fish" etc. the same sign is used normally to indicate *o*.

In mod. Mandaic there is no fixed rule as to the *scriptio plena*, or *defectiva*: some writers show a tendency toward the former even in borrowed Ar. and P. words; the others prefer a defective transliteration of the loanwords, which affects also their spelling of original Mandaic words.

b) Nöldeke mentioned six short words with a consistent *scriptio defectiva* in the classical³⁶: 1. **mn** *men* "from", written defectively as an independent preposition, but fully with pers. suffixes: **min(i)h** *menni* "from him", "with him", **minak** *menmaχ* (masc.), **minik** *menneχ* (fem.) "from thee", "with thee" etc. This writing is still used, but this preposition usually loses *n* before the noun and is pronounced and written as a proclitic **m-**, **mu-** *ma*, *mo*. This preposition can then be found in mod. Mandaic in three forms: before the nouns **m(u)-**, or **mn** (the first being phonetic, the second etymological), before pers. suffixes **min-** (as in the classical). 2. **br** *bar* "son" has still preserved the original defective written form, but it can be replaced by the forms *eber*,

³⁵ MG, p. 105: 14f.

³⁶ MG § 11.

eben written either defectively or *plene* [(*)*br*, (*)*bn*, or '*bir*, '*bin*]. *br* could also mean *bar*, *ber* "my son" in the classical. In mod. Mandaic this form is consistently replaced by *brai ebre*. 3. Cl. *pt pæθ* "daughter" disappeared from mod. usage, being consistently replaced by *brat bərat* (st. emph. *brata bə-rattā*). 4. *rba*, *rbia* (only exceptionally *raba*) *rabbā*, *rabbī* "great" (sg. and pl.), but in the st. abs. always *rab*, still follows the cl. rule. Fem. *rabta*, *rabtia* and *rapta*, *raptia* is always written *plene*; the abstr. noun *rabuta* is usually written *plene* and only exceptionally defectively. 5. Cl. *hiia heyyi* = Syr. *ḥayyē* "Life" is used in mod. Mandaic only in the stereotyped religious formula *bišmi-ṭ-heyyi u-bišmi-ṭ-mandā-ṭ-heyyi* (§ 5). Cl. *mia meyyā* "water" was replaced by mod. *mina mēnā* (cf. Zotb. 228 b: 30, 229 b/2nd text: 6; Gl. 153: 13 *mina* — *aqua* — Ar. *mā'* — P. *āb*), *maina* (AM 49:12, 131:14).

The proclitics *u*, *b* and *l* can hardly be quoted as examples of *scriptio defectiva*, since *u* is pronounced *u* (§ 12c), and *b* and *l* (*ab læθlī menda* and *al læθlī menda*, §§ 2, 8 b) are regularly pronounced *ab*, *eb* and *al*, *el*, and not *be*, *le*, as Nöldeke expected³⁷. His examples³⁸ are pronounced as follows: *badbar*, var. *bidbar abedβar* "in the desert", *balbab*, varr. *bilbab*, *blbab abelbāb* "in my heart" (not like Syr. *ba-lbāb*); *badmu*, *bdmu abadmū* "like" (not like Syr. *ba-dmū*); *librḥ elebrī* "to his son" etc. According to this principle of Mand. spelling, the forms *brpilia* "in the clouds", *brqba* "in Scorpio" etc, quoted by Nöldeke³⁹, are not surprising, but as good as *barpilia*, *barqba*, since in both cases they are pronounced *abarpīlī*, *abarqoβa* etc. Nöldeke himself rightly doubted his solution of this problem⁴⁰, suspecting that in the forms with *ba-*, *la-* the vowel belonged rather to the noun than to the preposition. The pronunciation of these proclitics as *ab*, *eb* and *al*, *el* is confirmed by such writings as *abmambugia ebmambūyī* "in the ritual drinks" etc⁴¹, and esp. by the frequent confusion between *l* = 𐤋 and *l* = 𐤌, both being pronounced *el*. About the mod. pronunciation cf. § 12c.

There are two more short words occurring consistently in *scriptio defectiva*, which were omitted in Nöldeke's enumeration: 1. *kd kəθ* "when", "as" "like" (§ 23 b), continuing its life in two slightly different forms: *kt kəθ* and *ki ke* (§§ 5, 113 b); 2. *kma kemmā*, mod. also *km kem* (analogy of the st.

³⁷ MG, p. 10: 18.

³⁸ Ibid. (preceding lines).

³⁹ Ibid., p. 11: 7 ff.

⁴⁰ Cf. ibid., p. 11 n. 1.

⁴¹ Ibid., p. 25: ult.

abs.) “how?”. Both words are very frequent in mod. Mandaic, and are always written defectively: **kt km** *keθ kem* “how much?”, **kmia kipdak** *kemye kesday* “how are you?”. About ***umbra umbara** cf. § 23a.

§ 15. The prepositions **b** and **l**, used either proclitically before nouns or enclitically after verbs, are always written together with the word concerned. The conjunction **u u** “and” as well as the particle **q, qa, qi q, qə, qa** (used to introduce the participial present, and in mod. Mandaic also as preposition “in”, “to”, §§ 12c, 184a) are always proclitic. The preposition **m-** *mə-* “from”, used in mod. Mandaic instead of the cl. **mn** *men* (§§ 12c, 14b1, 26b) is also used proclitically and written together with the following noun.

The postpositional personal pronouns of the participial present are written together with the participle: **napiqna, q(a/i)napiqna** *nāfeqnā, qanāfeqnā*, differently from Syr. *nāpiq 'nā*; **napiqit, q(a/i)napiqit** *nāfet, qanāfet*, differently from Syr. *nāpiq '(n)t*.

§ 16. The Mandaic alphabet with the *scriptio plena* represents the best Semitic script. The circumstance that the double consonants (§ 7) as well as the length of vowels (§ 9) are not indicated loses its weight after a study of the structure of the Mandaic word (§§ 97f) and of the euphonic rules (§§ 101f). Considering many facultative pronunciations as to the vocal timbre (§§ 63ff), it would be difficult to invent a more proper way of indicating the vowel sounds than the Mandaic *halqa, aksa, -ūšenna*, including and conveying impartially all the possibilities.

As to consonantal letters, a more consistent use of the diacritical dots (§ 6), would facilitate the reading. However, in the case of the letter **š**, occurring as *š* only in foreign words (except the Mand. *ešša* “nine”, § 12a), it is not difficult to determine in which cases it represents *š*, and in which *š̄, ṧ, š̈* (the last being extremely rare). In the same way, the letters **h** *h, k* *χ* and **p** *f* in Arabic and Persian words are easily recognizable, even if they are written without diacritical dots. The dots are used more consistently to indicate the Ar. *d, z, ḏ* with **ḏ** and **ḏ̇**.

There is a greater difficulty in the case of the letters of the *begedkefat* in original Mand. words, whose aspiration is not indicated. But in the case of these consonants there are also many facultative pronunciations (§ 20), so that the omitting of the diacritical dots seems to be more proper to include

and convey the variants of pronunciation. In mod. Mandaic, the aspirated **b β** is sometimes written phonetically as **u**. Although this writing seems to be odd in such cases as **uada** for the etymological **bada** *βāda* "work", it may be found helpful in words, in which the aspiration is distinctive: **babai** *βāβe*
5 "my door" and **bauai** *bāwe* "my father" (instead of **babai** to avoid homographical confusion with the former, § 20 **b**).

The Mand. script has the possibility of a relatively good phonetic writing. The fact that the Mandaeans never took advantage of all these possibilities with a greater consistency, proves that they really were not in need of it. Nevertheless, this script highly exceeds the expectations, which other Semitic
10 people had from their alphabets.

II. Phonetics

A. CLASSIFICATION OF PHONEMES

§ 17. The original twenty two Aramaic consonantal phonemes were reduced in cl. Mandaic by the vanishing of gutturals, of which only *b* remained, to the number of nineteen. Six of them (*begadkefat*) have either plosive or fricative pronunciation, a variation which was originally combinatory but has later often become facultative (§ 20). 5

Vernacular Mandaic, however, has a complicated phonetic system of thirty two consonants, seven of which (*z, d, c, g, z, h* and *'*) occur only in foreign words, while the interdental *t* and *d*, the velar *h* (**k**) and *g* (**g**) and the labio-dental fricative *f* of Arabic (and partly also Persian) loan-words are practically identical with the corresponding aspirated phonemes of the *begadkefat*. 10

The representation of this complicated phonetic system would require two diagrams: one for the classical and another for the modern language. In order to facilitate the comparison, I have represented this state in one diagram by putting all supplementary mod. Mandaic phonemes in brackets. So their separation from the original classical phonemes will cause no difficulty. 15

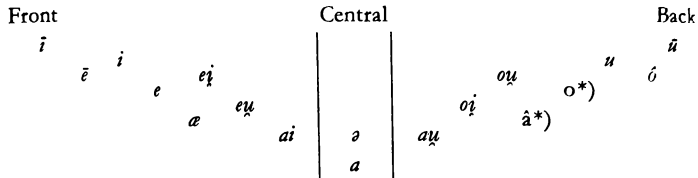
There are 12 vowels and 6 diphthongs in mod. Mandaic. All of them are represented also by the traditional pronunciation of the classical language.

a) Consonants:

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Inter-dental	Coronal alveolar	Dorsal alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Laryngeal	Pharyngeal
Plosive	<i>b p</i>			<i>d t</i>	(<i>d t</i>)	<i>g k</i>	<i>q</i>	*	
Nasal	<i>m</i>			<i>n</i>					
Lateral				<i>l</i>					
Fricative		<i>β f</i>	<i>ð ð</i>	<i>r</i> <i>z s</i> (<i>z</i>) <i>s</i>	(<i>z</i>) <i>s</i>		<i>γ χ</i>		
Affricate						(<i>g c</i>)		<i>h</i>	(<i>h</i> <i>'</i>)
Semivowel	<i>w</i>					<i>y</i>			

*) The glottal plosive disappeared from Mandaic (§§ 6, 18, 19). 20

b) Vowels and Diphthongs:



*) Both *o* and *ā* are often replaced by a short back *â* (§ 66b).

§ 18. The above diagrams represent the full phonetic inventory of Mandaic with the original and supplementary phonemes. The secondary articulations, shown in brackets, occur almost exclusively in borrowed Arabic and Persian words. The occurrence of *ð* as a result of the aspiration of *d* is extremely rare, the rarest among the letters of the *begadkefat* (§ 20d), so that practically it occurs only in Arabic words, where it represents *ḍ*. The affricate *ǧ* (: *ḡ*) occurs only in Arabic and Persian words; the phonemes *č* and *ž* (again *ḡ*) only in Persian words, the only Mandaic word with *č* being *ečča* (§ 12). The phoneme *ž* is usually replaced by the affricate *ǧ*. The pharyngals occur exclusively in Arabic loanwords. The original Semitic voiced laryngal, i. e. the glottal plosive, early disappeared from Mandaic, and was not fully restored even in borrowed Arabic words (§ 6). The dorsal alveolar phonemes *ḍ* and *ḏ* (: *ḏ*) occur only in Arabic words.

According to the phonetic statistics of Mandaic, these phonemes do not represent altogether more than 1% of the total frequency of modern Mandaic phonemes. The phonemes *f*, *θ*, *γ* and *χ*, representing the aspirated *p*, *t*, *g* and *k* as well as the labio-dental *f*, the interdental *t̪* and the velars *g* and *h*, form statistically more than 3% of total frequency.

§ 19. The complete series of voiced and unvoiced phonemes are represented in the line of the plosives by the bilabials (*b*, *p*), coronal alveolars (*d*, *t*); in the line of the fricatives by the labio-dentals (*β*, *f*), coronal alveolars (*z*, *s*), velars (*γ* *χ*) and the supplementary pharyngal series (*h*, *ʕ*); in the supplementary line of the affricates by the (pre)palatals (*ǧ*, *č*); in the line of the fricatives by the interdentalals (*ð*, *θ*). The voiced was supplementarily completed in the series of the coronal alveolars by *ž* as a counterpart of the unvoiced *š*, and

in the series of the dorsal alveolars, where the supplementary z (§ 18) became a voiced counterpart of \mathfrak{z} . As for the dorsal alveolar plosive \mathfrak{t} and the laryngal fricative h , they have no exact voiced counterparts. \mathfrak{d} \mathfrak{d} is sometimes pronounced as a plosive, but more frequently as a lateral and even as a fricative (z); its multiple character excludes it from localization; its localization as a dorsal alveolar plosive, proposed above (§ 17), represents a mere formal attempt to complete the dorsal alveolar \mathfrak{t} by an approximate voiced counterpart. The voiced counterpart of the laryngal fricative h , the glottal plosive, is avoided in Mandaic even in borrowed Arabic words.

B. BEGADKEFAT

§ 20. All non-emphatic plosives (*b, g, d, k, p, t*) can be aspirated as well as in other Aramaic dialects and in Hebrew masoretic pronunciation. The aspirates originally were combinatory variants of the plosives as in Hebrew, or at least in Syriac. But the actual traditional and colloquial pronunciations hardly represent the original state. Considering the actual pronunciation of the phonemes of the *begadkefat*, it is extremely hard to establish any fixed rules: the plosives can be aspirated or not in any position; in many cases, we encounter just the contrary of what we should expect; there are instances of differences in aspiration between the traditional and colloquial as well as between individual pronunciations; in some cases the aspiration is merely facultative, in others it is really distinctive. Contrary to Hebrew and Syriac rules, the plosives are often aspirated at the beginning of words, or in consonantal groups where the phoneme of the *begadkefat* is in the second place, and even in such cases, where, according to the rules of the Semitic morphology, the reduplication would be expected. In the case of consonantal groups, resulting from the syncope of a short vowel or a *šwa mobile*, which originally separated the two consonants, the aspiration existed already in cl. Syriac (cf. *dabβā* < *dabāβā*; *šḫīntā* < *šəḫīntā* etc). In such cases, Mandaic has the same pronunciation: **dahba** *dabβā* “gold”, **škinta** *šḫentā* “celestial dwelling” etc, but the analogy of these cases was extended to many original consonantal groups.

b, used as a preposition, is always plosive: cl. **bmambugia**, **abmambugia** *ebmambūyī* “in the ritual drinks” (lit. “fountains”), **bnura** *bənūra* “in” or “with fire”, **bmiša** *bəmešša* “in” or “with ritual ointment”, **bmšihā** *bemšihā* “in Christ”, **bla**, **abla** *abla*, *ebla* “without”, **bgu** *ebgu* “inside” etc.

Initial **b** is, as a rule, pronounced as plosive: **bahima** *babīma* “donkey”, **bahram**, **bahran**, **bihran** *Behrām*, *Behrān* (from P. *Werethragma*¹, pronounced as mod. P. *bahrām*). This rule is observed in all verbal forms and derivatives of the roots Iae **b**: mod. BGS “to stay”, “to wait”, BDQ “to put”, BDR “to scatter”, BHR “to choose”, BHṬ “to be ashamed” etc. Similarly in P. and Ar. loan-words: **bauar** = P. *bāwār* “belief”, **bazar** = P. *bāzār*, **bhar**, **abhar** *bahār*, *abbār* “spring”, **balgama** (AM 286: 28) *balγama* “pituite”, “phlegm”

¹ Justi, s. v.

(Gr. φλέγμα by the intermediary of Ar. *balgām*, not by that of Syr. *plegmā*), **balaiat** (AM 281: 24) *bālāyat*, *bāliyyat* = Ar. *balāyat(um)*, *baliyyat(um)* “misfortune”, **balda** (AM 202: 12, 205: 13) *bālda* = Ar. *balad* “land” (from ΠΑΛΑΤΙΟΝ, *palatium*)² etc. So, of course, in original Mand. words: **bit**, **baita** *bēṭ*, *bēṭa* “house”, **bra**, (**a**/'**bra**) (*e*)**bra** “son”, **bil**, **bila** *bel*, *bellā* “master”, “husband” and “the planet Bel (= Juppiter)” etc. Mod. **bada** *bāda* “work” does not contradict the rule, since the form results from cl. *(**u**)**bada** by aphaeresis (§§ 68 b, 87). In **baba** *βāβa* “door” a secondary aspiration of the first **b** has acquired a distinctive value, since the same form pronounced *bāβa* means “father”. This word drove out the cl. **ab**, **aba** *āβ*, *āβa*. Nöldeke³ considered this mod. word as borrowed from P. *bābā*. But how to explain the aspiration of the second **b**? A word borrowed from Persian should have preserved its original pronunciation (as it did in mod. Syr. *bābā*)!

Inner and final **b**:

b as second, or third radical is usually aspirated: ‘BD — **abad** *eβad* “he did”, “he made”, **bada**, **bada** *eβāda*, *βāda* “work”, cl. **mabada** *maβāda* “work”, cl. **mabda** *maβda* “doer”, **abda** *āβda* pt. “making”, *aβdā* “slave” etc; **ardban** *Ardoβān* Artabanus (Parthian king); **gbina** (= 𐤒𐤁𐤍, Syr. *gβīnā*) *gβīna* “eye-brow” (< *gāβīna*, cf. mod. H. 𐤒𐤁𐤍, Ar. *ǧābin* “forehead”); DBR — **dbar** *dāβar* “he led” (often written phonetically **duar** in mod. Mandaic, cf. Gl. 57: 13—14, **aduar**, **adbar** — Ar. *ǧarā(y)* — *fluere* — P. *ǧārī šud*); **dinba** *denβa* “end”, “tail” (< 𐤍𐤒𐤁𐤁 < *dānāβa*, cf. H. 𐤍𐤒𐤁, Ar. *danāb*), but its st. abs. **dnab**, in which **b** immediately follows a vowel, is pronounced by the same informant (Sh. Abd.) *ednāb*; KDB — **kdab** *kaḏoβ* “he wrote”, **kdab**, **kdaba** *kedāβ*, *kaḏāβa* “book” (but **ktib** “is written” is pronounced by Sh. Abdullah *ekṭeβ*, just the contrary of what one would normally expect, § 34 end); **kukba** “star” is pronounced *koχba* by Sh. Abdullah in spite of the colloquial *koχβa*; **ṭab**, **ṭaba** *ṭāβ*, *ṭāβa* “good” (but fem. **ṭabta** *ṭāβṭa* (Sh. Abd.); **rab**, **rba** “great” is pronounced correctly with a plosive *rab*, *rabbā* (classical fem. **rabtia** was pronounced *rabiī* by the late Sh. Yarolla Mandowī), but the modern fem. **rapt(i)a** *raβta*, *rafiī* (with assimilation of *b* to the unvoiced *t*) proves that *b* should have been aspirated before *t*. It should be the same with **ṭabta** in spite of Sh. Abdullah’s pronunciation given above. In th root ṢBA “to baptize”, so important in the religion of this baptist sect, all Mandaic

² Fränkel, p. 28.

³ MG p. 157 n. 1.

pronounce an aspirate β : $\text{ṣba } \text{ṣobā}$ “he baptised”, $\text{maṣbana } \text{maṣbāna}$ “baptiser”, $\text{maṣbuta } \text{maṣbetta}$ “baptism”⁴. In the rt. ŠBQ — $\text{ṣbaq } \text{ṣaṣaq}$ “he left”, YHB (= mod. AHB) — ‘ $\text{hab } \text{ehaḥ}$ “he gave” I heard no facultative pronunciation with a plosive b .

- 5 In mod. Mandaic, b as 3rd rad. regularly becomes f before t of the personal endings, or of the fem. ending: ahaft “thou hast given”, ahafton “you gave”, qabestonne “you give me”, rafta, raftī “magna” (above) etc.

Sh. Abdullah gave me the pronunciation of b as plosive in many cases, where all other Aramaic dialects and even vernacular Mandaic have an aspirated β . Their enumeration would take much time and space, but they are hardly worth mentioning.

A double b ought to be pronounced as plosive: cl. zabia (Gy 28: 15 etc), zibia (Gs 17: 10) prob. a priestly class (= Akk. zabbu)⁵, zibia (Jb. 26: 11, 82: 4, 140: 12) prob. a pagan institution⁶ are pronounced zabbī, zobbī , as well
15 as the frequent cl. zubia (Gy 37: 20) “streams” (from Akk. zābu) and zabia (Gy 333: 19) “wolves” (an older form of dibia), in which the reduplication is secondary. Since Mandaeans cared little for distinctive means but much more for ease of pronunciation, the original distinctive opposition “non-geminated/geminated” was easily neutralized, and the original homogram
20 became a homonym. Further $\text{liba } \text{lebba}$ “heart” (with an etymological double b), $\text{sab, saba } \text{sab, sabbā}$ “old man” (analogy of rab, rabbā), but also $\text{sibuta } \text{sibūḥa}$ “old age” (where the secondary euphonic reduplication was hindered by the following long vowel, § 102).

Since the original reduplication of the 2nd rad. in *nomina agentis* of the form
25 $\text{fa}^{\text{a}}\text{āl}$ (§ 129a) vanished (cf. s. **k**), b as second radical in these nouns is always aspirated. The only exception is $\text{gabara } \text{gabāra}$ “giant, valiant”.

In roots II **b**, the opposition b/β is distinctive:

ZBN — pe. $\text{zban } \text{zāḥan}$ “he bought”, pa. $\text{zabin } \text{zāḥben}$ “he sold”, $\text{mizban } \text{umizabunia } \text{mizḥan}$ (inf. pe.) umizab(b)ānī (inf. pa.) “buying and selling”; the

⁴ Brandt, ERE, article: Mandaeans, p. 387, § 24, says: “The odd pronunciation given by Siouffi, maṣouatta , could be approximately correct only for the pl. form of the noun” The pl. is, however, $\text{maṣbutiata } \text{maṣbetyāḥa}$, as if t belonged to the root (MG, p. 480: Addenda to pp. 167 & 171: 15). The word was probably considered so sacred that the normal pl. maṣḥāḥa , which would disturb its original structure, was avoided. In mod. Mandaic, even the pl. $\text{maṣbettāna, maṣbettāni}$ is used.

⁵ Ginza, p. 29 n. 5, referring to Delitzsch, Ass. Handwörterbuch 250a.

⁶ Jb. II, p. 33 n. 2.

same graphical form **zabnit** can be either *zaβnit* (pa.) “I bought” or *zabnit* (pa.) “I sold”; **zabanta**: *zaβantā* “buying”/|*zabantā* “selling”.

I was struck by Sh. Abdullah’s pronunciation of LBŠ “to clothe” and its derivatives with a plosive *b*: **lbuša** *elbūša* “garment”, **malbuša** *malbūša* id. etc. The late Sh. Yarolla Mandowī from Sūq-esh-Shuyūkh pronounced 5 these forms with an aspirated *β*, as they are pronounced in Syriac. So did Šābūrī in his vernacular: *lβbaš* “he clothed”, *lβbūša* “clothes”. When I asked him how is it possible that Sh. Abdullah pronounces these forms with a plosive *b*, he gave me this satisfactory solution: “We understand both”. It means 10 in our terms: Either pronunciation, plosive or aspirated, is facultative so far as they are not distinctive. But even distinctive oppositions of aspiration are sometimes neutralized, since Mandaicans are not afraid of homonyms. The only real obstacle to aspiration is combinatory: the reduplication. But as will be shown esp. s. **k**, in some cases the original reduplication disappeared, and the plosive became aspirated; on the other hand, many originally aspirated 15 sounds were secondarily doubled, and are pronounced as plosives.

These observations will serve to guide us in considering the following phonemes of the *begadkefat*.

Initial **g** is not aspirated: **gabra** *gaβrā* “man”, **gauza** *gowāza* “stick”, **gauḥ** *gauwī*, st. cstr. **gu** *gu*, with prep. **bgu** *ebgu* “inside”, “into”, **gauna** 20 *gawna* “colour”, “kind” etc.

The aspiration of a medial **g** is free: **rgaz**, **argaz** *aryaz* “he was angry”, **mambuga** *mambūya* “ritual drink”, **pagra** *paγrā* “body”. Without aspiration: **anguza** *angūza* “nut” (P., § 24), **gargla**, **girgla** *gargalā* “wheel” (although the consonantal group is exactly the same as in **rgaz**); cl. **dgur** *edgūr* 25 “troop”, “crowd”, “heap”; mod. *ezgā* “he went”; **sigudta**, **sugudta** *sugudḥa* “worship” etc.

The cl. **lgaṭ**, **lgiṭ** “he took”, pronounced traditionally *elγaṭ* and even *elqat* (= *ḅṗṗ?*, Syr. *lqat*), has become *leḡaṭ* in mod. Mandaic (§ 42).

An aspirated **g** before **t** equals an aspirated **k** *χ* in the same position, cf. 30 **hargta** and **har(a)kta**, both pronounced *haraxta* (§ 44a), and **raktana** *raḡtāna* (§ 20t).

d is aspirated very rarely in actual pronunciation (§ 18), contrary to its unvoiced counterpart **t**, which is aspirated very frequently. I know no example of the aspiration of this phoneme, except cl. **kd** *keḥḥ* “when”, “as” (pronoun- 35 ced *keḥḥ* in mod. Mandaic, § 5).

⁷ Persian, cf. MG 152: 4.

k. Initial **k** is, as a rule, not aspirated: *koχba* (Sh. Abd.), *koχβa* (colloquial 33:27f., **kdab**, **kdaba** *kedāβ*, *kedāβa* “book”, **kšira** *kešira* “diligent”, **kušta** *kušta* “truth”, *kešīta* “true” etc. Cl. **kitun** *kītūn* “tunic” has the same plosive as **kitna** *kītna* “veil” (both from Akk. *kītinnū* “linen”; the former may then not come from $\chi\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$ in spite of the same vocalization). The pronunciation of **kšaša**⁸ “touching”, “exploring” as $\chi\acute{s}\acute{a}\acute{s}a$ (§ 12a) astonished me. This mispronunciation might, have been influenced by Arabic, since the initial χ exists only in Ar. loanwords (cf. mod. **kašla** *kašla* “jewel” = Ar. *hašl*, *hašal*, **kišil** *xeḡel* = Ar. *haḡil* etc).

10 A medial and final **k** is aspirated after vowels and a *šwa mobile* as well as in secondary consonantal groups (after the vanishing of the *šwa mobile*): **AKL** — **akal** *aχal* “he ate”, act. pt. **akil** *āχel* “he eats”, imperat. **akul** *oχel* “eat!”, **BKA** — **bka** *boχā* “he wept”, act. pt. **bakia** *bāχī* “he weeps” etc; cl. **akuat** *aχwāθ* “like”; **bukra** *boχra* “first-born”; **dakia** *daχyā* “clean”; 15 **zakia** *zaχyā* “victorious”; **hšuka** *ehšūχā* “darkness”; **kukba** *koχba*, *koχβa* (above); **sakla** *sāχla* “fool”; **malaka** *malāχa* “angel”; (**a**)**škinta** (*e*)*šχentā* (<*šəχentā*, § 12a); mod. *šomya* “onion” (st. abs. *šomaχ*) etc. But even in these positions, **k** is often pronounced as plosive: **kuma** *okūma* “black”, **bunka** *bonka*⁹ (= mod. *bonga* = P. *bungāh*) “foundation”, **burka** *borka* “knee”, 20 **kankuza** *kankūza* “chin” etc. It seems that a preceding liquid hinders the aspiration of **k**, in spite of **urka** *orχa* “length”, since in this case the aspiration is distinctive: mod. *orka* means “with her”, cf. **urkh** *orχī* “his length”/ *orkī* “with him”. Therefore, in *borka*, *orkī* etc the plosive can be considered as combinatory, while in *orχī* “his length” the aspiration is distinctive.

25 Further combinatory rules:

k before **t** is always aspirated; a double **k** is always plosive: **duk**, **dukta**, **dukia** *dok*, *doχta*, *dokkī* “place”, “the place” (cl.), “a place” (mod. sg., § 154b), **dakia** *daχyā* “clean” — *dakēi* (pa.) “he cleaned”, or imperat. “clean!”, but **dakita** “*pura*” is pronounced *dekeyθa* (the reduplication being prevented by 30 the following diphthong, § 102); **mika** *mikkā* “mild”, “meek” has a secondary pronunciation instead of the original *mīχā*, but fem. **mikta** has the original *meχta* (s. t); **zakia** *zaχyā* “victorious” — *zakēi* “he overcame” or “gave victory”; **zakuta** *zakūθa* “victory” is pronounced with a plosive like

⁸ From ψ ψ 1 (Ar. *ḡassa*), MG, p. 41: 6.

⁹ Middle Persian word with the ending *k*, pron. as in Persian, cf. MG, p. XXXI and 379 n. 3.

šibūḏa (above s. **b**, since the reduplication is hindered combinatorily by the following long *ū* (§ 102).

The **k** is always aspirated in the *nomina agentis* of the form *faʿʿāl*, as was already mentioned above s. **b**, since no trace of the original reduplication remained. I was struck by Šābūrī's pronunciation of **nakasa** "slaughterer" as *naχāsa*, and I concluded that it must certainly be wrong. After further thought, my doubts were lessened: Šābūrī, being himself a **nakasa** of the Mandaean community in Ahwāz, would certainly know how to pronounce his own title. My doubts were completely removed when I heard the consistent pronunciation of other *faʿʿāl*-forms with the aspirated 2nd rad., esp. the very frequent **akala** *aχāla* "glutton".

k of the suffixes of the 2nd p. sg. and pl. is always aspirated: masc. sg. **-ak** *-aχ*, fem. sg. **-ik** *-eχ*, masc. pl. **-kun** *-χon*, fem. pl. **-kin** *-χen*.

p. Initial **p** is sometimes aspirated in both the traditional and the colloquial pronunciation: **padana**, **p(u)dana** *fadāna* "plough", **piqa** *fīqā* "split", **patira** *faḏīra* "unleavened bread", and esp. in foreign names of P. and Ar. origin: **paruk** *Farroχ* (P.), **purat** *Fārāt* (= Ar. *furāt* "Euphrates" etc. In mod. Mandaic the aspiration in this position has become more frequent under foreign influences: **punida** *fonīda* "fish"¹⁰, **puta** *fotta* "forehead", **puqut**, **puquta** *foqot*, *foqottā* "neck" (cf. **pqutai**, § 106a 1 & 3 sg, and the colloquial metaphor *foqot elīma* "hero", "strong man", formed in the way of P. *gərden kolofit*), *farwābaχ* "thank you", exactly like in Ar. words beginning with *f*.

Otherwise, a plosive *p* is frequent in the same position: **paraha** *parāba* "money", **paršupa** *paršōfa* = πρῶσωπον, **puqḏania**, **pugḏania** *puḏāni* "commands", **pruḏta** (and varr.) *p(ə)ruḏtā* "split" etc.

¹⁰ This common vernacular name for "fish" may go back to Aram. כַּיִתָּא, var. כּוֹיִתָּא (suggested by Prof. F. Rosenthal by letter). The variant might then represent a phonetic orthography. As a loan-word in masculine form *bⁿ-n-y* it passed also into Arabic (cf. Fränkel, p. 122). The transition of its initial *b* to *f* in Mandaic would suggest an original pronunciation with an aspirated *b* (: Aram. *βoniḏa* > **fonīḏa* > Mand. *fonīda*?). Or was the Mand. word influenced by another Aram. fish-name כּוֹיִתָּא? (About both Aram. names cf. Löw, *Aramäische Fischnamen*, *Orientalische Studien* Th. Nöldeke ... gewidmet, p. 551 ff.). Another Mand. fish-name **brunda** (Jb. 148: 9) of obscure etymology (and completely misunderstood by Lidzbarski, Jb. II, p. 151 n. 2) is similarly pronounced with an initial unvoiced (though not aspirated) *p* as *prunda*. Although the etymology of all three quoted fish-names is uncertain, their phonetic similarities are noteworthy, as all three begin with a labial, which has a tendency of becoming unvoiced. (The cl. fish-name *nuna* is rarely used in mod. Mandaic, where it occurs almost exclusively in its cl. plural-form *nunia* as the name of the Zodiacal sign "Pisces").

The aspiration of the medial or final **p** after a vowel or before *t* is combinatory; in all other cases, it seems to be facultative: **aṭirpa aṭarfa** “foliage”; **ganpa genpā** “wing”; **gap ugapan** *Gāf u Gāfan* (two giants of Darkness, G_Y 139: 7); **dap daf** “tambourine” (= Ar. *daff*); **haspa hasfa** “clay”, “vessel” 5 (< **𐩦𐩣𐩦**); **kupna kofnā** “hunger”, **kipa kifā** “bank” and “bent” (pass. pt.), **sipta sefta** “lip”, pl. **ṣpihata eṣfihāṭa** “lips”, **aspar, ṣpar asfar** “book”, **zipa zifā** “lie”, **zinipta zenefsta** “tail”, **gupna gufnā** “vine”, **harup, harupa, harupta hārāf, harūfa, harofsta** “sharp”, “early” etc.

The opposition of aspiration could be considered as distinctive in the 10 verbs II **p** in pe. and pa.: KPR “to deny” — pe. **kpar kaṣar**, but **kapir** can be either act. pt. pe. *kāfer* or 3rd p. sg. pa. *kapper*.

Further insistence on the establishing of any definite rules as to the distinctive function of the opposition of aspiration seems to be useless for the reason that in Mandaic an aspirated *f* as well as an aspirated *ṭ* (see below 15 s. **t**) can be reduplicated as well as the Ar. labiodental *f* and the interdental *ṭ*. The verb NPQ “to go out” keeps an aspirated *f* in all forms, even in af. after the reduplication, which is not euphonic but resulting from the assimilation of *n* to **p** and gives the group *pp* in other Aramaic dialects. So we hear in af. absolutely the same *f* as in pe.: **apiq affeq** “he brought out”, **apqat aṣqat** 20 (< *aṣqat* < *appaqat*) “she brought out”, **apiqt affeqt** “thou hast brought out”, **apqit aṣqit** “I brought out” etc, pres. **qmapiq qamaffeq** “he brings out”, **qmapqa qamāṣqa** “she brings out” etc (§ 211 b). The *nomen actionis* af. **mapaqta** “exit” is pronounced *mafaqta* (< *mappaqta*).

t is aspirated very frequently, but in most cases its aspiration seems to be 25 merely facultative and never distinctive. The fem. ending **-ta** is aspirated facultatively when preceded by a consonant (in sg.), combinatorily when preceded by a vowel (always in pl., sometimes in sg.). When the consonant preceding **t** is one of the phonemes of the *begadkefat*, there are two possibilities: either the preceding phoneme remains plosive and **t** is aspirated: **rabta rabṭa** 30 “magna”, **ṭabta ṭabṭa** “bona” (in Sh. Abdullah’s pronunciation¹¹), or the *t* of the fem. ending remains plosive and the preceding phoneme is aspirated and changed to an unvoiced fricative (assimilation of sonority): **dukta doḫta** “place”, **rapta raṣta** “magna”. The latter became a rule in mod. Mandaic (cf. Labials, § 30), where the groups *ft* and *ḫt* are especially favoured. The cl. 35 ending of abstract nouns **-uta -ūṭa** became **-ukta -oḫta**: **ṣihianukta ṣebyānoḫta**

¹¹ But the late Sh. Yarolla Mandowī from Süq-~~eah~~-Shuyukh pronounced **rabtia rabti**.

“rule(rship)” = P. *pādiśāhī*¹², **ganbukta** *genβoxta* “theft”, **šburukta** *šboroxta* “life”, **gairukta** *geyroxta* “adultery”, and even **mukta** *moxta* “death” (inst. of cl. *muta*). This process also affects the verbal forms of MUT, when the personal ending begins with *t*: *meχtat* “she died”, *meχtīt* “I died”, but **χ** is not inserted when the last radical is followed by a single *t* in *medt* “thou hast died”, the analogy of which is followed by *medton* “ye died”. The last two forms would then correspond to the classical written with a double *t* (§ 7). The mod. feminine of the pass. pt. of MUT: **mikta** *meχtā* “*mortua*” has become homonymous with the original fem. of the pass. pt. of MKK: **mikta** *meχta* “*blanda*”, “*placida*”.

Even an etymological *g* becomes **χ** before *t*: cl. **hargta** (varr. **harkta**, **harakta**) *haraxta* “crookedness”¹³, **raktana** (rt. RGG, Syr. *reglānā*) *raxtāna* “lustful”. In this position (before *t*) *g:χ = b:f*.

Here are some examples of Sh. Abdullah’s pronunciation: **abatur** *Aβāθār* (a celestial being who weighs souls after death¹⁴); cl. **akuat** *aχwāθ* “like”; **asuta uzakuta** *ašūθa u zakūθa* “health and victory”, **r(a)buta** *rabūθa* “greatness”, **ṭabuta** *ṭāβūθa* “goodness” and “ritual food”; **binta** *bentā*, *benθā* “building”; **škinta** *šxentā*, *šxenθā* “celestial dwelling”; **binat** *bīnāθ* “between”; **bnat**, **bnata** *ebnāθ*, *ebnāθa* “daughters”; **gangarata** *gəngarāθa* (pl.) “throat”; cl. **hadtia** *hadθī*, **haditia** *hadeyθī*, but **hatia** *hātī* (sic), although all three mean the same “new”¹⁵; cl. **kinta** *kindā* “veil”, “cover”, “community”; **(I)ʿit**, **(I)aiit**, **(I)īθ**, **(I)āyeθ** “there is (not)”; **mahdurta** *mahdurta* “circle”, **mahdurniata** (varr. **mahduruniata**, **mahdriniata**) *mahdurniāθa* “whirls”; cl. **mahzita** *mahzeyθā* “mirror”; **zinipta** *zenefθa* “tail”; af. of cl. YTB: **autib otteb** (with contraction of the diphthong and secondary reduplication of *t*, §§ 10a, 102); **mutba** *motba* “seat”; **tutba** *totba* “stranger” (Syr. *tawtābā*) and “shirt” (= Targ.-Talm. תַּחֲבוּשׁוֹת); **mapaqta** *masaqta* “exit”; **mumata** *mūmāθa* “blemishes”; **marta** *mārθa* “mistress” (but mod. *mārta*); **nišimta**, pl. **nišmata** *nešemθa*, pl. *nišmāθa* “soul(s)”; **si/ugudta** *sugudθa* “worship”, **hatamta** *hadamta* “sealing”.

¹² MG 78: 2.

¹³ Rather from HRG (< 𐤆𐤏𐤁 = Ar. *hariḡa*) than from HRK = Ar. *ḥaraka* (Nöldeke, MG 40: 13).

¹⁴ The etymology of the name is obscure. Popularly explained as **aba d-utria** “father of the uthras”, cf. Dict. 2 a.

¹⁵ Gl. 69: 5 indicates both the plosive and the aspirate pronunciation: **htai**, **hta** (sic) — Ar. *ḡadid* — *novus* — P. *naw*, so that both the plosive and the aspirated pronunciation are to be considered as facultative.

A reduplicated **t** can maintain the aspiration: mod. ***ta** *eθθā* “woman” (cl. ***nta**, Syr. *a[n]tā*, Ar. *untā*[y])¹⁶. The verb ATA: **ata** *aθā* “he came” has a double *θ* in pa. **atia** *aθθī* “he brought” etc; in the present the reduplication is combinatorily suppressed before long endings *-ya*, *-inā*, *-etton* and *enni*:
 5 *q(ə)māθya* “she brings”, *q(ə)māθinā* “I bring” etc (but *qəmaθθī* “he brings”, § 214 ab).

t of personal endings is never aspirated, differently from Hebrew and Syriac, where it was combinatorily aspirated.

¹⁶ Both pronunciations *eθθā* and *enθā* existed facultatively side by side, cf. Gl. 28:12 **ata** — Ar. *imra'at(um)* — *mulier* — P. *zan* (p. 69:6 has the same form explained as Ar. *ḡāriyah* — *puella* — P. *kaniz*), but p. 31:11 has **anta** — Ar. *untā(y)* — *femina* — P. *māddab*.

C. LIQUIDS (*m, n, l, r*)¹⁷

§ 21. Mandaic has four liquids: two nasals *m* and *n*, one lateral *l*, and one fricative *r*. There is close relationship between the two nasal liquids (*m, n*) on the one hand and between the coronal alveolar (*l, r*) on the other. This relationship is proportional:

$$m:n = n:l = l:r,$$

but the middle couple are the most remarkable. While *n* becomes *m* by assimilation to the following voiced plosive bilabial *b*, and *r* becomes *l* by assimilation to the following lateral liquid, the transition from *n* to *l* and vice versa is in many cases completely free and spontaneous. A more exact diagram of these relationships would then be as follows:

<i>m</i> < <i>n</i>		<i>n</i> : <i>l</i>		<i>l</i> < <i>r</i>
compensatory		free		compensatory
distribution		va-		distribution
		riation		

§ 22. *n* > *m*. *M* is a combinatory variant of *n* before *b*. Examples of this partial assimilation of labialization, relatively frequent in the classical, were quoted by Nöldeke¹⁸. Some of them still occur in mod. Mandaic: **mambuga** *mambūḡa* “ritual drink”; **mbia**, **nbia** “grape”, both pronounced *embī*¹⁹; **gamba**, **ganba** *gamba* “side”, now used in the arabized form **šamba** *šamba* (= Ar. *šamb*); **šumbulta** *šombolṭa* “Spica”, “Virgo”. Here may be quoted also words of P. origin as *bustān-bān*, *zanbīl* etc, pronounced *bostāmbān*, *zambīl* and often written phonetically²⁰. P. *panbah* “cotton” is written **panba** in AM 199:14 with the P. orthography, but its pronunciation corresponds to P. *pambe*.

Verbs II **n** and III **b** are, as a rule, written with the etymological **nb** in all forms but pronounced with *-mb-* whenever those two phonemes meet together.

¹⁷ MG §§ 52—56, pp. 50—57.

¹⁸ Ibid. § 53, p. 50.

¹⁹ Driven out by mod. **guṭaiṭpa** *goṭeyfa* (cl. **guṭupta**).

²⁰ Cf. **bustambania** (var. **bustam bania** CP 235:13 = ŠQ 18:17) “gardeners” from *bustana* = P. *bostān* “garden, orchard” (Dict. 56b). About *zanbīl* cf. Additions.

In words, as **dinba denβa** “end”, “tail”, *n* was preserved by the aspiration of **b** (= β).

An initial *n* before *b* always remains, since in this position there was no original consonantal group: **nbaṭ Nabat** > **enbaṭ** (a genius), **nbiha**, ‘**nbiha nabīha** > **enbīha** “prophet” etc. The same rule is followed in the cl. denominative verb NBA: **anba nbihia** (Gy 222: 17) **anbā** (*e*)**nbihi** “he sent prophets”, **lamitanbia nbiha** (Gy 61: 7) **lamittanbī nabīha** “no prophet will appear”. Nöldeke²¹ explained the *n* of these forms by the denominative character of the verb. Moreover, the *n* could have been preserved in this case by fear of confu-
10 fusing this verb with another verb NMBA: **mnambin** (Gy 219: 11) **manambin** “they lament”. That such fear might have been justified appears from the fact that the verbs NBA and NMBA were occasionally confused: Nöldeke²² quotes **mitnambia** with a var. **mitnabia**; cf. further **mitnambia nbiha** (HG 104), which can mean only “he became a prophet”²³.

15 § 23. $m:b = \begin{matrix} n:d \\ n:z \end{matrix} (n:g)$. A consonant between two short vowels is, as a rule, doubled for euphonic reasons (§ 102). This rule seems to be very ancient in Mandaic, since in the classical in such cases the groups *bb*, *dd*, (*z*z), *gg* were dissimilated in *mb*, *nd*, (*nz*), *ng*. This dissimilation of double voiced consonants is attested already in Akkadian (cf. *munambu* “lamerter”, *inandin*
20 “he gives”) as well as in Aramaic dialects (cf. 𐤎𐤓𐤍 below) and even in Ethiopic (cf. *mahdar* > **mādar* > **maddar* > *mandar* “village”, **aḥad* > **ād* > **add* > *and* “one”) and Amharic (**wāz* > **wanz* > *wanz* “brook”)²⁴. The process was achieved at an early date, and the words concerned occur only in dissimilated forms. Later this phonetic tendency lost its original vigour.

25 a) *bb* > *mb*: **hambib hambeb** (< **habbib*) “he grew hot”; **hambil hambel** (< **habbil*) “he destroyed” and **hambalta** (< **habbalta*) “destruction”;

²¹ MG 239: 23 f.

²² MG 266: paen. f.

²³ In mod. Mandaic, neither of these verbs survives. At the time of the writing of the Gl., the verb NBA could still be used, cf. p. 47:5 **anbia** — Ar. *tanabbā*’ — *prophetare* — P. *paḡambar šud*. But in to-day’s vernacular, **anba nbiha** would be *peyāambar šadder*, and **mitanbia** would be *peyāambar tāmmā* (= P. *peyāambar šud*).

²⁴ Brockelmann, VG I, p. 67 (γ). Brockelmann did not indicate the secondary reduplication in the Ethiopic words, but he obviously supposed it.

šambibia (pl.) *šambīhī* “rays” (differently from Aram. and Syr. *š(a)ḥīḥā*)²⁵; **ambuba** (§ 141) “(reed-)pipe, flute” (= Ar. *anbūb* < Aram. and Syr. *abbūḥā*)²⁶; **qumba qomba** “curve, vault” (from H. קִבְּהָ = Ar. *qubbab*)²⁷; **‘umba umba** “bosom” (from Aram. and Syr. *‘ubbā*, Ar. *ḡubb*)²⁸; **zimbura(a)**, var. **zambura** *zambūr(a)* “bee”²⁹ (H. זִמְבֹּרָה, but Aram. זִמְבֹּרָא and זִמְבֹּרָא, Syr. only *debbōrā*, Ar. both *zumbūr* and *dabbūr*); cl. **mambarta** (< **mabbarta* < Aram. *ma‘bartā*) “ferry(-boat)”; cl. **hambaga** (< Syr. *habbāḡā*) “adversary” with an abstr. noun **hambaguta**; cl. verb **nambia nambī** “he lamented” (§ 22); **šumbilta** (§ 22) = H. שֻׁמְבִּילָת, Ar. *sunbulah*; **sumbilta** *sombolta* “ladder” (analogy of *šombolta*)³⁰. In **šambra** (Or. 15, fasc. 3, pp. 325 ff.)¹⁰ “rue” the pronunciation of the group *mbra* must have been the same as in **‘mbra** below (cf. Syr. *šabbārā*).

Examples of dissimilation of *mm* to *mb* are rare. One could quote **šumbaṭ** (AM 98:3) “hanging down”, if Nöldeke’s derivation from the root ŠMT³¹; is correct³². But I quote here with absolute certainty the word **‘mbra**, **‘umbra**¹⁵ pronounced *embara*, *umbara* (< אִמְרָא). Nöldeke was puzzled by the consistent *scriptio defectiva* of this word, and considered the apparent group *mbr* as a strange insertion of *b* between *m* and *r*, which is not rare in Indo-europæan languages but has no instance in Semitic³³. Since, however, the pronunciation is *embara* and not *embra*, there is simply a dissimilation of *mm* into *mb* between two short vowels, the supposed original pronunciation being **emmara*; *a* after *m* > *b* remained on the analogy of the st. abs. *embar* (< **emmar*). In the diminutive **‘mbrusia** (Jb. 44:8) *embrūsī* “lamb”, *b* remained on the analogy of *embara*. This word is one of the few examples, in which the traditional pronunciation is helpful.²⁰

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²⁵ This word occurs only in pl. in cl. Mandaic. In the vernacular it has been driven out by *zēhwā* (< cl. *ziua*).

²⁶ MG § 53, p. 5:19; Fränkel, p. 23 f.

²⁷ The Ar. form *qobba* is used in mod. Mandaic metaphorically for “elbow”, cf. Gl. 182:2 **qḅā** (sic) *cubitus, brachium*. Accordingly **quba d-kraia** (AM 89:16) is synonymus with **burka** “knee”.

²⁸ Even this common cl. word has been forgotten, and the vernacular uses P. *sine*.

²⁹ Still used, as there is no other word meaning “bee” either in Semitic or in Persian.

³⁰ But the pl. of this word is simply **siblia** (Gy 208:2 ff.), as in this form a secondary reduplication of *b* (§ 102) was not possible.

³¹ MG 77:3, 122 f.

³² Cf. E. S. Drower, *The Book of the Zodiac*, Appendix I, s. v. and our Dictionary 455 a.

³³ MG, p. 77:14 ff.

- b) The group *nd* is very popular in Mandaic. It is found already in the primordial notion of Mandaeism **manda** = Bibl. Aram. מַנְדָּא = γυνῶσις, personified as **manda d-hiia** = γυνῶσις ζωῆς. The form *manda* is the stranger in that it is the only form from the rt. YDA < דַּע' with a dissimilated *dd*, the cl. impf. **nida**, **tida** being pronounced *nidda*, *tidda*, and other words for knowledge **mada**, **madita madda**, *madyṯa*. Since the forms *manda* and *madda* exist side by side in cl. Mandaic, I find no other explanation for the maintaining of *n* in the former than an attempt to distinguish it as a prominent and fundamental religious notion from the latter. Apart from this word, the group *nd* (> *dd*) is found in the cl. **mindam** "something" and the frequent postcl. and mod. **minda**, **mindia menda**, *mendī* (§ 26a). As to **(a)kandia kandy(e)** "still", "yet" (frequent in mod. Mandaic), Nöldeke³⁴ suggested a relationship of this word with the Talm. אַכְנִי (: אַכְנִי). But the word could be explained more simply as a peculiar development of Aram. *kad* with an annexed *-ī*, cf. **kdia**³⁵, and even **kdi** (Morg. 250/87:23). Since **kḏ** is a defective writing of *kəḏ* (§ 14), **kdi(a)** must originally have been pronounced *kəddī*, from which there was only one step to *kəndī*. (The ending *-t* of the cl. form **(a)kandit**, which puzzled Nöldeke³⁶, may simply have been developed under the influence of the adverbial ending *iṯ* in order to change the conjunction to an adverb).
- Cl. pa. and ethpa. forms of verbs II **d** with dissimilation of *dd* to *nd* were quoted by Nöldeke³⁷ (cf. § 195 k). There are, however, many verbs II **d**, used frequently in pa. and ethpa., in which the middle radical doubled is not dissimilated: BDL — **badil baddel** "he (ex)changed", BDR — **badir badder** "he scattered", ethpa. (only cl.) **'tbadrun etbadrūn** "they were dispersed", cl. GDL "to weave", "to twist", used frequently in ethpa. **'tgadal etgaddal** "was twisted", ŠDR — **šadir šadder** "he sent" (one of the most frequent verbs in mod. Mandaic). This fact proves that the dissimilated forms belong to an earlier period of the language.

Nöldeke quoted further **gunda gonda** "army"³⁸ and **šlanda (a)šlanda** "skeleton"³⁹. There are two words of the same structure as *gonda* but of

³⁴ Ibid., p. 202:14.

³⁵ Ibid., p. 93:9.

³⁶ Ibid., p. 202:18.

³⁷ MG § 68, p. 75; cf. Brockelmann, VG I § 90f ε, p. 245.

³⁸ Ibid. Even the Ar. form of this word (*ḡund*) has been abandoned in mod. Mandaic and replaced by P. *laškar*, usually in a dissimilated form *raškal*.

³⁹ My informant Sābūrī was unable to give me a mod. Mand. word for "skeleton" and said simply *germāni*, i. e. "bones".

obscure etymology: **dunda donda** “penis” and **šinda šonda** “grain”, “seed”. The latter is consistently written with *ši aksa*, but the back vowel after the first consonant is proved by Syriac⁴⁰ as well as by the consistent colloquial pronunciation⁴¹. Because of etymological difficulties it is, however, difficult to decide whether the group *nd* in these two words is original or results from the dissimilation of an original *dd*. The dissimilation of *dd* into *nd* might have taken place in the Parsi loan-word **pandama** (< **paddan* < *padān*) “cloth put on mouth during the ritual”⁴².

The group *nd* became so popular that an additional *n* might sometimes have been inserted even in such cases where there was no reduplication, as in **sindmaia**, **sindumaiia** ATŠ no. 170) “the Sodomites”.

The couple of voiced alveolar fricatives *ʒʒ* were dissimilated into *nʒ* in **manza manʒa** “hair” (cf. Syr. pl. *meʒʒē*)⁴³; **ʿnza enʒā** (< Aram. **נִזָּ**, Syr. *ʿeʒʒā*); **runza** “rice” (= Ar. *ruʒʒ*); **aplinza** “metal” (= Ar. *filizʒ*). Apart from **kuza** “pitcher” (= P. *kūʒab*) there is a rarer variant **kunza**, according to which the original pronunciation *kūʒa* was first changed to *kuzʒa* and then to *kunʒa*.

c) A similar group is *gg* > *ng*⁴⁴. All verbs, as NNGL: **ʿtnangal** “to project”, NNGR: **ʿtnangar** “to be tormented”, TNGR: **ʿtangar** “to barter” and their derivatives, and words quoted by Nöldeke occur only in the classical, except **gangerata gəngarāḏa** (pl.) “throat” (which besides the dissimilation presents an earlier syncopation of the first *r*, § 28). Besides, there are many verbs II 2, in which the 2nd rad. doubled was not dissimilated, cf. DGL: **dagala ḡ-mdagil** (Gy 51:4) *dagāla ad-mədagel* “falsifier who falsifies” etc. (similarly to those quoted under b)).

In postcl. **anglia** (AM 121:20), var. **anglana** (Šābūrī’s copy) *angolī, angolāna* “calf”, “calves” = **אֲגֹלָ**, there might be a dissimilation of a secondary *gg* (**agol* > **aggol* > *angol*). Here belong also **ʿtrungiata** “citron-trees” (cf. **ʿtrug** “citron”)⁴⁵, **angaria** = **ʿngaria** “roofs” (< Syr. *eggārē*), **hinga** “a kind of demons” (< Syr. *heggā*), **manglia** (AM 197:6) “scythes” (< Syr. *magḡālē*).

⁴⁰ Löw, *Aramäische Pflanzennamen*, p. 383: middle, P.-Sm. 3420.

⁴¹ In mod. Mandaic the word is written phonetically with *sūsenna*. Gl. 70:10 gives a defective phonetic form: **snda** — Ar. *ḥabbab* — *granus* — P. *dānab*.

⁴² E. S. Drower, MMII, p. 201 n. 12.

⁴³ MG p. 77:1.

⁴⁴ MG p. 76; cf. Brockelmann, VG I § 90f ε, p. 245.

⁴⁵ Both forms **אֲגֹלָ** and **אֲגֹלָ** occur also in Talmudic.

As the above examples prove, the dissimilation of the groups *bb*, *dd* (דד) and *gg* was achieved at an earlier date and lost its original vigour. The dissimilated forms then continued their life besides numerous words, in which the groups *nd*, *nz* and *ng* contain an etymological *n* (§ 24).

- 5 d) Even couple of unvoiced plosives could occasionally be dissimilated: cl. **anpia** *anpī* "face" = Syr. *appē*, whose non-dissimilated (or perhaps reassimilated form) *appā* reappears in mod. Mandaic; cl. **aminṭul** *amanṭol* "because of" = Syr. *meṭṭūl*.

§ 24. The etymological *n* before *d*, *z*, *g* resists the assimilation, while other
 10 Aramaic dialects as well as Hebrew prefer it. Nöldeke⁴⁶ quoted the following examples from the classical: **manzalta** *manzalta* "constellation"; **planga** (*a*)*planga* = φάλαγγξ (the original pronunciation **falanga* being forgotten); **ginza** *genza* "treasure" (used as title of the principal religious book of the Mandaeans, and in mod. Mandaic also as an adverb "much"), as well as in the
 15 compound **ganzibra** *ganzoβra* (title of the Mandaean high priest, from P. *ganṭwar*); **špinza** *špenza* "lodging" (= P. *sipanṅ*, *sipanz*); **handama** *handāma* "member", "limb" (= P. *andām*, *handām*). The exceptions, quoted by Nöldeke: **tigara** *tigāra* "basin" (= Talm. תגרא, תגרא from P. *tangīrah*, *tanṭīrah*), and **sadana** *sadāna* "anvil" (= P. *sandān*), are explainable by the fact that *n*
 20 before *g* and *d* was considered as a substitute for the reduplication of the latter. As the following syllable is pronounced with a long vowel, which would prevent the reduplication of the consonant in the preceding syllable (§ 102), the *n* could be dropped from pronunciation for this simple phonetic reason. (In *handama* above, the *n* remained, but the original long *ā* of *handām* was
 25 shortened.)

The instances in which an etymological *n* remained before the voiced phonemes mentioned can be augmented by many words still used in mod. Mandaic: **angara** *angara* "ancre"⁴⁷; **anguza** *angūza* "walnut"⁴⁸. This word seems to contradict the rule mentioned above, according to which *n* was
 30 dropped before a long syllable for combinatory phonetic reasons. Since, however, *n* is preceded only by *a*, which might be considered as a prosthetic

⁴⁶ MG p. 51:17ff.

⁴⁷ Ar. *anṣar* — *ancora* — P. *langar* (Gl. 36:6).

⁴⁸ With a secondary *n*, cf. Löw, *Aramäische Pflanzennamen*, p. 84, s. *gawzā*, and Gl. 75:9
 Löw does not quote the Mandaic word.

vowel, the word was treated as if it originally began with *n*: *nəgūza*, *nəgūza*⁴⁹. Further **andāza** *andāza* = P. *andāzab* (in which *n* remained before a long syllable for the same reason as in *angūza*) and other derivatives from this Persian root (cf. cl. hafel **handuzia** *handūzī* “measuring” etc.); **andruna**, **’ndruna** “chamber” (= P. *andarūn*); **andašta** *andešta* “meditation” = P. *andīshab*, from which also a verb ANDŠ is derived, etc. Numerous words showing these combinations of phonemes, borrowed recently from Persian, as *rəng*, *bənd*, *zəng* etc. found no phonetic obstacle in passing into Mandaic and in joining *genza*, *špenza*, *bandama*, which migrated there at an earlier date.

§ 25. a) *N* as first radical was frequently assimilated⁵⁰. The assimilation could practically occur only in the imperfect, in the afel and the nominal forms. The classical imperfect died out, and from the afel only *affeq* (rt. NPQ, § 20 t) and *asseq* (rt. SLQ) are still used. The only nominal forms used in mod. Mandaic concern mostly religious matters: **maṭarta** *maṭarta* “house of detention, purgatory”; **mambuga** *mambūya* “ritual drink” with partial assimilation (§ 22); **mapiqta**, **mapaqta** *mafaqta* “exit > death”; but also **masara** *masāra* “saw”. In all nominal forms, in which the assimilation took place, there is no trace of the reduplication of the first radical either in the traditional or in the colloquial pronunciation (§ 102).

b) *N*, as last radical before the unvoiced *t* (*ṭ*) of the fem. ending, remained in most cases. Nöldeke⁵¹ quoted three examples: **mdinta** *mdintā* “town” (only in this case Syriac has an assimilated form *mdittā*), **škinta** *šxəndā* “celestial dwelling”, **ginta** *gendā* “garden” (the last two without assimilation also in Syriac). Similar examples are: **binta** *bəndā* “building” and “understanding”, **hurint(i)a** *horentā*, *horentī* “*alia*” (Syriac with assimil. *hritiā*), **kinta** *kəndā* “cover(ing)” and “community”, **šinta** *šəndā* “sleep” (as in Syriac).

In the case of assimilation⁵², the whole word is transformed: **šita**, **šidta** *šetiā* “year” (= Syr. *šattā* < *šantā*) became homonymous with *šittā* “six” and homographical with cl. *šīṭā* “hour” and “speech”, “listening”, “companionship” etc.; **libta** *lebṭā* “brick” (= Syr. *lḫettā* < *lḫentā*) by the analogy of fem. nouns **ṣ’ṣ** = *gendā*, *kəndā* etc. (§ 120b end)⁵³.

⁴⁹ The original diphthong (Ar. *ḡawz*, Syr. *gauzā*) was contracted also in Talm. **גַּזְזָא**.

⁵⁰ MG, p. 51:5 ff.

⁵¹ Ibid, p. 52:4 f.

⁵² Ibid., I. 1 ff.

⁵³ As mod. Syr. *geplā*, *ibid.*, p. 52 n. 2.

§ 26. Both nasal liquids, *m* and *n*, can be apocopated in certain cases:

- a) There are several instances of the apocope of the final *m* in some frequent words in Talmudic⁵⁴ and mod. Syriac⁵⁵. In Mandaic there is only one: **mindam** (< מנדעם, Syr. *meddem*) has a younger form **mindā mēndā**, special mod. Mand. sg. form **mindia** “something” (exactly like mod. Syriac *mindā*, cf. also Talm. מִיָּדִי). Nöldeke⁵⁶ thought that there was a simple attempt to give this word a normal substantival ending rather than real phonetic change. In the case of such an attempt one would, however, expect *mindamma* = מִנְדַּמָּא⁵⁷ rather than *mēndā*. The Mandaeans have aversion against the repeating of *m*, esp. if the word contained the other nasal liquid *n*. (This is proved by the strange form of **minuna manōna** = Syr. *māmōnā*, Μαρμωνᾶς, in which the second *m* was dissimilated into *n*.) When *m* was the last phoneme, it was dropped to avoid the hated agglomeration of nasal liquids in the same word. The younger form *mēndā* has driven out the original *mindam*. **mindia mēndī**, recognized by Nöldeke as pl.⁵⁸, has become a current sg. form in mod. Madaic (§§ 155, 174); its mod. pl. is *mēndāna*, *mēndāni* (§§ 172a, 174)⁵⁹. It is noteworthy that mod. Mand. **mindia** has the same final *ī* (*ē*) as Talm. מִיָּדִי and mod. Syr. *mindā*, so that there can hardly be suspicion of a morphological attempt to make the word flexible; there was rather the same phonetic tendency in all dialects of the eastern branch of Aramaic.

The tendency of apocopating *m* is further attested in Talmudic by dropping the final *m* in several forms of מִן⁶⁰, which gave birth to the particle מִן, preceding the Aramaic participial present. This particle is very frequent in mod. Mandaic, although, otherwise no form of Mand. QUM drops the final *m*.

- b) The final *n* is apocopated much more frequently⁶¹. The ending of the st. abs. masc. pl. **-in** is often written **-ia**, that of the st. abs. fem. pl. **-an** is written quite often **-a**. These variations, introduced by the copyists, indicate that the etymological final *-n* of these plural forms became facultative. But it did not completely vanish, as is proved by the actual colloquial pronunciation:

⁵⁴ MG, p. 50 n. 2.

⁵⁵ Cf. *qū(m)* “stand up!”, *edyō(m)* “to-day”.

⁵⁶ MG, p. 50:11 ff.

⁵⁷ Cf. Fleischer in Levy's Chald. Wörterbuch II, Nachtragen, p. 565.

⁵⁸ MG, p. 186:11.

⁵⁹ Cf. **mandanai** (sic) — Ar. *umūr* — *res* — P. *šizhā* (Gl. 33:2).

⁶⁰ MG, p. 50 n. 2.

⁶¹ Ibid., p. 53:9 ff.

qanāšqen “ei exeunt”, *qanāšqan* “eae exeunt” (the latter is usually replaced by the masc.). Moreover, in mod. Mandaic the ending *-ān*, *-āna* generally took the place of the classical plural endings in both genders (§ 172a). This final *n* still has an eminent distinctive value as the only distinction between the plural and the singular.

The final *n* is usually not pronounced in the 1st p. pl. of both perfect and present: **gʿalnin** *gəʿalni* “we killed”, **bdaqnin** *bədaqni* “we (have) put”, **q(a)gaʿtlinin** *qagāʿlenni* “we kill”, **qbadqinin** *qobaʿqenni* (< *qobādqenni*) “we (shall) put” etc. But the final *n* of other personal endings is consistently pronounced: **gʿaliun**, **gʿaltun**, **gʿaltin** *gəʿalyōn*, *gəʿaltōn*, *gəʿalten* “they, you (masc. and fem.) killed”, as well as in present **q(a)gaʿtlin**, **q(a)gaʿlitun**, **q(a)gaʿlitin** *qagāʿtlen*, *qagāʿletton*, *qagāʿletten* “they, you (masc. and fem.) kill”.

Personal pronouns and suffixes hold the final *n*, except the mod. personal pronoun of the 1st p. pl. **anin**, which is usually pronounced *anī* or *enī*, and the mod. suffix of the 3rd p. pl.: *kəḏāβū* “their book”, *kəḏāβānū* “their books”, *gəʿlū* “he killed them”. This pronunciation is already attested by some exceptional cl. forms⁶², where even the final *n* as a verbal ending of the 3rd pl. could be dropped facultatively, cf. the varr. **asgun** and **asgu** “they went”, **aitun** and **aitu** “they brought”, **paru** “they fructified”, **audu** “they let know” or “they confessed”⁶³. The same loss of the final *n* took place in the demonstrative **halin** = **hanin** “hi” (§ 27) (pronounced *hannī* (= Talm. **חַנִּי**)), as well as in the related colloquial *ahnī* “eidem” (§ 112a). All other pronouns hold the etymological final *n*: cl. **anaton**, fem. ***anatin**, mod. *atton*, *atten* “you” (masc. & fem.). Moreover, the pronoun **ana** *ana* “I” can be used as *an* in the colloquial.

Cl. **mna** (< *min ān*) “whence” and **hai** “this” (as Talm. **חַי** from *hāden*)⁶⁴ have been replaced by *məəbnā* and *hā* (for both genders, while the Talm. **חַי** is used only as fem.). Nöldeke⁶⁵ treated **milia millī** “from where?” (< **מִלְיָ מִלְיָ**) as an exceptional assimilation, since *min* never drops the final *n* in the classical. Accordingly, Brockelmann (VG I, p. 175, *δδ*) mentioned the quoted word as the only example of assimilation of *n* of the preposition *min* in Mandaic. However, the assimilation of *n* to *l* is a consistent phonetic rule in Mandaic (§ 27). Moreover, the preposition **mn** lost its final *n* in mod. Mandaic, being

⁶² MG, p. 53: antep.

⁶³ Ibid., p. 261: 15 ff.

⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 53: 20 f., 90 n. 2.

⁶⁵ Ibid., p. 52: 14 f.

pronounced *ma*, *mo*, except when it is used with personal suffixes (§§ 12c, 14b1, 185), cf. **mlibai amrit** (DC 27, l. 13) “I spoke from my heart”.

c) Nöldeke⁶⁶ quoted two examples of syncope of *n* before gutturals:
 1. impf. of NHT — **nihut** *nehōṭ* = Syr. *nehōt* (less often **ninhit**) “he goes
 5 down”, 2. **guha** *gūbā* “clamour” = Talm. גוהא “earthquake” (from גוה,
 §§ 51a, 118a). In the former the syncope is attested also in Syriac, where it was
 more consistent than in Mandaic (cf. Mand. double forms quoted above,
 further the imperative **hut** and **nhut**; af. **ahit** “he brought down”, but **anhith**,
 DC 41, l. 5, “I brought it down” and **manhitit**, DC 37, l. 47, “thou bringest
 10 down”). In mod. Mandaic (§ 211) this verb behaves as a strong verb and does
 not lose its first radical (mod. imper.: *nobōṭ*, fem. *nubūṭ* “descend!”). In the
 latter example, the syncope is attested in Talmudic but not in Syriac, which
 has a full form *gūnāḥā*, corresponding to the Mand. doublet **gunaha** *gūnāḥā*
 “clamour, commotion, disquiet”. One has then to conclude that this phonetic
 15 tendency, attested without consistency in the two mentioned Aramaic dia-
 lects, was completely facultative in Mandaic.

§ 27. *n:l*. There is very close relationship between these two liquids.
 This relationship is provided by the interesting capacity of the lateral *l* to be
 nasalized so that sometimes there is practically no difference between these two
 20 phonemes, which occasionally can have the same place of articulation. I often
 had special difficulties in recognizing these two variants in the pronunciation
 of my informants. Often hearing *l*, where I was accustomed to see *n*, I always
 asked them to write the word; then I saw that they wrote it with *n*. The word
kanuna “brazier” is usually pronounced *kalūna* (by dissimilation) but written
 25 with *n* as in the classical. If there was any original phonemic opposition
 between **kinta** *kenṭā* “cover(ing)” and **kilta** *kelṭā* “canopy”, “mosquito-net”
 (from two related roots KNN and KLL “to wrap”), it is perfectly neutralized
 in pronunciation. In the verb AMR “to say”, the literary forms **amarnalak**
 “we said to thee” and **qamirnalak** “we say to thee” are colloquially pronoun-
 30 ced simply *mannax* and *qamennax* (*r* being first changed to *l* on the analogy of
 [a]marlh, qamirlh *malli*, *qamelli*, §§ 28, 214 αd βc).

The transition of *n* to *l* and vice versa — an interesting feature of Oriental
 Aramaic, esp. Talmudic — is sufficiently attested already in cl. Mandaic.

⁶⁶ MG, p. 52: 8ff.

A final *n*, followed by the encl. **l**, was always assimilated, cf. **milia milī** (§ 26) and NTN, whose final *n* regularly assimilates to the encl. **l**⁶⁷. The *n* of the verbal endings regularly assimilates to the encl. **l**: **amartulḥ** (*a*)**martollī** “you said to him”, **amarulḥ** (*a*)**marullī** (coll. *mallonī*, §§ 28, 214 αd) “they said to him”. In the coll. *mallonī*, the agglomeration of liquids worked like dynamite and entirely changed the form of the word. Some classical examples of assimilation of *n* of the verbal ending to *l* were quoted by Nöldeke⁶⁸.

In general, the changes between *l* and *n* in Mandaic are similar to those in its sister language, Talmudic⁶⁹. Especially **l-**, **li-**, **l’-**, used sometimes in older texts as prefix of the 3rd p. sg. of the imperfect instead of **n-**, **ni-**, **n’-**, recalls the facultative Talm. use of **-ל** inst. of **-נ** with the same function⁷⁰. Further examples⁷¹: **lahma**, var. **lhama** “bread” (more original than Talm. **לחם**); **la la** “no” without variant with *n* was fixed already in the pre-Semitic period by lateralization of the nasal liquid which remained in Indo-European; LGT (more original than Talm. **לש**). But **שחל**, Syr. **lpeš** “to whisper” is used in Mand, in a less original form NHŠ⁷², although there still is a derivative **lihš(i)a** (Gy 280:21) “whispering”, according to which *n* and *l* would be facultative in this root.

The case of **halin**, var. **hanin**, is similar to Talm. **הני**, the word being consistently pronounced *hannī* in spoken Mandaic; the var. **hanin** (Gy 23:22) is only a nasalized **halin** according to pronunciation, as well as **hanik hanneḥ** “illi” (Talm. **הנה**) is supposed to be Nöldeke’s *hā + illēn + k*.

In **armalta armalḥa** “widow” (= Syr. *armaltā*, Ar. *armalah*) the Aram. dialects preserved the original form (opposite to Canaanite **אַלְמַתָּה**, Phen. **אַלְמַת**).

In **minilta** “word”, pl. **minilia**⁷³ there is a peculiar dissimilation of the first *l* to *n*, although there is no other instance of dissimilation in the rt. MLL, and its derivatives **milta melḥa**, **mamlala mamlāla**, **malala malāla** are used with the same meaning as **menelḥa**. I see no reason to accept with Nöldeke that the dissimilation took place first in the plural and was then transferred to the singular. The contrary seems to be more probable. The dissimilations

⁶⁷ Ibid., p. 52 & n. 6.

⁶⁸ MG, p. 53:15—18.

⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 54:1—15.

⁷⁰ Ibid. § 166, p. 215 f.

⁷¹ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 54: top.

⁷² Ibid., I. 9.

⁷³ MG 54: 11 ff.

and assimilations in words containing several liquids are so usual in Mandaic that the word did not need to be dissimilated first in the plural. Besides, *l* could be better preserved in pl. **milʾli* before a long vowel, which required a stronger accent, than in the singular before a short vowel **melʾla*, where it was nearer to the following *l* causing the dissimilation. That the *l* caused more difficulty in the singular before a short vowel than in the plural, is further proved by the shortened sg. form *melʾa* (<**melʾa* > *menelʾa*). The same reason led to both syncope and dissimilation (§ 28).

§ 28. *l*:*r*. A similar relation exists between the lateral and fricative liquids, *l* and *r*. The transition of *r* to *l* is attested in many languages, the lateral being easier to pronounce than a vibrating fricative, e. g. P. *sūrāχ* "hole" is pronounced *sūlāχ* by common people, and it would be surprising to hear the former, correct pronunciation from a Mandaean talking Persian. But, on the other hand, Mandaic often replaces an original *l* by *r*, as if *l* did not seem sufficiently expressive. These changes are facilitated by the lingual character of both liquids, where there is only one step from lateralization to vibration and vice versa.

In § 27 we mentioned that in mod. Mandaic the final *r* of AMR "to say" regularly assimilates to the encl. *l*. Such assimilated forms are then often written phonetically, cf. 'mala (Morg. 273:3) *emalla* "he said to her". But in other verbs with *r* as 3rd radical, this never happens, and both liquids are pronounced distinctly: *šadderle* "he sent me", *qomšadderle* "he sends me". In BDR "to scatter" and GṬR "to tie", "to smoke" the assimilation could be prevented by fear of confusing these verbs with the corresponding verbs III *l*, since *badderlū* "he dispersed them" would have the same pronunciation as *baddellū* "he (ex)changed them", and *gaṭarlī* "he tied him up" would be pronounced as *gaṭallī* "he killed him". However, this good reason of preserving the original distinctive means in verbs characterized by the distinctive opposition "III *r* / III *l*" does not suffice to explain the non-assimilation in verbs ŠDR, HDR "to turn (about)" etc., where there are no corresponding verbs III *l*. In spite of that, there could hardly be any other reason than distinctive. The final *r* of AMR is consistently assimilated to the encl. *l*, since there is absolutely no danger of confusing this most frequent verb with another. All other verbs follow the analogy of BDR, GṬR etc. from fear of greater or lesser confusion.

Old changes of *r* to *l* and vice versa⁷⁴ are presented by **halša** *halša* “hip” (= H. ܚܠܫܐ, opposite to Talm. ܚܘܪܫܐ, B. Aram. ܚܘܪܫܐ, Chr. Pal. *haršā*, Ar. *ḥaṣr* [Ass. *ḥiṣā*]). Besides this frequent form, there is also an assimilated form **haša** (AM 286: 11) *hašša* corresponding to Syr. *ḥaššā*. Cl. **kaluza** “voice”, “proclamation” (= Talm. ܟܠܘܙܐ “public crier”, Syr. *kārūzā*, < κῆρυξ); **tarmida** *tarmida* “disciple” > “priest” (= H. ܛܪܡܝܕܐ, Syr. *talmīdā*, Ar. loan-word *talmīd*⁷⁵) as well as the denominative verb **tarmid** *tarmed* “he initiated to priesthood”⁷⁶.

In quadriliteral roots containing two *l*'s, the first *l* is, as a rule, dissimilated: cl. **girgla** *garg(ə)la* “wheel”, st. abs. **gargul** *gargol* (cf. H. ܓܪܓܘܠ, Talm. ܓܪܓܘܠ, 10 Syr. *gīglā*); cl. **qarqil** *qarqel* “he overthrew” (< ܩܪܩܘܠ); cl. **ṭarṭil** *ṭarṭel* “he threw down” (< ܛܪܛܘܠ).

But the rule of dissimilation in words containing two or more liquids is still living in Mandaic; the metathesis is also frequent in such words, cf. the facultative use of *šalwāra* and *šarwāla* “trousers” (= P. *šalwār*); *raškal* and 15 *laškar*⁷⁷ (= P. *laškar*). In **bil(a)ur** *bellūr* < βήρυλλος the metathesis is generally Semitic. Forms affected by dissimilation, assimilation, or metathesis are in general preferred in Mandaic⁷⁸.

The most typical example of such changes in cl. Mandaic is the word **arqa** *bigal* (= ܐܪܩܐ ܒܪܓܝܠ) = “dust on the foot” > “humble servant”⁷⁹, 20 used frequently by the copyists as a self-designation in many strangest variants:

⁷⁴ MG § 54.

⁷⁵ Fränkel, p. 254.

⁷⁶ The word *tarmida* is still used as a title of the Mandaean priest, but the denominative verb TRMD would hardly be understood. Sh. Abd. wrote to me: **ubrai salim audnḥ tarmida** “and (as for) my son Sälem, I shall make him a priest”, where *tarmida ešad* is used instead of cl. TRMD: *tarmed*.

⁷⁷ Gl., 68:15, 125:1, quotes the former.

⁷⁸ Even proper names are not safe from such changes. Sh. Abdullah wrote to me: **agr ahlak adris mss draul šadr qamdin** “If thou hast the address of Mrs. Drower, send it to me”, where the name containing two *r*'s was dissimilated into *Drowel*. My informant Šābūrī heard my first name many times, so hat he did not dare to change its liquids by dissimilation. Nevertheless, it seemed to him that the liquids were too close to each other, so he helped it by the metathesis of the last consonantal group and by inserting a vowel into it, and called me *Rudofol*, even when he was writing to me (**rudopol**). His difficulty was certainly not presented by the group *olf*, since he himself used it to facilitate the pronunciation of Ar *qofl* changing it to *qolf*; it was simply the dynamics of the two liquids, which forced him to put them at the greatest distance from one another.

⁷⁹ MG p. 79& n. 2.

arqa bigal, arqa bigar, arbigoal, arbigar, arabigar, rabigar, rbigar, arqa baigar etc. As Nöldeke noted, there was not only an assimilation but also a syncope in this word. According to the variants quoted, the words had the following facultative pronunciations: *arabigoal*, *arabigar*, if *arqa* is used in the status emphaticus; *arbigoal*, *arbigar*, if it is used in the status absolutus. The varr. *rabigar*, *rbigar* are pronounced *arabigar*, *arbigar*, since a simple *r* (*ar laḥā mēnda*, § 3) must necessarily be pronounced *ar* at the beginning of the word (§ 8b). Nöldeke was tempted to explain the forms without *q* as compounds with אַרְרָא inst. of *arqa*, but he rightly described this attempt as doubtful, since the form אַרְרָא occurs nowhere in Mandaic. Moreover, the Mandaens always pronounce *arqa* as *ara*. This pronunciation is not based on the vanishing of *v* in אַרְרָא, which is not Mandaic, but on the special tendency of the plosive *q* to be syncopated after a fricative (§ 45). In consequence, the forms without *q* represent merely a phonetic writing instead of the more usual etymological with *q*. *Ar* as a status constructus of *ara* is used with predilection in the mod. compound *artiḥel* instead of the older forms *arqa ḏ-tibil*, *arqa tibil*, *tibil arqa ara* (*ad-tiḥel*, *iḥel ara* (§§ 1521, 158end).

We have seen above that Syr. has a syncopated form *gīglā*, where Mandaic has a dissimilated *girgla* (from גִּלְגִּל). But similar cases of syncope are found also in Mandaic⁸⁰: cl. *qiqla*, *qiqilta* *qiqlā*, *qiqelḏā* “dung” (= Syr. *qīqaltā* < קִיִּלְקִילְתָּ); *šuḥilta*, *šuḥalta* *šoḥalḏā* “chain” (cf. Syr. *šūḥaltā* < שְׁחִלְתָּ, cf. Ar. *silsilah*, Akk. *šaršarratu*) etc, cf. also *milta melḏa* (§ 27end).

A peculiar example of syncope is *gangarata* < **gargarāḏa* (H. גַּרְגַּרְתָּ), in which *r* was first syncopated (as in Syr. *gaggartā*), then the second *g* was secondarily doubled (§ 102), and (according to § 23c) dissimilated to *ng*.

A very frequent phenomenon in case of one or more liquids in a word is the metathesis⁸¹: *ligra layra* “foot” (although there is a denominative verb RGL “to fetter”); *arqba arqoḥa* “scorpion” (< אַרְבָּא, Syr. ‘*eqarbā*, Ar. ‘*aqrab*); cl. *hlaṣa* “torture” with the verb HLS (< חִלַּח, Ar. *laḥaṣa*; there seems to be the same metathesis in the mod. Syr. *ḥāliṣ*⁸²); cl. af. *arbiḥ* “he knelt” (from BRK, from which there is *burka borka* “knee”); cl. HQL “to slide” (< קָלַח); YDL “to bring forth” (< יָלַד) etc. In borrowed Ar. words containing consonantal groups with lingual liquids the group concerned is often inverted (§ 13).

⁸⁰ MG § 70, p. 78.

⁸¹ MG, § 67, p. 73 f.

⁸² Ibid. n. 2. Maclean, Dictionary 100b.

R vanished in **bazira** (mod. *bāz̄er*, *bāz̄ra*) “seed” (= Syr. *bar z̄ar‘ā*) and in the literary **pt p̄æθ** “daughter” (= Syr. *ba(r)t*)⁸³.

§ 29. Reduplication of *r*. The liquid *r* preserved in Mandaic its original capacity for reduplication: **gira gerrā** “arrow” (as Targ. **גִּירָא גִּרְרָא**), pl. **giria gerrī** (differently from **גִּרְרָא**, Syr. *gē‘rē’*); **biria berrī** “street” (pl. **biriatā beryāθa** 5 according to §§ 102, 159), colloquially *bārre* “outside”; **harīa** “noblemen”, vocalized differently from Syr. *hē‘rē’*, is pronounced *harrī*, fem. **harata harāθa** (§ 102). Even **sira** “moon” is pronounced *serrā* in spite of the original Syr. *sabrā*, Ar. *šahr*; a mod. st. abs., which did not appear in literature⁸⁴ is 10 *ser*. Accordingly, Nöldeke’s observation, MG § 18, p. 17 & n. 1, needs the following correction: *r* can be reduplicated, and, in consequence, there is no compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel.

⁸³ Ibid., p. 55:9, 13.

⁸⁴ Ibid., p. 300 n. 2.

D. LABIALS

§ 30. Regressive assimilation of sonority. An unvoiced labial assimilates to a following voiced consonant. This fact is observed in both the classical and the modern language. Examples from the classical⁸⁵. **bga** (Gs 26ff.) *abga* "he met" 5 (< **בגא**, Syr. *pga*) aside from **pga** (Gs 33:15), which might be pronounced in the same way. When the two consonants were separated by a vowel, or by a šwa mobile, the original unvoiced plosive could remain, but even in such cases the assimilated voiced labial was sometimes restored by analogy with the forms, in which the two voiced consonants formed a consonantal group: 10 **bagin** (Gy 11:7) *bāyen* "they meet"⁸⁶. Accordingly, a voiced labial is a combinatory variant of an unvoiced before a voiced consonant; both voiced and unvoiced counterparts of a labial are facultative, when they are separated from the following voiced consonant by a vowel, or a šwa mobile. Examples as **bihitit** (Florilegium, p. 364: 180) *behitit* instead of *pehitit* 15 "I opened" may only be considered as a proof of a poor phonetic instinct of the writer, since *p > b* before a vowel followed by an unvoiced consonant is against the rule, and the opposition *b-p* in *behitit* "I was ashamed" / *pehitit* "I opened" is distinctive. Cl. **br guda** (< **ברגודא**, *παράγαυδης*) is too isolated, and its *b* can, therefore, not be explained by assimilation but by popular etymology, 20 as was done by Nöldeke⁸⁷.

Regressive assimilation of a voiced labial to the following unvoiced consonant is found in the literary **pt** *pæθ* "daughter" (§ 28end) and **ptula**, **ptulta**, *ptūla*, *ptulṭa* "innuptus", "innupta". About **raptia** *rāfti* and similar cases cf. *Begadkefat*, § 20 t. Further examples of *b > f* before *t*, quoted by Nöldeke⁸⁸, 25 are: **šabta** = **šapta** "Sabbath" and "scroll" (cf. Bab. *šiptu* "exorcism"), usually both pronounced *šafta*, but the fortuitous traditional pronunciation *šabṭa* is supposed to represent the original pronunciation before the assimilation⁸⁹, **qarabtana** = **qaraptana** *qaraftāna* "warrior". On the other

⁸⁵ Ibid., pp. 47f.

⁸⁶ This verb is replaced in mod. Mandaic by more common expressions, as *aṭā qāri* "he came to him", *beṣyi* "he saw him" etc.

⁸⁷ MG, p. 47: 8ff.

⁸⁸ Ibid., I. 4ff.

⁸⁹ Gl. gives three slightly different forms of the same word with different pronunciations and meanings: **šapā** (sic) — Ar. *waraq* — *folium* — P. *barg* (32:3, 176:9); **šapta** — Ar. *sabt*

hand, cl. **niṭupta** originally “drop”, (used with the meaning of celestial spouses⁹⁰), whose *f* is original, is sometimes written with *b*: **niṭubta**, pl. **niṭubiata** (instead of **niṭupiata** *nītofyāṭa*).

An etymological *b* becomes *p* before *ʃ* in **dupša** *dupša* “honey”⁹¹ (Jew. Aram. 𐤁𐤓𐤔, Syr. *deḥšā*, Ar. *dibs*, Akk. *dišpu*). The varr. **dubša** and even **dubpša** represent merely an attempt of etymological writing. Cl. **nitnabšun** instead of **nitnapšun**⁹² *nītnaššun* (not *nītnaššun*) is a case similar to **niṭubta** for the etymological **niṭupta**.

b as 2nd radical was assimilated to the following **t** in **ṢPT** (< **ṢBT**)⁹³. In classical literature this verb was used in pa. and ethpa. The assimilation could have started in 1st p. sg. pa. ***ṣaptit** *ṣaftīt* (< *ṣabbatīt*, cf. *šadrīt*, § 200 d, e). But in postclassical literature the verb is also used in pe., cf. **šataputa laṣpatlḥ** (AM 23:6) “he will make no intimate friends” (**ṢPT** = 𐤔𐤃𐤐 “to join”, “to associate with”).

In mod. verbs III **b**, the third radical assimilates to *t* of the personal endings, cf. **AHB**: *abafton* “you gave”, *baftellaḥ* “I gave thee” etc (§ 214 2b, c). This assimilation might have existed already in the classical, although the forms were still written etymologically (**‘habt** etc). Nöldeke’s example **graptinun ana grabtinun** (Gy 223:12) “I (completely) plundered them” proves that there was no consistency, at least, in writing. An etymological *b* as last radical could be pronounced as an unvoiced *f* even when it was not followed by *t* of the personal ending: **auṭip** (Gy 36:11) “do good!”⁹⁴ is pronounced *oṭṭef* (with a secondary reduplication of *t*, § 102). The transition *b* > *p* might be mediated by the assimilation in longer forms: ***auṭipt** *oṭṭest*, ***auṭiptun** *oṭṭeston*; the unvoiced *f* then remained in all other forms, cf. **mauṭipna ‘lḥ** (Zotb., p. 219a: 31) *moṭefnā ellī* “I do him good”, and even before vowels: **auṭipula** (Gy 15: 7) *oṭṭūy* (< *oṭ[ʔə]fūy*) “do him good!”.

§ 31. Postcl. **mitpisrin** for **mitbiṣrin** “are shortened”⁹⁵ can be explained by progressive assimilation of sonority, but Nöldeke’s explanation of

— *sabbatus* — P. *šanbab* (96:10); **šaptai** — Ar. *usū* — *bebdomeda* — P. *baftab*. The last word is actually used as *šofeyṭā* “week”.

⁹⁰ Lidzbarski, *Uthra u. Malakha*, p. 540, 544.

⁹¹ MG p. 48: 5 ff.

⁹² *Ibid.*, l. 13.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, j. 16—19.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, l. 20 f.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 47: 15.

mparaktia as “*benedicta*”⁹⁶ is mistaken. **mparka**, even **mparga**, fem. **mparkt(i)a** occur frequently in AM, but they never mean “*benedictus*”, “*benedicta*”. Sh. Abdullah reads **priktia umparaktia** (AM 76: ult.) *preḫlī umparaḫlī* and translates “very clean” (i. e. *purissima*). This meaning of PRK is given also

5 in Gl., p. 127:5f.: **aprak** — Ar. *faraka* — *vellere spicas* — P. *pāk kard*. The verb is then identical with H. and Aram. פָּרַק, Syr. *prak*, Ar. *faraka* “to rub down”. The opposition BRK “to bless” / PRK “to clean” is eminently distinctive.

The var. **sbihata** for the more usual **spihata esfihāṭa** “lips”⁹⁷ (sg. always **sipta sefta**) only to prove that copyists were as weak in phonetics as in ety-

10 mology.

Nöldeke rightly explained **kbuṣ** (Q 8: 30 = ML 24: 8) *καβος* “shrink!” “from קָבַץ, Syr. *qpar*”⁹⁸. The verb is given in Gl. 13: 7 as **aqbs** — Ar. *inḥanā(y)* — *procumbere, inclinari* — P. *kaḡ šud*.

In **qubla qublā** “fetter” (< Syr. *quplā*, Ar. *qufl*), there is a similar phe-

15 nomenon of dissimilation.

§ 32. *b > w* (β). Since the aspirated **b** and a consonantal **u** have the same pronunciation, they were sometimes confused by the copyists. Jew.-Aram. 𐤎𐤓𐤕𐤕 “outfit”, Syr. *ṣeḫtā* “ornament” appear in Mandaic as **ṣauta i** “ornament > brightness” (Dictionary 386). As there is no difference in pronunciation between **sbal** and **sual** (Gs 11:11A) “he has borne” both being pronounced *səbal* (*sawal*), the copyists allowed themselves to use the phonetic writing. They were more excusable in doing this than to “etymologize” and to write an etymological **u** with **b** β, as in **zabiata** (Q 3:17) instead of **zauia** *ṣawiāṭa* “corners”⁹⁹. In mod. Mandaic there is a tendency to write each

25 aspirated **b** as **u** (§ 16). There are very few Mandaicans who would realize that **uada nāda** “work” is in fact *βāda*. **uad evad** “he did” has become a regular mod. form driving out the cl. **abad**, **bad**, as in ancient times AWD drove out אָבַד “to perish”, and ŠWŠ drove out שָׁבַשׁ “to confuse”¹⁰⁰. In practice, these changes are only graphical.

30 A close relationship between the aspirated **b** and the semivowel **u** is proved by the fact that the former is really dropped after the latter, or con-

⁹⁶ Ibid., l. 16.

⁹⁷ Ibid., l. 18f.

⁹⁸ Ibid., l. 19 & n. 4.

⁹⁹ Ibid., p. 49:9.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., l. 4ff.

tracts with it, cf. **rurbia rurbī** “*magni*” (< רִּרְבִּי מַגְנִי) and esp. the cl. af. of YBL “to bring”: **auil auwel**, **aulit aulit** > *ollit*¹⁰¹. The verb ***ragib raggeβ** (pa.) “he joined”, “he put together” (cf. **ragbinum**, AM 136, “add them!”; Gl., p. 3:5–6, Ar. *āğma’a* — *congregare*, and p. 60:9–10, Ar. *ğama’a conjungere* P. *ğam’kard*) — became *ragū* in mod. Mandaic (: *rageβ* > *ragoβ* by labialization, *ragoβ* > *ragū* by contraction). But the contraction appears only in the form without ending. “She gathered” is normally *ragβat*, “thou didst gather” *rag(g)eft* (with regressive assimilation of *β* to the ending) etc.

§ 33. According to Nöldeke, a final **b** was changed to *m* in **tum tom** “now”, “again”, “further” (mod. usually “till”, “until”) = Syr. *tūb*¹⁰². In modern 10 Mandaic the verb YTB “to sit” was changed to YTM¹⁰³. It was used in this form in the dialect of Shushtar, continuing now its life in Khorramshahr, while the Mandaeans of Ahwāz use YHM (§§ 36b, 217 α, β).

¹⁰¹ Ibid., l. 16ff.

¹⁰² MG 49: ult. But according to Ar. *ṭumma*, Mandaic would have a more original form.

¹⁰³ Ibid., p. 49 n. 5.

E. DENTALS AND SIBILANTS

§ 34. *Media t > media d*¹⁰⁴. *T* as middle radical passed to *d* in the following roots and words: Cl. **kadpa** “shoulder” (< H. **קַדְפָּ**, Syr. *katpā*, Ar. *katif*).

The pronunciation of this classical word is uncertain. It is consistently
 5 written with **d**, which could, however, be merely graphical and based on a
 mistaken popular etymology, which undoubtedly related this word to **gadpa**
 (= Talm. **גַּדְפָּ**), in which *d* is original (cf. Ar. *ḡadafa*, *ḡadāfa*). But this mistaken
 popular etymology was ratified by the use of the copyists, so that we find no
 10 variant with **t**. It is improbable that **d** could be pronounced as voiced in
 contact with the unvoiced **p**. It is also uncertain whether **p** was aspirated
 or not. Sh. Abdullah reads *kadpa*, but this pronunciation seems to be merely
 “abāgādical”, and there is no reason against the pronunciation **katfa* (< **ka-*
tifa). “Wing” is in mod. Mandaic **gapa gappa** (Targ. **גַּפָּ** besides the more
 original **קַפָּ**). This younger form, which already penetrated to Gy 224:9,
 15 completely drove out the older *gadpa*.

The following classical roots can be considered as real examples of pro-
 gressive dissimilation of sonority: **KDŠ** “to fight” (< **כַּחַשׁ**) was used with **d**
 in all the forms of the pa. and ethpa., except the *nomen actionis* pa. **taktuša**
 (Gy 17:18) *taktūša* “fight” (= Syr. *taktūšā*), in which the dissimilated middle
 20 radical regained its original form by reassimilation to the preceding unvoiced **k**,
 with which it formed a consonantal group. Otherwise, the dissimilation was
 only facultative, as is proved by double roots, as **ŠDP** = **ŠTP** “to associate”
 (= **שַׁדַּף**), and **ŠDQ** = **ŠTQ** “to be silent” (= **שַׁדַּף**, Syr. *šteq*).

Since in all examples quoted the etymological *t* was between two un-
 25 voiced radicals, this dissimilation seems to result from a release of the organs
 of speech after and before the effort required by a stronger obstruction. The
 dissimilation could take place for the same reason in *kadpa*, but the analogy
 of *gadpa* seems to be more probable. In most cases the dissimilation is to be
 considered as progressive, since the release was required after the effort,
 30 esp. after the unvoiced fricative *ʃ*, the pronunciation of which requires more
 effort than that of any other consonant.

¹⁰⁴ MG § 40.

The change of the middle radical in KDB “to write” (< כתב) is based on regressive assimilation of sonority, which was first achieved — as was already pointed out by Nöldeke — in those forms, in which the middle and last radicals formed a consonantal group: **kidbit** *kedβit* “I wrote”, **kidbat** *kedβat* “she wrote”, **kidbh** *kedβi* “he wrote it” etc. The original KTB could still be used in the cases, in which those two radicals were separated by a vowel, but the variants **kdib** — **ktib** “was written”, **kdab** — **ktab** “he wrote” etc prove that there was no consistency. The analogy of assimilated forms, in which those two radicals formed a consonantal group, affected the forms, in which they were separated by a vowel, so that the variants **ktib**, **ktab**, **ktaba** would represent etymological writing rather than facultative pronunciations. This is proved by the consistent colloquial pronunciation *ekdefβ*, *kedafβ*, *kedāβa*. It is obvious that the living colloquial *ekdefβ* is to be preferred to Sh. Abdullah’s literal *ekθeb* (§ 20 t). Gl., p. 18: 7—8 & 139: 7—9, has only KDB (without KTB). The circumstance that the original distinctive opposition KTB “to write” / KDB “to lie” was neutralized caused little trouble to Mandaeans used to such secondary homonyms. SDM (: **sadmit**, ML. 68: 5, Morg. 224/35: 7, *sādmēt* “thou shuttest”, pass. pt. **sdima** *sāḏīma*, from כחם) has the same progressive dissimilation of sonority as Ar. *sadama* (aside from *saṭama*, Syr. *ṣṭam*)¹⁰⁵.

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§ 35. *Ultima* **d** > *ultima* **t**. *D* as last radical was changed to *t* in ‘tit *etīt* “ready”, “determined”, “future” (< תייד, Syr. ‘*iḏā*, Ar. ‘*atīd*). Since עתיד is used in Mand. exclusively in the pass. pt. pe., in which the second and third

¹⁰⁵ I can quote, at least, one sure instance of how these homonyms lead the Mandaeans priests to confusions. Sh. Abdullah translated the famous phrase ‘**nbu mšīha kadaba** (Gy 247:14, 387:4) as “Mercury-Christ the writer” instead of “Mercury-Christ the liar”. He argued: “If he is a (liar), how could he be called **sapra hakima** (Gs 29:6 etc) (‘the wise scribe)’?” When I opposed with the synonym **mšīha dagala** (Gy 51:3 etc), he defeated me by his popular etymology of the word **dagala** (: Syr. *daggālā*, Ar. *daḡḡāl*) explaining it as “one who reveals” (i. e. **d-galia**), which is just the contrary of **mšīha kadaba** **laglilh kasiata** (Gy 28:24) “Mysteries are not revealed to Christ, the liar”. My further opposition with a synonymous **mšīha rumaia** (Gy 58:1 ff.) also failed because of the Sheikh’s translation of the expression as “Christ the Roman”. From fear of offending the Sheikh and esp. of obtaining other impossible translations and explanations I did not try him with other obvious proofs of his error, such as **šīṭia d-šaṭia mšīha kulh** (Gy 111:13) “the whole abomination which Christ commits”, or **mšīha baṭla** (Gy 223:12) “the good-for-nought Christ”.

radicals are not in a direct contact, this change can be considered as a normal transition of the final voiced plosive to an unvoiced to facilitate the pronunciation. But in forms with vocal endings, as fem. *'tita ešita*, pl. *'titin ešiten*, the last radical could hardly remain unvoiced on mere analogy of *ešit*, and is to be explained by an influence of the preceding *t* (progressive assimilation at distance).

§ 36. *Vanishing of dentals.* a) The actual traditional and colloquial pronunciations preserved no trace of the reduplication of *t* in case of the supposed assimilation in the reflexive forms (cf. Preliminary Remarks, V). The traditional pronunciation is confirmed by the frequent colloquial *edbel* "he was frightened" etc (§ 200 i).

The vanishing of *t* in the prefix is due to prosodic reasons. There can hardly be a question of total assimilation of *t* in forms, as *tiksia tiksī* "thou hidest", *'mnia imnī* "was counted" *mibia mibbī* "is desired" (pt. identical with the inf. pe. with secondary reduplication of *b* according to § 102). On the other hand, the inopportune consonantal group could be divided and *t* preserved by an auxiliary vowel (cf. *titksia* and *titiksia* both pronounced *titeksī*, Sh. Abdullah: *titaksī* etc, § 78).

b) In the classical, the *t* of the verbal endings, preceded by a vowel, was as a rule, dropped before the enclitics: *amarilh amarillī* "I said to him", *amaralh amarallī* "she said to him" etc. This loss of *t* before the enclitics took place in two different ways: In the 3rd p. sg. fem., *t* was simply absorbed by the enclitic, while in the 1st p. sg. the original *āmrīt* became *amārtī*, so that *t* in **amartillī* > *amarillī* followed the phonetic tendency of syncompating plosives after the fricatives. This tendency is manifest in many languages, esp. in the stressed syllable, where the fricative exhibits a greater force to make the following plosive disappear. All Persian words, containing the group *fricative + plosive*, lose the plosive in vulgar pronunciation: *rāst*, *be-īst*, *muḡd* are commonly pronounced *rās*, *beis* (even *waysa*), *moḡ*. So far as such words are used in Mandaic, they are always pronounced without the plosive: *rās*, even *rāsī* (P. *rāst*, *rāstī*) "really", *naziq naziq* (< P. *nazdīk*) "near"¹⁰⁶ (cf. the same phenomenon in the case of the palatal plosives, § 44). Since the *t* of the verbal ending is in most cases preceded by a fricative (: all plosives, except *m*

¹⁰⁶ Macuch, ZDMG 1955, p 362:37f.

and *t*, become aspirated before *t*, and even *q* becomes χ , cf. **bdāqtḥ** *bdaqtī* “I have put him”), the loss of the *t* in verbal forms before the enclitics can be explained by this tendency. The syncope of *t* is the most frequent after *s* and *š* (as the strongest fricatives). The analogy of such syncopated forms could easily be extended to other verbs, even III *m* and III *t*. This is esp. confirmed by two facts: 1. Verbs **ʿ** preserve the *t* of the verbal ending before the enclitics: **hzitilḥ** *hezitillī* “I saw him”, **šritilḥ** *šritillī* “I opened it” etc. 2. In mod. Mandaic the full ending is restored in all verbs, except those IIIac **s, š**: **martellī** “I told him”, but **naḥasellī** “I slaughtered for him”.

c) It is difficult to decide whether *t* was assimilated or syncopated in **ka**, like **ekka**, **lekkā** “there is”, “there is not”, explained by Nöldeke as a compound of **אית** (ליית) + **כא**¹⁰⁷. The pronunciation doubles the *k*, but esp. in such short words there are regular euphonic reduplications of the consonant between two short vowels (§ 102).

d) The fem. ending *t* assimilates to the mod. enclitic *d*. This assimilation is esp. frequent in Ar. loanwords: **ḫeḫmaddaḫ** “at your service”, “with pleasure”, **qasalāmaddaḫ** “ad salutem tuam”, **mamlakaddī** “his country” etc. (< **ḫeḫmat** + *d* + *aḫ* etc).

e) The final θ of **bit** was dropped in **bisada** (Par. XI: 12a), in which Nöldeke¹⁰⁸ discovered ***ביסאדיא = בייסדיא** = Syr. **bēsādyā** “bolster”, “couch”. **bisauata**, var. **biṭaruata** (DA, paragr. about the land of Ptahil) read by Sh. Abdullah **beṣṭawāṭa** and translated by him “couch” might be a corruption of the same word. (Another possible meaning is given in § 152b). Two more examples of this syncope are found in the modern compound **bimanda** (< **bit manda**, called otherwise **maškna mašḫanā**), corresponding to **בִּי כְּוֹשֶׁת**, and **birih(i)a** = **bit rih(i)a** “fire-saucer”. When we compare these three or four Mandaic compounds with the numerous Talm. compounds with **בִּי**, we see that the *t* held here much more strongly in Mandaic than in Talmudic.

f) *D* was syncopated in cl. **pukta** (Gy 85: 10) “bridle” (< Syr. **pgudtā**) Sh. Abdullah pronounces it **poḫta** (analogy of **duḫta**, § 20t). The loss of *d* in **puta** mod. **fottā** (< **פּוֹתָא**) “forehead” can be explained by progressive assimilation of *d* to the fem. ending after the vanishing of the guttural, which changed the whole structure of the word.

¹⁰⁷ MG, p. 42: 19.

¹⁰⁸ MG, p. 42: 21 & 183: 18.

The word ܐܚܕܐ “new” occurs in Mandaic in three variants, all of them pronounced differently and, in consequence, incorrectly by Sh. Abdullah: (§ 20t): 1. **haditia** *hadeyī* (and translated as “happy”, as if it was from HDA “to rejoice”), 2. **hadtia** *hadθī*, 3. **hatia** *hāī* (where his error is the greatest). It is obvious that the first form is the oldest, the second is younger but still etymological, and the third is the youngest, phonetic form, so that the word presents the same phenomenon as the Syr. *ḥattā*¹⁰⁹.

D was further dropped in **qamh** *qāmī*, **aqamh** *aqāmī* “in front of him”. Nöldeke compares it with Talm. ܩܡܐ (< ܩܡܐ) ¹¹⁰. However, all traces of assimilation were completely erased by the long *ā* before *m*, as in mod. Syr. *qām* (= *qā[d]m*).

As for **habšaba** “Sunday” (= Syr. *ḥaḏbšabbā*), it is pronounced *bebšabbā* (without aspiration) by Sh. Abdullah, *beβšabbā* (with aspiration) by Šābūrī and others. It would be wrong to build any hypothesis about the assimilation of *d* to *b* on the Sheykh’s non-aspirated pronunciation. There seems to be the same loss of *d* as in mod. Syriac, where *ḥa(d)* is pronounced *ḥa*.

In **akandit** *akandī* (mod. **kandia** *kandī*) “still”, “yet”, the **a** was considered by Mandaeans as a mere prosthetic letter and, as such, it was definitively dropped from pronunciation in mod. Mandaic. Nöldeke’s attempt to explain its **a**- by ܐܘܢܐ seems to be unnecessary (§ 23 with footn. 34—36). Already in the pre-Mandaic period, the **d** was syncopated in demonstrative expressions: **hai** *hāy* (< *hāden*), fem. **ha** *hā* (< *hādā*) “this”¹¹²; **hak** *hāχ* (< *hādāk*) “this”¹¹³; **hainu** *hēnū* (< *hāden hū*) “ecce eum” (apart from **hadinu** *hādīnū*)¹¹⁴. Such syncopations in words frequently used are very common in many languages, the most typical example of the shortening of the demonstrative being the development of the article. There is no trace of *d* in the demonstratives quoted, except in the explicative *hādīnū* (§§ 38, 110) and in the rarer fem. form **hada**¹¹².

g) *t > k*. Cl. **tlata** “three”, **tlatar** “thirteen”, **tlatin** “thirty” etc are pronounced *klāṭa*, *klātassar*, *klāṭīn* in mod. Mandaic (Prel. Remarks III;

¹⁰⁹ Cf. MG, p. 44 n. 2.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., p. 194:12.

¹¹¹ Ibid., p. 44:13f. & 202:17.

¹¹² MG § 81, p. 90 & n. 2. Nevertheless, there is a sporadic **hada uhada** (CP 165:15)

“this and that” (§ 110).

¹¹³ Ibid., § 82, p. 91 & n. 1.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., § 81, p. 90: 12 ff.

§ 178 b). However, there is no other word, in which a dental plosive would become a palatal.

h) $t > b$. Cl. ***ṭḥ**, **liṭḥ** *eṭḥī*, *leṭḥī* > mod. *ebḥī*, *lebḥī* “he has”, “he has not”; cl. ***ḥitmal** *leṭḥmal* > mod. *lebmal* “beforeyesterday” (apart from mod. *eṭḥmāl* = ***ṭmal** “yesterday”); cl. YTB > mod. YHM “to sit” (§§ 33, 217 α, β).⁵ In the first two examples, the traditional pronunciation has an aspirate *ḥ*, but the last one is traditionally pronounced with a plosive *t*, and this pronunciation is confirmed by the colloquial doublet YTM (: *yitem*), used in Khorramshahr. Having no satisfactory explanation as to how a plosive *t* could become a fricative *ḥ*, I suppose that the doublet YHM (: *yebem*) is based on a 10 dialectal pronunciation of the cl. YTB, in which the *t* might have been aspirated (cf. *waṭaba*)¹¹⁵.

§ 37. Relationship between *d* and *t* and *ṭ* and *ṭ*¹¹⁶. When the phoneme *d* comes into contact with an unvoiced consonant, it can assimilate and, at the same time, become emphatic. This assimilation can be either regressive or progressive. Regressive assimilation with emphatization is found in **aṭṣia** “fruits” (< Syr. *aḏṣā*)^{116a}.

When *d* (as second radical) comes in contact with *q* (as third radical), the group **dq** is pronounced *ṭq* in colloquial Mandaic: **bidqat** *boṭqat* “she put”, **bidqh** *boṭqī* “put it!” This regressive assimilation of emphatization is a 20

¹¹⁵ A phonetic change $t > b$ has otherwise been unknown in Semitic languages. The cl. Ar. fem. ending *at > ab* in the pausa has been explained differently, cf. Brockelmann, VG I § 37dβ, p. 48: „Der feste Abstatz konnte im Altarab. vereinzelt auch zum gehauchten sich steigern; das war wohl der Fall in der Pausalform der Femininendung *ab* für *at* nach Abfall des *t* (das ist wenigstens wahrscheinlicher als die Annahme eines sonst nirgends bezeugten Lautwandels $t > b$).“ Nevertheless, Brockelmann’s words that such a phonetic change would not at all be attested require alteration in the light of this mod. Mand. phenomenon, although it is irrelevant for the mentioned phonetic change in Arabic.

¹¹⁶ MG § 46, p. 42 f.

^{116a} This word of obscure origin (cf. Nöldeke, MG, p. 42 : 22 ff.) started to be replaced by P. *miua*, *miuia* (AM 258:27) in the postclassical period, although **aṭṣia** was still used and understood (ibid. 174: paen., 212: 3). In mod. Mandaic, **aṭṣia** has been forgotten as well as cl. **pira**, and P. *mīwe* is the only word used for “fruit”, cf. Gl. 53 : 2 and 143 : 2, 13. Moreover, Gl. 46 : 9—10 quotes it even as a verb: **miuia** — *fructificare* — P. *mīwab dād*. It is, however, very doubtful that, in the time of the borrowing of this P. word, Mandaic was still able to form denominative verbs. “To fructify” is in mod. Mandaic *mīwe abaṭ* or *mīwe aṭṭī* (literal translations of P. *mīwab dād* and *mīwab āward*).

natural phenomenon, and the pronunciation of the group *dq* could hardly be different in the classical, in spite of consistent etymological orthography.

Progressive assimilation of sonority with emphatization is found in cl. **saptia** (ML 274: 7) *safīi* “chains”, **maspuṭiata** *masfāt yāṭa* id., as well as in the
 5 denominative verb SPT̄ (cf. Ar. *ṣafada*), and in cl. **aṭaṭa aṭāṭa** “thorn-bush” (= Syr. *haṭāṭā*, Aram. **ܣܦܘܬܐ** besides **ܣܦܘܬܐ** < **ܦܘܬܐ**, Ar. *aṭad*). However, the emph. *q* exerts no progressive force on *d*: **piqdīt** “I ordered” is pronounced *peqdīt* (not *peqfīt*).

I noticed a strange individual variant in Sh. Abdullah’s pronunciation of
 10 the initial *f* in the word **ṭura** “hill” as *d* (*dūra*). This pronunciation with a voiced initial sound is the stranger, as all other Mandeans I met pronounce *fūra*, and even the Sheikh himself pronounce each other (even initial) *f* as *f*. About the pronunciation of **d** as *f* cf. § 5. On the other hand, the *t* of **saṭania** has been attenuated to *d* in **sadania** “devils” (often in phylacteries). But this
 15 word might have been influenced by **zidana** “furious”, or *vice versa* (the latter by the former, in which case there would have been no change of the original voiced dental).

An initial *t* could also occasionally have been pronounced as an emphatic *f*, as is proved by **ṭum** (CP 240: 15 = ŠQ 19: 25) for the common **tum** “until”.

20 § 38. Relationship between *d* and *z*.¹¹⁷ The close relationship between the voiced coronal alveolar plosive *d* and the voiced sibilant *z* is already proto-Semitic. Both have the same point of articulation and differ only by the degree of obstruction. This explains why there are pairs of words in Mandaic, in which *d* and *z* are merely facultative variants. The most typical example of this
 25 relationship is the word for “gold”: **zahba** *zabḥā* and **dahba** *dabḥā* (= Old Aram. *zbb*, H. **ܕܗܒܐ**, Ar. *dahab*, but later Aram. and Syr. *dabḥā*), in which the Ar. form with an interdental *ḥ* represents a central point of the relationship of these two phonemes. In classical Mandaic both forms were used facultatively, although the former, more original, is more frequent. In modern Mandaic,
 30 the younger *dabḥā* has become a regular form, which completely drew out the older *zabḥā*. Another word with a proto-Semitic *ḥ*, in which Mandaic has both forms, but only the younger one with *d* remained in mod. Mandaic. is **ziqna** (Gy 210: 1) = **diqna** (Jb. 86: 2) *deqnā* “beard” (= H. **ܕܩܢܐ**, Ar. *daqan*, but

¹¹⁷ MG § 46, p. 43f.

Aram. ܕܩܪܐ, Syr. *daqrā*¹¹⁸). The third word, presenting younger doublets with *d*, **zakra**, **zikra** *zekerā* (Sh. Abdullah) = **dakra** (Jb. 90:13), **dikra** (DAb) “male, masculine” (= Akk. *zīkaru*, *zīkeru*, H. ܕܩܪܐ, Aram. ܕܩܪܐ, Syr. *dekrā*) is unknown in mod. Mandaic, but there is little doubt that if it had remained it would be known only in its later form with *d*, as did the two quoted above. This is proved by the verb **ZKR** = **DKR** “to mention” (= Old Aram. and, H. ܕܩܪܐ, Ar. *ḍakara*, but Aram. and Syr. *dekrā*). In a surprising way, the older form **ZKR** occurs in some later documents (such as DC 37, 46 and 48), while the later, generally Aram. form **DKR** is used throughout the whole Mandaean literature and remained also in modern Mandaic as a genuinely Aramaic form *adḡar*, *edḡar*, which cannot be put on the same level as its mod. equivalent *zeker eḡad*, formed as a mod. compound expression from the Ar. *ḡiker* in P. pronunciation *zeker* > *zeker* with the help of a Mand. helping verb.

On the whole, the Old Aram. *z* (= Ar. interdental *ḏ*) > later Aramaic *d* followed the way of the Ar. *ḏ* > *d* in mod. Ar. dialects¹¹⁹ (cf. Brockelmann, VG I § 46 hα, p. 131) and only in quite isolated cases the way of Ar. *ḏ* > P. *z* (under Persian influence). For this reason, mod. Mandaic has preserved only the later doublets (with *d*) of Old Aramaic words and roots with *z* (= proto-Semitic *ḏ*). The root DBA (< Old Aram. and H. ܕܒܐܗܒ, Ar. *ḍabaha*, later Aram. and Syr. *deḡab*) is found in Mandaic only in derivatives with *d*: **daba** “slaughterer”, **dihba** “feast” (“sacrifice”), **madba** = **madbha** “altar”. Nöldeke’s **zabia** (Gy 28:15, 59:22, 174:9) = **zibia** (Gs 17:10, 27:20), explained by him (MG 312:2) as “sacrifices”, appears to be an Akkadian loan-word designating a priestly class (Lidzbarski, Ginzā 29 n. 5)¹²⁰.

Z for *ḏ* was further used in the cl. demonstratives: **hazin**, **haza** *hāzen*, *hāzā* *hāza* “hic”, “haec” (with *d* only in the explicative **hadinu** *hādīnū* “this is he” and a rarer fem. form **hada** *hādā*, *hāda* § 110) and in the adverbs **haizak** *heyzak* “then” and **haizin** *heyzen* “how?!” besides the rarer **haidin** (= Syr. *hāyḏēn*). There might have been a special reason for preferring *z* to *d* in these very frequent words. In § 36 we saw that *d* was syncopated between two vowels in the demonstratives, since the intervention of a plosive between two vowels was felt as an obstacle to swift pronunciation. In such cases of demonstratives

¹¹⁸ *Deqrā* is given in Gl. 148:2 as **dqna** — Ar. *lihyā* (sic for *lihyāb*) — *barba* — P. *rīf*. The mod. st. abs. is *dāqen*.

¹¹⁹ Cf. Nöldeke, MG 43 n. 5; Brockelmann, VG I § 46hα (p. 131); F. Rosenthal, Die aramaische Forschung 69f. n. 2; and Altheim-Stiehl, Die Araber in der alten Welt I 235.

¹²⁰ A similar **zaba**, var. **ziba**, “river” comes directly from Akk. *zābu*.

and frequent adverbs, where *d* between two vowels was not dropped, it was changed to the corresponding fricative, which caused less obstacle to pronunciation than a plosive.

Nevertheless, there are doublets with *d* and *z* for two nouns, in which all 5 Semitic languages have *d*: **dma** (varr. **adma**, ***dma**) *damā*, *edmā* and **zma** *zmā*, *ezmā* “blood” (= Akk. *dāmu*, H. דָּם, Aram. and Syr. *damā*, Ar. *dam*), mod. only *damā*; **diqla** = **ziqla** *deqlā*, *zeqlā* “palm-tree” (= Mišnaic H. דִּקְלָא, Aram. דִּקְלָא, Syr. *deqlā*, Ar. loanword *daqal*¹²¹), mod. only *deqlā*. There can hardly be another explanation of this phenomenon than the analogy of **zahba/dahba**, 10 **ziqna/diqna** and **zakra/dakra** (**zikra/dikra**). Even in these cases, only the forms with *d* (*damā* and *deqlā*) remained in mod. Mandaic.

A further complication of the question is caused by the insect-names **zambura**, **zimbura**, **zanbura**, **zinbura** “bee” (§ 23 a) and **didba** “fly”. There are no other variants of these names in Mandaean literature, and their 15 respective surviving colloquial pronunciations are *zambūra* and *dedβā*. The former is attested in Aram. as both זִיבּוּרָא and דִּיבּוּרָא, but in H. only as זִיבּוּרָא and in Syr. only as *debbōrā*, in Ar. again as both *zumbūr* and *dabr*, *dabbūr*, in Eth. as *zanābir*. The latter “fly” is known in Aram. only in forms corresponding to Mandaic (Talm. דִּידְבָא apart from Jew.-Aram. דִּיבְבָא, mod. *dedyū* apart 20 from cl. Syr. *debbābā*), but in Ar. with an interdental *ð* (*ðubābah*) and, finally, in H. (זִיבּוּ) and Akk. (*zumbu*) with a probably original *z*. The origin of these names can hardly be something else than onomatopoeic: in their oldest forms they are imitations of the buzzing sound given out by these insects. Therefore, the forms with *z* ought to be original and those with *d* must be 25 secondary, so that in the former name an original form remained, while in the latter there is a secondary one. There are only two possible solutions of the problem: either (a) this fact is due to a strange coincidence, or (b) there must be a reason for it. I would propose to combine both: Mandaic is a relatively late dialect of Aramaic, and the Mandaeans might have taken over these two 30 names in two distinct forms: the former with *z* (which is still Aramaic, though rarer than its doublets with *d*) and the latter with *d* (as the only Aram. form of this name). In the case of the former they might have preferred its archaic sounding character as more expressive; and as to the latter, the forming of a doublet with *z* might have been prevented by the influence of the second *d* 35 in the word.

¹²¹ Cf. Löw, Aram. Pflanzennamen, p. 109.

In mod. Mandaic, a very frequent colloquial word, borrowed from Ar. *ḥidmat*, is used in the form *ḫeḫmat* (with *ḫ* for an original *d*) as well as in the Persian dialect of Fārs and in Kurdish and Turkish dialects. On the other hand, the colloquial *dālū* “old woman” may derive from P. *zāl* “old” (with *-ū* as fem. ending, cf. P. *bānū* “lady”?) and show just an opposite tendency *z* > *d*.⁵

In spite of the easy transition from *z* to *d* and vice versa, there are roots, in which the opposition *z/d* is distinctive: ZBR (< סבר by regressive assimilation) “to bear”, “to endure”/DBR “to lead”; DHA “to push”/ZHA (< דחף, דוח) “to move away”, “to be afraid”; DHL “to fear”/ZHL (by inversion from דלה) “to pour”; DRA “to bear”, “to carry”/ZRA “to sow”.¹⁰

§ 39. There is great confusion between the emphatic and non-emphatic sounds in Mandaic. The situation, as was described in Prel. Remarks (III), is chaotic. In mod. Mandaic, there is absolutely no rule about the sibilant emphatic *ṣ* and its non-emphatic counterpart *s*. The non-emphatic *s* takes often the place of the emphatic *ṣ* in letters and late manuscripts, cf. esp. the texts published by de Morg.: **trus** (27:8) for **truṣ**; **tris** (65: ult.) for **triṣ**; **maštusia** (30:13) instead of the usual **maštusiṣa**¹²² (pron. *meštāṣṣī*) etc.

The only regularity, which existed in the classical and was noted by Nöldeke¹²³, was the emphasizing of sibilants before the emphatic *f*, and the loss of emphasis before the labials, esp. before the unvoiced *p* (before *b* also with assimilation of sonority).²⁰

a) *s* (*ṣ*) > *f* before *f* is a general Semitic phenomenon. In cl. Mandaic, we owe to this regressive assimilation of emphasis the double rt. **ṢṬA** and **ṢṬA** “to seduce”. But the derivatives: **saṭana** “Satan”, **maṣṭiana maṣṭiāna** “seducer”, **maṣṭianuta maṣṭianūda** “seduction” are preferably written etymologically. Further in foreign, esp. Greek words with an initial *στ*, we often find **ṣṭ** (as in other Aramaic dialects)¹²⁴: ***(u)ṣṭmumia** (and varr.) *oṣṭomūmi* “pointed arms” (< στóμωμα, Syr. *sṭāmā*, Ar. *siṣām*); ***(u)ṣṭla eṣṭala, oṣṭola** “stola” (< στολή, Syr. *eṣṭlā*); ***(u)ṣṭuna eṣṭōna, oṣṭōna** “column” (< P. *sutūn*, cf. Talm. **סוּתוּנָא**, Syr. *eṣṭōnā*); **ṣṭug eṣṭoγ** < Phl. **סוּתוּג**, mod. P. *sutūdab*¹²⁵; **ṣṭambul** (Šābūri’s AM) “Istanbul”; **ṣuṣṭ(a/i)mia** (ML 101:10) *ṣoṣṭami* (with

¹²² MG, 13 n. 1.

¹²³ Ibid., §§ 47—48.

¹²⁴ Ibid., p. 45 n. 2.

¹²⁵ Ibid., p. XXXI: 17f.

a double assimilation) “bounds”, “chains” (probably a corruption of) Syr. *sūtāmē*, not *σύστημα*)¹²⁶. Nevertheless, there is a denominative verb *SṢṬM* “to tie” (§ 195e) from *sustmia*. There is also a double root *ZṬR = ṢṬR*, cf. *mzauṭar* (Gy 280:13) *mzowṭar* “he makes small” and *ṣṭar* (Gy 165:16) *eṣṭar* “he became little”. *siṭra siṭra* “side” (= Syr. *seṭrā*), from which a denominative verb *SṬR* “to put aside”, “to remove” was formed¹²⁷, is exceptionally written *ṣiṭra* (a var. to AM 5:1). *ṣarṭana* besides. *sarṭana sarṭānā* “Cancer” is frequent.

q exerts no regressive influence on the preceding sibilant as regards emphasis, so that before **q**, there is only an assimilation of sonority (§ 40b).

b) *ʃ* > *ʃ*(*ʒ*) before labials (and voiced alveolars): **bʿspar**, **bspar** (Gy 197:3,9) “in the morning”, but **ṣipra** “morning”; **huspa** (Gy 251:19) *husfa* “impudence” (< Syr. *huṣpā*), but **haṣpa** (Gy 280:4) *haṣifa* “impudent” (nevertheless, the mod. form of this adjective is: **hazup**, **hazupa** *hāzof*, *hazifa* “rude”, “impudent”); cl. **maspuṭiata** *masfāt yāṭā* “chains” (§ 37). The loss of emphasis, accompanied with assimilation of sonority, is found in **ʿzba** (Gy 32:23), a var. of **ṣba** “colour” (= Syr. *ṣebʿā*, *ṣubʿā*). The word *eṣba* in the assimilated form is still used with the special meaning of the hair on the *mons pubis*. There might be a connection between this *eṣba* and **ʿ(u)ṣba**, which, in Gy 92:22, is used together with **bsar** (Lidzbarski: “Fleischfarbe”). About ZDQ (< **צדק**), occurring frequently in the derivatives: **zidqa** *zidqā* “charity”, “alms” and **zadiq(a)** *zadiq(a)* “righteous”, cf. § 40a. **ṣadiqia** in **aṣkal hiuarta** **ṣadiqia lilbaiad** (AM 277:28) “white forms proper to daylight”, in a paragraph abounding with Ar. words, is an Ar. form.

In modern pronunciation, the emphatic *ʃ* is very rare. There is no great use in saying *ṣobbī*, when *sobbī* is easily recognized as the same. Since, however, there are two letters for the unvoiced sibilants in the Mand. alphabet, **ṣ** must sometimes be used, but Mandaeans are as unable to make correct etymological use of it, as was the author of the Glossarium. Unless an emphatic *ʃ* passed to a voiced *ʒ*, there is always a possibility of changing it for the non-emphatic unvoiced *ʃ*. How far these changes have gone, is proved in the best way by the rt. **TRṢ** (= **תרץ**, Syr. *traṣ*), which became **ṬRS** in mod. Mandaic (Prel. Remarks III), and in which the loss of emphasis of the sibilant was compensated by the emphasis of the dental.

¹²⁶ Ibid., p. 484: Add. to p. 45:12.

¹²⁷ MG, p. 45 n. 3.

§ 40. *Regressive assimilation of sonority in the sibilants.*

a) *Before voiced plosives*: cl. **hizda** *beẓda* “shame” (< Syr. *ḥesdā*); **mazgda** as a phonetic var. of **masgda** *mazgādā* “chapel” (Ar. *masǧid*). This assimilation produced several pairs of double roots: ZBR = SBR “to bear”, “to endure” (זכר). Cl. SGA (af.) “to go” is consistently used as ZGA (pe.) in mod. Mandaic: *ezgā* “he went” (§ 227α)¹²⁸. The rt. SGD “to worship” became ZGD in mod. Mandaic: *ezgad* “he worshipped”¹²⁹; the pronunciation of the consonantal group **sg** could hardly be different in the classical in spite of the consistent etymological orthography. The root. קצק became ZDQ, as in Syriac (Palm. der. אודקתא), already in the classical (§ 39b).

b) *Before unvoiced plosives*: ‘**sqa** *esqā* “loop”, “ring”, st. emph. ‘**sqta**, ‘**siqta** *esqta* (besides the etymological ‘**zqta**), st. cstr. ‘**sqat** *esqat*, pl. ‘**sqata** *esqāṭa* (cf. Syr. ‘*ezqtā*, ‘*ezaqṭā*). The assimilated unvoiced sibilant remained then also before the vowel in mod. Mand. *sūqā* “ring” (used as fem.). A double root is SQR (pe.) = ZQR (ethpa.): **sqirna** *esqernā* “I hop”, “I rejoice”, but ‘**zdaqar** *ezdaqar* “he rejoiced”¹³⁰.

§ 41. The replacing of *f* by other sibilants took place in a way similar to that in other Aramaic dialects. Nöldeke¹³¹ quoted the following examples: **himṣa** *hemṣa* “belly” (= Talm. חִמְצָא, opposite to H. חִמְשָׁ, Syr. *ḥumšā*; SMR “to preserve” (= Aram. סמר, Ar. *samara* H. שמר, which occurs in Aramaic writings only as a Hebraism, is different from Mand. ŠMR “to abandon”, “to continue”¹³²); SLQ (cf. Gy 226:7) “to cook”, “to bake” (< שלק) became homonymous with SLQ “to ascend”. A similar rt. is SNQ “to torment” (< שנק), which became homonymous with SNQ = Syr. *sneq* “indiguit”; ‘**squpta** *esqofta* “threshold” (= Talm. and Targ. אַסְקוּפְתָא, אַסְקוּפְתָא, Syr. *eskufṭā*, Ar. loanw. *uskuffah*, related to שְׁקוּף, H. מְשֻׁקְוּף¹³³).

Further examples (not quoted by Nöldeke) arc: **saria** *sārī* (pl.) “hair” (= סַרְיָא, Syr. *sārā*, opposite to the original Ar. *šār*, H. שער). In mod. Mandaic

¹²⁸ Gl., p. 65:3f., 78:9f., 89:7f., 109:11f., 127:15f., 150:1f. and 173:15f., quotes it as *mediae q*; only p. 179:5.f has the correct: **azga** — Ar. *ḡababa* — ire, *abire* — P. *raft*.

¹²⁹ Gl., p. 56:9f., 101:13f.

¹³⁰ MG, p. 46:4ff.

¹³¹ MG § 50, p. 46.

¹³² Ibid., n. 3.

¹³³ Ibid., n. 4.

sārā with the meaning “hair” was driven out by **manza** *manza*, but the word is still used with its other classical meaning “barley” (= אַרְתָּא, אַרְתָּא, pl. אַרְתִּין, Syr. *s’artā*, pl. *s’ārē*, opposite to the original Ar. *ša’ir*). SUM “to put” (= Syr. *sām*, opposite to Ar. *šym*); SBA “to be satiated” (Aram. טבע, Syr. *šba’*, opposite to Ar. *šabi’a*, Akk. *šebū*); (*)**smala** *esmāla* “left (hand)” (Syr. *semmālā*, H. שְׂמאל, Ar. *šimāl*, Akk. *šumēlu*) etc.

F. PALATALS AND VELARS

§ 42. Relationship between *g* and *q*¹³⁴. There is a close relationship between **g** and **q**, although the tendency of the Mandaic **q** to become a **g** is not as great, as would appear from the Glossarium, where **g** is really abused, and where even the particle **q**, **qa**, **qi**, preceding the participial present, is consistently written with **g**. This particle is pronounced with a velar *q*, and it is most unlikely that it could have been pronounced as a palatal at some earlier date. The same must be said about many other words, written with **g** in the Glossarium and pronounced with **q**, e. g. **qazgan** *qazγān* "pot"¹³⁵, **qašta** *qaštā* "bow"¹³⁶ etc. On the other hand, many words, pronounced with *g*, are there written with **q**, e. g. **gaura** *gawrā*, *gawra* "adultery"¹³⁷, **gʔal** *gʔal* "he killed"¹³⁸, GṬN "to shorten"¹³⁹, *gelle* (: P. *gallah*) "flock"¹⁴⁰, **ginza** *genzā*, *genza* "much"¹⁴¹ etc.

Although the author of the Glossarium could be excused for his confusions between *s* and *ʃ* (Prel. Rem. III, § 39), he can hardly be excused for his confusions between *g* and *q*, which confused even such a strong critic as Nöldeke, making him believe that the Mandaic **q** was pronounced approximately like *ġ* in many Ar. dialects, or like P. **g**. Before I heard Mandaic, I thought that the Mand. **q** must rather be pronounced like Ar. *q* in Persian pronunciation, where it became a velar fricative. Such pronunciation would make it possible to excuse the very frequent confusions between **g** and **q** in the Glossarium. But this is not so in the case of the Mand. **q**, which is clearly pronounced as a velar plosive, and differs from *g*, pronounced as a palatal plosive, and even from an aspirate *γ*, pronounced as a velar fricative (as the Ar. *ġ*). Furthermore,

¹³⁴ MG, § 41, pp. 38 f.

¹³⁵ Gl. 137:14 **gzgan** (sic) — Ar. *qidr* — *olla* — P. *dik*.

¹³⁶ Ibid. 138:3 **gšta** (sic) — Ar. *qayṣ* — *arcus* — P. *kaṃān*.

¹³⁷ Ibid. 129:4 **qura** (sic) — Ar. *fiṣq* — *adulterium*.

¹³⁸ Ibid. 20:15 f., 66:7 f., 131:9 f., 167:11 f. consistently with **q**.

¹³⁹ Ibid. 133:9 **qtna** (sic) — Ar. *qaṣṣara* — *abbreviare* — P. *kitāb kard*.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid. 136:3 **qla** (sic) — Ar. *qaṣī* — *grex* — P. *gallah*.

¹⁴¹ Ibid. 34:7, 77:9, 145:5 consistently with **q**. Since the author liked to form denominative verbs from Persian loanwords, he quoted also **ginza** as a verb (139:11 f.): **qnza** (sic) — Ar. *kaṭṭara* — *multiplicare* — P. *bisyār šud*. "To multiply" actually is *genzā eṣad*, in passive voice *genzā tāmmā*.

there is difference in sonority between the unvoiced Mand. **q** on one side, and between the voiced **g** and on the other, so that all three can easily be recognized even by a foreign observer. The tendency of the Mandaic **q** to become **g** has never been facultative, but has been strictly governed by the rule of regressive dissimilation before another emphatic, sound:

GṬL “to kill” (< ܩܬܠ); GṬN “to be little, fine” (< ܩܬܢ); GṬR “to tie”, “to smoke” (< ܩܬܪ); **gaiṭa** *gēṭa* “summer” (< ܩܬܝܬܐ Syr. *qēṭā*, Ar. *qaiṭ*, H. ܩܝܬ); **gasiāiil** *Gasiayel* (DA, name of a supernatural being, from ܩܨܩ = ܩܨܩ); **garṭupiata** (Gy 134: 19) *garṭāfyāḏa* “cutting instruments” (cf. Syr. *qarṭem*, Ar. *qarṭama*, *qarṭaba* “to cut”); GṬP (ML 210: 3, 4) “to pick”, “to cut” (< ܩܬܦ) with its derivatives: **gaṭupta**, pl. **gaṭapiata** *gaṭeṣta*, *gaṭeṣyāḏa* (§ 20 p) and **giṭupta** *goṭofsta* “vinegrape” (mod. *goṭeyfa*); GṬA (ML 143: 6) “to separate” (< Syr. *qta*‘, Ar. *qaṭa*‘a); GMT (ML 35: 3) “to strike”, “to oppress” (< ܩܩܡ); GṢP (Gy 381: 6)¹⁴² “to break off” (cf. Ar. *qaṣafa*, *qaṣaba*, *qaḏaba*); **giṭma** *geṭma* “ashes” (< Syr. *qeṭmā*). In LGṬ “to grasp” (< ܩܬܩ) the middle radical dissimilated went through a reassimilation of sonority without emphasis and with aspiration in colloquial pronunciation, so that cl. **lgaṭ** *elyaṭ*, *lɣaṭ* became *leṭaṭ* (§ 20 g end), cf. **uazir likṭil** ‘d *šarada* (Morg. 274: 23) *wazir leṭṭel-īd ḡarāda* “the wazir took Djarada’s hand”, **lukṭunḥ** (Morg. 275: 15) *loṭṭonnī* “seize it!” etc.

In **šigda** *šēyda* “almond” (still used) there is a regressive assimilation of sonority, as in other Aramaic dialects (cf. ܩܬܩܩ, Syr. *šegdā* as opposite to H. ܩܬܩ¹⁴³).

Q between two vowels became exceptionally *g* in **pigia** (Gy 279: 11 and 25 often) “*surdi*”, if the word does not derive from ܩܩܩ¹⁴⁴.

§ 43. Relationship between **q** and **k**.

a) (*Initial*) **q** > **k**¹⁴⁵. Here belongs, above all, the central notion of the Mandaean religion **kuṣṭa** *koṣṭa* “Truth” and the adjective **kṣiṭa** *k(ə)ṣiṭa* “true”. Further examples are: **kamṣa** *kamṣa* “locust” (< ܩܩܩܩ, Syr. *qamṣā*, Ar. *qamaṣ*), which became **gamṣa** (Morg. 275: ult., 276: 3) *ḡamṣa* in mod. Mandaic. The form quoted in the Gl., p. 67: 3, **qamsa** Ar. *ḡarād* — *locusta* — P. *malah*,

¹⁴² Petermann has a miscopying **giḥpat** for **giṣpat**.

¹⁴³ MG 39 n. 3.

¹⁴⁴ Cf. Lidzb., Uthra u. Malakha, p. 241; Drower-Macuch, Dict. 370a.

¹⁴⁵ MG § 42, p. 39.

might have the same pronunciation, since the author was all the time confusing *g* with *q*. Cl. **kašara** *kašāra* “fuller” (< קַצֵּר); postcl. KŠR “to be sick” (< קַצֵּר “to be short”) and its derivatives: **kašira** *kašīra* “sick”, **kašurta** *kašurta* “sickness”; cl., **kašuma** *kašūma* “divinator” (Syr. *qāšōmā*); cl. KMS “to contract, solidify” (perhaps from קָמַץ), and probably also the words **kimša** 5 and **kimšat** with doubtful meanings¹⁴⁶; the meaning of **kišat** (Gy 6:16), explained as קִצֵּץ by Nöldeke¹⁴⁷, is also uncertain¹⁴⁸, but the var. **gišat** proves that there was a dissimilation before *š*; cl. KRŠ “to nod” (< פָּקַד); perhaps also postcl. **kbašiatā** “bunches” (§ 150b) and **kiuaš**, var. **kuaš** (AM 83: 18), if it means “(cut) short”¹⁴⁹; cl. (a)**kšalia** (Gy 72: 5 etc) *akšalle* “it grieves me” 10 (from פָּקַע).

In all cases above, the *k* results from a regressive dissimilation of emphasis. There is, however, also a double root QRQŠ = KRKŠ “to rattle”, “to clash” (= קָרַקַשׁ) with a derivative **qarqušta** and **karkušta** “rattle” (= קָרַקַשׁ), in which both *q*'s were facultatively changed to *k*, although in QRQL “to 15 overthrow” there is no variant with *k*.

Nöldeke¹⁵⁰ was right not to explain ‘**ka** (Jb. 22: 2) *ekka* “trouble”, “difficulty” from עֹק (H. צֹק, Ar. *dāqa* mediae *u*), since Mandaic consistently held *q* in this root and its derivatives **aqu**, **aqut**, **aquata** *aqū*, *aqūḏ*, *aqūḏa* “trouble”, “horror”¹⁵¹. But I would rather derive ‘**ka** “trouble”, “harm” from נֹכִי Syr. 20 *nkā* than from Nöldeke's Syr. ‘*ayyeq* s¹⁵².

b) In words borrowed from Pahlavi, the Middle Persian ending *-ak* (Mod. P. *-ah*) is rendered by **-qa -qa**: **paruanqa** *parwānqa* “guardian spirit accompanying the soul after death” (< *parwānak* > mod. P. *parwānah*), **bastirqa** 25 (Morg. 259/10: 3) *basterqa* “couch” (< *bastarak* > mod. P. *bastar*), **nišanqa** *nišānqa* “sign” (mod. P. *nišānah*). **gušbanqa** (CP 340: 9, 469: paen. etc) *gušbānqa* “signet, seal” occurs also in Talmudic and Targumic (קִישְׁבָּנָא) as a corruption of Phl. *anguštbanak* (mod. P. *anguštwanāh*). **taturaqa** (ML 136: 4 =

¹⁴⁶ Cf. Drower-Macuch, Dict. 213.

¹⁴⁷ MG, p. 39: 12.

¹⁴⁸ Cf. Lidzbarski, Ginzā 9 n. 8, and our Dict. 215 b.

¹⁴⁹ Lady Drower translated tentatively “curly”, but cf. our Dict. 202 b under KBS. The dissimilation took place already in the Akk. *kapāšu*.

¹⁵⁰ MG, p. 40: 5; cf. our Dict. 15 b s. **aka 2**.

¹⁵¹ In mod. Mandaic this word became *wayyeq* and is very frequent in the colloquial *ḡolqedī wayyeq* “he is ill-humoured” and *wayyeq aḏā* “a disaster has come”.

¹⁵² MG, p. 40 n. 2.

CP 110:15) “bridge” (apart from the shorter and more frequent *tatura tatura*) obviously derives from Akk. *titurru*, but the ending *-qa* might have developed under the influence of Phl. *vetarak*. Mod. Mand. *ṣṣuanqa ḡawānqa* “youth” probably derives from P. *ḡawānak*, but might also have been influenced by the original Mand. *yānqa* “child” (§ 123).

§ 44. Relationship between *g* and *k*¹⁵³.

a) *k* > *g*: *ganpa ḡanpa* “wing”, while the original *kanpa kanpa* is used for “arm”, “side”, “bosom”, “fold of dress”, pocket¹⁵⁴, and from the denom. verb KNP “to gather” there is *kanpa* “troop”, “band”, so that the secondary opposition *g/k* became distinctive¹⁵⁵. *gurmaiza gormeyza* “fist”, but also “club”, “mace” corresponds to Targ. כּוּרְמִיּוֹ, but its Iranian forms have *g*. In the related *garmida ḡarmīda* “arm”, “elbow”, “cubit” (= אַרְמִיָּה, Syr. *gurmīdā*, H. אַרְמִיָּה), there is *g* also in other dialects. (The form with *ḡā halqa* may be based on a popular etymology **garm īda* “the bone of the hand”). About cl. *hargta*, *harkta*, *harakta harayta* “perversity”, “crookedness” cf. § 20 t. Cl. *rgig*, pl. *rgigia* (Gy 233: 11 etc) “soft” (: Syr. *rakīkā*) became homonymous with “desirable” (Syr. *rgīgā*).

An aspirated final *χ* in the P. loanword *pasuk* = P. *pāsuḥ* was rendered by *g* in Oxf. III, 62b: *pasug*, which proves that the copyists hardly realized the difference between voiced and unvoiced consonants (cf. also *karmaba* and *paršikna* s. b).

b) *g* > *k*. About regressive assimilation of sonority with aspiration before *t* cf. § 20 t. A similar case is *pukta poχta* “bridle” (Syr. *pgudtā*, § 36). There is the same regressive assimilation of sonority with aspiration before *š*: cl. *kšaša χšāša* “exploration” from שׁוֹשׁ; cl. *dakša* (Gy 217: 11) *dāχša* “piercing” (of the voice) from שׁוֹשׁ, Syr. *dyaš*.

Nevertheless, the word *aškarta* (Gy 389: 3) *aškartā*, coming from Middle Persian (*b*)*ašākert*, preserved the original *k* opposite to mod. P. *šāgerd*. Since in another similar word (*a*)*šganda ašganda* “novice” (Sumerian > Akk. *ašgandu*) the original *g* remained, there seems to be neither assimilation nor dissimilation of sonority, when the plosive palatal is preceded by *š*.

¹⁵³ Ibid. §§ 43f.

¹⁵⁴ Lidzbarski, *Ginzā*, p. 452 n. 2.

¹⁵⁵ Modern Mandaic uses the assimilated form *gappā* for “wing”, P. *šane* for “arm”, “shoulder” and Ar. words for the other meanings.

The copyists did not always realize the difference between the voiced and unvoiced palatals. This is proved by P. *garmābah* “bath”, written either as **karmaba** or as **garmaba** in the same scroll by the same copyist (DA). In Persian, such a writing could be understood by an easy omitting of the diacritical mark on *k* (= *g*), but there is no probability that there could be an influence of such a written Persian form in Mandaic.

Another cl. P. loanword **paršigna** *paršeγna* “decision”, “report” (פֿרשִׁינָא, Syr. *paršagnā*, B. Aram. פֿרשִׁינָן, H. פֿרשִׁינָן) was sometimes written **paršikna** (Oxf. III 85b).

Further examples from the classical are: **kum(a)ša** (Gy 89 : 9 etc) *kumāša* 10 “pit” (< Syr. *gūmāšā*)¹⁵⁶; **kura** *ikūra* “pagan shrine”, “altar demon”¹⁵⁷ (Targ. אֵינֹר, אֵינֹר), but the word comes from Akk. *E-Kur* (Delitzsch: “prob. a high house”), so that Mandaic would have a more original form.

§ 45. The phonetic tendency of syncopeating the plosives after the fricatives (§ 36) is attested also by the palatals and velars. The most typical example in 25 mod. Mandaic is the present of *ezgā* “he went”: *qāzī*, *qāz ya*, *qāzet*, *qazīna* “he, she goes”, “thou goest”, “I go” etc (§ 227 α b). Another peculiar example is **arqa** “earth”, pronounced *ara* (cf. § 28). Hearing this pronunciation for the first time, I suspected it and asked Sh. Abdullah whether the word might not, at least facultatively, be pronounced *arqa*. He immediately 20 protested: “A pronunciation **arqa* would spoil the language!”. The pronunciation *ara* is then absolutely consistent.

The plosive is not syncopeated when it is preceded by another plosive: **‘umqa** “depth” is always pronounced *umqa*¹⁵⁸. The plosive also remains when it is followed by a semivowel, cf. *mazgadā* “chapel”, *marganā* “ritual staff”, 25 *arqoβa* “scorpion etc. as well as before a long vowel in a stressed syllable.

The syncope of the velar in mod. *ubra* “mouse” (Syr. *‘uqbrā*, § 160b) is an isolated phenomenon.

§ 46. a) In the classical there are instances of the syncope of *g* in some old loanwords¹⁵⁹: **tarnaula** *tarnaula* > *tarnolla* “cock” (< Akk. *tarnugallu*, Aram. 30

¹⁵⁶ MG, p. 41 : 1.

¹⁵⁷ Cf. *ibid.* & p. 76 n. 1; Lidzb., Uthra u. Malakha, p. 241 n. 2.

¹⁵⁸ Accordingly, DHG & BHZ, p. 64 n. 4, is to be corrected, cf. my review, ZDMG 1955, p. 361: bottom.

¹⁵⁹ MG, p. 41 : 10 ff.

תַּרְנֻגְלָא, Syr. *tarnūglā*, *tarnāglā*). The Mand. st. abs. and cstr. are unknown; after the syncope the word could hardly have any¹⁶⁰. **zaua** *zawwa* “wife” (= Talm. זָוָא “pair”, Ar. *zaww* apart from Ar. *zawǧ*, Syr. *zawgā*, ζεῦγος¹⁶¹). **azgauita** (Gy 281:10) *azgawiθa* (apart from the original **zgagita** Gy 281: ult. 5 *azgagiθa*) “glass” (= זָוִיחָא, Syr. *zawgīlā*, Ar. *zawǧǧ*; H. זוכיח)¹⁶².

It is noteworthy that the syncope of *g* is limited only to old loanwords, in which the plosive before the ending could be simply omitted to facilitate the pronunciation. The first word may be designated as especially difficult, and it would be surprising if no change had been made in it in Mandaic. In the 10 second the same phenomenon is attested also in other Semitic languages. In the third the syncope was facultative.

b) On the other hand, *g* remained in two old loanwords, although it was changed to *d* in other dialects: 1. **gramka** (Gy 227:13) “white flour” from Pahlavi (mod. P. *garmah*), which became *darmak* in Arabic; 2. **gluṣṭma** 15 (Gy 143:18) “chest” (: Syr. *gluṣṭmā* < γλωσσοκομ[ε]ῖον) which became דלוסקמא, דלוסקמא in Jew. Aramaic¹⁶³.

¹⁶⁰ Mod. “cock” is *zāy(a)*.

¹⁶¹ MG, p. 41 n. 6.

¹⁶² Ibid., l. 11 f. & n. 7.

¹⁶³ Ibid., p. XXX:16; Fränkel, p. 32 f.

§ 47. The vanishing of gutturals, which began in all Aramaic dialects, has reached a very high point in Mandaic, and is the most characteristic feature of this language. The only guttural remaining is the unvoiced laryngal *h*, which absorbed also Π (either as an original pharyngal *h*, or as a velar fricative *ħ*). The letters **a** and **'**, standing in the place of the original voiced laryngal and of the original voiced pharyngal, were used from the beginning to designate merely the front and central vowels, including the *spiritus lenis* at the beginning of the word. Their use disregards etymology, and depends only on the quality of the vowel as front or central.

The letter **h**, standing in the place of Π , was originally destined to designate the personal suffix of the 3rd p. sg. masc. Π_3 , pronounced *-ī*; later it was used also for some other cases of the final *-ī* (§ 53). The loss of the laryngal plosive and of the etymological pharyngal and velar fricatives was achieved already in the pre-Mandaic period and reposes on a Babylonian substratum, which was common to the Aramaic dialects in Lower Babylonia. Only the circumstance that in the Babylonian Talmud the etymological writing still prevails, prevents us from having a clear idea as to how far the loss of gutturals proceeded in Talmudic. But even here, there are instances of Π inst. of Π , and of **a** inst. of **'**¹⁶⁵. Especially the forms **א** **א** **א** "Arab", **א** **א** **א** "Arabian woman", **א** **א** **א** as an adv. (cf. Syr. *ṭayyāyā*, *ṭayyāyā'it*, *ṭayyāyā'ūṭā*, Ar. *ṭā'īy*) show that **'** could hardly be considered as a guttural, and the words were probably pronounced like in Syriac. These Talmudic forms recall the predilection of Mandaeen copyists for the use of **'** where there are several *i*'s or *y*'s side by side, cf. **'ia**, **ṭi'ia** besides **ṭiia** *ṭiyi* "error" (from **א** **א**); **ia'ia**, **iai'**, **ia'**, **iai'i**, **ia'ia**, **iaii'ia** besides **iai(i)a** *yayyā* "fair, beautiful" (= **א** **א**) etc.

Nöldeke further mentioned the Babylonian Nabataeans, who pronounced *h* instead of Π , and were unable to pronounce *ħ* and **'**, when they spoke Arabic¹⁶⁶. It is noteworthy that also Yāqūt¹⁶⁷ designates the population of the Mandaean city of Ṭib (ML 60: 5 etc) as Nabataean.

¹⁶⁴ MG §§ 57—66.

¹⁶⁵ Cf. MG p. 58 n. 2.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., pp. 59f.

¹⁶⁷ Mu'gam al-buldān III, p. 566.

Furthermore, Arabic loanwords, borrowed from Babylonian Aramaic, often have *h* inst. of an etymological *h*¹⁶⁸: *haṭara*, from which there is Mand. **huṭra** *huṭrā* “staff”, and perhaps also **haṭarata** (DA) *haṭarāṭa* (pl) “monds” and **huṭartana** (DC 43) “fighter (?)”; *harafa* = Mand. HRP “to incite”.
 5 There are also double roots: *harzaqa* and *barzaqa* = Mand. HRZQ “to fether” (=Talm. חרוק from חזק)¹⁶⁹; Ar. *ḥurāi* and *burāi* = Mand. **hurdia** “reed”¹⁷⁰.

This means that the voiced pharyngal *h* lost its sonority and became identical with the unvoiced laryngal *h*, while the unvoiced pharyngal ‘, identified with the voiced laryngal ‘, completely vanished.

When later the Mandaeans were forced to reintroduce the pharyngals, *h* and ‘, into their language by borrowing Arabic words, those phonemes remained limited to the words concerned as signs of their foreign origin.

§ 48. An etymological **h** regularly remained as first and second radicals; an
 15 etymological **h** became **h** in this position:

a) As first radical: **HBA** “to cover, hide” (< חָבֵי); **HBB** “to glow, burn” and **HMBB** (**hambib** *hambēb*) “to grow hot” (< חָבֵב); **hbul(ia)** “usury” (< Talm. חִבּוּלָא); **HBT** “to beat down” (< חָבַט) and its derivative **habuṭ**, **habit** (AM 286: 7) “depression (astrological term)”; **HBL** and **HMBL** (**hambil** *hambel*) “to destroy” (< חָבַל, Akk. *ḥabālu*) and its derivatives **hambala** *hambāla* “destroyer, **hambalta** *hambalṭa* “destruction”, **hbal** “woe!”, **hbala**, var. **hbila** “corruption”, **hbilṭa** *ebbelṭa* “pain of woman in labour”; **HBS** “to compress” (< Syr. *ḥbaṣ*); **HBQ** “to embrace” (< חָבַק) and its derivatives **hbaqa** and **hibqa** “embrace”; **HBR I** “to join, associate” (< חָבַר, der. **habara** *habāra* “friend”, fem. pl. **habarata** *habarāṭa*, and **HBR II** “to be dark” (cf. § 49); **HBŠ** “to enclose (< חָבַש); **HGA** “to meditate, read” (= הָגָא, der. **hugiana** “letter, syllable”; **HDA I** “to rejoice” (< חָדָא, חָדַי), derr. **haduta** *hadūṭa* “joy, merriment” **had(a)jata** *hadayāṭa* “wedding songs”, **mhadiana** *embadyāna* “wedding-guest” and **HDA II** “to lead (< **badaya*, Ar. *badā*[y]);
 30 **HDR I** “to turn” (< חָדַר), derr. **hdara** *abdara* “circuit, district” and “vertigo”, **hdaruta** = **hdurta** “bottom”, **hudrana** “circumference”, **hidra 2** “vertigo”, **mahdur(i)niata** (and varr.) “whorls”, **mahdurta** “circle”, **mahdruniata**,

¹⁶⁸ MG, p. 60:4ff.

¹⁶⁹ Fränkel, p. 280.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 149.

-**iniata** “whirlpools”, and HDR II “to be comely” (= הדרר), der. **hadra**, **hidra** “splendour”; HDT “to be new” (< חדת, Ar. *haduṭa*), derr. **hadta**, fem. **hadit(i)a battā**, fem. *hadeyṭi* > *hadīṭi* “new”; the pael of this root: **hadit** (: Ar. *ḥaddaṭa*) is used for “to speak, talk” in both postclassical and modern Mandaic, but its mod. pronunciation *ḥaddeṭ* has undergone an Arabic influence; HUA “to be” (= הוא), HWA “to show” (< חוּר) used in pa. **hauia** *hawwi* and af. **ahuia** *ahwi* (in mod. Mandaic the afel is generally preferred, but there is also a mod. **ahuia** *ahwi* “he hid” < cl. HBA, cf. above, under the influence of Ar. *ahfā*[y], so that the opposition *h/h* has become distinctive); HUB “to fail, be guilty” (< חורב), derr. **hauba** *bōba* “sin, guilt”, **haiaba** *hayāḅa* “sinner”; HUG “to turn away (the eyes)” (< חוג), der. **hgaga** “illusion”; HUT “to sew” (< חוט), der. **hauṭa** *bōṭa* > *boṭṭa* “sewing”, **mhaṭa** mod. *mahaṭṭa* (< Syr. *mḥāṭā* > *mḥaṭṭa*) “needle”; HUM = HMM “to be hot” (< חום = חמם), derr. **hauma** *howmā* > *hōma* “heat”, **hamima** *hamīma* “hot” (but mod. **ḥamama**, Morg. 273: 3, *ḥamāma* “bath”, taken over from Arabic, is pronounced with the Ar. *ḥ*, and this pronunciation is also indicated by the diacritical dots); HUS “to have compassion” (< חוס), derr. **haiasa** *hayāsa* “compassionate”, **haiasuta** *hayasūṭa* “compassion”; HUP = HPP “to wash” (< חרף, Akk. *ḥāpū*), derr. **hapia** = **h(a)upia** *bōfi* “froth, foam”, **hapapiata** “eruptions, sores”, **hipia** (3) id.; HUR “to look at” (< Syr. *ḥār* mediae *ḡ*); HWR (< חור) “to be white”, pa. **hauir** mod. *howwer* “to whiten” (< חוּר), derr. **hauara** = **hiuara** mod. *howāra* “white”, **haura** “hoariness”, **hira** (2) (DC 23, l. 318) “whiteness” etc.

b) As second radical: YHB = AHB “to give” (= יהב), derr. **iahba** (ML 218: 4 = CP 178: 14) “(giver >) jar”, **iahuba** “giver”, **mahbana** (AM 44: 11) and **mahbata**, **mahabata** “gifts”. It is noteworthy that Mandaic holds the *b* in this root (mod. pronunciation *abaḅ* “he gave”) opposite to Syriac *ya(h)b* > *yaḅ*, where it vanished. **aha** *ahā* “brother” (< אחא) and **ahata** *ahāṭa* “sister”; AHD “to shut” (< אחר); **had**, **hda** *hād*, *ehdā* (< חדר, חדרא, with aphaeresis of the first radical); AHK and GHK “to laugh” (גחך < *ḡaḥika*)¹⁷¹, derr. **ghuka** “laughter”, **mgahka** “comical”, **mgahkana** “jester”; BHR I “to chose” (< בחר), derr. **bhir(a)** “chosen”, **bihrat** (proper name of a female genius) and BHR II (but also BAR without *b*) “to shine” (= בהר), derr. **bihrana** *bibrāna* “glitter”, **bihruta** *bihrūṭa* “brightness”; BHŠ “to search, examine” (בחש, Ar. *baḥaṭa*); BHT “to be ashamed” (= בהת), derr. **bahtuta** 35

¹⁷¹ In modern Mandaic only the second form GHK (*gebeχ* “he laughed”) remained.

babtāṯa “shame”, *bhita abbīṯa* “shameful”; GHN I “to bow, incline” (= 𐤁𐤇); DHA “to push” (< 𐤁𐤇𐤁, Syr. *dhā*); DHL “to fear” (< 𐤁𐤇𐤁, Syr. *dhel*), mod. *debel* “he feared” and *edbel* “was afraid”, derr. *dahala dabāla* “one who fears > worshipper”, *dahalta*, **d(u)hulta** mod. *dobolṯa* “fear”
 5 (cl. also “worship”), *dahiltana dabelṯāna* “intimidator”, *dahlulia dablūi* “hobgoblins” etc.

§ 49. But there are also words, in which an initial etymological 𐤁 or 𐤁 vanished, and only its vowel remained: APK “to turn”, “to change” (= Talm. 𐤁𐤁𐤁, Ar. *afaka*, opposite to H. and Jew. Aram. 𐤁𐤁𐤁 and Syr. *hfa k*). From *habara*
 10 *habāra* (Sh. Abd.), *hoḥāra* (colloquial, § 20b) “darkness” there is a denominative verb HBR II “to be dark”¹⁷². The verb HBR never loses *b*, but the noun *habara* with pers. suffixes is **babaran**, **uabarkun**, **abarun** (Gs 57: 18, 22; 58: 12), becoming at least homographical with *abara abāra* “lead” (= 𐤁𐤁𐤁). Cl. *aṣaṣa aṣāṣa* “pebble” (< 𐤁𐤁𐤁) has a variant *haṣaṣia*
 15 (Gy 216: 10 B) *haṣāṣī* (pl.), so that the loss of the initial *b* was only facultative. ‘*uṣa* “leaf” (< Talm. 𐤁𐤁𐤁 “palm-leaf”, Syr. *ḥūṣā*, Ar. *ḥūṣ*)¹⁷³.

The prefix of the afel is a simpla *a-* as in other Aram. dialects, except a limited number of *hafel*-forms (§ 195 b).

Personal pronouns **hu** *hū*, **h** *hī*, pl. **hinun** *benon* “*ei*”, **hinin** *henen* “*ee*”
 20 hold the *b*, but they lose it when they are used as suffixes. This rule is consistent in both the classical and the modern language: **kdabun** *kedāḥūn*, mod. *kedāḥū* “their book”, **giṭlun** *geṭlūn*, mod. *geṭlū* “he killed them”. The full ending **-inhun** *-enbon* “them” can still be found in the classical. Nöldeke¹⁷⁴ considered it as an archaistic graphical form. Since, however, the
 25 Mandaeans, reading such forms, usually pronounce *b*, I am led to believe that *b* could, at least, facultatively be pronounced in this classical form. The forms, as **asarinhan** (Gs 128: 21 BCD) “he fettered us” etc., where there was no original *b*, might particularly have been influenced by such forms, so that the facultative pronunciation of *b* would have been extended on a false
 30 analogy also to the suffix of the 1st p. pl. (§ 51). The classical **hu** lost the *b*

¹⁷² The cl. *habara* may be considered as origin of the mod. *bowāra* (i. e. *hoḥāra*) “dark”, which is a homonymous antonym of *hiuara bowāra* “white”. Mod. *lilyā bowār tāmmā* “It became dark” (Lit. “the night became dark”).

¹⁷³ Löw, Aram. Pflanzennamen, p. 116.

¹⁷⁴ MG, p. 62: 5 ff.

in **hadinu**, **hainu** *bādīnu*, *bēnū* “this is he” (§ 36); **manu** *manū* “who (is)?” (< ܡܢ ܗܘ?); **amu** *amū* “why?” (< ܥܠ ܡܳܐ ܗܘܐ), mod. **qamu** *qāmū* id. (< ܩܡ ܡܳܐ ܗܘ). There is also a cl. form with *b* and without contraction **mahu**, which with the relative **ḏ-** (in **mahu ḏ**) produced a younger contracted form **mud** *mūd*.

The demonstrative **ha** *hā* “this” has lost the *b* in the facultative mod. form *ā*, while in its longer mod. form *ahā* as well as in *hāḫ* “that”, *hannī*, *ahnī*, *banneḫ* “these”, “those”, *b* always remains (Otherwise, *hannī* and esp. *ahnī* would have become identical with *anī* “we”).

§ 50. The vanishing of *b*, as the most typical fricative with absolutely no degree of obstruction, is attested in the best way in the roots *mediae* ܗ, ܗ: 10

While *b* remains in **YHB** = **AHB** “to give”, **AHD** “to shut”, beginning with a vowel (or a semivowel), it regularly vanishes in roots beginning with consonantal radicals: **BAR** “to shine forth” (< ܒܗܪ, Syr. *bhr*), cf. **bar** (Gy 91: 22) *bar* (< ܒܗܪ and ܒܗܪܝ), **barit** (Gy 74: 5) *barīt* (< ܒܗܪܝܬ), **baiar** (Gy 128: 18, pt. masc.) *bāyar* (< Syr. **bābar*), **baira** (Gy 82: 5 pt. fem.) *bāyra* (< Syr. *bābrā*) etc. Since there is also **BHR** “to choose” (§ 48 b), the vanishing of *b* became distinctive.

The rt. ܝܗܪ “to shine” became **YUR** = ‘UR (homonymous with ܥܘܪ “to awake”, so that it is often difficult to recognize them in the texts)¹⁷⁵. Nevertheless, the original root **YHR** is sometimes used in ethpa. (**tiahrit** 20 *etyabrit* “I shone”) to avoid the confusion with ܥܘܪ “to awake”.

But there are also cases in which **h** (either original or from an original ܗ) vanishes: cl. **SAA** “to wash” (< ܫܗܝ, Syr. *shā*, H. *šohā*)¹⁷⁶; **PAA** “to fall apart” (< Syr. *phā*) has become homonymous **PAA** “to cry” (< Syr. *pā*), cf. **paia** (Q 11: 4) *pāyi* = Syr. *pābē*, **paia** (Gy 8: 18) *pāyen* = Syr. *pābēn*, 25 but **pat pat** = Syr. *pā*¹⁷⁷; **ṣauta** (5) “thirst” (< Syr. *ṣahyūlā*) became homonymous with **ṣauta 1** “ornament” (< Syr. *ṣēbtā*), **ṣauta 2** “company” (< ܨܘܚܬܐ, Syr. *ṣawtā*), **ṣuta 3** “voice” (= Syr. *ṣawtā* = Ar. *ṣawt*) and **ṣauta 4** “perception” from **ṢUT** “to hear”, hence related to **ṣauta 3**)¹⁷⁸, although the

¹⁷⁵ MG 62 n. 7; Lidzbarski, ZDMG XLI p. 697 n. 2.

¹⁷⁶ It is not surprising that this double weak verb was driven out by its easier synonyms: *ṣamaš* and *howwer* (**hawir**).

¹⁷⁷ This confusing verb was also replaced by easier and more plastic expressions, as *nāḅṣī lūdī tammā*, *lūd tammā*, *wel tammā* etc for “to get lost”, and *qāl ebaḥḥ* or simply *qarri* for “to cry”.

¹⁷⁸ Cf. Drower-Macuch, Mandaic Dictionary 386.

verb **ṢHA** “to be thirsty” is, otherwise, used with *h* in all verbal forms as well as in the derivatives **ṣihua** “thirst”, **ṣihia** id., **ṣihium** (**י**) “dryness”; **tauma** *taumā* “limit”, “frontier”, “region” (< **תאומה**, Syr. *thūma*) became homonymous with “twin” (Syr. *tā'mā*, **תאומ**, Ar. *taw'am*); the word also means
 5 “nations” (Gy 229: 18, 247: 15) and derives from the same common Semitic and Indo-European root as the Old P. *tan(h)ma* > mod. P. *tuhm*; but in **ṭuhma** *ṭohma* “family” (= Syr. *ṭohmā*, Ar. *ṭuhm*), which may come from the same root, the *h* remained¹⁷⁹.

Further examples are: **sira** mod. *serra* (with a secondary reduplication
 10 of *r*, § 29, 102) “moon” (< Syr. *sabrā*); **šuda** *šūdā* “bribery” (as Talm. **שוד**, Syr. *šuhdā*); **šuta** (Gy 182: 1) *šūṭa* “rust” (< Syr. *šuhṭā*) became homonymous with “discourse”, “doctrine” (< **שודא**); **tit** *tēṭ* “down”, “under” (< Syr. *taḥt*) as well as **titaia** *titāya* “lower”, “inferior” and (**a**)**tutia** (*a*)*tūṭi*, mod. *tūṭ* “under.”

15 In **anin** *anīn*, mod. *anī*, the *h* vanished as in Talmudic, Targumic, Christian Palestinian and Samaritan. The sporadic **anhin** was considered by Nöldeke only as a poor variant¹⁸⁰. However, it might represent a facultative pronunciation, in which *h* was temporarily preserved by the fact that the vowel preceding it vanished, and a new vowel was produced after it.

20 In **našira** (Gy 230: 23 twice) “chase, hunting”, explained rightly by Nöldeke from P. *naḥšir*¹⁸¹, the Persian *χ* vanished.

§ 51. *H* as third radical:

a) The *h* can be preserved by a following vowel. This is proved by the roots III **ה**, **ה**, in which *h* shows the greatest tendency to vanish¹⁸²: **alaha**
 25 *alāha* “god”, pl. **alahia** *alāhī*. It is noteworthy that there is no status absolutus nor constructus of this word. The status emphaticus is used even there, where the status constructus would grammatically be expected. Nöldeke¹⁸³ considers the expression **alaha alihī**/**an alāha alīhan** (sic) “God of gods” (Syr. *alāh alāhīn*) only as a poor variant. The pronunciation, however, does

¹⁷⁹ MG, p. 63 (with n. 3).

¹⁸⁰ MG, p. 87: 5 f.

¹⁸¹ Ibid., lines 5 ff.

¹⁸² Ibid., § 59a.

¹⁸³ Ibid., p. 65: 9 ff.

not prove it¹⁸⁴. **alaha** is never pronounced *alāh* or *allāh* but always with the final vowel, even in **alahakun** (Gy 255:22) *alāhaxon* “your god” (:Syr. *alāhḫān*); the variant **alahkun** (Ibid. B) is only a defective writing with the same pronunciation. The group of two guttural fricatives (*hχ*) would present special difficulty, which would be solved by an auxiliary vowel even if the word had a status constructus. The circumstance that the mentioned consonantal group is found in Syriac cannot be considered as a proof for Mandaic, which has horror of gutturals and esp. of their combinations in consonantal groups, although these are found in Syriac.

ruha rūba (= Syr. *rūḥā*) is used in Mandaic esp. as a proper name of the Queen of Darkness, mother of devils, and with the epitheton constans, **ruha ḡ-quḏša** (= Syr. *rūḥā ḡquḏšā*), as mother of Jesus. But the st. abs. **ruh rūh** (= Syr. *rūḥ*), used in the classical for “spirit”, started to replace the cl. **ziqa zīqa** “wind” in postclassical Mandaic (cf. **ruh timia**, AM 231:18, *rūh timyā* “south wind”, **ruh girba**, ibid., l. 19, *rūh gerbā* “north wind”). The st. abs. naturally could not be formed in another way, but the final *h* was felt as in expedient, so that a mod. form *rehwā* (analogy of *zewwā*) was formed¹⁸⁵, and this neologism drove out **ruh**.

The rt. **𐤒𐤍** “to rest”, “to be soft” became NHA: **nha** “was soft, mild”, pronounce: *enhā*, *nəhā* (not *nā*, as was supposed by Nöldeke¹⁸⁶); however, the derivatives are formed from NUH: **niaha niāba** “rest” (= Syr. *nyāḥā*), **niha** “soft” (= Syr. *nīḥā*), from which, further, an abstr. noun **nihuta niḥūṭa** “softness” and an adverb **nihaiit niḥāyiṭ** “softly” are derived.

Although the root **𐤒𐤍**, Syr. *gnah*, became GNA “to shake” (homonymous with **gna** “to sleep” = **𐤒𐤍**), the *h* remained in its derivative **guha** “shaking”, “rumbling” (§§ 26c, 118a).

The difficulties, caused by *h* (𐤒, 𐤍) as third radical, can best be illustrated by the triple roots: PLH = PLA = PHL “to serve”, “to worship” (from **𐤐𐤌𐤁**, Syr. *plab*), cf. **pihla ḡ-ʾišum hiia pla** (ML 107:8, Morg. 240/68:2—3/) “the worship which they made to the name of Life”; ŠBH = ŠBA = ŠHB “to praise”; DNH = DNA = DHN “*oriri*”; PTH = PTA = PHT “to open” (§ 52).

¹⁸⁴ The second word has the same structure as **marian mariwān** “lords”, and might have been influenced by it, since both expressiōs **alaha alihan umara marian alāba alihan umāra mariwān** “God of the gods and Lord of the lords” are, as a rule, used together (§§ 166a, 243:10, 244a).

¹⁸⁵ Cf. Gl., pp. 42:6, 84:11, 172:7.

¹⁸⁶ MG, p. 67:20f.

As for **ṭabaiia** (Gy 107: 4, 5) *ṭabāyī* “cooks”, Nöldeke¹⁸⁷ sees here a deliberate attempt to make a form similar to the following **apaiia afāyī** “bakers”. The difficulty of this conception consists first in the fact that **ṭabaiia** precedes **apaiia** and, in consequence, could hardly have been influenced by it, but especially that the root *ṭabaḥa* really became **ṬBA** in Mandaic (homonymous with cl. **ṬBA** “to submerge”, “to sink” = טבע, cf. **mṭabilun** (Gy 187: 7) *m(ə)ṭabillūn* “they roast them”, and especially the derivative **ṭabuta ṭabūḏa** “food”, “meal” (which became homonymous with “goodness”)¹⁸⁸. *Ṭabūḏa* is consistently used in mod. Mandaic as a synonym of **mikla miḫlā**. Nevertheless, the Arabic form **ṭabaḫa ṭabāḫa** is now used for “cook”, while the cl. **apaiia afāya** “baker” is still used.

b) We have seen in § 20 t that the ending **t** tends to be preceded by unvoiced fricatives. This rule is confirmed also by the fact that *b* remains before this ending. Moreover, **t** after this fricative is usually aspirated, cf. cl. **npihta** (Gy 279: 13) *enpeḥḏā* “blown”, cl. **qidihta, qadahta qadabḏa** “cry”, **tušbihta tošbahḏa** (facultatively *tošbāḏa*) “praise”. However, this maintaining of *b* seems to be merely facultative, as the pronunciations *tošbahḏa* and *tošbāḏa* and the varr. of the cl. **aš(a)mata** and **šamahta ašmāḏa (ašamāḏa)** and **šamabḏa** “shine” prove¹⁸⁹. In the plural of such forms, *b*, being protected by the vowel of the ending *-āḏa*, naturally remains: cl. **parahiata** (Gy 4: 5) *parabiāḏa* “sparks” etc. In spite of that, the plural of **qidihta** is **qihdata** (Gy 163: 17) *qahdāḏa* “cries” (from the introverted root QHD) apart from **qidahata**.

The *b* as third radical facultatively remains before *t* and *n* of verbal endings: **ptaht** (Gy 342: 18f) *pəḥabt* “thou didst open”, **ptahtun pəḥabtūn** “ye opened”, **ptahtḥ pəḥabtī** “thou hast opened it” or (Gy 66: 21) “I have opened it”, **ptahnin** (Gy 141: 10) *pəḥabnī(n)* “we opened”. But the facultative character of the retention of *b* is apparent from the variants, as **ptahnun** (Gy 141: 10 AC) *pəḥabnun* “we opened them” and **ptanḥ** (Ibid. var.) *pəḥannī* “we opened it”, **šabihḥ** (Q 6: 24) *šababtī* and **šabath** (Ibid. varr.) *šabātī* “I praised him”. **-iht-** might have been used to indicate both **-abt-** and **-at-** as in **tušbihta tošbahḏa, tošbāḏa**.

¹⁸⁷ MG, p. 64: 4f.

¹⁸⁸ Cf. Gl. 112: 7, 155: 13.

¹⁸⁹ Drower-Macuch, Mandaic Dictionary 33 a.

c) Otherwise, *b* (: 𐤁, 𐤁) as third radical, protected neither by a following vowel nor by the verbal ending, regularly vanishes: cl. **gna** *gənā* "he shook" (s. a); cl. **dna** *danā* "ortus est" (< 𐤎𐤁𐤍); cl. **pla** (besides **plah** Gs 36: 15) *palā* "he served", "he worshipped"; cl. **pta** *potā* "he opened", cl. ethp. ***ṛpta** *eteptā* "(was) opened"; **šaba** *šabbā* "he praised", **mšaba** *m(ə)šabbā* (< Syr. *mšabbah*, act. and pass. pt. pa.); cl. **aška** *aškā* (< Syr. *aškah*), **maška** *maškā* (Syr. *meškaḥ*)¹⁹⁰; **miša** *mešša* "oil", "unguent" (< Syr. *mešhā*) with a mod. st. abs. *meš* and a mod. pl. *mešāni*, **parsa** *pārsa* < P. *farsah* (like Jew. 𐤍𐤓𐤁, not like Syr. *paršhā*). The shorter forms, in which *b* vanished, can also be used before the plural and verbal endings: **parsia** *pārsi* "parasangs", **nagia** 10 (Gy 99: 21, 112: 19, Gs 76: 17) "minutes (?)"¹⁹¹, **aškit** *ašket* "thou hast found", *aškit* "I have found" etc.

d) A simple final *b* is usually not pronounced even when it is written, cf. **plah** *palā* (s. c.). Further examples, quoted by Nöldeke¹⁹², are pronounced as follows: **dnih** **danī* "ortus" (as is proved also by the var. **dnia**), **šbih** 15 *šabi* "praised", **ših** *šī* "greedy", **šlih** (phon. var. **šlia**) *šali* "sent", **nih** (phon. var. **n** Gy 293: 21) *nī* "soft". The forms **dnih**, **šlih**, **nih** follow the graphical analogy of **dnihā** *danīha*, **šliha** *šaliha* "Apostle", **niha** *nīha*, while **dnia**, **šlia**, **n** are strictly phonetic. Nevertheless, **zlihlia** (Gy 84: 19) "I have sprinkled" (= Syr. *zliḥli*) is pronounced *exlehle*, *zəlihle*, since the last radical, *b*, is protected 20 by the following enclitic.

e) Even a *b* as third radical, preceded by a mere *šwa*, can facultatively be preserved by the following vowel, as is proved by the variants **madbha** (Gy 227: 6) *madbāhā* and **madba** (more usual) *madba* "altar", **ašlhan** (Gs 123: 9) *ašlhan* and **ašlan** (Ibid.) *ašlan* "he drew me out", **tišabhun** (Gy 25 23: 9) *tešabhun* and **tišabun** (Gy 45: 8 etc) *tešabhun* "thou praisest them" etc¹⁹³.

§ 52. Since the combinatory preservation of *b* as 3rd radical by the inflexional endings was merely a matter of chance, the language invented a

¹⁹⁰ In mod. Mandaic there seems to be no proper word for "to find", and this meaning is included in *beza* "he saw".

¹⁹¹ Nöldeke: "morning" (MG, p. 64: 19), but cf. Lidzbarski, *Ginzā*, p. 106 n. 5.

¹⁹² MG, p. 65: 3 ff.

¹⁹³ MG § 60, p. 66.

more certain way of preserving its only guttural from vanishing: the metathesis¹⁹⁴.

Some roots III *h* (: 𐤆, 𐤇), facultatively changed by metathesis into II *h*, were mentioned in § 51a. Further examples are: cl. *ṢHM* (< Syr. *ṣmah*) and its derivatives: *ṣihma ṣehmā* “brightness” etc; *‘uhra* mod. *ohrā* “road” (< Syr. *orhā*); *iahra, iihra* mod. *yəhrā* “month” (< 𐤀𐤆𐤓, Syr. *yarhā*); cl. *pihulta, puhulta pobolṭa* “worship” (aside from *pulhana pulhāna* = Syr. *pulhānā*, § 51a); ZHL (< Syr. *ḡlah* § 51d), cl. *miḥšh* (Gy 12:20) *mehšī* “he measured it” (Syr. *mašhēh*), cl. *rahualun* (Gs 88:16) *rāhwallon* “they will be relieved” (< Syr. *rāwhā lbōn*), cl. *ṣihua ṣehwā* “cry” from 𐤀𐤆𐤓 (homonymous with “thirst” from *ṢHA*, § 50), cl. *qihdata qabdāṭa*, a pl. of *qidihta* (§ 51a); NHA (< 𐤀𐤆, § 51a); PHK “to be(come) dull” (< Syr. *pḡah*); *tihua* (Gy 173:14) *tehwā* “astonishment”, *tihma* (Gy 46:18, ML 183:6) *tehmā* “stupefaction” (Syr. *tembā*), and *tahmia tahmī* esp. in *mia tahmia* “turbid waters” etc.

In *mahga* (Gy 193:3) *mahgā* “morning” (Syr. *maggāhā* with assimilation of the first rad.) the original assimilation of *n* to *g* was certainly forgotten when the metathesis took place, so that the word must already have been pronounced **maghā* at that time. This example is isolated, and it is strange, because the group *ng* is very popular in Mandaic (§ 23c), so that the forms **manghā*, **mangā* (cf. *madbāhā, madbā*, § 51b) would be perfectly admissible.

As to pronunciation of this secondary II *h*, Nöldeke’s conclusion¹⁹⁵ needs correction. The metathesis had the purpose of protecting the pronunciation of *h* and successfully reached this goal. The active participle sg. masc. 25 pe. of verbs III 𐤆 is usually affected by metathesis to avoid the confusion with the verbs “𐤆”. Otherwise, *pahra pāhra* “he flies” could easily be confused with *paria pāri* “he fructifies”. The *h*, introverted intentionally, was then really pronounced, as is proved by the consistent traditional pronunciation of *pahra* = Syr. *pārah* “he flies”, *rahta* = Syr. *rāṭah* “he (: it) boils”, *dahna* 30 = Syr. *dānaḥ* “oritur” as *pāhra, rāḥṭa, dābna* (and not *pārā, rāḥṭā, dānā*, as Nöldeke supposed). The writing of *h* was there not merely orthographical, but represented the real phonetic state. The metathesis of the roots III *h* (: 𐤆, 𐤇) represents an earnest attempt of the language to preserve its only guttural from vanishing.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid., § 61.

¹⁹⁵ MG, p. 67:9ff.

§ 53. The letter **h** has no consonantal value and is regularly pronounced *i*. Originally, it might have had the same value as a final **h**¹⁹⁶, which, according to § 51d, vanished, so that only the vowel, preceding it, remained. The original consonantal value of **h** is proved especially by the alphabetic psalms, in which the verses indicated by **h** begin with **h** (e. g. Gy 277: 12), and by the transcription of the Persian proper name *Rūz̄bih* as **ruzbh**, **ruzbiḥ** (often in colophons) notwithstanding Sh. Abdullah's modern pronunciation *rūzbi*.

h is particularly used to indicate the suffix of the 3rd p. sg. **h** and **h̄**. As a suffix of the masc. gender it can be written **-h** or **-ih** = **h̄**, both being pronounced *i*. That these forms were often used also for the suffix of the feminine gender, can be explained only as an inconsistency of the copyists. The regular feminine form is **-a -ā**, even **-ah** (= **h̄**), pronounced in the same way without *h*. The latter represents then a more pedantic writing. Nowadays, no Mandaean would think of writing **-ah** instead of the simple **-a -ā**, except when he is copying that form from an older manuscript.

That the *h* of personal suffixes was not pronounced, is further proved by the phonetic writing of the classical forms, as **abuia** *aβūy* = Syr. *abū(h)y* and **abu** *aβū* = Syr. *abūh*.

Since **h** became merely a vowel sign for the final *-i*, it was sometimes used also for other cases of the final *-i* than that of the suffix of the 3rd p. sg. masc. Therefore, it is sometimes difficult to decide whether **h** designates the personal suffix *-i*, or it is used instead of the normal plural ending **-ia -ī** (identical with the special mod. sg. ending, § 155)¹⁹⁷.

§ 54. **h̄** (> **i**) between two vowels:¹⁹⁸ **baia** *bāyī*, mod. *bōyī* "he wants" (< *bā'ē*). The fem. (*bā'yā*) could have either the same form or **baia**, only pronounced differently. In Gs 125 ff it is written **baiha**, which Nöldeke¹⁹⁹ rightly judges to be an inexpedient writing and reasonably expects the only admissible pronunciation, *bāyā*. However, the colloquial pronunciation is (*qa*)*bīya* "she wants". Pl. **baiin** "they want" (< *bā'ēn*) is traditionally pronounced *bāyen*, colloquially (*qa*)*bīyēn*; **baiinin** *bāyennīn* "we want" (= Syr. *bā'īnan*), mod. simply (*qa*)*bennī*. A similar verb is the cl. **gaiia** *gāyī* "he rejoices" (Syr.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid., § 62.

¹⁹⁷ Cf. my review of Sundberg's *Kushtā*, ThLZ 1957, col. 674.

¹⁹⁸ MG § 63.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid. § 64: end, p. 72: 15 f.

gayyā), which became homonymous with the cl. **gaiia** (Syr. *g'ā*) "he cries" (cf. **habara gaiia**, var. **gahia**, Gy 71:8, "the howling darkness"), **ethpa**. **'tgaiit etgayyet, etgayyit** "glorificatus es, sum" (= Syr. *eḷgayyet*), derivative **gaiuta gayyūḥa** "splendour" (= Syr. *ga'yūtā*). Further **'štaiia estayyī** "he talked" (Syr. *eštā'i*); **aiil, aila, āyel, āyla** "he, she enters" as in Talmudic (Syr. *'ā'el, 'ā'lā*), impf. **niul** (varr. **niul, n'iul, ni'iul**) *niyyol* (< *ne'ol*) etc. **šaiil, šaila šāyel, šāyla** "he, she asks" (Syr. *šā'el, šā'lā*), the active participle pe. sg. masc. is homographical with the 3rd p. sg. masc. perfect pa. **šaiil šayyel** > *šeyyel* > mod. *šeyyel* (Syr. *šā'el*), der **šuiala šyāla** "question" (Syr. *šū'ālā*). Cl. **iaiaia** (and varr.) *yāyī* "nice" (= Syr. *yā'ē*). **laiit lāyeḥ** = Syr. *lā 'il*, **lit leḥ** = Syr. *layt*. Cl. **saiura** (Gy 227:4) *sāyōra* = Syr. *sā'ōrā*, **iaduaia yādūyā** = Syr. *yādō'ā*. **šaiia šāyī** "hours" = Syr. *šā'ē*; mod. Mandaic also forms from it a singular *šāya* (§ 55 d). It is strange that the cl. **draiia darāyī** "arms" (Syr. *drā'ē*) was forgotten, while another similar form **kraiaia karāyī** > *kerāyī* "legs" (Syr. *krā'ē*) is stil used (§§ 160c, 165 end, 172a).

h (< **ḥ**) as third radical always remains (§ 51a). Therefore **qurdaia** (ML 23:7 = CP 21:8) cannot be identified with Syr. *qurdāḥā*, as Lidzbarski (ML, p. 27 n. 4) supposed, but must derive from Syr. *qurdā'ā* "club, cudgel" (cf. § 57c).

§ 55. In all other cases, **ḫ**, **ḥ** vanishes²⁰⁰. This seems to be the most consistent phonetic rule in Mandaic. The vanished gutturals left absolutely no trace, not even a lengthening of the preceding vowel, as one would expect

a) When the guttural was preceded by a *šwa mobile* or an auxiliary vowel (as in Syriac), the vanishing of the guttural made the *šwa mobile* (or the auxiliary vowel) disappear without any trace: **'tbid etḥed** = Syr. *eḷ'ḥed* **'tkil etḥel** = Syr. *ette'ḥel*; **'tmar etmar** = Syr. *ette'mar*; **'tqar, mitqar etqar, metqar** = Syr. *eḷ'qar, meḷ'qar*. Therefore, when the 2nd radical is a sibilant, the metathesis takes place: **'star estar** = Syr. *ette'sar*; **'štīd eštēd** = Syr. *ette'šad*. However, the original vowel remains, after the vanishing of the guttural, in forms with inflectional endings, when it is preserved by the accent: **'tibdat eteḥdat** = Syr. *eḷ'ahdat*; **'tiklat eteḥlat** = Syr. *eḷa'ḥlat*; **'timrat etemrat** = Syr. *eḷa'mrat*; **'tiqrat eteqrat** = Syr. *eḷ'aqrat*; **mitiqra meteqrā** = Syr. *meḷ'aqrā*; **mitiqria meteqrī** = Syr. *meḷ'aqrīn* etc. In such a case, the vowel preserves

²⁰⁰ MG, p. 70:4ff.

the sibilant 2nd radical from metathesis: **mitisrin** *metesrīn* = Syr. *mele'srīn* etc. The preserving of the vowel is then combinatory. It is not due to the influence of the guttural, but only to prosodic circumstances. As a result, even in such cases, the guttural vanishes without any trace.

b) A guttural, preceded by a consonant or a *šwa mobile* also vanished without any trace. An examination of Nöldeke's examples²⁰¹ will suffice: **maziz** *mazzez* "he fortifies" (< Syr. *m'azzez*); **nibia**, **tibia** *nibbī*, *tibbī* "he wants", "she wants" ("thou wantest") etc (< Syr. *neb'ē*, *teb'ē*), **šuban** *šobβan* "baptize me!" (Syr. *šbō'a*[y]n[ʃ]); **zira** *zerrā* "seed" (< Syr. *zar'ā*); cl. **ṭabin** *ṭābīn* (Sh. Abd.) "they sink"; **ba** *bā* "he wanted" (Syr. *b'ā*), mod. *abā*; **bat** *bat* "she wanted" (< Syr. *b'āt*), mod. *abat*.

A guttural 3rd radical could also vanish without transition to 'ʿ (as in Syriac) in **sana** *sāna* "enemy" (: Syr. *sān'ā*) aside from **sania** *sānī*, fem. *sānya* (Syr. *sānē*, *sānyā*; **sina** *sīna* "hatred" (: ܣܝܢܐ); **qina** *qīna* (pronunciation influenced by Arabo-Persian *kīnab* > *kīne*) "zeal", "passion" (= ܩܝܢܐ); **mara** = Syr. *mārā* (doublet of **maria** Syr. *māryā*) "Lord", "master".

Here belongs also **manda** *manda* Γῠῠῠῠῠ (< ܡܢܕܐܢܐ), written etymologically **mnd'a**, at least, in one ancient document (Florilegium 352: 16, 18) as to dispel all doubts that the word could mean anything else but Γῠῠῠῠῠ.

c) That the vanishing of the guttural left no trace in the preceding vowel as to its length, is also apparent from the secondary reduplication of the following radical, which could not take place if the preceding vowel had remained long: **mamid** *mammed* "he baptizes" (< Syr. *ma'med*); **nibad**, **tibad**, **'bad** *nīβbad*, *tīβbad*, *iβbad* "he does" ("we do"), "she does" ("thou doest"), "I do". **'bad** *iβbad* = Syr. *e'bad* became homographical with **'bad** *eβad* = Syr. **bad*. Similarly **nimar**, **timar**, **'mar** *nimmar*, *timmar*, *immar* = Syr. *ne'mar* etc. The gemination is combinatory and cannot take place when the 2nd and 3rd radicals meet together before verbal endings: **nibdun**, **tibdun**, **nīβdun**, **tīβdun** "they do", "ye do"; **nimrun**, **timrun** *nimrun*, *timrun* "they say", "ye say" etc.

d) The same rule can be observed in words, in which **ṣ. y** was the the second radical. In these words, however, the colloquial pronunciation sometimes has a long vowel even before the reduplicated 3rd radical. The lengthe-

²⁰¹ MG, p. 71: 2 ff.

ning of the vowel before a consonant affected by secondary reduplication may be considered as a tertiary phenomenon. Sh. Abdullah often pronounces such words with a short vowel in spite of the usual colloquial pronunciation with a long vowel: **ṭama** *ṭamma* (Sh. Abd.), *ṭamma* (coll.)
 5 “taste” (< Syr. *ṭā‘mā*); **raia**, **raia** *rāya* (Sh. Abd.), *rōya*, *rōyī* (coll.) “shepherd” (< Syr. *rā‘yā*); cl. **ṭuna** *ṭonna* “burden” (< ܛܢܘܢܐ); **šula** *šolla* “handful” (Syr. *šū‘lā*); **bil**, **bila** *bel*, *bella* “husband” (< Syr. *b‘el*, *ba‘lā*). But in the following examples the long vowel is consistently used: **riš**, **riša**, *rīš*, *rīša* “head” (ܪܫܐ, ܪܫܝܗ); cl. **šita** *šīṭa* “hour” (Syr. *šā‘tā*; mod. Mand. *šāya* is
 10 formed from the cl. pl., § 54); cl. **rīma** *rīma* “thunderclap” (Syr. *ra‘mā*)²⁰² etc.

e) The vanishing of the guttural as third radical affects the preceding vowel by lengthening only when it is followed by no ending, and when the preceding syllable has a short vowel, cf. **šma** *šmā* “he heard” (Syr. *šmā*), but **šimat** *šīmat* “she heard” (Syr. *šem‘at*) and **šmanin** *šmannīn* (Syr. *šma‘nan*).
 15 I know no exception from this rule.

§ 56. Nöldeke²⁰³ was only partly right in supposing that the vanished initial **š** offered no support to the *šwa mobile* of the proclitics. **labuia** “to his father” and **b‘mrh** “in his speech” are traditionally pronounced (*el*)*labīy* and *abemrī*. But **u‘mra** “and the speech” is pronounced *uemrā* (neither *wemrā*
 20 nor *w‘emrā*) because of the vocal character of the proclitic conjunction **u** (§ 12c). As to the modern pronunciation, there are two, even three facultative variations: **l‘th** “to his wife” can be pronounced either *el-eṭṭī* (as two words with a distinct *spiritus lenis* in the second) or *la-eṭṭī* with a *šwa mobile* after the preposition; moreover, the *šwa mobile* can be replaced by a distinct
 25 full vowel *o*: *lo-eṭṭī* (§ 12c). These facultative pronunciations could already have existed in the classical in the time when it was spoken. The consistent avoiding of the *šwa mobile* with the help of the prosthetic vowel in traditional pronunciation is in great measure artificial and hardly completely original. The priests care to pronounce every *ab læṭlī menda* and *al læṭlī menda* as *ab* (or
 30 *eb*) and *al* (or *el*). The living, colloquial language, which does not care about such prejudices, might have preserved better the original phonetic freedom of pronunciation. One could hardly consider the *šwa mobile* of the colloquial pronunciation as a secondary phenomenon.

²⁰² Mod. *qāl reqībā* lit. “voice of the sky”.

²⁰³ MG, § 63: end, p. 71: 10ff.

§ 57. Replacing of **ח. ע** by *h*²⁰⁴.

a) *As initial sound.* There is, above all, a double root 'UQ HUQ "to be anxious. From 'UQ: **laiqia d-aiqalun** (Gy 369: 4) *el'ayqī ad-āyqallon* "to the anxious who are anxious", der.: **aqū, aqut, aquta aqū, aqūṭ, aqūṭa** "distress" (= Syr 'āqū, 'āqūṭ, 'āqūṭā); from HUQ: pe. **haqt hāq** (Gy 135:15, 160:16) ⁵ "he was afraid", **haqt hāqet** "thou wert afraid", **haqt hāqit** (Gy 180: 19) "I was anxious" etc, af. **mahiqaṭlun mahiqaṭlon** "thou frightenest them", nom. ag. **mahiqaṭna mahiqaṭna** "oppressor", der. **hauqa** "fright", "terror"²⁰⁵.

The cl. **hanšiman, hanšamin, handašman** (and other varr., Gy 392: 17) ¹⁰ "meeting", "association" (= P. *anšuman*) may repose on a Middle Persian facultative form with a *spiritus asper* (cf. Parthain *hnšmn* and 'nšmn, Pāzend *hanšaman*). Real doublets are **apiqia afiqi** and **hapiqia hafiqi** "streams" (cf. **אִי־פִי־אִי**), **atiqa atīqa** and **hatiqa hatīqa** "old" (**אִי־תִי־אִי**).

The comparative conjunction **(a)kuat aḫwāṭ** "like", "just as" has a ¹⁵ secondary doublet **hakuat haḫwāṭ** (= Syr. *hāḫwāt*), which, however, is a contracted form of **ha akuat**²⁰⁶, a phenomenon which is just the contrary of the loss of the *spiritus asper* of the demonstrative **ha** in modern Mandaic (§ 49).

In **aqra** (Gs 95: 7, Jb 27: 5) = ἄκρα the Mand. form is more original than ²⁰ Jew.-Aram. **אִקְרָא** (apart from **אִקְרָא**, Ar. 'aqr)²⁰⁷.

The *spiritus asper* instead of the *spiritus lenis* is found in the cl. **hin ben** "if" (< 'in, cf. H. **אִם**; but *h* is already found in Bible-Aram. **הִן**, Dan. 2: 11, 3: 28, 6: 6, 8, 13, "if not", "except" as well as in Nabataean, Egyptian and Jew. Aram. in the negative form: Mand. **hinila, hin'la benella**)²⁰⁸. In the same way ²⁵ the original interrogative particle 'ayy, H. **אִי**, received a *spiritus asper* in the cl. **haizim beyzen** "how?" and **haka hāḫa** "where?" as in other Aram. dialects²⁰⁹.

b) As second radical, **ע** facultatively became *h* only in a few classical roots: DAK (**dak daḫ**) and DHK (**dhik dābeḫ > debēḫ**) "to quench", "to extinguish" (= **דָּבַח**); in mod. Mandaic this verb became **dakka** (§§ 222, 224γ). The ³⁰

²⁰⁴ MG § 64.

²⁰⁵ About mod. *wayyeq* (< cl. 'UQ) cf. here n. 151 and § 221 e 1.

²⁰⁶ MG, p. 195 n. 2.

²⁰⁷ MG, p. 71 n. 2; cf. Fränkel, p. 233.

²⁰⁸ MG, pp. 208 f.

²⁰⁹ Ibid., p. 71 & n. 3.

form **baiha** (Gs 125 ff.) for *bā'yā* is only an inexpedient writing for *bāyā*, *bīya* (§ 54), although the similar **gahia** “she cries” for (*gā'yā*) must be pronounced *gāhya*, because the rt. GHA exists besides GAA, cf. **ghun** (JRAS 39, p. 401:1) *ghon* “they sobbed”. This GHA may be related to the cl. KHA 5 “to scold”, in which *b* may also be secondary as in H. כהכ, but in which the double root *כא = כה is very ancient²¹⁰.

c) **ʿ** > *b* as third radical: **rqīha** *arqīha*, *raqīha* “sky” (< Syr. *rqī'ā*); **qmaha** *q(ə)māha* “phylactery” (< Syr. *qmī'ā*); **mambuha** “ritual drink” (< Syr. *mabbū'ā*) has a doublet with *γ*: **mambuga** *mambū'ya* (as Syr. *mabbū'ga*). In the classical, there were two varr. of *deme'tā* “tear”: **dimihta** *dīmahṭa* (Sh. Abd.) and **dimita** *demeyṭa*. Gl., p. 183:2, quotes only the first one with *b*: **dmhta** — Ar. *dumū'* — *lacrima* — P. *ašk*; its colloquial pronunciation is *demeḥṭa* (§ 70). It is now used in a younger plural form **dimitiata** *demeḥyāṭa*, while the cl. pl. is **dimia** *demmī* (< Syr. *dem'ē*). A similar word is the cl. **madīhta** *madeḥṭa* 15 with a doublet **madīta** *madeyṭa* “insight”, “knowledge” (Syr. *mawda'tā*)²¹¹. For “baptizer” (: אַבְיָרִי) there are two cl. variants: **ṣabuha** *ṣābūha* and **ṣabuia** *ṣābūya*; now, the latter is generally preferred. Cl. **ziuihta** (var. **zauīhta**) “fright” (Syr. *ṣaw'tā*); cl. **pasuhiata**, **pasihīata** “steps” (< Syr. *pās'āṭā*) from Aram. ܦܫܬܐ, which existed already in Hebrew as a double root ʿשׁ and ʿסׁ; 20 this root was introverted in **pahsa** (Gy 83:5) *pāhsa* “they (fem.) walk” (< Syr. *pās'ān*) for the sake of a better protection of *h* (§ 52).

The **ḵ** as third rad. was changed to *b* in **nbīha** *enbīha* “prophet” (besides a rarer var. **nb'ia**)²¹².

§ 58. Verbs **ḵ''ḏ** are treated in the af. as **'''ḏ**, as in other Aramaic dialects 25 (§§ 212, 213βa, b). In the classical imperfect there is no difference between the verbs **ḵ''ḏ**, **ʿ''ḏ** and **'''ḏ**: **nimar** *nimmar* (= Syr. *ne'mar*), **nibad** *niḥḥad* (Syr. *ne'ḥad*) and **nida** *nidda* (Syr. *neda'*) follow the same rule. This approach of **ḵ''ḏ** and **ʿ''ḏ** to **'''ḏ** might have facilitated the treatment of these verbs as

²¹⁰ Ibid., p. 72 n. 1.

²¹¹ The word was still used in the last centuries, as appears from Gl., p. 35:12, where it is given in a corrupt form and explained as Ar. *afkār* — *cogitationes* — P. *fīkr*, and p. 182:10, where it figures with the ending *-ana* as a *nomen agentis*: **mdahīana** — Ar. *ḏakīy* — *intelligens* — P. *dānā*. My informant Ṣābūrī was able to give me only the Ar. “*elm* for “knowledge”, and a most primitive periphrase *mendāni ke yādī* “things he knows”.

²¹² In mod. Mandaic replaced by P. *peyāmbar*, cf. 42 n. 23.

'**ḏ** in some other forms: Cl. ethpa., as '**tiaiar** "he awoke" (< Syr. *el'ayyar*); '**tiabaṭ** "he has been fettered (= Syr. *el'abbat*); '**tiauar** "he was blinded" (< Syr. *el'awwar*) are formed exactly as '**tiadal etyaddal** "he was born" (by metathesis from לַד). The verbal name pa. of 'BṬ: **iabaṭta yabaṭta** is formed exactly as **iadalta yadalṭa** "birth". **iatira yatira** "rich" (< '*atirā*) became 5 identical with "abounding", "great" (= *yatirā*).

§ 59. Instead of the initial **ṣ** there is **q** in three cl. words²¹³: 1. **aqamra** *aqamra* "wool" as in Egyptian Aram. קמר (a doublet of עמר; usual Aram. עמרא, Syr. 'amrā, H. צמר). 2. **aqna aqna**²¹⁴ "sheep", "small cattle", in which **q** is very ancient, cf. Bab. Aram. קנא²¹⁵. This word might have popularly suggested an 10 etymology from קנא "to acquire", "to buy", "to possess". Small cattle are the most important possession of the nomads. A derivation of the name from this root would be a reverse analogy of *pecunia a pecore*. But קנא has also another meaning "to gather", which would convey the meaning of "flock", cf. Lat. *grex* and *gregare*. The form **aqna** is certainly older than its rarer doublet **ana** (Jb. 15 41:8) *anna* (secondary and surely incorrect pronunciation), corresponding to אנה, Syr. 'anā. In **aqamra** and **aqna** Hebrew has **ṣ**, in the second Arabic has *ḏ* (*ḏa'n*), so that this *q* < ' < *ṣ* < *ḏ* might represent a phenomenon parallel to *g* < *ṣ* < *ḏ* in Syr. *gəḥək* (: Mand. *geḥeḥ*) < H. *ṣāḥaq* < Ar. *ḏahika* and in Syr. *g'at* (cf. Mand. **giuṭa** "disgrace") < Ar. *ḏaḡaṭa*²¹⁶. The presence of a (laryngal or 20 pharyngal) guttural in the word might then have been an obstacle to the passing of the dorsal alveolar *ḏ* to a guttural (') and subsequently to a velar (*q*) and allowed no more than its passing to a palatal (*g*), while the absence of the guttural presented no obstacle to its passing to ' > *q*. This phonetic change (*ḏ* > *ṣ* > ' > *q*) seems to have been especially favoured by the presence of a liquid (esp. *r*, cf. **arqa** below) in the same word. But there is also 25 3. **aqapra** (var. **agapra**) *aqafra* (*aḡafra*) "dust" as a doublet of the more original **apra afra**, which has **ṣ** in all Semitic languages (: Aram. אפרא, Syr. 'apra, H. אפר, Ar. 'afar, Akk. *epiru*, *epru*). This word can be explained by the analogy of **aqamra** (from which it differs only by the opposition *m/f*) rather 30

²¹³ MG § 66.

²¹⁴ The word could then occasionally be affected by metathesis, cf. **anqia** (Gs 30:21, DC 43; Qm. Qaštin 97, 106) "*brebēs*".

²¹⁵ Clay, Old Test. & Sem. St. I, p. 311.

²¹⁶ MG, p. 73:4f.; Brockelmann, VG I, p. 242 (§ 901 ε).

than by Ar. *ġubār*, although the var. **agapra** would indicate that *q* could be pronounced as *ġ*²¹⁷.

The words **aqamra** and **aqna** are ancient forms of Babylonian Aramaic as well as **arqa** "earth" (= Aram. ארָא, Jer. 10:11, a doublet of ארָא, Syr. 5 *ar'ā*, H. ארָא, Ar. *arḏ*). While, however, in the first two, the *q* after a vowel in a stressed syllable remained, in the last one pronounced *ara* it vanished after a fricative in an unstressed syllable, according to § 45 (cf. also § 28).

The final *ʿ* of *bla'*, which vanished in the cl. BLA "to swallow", became *q* in the mod. BLQ: **balqu** (Morg 273: 11) "swallow it!" **baliqti** (Ibid.: 16) 10 "I swallowed it".

§ 60. In Ar. words, containing gutturals foreign to Mandaic, only the initial and the medial glottal plosive preceded by a vowel and followed by a consonant, vanish, according to § 55a: Ar. *ma'mūr*, *ma'mūriat* become *māmūr*, *māmūriat*. The glottal plosive remains after a consonant and before a 15 vowel; moreover, in this position it usually becomes a pharyngeal fricative ' (cf. **qurḡan** = Ar. *qur'ān*), which always remains. The other pharyngeal fricative, the unvoiced *ḥ*, also remains, cf. **ḥada ḥadda** (Ar *ḥadd*), **aḥtiāt eḥtiāt** etc. and even in such words, which are morphologically adapted to Mandaic, e. g. *ḥaddeḥ*, *ḥadḥat*, *ḥaddeḥt*, *ḥadḥīt* "he, she, thou, I talked" etc. 20 However, in **iahia Yahyā** (§ 67a), borrowed at an earlier date, the Arabic pharyngeal *ḥ* was changed to the laryngeal *h*.

²¹⁷ As for modern Mandaic, **aqamra** has been replaced by P. *pæsm*, **aqna** by P. *gella*; **apra afra** is still used in the original shorter form, in which it was known to the author of the Glossarium: **apra** — Ar. *ġubār* — *pulvis* (120:11).

H. SEMIVOWELS

§ 61. The semivocal consonants, *y* and *w*, follow the general Aramaic rules:

a) The initial *y* contracts with the front vowels (*i*, *e*) to *ī*, with a *šwa* mobile to *e*²¹⁸: **‘qara** *īqāra* “glory” (Syr. *īqārā*); **‘it**, **‘t** *ī* *ṯ* “there is” (Syr. *ī* *ṯ*), **‘šu** *īšū* “Jesus” (Syr. *yīšō*) etc. After proclitic prepositions, this *ī* can be written as an *aksa* (§ 3).

In verbs **‘’** **Ḍ**, this rule is observed in the classical fundamental form: the 3rd p. sg. masc. pe., cf. **‘tib** *iteβ* “he sat” (= Syr. *yiteḥ*), **‘hab** *ehaβ* “he gave” (= **ܘܒܐ**, Syr. *yihab* > *yaβ*). But in longer forms with inflectional endings, there is no strict regularity: sometimes the original vowel *a* is restored after *y*, sometimes the contraction remains; sometimes the restoring of the original vowel seems to be due to combinatory prosodic reasons, sometimes it is merely facultative. It appears from an examination of the forms of verbs **‘’** **Ḍ** (§§ 216f.), that apart from the 3rd p. sg. masc. pe., the contraction is prosodically combinatory in the 2nd. p. sg. **‘tibt** *iteβt* “sedisti”, **‘habt** *ehaβt* “dedisti”. In **iatbat** *yetβat* (Sh. Abd.) “she sat”, **iahbat** *yahβat* “she gave”, the consonantal *y* with the original full vowel remained. In **‘tbit**, **iatbit** *eβṯit*, *yetβṯit* “I sat” und **‘hbit**, **iahbit** *eβṯit*, *yehβṯit* “I gave” the contraction was facultative, but the contracted forms are rare.

Before enclitics, the verb YHB has the original *ya-* in the 3rd p. sg. masc. **iahbalan** *yahaβlan* “he gave us” (Syr. *ya[h]βlan*). The contraction, however, remains in pl.: **‘habtulh** *ehaβtullī* “you gave him”, **‘habnalh** *ehaβnallī* “we gave him”, and is consistently restored also in the 3rd p. fem. sg. **‘habalh** *ehaβallī* “she gave him”, and in the 1st p. sg. **‘habilh** *ehaβillī* “I gave him”.

The **ʔ** of YHB is syncopated in the cl. ethpe.: **‘thib** *etheβ* “he was given” (< **ܘܚܝܒܐ**), while the **ʔ** remains in **‘tiahbat** *etyahβat* “she was given” (**ܘܚܝܒܐܬܐ**).

In mod. Mandaic, there is notable simplification in the verbs **‘’** **Ḍ**: they either remained **‘’** **Ḍ**, as YTB = mod. *yitem* (dial. of Shushtar), *yehem* (dial. of Ahwāz), and in that case, *y* is never dropped, or they became **Ḍ** **Ḍ**, and in that case, *y* is definitively dropped, as YHB = mod. AHB: *ehaβ* “he gave” *ahaβat* “she gave” etc.

²¹⁸ MG § 55.

b) The final *āy*, *āya* was contracted to *ā* — as Nöldeke noted²¹⁹ — in **hira**, **hira herā** “excrement” (< Syr. *ḥrāy*, *ḥrāyā*, Talm. **חַרְיָא**, **חַרְיָא**). This noun has no status absolutus and constructus. (Mod. *herī* is a special singular form.)

- 5 The *y* became *h* in the final **ḥḥ** in **šibiahia** *šibiyāhī* “the seven (planets)”. In mod. Mandaic this word is used also in the singular *šibiyāhā* “devil”. In **arbiaha** *arbiāha* “fourth” (Syr. *rbi‘āyā*) the change was only facultative and the form **arbiaia** *arbiāya* is more common.

- § 62. a) Words with an initial *w* are rare in Aramaic. Since the Mandaic conjunction **u** has a vocal pronunciation: *u*, there is no original Mand. word beginning with a consonantal *w*. When in some later texts the form **ua-** is found (cf. **uaahḥ**, Zotenberg, Catalogue 219 a: 14, “and his brother”) the **a** may either belong to the following word or be explained by Arabic influence. Since in all languages in the interjections there are combinations of phonemes, which otherwise do not occur in the language (§ 103), the occurrence of **uai wāy** (sometimes with the prosthetic vowel ‘**uai ewāy**) “woe” (= Syr. *wāy*) means no contradiction to the above rule.

- An initial *w* occurs then in Mandaic only in foreign words, such as **uada** (AM 254: 7) *wadda* “love” (Ar. *wadd*), **uazan** (Gy 392: 2, 19) *Wazan* (proper name of a king of the first period of the last times)²²⁰; **uazir** (AM 193) *wazir* (Ar.) “minister”; **uasqa** (Gy 224: 1) *wasqa* (a ritual meal of Parsi origin)²²¹; **uarda warda** “rose”²²² which penetrated into all Semitic languages²²³; **uarzia warzī** “crops” (: P. *warz*, *barz*)²²⁴; **uarzigar** (Gy 391: 16) *Warzigar* (proper name of Persian origin) etc. Here belong further some Arabic verbs used in modern Mandaic, as WDA pa.²²⁵ (ex.: *solṭān māmūr wāddī lonabrā* “the ruler sent an officer to the river”, *tarmīda qomwadnannī qa-marīz-ḫāneye*

²¹⁹ MG 56: 9ff.

²²⁰ Of Persian origin, cf. Pallis, MSt. 63.

²²¹ Cf. Lidzbarski, Ginzā 225 n. 3.

²²² Cf. Bartholomae, AIW 1369.

²²³ Löw, Aramäische Pflanzennamen, p. 131; Jeffrey, Foreign Vocabulary of the Qur‘ān, p. 287. The word was still used in the postclassical language (cf. AM 287: 36; Gl. 84: 8 defectively **urda** — Ar. *zabr* — *lilium* — P. *šukūfab*). In nowadays Mandaic it is replaced by *gol somāqa* (P. *gol-e sorḥ*).

²²⁴ MG, p. XXXII n. 1.

²²⁵ Gl. 173: 13f. **WDI** present **gamwadi** (sic) — Ar. *waddī* — *ducere* — P. *burd*.

šourawī “we’ll take the priest to the Soviet Hospital”); WD’ pa.²²⁶; WKL²²⁷; W’D = ²²⁸; WFA = ²²⁹; WŠA af.²³⁰; WŠT (with a progressive assimilation of emphasis; used as a reflexive in AM 279:24, *mituasiṭ* = Ar. *mutawassiṭ*); WŠL²³¹ and some others. The Mandaeans use rather the derivatives of the verbs quoted, esp. the *mašdar*’s with *ʔbad*, and the participles and verbal nouns with *tāmmā*: for WKL either *wekālat ʔbad* or *wakīl tāmmā*; W’D: *wāde ʔbad* etc. The only real verb beginning with *w* is *wāddī*, pres. *qomwaddī*.

b) As for the recognition of the respective vocal or consonantal value of *u* in the middle of the word, there is a golden rule: the Mandaean spelling (§ 3). Each *ūšenna* is a back vowel, while *wā halqa*, *wī akša* or *wūšenna* is a consonant with the respective vowel. Therefore, **giuta**, var. **gaiuta** “splendour”, spelt *gī akša* (var. *gā halqa*), *ūšenna* (var. *yūšenna*), *tā halqa*, is to be pronounced *giūda* (var. *gayūda* as Syr. *ga’yūlā*); **liuiatan**, spelt in § 10 b, is pronounced as our “Leviathan”. The spelling gives the same result in **haduta** *hadūda* “joy” (< ***𐩧𐩣𐩪𐩢**) and in **nuta** (Gy 275; ult) *inūda* (: *i*, *nūšenna*, *tā halqa*) “condescension”, notwithstanding **𐩧𐩣𐩪𐩢**, **𐩧𐩣𐩪𐩢**, H. **𐩧𐩣𐩪𐩢**. In these cases, the original consonantal *w* became a vowel in Mandaic. Naturally, before a vowel *u* regains its consonantal value, cf. st. abs. **hadua** *hadwa*, st. cstr. **haduat** *hadwaṭ* and **giuat** *gīwaṭ* (st. cstr. of **giuta**), since, in such cases, it becomes *wā halqa*.

c) The consonantal *w* is, at least, graphically syncopated in certain forms of the classical imperfect of the verb **𐩧𐩣𐩪𐩢** “to be”²³². This syncope was only facultative. Since the imperfect is a dead form, it is difficult to verify whether the *w* was really or only graphically (§ 11 a) syncopated, i. e. whether the varr. **nihia**, **tihia** “he is” (and “we are”), “she is” (and “thou art”) were really pronounced as *nehī*, *tehī*. If they were, as they might have been in other dialects²³³, there would be an approach of the verb of “existing” to the similar forms of the verb of “living”: **nihīia**, **tihīia** *nehīyī*, *tehīyī*. But more probably the omission of *u* after *h* was mere graphical economy (cf. §§ 7, 11 a).

²²⁶ Gl. 174:15 f. **wd’a** (sic) present **gamuad’** (sic) — Ar. *wada’a* — *dimittere* — P. *guḏāš*.

²²⁷ Gl. 20:13 f., 39:15 f., 133:13 f.

²²⁸ Gl. 10:11 f., 177:3 f.

²²⁹ Gl. 173:11 f.

²³⁰ Gl. 7:1 f., 118:3 f., 173:7 f., where it is consistently misspelt with the non-emphatic **𐩧**.

²³¹ Gl. 175:1 f. again misspelt with the non-emphatic **𐩧**.

²³² MG §§ 56, 196.

²³³ Ibid., p. 268 n. 1.

As for the syncope of the **u** in **nihun**, **tihun** it is quite sure that it was only graphical to avoid the cacography of repeating the **u** (§ 7), and that the pronunciation must have been *nehwōn*, *tehwōn*. This is confirmed by the 3rd p. pl. pf., which is still living and consistently pronounced *bewōn*, although
 5 it is written defectively **hun** with the same consistency to avoid the cacographic *wūšenna*. There is little doubt that this form could never be pronounced *hon*, unless it was confused with the homographical suffix of the 3rd p. masc. pl. The same must be said of the imperative forms: the defective form **h'** must be pronounced exactly as the full forms **huia**, **hu'** *bewī*, fem. *bewe*, unless
 10 it is confused with the homographical cl. pronoun of the 3rd p. fem. sg. **h'** *bī*. Pl. **hun** "estote!", with the encl. **hulh** "estote ei!" is to be pronounced *bewon*, fem. *bewen*, with the encl. *bewollī* as in the modern language.

I. VOWELS AND DIPHTHONGS

§ 63. In spite of a relatively good *scriptio plena*, there are more difficulties with the Mandaic vowels than with the consonants: The *scriptio plena* is sometimes inconsistent. The length of the vowels is not indicated, so that a mere *šwa* differs graphically in no way from a long vowel, and sometimes even from a diphthong. The famous phonetic freedom of Mandaic, as to the facultative pronunciations, reaches its highest point in the vowels and diphthongs. The vocal timbre, *a-a*, *e-i*, *o-u*, is very frequently facultative, so that only the relative position, as front, central and back vowels, is distinctive. And even the original distinctive oppositions between the front, central and back vowels are sometimes neutralized by facultative pronunciations.

zarazta (var. **zrazta**) "charm", "phylactery" is pronounced *zārastā* by Sh. Abdullah, *zarāsta* by Šābūrī. The pronunciation of **šihiana** "governor" as *šihyāna* or *šehyāna* is completely facultative. Sh. Abdullah pronounced the name of the genius **nidbai** as *nidβey* at one occasion, as *nedβay* at another. **kušta** "Truth" is pronounced by him as both *kuštā* and *košta*, although as a principal notion of the Mandaean religion, at least, this word, should have only one admissible pronunciation.

Nevertheless, vowels with a greater degree of aperture are preferred for ease of pronunciation as well as for euphonic reasons, especially in short words, as mod. **lam**, **lama** *lam*, *lammā* "bread", **bil**, **bila** *bel*, *bellā* "husband", **qum**, **qumiun** *qom*, *qomyōn* "stand up!" (sg. & pl.). In longer words, there is more possibility of facultative pronunciations: postcl. **gandaita** (AM 7: 5) "left"²²⁴ *gāndēyā*, *gāndēyā* (both by Sh. Abd.), **ganzibra** *gēnzāβrā* (Sh. Abd.), *gānzāβrā* (Šābūrī), **sindirka** "palm-tree" *sendarka* (Sh. Abd.), *senderka* (Šābūrī), **trisar** *trīsar*, *tressar* "twelve"; cl. **mindam** "something" is pronounced *mindam*, while the same word in modern, Mandaic **minda**, **mindia** (§ 26a) is pronounced *menda*, *mendī*.

Many facultative pronunciations of vowels in the classical are proved by the variants of the same words in Mandaeen books, which, at least, in some cases give us an idea that the distinctive oppositions between vowels

²²⁴ Etymology unknown, but in another passage the word is used as an antonym of **iamina** *yamina* "right".

of different series of localization were neutralized by facultative pronunciations. As for the non-distinctive variations in the same series of localization *a-a*, *e-i*, *o-u*, there is no clue to ascertain to what extent they were freely used, since the signs *halqa*, *aksa*, *ūšenna* are each used for both notwithstanding the differences of aperture. In general, there could have been the same tendency to prefer the vowels of greater aperture, as in the modern language, but the traditional pronunciation does not always prove it, and often disagrees with the colloquial.

§ 64. When an original long vowel is shortened before a single consonant, the consonant is usually reduplicated (§ 102), and the vowel receives a greater aperture, cf. *trīsar-tressar* (§ 63). Sh. Abdullah pronounces also *hinun* “they” as *hīnun* (cf. Talm. אִינוּן, אִינוּהוּ), while, otherwise, the pronunciation *hemnon* (Aram. הַמְנוֹן) is preferred. The ending *-ā* of the status emphaticus can either become short or preserve its original length, cf. *kušṭā-košṭa* (§ 63). At first glance, it would seem that the shortening of this ending is combinatory after a long vowel, cf. *ziua* *zīwa* “brilliance”, *ṭaba* *ṭāḅa* “good”, cl. *kšaša* *χšāša* “exploration”, cl. *alma* *ālma*, cl. *aṭaṭa* *aṭāṭa* “thornbush”, cl. *iaqdana* *yaqdāna* “brand”, mod. *bada* *βāda* “work”, *buia* *bīya* “boil”, *buliana* *bofyāna* “deterioration”, *nura* *nūra* “fire”, *bahima* *babīma* “donkey”, *biniana* *benyāna* “building”, *banaiā* *banāya* “builder”, *m(a)laka* *malāya* “angel” and “devil”, *akala* *aḫāla* “glutton” and so regularly in all *fa’āl-* forms; *qala* *qāla* “voice”, *rama* *rāma* “high”, *gaiṭa* *gēṭa* “summer” etc. The pronunciations of *abda* *āḅda* “she is doing” (Syr. ‘*āḅdā*) and *aḅda* “slave” (Syr. ‘*aḅdā*, Ar. ‘*abd*), *nabra* *nābra* “shining” and *nabrā* “river” bear a mark of good phonemic distinction.

It is especially significant that the fem. ending of the st. emph. sg. *-ḅā* (*-ḅa*) becomes always *āḅa* (never *āḅā*) in the plural, cf. cl. sg. *ṭulamta* *ṭolamḅa* “loaf”, pl. *ṭulaniata* *ṭolanyāḅa* “shades”; cl. ‘*umamata* *umamāḅa* “oaths”; *amta* *amḅa* “maid-servant”, pl. *amata* *amāḅa*; *andišata* *andišāḅa* “thoughts”; *mahdurniata* *mahdurniāḅa* “whirls” etc.

§ 65. A long vowel tends to diminish the aperture of the short vowel in the preceding syllable (a) and to enlarge the aperture of the vowel of the following syllable (b).

a) A lesser aperture of the vowel is a preparation of the organs of speech for the production of a long vowel in the next syllable: *lil* *ləl* (st. abs.) be-

comes *lilia lilyā* “night” in the status emphaticus; *nišma, nišimta nešma, nešemða* “soul” has a plural *nišmata nišmāða*. Further examples: *mikla miḫlā* “food”, cl. *mištia mištī* “drinking” (inf. pe.); *maluaša* “sign of the Zodiac” is pronounced *məlwāša, miwāša* (aside from the “abāgādical” *malwāša*); *himiana himyāna* “girdle”; cl. *mihuia mihwī* “being” (inf.) etc. The strange pronunciation of *ihhana* (< 𐤒𐤏𐤏) as *Ibāna* can be explained by this tendency. Accordingly, *šihyāna* would be a more regular pronunciation than *šebyāna* (§ 63).

But the exceptions are very numerous: cl. *mihia mehyī* “living” (inf.), *mihia ta mehyāða* “blows” (pl. of *mhitā embeyða*); *beryāna* (§ 64), *beryāða* “streets” etc. The facultative pronunciations *kuštā* and *koštā* (§ 63) would be in accordance with the mentioned tendency, but the current colloquial pronunciation is represented by the var. *koštā*. Further, cl. *šipra* “bird”, mod. *šiprina* “sparrow” (both written consistently with *šī aksa*) are pronounced *šoprā, šoprīna* with *o* before a long vowel as well as *rumana romāna* “pomegranate” etc. *hizura* “pig” (with *bī aksa*) is pronounced facultatively *bužūra* or *božūra*; the former pronunciation, in accordance with this phonetic tendency, follows the rule of vocal harmony.

The rule of vocal harmony is further consistently followed in the feminine imperative forms, where the diminishing of aperture in the syllable before a long vowel regularly takes place: *dhul* “fear!” is pronounced *dohol* as masc., *duhūl* as fem.; *hdur* “turn around!” *bedor* as masc., *hudūr* as fem. When, however, the second vowel of the feminine imperative form is short, the first vowel does not change: *bduq* “put!” pron. *bədoq, bedoq* as masc., *bəduq, bedūq* as fem. The length of the second *u* is facultative, but the degree of aperture of the preceding vowel, depending on it, is combinatory. Another form, in which the same phenomenon is observed, is the passive participle of verbs I gutturalis: ‘*bid eβed* “done” becomes ‘*bida iβida* in the status emphaticus (§ 66).

b) As to the enlarging of the aperture of the short vowel, practically *i* and *u*, preceded by a syllable containing a long vowel, the phonetic rule is as follows: *e* and *ā(o)* are combinatory variants of *i* and *u* in this position. Examples: cl. *saiin sāyen* “they wash”, *gaṭil gāṭel* “he kills”, *gaṭlin gāṭlen* “they kill”, *qaiim qāyem* “he stands”, *qaimin* coll. *qīmen* “they stand”, *hibil Hiβel* (= 𐤒𐤁𐤏), *tibil tiβel* (: 𐤒𐤁𐤏), cl. ‘*niš ineš* “someone” (:* 𐤏𐤓𐤏). With *ā, o*: *abatur Abāḏār*, *zapur zāfār* “stinking” (st. emph. *zapra zāfra*), *nahur*

nāhar "shining" (st. emph. *nāhra nābra*); *harupa* *hārūfa* "early", "sharp", in which the *ū* is secured by the accent, becomes *harup* *hārof*, *hārāf* in the masculine status absolutus, and *harupta* *hārōfta* in the fem. (§§ 73 end, 74c).

- 5 The only exception I happened to hear was Sh. Abdullah's pronunciation of *babil* (: ܒܒܝܠ) as *Bābīl*. There is, however, more than one good reason to doubt its correctness. (Nevertheless, I quote it as an excellent proof that the "abāgādical" pronunciations of the priests would be a very poor guide to a correct pronunciation of Mandaic.)
- 10 This is the contrary of what happened to *e* before a long vowel. After the effort of producing the greatest aperture, the organs of speech desire relief, which is practically obtained on both sides, *i* and *u*, by an approach to the most comfortable central vowel (*e-ā-o*).
- It is noteworthy that the central vowel itself seems to behave contrary
- 15 to this rule. The final long *-ā* shows a tendency to become short when it is preceded by a long vowel (§ 64). This fact alone would be of no great weight, since that is a natural approach from the extreme aperture to the most comfortable cardinal central vowel *a*. But I noticed a further facultative diminishing of the aperture of the final *-a* in the Sheykh's pronunciation of *abagada* as
- 20 *abāgādæ* "A-B-C-D" with exactly the same final vowel as in *zārasta*, § 64. Since, however, other Mandaean pronounce *abāgāda*, I consider this variant as merely individual. The same must be said about Sheykh's pronunciation of
- ihana* as *Yāhānæ* (aside from *Ihāna*, s. a.), which is pronounced as *Yāhāna*. *Ihāna* by Šābūrī. The Sheykh pronounces also *zakaria* "Zacharias" as *Zakaria* =
- 25 and *qulasta* "hymnal" as *qālastæ*. Since these pronunciations imitate the Persian pronunciation of the Arabic *tā marbūṭab* (as is also proved by the typical Persian accent on the last syllable), there is no doubt that they are foreign to original Mandaic.

- § 66. The *šwa mobile* after the first radical can either remain or become
- 30 quiescent with the help of the prosthetic vowel: *gʔal* *gəʔal*, *eʔtal*, *lbuša* *ləβūša*, *elβūša* etc, but even without the prosthetic vowel (examples, § 12 a). Moreover, in modern Mandaic it often becomes a full vowel (examples *ibid.*). The use or the dropping of the *šwa* is completely facultative, except in the postclassical and modern proclitic particle **q**, **qa**, **qi**. The *šwa mobile* of this particle rarely
- 35 becomes quiescent, and the particle can never be used with the prosthetic

vowel. The reason for this is etymological: **q(a)**, being an abbreviation of **qaiim**, shows a greater tendency to be used with a full vowel; even its use with a *šwa mobile* is only secondary as a further shortening of **qa**, while with the other proclitics the *šwa* was original. The original vowel *a* of this proclitic normally remains before all consonants other than the labials: **qagāṭel** “he kills” etc. It contracts with an initial *a* of verbal forms: **qabid qāḃed** “he is doing” etc; but it remains when **qa** is used as a preposition with nouns beginning with a vowel: **qa-ahwāz** “in Ahwāz”, to Ahwāz” etc. Before the labials, it becomes *o* by labialization: **qomšadder** “he sends”, **qombašer** “he knows”, **qomāre** “by God!” etc.

The freedom in suppressing the *šwa mobile* or its replacing by a full vowel is greatest in the case of the preposition **l**. The suppression of the *šwa mobile* with the help of the prosthetic vowel led to a complete confusion of the prepositions **ʔ** and **ʔy**. Since both **l** and **ʔ** used to be pronounced *el*, **l** could be freely used for **ʔ** and vice versa. Since the prosthetic vowel wavers between *a* and *e*, **al** is sometimes used for both **l** and **ʔ**, and since each initial (*al laḃli menda*) is pronounced *al*, the same pronunciation was used not only when **l** was originally followed by a *šwa mobile*, i. e. before consonants, but also before a full vowel, and the form penetrated into the script even in such cases, so that **alak alāz** can mean both *laka* and *‘alalyka*. This preposition became also homonymous with the Ar. article *al*, used in modern Mandaic first with Arabic nouns, but sometimes also with other foreign and even Mandaic nouns²³⁵. This article has the same forms: **al**, **ʔ** and **l**. The last one formally recalls *alif mawšūlah*, but is always pronounced *al*. The confusion of the preposition or a simple *nota accusativi* with the Arabic article is avoided in modern Mandaic by the pronunciation of the former two with the original *šwa mobile* or by the restoring of the full vowel *o*²³⁶.

Already in the classical, a full vowel could facultatively be restored after a proclitic preposition: **babaita** (Gy 97:2, 205:1, var. **bbaita**) *bubēḃa* (var. *abbēḃa*) “in the house”, **babauata** (Gy 108:19, var. **bbauata**) *bubawāḃa*

²³⁵ Šābūrī wrote to me: ^ʔ**zgit qadukan almudam ezgī qadokkān al-mūdām** “I went to Madame’s shop”

²³⁶ The preposition **mn** lost the final *n* in modern Mandaic (§ 26 b) and became proclitic. As a proclitic it obtains a *šwa mobile* before a vowel or a non-labial consonant: **māx šumba** “from this side”, **mādenṣṣe** “from the bottom” etc. Before a labial it receives, as a rule, the full vowel *o*: **mōbārre** “from outside”, **mōmāre** “from God” etc. Sometimes, there is a full vowel *a* before a non-labial consonant, e. g. **mābax** “from him”.

(var. *abbawāḏa*) “in the prayers”, **lilibta** (Gy 331: 9 for **libta**) *lelebḏā*, mod. *lolebḏā*²³⁷.

As to verbal forms, their *šwa mobile* can facultatively become a full vowel in the 3rd p. masc. pf. pe. in mod. Mandaic: **dhil** *dabel* > *debel* “he feared”, **gṭal** *gaṭal* > *geṭal* “he killed”. In the classical the *šwa mobile* was made quiescent with the help of the prosthetic vowel. This procedure was very inconvenient, since it was likely to lead to confusion between the peal and afel forms, if the prosthetic vowel was *a*, and between the peal and ethpeel, if the prosthetic vowel was *e*: **adhil** “he frightened” and ***dhil** *edbel* (so pronounced, § 36) “he was afraid”. Therefore, the preservation of the original *šwa mobile*, or its replacing by a full vowel in this form in modern Mandaic is a great advantage for clear distinction between the peal and the forms with a functional initial vowel. The priests indeed abuse their system of spelling with the prejudice that each *ab leḏli menda* must necessarily be pronounced *ab*. There is no doubt that the living colloquial has preserved a better and more original pronunciation in this respect.

Another verbal form, in which the full vowel regularly takes the place of the *šwa mobile*, is the colloquial imperative: **dhul** *dobol*, fem. *dubūl*, **lguṭ** mod. *loxoṭ*, fem. *luxūṭ*. All the verbs form the imperative in this way, except **ḏ**, which usually use the prosthetic vowel, cf. **nhit**, ***nhit** *enbeḏ* “go down!”, **npil**, ***npil** *enfel* “fall!”; but **npuq** *nefoq*, *nofoq*, fem. *nufūq* “go out!” etc form the imperative as strong verbs. The shorter classical imperatives: **hut** *hoḏ* “go down!”, **puq** *foq* “go out!” are no more used. It seems that the prosthetic vowel in the imperative of these verbs is preferred for the sake of better preservation of the first radical from vanishing. These verbs consistently use the prosthetic vowel in the 3rd p. masc. sg. pf. differently from strong verbs. But there are two special reasons, for which the verbs **ḏ** can do so: 1. There is no fear of confusion with the afel, since in this form the first radical, **n**, assimilates to the second (: **ahit** *abbeḏ* “he brought down”, **apiq** *affeq* “he brought out”), and the verb **ḏ**, in which the *n* does not assimilate, is not used in the afel in modern Mandaic²³⁸. 2. All verbs, forming the peal

²³⁷ MG 32:12ff. But the prosthetic vowel can be pronounced before the proclitic prepositions even when the following noun itself begins with a prosthetic vowel (cf. below, end of this paragraph). Sundberg's rationalistic attempt “Ginza jamina 273, 15 and the Vocalization of Proclitics in Mandaean (sic)”, Lund (Årsbok 1951, pp. 29—33), is completely mistaken and useless. Nöldeke's concept needed no correction in this particular point.

²³⁸ Its af. is replaced by *ṭowweḥ* “he threw”. Its cl. af. is also unknown. The verb

with the prosthetic vowel, are intransitive, so that there is no fear of confusion with the ethpeel. In consequence, modern Mandaic uses the prosthetic vowel with wisdom and caution much to its credit when compared with the carelessness with which the priests abuse the prosthetic vowel, thereby reducing three distinctly different verbal forms into one. 5

A word can never begin with a *šwa*. Therefore, after a *spiritus lenis* there must always be a full vowel: **amar**, mod. 'mar *emar* (: *Syr. emar*) 'bad *ʔbad* "he did" (differently from עֲבַד, *Syr. 'ḥad*) etc.

The *šwa compositum* was replaced by a back vowel in 'ubada *oβāda (Sh. Abd.: *iβāda*) "work" (= עֲבַדָּה, עֲבַדָּה, but *Syr. 'ḥādā*) and in I'uhuran "behind us" (: לְאַחֵרֵינוּ), whose traditional pronunciation is *elohorān* (mod. would be **loohorān*, if the expression was still used). 10

Nöldeke's remark that an initial **a** or ' is never dropped in independent words²³⁹ may be right only as to the classical language. Regarding the dropping of the initial *spiritus lenis* with its vowel in mod. Mandaic 15 cf. § 87.

a or ' indicating an initial vowel remains after the proclitics, or can be dropped graphically. This graphical dropping in no way affects the pronunciation. ' after the proclitics can be written with an *aksa*: **binzia** (AM 232: 8) (*a*)*benzī* "among the goats"; **bibidata** (Gy 47:7) *abiβīdāda* "in the works" 20 (this writing would justify Sh. Abd.'s pronunciation of 'ubada as *iβāda*); **likilta** and **Ikilta** as variants of I'kilta (Gy 378: 7) "to the food", all three to be pronounced *elxelḏa*. When the initial vowel is not merely prosthetic, its omission can lead to miscomprehension. This actually happened in Sh. Abdullah's reading of **Ikilta** the above as *elkelḏa* "to the mosquito- 25 net"²⁴⁰.

The medial *šwa mobile* became quiescent in many cases, cf. the cl. 'mbia *embī* (§ 23 a) "grapes" (opposite to H. עֲנָבִים)²⁴¹.

About different cases, in which a *šwa* was replaced by a full vowel cf. §§ 79 ff. 30

NKS "to slaughter behaves in all forms as a strong verb; its imperative is **nkus noxos**.

²³⁹ MG, p. 28 n. 1.

²⁴⁰ I must say in his defence that he would hardly have misunderstood this word if he had seen it in the context. Nevertheless, seeing all three variants beside each other, he should have realized that they probably had the same meaning.

²⁴¹ MG § 26, p. 27 & n. 2.

§ 67. Wavering between vowels:

a) a and i: **ginza** — **ganza** *ginzā*, *genzā* “treasure”, adverbially “much”; the actual pronunciation is confirmed by the Aram. ܩܢܙܐ. However, a more original pronunciation **ganzā* or **gænzā* would be favoured by the P. original *ganġ*, but esp. by Mandaic **ganzibra** *ganzoβra*, the pronunciation *ganzaβra* (5 § 63) being exceptional²⁴². Cl. **zikra** — **zakra** **zayrā* (: Syr. *dekrā*), **zayrā* (: Ar. *ḍakar*, H. זכר) “male”. Since the word is no more used, it is difficult to decide whether both were really facultative, or there was an intermediary pronunciation **zayrā*. In **iahra** — **iihra** *yabra* “month” (< אהר) and similar 10 examples, the variants with the *aksa* may indicate an *æ*. In some cases, even an *e* might be admissible, according to § 65 a. In **iahia** — **iihia** the variant with *i* is actually pronounced in **drašia** **d-iahia** *drašidibya* (§ 5); otherwise, the name is always pronounced *Yahyā*. In **šarša** — **širša** *šeršā* “root”, “religion” the var. with *šā* *halqa* seems to be merely graphical; if there was any facultative phonetic 15 variant of this word, it would rather have a *šūšenna* (cf. Jew. שורשא, H. שרש). The *halqa* is merely graphical in the derivatives of the cl. reflexive forms I š, beginning with the prefix **m**. Sh. Abdullah reads **maštimana** (Gy 106: 15 etc) “obedient” (: Syr. *meštamānā*) as *meštamānē* (§§ 65 b end, 76 b); **maštania** (Gy 3; 5) “they are changed” or “removed” (varr. with *mī aksa* 20 corresponding to Syr. *meštannē*) as *meštannī*; **maštadua**, **mištadua** (: מִשְׁתָּדוּא) “to be poured out” as *meštadūyī*; and **maštušia**²⁴³ “monsters” (a designation of planets) as *mištaššī*.

naširuta, **našaruta** is pronounced *naširūdā* by Sh. Abd., but *našarūdā* by Šābūrī, so that Lidzbarski’s theory (ML, p. XVIII) would be confirmed 25 by these facultative pronunciations (although the former is merely “abāgā-dical”).

b) Wavering between **u** and **i** seems to be merely graphical. **hukumta**, **hikumta** *hūχemθa*, **nišubta**, **nišibta** *nīšobθa*, **birikta**, **birukta** (and varr.) *bereχta*, **šumbilta**, **šumbulta** and **šimbilta** *šumbolθa*, *šombolta* are pronounced

²⁴² It is interesting that H. ܩܢܙܐ has the original *a* closed syllable, where it should have become *i*, as it really happened in ܩܢܝܐ, which proves that both pronunciations were known to the masorets.

²⁴³ Cf. MG, p. 13 n. 1, where Nöldeke suggested a connection with ܩܘܫܝܐ. In spite of the consistent graphical disguise, the Sheykh’s pronunciation clearly qualifies this word as a participle of the *eštafal*-form. It was gratifying to hear the correct expected pronunciation of all graphically disguised *eštafal*-forms quoted.

like the corresponding Talmudic and Targumic forms, differently from Syriac (§ 8c). Here belongs also **giḡupta** (Gy 324: 20) “grape”, as is proved by the mod. *yoḡeyfa*, and some others. Some of these variants may have been originally based on dialectal differences, but generally speaking, such variants seem to illustrate a lack of attention to the exact position and nature of the vowels rather than real phonetic variations.

§ 68. The front vowel as a variant of *a* in a closed syllable is a general Aramaic and also Canaanæan phenomenon²⁴⁴. Mandaic examples of this kind are: cl. and postcl. **bidqa** *bedqa*, *bidqā* “breach” (: Syr. *beḏqā*); **bizta** (Gy 277: 7) *bistā* “pillage” (: **ܒܝܬܐ**); **bila** *bellā* “husband” (differently from Syr. *ba'lā*); **bisra** *besrā* “flesh” (: Syr. *besrā*); **gizra** (Gy 282: 6) *gizrā* “prey” (: Syr. *gezrā*); **gizta** (Gy 56: 11) *gistā* “tonsure” (: Syr. *geḡtā*); **giṭla** *geṭla* “murder” (< Syr. *qeṭlā*); **giṭma** *geṭmā* “ash” (< Syr. *qeṭmā*); **giṭra** *geṭra* “knot” (< Syr. *qeṭrā*); **gilda** (Gy 121: 19) *geldā* “leather”, “testicle” (: Syr. *geldā*, but also *galdā*); **gilša** (AM 12: 1) *gelša* “baldness” (differently from Syr. *glāšā*); **gimra** *gimrā* “perfection”, “jewel”; cl. **ginta** *genṭa*, st. cstr. **ginat** *ginna* ṭ “garden” (: **ܓܝܢܐ**, differently from Syr. *ga[n]tā* > *gattā*); **ganpa** “wing” is also pronounced *genpā* (Sh. Abd.) in spite of the consistent *gā balqa* (as Syr. *kenpā*, *geppā*, differently from **ܓܢܦܐ** and **ܓܢܦܐ**; nevertheless, the mod. form is *gappā*, corresponding to the Jew. Aram.); cl. **girba** *gerba* “leprosy” (differently from **ܓܝܪܒܐ**, Syr. *garbā*); *id.* “plundering”, “rapine” (from GRB: **ܓܝܪܒ**); **girma** *germa* “bone” (as Ar. *ḡirm*, H. **ܓܝܪܡܐ**, differently from **ܓܝܪܡܐ**, Syr. *garmā*); cl. **dibra** *debra* (Sh. Abd.) “desert”, “field” (: **ܕܝܪܒܐ**, opposite to Syr. *dabrā*); **didba** *dedβa* “fly” (: Talm. **ܕܝܕܒܐ** by syncope from* **ܕܝܕܒܐܕܐ**, § 100b)²⁴⁵ etc. Since the *r* between two short vowels is reduplicated in Mandaic (§ 29), here may be quoted: **gira** *gerrā* “arrow” (from **ܓܝܪܐ**), not *ḡirā*, *ḡērā* (as **ܓܝܪܐܐ**, Syr. *ḡērā*); **zira** *zerrā* “seed” (> *zar'ā*) and **sira** *serrā* “moon” (< *sabrā*).

The exceptions to this rule are very few, and the rule is observed with greater consistency than in Syriac. It is strange that the cl. **ligra** “foot” is pronounced *layra* (by Sh. Abdullah) in spite of the consistent etymological *aksa* (Syr. *reḡlā*, Ar. *riḡl*, H. **ܪܝܓܠ**). There is good reason to doubt the correctness of this pronunciation. Further exceptions are: cl. **dirga** var. **darga** *darga* “step” (: Syr. *dargā*); **bazra** *bāzra* “seed” (differently from **ܒܝܪܟܐ**; cl. **gargul**,

²⁴⁴ MG § 16, p. 14.

²⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 78: antep. f.

girgal *gargāl*, pl. **girglia** *garglī* (in spite of *gī aksa* “wheel” (: ܓܝܪܓܐܠ, ܓܝܪܓܐܠ, diff. from Syr. *gīgal*, *gīglā*).

The rule is consistently observed in the following verbal forms, where Mandaic always has *e* inst. of the Syr. *a*: pf. with suff. **giṭlh** *geṭlī* “he killed him”
5 (differently from Syr. *qaṭlēh*), cl. ethpe. **mitgiṭlia** *mitgeṭlī* (differently from Syr. *meṭqaṭlin*. The transition from *a* to *e*, naturally, takes place in all cases, where it is generally Aramaic, cf. the cl. impf. **nigṭul** *niṭṭol*, *neṭṭol* (<*naṭṭul*[*w*]).

However, *a* in a closed syllable remains in **gṭalt** *gəṭalt* = Syr. *qṭalt*, **gṭaltun**,
10 **gṭaltin** *gəṭaltun gəṭalten* = Syr. *qṭaltōn*, *-tēn* and **gṭalnīn** *gəṭalnī(n)* = *qṭaln(an)* as in other dialects. The original *a* is also restored before the enclitics, when the syllable is stressed, cf. **šabqit** *šəβqet*, but **šabqatun** *šəβqatlon* “thou forgivest them”, and remains also before the reduplicated 2nd radical in all pael forms.

15 Nöldeke thought that *a* remains also as an initial sound in a closed syllable in the verbs I ܠ, ܘ and ܘ²⁴⁶. He was seduced by the variants beginning with *ā halqa*, which, however, are merely graphical: **amrat** “she said” has exactly the same pronunciation as **mrat** *emrat* (: Syr. *emrat*), **aklat** “she ate” the same as **klat** *exlat* (: Syr. *eḵlat*); both **aklh** and **klh** “he ate him” are pronounced *exlī* etc. The verb AKL may be considered as a better proof of this
20 fact than the other verbs I ܠ (ܘ) for the reason that all other verbs ܠ, ܘ (except ATA: *aṭā* “he came”) have an initial *e* also in an open syllable in colloquial pronunciation (: *emar* “he said” like *emrat* “she said”, *eβad* “he did” like *eβdat* “she did”), but *aḫal* “he ate” usually keeps the initial *a* in the
25 open syllable (differently from Syr. *eḵal*). It seems then that the following post-palatal fricative, *χ*, shows an aversion to the front vowel. Nevertheless, the regressive influence of *χ* is neutralized, when it is in a consonantal group (*χl*), so that the initial *a* becomes *e* in the closed syllable even in this verb. The verbs ܘ² also have a front vowel in the first syllable in all persons of the
30 pf. pe. in the colloquial, cf. *yitem*, *yetmat* (Khorramshahr), *yebem*, *yehmat* (Ah-wāz) “he sat”, “she sat” etc; *yedlat* “she brought forth”. The pronunciation of classical forms, as **iatbit**, **tbit** “I sat” might have been the same (cf. mod. *yetmīt*, *yehmīt*). Sh. Abdullah gave me only “abāgādical” pronunciations *yātbīt*, *ītbīt*, which are hardly correct. The cl. reflexive forms, as **mitiadlia**
35 “they were born” might also have been pronounced with the same vowel as

²⁴⁶ MG, p. 15: 13 ff.

mod. **iadlat**, **iadlit** *yedlat*, *yedlit* “she brought forth”, “I brought forth” (with *ye* in spite of *yā aksa*).

The verb YHB became AHB in modern Mandaic, but it differs from other verbs **Ḳ''Ḍ**, since it has an initial *e* only in the 3rd p. masc. sg.; in all other persons it has an initial *a*: *ehaβ* “he gave”, but *ahβat* “she gave” etc (§ 214α); the first form corresponds to the classical: **ḥab**; the second is based on the cl. **iahbat**, whose initial *y* was dropped; all other forms with the initial *a* might then be analogical.

Nöldeke's opinion²⁴⁷ that there is no noun of the form *fa'l* from roots I **Ḳ(Ḅ)** with *e* instead of *a* needs correction: The frequent cl. **'mra** *emrā* “speech” is consistently used with an initial *e* (although *a*, *e* before *m* usually become *u* by labialization, § 72a).

The cl. **riqiniata**, var. **riqaniata** “*vacuae*” = **רִיקִינִיָּא**²⁴⁸, being pronounced *riqanyāṭa*, does not belong to this paragraph (§ 74a).

§ 69. As Nöldeke noted²⁴⁹, the general Aramaic rule, according to which *as* is third radical changes the preceding *e* to *a*, it not very strictly observed in Mandaic. Although Sh. Abdullah reads both **amirna** and **amarna** “I say” as *āmarna*, **'tikpir** and **'tikpar** “they were bound”, as *itkappar*, and **šadirtan** “thou hast sent us” as *šeddartan* (sic), the colloquial pronunciation prefers *e* before *r*: The frequent verb **šadar** *šaddar* “he sent” is used in other persons as *šaddert* “thou hast sent”, *šad(d)eryōn* “they sent” etc (§ 200a) and in present as *qomšadder*, *qomšad(d)ernā* etc (§ 204cβ). Another very frequent verb, AMR, gives regularly **qamar** *qāmar* “he says”, but **qamirna** *qāmernā* “I say” (differently from the Sheykh's pronunciation quoted above). Other verbs, which are less often used, usually have *a* before *r*, cf. **tabar** *toββar* “he broke” (pf. pa.). In *qomkammar* “he returns”, *a* could hardly be changed to *e*, since it is an ethpaal form; nevertheless, there is a colloquial *qomkamernā* “I return”. But the verb **haur** *howwer* “he washed” is consistently used with *e* before *r* (in spite of the Syr. *hawwar*); **mhauar** (AM 287: 17) *məhowwar* “cleansed” is a passive participle, in which the *a* is functional.

Even the cl. **atar** “after” became *bāṭer* in the colloquial, a phenomenon which may be explained by § 65 b.

²⁴⁷ MG, p. 15:19f.

²⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 15:21, 21:5.

²⁴⁹ Ibid., § 17.

§ 70. In verbs III guttural, the final *a* was a combinatory variant of the front vowel. This rule was observed with absolute consistency in the classical: **šama šāma** “he hears” (< *šāma* < *šāmi*’), **mšaba m(a)šabba** “he praises” (< Syr. *mšabbah* < *mušabbih*). This *a* remained before the enclitic personal pronoun of the 1st p. sg.: **šamana šamāna** “I hear”, **mšabana mšabāna** “I praise”. In modern Mandaic this rule was abandoned and the original front vowel was restored (on the analogy of verbs ‘’**ḥ**): *qašāβī* “he baptizes”, *qašāβīnā* “I baptize” etc.

Otherwise, before an original guttural in a closed syllable, *a* shows rather the tendency to become a front vowel: **tīt tīḏ**, **tēḏ** “under” (< *taḥt*); **ptit eptet** “thou hast opened” (< Syr. *ptaḥt*); **šmit ešmet** or **šmet** “thou hast heard” (< Syr. *šma’t*). These and similar verbal forms might have been affected by the analogy of ‘’**ḥ** already in the classical. But there are also forms, as **šmanin šmannin** (: Syr. *šma’nan*), **šmatun šmatton** (: Syr. *šma’tōn*) etc, which were not affected by this analogy. In modern Mandaic the analogy of ‘’**ḥ** affected all forms III gutturalis (§§ 206, 208b).

There is, however, no principal conflict between the gutturals and the front vowels in Mandaic. This is especially proved by nouns of the form *fa’l* from roots II gutturalis. In **sira serrā**, **bila bellā** (§ 68), the guttural had the same influence as any other consonant closing the syllable. In cl. **rima rīma** “thunder” (< Syr. *ra’mā*), **riuana rīwāna** “conciliatory” (< **𐤓𐤓𐤓𐤓**), **ḫuana ḫīwāna** “error” (< Syr. *ḫa’wānā*), **šita šīḏa** “hour” (< **𐤓𐤓𐤓𐤓**), the guttural exerted further influence on the combinatory (§ 68) front vowel by its prolongation. An exception from this rule is **ḫama ḫamma**, coll. **ḫamma** “taste” (< *ḫa’mā*, § 55a), in which the *a* might have been preserved by the original *šwa compositum* (**𐤓𐤓𐤓𐤓**); after the vanishing of **ḫ**, *a* contracted with the *šwa compositum*.

Mandaic (as well as Syriac) used to insert a vowel after the first consonant of a consonantal group, consisting of three consonants (§ 78). When the middle consonant of the group is a guttural, the inserted vowel regularly is a front vowel, at least, in the written form. When, however, the guttural is a *h* (either original or secondary, according to § 57c), both *e* and *a* are facultative in the traditional pronunciation (examples in § 57c): **dimihta dīmahḏā** (Sh. Abd.), **demeḥḏa** (Šābūrī) and **dmita dmīḏa** “tear”; **tušbihta tošbāḏa** (Sh. Abd.) “praise”, but **ziuihta zīweḥḏa** “fright”, **madihta madeḥḏa** **madita madyḏa** “knowledge”. From the roots III **ḫ** there is **tulita toleyḏu** “worm” (< Syr. *tawlā’ta*); **šbita** “finger” (< Syr. *ḫeb’tā*) is pronounced

šobeyθā by Sh. Abdullah, but its colloquial pronunciation is šobaxta (from which also the pl. šobax yāθa and šobaxtāna is formed, § 172a, b)²⁵⁰.

The queer form **arbia** *ārbī* “four” (< *arba'*), used sometimes in manuscripts as feminine (alternatively with **arba** *ārba*), may be considered as an old distinctive form to differentiate the feminine from the masculine *ārba* (< *arb'ā*),⁵ in spite of Nöldeke's doubt²⁵¹. If the masculine and feminine were distinguished in the case of all other cardinal numbers up to “six”, why could not the same be done in the case of “four”?! Mod. Mandaic uses only *ārba* for both genders, as it uses only one form for both with the other cardinals as well (§ 178b).

§ 71. a) Nöldeke thought that the reduplication of *r* was given up in Mandaic²⁵², and that, in consequence, there was a compensatory lengthening of the preceding *a* to *ē* as in Syriac and Hebrew²⁵³. He was mistaken, since the Mandaic *r* is reduplicated very frequently (§ 29). Thus, in all those cases, where Nöldeke expected a compensatory long *ē*, there is a mere combinatory short *ē* before a reduplicated *r* (as in instances quoted in § 68). Examples were¹⁵ quoted in § 29. Only in **haria** *harrī* “noblemen” (fem. **harata** *harāθa* “noble ladies”), the original vowel *a* remained (differently from Syr. *ḥē'rē*, fem. *ḥē'rātā*).

b) The early vanishing of the consonantal **ṣ**- after *a* or *i* produced in all Aramaic dialects a compensatory long front vowel²⁵⁴. In Mandaic, such a²⁰ long front vowel is usually subdued to a further, secondary shortening. This appears esp. in the classical imperfect of verbs **ṣ'** **ḏ**: **nimar** *nimmar* “he says”, **nitia** *niθθī* “he comes”, **nikul** *niχχol* “he eats” etc. In **mikla** *miχχlā* “food”, **mimra** *mimrā* “speech” and similar derivatives, the consonantal **ṣ**- vanished with no trace. Nevertheless, a secondary reduplication of the following²⁵ consonant appears in the status absolutus of these nouns **mikal** *miχχal* “eating”, **mimar** *mimmar* “speaking” (cf. § 102).

²⁵⁰ The *χ* before *t* in *šobaxta* may be explained by the analogy of the forms with *-oχta*, but the *a* before *χ* could be hardly explained if the noun had formerly not followed the analogy of *šōšbabθa*, *šimabθa* etc. As to the initial *šo-* resulting from the labialization of an original front vowel, cf. corresponding mod. Syriac dialectal forms with an initial *šw-*, Maclean, Dictionary of the Dialects of Vernacular Syriac, p. 262 b, 1, 5—7.

²⁵¹ MG, p. 16 n. 3.

²⁵² Ibid. § 18.

²⁵³ Ibid., p. 17 n. 1.

²⁵⁴ Ibid. § 18 a.

If the pronunciation of cl. **makulta** “meal” as *maχolṭa* and **malia** (Gy 104: paen. etc) “mourning” as *malyā*²⁵⁶ is correct, Nöldeke’s explanation of these forms by the analogy of other forms, beginning with the prefix *ma-* may be considered as satisfactory. It is, however, possible that *mā halqa* in these words
 5 originally had the same value as in *meštamāna*, *meštannī*, *meštadūyī*, *mištaṣṣī*,
 quoted in § 67a, or as in **maluaša** *milwāša* “sign of the Zodiac”, which is consistently written with *mā halqa* and often pronounced with a front vowel after *m* (alternatively with *malwāša* as in Syriac). As these examples prove, a graphical *halqa* does not necessarily indicate an *a*. Similarly, the actual pronunciation cannot always be considered as original.
 10

In **riša** *riša* “head” and cl. **bira** *birā* “pit”, “well” the secondary long vowel remained as in other dialects.

As for the cl. loanwords, borrowed through the intermediary of Syriac with the usual Syriac orthography, their Syriac *ē* is merely transcribed by the
 15 Mandaic *halqa*²⁵⁶; their traditional pronunciation is usually “abgāgādical”:
qaba qabba “muzzle” (< Syr. *qē mā*, κήμος, *camus*); **šaraia** *šerāya* “silk”
 (< Syr. *šē rāyā*, σηρικός, *serica*); **qabuta** *qabūṭa* “chest” (< Syr. *qē būlā*,
 κιβωτός, *capsa*); **kauila** *kawīla* “chest”, “ark” (< Syr. *kē wēlā* χηλός [?]).

§ 72. Labialization of vowels²⁵⁷.

20 The front and central vowels before labials normally become *u*, *o*. This labialization of vowels can be observed in all Aramaic dialects and also in other Semitic languages, but in Mandaic its extent seems to be greater than in other dialects.

a) Before *m*: **gumama** (AM 282: 1, 12) *gomāma* “partial eclipse” (in which
 25 a vowel was substituted for an original *šwa*, cf. Syr. *gmāmā*; Šābūrī’s copy has **gamama**); **gumla** *gomla* “camel” (Syr. *gamlā*, Ar. *ḡamal*); **gumarta**, st. abs. **gumra** *gomarṭa*, *gomra* “coal” (Syr. *gmurṭā*, Ar. *ḡamrah*); **humbaria** (Gy 203: 10, 204: 1, Gs 17: 12; var. [Sh. Abdullah’s copy]: **hambaria**) *hombarī* perhaps “ruins”²⁵⁸; **tumria** *tomrī* “palm-dates” (as Talm. תמרות א

²⁵⁵ Sh. Abdullah’s pronunciation *māli* is based on a confusion of this noun with the act. part. of MLA “to fill”.

²⁵⁶ MG, p. 17 n. 6.

²⁵⁷ MG § 19.

²⁵⁸ Lidzbarski, *Ginzā*, p. 203 n. 2.

doublet of תמרתא, H. תמרת²⁵⁹); **ṭumuša** (varr. **ṭmušta**, **ṭamašta**) *ṭomašta* “immersion”. Cl. **sumbilta** *sombolṭa* “ladder” (Syr. *sebbellā*) might have been influenced by **šumbilta**, **šumbulta** (var. **šimbilta**), in which the *o* is original (cf. Ar. *sunbulah*, differently from Syr. *šeb(ba)llā*)²⁶⁰. **numbia** (Gy 6: 20 etc, var. **nambia**) *numbī* “mourning” etc. In AM 199: 5, there is a place name **ṭumir**, instead of which Šābūrī’s copy has **ṭamir**. In many cases the labialization might have been merely facultative; in others it took place only in the plural, cf. **gubria** “men” (pl. of **gabra**) and **qumria** (Gy 48: 1) “girdles” (pl. of **qamar** Gs 122: 4)²⁶¹. The labialization remained facultative in **‘(u)mbra embara**, **umbara** “sheep”, “Aries”.

šum šom “name”, a secondary Aramaic form of *šem*, has a strange pronunciation in the st. emph. **šuma ošma**: the *o* was transferred before the first radical as a prosthetic vowel, although it remained graphically in its own place.

The original *ī* of *īmāmā* became *u* in cl. **‘umama** “day (time)” as well as in **‘umamata** *umamāṭa* “oaths” (from YMA). Sh. Abdullah reads also **amamia** “peoples” as *umamī*. In **pum**, **puma** *pom*, *pomma* the labialization is generally Aramaic (cf. B. Aram. פּוּמ, Jew. Aram. פּוּמא, Syr. *pūmā*; the reduplication of *m* in this word happened to be original, cf. Ar. *afmām*)²⁶².

As for **rumaia** *romāya*, which means both רמאיא “deceiver” and רומי “Roman”, Byzantin”, the Mandaeans give only the second meaning. However, the first meaning is evident from the context (cf. Gy 54ff., where **rumaia** is used as a synonym of **kadaba** “liar”, §§ 34, 129a).

rumana *romāna* “pomegranate” is known with a back vowel in all Semitic languages, except H. רמון²⁶³. The etymology of the word is unknown. If, however, only the back vowel was original, it would be difficult to explain the front vowel in Hebrew and in the Aramaic doublet **רימונא**.

b) Before *p, f*: cl. **gupna** *gofnā* “vine” (: Jew. גּוּפְנָא, Syr. pl. *gūpnē*, opposite to Ar. *ġafn*, H. גּוּפְנָא); cl. **dupna** *dofnā* “side” (: Jew. דּוּפְנָא, opposite to Syr.

²⁵⁹ MG, p. 18 n. 2.

²⁶⁰ In Jew. Aram. there is the same wavering between the front and back vowels: שובלתא, but שיבלתא and שיבולתא like H. שְׁבִלְתָּ. The two last Jew. Aram. forms may be considered as hebraisms, while the Mand., **šimbilta** seems to be a mere graphical variant.

²⁶¹ MG, p. 18 & n. 3.

²⁶² MG, p. 19 n. 1; p. 97 with n. 3.

²⁶³ Cf. Löw, *Aramäische Pflanzennamen*, p. 362; Fränkel, p. 142; MG, p. 123:13f; Jeffrey, *Foreign Vocabulary of the Qur’ān*, pp. 144f.

daḥnā); **kupna** *kofnā* “hunger”, “famine” (Syr. *kaḥnā*); cl. **hupna** *hoḥna* “handful” (: Syr. *ḥuḥnā* < *ḥafnah*); **šipra** (with an etymological *šī aksa*), phonetically **šupra** *šoprā* “bird” (Syr. *šepṛā*, H. פֶּפֶר). Here may belong **ṭupša** mod. pronunciation *ṭowša* “dirt”, adj. **ṭupšana** *ṭowšana* “dirty” and **ṭupra** *ṭofra* “fingernail”, “claw”, in which, however, most of Semitic languages have a back vowel (cf. Syr. *ṭuprā* and *ṭepṛā*, B. Aram. טֹפֵר, Jew. טֹפֵר, אֹפֵר, אֹפֵר, Ar. *zufr* and *ziḥr*, Ass. *šupru*, *šuppāru*, but H. only צֶפֶר “nail”).

c) Before *b*, *β* (*w*): cl. **dubša**, **dupša** *dupša* “honey” (: Jew. דִּבְשָׁה differently from Syr. *debšā*, דִּבְשָׁה, Ar. *dibr*)²⁶⁴; **šuba**, **šubin** *šoββa*, *šoββīn* “seven”, “seventy” (as in Palestinianu and Talmudic). **rubania**²⁶⁵ “teachers” is indeed pronounced *rub(b)ānī*, so that it can hardly be considered as a mistake for the more usual **rabania**, **rbania**, although the singular is *rabbā*. Here belongs also **šibiana**, phon. var. **šubiana** *šoβyāna* “baptizer” (: Syr. *šehyānā*) in spite of Nöldeke’s doubt²⁶⁶, since even the *šwa* in **šba** “he baptized” is labialized: *šoβā*. Therefore, there was no other way for *šehyānā* in Mandaic than to become a *fu’lān*-form. Syr. *keblā* became ***kubla**, pl. **kublia** (DA) “fettlers” etc.

b as second radical regularly labializes the preceding vowel (even a *šwa*): **tabar** *toββar* (pa.) “he broke”, **qbar** *qoββar* “he buried”.

The words **gabra** *gaβra* “man” and **qabra** *qaβra* “tomb” are consistently written in pl. **gubria** and **qubria**. This plural has an analogy in Bible-Aram. גִּבְרִיָּהּ. Nevertheless, the mod. plural of these nouns is *gaβrānī*, *qaβrānī*.

b as third radical always labializes the preceding vowel, no matter whether the labialization is expressed graphically by an *ūšenna* or not. Nöldeke²⁶⁷ quoted two examples, in which the labialization was expressed in the script: **larub** (Gy 3: 5) *laroβ* “does not set” (< Syr. *lā ‘āreb*) and **harub** (Gy 29: 19) *hāroβ* “he destroys” (< Syr. *ḥāreb*). But the labialization is often not expressed in the script: **škib** *šəχoβ* > *šəχoβ* “he lay” has the same pronunciation as the imperative **škub** “lie down!” etc. Only the cl. verbs YTB and YHB are an exception to this rule.

The labialization takes place before a *w*, although it is not graphically expressed by an *ūšenna*: **gauza** *gowāza* “stick” (§ 129a), **hauir** *howwer* “he

²⁶⁴ MG, p. 18 & n. 4.

²⁶⁵ Ibid. n. 6.

²⁶⁶ Ibid.

²⁶⁷ Ibid., p. 19: 2f.

cleansed”, **hiuara** *howāra* “white” (§ 130; as well as in its homonymous antonym **habara** *hoβāra* “dark[ness]”, §§ 49, 129a).

d) Progressive labialization: **buṭlana** *boṭlāna* “vanity” (differently from Syr. *beṭlānā*); cl. **busiana** *bosyāna* “contempt” (differently from Syr. *besyānā*); **busma** *bosma* “fragrance” (differently from Syr. *besmā*); **buṣrana** *boṣrāna* “shortage”⁵ etc; **mhulta** (DC 48: 281) mod. *moholṭa* “sieve” (the auxiliary vowel was inserted also in Syr. *mḥultā*, *mḥeltā*, § 72 d). **padana** (Gs 10: 22) “plough” (: Syr. *paddānā*, Ar. loanw. *faddān*) has a doublet **pudana** *fodāna*, *fādāna*. In **pum**, **puma** *pom*, *pomma* “mouth” there could be an influence of labials from both sides. Here belong also two foreign words: **burzinqa** *borziṅqa* “turban”,¹⁰ “head-band” (: Talm. בּוּרְזִינְקָא, opposite to Syr. *barzānqā*, Akk. *barsigu*, *parsigu*, *paršigu*)²⁶⁸ and **pursma** (Gy 217: 21, var. **prusma**) *porosma* βόλσαμον²⁶⁹.

§ 73. Moreover, the back vowel replaced the front or central vowels in some other cases²⁷⁰. There is, above all, in Aramaic a general predilection for the initial *šu-*, *šo-* instead of *ša-*, *še-*²⁷¹. Besides *šombolṭa*, *šom* and *šoββa*,¹⁵ *šoββin*, quoted above (§ 72 a, c) there is **šurba**, **šurbta**, pl. **šurbata** *šorba*, *šorobṭa*, pl. *šorbāṭa* “stem”, “family” (diff. from Syr. *šarbṭā*); **šušilta**, **šušalta** *šośalṭa* “chain” (with similar tendencies in Jewish writings, differently from Syr. *šəšaltā*, H. שִׁילַת, Ar. *silsilah*); cl. **šulita** *šulīṭa* “after-birth” (diff. from אִילִּיתָא, Syr. *šilitā*); **šulta**, pl. **šulata** *šulṭa*, pl. *šolāṭa* “petition” (unlike Syr. 20 *šēlṭā*). But **šuala** “question” (: Syr. *šū’ālā*) is pronounced *šyāla* (in spite of the consistent graphical *šūšenna*). In **širša**, **šarša** *šerša* “root” > “true religion” there is the same front vowel as in Syr. *šeršā*, different from Jew. אִישָׁא, H. שֶׁרֶשׁ; in the cl. **šiqra** *šiqrā*, *šeqra* “lie” there is the same front vowel 25 as in H. שֶׁקֶר different from Syr. *šugrā*.

Other examples with *o*: cl. **nuqḅta** *noqobṭa* “feminine” (unlike Syr. *neqḅtā*, H. נִקְבָּה); ‘**udna odna** > mod. *onna* “ear” (: Ar. *uḏn*, different from

²⁶⁸ MG, p. 20 n. 2; Fränkel, p. 51; Zimmern, Akkadische Fremdwörter, p. 36.

²⁶⁹ Löw, Aramäische Pflanzennamen, p. 73.

²⁷⁰ MG § 19.

²⁷¹ Ibid., pp. 19f. In Mandaic, an inheritor of the territory of Elamite language, it would be easy to expect an influence of the latter in this respect. A tendency of changing front and middle vowels into a back vowel is attested in a number of Old Persian loanwords in late Elamite, cf. Ruth Stiehl in Altheim-Stiehl, Die aramäische Sprache unter den Achaimeniden, I (Lief. 2), p. 203f., and G. G. Cameron, Persepolis Treasury Tablets, 42, 82. Does not e. g. Mand. **šukar** < P. *šikar* recall a similar tendency?!

eḏnā); *ṭula ʔolla*, pl. *ṭulaniata ʔolanyāḏa* “shade” (: Targ. and Talm. אלה, Ar. *zullab*, opposite to H. לץ, Ar. *zill*), but the colloquial pronunciation is *ṭallā*, pl. *ṭalāna, ṭalāni*. The cl. *gīš(u)ma gešma* “body” preserved the original vowel (: Ar. *ḡism*, differently from Syr. *gušmā*).

- 5 In several instances quoted the back vowel seems to be favoured by a following liquid, esp. *l* and *n*. On the other hand, there seems to be close relationship between *o* and *a* (through the intermediary of *ā*): In *karsauata kārṣawāḏa* “thrones” (pl. of *kursia kōrsī*) the original *o* became *a*, after the removing of the principal accent, so that there is a change similar to that
10 in *harūfa* and *hārof*, *hārāf* (§§ 66b, 74c).

- § 74. a) A long *ā* rarely becomes a front or back vowel, but it is often shortened. Its shortening is sometimes combinatory, sometimes merely facultative (§§ 64, 65 b end). The shortened *a* is often designated by an *akša*:
15 *riqiniata*, var. *riqaniata riqanyāḏa* “vacuae” (§ 68 end); *marginiata* =
marganiata marganyāḏa “pearls”; *ṭuliniata* = *ṭulaniata ʔolanyāḏa* “shades”
(§ 73). In *mahduriniata* = *mahdurniata* (& varr.) *mahdurniāḏa* “whirlpools”, “whorls” the *a* after *r* vanished. Only the varr. *aininiata* and *ainaniata* “sources” are pronounced *eyminyāḏa* by Sh. Abdullah. This reading corresponds to § 65a, according to which one would expect the same reading
20 in *riqiniata* etc, as Nöldeke did²⁷². Nevertheless, I did not hear it in those words.

- The change of *ān* to *in*, *en* in *hurina*, *hurintia borīna, borentī* “alius”, “alius” (: Syr. [ʔ]ḥrēnā, [ʔ]ḥrētā, Talm. אחריתי, אחריו) is generally Aramaic. The transition of *ā* to *ū*, *ō* before *n*²⁷³ is also attested in other dialects²⁷⁴ (as well
25 as in Persian, where *ā* and *ū* before *n* and *m* are facultative, *ū* being preferred in vulgar pronunciation.

- Nöldeke’s observation²⁷⁵ that there is no trace of a transition from *ā* to *ō* (which is typical for Western Syriac) is right as to the traditional pronunciation. However, in the colloquial, this transition is very frequent in the
30 most common words, such as *mōqbōyī* “what does he want?” (i. e. *ma qbaīia*), *pōla* “salary” (< Syr. *p’ālā*?).

²⁷² MG § 20, p. 21: 5 ff.

²⁷³ Ibid. § 118.

²⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 21 n. 2.

²⁷⁵ MG, p. 21: 13 ff.

b) A long \bar{i} is often shortened facultatively, and becomes e : *trisar*, *tressar* (§ 64). This facultative shortening leads to confusion of the passive participle *peal* with the 3rd p. sg. perfect *ethpeel*. The Mandaeans often read **g̃il** “*occisus*” as *eγfel* (: **g̃il**) “*occisus est*”. In mod. Mandaic, a passive participle used attributively always has a long \bar{i} : *gaβrā g̃ila* “a killed man”, *eθθā g̃ila* “a killed woman”; but predicatively it is used either with \bar{i} or e in masc.: *g̃ilye* or *geṭelye* “he is killed”, while in the fem. the always remains: *g̃ilī* “she is killed” (§ 203). As a result, the change is facultative (and even preferred) in a closed syllable, while in an open syllable \bar{i} remains.

c) The same rule is attested as regards the long \bar{u} , cf. *harūfa* and *hārof*, *hārofta* (§ 65 b).

§ 75. Diphthongs²⁷⁶.

The diphthongs can be divided into original and secondary (§ 10).

a) Original diphthongs of cl. Mandaic, *au*, *ou* (: *aw*, *ow*) and *ay*, *ey*, correspond in general to other dialects and to Syriac in western pronunciation, i. e. they remain in the open syllable, cf. the traditional pronunciation of **aina** *eyna* “eye”, **hauma** *houma* “warmth” etc. However, in mod. Mandaic the diphthong *ay* > *ey* is, as a rule, contracted even in the open syllable, cf. **ina** “eye”. The contraction of this diphthong took place already in the classical in **gaita** “summer” (< Syr. *qēṭā*) pronounced *gēṭa* both traditionally and colloquially, and in **bit**, **baita** “house” (as in Syriac), whose traditional pronunciation also corresponds to the colloquial *bēθ*, *bēṭa*. The contraction might first have been achieved in the closed syllable in the status absolutus, and then it might have remained also in the open syllable.

In a closed syllable, the contraction of the diphthong is very regular and more consistent than in Syriac: cl. **it**, **t** (with enclitics) *iθ*, *eθ* “there is” (as in Syr. *īṭ*), but neg. **lit** *liθ*, *leθ* (and even *læθ* before enclitics) “there is not” (unlike Syr. *layṭ*)²⁷⁷. The ending *-aṭ* of the verbs **ʿ** was contracted to **-it** *-et*: **hzit** *ehzet*, mod. *hezet* (to be read so even if it is written fully **hzait**) “thou hast seen”. The diphthong *au ou* (: *aw ow*) is regularly contracted in the status absolutus and constructus of nouns **ʿ**: **hum** *hōm* (emph. **hauma** *houma*)

²⁷⁶ Ibid., § 21.

²⁷⁷ Mod. *(l)ehli* “he has (not)” and *(l)exṭi* “he is (not)” are based on the contracted cl. forms.

“warmth”, **ṣum** *ṣom* (emph. **ṣauma** *ṣowma*) “fasting” etc. As a result, the closed syllable manifests a rigorous hostility to the diphthongs. This hostility is further attested in **rurbia**, **rurbania** *rurbī*, *rurbānī* “magni”; **kukba** *koḫβa* “star”; cl. **mublia** *moblī* (Gy 106: 17, 348: 18) “burdens”; cl. **mutba** *moṭba* 5 “seat”; cl. **tutba** (Gy 296: 19) *tutba* “settler”; **autban**, ‘**utban** *otban* “he seated me”, and even **autib** “he seated” is pronounced *otteb*, *otteβ* (with a secondary reduplication of *t*, § 102); cl. **munqa** *monqa* “fosterer” (st. emph. of *mawneq*); cl. ‘**uṣra** *oṣra* “treasure” (< Syr. *awṣrā*); **qumta** *qomṭa* “stature” (Syr. *qaymā*); **lutta** *luṭṭa* “curse” (< Syr. *lawṭtā*); **hikla** *biḫla* “palace” (< *bayklā*); 10 **hiuta** *hiūṭa* “animal” (< **ḥaywəṭa* > Syr. *ḥayūtā*); **lilia** *lilyā* “night” (as Syr. *lelyā* < *laḳlah*) etc.

Already in the classical the diphthongs were sometimes contracted in the open syllable: **hiua** *hīwa* “animal” (< **ḥaiwā*), fem. **hiuat** *hīwaṭ* (< *ḥaiwat*), pl. **hiuaniata** *hiwanyāṭa*; **sibuta** *sibūṭa* “old age” (< *saḳbūtā*); **ṣutapa** *ṣūtāṣa* 15 “fellow” (< *ṣawṭpā*); **tulita** *toleyṭa* “worm” (< *tawlaṭā*); **ṭupana** *ṭofāna* “inondation” (= **ṭṭpān**, Ar. *ṭūfān*, unlike Syr. *ṭawpānā*): **gu** *gu* “inside” (< *gaw*); ‘**u** *ū* “or” (= H., Aram. **𐤀** < Ar. and Syr. *aw*); **zuṭa** *zūṭa* “small” (= **𐤀𐤅**, opposite to Syr. *zawṭā*)²⁷⁸; **iauna**, **iuna** *yōna* “dove” (= H. **𐤀**, Aram. **𐤀**, opposite to Syr. *yawnā*)²⁷⁹; **haizak** “how?” is pronounced either 20 *beyzaḫ* or *hēzaḫ* (but if the word had remained in the modern language, there is no doubt that it would be used only in the contracted form).

In cl. ‘**mat** *emmat* (mod. *hemmat* and *bemda*) “when” the diphthong was contracted very early, and the *m* was compensatorily reduplicated (as in Syr. *emmat*)²⁸⁰. Such cases of compensatory reduplication of the consonant after 25 the contracted diphthong are very numerous in Mandaic: cl. **autib** *otteb* “he seated” (cf. above); cl. ‘**uṣar** *oṣsar* “treasure” (< Syr. *awṣar*); cl. **qumat** *qommaṭ* “(my) stature” (< Syr. *qawmaty*) etc. As to the contraction itself, it could remain in these forms by the analogy of *otban*, *oṣra*, *qomṭa* (quoted above), in which the original diphthong became contracted in a closed syllable. 30 Similarly, in **iuma** (var. **iauma**) *yūma* “day” (= Aram. **𐤀**, H. **𐤀**, unlike Syr. *yawnā*, Ar. *yawn*) the contraction could first take place in the closed syllable (in the st. abs. and cstr. **ium** *yōm* as well as in **muta** *mūṭa* “death” (= **𐤀** < *maṭṭā*), whose modern st. emph. is *moḫta* (§ 20t).

²⁷⁸ MG, p. 22 n. 6.

²⁷⁹ Mod. *hiyūna* shows a further sharpening of the vowel (:*yawnā* > *yōnā* > *yūna* > *yūna* > *hiyūna*).

²⁸⁰ MG, p. 23 n. 4.

But in some cases the original diphthong is still pronounced, although it is never written: **sipa** *seyfa* "sword" (: Syr. *saipā*, Ar. *saif*), **binia** *beynt* "between" (but **binat-**, used with suffixes, *bināθ-*; the mod. form is *bēn* > *ben* (§ 185). Such cases are extremely rare.

In modern pronunciation there is a strange contraction of the long *āy* in the stressed syllable in three present of verbs ʾ¹ʿ: **qaima** *qāy-ma* "she stands" is pronounced *qāma*, **qaimit** *qāy-met* "thou standest" became *qāmet*, and **qaimin** *qāy-men* "they stand" is *qāmen*. There is no contraction in **qaiim** *qā-yem* "he stands" and **qaiimna** *qā-yemnā* "I stand", where the group *āy* is divided in two syllables, and in **qaimitun** *qeymētton* "you stand" and **qaiminin** *qeymēnni* "we stand", where the diphthong is in an unstressed syllable (§ 221 αα). A similar contraction takes place in the forms concerned of the pael of verbs II ʾ²ʿ, cf. *šēlat* "she asked", *šēlit* "I asked", *qamšēla* "she asks", *šēli* "he asked him" etc (§ 224 β).

The transition of *ay* to *ā*, frequent in other dialects, is rare in Mandaic: There is indeed only one example: **tmanan** *tmanān* (< *tmanāyn*) as a variant of **tmanin** *tmanin* "eighty". Both forms are facultative, but the former is more frequent in the classical; the latter, formed by the analogy of the other decades (§ 178) became more usual in the modern language. As for cl. **haka** *hakeka* "where?" and similar forms with *ha-*, Nöldeke rightly supposed that they were pronounced with a short *a* and a compensatory reduplication of the next consonant. In cl. **aiak** "like", "as" and the suffix form **-aian** the *y* was preserved by an auxiliary vowel (differently from Syriac)²⁸¹.

b) The secondary diphthongs, *aβ* and *eβ*, result from the aspiration of **b** after the vowels *a* and *e*, cf. **gabra** *gaβrā* "man", **bdh** *eβdī* "he did it" etc. They are subject to no phonetic changes.

§ 76. Exceptional changes of the original diphthongs.

a) The final *ay* avoids contraction by turning into *ya*²⁸², so that the descendant diphthong becomes ascendant, in **lia** *elya* "whither?" (< *laay*) and in **milīa** *melya* "from where?" (< *min laay*). But, on the other hand, there is no formal difference between the status constructus and the status emphaticus

²⁸¹ MG, p. 22: 1 ff.

²⁸² MG, d. 23: 1 ff.

masc. pl.: **bnia** “sons”, “children” is always pronounced *ebnī* (for either *bnay* or *bnayyā*). The endings of both the status constructus masc. pl. ʾ- and the status emphaticus ʾʾ- are contracted to **-ia -ī**.

In verbs ʾʾʾ the passive participle pael is distinguished by the diphthong **-ai** from the active participle pael ending in **-ia -ī**: **mkasai** “covered”, “hidden” and **mkasia** “covering”, “hiding”. These forms, in which the opposition between the diphthong *ay* and the vowel *ī* is eminently distinctive, certainly had different pronunciations. I was, therefore greatly amazed by Sh. Abdullah’s pronunciation of both as *mkassī*, and one can qualify it only as an inability to recognize the two distinctly different forms.

b) Another interesting phenomenon, otherwise unusual in Aramaic, is the *epenthesis*: the *y* of *ya* is separated from its *a* and added to another *a* in the preceding syllable²⁸³, and produces there a descendant diphthong *ay* > *ey*. This epenthesis takes place only when the *y* (of *ya*) is preceded by a liquid, and may, therefore, be explained as an influence of the liquid on the sonant *y*. Examples: **saina seynā** “ugly” (< *sanyā*), pl. masc. **sainia** (may be analogical; Nöldeke explained it from * ʾʾʾ), pl. fem. **sainata seynāṭa** (< *sanyāṭā*), but the status absolutus is normal **snia** (*snī* >) *esnī* (= Syr. *snē*), since there was no way for the epenthesis.) Cl. **saima** (Gy 84: 9 etc) “blind” (< *samyā*). **qaina qeyna** “reed” and “Libra” (< ʾʾʾ)²⁸⁴; Nöldeke suggested also the meaning “smith”²⁸⁵, which is, otherwise, called **qanaia qanāya**²⁸⁶. **paina peynā** “evening” (< *panyā*) is still used with the contraction of the secondary diphthong to *ē*: **pēnā**, from which a mod. st. abs. *pēn* is formed²⁸⁷. **haimia** (Gy 5: 21 etc) “they fade” (explained by Nöldeke from * ʾʾʾ). Here must belong **qaima** “advancing”, found in Šābūrī’s copy of AM in the phrase: **qaimia kḏ ziqā** “(which) advances like wind”. This **qaima** cannot come from QUM, since the wind could hardly be designated as “standing”, but from QMA “to advance”²⁸⁸. However, **ania ania** “poor” and **dania dania** “humble” are always used without epenthesis, cf. the stereotype phrase, used regularly by the copyists, **ana ania udania umradpa** “I poor, humble and persecuted”.

²⁸³ MG § 22.

²⁸⁴ Cf. ZDMG XXV, pp. 257f. — The word is still used with both meanings.

²⁸⁵ Cf. Lidzbarski, *Ginzā*, p. 154 n. 2.

²⁸⁶ *qanāya* is now used with the meaning of “silversmith”, while a “blacksmith” is called *hadāda* (< Ar. *haddād*).

²⁸⁷ Cf. *pēn pēn ṭāḥ lāwa ḫ* “Good evening to you!”

²⁸⁸ Cf. Gl. 90: 1—2, 102: 9—10, 131: 5—6 & 6—7.

In this case, the epenthesis might have been prevented by the influence of the preceding **ana**, but there might also have been an attempt to preserve the original distinctive means, distinguishing these words from **aina** “eye” and **daina** “judging”. Otherwise, the word *daniā* could be affected by the epenthesis, as is apparent from the phrase **Ikalaiia udaiania haiasa** “she will be merciful to the homeless and the poor”, found in Šābūrī’s copy of AM, and in which **daiana** cannot mean “judge”, but was changed to this form by the copyist, who misunderstood the original ***daina**, an epenthetic form of **danīa**. **šaina** *šeyna* “wonderful” is a frequent doublet of the original **šania** *šānya* (: Syr. *šānyā*).

The rule was sometimes extended to roots III ʕ: **mištaima** (Q 22f) < Syr. *meštam‘ā*. This form might have produced **maštimana** “obedient” (§§ 65 b end, 67a), whose correct pronunciation would be **meštēmānā*, so that the *aksa* after **t** would represent the secondary contracted diphthong; further, **ništaimun** *neštēymōn* > *neštēmon* < Syr. *neštam‘ōn*; **mitpairia** (Q 7: 12) *metpeyrī* > *metpērī* < *metpar‘īn*. I see no reason to doubt with Nöldeke the correctness of these forms (in spite of variants preserving a more original form). When the roots III ʕ were confused with ʕ’ʕ, they could not be completely preserved from the influence of the rules of the latter, and the epenthesis is a phonetic rule in such cases.

The tendency to produce the epenthesis could also work in such a case when the liquid followed the diphthong *ay*, so that a secondary ascendant diphthong was produced in the following syllable, as is proved by **timia** *temya* “south” from *tayma* (§ 68) and **lilia** *lilyā* “night” (as Syr.) from *laylā* (§ 75).

J. SECONDARY VOWELS

§ 77. Secondary auxiliary vowels were partly treated in § 66. The use of the prosthetic vowel is completely facultative. It can graphically remain after the proclitics **b**, **l**, after which it is pronounced more consistently than without them, but also after **u**, after which it is pronounced less consistently because of the vocal character of this proclitic, e. g. **aškingta**, **škingta** (§ 12a) *šxenta*, after the proclitics **b** and **l**, is regularly pronounced *abešxenta*, *elešxenta*, but after **u**, it can be pronounced either *ušxenta* or *uešxenta*; **ltrin**, **l'trin** "to the two" facultatively *eltrēn* or *eletrēn*, but **utrin** "and two" regularly *utrēn*. The vocal character of **u** resulted in its being sometimes used even there where the conjunction "and" is not needed, i. e. as a prosthetic vowel. When a Mandaeen is counting, he always says: *hədā utrēn uklāḏa uārba ubamša* etc "one (and) two (and) three (and) four (and) five" etc. The *u*, being first used as a prosthetic vowel to facilitate the pronunciation of the consonantal group, remained before all numerals, even those which begin with a single consonant or with a vowel²⁸⁹. Such a superfluous **u** can sometimes be found even in Mandaeen writings, especially before *m*, where it can be considered as a labialized prosthetic vowel. Sh. Abdullah pronounces almost each participle of the pael with an initial *um-*. But in many cases the *ūšenna* before **m** is abused not only at the beginning but also in the middle of the word: **šuma** *ošma* "name" (§§ 72a, 79, 83), **rušuma** (less often **rušma**) *rušma* "sign", **gišuma** (var. **gišma**) *gišma* "body" as well as in the cl. verb **šuma** (var. **šma**) *ešmā* "he heard" (§ 83).

There is tendency to omit the prosthetic vowel before certain consonantal groups (§ 12a), even when it is written. On the other hand, there are words pronounced consistently with the prosthetic vowel, even when it is not written, cf. **spihata**, ***spihata** *esfihāḏa* "lips", **uspihata**, **u*spihata** (Gy 371: 1, 10) *uesfihāḏa* "and the lips"; **aspar**, ***spar**, **spar**, *asfar* "the book", **uaspar**, **u*spar**, **uspar** (Gy 205: 2, 22 etc) *uasfar* "and the book"; cl. **špur**, **ašpur**, ***špur** *išpor* (Sh. Abd.) "beauty", mod. *ešberta*, *ešbertī* id., cl. **uašpur** (Gy 365: 14) = **ušpur** (Ibid. A) "and beauty" etc. But in a greater number of words, there is absolute freedom as to the use of the prosthetic vowel.

²⁸⁹ This *u* is used in counting only from one to ten; it is not used with longer forms: *həḏassar*, *treszar*, *klātassar* "eleven, twelve, thirteen" etc.

This freedom led to strange phenomena: On one hand, Syr. *ne'mlā* = Ar. *naǧmah* became **anamθa* pl. **anamia**, **uanamia** (Gy 218: 12) *uanāmī* "and the melodies"²⁹⁰ (§ 84). On the other hand, the etymological initial vowel of cl. **'bada** *iβāda* "work" was dropped in modern Mandaic, where only the form **bada** *βāda* is used.

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§ 78. When a vowel was followed by three consonants, of which the first was quiescent, the second had a *šwa mobile* and only the third had a full vowel, the inopportune consonantal group was dissolved by the insertion of an auxiliary vowel after the first consonant, so that the second became quiescent²⁹¹.

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This insertion is especially frequent in the classical ethpeel: **'tiqria** for Syr. *eṭqri*; **'tinsib** for Syr. *eṭseḅ*. Sh. Abdullah read these forms *ītaqrī*, *ītanseḅ* (instead of the expected *iteqrī*, *itenseḅ*). He would probably have read **mitibrik** "he is blessed" in the same way as **mitabreḅ*, if he had not mistaken it for an ethpaal, so that he read *mitberrax* (with *e* instead of *a*, again against expectation). The inserted auxiliary vowel is meant to preserve the *t* of the prefix of the reflexive; otherwise the *t* would vanish as in **'dgar** *edgar*, **'triš** *etreš* etc (§ 36). The same auxiliary vowel was used, even when it was not written, as is proved by the Sheykh's reading of **'tgbil** *ītagbel* "he was formed", **mithšib** *mītabšeb* (besides **mihšib** *mehšab*, as if it was an infinitive peal) "he is counted", **mitkrik** *mītakreḅ* "he turns around" etc. **'tqria**, **mitqria** have then the same pronunciation as their full variants **'tiqria**, **mitiqria** etc. The auxiliary vowel was not used in the ethpeel of verbs whose first radical was a sibilant, in which, according to the general Semitic rule, the metathesis took place, in order to facilitate the pronunciation of the consonantal group: **'štma** *eštāmā* "he was heard", **'stmar** *estamar* "was preserved, hidden", **'šṭba** *eṣṭabā* "he was baptized" etc. Only exceptionally some longer forms are written fully: **mištibiqlkun** *mištāβeqloḅon* (Sh. Abd.) "is left to you" (with a shorter var. **mištbiqlkun** *mištāβeqloḅon*), **mistimikna** *mīstameḅnā* (Sh. Abd.) "I lean" instead of **mīstmikna** *mīstameḅnā*²⁹².

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The insertion was further used in some forms of the cl. imperfect, as **niliḡṭun** *nīlaḡṭon* (unlike Syr. *nelqṭōn*), **ninihrun** *nīnahron* (Syr. *nenbrōn*),

²⁹⁰ MG, p. 26: 10f.

²⁹¹ About the same phenomenon in other dialects cf. *ibid.*, p. 26 n. 1.

²⁹² MG § 29: end, p. 31: 17f.

tīšiplun *tīšafḥon* (Syr. *tešplōn*). In all such cases, the *aksa* is pronounced as *a* by Sh. Abdullah. In the case of **nišimun**, **nišmun** (Syr. *nešm'ōn*), I was given two respective pronunciations: *nīšammon* and *nīšmon*.

In nominal forms: **ligiṭta**, **ligṭta** mod. *loḡoṭta* "grasping"; **humarta** *homarṭa* "bead", "amulet (spirit)" (= Syr. *ḥūmartā*, Talm. חֲמַרְתָּא); cl. **tu-lamta** *ṭolamṭa* "loaf of bread" (= טוּלְמָתָא, טוּלְמָתָא); cl. **patikra** "idol" (from the ancient *patikara* by the intermediary of the Middle Persian *patkar*²⁹³, Ar. loanw. *fiṭakar*.²⁹⁴ mod. P. *paykar*); **duhulta** mod. *doholṭa* "fear" (: Syr. *deḥlūtā*; mod. *moholṭa* "sieve" (: Syr. *mḥūlūtā*, *mḥeltā*) etc. About **hukumta** and varr., **niṣubta** and varr. etc. cf. §§ 8c, 67b, 83. The cl. variants **bildbaba** and **bilidbaba** "enemy" (: Syr. *b'el dḥāḥā*) are pronounced *beledβāβa*; so are **karmla** and **karimla** *karemlā* "Carmel".

Less common words, containing original groups of three consonants, are sometimes spelt in several ways in order to divide the inopportune consonantic group. But such irregular spellings may often be considered as a proof that the word was not understood by the copyists. Their traditional pronunciation is strictly "abāgādical". The most usual method of dividing such consonantal groups is the insertion of a vowel after the first consonant of the group. The nature of the inserted vowel is mostly accidental, but, in general, *e* is preferred.

Nevertheless, there are some words and forms avoiding the insertion of the auxiliary vowel after the first consonant of the group by keeping the *šwa* mobile after the second consonant: **mazgda** *mazgədā*; **parzla** *parzəlā* "iron"; **iardna** *yardnā* "Jordan", "river"; **margna** *margnā* "staff of the priest"; **armla** *armalā* "widower". But **armalta** *armalṭā* "widow" has an auxiliary vowel after the second consonant of the group (as in Syriac) since a group of four consonants must necessarily have been divided.

Further, the auxiliary vowel is avoided in the 3rd p. fem. sg. pf. af.: **armlat** *armelat* "she became a widow", **adkrat** *adḡarat* "she mentioned" (Sh. Abdullah's reading *deḡrat* is based on a confusion of this form with the more usual pe. **dikrat**). The avoiding of the auxiliary vowel after the first consonant of the group preserved a better phonetic distinction between this form and the same person of the ethpeel (after the vanishing of the *t* of the prefix): **adkrat** *adḡarat* "she mentioned" and **'dikrat** *edeḡrat* "she was mentioned"; **adhlat** *adhelat* "she frightened" and **'dihlat** *edehlat* "she was afraid".

²⁹³ Ibid., p. 27: 1 ff.

²⁹⁴ Fränkel, p. 273.

§ 79. The restoration of a full vowel instead of a *šwa* was partly treated in § 66. The Mandaic restoration of the full vowel after the first radical is quite contrary to the Syriac procedure, by which the *šwa* became quiescent. Since an original full vowel combinatorily vanished in the Aramaic status absolutus, the restoring of the full vowel in this form must be due to the analogy of the status emphaticus: **hamar** *hamar* “wine” (Syr. *ḥmar*) on the analogy of **hamra** *hamrā* etc. In ‘**mbra**, ‘**umbra** *embara*, *umbara* (§ 23 a), according to Sh. Abdullah’s pronunciation, the full vowel before the last radical might have been restored by the analogy of the st. abs. **embar*, **umbar*. Šābūrī pronounces this word *embera* (with a full *e*), but the Sheykh’s pronunciation seems to be more original (according to the phonetic tendency mentioned in § 69). These analogies lessened the vigour of the original Aramaic rule, according to which a short vowel in an open syllable became a *šwa*, so that a full vowel was also restored in many other cases²⁹⁵: **haṭaiia** *haṭāyī* “the sins” (Syr. *ḥṭāḥē*), mod. sg. *ḥaṭāba*; **qarabтана**, **qaraptana** *qaraftāna* “warrior” (Syr. *qraḥṭānā*). As to the following words, mostly unknown in modern Mandaic, I was given strictly “abāgādical” pronunciations: **siṭar** *siṭṭar* “aside” (Syr. *sṭar*); **simadra** *simādrā* “the blossom of the vine” (Syr. *smādrā*); **simaka** *simāḥa* “support” (Syr. *smāḥā*), mod. *samaḥ*, *samāḥa*. Sh. Abdullah reads even **limalia** “*cur mibi?*” (Syr. *lmālī*) as *limālī* (a mod. pronunciation would be **lomāle*).

A back vowel instead of a Syr. *šwa* is found in **hurina** *horīna* “*alius*” (Syr. ['] *hrēnā*), **hurinia** *horīnī* “*alii*”, **hurintia** *horentī* “*alia*”, **huriniata** *horinyāḥa* “*aliae*” (from the original *oḥorēn*)²⁹⁶; **ṣururita** (Gy 137: 11, 15, var. **ṣururita**) *ṣororeyḥā* “salamander” (Syr. *ṣrurīṭā*); **qulala** (Gy 216: 3, only one var. **qlala**) *qulāla* “loop” etc. The graphical analogy of **šuma** *ošma* “name” (§§ 72 a, 77, 83) affected **šumia**, ‘**šumia** “heavens” (Aram. *šmayyā*), pronounced *ošmī* (the *šūšenna* being merely graphical). A secondary reduplication of *m*, or a lengthening of the preceding *ūšenna*, expected by Nöldeke²⁹⁷, did not take place, since the word is pronounced against expectation with a prosthetic vowel, which is used even in **bšumaihun** *bušmeyhon* “in their (i. e. the Great Life’s) name”.

§ 80. Another form, in which a full vowel is consistently restored, is the classical imperfect, the prefix of which has an *akša*, or ‘²⁹⁸. There are two

²⁹⁵ MG § 27.²⁹⁶ Ibid., p. 28: antep. f.²⁹⁷ MG, p. 28 n. 4.²⁹⁸ Ibid. § 28, p. 29.

facultative traditional pronunciations of this form: **niqum** *niqum*, or *niqqom* “he stands” (< *nqūm*), **nibaṭil** *nibaṭel*, or *nibbaṭel* “he frustrates”, “frustrate” etc. The reduplication of the first radical becomes impossible for combinatory reasons, when it forms a consonantal group with the second. In such cases the vowel of the prefix is a short *e*: **niqmun** *neqmun* “they stand” (unlike Syr. *nqūmun*), **nišma** *nešma*²⁹⁹ “he hears”, **nihuia** *nehwi* “he is”. This pronunciation is used by the literate Mandaeans of Khuzestan. The front vowel in such forms is original. Therefore, there is no excuse for the pronunciation of **nihuilak** “*sit tibi*” as *nahwīlaχ* (given by the late Sh. Yarollah Mandowī from Sūq-esh-Shuyūkh). In the afel the prefix of the imperfect often has an ascendant diphthong *ia* (§ 197c). It is functional in the 1st p. sg., cf. **apriš** *afreš* “he explained” and **iapriš** *iafreš* “I explain”³⁰⁰.

The prefix of the infinitive peal of verbs ʾʾ always has a front vowel (*i*) as sometimes also Talmudic and Syriac³⁰¹. The first radical of ʾʾ and ʾʾ is reduplicated: **miqam** *miqqam* “standing” (= Talm. מִקָּמַ, but Syr. *mqām*), **migaz** *miggaz* “cutting off” (= Syr. *meggaz*).

The *šwa* becomes quiescent in the participle pael: **qimšadir** *qomšadder* “he sends”, **qimhambil** *qomhambel* “he spoils” etc.

§ 81. A vowel after the beforelast radical of the fundamental form (which becomes a combinatory *šwa* before the verbal endings, suffixes and enclitics in other dialects) often remains before the endings. I quote Sh. Abdullah's pronunciation of classical examples of this kind³⁰²: **mask(i)lia** *maskelli* “they sin” (Syr. *maskelin*); **malbišilh** *malbišelli* “they clothe him” (= מְלִבְשֵׁי לְ) ³⁰³; **mimaskinilh** *mimaskenelli* “they make him poor”; **naprišan** *nafrišan* “he teaches me”; **nisigdulh** *niseγdल्ली* “they worship me” (according to § 78); **mbašqirilh** (*umbašqerelli*) “they know him”, mod. *qombašqerelli*; **mitauzipia** *mitawziṭfi* “they are added”; **nirandidun** *nirandeddon* “they shake up”. The copyists sometimes used the *aksa* instead of another vowel, but it was merely

²⁹⁹ Formally identical with the st. abs. **nišma** *nešma* “soul”. This and the following verbal form are similar to Syr. *nešma*, *nehwē*.

³⁰⁰ In Syriac both forms are the same.

³⁰¹ MG, p. 30 n. 1.

³⁰² MG § 29.

³⁰³ A corresponding mod. form would be **malbešelli*, but the colloquial uses more primitive expressions, as *laβūš* (or simply *lebās*) *qabṭelli* “they give him clothes”, or *botgomi elli* “they put clothes on him”.

graphical, and did not influence the pronunciation, cf. the varr. **nimarulia** and **nimirulia** *nimarolle* “they say to me” (without the enclitic **nimron** *nimron*). **anhirat** and **anharat** “she gave light” have a graphical variant **anhurat**, but all three are pronounced *anharat*; the last one was influenced by the frequent (**a**)**nhura** *anhūra* “light”³⁰⁴. In the same way **makluzana** (Gy 217: ult) “crier” was influenced by **kaluza** *kalūza* “cry”³⁰⁴. The word is now pronounced “abāgādically” *maklūzāna*, but an original pronunciation might have been *maklozāna* > *maklezāna*.

Otherwise, the use of the vowel in such cases was merely facultative already in the classical, as is proved by the varr. **autibuia** (Gs 56: 19 A) *ottebūy* and **autbuia** *otbūy* (Ibid. varr.) “they seated him”, **nalbišh** *nalbīšī* and **nalbšh** *nalbāšī* (both by Sh. Abd.) “he clothes him”. Nöldeke³⁰⁵ rightly supposed that the auxiliary vowel was not needed in the forms of the pael, ethpael as well as in the assimilated afel forms of 1' D, because the reduplication vanished, cf. **niqablun** (**niqabbalon* >) *nīqablon* “they accept”, **mitpalgia** (**mitpallgī* >) *mitpalgī* “they are divided”, **mapqia** *masqī* “he brings out”, **masgia** *masgī* “he goes” etc.

The vowel usually remained in the place, which was accorded to it by its function in the shorter, fundamental form, i. e. after the second consonant of the group, but sometimes its original place was changed, and it was put after the first consonant of the group, according to § 78.

§ 82. a) In derivatives of ʾ'ʾ the gemination can be prevented by a vowel (usually *a*, less often *i*): **amamia** *omamī* “peoples”³⁰⁶; **iamamia** *yamamī* “seas”³⁰⁶ (aside from **iamia** *yammī*); **sadadia** *sadadī* (pl. of **sada** *saddā* = Syr. same); **tanania** *tanani* (pl. of **tana** *tannā* “furnace”)³⁰⁷; **kin'nia** *keninī* “veils” (pl. of **kinta** *kenṯa* from KNN); **'bibia** *ibibī* “fruits”³⁰⁸, with suffix **'babaihun** *ibabeyhon* “their fruits”³⁰⁹. It is not surprising that the popular etymology understood **anania** *anānī* “clouds” > “(celestial) spouses” (< ܢܢܝܝܢ) as a plural of **'nta** *enṯa* “wife”.

³⁰⁴ MG, p. 30 n. 2.

³⁰⁵ Ibid., p. 31: 10ff.

³⁰⁶ Cf. Syr. forms *'a(m)mē, ya(m)mē* (with *talqānā* on the first m).

³⁰⁷ Lidzbarski, ML, p. 19 n. 3, and Ginzā, p. 153 n. 3, explains it tentatively as an abbreviation of **tanura** *tanūra*. But the word is also used as a synonym of **hilbuna** *hibūna* “egg” > “container” (with this meaning of unknown etymology).

³⁰⁸ MG, p. 163 with n. 4.

³⁰⁹ Syr. pl. *ebbē* and *ebbānē*, MG, p. 163: 9ff.

b) The auxiliary vowel is also used in verbs **ʿʿ**: **hananḥ** (Gs 44: 11 etc = **hannḥ** Gy 13: 21 etc) *hanānī* “he caressed him”; **nitlaṭaṭun** (Gs 44: 23) *nitlāṭaṭūn* “they are cursed”; **mragigilun** (Gy 24: 17, var. **mragagilun**) (*u*)*mraγīyellūn* “they excite them” etc)³¹⁰. When both last radicals are written, the auxiliary vowel is always pronounced, even if it is not indicated by the script: **tnaṭaṭit** (Gy 193: 19) *itnāṭaṭīt* “I was afflicted”. Nevertheless, there are forms without the auxiliary vowel: **ṭgibat** (Gy 264: 7) *iṭgebbat* “she bent down” etc. In **mhanilḥ** (Gy 152: 14) (*u*)*mhanellī* “they caress her” and similar forms with enclitics the gemination was given up for combinatory reasons (cf. § 102).

§ 83. In the classical, there are many instances, in which a secondary vowel was preserved by the analogy of other forms³¹¹.

In **šuma**, **šuma ošmā** “name” (§§ 72a, 77, 79) and **rušuma** (less often **rušma**) *rušma*, the *ušenna* remained only graphically on the analogy of the st. abs. **šum šom** and **rušum rušūm**, but it is never pronounced in the status emphaticus. The pronunciation of **gišuma** “body” (Syr. *gušmā*) should also be *gišma* (= Ar. *ǧiṣm*), as is proved by the variant **gišma**. Therefore, Sh. Abdullah’s reading *gišūma* is merely “abāgādical”. The analogy of **šuma** “name” affected graphically the 3rd p. masc. sg. pe. of the verb ŠMA, which is sometimes written **šuma** instead of **šma**, both being pronounced *ešmā* “he heard”.

The *ušenna* is merely graphical in **hukumat** (var. **hukmat**) *huḫmaṭ*, st. cstr. of **hukumta** *būḫemṭa* “wisdom” (§§ 8c, 67b, 78). But in **minilat** (var. **minlat**), pronounced “abāgādically” *minilaṭ*, st. cstr. of **minilta** (pronounced by Sh. Abdullah with an ascendant diphthong *minialṭa*) “word” the secondary vowel really remained on the analogy of the pl. **minilia** (§ 27). In **markabata** *markabāṭa*, pl. of **markabta** *markabṭa* “wagon”; **mhašabata** *mhašabūṭa*, pl. of ***mhašabṭa** “thought”; **habaratin** (Gs 30: ult.) *babarāṭen* “amicæ eorum”, **habarata** *habarāṭa* “amicæ”, pl. of **habarta** *babarṭa*, the vowel remained on the analogy of the singular.

The forms as **šamiš**, **šamša** *šāmeš*, *šamšā* “sun”; **hamiš**, **hamša** *bāmeš*, *hamšā* “five” follow the analogy of the participial forms **gaṭil** *gāṭel*, **gaṭla** *gāṭla* (secondarily *gaṭlā*).

³¹⁰ MG § 30, pp. 31 f.

³¹¹ MG, p. 32: 22 ff.

§ 84. Contrary to the omission of the prosthetic vowel before certain consonantal groups (§§ 12 a, 77), the *a* or *ʿ* is used in some words also before a single consonant: **anamia** *anāmī* “melodies” (§ 77); **aṭirpa** *aṭarfā* “leaves”, “foliage” (< Syr. *ṭarpā*, as Talm. אַטְרָפָא, Targ. אַטְרָפִי³¹²); **aramata** (Gy 380: 18) *aramāṭa* “heights” (sg. **ramta** *ram ṭā*). It seems as if the longer form 5 expressed better the idea of the plural.

(ʿ)**šumia** *ošmī* “heavens” is identical with *ošmī* “the names” (§§ 8e, 72a, 77, 79). The Aramaic conjunction אֲדַלְמָא, Ezra 7: 23, Talm. אֲדַלְמָא, Syr. *dalmā* “num forte”, “ne forte” is consistently used as **ʿdilma** *idelma* in cl. Mandaic.

A superfluous prosthetic vowel is further used in the classical in a series of 10 prepositions: **aqamḥ** *aqammī* (less often **qamḥ** *qammī*, which can also be read *aqammī*) “before him”; **atutia**, **tutia** *atūṭī*, *tūṭī* “under” (mod. only *tūṭ*); **abatar**, **batar** *abāṭar*, *bāṭar* “after”, “behind” (mod. *bāṭer*); **abinia**, **binia** *abeynī*, *beynī* “betwee” (the latter being more frequent; mod. only *bēn*); **abihdia** *abihdī* “with”, “near” (< אֲבִיחְדִּי, cf. the similar adverbial expression 15 **bihdadia** *behdādī* “together”, which could also be alternatively pronounced **abehdādī*; *abihdī* is unknown in mod. Mand.); **aminṭul** (later also **minṭul**) *amanṭol* “because”; **aganbia**, **agambia** *agambī* “beside” (besides **ganbia**, **gambia** *gambī*, which can also be pronounced *agambī*). Since some of them 20 are used with a prefixed *a* also in Talmudic (: אַבְתַּר, אַבְנִי, אַבְמַבְטִיל), Nöldeke 20 attempted to explain the prosthetic vowel in the prepositions quoted as resulting from אַבְטִיל³¹³. Although this explanation may be correct as to the earliest phase of the language, the prefixed *a* of these prepositions is now considered as a mere prosthetic vowel, as in **b ab**, cf. **abmambugia** (§ 14 b), which 25 would be impossible to explain as אַבְטִיל. There is no trace of reduplication 25 of the first consonant in these prepositions, and, so far as they are still used, they are always pronounced without the prosthetic vowel with an initial consonant. “Beside” is now used in the Ar. form with **ʿI**: *el ḡambe*, which would correspond to the cl. **ʿI agambia**, **lagambia** (Q 3: 31) *el agambī*. The 30 use of this preposition with *el*, considered by Nöldeke as an accumulation of 30 prepositions, proves at least, that the prosthetic vowel could hardly be considered as a preposition.

³¹² Ibid., p. 33 n. 1.

³¹³ MG § 32, p. 33: 10ff.

K. OMISSION OF VOWELS

§ 85. In the classical, the final unstressed vowel was omitted as in other dialects³¹⁴. The vanished vowel is not indicated in the Mandaic script³¹⁵. The forms, in which such vocal endings were dropped became then identical with the forms without the endings. The phonetic orthography of Mandaic has the disadvantage of confusing several, originally different forms (while in the Syriac script they can be easily recognized at the first glance): **ab** *āβ* “father” and “my father” (= Talm. אב, Syr. *āb* and *āby*); **m em** “mother” and “my mother” (= Talm. אם, Syr. *em* and *emy*). Further in verbal forms: **gʔal** *eγʔal*, *gʔal* = Syr. *qʔal*, *qʔalw*, *qʔalēyn* (: *qʔly*); **qam** *qām* = Syr. *qām*, *qāmw*, *qāmy* etc. The accusative suffix of the 1st p. sg. *-any* became **-an**: **giʔlan** *geʔlan* = Syr. *qaʔlany* etc.

In **t**, **it** *iθ* “there is” (< *iθay*, B.-Aram. ܛܝܝܝܝܝ) the shorter, phonetic form was adopted also by the Syr. orthography (: *iθ*), as well as in **gʔalt** *gʔalt* = Syr. *qʔalt* (< *qʔaltā*) etc. At any rate, in Mandaic the apocope was definitively achieved in the preliterate period (while in Syriac it was done at that time only in the mentioned cases). The only exception in cl. Mandaic is **dilia** *dili* “mine” (= Syr. *dily*). This suffix of the 1st p. sg. might have originally been stressed (as in B.-Aram. and H.), as Nöldeke supposed³¹⁶, but it seems that it remained for the same reason as in all other cases, when it is used with the preposition **l**, although as an enclitic it is always unstressed. The preserving of the suffix after this enclitic may be based on its original use as an independent preposition.

Before the enclitics, the vowel is restored, cf. **amar** *amar* “they said” (= Syr. *amarw*), but **amarulia** *amarolle*, mod. *marulle* “they said to me” and imper. “*dicite mihi!*”

In modern Mandaic, the full vowel was consistently restored in all cases, except the words *hemmed* “when” < cl. **mat** *emmat* (= Talm. ממה, older

³¹⁴ MG § 33.

³¹⁵ In Syriac it was usually written as a reminiscence of the time when it was pronounced. It was sometimes written also in Talmudic and other dialects. In the following transliterations from cl. Syriac, my aim is merely to reproduce the image of the written form (Schriftbild), not to indicate the pronunciation.

³¹⁶ MG, p. 34: 7 ff.

אמתי, Syr. *emmaty*, H. אִמְתִּי) and *eθmāl* “yesterday” (= Talm. אַתְּמַל, Syr. *eθmāly*, Targ. אַתְּמַלִּי) corresponding to cl. **ʿtmal**. The possessive suffix of the 1st p. sg. is always written and pronounced: **babai** *bāβe* “my father”, **ʿmai emme** “my mother”, **kdabai** *kadāβe* “my book” etc. This suffix replaced the cl. accusative suffix of the 1st p. sg., so that **giṭlan** *getlan* does not mean Syr. *qaṭlany* “he killed me” as in the classical but only “he killed us” = Syr. *qaṭlan* (which would be *aṣṭalennan*, *gəṭalennan*), while “he killed me” is colloquially *geṭle*.

Already the classical, but esp. the postclassical language had a fuller form for the 3rd p. pl. **gəṭaliun** *gəṭalyon* “they killed” (aside from **gəṭal** *gəṭal*). This full form is consistently used in modern Mandaic, and is in accordance with the modern tendency of avoiding the homophonous forms of the classical.

As a result, modern Mandaic has avoided the loss of final vowels in all cases, in which it caused confusion between different grammatical forms. About the apocope in modern personal pronouns cf. § 94.

§ 86. An initial etymological vowel can be freely dropped in writing (§§ 8a, b, 12a, 77) as if it was a mere prosthetic vowel. However, while a prosthetic vowel can be dropped from pronunciation, an etymological vowel before a consonantal group is usually pronounced, even if it is not written³¹⁷: **rpila**, **rpilia** aside from **arpila**, **arpilia** *arpīla*, *arpīli* “cloud” (= עֲרִסְלִיא, Syr. *ʿarpelā*); **stana**, **ʿstana** *istāna* “north” (= אִיסְתְּנָא); **diaura** instead of the more usual **adiaura** “helper”; **kuma** (Florilegium 352: 22) instead of the usual **kuma** *okūma* “black” (st. abs. **akum** *ākom*); **srin**, **ʿsrin** *esrīn* “twenty” (= Syr. *ʿesrīn*). (On the other hand, **trin** *trēn* [§ 12a] is sporadically written **ʿtrin**). Pognon³¹⁸ was right that **rqbīa** might be a name of an animal, since it is nothing else but **arqbīa** *arqōβī* “scorpions”.

The functional initial vowel is sometimes dropped in writing in verbal forms of the afel, the reflexives and the 1st p. sg. of the cl. imperfect, cf. **šman** (Gs 135: 11) = **ašman** *ašman* “he let me hear” (= Syr. *ašmʿany*) **zdahar** (Gy 20: 17) = **ʿzdahar** *eḏdabar* “beware!”; **d-rhum** (Gs 65: 18) *ad-erhom* “that I (may) like” etc. Even such forms, as **uzdahar** (var. **uʿzdahar**, Gy 314: 9) = Syr. *weʿzḏabar*, and **urminun** (Gy 82: 13) = אֲרִמִינֻן etc are always pronounced *ueḏdabar*, *uermiennon* etc.

³¹⁷ MG § 34.

³¹⁸ Pognon, *Inscriptions mandaïtes*, p. 81.

The omission is frequent also in modern Mandaic: **zgat** (Morg. 273: 1) *ezgat* "she went", **ktai** (ibid.: 19 etc) *exite* "I am" (aside from 'ktai), **hlai** (ibid. 278: 5) *ehle* "I have" (for the usual 'hlai), **hlak** (ibid. 278: 10) *ehlay* "thou hast" etc.

5 § 87. Nöldeke's observation that an etymological initial vowel was never dropped in independent words³¹⁹ is not confirmed by modern Mandaic: Cl. **anaša anāša** "man" (= אַנְשָׁא, אַנְשָׁא, H. אַנְשָׁא) is preferably used in the shorter form **naš**, **naša nāš**, **nāša** (= Syr. both *nāš* and [*nāš*, Ar. *nās*); this shorter form was used already in the postclassical language in the compound **br**
10 **našia bar nāšī** (aside from **br anaša**, **br anašia bar anāša**, **bar anāšī**). An individual is now called *barnāšī*, while "people" is *nāš*, *nāšī* or *anāšī*. Cl. 'bada, 'ubada "work" (= אַבְדָּא) became **bada βāda** (§§ 8b, 77end, 91), and is consistently used in this form. Cl. **ahata** "sister" became *hāṭa* (§ 115). **asuta** *asūṭa* "health", "safety" became *sūṭā*, st. abs. *sūṭ*³²⁰.

15 In verbs א'ב the initial vowel is dropped when they are used with the encl. **l**. This phenomenon is one of the most interesting features of modern Mandaic: *emar* "he said", but *malle* "he said to me"; *emrat* "she said", but *marelle* "she said to me" etc. The verb אב, having become א'ב (§ 61a end), follows the same rule: *ebaβ* "he gave", but *baβle* "he gave me"; *abβat* "she gave", but *baβelle* "she gave me". The full forms *emalle*, *ebaβle* (§ 214b)
20 are rarely used.

The forms *nāša*, *βāda*, *sūṭa*, *mallī*, *baβlī* display a tendency of modern Mandaic to bisyllabic words. But the loss of the first radical in these forms is due esp. to the removing of the accent: *emar* — (*e*)*mallī* (§ 91). The remaining
25 of the initial vowel in three-syllabic verbal forms without the enclitic, as *emaryon* "they said", *emarton* "you said" etc is explainable by the analogy: these forms follow *emar*, while *martellī* "I said to him" etc follow *mallī* "he said to him".

30 Already in the classical the first radical was affected by the aphaeresis in **hurina**, **hurintia**, **hurinia**, **huriniata** (§ 79). In **had hād "unus"** the aphaeresis is generally Aramaic³²¹. In compound forms, as **brikitun brixetton**

³¹⁹ MG, p. 28 n. 1.

³²⁰ The cl. greeting formula **asuta nihuilak** became *sūṭ ebwīlay* or *bawīlay*, cf. **suta hauilkun** (Morg. 278: 5) "Health be unto you!"

³²¹ MG, p. 35 n. 2.

"ye are blessed", **rabna rabna** "I am great", the loss of the vowel of the pronoun is due to the main accent on the first member. Similar contractions took place in the numerals from 11 to 19 (§ 178b).

§ 88. Already in the classical, the initial vowel contracted with the vowel of the negative particle **la læ** and that of the proclitic particle of the present tense **qa qa**³²²: **labid læβed** "he does not make", **qabid qāβed** "he makes" etc. But the form **l'dun** (Gy 37: 14, var. CD **la'dun**) "they did not know", which was suspect to Nöldeke³²³, is indeed pronounced **læ iddun** (Sh. Abd.) without contraction, and I was greatly surprised that Sh. Abdullah recognized it (even without seeing it in the context!).

In the literary **iab yāb** (Sh. Abd.) "o my father" (= Syr. *yā āby*) and **miditun** (Gs 54: 13) *mīdetton* "do you know?"³²⁴ the contraction is only facultative, as is proved by the more frequent **ia ab yā āβ**, **mīa 'ditun mī idetton**.

In modern Mandaic the rule of contraction of the initial vowel is still followed: **laxal** "he did not eat", **lemar** "he did not say", **læθā** "he did not come", **leβad** "he did not do", **laxlet** "do no eat!", **lamret, lāmret** "do not say" etc. With **qa**: **qāxel** "he eats", **qāmar** "he says" etc. the forms ***lāxel**, ***lāmar** etc are practically impossible, since the participial present is always used with the particle **qa**, which comes between **læ** and the verb: **læ qāxel** "he does not eat", **læ qāmar** "he does not say".

§ 89. The loss of medial vowels is based on the tendency to shorter forms. This tendency affected esp. verbs ʾʿʿ, which are treated as ʿʿʿ in Mandaic. The tendency to shorten the forms is so characteristic for Mandaic, that Nöldeke's remark about the vanishing of a seemingly superfluous short vowel in words affected by the loss of a guttural³²⁵ requires special emphasis. In some cases such a short vowel was completely foreign to Mandaic. This is especially proved by the pronunciation of Nöldeke's example **tša 'tša ečča** "nine", which is used not only for the fem. (Syr. *tša'*), but also for the masc. (Syr. *tes'ā*), and **tšin eččīn** "ninety" for *tes'in* (Syr.). The affricate č, which exists in no other original Mandaic word, proves how closely were the pho-

³²² Ibid. § 35. Cf. already Akk. *lā imnu* > *limnu*, *lā išsu* > *lišsu* (Brockelmann, VG I § 39f, p. 56).

³²³ Ibid., p. 35 n. 1.

³²⁴ Ibid., p. 35: 17f.

³²⁵ MG § 37.

nemes *ʃ* to each other that they were fused into one — otherwise unusual — phoneme. However, in **šbīta** *ʃoβeyθa* = mod. *ʃoβaxtā* “finger” and similar words the vowel was dropped only in writing.

An unusual syncopating of the vowel and of the diphthong took place in
 5 the cl. **mna** *emnā* “whence?” (= Talm. מן *<* Ar. *min ayna*)³²⁶.

The cases of unusual syncopations of vowels are relatively rare, since there is a tendency to avoid inopportune consonantal groups (§ 78). An original medial vowel could then be syncopated only when the consonantal group, resulting from it, presented no difficulty of pronunciation.

³²⁶ A longer form could be used before the enclitics, cf. **minilak** “*unde tibi*” (MG § 160), which is pronounced “abāgādically” *minellax*.

L. THE ACCENT AND ITS INFLUENCE ON THE VOCAL STRUCTURE OF THE WORD

§ 90. The traditional and colloquial pronunciations of Mandaic have, as a rule, a culminative accent on the penult or the antepenult (as Syriac). The antepenult is stressed only in words of three or more syllables, when the penult is short; otherwise, the stress is on the penult, cf. **kdaba** *kdāβa* > *kdāβa* “book”; **glala** *glāla* “stone”; on the antepenult: **mazgda** *māzgdā*, **maškna** *māšxnā* “temple” (§ 97c). The general Aramaic tendency to drop a short vowel after a stressed syllable and to reduce a short vowel in an open syllable before a stressed syllable to a *šwa* is attested also in Mandaic. The apocoping of the unstressed short vowel after a stressed syllable caused a removal of the accent from the original penult to the original antepenult, which became a secondary penult, and led to the restoration of a full vowel instead of a *šwa* in an open syllable. The original Semitic *qatāla* became first *qatāl* and then *qatāl* > *qāṭāl* in Aramaic. However, in classical Mandaic, according to the traditional pronunciation, it became *éqṭal* with the stress on the prosthetic vowel, and according to the mod. pronunciation, *gṗṭal* with the restoration of a full vowel in the secondarily stressed open syllable. In the same way, **amāra* > **amār* > Aram. *ʿamār* > Mand. *émar*. However, the rule is not strictly observed, and a facultative pronunciation *gṗṭal* can sometimes be heard in modern Mandaic. The facultative restoration of the accent on the original syllable may be due to the analogy of three-syllabic words *gṗṭalyon*, *gṗṭalton*. But when a bisyllabic word begins with a vowel, the full vowel with its secondary accent always remains: *émar* (never *amār*).

A *šwa mobile*, preceded by a semivocal consonant *y* or *w*, is contracted to the full vowel *ī* or *ū* (as in Syriac): cl. **ʿda** *īda* “he knew” (= Syr. *yida* < **yada*); cl. **ʿtib** *īteb* (Sh. Abd.) “he sat” (= Syr. *yiteb* < **yəθeβ*); cl. **hiuta** *hiūṭa* “animal” (ⲕⲏⲧⲏⲧ)³²⁷ < **hivyəṭā* (as Syr. *ḥayūṭā* < **ḥaywəṭā*) etc.

§ 91. An unstressed initial vowel was rarely dropped in the classical, but in modern Mandaic the aphaeresis of such vowels became very regular, cf.

³²⁷ Lidzbarski, *Ginzā*, p. 86 n. 3, was not right, cf. our Dictionary s. *hiuta* 1.

βáda, súθa for cl. *ιβάδα, ασύθα*; *mállī* for *emárlī* etc (§ 87). This typical mod. aphaeresis seems to be foreign to the classical, which consistently preserved the etymological initial vowel even in those cases, where it was dropped in Syriac, cf. 'zīl *ēzzel* "go!" (Syr. *zel*), *ata áθā* "come!" (Syr. *tā*). In the generally Aramaic *hād* "one" the aphaeresis, achieved in the pre-Mandaic period, was caused by a regressive influence of the original accent on the *ultima*.

§ 92. According to the generally Aramaic rule, a short vowel before the principal accent vanished: *qatālāt* > Syr. *qetlat*. In Mandaic, the accent passed then to the preceding syllable (as in Syriac): *giṭlat* *gēṭlat* "she killed", *gumla* *gómā* "camel", *malka málkā* "king" etc. That this accent cannot be considered as original, is proved by the Syr. st. abs. and cstr. *gmál, mlēk*. The latter form occurs also in Mandaic with the traditional "abāgādic" pronunciation *émleχ*. In many cases, the cl. st. abs. and cstr. are unknown. Modern Mandaic forms them by restoring the original vanished vowel, but without any change of the accent: mod. *gómāl* (differently from Syr. *gmál*).

§ 93. About the accent of the vowel preventing the gemination in derivatives from roots *ʕ''ʕ* cf. § 82. In such cases the stress is on the penult, when it is long either by nature or by position: *hanánī*, (*u*)*mhanēnton* (long by position). Otherwise, the stress is on the antepenult: *ómamī, yámamī, tánanī* etc (§ 82a, cf. also § 95).

§ 94. The loss of original long vowels after a stressed syllable was treated in § 85. Here is to be added that, although modern Mandaic in several cases restored the vanished final vowel, or, at least, avoided its loss by preferring the fuller alternative cl. forms, nevertheless, the loss of vowels following a stressed syllable is attested in modern Mandaic personal pronouns. It is more consistent than in Syriac, although unknown in classical Mandaic: cl. *ana ánā* "I" (= Syr. *enā*) became *án*; cl. *anat ánat, anaton ánatton, anatin ánatēn* "you" (sg., pl. masc. and fem.) became *át, áttōn, áttēn* (as in Syriac). In Syriac the vanishing of the vowel was due to the regressive influence of the accent on the *ultima*, but in Mandaic there could be only a progressive influence of the accent.

An apocopated vowel was regularly restored in the classical before the enclitics (§ 8), when it came into a stressed position.

§ 95 a) The accent of the penult requires a long vowel. After the dropping of the ending, the vowel is usually shortened: **harupa** *harúfa*, fem. **harupta** *hárófta* (long by position), st. abs. **harup** *hároj*³²⁸ “sharp”; **nišmata** *nišmáθa* 5 “souls”, sg. **nišimta** *nešémθa*, st. abs. **nišma** *nešmā*; **mumata** *mumāθa* “blemishes”, sg. **muma** *múma*; **mata** *máθa* “city”, “country”, pl. **matuata** *maθwáθa*; **kuma** *okúma* “black”, st. abs. **akum** *ákom*; **mara** *mára* “lord”, cl. pl. **mariuan** *marṯwān* etc.

b) When a front or back vowel comes from a stressed position into an unstressed one, there usually is an increasing of its degree of aperture and vice versa: **ginza** *gênzā* “treasure” and **ganzibra** *ganzóβrā* “treasurer” (§§ 67a, 68); cl. **bibia** *ibḫbī* (Sh. Abd.) “fruits”, with personal suffix **babaihun** *ibabéybon* “their fruits” etc. About the back vowel cf. *harúfa*, *okúma* (s. a.). 10

c) The mod. Mandaic accent prefers sharp vowels. For this reason the diphthong *āy* becomes *ī* in a stressed syllable: cl. **haila** “strength” became *hīla*, from which also a st. abs. *hīl* is formed; verbs ʾʾ (and by their analogy also ʾʾ) change *āy* to *ī*, cf. *qā-yem* “he stands”, but fem. *qī-ma* “she stands” (from the original *qāy-ma*). The first step to these contractions seems to be represented by the cl. **hiia** *hēyyī* “Life” (cf. **haii(h)un** *hayéybon* “their life”) 20 and **mia** *mēyyā* “water” (cf. **maiahun** AM 244: 2, *māyēybon* “their water”).

§ 96. There is no consistent rule about the accent of foreign words in modern Mandaic. In the case of Arabic words, this is no grave problem, since the Ar. accent resembles the Mandaic. The matter is more complicated 25 in the case of the numerous Persian words, used in the colloquial. We have seen above (§ 65) some cases of the typical Persian accent on the *ultima* in Sh. Abdullah’s pronunciation of original Mandaic words, in which other Mandaicans usually stress the penult. As for original Persian words, they can keep the principal stress on the *ultima*, esp. when the penult is short, cf. *deráxt* “tree”, *pāšimán* “sorry”, in which the penult was secondarily 30 shortened) etc. When the penult is long, it is regularly stressed, cf. *nówkar*

³²⁸ The back vowel of the unstressed syllable is very close to the back *d*, cf. **taqup** *tāqáf* “strong”, **taqun** *tāqán* “durable”, **abatur** *abāθur*.

“servant”, *χórde* “a little” (long by position) etc. The Persian comparative suffix *-tar* lost its original stress in Mandaic, and is stressed only before endings, where it occurs as a penult, cf. *rábtar* “greater” and *rabiárve* “he is greater”, *masítar* “colder” and *masítarve* “it is colder” etc.

M. PHONETIC STRUCTURE OF THE MANDAIC SYLLABLE
AND WORD

§ 97. The Mandaic syllable shows the following types of phonetic structure:

a) With a short vowel (: 1. *ā*, 2. *bā*, 3. *āb*, 4. *bāb*):

5

1. Only initial syllables can consist of a single short vowel: *ā-ḏā* "he came"; *ē-mar* "he said"; *ō-mor* "say!" (masc.), *ū-mūr* "say!" (fem.); *ā-sūḏa* "health", "safety"; cl. *ī-βāda* "work"; cl. *ū-māma* "day(time)"; cl. *ō-mamī* "peoples" etc. Now, this type of syllable occurs in no independent word, since the conjunction *u* "and" is always used proclitically; in the classical it was used in the independent conjunction 'u o "or", which became *lo* in modern Mandaic (s. 2).

10

2. A syllable, consisting of a consonant and a short vowel, can occur in any position; it is, however, rare as a penult, in which the stress (§ 95) requires a long vowel (either by nature or by position): mod. *mō* (< cl. *ma mā*); mod. *lō* (cl. 'u o, s. 1); *læ* (< *lā*) was the only independent classical word of this syllabic constitution; *mā-faq-tā* "exit"; *ḡā-keḡ-ḏā* "victory"; *qā-lā* "voice"; *gē-lā-lā* "stone"; *sō-god-ḏā* "worship"; cl. *gē-ū-tā* "anger" etc. As for the last syllable of the word, its short vowel can be only a facultative short *a*, resulting from a facultative shortening of the ending of the st. emph. The other originally long (front and back) vowels are, as a rule, not shortened in this position.

15

20

3. Only initial syllables can consist of a short vowel and a consonant; the following syllable must then necessarily begin with a consonant: *aβ-dā* "slave"; *el-bar* "outside"; *eγ-tel* "he was killed" (but *e-geṣlat* "she was killed"); *ok-mā* "blackness", mod. also "coffee" and "dark tea" etc. This type of syllable occurs also in independent words, as mod. *an* "I" (§ 94); *em* (st. abs. and cstr. of *em-ma*) "mother"; mod. *ar* (st. cstr. of cl. *arqa ara*) "earth" occurs only in the compound *ar-tīβel* "earthly world" (§§ 28, 152 i).

25

4. A syllable, consisting of a *consonant* + *short vowel* + *consonant*, can occur in any position; when it is not final, the following syllable must begin with a consonant: cl. *qar-qal-ta* "overthrow"; *maq-gadā*, *maš-χanā*, *man-da* (and *bi-man-da*) all three meaning "temple"; *geṭ-lat* "she killed", *gə-ṭal-ton* "you killed"; *hī-βel* "Hibil", i. e. "Abel" (a Mandaean genius); *tī-βel* = ܛܝܒܝܠ; cl. *gun-da* "army"; *šad-dar* "he sent"; postcl. and mod. *kan-kūṣa* "chin" etc. This type of syllable often occurs in independent words: mod. *lam* (st. abs. of *lam-mā*) "bread"; *bel* (st. abs. of *bel-lā*) "husband"; *pom* (st. abs. of *pom-mā*) "mouth"; *qom* "stand up!" etc.

10 b) With a long vowel (: 1. *ā*, 2. *bā*, 3. *āb*, 4. *bāb*):

1. Only initial syllables can consist of a long vowel; the following syllable must begin with a consonant. This type of syllable is found in no independent classical word. In modern Mandaic it is found in two independent words: *ā* "this" and *ī* "yes"³²⁹. At the beginning of the word this syllable occurs in: *ā-dam* "Adam"; *ā-βed* "he does"; cl. *ī-teβ* "he sat" and "sit down!"; cl. *ī-qāra* "glory" etc.

2. A syllable, consisting of a consonant and a long vowel, can occur in any position; it is esp. frequent in the penult (§ 95): cl. *mā* "what" (mod. *mo*, s. a 2); *mā-re* "my Lord", "God"; *χī-wa* "brilliance"; *bī-ṭa* "house"; *nū-ra* "fire"; *an-hū-ra* "light"; *li-šā-na* "tongue"; *el-βū-ša* "cloth"; *em-mā* "mother"; *em-mī* "his mother"; *em-mū(n)* "their mother" etc.

3. Only initial syllables can consist of a long vowel and a consonant; the following syllable must begin with a consonant. It is also found in some independent words: cl. *āβ* "father", "my father"; mod. demonstrative *āχ* "this", "that"; *īd* (st. emph. *īda*) "hand"; *ūr* — name of the king of Darkness. As initial syllable: *āl-ma* "world"; *āβ-da* "she does"; *āβ-dī* "he does it" etc. It is noteworthy that the long vowel of such an initial syllable of words of two or more syllables can be only *ā*, the front and back vowels being combinatorily shortened in this position.

30 4. A syllable: *consonant* + *long vowel* + *consonant*, or *consonant* + *descendant diphthong* can occur in any position: *βāβ* (st. emph. *βāβā*) "door", "gate";

³²⁹ The former comes from the classical *hā bā* (s. b 2). The classical word for the latter is unknown.

ṭāβ (st. emph. *ṭāβa*) “good”; *qāl* (st. emph. *qāla*) “voice”; *rām* (st. emph. *rāma*) “high”; *nūr* (st. emph. *nūra*) “fire”; *bēθ* (st. emph. *baita bēθa*) “house”; mod. *pēn* (st. emph. *pēna*) “evening”; mod. *mēn* (st. emph. *mēna*) “water” (cl. *mai māy*, *mia mey-yā*); cl. *ḵaw-nā* “stability”, “devotion”; *how-mā* “warmth”; cl. *gaw-nā* “species”; *ṭāf-ta* “bona”; *rāf-ta*, *rāf-tī* “magna” (analogy of *ṭāf-ta*); *mār* (st. abs.) “master”, *mār-θa* “mistress”; mod. *šal-wār*, *šar-wāl* “trousers”; *li-šān* (st. emph. *lišāna*) “tongue” etc. In words of two or more syllables, the following syllable must begin with a consonant. That is why syllables of this type remain before the ending *-tā* of the st. emph. fem., while before the ending *-a* of the st. emph. masc. they become *bā-ba*, cf. *ṭāβ*, *ṭā-βa*, *ṭāf-ta*.

c) With a semivowel (*šwa mobile*):

The only type of syllable formed with the *šwa mobile*, which still remained in Mandaic, is *consonant + semivowel*. The types *ə* (a single semivowel) and *əb* (semivowel + consonant) developed a full vowel in the place of the *šwa mobile* (*a*, *ab*, s. 21, 3) and the type *bəb* is not Semitic.

The type *bə* occurs combinatorily as a penult, when the stress is on the antepenult (§ 90): *māṣ-gə-dā*, *māṣ-ḡə-nā* “temple”; *mār-gə-nā* “pastoral staff”; *yār-də-nā* “water” etc, or as an antepenult, when the penult is stressed: *gə-ṭāl-yon* “they killed”, *gə-ṭāl-ton* “you killed” etc. This type of syllable is sometimes facultatively restored on the analogy of these forms also in its original place: *gə-ṭāl* (§ 90).

§ 98. Besides these normal types of syllabic structure, there are two secondary types: a) the vowel is preceded by two consonants (: *bba|b|*, *bbā|b|*), b) the vowel is preceded by one and followed by two consonants (: *babb*, *bābb*).

a) The first type is initial (and frequent also in Syriac). It results from the dropping of the prosthetic vowel in words beginning with a consonantal group, cf. *šḡen-tā* “celestial dwelling”, *brā* “son” (as facultative forms of *eš-ḡen-tā*, *eb-rā*), or from the suppressing a *šwa mobile*, cf. mod. *šβī-ra* “nice” (as a facultative form of *šə-βira*, even *še-bira*), mod. *qyā-de* “I know” (as a facultative form of *qə-yāde*) etc. This type of syllable never occurs in the middle of the word. In words, as cl. *liuiatan liwyāθān* “leviathan”, postcl. and mod. *šihiana šihyāna* “ruler”, the apparent syllables *wyā* and *hyā* etc are always

divided by the Mandaic spelling rules as *wī aksa* — *halqa*, *hī aksa* — *halqa*, i. e. *wi-ā*, *hi-ā* etc. However, according to the actual pronunciation, such words are rather to be divided into syllables as *liw-yā-ṭān*, *ṣib-yā-na* etc. The word 'umbra, showing an apparent group of three consecutive consonants, is pronounced traditionally *umbara*, colloquially *embara* (§ 23 a).

b) The second type is relatively rare in nominal forms. It occurs only in a few mod. expressions, such as *ke-rehw-tær* "sooner", "more quickly", *rehw-tær* "later". This type of syllable occurs esp. when the first consonant of the group is a liquid and the second is a plosive: mod. *germ* (st. abs. of *germā*) "bone", *geld* (st. abs. of *gelda*) ("leather") "testicle", *dond* "penis", *qolf* "lock" (by metathesis of Ar. *qofl* §§ 13, 29), *bænd* (P.) etc. Nevertheless, in verbal forms the syllable of the type *babb* is the only possible final syllable of the 2nd p. sg.: *gə-ṭalt*, *ge-ṭalt* "thou hast killed", *past* (**past**) "thou hast destroyed", *qāmt* "thou didst stand".

N. HAPLOLOGY

§ 99. According to the generally Aramaic rule, one of two similar syllables following each other is omitted by haplogy. This phenomenon, as frequent in Mandaic as in Syriac, was achieved already in the pre-Mandaic period. It affects esp. the roots ܘ'ܘ and the derivatives of ܘ'ܘ. 5

a) In the roots ܘ'ܘ haplogy resulted in the fact that even a stressed vowel vanished between two similar consonants, and the forms concerned became graphically identical with ܘ'ܘ; the only difference in pronunciation is the length of the vowel in ܘ'ܘ, and the gemination in ܘ'ܘ, cf. cl. **pas pas** "he destroyed" from **pasasa* > **passa*; **pasat passat** "she destroyed" (< **pasasat*); **past past** "thou hast destroyed" (< **pasastā*) etc. In the ethpeel there are double forms: **'t̄psis**, **'tipsis** (= Syr. *etpsēs*), which would be pronounced *itapsēs* by Sh. Abdullah (§ 78) and the haplogical **'t̄pis** *etpes* "he was destroyed"; **t̄tipik** (AM 190: 4) *t̄tpeχ* "will be destroyed" (Syr. would be similarly *t̄tpeḵ*). 15

b) The haplogical ellipse is frequent in nominal forms from ܘ'ܘ and similar forms: **aria** *aryā* (< **aryayā*), "lion"; **hra**, **hira** *berā* (< **hārāya*, § 61b) "excrement"; **hata**, **hatia** *baḏḏā*, *baḏḏī* = Syr. *ḥa(d)tā* > *ḥattā* (< **ḥa-daḏā*). Syr. *a(n)t̄tā* > **attāḏā* > *attā* "wife" is mod. Mand. *eḏḏā* (whose cl. form still was **'nta** *enḏā* without assimilation of *n* [from **entāḏā*]). 20

O. SPECIAL SYNCOPATION

§ 100. a) Some cases of syncope in words containing fricative liquids were treated in § 28 as an effect of the liquids. But this phonetic tendency appears also in some other cases.

5 b) In addition to cases quoted in § 28, an exceptional syncope affected the plosive liquid *m* and other plosives: **šusma** *šusma* “sesam” (< שִׁשְׁמָא, cf. Ar. *simsim*); **šušmana** *šošmāna* “ant” (< שִׁשְׁמָנָא). In these two cases as well as in *šōšalθā* (§ 28) the syncope seems to be favored by the repeated *š*, the pronunciation of which requires a greater effort. The phoneme *b* (*β*) was
10 syncopated in **didba** *dedβa* “fly” (= Talm. דִּדְבָא, mod. Syr. *dedwā* from **diβdβā*, § 38). In all these cases the language tried to avoid the group of three consonants and the syllabic type *babb* (§ 98 b). Two consonants, which were exactly the same, easily choked a different consonant, standing between them.

15 The aversion of Mandaic to the repetition of the same phonemes is especially proved by the varr. **mamlala** *mamlāla*, **malala** *malāla* and **mamla** *mamla* “word”. The syncope of *m* is more frequent than the apocoping of *-la* in this word, although the usual Syr. form is *mam(l)lā*³³⁰. On the other hand, the accumulation of *m*'s and *l*'s in מַמְלִיל was lessened by the pronunciation
20 **mamlil** *mamlēl*, which might have been influenced by *mamlāla*.

³³⁰ MG, p. 79 & n. 2.

§ 101. Syncope, metathesis, assimilation and dissimilation are the moving motors of Mandaic phonetics. They are an effective way of avoiding the repetitions of the same sounds in the same words and a resource of euphony. All of them were previously treated.

On the other hand, in the cl. **libbia** (Gy 39: 2, ML 67: 1; var. **libia**) “hearts”, the repeating of the first radical seems to have an aim to prevent the reduplication of the second. Nöldeke’s comparing of this form with *nangāra*³³¹ is not exact, since in *nangāra* there is a dissimilation of the group *gg* as in *tangāra* (§ 23c). The form **libban** (Gy 174: 17, 27; CP 101: 5, aside from **lib(n)an**, Gy 380: 11) = Akk. *Labbānu*, לַבְּנָן, Ar. *lubnān*, shows the same tendency of dittology.

§ 102. The doubling of the consonant in an open short syllable is another efficient means of euphony. It is always prosodically combinatory. An original functional reduplication is often given up and a secondary compensatory reduplication is produced in another place for prosodic reasons. Nöldeke³³² rightly noted the giving up of the functional reduplication in such cases: **mašrin** *mašren* “they hold strong” (= מְשָׁרִין), **mšalṭia** *mšalṭi* (= מְשַׁלְּטִי) “they give power”, **mitpalgia** *mitpalgī* “they are divided” (= מִתְּפַלְּגִי) etc. But, on the other hand, a single consonant between two short vowels is, as a rule, secondarily doubled. If the consonant was originally doubled, its functional reduplication remains in this position. The reduplication is given up combinatorily before a long vowel in the middle of the word, cf. *naḫāsa*, *aḫāla* etc (§ 20k). But before a long final vowel, the reduplication remains (since the length of the final vowel is only facultative): **anuš** *annoš* “Enoch”; **bila** *bellā* (st. abs. and cstr. *bel*) “husband”; **duka** *dokka* “place” (but **duk dok**, **dukta** *doḫta*, § 20t); **hala** *hella* “sand”, “dust”, “soil”³³³; **hana** *hannā*

³³¹ Ibid. § 69, p. 77.

³³² MG, p. 37: 21 ff.

³³³ But also “vinegar” (**hala 2 balla** = Ar. *ḥall*, Akk. *ḥallu*?), in which the reduplication of *l* is original. The meaning of the homonymous **hala 3** (Jb 140: 5) is doubtful, cf. Drower-Macuch, Mandaic Dictionary, p. 121 a.

“bosom”; cl. **zabia** *zabbī* and **zubia** *zobbī* (§ 20b); cl. **zaua** *zawwā* “wife”; **liba** *lebbā* “heart”; cl. **kana** *kannā* “stem”, “root” (but **kinta** *kenṭā* “covering” and “community”); ‘**ka**, **lika** (*lekkā* “there is (not)”) (but mod. ‘**kth**, **likth** [*leχti* “he is [not]”]); **migaz** *miggez* “cutting”; **sira** *serrā* “moon”;
 5 mod. **lama** *lammā* “bread” (st. abs. and cstr. *lam*); **šina** *šenna* “tooth” (st. abs. and cstr. *šen*); **puma** *pommā* “mouth” (st. abs. and cstr. *pom*); even cl. **mika** *mikkā* (< Syr. *mkīkā* but fem. st. emph. **mikta** *mexṭa*); cl. pl. **kawia** *kawwī* “windows” (= Syr. *kawwē*, Talm. כו, sg. *kawtā*, כו, Ar. loanw. *kawwab*)³³⁴; ‘**tša**, ‘**ša** *ešča* “nine” etc. As the examples show, words with an
 10 original single consonant between two short vowels are treated as those with an original functional reduplication in this position.

A short vowel, followed by a consonant (*āb*), is prosodically treated as long, so that **lam**, **lama** *lam*, **lammā** (above) is prosodically equivalent to **ram**, **rama** *rām*, **rāma** “high”, **ṭab**, **ṭaba** *ṭāβ*, **ṭāβa** “good” etc. so that the language
 15 (by the secondary reduplication) reached the same prosodic proportion, which existed in words with an original long vowel, or with a short vowel followed by two different consonants, or by a consonant originally doubled.

As was noted above, the reduplication is given up before a long penult. This rule is consistently followed in *fa*“*āl*”-forms and before the abstract
 20 ending *-ūṭa*, cf. *aχāla* “glutton”, *banāya* “builder”, *naχāsa* “slaughterer” **asia** *asi* “he healed” and **asuta** *asūṭa* “health”; **zokia** *zokkī* “he gave victory, purified” and **zakuta** *zakūṭa* “victory”; **rba** *rabbā* “great” and **rbuta** *rabūṭa* “greatness” etc. Nevertheless, Sh. Abdullah pronounces **biluria** = (< βήρυλλοι) as *bēllūrī*. This pronunciation seems to be influenced by the sg. **bilur** *bēllūr*.

25 Although two syllables long by nature can eventually stand side by side in the same word (esp. before the ending *-ūṭa*), or the second is only facultatively shortened, syllables long by position before a long penult are, as a rule, avoided. A stressed syllable must, as a rule, be long either by nature or by position. Therefore, a single consonant in a short open penult must be
 30 doubled. This rule is followed with great consistency in nominal forms. But in verbal forms of the peel the rule is not followed, and the language is satisfied by a mere restoring of the full vowel in the place of the original *šwa*. The vowel of the penult of this form is still felt as secondary, as is proved by its facultative pronunciation as a *šwa mobile* (§ 90) and especially by the
 35 longer, threesyllabic forms, in which the *šwa mobile* is combinatory (ibid.).

³³⁴ Fränkel, p. 13.

III. Morphology

A. INTERJECTIONS AND ONOMATOPOEIC EXPRESSIONS¹

§ 103. Interjections and onomatopoeic expressions are survivals of primitive speech, and in consequence, they contain combinations of phonemes, which (form the present standpoint of the language) may be considered as anomalous. Interjections are rarer in literature than in the spoken language. 5

The most frequent interjection is **ia** *yā* "o!" (as Ar. and Syr.). It is still used with the vocative as in the classical², cf. **ia rabanai** (Morg. 278: 5, 281: 2) "o! my friends!". But it can also be used independently with an adverbial meaning, esp. at the beginning of a story, cf. **ia iikia hiba hiaši** 10
'tia (Morg. 273: 2) "Once upon a time there was a wife of a weaver" (**hiba** for **hua**); **ia iikia mn garb ata** (Ibid. 278: 6f) "Once upon a time a man came from the west"; **ia iikia ganaua hua** (Ibid. 283: 2) "Once there was a thief" etc. In all these cases **ia** is followed by **iikia** = P. *yeḳī*, and it always has an indefinite meaning, which can be considered as a peculiar development 15
of the vocative particle *yā*, as in Ar. *yā 'llāb*, *yā ḥaqq*, which became current greeting formulas, or rather as mere indications that something is going to be said.

Another cl. particle, used with the vocative, is **'in**, cf. **'in qaria d-qran** 20
(Q 1: 26 = ML 5: 1) "O Creator who created me!"³ and **'in hiia u'n hiia**

¹ Mg § 72.

² In mod. Mandaic, this interjection became homographical with the Persian numeral *yeḳ* "one", used sometimes in a apocopated form as **ia ye** (aside from the fuller **iikia** = P. *yeḳī* and the ancient **hda bedā**), cf. the colloquial *ye ḫorde* "a little" (< P. *yeḳ ḫorde*), **ia mindia ye mendī** "something" (cf. P. *yeḳ ēiḫī*); further Morg. 278: 5 f., which is to be read *ye ḥakāyī eble qabīn mḥadeḫnā qamdoḫon ugebeḫyon* "I have a story I want to tell you, and you will laugh" etc. The word **ia** is used with this meaning more frequently than as a vocative particle in mod. Mandaic. Accordingly, it is better to translate **ana ia abdikun kḏ huit zuṭa** (Diḫan Maṣbuta, colophon, 7th line from the end) as "When I, a slave of yours, was young" than "When I — o your slave! — was young" (as translated by Lady Drower).

³ QRA "to call" has often the meaning of "to call into existence, to create", cf. Lidzbarski, ZDMG LXI, p. 698 n. 1, and Brandt, ERE, p. 183. In mod. Mandaic, the peal *qarā* is used for "to read" and the pael *qarrī* for "to call". Accordingly, Nöldeke's translation (MG, p. 386) **d-qaria ulabid** (Gy 218) as "who reads and does not practice" would not be wrong. But Lidzbarski's concept (Ginzā, p. 219 n. 2) as "who proclaims" is confirmed

(ML 49: 1) "O Life! O Life!". The form 'iin (as 'iit for 'it, 't "there is"), makes Nöldeke's attempt⁴ to read this particle as *'un (= Syr. 'ōn?) inadmissible. The attempt seemed doubtful to Nöldeke himself. According to § 26b, this particle could produce the mod. affirmative particle *ī* "yes".
 5 Furthermore, the particle 'in is formally identical with *īn* (st. abs.) "eye". Its use as an affirmative particle recalls the Persian *češm* "eye" and *čašm* "with pleasure!"⁵. A proper classical word for "yes" is unknown, but it is not impossible that the particle 'in *īn* had also the meaning of the mod. *ī* (esp. as the Syr. 'īn could only have been transcribed as 'in in Mandaic)⁶.

10 Similar cl. words are **hai** *bey*, *hē* "hey!" and **ha** *bā* "behold!". The original function of these words is to call attention; the demonstrative and adverbial meanings result form a further semantic development.

hin (Gs 124: 8) "behold!" (compared by Nöldeke with ܗܝܢ, ܗܝ, Syr. 'in, Ar. *inna*) used also as an affirmative particle, might be 'in (above) with a
 15 *spiritus asper*.

Another interjection **uai**, 'uai (= ܘܝ, Syr. *wāy*, Ar. *way*, Lat. *vae*) "woe!" is often repeated for sake of emphasis and used with the preposition **l**, 'l. It is common to many languages in form as well as in construction with the dative. Nöldeke⁷ considered the outcry **alai alai** (Gy 84: 14 etc, var. **alai 'lai**)
 20 simply as the preposition **l**, 'l, **al** with the suffix "(came) over me", "(circumde-

by the context: **šnut amrin ušnut abdin** "they talk differently and act differently". In the classical, the peal of this verb had the meaning of the postclassical and modern pael. The frequent classical meaning "to create", which — as Brandt (loc. cit.) noted — can be traced back to Biblical Genesis, is completely foreign to mod. Mandaic.

⁴ MG, p. 81: 3.

⁵ Note the stylistic variants *e/æ*. Since the cl. *īn* was used esp. to address higher beings ("Creator", "Life"), it might also contain a notion of devotion, as "Speak, Lord; for thy servant heareth" (I Sam. 3: 9, 10), from which there would be only one step to a semantic development of this particle to an affirmative particle.

⁶ Such a popular etymology would have principally been possible and supported by its mentioned Persian model (n. 5), cf. Drower-Macuch, Mandaic Dictionary, p. 348b, s. 'in 1 and 'in 2. On the other hand, it is quite certain that mod. Mand. *ī* (= Ar. 'ī) "yes" has the same origin as mod. Syr. *hī*, explained by Maclean (Dict. 71a) as *bā*' + (*b*)*ī* and provided with a query. The *spiritus asper* of this affirmative particle may come from an original demonstrative. In mod. Mandaic, the *spiritus asper* could have been given up as in the demonstrative *ā* (< *hā*) itself (§ 112). As to the essential part of this mod. affirmative word, which remained in Mandaic, it may belong to the most ancient Semitic words, although we know it only from the mentioned mod. dialects.

⁷ MG, p. 81 n. 2.

derunt) me". The interjection **has** *hās* "God forbid that" is used in a similar way with the enclitic **l**.

'hai "huzzah!", "hurrah!", "*vivat!*" occurs frequently in wedding songs. Sometimes, it is followed by the vocative particle: **'hai ia** "O you!" It is an enlarging of **hai** above (as **'uai** is an enlarging of **uai**). The longer forms are preferred in poetry for the sake of rhythm. Combined with **pu** "faugh!" in **puhai** (Gy 85: 11, 86: 7) it means "woe!". The original meaning of **pu** (= Syr. *puy men*)⁸ is still preserved in (Gs 14: 19). **qas** may be compared with the mod. *qowās* "God forbid!" with a shorter form *was*.

⁸ Ibid, p. 81 n. 3.

B. NOUNS

a) *Pronouns*

1. Personal Pronouns

§ 104. a) The independent classical personal pronouns are⁹:

5 Sg.: 1. **ana** *anā* "I", 2. **anat** *anat* "thou", 3. masc. **hu** *hū*, fem. **h'** *bī* "she"

Pl.: 1. **anin** (**an'n**) *anīn* "we", 2. **anaton** *anaton* "you", 3. masc. **hinun**

ben(n)on

(fem. **anatin** *anatten*) fem. **hinin** (**hin'n**)

ben(n)en "they"

10 The pronoun of the 3rd p. fem. sg. **h'** is consistently written with ' , never with an *aksā*. Its less usual forms are **h'ia** (Gy 258: 21 B) and **h'** (Gy 154: 15 B, 170: ult. B).

For **anin** (**an'n**) there are less usual graphical forms **anhin** (§ 50 end) and **anin'n**. The latter was correctly explained by Nöldeke as a mere ditto-
15 gram.

b) The mod. independent personal pronouns are:

Sg.: 1. *an* (rarely *anā*) "I", 2. *āt* "thou", 3. *hāχ* (*gaβrā*) "he",

hāχ (*eθθā*) "she".

Pl.: 1. *anī*, *enī* (rarely *anīn*) "we", 2. *atton*, fem. *atten* "you",

20 3. masc. *hannonχ*, fem. *hannex* or *hannī*
(for both genders) "they".

About *an*, *āt* and *atton* cf. § 93; about *anī* § 26b.

The cl. pronoun of the 3rd p. sg. and pl. were replaced by the demonstratives. In the singular *hāχ* or *ā* is used for both genders; the grammatical
25 gender can be indicated only by means of nouns with natural gender, usually *gaβrā* "man" and *eθθā* "woman", used with the demonstrative.

§ 105. a) Personal pronouns used enclitically with participles and adjectives have the following forms in the classical¹⁰:

⁹ Ibid. § 75, pp. 86ff.

¹⁰ Ibid., pp. 87ff.

Sg.: 1. **-na -nā**, 2. **-it (-at) -et (-at)**, 3. —

Pl.: 1. **-nin (-na) -nīn (-nā)**, 2. masc. **-tun (-tu) -ton (-tū)**, fem. **-tin -ten**
3. (normal endings of the st. abs. pl.:
masc. **-īn -en**, fem. **-ān -ān**).

They were used as follows:

5

- Sg. 1. **rabna rabnā** “I am great”, **ṭabna ṭāβna** “I am good”,
2. **rabit rabbet** “thou art great”, **nihit nibet** “thou art mild”
(3. **rba rabbā** “magnus |est|”, **rapta rāfta** “magna |est|”).
- Pl. 1. ***r(a)binin *rabennīn** “we are great”
2. **zuṭitun** (Gy 292: 1) **zūṭetton** “you are little”, **ṭabitun** (Ibid.) **ṭāβetton** 10
“you are good”,
(3. **r(a)bin rabben** “magni |sunt|”, **r(a)ban rabbān** “magnae |sunt|”).

The independent personal pronouns were always used with predicative substantives and adverbial expressions, but sometimes also with adjectives, cf. **rurbia anatum** (Oxf. III, 75 a) and **anatum rurbia** (Gy 292: 1) “ye are 15 great”. This is done more frequently in modern Mandaic:

b) In mod. Mandaic the independent personal pronouns are often used with adjectives:

- Sg. 1. **an rabbā** “I am great”, 2. **āt rabbā** “thou art great”, 3. **hāḫ rabbā** “he 20
is great”, **hāḫ rafta** (or **raftī**) “she is great”.
- Pl. 1. **anī rabbāna** “we are great”, 2. masc. **atton rabbāna** (or **rab eḫtoḫon**)
“magni estis”, fem. **atten rabbāna** (or **rab eḫteḫen**) “magnae estis”, 3. masc.
hannoḫ rabbāna (or **rab eḫtū**) “magni sunt”, fem. **hannex rabbāna** (or **rab 25**
eḫtū) “magnae sunt”.

But the enclitic pronouns can be used as well:

25

- Sg. 1. (**an**) **ṣabīrna(n)** “I am nice”, 2. (**āt**) **ṣabīryat** “thou art nice”, 3. masc.
(**haḫ**) **ṣabīrye** “he is nice”, fem. (**haḫ**) **ṣabirtā** (or **ṣabirtī**) “she is nice”.
- Pl. 1. (**anī**) **ṣabīrnīn** “we are nice”, 2. (**atton**, fem. **atten**) **ṣabīr eḫtoḫon**, (fem.
eḫteḫen) “you are nice”, 3. (**hannoḫ**, fem. **hannex**) **ṣabīrnon** (or **ṣabīr eḫtū**) 30
“they are nice”.

Modern Mandaic uses both the contracted and full forms alternatively with the adjectives, but in the 2nd. p. pl. the enclitic pronoun is avoided and replaced by **eḫt-** with the personal suffix, which can be used also with other persons: **an rab**, **bonīn**, **ṣabīr eḫte** “I am great, little, nice”, **āt rab**, **bonīn**, **ṣabīr eḫtaḫ** “thou art great, little, nice” etc, § 238βc.

35

The 3rd p. sg. requires special attention. Predicative adjectives used with this person usually had no special ending in the classical; in mod. Mandaic they end in *-ia* — *-ye* (masc.) and *-tia* *-tī*: *rabye*, *bonīnye*, *šābīrye* “he is great, little, nice”, fem. *raštī*, *hanintī*, *šābirtī* “she is great, little, nice”. These endings occur in a few cases already in the classical, even with attributive adjectives, esp. the fem. ending *-tia* *-tī*. The masc. ending *-ia* *-ye* has the same graphical form as the cl. pl. ending *-ia* *-ī* (§ 154a) and the special mod. sg. ending *-ī* (§ 155). Nöldeke, knowing the language only from literature, could not suspect that the same *-ia* would have two different pronunciations; so he mentioned no special predicate ending *-ia* *-ye*. There are, however, many adjectives, ending in *-ia* in Mandaean literature, although it is clear that they must be in the singular. Such cases are not to be treated as a wrong use of the plural but as the normal predicate ending of the 3rd p. masc. sg., known from daily modern Mandaic use. A very old example of this kind is: **kitun** **kukbia sdiqia** (Q 68: 2 = Gs 82: 9) “the cloth of the stars is torn” (read *sādiqye*). As the subject of **sdiqia**, namely **kitun**, is a singular, the predicate adjective (or passive participle) must agree with it in gender and number, and Nöldeke’s syntactical difficulty (MG 413: 11 ff.) is solved. Further old examples are: **qašīšia sibruta mn dh udh** (Gy 78: 2 f.) “Faith is older than this and that” (read *qašīšye*, not *qašīšī*); **hazin man br manu ḡ-haizin šapiria znh haizin znh šapiria** (Gy 369: 11 f.) “Who, whose son is this one whose appearance (< kind, sort) is so comely? So comely is his appearance!” (read *šapīrye* corresponding to the colloquial *šābīrye*). The occurrence of this form, known from modern Mandaic, proves its high antiquity. In later Mandaic, similar examples are more frequent, cf. **u’zma zlihiia** (Morg. 262 15: 1 f.) *wezma* (*eḏlihiy(y)e*) “and blood is shed”; sometimes they are written even with three *aksa*’s, as mod. **šbirīiia šābīrye**, *šābīrye* “is nice, good”, **širīiia šāriyye** “is open(ed)” etc.

The same ending is used with adverbial expressions, cf. *genzā* “much” and *genziyye* “it is much”, *kem* “how” and *kemye* “how is?” (very frequent in *kemye kefdaḡ* “how are you?”), *masīye* (or *massīyye*) “it is cold”, *masītārye* “it is colder” etc. This enclitic is regularly used with predicative passive participles, cf. the difference between the attributive and predicative use of the pass. part. in: *gaβrā gaḡīla* “the killed man” and *gaβrā gaḡīlye* “the man is killed”; *eḏθā gaḡīla* “the killed woman” and *eḏθā gaḡīli* “the woman is killed”; *āt gaḡīlyat* (or *āt gaḡīl eytaḡ*) “thou art killed” etc. The enclitic pronouns of the 3rd p. are not used with the act. part. (cf. participial present, § 204c):

the encl. pronoun of the 2nd p. sg. used in the participial present is *-et* (inst. of *-yat* used with adjectives and pass. participles): *gāṭlet* “thou killest”, *gāṭletton* “ye kill”, *gāṭelnā* “I kill”, *gāṭlennī* “we kill”.

§ 106. Possessive suffixes (MG §§ 141—147):

a) Classical:

Sg. 1. **-ai** *-e(y)* or **θ**: **brai** *bāre* (*ebre*) and **br**, **bar** *ber* “my son”; **bratai** *bāratte* and **brat** *bārat* “my daughter”; **rbai** *rabbe* and **rab** (Gy 190: 13) *rab* “my master”, “my teacher”; **iumai** *yōme* and **ium** (Gy 12: 2 AC) *yōm* “my day”, “to-day”; **šumai** (Q 64 etc) *ošme* and **šum** (Q 31: 30) *šom* “my name”; **libai** *lebbe* and **lbab** (Gy 79: 16) *elbāb* “my heart”; **qumtai** (Gy 212: 19, only one cod.) *qomṯe* and **qumat** (Ibid. varr.) *qommaṯ* “my stature”; **nišimtai** *nešemṯe* and **nišmat** *nešmaṯ* “my soul”, **dmutai** (Gs 113: 12) *dmūṯe* and **dmut** (Ibid.) *dmūṯ* “my form”, “my likeness” etc; but only: **ab** *āb* “my father”, **m** *em* “my mother”, **ahat** (Gs 117: 11) *abāṯ* “my sister”, **ahuat** (Gs 100: 17, 25) *abwāṯ* “my sisters”, **šubian** (Gs 23: 20) *šobyān* (Sh. Abd.) “my will”, **tigar** (Gs 43: paen.) *tiggār* “my strife”, **ramat** (Gs 99: 4) *rāmaṯ* “my high place”, **habrat** (Gs 20: 6) *habraṯ* “*mea amica*”, **mariut** (ML 221: 7) *mariūṯ* “my dominion” **sbal** (Gy 86: 1) *esbal* “my ladder”, **tirat** (Gy 72: 6) *tīraṯ* “my conscience” etc. In all nouns quoted, except **ab** and **m** and perhaps also **ahat** and **ahuat**, facultative forms with **-ai** *-e(y)* would be admissible. Other nouns are preferably used with **-ai** *-e(y)*: **napšai** *našše*, coll. also *nāβše* “I myself” (= Talm. נפשאי); **ahai** *abe* “my brother”; **marai** *māre* “my Lord” (= Talm. מרי aside from the less expressive מר, Syr. *mār[y]*); **hailai** mod. *hīle* “my force” (= Talm. חילאי); **šintai** *šenṯe* “my sleep”; **škintai** *šḫente* “my dwelling”; **duktai** *doḫṯe* and **dukai** *dokke* “my place”; even **hadiyai** (Morg. 265/20: 15) “my breast”; **miqimai** *miqme* “my standing”, **mizlai** *mizle* “my going”, **mitiai** *miṯye* “my coming”, **maṭuiyai** *maṭūye* id. etc. When the noun is in the plural, there must always be the full form with **-ai** (**ahai** can mean both “my brother” and “my brothers”, **dai** *īde* both “my hand” and “my hands” etc). The only exception seems to be **ahuat** (Gs 100: 17, 25) “my sisters”, the plural of which is heteroclite. But other heteroclite plurals are regularly used with **ai**: **bnai** *ebne* “my sons”, **abahatai** *aβabāṯe* “my fathers” etc.

The form **-ia** is regularly used in **lia** = Syr. *lī* and **dilia** = Syr. *dil(y)*. Otherwise, it is rare as a suffix of the 1st p. sg., and where it occurs, it is to be

pronounced *-e*: **nitikbiš atutia ligria uligrai** '1 **pqutai** (Morg. 264/12: 13) "is subdued under my feet (read *laγre* for **ligria** as in the following:) and my feet (: correct **uligrai ulaγre**[y]) are on his neck (read **pquth foqottī**).

2. masc. **-ak -aχ** with both numbers. After **aba** "father" and **aha** "brother", in which the vowel *u* is restored before the suffixes, the suffix is merely **-k -χ**. The plural of a noun is clearly distinguished only when it has a heteroclitic form: **brak ebraχ** "thy son", **bnak ebnaχ** "thy sons"; **kursiak korsiaχ** "thy throne", **karsauatak karsawāθaχ** "thy thrones"; **ahatak ahāθaχ** "thy sister", **ahuatak ahwāθaχ** "thy sisters"; **abuk aβūχ** "thy father", **abahatak aβabāθaχ** "thy fathers"; **ahuk ahūχ** "thy brother, **ahak abaχ** "thy brothers" etc; but **tarmidak tarmīdaχ** "thy priest" or "thy priests", **rahmak rābmaχ** "thy friend" or "thy friends" etc.

2. fem. **-ik -ēχ** with both numbers: **rišik** (Gy 116: 19) *rīšeχ* "thy head", **'mik** (Gs 100: 18) *emmeχ* "thy mother" etc.

3. masc. **-ih, -h -ī** with both numbers: **naps(i)h nafšī** (coll. also *nāβšī*) "he himself"; **kursiīh, kursiḥ korsiy(y)ī, korsī** "his throne", **karsauath karsawāθī** "his thrones" etc; but **'dh īdī** "his hand" or "his hands" etc. With "father" and "brother" the masc. suffix is **-ia -y**: **abuia aβūy** "his hather" (= Syr. *abū[h]y*), **ahuia ahūy** "his brother" (= Syr. *aḥū[h]y*).

3. fem. The masc. suffix is mostly used also for the feminine, but there is a special fem. suffix **-a -a** (= $\overline{\eta}$ -) bearing a real mark of originality, although it is used only sporadically in the classical: **kadpa** (ML 184: 10) *kadpa* "her shoulder" or "her shoulders", **humra** (Gy 81: 6) *homra* "her amulet spirits" etc. In mod. Mandaic (s. b) this suffix is consistently used for the feminine.

The fem. suffix is clearly distinguished from the masculine in **abu aβū** "her father" and **ahu ahū** "her brother" (both as in Syriac).

Nöldeke¹¹ misunderstood **btartin 'du** (Gs 72: 13) as "with his (instead of *their*) both hands", cf. **bdauru** (159: 23) and mod. *kadāβu* (163: 33).

Pl. 1. **-an -an, -aian -ayan**. The latter was originally used with nouns in plural, but this original distinction was soon neutralized, so that either could be used for both numbers: **bran ebran** "our son"; **bran ebnan** "our sons"; **atran aθran** "our place" or "our places"; **kulan** and **kulaian kollan** and **kollayan** "all of us"; **rišan** and **rišaian rišan** and **rīšayan** "our head", "our heads"; **maran** and **maraian māran** and **mārayan** "our Lord"; **ainan inan** "our eye" or "our eyes" (***ainaian** would be admissible) etc. After *u* the suffix

¹¹ MG, p. 178: 10.

is only -n -n: **abun** *abūn* “our father” (var. **abuhan** Gy 99: 17, 244: 3,4); **ahun** *ahūn* “our brother” (but pl. **abahatan** *ababāṭhan* “our fathers”, **ahan** *ahan* “our brothers”).

2. masc. -**kun** -*χon*, -**aikun** -*eyχon*, -*ēχon* (used originally with the plural, then also with the singular like -**aian**). The forms -*χon*, -*ēχon* are often used instead of the regular fem. suffix -**kin** -*χen*, -**aikin** -*ēyχen*, -*ēχen* (sometimes written -**k'n**). There are also rarer forms -**akun**, -**akin**.

Examples: **mamlalkun** *mamlālχon* “your speech”; **bnaikun** *ebneyχon* “your sons”; **bnatkun** *ebnāṭχon* “your daughters”; **abukun** *abūχon* “your father”; **ahukun** *ahūχon* “your brother”; **iainakun** *yaminaχon* “your right hand” (Gy 38:7 B, **iainaikun** other copies); **haiakun** (Gs 78: 16 etc, var. **haiakun** Gs 90: 21C) *hāyēχon* (*hāyachon*) “your life”; **mnatkun** and **mnataikun** *mānāṭχon* and *mānāṭeyχon* “your part” etc.

3. masc. -**hun** -*hon*, -**un** -*on*, -**aihun** -*eyhon*, -**aiun** -*eyyon*;

fem. -**hin** -*hen*, -**in** -*en*, -**aihin** -*eyhen*, -**aiin** -*eyyen*.

Examples: **siptun** (Gs 95: 22) *sefton* “their lip”, **siptaihun** *sefteybon* (**siptaiun**, Gy 247: 12, *sefteyyon*) “their lips”; **rišaihun** (Gy 113: 3, 5 *rišeyhon*, *rišeyyon* “their heads”; **bnaiin** *ebnayyen* “*filiī earum*”: But the forms -*eyhon*, -*eyyon* and -*eyhon*, -*eyyen* are often used also with nouns in the singular: **maiun** *emmeybon* “their mother” (= **mun**); **maraiun** *umartaiun* (AM 199: ult) *māreyyon* **umarṭeyyon** “*dominus eorum et domina eorum*”, **maraihin** (Gy 64: 3) *māreyben* “*Dominus earum*”; **dahbain** *ukaspaiin* (Gy 91: 6f) *dabṣeyyen* *ukaspeyyen* “*aurum earum et argentum earum*” etc. The final -n was apocopated in **bdauru** (Gs 58: 7) “their dwelling” (as in Talmudic and modern Mandaic).

b) In modern Mandaic there is absolute regularity and clearness in the use of possessive suffixes. The possessive suffix of the 1st p. sg. is never omitted¹². The masculine suffix is never used for feminine with singular nouns. When the noun is in the plural, the suffix is always preceded by the modern plural ending -*ān* (§ 172a). Otherwise, the modern possessive suffixes correspond to the classical; only the final *n* of the suffix of the 3rd p. pl. is dropped, according to § 26b.

The mod. possessive suffixes are used as follows:

α) With nouns:

¹² In modern Syriac the suffix -*ī* of the 1st p. sg. is also consistently pronounced, although in the classical it was merely graphical.

Sg.

	1. <i>kedāβe</i> “my book”	<i>kedāβan</i> “our book”
	2. m. <i>kedāβax</i> “the book”	<i>kedāβxon</i> “your book”
	f. <i>kedāβex</i> “thy book”	<i>kedāβxen</i> “your book”
5	3. m. <i>kedāβī</i> “his book”	<i>kedāβu</i> “their book”
	f. <i>kedāβa</i> “her book”	<i>kedāβe</i> “their book”

Pl.

	1. <i>kedāβāne</i> “my books”	<i>kedāβānan</i> “our books”
	2. m. <i>kedāβānax</i> “thy books”	<i>kedāβānxon</i> “your books”
10	f. <i>kedāβānex</i> “thy books”	<i>kedāβānxen</i> “your books”
	3. m. <i>kedāβānī</i> “his books”	<i>kedāβānu</i> “their books”
	f. <i>kedāβāna</i> “her books”	<i>kedāβāne</i> “their books”

When a noun ends with a group of two consonants, a help-vowel is inserted before the suffix of the 2nd p. pl. to divide the group of three consonants, cf. *emmoxon*, *emmoxen* “your mother”.

As for **aba** and **aha**, the former was replaced by *bāβ(a)*; the latter follows the analogy of other nouns: *bāβe* “my father”, *abe* “my brother” etc.

Possessive suffixes are added to Ar. and other foreign nouns by means of the enclitic *d*, cf. *kef* “pleasure”, “good cheer” and *hezmat* (§§ 36, 38) “service”:

	1. <i>kefde</i> , <i>hezmadde</i> “my pleasure”, “my service” ¹³	<i>kefden</i> , <i>hezmaddan</i> ¹⁴
	2. m. <i>kefdaχ</i> , <i>hezmaddaχ</i>	<i>kefdoxon</i> , <i>hezmaddoxon</i>
	(kipdak , Morg. 273: 5)	
	f. <i>kefdeχ</i> , <i>hezmaddeχ</i>	<i>kefdeχen</i> , <i>hezmaddeχen</i>
25	3. m. <i>kefdī</i> , <i>hezmaddī</i>	<i>kefdū</i> , <i>hezmaddū</i>
	3. f. <i>kefda</i> , <i>hezmadda</i>	<i>kefde</i> , <i>hezmadde</i>

This usage is very frequent with Arabic nouns and *mašdar*'s, cf. *marazdi ta'yindī eβad* “he diagnosed his illness” (P. *marazaš-rā ta'yin kard*), as well as with Persian nouns in both singular and plural, cf. **nukarandh** (Diwan Mašbuta, colophon) *nō(u)karandī* “his servants” etc.

¹³ Morg. 273: 3f. has **ħaqdin** “my right > my revenge” (cf. *aldin* “mine”).

¹⁴ **garatdan** “badiun” urabia (Diwan Mašbuta, colophon) *γaraddan eβadyon orabi* “the Arabs made an incursion upon us”. **garatdan** has then nothing to do with P. *gardān* (as Lady Drower ventured, cf. Transl., p. 88 n. 3), but is Ar. *gārat* + *d* + *an* “incursion upon us” (objective genitive).

The possessive suffixes are further used with particles as in the classical, but instead of the cl. *lia li* there is *le* in mod. Mandaic; instead of *dilia*, *ldilia* (*al*)*dili* "mine" there is *aldin*; instead of *ldilh* "his" there is *aldidi*, cf.

- | | | | |
|-------|-------------------------------------|----------------------------------|---|
| 1. | <i>k(e)dāβe aldin</i> "my book" | <i>kedāβ aldan</i> "our book" | |
| 2. m. | <i>k(e)dāβ(ax) aldaχ</i> "thy book" | <i>kedāβ aldoχon</i> "your book" | 5 |
| f. | <i>k(e)dāβ(eχ) aldeχ</i> "thy book" | <i>kedāβ aldeχen</i> "your book" | |
| 3. m. | <i>kedāβ aldiđi</i> "his book" | <i>kedāβ aldiđu</i> "their book" | |
| f. | <i>kedāβ aldiđa</i> "her book" | | |

In all other cases the suffix of the 1st p. sg. is *-e*, cf. *eχte* "I am", *leχte* "I am not", *eble* "I have" (i. e. *est mihi*), *leble* "I have not" (: *non est mihi*), *bāθerde* or *bāθerise* 10 "behind me", *qamāye* "in front of me". Only prepositions, which add the suffix by means of the enclitic *d*, follow *aldin*: *qāmdin* "for me", *qāmdidi* "for him"; *leldin*, *leldaχ*, *leldidi* "to me, thee, him" (aside from the shorter and more usual *le*, *lāχ*, *li*). *Giš* "all" is used with the enclitic *d*, but according to its nature, esp. with plural suffixes: *gišdan*, *gišdoχon*, *gišdū* "all of us, you, them"; when it is used 15 with sg. suffixes, it does not follow *aldin*: *gišde* "ego totus", *gišdi* "ille totus".

β) There is one more use of possessive suffixes: in *qyāde* "I know" and *qombe* "I can" (§ 283 b)¹⁵. This use, completely unknown in the classical, recalls P. *yādam ast* "I remember" > "I know". The similarity of forms is striking, and it is difficult to believe that these modern forms came into exi- 20 stence without any Persian influence:

Sg.

Pl.

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. (<i>an</i>) <i>qyāde</i> (P. (<i>man</i>) <i>yādam ast</i>) | <i>qyādan</i> (P. <i>yādamān ast</i>) |
| (cf. <i>an laqiadi qarīn</i> [Morg. 273 : 4, ult.] "I do not know how to read") | (cf. <i>laqiadan</i> ' <i>lia iahminh</i> , DC 51: coloph., "we do not 25 know where we shall live") |

¹⁵ F. Rosenthal kindly suggested (by letter) the following explanation of the above forms: *qyāde* as prep. *q* + *yād* ("hand") + poss. suff., i. e. "it is at my hand" (> "I can prove it") > "I know", an *qombe* as imper. *qom* ("stand!") + encl. *b* + pers. suff. (cf. *qumbak*, Jb. 111 n. 4, "betake thyself!"). Because of the plausibility of his suggestion I gladly take back my former view that the quoted forms are respective present participles of YDA "to know" and of the pael of BAA (= mod. ABA) "to want". This opinion was suggested to me by formal and material correspondance of Mand. *qyāde* to P. *yādam ast*. But as to *qombe*, there is neither formal nor material correspondance in Persian. The form could be only a rigid form of a participle of the pael, but the concerned verb is never used in this form. And, finally, "want" > "can" in Mandaic would presuppose a semantic jump which could hardly be explained by our modern "Will is power". Besides, P. *yādam ast* is a Semitic construction and is ultimately explainable by Semitic syntactical influence.

	Sg.		Pl.
2.	(<i>āt</i>) <i>qyādaχ</i> (P. [<i>tō</i>] <i>yādat ast</i>) (cf. qaiadak qarit [Morg. 273: paen.] "Dost thou know how to read?")		<i>qyādχon</i> } (P. <i>yādatān ast</i>)
5	fem. <i>qyādeχ</i>		f. - <i>χen</i> }
3.	m. <i>qyādī</i> } (P. <i>yādaš ast</i>) f. <i>qyāda</i> }		<i>qyōdu</i> (P. <i>yādašān ast</i>)

A similarity between modern Mandaic and Persian forms appears also in the past tense; the only difference is that the Mandaic auxiliary is conjugated, while the P. *būd* does not change. The fundamental forms, *yādī howā* and *yādaš būd*, are the same:

	Sg. }	(P. <i>yādaš būd</i>)		Pl.
3.	m. <i>yādī howā</i> }		<i>yādu hewon</i> }	(P. <i>yādašān būd</i>)
	f. <i>yāda howā</i> }		<i>yādu hewen</i> }	
15	2. m. <i>yādaχ</i> }	<i>hewet</i> (P. <i>yādaχ būd</i>)	<i>yādχon hewīton</i> }	(P. <i>yādatān būd</i>)
	f. <i>yādeχ</i> }		- <i>χen hewīten</i> }	
1.	<i>yāde hewīt</i>	(P. <i>yādam būd</i>)	<i>yādan hewīnī</i>	(P. <i>yādamān būd</i>)

The Persian forms are more primitive. Nouns, adjectives and adverbs with possessive suffixes followed by the enclitic personal pronoun *-ye* (§ 105 b) correspond also to the Persian use: (*an*) *howmeyye* "I am warm" (: P [*man*] *garmam ast*); (*āt*) *howmaχye*, fem. *howmeχye* "thou art warm" (: P. [*tō*] *garmat ast*) etc (§ 221 d).

γ) As the examples above show, modern Mandaic possessive suffixes have clear and distinct forms, except the 3rd p. pl., where there is no special fem. suffix, so that *inšāna* "of women" is usually to be completed for the sake of clearness. Only the 3rd p. fem. sg. is identical with the st. emph. sg.: *kadāβa* "her book" and "the book". But there is also a mod. st. abs. and cstr. ending in *-e* (aside from the old st. abs. and cstr. without ending, § 154b). When you ask a Mandaean how he says "father" or "God", he will answer *bāβe* literally "my father", or *māre* literally "my God", rather than *bāβ*, *bāβa*, or *mār*, *māra*. This *-e* is often used as an ending of the st. cstr., where it corresponds to the P. *yā-yi idāfab*, cf. *kadāβ(e) bāχ gaβrā* "the book of this man" (= P. *kitāb-i in mard*) instead of *kadāβī bāχ gaβrā*; *bāβ(e) oššāna* "the father of the child" instead of *bāβī oššāna*; *em(me) yanqāna* "the mother of the children" inst. of *emmū yanqāna* etc. The confusion of this *-e* with the suffix of the 1st

p. sg. is impossible, since the only word, by which a noun with the mentioned suffix can be followed, is *aldin* "mine", so that *kadāβe* alone can mean only *kadāβe aldin* "my book", while *kadāβe* followed by a noun can be only a status constructus. *Bāβe* "father" and *māre* "God" may be explained by the subjectivity of Mandaeans. A Mandaean, talking about "father" and "God",⁵ thinks first of his own father and of his own God.

§ 107. Accusative suffixes (cf. verbal forms before suffixes, §§ 228 ff.).

a) In the classical:

Sg. 1. **-an** *an*, **-n** *n* (after *ū*); sporadically **-in** *-en* (mostly as a graphical variant of **-an** *-an*).¹⁰

2. masc. **-ak** *-aχ*, **-k** *-χ* (after *ū*).

A special fem. suffix is **-ik** *-eχ*, (after *ū* only **-k** *-χ* as masc.).

3. masc. **-ḥ**, **-iḥ** *-ī*; **-ia** *-y* (after *ū*).

The special fem. suffix **-a** *-a* is extremely rare in the classical, but after the ending *ū* the feminine is clearly distinguished from the masc., cf. **ligtu** (Gs 101: 15) *leytū* "they took her" (masculine would be **ligtūia** *leytūy*, or **ligtūnh** *leytonnī*, according to the mod. form).

Pl. 1. **-inan** *-ennan*, **-nan** *-nan*, (**-an** *-an*).

2. masc. **-inkun**, **-nkun** *-enχon*; fem. **-inkin**, **-nkin** *-enχen*. shorter form is **-akun** *-aχon*. Special feminine forms are rare.²⁰

3. masc. **-inhun** *-enbon*, **-inun** *-ennen*, **-nhun** *-(e)nbon*, **-nun** *-(n)non*,
fem. **-inhin** *-enben*, **-inin** *-ennen*, **-nhin** *-(e)nben*, **-nin** *-(n)nen*.

The final **n** of the suffix of the 3rd p. pl. could be sometimes apocopated like in the modern language, cf. **kidbirku** (CP 239: 15) "as he blessed them".

The suffix contracts with verbal forms of the 1st p. pl.: **baḥilnun** *baḥtelnon*²⁵ "we annihilated them", **ptahnin** *estabnen* "aperuimus eas". Forms contracted with the feminine suffix are graphically identical with the forms without suffixes, but they are distinguished in pronunciation, cf. **ptahnin** *estabnin* "we opened" (without suffix).

b) In modern Mandaic there is a notable simplification of the accusative³⁰ suffixes. Their forms are as follows:

Sg. 1. **-e** (as the possessive suffix); 2. masc. **-aχ**, fem. **-eχ**; 3. masc. **-ī**, fem. **-a**.

Pl. 1. **-an**; 2. masc. **-oχon**, fem. **-eχen**; 3. **-ū** (for both genders).

Verbal forms before suffixes always end with a consonant, so that **d. giṭluia** is mod. *geṭlonni*, cl. **giṭlu** = mod. *geṭlonna*.

The accusative suffixe can be emphasized either by an independent personal pronoun (: *āt anā geṭālte* “thou hast killed me”) or by *eldin* “me”, *eldaχ* (masc.), *eldeχ* (fem.) “thee”, *eldidi* “him”, *eldida* “her”, *eldan* “us”, *eldoχon*, *eldoχm* “you” (masc. & fem.), *eldidu* “them”: *geṭle -ldin* “he killed me” etc. This is often done for the sake of clearness especially in the 1st p. pl. with the suffix of the 3rd p. sg., which is, otherwise, identical with the form without the suffix, cf. *geṭālmi* “we killed” or “we killed him”, but *eldidi geṭālmi* or *geṭālmi -ldidi* (= *geṭālmi lobāχ gaβrā*) only “we killed him” (= “we killed that man”). Since the 3rd p. fem. pl. has no proper accusative suffix, *lobanneχ* (*inšāna*) “*eas*” (: “those women”) must be completed when it is necessary to express a plural feminine object: *geṭlū lobanneχ* (*inšāna*) “*necavit eas* (: *feminas*)”.

15 2. Demonstrative pronouns¹⁶.

§ 108. The most primitive and the most usual Semitic demonstrative *bā* is still used to point to the nearer object as in the classical. In the classical it was used, moreover, in compounds **hahu** (masc.) and **hah'** (fem.) with a very rare variant **hahia** (Q 25 : 17, only one var.) to point to both the nearer and the farther object. Nöldeke¹⁷ was not completely right that the Aramaic plural of these forms (𐤆𐤁𐤍, 𐤆𐤁𐤍', Talm. 𐤆𐤁𐤍', Syr. *bānōn*, *bānēn*) occurs nowhere in Mandaic. **hanin** (Gy 23 : 22) is, in fact, only a variant of **hinin** “*eae*” (C, D). But Nöldeke overlooked **hania bauatai** (Jb 62 : 4) “those prayers of mine”, in which **hania** = **hanin** (with apocope of the final **n**).
 25 The full form **hanin** occurs in **hanin zamnata** (Or. 333 : 7) “those summonings”. The apocopated form *hannī* still lives as a current demonstrative in mod. Mandaic (110). It is used for both genders, as it could be already in the classical, cf. **hania d-mbarkilak** (DC 38) “those who bless thee”. With the last meaning **hania hannī** could be either identical or, at least, contaminated
 30 with the Talmudic 𐤆𐤁𐤍, but in the examples quoted above **hania** = **hanin** is an original Aramaic feminine plural demonstrative. Nevertheless, it is amazing that its masculine form has been found in no text.

¹⁶ MG §§ 78—83.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 89 n. 2.

§ 109. Another Semitic demonstrative $\delta\bar{a}$, $\delta\bar{i}$ (Talm. דָּבָר , fem. דְּבָרָא , with a heteroclitic pl. דְּבָרִין), pointing to the nearer object, had a very limited use in the classical and completely disappeared from the mod. language. The singular was never used with a noun but only in the doubled form **dh udh** “this and that” (Gy 73: 2, 89: 15 etc.). The pl. ‘**lin illen** “these” is found only in the XIth book of Gy as a peculiarity of this book, where it occurs esp. in the frequent expression **gubria ‘lin tlata** “these three men”, which apart from this book is found only in Gy 286: 22. Furthermore in the XI book this demonstrative is used substantively ‘**lin d** (Gy 253: 15) “*ecce quae*”. Nöldeke¹⁸ considered it as a dialectal form. Lidzbarski¹⁹ also considers this book as written in a milieu different from that in which other Mandaic texts were written²⁰.

§ 110. All other demonstratives are formed with $\bar{h}\bar{a}$ “this”. Classical demonstratives, pointing to the nearer object, are: **hazin**, fem. **haza**, pl. **halin** (= Talm. הַרְיִן , fem. הַרְיָא or עַרְיָא , pl. הַרְיָלִין). About \bar{z} instead of d in these demonstratives cf. § 38. The original d remained only in a few forms, and almost all of them have doublets without d , cf. **hadinu** (Gy 254: 18f, Gs 25ff) “*ecce eum*” (= Talm. הַיְיִנו “that is”), **hazin hu** (Gy 185: 17, 19f) and **hainu** (Gy 152: 12; 343: 20) with the same meaning; fem. **hada** (Gy 73: 12; Q 11f) as a doublet of the more frequent **haza**; **hai** “this” (= Talm. הָאֵה < $\bar{h}\bar{a}\delta en$, pl. הַיִּין). It is strange that the plural of this demonstrative occurs nowhere in the classical, although it still lives in the mod. *hanni* “these” (§ 108).

§ 111. The demonstratives, used to point to the farther object, are also formed with $\bar{h}\bar{a}$: **hak** $\bar{h}\bar{a}\chi$ “that” (= Talm. הַאֵה , fem. הַאֵהָ < $\text{הָ} + \text{הָ} + \text{הָ} = \text{Ar. } \bar{h}\bar{a}\bar{d}\bar{a}\bar{k}\bar{a}$, § 36f), is still used for both genders as in the classical; pl. **hanik** $\bar{h}\bar{a}\bar{n}\bar{e}\chi$ “those” (= Talm. הַנֵּי vocalised as הַנֵּי or הַנֵּי could be a masc. form, cf. § 112b). There is a curious, specifically Mandaic demonstrative **hanath**, **hanatia** “that” (for both genders) and **hanatun**, fem. **hanatin** (Gy 128: 6) “those” with less demonstrative force than **hak**. It disappeared from modern usage. About its formation cf. MG § 83.

¹⁸ MG, p. 90: 2.

¹⁹ Ginzā, p. 250: 8ff.

²⁰ About other particularities of this book cf. *ibid.*, p. 250: 9—15.

§ 112. Mod. demonstrative pronouns:

a) Pointing to the nearer objekt:

Sg. *ā*, *bā*, *abā* "this". All three forms come from the cl. **ha**, and are used for both genders. In *ā* the initial *b* was dissolved, according to § 49. The 5 forms *ā* and *ābā* exist also in mod. Syriac²¹.

Pl. *abnī* or *bannī* "these" for both genders: *abnī goβrāna* "these men", *abnī inšāna* "these women". With inanimate objects, only *ā*, *abā* is used in pl.: *ā* (or *abā*) *mendāna* (or *mendāni*) "these things." A simple *ā* can also be used with names of animals: **a bumana** (Morg. 285: 11, 19f) *ā būmāna* "these 10 owls".

b) Pointing to the farther object:

Sg. *bāχ* (= cl. **hak**), with the loss of the initial *b* (§ 49): *āχ* "that". Sh. Abdullah often uses **ta tā** "that" in epistolary style, esp. **ta bada** (as in Jb. 285: 7) "that buissness"²², as well as **haza** "is", "ille" and **hida** "ea", "illa", 15 but these pronouns are not used in the colloquial.

Pl. masc. *hannox*, fem. *hannex* "those", although the cl. **hanik** was used for both genders; *aχnī*, formed in a similar way as *abnī* (s. a.), is used for both genders. With inanimate objects, only *aχ*, *bāχ* are used: *āχ* (or *bāχ*) *mendāna* (or *mendāni*) "those things".

20 3. Relative pronouns.

§ 113. a) The cl. relative *ad* (= 7, Syr. *d*) is represented by the 23rd letter of the alphabet: **ḏ**-. This form was used only when the relative was not preceded by a proclitic. After a proclitic, it was always written as **d** together with the proclitic and the following word. Its facultative pronunciation as *ḏ* is 25 of later origin (§ 5). This only Mandaic relative pronoun, so frequent in the classical, completely disappeared from the mod. usage, but it produced the enclitic particle *-d*-, unknown in the classical (cf. *keḏde* and *χezmadde*, § 106b).

b) Nöldeke²³ was right that the original conjunction **kḏ ke δ** "when", "as" cannot be considered with certainty as a mere compound of the relative **ḏ**-

²¹ Cf. MG, p. 90 n. 2; Maclean, Dictionary, p. 4.

²² Cf. also **ta mata** (DC 51: colophon) "that town".

²³ MG, p. 93: 4ff.

with **k**. Nevertheless, his concept of this word requires completion, since **kḏ** belongs among the words, used with a consistent *scriptio defectiva* (§ 14b). The word could have a double origin: 1. 𐤊𐤏, Talm. 𐤊, according to the mod. form *ke*, used as a mere relative pronoun “which” instead of the original “(as that) which” (?), but also in compounds, as *kerehwā* “quickly”, lit. “like the wind”, in which it still preserves the original comparative value; 2. 𐤊+𐤏, according to the traditional pronunciation and its mod. use in *ke θ kem* “how much?”²⁴. I cannot help having the impression that both forms might have existed side by side, when the classical was spoken. It is a mere coincidence that the mod. relative *ke* corresponds to the P. *ki(h)* “*qui*”, because the same P. *ki(h)*, used as an interrogative “*quis*”, is Mand. *man*. Further, the modern Mandaic adverbial expressions (formed with the same *ke*, used comparatively) are formed in Persian with a different comparative particle: *kerehwā* “like the wind” is P. *miṭl-i bād*, or poetically *čūn bād*, while the mod. Mand. *ke* has all the characteristics of the Talm. 𐤊. This similarity of forms could hardly have come into existence first in modern Mandaic, and the form *ke* must have existed, at least as a facultative colloquial variant of the literary **kḏ**, which is also found in fuller forms **kḏia** (Cod. B Gy 154: 4, 233: 9, 254: 16), **kḏa** (Zotb. 23ob: 17) and also with an exceptional *scriptio plena* in **kidbirku** (Par. XI 22b = CP 239: 15) “as he blessed them”²⁵.

About **ḏ-**, used with interrogative pronouns, cf. § 114.

4. Interrogative Pronouns.

§ 114. a) Classical²⁶:

man “who?”; **ma** “what?”. In nominal sentences: **manu** “who is?” (< 𐤊𐤏 𐤍); **mahu** “what is?” (= 𐤊𐤏 𐤍). The latter forms are sometimes used with the same meaning as a mere **man** or **ma**. Followed by the relative **ḏ-**: **mahu ḏ-** “*quis est qui?*”; **mahu ḏ-** “*quid est quod?*”. **mahu** produced a contracted form **mu** (mod. *mū*), and **mahu ḏ-** was contracted to **mud**, used in later texts, but not in the colloquial. In some very late texts, there is **amud** inst. of **mud** (Examples, § 266c).

²⁴ Gl., p. 130: 5, **kī** — Ar. *fī mā* — *dum* — P. *dar ān*.

²⁵ MG, p. 93: 11.

²⁶ Ibid. § 85, p. 94.

For "why?" there are three similar expressions: **alma** "for what purpose?" (= Talm. אַלמא, B. Aram. א-ל-מא, H. אַל-מָה); **almahu**, which was contracted to **amu** (mod. *qāmū*) "why?". In Gs 55:18, 'I **mahu** is used parallel with **amu**.

- 5 "Where?", "whither?" is **lia**, 'lia, **alia** (= *לִיאָ, Talm. לִיאָ), pronounced both traditionally and colloquially *elyā*, not **lē*, as Nöldeke²⁷ supposed. The sporadic form l' is based on a mere confusion with the homographical **lia** = l' "to me". "From where?" is **milia** *melyā* = mod. *mælyā* (< *מִלִּיאָ). For "whiter?" there is also **lianu** (cf. Ar. *ilā ayna*), used repeatedly in Gs 125, 10 explained by Nöldeke as אַהַל־אִידִין²⁸, and **lilia** (Gy 362, Gs 49:11) pronounced *el-elyā*.

- An interrogative "which?" is **hamnia**, **hamnu** (Gy 211:12 etc), formed with the interrogative particle הִי (אִי). Nöldeke²⁹ explains the former as הִי מִנֵּה הִי "which of it?", the latter as הִי מִנֵּהוֹן הִי "which of them?" (= Talm. הִי מִנֵּיִהוּ). 15 In mod. Mandaic only *hem* remained.

- b) In mod. Mandaic there was almost no change in the interrogative pronouns: *man* "who?", *manye* (§ 105 b) "who is?"; *mū* "what?", *myyye* "what is?". "Which?" is either *man* or *hem* (§ 265 e). *elyā* "where?", *laelyā* "whither?", *mælyā* "from where?"; *qāmū* "why?"; *hemdā* "when?" (perhaps from הִי מִן עֵדָן הִי 20 "which [of the] time?" with the loss of the final *n* [§ 26 b] in both *mn* and 'dan³⁰, § 265 e).

b) Substantives and Adjectives.

1. Nouns from Biradical Roots³¹.

- § 115. The oldest shift of the Semitic vocabulary contains words of two 25 radicals. Among nouns, these are, above all, the names of family members, of some parts of the body and some other very common terms:

²⁷ MG, p. 205:18.

²⁸ Ibid., p. 94 & nn. 2, 3.

²⁹ Ibid. § 85, p. 94.

³⁰ Otherwise, cl. 'dan "time" was replaced by Ar. *waqt* in the colloquial, but in the mod. interrogative expression quoted the classical word remained. A cl. word for "when?" is unknown, but it could hardly be substantially different from this modern expression.

³¹ MG § 87.

bra (varr. **'bra, abra**) *ebrā* "son"; st. abs. and cstr. **br bær**, usually written defectively; nevertheless, a *scriptio plena* **bar** occurs in later texts; the cl. plural is heteroclite **bnia** (varr. **'bnia, abnia**) *ebnī*; a regular mod. plural is *ebrāna, ebrāni*; fem. **brata bærattā, barattā** "daughter", st. abs. and cstr. **brat**, with a heteroclite pl. **bnata ebnāθa** (sometimes used in mod. Mandaic with the mod. pl. ending as *benāθāna*). The literary form **pt** (§ 28end) is unknown in the living language. Cl. **aba** "father" (with suffixes **ab** "my father", **abuk** "thy father" etc), pl. **abahata**, was replaced by the postcl. **baba bāβā**³². **'ma emmā** is from a three-rad. rt. (174:14 [with suffixes § 106a, b]). **aha abā** "brother" (pl. **ahia**, forms with suffixes § 106a, b); fem. **ahata (a)hāθa** "sister" (pl. **ahuata**, les often **ahauata** [= Syr. *aḥwāṭā*], with suffixes: **ahat** "my sister" [= Syr. *ḥāṭy*], **ahatak** "thy sister" etc, pl. with suffixes: **ahuat** "my sisters", **ahuatak** "thy sisters" etc), mod. *hāθa* (§ 87), pl. *hāθāna* or *ahwāθa*. Cl. **ham bām** "father-in-law", with suff. **hamu** (Jb 72: 1) "her father-in-law"³³, fem. **hamata hamāθa** "mother-in-law"³⁴.

dma, zma "blood" is now preferably used with *d*: *edmā* (§ 38). The cl. Persian loanword **zan zan**, pl. **znia, zn' ezni**, "species", "kind" (used also in other dialects: 𐭪𐭥, Syr. *zanā*, B.-Aram. pl. 𐤆𐤍, H. 𐤆) was driven out by *gūr* as in modern Persian.

'da īda, st. cstr. **iad yād** "hand" is still used, but its st. abs. and cstr. is formed simply by dropping the ending of the st. emph.: *īd*. (The word has two cl. plurals: **'dia** [= Syr. *īdē*] and **'dahata** [= Syr. *īdabātē*]; the usual mod. plural is *īdāna, īdāni*).

šuma ešma, ošma, st. cstr. **šum šom** "name" (as in many Aramaic dialects, unlike 𐭪𐭥, Syr. *šem*, st. emph. *šmā*, mod. *šim[m]ā*; Ar. *sim* aside from *sum*^{34a}) has two rarer variants **'šuma** and **'ušma**, indicating the pronunciation with a prosthetic vowel. (The noun has two cl. plurals: **šumhata, šumahata** [= Syr. *šmāhātā*] and **šumia** [cf. H. 𐤍𐤏𐭪, Syr. *šmāhē*], the former treated as fem., the latter as masc.). The word is still used with a st. abs. and cstr. *ešem* and with a regular mod. plural *ešmāna, ešmāni*.

³² Homographical with **baba bāβā** "gate".

³³ Overlooked by Nöldeke, MG, p. 99:9f.

³⁴ Gl. 69:1 **hmata** — Ar. *ḥamāt* — *soerus* — P. *mādar-zan*. Cf. **ham uhamath** JRAS 1937, p. 594:33 "her father- and mother-in-law", **hamata ukalta** Jb 169:1 "mother-in-law and daughter-in-law".

^{34a} Cf. *wa'ismu 'l-šay'i wasamubū wasimubū wasumubū*, Lisān al-'Arab (Beyrouth 1956), XIV, p. 401a: 21.

pum, puma *pom, pomma* "mouth" preserved the original form with the gemination of *m* (§ 72a, d).

Cl. **mai māy** (= H. מַי, Ethiopic *māy*, Ar. *mā'*, pl. **mia** (rare varr. **m'ia, m'iaa**) *meyyā*; a *scriptio plena* **maia** is regularly used with suffixes; the mod. form is **mēn, mēna** (pl. **mēnāna**)³⁵. The modern form is found already in the postclassical language, cf. **maina** (AM 49: 12) "wateriness", **kalba d-maina** (AM 131: 14) "(water-dog >) otter", **haurih anpih bmaina** (DC 46, p. 151: 5) "wash his face in water", **maina rauan** (DC 46) "flowing water" (P. *āb-i rauān*), written defectively **mina** (Zotb. 218b: 30).

10 Feminine forms from biradical roots:

šita, šidta *šedā, šettā* "year" (§ 25)³⁶; st. cstr. **šnat ešnat**, pl. **šnia, šnia** (= מִשָּׁנָה, Syr. *šnanyā*); colloquial pl. *šetāna*. **amta amṭa** "maidservant", pl. **amata** (formed directly from מַמְתָּא, rather than from מְמַתָּא, since *b* did not vanish in the same position in **šumhata**). **sipta sefta** "lip" (= מִשְׁפָּתַי, Syr. *septā*), pl. **spihata, 'spihata** (var. **sbihta, sbahata**) and **'spia**, with suff. **span** "our lips"³⁷; mod. pl. *seftāna* (*seftān pomma* "the lips of the mouth"). **qašta qaštā** "bow" (= מִשְׁתָּא, Syr. *qaštā* and *qeštā*, H. מִשְׁתָּא, differently from Ar. *qaws* as from מִשָּׁא, and pl. *qušiy* as from מִשָּׁי). In Aramaic, as well as in Hebrew and Ethiopic, the *t* is treated as belonging to the root, pl. **qaštata qaštāṭa** 20 (= Syr. *qaštāṭā*, H. מִשְׁתָּאֵי), mod. pl. *qaštāna*.

Cl. **'šta** "ground", "base", "bottom"³⁸ might have a var. ***'ušta**, according to which the word would have two facultative pronunciations (as *ešma, ošma*). Nöldeke's conjecture **b'ušta** instead of the corrupted **bšūšta** (Gy 382: 5, further corruptions **pšūšta, pšaušta** etc) finds a support in this 25 analogy.

mat, mata mod. *māṭ, māṭa* "village", "country", "settlement" (= Akk. *mātu*), in which probably the *t* belongs to the root and is not a mere feminine ending. Cl. pl. **matuata**, less often **matauata** (as Talm. מַתוּאָתָא, Syr. *māṭwāṭā*);

³⁵ The form defies explanation. F. Rosenthal writes to me: "I first thought that the ancient abs. state *mēn* reoccurs here and was taken as a sg. and provided with the article *-ā*. However, such a suggestion is very unlikely, unless we at least find some indication that the form *mēn* was still used somewhere in Mandaic". An attempt at an explanation from Ass. *māmi* or from Canaanite *mēma* (a gloss in Tell Amarna tablets) etc by dissimilation encounters a similar difficulty.

³⁶ **šinta** *šenṭā* is in Mandaic "sleep", "slumber".

³⁷ In Hebrew, the *t* of the fem. ending was drawn into the root, cf. pl. מִשְׁפָּתַי, as in the following מִשְׁפָּתַי.

³⁸ Cf. MG, p. 98: antep. ff.

a mod. pl. is *māθāna* apart from the cl. *māθawθa*, a mod. pl. of great number is *māθwaθāna* (§ 172 a 4).

2. Nouns from Roots of Three Radicals³⁹.

α. The Simplest Formation.

§ 116. a) *Fa'(a)l* (with *a* after the first radical): **malka** *malkā* “king”; **barda** “cold, hail”; **gabra** *gaβrā* “man” **darga** (var. **dirga**) “step”, “degree”; **hamra** “wine”; cl. **habla** 1 and 2 “vapour” and “rope”; cl. **gamba** “side”; **harba** “sword, fight, ruin”; **zamra** (Gy 376: 18) “song”; probably also **zarga** (Jb 155: 11); **kalba** “dog”; cl. **maksa** “penalty” (Ar. *maks*, apart from “tax-collector: Ar. *makkās*); **marqa** (DC 37, 1. 467) “cleansing”; cl. **nahla** (< Akk. *naḥlu*) and **nahra** (Ar. *nabar* and *nahr*) “river”; cl. and postcl. **napša** “miscarriage”; **napqa** (AM 118: 18, 262: 18) “eruption, rash” (Syr. *naḥqā*, apart from “excrement”, ATŠ II no. 8— $\aleph\aleph\aleph$); **napša** “soul”; **sarga** “saddle” (as Syr.); **pagra** “body” etc.

From roots I guttural: **agra** “salary”; **arqa ara** “earth”; **anpia** “face” (pl.) = mod. *appā* (§ 22 d); **abda aβdā** “slave”; **agma** (< Akk. *agammu*) “swamp”; **aṭra** “spot” (Gl. 123: 4) etc.

From roots II guttural: **ṭama** mod. *ṭām*, *ṭāma* “taste”; **iaḥṭa** “abortion”; **lahma** “bread” (> mod. *lam*, *lammā*).

The roots III $\aleph\aleph$ behave as $\aleph\aleph$; roots III \aleph are, as a rule, affected by the metathesis, esp. when the 2nd radical is a liquid (§ 28): **iahra** (var. **iihra**) mod. *yəhrā*, *yəhrā* “month” (< $\aleph\aleph$). There is no st. abs. nor constructus of this noun.

From roots $\aleph\aleph$: cl. **iama yamma** “sea”⁴⁰; **ama amma** “people”⁴¹; **sada sadda** “barrier”, “block”; **gaua guwwa** “interior” (st. cstr. **gu gu**); cl. **hana hanna** “bosom”.

³⁹ MG §§ 88—108.

⁴⁰ Replaced by P. **darja dəryā**. This replacing started to take place in postcl. Mandaic, cf. **alma** *lsihil q-diria d-armanaiia* (AM 250: 3) not “up to the border of the Armenian regions” (as Lady Drower translated), but “up to the coast of the Armenian sea”; **maḥqillib q-diria** (AM 287: 5) not “found in these parts” (Drower), but “taken out of the sea”; cf. Gl., p. 42: 1.

⁴¹ Replaced by Ar. *qum* (written **qum**) and *ša'b* (written **ṣā'ab**, Diuan Maṣbuta: coloph.

From roots ʾ'ʿ (and ʾ'ʿ): **taura** mod. *towra* “ox”; cl. **daura** “dwelling”; **iauna** “dove” (> mod. *hiyūna*); **ṣauma** mod. *ṣowma* “fasting”; **hauma** mod. *howma* “warmth” (mod. st. abs. *hom*); cl. **kauna** “firmness, tranquility”; **kaupa** (DC 11, l. 464) “convexity”; **laupa** “union”; mod. **launa** *lowna* 5 “colour”; **nauda** (often in AM) “unrest”; cl. **naura** “mirror”⁴²; **iūm, iuma** mod. *yōm, yōma* “day”; **haila** (mod. *hīla*) “strength” (mod. st. abs. and cstr. *hīl*, § 95 c); **aina** *eyna*, mod. *īna* “eye” (mod. st. abs. & cstr. *īn*, § 75 a); **hiua** *hīwa* “animal”; mod. **kair** *ḫeyr* “good” (Ar.).

From roots ʾ'ḫ: **gadia** *gādya* “buck”; **ṭabia** *ṭāβya* “gazelle” etc. The 10 derivatives of ʾ'ḫ have no special forms for the st. abs. and cstr.

This simplest formation is used esp. for concrete nouns; abstr. nouns of this type are rare (they are esp. from ʾ'ʿ).

b) With transition of *a* to *ī*: **riš, riša** mod. *rīš, rīša* “head”; **birqa** “lightning”; **gira** *gerā* “arrow” (mod. st. abs. *ger*); **girma** *germā* “bone” (mod. st. abs. *germ*); **tirba** *terbā* “fat” (mod. st. abs. *terb*); cl. **dirka** *derka* “way”; **dibra** *deβrā* “desert”, st. cstr. (a) **dbar**⁴³; **hirba** “sword” (but var. **harba** *barba*); **ṭibla** “drum” (but var. **ṭabla** *ṭabla*); cl. **ṭirpa** but traditional pronunciation *aṭarfa* (in spite of the consistent *ṭī aksa*); cl. **dirga** “step, degree (but var. **darga**, see above); **ṣilma**, var. **ṣalma** “image”, now used only in the cl. plural form 20 **ṣilmia** *ṣelmī* “Gemini” (sign of the Zodiac); **ṣilpa** *ṣelfa* “whip” and “reed-pen”; **pirqa** “deliverance”; **rimza** “wink” etc.

There seem to be no nouns of this type from roots I **ḫ, ʿ**.

From II **ʿ**: cl. **rima** “thunder”⁴⁴; **bil, bila** *bel, bella* “husband”.

From II **ḫ**: **sira** *serrā* “moon” (mod. st. abs. *ser*); **riḫša** (var. **rahša**) 25 mod. *re(b)ša* “worms” (collective⁴⁵; the var. with *rā halqa* may be based on the participle *rāḫša*). From III **ʿ**: cl. **tira** “door”⁴⁶; **zira** mod. *zerra* “seed” (mod. st. abs. *zer*) etc.

From ʿ'ʿ: **riqa** “tortoise” is pronounced *ragga* (= Syr. *raqqā*) by Ṣābūrī (in spite of *rī aksa*).

⁴² Mod. *eynak raftā*.

⁴³ Drower-Macuch, Mandaic Dictionary 101 b, 106 b.

⁴⁴ According to Ṣābūrī, mod. *rima* means “pus”, “decay”. This should, however, be pronounced *remma* (: Ar. *rimmah*) as a *fī'lab*-form from ʿ'ʿ (§ 117 a). “Thunder” is in the vernacular *qāl arqiba* “voice of the sky”.

⁴⁵ *rešī bišī* “bad insect” (cf. Drower, MMII, p. 48) is also used by Mandaeans about undesirable people. My informant Ṣābūrī used it about Muslims.

⁴⁶ In mod. Mandaic only the more common *βāβā* is used for “door”.

From ʿ^h: **situa** mod. *sitwa* “winter”; cl. **ṣihua** “thirst”⁴⁷.

c) With fem. ending (*fa’lab, fi’lab*). Nouns of this formation often insert an auxiliary vowel (*fa’alab*), according to § 78. Cl. **malakta** “queen”⁴⁸; cl. **harakta harkta, hargta** “crookedness” etc.

From III ʿ: cl. **paqata** (pl.) “plains”. 5

From ʿ^h: **kalta kalṭa** “bride”; **parta** “female lamb”, **ginta** “garden”, **kinta** “covering” and “community” etc.

From ʿ^h: **luṭta loṭṭa** “curse”; cl. **qumta** “stature” etc.

From ʿ^h (ʿ^h): cl. **hiuta** (st. cstr. **hiuat**) “animal”; cl. **giuta** (st. cstr. **giuat**) “splendour”; cl. **ṣauta** “thirst” (from ʿ^h after the vanishing of *b*, § 50); 10
cl. **haduta** (st. abs. **hadua**, cstr. **haduat**) “joy”, etc.

§ 117. *Fi’l* (with an original *i* after the 1st radical):

a) cl. **ligra** “foot” is traditionally pronounced *layra* (in spite of the consistent *lī aksa*, corresponding to Ar. *riḡl*, Syr. *reḡlā*), so that there would be a transition to a *fa’l* formation (§ 116a; cf. H. **רָגַל**, in *pausa* **רָגַל**, with suff. **רָגַלְךָ** 15
dual **רָגַלְךָ**)⁴⁹. There are also some other forms with the *aksa*, corresponding to Hebrew forms with *a*, but they are usually pronounced with *i, e*; in some cases the traditional pronunciation is still wavering between *a* and *e*. In general the pronunciation corresponds to Jewish forms rather than to Syriac. Cl. **hizda** “shame”, pronounced *hezda*; **sipra sifra** (st. abs. **spar**, cstr. **aspar**, 20
spar, both pronounced *asfar*) “book”; **sidra sidrā** “book” (orig. “row”); **bidqa bedqa** “breach”; **gidma** “twig”; **gidra** “cauldron *ridpa redfa* “persecution”; **riṭna rəṭna** “gossip”; **pihta peḥṭa** “sacramental bread” (Mandaean host)⁵⁰; **gizra** (Gy 282: 6) “prey”; cl. **gimra** “gem(?)”; **ziqla = diqla** mod. *deqlā* “palm-tree” (§ 38); **piṭma** (Gy 234: 7) “fat” etc. 25

⁴⁷ Another derivative from the same root: *ṣabi* “thirsty” is still used. But for “thirst” Ṣābūrī was able to give me only a periphrastic expression *ṣabi bowā* “he was thirsty”. A similar fate befell many other common abstract nouns (cf. *yādī bowā* “he knew” for cl. **mada**, **madita** “knowledge”).

⁴⁸ In the vernacular replaced by *ṣihyantā* or *eḥḥi* (or *eḥḥe*) *ṣihyāna*.

⁴⁹ Cf. MG, p. 102 n. 1. The word was driven out by *karā(ya)*, dual *tarta karāya*, pl. *kerāyāni*.

⁵⁰ Cf. Zimmern; Das vermutliche babylonische Vorbild des Pehtā und Mambūhā der Mandäer, OST, pp. 959—967, and E. S. Drower: The Sacramental Bread (Pihtha) of the Mandaeans, ZDMG 1955, pp. 115—150.

From roots I: **ḡ** cl. 'mra "speech"; cl. 'zla "web"; cl. 'hka "laugh(ing)"
cl. 'bra ɪ (Gy 390: 3f.) "coast-land" and 2 "wing" > "arm".

From II **ḡ**: **diba** mod. *dība* "wolf"⁵¹; **kiba** mod. *koββa* "pain"; cl. **birā** "well"⁵²; cl. **sinia** "shoes"⁵³.

5 From III **ḡ**: cl. **šima** "hearing", **dima** "tear" (cf. s. b), **piqa** *fīqā* "fissure", "split" (§ 20 p).

From III **ḡ**: cl. **sina** "hatred"; cl. **qina** "passion" (gave way to Ar. *kīne*).

From III **ḡ** **ḡ**: **miša** *mešša* "oil" (with the vanishing of **ḡ** and reduplication
10 of the 2nd rad., as from **ḡ'ḡ**, mod. st. abs. & cstr. *meš*). With metathesis (§ 52):
niḡga "dawn"; cl. **tihua** (ML 143: 8 etc) "surprise"; cl. **šihua** "outcry";
cl. **tihma** "marvel"; cl. **šihma** "brightness" = mod. **zihua** *zebwā*; mod.
rebwā "wind", "air" (n. 55) etc.

From **ḡ'ḡ**: **m**, **ma** mod. *em*, *emma* "mother"; **liba** mod. *lebba* "heart",
15 mod. st. abs. and cstr. *leb*; **rīma** "worms", "pus", "decay" (n. 44) etc.

From **ḡ'ḡ**: cl. **dina** "legal dispute", "judgement"; cl. **rira** "saliva"⁵⁴; **ziqa** "wind"⁵⁵;
qira *qīra* "pitch", mod. st. abs. *qīr*; **tina** mod. *tīna* "urine" (mod.
st. abs. and cstr. *tīn*).

Derivatives from **ḡ'ḡ**, used esp. for abstract nouns, are rare in mod. Mand.
20 (they are somewhat more frequent with the fem. ending, cf. s. b): cl. **šibia** "captivity",
cl. **kisia** "concealment", **hizua** "vision" etc.

Only a concrete noun, **hiuia** *hewyā* "serpent" is still used.

There is, at least, one example from a strong root in which an original
e passed to *o*: **dubša** (varr. **dupša**, **dubpša**) "honey" might have several
25 facultative pronunciations; it is pronounced *dowša* by Šābūrī and explained
as "syrrup"⁵⁶.

b) With fem. ending (*fī'lab*): Many forms show a transition from *e* to *o*
in pronunciation and sometimes also in the script.

From strong roots: cl. **sihupta** "overthrow" and "curtain", **pirušta**
30 "understanding, **nišubta**, **nišbta**, **nišibta** "plant", **niḡupta** "drop", **sigudta**
(a rarer but better phonetic var. **sugudta**) *sogodṭa* "worship", **hikumta** (var.

⁵¹ The pronunciation with the plosive *b* distinguishes it from *dīwa* "devil".

⁵² Mod. *in mēnā* is a lit. translation of Ar. 'aynu-'l-mā', P. *ēšm-i āb*.

⁵³ Replaced by *mar kārāya* (lit. "master of the foot") or *qāndæra*.

⁵⁴ Mod. *mēn pomā* (= Ar. *mā'u-'l-fam*, P. *āb-i dabān*), or *toḡ*, cf. *toḡ eḡad* "he spat".

⁵⁵ Mod. *rebwā*.

⁵⁶ Cf. MG, p. 19 n. 4. The Ar. 'asal is now used for "honey".

hukumta *būḡemθa* “wisdom” etc. The concrete noun **dimihta** (var. **dimita**) *demeḡθa* “tear” (from III **ṽ**) is still used; its cl. pl. is **dimia** (mod. *demeḡyāθa*).

From roots **ṽ’ṽ**: cl. **gizta** (Gy 56: 11) “tonsure”; **bizta** (Gy 119: 8, 277: 7) “plunder”; **tikta** *teḡta* “strap” (now used in the Ar. form *tikke*); cl. **mirta** (var. **murta**) “bile” (now used in a full form **mirirta** *merertā*, *merertā*, § 126b). 5

From **’ḷ**: **silita** *selleyθā* “thorn” now used in the form **silua** *selwā* (= *ⲥⲓⲗⲓⲠ*), mod. pl. **siluania** *selwāni*; cl. **giuta** “body”. This form is used with predilection for abstract nouns, many of which originally belonged to other formations; some of them are still used: **bkita** *beḡeyθā* “weeping” (= Syr. *beḡyā*) and **mhita** *embeyθa*, *mēbeyθā* blow⁵⁷, “beating” (= Syr. *mḡōtā*) etc. With 10 transition from *e* to *o*: cl. **šulita** (Gy 227: 11) “afterbirth” (= *Ⲡⲓⲗⲓⲧⲁ*, *ⲠⲓⲗⲓⲠ*, H. *ⲠⲓⲗⲓⲠ*, Syr. *šlitā*).

§ 118. *Fu’l* (with an original *u* after the 1st rad.). In this formation there are many abstr. nouns.

a) Masc. forms: **bukra** *boḡrā* “firstborn”; **kušta** *koštā* “truth”, “ritual 15 handclasp”; cl. **ṭulma** “oppression” (now pronounced *zolma* as in Arabic and used with the meaning of both *zulm* “oppression” and *zulmab* “darkness”); cl. **rugza** “anger”; **huspa** (Gy 251: 21) “impudence”; **hurba** *horba* “destruction”. The cl. **rušuma** *rušūma* (st. abs. and cstr. **rušum** *rušūm*) “sign” is used only with a religious meaning. 20

From roots I **Ḷ** **ṽ**: **umqa** *omqa* “depth”; **kma** *okma* “blackness (used also with concrete meanings “coal”, “coffee” and “dark tea”); **utra** *oθra* “genius”, “angel”; **udna** *odna* “ear” (coll. pronunciation *onna*, mod. pl. *onāni*).

Derivatives from roots II **ṽ** are practically treated as those from **ṽ’ṽ**: cl. **ṭuna** *ṭonna* “burden”; **šula** *šolla* “handful”. 25

From II **ḡ**: cl. **šuda** “bribe”; cl. **šuta** (Gy 182: 1) “rust”⁵⁷. **ḡ** as 2nd rad. remained in the cl. pl. **puhria** (Gy 99: 21, 112: 19) used with the meaning of “seconds”; id. (Gy 376: 18) “banquets”.

⁵⁷ In Drower-Macuch, Mandaic Dictionary 458a as **šuta 2**. The word became homonymous with **šuta 1**. (< *ⲠⲓⲗⲓⲠ*) “talk, discourse”, doctrine” and **šuta 3** (Akk. *šātu*) “south wind”. Only the latter survives in mod. Mandaic as *šūθa* (cf. colloquial expression *rabew šōθa* “warm weather”). According to Šābūrī, *šōθa* also means “candle”, for which there was a cl. word **šamukṭia** (pl.) “candles” (varr. **šimukṭia**, **šmukṭia**, **šimukṭia**, **šmukṭia**, ML 245: 3, 256 n. e). The word may contain *šam’*, but the ending seems to be the postclassical and modern *-uḡta* rather than a Persian ending, as Lidzbarski (ML, Nachtrag) thought.

From III **π** (with metathesis): cl. **šuhba** "praise", **duhna** "blossom", **guha** "shock" (from **πλ**, §§ 26c, 51a); ***uhra** mod. *ohrā* "road" (mod. st. abs. *ohor*).

From **ʕ''ʕ**: **kul kol** "all"; **ṭula ṭolla** "shade"; **duk** (st. abs.) "place" (mod. st. emph. *dokkā* drove out the cl. **dukta** [s. b]); cl. **ruqa** "saliva" [n. 54]); cl. **guba** "pit"; **šura** mod. *šorra* "navel", mod. st. abs. *šor* (used also with the meaning of "war", "struggle"); cl. **duga** "deaf". With dissimilation: cl. **gunda gonda** "army"; cl. ***umba** "bossom", **qumba** "cupola". These nouns have no cl. st. abs. and cstr.

From **ʕ''ʕ**: **nur, nura** mod. *nūr, nūra* "fire"; **ṭur, ṭura ṭōr, ṭōra** "hill"; **ruh, ruha rūh, rūba** "spirit"; cl. **nuna** "fish"; cl. **ṭuba** "salvation", "hail"; **duda** "pot"; cl. **šura** "wall"; **pura** (Gy 376: 9) "passion", "anger"; cl. **šupa** "fleece" etc.

From **ʕ''ḥ**: cl. **dukia doḫyā** "cleanness"; cl. **putia potyā** "width".

15 b) With fem. ending (*fū'lab*):

From strong roots: cl. **purṭta** (and varr.) "split"; **bukarta**, fem. of **bukra** (s. a); **humarta** mod. *homartā* "amulet (spirit)", "rosary bead" (cl. pl. **humria**, a more usual mod. pl. is *homaryāṭa*); cl. **gumarta** (pl. **gumria**) "charcoal"; cl. **ṭulamta** "loaf"; **qulasta** (varr. **qalasta, qalusta** etc) "hymnal" (title of a collection of liturgical songs; Sh. Abdullah pronounces *qalastæ* with a foreign accent, § 67) from **ḥḷḳ** "to praise"⁵⁸; cl. **pukta** (Gy 85: 10 bis) "bridle" (§ 36f.).

From **ʕ''ʕ**: cl. **dukta doḫtā** "place"; cl. **murta** (Gy 209: 3) "poison".

The same form is used for derivatives from **ʕ''ʕ**, since the only phonemic distinction, *o* (in **ʕ''ʕ**) and *ū* (in **ʕ''ʕ**), is neutralized before the fem. ending, where *o* becomes combinatory: cl. **šurta šorta** "form", "picture" and "enclosing line".

From **ʕ''ḥ**: cl. **kuliata** "reins".

β. With an Original Short Vowel After the 1st and 2nd Radicals⁵⁹.

§ 119. *Fa'al*. In the st. emph. these forms usually correspond to those treated in §§ 116—118.

⁵⁸ Cf. Bevan, The Aramaic root **ḥḷḳ**, Ost 581f. The word has little to do with Ar. *ḥulāṣab* with which Krehl (Besprechung von Euting's Qolasta, ZDMG XXII 560) and Lidzbarski (ML, p. V) compared it.

a) From strong roots: cl. **zahba** = **dahba** mod. *dahaβ*, *dahβa* "gold"; cl. **sap̄ta** "chest" (Ar. *safaṭ*); cl. **kadba** "lie"; **halba** mod. *halβa* "milk"; st. abs. & cstr. *halaβ*; cl. **gadpa** = **ganpa** = **kanpa** "wing" = mod. *gappā*, *gapā* (§ 23 d); **kabda** mod. *kaβda* "liver" (mod. st. abs & cstr. *kaβed*); **baqra** (Gs 10: 24) "flock"; cl. **kadpa** "shoulder" etc. With transition to *e*: cl. **girba** 5 "leprosy"; **dinba** mod. *denβa* "tail"; cl. **zikra** (var. **zakra** = **dakra**) "male" (§ 38); **bisra** mod. *besrā* "meat" (as Syr., unlike Ar. *baṣar*); cl. **širba** (Gy 366: 8) "aridity". But certain words only apparently show a transition to a front vowel in writing, while the original central vowel remains in pronunciation: **miṭra** "rain" is always pronounced *maṭra* (in spite of the consistent *miḳsa*, unlike Syr. *meṭrā*), mod. st. abs. *maṣar* (= Ar. *maṣar*, H. 𐤌𐤓𐤕); similarly **mitla** "parable" is pronounced *matla* (as Syr.), mod. st. abs. *matal*, *matel*.

With labialization of the vowel after the first radical (§ 72 a): **gumla** *gomla* "camel"; **tumra** *tomra* "date" (both still used).

From roots I 𐤍 𐤅: cl. **qba** "heel"; cl. **mbia** "grapes"; cl. **atar**, **atra** 15 "place"; cl. **arab**, **arba** "boat".

From II 𐤍: **nahra** *nahrā* "river" (according to Ar. *nabar*, but according to *nahr* § 116 a).

From III 𐤅: cl. **siba** (< *sab'ā*) "satiety".

From 𐤅'𐤅: **rab**, **rba** *rab*, *rabbā* "great"; cl. **haia** "living"; cl. **maka**, **mika** 20 "mild" etc.

In the derivatives from 𐤅'𐤅 there is always a long vowel after the 1st radical; resulting from the contraction of two short vowels (after the generally Sem. vanishing of the 𐤅 as second radical): **bab**, **baba** *βāβ*, *βāβa* "door"; **qal**, **qala** *qāl*, *qāla* "voice"; **ram**, **rama** *rām*, *rām* "high"; **ṭab**, **ṭaba** *ṭāβ*, *ṭāβa* "good" 25 etc.

With *i*: cl. **kipa** "bank"; cl. **hipa** "force", "violence"; cl. **šida** "demon"; **riha** mod. *rīha* "fragrance" etc.

From 𐤅'𐤌: **mlia**, **malia** mod. *malī* "full"; **snia** *esni* "abominable"; cl. **ksia** "covered", "hidden"; cl. **ṭalia** "little child"; cl. **hadia** "breast"; cl. 30 **šmia**, **šmia** *ošmī* "sky"; cl. **m'ia** "bowels". When the 2nd radical is a liquid, the word is affected by epenthesis, cf. **qaina** mod. *qēnā* (st. abs. *qēn*) "reed" etc (§ 76).

b) With fem. ending: **birikta** (and varr.) *bereḫtā* "blessing"; **nišimta** *nešemθā* (st. abs. *nišmā*) "soul" etc. With a labialized vowel: **tumarta**. 35

⁵⁹ MG §§ 92—95.

As Nöldeke noted⁶⁰, in *bařinta bařantā* “pregnant” there ought to be transition to a form with the reduplication of the 2nd radical; nevertheless, the reduplication does not appear for euphonic reasons (§ 102). A transition to *u* is found in the cl. *šulta šolṭa* “request”, “question” (< 𐩨𐩣𐩪𐩬, 5 Syr. *šēlā*).

From roots III *y*: cl. *šbita, šbata* “finger” = mod. *šobařta*: cl. *miřat* “middle” (Nöldeke from *μέσος*⁶¹, but cf. already Bar-Rakab Inscr. 1. 9f.).

From *y''y*: *rabt(i)a* “magna” = mod. *rařta, rařtī*; cl. *haita* “viva”, (Gy 59: 10) “midwife” and (Gy 88: 3, 353: 16, Jb. 85: 6) “woman in labour”.

10 From *ı''y*: cl. *ařta* “distress”; cl. *řita* “hour”⁶²; cl. *bita* “egg”⁶³; cl. *ata* “sign”; *řabta* mod. *řařta, řařtī* “bona”; *ramta rāmta (rāmī)* “alta”; cl. *zauihta, zuihta* “fright”.

From *ı''l* there are only fem. nouns: cl. *dakīta* “pura”, *kasīta* “absconsa”, *snīta* “exosa”; only in st. abs. *hinia* (Morg. 242/71: 7 etc) “iucunda”, *abia* 15 (Gy 84: 6, 94: 15) “crassa”; substantives: cl. *luīta* “accompaniment” (but also *luaita* § 124 b), *ruīhta* (Gy 60: 7 etc) “drunkenness”, *nuta* (Gy 275: ult.) “condescension”, *ř(a)luta* (Gy 24: 8, 230: 4) “prayer” etc. Instead of Syr *mḥōlā*, Aram. 𐩨𐩣𐩪𐩬 there is in Mandaic *mhita embeyṭa, mebeyṭa* (§ 117 b). An older form is *mnata* “part”.

20 *libta* mod. *lebṭa* “brick” (Akk. *libittu*)⁶⁴ and *řidta, řita* mod. *řetta* “year” are formed as from weak roots (cf. above s. *ı''y* = *y''y*, and below s. c) because of the assimilation of the last radical to the fem. ending (§ 25 a).

c) Original *qitil* forms from roots I *l, ı* are only feminine, as in other 25 Semitic languages: *řinta řenṭā* “sleep” (from 𐩨𐩣, Ar. *wasina*); cl. *himta* “fury” (from 𐩨𐩣𐩪, Ar. *waḥima*). A st. abs. of these nouns (formed in other dialects as from *y''y*) has not been found in Mandaic. Here belongs also cl. *iadīta* “knowledge”⁶⁵.

⁶⁰ MG 110 n. 1.

⁶¹ MG, p. 110 n. 2. The word is now not used as a noun, although *meř* is still used prepositionally “in the middle”, cf. *meř ḥoğrā* “in the middle of the room”. A parallel mod. expression is *miñā*, cf. *miñā erqība* “in the middle of the sky”.

⁶² Mod. *šāya* comes from the cl. pl. *šaiia*.

⁶³ Mod. *biyyā* comes from an older pl. form (cf. Syr. *bē'ē*), not attested in literature.

cf. Gl. 183: 3.

⁶⁴ J. Halévy, OSt 1017 s. 𐩨𐩣𐩪𐩬.

⁶⁵ Cf. MG, p. 111 n. 3.

§ 120. The 3rd radical might have been originally doubled in the cl. loanw. **prika** “altar (spirit)”, “shrine”, “idol” (= Akk. *parakku*), although there is no trace of its doubling in the traditional pronunciation *priḫa*, which is strictly “abāgādical”. An original doubling may be supposed also in another old loanw. **gupara** “palm-branch”, “date-berry in its early stage” (as in Syriac)⁶⁶. 5

γ. With a Long Vowel After the 1st or 2nd or Both First Radicals Not Doubled

§ 121. *Fā'al*: **alam**, **alma** *ālam*, *āma* “world” (= Ar. and Aram. ‘*ālam*, H. 𐤀𐤋𐤍); **hatam**, **hatma** *hāṭam*, *hāṭma* “seal” (= Ar. *ḥātam*, Syr. *ḥātmā*, H. 𐤇𐤕𐤍); cl. **narga** “ax”, “hatchet” (as Syriac). **anka** (a rare var. **nka**) “tin” (= Syr. *ānkā*, *ānak*, but H. 𐤏𐤍𐤁, Akk. *anāku*)⁶⁷ may be considered as a foreign 10 word.

§ 122. *Fā'il*. This form, used esp. for act. participles pe., is very frequent: **gaṭil** *gāṭel* “(he is) killing”, **abid** *āβed* “(he is) doing” etc.

Nominal forms: **paina** *peynā* mod. *pēnā* “evening” (< *pānyā*, § 76), from which even a mod. st. abs. *pēn* is formed (as if *pēnā* was an original 15 form); **maria**, **mara** “lord”, mod. *māra* or *māre* (§ 106b), st. abs. *mār*⁶⁸; cl. **maksa** “customer”, **šakta** (Gy 277: 23) “sediment” etc; fem. **ašita** (Gy 115: 6f. etc) “wall”.

§ 123. 𐤏𐤍𐤁, *fā'āl*, used in Aramaic as nomen agentis pe., is not as frequent in Mandaic as in Syriac, since many Mand. verbs prefer *fa'āl* (§ 129) or 20 a mere participle. The unpopularity of this form in Mandaic may go back to the phonetic tendency, which does not stand two long syllables side by side (§ 102). Nominal forms of this type almost completely disappeared from mod. usage, so that the only original substantive still used is *kanūna* (facul-

⁶⁶ MG, p. 112 n. 1; Löw, *Aramäische Pflanzennamen*, p. 118; Fränkel, p. 147; Jeffrey, p. 246.

⁶⁷ Cf. Halévy, *Ost*, p. 1016, s.

⁶⁸ The mod. st. cstr. *mār* is used with the meaning of the Ar. *ṣāhib*, cf. *mār bēṭa* = Ar. *ṣāhibu-'l-bait*. A mod. pl. *marāna(a)* drove out the cl. plurals *marauata*, *marīuan*. Fem. *marta* *mārṭa* has no special st. abs. and cstr. (cf. *mārṭa bēṭa* or *mārṭe bēṭa* “the mistress of the house”).

tatively *kalūna*) = cl. **kanuna** “brazier”, whose Semitic origin is doubtful⁶⁹. It is noteworthy that the *a* is shortened in both traditional and colloquial pronunciations, notwithstanding Ar. *kānūn*.

In all other words, the long *ū* is shortened (§§ 65 b, 73 end, 74c), so that their st. abs. is formed from the heteroclite *fā'al*; in the st. emph. the *ū* completely disappears: **nahur**, **nahra** mod. *nāhār*, *nāhra* “light-giving”; **zapur**, **zapra** *zāfār*, *zāfra* “stinking”; **ianuq**, **ianqa** mod. *yānoq*, *yānqa* “child”; cl. **taqun**, **taqna** (fem. **taqunta**, pl. **taqunata**) “firm”, “clear”; cl. **napuš**, **napša** “much”, “plenty”, “plentiful, great”.

Nevertheless, the full form *qātōla* occurs in some cl. nomina agentis: **paruqa** “redeemer”; **napuqa** “one who goes out (of the body)”, “who dies”; **kapura** “infidel”; **paruša** “who distinguishes” > “wise”; **iahuba** “giver”; **šapupa** (Jb 72: 8), **špupa** (Florilegium 360: 132) “lame person”, “cripple”. Such forms are frequent from ‘**l**’: **hazuia** “seer”; **baruia** “creator”; **šaruia** “one who unties, relieves”; **iaduia** “one who knows”. Further mod. *sāhūra* “beggar” (= Syr. *sāhōrā*)⁷⁰.

A st. emph. from **kaiub** “aching” does not occur; the mod. st. emph. *kēiβa* is **kaiba** (from the participle **kaiib**, which is also pronounced *kēyoβ* by labialization of the vowel). Cl. **patura** “table” and **kaluza** (§ 28) are old loan-words as **kanuna**, quoted above.

§ 124. a) The forms *fā'al*, *fī'al*, *fū'al* became *pā'al* (as in Syriac and Talmudic). The only exception would be the cl. ‘(u)**bada** *īβāda* “work”, if its traditional pronunciation (contradicted by the mod. *βāda*) is correct.

Real *pā'al* forms are: **glala** *galāla* “stone”; cl. **tlala** “roof”; cl. **gnana** “hut”; cl. **hmara** (varr. **himara**, **hamara**) “donkey”; cl. **simaka** “prop”, whose traditional pronunciation *sīmāχa* is typically “abāgādical”; cl. **sada** (Gs 10: 2) “base”; **gdada** *gādāda* cl. “bank”, mod. “tablecloth”; **siana** mod. *esyāna* “mud”.

From roots with gutturals: **alaha** *alāha* “god”; cl. **arada** “onager”; cl. **abara** “lead”; cl. **anana** *anāna* “cloud”; cl. **saria** (pl.) = mod. *sāra* (sg.) “barley” (< **sārā*, cf. Aram. and Syr. *s’artā*); **kraiaa** mod. *kerāyī*, *kerāyī* “feet”; cl. **draiaa** “arms”; **anaša** mod. only *nāš(a)* (§ 87) “people”.

Cl. **qulala** (Gy 216: 3, var. **qlala**) “snare” seems to be formed by dittology of the last syllable (cf. Targ. **קללק**). An original *pā'al* form would be cl. **šnai**

⁶⁹ MG, p. 113: paen. f.

⁷⁰ The name of my informant *Šabūri* is a patronymic formed from a *fā'al*-form.

“remote”, “different”, “wonderful” (aside from **šanai**) in spite of the traditional pronunciation *ešni* (based on confusion with **šnia** “years”).

The form *pə'al* is often used for abstract nouns and *nomina actionis* pe.: cl. **šrara** *šrāra* “truth”, “firmness”; **šlama** mod. both *š(ə)lāma* and *ešlāma* “peace”, “greeting”; cl. **mšara**, **ngara**, **pkara**, **hlaša** “torture, tearing, fettering, tormenting” (often used together); cl. **rgala**, **asara** “fettering”, “fetter”; **zmara** mod. *zəmāra* “singing”, “song”, cl. also “prostitution” (as further semantic development); cl. **haṭaiia** “sins” (now used only in the stereotyped religious formula **šabiḳ haṭaiia** *šābeq haṭāyī* “forgiver of sins” with the meaning of “forgiving of sins”, mod. “sin” is *xaṭāha*); cl. **qara** *iqāra* “splendour”, “glory”; cl. **zuada** *zawāda* “supply”, “provision” etc.

b) Forms with the fem. ending, used in the classical for abstract and verbal nouns, completely disappeared form mod. Mandaic, which uses Ar. words for abstr. nouns and periphrastic locutions instead of the *nomina actionis*. Here belong cl. verbal nouns, as **kšalta** “stumbling”; **rhamta** “love”, “lust”; **luaita** “accompaniment”, **qaiamta** “restoration”, “resurrection” etc, and an abstr. noun **gbarta** “strength”, “manhood”.

§ 125. The form *fa'il* became, as a rule, *pə'il* in Aramaic, and is used esp. for adjectives and passive participles pe.

a) From strong roots: **brik(a)** *brīχ(a)* “blessed”; cl. **kšit(a)** “righteous”; cl. **zhira** “cautious”; lit. **bšir** “short”, “little”; **triš** *tərīš* “erected”, “consecrated”; cl. **kšir** “sick” (now replaced by Ar. *marīz*); cl. **sniq** “needy”, “indigent”; cl. **tmima** “simple”; cl. **šdiq** “silent”. Some participial forms are still used: **gṭil** *gəṭil* “killed”, **škib** *šeχeβ* “lying down” etc.

Cl. **šapira** “good”, “nice”, which still preserved the original form, became mod. *šəβira*, *šβira*, even *šəbira* (sic).

Substantives: cl. **klila** “crown”; **hqiqa** (Gy 75: 14) “fissure”; **hamira** (var. **himira**) *hamīra* “leaven” (might have been saved from dying out by the Ar. *ḥamīr*); **bahima** mod. *bahīma* “donkey” etc.

Derivatives from roots I **ʔ** **Ḳ** always begin with *e* (*i*): **rik** *erīχ* “long”; **uira** *ivīra* “blind”; **ziba** “bachelor”. Cl. passive participles, as **gira** “hireling”, **mir** “said”, **hib** “given” (orig. **ʔ** **Ḳ**) etc, may still be used, but the colloquial prefers the act. voice.

From II **כ** **פ**: **biš**, **biša** *bīš*, *bīša* “bad”; **kib**, **kiba** mod. pronunciation *koβ*, *koββa* “pain”; cl. **tin** “loaded”; cl. **bira** “cattle” (< **כרבי**) and “well” (< **כרבי**, Syr. *bē'rā*) etc.

From **י** **ע**: cl. **n'**, st. emph. **niha** “soft”; cl. **šit** “despised” etc.

- 5 From III **נ**: cl. **dnia**, **dnih** (*ednī*), st. emph. **dnihā** (§ 51a) “risen”; cl. **zira** “sown”; **rqīha** mod. *raqība*, *erqība* “sky”. For “prophet” there were two cl. words: **šliha** “apostle” and **nbiha**.

From a double weak root: **riha** “scent”.

- b) With fem. ending: **brikta** *brixta* “*benedicta*”; **bišta**, **bištia** *bištā*, *bišti*
10 “*mala*”.

- Substantives: cl. **krikta** “whirlpool”; cl. **škinta** “celestial dwelling”; cl. **kništa** “congregation”; cl. **spinta** “boat”; **hizirta** *hozur dā* “sow”, “female pig” (masc. *hozūra*) corresponds only graphically to Syr. *ḥzirtā* (masc. *ḥzīrā*, Ar. *ḥinzīr*, H. **חזיר**); cl. **ptiliata** (pl.) “wicks” (mod. sg. *fetelta* = Ar. *fīṭīlab*);
15 cl. **mriirta** “bitterness”; cl. **'bidata** “works”; cl. **'kilta** *iḫel dā* “food” etc.

§ 126. The form *fu'ayl*, used to form the diminutives, is extremely rare.

- In Mandaic, there might be such a form in **'lima** *elīmā* “youth”⁷¹, whose pl. **'limania** *elīmānī* with the mod. pl. ending *-ān* was used already in the classical, but the ending was still felt there as a diminutive suffix (= Syr. *ōn*),
20 cf. **'limania** **u'limata** (Gs 17: 19f.) “*pueri et puellae*”. Nowadays, the form *elīmā* is not used as a diminutive but with the original meaning of the root as in the postcl. language) cf. AM 22: 1 “strong”, “vigorous” and the coll. expression *foqot elīma* “hero” (lit. “a strong neck” = P. *gardan kulust*). Šābūrī translated *elīmānī* as “strong people”.

- 25 The diminutive *fu'ayl*-forms can naturally be used with Arabic words in the vernacular, but they are avoided with the help of the attribute *hānīna* “small”, “little” (not *'obeyd* but *āβda hānīna*).

- § 127. a) *Fa'ūl*, *fi'ūl* became *pa'ūl* in Aramaic. But in **ṭruš**, **ṭruša** *ṭarūš(a)* “deaf” the *pa'ūl* is only graphical. The cl. **ṭmur** “buried” could have a similar
30 pronunciation. Other nouns, beginning graphically with two consonants, are usually pronounced with a prosthetic vowel: **gdula** *eydūla* “curl”; **rquda**

⁷¹ Real *pa'eyl* forms of this word are represented by Chr. Pal. *'wlym* and Jew. Aram. **כרבי**.

erqāda “danse”; cl. **ptula** “bachelor”; cl. **pruqa** “ransom”; cl. **gmur(a)** “completeness”; cl. **dgur(a)** “heap”; **Ibuša** *elbūša* (Sh. Abd.), *ləβūša* (Šābūrī) “clothes”; Cl. **nhur(a)** *anhūr(a)* “light” and **hšuk(a)** *ahšūχ(a)* “darkness”.

With an *aksa* after the 1st radical: In **hizura** *hozūra* “pig” (§ 125), the *aksa* is merely graphical, but the cl. **hilula** “wedding” corresponds to the Jew. אִילּוּלִית⁷² (not to Syr. *hlūlā*), and belongs to § 133 b.

From weak roots: cl. **(u)sura** “fetters”; cl. and postcl. **buria** (pl.) “crops”; vest”; **muma** “stain”, “spot”; **ṭuba** “bliss, hail”; **ksuia** “clothes”; **buia** *būya* “boil”, “abcess”; mod. *bozūya* “hole” etc. A Π as second radical vanished in the **tauma** “frontier” (§ 50).

b) With fem. ending (: *fa‘ūlab fi‘ūlab fu‘ūlab*): cl. **ptulta** “virgin”; cl. **gdulta** “curl” (fem. of **gdula** [s. a], which is the only mod. form used, but treated also as fem.); cl. **gnubta** “theft” = mod. *genboχta*; cl. **plugta** “dissension”, **p(a)susta** “apostasy”; cl. **niṭupta** “drop”; **šiqupta** *šoqofta* “blow”; **ṭ(u)mušiata** (pl.) “immersions” (mod. sg. *ṭāmāša*); cl. **guṭupta** “vintage” 15 (= mod. *yoṭeyfa* “grape”, fem.); cl. **hiduta** “bride” = postcl. **hidukt(i)a**; cl. **pisuqta** “cutting”, “destruction”.

δ) With Reduplication of the Second Radical⁷³.

§ 128. With two short vowels: cl. **šipar**, **šipra** “little bird”, “sparrow”⁷⁴ = mod. *šoprā*⁷⁵; **mbra** *embara* “sheep”, “Aries” (§ 23a); cl. **hišra** “little finger”; 20 **himšia** (Gs 27: 20) *homšī* “chick-pease”⁷⁶. Fem.: cl. **sumbilta** “ladder” (§ 23a) now replaced by Ar. *sullam* (used as fem.) etc.

§ 129. With a long *ā* after the 2nd radical:

a) With *a* after the first rad. (: *fa‘ā*), This type is used to form the *nomina agentis*. The reduplication of the 2nd radical might have been given up at an 25

⁷² MG, p. 118 n. 2.

⁷³ MG §§ 102—108.

⁷⁴ MG, p. 119 n. 5.

⁷⁵ **šipra** is usually pronounced *šopra* (with regressive labialization of the vowel. Differently from the classical, in mod. Mandaic it is used only of a big bird; Šābūrī explained it as “duck” (otherwise *zāyat al-mēnā*) or “goose” (otherwise *zāyat foqot areχtā*), while “little bird”, “sparrow” is called *šoprīna* (with *-īn* as a diminutive ending).

⁷⁶ Löw, Aramäische Pflanzennamen, s. *hmša* אִשְׁמָה; Gl. 76:2.

early date (§ 20k); its vanishing is in accordance with the euphonic tendency of Mandaic (§ 102).

Masc.: **ganaba** mod. *gənāβa* “thief”; **gabara** mod. *gəbāra* “hero” (§ 20c); **kadaba** mod. *kədāβa* cl. “liar”, mod. “writer” (§ 34); cl. **pahara** “potter” = 5 mod. *faḡāra*; **haraša** mod. *harāša* “wizard”; **kašara** (Gy 217: 20) “fuller”; **malaha** mod. *malāḥa* “sailor”; cl. **šaiara** “painter” (driven out by *naqāša*); **daiana** “judge”; **nakasa** *naḡāsa* “slaughterer”; **akala** *aḡāla* “glutton(ous)”; **zanaia** *zanāya* and **gaiara** *gayāra* “adulterer”; cl. **napaqa** (often in rituals) “who goes out of the body”, i. e. “who dies”; cl. **qaiama** “constant”, steady”; 10 cl. **rauaza** “joyful”; cl. **hazaia** “seer”. The following classical adjectives and substantives, used only with religious meanings, are unknown in the colloquial: **haiasa** “compassionate”; **taiaba** “forgiving”; **zakaia** “pure”; **galaia** “Revealer”. Further **hambala** “destroyer” (§ 23a); **tangara** (§ 23c) “merchant”; **ngara** (§ 23c) “carpenter” etc; with labialization of the 1st vowel: 15 cl. **rumaia** “deceiver” (§ 72a).

This form is used in Mandaic also for *nomina agentis* pe.: **dahala** *dahāla* “fearful”; cl. **sagada** “worshipper” etc.

Concrete nouns: cl. **atana** “she-ass”; **habara** mod. *hoβāra* (§ 49) “dark(ness)”. In **pudan** (var. **padan**) *fādān* “plough” the *ūšenna* is only graphical.

20 b) With fem. ending: 1) Feminine of the *nomina agentis*: **dahalt(i)a** “an afraid woman” > “a worshipping woman” (cf. **dahalia** *udahalata*, Gy 50: 15, “*adoratores et adoratrices*”) etc. 2) With special function as *nomen actionis* pa. and ethpa⁷⁷: **dahalta** (ML 26:6) “worship”; cl. and postcl. **paqadta** “order”; cl. **hašabta** “thought”; cl. **ragagta** “incitation”; **zabanta** *zabantā* 25 “selling” (from pa.), but also *zabantā* (§ 20b) “buying” (from pe.); cl. **ša-bašta** “delusion”, “confusion”, “error”; cl. **galalta** “revelation”; cl. **šamarta** “sending away”; cl. **šamašta** (ML 54: 5) “service”; **šahamta** “shine”; **apakta** “turning”; **iabatta** “imprisonment”; **zaharta** “warning”; **šaiarta** (AM 215: 13 etc) “ill-treatment”; **saiakta** “limitation”; **samaqta** “consummation”, 30 “completion”; **qaiamta** “establishing”, “setting up” etc.

The *a* after the first radical is not pronounced in some mod. verbal nouns, which still survived: **šialta** mod. *šiyalṭā* “question”. **rhamta** “love” is consistently written with *ar laḥli menda*. Nöldeke’s proposal⁷⁸ to change it to ***rahamta** for the sake of a phonetic distinction from **rhamta** *erham ṭū*

⁷⁷ Cf. MG, p. 121 & nn. 2, 3.

⁷⁸ MG, p. 122 n. 1.

“lust(fulness)” would be morphologically exact. Nevertheless, the word has been completely confused with the latter and pronounced in the same way.

§ 130. With *i* (*e*) after the 1st rad. (*fi[‘]āl*): **lišan(a)** *lišān(a)* “tongue”, “language”; **hiuara** *howāra* “white” (with labialization of the front vowel, §§ 49, 72 c).

From I ن ي ’: **‘kara** “ploughman” (< *akkār*); **‘dana** “time” (< *‘iddān*); cl. **‘qara** “root” (from קרן); **‘zaba** (a var. of **‘ziba** Gy 222:21) “celibate, unmated” etc. In all cases the reduplication was given up.

§ 131. *Fu[‘]āl* is used esp. to form adjectives, but also abstract nouns, which, in some cases obtained a concrete meaning. The reduplication of the 2nd rad. was given up (as in forms previously treated). Above all, there are adjectives, designating colors: **iuraqa** *yorāqa* “green”, still used with the meaning of “vegetables”; **ṣuhara** (AM 4: 15, 18: 18 etc) “white” = mod. *howāra* (§ 130); **sumaqa** *somāqa* “red”. However, “black” became **akum** *ākum*, **‘kum(a)** mod. *okūma* (§ 133b).

Abstract and concrete nouns: cl. **zuhara** “warning”; **sugara** (Gy 217:3) “bridle”; cl. **rumaiia** “a kind of pain (ῥέῦμα?)”; mod. *bošāla* “boiled rice” etc. In **šuiala** mod. *šyāla* “question”, the *ššenna* is only graphical as well as in **ṭulala** mod. *eṭlāla* “shade”. The cl. **humbaria** (Gy 203:10, 204:1, Gs 17:12), which seems to mean “ruins”⁷⁹, does not belong here, since its *u* results from 20 labialization, as in proved by the var. **hambaria** (Sh. Abdullah’s copy).

§ 132. With a long *ī* after the 2nd radical (*fa[‘]īl*). This nominal type serves to form all kind of adjectives, including verbal adjectives, esp. from intransitive verbs. Some original adjectives of this group obtained an exclusive substantival meaning. The reduplication of the 2nd. rad. was given up (cf. § 129).

a) Qualificative adjectives: cl. **iaqir** “magnificent”, splendid”; **šaliṭ** *šaliṭ* “powerful”; **zadiq** *zadiq* “righteous”; **kabir** *kabir* “great”; **iamina** *yamin(a)* “the right (hand)”; cl. **iahid** “alone” (now replaced by Ar. *waḥīd*); **hakim** “wise”; **qalil** *qalil* “little”; **hamin** *hamim* “warm”, “hot”; **rakik** *rakik* “smooth”, “tender”; **šamin** *šamin* “fat”; cl. **hasir ub(a)ṣir** “defective”; 30

⁷⁹ Lidzbarski, *Ginzā*, p. 303 n. 2.

cl. **qarir** "cold"; cl. **aziz** "strong" (remained only in an arabized form 'azīz "dear"); cl. **haṭīpa** "rapacious" etc. From 'ʿʿ: **sagia** "much"; **ania** "miserable".

b) Verbal adjectives (limited to the literary language): **habiba** "beloved",
 5 **dahila** "fearful". Adjectives from the pe. of intransitive verbs, as *nap(p)īq* "excessus", *yat(t)īb* "seated" are graphically identical with the act. part. pe.: **napiq**, **iatib** etc. Only the context can indicate when they are to be pronounced as verbal adjectives *nafīq*, *yatīb*, or as active participles: *nāfeq*, *yāteb*.

10 c) Substantives: cl. **zaliqa** "ray"; cl. **šambiba** "shine" etc.

d) The feminine of adjectives is formed normally by adding the ending **-ta**, **-tia**: cl. **hasirta**, **hasirtia** "imperfecta" etc. Some substantives can also be provided with the fem. ending, cf. mod. *sekenta* from **sikina**, which is treated as fem. even without the fem. ending.

15 § 133. With *ū* after the 2nd radical:

a) With *a* after the 1st rad. (*fa''ūl*): cl. **atuna** "oven", **hapura** (Gs 3:11) "aftermath"⁸⁰, **pasuhiata** (var. **pasihata**) "steps"; **tanura** mod. *tanūra* "furnace". Everywhere, the reduplication vanished (§ 102), except in the dissimilated *ambūba* (§ 23 a).

20 b) With *i* after the 1st rad. (*fi''ūl*): In the words still used, the *aksa* or ' is only graphical: **kum**, **kuma** mod. *okūma* "black"; cl. **zimbura** "bee" = mod. *zambūr(a)* (§ 23 a). The cl. **šipura** "trumpet" is now used in the form of the P. *šeypūr* (with a diphthong). The following nouns occur only in the classical: **šipula** "skirt", "lower, part"; **qiluma** "decay"; **hilula** "wedding",
 25 "nuptial rejoicing" (= Jew. כְּלִיָּהּ) might still have been used in the time of the composition of the Glossarium, but already at that time it was, at least, facultatively pronounced with *o* after the 1st rad.⁸¹ In Gy 47:23, **hilulia** is used with the meaning of a garment, perhaps "stola" or "mantle" (= Ar. *ḥullab*). From weak roots (only in the classical): **giuṭa** "wrath"; **niula**, **n'ula**

⁸⁰ MG, p. 125 & n. 7.

⁸¹ Gl. 128:7 **hluli** and **hulla** (in which the *u* is indicated with the help of the Ar. *ḡammab* over h) — Ar. *ifrāḥ*, *farāḥ* — *gaudium* — P. *šādī*.

“torture”; **siuṭa** “fright”; the fem. **pisusta** “destruction”⁸² may belong to § 127b.

3. Nouns from Quadriradical Roots⁸³.

§ 134. Nouns from quadriradical roots are formed in five ways:

a) *Nomina actionis*. The only verbal noun from a root of four radicals, which is still used, is rare in the classical. It is *bašqarāṭa* (pl.) “acquaintance”⁸⁴. Since a form *bašqarta* corresponds to cl. *nomina actionis* of four radicals, and the verb BŠQR “to investigate” (Gs 112: ult., 113:5 etc), “to recognize” (Gy 358:11) “to get information” (Gl. 46:5f), “to confirm” (Gl. 92:9f), “to confess” (Gl. 114:13f) is also used with the general meaning of “to know”, “to be(come) acquainted”, the fact that this verbal noun was rarely used in literature is explainable by the circumstance that there was plenty of classical words for “knowledge”, such as **madita**, **iadata**, **iaduta**, **iadita** (apart from the strictly religious **manda** γυνῶσις).

All other nouns of this category belong to the classical. There are verbal nouns of the šafel, as **šargazta** “growing angry”, **šarhazta** “fright(ening)”; of the afel, as **andašta** “meditation” (from P. *andāšab*), **andazta** “setting up”, “measuring” (from P. *andāzah*); nouns formed by repeating the whole biradical root (cf. s. b), as **qarqalta** “overthrow(ing)” (§ 28); or from original quadriradical roots, as **parnasta** “provision” (= H. פִּרְנָסָה from פִּרְנָס) etc.

b) Concrete nouns, formed by repeating the whole biradical rt.: cl. **girgla** (§ 28) “wheel”; cl. **qiqla** und **qiqlita** “dung-hill”; cl. **rurbia** “magn”; **kukba** mod. *koχβā* “star” and **lilia** *lilyā* “night” (still used). Here may belong **adidia** (Gy 28:15, Gs 17:10, 27:20) “slaughterers (?)”.

c) By repeating the 3rd rad. (only cl. forms): **zahriria** (pl.) “rays”; **šahriria** (pl.) “labour”; **dahlulia** “frightening spirits” (from DHL < דחל); **murṭaṭa** (Gy 178:12) “mantle” (var. **murṭa**) seems to be a foreign word. As to **puraria** (Gy 207:13) it seems to be only a special plural-form of **pura** “glow” (as

⁸² MG § 108 end.

⁸³ MG § 109.

⁸⁴ Cf. *bašqarāṭa tāmmā orkī* “he became acquainted with him” and *bašqarāṭi eβad orkī* “he introduced him to him”.

iahraria “months” from **iahra**, § 164) in spite of Nöldeke’s suggestion of a connection with H. **יָרֵר**⁸⁵.

d) Concrete nouns from quadriradical roots, ending in *-l(a)*: cl. **arpila** “cloud”; cl. **armalta** “widow”. Only **parzla parzalā** “iron”, **smala esmāla** “the left (hand)” and **hardla hardolā** “mustard” are still used.

e) Various formations from roots of four radicals: cl. **qarqabta, qarqapta** “skull”; cl. **šaura**, st. cstr. **šauar**⁸⁶ “neck”; **arqba arqoβa** “scorpion”; cl. **simadra** “(vine-)blossom”; cl. **šutapa** “fellow”; cl. **garṭupiata** “cutting implements”; cl. **karkušta = qarqušta** “rattle”; cl. **arṭil** “naked”; **kursia** ¹⁰ **korsī** “throne”; **harṭuma (d-hizura)** (Qm. Qaštīn) “snout (of a pig)”; **qurnasa** (ibid.) “hammer”; cl. **qirqna** (Gy 115:19, hapaxleg.) compared by Nöldeke⁸⁷ with Talm. **קִרְקָנָא**(*)**ק**, but used parallel to “garment” seems to mean a kind of garment⁸⁸; **parpašta** “fence” (from PRPŠ § 1911); **qurdaia** (Q 8:21 = ML 23:7) < Syr. *qurdāḥā*. Nouns from quadriradical roots are ¹⁵ especially frequent in magical text: They are often formed by the repeating of the 1st or the 2nd radical: **lilipiata** (in lists of arms) “fasces” (from LUP), **šušmara** (DC 43 Qm. *Dablulia* 40f.) “compression” (from ŠMR) etc. Foreign words are: **qurqsa** (Gy 24:20) = Syr. *qurqsā* κίρκος = κίρκος⁸⁹ “circle” as well as **qur(u)qsa** (Jb. 109:4) a corruption of Lat. *crux* (?). **qurpida**, var. **qurpira** ²⁰ (Jb. 164:3f., 165:13) = Syr. *qarpīdā* κρηπίδιου (?)⁹⁰; **susṭmia**, var. **šusṭmia** (§ 39a); **tuṭipta** (Jb. 131:2; ML 211:4) = H. **טֻטִּיפֻט**.

4. Nouns with Prefixes and Suffixes⁹¹:

α. With Prefixes:

§ 135. The prefix **m-** (: *ma-*, *mif'al*, *-f'il*, *-f'ul*) serves to form the *nomina* ²⁵ *loci, temporis, instrumenti* as well as *nomina actionis pe*.

⁸⁵ MG, p. 127:22f.

⁸⁶ Cf. MG 127 & n. 2, 128 & n. 1.

⁸⁷ MG 128:6.

⁸⁸ Lidzbarski, *Ginzā* 128 n. 5.

⁸⁹ Fränkel, *ZDMG* LXI 699.

⁹⁰ Jb. II, p. 165 n. 1.

⁹¹ MG §§ 110—114.

a) *maf'al*: cl. **masgda**, postcl. and mod. **mazgda** *mazgdā* "place of worship"; **maškna** *mašḡanā* lit. "dwelling", used with the meaning of "Mandaean temple" as well as **manda** *mandā* originally γυνώσις (§ 23 b); cl. **mamlala**, **malala**, **mamla** "word" (§ 100); **mahra** "illness" etc.

From weak roots: **mala** (Gy 365: 5) "entrance"; cl. **mariba** "jug of mixed potion" but also with other meanings⁹²; **marba** "west", "uterus", "lair"⁹³; **mimra** "speech"; **mikla** mod. *miḡlā* "food"; cl. **mutba** "seat"; cl. **mubla** "burden", "load". From ʾʾʾ with transition to ʾʾʾ: cl. **makna** (Gy 42: 21) "lodging"; the *mif'al*-forms (s. b) are more frequent. From ʾʾʾ: **mašqia** (DC 12, l. 189) "potion"; **malia** "lamentation" etc. Here belongs also **manda** (above) and an emanational gnostic term **mana** "vessel", "garment", used also for the Highest Being⁹⁴ and for primal entities⁹⁵.

b) The form *mif'al* is used for the *nomina actionis pe.*, which are limited to the literary language: **milgaṭ** "seizing", **mimar** "talking", **mitab** "sitting", **mišal** "asking", **mišma** "hearing", **mipas** "destroying", **m'ial** (*miyyal*, not *mēyal*) "entering". From ʾʾʾ with transition to ʾʾʾ: **miqam**, **miqma** "standing" etc. From ʾʾʾ: **miqria** (even **miqra**), **mihuia** "being", **mibia** "praying", **mitia** "coming", **mištia** "drinking". With *i* after the 2nd radical (*mif'il*): **mismik** "supporting".

c) Fem. forms (*maf'a/i/ulah*): Only **mapiqta** *mafeqta* "exit (of the soul)"²⁰ (= "death") and **masiqta** *maseqta* "ascent (of the soul)" are still used as specific religious terms. All others are limited to the literary language: **markabta**, **markibta** "chariot"; **maṭarta** "house of detention, purgatory"; **madi(h)ta** (§ 51 a); **mdinta** "city", "town"; **makulta** "food"; **mahzita** "mirror". But *mawmāṭā* (Syr.) "oath" is usually replaced by **'umamata**; the regular form **mumata** (Gs 36: ult.) is extremely rare.

⁹² Cf. Lidzbarski, *Ginzā*, p. 180 n. 3, 428 n. 5; Drower-Macuch, *Mandaic Dictionary* p. 254.

⁹³ Drower-Macuch, *Op. cit.*, p. 251 f.

⁹⁴ According to Lidzbarski (*OSt*, p. 538; *Ginzā*, p. 65 n. 1, 332 n. 2) this meaning represents a further semantic development of the original Semitic meaning "vessel" (as *concretum pro abstracto*), cf. σκεῦος ἔντιμον of the Gnostics with the Mand. **mana** *iaqira* (Gy 135: 5, 14 etc.). But the resemblance of the word with the Iranian *man* (cf. Soghdian *m'n* "intelligence"), *manišn*, *mainyō* is so striking that already Nöldeke (*MG*, p. XXXII) suggested an Iranian origin of the word with this Gnostic meaning. His opinion was followed by further scholars, cf. my references in Drower-Macuch, *Op. cit.*, p. 246 f. s. **mana 1 and 2**.

⁹⁵ Cf. Brandt, *Mandaicans*, *ERE VIII*, p. 382.

d) *maf'āl, mif'āl*: **masara** (Gy 300:21 etc) *masāra* “saw”, mod. st. abs. *masār*; **maluaša malwāša** “sign of the Zodiac”; **mabada** “work”; **maudala** “birth”; cl. **msana** “shoe”, “boot”.

e) With a long *ē* after the 2nd rad. (*mif'il*): cl. **miskina** “poor”.

5 f) *maf'ūl*: **malbuša malbūša** (Sh. Abd.), *malβūša* (Šābūrī) “dress”; **mambuha** and **mambuga** mod. only *mambūya* “ritual drink” (§ 23a); cl. **marguša** “agitation”, “rebellion”; cl. **marguš** “tumult”; cl. **mahuza** “town”; mod. *mašūr(a)* “broom”. Fem. forms (*maf'ūlah*): cl. **mašruqta** (Jb. 43: 4) “whistle”, “pipe”.

10 According to Syr. *maššūtā* (< *maššūtā*, Nöldeke), **mšuta** (Gs 30: 17) “strife” would also belong here, but its defective writing is read *emšūṯa* by the Mandaeans.

§ 136. The prefix **m-** also serves to form all active and passive participles, except those of the peal.

15 a) Pa. act. (*mufa'il, מְקַטֵּל*): **mbarik** *mbarreχ* “he blesses”, **mšadar** *mšaddar* “he sends”, **malip** *mallef* “he teaches”, **mšaiil** mod. *mšyyel* “he asks”, **mqaaiim** *mqaayem* “he raises” etc.

From quadriradical verbs (*mufa'lil, מְקַטְּלֵל*): cl. **mqarqil** “he overthrows”, **mzauṯar** “he makes little”; mod. (*qo*)*mbašqer* “he knows”.

20 b) Pa. pass. (*mufa'al, מְקַטֵּל*): cl. **mbarak** “blessed”, **mšadar** “sent”, **mšaba** “praised”, **mhambal** “corrupted” (§ 23a); **mkasai** “covered”.

From quadrirad. verbs (*mufa'lal, מְקַטְּלֵל*): **mraurab** “greatly celebrated”, “solemn” etc.

c) Af. act. (*מְקַטֵּל*): Only **mapiq** *maffeq* “he brings out”, **masiq** *masseq* “he brings up” and **mahrib** *mahroβ* “he destroys” are still used. All others belong to the classical: **mapriš** “(he is) teaching, explaining”, **mabar** “(he is) leading across”, **mauzip** “lending”, **maiil** “introducing” etc. With **h**: **mhaimin** “believer”.

d) Af. pass. (*מְקַטֵּל*): Only cl. forms: **mapraš** “taught”, **madkar** “mentioned”, **maušaṯ** (Gy 214: 28) “stretched out”, **maluai** “given to accompany” etc. With **h**: **mhaiman** (Gy 29) “he finds believers”, “is (found) trustworthy”.

§ 137. Participles of reflexive stems with **ת**. The **ת** is often dropped according to § 36. These forms occur only in the classical.

a) Ethpe. (**תתקטל**): **mitkrik**, **mikrik** “turning around”, **mitbrik** “blessed”, **mitriṣ** “erected”, **mištbiq** “abandoned”, **mihšib** “planned”, **mitmar** “said”, **mithib** “given”, **mipsis** “destroyed”, **mit(i)mlia** “filled” etc. 5

b) Ethpa. (**תתקטל**): **mithašab** “meditating”, **mištalam** “completed”, **mithaiab** “accused”, **mištaba** “praising himself” etc.

c) Ettafal (**תתפעל**): **mitapraš** “taught”, **mitaška** “found” etc.

d) From quadriradical verbs (**תתפעלל**): **mitharzaq** “fettered”, **mištauzab** “saved” etc. 10

§ 138. In the classical. there are some remains of the passive participle, which seem to be formed as the H. *pual* — participle (**תקטל**, **תקטל**): **mulia** (Gy 282:25 etc) “height”, “high place” (= ***תקטל**)⁹⁶ and the name of the Mandaean paradise **mšunia kušta** (*mšunnī kušā*) lit. “the sublimated of the Truth”⁹⁷ with the enigmatic **mšuniat šata** (Gy 87:9, 295:13) “the wonderful (being of) fire”. 15

§ 139. With **t-** (*taf‘il*, *taf‘ilab*, *tif‘āl*). These forms are used esp. for abstract nouns, nomina actionis pa. and etpa. and sometimes also af.⁹⁸; but there are also some concrete nouns of this type.

a) Nomina actionis (only in the classical): **taumiata** (pl.) “incantations”; **taktuša** (Gy 17:8) “struggle”; **tušbihta** “praise”, whose traditional pronunciation *tošbahā*, *tošbā* corresponds to Aram. **תושבחה**; **tušlima** “completion”, “perfection”; **tigra** “struggle”; **tasniqa** “torture”; **tinihta** “sigh-(ing)”; **tiniqta** id. etc. 20

The form *taf‘ilab*, **תתפעל** may still have been used in the time of the composition of the Glossarium, which quotes a form ***targišta** “pleasantry”, “facetiousness”⁹⁹. In the postcl. language there is an Arabic *mašdar* of the

⁹⁶ MG, p. 132: paen.

⁹⁷ My references to scholarly literature about the subject are given in Drower-Macuch, Mandaic Dictionary, p. 280a.

⁹⁸ MG, p. 133 with n. 2.

⁹⁹ Gl. 54:9 written defectively **trgōta** — Ar. *tarakkūš* (sic) — *fastia*.

taf'il-form **tašuiš** (AM 257:16) "confusion" (= Ar. *tašwiš*). Arabic *mašdarī*, esp. those of the *taf'il*-form are very frequent in the colloquial, cf. *taqdim eβad* "he presented", *taqsim eβad* "he divided", *təbrīk eβad* "he congratulated", *ta'mir eβad* "he repaired".

- 5 b) Concrete nouns (: some of them still used): **tarmida** *tarmīda*, mod. st. abs. *tarmīd* orig. "pupil" (< *talmīd*), now used exclusively with the meaning of "Mandaean priest". The fem. **tarmidiata** (Gy 288:5, Jb 45:3) does not mean "women-pupils"¹⁰⁰, but "wives of Mandaean priests". **targala** (Qm. Qaštin) "fetter"; **tutba** "foreign resident" (< Syr. *tawtābā*) and also "dress"
 10 (< Talm. and Targ. **נְטָוִתָּ**)¹⁰¹. **tulita** *toleyθa* "worms" is still used, esp. in the st. abs. *tolyā*, which has not been found in classical literature¹⁰². All nouns quoted are original *nomina actionis*, which acquired the meaning of concrete nouns. Here may belong also **timia** "south" (§ 76b). But **tatura** (ML 136:4 etc) "bridge", with the Middle Persian ending *-ak*: **taturaqa** and **tarbaša** "farm-
 15 yard"¹⁰³ (= Akk. *tarbašu*), sometimes used metaphorically about protruding parts of the body¹⁰⁴, are foreign words.

§ 140. With **a-** (**ܐܢܦܝܫܬܐ**). This form, used for *nomina actionis af.*, occurs only in the classical: **aprašta** (pl. **aprašata**, var. **aprišata**, AM 206:6) "explanation"; **agzarta** "condemnation"; **askilata** (pl.) "follies", without **a**: **uskilatan**
 20 (Morg. 209/5; ult.) "and our follies", pronounced in the same way with *as læθlī mēnda* (§§ 3, 86). Nöldeke's conjecture ***askalatan**¹⁰⁵ encounters a difficulty in the consistent use of the word with *kī akša*; the form is then to be explained according to § 65a.

Fm **ʿʿ**: **akasta** "reproach". From III **π**: **ašmata**, var. **ašamata** (Gy
 25 283:7) "shining, radiance".

§ 141. Various formations with the prefixes **š**, **ʿ** or **π** are used for concrete nouns: cl. **ambuba** (§ 23a); cl. **ʿuṣar**, **ʿuṣra** originally "treasure", used with

¹⁰⁰ Lidzbarski, Ginzā, p. 285 n. 1.

¹⁰¹ Cf. MG, p. 133 with n. 3.

¹⁰² The postclassical **unapqa minh tulia** (DC 46) taken (materially) as plural in Drower-Macuch, Mandaic Dictionary, p. 483a, is a formal singular "the worm will come out of him".

¹⁰³ MG, p. 134:4 and n. 2.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. Lidzbarski, Jb II, p. 37 n. 6, and Ginzā, p. 106 n. 1.

¹⁰⁵ MG, p. 134.

the meaning of “thought”, “mind”¹⁰⁶; cl. **ʿsupta** “threshold”¹⁰⁷; cl. **ʿba** “finger” still used by Sh. Abdullah as *oʃβāθa* (while the usual colloquial form is *ʃoβaxta*); cl. **hikla** “temple”, “palace” now used in the Arabic form *heykal*.

§ 142. Furthermore, there was a classical prefix **n(i)-**, used to form concrete nouns. Nöldeke¹⁰⁸ quoted only one such example: **nirba** (ML 23: 8 = CP 21: 9) “crag” (Syr. *nēʿrbā* < Akk. *nēribu*). Other examples are: cl. **nibza** (ML 76: 3, 77: 12), pl. **nibzia** (ML 76: 7) “piece”, “lot” (from BZA “to break”, “to split”, mod. “to pierce”); postcl. and mod. **niara niāra** “bowl” (root ‘RA)¹⁰⁹ (As to the curious **niaka 1** [Gy 143: 15, 202: 3] translated by Lidzbarski¹¹⁰ as “coupling” [cf. Ar. *nakaḥa*] and **niaka 2** [AM 166: 15] “harm”, [root NKA] their **n** is not a prefix but a radical. Both follow the analogy of **niaha**, § 124.)

β) Nouns with Suffixes¹¹¹.

§ 143. The suffix *-ān*, producing the form *faʿlān*, *fiʿlān*, *fuʿlān*, was used to form a) abstract and concrete nouns, b) adjectives, and esp. c) *nomina agentis* of all forms except *peal*. Only a few classical nouns of this formation survived. Since the ending *-ān* became a regular plural-ending in mod. Mandaic (§ 172a), the situation would be too confusing, if the suffix *-ān* was still used in a larger extent.

a) Abstract and concrete nouns: cl. **iaqdana** “firebrand”, **audana** “wilderness”; **ṭupana** *ṭūfāna* might have been preserved from dying out by the Ar. *ṭūfān*; **mutana** *mūṭāna* “pestilence”, “mortality”; **ṭiuana** (AM 91: 13 etc) “error”, **sibrana** “hope”, **biniana** “edifice”; **kiniana** *kenyāna* “surname”

¹⁰⁶ Cf. θησαυρὸς τῆς καρδίας of the New Testament, MG, p. 136 nn. 5, 6.

¹⁰⁷ The Ar. loanword *uskuffah* might still be used. But Šābūrī gave me (by letter) a curious mod. form **bilat baita** literally “mistress of the house” for “threshold”. This mod. expression must be pronounced *bellaṭ bēṭā*. The form is the stranger, as a fem. *bellaṭ* is otherwise not used.

¹⁰⁸ MG § 114, p. 135 with n. 2.

¹⁰⁹ Gl. 142: 14 quotes it as a synonym of **kasa**.

¹¹⁰ Ginzā, p. 157: 18 etc.

¹¹¹ MG §§ 117—125.

(still used, sometimes substituted by the copyists for the less familiar **kiana** “nature”)¹¹²; cl. **‘niana** “*responsorium*”¹¹³; **širiana** *širyāna* “artery”; **qurbana** *qorbāna* “sacrifice”; **qarq(u)bana** *qarqoβāna* “stomach (of birds), craw”; **‘ulšana** “oppression”; **hušbana** “counting”; cl. **qiniana** “possession”,
 5 “cattle”; cl. **‘lana** “tree”; cl. **iutrana** “profit”; cl. **šultana** “force”, “power”;
 cl. **sumkana** “support”; cl. **dukрана** *doχrāna* “mentioning”, “remembrance”
 etc. Cl. **buṭlana** “frustration”, **busiana** “contempt”, **šubiana** “will” corre-
 spond to Syr. *beṭlānā*, *besyānā*, *šehyānā* with *e* after the first rad., so that the
 10 *ūšenna* in these words could be explained by labialization (§ 72 d), but there
 are also cl. **hugiana** “letter” (= Syr. *heg yānā*, H. 𐩧𐩣𐩪), cl. **šugiana** “error”
 (= H. 𐩧𐩣𐩪𐩠) which indicate that *fu‘lān* was the original Mandaic form.
 However, **ruiana** (AM 24:7, 27: ult. etc.) “thought”, “disposition” is tradi-
 tionally pronounced *riwyāna* as well as its more frequent phonetic variant
riuiana.

15 This suffix is often used to form derivatives from ‘**l**’ as in Syriac (and
 the ending 𐩧𐩣𐩪 in Hebrew).

The postcl. and. mod. **šihiana** *šehyāna*, *ših-* “ruler, governor”, derived by
 Nöldeke¹¹⁴ from P. *ših nab*, follows the analogy of the derivatives from ‘**l**’ with
 the suffix *-ān*. Similarly **lugiana**, var. **ligiana** (ATŠ no. 92) “vessel the (lower)
 20 womb” (< Akk. *liginnu*, Syr. *lḡīnā*, cf. λάγηνος, λάγειναι, Lat. *lagena*, P.
*lagan*¹¹⁵).

Cl. and postcl. **auana** (= Syr. *awānā*) “mansion” is commonly quoted
 under 𐩧𐩣𐩪, although in such a case one would expect the ending *-yāna*. Its
 ending must then come directly from Iranian (cf. OP *avahana*, Pahl. *avān*)¹¹⁶.
 25 Its modern form is *eywāna* as in Persian and Arabic.

Cl. **‘liana** (ML 118: 4) “thumb”; **šušmana** mod. *šošmāna* “ant”; **sarṭana**
 (var. **ṣar-**) mod. *sarṭāna* “crab”, “Cancer” (sign of the Zodiac) **šultana** (varr.
šulutana, **šlutana**, **ašlutina**) “bat” and **sukana** “steering-paddle” may be
 considered as of adjectival origin. Mod. **mušmana** (Morg. 281: paen.) *mošmāna*

¹¹² MG, p. 136 n. 2.

¹¹³ The word was replaced already in the literary language by P. **pasuk**, **pasug** (= *pāsuḥ*),
 from which even a verb **pasuk ‘hab** (= P. *pāsuḥ dād*) was formed (cf. Lidzbarski, ML,
 p. XV). Similar mod. expressions *ḡawāb ebaṣ* “he answered” and *šarḥ ebaṣ* “he explained”
 also follow Persian models (*ḡawāb dād*, *šarḥ dād*).

¹¹⁴ MG, p. 78:2.

¹¹⁵ Not *lagān*, as has been misprinted in Drower-Macuch, Op. cit. 232 b.

¹¹⁶ Cf. Lagarde, Abhandlungen, p. 149; Nöldeke, MG, p. 136 n. 1; Salemann, Grundriß
 der iranischen Philologie I, p. 272.

"Muslim" seems to be a purposeful transformation of Ar. *muslim(un)* with derisive allusion to *šamina* "fat".

The suffix *-ān* exceptionally became *-in* in *qaštīn*, *qaština qastīn(a)* "archer" (title of a phylactery). But *riqīn* (var. *riqān*) is pronounced *riqān* (s. b). An original *-īn* became *-ān* in *šušban* (< Jew.-Aram. 𐤍𐤍𐤁𐤀 < Akk. *susabinu?*) "groomsman"; but its pl. *šušbania* occurs with a rare var. *šušbinia*, miscopying *šušīnia* (Jb II, 17, 113 n. 4).

As to cl. *'luania* "ghosts", Nöldeke supposed a singular **'lua*¹¹⁷, although *'luana* "the ruling (?) spirit (of the underworld)" is used as a singular in Gs 136f. It is possible that the plural-ending *-ān* was confused with the nominal suffix *-ān*; but because of the antiquity of the text it is more probable that the singular *'luana* is original and not only secondarily formed from the plural *-ania*. Nevertheless, in the cl. plural *ainaniata*, *aininiata* "sources", the *-ān-* is merely a sign of the plural, since the singular is always *aina* mod. *īna* (mod. pl. *īnāna*).

b) Adjectives: cl. *šalmana*, fem. *šalmantia* "righteous", "perfect", "humble", "modest"¹¹⁷; cl. *art(i)lana* "naked"; *šihana* (Gy 180: 7) "impudent"; *'limania* (§ 126); *šaliṭania* "*regentes*", *šurania* (Gs 17: 20) "*parvuli*". Yet in cl. *rbania*, *rabania* "teachers" and *rurbania* "magnates" *-ān* may be considered as a pl. ending rather than a suffix.

The suffix *-ān* also serves to form adjectives from substantives, esp. from abstract nouns: *aulana* "wicked" (from *aula* "wicked deed"); *rugzana* "angry" (from *rugza* "anger"); cl. *kuštana* "truthful" (from *kušta* "Truth"); *ṭupšana* mod. *ṭowšana* "dirty" (from *ṭupša* "dirt"); cl. *šuhbana* "praiseworthy" (from *šuhba* < *šubha*, § 52); cl. *zidana* "furious" (from *zida* "rage"); cl. *zipana* "false" (would now be understood only as plural of *zipa* mod. *zif(a)* "lie"); cl. *hunpana* "hypocrite"; cl. *tiniana* "second"; cl. and postcl. *zih(i)-rana* "venomous", "spiteful" (from *zihira* "poison", "spite"); cl. *qirsana* "ill" (from *qirsa* < κῆρός)¹¹⁸; cl. *riuana* "conciliatory" (from 𐤍𐤏𐤍); *lihania* "net-spirits" (from *liha* "net")¹¹⁹, used substantively as some other adjectives (s. a); cl. *gdultania* (Gy 279: 6) "ringlet-spirits"¹²⁰ (from *gdulta* "lock"); *manzania ugadpania* (DC 43: Qm. *Qaštīn*) "*capillati et alati*" (from *manza* and *gadpa*) etc.

¹¹⁷ MG, p. 136:14.

¹¹⁸ Gl. 155:7, 176:6, 157:11. In the last place quoted as *substantivum pro adjectivo*.

¹¹⁹ MG, p. 139:4f.

¹²⁰ Lidzbarski, Ost. 541.

The suffix *-ān* could then be added also to the feminine ending (as in Syriac and Talmudic). Aside from **gdultania** just quoted, there are: **rbutana** “haughty”; **raktana** “voluptuous”; **qarabtana**, **qaraptana** “warrior”; **giutana** “proud”; **utana** “powerful” (cf. **iut malkuta**, Gy 178: 3 “kingly power”).

In the cl. **hurina**, fem. **hurintia** “other” *-ān* passed to *-īn*; but **riqiniata** (var. **-aniata**, fem. pl. of **riqan riqān** “empty”) is pronounced **riqanyāṭa** (§ 74a).

c) *Nomina agentis* (only in the classical)¹²¹:

From pa.: **mrادpana** “persecutor”; **mqaimana** “establisher”; **mšauiana** “doer”; **mhadiania** (ŠQ no. 220 etc.) “wedding guests”. From quadriradical roots: **mšarhibana** “propagator”, “who extends (the stem of Life)”, **mhamblana** “destroyer”.

From af.: **margizana** “irritator”; **manhirana** and **manharana** “light-giver”; **mahiḡana** “who frightens”; **mahiana** “life-giver”; **maiirana** “awakener”, with personal suffix **maiiranai** (ML 173: 7), **maiaranai** (Morg. 12:3) “my awakener”; **maulana** “one who brings” (from YBL); **makisana** “chastizer”; **makšilana** “one who makes stumble”; **malpana** “teacher”; **mašqiana** “potion-giver; **matrana** “awakener”; **masrana** “fortifier”.

From a reflexive stem: **maštimana** “obedient” (§ 65) etc.

From a passive participle: **mšalṭana** “endowed with power”.

§ 144. In a few words *-ān* passed to *-ōn*, and became thus identical with the diminutive suffix *-ōn* (§ 145):

Cl. **pirunia**, **parunia** “bonds”, “fetters”¹²²; cl. **šibunia** “dyed stuffs” (ܩܘܢܝܐܝܐ, Syr. *šubī'ānā*; cl. **hilbuna** “glair” (< ܩܠܝܒܘܢܐ), used as a gnostic term for the habitat of higher beings¹²³; cl. (**bit**) **šihun** (Gy 180: 21) “dry plain”¹²⁴. Cl. **abduṇia**, **bdunia** “places of desolation, Abaddons” (= ܐܒܕܘܢܐ). In mod. Mandaic there is *partonna* “flea” (< Syr. *partā'nā*).

¹²⁰ Ibid. n. 5.

¹²¹ As the ending *-āna* has become a regular mod. plural-ending (§ 172a), the *nomina agentis* formed with this ending could only be understood as plurals of the corresponding participles.

¹²² Cf. Lidzbarski, Ginzā, p. 104 n. 3, contra Nöldeke, MG 21: 12, 140: 1, 325: 9, 327: 21.

¹²³ See my references to scholarly literature about this word in Drower-Macuch, Op. cit. 144a.

¹²⁴ MG 140: 5.

§ 145. Diminutives with *-ōn* (only in the classical): **iarqunia** “herbs”; **piqunia** “blossoms”; **bazrunia** “seeds”; **bizuna** (Gy 188:9) “crevice”; **šabunia** (Gy 181:12) “splinters”; **dirdqunia** (Gy 387:12) “*parvuli*” (from **dirdqia** “parvi”).

Modern Mandaic has no proper diminutive form; the attribute *honīna* “little” replaced it. “*Parvulus*” would actually be *honīna genzā*.

The diminutive suffix *-os* occurs only in one literary word: ‘**mbrusia** (Jb. 44:8) “little lambs” (< Syr. *emrūsē*)¹²⁵, a mod. sg. would be *embara honīna* or *hontī* (cf. § 126 end).

§ 146. With the suffix *-ām* there is only the literary ‘**umama omāma** “day(-time)”, used as opposite of night (as **Ⲛⲉⲛⲁ**, Syr. *īmāmā*), cf. **b’umama** (AM 19:11) “by day”, **šamiš d’umama** (DC 43 Qm. Qaštīn: 199 etc.) “the sun of the day”. The word was driven out from mod. language by the more common **ium**, **iuma yōm(ā)**, cf. literary ‘**umama ulilia** = mod. *yōm ulilyā* “day and night”.

§ 147. With *āy(a)* there are *patronymica*, *gentilica*, adjectives formed from nouns and ordinal numbers. This suffix is, as a rule, written **-aia -āya** in the singular and **-aia** in the plural, where it is traditionally pronounced *-āyī*. The colloquial pronunciation of this suffix is sometimes *-āya* (like the traditional), but in very common words it became *-ey(y)ī*. The usual mod. plural is *-iyān(a)*, *-iyān(i)*: **mandaia mandāya**, **mandey(y)ī** “Mandaean”, cl. pl. **mandaiia**, mod. pl. *mandiyāna*; **ar(a)baia** “Arab(s)”, “Arabic”, mod. pl. *arabāna*; **ruhmaiia** “Romans”, i. e. „Byzantines”; cl. **magušaia** **Μαγουσαῖοι** “Zoroastrians”; **mšunaiia** “inhabitants of the Mandaean paradise” (§ 138); **hšukaiia** (Oxf. XIII) “beings of the (world of) Darkness”; **sindumaiia** “Sodomites”; **iahuṭaiia** “Jews”; **duṃaiia** “Edomites(?)”¹²⁶ etc.

There are also some nouns formed from the *nomina agentis* of the form **Ⲛⲉⲣⲁ** (§ 123): **našuraiia** “Našoraeans” (a very frequent designation of the priestly class); **darušaia** “singer of hymns” (with personal suff. **darušaiai**, ML 173:8); **barukaiia** (CP 467:7) “blessers”.

Adjectives formed from substantives: cl. **gauaia**, fem. **gauaita** “inner”, “esoteric”, the masc. is used also as a euphemism for “eunuch”; mod. “inner”

¹²⁵ MG, p. 77:15f., 148:17f.

¹²⁶ See Drower-Macuch, Op. cit. 104b.

is *meñḡeyyī*, which replaced also the cl. *miṣaia* “medius”; *baraia*, fem. *baraita* mod. *bāreyyī*, fem. *bāreyḡā*, *bāreyḡī* “outer”; *laia*, fem. *laita* mod. *eleyyī*, fem. *eleyḡā* “high”, “exalted”; cl. *titaia*, fem. *titaita*, mod. *denβe(y)yī*, fem. *denβeyḡā* “lower” (from *dinba denβa* “tail”, cf. the colloquial adverb *denβe* “down”); cl. *qadmaia*, pl. *qadmaia* “first”; cl. *riṣaia* “first”; cl. *batraia* “last”; cl. *lihdaia*, *lhdaia* and *lhudaia* “alone” (colloquially *lādī*); *mitlaia* (ML 115:8) “*similes*”; cl. *nukraia* “foreign”, “strange”, used with religious meanings ἄνωστος, “remote”, “sublime”, *zangaia* “bell-ringer” (from P. *zang*); *arṭilaia* “naked”; *lagaiia* (Gy 385:19) “Barbarians”¹²⁷ etc. *maṭaraia* “ruler of a purgatory (: *maṭarta*)”, *ginaia* “gardener”, *mabraia* “who brings across”, *azgauaia* “glass-blower” are formed by adding the suffix to the masculine forms (although there are only *mabarta* “ferry”, *ginta* “garden”, *azgautia* “glass”). From a cl. pl. *batia* “houses” there is *bataiaia*, fem. *bataiaia* (Gs. 17:23) “possessing houses”, “married”¹²⁸.

15 Nöldeke’s correction of *mapraia* (Gs. 112:1) “winged” to *maprai*¹²⁹ seems to be correct; the former is probably a mere dittograph of the latter. Nevertheless, Sh. Abdullah reads the form *maprāyī* as if it was *mapraia* (st. emph. pl.)¹³⁰.

The Arabic *yā’ an-nisbah* is regularly used in modern Mandaic (§ 151).
20 Even the original Mand. suffix *-āya* is often contracted to *-eyyī* > *ī*, cf. mod. *sūqī dahβie lo kaspie* “Is his ring golden or silver?”. But the ending *-eyyī* remains, when *eχt-* is used as a copula: *dahβeyyī eχtī lo kaspeyyī* “Is it golden or silver?”. Such cases would belong to Syntactic Phonetics.

§ 148. The suffix *-ī* (*-ē) serves to form verbal nouns of all forms except pe.
25 They are limited to the literary language:

From pa.: *barukia* (pron. *barūχī*) “blessing”, *šabuhia* “praising”, *galulia* “revealing”, *qaiumia* “raising”, but esp. “confirming”; *maṭūia* (*maṭūyī*) “arriving” etc. Less often with a prefixed: *mzaruzia* (var. *zaruzia*) “to arm”, to make ready (for fighting); (m)*qaiumia* “confirming”; (mi)*šanuiia*
30 “removing” etc.

¹²⁷ MG, p. 141 & n. 5.

¹²⁸ MG, p. 142:8.

¹²⁹ MG, p. 142:6f.

¹³⁰ The ms. of Leiden has *mapraia*.

From af.: **arbukia** (pron. *arbūχi*) “kneeling”, **aqumia** (*aqummi*) “raising”, “confirming”; **asguia** (*asgūfi*) “going” etc. With ʔ: **maṣutia** (*maṣūθi*) “hearing”; **masguia** = **asguia** etc.

From quadriradical roots: **handuzia** “measuring”, **dandumia** “standing quiet”, **raurubia** “magnifying”, **šauzubia** “saving” etc. 5

From ethpe.: Only forms from ʔʔ occur: **tiksuiia** “being covered”; **t(i)gluia** “to be revealed”.

From ethpa. and ettaf.: **tlabuša** “to be clothed”; **tarubia** “being mixed”; **tiaiuria** “to radiate”; **štapuiia** “to be poured”; “talking”, “conversation” (with bad varr. **štaiuia**, **štaiia**). The initial ʔ of these forms is sometimes omitted in writing. With a prefixed **m**: **mištaduria** “to be sent”; **mitbanunia** “to be built” etc. 10

From quadriradical roots: **karputia** (Gy 204: 7) “to be bound” etc.

§ 149. The Aramaic ending of the abstract nouns *-ūθ*, which could be annexed to any substantive or adjective, is very frequent in the classical. Its original form remained only in a few words in the mod. language; its normal mod. form is **-ukta** *-oχta* (analogy of **dukta**, § 20). 15

a) Cl. nouns: **malkut**, **malkuta** “kingdom”; **rahmuta** *rahmūθa* “love”; **bahtuta** “shame”; **zahruta** “caution”; **bisruta** “corporality”; **sibruta** “insight”; **ṭabuta** mod. *ṭāḅūθa* cl. “goodness”, mod. “food”; **rbuta**, **rabuta** *rabūθa* “greatness”; **sibuta** “old age”; **zidanuta** “rage”; **ianquta** *yanqūθa* “childhood”; **mṭan(a)puta** “pollution” **mkairuta** “abomination”, “ugliness”; **mazruta** “sowing”; **mamiduta** “Christian baptism in standing water” (a transformation of Syr. *maʿmōdtā*), while the Mandaean baptism in running, living water is called **maṣbuta** *maṣβetta* (formed in the same way from Syr. *maṣbōʿitā*); **hai(a)suta**, **hiasuta** “compassion”; **haimanuta** mod. *haymanūθa*, st. abs. and cstr. *haymanūθ* “faith” etc. 20

From reflexive stems: **trahmuta** (pron. *etrahmūθa*) “compassion”; **tiaruta**, **atiaruta** “brilliance”.

Derivatives of this kind are esp. frequent from roots ʔʔ: **asuta** **uzakuta** *asūθa* u *zakūθa* “health and vindication” (frequently used in the stereotyped greeting formula *asūθa* u *zakūθa* *nehwilaχ*). This formula is consistently used in letters, and can be used as a solemn greeting formula in daily life, but its shortened form *sūθ* [st.abs. with aphaeresis, § 87] *ehwilaχ* is more commonly used). 30

Further examples: **maṭut**, **maṭuta** “indulgence”; **buta** (pl. **bauata**) “prayer”; **šaruata** (ATŠ no. 129) “banquets” (only in pl.; a later sg. s. b.); 35

dmuta *d(ə)mūṭa*, (*ə*)*dmūṭa* “likeness”; **ḡbuta** “thing”; **ṣuta** “talk”, “discourse”, “doctrine”; **msuta** “condensation, solidification”; **sruta** “stink, putridity”; **hzuta** “sight”; **gluta** (Gy 29: 20) “exile”; **ṣiṭuta** (AM 178:13) “contempt”, pl. **ṣiṭuata** (often) “follies”.

- 5 Forms with *y* are also frequent: **ṭaiuta** “error” “idol”; **zaniuta** “adultery”; **mariuta** “lordship”; **dakiuta** “cleanness”; **haliuta** “sweetness”; **gaiuta** “splendour”; **galiuta** “clearness”; **kaliuta** “absence from home”, “exile”; **kariuta** (AM 20:13 etc.) “affliction”, “tribulation”; **qaṣiuta** “hardship” etc.

- Sometimes the nominal suffix *-ūṭa* can be rendered by *-ism*, as in **iahaduta**
 10 (ML 211:2) = **iahuduta** (Jb 130:9) “Judaism”; **naṣaruta** (ML 211:2, Zotb. 217b: ult.) = **naṣiruta** (often) “Naṣoraicism”; **mandaiuta** “(simple) mandaeism (i. e. laity)” opposed to **tarmiduta** “priesthood” (DC 34, l. 601). **hailuta** (in **hailutan** [ML 132:8] “our strength > our vitality”) is formed from an original abstract noun **haila** “force”.

- 15 The ending *-ūṭa* is not to be considered as an original suffix in the following cl. words: **haduta** “joy” (st. abs. **hadua**) and **giuta** “body” (cf. 𐩦𐩣𐩪, Syr. *gūāyā*), and perhaps also in some other words (**mṣuta** “strife”, **ṣluta** “prayer”)¹³¹. Nevertheless, the popular etymology considers each ending *-ūṭ* as a nominal suffix. This was done even in the case of **muta** (s. b).

- 20 b) Mod. nouns with *-oḡta*: **ṣihianukta** (Oxf. III: coloph.) “governorship” (: office of a *ṣebyāna*, § 143a); **ganzibrukta** (DC 43, coloph. of **qmaha d-ṣuba**) “ganzibrate” (: office of a **ganzibra**); **ṣarukta** (DC 23, l. 595) “meal” (***ṣaruta**, cf. pl. **ṣaruata** s. a.); **ṣbirikta ṣboroxta** “life” (cf. **u'ubad ṣbirikta rkai** Morg. 204: 20 *ue ṣbad ṣboroxta orke* “and he lived with me”). Similar colloquial forms are: **genḡoxta** “theft”, **geyroxta** “adultery”, **qanwoḡta** “silversmith’s art, or work” (from *qanāya* “silversmith”, analogy of the former two). This suffix is typical for mod. Mandaic, although it is not as frequent as *ūṭa* in the classical. The analogy of *-oḡta* is followed even by **muta** “death”, which became **moḡta** in mod. Mandaic, although its **t** belongs to the root (§ 20t).
 30 A similar **bukta** (DC 43 J: 137) has been explained in the Mandaic Dictionary (p. 55 a) as “lamentation” (from BKA, although from this root one would rather expect *boḡeyṭa*); it is not impossible that this word derives from cl. **buta** “prayer, entreating, supplication” (analogy of **muta** > **moḡta**). The context **ubukta bḡumḡ** admits either possibility.

¹³¹ MG, p. 146 n. 4.

§ 150. Nouns, formed with **-ia -ī**, fem. **-ita -eyθā**, occur almost exclusively in the classical:

a) Masc. In the classical abstract nouns the suffix is traditionally pronounced **-ī** (by analogy of the frequent plural-ending of the masc. gender): **plugia** (*plūγī*) “division”; **ṭnupia** “uncleanness”; **bluqia** “blinding” etc. The change of the original pronunciation **-yā** to **-ī** is illustrated in the best way by the cl. **hbulia** (var. **ahbulia**) “usury”, which must have had the same original pronunciation as the Talm. **אֲבֻלָּיָא**. The form was grammatically treated as a plural, from which even a sg. st. cstr. was formed and used in the frequent expression **hbul hbulia**, designating the highest form of usury¹⁰ (lit. “usury of usuries”)¹³².

The original pronunciation is preserved in the old loan-word **susia** *soṣyā* “horse” (still used). Nevertheless, the cl. **girbia** “north” is traditionally pronounced *gerbā* (in spite of Syr. *garbiā* and Ar. *ḡirbiā*). This traditional pronunciation is confirmed by the var. **girba** (AM 231:15, 19 etc).¹⁵

b) The fem. suffix **-ita** is limited to the classical: **zuhmita** “filth”; **ṣ(u)rurita** (§ 12c); **biriata** (pl., § 29); **rabita** “mistress”. Here belongs **kbaṣiata** (ŠQ no. 440) “bunches”, the singular of which probably was ***kibṣita** **keβseyθa*, or **koβseyθa* (with labialization); **marganita** “pearl” (§ 74); **muzanita** “balance”. **ṭulaniata** (§ 73) and **garṭupiata** (§ 42) may belong to the words, which have *y* only in the plural. Nöldeke doubted the correctness of **ianqita** “girl”, and emended it to **ianuqta**¹³³. Nevertheless, *yanqeyθā* was the only form recognized by Šābūrī, although it is not used in the colloquial.

Syr. *ma'mōdtā* was changed to **mamiduta** (§ 149a).

γ) Nouns with Foreign Prefixes and Suffixes.

§ 151. Foreign words, formed with prefixes and suffixes of concerned languages, are frequent in mod. Mandaic. The Ar. ajectival suffix *īy > ī* replaced almost completely the cl. suffix **-āya** (§ 147). But foreign prefixes and suffixes are rarely used with original Mandaic nouns. The Persian prefix *pas* “after” is used in mod. Mand. *pasfoqotta* “nape (of the neck)”. Similarly, the Persian prefix *bī-* occurs in mod. *bīβād(a)* “workless, having nothing to

¹³² Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 147 n. 2.

¹³³ MG, p. 148 n. 2.

do" (= P. *bī-kār*). The Turkish suffix *-çi* is used in the colloquial *gaβerçiya* "noble".

5. Compound Nouns.

§ 152. Some *status constructi* became one word with the following noun.
5 Some of such compounds are common to all Aramaic dialects:

a) The most typical example is the cl. **bilidbaba**, **bildbaba** (and even **blidbaba** traditional pronunciation *beledβāβā*) "enemy" (= Syr. *b'eldbābā* < Akk. *bēl dabābi*). It is problematical whether there was a feminine and an abstract noun (corresponding to Syr. *b'eldbābtā* and *b'eldbābhūtā*), which Nöldeke considered as possible¹³⁴. The Mandaean writers used only **hambaguta** for "enmity". Besides, in the mod. *bellaiḏ bēḏa* "threshold" (§ 141) the first part is provided with the fem. ending. One can rightly object that the nature of this example prevents us drawing any conclusion. In this case, it was impossible to attach the fem. ending to the word, which already ended in **-ta**.
10 Nevertheless, it was necessary to express its fem. gender in some way, since "threshold" is an inanimate object (§ 160d). There was then no other solution than to attach the fem. ending to the first part of the expression.

The similar cl. **bildina** "accuser", "prosecutor" also occurs only in the masculine.

20 Expressions with **mar(ia)** "master" are usually treated as two words in both the classical and the mod. language: **maria buta utušbihta** (Morg. 34:1 etc) "Lord of prayer and praise". The word *mār* is often used in the colloquial with the meaning of Ar. *šāḥib* "possessor" and is inflected. Nevertheless, some mod. expressions can be considered as compounds: *mār-kerā(ya)*, pl. *mārkerāyāni*, "shoe(s)"; *mārqāla* "fart", cf. **bahimta marqala kalšat** (Morg. 274:21) *bahimta mārqāla ḫalšat* "the she-ass farted". The latter noun is also used for "weapon".
25

b) Compounds with **ܘܒܝܬܐ**, **ܘܒܝܬܐ** "house" are frequent in Aramaic. In Mandaic there are many expressions, formed with **bit**, but they are usually treated as
30 two words, so that an inflexional ending, added to the second word, does not affect **bit**: **bit qubria** "cemetery" (: "place of tombs"), **bit mqadšia** "the

¹³⁴ MG, p. 187:9f.

Jewish temple" (: "house of the sacred"); **bit azaria** = **bit riha** (but also **biriha**, below) "incense-brazier"; **bit ain(i)a** "eye-sockets"; **bit alahia** "house of gods, pagan temple"; **bit anašh**, **bit anašata** "home, family"; **bit anpia** "face"; **bit biriata** "cattle-shed"; **bit bnḥ** "womb"; **bit gbina** "brow, forehead"; **bit ginza** "treasure-house" (mod. *bēḏ genzī* "library"); **bit gnana** "bed-room"; **bit dina** "tribunal" etc.¹³⁶; similarly names of countries as **bit arabaiia** "Arabia", **bit hudaiia** "Judea", **bit hindauaiia** "India", **bit iaunaiia** "Greece" etc (often in AM).

That **bit** with the following word were considered as two words is proved esp. by expressions like **bit hda ardba** (Gy 392: 7f.) "the content of an *ardab*", in which both words are separated by **hda** "one". But when such expressions are used with possessive suffixes, the suffix, added to the second word, affects both: **bit anašak** (Gs. 79: 3 = Q 66: 29) "thy family(-house)", **bit anašaihun** (Gy 28: 4) "their family(-house)", **bit gbinai** (ML 210: 11) "my forehead". These forms may be considered as the first step to the fusing of both words into one compound, in which **bit** became **bi-** (as in Talmudic). Nöldeke¹³⁶ knew only one such expression: **bisada** (= **bisadia**) "bolster" (= אֲבִיטָא). A similar literary word is **bištauata**, var. **bišaruata** (pl.), translated "(canal-)boats" by Lade Drower¹³⁷ and "chairs" by Sh. Abdullah. Both variants seem to complete each other, so that the original form might have been **bišaruata**; the second part might contain a foreign word אֲבִיטָא στήλη or אֲבִיטָא אֲבִיטָא (= אֲבִיטָא אֲבִיטָא) στροτεία, so that it would mean either "landmarks" or "roads" (eventually "camps"). Here belong also the name of the Mandaean temple **bimanda** *bimanda*, whose cl. pl. **bimandia** is identical with the mod. singular (§ 154b)¹³⁸, **bišaha** (DC 43: Qm. Qaštīn 89) "region", **birihā** (= **bit riha**, above) "brazier".

c) Expressions, formed with **br**, **bar** are grammatically similar to those with **bit**. They are usually treated as two words: **br razia** (AM 193: 13) "secretary", **br hbulia** "usurer", **br hulīa** "a profane animal", **br ginaiia** "a gardener", **br šibia** "captive" etc.¹³⁹. Such expressions usually form the plural with **bnia**, **abnia**, ***bnia**. **br hiia** "Son-of-Life" is written separately

¹³⁶ Cf. Drower-Macuch, Mandaic Dictionary, pp. 63 f.

¹³⁶ MG, p. 183: 17.

¹³⁷ Diwan Abatur, p. 9: ult.

¹³⁸ Macuch, ZDMG 1955, pp. 341 f.

¹³⁹ Drower-Macuch, Mandaic Dictionary, pp. 68 f.

and treated as two words, cf. also **br hiia rurbia** "Son of the Great Life", in which the adjective **rurbia** qualifies only "Life"; however, **brhiia** as a proper name is usually written together, and is to be considered as one word. In **miša br šušma hiuara** (ML 36:1 f, 86:8 etc.) "oil (child) of white sesam", the adjective "white" qualifies only "sesam".

But in some cases, there is manifest indecision as to whether such expressions are to be considered as two words or a compound. The well known Aramaic expression **br anaša** "a man", "an individual" has two plurals: 1. **bnia anaš(i)a** (as two words) and 2. **bar anašia, barnašia** (as one word) "people". A later singular form **barnaša** "man is regularly written together as one word. In mod. Mandaic *barnāša* is a compound; its pl. is *barnāšan(a)*, cf. **atun barnašan šihiana** (Morg. 273:18) "the governor's people came". **br angaria**, var. **br 'ngaria** (AM 120:19) "lunacy demons" is a plural in spite of **br** (while the Syr. pl. is *bnay eggārē*). In **bazira** "seed" (< *bar zar'ā*), mod. *bāzra*, pl. **bazrania** (§§ 145, 171, 172a) both words were completely fused together (as in Talm. בורנא, בורנא).

The Parthian *bagōd*¹⁴⁰ (Aram. פרגודא, Gr. παραγαύδης, παραγαύδης, παραγαῖδης, παραγαύδιον) "curtain" was changed by popular etymology to **br guda** (§ 30). Its plural is unknown, but it could hardly be anything else than **br gudia**, although both parts are written separately, and the expression was even misunderstood as "member of a company", "companion" (ML 136 n. 3).

d) Expressions with **riš** "head" are often treated as compounds: **riš mašknia** (Jb. 168:1 etc.) "chiefs-of-the-sanctuary", in which the plural of **mašknia** affects the first part **riš**. Singular forms: **rišaga** "chief", "lord"¹⁴¹; **rišama rišamma** "head-of-the-people" (a rank higher than *ganzoβra*)¹⁴²; **rišdara** "chief-of-the-age" (a rank higher than *rišamma*)¹⁴³. All these expressions would form the plural as **riš mašknia**. Here belong mod. expressions like *riš tofrā* "penny" (lit. "top-of-the-fingernail"), *riš tofrī* "a penny"; *riš*

¹⁴⁰ Widengren, *Iranisch-semitische Kulturbegegnung*, p. 91.

¹⁴¹ Drower, *JRAS* 1937, p. 610 n. 3.

¹⁴² Drower, *MMII*, p. 173. Gl. 99:13 explains it as Ar. *sayyid*, pl. *sayyidin* — *ducs*. Not to be confused with the homographical **rišama rišama** (from RŠM) "daily prayer", cf. mod. *rišām qerā* "he prayed".

¹⁴³ Both compounds are occasionally written separately: **riš ama**, **riš dara**. In Gy 353:17, 356:4 **riš daria** is used with a different meaning of ὁ ἀρχων τοῦ κόσμου τούτου. cf. Lidzbarski, *Ginzā*, p. 371 n. 5.

karāyī “toe” and even *bāḍerīše karāyī* “heel” (i. e. “the hind part of the foot”). They can be compared with P. *sar-bāz*, *sar-dār*, *sar-hang*, *sar-tīb* etc.

When an expression, formed with “head”, is morphologically considered as two or more words, **riša** is usually in the status emphaticus and followed by **ḡ-**, cf. **riša ḡ-šidta** (AM 258:17) “the first day of the year”; **riša ḡ-šurbta** (Gy 26:7, Jb 146:7) “the head of the generation”; **riša ḡ-ṭuria** “mountain-top”; **riša ḡ-iahra** “the first day of the month”; **riša ḡ-riš** (DC 37, 1. 71) “top of the head”; **riša ḡ-šbata** (Gy 217:3) “finger-tip(s)” etc. Even a status absolutus can be followed by **ḡ-**, e. g. **riš ḡ-kraiaia** (= **riša ḡ-kraiaia** = **riš kraiaia**) = mod. *riš(-e) karāyī* (above). Such expressions can be compared with P. *sar-i kūh*, *sar-i dirahṭ*, *sar-i mīz* etc.

(The frequent **Idardaria** εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰῶνων is written and considered as one word.)

e) Expressions with **rab**, corresponding to Ar. *raʿīs*, are, as a rule, treated as two words: **rab maksia** Morg. 245 (78: ult.) etc. “the chief customs official”; **rab ziua** (Gy 373: 8, ML 188: 8) “of great splendour”, “chief of the beings of Light”; **rab bauata** (ML 173: 6 etc.) “the Great of the prayers” etc. So is the mod. **rab ganabana** (Morg. 277: 1) *rab gənāβāna* “the chief of the thieves”. Nevertheless, in **šitin rab hailauata** (Morg. 259/9: 9f) “60 army-captains” the expression “army-captains” is a compound.

f) Compounds with **la** “not”, “un-”. Nöldeke¹⁴⁴ quoted **laṭabia** (var. **laṭibia**) “monsters” (formed as P. *nāḥōš*). In the postcl. language there might have been, at least, one expression, formed in the same way: **lašauia** “bad”, “inconvenient” (P. *nāšāyistab*), quoted eight times in the Glossarium but consistently in a defective way without the *halqa* after I¹⁴⁵.

g) With numerals: **habšaba** *beβšabbā* “Sunday” (< *ḥaḍbšabbā*, § 36f); the mod. pl. *beβšab(b)āni* was already literally used (§ 171). The names of other days of the week are also compounds, cf. **trin habšaba** *trēn beβšabbā* “Monday, mod. *trē-šabbā*, pl. *trē-šab(b)āni* “Mondays” (cf. P. *dō-šanbah-hā*); **tlata habšaba** “Tuesday”, mod. *klāḍa-šabbā*, pl. *klāḍa-šab(b)āni* “Tuesdays” etc. The literary language has longer forms (AM 107: bottom, 133), in which the numeral is followed by the full **habšaba**; the colloquial has shorter and more logical forms, in which the numeral is followed by a mere *šabbā*. The plurals of other names of week-days have not been found in literature, but

¹⁴⁴ MG, p. 187: 12 ff.

¹⁴⁵ Gl. 29: 2, 31: 15, 44: 7, 85: 6, 95: 9, 97: 5, 153: 14, 159: 4.

they would most probably have followed the pattern of **habšabania** and correspond to their modern plurals.

- h) The expression *artiβel* "the earthly world" must be considered as a compound, although it cannot be inflected because of its nature, § 231, 1.
 5 The cl. **arqa d-tibil** was obviously considered as two words, § 29. So might have been also **tibil arqa**, cf. H. אַרְצוֹ תִּבְלָא, Prov. 8:31.)

i) With prepositions: Mod. *qamā qamēθa* "beforenoon" and *xelef qamēθa* "afternoon"¹⁴⁶ (corresponding to Ar. *qabl az-zuhr* and *ba'd az-zuhr* Both are often used as adverbial expressions (§ 273 end).

- 10 Two different words for "behind", "after" are used in two mod. compounds for the hind parts of the body: *bāθeriše karāyi* "heel" and *pasfoqotta* (§ 151).

6. Inflexion of Nouns.

- § 153. Mandaic has two genders: masculine and feminine; two numbers: singular and plural; three *status*: *absolutus*, *constructus* and *emphaticus*. Their formation an use correspond to other Aramaic dialects.

§ 154. The endings of the forms mentioned are:

a) In the classical:

		Sg.			Pl.		
		st. abs.	cstr.	emph.	st. abs.	cstr.	emph.
20	m.	—	—	-a -ā	-in -ēn	-ia -ī	-ia -ī
	f.	-a -ā	-at -aθ	-ta -tā (-θā)	-an -ān	-at -āθ	-ata -āθā

b) In mod. Mandaic:

		Sg.			Pl.		
		— (or -ī)	— (or -e)	-ā	-āni	-ān	-āna ¹⁴⁷
25	f.	-ā (or -ī)	-aθ (or -θe)	-tā (or -tī)	-āθī	āθ	-āθa
					(-āθ, -āni)	(-āθ, -ān)	(-āna)

¹⁴⁶ *qamaita qamēθa* occurs in liturgical texts, cf. **brahmia d-qamaita** (Morg. 11: ult.) "in the noon devotions". The word is to be completed in Drower-Macuch, *Mandaic Dictionary* 401 b (after *qamaita*).

¹⁴⁷ The ending *-āni* is often used as a plural-ending also in mod. Syriac, cf. *šimōni, yūmāni, jūrāni mendiyāni* "names, days, hills, things" etc).

§ 155. The status emphaticus lost its original function, the determination, already in the classical, and became a normal type of the substantive. The masc. sg. has no ending in the st. abs. and cstr., but in the classical both often have a different structure (§ 157); in the colloquial, both are regularly formed by a mere dropping of the ending *-ā* of the st. emph., and their inner structures are identical. 5

The special mod. singular ending *-ī* is sometimes found already in the classical¹⁴⁸ and esp. in the postclassical language. In some cases it can be explained by confusion with the homophonous and almost homographical suffix of the third person singular *-ih̄ -ī*. But this explanation would hardly suffice or be possible in all cases. In addition to the examples I quoted in ZDMG 1955, pp. 341 ff., there are: **bit kabišia ḡ-bazira** (Gy 387:2) “the content of *one* κερπίθῆ (Ar. *qafīṣ*) of seed”; **kḡ kudania b̄mhara ukḡ gumla bzmamia** (DC 40. 1. 354) “like *a* mule (or “mules”?), but parallel with a singular noun!) by the guiding-rein (?) and like a camel with the bridle; **qaziza rgigia** Jb 139:9 “fine silk”; **qlidia . . . bsap̄tia matnit** Jb 138:10f. “thou hast put the keys . . . in *a* bag” (Lidzbarski differently: *an Ketten*, as he was puzzled by the apparent plural-form; one bag, or chest was probably sufficient for the keys); **šamšia ḡ-marai** (Jb 128:1,5) “the sun of my Lord” (read **šamših̄** ?); **daštia ṭabia** (ŠQ no. 430) “good entrance” (: **dašta** = **dišta** 2, § 161); **gaṭinia kankuzia** (or **-ih̄** ?) (AM 8:17) *gaṭinye kankūzi* “his chin is slender” etc. As to older classical examples of adjectives with the ending *-ī*(*ye*), cf. § 105. This ending, corresponding to the P. *yā-yi waḥdat*, can be considered as a means to secure the idea of absolute singleness for the status absolutus, which, otherwise, implies only the idea of indetermination. This *ī*, added to the mod. pl. ending (*ān + i*, or fem. *āṭ + i*), implies simply the idea of indetermination (cf. P. *yek čizḥā’ī*) and plays the role of the classical st. abs. pl., so that the modern use of the cl. endings of the st. abs. pl., *-ēn* (m.) and *-ān*, is limited only to the participial forms in the 3rd p. pl. pres. 25

¹⁴⁸ Cf. Macuch, ZDMG 1955, p. 358:34f. The example ‘**lana ḡ-kulḥ mandia** (ML 67:3) is still constructed as a plural (cf. here § 252), but as an example of unity in plurality which we can practically render only by a singular (cf. also **lhad ḡ-kulḥ ‘utria** § 252) it shows that the step from the cl. plural to the mod. singular (cf. mod. *mandī* and *bimandī* “a cult-hut” as “a single house-of-Manda”) might have been quite short. As to **bzausia** (Gy 106:7, 286:17) “as *a* (single) wife”, there is no doubt that this apparent cl. plural-form means to be no proof of Adam’s polygamy. — On the other hand, real plurals are often constructed as singular, cf. Syntax n. 65. 30

The classical feminine endings are still regularly used; the status emphaticus of inanimate objects (and sometimes also of animals) is often replaced by the status absolutus (as it could be also in the classical). Such colloquial *status absoluti*, which, by coincidence, do not occur in literature, could be considered as good classical forms (e. g. cl. **tulita** = mod. *tohyā* “worm”).

Apart from the normal status constructus, there is another mod. form, consisting in adding *-e* to the status absolutus. This use recalls the P. *yā-yi iḏāfab*: *kedāβ-e hāχ gaβrā* means the same as *kedāβ hāχ gaβrā* “the book of this man”. Nevertheless, both forms are superfluous, since a mere status emphaticus, followed by a noun, can play their role as well: *bel āχ eḏḏā = belle āχ eḏḏā = bella āχ eḏḏā* “the husband of this woman”; *eḏ(ḏā) āχ gaβrā = eḏḏe hāχ gaβrā = eḏḏa hāχ gaβrā* “the wife of this man”.

§ 156. The participial forms still follow the classical rules. They are regularly used in the status absolutus:

Sg.: m. **napiq nāfeq** “going out”, f. **napqa nāfqa**

Pl.: m. **napqin nāfqen** (“*exeuntes*”), f. **napqa nāfqan**

Sg.: m. **qaiim qāyem** “standing”, f. **qaima** mod. *qīma*

Pl.: m. **qaimin** mod. *qīmen* (“*stantes*”), f. **qaiman** mod. *qīman*

The alternative cl. plural-forms: m. **napqia** (*nāfqī*), fem. **napqa** (*nāfqā*) “*exeuntes*”; m. **qaimia**, f. **qaima** “*stantes*” are not used in mod. Mandaic. These forms can be explained by § 26b, and in the masculine also by the analogy of the st. emph. pl.; they are rarer in feminine than in masculine¹⁴⁹.

When a participle in the plural is followed by the enclitic *l*, the *-n* of the plural ending assimilates to the enclitic: cl. **ma(u)zipilhun** “*mutuum dantes eis*”; **malb(i)šilh** “*vestientes eum*”. This rule is still observed in mod. Mandaic: *qāmrrelle* “they say to me”, *qāχelli* “they eat it”, *qmārqelli* “they pour it”,

¹⁴⁹ Examples of such secondary forms without the final *-n* were quoted by Nöldeke, MG § 126, p. 149: **maksilia** “they (m.) sin” etc. They are more frequent with the participles of quadriradical verbs and reflexive stems: **mdandmia** “they are silent”, **mitakšilia** “they stumble”; **mitaprišia** “they learn”; **mitkipria** “they are bound”; **mitgirbia** “they are despoiled”; But even in such cases the full forms with *-n* are often used: **msarspin** “they kindle”; **mitarm(i)din** “they become disciples”; **mitiadlin** (aside from **mitiadlia**) “they are born”. The secondary fem. plural-forms became identical with the singular: **mihidrā** “she is, or they are turned back”; **mit(i)bnia** “is, or are edified”; **mi(t)b'ia** “is, or are sought” etc.

qmaḏelle “they bring me” etc. The masculine is, as a rule, used also for feminine in such forms in both the classical and the modern language.

§ 157. The status absolutus and constructus in mod. Mandaic are, as a rule, formed by a mere dropping of the ending of the status emphaticus. The original classical formations gave way to simpler vocal structure in many cases.

a) Simple formation: cl. **‘uṣar** “treasure”, “thought” (from **‘uṣra**, § 141); **ṣipar** “sparrow” (from **ṣipra**) = mod. *ṣopar* “duck” (mod. st. emph. *ṣoprā*, § 128); cl. **ṣauar** “throat” (from **ṣaura**, § 134c); **alam** (from **alma**) “world”; cl. **atar** (from **atra**) “place” etc. When the noun ends with two consonants, the consonantal group is divided by a help-vowel in the status absolutus and constructus. This rule is still followed in mod. Mandaic, esp. when the second consonant of the group is a liquid.

Forms with an original vocalisation are the participles, cf. **napiq** (from **napqa**, § 156); further **lbuš** *elboš*, *elboš* “garment” (from **lbuša** *elbūša*, *elbūša*); **bab** *βāβ* “door” (from **baba** *βāβā*); **nhur** = mod. *nūr* “light” (from **nhura** = mod. *nūra*); **riš** *rīš* “head” (from **riša** *rīša*); cl. **‘dan** “time” (from **‘dana**); cl. **‘lan** “tree” (from **‘lana**); **sumaḳ** *somāḳ* “red” (from **sumaqa** *somāqa*); **hiuar** *howār* “white” (from **hiuara** *howāra*) etc (but **akum** *ākōm* — **‘kuma** *okūma* “black”).

b) A diphthong is regularly contracted in the status absolutus. According to some modern forms, the difference between the status emphaticus and the status absolutus was often merely graphical, since the diphthong was contracted already in the status emphaticus, where it is still written: **bit** *bēḏ* (st. abs. and cstr.) — **baita** *bēḏa* (st. emph.) “house” (both pronounced with *ē*); cf. also **gu** *gu* (st. abs. and cstr.) and **gaua** *guwwā* (st. emph.) “interior”. As for **ium** *yōm* “day”, the contraction was graphically expressed already in the cl. st. emph. **iuma** *yūmā*. In all such forms the contraction was previously achieved in the cl. status absolutus. In spite of these frequent nouns, one could hardly affirm that the same happen in cl. **dur** (from **daura**) “dwelling”, or in **sup** (from **saupa**) “end”. The traditional pronunciation, preserving the diphthong in the st. emph., may be confirmed by the pronunciation of **taura** *towrā* “bull”, which occurs only in the st. emph. in the classical, but has a mod. st. abs. **tōr** (as in Syriac), which could be considered as a good classical form (cf. s. e).

- c) A great number of classical nouns formed the status *absolutus* and constructus by suppressing the vowel after the first radical, which was then pronounced as *æθli menda* with a prosthetic vowel. This formation, producing a change in the vocal structure of the noun, was abandoned in mod.
- 5 Mandaic: cl. **mlik** (from **malka**) “king” = mod. *malk* (emph. *malkā*); **dbar** (from **gabra**) “man” = mod. *gaβr* (emph. *gaβrā*); **kras** (from **karsa**) “belly”, “uterus” = mod. *kars* (emph. *karsa*); **bsar** (emph. **bisra**) “meat”, “flesh” = mod. *besar* (emph. *besrā*); **dnab** (emph. **dinba**) “tail” = mod. *denaβ* (emph. *denβa*); **knap** (emph. **kanpa**) “wing” (= mod. *gaβ*, emph. *gaβpā*).

- Further examples from the classical¹⁵⁰: **spar**, **aspar** (emph. **sipra**) “book”; **dbar** (emph. **dibra**) “field”; **gpan** (emph. **gupna**) “vine”; (**ʾ**)**guan** (emph. **gauna**) “colour”, “kind”, “appearance”¹⁵¹; **špil** (emph. **šapla**) “miserable”; **skil** (emph. **sakla**) “foolish”; **zban** (emph. **zibna**) “time”¹⁵²; cl. **bgan**
- 15 “outery”, “anathema” (whose st. emph. [= Syr. *bagnā*] is unknown). A st. emph. of cl. **psan** in **psan ʿda** (Oxf. III, 12a = ML 184: 10), translated by Lidzbarski “palm of the hand”, is also unknown, since there is no relation between this word and **pisnia** (Gy 118: 18, 196: 22; ML 221: 2) “tunes”, “songs”¹⁵³.
- 20 Forms with *u*: cl. **špur** (emph. **šupra**) “beauty”. ʿ**utra** *oθrā* “genius”, “angel” (originally “wealth”) has no cl. status absolutus. Nöldeke¹⁵⁴ and Brandt¹⁵⁵ saw a st. abs. of this noun in the proper name **abatur aβāθār** “Abathur”, which would have a formal analogy in **aba d-ʿutra** (Gy 93: 14, Q 4: 19 etc) but with the material difficulty that the title is not applied to Abathur. In
- 25 spite of this difficulty there is an obvious similarity between **aba d-ʿutra hatiqa rama kasia nṯira** (ML 64: 2 = CP 48: 7) “the old, lofty, concealed, safeguarded Father of the uthras” and **abatur hatiqa rama kasia unṯira**

¹⁵⁰ MG, p. 151 f.

¹⁵¹ An Iranian loan-word, cf. P. *gūn*.

¹⁵² Syr. *zahnā* < OP. *zrvāna*, Akk. *simānu*, Ar. *zamān*.

¹⁵³ Nöldeke (MG, p. 151 with n. 3) and Lidzbarski (Ginzā, p. 132 n. 6, ML, p. 221 n. 1) discovered the meaning only by the context. I hope not to be far from the truth by suggesting a derivation from ψαλμός: the Gr. ψ was divided by an auxiliary vowel; λ might have passed to *n* according to § 27, and *m* as the final radical might have been apocopated according to § 26 a.

¹⁵⁴ MG, p. 152: 2, 182 n. 3.

¹⁵⁵ MR, p. 51: 28.

(ML 16:13 = CP 15:4 etc). As no better solution¹⁵⁶ of the problem has been found, we shall have to be satisfied with the suggestion of the two named great mandaeologists.

d) St. abs. of the forms פְּעוּל (and *fa''ūl*) preserves the original vocal structure, which was changed in the st. emph.: **nahur** *nābar* (emph. **nahra** *nābra*) “radiating”; **taqun** *tāqan* (emph. **taqna**) “firm”, “clear”; **ianuq** *yānoq* (emph. **ianqa** *yānqa*) “child”; **zapur** *zāfor* (emph. **zapra** *zāfra*) “stinking” **napuš** (emph. **napša**) “great” etc. A st. emph. *zappūrā* could survive as facultative, cf. **zapuria** (Gy 37:1 A, as a var. of **zapria**). A full form of **taqun** is preserved in the st. emph. fem. sg. **taqunta** and in pl. **taqunata**. The adjective **harup** (§§ 65 b, 73 end, 74 c) preserved its full form in the st. emph., **harupa**, fem. **harupta**.

e) From roots פְּ״ל: The ending **-ia** was used in the classical for all three states. Nevertheless, in some cases the st. abs. and cstr. were distinguished from the st. emph., cf. **dkia** (*edχī*) = Syr. *dkē* and **dakia** (*daχyā*) = Syr. *daḵyā*. Modern nouns still follow this classical model: **bolī** (st. abs.) — **holyā** (st. emph.) “tea”, “sweet(y)”.

The st. abs. of cl. **šania** “wonderful” is **šanai** (var. **šnai**).

Nöldeke’s distinction between the st. emph. and the st. cstr. of **maria** “Lord”, “master” as מַרְיָא and מְרִיָא, according to the context¹⁵⁷, must be right as to the original pronunciation. The usual colloquial pronunciation is *māre* in both cases, but there is also a mod. st. cstr. *mār* formed from **mara** *māra* (= מַרְיָא), used exactly with the same meaning as **maria**. The analogy of *mār* — *māra* is followed by other simplified nouns from פְּ״ל, cf. **her** — **herā** “excrement” (but a mod. st. abs. *herī*).

A mod. st. abs. of cl. **hizua** (Morg. 248/83: 6, ML 78: 8, Jb 110: 13, Gy 10: 6 etc) “view”, “aspect” (occurring only in the st. emph.) would follow the analogy of mod. *rebew* — *rehwā* “air”, “wind”.

§ 158. Some classical nouns occur only in the status absolutus; some others only in the status emphaticus. In mod. Mandaic both states are formed

¹⁵⁶ Andreas’ artificial etymology (cf. Brandt, *Jüdische Baptismen*, p. 147; Lidzbarski, *Jb*, p. XXIX) doubted by Nöldeke (ZA 1916, p. 157) and refuted by Pallis (MSt, pp. 111 × 114) is made still more improbable by the pronunciation of the name (although it exactly corresponds to the title of Abathur: **q-muzania** “of the Scales”).

¹⁵⁷ MG, p. 152: 18 ff.

in a very simple regular way. An attempt to complete the missing cl. forms by those known from mod. Mandaic would then put us on a wrong tack.

Cl. *niš “somebody”¹⁵⁸ has only the st. abs. Cl. *ṣurik* “ray(?)” (Nöldeke), “discharge” (Lidzbarski) occurs only in the st. cstr. (*ṣurik hiia*, *ṣurik ziaa*,
5 *ṣurik dmu*)¹⁵⁹.

Proper names have, as a rule, only the st. abs. The names of planets are also used in the st. abs. *šāmeš* “sun” is preferably used in the st. abs. (also as an appellative), although there is a st. emph. *šamša šamšā*, cf. the forms
10 *atra q-larba šamš(i)h* (Gy 371: 17, Gs 11: 5, Jb 45: 8, 57: 15, Oxf. 56a =
ML 227: 8, CP 193: 4) “place, the sun of which does not set”. On the other hand, the appellative *sira serra* “moon” is always used in the st. emph. in the classical; its mod. st. abs. is *ser*. The planet-name *sin* “Moon” naturally has no status emphaticus.

The names of the signs of the Zodiac occur only in the st. emph., but
15 so far as they are used as common nouns, they have a mod. st. abs. and cstr.:
‘mbra embara “Aries” — *embar* “sheep” (§ 23a); *taura towrā* “Taurus” —
tōr “bull”; *sartana, ṣartana saršana* “Cancer” — *saršan* “crab”; *aria aryā*
“Leo” — mod. “lion” only st. emph. (but a secondary st. abs. can be *aryi*,
according to § 154b); *šumbulta šombolṭa* s. § 23a; *qaina qeyna > qēna*
20 “Libra” (§ 76b) — *qēn* “reed”; *arqba arqoḅa* “scorpio” — *arqoḅ* “scorpion”.
The others are not used as common nouns.

There is not st. abs. of *narga* “axe” (although a nowadays Mandaean would not hesitate to give it as *narg*) and *iardna* mod. *yardānā* “running water” (although it could easily be formed). *arqa ara* “earth” has no cl. st. abs. and
25 cstr.; but a mod. st. cstr. occurs in the colloquial compound *artiḅel* (§§ 28, 152i). Cl. *tira (tīra)* “door” has no status absolutus. *miša mešša* “oil” has a cl. st. abs. and cstr. *mša*, but mod. Mandaic replaced it by *meš*.

§ 159. Forms with fem. endings¹⁶⁰:

a) Adjectives:

¹⁵⁸ MG, p. 151 with n. 1.

¹⁵⁹ Nöldeke, MG, p. 150 with n. 3; Lidzbarski, ZDMG LXI, p. 694 n. 1. The original meaning “need” was only partly understood by Mandaeans when they borrowed this word as an emanational technical term (Mand. ṢRK = צרן “to cry”). Nevertheless, the original meaning is still preserved in *ṣurik dmu* (ML 219: 5 = CP 179: 9) “any need” and in the adjective *ṣrik* (Gy 335: 2) “needy, humble”.

¹⁶⁰ MG § 128.

Cl. **dakia** (st. abs.) — **dakita** (st. emph.) “*pura*”; **halia** — **halita** γλυκεῖα
 = mod. *beliyya* (*beliyyī*) — *beleyḏa* (*beleyḏī*) “*pulchra*”; cl. **qāšia** — **qāšita**
 “*dura*”; **ən'ia esnī** — **esnita** *seneyḏā* (*esneyḏā*) “*foeda*” (aside from cl. *saina*,
 § 76b); cl. **ks'ia** (Gs 111: 2) — **ksita** “*occulta*”; cl. **abia** “*crassa*” (a st. emph.
 does not occur) etc. The analogy of these adjectives (from “*l*”) was followed
 by some cl. *status emphatici* of adjectives ending in *-ān*, which used to insert
 an *ī* before the fem. ending: **mbasmanita** “*odorata*”, **planita** “*aliqua*”, **šalma-**
nita (var. **šalmantia** “*integra*”. As the var. **šalmantia** proves, the forms with
 an inserted *ī* were merely facultative, cf. other forms without insertion:
 cl. **tiniantia** “*secunda*”, cl. **mašiantia** “*temptress*”, **hurintia** mod. *horenta*
 (*horentī*) “*alia*” etc. But *y* reappears after *n* in pl.: **huriniata** *horinyāḏa* “*aliae*”,
 mod. *boninyāḏa* “*parvae*” (from *hanentā*, *hanentī*).

Aside from *-tā*, there is *-tī* as an ending of the adjectival status emphaticus.
 Both are completely facultative. The ending **ת**, occurring also in the Baby-
 lonian Talmud, may be considered as a speciality of Bab. Aramaic¹⁶¹. It
 is still living and used more frequently than in the classical: cl. **rabta**, **rabtia** —
 postcl. **rapta**, **raptia** = mod. *raftā*, *raftī* “*magna*”; **hiuarta**, **hiuartia** = mod.
bowarta, *bowartī* “*alba*”; mod. *okumta*, *okumtī* (= Talm. אורכמתי “*nigra*”; cl.
šartia (= Talm. ווררתī) “*parva*”; cl. **kadabt(i)a** “*mulier mendax*”; cl. **ša-**
pirt(i)a = mod. *š(ə)ḃirta*, *š(ə)ḃirtī* “*pulchra*”, “*bona*” etc. This ending was
 rarely used with the substantives; there is only one such example **hizirtia**
 (Gy 217: 23) “*sow*” (fem. of **hizura** mod. *hozūra* “*pig*”). Nevertheless, there
 could be some more adjectival substantives, as **kadabtia** (above).

b) Substantives:

The three states are most easily recognizable in the fem. substantives. 25

In the st. abs. the fem. ending, as a rule, disappears. This loss affects
 also the cl. abstr. ending *-ūḏa*: **zaku** (emph. **zakuta**) “*victory*”, **aqu** (emph.
aquta) “*distress*”, **ṭabu** (emph. **ṭabuta**) “*goodness*” (all as in Syriac). However,
 the rule of dropping the *ḏ* of *-ūḏa* was not strictly observed, since there
 are also **haimanut** *haymanūḏ* “*faith*” and **našīrut** *našīrūḏ* “*Našoræism*” (both
 still used). So far as such nouns still live in mod. Mandaic, they follow the
 latter pattern: **asuta** *asūḏa* “*health*” has a mod. st. abs. *sūḏ* (§ 149a). Mod.
 abstract nouns, ending in *-oḡta* (§ 149b), have only the status emphaticus.

The ending *-ḏa*, preceded by *i*, was dropped in **biria** “*street*” (< Akk.
ḃērēšī), cf. **biria** “**liṣa** (CP 110: 15) “*a narrow street*” (§ 29); pl. st. emph. **biriatā**. 35

¹⁶¹ Ibid., p. 154 n. 2.

Cl. **haduta** “joy” has a st. abs. **hadua**; cl. **mnata** “portion” — st. abs. **mna**.

Examples of the st. cstr.: cl. **mdinat** “town” (emph. **mdinta**); cl. **gina** “garden” (emph. **ginta**); cl. **rahmut** “love” (emph. **rahmuta**); cl. **haduta** (emph. **haduta**, above); cl. **mnat** (emph. **mnata**, above); **mat māṭ** (emph. **mata māṭa** “land”, “city”, still used) etc.

§ 160. Feminine nouns without feminine ending¹⁶²:

a) The natural gender is expressed in a few cases by different stems: cl. **ab**, **aba**, mod. *bāβ*, *bāβa* (*bāβe*) “father” — **m**, **ma** mod. *em*, *emmā* “mother”; cl. **hmara** (var. **himara**, **hamara**) “he-ass” — cl. **atana** “she-ass”¹⁶³.

b) Mandaic, as a rule, treats the names of animals as feminine. This use is known also from other dialects, esp. from Syriac: cl. **aqna** “sheep” is fem. (as Syr. *‘ānā*, *neqyā*), (but another word for “sheep” **mbra** mod. *embar*[a] forms a fem. *embarta*, similarly to Syr. *emmartā*; **arqba** *arqobā* “scorpion” (as Syr. *aqrḅā*); cl. **šipra** mod. *šopṛā* “bird”, mod. *ārβa* (postcl. st. abs. **arnab**, [AM 131: ult.] “hare”, mod. *ubra* “mouse” (< *uqbārā*, § 45) are used either as masc. or fem., but the fem. is preferred. The last one might be considered as a st. abs. fem., since a special fem. form (𐤍𐤒𐤓𐤕𐤔𐤕, Syr. *uqbartā*) was forgotten. So is mod. *tolyā* (< *tawlā‘ā*, cl. st. emph. **tulita**) “worm”. **nza** *enzā* “goat” is fem. in spite of a masc. pl. **nzia**. But **aria** *aryā* “lion” is used as masc. in spite of the pl. **ariauata** *aryawāṭa*. As to **gumla** *gomla* “camel” cl. and postcl. pl. **gumlia**, mod. pl. *gomlāna*, and other animal-names, they follow the natural gender; when it is unknown, they are preferably used as feminine (as in Syriac), cf. **gumlia ṭinan zahba** (ŠQ 19: 3) “camels are laden with gold”.

c) Names of the parts of the body, esp. those forming a pair, are feminine (as in other Semitic languages): cl. **udna**, mod. usually *onna* in spite of the st. abs. *odon*, “ear”; **aina** mod. *īn*, *īna*, “eye”; cl. **iad**, **da**, mod. *īd*, *īda* “hand”; cl. **draiia** “arms” now replaced by P. *šānda*, *šānde*, used also as fem.; cl. **kraiiia** (du.), mod. *kerāyī*, shortened *kerā*, pl. *kerāyān(a)* “legs”; **šaqa** *šāqā* “limb”; cl. **ligra** “foot” (replaced by *rīš kerā[yī]*, which is masc. because of *rīš*); cl. **kadpa** “shoulder” **kanpa** “arm” and **ganpa** mod. *gappā* “wing”;

¹⁶² MG § 128.

¹⁶³ The designation of natural gender by words of two different stems in both mentioned cases is already proto-Semitic, cf. Brockelmann, VG I § 226, p. 416.

qarna qurnā “horn”; **burka** mod. *bork(ā)* “knee”; cl. **dupna** and **šida** “side”; cl. **halša, haša** “hip”, “loins” = mod. *bašša* “back”; **karsa karsa** “belly”, “uterus”; **šina** mod. *šen(na)* “tooth”; cl. **hišra** “the little finger” as well as cl. **šbita, šbata ošbāšda** (with fem. ending, and mod. *kilik*, cf. *kilik rašta* “thumb”, *kilik domāyenta* “index”, *kilik hanenta* “the little finger”);⁵ only *kilik mingāyī* “the middle finger” and *kilik čartāyī* “the ring-finger” are formed with the help of Persian adjectives without fem. ending); **šura šor(rā)** “navel”. As to the parts of sexual significance, mod. *gelda* “testicle” is fem.; *dond(a)* “penis” masc.; *hošša* “vulva” fem. **dinba denβa** “tail” is usually masc. (as. Syr. *dunβā*). **iamina yamīna** “the right hand” and **smala (e)smāla** “the left hand” are feminine. But there are some nouns, which are feminine in Syriac and masc. in Mandaic: cl. **anpia** mod. *appā* “face”; **kabda kaβda** “liver”; cl. **qba** “heel” (replaced by *bāḏerīše kerāyī* or *čāz*, which are also masc.); **nhira enhīra** “nose”, which is masc. in Syriac is used in Mandaic in either gender.¹⁰

15

d) Vessels, instruments and all kinds of inanimate objects are, as a rule, fem.: cl. **duda**, mod. *qazyan* “pot”; cl. **arba** “ship” (orig. “trough”) = mod. *ārβa* also “streamlet”, “stove”, “stalk” (aside from “hare” s. b); cl. **kauila** “ark”; **glala galāla** “stone”; cl. **gargul**, st. emph. **gargla, girgla** “circle”, “sphere”, figuratively “rumbling, thunder” (but pl. *ga/irgla* is²⁰ masc.); cl. **astira** (Gy 387: 3) “gold coin”; cl. **qina** “nest” (replaced by *dok[ke] šoprīna* = P. *ğāy-i gunğiške*, which is masc. because of *dok*, § 162); **mhaṭa** mod. *mabaṭṭa* “needle”¹⁶⁴, *mašūra* “broom”, *mašβa* “rope”, *maṭarqa* “hammer”, *meserqa* “comb” (although the literary *masirqa* and *masara* “saw” might have been used as masc.); **kasa kāsa** “bowl”; cf. also **ia qaranbia**²⁵ **raptia** (Morg. 276: paen.) *ye qarambī raftī* “a big melon” etc. With my informant, Šābūrī, I examined a great number of names of inanimate objects, and the rule never failed. Even Persian loanwords: *mīz* “table”, *čāqū* “knife” etc. are usually treated as fem. Šābūrī wrote to me: **šam al-dulab tibrat** “the glass of the window broke” (where **šam** “glass” = P. *ğām* is used as a³⁰ fem. subject). But this usage is not as consistent as it might seem. In another place Šābūrī wrote: **šarka arabana lir qakil** “the wheel of the wagon is turning” (where **šarka** = P. *čarb* is used with a masc. subject). This inconsistency is attested already in the classical, where the names of many inanimate objects are used as masc., although they are treated as fem. in other dialects:³⁵

¹⁶⁴ Gl. 31: 12.

kīpa “bank” masc. (unlike Syr. *kēpā*); **harba**, **hi-** “sword” is often used as mac. (while H. *חַרְבַּן* is fem., Syr. *ḥarbā* usually fem., Ar. *ḥarb* “war” fem.); **ʿṣtla** “garment” masc. (differently from *ḥ* *στολή*) etc. **atra** “place”, originally masc., was later used also as fem.¹⁶⁵.

- 5 e) Earth, its parts, heaven, underworld, regions of the heavens, elements, meteorological phenomena, soul and spirit are of fem. gender: **arqa** “earth” (as Ar. *ard*, Syr. *arʿā* and usually also H. *אָרְצָה*); **tibil** “*orbis terrarum*” (as Syr. *tēḥēl*, H. *לְעוֹלָם*) as well as the mod. compound *artīḥel* (§ 152h); cl. **mšara** (Gy 284: 10) “district”, “zone” (as Talm. and Ar. loanw. *mašārah*)¹⁶⁶; **aina** *īna* “source” (as well as “eye” s. c); **uhra obrā** (mod. st. abs. *obor*) “road”; cl. **gīrb(i)a** “north”; cl. **timia** “south”; cl. **madna** “east”; lit. **marba** “west”; **nura nūr(a)** “fire” (cf. **nura haita**, Jb 51: 14, “living fire” as fem., but **nura akla**, *ibid.*, “devouring fire” as masculine). **nhura** “light” is masculine: so was **šraga** “lamp” (cf. **ušragia ḡ-nhura lahaškia**, Jb. 45: 8f, “and the
15 lamps of light do not darken”; **daiik šraga** AM 254: 4, “the lamp is quenched”), cl. **aduga** and **tanur(a)** “oven” and cl. **pasimka** “lamp”. But mod. *čerāγ* “lamp” is used as fem. (: *čerāγ edakkeat* “the lamp is quenched”, cf. also s. d).

The names of the underworld: cl. **guhnam** (= *ܩܘܢܡܐ*) and **(ʿ)šiuł** (= *ܫܝܘܠ*)
20 are fem. Further fem. nouns are: cl. **arpila**, **anana** and **aiba** mod. *eyβa* “cloud”. Here belongs also **huš** (Gy 198: 5, 7, 273: 10) which seems to designate “the Great Sea”, “Ocean” (**huš rabtia**) of unknown etymology¹⁶⁷. Cl. **(ʿ)šumia** “heaven” is used as singular feminine without any further plural (cf. **arqa u šumia baṭlan** Jb. 46: 3 etc. “earth and heaven will vanish”¹⁶⁸); but
25 **rqīha arqīha, raqīha** “sky”, which drove it out, is masc. in both the cl. and the mod. language. **ruh, ruha rūb, rūba** “spirit”¹⁶⁹ (whose st. emph. is used as a proper name of the mother of devils) as well as **napša** and **nišma** (§ 162a) “soul” are feminine. **mahra** “illness” is used in mod. Mandaic as feminine: *mabra tāmmat* (*e*) *lāwayχ* “thou hast become ill”.

- 30 Cl. **šamiš šameš** “sun” is usually masc., but in **ḡ-larba šamšḥ** (§ 158) it is used as fem.; the mod. *šameš*, *šamšā* is fem., cf. *šameš qanāšqa* “the sun is coming out”, *šameš qagānya* “the sun is setting”. **sira** mod. *ser*, *serrā* “moon”

¹⁶⁵ MG, p. 158f.

¹⁶⁶ Cf. Fränkel, p. 129.

¹⁶⁷ Cf. MG, p. 161 n. 2; Lidzbarski, *Ginzā* 198 n. 5.

¹⁶⁸ Cf. Mat. 5: 18.

¹⁶⁹ Cf. **kulhin ruhia bišata** (CP 22: 3) “all evil spirits” etc.

is masc., cf. *ser qanāfeq*; but in the classical it might have followed the same rule as *šamiš*, cf. *šamiš usira baṭlin* (Jb. 46: 4) “sun and moon will vanish” (masc., but B. *baṭlan* fem.); *šamiš usira bakin* (Jb 109: 11, 122: 12 etc) “the sun and the moon weep” (both masc.).

Cl. *atra* “place”, originally masc., was later used as fem. (s. d), perhaps by the influence of the pl. *atrauata*¹⁷⁰. Similarly note *alua* “tendrill, leaf”, pl. *aluata* (§ 170).

mihla “salt” is used as fem., cf. *mihla 'kumtia anat lau hiuarta marirtia anat lau halaitia* (DC 40, 1. 92 ff.) “salt, thou art black, not white, thou art bitter, not sweet” and *mihla pt pšar* (JRAS 1937, p. 592: 2) “melted salt” (lit. “salt daughter of melting”, but *mihla anat mara* (sic) *alahia* (DC 40!) “salt, thou art lord of gods”).

The names of plants are usually masc. (while in Syriac they are fem.): *gupna* “vine” (as Talm. נִצְנָא, H. נִצְנָא; Syr. *gupnā* is fem.); the OP loan-w. *uarda* was used as masc. (cf. *uarda ana br bhiria*, Gy 275: 15) “I am a rose, a son of the chosen ones”; *uarda natar*, Jb 167: 5, “the rose falls apart”; *uarda hiuara hu uarda sumaqa hu*, DC 41, “it is a white rose, it is a red rose”; similarly another P. loan-w., used in mod. Mandaic: *gol* “flower” (cf. *gul hiuara*, ŠQ no. 460, *gol howāra* “white flower”, *gol somāqa* “rose” as a literal translation of P. *gul-i sur ḥ*).

f) Foreign words: *p(a)langa* = ἡ φύλαγξ; *(a)šlanda* = τὸ σκελετόν; *nsisa* = ἡ νόσος; *margna margānā* “ritual staff of the Mandaean priest” = ἡ μάργανα (Phl. *mārgan*) are feminine.

g) Further insistence on establishing rules would be useless. Many nouns are treated sometimes as masc., sometimes as fem., e. g. cl. *hilpa* “separation” is masc. in Gy 263: 16, fem. *ibid.*: 15, 20 (cf. also above, esp. s. d and e). Some others are used as masc. in the singular, as fem. in the plural (cf. *šum, šuma* “name”, pl. *šumhata*) or vice versa (cf. cl. *kinta* “covering”, pl. *kininia, kin'nia*, §§ 169f.).

§ 161. In some nouns, the *t*, belonging to the root, was considered by the popular etymology as a fem. ending: cl. and postcl. *šauta* (< Syr. *šēbtā* < Akk. *šibūtu*) “brightness”; cl. *šta* “base”, “fundament”, “buttocks” (cf. H. *ṣṣ*, pl. *nṣṣ*). Here belongs postcl. *dišta* 1 (frequent in AM) “desert,

¹⁷⁰ MG, p. 159 with n. 2.

prairie" (< P. *dašt*)¹⁷¹, different from **dišta 2** which is a *fa'ilab*-form from DUŠ "to tread" > mod. "to enter" (cf. **dišta q-h' baba** AM 254: 15 "entrance, i. e. door") and in which **-ta** is a proper feminine-ending. The former occurs in a st. cstr. **dašt**, var. **dišat** (Gy 390: 12), the latter in a st. abs. **diša** 5 (: **baita q-ladiša** Gy 216: 11 "house without door"). A literary pl. of the former is **dištata** (AM 227: 10, ATŠ no. 253); a mod. pl. of the latter is *deštāna*, *deštāni* (**dištia ṭabia**, § 155, is a special mod. singular).

In spite of Nöldeke's indecision¹⁷², here may belong **mat**, **mata māθ**, *māθa* "land", "town". The *t* remains in the st. abs. and cstr. in the cl. 't, 10 '**i(i)t** "Being", in which a separation of *t* from the root is unimaginable. This noun is used as fem. in '**iit** '**laita** (Gy 185: 1) "the High(est) Being", but as masc. in '**t rba** (Gy 258: 12) "the Great Being".

§ 162. Nouns with fem. ending treated as masc.:

a) In the st. abs. When the ending is dropped, the nouns are used as masc.: 15 cl. **mdin** "city" (from **mdinta**); '**ngar** "letter" from '**ngirta**); **hiua** "animal" (from **hiuta**), although in the st. emph. they are always used as fem. These forms resulted from a confusion of the st. abs. fem. with the st. emph. masc.: **mdina** was taken as a st. emph. masc., and a new st. cstr. **mdin** was formed 20 as from a masc. noun (instead of the original **mdinat**). Two such nouns, which lost their original fem. gender, are consistently used in mod. Mandaic as masc.: 1. Cl. **dukta** "place" became **duk**, **duka dok**, *dokkē*¹⁷³; its mod. pl. is *dokkēana* (the cl. was **duktata**); the postcl. pl. **dukia** is now used as a special singular-from. 2. Cl. **nišimta** (var. **nišmta**) "soul" was used as **nišma nešmā** (st. emph. masc.) already in literature alternatively with the st. 25 emph. fem. **nišimta**; the latter was forgotten, and only *nešmā* with a mod. st. abs. and cstr. *nešem* remained. Nevertheless, the mod. pl. *nešmāθa* corresponds to the classical. Perhaps the cl. **hidua**, **hadua** (§ 149a) is also to be considered as a secondary st. emph. masc.

A singular of **siblia** "ladders (which in Gy 208: 2ff is used as 30 masc.) is **sumbilta**; **sbal** (Gy 86: 1) "my ladder" might then represent a secondary st. abs. sg. (cf. § 169 with some further examples of this kind).

¹⁷¹ MG, p. 161:9; Widengren, *Iranisch-semitische Kulturbegegnung*, p. 92.

¹⁷² MG, p. 161:10.

¹⁷³ Gl. 33:12, 155:8, 10.

The cl. st. abs. **dmu** (of **dmuta** “likeness” and **ḡbu** “something” (of **ḡbuta** “thing”) are considered as masc. These forms make a transition to those quoted s. b.

b) Nouns with the cl. abstr. ending *-ūḏa* are often treated as masc.: **dmuta** “likeness” in Gy 236: 15, Q 30: 9; **msuta** “condensation” in Gy 5 94: ult (where it must be a mistake)¹⁷⁴, **maḡuta** “indulgence” in Gy 119: 14; **buta** “prayer” is regularly used as masc. The use of **asuta uzakuta** as masc. was canonized by the greeting formula **asuta uzakuta nihiuilak** (§ 149), so that every Mandaen would be amazed to hear the correct **tihuilak**. In **asuta uzakuta uhatamta uzarazta unaḡarta rabtia ḡ-šrara nihiulai** (Morg. 10 255/1: 29 ff, 256/4: 23 ff) “health and victory and sealing and protection and great safeguard of firmness be mine”, the verb is masc., although all nouns preceding are fem. Nevertheless, the *Qm. Qašṭīn* (ms. belonging to Šābūrī) has the correct **tihuilia** after the same nouns. Even the quoted *Qm. ḡ-Hibil Zīna* sometimes has the correct **asuta tihuilia** (Morg. 256/1: 21, 257/5: 23 = 15 1st 1. under the picture). A charm, published by Lidzbarski, has **naṡra uasuta uzakuta thuilḡ** (Florilegium 352: 2f) “guard, victory and safety be unto him”, although the first noun is masc. These and similar examples belong to Syntax (§ 298).

§ 163. Classical plurals¹⁷⁵:

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The endings of the st. cstr. and emph. masc. pl. became identical, and are traditionally pronounced *-ī*. Moreover, in many cases, the dropping of the final *n* (§ 26b) affected the ending of the st. abs. pl. and made it identical with that of the st. cstr. and emph. Nevertheless, in some old formulas, there is consistently *-in* in the st. abs.: **hiia zakin** (*heyī zāḡen*) “Life is victor- 25 ious”, **mšabin hiia** “Life be praised!”, **qaiamin hiia** “Life is constant”.

In the fem. pl. there were no substantial structural changes, only the final *n* of the st. abs. is often apocoped. The inner vowels are syncopated before the plural-ending: **birkata** “blessings”, **nišmata nešmāḏa** “souls”, 30 **nuḡbata** “females” (from **birikta**, **nišimta**, **nuḡubta**); with metathesis (§ 52): **qihdata** (from **qidihta** “outcry”).

¹⁷⁴ MG, p. 161 n. 4.

¹⁷⁵ MG §§ 131 ff.

§ 164. Plurals formed by the repeating of the last radical¹⁷⁶: **amamia** “nations” and also “ells” (but the latter also **amia**, Gy 380: 12 f.)¹⁷⁷, **iamamia** “seas” (aside from **iamia**), **sadadia** (var. **sadia** “blocks”, **bibia** “fruits”¹⁷⁸, **kin(’)nia** “coverings” (from **kinta**); **tanania**, var. **taninia** “*Tannas*” (from **tana**, possibly an abbreviation of **tanura** “oven”, but used with the meaning “container”¹⁷⁹. About the dissimilated **minilia** “words” cf. § 27.

In later Mandaic¹⁸⁰, the *r* as last radical is often repeated in the plural: **miṭraria** (AM 231: 22 etc.) “rains” (earlier pl. **miṭria**); **iahraria** “months” (earlier **iahria**); **sidraria** “books” (earlier **sidria**); **mahraria** (AM 8: 11) “illnesses” (aside from **mahria**).

A fem. plural with a repeated *n* is **ainaniata**, **aini-** (aside from **ainata**).

§ 165. As Nöldeke rightly noted¹⁸¹, the ending *ayyā* is found only in the cl. **mia** traditional pronunciation *meyyā* “water”, since **šnia** “years”, **bnia** “sons”, **dmia** “price” are traditionally pronounced *ešnī*, *ebnī*, *edmī* and not *šnayyā*, *bnayyā*, *dmayyā* (as in Syriac). Although *i* is, as a rule, doubled in the plural of derivatives of ‘’**ḥ** the ending **-iia** is pronounced **-yī**: **ṭabiia** (Gy 387: 16 *ṭāḇyī*) “gazelles” (the var. **ṭabia** is poor, since it is identical with the sg. *ṭāḇyā*; **gadiia** (Gy 187: 6 AB), “goats” (var. **gadia** identical with the singular. The doubling of *i* is much more frequent in the plural-ending of adjectives from ‘’**ḥ**, where there are sometimes even three *aksa*’s after each other: **kasiia** (var. **kasia** like sg.) “*occulti*”; **dakiia** (var. **dakia** like sg.) “*puri*” etc.¹⁸². There are also some later forms of this kind, ending in *n*: **mištriin** (Gy 353: 21 A) and even **mištriiin** (Ibid. B, for **mištrin**), “*soluti*” etc.¹⁸³. Parallel with **mšin**, **mš’in** there are also rarer forms **mš’iia** (Gy 214: 26) and even **mš’iian** (Gs 43: 6) “those who can”, “who are able”; **kriiia** (Gy 382: 6) “*accumulati*”; **qr’ia**, **qr’iia** (Gy 272: 3) “*vocati*”; **tl’iia**,

¹⁷⁶ MG § 132.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 163 n. 2.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid., p. 163 with n. 4.

¹⁷⁹ Cf. MG, p. 163 n. 3; Brandt, *Mandäische Schriften*, p. 138 n. 7; Lidzbarski, *ML*, p. 19 n. 3, *Ginzā*, p. 151 n. 3; Kraeling, *JAOS* 53, pp. 162 ff.; Jeffrey, *Foreign Vocabulary of the Qur’ān*, pp. 92 ff.

¹⁸⁰ MG § 137.

¹⁸¹ MG, p. 164: 1 ff.

¹⁸² MG, p. 164: 14 ff.

¹⁸³ MG, p. 164: 19 ff.

tlīia (Gy 198: 16) “*suspensi*”; **sagiia** “*multi*” etc¹⁸⁴. Nevertheless, simple forms with a single *akša* are frequent.

Forms with a double *akša* are extremely rare in the fem. pl.: **ksīia**, **ks'ia** (Gy 93: 20) “*occulatae*”; **bn'ia** (Gy 10: 17) “*aedificate*” occur only as variants of **ksia**, **bnia**¹⁸⁵ etc.

5

The ending *-ia* was preserved as an old dual ending in three words: **muzaniia** (aside from **muzania**) “balance” (: beams of the balance), **draiia** “arms” and **kraiiia** “legs”. In the last one which is still used and pronounced this ending is considered as a mod. sg. ending.

§ 166. Plurals ending in *-(a)wāḏa*

10

a) Derivatives ʾʾ^h¹⁸⁶: **asauata** (Q 24: 14) “healers” (from **asia**) is identical with “medicines” (from **asuta** s. b); **marauata** “lords” (from **maria**), whose st. abs. has a *rī akša*: mariuan Syr. *mārawān* (§§ 51 a, 244 a); **šaquata** (Gy 107: 6) “cup-bearers”; **lilauata** “nights” (from **lilia**) apart from a rarer **liluiia**, which may be a special singular form: “(at) night-time”¹⁸⁷; **karsauata** 15 “thrones” (from **kursia**); **susauata** (var. **sasauata**) “horses” (from **susia**); **ariauata** “lions” (from **aria**); **aglauata** “waves”; **šaruata** (Morg. 259/9: 14), var. **šaruata** (DC 44) “exorcists” (from **šaraia** “exorcist”).

b) The abstract ending *-ūḏa* becomes *-(a)wāḏa* in pl.: **malkauata**, less often **malkuata** “kingdoms”; **ṭabauata** “good things”: **bišauata** “wicked 20 deeds, thoughts”; **gambuata** (ML 68: 4 etc.) and **gabaruata** (Gy 28: 16, 281: 11) “mighty deeds”; **dmauata** “forms”; **bauata** “prayers”; **šiṭuata** “follies”; **zakuata** and **zakauata** “virtues”, “victories”; **as(a)uata** “medicines” (identical with “healers”, s. a.); **šaruata** “banquets” (homonymous with “sorcerers”, s. a) from ***šaruta** (cf. Targ. שָׂרִוּת, Syr. *šārūlā*, mod. Mand. 25 **šarukta**, § 149 b).

c) From other nouns: **atuata** “signs” (from **ata**); **matuata** *māḏwāḏa* (still used as a plural of great number) “cities” (from **mata**); **rišauata** (Gs 85: 2, 3) and **rišauata** “heads” (from **riša**, masc.); **ahuata**, less often **ahauata** “sisters” (from **ahata**); **mnuata** “parts” (from **mnata**). The mod. plural of 30 **bit**, **baita** *bēḏ*, *bēḏa* is *bēḏwāḏa* *bēḏwōḏa* (instead of the cl. **batia** = Syr.

¹⁸⁴ MG, p. 165: 5 ff.

¹⁸⁵ MG, p. 165: antep. ff.

¹⁸⁶ MG § 134.

¹⁸⁷ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 166 n. 2.

bāṭē, H. 𐭀𐭆𐭇, §§ 172 b, 173). But there is only *nuria* “fires” and *libia*, *libbia* “hearts” (unlike Syr. plurals ending in *-wātā*).

§ 167. Plurals with the endings *-āṭa* and *-yāṭa*¹⁸⁸.

The ending *-āṭa* is the most regular ending of the st. emph. pl. It becomes regularly *-yāṭa* after *n* (cf. § 159a), less often in other cases, in some of which the simpler ending *-āṭa* is facultative:

a) ‘*umamata* “oaths” (§ 72a); ‘*uhrata* “roads” (from ‘*uhra*); *karsata* “bellies”, “*uteri*” (from *karsa*) etc. Preceded by *n*: *šalmaniata* “*integrae*”, *girbaniata* “*leprosa*”, ‘*limaniata* “girls”, *dirdquniata* “*parvulae*”, *hiuaniata* “beasts”, *riqiniata* “*vacuae*”, *daštaniata* “women in menses”, *huriniata* “*aliae*”, *mdiniata* “cities” etc.

b) Other examples with (*-āṭa*), *-yāṭa*: *tarmidiata* (Gy 288: 5) “wives of priests” (originally “*discipulae*”); *haraš(i)ata* “witches”; *gaiar(i)ata* “adulteresses”; *kašum(i)ata* (Gs 30: 22) “women diviners”; *qadišiatā* (Gs 33: 20) “*sacrae*”; *hidut(i)ata* “brides”; *niṭupiata* “drops” “celestial spouses” (from *niṭupta*); *ṭmuš(i)ata* “(total) ablutions”; *ptiliata*, “wicks”; *pasuhiata* “steps”; *gduliata* “curls” (from *gdulta*); *šqupiata* “blows” (from *šqupta*); *parahiata* (Gy 4: 5) “sparks” (a sg. **parahta* has not been found); *šalahiata* (Gy 4: 6) “rays” (a sg. **šalahta* does not occur); *dinibiata* (from *dinba*, § 160c); *šidiriata* (Gs 9: 9) “ropes” (sg. unknown); *biriata* (Gy 12: 19) “cattle” (from *bira 2*, § 160b); ‘*ngiriata* (Gs 7: ult.) “letters”; *garṭupiata* (Gy 134: 19) “cutting implements”; as well as from all nouns ending in sg. with *-ita -eyṭa* (§ 150b).

§ 168. Plurals formed by adding *-ṭā* to the status emphaticus of feminine nouns:

Some short feminine nouns form the plural by a simple adding of a second *-ṭā* (: *ṭā*) to the fem. ending of the singular: *dišta* “field”, “plain” — pl. *dištata* (AM 177: 1); *qašta* “bow” — pl. *qaštata*; *dukta* “place” — pl. *duktata* (apart from later forms, § 162a). But even *mašbuta* “baptism” forms a plural *mašbutata* and *mašbutiata* (§ 20 n. 4). From **susta* (fem. of

¹⁸⁸ MG § 135; cf. Merx, ZDMG XXII (1868), p. 274, and Nöldeke, *ibid.* XXIII (1869), pp. 293f.

susia) there is **sustata** (DC 44, 1. 1054) and **sistata** (DC 40, 1. 153) "mares" (apart from **sasauata**, **susauata**, **susiauata**, **susiata** and **sisiaata**).

§ 169. Feminine nouns with a masculine plural¹⁸⁰: **humria** "rosary-beads" "amulet-spirits" (from **humarta**); **dimia** "tears" (from **dimihta**, **dimita**), but the mod. plural is *deme ḏyā ḏa*; **tikia** (Gy 221: 6, AM 155: 13 etc.) "zones, haloes" (from **tikta** "belt")¹⁹⁰; **šnia** (*ešni*) "years" (from **šidta**); **šaiia** "hours" (from **šita**), but in the colloquial the forms *šāya*, *šāyī* are used as singular; **minilia** and **minlia** "words" (from **milta**, **minilta**); **ginia** "gardens" (from **ginta**); **šumbilia** "spikes" (from **šumbilta**); **kin'nia**, **kinnia** "cover(ing)s" (from **kinta**); **spia** "lips" (aside from **spihata**, from **sipta**); **sikia** "ploughshares", "darts" (from **sikta**); **siblia** "ladders" may also be considered as a pl. of **sumbilta** (§ 162a); **tumria** "dates" (from **tumarta**).

The following nouns mostly occur only in the plural, but their singulars in other dialects end in *-tā*: **kauia** "apertures" (from Syr. *kāwtā*, Talm. כווחא); **amia** "ells" (from *amṭā*; **saria** "hair" and "barley" (from *s'arṭā*), but *sārī* is used as a colloquial singular; in the same way **hiṭia** "wheat" (from *hiṭṭā*, H. חִטָּה), mod. *heṭṭī* is used as singular; **arqia** "thongs" (from *'arqā*). So far as these nouns are still used, they are considered as singular, and new st. abs. cstr. are formed from them as from substantives of masc. gender (§ 162a). The postcl. language already knew certain *status emphatici* sg. of the above nouns, cf. **arqa** (DC 26, 40 and 44) "bond, band" and **kaua** (DC 40, 1. 528) "hole (of the dove-cot)".

There is no certain pl. of **libta** "brick" (< לבניתא), but the only form one could expect would be ***libnia** (cf. ליבני, Syr. *lebne*, H. לְבָנִים), formed from the st. abs. **libna** (Gy 387: 7, Q 54: 23).

§ 170. Masculine nouns with feminine plurals (and *vice versa*; some of them with two or more plurals)¹⁹¹:

aina "eye", "source" (fem.) has three plurals: **ainia**, **ainata** and **ainaniata**. **kadpa** "shoulder" and **qarna** "horn" (both fem., § 160c), have masc. pl. **kadpia** (in Syriac both *katpē* and *katpātā*, H. כְּתָפוֹת) and **qarnia** (unlike Syr. *qarnāṭā*, H. קַרְנוֹת). Nöldeke¹⁹² considered them as original dual forms. He

¹⁸⁰ MG § 139.

¹⁹⁰ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 172 with n. 1; Fränkel, p. 55.

¹⁹¹ MG § 138.

¹⁹² MG, p. 170 n. 3.

might have been right, although the normal dual-ending is *-aiia -āyi* (§ 165 end). The original dual of these nouns became identical with the more usual plural-form (as in *šilmia*, ‘*dia* and ‘*spia*, below).

The Aram. ܫܠܡܝܐ, ܫܠܡܝܐ occurs in Mandaic only in pl. *šilmia*, “idols”.
 5 *šilmia šalmī* “*Gemini*” (= Syr. *trēn salmē*) favours Nöldeke’s theory about the remains of dual forms ending in *-ī*.

There are two masc. nouns, forming the plural with the ending *-(a)hāḏa*:
abahata “fathers” and **šumhata** “names” (both as in Syr. *abāhāḏā* and *šmā-*
bāḏā, aside from *šmābē*). Fem. nouns with this plural-ending are: ‘**dahata**
 10 “hands” (as in Syriac), **spihata** (varr. ‘**spihata**, **sbihata**, **sbahata**) “lips”.
 Aside from these forms, there are also shorter forms ‘**dia** (as in Syriac) and
 ‘**spia**¹⁹³.

The most usual plural of **arqa** “earth” is **arqahata**; other, less usual
 plurals are mentioned in § 173.

15 **atra** “place” and **alua** “tendrils”, which were originally masculine, form
 the plural **atrauata** and **aluata**.

A plural form **anašata** is used for “family”.

§ 171. Plurals formed with *-ān*.

I purposely reserved this paragraph for the conclusion of the discussion
 20 of the classical plurals, since it forms a transition to the modern formation
 of the plural. The ending *-ān*, which occurs only in a limited number of
 masculine plurals in literature, became the most common modern plural-
 ending.

Classical and postclassical plurals with this ending are as follows¹⁹⁴:
 25 **rihania** “fragrance” (from **riha**); **busmania** “perfumes” (from **busma**);
mišania *mešāni* “oils” (from **miša**); **samania**, **simania** “medicines” (from
sama); ‘**ušan**ia “leaves” (from ‘**uša**); **bazrania** *baḏrāni* “seeds” (from **bazra**,
bazira). Hitherto all nouns quoted have a related meaning: plants and their
 products. But there are also some other nouns with this plural-ending:
 30 **habšabania** *beβšab(b)āni* “Sundays” (from **habšaba**) like in modern Man-
 daic¹⁹⁵ (§ 152 g); **hizuania** “visions” (from **hizua**); **r(a)bania** “teachers” and

¹⁹³ Nöldeke overcame his doubt as to whether ‘**spia** is a du. (MG 171 n. 4) in his *Beiträge zur sem. Sprachw.*, p. 58 n. 1.

¹⁹⁴ MG § 136.

¹⁹⁵ Cf. **habšabanak** (ŠQ 19:31 = DC 53 p. 241:8) “thy Sundays” etc.

rurbania “magnates” (from **rba**); **pihtania** “sacramental breads” (from **pihta**). Most of them form the plural in the same way also in Syriac. The foreign word (**a**)š**ualia** (*a*)š**walya** “novice”¹⁹⁶ has the pl. (**a**)š**ualania**¹⁹⁷ (*a*)š**walāni**. **baba** “door”, “section” is used with a mod. plural **babania** in DC 43 B, 1. 36f.; the P. loan-word *dīwān* also has a mod. plural-ending in **diuanan napšata** (CP 99: 10 and often in colophons) “many diwans”.

§ 172. Modern plurals:

The cl. plural-ending of the masculine gender **-ia** has become a special singular-ending (§ 155). The ending **-ān** (§ 171) has become the normal plural-ending, which can be added even to fem. nouns, although some cl. fem. endings still remained. Heteroclitite cl. plurals (§ 173) almost completely disappeared and gave way to simple formations.

a) Plurals with **-ān**:

1. From masc. nouns: *kedāβāna* “books”, *goβrāna* “men” (from *gaβ[a]r*, *gaβrā*), *gænāβāna* (Morg. 276: 16, 22) “thieves”, *bellāna* “husbands”, *mešāna* “oils” (§ 171), *qaurana* (Morg. 279: 14) *goβrāna* “tombs”, *dokkāna* “places” (from *dok*, *dokka*, § 162a), *ap(p)āna* “faces”, *ošmāna* “names”, *ebrāna* “sons” (the cl. heteroclitite pl. **bnia**, § 173, is not used), *yebrāna* “months”, *yanqāna* “children”, *soysāna* “horses”, *lilyāna* “nights”, *mēnāna* “waters”, *mendāna* “things” (from *mendā*, § 174), *baṣrāna* “seeds” (§ 171), *horināna* “others”, *bānināna* “parvi” etc.

2. From fem. nouns without the fem. ending: *obrāna* “roads”, *kearsāna* “bellies” (see also s. b); *odnāna*, *onāna* “ears” (from *odna* > *onna*); *šenāna* “teeth”, *borkeāna* “knees”, *gap(p)āna* “wings”; **kraiania** (Morg. 275: 16) *kerāyāni*, *kerāyāna* “legs” (from *kerāyī*, §§ 160c, 165 end); *īdāna* “hands” 25 (see also s. c) etc.

3. From nouns with the fem. ending: *māṭhāna* “lands”, “cities” (see also s. 4 & s. b); *šetāna* “years” (from *šetta* = **šidta**; cl. heterocl. pl. **šnia** is rarely used); *hāṭhāna* “sisters” (from *hāṭha* < cl. **ahata**, s. b & § 173); *barattāna*

¹⁹⁶ Cf. Petermann, *Reisen im Orient* II, p. 464; Lidzbarski, *ML*, p. 6 n. 2; E. S. Drower, *MMII*, pp. 148 ff.

¹⁹⁷ Cf. **šualanak** (CP 241:10) “thy novices”. There is also a fem. pl. **šualata** (DA) “female attendants”.

“daughters”, *seftāna* “lips” (from *sefta*, § 173), *šoβaxtāni* “fingers” (aside from *šoβaxγāθa*, s. b) etc.

4. The ending *-ān* is sometimes added to cl. plurals: **matuata** (s. b) forms a plural of great number *māθwawāθāna* “many cities”. From the heteroclite cl. pl. **’nšia** “women” (from **’nta**, mod. *eθθā*, § 173) there is a mod. pl. *inšāna*, which shows that the heteroclite cl. plurals are now considered as insufficient to express an idea of plural. (Šābūrī affirmed that there is also a pl. *eθθawāθa* [s. b] in the Šuštārī dialect). Otherwise, *enšī* has taken the function of the cl. **’niš** “somebody” (§ 173).
- 10 b) With fem. endings *-āθa*, *-γāθa*, *-wāθa*: *bēθwāθa*, *beθwōθa* “houses” (different from cl. **batia**, §§ 166c, 173); *arqoβāθa* “scorpions”; *honinyāθa* “parvae”, *horinyāθa* “aliae”; *šβiryāθa* “pulchrae”; *esneyāθa* “horridae”; *marawāθa* “lords” (as in the Cl.); *karsawāθa* “bellies” (given by Šābūrī, aside from *karsāna*); *abwāθa* “sisters” (aside from *hāθāna*, s. a3 & § 173); *heywanāθa*
- 15 “animals” (from *heywān[a]*); *demeθyāθa* “tears” (from *demeθθā*, different from the masc. cl. pl., § 157); *šoβaxγāθa* “fingers” (aside from *šoβaxtāni*, s. a3 & § 70); *inwāθa* “eyes”, “sources” (different from cl. plurals, § 170).

- c) The ending *-ūθa* is used only with a few nouns to form the plural of great number. It can then be added to the plural-ending *-ān*: *yanqanūθa* “many children” (from *yanqāna*, s. a1) etc. The same ending is used to form the plural of the derivatives from **’h**, as *seniūθa* “horridi” (from *esnā*). Šābūrī gave me even *idyūθa* “hands”, which might also be considered as a plural of great number (a more common plural being *īdāna*).

7. Irregular Nouns¹⁹⁸

- 25 § 173. a) Nouns from biradical roots (§ 115) show some peculiarities of inflexion, which were simplified in the mod. language:
- Cl. **aba** “father”, before suffixes **abu-**, with the suff. of the 1st p. sg. **ab**, pl. **abahata** (replaced by mod. *bāβ*, *bāβa*, with suff. *bāβε* etc, pl. *bāβāna*).
- Cl. **aha** “brother”, before suffixes **ahu**, pl. **ahia**; mod. *ab*, *aba*, with suff.
- 30 *abe* etc, pl. *abāna*.
- Cl. **ahata** “sister”, pl. **ahuata**; mod. forms in § 172a3, b.

¹⁹⁸ MG §§ 148—150.

Cl. **anaša** is used as a genitive in **br anaša** "man" and as a pl. **anašia** "people"; coll. *barnāša* "man", (*a*)*nāš(a)*, (*a*)*nāš(i)* "people". The cl. plurals **bnia anaš(i)a** or **bnat anaš(i)a**, later even **br našia**, **brnašia**, were driven out by a simple *nāš(i)*. Cl. st. abs. 'niš "somebody" has been replaced by *enšī* (or *barnāšī*, § 152c).

bra, 'bra (sporadically **abra**) *bra*, *ebra* "son", st. cstr. **br**, less often *plene bar bar* has a heteroclite cl. pl. **bnia**, 'bnia, **abnia** (*ebnī*), driven out by a homoclite mod. *ebrāna* (§ 172a1). Fem. **brata** *baratta*, cstr. **brat** *barat* "daughter" also has a heteroclite cl. pl. **bnata**, less often 'bnata (*ebnāθa*), cstr. **bnat**, replaced by the homoclite *barattān(a)* (§ 172a3). Aside from **brat** (= Talm. 10 *נרָב*) there is a literary form **pt**, which is closer to the Syr. *ba(r)t* and used especially between two proper names. When it is used with common names, such expressions are always to be considered as two or more words (never as compounds), cf. **pt zamarta** "a singing-girl > prostitute", **pt haria** "a freeborn woman", **pt ūhma** "a girl from his family".

liba "heart has a frequent pl. **lilbia** (apart from the rarer regular **libia**).

From 'nta "woman" there is no certain cl. st. cstr. The form **atuat** defying precise morphological explanation, may be considered as a st. abs. of both singular and plural, cf. the frequent **atuat q-** (Jb 54: 13, ATŠ II no. 211 etc) 20 "a woman who", **kul atuat** (Gy 22: 3f.) "every woman" etc; as pl.: **halin atuat** (DC 40, DA) "these women". The cl. pl. st. emph. is 'nšia (*enšī*). Mod. forms: sg. *eθ*, *eθθā* (written 'tta in magical texts¹⁹⁹; special mod. sg. 'tia, Morg. 273: 1, is pronounced *eθθī*; a transitional form is 'ntta, Florilegium 362: 150); pl. *inšāna*, *eθθawāθa* (§ 172a4).

bit, **baita** *bēθ*, *bēθa* "house" has a cl. pl. **batia**; mod. pl. *bēθwāθa*, cf. **baitauata** (DC 46, p. 65: 14).

Apart from the usual pl. **arqahata** "lands" (from **arqa**) there are two doubtful forms **arqahia** and **arqia** (Gy 8: 10, 9: 6 etc). Nöldeke's correction of these forms to **rqiha**²⁰⁰, followed by Lidzbarski in his translation of *Ginzā*, 30 is confirmed by Sh. Abdullah's copy, which has **rqihaihun** "their firmament". *Arqīha* can be written with or without the prosthetic vowel.

Cl. **mai** (*māy*) "water", pl. usually **mia**, less often **maia**, st. cstr. and before suffixes **mai-**; mod. *mēn*, *mēna*, pl. *mēnāna* (§ 172a1, here s. b).

¹⁹⁹ Cf. Pognon, Une incantation contre les génies malfaisants en mandalite, p. 13 Lidzbarski, Mandäische Zaubertexte, III, p. 97 n. 6.

²⁰⁰ MG, p. 171 n. 3.

Cl. **'da** "hand", after proclitic prepositions **-ida**, a rarer form of the st. emph. **'ida**, st. cstr. **iad**, before suffixes **'d-**, pl. **'dia** and **'dahata**; mod. forms in § 172a2, c.

About **sipta** "lip" cf. §§ 159end, 172a3; with suff. (**'**)**span** "our lips";
5 about **minilta**, rarely **milta** "word" § 27.

maria, mara "Lord", "master", before suff. **mar** (**marai māre** "my Lord"), pl. **marauata marawāṭa**, st. abs. **marian**, st. cstr. **marai** = Syr. *māry* (§§ 157e, 166a, 172b). Fem. **marta** mod. *marṭa, marṭī* "mistress".

rba rabbā "great", st. abs. and cstr. **rab rab**; fem. **rabta**, later **rapta**,
10 **raptia**, mod. *rāfta, rāftī*; cl. pl. **rurbia**, fem. **rurbata**, with the meaning "teachers" **r(a)bania**; but there is also a shorter pl. **rbia** (cf. the parallel expressions **hiia rbia** and **hiia rurbia** "the Great Life"). The mod. pl. *rabāna* is used also for. fem. (cf. *goṣrān rabāna u-inšān rabāna* "great men and great women").

15 The cl. **dirdqia** (varr. **dardqia, darduqia**) "*parvi*" is formed by a reduction of the whole biradical root (as **rurbia**), accompanied by dissimilation (cf. Syr. *daqdqē*), which also took place in Talmudic and Palestinian dialects as well as in the Ar. loan-word *dardiq*, pl. *darādīq*²⁰¹. This dissimilation is explainable by § 195 f end, j. Diminutive forms of this adjective are **dirdqunia**
20 "*parvuli*" and **dirdquniata** "*parvulae*" (both in Gy 387: 12 and DC 20).

b) *Pluralia tantum*: **hiia beyyi** "Life" (as in H. and all Aram. dialects). When Life is referred to as "Great", "Father" etc, the adjectives and substantives concerned are always plural: **rbia** "the Great (Life)", **abahatai** "my Father" (lit. "my fathers") etc.

25 **mia** "water" (s. a & § 165) also follows the H. and Aram. uses (𐤎𐤓, Syr. *māyā*). Nevertheless, mod. *mēn, mēna* is singular (§§ 115, 172a1).

gangarata gangarāṭa "throat" is used in pl. as H. 𐤂𐤓𐤁𐤓𐤁𐤓 (not as mod. H. 𐤂𐤓𐤁𐤓𐤁𐤓, Syr. *gargarṭā*)²⁰². **dmia** (Jb. 145: 11) "price" is plural as in Syriac (§ 165).

§ 174. In the classical there was an inflexible noun **mindam** "something"²⁰³. A later form of this noun is **minda** (§ 26a) "thing", "something".

²⁰¹ MG, p. 185 n. 1; Fränkel, p. 111.

²⁰² The singular **gangarta** (ATŠ no. 244) is exceptional and therefore doubtful.

²⁰³ Nöldeke, MG § 150; ZDMG XXV, pp. 292 f.

The cl. pl. **mindia** *mendī* is now used as a st. abs. sg., corresponding to P. *ܡܢܕܝܐ*²⁰⁴. A mod. pl. is *mendāna*, *mendāni* (quoted in Gl. 33: 2).

8. Nominal Forms Before Possessive Suffixes.

§ 175. Nominal forms with possessive suffixes were quoted in § 106. The form of the noun before suffixes itself requires the following remarks: 5

a) The old nominative ending *u* was preserved before suff. in **abu-** “father”, **ahu-** “brother” and **hamu** (Jb. 72: 1) “her father-in-law”. With the suffix of the 1st p. sg. **ab** “my father”, but **ahai** “my brother”.

b) In all other cases the old casual ending vanished. The inner structure of the noun with a possessive suffix is usually the same as with the 10 inflexional endings **-a**, **-ia**. The suffix merely takes the place of the inflexional ending. Exceptions: **mia** — **maiaikun**, **hiia** — **haiaikun**.

§ 176. The influence of the accent seems to have been only facultative, cf. **br**, **bar** and **brai** “my son”, **brat** and **bratai** “my daughter” (§ 106a, sg. 1).

§ 177. A cl. plural before suffixes can be formally recognized only when 15 it is heteroclite, or marked by a typical plural-ending of the fem. gender. Before plural-suffixes, the plural of a masc. noun might originally be indicated by the ending of the st. estr. **-ay**, but there is no consistency: On one hand, nouns with this ending are often singular; on the other hand, nouns without it can be plural. In mod. Mandaic all confusions are avoided by 20 keeping the clear plural-ending **-ān** before the suffixes.

²⁰⁴ Macuch, ZDMG 1955, p. 358: 43f.

C. NUMERALS

§ 178. Cardinal Numbers²⁰⁵:

a) Cl.

	Masc.	Fem.
5	1. had , often hda	hda
	2. trin , 'trin	tartin , tartia (a rare var. tirtin)
	3. tlata	tlat
	4. arba	arbia (less often arba)
	5. hamša	hamiš
10	6. šita	šit
	7. šuba	šaba (less often šuba)
	8. tmania	tmania
	9. tša , 'tša	tša
10.	asra	asar
15	11. hadisar , hdisar ; 12. trisar (less often 'trisar); 13. tlasar (although a full form without syncope is still used in modern Mandaic, s. b); 14. arbasar ; 15. hamisar ; 16. šitasar ; 17. šubasar ; 18. tmanasar ; 19. tšasar , 'tšasar,	

Alternative forms of numbers 11—19 are: 11. **asra uhda** (Gy 380: 19); 20 12. **asra utrin** (Gy 263: 8 etc), fem. **asar utartin** (Gy 189: 18 etc); 13. **asar utlata**; 14. **asar uarbia**; 15. **asar uhamiš** etc. According to their forms, this alternative set of numbers was supposed to replaced the older fem. forms.

Tens: 20. **srin**, 'srin; 30. **tlatin**; 40. **arbin**; 50. **hamšin**; 60. **šitin**; 70. 25 **šubin**; 80. **tmanan** (although *tmānīn* is still used as a facultative form, s. b); 90. **tšin**, 'tšin.

For 40 and 50 there is sporadically **arbia** and **hamšia**, which may be explained by § 26b.

Compound numbers are formed by putting the units after the decades, cf. 30 25. 'srin uhamša, less often *vice versa*, cf. 28. **tmania u'srin**.

²⁰⁵ MG § 152.

Hundreds: 100. **ma**, **ama** ('**ma**); 200. **matin**, '**matin**, less often '**matia** (§ 26b); 300. **tlatma**; 400. **arbima** (var. **arbaima**); 500. **hamšima**; 600. **šitma**; 700. **šabima** (var. **šabaima**); 800. **tmanima**; 900. **tšima**, '**tšima**.

1000. **alip**, **alp**, **alpa**; 2000. **trin alpia**; 12000 **trisar alpia**.

10000. **ruban**; 60000 **šita ruban** or **šitin alpia**; distributively: **ruban** 5 **ruban** "myriads upon myriads".

b) In modern Mandaic there are little changes in cardinal numbers. Fem. forms disappeared.

1. *ehda*, *hedā*; 2. (*u*)*trēn*, *etrē* (§ 26b), (*tartā*, § 179); 3. (*u*)*tlāḏa*, *klāḏa*; 4. (*u*)*ārba*, (*araβ*); 5. (*u*)*hamša*; 6. (*u*)*šitta*; 7. (*u*)*šoββa*; 8. (*u*)*tmānya*; 9. (*u*)*ečča*; 10. (*u*)*asra*.

11. *bedassar*; 12. *tressar*; 13. *klātassar*; 14. *ārbassar*; 15. *hamassar*; 16. *šitassar*; 17. *šoββassar*; 18. *tmānassar*; 19. *eččassar*.

20. *esrīn*; 30. *tlāḏīn*, *klāḏīn*; 40. *ārbīn*; 50. *hamšīn*; 60. *šittīn*; 70. *šoββīn*; 80. *tmānīn* or *tmānan*; 90. *eččīn*.

Compound numbers are formed by putting the units before the decades: 21. *ehdā usrīn*; 22. *trēn usrīn*; 23. *klāḏa usrīn*; 25. *ārba usrīn* etc.

Hundreds: 100. *emma*; 200. *trēn emma*; 300. *klāḏa emma* etc.

The usual colloquial pronunciation of **tlatā** "three" is *klāḏa*. Sh. Abdullah still preserves the original pronunciation *tlāḏa*, although he has abandoned it in *klātassar* "thirteen", in which the second **t** loses the aspiration. The coll. form of "thirteen" is more original than cl. **tlasar**. All other numerals in the set of numbers from 11—19 have contracted forms as well as in the classical²⁰⁶.

The cl. numerals for hundreds were considered as one word, and the shorter form **ma** was used to make them. In mod. Mandaic they are considered as two words, and the longer form *emma* is used without contraction. Instead of cl. **matin**, '**matin**, there is a more primitive *trēn emma*.

Higher numbers are rarely used in the colloquial. Even smaller numbers are often replaced by Persian or Arabic numerals.

§ 179. About the use of numerals with the noun counted cf. Syntax, § 267. The cl. fem. form **tartin** was originally used with fem. nouns, but then

²⁰⁶ These contractions are known also from Talmudic, cf. **חדיסר**, **חדסר**; **תריסר**; but **תליסר** and **תלתעשר**, which proves that the non-contracted mod. Mand. form cannot be considered as a neologism merely because of its non-occurrence in literature.

also with masc.: **tartinun** “both of them”, **tartinan** “both of us” etc. There are also variants **tartuinun** (Gy 146: 8, 147: 12 A) and **tartuinan** (Gy 116: 20 A) explained by Nöldeke as a corruption of ܛܪܛܝܢ²⁰⁷. However, these rigid forms are sporadic, and it is not impossible that their *wī akša* represents only an imperfect *balqa*, so that there would be the actual mod. form **tarta tartā**, which, otherwise, does not occur in literature, but which drove out not only the cl. **tartin**, but also the cl. masc. form **trin**. The latter is now used only in simple counting, while in talking only *tartā* is used: *tartā idā* “two hands”, *tartā krāyā* “two leg”, with masc. *tartā barnāšī* or *tartā gaβrā* “two men”²⁰⁸.

§ 180. The cl. **hdadia** *hadādī* “together” is formed by extension of *hda* “one” and receives a plural meaning “each other” (as Syr. *ḥdādē*)²⁰⁹. The expression is still used with the prep.: *behdādī*, *behdōdī* (: cl. **bihdadia** “in each other”), although **b** is rarely used in the vernacular as a preposition (§ 184a).

§ 181. Ordinal Numbers²¹⁰.

1. **qadmaia**, less often **rišaia**; 2. **tiniana**; 3. **tlitaia**; 4. **arbiaia**, **arbaia** (sporadically **arbiaha**, § 61 b); 5. **hamš(i)aia**; 6. **šitaia**; 7. **šubaia**; 8. **tmanaia**, var. **atminiaia**; 9. **tšiaia**, **tšiaia**; 10. **asriaia**, **asriaia**; 11. **hidasraia**, **hidasraia**; 12. **trisaraiia** etc. “The last” is **batraia**.

It is noteworthy that a form *qam(m)āya* (= Talm. ܩܡܝܐ, ܩܡܝܐ) never occurs in Mandaic, although the preposition **qam**, mod. *qam* (§ 185) is frequent. **rišaia** is formed from **riša** “head” (cf. H. ܩܫܐܐ)²¹¹. **batraia** is derived from the preposition **atar** (= Syr. *bātar*). **hamšiaia** and **asriaia** follow the analogy of **arbiaia**. All other ordinals are formed directly from the cardinals. The plural ends in **-iaia**: **qadmaiaia** “*primi*”. The fem. singular has the ending **-ita**: **qadmaita** “*prima*”; fem. plural **-aiata**: **qadmaiata** “*primae*”.

²⁰⁷ MG § 153. Cf. also mod. Syr. *tirway(bi)*, *tirwé*, Maclean, Dictionary of Vernacular Syriac, p. 326 a.

²⁰⁸ *Tarta* is quoted in Gl. 86: 5; p. 55: 1 quotes **trti** (sic), although the aspiration of the second **t** is consistently contradicted by pronunciation.

²⁰⁹ For comparison with similar Indo-European and Semitic expressions see MG, p. 349 with n. 2.

²¹⁰ § 155.

²¹¹ MG, p. 191 n. 3.

qadmaia is now used only in the stereotyped religious phrase: **hiia rurbia qadmaia** *heyī rurbī qadmāyī* “the Great First Life”. Otherwise, in the colloquial, the cl. ordinals are usually replaced by Arabic or Persian ordinals. The replacement started already in the postcl. language: **iahra aual paiiz** (Zotb. 230a: 3f.; MMII 84) “first month of autumn”, or **iahra aual bhar** 5 “the first month of spring” (where the first word is Mandaic, the second Arabic and the third Persian). The Arabic ordinals are often used with the Arabic article: **tišrin ‘i aual** (AM 261: 34), **tišrin laual** (AM 266: 44), (without the article **tišrin aual**, AM 262: 26) = Syr. *tešrīn qdem* (the last summer month); **sabε laual** (AM 268: 15) “the first week”; **mašruan altania** (AM 10 261: 37); **mašruan ltania** (AM 262: 28) “The last months of autumn” etc. Cl. **batraia** has been replaced by Ar. *aḥīr*: **tišrin lakir** (AM 266: 45) = Syr. *tešrīn* (?) *ḥrāy*.

§ 182. Fractions.

The only fractions known from literature are **palga** “half” and **rubaia** 15 “a fourth”. My hope that the colloquial would reveal some ancient forms, was not fulfilled, since all names for fractions were borrowed from Arabic, except *falg*, *falga* “ $\frac{1}{2}$ ”; cf. **tulut** (Zotb. 219 a 28) “ $\frac{1}{3}$ ” (= Ar. *tult*).

D. PARTICLES

1. Prepositions²¹².

§ 183. Both prepositions **l** = ܠ and **'l** = ܠܘ were completely confused (§ 66), so that **l** is freely used instead of **'l** and *vice versa*. Both are sometimes replaced by **al**, which is a mere graphical variant of **'l**. **l** and **al** are used proclitically, while **'l** is always used independently as a separate word (except when it is used with pers. suff.): **alak** and = both *'alayka* and *laka*; **Imana**, **almana** (Ox. III 1 b, Jb 3: 2) "*spiritum*". Nevertheless, in **alanpia** "opposite to" and **'l anpia** "on the face" the original difference of meaning still remained. Mod. Mandaic partly re-established the original meaning of these two prepositions by the pronunciation of **l** as *lo* and of **'l** as *el*, but without consistency, cf. *lohaχ mallī* and *elhaχ mallī* "he said to him".

§ 184. a) Further proclitic prepositions are **b** "in" and mod. **q, qa, qi qa, qa**²¹³ deriving from **qam** (§ 185). The cl. **b** could be joined with a following **la** to **bla** (*abla, ebla*) "without", sometimes also "against": **bla šibianun** (Gy 24: paen.) "without their will" or "against their will"; **bla zibnaihun** (Gy 223: 1) "at an inconvenient time" (lit. "in a time, which is not theirs") etc²¹⁴.

b) The comparative prep. **k**, occurring only in the cl. **kḏ** "as", "like" (as conjunction "when") and in some adverbial expressions, has no full life²¹⁵. The same must be said about the mod. **kt keḏ** and **ki ke**, which drove out the cl. **kḏ**. The first is used only in **kt km keḏ kem** "how much?"; the second as a proclitic preposition only in **kirihua kerehwā** "quickly" (§ 113 b). Otherwise, *hemke* "like", "as" is used in comparisons as an independent prep.

§ 185. All other prepositions are used as independent words before nouns, and are written together only with pers. suffixes:

²¹² MG § 158.

²¹³ Mod. Syr. *qā*, Maclean, Op. cit. 267af.

²¹⁴ Drower-Macuch, Op. cit. 65 b.

²¹⁵ MG, p. 193 n. 2.

'**lauia** (only with pers. suff., before pl.-suff. '**lauai**-). In mod. Mand. this preposition often has the meaning of "to" and its initial vowel is dropped (according to § 87): *šadder lāwī* (rarely *elāwī*) "he sent to him". In *šobah ṯāβ lāwaχ* (Morg. 280: ult.) and similar greeting formulas, the meaning "to" is still based on 'al (cf. Ar. *salām 'alaykum*).

mn *min, men* "from", "with"; with suff. **min-**, cf. **minh** *menni* "from him" and "with him". In the classical there is only one expression, in which *men* occurs without *n* (§ 26b): **milia** (*melyā*), mod. *melyā* "from where?". But in mod. Mandaic the form with *n* is used only with pers. suff.: *menne* "from me", *mennaχ* "from thee" etc. Otherwise, its *n* is always dropped in the colloquial: *mælle* "from upside", *mobarre* "from outside", *mobāθar* "from behind"; *nafaq momēnā* "he went out of the water"; *aθā momāθa* "he came from the city" etc.

Another cl. preposition, meaning "with", is '**m**. It was not used with suffixes and occurs only as a peculiarity of the XIth and XIVth book of the right Ginza. Mod. "with" is *orke*: *orke haχ gaβrā* "with that man"; with pers. suff.: *orke, orkaχ* (fem. *orkeχ*), *orkī* "with me, thee, him" etc. This preposition is often written without the initial vowel (cf. Morg. 204: 20, quoted in § 149b, s. *šboroxta*).

Cl. **luat, aluat, 'luat** "near", "close", "by", "with" (mod. *šoft*; with suff. *šoftedi* "near him", "close to him") and "toward" (mod. *šambe aχ, šaraf aχ*).

Cl. (**a**)**tutia** (= Talm. תתי) = mod. *tūθ* "under".

Cl. **qudam** and **qam, aqam** (= Talm. קמי) "before", "in front of" are used esp. with pers. suffixes. There is one form, which preserved the original *d* of קמי: **qadmu** (Gs 15: 12) "in front of them"²¹⁶. In mod. Mandaic there are only forms without *d*²¹⁷: *qam* and *qamāy*. The former is used either as an independent preposition: *qam haχ gaβrā* "for (to, before) that man", or with pers. suff., added with the help of the encl. *d*: *qamdīdī, qamdaχ* "for me, thee". The latter is followed by the pers. suff. without the encl. *d*, cf. *doθī qamāye* "come to me" (lit. "before me").

Cl. (**a**)**batar** (: Syr. *bātar*) "after"; cl. **ahuria** (= Talm. אורי) "behind". In mod. Mandaic only the former *bāθer* remained and is used with both meanings, cf. *an bāθere haχ aθīl(i)* "I came after him" and *an bāθere haχ*

²¹⁶ MG, p. 202 with n. 2.

²¹⁷ As in mod. Syriac, where *d* is not pronounced, although it is written, cf. *qā(d)m, qā(d)māyā*, Maclean, Op. cit., p. 270. This pronunciation corresponds to Talmudic (§ 181).

bewit(i) “I was behind him”; with suff. *bāðerde* “after me”, “behind me” etc. There is also a compound preposition *bāðerise* “after (me)”, “behind (me)” (= P. *pušt-i sar*).

Cl. **bit** “between” is never used with suffixes. The form is a singular fem. of ܒܝܬ (Ar. *bayna*), with a masc. plural (**a**)**binia** (= Talm. בין), fem. pl. **binat**. The last form is regularly used with suffixes: **binataian**, **binataikun**, **binataihun** “between us, you, them”. **binia** is rather used as an independent preposition, but there is also a form with a suffix, cf. **hiia mn binun qrun** (Gy 342: 4) “Life created me from Itself”. In mod. Mandaic there is only *bēn*, used with suffixes added by means of the encl. *d: bende an odayχ* “between me and thee”.

Cl. **miṣat** (= Syr. *meṣ‘at*) is a noun used prepositionally. Its mod. form is *meṣ* “in the middle”, which is often written with a non-emphatic *s*, cf. **mis ḥamama** (Morg. 273: 3) “in the middle of the bath”, but **miṣ ‘uhra** (Ibid.: 7) “in the middle of the road”.

Cl. **aminṭul** (= Syr. *meṭṭūl*) “beause of”, before suffixes **aminṭulat** (= Syr. *meṭṭūlāt*, Talm. אמטול) is replaced by mod. *qam* (above).

Cl. **akuat** and **aiak** “as”, “like” are original adverbs (“so”), which became prepositions. The former is used both as an independent preposition (Gy 180: 15), which developed into a conjunction (§ 194), and with personal suffixes (Gy 88: 4, 181: 21). As an independent preposition it can be emphasized by **ha** in **hakuat** and even **haakuat** (Gy 262: 20). The literary **kd** (§ 184b) is used with the same meaning but always as an independent preposition. All three are being replaced by *bemke* used both independently and with suffixes, cf. *bāχ bemke aryā eχtī* “he is like a lion” and *bāχ bemkeday eχtī* “he is like thee”.

Cl. **abihdia** (Gy 379: 10 etc) “near”, “by”, “with” (= Talm. בין) and **‘qaria** (var. **‘qria**) id. gave way to **aqar**, **qar**, mod. *qār*. Nöldeke²¹⁸ compared it with אקרא , being deluded esp. by **‘l qarak** (AM 156: ult.) “to(ward) thee”. In consequence, he considered the variants without a *balqa* after *q* as better. However, the word is consistently pronounced with a long *ā*. This circumstance prevents me from considering the sporadic defective variants without the *balqa* after *q* as better. Besides, this preposition has rather the meaning of the Lat. “*apud*” (Fr. “*chez*”) than that of “*obvius*”, cf. **aqar hdadia** (AM 209: 4) “*chez eux*”, **mn aqaran** (AM 230: ult.) “*de chez nous*”, mod.

²¹⁸ MG, p. 195: 19.

aθā qāre “he came to my house” (: “*il est venu chez moi*”); even **‘I qarāk** (above) may be rendered better “to thy house” than “to meet thee”. This use recalls **קָרַח בְּצֵל קָרְחִי** (Gen. 19: 8). I would, therefore, consider *qār* as a shortened form of **קָרְיָתָא** “roof”, i. e. “house” (as *pars pro toto*). Even if this etymology is not exact, the *qā halqa* in this word can hardly be attacked. The initial *halqa* in **aqar** is a mere abuse of the prosthetic vowel rather than a remainder of the preposition **עַד** or **עַל** (§ 186). Forms with suffixes in older texts are **‘qarai**, **‘qarh**, **‘qariun**, **aqariun**; in later texts: **qarai**, **qarak**, **qaran** correspond to the colloquial *qāre*, *qāraḡ*, *qāran* “to me, thee, us”.

Cl. **qabalh** (Gy 83: 3) “against him” is sporadic, but there is a more frequent **qbal**, **aqbal**, **mn qbal**, **mn aqbal** “before, in front of, opposite to” (used as both preposition and conjunction). In mod. Mandaic there seems to be no proper expression for “against”. (Šābūrī was able to give me only periphrases: *moḡāleḡ tāmā orkī* “he disagreed with him” and *βāda biša eβad orkī* “he did something bad to him”, so that the meaning “against” would be implied in the preposition *orke* “with”, preceded by an idea of “disagreement” or “something bad”). For “opposite to” the P. *barābar* is used, with the encl. *d* and the personal suffix: *barābardī* “opposite to him” etc.

§ 186. Compound prepositions are formed by combining one or more prepositions with a nominal or pronominal expression. Nöldeke attempted to explain almost all prepositions with an initial *halqa* as compounds, whose first letter “*a*” is a remainder of the prep. **עַל** or **עַד**. However, in many cases the initial *halqa* can be a mere abuse of the prosthetic vowel (§ 77). Nevertheless, Nöldeke may be right, as concerns the cl. **agambia mia** (Gy 380: 9) = **עַל פְּנֵי הַמִּים**, which he compares with the Talm. **אגב אורחא** and H. **על גבי** (Ps. 129: 3), although there are also varr. **gambia** and **ganbia**. A compound preposition is **alma** “till”, “until” (= **לְמַא + עַד** = Syr. *‘dammā*), used more often as a conjunction (§ 194). (In mod. Mandaic it was driven out by a simple *tom*, which was used in the classical only as a conjunction, cf. *melle tom denβe* “from up till down”; as a conjunction: *an bāyeḡ bewīte tom hāḡ aθā* “I was waiting until he came”, §§ 192a end, 194 end). Here belong **bihdadia**; **abihdia**; **(a)atar** and similar prepositions formed with **b** (§ 185).

§ 187. Compound prepositional or adverbial expressions are formed by combining two or more prepositions:

a) With **mn**: **mn lalam** (Gy 274: 14) “from ever”; **mn (b)riš** (frequent, “from the beginning”, “*da capo*”, **mn riš lriš** “from beginning to end”; **milia** (§ 185, s. **mn**); **mn lbar** “from outside” = mod. *mobārre* (ibid.); cl. **mn lhil** “from the yonder side”; (**l**) **mn qbal** “because of”; **mn atutia** “from beneath” = mod. *maīūθ*; **mn ‘lauia** “from above” = mod. *mælle*; **mn ‘huria** and **mn abatar** “from behind” = mod. *mobāθer* (§ 185, s. **mn**); **mn agambia** “from the side of” = mod. *māğambe* (or *maṭaraf*); **mn luat-**, **mn ‘luat-**, **mn aluat-** (with suff.) **πὸρὰ τινὸς**; **mn qudam-**, **mn aqam-** “from before” (cf. **mn aqamak** Gs 40: 1 “from thee onwards”); **mn (a)binia**, **mn binat-** (the latter with suff.) “from (between)” (§ 185, s. **bit**, **binia**) etc.

b) With **b**, **l**, **‘l**: **bla**, **abla** (Jb. 20: 13 etc.) “without”; **ligal**, with **b**: **bligal** (= Syr. *ba‘gal*) “swiftly” (= mod. *kerehwā*, §§ 113 b, 184 b); **ldukth** (often in ATŠ) “on the spot” (Fr. “*sur-le-champ*”), “immediately”; **lbar** “outside” and **lbar mn** “except” (mod. *bārre* and *labārre* “outside”)²¹⁹; **lhil** “to the yonder side” (i. e. toward the celestial regions); **latutia** “under” (mod. *laīūθ* is admissible, but usually a simple *tuθ* is used with both meanings: place where and whiter); **lqudam**, **‘l qudam** “before”²²⁰; **l‘uhuria** (var. **l‘huria** with a frequent corruption **l‘uhria** influenced by **‘uhra** “road”) and **labatar** “behind”, “after” = mod. *la-bāθer* (and *bāθerīše*, Morg. 275: 9, 18, antep. etc); **l‘l** and **l‘l ‘l** “up to” = mod. *laelle*; **lagambia** “to the side of” = mod. *elğamb(e)*; The frequent cl. **lbit** often means “towards” (mod. simply *la*, while *labēθ* always has the original meaning “to the house of”). **l** was used with the prepositions meaning “between”: **bit l** and **binia l**²²¹. Cl. **aminṭul l** has the same meaning as the simple **aminṭul**; but **ldbar** (Gy 208: 17) “because of” could hardly be used without **l**²²².

The preposition **l** is combined very frequently with other prepositions and adverbial expressions. Sometimes it is used to express the idea of place to which, sometimes it is merely pleonastic.

c) In the classical there is a prepositional expression **adinqia** (Gy 16: 9, 30: 10, 36: 6, 393: 13 etc) “without” (or “free from”), which seems

²¹⁹ For “except” there is no proper mod. expression. It is substituted by *qam* “for”. cf. *gišdu qāniyōn qazāmren qam baḫ* “all started to sing except he” (lit. “for him”, so that he himself did not sing); *gišdu adyōn qam baḫ u hūy ləθa qamōyu* “all came, except he, and (: but, only) he did not come to them (: with them)”.

²²⁰ Mod. only *qam(āy)*.

²²¹ Mod. only *bēn*.

²²² Cf. Can. **עַל דְּבָרֵי** (Lidzbarski, Ginzā, p. 208 n. 4).

to be a compound adverbial expression in the st. cstr., used prepositionally²²³.

§ 188. Prepositions with Personal Suffixes²²⁴:

a) Cl. usage: Prepositions with suffixes usually behave as masc. plural, but sometimes (with the suff. of the 3rd p. pl.) as singular (as in Talm.). Under some circumstances, also **b** and **l** become *bay* and *lay* before suffixes.

Sg.: 1st p.: The original *ī* is preserved only in a few cases: **bia** = ܒܝܐ; **lia** or **l'** = ܠܝ, esp. in **dilia** "mine", but even '**lia** "upon me" (aside from '**lai**, sometimes even **alai**). Otherwise, the forms with *ay* contracted to *e* (as in mod. Mandaic, s. b): (**l**)**qudamai**; **aqamai**; **abatrai** etc. Forms with a suppressed *ī* (corresponding to Syr. pronunciation) are less frequent, and usually there are variants. with the full ending **-ai -e**.

2nd p. masc.: (**a**)**lak**; (**'**)**lak**; **bak**; **minak**; **luatak**; **qudamak** etc.

2nd p. fem.: (**'**)**lik**; **bik**; **minik**; **luatik** etc are often replaced by masc forms.

3rd masc.: (**'**)**lh**, (**a**)**lh**; **bh**; **minh**; **atuth** etc. The fem. forms are, as a rule, the same, although the fem. suffix should be *-a*, as it is still used in mod. Mandaic (s. b), cf. **bha** (Gy 252: 19, 262: 10 etc) = ܒܗܐ.

Pl.: 1st p.: (**'**)**lan**, (**a**)**lan**; **ban**; **minan** and **minaian**; **luatan** and **luataian** etc.

2nd p.: **l**, **'l** and **b** can be followed directly by **-kun** or **akun**, but when they are used as independent prepositions or as enclitics after monosyllabic words, they must first be followed by **-ai-**, cf. **lkun**, '**lkun** "to you"; **nihuilkun** and **nihuilakun** "*sit vobis!*"; but '**ltaikun**, '**tbaikun** "*est vobis*". Independent prepositions have, as a rule, **-ai-** before suffixes: **minaikun**, '**lauaikun** but aside from **luataikun** there still is **luatkun**. Special fem. forms: **lkin**, **minaikin**, '**lauaikin**, **atutaikin** etc (are usually replaced by the masc.).

3rd p.: In both forms with and without **-ai-** the *b* can either remain or vanish. Shorter forms (without **-ai-**): **lhun** and **lun** (**dilhun** and **dilun** "theirs"); **lun** and **alun**; **bun**, less often **bhun** etc. Encl. prepositions after monosyllabic words can also have longer forms with **-ay-**: **litlaihun**, **litbaihun** (aside from **litlun**, **litbun**) "*non est eis*". Longer forms (with **-ay-**): **minai(h)un**; **luataihun** etc. Shorter and longer forms are completely facultative: **bataraihun**

²²³ MG, p. 197 n. 3.

²²⁴ Ibid. § 159.

and **abatron**; **binatai(h)un** and **binatun**. The form **(mn) binun** proves that even an original *ay* (ܐܝܢ, Syr. *baynay*) can be suppressed before suffixes.

The final *n* of the suffix usually remains. Forms without the final *n* (corresponding to the Talm.) are sporadic in the classical²²⁵, although in mod. Mandaic (s. b) only forms without the final *n* remained. The colloquial forms are, therefore nearer to the Talmudic than the literary. The feminine is usually replaced by the masculine, but there are also some special fem. forms: **ihin**, **lin**, **bin**; enclitically after monosyllabic words: **litbaihin**, **litlaiin**, but also **litlin**; further **minaiin**; **qudamaihin** and **qudamaiin**; **lauaihin** and **laiin**.

b) In mod. Mandaic there are no forms with *-ay-*. The suffixes are simply added to the prepositions *la*, (*el*), (*e*)*lāw*, *men*, *qār*, *qamāy*, *tūḏ* and *ork(e)*. Other prepositions attach the suffix by means of the encl. *d*.

Directly: Sg. 1. *le*, 2. m. *lāχ*, f. *leχ*, 3. m. *lī*, f. *la*;

Pl. 1. *lan*, 2. m. *loχon*, f. *leχen*, 3. m. & f. *lū*.

The form is the same, when *l* is used enclitically, cf. *an ehle at lehlay* “*mibi est, tibi non est*”.

With the encl. *d*: *bāḏerde*, *bāḏerday*, *bāḏerdī* “after me, thee, him” etc. *qamdīn* “for me”, *qamday* “for thee”, *qamdīdī* “for him”, *qamdīda* “for her”; *qamdan* “for us”, *qamdoχon* “for you”, *qamdīdū* “for them”.

Under some circumstances, even the prep. *men* can be used with the encl. *d*; in that case it always drops *n*. This is done when it implies the meaning “against”: *an læḏīte | madaχ yeyzān bewīte* “I did not come, (because) I was angry with thee”. But when the preposition means “from”, the suffix is usually added directly: *menne* “from me”, *mennay* “from thee” etc.

Some prepositions attach the suffix either directly or by means of the encl. *d*, cf. *qamāye* “in front of me” and *maqamāyedīn* “from before me”.

Compound prepositional expressions formed with a noun, attach the suffix directly, cf. *bāḏerīšū*, but with a simple preposition: *bāḏerdū*, *labāḏerdū* “after them (cl. **labatron**)”.

2. Adverbs and Original Adverbial Locutions²²⁶.

§ 189. Adjectives used as adverbs of quality are, as a rule, in the st. abs.: in mod. Mand. they usually have the predicative ending *-ye* (§ 105 b): cl.

²²⁵ MG, p. 200 with n. 2.

²²⁶ MG § 160.

šapir (Gy 388: 22 etc., often) “well” = mod. *šəβīr(ye)* “(it is) well”; cl. **riqan**, **riqin** (§ 74a) “simply”; cl. **arṭil** (Gs 97: 9 etc.) “naked” = mod. *šəliyye*, *gəliyye*, *poṭiyye*; cl. **iatir** (Gy 391: 20) and **(a)npiš** (often) “much” = mod. *genzā* (st. emph.) and *genziyye*; cl. **qalia** (Gs 69: 20) with the meaning of Ar. and Syr. *qalīl* “little” = mod. *honīnye*. The cl. substantive **ginza** “treasure” 5 became the most frequent mod. adverb “much”.

§ 190. It is strange that the proper Aram. adverbial ending *-āiθ* completely disappeared from mod. Mandaic. Even in the classical it was not used as much as in Syriac. Adverbs formed with it occur sometimes with the preposition **b**. 10

Examples²²⁷: **timiaiiit** (Gy 278: 10) “in the South”; **iaunaiit** (Gy 87: 13) “in a Greek way” > “skilfully”; **mridaiit** Gy 277: 2) “with obstination”; **bsarhabaiit** (Gy 237: 4 etc) “with haste”, “in a hurry”; **(b)nihaiit** “softly”; **bzahraiit ušilaiit umalpanaiit** (Q 39: 31, varr. **bzihraiit**, **bzuhraiit** — **ḅšalaiit**) “with precaution and attention (?) as a teacher”. **ḅšilaiit** (Q 46: 20, 15 DC 41, l. 403, ATŠ II no. 412) corresponds to **ḅšiluta** (ML 50: 8) “with consideration, care, attention”. Instead of Syr. *šəḅā’iṯ* there is a shorter **ṭabit** (Gy 292: 12, 295: 20, 389: 14) “well, much, plentifully”.

§ 191. Feminine forms, ending in *-ūθ* were also used as adverbs. The remainders of this use are: **rabut** (Gy 324: 15 etc) “with magnificence”, 20 **šnut** (Gy 218: 18) “differently”, **šaplut** (Q 57: 24) “humbly”²²⁸.

§ 192. Adverbs by Origin:

a) Adverbs of time: **ṭmal** mod. *eθmāl* “yesterday”; mod. *lebmal* “before-yesterday” (§ 36h); mod. *perša* “to-morrow”²²⁹; mod. *romabrā* “after-to-

²²⁷ MG, p. 201: 3 ff.

²²⁸ Ibid., l. 13 ff.

²²⁹ The word *pirša* in liturgical texts (DC 34, l. 1287, 1292, 1297 etc) means “dawn” as beginning of a new day. The mod. *perša* may represent a semantic development of this meaning. The idea of “to-morrow” is associated with the idea of the morning as well as in German “morgen” and “Morgen”.

morrow" (< *lomabrā* < *lōmabrā* by assimilation, § 28)²³⁰; mod. *qām romabrā* "after-after-to-morrow"²³¹; cl. **ium** "to-day" (lit. "my day") = mod. *āmāy*²³²; cl. **hašta** mod. *eštā* "now" (= **ܚܫܬܐ** contracted from *hāḏē šā' tā*; the mod. form lost the initial *h* like the mod. *ā* = cl. **ha**); cl. **kbar**, **kbar** (Gs 70: 16 etc) "already" (= **ܟܒܪ**)²³³. There is no appropriate mod. expression for "already"; it may be replaced by *eštā* (as in Persian by *ḥālā*) or by *kandī* "still", "yet". The latter comes from cl. (**a**)**kandit** (§ 23 b), with negation **akandit** "not yet". The forms **akandia** (Gs 48: 4) and **akandh** (Ibid.: 15) correspond to the mod. forms with the apocope of the final *t*. This adverb occurs only in Mandaic as well as cl. **aṭar** (Gy 115: 21 etc.) "as long as", which might derive from NṬR, but its formation is obscure²³⁴. **tum tom** "then", "further" (= Ar. *ṭumma*), "again" (= Syr. *tūb*), after a negation "(not) any more", "any longer" (= Talm. **ות**)²³⁵. In the classical it was often used after "and": **utum** "and then" and in conditional sentences after "if": **hin tum** "if further". It is in the same relation to cl. **tam** "there" (s. b.) as Ar. *ṭumma* to *ṭamma*. As to its modern use, it corresponds to P. *dīgar*: **tum labigšit bbašra** (Diuan Mašbuta: coloph.) "Then I stayed no longer in Bašra" (= P. *dīgar dar bašrab namādam*). Otherwise, it is used more often as a preposition and conjunction (§ 186) than as an adverb.

In the classical there was a foreign particle **pas** "then", "so", "only" (= P. *pas*). It was often emphasized by **ha** in **hapas**, **hapis** like other cl. adverbs meaning "then": **haidin**, **haizin**. Only **kin**, **k'n**, **k'in** is used consistently without *hā*-.

²³⁰ In consequence, **ܚܫܬܐ**, Syr. *mḥār*, H. **ܚܫܬܐ** must have also been used in Mandaic before being driven out by *peršā*.

²³¹ The preposition *qam* "before", adding the meaning of our "after" to "after-to-morrow", would corroborate König's comparison of **ܚܫܬܐ** with Ass. *maḥāru* "to be in advance" (Historisch-kritisches Lehrgebäude der hebräischen Sprache II, p. 263) against *maḥru* and the usual deriving from **ܚܫܬܐ**, cf. Gesenius-Buhl, s. **ܚܫܬܐ**.

²³² This mod. adverb occurs in postcl. literature in **qašaplia amai bišia qamdalia amai tabia** (CP 324: 5 f. = ŠQ 18: 3) "the wicked are abased to-day, the good are raised up to-day" (misunderstood by Lady Drower). The strange mod. form may — as suggested by F. Rosenthal (by letter) — go back to old *yōmāy* with initial *ā*- pushing out the syllable *yō*- for the sake of brevity. The initial *ā*- might also have been influenced by the mod. demonstrative *ā*.

²³³ MG, p. 202 with n. 2. Nöldeke's suggestion about a derivation of the word from **ܟܒܪ** + **ܘ** would correspond to § 26a.

²³⁴ MG, p. 203: 1 ff.

²³⁵ Ibid., p. 204 with n. 3.

b) Adverbs of place are mostly original prepositions: cl. 'l, l'il, 'l'il and even l'iil "above" (= Syr. *l'el*), mod. *elle*; cl. tit, Itit "down" (= mod. *den e*); cl. mn lbar "outside", mod. *bārre*; gu, gaua gu, guwwa "inside". These adverbs can be used with the prepositions l and mn, cf. lilai (Gy 212: 14 etc.) "upwards (mod. *ʔaraf elle*), Ititai (Gy 202: 14) "downwards" (mod. *ʔaraf denʔe*), (mod. *el-qamāy* "forwards", mod. *el-'aqab* "backwards", lbarai "out" (mod. *labārre*, or without the preposition); cf. also lhil (Gy 30: 12), "on the yonder side", "in the other world" and mn lhil (Gy 367: 24 etc.) "from the yonder side"; cl. 'l mn qbal "opposite" (mod. *barābar* and *rūberū*, both from Persian).

Proper adverbs of place: Cl. ka "here", with prepositions: lka "thither", mn ka "from here"; emphasized by ha: haka, with prepositions: lhaka, mn haka, abatar haka "over there". In Gs 125 ff. there is halka (= Talm. and Targ הלכא). ka, added to 't, 'it "there is" and lit "there is not", produced 'ka, aka (= Talm. כא) and lika (= Talm. לכא). Both expressions *ekka* and *lekka* are very frequent in mod. Mandaic (§ 238 β); but ka is not used as an independent word, and was replaced by *ebnā* "here", with prep.: *lebhnā* "thither", *maehnā* "from here".

Cl. "there" is tam, with prepositions: Itam "to that place", mn tam "from there"; emphasized by ha: hatam²³⁶. Mod. "there" is *ekkaḡ*, cf. *ḡḡtaḡ ekkaḡ* "thou art there".

c) Interrogative adverbs, formed with ay: lia, 'lia, alia *elyā* "where?" and "whither?" (= *ל'א). The form is still living and pronounced with an ascendant diphthong. The var. l' (Gs 48: 4), which made Nöldeke²³⁷ believe that the form is to be pronounced *lē*, must be regarded only as a confusion with lia = l' "to me", made in thoughtless copying. With prep. mn: cl. milia *melyā* "from where" corresponds to the mod. *melyā* (§ 185). With prep. l: lilia (Gy 362, Gs 49: 11) "whither?" corresponds to the mod. *lelyā*. Another interrogative, formed with mn, is the cl. mna (ML 111: 11 etc) "from where?" (< *min ayna*). The var. amna (Jb 129: ult.) confirms the traditional pronunciation *amna* (cf. also Talm. מנא, not *מ'נא). However, before the enclitics, the original form of *min* was restored, cf. minilak (Jb. 269: 3) "unde tibi?"²³⁸.

²³⁶ Both forms also in Talm. תם and תתם.

²³⁷ MG, p. 205: 19.

²³⁸ Ibid., 1. 14.

Cl. **'mat**, **I'mat** "when?" (= Talm. תימא, Syr. *emat*[y] < *ay matay*, cf. H. תימא). Mod. *bemda* is the same word with **hai**, contraction and progressive assimilation of sonority (*t* > *d*). Otherwise, the interrogative **hai** occurs in some more cl. interrogative adverbs, which disappeared from mod. Mandaic:
 5 **haidin** "how"? and **haizin** id.²³⁹; (**h**)**aka** (= Talm. אכא, "ka "where?", with prep. **mn haka** "from where?"; **hakma** (Gy 156: 6), "how much?" = mod. (*keθ*) *kem*(*ye*).

Interrogative adverbs, formed with **ma** "what?": **kma** and **hakma** (just quoted). The mod. *kem* (written defectively **km**) is formed as a st. abs. of
 10 **kma** (*kemma*), and is the only mod. interrogative for "how?", cf. *kemye kēfday* "How are you?"; *kemye* or *keθ kemye* "What is the price?", "How much does it cost?" etc. Another compound with **ma** is **alma** (as Talm., B.-Aram. עלמא) "why?" (= mod. *qāmu*, below).

Interrogatives, formed with **hu**: cl. **kahu** "where is?"; **almahu**, **'I mahu**,
 15 shortened in **amu** (Gs 55: 18 etc), = mod. *qāmu* "why?" (as in mod. Syriac).

d) Adverbs of assertion and comparison:

la læ (pron. always with a short *æ*)²⁴⁰ "no", "not"; with **hu**: **lau** (as Syr.).
la is, as a rule, contracted with the initial vowel of the next word; nevertheless, the vowel remains short after the contraction, cf. *laθā*, *læθa* "he did
 20 not come". There is no word for "yes" in Mandaean literature; the mod. word is *ī* which might become identical with the cl. vocative particle (§§ 26b, 103). Cl. **'tak** (Gy 258: 1 etc) "perhaps" (= Gr. τάχα)²⁴¹ has been driven out by P. *šāyad*. Cl. **haizin** "so", "thus" (originally "how?", s. c)²³⁹ is very frequent in the phrase **haizin amar** "he said so". Cl. **akuat** "like", "as"
 25 is an original preposition (§ 185).

e) Other adverbs: (**b**)**ligal** "quickly" = mod. *kerebwā* (§ 113b); **mn riš** mod. *mərīš* "da capo" (P. *aḥ sar*); cl. (**b**)**siṭar** "apart from"; cl. **balhud** "alone", without **b**: **lhud** (even **lhda**) became *lūd* in mod. Mandaic and is used with personal suffixes as in the classical (and in Syriac): **balhudai** "I alone" =
 30 mod. (*nāβše*) *lūde* etc. In mod. Mandaic it is always used without the prep. **b**.

²³⁹ Often confused with **hazin** "this", MG 206 n. 1.

²⁴⁰ Under some circumstances the mod. Syr. *lā* also becomes *lī*, cf. Maclean, Dictionary.

P. 143b.

²⁴¹ MG, p. 202 with n. 1.

3. Conjunctions²⁴².

§ 193. Coordinative conjunctions: *u* (never *wa*) “and”; cl. **ap** “also”, **uap** “and also” (mod. only *u*); cl. **‘u** “or” = mod. *lo*; **‘u** — **‘u** “either — or” = mod. *lo* — *lo* (In De Morgan’s mod. texts **iu** — **iu** P. *yā* — *yā*, § 309).

§ 194. Subordinative conjunctions: Cl. **‘u** was used also as a conditional conjunction “if”. Another conditional conjunction was **hin**; in negative sentences **‘la** (< *en lā*, cf. Ar and Syr. *illā*, *ellā*) “if not” and **‘lau** (= Syr. *en law*, Talm. אילאו). Both could be emphasized by a following **ḏ**-. A more frequent cl. negative conditional conjunction is **hinila**, **hin‘la** “if not”, “except”, “but”, “however”. It is strange that mod. Mandaic has no original conditional conjunction, but replaced it by the P. *ægar* (§ 13).

Interrogative conjunctions: Cl. **m**^c (Gs 57: 12), **‘mia** (Gs 57: 14), proclitically **mi**-²⁴³ “*num*” introduces direct and indirect questions (as Talm. מ). With **‘ka**, **aka** it forms **miaka**, **m‘iaka** (with a poor var. **maka** Gy 81: 1, 164: 12) “*num existit?*” (= Talm. מיאכא)²⁴⁴. There is no mod. interrogative conjunction meaning “whether”, so that a simple interrogative sentence can be recognized only by the tone of the voice.

The cl. **aiak** “as”, “like” is an original conjunction used as a preposition (§ 185).

Cl. **ad**- (< אד) “while”, “as long as”, “until”, “before”; with **la**: **adla** 20 “before”; mod. “until” = *tom*, “before” = *qamā ke*. With similar meanings there is cl. **‘l ḏ**- “while”, “until”, with negation **‘l ḏ-la** (Gs 11: 17, 18 etc.) “before” (Nöld.), “that not”, “lest” (Lidzb.)

Cl. (**‘**)**dilma** (= Talm. דילמא, Syr. *dalmā* “perhaps”, “if there is not”, “may there be not”; also with **ḏ** -: **‘dilma ḏ**- “*ne forte*” (= mod. *ke læ*, cf. 25 *parāh qābeṣnaḡ ke læ-bāḡet* “I give thee money that thou mayst not weep”); cl. **hzia** **‘dilma** “*caveas ne*” (mod. simply *beḡi læ*). Otherwise, **‘dilma** followed by a negation often introduces a negative question (§ 307).

The most frequent cl. subordinative preposition **ḏ**-, used to introduce relative clauses (“which”, “who”) and clauses of result (“*ut*”, “*ut non*”) 30 as well as clauses of purpose (“*ut*”, “*ne*”), completely disappeared from the mod.

²⁴² MG § 161.

²⁴³ Sporadically **mu**-, MG, p. 209 n. 3.

²⁴⁴ MG, p. 209 with n. 4.

language, being replaced in all cases by *ke*, neg. *ke læ*. In the classical it was used both independently and combined with other conjunctions and prepositions, cf. **kḏ** (*kæð*) “when”, “as”, which produced mod. *ke* (§ 113 b); with prep.: **ld-** (always proclitically), ‘**l ḏ-** “to that who” (mod. *la-hay ke* with a pers. pron. as antecedent).

Cl. (**a**)**minṭul** “because”; ‘**l mn qbal** (Gy 269: ult.) and (**‘l**) **mn qbal ḏ-** (Gy 244: 1 etc) id. (mod. simply *ke*); **akuat** and “as”, “just as”, “so that” (mod. [*hem*]*ke*); **alma** “until” (< **אמל** + **ע**) is often used with **ḏ-** and even **ld-** (mod. *tom*, §§ 186, 192a).

E. VERBS

1. General Remarks²⁴⁵.

§ 195. a) As well as other Aramaic dialects Mandaic has three principal verbal stems: *peal* (: pe.), *paal* (: pa.) and *afel* (: af.) and their reflexives: *ethpeel* (: ethpe.), *ethpaal* (: ethpa.) and *ettafal* (: ettaf.).

The fundamental structure of the verbal stems is given by their respective names: Pe. is the fundamental and the most usual form. The characteristic sign of pa. is the reduplication of the 2nd rad. Af. is characterized by a prefixed *a-*. The characteristic of the reflexive stems is a prefixed *et-* in ethpe. and ethpa., and *etta-* in ettaf. But in ethpe. and ethpa. the *t* is often omitted (cf. s. c).

b) Apart from the usual prefix *a-* in af., there are some rests of *hafel* forms: **haimin** "he believed" (§ 213 βg); now, only a reflexive participial form *motebeymen* "believer" (§ 214 δ) and the abstr. noun **haimanut(a)** *beymanūθ*, *beymanūθa* "faith", "belief", "religious observance" are used. P. *andāz*, *andāhtan* "to measure" is used only in af., but the prefix *ba-* occurs only in the infinitive **handuzia** (Gy 366: 19); other forms are without *b*. P. *andišab* produced a Mand. af. **ANDŠ** "to meditate", "to care", "to worry", used consistently without *b* (in spite of Pahl. *handēš*). But there are some other verbs, forming the af. with the prefix *ba-*: cl. **haulil** "he lamented" (= הײליל). In the following verbs, the af. with *b* is only facultative: **ŠUṬ** "to despise", "to seduce"; **NPQ** "to go out" (**hanp[i]qh** Gy 262: 6, and **apqh** "he brought him out", the latter [*affeg*] still used); **SLQ** "to ascend" (**hansiq** Gs 128: 14, and **asiq** "he brought up", the latter [*asseq*] still used).

c) The reflexive stems are rarely used in mod. Mandaic. So far as they still live, their prefix is always without *t*: **edhel** "he was afraid", **ek(k)ammar** "he returned" etc. The inconvenience of dropping the *t* is that the reflexive forms can easily be confused with the pe. and pa.

²⁴⁵ MG §§ 162—166.

d) In the classical there are some remains of the causatives, formed with the prefixes *ša-* and *sa-* (*šafel* and *safel*):

Šafel: *šargiz “he, they enraged” (from RGZ); šarhib “he, they spread out, propagated, enlarged” (from RHB II < 𐤒𐤏𐤁); šašqil “he, they raised” (from 5 ŠQL); šaušiq (Par. XIV 328), whose fundamental rt. YŠQ (cf. Ar. *wasaqa* “to cut into pieces”) and meaning are unknown; *šaršil (cf. Jb 142: 1) “he flapped” (from RŠL); šarhiz (Gs 114: 23) “hurried in fright” (cf. its reflexive below); *šauzib “he saved”, which occurs also in the reflexive: *štauzab “he was, they were saved”, or (Gs 21: 3) imper. “save thyself!”. Further examples 10 of the reflexive (*eštafal*) are: *štarhab “was enlarged”; *štabad (Gy 13: 12) “was enslaved” (from 𐤒𐤏𐤁); *štarhaz (Gy 312: 17 etc) with the same meaning as *štarhzal (Gy 279: 19) “was shocked” (Apart from the šafel and eštafal the root RHZ occurs only in the theophorous name rahzi’il, Gy 250: 6. The form *štarhzal is obviously formed from *štarhaz by addition of the encl. -l- to 15 the verb; in the šafel there could be *šarhizlḥ “he frightened him”, although the verb is used directly with the suffix in lašarhizuk, Jb 83: 3, “(they) did not frighten thee”; on the other hand, the eštafal is used with the encl. -l- in *štarhzalia, Gy 279: 12, “she was alarmed”). Preferably in eštafal is used: ništalham (AM 229: 8) “will become dangerous” (pl. ništalhamun AM 20 203: 4, cf. *ibid.* 240: 6).

e) *Safel*: sarhib (Jb 178: 11) imper. “hurry!” (from RHB I = 𐤒𐤏𐤁); sasqil (Gs 14: 22, 15: 1), “they polished” (from SQL), cf. (banth) usasqilth (Gs 99: 9) “she (built it) and adorned it”; msastmia (Qm. *Qaštin*) “*ligati*” as a 25 denominative verb from sustmia (§ 39a); sarqid, cf. msarqid (ATŠ II no. 440) “he makes quake” (from RQD “to dance”).

f) *Palpel* (*panpel*, *parpel*) is formed by reduplication of biradical roots, accompanied regularly by dissimilation:

*dandim (from 𐤃𐤁𐤃𐤁), cf. dandumia mdandmia (Gy 245: 10) “they are whispering” etc.; zanzil, cf. zanzulia latizanzil (DC 23, l. 158f.) “do not 30 despise!” (as 𐤆𐤏𐤆𐤏, 𐤆𐤏𐤆𐤏); qarqil (ML 184: 4) “he overturned”; gargulia (Gs 16: 17) “turn me back!”²⁴⁶; *tarṭil “he hurled”; QRQS “to encircle, cf.

²⁴⁶ Nöldeke’s emendation to *agarulia* “wait for me!” is unnecessary and improbable, as an af. of the root NGR is not used in Mandaic. The form is more easily and naturally explainable from *gargil “he (re)turned”. A dropping of the final *l* of the root before an encl. -l- (*gargulia *gargululle* > *gargulia*) perfectly corresponds to the rules of Mandaic haplogy.

qarqsit 'lauaihun (Morg. 259/10: 34) "I encircled them"²⁴⁷; QRQD "to tear", cf. **mqarqid** (DC 23, 1. 502f.) "he tears" (from a reduplicated *q-d-d*); QRQŠ, KRKŠ "to clash", "to ring", "to rattle" (קשקש, mod. Syr. *kaskiš*)²⁴⁸; cf. also SRSP and KRKS (s. i).

In general, the liquid *r* was preferred in such dissimilations of reduplicated roots. (This preference for *r* as second radical sheds some light on **dirqia**, § 173 end). Here belong also two quadriradical verbs formed by reduplication of biradical roots, in which the adducing of a further *r* was impossible for combinatory reasons: ***raurib** (from רברב, cf. pass. pt. **mraurab** "exalted", inf. **rauribia** "magnifying", reflexive **'traurab** (Gy 70: 7) imper. "be exalted" etc, and **'traurat** (Gs 1: 6, besides **rat**) "was agitated". Combinatory reasons made these two original *palpel* forms identical with *pawel* (RWRB, RWRT).

g) **Parel** (< פָּרַעַל) is formed by inserting an *r* after the 1st rad.: HRZQ "to fetter" (from חוק, cf. Ar. loanw. *harzaqa*, *harzaqa*, § 47); KRPT id. (from כפת), occurring only in the reflexive stem, cf. **mikarptia** 'karputia (Gy 204: 7) "they are fettered". This form seems to be proper to the verbs of "fettering".

h) **Pawel** (< פָּוַעַל, or rather פָּוַעַר, since the form occurs only in roots III *r*) is formed by inserting a *w* after the 1st rad.: NWKR (from NKR). The *w* might have got into this root by the influence of the adj. **nukraia** "foreign". The YQR was similarly extended to YWQR in some forms of the impf. The *w* got into this root by an influence of the af.

i) **Papel** (< פָּעַפַּל) is formed by repeating the first radical after the second: SRSP "to stir up fire" (cf. H. שרף)²⁴⁹. Otherwise, this form could be a *parpel* of *s-p-p*, cf. Syr. *sap*. PRPA: **mitparpa** (Q 14: 7), pl. **mitparpia** (Gs 8: 18), **mitparpin** (Gy 274: 5) "they rejoice" (cf. Syr. *metparpa*', pl. *metparp'in*). KRKS was derived by Nöldeke from *k-s-s*²⁵⁰ (cf. Syr. *kas*, Mand. KSS), in which case it would be a *parpel*-form; but it could also be a *papel*-form of רכס, cf. **mikarkas** (Jb 124: 11) "moves to and fro", **nitkarkas** (Gy 160: 7) "will be shaken" etc. In the last place Sh. Abdullah's copy has a var. **nitkarkam**, which might be influenced by the name of the devil **karkum**. In a text, published by Lady Drower (in JRAS 31, p. 596), there is a form **karkumh**, which

²⁴⁷ Denominative from קָרַקְסָא < κρκαος?

²⁴⁸ MG, p. 86 n. 1; Maclean, Dictionary, p. 178a, s. (*m*)*kaskiš*.

²⁴⁹ Nöldeke, MG, p. 85, and ZA XXX (1916), p. 150; Lidzbarski, Ginzā, p. 19: 13 with n. 3.

²⁵⁰ MG, p. 86 n. 1 (from af.).

could also be translated by “shake him away!”, “repress him!”. Otherwise, the root could also be explained from KRKB “to encircle”, “to seize” (cf. Gesenius-Buhl, s. כָּבַח כִּבַּח), according to § 33. (KRKB itself may be explained from KRK + the encl. *b*). PRPŠ (from PRŠ) occurs only in the derivative 5 **parpašta** “fence” (§ 134e).

j) It is noteworthy that all quadriliteral stems, quoted in f—i (except DNDM, s. f) contain one or two *r*'s. But also other types of quadriliteral stems often contain one or two *r*'s, or, at least, one or two other liquids. There is no quadriliteral verb without liquids, and more than four fifths of such stems 10 contain one or two *r*'s.

k) Dissimilated pael and ethpaal-forms. This group contains dissimilated pa. and ethpa. forms of certain verbs with a voiced labial, dental or palatal plosive as second radical. The doubled second radical is dissimilated into *mb*, *nd*, *ng* (§ 23 a, b, c): **hambil** “he destroyed”, ***thambal** “was destroyed”; 15 **hambib** (Gy 281: 20) “grew hot”; **nambia** (Gy 212: 13) “mourn!”; **randil** (Gy 361: 9) “it stirred”; ***nandia** “he shook”, ***nanditun** (Q 52: 19) “ye were shaken”; ***nangar** “he repressed”: **mnangarlun** (ML 206: 5) “would restrain them”, ***tnangar** (Gy 318: 7) “shall be tortured” (*perfectum propheticum*); ***tnangal** (Gy 381: 6) “(they) projected”; ***tangar** (Q 70: 13, Gy 232: 2, 20 256: 5) “he, they bartered, traded”. Here may also belong **pandil** (Gs 14: 21) “he hurled down”, **pandilth** (Gs 14: 21) “I hurled him down”, and ***pndan** (Florilegium 358: 96), which seems to be a defective ethpa. (cf. *ibid.*, p. 372) with transition of *l* to *n* (§ 27).

l) Denominative verbs:

25 α) From nouns with prefixes: TRMD — **tarmid** “he initiated” (from **tarmida** < *talmidā*); MSKN — **mimaskin** (AM 26: 19) “he will grow poor”, **mimaskinilh** (Gy 264: 1) “they will make him poor” (from **miskina** “poor”).

β) From nouns with suffixes: NKRA — **nakrian** (Gs 130: 13) “they estranged me”, pt. **mnakria** “estranging” (from **nukraia** “strange”); KLDA 30 — **kaldian** (Gs 103: 11) “they bewitched me” (from **kaldaia** “Chaldean”, “magician”).

m) Original quadriradical verbs: BŠQR “to investigate”, “to become acquainted”, “to recognize”, “to confirm”, “to confess”²⁶¹. The verb is still

²⁶¹ Gl. 46: 5—6, 92: 9—10, 114: 13—14.

used: *qombašqerle* “he knows me”, *qombašqerelle* “they know me”. Cl. ZRBA was used only in ethpa., in which the reduplicated third rad. was dissimilated, according to § 23 a, so that it practically looks as a verb of 5 radicals, cf. pt. **mizdrambia** (Gy 280: 22) “will be shaken”, impf. **nizdrambia** (Gs 310: 22, var. **nizdranbia**) id. Cl. ZRNP in **zarn(u)paia d-zarn(i)puia** (Gs 14: ult.),⁵ the exact meaning of which is, at least, uncertain. The word is certainly foreign and most probably of Persian origin. Lidzbarski translated the quoted phrase: “the goldsmiths who shaped her”, supposing that ZRNP may contain the P. *zar* “gold” (Ginzā, p. 434 n. l). However, in that case the second part of the word would have no explanation. If Persian origin is to be assumed,¹⁰ the word could formally better derive from *zarnab* “an odoriferous medicinal herb” (cf. *Borhān-i Qāṭi* s. v.), so that the phrase could be translated: “the *zarnab*-species (: -aia) which gave her her odour”. The translation would fit also materially (cf. Morg. 238/62: 2 ff., CP 83: 2, Gs 80: 24 and similar passages).¹⁵

n) Quadriradical verbs disappeared from mod. Mandaic. The only remainders are *hambel* (s. k & n. 496) and *bašqer* (s. m); *haymen* (s. b) has no full life. Syr. *palhed*, *eṭpalhad* became a three-radical verb (after the vanishing of b): ‘**plad** (Florilegium 358: 98) “they were scattered” as a *scriptio defectiva* of ***palad** (ethpa., cf. *ibid.*, p. 372: 98).²⁰

§ 196. Peculiarities of Weak Roots²⁵².

a) Verbs ʾʾʾ behave in certain forms as ʾʾʾ and *vice versa*, cf. QUM “to stand” esp. in **niqmun** “they stand” and in the verbal noun **miqam** (trad. pronunciation *miqqam*) “standing”; other forms are regularly from ʾʾʾ; GZZ “to cut” in **gaizia** (pt. pl.) “they shear” etc. This circumstance produced several pairs of double roots (secondary roots are quoted in brackets): (AUL) and ALL (ʾʾʾ) “to enter”; AUŠ = AŠŠ “to press” (as Syr. *ʾāš* and *ʾaš*); (BUN) and (BNN) “to build” (both from BNA, s. b); (GUZ) and GZZ (ʾʾʾ) “to cut”, “to shear” Syr. *gaṣ* GUŠ = GŠŠ “to explore” (as Syr. *gāš* = *gaš*,³⁰ Ar. *ḡāsa* = *ḡassa*); DUB and (DBB) “to flow”; (DUK) and (DKK) “to quench”, “to extinguish” (both from DAK = ʾʾʾ, Syr. *dʾeḡ*; but there is also DHK: **dihkat**, **dahkat** “*extincta est*”²⁵³; mod. *dakka*, *qamdakka*, ethpa. *edakka*,

²⁵² MG § 74.

²⁵³ MG, p. 255 n. 3.

§ 224 γ, δ); DUL and (DLL) “to raise” (Syr. *dāl*) is commonly used as **ע'ע**, and as such was confused with Ar. *dalla* “to lead”, cf. **dal ainak** (Gs 16: 1) “raise thine eyes” and **dal Imutana** (AM 257: 10) “it indicates mortality”^{254, 255}; (HUK) and HKK “to itch” (Aram. **חכח**, but also **חוח**), cf. the postcl. derivative **hkaka** (AM 98: 15) “itch”, “scab” from **ע'ע**, mod. *hayyeç* “it itches” from **י'ע**; HUM and HMM “to be warm”, “to heat” (as in other Sem. languages, aside from HMA, cf. s. b); (HUP) and HPP “to rub”, “to wash” (Syr. *hāp* and *hap*, but H. **הפח** II, Ar. *haffa* “to depilate”, “to shave”; mod. Mand. *hāf*, *qabīfa* “he washes” is **י'ע**); (HUS) and HSS “to feel”, “to think”; (ZUM) and ZMM “to sound” (H. **זמם**, Syr. *zam*, Ar. *zamzama*), “to bridle”; ṬUS and (ṬSS) “to fly” is used more often as **י'ע**, cf. the frequent **ṭaiis**, pl. **ṭaisia** “he flies”, “they fly”, but also as **ע'ע**, cf. **mṭasasin** (Gy 19: 15) “they flutter”; KUN and (KNN) “to exist”, “to settle”, “to quiet”, “to establish”, “to fix” (**כוח**, Syr. *kān*, Ar. *kāna*), cf. **kauna** “quiet”¹⁵ and **ṭkanan** (Jb 74: 2, Gy 114: 15) “be quiet!”; with the meanings “to cover”, “to wrap” (= H. **כנן** I, Ar. *kanna*, Akk. *kunnunu*) and “to produce a stem”, “to found a community”, esp. in the frequent **kan kinta** (= Syr. denom. *kannen* from *kannā*, Mand. **kana**) it is always **ע'ע**; (KUP) and KPP “to bow”, “to bend” (as Syr. *kāp* and *kap*, H. **כסף**, Aram. **כוף**, Ar. *kaffa*, Akk. *kapāpu*); LUṬ and (LṬṬ) “to curse”, cf. **liṭit** “thou art cursed” (**י'ע**) and **laṭuṭia mlaṭiṭilḥ** (Gy 173: 23) “they curse him (**ע'ע**)”; (LUP) and LPP “to join”, “to bind together” (like Syr. *lāp* and *lap*, Ar. *laffa*; in Mandaic LUP is used also for ALP, YLP “to learn”, “to teach”, s. d); (MUŠ) and MŠŠ “to touch”, “to examine” (both forms occur also in other dialects and in H.,²⁵ Ar. *massa*); NUD and NDD “to shake”, “to quake” (also NDA as **י'ל**, s. b; all three forms also in H., Aram. and Syr.; NDD acquired also the meaning of “to disgust” as in Syriac²⁵⁶; SUK “to limit” and (SKK) “to obstruct”, “to stop” (cf. Syr. *sāḫ* and *sak*); (ŞUL and ŞLL “to weave”, both from ŞLA, s. b); ŞUR and (ŞRR) “to form”, “to paint”, “to engrave” is more usual in the secondary root **ע'ע**, cf. **şarar** (Gy 12: 16) “he formed”, **ştarar** (Gy 168: 9) “he was formed” etc, but **şaiara d-şaiar**, Gy 214: 22f. “the painter who

²⁵⁴ Cf. also Gl. 175: 13f., which quotes formally impossible forms but gives the correct meaning: *ducere*.

²⁵⁵ H. and Jew.-Aram. **ללל**, Syr. *dal*, Ar. *dalla* “to be weak, invalid” occurs in Mandaic only as ZLL (= H. and Aram. doublets **ללל**, Syr. *zal*). About the transition of the secondary DLL to DLA cf. s. b.

²⁵⁶ Cf. MG, p. 248 n. 1.

paints" and **šir** "engraved", "painted"); (RUG) and RGG "to desire" (also RGA, s. b); ŠUP "to rub" and ŠPP "to depress" (as in Syriac, cf. šup "rub!" and šapapit (JRAS 1937, p. 596) "thou art depressed"; ŠUṬ and (ŠṬṬ) "to despise", af. "to seduce", cf. af. ašīṭtan Gs 22: 6 (from ʾʿʿ) and haf. hašīṭ Gs 136: 10 (from ʿʿʿ), (but there is also ŠṬA "to act foolishly", s. b). 5

There are some other double roots of this kind, cf. DUM and (DNDM) "to be silent" (§ 195 f), analogous to the secondary ZUM (from ZMM) and Ar. *zamzama* (above).

Roots, which are at the same time ʾʿʿ and III gutturalis, produce secondary roots ʿʿʿ by the same procedure: NUH and (NHA) "to be quiet" 10 (the secondary root is formed as from *نهنّ)²⁵⁷, cf. **nha** (Gy 92: 1) "was at rest" (from ʿʿʿ) and pass. pt. **niha** (Gy 293: 21 A) but varr. **nhia**, **nhʿ** and even **nihia** (ibid. BCD), st. abs. **nʿ** (Gy 293: 21).

b) Verbs ʿʿʿ (> ʿʿʿ) sometimes behave as ʿʿʿ: GLA becomes GLL in pa., cf. **galaiā d-mgalil kasiata** (Gy 61: 23) "Revealer, who reveals mysteries"²⁵⁸. 15 From BNA "to build" there is a secondary root BNN, cf. the frequent **ba binta** (Gy 104: 16, 17 etc) "he built a building" (ʿʿʿ) and **baiin binta** (Gy 89: 10) "he builds a building" (ʿʿʿ = ʿʿʿ, s. a). KLA "to hold back, retain" forms the pa. from KLL with the meaning "to restrain", "to languish"²⁵⁹. Cl. DKK = DUK = DAK "to quench" is used in mod. Mandaic as a verb 20

²⁵⁷ It became homonymous with NHA II "to wail, groan" (Drower-Macuch, Op. cit. 290b). Gl. 40: 11 f. quotes it as a formal af. **anha** — Ar. *bakkata* — *exprobare, corrigere* — P. *giryah kard*. The Persian meaning given, based on the pe. (not on the af., which would mean *giryah andāḥt*), proves that the initial a- is a mere prosthetic vowel.

²⁵⁸ Otherwise, GLL in the pe. would mean Syr. *gal* "to roll", as appears from the derivatives: **glala** mod. *galāla* "stone"; cl. **gilia** (pl) "waves", mod. sg. *gella*; **magalta** "scroll" (cf. Ar. *maḡallab*). GLL is also used as a reduplicated root GRGL § 195 f.).

²⁵⁹ See Drower-Macuch, Op. cit. 216 b, s. KLA I and II. As to KLL (ibid., p. 217), I have to correct a mistake committed by Lady Drower after my departure from Oxford. The manuscript of the Dictionary I prepared contained only KLL I and II which appear in the printed text as KLL II and III. Lady Drower, without consulting me, misunderstood **miṣṣkalin** (ML 134: 5, CP 109: 3) and its miscopying **maṣṣṣkilian** (CP 109: 1) as šafel-forms of KLL and entered this supposed KLL as KLL I and accordingly changed the numbers of the following two (: my KLL I became KLL II, and my KLL II became KLL III). As, however, the forms quoted have nothing to do with KLL but derive from ŠKA (< ܫܟܫܘܢ) "to find" (cf. **niṣṣkalun lšuba bmanatun** Gy 377: 15 f., "he shall be found as a portion for the Seven), there is no excuse for the entering of an additional KLL in the first place and for the changing of the numbers of the original two. The reader is advised to cross out KLL I and to restore the original numbers I for II and II for III in his copy of the Dictionary.

III guttural in pa. and ethpa. (s. a, c). DLL = DUL “to raise” (s. a) was also used as DLA²⁶⁰; in mod. Mandaic it is consistently used as ʿ^hʿ^hʿ^h²⁶¹. The root HMA (= Syr. *ḥmā*) “to fade” (related to HUM = HMM, s. a) occurs in *haimia* “they fade” (§ 76b). NDA “to quake” (from NDD = NUD, s. a). ŠTA “to act foolishly”, af. “to seduce” (like Syr. *ašfī*) is related to ŠTṬ = ŠUṬ²⁶². From RGG “to desire” (s. a) there is a secondary root RGA, which can be proved with certainty only in the derivative *rgita* (Gy 22: 15) “greed”. Cl. ŠTA “to drink” became *šāt*, *šātat*, *šatt* “he, she drank, thou didst drink” etc (pres. *qšāyet* “he drinks”) in mod. Mandaic. The verb may be considered as ʿ^hʿ^hʿ^h = ʿ^hʿ^hʿ^h also in *nišitai lzma kḏ hamra* (Morg. 262/15: 5f. under the picture) “let us drink (read *nišitih*) blood like wine!”. The root ʿ^hʿ^hʿ^h, Ar. *rafaʿa* “to repair” and “to heal” is used in Mandaic only as ʿ^hʿ^hʿ^h = ʿ^hʿ^hʿ^h with the meaning “to tie”, cf. *raiiph* (DA, p. 31 n. 2) “he binds it”, *rupiun* (Diuana Mašbuta, 202) “they tied”, mod. *roufī* “he tied (it)”²⁶³. The rt. ŠLA, meaning “to bend down”, “to incline”, “to pray” is always used as ʿ^hʿ^hʿ^h; but, meaning “to weave”, it usually passes to ʿ^hʿ^hʿ^h (or ʿ^hʿ^hʿ^h). It occurs with this meaning in Gy 361: 16 BCD. Lidzbarski’s remark about this Aramaic idiom²⁶⁴ is confirmed by the postcl. and mod. uses of this verb, cf. *šalia* (AM 155: 13) “weavers”, mod. *šāl* “he twisted”, *qšāyel* “he twists” (used as ʿ^hʿ^hʿ^h, but some forms are identical with ʿ^hʿ^hʿ^h, cf. imperat. pl. *šolyān* “*texcite!*”, or with ʿ^hʿ^hʿ^h, cf. pf. with suff. *šalli* “he wove it”). As to *lagian* (fem. pl.) used twice about eyes (AM 72: 5, 83: 15) and deriving from LGA, it could be explained either according to Gl. 13: 13 (explaining this root as Ar. *aqlaqa* — *discerpere* — P. *muḏṭarib šud*) or by Ar. *lağā*, *lağiya*. If the explanation quoted from the *Glossarium* is correct, the word would mean “disturbed > sad”; in the other case it would mean just the opposite (“expressive > merry”).

²⁶⁰ Drower-Macuch, Op. cit. 110b.

²⁶¹ Cf. Gl. 21: 13f., 63: 11f. The act. pt. pe. *dālya* “rising” and „raising” is now used also with an adjectival meaning “high, tall”, cf. Gl. 33: 7.

²⁶² Another ŠTA (< ʿ^hʿ^hʿ^h, Ar. *saṭaha*, Mand. doublet ŠTH) af. “to flay”, ethpa. “to stretch out” (Drower-Macuch, Op. cit. 458b) is always used as ʿ^hʿ^hʿ^h in Mandaic.

²⁶³ This meaning is given in Gl. 79: 3f.: Ar. *rabaṭa* — *alligare, ligare* — P. *bast*; 89: 15f.: Ar. *šadda* etc; 91: 15f.: Ar. *saddada* — *claudere* — P. *bast*. Only 23: 3f. gives the meaning: Ar. *tašaddada* — *invaleresere* — P. *mūḥkam sāḥt*. Nevertheless with the original meaning “to release” the verb is used as ʿ^hʿ^hʿ^h, cf. *gaṭar ularapia* (Morg. 260 11: 9 = DC 26, 1. 621 = DC 44, 1. 656) “he binds and does not loose”; *hatmia larapia* (DC 46, p. 234: 14) “they seal up and do not loose”. Hence the verb acquired a double meaning in Mandaic.

²⁶⁴ Ginzā, p. 382 n. 4.

The context favours the latter meaning, but the author of the *Glossarium* or rather his informant confused the root with LAG (< 𐤋𐤅𐤋) “to stammer” (> “to disturb”?) About NZZ = NZA “to be shaky, infirm, brittle” cf. § 219 b. The mod. auxiliary TMM (= 𐤌𐤌𐤌, Ar. *tamma*) “to become” is used as pa. III gutturalis: *tamma* “he became” (the same violation of the root as was done in DAK = DUK = DKK now used as *dakka*, §§ 222, 224 γ).

c) Some roots, which originally were II guttural, are practically treated as 𐤌'𐤅: DAK = (DUK) “to quench”, “to extinguish” (< 𐤍𐤅𐤍, cf. s. a. b); a further secondary root used in the classical is DHK (Gy 83: 3, 8, 18); (in mod. Mandaic it is used as III guttural, cf. §§ 222, 224 γ). DAŞ (< 𐤍𐤅𐤍) = (DUŞ) “to fix”, cf. the imper. *duş* (still used as 𐤌'𐤅); ṬAA (< 𐤌𐤅𐤌) = (ṬUA) “to err” (cf. pt. pe. masc. pl. *ṭaiin*, Gy 227: 19, “they err”, deriv. *ṭaia*, *ṭ'ia*, *ṭiia*, *ṭi'ia* “error”); ṬAB = (ṬUB) “to be good”; ṬAN (< 𐤌𐤅𐤎) = (ṬUN) “to bear” (cf. *ṭuna ṭaiin*, Gy 54, “it bears fruit”, pass. pt. pe. *ṭin* Jb 177: 5). KAB (< 𐤍𐤀𐤌) = KIB = (KUB) “to ache, pain” (cf. Gl. 19: 15 f, 50: 11 f; *kaiib* *kāyēβ*, fem. *kaiba* *kīβa* “is aching” is still used; the derivative *kiba* “ache”, “pain” is pronounced *koββa* in the colloquial). KAR (< Syr. *ka'r*) = (KUR) “to abash” (pa.), “to be ashamed” (ethpa.). LAG (< 𐤋𐤅𐤋) = (LUG) “to stammer”, “to stutter” (pass. pt. pe. masc. pl. *ligia*, Gy 177: 9, “*balbi*”). SAA (< 𐤌𐤀𐤌, 𐤌𐤀𐤑) = (SUA) “to wash” (*sun* “wash yourselves!”) etc. (*tauma* “twin” derives from 𐤌'𐤅, unlike Syr. *tā'mā*, which is from II 𐤌) ²⁶⁵.

d) Peculiarities of different kinds: YLP, ALP “to learn”, “to teach” was also used as LUP, LPP (s. a); the derivative *laupa* var. *lupa* can mean either “doctrine” or “communion” ²⁶⁶. In the classical, the pe. was used with the meaning “to learn”, only sometimes “to teach” (as the pa.). In mod. Mandaic the secondary roots disappeared and only *yelef* (pe.) “he learned” and *allef* (pa., with suff. *alfi*) “he taught” remained. This circumstance helped to avoid the confusion between two weak roots, which was frequent in the classical (e. g. *alpat*, Gy 183: 4, “she wrapped”, where ALP is used for LPP).

From *nisaq* (impf. of SLQ) there is a secondary pf. *saq* “he went up”, “he ascended”. This form is quoted in the Gl. 101: 3 f (with **g** instead of **q**);

²⁶⁵ MG, p. 83: 3 f.

²⁶⁶ Cf. Rosenthal, AF, p. 230; Pallis, MSt, pp. 90 n. 4, 169 n. 1.

the present is quoted there as **gasaig** (sic), i. e. *qasāyēq*. The secondary forms are still used.

From **'tar** "he woke up" (reflexive of עורר "to be awake") there is a secondary rt. ATR, in which the *t* of the reflexive (Syr. *ett'ir*) penetrated into the
5 root: **atrḥ** (ATŠ II no. 159) **matarlḥ** (Gs 10: 2) "awakened him" (historical pres.) etc²⁶⁷.

From אָתַן "to put", "to place" there is a frequent **atna** "he put", imperat. "put!" or "put them!", **atnath** "I put him", **matna** "he puts", **matnit** "I put" etc. These forms could easily be confused with those of the verb NTN "to
10 give", which is used with the final *n* in Mandaic, not with a final *l* as in Syriac; the final *n* becomes *l* by assimilation only when it is followed by the encl. *l*: **nitilan** "he gives us", **nitilḥ** "he gives him", **'tilkun** "I (shall) give you", **mitilan** "to give us"; otherwise, the final *n* remains: **nitin**, **n'tin** "*da(bi)t'*", **titnulḥ** "*da(bi)t'is eo*", **n'tna** "*ēae da(bu)nt'*" (with apocope of the final *n*, § 26b)
15 etc.

Other, rarer peculiarities of weak roots will be treated in paragraphs concerned with the inflection (§§ 206 ff.).

§ 197. a) The classical had two tenses: perfect, imperfect, and one mood: the imperative. The mod. perfect follows the cl. patterns and gives us the
20 possibility of a better understanding of the cl. forms concerned.

b) The cl. imperfect died out, being replaced by the special Neo-Aramaic present, consisting of the particle **q, qa, qi** *qə, qa, qo*, followed by the act. participle with the enclitic personal pronoun.

The imperfect was formed with the same prefixes and affixes as in other
25 dialects of Oriental Aramaic. Apart from the prefix *n-* in the 3rd p. masc. sg. and pl. and the 1st p. pl. there is the prefix *l-* (which was a facultative variant of *n* also in Talm., and is already known from B.-Aram. לְהוֹי, לְהוֹן, לְהוֹן (?)). Forms with *l* (as **l'puq**, Gy 118: 7, as a variant of "he goes out" etc) were quoted by Nöldeke²⁶⁸.

²⁶⁷ MG, pp. 84 & n. 1, 251 n. 2. ATR was still used in the postclassical language, cf. Gl. 15:1f, 20:1f, 177:9f. In mod. Mandaic it disappeared as well as the original AUR (< עורר), and "to awake" as an intransitive verb is *yebem* "he sat up", as transitive *uqmi* "he aroused him", or simply *malli yobom, malli qom* "he said to him: "Get up!"

²⁶⁸ MG, p. 216:6ff.

c) The imperfect of the afel can have the prefix **'ia-** in the 1st p. sg. This prefix distinguishes it from the 3rd p. m. sg., which has only **a-**: **'iapriš** "I explain" and **apriš** "he explained". But there are many forms with **a-** as a prefix of the 1st p. sg. impf. (as in Syriac where both forms are identical). The other persons have either shorter or longer prefixes: **na-**, **ta-**, or **nia-** (n^o**'ia-**), **tia-** (t^o**'ia-**). The longer forms are preferred with suffixes and enclitics. Without suff.: **napriš** "he explains", **tapriš** "she explains"; with suff.: **n'ia-prišan** "he explains to me" > "he teaches me". **nasiq** or **n'iasiq** "he makes ascend", **nasqḥ** or **n'iasqḥ** "he makes him ascend", but only **'iasiq** "I make ascend"²⁶⁹.

Further, the prefix **nia-** (n^o**'ia-**) is found in the pael of some verbs **ܘܢ'ܕ** (§ 213βb).

d) There is no special subjunctive form, and the subjunctive and optative (or jussive) are substituted by the simple imperfect.

e) In the 3rd p. sg., the masculine and the feminine are distinguished by different prefixes. The 3rd p. fem. sg. and the 2nd p. sg. have the same form. In the 2nd p. sg. the gender (Syr. *teqṭōl* and *teqṭlīn*) is not distinguished. Nevertheless, there are, at least, two forms, which must be considered as fem.: **timitai** (Gy 161: 6, Gs 132: 13) "*moriaris*" (§ 219αb) and **tidul** (Gy 156: 1) "thou bringest forth"²⁷⁰; the latter lost the fem. ending and became identical with the masc. In the 3rd and 2nd p. pl., the gender is distinguished by the endings **-un** and **-an** (as in Syriac). The *n* of the fem. ending is often apocopated (§ 26b). Otherwise, the masculine is often used instead of the feminine.

f) The imperative is formed by dropping the prefix of the imperfect. The masculine and feminine have the same graphical forms. However, the gender is expressed by two different colloquial pronunciations of the same forms; **gṭul** "kill!" is pronounced *gəṭol* as masc., and *gəṭūl* as fem.; **dhul** "fear!" *dohol* (and *debel*) as masc., *dubūl* as fem.; **lguṭ** "take!", "seize!" colloquially *loxoṭ* masc., *luḫūṭ* fem. (cf. § 202b). This pronunciation may represent an old distinction between the masculine and the feminine in the imperative. It could not appear in the script, since there is the same sign for both *o* and *ū*.

²⁶⁹ Further examples *ibid.*, pp. 215f.

²⁷⁰ MG, p. 217: 10f.

In the classical, the singular was, as a rule, used also for the pl. Imperative forms with special pl. endings **-un** and **-iun** are rare. Only before the enclitics, the plural used to be distinguished by the ending **u**, cf. **sgudulḥ** “worship him!”. There is no special cl. pl. imperative form. However, the colloquial preserved special pl. forms for both genders: *gaʔolyōn*, *geʔolyōn* masc., *geʔelyen* fem. “necate!” etc. Before suffixes and enclitics, the gender cannot be distinguished: *geʔli* “kill him!” is used for both masc. and fem. In the plural the full ending is restored: *geʔlonnī* “necate eum!” (cl. **giʔluia**) *geʔlonna* “necate eam!” (cl. **giʔlu**) etc. The *n* of the plural ending regularly assimilates to the encl. *l*: *marullī* “dicite ei!” (cl. **amarulḥ**).

2. Strong Verbs²⁷¹.

§ 198. General Characteristics:

a) There are three types of the peal according to the vowel of the 2nd rad. (as in Syriac and other dialects):

1. Pf. with *a* — Impf. with *o* (sometimes *e*, *a*)
2. Pf. with *e* — Impf. with *a* (often *o*)
3. Pf. with *o* — Impf. with *o*.

Verbs of the 1st group are mostly transitive; those of the 2nd and 3rd group are, as a rule, intransitive.

b) The imperfect of the 1st group usually has *o* after the 2nd rad.; forms with *e*, as **nišbiqlun** (Q 19: 28) “may be forgive them” (aside from the usual **nišbuq**), are used only before encl. prepositions (§ 201 f).

c) Some verbs waver between the 1st and the 2nd group: **nsib** and **nsab** “he took”, impf. **nisab**, **ninsab** (aside from **ninsib**), imper. **sab** (but also **nsab**, **nsib**, **nsub**); **lgiṭ** and **lgaṭ** (mod. *leḡaṭ*) “he seized”, impf. **nilguṭ** and **nilgaṭ**, imper. **lguṭ** (mod. *loḡaṭ*); **rhim** and **rham** (mod. *rehem*) “he loved”, impf. **nirhum**, imper. **rhum** (mod. *rohom* and *rehem*); **shid** and **shad** “he witnessed”, impf. **nishad**; **pšiṭ** and **pšaṭ** “he stretched out”, impf. **nipšuṭ**; imper. **pšuṭ**; **rqid** (but coll. both *reqed* and *erqad*), impf. **nirqad** (ATŠ no. 261).

²⁷¹ MG §§ 167 — 176.

The secondary perfect with *e* as a stem-vowel might have developed under the influence of the pass. pt. pe., which is sometimes used with an active meaning: **Igiṭ** “he holds” (: *cepit, ergo tenet*).

In Mandaic **rgaz**, impf. **nirguz** “to be angry” belongs to the 1st group (although the Syr. *rgez*, impf. *nergaz* belongs to the 2nd).

In the imperfect of some verbs the vowels *a* and *o* seem to be merely facultative: **ŠQL (šqal)** “to remove” — impf. **nišqal, nišqul** (even **nišqil**); **sbal** “he carried” — impf. **nisbal, nisbul** (imper. **sbal, sbul**); **GBL (gbal)** “to form” — impf. **nigbal** (no var. with *o*); **ništaḷ** “he plants”, but imper. **štul; niqnas** (Gy 245: 20) “he inflicts punishment”, but imper. with suff. **qnuslh** (var. **qnaslh**)²⁷². **rṭin** “he muttered” — impf. **nirṭan** (Morg. 264/18: 36 and **nirṭun** (DC 34, I. 965).

The following verbs have *e* in the perfect, but *o* in the imperfect and imperative, though in some cases the *e* of the perfect might be only graphical, according to the colloquial pronunciation:

Pf.		Impf.	Imper.	Meaning	
dhil	(coll. <i>dehel</i>)	nidhul	dhul (coll. both <i>dehel & dohol</i>)	“to fear”	
pliṭ	(coll. — — —)	nipluṭ	pluṭ	“to escape”	
rhiṭ	(coll. <i>reheṭ</i>)	nirhut and nirhaṭ	rhuṭ (coll. <i>reheṭ</i> & <i>rohoṭ</i>)	“to run”	20
sgid	(coll. <i>eṣgad</i>)	nisgud	sgud (coll. <i>eṣgod</i>)	“to worship”	
qrib	(coll. — — —)	niqrub (var. niqrab)	qrub	“to approach”	
škib	(coll. <i>šexaβ</i> & <i>šexoβ</i>)	niškub	škub (coll. <i>šexoβ</i>)	“to lie down”	25
nhit	(coll. <i>enbeṭ</i>)	nihut (var. n^oihut & ninhut)	hut (but also nhut nhit , coll. only <i>enbeṭ</i>)	“to descend”	
npiš	(coll. — — —)	ninpuš	— — —	“to be nume- rous”	30
bhit	(coll. <i>bebeṭ</i>)	nibhut (nibhit)	*bhut (coll. <i>boboṭ</i>)	“to be ashamed”	

²⁷² MG, p. 220: 15 ff.

Pf.		Impf.	Imper.	Meaning
bṭil	(coll. — — —)	nibṭul	bṭul	“to vanish”
šlim	(coll. — — —)	nišlum (var. lišlum , l’šlum)	(*šlum)	“to be achieved”
hlip	(coll. <i>helef</i>)	nihlup	(mod. <i>helef</i> & <i>holof</i>)	“to pass by”

Forms, as **ninhit** and **nibhit** are to be considered as ethpe., which can freely be used instead of the pe. of intransitive verbs.

- 10 d) Nöldeke²⁷³ supposed a pf. with *e* for the following verbs: **nibšul**, **nibšal** “burns, boils” which is used in cl. Mandaic intransitively (in the modern transitively in pa. **bašil** *baššel* “he cooked”)²⁷⁴; **nighun** “he bows” (Syr. both *ghan* and *ghen*, impf. *neghan*); **nihrub** “he will be laid waste” (as in Syriac). The colloquial perfect of the last one is *haroβ*, *ahroβ* “he was spoilt”. Nevertheless, this fact alone would not contradict Nöldeke’s opinion, since there could be the same labialization of the front vowel as in **škib** mod. *šexoβ*, or in the participle **harub** (Gy 29:9) etc.²⁷⁵; but the second vowel of the imperfect could be labialized in the same way in **nihrub**, so that this verb, originally belonging to the second group, was practically treated as those belonging to the 3rd.
- 15 20 **nihšuk** “it gets dark” (as Syr. *ḥšēk* in spite of the impf. *neḥšāk*) and **nihšuk** (Gs 2:1, 3:1) “he grows lax” (in spite of Syr. *ḥsaḳ*, but impf. *neḥsōk* as in Mandaic). The same perfect is supposed for verbs occurring only in the imperative: **šduq**, **šduk** “be quiet!” (as Syr. *šteq*, impf. *neštōq*; the form **šdiq**, formally identical with the perfect, occurs as a pass. pt. pe. “silent”) and **rhuq**
- 25 “keep distance!”

- e) The following verbs belong to the 2nd group according to their perfect, but their imperfects are unknown: **shiq** var. **shaq** “he sported”; **nhiš** “he whispered” (but according to its imper. **nhuš** its impf. ought to be ***ninhuš**). The impf. **ngib** (Gy 145:3, 169:9) “he (or they) sprouted up” occurs only
- 30 in the plural **ninibun**.

²⁷³ Ibid., p. 219:22 ff.

²⁷⁴ Mod. derivative *bošāla* is used of boiled meals, esp. rice. “To boil” as an intransitive verb was replaced by *ḡūš aṭā* (P. *ḡūš āmad*) which can be used transitively as *ḡūš aṭā* (P. *ḡūš āward*).

²⁷⁵ MG, p. 19:4.

f) Verbs of the 3rd group:

Pf.	Impf.	Imperat.	Meaning	
bsum mod. <i>besom</i> (Syr. <i>bsem</i>)	nibsum (Syr. <i>nebsam</i>)	bsum mod. <i>besom</i>	“to be pleasing”	
škub mod. <i>šexoβ</i> (aside from the usual škib pronounced in the same way)	niškub	škub mod. <i>šexoβ</i>	“to lie down”	5
hkum (but also hikim , both different form Syr. <i>hkam</i>)	jussive: (la)tihkum	(*hkum)	“to be wise”	10
tqun	nitqun		“to be strong”	
špur (Gy 177: 2)	nišpur (var. nišpar) ²⁷⁶		“to be pleasing, or pleased”	15

Apart from the usual **bṭin** (as Syr.) “to be pregnant”, there is **bṭun** (Gy 102: 16). In **bsum**, **hkum**, **škub** the *o* could be explained by labialization (§ 72); so could it be in HRB (cf. **nihrub** and the mod. pf., s. d). In **tqun**, **bṭun** there could be a similar influence of the nasal. The *o* in **špur**, **nišpur** (Syr. *špar*, *nešpar*) where a front vowel should be preferred before *r*, according to the generally Aramaic rule (§ 69), defies explanation.

g) The rule mentioned lost its vigour in Mandaic, so that it is observed only in a few verbs: (mod. *toββar*), impf. **nitbar** “to break”; **bhar** “he chose” (but imperat. **bhur**) etc.²⁷⁷. The imperative is a regular exception to this rule: **zmur** mod. *zomor* “sing!”; cl. **amar** and **amur**, mod. only *omor* “say!”²⁵ etc. There are also some imperfects, which have *o* before *r*, esp. before the enclitics: **nimšurlia** (Gy 370: 5) “he may build a bridge for me”, **niṣurlia** (Gy 370:6) “he may guard for me”²⁷⁸. Such optative and jussive forms

²⁷⁶ In the classical the only form with *a* seems to be **latišpar** (Gy 365: 1) “be not pleased!”. But in the postcl. language there is a homonymous root with the meaning “to perish, be spoilt” (frequent in AM) used only in the impf. pe. which is consistently **nišpar**, **tišpar** (see Drower-Macuch, Op. cit. 472f. s. **ŠPR I** and **II**).

²⁷⁷ Cf. examples in MG, p. 221: 1ff.

²⁷⁸ MG, p. 221: 13f.

might follow the analogy of the imperative, where the functional expression of *o* is the strongest.

§ 199. Personal Endings and Prefixes:

a) Endings of the perfect:

5	Sg.: cl. 3. m.—, f. -at ;	2. -t ;	1. -it
	mod. —, -at ;	-t (f. -īt);	-īt
	Pl.: cl. 3. — (= 3. sg. m.);	2. m. -tun , f. -tin ;	1. -nin
	but also m. (i)un , f. —		
	mod. -yōn , f. -yān- ,	ton , -ten ;	-nī(n) .

10 Apart from the cl. 3rd p. pl., identical with the 3rd p. sg. masc., there are some forms with a full ending **-ūn** and **-yōn** for masc., and **-yān** for fem. The latter are rare in the classical, but they are used with absolute consistency in mod. Mandaic.

The 2nd p. sg. has only one cl. ending for both genders (as in Syr. pro-
15 nunciation in spite of a more original orthography). In mod. Mandaic there is a special fem. form with the ending **-īt**. This form identical with the 1st p. sg. is to be distinguished by the pers. pronoun: **āt geṭṭīt** "thou (fem.) hast killed"/**an geṭṭīt** "I killed".

In the 2nd p. pl. the masculine form was often used instead of the feminine,
20 although the latter has a proper ending, still used with relative consistency.

The final *n* of the ending of the 1st p. pl. is regularly dropped in the colloquial (§ 26b).

b) Prefixes and Endings of the Imperfect:

	Sg.: 3 m. ni- , n^c- , less often li- (sporadically l^c- , § 197b),
25	3 f. } ti- (t^c-);
	2 m. and f. }
	1 t^c- .

	P.: 3 m. ni--un (n^c--un , li--un)
	f. ni--an , ni--a (with the same varr. of the prefix as in the masc.);
30	2 m. ti--un ,
	2 f. ti--an , ti--a ;
	1 = 3 m. sg.

In the af. the prefixes have **-a** (*balqa*) instead of **-i-** (*aksa*) and instead of **-ʿ-**, or the *balqa* can be preceded by an *aksa*: **nia-**, **nʿia-**; **tia-**, **tʿia-**; **ʿia-** (§ 197c).

c) Plural endings of the imperative:

In the classical, the singular was usually used for the plural. But there are some forms with special masc. pl. endings **-un** (*-ūn*) and **-iun**, mod. *-yōn*. There is no fem. pl. ending in the classical; the mod. fem. pl. ending is *-yen*. The singular form is never used for the plural in mod. Mandaic.

d) The participial present-future consisting of the procl. particle *qa-* and of the participle with encl. personal pronouns completely drove out the cl. impf. The original form of the participle (*gāṭel*) keeps *e* only in the 3rd p. sg. (i. e. the normal st. abs.) and before the encl. personal pronoun of the 1st p. sg. (cl. **gaṭilna** = mod. [*an*] *qagāṭelna*); all other persons are formed by adding the encl. personal pronoun to the shortened form (*gāṭl-*). The 3rd p. sg and pl. are mere *status absoluti*. The personal affixes are then as follows:

Sg.: 3. m. — (st. abs. m. sg.), f. **-a** *-a* (st. abs. f. sg.); 2. **-it** *-et*; 1. **-na** *-na*
Pl.: 3. m. **-in** *-en* (st. abs. m. pl.), f. **-an**, **-a** (st. abs. f. pl., not used in the colloquial); 2. m. **-itun** *-etton*, f. **-itin** *-etten*; 1. **-inin** *-enni(n)*.

§ 200. Perfect Tense:

a) All cl. forms cannot be shown on the same verb. The verb LGṬ “to grasp” is chosen for a paradigm of the cl. pe., since its pe. forms are most completely attested.

b) Cl. pe.: LGṬ “to seize, grasp”.

	Sg.	Pl.
3. m.	lgat (lgiṭ)	lgaṭ (as 3rd p. m. sg.)*
f.	liḡṭat	

25

*) Forms of the 3rd p. pl. with special plural ending: Masc. **npaḡiun** (Gy 380: 1) mod. *nāḡayon* “they went out”; **pratiun** (Gy 247: 13) “they open wide”; **kpariun** (DA) “they apostazied”; **qliḡiun** (Gy 233: 17 etc) “they ascended”; **rhiṭiun** (Gy 366: 8) mod. *reḡeṭyon* “they ran”; **akaliun** (HG 8) “they came to an end”, (ibid. 210) “they occupied”, mod. *aḡalyon* “they ate”; **dariun** (HG 7) “they abode”; **rupiun** (DC 35, 202) mod. *roḡyon* “they tied” etc. Fem. **rgazian** (Jb 40: 2) “*iratae fuerunt*”; **shaṭian**, **shiṭian** (ML 265: 1) “they spread out” etc.

	Sg.		Pl.
2.	lgatt		*lgattun (cf. npaqtun “ye went out”)
		f.	*lgattin (cf. npaltin “ye fell down”)
1.	ligtit		*lgatnin (cf. npaqnin “we went out”)

- 5 c) Mod. pe.: GṬL “to kill”, DHL “to fear”, ŠK_B “to lie down”, HDR “to turn”.

	Sg.:	3. m. <i>geṭal</i> (<i>geṭal</i>),	<i>debel</i> ,	<i>šexoβ</i> ,	<i>ḥadar</i> (<i>ḥedar</i>)
		f. <i>geṭlat</i> ,	<i>deblat</i> ,	<i>šexβat</i> ,	<i>ḥadrat</i>
	2.	<i>geṭalt</i> (<i>geṭalt</i>),	<i>debelt</i> ,	<i>šexoβt</i> ,	<i>ḥedart</i>
10		f. (<i>āt geṭlit</i>)	(<i>āt deblit</i>)	(<i>āt šexβit</i>)	(<i>āt ḥedrit</i>)
	1.	<i>geṭlit</i> ,	<i>deblit</i> ,	<i>šexβit</i> ,	<i>ḥedrit</i>
	Pl.:	3. m. <i>geṭalyōn</i> (<i>geṭalyōn</i>),	<i>debelyōn</i> ,	<i>šexeβyōn</i> ,	<i>ḥedaryōn</i>
		f. <i>geṭalyān</i> (<i>geṭalyān</i>),	<i>debelyān</i> ,	<i>šexeβyān</i> ,	<i>ḥedaryān</i>
	2. m.	<i>geṭalton</i> ,	<i>debelton</i> ,	<i>šexoβton</i> ,	<i>ḥedarton</i>
15		f. <i>geṭalten</i> ,	<i>debelten</i> ,	<i>šexoβten</i> ,	<i>ḥedarten</i>
	1.	<i>geṭalnī</i> ,	<i>debelnī</i> ,	<i>šexoβnī</i> (<i>šexeβnī</i>),	<i>ḥedarnī</i>

- d) Cl. pa.:

	Sg.		Pl.
20	3. m. hašib “he thought”,	šadar “he sent”;	hašib “they thought”, šadar “they sent”, (with a full ending: qabiliun “they accepted”)
	f. hašbat “she thought”,	šadrat “she sent”;	
25	2. hašibt “thou didst think”,	šadart “thou didst send”;	m. hašibtun “ye thought”
			f. pariqtin “ye saved”
	1. šaltit “I gave power”,	šadrit “I sent”;	hašibnin “we thought”.

Quadriliteral verbs are conjugated like **hambil** “he destroyed”, cf. s. e.

- 30 e) Mod. pa.: BRK “to bless”, ŠDR “to send”, H(M)BL “to profane”

	Sg.:	3. m. <i>barreḥ</i> ,	<i>šaddar</i> ,	<i>hambel</i> (cl. hambil)
		f. <i>barḥat</i> ,	<i>šadrat</i> ,	<i>hambelat</i> (cl. hamblat)

	2. <i>bar(r)ex̄t (bar̄x̄et)</i> ,	<i>šaddert</i> ,	<i>hambelt</i>
	f. (<i>āt bar̄x̄it</i>)	(<i>āt šadr̄it</i>)	
	1. <i>bar̄x̄it</i> ,	<i>šadr̄it</i> ,	<i>hambil̄it*</i>)
Pl.:	3. m. <i>bar(r)ex̄yōn</i> ,	<i>šad(d)eryōn</i> ,	<i>hambalyōn**</i>)
	f. <i>bar(r)ex̄yān</i> ,	<i>šad(d)eryān</i> ,	<i>hambalyān**</i>)
	2. m. <i>bar(r)ex̄ton</i> ,	<i>šad(d)erton</i> ,	<i>hambelton</i>
	1. <i>bar(r)ex̄nī(n)</i> ,	<i>šad(d)ernī(n)</i> ,	<i>hambelnī(n)</i>

f) Cl. af.:

Sg.

3. m. **apriš** “he explained”, **adkar** “he mentioned” 10
 f. **anhirat** “she illuminated”, **adkrat** “she mentioned”
 2. **ahribt** “thou hast destroyed”, **anhart** “thou didst illuminate”
 1. **aprišit** “I explained”, **adk(i)rit** “I mentioned”

Pl.

3. = 3. m. sg. (Full forms ***aprišun** m., ***aprišan** f. do not occur by coincidence). 15
 2. m. **aprištun**, Gy 157: 22, has a suff. of the 1st p. sg.: “ye explained to me”,
 “ye taught”²⁷⁹, but a form without the suff. would be the same.
 f. ***aprištin**.
 1. **albišnīn** “we clothed”, (***adkarnīn** “we mentioned”). 20

*) Cl. would be **hamblit** *hambelit* (analogy of the 3rd p. f. sg.). It seems that this verb with its mod. meaning can hardly, or only rarely, be used in the 1st p. Nevertheless, there are also forms, as *ehambilat* “she was profaned”, *ehambilit* “I was profaned”, used in the ehpa. (s. i), so that the difference of the vocal timbre in *hambelat* and *hambilit* (ethpe.: *ehambilat*, *ehambilit*, pres.: *qambambilā*) may be due to a wandering of the accent between the penult and the antepenult. The longer ethpa. forms prefer the stress on the penult, while the shorter pa. forms are supposed to have it on the antepenult, cf. the suppression pf the penult in *bar̄x̄at* (<***barr̄x̄at**), *bar̄x̄it* (<***barr̄x̄it**)! The form *hambilit* might then follow the analogy of the ethpa. forms; cf. also 25
bašq̄orit & *bašq̄ir̄it*, s. j.

) The forms *hambalyōn*, *hambalyān* (instead of the expected and admissible *hambelyōn*, *hambelyān*) also follow the analogy of the correspondind ethpa. forms, cf. cl. *hambalian** (Gy 241: ult.) mod. *ehambalyōn*, fem. *ehambylān* (s. i).

²⁷⁹ MG, p. 224 n. 1.

g) Mod. af.: **ahrib** *ahreβ* "he destroyed".

Sg.:	3. m. <i>ahreβ</i> f. <i>ahreβat</i> 2. <i>ahreβti</i> (< <i>ahreβt</i>) 1. <i>ahreβit</i>	Pl.:	3. m. <i>ahreβyōn</i> f. <i>ahreβyān</i> 2. m. <i>ahreβton</i> (< <i>ahreβton</i>) f. <i>ahreβten</i> (< <i>ahreβten</i>) 1. <i>ahreβnī</i> .
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h) Cl. reflexive forms: ethpe., ethpa., ettaf.

α) With *t* in the prefix:

	Ethpe.	Ethpa.	Ettaf.
10 Sg.:			
3. m	'tinsib "he was taken"	'thašab "he cogitated"	'tapraš "he was taught"
f.	'tigblat "she was formed"	'tlabšat "she (was) dressed"	'taprišat "she was taught"
15 2.	'tigblit, 'tigbilt "thou wert formed"	'tparaq̄t "thou wert saved"	'taprašt "thou wert taught"
1. 'thidrit "I returned"	'thašbit "I cogitated"	'taprišit "I was taught"	
20 Pl.:			
3. = 3. m. sg.	Forms with full pl. endings:		
	'triglun "they were fettered"	'tkanapiun "they assembled"	*'taprašium
25		'stakariun "they were locked"	
2. m.	'tigbiltun "ye were formed"	'tpanaqtun "ye were pampered"	*'tapraštun
		'štagaštun "ye were confounded"	
30 f.	*'tigbiltin " <i>fictae estis</i> "	'stahaptin " <i>reversae estis</i> "	*'tapraštin
1.	'tigbilnin "we were formed"	'tradapnin "we were persecuted"	'taprašnin "we were taught"

β) Without *t* in the prefix:

	Ethpe.	Ethpa.
Sg.: 3. m.	* triṣ "he was erected, consecrated" (<i>etres</i> ; from TRṢ, with a rad. <i>t</i>)	* haial "he became strong"
f.	* mizgat "was mixed"	* kamrat "she returned" (cf. s. i)
2.	* triṣt "thou wert erected, consecrated" (TRṢ)	* kamart "thou hast returned" (cf. s. i)
1.	* hidrit "I returned"	* parqit "I was saved"
Pl.: 3. = 3. m. sg.	With full endings:	* hambaliun " <i>destructi sunt</i> " (cf. s. i)
2. m.	* triṣtun " <i>consecrati estis</i> "	* hambalian " <i>destructae sunt</i> "
f.		* kamartun "ye returned"
1.	* triṣnin "we were erected, consecrated"	* tabartun " <i>fractae estis</i> " (from TBR, with a rad. <i>t</i>)
		* kamarnin "we returned" (cf. s. i)

i) Modern reflexives: Only ethpe. and ethpa. are used, but always with the prefix without *t*.

	Ethpe. <i>edhel</i> "was afraid" <i>etβar</i> "was broken"	Ethpa. <i>ekammar</i> "he returned" <i>ehambal</i> "was profaned"
Sg.: 3. m.	<i>edhel etβar</i>	<i>ekammar ehambal</i>
f.	<i>edehlat eteβrat</i>	<i>ekāmrat ehambīlat</i> *)
2.	<i>edhelt etβart</i>	<i>ekammart ehambalt</i>
1.	<i>ehehlīt eteβrīt</i>	<i>ekāmrit ehambīlīt</i> *)
Pl.: 3. m.	<i>edhelyōn etβaryōn</i>	<i>ekamaryōn ehambalyōn</i>
f.	<i>edhelyān etβaryān</i>	<i>ekamaryān ehambalyān</i>
2. m.	<i>edhelton etβarton</i>	<i>ekamarton ehambalton</i>
f.	<i>edhelten etβarten</i>	<i>ekamarten ehambalten</i>
1.	<i>edhelnī(n) etβarnī(n)</i>	<i>ekamarnī(n) ehambalnī(n)</i>

In *ekāmrat* and *ekāmrit*, the primary penult of **ekammarat* > *ekam(mə)rat* and of **ekammarīt* > *ekam(mə)rīt* vanished, so that the accent is now on the

*) About *ehambīlat* and *ehambīlīt* cf. s. e.

secondary penult, which was lengthened in compensation for the vanished primary penult. But in **ehambalat* and **ehambalīt*, the primary penult could not vanish because of an earlier dissimilation of the reduplicated second radical, whose essential part remained in the penult. Therefore, the penult
 5 obtained the accent, and by its influence the secondary *šwa* was changed to *ī* (**ehambalat* > **ehambalat* > *ehambīlat*; **ehambalīt* > **ehambalīt* > *ehambīlīt*).

The reflexive is rarely used. It is commonly replaced by the pass. pt. + the auxiliary HUA "to be": *geḡel howā* "he was killed", *geḡīla hewat* "necata
 10 est", *geḡel hewet* "necatus es", *geḡīla hewet* "necata es" etc; *məḡallaṣ howā* "direptus est" (= *eḡallaṣ*), *məḡālsa hewat* "direpta est" (= *eḡālṣat*) etc (cf. HUA, § 227ε b). This is being done less with intransitive verbs, the pass. participles of which have an active meaning, e. g. *ṣeḡeβ*, fem. *ṣeḡīβa* "asleep", "sleeping" (although there is a pres. *ṣeḡeβye* "he is sleeping", *ṣeḡīβī* "she is sleeping", cf. P. *ḥwābīdeh*
 15 *ast*); *debel*, *debīlā* "afraid" (in spite of the present *debelye* "he is afraid", "he fears", *debīlī* "she is afraid", "she fears"). In such cases the ethpe. is preferred. Sometimes even a pass. participle of an intransitive verb is used with the auxiliary HUA, but with an active meaning, cf. *beḡeṣ howā* "he stayed", "he waited", *beḡīṣa hewat* "she stayed, waited".

20 j) Quadriradical verbs (§ 195 f—o) mostly follow **hambil hambel** and **'hambal ehambal** (s. e, i). But reflexive forms with *t* in the prefix are frequent.

α) Fundamental Forms (cf. *hambel*, s. e).

Sg.

3. m. **hambib** "he grew hot", **tarmid** "he initiated", **sarhib** "he hurried"
- 25 f. **armlat** "she became a widow" (as af., but with a rad. a)
2. **bašqart** "thou hast investigated, recognized"
1. **bašq(i)rit*** "I recognized", **tarmidit** "I taught", **šašqlit** "I removed"
 (One could expect only ***hambibit*** "I kindled").

*) The 1st p. sg. had two facultative forms *bašqarīt* and *bašqīrīt* (cf. also *šašqlit* and *tarmidit*, and *hambīlīt*, s. e). One could, however, hardly expect a mere *šwa* between two *b*'s in the 1st p. sg. and 3rd p. f. sg. of **hambib** where there could only be *hambībīt*, *hambībat*. These forms are confirmed by *hambīlīt* (s. e), where an *ī* is used in the penult without as good a reason, as it could be done in *hambībīt*, *hambībat*. The same *ī* is attested between two

Pl.

3. 3. m. sg. Longer forms with a special pl. ending would be admissible.
 2. m. *bašqirtin } “ye investigated”, “recognized” (cf. *hambel*, s. e)
 f. *bašqirtin }
 1. *bašqirnin “we investigated, recognized” (cf. *hambel*, s. e) 5

β) Reflexive Forms (cf. *ehambal*, s. i)

- Sg.: 3. m. 'thangar “he was lamed”, 'harzaq “he was fettered”
 f. 'štarh(i)bat “she was enlarged”, 'štarh(i)zat, štarhzat
 “she was scared”
 2. 'harzaq “thou wert fettered” 10
 1. (cf. *ehambilīt*, s. i)

Pl.: 3 = 3. m. sg. (With special pl. ending: 'hambalian fem., as in mod. Mandaic, s. i).

2. m. & f., 1. (cf. *ehambalton*, *ehambalten*, *ehambalnī*, s. i).

k) Personal endings before the enclitics (: b and l with personal suffixes): 15

α) In the classical²⁸⁰:

The 3rd p. pl., which is, as a rule, identical with the 3rd p. m. sg., can preserve the ending *n* before the enclitics: **našbulak** (Gy 72: 13) “they planted thee”. The rule is, however, rarely observed, and, even before enclitics, a plural without the ending can often be found²⁸¹. 20

The 1st and 2nd p. pl. lose their final *n*; the vowel of the 1st p. pl. is changed to *a*: **npaqnabh** (Gy 261: 6) “we went out in it”, **traṣnalun** (Gy 247: 3) “we raised for them”; **šadartulia** (Gs 64: 5) “ye sent me”.

The 1st p. sg. and 3rd p. f. sg. lose their final *t* and the original vowel is restored after the 2nd rad.: **gṭarilh** (Gy 90: 18) “I tied him”, **gṭaribh** (Ibid.) 25
 “I tied on him” (or “on it”). In the pa. the original vowel after the 2nd radical is not restored: **taqnibh** (Gy 91: 6) “I fixed in it”, while in other derived stems its remaining or vanishing seems to be facultative: **aprišilkun**

d's in **randidit** (*randidit*) “I shook”, the var. **randidit** (Gy 328: 21 A) may be considered as defective.

²⁸⁰ MG, p. 225 f.²⁸¹ See MG, p. 225:6.

"I taught you"; **ahdirilḥ** (Gy 90: 15 B) and **ahdrilḥ** (Ibid. ACD) "I encircled him"; **adkirilun** (Gy 180: 9 BD) and **adkrilun** (Ibid. C) "I remembered them"; refl. **'tiahribḥ** (Gy 103: 2) "I shone in it".

3rd p. f. sg.: **rhišalḥ** (Gy 85: 9f) "she crawled", **'štarhzaia** (Gy 272: 19) "she trembled".

But there are some forms of the 1st p. sg., in which *t* remained before the enclitics. In that case, the *-it -it* becomes *-ti- -te-*:

aprišilkun (Gy 224: 22 A) var. **aprišilkun** "I taught you". This usage, which was only exceptional in the classical, became normal in mod. Mandaic (cf. s. βend).

β) In mod. Mandaic.

There is a notable simplification: the encl. **b** is not used, and **l** is also used less often as an enclitic than in the classical. The encl. *l*, introducing a direct object, either gives way to accusative suffixes added directly, or the enclitic remains without affecting the verbal ending.

In the 3rd p. pl. there is always a full ending *-on*: *bedqonne*, *betqonne* "they put me" (as *geḥlonne* "they killed me", while in the 3rd p. m. sg. there can still be *bedaḡe* "he put me" (parallel with *bedqe*, *beḡqe* and *boḡqe*). The same happens in the 2nd p. pl.: *badaqtonne* "you put me", where the encl. *l* assimilates to the *n* of the ending rather than vice versa. The 3rd p. f. sg. attaches the suff. directly: *bedāḡte* "she put me" (while, in the present, there is *qabādqāle* "she puts me"). The ending of the 1st p. sg. always remains before the enclitic: *badaḡtellaḡ* "I put thee" (aside from the more usual *badaḡtaḡ*).

The question is not so simple when the encl. *l* introduces an indirect object. In such a case, the *l* cannot simply be dropped. The encl. *l* seems to be used to introduce an indirect object only with two verbs **𐤀𐤃**: **AHB** — *hāβle* "he gave me", and **AMR** — *malle* "he said to me". With other verbs, the encl. *l* is replaced by the independent preposition *qam* "for", cf. *šadrī qamdīn* "he sent him to me" or imper. "send him to me!". This can never be done with **AHB** and **AMR**, where the encl. *l* remains very strong, so that esp. in the 3rd p. pl. it behaves, as if it belonged to the root: *hāβlonne* "they gave me", (*e*)*mallonne* "they said to me". With 2nd p. pl.: *hāβtelonne* "you gave me", (*e*)*martelonne* "you said to me" (inst. of **hāβtonle* > **hāβtolle*, **emartonle* > **emartolle*). With 1st p. pl.: *hāβnannaḡ* "we gave thee", (*e*)*mann(ann)aḡ* "we said to thee". (The vowel *ī* of the pers. ending passed to *a*, but the final *n* remained. Moreover, the encl. *l* assimilated to the preceding *n*. This is just

the contrary of what happened in the classical). In the 3rd p. f. sg., the *t* of the ending vanishes as in the classical, but the remaining vowel is pronounced *ɛ*: *baβelle* “she gave me”, *marelle* “she said to me”. In the 1st p. sg., the *t* of the ending always remains (which happened only in a few cases in the classical, s. α end), so that these forms are formally identical with those of the 2nd p. sg., cf. *ān haftellī* “I gave him” and *āt haftellī* “thou didst give him”; *ān (e)martellī* “I said to him” and *āt (e)martellī* “thou didst say to him”.

§ 201. Imperfect Tense (Only in the classical)²⁸²

a) Pe.

Sg.: 3. m. nišbuq “he lets” or “will let”	nilguṭ, nilgaṭ “he grasps” or “will grasp”	10
3. f., 2. m. & f. tišbuq “she lets” or “will let”, “thou lettest”, or “wilt let”	tirgaz “she is (will be) angry”, “thou art (wilt be) angry”	
1. šbuq “I (shall) let”	‘nhar “I (shall) shine”	15
Pl.: 3. m. nirimzun “they (will) give a sign”, f. nirimza(n) “they (will) give a sign”,	niligṭun “they (will) grasp”	
2. m. tiginbun “ye (will) steal”, without help-vowel: tihkmun “ye (will) know”	tiligṭun “ye (will) grasp”	
	tizimrun “ye (will) sing” (var. *tizimrun),	20
f. is replaced by the masc., but a special fem. form tizimra(n) would be admissible.		
1. = 3. m. sg. (nišbuq; nilguṭ, nilgaṭ).		

b) Pa.

Sg.: 3. m. nipariq “ <i>serva(bi)t</i> ”, nišadar “he sends”, or “will send”		25
3. f., 2. m. and f. tibaṭil “ <i>ea frustra(bi)t</i> ”, tihalip “ <i>ea muta(bi)t</i> ”, “ <i>frustra(bi)s</i> ” “ <i>muta(bi)s</i> ”		
1. ‘taqin “I (shall) establish”, šadar “I (shall) send”		
Pl.: 3. m. niqablun “they (will) accept”, f. niqabla(n) “they (will) accept”,		30

²⁸² MG §§ 171 f.

2. m. **tiparqun** “ye (will) save”,
 f. is replaced by the masc., but a special fem. form ***tiparqa(n)**
 would be admissible
 1. = 3. m. sg. (**niparaq**, **nišadar**)

5 c) Af.

- Sg.: 3. m. **napriš** “*explana(bi)t*”, **nadkar** “*commemora(bi)t*”,
 3. f., 2. m. and f. (cf. **tauzip** **tagzar** “*ea condemna(bi)t*”, “*con-*
demna(bi)s”,
 1. **‘iapriš** “I (shall) explain”, **‘iasbar** “I (shall) instruct”
- 10 Pl.: 3. m. **nagzrun** “they (will) condemn”, **nadkrun** “they (will) mention”
 f. (cf. **niahṭan** “they [will] abort”, **narbka** “they (will) kneel”
 from YHT)
 2. m. **tagzrun** “ye (will) condemn”,
 f. is replaced by the masc., but a special fem. form ***tagzra(n)** would
 be admissible (cf. ethpa, s. d).
 15 1. = 3. m. sg. (**napriš**, **nadkar**).

d) Reflexive Forms:

α) With *t* in the prefix:

- | | Sg. | Ethpe. | Ethpa. | Ettaf. |
|----|---------------------|--|--|---|
| 20 | 3. m. | nitigṭil “ <i>neca(bi)tur</i> ”, | nitparaq “ <i>serva(bi)-tur</i> ”,
ni/‘zdahar
(Gy 64: 17) “he takes
care” | nitapraš “ <i>doce(bi)tur</i> ” |
| 25 | 3. f., 2. m. and f. | No forms with <i>t</i> in the prefix seem
to occur in ethpe. and ethpa. | | titakšal “ <i>ea praecipita-</i>
<i>(bi)tur</i> ”, <i>praecipita-</i>
<i>(be)ris</i> ” |
| | 1. | ‘štpil “ <i>humili(ab)or</i> ”, | ‘tparaq “ <i>serv(ab)or</i> ”, | ‘tapraš “ <i>doce(b)or</i> ” |
| | Pl. | | | |
| 30 | 3. m. | nitrihšun “they (will)
trust”, | nitparqun “ <i>serva(bu)n-</i>
<i>tur</i> ”, | nitaprašun “ <i>doce(bu)n-</i>
<i>tur</i> ” |

- f. **ništiknan** “they are (or will be) lodged”, **nistakra(n)** “they are (or will be) locked”, ***nitaprišan** “*doce(bu)n-tur*”
 2. m. **titpisqun** “ye are (will be) cut off”, **tistakrun** “ye are (will be) locked”, **titaprišun** “*doce(bi)-mini*”
 f. ***titgiṭla(n)** **tistakra** “ye are (will be) locked”, ***titapriša(n)** “*doce(bi)-mini*” 5
1. = 3. m. sg.

β) Without *t* in the prefix:

- | Ethpe. | Ethpa. | |
|---|--|----|
| Sg.: 3. m. nigṭil (n'gṭil) “ <i>neca(bi)tur</i> ”, | *nigamar “ <i>comple(bi)tur</i> ” | 10 |
| 3. f., 2. m. and f. tipsiq “she is (will be) cut off”, “thou art (will be) cut off”, | tigamar “ <i>ea comple(bi)tur</i> ”, “ <i>comple(be)ris</i> ” | |
| 1. *psiq “I am (shall be) cut off”, | *gamar “ <i>comple(b)or</i> ” | |
| Pl.: 3. m. niriṣun “ <i>consecra(bu)ntur</i> ” (from TRṢ), | ništahnun (AM 248: 2) “they will get rabid” | 15 |
| f. *nigiṭla(n) | nibaṭlan “they (will) vanish” | |
| 2. m., f. No forms without <i>t</i> seem to occur, although they occur in sg. | | |
| 1. = 3. m. sg. | | |

e) Quadriradical Verbs: 20

α) Fundamental Forms:

- Sg.: 3. m. **niraurib** “he magnifies”, “will magnify”
 3. f., 2. m. and f. **tihambil** “*ea dele(bi)t*”, “*dele(bi)s*”
 1. ***qarqil** “I (shall) overturn”
- Pl.: 3. m. **nirandidun** “they (will) rouse” 25
 f. **niqarqla(n)**
 2. m. **tiqarqlun**, f. **tiqarqla(n)**
 1. = 3. m. sg

*) There is an exceptional form of the 3rd p. pl., ending in **-iun**: **ništihin-iun** (Gy 258: 7 AB) “they will grow hot” (from ŠHN = 𐌸𐌵𐌰) besides **ništahnun** (ibid.). 30

β) Reflexive Forms (mostly preserve *t* in the prefix):

- Sg.: 3. m. **nithambal** “*dele(bi)tur*”
 3. f., 2. m. and f. **tithambal**
 1. = 3. m. sg. pf. (***thambal**, ***hambal**)
- 5 Pl.: 3. m. **nithamblun**, **nihamblun** “*dele(bu)ntur*”
 f. **ni(t)hambla(n)**
 2. m. **titnangrun** “*crucia(bi)mini*”, f. **titnangra(n)**
 1. = 3. m. sg.

f) Before the enclitics **b, l**, followed by personal suffixes, the *n* of the ending **-un** is dropped: **ništarhibubh** “they will be enlarged in it”, **tištapulia minaihun** (Gy 67: 22) “ye associate with them”. In **nitqaimu bškinat hiia** (Gy 251: 12) “they are established in the dwelling of Life”, the final *n* of the impf. is dropped even before a non-enclitic **b**.

In pe. the 2nd radical has the vowel *i* before the enclitics (§ 198 b): **nišbi-qlun** “he will pardon them (in spite of **nišbuq**)”, **niqribulun** “they (will) approach them” (in spite of **niqrub**).

§ 202. Imperative (cf. § 197f, 199c):

The imperative is formed by dropping the prefix of the imperfect.

a) Classical Forms²⁸³.

20 Pe.: **gṭul** “kill!”, **lguṭ** “take!”, **škub**, ***škub** “lie down!”; with *r* as 3rd rad.: **bhar** “choose!”

Pa.: **hašib** “think!”, **bašil** “boil!”

With *r* as 3rd rad.: **šadar** “send!”

Af.: **apriš** “explain!”; with *r* as 3rd rad.: **adkar** “mention!”

25 Ethpe.: ***tinšib** “be planted!”, ***tirhiš** “trust!”; with *r* as 3rd rad.: ***tikpar** “be blown out!”

Ethpa.: ***thašab** “cogitate!”, ***tkapar** “be blown out!”

Ettaf.: ***tapraš** “be instructed!”

Quadrirad. verbs: **tarmid** “initiate!” **sarhib** “hurry!”; with *r* as 4th rad.:

30 **bašqar** “investigate!”

Reflexive of quadrirad. verbs.: ***traurab** “be magnified!”.

²⁸³ MG §§ 173f.

Singular forms are also used for the plural. Special pl. ending **-iun**, which became regular in mod. Mandaic, is rare in the classical: **ahribiun** mod. *abreβyōn* "delete!" etc²⁸⁴.

b) Modern Forms.

Pe.:	"kill!"	"lie down!"	"fear!"	"turn around!"	"go down!" (as ethpe.)	5
Sg.: m.	<i>gəʔol</i>	<i>šexob</i>	<i>debel</i>	<i>hədar, bedar</i>	} <i>enbeθ</i>	10
		<i>šoχob</i>	<i>dobol</i>			
f.	<i>geʔül</i>	<i>šexūβ</i>	<i>dubül</i>	<i>hudür</i>		
		<i>šuxūβ</i>				
Pl.: m.	<i>gəʔolyōn</i>	<i>šexobryōn</i>	<i>debolyōn</i>	<i>bedoryōn</i>	<i>enbeθyōn</i>	
f.	<i>geʔelyen</i>	<i>šexebryen</i>	<i>debelyen</i>	<i>bederyen</i>	<i>enbeθyēn</i>	

In *šexob* and *bedar* the fundamental form of the imperative (sg. m.) is identical with the stem. Yet the simple stem can be used as an imperative with some other verbs: *debel*, *enbeθ* (above), *belef* (aside from *bolof*) "pass nearby!", *nəfaq*, *nəfaq* (aside from *nəfoq*) "go out!". This could sometimes be done already in the classical (cf. *ata* "come!", *amar* "say!" apart from *amur*, § 198 g).

The imperative of derived stems is identical with the stem, as in the classical, and has no special fem. form in the singular:

Pa.:	"bless!"	"send!"	20
Sg.:	<i>barreχ</i>	<i>šaddar (šadder)</i>	
Pl.: m.	<i>bareχyōn</i>	<i>šaderyōn</i>	
f.	<i>bareχyēn</i>	<i>šaderyēn</i>	
Af.: Sg. <i>abreβ</i> ; Pl. m. <i>abreβyōn</i> , f. <i>abreβyēn</i>	"destroy!"		25
Ethpe.: Sg. <i>edbel</i> ; Pl. m. <i>edbelyōn</i> , f. <i>edbelyān</i>	"be afraid!"		

Accordingly, *enbeθ* "go down!" (s. pe.) may be considered as an ethpe. "get down!" (cf. *nəfoq* "go out!" and *enfeq* "get out!").
Ethpa.: Sg. *ekāmmar*; Pl. m. *ekamāryon*, f. *ekamāryēn* "return!"

²⁸⁴ Examples quoted by Nöldeke, MG, p. 229. Nöldeke rightly noted that ***tbahrūn** (Gy 58:3) "examine yourselves!" may be a wrong analogy of ***tbarūn** (Gy 60:6) "remove yourselves" (cf. also ***tbariun** DC 40, l. 653) from **BRA** (ܩܘܪܝܢܐ). The frequent use of full forms with verbs ܩܘܪܝܢܐ seems to indicate that the special plural-ending was first used with these verbs and then extended to all strong and weak verbs.

Quadriradical verbs:

Sg.: *hambal**); Pl. m. *hambalyon**), f. *hambalyen**) “pollute!”

§ 203. Participles (cl. and mod. are quoted side by side):

Pe. act.: **gaṭil** *gāṭel* “killing”, **šakib** *šāχeβ* “sleeping”, cl. **dakar** (*dāχar*)
5 “mentioning”, “remembering”; mod. *tāβar* “breaking”.

Pe. pass.: **gṭil** (*egṭel*, *geṭel* and) *gəṭīl*, *geṭīl*, st. emph. **gṭila** *gəṭīla* (*geṭīla*),
predicatively: (*geṭelye* and) *gəṭīlye*, fem. *gəṭīlī* “(is) killed”. The st. abs. **gṭil**
10 *geṭel* is often confused with the ethpe. without *t* in the prefix, since its graphical
form can be pronounced in the same way as ***gṭil** *egṭel* “he was killed” (but
the forms with endings are clearly distinguished, cf. *egṭelat* “she was killed”
etc.) Pass. participles of intransitive verbs and often also that of **lgiṭ** have
an active meaning.

Pa. act.: **mbarik** (*ə*)*mbarreχ* “blessing”; **mšadir**, **mšadar** mod. *mšadder*
“sending” (§ 204 c β).

15 Pa. pass. **mbarak** (*mabarraχ* >) (*ə*)*mbarraχ* “blessed”; mod. *məχallaš* “deli-
vered”, “saved”, “finished” (of a disaster); cl. **mšadar** “sent” (now used
preferably in act. voice, cf. § 200i); **mhambal** (*ə*)*mhambal* “s(p)oiled”.
About the pronunciation of the consonantal group, formed by the prefix *m*
and the 1st rad. cf. § 77. The pronunciation of this group in mod. Mandaic
20 is facilitated by the circumstance that the form is used only after the pro-
clitic *qa* (and its varr.): *qombašger(ə)* “he knows (me)” etc.

Pass. participles pa. are relatively rare in mod. Mandaic. Nevertheless,
they are still used to form the participial pres. of the ethpa. of certain verbs
(§ 204 c ε), whose cl. participial forms (cf. below, s. ethpa.) died out.

25 Af. act.: cl. **mapriš** “explaining”, “teaching”; mod. *mabreβ* “destroying”.

Af. pass. (only in the classical): **mapraš** “explained”, “taught”.

Ethpe. (cl. forms): **mitihšib**, **mithšib**, **mihšib**, “being counted”; **mitigṭil**,
(***mitgṭil**), **migṭil** “being killed”. Mod.: *megṭel*, *megṭal*, fem. (*ə*)*mgaṭlā*
“being killed”.

30 *) Šābūrī gave me these forms, which follow the analogy of the reflexive,
instead of the expected *hambel*, *hambelyon*, *hambelyen*. A reflexive imperative of
this verb would be: Sg. *ehambal*, Pl. m. *ehambalyon*, *ehambalyen*.

Neg. order: *lə-geṭlet* “do not kill!”, *lə-dehlet* (Morg. 273: 22) “do not fear!”

Ethpa. (only in the classical): **mithašab** “cogitating”; **mištalam** “being achieved”. In mod. Mandaic this form is replaced by the pass. pt. pa. (above, s. pa. pass.).

Cl. ettafal: **mitapraš** “being taught”, **mitašpal** “humiliating himself”; a pl. form is **mitandizia** “*metiendi*”.

5

Quadrirad. verbs follow pa. in the fundamental form and ethpa. in the reflexive (§ 204cε).

§ 204. Participial Present.

a) Cl. and postcl. forms:

	Pe. act.	Pe. pass.	Pa. act.	Pa. pass.	
Sg.: 3. m.	napiq “he is going out”,	lgiṭ “he holds” (§ 186 b),	mbaṭil “he makes void”,	mpaqad “he is ordered”	10
f.	napqa “she is going out”,	lgiṭa “she holds”,	*mbaṭla “she makes void”,	*mpaqda	15
2.	napqit “thou goest out”,	lgiṭit “thou holdest”,	mhašbit “thou cogitatest”,	mpaqdit “thou art ordered”	
1. m.	napiqna* “I go out”	lgiṭna “I hold”,	mbaṭilna “I annihilate”,	mpaqadna “I am ordered”	20
f.	napqana**)				

*) The 1st p. sg. pe. has a rarer form of the type **azlina** (as Talm.) “I am going”. The **i** of this form cannot be explained by the initial sound of *enā* “I”, as Nöldeke supposed²⁸⁶, since this pronoun is pronounced *anā* (as must have been the Talm. **אנא**). The **i** may rather repose on an analogy of verbs “**ל**”, the form being pronounced *azlina* (as the corresponding forms “**ל**”, cf. mod. *qazīnu* “I go”, § 227 αb).

) The masc. forms, as a rule, replaced the fem. As for the 1st p. sg., a spezial fem. form is sometimes used, cf. **iadlana (Gy 158: 13) “I bring forth”, but the same form is sometimes used also for the masc.²⁸⁶.

²⁸⁶ MG, p. 232: 3.

²⁸⁶ MG, p. 231: 17 ff.

	Pe. act.	Pe. pass.	Pa. act.	Pa. pass.
Pl.: 3. m.	napqin “ <i>ei exeunt</i> ”,	brikin (brikia) “ <i>benedicti sunt</i> ”	mbaṭṭin	mpaqdin
5	f. napqa(n) “ <i>ae exeunt</i> ”,	brika(n) “ <i>benedictae sunt</i> ”	mbaṭṭa(n)	
	2. m. napqitun “ <i>ye go out</i> ”	brikitun “ <i>ye are blessed</i> ”,	mhašbitun “ <i>ye cogitate</i> ”	mpaqditun
	f. (*napqitin)			
10	1. napqinin “ <i>we are going out</i> ”,	brikinin “ <i>we are blessed</i> ”	*mhašbinin	mpaqdinin
	Af. act.		Act. pass.	
Sg.: 3. m.	mapriš “ <i>he is teaching</i> ”,		mapraš “ <i>he is taught</i> ”	
15	2. madk(i)rit “ <i>thou mentionest</i> ”,			
	1. maprišna “ <i>I am teaching</i> ”		makšalna “ <i>I (must) stumble</i> ”	
20	Pl.: 3. m. maprišin			
	f. mapriša(n)			
	2. makšilitun “ <i>ye make stumble</i> ”,			
	1. manhirinin “ <i>we give light</i> ”			
25				

Reflexive stems with *t* in the prefix.

	Ethpe.	Ethpa.	Ettaf.
Sg.: 3. m.	mi(ti)hšib “ <i>he is counted</i> ”,	mithašab “ <i>he cogitates</i> ”,	mitapraš “ <i>he is taught</i> ”
30	2. mistimkit “ <i>thou leanest</i> ”,	mitkarkit “ <i>thou encirclest</i> ”,	
	1. mist(i)mikna “ <i>I lean</i> ”,	mitqaiamna “ <i>I am raised, confirmed</i> ”	mitaprašna “ <i>I am taught</i> ”

	Ethpe.	Ethpa.	
Pl.: 3.	mistimkin	mitparqin	
		“are separated”	
2.		mitrahmitun	
		“ye have compassion”	5
1.		mitkamrinin	
		“we turn back”	

Forms without *t* in the prefix are much rarer; in the ethpa. they are extremely rare:

Sg.: 3 m. **mihšib** “he is counted”; 2 **mitrišit** “thou art raised”; 1 **miršimna** “I am signed”.

Pl.: 3 **mipiršin** (ATŠ no. 133) “they are distinguished”, **midamin** (Gy 24: 7) “they assume the likeness” (ethpa.); 2 **mismikitun** (Gy 42: 5) “ye are supported”; 1 **miršimnin** (Jb 74: 6) “we are signed”.

Quadriradical verbs:

	Fundamental stem	Reflexive stem	
Sg.: 3. m.	msarsip	mzauṭar	mištarhaz
	“he kindles”	(Gy 230: 13)	“he is afraid” (Jb 24: 11)
f.	mhambaba		mithambla
	(Morg. 262/15: 16)		“she is (will be) spoiled”
	“is burning”		20
2.	mṣarq(i)lit		
	“thou overthrowest”		
1.	mrauribna		mitarmadna
	“I magnify”		“I am taught (initiated to priest- hood)”
Pl.: 3. m.	msarsipin		mitarmidin (var. mitarmdin)
	“they kindle”		“they are initiated to priesth.”
2. m.	mdand(i)mitun		
	“ye are quiet”		30
1.	(*msarsipnin)		(*mithambalnin)

All missing forms, except those of the reflexive stems, can be reconstructed according to the mod. participial present (§ 204).

b) Before the enclitics, the original vocalization of the pronouns of the 2nd p. sg. and 1st p. pl. reappears, and the final *n* of the plural is dropped.

2. sg.: **šabqatlun** “thou lettest them”, “thou forgivest them”; **mpaqdatih** “thou orderest him”;
- 5 1. pl.: **nasibnalh** “we take it”; **škininabh** “we dwell in it”; **mšadrinalh** “we send him”;
2. pl.: **rahimtulh** “ye love him”
3. pl.: **mšadrihl** “they send him” (as mod. *qomšadrelli*)

c) Mod. present and future.

10 α) Pe.

	GTL “to kill”	HDR “to turn around”
Sg.:		
3. m.	<i>qagāʔel</i>	<i>qabādar</i>
f.	<i>qagaʔla*</i>	<i>qabādra</i>
2.	<i>qagaʔlet</i>	<i>qabādret</i>
15 1.	<i>qagāʔelnā</i>	<i>qabādernā</i>
Pl.:		
3.	<i>qagāʔlen**</i>	<i>qabāden</i>
2. m.	<i>qagaʔletton</i>	<i>qabādretton</i>
f.	<i>qagāʔletten</i>	<i>qabādretten</i>
1.	<i>qagāʔlenni</i>	<i>qabādrenni</i>

20 As to the proclitic particle **q-**, **qa-**, **qi-**, there is no standard pronunciation; it is pronounced facultatively *qa*, *qə*, or *qe* in pe. In derived stems, when the participle begins with *m-*, it is usually pronounced *qo*; but when the prefix *m-* is followed by a vowel (in af., ethpe.), it can be pronounced as a simple *q*²⁸⁷.

25 *) The original pronunciation *gāʔel* is now observed only in the 3rd p. m. sg. In longer forms, the *ā* is often shortened. Šābūrī actually pronounced *qagaʔlā*, *qagaʔlet* “she kills”, “thou killest”, *qadablā*, *qadablet* “she fears”, “thou fearest” etc, but *qabādra*, *qabādret* etc.

***) A special fem. form of the 3rd p. pl. **qagāʔlan* is not used.

²⁸⁷ I always quote the pronunciation, as Šābūrī actually gave it.

β) Pa.

		BRK "to bless"	ŠDR "to send"	H(M)BL "to profane"	
Sg.:	3. m.	<i>qombarreḡ</i>	<i>qamšadder</i>	<i>qambambel</i>	
	f.	<i>qombarḡā</i>	<i>qamšādrā</i>	<i>qambambilā**</i>)	
	2.	<i>qombārḡet</i> *)	<i>qamšādret</i>	<i>qambambelet***</i>)	5
	1.	<i>qombāreḡnā</i>	<i>qamšādernā</i> (<i>qamšāddernā</i>)	<i>qambambelnā</i>	
Pl.:	3.	<i>qombārḡen</i>	<i>qamšādren</i>	<i>qambambelen</i>	
	2. m.	<i>qombārḡetton</i>	<i>qamšādretton</i>	<i>qambambeletton***</i>)	
	f.	<i>qombārḡetten</i>	<i>qamšādretten</i>	<i>qambambeletten***</i>)	10
	1.	<i>qombārḡenni(n)*</i>	<i>qamšādrenni(n)</i>	<i>qambambeleenni(n)</i>	

γ) Af. HRB "to destroy"

Sg.:	3. m.	<i>qəməbreβ</i>	Pl.:	3.	<i>qəməbreβen</i>	(<i>qəməbrīβen</i>)	
	f.	<i>qəməbrīβa</i>					
	2.	<i>qəməbreβt</i>	2. m.	<i>qəməbrefton</i>	(<i>qəməbreβton</i>)		15
			f.	<i>qəməbreften</i>	(<i>qəməbreβten</i>)		
1.	<i>qəməbreβnā</i>	1.	<i>qəməbreβnī</i>				

*) In verbs of three radicals, the original reduplication of the 2nd rad. remained only in the 3rd p. sg. The long *ā*, which I was given in all other persons of the present of *šadder*, may be considered as a compensation for the vanished reduplication of the 2nd radical. Accordingly, a pronunciation *qombārḡet*, *qombārḡenni* should be considered as more correct, although Šābūrī actually pronounced these forms with a short *a* (as well as the forms of the pf. *barḡat*, *šadrat* etc, § 200 e). For the Mandaeans themselves the question of the length of the vowel in these forms seems to be of no importance. — On my request, Šābūrī approved of the form *qamšāddernā* as admissible.

**) About *qambambilā* cf. § 200 e.

***) There are facultative forms *qambambilēt* (2. sg.) and *qambambiletton*, *qambambiletten* (cf. § 200 e).

		Ḫ Ethpe. : DHL "to be afraid"	LKT "to be grasped"
	Sg. : 3. m.	<i>qamedbel</i>	<i>qamelχaṭ**</i>)
	f.	<i>qamdablā*</i>)	<i>qamlaχṭā*</i>)
	2.	<i>qamdebleṭ*</i>)	<i>qamleχṭeṭ*</i>)
5	1.	<i>qamedbelnā</i> (or <i>an qamedbel</i>)	<i>qamelχeṭnā</i> (or <i>an qamelχeṭ</i>)
	Pl. : 3.	<i>qamdeblen*</i>)	<i>qamleχṭen*</i>)
	2. m.	<i>qamdebleṭton*</i>)	<i>qamleχṭetton*</i>)
	f.	<i>qamdebleṭten*</i>)	<i>qamleχṭetten*</i>)
10	1.	<i>qamdeblennī*</i>)	<i>qamleχṭennī*</i>)

ε) The present of the ethpa. was confused with the pa. forms (s. c.)

		KMR "to return"	H(M)BL "to be profaned"
	Sg. : 3. m.	<i>qamkāmmar***</i>)	<i>qambambal</i>
	f.	<i>qamkāmra</i>	<i>qambambīla</i>
15	2.	<i>qamkāmret</i>	<i>qambambīlīt</i> (<i>qambambelet</i>)
	1.	<i>qamkāmernā</i>	<i>qambambelnā</i>

*) The 3rd p. fem. sg. is replaced by the corresponding pa. form (instead of the expected **qamedeblā*, or perhaps **qamedbīlā*). In other forms the original prefix of the etpe. became unrecognizable, since the vowel *e* of the cl. *mī aksa* — the only characteristic of the reflexive after the vanishing of *t* of the prefix — vanished. Unfortunately, all of these forms cannot be verified in the classical, since they are mostly missing in literature. But even those which remained are different, cf. 2nd p. sg. *mitriṣit*, according to which we should expect **qamedbelet*, **qamelχeṭeṭ*, and 1st p. pl. *miršimnīn*, so that the expected forms would be *qamedbel(en)nī*, *qamelχeṭ(en)nī*. The mod. usage would indicate that the *aksa* of the prefix (which had been a distinctive mark of the form) was later confused with the help-vowel (§ 78).

**) In *qamelχaṭ*, the participle ethpe. (*milgiṭ*) was confused with the inf. pe. (*milgaṭ*, § 205).

***) If we consider the length of the vowel after the 1st radical in *qamkāmra* etc as a compensation for the vanished reduplication of the 2nd radical (< **qamkammarā*), the length of *ā* in *qamkāmmar* is doubtful.

	KMR "to return"	H(M)BL "to be profaned"	
Pl.: 3.	<i>qamkāmren</i>	<i>qambambilen</i>	
2. m.	<i>qamkāmretton</i>	<i>qambambiletton</i>	
		(<i>qambambeletton</i>)	
f.	<i>qamkāmretten</i>	<i>qambambiletten</i>	5
		(<i>qambambeletten</i>)	
1.	<i>qamkāmrenni(n)</i>	<i>qambambeleñni</i>	

§) The present of the passive voice (which usually replaces the reflexive stems) is formed in a different way. The proclitic particle **q** is not used. There are special pronoun affixes in the 3rd p.: Sg. m. *-ye*, f. *-i*; pl. m. *-non* (used 10 often also for the fem.), f. *-nan*. The affixes of other persons differ slightly from those used in active voice. All personal affixes can be replaced by *ex̄t-* with personal suffixes (§ 238 βc):

	<i>geṭel</i> "necatus",	<i>geṭila, geṭila</i> "necata"	
Sg.: 3. m.	<i>geṭelye</i> (or <i>geṭel ex̄tī</i>) "he is killed"		15
f.	<i>geṭilī</i> (or <i>geṭila ex̄ta</i>) "she is killed"		
2.	com. <i>geṭilyat</i> (or m. <i>geṭel ex̄tax̄</i> f. <i>geṭila ex̄tex̄</i>)	} "necaris"	
1.	(<i>geṭelman</i> or) <i>geṭel ex̄te</i> "I am killed"		
Pl.: 3.	<i>geṭel ex̄tū</i> "they are killed"		20
2. m.	<i>geṭel ex̄toḡon</i> , f. <i>ex̄tex̄en</i> "you are killed"		
1.	<i>geṭlennin</i> or <i>geṭel ex̄tan</i> "we are killed"		

η) Forms before the enclitic prepositions follow the general rules given in § 200k β. For the reasons given there, the peculiarities of forms can be fully 25 illustrated only on two weak verbs: AHB and AMR (cf. § 214 αd). With other verbs the encl. *l* is usually suppressed and the accusative suffix added directly; in that case, the 1st p. pl. is, as a rule, identical with the 1st p. sg., so that the personal pronoun must precede the form: *an qabādeqnī* "I put him", *anin* (or *eni*) *qabādeqnī* (inst. of the less usual, but more correct *qabādeqnānni* "we put him"). The 3rd p. is always used with the enclitic: *qabādeqlī* 30 "he puts him", pl. *qabāṭqelle* "they put him".

2nd p. pl.: The encl. *l* assimilates to *n* of the pronoun ending (contrary to the classical): *qabādeqtonne* "you put me", *qombaṣqertonne* "you know me".

3rd p. pl.: Only in this form the *n* of the pl. ending assimilates progressively to the encl. *l* as in the classical: *qabātqelle* (< *qabādqelle*) “they put me”, *qombašqerelli* “they know him”.

§ 205. Infinitives (only in the classical)²⁸⁸:

- 5 Pe.: **migtal** “to kill”. Less usual forms with an *aksa* after the 2nd rad., as **mismik** “to support”, **mihšib** “to count”, repose on a confusion with the frequent participle ethpe.²⁸⁹ In § 204c δ*), we have seen that, on the other hand, a pt. ethpe. was confused with the inf. pe.

Pa.: **barukia** “to bless”; with the pref. *m*: **mpaqudia** “to order”.

- 10 Af.: **agzuria** “to condemn”; with the pref. *m*: **mašlumia** “to achieve”.

Ethpe.: No form from a strong root occurs. One would expect ***t(i)lgu-tia**, ***mit(i)lgu-tia**.

Ethpa.: **tlabušia** “to be clothed”; with the pref. *m*: **mištaduria** “to be sent; without *t* in the prefix: **mikadušia** (Gy 40: 17) “fighting”.

- 15 Ettaf.: **tarkunia** (Gy 294: 7) “bending down”, with procl. **Itarkunia** (ibid.) “to bend down” (although, otherwise, the verb is used in ethpe.).

Quadrirad. verbs: **dandumia** “being quiet”, **handuzia** “measuring” etc. Refl. of quadrirad. verbs: **karputia** “to be fettered”.

3. Verbs III Guttural²⁹⁰.

- 20 § 206. These verbs are very close to **’’’** (§ 225). According to their origin they can be divided in two groups: a. III **ʕ**, b. III **ħ**.

Examples (cl. and mod. quoted sided by side):

- a) **bza** mod. *bezā* (< *bzā*) “he pierced” (mod. also “he cohabited with a woman”); **šba** mod. *soβā* (< *šba*) “he baptized”; **š(u)ma** (< *šma*) “he heard”.

b) **pta** (< *płah*) “he opened”; **dna** (< *dnaħ*) “ortus est”; **nba** (< *nbaħ*) (“ortus est”), “emersit”.

²⁸⁸ MG § 176.

²⁸⁹ MG 223:26ff.

²⁹⁰ MG § 177.

In the perfect the first group completely follows the analogy of פ'ל, while the second group sometimes preserves the 3rd radical by metathesis (§ 52), or even without it (§ 51). The second group disappeared from mod. Mandaic (since šaba < šabbah is used only in the stereotyped religious formula *Māre mšabbā* "My Lord be praised!"; "he praised his Lord" would be simply *emar: Māre mšabbā*; and from PTA "to open" only the pass. pt. *patī*, predicatively *patīyye*, remained²⁹¹).

A greater difference between the verbs III guttural and פ'ל appears first in the cl. imperfect and in the imperative. But the mod. imperative follows the analogy of פ'ל, so that, presently, there is no formal difference between these verbs and פ'ל.

Already in the classical some roots III gutt. passed to פ'ל: פ'ל: פ'ל "to pour" was used as פ'ל; פ'ל "to spread" became פ'ל. On the other hand, DRA (Talm. פ'ל) "to carry" was treated in cl. Mandaic as פ'ל (: 'dra "I carry", dra "porta[te]!", pt. pe. dara with a var. *daria*)²⁹²; but the mod. DRA (*derā*)¹⁵ is treated completely as פ'ל (as in Talm.; mod. pres. *qadārī*, imper. *derī*).

§ 207. Classical Forms:

a) Pf.

a)

b)

Sg.:

20

3. m. Pe.: **ṭba** "he submerged"
Ethpe.: **štma** "was heard"
šṭba "was baptized"

Pe.: **pta** "he opened"
Pa.: **šaba** "he praised"
Af.: **aška** "he found"

Ethpa.: **štaba** "he boasted"²⁹³

3. f. Pe.: **šimat** "she heard"
bzat "she split"

Pe.: **pīhtat** (< *peṭḥat*) "she opened"²⁵
Pa.: **šabat** (< *šabbḥat*) "she praised"

Ethpe.: **šṭibat** "she was baptized" Ethpe.: **mihtat** (*eṭmaḥtat*) "she stretched out"

²⁹¹ Used as a synonym of *galī, šalī* (פ'ל). Otherwise, the verb has been driven out by ŚRA (*šerā, š'ḥ*) "to open", or replaced by the strong verb *ṣataḥ* (< Ar. *fataḥa*).

²⁹² Drower-Macuch, Op. cit. 113 b: 22—35.

²⁹³ Cf. the form with procl. conjunction and encl. preposition: **uštabbḥ** (Morg. 230 47:5) "and boasted of it".

a)

b)

Before encl.: ***štmialak** “*audita est a te*” (Nöld.)²⁹⁴

2. Pe.: **šmit** “thou hast heard”

5 Ethpe.: ***štbit** “thou wert baptized”

With encl.: ***štbatbh** “thou wert baptized in it”

1. Pe.: **šibit** “I baptized” **tbit**, **tibit**,

***tbit** “I submerged”

10 ***dit** “I knew” (from דָּיַתְּ)

Pa.: **sabit** “I satiated”

Af.: **ašbit** “I baptized”

(“I made baptize”)

ašbit (frequent in magical

15 texts) “I conjured” (from שָׁבַע)

Pl.:

3. = 3. m. sg.

With special pl. ending:

š(u)maiun “they heard”

20 ***daiun** “they knew”

As ***'l**: **šbun** (alternatively **šba**)

“they baptized”, **š(u)mun**

(alternatively **šuma**, **šumaiun**)

“the heard”, ***dun** (alternatively

25 ***da**, ***daiun** “the knew”;

af.: **aškun** (aside from **aška**)

“they found”; ethpe.: ***štbun**

(aside from ***štba**) “they were baptized”.

30 2. Pe.: **šmatun** “ye heard”

With transition to ***'l**:

š(a)maitun id.,

***ditun** “ye knew” (from

דָּעַתְּ, as ***'l**)

Pe.: **ptit** “thou hast opened”

Af.: **aškit** “thou hast found”

Pe.: **mišit** “I anointed”

With encl.: **ptahibh** “I opened in it”

Pa.: **šab(h)it** “I praised”

Af.: **ašlit** “I took off”

Ethpe.: ***štihlit** “I was sent”

As ***'l**: **atnun** “they put”,

With encl.: **ptulh** “they opened for him”

Af.: **aškatun** “ye found”

As ***'l**: **aškitun** id.

²⁹⁴ MG, p. 234:28.

a)

1. Pe.: **šmanin** “we heard”
Ethpe.: **štmanin** “we were heard”

b)

- Af.: **aškanin** “we found”
As ʾʾʾ: **aškinin** id.

b) Impf. (in pe. always with *a* after the 2nd rad.):

a)

Sg.:

3. m.: Pe.: **nišma** “*audi(e)t*”
Ethpe.: **nizdra** “*semina(bi)tur*”

b)

- Pe.: **nidna** “*ori(e)tur*”
Pa.: **nišaba** “*lauda(bi)t*”
Af.: **naška** “*inveni(e)t*”
Ethpe.: **ništka** “*inveni(e)tur*”
Ethpa.: **ništaka** id.
Without *t* in the pref.: **nišaba**
“he praises himself”

5

10

3. f., 2. m. & f. change only the pref. (from *n* to *t*)

1. Pe.: **šma** “I (shall) hear”
Ethpe.: **štma** “I am heard”,
“I shall be heard”

- Pe.: **mta** “I (shall) stretch out”

- Pa.: **šaba** “I (shall) praise”
Af.: **iaška** “I (shall) find”
(but also **uaška** “and I find”)

15

20

Pl.:

3. m. Pe.: **niš(i)mun** “they (will)
hear”

With encl.: **nišubun** “they
baptize in you”

Ethpe.: **ništmun** “they are (or)
will be) heard”

With encl.: **ništmulḥ**
“*audientur (ab) eo*”

- Pe.: ***niptun = *nippihun** “they
will open”

Pa.: **nišabun** “they (will)
praise”

- Af.: **naškun** “they (will) find”

25

3. f.

- Ethpa.: perhaps **nitpata** (ML 39: 30
10) “they will be opened”
(: eyes; for ***nitpatan**)

2. m. and f. change only the prefix (from *n* to *t*).

1. = 3. m. sg.

c) Imperative.

	a)		b)
Pe.:	š(u)ma "hear!"	Pe.:	pta "open!"
	šba "baptize!"		mta "stretch out!"
5 Ethpe.:	štma "be heard!"	Pa.:	šaba "praise!"
	štba "be baptized!"	Af.:	aška "find!"

The plural is identical with the singular. Before the encl., the original plural ending *u* appears: **ptulh** (Gy 212: 19) "*aperite ei!*".

In addition, a special feminine singular and a special plural form were
10 produced on the analogy of **ʿʿ** (as in mod. Mandaic):

Sg. fem.: **šabai** (Gy 325: 6) "praise!", **zhai** (Gy 333: 6) "go away!" (from ZHA < ʿʿ, § 220 d).

Pl.: **š(u)mun** (asside from **šuma**) "*audite!*"

d) Participles:

	a)		b)
15 Pe. act.:	šama "(is) hearing"		mata "(is)stretching out"
	iada "(is) knowing"		pata and pahta "(is) opening"
			pahra "(is) flying"
Pe. pass.:	zria "sowed"		ptia "opened"
20	šbia "baptized"		dnia and dnih " <i>ortus</i> "
			šliha "sent"
Pa. act.:			mpata "opening"
			mšaba "praising"
Pa. pass.:			mpata "opened"
25			mšaba "praised"
Af. act.:	mašma "he makes hear"		maška "he finds"
	mašba "(is) baptizing"		
Ethpe.:	mitpra "(is) being paid"		mitipta "(is) being opened"
	mištba "(is) being baptized"		"opening (by itself)"
30	mišba (Florilegium 362: 158 f)		
	"(is) fixed deep" ²⁹⁵		
Ethpa.:			mištaba "(is) boasting"
Ettaf.			mitaška "(is being) found"

²⁹⁵ In spite of Lidzbarski's doubt (Florilegium, p. 372).

e) Participial present-future.

a)

b)

Sg.:

2. Pe act.: **ṣabit** "thou baptizest"With encl.: **ṣabatbh** "thou
baptizest in it"With encl.: **iadit** "thou knowest"With encl.: **iadatbh** "thou know-
est (about) it"Pe pass.: **ṣbii(i)t**, **ṣbiit**
"thou art baptized"Af. act.: **maṣbit** "thou baptizest"Pe. act.: **pahtit** "thou openest"

5

Pe. pass.: **šlihit** "thou art sent" 10Pa. act.: **mšabit** "thou praisest"With encl.: **mšabatlun**
"thou praisest them"Af. act.: **maškit** "thou findest"

15

1. Pe. act.: **šamana** "I hear"Pe act.: **parana** "I fly"**šahbana** (even
šahabana) "I praise"Pe. pass.: **ṣbina** "I am baptized"Pa. act. and pass.: **mšabana**
"I praise" or "I am praised"

Pl.:

20

2. Pe. act.: **šamitun** "ye hear"
iaditun "ye know"Pe. act.: **pahtitun** "ye open"Pa. act. and pass.: **mšabitun** "ye
praise" or "are praised"Af. act.: **maškitun** "ye find"1. Pe. act.: **iadinin** "we know"Pa. act. (and pass.): **mšabinin** 25

"we praise" (or "are praised")

Ethpe.: **miṣṭbinin** "we are baptized"Af. act.: **maškinin** "we find"

f) Infinitives:

a)

b)

Pe.: **mišma** "hearing"Af. **ašmūia** "to let hear"Pe.: **mipta** "opening"

30

Pa.: **šabuhia** "praising"

§ 208. Modern Forms (completely as 'ʿʿ).)

Only pe. is used. Paradigms: ŠBA "to baptize", BZA "to pierce", fig. "to copulate".

a) Pf.

5	Sg.: 3. m.	šoβā	beḡā
	f.	(šoβat)	(beḡat) ²⁹⁶
	2.	šoβet	beḡet
	1.	šoβīt	beḡīt
	Pl.: 3.	šoβon	beḡon
10		(f. šobyān)	
	2.	soβīton	beḡīton
		(f. šoβīten)	
	1.	šoβīnī(n)	beḡīnī(n)

b) Present-future.

15	Sg.: 3. m.	qašāβī	qabāḡī
	f.	(qašāβyā)	(qabāḡyā) ²⁹⁶
	2.	qašāβet	qabāḡet
	1.	qašāβīna	qabāḡīna
	Pl.: 3.	qašāβen	qabāḡen
20	2. m.	qašāβetton	qabāḡetton
		(f. qašāβetten)	
	1.	qašāβennī	qabāḡennī

c) Forms with the enclitic *l*. The accusative suffixes are added directly without the encl. *l* to the perfect as well as to the 1st and 2nd p. of the present.

25 Before the suffix the verbs behave as 'ʿʿ.

Present with the encl. *l* :

²⁹⁶ Šābūri refused to give the fem. of BZA with the words: *Eḏḏa la-qomba qabāḡya, eḏḏa beḡyī* (lit. "a woman cannot pierce, a woman is pierced"), alluding to the passive role of the woman in coition. The verb seems then to have lost the original meaning "to pierce" and to become limited to the role of the man in the copulation, so that a fem. *qabāḡyā* can be used only after *la-qomba* "she cannot". For the sake of clearness, a more plastic *beḡīya eḡad* "he made a hole" may be used for "to pierce".

Sg.: 3. m. <i>qashaβīle</i> "he baptizes me"	<i>qabaxīla</i> "he copulates with her"
f. <i>qashaβyāle</i> "she baptizes me"	<i>qəbax yālī</i> "she copulates with him") ²⁹⁶
Pl.: 3. <i>qsaβelle</i> "they baptize me"	<i>q(ə)baẖella</i> "they copulate with her"
2. <i>qṣāβtonne</i> "you baptize me"	<i>q(ə)baẖtonna</i> "you copulate with her"
or <i>qsaβetlonne</i>	

5

d) Passive participle.

- m. *ṣoβī* (predicatively *ṣoβiyye*) "*baptizatus*", (*beẖī*, predicat. *beẖiyye* "perforatus")²⁹⁶
- f. *ṣoβiyyā* (predicatively *ṣoβiyyi*) "*baptizata*", *beẖiyyā* (predicat. *beẖiyyi*) "*perforata*".

10

e) Imperative.

- Sg.: m. *ṣoβī*, f. (*ṣoβe*) "*baptizā!*"; m. *beẖī*, (f. *beẖe*)²⁹⁶ "*perforā!*"
- Pl.: m. *ṣoβon*, f. (*ṣoβen*) "*baptizate!*"; m. *beẖon*, (f. *beẖen*)²⁹⁶ "*perforate!*".

15

4. Verbs ʾ'D²⁹⁷.

§ 209. The peculiarity of verbs ʾ'D, the assimilation of the 1st radical to the 2nd, cannot be observed in all verbs of this group. Some verbs ʾ'D behave completely as strong verbs; from others there are assimilated and non-assimilated forms side by side.

20

The following roots always behave as strong verbs: NHR "to light" (impf. pe. *ninhar*, af. pf. *anhar*, pt. *manhar* etc.); NHŠ "to whisper" (the impf. is unknown, but, according to the imper. *nhuš*, it would be *ninhuš*); NGD "to draw" (imper. *ngud*, var. *ngid*, impf. with personal suffix *ninig-duia*); NGA (< 𐤒𐤏) "to be clear" (*tinga* "it dawns"); NPA (< 𐤎𐤑) "to blaze" (cf. the word-play *tinpa šata mn anpahun*, Gy 179: 23, "fire will blaze from their faces")²⁹⁸; NPŠ "to increase" (impf. pe *ninpuš*, although

25

²⁹⁷ MG § 178.²⁹⁸ An apparent af. of this verbs (*anpa*) is quoted in Gl. 8:9f. as *extinguere*, 21:5f. as *accendere*, 167:13f. as *insufflere*.

there is a less canonical var. **nipuš** in AM 210: 1; af. with suff. **anpišua**, Gy 91: 17, "they augmented it"); NŠB "to plant" (impf. pe. **ninqab**; the verb is often confused with NSB, below); **NKS** "to slaughter" (always without assimilation).

5 The *n* does not assimilate in the verbal forms of NṬR "to guard", "to preserve" (impf. pe. **ninqar**, with encl. **ninqurlh**, with suff. **niniqrh**, inf. pe. **minqar**; af. **anqar**), although in the derivative **maṭra**, **maṭarta**, pl. **maṭarata** "watch-house(s)" and in the adverbial expression **aṭar** (§ 192a) the *n* is assimilated.

10 In the following roots the assimilation is only facultative: NPQ "to go out" (impf. pe. **nipuq** and **ninpuq** (AM 118: 18), inf. pe. **mipaq** and **minpaq** (Gy 258: 25); af. **apiq**, but also **anpiq** (Gs. 97: 7), and even **hanpiqh** (Gy 262: 6)²⁹⁹ (in mod. Mandaic its *n* regularly assimilates)³⁰⁰; NSB "to take" (impf. pe. **nisab** and **ninsab**, imper. **(n)sab** and **nsib**, **nsub**)³⁰¹ is sometimes
15 confused with NŠB "to plant" (cf. Jb 20: 6f., 21: 6 etc.), which is always treated as a strong verb (cf. above); NHT "to get down" (impf. **nihat** and **ninhit**, imper. **(n)hut** and **nhit**, the latter *enbeṯ* being consistently used in mod. Mandaic); NPL "to fall down" (impf. **nipil** and **'npul**, **'npil**; cl. imper. is **pil**, but mod. *enfel* "fall down!" would also be admissible in the
20 classical, cf. **nhit** above)³⁰². Nevertheless, forms with an assimilated *n* are not rare in literary Mandaic: NPS "to shake off" (impf. always without assimilation: **ninpišunh** "they will shake it off", **baṭinata ninipšun**, AM 243: 10, "pregnant women will miscarry", but the imper. more often **paš** than **npuš** "jump up! > hurry!"). The verb NŠA "to quarrel" occurs only in participial
25 forms, but its only derivative is **mašuta** with assimilation. The verb NTN "to give" was used only in the impf. pe. and the inf. (**nitin**, **n'tin**; **mitin**).

In mod. Mandaic all verbs are treated as strong, except the af. of NPQ (*afteq* "he brought out") and of SLQ (*aseq* "he brought up"), which follows
30 the analogy of 1'Ḥ (as in the classical). The mod. imperative is formed as from strong verbs.

²⁹⁹ Cf. B.-Aram. 𐤏𐤍𐤑𐤍, Dan. 5: 2, 𐤏𐤍𐤑𐤍, *ibid.*: 3.

³⁰⁰ But Gl. still quotes a non-assimilated form: p. 109: 3f with the meanings "crescere" and "educere", and p. 166: 1f as a synonym of **azra rba** "germinare", "crescere".

³⁰¹ Cf. Talm. 𐤏𐤍 and 𐤏𐤍𐤑, MG, p. 240 n. 1.

³⁰² Cf. Gl. 110: 13f, which quotes an af. with a non-assimilated *n* with the meaning Ar. *šaraha* — *elidere* — P. *andāht*.

§ 210. Cl. Forms (affected or affectable by assimilation):

a) Imperfect peal

a) (with assimilation)

b) (without assimilation)

Sg.: 3. m.: **nipuq**, **I'puq** (Gs 118:7)
"he goes out"**ninpuq** (AM 118: 18) id.**nihut** "he goes down"**ninhit**, id.**nisab** "he takes"**ninsab**, id.**nipil** "he falls"**ninṣab** "he plants"**nisaq** "he ascends"**ninṭar** "he guards"(SLQ)³⁰³With encl.: **ninṣiblan** "he plants
us" 10**ninṭurlia** "*custodi(e)t me*"3. f., 2. m. and f. change only the prefix (from *n* to *t*)1. **'sab** "I (shall) take"**'saq** "I (shall) go up" (SLQ)With encl.: **'npulbun**, **'npilbun** 15
(Gs. 57:20) "I (will) fall into
them"Pl.: 3. m. **niplun** "the (will) fall"
nisqun "they (will) ascend"**niniṣbun** "they (will) plant"f. **nipla** "they (will) fall" 20**nisqa** "they (will) ascend"

(SLQ)

2. m. **tisbun** "ye (will) take"**tinisbun** id.**tiplun** "ye (will) fall"**tisqun** "ye (will) ascend" 25

1. = 3. m. sg.

b) Imperative peal

sab "take!"**nsib**, **nsub** id.³⁰¹**hut** "go down!"**nhut**, **nhit** id. (§ 209)**paṣ** "jump up, hurry!"**npuṣ** id. (§ 209) 30**saq**, **siq** "ascend!"

³⁰³ From **nisaq** there is a secondary perfect **saq** (Gy 280:23) aside from the original **šliq** "he went up" (MG, p. 240 n. 11). The secondary pf. *ṣāq* is the only one used in mod. Mandaic.

Other verbs always have *n* in the imperative (as in mod. Mandaic): **nṭar**, **nṭur** “guard!”; **nkus** “slaughter!”; **ngud**, **ngid** “draw!” **nhar** “shine!” etc.

c) Inf. pe.

	mipaq “going out”	minpaq id. (§ 209)
5	mitin , mitan “giving”	mintar “falling down”
	With encl.: mitilan (Gy 319: ult.)	minṣab , minṣib “planting”
	“to give us”	mingad “drawing”
	misaq , less often mislaq	
	(Gy 324: 17, Gs 85: 19)	
10	“ascending, to ascend”	

d) Afel

	a)	b)
	Pf.: apiq , apqat , apqit etc.	(h)anpiq (§ 209)
	“he, she, (thou), I brought out”	
15	ah(i)tit “I brought down”	
	“thou didst bring down”	
	asiq “he brought up” (SLQ)	hansiq (Gy 128: 14) id. (from SLQ, but as if the root was *NSQ)
20		With suff.: hanp(i)qh (§ 209)
	Impf.: 'iapiq “I (shall) bring out”	
	'iasiq “I (shall) bring up”	
	Part.: mapiq , mapqit etc.	
	“he brings out”, I bring out”	
25	etc.	
	Imper. apiq “bring out!”	anṭar “let wait!”
	e) Ettaf.:	mitanbia “he prophesies” (§ 22)

§ 211. Mod. Forms:

a) All forms are formed as from strong roots, except the af. of NPQ and
30 SLQ (§ 209). The imper. pe. never drops the 1st radical, cf. *enfel* “*cade!*”, pl.

enfelyōn “cadite!” (§ 202 b); *nəfoq*, f. *nufūq*, pl. m. *nefoqyon*, f. *nefeqyen* “go out!”, and sg. com. *enfeq*, pl. m. *enfeqyon*, f. *enfeqyen* “get out!” etc.

b) Af.

Pf.

Sg.: 3. m.	<i>affeq</i> “he brought out”	<i>asseq</i> “he brought up”	5
	f. <i>āšqat</i>	<i>āšqat</i>	
	2. <i>affeqt</i>	<i>asseqt</i>	
	1. <i>affīqt</i> (<i>afqīr</i>)	<i>assīqt</i> (<i>asqīt</i>)	
Pl.: 3. m.	<i>afqon</i>	<i>asqon</i>	
	(f. <i>afqen</i>)	<i>asqen</i>)	10
	2. m. <i>affeqton</i>	<i>asseqton</i>	
	f. <i>affeqten</i>	<i>asseqten</i>	
	1. <i>affeqnī</i>	<i>asseqnī</i>	

Present and future.

Sg.: 3. m.	<i>qamaffeq</i> “he brings out”	<i>qamasseq</i> “he brings up”	15
	f. <i>qamāšqa</i>	<i>qamāšqa</i>	
	2. <i>qamāšqet</i>	<i>qamāšqet</i>	
	1. <i>qamaffeqnā</i>	<i>qamasseqnā</i>	
Pl.: 3.	<i>qamāšqen</i>	<i>qamāšqen</i>	
	2.m. <i>qamāšqetton</i>	<i>qamāšqetton</i>	20
	f. <i>qamāšqetten</i>	<i>qamāšqetten</i>	
	1. <i>qamaffeqnī</i>	<i>qamasseqnī</i>	
Imper.:	<i>affeq</i> , pl. <i>affeqyon</i> , f. <i>affeqyen</i> “bring out!”		
	<i>asseq</i> , pl. <i>asseqyon</i> , f. <i>asseqyen</i> “bring up!”		

About the pronunciation *affeq* etc with a double aspirated *f* cf. § 20 p. 25

5. Verbs ʿ, ʾ'D³⁰⁴.

§ 212. The forms of verbs ʿ'D and ʾ'D are mostly identical. They differ only in the af., where the ʾ'D are treated as ʿ'D (or ʾ'D). From ʾ'D there are in the classical: ABL “to mourn”; AMR “to say” (still used); AZL “to

³⁰⁴ MG §§ 179—180.

go"; AKL "to eat" (still used) and "to last"; ANA "to sigh"; אֲשַׁד "to pour"; אֲלַס "to (op)press"; ASR "to bind"; AHD "to shut"; AWD (< אָבַד) "to perish"; ALP (pa.) "to teach" (still used); ALA "to lament"; ASA (pa.) "to heal"; אָפָא "to bake" (still used as *afā*); אָפֶק (: Aram. both אָפֶק and אָפֶק, but Akk. *abāku*) "to turn, reverse"; אָרְכָא "to be long" (mod. der. *erīḫa* = cl. 'rika "long"); AKM "to blacken"; אָטָא "to arrive" (still used *aṭā*).

The verb אָחַק "to laugh" (originally אָחַק) is now used only as אָחַק (which was used in the classical as a doublet of the former).

10 § 213. Cl. Forms:

α) Pe.

a) Pf.

a) (אָחַק)

b) (אָחַק)

Sg.: 3. m. **abad** "he did"

amar "he said"

15 **arab** "he (or it)
set down"

azal "he went"

ašad "he poured"

akal "he ate"

f. **abdat**, **'bdat** "she did"

amrat, **'mrat** "she said"

'hkat "she laughed"

azlat, **'zlat** "she went"

aklat "she ate"

With encl.: **amaralḥ** "she said to
him"

2. **abadt** "thou didst"
(with negation: **labadt**
"thou didst not")

amart "thou hast said"

azalt "thou didst go"

25 1. **abdit**, **'bdit** "I made"
ahkit, **'hkit** "I laughed"

aklit "I ate"

azlit, **'zlit** "I went"

'mrit "I said"

With encl.: **abdilun** "I made for them"

amarilḥ "I said to him"

30 **'hikibun** "I laughed at
them"

Pl.: 3. = m. sg., or **abadiun**
"they made"

amariun "they said"

azaliun "they went"

a)

2. **abadun** “ye did”
With encl.:
2. f.
1. **abadnin** “we did”
With encl. : **abadnalḥ**
“we made for him”

b)

- amartun** “ye said”
amartulia “ye said to me”
amartin “ye said”
amarnin “we said”
amarnalḥ “we said to him”

5

b) Impf. (as **ʕ** **ḏ**)

- Sg.: 3. m. **nibad** “*faci(e)t*”
With encl. : **nibudḥ**
“*faci(e)t ei*”
3. f., 2. m. & f.: **tibad**
1. **ʕbad** (rarely) **ʕbid**
With encl. : **ʕbidbḥ**
“I (shall) make in it”
ʕbidḥ “I (shall) make for
him”

- nikul, nikal** “he eats”, “will
eat”

10

- tikul, tizal**
ʕkul, ʕzal

15

- Pl.: 3. m. **nibdun** “they (will) do”
nirbun “they (will) mix”

- niklun** “they (will) eat”
nimrun “they (will) say”
nizlun “they (will) go”
nibdun “they (will) perish”
niblun “they (will) mourn”
nimarulḥ (less often **nimirulḥ**)
“they (will) say to him”
niuda “*aeae periuunt, facient*”
tipkun “ye (will) turn”
tizlun “ye (will) go”
timirulḥ (**timarulḥ**)
“*narra(bi)tis ei*”

20

25

30

- With encl. : **nibidulḥ** “they (will)
make for him”
3. f. **nibda** “*aeae faciunt, facient*”
2. **tibdun, tirbun**
- With encl. : **tibidulḥ** (var. **tibudulḥ**)
“*faci(e)tis mibi*”
1. = 3. m. sg.

c) Imperative:

'bid, abid, 'bad, "do!"
abud, 'bud, 'ubud*

akul, 'kul "eat!"
amar, amur "say!"
'zil, 'zal "go!"
asar "tie!"

5

With *ʒ* before encl.:

amarul_h (even **amurul_h**)
 "dicite ei!"

d) Participles:

a)

b)

10 Act.: **abid, f. abda** "(is) doing"
amar, f. amra "(is) dwelling"

akil, f. akla "(is) eating"
amar, f. amra "(is) saying"

With encl. personal pronouns:

Sg.:

aklit "thou eatest"
akilna "I (am) eat(ing)"
amarna "I say"

15

Pl.: **abdinin** "we (are) do(ing)"
 Pas.: **'bid, f. f. 'bida** "done", "made"
'rib, f. 'riba "mixed"

azlinin "we (are) go(ing)"
'mir "dictus"
'sir "ligatus"

e) Infinitive: **mibad** "doing"

mikal "eating"
mizal "going"
mimar "saying"

20

β) Pael and Afel.

Verbs **ʒ'** have identical forms in both pa. and af., but the forms of verbs **ʒ** are clearly distinguished, since they behave as **ʒ'** in the af. In the
 25 pa. both groups have identical forms.

*) According to the mod. imper. forms these three forms are to be considered as more correct than the first three (the first of which is formally identical with the pass. participle pe., the second with the act. participle, and the third with the mod. pf. pe.: *eβad*).

a) Perfect

Pa.	a (ʕ ’ Ḍ)	Af.
asiq (ATŠ no. 258) “they vex(ed)”	adia “he brought over”	
atar “he awakened”	*abar “he brought across” (formally identical with <i>pe.</i>), cf. with suff.: abran “he brought me across”, abarth “I brought him across” etc.	5

b (**Ḳ**’**Ḍ**)

Pa.	Af. (as ʕ ’ Ḍ § 216 γ)
alip “he taught”	aukil “he fed”
ahid “he shut”	*auklat “she fed” etc
asia “he healed”	1 sg. with suff.: aukiltinun
1 sg. with suff.: ahidtinun	“I fed them” etc
(Gy 145: 19, var. A: ahadtinun)	
“I shut them”	

b) The formal fusion continues in the imperfect:

Pa.	a (ʕ ’ Ḍ)	Af.
*niabiṭ , *n’iabiṭ , cf. with suff.:	niabar (often in AM) “he will get over”, but with suff.:	20
n’iabṭh (Gs 94: 12) “we fetter him”, but also nabṭunik (Gs 77: 10) “we fetter thee” (fem.) and labṭunan (Gs 130: 7) “they fetter me”; *n(‘)atar “he awakens”, cf. with suff. n’iatran “he will awaken me”	latabrḥ (Gy 213: 5) “do not transgress it” etc;	
	nadia (< Syr. <i>na’di</i>) “he brings over”	25

b (**Ḳ**’**Ḍ**)

Pa.	Af.
nalip <i>doce(bi)t</i> ’	*naukil “he feeds” (cf. pt. maukil)

c) The imperative is formally identical with the 3rd p. m. sg. of the pf.

d) Participles:

	a)		b)	
	Pa.	Af.	Pa.	Af.
5	maziz "fortifying"	mabid "making, do"	malip "tea- ching"	maukil "fee- ding"
	mapip "doubling", "doubled"	mabad "made"		
	pass.: maura "blinded"			
	With encl. personal pro- 10 nouns:			
	mahikna "I laugh"		malpit "thou teachest"	

e) Intinitive:

asuia, asuia
"healing"

- 15 f) Only the af. of א' ב bears a clear distinctive mark because of the transition to א' ב. But two verbs א' ב form the af. differently from other verbs of this group: אַתָּא "to come" — af. **aitia** "he brought", and אַמְנָ "to be faithful" — haf. **haimin** "he believed". The former often passes to the pa. (esp. in forms with suff.), which, in mod. Mandaic (§ 214), completely drove out
- 20 the cl. afel, cf. **aitia** "he brought", but **atian** "he brought me"; **atiḥ, atih** (*āṭyī*, pa., as in mod. Mandaic) "he brought him" (alternatively with **aitih**, af., as the form without suff.); **atit** "she brought"; **aitit** "thou hast brought"; pl. **aitun** (af.) and **atun** (pa.) as mod. *aṭṭon* "they brought"; **ait(a)itun** "ye brought"; **aitinun** "we brought". Impf.: **naitia** (af.) "he brings", "will
- 25 bring", but the 1st p. sg. with suff. ***iatia** (pa.) "I bring him". Imper.: **atiia** (pa.), but a special fem. form: **aitai** (af., alternatively with **atai**, pa.) "*apporta!*" pl. **aitun** (af.), less often **atun** (pa.) "*apportate!*" Participle: **maitia** (af.) and **matia** (pa.); pl. **matin** is a pa. form³⁰⁵. It is no mere coincidence that **matia** is used for the fem.³⁰⁶, since the same form can be pronounced either
- 30 *maṭṭī* (masc.) or *māṭya* (fem.) as in mod. Mandaic. Inf.: **matuia** "bringing" (cf. Talm. אַתְּוּיָא inst. of אַתְּוּיָא).

³⁰⁵ Accordingly, Nöldeke (MG, p. 243: antep.) was not right to compare it with the Syr. afel.

³⁰⁶ MG, p. 262: 18.

g) The verb AMN is consistently used in hafel. Pf.: **haimin, haiman** “he believed”; pl. with encl.: **haimanubia, haiminubia** “they believed in me”, 1st p. pl. with encl.: **haimanabak** “we believe(d) in Thee”. Impf.: **nihaimin, nihaiman**, pl. **nihaimnun** etc. Imper.: **haimin, haiman** “*crede!*”, “*credite!*”, pl. with encl.: **haimanubh** “*credite in eum!*”. Participle: act. **mhaimin** “he believes”; pass. **mhaiman** (Gy 29: 12 var.) “he finds believers”.

γ) Reflexive forms:

In ethpe. the first radical is always syncopated (as in **ʕ' ʔ**, § 216 δ). There are no reflexive forms without *t* in the prefix. (Even in mod. Mandaic, where, otherwise, there are no reflexive forms with *t* in the prefix, the *t* is preserved in the ethpe. of **ʕ' ʔ**, § 214 δ).

Ethpeel:	a)	b)
Pf.:	ʕtbid “ <i>factus est</i> ”	ʕtmar “was said”
	ʕtibdat “ <i>facta est</i> ”	ʕtkil “was eaten”
	*ʕtqar “ <i>eradicatus est</i> ”	ʕstar “was fettered”
	ʕtiqrat “ <i>eradicata est</i> ”	ʕštīd “was poured”
Impf.:	nitbid “ <i>faci(e)tur</i> ”	nitmar “is (will be) said”
		nistar “is (will be) fettered”

Imper.: Identical with the 3rd p. m. sg., cf. **ʕstar** (Gs 76: 3) “let thyself fether!”.

	a)	b)
Participle:	mitbid “(is) done”	mitkil “(is) eaten”
	mitibda	pl. mitiklia “(are) eaten”
fem.	mitqar “(is) eradicated”	mitmar “(is) said”
pl.	mitiqria “(are) eradicated”	

The *ti aksa* in longer forms is not a mere help-vowel, but a remainder of the vocalization of the first radical, as was rightly noted by Nöldeke³⁰⁷ (cf. § 216).

³⁰⁷ MG, p. 243: 10.

Ethpaal:

Pf.:	ʕtarab "he, it mixed"	ʕtapak(tun) "(ye) turned"
Impf.:	nitarab " <i>misce(bi)tur</i> "	nitasia " <i>sana(bi)tur</i> "
		pl. nitason " <i>sana(bu)ntur</i> "

- 5 Otherwise, the verbs **ʕ**'**Ḍ** are usually treated as **ʕ**'**Ḍ** in ethpa.: **ʕtiaiṛ** (Gy 380:6) "were awakened", **ʕtiabaṭ** "was fettered", and even **ʕiauar** (Q 7: 13) "was blinded" (which is the only form without *t*). The imperative would be identical with the 3rd p. m. sg. pf.

Participle:

10	a)	b)
Pl.:	mitauria (Gy 370: 12) " <i>excaecandi (sunt)</i> "	mitapkia " <i>torquentes</i> "
Inf.:	ʕtarubia "mixing"	ʕtapukia "turning", "being turned" (cf. Itapukia "to turn")
15	Ettafal:	ʕthaiman "he is faithful"
Eštafal:	ʕštabad "he was, they were made slave(s)"	
Impf. pl.:	ništabdun "they are (will be) made slaves"	
20		

§ 214. Mod. Forms:

α) Pe.

	a) Pf.	a)	b)
Sg.: 3. m.	<i>eβad</i>	<i>emar</i> "he said"	<i>aχal</i> "he ate" <i>aθā</i> "he came"
25	f. <i>eβdat</i>	<i>emrat</i>	<i>eχlat</i> <i>aθat</i>
	2. <i>eβdet*</i>	<i>emart</i>	<i>aχalt</i> <i>aθet</i>
	1. <i>eβdīt</i>	<i>emrīt</i>	<i>aχlīt</i> <i>aθit</i>

* *eβdet* may be considered as a euphonic form of *eβadt* (by the analogy of **ʕ**'**Ḍ**, cf. *aθet* & § 227 α 2).

	a)		b)	
Pl.: 3. m.	<i>eβadyon</i>	<i>emaryōn</i>	<i>aχalyon</i>	<i>aθōn</i>
f.	<i>eβadyān</i>	<i>emaryān</i>	<i>aχalyān</i>	<i>(aθyān)</i>
2. m.	<i>eβadton</i>	<i>emarton</i>	<i>aχalton</i>	<i>aθiton</i>
f.	<i>eβadten</i>	<i>emarten</i>	<i>aχalten</i>	<i>aθiten</i>
1.	<i>eβadni(n)</i>	<i>emarnī(n)</i>	<i>aχalni(n)</i>	<i>aθini(n)</i>

The initial vowel contracts with the vowel of the neg. particle *la* *læ*:

	<i>leβad</i> "he did not make",	<i>lemar</i>	<i>laχal</i>	<i>laθā</i>
fem.	<i>leβdat</i> "she did not make"	<i>lemrat</i>	<i>laχlat</i>	<i>laθat</i> etc.

Cl. **YHB** "to give" is now treated as **AHB**. Therefore, its forms are slightly different from the classical:

Sg.: 3. m.	<i>ebaβ</i> (as cl. 'hab)	Pl.: 3. m.	<i>ebaβyōn</i> (cl. 'hab)	
f.	<i>abβat</i> (but cl. iahbat)		<i>(abāβyon)</i>	15
2.	<i>abβet</i> (cl. 'habt)	f.	<i>ebaβyān</i>	
1.	<i>abβit</i> (cl. iahbit , less often 'hbit)	2. m.	<i>ebaβton</i> (as cl. 'habtun)	
			<i>(abaβton)</i>	
		f.	<i>ebaβten</i> (as cl. 'hab- abaβten tin)	20
		1.	<i>ebaβni(n)</i> (as cl. 'hab- abaβni nin)	

b) Perfect with the encl. *l* (cf. § 200 k β).

Since **AMR** and **AHB** are the only verbs, which use the encl. *l* with all persons, these forms ought to be given. The first radical is, as a rule, affected by aphaeresis:

Sg.: 3. m.	<i>(e)malle</i> "he said to me" (Morg. 273 : 23) "he said "to him"	<i>hāβle</i> (<i>ldin</i>) "he gave me"
f.	<i>(e)marelle</i> "she said to me" ³⁰⁸	<i>hāβelle</i> (<i>ldin</i>) "she gave me"

³⁰⁸ **'marulh** (Morg. 273 : 3, 5, 21 etc) "she said to him" is an inept writing of *emarelli*.

2. (e)martelle “thou didst say to me” *hāfstelle (ldīn)* “thou hast given me”
1. (e)martellaχ “I said to thee” *hāftellaχ* “I gave thee”
- Pl.: 3. m. **maluniḡ** (Morg. 273:18, 19,20; 275: paen. etc), *hāβlonnī* “they gave him”
 5 pron. (e)mallonnī “they said to him”
2. (e)martelonne “ye said to me” *hāftelonne* “ye gave me”
- 10 1. *mannaχ* “we said to thee” *hāβnannaχ* “we gave thee”
 (emannaχ)

In the above forms the suffix, attached by means of the encl. *l*, is a dative suffix. When these two verbs are used with both direct and indirect objects referred to by personal suffixes, the encl. *l* introduces the accusative suffix, and the dative suffix is introduced by the prep. *qa* encl. *d* in a separate word:

- Sg.: 3. m. *emallī qadīn* “he said it to me” *hāβlī qadaχ* “he gave it to thee”
- f. *marelle* (or *emrāte*) *qadīn* “she said to me” *haβellī* (or *eh ātī*) *qadaχ* “she gave it to thee”
- 20 2. *martellī qabaχ* “thou didst say it to him” (or “her”) *hāftellī qabaχ* “thou didst give it to him”
1. *martellī qadaχ* “I said it to thee” *hāftellaχ qabaχ* “I gave thee to him” (or “her”)
- Pl.: 3. *mallonī qaaxnī* “they said it to them” *hāβlonnan qadoχon* “they gave us to you”
- 25 2. *martelonnī qadan* “you said it to us” *hāftelonnū qadan* “you gave them to us”
1. *man(na)nī qadoχon* “we said it to you” *hāβnannoχon qaaxnī* “we gave you to them”

30 There is one more usage of these two verbs with two suffixes: the dative suffix is attached to the verb by means of the encl. *l*, and the accusative suffix follows it immediately. In this case the accusative suffix can be only the 3rd p. sg. or pl., expressed by *-ye* “him”, “her”, or by *-non* (*-nū*) “them”. This usage is treated in Syntax, § 266c, as a peculiarity of relative sentences, in
 35 which the accusative suffix refers to the antecedent of the relative pronoun.

c) Present and future:

	a)	b)		
Sg.: 3. m.	<i>qāβed</i> "he is doing", "will do"	<i>qāmar</i> "he says", "will say"	<i>qāχel</i> "he eats", "will eat"	<i>qāθī</i> "he comes", "will come"
f.	<i>qāβda</i>	<i>qāmra</i>	<i>qāχla</i>	<i>qāθya</i>
2.	<i>qāβdet</i>	<i>qāmret</i>	<i>qāχlet</i>	<i>qāθet</i>
1.	<i>qāβednā</i>	<i>qamernā</i>	<i>qāχelna</i>	<i>qāθīna</i>
Pl.: 3.	<i>qāβden</i>	<i>qāmren</i>	<i>qāχlen</i>	<i>qāθen</i>
2. m.	<i>qāβdetten</i>	<i>qamretton</i>	<i>qāχletton</i>	<i>qāθetton</i>
f.	<i>qāβdetton</i>	<i>qamretten</i>	<i>qāχletten</i>	<i>qāθetten</i>
1.	<i>qāβdennī</i>	<i>qamrennī</i>	<i>qāχlennī</i>	<i>qāθennī</i>

Present with negation: *læ-qāβed*, *læ-qāmer* etc.

Participial present of AHB (cl. participle pe. *iahib*):

Sg.: 3. m.	<i>qābeβ</i> "da(bi)t"	Pl.: 3. m.	<i>qāβen</i>	
f.	<i>qāβā</i>	2. m.	<i>qāβetton</i>	
2.	<i>qāβet</i>	f.	<i>qāβetten</i>	
1.	<i>qābeβna</i>	1.	<i>qāβennī(n)</i>	

d) Present with the encl. *l* (cf. § 204 c γ):

Sg.: 3. m.	<i>qamelle</i> "he says to me"	<i>qabeβle</i> (<i>ldīn</i>) "he gives me"	
f.	<i>qamrāle</i> "she says to me" (2. <i>qamrāte</i> "thou sayest to me")	<i>qāβāle</i> (<i>ldīn</i>) "she gives me" (<i>qāβāte</i> "thou givest me")	
1.	<i>qamennaχ</i> "I say to thee"	<i>qabeβna</i> "I give thee"	
Pl.: 3.	<i>qāmrelle</i> "they say to me"	<i>qāβelle</i> "they give me"	
2.	<i>qāmertonne</i> "you say to me"	<i>qabeβtonne</i> <i>qābeβtonne</i> } "ypu give me"	
1.	<i>qāmrennaχ</i> (<i>qāmrennānnaχ</i> , "we say to thee")	<i>qabeβnānnaχ</i> (<i>qabeβninnaχ</i>) } "we give thee"	
	<i>qamernānnaχ</i> , <i>qamennānnaχ</i>		

e) Imperative:

	a)		b)	
Sg.: m.	<i>oβod</i>	<i>omor</i>	<i>oχol</i>	<i>doθī*</i>
f.	<i>uβūd</i>	<i>umūr</i>	<i>uχūl</i>	<i>doθe</i>
5 Pl.: m.	<i>oβodyon</i>	<i>omoryon</i>	<i>oχolyon</i>	<i>doθōn</i>
f.	<i>oβodyān</i>	<i>omoryān</i>	<i>oχolyān</i>	<i>doθen</i>

In the neg. order, there is a contraction of the 1st rad. with *læ*: *læβdet* “*noli facere!*”, *læβdetton* “*nolite facere!*”; *læmret* (**limrat**, Morg. 277: 4, is to be read so) “*noli dicere!*”, *læmretton* “*nolite dicere!*” etc.

10 The imperative of AHB (cl. **hab**) is usually replaced by *balle* “*da (mibi)!*”, pl. *ballonne* “*date mibi!*”, used always with the pers. suff.

With the encl. *l*:

malle “*dic mibi!*”, pl. *mal(l)onne* “*dicite mibi!*”

f) Passive participle:

15 *eβed(ye)*, *emer(ye)*, *eχel(ye)*, *ebeβ(ye)*

(Fem. would be: *eβidā*, *eβidī*; *emūrā*, *emūrī*; *eχilā*, *eχilī*; *eβīβā*, *eβīβī*. These forms are rarely used. The Mandaeans prefer active constructions, as *elβāda eβad* “he has done the work”, to pass., as *elβāda eβedye* “the work has been done”).

20 β) Pa.

a) Pf.

Two verbs are often used in pa.: 1. *arreq* “he poured”³⁰⁹, which drove out the cl. AŠD, 2. *aθθī* “he brought”, which drove out the cl. *afel* (§ 213f.).

*) The imperative of AṬA is consistently used with the proclitic *do* 25 (§ 66), which is used with no other verb, and is unknown in the classical. May it be identical with mod. Syr. *dū* “so, then” (missing in Maclean’s Dictionary)?

³⁰⁹ Gl. 12:7f, 92:15f, 104:3f.

Sg.: 3. m.	<i>arreq</i> "he poured"	<i>aḏḏi</i> "he brought"	
f.	<i>ārqaṭ</i>	<i>āḏḏaṭ</i>	
2.	<i>ar(r)eqṭ</i>	<i>āḏḏeṭ</i>	
1.	<i>ārqiṭ</i>	<i>āḏḏiṭ</i>	
Pl.: 3. m.	<i>areqyōn</i>	} <i>āḏḏon</i>	5
f.	<i>areqyān</i>		
2. m.	<i>areqton</i>	<i>aḏḏiton</i>	
f.	<i>areqten</i>	<i>aḏḏiten</i>	
1.	<i>areqnī</i>	<i>aḏḏinī</i>	

(The difference of the endings is due to the fact that *aḏḏi* is at the same 10 time "ḏ").

b) Present-future.

Sg.: 3. m.	<i>q(ə)marreq</i> "he pours", "will pour"	<i>qəmaḏḏi</i> "apporta(bi)"	
f.	<i>qmārqa</i>	<i>qəməḏḏya</i>	15
2.	<i>qmārqeṭ</i>	<i>qəmaḏḏeṭ</i>	
1.	<i>qmarəqnā</i>	<i>qəmaḏḏinā</i>	
Pl.: 3.	<i>qmārqeṇ</i>	<i>qəməḏḏeṇ</i>	
2. m.	<i>qmārqeṭton</i>	<i>qəmaḏḏeṭton</i>	
1.	<i>qmārqənnī</i>	<i>qəmaḏḏennī</i>	20

c) Pa. with the encl. *l*.

Accusative suffixes are added by means of the encl. *l* only to the 3rd p. sg. and pl. of the pres. tense. All other persons of the pres. as well as the whole pf. add the acc. suff. directly (§ 235 α c).

<i>qmarqeḏḏi</i> "he pours it"	<i>qmaḏḏile</i> "he brings me"	25
<i>qmarqāḏi</i> "she pours it"	<i>qmaḏḏyāle</i> "she brings me"	
<i>qmarqeḏḏi</i> "they pour it"	<i>qmaḏḏelle</i> "they bring me"	

γ) The *af.* is not used, since that of AṬA was replaced by the *pa.* (s. g, h), and that of AMN (*beyman*) by the participle of its reflexive stem (s. ḏ).

5 δ) Reflexive stem is defective and rarely used. Šābūrī gave me a good cl. ethpe. of AKL: *etxel* “was eaten”, fem. *etexlat* (pres. *qametxel*, fem. *qameteχlā*), but other persons can hardly be used. It is noteworthy that the *t* of the prefix of the reflexive, which, otherwise, vanished in mod. Mandaic, is till preserved in this form. But the ethpe. given of other verbs is identical with the pass. pt. (*eβed* etc); this could finally be done also in the case of AKL: *exel* “(was) eaten”. In general, act. constructions are preferred (cf. s. f).

10 The verb *heyman* “he believed” is used only as a reflexive participle *moteheyman* “believer”, “observer of religious prescriptions” (cf. § 213 γ, ettaf.). The *t* of the prefix remained, for this participle is based on an ettafal form. The pf. is formed with the help of the auxiliary HUA: *moteheyman howā* “he believed”, “he observed the religious prescriptions” etc (cf. HUA, § 227 ε b 1). The present is formed with (encl.) personal pronouns:

Sg.: 3.	<i>bāχ moteheyman(ye)</i> (fem. <i>moteheymanī</i>)	Pl.: <i>hannox moteheymennon</i>
2.	<i>āt moteheyman(yat)</i>	<i>atton moteheyman(t)on</i>
1.	<i>anā moteheyman(nan)</i>	<i>anī(n) moteheymennīn(n)</i>

Fut. (with the help of HWA): *bāχ moteheyman qabāwī* “he will believe, observe religious prescriptions” etc (§ 227 ε b 2).

20 6. Verbs $\text{y}''\text{D}$ ($\text{h}''\text{D}$)³¹⁰

§ 215. The close relationship of $\text{y}''\text{D}$ with $\text{n}''\text{D}$ was mentioned in § 213 β f (cf. also the cl. YHB = mod. AHB , § 214 α a). In the pf. of af. they are always treated as $\text{y}''\text{D}$, cf. *haulil* “he lamented” (unlike Syr. *ayelēl*).

25 In cl. forms beginning with *ye* the initial *y* was contracted with the following front vowel to *ī* (= ‘), but the original *ye* reappears in mod. forms (§§ 61 a, 217 α β).

§ 216. Cl. Forms:

α) Peal

a) Pf. (YTB and YHB, cf. § 61):

Sg.: 3. m. **'tib** "he sat", **'biš** "he became dry", **'lip** "he learned", **'hab** "he gave", **'qad** (var. **'qid**), "he burnt", **'tar** (even **tar** Gy 171: 9) "he grew rich", **'da** "he knew".

With encl.: **iahablan** (Gy 25: 3) "he gave us", but also **'hablh** "they gave him".

f. **iatbat** "she sat", **iadlat** "she brought forth", **iahbat** "she gave", but **'dat** "she knew".

With encl.: **'tibalh** (Gs. 24: 16) "she sat by her", **'habalh** "she gave him".

2. **'tbit** "thou didst sit", **'habt** "thou hast given", **'dit** "thou didst know".

1. **iatbit** & **'tbit** "I sat", **iahbit** & **'hbit** "I gave", but only **'dit** "I knew".

With encl.: **'habilak** "I gave thee".

Pl.: 3. = 3. m. sg.

15

With special pl. ending: **'tibiun** "they sat", **'daiun** "they knew" (aside from **'da** & **'dun**)

2. m. **'ditun** "ye knew", with the interrogative particle **mi-**: **miditun** (Gs 54: 13) "did ye know?". With encl.: **'habtulia** "ye gave me".

f. **'habtin**

20

1. **'tibnin** "we sat", **'habnin** "we gave", **'danin** & **'dinin** "we knew" With encl.: **'habnalh** "we gave him".

b) Impf. (cf. ʾ, ʾ'D, § 213 b):

Sg.: 3. m. **nitib** "*sede(bi)t*", **niqar** "*honora(bi)tur*", **niqad**, **niqud** "*flagra(bi)t*"

3. f., 2. m. & f. **titib** "*sede(bi)t*", "*sede(bi)s*", **tidul** "*pari(e)t*", "*pari(e)s*"

1. **'tib** "I (shall) sit", **'dul** "I (shall) bring forth", **'hab** "I (shall) give" (otherwise, the impf. of this verb is replaced by that of NTN).

Pl.: 3. m. **nitbun** "they (will) sit", **nidun** "they (will) know"

f. **nitba** "*ae sede(bu)nt*", **nihba** "*ae da(bu)nt*"

30

2. m. **tilpun** "ye learn"

f. ***tihba**

1. = 3. m. sg.

c) Imperative:

tib & **'tib** "*sede(te)!*"; **hab**, **ahub**, **'hab** "*da(te)!*"; with a special pl. ending: **'tibiun** "*sedete!*". Sg. with encl.: **hablan** "*da nobis!*", (**a**)**hablia** "*da mibi!*"; pl. with encl.: (**a**)**hbulia** "*date mibi!*"

5 d) Participle:

Act.: m. **iatib** "(is) sitting"m. **iahib** "(is) giving"f. **iatba**f) **iahba**

With encl. pers. pronouns:

2. sg. **iatbit** "thou sittest"1. sg. **iatibna** "I sit"

10

2. pl. **iahbitun** "ye give"1. pl. **iahbinin** "we give"With the encl. *l*: **iahbatlun** "thou givest them".Pass.: m. **'dil** "*natus*"m. **'hib** "*datus*"f. **'dila** "*nata*"f. **'hiba** "*data*" ("*datum*")

15

With encl.: **'dilak** (Gy 393:1) "*natus (est) tibi*".e) Inf.: **mitab** (var. **mitib**) "sitting", **mida** "knowing".

β) The pa. presents no peculiarity: Pf. **iaqir** "he honoured" (cf. **iaqirnak** "we honoured thee"); impf., cf. forms with suff. **n'iaqrak**, **niiqrak** "he honours thee", "we honour thee"; inf. **iaquria** "to honour". Unfortunately, the participle and other forms, on which we could ascertain whether the *r* as 3rd radical exerted an influence on the preceding vowel (as it did in the pf. of the af.), are missing. From YNQ "to suckle", there is a pt. pa. in the st. emph. **mianqa** (ML 244: 4 etc) "suckling".

γ) Afel (cf. **Ḥ'D**, § 213 β f):

25 After the prefix of the af., the original 1st radical (*w*) appears, but the diphthong produced is contracted in traditional pronunciation (§ 75 a). YTB: Pf. **autib** "he seated", **autbat** "she seated" etc; impf. 1st p. sg. ***'iautib** (with suff. **'iautbak** "I seat thee"); imperat. = 3. m. sg. pf.; participle: **mautib** "(is) seating" ("**nta mautib** "he will marry a woman"); inf. **mautbuis**

"seating > marrying". Since the diphthong was contracted to *o*, the form with the suffix **'utban** (aside from **autban**) "he seated me" does not present an exceptional simplification of the diphthong, as Nöldeke thought³¹¹, but merely a facultative phonetic writing (both varr. being pronounced *otban*). But Nöldeke was certainly right as to the original pronunciation: the contraction of the diphthong must have originated in longer forms with endings, and was then extended to shorter forms. It would be difficult to believe that e. g. ***mauniq** (st. abs.) was originally pronounced ***monneq**; it is more probable that the contraction was first achieved in the st. emph. **munqa monqa** "fosterer", which exercised an influence on the st. abs. ***monneq**.

YQR: Pf. **auqar** "he honoured", with suffix **auq(i)rinun** "he honoured them" (The *qī aksa* in the brackets indicates the *šwa* of the facultative pronunciation with a secondary reduplication of *q*: *oqqərennon* > *oqrennon*). Impf. **niauqar** (cf. **niauqrun**); imper. = 3. m. sg. pf., pl. with suff. **iaqruia** "honorate eum"; participle: act. **mauqir** "honorans", pl. **mauqria**, **mauqrin** (**mauqirin**) "honorant(es)", pass. **mauqar** "honoratus".

Inf. **auquria** (CP 5:16) "to honour" is usually replaced by that of the pa. (s. β).

The verb YBL "to bring" syncopates the 2nd radical in the af.: **auil** "he brought", ***aulat** "she brought", **aulit** "thou didst bring", "I brought"; with encl. **aulalh** (Gy 381:6) "she brought it." Impf. (only forms with suff. occur): **naulak** & **n'iaulak** "apporta(bi)t te", "apporta(bi)mus te", **iaulak** "apport(ab)o te". Participle: **mauil**, fem. **maula** "bringing"; with encl. pers. pronoun: **maulina** "I bring"; pl. with the encl. *l*: **mauilh** "they bring him". It would be very interesting to see an infinitive af. of this verb, in which a syncope of the 2nd radical, separating two back vowels from each other (***maubulia** ***mobūli**), would hardly be possible. If any such form existed, it must have preserved the 2nd radical (as did the derivative **mubla** "burden").

The verb YLL forms the afel with the prefix *ba-*: **haulil** "he lamented", **haulalat** "she lamented" etc.

Participles of this stem occur very frequently: act. **mauzip** "(is) lending", pass. **maušaṭ** (Gy 217:7, var. **miušaṭ**, Gy 214:28, both pronounced *moššaṭ*?) "(is) extended", "spread out"; with pers. pronoun **maumina** "I conjure", with the encl. *l*: **mauiatlun** "thou lettest them bloom". The verb YZB is used in šafel: ***šauzib** "he saved", impf. **nišauzib** (cf. 1st p. sg. with suff. 35

³¹¹ MG, p. 247 with n. 1.

ʾšauzbak, -binkun “I save you”), participle **mšauzib**, *nomen agentis* **mšauzibana** “Saviour”.

δ) Reflexive forms:

In the ethpe., the 1st radical is syncopated, but the *t* of the prefix remains
 5 (as in ʾNʾʾ, § 213γ): **ʾthib** “was given”, **mithib** “(is) given”; **ʾtlid** “was born”, **mitlid** “is born” (from the original YLD instead of the usual YDL with metathesis). But the 1st radical provided with the vowel *a* remains:
ʾtiahbat “she was given”, ***ʾtiahbit** “*datus es, sum*”, ***mitiahba** “she is given”,
***mitiahbia** “they are given”, **mitiadlia** “they are born”.

10 Ettafal corresponds to af.: **ʾtaudal** “he was born”, **ʾtauda** “was made known, proclaimed”, **ʾtauzap** “was, were added, joined”, impf. **nitauzap**, participle **mitauzap**, inf. **mitauzupia**.

Eštafal is formed in the same way: **ʾštauzab** “he was saved”, impf. **ništauzab**, participle: **mištauzab**.

15 § 217. Mod. Forms:

α) Since the cl. YHB “to give” has lost the initial *y* in all mod. forms, it is treated as ʾʾ (§ 214α). Only four verbs are actually treated as ʾʾ: YMA “to swear”, YTM = YHM (§ 36h) “to sit (down)”, YDL (by metathesis from YLD) “to bring forth”, and YDA “to know”. The two latter are
 20 defective: YDL has no masc. forms; YDA is used only in the act. pt. pe. with possessive suffixes: the procl. particle *q* is required in the present and the auxiliary HUA in the pf. and future, cf. *qyādī* “he knows”, *yādī howā* “he knew”, *yādī qahāwī* “he will know” etc (§ 106bβ). The mod. ʾʾ in no way
 25 differ from strong verbs, since there is no contraction of the 1st radical with the following front vowel.

β) Pe.

Dialect of Šuštar

Dialect of Ahwāz

a) Pf.

Sg.: 3. m. *yitem*

yebem “he sat (down)”

30 f. *yetmat*

yehmat

	Dialect of Šuštar	Dialect of Ahwāz	
	2. <i>yetamt</i>	<i>yehmat</i>	
	(f. <i>āt yetmīt</i>)	<i>āt yehmīt</i>)	
	1. <i>yetmīt (yitmīt)</i>	<i>yehmīt</i>	
Pl.: 3. m.	<i>yetemyōn</i>	<i>yehemyōn</i>	5
	f. <i>yetemyān</i>	<i>yehemyān</i>	
2. m.	<i>yetmetton</i>	<i>yehmetton</i>	
	f. <i>yetmetten</i>	<i>yehmetten</i>	
1.	<i>yetmennī</i>	<i>yehmennī</i>	

Forms of YDL "to bring forth":

- Sg.: 3. m. (*ā gaḡbrā la-qombī qyādal* "the man cannot bring forth"),
 f. *yedlat* "she brought forth"
 2. *yedelt* (usually replaced by *aḡḡet*)
 1. *yidlīt*

Pl.: 3. f. *yedalyān*, 2. f. *yedalten*, 1. *yedalnī*.

Certain forms (2. p. sg. of YTM = YHM and the whole pl. of YDL) follow the analogy of verbs III r.

YDL is often replaced by the pa. of AṬA: *aḡḡat* "she brought forth etc (§ 214 β) a usage based on the same semantics as the Engl. "to bear".

b) Present:

	YTM = YHM (Šuštar Ahwāz)	YDL	
Sg.: 3. m.	<i>qyātem, qyāhem</i>	(<i>qyādal</i> , cf. above, s. a)	
	f. <i>qyatmā, qyābmā</i>	<i>qayādla</i>	
2.	<i>qyātmet, qyābmet</i>	<i>qayādlet</i>	25
1.	<i>qyetemnā, qyebemnā*</i>	<i>qyādalna (qayādlanā)</i>	

*) *qyetemnā, qyebemnā* are euphonic forms, based on the principle of vocal harmony (regressive assimilation of the vowel, which was first shortened secondarily, cf. *qyātmā, qyābmā*). In *qyādalna* no euphonic change was needed, since the form follows the analogy of verbs III r; otherwise, the masc. form is often used instead of the fem.

YTM = YHM
(Šuštar Ahwāz)

YDL

Pl.: 3. m. *qyātmen, qyābmen*
2. m. *qyātmetton, qyābmetton*
5 f. *qyātmetten, qyābmetten*
1. *qyātmennī, qyābmennī*

fem. *qyādlen (qyādlan)*
— — —
qyādletten
qyādlennī

c) Imperative:

Sg.: m. *yitom, yihom (yohom),*

f. *yubūm "sede!"*

Pl.: m. *yitomyon, yebomyon,*

f. *yitemyān, yehemyān "sedete!"*

10 Negative order:

Sg.: *læ-yetmet, læ-yehmet "noli sedere!"*

Pl.: *læ-yetmetton (-ten), læ-yehmetton (-ten) "nolite sedere!"*

The verb YDL is not used in the imperative.

The imper. of YDA:

15 Sg.: m. *yādaḡ bewī,*

f. *yādeḡ bewī*

Pl.: m. *yādāḡon bewī,*

f. *yādāḡen bewī (§ 106 b β).*

γ) Derived stems are no more used. Especially the vanishing of the af., on which we could verify its traditional pronunciation is regrettable. We certainly cannot approve of the primitive periphrase *mollī yehom* "he said to
20 him: "Sit down!", which is a very poor substitute for the simple and expressive cl. afel.

7. Verbs י'צ & צ'צ³¹².

§ 218. a) When the 2nd radical is a mobile consonantal *u*, the root is treated as strong in all forms (as in Syriac): **ruaz** "he rejoiced", impf. **niruaz**
25 (varr. **niruiz, niruz**), **tiruaz, ruaz**, pl. **niriuzun, tiriuzun**; AWD "to perish" (< ארז); ZWD "to equip for the journey" (used only in the pa. and its reflexive, as Syr. *zawwed*, § 219); LWS "to soil" (§ 219 δb)³¹³; RWA I (< רז,

³¹² MG §§ 183—189.

³¹³ Not to be confused with LUS "to knead" with a semivocal *u*.

a)

nicated", **ṣatit** "I listened",
namit (var. **nimit** "I
 slept" better attested: Jb
 128: 11 ACD, but hardly
 correct)

With encl.: **daribh** "I li-
 ved in it"

b)

kanilh "I wrapped him"

Pl.: 3. = 3. sg. With special pl.

ending:

qamiun "they stood"

pašiuu "they stayed"

2. (***qamtun**)

1. **garnin** "we fornicated"

With encl.:

(***maktun**)

alnin "we entered"

maknalun "we trod them down"

b) Impf.

a)

Sg.: (1) With *u*:

3. m. **niqum** "*sta(bi)t*", **nimut** "*mo-
 ri(e)tur*"

3. f., 2. m. & f. **tiqum, timut***)

1. **'qum 'mut**

(2) With *a*:

3. m. **nidar** "*habita(bi)t*", **nigar**
 "*fornica(bi)t*"

3. f., 2. m. & f. **tidar**

1. **'dar** (aside from **'dur**, cf. Gs
 62: 23)

b)

nimuk "*gradi(e)tur*", **niul** "*in-
 ra(bi)t*"

tihup "*lava(bi)s*", **t'iul, tiul**

'kun "I (shall) wrap", **'iul**

niham "he is hot"

tirag "*ea desidera(bi)t*", "*desi-
 dera(bi)s*"

***rag**

*) A sporadic fem. form of the 2nd p. sg. of MUT is **latimitai** (Gy 161:6, Gs 132:13) "*ne moriaris*"³¹⁴.

³¹⁴ MG 250:3. Nöldeke proposed an emendation to **latimitia** in order to obtain the same ending (i) as in Talm. and H. But the ending *i* might have followed an analogy of the fem. imperative of יָצַח (§§ 226 ac, γc, 227 ad, βd, γc).

a)

b)

Pl.:

- | | | |
|-------|------------------------------------|---------------------|
| 3. m. | niqmun, nimitun, niṣitun**) | cf. ninzun*) |
| f. | *niqma, *nimita | |
| 2. m. | tiqmun, timitun, tiṣitun | tirgun |
| f. | *tiqma | |

5

With encl.: **tiqmulia** “*statis*” or
 “*stetis mihi*”

1. = 3. m. sg.

The transition of ʾʿᵛ to ʿʿᵛ is the most evident in the 3rd and 2nd p. pl. of QUM, where the 2nd radical completely vanished. But although other verbs have an *aksa* after the 1st rad. (**niṣitun, tiṣitun** “they listen”, “you listen”; **ninimun** “they sleep”; **tigirun** “you fornicate” etc), they differ in no way from ʿʿᵛ, since the same *aksa* is used with the latter as a help-vowel, cf. the traditional pronunciation: “*tigerron* “you fornicate” (ʾʿᵛ) and *tireggon* (ʿʿᵛ) 15
 “you desire”.

*) As for **ninzun** (Q 13:24 = ML 37:7) “they (will) be shaky”, the form could be either from ʿʿᵛ or from ʾʿᵛ. Nöldeke³¹⁵ took it for ʿʿᵛ (cf. Ar. *naḥḥa*); Lidzbarski³¹⁶ for ʾʿᵛ (H. ניה = Aram. ניה) and explained it as an ethpe. with an assimilated *t*. I take it with Nöldeke for ʿʿᵛ, since the verb is 20
 so used in Mandaic, as is especially proved by the pt. ethpe. **minziz** (ATŠ no. 200) “will be brittle”. Even if the form **ninzun** is an ethpe. without *t*, it can still be used as a model for pe., since both forms became identical. This verb can be added to those treated in § 196b.

***) Apart from the normal plural of the 3rd p. m., ending in **-un**, there 25
 are some sporadic forms, ending in **-iun**, which may be explained by the analogy of full forms of the 3rd p. pl. of the pf.: **nipiṣiun** (Gy 386:11) “they (will) stay” (var. **nipiṣun**), cf. pf. **paṣiun** (Gy 381:10) “they stayed”; **nimi-tiun** “they (will) die” (aside from **nimitun**), cf. mod. *me dyōn* “they died”.

³¹⁵ MG, p. 249:26.³¹⁶ ML, p. 37 n. 2.

c) Imperative:

- | | | |
|-----|---|---|
| | a) | b) |
| (1) | With <i>u</i> : qum “ <i>sta(te)</i> !”; ḡut “ <i>audi(te)</i> !”;
sum “put!”; mut “die!”;
5 (ʿ)lup “join!”; dun “ <i>judica(te)</i> !”
hus “be merciful!”; tub “turn, be merciful!” | ʿul “ <i>intra(te)</i> !”
hup “ <i>lava(te)</i> !” |
| | With special pl. ending:
husiun “ <i>miseremini</i> !”; | |
| (2) | With <i>a</i> : dar “ <i>habita(te)</i> !”; lap (aside from lap s. 1) | |

10 d) Act. participle (Both groups are treated as ʾʿʿ):

- | | | |
|----|---|---|
| | a) | b) |
| | qaiim “(is) standing”, maiit “(is) dying” | raiiit “trembling”, “he trembles” |
| | baiin “understanding”, “he understands” | gaiiz “shearing”,
15 maiik “treading”
raiiig “desiring”
aiil “entering”. |
| | Inflected forms: daira “(she is) dwelling”
dairia “ <i>habitant(es)</i> ”, airin “ <i>excitantur</i>
20 <i>e somno</i> ” | aila “(she is) entering”,
ailia “ <i>intrans(es)</i> ”,
gaizia “ <i>tondentes</i> ”,
gaidia “ <i>trabentes</i> ” |
| | With encl. pers. pronouns: | |
| | qaimit “thou standest”, qaimitun “ye stand” | paisit “thou destroyest” |
| 25 | qaiimna “I stand”, qaiminin “we stand” | haipit “thou washest” |

e) Pass. participle:

- | | | |
|----|--|---|
| | a) | b) |
| | ḡir “painted”, “engraved”
kil “measured”, sim “put” (“ <i>positus</i> ”) | α) As strong verbs:
mkik(a) “trodden”
pl. ʿpipia “ <i>duplicati</i> ” |
| 30 | | β) As ʾʿʿ:
bina “ <i>constructa (est)</i> ”
kipa “ <i>curvata (est)</i> ” |

f) Inf.:

a)

miqam "standing", **misap** "ending",
midan "judging"
 St. emph. **miqma**

b)

mipas "destroying"
m'ial "entering"

5

Nöldeke's opinion³¹⁷ that the *a* of the inf. of י'ע is to be considered as short, so that the forms correspond exactly to those of ע'ע, is confirmed by traditional pronunciation: a. *miqqam*, *missaf*, *middan*; b. *mippas*, *miyyal*.

β) Pael (as well as its reflexive) is formed as from strong verbs. The י'ע ('ע) have a doubled *y*: Pf. **qaiim** (= קיִים) "he raised"; impf. **niqaiim**; 10
 act. pt. **mqaiim**, **mqaima**; pass. pt. **mqaiam**, **mqaima**.

Verbs with a mobile consonantal *w* as 2nd radical (§ 218a) are treated as strong, cf. **zauid** "equip!, supply!", pt. **mzauid**.

The following forms of AUR (עור) "to awake" may be considered as pa., although their forms are identical with those of the af.: Pf. **airh** (Gs 124: 1f) 15
 "he woke him up", **airuia** (Gs 11: 7) "they woke him up", **aiarth** (Gy 104: 1)
 "I woke him up"; impf. **'iaiar** (Gy 341: 17ff) "I wake up", part. (act. & pass.)
maiar (Gy 288: 15). Since the pa. of this verb is more usual³¹⁸, we consider the above forms as pa. (as Nöldeke did).

The pa. of ע'ע shows no peculiarity, cf. pf. & imper. **makik** "he humili- 20
 ated", "*humilia(te)*"; pt. **mgalil** "(is) revealing"; inf. **latutia** "cursing".

Nevertheless, two most frequent verbs, MLL "to talk" and ALL (< עלל) "to enter" often replace the pa. by the af.:

MLL has a normal pf.: **malil** "he spoke", **malalat** "she spoke", ***mal(a)lt**
 "thou spakest", **mal(a)lit** "I spoke" etc, and a normal impf. **nimalil**, **timalil**, 25
 ***malil** etc, but its pt. and inf. are borrowed from the af.: Pt. **mamlil** (< מלל),
 § 100b), with encl. pers. pronouns: **mamlilit** "thou speakest", **mamlilitun**
 "ye speak" (The same **mamlil** is used also as a causative "he makes speak"
 (Gy 53: 9); **malil**, Gy 29: 11, is to be emended according to Sh. Abdullah's
 copy, which has the correct: **mamlil haršia udugia** "he makes the deaf and 30
 the mute talk"). Inf.: **amlulia** (Gy 4: 24 BD) and **mamlulia** (Gy 31: 11)
 "speaking" (both from af.).

³¹⁷ MG, p. 250: 25f.

³¹⁸ MG, p. 253 n. 1.

As for ALL, its pa. is formally identical with the af. (by a transition to י'ע): Pf. **ail** "he made enter", "they made enter" (< Talm. pa. יעיל), with suff. **ailh** "he made him enter" etc; impf. **lataiil** "let not enter!", with suff.: **nailh** "he, we (shall) bring him in", **nailinak** "they bring thee in",
 5 ***iailak** "I introduce thee" (the first two would be rather af., since a pa. should be ***nailak** etc, the last one is a real pa. form, cf. § 213 β b); pt. **maiil** "(he is) introducing"; pass. pt. fem. **maila** "*introduc*t*a (est)*"; participial present: **mailit** "thou makest enter", with the encl. 1: **maililh** "they introduce him" (can be either pa. or af.).

10 γ) Af. (The י'ע often behave as ע'ע):

a) Perfect

a)

b)

Sg.: 3. m. (as ע'ע) **aqim** "he (or "they") raised"

ašar "he (they) confirmed"

15 (cf. mod. forms, § 221 β a);

(as י'ע) **arim** id., **asim** "he (they) put".

f. (as ע'ע) **aqmat** (§ 221 β a) } "sheraised" **ašrat** "she confirmed"
 (as י'ע) **arimat** }

20 2. (as י'ע) ***aqimt**

***ašart**

1. (as ע'ע) **aqmit** "I raised"
haštit "I despised"

(as י'ע) **arimit** "I raised"
adiqit "I looked"

25 **asimit** "I put"

With encl.: **aqmibh** "I raised in it"

Pl.: 3 3. m. sg.

With special pl. ending:

ašariun (var. **aširiun**)
 "they confirmed"

30 2. ***aqimtun**

ašartun "ye confirmed"

1. ***aqimnin**

ašarnin "we confirmed"

Among the verbs quoted only **arim**, **asim** and **adiq** behave as י'ע. Since a long *i* can occur before the endings as a lengthening of the *šwa* (cf. *ebambilat*, *ebambilit*, 200e, i), its occurrence in **arimat**, **arimit** etc ought not to be over-

estimated. In mod. Mandaic only the shorter forms (without *ī* in the place of the 2nd radical, as *āqmat*) remained, and forms as **arimat** (*arīmat*) died out.

b) Imperfect

a)	b)	
narim “he raises”, “will raise”	našar “ <i>confirma(bi)t</i> ”	5
tarim , ʿiarim	našrun “ <i>confirma(bu)nt</i> ”	
ʿiasim “I (shall) put”		

c) Imperative (identical with the 3rd p. m. sg.)

a)	b)	
asim “put!”, ašig “ <i>lava(te)</i> ”	ašar “ <i>confirma(te)!</i> ”	10
	akis “ <i>castiga(te)!</i> ”	

d) Participial forms:

(1) Act. pt.:

a)	b)	
maqim , marim “(is) raising”	makis “(is) chastising”	15
mašit “(is) despising”	mašar “(is) confirming”	

(2) Inflected forms:

(as ʿʿʿ): **maqmilun** “the raise them”

mandilḥ “they shake him”

mašrin “they confirm”

(as ʾʿʿ): fem. **marima**, **masima** pl. with
the encl. *l*: **mahiqlḥ** “they
frighten him”

20

(3) Participial present:

masimna “I put”, **mahiqtatun** “thou
frightenest them”³¹⁹

25

(4) Pass. pt.:

maram “exalted”

No forms from ʿʿʿ occur.

³¹⁹ MG, p. 251:22.

a)
 e) Inf.: **aqumia, arumia** “raising”
 With *m*: **maṣutia** “listening”

b)
 No forms ʿʿ occur.

δ) Reflexive forms:

5 a) In the ethepeel both groups are clearly distinguished: a) The ʾʿ behave as weak verbs: the ʾ disappears and only its vowel remains;

b) the ʿʿ behave as strong verbs.

	a)	b)
(1) Pf.:	* ʿtnih “he	ʿtigbib “ <i>gibbosus fit</i> ”
10	ʿtnihat “she	ʿtintiṭ “he became sad”
	ʿtnihit “I	ʿtḡibat “ <i>gibbosa fit</i> ”
	} was appeased”	ʿtintiṭṭ “thou art sad”
	etc.	

With metathesis: **ʿzdmim** “he was bridled”

Without *t* in the prefix: **ʿmrar** “became bitter”

15 (2) Impf.: a)

b)

titpis (Gy 307:11) “*destructa erit*” (as from ʾʿ), but D has **ʿtṗsis** which is supposed to be **tṗsis**. According to the participle, one would expect ***titṗsis**.

20 (3) Pt.: **mitṗsis** “destroyed”

b) Ethpa. (cf. pa., s.) is formed as from strong verbs: the **u** as 2nd rad. becomes **i**, as in pa.; only verbs with a mobile consonantal keep **w** as 2nd rad.:

(1) Pf.:	a)	b)
25 Sg.: 3. m.	ʿtqaiam “he was raised, confirmed”	as
	f. ʿtqaimat “she was raised, confirmed”	from
	2. ʿtqaiamt “thou wert raised, confirmed”	strong
	1. ʿtqaimit “I was raised, confirmed”	verbs
Pl.: 2.	ʿtqai(a)mt	

30 Nevertheless, instead of **ʿtnauad** (Gs 28 ff.) “was shaken” one would expect ***ʿtnaiad**, since, otherwise, the root NUD behaves as weak.

(2) Impf.:

	a)	b)	
Sg.:	nitqaiam “ <i>confirma(bi)tur</i> ” etc.		as
Pl.:	nitqaimun “ <i>confirma(bu)ntur</i> ”		from
	nitqaima “ <i>aeae confirma(bu)ntur</i> ”		strong
	titqaimun “ <i>confirma(bi)mini</i> ”		verbs
	nitaiaria “ <i>resplende(bu)ntur</i> ” (from YUR = YHR).		

With a mobile consonantal *w*: **nilauša** (§ 218 a) “*aeae macula(bu)ntur*”

(3) Participle: a) b)
mitqaiam “*confirmatus (est)*”, **mitqaima** “*confirmata (est)*” as from strong verbs 10

With a mobile *w*: **mitauria** “*excaecandi*”

With encl. pers. pronouns: **mitqaimitun** “*confirma(bi)mini*”

(4) Inf.: **ʿtqaiumia** “*raising*”, “*confirmation*”,
ʿtiaiuria “*resplending*” (from YUR = YHR). 15

c) There are only *ettaf.* forms from ʾʿṽ, but they are formed as from ṽʿṽ:

(1) Pf.: Sg. 3. m. **ʿtaram** “*he raised himself*”
 f. **ʿtasimat** “*she was put*”
ʿtazihat “*she was afraid*” 20
 I. **ʿtazihit** “*I was afraid*”

The forms with the endings *-at* and *-it* have *i* in the place of the 2nd radical (as the corresponding forms of the *af.*).

(2) Impf.: Sg. **nitqaṣar** “*is (or “will be”) painted*”
 Pl. **nitazihun** “*terre(bu)ntur*” 25

§ 220. Verbs ʾʿṽ & III guttural. Here belong the following cl. verbs: NUH = NHA (< נחה) “*to rest*” (used in *pe.*, *af.* and *etpe.*)³²⁰; ZUA =

³²⁰ The *pass. pt.* of this verb occurs in several forms: **niha**, **nhia**, **nhʿ**, **nʿ** as well as in many miscopyings. According to the form **nʿ** there could also be a secondary root NAA = NʿA. Nevertheless, the form **manʿilḥ** proposed by Petermann for **mandilḥ** (Gy 5: 15, see *varr.*) would contradict the context (cf. Nöldeke, MG 254 n. 1).

ZUH = ZHA (< זוע) "to quiver" (pe.) "to be scared off" (ettaf.); RUH = RHA (< רוח) "to smell" (af.). These roots behave as ז'ע in all forms:

α) Peal

a) Pf.: **nha** "he was (they were) soft, quiet, calm" (as from *חנה); **zha** "he (they) quivered" (as from *חח), **zhat** "thou didst quiver" (as from *חחח).

b) Impf.: **ninha** "he/we will appease" (as from *חחח > אהח); **tizha** "thou tremblest (or "willst tremble"), pl. **tizhun** "ye (will) tremble" (as from *חחח > אהח).

c) Imper.: **(t)nha** "appease!"; **zha** "quiver!", fem. **zhai** (as from ז'ל, 10 § 207c).

d) Pt. (both masc. and fem. have the same form): **naha** "resting"; pl. **zahn** "trementes".

β) Afel.

a) Pf.: **anha** "he appeased"; **arha** "he smelt". In the singular the forms 15 with suffixes bear a distinctive mark of ז'ע: **anilh** (Gy 294: 12f. etc) "he calmed her, him"; but the 1st person behaves as III guttural: **arhath** (Gy 102:16) "I let him smell"; so is the 1st p. pl. with suff.: **anhanh nahnihak** (Gy 107:11) "we calm him".

b) Impf.: **narha** "he smells", "will smell"; but with suff. as ז'ע: (Gy 20 98:13) "he/we will comfort thee".

c) Imperative as 3rd p. m. sg. pf.: **anha** "soothe!"; **arha** "smell!"; pl. with suff.: **anhuia** "comfort him!"

d) Pt.: **marha** "smelling", pl. **marhin** "odorantes"; with encl.: **marhilh** "they scent it".

25 γ) Reflexive stems (mostly ettaf.):

a) Pf.: **tazha** "he was (or "they were") scared off", **tazhat** "thou wert scared off"; 3rd p. pl. with special pl. ending: **(t)nahaiun** (Gy 345: 1) "(the Life, pl.) was calmed".

b) Impf.: **nitanha** “he will be comforted”, **nitazha** “he shall be scared off”.

c) Imper.: **'tazha** “be scared off!”, “get away!”

δ) As to pronunciation of the above forms, Nöldeke's conclusion³²¹, that *b* was not pronounced, is discredited by the traditional pronunciation (§ 52), **nha**, **zhat** being pronounced *anha*, *aḡhat* (not *nā*, *ḡāt*) etc. However, his opinion finds some support in the mod. use of **arha** as *arre*, fem. *arrat* (§ 221 β). But the pronunciation *arre* is explainable only in that way that the verb is treated by the colloquial as ו'ע (< *אריח), not as ע'ע (< *ארַחַח), as it was done in the classical; the *b* as last rad. is (according to § 51 d) not pronounced. Nevertheless, this does not suffice to explain the pronunciation of *arrat* (**arrəbat*), in which the *b* vanished before the ending. This pronunciation should then justify Nöldeke's conclusion that **narha** (impf. af.) should be pronounced *narrā*. But the 1st p. sg. pf. *arbit* and the whole pl., in which the *b* remained before the endings, prove that the matter was more complicated (cf. § 51 b, where there are examples of free variations with or without *b* before verbal endings). In the mod. present, the *b* vanishes only in the 3rd p. m. sg., where it was a final sound; it remains in all other persons (where it is before the endings).

§ 221. Mod. Forms:

α) Pe.

a) Pf.

	a)		b)
Sg.: 3. m.	<i>qām</i> “he stood”	<i>meθ</i> “he died”	<i>bāf</i> “he washed”
f.	<i>qāmat</i>	<i>meḡtat</i> *)	
2.	<i>qāmt</i>	<i>meθt</i>	<i>bāft</i>
1.	<i>qāmīt</i>	<i>meḡtīt</i> *)	<i>bāfīt</i>

*) *meḡtat* and *meḡtīt* insert *ḡ* before *t* as well as the mod. derivative *moḡta* (analogy of *doḡta*, § 20 t).

³²¹ MG, p. 255:11.

	a)		b)
Pl.: 3. m.	<i>qāmyōn</i>	<i>meθyon</i>	<i>hāfyōn</i>
	f. <i>qāmyān</i>	<i>meθyān</i>	<i>hāfyān</i>
2. m.	<i>qāmton</i>	<i>meθton</i>	<i>hāfton</i>
5	f. <i>qāmten</i>	<i>meθten</i>	<i>hāften</i>
	1. <i>qāmnī</i>	<i>meθnī(n)</i>	<i>hāfnī</i>
b) Present.			
Sg.: 3. m.	<i>(qa)qāyem</i>	<i>qmāyeθ</i>	<i>qhāyef</i>
	f. <i>(qa)qāima</i>	<i>qamīθa</i>	<i>qabīfa</i>
10	2. <i>(qa)qāimet</i>	<i>qamīθet</i>	<i>qabīfet</i>
	1. <i>(qa)qayemnā</i>	<i>qamīθna</i>	<i>qahayefnā</i>
Pl.: 3.	<i>(qa)qāimen</i>	<i>qamīθen</i>	<i>qabīfen</i>
	2. m. <i>(qa)qeymetton</i>	<i>qamīθetton</i>	<i>qabeyfetton</i>
	f. <i>(qa)qeymetten</i>	<i>qamīθetten</i>	<i>qabeyfetten</i>
15	1. <i>(qa)qeymennī</i>	<i>qamēθennī</i>	<i>qabeyfennī</i>

The contraction of the diphthong in (*qāyma* >) *qāima*, (*meθa* >) *mīθa*, (*hāyfa* >) *hīfa* was treated in Phonetics (§ 75 a)

c) Imperative:

Sg.: *qom* “sta!”, *moθ* “moriaris!”, *hof* “lava!”

Pl.: *qomyōn* “state!”, *moθyōn* “moriamini!”, *hofyōn* “lavate!”

20 Negative order: *lā-mēθet* “ne moriaris!”, pl. *lā-mēθetton* “ne moriamini!”

d) Pass. pt. corresponds, as a rule to the cl.: *mīθa* “dead”. From HMM = HUM “to be warm”, there are two forms: *hamīm(a)* (cl. **hamima** originally adjective “hot”) and *howma* (cl. **hauma** “heat”, which, otherwise, preserved its original substantival use). They are used with encl. pers. pronouns and suffixes, as follows:

Ss.: 3. m.	<i>hamīmye</i>	<i>howmiye</i> “he is hot”	(cf. P. <i>garm ast</i> & <i>garmaš ast</i>)
	f. <i>hamīmī</i>		
2.	<i>hamīmyat</i>	f. <i>howmaχye</i> “thou art hot”	
		f. <i>howmeχye</i>	
30	1. <i>hamīmna</i>	<i>howmeyye</i> “I am hot”	

Pl.: 3.	<i>hamimnon</i>	<i>howmūye</i> “they are hot”
2.	<i>hamim</i> <i>εχτοχον</i> <i>εχτεχεν</i>	<i>homχonye</i> “you are hot” <i>homχenyē</i>
1.	<i>hamimnī(n)</i>	<i>howmanyē</i> “we are hot”

The st. abs. of *howma* is *bōm* (§ 116a). It is used in the past tense: *bōm* *tāmmā* etc “it became hot” (cf. *tāmmā*, § 224 γa), and in the future: *bōm qabāwī* etc “it will be hot” (cf. pres. of HUA, § 227 εb2).

e) There are two defective verbs:

1. Cl. HUQ (< ויק) is now used only in a strange rigid participial form *wayyeq* (< 'a'eq) with no st. emph. It occurs in the frequent coll. locution: *χολqedī wayyeq* “he is cross”. Other persons are expressed by varying the possessive suff. of *χολq* (Ar.-P. *ḥulq*). Past tense: *χολqedī wayyeq tāmmā* (Morg. 275:4) etc. Future: *χολqedī wayyeq qabāwī* etc.

2. ALL is now used with the meaning “to go” as *εzgā* (cl. *asgia* af.), but only in certain forms of the present. The fundamental form, 3rd p. m. sg. (which would be of great interest) is missing.

Sg.: 3. m.	replaced by <i>qāzī</i>	Pl.: 3.	<i>qāllen</i> (or <i>qāzen</i>)
f.	(<i>qalla</i>), more usual <i>qāzya</i>		
2.	(<i>qallet</i>), more usual <i>qāzet</i>	2. m.	<i>qaletton</i>
		f.	<i>qaletten</i>
1.	<i>qalīna</i> ³²²	1.	<i>qalennī</i>

The 1st p. sg. and pl. are often used as optative: *alīna* “let me go!”, *qom alennī* “stand up, let’s go!”. All other persons can be replaced by the present of *εzgā*. Otherwise, this verb follows the analogy of ו'ב, which was perhaps adduced by the circumstance that the verb acquired the meaning of *εzgā* (which is ו'ב).

β) From derived stems only the af. of QUM: *aqgem* “to raise” and of RUH: *arre* “to smell” is used, since the mod. *tāmmā* “he became” (pa.) and *dakka* “he quenched” follow the analogy of III guttural (§§ 222, 224 γ).

³²² A fem. *qalana* is often used in wedding songs (ŠQ=DC 38)

a) Past tense.

Sg.:	3. m.	<i>aqem</i> "he raised"	<i>arre</i> "he smelled"
	f.	<i>āqmat</i>	<i>arrat</i>
	2.	<i>āqmet</i>	<i>arret</i>
5	1.	<i>āqmīt</i>	<i>arbit</i>
Pl.:	3.	<i>aqmon</i>	<i>arebyōn</i>
	2. m.	<i>aqemton</i>	<i>arehton</i>
	f.	<i>aqemten</i>	<i>arehten</i>
	1.	<i>aqemnī</i>	<i>arebnī</i>

10 b) Present and future.

Sg.:	3. m.	<i>qamaqqem</i>	<i>qmarre</i>	
	f.	<i>qamāqma</i>	<i>qmārbā</i>	
	2.	<i>qamāqmet</i>	<i>qmarbet</i>	
	1.	<i>qamāqemnā</i>	<i>qmarebnā</i>	
15	Pl.:	3.	<i>qamāqmen</i>	<i>qmarben</i>
	2. m.	<i>qamāqmetton</i>	<i>qmarbetton</i>	
	f.	<i>qamāqmetten</i>	<i>qmarbetten</i>	
	1.	<i>qamāqemnī</i>	<i>qmarbennī</i>	

c) Imperative:

20	Sg.:	<i>aqem</i> "erige!"	<i>arre</i> "odorare!"
	Pl.:	<i>aqemyon</i> "erigite!"	<i>arebyon</i> "odoramini!"

The pronunciation of *arre* etc was treated in §§ 52, 220 δ. *Arre* is used as a transitive verb (P. *bū kard*); "to smell" as an intransitive verb is *rīb ebaβ* (P. *bū dād*).

25 8. Verbs II ʿ ʿ³²³ and tāmā.

§ 222. The vanishing of gutturals made the verbs II ʿ ʿ identical with ʾʿʿ in all forms. This rule is observed in both the cl. and mod. Mandaic. In the latter there is only one verb behaving in a different way: cl. **dak** (< דעך)

³²³ MG § 189.

“to quench”, used also as DHK (§ 223 αa) is now used only in pa. and treated as III guttural (compare *dakka* “he quenched” with cl. *šaba šabba*, § 207a pa., and *qamdakka* with cl. *mšaba mšabba*, § 207f pa.). It seems as if the vanished 2nd radical of the cl. **dak** was compensated by a reduplication of the third, and the final vowel was added to protect its reduplication (*dak* > *dakka*). The reduplication of the 2nd radical was preserved in the same way in a mod. verb 𐎡𐎡: TMM (§ 196b end) “to become”, which, in the form *tāmmā*, is one of the most frequent mod. verbs. Because of its similarity with *dakka*. I give the forms of both side by side, although *tāmmā* should properly be quoted as 𐎡𐎡.

§ 223. Classical Forms.

α) Peal

a) Perfect

	a) (II 𐎡)	b) (II 𐎠)	
Sg.: 3. m.	ram (< 𐎠𐎡𐎢) “it thundered”	šal “he wanted, asked”	15
	tan (< 𐎠𐎡𐎣) “he carried”		
	dak (< 𐎠𐎡𐎤), but also dik (< Syr. <i>d'ek</i>) “(was) quenched”		
f.	dihkat (var. dahkat) “she was quenched”		20
2.	*sart “thou didst perform, inspect”	šalit (Jb 80:1 for the expected *šalt) “thou didst ask”	
1.	sarit “I did perform, inspect”	šalit “I did ask”	
Pl.: 3. = 3. m. sg.			
2.		*šaltun “ye wanted”	25
1.		šalnin “we wanted”	

b) Imperfect:

	a)	b)	
3. f. sg.	tidak . . . utiduk (DC 37, l. 198 both in the same line) “will be quenched . . . and will disappear”	nišul, tišul “he, she asks” exceptionally nišal (DC 46, p. 189: 14); with suff. nišilunh (Gy 184: 14) “they ask him”	30

c) Imperative:

a)	b)
duš “ <i>infige!</i> ”, “ <i>infigite!</i> ”	šul “ <i>roga(te)!</i> ”

d) Participle:

5	a)	b)
(1) Act.:	ṭaiin “(is) carrying” daiik. “(is) quenching”	šaiil “(is) asking” saiib “(is) growing old”
(2) Inflected forms:	ṭaina, daika pl.: ṭaimin “ <i>gustantes</i> ”	šaila, kaiba šailia, šailin “ <i>rogant(es)</i> ” saibin (Gy 8: 16) “they grow old”
10	(3) Pass.: ṭin “laden” With encl. pers. pronoun: ṭina (Gs 90:24) “I am charged”.	
15	e) Infinitive miṭam (varr. maṭam, miṭim) “tasting”	mišal “asking”

β) Pael forms (with a doubled *y* in the place of the 2nd radical, as from 𐎠𐎵𐎹):

a) Pf. **šaiil** “he asked”, ***šailat** “she asked”, ***šaiilt** “thou didst ask”, **šailit** “I asked” etc.

20 b) Impf.: **nišaiil, tišaiil, šaiil** etc; cf. **latikairunḥ** (Gy 227:6) “do not blame her!”

c) Participle: **mšaiil** “(is) asking”

d) Inf.: **šaiulia**. Nomen actionis: **šaialta**

γ) There is no af. form of these verbs.

25 δ) Ethpaal

a) Pf.: ***štaial** “*interrogaba(n)tur*”, ***tkaiart** “thou wert polluted”

b) Impf.: **ništaial**, pl. **ništaiun**;

c) Participle: **mištaial** “being put to question”, pl. **mištailia** Without *t* in the prefix: **mikairia** (Gy 224:16) “they soil themselves”

d) I found no inf. ***štaulia**, or ***mištaulia**

§ 224. Mod. Forms.

α) Pe. Paradigm *ṭām* (< **טָאָם**) “he tasted”

5

a) Pf.

Sg.: 3. m. *ṭām*
f. *ṭāmmat*
2. *ṭāmmet*
1. *ṭāmmīt*

Pl.: 3. m. *ṭāmyon*
f. *ṭāmyān*
2. m. *ṭāmtōn*
f. *ṭāmtēn*
1. *ṭāmnī*

10

No verb II **כ** is used in pe., since ŠAL “to ask” is used in pa., and KAB (**כָּאֵב**) “to ache” only in the pt. **kaib** *kāyeβ*, fem. **kaiba** *kīβa* “is aching”, past tense: *kāyeβ howa*, fem. *kīβa howat*.

b) Present of *ṭām* would follow the analogy of **יָעַ** (**qaṭāyem*), but it is replaced by *qbaṣī lalṭammī* (or *qbaṣī elṭammī*). Accordingly, the imper. is *heṣī* (or *heṣe*) *elṭammī* “taste it!” (lit. “see its taste!”).

β) Pa. of ŠAL differs from the cl. by passing to the pi. (as in H.):

a) Past tense:

Sg.: 3. m. *šiyyel* “he asked”
f. *šēlat*
2. *šiyyelt*
1. *šēlit*

Pl.: 3. m. *šiyilyōn*
f. *šiyilyān*
2. m. *šiyilton*
f. *šiyilten*
1. *šiyilnī*

20

b) Present and future:

Sg.: 3. m. *qamšiyyel* “*roga(bi)t*”
f. *qamšēla*
2. *qamšēlet*
1. *qamšiyelnā*

Pl.: 3. *qamšēlen*
2. m. *qamšiyelletton*
f. *qamšiyelletten*
1. *qamšiyelennī*

25

c) Imperative: Sg. *šiyel* “*roga!*”, pl. *šiyilyōn* “*rogate!*”

Negative order: *lā-mšēlet* “*noli rogare!*”, *lā-mšēletton* “*nolite rogare!*”

γ) *Dakka* (II 𐎠𐎵) and *tamma* (𐎠𐎹𐎵)

a) Past tense.

5	Sg.: 3. m.	<i>dakka</i> “he quenched”	<i>tammā</i> “he became”
	f.	<i>dakkat</i>	<i>tāmmat</i>
	2.	<i>dakket</i>	<i>tāmmet</i>
	1.	<i>dakkēt</i>	<i>tāmmīt</i>
	Pl.: 3. m.	<i>dakkon</i>	<i>tāmmon</i>
10	f.	<i>dakkān</i>	<i>tāmmān</i>
	2. m.	<i>dakkēton</i>	<i>tāmmīton</i>
	f.	<i>dakkēten</i>	<i>tāmmīten</i>
	1.	<i>dakkēni</i>	<i>tāmmīni</i>

Although *dakka* follows the analogy of the cl. pa. III guttural, before
15 suffixes it behaves as 𐎠𐎹𐎵, cf. *dakyī* “he quenched it” etc (§ 232 b).

b) Present and future (only from *dakka*):

	Sg.: 3. m	<i>qamdakkat</i>	Pl.: 3. m.	<i>qamdakken</i>
	f.	<i>qamdakkat</i>	2. m.	<i>qamdakketten</i>
	2.	<i>qamdakket</i>	f.	<i>qamdakketten</i>
20		<i>qamdakna</i>	1.	<i>qamdakkenni</i>
	1.	<i>an qamdakkī(na)*</i>		

c) Imperative (as from 𐎠𐎹𐎵):

Sg. *dakkī* “*extingue!*”, pl. *dakkon* “*extinguite!*”

The imper. of *tammā* is replaced by *bewī* (§ 227 ε b 3).

25 *) Šābūrī gave me a facultative form of the 1st p. sg. *an qamdakkī(nī)*, which (without *an* or with *ani* in its place) might be a facultative form of the 1st p. pl.

(There is no present of *tammā*; its future is expressed by *qabāwī*, § 227 ε b 2, cf. *tamām tamma* “was finished”, “has been finished”, fut. *tamām qabāwī* “will be finished”).

δ) Ethpaal is rarely used. That of ŠAL is replaced by act. constructions: *šīlī* “he asked him”, or *šeyelonni* “they asked him” inst. of *štaial*. The ethpa. of *dakka* is *edakka*, fem. *edakkat* “was quenched”; other persons are not used. In the present tense it is identical with the pe. Otherwise, the ethpa. of *dakka* can be replaced by *nafši dakka*, fem. *nafša dakkat* “it quenched itself”. 5

9. Verbs ܢܘܐ³²⁴.

§ 225. Verbs ܢܘܐ show affinity with verbs III guttural (§ 206) on one side, and with ܢܘܐ (and ܢܘܐ) on the other (§ 196b).

The 3rd p. m. sg. pf. ends in *-ā* as in verbs III guttural; only some cl. intransitive verbs have the ending *-ia -ī*. In mod. Mandaic all verbs have the ending *-ā*.

In the 3rd p. m. sg. impf. and in participles the cl. verbs III guttural have the ending *-ā*, while the ܢܘܐ have the ending *-ia -ī*. This difference also disappeared in mod. Mandaic where the verbs III guttural follow the analogy of ܢܘܐ, so that it is exclusively for the sake of the classical that we 15 keep the division of these verbs in two groups.

Before the enclitics the singular-ending *-ia -ī* is written only *i*.

The 3rd p. pl. pf. is always distinguished by the ending *-iun -ōn*.

Some verbs ܢܘܐ, becoming ܢܘܐ in pa., disappeared from the mod. use.

§ 226. Cl. Forms:

20

α) Peal

a) Perfect

Sg.: 3. m. **qra** “he called”; **hza** “he saw”; **šta** “he drank”; **rua** “he was drunk”; **hda** “he rejoiced”; **ba** (< *b'ā*) “he sought”; **ata** “he came”. 25

Special intransitive forms: **sga**, (**a**)**sgia** “he increased”; ***milia** (Gy 144: 3, var. ***malia**) “he swore to me”.

3. f. **qrat** “she called”; **hzat** “she saw”; **bat** “she sought”;

³²⁴ MG §§ 190 196.

Special intransitive forms: **miṣiat** “she arrived”; **misiat** “she was solid”; **kisiat** “she hid herself” (is an ehtpe. as **kisiat**).

With encl.:

I. Without *t*: **malh** (Gy 160:21) “she swore to him”.

5 II. With *t* preserved by a following *a*: **hnatalh** (Gy 135:5) “it pleased him”, **hnatalak** (Gy 207:5) “it pleased thee”, **hnatalun** (Gy 146:8) “it pleased them”, but **lahnalia** (Jb 147:13) “it was displeasing to me”; **hṭatbh** (Gy 91:21) “she sinned against him” etc. This usage, particular to verbs ִּבְּ, is more frequent than the former.

10 2. & I. **qrīt** “*vocavi(sti)*”; **hzit** “*vidi(sti)*”; **atit** & **tit** “*veni(sti)*”; **adit** & **dit** “*transii(sti)*”; **bit** “*volui(sti)*”.

With encl.:

I. Without *t*: **qrilh** “I called him”; **hdibh** “I rejoiced in him”.

15 II. With the restoring of the full ending: **qrītilh** “I called him”; **šritibh** “I dwelt in it”. This usage is more frequent than the former. Sometimes, it is found also with the 2nd p. sg.: **huitibh** (aside from **huitbh**) “thou wert in it”; **rbitibh** (aside from **rbitbh**) “thou didst grow in it”³²⁵.

III. With no change: **tītlh** “I came to him”. This usage is more frequent with the 2nd p. sg., and is its regular form.

20 Pl.: 3. m. **qrun** “they called”; **hzun** “they saw”; **štun** “they drank”; **atun** & **tun** “they came”; **bun** “they sought”; **lun** (Gs 47:12) “they accompanied” (rt. לוי); **prun** “they were fruitful”; **šbun** “they wished; **šrun** “they settled down > dwelt” etc. These forms are identical with those with the suffix of the 1st p. sg.: “they called me”, “they saw me”, “they accompanied me”. There are some sporadic forms without the final -n, which, in their turn, are identical with those with the suffix of the 3rd p. f. sg.: **qru** “they called” and “they called her” (קרויה): **rmu** “they threw” and “they threw her” (רמיה); **pru** (Gy 293:6) “they gave fruits”; **šbu** (Gy 341:14f.) “they wished”; **šru** (Gy 294:22) “He (: Life, pl.) placed” (could also be taken as with fem. suff.: placed it, i. e. His right hand); **mṣu** (Gs 58:7) “they were able”. This form is used before the enclitics: **šbubia** (Gy 353:6 B) “He (: Life, pl.) took pleasure in me”; **qrulh** “they (or Life) called him” etc.

³²⁵ MG, p. 258 footn.

3. f.: ***hzia** (Gy 212: 13) “*eaē viderunt*”; **qnia**, ***qnia** “*eaē acquisiverunt*”. Nöldeke³²⁶ compares these forms with Syr. *ḥzāy, qnāy*. In that case the pronunciation should be **ehze, *eqne* (with a contracted diphthong). The *yā balqa* of these forms would have the same pronunciation as in the examples quoted s. c, annotation **, cf. the mod. fem. forms *qeren, hezen* etc “*eaē legerunt, viderunt*” etc. The traditional pronunciation *ehzī, eqnī* may be based on a confusion with the pass. pt. The fem. forms are often replaced by the masc.
2. Longer forms: **qraitun** “ye called”; **huaitun** “ye were”; **baitun** “ye wanted, sought”. Shorter forms with a simple *ī* before the ending: **qritun**, ***qritun** “ye called” (with encl.: **qritulia** “ye called me”); ***titun** “ye came” are rare in the classical, although they are consistently used in mod. Mandaic.
1. Longer forms: **qrainin** “we called”; **mṭainin** “we came”; **hṭainin** “we sinned”; **sain'in** “we washed” (from SAA < 𐤒𐤓𐤐); With encl.: **hzainalh** “we saw him”. Shorter forms: **atin** “we came”; **bin** “we sought”; **sin** “we washed”; **hṭin** “we sinned” (in confessions of sins both forms are often used side by side for sake of emphasis: **hṭin** “we greatly sinned”); **mṭin** and a longer **mṭinin** “we came”³²⁶. With encl.: **qrinalh** “we called him”.

Both the longer and shorter forms of the 1st and 2nd p. pl. might have had the same original pronunciation: **(e)qrēton, *(e)qrēnin, *ehzēton, *ehzēnin*, so that the variants would be only graphical. But this pronunciation is not confirmed by the mod. *qariton, qarīnī; heziton, hezīnī* etc (§ 227 αa).

b) Imperfect

Sg.: 3. m. **niqria** “*voca(bi)t*”; **nihzia** (*vide(bi)t*); **nitia** “*veni(e)t*”; **niṣtia** “he drinks”, “will drink”, **nibia** “he seeks”, “will seek”

3. f., 2. m. & f.: **tiqria, tihzia, titia, tibia**

1. ***qria, *hzia, *tia, *bia**

Sg. forms with encl.: **niqrihl** “*voca(bi)t eum*”; **tihdibh** “*gaude(bi)s in eo*”; ***qrilak** “*voc(ab)ō te*”.

³²⁶ MG, p. 258: 11 f.

Pl.: 3. m. **niqrun, nihzun, nitun (n'tun)**

nidun "they (will) come across"

3. f. **nib'ian, nibiian, nibian, nib'ia, nib'iian** "they(will) seek"; similar corruptions from **nitian** (Gs 7: ult.) "they(will) come"³²⁷.

5 2. m. **tiqrun tihzun, tibun**

timun "ye (will) swear"

1. = 3. sg.

c) Imperative:

Sg. m. **qria, hzia, štia, b'**; with encl. **ur(')ilia, u'rilia** (Jb 46:1) "*et pascemibi!*" but only **ata** "come!"*)

f. **qrai, atai, hzai**)**; with encl.: **hdabh** "*gaude(as) in eo!*"

Pl. m. **qrun, atun & 'tun**; "*petite!*"; **sun** "*lavate!*"

f. **atian**; is usually replaced by the masc.

d) Participles:

15 (1) Act.: **qaria, hazia, atia, baiia** etc.

The masc. and fem. have the same graphical form, being distinguished in pronunciation as *qārī* m., *qāryā*; *hāzī* m., *hāzyā* f. etc, but **baiia** "seeking" is *bōyī* m., *bīyā* f., in the vernacular (§ 227 ε a 2).

(2) With encl. pers. pronouns:

20 2. sg. **qarit** "thou callest", **hazit** "thou seest", etc.

With the encl. *l*: **qariatlh, haziatlh**.

From IIae gutturalis: **baiit** "thou seekest", **saiit** "thou wastest"

1. m. sg. **qarina** "I call", **hazina** "I see" etc.

*) It is strange that the cl. imperative of AṬA disobeys the rule, although 25 the mod. *doṭī* (§ 214 α ε) is perfectly obedient.

) It is of no grave consequence that the sg. fem. form is often replaced by the masc., since e. g. **hzia could also be pronounced as **hzai** (mod. *hezē*)³²⁸.

³²⁷ MG, p. 259: 5.

³²⁸ The *-ia* in these forms could have the same pronunciation as the cl. "to me" in the mod. *le* (in spite of *lī aksa — ā halqa*).

1. f. sg. **qariana** “I call”, **haziana** “I see” etc.
From the II guttural: **baiana** “I seek”.
2. pl. pl. **qariton** “ye call”, **hazitun** “ye see”
With the encl. /: **qaritulḥ**; **atitubḥ** “*venitis in eum*”
From II guttural: **baiitun**; with the encl. /: **baiitulḥ** “*desideratis eum*” 5
1. pl. **qarinin** “we call”, **hazinin** “we see” etc.; with the encl. /: **qarinalḥ**
etc.
From II gutt.: **bainin** “we seek”; with the encl. /: **bainalḥ**.
- (3) Pass.: **qria** (pl. **qr'ia**, **qr'ia**)³²⁹ “called”; **šria** (fem. pl. **šr'ian**, **šr'ia**)³³⁰ 10
“dwelling” (mod. “opened”); **ksia** (fem. st. abs. **ks'ia**)³³¹ “covered,
hidden”; **rmia** (fem. st. abs. **rm'ia**)³³² “thrown”. As to pronunciation
cf. mod. forms, § 227e.
- (4) With encl. pers. pronouns:
2. sg. **qr'it**, **qr'iit** “thou art called”; **šr'iit** “thou dwellest”; **mṣ'iit**, **mṣiit**, 15
mṣiit “*potes*”; **gn'it**, **gn'iit** “*jaces*” etc. According to mod. pronun-
ciation the *aksa* before *t* is to be pronounced *a*, cf. mod. *geniyyat*
(§ 227e). Before the enclitics the original ending *-at* reappears:
šr'iatbḥ, **šriatbḥ** “thou dwellest in it”³³³
1. sg. **rmina** “I am thrown”; **šrina** “I dwell”; **mṣina** “I am able” 20
1. pl. **šrinin** “we dwell”; **rminin** (Gy 253:4) “we are thrown” (or ethpe.:
ermennin “we were thrown”). With encl. prepositions: **rminabḥ**
“I am thrown in it”; **qrinalak** (Gy 187:21) “we are called by thee”.
- e) Inf.: **miqria** & **miqra** “calling”; **misn(ia)** “hating”; **mitp(ia)** “augmen-
ting”; **mibnia** “building”; **mihdia** “rejoicing”; **miti(ia)** “coming”; 25
mibia “seeking”; **mirba** “growing”; **mima** “swearing”; **midha**
“pushing”.

³²⁹ MG, p. 5: ult.³³⁰ MG, p. 5: paen.³³¹ MG, p. 153:28.³³² Ibid.³³³ **rmitbḥ** (Gs 38:20) “*iactus es in eum*”, considered as wrong by Nöldeke (MG, p. 260 n. 1), is no participial form, but an ethpe. without *t* in the prefix, whose initial vowel is graphically omitted; pronounce *ermetbī*.

β) Pael and afel

a) Perfect

	Pa.	Af.
	Sg.: 3. m. asia (= ܐܫܝܐ) "he healed"	asgia "he went"
5	(§ 213 a)	adia "he led across (§ 213 a)
	šania "he removed"	ašlia "he sent out"
	atia "he brought" (§ 213 f)	audia "he confessed"
		aumia "he conjured"
	With enclitics:	aṭpilḥ "he added to him"
10		aluilḥ "he gave him a guide"
	3. f. daliat "she raised"	ašliat "she took off", "she pushed out", but audat (Gs 77: 13) "she confessed (as in mod. Mandaic)
	šaniat "she removed"	
	šariat "she started"	
	šauiat "she made" and even	
15	atiat "she brought" (although the 3rd person p. m. is an af., cf. § 213 f)	
	With enclitics:	
	šauialḥ "she made (to) him"	
20	2. zakit "thou didst give victory	asgit "thou didst go"
	šani(a)t "thou didst remove"	adit "thou hast brought across"
	šanit "I removed"	aitit "thou hast brought.
25	maṭit "I reached"	asgit "I went"
	šauit "I made"	aitit "I brought" (but also atit , pa.)
	With enclitics (cf. pe., s. a, 2. & 1. p. sg.: I, II, III):	
	Without <i>t</i> : šauilḥ "I made (to) him"	adilḥ "I brought him across"
30	With the restoring of the full ending:	
	hautilun "I showed (to) them"	aititilkun "I brought (to) you"
	With no change (rarely):	aitilkun "I brought (to) you"
	Pl.: 3. m. šanun "they removed"	asgun "they went"
35	šauun, šaun (§ 7) "they made"	aitun "they brought"

	Pa.	Af.	
	There are also sporadic forms without the final -n (cf. a, pl. 3. m.):		
	paru "they fructified"	asgu "they went"	
		aitu "they brought"	
		audu "they confessed"	5
	With encl.: dalulh "they raised him"		
3. f.	(cf. αa, pl. 3. f.):	asgia "eae ierunt"	
	With encl.:	audibun "confessae sunt eos"	
2.	šautun "ye made"		
1.	(cf. αa, pl. 1):		10
	Longer forms:		
	šaninin "we removed"	asginin & asgainin (Gy 151:5)	
	kasinin "we covered"	"we went"	
	Shorter forms:		
	šanin "we removed"	asgin "we went"	15
		audin "we confessed"	

b) Impf.:

	Pa.	Af.	
Sg.: 3. m.	nidalia "he raises", "will raise"	nasgia "i(bi)t"	20
	nišauia "faci(e)t"	nadia "he brings over, will bring over"	
3. f., 2 m. & f.	tišania "remove(bi)s"	'iasgia "I (shall) go"	
1.	'hauia "I show"		
Sg. forms with encl.:			25
	tišaulak "she makes (to) thee"	'iadilak "I bring thee over"	
Pl.: 3. m.	nidalun "they (will) raise"	nasgun "they (will) go"	
	nišanun "they (will) remove"	naumun "they (will) conjure"	30
	nišaun "they (will) make"		
	nihau(u)n (§ 7) "they (will) show"		
3. f.		nasgia "eae eunt" ("ibunt")	

	Pa.	Af.
2.	tišanun “ <i>remove(bi)tis</i> ” tišau(u)n (§ 7) “ <i>faci(e)tis</i> ”	tasgun “ <i>i(bi)tis</i> ”
1. = 3. m. sg.		
5	Pl. forms (with <i>-on</i>) with encl.: tišaunulia “ <i>faci(e)tis mihi</i> ”	taudubḥ “ <i>confite(bi)mini eum</i> ”

c) Imperative:

	Pa.	Af.
10 Sg. m.:	zakia “cleanse!” šauia “make!” With encl.: šauibḥ “make in it!”	asgia “go!”
Sg. f.:	atai “bring!”	asgai “go!”
15	atai (aside from	aitai “bring”)
Pl.:	dakun “ <i>purgate</i> !” šau(u)n (§ 7) “ <i>facite</i> !” kasun “ <i>abscondite</i> !” atun less often than	asgun “ <i>ite</i> !” adun “ <i>traducite</i> !” aitun “ <i>apportate</i> !”

20 d) Participles:

	Pa.	Af.
(1) Act.	mdakia “cleaning” mšauia “making” mhania “caressing” 25 masia “healing”	masgia “going” mamṭia “bringing”

About **maitia** (af.) and **matia** (pa.) “bringing”, cf. § 213 f.

(2) With encl. pers. pronouns:

Sg. 2.	mšauit “thou makest” mšauiatlia “thou makest 30 (to) me” mhaiatlun but also	masgit “thou goest” manšiatlḥ “thou forgettest him” mahuiatlun “thou showest (to) them”
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	Pa.	Af.	
	matiatlia [instead of	*maitiatlia “thou bringest (to	
		me!”]	
1.	mqarina “I cry”	masgina “I go”	
	Special fem. forms:		5
	mšaniana “I remove”	(*masgiana) “I go”	
	mkasiana “I put on”		
Pl.: 2.	mhautun “ye show”	maṣṣitun “ye seduce” (from ṣṣta ,	
		§ 39a)	
		maititun “ye bring”	10
1.	msakinin “we look”	masginin “we go”	
	With encl.: mkasinalh	manšinalak “we forget thee”	
	“we put it on”		
(3) Pass.	mkasai “covered”, “hidden”	maluai “given as a companion”	15
	mšauai “made”		
(4) Inflected forms:			
	mšania “ <i>remotus</i> ” (st.	maluin “given as guides”	
	emph.) or “ <i>remota</i> ”	(st. abs. pl.)	
	(st. abs.)		
	mkasin “ <i>occuli</i> ”		20
	mkasia “ <i>occultae</i> ”		
	as from the act. participle.		
(5) With encl. pers. pronouns:			
	mdakit “thou art cleansed”	(formally identical with the act. pt.)	
	mkasitun “ye are hidden”		25

e) Inf.:

	Pa.	Af.	
	qaruiia “calling”	asguiia “going”	
	asuiia “healing”		
	With <i>m</i> mišanuiia “remo-	masguiia (Gy 53:9 AD) “going”	30
	ving”	maituiia “bringing”	
	With encl. prepositions:	maitilkun (Oxf. III 5 b) “to bring	
		you” (for *maituilkun)	

γ) Reflexive forms:

	Ethpe.	Ethpa.	Ettaf.
	a) Pf.		
	Sg.:		
5	3. m. ʿt(i)qria "he was called"	ʿdalia "he rose"	ʿtahzia "he appeared"
	ʿt(i)mlia "was filled"	ʿtašia "he hid"	
	Without <i>t</i> in the		
10	pref.:		
	ʿdnia "he was humiliated"	ʿštaṭia "he stretched out"	ʿtahzilḥ "he appeared to him"
		ʿštaiaia "he talked" etc.	
15	3. f. ʿtqiriat "she was called"	ʿštaṭiat "she stretched out"	ʿtahziat "she appeared"
	ʿtbiniat "she was built"	(ʿ)tpariat "she was fertilized"	ʿtasliat "she was despised"
	ʿtmisiat "she was condensed"	ʿštauiat "she was made"	
20	(corruption: Ox. III 53b		
	ʿtiamsiat)	ʿštaiat "she talked"	
	With encl.:		
	ʿtimh(a)iabḥ		
25	(Q 8:26, with poor varr.) "she was beaten in it" ³³⁴		
	2. ʿqrit "thou wert called"	ʿtbarit "thou hast resigned"	(*)ʿtahziat "thou didst appear")
30	1. p. is formally identical with the 2nd:		
	ʿt(i)qrit "I was called"	ʿštauit "I was made"	ʿtahzit "I appeared"

³³⁴ **ʿštrialḥ** (Gs 10:12 BD, var. **ʿštarialḥ** C, **ʿštrilḥ**) were considered as 3rd p. f. sg. by Nöldeke (MG, p. 264:5), as 2nd p. sg. by Lidzbarski ("in welchem du weiltest"). Nöldeke's concept is better supported by the context (cf. Drower-Macuch, Op. cit., p. 474b:47-48).

	Ethpe.	Ethpa.	Ettaf.	
	' t(i)ksit "I was covered"	' štaiit "I talked"		
	' tminiit, tmaniit, ' tmanit , Gs 131:7 "I was counted" ³³⁵			5
		Without <i>t</i> in the pref.:		
		' damit "I resembled"		
	With encl.:	' štaiilun "I talked to them"	' tahzilḥ "I appeared to him"	10
Pl.:				
3. m.	' tiqrun "they were called"	' štau(u)n (§ 7) "the were made"	' tahzun "they appeared"	
	' štbun "they were captured"	' tapun "they were healed"		15
		' tgaiun "they were proud"		
	Without the final -n:			20
	' tksu (Gy 271:9) & "they hid"	' tkasu (ibid.: 13)		
	With encl.:			
	' tiksubḥ "they hid in it"		' tahzalan "they appeared to us"	25
3. f.	(cf. a, pl. 3. f.): ' t(i)qria (Gy 122:12, 209:4) "vocatae sunt"	' zdakia (Q 55:25) " <i>pur-gatae sunt</i> "		
		' štauia, štauaian (Gy 170: ult) " <i>factae sunt</i> "		30
2.	' t(i)qritun "ye were called"	' štap(a)itun "ye were poured"	' tahzaitun "ye appeared"	
1.	' tiks(a)inin "we hid"			35

³³⁵ Nöldeke (MG, p. 264:12) rightly doubted correctness of these forms. The latter two are especially suspect. See Additions & Corrections, p. 546.

b) Imperfect

	Etphe.	Etpha.	Ettaf.
	Sg.:		
3. m.	nit(i)qria , n'qria "voca(bi)tur"	nitpašia "libera(bi)tur"	nitahzia "appare(bi)t"
5	nitimhia "verbera- (bi)tur"	nizdakia "purga(bi)tur" nitasia "sana(bi)tur" ništaia "narra(bi)t"	
10	3. f., 2. m. & f.		
	tit(i)qria "ea voca(bi)tur", "voca(ber)is"		
15	ti(ti)ksia "she is ("will be") hid- den", "thou art ("willst be") hidden"		
1. 20	*mnia "numer(ab)- or" *dnia "humili(ab)- or"	*štaia "I (shall) talk"	With encl.: *tahzilḥ "I (shall) appear to him"
	Pl.:		
25	nitigrun "voca- (bu)ntur"	nitpašun "libera(bu)ntur"	
	nitimlun "comple- (bu)ntur"	ništanun "remove- (bu)ntur"	
30	l'tibrun (Gy 13: B; AD mista- kenly without 1, Nöld.) "crea(bu)ntur"	nitason "sana(bu)ntur"	
	With encl.:	nitasubkun (Gy 309: 23) "sana(bu)ntur in vobis"	
35			

	Etphe.	Etpha.	Ettaf.	
2.	titigrun “ <i>voca(bi)-mini</i> ”	titasun “ <i>sana(bi)mini</i> ”	titahzun “ye (will) appear”	
		tidamun “ye (will) resemble”		5

Without the final
-n: **tit(i)qru** (Gy
157: 14 AB)

c) Imperative:

	Ethpe.	Etpha.	Ettaf.	
Sg.:				10
m.	štria “be freed!”	ʿtkasia } “be hidden!” ʿtašia }		
	ʿdnia “be subdued!”	ʿdakia “be purified!” ʿštaia “talk!”		15
	With encl.:	ʿštaiilan (Gy 157:4) “tell us!”	ʿtahzilḥ “appear to him!”	
f.	ʿtiklai (Gy 134:8) “ <i>retenta esto!</i> ”			
Pl.:				20
	ʿt(i)qrun “ <i>vocati estote!</i> ”	ʿtkasun “ <i>celati estote!</i> ” ʿštaiun “ <i>narrate!</i> ”		

d) Participles:

	Ethpe.	Etpha.	Ettaf.	
(i)	mit(i)qria “being called”	mitgaiia “boasting”	mitahzia “appearing”	25
	mištria “opening”	mištania “being removed”	mitašlia “Gy 3:6) “being ugly”	
	mitimnia “being counted”	mištaiia “talking”	mitaršia (Gy 215:6) “being corrupted”	30

Without *t* in the prefix:

mibia “required” **midamia** “resembling”

	Etphe.	Etpha.	Ettaf.
	With encl.:		
sg.	mibilh (Gy 196:16, 20)		
5	(מִתְבַּעֵי לָהּ <)		
pl.	mibilia (Gy 341:19)		
	(מִתְבַּעֵן לִי <)		
(2)	Inflected forms:		
10	mitbinia (Gy 23:18) "she is built"	mištaia (Gy 158:16) "she is talking"	mitaslia (Gy 313:7) "she is ugly"
			mitaslin (Gy 23:6) "they are ugly"
(3)	With encl. pers. pronouns:		
15	2. sg. mitimnit (Gs 73:7 D, varr. mit-miniit mitminiat "thou art counted"*)	mištaiiit "thou talkest"	mitahzit "thou appearest"
20	mitqriit "thou art called"*)		
	Followed by encl. preposition:		
1. sg.	mitiqrina "I am called"	mištaṭina "I stretch out"	mitahziatlh "thou appearest to him"
25			mitahzina

*) **mitminiit**, **mitqriit** are formed as from strong verbs³³⁶. The *yif akva* of the ending was supported by several facts: 1. the fundamental form of the participle ends in *-i*; 2. analogy of forms, which are at the same time from II א, נ and ל' (cf. **mištaia** — **mištaiiit**); 3. the predilection of copyists for the reduplication of the *akva* (§ 7); 4. analogy of the pass. pt. pe. with the encl. pers. pronoun of the 2nd p. sg. (s. d4). **mitminiat** has the original ending, which reappears before the suffixes.

³³⁶ MG, p. 266:4ff. (cf. also here, n. 325).

	Etphe.	Etpa.	Ettaf.
	mitiksina "I am covered"	mištaiina "I talk"	
	mistkina "I look"		
	Without <i>t</i> in the prefix:		5
	minšina "I forget"		
1. pl.	mitiglinin (Gy 54:9) "we are manifest(ed)"		10

e) Infinitives:

	Ethpe.	Ethpa.	Ettaf.
	*tgluia (Gy 192:18),	*štaiuia "to talk" with corruptions	*tahzuia
	*tigliuia (Q 54:5, 8) "to be revealed"	as *štaia	15
		mištaiuia (Gy 142:3, with corruptions as maštaiia) "talking"	20

δ) *Quadriradical verbs* follow the analogy of the pa., cf. **nambia** (Gy 212:3) "*lamentate!*" (imper. fem. pl. identical with the 3rd p. m. sg. pf.); impf. with suff.: **ninambi(i)h** (Gs 93:13) "we (shall) mourn for him".

Act. pt. (only inflected forms occur): **mnakria** (Gy 278:11) "*ea alienat*",²⁵ **mnambin** (Gy 212:11) "*ei lamentant*", **mnambian** (ibid.: 10, 12) "*ee lamentant*".

Pass. pt.: **mnakrai** (Gy 21:21) "*alienatus*", "*alienandus (est)*", **mnakrin** (Gy 321:1) "*alienandi sunt*", **mnakria** (Gy 242: ult) "*alienandae sunt*". An inf. would be ***nakruia**³³⁷.

Reflexive forms: (***tnakria** "he was estranged"), ***tnakritun** "*alienati estis*";³⁰ imper. pl. ***tnakrun** (Gy 18:22) "*alienati estote!*"; **mitnambia** (miscopying **mitnabia**) "he laments" and "*ee lamentant*".

³³⁷ Cf. Talmudic forms, MG, p. 266 n. 2.

ε) There is a five-radical verb ʿᵇ: ZRMBA, occurring only in ethpa. (impf. and pt.). Its forms were quoted in § 195 n.

ζ) ʿᵇᵇ “to be”:

a) Pf.

- | | | |
|----|---|---|
| 5 | Sg.: 3. m. hua
f. (a) huat
with encl.: huatalḥ
“ <i>ea fuit ei</i> ” | Pl.: 3. m. hun (read: <i>hewōn</i>)
with encl.: hulia “ <i>fuertunt mihi</i> ” |
| 10 | 2. huit
1. (a) huit
With encl.: ahuilkun
(Gy 186:15 BCD) | f. hʿ, huʿn (Gy 90:22 AC),
hʿn (ibid. B)
2. hauitun
1. Longer forms: hauinin
(Gy 33:9),
huinin etc. (cf. var. to Gy 149:11);
a shorter form: huin (ibid. A) (cf.
mod. forms, § 227 bl) |
| 15 | ahuitilkun (ibid. A)
“ <i>fui vobis</i> ”;
more frequent:
(ʿ) huitilḥ “ <i>fuisti ei</i> ” | |

b) Impf.:

- | | | |
|----|--|--|
| 20 | Sg.: 3. m. nihuia, lʿhuia (Gy 180:21), but also nihia, lihia (ibid., varr.)
3. f., 2. m. & f. tih(u)ia | Pl.: 3. m. nihun (Gy 251:5) without the final -n: nihu, nʿhu (ibid.: 5, 16 ACD)
f. nihʿuian (Gy 12:19), lihuia (Q 30:3) |
| 25 | 1. ʿhuia | 2. tihun
1. nih(u)ia |

c) Imperative:

- Sg. m.: **huia, huʿ, hʿ** “*esto!*”. A special fem. form does not occur, but it was certainly used in the spoken language, as it still occurs in the colloquial *hewe* (§ 227 ε b 3). It could have the same graphical form as the masc. (cf. α c, annotation **).
- Pl.: **hun** “*estote!*”. With encl. prepositions: **hulḥ** “*estote ei!*”

d) Participle:

Sg. m. & f.: **hauia**, m. pronounced *hāwī*, f. *hāwyā*.

Pl.: m. **hauin**, **hauia**, f. **hauian**, **hauia**.

The same form, pronounced in four different ways, could be used for either gender and either number. 5

With encl. pers. pronouns: 2. sg. **hauit**, followed by an encl. prep. **hauiatlh**
 1. sg. **hauina**
 2. pl. **hauitun**
 1. pl. **hauinin** followed by an encl. prep. **hauinalh**

e) Inf.: **mihuia**. 10

η) ܚܘܒܐ “to live”

a) Pf.: **hia** “he lived”, pl. **hiun** “they lived”, **hainin** “we lived”

b) Impf.: **nihia** “he lives”, “will live”, pl. **nihium** “they (will) live”

c) Imperative: **hii(i)a**, **h'iia** (Gy 241:19) “*salve!*” is an old greeting formula (Dan. 2:4), still used (§ 227 EC1). 15

d) Participle:

Sg. m.: **hiiia**, f. **haia**, pl. **haiin**

e) Inf.: **mihia**

f) Pa. is used only in participial forms:

Sg. **mhaiaa (mitia)** (Gy 29:11f., ML 119:5) “*vivificat (mortuos)*” 20

Pl. f. **mhaian** (Gs 31:3, 5 etc.) “they suckle”.

g) From the af. there is only a nomen agentis **mahiana** “Life-giver”, occurring in **ʿšū mahiana** (Gy 28:17), borrowed from Syriac as a Christian term, without paying much attention to its meaning. But Gl. (p. 24:1f, 56:5f) quotes a good afel form **ahia** with the right meaning *“vivificare”, “vivere facere”*. 25

§ 227. Mod. Forms (identical with III **ك**, **ط**):

α) Pe.

a) Past tense.

	Sg.: 3. m. <i>qerā</i> "he read"	<i>bezā</i> "he saw"	<i>ezgā</i> "he went**)
5	f. <i>qarrat</i> *	<i>bezat</i>	<i>ezgat</i>
	2. <i>qaret</i>	<i>bezet</i>	<i>ezget</i>
	1. <i>qarīt</i>	<i>bezīt</i>	<i>ezgīt</i>
	Pl.: 3. m. <i>qerōn</i> (<i>qerān</i>)	<i>bezōn</i> (<i>bezān</i>)	<i>ezgōn</i> (<i>ezgān</i>)
	f. <i>qeren</i>	<i>bezēn</i>	<i>ezgen</i>
10	2. m. <i>qarīton</i>	<i>bezīten</i>	<i>ezgīton</i>
	f. <i>qarīten</i>	<i>bezīten</i>	<i>ezgīten</i>
	1. <i>qarīmī</i>	<i>bezīmī</i>	<i>ezgīmī</i>

Verbs ٧٠٧ borrowed from Arabic have the same conjugation, cf. Ar. *raḍiya* = mod. Mand. *raḍā* "to be satisfied", "to like", "to agree":

15	Sg.: 3. m. <i>raḍā</i>	Pl.: 3. m. <i>raḍon</i>
	f. <i>raḍat</i>	f. <i>raḍān</i>
	2. <i>raḍet</i>	2. m. <i>raḍīton</i>
	1. <i>raḍīt</i>	f. <i>raḍīton</i>
		1. <i>raḍīn</i> ***)

20 *) Šābūrī gave me *qārrat* (pa.) instead of *qerāt* (pe.). The *qā balqa* in the 2nd & 1st p. sg. & pl. is also due to an influence of the pa., which is used with this verb more frequently than the pe. A normal pe. should have the same vowel after the 1st rad. as *bezet*, *bezīt* etc.

25 **) *Ezgā* represents a phonetic and morphological development of the cl. af. **asgia** (§ 40a). The passing from af. to pe. resulted from considering the prefix as a mere prosthetic vowel and might have started in the 3rd p. fem. sg., where there could be ***asgat** instead of ***asgiat** (cf. **audat**, § 226βa, af. 3. f. sg.). This could easily provide an analogy for the 3rd p. m. sg. Unfortunately, this intermediary form is missing.

30 ***) *Raḍīn* is a shorter form, cf. 226αa, 1. pl.

b) Present and future.

Sg.: 3. m.	(<i>qa</i>) <i>qārī</i> *) “he reads” will read”	<i>qbāzī</i> “he sees” “will see”	<i>qāzī</i> “he goes”**) “will go”	
f.	<i>qārya</i>	<i>qbāz yā</i>	<i>qāz yā</i>	
2.	<i>qāret</i>	<i>qbāzet</i>	<i>qāzet</i>	5
1.	<i>qarīna</i>	<i>qbāzīna</i> ***)	<i>qazīna</i>	
Pl.: 3.	<i>qāren</i>	<i>qbāzen</i>	<i>qāzen</i>	
2. m.	<i>qaretton</i>	<i>qbazetton</i>	<i>qazetton</i>	
f.	<i>qaretten</i>	<i>qbazetten</i>	<i>qazetten</i>	
1.	<i>qarennī</i> (<i>n</i>)	<i>qbazennī</i> (<i>n</i>)	<i>qazennī</i>	10

Present and future of *rādā* (Ar. *radīya*):

Sg.: 3. m.	<i>qarādī</i> (or <i>radīyye</i>)	P.l: 3.	<i>qarāden</i> (or <i>rādī eḫtū</i>)	
f.	<i>qarādīyā</i> (or <i>radīyyī</i>)	2. m.	<i>qarādetton</i>	
2.	<i>qarādet</i> (or <i>rādī eḫtaḫ</i> , fem. <i>eḫteḫ</i>)	f.	<i>qarādetten</i> (or <i>rādī eḫtoḫon</i> , fem. <i>eḫteḫen</i>)	15
1.	<i>qarādīnā</i> (or <i>rādī eḫte</i>)	1.	<i>qarādennī</i> (or <i>rādī eḫtan</i>)	20

c) Present with the encl. *l*:

Sg.: 3. m.	<i>qarīlī</i> “he reads it”, <i>qbazīlī</i> “he sees him” (or “it”)
1.	<i>qaryālī</i> “she reads it”, <i>qbaz yālī</i> “she sees him” (or “it”)
Pl.: 3.	<i>qarellī</i> “they read it”, <i>qbazellī</i> “they see him (or “it”)

With assimilation of the enclitic to the ending:

2.	<i>qartonnī</i> “you read it” (fem. <i>qartennī</i>)	<i>qbaztonnī</i> “you see him” (or “it”) (fem. <i>qbaztennī</i>)	25
1.	<i>qarnannī</i> “we read it”	<i>qbaznannī</i> “we see him” (or “it”).	

*) The procl. *qa* is avoided with *qārī* (by haplology).**) In *qāzī*, the *g* was syncopated according to § 45, and the *afel*-prefix of *asḡia* is treated as the first radical.***) An optative *hazīn hāzen* “let me see!” is often used in mod. texts published by de Morgan.

Other persons of the present as well as all the persons of the pf. are used with the personal suffix directly without the encl. *l* (§§ 107b, 232b).

d) Imperative:

Sg.: m.	<i>qerī, hezī, eʒgī</i>	Pl.: m.	<i>qerōn, hezōn, eʒgōn</i>
5 f.	<i>qere, heze, eʒge</i>	f.	<i>qeren, hezen, eʒgen</i>

e) Pass. pt.:

Sg.: m. *qərī* ‘*lectus*’, predicatively *qeriyye* ‘is read’

f. *qeriyyā* ‘*lecta*’, predicatively *qeriyyī*

Pl.: m. *qeriyyen* ‘*lecti*’, f. *qeriy(yinn)an* ‘*lectae*’.

- 10 The cl. MSA “to condense” is now used exclusively with the meaning “to be cold”. Its participial form *msiyye* “it is cold” is frequent in Mod. Mand. For “naked” there are three pass. participles: *geli(yye)*, *šeli(yye)*, *peti(yye)*. “Opened” is *šeriyye*; “sleeping” (Fr. “*couché*”) is *geniyye*, fem. (“*couchée*”) *geniyyī* etc. With encl. pers. pronoun: *geniyyat* “thou sleepest”, *genīna* “I sleep”
15 etc. (cf. § 105 b).

β) Pa.

a) Past tense:

Sg.: 3. m.	<i>qarrī</i> “he called”	<i>gabbī</i> “he chose”	<i>waddī</i> “he sent”
f.	<i>qārrat</i>	<i>gabbat</i>	<i>waddat</i>
20 2.	<i>qārret</i>	<i>gabbet</i>	<i>waddet</i>
1.	<i>qārrit</i>	<i>gabbīt</i>	<i>waddīt</i>
3. m.	<i>qārron</i>	<i>gābbon</i>	<i>waddon</i>
f.	<i>qārren</i>	<i>gābben</i>	<i>wadden</i>
2. m.	<i>qarīton</i>	<i>gabīton</i>	<i>wadīton</i>
25 f.	<i>qarīten</i>	<i>gabīten</i>	<i>wadīten</i>
1.	<i>qarīnī</i>	<i>gabīnī</i>	<i>wadīnī</i>

b) Present and future:

Sg.: 3. m.	<i>qomqarrī</i> “he calls” “will call”	<i>qomgabbī</i> “he chooses” “will choose”	<i>qomwaddī</i> “he sends” “will send”
30 f.	<i>qomqārya</i>	<i>qomgābya</i>	<i>qomwādyā</i>
2.	<i>qomqārret</i>	<i>qomgābbet</i>	<i>qomwaddet</i>
1.	<i>qomqārna</i>	<i>qomgābna</i>	<i>qomwadna</i>

Pl.: 3.	<i>qomqarren</i>	<i>qomgabben</i>	<i>qomwadden</i>
2. m.	<i>qomqaretton</i>	<i>qomgabetton</i>	<i>qomwadetton</i>
f.	<i>qomqaretten</i>	<i>qomgabetten</i>	<i>qomwadetten</i>
1.	<i>qomqarennī</i>	<i>qomgabennī</i>	<i>qomwadennī</i>

c) Forms with the encl. *l* (cf. αc):

5

3. sg. m.	<i>qomqarīle</i> “he calls me”	<i>qomwadīle</i> “he sends”
3. sg. f.	<i>qomqaryāle</i> “she calls me”	<i>qomwadyāle</i> “she sends me”

With assimilation of the enclitic to the ending:

2. pl.	<i>qomqartonne</i> “you call me”	<i>qomwadtonne</i> “you (will) send me”
f.	<i>qomqartenne</i>	<i>qomwadtenne</i>

10

d) Imperative:

Sg. m.	<i>qarrī</i> “voca!”	<i>gabbī</i> “elige!”	<i>waddī</i> “mitte!”
f.	<i>qarre</i>	<i>gabbe</i>	<i>wadde</i>
Pl. m.	<i>qarron</i> “vocate!”	<i>gabbon</i> “eligite!”	<i>waddon</i> “mittite!”
f.	<i>qarren</i>	<i>gabben</i>	<i>wadden</i>

15

γ) Af.

a) Past tense:

Sg.: 3. m.	<i>aḥwī</i> “he concealed”	Pl.: 3. m.	<i>aḥwōn</i>
f.	<i>aḥwat</i>	(f.)	<i>aḥwen</i>
2.	<i>aḥwet</i>	2. m.	<i>aḥwīton</i>
1.	<i>aḥwīt</i>	f.	<i>aḥwīten</i>
		1.	<i>aḥwīn(ī)</i>

20

The verb *āmṭī* (= ܘܡܬܘܝܘܬܐ) “to bring” seems to be used only with suffixes; at least, Šābūrī was able to give me only these forms (§ 232b). The original ending *-ia* was confused with the suff. of the 3rd p. m. sg. *-ī*.

25

b) Present and future:

Sg.: 3. m.	<i>qamahwī</i>	Pl.: 3.	<i>qamahwen</i>
f.	<i>qamahwiyā</i>	2. m.	<i>qamahwetton</i>
2.	<i>qamahwet</i>	f.	<i>qamahwetten</i>
1.	<i>qamahwīnā</i>	1.	<i>qamahwennī</i>

30

According to Šābūrī, the present of *āmfi* is replaced by the pa. of AṬA (*qamaθθī*, § 214βb).

c) Imperative:

5	Sg.	m.	<i>aḥwī</i> “ <i>cela!</i> ”	Pl.	m.	<i>aḥwōn</i> “ <i>celate!</i> ”
		f.	<i>aḥwe</i>		f.	<i>aḥwen</i>

δ) The reflexive stems are neither used nor understood.

ε) There are three mod. verbs whose forms are to be given separately:
 1. *abā* (= cl. **ba**) “he wanted”, “he wished”, in which the 2nd radical vanished was compensated by an *a* set before the 1st rad. (by an attempt to restore a
 10 three-radical form of this double weak verb); 2. *howā* (= cl. **hua**) “he was”, used as both a verb of existence and an auxiliary verb; 3. **𐤏𐤓𐤏** “to live”, which is used only in the 2nd p. sg. & pl. pf. as a greeting formula, and whose other forms were replaced by the derivative *hiyāna* “living”, “alive”³³⁸, used with encl. personal pronouns in the present and with the auxiliary *howā* in the
 15 past and future tenses.

a) Forms of *abā*

(1) Past tense:

20	Sg.:	3. m.	<i>abā</i> “he wanted”	Pl.:	3. m.	<i>abon</i>
		f.	<i>abat</i>		f.	<i>aben</i>
		2.	<i>abāt</i>		2. m.	<i>abīton</i>
		1.	<i>abīt</i>		f.	<i>abīten</i>
				1.	<i>abīnī</i>	

(2) Present and future:

25	Sg.:	3. m.	<i>qabōyī</i> “he wants”	Pl.:	3.	<i>qabiyyen</i>
		f.	<i>qabīyā</i>		2. m.	<i>qabetton</i>
		2.	<i>qabāt</i>		f.	<i>qabetten</i>
		1.	<i>qabīn(a)</i>		1.	<i>qabennī</i>

with the encl. *i*:

30	3. m. sg.	<i>qabīle</i> “he wants me”, f. <i>qabāle</i> “she wants me”
	3. pl.	<i>qabelle</i> “they want me”.

Other persons attach the suffix directly (§ 235βa).

(3) There is no imperative and no pass. pt. of this verb.

³³⁸ Gl. 70:9.

b) Forms of *howā*:

(1) Past tense:

Sg.: 3. m.	<i>howā</i> "he was"	Pl.: 3. m.	<i>hewon</i>	
	f. <i>hewat</i>		(f. <i>hewen</i>)	
2.	<i>hewet</i>	2. m.	<i>hewīton</i>	5
1.	<i>hewīt</i>	f.	<i>hewīten</i>	
		1.	<i>hewīnī</i> (or <i>howan</i>)	

(2) Present and future:

Sg.: 3. m.	<i>qahāwī</i>	Pl.: 3.	<i>qahāwen</i>	
	f. <i>qahāwyā</i>	2. m.	<i>q(a)hawīton</i>	10
2.	<i>qahāwet</i>	f.	<i>q(a)hawīten</i>	
1.	<i>qahawīnā</i>	1.	<i>qhawenni(n)</i>	

(3) Imperative:

Sg. m. *hewī*, f. *hewe*; pl. m. *hewon*, f. *hewen*

c) Mod. forms of ٨٢٦.

15

(1) As an original verbal form, there is only the 2nd p. sg. & pl. pf., used as a greeting formula: "you are welcome!"

Sg.: *ehyet(aḏīt)* "salve!" (P. *ḥōš āmadī*).

Pl.: *ehyīton* (*aḏīton*), fem. *ehyīten* (*aḏīten*) (P. *ḥōš āmadīd*).

(2) The present is replaced by *hiyān(a)* "alive" with encl. pers. pronouns: 20

Sg.: 3. m.	<i>hiyānye</i> "he lives"	Pl.: 3.	<i>hiyānonn</i>
	f. <i>hiyāntī</i>	2. m.	<i>hiyānton</i>
2.	<i>hiyānyat</i>	f.	<i>hiyānten</i>
1.	<i>hiyānnan</i>	1.	<i>hiyānnin</i>

(3) The past and future (as well as the imperative) are formed with the auxiliary HUA: 25

Past: *hiyān howā* "he lived", *hiyānta hewat* "she lived", *hiyan hewet* "thou didst live" etc.

Fut.: *hiyān qahāwī* "he will live" etc.

Imper.: *hiyān hewī* "live!" etc.³⁹⁹

30

³⁹⁹ Another verb for "to live" is *šboroxta eḥad*. "To live in", "to dwell" is *yebem*, § 217 (cf. P. *nišastan* in *dar kudām ḥāncḥ mī-nišīnad* in which house is he living?). Both occur in

10. Verbs with Personal Suffixes. (cf. § 107).

a) *Verbs which are not* 'ל.

§ 228. Pf.

a) Cl. forms:

- 5 The sg. suffixes are added to the verb directly; the pl. suffixes by means of **-ni-** after consonantal endings, and by means of **-n-** after a vocal ending, rarely directly.

	Pe.	Pa.	Af.
	Sg.: 3. m.		
10	<i>Strong verb with sg. suff.:</i> liḡṭ- ; with pl. suff.: lḡṭ- liḡṭh "he grasped him" lḡṭin(h)un "he grasped them"	<i>Strong verb with both sg. & pl. suff.:</i> parq- parqh "he saved him" parqinun "he saved them"	<i>Strong verb before both sg. & pl. suff.:</i> 1. shorter form: albš- 2. longer form: albš- albšh, albiš(i)h "he clothed him"
15	III ṽ: šiban "he baptized me" (var. šban as 'ל)	III ṽ: sabh "he satiated him" I'ṽ: qaiman "he raised me"	III ṽ: ašmh "he let him hear" III ṽ: aškḥ "he found him"
20	bilan (var. balan) "he swallowed me", but balinun "he swallowed them"	saikh "he limited him" (or "it") With a mobile <i>w</i> as 2nd rad.: haurh "he washed him"	aškinun "he found them" I'ḏ: apqh "he brought him out" SLQ: asqh "he brought him up"
25	III with metathesis (§ 52): šihlan "he sent me",	II ṽ: šailh "he asked him"	asqinun "he brought them up"; without as-

mod. texts, cf. Morg. 204:20 (here § 149b) 'lia **iahminh** (DC 51, coloph.) "where shall we live". The latter idiom comes from the classical **q-iatbia bbatia** (Gy 389: 20, 23) "who live in houses".

Pe.	Pa.	Af.
pihth "he opened him" (or "it"); without metathesis: ptahinun "he opened them"	ʕ''ʕ: han(a)nh "he caressed him" or "her"	similation: anhirinan "he gave us light"
ǰ''Ḍ: nisbh "he took him", * nsabin(h)un "he took them"	llʕ: ailh "he brought him (or "her") in"	ʕ''Ḍ: abrh "he brought him across" 5
ḵ''Ḍ: 'srh, asrh , even 'sirh "he fettered him", asarinhan (Gs 28:21) "he fettered us" (should be asarinan).	ḵ''Ḍ: alpinun "he taught them"	abrinun "he brought them across"
ʕ''Ḍ: 'bdh "he made it"		ʕ''Ḍ: autbh "he seated him", auq(i)rinun "he honoured them"; YBL: 10
ʕ''Ḍ: iahbh "he gave him"		aulh "he brought him in"; ǰ''ʕ: aqmh "he raised him"
ʕ''ʕ: kanh "he wrapped him" or "it", pasinun "he" destroyed them"		aqminun "he raised them" 15
ǰ''ʕ: laṭh "he cursed him, her"		ašith (Gs 95:24) "he despised him", anidh (Gy 58:1f, B. andh) "he shook him"
II ʕ: ṭanan "he carried me"		andinun "he shook them" 20

3. f., 2 & 1:

<i>Strong verb:</i> lgatt- lgatṭh "she, thou, I seized him"	<i>Strong verb:</i> pariq- pariqṭh "she, thou, I saved him"	<i>Strong verb:</i> aprišt- 25 aprištunun "she, thou, I taught him"
lgattinun "she, thou, I seized them"	pariqtinun "she, thou, I saved him"	aprištḥ "she, thou, I taught them"
III ʕ: šbath "(she) thou, I baptized him", but šamath (varr. šimith) š(u)mith "she (thou, I) heard him"	šadi/arth "(she, thou, I sent him)", "thou hast sent him"	III gutt.: ašmitinan 30 "thou didst let us hear"
šmitinum "thou didst hear them"	III ʕ: sabath "she, thou, I satiated him"	aška/itinun "I found them"
	III ʔ: šabath (var. šabihṭh) "(she, thou),	ǰ''Ḍ: apiqṭh "I brought 35 him out"

	Pe.	Pa.	Af.
	III П: ptaht̥h (varr. ptath̥ "she, thou) I opened him (it)"	praised him" Y' D: atarth̥ "(she, thou) I woke him up"	SLQ: asiqth̥ "I brought him up"
5	Y' D: *dalth̥ "she (thou, I) brought him forth" *habtinun "I gave them"	auritinun "(she, thou, I blinded them" With a mobile <i>w</i> as 2nd. rad.: zawidth̥ "(she, thou) I provided him (with)"	Y' D: abarth̥ "he led him across" X' D: aukilth̥ "I fed them" Y' D: autibth̥ "I seated him", audiltan "she assisted at my birth"
10	Y' Y: laṭth̥ "she, thou, I cursed him, her"	Y' Y: qaiimth̥ "(she, thou, I raised him"	Y' Y: aqimth̥ "I raised him"
	Y' Y: paṣth̥ "(she, thou) I destroyed him, it"	Y' Y: galiltinin " <i>revela-vi(sti) eas</i> "	Y' Y & III П (as Y' Y): arhath̥ (Gy 102: 16) "I let him smell"
15	II N: šalth̥ (Gy 115: 24) "I asked him" šiltan (Gs 124 ff) "she asked me"	Y' Y: aiiltan "she brought me in" II N: šaiilth̥ "(she, thou) I asked him"	
	Pl.:		
20	3. <i>Strong verb</i> before sg. suff.: ligtu- , before pl. suff.: lgaṭu- ligṭuia , ligṭun "they grasped him", "they grasped me"	<i>Strong verbs</i> before both sg. & pl. suff.: paqdu- , paqduia , paqduk "they ordered him, thee" paqḍunun "they ordered them"	<i>Strong verbs</i> before both sg. & pl. suff.: Longer form: algiṭu- , albišu- Shorter form: albšu- algiṭuia "they let grasp him", algiṭun "they let grasp me" albišuia "they clothed him"
25	šbaquni /n " <i>reliquerunt eas</i> " I' D: nisbu "they took her"	šadruia (Gy 134: ult., var. D. šadrunḥ "they sent him"	albiṣun , albšuk "they clothed me", "they clothed thee"
30	III Y: šibuia , šibun "they baptized him, me", šimun "they heard me" (forms before pl. suff. perhaps *šibunun , *šmunun are missing).	III gutt.: šabuia , šabuk "they praised him, thee" With a mobile <i>w</i> as 2nd rad.: zaudun "they provided me (with)"	III gutt.: ašmuia "they let him hear" ašlun "they took me out"
35			

Pe.	Pa.	Af.
III π with metathesis (§ 52): šihlun “they sent” (before pl. suff. there would be no metathesis).	ו'ע : qaimun “they raised me”	נ'פ : apquia “they brought him out”
פ'פ : 'bduia “they made him”, “they did it”, but	פ'ע : baninuk “they built thee up”	SLQ: asquia “they brought him up”
כ'פ : 'udun (Gy 96: 25 A, with poor varr.)	עלל : ailuia “they brought him in” (a form ailunḥ would be admissible)	פ'פ : *abruia “they brought him across”
“ <i>perierunt mihi</i> ”	With a full ending before the suff. (as in mod. Mandaic):	כ'פ : *aukluia “they fed him”
ו'פ : 'dun , 'duk “they knew me, thee”	ailunak (Gs 116:13 BD, C: ailunan) “they brought thee (C “us”) in”.	ו'פ : autbun “they seated me” (var. 'utbun)
'habunun “they gave them”		YBL: aulunun “they brought them in”
ו'פ : garuk “they fornicated with thee” (before pl. suff. perhaps the same).		פ'דע : laudunun (Gy 310: 18) “they did not inform them”
פ'ע : banuk “they built thee” (from ל'י would be *biniuk),		ו'ע : aqmuia “they raised him” (as ע'ע)
ṭamuia “they obstructed him”		רוח : arhuia “they let him smell” (as ע'ע)
		HUQ (< עוק) ahiquk (Gs 55:15) “they made thee anxious”

2. As in mod. Mandaic (s. b), there is no change in the verbal forms: 25

rhimtunḥ “ye loved her”

aqimtunḥ “ye raised him”

but sporadically also without the n:

asmiktuia (Par. XI 35 b) “ye supported her”. 30

With the suffix of the 1st p. sg. there are contracted forms identical with those without the suffix:

nṣabtun “ye planted me” **qaiimtun** (Gy 240:5) “ye raised me”

aprištun “ye taught me”
apiqtun “ye brought me out”

	Pe.	Pa.	Af.
1.	<i>Strong verb:</i> lgatnḥ “we grasped him”	<i>Strong verb:</i> baṭilnḥ “we abolished him”	<i>Strong verb:</i> apriš- aprišnḥ “we taught him”
5	III ʕ : šmanḥ “we heard him”	I'ʔ: taqinḥ “we confirmed him”	I'Ḍ: apiqnḥ “we brought him out”
	III ʔ with metathesis: ptahnḥ “we opened him, it”	taqinin “we confirmed them” (as without the suff.)	SLQ: asiqnḥ “we made him ascend”
10	ptahnin “we opened them (f.)” (as without the suff.)*)	I'ʕ: qaiimnḥ “we raised him”	
	ʕ'Ḍ : abadnḥ “we made him, her, it”	ʕ'ʕ : *galilnḥ “we revealed it”	
15	ʕ'Ḍ : 'dalnḥ “we brought him forth”	II ʕ : šaiilnḥ “we asked him”	before a pl. suff. normally: asqinin “we made them ascend” (as without the suff.)*)
	I'ʕ (: ʕ'ʕ) šarnḥ “we formed him”		ʔʔ : anhanḥ (Gy 107:11) “we appeased him, her” (as from ʕ'ʕ):
20	II ʕ : šalnḥ “we asked him”		

Quadriradical verbs with suff.:

25	Sg.: 3. m. harzqan “they fettered me”	Pl.: 3. zarnipuia (Gs 14: ult)
	šargziḥ “he made him angry”	(cf. § 196m.
	2. rauribtinan “thou hast made us great”	šargzun “they made me angry”

Reflexive stems with pers. suff.: **'tbadrun** (Gy 96:25) “they were dispersed from me”, **'dkarnak** (Gy 157:6) “we remembered thee”.

*) **ptahnin**, **taqinin**, **asiqnin** are contracted forms identical with the form without the suffix.

b) *Mod. forms:*

Strong verb:

Sg.: 3. m.	<i>geŋle</i> "he killed me"	Pl.: 3.	<i>geŋlonne</i> "they killed me"	
f.	<i>geŋälte</i> "she killed me"	2.	<i>geŋaltonne</i> "ye killed me"	
2.	<i>geŋälte</i> "thou hast killed me"	1.	<i>geŋalnaŋ</i> "we killed thee"	5
1.	<i>geŋältaŋ</i> "I killed thee"			

Some verbs do not attach the suffix directly to the verbal form in certain persons, but prefer to do so by means of the encl. *l*, while other persons always attach the suffix directly, cf. BDQ:

Sg.: 3. m.	<i>bedaŋle</i> "he put me"	Pl.: 3.	<i>bedŋonne, beŋgonne</i> "they put me"	10
f.	<i>bedäŋte</i> "she put me"	2.	<i>bedaŋtonne</i> "ye put me"	
2.	(<i>āt</i>) <i>bedaŋte</i> "thou didst put me"	1.	<i>bedäŋnaŋ</i> "we put thee"	
1.	(<i>an</i>) <i>bedäŋtaŋ</i> "I put thee"			

The 3rd p. m. sg. is used with the encl. *l*; all other persons may attach the suffix directly, but in the 3rd & 2nd p. pl. the encl. might progressively assimilate to the final *n* of the verbal form.

The verbs III guttural follow the analogy of ʕ''^{h} (§ 232 b).

ŋ''^{d} :

Sg.: 3. m.	<i>eŋle</i> "he ate me"	ŋ''^{d} :	<i>eβde</i> "he made me"	20
f.	<i>aŋälte</i> "she ate me"		<i>eβadte</i> "she made me"	
2.	(<i>āt</i>) <i>aŋälte</i> "thou hast eaten me"		<i>eβadte</i> "thou didst make me"	
1.	(<i>ān</i>) <i>aŋältaŋ</i> "I ate thee"		<i>eβadtaŋ</i> "I made thee"	
Pl.: 3.	<i>eŋlonne</i> "they ate me"		<i>eβdonne</i> "they made me"	
2.	<i>aŋaltonne</i> "ye ate me"		<i>eβadtonne</i> "ye made me"	25
1.	<i>aŋälnaŋ</i> "we ate thee"		<i>eβädnaŋ</i> "we made thee"	

Verbs AMR "to say" and AHB "to give" are used with the encl. *l* in all the persons (§ 214 αb).

Pa.: *arreq* with pers. suff.:

Sg.: 3. m.	<i>ārqi</i> "he poured it"	Pl.: 3.	<i>ārŋonni</i> "they poured it"	30
f.	<i>ariŋti</i> "she poured it"	2.	<i>areŋtonni</i>	
2, 1.	<i>areŋti</i>	1.	<i>areŋni</i> (identical with the form without the suff.)	

’’D:

Sg.:	3. f. <i>yediltī</i> “she brought him forth”	Pl.:	3. f. <i>yedlennī</i>
	2. <i>yediltī</i>		2. f. <i>yedallennī</i>
	1. <i>yediltī</i>		1. <i>yedalnī</i> (as without the suff.)

5

Af. of 1’D and 1’E (’’E):

Sg.:	3. m. <i>āfqī</i> “he brought him out”	<i>āqmī</i> “he raised him”
	f. <i>afīqtī</i>	<i>aqīmtī</i>
	2. <i>afeqtī</i>	<i>aqemtī</i>
10	1. <i>afeqtī</i>	<i>aqemtī</i>
Pl.:	3. <i>afqonnī</i>	<i>aqmonnī</i>
	2. m. <i>afeqtonnī</i>	<i>aqemtonnī</i>
	f. <i>afeqtennī</i>	<i>aqemtennī</i>
	1. <i>afeqmī</i> (as without suff.)	<i>aqemnī</i> (as without suff.)

15 Pa. of II K (’):

Sg.:	3. m. <i>šēle</i> “he asked me”	Pl.:	3. <i>šeyelonne</i> “they asked me”
	f. <i>šīylte</i>	2. m. <i>šīyiltonne</i>	
	2. (<i>āt</i>) <i>šīyiltē</i>	f. <i>šīyiltenne</i>	
20	1. (<i>ān</i>) <i>šīyiltay</i> “I asked thee”	1. <i>šīyilnoxon</i> “we asked you”	
		<i>šīyilnī</i> “we asked him”	
		(as without suff.)	

Dakka (II E: 7E7) follows the analogy of the pa. 1’E (§ 232b).

25 § 229. Imperfect (only in the classical):

	Pe.	Pa.	Af.
	Sg. & 1. p. pl.:		
	<i>Strong verb: niligt-, (nil-git-, tiš[i]bq- etc.)</i>	<i>Strong verb: nīparq- etc.</i>	<i>Strong verb: napr(i)š-, nalb(i)š-,</i>
30	<i>nīligtan</i> “ <i>capi(e)t me</i> ”	<i>nīparqḥ, -qak, -qan,</i>	<i>talb(i)š-, t’iahr(i)b-,</i>
	<i>‘ligtak</i> “I (shall) seize thee”	<i>“libera(bi)t eum (eam), te, me”</i>	<i>‘iasmik- (rarely asmik-) naprišan</i> “ <i>doce(bi)t me</i> ”,

Pe.	Pa.	Af.
lišimṭan "extrahet me"	III gutt.: ni/šabak,	'iaprišak, sporadically
tiš(i)bqḥ "relinquis eum"	"lauda(bi)t te", "lau- da(bi)mus te"	aprišak "I (shall) teach thee"
'šibqḥ "I (shall) let him"	ʿ"Ḍ: n'iabṭḥ (Gs 94:19)	'iaprišinkun (Gy 68:3), 5
nibirkinan (varr. nibri- kinan, nibarkinan; the latter is pa.) "he blesses us"	"we fetter him"	"I shall teach you"
tipsiqinan "she cuts (or "will cut") us off", "thou cuttest (or "willst cut") us off"	ʿ"Ḍ: n'iaqrak, niaqrak "we (shall) magnify thee"	nalb(i)šḥ "vesti(e)t eum, eam", "vesti(e)"
III ʿ: nišibak "baptiṣa- (bi)t te", "baptiṣa(bi)- mus te",	n'iatran, -rak "excita- (bi)t me, te (e somno)"	n'iasbrunak "we (shall) teach thee" 10
'šbḥ "baptiṣ(ab)o te" ti- šīman "audi(e)s me"	I' ʿ: nihaibḥ "accusa- (bi)t eum", "accusa(bi) mus eum"	t'iahr(i)bḥ "ea dele(bi)t eum", "dele(bi)s eum"
'mini(i)ḥ "prohibe(b)o eum" (מענע with "a complete transition to 'ל)	niqaimak "confirma- (bi)t te", confirma(bi)- mus te"	'iasmikḥ "I (shall) sup- port him"
III with metathesis: nipihṭḥ "aperi(e)t eum"	'qaimak "I (shall) raise, confirm him"	SLQ and I' ʿ with assi- milation: 15
ʿ"Ḍ: nibdḥ "faci(e)t eum, id,"	עלל: nailḥ "he intro- duces (or "will intro- duce") him", "we (shall) introduce him",	n'iasqḥ "ascendere faci- (e)t eum", ascendere fa- ci(e)mus eum" 20
'bdḥ "I (shall) make him, it"	'iailak "I (shall) intro- duce thee" 25	
niqrḥ (Gy 361: ult.) "we (shall) eradicate him"	II ʿ: nišailan "interroga- (bi)t me"	
ʿ"Ḍ: niklḥ, ti- is, ea edi et eum, id		'iasqḥ "I (shall) bring him up", but napqan "he brings (or "will 30 bring") me out"
'klḥ "I (shall) eat it", but 'sirḥ (varr. 'sarḥ, 'srḥ "I (shall) tie him, it"		nasqan "ascendere faci- (e)t me"
		'iapqḥ "I (shall) bring him out" 35
		I' ʿ without assimilation nanh(i)rḥ "illumina-

	Pe.	Pa.	Af.
			(<i>bi</i>) <i>t eum</i> ", " <i>illumina-</i> (<i>bi</i>) <i>mus eum</i> "
	״ד: tidlh "she will bring him forth",		״ד׳: tabrinkun "she leads you across"
5	׳ד׳: n'dan "he knows me", "will know me"		״ד׳: 'iautbak "I (shall) seat thee"
	׳״ע: niliṭh "he curses him", "will curse him", tiliṭh "she cur- ses (or "will curse")		׳ד׳: taudh (Gy 82:2) " <i>ea informat eum</i> "
10	him", "thou cursest (or "wilt curse") him, her"		׳״ע: nan(i)dh " <i>commo-</i> <i>ve(bi)t eum</i> ", " <i>commo-</i> <i>ve(bi)mus eum</i> "
	״״ע: niṭimh "he ob- structs (or "will ob- struct") him, her, it"		״iaqminkun and aqmin- kun (Gy 175:9, 10) " <i>confirm(ab)o vos</i> "
15	״pish "I (shall) destroy him"		׳׳ג: nani/'hh " <i>leni-</i> (<i>e</i>) <i>t eum</i> ", " <i>leni(e)mus</i> <i>eum</i> ", nanihak " <i>le-</i> <i>ni(e)t te</i> ", " <i>leni(e)mus</i> <i>te</i> ", 'ianhh "I (shall) appease him"
20			YBL: naulak and n'iaul- lak (Gs 54:8) "we (shall) bring thee in"
25	With 3rd and 2nd p. pl.:		

	Pe.	Pa.	Af.
	<i>Strong verb:</i>	<i>Strong verb:</i>	<i>Strong verb:</i>
	nil(i)gtun- , ti- niligṭunh , -nak "they (will) grasp him, thee"	niparqunan "they (will) save me"	nalb(i)ṣun- etc. nanh(i)runh "they "will" give him light" nalbṣunh "they (will) clothe him"
30	niš(i)bqunak "they (will) let thee" but nisdruia (Gs 132: 20, var. C: nisdrunh	III gutt.: nišabunak "they (will) praise thee", tišabunh "ye (will) praise him"	tahlipunan "ye cause them pass by"
35	"they put him in or- der"	without the final <i>n</i> : tišabhuia (Gy 23:11, D: tišabuia) id.	'iasmikh "I (shall) sup- port him"

Pe.	Pa.	Af.
III ʕ : tišmunḥ “ <i>audi-</i> (<i>ʔ</i>) <i>tis eum</i> ”	III ʕ : niqaimunḥ “they (will) raise him”	III gutt.: naškunḥ “they (will) find him”
IIIπ (without metathesis): niplihunḥ “they (will) serve him”	II ḵ : nišailunan “they (will) ask me”	III Ḍ : with assimilation: tapqunḥ “ye (will) 5 bring him out”
tiplihunḥ “ye (will) ser- ve him”		ʕ Ḍ : labṭunan (Gs 130: 17) “they fetter me” nabṭunik (Gs 77:10) “they fetter thee” 10 (fem.)
ḏ without assimilation: ninisbunḥ (Gy 311:4) “they take him”; wi- thout the final <i>n</i> : ni- nihruk (Gs 128:3) “they give thee light” (an af. form would be expected)		YBL: naulun (Gs 48:4) “they bring me”
ḏ with assimilation: nisbunḥ (Gs 128:3 D) “the take him”		ʕ ʕ : naqmun “they (will) raise him” (as 15 ʕ ʕ) ḵḵ : narhunḥ “they (will) let him smell”
ʕ Ḍ : nikrunan “they (will) hold me back” 20		
ḵ Ḍ : nisi/aronḥ , n'sa- runḥ “they (will) fet- ter him”		
without the final <i>n</i> : tipkuia “ye turn him” 25		
ʕ ʕ : nidinunḥ “they (will) judge him” ti- šitunḥ (Gy 39:13) “ye despise him” 30		
II ḵ : nišilunḥ “they (will) ask him”		

Quadriradical verbs: **niraurbak** “we magnify thee”, **tirandidak** “she rouses thee”, **šauzbak** “I (shall) save thee”, **šauzbinkun** “I (shall) save you”.

§ 230. Imperative

a) Classical forms:

	Pe.	Pa.	Af.
	<i>Strong verb</i> before sg.	Sg.: as 3rd p. m. sg. pf. with suff.	
5	suff.: sg. lugt- pl. lugtu- before pl. suff.:	parqh "libera eum!" parqun "liberate me!"	Pl.: as 3rd p. pl. pf. with suff. apriš(i)h "doce eum!" aprišunin "docete eas!"
	sg. lguṭ- (& poor varr.)	parqinan "libera nos!"	With weak verbs <i>a</i> short form is regularly
	pl. lguṭu-	šagšin*/in (Gy 151:17)	used:
10	lugṭh "cape eum!" lugṭuia "capite eum!" with pl. suff.:	"confunde eas!" parqunin "liberate eas!"	III gutt.: ašban "bap- <i>tiža me!</i> " ašmunun
	lguṭinun "cape eos!" (with poor varr. lgi-	ṣ''ḏ: alpi/an "doce me!"	"let them hear!"
15	ṭi/a-nun, algiṭinun, based on a confusion	ṣ''ḏ: qaiman "confirma <i>nos!</i> " ṣ''ḏ: hananan "caress me!"	ḏ: apqan "bring me out!" SLQ: asqh "let him ascend!"
	with the pf. of the pe. & af.)		ṣ''ḏ: abran "transfer me!"
20			ṣ''ḏ: autbh "fac eum se- <i>dere!</i> " a longer form before a pl. suff.
			autibinun "fac eos sede- <i>re!</i> "
25			YBL: aulunhun "appor- <i>tate eos!</i> "
			ṣ''ḏ: anihh "appease him"
30			ṣ''ḏ (: ṣ''ḏ): andinun "shake them!"

Quadriradical verbs: **šauzban** (var. **šuzban**) "save me!", **šauz(i)binan** (Gy 62:6) "save us!", **parhziḥ** (Gy 102:9) "watch out for him!"

b) Mod. forms:

Pe.	Pa.	Af.
Strong verb:	Strong verb:	Strong verb:
<i>loḫtī</i> "cape eum!"	<i>šadrī</i> "mitte eum!"	<i>abreḫī</i> "dele eum, id!"
<i>loḫtonnī</i> "capite eum!"	<i>šadronnī</i> "mittite eum!"	<i>abreḫonnī</i> "delete eum!" 5
י' ד:	ע' ד:	י' ד:
<i>noḫsī</i> "trucide eum!"	<i>arqī</i> "effunde id!"	<i>āḫqī</i> "expelle eum!"
<i>noḫsonnī</i> "trucidate eum!"	<i>arqonnī</i> "effundite id!"	<i>aḫqonnī</i> "expellite eum!"
ע' ד:	II א:	SLQ:
<i>oḫdī</i> "fac id!"	<i>šēlī</i> "interroga eum!"	<i>asqī</i> "fac him ascendere!" 10
<i>oḫdonnī</i> "facite id!"	<i>šēlonnī</i> "interrogate eum!"	<i>asqonnī</i> "facite him ascendere!"
א' ד:		י' ע:
<i>oḫlī</i> "ede id!"		<i>āqmī</i> "erige eum!"
<i>oḫlonnī</i> "edite id!"		<i>aqmonnī</i> "erigite eum!" 15
		רר:
		<i>arḫī</i> "odorare eum!"
		<i>arḫonnī</i> "odoramini eum!"

b) Verbs י' ל with Personal Suffixes.

§ 231. Verbs י' ל with suffixes often behave as strong verbs. The suff. of the 3rd p. sg. is not added to *qarā* but to *qery-*. In the pl. *qiriuiā* corresponds to *ligtuia* (mod. *qeronnī* — *geḫlonnī*). Nevertheless, there are shorter forms proving that the treating of the 3rd rad. as a consonant is only secondary. In the impf. the 3rd rad. is treated as a consonant³⁴⁰. In mod. Mandaic the analogy of verbs י' ל is followed by the verbs III guttural. 25

§ 232 Pf.

a) Classical forms:

Sg.:	Pe.	Pa.	Af.
3. m. Shorter forms:			
qran , qrak "he called me, thee"	kasian "he covered me"	abrian "he removed me" 30	
	kasi(i)ḥ "he covered him"	ašqian "he gave me drink"	

³⁴⁰ The Mandaic forms with suffixes correspond to the Talmudic, and are different from the Syriac, in which the 3rd radical is treated as a vowel.

	Pe.	Pa.	Af.
	šran (ašran) "he let me dwell"	kasinun "they covered them"	ašrian "he let me dwell"
	anan "he answered me"	hauian "he showed me"	ašriak "he let thee"
5	Longer forms:	rabian "he brought me up"	adian "he made me pass by"
	hizian , hiziak "he saw me, thee"	šauian "he made me"	aitḥ (aside from atiḥ as pa.) "he brought him"
	širian "he let me dwell"	šauinan "he made us"	aitinkun "he brought them"
	'nian "he answered me"	asiak "he healed thee" with the suff. of fem. gender: asiik id.	aumian "he conjured me"
10	rimian "he threw me"	asinkun "he healed you"	aumiak "he conjured thee"
	miṭiak "he reached thee" With the suff. of the 3rd p. sg. only longer forms:	atian "he brought me"	
15	qiri(i)ḥ "he called him"	atiak "he brought thee"	
	hiziḥ "he saw him"	*atinkun "he brought you"	
	rimi(i)ḥ "he threw him"		
	Before pl. suff. only shorter forms ending		
20	in <i>ī</i> :		
	hzinun "he saw them"		
	qrinun "he called them"		
	mṭinhun "he reached them"		
25	3. f.		
	hzatan "she saw me"	hauitan "she showed me"	ašniṭḥ "she removed him"
	hzath "she saw him"	hauitak "she showed thee"	ašliṭḥ "she despised him"
	hzatinun "she saw them"	hauith "she showed him"	
30	mṭatan "she came to me"	šauitak "she made thee"	
	mṭatinun "she came to them"		
	anath "she answered him"		
35			

2. & 1.

Pe.	Pa.	Af.
qr(a)itanun " <i>vocavisti me</i> " qr(a)itanun " <i>vocavi(sti)</i> <i>eos</i> "	As 3rd p. f. sg. with suff.:	As 3rd p. f. sg. with suff.:
rm(a)jith " <i>ieci(sti)eum</i> "	atith " <i>apportavi(sti)</i> <i>eum</i> ",	aitith "I brought him, 5 her", aititinun
klaith " <i>retinui(sti) eum,</i> <i>eam</i> "	asith " <i>sanavi(sti) eum</i> "	"I brought them"
hz(a)itanun "I saw them"	kas(a)itinkun "I cove- red you"	abkith "I made him weep"
ml(a)itanan (Q 14:1) " <i>complevistis nos</i> "	šauitinkun "I made you"	ahuith "I showed him" 10
	šanitinkun " <i>removi(sti)</i> <i>eos</i> "	asgitinkun "I let you go"
	hauith "I showed him"	asgitinun "I let them go"
	hauitinun " <i>ostendi(sti)</i> <i>eis</i> "	ašqitinun "I gave them" 15 drink"
	hauitanan " <i>ostendi(sti)</i> <i>nobis</i> "	aumitinkun "I conjured them"

Pl.:

3. Shorter forms:	20
(with the suff. of the 1st p. sg. as without the suff.)	
qrun "they called me"	
qruk "they called thee"	25
qrui(a) "they called him"	
hzun "they saw (me)"	
šdun "they threw (me)"	
šrun "they let (me) dwell"	30
anun "they answered (me)"	
bun "they sought (me)"	
kšui(a) "they covered him"	35

	Pe.	Pa.	Af.
	Longer forms (are more distinctive in case of the suff. of the 1st p. sg.):		
5	qiriun "they called me"	atiun "they brought me"	aitiun "they brought me"
	qiriuk "they called thee"	kasiun "they covered me"	a(i)tiuia "they brought him" (af. or pa. respectively)
	qiriuia "they called him"	kasiuia "they covered him"	
10	širiuk "they let thee dwell"	šasiuia "they covered him"	ašqiuia "they gave him drink"
	hiziun "they saw me"	šasiun "they made me"	
	hiziuia "they saw him"	šasiuk "they made thee"	
	šibiun "they held me captive"	šasiuia "they made him"	
15	niun "they answered me"	haiun "they showed (to) me"	
	niuia "they answered him"	haiuia "they showed (to) him"	
	b(̣)iu "they sought me"		
20	bi(i)uk "they wanted thee"		
	kisiuia "they covered him"		
25	miṭiua "they reached him"		
	zikiuia "they defeated him"		

Before pl. suffixes there are only shorter forms:

30	dhun "they pushed us"	kasunin " <i>celaverunt eas</i> "	aumun "they conjured them"
	qrnun "they called them"	atun "they brought them"	
35	mṭnun "they reached him"		

2. Forms with the suff. of the 1st p. sg. are identical with those without the suff.:

Pe.	Pa.	Af.	
qritun (Gy 240:5) “ye called (me)”	šaitun “ye made (me)”	ait(a)itun “ye brought (me)”	5
šabitun “ye held me captive”			

With suffixes of other persons as in mod. Mandaic with no change:

rmaitunh (Gy 349:4) “ye threw him”, facultatively without <i>n</i> :	šanituia (Q 63:29) “ye removed him”		10
1. hzainak “we saw thee”	šaninh “we removed him”		
hz(a)inh “we saw him”	šaninun “we removed them”		15
qrainak “we called thee”	šauinh “we made him”		
qrainh “we called him”	šauinun “we made them”		
’nšainak (Gy 175:5) “we forgot thee” (ethpe. with suff.)	balinun (Gs 121:4) “we consumed them”		20

Quadriradical verb: **nakrian** “he estranged me”, **kaldian** “he bewitched me”

25

b) Mod. forms. (The analogy of ܘܘܘܘ is followed by the verbs III gutt.)

Sg.: 3. m. <i>qāryi</i> “he read it”	<i>šoβyi</i> “he baptized him”	<i>beẓya</i> “perforavit eam”
f. <i>qarīti</i>	<i>šoβāti</i> *)	— *)
2. 1. <i>qarīti</i>	<i>šoβīti</i>	<i>beẓīta</i>

*) Only the 3rd p. fem. sg. of verbs III gutt. bears a trace of III guttural; so from BZA it would be * *beẓāti* “she pierced him, it”.

Pl.:	3.	<i>qaronnī</i>	<i>ʃoʃonnī</i>	<i>beʒonna</i>
	2.	<i>qarītonnī</i>	<i>ʃoʃītonnī</i>	<i>beʒītonna</i>
	1.	<i>qarīnī</i>	<i>ʃoʃīnī</i>	<i>beʒīna</i>

Pa. of ʾ^{h} and verbs following its analogy is identical with the pe., so that
5 *qāryī* can mean either “he read it” or “he called him” etc.

Sg.: 3. m. *ādīyī* “he brought him” *dakyī* “he extinguished it” (with-
out suff. § 213 c α)

3. f., 2. & 1. *aḏīṭī*

dakīṭī

Pl.: 3. *aḏonnī*

dakonnī

10 2. *aḏītonnī*

dakītonnī

1. *aḏīnī*

dak(k)īnī

The verb *abā* (= cl. **ba** < *b'ā*) has the same forms:

Sg.: 3. m. *ābyī* “he wanted him, it”

Pl.: 3. *abonnī*

3. f., 2. & 1. *abīṭī*

2. *abītonnī*

15

1. *abīnī*

Af.: The 3rd p. m. sg. with the suffix of the same person is identical with the form without the suffix. In other persons the 3rd radical can either vanish (a) or remain (b):

Sg.: 3. m. *aḥwī* “he hid (him, it)”

Pl.: 3. a. *aḥwonnī*, b. *aḥwyennī*

20

3. f., 2. & 1. a. *aḥwīṭī*

2. a. *aḥewtonnī*, b. *aḥwyetonnī*

b. *aḥewīṭī* (*aḥefīṭī*)

1. a. *aḥewnī*, b. *aḥwīnī*

The verb *āmṭī* (§ 227 β a, b) is used only with pers. suffixes:

Sg.: 3. m. *āmṭī* “he brought him, it”

Pl.: 3. *amṭyennī*

3. f., 2. & 1. *āmṭīṭī*

1. *amṭīnī*

25 § 233. Impf. (only in the classical):

Pe.

Pa.

Af.

Sg. & 1. pl.

nīšīrian “he unties me”

nīdalian “he raises me”

nadian “he lets me pass

nīnian “he answers me”

nasian “*sana(bi)t me*”

by”

30 **nīnh** “*responde(bi)t eo*”

nīšauih “we (shall) make
him, her, it”

nīdiak “he lets thee pass
by”

Pe.	Pa.	Af.	
nih(i)ziak "we (shall) see thee"	tišauian "thou makest (or "willst make") me"	'iadiak "I let thee pass by"	
nihziḥ, tihziḥ, 'hziḥ "vide(<i>bi</i>)t, vide(<i>bi</i>)s, vide(<i>b</i>)o eum"	tišauinan "thou makest us"	'iaith "I bring him"	5
nihzinan "he sees us"	tihauinan " <i>ea demonstra-</i> (<i>bi</i>)t nobis", " <i>demon-</i> stra(<i>bi</i>)s nobis"		
ninišiak "we (shall) forget thee"			
nibinḥ "he builds him, her, it"			10
nišibḥ "we capture him"			
nib'iḥ "he begs him, her"			
'b'iḥ "I beg him"			15
tišdinan "thou throwest us"			

Forms with pl. endings followed by suffixes:

a) with *y*:

In pa. and af. there are only forms without *y* and with the full ending (s. b).

ninišiun "they (will) forget me"			
niminun "they (will) count me"			
niniuk "they (will) answer thee"			20

b) Without *y* and with the full ending:

Pe.	Pa.	Af.	
nirmunak "they (will) throw thee"	nikasunḥ "they (will) hide him"	naštunan (Gy 34:23, var. Gy 13: ult. A:	30
nihzunḥ, ti- "they, ye (will) see him"	nidalunḥ "they (will) raise him"	nistunun, B: naštunun "they (will) seduce them"	
tišrunḥ "ye (will) untie him"			

	Pe.	Pa.	Af.
	nimṭunḥ "they (will) reach him"		
	nitlunḥ "they (will) hang him"		
5	Exceptionally: tibinu (var. tibiunuia) "ye (will) build her" (MG 289:11f.)		

10 § 234. Imperative

a) Classical forms:

	Pe.	Pa.	Af.
	Sg.: 'unian " <i>responde mibi!</i> "	dalian " <i>erige me!</i> "	ahuian " <i>demonstra mibi!</i> "
15	hziḥ " <i>vide eum!</i> "	hauian (Gy 145:1, 161:2)	atian " <i>apporta me!</i> " (as pa.)
	buiia " <i>quaere eum!</i> "	hauian (Gy 161:14, 162:19) " <i>demonstra mibi!</i> "	atiḥ " <i>apporta eum!</i> " (as pa.)
			ašqih "give him drink"
	Pl.: huziun (var. hzun , Q. 74b:28) " <i>vi- dete me!</i> "	kasiun " <i>occultate me!</i> "	ašquia (var. ašquiua by a mere dittography) " <i>dare ei bibere!</i> "
20	huziua (with poor varr.) " <i>videte eum!</i> "	kasiua " <i>occultate eum!</i> "	
		hauiuia " <i>demonstrate eum!</i> "	amṭuia " <i>adducite eum!</i> "
		at(i)uia " <i>apportate eum!</i> "	
25	šuriun " <i>solvite me!</i> "		
	'uniun " <i>respondete mibi!</i> "		
	rumiua (var. ru- muia) " <i>iacite eum!</i> "		
30	buiuia " <i>quaerite eum!</i> "		
	hzunin " <i>videte eas!</i> "		

b) Pa.:

Sg.: 2. *qamšadrāte* “thou sendest me”

cf. **lamkašata** (Morg. 284:6) *læ-mʕalšāta* “don’t put it out!”

1. *qamšaderna* “I send thee” (cf. cl. **mparqinum** “I save them”) **ana**
5 **qmalipnak** (Morg. 284:6) “I shall teach thee”

c) Af.

Sg.: 2. *qamabwiyāte* “thou showest me”

1. *q(ə)mabwīna* “I show thee” (cf. cl. **mašqinun** “I give them drink”

Pl.: 2. *qamabwettonne* (or *qamabewtonne*) “ye show me”

- 10 1. *qamabewnānaχ* “we show thee”.

In the classical there are also passive participles with encl. personal pronouns used with accusative personal suffixes; **lgiṭnak** (Gs 133:7) “I hold thee” (aside from the act. **lgiṭnak**); **mkasainak** (Gs 133:4, var. C: **mka-sinak**) “I cover myself with thee” etc.

- 15 d) *Infinitives with Personal Suffixes* (only in the classical)³⁴².

§ 236. The infinitive ending **-ia** is dropped before the suffix. The infinitives of pa. and af. keep their *ūšenna* before sg. suffixes, but they drop it before pl. suffixes. In the infinitive af. the *ūšenna* is, as a rule, replaced by an *aksa* before pl. suffixes³⁴³.

	Pe.	Pa. (including ethpa.)	Af.
	mikibšan “my defeat”	barukak “to bless thee”	apuqan “to bring me
	miširian “untying me”	iaqurak “honouring	out”
	miširiḥ “letting him	thee”	ašṭuian “seducing me”
	(her) dwell”	šabuhak “praising thee”	anhurḥ “giving him
25	mihizian “seeing me”	qaiumak “raising thee”	light”
	mihiziḥ “seeing him,	miqaiminkun “raising	asuqḥ “making him
	her”	you”	ascend”

³⁴² MG § 212.

³⁴³ In this point, Mandaic differs from Talmudic, in which the **l**, as a rule, remains before pl. suffixes (cf. MG, p. 293 n. 4).

Pe.	Pa. (including ethpa.)	Af.
mihzikun “seeing you”	(mi)naṭuriḥ (with poor	Imanhirinkun “to give
mihzinun “seeing	varr.) “guarding him”	you light”
them”	mitaqninun “to equip	asqin‘n (Gs 140:12)
miniṭirḥ, miniṭriḥ “gu-	them”	“making them (: <i>east</i>)
arding him”	bahtinun “bringing	ascend”
midirḥ “carrying him”	them to shame”	(m)aprišinun “teaching
miṣibḥ “baptizing him”	malpinun “teaching	them”
mitriṣinkun “erecting	them (as af.)	mašqinun “giving them
you”	mišaninun “removing	drink”
miklinhun “eating	them”	10
them”	mišauinun “making	
	them”	

e) ܐܘܠܐ³⁴⁴

§ 237. ܐܘܠܐ is an original substantive expression of existence (cf. Syr. *īlyā* 15 “*ens*”, “*principium*”, “*substantia*”). As to **‘(i)tia** (Q 55:29 = ML 134:8 etc.), Nöldeke³⁴⁵ rejected its explanation by the mentioned Syriac word and explained it as ܐܘܠܐܘܠܐ coming. This explanation was suggested to ihm by the circumstance that the word is often used with the verb **ata** “he came”. However, the explanation rejected was rightly supported by Lidzbarski³⁴⁶, who 20 translates **l‘tia d-ata** (ML 134:8) “to the Being, which came”; **atalḥ l‘tia** (ML 220:10, 221:1) “he came into existence”; **ata ‘tia d-hiia** (Gy 375:21) “the Living Being has come” etc. The frequent designation of supernatural beings as **‘(i)tia** justifies this concept.

This original substantive is used with personal suffixes as an expression 25 of existence “there is” in all Semitic languages³⁴⁷. Its shorter graphical form is **‘t**, **‘it**; with the negative particle **la** it is contracted to **lait** “there is not”. Shorter forms **‘t**, neg. **lit** are used with enclitics. The forms **ait-** and **lait-** are used with personal suffixes.

³⁴⁴ MG § 213.³⁴⁵ MG, p. 294: footn.³⁴⁶ ML, p. 134 n. 1; Ginza p. 403 n. 4.³⁴⁷ Cf. D. H. Müller, Das Substantivum verbale, OSt II, pp. 781 ff.

§ 238. α) Classical forms:

a) With enclitics

Sg.: 1.	'tbia 'tlia	} "I have" (: <i>est mibi</i>)	Pl.: 1.	'tban 'tlan	} "we have"
5	litbia litlia	} "I have not"		litban litlan	} "we have not"
2.	'tbak 'tlak	} "thou hast"		2. *'tbaikun 'tlaikun*	} "ye have"
10	litbak litlak	} "thou hast not"		*litbaikun litlaikun	} "ye have not"
3.	'tbh 'tlh	} "he has"		3. 'tbun 'tlun	} "they have"
	litbh litlh	} "he has not"		litbun litlun	} "they have not"

15 b) With personal suffixes

Sg.: 1.	aitan "I am" laitan "I am not"	Pl.: 1.	aitinun "we are" (a poor var. aitinin)
2.	aitak "thou art" laitak "thou art not"	2.	aitinkun "ye are"
20 3.	aiṯh "he is" laiṯh "he is not"	3.	aitinhun "they are"

No pl. forms with **lait-** occur.

c) **'t** and **lit** are contracted with **-ka** "there" to **'ka**, **aka** (= Talm. א"כא) and **lika**, **l'ka** (= Talm. ל"כא). The form **'ka** is more usual than **aka**, which is used especially after the interrogative particle **mi-**, **m'-** in **miaka**, **m'iaka** and even **maka** "*num existit?*". The compound **aka**, **'ka** is never used with personal suffixes in the classical (differently from mod. Mandaic, where its use with suffixes is very frequent, s. β b, c).

*) After the interrogative particle **m'-**, even **atlaikun** was used, cf. **m'iatlaikun** (Gs 57: 13, aside from **m'tlaikun**, **m'tlaikun**) "*num est vobis?*"

β) Mod. forms

a) With the encl. *l*:

Sg.:	1. <i>ehle</i> "I have" (: <i>est mihi</i>)	<i>lehle</i> "I have not" (: <i>non est mihi</i>)	
	2. m. <i>ehlaχ</i> "thou hast"	<i>lehlaχ</i> "thou hast not"	
	f. <i>ehleχ</i>	<i>lehleχ</i>	5
	3. <i>ehli</i> "he has"	<i>lehli</i> "he has not"	
	f. <i>ehla</i> "she has"	<i>lehla</i> "she has not"	
Pl.:	1. <i>ehlan</i> "we have"	<i>lehlan</i> "we have not"	
	2. m. <i>ehloχon</i> "you have"	<i>lehloχon</i> "you have not"	
	f. <i>ehleχen</i>	<i>lehleχen</i>	10
	3. <i>ehli</i> "they have"	<i>lehli</i> "they have not"	

The cl. ***tlh** *eθli*, **litl** *leθli* is now pronounced *ehli*, *lehli*, according to § 36h³⁴⁸. Nevertheless, an original pronunciation *leθli* is still used in *ab leθli menda* (§ 3), where it might have been preserved traditionally.

b) ***ka** *ekka*, **lika** *lekka*.

15

The word ***t**, ***it** has lost its independent life, and can be used only with the encl. *l* in the forms quoted above (s. α). However, the compound *ekka*, *lekka* is used both independently and with suffixes.

The same *ekka* is used both affirmatively and interrogatively: "there is" and "is there?" without any further interrogative particle. A distinction 20 between these two uses is easy in the speech, where it depends merely on the tone of the voice, but it may encounter difficulties in the script, where there is absolutely no indication whether it is affirmative or interrogative.

c) ***ka** *ekka*, **lika** *lekka* with suffixes.

The words *ekka* and *lekka*, used with suffixes, become *ext-*, *lext-*. I can 25 only explain the *t* of these forms by a progressive assimilation of sonority of the encl. *d* (cf. § 106b): **ekde* > **ekte* > *exte* (§ 20 k). This enclitic, used otherwise only with substantives, proves a substantival use of ***t**, ***ka**, so that the forms could be interpreted as "my being" etc.

³⁴⁸ An interesting comparison is offered by Mehri, where this verbal substantive is used with personal suffixes as *lebo* "I am not", *lebet* "thou art not", *lebe* "he is not" etc, cf. Müller, OSt II, pp. 783 f.

Sg.:	1. <i>eχte</i> “I am”	<i>leχte</i> “I am not”
	2. m. <i>eχtax</i> “thou art”	<i>leχtax</i> “thou art not”
	f. <i>eχtex</i>	<i>leχtex</i>
	3. m. <i>eχtī</i> “he is”	<i>leχtī</i> “he is not”
5	<i>eχta</i> “she is”	<i>leχta</i> “she is not”
Pl.:	1. <i>eχtan</i> “we are”	<i>leχtan</i> “we are not”
	2. m. <i>eχtoχon</i> “you are”	<i>leχtoχon</i> “we are not”
	f. <i>eχtexen</i>	<i>leχtexen</i>
	3. <i>eχtū</i> “they are”	<i>leχtū</i> “the are not”

- 10 d) All forms above can only be used as the present tense. The past and future are formed with with help of HUA “to be”. Ex.: (*læ*)*howīt* “I was (not)”, (*læ*)*qbawīna* “I shall (not) be”, (*læ*)*howalle* “(non) *fuit mihi*”, (*læ*)*qbawīle* “(non) *erit mihi*”.

IV. Essentials of Syntax

*Preliminary Remarks*¹

§ 239. It is obvious that in a language, in which there are so many homonyms and homograms, and in which many, originally different grammatical forms became identical, syntax is of greatest importance. It can appear for example from the question of whether **npaq** means **קפֿקֿ**, or **קֿפֿקֿ**, or **קֿפֿקֿ**,⁵ or whether **ba** means **בֿאֿ**, or **בֿאֿ**, whether **bun** means **בֿונֿ** as pf. or imperative pe., or **בֿוןֿ** “in them” etc. The frequent occurrence of identical forms sometimes makes an interpretation of texts extremely hard. Only the context can tell us, whether **bit** is used as a noun “house”, or as a verbal form “I wanted”, or as a preposition “between” or “toward”, whether the preposition **mn** means “from”, or “with”, or “against” (§ 281) etc. 10

In general, the confusion is greater in the classical than in mod. Mandaic, where *nefaq* = **קֿפֿקֿ**, *nefaqyōn* = **קֿפֿקֿ**, and *nefaqyān* = **קֿפֿקֿ** are always clearly distinguished by full endings, the disappearance of the preposition **b** prevents all kinds of confusion among the forms of the verb *b'ā*, and other 15 precisions took place (*abit* “I wanted” can be hardly confused with *bēθ* “house”, the preposition *men* > *mə* can mean “against” only after an expression of disagreement, anger etc.). In addition to this, mod. Mandaic being a colloquial language, the tone of the voice and phonetic distinction between homograms (e. g. imperat. sg. masc. *dohol* and fem. *duhūl*, having 20 both the same graphical form **dhul**, § 197f.) relieves us from a difficult analysis of the sentence, which must often be done in the classical.

The importance of syntax in cl. Mandaic was fully understood by Nöldeke, to whom we owe a detailed syntactic description of this language, comprising about half of his Mandaic Grammar. I limit myself, therefore, to the essentials 25 of the cl. syntax, comparing it with the modern, and referring the reader to Nöldeke's Grammar for details of the former.

¹ MG § 214.

A. PARTS OF SPEECH

1. Noun²

a) Gender³

§ 240. The interrogative pronouns **ma** mod. *mo* "what?" (*muyye* "what is the matter?"; *mo ekeka* "what is there?") and **man** mod. *man* "who?" (*manye* "who is?") are, as a rule, used as masc.: **man randidh** (Jb 3:2) "who stirred him?", **man rim(i)h** (Jb 3:2f) "who threw him?" etc., mod. *man eβdi* "who did it?"; but cl. **ma** often as fem.: **ma d-huat** (Gy 278:15f) "that which was", **ma d-amart mqaima** (Gy 235:4) "what (ever) thou sayest happens",
10 mod. *mo* always masc.: *mo howā* "what was?", *mo eβedye* "what happened?" etc.

§ 241. The neuter is sometimes substituted by the feminine⁴: **ṭabta** (Gy 106:5 etc.) "*bonum*" (var. **ṭabuta** "*bonitas*"), **qadmaita** (Gy 278:14f.) "*primum*", **batraita** (Ibid.) "*ultimum*" **bqadmaita** (Gy 278:3) "at first" ("*primo*"), **kulhin šapirata** (Gy 217:4) "*omnia pulchra*" (Nöld.) etc. The fem. form of the demonstrative **haza** is used for "*hoc*". Fem. in st. abs.: **nibia d-napša ukbira 'lak** (Gs 66:17) "*petimus quod est multum et magnum apud Te*". With the verb in fem.: **akandit d-'tita lahuat** (Gy 249:23) "*nondum fuit quod est futurum*". But sometimes, the same function might have been taken over by the masc., as in **ia apkia halia lmarira umarira lhalia** (Gy 176:16) "*O, vertentes dulce in amarum et amarum in dulce*". The rule and its exceptions are then the same as in Syriac.

b) Status Absolutus and Emphaticus⁵

§ 242. The st. emph. lost its original function, the determination, and became a normal type of the noun as in Syriac. The substantives and attri-

² MG § 215.

³ Ibid. § 215 a.

⁴ Ibid., p. 299:18 ff.

⁵ MG § 216—§ 217.

butive adjectives are, as a rule, in the st. emph., but the predicative adjective is in the st. abs.

St. abs. used predicatively: **nšiba nišubtak** (often) “thy plant is planted”; **hiia zakin** “Life is victorious” and **qaiamin hiia bškinatun** “Life is constant in His dwellings” (both very frequent)⁶. As to adjectives ending in **-aia**, their st. abs. seems to be identical with the st. emph.: **man mn man qadmaia umraurab** (Gy 193:5) “*quis quo est prior et maior?*” (Nöld.); **ḏ-qudam hiia zakaia hu** (Gy 275:13) “which is clean before Life” etc.⁷. The ending **-ia** of predicative adjectives can be considered either as a sg. ending (*i*)*ye*, or as a facultative ending of the st. abs. masc. pl. instead of **-in** (§ 26b). In the same way, the ending **-a** can be either a normal ending of the st. abs. sg., or a replacement of the fem. pl. ending **-an** (§ 26b).

But there are cases, in which a predicative adjective is in the st. emph. Some of them may result from confusion of genders: **taqna uminihra rqiha** (Gy 31:20) “the firmament is clear and shiny” (cf. § 160e); **atra 'I atra napla** (Gy 50:21) “a land is falling upon another” (cf. *ibid.*); **hazin nišma ḏ-manu ḏ-haizin bnina umbanana iatib** (Gs 114:10) “whose soul is this, which is sitting so edified and cultivated?” (§ 162a). In **bhira ana** (Gy 275:10), **ṭaba hu** (Gy 3:9, 10), **haia hu** (Gy 3:8) and similar phrases the st. emph. has a special function: “I am the chosen one”, “He is the Good One”, “He is the Living One”⁸.

Nevertheless some cases must be considered as completely irregular: **gabra ḏ-šapira** (Gy 142:15) “the man, who is nice”, where one would expect *šapir(-ye)* (§ 105b); **ḏ-šapira dmuth unahirta** (Gy 142:5) “whose form is beautiful and shiny” (instead of **nahira**)⁹.

The predicative adjective is, as a rule, in the st. abs.: with HUA as an auxiliary verb **kul mindam šapir hauia** (Gy 392:4) “everything will be allright”, but the st. emph. can be used as well¹⁰.

The same rules are observed in mod. Mandaic. Attributively: **gaβrā šəβīra** “a good man”; predicatively: **gaβrā šəβīrye** “the man is good”. Fem. attributively: **eθθā šβirtā** “a good woman”; predicatively: **eθθā šβirtī** “the woman is good”. With inanimate objects attributively: **mendī šβirī** “a good thing”;

⁶ Further examples in MG, p. 306:5 ff.

⁷ MG, p. 306:20 ff.

⁸ MG, p. 307:23 f.

⁹ MG, p. 307:20.

¹⁰ Examples for both in MG, p. 308:5 ff.

predicatively: *abā menda šβīrye* “this thing is good”. With HUA or *εχt-: atton rab εχtoχon u læ-bonin hawetton* “you are great, (you are) not little”; but when HUA is omitted: *atton rab εχtoχon u læ bonina* “you are great and not little” (st. emph. sg., although the subject is pl.).

5 § 243. The st. abs. is further used with the following categories of words:

1. Proper names and words used as proper names: *šamiš* “Sun”, *bil* “Jupiter”, *nirig* “Mars”, (*’*)*nbu* “Mercury” (with no st. emph.), *sin* “Moon” (as proper name of the planet, or planet-god) etc. But *šamiš* has a sporadic st. emph. *šamša* which might originally be used as appellative. The appellative
10 for “moon”, *sira*, occurs only in the st. emph. in the classical; the mod. st. abs. *ser* is recent.

Here belong also cl. *tibil* (= H. תִּבְל) “*orbis terrarum*” (still used in the compound *artiβel*, § 152h end): (*’*)*šiuł* (= אֱשׂוּל) and *guhnan* (= מְגִנָּה, Ar. *ğabannam*) as designations of the underworld; *gargul* “celestial sphere”;
15 (*’*)*mrum* (Gs 78:6) lit. “height” as a designation of the sky. (All of them are loan-words.)

2. Principles and elements only facultatively: *nhur* (Gy 194:4) “light”, *ziu* (Gy 241:1, 294:20) “splendour”, *hšuk* “darkness”, *mai* (Gy 204:22, Jb 79:13 etc.) “water”; the st. emph. *nhura*, *ziua*, *hšuka*, *mia* is more frequent.

20 3. In distributive repetitions: *zan zan* (Gy 268:16 etc.) “of various kinds”, *ḏ-’guan guan* (Jb 155:1), *bguan guan* (Jb 276:3) id. (= P. *ğūnā-ğūn*); *bdgur dgur* (Gy 106:18) “in heaps”, *lbuš ‘l lbuš* (Gy 274:4) “garment over garment”; *šbu šbu* (Gy 116:23) “whatever”; *mn riš briš* (very frequent) “entirely”, “completely” (= P. *aš sar tā sar*), “from ever to ever”,
25 *atar atar* (Gy 6:13 etc. frequent) “various places” *ium bium* (Gy 138:14 etc.) “day by day”, *šna bšna* (Gy 273:10) “year by year”, *bmdin mdin* (Gy 29:21 etc.) “city after city”.

There are, however, many distributive repetitions, in which both words are in the st. emph.: *hda hda* (Gy 98:9) “one by one”, *iahra biahra* (Gy
30 273:11) “month by month”, *iuma biuma* (Gy 388:13) “daily” (apart from the expression quoted above), *atra ‘l atra* (Gy 50:21) “from place to place”, “every place” (aside from the st. abs. quoted above), *mn mdinta lmdinta umn mata lmata* (Gy 388:8) “from city to city and from country to country” (apart from the more frequent *mdin mdin* above).

Here belong the expressions **mn smal liamin** (Gy 214:25) "from left to right", **mn zban u'dan lalalam** (Gy 7:3) "from ever to ever" (less usual than **mn riš briš** above)¹¹. In **maṭia zban u'dan umaṭia 'dana uzibna** (Gs 76:15) the nouns in the st. abs. are repeated in the st. emph. for the sake of emphasis. This is often done in mod. Mandaic wich in general follows the cl. rules. "Day by day" is *yūm qayūm* or *yūm qayūmā*. Šābūrī declared *yūmā qayūmā* as inadmissible, in spite of the cl. **iuma biuma** (above) as well as the mod. *šedā qašedā* "year by year" (given by Šābūrī himself).

4. After **kul** "all" only facultatively: **kul ium** or **kul iuma** (both often together) "every day", **mn kul zan** (Gy 380:14) "of every kind", **lkul atar** (Gy 4:6) "to every place"; but **kul tarmida** (often in rituals) "every priest". Mod.: *kol yūm* or *kol yūma* "every day", *kol dok* or *kol dokka* "every place", *kol gūr* "all kind"; but *kol homaryāṭa* "all rosary beads" (not **humria homri** as in the classical); cf. further *gišdī koχβāna* or *koχβāna gišdū* "all stars", but *artiβel gišdī* "the whole world" (s. 1).

5. In negative expressions, the st. abs. is used with less consistency in the classical than in mod. Mandaic: **iama ḡ-larab ulašāša ulamabarta** (Gy 382:3) "sea with no ferry (st. abs. of **arba** < ארבע), no raft (Syr. st. emph. *ašāšā*; var. B: **lašāš** st. abs.) and no ford (st. emph.)"; **ruḥšana balma litlia** (Gy 367:7ff.) "I have no hope in the world" (where one would expect **ruḥšan**). Here belongs also the frequent **litlh hasir ubšir** "there is on him nothing imperfect and deficient". The expression **hasir ubšir** is often used with negation to indicate a total absence of defect as a quality of beings of Light. When the expression became popular, it was then used unchanged even without negation, as in **mitmilkia 'i hasir ubšir** (Gy 74:14f.) "they deliberate the deficiency", **palguia lkulh hasir ubšir** (Gy 112:20f.) "they divided the whole deficiency". In **ptahil ziu hasir unhur psiq** (Gy 194:9 etc.) "Ptahil missing splendour and cut off from light", the st. abs. **ziu** and **nhur** depend on the negative or limitative expressions, although they could be explained by section 2. **hasir** and **psiq** might have been influenced by **hasir ubšir**. Otherwise, they could be explained by section 8 of this paragraph.

¹¹ Cf. also **mn lalam** (Gy 274:14) "from ever", which might be influenced by the frequent **lalam almia** "per (omnia) saecula saeculorum" if not by the Syr. 'alam, which is frequent with the meaning of "eternity" (while 'alma means only "world" as in Mandaic).

Mod. usage: *Parāba balle* — *parāb lehle* “give me money (st. emph.) I have no money (st. abs.)”; *hīč mendī leblī* “he has nothing” (where *mendī* substitutes the st. abs. of *mendā*).

6. In adverbial expressions, esp. those formed with prepositions: **bpum** (Gs 75:15) “orally”; **bšlam** (Gy 191:15) “in peace”; **bṭabu** (Gy 274:10 etc.) “with goodness”, “kindly” (Gy 104:15, 16 parallel with **bṭabuta**); **bzaku** (Gy 284:21 etc.) “victoriously”. **ʾI atar** (Gs 94:22) “in the place”, **bdalil** (Gs 91:23, 24) “in discomfiture”, **bqalil** (Gy 156:15) “quickly”, **mn qdim** “formerly”, **mn riš** “again” (: P. *az sar*, Ital. *da capo*, Fr. *derechef*); in the idiomatic expression: **asiq lriš** “he completed”, “he achieved”, **tisaq lriš** “it (fem.) was achieved” (both frequent in lists of copyists.¹²; **bnpiš** “much”; **npiš bnpiš** (Gy 237:15) and **iatir biatir** (Ibid.:16) “very much” recall distributive repetitions (s. 3); **lalam** (s. 3 & n. 11) etc. In the prepositional expression **lbit** “towards” **bit** originally was a st. cstr. (“to the house of”), but it was then used in cases, where there is no question of a house at all.

In mod. Mandaic almost all expressions quoted above disappeared, and the st. emph. is used in adverbial expressions: *genzā* “much”, *kerehwā* “quickly”, *qabēṭa* “at home”, *qayūma* “at daytime”, *lilyā u-yūma* “night and day”¹³, but *ā pēn* “this evening” (st. abs. in spite of the determination by the demonstrative *ā* “this”¹⁴; nevertheless, in *eṭmāl pēna* “last evening” and *perša pēna* “next evening” the st. emph. is used.

7. Expressions with an indefinite meaning “somebody”, “something”: **plan** “a certain” (but its fem. **planita** “*quaedam*” is a st. emph. as in Syriac); **niš** “somebody”; **šbu** (Gy 45:20 etc.) “something”, **kul šbu** “everything”, with negation “nothing”, but **kul šbuta** (Gy 297:11) “all things”; **zan** “a kind” (mod. *ḡūr*) etc. Mod. *mendī* “something” is to be considered as a substitute for the st. abs. of *menda*.

8. Sometimes, the st. abs. is still used with undetermined nouns. But this fact is of no great consequence since, on the other hand, we find the st. abs. even there where a st. emph. would be expected:

¹² Cf. P. *be-sar burdan*, *be-sar āmadan* MG, p. 303 n. 3.

¹³ Different from Syr. *laylay imām* $\nu\chi\theta\eta\mu\epsilon\rho\nu$, Nöldeke, Syrische Grammatik, p. 419:19.

¹⁴ Cf. similar Syr. expressions of time with a demonstrative followed by a noun in the st. abs., Nöldeke, Syr. Grammatik, p. 149, s. K.

a) With undetermined nouns: **din** (Gs 26:16, but **dina** Gy 229:7) “a judgement”, **gbar kšīṭ** (Gy 275:18 etc., mod. *ye barnāšī šβīrī*) “a true man” **atar zadiq** (Gs 123:24) “a righteous place”, **atar ksia** (often) “a hidden place” (left purposely undetermined for the sake of emphasis, although it is, in fact, determined)¹⁵. **hriḡ laqu hakim lbiš** (Gy 186:12) “*versatus in horrore, prudens in malo*” and ***šba bsar** (§ 39b) form a transition to b). **ṭab** “bonum” and **biš** “*malum*” occur often in the st. abs.¹⁶. In mod. Mandaic the use of the status seems to be completely free.

b) St. abs. instead of the st. emph.¹⁷: **bit šihun** (Gy 180:21) “desert” (in spite of Syr. *bēl šahwānā*, Dt. 8:15, and צהרונג ב, Targ. ibid.); **dbar šadia** (Gy 179:11) “the void field”; **ariblḡ lṭabu bbiš** (Gy 112:14) “*miscet bonum cum malo*” (cf. above s. a); **gbar nukraia** (Gy 81:14) “the strange man”; ***šṭun kasia** (Gy 372:7) “the hidden column”; **zan hazazban zriz hliš mlik rugza** (Gy 181:17, 208:14) “Z.-H., the armed, bold king of wrath”; **tangara nṭir hliš mzaraz** (Gy 273:4) “the safeguarded, brave, armed merchant”. **marguš** “unrest” occurs mostly in the st. abs., but there is a sporadic st. emph. **marguša** (Jb. 153:5) overlooked by Nöldeke. About the frequent **hasir ubšir** cf. above s. 5.

9. Some common nouns of foreign origin have no st. emph.: **aiar** (Syr. *ā'ar* < ἄήρ) “ether”; **apsus** (Gy 213: ult.) = P. *afsūs* “jest”; **auar** (Gy 387:7) = P. *āwar* “destruction”; **qalazar** (Gy 386:19) < P. *kārṣār* “fight”¹⁸; **hand(a)šman, hanšamin, hanšiman** (and other varr., Gy 390:12, 392:17) = Pāzend *hanšaman*, P. *aṅṅuman* “meeting”. The Arabic and Persian loan-words in mod. Mandaic have, as a rule, no st. abs.

10. St. abs. pl. is rare: **tušbihan** (often in liturgical texts) “praises”; **kudkin** (Gs 84:10A) as a var. of **kudkia** (boundary stones). About **alihin** (var. **alihun**, Gy 185:16), pronounce *alihan*, and **mariuan** (Gy 185:16, 222:19) cf. § 51a. The phrase **alaha alihan umara mariuan** (still used in epistolary style) presents just the contrary of what one would expect¹⁹.

¹⁵ MG, p. 302:25 f.

¹⁶ MG, p. 302:23.

¹⁷ MG, p. 303 ff.

¹⁸ MG, p. 305 with n. 3.

¹⁹ In Syriac there is *alāb alābin*, but *mārē mārwātā*. There is another Syriac expression similar to the former: *ḥed' alādm* = עבד עבד'ים, Gen. 9:25, cf. Nöldeke, Syrische Grammatik, p. 149.

c) Genitive Expressions²⁰.

§ 244. The st. cstr. is used more often than in Syriac. Esp. in colloquial Mandaic where the cl. relative **ḏ**- died out, the st. cstr. is the most appropriate way of expressing a genitive relation. In spite of this, it is often replaced by the st. abs. or emph.

a) Examples of the st. cstr. in the classical are very numerous. In the masc. pl. it became formally identical with the st. emph. Masc. sg.: **atar nhur** (frequent) "place of Light", **qal numbia** (Gy 6:19) "the voice of lamentations", **ṣubian maraikun** (Gy 21:8) "the will of your Lord" (immediately beside **ṣubianḥ ḏ-saṭana** "the will of the Satan"), **kul ruh siṭia** (Gy 177:20) "each spirit of seduction", **ṣauar kumria** (Gy 174:9) "the neck of (pagan) priests", **bit hda ardba** (Gy 392:18) "content of an *ardab*", **ṣum aba ubra uruha ḏ-quḏša** (Gy 226:9) "the name of Father, Son and the Holy Ghost" etc.; even compounds as **bildbaba** "enemy", **bildina** "accuser" (§ 152a).
 15 With **bit** : **bit qubria** "cemetery" etc., and even compounds as **bisadia**, **bimanda** (§ 152b). Compounds with **br** (ibid. c), with **riš** (ibid. d) etc. With abstract nouns and names of material (which can often be translated by an adjective): **qamar zahba** (Gs 122:14) "the golden girdle", **kitun pagria** (Gs 80:19) "the corporal cloth" (i. e. "the body"); **klil pirša uzaniuta**
 20 (Gy 209:5) "the crown of lechery and prostitution", **kinar šiha** (Gy 187:18) "lute of lust".

The st. cstr. as a determinative before a proper name is rare: **ṭur karmia** (Gy 92:6) "Mount Carmel", but **ṭura ḏ-sinai** (Gy 45:15f.) "Mount Sinai", **ṭura ḏ-midai** (HG, l. 6 etc.) "the Median hills" etc.

25 Participles and adjectives: **nasib šuda** (Gy 258:16) "who takes a bribe"; **zuṭ ahḥ uqašiš abahath** (Gy 191:9) "the littlest of his brothers and the oldest of his fathers", **iatir almia** (Gy 285:4, Gs 26:10) "prominent among the beings", **bhir zidqa** = ἐκλεκτὸς τῆς δικαιοσύνης; **šabiḥ haṭaiia** (very often) "forgiving of sins" (lit. "forgiver of, sins") etc.

30 Masc. pl.: **'ubadia 'da** (Gy 173:19) "works of (our) hands" (for **'dan**), **maria alma kulḥ** (Gy 385:14) "lords of the whole world". With abstr. nouns (usually translated by an adjective): **klilia busma** (Gy 234:4) "fragrant crowns", **lilbia hadua** (Gy 310:13) "joyful hearts", **ṣṭunia šrara** (Gs 85:15) "columns of truth", "strong columns" etc. In the very frequent **mia hiia**

²⁰ MG §§ 218—225.

“the living water” **hiia** is an adjective (Syr. *mayyē hayyē*) not a genitive (Syr. *may hayyē*). This is sufficiently proved by **mia hiia urauzia** (Gy 318:24) “the living and exulting water” as well as by the frequent **mia hiuaria** “white water”, **mia siauia** “black water”, **mia tahmia** “turbid water”, but esp. by Nöldeke’s example: **mia anatum hiia** (Q 22:8) “*aqae estis vivae*”²¹ (not “*vitae*” which would be **ḡ-hiia**, cf. § 245 c).

Participles and adjectives: **rahmia šumḥ** (Gy 188:22) “those who love his name”, **ramzia rimzia** (Gy 66:1) “those who give (secret) winks”, **sbiria hukmta** (Gs 83:24) “versed in wisdom”; the frequent **bhiria zidqa** (cf. above) and **bhiria kušta** (Gy 299:14) ἐκλεκτοὶ τῆς ἀλήθειας etc. 10

Fem. sg.: **rahmut marḥ** (Gy 16:10) “the love of his Lord” etc. With abstr. nouns: **‘iut malkuta** (Gy 178:3) “king’s power”, **g’uat ‘qara** (Gy 71:3) “splendour of glory” etc.

The st. cstr. can be separated from its complement by a preposition: **hriḡ laqu hakim lbiš** (§ 243:8 a). 15

b) Status absolutus or emphaticus instead of the status absolutus. This construction is used alternatively, esp. with certain categories of nouns, such as **dmu** “kind of” > “like, as”: **kul dmu hiua biša** (Gy 123:11) “all kinds of evil animal”, **kul dmu saina** (Gy 117:5 etc.) “all kind of abominable thing”, **dmu tuqna** (Gy 67:23) “something straight”, **dmu zma** (Gy 298:5) “like blood”, **ldmu mia** (Gs 119:18) “to a kind of water”, **dmu šamiš** (ibid.:19), **dmu sira** (ibid.:20) etc. The frequent **b(a)dmu** “in the form of” became a prepositional expression “as”, “like” (as **lbit** “toward”). But **dmu** “likeness” is in the st. cstr. in **dmu hiia** (ML 80:3 etc) “Likeness-of-Life” (which could be influenced by the similar **simat hiia** “Treasure-of-Life”) and even in **bdmut dmū ḡ-nhura** (Gy 223:1) “like the Likeness-of-Light”. Another noun, used often in the st. abs. instead of the st. cstr. is **mna** “share”, “portion”: **mna ruha umna mšiha** (Gy 228:8) “portion of Ruha and Christ” etc, but in the st. cstr. in **Imnat rbia** (Q 68:29) “the portion of the great (Life)”. Similarly **palgu** (Gs 99:18 f, 100:11) “half” and **ṭabu** “goodness” 30 in **bṭabu rbia** (Gy 32:22) “by the goodness of the great (Life)” (but st. cstr. in **lṭabut rbia** Gy 131:21 “to the goodness of the great (Life).

c) In mod. Mandaic, there are three ways of expressing a genitive relation. Most usually the first noun is in the st. cstr.: **bel ā eṯṯā** “the husband of

this woman”, *eθ ā gaβrā* “the wife of this man”, *eθ man* “whose wife?”; *hāχ eθ θā eθ manye* “whose wife is this woman?”. The second way recalls the Persian *iqāfab*: *belle ā eθ θā* “the husband of this woman”, *eθ θe hāχ gaβrā* “the wife of this man”, *dokke nafši* “his” or “its own place”. But even a st. emph. can be used: *bella ā eθ θā*, *eθ θā ā gaβrā* etc. . . . All three ways are freely used, but the first is the most appropriate and the most frequent. The second is rarer than the first. The third is rarer than the second, but it is preferred with nouns, whose st. cstr. and abs. are less usual, as *mendā* “thing”, *genzā* “treasure”, cf. *genzā kedāβāna*, or *genzā (al)kedāβān(i)* “library”, for which *genze kedāβāna* or *genχ kedāβāna* is less usual.

§ 245. With **ḏ**- (only in the classical):

a) The first noun is, as a rule, in the st. emph. or provided with a possessive suffix according to the person and number of the following noun. Only nouns whose st. emph. is rarely used or missing are in the at. abs., e. g. **l'bid ulmabad** **ḏ-anašia** (Gy 263:18) “about the works and actions of pepole” (both **l'bid** and **mabad** are used preferably in the st. abs.); **gunian ḏ-biriata** (Gy 277:8) “rebuke of creatures” (**gunian** occurs only in the st. abs.). But “in the name of Life” is used in three ways: 1. **bšum hiia**, 2. **bšuma ḏ-hiia**, 3. **bšumaihun ḏ-hiia**; the last is the most frequent. In the cases, in which a st. cstr. can be formed, and the st. emph. is used, all three usages are admissible, cf. **bšnia ḏ-piliaṭus** (Gy 53:5) “in the years of Pilate” (which would be the same without **ḏ**-) and the same noun with the possessive suffix in **bšnaihun ḏ-hanatan malkia** (Gy 387:10, 13) “in the years of those kings”. As for **arqa ḏ-miṣraia** “the land of the Egyptians” (§ 248) and similar expressions with **arqa**, only the st. emph. is admissible, since this noun has no cl. st. cstr., so that “*orbis terrarum*” occurs only in two cl. forms: **arqa ḏ-tibil** and **arqa tibil**; nevertheless, in mod. Mandaic there is only a third form with a mod. st. cstr. *artīβel*, and both cl. forms died out.

b) Personal suffixes are not used when the noun is determined by a following abstract noun or name of material: **mania ḏ-nhaša** or **mania nhaša** (Gy 181: ult f.) “copper vessels”, **mania pahra** (ibid.) “clay vessels”; **dikria ḏ-piṭma** (Gy 234:7) “fat rams”; **tauria ḏ-piṭra** (Gs 130:3) “fat oxen” (a miscopying of **tauria ḏpiṭma**); **šuria hanik ḏ-parzla** (Gy 159:9)

“*muri illi ferr(e)i*”; **bnia šurba d̄-hiia** (Gy 342:10) “sons of the stem of Life” (in spite of the frequent **bšumaihun d̄-hiia** above).

c) **d̄-** with the determinative noun can be separated from the determined noun by a personal pronoun: **br atra ana d̄-nhura** (Gy 249:12) “*filius loci sum lucis*”, **brh hu d̄-abatur** (Gs 55: ult.) “*filius est Abathuris*”, **abatur hu d̄-muzania** (Gy 348:21) “*Abatur est librae*” (Ar. *dū 'l-mīzān*)²²; **šaiada ana d̄-nišmata** (Jb. 150:5f) ὀλιεύς εἶμι τῶν ψυχῶν. The determinative noun introduced with **d̄-** can even precede the noun determined: **tiršit d̄-hiia nišubta** (Gy 328:19) “*erexi vitae plantam*”²³.

Similar phrases are very frequent in poetic parts of Mandaean books whose most specific characteristic is the repetition of the same phrases with simple permutation of words. The relative **d̄-** giving the determinative noun full freedom of position in the sentence, was an excellent means for such simple poetic tricks. This seems to be the only advantage and necessity of **d̄-** in genitive expressions. Mod. Mandaic as a simple colloquial language is far from such artificial speech which after the disappearing of **d̄-** indicating the determinative noun would hardly be possible.

d) Apposition²⁴

§ 246. Attributive adjectives are, as a rule, used after the substantive (a). Only adjectival expressions of quantity and ordinal numbers can be put either before or after the noun (b); other cases (s. c) can be considered as exceptional. The adjective is supposed to agree with the noun in gender, number and status in both the cl. and the mod. language, but the rule is often broken, and esp. the st. emph. fem. is often replaced by the st. abs (identical with the st. emph. masc.).

a) ***niš biša** (Gy 43:22) “someone bad”²⁵ (= mod. *barnāša biša*); **daura taqna** (Gy 188:11) “an Abiding Abode”; **naura rba** (ML 268:1f) “the great mirror”, **naura sqila** (Gy 215:9) “a polished mirror”; **dmuta naharta**

²² MG, p. 315f. with further examples.

²³ MG, p. 316, with further examples.

²⁴ MG §§ 223–235.

²⁵ ***niš** is used as an indefinite pronoun “*aliquis*” as well as Syr. (‘)nāš.

(Gs 69: 7) “a light-giving figure”²⁶; **dmuta mnaṭarta** (Gy 303: 13) “a guarded figure”; **anana kasita** (Q 25: 4) “a hidden cloud”; **šuta nukraitā** (Gs 20: ult.) “a strange speech”; **tirata mšalmata** (Gy 5: 8) “sound consciences”; **špia mhaimnata** (Gy 5: 10) “believing lips”; **bidata sainata** (Gy 5: 8) “detestable actions”; **nura haita** and **šata haita** (both often) “living fire”; **nura haditia** (ML 14: 8f) “a new fire”, but masc. in **nura akla** (Gy 12: 9, Jb 51: 14) “the corroding fire” (apart from a more frequent **šata kilta**); **buta taqna** (Gy 46: 8) “a steadfast prayer”; **qašta rama** (often in AM) mod. *qaštā rāma* “(a high bow =) the rainbow” etc. With possessive suff.: **bran bukrān** (Gy 155: 11) “*filius noster primogenitus*”, **brḥ bukrḥ** (often) “*filius eius primogenitus*”²⁷ etc.

In **minilta kšīta** (Gs 92: 12) “a true word”, there may be as Nöldeke²⁸ supposed — only a simplified orthography of **kšīṭta**.

In constructions such as **tušbihta šania umnakria** (Gs 43: 10) “a strange and exalted praise”, the attributive adjectives are very close to the predicative; an insertion of **ḏ-** after the substantive would give the adjectives a predicative function²⁹.

b) Adjectival expressions of quantity and ordinal numbers (before or after the substantive): **škintak napša** (Gs 44: 3) “thy broad *škina*”; **diuanan napšata** (Q 51: 5) “many diwans” (with a mod. pl. ending *-ān*, § 172a). Before the substantive (always **napša**): **napša nišmata** (Gy 303: 1) “many souls”³⁰; **napša qara** (Gy 224: 3) “much glory”. With other adjectives: **bhurintin maṭarta** (Gs 28: 4 etc) “in another house of detention” (but **bmata-arta hurintin** Gs 34: 4 etc); **tlitāia raza** (Gy 103: 9) “the third secret” etc. In all these expressions the adjective could be used after the substantive as well, cf. the frequent **hiia rurbia qadmaia** “the Great First Life”, **kušta rba qadmaia** “the Great First Kušta”, **hiia tiniania** (Gy 69: ult. etc) “the Second Life”, **hiia tlitāia** (Gy 189: 12 etc) “the Third Life” etc. In Talmudic, Syriac and other dialects **𐤎𐤓𐤕** is often used before the noun, while the Mand. **ṣagia**

²⁶ Nöldeke emendated to **dmuta nahirta** according to Jb 217: 14f. (MG, p. 317 n. 3). Nevertheless, a doublet **naharta** would be admissible as a secondary st. emph. fem. of **nahur, nahra** (cf. § 65 b).

²⁷ Consistently with a possessive suffix with both words as in Syriac (MG, p. 320 n. 1).

²⁸ MG, p. 318: 9f.

²⁹ Ibid. n. 1.

³⁰ A st. emph. **napšata** before the noun is inadmissible for the reason that it itself means “souls”, cf. **napšata haibata** (Gy 187: 10) etc.

is, as a rule, used after it, cf. the frequent **atra sagia** “the great (or “exalted”) place”, **trisuta sagia** (AM 28:4) “great rectitude” etc.

In mod. Mandaic, adjectival expressions of quantity, as a rule, follow the noun, while the adverbial expressions are more often used before but sometimes also after the noun, cf. *kedāβa rabbā* “a great book”, but *genzā kedāβān* 5 “many books”, less often *kedāβān genzā* id. Since *genzā* is of nominal origin (“treasure”), its position before the noun is more natural. But *genzā kedāβān* being still used with its original nominal meaning “library”, the form *kedāβān genza* may be considered as more expressive for “many books”; nowadays, however, the former expression with the meaning of “library” is commonly 10 replaced by *hoḡra al-kedāβāni*. *Honin* “little” is used adverbially before the noun as a st. abs. masc., adjectivally after the noun as a st. emph. agreeing with the noun in gender and number: a) adverbially: *honin kedāβāni* (*ye ḡorde kedāβāni*) “a few books”; b) adjectivally: *kedāβāni honin* “little books”. The usual position of ordinal numbers is after the noun. 15

c) Otherwise, the use of an attributive adjective before the substantive is very rare and seems to be limited only to one category: “clean”, “exempt”, “rare”, “wonderful”, “extraordinary”. This category could be considered as an extension of the preceding (s. b). Examples: **dakia rušma** (Jb. 76:9f, 77: ult. etc) “clean sign”, **dakia mimra** (ML 151:1 etc) “clean speech”; 20 **dakia burziṅqa** (Jb. 84:4, 11) “clean turban”; **šanai rušuma** (Jb. 84:5) “*mirum signum*”, **šanai iardna** (Jb. 77: paen. f.) “*mirus Iordanis*”. After the subst.: **rušumia dakiia** (Gy 152: 21) “clean signs” and **rušumak dakia** (Gy 152: 23) “thy clean sign”; **ruaha šania** (Gs 52: 20) (side by side with **šania ruaha**) “wonderful ease” etc. 25

d) An attributive adjective could be separated from the substantive: **adla niqmun bnḥ minḥ zuḥ** (Gs 6:16) “*antequam surgant filii eius ex eo parvi*”³¹ etc. There are some more examples in poetic parts of Mandaean books; there is none in mod. Mandaic.

§ 247. The appositive can precede or follow the determined noun. When, 30 however, the appositive consists of several words, it must follow: **ladugia šrigata dukta d-** (Gy 111: 7) “the heated stoves, the place of . . .” etc. Otherwise, the rules are similar to those in § 248.

³¹ MG, p. 319: 8f.

§ 248. Proper Names with Appositives

a) When the proper name is geographical, three ways of usage are admissible in the classical:

1. common noun with **d-** + proper name,
2. common noun without **d-** + proper name,
3. proper name + common noun.

1. **arqa d-babil** (Gy 385: 7 CD); 2. **arqa babil** (Ibid. AB); 3. **babil arqa** (Gy 387: 1) "the land Babel".

The last two usages (b and c) are more frequent than the first (a): **mata 'urašlam** and **'urašlam mata** "the city of Jerusalem" (both frequent); **kukba bil** (Gy 385: 10) and **bil kukba** (Gy 393: 10) "the star Jupiter" etc. However, the first usage (a) is required, when the number of the proper name is different from that of its determinative: **arqa d-mišraia** (Gy 381: 18ff.) "the land of the Egyptians", "Egypt".

b) When the appositive of a proper name consists of several words, or itself is determined by a possessive suffix, it is used, as a rule, after the proper name: **'urašlam mdinta d-iahuṭaiia** (Gy 45: 13f., 218: 24) "Jerusalem, the city of the Jews"; **iahuṭaiia iaḥṭia unipšia** (Gy 231: 5) "*Judaei, abortus et excrementa*"³²; **nhuraita zauḥ** (Gy 381: 9) "Nəhoreytha, his wife"; **lqaduš rab ab** (Gy 233: paen). "*Qādōš-i Magno, patri meo*". But a common noun determined only by a possessive suffix can even precede: **lab l'uiatan** (Gy 233: ult.) "to my father Leviathan".

When a common noun (with or without suff.) determines several proper names it is usually put before them. This is regularly done in the initial formula of lists of copyists, where **lišitlai** "to my children", **lzaui** "to my wives" ("or wife"), **lahai** "to my brothers", **lahuat** "to my sisters" precede the proper names. In such lists also sg. common nouns **lab** "to my father" and **l'm** "to my mother" precede the proper names. Cf. also **šaba labuia adakas lmana d-minḥ 'tinšib** (Gy 104: 6f.) "he praised his father Adakas-Ziwa, the Mana, by whom he was engendered" (lit. "planted").

c) In mod. Mandaic, the determinative common nouns are used freely before or after the proper names. Nāšer Šābūrī talked about his son as *ebre Nežām* or *Nežām ebre*, "my son Nezam", but always *Nežām eber Nāšer* "N. son of Nāšer", since *eber* determined by the name of the father cannot be put

³² MG 320: 11f.

before the name of the son. In the same way, *māḏa Tebrān* or *Tebrān māḏa* “the city of Teheran”, but “Teheran, the capital of Iran” would be completely Persian: *Tehrān pāytaḡt-e īrān*.

§ 249. Epitheton Constans

a) Some appositive expressions became *epitheta constantia* of certain higher beings. They always follow the proper name, which they determine. The most frequent epitheta of this kind are: **ziua** “radiance”, **‘utra** “angel”, **malka** “king”, **mana** “Mānā” etc., cf. **hibil ziua** (very often), **iauar ziua** (similarly), **shaq ziua** (Gy 314:4) etc.; **anuš ‘utra**, **ptahil ‘utra** etc.; **šišlam malka** “the genius Š., **ardban malka** (often in HG) “*rex Artabanus*” etc. Less frequent epitheta are: **pira** “fruit”, **gupna** “vine” and some others, cf. **sam pira** (CP 3: ult. etc.), **sam gupna** (CP 425:5) etc. Since they are often followed by adjectives, their position after the proper name is very convenient: **sam ziua dakia bukra habiba** (Gy 313:21, Morg. 4:9 etc.) “*Sām, splendor purus, primogenitus, amatus*”, **sam mana smira** (Gy 176:11) “*Sām, Mānā tutus*”, **sam gupna dakia** (Gy 377:21) Σᾶμ ἀμπελος ἡ καθάριος etc. Adjectival *epitheta constantia*, such as **rba** “great”, **qadmaia** “first” etc. follow the nouns as other attributive adjectives (§ 246a): **hiia rurbia qadmaia** “the Great First Life”, **adam gabra qadmaia** “A. the first man” (both often) etc. (In some prayers, **malka** as a name of a category of beings of Light, is always used before the proper names, cf. **malka anuš ‘utra**, **malka šišlam rba**, **malka iukabar rba** etc., Morg. 4ff.).

b) Some nouns acquired *epitheta constantia* by constant use with certain attributive adjectives or nouns in apposition:

1. With attributive adjectives: **ginza rba genzā rabbā** “the Great Treasure” (principal religious book of Mandaeanism, called also **sidra rba sidrā rabbā** “the Great Book”); **qašta rama** = mod. *qaštā rāmā* “the rain-bow”; cl. **hiua bira** “wild animal(s)”, **hiua bala** “domestic animal(s)” etc.

2. With a noun in apposition: **arqa tibil** mod. *artīḡel* “*orbist errarum*” (originally a genitive expression. § 152h) etc.

§ 250. Appositive of the personal pronoun: **‘lai dilia hibil ziua** (Gy 153:23) “on me, H.-Z.”; **mindilia ‘l hibil** (Gy 168:22) “*prosternit mihi, Hibil-i*”; **bdmuta dilan šlihia** (Gy 47:15) “*in figura nostra (: nostrum) apostolo-*

rum”; **ḡ-šadartlan šrara lrahmak** (Gy 66:17) “*qui misisti nobis constantiam amantibus Te*” etc.

§ 251. A frequent kind of apposition in the classical is produced by the repetition of the same noun. It is either tautological or distributive.

- 5 a) Tautological repetitions: **himiana himian mia** (Gy 320:13 etc.) “the girdle, a water-girdle”; **šita šaiia ḡ-purqana** (Gy 14:11) “the hour (< Syr. *šā’ tā*), hours (< Syr. *šā’ ē*) of separation”; **gupna ana gupan hiia** (Gy 65:21) ἄμπελος εἶμι, ἄμπελος τῆς ζωῆς; **‘dan ‘dan ḡ-rahmia maṭṭia** (Morg. 12:1f.) “the time, time of devotions is coming”; **anana anan ziua** 10 (Jb. 80: paen.) “the cloud, a cloud of radiance” etc.

b) About the distributive repetitions cf. §§ 243:3, 254. Such repetitions might sometimes be used to express a multitude or plenty: **ziqia ziqia** (Gs 7:5, 8:7) “winds, winds”, **‘udamia ‘udamia** (Ibid.) “storms, storms”.

- c) A distributive repetition can be prevented by words, which themselves 15 have a distributive function: **uarbaia had lhabrḥ napil** (Gy 385:6) “and the Arabs will fall upon each other” etc.³³ In the colloquial, similar constructions often replace distributive repetitions, cf. *kol had enfel el yekī tom* “each one fell upon another” > “they fell upon each other”.

e) Construction of **kul**³⁴

- 20 § 252. **kul** “all” can be used either independently or as a determinative. It is always in the st. abs.; a st. emph.³⁵ does not occur in Mandaic³⁶.

As an independent direct object: **kul abad** (Gy 269:2) “he made all”, mod. *kol eβad* “he made all”. As a subject, it is completed by **mindam: kul mindam šapir hauia** (Gy 392:4) = mod. *kol menda šβir qabāwī* “every- 25 thing is nice”, since ***kul šapir hauia** = mod. *kol šβir eχtī* would mean “he is entirely nice”. In colloquial Mandaic it is often used in the form *kolleš* (< Ar. *kullu šay’in*).

³³ MG, p. 321, with further examples.

³⁴ MG § 226.

³⁵ As B.-Aram. and Targ. כָּלֵךְ, Syr. and Chr. Pal. *kullā*, corresponding to H. כָּלֵךְ.

³⁶ MG, p. 323 n. 2.

A transition from the independent use to the determinative is represented by expressions such as **kul d-** “all that”, “whatever”, “whoever”; **kul man d-** “whoever”; **kul mindam d-** and **kul mud d-** (with a pleonastic **d**) “whatever”.

As a determinative adjective: **kul ium(a)** “every day”; **kul had** “each one”; **kul 'niš** and even **kul kul 'niš** (Gy 356:23) “everybody” etc. With pl.: **kul humria** (mod. *kol homaryāṭha*) “all amulet spirits” (“all rosary beads”), **kul 'nšia** (Gy 230: ult.) “all women”, **kul aṭšia ubazrania** (Gy 339:10) “all fruits and seeds” etc. But when the noun is in pl., **kul** is more often used with the possessive suff. of the 3rd p. pl.: **almia kulhun** and **kulhun almia** “all worlds”, “all beings” etc.; separated from the noun: **babia d-qra ruha kulhun** (Gy 120:2) “*portae (: sectae), quas Rūba evocaverat, omnes*”. With suff. of other persons of pl.: **kulan** and **kulaian** “all of us”, **kulaikun** (fem. **kulaikun**) “all of you”; with the 3rd p. pl. independently: **kulhun** “*omnes ei*”, **kulhin** “*omnes eae*”.

With the suff. of the 3rd p. sg. **kul** means “whole”, “entire”, “complete”: **alma kulh** and **kulh alma** “the whole world”; **d-kulh šigša uṭirqa mlia** (Gy 278:3) “*qui omnis confusione et labore completus est*”; separated from the noun: **šitīa d-šaṭīa mšīha kulh** (Gy 111:13) “*amentia, quam Christus committit, omnis*”; **baita hazin dilan hu kulh** (Gy 99:22) “*domus haec nobis est omnis*”. **kulh** followed by a plural-noun means “entirely”, “completely”, or “pure”, “exclusive(ly)”, “*par excellence*”: **gupna d-kulh hiia** (Gy 71:2) “Vine which is Life *par excellence*”; **daura taqna d-kulh 'utria** (Gy 249:12) “a steadfast dwelling exclusive for the *uthras*” (more literally: “which is entirely [i. e. full] of *uthras*”). The plural of such expressions often defies literal translation, as the idea of completeness equals that of absolute unity and is, therefore, very close to the singular meaning, cf. **'lana d-kulh mandia** (ML 67:3) “a tree of wisdom *par excellence*”³⁸; similarly in **lhad d-kulh 'utria** (ML 134:7) “to the One who is a perfect *Uthra*” the translation of **'utria** by a singular is less forced than Lidzbarski’s literal “*dem Einem, der ganz Uthras ist*”. Nevertheless, this concept of unity in plurality (: **kulh** with a singular suffix followed by a plural noun), occurring already in the most ancient pieces of Mandaean literature, is quite original and the mentioned construction is so typical that it was later imitated even in such cases where we would emphasize rather the plurality than the unity, cf. the well-worn

³⁷ Cf. here, Morphology n. 148.

phrase (occurring in each Mandaean colophon) **abda d-kulḥ haṭaiia** lit. “a slave that is all sin” (whilst “a slave of all sins” would be **abda d-kulhun haṭaiia**).

kulḥ d- is exceptionally used before a singular in **kulḥ d-tibil** (Q 1:8) “the whole of the earth” (i. e. “the whole earth”). Other irregularities: **lkul haiutun** (Gy 9:13) “their whole life” (one would expect **lhaiutun kulḥ**); **mn kulhun d-** (Gs 5:14) “from all who” (instead of the more usual **mn kul d-**).

In mod. Mandaic **kul** is always used as a noun and never with possessive suffixes (cf. § 243:3). Its cl. forms with suffixes are replaced by *giš-* with suffixes added by means of the encl. *d*: *gišdū aḏon* “all of them came”; **zgun ganabana gišdu** (Morg. 277:3) *eḡgōn gənāḇāna gišdū* “(ab)ierunt fures omnes”, *gišdū koχḇāna* or *koχḇāna gišdū* “all the stars”, *artiḇel gišdī* (cl. **kulḥ d-tibil**) “the whole earth” etc.

15 f) Coordination of Nouns

§ 253. a) Two successive nouns are always joined by the conjunction **u** “and”: **pirša uzaniuta** (Gy 225:12) “debauchery and fornication”; **kauna uniaha** (Gy 387:13) “peace and calm” etc. Several successive nouns can be joined polysyndetically: **mn qulalia upirunia ušušlata** (Gy 225:21) “from snares and fetters and chains”; **bzmara ukinara uambuba** (Gy 176:21) “with song and zither and flute” etc. The conjunction is often omitted between the middle members (as in H. and Aram. dialects), but sometimes there are variants with **u**: **piria ‘mbia u’lania** (Gy 389:17) “fruits, vines trees” (var. **u’mbia** “and vines”); **kulhun amamia taumia ulišania** (Gy 229:19, 232:10, cf. Dan. 3:31, 5:19) “all nations, tribes and languages” (Gy 232:10 B: **utaumia** “and tribes”) etc. Without varr.: **bkita ‘lita uaškita** (Gy 183:9) “weeping, lamenting and complaining”; **mikia nihia umkikia** (Gy 38:12) “mites, placidi et humiles” etc.

b) Asyndetic enumerations are used esp. with adjectives to produce a greater effect by rapidity of speech: **har(a)ša sakla ṭruša** (Gs 2:14, 21) “mute, foolish, deaf, obstructed” (cf. Kor. 2:17); in the frequent Mand. *basmala*: **bšumaihun d-hiia rbia nukraia iatiria** “in the name of the Great, Strange, Wealthy Life” etc.

Nöldeke quoted a very peculiar example: **lšabuhia liaquria Iraurubia Ibarukia** (Q 58—60) “to praise, to honour, to magnify, to bless”, in which I is repeated before each infinitive.

In mod. Mandaic the conjunction *u* “and” is used most often only before the last of nouns equal in grammatical rank. Polysyndetic enumerations, providing the speaker with a better opportunity to think, are relatively frequent. Asyndetic enumerations, proper to the poetic language, are rare.

§ 254. Distributive repetitions (§§ 243:3, 251 b) are always asyndetic: **hda hda** “one by one” etc. Moreover, there are repetitions of poetic character (epizeuxis), as in **lhil lhil qaiimna** (Gy 372:15 ff. etc.) “beyond, beyond I stay”³⁸.

2. Pronouns

a) Personal Pronouns³⁹

§ 255. a) The personal pronoun is, as a rule, omitted not only when the verbal form is sufficiently characterized by the ending, but often also when the forms are identical (as the 3rd p. m. sg. & 3rd p. pl. pf., 3rd p. m. sg. & 1st p. pl. impf., sg. & pl. imperative in the classical).

In mod. Mandaic there is less need to use the personal pronoun, since the 3rd p. pl. pf. as well as the pl. imper. are distinguished by full endings. The only forms, which are to be distinguished by the pers. pronoun, are the 2nd p. f. sg. and the 1st p. sg. pf., since *geḥlit* can be either Syr. *qalt* (y) (i.e. 2nd p. sg. fem.) or *qeḥlet* (§ 199 a). But the pronouns are often used with other persons where they are not especially needed (hence as a kind of tautology), even with the present which is, in fact, the participle with the encl. pers. pronoun. Šābūri translated **ana bsiprai . . . hagina** (Gy 205:3) “I read in my books” as *an qa-kedāḇāne qarīna*. By conjugating the verbs he regularly used the independent personal pronouns in both the present and the past.

b) The independent pers. pronoun is rarely used to emphasize a possessive suff.: **ana abahatai** ATŠ no. 3 “my fathers”).

³⁸ MG, p. 328 n. 2.

³⁹ MG §§ 229--233.

a) **hun minḥ d-para** (Gy 382:4) "they were with the pharaoh", **lḥ d-planga** (Gy 382:8) "on the phalanx", **luath d-nu** (Gy 52:20) "with Noah", **lauḥ d-kulḥ alma** (Q 65:28) "over the whole world", **qudamḥ d-aba** (Gy 101:7) "before the father", **ma d-bḥ d-pagra** (Q 29:31) "that which is in the body" etc.

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b) This procedure, frequent in B.-Aramaic (Ezra 4:11, Dan. 5:14), Talmudic and Syriac⁴⁰, is used esp. with the prepositions **l**, **b** and **mn**: **haslḥ d-lnhura** (Gy 301:6) "*absit ut lux . . .*", **haslinun lbhiria zidqa** (Gy 223:12) "*absit ut electi integritatis . . .*"; **lak msakinalak ainai** (Gs 101:21) "*Te expectant oculi mei*"; **uailḥ lkul man d-** (Gy 18:19) "woe to each one who . . ." (in which **man** is determined by **kul**). In **šlama lbihia latatnulhun** (Gy 223:14) "do not greet the prophets!" the noun with preposition precedes the preposition with the suffix for the sake of emphasis. With **b**: **abdibḥ bišuta balma** (Gy 231:6) "they do evil in the world", **ubmanda d-hiia saipibḥ** (Gy 229:21) "and they have no share in M-d-H"; **bḥ biuma hanath** (Gy 293:2) "in that day". To emphasize a relative pronoun: **d-bḥ rauibḥ almia** (Gy 112:3) "through which the beings become drunk". Nöldeke⁴¹ emended **br bšita** (Gy 168:8) "in the same hour, immediately" to **ba bšita** according to Targ. כה שעה and B.-Aram. כה שעה (Ezra 5:3). In the same way, **bha škinta** (Gy 257:17) was corrected by him to **bha bškinta**, or simply **bškinta** (according to I. 19).

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In such repetitions, **b** is sometimes replaced by a more expressive **bgu** "inside": **ubšumia štarar bgauḥ kukbia** (Gy 286:14) "*et in caelo fictae sunt stellae*"; **d-hu bgauihun mitnaṭarḥun** (Gy 314:7) "*(in) quibus is custoditur*".

With **mn**: **minḥ mn dbar šadia** (Gy 179:11) "from a desolate desert"; after the noun: **mn iahuṭaiia . . kulhun amamia minaihun napqia** (Gy 224:14) "*ex Judaeis omnes nationes exeunt*" etc.

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This procedure is still used with the prepositions **l** and **mn**. In a story about Adam, Šābūrī often repeated *mallī laādam* "he said to Adam" and even *mallonnī* (§ 200kβ) *laādam* "they said to Adam", *marellī laḡaḡrā* "she said to her husband", *baḡla la eṭ ṭī* "he gave his wife" etc. However, this would hardly be possible with verbs other than AMR and AHB. The repeating of **mn** is less usual, but admissible: *mennī mone zām* "from (him), Nezam" instead of the shorter and more usual *mone zām*.

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⁴⁰ MG, p. 330 n. 2.

⁴¹ MG, p. 331 n. 1.

§ 259. The pers. suffix acquires a notable independence with **l** after **u** in the classical, and with **d** after **u** in mod. Mandaic.

Cl.: **nibun ana ulik** (Gy 325:4) “we shall build, I and thou” etc. As to the agreement of the verb, the 1st p. has priority before the 2nd and the 2nd before the 3rd, the verb being either in sg. or pl. The rule is still observed in mod. Mandaic: *an oday qazina* or *an oday qazenni* “we shall go, I and thou”, i. e. “we shall go together”. As to the 3rd p., the independent pronoun *baχ* “he”, “she”, *bannoχ* “ei”, *banneχ* “eae” is used directly (without **d**) with the procl. conjunction *o* “and”: *an obaχ* “I and he”, *at obannoχ* “tu et ei”, *baχ obanneχ* 10 “*is* (or *ea*) et *eae*”.

(Moreover, the mod. encl. **d** can be used to add pers. suffixes to procl. prepositions **mn** and **l**: *madaχ* “from thee”, *ladaχ* “to thee” instead of *mennaχ*, *laχ*; but this cannot be done with the 3rd p.: *mabaχ* or *menni* “from him”, *menna* “from her”, cf. § 260d).

15 § 260. *Independent Possessive and Intensive Pronouns.*

a) Apart from possessive suffixes, there is a special possessive pronoun **dil-** used with personal suffixes⁴². It is noteworthy that the Talm. **דל** which does not occur in cl. Mandaic reappears in the vernacular as a possessive pronoun of the 3rd p. *aldidi* “his”, *aldidu* “theirs”. With other persons the 20 *l* of the cl. **dil-** is dropped, so that only the relative *d-* remains, but it is always preceded by *al-* in mod. Mandaic. In both languages, this original possessive pronoun can be used as intensive:

b) As possessive pronoun: **mindam d-lau dilkun** (Gy 14:21) “something which is not yours”, mod. *mendi ke aldin (aldoχon) leχti* “something 25 which is not mine (yours)”; **baita hazin dilan hu kulh** (Gy 80:25) all this house is ours”, mod. *baχ bēθa gišdi aldanye*; **kursia dilia hamnu** (Gy 211:12) “which seat is mine?”, mod. *hem sikamlī aldīnye* etc.

c) Instead of a simple possessive suffix or to emphasize it: **batra rba dilhun napšaihun** (Gs 1:22 etc.) “in their own great place”, **ahata dilia** 30 (Gy 146) “my (own) sister”, **bhailan dilan** (Gy 126:19) “with our own force” etc. Mod. usage: *kedāβ aldīn* or *kedāβe aldīn* “my book”, *kedāβ(e) aldaχ* “the book”, *kedāβ(e) aldidi* “his book”, *kedāβ(e) aldan, aldoχon, aldidū* “our,

⁴² About its forms in different Aram. dialects cf. MG, p. 332 n. 2.

your, their book". Cl. **šum dilia** (Gy 245:12, 13) is colloquially either *ešem aldīn*, or simply *ešemde* "my name".

Moreover, in mod. Mandaic *eld-* with pers. suffixes can be used to emphasize accusative suffixes: *geṭle -ldīn* or *eldīn geṭle* "me ipsum necavit", *eldaḡ geṭlaḡ* "te ipsum necavit" etc. But with the 3rd p.: *lobaḡ geṭlī* "eum ipsum necavit", *lobannoḡ geṭlonnū* "eos ipsos necavit", *lobanneḡ geṭlonnū* "eas ipsas necavit". Similar examples occur in the classical: **Idilia haizīn amrilia** (Gy 156: ult.) "they tell me thus" etc.

d) Instead of a simple pronoun (or pers. suffix after a procl. preposition), or to emphasize it: **'Ikun dilkun** (Gy 178:13) "to yourselves", mod. *eldoxon* (or simply *loxon*); **mn dilak** (or simply **minak**) "from thee", "with thee", mod. *madaḡ* (or *mennaḡ*); **mn dilh** (Q 2:12) and **minh dilh** (Gy 223:23, 224:24) "from him", "than him", "with him" (mod. only *menni* or *mabaḡ*); **minaihun dilhun** (Gy 134:11) "from them" (could be simply **mn dilhun**, mod. only *mabannoḡ*, fem. *mabanneḡ*); **mahu dilia 'I dilkun** (Gs 97:6) "what do I have to do with you?"⁴³; **Idila uldilh hnatalun ltartin** (Gy 146:8) "it pleased her and him, both of them"; **Idilia pahlia** (Gy 81:23) "they serve me" (cf. c); **nihuilia Idilia** (often in colophons) "*sit mibi!*" (cf. b); **uana dilia (plan br planita)** (often in colophons) "and I, who am N. N., son of N. N." etc. Mod.: **'I dinai murakaṣ 'bdilai** (DC 51: coloph.) or simply *eldīn moraxḡaṣ eḃdelle* "that they (may) let me go".

e) In comparisons: **d-rab kḏ dilh** (Gy 165:1) "who is as great as he" (mod. *ke hemke haḡ rabye*); **kḏ dilia laiit** (Gy 137:7) "there is nobody as I", mod. *hemkedīn leḡtī*; **huīt kḏ dilhun** (Gy 136) "I became like them" (mod. *tāmmīt hemke hannoḡ*) etc.

b) Reflexive Pronoun⁴⁴

§ 261. **napš- nafš-** with personal suffixes is used as a reflexive pronoun in both languages. In the colloquial, it is often pronounced *nāḃṣ-*.

⁴³ The simpler Syr. phrase, John 2:4, would hardly be Mandaic. This typical Aram. idiom died out; mod. would be: *mo ḃādā eble orkoḡxon?*

⁴⁴ MG § 234.

a) Examples from the classical: **parqit napšak** (Gs 73:23) "thou hast saved thyself", **ḏ-abadt 'l napšak** (Gs 100:22) "which thou didst make for thyself" **ḥšubian napšaihun** (Gs 101:1) "with their own will" etc.

b) Modern usage:

5 a) With verbs:

Sg.: 3. m. *baḥ nāβšī geḥlī* "he killed himself", "he suicided"

f. *baḥ nāβša geḥla* "she suicided"

2. m.

f. *āt* { *nāβšaḥ qaga!lātī* "te ipsum neca(bi)s"
nāβšeḥ

10 1. *an nāβše qagāḥelnī* "I (shall) suicide"

Pl.: 3. m.

hannoḥ nāβšū geḥlonnī "they suicided"

f. *hanneḥ*

2. m.

atton nāβšoḥon geḥaltonnī "you suicided"
atten nāβšeḥen

15 1. *anī(n) nāβšan gāḥelnānnī* "we(shall) suicide"

β) With nouns: *kedāβ nāβše* "my own book", *kedāβ nāβšaḥ* "thy own book", *kedāβ nāβšī* "his own book" etc.

c) Demonstrative Pronouns⁴⁵

§ 262. In the classical, the personal pronouns were used as demonstratives;
20 in mod. Mandaic the demonstratives became pers. pronouns.

a) Cl.: **ḏ-hinun 'bilīa** (Gy 56:2) "*eorum ascetarum*", **'lauaihun ḏ-hinun babīa** (Gy 151:8) "*in eis portis*" (but Gy 150:22 **ḏ-hanatan babīa** "*his portis*", § 263). The use of personal pronouns as demonstrative has been explained by Nöldeke by a close connection between the pronoun and the following
25 noun. In some cases the noun could simply be taken as an appositive of the personal pronoun. Due to a misreading of **šailīa hinin nišmata haibata muta** (Gy 187:10) as **šailīa hinun** etc. Nöldeke⁴⁶ rejected a translation "those guilty souls" with the argument that **hinun** and **nišmata** have different

⁴⁵ MG §§ 235—237.

⁴⁶ MG, p. 337:4ff.

genders, and notwithstanding a circumstance noted by himself, namely that CD have **hanik nišmata** “those souls” (§ 263), he proposed a translation “they, the guilty souls, ask for death”. Nöldeke himself corrected his misreading in his “Zusätze und Berichtigungen”, p. 486. He had probably been misled by the masc. form of the verb **šailia** which would require **hinun**.⁵ The sentence would thus have been partly improved grammatically but with the difficulty that a translation “*ei, animae (!)*” would not be much more logical than the impossible “*ei animae (!)*”. The transition from a personal to a demonstrative pronoun can be best illustrated by the singular with proper names: **h’ ruha** (Gy 94: 7 etc.) which can mean only “she, Ruha”. Even **hu**¹⁰ **’utra** (Gy 71: 10) means “he, the uthra” rather than “this (or “that”) uthra”.

b) In mod. Mandaic the cl. pers. pronouns of the 3rd p. used as demonstratives were forgotten and replaced by the original cl. demonstratives: *baχ** “he, “she”, or “this”, “that”: *baχ geʔal* “he killed”, *baχ geʔlat* “she killed”, *bāχ gaβrā* “is vir”, *bāχ eθ-θā* “*ea femina*”; pl.: *hannoχ geʔalyōn* “*ei necaverunt*”,¹⁵ *hannex geʔalyān* “*ee necaverunt*”, *hannoχ gaβrāna* “*ei viri*”, *hannex inšāna* “*ee feminae*”.

§ 263. **ha** used in the classical to form original demonstratives is still used in mod. Mandaic as an independent demonstrative.

a) Cl. **hahu**, **hak** and **hanat-** were used as independent demonstratives²⁰ (substantively) as well as demonstrative adjectives. As demonstrative adjectives, they can either precede or follow the noun:

α) Substantival use: **’I hahu d-** (Gy 157:18) “on that which”; **mn hak d-iatir** (Gy 87:20) “from that which exceeds”, **hanatia d-** (Par. XIV Nr. 126, for **hanath d-**) “that who”; **hanatun d-** (Gy 220:14) “those who”; **hanath**²⁵ **hu d-** (Gs 5:6) “that is he who”; **šalmania hanik d-** (Gy 218:21) “*perfecti sunt ei qui*” etc.

*) It may be noted that the *ā* of *bāχ*, originally long, shows a tendency to become short when the word is used as a personal pronoun; the original pronunciation is customarily preserved, when the word has its original function³⁰ as a demonstrative. This is, however, not to be considered as a strict rule, for both pronunciations are often used freely in either case.

β) Adjectival use:

αα) Before the substantive: **hahu malka** (Gy 4:16 etc.) “that king”; **hanik alip alip ‘utria** (Q 54:25) “those thousand (times) thousand uthras”; **hak malka** (Gy 392:3) and **hanath malka** (several times in the same chapter) “that king”; **hanatun malkia** (ibid.) “those kings”; **hanath alma** (Gs 5:6) “that (other) world”; **hanath maṭarta** (Gs 28 ff.) “the house of detention” (with no demonstrative force) etc. **hahu** and **hanath** are used more often before than after the noun.

ββ) After the substantive: **alma hahu** (Gs 4:1), **alma hak** and **alma hanath** (Gy 71:21) “that (: the other) world”; **almia hanik d-nhura** (Gy 163:14) “those worlds of light”; **d-‘utria hanatun** (Gy 293:1) “of the uthras” (with no demonstrative force) etc. Separated from the noun: **mn šuba lbušia nisbit hanik d-** (Gy 169:7) “*ex septem vestimentis cepi illis quae . . .*”.

b) All mod. demonstratives are used before the noun (cf. § 262 b). Their cl. use after the noun may be considered only as a poetic licence.

§ 264. Cl. Mandaic had some other demonstrative pronouns, pointing to the nearer object, which are unknown in the colloquial:

a) **dḥ** “*hoc*” is used only in the repetition **dḥ udḥ** (Gy 75:5) “this and this”. The pl. **‘lin** “these” is very rare. (It is used only in the XIth book of the Gy and Gy 286:22, ML 80:9). Nöldeke⁴⁷ and Lidzbarski⁴⁸ considered it as a dialectal form). It is used substantively only in **‘lin d-** (Gy 253:15) “*vae quae*” (of souls). Adjectivally: **nišmata ‘lin** (Gy 260) “these souls”; **gubria ‘lin tlata** (a characteristic phrase of the XIth book of Gy⁴⁹) “these three men”, **‘ubadia ‘lin** (ML 80:9) “these works”.

b) **hazin** “*hic*”, **haza** “*haec*” (“*hoc*”), **halin** “*hi*” are often used substantively and before the relative **d-** correlatively as “this which”, “these which”. Used adjectively, they either precede or follow the noun:

α) Substantival use: **hazin hu šuta qadmaita** (Gy 26:6) “this is the first doctrine”; **kḏ haza amarlia** (Gy 74:1) “*simul atque hoc dixerunt mihi*” etc.

⁴⁷ MG, p. 90:2.

⁴⁸ Ginzā, p. 250:8 f.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 1. 9 f.

β) Adjectival use:

αα) Before the noun: **alma hazin** (very often) “this world”, **hazin šauma** (Gy 16:23) “this fasting”, **haza miabašta** (Gs 76:10) “this dry land” etc.

ββ) After the noun: **alma hazin** (very often) “*mundus hic*”, **ṭabauata halin** (286:20) “*beneficia haec*” etc. 5

γγ) As demonstrative adjectives they can be emphasized by the personal pronoun used as demonstrative (§ 262) in apposition: **hazin hu gabra** (Gy 185:17, 19) “this (: the same) man”, **halin hinun mia hiia** (Jb 4:14f.) “this (: the same) living water”.

d) Interrogative Pronouns⁵⁰

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§ 265. Two cl. interrogative pronouns **man** “who?” and **ma** “what?” continue their life in mod. Mandaic as *man* and *mo*, *mū*. The cl. **manu** corresponds to the mod. *manye* “who is?”, cl. **mahu** to mod. *muyye* “what is?”

a) Cl. **man**, **manu**: **hazin man br manu** (Gy 362:12) “who, whose son is this?”, **šum man** (Gy 184: ult.) “whose name?”, **haza maṭarta lman h^c ulman naṭra** (Gy 181: 18) “whose detention-house is this and whom does it keep in?”. With inanimate objects: **manu šumak** (Gy 235:18ff.) “what is thy name?”, **man hinun ṭuria d-** (Gs 1: 5) “who are the hills which . . .” **manu** was also used with the same meaning as the simple **man**, or as its emphatic form: **manu hza d-ana hzīt man hizīh lmanda d-hiia** (Morg. 20 29:9f.) “who, who has seen what I have seen? Who saw M-d-H.?”

b) Mod. usage: *eṭ man* “whose wife?”, *hāχ eṭ ṭā eṭ manye* “whose wife is that woman?”, *hāχ eber manye, āt (eber) manyat* “whose son is this?”, “who (se son) are you?”. With pl.: *hannoχ gaβrāna mannon* (or *man eχtū*) “who are these men?” It is never used with inanimate objects; cl. **manu šumak** (s.a) ²⁵ is *ešmaχ muyye* or *mo eχtī ešmdaχ*.

c) Cl. **ma**, **mahu**. The latter is more frequent than the former⁵¹, which is used only with the meanings “why?”, “to what?”, “for which purpose?”, cf. **lmalia hazin दौरa d-hšuka** (Gy 281: 12) “to what serves me this dwell-

⁵⁰ MG § 238.⁵¹ MG, p. 341 with n. 3.

ling of darkness?"; without the procl. **I: ma lak d-** (Gs 70:20), **ma d-** "what?", "why?" and without **d-**: **uma maka ltaqipa nitnun** (Gy 66:22) "why do they deliver a humble (person) to a strong (one)?" But even with this meaning **mahu** is more frequent: **mahu paiišna** (Gy 391:4) "why do I stay?", **mahu gn'iit umahu škibit** (Gy 170:9) "why liest thou down . . . and why sleepest thou?" etc. **mahu** followed by a substantive means "what kind of?", cf. **mahu simaka** (Gs 63:3) "what kind of support?"⁵²; separated from the noun: **mahu nisaqlak šuma** (Jb 117:11f.) "what kind of name shall we give thee?"⁵³.

10 In **mahu d-** "quid est quod?" (as well as in **manu d-** "quis est qui?") **hu** is a copula (§ 256).

d) Mod. usage: *mo* "what?" is used as a direct object: *mo qbāt* "quid vis?", *mo qāmer* "what does he say?". *Mūye*, *muyye* is used as subject without *eḫtī* or *eblī*: *muyye ešmaḫ* "what is thy name?", but with *eḫtī* or *eblī* only *mo: mo eḫtī* 15 *ešmaḫ* (above, s. b), **mu 'ka** (Morg. 279:19) "what's the matter?", **muhlak** (Morg. 278:24, 279:1) *mo eblaḫ* "what's the matter with thee?". A simple *mo* can also be used without *eḫtī*: **midinik** (Morg. 273:3) *modīneḫ* "what is the matter with thee (fem.)?".

e) Interrogative pronouns formed with the interrogative particle *bay-* 20 meaning "which?": cl. **hamnu** mod. *hem* (§ 114): *hem* (or *man*) *māḫ beb-tārye* "who is better than this?", *hem sikamlī aldīnye* "which seat is mine?"; *hemmed* (i. e. *hem menda*), used for inanimate objects, is known only from mod. Mandaic, but its originally Mand. form shows that the word is not altogether new. *Hemdā* "when?" (§ 114b): *hemdā qāḏet* "when will you (sg.) come?", 25 *hemdā qalennī* "when shall we go?". *Hem* + Ar. *naw'* is used for "how?": *hem now'e qalīna* "how shall I go?".

e) Relative Pronoun⁵⁴

§ 266. a) The cl. relative **d-** was replaced by mod. *ke*. Both are used for either gender: **I'ka d-marha** (Gy 284:8) "there is nobody to smell" (lit. "who smells") = *eṣī lekka ke* (*rib[a]*) *qamarre*; **I'šum d-ata u'I'šum d-atia u'I'šum** 30

⁵² MG, p. 342:13.

⁵³ MG, p. 342 & n. 2.

⁵⁴ MG § 239.

ḡ-mihuia mibilh (Gy 196: 15) "in the name of that who came, and in the name of that who is coming, and in the name of that who will be" (cf. P. *ḡ'abad būd*); **'I šum ḡ-tiglia** (Gy 192: 17) "in the name of that who revealed himself"; **latisab rbuta 'I ḡ-rab minak** (Gy 214: 3) = mod. *gabāra la-bowet el-man madaḡ rabtārye* (where the personal pronoun *man* became relative).

The antecedent of **ḡ-** can be either simply understood or expressed by a noun or a pronoun. In mod. Mandaic the antecedent of the relative *ke* is always expressed. When there is no other antecedent, at least *enšī* or *mendī* must be completed before the relative.

Pronoun as antecedent: **halin ḡ-mzabna halbaiin** (Gs 31: 3) "*vae quae lactem suum vendunt*" = mod. *hanneḡ ke gomzabnen halβū (aldīdū)*; **hu ḡ-qrinun** (Gy 122: 4) "That, one who called them (into existence)" = mod. *hāḡ ke ḡalqedū eβad*; mod. *hāḡ ke ezgā bārre "is qui exiit"*, fem. *hāḡ ke ezgat bārre "ea quae exiit"*. Cl. **hazin ḡ-** "this which" is replaced by simple *hāḡ ke*. About **kul** as antecedent cf. s. *c* and *d*.

After the vocative particle the antecedent is, as a rule, simply understood: **ia ḡ-našia umradpia** (ML 131: 13) "o (ye) who quarrel and persecute!", **ia ḡ-zania umzania** (Ibid.) "o (ye) who fornicate and prostitute!", **ia ḡ-sagdia lazga ulibna** (Ibid., l. 14) "o (ye) who worship the vault and the brick!" But the antecedent must be expressed when it is an object of a verb following the relative pronoun: **ia qaruiia ḡ-qrit ia zauania ḡ-zaunit ia banunia ḡ-baninit** (ML 135: 3f.) "O criers whom I called, o providers whom I provided, o edifiers whom I edified"^{54a}.

b) After a proclitic the cl. relative **ḡ-** used to be written **-ḡ-** (§ 5). In such cases it is now replaced by the demonstrative + *ke*: *lahāḡ ke qāyem* "to that who stands", *labannoḡ ke qāymen* "to those who stand" (cf. cl. **halin ḡ-qaimin**).

c) "That which" is expressed either by a simple **ḡ-** or by **ma ḡ-** or **mindam ḡ-** in the classical, by *mendī ke* in mod. Mandaic: **'I ḡ-tlh** (Gy 205: 4 etc.) "to that which I have" = mod. *el mendī ke ehle*; **mn ḡ-tlaikun** "from that which ye have" = mod. *mā-mendī ke ehloḡon*; **ma ḡ-hua uma ḡ-mihuia baiia** (Gy 275: 18) "what was and what will be" (P. *ānčih kib būd waānčih kib ḡ'abad būd*) = mod. *mendī ke howa u-mendī ke qabāwī*; **laiit hatam mindam ḡ-hšuk** (Gy 283: 14) "there is nothing there that would be dark" = mod. *leḡtī ekkā*

^{54a} Similar examples based on the paronomasia are very frequent in Semitic languages, cf. Reckendorf, Über Paronomasie in den semitischen Sprachen, p. 158 (a) ff.

mendī ke tārikye; **‘I kul mindam d-** (Gy 224:20) “about all that” = mod. *el kol mendī ke*.

mod d- was analyzed by Nöldeke⁵⁵ as **mahu d-**; accordingly, **d-** in **mod d-** would be pleonastic. Nöldeke thought that **mod d-** represents only a poor orthography, and that **d** was not pronounced twice. Since, however, the Mandaeans read the word as *mūd ad*, it seems that the popular etymology considers it as **mindam d-** (below). **kul mod d-** “all that” was replaced by the mod. *hemmed* (formed in a similar way as the Engl. “whatever”): the interrogative *hay menda* > *hē menda* > *hemmed* (“*quae res*”) became relative without any further relative conjunction. Ex.: **kul mod d-‘tlh** “all that he has” = mod. *hemmed eblī*.

mindam d- as a direct object: **apku lṭabuta mindam d-abad marḥ d-alma** (Gy 111:13) “they turn the goodness, a thing which the Lord of the world made”.

Mod. **(a)mod** as a subject: **uamud piš mn mandaiia tbadarium bamlak upašarium uqalilia tamu** (Šābūrī’s AM: colophon) “and whichever remained (read **paš** or **pašium**) from the Mandaeans were dispersed in the fields and divided and diminished”; as a direct object: **amud mšia hailḥ kdab usadir** (Ibid.) “*et quodcumque potuit scripsit et disposuit*”; **šauriṯ amud d-mšia hailai** (DC 7 right side: 94) “I pictured it as I could”.

When *mendī ke* (or *mendānī ke*) is used as a direct object, all verbs referring to it have the suffix of the 3rd p. sg. *-ye* (sic!), or pl. *-non*, according to the number of the antecedent (*mendī* or *mendānī*):

mendī ke abīṯi haḥḥe (or *haḥḥe-lḏīn*) “he gave me what I wanted”

25 *mendī ke abīṯi haḥḥellaḥe* “I gave thee what thou didst want”

mendī ke hāḫ e ḏ-ḏā abāṯi haḥḥelle (or *haḥḥella*) “I gave her (: that woman) what she wanted”

mendī ke abīnī haḥḥennanye “they gave us what we wanted”

mendī ke abīton(ni) haḥḥānnoḥonye “we gave you what you wanted”.

30 With pl.:

mendānī ke abītu haḥḥēnon “*ea quae desideravi dedit mihi*”

mendānī ke abītū haḥḥellaḥnon “*ea quae desideravisti dedi tibi*” etc.

In all phrases above, the verb **AHB** is used with two suffixes. The accusative suffix (*-ye*, pl. *-non*) follows the dative suffix added to the verb by means

⁵⁵ MG 345:10.

of the encl. *l*. The verb AMR “to say” is used with two suffixes in the same way. Moreover, there is a simpler way of using these two verbs with two suffixes: The accusative suffix is added to the verb by means of the encl. *l* and the dative suffix to the preposition *qa* by means of the encl. *d* (§ 214 α b).

The construction is the same when in the place of *mendī* there is a concrete noun: *hāχ eθθā ke abīta bāβa haβla qadīn* “*eam feminam quam volui pater eius dedit mihi*”; *aχ eθθā ke abā qabāχ abaβnī* “*eam feminam quam voluit ei dedimus*” etc.

d) Cl. **kul d-** used for both “whoever” and “whatever”, is replaced by *kol man* for the former and *hemmed* for the latter. Ex.: **kul d-darikbun** (Gy 226:24) “whoever marches on them” = mod. *kol man* (*ohor*) *exgā ellū*; **kul d-baiit abid** (Gy 171:20) “do whatever thou wantest!” = mod. *hemmed qabāt oβod*; mod. **himid qabat qahibnak** (Morg. 273:9) *hemmed qabāt qāheβnaχ* “whatever thou wantest I give thee”. When *hemmed* is used for *kol mendī ke*, **AHB** and AMR in the main clause are used with the dative suffix as in the example just quoted. **kul man d-** “each one who” is often replaced by **man d-** or by a simple **man** as in mod. Mandaic: **kul man d-hla u‘tangar** (ML 189:2) “everybody who toiled and bartered”, parallel with **kul man d-lahla ula‘tangar** id. negative. The relative of **kul man d-** can be omitted; the expression corresponds then to Engl. “whoever”: **kul man mn šurba d-hiia** (Gy 230:21, 232:16) “whoever belongs to the stem of Life”. The omission is more usual after a simple **man** corresponding to Lat. *qui*: **man b‘ușrak ublibak dilak šra** (Gy 193:21) “*qui in mente tua et in corde tuo habitavit*”; mod. *man qamāhī laβāβa qašārellī* “*qui pultat januam, aperient ei*”.

3. Numerals⁵⁶.

25

§ 267. Cl. **hda dukta** (Gy 390:1), mod. *ebdā dokka* “one place”. Cl. **trin draiia** “both arms”, **trin draiai** (Gy 205:3, 23 etc.) “my both arms”. The cl. **draiia** “arms” and **kraiia** “legs” may be considered as dual forms (§ 165 end) and the use of the numeral **trin** with them as superfluous. Fem. **tartin ‘nšia** (Jb 80:13) “two women”, **dimaihin d-tartinin** (Jb 80: paen.) “the tears of both of them”. In mod. Mandaic *krāya*, *krāyī* is treated as a sg. and the numeral “two” must be expressed by *tartā* (the cl. **trin** being rarely

⁵⁶ MG §§ 240–244.

used); *tartā krāya* “two legs”. Further mod. examples: *tartā idā* “two hands”, *tartā gaḥrā* “two men” etc., but **trin** *nšia **dalū tamun** (Diuān Maḥbuta: colophon, cf. ZDMG 1955, p. 362: bottom) *trēn enšī dālū tāmmon* “two old women remained”. *Gaḥrā*, *eḥḥā* (pl. *enšī*, *enšāna*) are used with noun counted
 5 as Ar. *nafar*; *gaḥrā* is used in the singular with numerals.

In the classical the numbers higher than “three” were, as a rule, used with nouns in the plural, only exceptionally in the singular: **tlat(a) bauata** (often in liturgical texts) “three prayers”, **trisar maluāšia** “twelve signs of the Zodiac”; with the sg.: **šuba dmu** (Gy 94:17 etc.) “7 pictures”, **trisar dmu**
 10 (Gy123:8) “12 pictures” (but Gy 95:14 **trisar dmauata** with the plural). **alpia** “thousands” is used with the noun in pl.: **trin alpia šnia** (Gy 57:2) “2000 years”, but the sg. **alpa** is used substantively: **alpa d-zibnia** (Gy 386:17) “thousand times”, **alpa d-šnia** (Gy 381:15) or **alip šnia** (Gy 218:7) “thousand years”. The latter can also be expressed with **alpa** in apposition:
 15 **šnia alpa** (Gy 49:3). Otherwise, the position of the numeral after the noun is rare: **masiqta d-šitin** (ML 121:12) “60 *masiqtas*”.

On the contrary, in mod. Mandaic the noun counted is in the sg. and only exceptionally in the pl.: *šofḥa ḥūrat* “7 pictures”, *asrā yūmā* or *aser yūmā* “ten days”. *tressar yabrā* “12 months”, *emma bar nāšī* “100 men” etc. Even in *tressar*
 20 *malwāšī* “12 signs of the Zodiac”, **maluāšia** may popularly be considered as a sg. (§ 155). When a noun has a heteroclite plural, it can be used with numerals, but even in that case, it can be confused with the sg., cf. *ehdessar ešnā* or *ehdessar ešnī* “11 years” (in the former the heteroclite cl. pl. *ešnī* was changed to *ešnā*, as if *-ī* was a mere P. *yā-yi waḥdat*), *emma ešnī* “100 years”, *alfa ešnī* “thousand years”. The numeral always precedes the noun.
 25

§ 268. The repeating of the numeral has two purposes:

a) Distributive: **mšaiilun hda hda** (Gy 98:9) “he interrogates them one by one”, **d-masgin trin trin** (Gy 65:5) “which go two by two”. Distributive repetitions of numerals are still used *allen bedā bedā*, *tarta tarta*, *kelā ḥ kelā ḥa*, *arba*
 30 *arba*, *hamša hamša* “they go one by one, two by two, three by three . . .” etc.

b) Multiplicative: **alip alip** (Gs 7:3) “thousand times thousand”, **ruban ruban** (Ibid.) “ten thousand times ten thousand” (For the colloquial cf. 269c).

§ 269. Another kind of (a) distributive and (b) multiplicative expressions:

a) Distributive: By putting **lhad**, 'I had before the numeral: **lhad trin** (Gy 95:10 etc.), "double" (**lhad tlata** "triple") etc. cf. § 276: 1. sg.

b) Multiplicative: With **zibna**, pl. **zibnia** "time(s)": **hda zibna** (Gy 385:9) "once", **tlata zibnia** (Ibid.) "three times".

c) In the colloquial, the distributive repetitions (§ 268 a) can still be used as multiplicative, but both are usually replaced by *P. ye daf'e* (< *yik daf'ah*), *do daf'e* etc. *Daf'a* is still used with the Mand. *ebda* (: *ebda daf'a* "once") but rarely with other Mand. numerals (: *tarta daf'a*, *klāḏa daf'a* etc.).

§ 270. Ordinal numbers are often replaced by the cardinals: **biuma hda** (Gy 96:12) "in the first day", **btlata iumia** (Ibid., 1. 13) "in the third day", **bšabima utšin šnia** (Gy 384:20) "in the 790th year" etc. (In mod. Mandaic the replacing of ordinals by cardinals is very usual. All ordinal numbers can be replaced by the cardinal, except "first", for which the Ar. *awwal* is used: *yūm awwal* "the first day", *yūm tartā* "the 2nd day", *yūma klāḏa* "the 3rd day" etc. The position of the numeral after the noun distinguishes it from the cardinal number which always precedes the noun.

§ 271. The reduplication of **had**, **hda** "one" gives **hdadia** "each other"⁵⁷. The expression is used as direct object, in genitive expressions and with prepositions. As direct object: **hdadia gazria** (Gy 224:10) "they circumsise each other". In genitive expressions: **qudam hdadia qaimia umša hdadia nasbia** (Gs 110:3) "they are like one another in stature and dimension" etc. With prepositions: **mn hdadia** (Gy 386:1 etc.) "from one another", (Gy 388:5 etc.) "with one another", **abatar hdadia** (Gy 388:23 etc.) "after each other", **kd hdadia** (Gy 100:2 etc.) "as each other", "completely alike" etc., but esp. with **b** in **bihdadia** (frequent) "in each other", "together". Nöldeke rightly doubted the correctness of **ḏ-iatbia hdadia** (Gy 117:8) "wich sit together", where one would expect **bihdadia**.

In mod. Mandaic only *behdādī* "together" remained, although the preposition **b** is, otherwise, not used. In all other cases **hdadia** was replaced by

⁵⁷ Nöldeke, MG. p. 349 n. 2, compared it with Indoeuropean expressions: ἄλληλοι, P. *yikdiḡar* etc.

other expressions: Ex.: *alennī behdādi* “let’s go together”, but *haβlennū qa-ehdi tom* (as a literal translation of P. *dādand biyikdīgar*), *lexātjyōn ma-ehdi tom* “they took from each other” (P. *giriftand az yikdīgar*).

- Already in literature **hdadia** and even **bihdadia** could be replaced by
 5 other expressions: **hda šanai mn habrbh** (HG, l. 57) “different from each other”, **lamaskilh hda bharbh** (Gy 8: 9) “they do not sin against one another” (parallel with **laħaṭin bihdadia**, *ibid.*).

4. Adverbial Expressions⁵⁸

- § 272. Some nouns are used adverbially without the preposition, esp. as
 10 adverbs of place, but also as adverbs of time (§ 273) and expressions of weight and measure (§ 274). The most frequent is **bit** “in the house of”: **bit hiia** (frequent) “in the House of Life”, **bit maksia** (Gy 19: 15) “in the custom-house”, **bit qubria** “in the cemetery”. The same expression is used to designate the place to which: **bit hiia atit** (Gy 72: 21), “I came to the (House of) Life”,
 15 **bit arbiaha** (Gs 42: 20) “to (the house of) the fourth (: Ptahil)”.

riš “head” is used in a similar way in adverbial locutions: **riš briš** = P. *sar tā sar* “completely”, “for ever und ever”. Its use without the preposition is less frequent than that of P. *sar*, cf. **briš mia nipqit** = mod. *nefqit qarīš mēnā* = P. *sar-i āb raftam*⁵⁹.

- 20 In mod. Mandaic, **bēṭ** and **rīš** are used with or without the preposition in adverbial locutions: *qabēṭa* “at home”, *qabēṭ gabāra Šarāyī* “in (or “to”) the house of Mr. Shaghghi”, *exgōn qabēṭwōṭū* “they went home” (: “to their houses”); *nefqit qarīš mēnā* (above); — but *rīš šedā* (= P. *sar-i sāl*) “at the beginning of the year” (without preposition).

- 25 Otherwise, nouns are often used without the preposition in adverbial expressions: *Ne zām ‘āser βād bowā* “N. was at work in the afternoon” (otherwise, *βād bowā* would mean “there was a work”). The idea of place whither can be expressed without the preposition: *exgā bēṭā* “he went home” (aside from *qabēṭi* “to his home”), *exgā madrese* “he went to school”, *qabīn alīn baxār*
 30 “I want to go to the bazaar”, *aṭīš Tebrān* “I came to Teheran”.

⁵⁸ MG §§ 245—246.

⁵⁹ Macuch, ZDMG 1955, p. 361 (: concerning p. 55: 9).

§ 273. Adverbs of time: Cl. **ium, iumai** “today” = mod. *ā māy* (§§ 75 a, 192); **lilia u*umama** “night and day”, mod. *yūm ulilyā bād qābdenni* “we work day and night”; **kul zban** “every time” = mod. *kol daf’a*; **kul ium(a)** “every day” = mod. *kol yūmā*; mod. *yūm gišdī* “the whole day”. **pirša** (§ 192 a) “morning” (“dawn”) and “in the morning” has been replaced by Ar. **šubah** 5 *šobab*, but *peršā* became a mod. adv. of time “to-morrow”. Cl. **paina** “in the evening” usually refers to the last night; mod. *pēna* refers to any evening: *ā pēn* “this evening”, *eθmal pēna* “last evening”, *peršā pēna* “next evening” (§ 243:6); mod. *‘aser* (Ar.) “in the afternoon” (§ 272). **tartin šaiia upalga** (Gy 386:10) “two and half hours” = mod. *tartā šāya* (or *šāyī*) *u falgī*; **šnia huit ‘l šnia udaria huit ‘l daria** (Gy 138:10) “I existed years and years and generations and generations”; mod. *kol šedīā* or *šedīā qašedīā* “every year”, *šetāna u-šetāna ebnā bewīt* “years and years I was here”. The colloquial *qamā qamēθa* “a. m.” and *xelef qamēθa* “p. m.” contain prepositions, but they are compounds of prepositions + *mēθa* “noon” 15 (§ 152 i).

§ 274. Expressions of weight and measure are used without the preposition: **qibašra ‘šba hda** (Gs 9:17) “will be one inch shorter”, mod. *ebda šobaxta qošāntar qahāwī* (can easily be confused with “one finger will be shorter”). 20

§ 275. Expression of circumstance (Ar. *hāl*): **ianuq huit mapiqtai huat** (Gs 98:11) “(cum) infans (essem), exitus meus fuit” (i. e. “I died”) would be in mod. Mandaic simply *yānqa mexīt*, or *yānqa bewīt u-mexīt* “I died as a child”.

The latter construction is very frequent in mod. Mandaic, which has no 25 proper expression for “when”, “while”, “since”, “because” and “although”. All of them are commonly replaced by *u* “and”. The confusion between the conditional, causal and concessive clauses on one hand and the temporal on the other is sometimes alleviated by the Ar.-P. *waqtike* “when” and P. *ager* “if”, but their borrowing may just prove that even the cl. **kd** “when” and 30 **hin** “if” were rarely used in daily talk, and a more primitive way (i. e. simple compound sentences) was preferred.

5. *Prepositions*⁶⁰

§ 276. **1** and **'1**. The preposition **'1** *el*, the graphical form of which approaches the pronunciation of *al læθlī menda* (§ 3) can be freely used for **1**, pronounced in the same way (§ 66) in all cases. (Sporadically there is also **al** for both). A simple **1** for an original **'1** is less frequent. The use and the semantic spectrum of these two prepositions can be divided in two main groups: (1) dative, (2) accusative. A simple **1** is more frequent with (1), **'1** is more frequent with (2).

1.

- 10 a) To introduce the person, to whom something is said, given or shown (?): **amarlh** (mod. *mali*) "he said to him", **amarilak** (AM 75:3) "I have said to thee", **amarilun** (Gy 75:3) "I said to Him" (: Life = **hiia**), **ulruha d-qudša d-nimarlh** (Gy 330:9, 17) "*dum dicit Rubae-d-Qudša*"; mod. *malla la-eθθi* "he said to his wife"; **mpaqdilh** (AM 20:7) "they (will) order him";
- 15 **iahbalan** (mod. *haβlan*) "he gave us", **'thib lašualia auquria rba** (CP 5:15) "*datum est discipulo honorare magistrum*"; mod. *balle* "give me, bring me"; **hautilun** (Gy 316:21) "*demonstravi eis*". In mod. Mandaic **1** can also introduce a direct object: mod. *ahwilī la-ebri* "he showed him" (or "it") to his son".
- 20 b) Pleonastically with intransitive verbs (cf. § 257a) and reflexive stems (s. e).
- c) With the pass. pt. of transitive verbs and with reflexive stems to denote the agent: **hzilak** (Gy 154:19) "thou hast seen" (: *visum est a te*), **šmilak** (Gs 105:23 etc.) "thou didst hear" (: *auditum est a te*), **d-mitraham**
- 25 **'1 'utria** (Gy 71:2) "*qui amatur ab utbris*"; **ladriklh**, **lašmiṭlh** *hirba*, **lašdilh zma** (§ 287c).
- d) With intransitive verbs in passive voice to denote the person or thing affected: **himlh** (Gy 197:14) "he is hot"⁶¹.
- e) As dative of reference to denote the person to whom or for whom
- 30 something is done, or to whom something occurred. It is often used with

⁶⁰ MG §§ 247—255.

⁶¹ In mod. Mandaic, the **1** was suppressed: *bowmiyye* "he is hot", *bowma xye* "thou art hot" (§§ 106bβ, 221αa).

reflexive stems and impersonal verbs: **u'ī ahai mitrahimna** (Gy 264: 13) "I feel compassion with my brothers". With impersonal verbs: **Idila uldilḥ hnatalun Itartin** (Gy 146: 8) "it pleased her and him, both of them", **mi-bismat 'lak** (Gy 71: 6f.) "it pleases thee". A pleonastic **I** used with a reflexive stem: **lianqia ulhiuaniata nitnapšun** (AM 275: 3f.) "children and animals will multiply" (cf. b).

f) As dative of possession: **nihuilia** (similarly to Syr.) "*est mihi*", "*erit mihi*", **lgabra huat** (Gy 150: 8f.) "*fuit viro*" ("she was married"), **lhiia anin** (Gy 176: 4) "we belong to Life" (cf. Kor. 2: 151) etc., esp. the very frequent **'dḥ** = mod. *ehli* "*est ei*".

g) Distributive use: **Ihad trin** (Gy 95: 10 etc.) "double" (§ 269a); **Ihad mimaskinilḥ ulhad miatrilḥ** (Gy 264: 1) "they make one poor and another rich" (cf. 2a).

h) To express the idea of time: **liahria šuba** (Gy 227: 10) "in (or "after") seven months", **liuma d-sup** (Gy 223: 22 etc.) "in the last day", conjunctively **'I d-** "while".

i) In greetings: **šlama 'lak** (Gy 141: 22 etc.) "*pax tecum*", **asuta uzakuta nihuilak** (very often) "safety and victory be with thee" (mod. *sūḏ ehwilax*), **tab 'Ikun** (beginning of a liturgical prayer) "hail to you".

j) To introduce the subject spoken about (Lat. *de*): **amarilun lmlik hšuk uamarilun Idḥ udḥ** (Gy 75: 5) "I said to Him (s. a) about the king of darkness, and I said to Him about that and that.

k) As ablative of means: **I'dan 'gṭil** (Jb) "he was killed with our hands" (mod. would be *mā-īdān dīlān eγṭel*), **lasibuia bišia lhazin alma** (Gy 357: 5f.) "the bad ones are not satiated with this world" (mod. would be again with *mā: barnāšī bišī mā-hāx alma sir la-tāmmōn*).

l) With the infinitive to express the purpose: **Išabuhia liaquria Iraurubia Ibarukia** (Q 58—60) "to praise, to honor, to magnify, to bless", **Išabuhak** (ML 123: 5) "to praise Thee".

m) With interjections: **uailḥ** "woe to him!" (even **uai 'lai**, s. 2), **haslḥ I-** (Gy 301: 6) "beware that".

n) With personal suffixes to express the idea of accompaniment (§ 259).

2.

a) To introduce a direct object: **apkilh llibaihun** (Gy 25: 4 f.) “they turn their hearts”, **lhad mimaskinilh ulhad miatrilh** (s. 1 g), **u'1 miškaiun d-anašia naštilh** (Gy 83: 14, Lond. **ulmiškaiun**) “and they flay people”.

5 With verbs of saying, giving and showing the same preposition can introduce either indirect or direct object, cf. mod. *haβli qahaχ* “he gave it to him”, but *haβli* “*dedit ei*”.

b) To indicate the cause: **limalia** (Jb 55: 4) “why did I?”; conjunctionally: **'I d-hṭin** (Gy 61 ff.), **ldhṭin** (Gy 63: 23) “because we have sinned”.

10 c) With the meaning “against”: **'I ṭabia lbiš mithašbia** (Gy 80: 21) “they plan evil against the good”, **lbiš mithašbia 'lan** (ML 108: 10) “they plan evil against us”.

d) With the original meaning of **by** “on”, “above”. With this meaning the preposition is also used in a doubled form **I'1, 'I'1 el-el** “above”. It is often
15 replaced by **'lau-** with personal suff. (§ 277).

e) With the original meaning **by**, used with the personal suff. to emphasize a determined noun: **'lh d-planga** (Gy 382: 8) “on the phalanx”, **'lh d-hanath baba** (Gy 145: 20) “on that door”, mod. simply *el hāχ βāβa* “on that door”, *elle hāχ βāβa* “above that door”.

20 f) To express the idea of place: **man nisimkh ltirat ldukth** (Gy 86: 17 f.) “who will uphold my conscience in its place?”, **nanihh llibai lsamkh** (Gy 323: 11) “and he softly set my heart on its support” etc.

g) To modify other prepositions indicating direction: **'I qudam** and **lqudam** “before”, **I'(u)hur-** with suffixes “behind”, **lbit** “toward”, **lit**
25 “under”, **lbar** “*extra*”. (In all cases the preposition concerned would be followed by an accusative in Latin).

h) To introduce the second member of the construction “between . . . and”: **binia nhura lhšuka** (Gy 137: 10) “between the light and the darkness” (cf. Syriac, unlike Targumic, Gen. 1: 4) (§ 279).

30 i) To express the idea of the extent of time: conjunctionally **'I d-** “while” (cf. Gy 74: 5, 9; 103: 3).

§ 277. 'lauia or 'lau- with pers. suffixes meaning originally "upon", "above", "over" is often used for "about", "at" instead of the simple l or 'l.

'lauia **q-kulh alma** (Q 65: 28) "over the whole world" (cf. § 276: i, j), **paqdh 'lauaihun adam uhaua** (Gy 268: ult.) "He gave him orders about (them:) Adam and Eve"; **ašganda ana q-'lauia ašgandia** (Florilegium, p. 360: 119) "I am a Messenger over (all) messengers" (could be 'lauaihun ašgandia as well); 'mir 'lauaihun (Gy 384: 19) "*dictum est de eis*" (parallel with 'mir 'lh Gy 386: 24)⁶², mahik 'lauaihun (Gy 153: 21) "he laughed at them" (mod. simply *el aḫnī gebeḫ*, or *rīšḫandedū eβad*) and latighkun 'lauaihun "do not laugh at them!" (mod. *lā-gebeḫton el aḫnī*, or *el aḫnī rīšḫandedū lāβdetton*); **agzar 'lauaikun** (Gs 106: 1) "he condemned you" (parallel with **agzar 'lh** Gs 105: ult. "he condemned him")⁶³; **auzpun 'lauaihun u'tauzpīt 'l mania** (Gy 111: 4) "they joined me to themselves, and I was joined to the spirits" (cf. § 276: 1a); **bismat 'lauaihun** (ML 254: 6) "it pleased Him (: the great Life) and **napšaihun pihkat 'lauaihun** (Gy 277: 17) "*animae eorum torpuerunt eis*" (cf. § 276: 1e); 'lauh (Gy 17: 5) "for its sake".

§ 278. The preposition **b** (only in the classical) preserved its original functions: 1. locative and 2. instrumental.

1.

20

a) To express the idea of place in which **b(a) baita** (Gy 205: 1 etc.) "in the house", **ma q-bh bpagra** (Q 29: 31) "what is in the body", **bha škinta haza rabtia** (Gy 257: 17) "in this great škina", **abdibh bišuta balma** (Gy 231: 6) "they do evil in the world".

b) With the meaning "inside", it is often completed by **gu: bgauh** (very often) "inside of it", **bgu pagra** (often) "in the body". However, **bgu** is used also with other meanings (cf. c, d, e, 2a).

c) With the meaning "upon": **ubšumia štarar bgauh kukbia** (Gy 286: 14) "and on the sky the stars were formed".

d) As "in" with abstract nouns: **bgu iahra q-aiar** (AM 270: 29) "in the month of Ayar".

e) As "upon" with abstr. nouns: **mhita bgu mhita** (Gy 300: ult. etc.) "blow upon blow".

⁶² MG, p. 356: 16.

⁶³ MG, p. 356: 15.

f) With the meaning “among”: **banašia** (often) “among people”, **binzia** (AM 232: 8) “among the goats”.

g) To express the idea of time: **b(*)spar** (Gy 197: 3, 9 etc.) “in the morning”, **b*mbra**, **btaura**, **bšilmia** (AM) “in Aries, Taurus, Gemini” etc. are also to be considered as expressions of time. **bḥ biuma hanath** (Gy 293: 2) “in that day”, **ba bšita** (Nöldeke’s emendation of **bar bšita** Gy 168: 8) “in the same hour” (cf. above s. d).

h) To express the idea of repetition of the same period of time after another: **ium bium(a)** (often) “day after day”, **iahra biahra** (Gy 273: 11) “month after month”, **šidta bšidta** (often) “year after year”, **šaiia bšaiia** (Morg. 220/28: 6f.) “hour after hour” (§ 243: 3).

i) To express the ideas of accompaniment and possession (both positive and negative): ***tbḥ** — **litbḥ** “there is in him” — “there is not in him”, i. e. “he has” — “he has not”. Here belong the adverbial expression **bihdadia** 15 *behdādī* (still used with **b**) “together” and its antonym **balhud** “alone” (now used without **b** as *lūd-* with pers. suff.) as well as the negative **bla** “without”.

j) Distributive use with **had**: **bḥ bhad had** (Gy 69: 4) “in each one”; **iahbia trin dinia bhad** (Gy 357: 7f.) “they give two judgements instead of one” (i. e. talk in two different ways).

20 k) To express the idea of having share in something: **ubmanda ḍ hiia saipibḥ** (Gy 229: 21) “and they have no share in M-d-H”; in the frequent *basmala bšuma ḍ-hiia* or *bšumaihun ḍ-hiia* = mod. *bišmi-ḥ-beyyi* “in the name of the Life” etc.

2.

25 a) To express the idea of means: **b(a)bauata** “with prayers”; (Gy 108: 19) **ḍ-bḥ rauibḥ almia** (Gy 112: 3) “by which the beings get drunk”; with **ḥḥ**: **ḍ-hu bgauaihun mitnaṯarbun** (Gy 314: 7) “by which he is safeguarded”; **amar bpumaikun** (Gy 21: 5) “talk with your mouth!”.

b) With names of elements and material: **bmiša** (ML 94: 9 etc.) “with 30 oil” etc.

c) With abstr. nouns to form adverbial expressions: **bhauna** (Gy 212: 17) “with understanding” etc.

d) To express the idea of being or becoming something, or of being considered as something: **daiuaihun bmaštīmania umn 'kuraihun bšiquata** (Gy 106: 15 f.) “their devils became hosts and some of their hobgoblins became cup-bearers”, **malakia 'tlabaš bsahria** (Gy 174: 7) “the angels clothed themselves as devils”, **bmalia 'hšibh** (Gy 221: 1) “I shall count it as full”; **nšablh haua bzauia** (Gy 286: 16) “he planted to him Eve as a wife”. The last example may represent a development of (e).

e) **lgaṭ b-** “to take to”, followed by a noun in pl., is to be considered as a special idiom: **lgaṭ bsahdia** (Gy 288: ult.) “he took witnesses”, **lgaṭ b'nšia** (often “he took wives” (“he married”); **napšaihun lgaṭ bhaiabia** (Gy 103: 10, Gs 95: 9) “they recognized themselves as guilty”. Especially idiomatic is: **lgaṭ bnapših** “to favour”⁶⁴ in **'niš bnapšaihun lalagṭinun** (Gy 246: 11) “nobody favoured them”. With the noun in sg.: **b'da lgaṭh** (Gy 147: 1) “I took her by the hand”, **lgaṭlh b'da ḡ-iamina** (Ibid., 1. 3) “she took me by the right hand”; **ana lgiṭinkun blig(u)ṭtai** (Gy 98: 16 f.) “I (shall) take you to my faction” etc.

f) “To clothe, or fill with something” etc.: **ainak mlibh balma** (Gy 96: 5) “gaze thy fill at the world”; **azlabh balbušia** (ML 81: 3, 82: 2, 83: 1 f.) “she walked in clothes”⁶⁵. The preposition can be omitted: **muliḥ mia** (ML 28: 14) “fill it with water!”, **mliṇ iardnia mia** (Gy 32: 13) “the jordan are full of water”.

g) With adverbs, to form adverbial expressions: **(b)ligal** (Gs 40: 22) “swiftly”, **(b)nihaiit** (Q. 72: 11 etc.) “softly”, **bsarhabaiit** (Gy 237: 4 etc.) “swiftly”, **bnpiš** (often) “much” etc.

h) With nouns, to form adverbial expressions: **bhaṭaia** (Gy 14: 22) “in a sinful way”, “as sinners”; **bṭabu** (Gy 104: 15 etc.) and **bṭabuta** (Gy 104: 16 etc.) “with goodness”, “kindly”.

i) In comparisons with **dmu: b(a)dmu** and even **bdmu** “as”, “like”.

j) In oaths: **bhaiak** (Jb 191: 7 f.) “by thy life”, **bhaiaikun** (Gs 78: 16 etc.) “by your life”, **'milia biuma** (Gy 144: 3) “he swore to me by the day” etc. (C 276: 1n).

⁶⁴ Cf. Ginzā, p. 246 n. 7.

⁶⁵ Cf. ML., p. 81 n. 4. **albušia** constructed as singular! (§ 155).

§ 279. **binia** and **bit** “between”: **binia mai lmai** (Gy 191: 16 etc.) “between the waters” (cf. Targ. and Syr., Gen. 1: 6), **binia nhura lhūka** (Gy 137: 10) “between light and darkness” (§ 276: 2h) etc. When both members are pers. pronouns, there comes **u** between them: **binia l’ ulak** (Gs 60: 1; 5 “between me and thee” mod. *bende an o-day*).

mn binia and **mn abinia**, cf. s. **mn** (§ 281 k).

§ 280. Comparative conjunctions: cl. (**a**)**kuat, hakuat** (var. **ha akuat**), mod. *hemke*.

a) Cl. usages:

1. Simple comparison: **miškaiun d-anašia naštia akuat ṭabīia uaradia** (Gy 387: 15) “they slay people like gazelles and onagers”; **napuš hiua biša akuat qadaha d-napuš** (HG: 185) “evil animals multiply like weeds which there are in plenty”; with pers. suff.: **man nihuia akuatak** (Gy 88: 4) “who is like thou?”. When there is no *comparatum*, the conjunction may be translated by “a kind of”: **habla akuat sadarta** (HG: 181) “to it was imparted a kind of order”.

2. To introduce a comparative clause: **akuat malka d-arqa d-mšadar** (Gy 283: 15) “it is like when the king of a land sends”.

3. Pleonastically with the verb DMA “to resemble”: α) after DMA: **damin akuat tanina** (Gy 139: 10) “they resemble dragons”; β) before DMA (rare): **akuat damit lgabra** (Gy 180: 5) “thou resemblest a man”.

b) Mod. usage:

Man hemke hāχ gaβrā eχtī “who is like this man?” *Enī hemke haχ leχtī* “there is nobody like he”.

25 With suffixes:

aχū hemkeye “he is like me”

(or *hemkedīn eχtī*)

āt hemkedinyāt “thou art like me”

an hemkæχnan “I am like thee”

30 fem. *an hemkæχnan* “I am like thee”

haχ hemke haχye “he is like him” (or “her”)

hannoχ hemkedannon (or *hemkedan eχtū*) “they are like us”

atton (fem. *atten*) *hemkedan eχtoχon* (fem. *eχteχen*) “you are like we”

anīn hemkæχonnīn (fem. *hemkæχennīn*) “we are like you”.

§ 281. The preposition **mn** has a very manifold semantic spectrum, based on two originally opposite meanings “from” and “with”. The latter is secondary and was replaced by mod. *orke*.

a) From what: **mn parzla** (Gy 25: 21) “from iron”, **mn mahu huainin umn mahu *tigbilnin** (Gy 145: 1 f.) “form what did we become and from what were we created?”.

b) From whom: **minaihun d-abahata** (often) “from the fathers” (or “from the Father: **hiia**); a transition form this meaning to “to whom” can be best illustrated on the following example: **bit buta mn hiia qadmaia** (ML 18: 7) “I prayed a prayer to the First Life” (orig. “I wanted from”, cf. the frequent mod. *qabina mennaχ* “I want from thee”).

c) Place from which: **mn tam** “from there” (mod. *maekkaχ*), **mn haka** “from here” (mod. *maehna*). Here belong many compound prepositions: **mn qudam** “from before” (mod. *men qam*), **mn atutia** “from under” (mod. *matūθ* or *madenβe*), **mn ahuria** “from behind” (mod. *mabāθerišī*), **mn (l)bar** “from outside” (mod. *mabārre*), **l'1 mn** “above (from)” (mod. *maelle* “from above”), **mn iaminun** (Gy 19: 19) “from (their) right” and **mn smalun** (ibid.) “from (their) left”, **minh mn dbar šadia** (Gy 179: 11) “from the waste wilderness” etc.

d) Time from which: **mn haizak** “from that time”, **mn riš** “*da capo*”, **mn ium ualma lalam almia** (Gy 12: 2) “from to-day for ever”, **mn tūpania mia ulhaka** (Gy 380: 20) “from the deluge until now”, **mn haka lqudamh** (ibid.) “from now further on” etc.

e) Time in which: **iuma d-tinšib minh** (Gy 144: 3 f.) “the day, in which he was created”.

f) Accompaniment, joining, belonging to: **hun minh d-para** (Gy 382: 4) “they were with the pharaoh”, **masgia minh** (Gy 137: 4) “he goes with him”, ***u baiit d-tia minak n'tia pagrai biluatai** (Gs 12: 8) “If thou wantest that I come with thee, let my body come to accompany me”, **nihidra lzahr'il mn gabra šapira** (Gy 147: 19) “Let us marry Zahriel with the beautiful man”, ***štaiia minh** (Gy 140: 23) “I hold conversation with him”, **nilip minh** (ML 115: 6) “may he join with him” etc.

g) Origin: **minai anat** (Gy 170: 8) “thou art from me” (can be distinguished from *f* only by the context).

h) Distributive: With numerals.

i) Partitive: **mn ziuḥ pras 'lai** (Gy 128: 10) “he spread some of his splendour on me”, **nsib mn lbuša** (Gy 97: 8) “he took some clothes”, **mn nhuraihun nišrun 'lḥ** (ML 59: 13) “they will spread some (of their) light on him”, **mn butun bun Inapšaihun** (Gy 238: 12) “He (: Life) prayed one (or “some”) of His prayers to Himself”, **nirmibḥ mn ruha** (Gy 101: 13f.) “we (shall) throw (some) spirit into him”.

j) “To hide from”: **mn ainḥ 'tiksit** (Gy 145: 8f.) “I was hidden from her eyes”, **'tkalal minḥ** (Gy 147: 18) “hide (lit. “cover thyself”) from him”.

k) From between, among(st): **ailia mn malakia ḡ-husrana bmarbain ḡ-nšia** (Gy 24: 3f.) “they come from amongst the defective angels to the uteri of women”, **umhaimin mn iahuṭaia** (Gy 29: 12) “and he finds believers amongst the Jews”. Sometimes, **mn** joins with the preposition **binia**, **abinia** “between”, cf. **mn abinia aṭirpia** (Gy 4: 7, 5: 23) “from between the foliage” and mod. *məbeynedan*, *məməseydan* “from between us”.

l) With negation “without”: **mn laqadmia** (often) “without preceders”.

m) Against: **baia mirmia marguš . . . minaian** (Gy 143: 15f.) “he wants to rouse a riot against us”, **našin minak** (Gy 154: ult.) “they fight (against) thee”.

n) To express the cause, esp. with verbs of fearing: **mn mahu dahilna** (Gy 157: 13) “what should I be afraid of?”, **haq minaihun** (Gy 135: 15) “he was afraid of them”, **lahaiqna minaihun** (Gy 157: 14) “I am not afraid of them”. Mod. *ḡolqedi wayyeq menne* “he is cross with me”, *mədaḡ yeḡzān eḡte* “I am angry with thee” (orig. “because of thee”).

o) Instrumental: **mn ziuḥ nalbših** (ML 59: 12f.) “he will clothe him with his (own) brilliance” (cf. similar partitive expressions, s. i.). This usage (as well as the following, s. p.) may be considered as a development of the partitive use of this preposition.

p) Pleonastic: **hakima ḡ-lasbar mn hukumth** (Gy 357: 9 f.) “a wise one who did not learn (from) his wisdom”.

q) With adjectives and adverbs, as a substitute for the comparative in the classical, as a mere comparative conjunction in mod. Mandaic: **ḡ-nagdia kupna mn hiuia ušahin mn šušmana** (Gy 223: 15) “who suffer hunger

more than a serpent, and are thirstier than an ant”, **q̄-ziuḥ npiš mn mimra q̄-puma unhurḥ kabir mn mamlulia spihata** (Gy 31: 9ff.) “whose brilliance is greater, than a mouth can tell, and whose light is stronger, than lips can express” etc. In mod. Mandaic the preposition **mn** is used in comparison only with ajectives and adverbs in the mod. comparative form (ending in *-tər*⁶⁶):

an mennaḥ behtərnan “I am better than thou”

āt menne behtəryāt “thou art better than I”

aḫū menne behtərye “he is better than I”

hāḫ eḏḏa menne behtarī “this woman is better than I” 10

anīn mennoḫon behtərnīn “we are better than you”

atton mennān behtər eḫtoḫon “you are better than we”

bannoḫ mennan behtərnən “they are better than we”.

The alternative forms: *an mennaḥ behtər eḫte*, *āt menne behtər eḫtaḫ* etc. are often used. 15

6. Verb

a) Person, Number and Gender⁶⁷

§ 282. The indefinite subject “one” is expressed by the 3rd p. pl. which can also replace the passive voice, esp. in the mod. language: **q̄-bahrān malka qarilḥ** (Gy 382: 21) “who is called Bahrān Malkā”, mod. *qaronnī 20 Bahrān Malkā*, or *ešmī boḡqonnī B. M.*

§ 283. a) The impersonal verb is, as a rule, fem. in the classical, but in modern Mandaic it is always masc.: **‘mat tihšuk u‘mat tinga** (Gs 118: 4f.) “when will it grow cark and when will it grow light?” = mod. *hemda lili howāra* (or *zolmāta qahāwī u-hemda rošnā qahāwī?*; **hiškat unihgat** (Gs 118: 9) “it grew dark and it grew light” = mod. *lilī howāra howā u-rošnā tāmma*; **aiqalia ukarialia ‘lak** (Jb 23: 1) “I grieve and am afflicted for thee”; **kma karialia** (Jb 44: 6, 7) “how greatly I grieve!”; **kma karialia ‘I tarmidia**

⁶⁶ Cf. mod. H. ܩܪܝܠܝܢ, preceding the adjective, and mod. Syr. *bāš* (: P. *bīš*, used in the same way.

⁶⁷ MG § 256.

(Jb. 264: 13) "how greatly I grieve for the priests!"; **laiqia d-aiqalun** (Gy 369: 4) "to the afflicted, who are afflicted"; **akṣalia** (Gy 72: 5 etc.) "I worry" etc.

Mod. use of *wayyeq*:

- 5 Pres.: *ḫolqedī wayyeq* "he is afflicted"
 Past: *ḫolqedī wayyeq tāmma* "he was afflicted"
 Fut.: *ḫolqedī wayyeq qabāwī* "he will be afflicted".

b) For "it is possible", there is an idiomatic cl. expression **miṭiat b'da** ("it came to the hand"): **lamiṭiat b'daihun** (Gy 297: 10) "they could not",
 10 **lamaṭia b'daihun d-nitpaṣun** (Gy 232: 5) "they cannot get free". Without 'da: **lamiṭialan d-nisaiik** (Gy 111: 14) "we cannot describe in detail". In mod. Mandaic of the last century, this expression was used as masc.: **bun d-napqin ulamṭa b'daihun** (Diuan Maṣbuta: coloph.) "they sought to leave, but they could not".

15 In mod. Mandaic instead of **miṭiat b'da** the simple *maṭā* "(it came =) it was possible", pres. *qmāṭe* or *qabāwī* "it is (possible)", pres. neg. *lā-qmāṭe* "(it does not come =) it is not possible", or *lā-qbāwī* "it is not (possible)" are used as masc. Otherwise, these expressions can be replaced by *qomb-* + pers. suff., which could be considered as impersonal in the present tense
 20 (as well as *yād-* with pers. suffixes, § 106aβ), but it becomes personal in the past and future tenses, when it is used with the auxiliary HUA:

Present: Sg. 1. *an qombe*, 2. *āt qombaḫ*, f. *qombeḫ*, 3. m. *qombī*, f. *qomba* "I, thou, he, she can".

25 Pl. 1. *qomban*, 2. m. *qomboḫon*, f. *qombe en*, 3. *qombū* "we, you, they can".

Pf.: Sg. 1. *qombe hewīt*, 2. *qombaḫ* (f. *qombeḫ*) *hewet*, 3. m. *qombī howā*, *qomba howat* "I, thou, he, she could"

Pl. 1. *qomban hewīnī*, 2. *qomboḫon* (f. *qombeḫen*) *hewiton* (f. *hewiten*).
 3. *qombū hewon* (f. *hewen*) "we, you, they could".

30 Fut.: Sg. 1. *qombe qhawīnā*, 2. *qombaḫ* (f. *qombeḫ*) *qabāwet*, 3. m. *qombī qabāwī*, f. *qomba qabāwiyā* "I shall be able, thou, they will be able".

Pl. 1. *qomban qhawennīn*, 2. *qomboḫon qhawiton*, f. *qombeḫen qhawiten*,
 3. *qombū qabāwen* "we shall be able, you, they will be able".

35 There is no impersonal fem. expression in mod. Mandaic.

c) Already in the classical, the impersonal verb was sporadically used in masc.: **nišmat alma l'hruplik 'l d-** (Gs 90: ult.) “my soul, why does it grieve thee that . . .”⁶⁸; **kma hua kd 'utria lahun** (Gy 77: 20) “How long did it last that there were no uthras?” = mod. *kem howā ke oθrī lahwon*⁶⁹.

b) Tenses and Modes⁷⁰

5

§ 284. Perfect

a) To express actions and states, which took place in the past: **lmalan d-'tibnīn** (Gs 23: 3) “why did we sit?” = mod. *qāmū yehmennī?* It is used with prepositions, referring to the past: **mn qudam d-**, mod. *qamā ke* “before” and mod *tom* “until”: **mn qudam d-'tingid rqiha** (Gy 98: 19) “before the firmament was expanded”, mod. *qamā ke mefīt* “before I came”; **admīnīn** (Gy 151: 12) “until we came” = *tom mašinī*. 10

b) To express a desire: **d-qabiliun ar(a)baia arab⁷¹ alma 'lauaihun** (in each colophon after the date) “(the year) accepted by the Arabs — may the world founder⁷¹ upon them”. In mod. Mandaic: *wās ke an lemrīte hāx badaθiā* “Oh, may I not have told that story!” 15

c) As past conditional: **'u d-lau ana labaninth lianqa** (Gy 345: 3) “If I had not been there, she would not have brought forth the child” = mod. *aḡar an lə-howīte, laθ'at el-yānqa*.

d) Completed by **hua** it is to be taken as a pluperfect. This use, very 20 frequent in Syriac, is relatively rare in Mandaic, so that Nöldeke had at hand no instance of this pluperfect and declared that it does not occur in Mandaic⁷². I have only a few examples: **hua nbaṭ** (Diuan Maṣbuta, text to p.

⁶⁸ Cf. MG, p. 366 n. 3.

⁶⁹ In this sentence **kma** (mod. *kem*) may be considered as a substitute subject of **hua**, and the real subject “time” is understood.

⁷⁰ MG §§ 257—269.

⁷¹ This kind of paronomasia based on a popular etymology deriving the name of the hated people from a root of a bad meaning was considered as an effective expression of disdain and a means of revenge, cf. also **iahuṭaia iaḥṭia unipšia** (Gy 231: 5) “Jews — abortions and excrements” and **mitiqrīn iahuṭaia d-hṭun** (Gy 45: 24f.).

⁷² MG, p. 385 with n. 4.

81: 13) “he had sprung forth”⁷³; **haizak kd hua ʿṣtarar aba d-ʿutria upraš hua** (ATŠ no. 20) “After the father of uthras had formed himself and had emanated”, **bhanath iuma ṭaba d-bgauḥ hua ʿṣtarar** (ATŠ no. 15) “in that good day, in which he had formed himself”. In all places quoted, this tense
5 refers to the formation and emanation of uthras.

e) As future perfect: **kd hanath zibna mṭa** (Gy 386: 19) “*quum illud tempus venerit*”, **Iman d-hualḥ mihuia bra** (Gy 387: 18) “*qui filium habuerit*”⁷⁴.

f) As present. Some verbs show a special tendency to express both the past and the present by the perfect, cf. Gy 65, where **ʿdanin** means some-
10 times “we knew”, sometimes “we know”, and **hua**, compared by Nöldeke with γέγνε = ἔστι⁷⁵. In **d-taqil taqil ušalim asiḡ bhia asmukia** (Gs 37: 10) “he weighs and weighs, and that whose weight is full ascends to rest in the Life”, **asiḡ** and **asmukia** must be rendered by the present (or even future) tense because of the preceding present act. participles.

15 § 285. Imperfect

a) The imperfect is used to express actions and states taking place in the present or future. It is also used in statements of general validity: actions or states which are habitual or permanent, or which are always true. In mod. Mandaic it was driven out by the participial present, which took over almost
20 all its functions. Cl.: . . . **zahba ukaspa . . . nirhum uʿlauḥ gaṭla niḡṭul** (Gy 17: 4f.) “(who) likes gold and silver and commits murder because of it”, mod. *dehbā u-kaspā qarābem u-qam bāḫ qagāṭel*; **nikadbḥ lmsiḥa** (Gy 58: 13) “he will accuse Christ as a liar”, mod. *dalil qama ṭṭi ke msiḥa ṣif ebaḥ* “he will prove that Christ lied”.

b) Verbs of saying are often used in the imperfect when they refer to the past (as the frequent H. *wāw consecutivum*). This is done most often in the phrase **malil d-nimar** “he spoke saying”. **malil** introducing **d-nimar** can
25 be replaced by another verb of saying, or be omitted: **uqiḥdat ulbnḥ ṣba d-timarlun** (Gy 330: 3) “and she cried and said to her seven sons”, **ulruha d-quḏša nimarḥ** (Gy 330: 9, 17) “and he said to R-d-Q”, **taudḥ lmlik ḥṣuka** (Gy 82: 2) “she informed the king of darkness”.

⁷³ Macuch, ZDMG 1955, p. 345.

⁷⁴ Both quoted by Nöldeke, MG, p. 368: 17 ff.

⁷⁵ MG, p. 369: 17.

c) Desiderative and prohibitive uses: **laniḡlia** (Gy 62: 11) “let us not turn aside”; mod. *abā* (or *qabōyī*) *ke an qamernā* (or *laqmernā*) “he wanted (or “wants”) that I say” (or “I do not say”). Prohibitive: Cl. **latikul** “*ne edas!*” (mod. *laḡlet*), **latimitai** (Gy 161: 6, Gs 132: 13) “*ne moriaris!*” (mod. *læ-mīθet*, § 286h).

5

d) After the conjunctions “before” and “until”, referring to the future but sometimes also to the past. In the latter case, the perfect can be used alternatively (§ 284a). In mod. Mandaic, the participial present is used with these conjunctions only when the action or state is supposed to take place in the future. Ex.: **adlaniquš uadlanihsuk uadlaniqmun bnḡ minḡ zuṯia ušīṯuata b’npīš nibdulḡ** (Gs 6: 15 ff.) “*antequam senescat et antequam seponatur et antequam surgant filii eius ex eo parvi et amentiam multam* (lit. *amentias in multo*) *faciant ei*”; mod. *doθī qamā ke an aθīna* “Come before I come!”, *boyoš tom an aθīna* “stay until I come!” (but *beyešbowā tom aθīt[e]* “he waited until I came”).

10

e) As conditional: **litlia adiaura niha ḡ-nitīa** (Gy 335: 18) “I have no mild helper who would come”.

15

f) After **hab**: **hab nirmibḡ** (Gy 101: 13) “let us throw him” etc.

g) In Syriac, the impf. (as well as the act. pt.) with (*h*)*wā* is used as past progressive tense. This use of the impf. was replaced by the participle with **hua** already in cl. Mandaic, § 286i).

20

§ 286. Active participle and Participial Present-Future

a) In the classical, the act. pt. indicates an action or a state without regard to a specific time: ***luauia ḡ-napil bdupša umasliḡ** (Gy 216: 14) “an aloe which falls into honey and spoils it”; **zabia ḡsadīa naplia** (ML 206: 1) “the rivers fall to the desert”.

25

b) Adjectival use: **baita napla** (Gs 82: 25, 95: 18) “the falling house” (: the world), ***urba ḡ-iatib** (Gy 381: 3) “a sitting crow” etc.

c) As (historical) present to continue a perfect: **šailit uamrilia** (Gy 181: 19) “I asked and they answered me”; **tnat *hailat uamra** (Gy 95: 3) “for the second time she got strength and said”.

30

d) As future in clauses introduced by **ad-**, or **alma ḡ-** “until” (cf. mod. *tom*, § 285 d). In mod. Mandaic the participial present is used for both the present and the future.

c) With **'dilma** "ne forte", introducing clauses of fearing or negative clauses of purpose or volition: **šitlai 'dilma naimia ušakbia** (CP 158: 5) "ne forte dormiant et dormitent liberi mei". **'dilma** can be replaced by another expression, cf. **hzia lmarak manšiatlh** (Gy 365: 9) "videas ne Dominum tuum obliuiscaris!"

f) To express a possibility: **'tak minšiblan 'utria** (Gy 325: 7) "perhaps uthras will be created by us"; mod. *balkæt* (or P. *šāyæd*) *ēka qhāwī* "perhaps it is so".

g) As conditional: **kḏ hauia marguš minan abid** (Gy 157: 19) "If he was (here), he would fight against us" (var. **abad**). In mod. Mandaic, the pf. would be expected (§ 284c), since Mandaic feels no great difference between the past and present conditional. But for the same reason the participial present is admissible: *æḡær parāb(a) ehle turtī qozaβenna* can be translated either "If I have money, I shall buy a cow" or "If I had money, I should buy a cow (now)", while *æḡær parāb(a) hawīle turtī zaβnūte* can also mean "If I had money, I should buy a cow", although an exact translation would be "If I had had money, I should have bought a cow". There is little difference between *æḡær qabōyī an qamernā ham laqmernā* interpreted as "Even if he wants me to tell (it), I do not tell", or as "Even if he wanted me to tell, I would not tell".

The participle can then be used as conditional (as well as the impf. in the classical, § 285e): **mn mahu dahilna** (Gy 157: 3) "Why should I fear?" mod. *qāmū qdābelnā*.

h) Desiderative and prohibitive uses: Cl. **hazinin** = mod. *hazenni* "let us see!"; cl. **ladahlit** (Gy 161: 14) "do not fear!". The participial present can then replace a simple imperative, and is always used when an imperative sentence is changed to an indirect statement: *kedāβ ḡaṭṭī ke mohandes ḡamsī Ṣābūrī mšadrātī* "He wrote a letter that Ing. Khamsi (would) send Ṣābūrī". The verb *mšadrātī* is in the 2nd p. sg., as if the order was expressed directly⁷⁶.

i) The Syr. use of the participle with (*b*)wā the past progressive tense has some analogies in cl. Mandaic: **ḡ-hua haiiq** (Gy 168: 15) "quia timebat", **kaula hua qapia uazla** (Gy 380: 19) "the ark was swimming and going (on)", **ana huit mšarhib šurbta** (Gy 244: 23) "I was enlarging the generation"⁷⁷ etc.

⁷⁶ Similarly in Syriac, the 2nd p. impf. was used in indirect orders, cf. Luke 5: 14 etc.

⁷⁷ All examples from MG, p. 383: 16ff.

j) The participial present, characterized by the procl. particle **q-**, **qa-**, **qi-** was introduced in later texts to emphasize the circumstance that the action or state concerned takes place in the present: **qail** “he is entering”, **ḏ-qimrahiṭ** (AM 277: 29) “which flees” etc.

In mod. Mandaic this form completely drove out the cl. impf. and serves for both the present and the future:

an eštā qarīna “I am going now”, *an peršā qarīna* “I shall go tomorrow”;

an eštā qamšadernā ḫaṭṭī “I am sending a letter now”,

an peršā qamšadernā ḫaṭṭī “I shall send a letter tomorrow”.

§ 287. Passive participle

a) The passive pt. has a similar relation to the pf. as the act. pt. to the impf. It indicates an action accomplished, while the latter indicates an action in progress: **gṭil** = ***gṭil** (pf. ethpe.), **gaṭil** = **nigṭul** (impf. pe.); ***mir** = ***tmar**, **amir** (or **amar** act. pt.) = **nimar**, **mitmar** = **nitmar** etc. Accordingly, the reflexive can be used instead of the predicate pass. pt. and vice versa (as well as the participial present is used instead of the cl. impf.):

arza mn gintai 'qir (Gs 111: 16) “a cedar was eradicated from my garden” = **arza mn gintai 'tqar**; mod. *arzā məbostāne məḫallaṣ howā* (pass. pt. + *howā*) = *arzā məbostāne eḫallaṣ* (ethpa.) = *arzā məbostāne ḫalṣonnī* (act. voice: “people eradicated a cedar from my garden”).

b) A passive participle in the st. abs. used predicatively in the classical could refer only to the past. In mod. Mandaic, a pass. pt. can refer to either past or present, but, accordingly, it must be completed by the auxiliary HUA when it refers to the past, and by the encl. pers. pronoun when it refers to the present; a simple passive participle is never used predicatively:

Past: m. *geṭel howā* “he was killed” (: *egṭel*)

f. *geṭīla bewat* “she was killed” (: *egṭlat*)

Pres.: m. *geṭelye* “he is killed” (: *qameṭal*)

f. *geṭīlī* “she is killed” (: *qamgaṭla*).

Already in the classical, the past participle used to be emphasized by **hua**, which, however, was inflexible: **ḏ-hua ktib uṣir 'lh** (Gy 144: 7) “on which it was written and painted”, **'bidata ḏ-hua mtaqna(n)** (Jb. 19: 10) “works which were set in order”⁷⁸. Sometimes, an inflexible **hua** was used with the

⁷⁸ Both examples from MG, p. 384: 7 f., 12 f.

pass. pt. as a conditional: **lahua mšinin bhailaiun** (Gy 158: 6) “we would not be a match for them”, **‘u hua mšiiit** (Gy 164: 13) “if thou wert able”⁷⁹.

c) Some cl. pass. participles, esp. those of verbs of holding, bearing etc. and of intransitive verbs have an active meaning (as in Syriac): **lgiṭ** (Gy 187: 23) “holding”, **dria** (Q 42: 26) “carrying”, **ngid** (Gy 273: 16, 23) “pulling”; **‘u gauaza d-zuia unhura huit d-‘sirnak** (Gs 97: 18) “If thou wert a staff of brilliance and light that I might hold thee”⁸⁰; **‘i šiplia d-atuat ladriklh . . . lašmiṭlh hirba ulašdilh . . . zma** (Gs 5: 4f., 16 f. etc.) “he did not copulate with a woman . . . , he did not unsheath his sword and did not shed blood” etc. (§ 276: 1 c.).

In mod. Mandaic, the act. meaning of the pass. pt. is preserved with some intransitive verbs, such as **ŠKB**: past m. *šexēḅ howā* “he slept”, f. *šexīḅa hewat*, pres. m. *šexēḅye* “he is sleeping”, f. *šexīḅī*; DHL: past m. *debel howā* (: *edbel, debel*) “he was afraid”, “he feared”, f. *debīla hewat* (: *edeblat, deblat*), pres. m. *debelye* (: *qamedhal, qadābel*) “he is afraid”, “he fears”, f. *debīli* (*qamdablā, qadābla*).

d) In the classical, the pass. pt. was used with the encl. **l**, introducing the logical subject (§ 257a) as in Syriac. In such a case, the participle acquired an active meaning: **m‘ hzaitun ušmilkun hazin mindam d-** (Gy 392: 18) “did you see or hear (: *num auditum est a vobis*) such a thing (as this) which”. The participle agrees with its logical subject: **knišlia uzlihlia** (Gs 84: 19) “I swept and I cleaned”, **hiplia usriqlia** (Gs 84: 20) “I washed and I combed”, **anat mida ‘dilak** (Gs 392: ult) “doest thou know?”, **ladriklia** (Gs 5: 15) “I did not tread”, **hzilia** (Gy 152: 18, 154: 20) “I saw (them)”, **bškinatun d-škinalh lab** (Gy 364: 8) “*in eis škinis quas pater meus incolit*” (: *quae a patre meo incoluntur*) etc. The rule about the agreement of the participle is rarely neglected: **la‘piklia mišria ulamšanailia kudkia** (Gs 103: 8) “I neither removed the boundary lines nor altered the boundary stones”⁸¹.

§ 288. The imperative of the 1st and 3rd person is expressed by the participle with the encl. personal pronoun. The cl. prohibitive is **la** + impf., cf. **latipkun . . . latirihmun** (Gy 14: 6) “do not turn . . . do not love” etc.

⁷⁹ MG, p. 384: 15 f.

⁸⁰ MG, p. 380 f.

⁸¹ Examples from MG, p. 382 f.

(in the following lines of the Gy), or **la** + participle with the encl. pers. pronoun, cf. ***zil d-labalanak** (Gy 143: 17) “go away lest I swallow thee!” In mod. Mandaic only the latter use remained (§§ 285 c, 286 h).

§ 289. Infinitive (only in the classical):

a) To express a purpose, intention, or the idea of what somebody is destined or determined to do. It is either introduced by **l**, or used without it. In the latter case, it can function either as an object or as a logical subject:

With **l**: ***titlh Imizal** (Gy 126: 7) “it is predestined that he shall go”, **hazin minda . . . ktib lmihuia** (Gy 392: 20) “this was written to happen”, **minaihun *tibriat Imiklinhun** (Gy 267: 22) “some of them were created to eat them”.

Without **l**: **mhašib miqria** (Gy 394: 7) “he intends to call” etc. This construction is especially frequent with two verbs: ŠMR and BAA (< *b'ā*): **šamar mizal** (Gy 114: 22, 193: 9) “he set out forthwith”, **šamar mizlaihun balma** (Gy 330: ult.) “they set off to travel in the world”, **šamar baiar mizlh** (Gy 362) “he set out to travel in the ether” etc.; with BAA: **uasburia labaiitun** (Gs 3: 20 etc.) “ye want no instruction” etc.

b) Moreover, the present of BAA with the infinitive of the verb in question is used as periphrastic future (as P. *h^wābam*): **baia mihuia** = P. *h^wābad būd*; **ldilia labaiit mihzian** (Gy 156: 12 f.) = P. *marā nah^wābī dūd*; **baia mibad** (Gy 142: 6) = P. *h^wābad kard*; **d-mihuia mibilh** (Gy 196: 16) “which will come into existence” (: P. *h^wābad būd*); **baiit midiriḥ bmarbik utidiḥ l'ur** (Gy 156: 10 f.) “thou wilt bear in thy uterus and bring forth Ur”. But the pf. of BAA with an infinitive indicates merely an intention: **bit mišauinun** (Gy 171: 4) “I wanted to make them”, “I was going to make them”. Otherwise, an infinitive accompanying BAA “to pray” often indicates only a circumstance, under which the prayer was made: **bit mišqal ainia** (ML X, XXV = CP 13: 12) “I pray(ed) raising my eyes”⁸².

c) As logical subject (with verbs in passive voice and with adjectives): ***thib lašualia auquria rba** (CP 5: 15) “datum est discipulo honorare magistrum”, **basim d-milgaṭ zaua** (Jb 110: 7) “iucundum est feminam ducere”.

⁸² Lidzbarski translated: “*Ich wollte meine Augen aufheben*”, but the sentence is parallel with **mišqal ainia arumia gilia paṣupia . . . sagidna ušahabna** (ML 15: 3—5) “Raising my eyes and lifting the features (< waves) of my face . . . I worship and praise”.

d) To express a circumstance (as in **bit mišqal ainia** s. b.): **maṭuiai bit ṭabia sigdit** (Gy 92: 8) “when I arrived at the House of the Good (pl.) I prostrated myself”, **ṣṭapuiia mia ltibil** (Q 22: 14) “when water was poured forth on the earth”, **mihzia ḡ-hiziun šuba** (Gy 125: 15) “when the 5 Seven (: planets) saw me” etc.⁸³.

e) As independent verbal noun (gerund) after prepositions: **šum ainaikun mn mirmaz** (Gy 16: 13) “make your eyes fast from winking” etc.

f) As infinitive absolute either to emphasize the verb (*al-mafʿūl al-muṭlaq*) or independently:

10 As *al-mafʿūl al-muṭlaq*, it is used, as a rule, before the verb: **mida iadit** (Jb. 21: 2 etc.) “thou certainly knowest”, **miqam qaimia** (Gy 209: 9) “they firmly stand”, **miṣab man nišban** (Gs 83: 13) “who planted me?”, **mipta ptalia baba** (Gs 105: 13) “he opened me the door”, **mipra pahria** (Gy 279: 21) “they fly” etc.; less often after the verb: **ḡ-šaiṗia mišap** (Gy 279: 19) 15 “who creep”, **Iman hauilh mihuia bra** (Gy 387: 18) “*qui filium habuerit*”, **mitkarptia ʿkarputia** (Gy 203: 18 etc.) “they are fettered”, **banin banunia** (Gy 21: ult.) “he begets children”, but **mitbanunia mitbanan** (ML 151: 10) “will be built up”.

Independently: **qam abatur mizlai** (Gy 336: ult.) “I went before Aba- 20 thur” (lit. “my going[was] before A.”) etc.

g) Infinitive absolute completed by the logical subject or a further indication of circumstances: **ṭiaiuria mia hiia mn bit hiia nitiaira halin nišmata** (Q 35: 5 = ML 88: 8 = CP 72: 5) “as the living water shines from the House-of-Life, so shall these souls shine forth”; **ṭarubia hamra bmia 25 nitarab kuṣṭak uzidqak** (ML 77: 9 f.) “as wine mixes with water, may thy faithfulness and righteousness mix with . . .”, **kul mirba rabin** (Gy 8: 19) “they grow perfectly”.

c) Object of the Verb⁸⁴

§ 290. As to the indicating of the direct object, there is the same rule as in 30 Syriac:

a) Only a determined object can be introduced by **l**, **ʿl**. Approximately the same rule is still observed in mod. Mandaic.

⁸³ MG, p. 389 with n. 1.

⁸⁴ MG §§ 270—271.

hiziu ldmuth (Gy 282: 8) “they saw his form” mod. *ğürdi beẓonnī* or *beẓonnī la-ğürdi*; **Imiškauiun d-anašia naštilh** (Gy 387: 14, var. *miškauiun*) “they flay people” = mod. *meške anāšī qamḫašelli*; **‘I dilia mqariton** (Gy 254: 18) “ye call me”, **‘I dilia mqarilia** (Ibid.: 7) “they call me”, mod. *eldīn qomqaritonne*, *eldīn qomqarellī* (but *eldīn*, *eldaḫ* etc. are never used without *el*; they can be replaced by a simple pers. pronoun without *el*: *an qomqaritonne*, *an qomqarelle* “you call me”, “they call me”, or the pleonastic pronoun can be omitted: *qomqaritonne*, *qomqarelle*).

b) **I** is not used with an undetermined noun; the only exception is **had**, cf. **lhad mimaskinilh ulhad miatrilh** (Gy 264: 1)⁸⁵. The mod. *ehdā* is used without (*e*)*l* before the verb: *ehdā gaḫbrā beẓitī* “I saw a man”, but with (*e*)*l* after the verb: *beẓitī-l-ehdā gaḫbrā* id.

Otherwise, an indeterminate object is always used without **I**: **umsuta minh nsib** (Gy 337: 8) “and he became condensed therefrom”, **utigra laramin** (Gy 391: 19f.) “and they rouse no struggle” etc.

c) But **I** can be omitted even when the object is determined, just as in mod. Mandaic: *aḫū beẓitī* “I saw him”, *āḫ gaḫbrā beẓitī* or *beẓitī* (or *beẓite*)-*l-āḫ gaḫbrā*. Examples from the classical: **uspar dukranak bmia ṭmuš** (Gy 212: 4) “and immerse thy book of remembrance in water!”, **asgun šumai** (Gy 178: 20, 179: 7) “magnify my name!”, **ṭabutai lgaṭ** (Gy 17: 19) “he accepted my goodness”, i. e. “he was grateful to me” (cf. **qabil ṭabuta** = Syr. *qabbel ṭaybūtā*)⁸⁶. With an accusative suffix: **kulhun amamia grabtinun** (Gy 233: ult.) “I plundered all the peoples”, **‘luanun d-mitia mšaiilun** (Gy 392: 20) “he questions the ghosts of the dead”. But a verb followed by an object without **I** must have no suffix. One would then say: **girbit kulhun amamia** and **mšaiil ‘luanun d-mitia**, or with **I**: **grabtinun lkulhun amamia** and **mšaiilun l’ulania d-mitia** (cf. mod. phrases above).

d) The omission of **I** is especially frequent when the object has a reflexive pronoun: **apak anpaihun** (Gy 177: 3) “*facies suas verterunt*”, **mata qumth ... umzauṭar napšh** (Gy 280: 13) “*extendit staturam suam et se diminuit*”, **mail** **umapiq handamh** (Ibid.) “*inducit et educit membrum suum*”, **‘daiun banpaiun šaipia** (Gy 224: 10) “*manibus suis facies suas fricant*”, **rušumh apak** (Gy 222: 17) “*signum suum pervertit*”, **pahtia pumaihun** (Gy 174: 16) “*aperiunt ora sui*”

⁸⁵ Similar examples in other dialects, cf. MG p. 392 n. 1.

⁸⁶ MG, p. 393 & n. 3.

etc. In mod. Mandaic the noun with the suffix is always introduced without (*e*)/, but when it precedes the verb it can be emphasized by an accusative suffix added to the verb by means of the encl. *l*: *qšāren pommānu*, but *pommānu qšarellū* “they open their mouths”.

- 5 e) I introducing a direct object can be omitted, when there is an indirect object (introduced with I) in the same sentence⁸⁷. But as we saw above (§ 266c), the mod. verbs **AHB** and **AMR** attach the accusative suffix by means of the encl. *l*, while the indirect object is introduced with the preposition *qa*: *bāχ mendā haβlī qa-bāχ gaβrā* “he gave that thing to that man”.
- 10 f) With double transitive verbs both objects are, as a rule, without I (differently from Syriac where even two I’s can be used): **abarṯ** **hapiqia mia** (Gs 22: 15) “I brought him across the streams of water”, **šalth** **rquda qumṯ** (Gy 115: 24) “his stature⁸⁸ desired dance”; mod. *šēlī mēna* “he asked him for water”.
- 15 g) In some rare cases the direct object is understood: **aškit kapna sabit** (Gs 103: 13) “I found a hungry one (and) I satiated (him)”; **halil bmia uakul** (Gy 222: 20) “wash (it) in water and eat (it)”.

§ 291. Inner Object

- a) The inner object is an analogy of the infinitive absolute (§ 289e, f),
20 which is merely replaced by an abstract noun the same root: **d-gairia gaura** (Gy 22: 3 etc.) “who fornicate”, **sgidlia sigudta** (Gy 115: 12) “he worshipped me”, **šlama šalimṯ** (Gy 141: ult.) “I greeted him”; **msa msuta** (in legends about the creation) “he made a condensation” etc.

In mod. Mandaic such an inner object is very rare. The most frequent
25 are: *βād eβad* “he did work”, *miχlā eχal* “he ate food”, *hezīta bezā* “he saw a vision”. Otherwise, a verb is rarely used with an abstract noun from the same root, and is usually replaced by *eβad* or *abaβ*, e. g. *ešlam abaβ*, which replaced the cl. **šlama šalim**.

- b) Apart from this completely tautological use, an inner object can serve
30 as a means to introduce a numeral, telling how many times the action was, or is being done: **timut trin mutia** (Gy 300: antep.) “she will die twice”,

⁸⁷ Examples in MG, p. 394: 21 ff.

⁸⁸ An expression for “he”, “himself”.

muta tiniana nimut (Gy 333: 1) "he will die for the second time", **arba 'pia apth** (Gy 84: 2f., 167: 6) "I covered him fourfold, **nitimhia mhita bgu mhita** (Gy 300: ult.) "he will be beaten blow upon blow" etc.

c) Furthermore, an inner object can be specified by (1) an adjective, (2) a concrete substantive, or (3) simply by **ḡ**-:

1. **ṭanan ṭuna dakia** (Gs 68: 6) "he bore me (as) a clean burden";

2. **anhimth nhimta ḡ-'nšia** (Gy 91: 1) "I made him moan like women", **lamilkan milka ḡ-mhaimnia** (Gs 49: ult.) "he gave me not the advice of believers", **zamth zmama ḡ-gumlia** (Gy 103: 9 etc.) "I bridled him as a camel";

3. **mn hauqa ḡ-haq umn zuihta ḡ-zha** (Gy 160: 16) "from fear he feared and from fright he felt", **rihta ḡ-riḥit** (Gs 116: 19) "the race I ran".

d) The Auxiliary HUA

§ 292. a) Cl. use:

In the classical, HUA was used especially as a verb of existence and becoming, much less often as an auxiliary. The inflected HUA can be considered as a real auxiliary only in cases mentioned in §§ 284d, 286i, where it could be used only in the perfect. In cases mentioned in § 287b (end), **hua** was inflexible. Moreover, the inflexible **nihuia** and **hauia** occur with the function of an auxiliary. As we have seen above, **hua** was used to emphasize the past or a hypothetical circumstance (§ 287b [end]). *Mutatis mutandis*, the inflexible **nihuia** and **hauia** were used as auxiliaries of the future tense and the conditional mood: **udmuth l'huia damia lhibil** (Gy 266: 22) "and his form will resemble Hibil", **nihuia amar udaiin dinaikun** (Gy 255: ult.) "he will speak and judge you"; as conditional: **lanihuia amrit** (Gy 252: 17) "thou shouldst not say". **hauia** occurs in conditional clauses (usually referring to future): **'u (hauia) 'niš napiq mn pagrḥ** (ATŠ no. 78) "*si aliquis ex corpore suo exierit*", **'u hauia 'niš nikth kalba** (ATŠ no. 75) "*si aliquem canis momorderit*"; **uhauia riplḥ** (DC 42, l. 19) "provided that he is girdled"; in an elliptic clause: **kd ḡ hauia 'niš atutia 'da ḡ-giraia** (ATŠ no. 74) "when somebody (dies) under the hand of a phlebotomist" etc.

b) In mod. Mandaic, HUA is used as a real auxiliary verb to form the past and future of verbs and verbal expressions which have none. *Qabāwī* "is",

"will be(come)" serves as a future of the defective verb *tamma* (§ 224 x). The pf. *howā* is used to form the past of *qyādī* "he knows" and *qombī* "he can" (*qyādī howā* "he knew") *qombī howā* "he could") and to substitute the past of *eḫtī* "he is", *leḫtī* "he is not" (: *howā, læ-howā*), and of *ehli* "he has" and *lehli* "he has not" (: *howālī* "he had", *læ-howālī* "he had not"). In the same way, the participial present *qahāwī* is used to form or substitute the future of the expressions mentioned: *qyādī qahāwī* "he will know", *qombī qahāwī* "he will be able"; *qahāwī* "he will be (there)", *læ-qhāwī* "he will not be (there)"; *qahawīlī* "he will have", *læqhawīlī* "he will not have". The mod. HUA is always inflected.

e) '(i)t- and ai(i)t⁸⁹

§ 293. '(i)t + encl. preposition + pers. suffix = mod. *ehli* etc. substitutes the verb "to have": **'tbak haila** (Gy 173: 16 etc.) "there is force in thee", "thou hast force" = mod. *hīl ehlaḫ*; neg. **litbak haila** "there is no force in thee" > "thou hast no force" = mod. *hīl lehlaḫ*.

The expression could be followed by **ḏ-** in the classical: **'tlḫ ḏ-gubria u'nšia** (Gy 280: 14) "he has (members) of (both) men and women".

In the classical, it was used also for tenses other than the present: **uanpi-šua lziuai ḏ-tlia** (Gy 91: 17) "and He (: Life) extended my brilliance over hat I had" (without **hua**, which would be used in Syriac to express the past).

The mod. past and future are substituted by the auxiliary HUA + the encl. *l* + pers. suffix (§ 292 b).

§ 294. **aiit** (rarely '(i)t), neg. **laiit**, sometimes emphasized by **ka** (in '(ka, neg. **lika**, l'ka), is used as impersonal expression of existence. **aiit**, **laiit** is rarely used with pers. suffixes, '(ka, **lika** never. In mod. Mandaic, the mere *ekka*, *lekka* are less frequent than *eḫt-*, *leḫt-*, which completely drove out the cl. **ait-**, **lait-**, and are used only with pers. suffixes.

Cl. **aiit**, **laiit** without suffixes: **kḏ aiit dmutun balma** (Gy 99: 12) "as their image exists in the world"; neg. **habarai laiit** (Gy 207: 21) "there is no one like I".

Cl. **ait-**, **lait-** with suffixes: **ḏ-ana haka aitan** (Gy 138: 2) "that I was here", **aitak mn iuma qadmaia** (Gy 7) "thou existest from the first day", **haiman**

⁸⁹ MG § 272.

bmalka d-nhura d-aiḥ (Gy 213: 25) “*crede in regem lucis, quod existit*”, **hinun almia d-nhura bsakia d-napšia aitinhun** (Gy 9: 16) “*et ei mundi lucis existunt in multis speciebus*”, **kma d-aitinkun balma** (Gy 19: 10) “as long as ye are in the world”, **kḍ ana luatik laitan** (Gy 156: 15) “while I am not with thee” (fem.), **kḍ luatai laitak** (Ibid.: 16) “while thou art not with me”, **aiḥ bsakia** (Gy 4: 3) “he has qualities”, **kma d-aiḥ bpaḡrḥ** (ATŠ II no. 9) “as long as he is in the body” etc.

The subject of **ait-**, **lait-** can be emphasized by the procl. I: **d-ldilia aitan bgauḥ** (Gs 3: 9, 12) “in which I am”, **lia aitinun lbabia d-hšuka** (Gy 155: 14) “where are the gates of darkness?”; neg. **kḍ laitan ldilia** (Gy 312: 2) “when I do not exist”.

Before I + personal suffix, the graphical expression of this impersonal verb of existence is always ‘t- (never **ait-**). The I mostly indicates the logical subject: **pira d-litḥ munqa** (CP 190: 8) “a fruit(-tree) with none to tend it”, **ldilan litlan aba ulalpiran tḥ munqa** (Oxf. III 54b: 2 = CP 192: 7) “we are fatherless, our fruit has none to tend it”, but **brik d-tḥ lania aba u tḥ lpira munqa** (Oxf. III 54b = CP 192: 6) “Blessed is he who is father to a poor and who tends a fruit(-tree)”⁹⁰.

Cl. ‘**ka**, **lika** (I‘**ka**): **m‘iaka** (Gy 281: 1, 327: 9) “*num est qui?*”, **lika d-** (Gy 284: 8) “*non est qui*”, **našba lika luatai** (Gs 55: 8) “(my) progenitor is not with me”. In an old magical text, ‘**ka** was even used with a plural-meaning: **bnšmata d-‘ka bdurḥ** (Florilegium 364: 192) “in the souls which are in his dwelling”.

The mod. *ekka* can only be used with the 3rd p. sg. When another person is to be expressed, *eḡt-* with the pers. suffix must be used: *an qabēḏ eḡte*, *āt qabēḏ eḡtaḡ* “I am at home”, “thou art at home”; *an bonin eḡte* “I am little”; *eli eḡtū* “where are they?”; neg. *hemke an leḡtī* “there is no one like I” etc.

As we have seen above, a simple **ait** (‘**it**) could be used for tenses other than present. Nöldeke⁹¹ even found an isolated example, in which ‘**it** with **nihuia** is used as future: ‘**it iuma nihuia d-** (Gy 140: 23) “There will be a day that . . .”. He analyzed it as: “there is a day / it will be, that . . .”. According to mod. usage, which substitutes the past and future of the impersonal expression of existence by the pers. forms of HUA (§ 292 b, *yāmā qahāwī ke . . .*), one could cross ‘**it** as superfluous. But this mod. usage may represent no more than a late syntactic development.

⁹⁰ Slightly mistranslated in Drower, *The Canonical Prayerbook of the Mandaeans*, p. 145: 16f., and Drower-Macuch, *A Mandaic Dictionary*, p. 262 a.

⁹¹ MG, p. 404: 9.

B. SENTENCE

1. Simple Sentence⁹²

a) Nominal Sentence

§ 295. In the classical, the predicate of a nominal sentence can be either
5 used directly without the copula or introduced with the copula (**hu**, **h'** or **hinun**, according to the gender and number of the subject, less often with **ait-**). In mod. Mandaic, the copula can be substituted by the encl. pers. pronoun (3. sg. m. *-ye*, f. *-i*, pl. *-non* for both genders), but *eχt-* is often used as a copula:

- 10 a) **man mn man qašiš** (Gy 358: 20) “who has precedence to the other?”
'laia man utitaia man (Gy 201: 11) “who is the upper and who is the lower?”,
dmutaihun dmauatata 'pikata (Gy 139f.) “their likeness is (that of) over-
turned figures” etc.

The copula is, as a rule, not used after **ḏ-**: **'utria ḏ-tam** (Gy 323: 14)
15 “the uthras who are there”, **'I ma ḏ-bun** (Gy 278: 7) “about (that) which
is in them”, **ana u'utria ḏ-minai** (Gy 164: 4) “I and the uthras, who are with
me”.

- b) With the copula: **mahu ḏ-** “*quis est qui?*”, **kahu kušṭa** (Gs 28: 10)
“here is Kušṭa”, **ana hu hiiia ana hu šrara** (Gy 207: 15) “I am the Life, I
20 am the Truth”, **alaha gabara ana hu** (Gy 233: 10) “I am the mighty God”,
'(i)t 'laita šumia hu u'(i)t titaita arqa h' (Gy 185: 4 f., 201: 12) “the upper
substance is the heaven and the lower substance is the earth”, **'bidatik lau
mindam hinun** (Gy 158: 16f.) “thy (fem.) works are nothing” etc. In all
these examples, the same could be expressed without the copula as well, cf.
25 **'ka hiiia 'ka marai 'ka manda ḏ-hiia** (Morg. 3: 1) “Here is Life, here is my
Lord, here is M-d-H” etc. In mod. Mandaic, the copula is always used:
hāχ manye “who is he?”, *ā gaβra rabye* (or *rab eχtī*) “this man is great”, *ā eḃḃā
raftī* (or *raft* [sic] *eχta*) “this woman is great” etc.

⁹² Ibid. §§ 273—290.

c) In **ptahil hu naṣḃḥ** (Gy 267: 19) “Ptahil, he planted it” and similar sentences, the copula is superfluous, and would not be used in the mod. language. In *hāχ gaḃrā rabbā eχtī*, the copula is indispensable, since *hāχ gaḃrā rabbā* would mean “this great man”.

§ 296. When the subject of a nominal sentence is a pers. pronoun, it follows the predicate enclitically: **basimit** “thou art charming”, **ana rabna** “I am great”^{92a}.

Mod. usage: Sg. 3. m. *basīmye* “he is charming”, f. *basemī* “she is charming”, 2. *basīmyat* “thou art charming”, 1. *basimna* “I am charming”; pl. 3. *basimnon*, 2. *basimton* (or *basim eχtoχon*), 1. *basimni(n)* “they, you, we are charming”. All these forms can be preceded by the independent pers. pronoun as well: *an basimna*, *āt basīmyat* etc.

When the predicate consists of more than one word, the pronoun cannot be added enclitically to the last one, but must be repeated or expressed by **ait-**, mod. *eχt-*, with the pers. suffix. In mod. Mandaic, only the latter way is used. Cl. **ana br rbia ana** (Gy 94: 5) “I am the son of the Great (Life)”, mod. *an eber eplan eχte* “I am a son of N. N.”. But when all the words of a compound predicate are homogeneous, the pronoun can be repeated enclitically after each of them. One can say either: *enī rab u-basim eχtan* or *enī rabnī u-basimnī* “we are great and charming”.

b) Verbal Sentence

§ 297. The order of words in the cl. verbal sentence is free to a great extent. The word to be emphasized is usually put at the beginning. This rule is still observed, but actually the most usual position of the subject is before the verb and that of the object after it.

Ex.: **ana lkun qarina** (Gy 67: 15) “*ego vos voco*” mod. *an eldoχon gomqarīna*; **udiatbin baudana dahilun** (Gy 391: 9) “*et eos qui habitant in deserto expellit*”, mod. would be *hīl aθθī ləhannoχ ke qayāhmen bārre*, but *el hannoχ ke qayāhmen bārre hīl aθθī elāwū* is admissible.

Otherwise, an object, following the verb can be emphasized in a simpler way by the suffix added to the verb with or without the encl. preposition:

^{92a} MG 408: 12, 29; further examples *ibid*.

harbh balma hazin (Gy 297: 16) “he looked at this world” = mod. simply *gūš eβad ləbāχ alma*, but *hez yī* (with suff.) *ləbāχ alma* “he saw this world”.

§ 298. Agreement of the parts of the sentence.

The agreement in gender is often neglected: Cl. **hazin** “*hic*” is often used instead of **haza** “*haec*”, personal suffixes of the masc. gender inst. of the fem. etc. The confusion is increased by the fact that certain nouns consistently waver in gender (§ 162, esp. examples s. b.). In mod. Mandaic even the use of persons is not always consistent: The 3rd p. is sometimes used inst. of the 1st or 2nd: **hazin⁹³ mu qabid** (Morg. 273: 6) “Let me see⁹⁴ what to do” (instead of **mu qabidna**); **ia ḥakaiia hlai qabin mḥadatna uguhikiun** (Morg 278: 5 f.) “I have a story I want to tell you, and you will laugh” (lit. “and they laughed”). *An gebex* (“I «he laughed”) can be used instead of the usual *an qagābexnā* “I laugh”, *atton gebexyon* (“you «they laughed”) instead of (*atton*) *qagābexton* “you (will) laugh” etc.

§ 299. *Constructio ad sensum* is relatively rare. Collective nouns in sg. can be constructed as pl.: **šipar gadpa mn pum praš atin** (Jb. 137: 11 f.) “winged birds come from the mouth of Euphrates”, **udima b’umbḥ natran** (Jb. 138: 4, CP 175: 15) “and tears fell on her bosom”. Compound nouns (§ 152) are treated as pl., when their last component has a plural-ending.

man is usually constructed as masc. sg., but when it refers to a fem., it can be used as fem. sg.: **man nidrat nidria ušalmat ‘lh** (Jb. 119: 8 f.) “which woman has made a promise and kept it”, mod. *man minneχen eβdat* “*quae vestrum fecit?*”.

§ 300. Cl. **mindam d-**, **ma(hu) d-**, **d-** “that which” and **kul d-** “all that” are, as a rule, constructed as fem., the mod. *mendī ke* “that what” and *kol mend(i)* “all that” as masc.: **bismat ‘lauaihun d-rbia mindam d-** (ML 254: 6) “it pleased the Great (Life) that . . .”, **kul d-ḥašib tiqnat** (Gy 297: 17) “all he thought was accomplished”. As masc. (with *hua*): **lahua d-nišmat baiha** (Gs 125 ff.) “that is not what my soul desires”, mod. *mendī ke məbaχ derīī* *šβir bowā* “that what I took from him was beautiful”.

⁹³ A mod. optative of HZA. Not to be confused with cl. **hazin** “this”.

§ 301. When the subject of a sentence is a partitive expression with **mn** (§ 281 i) it is usually constructed as fem.: **mn šautai . . . tišria 'lh** (Gy 236: 3) “(a part) of my splendour will repose on him”⁹⁴. But with HUA, it is constructed as masc.: **mn špitun ḡ-hanatun mia . . . nihuia lmištiak** (Gy 87: 18) “some of the effusion of those waters will serve thee as a drink”⁹⁵. A partitive **mn** as a subject is unknown in mod. Mandaic.

§ 302. Compound subjects and objects are constructed (a) as singular, when all nouns are abstract or names of material, (b) as plural, when the nouns are concrete:

a) **usina uqina uplugia blibaikun lanihuia** (Gy 16: 17) “and hatred, jealousy and discord be not in your hearts”, **atiuia ldahba ukaspa ḡ-bḥ rauibḥ almia** (Gy 112: 3) “they brought gold and silver, by which people are intoxicated”.

b) **nihun gabra u'nta** (Gy 12: 21) “they will be a man and a woman”.

c) When, however, there is a personal pronoun in a compound subject, the verb agrees with the pronoun with no regard to the nouns: **ana ugundai ugabarai 'qum u'zdaharbak** (Par. XI, 13ab) “I, my army and my heroes shall stand up and guard thee”⁹⁶.

Mod. Mandaic follows the same rules.

§ 303. As we have seen in several examples above (esp. § 292 a), **hua** and **nihuia**, used with nouns in pl. are, as a rule, invariable: **kul kitna kitna alpa ḡ-šnia hua** (Gy 158: ult.) “every single cloth was (for) thousand years”, **nihuia iumia uiahria** (Gy 219: 13) “there will be days, months” etc.

c) Negative Sentence

§ 304. a) The verb is made negative by **la**, other parts of speech by **lau** (= Talm. לֹא, Syr. *law* < *lā* [h]wā). The negative particle immediately precedes

⁹⁴ Nöldeke, MG, p. 415 & n. 1 (compares it with *mā tasbiqū min ummatin*, Kor. 15: 5 etc.).

⁹⁵ Ibid., 1. 7.

⁹⁶ Examples from MG, pp. 415 ff.

the word to be affected. In mod. Mandaic, a simple *læ* is used even there where **lau** was used in the classical: **anaton rurbia ulau zuṭitun** (Gy 292: 1) “ye are great and not little” = mod. *atton rab eḫtoḫon u læ honīn hawetton* (or *u læ bonīna*), **‘bidatik lau mindam hinun** (Gy 158: 16) “thy (fem.) works are nothing”, mod. *βādeḫ mendī leḫtī* “thy (fem.) work is nothing”.

b) The cl. **lau** was used before the verb only in interrogative sentences (§ 307). In **balma hazin ḡ-hinun lau qru** (Gy 253: 8) “in this world, which they did not create” **lau** is misused. **lau nisbuia kulḥ zaina** (Gs 114: 24), which was not well understood by Nöldeke⁹⁷, is not an affirmative sentence, but a negative question: “Did they not take the whole armour?”

c) **la** could be used before words other than the verb already in the classical, so that there are even compound nouns, formed with it (§ 152 g). **bla**, **ḡ-la** and **mn la** “without” were used as prepositional expressions: **bla ṣubianun** (Gy 24: paen.) “without their will” (or even “against their will”, as translated by Lidzbarski), **blamata** (Gs 62: 2) “without country”, **blaṣnai** (Gs 7: 22) “without (reaching) my years”, **bla zibnaihun** (Gy 223: 1) “in a wrong time” (lit. “without their time”); **iama ḡ-larab ulašaša ulamabarta** (Gy 382: 4) “a sea without ship, without float and without ford” etc. That the use of **la** in such cases was only preferred but not indispensable, is proved by **ḡ-lau ṭabu hun** (Gy 333: 23) “they were without goodness” (cf. also **lamindam** Gs 44:4 and **lau mindam** Gy 158: 16 “nothing”).

d) **la** is used when several negative expressions follow each other: **lakal-daia huit ulakaṣuma ulanbiha** (Gs 131: 8) “I was neither a Chaldaean nor a wizard nor a prophet”; **ṭubḥ Iman lagna ulaṣkub uṣinta larahim** (Jb. 44: ult. f.) “hail to that who does not sleep and is not dormant and does not like a heavy sleep”. In such cases, **la** is often repeated pleonastically before the verb: **ladahbaiun ulakaspaiun laqiimlun ulahaulun bahid ‘da** (Gy 17: 12 f.) “neither their gold, nor their silver will raise them, nor will be their helper”, **laargbaiun ulaminunun lahaulun pirqa** (Gy 17: 13 f.) “neither their money nor their possession will be their salvation” etc. **la** is sometimes used even when it is preceded by a positive expression: **ba rahmia rurbia ulazuṭia** (Gs 6: 23) “he prayed great prayers and not little, as in mod. *rab eḫtoḫon u læ-bonīna* (above, s. a.).

⁹⁷ MG, p. 430: 18.

§ 305. a) The impersonal negative expressions **lika l'ka** without the pers. suff., mod. *lekka* (with the suff. *leχt-* “there is not” and **lit-** + encl. **l** or **b** + pers. suffix, mod. *leh* + *l* + pers. suff. “*non est ei*” etc. can only be used as a negation of the subject, or of a predicate noun, or of both of them: **lika d-litlh saka** (Gy 77: 19 etc.) “there is nothing without an end”, mod. *enši lekka ke χaṭāb lehlī* “there is nobody without sin”. Mod. *leχt-* with suff. (as well as the positive *eχt-*) is only used with a determined subject. Note the difference between *enši qabēḏ lekka* “nobody is at home” and *haχ qabēḏ leχī* “he is not at home”; *šβir lekka* “it is not well” and *šβir leχī* “he (or “it”) is not good”.

b) In the classical, “cannot” used to be expressed by the af. of ŠKA 10 (: Syr. *eškaḥ*) preceded by **la**: **laniška d-nimar** (Gy 11: 11) “we cannot say” (mod. *lā-qomban amenni*). In the perfect the neg. particle **la** became contracted with the verbal form to **liška, l'ška** (< *lā eškaḥ*): **l'ška laqumiḥ 'l ligria** (Gy 101: 15) “they could not (: did not find out how = were unable to) put him on his feet”. This **liška** became an impersonal negative expression (as **lika**), used with no regard to the person and the tense: **l'ška mšinan bhailaihun** (Gy 271: 14) “we are no match for them”. Sometimes, it is followed by the pleonastic negative particle **la**, or preceded by a negative expression (perhaps because of its resemblance with the positive imperfect beginning with **li-**, **l'-**, § 197b): **l'ška lazlin** (Gy 388: 10) “they cannot go” (mod. *lā-qombū allen*), **liška labid** (Gy 391: 23) “he cannot go” (mod. *lā-qombī [q]āβed*). After negative expressions: **hinila liška d-mšia d-nisaiik unimar lhailak dilak** (Gy 11: 15) “no, there is nobody to describe Thy power in detail”, **laiit d-l'ška d-pasqilh lmia** (Gy 274: 14 A) “there is nobody to cut off the water” (one would expect ***pasqilun lmia**⁹⁸).

d) Interrogative Sentence⁹⁹

§ 306. In the classical, an interrogative sentence was introduced either by (a) interrogative pronoun, or (b) an interrogative particle. In mod. Mandaic, a question is formally recognizable only when it has an interrogative pronoun, for the interrogative particle has died out, so that questions of the second type (b) can be distinguished only by the tone of the voice; otherwise, they in no way differ from affirmative sentences.

⁹⁸ MG, p. 434 & n. 1.

⁹⁹ MG §§ 288 · 289.

a) Interrogative pronouns: **man** = mod. *man* “who?” and **man hu**, **manu** = mod. *manye* “who (is)?”: **man atian** (Gs 61: 6) “who brought me?”, **man naudan** (Gy 358: 17) or **man d-naudan** (Ibid. B) “who informed me?”; **hazin man br manu** (Gy 369: 11) “who, whose son is this?”
 5 — mod. *man aḏye ebnā* “who brought me here?”, *ā gaβrā manye u eber manye* “who is this man and whose son is he?”.

mahu “what (is)?” and **mud** = **mahu d-** “*quid est quod?*” = mod. *mo* “what?” and *muyye* “what is?”: **mahu dilia 'l dilkun** (Gs 97: 6) “what do I have to do with you?”, **mahu nasiqlh šuma** (Jb. 117: 12f.) “which
 10 name shall we give him?”, **adam mahu d-iada mibadbh balma** (Gy 200: paen.) “Does Adam know what to do in the world?” — mod. *mo-qbāt menne* “what dost thou want from me?”, *ešmī muyye u-βādī muyye* “what is his name and what is his profession?”. But sometimes, a simple **mahu** can be translated “why?”, cf. **mahu iatbit** (Gy 134: 9) “why doest thou sit?” (mod. *qāmū*
 15 *qayāhmet*); on the other hand, **lmahu** can sometimes be translated “to what?”, cf. **anin lmahu rhišinin uqaiminin** (Gy 101: 1) “on what do we rely?” etc.

Cl. **haizin** “how?” is used only as interrogative, while **kma** “how(?!)” is used as both interrogative and exclamatory; mod. only *kem*, *kemmā* “how?”
 20 and *kemye* “how is?”. **kma** with the meanings “how much?”, “how many?”, “how long?” can still be said *kemmā*, cf. *kemmā howā ke oḏrī lahwon* (§ 283 d), but the most usual expression is *keḏ kem* “how much (does it cost)?”, *keḏ kem parāba qabāt* “*quantum pecuniae desideras?*”! Already in the classical, **kma** “how much?(!)” was usually completed by an expression of quantity:
 25 **'uhra kma napša** (Gy 142: 22) “How long is the way!”, **kma 'iapiqlak mn ruban** (Gs 105: 11, 106: 12) “How many shall I take out for thee from myriads?”, **mn ainḥ hua ksina kma šnia** (Gy 143: 2) “How many years was I hidden from his eyes?” — mod. *kem(mā) ešnī* “how many years?”.

aka hu (Gy 381: 3) “where is he?” (**ka hinun hiia** Gs 28f. “where is
 30 Life?”; affirmative is **'ka hiia**, Morg. 3: 1, “here is Life” without **hinun**). (**'l)lia** “where?” and **lilia** “whither?” (**ulilia hauia bit mizlak**, Gy 362, “whither is thy going?”) — mod. *elyā* both “where?” and “whither?” (*elyā eḥtaḥ* “where art thou?”, *elyā qāllet* “where dost thou go?”).

'mat, **l'mat** = mod. *bemda* “when?”: **'mat iuma nihuia d-'dul** (Gy
 35 155: 18) “When shall be the day that I bring forth?” = mod. *bemda yūma qāḏī ke an yadlāna*.

b) Interrogative particles (only in the classical): **m^c**, **mia** “*num*”: **mihzi-tun** (Gy 186: 6) “*num vidistis?*”, ***mia kašra dmutaikun** (Gs 57: 14) “Is your form right?”, **mⁱiaka d-rab minai** (Gy 281: 1) “Is there anybody greater than I?”¹⁰⁰. In mod. Mandaic, such questions are formally identical with affirmative sentences: *ekkā ebdī ke mādīn rābtārye(?)* “Is there anybody greater than I?” (or “There is one greater than I”).

§ 307. A negative question is introduced with **lau** in the classical (§ 304b), with a simple *læ* or *lekka* (or *lext-* with pers. suff.) in mod. Mandaic.

Cl. **lau amart** (Gy 162: 4 etc.) “didst thou not say?”; **lau** can be completed by the interrogative particle **m^c lau miditun** (Gs 54: 13 three times) “*nonne scitis?*”, **lau mⁱiatin** (Gs 12: 3) “*none veniunt?*”. In mod. Mandaic, for the sake of clearness, *læ* can be completed by *kem(ma)*: *kemma læ qyādoxon* “how (is it possible) that you don’t know?”, *kemma læ-qāḏen* “how is it possible that they don’t come?” (cf. P. *čəṭowr namīdānīd, čəṭowr namīyāyand*).

2. Compound Sentence¹⁰¹.

15

§ 308. Asyndetic Compound Sentence

Simple verbal sentences are often used asyndetically.

a) Two verbs, immediately following each other and expressing two related actions, usually stand side by side without conjunction (as in Syriac): **asgia *zil** (Gy 12: 7f.) βάσκα ἰθί (Nöld.)¹⁰², **ušabšat aiilh** (Gy 115: 17) “she befooled him and brought him in” (: “befooling him she . . .”), **asiq aqmuia** (Gy 208: 2) “they lifted and raised him” (hendyadis), **aiil šdun** (Gs 14: 7) “they (brought and) threw me in”, **ašad rmubun harkta** (Gy 111: 21) “they distorted them” (lit. “they poured and threw distortion in them”), **kibšit lhiia sigdit** (Gy 327: 20) “I prostrated myself and worshipped Life”. However, this is not to be considered as a rule but only as a tendency, cf. **kbuš usgud** (Gy 22: 11) “prostrate thyself and worship!”, **anat atit uptit baba** (ML 134: 11) “thou hast come and opened the door”. These and similar sentences could be without the conjunction as well.

¹⁰⁰ MG, p. 434: ult.

¹⁰¹ MG §§ 291—294.

¹⁰² MG p. 442: 8.

Such a joining of two simple verbal sentences without the conjunction is frequent in mod. Mandaic: *do θi bezi* “come and see!”, *dari ezgi* “take and go!”, *ehyet aθet* (with the conjunction **hiit uatit**, Morg. 274: 8, 275: paen., is less usual). pl. *ehyiton aθiton* “you are welcome!” (lit. “be saluted [that] you came!”), *ezgi kesxa bewi* “get away, be off!”, *aθā ezgā* “he came and went”. With different subjects: *saddar aθomni* “he sent to bring him” (lit. “he sent, they brought him”).

b) In a sentence with a compound predicate, the conjunction can be either omitted or repeated before each verb, or used only before the last one. The omission provides a greater speed and a crisper emphasis: **ahkia sahqia gaiia umitparpia** (Gs 8: 18) “they laugh, jump, rejoice and exult”. In such sentences, a polysyndetic use is admissible as well, and is preferred in the colloquial: *qagābχen u-qarāqden u-qzāmren u-kef qāβden* (“they laugh and dance and sing and rejoice”).

c) The conjunction is usually omitted, when an action is introduced by the inchoative verb ŠMR, or by a verb indicating the time (: early, late, again, for the 1st, 2nd, 3rd etc. time): **šamar šibqḥ** (Gy 96: 6) “he quickly forsook it”, **nišmar nišibqḥ** (Gy 109: 9) “we are going to abandon it”; **ahdar aqmuia** (Gy 22: 20) “they raised him again”, **ana ḥdar bpagraikun** **rminkun** (Gy 186: 7) “I shall cast you again into your bodies”, **uḥdar bḥmḥ ailuia** (Gy 186: 6) “and they again brought him into his mother(’s body)”, **akmar rminan** (Gy 186: 1) “put us back us again!”, **akmar rmun bbišuta** (Gy 112: 16) “they again cast them into evil”, **tkamar bilḥ mn riš** (Gs 7: 18) “he swallowed him up again”; **qadimqum** (Gy 197: 9) “get up early”, **q-qadmin šatin** (Gy 176: 20) “who drink early in the morning”¹⁰³, **qđum tia** (ML 135: 9) “I shall come early”, **hašik dna qadim arab** (ML 32: 7) “comes out in the evening, sets down in the morning”; **(a)tna škib** (Gy 245: 4) “he slept for the second time”, **tnat ḥailat** (Gy 95: 3) “she got strength for the second time”, **talit ḥablia** (Gy 358: 9) “he gave me for the third time”, **tnit amarilḥ** (MI 222: 2) “I said to him for the second time”, **tlitit amarilḥ** (Ibid.: 3) “I said to him for the third time”.

Examples with **u** are sporadic: **mn šintai qadmit uqamit** (ML 177: 6) “I early got up from my sleep”, **tum (a)tna uamarilḥ** (Gy 71: 11) “then he said to him for the second time”.

¹⁰³ Cf. Jes. 5: 11 (MG, p. 444 n. 1); Targ. with ל + inf. (דמקדמן בצפרא למשתי). Syr. with the conjunction (*wāy lādāmqaddāmin bəšapṛā wərabḥin ləšakrā*).

In mod. Mandaic, all verbal expressions quoted died out, being replaced by simple adverbial expressions: *kerehwā qom* “stand up quickly!”, *šobaḥ kerehwā šāmeš qanāšqa u-lilya howāra boqwāš qahāwī* “early in the morning, the sun comes out, and the sunset is very late”, *dīr qahāwī šāmeš qagānya* “the sun will set very late”, *dobārta hāβle* “he gave me for the 2nd time”, *kelāḡa hāβle* “he gave me for the 3rd time”, *ārba hāβle* “he gave me for the 4th time” etc. But the inchoative verb ŠMR was partly replaced by QUM, used as the former in the classical: *qām βād eβad* “he started to work” (lit. “he stood up, he worked”), *qom alennī* “(stand up.) let’s go!”. The conjunction could be omitted after QUM, used as an inchoative verb in the classical: **qum mut** (Gs 5: ult, 6: 6) “now (lit. stand up) die !”, but, on the other hand, the conjunction was often used in such a case: **haizak qam . . . uba** (Gs 6: paen.)¹⁰⁴.

d) Short sentences with the same subject, expressing parallel ideas, often follow each other without the conjunction: **bun uaškun dan uzkun amar uštma** (ML 13: 6) “they sought and found, they had a lawsuit and won, they spoke and were heard”. So far as the conjunction is used between the two elements of each separate sentence above, it has a special function: to introduce the idea of the result of the action expressed by the preceding verb; a use of the conjunction to join the parallel sentences would diminish the clearness of the expressed idea.

When two sentences express an idea with the same verb, they are joined *asyndetically*, and the verb need not be repeated: **iahia dariš bliluia iuhana bramšia q-lilia** (Jb. 77: 1 etc.). “Yahya preaches in the nights, Yōhannā in the evenings of the night . . .”

§ 309. Otherwise, the coordinative conjunction **u u** “and” is used very often to join different sentences as well as the elements of a compound predicate: **hšil umatna zaina** (Gs 13: 12) “the weapon is forged and put on”, **lman hzit uhpakt** (Gy 151: 1 etc.) “whom didst thou see, when thou hast turned?” etc. When the sentence, or the element, preceding the conjunction is negative, the negative particle need not be repeated after the conjunction: **latišmun bišuta utibdun** (Gs 41: 11) “do not listen to malice

¹⁰⁴ In **qaimia (u)hašlia razia** (Gy 85: paen.) “they stand contriving secret plots” and similar examples (where the second verb begins with **h**) it is difficult to decide whether the construction is *asyndetic* or not.

and do not do (it)!" This rule comprises also other coordinative conjunctions: **tum** "then" and esp. **'u** "or": **ana l(a)mhara šna b'dai 'u mia brahaṭai 'stakariun** (Gs 111: 15) "a *mhara* (var. *mahra*)¹⁰⁵ did not move away from my hands, nor water in my canals was stopped".

- 5 **'u** — **'u** = mod. *lo* — *lo* "aut — aut", neg. "*neque* — *neque*" are used as correlative conjunctions. The first **'u** can be omitted as in the sentence just quoted, but esp. in disjunctive questions: **hiia hinun šihluk 'u anat mn napšak 'tit** (Gs 121: 7) "Did Life send thee, or dist thou come from thyself?" The first part of the question can be introduced by the interrogative particle
- 10 **mia**, **'mia**: **miaka 'u 'ka** (Gy 80: 23) "whether is . . . or is . . .?". Mod.: *bāχ elday šādraχ lo an šaddertay* "Did he send thee or I did?". But in the answer, there usually is no omission: **'u miraq araχ 'u 'tiksuia 'tksu** (Gy 271: 8) "they either fled or hid"; mod.: *lo an šaddertay lo bāχ šādraχ* "Either I sent thee, or he did". The Mandaeans of Iraq used **iu** — **iu** (§ 193): **iudarit**
- 15 **ḥaqdin iuqimṭalqa minak** (Morg. 273: 3 f.) "Either thou revengest me, or I (fem.) divorce thee".

All coordinative conjunctions: **u**, **'u**, **tum** and also **hinila**, **hin'la** "but", "however", nevertheless" (orig. conditional "if not") are often followed by elliptic constructions. In mod. Mandaic, **tum** lost its original meaning and acquired the meaning "until" (§ 194); **hinila** with the meaning "but" was

20 replaced by Ar. *ammā*, *walī*, *lāken*, or by *balkæt*. (**hinila** as a neg. conditional conjunction is replaced by *ægar læ*).

3. Complex Sentence

§ 310. The most most frequent subordinative conjunctions are **d-**, and its

25 compound **kd-**, both replaced by the mod. *ke* (§ 184 b). The original function of **d-** as a relative was extended to all kinds of functions; its meaning can be modified by other conjunctions and adverbial expressions.

A simple **d-** is used most often to introduce an attributive relative clause. The most simple example of this use is the introducing of a simple predicative

30 adjective, which can be better translated as attributive: **ziua d-npiš** (Morg. 210/8: 8 f.) "splendour, which is great", or simply "great splendour". Sometimes, **d-** is used pleonastically, as in **htamta d-rabtia d-zakuta** (title of a

¹⁰⁵ This word of obscure etymology seems to mean an instrument for irrigation, cf. Drower-Macuch, *Op. cit.*, p. 259 b under *mhara* 2.

magic bowl) “the Great Seal of Safety”, **luṭṭa d-rbta** (MZt III, 96 n. 9) “the great curse”. But more often it introduces a real attributive relative clause: **zauh d-h’ ahath** (Gy 116: 4) “his wife, who is his sister”¹⁰⁶ = mod. *e d’thi ke hā’thi eχta*. When the relative pronoun is in a case other than the nominative, the antecedent is referred to by the pers. suff. added to the first word of the relative clause, to the verb, or to a preposition: **hahu gupna d-gauh zia** 5 **ugambh nhura ‘qbh mia uauph ‘utria** (Gs 8: 12 f.) “that Vine, whose inner part is splendour, whose sides are light, whose heels are water, and whose branches are Uthras”, **hanath mdinta d-našuraiia bgauh** (HG, l. 3) “that city, in which there are Našoraeans”. Mod.: *gaβrā ke parābī orke eχtī* 10 “the man whose money is with me”, *gaβrā ke parāb haftellī* “the man, to whom I gave money”, *gaβrā ke bezitī* “the man (whom) I saw”.

Cl. relative clauses are often elliptic: **abun d-brišaian** (Q 12: 6) “our father, who is at our head”¹⁰⁷. In such short phrases, **d-** can be omitted: **hiia lalam** (Gy 31: ult.) “everlasting life”, **zia bnpiš** “great splendour” 15 (cf. above).

A predicative adjective, introduced by **d-** can even precede the noun: **d-iaiaia ‘šṭla** (Gs 78: 9) “a beautiful garment” (“a garment, which is beautiful”) etc.

When an attributive relative clause contains one or several nouns with suffix(es) referring to the antecedent, it can be used without **d-**: **gṭar kauila** 20 **bmašihṭa ‘urkh tlatma amia uputia hamšin amia uraumh tlatin amia** (Gy 380: 12f.) “he fixed together an ark according to the measure: length 300 ells, width 50 ells and height 30 ells”¹⁰⁸.

When the antecedent is not fully expressed, **d-** cannot be omitted: **ia kšilia d-takšal** (Gy 186: 4, 10) “O ye tumbling, who tumble”, **ia d-azlia** 25 **bšūqia tibil** (Gy 179: 18) “O ye who walk in the square-places of the world”¹⁰⁹.

Under some circumstances, the whole relative clause with **d-** can precede the antecedent: **d-anat minan man zakilan udanat mzakiatlan man mhaiiblan** (Morg. 221/30: 8) “*Quum (< qui) Tu es nobiscum, quis nos vincet, et quum Tu nobis victoriam das, quis nos confutabit?*” 30

In mod. Mandaic, the antecedent must always be fully expressed and precede the relative clause: *yā atton* (or *yā nāš*) *ke moteheyemen eχtoχon* “O ye who believe!”

¹⁰⁶ MG, p. 448: 1.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. πῶτερ ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς = Syr. *abūn dēbašmayyā*.

¹⁰⁸ MG, p. 461: 3 ff. (with n. 1).

¹⁰⁹ Cf. the frequent Koranic *yā ayyubā ‘llaḡina āmanū* (MG, p. 457 n. 1).

§ 311. a) When the antecedent is an expression of time, **d-** introduces a relative clause of time: **hamšin (šnia) d-'bra d-gaukai dahna** (Gy 390: 10) "fifty (years), (during) which the shore of Gaukai flourishes". It is often preceded by prepositions or adverbs of time: **'I d-** "while", **alma d-** or **alma ld-** "until", **alma liuma d-** "until the day, in which", **mn iuma d-** "from the day in which" ("since"), **zibna d-** "at the time when", **kul zban d-** "each time when" ("whenever"), **'I riš d-** (Gs 86: 13) "as soon as" etc. Corresponding mod. expressions are: *waqtī ke, kol waqtī ke, yūmī ke, m-waqtī ke, m-yūmī ke* etc. (Only "until" was replaced by *tom*).

- 10 Relative clauses of (extent of) time can be introduced by interrogative adverbs with **d-**. In such cases, the interrogative pronoun is the antecedent: **kma d-** "when(ever)", **kul 'mat d-** "as often as", **kma d-** and **bkma d-** "as long as", **ma d-** "as soon as", "the more . . ." (but also "that which", cf. below). Examples: **bkma d-msakianalh Inašbai** (Gs 96: 3) "as long as I looked at my Planter", **kma d-bahšatbh šigša napuš** (Gy 216: 9f.) "the more thou searchest for him, the greater is the confusion". In **ma d-bit d-lrbia 'mar rbia amarulia** etc. (Gy 92: 8), there need not be an anacoluthon, as Nöldeke thought¹¹⁰, but an adverbial use of **ma d-**: "as soon as I wanted to talk to the Great, He talked to me". (**a**)**kma** and **ma** are used with
- 20 the same meanings also without **d-**: **ma amarilun mimra** (Gy 235: 3) "as soon as I addressed a speech to them" (**ma d-** as "that which": **ma d-amart mqaima** Gy 235: 4 "*quod dixisti confirmatur*"). Mod. "whenever" is either *hemdā ke* with the relative conjunction or *hemmed* without the conjunction; ("as long as" is replaced by the simple *tom*): *hemdā ke ān qaqimna bāx qaqāyem*
- 25 "Whenever I stand up, he (also) stands up", *hemdā ke βād qāβed* or *hemmed βād qāβed 'āḡeḡ qahāwī* "Whenever he works, he gets tired", *hemmed bištar βād qāβed bištar 'āḡeḡ qahāwī* "the more he works, the more he gets tired" (*tom bax qabaxini* "as long as I see him").

- b) In a similar way, **d-** preceded by an expression of place introduces
- 30 a relative clause of place in which, or to which: **dukta d-** (very often in ARR), (**b**)**atra d-** "(a) the place where", mod. *dokkī ke*; **latra d-** "to the place where mod. *qadokkī ke* both "where" and "whither".

§ 312. **d-** is omitted in clauses of comparison after **aiak** "like, as"¹¹¹: **umaram 'I kulhun aiak šumia mn ṭuria** (Gy 3: ult.) "and He is exalted

¹¹⁰ MG, p. 454 n. 2; cf. Lidzbarski, *Ginzā*, p. 96: 1—2.

¹¹¹ Unlike Syr. *aykā d*, Talm. **ד אכ"ה** (MG, p. 453 n. 2).

over all, as the heaven (is higher) than the hills¹¹² = mod. *mā-giṣdū dalyātarye hemke erqība mā-tūrān*. Mod. *kemmā* “as” is used without *ke*: *kemmā āt qāḅdet orke an qāḅed(na) orkaḡ* “Wie du mir, so ich dir”. Nevertheless, **ḏ-** is used in clauses of comparison, introduced with **kḏ zan ḏ-** (as Syr. *aḫzen d, aḫzənā*) and even with **kḏ ḏ-** (§ 318 b β γ). **akuat** is used sometimes alone, sometimes completed with **ḏ-** (cf. *ibid.*).

§ 313. **ḏ-** = mod. *ke* is used to introduce an indirect statement: **mḥauai ‘lḥ ḏ-qala niḥuia ‘I anaṣia** (Gy 383: 5) “It is destined about it, that there will be a voice to people”; mod. *emar ke peršā gomkammar* “he said that he will return tomorrow”.

In the classical, **ḏ-** could also introduce a direct speech, after which a transition to an indirect statement was made possible by the coordinative conjunction **u**: **ia ḏ-amria ḏ-lḥia anin uḥia luataikun hinun** (Gy 176: 14) “O ye who say: “We belong to Life” (§ 276: 1 f.), and Life is with you”.

Regarding **ḏ-** in the indirect question cf. § 321a.

§ 314. **ḏ-** = mod. *ke* can introduce a causal clause, esp. after expressions of fearing, worrying, anger etc.: **ḥaḡit umiṭian zihua ḏ-lika luatai naṣbai** (Gs 55: 8) “I was afraid and fright came on me, that my Creator was not with me”, **akṣat ukarialia ḏ-darit bgauḥ ḏ-hazin alma** (Gs 113: 19) “It pained and troubled me, that I stayed in this world”; cf. also **ḏ-** after interjections: **uai uai ḏ-** “woe, woe that . . .”, **haslak ḏ-** “God forbid, that thou . . .”. Mod.: *ḫolqede wayyeq ke kandī laḥṯā* “I am anxious, that he did not come yet”; after an interjection: *wās ke an lemrit* “Oh, may I not have told!”

In order to introduce a proper causal cause, **ḏ-** is combined with certain prepositions: **(‘I) aminṭul ḏ-**, **‘I ḏ-**, **mn qbal (ḏ-)** “because”. In mod. Mandaic a simple *ke* is sufficient: *an deṣtā enefit ke abū ṯowḥe* “I fell on the ground, because he pushed me”, and *ke* can even be omitted: *an laḥṯite madaḡ ḡeyzān bewite* (§ 257b).

§ 315. **ḏ-** = mod. *ke* or *bōre* (=: P. *barāy?*) is used to introduce a clause of purpose with the verb in the impf. or in the participial present-future: **uaulalḥ**

¹¹² MG, p. 453: ult.

Inu d-n'da (Gy 381: 6) “*et apportavit id ad Noë, ut cognoscat*”; mod. *an parāha qabeṣne-lhāχ böre qamkamerlī elāwe* “*d(ab)o ei pecuniam, ut eam mihi reddat*”.

- d-** can be completed by ‘**I akuat** “for the purpose” ‘**I akuat mšadarnalak**
 5 **d-‘bidatak dilak nišipra** (Gs 57: 4) “I send thee (for the purpose) that thy works be good”. Moreover, a clause of purpose can be replaced by a coordinate clause: ‘**zil plibh b’šūna uadinqia ṭamia nihun** (Gs 57: 5) “Go and fall to the body, and they shall be without senses”; mod. *doṭi u-qalīna orkaχ* “Come, that I (may) go with thee”. The conjunction is often omitted in mod.
 10 Mandaic, esp. in clauses of volition; **qbina minak atit ahuaz** (Sh. Abd. by letter) “I want thee to come to Ahwāz”, **baiina minak kul iahra kaṭaṭ atia** (the same letter) “I wish that a letter from thee would come every month”.

- § 316. A clause of result is introduced by the same **d-** (mod. *ke*), but its verb is usually in the pf.: **ligṭan d-humarta d-halṣai ‘tibrat** (Gy 164: 17)
 15 “he seized me, so that my necklace broke”. But the same idea is more often expressed by a coordinate clause in both languages, cf. mod. *loχte-l-din u-homarte foqotte eteḫrat id*.

- § 317. A clause as an object is usually subordinated with the relative **d-**, but sometimes even without it: **mn halin kulhun šumia d-anatun amritun ana**
 20 **labaiana masqilh šuma hin‘la baiana masqilh šuma iahia iuhana** (Jb. 118: 4—7) “I (fem.: Elizabeth) want to give him none of these names, which ye say, but I want to give him the name Yahyā-Ihāna” (so pronounced).

- In mod. Mandaic, the relative *ke* is regularly omitted in such cases: *la-qyāde mo-qmennā* “I don’t know what to say”, *la-qyāde (hāχ) mo-qāmer* “I don’t
 25 know what he says”.

§ 318. Cl. **kḏ** (= Syr. *kad*) is used in mod. Mandaic in its Talmudic form כִּד (§ 184 b) However, the mod. *ke* lost its original temporal and comparative functions, and is used for “when” only in a non-Mandaic compound *waqtike*, for “as”, “like” only as *hemke*.

- 30 The original temporal meaning of **kḏ** was extended to conditional and causal. The comparative meaning remained, but **kḏ** in this function is often completed and modified by special comparative expressions.

a) Temporal, conditional and causal: **kḏ niqum** = **kḏ qaiim** (= mod. *waqtike qāyem*) “when he stands up”, **kḏ abrinun** “when he brought them across” (mod. *waqtike [lā-hannoḡ] aḏyū* “when he brought them”). **kḏ** can be preceded by the subject (as Lat. *cum*) and followed by an ellipse: **hakima kḏ mšalam** (Gy 217: 6) “when a wise man (is) perfect”, **sakla kḏ iatir** (Gy 217: 1, 4, 8) “when a foolish person exceeds (in foolishness)”. Sometimes, **kḏ** is enlarged by a further **ḏ-**: **kḏ ḏ-ba** (Gy 85: 9) “as he wanted” etc.

b) Comparative:

α) Often followed by an ellipse: **aliptinun kḏ rba lašualia** (Gy 108: 22) “I taught them, as a master (teaches) a disciple”.¹⁰

β) Followed by a full sentence, **kḏ** is always completed by **ḏ-**: **kḏ ḏ-hzit** (Gy 75: 5) “as I have seen”.

γ) Completed by a special comparative expression, such as **damia kḏ, kḏ zan (ḏ-), akuat kḏ: damia kḏ haita** (Gy 14: 2) “she resembles an animal”, **kḏ zan alma hazin** (Gy 394: 7) “like this world”, **kḏ zan ḏ-lahun** (Gy 164: 22) “as if they had not existed”. **akuat** is used more often completed with **kḏ** than alone (§ 312 end).

δ) In mod. Mandaic, the comparative conjunction **kḏ** was replaced by *hemke*, which is represented in literature by **ham kḏ**, occurring in a later text in Q 46, and compared by Nöldeke with the P. *hamčün*¹¹³. However, its first part is identical with the mod. interrogative *hem* (§§ 114b, 265e), rather than with the P. *ham*. Ex.: *lā-bezītī walī aḡū qombašqernī hemke anḥū bezītī* “I did not see him, but I know him, as if I had seen him”, *hemke bebīmye u-ḡor lā-qāβed* “he is like an animal and understands nothing”.

§ 319. *General Rules*, concerning the cl. **ḏ-** and its compound **kḏ**¹¹⁴.²⁵

a) When there are several relative clauses after each other, **ḏ-** need not be repeated.

b) **ḏ-** and **kḏ** are, as a rule used before the relative clause. When **ḏ-** is in the middle of the clause, its position is usually chosen purposely to emphasize the preceding part: **šuba mišma ḏ-šimun 'tkanan** (Gy 339: 17)³⁰ “*Septem, qui audiverunt me, congregati sunt*”, **haza ḏ-sablia udaria** (Gs 79: 20)

¹¹³ MG p. 465: 16.

¹¹⁴ MG §§ 310—311.

“*hoc qui patiuntur et ferunt*”, ruha baiitun **ḍ**-*iautbh* b'*nšia* (Gy 188: 1)
 “*Ruham vultis ut in matrimonium ducam*”, 'I atrai **ḍ**-*qaiimna* (Gy 323: 5) “*in loco meo cum sto*” (cf. § 318 a).

- c) The repeating of mod. *ke* would produce an undesirable effect. When several relative clauses follow each other, only the first one is introduced with *ke*, the following are simply coordinated: *gaḥrā ke hamrā la-qšāyet u-goḥor la-qāli* “a man, who drinks no wine, and who does not smoke”. The exclusive position of *ke* and *hemke* is before the clauses introduced by them.

§ 320. A cl. negative clause of purpose could be introduced by 'dilma (**ḍ**-) “*ne forte*”, often by hzia 'dilma “*videas ne*”: hzun 'dilma **ḍ**-*tigirun gaura hzun 'dilma ḍ-*gunba tiginbun* (Jb 174: 9 f.) “*videatis ne adulteretis, videatis ne furemini*”. A mod. neg. clause of purpose is usually introduced without any conjunction: *heḥi la-nāflet* “*videas ne cadas*”.*

§ 321. Indirect Question.

- a) In the classical, an indirect question was introduced by m', 'dilma or **ḍ**-. The last one is often omitted.

1. With **ḍ**-. *laiaditun . . . ḍ*-*šibiahia mahu ḍ*-*mithašbia* (Gy 105: 15) “ye do not know what the planets think”, 'mar **ḍ**-*mna hšuka* (Gy 75: 10) “I say from where the darkness came”.

2. Without **ḍ**-. *laiadia lman mitkadšia* (Gs 124: 9) “they do not know against whom they fight”, *la'danin mn haka huin* (Gy 355: 9) “we do not know from where we are”, *la'tauda 'mat hua* (Gy 77: 15) “it is unknown when he came to existence” (but Q 34: 10 *la'tauda ḍ*-*'mat hua*). The verb, introducing an indirect question can be even in the middle of the question: *šragia ḍ*- *azlia aqamai laiadana alman qanaḥria* “*lucernae, quae eunt ante me, nescio, quem custodiant*”¹¹⁵.

- b) In mod. Mandaic, an indirect question is never preceded by *ke*, so that it is identical with the direct question: *an šēlit āt mo-qāmret* “I asked what he (: himself) says” (lit. “I asked: What dost thou say?”), *an šēlit bāḫ mo-qāmer* “I asked what he (: another) says”; *məbax šēlit keḥ kem qabāwet* “I asked him how long will he (: himself) stay”, *məbax šēlit keḥ kem qa-*

¹¹⁵ MG, pp. 472 f.

bāwī "I asked him how long will he (: another) stay"; *læ-q yāde perša qaθīna lo læ* "I do not know wheter I come to-morrow or not". The verb, introducing the question, must always precede.

§ 322. Conditional Clauses¹¹⁶

a) In the classical: Conditional conjunctions are **hin** and **'u** "if". Followed by an imperfect, participial present, or a nominal sentence, they introduce a condition, whose accomplishment is possible or probable: **'u iahbitun biaminaikun l(i)smaikun latimrun** (Gy 15: 17) "If ye give with your right, do not say to your left"¹¹⁷.

A hypothetic condition is expressed by the verb in the perfect indicating an impossibility of accomplishment: **'u hua mš'iit bhazin gabra d-haila uzia taqa lamš'iit mišiqh minh** (Gy 164: 13) "If thou wert a match for this strong and brilliant man, couldst thou not take his crown from him?". But even in such a case, there can be participial present, or a nominal sentence: **'u birqiha hinun kd baqla šumia uarqa haka hauia daurahun** (Gy 284: 13) "If they were on the firmament, where would be their abode, when the heaven and earth are abolished?"

Conditional conjunctions are often followed by an ellipse (as Ar. *idā* in the Koran): **hin iahiblkun maraikun(. .) hin'la** (Gy 14: 21 etc.) "If your Lord gives you, (it is good, or something alike), but . . .".

Conditional conjunctions can be emphasized by **d-**, especially when the clause is negative, introduced by **'la**, **'lau** "if not", "except" (Ar. *illā*, P. *maḡar*). Such conditional clauses are often elliptic.

The conditional conjunction is sometimes omitted, as in **aškit kapna sabit** (Gs 103: 13) "If I found a hungry one, I filled him".

b) In mod. Mandaic, a conditional clause is introduced by the P. *ægar*, neg. *ægar læ*:

1. *ægar hemkedin hewet šbirye* "Si mihi par es, bene est"; *ægar læ-aθonnī anā gamennī la-šihyāna* (Morg. 277: 7) "If they don't bring it, I'll tell the governor".

2. *ægar hemkedin hewet behtar hewet* "Si mihi par esses (or fuisses), melior esses (or fuisses)"; *ægar abit emrit šihyāna abal yūma howā gaθlennoḡon anā læ-rəḡit* (Morg. 277: 5 f.) "If I wanted, I would tell (or have told) the governor, but in the day he would kill you I would not be happy".

¹¹⁶ Ibid. §§ 313 - 315.

¹¹⁷ Cf. Mat. 6: 3.

There is no formal difference between a hypothetical, condition in the past and in the present.

Šābūrī translated the cl. example Gy 164: 13 (above, s. a.), as follows: *aḡar hemke āḡ gaβrā hewet elīma qāmū lə-qombaḡ tāḡdī mə-rīšī qadaryātī* “If thou wert as strong as this man, why couldst thou not take his crown from his head?”.

4. Elliptic Locutions¹¹⁸

§ 323. Incomplete sentences are very frequent in Mandaic. They are characteristic for prophetic writings in general. Ellipses in conditional clauses can be compared with the Koranic (§ 321 a), short sentences as **qala d-manda d-hiia** (Gy 366: 4 etc.) “the voice of M-d-H” with **קול קורא בְּמִןְ בְּר** (Jes. 40: 3) etc. Some of them may be explained by the circumstance that there was no need of a more complete formulation.

§ 324. Elliptic locutions in conjurations and greetings formulas are known in all languages:

a) Classical: **bhaiak hibil ziua** (Jb. 191: 7, 8) “By Thy life, H-Z., (I swear that . . .)”, **bhaiak bhaiak šliha d-hiia** (Gy 386: 17) “By thy life, by thy life, o Apostle of Life”, **bnišmat kulaikun** (Gs 90: 21) “By the soul of all of you” etc.¹¹⁹

In greetings: **ṭubḥ, ṭubak, ṭubaihun I-** “*salus ei, tibi, eis*” etc. After an interjection: **has I-** “God forbid that . . .”.

b) Modern: *qaderšet peyāmbər* “By the soul of the prophet, *qaderšet eldaḡ* “by thy life” etc. In greetings: *ešlāma lāwaḡ* “Peace, to you!”, *šobaḥ ṭāβ lāwaḡ* “Good morning!”, *pən ṭāβ lāwaḡ* “Good evening!” (but *sūθ ehwiḡaḡ* as in the cl. **asuta nihuilak** “*salus sit tibi!*”), *māre orkaḡ* “God (be) with thee!”, “Goodby!”. After interjections: *wās ke, qowās ke* “God forbid that . . .”.

¹¹⁸ MG § 317.

¹¹⁹ In the Talm. the preposition could be omitted, cf. **חייך וחיי ראשך** (Ber. 3 a, Goldschm. I, p. 5: 2) “by thy life and the life of thy head”. In Mand. the preposition remains according to both the cl. and the mod. (s. b) uses.

§ 325. Apart from the normal primitive elliptic locutions mentioned in the preceding paragraphs, there are many ellipses of stylistic nature characteristic esp. for rituals and priestly commentaries. In these documents (a) many words to be understood are simply omitted, (b) unfinished or interrupted sentences are extremely frequent and concluding sentences are often missing, (c) logical structure of the sentence is defective. As these documents were written for people acquainted with their language and used to read among their lines, no special care was given to their redaction in stylistic details. Their original defects could only be increased by careless later copyists who hardly always fully understood their meaning. The long “secret” Naṣoraean scrolls, such as ATŠ, ARR, ARZ and others, abound with similar lacks, the enumeration of which would be extremely tiresome. I mention only at random some of them for the sake of illustration.

a) *Words understood*: After **haizak** = **ha(i)zin** “thus, so” the verb is often omitted, cf. HG 25, where **haizak** is followed by a double circle indicating the end of an idea (hence “It happened so” or something alike); **kd hazin** (ATŠ no. 143) is followed by **hauin** in the MS of Paris, although this word is missing in both MS of DC. Did the copyist complete this word, or did it stand already in the original copy? Judging after the two latter MS, the former possibility seems more probable. But in **haizak malil mara d-rabuta** (ATŠ no. 160) “So spoke the *māra d-rabūṭa*”¹²⁰ the verb is missing in the copy of Paris. It is probable that the copyist omitted this word from the original, as such omissions after **haizak** were current. In **tum kul man d-bhazin tapsir** (ATŠ no. 227) “So that every man who (reads, studies, contemplates?) this Explanation” the verb (**qaria**, **hagia**) is omitted. Similar omissions in which the word omitted is easily understood and completed are very frequent.

b) *Unfinished or interrupted sentences*: A mere look at the very frequent double circles in the first half of HG and a consideration of the places so marked will reveal the reader many interruptions of ideas as well as sentences without end or beginning. In order to explain these inconsistencies, Lady

¹²⁰ The word lit. means “the Lord of Greatness” and is as such used of the exalted King of Light (Gy 2: 14, 69: 11 etc). But in this document it is a title of the Great Nbat, the instructor and initiator of the Great Šišlām into the priesthood. The former is a prototype of a **rba** (*rabbā*) “Master, Instructor”, the latter of an **ašualia** (*ašwalyā*) “novice” (cf. E. S. Drower, *The Thousand and Twelve Questions*, p. 5 ff.).

Drower was forced to a hypothesis that the original or a later copy form which the MS was copied must have been badly damaged by fire or water and the conscientious copyist filled in blanks by the double circle¹²¹. This is, of course, possible. But there are examples from many other documents

5 proving that the double circle was used without consistency, cf. ARR 202, where it stays after **uamar** and accordingly corresponds to our double-point, and *ibid.* l. 216, 223 etc., where it stands before **uamar** (or before **uqra** l. 219, 227 etc.) and corresponds to our full-stop. The author of HG might have simply written as he would have orally narrated. But contrarily to our

10 editorial work the Mandaean narrations are often poorer when they are written down than when they are merely told. The words which the narrator forgot to say in one place may appear in another and produce a rather disturbing effect. — Especially confusing are long ritual instructions in which only the first verses of hymns to be recited are enumerated and followed by

15 an elliptical concluding sentence. For a reasonable understanding of such rituals a perfect knowledge of the whole Mand. liturgical literature is required, for one must know where the quotation ends and the concluding sentence begins. Special difficulties are caused by the frequent **ubdukta d-amar** “and at the place where he says” (i. e. somewhere in the middle or

20 at the end of the recited hymn), after which an insertion follows without special introduction¹²². But such instructions are destined only for the priests who know all prescribed hymns and prayers by heart and need not look into books for their identification, as we do. — In certain cases a sentence may be only apparently unfinished or interrupted, since the idea expressed

25 by it differs from our occidental ideas and imaginations. The vivid phantasy of the Mandaeans combines things much more freely and easily than ours: In **kulhun (u)ṣṭlia ulbuṣia d-himiana gauna hurina lbar mn gaunaian hdirlun halin tauria d-ni(z)ra zira ṭaba lazarin** (ATŠ no. 251) did Lady Drower see an interrupted sentence¹²³. But it is not impossible that the sen-

30 tence is quite coherent: “all vestments and clothes girdled by a belt of a colour other than their (own) colour — these are yoke-oxen that do not sow good seed”. The simile may not quite correspond to our western taste, but similar parables are very frequent in the same document (cf. under c).

¹²¹ ST 176, p. XI.

¹²² Cf. E. S. Drower, *A Pair of Naṣōraean Commentaries*, S. 15 (l. 1, 5, 23), 17 (l. 2). *passim*.

¹²³ Translation, p. 177 n. 9.

c) *Defective logical structure*: Logical incoherence of many Mand. sentences is striking. It often seems as if the writer had forgotten the idea he had in mind at the beginning of the sentence, but still more often the copyists are to be accused for misunderstanding and misinterpreting the original ideas in their copies, cf. **uhalin d-hazit** (var. **dauit**) **mindam mn lbušia d-(a)šualia 'u (man d-)hauia bhatma mahu hauia mn rba umahu hauia mn šualia 'u bšitin mahu hauia minaihun** (ATŠ no. 57) “and these which thou seest, something from the vestments of the novice (a loose *constructio ad sensum* in which the indeclinable **mindam** must have been taken as a pl. “things”), or who is at the sealing, . . . what will happen to the master and to the novice? If (this occurred?) during sixty (days, Lady Drower completes: of purity), what will happen to them?”¹²⁴. Similar anacolutha and unexpected changes of the subject are frequent. Their most primitive example is: **'u hauia kd qaria masiqta ana ia šitlai ṭaba maprišnalkun lrazia ulzharia kd šagia** (ATŠ II no. 28) “Or should it happen whilst reciting the *masiqta*, I shall teach you (pl.), O my good child (< plant), about the mysteries and rubrics when he makes a mistake”, where an explanation is promised instead of being immediately given. If the author had tried to give an immediate answer he would certainly have been involved into further anacolutha. The complicated thinking of priestly casuistry was hardly compatible with clearness and simplicity.

¹²⁴ Lady Drower gives a slightly different translation, but neither hers nor mine makes full sense. An exact translation of such dull sentences without logical coherence is above human forces.

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Appendix

- (A. A Classical Text with Transliteration, Pronunciation, Translation and Notes,
- B. Samples of the Vernacular,
- C. English-Mandaic Vocabulary of the Vernacular,
- D. Additions and Corrections to Drower-Macuch, A Mandaic Dictionary, Oxford — The Clarendon Press 1963,
- E. Additions and Corrections to the Grammar)

17 $\angle C$ $\angle D$, $\angle A$ $\angle B$. 18 Petermann: $\angle A$ $\angle B$.
 19 $\angle A$ $\angle B$. 20 $\angle A$ $\angle B$, $\angle C$ $\angle D$. 21 $\angle C$.
 22 $\angle C$. 23 $\angle A$. 24 $\angle A$ $\angle B$. 25 $\angle A$.
 26 $\angle A$ $\angle B$. 27 $\angle A$, $\angle B$. 28 $\angle A$. 29 $\angle A$ $\angle B$.
 30 $\angle A$. 31 $\angle C$. 32 $\angle A$ $\angle B$, $\angle C$ $\angle D$. 33-33 $\angle A$ $\angle B$.
 34 $\angle A$ $\angle B$. 35 $\angle A$ $\angle B$. 36 $\angle A$ $\angle B$. 37 $\angle A$ $\angle B$.
 38 $\angle A$ $\angle B$. 39 $\angle A$ $\angle B$.

17 $\angle C$ $\angle D$, $\angle A$ $\angle B$. 18 Petermann: $\angle A$ $\angle B$.
 19 $\angle A$ $\angle B$. 20 $\angle A$ $\angle B$, $\angle C$ $\angle D$. 21 $\angle C$.
 22 $\angle C$. 23 $\angle A$. 24 $\angle A$ $\angle B$. 25 $\angle A$.
 26 $\angle A$ $\angle B$. 27 $\angle A$, $\angle B$. 28 $\angle A$. 29 $\angle A$ $\angle B$.
 30 $\angle A$. 31 $\angle C$. 32 $\angle A$ $\angle B$, $\angle C$ $\angle D$. 33-33 $\angle A$ $\angle B$.
 34 $\angle A$ $\angle B$. 35 $\angle A$ $\angle B$. 36 $\angle A$ $\angle B$. 37 $\angle A$ $\angle B$.
 38 $\angle A$ $\angle B$. 39 $\angle A$ $\angle B$.

Transliteration

bšumaihun d̄-hiia rbia k̄d̄ ana šliha d̄-nhura (2) malka d̄-mn nhura asgit lka atit laupa uziua (3) b'dai nhura utušbihta 'lai šauta 'lai (4) u'ruta uqala ukaluza 'lai rušuma 'lai umašbuta (5) umanhvana libbia haškia bqalal ukaluzai qala (6) qribh̄ balma qala balma qribh̄ mn riš 'l (7) riših̄ d̄-alma qala balma qribh̄ kul 'niš bnapšh̄ (8) n'zdahar kul man d̄-n'zdahar bnapšh̄ nitparaq (9) mn nura akla ṭubaihun labdia kušta šalmania (10) umhaimnia ṭubaiun lšalmania d̄-mitrahqia mn (11) kul d̄-biš šliha ana d̄-nhura d̄-rba šadran (12) lhazin alma šliha ana kuštana d̄-kadba litbh̄ (13) kuštana d̄-litbh̄ kadba ulaiit bgauh̄ hasir (14) ubšir šliha ana d̄-nhura kul man d̄-arha (15) brihih̄ hia kul man d̄-qabil šuth̄ ainh̄ nhura (16) 'tmliha ainh̄ 'tmliha nhura upumh̄ tušbihta (17) mla pumh̄ mla tušbihta ulibh̄ hukumta 't (18) mliha arhubh̄ gaiaria šamar gauraiun uatin (19) brihai mitkarkia uamria k̄d̄ la'danin garnin (20) gaura hašta d̄'danin lanigar šliha ana (21) kuštana d̄-kadba litbh̄ kuštana d̄-litbh̄ kadba (22) ulaiit bgauh̄ hasir ubšir kul man d̄-arha (23) brihih̄ hia ukul man d̄-arhabh̄ ainh̄ bnhura (24) 'tmliha arhubh̄ kadabia šamar kadbaiun uatin brihai (25) mitkarkia uamria maran k̄d̄ la'danin (26) amarnin kadba hašta d̄'danin lanimar . . .

Pronunciation

bušmeyhōn ad-beyyī rabbī
kæd anā šliḥā danbūra
 (2) *malkā ad-men anhbūra azgīt*
elkā aḏit lōfa uzīwa
 (3) *abidē anhbūra utošbāḏa elle*
šōta elle (4) u-īrūḏa
uqāla ukalūza elle
rušūma elle umašbetta
 (5) *umanhirāna libbī hāšḫt*
abqāle ukalūze
qāla (6) aqrībī abālma
qāla abālma aqrībī
men riš el (7) rišī ad-ālma
qāla abālma aqrībī
kul īneš abnašfī (8) niḏdabbar

kul man ad-niḏdabbar abnašfī
nišfarraq (9) men nūra āḫla
ṭūbeyhōn elāšḏt kuštā
šalmānī (10) uemhaymanī
ṭūbeyhōn elšalmānī
ad-mitrahqī men (11) kol ad-biš
šliḥa anā danbūra
ad-rabbā šadrān (12) el-bāzen ālma
šliḥa anā kuštāna
ad-kadβā leḏbī
 (13) *kuštāna ad-leḏbī kadβā*
ulāye ḏ abguwwī hasīr (14) ubašīr
šliḥa anā danbūra
kul man ad-arḥā (15) briḥī ahyā
kul man ad-qabbel šūḏī

eyni anbhūra (16) itemli
 eyni itemli anbhūra
 upommī toṣbāṭa (17) amlā
 pommī amlā toṣbāṭa
 ulebbī bhūḡem ṭa it(18)emli
 arhūbī gayārī
 ṣammar gōreyyōn uāḡen
 (19) abrihē mitkarkē uāmri
 kēḍ la-īdannīn garnīn (20) gōra
 haṣṭā ad-īdannīn laniggar
 ṣlība anā (21) kuṣṭāna

ad-kadβā le ḡbī
 kuṣṭāna ad-le ḡbī kadβā
 (22) ulāye ḡ abgūwvī hasīr ubēṣīr
 kul man ad-arbā (23) brihī abyā
 ukul man ad-arbābī
 eyni banbhūra (24) itemli
 arhūbī kadāβī
 ṣammar kadβeyyon uāḡen
 abrihē (25) mitkarkē uāmri māran
 kēḍ la-īdannīn amarnīn kadβā
 haṣṭā ad-īdannīn lanimmar . . .

Translation

¹-In the name⁻¹ of² the Great⁴ Life³. When⁵ I, the apostle⁶ of Light⁷, (2) the king who went⁸ from the Light, came⁹ thither¹⁰, union¹¹ and radiance¹² (3) (were) in my hand(s)¹³, light and glory¹⁴ on me¹⁵, splendour¹⁶ on me (4) and brilliance¹⁷, a voice¹⁸ on me and proclamation¹⁹, the sign on me and the baptism²¹ (5) and an illuminer²² of dark²⁴ hearts²³. With my voice and my heralding (6) I made²⁵ a call in the world²⁶, a call in the world I made²⁷-from one end to (7) the other⁻²⁷ of the world. I made a call in the world: Let everybody (8) take care²⁸ of himself²⁹! Everybody who taketh care²⁸ of himself²⁹ shall be freed³⁰ (9) from³¹-consuming fire⁻³¹. Hail³² to the servants³³ of Truth³⁴, the perfect³⁵ (10) and the faithful³⁶. Hail to the perfect who keep themselves aloof from (11) all evil³⁷. I am the apostle of Life, whom the Great One³⁸ sent³⁹ (12) to this world. I am the true apostle, ⁴⁰-in whom there is no⁻⁴⁰ lie (13), a true one, in whom there is no lie, and there is in him no ⁴¹-imperfection (14) an deficiency⁻⁴¹. I am the apostle of Life. Whosoever⁴² smelleth⁴³ (15) at his scent, obtaineth life⁴⁵; whosoever accepteth his doctrine, his eyes⁴⁶ (16) are filled⁴⁷ with light, with light are filled his eyes and his mouth⁴⁸ (17) is filled⁴⁹ with praise, with praise is filled his mouth, and his heart is (18) filled with wisdom⁵⁰. The adulterers⁵¹ smelt at it, they forsook⁵³ their adultery and came, surrounded themselves (19) with my smell and said: When ⁵³-we were ignorant⁻⁵³, we ⁵⁴-committed (20) adultery⁻⁵⁴; now since we know we do not fornicate. (21) I am the true apostle, in whom there is no lie, the true one, in whom there is no lie, (22) and there is in him no imperfection and deficiency. And whosoever smelleth (23) at his scent, ob-

raineth life, and whosoever smelleth at it, his eyes (24) are filled with light. The liars smelt at it, they forsook their lie and came, (25) surrounded themselves with my scent and said: Our Lord! When we were ignorant, we told lie(s); now since we know we do not tell . . .

Notes

The given pronunciation is “abāgādical” (cf. §§ 3, 63 ff.) and as such cannot be considered as perfectly original, but its relative antiquity is proved by the rythm of the poem. — It is difficult and often impossible to preserve the exact original word-order of Mandaean poetry in English translation. Therefore, the numeration of lines of the autographed text in the translation is only approximative.

1. **b** § 15, 77; nominal formation § 115; suff. § 106a, 3rd p. pl. masc. — 2. § 5. — 3. < *hayē*, cf. § 48a, *plurale tantum* § 173b, scr. def. § 14b. — 4. similarly §§ 14b, 173b. — 5. § 14b. — 6. § 125a, about the vanishing of the šwa mobile cf. § 12a. — 7. § 127a, cf. § 77. — 8. § 226βa: Af. 1st p. sg. with regr. assimilation of sonority § 40a. — 9. The MS of Leiden (cf. Lidzbarski, *Ginzā* 57 n. 2) has a poorer var. *aitit* (af.) “I brought”. — 10. § 192b. — 11. rt. LUP = LPP, § 116a. — 12. Aram *xiwā* < Akk. *xīmu*. — 13. § 115, suff. § 106a 1st p. sg. — 14. rt. ŠBH § 139a. — 15. prep. ‘I (§ 183) with pers. suff. 1st p. sg. — 16. § 32. — 17. abstr. noun from the rt. ‘UR < YHR (cf. § 50). — 18. § 119a. — 19. §§ 28, 123. — 20. § 118a. — 21. § 149a. — 22. nom. ag. af. of NHR; Lidzbarski translates: „ich erleuchte”, which would, however, be *manhirna*. — 23. § 173a. — 24. The poorer var. *hašukia* of *A* must be discarded already for the sake of the rythm. — 25. pe. of QRA with encl., cf. § 226αa. — 26. § 121. — 27. § 187α. — 28. impf. ethpa. of ZHR § 201dα. — 29. § 261. — 30. impf. ethpa. of PRQ, cf. § 201dα. — 31. § 160e. — 32. a nominal form (§ 127a) used with pers. suff. as a greeting or blessing formula. — 33. according to pronunciation an act. pt. pe. (§ 9a) not a nominal form *fa’l*, hence lit. “*facientes*”, although “servants” conveys a more adequate meaning”. — 34. “Truth” is the most usual rendering of this central notion of Mandaean religion, cf. Sundberg, *Kushta*, p. 40f. — 35. § 143b. — 36. § 136c. — 37. § 125a, about the construction with *kul* cf. § 252. — 38. as sg., hence not the Life, but the High King of Light (cf. Lidzbarski, *Ginzā*, p. 58 n. 5). — 39. “sent me” (pa. of ŠDR) with suff. — 40. § 238αa. — 41. See MD s. *bšir*. — 42. § 266d. — 43. § 220βa; as to the pres. meaning of the pf. cf. § 284f. — 44. rt. RUH = RHA, § 125a. — 45. § 226ηa. — 46. § 116a. — 47. § 226γa. — 48. § 115. — 49. cf. § 226αa. — 50. § 8c. — 51. § 129a. — 52. MD 470b. — 53. rt. YDA (< 𐎧𐎠) § 216a. — 54. § 219αa (with *gaura* as an inner object). — 55. This word is omitted in a similar context above (here, l. 19).

B. SAMPLES OF THE VERNACULAR

I. "To be".

1. *an mandāyi eḡte*
2. *āt qošen bewet*
3. *ēka rab qabwina qošen qaleβešna*
4. *ēka bonin bewite šāllit*
5. *qabina ke āt mār parāba hāwet*
6. *dēbel ke an sabūr eḡte*
7. *aḡū bāli beḡqī*
8. *bāyad bālay boḡqātī*
9. *qāmū haḡ bāli la-qbadeqli*

- "I am a Mandaeān".
 "Thou wert a soldjer".
 "When I grow up, I shall be a soldjer".
 "When I was little, I played".
 "I want thee to be rich".
 "He feared that I am poor".
 "He is smart".
 "You have to be smart".
 "Why is he not smart?"

II. "To have".

1. *an šāhī eble (leble)*
2. *tāḡt al-mōḡa bowāle*
qabwile
3. *parāba eblax(?)*
4. *an bowar laqβednā ke mešša eblax*
5. *an qabina ke āt zeβda bawilax*
6. *aḡer āt labwet ā sā'at la-bowat qāre.*

- "I have (not) a house".
 "I had }
 "I shall have } a bed".
 "(Do) You have money (?)"
 "I don't believe that thou hast oil".
 "I want thee to have butter".
 "Without thee I wouldn't have this watch".

III. Compliments.

1. *kemye keḡdaḡ*
2. *farwāb māre. genzā šβīrye*
3. *bišmi-ḡ-beyyi*
4. *farwābaḡ. kefen leḡte*
5. *ebyit(on) aḡit(on)*
6. *aya ebnāye?*
7. *i. — la*
8. *sālem eḡtaḡ?*
badandaḡ sālemye? }
9. *bemda qāḡet?*
10. *an genzā qarābemmaḡ*
11. *fedwaḡ alina*
12. *māre mazabarlay*
13. *māre orkaḡ*
14. *an qalina orkaḡ*

- "How are you?"
 "Thank you. Very well".
 "Please!"
 "Thank you. I am not hungry".
 "You are welcome".
 "Is Mr. at home?"
 "Yes. — No".
 "Are you well?"
 "When wilt thou come?"
 "I love thee very much".
P. qurbānat birawam.
 "Goodbye!"
 "God be with you!"
 "I (shall) accompany you".

IV. Time.

1. *sā'at* (or *šāye*) *keθ kem?*
or *mo ma'ādye?*
2. *klāθa falg*, or *klāθa u-falga*
3. *tārta u-rehwī*
4. *tārta u-klāθa rehwī*
or *kelāθa rehwī bašōra*
5. *klāθa u-asar daqīqa*
6. *ečā sā'at qamā qamēθa*
7. *tart sā'at xelef qamēθa*
8. *arba sā'at ba'de boqwāša*
9. *bamš sā'at ba'de falge lilyā*
10. *sā'adde kūk laβdīs*
11. *sā'adde kerehwā βād qāβda* or *qamā qālla*
12. *sā'adde bāθerīši* or *bāθerīš βād qāβda*
13. *ā māy keθ kem qaborğ* (*qayeber mandāya*,
qayeber mošmāna)
14. *eθmal keθ kem bowā?*
15. *peršā keθ kem qahāwī?*

"What time is it?"

"3 1/2"

"2 1/4"

"2 3/4"

"Three ten".

"9 a. m".

"2 p. m".

"4 hours after sunset".

"5 hours after midnight".

"I did not wind up my watch".

"My watch is fast".

"My watch is slow".

"Which day of the Persian (Mandaean,
Muslim) month is today?"

"What date was it yesterday?"

"What date will it be to-morrow?"

V. Weather.

1. *ā māy rehw kemye?*
2. (*rehw*) *hamīnye*, *mesiyye*
3. *ebnā mō-ekkaḡ mesitārye*
4. *kol yūm mō-šoḅah tom 'aṣri maḡar qamāhya*
5. *inšalla* (: *elow māre*) *maḡer kerehwā qabālef*
6. *iβ lekka*. *erqib pākye*
7. *artiβel iβye*. *šāmeš eleḡtat*
8. *talga qāθi*. *rehw genzā mesiyye*
9. *šāmeš qamāhya u-genze hamemti*
10. *mēn iḡfūy bowā*
11. *mēnā u-rehwā genze šβiryē*.

"How is the weather to-day?"

"It is hot, cold".

"Here it is colder than there".

"The whole day, from morning till night, it
rains".

"Inshalla, rain will pass quickly".

"There is no cloud. The sky is clean".

"It is cludy. The sun is covered".

"It 's snowing. It is very cold".

"The sun comes out, and it is very hot".

"There was a storm".

"The climate is very good".

VI. Purchase.

1. *abu mīw eliyye* (*ke qamzabben*)?
2. *aḡāya eliyye?*
3. *mōḅem lam qabāt?* (or *lam kem qabāt?*)
4. *ā ḡens goḡāde la-qāθi*
5. *bištār tomāni merka la-qšāwi*
6. *mēni u-parāb qabeḡna*
7. *parāḅāne ḡordediū qāβednā*

"Where is the fruitseller?"

"Where is the baker?"

"Which kind of bread do you want?"

"I don't need this ware".

"It is not worth more than 8 toman."

"Count and let me pay!"

"Let me change money!"

(*P. pūlam-rā ḡūrd kunam*)

VII. Travelling.

1. *bem yüm* (or *yümā*) *qabāt allet?*
2. *qa-mentekār qället lo qa-ḫaṣ(te) parḫolā?*
3. *bīṣṭar qarābemnā qa-mentekār qalina*
4. *pāl mentekār keṯ kemye?*
5. *mobāṣe aḏonnī, or asbābde aḏonnū*
6. *deriča šeryā*
7. *wel tāmmit(e)*
8. (*naṣṣe*) *lūde laḫwite. eṯṯe u-yānqāne hewon orke*

- "Which day dost thou want to go?"
 "Wilt thou go with a bus or with a train?"
 "I prefer to go with a bus".
 "How much does the bus cost?"
 "Bring my baggage!"
 "Open the window!"
 "I have lost the way".
 "I was not alone. My wife and my children were with me".

VIII. Varia.

1. *mandāyi qamḥaḏṯet?*
2. *qarib qamḥaddeṯnā. qabīna kerehwā šβir qayelefnā*
3. *βādaḫ muyye?*
4. *βāde qanāiyye, or an qanāya eḫte*
5. *abe tarmida eḫti*
6. *ā māy tāmā qā-artiṣel*
7. *māre baḫli ke emmi u-bāḫi genz ebṯeryon*
8. *tokeke mēnā ma-erqība qənāfel la-yārūqa u yārūqa qoyāreq*
9. *bendū eḫtelāf tāmā. šorrā behdāda eḫadyōn u-nāḫšū ḫowḥonnū qar rabāna*
10. *lebbi elβāda qarābemli. hemke ā oṣṫāna laḫzite βādī qarābemli*
11. *eṯṯā šēlat maḡaḫrā: māḏḫon elyi? malla: mo-qbāt? marelli: balket belle ma-āḫ māḏḫonye*
12. *mēnā balle. mēn hamim lə maḏṯet, koti talga bōdaq guwwi qmasi*
13. *mēn bamrā qašitet lo la-qšitet? yāyā la-qšitetnā u-mēn bamrā meḫeyyaḫye*

- "Dost thou speak Mandaic?"
 "I speak a little. I want to learn it very quickly".
 "What is thy profession?"
 "I am a silversmith".
 "My brother is a *tarmida*".
 "He has been born today".
 "God made his parents rejoice".
 "Dew falls from the sky on grass, and grass becomes green".
 "There was a disagreement between them. They quarrelled, and went to the governor".
 "He likes to work. I never saw a youth who likes to work like he".
 "A woman asked a man: «Where is your town?». He said: «What do you want?». She said: «Maybe, my husband is from that town of yours»".
 "Give me water. Don't bring warm water. Put a piece of ice in it, that it may cool".
 "Do you drink wine or don't you? Oh, I don't drink. *Vinum nefas est!*"

C. VOCABULARY OF THE VERNACULAR

As apart from the colophons, letters and modern tales published by De Morgan (Mission scientifique en Perse, Tome V, p. 273—286) there are no texts written in mod. Mandaic, the compiling of an approximately complete vocabulary of this living dialect would hardly be possible on hand of texts. In order to ascertain the fullest possible extent of the vocabulary used by the Mandaeans in daily life, I proceeded by letting my informant translate Arabic and Persian words into his native tongue. The result of this investigation is presented in the following English-mod. Mandaic vocabulary containing (a) original Mand. expressions, (b) Arabic and Persian words for which the vernacular has no equivalent, (c) combinations of the latter (esp. Ar. *maṣḍars* and participles and P. nouns and adjectives) with original Mand. expressions, esp. verbs. As the reader will easily recognize the foreign expressions, special indication of their origin seemed to be superfluous.

The vernacular way of expression is primitive. My informant was unable to make distinction between different parts of speech. So it happened that he often rendered a substantive by an adjective (e. g. abolition = *tamām*) or an adjective by a verbal expression (e. g. eager = *genzā qarāhem* lit. "he loves very much"). But it appeared to me that it would be impossible to insist on having exact translations of such abstract expressions for which the vernacular as a simple colloquial language seems to have no needs. My informant's translations and periphrases are given in such cases as substitutes for more exact expressions missing.

A

abandon *tark eḥad, wel eḥad, šəḅaq*
 abase *goḥān eḥad*
 abate *goḥān tāmmā*
 abbreviate s. abase
 abdicate *este'fā eḥad*
 abdomen *kars(a) rebšā*
 abduct *dərə, leḫaḫ*
 abed *qa-tayt almōḫa*
 abhor *esā, dehel genzā motanasser tāmmā*
 abide *yehem, eqāmat eḥad, moqim tāmmā*
 abject *sābūra*

able *šawī, šβir*
 ablution *ḫāmāša*
 abnormal *ḫabi'i leḫi*
 abode *bēḫ(a)*
 abolish *baroḅ, tamām eḥad, baḫḫel*
 abolition *tamām, baḫḫota*
 abominable *esni, genzā biša*
 abominate s. abhor
 abomination *mendi esni*
 abortion *yahḫa, ḫarḫ*
 abound *genzā bowā*
 above *elle*

- abridge *goʃān eʃad*
 abscess (small) *feʒer*, (great) *dombol*
 abscond *aḥwī*
 absent (to be) *la-howā*, *leḫtī*
 abolition *šābeq baḥāyī*, *reʒāyat*
 absorb (: drink) *šāt*
 abstain (from food) *laḫal*, (from drinking)
la-šāt
 absurd *moʒaḫraf*, *bimāʿnī*
 abuse *βāda baʃāla* (eʃad)
 abusive *baʃāla*
 accede *rəʒā*, *qabūl eʃad*
 accelerate *kerebwtar eʃad*
 accent *lahǧa*
 accept *leḫaʃ*, *qabūl eʃad*, *rəʒā*
 access *ohor*, *ohrā*
 accident *šoqofa*, *ettefāq*
 accompany *eʒgā ork-* (with pers. suffixes)
 accomplice *gaβrā ke βād eʃad orki*
 accomplish *tamām eʃad*, (pass.) *tamām*
tāmmā
 accord *rəʒā*
 accost *aḏā qārī u-malli*
 account *mənā*, *ḥesāb eʃad*
 accumulate *genzā ragob*
 accuracy *deqqat*
 accurate *daqiq*
 accuse 'arʒ eʃad
 accustom (: to learn) *yelef*
 ache n. *koββa*
 v. pass. pt. *kāyeβ*, f. *kiβa* my head is
 aching *riše kāyeβ*, his neck is aching
foqottī kiβa, my teeth are aching *šenāne*
kiβen
 achieve *tamām eʃad*
 acknowledge *eqrār eʃad*
 acquaint *bašqarāḏi eʃad orki*
 acquire *məʃā qa-idi*
 acquit *rəʒā*
 across (substituted by *mə-*, or *qə-*)
 act (*βād*) eʃad
 action *βāda*
 active *genzā βād qāβed*
 actor *gaβrā ke qamʃallel*
 actress *eḏḏā ke qamʃalla*
 actually *eštā*
 acute *ǧeddi*
 adamant *almās*
 add *afʃi*, *eʒāfe eʃad*
 address n. *adres*
 v. *malli* (with AMR pers. suff.)
 adieu *māre mʒabarlaḫ*, *māre mʒabarloxon*;
mare orkaḫ, *mare orkoḫon*
 adjoin *naziq aḏḏi*
 adjust *morattab eʃad*, *tartib abaβ*
 administer (: to give) *abaβ*, *ebaβ*
 administration *eḏāre*
 admiration *taʿaǧǧob*
 admit *eǧāze ebaβ*
 admonition *naʃiḫat*
 adopt *qabūl eʃad*, *rəʒā*
 adoration *sogodta*
 adore *eʒgad*
 adult *rab* (*tāmmā*)
 adultery *geryoḫta*
 advance *naziq tāmmā*
 advantage *fāyede*
 advantageous *šβir(a)*, *mofid*
 adventure (: story) *ḥekāyat*
 adversary *došman*, 'adū
 adversity *ǧaddi geniyye* (lit. his luck is asleep)
 advice *naʃiḫat*
 advise *naʃiḫat eʃad*
 advocate *wækil*, v. *wækil tāmmā*
 affair *menda*
 affect *aḏar eʃad*
 affectionate *genzā qarābem*
 affirm *emar*
 afflict *hoʒna eʃad*
 afraid (*qə*)*dābel*
 after *bāḏer*, *bāḏeris* (with pers. suff.), *ḫelef*
 afternoon *ḫelef qamēḏa*
 again *dobārta*
 against *mə*, *men*
 he was against him *moʒāleʃ tāmmā orki*
 age 'omer
 aged *genzā rab*
 agent *wækil*

- aggrandize *rabtar eβad*
 aggrieve *aziyat eβad*, 'āğez eβad
 agile *kerewā βād qāβed*
 agility *βād genzā*
 ago *qamātar*
 agony *koββa rabbā*
 agree *rəzā, qabūl eβad*
 agreeable *šβir(a)*
 aground *qa-deštā*
 ah *wāy*
 ahead *awwal, qa-ris*
 aid 'owma (eβad)
 ail *kāyeβ*
 aim *mendi ke abā*
 air *rebwā*
 akin *bemke baχ*
 alarm *dobolθa aθθi*
 alas *bēf*
 alcohol *hamrā, alkol, mašrūb*
 ale *mēn sāra*
 alike s. akin
 alive *biyāna*
 all *kol*
 allot *taqsim eβad*
 allow *šabaq, eğāze ehaβ*
 all right *šβirye*
 allude *ešāre eβad*
 allure *tahrīk eβad*
 almond *šeyda*
 almost *naziq (bowā ke)*
 alone *lūdi, nāβši lūdi*
 along *ye šamb men*
 aloof *ye faraf men*
 aloud *qa-qāla (rabbā)*
 alphabet *abāgāda*
 already (no expression as in P., sometimes replaced by *eštā* "now")
 also *ham*
 altar *faryāna*
 alter *baddel, 'awaz eβad*
 altitude *dokkā rāmā (or dālyā)*
 altogether *gišdū*
 always *kol waqt*, or Mand. *bemdā*
 amass *ragoβ*
 amaze *ta'ağğob tāmām*
 ambassador *safir(a) kabir*
 ameliorate *behtar eβad, ezištā eβad*
 amend *ta'mir eβad*
 among *bēn, gu(wwi)*
 ample *rabbā, genzā*
 amplify *rab eβad*
 amulet *qmāba, zarasta*
 amuse *lebbi beθerye, kef eβad*
 (: to laugh) *geheχ*
 ancestor *bāβ baβāna*
 ancient *qadim*
 and *u*
 anecdote *hekāyat*
 anew *dobārta*
 angel *malkā, oθra*
 anger *γeyz*
 v. *γeyzān tāmām*
 angry *γeyzān*
 anguish *wayyeq*
 animal *heywāna*
 annals *tārīχ*
 annex *ğoftedi eβad*
 announce *χabar ehaβ*
 annoy *aziyat eβad, 'āğez eβad*
 annual *qa-šedita*
 anomaly *mendi ke šabi'i lexti*
 answer *ğawāb (ehaβ)*
 ant *šošmāna*
 antelope *tāβya*
 anvil *sendān(a)*
 anxiety *dobolθa*
 anxious *χolqedā wayyeq*
 any *ehdā, ebdī*
 anything *mendi*
 apart *lūd-* (with pers. suff.)
 apathy *hič mendi la-qbōyi*
 aperture *bezūya*
 apoplexy *seqte*
 apparent *zāber*
 appear *zāber tāmām*
 appellation *kenyāna, laqab*
 appetite *eštīlū (?)*
 apple *sib*

- appreciate *emar farwābah*
 apprehend *leḡaḡ*
 apprehension *loḡoḡtā*
 apprentice *mozzer*
 approach *nəziq tām mā*
 approval *feker šβirā, kelmā šβirā*
 approve *qabūl eβad*
 apricot *mešmeš*
 aquatic *mēn(a) ebli*
 Arab, Arabic *arabāya*
 arch *belāl*
 architect *mohandez*
 argue *šor eβad, dəlil aθθi*
 argument *dəlil*
 arid s. dry
 arise *qām, nefaḡ*
 ark *kawila* (cl.)
 arm *šānda, šāne*
 (weapon) *mār qāla*
 arouse *təhrik eβad*
 arrange s. adjust
 arrest *ħabs eβad*
 arrive *aθā, mašā*
 arrogant *basifa*
 arrow *ger(rā)*
 article *maqāla*
 (ware) *mendā, βāda, ġens*
 as *bemke*
 ascend *sāq, exgā elle*
 ascent *ohrā lo-tūrā*
 ash (es) *gešma*
 ashamed *bebeθ*
 aside *ye ġamb men*
 ask *šiyyel*
 asleep *geniyye*
 aspect *ġūr*
 asphyxiate s. suffocate
 aspire *abā*
 ass *babima*
 assemble *ġisdu regoβyōn*
 assiduous *ġeddī*
 assimilate *bemke aḡ tām mā*
 assist s. aid
 associate *šarik tām mā*
- assort s. adjust
 assure *eβminān ebaβ*
 astonish *ta'aḡġob tām mā*
 astonishing *'aḡib*
 astray *wel*
 at *qə-, qār*
 atmosphere *rehwā*
 atrocious *genz bišā*
 attach *gəjar, ġofteḡi eβad*
 attack *γarat eβad*
 attempt *təġrobə (eβad)*
 attend *howā qə-*
 attitude *ħoḡ*
 attract *ġalb eβad, təhrik eβad*
 audacious *lə-qdəbel*
 auger *matta al-bezā*
 augment *genzā eβad*
 aunt *ħāle, 'amme, hāde bāβa, hāde emmā*
 autumn *pāyiz*
 avenge *enteqām dərā*
 avenue *'aḡed*
 averse *biš(a)*
 avoid (food) *pərbiz eβad, (to make empty)*
 poḡi
 await *beyeḡ*
 awake *yebem, qām*
 award *ġāyeze (ebaβ)*
 aware *qəyādī*
 away (he is:) *lekkə ehnā*
 awful *genz biš(a), esni*
- B
- babble *genzā baddəθ*
 babe *yānqa bānina*
 bachelor *ġawānqa*
 back *baḡḡa*
 adv. *'aqab*
 bad *biš(a)*
 bag *ġonḡa*
 baggage *asbāb*
 bake *afā*
 baker *afāya*
 ball *tūp*
 balm *mešša*

- band 'oqla
 bandit *genāβa*
 bang v. *mōbā*
 n. *embeyθa*
 bank *deštā lō-nabrā*
 barber *dalāqa*
 bare *šoliyye, potiyye, goliyye*
 barefoot *kerāya potiyyi*
 all of them are bare *gišdū šalimnon*
 bargain *mendi arzān*
 barley *sāra*
 barren *miwe* or *yānqa lebli*
 barrier *hadda*
 base *ašal, asās*
 baseless *asās lebli*
 bate *gojān eβad*
 bathe *šamas*
 bathroom *hamām, garmāba*
 batter *mōbā tom γord qāβed*
 battle *šer(rā)*
 bazaar *bāzār*
 bead *homarθā*
 beak *cong*
 bear v. *dorā*
 n. *dobba*
 beard *deqnā*, st. abs. *dāqen*
 bearded *deqnā eblī*
 beardless *deqnā lebli*
 beast *heywāna*
 beastly *hemke beywāna*
 beat *mōbā*
 beautiful *šeβīr(a)*
 beliyyā (fem. *beleyθa*)
 beauty *ešberti*
 because *ke*
 become *tāmmā*
 bed *tāxt al-mignā, tāxt al-mōγa*
 bedchamber }
 bedroom } *hoğra al-mignā*
 bee *zambūr*
 beef *besrā al-towrā*
 beer *mēn sārā*
 befall *tāmmā*
 before *qamā(ter)*
- before yesterday *lebmal*
 beg *šiyel, abā men*
 beget (children) *bāβa tāmma*
 beggar *sabūra*
 beggarly *hemke sabūra*
 begin *mō-riš leγaθ*
 he began to work *qām βād qāβed*
 beguile *zif abaβ*
 behave (*šβīr*) *howā*
 behead *riši pōsaq*
 behind *bāθer, bāθerīš-* (with pers. suff.)
 behold *gūš eβad, bezā*
 belie s. beguile
 believe *bowar eβad*
 believer *motebeymen*
 bell (small) *zang*, (big), *zangūl*
 belly *kars(a)*
 belong *ebl-*, past *howa l-* (both with pers. suff.)
 beloved *erbīma*
 below *denβe*
 belt *himyāna* (cl.)
 bemoan *boγā*
 bench *sikamla*
 bend *dolla tāmmā*
 beneath s. below
 benediction *bereγta*
 benefaction *βāda briγa, βāda šβīra*
 benevolence *feker šβīra*
 benevolent *fekerdi šβīrye*
 benign *šβīra*
 benzine *nafīa*
 bequeath *wajiyat eβad*
 beseech s. beg
 besides *u*
 bespeak *qamāitær emar*
 best *mō-gišdū šβīrtær*
 bet *gerow (eβad)*
 bestial *hemke beywāna*
 bethink *feker eβad*
 betimes *kerebwā*
 betray *zif abaβ, χāyen tamma*
 betroth *γeifβa eβad*
 better *bebtær*

- between *ben*
 between me and thee *bende an o-dax*
 bewail *boḫā*
 beware *zabar lo-nafsi*
 bewilder *šulūy eβad*
 beyond (him) *bāḏerdi, bāḏerisi*
 (more than) *bištar*
 bid *dastūr ebaβ*
 bide *beyeβ*
 biennial *qa-tartā ešni*
 big *rab(ba)*
 bilateral *do-ğamb*
 bile *merarta*
 bill *biliβ*
 bimonthly *kol irēn yabri*
 bind *ḫrā, rāβ*
 birch *šallāq*
 bird *ḫoprina*
 birth(day) (*yumā ke*) *tämmā qa-artiβel*
 birthplace *dokki ke tämmā qa-artiβel*
 bishop *ganzoβra* (Mand.)
 bit *koš*
 bite *neḫat*
 black *okūma*
 blackness *okmā*
 blacksmith *ḫadāda*
 blamable *biša*
 blame *e'iterāz (eβad)*
 bland *narm(a)*
 blare *qāl(a) ebaβ*
 blaspheme *māre læ-gyāde u-biβ emar*
 blast *rehwā meβā*
 blaze *nūr(a rošnā ebaβ)*
 bleat n. *qāl embara, qāl enzā, v. embara (or enzā) qāl ebaβ*
 blemish *mūma*
 bless *barreḫ*
 blessed *briḫa*
 blessing *bereḫta*
 blind *iwir(a)*
 block *sad(dā)*
 blond *manza bowāra*
 blood *dāmā, edmā*
 bloody *domeyyi, edmeyyi*
 bloom *gol, v. deraxt gol ebaβ*
 blossom s. bloom
 blot(ch) *laḫa*
 blow n. *embeyḏa, v. meβā*
 blue *mēmeyyi* (transl. of P. *abi*)
 blunder *yalta eβad*
 blush *bebeḏ, somāq tämmā*
 bluster *qal genzā (ebaβ)*
 boar *hozūra*
 board *taxt(a)*
 boast *motækæbber tämmā*
 boat *maḫūḏa*
 boatman *mār maḫūḏa*
 body *badan*
 boil *ğūš*
 v. intrans. *ğūš eβad,*
 v. trans. *ğūš aḏḏi*
 bold *læ-qdābel, dobolḏa lebli*
 bolster *moḫadda*
 bolt *rāz(a) al-βāβā*
 bonbon *holyyā*
 bond(s)man *nowkær*
 bone *germā*
 bony *hemke germā, or germ(a) ebli*
 book *kedāβ(a)* (cl. *sidrā, sijra, cstr. asfar*)
 boot *qandara dālyā*
 bore *aziyat eβad, (to pierce) bezā*
 borrow *qarz darā*
 bosom *sine* (P.)
 both *irēn, tartā*
 bother *'āğez eβad, aziyat eβad*
 bottle *šiša, bofoł*
 bottom *denβa*
 boundless *tamām læ-tämmā*
 bow v. *dolla tämmā*
 n. *qašitā*
 bowels *rāzi al-karsā*
 bowl *kāsa, niāra*
 box *šandoq*
 boy *oḫfān(a bonina), ġawānqa*
 brace *takiyye (eβad, abaβ)*
 bracelet *alangū*
 brain *mōḫ al-riša*
 brainless *mōḫ al-riša lebli*

- braise *afā*
 branch *šāḡ al-deraxt*
 brandy *hamrā, mašrūb*
 brave *dobolṭa leḥli, la-qdābel*
 bray n. *qāl babima*
 v. *babima qāl baḥḥ*
 brazier *kalūna, kanūna*
 breach *beḥūya*
 bread *lam(ma)*
 break *eḥḥar*, trans. *toḥḥar*
 breakage *beḥūya*
 breakfast *naḥṭā*
 breast *rīne* (P.)
 breath *nišma*
 breathe *nešām*
 breed *rab eḥḥad* (*el-yānqa bonina*)
 breeze *rehwā*
 brew *mēn sāra eḥḥad*
 bribe *rošwe* (*ehaḥḥ*)
 brick *lebṭa*
 bride *arāsa*
 bridegroom *damād*
 bridge *pol, tatūra*
 brief *goḥān*
 brigand *ganāḥḥa*
 bright *rowšān*
 brighten *rowšān eḥḥad*, intrans. *rowšān tāmmā*
 brilliant n. *gelāfa*
 bring *aṭṭi*
 bring forth *yedlat, aṭṭat*
 bring up *rab eḥḥad*, pass. *rab tāmmā*
 brisk(ly) *kerehwā*
 broach v. *beḥā*
 n. *saḥḡāq*
 broad *pali(yye)*
 broaden *paṭā*
 broil *afā, toḥā*
 broken *eḥḥar*
 broken-hearted *pašimān*
 brooch *saḥḡāq*
 brood *honina*
 v. (hen) *qāyatta yehmat al-biyāni*
 (think a long time) *motaḥḥakker tāmmā*
 brook *arḥa*
- broom *mašūr(a)*
 brother *abā*
 brother-in-law *abe eṭṭa* (or *abe gaḥra*)
 brow *gaḥina, zaḥān ina*
 brown *qabweyyi*
 brutal *genz biša, hemke heywāna*
 brute (*hemke*) *heywāna*
 buck *gādyā*
 bucket *anārūna* (Sh. Abd.)
 buffalo *tō(w)rā rabbā*
 bug *rehša*
 bugle n. *šeyḥūr*
 v. *šeyḥūr mabā*
 build *benā, benyān(a) eḥḥad*
 building *benyān(a)*
 builder *banāya*
 bulky *genza rab(ye)*
 bull *tōr, tō(w)ra*
 bulldog *kalba elima*
 bullfrog *paqaṭṭa raḥṭi*
 bully v. *dobolṭa aṭṭi*
 bumblebee *zambūr raḥṭi*
 bump *hil aṭṭi, mabā, towweh*
 burden *hemel*
 burglar *ganāḥḥa*
 burglary *genḥoḥṭa*
 burn *qalā, nūr mabā*
 burnish *saḡal, esqal*
 bus *mentekār* (< motor-car)
 business *ḥād(a)*
 busy *ḥād* (*genza*) *ehli*
 but *u, wali, ammā, lāken, balkat*
 butcher *qaḥāba*
 (ritual slaughter) *naḥḡāsa*
 butter *zaḥḥda*
 butterfly *parwāne*
 button *dogme*
 buy *zaḥḥan*
 by *qa, ye ḡamb men, naziq*
- C
- cabbage *yarūqa*
 cage *qafas*
 calamity *gaddi geniyye* (cf. adversity)

- calculate *mənā*, *hesāb eβad*
 calf 'aḡila, *bozāqa*
 call *garri*
 camel *gomla*
 can *qomb-* (with pers. suff.)
 canal 'oqla *ke mēn qāḡi lo-mēnā*
 cancel *bāṭel eβad*
 cancer *saraṭān*
 candle *sōḡa*
 candy *holyā*
 cane *gowāzā*
 canine *bemke kalba*, (tooth) *kakkā*
 canoe *mayūḡa*, *balam*
 cap *qoratiā*
 cape *šenel*
 capital *parāba*, *māl*, (city) *pāytaxt* (P.)
 capitalist *mār parābā(na)*
 car *mentekār* (s. bus)
 carcass *badan beywāna*
 care *feker (tāmmā)*
 caress *bannen*
 carpenter *naḡāra*
 carpet *farš*
 carriage *arabāna*
 carry *darā*
 carry on *eβad*
 carry out *tamām eβad*
 cart *arabāna*
 carve *pesaq*
 case *βāda*
 casserole *qābla*
 cast *romā*, *ermā*
 cast about *gūš eβad*
 cast up *aqgem*, *aṭfā*
 castrate *dondā pesaq*, *rāzī pesaq*
 cat *šennarta*
 cataract *yardanā elāya*
 catch *leḡaṭ*
 cause v. *eβad ke*
 n. *dalil*
 caution *zabarta*, *eḡtiyāṭ*
 cave, cavern *bezūya*
 caw *qāl qalāya*
 cease *tamām tāmmā*
- ceaseless *tamām læ-tāmma*
 celestial *qa-erqiba*
 centre *mes*
 central *meseyyī*, *miṅḡeyyi*
 certainty *haymanūḡ(a)*
 chain *šoṣalḡa*
 chance *forṣat*
 change 'awaz (*eβad*), *baddel*
 (to change money) *parābā(na) ḡordedū*
 eβad
 changeless 'awaz *læ-tāmmā*
 chant *zəmāra*
 charity *zedqā*
 charm *zarasta*, *q(ə)māba*
 charming *genza šβir(ye)*
 chase *šikār eβad*, *ḡoš leḡaṭ*
 chaste *pāk* (P.)
 chasten, chastize *naṣiḡat eβad*
 chat n. *hadaḡta*
 v. *haddeḡ orke-*
 chatter *genzā haddeḡ*
 n. *hadaḡtiā genzā*
 cheap *arzān*
 cheapen *arzān zabben*, *arzān ebaβ*
 cheat *zīf(a ebaβ)*
 check *emteḡān eβad*
 cheer(ful) *lebbi beḡverye*
 cherish *aziz tāmmā qārī*
 chest *šandoq*
 chicken *zayatta honina*
 chief *rab*, *gabāra*
 chiffon *gomāša*
 child *yānoq*, *yānqa*, *oṣṡāna*, *ebra*, (girl) *baratta*
 chill(y) *genzā masiyye*
 chin *kankūza*
 choke *ḡonaq*
 cholera *mūḡāna*
 choose *gabbī*
 to chop *ḡord eβad*
 Christ *məšiba*
 Christian *masibi*
 civilization *tamaddon*
 claim v. *abā men*
 clan *ṡāyefe*

- clap *embeyḏa qāl ebaḥ*
 clasp *ida mobā*
 classify *tartīb ebaḥ*
 claw *fofra*
 clay *fin(a)*
 clean v. *bowwer, foṃmaš, hāf, pāk eḥad*
 adj. *pāk*
 clergyman (Mand.) *tarmida*, (Christian) *qašiša*
 clerk *monsī*
 clever *šβīr(a)*
 click *qāla bonīna (ebaḥ)*
 climate *mīna u-rebwā*
 climb *sāq, ezgā elle*
 clinic *marizxāne (P.)*
 cloak *šenel*
 clock *sā'at*
 close *foṛā*
 adj. *ḡofteḏi*
 cloth *qomāša, lebās*
 clothe *leḥaš*
 cloud *iḥ(a)*
 club *gowāza (mobā)*
 cluck *qāl qayatta*
 clutch *leḥaḥ qa-fofri*
 coach *arabāna, doroške*
 coachman *mār arabāna, doroškeči*
 coal *okmā, faḥ(a)m*
 coarse *bazūfa, elima*
 coat *setra*
 cobble *ta'mir eḥad, gabbi*
 cock *zāya*
 coffee *qabwe, okmā*
 cogitate *motafakker tāmām*
 cognomen *kenyāna, laqab*
 cohabitate *bezā, šoram, bədaq qa-ḥošša*
 coincidence *ettefāq*
 cold *masi(ye)*, n. *redfa* (Šāb.)
 collect *ragoḥ*
 colour *rang, ezba*
 comb *mesterqa*
 v. *mesterqa eḥad*
 come *aḥā*
 command *epqad*
- comment *tafsīr (eḥad)*
 commerce *zabanta*
 companion *rafiq, dūr(t)*
 compare *matel aḥḏi, matel mobā*
 compatriot *eber māḏa*
 compel *bil aḥḏi*
 complain 'arḡ eḥad
 complete *takmil eḥad* adj. *kāmel, tamām*
 completely *tamām tāmām*, (all of them) *gišdū*
 complicity *βāda biša eḥadyōn gišdū*
 comrade *rafiq*
 conceal *aḥwi*
 concede *qabūl eḥad*
 conceit *rabūḏa*
 concentrate *tawaḡḡob tāmām*
 conception *feker*
 conclude *tāmām eḥad*
 concubine *geyroxta*
 concussion *tokān*
 condemn *la-šoralli* (Sh. Abd.)
 confidence *haymanūḏ(a)*
 confine *ḥabs eḥad*
 confirm *taḡdiq eḥad*
 congenial *hemke aḡ*
 congratulate *təbrik eḥad*
 congregate *gišdū aḥḏn u genzā tāmmon*
 conjoin *ḡofteḏi eḥad*
 conjoint *ḡofteḏi (qabāwi)*
 conjointly *ḡofteḏū, gišdū*
 conjugal *hemke bella u-eḥḏā*
 connect *ḡofteḏi eḥad*
 conscience *feker*
 consecrate *toṛaḡ*
 consent *roza, qabūl eḥad*
 conserve *zabhar*
 consider *feker eḥad*
 consist *ebli, eḡti men*
 consolidation *tāmām*
 constant, constant(ly) 'awaḡ *la-tāmām*
 constrain *maḡbūr eḥad, bil aḥḏi*
 consult *šiyel*
 consumption *tāmām*
 contact *ḡofteḏi*
 contemn *ḥaqar(ḏi) eḥad*

contemplate *güš eβad u-feker eβad, motæ-fakker tämmä*
 contemplation *tafakkor, feker ginzä*
 continual(ly) *kol waqt*
 continue *edäme eβli*
 contradictory *moχälef tämmä*
 contrary *eχteläf eβli*
 contribute **owne(dä) eβad*
 contrite, contrition *χolqedä wayyey, päšimän tämmä*
 control *mojättes tämmä*
 convenient *šβira*
 converse *baddetθ ork-*
 convulse, convulsion, convulsive *motæšænneg tämmä*
 cool *mäs*
 cook v. *fofä, baššel*
 n. *šabäχa*
 cooperate *βäd eβadyön behdäda*
 copy v. *kedaβ men*
 n. *kedaβ našš-*
 cord *mašwa*
 cordial *ma-lebbä*
 cordiality *fekerdä šβirye*
 corn *zorrat*
 corner *konč(a)*
 correct *räs, räsi*
 v. *gabbi*
 correction *našihat, tanbib*
 corrupt *gayära*
 costume *lebäs, elβüša*
 cottage *bēθa bonenti*
 cotton *pæmbe*
 cough *forfe (eβad)*
 count *mönä, hešäb eβad*
 countless *genzä, hešäb leβli*
 country *mäθa*
 couple *trän, goft*
 cousin *oštän(a), *amüya*
 cow *torta*
 coward *dabäla*
 crack(le) *eβar u-qäl ebaβ*
 cradle *lalüad*
 craft *βäda*

cranium *kalla al-riša*
 crawl *rebeš*
 crazy *šidäna*
 cream *zoβda*
 create (*χalq*) *eβad*
 Creator *Märe*
 creed *haymanüθa*
 creep s. crawl
 crevasse *bezüya*
 crevice *bezüya honina*
 crier *gaβrä ke qomqarri*
 crime *χaštäb(a rabbä)*
 criminal *χaštäbi foqotti*
 cringe *debel*
 cross n. *drafsa*
 adj. *γeyzän*
 v. *belef*
 crouch *dolla tämmä*
 crow *qaläya*
 (voice) *qäl qaläya*
 v. *qaläya qäl ebaβ*
 crowd *genzä (tämmon)*
 crown *täya*
 cruel *genz biša, lebbi bišye*
 crush *eβar*
 cry *qarri*
 (weep) *boχä*
 cucumber *χiyär*
 culminate *ma-gišdü šbirtar*
 (or *rabtär*) *tämmä*
 cup *käsa*
 cure *hawig(a) haβli (u-šβir tämmä)*
 curious *kol mendä qaböyi qyädä*
 curse *läf*
 curtain *parda*
 cushion *moχadda*
 cut *pešaq*
 cute *šβir*

D

daddy *bäβ, bāβa, bāβe*
 dagger *χangäl*
 daily *kol yüma*
 dance *erqad*

- danger *dobolṯa*
 dangerous *dobolṯa eblī*
 dare *la-dēbel*
 dark(ness) (*līlī*) *boḅāra (nūr leblī)*
 darling *aḅīz(a)*
 darn *ta'mir eḅad*
 dash *rēmā*
 dash off *kerebwā eḅad*
 date *yūm(a), tāriḅ*
 daughter *baratta*
 day *yūm(a)*
 dead *mēṯa*
 deaf *ḅarūš(a), onāni kadīrna*
 dear *aḅīz*
 death *moḅta*
 deathless *la-qmāyēṯ*
 debt *parāb ḅaḅlī ke qomkammar lāwī, qarḅ*
 decay *remma*
 decided(ly) *tāsmīm eblī*
 decline *la-rzā, qabūl leḅad*
 dedicate *eḅaḅ, taqḅīm eḅad*
 deed *ḅāda*
 deem *feker eḅad, gūš eḅad (u-bezā)*
 deep *'amiq*
 deepen *'amiqtar eḅad*
 defeat *maylūb tāmmā*
 defect *naqḅ*
 defective *nāqēḅ*
 defer *moblat eḅaḅ, imper. moblat balle*
 defile *ḅowšān eḅad*
 defraud *genaḅ u-zīf eḅaḅ*
 defunct *mēṯa*
 deign *rzā, qabūl eḅad*
 delay *moblat v. s. defer*
 delectable *lāzīz, laḅīf, šḅīr(a)*
 delegate *wakil*
 delete *haroḅ, abroḅ*
 delicacy *ešberta*
 delinquency *ḅaḅāḅ(a)*
 delinquent *ḅaḅāḅī foqottī*
 deliver *eḅaḅ, ešrā, taslīm tāmmā*
 deluge *ḅūfāna*
 demand *siyyel*
 demolish *haroḅ, abroḅ*
 demon *dīw(a), siḅyāba*
 demonic(al) *genz biša, bemke dīwa*
 demonstrate *abwi*
 demoralization *fāsed tāmmā*
 depart *ezgā*
 deplore *boḅā*
 deprecate *moḅāleḅ tāmmā*
 depredation *genḅoḅta*
 depress *ḅolqedi wayyed tāmmā*
 depth *'omqa, 'amiqye*
 deride *gebeḅ (e)lāw-*
 dervish *darwiš, sabūra*
 descend *neḅēṯ, enḅēṯ, ezgā denḅe*
 descendent *yānoq, yānqa, eber, ebrā*
 desert n, *bārre*
 v. *tark eḅad (u ezgā)*
 deserve *ḅaq eblī*
 designate *abwi*
 desirable *šḅīra, lāzīz*
 desire *abā, šīyyel*
 desirous *genzā qabḅōī*
 desist *wel eḅad*
 desolate *haroḅ*
 despair *'ama' leblī*
 ḅiḅ mendī labā
 despise *taḅḅīr eḅad*
 despoil *genaḅ*
 determine *tāsmīm eblī*
 detest *esnā*
 detestable *esmī, biša*
 devastate *haroḅ, abroḅ*
 develop *rab tāmmā*
 devil s. demon
 devilment *ḅāda biša*
 devoid *leblī*
 devote *genzā qarābem*
 devour *aḅal*
 dew *tokke mēna ma-erqiba*
 diagnose *marazdī ta'yīn eḅad*
 diamond *almās, gelāfa*
 diarrhoea *karsa ḅād qāḅda*
 die *mēṯ, f. moḅtat*
 difference *eḅtelāf*
 difficult *kadir*

- difficulty *mendi kadira*
 diffident *haymanūð lebli*
 digest *miḡlā nebeð denβe*
 dilate *rab eβad, rab tāmā*
 diligent *lebbi el-βāda qarābemli*
 dim *nūr lebli, tārik(ye)*
 diminish *goḡān eβad*
 dine *a'seyθā 'aḡal*
 dingy *ḡowšān(ye)*
 dinner *'ašeyθa*
 dip (*riši*) *bedaq tūð mēna*
 direct v. *obor abwi*, adj. *rās* (< P. *rāst*)
 dirt *ḡowša*
 dirty *ḡowšān(a)*
 disagree *la-rəzā, qabūl leβad, eḡtelāf tāmā bendū*
 disagreeable *esmi, biša*
 disappear *wel tāmā (u-enši la-bez yi)*
 disappoint *la-rəzā menni*
 disapprove id.
 disarm *mār qāla leḡaḡ menni*
 disaster *wayyeq*
 disbelieve *haymanūð lebli*
 discard *ḡowweh*
 discern *bezā*
 disciple *ašwalya*
 disconsolate *pašimān*
 discontent id.
 discover *bezā*
 discredit *bowar leβad*
 discuss *ḡaddeð ork-*
 discussion *badadta*
 disdain *təḡqir eβad*
 disease *koββa, maraz*
 disfavour *la-rebemli*
 dish *ḡāpša*
 dislike s. disfavour
 dismiss *šadderli qabēði,*
 with a pl. obj. *šadderli qa-beðwōðū*
 dispatch *šadder*
 disperse *badder*
 displace *dokki 'awaḡ eβad,*
 pass. *dokki 'awaḡ tāmā*
 dispose *tartib ebaβ*
- dispute *šor eβad*, with a pl. subj. *šorra*
behdāda eβadyōn
 dissipate *badder*
 distinction *mā bendū*
 distinguish *barābar eβad mā bendū*
 distinguished *rabbā, gabāra*
 distress *ḡam(ma), wayyeq*
 distressful *ḡam qa-lebbi qāḡel*
 disturb *aḡiyat eβad*
 ditch *hofor, hofrā*
 dive *ḡāḡ (tūð mēna)*
 divergence *mā bendū, eḡtelāf*
 divide *təḡsim eβad*
 divorce *ḡalaq, (ḡalqa la-eθði)*
 do *eβad*
 doctor *doktor, molla, riš howāra*
 dodder *tokān ebaβ*
 dog *kalba*
 dolor *koββa*
 dominion *māθa*
 donkey *babima*
 door *βāβa*
 double *do daf'e, tartā tartā*
 doubt *bowar leβad, haymanūð lebli*
 dough *lišša*
 dove *hiyūna*
 down *denβe*
 down n. *par* (P.)
 draw *tālā*
 dread *dobolθa aθði*
 dream *belma*
 dress v. *leβaš*
 n. *elβūša, lebās, qomās(āna)*
 drive *ḡrad*
 drink *šāt*
 drip *tokke mēna enfel*
 dromedary *gomla*
 droop *dolla tāmā*
 drop *tokke mēna*
 v. *afḡeq, ḡowweh*
 drug *hawīḡa; bamra, mašrūb*
 druggist *gaβrā ke qomzabben hawīḡa*
 drum *ḡabla, maḡziqa*
 drunkard *genzā mašrūb qošāyet*

drunken *gez*
 dry *yəbōš(a)*
 duck *zāyat al-mēna*
 dust *afra, bella*

E

each *kol ebdī*
 eager *genzā qarābem*
 eagle *qalāya*
 car *oāna, onna*
 early *kerehwā*
 earth *artiβel, deštā*
 east *šarq, mašreq*
 easy *āsān, kadīr leḫti*
 eat *aḫal*
 eclipse *kurūf*
 egress *ezgā bārre*
 egg *biyya*
 eight *təmāni, tēmāna*
 eject *ʔorad bārre, berā, affeq*
 elbow *ʔāgsa*
 elder *ʔomerdi rabbiye*
 elegant *šβira, beli(ya)*
 elephant *fil*
 elevation *dokka dālyā*
 eleven *bedassar*
 elocution *lišāna šβira*
 elocutionist *lišāni kolleš šβirye qa-badaθta,*
šβir qambadeθ
 else *borina, yeki tom, ebdī tom*
 embody *ḡoftedi tammā*
 emerge *ezgā men, ettefāq tamma*
 emit *horā, affeq*
 emperor *sihyāna (gabāra)*
 empire *māθa, mamlakat*
 employ *βād ebaβ, aθθi lə-βāda*
 employment *βāda*
 empress *θβ sihyāna, sihyantā*
 empty *paṯi*
 end *tamām (tammā)*
 endow *ebaβ*
 endue *bedaq, leβaš, ebaβ*
 erudible, endurance *bil(a) eblī*
 enemy *esni, ʔadū, došman*

energy *bil(a)*
 engage *ḫeṯaβ, βād ebaβ, qowl ebaβ*
 engine *māšīn*
 engineer *mobandez*
 engrave *naqš eβad*
 engraver *naqāša*
 enjoy *ebθer*
 enjoyable, enjoyment *lebbi beθerye*
 enkindle *asreḫ, nūr mobā*
 enlarge *rab(ter) eβad*
 enlighten *rowšān eβad*
 ennui *ʔāḡez tammā*
 enormous *genz rabbā*
 enough *bəs*
 enquire *šiyyel*
 enquiry *šiyelθa*
 enrage *yeyz tammā*
 enrich *genz parāba baβli*
 enter *dāš*
 entice *təhrik eβad*
 entire *kol(leš)*
 entirely *tamām, kolleš*
 entrails *rāzi al-karsā*
 entreat *abā menni*
 envy *ina bištā*
 episode *badaθta*
 equal *bemke baḫ*
 equalize *bərābər eβad*
 equine *bemke sosyā*
 era *dovre*
 erect *toras, aqqem*
 err *nešit eβad*
 error *nešit(a)*
 espousal *ḫeṯaβa*
 espouse *ḫeṯaβ*
 espy *ḡāsūs tammā*
 establish *aqqem*
 eternal *tamām lə-qbāwi*
 evacuate *paṯā*
 evade *rebeṯ menni*
 evening *pēn(a), lilyā rošnā*
 event *badaθta, ettefāq*
 everlasting *tamām lə-qbāwi*
 evil *biša*

- exact *daqiq*
 exactitude *deqqat*
 examine *emteħān eβad*
 excavate *hefar (u-afteq ma-deštā)*
 excel *beħtar bowā*
 excellence *ešberti*
 excellent *genzā šβiryē*
 except (substituted by *læ-bowā*, or *lebli*)
 excrement *berā*
 excrete *borā*
 excuse *režā menni*
 excuse me *qabīna rezet menne*
 exempt *šerā*
 adj. *lebli*
 exercise *yelef*
 exhaust *'āğez tāmmā*
 exile v. *řarad bārre ma-māđi*
 exist *bowā, eχti*
 exit *βāβa qanāřgen menni*
 expel *řarad bārre, afteq bārre*
 expensive *gerān*
 experience *tağārob*
 explain *šarħ ebaβ*
 explanation *šarħ*
 explore *ğāsūs tāmmā, gūš eβad*
 express *emar*
 expression *kelma*
 extenuate *gořān(ter) tāmmā*
 exterior *bārre*
 exterminate *bāřel eβad, abroř*
 extinguish *dakka*
 extract (tooth) *šen řalař*
 extreme(ly) *genz rabbā*
 eye *in(a)*
 (of a needle) *bezūya al-mabařřā*
 eyebrow *řapān ina*
 eyelid *ğifna ina*
- F
- fable *matel, badađta*
 fabricate *eβad*
 face *ap(pa)*
 factory *kāřxāne*
 fail *la-qombi bowā, læ-řoralli*
- fair *řβir(a)*
 faith *baymanūđ(a)*
 faithful *motebeymen*
 faithless *baymanūđ lebli*
 fall *enfel*
 false *řifān(a)*
 falsehood *řif(a)*
 falsify *řif ebaβ*
 fame(d) *ořma řβira (ebli) ma'rūř (tāmmā)*
 family *fāmil*
 famish *kefen genza*
 fancy *feker (eβad)*
 far *ba'id*
 fart *mār qāla (řalař)*
 fast *kerehwā*
 v. *řām*
 n. *řowma*
 fat n. *terbā*
 adj. *řamina, řāya*
 father *bāβa*
 father-in-law *bāβ eđđa*
 fatherland *māđe nāβři*
 fatherless *bāβ(a) lebli*
 fatherly *bemke bāβa*
 fault *neřit(a), řalřa*
 favour *ešberta, feker řβira*
 v. *biřtar rebem*
 favourite *erħima*
 fear *dobolđa, v. debel*
 fearful *dabāla*
 fearless *læ-qdābel, dobolđa lebli*
 feast *'id*
 feather *pær, gap(pa)*
 fee *pāl(a)*
 feeble *bil lebli*
 feed *miřla ebaβ*
 feel *bezā, qyāđi (bowa)*
 female *māye*
 fence *čelwardār (eβad)*
 fetch *ađđi*
 fever *šāđa*
 few *ye řorde, qarib*
 fidelity *baymanūđ(a)*
 fie *toř*

- field *ʃabrā, deštā*
 five *ʃeypūr*
 fifteen *hamšassar*
 fifty *hamšīn*
 fig *tina*
 fight *šerrā eβadyōn bebdāda*
 fill *molā*
 finally *āḡar*
 find *ebzā*
 fine *bonina, daqīq*
 finger *ʃoβaxta, kilik*
 (: *kilik rafta, domāyenta, miñḡāyi, ċārtāyi, bonentā*)
 finish *tamām eβad*
 fire *nūr(a)*
 v. *gerrā mōhā*
 firm *qawi, seft, bil ehli*
 first *awwal*
 fish *fonida*
 flea *partonna*
 flee *porad, pard eβad, rebeṭ men*
 fleece *pəšm*
 flesh *besrā*
 fleshy *šamīna, ċāy*
 flimsy *gaṭina*
 fling *ʃowweh*
 flirt *ʃallel orke barattā*
 flock *gelle*
 flog *mōhā orke ċarm*
 flood *ʃūfāna, mēn ʃāfūy*
 floor *mes hoḡra*
 flop *tokān aḡal*
 flourish *gol ebaβ, rabtar tām mā, bebtar tām mā*
 flow *yardonā āzla* (Sh. Abd.)
 flower *gol* (P.)
 flute *ʃeypūr*
 fly *dedβa*
 v. *pəbar*
 foam *kaf eβad*
 fodder *yarūqa*
 fog *arpila*
 fold *faq eβad*
 foliage *par* (P.)
 folk *nās*
- folly *šidanoḡta*
 food *miḡla, ʃāβūṭa*
 fool *šidāna*
 foolishness s. folly
 foot *kerāya, 2 feet tartā kerāya, feet kerāyāni*
 for *qam, conj. ke*
 forage *yarūqa*
 forbid *eḡāze lebaβ*
 force *bil (aṭṭi)*
 forehead *fottā*
 forest *ayma*
 forge *qenwoḡta eβad*
 forget *nəšā*
 forgive *ḡaṭābi ʃowweh mə-foqottī*
 fork *ċangāl*
 form *ḡūr*
 forsake *tark eβad*
 fortnight *arbassar yūmi*
 fortunate *gaddi šβiryē, gadāna*
 fortune *gad(da)*
 foster *rab eβad*
 foul *ʃowšāna*
 fowl *ʃoprīna*
 frantic *ḡolqedi genzā wayyeq*
 fraud(ulent) *zifā(na)*
 free *šori, qa-kefdi*
 v. *ešrā*
 freeze *talga aṭṭ u-artiβel mōsā*
 frenzied s. frantic
 frequent(ly) *yeṭbe*
 fresh *tāze*
 fret *ḡolqedi wayyeq (tām mā)*
 Friday *(yūma) orofita*
 friend *rafiq, dūs (< P. dūst)*
 friendship *rafiq tām mā orki*
 fright *dobolṭa raftā*
 frighten *dobolṭa aṭṭi*
 frisk(y) *(ʃalūla) qamʃallel u-lebbi beṭverye*
 frog *paqaṭṭa*
 frolic s. frisk
 from *men, mə*
 front *qamāya*
 frost *rebwā məsi(yye)*
 frugal *sabūra*

fruit *miwe*
 fruitseller *abu miw*
 fruitful *genzā miwe ebli*
 fruitless *bič miwe lebli*
 frustrate *baḫḫel*
 fry *fofā*
 fume s. smoke
 fun *rišḫand*
 further *tom, bištar*
 fury *yez*

G

gain *gerdi aḏā*
 gall *merartā*
 game *ḫalūla*
 gangster *barnāša biša, ganāβa*
 gap *bezūya*
 garden *bostāna*
 gardener *ḫašāwi*
 garland *kolila*
 garment *qomāša*
 gastric *qa-karsa*
 gate *βāβa*
 gather *ragoβ, ragū*
 gay(ety) *lebbi beḏerye*
 gazelle *ḫāβya*
 gem *gelāfa*
 generous *barnāša šβira*
 gentle *šβira*
 get *gerdi aḏā, leḫaḫ, tāmmā*
 get away *ezgā*
 get in *dāš*
 get off *nefaq*
 get on *sāq, ezgā elle*
 get out *nefaq, ezgā bārre*
 get together *ḫazennū lebdāda*
 get up *qām*
 giant *šifŷāba*
 ginger *hawig(a)*
 gipsy *appa kūma šuhūya*
 girdle *himyēna* (cl.)
 girl *baratta*
 give *abaβ, ebaβ*
 glad(ness) *(lebbi) beḏerye*

glare *zebwā*
 glass *kāsa, estekeān, ḡām*
 gleam *zebwā, rošnā*
 gloom *lili bowāra, or tārik tāmmā*
 glorify *ezgad*
 glove *dalāγ al-īda*
 glow *rošnā ebaβ, zebwā ebli*
 glutton *aḫāla*
 go (*obor*) *ezgā*
 goat *enzā*
 goatherd (*gelle*) *enzāna*
 goatskin *meška al-enzā*
 gobble *kerebwā aḫal*
 goblin *diw(a), šifŷāba*
 gold *dabβa*
 gondola *maḫūḏa*
 good *šβir(a), ešbir*
 Good-by(e) *māre mزابarlaḫ, māre orkaḫ*
 goodness *ešberti*
 goose *zāyat foqot areḫtā*
 gorge *gangarāḏa*
 v. *genzā aḫal*
 gossip *mimrā baḫāla, raḫna, v. raḫan*
 gourd *qarunta*
 governor *šihyāna*
 graceful *šβira*
 grade *deraḡe*
 grain *sonda, heḫḫa*
 grant *abaβ, ebaβ*
 grape *yoḫeyfa*
 grasp *leḫaḫ*
 grass *yarūqa*
 grave *qoβra*
 adj. *kadir(a), gray geḫmeyyi*
 grease *terba*
 greasy *terba ebli*
 great *rab(ba)*
 greatly *genzā*
 green *yarāqa*
 greet *emar: sūḏ ebwilaḫ or sobaḥ ḫāβ lāwaḫ*
 or *pēn ḫāβ lāwaḫ, ešlām(a) ebaβ*
 grief *koββa*
 grievance *yez*
 grim *dobolḏa aḏḏi*

grind *ħord eβad*
 groan *boħā*
 grocer *baqāla*
 ground *deštā*
 grow *rab(ter) tām mā*
 grown-up *rab(bā)*
 guard *ħafaḡ eβad*
 guest *mebmān* (P.)
 guide *obor abwī, bedāyat eβad*
 guilt *ħaḡāb(a) rabbā, ġorma*
 gust *eštīlū* (?)
 guy *barnāša*

H

ha *i*
 habit 'ādat
 form the habit *yelef*
 habitation *bētθ(a)*
 hail *bālūb*
 (greeting): *abyā, ehyet aθit*, pl. *ehyiton*
 aθiton
 hair *manzā*
 hairless *manzā lebli*
 hairy *manzā eblī*
 half *falga*
 halt *beyeḡ*
 halve *folag*
 hammer *maḡarqa*
 v. *maḡarqa mabā*
 hand *id(a)*
 handfull *šolla*
 handkerchief *dalāy al-ida*
 handsome *belī, šβīra, ħoš*
 hang *tolā*
 hap *gad(da)*
 hapless *gaddi geniyye*
 happen *bowā, tām mā*
 happiness *gaddi šβīrye*
 happy (*lebbi*) *beḡerye*
 harbour *māθā la-nabrā*
 hard *kadīr(a)*
 hare *rewā, rōwā*
 hark(en) *īat*
 harlot *gəyarta*

harm *aziyat* (eβad), *mabā, koββa aθθi*
 harp *maziq(a)*
 harvest *beḡād*
 harry *baroβ u-genaβ*
 haste(n) *kerebwā* (eβad)
 hastily, hasty *kerebwā*
 hat *qoratta*
 hate *esnā*
 hatred *šorra*
 hateful *esmi*
 haughty *gabāra*
 haunch *bōfa*
 haunt *dobolθa aθθi*
 have *eblī*, past *bowali*
 haze *goḡor, goḡra, boħār*
 head *rīš(a)*
 headache *koββa al-rīša*
 heal *ħawīḡ ebaβ*
 healthy *sālem, šβīrye*
 hear *īat*
 heart *leb(ba)*
 heartache *koββa rabbā*
 heat *bom, bowma*
 heaven *erqība*
 heavenly *qa-erqība*
 heavy *kādīra*
 hedgehog *qonfoḡ*
 heed *ħab(b)ar*
 heel *bāḡerīše kerāya*
 heighten *dolā*
 heir *wāreθ, wāres*
 hell *maḡartā*
 help 'owne (eβad)
 hen *ħāyayta*
 hence *ma-ebnā*
 herb *yarāqa*
 herd *gelle*
 here *ebnā*
 hero *foḡot olīma*
 hibernate *kol setwā genā qa-dokkei*
 hide *aħwi*
 hideous *esmi*
 high *rāmā, dālya*
 highly *genzā*

hill *fōra*
 hinge *šabenda al-βāβā*
 hint *ešāre*
 hip *bašsa, bašša*
 hit *mabā*
 hitch *leχaš, šalā*
 hither (*la-*)*ebnā*
 hive *bēθ al-χambūr*
 hoary *manχā howāra*
 hog *boχūrā*
 hoist *dālā*
 hold *ebli, leχaš*
 hole *bezūya*
 hollow *bezūya ebli*
 home *bēθ(a)*
 homeland *māθa*
 homicide *gāfel, gāfla*
 honest *šarīf*
 honey *dupša, 'asal*
 hood *porse riša*
 hoof *somba (al-)soryā*
 hook *kolāb*
 hope *šama'(ebli)*
 hopper *χamša, γamša*
 horn *šāχ, (garna)*
 horse *soryā*
 horseback *bašša al-soryā*
 horsehair *manχa al-soryā*
 host *mār bēθa*
 hot *bamim(a)*
 hotel *mosāferχāne*
 hour *šāya*
 hourly *kol šāya*
 hover *beyeš*
 how *kem(ma), kemye* how much *keθ kemye*
 howl *genza boχā*
 human(ly) *bemke barnāša*
 humble *bonina, mišāya*
 humor *rišχand*
 hunger n. *kojnā*
 v. *kefen*
 hungry *kefina, kefen(ye)*
 hunt *šikār eβad, χoš leχaš*
 hunter *sagmāna*

hurl *šowweh*
 hurry *kerehwā βād eβad*
 hurt *koββa aθθi*
 husband *bel(la)*
 husbandman *salāha*
 hustle *kerehwā eβad, exgā* etc.
 hut *andrūna*
 hymn *mašūl*

I

ice *talgā*
 icy *hemke talgā*
 idea *feker*
 identical *hemke haχ*
 idiocy *γōr la-qāβed*
 idiom *lišān(a), ešfelāh*
 idiot *γōr la-qāβed*
 idle(ness) *biβāda*
 if *aγar*
 igneous *mā-nūra*
 ignite *asreχ*
 ignorant *hič mendi la-qyādī*
 ill *mariz*
 illiterate *la-qyādī qaqārī*
 ill-mannered *χolqedi bišye*
 illness *mabrā, maraz*
 ill-treat *koββa aθθi*
 image *'aksa*
 imagine *feker tāmmā*
 imbecile s. idiot
 imbibe *šāt*
 imitate *taqlid eβad*
 immediately *kerehwā*
 immoral *gayāra*
 immovable *tokān la-qāχel*
 immutable *'awaš la-qdāwi*
 impeccable *χašāb lebli*
 impecunious *parāb lebli*
 impertinent *bazūfa*
 import *aθθi, wāred eβad*
 important *mobem, wāgeβ*
 impotence, impotent *bil lebli*
 impoverish *saqirdī eβad*
 impregnate *mōla*

imprison *habs eβad*
 imprudent *γōr la-qāxel*
 impudent *barif(a), gayāra*
 impulse *bil(a)*
 impulsive *bil qomathθi*
 impure *ṭowšāna*
 in *qə, gu(wwi)*
 inable *la-gombi*
 inactive *biβāda*
 inanimate *šboroxta lebli*
 incantation *qomābā, zaxasta*
 incapable s. inable
 incarcerate s. imprison
 incense *rib(a)*
 incessant *tamām la-qbāwi*
 incident *soqofia, ettefāq*
 incorruptible *biš la-qbāwi*
 incurable *šβir la-qbāwi, 'alāš lebli*
 incursion *γārat*
 indecisive *tašmim lebli*
 indicate *abwi*
 indigent *sabūra, faqir*
 indigestible *miχlā la-qāxi denβe*
 individual *ye barnāši*
 indivisible *taqsim la-qbāwi*
 indolence *biβādi*
 induce *athθi guwwi*
 induct *bedaq guwwi*
 induce *leβaš*
 indulge(nce) *təhəmmol (eβad)*
 industrious *genzā βād qāβed*
 inert *hemke mēda*
 inexcusable *χafābi soqottii*
 inexperience *tašarob lebli*
 infant *yānoq, yānqa*
 inferior *denβeyyi*
 infest *genzā tāmmā*
 infidel *haymanūθ lebli*
 infinite *tamām la-qbāwi*
 inflame *serχat eβad, təhrik eβad*
 inflexible *dolla la-qbawī*
 inflict (punishment) *atri*
 inform *emar, χabar ehaβ*
 inhabit *yebem guwwi*

inhale *rebwā tolā*
 injure *koββa athθi*
 ink *morakəkəb*
 inlay *bedaq (guwwi)*
 inner *gu(wwa)*
 innocence, innocent *χafāb lebli*
 inquire *šiyel*
 insane *šidāna*
 insatiable *aχāla*
 insert *bedaq guwwi*
 inside *gu(wwa)*
 insidious *zif qābeβ*
 insight *būχemθa*
 insinuate *ešāre eβad*
 insist *ešrār eβad*
 instantly *kerehwā*
 instead *embardaq*
 instigate *təhrik eβad*
 instruct *allef*
 instructor *mo'allem, molla*
 intellect *γōr, bāl(a)*
 intelligence id., *feker*
 intelligent *γōr qāβed*
 intend *abā (qāβed)*
 intense *genzā, rabbā*
 intensify *rabitər eβad, rabitər tāmmā*
 interchange *bađla eβad, baddel*
 interior s. inside
 internal *goweyyi, f. goweyθa*
 intimidate *dobolθa athθi*
 into *qə, gu*
 introduce *bašqarəθa eβad la-bax orke yeti tom*
 (he made him acquainted with another)
 inundation *mēna fāfūy, fūšāna*
 invade *γārat eβad*
 invent *βādi eβad ma-fekerdi*
 invisible *bič kes la-qbaxelli*
 invite *qarri, da'wat eβad*
 invoke *ezgad la-māre*
 iron *parzələ*
 irreligious *ma-māre la-qdābel*
 irreproachable *χafāb lebli*
 irresolute *tašmim lebli*
 island *yezrā (mingə nabrā)*

isolate *lūd*, *nāβše lūdi*
 Israelite *yabudāyi*, *yabuṭāyi*
 itch *bāχ*, pres. *qobāyeχ*

J

jackal *šihwiya*
 jail *ħabs*
 jar *šarba*, *kūza*
 v. *lokān ebaβ*
 jaundice *yaraqān*
 jealousy *šorra*
 jest *rišχand*
 Jew *yabudāyi*, *yabuṭāyi*
 Jewess *eθθā yahuṭeyṭa*
 jinn *dīw(a)*, *šifiyāha*
 job *βāda*
 jocular(ity) *rišχand qāβed*
 journal *rūznāme* (P.)
 journey *obor* (*ezgā*), *safar* (*eβad*)
 joy *beθrā*
 joyful, *beθer*(*ye*)
 judicious *fekerdi šβirye u-yōr qāβed*
 jug *šorba*
 juice *mēn miwe*
 jump *pobor ma-dokki*
 junction *šoftedi tāmmā* (or *qabāwi*)
 juxtaposition id.

K

kayak *maχūṭa*
 keen *tīχ*
 keep *eblī*, *ħafaz(dī)* *eβad*
 kerchief *dalāy al-ida*
 key *kilid(a)*
 keyhole *bezūya al-qolf*
 kid *yānqa* (*bonina*)
 kill *gefal*
 kind adj. *šβir(a)*
 n. *šūr*
 kindle *asreχ*, *serχat* *eβad*
 king *šihyāna*
 kingdom *māθa*, *mamlakət*
 kingly *bemke šihyāna*
 kingship *šebyānoχta*

kiss *nešaq*
 kitchen *maṭbaχ*
 knee *borke*
 kneel *ezgad*
 knife *sekkenta*, *čāyū*
 knock *mabā* (*el-βāβa*)
 knot *gerra* (*θorā*)
 knotty *gerra eblī*
 know *qyādī* (*howā*)
 knowledge *mendāni ke qyādī*, *feker*, 'ilm
 Koran *qor'an*

L

labour *βāda kadira* (*eβad*)
 lack *leblī*
 lacteal *bemke halβā*
 lactic *ma-halβā*
 ladder *sollam*
 lady *eθθa*, *marta*
 lamb *embara*
 lame *šalūl(a)*
 lament *boχā*
 lamp *šarāya*
 lance *romah*
 land *dešta*, *māθa*
 landholder *mār dešta*
 landlord id.
 language *lišān(a)*
 larceny *genβoχta*
 large *rabba*, *ħabira*, f. *rašti*, *ħabirti*
 largely *genzā*
 lascivious *gəyāra*
 last *āχer*
 v. *edāme eblī*
 late *rehwā*
 laugh *gebeχ*
 launch *fowweh*
 lave *ħamaš*
 laxative *bəwiğ(a)*
 lay *bedaq qa-dešta*
 lazy *kadira*
 lead *obor abwi*, *bedāyat eβad* n. *bedda*
 leaf *par al-deraxt*
 lean *səma v*

leap *pohar, pobor*
 learn *yeləf*
 least *mə-gišdū bomintər*
 leave *tərək eβad, ezgā*
 lecture *dars*
 left *smāla*
 leg *qāb kerāya, šāqa*
 legation *sefārat*
 legend *badābtā*
 leggings *šarwāla, šalwāra*
 legume *yerāqa, xašša*
 leisure *biβādī*
 lemon *limbūr*
 lemonade *mən limbūr*
 lend *qarz ebaβ*
 length *orxa*
 leniency, lenient *χolqedī šβirye*
 less *bomintər men, gofāntər men*
 -less *lebli*
 lessen *gofāntər eβad ot tämmā*
 lesson *dars*
 v. *dars ebaβ*
 lest *ke le*
 letter *χaʔʔa*
 lettuce *χašša*
 liar *χif qābeβ, χifān(a)*
 liberal *fekerdī šβirve*
 liberate *ešrā*
 libertine *gəyāra*
 library *hoğra al-keḏāβāni*
 licentious s. libertine
 lick *lišān məbā*
 lie n. (& v.) *χif (ebaβ)*
 v. *genā*
 life *šboroχta*
 lifeless *šboroχta lebli*
 lift *asəq, dorā, dola*
 light *nūr(a), rošnā*
 v. *asreχ, nūr ebaβ*
 lighten *rowšən tämmā*
 lightning *rošnā mə-erqiba*
 likable *šβir(a)*
 like *hemke*
 v. *relem*

likeness *hemke əχ qabāwi*
 likewise *hemke əχ*
 limbs *idāni u-kerāyāni*
 lime *limbūr*
 limewater *mən limbūr*
 limit *ħadda, tamām*
 v. *tamām eβad, maħdūd eβad*
 line *χaʔʔa*
 lion *aryā*
 lip *seftā*
 liquify *mən tämmā*
 liquor *mən bamrā, mašrüb*
 list *χaʔʔā*
 listen *šāt*
 litany *inyāna*
 literary (language) *lišān(a al-)keḏāβāni*
 literate *yalūfa*
 little *bonina*
 liturgy (book) *qalasta*
 live *yebem, šboroχta eβad, adj. biyāna*
 liver *kaβdā*
 living *biyāna*
 loaf *lam(mā)*
 loathe *esmā*
 loathsome *esmi*
 local *qa-abā māḏa*
 locality *māḏa*
 localize *beda-q-dokki*
 locate id.
 lock n. *rāxa al-βāβa*
 v. *qolf eβad*
 locust *χamša, γamša*
 lofty *rabbā, rāmā*
 log *selwā*
 loins *bašša*
 lone *lūd, (nāβse) lūdī*
 long *eriχ(ā)*
 v. *genzā abā*
 leek *gūš eβad*
 looking-glass *eynak raftā*
 loose *šori(ye)*
 v. *šorā*
 lord *mār, mārā*
 Lord *māre*

lordly *hemke m̄ara*
 lose *wel eβad*
 loud (*qāla*) *elāya*
 louse *qomolθā*
 lovable *šβir(a)*
 love *rebem*
 loveliness *ešberti*
 lovely s. lovable
 low *denβe*
 lower *denβe dorā*
 lucent, lucid *rowšan*
 lucidity *rošnā*
 luck *gad(dā)*
 luckily *gaddi šβiryē*
 luckless *gaddi genā*
 lucky s. luckily
 luggage *mobāβa, asbāb*
 lumbago *koββa al-baššā*
 luminary, luminous *nur qābeβ, rowšan*
 lunch *miχlā qameθā*
 lure *təhrik eβad*
 luscious *genze šβirā*

M

mace *gowāza*
 machine *māšin*
 mad *šedāna, γeyzān*
 madame *eθθā, madam*
 madden *šidān* or *γeyzān tāmmā*
 mademoiselle *barattā*
 madhouse *bēθ(a) al-šedānāni*
 magazine *mağalle*
 magistracy *daštar*
 magistrate *riš bowāra, gabāra*
 magnate *gabāra*
 magnify *ezgad*
 magnitude *rabūθa*
 Mahometan *mošmāna*
 maid(en) *barattā*
 maidenly *bemke barattā*
 mail *post*
 mailbox *šandūq al-post, šandūqe post*
 maintain, maintenance *eblī*
 maize *zorrat*

majestic *rabba, hemke šihyāna*
 majesty *rabūθa*
 major *rab(tar)*
 make *eβad*
 malady *maraz, koββa, mabrā*
 malecontent *rāzī lexī*
 malediction *loftā*
 malevolent, malicious *biš(a)*
 malignant id.
 maltreat *βāda biša eβad qamdidi, aziyat eβad*
 maltreatment *βāda biša, aziyat*
 mama, mamma *em(mā)*
 mammy *emme*
 man *gaβrā*
 mandolin *maziqa*
 manifest *abwī*
 adj. *rowšan*
 mankind *nāši*
 manlike (*hemke*) *gaβrā*
 manner *χolq*
 mannerly *χolqedi šβiryē*
 manufactory *kāryāne*
 manufacture *eβad*
 manuscript *kedāβa*
 many *genzā*
 march *obor (ezgā)*
 margin *kote banin, hāšiyē*
 maritime *qa-deryā*
 mark *rušūm, rušūma*
 market *bāzār*
 marriage *qabin*
 marriageable *qombi eθθi qadāri*
 married (man) *eθθā eblī* (woman) *bellā*
 ebla
 master *mār(a)*
 match *bellā, eθθā, rafiq*
 v. *bellā tāmmā, eθθā dorā*
 matches *šixχāta*
 mate s. match
 material *mendā*
 matron *eθθā, marta*
 matter *menda*
 matting *softa*
 mattress *mōχa*

- maybe *säyæd*, *balket*
 meal *miχlä*, *bošäla*
 mean v. *abä qämer*, *emar*, adj. *biš(a)*
 meat *besrä*
 meaty *besrä ebli*
 medicament *bawiğa*
 medicine id.
 meditate *feker tämmä*
 meet *adä qäri*, *bez yi* (with pers. suff.)
 meeting *bezonnü la-bedäda*
 melody *zomära*
 melon *qarambä*, *χarbiça*
 melt *män tämmä*
 member 'ozba (< Ar. 'uḏw)
 mend *tä'mir eβad*, *gabbı*
 mendacious *zifän(a)*
 mention *zeker eβad*
 merchandise *menda*, *βäda*
 mercy *ešbertä*
 merit id.
 merry *beβer(ye)*
 mess *mendäni fowšäni*
 v. *fowšän eβad*
 middle *meñeyyi*, *mēşeyyi*
 midwife *ğadda*
 mighty *bil genzä ebli*
 mildness *ešbertä*
 milk *halβä*
 v. *helaβ*
 milky *ma-halβä*, *hemke halβä*
 mill *gišar*
 mind *γör*, *feker*
 mindful *γör qäβed*
 mindless *γör la-qäβed*
 mine *eldän*
 minimum *ma-gišdü bonintär*
 minister *wazır*
 ministrant *aşganda* (Mand.)
 minute *daqıqe*
 adj. *genze honına*, *daqıq*
 mirror *eynak raftä*
 mischievous *biš(a)*
 misdeed *βäda biša*
 miserable *badgaddı*
- miss *ebli*
 mistake *γalfa*
 mistress *marta*
 mix *boβbeğ*
 moan *boχä*
 mock *gebeχ läwi*
 modernize *ğädid eβad*
 moist *ruŕubat ebli*
 molar (tooth) *kakkä*
 molest 'äğez eβad
 molten *män tämmä*
 monarch *šihyāna*
 money *parāb(a)*
 month *yabrä*, (Persian) *borğ*
 moon *ser(rä)*
 mop *mašür(a)*
 v. *mašür eβad*
 more *bištär*
 morning *şobağ*
 Good Morning! *şobağ şäβ läwax*
 mortality *müðäna*
 mortify *gefal*
 Moslem *mošmäna*
 mosque *mazgoda*, *maşğed*
 most *ma-gišdü bištär*
 moth *perwäne*
 mother *em(ma)*
 motherhood *em eχti*
 motherless *em lebli*
 motherly *bemke emma*
 motion *tokän*, *ħarakat*
 motor *mäšin*
 motorcar *mentekär*
 mount *säq*, pres. *qəsäyeq*
 n. *şöra*
 mountain *şöra rabbä*, *aγmä*
 mountaineer *qayäbem qa-aγmä*
 mourn *boχä*
 mouse *ubra*
 moustache *şobuy*
 mouth *pom(ma)*
 movable *tokän qäxel*
 move *tokän eβad*,
 intrans. *tokän aχal*

movie *sinema*
 mud *esyāna*
 murder v. *geʔal*
 n *geʔla*
 murderer *gəʔel*, emph. *gəʔla*
 music *maziqa*
 must *bāyad*
 mutton *embara*
 mutual *ben bedāda*
 mystify *ziʔ abaʔ*
 myth *badadʔta*
 mythical *hemke badadʔta*

N

nail *miχ*
 naked(ness) *šeliyye, geliyye geliyye*
 name *ešma, ošma*
 nameless *ešma lebli*
 nape *paʔfoqottā*
 naphtha *naʔta*
 narrate *baddeʔ*
 narration *badadʔta*
 narrow *zalila*
 nasal *qa-nabira*
 nastiness, nasty *genza ʔoušān(ye)*
 nation *nāš*
 national *qa-nāš*
 native *eber māʔa*
 natural *ʔabiʔi*
 nature *ʔabiʔat, χolq*
 naught *bič*
 naughty *bič la-qšāwi*
 navel *šorra*
 navigate *exgā qa-deryā*
 near *naziq, neheng*
 nebula *iβa*
 nebulous *iβ(ye)*
 necessary *βād ebli, lāzem*
 neck *foqot(tā)*
 need *βād ebli, lāzem exʔi*
 needless *βād lebli, qo-βādi la-qāχel*
 needle *mabaʔta*
 negate *amar la*
 neglect *γaʔla eβad*

negotiation *zaβanta u-zaβanta, moʔ āmele*
 negress *eʔʔa okumta*
 negro *appā okūma, gaβra okūma*
 neigh *qāl sosyā*
 neighbour *šəβāβa*
 nephew *eber aba, ot eber bāʔa*
 nest *dok(ke) ʔoprina*
 nestling *ʔoprina bonina*
 net n. *ʔeleyya*
 v. *ʔāl*, pres. *qāyēl*
 never *bič waqt*
 new *tāze*
 news *χabar*
 next *ma-gišdū naziqtar*
 nice *šβir(a), heli(ya)*
 nickname *laqab*
 night *lili, lilyā, lili howāra*
 nine *ečča*
 nineteen *eččessar*
 ninety *eččīn*
 nip *neχat*
 no *la*
 nobleman *gaβerčiya, gabāra*
 nobody *bič kes, enšī . . . la*
 nocturnal *qa-lilyā*
 none s. nobody
 north *gerba, šemāl*
 nose *nebira*
 nosebleed *dəmə nāfeq mə-nebiri*
 nothing *bič (mendī)*
 nought *bič*
 noun *ešma*
 nourish *miχlā ebaβ*
 novel *badadʔta*
 novelty *mendī tāze*
 now *eštā*
 nowadays *ā māy*
 nowhere *bič dokki*
 nowise *bič gūr*
 noxious *biša*
 nude *galiyye, šeliyye, potiyye*
 nuisance *(rebša) biša*
 null *bič*
 nullify *paʔā, baʔtel*

numb *bil lebli*
 number *menyāma*
 numberless *menyān lebli*
 nutriment, nutrition *miḡla*
 nutritive *miḡa eblī, miḡla qābeβ*

O

o *yā*
 obedience *tey'at*
 obese *genz šamina*
 obey *tey'at eβad*
 object *menda*
 v. *e'terāz eβad*
 oblivious *qonāši*
 obnoxious *esmi, biša*
 obscene *šerima, šafūfa*
 obscenity *šoromḡa, šafosta*
 obscure *tārik, nūr lebli*
 observance *baymanūḡ(a), šerša*
 observe *gūs eβad, bezā*
 obsolete *atiqa, qadīm*
 obstacle *man'a*
 obstinate *laḡ qābeβ*
 obtain *gerdi aḡā*
 obvious *ma'lūm*
 occasion *forḡat*
 occupation *βāda*
 occupy *leḡat, aḡḡi la-βāda*
 occur *bowā, tāmmā, aḡā*
 ocean *deryā, nabrā rabbā*
 odious *emi*
 odour *rib(a)*
 odoniferous, odorous *rib qābeβ*
 of *ma-, men* (but more often a simple apposition; cl. *q-* is used only in *bšumḡ q-hiia ubšumḡ manda q-hiia bišmi-t-beyyi u bišmi-t-mandā-t-beyyi*)
 office *edāre, deβtar*
 officer *rab(bā), gabāra, afsar*
 official *rasmi*
 often *yeḡbe*
 oh *ey*
 oil *meš(sa)*
 oily *mešsa eblī*

old *rab(bā)*
 he is old 'omerdi rabye, 7 years old eber
 šoββa ešni
 olive *zeḡta*
 omit *nešā, tark eβad*
 on *el(le)*
 once *ye daf'e*
 one *ebdā, bedā; yeki*
 one another *behdāda*
 onion *šomḡa*
 only *lūd(i)*
 open v. *šerā, fetah*
 adj. *šariyya*
 opening *baḡūya, šerūya*
 operate *βād eβad,*
 in medicine: *doktor forra elāwi el-karsā*
 opinion *feker*
 opium *teryak*
 opportunity *forḡat*
 oppose *moḡāleḡ tāmmā orki*
 opposite *barābar(dī)*
 oppress *zolm eβad*
 optimist(ic) *fekerdi šβīrye u-la-qābel*
 or *lo*
 orange *portoyāl*
 orangeade *mēn portoyāl*
 order v. *eḡqad, dastūr eβaf*
 n. *dastūr, tartīb; ma'mūriyat*
 in order to *bōre (<P. barāy)*
 orderly *morattab*
 ordinarily, ordinary *yeḡbe*
 orient *mašreq, šarq*
 oriental *šarqi*
 origin *aḡal, jāmil, kenyāna*
 orphan *bič kes lebli, bāβa u-emma lebli, yašim*
 orphanage *beḡ yanqāni (bič kes lebli), beḡ yašimān(i)*
 other *borina, yeki tom, ebdī tom*
 out *bāre*
 outrage *zolm*
 outside s. out
 outward s. out
 over *el(le), elāw-*
 overcome *yeḡlab*

overdo *genzā* *βād eβad*
 overlook *la-bezā*
 owe (I owe him *eblī qāre*)
 owl *būm(a)*
 own *nafs-* (with pers. suff.)
 owner *mār menda*
 ox *tōr, tō(w)ra*

P

page *ṣafḥa*
 pain n. *koββa*
 v. *kāyeβ (howā)*
 paint *naqša eβad, ṣawwer*
 painter *naqāša*
 pair *tārtā, ḡošt*
 palm (tree) *dəqlā, senderka*
 pan *ṣawwe*
 v. *ṣofā*
 panic *dobolṭa raftā*
 papa *bāβe*
 paper *kote xaṭṭī*
 paradise *ālma danbūra*
 paramour *geyāra*
 parasol *šamsiyye*
 parents *bāβa u-emma*
 park *bostāna*
 parrot *bibi metto*
 partridge m. *ḫezīra, f. mesekka, bābenda, ṣopra*
 pass *helef*
 pastime *ṣalūla*
 paternal *hemke bāβa*
 path *obra*
 paw *ṣofra*
 pay *parāb(a) ebaβ*
 peace *salāmat*
 peacock *ṣāwūsa*
 pearl *gelāfa*
 pebble *gelālta banentā*
 peel *meški ḫalṣī*
 pen n. *qalam*
 v. *kedaβ*
 penis *dond(a)*
 people *nāš*
 pepper *borfa*

perceive *bezā, dark eβad*
 perch *ṣoprina qa-šāḫ yehmat*
 perfect *kāmel*
 perforate *bezā*
 perforation *bezūya*
 perform *eβad*
 performance *βāda*
 perhaps *šāyad (P.)*
 peril *dobolṭa, wayyeq*
 perilous *dobolṭa eblī*
 perish *mēθ, f. meḫtat*
 permanent *kol waqt (qabāwī)*
 permission *eḡāze*
 permit *šəβaq, eḡāze abaβ*
 permit mel *eḡāze balle*
 perpetual *tamām la-tāmmā*
 persecute *azīyat eβad*
 person *barnāša*
 personally *nafs-* (with pers. suff.)
 perspire s. sweat
 pervade *helef*
 perverse *geyāra*
 pessimist(ic) *kol waqt qadābel*
 pest *rehšā biša*
 pestilence *mūṭāna*
 petition *šiyalṭa*
 petroleum *nafta*
 pharmacy *dawāḫāne*
 pheasant *bābenda*
 physician *doktor*
 pick *mīwe ḫelaṣ ma-deraxt, ḡəṣaf*
 pick up *leḫaṣ, dərā*
 picture **aksā, ṣūrat*
 piece *menda*
 pierce *bezā*
 piety *haymanūṭa*
 pig *bozūra*
 pigeon *biyūna*
 pile *dāṣ, pres. qədāyeṣ*
 pill *bawīḡa*
 pillar **amūd*
 pillow *moḫadda*
 pin *sanḡāq*
 (tree) *deraxt ṣolfa*

pincers *paşaq*
 pink *appeyi* (transl. of Ar.-P. *fūrati*)
 pious *motebeymen*
 pitch *fovweh*
 (tar) *qir(a)*
 pious *lebbi genzā qāli*
 (P. *dilas xeyli mirūzad*)
 pitiable, pitiful id.
 pitiless *lebbi la-qāli*
 pity *lebba qala, paşimān tammā,*
 It is a pity *bēf*
 place *dok(ka)*
 v. *bedaq qa-dokkei*
 plague *rebša biša*
 plan *naqşa (eşad)*
 planet *koşba*
 plant *yarūqa*
 plate *fāpşa*
 play v. *fallel*
 n. *talūla*
 playful *kol waqt qamfallel*
 pleasant *şbir(a)*
 pleasantness *eşberta*
 please *razā*
 please: *bişmi-ş-beyyi*
 plumb *hedda*
 plow *şerā, xiş eşad (al-deştā)*
 pluck *şelas, şalleş*
 plump *lāya, şamina*
 plunder *haroş u-genaf*
 plunge *yaş, ezgā tūđ mēna*
 pocket *şib*
 pointed n. *noqte*
 v. *tiz eşad*
 point *tiz*
 poison *sam(ma)*
 v. *sam ebaş*
 pole (stake) *miş*
 polish *şaqal, eşqal*
 pollute *foşān eşad, hambel*
 pomade *meş(ša)*
 pomogranate *romāna*
 pot *sabūra, şaqir*
 pot *fovweh, affeq bārre*

popular *nāş qarabemli*
 population *nāş*
 pork *besrā al-bozūra*
 port *māða la-nabra*
 portfolio *ğonta*
 portion *qesmat*
 posses *eblī*
 post(-office) *post*
 v. *şadder şaştī*
 posterity *yanqāni u-ebnādāni u-kenyāni*
 postman *postči*
 pot *qazγān*
 potent *bil eblī, rab(ba), gabāra*
 pouch *ğonta*
 pound *məbā u-xord eşad*
 pour *arreq*
 poverty *hič mendī lebli*
 powder *hel(la)*
 power *bil(a)*
 powerful *gabāra bil genzā eblī*
 powerless *hič bil lebli*
 praise *ezgad*
 praiseworthy *genz şbirye*
 pray *rişām qarā*
 prayer *rişām(a)*
 precarious *dobolða eblī*
 precaution *eştīyāşt*
 precede *ezgā qamātār*
 precept *şaştā, dastūr*
 precious *aziz*
 precipitate *fovweh denşe, pobor denşe*
 precise *daqiq*
 precision *deqqat*
 preeminent *behtar*
 prefect *rab(ba)*
 prefer *biştər rebemli men*
 pregnant *bağanā*
 prepare *qamātār eşad*
 prescribe *epqad*
 prescription *keote şaştī*
 present *eşti*
 v. *ebaş, taqdīm eşad*
 n. *toşfa*
 presently *eştā*

- press *bil aṭṭi lāwi*
 pretend *edḡar la-māre*
 pretty *šfira, heliyya*
 prevail *elimitar bowā*
 prevent *man'a eḡad*
 previous *qamāter*
 price *keṭ kemye, qimat*
 priest (Mand.) *tarmida*, (Moslem) *riš ho-
wāra al-mošmāna*, (Christian) *qašiša*
 prince *eber šihyāna*
 princess *baratta šihyāna*
 probate *dəlil aṭṭi*
 problem *šiyalṭa*
 prodigal(ly) *genzā ḡarḡ qāḡed*
 produce *eḡad, nefaq (: deraxṭ miwe nefaq guwwi)*
 product *ḡāda, menda*
 professor *šeyḡ, mo' allem, molla*
 progeny *yanqāna u-ebnāḡāna u-kenyāna*
 progress *qamāter ezgā, rabtar tāmmā, mār
menda tāmmā*
 prohibit *man'a eḡad, ḡaraḡ eḡad*
 project *naqša (eḡad)*
 promenade *obor qāzi*
 prominence *ešberta*
 promise *qāl ebaḡ*
 prompt *kerebwā*
 proof *dəlil*
 property *menda*
 prophet *peyāmbār, šeršā*
 proprietor *mār menda, mār dešta*
 prosperous *gaddi šfirye*
 prostrate *ezgad*
 protect *hemāyat eḡad, zaḡbar*
 protest *e'terāz (eḡad)*
 prove *dəlil aṭṭi*
 proverb *matel*
 province *māḡa*
 prudence *gerrāša*
 prudent *ārom*
 public *gišdū* (lit. altogether)
 publicly id.
 pull *talā*
 pump *tolombe*
 v. *tolombe mohā*

pumpkin *garunta*
 punish *tambih eḡad*
 pup *kalba bonina*
 pupil *mozir*
 purchase *zeḡan*
 pure *pāk, ṭameš*
 purity *pākye*
 purse *keise al-ḡarāba*
 pursue *ezgā bāḡerišī*
 pursuit *ṭorad*
 pus *remma*
 push *bil aṭṭi*
 put *bedaq* (with suff. *boṡqi*)
 putrid *baṡāla, geyāra*

Q

quality *kemye*
 quantity *keṭ kemye*
 quarrel *šor (eḡad)*
 quarter *rehwā, rob'a; bṭṭa*
 queen *šihyanta, eṭṭe šihyāna*
 queenly *hemke šihyanta*
 quench *dakka, intrans. edakka*
 quest *šiyyel*
 question *šiyalṭa*
 quick *kerebwā*
 quickly id.
 quince *sfargalā*
 quit *tark eḡad*
 quite *tamām, genzā*
 quiver *debel*
 quiz *šiyyel*
 quote *edḡar*

R

rabbit *rewā, rowā*
 rabid *šidāna*
 radiance *zebwā*
 radiant *zebwā eḡli*
 radiate *zebwā ebaḡ*
 rage *šidān tāmmā*
 railroad *ḡaṡ(te) parzala*
 rain v. *maṡar*
 n. *maṡrā, maṡar*

rainbow *qaštā rāmā*
 raise *aqqem, dolā, dorā*
 raisin *kisimīs*
 ram *embara*
 ramble *wel tāmāmā*
 ransom *fedwa*
 rap v. *mabā*
 n. *embeyða*
 rapid *kerehwa*
 rapt(ure) *lebbi beðerye genzā*
 rare(ly) *qarib(ye)*
 rascal *eber harām, toyme harām, toyme rebši biši*
 rather *bištər, bebtər*
 ravage *baroß*
 raven *qalāya*
 ray *zebwā*
 re- *dobarta eßad*
 read *qorā*
 real *rāri*
 reap *hejād eßad*
 rebel *təmərroð eßad*
 recall *eðyar*
 recede *aqab ezgā*
 receive *rozā, qabūl eßad*
 recent *tāze*
 reciprocal(ly) *behdāda*
 reck *debel*
 reckon *monā, hesāb eßad*
 recognize *dobarta başqer*
 recollect *eðyar*
 recommend *owfi eßad*
 recover *şfir tāmāmā*
 recovery *marazdi tamām tāmāmā*
 rectum *bōşa*
 red *romāqa*
 redress *toraf, gabbı*
 reduce *gojāntər eßad, bonin(tər) eßad*
 reed *qeyna, qoşbā*
 refine *pāk eßad*
 reform *gabbı*
 refugee *daçila*
 refuse *la-şafay, eğāze labafş*
 regard *gūs eßad, bezā*
 n. *eşterām*

region *māða*
 regret *paşimān tāmāmā*
 reign *şibyan tāmāmā*
 n. *şibyanoxta*
 reject *afteq bārre, herā*
 rejoice *lebbi beðerye, rozā*
 relate *haddetş*
 relation *hadatıta*
 religion *şerşā*
 relinquish *tark eßad*
 relish v. *rebem*
 n. *eştilū*
 remain *beyes*
 remedy *hawığa*
 remember *ma-bāli aðā*
 remind *eðyar*
 remove *dalyi eßad, dorā*
 repair *gabbı, ta'mir eßad*
 repeat *dobarta eßad, dobarta emar tekrār eßad*
 repel *şorad*
 repent *paşimān tāmāmā*
 reply *ğawāb (ebaß)*
 report *hadatş haddetş, n. hadatıta*
 reptile *rebşā*
 repudiate *şolaq, afteq bārre*
 repugnant *emı*
 repulse *şorad*
 repulsive s. repugnant
 reputation *eşmā şfirā*
 require *epqad, abā*
 resemble *bemke ađ tāmāmā*
 reside *yebem guwwı*
 residence *bēða*
 respire *neşem*
 rest *gonā, şeçoß*
 return *ekammar*
 revelation *şerşā*
 revenge *enteqām leçaş men*
 revert *ekammar*
 revolve *kammar, ler açal*
 rib *lid(ta)*
 rice *merka, ronç(a), (boiled) bosālā*
 rich *mār menda, parāb ebbı*
 ride *sawār tāmāmā*

rift *bəzūya*
 right *šβira* n. *haq*
 (hand) *yamina*
 ring *sūqa*
 v. *zəng məbā*
 riot *etaqlab* (eβad)
 rip *eβar*
 ripe *məθeyi*
 rise *qām, məθθi*
 (sun, moon) *nefaq*
 risk n. *xařar*
 v. *βādī eβad xařarye*
 rite *šeršā*
 ritual (songs and prayers) *qalasta, inyāni*
 (staff) *marganā*
 river *nabrā, yardanā*
 rivulet *nabrā bonina*
 road *obor, obrā*
 roam *wel tämmā la-qombi obri qombaqaelli*
 roar *qāl aryā*
 roast *ařā*
 rob *genaβ*
 robber *genāβa*
 robbery *genβoxta*
 robe *eβūs(a)*
 rock *gelāl(t)a rařtā*
 rod *gowāza*
 rogue *barnāša biša*
 roll *kammar, ler ařal*
 roof *sag(a)f*
 room *hoğra*
 rooster *zāya*
 rope *mašwa*
 rough *bazūfa*
 round *gerd*
 route *obor, obrā*
 rove(r) s. roam
 ruby *gelāfa*
 ruddy *somāqa*
 rude *bazūfa*
 rue *pašimān tämmā*
 ruin *baroβ, abroβ*
 rule n. *qā'ede*
 v. *rab* or *šihyān tämmā*

ruler *šihyāna, rabbā*
 run *rebeř*
 rush *rebeř, ezgā kerebwā, bæğme eβad*

S

sacrament (Mand.) *peβθa u-mambūba*
 sacrifice *fedwa*
 v. *fedwa ezgā*
 saddle *zīn*
 v. *zīn bořqi la-sosyā, el-sosyā zīndi eβad*
 safe *sālem*
 safety *səlāmat, kēf*
 sail *ezgā qa-dəryā*
 salary *pāl(a)*
 sale *zabantā*
 saliva *mēn pommā*
 sally *bəğme eβad*
 salon *hoğra*
 salt *mehlā*
 salutation *ešlām(a)*
 salute *ešlām ebaβ*
 same *abā*
 sand *bāla*
 sandal *mār kerā(ya)*
 satiate *sir eβad* (pass. *tämmā*)
 satisfy *χalāřdi eβad, χalāř tämmā u-rəzā*
 Saturday *yūm šafta*
 sauce *mēn(a)*
 saucer *kāsa, tāpša*
 saucy *mēn eβli*
 savage *šidāna, waħšī*
 save *saqqam*
 savour *fāmma*
 saw *masāra*
 v. *masār eβad*
 say *emar*
 scab *salχa*
 scale *mizān* (cl. *mūzanyā*)
 scalp *menzāni*
 scamper *rebeř kerebwā*
 scan *mə-nazīq gūs eβad*
 scant(ily) *gořān(ye)*
 scar *būya salχa tämmat u-dokka tämmā*
 scatter *badder*

scene *manzaru*
 scent *rib(a)*
 scholar *riš bowāra*
 school *madrasa*
 scissors *posāga*
 scold *towbiḡ eβad*
 scorn *haqar(di) eβad*
 scourge *čarm mobā*
 scrap *eβar*
 n. *menda bonina*
 scrape *sāği eβad*
 scratch *eβar, foβrā mobā*
 scream *qāla dālya (eβaβ)*
 screech id.
 scribe *kādeβ*
 script *kadāβa, ḡaḡḡā, kurāsa*
 scroll *diwān, qomāba*
 scrub *esqal, pāk eβad*
 sculpture *moğasamo*
 scurry *rebeḡ kerehwā*
 sect *ḡayfa*
 secure v. *leḡaḡ adj. qakeβdī, sālem*
 see *beza*
 seed *bāzer, bāzra*
 seek *baqqi domāye mendi*
 seethe *ḡūs aθθi*
 seize *leḡaḡ*
 self(ish) (*genzā qarābem la-*)*mafsi*
 sell *zabben*
 send *šadder, waddi*
 separate *lūd tāmmā*
 separately *lūd, nāβsi lūdi*
 sequel *domma*
 serpent *bevyā*
 servant *nowker*
 serve *ḡezmat eβad*
 service *ḡezmat*
 set *bedaḡ (with pers. suff. boḡqi)*
 settle *bedaḡ qa-dokkeḡ*
 seven *soββia*
 seventeen *soββassar*
 sevent *soββin*
 several *genzā*
 several *ḡeddi*

sew *bāḡ*
 shade *ḡālla, eḡlāla*
 shaggy *menzāni bazūf(a)*
 shake *tokān ebaβ*
 shame *bebeθ, ḡeḡel tāmmā*
 shape *ḡūr*
 share *šarik: tāmmā*
 sharp *tiz*
 sharpen *tiz eβad*
 shave *deqni ḡābya*
 she *bāḡ (eθθā)*
 shear *posaq*
 shed *arreq*
 sheep *tattā, na'ḡa*
 sheepskin *meške embara*
 sheet *koḡe ḡaḡḡi*
 shelf *tāqča*
 shepherd *rāyi*
 shine *sāmeš aθā, nūr ebaβ*
 ship *maḡūθa*
 shirt *soδra*
 shiver *lebbi erdeḡ*
 shock *tokān*
 shoe *qāndāra*
 shoot *gerrā mobā*
 shop *dokān(a)*
 v. *zeβan*
 shore *dešta la-nabrā*
 short *goḡān*
 shortage *goḡān tāmmā*
 shorten *goḡān eβad*
 shoulder *sānda*
 show *abwi*
 shower *maḡrā bonina*
 shrink *goḡān tāmmā*
 shut *ḡorā*
 sick *mariz, kāyeβ*
 sickness *maraz, koββā*
 side *ḡaraf, ḡamba*
 sieve *mabolθa*
 v. *mabolθa eβad*
 signature *emzā*
 silence *bič la-gāmer*
 silent *qabāyeḡ*

- silk *harir, abrišam*
 silver *kašpa*
 silversmith *qanāya*
 similar *bemke baḫ*
 simper *gebeḫ*
 simple *sāde, sin ʕaʕāb(a)*
 since (temporal) *ma-yūmi ke, (causal) ke*
 sing *zamar*
 single *ebdi*
 sinister *biš(a), ʕaʕar eblī*
 sink *yār, ezgā tūḫ mēna*
 sister *hāḫa*
 skill(ed) *šfir bād qāβed*
 skin *meškā*
 skirt *māna, elβūša, rāsta*
 skull *kal(la), kal riša*
 sky *erqiba*
 slack *šeri, kaḫir(a)*
 slake *dakkā*
 slaughter v. *neḫas*
 n. *enḫesta*
 slaughterer *naḫāsa*
 slav *gejal*
 sleek *narm, esqila*
 sleep *genā, šeḫoβ*
 n. *šendā*
 sleepy *šendī qāḫi*
 sleet *talgā u-maḫrā (aḫā)*
 sleeve *bād(a)*
 slender *gaḫina*
 slick s. sleek
 slight, slim s. slender
 slip *ezgā kerāyi eteβrat*
 slot *bezā, n. bezūya*
 sloth *tiyār(ye)*
 slouch *dolla tāmmā*
 slow(ly) *tiyār(ye)*
 smart *šfir(a), bāli qbādeq*
 smell *arre, intrans. rib abaβ*
 smile *qarib gebeḫ*
 smith (black:) *ḫadāda, (silver:) qanāya*
 smoke *goḫor, goḫrā*
 v. *goḫor talā*
 smooth *narma, esqila*
 smutty *ʕowšān(a)*
 snake *bewyā*
 snap *šenāni bedaḫ guwwi u-noḫti*
 snarl *pommi ešrā u-šenāni abwi*
 snatch *kerehwā leḫaḫ*
 sneer *ḫaqardi eβad*
 sniff *nešem talā*
 snore *šeḫra eβad, ʕorropof eβad*
 snow *talga*
 snuff *feteltā*
 v. *talā qa-nebiri*
 so *ēka*
 sock *dalāy(a) al-kerāya*
 sofa *moḫadda*
 soft(en) *narm eβad*
 soil n. *dešta*
 v. *ʕowšān eβad*
 sojourn *beyeš, eqāmat eβad, moḫim tāmmā*
 soldier *gošen*
 sole(lv) *ebdi, lūd, nāβsi lūdi*
 solid *elima*
 soluble *mēn qabāwi*
 some *ebdi, enšī, ye barnāša*
 somebody *eplan*
 something (ye) *mendi*
 sometime *ye waqti, ebdā yūma*
 sometimes *ye waqti*
 somewhere *ye dokeki*
 son *eber, ebrā, yānqa, oḫāna*
 song *zāmāra*
 soon *kerehwā*
 sooner than *kerehwāter men*
 soot *okmā*
 sorcerer *barāša*
 sorceress *barašta*
 sorcery *barši*
 sore *koββa, kāyeβ*
 sorry *pāšimān*
 soul *nešma, nešemia*
 sound *qāl(a)*
 v. *qāl ebaβ*
 adj. *sālem*
 soup *šorba*
 sour *toḫfa*

south *šimūb* (cl. *temya*)
 sovereign *rabba*, *šihyāna*
 sovereignty *šihyanoxta*
 sow *bāzer foṣweh qa-dešta*
 sparrow *šoprina*
 speak *emar*, *baddetθ*
 spear *romah* (cf. AM 276: 31 etc.)
 speck (le) *latxa bonina*
 spectacles *eymak*
 speculate *feker eβad*
 speech *badadθia*
 speed(ily) *kerehwā*
 spell *qomāba*, *zarasta*
 spend *χarğ eβad*
 spice *borfa*
 spill *arreq*
 spin *šāl*, pres. *qšāyel*
 spine *germa al-bašša*, *selwā*
 spinster *dālu bel lebā*
 spirit *nešemθa*
 spit *tof eβad*
 splash, splatter *arreq*, *yardanā elāya part tammā*
 spleen *šabāla*
 splendor *zebwā*
 spoil *abreβ*
 spoon *kamča*
 sport *šalūla*
 spot *latxa*
 spouse *bella*, f. *eθθa*
 spread *badder*
 spring v. *poḅar mo-dokki*
 n. *babār*
 sprinkle *mēn rišoβ*
 spur of the cock *tofra al-zāya*
 spy *šāsūr*
 square *arba šāyi*
 squash *bil aθθi (ε)lāwi*, *nərmedi eβad*
 squeal *šāyeh məbā*
 stain *lātχa*
 stamp *dās*, *kerā məbā*
 stand *qām*
 standard *drafša*
 star *koχβa*
 start *qam šād eβad*, *qām šād qāβed*

starve *kefen bowā*
 statue **akša*, *moğassame*
 stay *beyeβ*
 steadfast, steady *tokān la-qāxel*
 steal *genaβ*, *genaf*
 stealth *genβoxta*
 steam *boχār*
 steel *pūlād(a)*
 stench *rib(a) baβāla (ebaβ)*
 step *nišān*
 step by step *nišān qa-nišān*
 stick *gowāza*, (ritual staff) *marginā*
 stifle *hanaq*
 still (yet) *kəndi(ye)*
 stimulate *təhrik eβad*
 sting *mahaβ məbā*
 stingy *baχil*, *parāh qarābemli*
 stink *riba baβāla (ebaβ)*
 stocking *dalāya dālya*
 stomach *kars(a)*
 stone *gelāl(ε)a*
 stoop *dolla tammā*
 stop *abyeβ* (Morg. 275: 9), *tamām eβad*
 store *əmbār*
 v. *əmbār eβad*
 storm *mēn šāfūy*, *šūfāna*
 story *badadθia*
 stout *šamina*, *čāy*
 stove *arβa*
 strange **ağib*
 strangle *hanaq*
 strap *tikke*
 straw *šifna*
 strawberry *tūt yeršiša*
 stray *wel tammā*, *la-qombi obrā gombaqaella*
 street **ağed*, *čepila*
 strength *bil(a)*
 stretch *eriχ tammā*
 strew *mēn abaβ*
 stride *ezgā kerehwā*
 strife *šor(ra) (eβad)*
 strike *məbā*
 string *mašwa*
 stroke *embeyθa*

stroll *siyār obor ezgā*
 strong *elima*
 study *dars (qarā)*
 stuff *genzā*
 v. *mālā*
 stuffy *rebwā lebli*
 subdue *yeleb*
 subsist *bowā, tāmāmā, yehem*
 succeed *towfiq tāmāmā, xelef aχū adā*
 such *bemke abā*
 suck *māṣ, pres. qomāyeyṣ*
 suckle *balβā abβat la-yānqa*
 sudden(ly) *kerewbā*
 suffer *lebbi rabbiye u-badaθta ṣālef mota-
 ḥammel tāmāmā*
 sugar *bolyā*
 suicide *el-nāβṣi geḥli*
 suit *qomāsā(mi), elβūša*
 sully *towṣān eβad*
 sulphur *ṣiχχāta*
 sum *menyāna, heṣāb*
 summer *geyṣa, gēṣa*
 summon *qarri*
 sun *šameṣ*
 Sunday *yūm heβṣabba*
 sundown *boqwāša*
 sunless *šameṣ lebli*
 sunny *šameṣ eblī*
 supper *‘aṣeyṗa*
 v. *‘aṣṣi*
 support *səmaχ*
 n. *səmāχa*
 surface *lodarta*
 surname *kenyāna, laqab*
 surpass *behter eβad, behter tāmāmā, rabter
 tāmāmā*
 suspect *fekerdī adyi, bowar leβad*
 sustain *səmaχ*
 swallow *balaq*
 swear *yemā*
 sweat v. *‘araq eβad, sweet beliyya*
 sweep *mašūr eβad*
 swell *ṣomar*
 sword *siḥira*

system *ṣerša, tartīb*

T

table *miχ*
 tableau *‘aksa, ṣūrat, naqṣa*
 table-cloth *gādāda*
 tail *denβa, domma*
 tailor *χayāṣa*
 take *leχaṣ, take off χelaṣ, ṣala*
 tale *hadadθta*
 talk *haddeθ*
 tall *rāma, dālya*
 tardy *rebwā*
 tarry *beyeyṣ*
 tart *bolyā*
 task *βāda*
 taste n. *tāmāmā*
 v. *hezyi el-tāmami*
 tea *bolyā, okemā*
 teach *allef, dars ebaβ*
 teacher *mo’allem, molla*
 tear *ṣorā*
 tears n. pl. *demeṗyāṗa, (sg. demebṗa)*
 tease *aḥiyat eβad, ‘aḡez eβad*
 tell *emar*
 tempest *mēn tāfūy, ḥūfāna*
 tempt *taḡārob eβad*
 tender *nərm, gaṣina, ṣḥira*
 tenuous *gaṣina, goṣāna*
 terrible *dobolṗa qamaθṗi*
 terrify *adbel, dobolṗa adθi*
 territory *māṗa*
 terror *dobolṗa rāṣtā*
 test *emteḥān (eβad)*
 testament *waṣiyyat*
 testator *mowṣi*
 testicle *gelda*
 textile *qomāsā*
 than *men, mo*
 thank v. *emar farwābaχ, Thank you farwābaχ*
 that demonstr. pron. *abā, aχ, aχū, conj. ke*
 theft *genβoχta*
 then *aχ waqt*
 thence *mo-ebnā*

- there *ekkaḡ*
 therein *qa-āḡ dokka*
 thereof *mo-ekkaḡ*
 therewith *orkee bāḡ*
 they *bannoḡ*, f. *banneḡ*
 thick *elima*, *šamina*
 thief *genāβa*
 thigh *aḡma*
 thin *gaḡina*
 thing *menda*, *mendi*
 think *feker eβad*
 third *kliḡāya*
 thirsty *ḡabi*
 thirteen *klātassar*
 thirty *klāsin*
 this *ā*, *bā*, *abā*, *bāḡ*
 thorn *selwa*
 thorny *selwa ebli*
 thought *feker*
 threaten *adbel*
 three *klāḡa*
 threshold *bilat baita* (Ṣāb. by correspondence)
 throat *gangarāḡa*
 throne *korsi*
 throng *ḡamā'at*, *menyāna rabbā*
 throttle *bonaḡ*
 throw *ḡowweḡ*
 thumb *kilik rāḡtā*
 thump *mobā*
 thunder *qāl erqiba*
 v. *erqiba qāl ehaβ*
 Thursday *yūm hiβel zīwa*
 thus *eka*
 thwart *la-βbaḡ*
 ticket *biliḡ*
 tie *rāf* (with pers. suff. *rowfi*), *ḡorā*, *ḡoḡar*
 till *šom*
 time *wagḡ*, *ma'ād*
 tire 'āḡeḡ eβad, 'āḡeḡ tāmmā
 to *ḡ*, *qār*, *qam*, to-day *ā mā*
 we *riḡ kerāya*, *kilik al-kerā*
 v. *ḡeḡther ḡisḡū*
 v. *ken ruḡūm(a)*
- tomb *ḡoβira*
 to-morrow *persā*
 tongs *baraḡḡ alpisaqa* (Ṣāb. by correspondence)
 tone *qāla*, *qāl zomāra*
 tongue *liḡān(a)*, to-night *ā pen*
 too *ham*; *genzā*
 tooth *šenna*, pl. *šenāna*
 toothache *koββa al-šenna*
 topple *enfel*
 tortoise *ragga*
 toss *ḡowweḡ*
 touch *id mobā*, *lams eβad*
 town *māḡa*
 toy(s) *asbāb al-ḡalula*, *asbāb al-yānqa*
 trace, track *āḡer*
 trackless *āḡer lebbi*
 trade *zabanta*
 train *markab al-ḡeḡtā*, *ḡaḡ parzala*
 v. *rab(dī) eβad*
 trait *ḡūr*
 tramp *ezḡā*
 transfix *bezā*
 translate *tarḡome eβad*
 travel n. *safar*
 v. *safar ezḡā*
 tree *deraxḡ*, *qonāra*
 tremble *lebbi erdef*, *genzā debel*
 tremor *dobolḡa*
 tribe *ḡāyfa*
 trick *zīḡa*
 trip *safar (ezḡā)*
 trouble *wayyeg*
 trousers *šarwāla*, *šalwāra*
 truck *mentekār*
 trudge *ezḡā*
 trust *bowar eβad*
 try *saḡārob eβad*
 tuberculosis *sel*
 tuck *bedaḡ denβe* or *ḡuwwi*
 Tuesday *yūm klāḡa sabba*
 tumble *enfel denβe*
 tumor *būya*
 tumult *šulūḡ*

tune *maziq(a)*
 turban *kamzala*
 turn *kammar*, *ler aḡal*
 turn around *bedar*
 twice *dobarta*, *do daf'e*
 twig *šāḡa bonina*
 twirl *kammar*
 twist *ḡāl*, pres. *qəḡāyēl*
 twitch *dolla tammā*
 twitter *qāl šoprina*
 šoprina zəmar or *qāl abaβ*
 two *trēn*, *tārtā*
 type *ḡūr*

U

ugly *genz bišā*
 umbrella *šamsiyye*
 un- *lə-*
 uncle *'amūya*
 unchain *šošalḡi šerya*
 unclean *ḡowšān(a)*
 unclose *šorā*
 under *deṇṇe*
 understand *ḡōr eβad*
 undress *qomāšāni ḡalšūi*
 unfit *lə-ḡšāwi*
 unless *aḡer lə*
 unlock *qolfedi šorā*
 unruly *tamerrad tammā*
 unsaddle *zēn leḡaḡ mə-soḡya*
 untie *šorā*
 up *el(lə)*, *dālyā*
 uphill *lə-ḡōra*
 upper *eleyyi*
 upright *elle*
 uproar *qāla dālyā*
 urge *bil aḡḡi*
 urine *tina*
 use *este'māl eβad*
 useful *šβira*, *mofid*
 useless *βād lə-ḡāḡi*
 uterus *kars(a)*, *kars eḡḡā*
 utmost *mə-ḡiṣdū ginzlar*
 uttermost *id.*

V

vacancy *dokkə eбли*
 vain *baḡāla*
 in vain *βād lə-ḡāḡi*
 valiant *bil eбли u lə-ḡdābel*
 vanish *bāḡel tammā*
 vapour *boḡār*
 vaporize *boḡār tammā*
 variable *'awaḡ qahāwi*
 various *moḡtalef*
 veal *besrā al-boḡāḡa*
 vegetable *tartūl*
 vehemence, vehement *bil genzā eбли*
 vehicle *arabāna*
 vein *šeryāna* (cl.)
 vengeance *enteḡām*
 venomous *sam eбли*
 ventilate *rehwā abaβ*
 venture *βāda (eβad) doholḡa eбли*
 verdant *yarāḡa*
 verify *emteḡān eβad*
 verily *rāsi* (< P. *rāsti*)
 very *id.*; *genzā*
 vex *ḡeyz eβad*
 vicious *ḡayāra*
 vicissitude *ḡaddā (šβirā, or bišā)*
 vigor *bil(a)*
 vile *basifa*, *ḡayāra*
 vine *goḡnā*, *embā*
 vinegar *toḡfa*
 violate *bil aḡḡi u geryoḡta eβad*
 viper *bewyā*
 virgin *baratta*
 virtue *ešbertā*
 visible *qombax qabazjāsi*
 visit *bezā*
 vital *šboroxta eбли*
 voice *qāl(a)*
 voiceless *qāl lebli*
 void *pati*
 volume *kedāβa*
 voluntary *qabōyi*
 vomit *gebā eβad*
 voracious *aḡāla*

row *gōl ebaβ, tæqdim eβad*
 voyage *sefar*
 vulva *hošša*

W

wage *pāl(a)*
 wagon *arabāna*
 wager *gerow eβad*
 wail *boχā*
 waist *baβša*
 waistcoat *šodra*
 wait *beyes*
 wake *yebem*
 walk *bedar*
 wall *diwār, ūwja*
 wallnut *angūza*
 wander *bedar*
 wane *gojānter tāmā*
 want *abā, rebem*
 war *šor(ra)*
 ware *menda, βāda, ġens*
 warm *hamima*
 warmth *bōm, bowmā*
 wash *bowwer, ūmaš, bāf*
 wasp *zambūr*
 watch *gūš eβad, bezā*
 water *mēn(a)*
 wave *gella*
 waxcandle *šōḏa*
 way *obor, obra*
 we *eni, anin*
 weak *bil lebli*
 wealth *mendā(ni u-parāhāni)*
 wealthy *mār menda*
 weapon *mār qāla, zeyna*
 wear *leβaš*
 weather *rehwā*
 weave *jāl, pres. qešāyēl*
 weaver *ŷayāla*
 wed *eḏḏa derā*
 week *šoβeyḏa*
 weep *boχā*
 weigh 'eyyer
 n. 'ērū

welfare *gadda šβira*
 well *šβir(ye)*
 n. *in(a), in mēna*
 west *mayreb, yarb*
 wet *marfūb*
 to get wet *sammar, maŷar aχal*
 what *mo, what is? miyye*
 whatever *hemmed*
 wheat *beβša*
 wheel *čarχ(a)*
 when *hemda, ēka, waqti ke*
 whence *mə-elyā*
 whenever *hemmed*
 where *elyā, where is? elye, eli*
 which *man, ke*
 whip *čarm, šallāq (məbā)*
 whisk *mašūr(a)*
 v. *mašūr eβad*
 whisky *mēn hamrā, mašrūb*
 whisper *wəswəsa (eβad)*
 white *bowāra*
 who *man, who is? manye*
 whole *kāmel, tamām*
 whoop *qāla dālya*
 whore *geyārta*
 why *qāmū*
 wick *šetelta*
 wicked *genz biša, ġorm qāβed*
 wide *pati(yye)*
 widespread *šori, paŷi*
 widow *armalta*
 widower 'azab
 wind *rehwā*
 v. *rehwā məbā, rehwā abbar; kük eβad*
 window *deriča, dollāb*
 wing *gəp(pa)*
 winged *gappa ebli*
 wingless *gappa lebli*
 winter *setwa*
 wire *zima*
 wisdom *γōr, (cl. būχemḏa)*
 wise *γōr qāβed, 'āqal(ye)*
 witch *barašta, witchkraft barši*
 with(in) *orke*

without *lebli*

he went without a word *la-malle u-ezgā*
witness *šābed*

v. *šābed tāmmā, esteshād eβad*

woe *wāy*

wolf *dība*

wolfish *hemke dība*

woman *eθθa*, pl. *enšāna* (& *eθθawāθa*)

womb *kars(a) eθθa*

wonder *te'æḡḡob (tāmmā)*

woo *rebem*

wood *selwa, gowāza*

wool *pæsm*

word *kelma, mimrā*

work n. *βāda*

v. *βād eβad*

world *ālma*

worm *tolyā, toleyθa*

wormy *tolyā ebli*

worry *rīya aḡal, lebbi feker tāmmā*

worse *badtær (bištær is P. بیشتر "more")*

worship *ezgad*, n. *sogodta*

worst *ma-ḡisdū badtær(ye)*

worth(y) *šāwi, šβir(a)*

worthless *la-ḡšāwi, ḡimat lebli*

wound *zæxm(a)*

wrangle *šör eβad orki*

wrap *hamal* (with suff. *bemli*)

wreath *tāya, eklila*

wreathe *eklil(a) eβad, tāya bedaq qa-riši*

wreck *haroβ*

wretched *sabūra, hič mendi lebli*

wriggle, wring *fāq eβad*

write *kedāβ*

writing *kedāβa, ḡaḡta*

wrong *nešit(a) ebli*

wrongdoing *βāda biša*

Y

yard *fāḡa*

year *šettā*

yellow *zærd, miyūne*

yes *i*

yesterday *eθmal*

yet *kændi*

yield *ezgā 'aqab*

you *āt*, pl. *atton*, f. *atten*

young *ḡæwānqa*

your(s) *eldax*, pl. *eldoxon*, f. *eldex*, pl. *eldexen*

youth *ḡæwānqa, ošfāna*

Z

zeal *yeprat*

Zodiac *mælwāša*

D. ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

to Drower-Macuch, *A Mandaic Dictionary*, Oxford — At the Clarendon
Press 1963

A = Addition D = Delete F = False R = Right

V—VII (Preface) A: As can be gathered from epistolary remarks of the reviewers of the Dictionary (Ullendorff: "the seams between the three components of this work are nowhere obtrusive", Baumgartner: „Ihre Mitarbeit am Mand. Wörterbuch, wiewohl nicht genau kenntlich gemacht, ist wohl nicht gering zu schätzen“), the user of the Dictionary would be interested to know how the work was divided between both authors. While preparing the preface we disregarded this informational detail, as we were sure to have given each personally the work the maximum of what we could. The material which Lady Drower submitted surpassed, of course, in volume both Lidzbarski's and my own card-indices. Upon my arrival to Oxford there lay in Lady Drower's workroom about thirty typescript volumes of preparatory work apart from her card-file index of the Dictionary. These had to be revised, completed and combined with further material we had at hand and prepared for edition. My two years leave from Tehran University would have appeared too short for such a work to every realistically thinking person. Lady Drower and Professor Driver, the sponsor of the Dictionary, were dissuading me from starting the work in Oxford and recommended to limit myself only to discussions of the problems and to do the whole work after my return to Tehran without the depressive feeling of time-limitation. But to me it was clear that the Dictionary could be compiled nowhere else but in Oxford. A separation from Lady Drower's complete collection of Mandaean manuscripts was unimaginable and rediscussion of problems by correspondence would have postponed the achievement *ad Kalendas Graecas*. Decision taken, I started to work and, as a result of my resolution, a completed manuscript of the Dictionary was ready one month before the expiration of my leave in June 1958. It was clear to me that much less of precious time would be spent on discussions when the whole mass of hardly surveyable material is properly arranged, each single root and word explained both etymologically

(resp. semantically) and according to its actual use, each single entry completely arranged according to each form of different successive grammatical categories it contained, and the missing references completed. I prepared the manuscript in such a way that it presents a complete grammar of Mandaic in dictionary form. After each "letter" of the Dictionary there followed discussions in which we endeavoured to settle any points of difference. The authors are glad to have almost always arrived at an unanimous conclusion. The points in which there remained difference of opinion have been signalled by the authors' initials. But they are, indeed, so rare that the reader will have to undertake many troubles in order to detect them in the whole volume of the Dictionary. I personally remember only one such entry (: šira 2, p. 463 a).

As to my transliteration of Mandaic, I have already heard two different criticisms: (a) F. Altheim says: „Ihre Transliteration ist so vollkommen, daß nichts Besseres erfunden werden konnte“; (b) K. Rudolph (29. 1. 1964) writes to me: „Auch ich muß alle orient. Texte in Umschrift bringen und habe mich dabei an die Umschrift in Ihrem Wörterbuch gehalten (obwohl ich diese nicht immer für sehr glücklich halte, aber sie ist einfach und konsequent“; W. Baumgartner (6. 7. 1964): „Nur mit der gewählten Umschrift kann ich mich nicht ganz befreunden, da sie den nicht gut mit mandäischer Orthographie Vertrauten allzu oft von der tatsächlichen Aussprache abführt“. Only a little explanation seems needed to remove this unfortunate and unexpected misunderstanding. We considered the possibility of Hebrew transliteration and rejected it as useless presumptuousness (p. VI: m.). It is true that Yiddish expressed not quite bad German vowels with the help of א, ו and ױ, but this does not mean that they are not better expressed by German or Latin letters. The same holds about Mandaic. Hebrew script has not been made for this language and does not suit it. Its Hebrew transliteration had been introduced by Nöldeke, because in his days Latin transliteration of Oriental languages was not customary. In our days we have got used to all kinds of often awfully looking Latin transliterations of Oriental texts redacted in completely defective orthographies. Who could under such circumstances justify the use of Hebrew script in the transliteration of *plene* written Mandaean texts?! But a transliteration must be only a transliteration and no interpretation. The only advantage of Hebrew transliteration was that it offered no interpretation. Who can defend us to do the same in Latin transliteration?! And if only the interpretations of those who dared to transcribe Mandaic into

Latin letters had, at least, been right?! They have been based upon ignorance of Mand. phonetics and as such could be nothing else but completely mistaken and misleading, e. g. Lidzbarski transliterated the Mand. name **saiuia** as *Šāyōyā* (ML, p. 231), although in reality it is pronounced *Šāyowī*, and as it is a name still used and no word with forgotten meaning, it is clear that Lidzbarski's transliteration in this case is based on nothing more than presumption; the name **dinanukt** (Gy 204ff.) was transcribed by Lidzbarski (Ginzā 205ff.) Dinānūkt — Rudolph (Die Mandäer I) gives us four different transcriptions: Dinānūxt (p. 24), Dinānūkt (p. 83 n. 1, 129), Dinanukt (p. 196), Dinanukht (p. 210 n. 2). Rudolph indicates the aspiration of *drafša* but not that of **dmuta** (see *ibid.*, Sachwortregister under *Dmūtā*), although the word is still pronounced as *admūṭa* or *dāmūṭa* and in both different traditional pronunciations the aspiration of *t* can be considered with absolute certainty as original. Similar phonetic blunders are frequent not only in Rudolph's attempts at interpretative transcriptions of Mandaic but in the works of all those who have taken upon themselves to practice Mand. phonetics without ever having heard the language. Can such attempts be considered as „sehr glücklicher“ than my transliteration which is „einfach und konsequent“?! People with no notion of Mand. phonetics should feel themselves debarred from a great evil when such a gift of St. Simplicity falls into their hands! I have paid more attention to Mand. phonetics than anybody else but would never dare to transcribe phonetically a Mand. word which I did not actually hear. Lady Drower allowed herself in her former books to attempt to reproduce pronunciations she has heard, but upon consultation agreed with me that it was a dangerous and misleading practice. The aspiration of the *begadkefat* is not indicated in Mand. texts. How could it then be indicated in any transliteration which has to give a true image of the text and nothing more?! This question with all its complicated problematic belongs to Phonetics not into the transliteration. Further, when the Mand. **a** is used absolutely and **u**, **i** mostly as vowel signs, why should we use such signs as *'*, *w* and *y* for their transliteration?! I was aware of their existence, only I was sure that using them for the transliteration of Mandaic would be a very wrong step. I expected that an intelligent reader will easily understand that in the groups **ia**, **ii**, **iu** as well in **ua** and **ui** the first letter must be a consonant and the second a vowel, and I did not think that using the groups *y'*, *yy*, *yw*, *w'* and *wy* would have better achieved this purpose. Nor did I feel authorized to use two different Latin letters for the same Mand. sign, since this would

give no exact image of the text. The length of vowels is not expressed in the Mand. script and again offers a complicated phonetic image. In some cases the length is secondary, in others it is merely facultative. Its indication in transliteration would only be a misleading deviation from the mentioned sound principle. That a mechanical transliteration of Mandaic would be the truest and hence the best had already been recognized by G. Furlani who had no qualms about using a single sign for a single letter. Only he went too far by allowing himself to transliterate **ḏ**- and **kḏ** as *ui* and *kui* disregarding the clear etymology of these very frequent words and violating them in an impermissible way. But apart from this mistake to which he was seduced by the similarity between the letter **ḏ** and the group **ui** his transliteration has the advantage of not venturing at wrong interpretations. It was, in fact, his transliteration which inspired me of keeping to the simplest possible principle. F. Altheim has signified his approval of this system by making the following prophecy: „Diese Umschrift wird sich durch ihre ungewöhnlich praktische Form restlos durchsetzen. Nur Leute, die sie nicht kapiert haben, werden ihre unglücklichen uneinheitlichen Umschriftversuche fortsetzen“.

Both authors regret the omission of Cyrus H. Gordon's name in our list of acknowledgements. Professor Gordon of Brandeis University was ever ready with advice and encouragement especially to Lady Drower during the long years of her apprenticeship to Mandaean research. She is anxious to remove implied ingratitude which is far from being felt.

The limited time in which our Dictionary had to be prepared and my absence from the place of publication must serve as an excuse for many of the mistakes which appeared in the book. The reader will especially notice the inconsistency of the comparative etymological data which are fuller in the second half of the book than in the first one. At the beginning I was preoccupied by the main worry of limited time in which the work had to be done. Therefore, in the first pages the comparative material is almost exclusively limited to Jew.-Aramaic and Syriac words in case the word is of Aramaic origin. Only later as the work was favourably advancing and I was getting the certitude that it will be completed in the limited time I was almost subconsciously enlarging the comparative material. The first "letter" the preparation of which lasted longer than of any other is technically poorer than all others. The most important and the most frequent Mand. verb **ABD I** would certainly not have been so niggard of textual references or shorter than **QUM** if it had had the chance of standing in the second half of the book. But

there remained no time for equalizing such technical differences which only an ultracritical reader will notice. As to misprints, they would also have been less numerous if at the time of proof-reading both authors had been together. The Dictionary was almost four years in print. The sending of proofs from Oxford to Tehran and back was in no way practical. Although I was, as a rule, waiting long for them, I always had to read them in a hurry from fear of delaying the publication. Such unpleasant circumstances caused that many misprints remained undetected even at the second perusal. When the whole volume was already printed I presented the Press a list of additions and corrections. The Press answered that many volumes had already been bound. A complete correction of misprints and other formal mistakes must wait for the second edition. Pointing separately to each single mistake would be a tedious and unrewarding work which no productive scholar can undertake. Even between the errors I have found more or less at random I see none which a reader with basic knowledge of Semitics, to whom the Dictionary is destined, would not detect as mere misprints. As to essential additions, it is still more difficult to make them. The present manuscript material has been put by both authors conscientiously into the Dictionary. No important new manuscripts have been discovered since that time, and it is very unlikely that it would happen in the future. The collecting of all possible variants in the manuscripts in other European libraries would mean no important contribution and is hardly worth doing. We paid little attention to magic bowls and amulets written on lead rolls. I again went across them and have to state that our first idea of disregarding them in the Dictionary was a good and sound one. The language of the poorest manuscripts is superior to that of the best magic bowls and lead amulets. Introducing this inferior material into the Dictionary of classical Mandaic would in no way enhance the value of our work. These documents will require a special glossary when, one day in the future, they are published in sufficient amount. They come from another sphere and represent another sort of Mandaic. They are especially interesting as a resource of personal names and names of angels as well as of some archaic forms of the language and as such deserve the attention of the scholar. But their vocabulary is mostly poor and means no essential contribution to the knowledge of classical Mandaic. Nevertheless, some of their archaic forms are given here for the sake of their special interest. As to mod. Mandaic, the living classical forms have been cited in the Dictionary only in the case of the most frequent and important words. So far as this classical treasure is

still living, it deserves our attention as a guide to the meaning and pronunciation of the words concerned better than the traditional pronunciation of words whose meaning has been forgotten. Some omitted good mod. Mandaic expressions are completed in the following additions.

Abbreviations

- IXa: 3 F: *aramäistische* — R: *aramaistische*
 Xa after l. 9 A: eštaf., eštafal
 Xa: 44 F: *der parthischer* — R: *der parthischen*
 Xb nom., nominal transfer before nom. act.
 XIb after l. 9 A: šaf., šafel

Transliteration

XII: 11 F: 𐤒 — R: 𐤒

A

- 1a s. ab 2 F: *abu* — R: *äbu*
 2a *abatur* A: *abatur br bihrat s. bihrat*
 5a: 1 R: P. *guḏašt*
 5a *agama* F: AM 252 (cf. Transl. 69 n. 5)
 — R: AM 152: 10 (cf. Transl. 96 n. 5).
 8b *ahata* A: as a woman's name in *ahata pt dad'* Lidzb. MZ, Nr. V: 4.
 10a: 2 The words "(possibly) ab 'bra 'father of needles') porcupine" represent Lady Drower's concept although not indicated by her initials. To me only the etymology and the meaning given in the first line are known.
 A: *aubria* AM 269: 5 means not "plants" (Transl. 173 n. 2) but "mice".
 11a *azdai* A: Gordon, AO IX 99 n. 7—8.
 15b *airan* F: ايران — R: ايران
 16b *AKL* Impf. with suff. A: 'klak Florilegium 364: 173 I will eat thee.
 18b: 1 A: *bakia aliia* Florilegium 354: 42f. he weeps and wails
 19a *alam* R: st. abs. & cstr. of *alma* 1
 20b *alma* 2 F: Syr. 'admā — R: 'ḏammā
 26a *anhar* A: according to ARR 378 wife of John the Baptist
 29b: ult. A: an exceptional inf. form is preserved in 'I 'sir MZ, Nr. V: 1 in order to bind.
 30b *apaiia* A: 1 Gy 107: 4. Mod. sg. *apaiia* pronounced *afāya*.
 A: *apaiia* 2 (adj. from *apa* 1, transl. of Ar.-P. *šūraṭi*) pink. Mod., pronounced *appeyyi*.
 31b *APK* Pa. A: Impf. (archaic with I-prefix) *ula'ska lapakun* Florilegium 370: 262 and thy could not turn.
 32a *apquta* A: *kauka ḏ-apquta* ARR 464 cavity of the throat.
 33a *aqā* 1 D: (often) — A: ARR 236
 34b *aqraita* A: var. *aqrita* MZ, Nr. V (102: 3)
 35a *arabaiia* D: (often) — A: A more common form is *arbaiia*, s. *arbaia* 1.
 Ibid. after the entry *arabaiia* A: *arabana* (cf. mod. Syr. 'arābānā Macl. 243b, Ar. 'arabānab) cart, coach, waggon, carriage, vehicle. Mod., pronounced *arabāna*.
 35a: ult. A: Mod. *arāsa* means "bride" (cf. Sh. Abd.'s transl. s. *agam*). This meaning fits in both places quoted. The above translation is admissible only with the supposition of a *concretum pro abstracto*.
 35b: ult. A: Mod. *arβa* means also brook, stream(let), trough; Šāb. expressed even "stove, oven" by this word.
 37a: 16 F: Syr. *adwānā* — R: Syr. *arwānā*
 38b *ARQ* 1 A: Pe. Imper. 'ruq MZ, Nr. V (104: 6) flee away.
 40a *AŠD* Ettaf. pt. sg. A: defectively *mitšad* Florilegium 354: 43 he sheddeth tears
 41a s. *AŠP* F: Akk. *ašipu* — R: Akk.

- 41b: 15 F: P. *kušādab* — R: *gušādab*
 41b at A: at asia AO IX (Gordon, Text M: 16) thou art the healer.
 43 *atun* A: But in MZ, Nr. 1c: 12 it remains doubtful whether *atun* is to be translated as "you" or as "come!" (Imper. pl. of ATA I); I would prefer the latter possibility, although Lidzb. translated it as "Ihr".
 43a *atid* F: Only once in MA — R: Spodic, cf. Florilegium 354: 30,
 43a: 57 F: 931 — R: 93

B

- 46a *bada* A: A mod. word, pronounced *βād*, *βāda*.
 46b D the entries *bidraq* and *bihrun* (They have been added by Lady Drower later after the completion of the manuscript and are out place. Moreover, *bedraq* [sic] immediately after *bidraq* [l. 4] is an inconsistency for which I decline responsibility. Both entries had been put in their proper places: *bidraq* 59a—b, *bihrun* 60a before Lady Drower's addition).
 47a after the entry *bazrunia* A: *baṭāla* (nom. ag. Pe. of BṬL) mod., pronounced *baṭāla* abuser, abusive, reviler, reviling.
 47a after the entry *baṭla* A: *baṭlukta* (mod. abstr. n. from preced.) pronounced *baṭloḡta* abolition, vanishing.
 48a after the entry *balaiat* A: *balam* (cf. Ar. *balam* a fish-name, hence the Mand. use is metaphorical) mod. *balam* boat, canoe.
 48b *banaya* A: still used, mod. pronunciation *banāya*
 50a: 9 R: *bar* 1
 50a: 54 Gy 388 A: l. 19 (: Gy 388: 19)
 51a *bašqarta* A: mod. *bašqarāḡi ešad orki* he made acquaintance with him, and *bašqarāḡa tāmma orki* he became acquainted with him.

- 51a after the entry *bašqarta* A: *bat* (an older form of *pt q. v.*) Gordon AO IX, Text M: 3, 11, cf. *ibid.* p. 98, daughter.
 52b *BDR* Pa. A: Still used: pf. *badder*, pres. *qombadder*.
 54b after the entry *BHT* A: (*BHT II* [*< PTH < PTH*] to open [an exceptional dissimilated form]. Pe. pf. *ubhtit qmanḡ* Florilegium 364: 180 and I opened his bow.)
 57b *burka* A: Still used, pronounced *borka*.
 60a: 13 A: ARR 372f.
 60a: a *biia* A: Mod. pronunciation *bijya*.
 63a *birukta* etc F: (אָרֻכְתָּא, Syr. *brukta*) — R: (אָרֻכְתָּא, Syr. *burḡtā*)
 63a *bišlum* A: a derisive transformation, cf. otherwise *mušmana*.
 67a: 15 F: her sons — R: their (fem.) sons
 70a *brat*, *brata* A: Still used, mod. pronunciation *baratta*.

G

- 73b *gada* 1 A: Still used, pronounced *gēdda*.
 73b *gadia* A: Still used, pronounced *gādyā*
 77a after the entry *ganbarata* A: *ganbukta* (mod. abstr. n. from *ganaba*) pronounced *geṃḡoḡta* theft, burglary.
 79a as first entry A: *gariukta* (mod. abstr. n. from *GUR*) pronounced *geryo ḡta* lechery, adultery. Var. *giriukta* s. v. (here).
 79a *GBA* Pa. A: Stil used: pf. *gabbi*, pres. *qomgabbi*.
 79b: 4 A: *gbaria* MZ, Nr. II: 4 for *gabararia* (but Gordon's text has *gubria*, v. s. NSA).
 79b *gbina* A: Still used, pronounced *geḡbina*, *geḡtina*.
 83a *guṭana* A: frequent in the mod. phrase *guṭān ešad* he abridged, shortened, abased.
 85a after the entry *gupta* A: *GUṢ* (Ar. *ḡāṣa*) to dive. Mod., pf. *yāḡ*, pres. *qāyāyeṣ*.

- 86a **GUŠ** = **GŠŠ** A: This verb is used in mod. Mand. in the form *gūš eβad* he held, looked at.
- 86a **GZA** = **GUZ** = **GZZ** Pe. A: Pf. with encl. **ḡ-agra gziłh minh** Gordon, AO IX Text M: 15 who stole (lit. cut off) his wages from him (but cf. **gzirłh** here s. **GZR** with which the form has become identical by regressive assimilation of the liquid *r* to the encl.).
- 87a **GZR** Pe. pf. with encl. A: **ḡ-agra gziłh minh** MZ, Nr. Ib: 14 cf. preced. Addition.
- 87b: 38 F: **gṭaiun** — R: **gṭaliun**
- 89a after the entry **gidaita** A: ***gidulta** = **gdułta**. Pl. with suff. **giduliatin** MZ, Nr. II: 7 their (fem.) tresses.
- 89b **giṭa 3** A: In magical bowls a document of banishment, interdict, anathema, divorce (Lidzb. "Scheidebrief"), expulsion (rt. **GṬA** < **QṬ**), cf. MZ, Nr. V (104: 4), with suff. **giṭik** ibid. (104: 5) thy (fem.) divorce-letter.
- 90a [**giṭra**] A: **giṭra rab giṭria** Florilegium 366: 210 (cf. 214ff.) a knot, the greatest among the knots.
- 91a **ginza** A: Mod. **ginza hua** (pron. *genza howā*) was numerous, abounded.
- 92a: 21 F: with * in the prefix — R: with *i-* in the prefix
- 92b after the entry **girdia** A: **giriukta** = **gariukta**.
- 92b after the entry **girtaiia** A: **giš-** (an old, Sumerian designation of unity **GĪŠ**, cf. Labat, Manuel d'épigraphie akkadienne 213, Nr. 480) curiously preserved only in mod. Mandaic, though not found in the classical) all, complete(ly), entire(ly); a colloquial particle used with pers. suff. attached by means of the procl. *d:* **gišdi** entire(ly), all of it, **gišdan**, **gišdoxon**, **gišdū** all of us, you, them, altogether.
- 93b after the entry **glila** A: **glip** (pass. pt. of **GLP** q. v.) in a god's name formed

- from two pass. participles **ṣir glip alaha** s. **ṣir**.
- 96a after the entry **GSR** A: **g'u** = **giu** in **g'u rba** ARZ 23 designated as the god of the spleen.
- 96b: 50 (s. **GRG II**) F: s 16: 17 — R: Gs 16: 17

D

- 98a **dada, dadia** A: as a pr. n. Pognon Nr. 12, 17. Var. **dad'** MZ, Nr. V: 4.
- 99a **daura** F: Syr. *dwārā* — R: Syr. *dāwrā*
- 102b **DHA** Pe. pass. pt. A: **krika udahia** (for **dhia**) Gordon AO IX, Text M: 1 turned away and chased
- 103b after the entry **DUB** A: **duba** (Gen. Sem.) bear. Mod. pronunciation *dobba*.
- 103b after the entry **dubar** A: **dubarta** (an aramaized form of P. *do-bārah*) mod., pronounced *dobarta* for the second time, twice, again.
- 104a after the entry **dudanga** A: **duhulta** mod. = **dhulta**.
- 106a: 1 A: 352: 3f., MZ, Nr. II: 1
- 108b: 1 F: **dnab** — R: **dnab**
- 110a **DKR** Pe. impf. A: (archaic) with encl. **kul dukta ḡ-šumak dilak l'dkrulia** Florilegium 364: 182—184 (on) each place where thy name will be mentioned to me (lit. they will mention to me).
- 111b **dma 1** A: Used in mod. Mand. in double pronunciation *dāmā* and *edmā*.
- 111b after the entry **dma 2** A: **dmaiia** (adj. from **dma 1**) bloody. Mod., used in double pronunciation *demeyyī*, *edmeyyī*.

H

- 115a as second entry A: —**ha** an archaic var. of **-a 3** (q. v.), cf. **kulha qumth** Florilegium 354: 44 his whole stature.
- 121a **hala 1** A: Still used, mod. pronunciation *hāla*.
- Ibid.: 9 F: **hila** — R: **hila**.
- 122a: 54 F: AO 9/1937 96: paen. — R: MZ, Nr. Ia: 5 = AO IX 95: paen.

123b **hamra** A: Still used, pronounced *hamra*.

125b after the entry **hasiruta** A: **hasmtia** = scr. def. of **hasumtia** (q. v.), **aina hasmtia** MZ, Nr. IV (102: 2).

127a: 6—8 F: (possibly derived from the name of a king etc) — R: (F. Altheim suggests a very convincing derivation from P. *hirbad* a generic term for Zo-roastrians)

Ibid.: 9 F: Parthians, Persians, Sassanians (?) — R: Sassanians.

128b **HBA** A: Used in mod. Mand. as pa. *ahwi*.

131b after the entry **hdaruta** A: **HDG** (one could compare Syr. *hdūqā*, *hdugtā* a friend of the bridegroom, cf. also Ar. *hadagā*, but more prob. a miscop. of ***HBG** as an attenuation of **HBQ** q. v.) to embrace. Pe. part. pres. **hadgin** ARR 571 they embrace.

137a as first entry A: **hupra** (rt. **HPR**) mod. *hofra* ditch.

141a as first entry A: **hiana** (rt. **HIA**) mod. *hiyāna* alive.

142a after the entry **hiuia** A: **hiuna** mod. *hiyūna* = *iauna* I.

145b as beforelast entry A: **himkia** (< **hai minda kd**) a contracted mod. expression *bemke* as, like.

150b Pa. A: Still used, pf. *bannen*, pres. *qombannen* to caress.

151b **HPR** A: Der.: **hupra**.

155b **HTR** Pe. A: Mod. *lebbi beḏerye* he is cheerful, joyful.

U W

155b **uuiq** (rt. **AUQ** = ***UQ**) mod. *wayyeq* used as (orig.) adj. afraid, anxious, worried (cf. *ḫolqedī wayyeq tāmmā* he became anxious), or as subst. anxiety, anguish, disaster (cf. *wayyeq aḥḥā*).

155b **uarda** F: P. *uard* < *gol* — R: P. *uard* > *gol*

Z

156b **zabad** A: Still used, mod. st. emph. **zabda** pronounced *zobda*.

157a **zaga** A: Still used, mod. pronunciation *zāya*, fem. *zāyatta*.

157b end of the entry **zahr'il** A: ARR 374 159a s. **zakria** F: Jeffry 151 — R: Jeffrey, The Foreign Vocabulary of the Qur'an 151

160a **zania** A: fem. **zanita** Gordon AO IX, text M: 14 harlot.

160b **zapa** A: Still used, pronounced *zappa*, cf. *zapān ina* eye-brows.

161a after the entry **zarnuqa** A: **zarnia lilita** grandmother of the lilit *taklat* (q. v. here).

161b **ZBN** A: Still used as pe. *zəβan*, pres. *qa-zəβen* to buy, as pa. *zabben*, pres. *qom-zabben* to sell.

163b: 27 F: **nizdarun** — R: **nizdahrun**

164a after the entry **ZUA** A: **zua** for **zaua** in **zuḥ** MZ, Nr. Ia: 3 his wife.

166a **zihua** A: Still used, pronounced *zəbwa*.

168a: 46 F: **hiii** — R: **hiia**

169a **zmar** A: Still used, pronounced *zəmāra*.

169b **ZMR** A: Still used, pf. *zəmar*, pres. *qa-zəmer*.

Ṭ

175b after the entry **ṭapqa** A: **ṭapša** (mod. pronunciation *ṭapša* with a hard *p* requires an etymology different from the common rt. **ṬPŠ** in which the middle radical is always aspirated, cf. mod. pronunciation of its derivatives **ṭupša** and **ṭupšana** here; cf. Akk. *ṭupš/sikku* basket? see Labat, Manuel, Nr. 85) plate, dish (colloquial).

176a after the entry **ṭarpan** A: **ṭarpus** (cf. Lidzb. MZ 103f. n. 12, perh. from Jew.-Aram. **ṭṣṭṭ** "to leap" with supposition of a semantic development, but

- טַרְפֵּשָׁא דְּלִיכָא** Hull. 49b as well as Syr. *ṭarpāšta* "lean flesh" also come in consideration; Syr. *ṭarpānsā* "thorax" cited by Lidzb. is less probable) in **ḡ-titmhai bṭarpus libik** MZ, Nr. V: 6 that thou (fem.) shalt be beaten with the beating (?) of thy heart. Doubtful.
- 176a: 54 A: 364: 168f.
- 178a **ṭupša** A: Still used, pronounced *ṭowša*.
- 178a **ṭupšana** F: ad. — R: adj. — A: Still used, pronounced *ṭowšan(a)*.
- 179b after the entry **ṭira** A: **ṭirupta** (rt. **TRP**) MZ, Nr. IV (102: 5) blow, accident Lidzb. *Verwirrung*).
- 181a **ṭmš** A: Mod. *ṭamaš* to bathe.
- 182a **ṭra** A: Used in mod. Mand. with quite opposite meaning: to bind, tie, fasten (as a synonym of *rāf* s. **RUP**). Its mod. meaning is in the same relation to the classical as that of the latter to the generally Aramaic).

I (Y)

- 186b **ianqa** A: Still used, pronounced *yānqa*. Mod. *yānqa* *bonina* babe.
- 187b: 8 A: Rudolph, Die Mandäer I—II (see Sachwortregister under Jordan).
- 187b **iaruqa** A: Still used, pronounced *yarūqa*.
- 191b: 18 A: ARR 372.
- 192a **YLL** I Pa. Pf. A: defectively illit Florilegium 362: 162 (prob. pronunciation *yallalit*) I wailed.
- 192a **YLP** A: Still used: pf. *yēlef*, pres. *qa-yālef*.
- 193b after the entry **YŠṬ** A: **YŠQ** see **ŠWŠQ**.

K

- 196a as beforelast entry A: **kauka** (כּוּכָא) cavity, s. **apquta** (here), but cf. also s. **kaupa**.
- 196b: 9 F: **ḡ-apkuta** — R: **ḡ-apquta**

199a s. **kankuza** (This very common postcl. and colloquial word comes from an old Akk. resource and is a proof of high antiquity of vernacular Mandaic which occasionally can help to solve complicated assyriological problems, cf. references in the entry. Unfortunately, at the time of the compilation of the Dictionary the meaning of the word was known to me only from vernacular Mandaic. As the form **kankuza** is much better attested and, in fact, is the only colloquial form, and the var. **kanzuza** is sporadic and no more used, the Syr. *kalzūzā* which alone would have sufficed as etymological support did not occur to me. Lady Drower mistrusting the vernacular defended her old self-made concept of the word, The Book of the Zodiac 9 n. 1. Two years of correspondence followed in which I was unable to persuade her of the absolute necessity of accepting the vernacular meaning of the word. And as many discoveries are due to hazard, it happened that after my return from Canada to my library in Teheran I opened Labat's priceless Manuel d'épigraphie akkadienne and the first word on which my eyes fell was *kanzuzū* "gencive" [306a] which immediately recalled Syr. *kalzūzā* "chin". As the step from the former to the latter is very short, I immediately informed Lady Drower of my discovery. She was glad to abandon her former concept and to accept the proof: The vernacular must be right! As to the change **kanzuza** > **kankuza**, it is isolated but easily explainable by the influence of the initial consonant. As a result, Akk. *kanzuzū* cannot mean "gencive", Labat, loc. cit., or "Zahnfleisch", von Soden, loc. cit. and his Akkadisches Wörterbuch s. v., but will most probably mean "chin" as in Mandaic and its Syr. variant.

- As Lady Drower had to restore the manuscript to its original form and to make the mentioned additions, several mistakes have got into the entry, which fortunately are merely formal:)
- 199a: 8 F: Akk. **kanzuzu** — R: Akk. *kanzuzu*
- Ibid. 1. 12 F: **kankūza** — R: *kankūza*.
- Ibid. 1. 15 F: Am — R: AM
- 204a last entry F: **KDR I** — R: **KDR**
- 204b A (ethpa. of **KDR**): Ethpa. Part. pres. **ulamkadria** MZ, Nr. V (104: 5) and they do not become enslaved (cf. P. *ṣīr-ī bār namirawand*, otherwise cf. a less persuasive annotation Lidzbarski's *ibid.* n. 3).
- 204b D: **KDR II** (Lady Drower's addition after the completion of the manuscript. A doubtful entry without quotation deserves nothing else but discarding!)
- 207a: 15 F: d- — R: **d-**
- 207b after the entry **kulta** A: **kuma** (< ***ku-ma**) black. **ušibiahia kuma** (read **kumia** or at least **kumḥ**) **bišia** Florilegium 352: 22 the black evil planets (> devils), (Lidzb.: *Wie schlecht sind doch die Planeten*, but **kma** would not have been written **kuma**, and the expression *šīḃyāba okīma* "black devil" is still used. Hence the word can be nothing else but this epitheton constans of *šīḃyāba*).
- 209b **kušta** A: K. Rudolph, *Die Mandäer I—II* (see Sachwortregister).
- 211b **KIB** A: Af. Part. pres. **makiban** Gordon AO IX, Text M: 7 = **mak'ban** MZ, Nr. II: 5 they bring pain.
- 212b **kiuihta** A: **aina hasmtia d-husrana ukiuihta** MZ, Nr. IV (102: 2) envious eye of imperfection and shortsightedness (cf. Lidzb. *ibid.* n. 4).
- 217a D: **KLL I** (Lady Drower's mistaken addition, see here, p. 253 n. 259).
- 217a F: **KLL II** — R: **KLL I** (the original number)
- 217b F: **KLL III** — R: **KLL II** (the original number)
- 221a after the entry **KSR II A**: **k'ba** MZ, Nr. II: 8 = **kiba**.
- 223a D the first **KRK** (Lady Drower's addition after the completion of the manuscript. Her quotation without reference contains no special use of the verb which would essentially differ from the ethpa.-forms on p. 223b).
- 223a **KRK** (last entry) Pe. A: Pass. pt. **krika** Gordon AO IX, Text M: 1 turned away.
- 225a: 5 A: cf. *ibid.* 99, defectively **mkšpan** MZ, Nr. II: 5.
- 225b at the end of **KTB A**: Pa. Pt. pl. defectively **d-mktbia** Florilegium 370: 266 which are prescribed.

L

- 227 **lahma** A: Mod. pronunciation *lamma*, mod. st. abs. & cstr. *lam*.
- 230a **LGṬ A**: Still used, mod. pronunciation *le ḫaṭ*, pres. *qa-lā ḫeṭ*.
- 233a **LUṬ A**: Still used, pf. *lāṭ*, pres. *qa-lāyeṭ*
- Ibid. Pe. Pf. A: **laṭu** Gordon AO IX, Text M: 17 they have cursed, **laṭnin** *ibid.*: 11 we have cursed.
- Ibid. Pe. Act. pt. A: pl. fem. (irregular) **'nšia . . . d-laṭa** Gordon M: 6 women . . . who curse
- 235a **libta** A: Still used, pronounced *lebṭa*.
- 237b after the entry I' 2 A: I'ba = **liba** in **k'/iba d-l'ban** MZ, nr. II: 8 = Gordon M: 11 anguish of our heart.

M

- 239b after the entry **mahabata** A: **m(a)haṭa** (nomen instrumenti from **HUT**) needle. Still used, pronounced *mahaṭṭa*.
- 241a as last entry **A**: **maṭarqa** (nomen instrumenti from **ṬRQ**) hammer. Occurs in some magic documents. Still used, pronounced *maṭarqa*.

- 242b **maina** A: Pronounced *mīna*, st. abs. & cstr. *mēn*, cf. *mēn sāra* beer.
- 242b after the first entry A: **mainaiia** (adj. from preced.; lit. transl. of P. *ābi*) mod. blue. Pronounced *māneyyi*.
- 246-7 **mana** 1-2, **manda** 1 A: K. Rudolph, *Die Mandäer I-II* (see Sachwortregister).
- 247a: ult. D: West-Aram. (as both the dissimilated and non-dissimilated forms were generally Aramaic. The dissimilated form is, in fact, of East-Semitic origin, but might have been brought back to its home-country by the Naṣoraeans immigrating from the Jordan valley, cf. Macuch, *Anfänge der Mandäer in Altheim-Stiehl, Die Araber in der alten Welt II*, p. 86ff.)
- 247b: 7 D: West-Aram.
- 247b: 17 F: **mand'a** — R: **mnd'a** (written defectively)
- 248a **manharana**, **manhirana** A: Var. **manhrana**.
- 248a after the entry **manhir'il** A: **manhrana** Gy 64: 14 = **manha/jirana** (differently from Lidzbarski's transl., cf. here annotation to the cl. text in the Appendix).
- 250b: 17 F: **map** — R: **mapī**
- 255a after the entry **mašhadia** A: **mašua** (formed as nomen instrumenti from ŠWA) mod. (*mašwa*) cord, rope.
- 255a **mašupa** R: miscop. of **mašuš** (?)
- 255a after the entry **mašupa** A: **mašura** (mod. nomen instrumenti from an otherwise not attested rt., cf. Akk. *šūru* stick?) broom. Mod. st. abs. *mašūr*, cf. *mašūr ešad* "to sweep".
- 256a **maštušia** A: About the form cf. here § 67a with n. 243.
- 256b **maštimana** A: The traditional pronunciation (cf. here § 67a) confirms that the varr. with *mi-* are still felt as better and more original nomina actionis from the pt. *eštaf*.
- 257b: 48 F: the planets — R: the signs of the Zodiac
- 258b **MHA** A: Still used: pf. *māhā*, pres. *qa-māhi*.
- Ibid. Ethpe. Impf. A: special fem. form **titmhai** MZ, Nr. V: 6 thou shalt be beaten.
- 259a: 13 F: **maḥru** — R: **maḥrū**
- 260a **mhita** A: Still used, pronounced *embeyḥa*.
- 262a **munqa** A: cf. here 441 n. 90 — Ibid. l. 56 F: (has) no one — R: has no one
- 263a after the entry **muriqa** A: **murnita** s. **mrunita**.
- 263a: 33 F: **muqra** — R: **murqa**
- 264b **MṬA** Pe. Impf. A: archaic (with *y-* as prefix) **laimṭia** Florilegium 358: 94 that he may not arrive, reach, attain.
- 266a after the entry **migan** A: **migna** (nomen instrumenti from GNA I) mod. *migna* bed, couch, mattress.
- 267b: 12ff. These lines bear several traces of Lady Drower's changes which have to be restored to their original state as follows:
- 267b: 12 F: **minda** — R: **minda** 1
- 267b: 17 make full stop after the word: found. Make a new entry: **minda** 2 = **manda** 1
- 267b: 18 F: Šāb.'s Q — R: Šāb.'s Q
- 267b: 19 F: things (Lady Drower's change) — R: wisdom (original word in my manuscript, cf. Macuch, ZDMG 1955, p. 358, quoted by K. Rudolph in *Die Mandäer I*, p. 143 n. 4. **mindia** is obviously only a poorer var. of **mandia** and can in no way be considered as a proof of Lady Drower's former opinion that the word would mean anything else but "wisdom"). The original division of the above two formally identical but originally different words is confirmed by *ibid.* l. 28: **minda** 1 (where Lady

- Drower did not remove the original number). When there was 1, there must also have been 2!
- 268b after the entry **misaṭra** A: **mis** (a late form of **miṣat** 1) mod. *mes* in the middle.
- 286b after the entry **miskina** A: **miskinuta** (abstr. noun from preced.) MZ, Nr. IV (102: 4, 5) poverty.
- 275a: s. **MND** F: they worship Life and confess M-ḡ-H — R: they testify to Life and know (? , var. **maudin** they confess) M-ḡ-H. (cf. Macuch, Anfänge der Mandäer in Altheim-Stiehl, Die Araber in der alten Welt II, 90 n. 37).
- 275: a after the entry **MND** A: **mnd'a** = **manda** 1 in Florilegium 369: 241f. and **mnd'a ḡ-hiia** ibid. 352: 16, 18.
- 276a s. **msia** F: mod. *msi* — R: mod. *məsi*
- 278a s. **mrara** quotations (a) A: **mn mrara** (var. **mraria**) **ḡ-hinkan** MZ, Nr. Ib: 2f. (var. Gordon AO IX, Text M: 11) from the bitterness of our palate
- 278b after the entry **mruma** A: **mrunita** (accord. to Lidzbarski a poorer var. of **murnita** of Layard's bowl, MZ 104 n. 1) MZ, Nr. V (104: 1) spear (?)

N

- 283b **nanai** A: a woman's name Gordon AO IX, Text M: 1 (cf. p. 98).
- 283b **nagara** A: (cf. Akk. *nangaru* apart from *nagaru*)
- 286a: 16 F: **kšitia** — R: **kšitīa**
- 289a: 24 D: Pe. **ngad minḡ** CP 16: 17 (Lady Drower's misplaced addition, transfer to p. 288b: 16)
- 293a **NUD** Ethpa. Pt. A: (defectively) **mitnuad** Florilegium 354: 43f. is shaken,
- 301b **NKT** A: Still used, pf. *neḡat*, pres. *qa-nāḡet*.
- 305a: 35 A: **qal gbaria ḡ-naṣia** MZ, Nr. II: 4 =
- 306b **NŠA** A: Still used, pf. *nəšā*, pres. *qa-nāši*.

S

- 309b after the entry **sagia** 3 A: **sagmana** (< P. *sag-bān*) mod. *sagmāna* hunter. Special mod. sg. form **sagmania** Morg. 284: 3, 17, 285: 2. Var. **ṣagmania** Morg. 283: bottom.
- 310b after the entry **sahduta** A: **sahura** (rt. **SHR** II) mod. *sabūra* beggar.
- 319b **SHT** Pe. A: Impf. **ḡ-nishuṭ** MZ, Nr. III: 1 let him seize.
- 324b **sigudta** A: pronounced *sogodta* (both traditionally and colloquially).
- 325: 19 F: **silhupta** — R: **sihupta**
- 326b s. **silua** the *hamṣab* over the first letter of Ar. *sullā*' is to be altered into a *ḡammab*.
- 328a after the entry **sindaita** A: **sindana** (a mod. form of cl. **sadana** 1) mod. *sindāna* anvil.
- 329a after the entry **sinta** A: **sintia** (rt. **SNA**) MZ, Nr. IV (102: 4) hatred.
- 329a s. **sipa** 3 after Gs 83: 2 A: Florilegium 364: 186
- 330a after the entry **situa** A: **sitra** (rt. **STR**) mod. *setra* coat.
- 333a **SMK** Af. Inf. A: **bhiia asmukia** Gs 37: 10 to make (him) rest in the Life
- 333b **SNA** A: Still used, pf. *esnā*, pres. *qa-sāni*.
- 336a **SQL** A: Still used, pf. *saḡal* and *esḡal*, pres. *qa-sāḡel*.
- 337b **SRK** A: Still used as af. *asreḡ*, or as *serḡat eḡad* to kindle.
- 339a as second entry A: ' (cf. here, Morphology n. 6) Morg. 284: 3 mod. *i* yes.
- 341b after the entry 'dia 2 A: 'diaura = **adiaura** in 'diaurai Florilegium 358: 92 my helper.
- 342a: 13 after AO IX 96: 2 A: similarly MZ, Nr. I, II: 6, 7
- 342a after the entry 'dqa A: 'dqla a less regular but ancient form of 'dqa (in-

- fluenced by **gdula**). Pl. in **b'dqlia d-rišain** MZ, Nr. Ia: 14f. by the tresses of their heads (cf. s. 'dqa).
- 342: a after the entry '**hka** A: '**hl-** with pers. suff. (< 't + I with pers. suff., cf. here § 36h) a mod. expression for to have: '**hlai**, '**hlak**, '**hlik**, '**hlh** (pronounced *ehle*, *ehlaḥ*, *ehlex*, *ehli*) etc I have, thou (masc., fem.) hast, he has etc. Very frequent in mod. texts.
- 342a s. 'u F: Eth. 'awa — R: Eth. 'aw
- 342b after the entry '**ubdania** A: '**ubra** mod. *ubra* mouse.
- 343a '**uhra** A: Still used, pronounced *obra*, mod. st. abs. *obor*.
- 344a over the col. F: **umama** — R: '**umama**
- 345a after the entry '**ustamuma** A: '**uštana** (P. *ustuwān* = *ustuwār* strong, also a lower dignitary in the army) mod. *oštāna* young man, youth.
- 345b D the whole entry '**UR** (Lady Drower's addition. **nitiatar** has nothing to do with '**UR**, since it is an ethpa. impf. of **YTR** where it ought to be added).
- 346b s. '**urpail** A: cf. Gordon AO IX, p. 99 n. 8.
- 349a '**kuma** A: Still used, pronounced *okūma*.
- 349b s. '**kt-** F: Cor. — R: Coron. — A: cf. Macuch, ThLZ 1964, col. 418 and here § 36c. In de Morgan's texts it is written **kt-**, cf. at **lumandaiia ktak** Morg. 281: 5 Art thou a Mandaean?, at **sagmania ktak** ibid.
- 284: 3 Art thou a hunter?
- 349a last entry A: mod. *elle* above.
- 350a D: 'I 4 = 'I 1 (q. v.) (Lady Drower's addition which is quite incomprehensible to me).
- 351b '**lma** after *Florilegium* A: 366: 220
- 358b '**šta** 2 A: Pronounced *eštā*.
- 359b '**tta** A (as further references): Pognon 13, MZ, Nr. II, cf. Lidzb. ibid. 97 n. 6.

P

- 361a s. **pandama** F: Pažend — R: Pāzend
- 362a **papa** A: MZ, Nr. IV: 2
- 364b after the entry **parsqa** A: **par'il** Gordon AO IX, Text M: 18 = **pr'il**.
- 365b after the entry **parta** 2 A: **partuna** (< Syr. *purta'nā*, mod. Syr. also *purfa'nā* or *pirta'nā* Maclean 248b, 249a, 259b) mod. *partonna* flea.
- 366a: 1 F: (Ar.) *fātūr* — R: *fātūr*
- 369b **PTR** A: Af. Pf. with suff. **apṭartik** MZ, Nr. V (104: 3) I have separated thee (fem.)
- 373 s. **PLA** 1 F: **pihia** — R: **pihla** — D: (?) doubtful (I do not share Lady Drower's doubt).
- 374a as first entry (before **PLH**) A: **PLD** (< Syr. *palbed*) to scatter. Ethpa.: Pf. defectively '**plad** *Florilegium* 358: 98 they were scattered, cf. ibid. 372 n. 98.
- 375a: 12 D: he
- 375b **PSQ** A: Still used, pf. *psaq*, pres. *qa-pāseq*.
- 380a **pr'il** A (as further reference) Gordon AO IX, Text M: 8
- 384b end of the entry **ptahil** A: Var. **pta'il** *Florilegium* 368: 245f.
- 384b as beforelast entry A: **ptikria** MZ, Nr. Ic: 1 = **patikria**.

Š

- 385a as last entry A: **šagmania** s. **sagmana** (here).
- 385b after the entry **šadap** A: **šadarta** (formed as a nom. act. pa. from Ar. *šaddara*) beginning of a season. Pl. **šadarata** Gy 395: 41 beginnings of seasons.
- 386a s. **šauta** 1 F: **𐌸𐌰𐌹𐌳𐌰** — R: **𐌸𐌰𐌹𐌳𐌰**
- 390b **šuprina** A: mod. pronunciation *šoprina*.
- 392b **šibuta** F: Akk. *šibutu* — R: *šibūtu*
- 394b after the entry **šiqar** A: **šir glip alaha** MZ, Nr. V (104: 11, 14) name of a god

formed from two pass. participles ("Pained and Engraved"), cf. Lidzb. *ibid.* n. 5.
 395 s. **šlpa** before AO A: MZ, Nr. IV (102: 1), cf. Lidzb. *ibid.* n. 1.
 396a s. **šNP** Pe. Pf. after *Florilegium* A: 362: 163

Q

399b after the entry **qadmia** A: **qahuaiia** (mod. *qahweyyi* adj. from *qabwe* coffee) brown.
 401b **qamaiata** s. **himara** A: Doubtful. The noun is formally a pl. of foll. (here)
 401b as second entry A: **qamaita** (rt. **QMA**, hence an advancing part of the day) mod. *qamēḏa*. **brahmia** **q-qamaita** Morg. 11: ult. in the noon devotions. Used in mod. compounds *qamā qamēḏa* beforenoon, *ḫelef qamēḏa* afternoon (here § 152i with n. 146).
 401b before **qanuš** A: **qanukta** (mod. abstr. n. from **qanaia**) pronounced *qenwoḫta* silversmith's craft.
 404b **QDA** Pe. A: Imper. **qda** MZ, Nr. V (104: 6) spring forth!

409b: 1 F: **קנפתא** — R: **קנפתא**
 410a: 39 after Pallis' etym. A: or better of Lat. *crux*
 413b **QMA** A: Der. **qamaiata** (?), **qamaita**.
 413b **qmana** after *Florilegium* A: 362: 159 (cf. 364: 168)
 414b **QRA** A: Used in mod. Mand. as pe. *qarā*, pres. *qāri* to read, and as pa. *qarri*, pres. *qomqarri* to call.
 416a: 1 after *Florilegium* A: 352: 12
 416a **QRQD** A: Possibly by reduplication and dissimilation of a biradical root (cf. Jew.-Aram. & Syr. **QDD**, Ar. *qaddā*, Amh. *qaddada*) to tear, cf. **mqarqid** DC 23. 502f. he tears.

R

420a s. **rauma** A: **uraumh** *tlatin amia* Gy 380: 12 and its height 30 cels.

423b **RGB II A**: Used as *ragoβ* and *ragū*, pres. *qomragū* (fern. *qomragbā*).
 427a **RHM** Ethpa. Part. pres. A: defectively **mtrhmna** *Florilegium* 352: 17 I beg for mercy.
 427b **RHQ** Ethpa. Pt. A: pl. **mitrahqia** Gy 64: 19 they keep distance.
 429a **ruhšana** F: rt. **RHŠ** — R: **RHŠ**
 431a **RUP** A: Mod. pf. *rāf*, pres. *qa-rāyef*.
 431b **RWRB** Ethpaup. Pt. A: irregular writing **m'trurab**. Part. pres. defectively **mtrurbit** *Florilegium* 362: 157 thou overstrained.
 432a s. **ruta** after *Florilegium* A: 360: 121
 432b **ridpa** A: Mod. *redfa* cold (Šāb.)
 433b **rima 2** A: Still used, mod. pronunciation *remma*.
 435a **rišama** A: 1 (i. e. **rišama 1**)
 A: **rišama 2** (rt. **RŠM**) mod. *rišāma*, st. abs. *rišām* prayer, cf. *rišām qarā* he prayed.
 437a **RŠP** Pe. after *Florilegium* A: 364: 179

Š

440a after the entry **šahriria 2** A: **š(a)uanqa** (P. *šawānak*) mod. *šawānqa* young man, youth, bachelor.
 441b **ŠAL** A: Mod. pf. *šiyyel*, pres. *qam-šiyyel* (here § 224β a—b)
 442b as second entry A: **šalula** (cf. H. **שלל**) to take out, Ar. *salla* to draw out, Akk. *šalūlu* to plunder, mod. Syr. *šalūlē* to cease Oraham s. v., Jew.-Aram. der. **שָׁלִילָא** embryo; the rt. has not been found in cl. Mandaic and the der. is known only in the mod. language, but the word may be old and represent a semantic development of the original meaning of the rt. "person whose members are not equal") mod. *šalūla* lame.
 442b **šalma** A: 1 (i. e. **šalma 1**)
 A: **šalma 2** Gy 1: 2 for **šalmana**.
 443a **šamina** A: Still used, pronounced *šamina*.

- 447a as last entry A: **šburukta** (mod. abstr. n. from a mod. transformation of **ŠPR I**) mod. *šboroxta* life. A poorer var. **šbirikta**, cf. **u'ubad šbirikta** 'rkai Morg. 204:20 (pronounced *u-ēβad šboroxta orke*) and he lived with me.
- 447b as fourth entry A: **šbir** (mod. form of *šapir*) nice, beautiful, able. **šbirtia** (cf. preced. here) mod. *ešberti* beauty.
- 452b after the entry **šualia** A: **šuanqa** s. *šuanqa*.
- 457b **šušalta** A: Still used, mod. pronunciation *šošalθa*.
- 458a **šušmana** A: Still used, mod. pronunciation *šošmāna*.
- 458b as second entry A: **šuta 4** (cf. cl. *šamukṭia*?) mod. *šōθa* candle.
- 459a s. **šiala** A: Used in mod. Mandaic as *šiyalθa*.
- 460a **šidana** A: Still used, pronounced *šidāna*.
- 460a as beforelast entry A: **šidanukta** (mod. abstr. n. from preced.) mod. *šidanoxta* folly.
- 461a after the entry **šihana 3** A: **šihuia** mod. *šihwiya* jackal.
- 463a **šira 2** A: cf. mod. Syr. *šarrē* 'āβed "to fight" (Macl. 311b) corresponding exactly to mod. Mand. *šor(ra) eβad* "he fought". (The reader will notice that in all places quoted only this meaning fits and that Lady Drower's etymology is inadmissible materially as well as phonetically.)
- 465b **ŠKH** Pe. A: Pf. with a prosthetic a and with suff. *uaškahtinun* Florilegium 356:79f. and I found them.
- 468a after the entry **šliha** A: **šliṭa** MZ, Nr. V:1 = *šaliṭa*.
- 469a **ŠLP** Pe. A: Pass. pt. **šlipa** Florilegium 362:158, 364:168 is drawn out.
- 470b **ŠMT** Pa. A: Pass. pt. pl. (defectively) **mšmtia** MZ, Nr. IV:7, 13 they are cursed.
- 471b after the entry A: **špupa** s. *šapupa*.
- 475b **ŠRHZ** F: **RRHZ** — R: **RHZ**
- 476a as third entry A: **ŠRM** (cf. P. *šarm* shame) mod. to have a sexual intercourse, cohabitate, copulate. Pe. Pf. *šaram*, pres. *qa-šārem*.
- 476b **ŠRŠ** A: **I** (i. e. **ŠRŠ I**) A: **ŠRŠ** in magical documents for **ŠRA**. Impf. (optative) with encl. (defective) **tišršlh** MZ, Nr. Ib:7 let him free, cf. Lidzb. *ibid.* 93 n. 9.

T

- 478b after the entry **taksata** A: **taklat** name of a lilith: **taklat lilita pt brath d-zarnia lilita** MZ, Nr. V:2f.
- 482a:1 F: *talmid* — R: Ar. *tilmid*
- 482a last entry A: mod. *tattā*.
- 482b end A: pl. (defectively) **mitbria** Gordon AO IX, Text M:5.
- 483b **tura** A: Mod. *tōra* ox, fem. *torta* cow.

Note: Lady Drower had subdivided **BDQ** (52) and **GMR** (94b f.) in **I** and **II**, although there is no other justification for the meanings given under **II** but semantic development of **I** But as this may be considered as a question of taste, I avoided discussion of this detail with her and kept the same division. — **ABR II** (52) is also Lady Drower's concept. The form quoted (**abar**) is easily explainable as **ABR I**. — A few additions Lady Drower independently made after I submitted her the manuscript show inconsistencies of transliteration as well as morphological errors and undesirable misplacements of forms which I already had put in their proper places. Apart from the cases quoted above there is one especially typical: **SFA** (sic) with an imper. **suf** (sic) **lhdadia** (348b:8) which I already had placed under **SUP** (324a:21). Fortunately, such mistransliterations, misplacements and misinterpretations are

not very numerous, and the examples affected by them can be found in their proper places in the right form and with an appropriate interpretation. Lady Drower was too anxious that something could have been omitted, and at the time when the Dictionary was waiting for publication I was far away and she could not discuss with me every single problem by letter. My attention has not been especially drawn to such minor completions or miscorrections. There was no third proof-reading and Lady Drower's completions lasted until the final publication. As she had furnished much more material for the Dictionary than Lidzbarski's and my card-indices together she also wanted to have the work as complete as possible. But I bear personal responsibility for the technical form and scholarly redaction of the Dictionary as well as for the correctness and general acceptability of its interpretations. I have, therefore, to decline all responsibility for completions and miscorrections made in my absence in the ready-for-the-press manuscript. Lady Drower should have marked all such completions and alterations with her initials.

E. ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS TO THE GRAMMAR

11: 20f. In the classical language such a construction (for **bušma(ihun) ḡ-hiia ubšumḡ ḡ-manda ḡ-hiia**) would hardly be admissible, but cf. 'dan **ḡ-rahmia** (398: 8).

15: 30 Sh. Abd. gave me only the facultative pronunciation *ehwat*. A more common colloquial pronunciation is *hewat* (355: 4).

16: 22 A long vowel in this and similar cases before two consonants was hardly possible in Jew.-Aram. in spite of the graphical form which must necessarily appear in the transliteration. Similarly to Mandaic, the Jew.-Aram. *matres lectionis* mostly designated only the quality of the vowel but not its quantity and vocal timbre.

17: 12f. The forms with **ii**, which would be considered as a sign of poor orthography in the classical language, were consistently used by my informant Šābūrī in his letters.

41: 22 n. 20 P. *ḡanbīl* represents a typical Akk. loan-word which occurs also in Syr. *ḡanbīlā* (apart from *ḡbīlā*) and in mod. Syr. *ḡanbūl* (pronounced *ḡambūl*, cf. Oraham's Dictionary of the Stabilized and Enriched Assyrian Language, Assyrian Press of America, Chicago, Ill. 1943, s. v.). The Chicago Ass. Dict. XXI, p. 6f. quotes the doublets *ḡabbīlu* and *ḡanbīlu* as Neo-Babylonian and explains them as Aram. loan-words. As, however, the Akk. rt. *ḡabālu* occurs only as **סבל** in Aramaic, an exact opposite of the quoted explanation certainly seems to be more probable and persuasive.

45: 13 **נְנָא** already in Egyptian and Bible-Aram. where the consonantal group had the same pronunciation as in Mandaic.

67: 13 Here belongs also cl. **z(i)nip/bta** (var. **zanapta**) with its doublet **da/inipta** (var. **dinabta**) "tail" (Ar. *ḡanab*, Akk. *ḡimbatu*, *ḡibbatu*, H. **נְנָא**, but Aram. only with *d*: **דְנָבָא**, Syr. *dunbatā*, *dubbātā*) used in mod. Mand. only with *d* in the st. abs. *denβa*, from which already in cl. Mand. a st. abs. **dnab** (33: 23) was formed.

81: 33, 83: 13 The *b* shows the same tendency to vanish in the mod. Syr. BHR. Maclean (26a last entry) still transcribed the word as *bāb'rá* or *bārā*. But nowadays the "Assyrians" of Iran use only the latter form (*bārā*).

82: 12—14 There are four other homographical words (see *abara* 1—6, Dictionary 1 b—2 a) formed by different phonetic deviations, but their pronunciations are not certain.

83: 13 = 81: 33.

97: 1 Henri Fleisch in his valuable “*Traité de philologie arabe*” I, p. 68: middle, proposes to use the term “weak consonants” (*consonnes faibles*) instead of “semivowels” (*semi-voyelles*). He was particularly led by morphological observations (“*car cette dénomination est inadaptée pour une consonne radicale*”). Although I fully agree with his morphological reason, I could not decide to change the traditional term “simivowels” or “semivocal consonants” for the simple phonetic reason of the easy transition of these phonemes from consonantal to vocal value. It appears easier to apply the term “semivowel” in the case of *ʔqārā*, *ʔθ* etc than to call their first radical “weak consonant”, although the long *ʔ* in such words results only from the contraction of *y* with the following front vowel. This contraction is, of course, explainable by the weak character of the radical. But can its preference for the vowel-sound be simply ignored? A *y* melting with a following *i* into a long *ʔ* deserves as well to bear the name “semivowel” as a married woman is authorized to bear her husband’s family-name.

107: 5 The “abāgādical” pronunciation of *amar ammar* is so suspect that I preferred not to quote it in the text. The colloquial *emar* corresponding to the Syr. form is undoubtedly original. It is tempting to suppose that the initial *a* of *amar* originally represented a mere *alif*, not a concrete *a*-sound, cf. the pronunciation of *amrat*, *aklat* as *emrat*, *eḫlat* (110: 17ff.)

111: 20 Even *šadar* is now often replaced by *šadir* (42 n. 23, 44: 26). An older wavering between the *a* and *e*-sound is proved by *šadirtulia* (Gs 64: 5 BCD, only A has *šadart-*), *šadirth* (Gy 346: 21, 23f.) and *šadirtan* (Gy 338: 4).

111: 28 Literary Mandaic contradicts this consistent mod. use, at least, with one clearly attested form *hauriun* (DC 34, 1. 1132). In *ahuar* (Jb 54: 8) I see a pe. with a prosthetic *a*, though I formally placed it into the *afel*-category (Drower-Macuch, Op. cit. 137b). However, in the latter the intransitive meaning would require **mahuar* (pass. pt. with a functional *a* before *r*).

126: 27 But its auxiliary vowel is reduced to a *šwa* as soon as it gets into an unstressed position, cf. pl. *armlata armelā θa* similarly to *armlia armelī* (both Gs 11: 18, where the var. *armilia uarmalata* DC 22, p. 401 represents a later corruption).

130: 4 Further examples are: **haulalat** (Gs 95: 17) *howlālat* “she wailed”, **malalat** (Gy 362: 13) *malālat* “she spoke”, **malalit** (Gy 87: 7 B = **mallit** ACD) *malālīt* “I spoke”, **umbanana** (ML 99: 9) *umbanāna* “and cultivated” (cf. our Dictionary under the roots **ʕ**’**ʕ**).

202: 4ff. Cf. similar mod. Syr. compound nouns in J. Friedrich’s grammatical sketch “Neusyrisches in Lateinschrift aus der Sowjetunion” (ZDMG 1959 p. 50—81), p. 74f.

295: 28ff. For further verbs **ḵ**’**ḵ** see Drower-Macuch, A Mandaic Dictionary, as at the time of the compiling of this book the material was only partly collected.

343: 4 f. The forms **tmaniit**, ***tmanit** are formally ethpa., but they occur only as varr. of the ethpe. (cf. Dictionary 274b).

344: 33 f. **nitasubkun** belongs under ethpa.

374: 14, 16 The forms **atian**, **atiḥ** should actually be quoted under pa.

384: 6f. About **man** constructed as fem. cf. § 299 (p. 444: 20—22).

451: 3 The etymology of the word *boqwaš(a)* occurring only in mod. Mandaic puzzled me over ten years. Who would expect that a word known only from the mod. dialect would be explainable from OP? Yet a satisfactory though surprising explanation from OP *baḡa* + *waša* has been suggested to me by F. Altheim (see my “Bridge of Shushtar”, *Studia Semitica Ioanni Bakoš Dicata*, 168 n. 221).

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* Hebrew letters = Jewish-Aram. and Talm. — Latin letters = Syriac — mod. = mod. Syriac. — Other dialects as indicated.

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* For common Hebrew and Aramaic roots see Aramaic Index. Phoen(ician) and Can(anite) words and expressions are included.

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