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

Samuel Johnson

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Acknowledgments

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

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

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[1] E.A. Wallis Budge, *Amulets and Superstitions*, 1st edition reprint (New York: Dover, 1978), 239–49.

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

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

While it need hardly be mentioned that this grammar would not have been possible without Nasser Sobbi’s participation, I feel compelled to do proper justice to his role in its development. With limitless hospitality, he opened his home to me and welcomed me into the fold of his family, and with the patience of a saint he tolerated the barrage of questions to which I subjected him, many of which must have seemed peculiarly trivial (if not downright peculiar). Without his

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

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C.G. Häberl
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Preface

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

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

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

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

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

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

During my early recording sessions in 2003, I made use of a Sony MZ-R30 Portable MiniDisc Recorder equipped with a noise-canceling microphone to record my sessions with Sobbi. I was unhappy with the quality of the recordings that were thus produced and found it difficult to reproduce them or convert them to other formats. I decided to adopt the Moving Pictures Experts Group Audio Layer 3 (MP3) format, as recordings in this format preserve most of their original fidelity at one tenth of their original size, making samples of the texts I had collected more portable and more easily reproduced. I purchased a Macintosh iBook laptop computer and recorded subsequent sessions with

SoundStudio 2.2.4, a freeware audio recording and editing tool developed by Felt Tip software. I then converted the resulting (uncompressed) data in Audio Interchange File Format (AIFF) generated by SoundStudio into MP3 format with iTunes, a proprietary digital media player application developed by Apple Computer. Although the MP3 files are much smaller in size, making them more easy to store and distribute, the compression involved in their conversion compromises the data, rendering them useless for phonological analysis. For this reason, I have retained the original uncompressed files and have arranged to have them archived at the Semitisches Tonarchiv of Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg (http://www.semarch.uni-hd.de/index.php4).

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

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

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[2] Some of the data, such as paradigms, isolated vocabulary items, and a few examples of morphosyntactic constructions in context, were drawn from other sources such as the ones mentioned above.

The final portion of the grammar is a lexicon, which is followed by a brief bibliography.

A Note on Transcription

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

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

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

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

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

Interlinear Morpheme-by-Morpheme Glosses

Samples of Neo-Mandaic are given a line-by-line analysis with interlinear glosses, utilizing a slightly modified version of the Leipzig Rules,[3] followed by a free translation. I opted to use the Leipzig Rules because they reflect current notational conventions in glossing morphosyntax and because they have the most currency among linguists. Each example is left-aligned, vertically, word for word, with the gloss beneath it.

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[3] C. Lehmann, "Directions for interlinear morphemic translations." *Folia Linguistica* 16 (1983): 193–224; more recently W. Croft, *Typology and Universals* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. xix–xxv.

Example:

(0.1) *anā* *agar* *gən-it* *āt* *guš* *əḇud*-ø
I if sleep.PFV-1SG you ear do.IMP.F-SG
When I fall asleep, keep a lookout. (IV.46)

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

Example:

(0.2) *šerš=an* *m=awwál* *ālm* *həw-at*
religion=1PL from=first world be.PFV-3SG.F
Our religion has existed from the first epoch of time. (I.8)

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

Abbreviations and Symbols

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

Grammatical Category Labels

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

1. Introduction

1.1 The Name of the Language

The term that the Mandaeans most often employ to describe themselves is *Mandāʾí* or *Mandāyí* ‘Mandaean.’[4] To their non-Mandaean neighbors in Iraq and Iran, they are more commonly known as the *ṣābiʾūn*, i.e. ‘the Sabians,’ or colloquially as the *ṣubba*. The singular of this term, *ṣubbi*, is not an uncommon surname for Mandaeans from Iran, including the family of my chief informant, Nasser Sobbi of Flushing, NY. Unlike most other terms by which ethnic groups are known to outsiders, the term ‘Sabian’ is in no way pejorative, but instead refers to one of the four ‘peoples of the book’ (*ahl al-kitāb*) with whom the Mandaeans have traditionally been identified by their Muslim neighbors. According to one hypothesis, this term derives from the Aramaic root related to baptism, in reference to the most characteristic Mandaean sacrament; the cognate in Neo-Mandaic is *ṣəḇā* ~ *ṣəḇi* (*ṣāḇi*) ‘to baptize.’

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

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[4] In classical Mandaic, **mandaiia**, the plural of which is *Mandayānā* ‘Mandaeans’ in Neo-Mandaic.

An account of numerous origins proposed for the term *mandāyí* would compose a study of no small scale in itself. Drower cites in passing no fewer than three possible etymologies for this word:[5]

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

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

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[5] Ethel S. Drower, *The Mandaeans of Iraq and Iran*, 2nd edition reprint (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2002), 5–13.

[6] Macuch noted that Sheikh Abdullah Khaffagi of Ahvāz, his primary source for the traditional pronunciation of the written language, pronounced this word as *manday* rather than the expected *madday*; Rudolf Macuch, *Handbook of Classical and Modern Mandaic* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1965), li.

[7] Ethel S. Drower, *The Haran Gawaita and the Baptism of Hibil*-Ziwa (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1953), ix.

[8] Edmondo Lupieri, *The Mandaeans: The Last Gnostics*. Translated by Charles Hindley (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2002), 9.

Given that it is entirely possible that the name of the Mandaeans may derive from a savior figure (like the Christians), their land of origin (like the Jews), their house of worship (like the Templars), or a defining characteristic of their religion (like the Muslims), the issue of the origins of their name will probably remain insoluble until further information becomes available.

1.2 Ethnology

While a complete ethnography of the Mandaeans would merit a monograph of its own, it is nonetheless important to acquaint oneself with the people who speak a language in order to fully understand that language. Even though such an ethnography of the Mandaeans has yet to be written, we are fortunate to have detailed descriptions of Mandaean life during the 1930s, courtesy of Drower, and of contemporary Mandaeans, courtesy of Jorunn J. Buckley.[9] For this reason, a few remarks on the ethnology of the Mandaeans will suffice.

1.2.1 Religion

Just as Mandaic represents the only classical Aramaic dialect to survive to the present day, the Mandaean religion is the only surviving member of the pre-Islamic Gnostic sects from late antiquity. While the relationship of the Mandaeans to these other Gnostic sects has long been a matter of debate,[10] and the validity of traditional scholarly conceptions about what constitutes Gnosticism has lately come into question,[11] Mandaeism shares numerous important features with the other sects that have been called Gnostic. According to Drower, these features include a supreme being which delegates the creation of the material and spiritual worlds to beings of its own creation; dualism, which manifests itself in binary oppositions such as good and evil, light and darkness, the material and the spiritual, and so on; the concept of the soul as an exile and a prisoner; a belief in the influence of planets and stars, which are places of detention after death; a savior spirit which assists the soul in its journey to the afterlife; ‘mysteries’ or sacraments to aid and purify the soul, often based upon preexisting seasonal or traditional rites; an esoteric cult language of metaphors and personified ideas; and the great secrecy enjoined upon the initiates.[12]

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[9] See Drower, *The Mandaeans*, for the former, and Jorunn J. Buckley, *The Mandaeans: Ancient Texts and Modern People* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002) for the latter.

[10] See Edwin Yamauchi, *Gnostic Ethics and Mandaean Origins* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1970) on the relation of Mandaeism to other Gnostic sects.

[11] See Karen L. King, *What is Gnosticism?* (Cambridge: Belknap, 2003) for the complete history of the debate.

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

1.2.2 Society

In their literature, Mandaeans are often described as having led a communal lifestyle. A prophecy related in the *Genzā Yaminā* tells of “a conference to ensure that the great shall not receive more honor than the slave,” and the Mandaean folktales frequently make mention of a Golden Age of equality for all, without wealth or poverty.[15] Unlike Persian, which distinguishes between different registers of familiar and polite speech, Neo-Mandaic does not feature any formal forms of address; in fact, the Mandaeans recognize very few titles at all. In Drower's time, the secular leaders of the individual Mandaean communities, designated by the austere title *Rab Mandayānā*, 'Leader of the Mandaeans,' were elected by their peers, although this practice has fallen into obsolescence. According to Drower, good health is the only sign of nobility recognized by Mandaean society, and the major divisions in Mandaean society are between the secular and the sacred rather than between economic classes. The priesthood is theoretically open to all but in practice tends to be hereditary, due to the rather strict standards of purity enjoined upon priests, which must be maintained over multiple generations. The clergy is divided into three classes: the *ešgandā*, or acolyte; the *tarmidā*, or priest, and the *ganzibrā*, or high priest. Once the aspiring priest has learned to read and write Mandaic, he is known as a *yalupā* 'disciple;'[16] once he has been initiated as a *tarmidā*, he is called by the title *šiex* 'sheikh,' a loan word from Arabic. The office of the *ganzibrā*, who presides over weddings and death masses, is the highest position which most Mandaean priests can hope to attain. According to Drower, a *ganzibrā* automatically becomes a *rišāmmā* or "head of the people" after consecrating five priests, but the consecration of priests is a rare event today.[17]

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[12] Ethel S. Drower, *The Secret Adam: A Study of Naṣorean Gnosis* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1960), xvi.

[13] Drower, *The Mandaeans*, 41–48.

[14] Ibid., 147.

1.2.3 Family Life

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

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[15] Ibid., 385: "There was such justice that there was no wrongdoing. There was no strife and no war. None were rich and none were poor, for all were equal."

[16] In the modern dialect, this term has come to be applied to all literate Mandaeans, both priestly and lay.

[17] Drower, *The Mandaeans*, 173. Sheikh Abdullah (currently resident in London), who has been responsible for the consecration of twenty priests, is considered to be a *rišāmmā* by his Iraqi compatriots, but most Iranian Mandaeans reject this identification. Jorunn Buckley, personal communication, March 19, 2006.

Drower’s day, marriages were often arranged, albeit with lineage as the primary concern rather than wealth, and a first cousin was considered to be an ideal match (preferably between paternal cousins rather than maternal cousins). Polygamy was permitted, albeit uncommon, and most Mandaeans maintained (and still maintain) that monogamy is superior. Divorce was not permitted, although a husband could separate from his wife if he found her morally lacking or careless about following the standards for ritual purity. Women were not allowed to remarry so long as their husbands were still alive and rarely remarried after their husbands had died.[18] Today, many of these traditions are no longer followed, and Mandaeans generally observe the laws and the customs of the people among whom they live.

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

Table 1: Kinship Terms

	Male	**Female**
paternal grandparents	*jeddu*	*jedde*
maternal grandparents	*babbā*	*bibi; māmā*
parents	*bāḇā*	*emmā*
paternal uncles / aunts	*ʿammu*	*ʿamme*
maternal uncles / aunts	*xālu*	*xāle*
siblings	*ahhā*	*hāṯā (pl. ahwāṯā)*
cousins	*ebbər ʿammu/e / xālu/e*	*bərat ʿammu/e / xālu/e*
spouse	*bellā*	*eṯṯā (pl. enšā)*
parents in-law	*hām*	*hamāṯā*
siblings in-law	*ah bellā / eṯṯā*	*hāṯ bellā / eṯṯā*
children	*ebrā*	*bərattā (pl. bənāṯā)*
nieces and nephews	*ebbər ahhā / hāṯā*	*bərat ahhā / hāṯā*
grand-children	*ebbər ebrā / bərattā*	*bərat ebrā / bərattā*

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[18] Ibid., 59.

The kinship terms for elder members of the family are bipolar; when addressing their juniors, elders will often refer to them using their own kinship term, and be addressed in kind. Consequently, Nasser Sobbi might refer to his grandson as *jedduye* ‘my grandfather’ and likewise be addressed as *jedduye*.[19]

1.2.4 Population Distribution

Regarding the Mandaean community in her day, Drower wrote,

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

After the First Gulf War, Saddam Hussein embarked upon an aggressive program to drain the marshes of southern Iraq, in retaliation against the *Ma‘dān* or “Marsh Arabs,” who had risen up in rebellion against his regime at the conclusion of that war. As a result, the inhabitants of these marshes—Arab and Mandaean alike—were displaced, bringing an end to their traditional way of life. Today, most of the Mandaeans who live in Iraq and Iran reside in urban centers, although many continue to work as jewelers, as they did in Drower’s time. Outside of Iraq and Iran, the largest communities of Mandaeans are found in Sweden, Australia, and the United States, although many Mandaeans fled to Jordan and Syria following the occupation of Iraq in 2003, and small groups of Mandaeans can be found in most large cities throughout the world, from Madrid to Tokyo.

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[19] Bipolarity in kinship terms is a typical feature of most colloquial Arabic dialects; for more information on this phenomenon, see Mahmoud Aziz F. Yassin, “Bi-polar Terms of Address in Kuwaiti Arabic,” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 40.2 (1977): 297–301.

[20] Ibid., 1–2.

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

1.3 Demography

No consensus exists regarding the total number of Mandaeans in Iraq or Iran, and the figures for the number of Neo-Mandaic speakers remaining are almost entirely speculative. Conservative estimates for the former range from 40,000 to 60,000[22] and perhaps 100-200 speakers for the latter, almost all of whom are located in Iran and nearly all of whom are fifty years of age or older. There are no speakers of Neo-Mandaic under thirty years of age.[23]

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

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

[22] Julie A.J. Ebadirad, “Information on Mandaeans in Iran in Regards to Human Rights,” *ASUTA* (Jan. 2003), 3.

[23] Jorunn J. Buckley, personal communication. Buckley last visited Iran in 1996.

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

Table 2: Census of Mandaean Families, 1877

ʿAmāra	(Iraq)	130 families
Sūq ash-Shuyūkh	(Iraq)	120 families
Basra	(Iraq)	50 families
Muḥammara	(Iran)	30 families
Ḥuwayza	(Iran)	10 families
Dezful	(Iran)	seven families
Shushtar	(Iran)	two families

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

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

Since the time of Curzon and Houtum-Schindler, widely divergent figures have been given for the population of Mandaeans in Iran and the number of Mandaic speakers among them. In his article on the status of Mandaean studies, published in 1966, Edwin Yamauchi noted that there were likely only a few thousand Mandaeans left.[27] One of the most frequently quoted figures for the total Mandaean population (in Iraq and Iran) is that of Kurt Rudolph, who estimated a number of 15,000 Mandaeans total, without citing any source for this number.[28] Yamauchi, among many others, adopted this figure, and added on his own authority that there were perhaps only 200 speakers of Neo-Mandaic remaining.[29] In 1989, the total population of Mandaeans in Iran was reported to be 6,200,[30] a figure which subsequently came to be adopted by the United Nations High Commission in its reports.[31]

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[24] A. Houtum-Schindler, "Notes on the Sabians," *Proceedings of the Royal Geographic Society* (Nov. 1891): 665.

[25] Curzon of Kedleston, George Nathaniel Gordon, Marquess, *Persia and the Persian Question*, vol. II (London: Longman and Co., 1892), 306.

[26] Such as Drower's informant Hirmiz bar Anhar, whose family ultimately originated in Shushtar, according to Sobbi.

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

Ṣābe'in-e Irān Zamin, an album of photographic images of Mandaean life in Iran, placed the number of Iranian Mandaeans at

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[27] Edwin Yamauchi, "The Present Status of Mandaean Studies," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 25.2 (1966): 88.

[28] Kurt Rudolph, *Mandaeism* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1978), 1.

[29] Edwin Yamauchi, review of *Zur Sprache und Literatur der Mandäer* by Rudolf Macuch, *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 100.1 (1980): 80.

[30] Michel Clevenot (ed.), *L'état des religions dans la monde* (Paris: Editions La Découverte, 1987), 242.

[31] See, for example, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees *Report: Iran: Information on the Mandean Religion and Whether or not the Children of Mandeans are taken from their Homes and Forcibly Converted to Islam by Iranian Authorities*, August 26, 1997.

[32] Raymond G. Gordon, Jr. (ed.), *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*, fifteenth edition (Dallas: SIL International, 2005). Online version: http://www.ethnologue.com/

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

1.4 Genetic Affiliation

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

Aramaic became widespread throughout the Fertile Crescent largely as a result of the policies of the Neo-Assyrian (ca. 934-609 B.C.E.) and Neo-Babylonian (ca. 627-520) empires. The Achaemenids (576-330 B.C.E.) adopted it as an auxiliary language both for international communication and internal administrative use. It gradually came to supplant the native languages of the region, but due to its wide geographic distribution and political circumstances following the collapse of the empire, it soon evolved into two major sub-families—the Western sub-family, comprising Jewish Palestinian, Christian Palestinian, and Samaritan, and the Eastern sub-family, comprising Late Babylonian,[36] Syriac, and Mandaic. Some scholars (e.g. Stephen A. Kaufman and Daniel Boyarin) place Syriac in a third group, separate from Western and Eastern Aramaic.

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[33] Abbas Tahvildar, *Ṣābeʾin-e Irān Zamin* (English title: *Baptists of Iran*), photos by Abbas Tahvildar, text by Massoud Fourouzandeh and Alain Brunet (Tehran: Key Press, 2001).

[34] Jorunn J. Buckley, "Foreword," in Drower, *The Mandaeans*, i*.

[35] Wolfhart Heinrichs, "Introduction," in *Studies in Neo Aramaic*, ed. by Wolfhart Heinrichs, x–xv (Atlanta, GA: Scholars, 1990).

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

> I wanted to write a reminder of some of the words and, since the man was courteous, I sent for writing materials from the boat. Once I had written down many words I realized that the language was Chaldean [i.e. Aramaic].[37]

This identification was subsequently corroborated by the Carmelite mission in Basra; Basil of St. Francis, a Portuguese Carmelite who founded the mission, reported to the Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide that, while their language was similar to Syriac, Chaldean priests and Mandaeans “understood each other very little” when attempting to communicate in their respective idioms.[38]

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

> Mandaic is closely related to the ordinary dialect of the Babylonian Talmud. Both the dialects are neighbors, geographically speaking [...] actually, we may assume that the language of the Babylonian Talmud was that used in Upper, and Mandaic that used in Lower Babylonia.[39]

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

> A close relationship between Mandaic and the Talmudic language is apparent throughout the grammar: Mandaic, however, appears to be a later form than Talmudic, but not throughout, for the Mandaic texts are

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[36] I.e. the dialects attested in the Aramaic portions of the Babylonian Talmud and those of the incantation bowls, according to Wolfhart Heinrichs.

[37] Lupieri, *The Mandaeans*, 73.

[38] Ibid., 88.

[39] Theodor Nöldeke, *Mandäische Grammatik* (Halle: Waisenhaus, 1875), xxv. Translated by the present author.

> linguistically purer and not as mixed with foreign elements, and represent the Aramaic speech of Babylon better than the Talmud. Had the Arabs preserved for us something more than a few accidentally introduced words of the dialect of the Iraqi Nabataeans, (i.e. the Aramaic-speaking inhabitants of Babylonia), we should again find the main features of Mandaic and Talmudic, and far more clearly than is now possible.[40]

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

1.5 Previous Research

Neo-Mandaic was quite possibly the first of the Neo-Aramaic dialects to attract scholarly attention, and more so than any other Neo-Aramaic dialect it has captured the interest of some of the greatest Semitists of each age. Unfortunately, scholarship on Neo-Mandaic was fraught with numerous frustrations, false starts, and near-misses. While it would fall outside the scope of this grammar to describe the entire three hundred and fifty years of scholarship on Mandaic in detail,[42] four periods of scholarly activity stand out. During the first period, the study of Mandaic was essentially the study of the spoken language, as the classical dialect remained virtually unknown. After a hiatus of over a century, the broad outlines of the classical language became known, beginning with the publication of an edition of a classical text (the *Genzā Rabbā*) and culminating in a grammar of the written language. Within a fairly short time, numerous editions of classical texts began to appear, as well as incantation texts and manuscripts in a postclassical form of the language and even five written documents in Neo-Mandaic. Finally, the twentieth century saw a marked increase in the number of Mandaic texts available to scholarship and the first attempts at a descriptive grammar of a Neo-Mandaic dialect.

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[40] Ibid., xxvi.

[41] Macuch, *Handbook*, lv.

[42] For further details on the history of western scholarship on the Mandaeans, consult Lupieri, *The Mandaeans*, 61–126.

1.5.1 The Early Period

European scholars first became aware of the existence of the Mandaeans, or "St. John Christians," as they were initially known, in 1555.[43] The first encounters between the two occurred in the kingdom of Hormuz, which was then under Portuguese rule. Members of the Mandaean community in Basra traveled to Hormuz in the hopes of convincing the Portuguese to liberate them from their Muslim suzerains. Initially, the Portuguese assumed that they were a Christian community within the Ottoman Empire, occupying territory coveted by the Portuguese, persecuted by their Muslim neighbors, and willing to accept papal authority. In the following decades, several abortive attempts were made to establish a base in Basra; it was not until 1623, however, after the Persians had captured Hormuz with the help of the British and came to menace Basra as well, that the Augustinians and the Discalced Carmelites were permitted to establish missions there. At least three of the Carmelites attached to the mission in Basra devoted their attention to the Mandaic language, as it was spoken in that day.[44]

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

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

[44] See Roberta Borghero, "A 17th Century Glossary of Mandaic," *ARAM* 11–12 (1999–2000): 311–319.

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

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

These same missionaries also assiduously collected Mandaic manuscripts, which eventually found their way to libraries in Rome and other cities of Europe.[49] The manuscripts collected by the missionaries were the basis for most of the editions published in the 19th century; western scholars would not acquire new manuscripts, for the most part, until the 20th century.

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[45] Borghero, *Glossary*, 316–17. Ignazio di Gesù's *Scrinia* were intended to be handbooks of oriental languages, containing the basic information necessary for beginners who want to speak these languages correctly.

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

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

[48] Borghero, *Glossary*, 313–14.

1.5.2 The Nineteenth Century

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

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

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[49] The oldest Mandaic manuscripts in Rome were acquired by Ignazio di Gesù, and the oldest ones in Britain were acquired by Ange de Saint Joseph for Robert Huntingdon; Lupieri, *The Mandaeans*, 106, fn. 98.

[50] Matthias Norberg, *Codex Nasaraeus: Liber Adami appellatus, Syriace transscriptus, loco vocalium, ubi vicem literarum gutturalium praestiterint, his substitutis Latineque redditus a Matth. Norberg* (Lund: Berlingianus, 1815–16).

[51] Matthias Norberg, *Lexidion Codicis Nasaraei: cui Liber Adami nomen / edidit Matth. Norberg* (Lund: Berlingianus, 1816).

[52] Matthias Norberg, *Onomasticon Codicis Nasaraei: cui Liber adami nomen / edidit Matth. Norberg* (Lund: Berlingianus, 1817).

[53] Lupieri, *The Mandaeans*, 114–15.

Bihram, Taylor was so moved by his education in the faith that he resolved to adopt it in secret.[54]

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

Upon returning to Europe, Petermann published the account of his travels in the Middle East, including his stay in Sūq ash-Shuyūkh, in his *Reisen im Orient*.[55] In addition to providing western scholars with the first concrete accounts of the Mandaean community in nearly two hundred years, Petermann collected a number of Mandaean folktales, including the legend of the "Bridge of Shushtar," which is the most famous of Mandaean legends.[56] Several years later, Petermann published a critical edition of the *Genzā Rabbā* on the basis of four 16th and 17th century manuscripts.[57] This edition, the first Mandaic manuscript to be published in facsimile, included a brief introduction in Latin, but appeared without any commentary or translation. Despite the fact that a translation of this text would not appear until 1925,[58] Petermann's edition quickly became the basis for all studies of

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[54] Jorunn J. Buckley, "Glimpses of a Life: Yahia Bihram, Mandaean Priest," *History of Religions* 39.1 (1999): 38.

[55] J. Heinrich Petermann, *Reisen im Orient*, vol. I–II (Leipzig: Von Veit, 1860 and 1861). The Mandaeans are discussed in volume II.

[56] This legend is the subject of Text IV in the text collection.

[57] J. Heinrich Petermann, *Thesaurus sive Liber Magnus vulgo Liber Adami appellatus, opus Mandaeorum summi ponderis*, vol. I–II (Leipzig: J.O. Weigel, 1867), now available in a reprint edition through Gorgias Press (Piscataway, NJ: 2007).

[58] Mark Lidzbarski, *Ginza: Der Schatz; oder, Das grosse Buch der Mandäer* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1925).

Mandaic language and literature and remained so until Jacques de Morgan and Ethel S. Drower brought new manuscripts to scholarly attention.

Petermann's efforts spurred a new growth of interest in the Mandaeans in Europe. Shortly after the publication of *Reisen im Orient*, the German philologist Theodor Nöldeke published an article on "the dialect of the Mandaeans,"[59] which relied primarily on Norberg's edition and the few other Mandaic texts which had been published since it. This article became the germ of the grammar he was to produce thirteen years later.[60] Over the next ten years, the Swiss orientalist Albert Socin traveled to the Middle East several times in the hopes of duplicating Petermann's successes, but was unable to enlist the aid of Yahia Bihram or, indeed, any other Mandaean. In the same year in which Petermann published his edition of the *Genzā Rabbā*, Julius Euting published a transcription of one third of the *Qolastā*, the Mandaean prayer book, based upon manuscripts in Paris and London.[61]

In 1873, the French vice-consul in Mosul, a Syrian Christian by the name of Nicholas Siouffi, sought Mandaean informants in Baghdad without success. Two years later, he was introduced to a young Mandaean priest from Shushtar named Adam, who had recently converted to Catholicism. This Adam was likely the grandson of Yahia Bihram, who had taught Mandaic to Petermann, and the great-grandson of the Adam who had taught Mandaic to Taylor.[62]

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[59] Theodor Nöldeke, "Ueber die Mundart der Mandäer," *Abhandlungen der Historisch-Philologischen Classe der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen* 10 (1862): 81–160.

[60] I.e. his *Mandäische Grammatik.*

[61] Julius Euting, *Qolasta oder Gesänge und Lehren von der Taufe und dem Ausgang der Seele als mandäischer Text mit sämtlichen Varianten, nach Pariser und Londoner Manuscripten* (Stuttgart: Karl J. Trübner ,1867). This edition was the basis for Mark Lidzbarski's *Mandäische Liturgien, mitgeteilt, übersetzt und erklärt* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1920). Ethel S. Drower translated the full text in her *Canonical Prayerbook of the Mandaeans* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1959).

[62] This is perhaps not so great a coincidence as it might otherwise seem. The Mandaeans were, at this time, extremely secretive about their religion and were not well-disposed towards revealing either their texts or aspects of their dogma

According to Siouffi, Mandaic was the only language that Adam was able to read and write fluently, although he attended services in the East Syrian Rite and claimed to be able to understand "almost everything."[63] Over the next few years, he taught Siouffi to read Mandaic, and Siouffi transcribed the names and the texts which Adam gave him into an *ad hoc* system based upon French orthography. The samples which Siouffi published in his book on the Mandaeans betray numerous features which are typical of Neo-Mandaic rather than Classical Mandaic, such as the transcriptions *mambouha* and *masbetta* for Classical Mandaic **mambuga** and **maṣbuta**, or the centralization of the vowel /u/ suggested by the transcription *chichtroio*.[64] Siouffi's work represents the first attempt, however unsystematic, to represent the current pronunciation of Mandaic.

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

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

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to outsiders. Although Taylor never published any information about his encounters with Adam Yuhana and Yahia Bihram, he must have made a positive impression upon the two, thus ensuring that they and future generations of their family would continue to aid westerners when other Mandaeans were unwilling. Furthermore, Yahia Bihram was not just any priest; he and his cousin Ram Zihrun were the only two members of the clergy to survive the calamitous 1831 cholera epidemic which decimated the Mandaean community; see Buckley, "Glimpses," 34.

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

[64] Nicholas Siouffi, *Études sur la religion des Soubbas ou Sabéens: leurs dogmes, leurs moeurs* (Paris: Impremerie Nationale, 1880). The examples are taken from pp. 4, 162, and 23, respectively. They correspond to Neo-Mandaic *mambuhā* [mamˈbuːhɔ] 'ritual drink,' *maṣbettā* [masˈbɜtta] 'baptism,' and *šuštrāyā* [ʃʉʃˈtrɔːjɔ] 'resident of Shushtar,' respectively.

> knowledge of that pronunciation. It is even more urgently wished that the highly esteemed scholar would publish his research on the traditional interpretation of the Mandaean books; if these were to be lost, we would be robbed of a possibly irreplaceable aid for the understanding of the writings. My friend Socin has still not managed to learn anything from the Mandaeans, among whom there are very few cognoscenti, about their language or literature. With some reliable knowledge about the exegetical tradition, we will undoubtedly arrive at a rather precise understanding and a dependable dictionary; without such knowledge, however, the interpretation [of the texts] will remain extremely spotty and uncertain.[65]

J. Heinrich Petermann died the following year without publishing his notes. Albert Socin never did find a Mandaean informant in Iraq; he and his colleague Eugen Prym eventually turned their attention to the Neo-Aramaic dialect of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn, from which they published some folktales with translations in 1881.[66] In the following year he published an edition of Jewish and Christian literary texts in Neo-Aramaic he had collected in the region between Urūmīya and Mosul;[67] the fact that Socin was unable to collect similar texts from the Iraqi dialect (or dialects) of Neo-Mandaic, which would disappear virtually without a trace within the next few generations, is one of the greatest tragedies to befall the study of Semitic languages in the modern era.

1.5.3 Turn of the Century

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

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[65] Nöldeke, *Mandäische Grammatik*, vii, translated by the present author. Nöldeke's grammar was published in 1875, five years before Siouffi published the data he had collected from Adam.

[66] Eugen Prym and Albert Socin, *Der neuaramäische Dialekt des Tur Abdin* (Göttingen:Vanderhoech, 1881).

[67] Albert Socin, *Die neuaramäischen Dialekte von Urmia bis Mosul*, vols. I–II (Tübingen: Laupp, 1882).

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

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[68] A.J.H. Wilhelm Brandt, *Mandäische Schriften. Aus der grossen Sammlung heiliger Bücher Genza, oder Sidra Rabba, übersetzt und erläutert* (Göttingen: Vanderhoeck and Ruprecht, 1893).

[69] Jaques de Morgan, *Mission scientifique en Perse, tome V (études linguistiques), deuxième partie: textes mandaites* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1904). The portions from the *Qolastā* are inaccurately identified as the *Iniani* (**ʿniania** *Enyāni* "antiphonal responses") and the *Sidra D'Nichmata* (**sidra d-nišmata** *Sidrā d-Nešmāṯā* "Book of Souls"); see Jorunn J. Buckley, "A study of the two liturgical collections in J. de Morgan's *Textes Mandaïtes*," *Le Muséon* 104 (1991): 191–203.

[70] Julius Euting and B. Poertner, *Mandaeischer Diwan nach photographischer Aufname* (Strassburg: Karl J. Trübner, 1904).

[71] For the *Drāši d-Yahya*, see Mark Lidzbarski, *Das Johannesbuch der Mandäer* (Giessen: Töpelmann, 1915); for the *Qolastā*, see Lidzbarski, *Mandäische Liturgien*, and for the *Genzā Rabbā*, see Lidzbarski, *Ginza*.

[72] Ethel S. Drower and Rudolf Macuch, *A Mandaic Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1963), v.

The first Mandaic incantation bowls were collected and published by Henri Pognon, the French consul at Aleppo.[73] While incantation bowls in other scripts and dialects of Aramaic had been published, Pognon's commentary on the proper names found within the bowls and the glossary that accompanied the publication became an indispensable tool for all future publications of these texts and drew scholarly attention to a formerly unknown phase of the language.[74] Pognon dated the texts to the period immediately following the Islamic conquest on the basis of an Arab name in one of the bowls, but taking into consideration the the lack of Arabic influences elsewhere within the corpus. In his review of Pognon's work, Nöldeke noted that these incantation texts, as well as many other profane texts, were written in a later stage of the language than the classical texts.[75] Chronologically more proximate to the language of the classical texts (but still belonging to the postclassical stage of the language) are the lead amulets, the first of which was published by Lidzbarski, who dated it to the 5th century.[76]

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[73] Henri Pognon, "Une incantation contre les genies malfaisants en mandaite," *Mémoires de la Société linguistique de Paris* 8 (1894): 193–234 and his *Inscriptions mandaites des coupes de Khouabir* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1898).

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

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

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

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

1.5.4 The Twentieth Century

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

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Mandaic Script," in the *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 341 (2006): 53–62.

[77] James A. Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts from Nippur* (Philadelphia: The University Museum Press, 1913).

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

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

[80] According to her obituary, Drower began to study the literature, history, and religion of the Mandaeans in 1931; see J.B. Segal, "Obituary: Ethel Stefana, Lady Drower (1 December 1879–27 January 1972)," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 35.3 (1972): 621.

[81] See Text II, line 21.

that the colloquial dialect was falling into disuse all over the country in her day, she did not experience Socin's difficulty in enlisting the aid of native speakers, such as Hirmiz bar Anhar, who later became a friend and colleague to Sobbi. She even recorded (in an *ad hoc* transcription system of her own devising) a version of the "Bridge of Shushtar" legend that Petermann had collected eight decades earlier,[82] but unfortunately never published it.[83] Rudolf Macuch was the first to publish this legend in the original language, although he never published it in its entirety, and the portion that he did publish differs in some respects from those of Petermann and Drower.[84]

Five years later, however, Drower did publish an abridged translation of the legend in *The Mandaeans of Iraq and Iran*,[85] along with some samples of what she called "bastard colloquial Mandaean [sic]."[86] Like Nöldeke before her, she attributed the irregularities of post-classical texts to the influence of the vernacular, which she dubbed a "debased jargon intermixed with foreign words."[87] Although Drower's ethnographic work among the Mandaeans is surprisingly modern in its sensitivity and objectivity, traits which were by no means common among her contemporaries, her wholly unjustified attitude towards the vernacular language belongs to an earlier era. This attitude may have contributed in part towards the mixed and often negative perceptions of the spoken language today within the Mandaean community itself (see §1.6 below). Nevertheless, the dozens of manuscripts that she brought to scholarly attention and furnished with exacting translations (which remain the standard to this day) have made it possible for scholars to apprehend the grammar of the written language to a degree that would not have been possible otherwise.[88]

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[82] Petermann, *Reisen im Orient*, 100.

[83] The text is published for the first time here as Text IV in the text collection, courtesy of Jorunn J. Buckley, who possesses the original manuscript.

[84] Rudolf Macuch, "The bridge of Shushtar. A legend in Vernacular Mandaic with Introduction, Translation and Notes," in *Studia semitica philologica necnon philosophica Ioanni Bakoš dedicata*, ed. Stanislav Segert, 153–172 (Bratislava: Slovenskej Akademie Ved, 1965).

[85] Drower, *The Mandaeans*, 289–92.

[86] Ibid., 214.

[87] Ethel S. Drower, "A Mandaean Book of Black Magic," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1943): 150.

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

> Nöldeke as well as a whole generation of mandaeologists [sic] after him knew nothing of the existence of a living colloquial Mandaic in Khuzistan, the language of the Mandaean quarters of 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 [sic] with Arabic and Persian expressions and subdued to manifold foreign influences can furnish us only a very imperfect picture of original Mandaic as it was spoken sixteen or seventeen centuries ago, it is not void of interest. It may prove to be of similar importance as the study of modern Persian for Pahlavi.[89]

He made no mention of Drower's trips to Ahvāz and Khorramshahr in 1932 nor of the references to the colloquial dialect in her 1937 and 1943 publications, which is surprising in light of Macuch and Drower's collaboration on *A Mandaic Dictionary*. This dictionary was published two years previously and made numerous references to colloquial forms, including those which Macuch had culled from the *Glossarium*.[90] Drower, who was the preeminent Mandaeologist of her time and by all accounts not only aware of the vernacular but also fairly fluent in it, surely must have informed Macuch about its existence, despite his claims to the contrary.[91]

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

[89] Rudolf Macuch, *Handbook*, liv.

[90] Macuch notes the fundamentally colloquial nature of the forms contained in the *Glossarium* at the very beginning of his *Handbook*; Macuch, *Handbook*, 1–2. He also deduces from the defective orthography employed by the author of the

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

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

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

Glossarium (which uses the Arabic *ḥarakāt* to indicate vowels) that he was most likely unacquainted with the classical form of the language.

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

[92] Otto Jastrow, review of *Neumandaische Chrestomathie mit grammatischer Skizze, kommentierter Ubersetzung und Glossar. Unter Mitwirkung von Klaus Boekels* by Rudolf Macuch, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 55.3 (1992): 544–546.

[93] See, for example, Cyrus H. Gordon, review of *Handbook of Classical and Modern Mandaic* by Rudolf Macuch, *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 26.2

Among the many scholars who tempered their praise for Macuch's contribution with a few sober notes of criticism was Joseph L. Malone, who composed a review of the *Handbook* targeted towards the general linguist.[94] Shortly after the publication of this review, Macuch contacted Malone directly and provoked him into publishing an apology in a subsequent issue of the same journal.[95] Several years later, Macuch savaged Malone (along with most of his other critics) in his *Zur Sprache und Literature der Mandäer*, protesting that he did not write his grammar for linguists, labeling Malone as "a complete beginner" and attributing to him an ignorance of "the elementary concepts of Mandaic verbal morphology."[96] It is perhaps not surprising, under the circumstances, that few other scholars took an interest in Neo-Mandaic during this time. To his credit, Malone continued to contribute to the study of Classical and Neo-Mandaic over the following decades, working primarily from Macuch's data.[97]

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

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(1967):133 and Jonas C. Greenfield, review of *Handbook of Classical and Modern Mandaic* by Rudolf Macuch, *Oriens* 21 (1968): 394.

[94] Joseph L. Malone, review of *Handbook of Classical and Modern Mandaic* by Rudolf Macuch, *Language* 45.1 (1968): 191–203, 951.

[95] Joseph L. Malone, "Notes," *Language* 45.4 (1969): 951.

[96] Rudolf Macuch, *Zur Sprache und Literatur der Mandäer* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1976), 98. It should be noted that the subject of Malone's doctoral dissertation, completed two years before his review of the *Handbook*, was "A Morphological Grammar of the Classical Mandaic Verb."

[97] See, for example, his "Rules of synchronic analogy: A proposal based on evidence from three Semitic languages," *Foundations of Language* 5 (1969): 534–559, "Systematic Metathesis in Mandaic," *Language* 47.2 (1971): 394–415, "Classical mandaic radical metathesis, radical assimilation and the devil's advocate," *General Linguistics* 25 (1981): 92–121, "Modern and Classical Mandaic Phonology," in *Phonologies of Asia and Africa (Including the Caucasus)*, ed. Alan S. Kaye, 141 (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1997), "Suffix metastasis and phonological change in classical Mandaic," *General Linguistics* 36.1–2 (1998): 1–16, and most recently "Metathesis and antiwedging in classical Mandaic," *General Linguistics* 36.4 (1999): 227–255.

Ahvāz in 1953 (after a hiatus of thirty-six years), along with his transcriptions of the texts published by de Morgan in 1904 and the portion of the "Bridge of Shushtar" legend that he had first published in 1965.[98] These were accompanied by a sketch grammar, the first attempt to describe the grammar of any Neo-Mandiac dialect as distinct from that of the classical language. Unfortunately, the flaws of the *Handbook* identified by Otto Jastrow above—namely his idiosyncratic transcription system and his failure to distinguish between diachronic and synchronic concerns—were retained in this new *Chrestomathie*.

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

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

I have outlined the history of Mandaic scholarship in order to illustrate a point. Although the Neo-Mandaic dialect of Khorramshahr has never been documented, and like many of the world's languages it is primarily unwritten, the business of preparing a descriptive grammar of Neo-Mandaic is unlike that of almost any other undocumented and unwritten language. Directly or indirectly, it has been the subject of western scholarship for three and a half centuries. Throughout most of this time little or no distinction was made between the modern form of the language and the classical form, for which two excellent grammars and a dictionary exist. Most scholars were first introduced to the colloquial form of the language well over forty years ago. Consequently, a work such as this cannot be undertaken without constant reference to the scholarly tradition that precedes it. Many of these scholars may wish that I had employed a format analogous to that of Macuch for my description; others will perhaps feel that I have permitted his and Nöldeke's descriptions of the classical language to influence my own description of the modern one. In any case, an understanding of the history of scholarship surrounding this language is not only relevant but also crucial to any attempt at describing it.

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[98] Rudolf Macuch, *Neumandäische Chrestomathie mit grammatischer Skizze, kommentierte Übersetzung und Glossar* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1989).

[99] Rudolf Macuch, *Neumandäische Texte im Dialekt von Ahwāz* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1993).

[100] Ibid., xvii. Translated by the present author.

1.6 Sociolinguistic Situation

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

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

Until he was 18, Sobbi spent his life between Khorramshahr and Abadan, where he had worked as an apprentice jeweler to his uncle, Abdolkarim Moradi (currently of Syosset, NY), from the age of 14.

After the outbreak of the Second World War, he traveled to Basra and Baghdad in search of work. In 1945, he returned to Khorramshahr and Abadan, as the oil industry had brought numerous foreigners (particularly British and Americans) to Khorramshahr and an attendant rise in the demand for jewelry. His family left Iran in 1952 to emigrate to Kuwait, where they resided until 1970. In that year, his family immigrated to the United States, where they have since resided.

1.6.1 Multilingualism and Language Attitudes

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

The few remaining speakers of Neo-Mandaic are proud of their native tongue and would very much like to see it preserved. Members of the community in New York occasionally seek Sobbi out for lessons in the language, and the Mandaean community in Ahvāz has recently established a Mandaic-language school for children. Unfortunately, most Mandaeans (particularly those from Iraq) are completely unaware of the continued existence of their language, thinking it is only a part of the distant past. Other Mandaeans, who are aware of the existence of the modern dialect but do not speak it themselves, consider it to be a patois or even a kind of Arabic or Persian jargon.[101] As mentioned previously, such attitudes towards undocumented languages are not uncommon, but, as in the case of Neo-Mandaic, they are often unjustified.

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[101] That is, Arabic (or Persian) with a few Mandaic words added. The Arabs of Khuzestān who have come into contact with Neo-Mandaic recognize that it has some similarities to Arabic, but is a completely different language; in the words of one Ahvāzi, *hum ʿidhum fad luġa yaḥčūn-ha, miṯl ʿarabiyya bas maqlūb* ‘they have a language that they speak, which is like Arabic but backwards.’ John Harnsberry, personal communication.

1.6.2 Contexts of Use and Language Choice

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

Sobbi describes his three primary languages thus:

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

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

> As the knowledge of the literary language is dispensable to a Mandaean layman, since the sacramental rites produce their effect *ex opere operato*, so is also the knowledge of the vernacular, since living in an Arabic milieu all Mandaeans speak Arabic and in Iran mostly also Persian. Vernacular Mandaic as an exclusive language of Mandaean quarters and silversmith-workshops is of no great use to them. It survives only on account of its

> simplicity in domestic and inter-Mandaean use being daily more and more invaded by the foreign elements by which it is surrounded.[102]

1.6.3 Language Viability

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

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

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

> Zoroastrian, Jewish, and Christian Iranians are the only recognized religious minorities, who, within the limits of the law, are free to perform their religious rites and ceremonies, and to act according to their own canon in matters of personal affairs and religious education.[104]

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[102] Macuch, *Handbook*, lxiv–lxv.

[103] Nasser Sobbi, personal communication, June 13, 2003. Some Mandaeans have rebuilt their houses, but prefer to rent these out to non-Mandaean tenants rather than return; Jorunn Buckley, personal communication, March 19, 2006.

[104] Article 13 of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

As a result, the Mandaeans have been plunged into a legislative limbo. In theory, they do not enjoy the freedom to practice their religion, nor do they have any representation in the Consultative Assembly, whereas Jews and Zoroastrians each elect one representative, Assyrian and Chaldean Christians jointly elect a single representative, and the Armenians elect two representatives.[105] To this day, their status under the laws of Iran has been a frequent subject of debate in the Consultative Assembly, but it has not yet been clarified.

In 1989, the government confiscated the *mandi* of Ahvāz, the chief Mandaean house of worship, and converted it into the headquarters for the Islamic religious police, the *Komiteh*. After waiting six years for the other shoe to drop, the Mandaeans were relieved when the Supreme Jurisprudent of Iran, Ali Khamenei, issued a fatwa stating that the Mandaeans possess the requisite characteristics to be considered a people of the book.[106] Although the Consultative Assembly has not yet amended the law to recognize the Mandaeans, they were subsequently permitted to open a private school in which their children could be schooled in their language. Much like other private schools in Iran, however, the headmaster must be a Muslim appointed by the Ministry of Education, and the curriculum must be approved by the same ministry. Only time will tell if this will prevent the seemingly inevitable extinction of the Mandaic language.

1.6.4 Loan Words

Neo-Mandaic is unusual in that words borrowed from other languages are marked both phonologically[107] and morphologically; foreign nouns will only take possessive suffixes via an intermediary morpheme, *-d-*, and are pluralized using a different morpheme than that employed for native or nativized vocabulary.[108] Considering that the remaining speakers of Neo-Mandaic are fluent in Arabic and

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[105] Ibid., Article 64.

[106] Buckley, *The Mandaeans*, 60.

[107] Arabic loan words are commonly identified as such by the presence of phonemes not found elsewhere in the lexicon, such as *ḏ*, *ġ*, *ḥ*, *j*, and ˁ.

[108] For more information on the morpheme *-d-*, which appears on loan words before possessive suffixes, see Häberl, “Relative Pronoun.”

Persian as well, most can identify loan words from these languages with near complete certainty. For these reasons, I have adopted a modified transcription system for words of foreign origin which have not yet been nativized to the Neo-Mandaic lexicon.[109]

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

Table 3: Loan Words in Neo-Mandaic

Mandaic Form	English Gloss	Language of Origin	Original Form	English Gloss
waḥši	animal	Arabic	*waḥšī*	wild (adj.)
jihel	child	Arabic	*jāhil*	ignorant (adj.)
ġobār	dust	Arabic	*ġubār*	id.
baʕid	far	Arabic	*baʕīd*	id.
ʕajāj	fog	Arabic	*ʕajāj*	dust cloud
j-m-d	to freeze	Arabic	*j-m-d*	id.
ṣunʕa	good	Arabic	*ṣunʕ*	benefit
ḥašiš	grass	Arabic	*ḥašīš*	id.
ṣayd	hunt	Arabic	*ṣayd*	id.
qarn	horn	Arabic	*qarn*	id.
jaḏrā	root	Arabic	*jaḏr*	id.
ġoṣnā	stick	Arabic	*ġuṣn*	id.
hafif	thin	Arabic	*xafīf*	id.
ṭ-w-ḥ	to throw	Arabic	*ṭ-w-ḥ*	id.
dəros	correct	Persian	*dorost*	id.
perzi	a few	Persian	*porze*	a scrap
jangal	forest	Persian	*jangal*	id.
miwā	fruit	Persian	*mive*	id.

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

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

Table 3 (Cont.):

Mandaic Form	**English Gloss**	**Language of Origin**	**Original Form**	**English Gloss**
nazdik	near	Persian	*nazdik*	id.
gird	round	Persian	*gird*	id.
tiz	sharp	Persian	*tiz*	id.
narmā	smooth	Persian	*narm*	id.
rās	straight	Persian	*rāst*	id.
dəraxt	tree	Persian	*deraxt*	id.
par	leaf	Persian	*par*	id.
bāḇā	father	Unknown		
šerrā ʾ-ḇ-d	to fight	Persian	*jang kardan*	id.
šənā ʾ-ḇ-d	to swim	Persian	*šenā kardan*	id.
hol ʾ-ḇ-d	to push	Persian	*hol dādan*	id.
talg n-h-ṯ	to snow	Persian	*barf āmadan*	id.
fekər ʾ-ḇ-d	to think	Persian	*fekr kardan*	id.
ohrā ʾ-z-g-$^{w}/_{y}$	to walk	Persian	*rāh raftan*	id.

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

1.7 Subdialects

After comparing his data from Ahvāz with recordings from Iraq made by Drower in 1953 and by Rudolph in 1969, Macuch declared in his contribution to *Zur Sprache und Literatur der Mändaer* that there were no differences in dialect between the Mandaean communities in Iraq and Iran.[111] While his conclusions undoubtedly hold true for the traditional pronunciation of Classical Mandaic, the recordings which he analyzed do not offer any idea of the pronunciation, grammar, or lexicon of the Iraqi vernacular, which was already moribund in 1937 and had most likely become entirely obsolete in 1969.

A better picture of the Iraqi vernacular is offered by the letters published by de Morgan in 1904, which originated in Baghdad.[112] While it is difficult to draw conclusions about the phonology of Iraqi Neo-Mandaic on the basis of these texts, the grammar and the vocabulary of the texts seem to accord closely with what we know about the two Iranian Neo-Mandaic dialects—including a liberal use of Persian loan words. Both Macuch's informant, Nasser Saburi, and my informant, Nasser Sobbi, were easily able to read these texts and even declared them to be highly entertaining. This is also true for the text sample which Drower had collected in Baghdad, which presented Sobbi with few difficulties in reading.

According to the testimony of Abdolġaffār Najmolmolk, many of the Mandaeans who were living in the Ottoman Empire toward the end of the 19th century were originally from Khuzestān.[113] Drower and Sobbi have also confirmed that the knowledge of the vernacular was not widespread in Iraq in the early part of the last century, and at least one of the Iraqi Mandaeans who spoke Neo-Mandaic, Hirmiz bar Anhar, was descended from Mandaeans from Shushtar. On the basis of this anecdotal evidence and the indisputable conformity between the Iranian dialects and the few samples that we possess of the Iraqi dialects, it might be posited that the original Iraqi vernacular first encountered by Gerolamo Vecchietti in 1604 had died out at some point before the 19th century and that the Neo-Mandaic speakers encountered by Taylor, Petermann, and Drower in Iraq were the descendents of Mandaean refugees fleeing persecution in Shushtar, Dezful, and Shāh Wāli.

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[111] Macuch, *Sprache und Literatur*, 75.

[112] De Morgan, *Mission scientifique*, 278–282.

[113] See fn. 21 above.

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

Table 4: Dialect Differences

Nasser Sobbi (New York, 2003)	**Salem Choheili (Ahvāz, 1989)**	**Nasser Saburi (Ahvāz, 1953)**	**English Gloss**
bieṯ	*bieṯ*	*beṯ*	house
mienā	*mienā*	*menā*	water
waxt	*vaxt*	*waqt*	time
doṯon	*diyöṯōn*	*doṯōn*	come (pl.)!
klāṯā	*tlāṯā*	*klāṯā*	three
orke	*mork*	*orke*	with
illi	*ke*	*ke*	which

Salem Choheili, Macuch's informant in 1989, is a *yalupā* from Ahvāz, and a member of the chief priestly family in that city. Nasser Saburi, his informant in 1953, was also from Ahvāz, but not from a priestly family; like Nasser Sobbi, however, he was literate in Classical Mandaic. The most obvious distinction between the three columns is the distinction in vocabulary used by Sobbi and Saburi against Choheili. Both Sobbi and Saburi use the word *klāṯā* for three instead of *tlāṯā*, and the preposition *orke* instead of *mork*. Macuch mentions in his *Handbook* that the members of priestly families employ a different vocabulary than lay Mandaeans, which might explain the phenomenon observed here.[114] Also note that Sobbi employs the colloquial Arabic relative pronoun *illi* to introduce non-restrictive relative clauses and the Persian relative pronoun *ke* to introduce restrictive relative clauses, whereas the two Mandaeans from Ahvāz both use the Persian *ke* for both restrictive and non-restrictive clauses.

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[114] Macuch, *Handbook*, lviii–lix. Macuch, *Neumandäische Texte*, identifies Choheili as a candidate for the priesthood, but Choheili was not subsequently consecrated.

With regard to the phonology of the two subdialects, note that the vowel in the accented syllable of the words for ‘house’ and ‘water’ has broken in the speech of Sobbi and Choheili, but not in that of Saburi. Breaking is a typical feature of the Arabic dialects of southern Iraq and Khuzestān[115] and may have spread into Neo-Mandaic within the last fifty years, which would explain why Saburi’s speech does not share this feature.[116] Also note that the voiceless uvular stop /q/ has been fricativized in the Arabic word *waqt* ‘time’ as pronounced by Sobbi and Choheili, but not Saburi; while fricativization does occasionally occur in Saburi’s speech,[117] it does not appear to be as pervasive as it is in the speech of the others. The fricativization of this word can be directly attributed to the influence of Persian, in which the word is commonly pronounced /væχt/. All occurrences of the voiced bilabial approximant /w/ in Sobbi and Saburi appear to correspond to the voiced labiodental fricative /v/ in Choheili, although, as Jastrow noted, it is difficult to ascertain the phonetic realization of this phoneme from Macuch’s transcriptions.[118]

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

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[115] Bruce Ingham, “Languages of the Persian Gulf,” in *The Persian Gulf States: A General Survey,* ed. by Alvin J. Cottrell, 323–24 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1980).

[116] No examples of breaking appear in the “Bridge of Shushtar” text collected by Drower, ca. 1932.

[117] Macuch, *Neumandäische Chrestomathie*, 42.

[118] Jastrow, review of *Neumandäische Chrestomathie*, 545.

One of the most prominent differences between the subdialect of Sobbi and his wife and that of Macuch's informants is the complete absence of feminine plural forms in the paradigm of the verb. Both Saburi and Choheili gave second and third feminine plural forms of the verbal paradigm when they were elicited, and presumably used them in their daily speech, but these forms are not present at all in Sobbi's speech. Whether these represent a conscious archaism on the part of Macuch's informants or a genuine survival of the Classical Mandaic feminine plural forms is difficult to say.

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

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

No.	English	Neo-Mandaic	IPA	Transcription
17	all	**gaš**	[gɛʃ]	*geš*
204	and	**u**	[wə]	*wə-*
44	animal	**uahši**	[ˈwæħʃi]	*waḥši*
168	ashes	**tauša / ṭauša**	[ˈtˤɑʊʃo]	*ṭawšā*
201	at	**qar**	[qɔɹ]	*qār*
88	back	**butar**	[ˈbɔːθaɹ]	*bāṯar*
186	bad	**bṭala**	[bəˈtˤɔːlɔ]	*bəṭālā*
58	bark	**mašk šagra**	[ˌmɛʃkˈʃɪʤrɔ]	*mešk šejrā*
206	because	**ka**	[kɛ]	*ke*
85	belly	**karṣa**	[ˈkaɹsɔ]	*karsā*
27	big	**rabu**	[ˈræbbɔ]	*rabbā*
46	bird	**supra**	[ˈsˤoprɔ]	*ṣoprā*
94	bite	**nakti**	[nəˈχot]	*n-ḵ-t*

Table 5 (Cont.):

No.	English	Neo-Mandaic	IPA	Transcription
176	black	**akumu**	[oˈkuːmɔ]	*okumā*
64	blood	**dma / zama**	[dəˈmɒː]	*dəmā*
98	(it) blows	**rahu ata**	[ˌrɛhhu ɛˈθɔː]	*rehhu ˀ-ṯ-*$^{w}/_{y}$
65	bone	**garma**	[ˈgɛɹmɔ]	*germā*
89	breast			
99	breathe			
169	burn	**qla**	[qəˈliː]	*q-l-*$^{w}/_{y}$
39	child	**gihal**	[ˈʤiːhɛl]	*jihel*
160	cloud	**aiua**	[ˈiːvɔ]	*iḇā*
181	cold	**msi**	[məˈsiː]	*məsi*
122	come	**duti**	[ˈdoːθi]	*ˀ-ṯ-*$^{w}/_{y}$
196	correct	**durust**	[doˈros]	*dorós*
139	count	**mni**	[məˈniː]	*m-n-*$^{w}/_{y}$
114	cut	**pṣqi**	[ˈposqi]	*p-s-q*
178	day	**iuma**	[ˈjuːmɔ]	*yumā*
109	die	**mt**	[mɛθ]	*m-*$^{w}/_{y}$*-ṯ*
118	dig	**hpr**	[həˈfoɹ]	*h-p̄-r*
188	dirty	**ṭaušana**	[tˤaʊˈʃɔːnɔ]	*ṭawšānā*
47	dog	**kalba**	[ˈkælbɔ]	*kalbā*
92	drink	**št**	[ʃot]	*š-*$^{w}/_{y}$*-t*
195	dry	**ibuša**	[jæˈbuːʃɔ]	*yabušā*
192	dull			
158	dust	**gbar**	[ʁʌˈbɔɹ]	*ğubār*
73	ear	**adna / ana**	[ˈonnɔ]	*onnā*
159	earth	**dašta**	[ˈdɛʃtɔ]	*deštā*
93	eat	**akal**	[χol]	*ˀ-ḵ-l*
67	egg	**baia**	[ˈbɛɪjɔ]	*beyyā*
74	eye	**aina**	[ˈiːnɔ]	*inā*
127	fall	**npal**	[nəˈfol]	*n-p̄-l*
198	far	**baiid**	[baˈʕid]	*baˁid*
66	fat (n.)	**šamna**	[ˈʃæmnɔ]	*šamnā*
43	father	**baua**	[ˈbɔːwɔ]	*bāḇā*
106	fear	**dhalta**	[dəˈholtɔ]	*dəholtā*
70	feather	**gapu / gapa**	[ˈgæppɔ]	*gappā*
20	few	**parzi**	[ˈpɛɹzi]	*perzi*
111	fight	**šr**	[ʃɛɹ əˈvod]	*šer ˀ-ḇ-d*
79	fingernail			
167	fire	**nura**	[ˈnuːrɔ]	*nurā*
45	fish	**panida**	[foˈniːdɔ]	*fonidā*
26	five	**hamša**	[ˈhæmʃɔ]	*hamšā*
143	float	**šanu**	[ʃɛˈnɔː]	*šenā*
144	flow	**npaq**	[nəˈfoq]	*n-p̄-q*
59	flower	**gal / gul**	[gol]	*gol*
127	fly	**phar**	[pəˈhoɹ]	*p-h-r*
161	fog		[ʕaˈʤɒʤ]	*ˁajāj*
80	foot	**kraia**	[kəˈrɔːjɔ]	*kərāyā*
52	forest		[ʤænˈgɑl]	*jangal*
25	four	**arbu**	[ˈaɹbɔ]	*arbā*

Table 5 (Cont.):

No.	English	Neo-Mandaic	IPA	Transcription
145	freeze	**gmad**	[ʤəˈmod]	*j-m-d*
54	fruit	**miua**	[ˈmiːwɔ]	*miwā*
182	full	**mli**	[məˈliː]	*m-l-*$^{w}/_{y}$
128	give	**ahau**	[əˈhov]	*ʾ-h-ḇ*
185	good	**ṣanii / ṣanua**	[sˤʌnaʕa]	*ṣunʿa*
60	grass	**hašiš**	[ħaˈʃiʃ]	*ḥašiš*
173	green	**iaraqa**	[jæˈroːqɔ]	*yaroqā*
86	guts	**karsa**	[ˈkaɹsɔ]	*karsā*
71	hair	**manza**	[ˈmænzɔ]	*manzā*
83	hand	**aida**	[ˈiːdɔ]	*idā*
3	he	**hui**	[ˈhuwi]	*huwi*
72	head	**riša**	[ˈriʃɔ]	*rišā*
102	hear	**ṣat**	[sˤot]	*ṣ-*$^{w}/_{y}$*-t*
90	heart	**libu**	[ˈlɛbbɔ]	*lebbā*
31	heavy	**kadira**	[kæˈdiːrɔ]	*kadirā*
9	here	**hna**	[ɛhˈnɔː]	*ehnā*
113	hit	**mhi**	[məˈhiː]	*m-h-*$^{w}/_{y}$
129	hold	**lkuṭ**	[ləˈχotˤ]	*l-ḵ-ṭ*
68	horn	**qarn**	[qæɹn]	*qarn*
15	how	**kmu**	[ˈkæmmɔ]	*kammā*
112	hunt	**ṣaid**	[sˤaɪd]	*ṣayd*
41	husband	**bla**	[ˈbɛllɔ]	*bellā*
1	I	**ana**	[ˈæːnɔ]	*anā*
165	ice	**talga**	[ˈtælgɔ]	*talgā*
205	if	**agr**	[ˈægæɹ]	*agar*
202	in	**gu**	[gɔʊ]	*gāw*
110	kill	**gṭal**	[gəˈtˤol]	*g-ṭ-l*
82	knee	**burka**	[ˈbʌɹkɔ]	*burkā*
103	know	**bašqir**	[ˈbaʃqɛɹ]	*b-š-q-r*
153	lake	**iama**	[ˈjæmmɔ]	*yammā*
100	laugh	**ghak**	[gəˈhoχ]	*g-h-ḵ*
56	leaf	**pr**	[pæɹ]	*par*
200	left	**asmala**	[ˈsmɔːlɔ]	*smālā*
81	leg	**kraia / lagra**	[ˈloʁərɔ]	*loḡrā*
123	lie	**gni**	[gəˈniː]	*g-n-*$^{w}/_{y}$
108	live	**hian hauin**	[həˈjɔːnɔ]	*həyānā*
91	liver	**kabda**	[ˈkæbdɔ]	*kabdā*
28	long	**arik**	[əˈriːχɔ]	*ərikā*
48	louse	**qmulta**	[qəˈmolθɔ]	*qəmoltā*
37	man	**gabra**	[ˈgævrɔ]	*gaḇrā*
18	many	**ginza**	[ˈgɛnzɔ]	*genzā*
63	meat	**basra**	[ˈbɛsrɔ]	*besrā*
148	moon	**sara**	[ˈsɛrrɔ]	*serrā*
42	mother	**ama**	[ˈɛmmɔ]	*emmā*
171	mountain	**ṭur**	[ˈtˤuːrɔ]	*ṭurā*
76	mouth	**pama**	[ˈpommɔ]	*pommā*
207	name	**ašma**	[ˈɛʃmɔ]	*ešmā*
34	narrow	**zalil**	[zæˈliːlɔ]	*zalilā*

Table 5 (Cont.):

No.	English	Neo-Mandaic	IPA	Transcription
197	near	**nazdik**	[næzˈdik]	*nazdik*
87	neck	**paqata**	[foˈqʌttˤɔ]	*p̄oquttā*
183	new	**hata**	[ˈhæθθɔ]	*haṯṯā*
177	night	**lilia**	[ˈlɪljɔ]	*lilyā*
75	nose	**nhira**	[nəˈhiːrɔ]	*nəhirā*
16	not	**lu**	[lu]	*lu*
184	old (an.)	**rba**	[ˈræbbɔ]	*rabbā*
	old (inan.)	**hatiqa**	[hæˈtiɛ̆qɔ]	*hatieqā*
22	one	**ahda**	[ˈɛhdɔ]	*ehdā*
21	other	**hurina**	[hoˈriːnɔ]	*horinā*
38	person	**barnaša**	[baɹˈnɔːʃɔ]	*barnāšā*
142	play	**ṭalal**	[ˈtˤallɛl]	D *ṭ-l-l*
134	pull	**tli**	[təˈliː]	*t-l-*$^{w}/_{y}$
135	push	**hul aud**	[hol əˈvod]	*hol ʾ-ḇ-d*
151	rain	**maṭra**	[ˈmatˤrɔ]	*maṭrā*
172	red	**ṣmaqa**	[səˈmɔːqɔ]	*səmāqā*
199	right	**iamin**	[jɛˈmiːnɔ]	*yaminā*
152	river	**nahra**	[ˈnæhrɔ]	*nahrā*
170	road	**ahra**	[ˈohrɔ]	*ohrā*
57	root	**gazra**	[ˈʤæðrɔ]	*jaḏrā*
61	rope	**mašua**	[ˈmæʃwɔ]	*mašwā*
187	rotten	**sari**	[səˈriː]	*səri*
190	round	**gird**	[giɹd]	*gird*
131	rub	**parki**	[ˈpoɹχi]	*p-r-ḵ*
155	salt	**mahla**	[ˈmɛhlɔ]	*mehlā*
157	sand	**hala**	[ˈhɔːlɔ]	*hālā*
140	say	**amar**	[əˈmoɹ]	*ʾ-m-r*
117	scratch	**huk**	[ˈhoːχɔ]	*hoḵā*
154	sea	**iama**	[ˈjæmmɔ]	*yammā*
101	see	**hzi**	[həˈziː]	*h-z-*$^{w}/_{y}$
55	seed	**bazra**	[ˈbæzrɔ]	*bazrā*
138	sew	**huṭ**	[hotˤ]	*h-*$^{w}/_{y}$*-ṭ*
191	sharp	**tiz**	[tiz]	*tiz*
33	short	**gṭan**	[gəˈtˤɔːnɔ]	*gəṭānā*
141	sing	**zmr**	[zəˈmoɹ]	*z-m-r*
124	sit	**ihm**	[jəˈhom]	*y-h-m*
62	skin	**maška**	[ˈmɛʃkɔ]	*meškā*
162	sky	**arqiha**	[r̩ˈqiːhɔ]	*ərqihā*
107	sleep	**gni**	[gəˈniː]	*g-n-*$^{w}/_{y}$
32	small	**hanin**	[hoˈniːnɔ]	*honinā*
105	smell (v.)	**arah**	[ˈærrɛ]	D *ʾ-r-h*
	smell (n.)	**riha**	[ˈriːhɔ]	*rihā*
166	smoke	**gatra**	[ˈgʌtˤrɔ]	*guṭrā*
193	smooth	**nrm**	[ˈnaɹmɔ]	*narmā*
49	snake	**hauia**	[ˈhɛvjɔ]	*hewyā*
164	(it) snows	**talg nihat**	[talg nəˈhaθ]	*talg nəhaṯ*
19	some	**parz**	[ˈpɛɹzi]	*perzi*
96	spit	**araq**	[ˈarrɛq]	D *ʾ-r-q*

Table 5 (Cont.):

No.	**English**	**Neo-Mandaic**	**IPA**	**Transcription**
115	split	**palga**	[ˈpalʁɒ]	*palḡā*
130	squeeze	**asra**	[ˈasˤra]	C *ṣ-r-*$^{w}/_{y}$
116	stab	**mhi**	[məˈhiː]	*m-h-*$^{w}/_{y}$
125	stand	**bgaṣ**	[bəˈʁosˤ]	*b-ḡ-ṣ*
149	star	**kakua**	[ˈkoχwɔ]	*koḵḇā*
53	stick	**gasna**	[ˈʁʌsˤnɔ]	*ğuṣnā*
156	stone	glal	[gəˈlæltɔ]	*gəlaltā*
189	straight	**raṣ**	[rɔs]	*rās*
95	suck	**šat**	[ʃot]	*š-*$^{w}/_{y}$*-t*
147	sun	**šamaš**	[ˈʃɔːmɛʃ]	*šāmeš*
146	swell	**smar**	[sˤəmoɹ]	*ṣ-m-r*
119	swim	**šnu**	[ʃəˌnɔ əˈvod]	*šenā ʾ-ḇ-d*
69	tail	**dama**	[ˈdɛmmɔ]	*demmā*
8	that	**aku**	[ˈaχu]	*aḵu*
10	there	**akak**	[ɛkˈkaχ]	*ekkaḵ*
6	they	**huni**	[ˈhonni]	*honni*
30	thick	**smika**	[səˈmiːχɔ]	*səmiḵā*
	thick (fat)	**alima**	[əˈliːmɔ]	*əlimā*
35	thin	**hapip**	[hæˈfif]	*hafif*
104	think	**pakr auad**	[ˌfɛkrɛˈwod]	*fekər ʾ-ḇ-d*
7	this	**auha**	[ˈɔːhɔ]	*āhā*
2	thou	**at**	[ɔt]	*āt*
24	three	**klata**	[ˈklɔːθɔ]	*klāṯā*
136	throw	**ṭuhi**	[ˈtˤaʊɦi]	*ṭ-*$^{w}/_{y}$*-ḥ*
137	tie	**uaiaq**	[ˈvaɪjɛq]	*w-*$^{w}/_{y}$*-q*
78	tongue	**lšan**	[lɛˈʃɔːnɔ]	*lešānā*
77	tooth	**šana**	[ˈʃɛnnɔ]	*šennā*
51	tree	**drakt / šagra**	[dəˈraχt]	*dəraxt*
126	turn	**hadar**	[həˈdoɹ]	*h-d-r*
23	two	**trin**	[trɛn]	*tren*
97	vomit	**gha**	[gəˈhɔː]	*g-h-*$^{w}/_{y}$
121	walk	**ahr azgu**	[ˌohhr̩ ɛzˈgiː]	*ohhər ʾ-z-g-* $^{w}/_{y}$
180	warm	**hamim**	[hæˈmim]	*hamim*
132	wash	**hauar**	[ˈhawwɛɹ]	*h-*$^{w}/_{y}$*-r*
150	water	**mia / mina**	[ˈmiĕnɔ]	*mienā*
4	we	**ani**	[ˈæni]	*ani*
194	wet	**msamar**	[məˈsˤammaɹ]	*məṣammar*
12	what	**mia**	[mu]	*mu*
14	when	**hamdu**	[ˈhɛmdɔ]	*hemdā*
13	where	**alia**	[ˈɛljɔ]	*elyā*
175	white	**hbara**	[həˈwɔːrɔ]	*həwārā*
11	who	**man**	[mæn]	*man*
29	wide	**patia**	[ˈpæθjɔ]	*paṯyā*
40	wife	**ata**	[ˈɛθθɔ]	*eṯṯā*
163	wind	**rahua**	[ˈrɛhwɔ]	*rehwā*
84	wing	**gapa**	[ˈgæppɔ]	*gappā*
133	wipe			
203	with	**ark**	[oɹk]	*ork*

Table 5 (Cont.):

No.	English	Neo-Mandaic	IPA	Transcription
36	woman	**ata (ainša)**	[ˈɛθθɔ]	*eṯṯā*
50	worm	**tla**	[ˈtʌljɔ]	*tulyā*
179	year	**šta**	[ˈʃɛttɔ]	*šettā*
174	yellow	**sapra**	[ˈsofrɔ]	*sop̄rā*
5	you	**atan**	[ˈætton]	*atton*

2. Phonology

2.1 Preliminary Considerations

A number of factors complicate the study of Neo-Mandaic phonology. The first and most obvious complication is language contact. Extensive borrowing from languages such as Arabic and Persian has expanded the phonemic inventory of Neo-Mandaic. Four loan-phonemes, the postalveolar affricates *č* /ʧ/ and *j* /ʤ/ and the pharyngeal fricatives ʿ /ʕ/ and *ḥ* /ħ/, characteristic of Arabic and Persian but not originally of Mandaic,[119] have been introduced into the phonology. Three other segments, a voiced interdental fricative *ḏ* /ð/, its pharyngealized equivalent *ḍ* /ðˤ/, and a voiced alveolar fricative *ẓ* /zˤ/, are found in a few loan words of Arabic origin. They have been excluded from the phonemic inventory of Neo-Mandaic due to their marginal status. Furthermore, the fricatives /v/, /ʁ/, /ð/, /χ/, and /θ/ have a much different distribution in loan words; typically, their occurrence in word-initial position identifies a word as being of foreign origin.

Loan words which are identifiable as such (due to the presence of loan-phonemes among other factors) take a separate set of plural and possessive morphemes indicating their foreign origins. For these reasons, the phonemes /f/, /v/, /χ/, or /ʁ/ are assigned the values *f*, *v*, *x*, and *ġ* whenever they appear in words of foreign origin (rather than *p̄*, *ḇ*, *ḵ*, and *ḡ* respectively). The orthography of a given word should therefore indicate whether the word is a loan word or not and, consequently, whether it is likely to be marked as such in the morphology.

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

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

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

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[120] Unfortunately, as noted in §1.7, I have only just begun to collect the evidence for Neo-Mandaic dialect variation, which falls beyond the scope of this grammar.

2.2 Phonological Units

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

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

Table 6: Phoneme Inventory (Consonants)

Stops and Affricates

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Inter-dental	Alveolar	Post-Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Pharyn-geal	Glottal
Voiceless	p			t	ʧ		k	q		
Voiced	b			d	ʤ		g			
Emphatic				tˁ						

Fricatives

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Inter-dental	Alveolar	Post-Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Pharyn-geal	Glottal
Voiceless		f	θ	s	ʃ			χ	ħ	h
Voiced		v		z				ʁ	ʕ	
Emphatic				sˁ						

Sonorants

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Inter-dental	Alveolar	Post-Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Pharyn-geal	Glottal
Nasal	m			n						
Lateral				l						
Apical				r						
Approximant	w					j				

Table 7: Transcription Scheme (Consonants)

Stops and Affricates

	Bilabial	Labio-dental			Post-Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Pharyn-geal	Glottal
Voiceless	*p*			*t*	*č*		*k*	*q*		
Voiced	*b*			*d*	**j*		*g*			
Emphatic				*ṭ*						

Fricatives

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Inter-dental	Alveolar	Post-Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Pharyn-geal	Glottal
Voiceless		*p̄* / **f*	*ṯ*	*s*	*š*			*ḵ* / **x*	**ḥ*	*h*
Voiced		*ḇ* / **v*		*z*				*ḡ* / **ġ*	ʿ	
Emphatic				**ṣ*						

Sonorants

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Inter-dental	Alveolar	Post-Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Pharyn-geal	Glottal
Nasal	*m*			*n*						
Lateral				*l*						
Apical				*r*						
Approximant	*w*					*y*				

* The use of *f, v, j, x, ġ*, or *ḥ* in a word indicates that it is of Arabic or Persian origin.

Table 8: Phoneme Inventory (Vowels)

	Front	Central	Back
Close	/i/		/u/
Mid	/e/	/ə/	/o/
Open	/a/		/ɒ/

Table 9: Phonemic Transcription Scheme (Vowels)

	Front	Central	Back
Close	*i*		*u*
Mid	*e*	*ə*	*o*
Open	*a*		*ā*

2.3 Phonetic Characteristics of Distinctive Segments

There are 35 distinctive segments in Neo-Mandaic: 28 consonants (§2.3.1) and 7 vowels (§2.3.2). The consonants are organized according to their points and manner of articulation as well as any coarticulations; each section includes a description of the most common allophones and the environments in which they occur. The vowels are also organized according to articulation and include descriptions of their most common allophones.

2.3.1 Consonants

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

2.3.1.1 Labials

p	/p/	[pʰ], [p]
b	/b/	[b]
m	/m/	[m], [m̩]
w	/w/	[w], [ʊ], [v], [u]

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

(2.1)	*pol*	[pʰol]	bridge (IV.19)
(2.2)	*epseqni*	[ɛp.ˈsɜq.ni]	we died out (I.14)
(2.3)	*kaspā*	[ˈkæs.pɔ]	silver (III.5)

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

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

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

(2.6)	*əmbašqer*	[m̩.ˈbɑʃ.qɛɹ]	knowing (IV.35)
(2.7)	***məbašqer*	[mə.ˈbɑʃ.qɛɹ]	id.
(2.8)	***əmbašqer*	[ɛm.ˈbɑʃ.qɛɹ]	id.

Labial-velar approximant: In the environment of the back vowels /u/, /o/, or /ɔ/, as in examples (2.9) – (2.11), /w/ is most often realized as a voiced labial-velar approximant [w], even in word-initial position. When following a back vowel, particularly /ɒ/, /w/ is generally pronounced as [ʊ], forming a diphthong with the preceding vowel, e.g. (2.12) and (2.13).

(2.9)	*gāwwu*	[ˈgɔʊ.wu]	in them (I.11)
(2.10)	*wuṣle*	[wʌsˤ.ˈle]	piece (IX.12)
(2.11)	*ziwā*	[ˈziː.wɔ]	splendor (I.9)
(2.12)	*əlāw*	[ə.ˈlɔʊ]	to (III.13)
(2.13)	*gāw*	[gɔʊ]	in (I.4)

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

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

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

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

2.3.1.2 Labiodentals

p̄ / f	/f/	[f]
ḇ	/v/	[v], [w], [ʊ]

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

(2.18)	*ṣoprā*	[ˈsˤoprɔ]	bird
(2.19)	*ṣop̄rā*	[ˈsˤofrɔ]	yellow

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

(2.20)	*ṣəḇyi*	[ˈsˤɛv.ji]	he baptized him (I.9)
(2.21)	*qāḇed*	[ˈqɒː.vɛd]	he will do (IV.22)
(2.22)	*láhriḇi*	[ˈlæh.rɪ.ˌvi]	he hasn’t destroyed it (IV.71)

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

(2.23)	*əḇud*	[ə.ˈwud]	do (f.sg.)! (IV.46)
(2.24)	*əḇod*	[ə.ˈwod]	do (m.sg.)! (IV.62)
(2.25)	*qəmahreḇāt*	[qə.ˌmah.rɛ.ˈwɔt]	you will destroy (IV.58)
(2.26)	*ḇāḇā*	[ˈwɔː.wɔ]	door (IX.5)

2.3.1.3 Interdental

ṯ	/θ/	[θ]

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

(2.27)	*aṯṯon*	[ˈaθ.θon]	they brought (IV.14)
(2.28)	*atton*	[ˈat.ton]	you (pl.) (IV.110)

2.3.1.4 Alveolars

t	/t/	[tʰ], [t]
d	/d/	[d]
ṭ	/tˤ/	[tˤ], [t]

s	/s/	[s]
z	/z/	[z]
ṣ	/sˤ/	[sˤ], [s]
n	/n/	[n], [ŋ]
l	/l/	[l], [l̥], [ɫ], [l̩]
r	/r/	[r], [ɹ]

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

(2.28)	*āt*	[ɔtʰ]	you (sg.) (V.23)
(2.29)	*etb̠er*	[ˈɜt.fɛɹ]	it broke (IX.12)
(2.30)	*əštā*	[əʃ.ˈtɔː]	now (I.10)

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

(2.31)	*ehdā*	[ˈɛh.dɔ]	one (IV.43)

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

(2.32)	*ṭāb̠*	[tˤɔʊ]	good (IV.38)
(2.33)	*baṭluk̠tā*	[bɑt.ˈlʊχ.tɔ]	misfortune (I.14)

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

(2.34)	*sāqat*	[ˈsɔː.qɑt]	she went up (IV.145)

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

(2.35)	*qāzi*	[ˈqɒː.zi]	he goes (VIII.1)

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

(2.36)	*ṣəḇyi*	[ˈsˤɛv.jɪ]	he baptized him (I.9)
(2.37)	*eṣṭəbyon*	[ɛs.ˈtˤɜb.jon]	they were baptized (I.10)
(2.38)	*miṣrā*	[ˈmɪs.rɒ]	boundary (IV.20)

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

(2.39)	*nodā*	[ˈnoː.dɔ]	earthquake (IV.115)
(2.40)	*Inglizí*	[ɪŋ.glɪ.ˈzi]	English (II.14)
(2.41)	*čangā́*	[ʧæŋ.ˈgɒː]	harps (IV.81a; Persian *čang-hā* id.)

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

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

(2.42)	*elliye*	[ˈɛl.li.je]	where is it (X.14)
(2.43)	*klāṯā*	[ˈkl̥ɔː.θɔ]	three (III.1)
(2.44)	*ʿAbdalla*	[ʕab.ˈdɑɫ.ɫa]	Abdallah (II.8)

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

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

(2.45)	*rabbā*	[ˈræb.bɔ]	great (X.11)
(2.46)	*gaḇrā*	[ˈgæv.rɔ]	man (V.18)
(2.47)	*barra*	[ˈbar.ra]	outside (II.13)
(2.48)	*qāri*	[ˈqɔː.ri]	by him (IV.12)
(2.49)	*karsi*	[ˈkaɹ.si]	his stomach (X.2)
(2.50)	*əmar*	[ə.ˈmaɹ]	he said (V.14)

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

2.3.1.5 Post-Alveolars

š	/ʃ/	[ʃ]
č	/ʧ/	[ʧ]
j	/ʤ/	[ʤ]

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

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

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

(2.52)	*čāre*	[ˈʧɒː.rɛ]	remedy (IV.40; Persian *čāra* id.)
(2.53)	*gač*	[gæʧ]	gypsum (IV.4; Persian *gač* id.)
(2.54)	*eččā*	[ˈɛʧ.ʧɔ]	nine (II.22; CM **tša** id.)
(2.55)	*čin*	[ʧin]	ninety (III.1; CM **tšin** id.)
(2.56)	*čemmā*	[ˈʧɜm.mɔ]	nine hundred (III.1; CM **tšima** id.)

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

(2.57)	*jihel*	[ˈʤiː.hɛl]	child (II.16; Arabic *jāhil* ‘ingénu’)
(2.58)	*minjo-di*	[mɪn.ˈʤoː.di]	out of (X.3b; Arabic *min juwwa* id.)
(2.59)	*mujur*	[mʌ.ˈʤuɹ]	how (V.24; Persian *če-jur* ‘how’)

2.3.1.6 Palatal

y	/j/	[j], [ɪ], [i]

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

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

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

2.3.1.7 Velars

k	/k/	[k^h], [k]
g	/g/	[g]

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

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

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

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

2.3.1.8 Uvulars

q	/q/	[q], [ʁ], [g]
ḵ / x	/χ/	[χ]
ḡ / ġ	/ʁ/	[ʁ]

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

(2.65)	*qazġān*	[qɑz.ˈʁɔn]	cooking pot (X.2)
(2.66)	*láqbèn*	[ˈlɑʁ.bɛn]	we don’t want (IV.109)
(2.67)	*qəhazelli*	[ga.ˈzɛl.li]	they see him (IV.7)

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

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

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

(2.70)	*bəğaṣ*	[bə.ˈʁɑsˤ]	he stopped, stood still (IV.50)

2.3.1.9 Pharyngeals

ḥ	/ħ/	[ħ], [h]
ʿ	/ʕ/	[ʕ], [ʔ], [Ø]

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

(2.71)	*ḥākem*	[ˈħɒː.kɛm]	governor (IV.30; Arabic *ḥākim* ‘judge’)
(2.72)	*ḥašiš*	[hæ.ˈʃiʃ]	hashish (VII.6; Arabic *ḥašīš* ‘grass’)

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

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[121] Note that the glottal stop /ʔ/ appears only in Arabic loan words containing /ʔ/ or as an allophone of /ʕ/.

(2.73)	*ṣunʿa*	[ˈsˤʌn.ˤɑ]	good (VI.2; Arabic *ṣunʿ* ‘benefit’)
(2.74)	*jamiʿa*	[ʤɛ.ˈmiː.ʔa]	all (IV.15; Arabic *jamīʿ* id.)
(2.75)	*šamʿ*	[ʃɑm]	candle (IV.20; Arabic *šamʿ* id.)

2.3.1.10 Glottal

h /h/ [h], [x], [Ø]

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

(2.76)	*ərqihā*	[r̩.ˈqiː.hɔ]	sky (augmented) (IV.145)
(2.77)	*ərqi*	[r̩.ˈqiː]	sky (contextual) (IX.12)
(2.78)	*pərāhi*	[pɛ.ˈrɔː.hi]	some money (VI.1; cf. Turkish *para* id.)
(2.79)	*pərā*	[pɛ.ˈrɔː]	money (V.V)
(2.80)	*qəhazinḵon*	[qax.ˈzin.χon]	I see you (pl.) (I.4)[122]

2.3.2 Vowels

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

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

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[122] Also [qa.ˈzin.χon] ‘I see you (pl).’

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

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

i [i] : *e* [e]	*bieṯi*	[ˈbiɛ̆.θi]	his house
	bieṯe	[ˈbiɛ̆.θe]	my house
i [ɪ] : *e* [ɛ]	*aḵlit*	[ˈɑχ.lɪt]	I ate
	aḵlet	[ˈɑχ.lɛt]	you ate
u [ʌ] : *o* [o]	*guš əḇud*	[ˌguʃə.ˈwud]	watch out (f.)!
	guš əḇod	[ˌguʃə.ˈwod]	watch out (m.)!
o [o] : *ə* [ə]	*horini*	[hoˈriːni]	another
	hərini	[həˈriːni]	we defecated
o [o] : *ā* [ɔ]	*oḇdi*	[ˈov.di]	do it!
	āḇdi	[ˈɒv.di]	he does it
a [a] : *ā* [ɔ]	*bieṯa*	[ˈbiɛ̆.θa]	her house
	bieṯā	[ˈbiɛ̆.θɔ]	house

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

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

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

/i/ and the Diphthong /aɪ/: The diphthong /aɪ/ appears in very few words, most of which are derived from foreign languages; see 2.3.1.6.1. It was originally much more common; already in the classical language, however, this diphthong had collapsed to a monophthong in closed syllables, cf. (2.84) and (2.85). The resulting vowel */e/ subsequently merged with /i/. The remaining examples of */aɪ/ in open accented syllables also collapsed and merged with /i/,[123] except in a few forms borrowed from the classical language such as (2.86). In unaccented open syllables, /e/ was preserved, e.g. (2.87) and (2.88). The modern reflex of this diphthong contrasts with /i/ in (2.88) and (2.89).

(2.84)	**baita**	*[ˈbaɪ.tɔ]	house (emphatic state)[124]
(2.85)	**bit**	*[beθ]	house (construct state)
(2.86)	*ešmehon*	[ɛʃ.ˈmeː.hon]	their names (I.1)
(2.87)	*hemanuṯan*	[ˌhe.ma.ˈnuː.θæn]	our faith (I.8)
(2.88)	*bieṯe*	[ˈbiĕ.θe]	my house (V.16)
(2.89)	*bieṯi*	[ˈbiĕ.θi]	his house (IX.4)

2.3.2.2 Close back rounded vowel: /u/ is generally realized as a close back unrounded vowel [u] in open unaccented syllables, e.g. (2.90). In open accented syllables, /u/ is lengthened, e.g. (2.91). In accented and unaccented closed syllables, /u/ is generally realized as [ʌ], as in (2.92) and (2.93).

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[123] There is some evidence that this is a relatively recent change; it does not appear to have occurred in the attested samples of the dialect of Iraq.

[124] See §3.4 for more information on the states and their reflexes in Neo-Mandaic. Each noun has only one basic form, and those derived from the classical *status emphaticus* (q.v., §3.4.1) lose the augment *-ā* whenever they are followed by another word in juncture.

(2.90)	*ehlu*	[ˈɛh.lu]	they have (IV.45)
(2.91)	*nurā*	[ˈnuː.rɔ]	fire (IV.114)
(2.92)	*dukkā*	[ˈdʌk.kɔ]	place (I.V)
(2.93)	*guṭluḵtā*	[gʌtˁ.ˈlʌχ.tɔ]	massacre (I.14)

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

(2.94)	**taura**	*[ˈtaʊ.rɔ]	bull
(2.95)	*turtā*	[ˈtʌɹ.tɔ]	cow (CM **turta** id.)
(2.96)	*yumā*	[ˈjuː.mɔ]	day (IV.123; CM **iuma** id.)
(2.97)	*nodā*	[ˈnoː.dɔ]	quake (IV.115; CM **nauda** id.)

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

(2.98)	*geš*	[gɛʃ]	all (I.3)
(2.99)	*luhnāye*	[luh.ˈnɔː.je]	he isn’t here (IX.10)
(2.100)	*šehyānā*	[ʃɪh.ˈjɔː.nɔ]	ruler (IV.9)
(2.101)	*šehyānā*	[ʃɛh.ˈjɔː.nɔ]	ruler (IV.42)

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

(2.102)	*həzinu*	[hə.ˈziː.nu]	we saw them (V.9)
(2.103)	*nəp̄qat*	[ˈnɛf.qɑt]	she exited (II.15)
(2.104)	*smālā*	[ˈsmɔː.lɔ]	left
(2.105)	*səmāqā*	[sə.ˈmɔː.qɔ]	red

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

(2.106)	*əmalli*	[ɛ.ˈmɑl.li]	he said to him (X.15)
(2.107)	*əmalli*	[ˈmɑl.li]	id. (VI.5)
(2.108)	*ənāšā*	[ˈnɔː.ʃɔ]	people (VII.5)
(2.109)	*əḇādā*	[ˈwɔː.dɔ]	deed (IV.137)
(2.110)	*həwā*	[hʷɔː]	he was (III.20)
(2.111)	*pəradyon*	[ˈprɑd.jon]	they fled (III.23)

2.3.2.5 Close-mid back rounded vowel: /o/ is generally realized as the close-mid back rounded vowel [o] in all closed syllables, e.g. (2.112) and (2.113), as well as open unaccented syllables, e.g. (2.114). /o/ is rare in open accented syllables; when it occurs, it is generally lengthened to [oː]; see (2.115) below.

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[125] Malone describes this process as ‘promotion without schwa coloring,’ ibid., 145.

(2.112)	*aḇdonni*	[av.ˈdon.ni]	they did it (III.20)
(2.113)	*əḇadyon*	[ə.ˈvɑd.jon]	they did (III.21)
(2.114)	*doṯon*	[do.ˈθon]	come (pl.)! (VII.8)
(2.115)	*doṯi*	[ˈdoː.θi]	come (m.sg.)! (I.5)

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

(2.116)	*leḵta*	[ˈlɜχ.ta]	she is not (I.13)
(2.117)	*bandir*	[bæn.ˈdiɹ]	bound (IV.146)
(2.118)	*anā*	[ˈaː.nɔ]	I (I.4)
(2.119)	*əmallu*	[ə.ˈmɑl.lu]	he said to them (X.5)
(2.120)	*qalin*	[qɑ.ˈlin]	I go (IV.64)
(2.121)	*qəlaḵṭi*	[qɛ.ˈlæχ.tˤi]	he seizes him (V.18)

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

(2.122)	*qəbānen*	[qə.ˈbɔː.nɛn]	they build (IV.17)
(2.123)	*qənāp̄eq*	[qə.ˈnɒː.fɛq]	he exits (V.8)

(2.124)	*emrānḵon*	[ˌɛm.bə.ˈrɒn.χon]	your sheep (IV.124)
(2.125)	*barnāš*	[bæɹ.ˈnɔʃ]	person (contextual) (I.11)

2.4 Phonotactics

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

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

2.4.1 Syllable Structure

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

(2.126)	*min*	[mɪn]	from (I.13)
(2.127)	*mendi*	[ˈmɛn.di]	something (I.7)
(2.128)	*qanāyā*	[qaˈnɔːjɔ]	smith (III.5)
(2.129)	*Mušmanānā*	[mʌʃ.mɛ.ˈnɔː.nɔ]	Muslims (IV.150)
(2.130)	*əmalp̄enanni*	[ɛ.ˌmal.fɛ.ˈnɑn.ni]	we will teach him (IV.92)

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

(2.131)	*ā*	[ɔ]	this (contextual) (I.5)
(2.132)	*ak̠*	[ɑχ]	that (contextual) (II.2)
(2.133)	*mu*	[mu]	what (IV.33)
(2.134)	*tum*	[tum]	then (II.12)

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

(2.135)	*ahl*	[ahl]	family (IV.105)
(2.136)	*klāṯā*	[ˈkl̥ɔː.θɔ]	three (III.1)
(2.137)	*ṣṭānye*	[ˈstɔn.je]	he is a boy
(2.138)	*waxt*	[væχt]	time (IV.18)
(2.139)	*bieṯ*	[biĕθ]	house (contextual) (III.11)
(2.140)	*šieltk̠on*	[ˈʃiĕlt.χon]	I asked you (pl.)

2.4.2 Distribution of Non-Syllabic Segments

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

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

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

(2.141)	*yəmuṯā*	[jə.ˈmuː.θɔ]	oath (IV.120)
(2.142)	*qamāy*	[qa.ˈmɔɪ]	before (IV.41)

(2.143)	*wuṣle*	[wʌsˁ.ˈlɛ]	piece (IX.12)
(2.144)	*gāw*	[gɔʊ]	in (I.4)

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

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

(2.145)	*yaʿani*	[ˈja.ʕa.ni]	meaning (II.2)
(2.146)	*jamiʿa*	[ʤɛ.ˈmiː.ʔa]	entirety, all (IV.15)

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

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

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

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

(2.148)	*ahni*	[ˈan.ni]	they (IV.17)
(2.149)	*ehli*	[ˈɛl.li]	he has (V.26)

2.4.2.5 Consonant Clusters

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

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

(2.150)	*klāṯā*	[ˈkl̥ɔː.θɔ]	three (III.1)
(2.151)	*šlihā*	[ˈʃliː.hɔ]	apostle (I.9)
(2.152)	*ṣṭānā*	[ˈstˤɔː.nɔ]	boy (X.17)

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

(2.153)	*əmḥadeṯ*	[m̩.ħa.ˈdɛθ]	I speak (I.7)
(2.154)	*ərbiāhā*	[r̩.bɪ.ˈjɔː.hɔ]	fourth
(2.155)	*u genz ənāš*	[u ˈgɛnz ɛ.ˈnɔʃ]	and many people (I.14)
(2.156)	*imā*	[ˈiː.mɔ]	he swore (IV.121)

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

(2.157)	*təmānā*	[tə.ˈmɔː.nɔ]	eight (II.4)
(2.158)	*rəwāhā*	[rə.ˈwɔː.hɒ]	relief (II.34)

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

(2.159)	*hənā*	[hə.ˈnɔː]	here (II.21)
(2.160)	*əhnā*	[ɛh.ˈnɔː]	here (IV.70)
(2.161)	*šətā*	[ʃə.ˈtɔː]	now (II.29)
(2.162)	*əštā*	[ɛʃ.ˈtɔː]	now (I.10)
(2.163)	*ehdā*	[ˈɛh.dɔ]	one (IV.43; never ***hədā*)

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

(2.164)	*bāzi əqdarʾ əlāw ṣṭāni*	
	[ˈbɒː.zi ˌjɛq.dɛ.ˈrɛ.lɔʊ ˈstˤɔː.ni]	A hawk seizes a boy (V.25)
(2.165)	*buṯi əqrā*	
	[ˈbuː.θi ˈjɛq.rɒ]	he read a prayer (IV.19)
(2.166)	*ləḇašni əqmāšānan*	
	[ˈlʷɑʃ.nɪ ˌjɛq.mɔ.ˈʃɔː.næn]	we put on our clothes (III.10)

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

(2.167)	*kalb*	[kælb]	dog (contextual)
(2.168)	*perz*	[pɛɹz]	few (contextual) (V.1)

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

(2.169)	*ahl*	[ahl]	family (IV.105)
(2.170)	*waxt*	[væχt]	time (IV.18)

Whenever a sonorant forms the second element of a word-final consonant cluster, the cluster is eliminated by syllabifying the sonorant, as demonstrated in examples (2.171) to (2.176). Note that the coda of the accented syllable is geminated; see §2.4.4.2 for more details about this phenomenon.

(2.171)	*eššəm*	[ˈɛʃ.ʃm̩]	name (contextual) (I.9)
(2.172)	*qəmabḡeṣṣən*	[qə.mab.ˈʁɜs.sˤn̩]	I will stop (contextual) (IV.108)
(2.173)	*šekəl-da*	[ˈʃɛk.kl̩.da]	her appearance (II.33b; Arabic *šikl* id.)
(2.174)	*ohhər*	[ˈoh.hr̩]	road (contextual) (III.3)
(2.175)	*elli*	[ˈɛl.li]	where (contextual) (IX.11)
(2.176)	*rehhu*	[ˈrɛh.hu]	wind (contextual)

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

(2.177)	*baʿad*	[ˈba.ʕad]	after (X.2; Arabic *baʿd* id.)
(2.178)	*ṣāyaḥ*	[ˈsˤɒ.jaħ]	scream (V.22; Arabic *ṣayḥ* id.)
(2.179)	*baʿaden*	[ba.ʕa.ˈden]	afterwards (III.10; Arabic *baʿdayn* id.)
(2.180)	*ṣunʿa*	[ˈsˤʌn.ʕa]	well (VI.2; Arabic *ṣunʿ* ‘benefit’)
(2.181)	*ṣunʿaye*	[sˤʌn.ˈʕa.jɛ]	he is well (II.4)

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

(2.182)	*w-əqdak̠arnā*	[ˌwɛq.da.ˈχaɹ.nɔ]	and I remember (II.33)
(2.183)	*w-əl-Masiḥí*	[ˌwɛl.mɑ.si.ˈħi]	and not Christian (I.12)

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

(2.184)	*šieltk̠on*	[ˈʃiĕlt.χon]	I asked you (pl.)
(2.185)	*genztar*	[ˈgɛnz.tær]	utmost[126]

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

(2.186)	*Moḥamrā*	[mo.ˈħɑm.bro]	Mohammerah (II.6)
(2.187)	*lákamri*	[ˈlɑ.kɑm.bri]	he didn't return it (X.12)
(2.188)	*əm-riš yum*	[m̩.ˈbriʃ jum]	from the first day (I.7)
(2.189)	*əm-riš šettā*	[m̩.ˈbriʃ ˈʃɛt.tɔ]	from new year's day (IV.3)

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

(2.190)	*jihel*	[ˈʤiː.hɛl]	child (III.14)
(2.191)	*jihelā́*	[ˌʤi.hɛ.ˈlɔː]	children (II.4)

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

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[126] Malone, "Mandaic Phonology," 143.

2.4.3 Admissible Vowels

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

2.4.3.1 Word Final Vowels

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

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

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

2.4.3.2 Word-Initial Vowels

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

(2.197)	*inā*	[ˈiː.nɔ]	eye (VI.2)
(2.198)	*ellinon*	[ˈɛl.li.non]	where they are (III.22)
(2.199)	*əmalli*	[ə.ˈmɑl.li]	he said to him (VI.5)
(2.200)	*obrā*	[ˈob.rɔ]	mouse (V.10)

(2.201)	*alp̄ā*	[ˈæl.fɔ]	one thousand (III.1)
(2.202)	*āhā*	[ˈɔː.hɔ]	this (X.4)

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

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

2.4.3.3 Diphthongs

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

(2.203)	*qabeyyen*	[qa.ˈbɛɪ.jɛn]	they want (II.6)
(2.204)	*heyyi*	[ˈhɛɪ.ji]	life (I.9)

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

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

(2.205)	*qəgāṭel*	[qə.ˈgɒː.tˤɛl]	he will kill
(2.206)	*qədāri*	[qə.ˈdɔː.ri]	he will take
(2.207)	*qəgaṭelnā*	[qə.ga.ˈtˤɛl.nɔ]	I will kill
(2.208)	*qədarinā*	[qə.dɛ.ˈriː.nɔ]	I will take[127]
(2.209)	*gəṭol*	[gə.ˈtˤol]	kill (m. sg.)!
(2.210)	*dəri*	[də.ˈriː]	take (m. sg.)!

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

(2.211)	*qamāy*	[qa.ˈmɔɪ]	before (IV.93)
(2.212)	*gāw*	[ˈgɔʊ]	in (I.10)

2.4.3.4 Hiatus

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

(2.213)	*bieṯwāṯḵon*	[bʲɛθˈwɔθχon]	your houses (IV.123)
(2.214)	*bieṯ*	[bɪ.ˈjɛθ]	house (contextual) (III.12)

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

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[127] The vowel /ɛ/ in the first syllable is the result of umlaut; see §2.4.3.5 below.

[128] The Mandaeans consider this word to be a portmanteau composed of *šuḇḇā* ‘seven’ and *āhā* ‘brother;’ Macuch, *Handbook*, 98 considers the /h/ to be the reflex of the original */j/ attested in the Syriac cognate (possibly arising through dissimilation with the preceding /i/), and compares it to modern *ərbiāyā* [r̩biˈɔːjɔ] ‘fourth’ (cf. Syriac ܪܒܝܥܝܐ *rəḇīʿāyā*), which can also be pronounced *ərbiāhā* [r̩biˈɔːhɔ].

(2.215)	*šəḇiāhā*	[ʃɪ.ˈvʲɔː.hɔ]	evil spirit (IV.13)
(2.216)	*šəḇiāhā*	[ʃɪ.vi.ˈjɔː.hɔ]	id. (IV.45)

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

(2.217)	*səbuʿa*	[sə.ˈbuː.wa]	week (VIII.9)
(2.218)	*jamiʿa-dəḵon*	[ʤæ.mi.ˈja.də.χon]	all of you (IV.124)
(2.219)	*jihel*	[ˈʤiː.jɛl]	child (II.1)

2.4.4 Suprasegmental Features

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

2.4.4.1 Vowel Length

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

2.4.4.2 Consonant Gemination

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

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

(2.220)	*čemmā*	[ˈʧɜm.mɔ]	nine hundred (III.1; CM **tšima** id.)
(2.221)	*zammā*	[ˈzæm.mɔ]	blood[129]
(2.222)	*bellā*	[ˈbɛl.lɔ]	husband

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

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

With one exception, all Neo-Mandaic consonants can be geminated in this manner. The exception is the voiceless interdental fricative /θ/. Whenever /θ/ closes an accented syllable to which a vowel is added, the outcome is the cluster [χt] rather than the expected [θθ]. For example, when the pronominal suffixes are appended directly to the copula *e*t̲** [ɛθ] (CM **ʿit**), it regularly takes the form *ek̲t-* [ɛχt], e.g. (2.225).

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[129] Cf. the more colloquial *dəmā* [də.ˈmɒː] ‘blood;’ both forms appear in CM: **dma** and **zma**.

(2.225)	*ek̲tak̲*	[ˈɛχ.taχ]	you (m.sg.) are (IV.51)

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

(2.226)	*met̲*	[mɛθ]	he is dead (X.15)
(2.227)	*miet̲*	[miɛ̆θ]	I will die (contextual) (IV.84)
(2.228)	*mek̲tat*	[ˈmɛχ.tat]	she is dead (II.34)
(2.229)	*guṭluk̲tā*	[gʌt.ˈlʌχ.tɔ]	massacre (I.14)
(2.230)	*turek̲tā*	[tu.ˈrɛχ.tɔ]	cow[130]

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

(2.231)	*et̲t̲ā*	[ˈɛθ.θɔ]	woman (II.24)
(2.232)	*qəmḥat̲t̲en*	[qm̩.ˈħɑθ.θɛn]	they speak (II.21)

2.4.4.3 Word Stress

As noted above, the lax vowels /e/ and /o/ only occur in open accented syllables as the reflex of a Classical Mandaic diphthong, the lax vowel /a/ generally merges with /ɔ/ in this environment, and the semi-vowel /ə/ is never found in this position.[131] The accent generally falls upon a tense vowel, either /i/, /u/ or /ɔ/, and preferably upon a closed syllable. The placement of the accent is determined from the final syllable; if this syllable is not suitable, the accent will move towards the initial syllable until it comes to rest upon a suitable syllable. Effectively, nearly all words in Neo-Mandaic are accented upon the ultimate, penultimate, or antepenultimate syllable.

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[130] This form is derived from CM **turita**; cf. DC 46 **turikta**. The more usual form of this word is *turtā* [ˈtʌɹ.tɔ]. E.S. Drower and R. Macuch, *A Mandaic Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1963), s.v. **tura**. For a translation of DC 46, see E.S. Drower, “A Mandaean Book of Black Magic.” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1943): 149–218.

[131] An apparent exception to this rule is found at X.7, *qamdək̲on* [qam.ˈdo.χõ] ‘for you (pl.),’ in which the word takes primary sentence stress, but in other

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

(2.233)	*farwāh*	[faɹ.ˈwɔh]	thanks (I.5)
(2.234)	*qəmahrəḇāt*	[qə.ˌmæh.rɛ.ˈwɔt]	you destroy (IV.58)

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

(2.235)	*əḵal*	[a.ˈχɑl]	he ate (V.11)
(2.236)	*həzā*	[hə.ˈzɔː]	he saw (VIII.3)

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

(2.237)	*gaḇrā*	[ˈgæv.rɔ]	man (V.18)
(2.238)	*bāḇā*	[ˈbɔː.wɔ]	father (I.8)
(2.239)	*qallā*	[ˈqɑl.lɔ]	she goes (IV.102)

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

(2.240)	*gaṭelnāḵon*	[ga.ˈtˤɛl.nɒ.ˌχon]	I will kill you (IV.93)

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contexts this vowel does not take the word stress, e.g. *gešdəḵon* [ˈgɛʃ.dŏ.ˌχon] ‘all of you.’

Under certain conditions and within certain environments, however, the stress is not predictable from the syllable structure:

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

Table 11: Independent Pronouns and Stress

1 sg.	*anā*	[ˈaː.nɔ]	I
2nd sg.	*āt*	[ɔt]	you (sg.)
3rd m.sg.	*huwi*	[ˈhuː.wi]	he
3rd f. sg.	*hidā*	[ˈhiː.dɔ]	she
1st pl.	*ani*	[ˈaː.ni]	we
2nd pl.	*atton*	[ˈat.ton]	you (pl.)
3rd pl.	*honni*	[ˈhon.ni]	they

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

(2.241) ***ənā* [ə.ˈnɔː] I
(2.242) ***əni* [ə.ˈniː] we

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

(2.243) *qəmṭallen* [qm̩.ˈtˤɑl.lɛn] they play
(2.244) *qəmṭallén* [qm̩.tˤɑl.ˈlɛn] we play (contextual) (II.4)
(2.245) *qəmṭallenni* [qm̩.tˤɑl.ˈlɛn.ni] we play (lexical)

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

(2.246)	*komák*	[ko.ˈmɑk]	help (III.2)
(2.247)	*komák əḇadyon*		
	[ko.ˈmak ə.ˌvɑd.jon]		they helped (III.2)

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

(2.248)	*bienā-dan*	[ˈbiĕ.nɔ.dan]	among us (IV.81)
(2.249)	*gešdəḵon*	[ˈgɛʃ.də.χon]	all of you (IV.124)

Accented Morphemes: Several morphemes take primary stress whenever they are affixed to a word. These include the derivational suffix *-í*, e.g. (2.250). In Mandaic, this morpheme is identical with the Persian abstraction morpheme,[132] which makes abstractions out of substantives. This morpheme appears primarily on loan words from Persian, e.g. (2.251), which contrasts with (2.252). Another morpheme which takes primary stress is the plural morpheme *-hā*, which appears on loan words, e.g. (2.253) and (2.254).

(2.250)	*mandāyí*	[ˌmæn.dɔ.ˈjiː]	Mandaic (II.15)
(2.251)	*nəjārí*	[nə.ˌʤɒ.ˈriː]	carpentry
(2.252)	*nəjāri*	[nə.ˈʤɒː.ri]	a carpenter[133]
(2.253)	*jihelā́*	[ˌʤi.hɛ.ˈlɔː]	children (II.4)
(2.254)	*xiyabānhā́*	[χi.ja.ˌbɒn.ˈhɒː]	avenues (III.22)

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

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[132] Wolfhart Heinrichs suggests another intriguing possibility for *Mandāyí*. If we assume that the final *-í* in this word is, in fact, the abstraction suffix rather than the adjectival suffix, then the term would mean 'Mandaism,' rather than 'Mandaic,' in parallel with the term *Hulawlá* (< **Hūdāyūṯā* 'Judaism'), the name of the Jewish Neo-Aramaic dialect of Sanandaj (and other local dialects).

[133] Note that the enclitic indefinite morpheme *-i* does not take the accent.

(2.255) *qəmḥaṯṯen* [qm̩.ˈħaθ.θɛn] they talk (II.21)
(2.256) *láqəmḥaṯṯen* [ˈla.qm̩.ˌħaθ.θɛn] they don't talk (II.21)

2.4.4.4 Sentence Intonation

Within the course of a sentence, the stress on individual words may become so weak as to be barely audible. The primary sentence stress, which takes the form of a high rising pitch, generally falls upon the last stressed syllable of the last word of the sentence (the word which takes primary sentence stress is indicated by an asterisk (*):

(2.257) *Qabeyyen āḇden qāḇin gāw Moḥamrā.*
[qa.ˈbɛɪ.jɛn ˈɒv.dɛn qɒ.ˈvin gɔʊ *mo.ˈħɑm.brɔ]
They want to hold a wedding in Khorramshahr. (II.6)

When a relative clause precedes the main verb of a phrase, it is delivered in a monotone, with a high rising pitch on the final syllable of the clause:

(2.258) *Goḇrā ke gāw metelā́ Mandāyí aḇdonni.*
[ˈgov.rɔ ke gɔʊ mɛ.tɛ.lɔ mæn.dɔ.ˈjíː *av.ˈdon.ni]
In the stories, the men who made it were Mandaeans. [III.20]

Relative clauses following the main verb receive normal intonation.

2.5 Segmental Morphophonology

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

2.5.1 Assimilatory Processes

Both consonantal segments and vocalic segments may assimilate to neighboring segments. The assimilation of the former is illustrated in

§2.5.1.1. Vocalic segments may either assimilate to other vocalic segments in neighboring syllables (§2.5.1.2) or become “colored” by consonantal segments in their environment (§2.5.1.3).

2.5.1.1 Assimilation

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

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

(2.259)	*əmḥadeṯ*	[m̩.ħa.ˈdɛθ]	I speak (subjunctive) (I.7)
(2.260)	*əmḥaṯṯetton*	[m̩.ħaθ.ˈθɛt.ton]	you speak (subjunctive)
(2.261)	*əmḥadṯetton*	[m̩.ħat.ˈθɛt.ton]	you speak (subjunctive) (I.4)

n > l / _l: /n/ regularly assimilates to /l/ in the third plural form of the paradigm of the imperfective with object suffixes; e.g. (2.263), from (2.262) with the third person object suffix.

(2.262)	*qāmren*	[ˈqɒm.rɛn]	they say (V.1)
(2.263)	*qamrelli*	[qam.ˈrɛl.li]	they will tell him (II.11)

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

(2.264)	*horinā*	[hoˈ.ri.nɔ]	other (m.) (VII.8)
(2.265)	*horettā*	[ho.ˈrɛt.tɔ]	other (f.) (III.2)

r > C / _$C_{[+\text{alveolar}][+\text{sonorant}]}$: /r/ regularly assimilates to the following alveolar sonorant in the paradigm of the verb *əmar* ~ *əmor (āmer)* ‘to say’, e.g. (2.267), particularly before the object marker *l*-, e.g. (2.268), but note (2.270) in place of the expected (2.269), which is likely a metanalysis of the sort seen in example (2.261) above, which also occurred in the same text (a speech delivered at Harvard University).

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

2.5.1.2 Umlaut

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

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

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

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

(2.275)	*lášiyelni*	[ˈlɛ.ʃi.ˌjɛl.ni]	we didn’t ask

Umlaut does not occur when the initial syllable begins with an uvular or pharyngeal consonant, e.g. (2.276) and (2.277).

(2.276)	*qaṯinā*	[qɑ.ˈθiː.nɔ]	I will come (IV.41)
(2.277)	*qabin*	[qɑ.ˈbin]	I want (I.3)

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

2.5.1.3 Vowel Coloring

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

(2.278)	*qəmbašqart*	[qm̩.baʃ.ˈqaɹt]	you know (I.6)
(2.279)	*əmzaharla*	[m̩.za.ˈhaɹ.la]	may he protect her (II.35)

2.5.2 Dissimilatory Processes

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

j > h / ˈjɔː._ɔ: Whenever /jɔ/ follows a stressed syllable /jɔ/, it becomes /hɔ/, thus differentiating it from the preceding syllable. This sound change is apparent in word *šəḇiāhā* ‘evil spirit,’ a back formation from CM **šibiahia** ‘planets;’ cf. Syriac ܫܒܝܥܝܐ *šəḇīʕāye* ‘the seven planets;’ it also affects the ordinal morpheme -*yā*, e.g. (2.281), which occasionally becomes -*hā* in (2.282) alongside the more common -*yā* (2.283).[134]

(2.280)	*šəḇiāhā*	[ʃɪ.ˈvʲɔː.hɔ]	evil spirit (IV.13)
(2.281)	*klaṯāyā*	[k̥lɛ.ˈθɔː.jɔ]	third (VIII.9)
(2.282)	*ərbiāhā*	[r̩.bɪ.ˈjɔː.hɔ]	fourth (cf. Syriac ܪܒܝܥܝܐ *rəḇīʕāyā* id.)
(2.283)	*ərbiāyā*	[r̩.bɪ.ˈjɔː.jɔ]	id.

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[134] Macuch, *Handbook*, 98. As the original numbers have largely dropped out of use in Neo-Mandaic, to be replaced by Arabic and Persian numbers, it should not be surprising that the Mandaeans would employ a learned (classical) form like (2.283) rather than a colloquial form, like (2.282).

a > æ / ˈ_C.Cɔ: The phoneme /a/ in closed accented syllables is regularly raised and fronted to [æ] rather than the expected outcome [ɑ].[135]

(2.284)	*nahrā*	[ˈnæh.rɔ]	river (III.13)
(2.285)	*rabbā*	[ˈræb.bɔ]	great (I.14)

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

(2.286)	*barnāšā*	[bæɹ.ˈnɔː.ʃɔ]	person (IV.16)
(2.287)	*barnašānā*	[ˌbæɹ.nɛ.ˈʃɔː.nɔ]	people (I.8)
(2.288)	*həwārā*	[ˈhʷɔː.rɔ]	white
(2.289)	*həwarānā*	[hʊ.wɛ.ˈrɔː.nɔ]	whites (IV.31)
(2.290)	*Mandāyí*	[ˌmæn.dɔ.ˈjiː]	Mandaean (III.16)
(2.291)	*Mandayānā*	[ˌmæn.de.ˈjɔː.nɔ]	Mandaeans (I.3)

2.5.3 Insertion

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

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[135] Otto Jastrow noted the former outcome (but not the latter) in his review of Macuch's *Neumandäische Chrestomathie*; 546.

2.5.3.1 Excrescence

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

2.5.3.2 Anaptyxis

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

2.5.3.3 Prothesis and Triradicality

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

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

In many cases, the analogical change results in the coexistence of two forms—the new form taking its place beside the old. Generally, the new form assumes the original meaning of the word, while the original form survives in a more restricted sense.[136] For example, (2.293) becomes (2.294) when deprived of its augment (i.e. when followed by a noun in a construct relation, when followed by a vowel in juncture, or when appearing at the end of an utterance). In the patronymic, however, the word appears as (2.295), reflecting the original form.

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

(2.293)	*ebrā*	[ˈɛb.rɔ]	son (lexical) (V.29)
(2.294)	*ebbər*	[ˈɛb.br̩]	son (contextual) (I.7)
(2.295)	*bar*	[baɹ]	son of PN (IV.53; CM **bar** id.)

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

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

2.5.3.4 /h/-Epenthesis

Whenever the enclitic form of the copula (q.v., §5.1.1.4) is attached to a noun bearing a possessive suffix ending in a vowel, the voiceless glottal fricative /h/ is inserted between the vowel of the suffix and the copula, e.g. (2.301).[137]

(2.301)	*bāḇahye*	[bɔ.ˈwah.je]	he is her father (IX.14)

2.5.3.5 Breaking

The close front unrounded vowel /i/ often breaks in open accented syllables, particularly in the environment of labial consonants (including the bilabial and labiodental consonants) and those articulated on either side of the palate (such as the postalveolar and velar consonants). These include the bilabial stops /p/ and /b/, the bilabial nasal /m/, the voiceless post-alveolar sibilant /ʃ/, and the voiceless velar stop /k/, e.g. (2.302), (2.303), (2.304), (2.305), and (2.306) - but note (2.307). As the singular is the stem of the other inflected forms of the noun, the broken vowel is retained even when the syllable is closed, e.g. (2.308).

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[137] See Macuch, *Neumandäische Texte*, for further examples from the dialect of Ahwāz.

(2.302)	*pienā*	[ˈpiĕ.nɔ]	evening (V.16)
(2.303)	*bieṯā*	[ˈbiĕ.θɔ]	house (IX.6)
(2.304)	*mienā*	[ˈmiĕ.nɔ]	water (IV.7)
(2.305)	*šielni*	[ˈʃiĕl.ni]	we asked (III.10)
(2.306)	*kief*	[kiĕf]	humor
(2.307)	*kef āḇden*	[ˈkef ˌɒv.dɛn]	they made merry (IV.72)
(2.308)	*bieṯwāṯ*	[biĕθ.ˈwɔθ]	houses (contextual) (III.13)

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

(2.309)	*rafieqā́-di*	[ra.fiĕ.ˈqɔː.di]	his friends (IV.98)
(2.310)	*šiex*	[ˈʃiĕχ]	sheikh (II.7)
(2.311)	*miez*	[ˈmiĕz]	table (Persian *miz* id.)

2.5.4 Lenition

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

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[138] Bruce Ingham, *Languages of the Persian Gulf*, in Alvin J. Cottrell (ed.), *The Persian Gulf States: A General Survey* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1980), 323–24 gives a number of examples, including *biet* (house), *shiex* (sheikh), and *bien* (between), which are similar to the forms found in Mandaic.

[139] Werner Arnold, review of *Neumandäische Texte im Dialekt von Ahwāz*, by Rudolf Macuch, *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft 146* (1996): 201 compares this feature to the breaking found in the Western Neo-Aramaic dialect of Jubb ʿAdīn and the neighboring Arabic dialects of Qalamūn.

2.5.4.1 Fricativization

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

Fricativization does, however, regularly occur in Neo-Mandaic. The voiced stops /b/, /g/, and /d/ become the voiceless fricatives /f/, /χ/, and /θ/ before voiceless stops. This typically occurs when the comparative suffix *-tar* is added to an adjective ending in /b/, e.g. (2.313), which is the comparative of (2.312).[140]

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

(2.312)	*rabbā*	[ˈræb.bɔ]	great (I.14)
(2.313)	*rap̄tar*	[ˈræf.tæɹ]	greater
(2.314)	*doṯa-ṯ-ḵon*	[do.ˈθɑθ.χon]	both of you
(2.315)	*kaṯkammā*	[ˈkæθ.ˌkæm.mɔ]	how much (I.14)

2.5.4.2 Oral Depletion

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

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[140] For more examples of /b/ becoming /f/ before /t/ in the classical language, consult Nöldeke, *Mandäische Grammatik*, 48 and Macuch, *Handbook*, 56–57. Malone (“Mandaic Phonology,” 148) suggests a rule: “a heterophonous cluster XY, X a nonrilled obstruent (especially *b*, *β*, *q*) and Y a stop (especially *t*) may dissimilate X in manner to become a spirant but assimilate X in voice.”

(2.316)	*ehle*	[ˈɛh.le]	I have (lit. there is for me) (III.4)

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

(2.317)	*mārelli*	[mɔ.ˈrɛl.li]	she told him (IX.10)[141]

The voiced uvular fricative /ʁ/ is depleted to /h/ in two words, both in the environment of the closed back rounded vowel /u/, i.e. the example given in (2.319), from (2.318), and the learned form found in (2.320), which is pronounced as in (2.321) colloquially.[142]

(2.318)	*zāġ*	[zɒʁ]	chicken (Arabic *zāġ* ‘crow’)
(2.319)	*zəhunānḵon*	[zɛ.hu.ˈnɔn.χon]	your (pl.) chickens (IV.124)[143]
(2.320)	*mambuḡā*	[mam.ˈbuː.ʁɒ]	sacramental water
(2.321)	*mambuhā*	[mam.ˈbuː.hɔ]	id.

2.5.5 Loss

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

2.5.5.1 Voiceless Glottal Fricative /h/

The voiceless glottal fricative /h/ is lost in several environments. When it is the second element in a consonant cluster, it is deleted (see §2.4.2.5 above). This deletion manifests itself in the allomorphs of the plural morpheme *-hā*, which appears regularly as *-hā* after vowels, e.g. (2.322) and *-ā* after consonants, e.g. (2.323), on loan words in Neo-Mandaic.

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[141] This is presumably derived from a form like **amrahli* < **amraṯli* < **amrat* + *li*.

[142] Macuch observed this alternation in the dialect of Ahvāz as well; Macuch, *Neumandäische Texte*, 17.

[143] Note the appearance of the morpheme *-un-* before the plural morpheme *-ān-*. This may represent the ‘Tehruni’ pronunciation of Persian or the Luri plural morpheme /ʉn/ which is used for animate beings.

(2.322)	*ṣubbihā́*	[ˌsˤʌb.bi.ˈhɔː]	Sabians (III.12; Persian *ṣobbi-hā* id.)
(2.323)	*jihelā́*	[ˌʤi.hɛ.ˈlɔː]	children (II.15; Arabic *jāhil* ‘ingénu’)

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

2.5.5.2 Apocope

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

(2.324)	*anā*	[ˈaː.nɔ]	I (I.4)
(2.325)	*an həwit*	[an hɪ.ˈvit]	I was (II.16, III.4)
(2.326)	*bieṯā*	[ˈbiĕ.θɔ]	house (X.8)
(2.327)	*bieṯ dusti*	[biĕθ ˈdus.ti]	the house of a friend (V.4)
(2.328)	*šerrā*	[ˈʃɛr.rɔ]	war
(2.329)	*šer horettā*	[ʃɛr hʊ.ˈrɛt.tɔ]	the Second (World) War (II.2)
(2.330)	*zip̄ā*	[ˈziː.fɔ]	lie
(2.331)	*zip̄ qahḇet*	[zif ˈqɑh.vɛt]	you lie (V.23)
(2.332)	*perzā*	[ˈpɛr.zɔ]	little
(2.333)	*perz perāhi*	[pɛɹs pɛ.ˈrɔː.hi]	a little money (V.1)

(2.334)	*peršā*	[ˈpɛɹ.ʃɔ]	tomorrow (V.19)
(2.335)	*perš qaṯinā*	[ˈpɛɹʃ qaˈθiː.nɔ]	I’ll come tomorrow (V.17)

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

(2.336)	*Mandayān*	[ˌmæn.dɛ.ˈjɔn]	Mandaeans (I.5, III.12)
(2.337)	*ərqi*	[r̩.ˈqiː]	heaven (X.12)

2.5.5.3 Elision

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

(2.338)	*qəmšielā*	[qm̩.ˈʃiĕ.lɔ]	she asks
(2.339)	*qəmšielʾ əmḥaṯṯā*	[qm̩.ˈʃʲɛl m̩ˈħaθ.θɔ]	she asks to speak (II.31)
(2.340)	*aḵlelli*	[aχ.ˈlɛl.li]	they eat it
(2.341)	*aḵlellʾ əl-ḥadid*	[aχ.ˌlɛl.lɪl.ħaˈdid]	they eat iron (V.12)
(2.342)	*jawāb-de*	[ʤa.ˈwɒb.de]	my answer
(2.343)	*jawāb-dʾ ahḇita*	[ʤa.ˈwɒb.ˌdæh.vi.tə]	I answered her (II.19, II.20)
(2.344)	*ke*	[ke]	which (III.19)
(2.345)	*kʾ ehli*	[ˈkɪl.li]	which has (V.26)

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

2.5.7 Other Alternations between Segments

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

Table 12: Allomorphs of the Proclitic Morphemes

Independent	+ CV	+ V	+ C(ə)C	Gloss
-	*bə-* [bə]	*b-* [b]	*be-* [bɛ]	in, at, with
əlāw [ə.ˈlɔʊ]	*əl-* [ɛl]	*əl-* [ɛl]	*əl-* [ɛl]	REF
lā [lɔ]	*lá-* [la]	*l-* [l]	*lá-* [læ]	NEG
min [mɪn]	*əm-* [m̩]	*m-* [m]	*mə-* [mɛ]	with
qā [qɔ]	*qə-* [qə]	*q-* [q]	-	IND
u [u]	*u-* [u]	*w-* [w]	*wə-* [wɛ]	and

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

2.6 Suprasegmental Morphophonology

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

2.6.1 Stress and Morphological Processes

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

2.6.1.1 The Abstraction and Indefinite Morphemes

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

2.6.1.2 The Foreign Plural Morpheme and the Nominal Augment

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

(2.346)	*darwišā́*	[ˌdæɹ.vi.ˈʃɔː]	dervishes (IV.20; Persian *darwiš* id.)
(2.347)	*mimrā*	[ˈmɪm.rɔ]	literature (I.5; CM **mimra** id.)
(2.348)	*jisrā*	[ˈʤɪs.rɔ]	bridge (IV.12; Arabic *jisr* id.)

2.6.1.3 The Contextual Forms of the Verb

The third person plural forms of the imperfective, e.g. (2.350), are identical to the contextual forms of the first person plural, e.g. (2.349), and the third person singular forms of the imperfective, e.g. (2.352), are nearly identical to those of the third person singular, e.g. (2.351) throughout most of the verbal paradigm,[144] save for the location of the accent and the gemination of the middle radical.

(2.349)	*qəmḥaṯṯén*	[qm̩.ħaθ.ˈθɛn]	we speak (contextual) (II.22)
(2.350)	*qəmḥaṯṯen*	[qm̩ˈ.ħaθ.θɛn]	they speak (II.21)
(2.351)	*əmḥadeṯ*	[m̩.ħa.ˈdɛθ]	I speak (subjunctive) (I.7)
(2.352)	*qəmḥaddeṯ*	[qm̩.ˈħad.dɛθ]	he speaks

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[144] The exception is the paradigm of the *G*-stem, in which the presence of a tense vowel in the accented syllable also distinguishes between the two forms; for more details, see §5.1.1.2.

2.6.2 Stress and Phonological Structure

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

2.6.2.1 Geminate Simplification

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

(2.353)	*qəmḥaddeṯ*	[qm̩.ˈħad.dɛθ]	he speaks
(2.354)	*qəmḥadeṯnā*	[qm̩.ħa.ˈdɛθnɔ]	I speak

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

(2.355)	*rab*	[ræb]	leader (II.2)
(2.356)	*rabbā*	[ˈræb.bɔ]	leader (II.3)

2.6.2.2 Pretonic Reduction

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

(2.357)	*qəgāṭel*	[qə.ˈgɒː.tˤɛl]	he will kill
(2.358)	*qəgaṭelnā*	[qə.ga.ˈtˤɛl.nɔ]	I will kill

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

(2.359)	*aḇd*	[ɑvd]	he did (contextual) (I.11)
(2.360)	*əḇad*	[ə.ˈvɑd]	he did (V.27)
(2.361)	*mu*	[mu]	what (VI.6)
(2.362)	*mujur*	[mʌ.ˈʤuɹ.nɔ]	how I am (IX.3; Persian *če-jur* id.)

2.6.2.3 Aphaeresis

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

(2.363)	*əhaḇyon*	[ə.ˈhɑv.jon]	they gave
(2.364)	*haḇlonni*	[hav.ˈlon.ni]	they gave it (X.10)

2.6.2.4 Syncope

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

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

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[145] These are the forms attested in other dialects of Aramaic as well; cf. Syriac *nəp̄aq* and *nep̄qat*.

*_nap̄aqát_. This sound change is still productive; elsewhere in the conjugation of the verb, the /e/ found in the second syllable of the root of the imperfective is syncopated whenever the following syllable begins with a vowel, e.g. (2.367) and (2.368).

(2.365)	_nəp̄aq_	[nə.ˈfɑq]	he came out (VIII.7)
(2.366)	_nəp̄qat_	[ˈnɜf.qat]	she came out (II.15)
(2.367)	_qāḇed_	[ˈqɒː.vɛd]	he does (IV.22)
(2.368)	_qāḇden_	[ˈqɒv.dɛn]	they do (IV.20)

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

(2.369)	_qabén_	[qa.ˈbɛn]	we want (contextual) (IV.132)
(2.370)	_láqbèn_	[ˈlɑʁ.bɛn]	we don’t want (IV.109)
(2.371)	_lábḡeṣyon_	[ˈlɑb.ˌʁɑsˤ.jon]	they did not stay (IV.146)
(2.372)	_hənāye_	[hə.ˈnɔː.je]	it is here
(2.373)	_luhnāye_	[luh.ˈnɔː.je]	it is not here (IX.10)

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

(2.374)	_qəmahrəḇāt_	[qə.mah.rɛ.ˈwɔt]	you destroy (IV.58)
(2.375)	_qəmahrəḇāti_	[qə.mæɹ.ˈwɔː.ti]	you destroy it (IV.59)

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

(2.376)	*qəmbašqer*	[qm̩.ˈbɑʃ.qɛɹ]	he knows (IV.35)
(2.377)	*qəmbašqiret*	[qm̩.baʃ.ˈqiː.rɪt]	you know (IV.106)
(2.378)	*ḥākem*	[ˈħɒː.kɛm]	governor (IV.30; Arabic *ḥākim* ‘judge’)
(2.379)	*ḥākimā*	[ˌħɒ.ki.ˈmɔː]	governor (augmented) (IV.65)

2.7 Allegro Rules of Neo-Mandaic

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

2.7.1 Consonants in Allegro Speech

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

2.7.1.1 Partial Anticipatory Contact Assimilation

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

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

(2.380)	*qāheḇnaḵ*	[qɔˈhɛm.nɑχ]	I will give you (V.29)
(2.381)	*láqmahrem*	[ˈlɑq.ˌmɑh.rɛm]	I won’t destroy (IV.61)

t > d / $\_C_{[+\mathrm{voice}]}$: /t/ assimilates in voice to /b/ across a word boundary in example (2.382).

(2.382)	*nəp̄qat barra*	[ˈnɜf.qad ˈbar.ra]	she came outside (II.15)

d > t / $\_C_{[-\mathrm{voice}]}$: /d/ assimilates in voice to /q/ across a word boundary in example (2.383).

(2.383)	*ana qaḇed qam-daḵ*	
	[ˈaː.na qɑˈvɛt ˈqɑm.dɑχ]	I will do it for you. (IV.63)

z > s / _# $\#C_{[-\mathrm{voice}]}$: /z/ assimilates in voice to /p/ across a word boundary in example (2.384).

(2.384)	*perz perāhi*	[pɛɹs pɛ.ˈrɔː.hi]	a little money (V.1)

z > s / $\_C_{[-\mathrm{voice}]}$: /z/ also occasionally assimilates in voice when it comes into contact with a voiceless stop or fricative; e.g. (2.385), (2.386), and (2.387). Often, however, /z/ does not assimilate, e.g. (2.388).

(2.385)	*rezqā́-dan*	[rɛs.ˈqɔː.dæn]	our livelihoods (IV.132)
(2.386)	*Dezful*	[dɛs.ˈful]	Dezful (III.6)
(2.387)	*həztonne*	[hɛs.ˈton.ne]	you saw me

(2.388) *Dezful* [dɛz.ˈful] Dezful (III.7)

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

(2.389) *Šuštar* [ˈʃus.tæɹ] Shushtar (IV.65)
(2.390) *kušṭā* [kʌs.ˈtˤɔː] truth (I.9)
(2.391) *deštā* [ˈdɛʃ.tɔ] land (IV.98)
(2.392) *əštā* [ɛʃ.ˈtɔː] now (I.10)

2.7.1.2 Total Anticipatory Contact Assimilation

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

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

(2.393) *aheb̲nak̲* [a.ˈhɛn.nɑk] I give you (VIII.10)

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

(2.394) *bašqir əl-nab̲šak̲*
[bæʃ.ˈqiɹ ɛn.ˈnæv.ʃɑχ] know yourself (m.sg.)!
(2.395) *qəmabḡeṣṣən əl-deštā*
[qə.mab.ˈʁɜs.sˤən ɛd.ˈdɛʃ.tɔ] I will stop the ground (IV.108)
(2.396) *čehél ruz* [ˈʧɛr.ruz] forty days (IV.137)

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

(2.397) *šeršan m-awwál ālm həwat*
[ˈʃɛɹ.ʃam mæv.ˈvæl ɔlm hɛ.ˈvɑt]
Our religion has existed from the first epoch of time. (I.8)

2.7.1.3 Partial Anticipatory Distant Assimilation

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

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

(2.398) *bədqu* [ˈpɛt.qu] he put them (V.4)

2.7.1.4 Partial Perseverant Contact Assimilation

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

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

(2.399) *etḇer* [ˈɜt.fɛɹ] it broke off (IX.12)

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

(2.400) *məḥaṯṯen Mandāyì*
[mə.ˈħaθ.θɛn ˌnæn.dɔ.ˈji] they speak Mandaic (II.32).

2.7.1.5 Paragoge

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

(2.401) *bandir* [bæn.ˈdiɹ] prisoner (IV.129)
(2.402) *bandi* [bæn.ˈdiː] id. (IV.133)

2.7.1.6 Nasal Lenition

In syllable-final and particularly word-final position, /n/ is susceptible to weakening or loss after non-high vowels such as:

/e/

(2.403)	*qəmṭallén*	[qm̩.tˤɑl.ˈlɛ̃]	we play (II.4)
(2.404)	*qəmḥaṯṯen*	[qm̩.ˈħaθ.θɛ̃]	they speak (II.21)
(2.405)	*qāṯen m-Erāq*	[ˈqɒː.θɛ̃ˈ mɛ.rɒq]	they came from Iraq (II.23)

/a/

(2.406)	*geš-dan*	[ˈgɛʃ.dã]	all of us (II.4)
(2.407)	*qəmwadyātan*	[qm̩.ˈvæ.di.jɔ.ˌtã]	you will take us (IV.122)

/ɔ/

(2.408)	*dukkān*	[dʌk.ˈkɔ̃]	places (I.4)
(2.409)	*zəġunān*	[zɛ.ʁu.ˈnɔ̃]	chickens (IV.142)
(2.410)	*pərāhān*	[pɛ.rɔ.ˈhɔ̃]	money (VIII.8)

/o/

(2.411)	*pardason*	[paɹˈdɑː.sõ]	they left (II.12)
(2.412)	*genz hilānnon*	[gɛnz hi.ˈlɒn.nõ]	they are very strong (V.4)
(2.413)	*qamdəḵon*	[qam.ˈdo.χõ]	for you (pl.) (X.7)

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

2.7.1.7 Fricativization

‘Fricativization’ or ‘spirantization,’ the change of a stop to a fricative, is a general Aramaic phenomenon, although the process is no longer productive in Neo-Mandaic (with few exceptions; see §2.5.4.1 above) or indeed any other Neo-Aramaic dialect. The phonemes /t/, /b/, and /q/ are sporadically fricativized in post-vocalic position:

t > θ / V_: The voiceless alveolar stop /t/ is sporadically fricativized in post-vocalic position.

(2.414)	*həwit*	[hɪ.ˈviθ]	I was (II.16, III.5)
(2.415)	*aṯit*	[ɛ.ˈθiθ]	I came (II.17)
(2.416)	*amrate*	[ˈam.rɑ.θə]	she told me (II.26)
(2.417)	*metelā́*	[mɛ.θɛ.ˈlɔː]	stories (III.20)
(2.418)	*azimat*	[a.zi.ˈmɑθ]	invocation (IV.20)

b > v / V_: The voiced bilabial stop /b/ is sporadically fricativized in post-vocalic position.

(2.419)	*qabin*	[qa.ˈvin]	I want (II.17)
(2.420)	*Hibel*	[ˈhiː.vɛl]	Hibel (p.n.) (IV.1)
(2.421)	*mu qəbāt*	[mʌ.ˈqʷɔt]	what do you want (IV.63)
(2.422)	*gāw welāt*	[ˌgɔʊ vɛ.ˈlɔt]	in the city (V.20, V.26)

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

(2.423)	*nəp̄aq*	[nə.ˈfɑʁ]	he exited
(2.424)	*láqbèn*	[ˈlɑʁ.bɛn]	I don't want (IV.109)
(2.425)	*láqder*	[ˈlɑʁ.dɛɹ]	he didn't take (V.26)

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

(2.426)	*šadder*	[ˈʃɑː.ðɛɹ]	send (m.sg.)! (IV.11)
(2.427)	*dəmā*	[də.ˈmɒː]	blood
(2.428)	*besrā u zammā*		
	[ˌbɛs.rɔʊ.ˈzæm.mɔ]		flesh and blood
(2.429)	*dahḇā*	[ˈdæh.wɔ]	gold
(2.430)	*zahḇā*	[ˈzæh.wɔ]	gold

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[146] Rudolf Macuch, "Some Orthographic-Phonetic Problems of Ancient Aramaic and the Living Aramaic Pronunciations," *MAARAV* 5–6 (1990): 226 considers the occurrence of this doublet and others where /z/ alternates with /d/ at the beginning of a word either to be relics of the historical orthography or "hyperarchaizing pseudo-corrections," but also notes the fact that the Mandaic orthography is otherwise phonetic, lacking in historical spellings, which militates against his argument.

Defricativization: Fricativization was not observed in any other stops, and in one instance, example (2.431), a voiceless uvular fricative was realized as a voiceless velar stop, although this may be attributable to Arabic influence (as the second person pronominal suffix here mirrors the form of the Arabic suffix).

(2.431)	*ahebnak*	[a.ˈhɛn.nɑk]	I give you (VIII.10)

2.7.1.8 Devoicing of Final Stops

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

(2.432)	*welāt*	[vɛ.ˈlɔt]	city or region (IV.20)
(2.433)	*welāt*	[vɛˈlɔθ]	id. (III.11)
(2.434)	*ʕād*	[ʕɔt]	yet (III.13, III.14, III.15)
(2.435)	*ʕād*	[ʕɔd]	yet (X.17)

2.7.1.9 Syllable-Closing and Intervocalic /h/

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

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

(2.436)	*qəhazinkon*	[qa.ˈzin.χon]	I see you (pl.) (I.4)
(2.437)	*qəhazén*	[qa.ˈzɛn]	we saw (II.14)
(2.438)	*qəhāp̄er*	[ˈqɒː.fɛɹ]	he dug (IV.125)
(2.439)	*čehel ruz*	[ʧɛr.ruz]	40 days (IV.137)
(2.440)	*yəhem*	[jɛm]	settled (IV.144)

h > ʔ / V_V: When /h/ is deleted in intervocalic position, a glottal stop /ʔ/ can be substituted in its place.

(2.441)	*waxti həwit*	[ˈvæχ.ti ʔɪˈvit˺]	a time when I was (II.1)

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

(2.442)	*nahrā*	[ˈnæ.hə.rɔ]	river (III.8)
(2.443)	*ehlu*	[ˈɛ.hə.lu]	they have (IV.45)
(2.444)	*qədāhlen*	[qə.ˈdɒː.hə.lɛn]	they will be afraid (IV.98)
(2.445)	*qāl ahb̠at*	[qɔl ˈa.hə.ˌvɑt]	it made a noise (IV.139)

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

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

2.7.2 Vowels in Allegro Speech

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

2.7.2.1 Centralization

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

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

(2.447)	*miṣrā*	[ˈmɨs.rɒ]	boundary (IV.20)

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

(2.448)	*kuštā*	[ˈkʉʃ.tˤɔ]	truth (IV.118)
(2.449)	*Šuštar*	[ˈʃʉʃ.tæɹ]	Shushtar (III.19)

(2.450)	*šuḇḇā*	[ˈʃʉw.wɔ]	seven (III.18)
(2.451)	*dukki*	[ˈdʉk.ki]	his place (IV.140)

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

(2.452)	*əmḥadeṯ*	[m̩.ħa.ˈdɜθ]	I will say (I.7)
(2.453)	*qəmabḡeṣṣən*	[qə.mab.ˈʁɜs.sˁən]	I will stop (IV.108)
(2.454)	*etḇer*	[ˈɜt.fɛɹ]	it broke off (IX.12)
(2.455)	*leḵtan*	[ˈlɜχ.tan]	we are not (I.12)
(2.456)	*pəherye*	[pɛ.ˈhɜɹ.je]	it is flying (V.21)

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

(2.457)	*sotór-di*	[sɵ.ˈtoɹ.di]	his razor (VIII.3)

2.7.2.2 Umlaut

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

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

(2.458)	*həwit*	[hɪ.ˈvit]	I was (II.16, III.5, V.21)
(2.459)	*həwini*	[hɪ.ˈviː.ni]	we were (II.22)
(2.460)	*həziti*	[hɪ.ˈziː.ti]	I saw him (III.21)
(2.461)	*bənili*	[bɛ.ˈniː.li]	he built it (IV.3)
(2.462)	*məṯi*	[mɪ.ˈθiː]	lift! (IV.108)
(2.463)	*yəmi*	[jɪ.ˈmiː]	swear! (IV.120)

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

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[147] Malone (“Mandaic Phonology,” 144) refers to this process as ‘schwa coloring.’

(2.464)	*əmer*	[ɛ.ˈmɛɹ]	I would say (I.3, II.1)
(2.465)	*nešemti*	[nɪ.ˈʃɛm.ti]	a soul (IV.96)
(2.466)	*pəherye*	[pɛ.ˈhɜɹ.je]	it is flying (V.21)
(2.467)	*gəheḵ*	[gɛ.ˈhɛχ]	he laughed (V.26, X.17)
(2.468)	*yəhem*	[jɛ.ˈhɛm]	he sat (VI.2, VII.2)

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

(2.469)	*guš əḇud*	[guʃ ʌ.ˈwud]	take a look (f.)! (IV.46)

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

(2.470)	*əm-ork*	[o.ˈmoɹk]	with (I.5)
(2.471)	*yəhomyon*	[jo.ˈhom.jon]	you sit (I.5)
(2.472)	*qamdəḵon*	[qam.ˈdo.χõ]	to/for you (X.7)

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

(2.473)	*əḵal*	[a.ˈχɑl]	he ate (V.11)
(2.474)	*ṭəlab*	[tˤa.ˈlɑb]	he asked (X.1)

ə > ɔ / _Cɔ: /ə/ is often backed and lowered to [ɔ] or [ɒ] in the environment of /ɔ/:

(2.475)	*qəbānen*	[qɔ.ˈbɔː.nɛn]	they build (IV.17, IV.42)
(2.476)	*xabar məṭā*	[χa.ˈbæɹ mɔ.ˈtˤɔː]	the news arrived (IV.145)
(2.477)	*qəbāyi*	[qɔ.ˈbɔː.ji]	he wants (V.2)

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

(2.478)	*həwā*	[hʌ.ˈwɔː]	he was (II.3, VIII.1, X.6)
(2.479)	*həwālu*	[hʌ.ˈwɔː.lu]	they had (II.29)
(2.480)	*rəwāhā*	[rʌ.ˈwɔ.hɒ]	spirit (II.34)
(2.481)	*šəḇāḇāni*	[ʃʌ.wɔ.ˈwɔː.ni]	his neighbors (X.1)
(2.482)	*šəḇaq*	[ʃʌ.ˈwaq]	he left (X.13)

2.7.2.3 Anaptyxis

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

(2.483)	*əmrānḵon*	[əm.bə.ˈrɒn.χon]	your sheep (IV.124)
(2.484)	*obri*	[ˈo.bə.ri]	a mouse (V.8 and V.9)

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

(2.485)	*qəšaryāte*	[qə.ˌʃa.rɪ.ˈjɔː.te]	you will free me (IV.119)
(2.486)	*qəmwadyātan*	[qm̩.ˌvæ.dɪ.ˈjɔː.tã]	you will take us (IV.118)

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

(2.487)	*pəradyon*	[pə.ˈra.dɪ.jon]	they fled (IV.105)
(2.488)	*amṭyu*	[ˈam.tˤɪ.ju]	he brought them (IV.144)

2.7.2.4 Word-Final Reduction

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

(2.489)	*ʿAbdalla*	[ʕab.ˈdɑɫ.ɫə]	Abdallah (II.8 and II.27)
(2.490)	*muyye*	[ˈmʌj.jə]	what is it? (IV.106)
(2.491)	*barnašāne*	[ˌbaɹ.nɛ.ˈʃɔː.nə]	my people (IV.118)
(2.492)	*mehman-de*	[mɜɪ.ˈmæn.də]	my guest (V.16)

3. The Noun

The noun phrase (NP) consists of a noun (or pronoun; see Chapter 4) and any associated modifiers. Nouns[148] serve to identify a person, e.g. (3.1), place, e.g. (3.2), thing, e.g. (3.3), e.g. quality (3.4), or action, e.g. (3.5).

(3.1)	*ganzib̠rā*	ganzibra
(3.2)	*Šuštar*	Shushtar
(3.3)	*mienā*	water
(3.4)	*hit̠ruk̠tā*	happiness
(3.5)	*əb̠ādā*	work

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

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

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[148] Unless otherwise indicated, the term ‘noun’ refers specifically to noun substantives, and ‘adjective’ refers to noun adjectives.

3.1 Structure of the Noun

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

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

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

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

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

3.1.1 Unaugmented Patterns

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

3.1.1.1 The CVC- Template

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

gal-

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

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

gāl-

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

(3.9)	*ḇāḇā*	door	(3.12)	*rāzā*	secret
(3.10)	*hālā*	sand	(3.13)	*ṭāḇā*	good
(3.11)	*qālā*	sound			

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

(3.14)	*bāz*	hawk (Persian)
(3.15)	*māh*	month (Persian)

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

gil-

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

(3.20)	*diwā*	demon
(3.21)	*hilā*	power
(3.22)	*ib̠ā*	cloud
(3.23)	*idā*	hand
(3.24)	*inā*	eye
(3.25)	*rihā*	smell
(3.26)	*rišā*	head
(3.27)	*zip̄ā*	lie

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

(3.28)	*miwā*	fruit (Persian)
(3.29)	*tiz*	sharp (Persian)

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

(3.30)	*biet̠ā*	house
(3.31)	*pienā*	evening
(3.32)	*mienā*	water
(3.33)	*šiex*	sheikh (Arabic)

gel-

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

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

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

(3.40)	*dəmā*	blood (contextual *dem*)

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

(3.41)	*nedā*	proclamation (Persian)
(3.42)	*šenā*	swimming (Persian)

gol-

This pattern includes words of both native and foreign origin:

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

gul-

This pattern also includes words of diverse origin:

(3.49)	*buṯā*	prayer
(3.50)	*nurā*	fire
(3.51)	*ṭurā*	mountain
(3.52)	*yumā*	day
(3.53)	*guš*	ear (Persian)
(3.54)	*ruz*	day (Persian)

3.1.1.2 The CVCC- Template

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

gaṭl-

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

(3.55)	*alp̄ā*	thousand	(3.64)	*maṭrā*	rain
(3.56)	*bazrā*	seed	(3.65)	*nahrā*	river
(3.57)	*gaḇrā*	man	(3.66)	*nap̄šā*	self
(3.58)	*gaṭrā*	smoke	(3.67)	*palḡā*	split
(3.59)	*kabdā*	liver	(3.68)	*radp̄ā*	persecution
(3.60)	*karsā*	belly	(3.69)	*raṭnā*	dialect
(3.61)	*kaspā*	silver	(3.70)	*šamnā*	fat
(3.62)	*mandā*	knowledge	(3.71)	*taf̄šā*	stewpot
(3.63)	*manzā*	hair	(3.72)	*talgā*	snow

Also included in this pattern are numerous words of foreign origin, particularly Arabic loan words:

(3.73)	*ahl*	people (Arabic)
(3.74)	*alm*	knowledge (Arabic)
(3.75)	*ʿaqəl*	mind (Arabic)
(3.76)	*čang*	harp (Persian)
(3.77)	*jaḏrā*	root (Arabic)
(3.78)	*manʿa*	prohibition (Arabic)
(3.79)	*mand*	maund (Persian)
(3.80)	*narmā*	smooth (Persian)
(3.81)	*qarn*	horn (Arabic)
(3.82)	*ragʿa*	patch (Arabic)
(3.83)	*waxt*	time (Arabic via Persian)
(3.84)	*xarj*	expenditure (Arabic)

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

(3.85)	*ṭawšā*	dirt
(3.86)	*ṣayd*	hunt (Arabic)
(3.87)	*kasyā*	secret
(3.88)	*mašwā*	rope
(3.89)	*paṯyā*	wide

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

(3.90)	*ahhā*	brother	(3.93)	*haṯṯā*	new
(3.91)	*babbā*	grandfather	(3.94)	*rabbā*	great
(3.92)	*gappā*	wing	(3.95)	*yammā*	sea

gāṭl-

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

(3.96)	*ālmā*	world
(3.97)	*rāst*	true (Persian)

geṭl-

Another common monosyllabic pattern, primarily comprising native vocabulary:

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

A few foreign words also belong to this pattern:

(3.114)	*fekər*	thought (Arabic)
(3.115)	*perzā*	few (Persian)
(3.116)	*rezq*	livelihood (Arabic)
(3.117)	*šekəl*	appearance (Arabic)

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

(3.118)	*rehwā*	wind	(3.119)	*hewyā*	snake

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

(3.120)	*bellā*	husband	(3.125)	*heyyi*	life
(3.121)	*beyyā*	egg	(3.126)	*šennā*	tooth
(3.122)	*demmā*	tail	(3.127)	*šerrā*	war
(3.123)	*emmā*	mother	(3.128)	*šettā*	year
(3.124)	*eṯṯā*	woman			

giṭl-

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

(3.129)	*gird*	round (Persian)
(3.130)	*hiṯrā*	rejoicing
(3.131)	*jisrā*	bridge (Arabic)
(3.132)	*mimrā*	literature

(3.133)	*miṣrā*	magical boundary
(3.134)	*sidrā*	book

Likewise, a subset of vocabulary based upon this pattern contains a semivowel as its second or third radical.

(3.135)	*lilyā*	night

goṭl-

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

(3.136)	*goḇrā*	men	(3.140)	*obrā*	mouse
(3.137)	*gomlā*	camel	(3.141)	*ohrā*	road
(3.138)	*koḵḇā*	star	(3.142)	*ṣoprā*	bird
(3.139)	*loḡrā*	leg			

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

(3.143)	*onnā*	ear	(3.144)	*pommā*	mouth

guṭl-

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

(3.145)	*ʿumər*	age (Arabic)
(3.146)	*burkā*	knee
(3.147)	*dust*	friend (Persian)
(3.148)	*dukkā*	place
(3.149)	*ġubšā*	twilight (Arabic)
(3.150)	*ġuṣnā*	branch (Arabic)
(3.151)	*ḥusən*	beauty (Arabic)
(3.152)	*kušṭā*	truth
(3.153)	*ṣunʿa*	benefit (Arabic)
(3.154)	*turtā*	cow
(3.155)	*tulyā*	worm
(3.156)	*wuṣle*	piece (Arabic)

3.1.1.3 The CVCVC- Template

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

gaṭal-

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

(3.157)	*nafár*	individual (Persian)
(3.158)	*safár*	travel (Arabic via Persian)
(3.159)	*xabár*	news (Arabic via Persian)

gaṭāl-

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

(3.160)	*ʿajāj*	fog (Arabic)
(3.161)	*haṭāyā*	sin
(3.162)	*jawāb*	answer (Arabic)
(3.163)	*qanāyā*	smith
(3.164)	*qarār*	decision (Arabic)
(3.165)	*sawār*	rider (Persian)
(3.166)	*ṣabāḥ*	morning (Arabic)
(3.167)	*tamām*	perfection (Arabic)

gaṭil-

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

(3.168)	*baʿid*	far (Arabic)
(3.169)	*daxil*	ward (Arabic)
(3.170)	*hafif*	thin (Arabic)
(3.171)	*ḥadid*	iron (Arabic)
(3.172)	*ḥašiš*	grass (Arabic)
(3.173)	*kadirā*	heavy
(3.174)	*jamiʿa*	all (Arabic)
(3.175)	*mariz*	sick (Arabic)
(3.176)	*wazir*	minister (Arabic)
(3.177)	*yaminā*	right
(3.178)	*zalilā*	narrow

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

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

gaṭol-

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

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

gaṭul-

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

(3.183)	*haruḇā*	ruined
(3.184)	*qabúl*	acceptance (Arabic via Persian)
(3.185)	*yalup̄ā*	scholar

gāṭel-

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

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

gāṭil-

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

(3.193)	*āxír*	last (Arabic via Persian)
(3.194)	*gāwi*	strong (Arabic)
(3.195)	*qāḇin*	marriage (Middle Persian)

geṭāl-

This pattern corresponds to nouns of foreign and native origin:

(3.196)	*welāt*	country (Arabic)
(3.197)	*ḥiṣān*	horse (Arabic)
(3.198)	*ḥizām*	belt (Arabic)
(3.199)	*lešānā*	tongue

geṭel-

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

(3.200)	*metelā́*	stories
(3.201)	*nešemtā*	soul

giṭāl-

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

(3.202)	*diwān*	scroll (Persian)

giṭel-

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

(3.203)	*jihel*	child (Arabic)

goṭal-

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

(3.204)	*komák*	help (Persian)
(3.205)	*olamā́*	Islamic scholars (Arabic via Persian)
(3.206)	*qolastā*	collection

goṭil-

Both native and nativized words belong to this pattern:

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

goṭol-

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

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

goṭul-

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

(3.212)	*okumā*	black
(3.213)	*p̄oquttā*	neck (origin unknown)
(3.214)	*zobún*	shirt (Persian)

guṭāl-

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

(3.215)	*ġubār*	dust (Arabic)
(3.216)	*muḥāl*	absurd (Arabic)

3.1.1.4 The CCVC- Template

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

gṭāl-

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

(3.217)	*bəṭālā*	bad	(3.223)	*qəmāšā*	clothing
(3.218)	*əḇādā*	work	(3.224)	*səmāqā*	red
(3.219)	*ənāšā*	people	(3.225)	*smālā*	left
(3.220)	*gəlālā*	stone	(3.226)	*ṣṭānā*	boy
(3.221)	*gəṭānā*	short	(3.227)	*šəḇāḇā*	neighbor
(3.222)	*kədāḇā*	book	(3.228)	*šənārā*	tom cat

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

(3.229)	*həwārā*	white	(3.232)	*qəyānā*	culture
(3.230)	*həyānā*	alive	(3.233)	*rəwāhā*	relief
(3.231)	*kərāyā*	leg			

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

(3.234)	*gəlaltā*	stone	(3.235)	*šənartā*	queen cat

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

(3.236)	*ḥədādā*	blacksmith	(3.237)	*nəjārā*	carpenter

gṭil-

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

(3.238)	*əlimā*	fat (adj.)	(3.242)	*nəhirā*	nose
(3.239)	*əriḵā*	long	(3.243)	*səmiḵā*	thick
(3.240)	*ərqihā*	heaven	(3.244)	*səri*	rotten
(3.241)	*məsi*	cold (adj.)	(3.245)	*šlihā*	apostle

A perfect example of the productivity of this pattern was illustrated for me when Nasser Sobbi and I were discussing some of the texts in Macuch's *Neumandäische Texte*. We came upon the Arabic word *ṭayyāra* 'airplane,' which is ultimately derived from the root √*ṭ-y-r* 'to fly.' Sobbi shook his head and said to me, "I don't understand why he used that word. We have a perfectly good Mandaic word – *pəhirā*." The Mandaic root √*p-h-r* corresponds in meaning to the Arabic root √*ṭ-y-r* . Clearly, *pəhirā* is a neologism, as neither the word nor its referent exist in Classical Mandaic.

gṭul-

Few examples of this pattern are attested, and fewer still are based upon roots with three strong radical consonants. One of them, *səbuʿa* 'week,' is based upon an Arabic root. The word *yəmuṯā* 'oath,' is not attested in Classical Mandaic, even though it is clearly derived from the root √*y-m-*$^{W}/_{y}$ which means 'to swear;' the regular word for oath in Classical Mandaic is **ʿumamata**. This suggests that this pattern, though rare, may still be somewhat productive.

(3.246)	*bəzuyā*	hole
(3.247)	*səbuʿa*	week (Arabic)
(3.248)	*yəmuṯā*	oath

3.1.1.5 The CVCCVC- Template

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

gaṭṭal-

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

(3.249)	*awwál*	first (Arabic via Persian)

gaṭṭāl-

This pattern is also represented by one word of Arabic origin; note terms refering to professions or occupations, which usually correspond to this pattern in Arabic, generally become reformed along the analogy of the *gṭāl-* pattern described in §3.1.4.1 above.

(3.250)	*ḥammām*	bathhouse (Arabic)

gaṭṭel-

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

(3.251)	*wayyeq*	distress (origin unknown)

3.1.1.6 Quadriradical Patterns

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

gaṭlad-

(3.252)	*ʿaskar*	army (Arabic)
(3.253)	*jangal*	forest (Persian)

gaṭlād-

(3.254)	*farwāh*	thanks (possibly Persian)
(3.255)	*qazġān*	cooking pot (Persian)

gaṭlid-

(3.256)	*darwiš*	dervish (Persian)
(3.257)	*nazdik*	near (Persian)

geṭlād-

(3.258)	*mehmān*	guest (Persian)

gṭald-

(3.259)	*dəraxt*	tree (Persian)
(3.260)	*ešgandā*	acolyte

giṭlid-

(3.261)	*Ingliz*	English

3.1.2 Augmented Patterns

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

3.1.2.1 Preformative *m-*

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

(3.262)	*maḥallát*	neighborhood (Arabic via Persian)
(3.263)	*mambuhā*	ritual water
(3.264)	*maxṣuṣ*	especially (Arabic)
(3.265)	*masʾul*	responsible (Arabic)
(3.266)	*maṣbettā*	baptism
(3.267)	*mašknā*	sanctuary

3.1.2.2 Preformative *t-*

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

(3.268)	*tabliġí*	prosylete (Arabic via Persian)
(3.269)	*tarmidā*	a Mandaean priest

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[150] Macuch, *Handbook*, 188.

3.1.2.3 Sufformative *-t-*

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

-t-

(3.270)	*bərattā*	daughter
(3.271)	*dəholtā*	fear
(3.272)	*duk̠tā*	place
(3.273)	*gəlaltā*	stone
(3.274)	*maṣbettā*	baptism
(3.275)	*nešemtā*	soul
(3.276)	*qolastā*	collection
(3.277)	*turtā*	cow

-ṯ-

(3.278)	*hāṯā*	sister
(3.279)	*qamieṯā*	noon
(3.280)	*qəmolṯā*	louse

-át

(3.281)	*amānát*	deposit (Arabic via Persian)
(3.282)	*azimát*	incantation (Arabic via Persian)
(3.283)	*aziyát*	harm (Arabic via Persian)
(3.284)	*maḥallát*	neighborhood (Arabic via Persian)
(3.285)	*meḥnát*	misery (Arabic via Persian)
(3.286)	*qumát*	police station (Arabic via Persian)
(3.287)	*quwwát*	strength (Arabic via Persian)
(3.288)	*sāʿát*	hour (Arabic via Persian)

-a

(3.289)	*benāya*	building (Arabic)

-e

(3.290)	*ʿamme*	paternal aunt (Arabic)
(3.291)	*qahwe*	coffeehouse (Arabic)
(3.292)	*xāle*	maternal aunt (Arabic)

3.1.2.4 Sufformative -*ānā*

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

(3.293)	*kenyānā*	family name	(3.295)	*ṭawšānā*	dirty
(3.294)	*šehyānā*	ruler	(3.296)	*zip̄ānā*	liar

3.1.2.5 Sufformative -*āyā*

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

(3.297)	*Šuštrāyā*	Shushtary	(3.299)	*ərbiāyā*	fourth
(3.298)	*Yəhuwəṭāyā*	Jewish			

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

(3.300)	*Mandāyā*	Mandaean
(3.301)	*Mandayānā*	Mandaeans
(3.302)	*mašknāyi*	another classical term for Mandaeans
(3.303)	*naṣorāyi*	Nazoreans

The feminine singular form, which is sparsely attested, is -*eṯā*:

(3.306)	*əleṯā*	exalted	(3.307)	*gāweṯā*	inner

3.1.2.6 Sufformative *-í*

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

(3.308)	*amrikí*	American	(3.311)	*Mandāyí*	Mandaic
(3.309)	*Fārsí*	Persian	(3.312)	*masiḥí*	Christian
(3.310)	*Inglizí*	English			

3.1.2.7 Sufformative *-uṯā / -uxtā*

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

(3.313)	*asuṯā*	healing
(3.314)	*hemanuṯā*	faith
(3.315)	*malkuṯā*	kingship
(3.316)	*naṣiruṯā*	esoteric knowledge
(3.317)	*ṭaḇuṯā*	banquet

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

(3.318)	*baṭluḵtā*	misfortune	(3.319)	*guṭluḵtā*	massacre

3.2 Nouns and Gender

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

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

(3.320)	*bərattā*	daughter	(3.323)	*hāṯā*	sister
(3.321)	*emmā*	mother	(3.324)	*turtā*	cow
(3.322)	*eṯṯā*	woman			

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

(3.325)	*burkā*	knee	(3.328)	*kərāyā*	foot/leg
(3.326)	*idā*	hand	(3.329)	*loğrā*	leg
(3.327)	*inā*	eye	(3.340)	*onnā*	ear

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

(3.341)	*haṣṣā*	back (f.)	(3.345)	*appā*	face (m.)
(3.342)	*karsā*	belly (f.)	(3.346)	*nəhirā*	nose (m.)
(3.343)	*pommā*	mouth (f.)	(3.347)	*rišā*	head (m.)
(3.344)	*šennā*	tooth (f.)			

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

(3.348)	*bieṯā*	house (f.)
(3.349)	*deštā*	ground (f.)
(3.350)	*kədāḇā*	book (f.)
(3.351)	*ohrā*	road (f.)
(3.352)	*nurā*	fire (f.)
(3.353)	*šerrā*	war (f.; possibly Arabic *širra* ‘angriness’)
(3.354)	*bāz*	hawk (m.; Persian *bāz* id.)

3.3 Nouns and Number

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

3.3.1 Inflectional Plurals

Nouns are marked as plural by adding the suffix *-ān-* after the stem of the noun but before the augment. This suffix is the default plural marking for all nouns, animate and inanimate, masculine and feminine.[151]

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

3.3.2 Lexicalized Plurals

There are a number of feminine nouns that take the feminine plural suffix *-($^{w}/_{y}$)āṯ-*. This suffix is obligatory in the plural for all nouns marked with the sufformative *-t-* (see §3.1.2.3 above)

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

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

(3.361)	*bieṯ-ā*	house (f.)	*bieṯ-wāṯ-ā*	houses (f.)
(3.362)	*dešt-ā*	ground (f.)	*dešt-āṯ-ā*	lands; wilderness (f.)
(3.363)	*hewān-ā*	animal (f.)	*hewan-yāṯ-ā*	animals; cattle (f.)

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

(3.364)	*bəra-tt-ā*	daughter (f.)	*bən-āṯ-ā*	daughters (f.)

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[151] This suffix is likely the Iranian plural morpheme *-ān*, which was more productive in Middle Persian than it is today. Macuch, *Handbook*, 224–25 derives this morpheme from the rare Classical Mandaic suffix **-ania**, which appears primarily on plurals of plants and related products.

(3.365)	*eṯṯ-ā*	woman (f.)	*enš-ā*	women (f.)
(3.366)	*gaḇr-ā*	man (m.)	*goḇr-ā*	men (m.)
(3.367)	*hāṯ-ā*	sister (f.)	*ah-wāṯ-ā*	sisters (f.)

A few of these heteroclite plurals are optionally doubly marked with the default plural morpheme.

(3.368)	*gaḇr-ā*	man (m.)	*goḇr-ān-ā*	men (m.)
(3.369)	*eṯṯ-ā*	woman (f.)	*enš-ān-ā*	women (f.)
(3.370)	*turt-ā*	cow (f.)	*tur-āṯ-ān-ā*	cows (f.)

The masculine plural suffixes in prior stages of the language were *-i* in the emphatic state and *-e* in the construct. These suffixes are preserved in a few archaic terms and frozen expressions.

(3.371)	*b=ešm-e=hon*	*əd=Heyy-i*	*Rabb-i*
	in=name-PL.CS=3PL	of=life-PL.ES	great-PL.ES
	In the name of the Great Life. (I.1)		

3.3.3 Number Marking of Loan Words

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

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

A much smaller set of loan words retain the plurals from their source languages.

(3.379)	*deh*	village	*deh-āt*	villages	(Persian)
(3.380)	*Ingliz-í*	Englishman	*Ingliz*	Englishmen	(Arabic)
(3.381)	*waxt*	time	*awqāt*	times	(Arabic)

As foreign loan words become assimilated to the Neo-Mandaic lexicon, they take the default plural suffix *-ān*, though often without the augment.

(3.382)	*ahl*	family	*ahl-ān*	families	(Arabic)
(3.383)	*amrik-í*	American	*amrik-ān*	Americans	(Arabic)
(3.384)	*pərā*	money	*pərāh-ān*	id.	(Ottoman)

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

(3.385)	*zāġ*	chicken	*zeh-un-ān*	chickens	(Persian)

The word *olamā́* 'Islamic scholars' (originally from Arabic *ʿulamāʾ*, plural of *ʿālim* 'scholar') has entered the Neo-Mandaic lexicon as a collective noun via Persian *olama*.

3.3.4 Noun Compounds and Number

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

(3.386)	*daqqen*	*həwar-ān-ā*	
	beard	white-PL-AUG	elders (IV.31)
(3.387)	*biet̠*	*Manday-ān-ā*	
	house	Mandaean-PL-AUG	Mandaean houses (III.22)
(3.388)	*biet̠-wāt̠*	*baʿid*	
	house-PL.F	distant	distant houses (III.10)

3.4 Nouns and State

In addition to gender and number, the noun was formerly characterized by a third inflectional category, conventionally known as state. In Classical Mandaic, nouns appeared in three states:

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

3.4.1 The Emphatic State

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

3.4.2 The Construct State and the Ezāfe

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

(3.389)	*ḥākem*	*welāt*		
	governor	city		governor of the city (IV.83)
(3.390)	*rab*	*Manday-ān-ā*		
	leader	Mandaean-PL-AUG		leader of the Mandaeans (II.2)
(3.391)	*riš*	*yum*	*šerš-an*	
	head	day	religion-1PL	The start of our religion (I.7)

The construct chain may consist of any number of nouns, so long as the chain is not broken by any attributive adjectives or demonstrative pronouns, in which case the relationship between the nouns will be indicated by means of a preposition, as in (3.68).

(3.392) *siddər* *rap̄t* *əl=Manday-ān*
book great to=Mandaean-PL The great book of the Mandaeans.

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

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

(3.393) *Ḥadiyye* *bərat* *Kanjar*
PN daughter PN
Hadiyye, daughter of Kanjar (II.10)

(3.394) *Čečāwā* *bar* *Čečāwā*
PN son PN
Chechawa the son of Chechawa (IV.52)

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

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

(3.395) *kol* *dukkān=e* *Amrik-ān*
all store=EZ American-PL all the American stores (III.4)

Macuch identifies the *ezāfe* as an integral part of the subdialect of Ahvāz.[152] The *ezāfe* has a much more restricted application in the speech of my informants.

3.4.3 The Absolute State

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

3.5 Nouns and Case-Marking

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

3.5.1 Subject of a Transitive or Intransitive Verb

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

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[152] Macuch, *Neumandäische Texte*, 60–61.

(3.396)	*kərāy=i*	*ser*	*tamm-at*
	leg=3SG.M	numb	become.PFV-3SG.F

His leg went numb. (VII.3)

(3.397)	*bāb̠*	*ḥammām*	*əhab̠-ø=l=i*	*pərā*
	father	bathhouse	give.PFV-3SG.M=OBJ=3SG.M	money

The owner of the bathhouse gave him some money. (VIII.5)

(3.398)	*barnāš-ā*	*qə=bān-en*	*hat̠t̠ā*	*jisər*
	person-AUG	IND=build-3PL	anew	bridge

The people rebuilt the bridge. (IV.42)

3.5.2 The Object of a Transitive Verb

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

(3.399)	*darwiš-ā*	*azimát*	*q=āb̠d-en*	*šamʻ*
	dervish-PL	invocation	IND=do.IPFV-3PL	candle

Dervishes [...] made invocations,

	qə=masrik̠-en	*u*	*miṣr-ā*	*q=āb̠d-en*
	IND=light.C.IPFV-3PL	and	boundary-AUG	IND=do.IPFV-3PL

lit candles, and drew [magic] boundaries. (IV.20)

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

(3.400)	*əzg-it*	*mend-i*	*əmḥaṣṣel-nā*
	go.PFV-1SG	thing-INDF	obtain.SBJV-1SG

[…] I would have gone, to pick something up. (III.16)

(3.401)	*jisr-i*	*tum*	*əb̠ad-yon*
	bridge-INDF	again	do.PFV-3PL

They built another bridge. (III.21)

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

(3.402)	*qə=mahreb̲-āt=ø*	*əl=pol*
	IND=be.destroyed.C.IPFV-2SG=3SG.M	REF=bridge
	You keep destroying the bridge! (IV.58)	

(3.403)	*an*	*q=mandi-n=ø*	*əl=dešt-ā*
	I	IND=shake.IPFV-1SG=3SG.F	REF=ground-AUG
	I will cause the earth to quake. (IV.98)		

The referential object marker *əl-* is a phrasal clitic; it attaches to the entire noun phrase, as is clear from examples (3.80) and (3.81).

(3.404)	*ab̲d-onn=ø*	*əl=ā*	*konfərens*
	do.PFV-3PL=3SG.M	REF=this	conference
	They held this conference. (I.5)		

(3.405)	*ab̲d-ø=ø*	*əl=kol*	*alm-ān-ā*
	do.PFV-3SG.M=3SG.M	REF=all	world-PL-AUG
	He created all of the worlds. (I.11)		

In some cases (generally before proper nouns or noun phrases), the proclitic *əl-* is optionally replaced by the independent preposition *əlāw* to.

(3.406)	*ḥadet̲-onn=ø*	*əlāw*	*šerš*	*lešān*
	speak.D.IMP-3PL=3SG.M	REF	religion	language
	Discuss the religion, language,			

	qəyān	*u*	*mimr-ā*	*d=Manday-ān*
	culture	and	literature-AUG	of=Mandaean-PL
	culture, and literature of the Mandaeans. (I.5)			

(3.407)	*zarz-at=ø*	*əlāw*	*ənāš*	*ARĀM*
	inform.PFV-3SG.F=3PL	REF	people	PN
	She informed the members of ARAM. (I.6)			

The referential object marker *əl-* does not appear on nouns that have been marked with a possessive suffix, possibly because these are already explicitly marked as referential.

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[153] Macuch (*Neumandäische Texte*, 95) identifies this marker as the Arabic definate article *al-*. He fails to explain why this particle marks the noun as definite when it is the object of a verb but not elsewhere.

(3.408)	*ba'aden*	*ləb̲aš-ni*	*əqmāš-ān-an*
	after	wear.PFV-1PL	clothes-PL-1PL

Afterwards, we put on our clothes. (III.10)

3.5.3 *Nouns and Phrasal Verbs*

After a phrasal verb (see §5.1.1.4), the direct object of the verb is generally marked with the preposition *qam* to/for. The oblique complements of the verb may be marked with *qam* (as in 3.409) or with another preposition (as in 3.410).

(3.409)	*čāre*	*ab̲d-etton*	*qam=d=in*	*qam*	*tā*	*jisər*
	remedy	do.IPFV-2PL	for=of=1SG	to	that	bridge

You will fix that bridge for me. (IV.39)

(3.410)	*qāb̲in*	*əb̲ad-yon*	*qam*	*yeki*	*qəlāw*	*et̲t̲=i*
	marriage	do.PFV-3PL	to	someone	to	woman=INDF

They married someone to a woman. (II.10)

3.5.4 *Nouns as Complements and Adjuncts*

In addition to appearing as the subject or object of the verb, the noun may also serve as the complement or adjunct of a noun or verb phrase. In these capacities, it generally appears as a constituent of a prepositional phrase.

The adjunct contributes non-essential information. It generally follows the phrase it modifies, whether noun, as in (3.411), or verb, as in (3.412).

(3.411)	*jihel-ā́*	*gāw*	*maḥallát*
	child-PL	in	neighborhood

the children in the neighborhood

(3.412)	*darwiš-ā́*	*at̲-on*	*min*	*ġer*	*welāt*
	dervish-PL	come.PFV-3PL	from	outside	country

Dervishes came from outside the country. (IV.20)

The oblique complement of a transitive verb is generally introduced by a preposition. For example, the preposition *b-* ‘with’ indicates accompaniment in (3.413), *baʿad* ‘after’ indicates time in (3.414), *bienā* ‘among’ indicates manner in (3.413), *əm-* ‘from’ indicates source in (3.418), *gāw* ‘in’ expresses instrument in (3.415), *hemke* ‘like’ indicates manner in (3.416), *qam* ‘for’ indicates destination in

(3.420) and recipient in (3.421), *qār* ‘at’ indicates destination in (3.418) and location in (3.419), and *tum* ‘until’ indicates duration in (3.415).

(3.413) *əmḥaṯṯ-én* *bienā=d=an* *be=l=ənāš-ā*
speak.IPFV-1PL among=of=1PL with=NEG=people-AUG
Let’s talk among ourselves, without anybody else. (IV.81)

(3.414) *baʿad* *so* *ruz* *kammar-ø*
after three day return.PFV-3SG.M
After three days, he came back. (X.2)

(3.415) *q=əmbaraḵ-ø* *haw-én* *həyānā* *tum* *āxír*
IND=pray.tD.IPFV-1SG be.SBJV-1PL alive until last
I pray that we will remain alive until the final

ālm-ā *gāw* *hil* *Heyyi Rabbi*
world-AUG in power PN
epoch of time, by the power of Heyyi Rabbi. (I.14)

(3.416) *qə=hāzy-ā* *hemke* *iḇ-ā* *aṯā-ø*
IND=see.IPFV-3SG.F like cloud-AUG come.PFV-3SG.M
She saw something like a cloud arrive. (IV.49)

(3.417) *həwā-ø* *ork=e* *yeki*
be.PFV-3SG.M with=1SG someone
There was someone with me. (III.8)

(3.418) *aṯ-at* *əm=Baġdād* *qār* *Šiex* *ʿAbdalla*
come-3SG.F from=PN to Sheikh PN
She had come from Baghdad to Sheikh Abdallah’s place. (II.27)

(3.419) *ayhim-ø=i* *qār=i*
sit.C.PFV-3SG.M=3SG.M with=3SG.M
He sat him down beside him.

(3.420) *aḵ=waxt* *ezgi-ni* *qam* *Haft Tappe*
that=time go.PFV-1PL to PN
Then we went to Haft Tappe. (III.6)

(3.421) *genz* *əḇād* *aḇd-at* *qam* *Manday-ān-ā*
much work do.PFV-3SG.F for mandaean-PL-AUG
She did much work for the Mandaeans. (I.6)

The complement of a verb of desire or communication (e.g. ask, desire, demand, suggest, request) is introduced by the preposition *min* ‘from’ or its enclitic form *əm-*.

(3.422)	*q=abi-n*	*min*	*Heyyi Māre*	*əmzahar-ø=lə=k̠on*
	IND=want.PTC-1SG	from	PN	protect.PTC-3SG.M=OBJ=2PL

I want Heyyi Māre to protect you.[154]

(3.423)	*qə=mšiel-ø*	*əm=jihel-ā*	*əmḥat̠t̠-ø*	*Mandāyí*
	IND=ask.D.PTC-3SG.F	from=child-PL	speak.SBJV-3SG.F	Mandaic

She asks the children to speak Mandaic. (II.15)

(3.424)	*ṭəlab-ø*	*əm=šəb̠āb̠-ān=i*	*qazġān-i*
	request.PFV-3SG.M	from=neighbor-PL=3SG.M	cauldron-INDF

He asked his neighbors for a cooking pot. (X.1)

3.6 Identifiability and Referentiality

Identifiability (also known as “definiteness”) and referentiality are two pragmatic statuses that are marked in Neo-Mandaic. For the purposes of this discussion, the term “definite” with reference to the noun phrase implies that its referent is *identifiable* to both the speaker and listener. In English, definiteness is indicated appropriately enough by the definite article, as in (3.425) and (3.426).

(3.425) the man
(3.426) the woman

By contrast, the term “indefinite” implies that the referent is *not identifiable* to the listener. This is indicated by the indefinite article ‘a’ / ‘an’ or the quantifier ‘some.’ Examples include (3.427) and (3.428).

(3.427) a man
(3.428) some men

The referentiality of a noun phrase concerns whether its referent is a specific entity (and therefore considered referential) or a non-specific entity or an entire category of entities (in which case it is considered to be non-referential); this is known as objective referentiality. If the referent has already appeared in the discourse, it must also be considered referential whenever it is subsequently mentioned, regardless of its initial pragmatic status; this is known as discourse referentiality.[155] In English, the entity indicated as indefinite may be unique or merely a member or members of a category. In the former case, the referent is said to be specific; in the latter, it is said to be non-specific. The definite article, by contrast, may indicate that the referent is specific, or that it is generic, representing an entire category. In count nouns (unlike mass nouns such as “water,” “rice,” “money,” etc.), generic referents may be indicated either by the plural of the noun without the definite article or the singular with the definite article, e.g. (3.429) and (3.430).

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[154] Cf. de Morgan, *Mission Scientifique V*, 282, ln. 8–9

[155] Thomas E. Payne, *Describing Morphosyntax: A Guide for Field Linguists* (Cambridge: Cambridge, 1997), 263–66.

(3.429) Croissants were invented in 1689
(3.430) The croissant was invented in 1689

Both examples refer to the entire category of croissants rather than any particular croissant. Note that identifiability is similar to, but not identical with referentiality; while definite (or identifiable) entities are commonly referential, and indefinite (or unidentifiable) entities are often non-referential, they need not be, as the example of the crossaint suggests.

3.6.1 Nonmorphological Marking of Referentiality

Most unmarked noun phrases are ambiguous as to referentiality and may refer to specific entities, as in (3.431) and (3.432), or generic categories, as in (3.433).

(3.431)	*ganziḇr-ā*	*gāw*	*Moḥamrā*	*eḵt=i*
	ganzibra-AUG	in	PN	COP=3SG.M

The ganzibra is in Khorramshahr.

(3.432)	*haḇ-t=ell=i*	*qam*	*ḥākem*
	give.PFV-1SG=OBJ=3SG.M	to	judge

I gave it to the judge.

(3.433)	*barnāš-ā*	*aṯ-on*	*min*	*ġer*	*welāt*
	person-AUG	come.PFV-3PL	from	outside	country

People came from outside the country.

There are, however, a number of words in Neo-Mandaic, such as proper names, demonstrative pronouns, and personal pronouns, that necessarily refer to an objectively referential entity. Independent of its position within the discourse, a noun phrase must be interpreted as objectively referential:

- if it is modified by a demonstrative adjective (3.434), a possessive pronoun (3.435), or an ordinal number (3.436);

(3.434)	*ā*	*eṯṯ-ā*	
	this	woman-AUG	this woman (II.24)

(3.435)	*bieṯ=e*	
	house=1SG	my house (IV.118)

(3.436)	*awwál*	*barnāš*	
	first	person	the first people (I.11)

- if it is marked as plural with the plural morpheme *-ān*;

(3.437)	*manday-ān-ā*	
	mandaean-PL-AUG	the Mandaeans (I.3)

- if it is the head noun of a construct chain (see §3.4.2);
- if it is followed by a restrictive relative clause (see §4.3.3.2).

3.6.2 Morphological Marking of Referentiality

The enclitic preposition *əl-*, introduced above in §3.5.2, marks the referent of the object of a verb as specific. Generally, it also indicates that the referent is identifiable, as well; its primary function, however, is to identify the referentiality of the object, as the following examples will demonstrate. In (3.458), the relative pronoun *man* 'who' is used to represent a particular individual (the one whom). In this example, the referent is both specific and definite, and therefore it takes the referential object marker *əl-*.

(3.438)	*gəṭl-ø=ø*	*əl=man*	*qə=rahem-ø=l=i*
	kill.PFV-3SG.M=3SG.M	REF=who	IND=love.IPFV-3SG.M=OBJ=3SG.M
	He killed the one whom he loves.		

In (3.439), the direct object is the indefinite pronoun *hemman* 'whomever.' The referent of this pronoun is indefinite and generic, and therefore does not take the referential object marker.

(3.439)	*gəṭal-ø*	*hemman*	*qə=rahem-ø=l=i*
	kill.PFV-3SG.M	whomever	IND=love.IPFV-3SG.M=OBJ=3SG.M
	He killed whomever he loves.		

In (3.440) the direct object is the indefinite pronoun *yeki* ‘someone.’ In this example, the referent is indefinite and non-specific, and therefore does not take the referential object marker.

(3.440) *gəṭal-ø* *yeki* *qə=rahem-ø=l=i*
kill.PFV-3SG.M someone IND=love.IPFV-3SG.M=OBJ=3SG.M
He killed somebody he loves.

As noted above in §3.6, once an entity has been introduced into the discourse, all subsequent referents to the same entity must be considered referential, regardless of whether the entity was marked as objectively referential at the moment it was introduced. Note that a specific individual who has already been identified to the listener may be marked both with the enclitic preposition *əl-* (or its independent form *əlāw*) and the indefinite morpheme *-i*, as in (3.441).

(3.441) *tājér* *əmar-ø* *an* *həz-it* *ya* *bāz-i*
merchant say.PFV-3SG.M I see.PFV-1SG a hawk-INDF
The merchant said, “I saw a hawk

dərā-ø *ya* *ebr-i* *pəher=ye*
take.PFV-3SG.M a son-INDF fly.PASS=COP.3SG.M
who had seized a boy flying off.”

amānatdār *sāyaḥ* *məhā-ø*
trustee scream hit.PFV-3SG.M
The trustee screamed.

mu *q=āmr-et* *bāz-i*
what IND=say.IPFV-2SG hawk-INDF
“What are you saying, ‘a hawk

əq=dar-ø=ø *əlāw* *ṣṭān-i*
IND=take.IPFV-3SG.M=3SG.M REF boy-INDF
took a boy[156]

u *qə=pāher-ø*
and IND=fly.IPFV-3SG.M
and flew off?’” (V.21-25)

In this example from Text V, the trustee is searching for his son, who was kidnapped by the merchant. The merchant lies to the trustee, telling him that he saw a hawk fly off with a boy. At first, the object of the verb is not marked with the referential object marker, because the merchant is offering it as an non-referential and presumably unidentifiable entity. Having thus been introduced into the discourse, the boy is subsequently marked as referential by the object marker, despite the fact that the two parties in the conversation continue to refer to him as unidentifable.

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[156] Namely, the aforementioned one, explicitly referential. Cf. Persian *pesar-i-rā* ‘a (particular) boy (obj.)’

(3.442)

Gāw	*welāt-i*	*kʾ*	*eh=l=i*	*obr-ā*
in	country-RES	REL	COP=to=3SG.M	mouse-AUG

In the country that has mice

Ø	*sad*	*mand*	*ḥadid*	*qə-āḵel-ø*
REL	100	maund	iron	IND=eat.IPFV-3SG.M

who can eat 100 maunds of iron,

mujur	*bāz-i*	*lá=q=dar-ø=ø*
what.way	hawk-INDF	NEG=IND=take.IPFV-3SG.M=3SG.M

“How could a hawk not take a boy

əl=ebr-i	*ke*	*dah*	*mand*	*eh=l=i*
REF=son-RES	REL	10	maund	COP=to=3SG.M

who weighs only 10 maunds?” (V.26)

In this example, taken from the same conversation, the boy is marked with both the referential object marker *əl-* and the morpheme *-i,* which performs a demonstrative function analogous to the Persian *yā-ye ešārat* when it is followed by the restrictive relative pronoun *ke* (for which, see §4.3.2.2).[157]

Even generic nouns can be marked with the referential object marker once they have been introduced into the discourse, as in example (3.443). In addition to nouns that have already been introduced into the discourse, certain types of noun phrases that inherently refer to specific entities will therefore always take the referential object marker *əl-*. These include proper names (3.444), nouns marked as plural (3.445), nouns modified by a demonstrative pronoun (3.446) or a possessive pronoun (3.447), and nouns in construct with another noun (3.448).

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[157] See Gernot L. Windfuhr, *Persian Grammar: History and State of its Study* (The Hague: de Gruyter, 1979), 37.

(3.443) *obr-ā* *genz* *qə=rahem-ø=l=ø* *əl=ḥadid*
mouse-AUG very IND=love.IPFV-3SG.M=OBJ=3SG.M REF=iron
The mouse really loves iron. (V.12)

(3.444) *əmal-ø=l=ø* *əl=Joḥa* *mu=yye* *āhā*
say.PFV-3SG.M=OBJ=3SG.M REF=PN what-3SG.M this
He said to Joha, “What is this?” (X.4)

(3.445) *dər-ø=ø* *əl=pərāh-ān* *əm=bāḇ* *ḥammām*
take.PFV-3SG.M=3SG.M REF=money-PL from=father hammam
He took the money from the owner of the hammam. (VIII.8)

(3.446) *aḇd-onn=ø* *əl=ā* *konfərens*
do.PFV-3PL=3SG.M REF=this conference
They held this conference. (I.5)

(3.447) *bədq-ø=ø* *əl=kərāy=i* *tuṯ=i*
put.PFV-3SG.M=3SG.F REF=leg=3SG.M under-3SG.M
He stuck his leg beneath him. (VII.2)

(3.448) *əzgā-ø* *əmal-ø=l=ø* *əl=bāḇ* *ḥammām*
go.PFV-3SG.M say.PFV-3SG.M=OBJ=3SG.M REF=father hammam
He went to talk to the owner of the hammam. (VIII.4)

3.6.3 *Marking of Identifiability*

As noted above in §3.6, indefiniteness is a pragmatic status, indicating that the referent is offered to the listener as unidentifiable. It can be marked with *ya* ‘a / one’ as in (3.450), the indefinite morpheme *-i*, or both *ya* and *-i*. Both indicate that the referent of the noun is unidentifiable, but are ambiguous as to whether it is referential or non-referential (that is, whether it indicates a specific or non-specific entity).

(3.449) *ya* *kədāḇ* *mandāyí*
a book Mandaic a Mandaic book (III.16)

(3.450) *tarmid-i*
tarmida-INDF a tarmida (II.8)

(3.451) *ya* *tājér-i*
a merchant-INDF a merchant (V.1)

When added to the plural endings, the indefinite morpheme *-i* indicates a restrictive (but still unidentifiable) selection out of a generic unit (3.452) or a plurality (3.453); in the latter case, the noun it modifies is occasionally preceded by the preposition *min* 'from.'

(3.452)	*mien-i*	
	water-INDF	(some) water

(3.453)	*min*	*barnaš-ān-i*	
	from	person-PL-INDF	some people (I.13)

In these examples, the noun modified by the morpheme *-i* contrasts with the unmodified noun stem (with or without the augment), which often has a generic sense, e.g. *mienā* 'water,' *barnāšā* 'people;' see example (3.476) below under §3.6.4. In Persian grammar, this morpheme is known as the *yā-ye vahdat* or '*-i* of unity.'[158] This function of the morpheme is clearly evident in the phrasal verbs, as demonstrated by the following examples:

(3.474)	*əbād*	*q=āḇed-nā*	
	deed	IND=do.PTC-1SG	I am working (lit. deed-doing).

(3.475)	*əḇād-i*	*q=āḇed-nā*	
	deed-INDF	do.PTC-1SG	I am doing something.

3.6.4 Genericness

Generic reference denotes an entire category of referents rather than a single entity. Unless marked as referential or identifiable by any of the morphemes introduced in §3.6.2 and §3.6.3 above, such as the plural morpheme, the indefinite morpheme, pronominal clitics, or the object markers, any common noun can be construed as having a generic referent.

(3.456)	*at̠t̠i-ø*	*šehyān-ā*	*barnāš-ā*
	come.D.PFV-3SG.M	ruler-AUG	person-AUG
	qə=bān-en	*hat̠t̠ā*	
	IND=build.IPFV-3PL	new	

The ruler brought people who built [it] anew. (IV.17)

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[158] See Windfuhr, *Persian Grammar*, 38.

3.7 Modifiers

Within the noun phrase, the noun may be modified by one or more additional elements, including a second noun in an appositive relationship (§3.7.1), an attributive, predicate, or comparative adjective (§3.7.2), a numeral or non-numeral quantifier (§3.7.3), and a possessor (§3.7.4).

3.7.1 Appositive Nouns

A noun may also be modified by other nouns in an appositive relationship. This applies particularly to geographic expressions.

(3.457) *Šuštar* *welāt*
PN city the city Shushtar

3.7.2 Adjectives

Adjectives fall into three categories in Neo-Mandaic: attributive adjectives (§3.7.2.1), predicate adjectives (§3.7.2.2), and comparative adjectives (§3.7.2.3). All three categories express some property of the head noun that they modify, such as age, dimensions, value, or color. The first two categories of adjective may be employed to introduce the properties of indefinite and definite referents (i.e. those that have not yet been introduced onto the discourse stage as well as those that have already been introduced), whereas the third category can only apply to definite referents (i.e. those that have already been introduced onto the discourse stage and are identifiable to the speaker and his audience).

3.7.2.1 Attributive Adjectives

Attributive adjectives directly follow the noun which they modify, e.g. (3.458) and (3.459). As the examples below demonstrate, the head noun may be inflected to reflect gender and number, e.g. (3.460); most adjectives do not agree with the head noun in gender and number, although a few do, cf. (3.461) with (3.462). The nominal augment on the head noun is deleted whenever it is modified by an attributive adjective, as when the head noun is followed by a second noun in construct. Unlike the construct chain (see §3.7.4.2 below), a noun followed by an attributive adjective may be construed as either definite or indefinite; in the latter case, the indefinite morpheme is appended at the end of the noun phrase rather than on the constituent elements (3.458).

(3.458)	*qazġān*	*honin-i*	
	cauldron	small-INDF	a small cooking pot (X.2)
(3.459)	*kədāḇ*	*Mandāyí*	
	book	Mandaic	a Mandaic book (III.16)
(3.460)	*bieṯ-wāṯ*	*baʕid*	
	house-PL.F	distant	far-off houses (III.10)
(3.461)	*barnāš*	*horin-ā*	
	person	other-AUG	another person
(3.462)	*šer*	*horet-t-ā*	
	war	other-F-AUG	Second World War (III.2)

3.7.2.2 Predicative Adjectives

Predicative adjectives are always accompanied by the copular verb (3.463) or the enclitic copula (3.464); for further details on the copula, see (§5.1.1.4).

(3.463)	*ya*	*yeki*	*həwā-ø*	*mariz-i*
	a	someone	be.PFV-3SG.M	ill-INDF

There once was a man who was ill. (VI.1)

(3.464)	*həwā-ø*	*ya*	*yeki*	*pahli=d=i*
	be.PFV-3SG.M	a	someone	beside=of=3SG.M

There was someone who was sitting

yəhem=ye	*ṣāt-ø=i*
sit.PASS=COP.3SG.M	listen.PFV-3SG.M=3SG.M

beside him, who heard him. (VI.3)

3.7.2.3 Absolute and Relative Comparison

A noun may be modified by an adjective to express two forms of comparison: relative comparison, in which the noun is explicitly compared with a second noun, or absolute comparison, in which it is compared against all other members of its category. In Neo-Mandaic, as in most other Semitic languages, relative comparison is expressed by means of a predicative adjective (describing the property being compared) modified by a complement with the preposition *min* or its enclitic form *əm-*, see (3.465).

(3.465)	*mienā*	*beh*	*əm=bira*	
	water-AUG	good	from=beer	Water is better than beer.

Absolute comparison, by contrast, is always expressed with the Persian suffix *-tar*. Adjectives modified by this suffix can be used predicatively (3.466) or attributively (3.467). They may also be used adverbially (3.468).

(3.466)	*awwáli*	*rap̄-tar*	*u=xorda=xorda*	*honin-tar*	*qə=hāw-en*
	first	big-COMP	and=little=little	small-COMP	IND=be.IPFV-3PL
	The first was bigger, but little by little they became smaller.				

(3.467)	*q=āṯ-en*	*gāw*	*mentekār*	*rap̄-tar-i*
	IND=come.IPFV-3PL	in	motor.car	big-COMP-INDF
	They came in a larger car.[159]			

(3.468)	*šob̲b̲-ā*	*šett-ā*	*eštā*	*qamā-tar*
	seven-AUG	year-AUG	now	before-COMP
	Seven years ago. (III.18)			

The superlative is expressed with the absolute comparative and the word *geš* 'all.'

(3.469)	*beh-tar*	*əm=geš*	
	good-COMP	from=all	the best

3.7.3 Quantifiers

Quantifiers are a subset of noun modifiers that indicate how many or how much of the referent is intended. There are two basic types of quantifiers in Neo-Mandaic: numerals such as cardinal numbers (§3.7.3.1) which indicate a definite quantity of the referent, and non-numeral quantifiers (§3.7.3.2), which indicate an indefinite quantity. Ordinal numbers (§3.7.3.1), by contrast, indicate the order of a referent with respect to other members of its class, rather than the quantity of the referent. These are treated exactly like attributive adjectives in Neo-Mandaic (§3.7.2.1) but have been included here with the other number words.

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[159] Examples (3.466) and (3.467) are adapted from Macuch, *Neumandäische Texte*, 118, ln. 196 and 198 ln. 1062, respectively.

3.7.3.1 Numerals

Numerals fall into two broad categories in Neo-Mandaic: cardinal numbers, which indicate the quantity of the referent, and ordinal numbers, which indicate the order of the referent with respect to other members of its class. The former precede the noun that they modify, and the latter follow it.

Cardinal Numbers

The cardinal numbers most commonly used in Neo-Mandaic are borrowed from colloquial Persian, although the original Neo-Mandaic numbers survive alongside them. Regardless of their origin, cardinal numbers appear before the noun, and are invariable; they do not agree in gender with the noun. Likewise, the noun modified by the number always appears in the singular.

Table 13: Cardinal Numbers

Traditional	Modern	Gloss	Traditional	Modern	Gloss
ehdā	*yek*	one	*asrā*	*dah*	ten
tren	*do*	two	*esrin*	*bis*	twenty
klāṯā	*so*	three	*klāṯin*	*si*	thirty
arbā	*čahār*	four	*ārbin*	*čehél*	forty
hamšā	*panj*	five	*hamšin*	*panjāh*	fifty
šettā	*šeš*	six	*šettin*	*šast*	sixty
šuḇḇā	*haft*	seven	*šuḇḇin*	*haftād*	seventy
təmānā	*hašt*	eight	*təmānin*	*haštād*	eighty
eččā	*noh*	nine	*eččin*	*navád*	ninety

The number *esrin* ‘twenty’ is a reflex of the dual of the number *asrā* ‘ten;’ the other decades are formed on the basis of the numbers 3-9 with the old absolute plural morpheme appended (see §3.4.3). Despite the fact that the addition of this morpheme causes the accent to shift, allomorphic variation (such as the pretonic reduction of the preceding syllable or the simplification of the geminate consonant) does not result. The fact that they do not behave in same manner as the rest of the Neo-Mandaic lexicon underscores their learned status.

All numbers apart from the units and the decades are formed from compounds. Numbers 11-19 are formed from the unit in juncture with the contextual form of *asrā* 'ten;' my informant had difficulty producing these, as in (3.470). In other compound numbers, the unit and the decade are combined by the conjunction *u* 'and,' e.g. (3.471). The centuries are formed from the units in juncture with the word for one hundred, *emmā*, e.g. *čemmā* 'nine-hundred.' The word for one thousand is *alp̄ā*. In counting, centuries always precede decades, and millennia always precede centuries, e.g. (3.472).

(3.470) *čin=assər* *šett-ā*
90=10 year-AUG nineteen years (III.14)[160]

(3.471) *čin* *u=hamš-ā*
90 and=five-AUG ninety-five (III.18)[161]

(3.472) *alp̄-ā* *u=čemmā* *u=čin* *u=hamš-ā*
1000-AUG and=900 and=90 and=five-AUG
nineteen ninety-five (III.18)

Ordinal Numbers

Ordinal numbers generally behave more like attributive adjectives than the other numerals and non-numeral quantifiers. They appear infrequently in the text collection. The Classical Mandaic ordinal *qadmāyā* 'first' appears in the first text, (3.473), in a frozen expression, alongside the more common *awwál*, (3.474), which is a loan word; the adjectives *horinā* and *horettā*, introduced above (see §3.7.2.1), are used in the place of the ordinal 'second;' *klaṯāyā* 'third' appears once, (3.474), and the loan word *āxír* 'last' appears frequently, e.g. (3.475), instead of the classical **batraia**. Note that, with the exception of the loan words *awwál* and *āxír*, ordinals follow the noun that they modify.

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[160] Macuch provides the form *eččassar* for this number in the dialect of Ahvāz; cf. CM **ʿtšasar** 'nineteen.' Macuch, *Handbook*, 231.

[161] Macuch indicates that the unit precedes the decade in the dialect of Ahvāz, in the Persian manner; e.g. *ārba u srin*, 'twenty-four.' Ibid., 231.

(3.473) *Ādam goḇr-ā qadmāy-i*
PN men-AUG first-ES.PL
Adam, the First Man (I.8)

(3.474) *ani Manday-ān-ā awwál barnāš həw-ini*
we mandaean-PL-AUG first person be.PFV-1PL
We Mandaeans were the first people [who]... (I.11)

(3.475) *səbuʿa klaṯāy-ā*
week third-AUG
the third week (VIII.10)

(3.476) *āxír ālm-ā*
last world-AUG
the last world (I.14)

3.7.3.2 Non-Numeral Quantifiers

Non-numeral quantifiers are terms which express an indefinite quantity. Like cardinal numbers, they precede the noun that they modify.

(3.477)	*genzā*	much, many	*genz ənāš*	many people
(3.478)	*perzā*	few	*perz pərāhi*	a little money
(3.479)	*baʿaẓ*	some	*baʿaẓ awqāṯ*	sometimes
(3.480)	*kol*	all	*kol barnašānā*	everybody

3.7.4 Nouns and Possession

Possession may be expressed in five ways: the use of objective / possessive pronominal clitics (§3.7.4.1), the construct chain (see §3.4.2 above and §3.7.4.2), the use of the prepositions *qār* ‘at’ and *əl-* ‘to’ (§3.7.4.3), the use of the relative pronoun *d-* (§3.7.4.4), and the use of the noun *māl* ‘property’ (§3.7.4.5). The first four constructions may express either alienable or inalienable possession; *māl* is used to indicate alienable possession only.

3.7.4.1 Pronominal Clitics

The pronominal clitics which indicate the object, complement, or adjunct of a verb may also serve to indicate possession of a noun; see §4.1.2 for further details.

3.7.4.2 The Construct Chain

The Construct Chain, introduced in §3.4.2 above, also serves to indicate possession:

POSSESSED + POSSESSOR

The possessor can be any noun or noun phrase. The possessed must always appear in its contextual form, but otherwise neither the possessor nor the possessed is morphologically marked to indicate possession.

(3.481)	*ebbər*	*ebr=i*	
	son	son=3SG.M	his grandson, lit. his son’s son (I.10)

(3.482)	*qazġān*	*šəḇāḇ-ā*	
	cauldron	neighbor-AUG	the neighbor’s cooking pot

(3.483)	*bāḇ*	*ḥammām*	
	father	bathhouse	the owner of the bathhouse (VIII.4)

3.7.4.3 Possession Indicated By Preposition

The preposition *əl-* is used for general possession, most often with people and other animate beings; see (3.504). It is also employed in situations where the genitive construct chain would be inappropriate (for example, when the head noun is indefinite), as in (3.505). This same preposition can be applied to the interrogative pronoun *man* ‘who,’ as in (3.506).

(3.484)	*rišāmm-ā*	*əl=Manday-ān-ā*
	rishama-AUG	to=Mandaean-PL-AUG
	The leader of the Mandaeans (IV.35)	

(3.485)	*ebr-i*	*əl=gaḇr-ā*	*qə=laḵṭ-ø-i*
	son-INDF.SG	to=man-ES.SG	IND=seize.PTC-3SG.M-3SG.M
	He seized one of the man’s sons. (V.18)		

(3.486)	*ahni*	*əl=man=non*	
	those	to=who=3PL	Whose are they? (III.11)

The preposition *qār*, by contrast, is employed to specifically indicate that the object possessed is on the possessor’s person or that the possessor otherwise has immediate access to it; see (3.507).

(3.487) *rāz-ā* *qār=e*
secret-AUG at=1SG my secret (IV.92)

3.7.4.4 The Relative Pronoun *d-*

In Classical Mandaic, possession is generally expressed by the relative pronoun *d-* (which is usually written with a separate letter of the alphabet, transcribed **d̲**-).[162] The relative pronoun *d-* can either follow the noun in the emphatic state, as in (3.488) or the noun modified by an anticipatory pronominal suffix, as in (3.489). In addition to these frozen expressions, this construction continues to be used in some epithets and in archaizing expressions, e.g. (3.490) and (3.491); note the obligatory appearance of the augment on the Arabic word *ḥākem* 'governor' in (3.491), despite the fact that the augment would not otherwise appear on a non-nativized loan word.

(3.488) *raṯn-ā* *d=Hiḇel Ziwā*
idiom-AUG of=PN idiom of Hibel Ziwā (IV.1)

(3.489) *b=ešm-e=hon* *əd=Heyy-i* *Rabb-i*
in=name-PL.CS=3PL of=life-PL.ES great-PL.ES
In the name of the Great Life (I.1)

(3.491) *Mand-ā* *d=Heyyi*
knowledge-AUG of=life Knowledge of Life (I.9)

(3.492) *ḥākim-ā* *d=Šuštar*
governor-AUG of=PN the governor of Shushtar (IV.65)

3.7.4.5 *Māl* Construction

The noun *māl* 'property' is used, albeit rarely, to express alienable possession. This construction is likely derived from one of the colloquial Iraqi dialects of Arabic in which *māl* is the usual "genitive" particle. (3.493) is the single example of the *māl* construction elicited from the texts from Khorramshahr, although it is also attested in the Iraqi dialects of Neo-Mandaic, as example (3.494), collected by Drower, demonstrates.

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[162] See Häberl, "The Relative Pronoun **d̲**-," for further details on the classical relative pronoun and its reflexes in Neo-Mandaic.

(3.493) *bieṯ* *māl* *ṣobbi-hā́*
house property Sabian-PL the Sabians’ houses (III.12)

(3.494) *zidq-a* *brik̠h̠-a* *māl* *gmās̠h̠-i*
oblation-AUG blessed-AUG property clothes-PL
The blessed oblation of the clothes.[163]

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[163] Drower, *Mandaeans*, 215.

4. Pronouns

Pronouns may be substituted for any noun phrase. There are five types of pronouns in Neo-Mandaic: personal pronouns (§4.1), demonstrative pronouns (§4.2), relativizers (§4.3), indefinite pronouns (§4.4), and interrogative pronouns (§4.5). The first three refer endophorically to an antecedent, such as a noun phrase already introduced within the context of the discourse; the fourth category indicates non-specific referents, and the final category is used in interrogative clauses to indicate the type of information which is being requested.

4.1 Personal Pronouns

Personal pronouns may represent the subject of a transitive or intransitive verb, the object of a transitive verb, and any nominal or verbal complement or adjunct that has already appeared in the context of the discourse. There are four types of personal pronouns in complementary distribution: independent personal pronouns (§4.1.1), enclitic personal pronouns (§4.1.2), reflexive personal pronouns (§4.1.3), and reciprocal personal pronouns (§4.1.4).

4.1.1 Independent Personal Pronouns

The independent personal pronouns in Neo-Mandaic are composed of one or two syllables; they distinguish between genders only in the third person singular. All pronouns are lightly accented on the first syllable. The first person pronouns, singular and plural, fall together in their contextual forms:

Table 14: Independent Personal Pronouns

Singular			**Plural**		
Lexical	Contextual	Gloss	Lexical	Contextual	Gloss
anā	*an*	I	*ani*	*an*	we
āt	-	you (sg.)	*atton*	-	you (pl.)
huwi	*huw*	he	*honni*	-	they
hidā	*hid*	she			

Although the second person is generally expressed without reference to gender, gender can be indicated by the word “man” or “woman,” which follows the independent pronoun.

(4.1) *āt eṯṯā* you (f. sg.)
(4.2) *āt gaḇrā* you (m. sg.)

The Neo-Mandaic independent personal pronouns are not often used. They are employed exclusively to represent the subject of a transitive or intransitive verb. Their presence in this role is purely optional, and they effect no change in the meaning of the utterance when omitted. Whenever they are employed, they appear before the verb in their contextual forms; see (§4.3). The lexical form of the independent personal pronouns may be employed in a contrastive or emphatic function, as in (§4.4).

(4.3) *(an)* *yəhm-it* *pahli=d=aḵ*
(1SG) sit.PFV-1SG beside=of=2SG.M
I sat beside you.

(4.4) *anā* *yəhm-it* *pahli=d=aḵ*
1SG sit.PFV-1SG beside=of=2SG.M
I (was the one who) sat beside you.

4.1.2 Enclitic Personal Pronouns

The enclitic personal pronouns are in complementary distribution with the independent personal pronouns; they may represent the object of a transitive verb (§4.1.2.1), a nominal or verbal complement or adjunct (§4.1.2.2), or indicate possession on the noun (§4.1.2.3). They cannot, however, ever be substituted for the enclitic copula or the independent personal pronouns.

Table 15: Objective / Possessive Pronominal Clitics

Person	Masculine Singular	Feminine Singular	Plural
1st	*-e*		*-an*
2nd	*-ak̠*	*-ek̠*	*-k̠on*
3rd	*-i*	*-a*	*-u*

4.1.2.1 Pronominal Object Suffixes

The enclitic pronominal suffix may serve as the object of a transitive verb; in this function, they are attached to the inflected form of the verb either directly, as in (4.5) or via an enclitic preposition, *-l-*, as in (4.6). The third masculine singular suffix can be dropped whenever it is pragmatically inferable; see, for example, (4.28) below.

(4.5) *tum* *ṣat-onn=i*
then hear.PFV-3PL=3SG.M Then they heard him. (VII.7)

(4.6) *əmal-ø=l=i* *willā* *doṯi-ø* *pard-én*
say.PFV-3SG.M=OBJ=3SG.M yikes come.IMP-2SG.M flee.SBJV-1PL
He said to him, "Yikes! Let's make a run for it!" (VII.8)

4.1.2.2 Pronominal Adjuncts and Complements

These enclitic pronominal suffixes may also appear on prepositions in the place of nominal adjuncts or complements (see §3.5.4 above).

(4.7) *qam-yon* *barābar=d=u*
stand.PFV-3PL opposite=of=3PL They stood before them. (IV.76)

(4.8) *aṯ-it=i* *qam=də=k̠on*
go.D.PFV-1SG=3SG.M for=of=2PL I brought it for you. (X.7)

4.1.2.3 Pronouns and Possession

One of the most common roles of the enclitic pronominal suffixes is to indicate possession. On originally Mandaic vocabulary and nativized loan words, the suffixes attach directly to the noun or the noun phrase.

(4.9) *babb=e*
grandfather=1SG my grandfather (II.2)

(4.10) *bāḇ* *emm=e*
father mother-1SG my mother’s father (II.2)

(4.11) *nap̄š=e*
self-1SG myself

Nouns borrowed from other languages take pronominal clitics after an enclitic morpheme *-d-*, which appears after any other inflectional morphemes on the noun:

(4.12) *ʿumər=d=e*
age=of=1SG my age (III.14)
(Arabic)

(4.13) *jamiʿa=də=ḵon*
entirety=of=you all of you (IV.124)
(Arabic)

(4.14) *rezq-ā́=d=an*
livelihood-PL=of=1PL our jobs (IV.132) (Arabic)

Whenever the enclitic copula (see §5.1.1.4) is attached to a noun modified by the first person singular pronominal suffix and the third person pronominal suffixes, an epenthetic *-h-* (see §2.5.3.4) intervenes between the pronominal suffix and the copula.

(4.15) *mujur* *bāḇ=ah=ye*
what.way father=3SG.F=COP.3SG.M What’s her father like? (IX.14)

4.1.2.4 Personal Pronouns on Quantifiers

The plural enclitic pronominal suffixes also modify quantifiers such as *doṯā* ‘both’ and *geš* ‘all.’ The indefinite pronoun *ehdi* ‘one’ is also included to complete the paradigm, even though the enclitic pronouns are attached to the independent preposition *min* ‘from’ rather than the enclitic morpheme *-d-*.

Table 16: Quantifiers with Enclitic Pronominal Suffixes

One		Two[164]		Three or More	
ehdi minn-an	one of us	*doṯā-d-an*	both of us	*geš-d-an*	all of us
ehdi min-ḵon	one of you	*doṯā-ṯ-ḵon*	both of you	*geš-də-ḵon*	all of you
ehdi minn-u	one of them	*doṯā-d-u*	both of them	*geš-d-u*	all of them

Unlike other the quantifiers introduced in (§3.7.3), the quantifiers *doṯā* ‘both’ and *geš* ‘all’ cannot govern a noun in a construct chain, e.g. (4.16), and are obliged to take the pronominal clitic. They can, however, be governed by a noun, much like an adjective, in which case they follow it and take a resumptive clitic, e.g. (4.17).

(4.16)	*kol lilyā*	every night
(4.17)	*lili geš-di*	the entire night

These quantifiers with the enclitic pronominal suffixes are frequently used to modify the plural independent personal pronouns, intervening between the independent pronoun and the verb.

(4.18)	*atton*	*doṯā=ṯ=ḵon*	*haḇ-tonn=i*	*qamdi=d=i*
	2PL	both=of=2PL	give.PFV-2PL=3SG.M	to=of=3SG.M
	Did both of you give it to him?			

4.1.3 Reflexive Pronouns

The reflexive personal pronoun is employed within the verb clause to refer to an antecedent within the same clause. It is formed from the noun *nap̄šā* ‘soul, personality, self’ with the enclitic pronominal suffixes.

Table 17: Inflected Forms of the Reflexive Pronoun

Person	Masculine Singular	Feminine Singular	Plural
1st	*nap̄š-e*		*nap̄š-an*
2nd	*nap̄š-aḵ*	*nap̄š-eḵ*	*nap̄š-ḵon*
3rd	*nap̄š-i*	*nap̄š-a*	*nap̄š-u*

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[164] This quantifier is composed of the Persian *do* ‘two’ and the Persian classifier *tā*. Note that the voiced dental stop /d/ becomes fricativized before the voiceless velar stop /χ/; see §2.5.4.1.

4.1.3.1 Reflexive Pronouns as Anaphoric Objects

The reflexive pronoun most commonly appears in object position, functioning as an object, and referring back to the subject of the sentence, though the subject may be dropped as in other sentence constructions.

In the classical language, the reflexive pronoun supplemented the so-called reflexive stems of the verb (for which, see §5.1.1.3), although they have since become the sole means of forming the reflexive in Neo-Mandaic, in conjunction with the referential object marker *əl-*, as in (4.58).

(4.19) *bašqir-ø* *əl=nap̄š=ak̠!*
know.IMP-2SG REF=self=2SG.M Know yourself!

4.1.3.2 Emphatic Uses of the Reflexive Pronoun

As in the classical language, the reflexive pronoun is often employed to emphasize one of the constituents of the verb phrase rather than serve as an anaphoric object; compare (4.20), in which the reflexive pronoun is not expressed, with (4.21).

(4.20) *yəhom-ø* *demme*
sit.IMP.M-SG down Sit down!

(4.21) *ayhim-ø-ak̠* *nap̄š-ak̠* *demme*
sit.C.IMP-SG-2SG.M self-2SG.M down
Sit yourself down! (lit. make yourself sit yourself down!).

4.1.3.3 Reflexive Pronouns and Possession

Governed by another noun, the word *nap̄šā* 'self' suffixed with the enclitic pronominal suffixes can also express a reflexive possessive.

(4.22) *Nāṣer* *bənā-ø* *biet̠* *nap̄š=i*
PN build.PFV-3SG.M house self=3SG.M
Nasser built his own house.

4.1.4 Reciprocal Pronouns

Neo-Mandaic has two reciprocal pronouns, *ham* and *hədādā*. The first, *ham* 'each other,' is a Persian loan word. In Neo-Mandaic, it is used to modify verbs directly as an oblique complement. In Persian, however, it usually appears as part of constructions such as *be-ham-digar* ‘to one another.’ The second pronoun, *hədādā*, can either be employed as an object or governed by a preposition as an adjunct or complement, e.g. *mork hədādā* ‘with one another,’ *be-hdādā* ‘to one another.’ These examples show reciprocals functioning as the object of a verb in (4.23), an object complement in (4.24) and (4.25), as an oblique complement in (4.26), and as an adjunct to a verbal phrase in (4.27).

(4.23)	*ani*	*kol=waxt*	*qə=haz-én*	*hədādā*
	we	always	IND=see.PTC-1PL	one another

We always see one another.

(4.24)	*anā*	*genz*	*həṯer=nān*	*qə=hazi-n=ḵon*
	I	very	rejoice.PTC.PASS=1SG	IND=see.IPFV-1SG=2PL

I’m very happy to see you all

geš	*mork*	*hədādā*	*gāw*	*Harvard University*
all	with	one.another	in	PN

together at Harvard University. (I.4)

(4.25)	*atton*	*kol=waxt*	*q=haze-l=ḵon*	*ork*	*hədādā*
	2PL	always	IND=see.PTC-3PL=2PL	with	one another

You were all seen together.

(4.26)	*qənay-ān-ā*	*u*	*inš-ān-ā*	*tamm-on*	*əras-yon*
	smith-PL-AUG	and	womin-PL-AUG	become.PFV-3PL	marry.PFV-3PL

The jewelers and women became married

be=hdādā	*haṯṯā*
to=one.another	anew

again to one another. (IV.148)

(4.27)	*geš=d=an*	*əhaḇ-ni*	*ham*	*əhāḇ-ā*
	all=of=1PL	give.PFV-1PL	each other	gift-AUG

All of us gave each other gifts.

4.2 Demonstrative Pronouns

Neo-Mandaic distinguishes between near-deixis and far-deixis in the singular demonstrative pronouns, but not in the plural. It also makes no distinction in gender. The original far-deictic plural demonstrative pronoun *ahni* ‘those’ has assumed the function of a general plural demonstrative pronoun.[165] This same demonstrative pronoun is often employed in the place of the third plural personal pronoun, as in (4.28).

(4.28)	*ahni*	*saṭ-yon*	*əm=lu=Manday-ān-ā*
	those	hear.PFV-3PL	from=non=Mandaean-PL-AUG
	They heard [it] from non-Mandaeans. (I.13)		

The singular forms of the demonstrative pronouns possess lexical and contextual allomorphs.

Table 18: Forms of the Demonstrative Pronouns

	Near-Deixis			**Far-Deixis**	
Lexical	Contextual	Gloss	Lexical	Contextual	Gloss
āhā	*ā*	this	*aḵu*	*aḵ*	that
ahni	-	these	*ahni*	-	those

The demonstrative pronouns usually precede the noun they modify.[166] In this position, they assume their contextual forms.

(4.29)	*ā bieṯā*	this house
(4.30)	*aḵ enšā*	that man

Note that there is no contextual form for the plural demonstrative pronoun; because contextual forms lack any overt expression of number, the contextual forms of the singular pronouns are also used for plural nouns, e.g. (4.31). In some cases, a demonstrative pronoun and a noun function together with an adverbial significance, e.g. (4.32) and (4.33).

(4.31)	*ā šeršānā*	these religions (never ***ahni šeršānā*)
(4.32)	*ā yumā*	today (lit. “this day”)
(4.33)	*aḵ waxt*	then (lit. “that time”)

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[165] NM *ahni* ‘these; those’ is derived from CM **hania** ‘those.’ Macuch (*Neumandäische Texte*, 56) cites a far-deictic plural demonstrative pronoun *ānnex* or *hānnex* ‘dasselbe,’ which he describes as having been supplanted by Persian *hamu* in the dialect of Ahvāz; neither form is employed by my informant.

[166] In the text collection there is a single exception: *deštā āhā* ‘this land’ (IV.105).

When the demonstrative pronouns are not employed to modify a noun, they appear in their lexical forms.

(4.34)	*mu=yye*	*āhā*	
	what=3SG.M	this	what’s this?

(4.35)	*mu=yye*	*ak̲u*	
	what=3SG.M	that	what’s that?

4.2.1 Locative Demonstrative Pronouns

Neo-Mandaic has two locative demonstrative pronouns, *hənā* / *ehnā* ‘here’ and *ekkāk̲* ‘there.’ These typically follow the verb, but may also appear at the beginning of the phrase, as in (4.38) and (4.39).

(4.36)	*man*	*huw*	*yəhem-ø*	*hənā*	*qamā-tar*
	who	3SG.M	sit.PFV-3SG.M	here	before-COMP

Who was sitting here earlier?

(4.37)	*7-11*	*həwā-ø=l=u*	*ekkak̲*
	PN	be.PFV-3SG.M=to=3PL	there

They had a 7-11 there. (III.6)

(4.38)	*hənā*	*ḥatta*	*jihel-ā́*	*q=əmḥaṯṯ-en*
	here	even	child-PL	IND=speak.IPFV-3PL

Here, even the children speak it! (II.21)

(4.39)	*ekkak̲*	*ya*	*bəzuy-i*	*həwā-ø*
	there	a	hole-INDF	be.PFV-3SG.M

There was a hole there. (V.8)

4.2.2 Anomalous Forms of the Demonstrative Pronoun

In Text IV, Hirmiz bar Anhar’s account of the legend of the Bridge of Shushtar, as retold by Nasser Sobbi, the far-deictic demonstrative pronoun *tā* appears in two places (IV.33, IV.39); while this pronoun is attested in other Neo-Mandaic dialects, it does not appear elsewhere in the texts collected, and for this reason I did not include it in Table 18. Likewise, in VIII.16, the form *hā* appears after the preposition *gāw*; while one might be tempted to identify this form with Classical Mandaic **ha** ‘this,’ it is also possible that this form represents *āhā* after the initial vowel has been elided.

4.3 Subordinating Conjunctions

Subordinating conjunctions introduce a relative clause. The type of conjunction employed depends upon the presence or absence of a head noun, and whether the relative clause is referential (§4.3.1) or non-referential (§4.3.2). An indefinite pronoun (§4.3.3) may be employed to introduce a headless relative clause, and a relativizer (§4.3.4) is used to introduce a relative clause that refers back to an entire clause or verb phrase rather than a nominal antecedent.

If the relative clause depends upon a head noun, the type of relative pronoun employed is further determined by whether the antecedent is definite or indefinite, and whether the clause is restrictive or non-restrictive. As mentioned above (§3.6.3), nouns may be morphologically marked as indefinite (in opposition to definite nouns, which are unmarked), and syntactically or morphologically marked as non-specific (as opposed to specific or generic, which are unmarked). If the antecedent is the object of the verb of the subordinate clause (direct, indirect, or oblique), it must be marked by a resumptive pronoun on the verb.

4.3.1 Indefinite Antecedents

Relative pronouns are completely absent from relative clauses headed by indefinite antecedents. In examples (4.40) and (4.41), the gap left by the absence of the relative pronoun is indicated by the null sign Ø. This indicates that the speaker assumes that his or her audience cannot identify the referent of the head noun; note also that none of the relative pronouns may introduce a headless relative clause, this function being relegated to the indefinite pronouns *kol mā* ‘whatever’ and *kol man* ‘whoever’ (see §4.3.3 below).

(4.40)	*gāw*	*Aḥwāz*	*həwā-ø*	*tarmid-i*
	in	PN	be.PFV-3SG.M	tarmida-INDF

In Ahvāz, there was a tarmida,

Ø	*ešm-i*	*Šiex*	*ʿAbdalla*
REL	name-3SG.M	sheikh	PN

whose name was Sheikh Abdallah. (II.8)

(4.41)	*q=āmr-en*	*ya*	*tājér-i*	*həwā-ø*
	IND=say.IPFV-3PL	a	merchant-INDF	be.PFV-3SG.M

It is said (lit. 'they say') that there was once a merchant,

Ø	*həwā-ø=l=i*	*perz*	*pərāh-i*
REL	be.PFV-3SG.M=to=3SG.M	little	money-INDF

who had [only] a little cash. (V.1)

4.3.2 *Definite Antecedents*

Whenever the head noun of the clause is presumed to be identifiable to the audience, Neo-Mandaic employs one of two relative pronouns, which have been borrowed from the languages with which it has come into contact, Arabic and Persian:

(4.42)	*illi*	which (Colloquial Arabic *illi*)
(4.43)	*ke*	that (Persian *ke*)

The primary distinction between the two relative pronouns lies in the type of relative clauses which they govern. The relative pronoun *illi* is employed to introduce non-restrictive relative clauses (§4.3.2.1), namely those which contribute supplemental information to the main clause. The second relative pronoun, *ke*, introduces restrictive clauses (§4.3.2.2), namely those which contribute information essential to the understanding of the main clause.

4.3.2.1 Non-Restrictive Relative Clauses

The relative clause introduced by the relative pronoun *illi* contributes supplemental information about the head noun to which it refers.

(4.44)	*q=abi-n*	*əmer-ø*	*genz*	*farwāh*	*Profesər Buckley*
	IND=want.PTC-1SG	say.SBJV-1SG	many	thanks	PN

I want to give many thanks to Professor Buckley,

illi	*genz*	*əḇād*	*aḇd-at*	*qam*	*Manday-ān-ā*
REL	much	work	do.PFV-3SG.F	for	mandaean-PL-AUG

who has done so much work for the Mandaeans. (I.6)

4.3.2.2 Restrictive Relative Clauses

Relative clauses introduced by *ke* contribute information essential to the understanding of the main clause, as in (4.45). When the preceding noun is marked with *-i*, it must always be interpreted as demonstrative in meaning, as in (4.46) and (4.47). Note that the antecedent is the object of the verb of the subordinate clause in these two examples, and that the verb or copula takes a resumptive pronoun.

(4.45)	*aṯṯ-on*	*barnaš-ān-ā*	*ke*
	come.D.IMP-PL	person-PL-AUG	REL

Bring the people who

šiḇih-ān-ā	*kāḇš-el=l=u*
demon-PL-AUG	subdue.IPFV-3PL=OBJ=3PL

will subdue the planets! (IV.14)

(4.46)	*gāw*	*welāt-i*	*k'*	*eh=l=i*	*obr-ā*
	in	city-RES	REL	COP=to=3SG.M	mouse-AUG

in a (specific) city that has mice

sad	*mand*	*ḥadid*	*q=āḵel-ø*
100	maund	iron	IND=eat.IPFV-3SG.M

that can eat 100 maunds of iron (V.26)

(4.47)	*ebr-i*	*ke*	*dah*	*mand*	*eh=l=i*
	son-INDF	REL	10	maund	COP=to=3SG.M

a boy who weighs only 10 maunds (V.26)

The morpheme *-i*, which generally indicates the noun as indefinite in other contexts, here imparts a demonstrative meaning upon the antecedent, in a manner analogous to the Persian *yā-ye ešārat* (see §3.6.2). Once again, the resumptive object pronoun on the verb in (4.48) refers back to the antecedent.

(4.48)	*dukk-ān-i*	*ke*	*həz-it=u*	*awwál*
	place-PL-RES	REL	see.PFV-1SG=3PL	before

The places which I saw before (III.19)

4.3.3 The Relativizer

Ke can also serve as a relativizer after verbs of perception and verbs that introduce direct speech.

(4.49)	*nedā*	*əḇad-yon*	*gāw*	*welāt*	*ke*
	herald	do.PFV-3PL	in	city	REL

Throughout the city it was proclaimed,

	ebr-i	*əzgā-ø*	*minn=an*
	son-INDF	go.PFV-3SG.M	from=1PL

"a boy has gone from us." (V.20)

In this example, it is more accurate to identify *ke* as a relativizer rather than a relative pronoun, as it does not represent the head noun within the relative clause. The information introduced by these verbs always assumes the form of direct speech, whether it is introduced by *ke* or not:

(4.50)	*yəmi-ø*	*qamd=in*	*q=əmwadi-n=ḵon*	*Əmšuni Kušṭā*
	swear.IMP.M-SG	to=me	IND=take.IPFV-1SG=2PL	PN

Swear to me, "I will take you to Əmšuni Kušṭā." (IV.120)

4.3.4 Headless Relative Clauses

The indefinite pronouns *kol man* and *kol mā* (§4.4.3) are used to introduce headless relative clauses, e.g. (4.51).

(4.51)	*kol mā*	*q=āzi-ø*	*q=āzi-ø*
	whatever	IND=go.PTC-3SG.M	IND=go.PTC-3SG.M

Whatever happens, happens (cf. Italian *che sarà, sarà*). (VIII.12)

4.4 Indefinite Pronouns

The following nouns (§4.4.1) and adjectives (§4.4.2), modified by the indefinite morpheme *-i*, are employed as pronouns to indicate non-specific or indefinite referents. As these indefinite pronouns cannot be modified by an adjective or govern another word in a construct chain, they never occur in contextual forms. A third category of indefinite pronouns (§4.4.3) consists of indefinite nouns or pronouns governed by a quantifier.

4.4.1 Indefinite Pronouns Derived from Nouns

The indefinite morpheme *-i* can be used to derive an indefinite pronoun from a noun. These indefinite pronouns may refer to an unspecified animate or inanimate referent.

(4.52)	*enši*	someone, anyone (lit. a person)
(4.53)	*yeki*	someone, anyone (Persian *yaki* id.)
(4.54)	*mendi*	something, anything (lit. a thing)
(4.55)	*əḇādi*	something, anything (lit. a deed)

The indefinite pronouns *enši* and *yeki* are used for nonspecific human beings and other animate referents, such as demons. The indefinite pronoun *mendi* is employed to indicate nonspecific inanimate referents. For nonspecific actions, the indefinite pronoun *əḇādi* is used.

(4.56) *əḇād-i* *əḇod-ø* *qamd=in*
deed-INDF do.IMP.M-SG for=1SG
Do something for me.

4.4.2 Indefinite Pronouns Derived from Quantifiers

There are a few quantifiers which may take the indefinite morpheme to form indefinite pronouns.

(4.57)	*ehdi*	one (lit. a one)
(4.58)	*perzi*	a little, a few
(4.59)	*genzi*	a lot, many

The indefinite pronoun *ehdi* is derived from the numeral *ehdā* ‘one’ modified by the indefinite morpheme *-i*. The other two are derived from the non-numeral quantifiers *perzā* ‘few/little’ and *genzā* ‘much/many.’ All three can indicate either animate or inanimate referents. These three indefinite take nominal adjuncts with the partitive preposition *əm-*, as in (4.60), or pronominal adjuncts with *men*, as in (4.61).

(4.60) *ehd-i* *m=ā* *šerš-ān*
one-INDF from=this religion-PL
one of these religions (I.13)

(4.61) *ehd-i* *minn=an*
one-INDF from=1PL one of us

Much like the indefinite pronouns derived from nouns above, these two take *əm-* / *min* to imply a portion of the noun modified:

(4.62) *perz-i* *minn=an*
few-INDF from=1PL a few of us

(4.63) *perzi* *əm=mien-ā*
few-INDF from=water-AUG a little of the water[167]

4.4.3 Compound Indefinite Pronouns

In addition to indefinite pronouns formed from nouns and adjectives with the indefinite morpheme, there are a number of compound indefinite pronouns composed of a quantifier or an interrogative preposition and a second nominal or pronominal element.

(4.64)	*kol enši*	everybody
(4.65)	*kol mendā*	everything
(4.66)	*kol dukkā*	everywhere
(4.67)	*kol waxt*	every time
(4.68)	*kol man*	whoever
(4.69)	*kol mā*	whatever
(4.70)	*hemman*	whoever

Unlike most indefinite pronouns, *kol man* and *kol mā* can also introduce headless relative clauses (see §4.3.3 above).

In the verb phrase, most indefinite pronouns are negated by the compound indefinite pronoun with *lá-*, as in (4.72).

(4.71) *q=əmbašqer-en* *enši*
IND=know.PTC-3PL someone They know somebody.

(4.72) *lá=q=əmbašqer-en* *kol enši*
NEG=IND=know.PTC-3PL everybody
They know nobody (lit. they don't know everybody).

(4.73) *āhā* *qam* *enši* *lá=q=mallep̄-ø*
this to anybody NEG=IND=teach.IPFV-3SG.M
This cannot be taught to anyone (IV.84a-b).

In the compound indefinite pronouns, examples (4.64) – (4.69) above, the original Semitic quantifier *kol* 'all' is replaced by the Persian quantifier *hič* 'any/no' whenever these pronouns serve as the argument of a negative verb.

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[167] Compare with *perz mienā* 'a little water.' Nouns which follow *perz* are inevitably in the singular, much like Persian *čand;* e.g. *perz beyyi* 'a few eggs.'

(4.74) *hič* *waxt*
no time never

(4.75) *hič* *mend-i*
no thing-INDF nothing

4.5 Interrogative Clauses

Neo-Mandaic has two different ways of indicating that a given utterance is a request for information rather than a declarative speech act. Requests for a simple yes/no answer are indicated by a rising intonation; e.g. (4.76).

(4.76) *āt qallet?*
[ɔt ˈqɑ́llɛt] are you going?

Questions that expect a more elaborate response employ a number of interrogative pronouns or question words to elicit specific information, e.g. (4.77) – (4.86)

(4.77)	*man*	who
(4.78)	*mu*	what (contextual form *mu-*)
(4.79)	*elyā*	where (contextual form *elli*)
(4.80)	*hemdā*	when
(4.81)	*qamu*	why
(4.82)	*kammā*	how (contextual form *kam*)
(4.83)	*hem*	which
(4.84)	*mujur*	how; in what way
(4.85)	*čand*	how much
(4.86)	*kaṯkammā*	how much/many (contextual form *kaṯkam*)

4.5.1 Interrogative Pronouns

The words *man* and *mu* are the only interrogative pronouns in Neo-Mandaic that may substitute for either the subject or the object of a verb. They generally appear at the beginning of the clause, regardless of the function they serve within the phrase. In either case, the interrogative pronoun must be followed by a verb.

4.5.1.1 Interrogative Pronoun as Subject

In example (4.88), the interrogative pronoun *man* ‘who’ takes the place of the pronoun *huwi* ‘he,’ which is the subject of the sentence. It remains at the beginning of the clause.

(4.87) *huwi* *əmal-ø=l=ak̠*
3SG.M say.PFV-3SG.M=OBJ=2SG.M he told you

(4.88) *man* *əmal-ø=l=ak̠*
who say.PFV-3SG.M=OBJ=2SG.M who told you?

4.5.1.2 Interrogative Pronoun as Object

In the example (4.90), the interrogative pronoun *mu* what replaces the object *rāzi* ‘a secret.’ The interrogative pronoun is then fronted to the beginning of the clause, leaving a gap behind, which is here indicated by the null sign Ø.

(4.89) *huwi* *əmal-ø=l=ak̠* *rāzi*
3SG.M say.PFV-3SG.M=OBJ=2SG.M secret-INDF
He told you a secret.

(4.90) *mu* *əmal-ø=l=ak̠* Ø
what say.PFV-3SG.M=OBJ=2SG.M
What did he tell you?

When the interrogative pronoun anticipates the object of the verb rather than the subject, it may be followed by the copula (for which see §5.1.1.4), as in (4.91). More frequently, however, the copula is omitted in this position, as in (4.92).

(4.91) *mu=yye* *hab̠-t=ell=i*
what=3SG.M give.PFV-2SG=OBJ=3SG.M
What did you give him?

(4.92) *mu* *hab̠-t=ell=i*
what give.PFV-2SG=OBJ=3SG.M
What did you give him?

The interrogative pronouns may also introduce a dependent clause as a relative pronoun. In this function, they may appear after the verb, particularly when their referent is specific and definite, as in (4.93).

Otherwise, they will appear at the beginning of the sentence, as in (4.94).

(4.93)	*gaṭl-ø=ø*	*əl=man*	*qə=rahem-ø=l=i*
	kill.PFV-3SG.M=3SG.M	REF=who	IND=love.PTC-3SG.M=OBJ=3SG.M

He killed the one whom he loves.

(4.94)	*mu*	*q=abā-t*	*ana*	*q=aḇed-ø*	*qamd=aḵ*
	what	IND=want.IPFV-2SG	1SG	IND=do.IPFV-1SG	for=2SG.M

Whatever you want, I'll do for you. (IV.63)

4.5.2 Other Question Words

Other question words in Neo-Mandaic include *elyā* 'where,' *hemdā* 'when,' *qamu* 'why,' *kammā* 'how,' *hem* 'which' (in compounds), *mujur* 'how, in what way,' and *kaṯkammā* 'how much/many.' The interrogatives *elyā*, *hemdā*, *qamu*, *kammā*, and *mujur* are primarily adverbial.

(4.95)	*əmal-ø=l=a*	*elli*	*əzgā-ø*
	say.PFV-3SG.M=OBJ=3SG.F	where	go.PFV-3SG.M

He said to her, "Where did he go?" (IX.11)

(4.96)	*hemdā*	*qə=mwady-āt=an*
	when	IND=take.IPFV-2SG=1PL

"When will you take us?" (IV.122)

(4.97)	*qamu*	*həreḇ-ø*	*pol*
	why	be.destroyed.PFV-3SG.M	bridge

Why was the bridge destroyed? (IV.29)

(4.98)	*pešimān*	*tamm-on*	*kammā*	*bandir*	*lá=bḡeṣ-yon*
	penitent	become.PFV-3PL	how	prisoner	NEG=stop.PFV-3PL

They regretted how they had not stayed put.

(4.99)	*mu*	*ā*	*əm=hem*	*ohhər*	*honni*	*ezg-on*
	what	this	with=which	road	3PL	go.PFV-3PL

Which way did they go?

(4.100)	*qabul*	*lá=q=āḇed-ø*	*mujur*	*meṯ-ø*
	acceptance	NEG=IND=do.IPFV-3SG.M	what.way	die.PFV-3SG.M

He would not believe how it could have died. (X.17)

(4.101)	*kaṯkamm-ā*	*həzi-ni*	*baṭluḵt-ā*
	how.much-AUG	see.PFV-1PL	misfortune-AUG

We have seen so much misfortune. (I.14)

The interrogatives *hem*, *hemdā*, *mujur*, and *kaṯkammā* are fused compounds;[168] compounds of question words and prepositions are not uncommon in Neo-Mandaic.

(4.102) *m=ely-ā*
from=where-AUG — whence

(4.103) *əm=hem* *ohhər*
with=which road — whither

(4.104) *min* *mujur*
with what.kind — in comparison with, like

Question words may not introduce relative clauses, this function having been assumed by the interrogative pronouns *man* and *mu* or relativizers such as *ke* and *illi*.

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[168] These were originally compound pronouns; Noeldeke, *Mandäische Grammatik*, 94, suggests the first came from a fossilized prepositional phrase such as ***hai minhun** ‘which of them,’ and Macuch, *Handbook*, 160 fn. 30, suggests that *hemdā* derives from ***hai mn ʿdan** ‘which of the time.’ *Mujur* derives from *mu* ‘what’ and the Persian word *jur* ‘kind,’ and *kaṯkammā* is likely derived from the classical relative pronoun **kd** ‘like, as’ and the question word **kma** ‘how.’

5. The Verb

The verb phrase functions primarily as the predicate of a clause. It consists of a verb, its auxiliaries, its complements, modifiers such as adverbs, and any other adjuncts; it is normally structured in this order when the object is definite and specific:

[SUBJECT ±] ADVERB ± VERB ± OBJECT

If the object is non-specific or generic, it becomes incorporated into the meaning of the verb, and it appears before the verb rather than after it, as described in §3.5.2. The adverb may still intervene between the verb and any noun that has become incorporated into its meaning.

[SUBJECT ±] OBJECT ± ADVERB ± VERB

5.1 The Structure of the Verb

The Neo-Mandaic verb may appear in two aspects: perfective and imperfective; three moods: indicative, subjunctive, and imperative; and three voices: active, middle, and passive. Its inflected forms are built upon two basic stems: the *G*-stem or basic verbal stem for most triradical roots, and the *Q*-stem, which is reserved for verbs built upon four root consonants. The *G*-stem may yield as many five derived stems: the *D*-stem or transitivizing verbal stem, the *C*-stem or causative verbal stem, and the so-called reflexive forms, which were originally derived from the preceding stems with the insertion of an infixed *t-* before the first root consonant, which has since been deleted in most verbs (see §2.5.4.2 for other examples of this sound change). Each stem normally yields three principle parts: a perfective, an imperfective, and a participle, upon which the derivational and inflectional morphemes are affixed.

The unmodified base forms of the perfective and the imperative are identical with the third masculine singular of the former and the singular of the latter. The imperfective is built upon the active participle of the verb, in the absolute state (§3.4.2), and is inflected in the indicative and subjunctive moods with personal morphemes that agree with its subject in number and gender. The passive voice may either be formed periphrastically from the passive participle (§5.4.3.1) or with an impersonal construction (§5.4.3.2). While all stems can theoretically yield an active participle, only transitive stems yield a passive participle.

Verbs are cited according to their perfective, imperative, and imperfective base forms. The paradigmatic "strong" verb (that is, one which possesses no fewer or more than three consonants that remain stable throughout all inflectional paradigms) is *gəṭal* ~ *gəṭol* (*gāṭel*) 'to kill.'

5.1.1 Verb Classes

Neo-Mandaic verbal roots can be divided into classes according to the vowel patterns in their perfective and imperative base forms (§5.1.1.1), the composition of their root consonants (§5.1.1.2), the stems in which they appear (§5.1.1.3), and the role they play within the syntax of the sentence (§5.1.1.4).

5.1.1.1 Thematic Vowel Classes

The unmodified *G*-stem perfective and imperfective both comprise two syllables. The vowel of the initial syllable of the root generally succumbs to pretonic reduction (§2.6.2.2), reducing to /ə/, whereas the vowel of the second syllable is preserved. Three vowels are attested in the perfective: /a/, /e/, and /o/. In the imperative, the vowel of this syllable regularly becomes /o/ (or /u/ in the feminine singular imperative). The combination of the thematic vowel of the perfective with the thematic vowel of the imperative yields three thematic vowel classes.

gəṭal ~ *gəṭol* (*a* ~ *o*): This is the largest class. Members of this class are predominantly active and often transitive.

Table 19: (*a* ~ *o*) Thematic Vowel Class

Transitive		Intransitive	
bədaq ~ *bədoq*	to put	*hədar* ~ *hədor*	to turn
dəḵar ~ *dəḵor*	to remember	*nəp̄al* ~ *nəp̄ol*	to fall
gəṭal ~ *gəṭol*	to kill	*nəp̄aq* ~ *nəp̄oq*	to exit
həp̄ar ~ *həp̄or*	to dig	*pərad* ~ *pərod*	to flee
kəbaš ~ *kəboš*	to subdue/bend	*šəḇaq* ~ *šəḇoq*	to leave
kədaḇ ~ *kədoḇ*	to write		
kətap̄ ~ *kətop̄*	to fetter		
ləḇaš ~ *ləḇoš*	to wear		
ləḵaṭ ~ *ləḵoṭ*	to seize		
nəḵat ~ *nəḵot*	to bite		
zəḇan ~ *zəḇon*	to buy		
zəraz ~ *zəroz*	to inform		

A number of transitive verbs, which formerly belonged to other thematic vowel classes, have become associated with this class in the Neo-Mandaic dialect of Khorramshahr.

bəḡaṣ ~ *bəḡoṣ*	to stand (CM **bgiṣ** ~ **bguṣ** ‘to stay, wait’)
gəhaḵ ~ *gəhoḵ*	to laugh (CM **ghik** ~ **ghuk** ‘to laugh’)

Triradical roots borrowed from other languages such as Arabic are also generally incorporated into this thematic vowel class:

ṭəlab ~ *ṭəlob*	to request	*jəmad* ~ *jəmod*	to freeze

dəhel ~ *dəhol* (*e* ~ *o*): This class is much smaller than the former class. Many of the verbs that appear as (*e* ~ *o*) verbs in earlier stages of the language and in other dialects have become associated with the (*a* ~ *o*) class. It consists mostly of intransitive and stative verbs.

Table 20: (*e* ~ *o*) Thematic Vowel Class

Intransitive		Stative	
yəhem ~ *yəhom*	to sit down	*dəhel* ~ *dəhol*	to be afraid
		həreḇ ~ *həroḇ*	to be destroyed

The third masculine singular prefective of verbs in this class is likely to be confused with the passive participle of the *G*-stem.

kədor ~ *kədor* (*o* ~ *o*): The smallest of the three thematic vowel classes, this class consists mainly of statives and intransitives. Macuch identified two verbs of this class in the dialect of Ahvāz, *kədor* ~ *kədor (kāder)* ‘to be a burden’ and *šəḵoḇ* ~ *šəḵoḇ (šāḵeḇ)* ‘to lie down.’ Of these two, only *kədor* ~ *kədor (kāder)* is attested in the dialect of Khorramshahr, as the verb *gənā* ~ *gəni* (*gānī*) is normally used in the place of *šəḵoḇ* ~ *šəḵoḇ (šāḵeḇ)*.

Table 21: (*o* ~ *o*) Thematic Vowel Class

Intransitive		Stative	
šəḵoḇ ~ *šəḵoḇ*	to lie down	*kədor* ~ *kədor*	to be a burden

5.1.1.2 Root Consonant Classes

Verbs may also be categorized according to the composition of their root consonants. Most verbal roots are composed of three root consonants. In many stems, one or more of these root consonants is susceptible to assimilatory changes or loss in certain environments. These consonants are called “weak consonants.” The position of the root consonant is identified by one of three Roman numerals (I, II, and III) corresponding to each of the three root consonants. Three basic root consonant classes exist: the strong verb, roots with weak initial root consonants (I-weak verbs), roots with weak final consonants (III-weak verbs), and a composite class derived from roots that originally had weak middle consonants (II-weak verbs) or identical second middle and final root consonants (Geminate verbs), the two of which have fallen together in Neo-Mandaic. There are also four verbs defy easy categorization according to root consonants: *abā (bāyī)* ‘to want’ (no imperative); *ezgā* ~ *ezgi (āzī)* ‘to go;’ *tammā* ‘to become’ (no imperative or imperfective); and *yād* ‘to know’ (a Persian loan word).[169]

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[169] Macuch, *Handbook*, 161 fn. 15 originally derived the root of this pseudo-verb from the participle of the verb *yədā* ~ *yədi (yādī)* ‘to know,’ but it does not behave like any of the other III-weak verbs; if it were derived from this participle rather than the Persian word, the stem would likely take the form *yādi-* before consonant-initial suffixes such as *-ḵon*. See §5.1.1.2 below.

Strong Verbs

The largest single root consonant class of verbs is composed of those whose three root consonants are not subject to deletion or assimilation in any position. In Neo-Mandaic, this class also includes verbs beginning with the consonants /n/ or /j/, which are subject to deletion or assimilation in other Aramaic dialects, including Classical Mandaic.

Strong Perfective and Imperative

Both the perfective and imperative stems of the verb may have as many as three allomorphs, the appearance of which depends upon the prefixes and suffixes that are appended to it. Without any suffixes and before suffixes beginning with a consonant, the perfective assumes the form CəCVC, e.g. (5.1), but before suffixes beginning with a vowel, it assumes the form CəCC-, e.g. (5.2).[170] After the negative morpheme *lá-* it assumes the form -CCVC-, e.g. (5.3).

(5.1)	*gəṭalton*	you killed
(5.2)	*gəṭlat*	she killed
(5.3)	*lágṭal*	he did not kill

The imperative CəCoC assumes the form CoCC- before object suffixes beginning with vowels, such as (5.4) and the form CəCoC- elsewhere, e.g. the plural imperative form (5.6). The feminine singular of the imperative is CəCuC, e.g. (5.5), although this too becomes CoCC- before object suffixes beginning with vowels. Intransitive and stative verbs do not yield the latter form as they do not take object suffixes. The imperative form never receives the negative morpheme, as prohibitions are derived from the subjunctive rather than the imperative.

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[170] When suffixes beginning with a vowel are added to the perfective, its second syllable becomes open, as the final consonant of the stem becomes the onset of the following syllable. The accent retreats to the preceding closed syllable, necessitating the insertion of /ə/, which becomes raised to [ɛ] in the closed syllable. The thematic vowel in the second syllable, which has become open and unaccented, is deleted.

(5.4)	*goṭli*	kill (sg.) him!
(5.5)	*gəṭul*	kill (f. sg.)!
(5.6)	*gəṭolyon*	kill (pl.)!

Note also that the presence of a syllable-closing /r/ results in the coloring of the vowel /e/ to /a/ in stressed syllables (see §2.5.1.3). More commonly, however, the vowels which appear are those typical for each allomorph, as in (5.7).

(5.7)	*porki*	rub (sg.) it!

Strong Indicative and Subjunctive

With the exception of the perfective, which is by its nature indicative, and the imperative, which belongs to the broader category of directive modalities, the imperfective is the basis for both the indicative and the subjunctive forms of the verb.

The base of the imperfective is CāCeC, regardless of the thematic vowel class of the corresponding verbal root. In the indicative, the morpheme *q-* is frequently (but not always) prefixed to this form of the verb, and an anaptyctic vowel intervenes between the morpheme and the initial consonant of the participle, e.g. (5.8). This vowel disappears when the negative morpheme is prefixed, e.g. (5.9). Neither morpheme affects the shape of the active participle.

(5.8)	*qənāp̄eq*	he comes out
(5.9)	*láqnāp̄eq*	he doesn’t come out

Before a suffixed morpheme beginning with a consonant, the stress of the active participle is pulled forward to the second syllable and the vowel of the initial syllable is reduced to /a/, e.g. (5.10). Before a suffix beginning with a vowel, the participle assumes the form CāCC- after the syncope of the vowel of the second syllable. This is the form assumed before the feminine morpheme *-ā*, e.g. (5.11), and the plural morpheme *-en*, e.g. (5.12). The first and second singular forms of the verb are based upon the masculine active participle, regardless of gender, and the plural inflected forms of the verb are based upon the plural active participle.

(5.10) *gaṭelnā* I will kill
(5.11) *gāhḵā* the laughing (woman)
(5.12) *gāhḵen* the laughing (people)

The subjunctive is also based upon the imperfective. Subjunctive verbs generally follow another verb in the contextual form and never take the indicative morpheme. Their forms are largely identical to the contextual forms of the indicative imperfective, with the notable exception that the vowel of its initial syllable, which is open, reduces to /ə/ in pretonic position, cf. (5.13) with (5.14). Note that the stress in the subjunctive form remains in the second syllable even though the first person singular suffix has been deleted.

(5.13) *qənap̄eqnā* I will go out
(5.14) *qabin nəp̄eq* I want to go out

Personal Suffixes on the Strong Verb

Table 22 illustrates the personal suffixes found on the perfective, the imperative, and the imperfective. Because the syllable structure of the root changes as inflectional morphemes are added to the stem, the syllable structure is indicated to the left of each column. In this column, the syllables are separated by periods (.). In this column, personal suffixes and object suffixes are separated from the stem by dashes (-).

Table 22: Personal Suffixes on the Strong Verb

Person	Perfective	Imperative	Imperfective
3 sg m	C_1ə.C_2V C_3	-	*qə*-C_1ā.C_2eC_3
3 sg f	C_1əC_2. C_3-*at*	-	*qə*-C_1āC_2.C_3-*ā*
2 sg	C_1ə.C_2a C_3-*t*	C_1ə. C_2oC_3	*qə*-C_1āC_2.C_3-*et*
1 sg	C_1əC_2. C_3-*it*	-	*qə*-C_1a.C_2eC_3-*nā*
3 pl	C_1ə.C_2VC_3-*yon*	-	*qə*-C_1āC_2.C_3-*en*
2 pl	C_1ə.C_2VC_3-*ton*	C_1ə. C_2oC_3-*yon*	*qə*-C_1aC_2.C_3-*etton*
1 pl	C_1ə.C_2VC_3-*ni*	-	*qə*-C_1aC_2.C_3-*enni*

The third person singular forms of the imperfective derive from the masculine and feminine active participles, respectively, and the plural forms of the imperfective are built upon the plural participle. As mentioned above, the feminine singular imperative is built on the pattern C_1əC_2uC_3, e.g. (5.5).

Some of the personal suffixes also have contextual forms, which are used most commonly before complements. The contextual form of the third plural perfective personal suffix and the imperative plural personal suffix is *-on* rather than *-yon*. The first singular form of the imperfective loses its personal suffix entirely and resembles the third masculine singular imperfective, and the first plural form of the imperfective reduces from *-énni* to *-én*, retaining the accent.

The Strong Verb with Object Suffixes

The addition of object suffixes (and occasionally the enclitic object marker *-l-*) results in substantial changes to the form of the preceding personal suffixes and verbal root. Table 23 illustrates the paradigmatic verb *gəṭal* ~ *gəṭol* (*gāṭel*) 'to kill' in the perfective with the third masculine singular and second plural object suffixes.

Table 23: The Strong Perfective with Object Suffixes

Person	Verb + V-		Verb + C-	
3 sg m	C_1əC_2.C_3-	*gəṭl-i*	C_1ə.C_2VC_3-	*gəṭal-k̠on*
3 sg f	C_1ə.C_2VC_3*-t-*	*gəṭal-t-i*	C_1əC_2.C_3*-at-*	*gəṭl-at-k̠on*
2 sg	C_1ə.C_2VC_3*-t-*	*gəṭal-t-i*	-	-
1 sg	C_1ə.C_2VC_3*-t-*	*gəṭal-t-i*	C_1əC_2.C_3*-it-*	*gəṭl-it-k̠on*
3 pl	C_1əC_2.C_3*-on.n-*	*gəṭl-onn-i*	C_1əC_2.C_3*-on-*	*gəṭl-on-k̠on*
2 pl	C_1ə.C_2VC_3*-ton.n-*	*gəṭal-tonn-i*	-	-
1 pl	C_1ə.C_2VC_3*-n-*	*gəṭal-n-i*	C_1ə.C_2VC_3*-ni-*	*gəṭal-ni-k̠on*

The second plural object suffix *-k̠on* is the only object suffix that begins with a consonant. This suffix cannot appear on second person forms of the verb. Note that the first plural perfective with the third masculine singular object suffix is identical to the first plural perfective without any object suffix.

Table 24 illustrates the paradigmatic verb *gəṭal* ~ *gəṭol* (*gāṭel*) 'to kill' in the imperative with the third masculine singular object suffix.

Table 24: The Strong Imperative with Object Suffixes

Person	Verb + V-	
2 sg	$C_1oC_2.C_3$ -	*goṭl-i*
2 pl	$C_1oC_2.C_3$*-on.n-*	*goṭl-onn-i*

Note that the masculine and feminine singular forms of the imperative merge before object suffixes beginning with a vowel. As the only object suffix beginning with a consonant is the third plural, and the imperative cannot take this suffix, these are the only forms given.

Table 25 illustrates the paradigmatic verb *gəṭal* ~ *gəṭol* (*gāṭel*) ‘to kill’ in the imperfective with the third masculine singular and second plural object suffixes.

Table 25: The Strong Imperfective with Object Suffixes

Person	Verb + V-		Verb + C-	
3 sg m	*qə*-$C_1a.C_2eC_3$*-l-*	*qə-gaṭel-l-i*	*qə*-$C_1a.C_2eC_3$*-lə-*	*qə-gaṭel-lə-k̠on*
3 sg f	*qə*-$C_1aC_2.C_3$*-ā-l-*	*qə-gaṭl-ā-l-i*	*qə*-$C_1aC_2.C_3$*-ā-l-*	*qə-gaṭl-ā-l-k̠on*
2 sg	*qə*-$C_1a.C_2C_3$*-āt-*	*qə-gaṭl-āt-i*	-	-
1 sg	*qə*-$C_1a.C_2eC_3$*-n-*	*qə-gaṭel-n-i*	*qə*-$C_1a.C_2eC_3$*-nā-*	*qə-gaṭel-nā-k̠on*
3 pl	*qə*-$C_1aC_2.C_3$*-əl-l-*	*qə-gaṭl-əl-l-i*	*qə*-$C_1aC_2.C_3$*-əl-*	*qə-gaṭl-əl-k̠on*
2 pl	*qə*-$C_1a.C_2eC_3$*-ton.n-*	*qə-gaṭel-tonn-i*	-	-
1 pl	*qə*-$C_1a.C_2eC_3$*-nann-*	*qə-gaṭel-nann-i*	*qə*-$C_1a.C_2eC_3$*-nan-*	*qə-gaṭel-nan-k̠on*

The second plural and singular forms of the imperfective are rare; the imperative is preferred. Note that all third person imperfective forms take the enclitic object marker *-l-* before the object suffix. The final consonant of the third plural personal suffix *-en* regularly assimilates to the object marker (§2.5.1.1).

I-Weak Verbs

This class includes roots that historically began with the phonemes /ʔ/ and /ʕ/, which had merged already in Classical Mandaic, as well as *əhab̠ ~ əhob̠ (āheb̠)* ‘to give,’ the root of which began with /j/ in Classical Mandaic but has since assimilated to this class.

I-Weak Perfective and Imperative

The allomorphs of the I-weak perfective and imperative generally follow the same patterns as those of the strong verbal, with the obvious absence of an initial radical. The bare perfective stem assumes the form əC_2VC_3; this is also the form assumed before suffixes beginning with a consonant, e.g. (5.15), but before suffixes beginning with a vowel, it assumes the form aC_2C_3-, e.g. (5.16).

(5.15) *əḇadyon* they did
(5.16) *aḇdat* she did

The vowel which emerges in the initial syllable before suffixes beginning with a vowel is /a/ rather than the /e/ attested in the paradigm of the strong verb. After the negative morpheme *lá-* both allomorphs preserve their form. Before the bare perfective stem əC_2VC_3, the vowel of the negative morpheme is generally preserved, rather than elided, e.g. (5.17), as vowels are not elided before /ə/ (see 2.5.5.3).

(5.17) *lá-əḇad* he did not do

The imperative assumes the form oC_2C_3- before object suffixes beginning with vowels, such as (5.18) and the form əC_2oC_3 elsewhere, e.g. the plural imperative form (5.19). The feminine singular of the imperative is əC_2uC_3, e.g. (5.20), although this too becomes oC_2C_3- before object suffixes beginning with vowels.

(5.18) *oḇdi* do (sg.) it!
(5.19) *əḇodyon* do (pl.)!
(5.20) *əḇud* do (f. sg.)!

I-Weak Indicative and Subjunctive

The conjugation of I-weak participles is not appreciably different from that of the strong verb. In the indicative, the prefix *q-* is appended directly to the participle, e.g. (5.21). Otherwise, few differences distinguish the conjugation of the I-weak verbs from that of the strong verb.

(5.21) *qāḇed* he does

Personal Suffixes on the I-Weak Verb

The personal suffixes on I-weak verbs are identical to those found on the strong verb. They are illustrated in Table 26.

Table 26: Personal Suffixes on the I-Weak Verb

Person	Perfective	Imperative	Imperfective
3 sg m	ə.C_2VC_3	-	*q*-ā.C_2eC_3
3 sg f	aC_2.C_3-*at*	-	*q*-āC_2.C_3-*ā*
2 sg	ə.C_2aC_3-*t*	əC_2oC_3	*q*-āC_2.C_3-*et*
1 sg	aC_2.C_3-*it*	-	*q*-a.C_2eC_3-*nā*
3 pl	ə.C_2VC_3-*yon*	-	*q*-āC_2.C_3-*en*
2 pl	ə.C_2VC_3-*ton*	əC_2o C_3C-*yon*	*q*-aC_2.C_3-*etton*
1 pl	ə.C_2VC_3-*ni*	-	*q*-aC_2.C_3-*enni*

The I-Weak Verb with Object Suffixes

The addition of object suffixes (and occasionally the enclitic object marker -*ł*-) results in substantial changes to the form of the preceding personal suffixes and verbal root, much as it does in the paradigm of the strong verb. Table 27 illustrates the perfective with the third masculine singular and second plural object suffixes by means of the verb *əḇad* ~ *əḇod* (*āḇed*) ‘to do.’

Table 27: The I-Weak Perfective with Object Suffixes

Person	Verb + V-		Verb + C-	
3 sg m	aC_2.C_3-	*aḇd-i*	ə.C_2VC_3-	*əḇad-ḵon*
3 sg f	ə.C_2VC_3-*t-*	*əḇad-t-i*	aC_2.C_3-*at-*	*aḇd-at-ḵon*
2 sg	ə.C_2VC_3-*t-*	*əḇad-t-i*	-	-
1 sg	ə.C_2VC_3-*t-*	*əḇad-t-i*	aC_2.C_3-*it-*	*aḇd-it-ḵon*
3 pl	aC_2.C_3-*on.n-*	*aḇd-onn-i*	aC_2.C_3-*on-*	*aḇd-on-ḵon*
2 pl	ə.C_2VC_3-*ton.n-*	*əḇad-tonn-i*	-	-
1 pl	ə.C_2VC_3-*n-*	*əḇad-n-i*	ə.C_2VC_3-*ni-*	*əḇad-ni-ḵon*

The paradigm of the imperative of the I-weak verb, as illustrated in Table 28, offers no surprises.

Table 28: The Imperative of the I-Weak with Object Suffixes

Person	Verb + V-	
2 sg	oC$_2$.C$_3$-	*oḇd-i*
2 pl	oC$_2$.C$_3$*-on.n-*	*oḇd-onn-i*

The paradigms of the verbs *əmar* ~ *əmor (āmer)* ‘to say’ and *əhaḇ* ~ *əhoḇ (āheḇ)* ‘to give’ present a few irregularities not found in other I-weak verbs. Both of these verbs take the enclitic *-l-* before object suffixes in all singular forms of the paradigm as well as the third plural forms, and lose their initial syllables in propretonic position. The final consonant of the stem of *əmar* ~ *əmor (āmer)* assimilates to the following sonorant with which it comes into contact (§2.5.1.1). Furthermore, the third and second plural forms are derived from the singular forms, with the addition of the plural morpheme *-on* after the enclitic *-l-* but before the object suffix. Table 29 illustrates the perfective with the third masculine singular and second plural object suffixes.

Table 29: Irregular I-Weak Perfectives with Object Suffixes

Person	Verb		Verb + -V / -VC		Verb + CVC	
3 sg m	*əmar*	*əhaḇ*	*əmal-l-i*	*əhaḇ-l-i*	*əmal-lə-ḵon*	*əhaḇ-lə-ḵon*
3 sg f	*amr-at*	*ahḇ-at*	*mār-el-l-i*	*hāḇ-el-l-i*	*mār-əl-ḵon*	*hāḇ-əl-ḵon*
2 sg	*əmar-t*	*əhaḇ-t*	*mar-t-ell-i*	*haḇ-t-ell-i*	-	-
1 sg	*amr-it*	*ahḇ-it*	*mar-t-ell-i*	*haḇ-t-ell-i*	*mar-t-əl-ḵon*	*haḇ-t-əl-ḵon*
3 pl	*əmar-yon*	*əhaḇ-yon*	*mal-l-onn-i*	*haḇ-l-onn-i*	*mal-l-on-ḵon*	*haḇ-l-on-ḵon*
2 pl	*əmar-ton*	*əhaḇ-ton*	*mar-t-onn-i*	*haḇ-t-onn-i*	-	-
1 pl	*əman-ni*	*əhaḇ-ni*	*man-nann-i*	*haḇ-nann-i*	*əman-na-ḵon*	*əhaḇ-na-ḵon*

The forms of the imperative of these two verbs with suffixes, as illustrated in Table 30, are even more irregular.

Table 30: Irregular I-Weak Imperatives with Object Suffixes

Person	Verb		Verb + V-	
2 sg m	*əmor*	*əhoḇ*	*mol-l-i*	*bal-l-i*
2 sg f	*əmur*	*əhuḇ*	*mol-l-i*	*bal-l-i*
2 pl	*əmor-yon*	*əhoḇ-yon*	*mol-l-onn-i*	*bal-l-onn-i*

Table 31 illustrates the paradigm of the imperfective with the third masculine singular and second plural object suffixes on the verb *əḇad* ~ *əḇod (āḇed)* ‘to do.’ The verbs *əmar* ~ *əmor (āmer)* ‘to say’ and *əhaḇ* ~ *əhoḇ (āheḇ)* ‘to give’ do not deviate from this paradigm in any significant way, although the final consonant of the stem of *əmar* ~ *əmor (āmer)* continues to assimilate when it comes into contact with a following sonorant.

Table 31: The I-Weak Imperfective with Object Suffixes

Person	Verb + -V / -VC		Verb + CVC	
3 sg m	*q*-a.C_2eC_3*-l-*	*q-aḇed-l-i*	*q*-a.C_2eC_3*-lə-*	*q-aḇed-lə-ḵon*
3 sg f	*q*-aC_2.C_3*-āl-*	*q-aḇd-ā-l-i*	*q*-aC_2.C_3*-āl-*	*q-aḇd-ā-l-ḵon*
2 sg	*q*-a.C_2.C_3*-āt-*	*q-aḇd-āt-i*	-	-
1 sg	*q*-a.C_2eC_3*-n-*	*q-aḇed-n-i*	*q*-a.C_2eC_3*-nā-*	*q-aḇed-nā-ḵon*
3 pl	*q*-aC_2.C_3*-əl.l-*	*q-aḇd-əl-l-i*	*q*-aC_2.C_3*-əl-*	*q-aḇd-el-ḵon*
2 pl	*q*-a.C_2eC_3*-ton.n-*	*q-aḇed-tonn-i*	-	-
1 pl	*q*-a.C_2eC_3*-nann-*	*q-aḇed-nann-i*	*q*-a.C_2eC_3*-nan-*	*q-aḇed-nan-ḵon*

II-Weak and Geminate Verbs

In contrast to the two classes of roots above, the roots of this class are monosyllabic throughout most of their paradigms, and comprise a large number of verbs from a wide variety of sources. These include roots with /j/ and /w/ as their middle radicals, e.g. *qam* ~ *qom (qāyem)* ‘to stand,’ and *meṯ* ~ *moṯ (māyeṯ)* ‘to die’; roots originally containing /ʔ/ or /ʕ/, such as *šayyel* ~ *šayyel (əmšiyel)* ‘to ask,’ which is attested only in the *D*-stem; and roots with geminated second root consonants, also known as geminate roots, such as *ham* ~ *hom (hāyem)* ‘to be hot.’ The Classical Mandaic verb **sliq** ~ **saq** (**saliq**) ‘to go up’ (NM *saq* ~ *soq (sāyeq)* id.) was also reformed on the analogy of other verbs in this class.

II-Weak and Geminate Perfective and Imperative

The root remains relatively stable throughout the paradigm, with few allomorphs, although the final radical of the root is often geminated to preserve the syllable structure whenever the syllable would otherwise become open (see §2.4.4.2). The verb *meṯ* ~ *moṯ (māyeṯ)* ‘to die’ is a unique case. In environments such as those in which the interdental fricative /θ/ would be subject to gemination, the consonant cluster /χt/ is instead produced, e.g. (5.21) instead of (5.22). See §2.4.4.2 for further details on this phenomenon.

(5.21) *meḵtat* she died
(5.22) ***meṯṯat* she died

II-Weak and Geminate Indicative and Subjunctive

Much like the perfective and imperative forms, the forms derived from the participle are fairly stable throughout its conjugation. In the indicative, the morpheme *q-* is often prefixed to the imperfective form of the verb, and an anaptyctic vowel intervenes between the morpheme and the initial consonant of the imperfective, e.g. (5.23).[171] In open accented syllables, the expected diphthong **āy* collapses to /i/, e.g. (5.24); see §2.3.2.1 for further details about the collapse of this dipthong. Among a subset of verbs within this class, the vowel /i/ breaks in stressed syllables after segments originating in area of the lips or the region between the alveolar ridge and the soft palate, becoming /iĕ/, e.g. (5.25); see §2.3.2.1 for more information on breaking. The subjunctive is also derived from the imperfective, with the obligatory absence of the indicative morpheme.

(5.23) *qəṣāyet* he listens
(5.24) *qəṣitet* you (sg.) listen
(5.25) *mieṯnā* I will die

Personal Suffixes on II-Weak and Geminate Verbs

The personal suffixes attached to the monosyllabic verb roots and participles are identical to those found on the strong verb. In the perfective and imperative, the stem remains monosyllabic throughout the paradigms. In the imperfective, the stem behaves much like the strong roots in the third and first singular persons, but becomes monosyllabic in other persons. In Table 32, the paradigm of this root category with personal suffixes is illustrated.

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[171] Note that the verb *qam* ~ *qom* (*qāyem*) 'to stand' does not take the indicative morpheme.

Table 32: Personal Suffixes on II-Weak and Geminate Verbs

Person	Perfective	Imperative	Imperfective
3 sg m	C_1VC_3	-	*qə*-C_1ā.yeC_3
3 sg f	$C_1V.C_3$-*at*	-	*qə*-C_1i.C_3-*ā*
2 sg	C_1VC_3-*t*	C_1oC_3	*qə*-C_1i.C_3-*et*
1 sg	$C_1V.C_3$-*it*	-	*qə*-C_1i.yeC_3-*nā*
3 pl	C_1VC_3-*yon*	-	*qə*-C_1i.C_3-*en*
2 pl	C_1VC_3-*ton*	C_1oC_3-*yon*	*qə*-C_1i.C_3-*etton*
1 pl	C_1VC_3-*ni*	-	*qə*-C_1i.C_3-*enni*

The addition of the personal suffixes beginning with vowels opens the preceding syllable, lengthening the stem vowel. In the imperfective, the shifting of the accent causes the triphthong -*āye*- to collapse to a monophthong in most forms of the verb.

The feminine singular form of the imperative is C_1uC_3.

(5.26) *duš* enter (f. sg.)!

II-Weak and Geminate Roots with Object Suffixes

As with the other verbal root forms, the addition of object suffixes (and occasionally the enclitic object marker -*l*-) results in substantial changes to the form of the preceding personal suffixes and verbal root. Table 33 illustrates the paradigm of the verb *ṣat* ~ *ṣot* (*ṣāyet*) ‘to listen’ with the third masculine singular and second plural object suffixes. Normally this verb takes its object with the preposition *min*; when the direct object is appended directly to the verb, it means ‘to watch s.o. or s.t.’ rather than ‘to listen to s.o. or s.t.’

Table 33: II-Weak & Geminate Perfectives w/ Object Suffixes

Person	Verb + V-		Verb + C-	
3 sg m	$C_1V.C_3$-	*ṣāt-i*	$C_1V.C_3$-	*ṣat-ḵon*
3 sg f	C_1VC_3-*t*-	*ṣat-t-i*	$C_1V.C_3$-*at*-	*ṣāt-at-ḵon*
2 sg	C_1VC_3-*t*-	*ṣat-t-i*	-	-
1 sg	C_1VC_3-*t*-	*ṣat-t-i*	$C_1V.C_3$-*it*-	*ṣāt-it-ḵon*

Table 33 (Cont.):

3 pl	C$_1$V.C$_3$-*on.n-*	*ṣat-onn-i*	C$_1$V.C$_3$-*on-*	*ṣat-on-ḵon*
2 pl	C$_1$VC$_3$-*ton.n-*	*ṣat-tonn-i*	-	-
1 pl	C$_1$VC$_3$-*n-*	*ṣat-n-i*	C$_1$V.C$_3$-*ni-*	*ṣat-ni-ḵon*

Table 34 illustrates the paradigm of the verb *ṣat* ~ *ṣot (ṣāyet)* ‘to listen’ in the imperative with the third masculine singular. Note that the masculine and feminine singular forms of the imperative merge before object suffixes beginning with a vowel.

Table 34: II-Weak & Geminate Imperatives w/ Object Suffixes

Person	Verb + V-	
2 sg	C$_1$o.C$_3$-	*ṣot-i*
2 pl	C$_1$o.C$_3$-*on.n-*	*ṣot-onn-i*

Table 35 illustrates the paradigm of the verb *ṣat* ~ *ṣot (ṣāyet)* ‘to listen’ in the imperfective with the third masculine singular and second plural object suffixes. Note that all third person imperfective forms take the enclitic object marker *-l-* before the object suffix; the final consonant of the third plural personal suffix *-en* assimilates to the enclitic object marker.

Table 35: II-Weak & Geminate Imperfectives w/ Object Suffixes

Person	Verb + -V / -VC		Verb + CVC	
3 sg m	*qə*-C$_1$i.yeC$_3$-*l-*	*qə-ṣiyet-l-i*	*qə*-C$_1$i.yeC$_3$-*lə-*	*qə-ṣiyet-lə-ḵon*
3 sg f	*qə*-C$_1$i.C$_3$-*ā-l-*	*qə-ṣit-ā-l-i*	*qə*-C$_1$i.C$_3$-*āl-*	*qə-ṣit-ā-l-ḵon*
2 sg	*qə*-C$_1$i.C$_3$-*āt-*	*qə-ṣit-āt-i*	-	-
1 sg	*qə*-C$_1$i.yeC$_3$-*n-*	*qə-ṣiyet-n-i*	*qə*-C$_1$i.yeC$_3$-*nā-*	*qə-ṣiyet-nā-ḵon*
3 pl	*qə*-C$_1$i.C$_3$-*əl.l-*	*qə-ṣit-əl-l-i*	*qə*-C$_1$i.C$_3$-*el-*	*qə-ṣit-əl-ḵon*
2 pl	*qə*-C$_1$iC$_3$-*ton.n-*	*qə-ṣit-tonn-i*	-	-
1 pl	*qə*-C$_1$iC$_3$-*nann-*	*qə-ṣit-nann-i*	*qə*-C$_1$i.C$_3$-*nan-*	*qə-ṣit-nan-ḵon*

III-Weak Verbs

Much like the II-weak and geminate roots, III-weak roots derive from a variety of sources. These include roots with the semivowels /j/ and /w/ as their third radicals (e.g. *həzā* ~ *həzi (hāzi)* ‘to see’); roots originally terminating in /ʔ/ and /ʕ/ (e.g. *ṣəḇā* ~ *ṣəḇi (ṣāḇi)* ‘to baptize'); and roots originally ending in /h/ and /ħ/, which merged to /h/ and were eventually lost in this position.[172] The verb *gənab̠ ~ gənob̠ (gāneb̠)* 'to steal' also occasionally behaves like a member of this class (in which case it is conjugated exactly like *gənā ~ gəni (gāni)* 'to sleep').

III-Weak Perfective and Imperative

The root likewise remains relatively stable throughout the paradigm, with few allomorphs. The basic form of the perfective is C_1əC_2ā, e.g. (5.27). The masculine singular form of the imperative is C_1əC_2i, e.g. (5.28), and the feminine singular form of the imperative is C_1əC_2e, e.g. (5.29). Before personal suffixes beginning with a vowel, both the perfective and the imperative become C_1əC_2-, e.g. (5.30). Before personal suffixes beginning with a consonant, they become C_1əC_2i-, e.g. (5.31). In contrast with the other root consonant classes, the third plural personal suffix of the perfective and the plural personal suffix of the imperative are both *-on*, e.g. (5.32).

(5.27)	*həzā*	he saw
(5.28)	*həzi*	see (m.sg.)!
(5.29)	*həze*	see (m.sg.)!
(5.30)	*həzit*	I saw
(5.31)	*həziton*	you (pl.) saw
(5.32)	*həzon*	they see or see (pl.)!

When preceded by the negative morpheme, the stem assumes the form -C_1C_2-, e.g. (5.33), or -C_1C_2i-, e.g. (5.34).

(5.33)	*láhzat*	she didn't see
(5.34)	*láhziton*	you (pl.) didn't see

As noted above, the stem of a III-weak verb always assumes the form C_1əC_2- before personal suffixes beginning with a vowel. Before the object suffixes that begin with a vowel, the root assumes the form C_1əC_2i-, e.g. (5.35). Consult the section on object suffixes for more details.

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[172] This group is represented by the passive participles *pəṯi* 'empty' (CM **ptia** 'open, wide, broad') and *əmšabbā* 'praised' (CM **mšaba** id.)

(5.35) *ṣəb̠yi* he baptized him

This category also includes a few verbs that have another weak radical in addition to the weak final radical, such as the verbs *aṯā* ~ *doṯi (āṯi)* ‘to come’ and *həwā* ~ *həwi (hāwi)* ‘to be.’ The latter root behaves like a III-weak verb, as the middle radical is treated as a strong radical in the conjugation of the verb. The former root manifests some of the features of the I-weak roots as well as the III-weak root in the perfective, as illustrated in Table 36.

Table 36: The Perfective and Imperative of *aṯā* ~ *aṯi (āṯi)*

	Independent	Verb + V or VC	Verb + CV or CVC
Perfective	*aṯā*	*aṯ-*	*aṯi-*
Neg. Perfective	*láṯā*	*laṯ-*	*láṯi-*
Imperative	*doṯi*	*doṯ-*	*doṯi-*

The prefix *d-* found on the imperative of *aṯā* ~ *doṯi (āṯi)* is anomalous and not attested in Classical Mandaic. Macuch suggests that it is derived from a “modern Syriac” adverb *dū* ‘so, then.’[173] Another potential candidate is the colloquial Iraqi Arabic particle *d(i)*, which intensifies the meaning of the ordinary form of the imperative.[174] This particle also appears in the Neo-Aramaic dialect of Jilu.[175]

III-Weak Indicative and Subjunctive

Much like the perfective and imperative, the imperfective is fairly stable throughout its conjugation. In the indicative, the morpheme *q-* is optionally prefixed to this form of the verb, and an anaptyctic vowel intervenes between the morpheme and the initial consonant of the participle, as in the strong verb, e.g. (5.36).

(5.36) *qədāri* he takes

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[173] Macuch, *Handbook*, 306.

[174] Salih L. Altoma, *The Problem of Diglossia in Arabic: A Comparative Study of Classical and Iraqi Arabic* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1969), 66. See Haim Blanc, *Communal Dialects in Baghdad* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1964), 117 for this particle in the dialect of Baghdad.

[175] Samuel Ethan Fox, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Jilu* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1997), 100, fn. 16.

The stem of the III-weak imperfective, C$_1$āC$_2$i, takes the form C$_1$āC$_2$- before personal suffixes beginning with vowels, e.g. (5.37), and the form C$_1$āC$_2$i- before object suffixes beginning with vowels, e.g. (5.38) and (5.39), with the exception of the third masculine singular suffix *-i* (see Table 38 below). Note that the first and second plural personal suffixes are disyllabic, and therefore draw the accent away from the initial syllable of the participle, causing the vowel to become reduced to its lax equivalent, /a/, resulting in the pattern C$_1$aC$_2$-, e.g. (5.40).

(5.37)	*qəmāhen*	they hit
(5.38)	*qəmāhya*	he hits her
(5.39)	*qəhawinā*	I will be
(5.40)	*qəṣaḇenni*	we will baptize

In the imperfective of *aṯā ~ doṯi (āṯi)* ‘to come,’ the morpheme *q-* is usually prefixed directly to the participles that begin with a vowel, e.g. (5.41). The vowel of the initial syllable does not succumb to umlaut, due to the fact that it is regularly uvularized after the imperfective suffix *q-*. It will, however, be reduced to its lax equivalent /a/ in pretonic position, e.g. (5.42).

(5.41)	*qāṯi*	he comes
(5.42)	*qaṯinā*	I come

Personal Suffixes on the III-Weak Verb

Table 37 illustrates the personal suffixes found on the perfective, imperfective, and the imperative.

Table 37: Personal Suffixes on III-Weak Verbs

Person	Perfective	Imperative	Imperfective
3 sg m	C$_1$ə.C$_2$ā	-	*qə*-C$_1$ā.C$_2$i
3 sg f	C$_1$ə.C$_2$-*at*	-	*qə*-C$_1$āC$_2$y-*ā*
2 sg	C$_1$ə.C$_2$e-*t*	C$_1$ə.C$_2$i	*qə*-C$_1$ā.C$_2$e-*t*
1 sg	C$_1$ə.C$_2$-*it*	-	*qə*-C$_1$a.C$_2$i-*nā*
3 pl	C$_1$ə.C$_2$-*on*	-	*qə*-C$_1$ā.C$_2$-*en*
2 pl	C$_1$ə.C$_2$i-*ton*	C$_1$ə.C$_2$-*on*	*qə*-C$_1$a.C$_2$-*etton*
1 pl	C$_1$ə.C$_2$i-*ni*	-	*qə*-C$_1$a.C$_2$-*enni*

Much like the personal suffixes found on the strong verb, these personal suffixes also have contextual forms, which are used most commonly before complements. Unlike the strong verb, the third plural form of the perfective does not have a contextual form. The contextual form of the first singular personal suffix of the imperfective is *-n* rather than *-nā*, and the contextual form of the first plural morpheme of the imperfective is *-én* rather than *-enni* (note that the accent is retained on the first syllable of the morpheme).

The III-Weak Verb with Object Suffixes

The addition of object suffixes (and occasionally the enclitic object marker *-l-*) results in substantial changes to the form of the stem and any personal suffixes that may be attached to it. Table 38 illustrates the paradigm of the verb *həzā* ~ *həzi* (*hāzi*) 'to see' in the perfective with the third masculine singular and second plural object suffixes.

Table 38: The III-Weak Perfective with Object Suffixes

Person	Verb + V-		Verb + C-	
3 sg m	C_1ə.C_2-	*həz-i*	C_1ə.C_2i-	*həzi-ḵon*
3 sg f	C_1ə.C_2-*āt-*	*həz-āt-i*	C_1ə.C_2-*āt-*	*həz-āt-ḵon*
2 sg	C_1ə.C_2-*āt-*	*həz-āt-i*	-	-
1 sg	C_1ə.C_2-*it-*	*həz-it-i*	C_1ə.C_2-*it-*	*həz-it-ḵon*
3 pl	C_1ə.C_2-*on.n-*	*həz-onn-i*	C_1ə.C_2-*on-*	*həz-on-ḵon*
2 pl	C_1ə.C_2i-*ton.n-*	*həzi-tonn-i*	-	-
1 pl	C_1ə.C_2i-*n-*	*həzi-n-i*	C_1ə.C_2i-*n-*	*həzi-ni-ḵon*

Note that the final vowel of the third masculine singular form of the verb is elided before the third masculine singular object suffix. This also occurs to the first plural form of the verb before the same object suffix, with the result that the form with this object suffix, i.e. "we saw him," is identical to the form with any object suffix, i.e. "we saw." Table 39 illustrates the paradigm of the verb *həzā* ~ *həzi* (*hāzi*) 'to see' in the imperative with the third masculine singular and second plural object suffixes.

Table 39: The III-Weak Imperative with Object Suffixes

Person	Verb + V-			
2 sg	C_1o.C_2.-	*hoz-i*	or	*hozy-i*
2 pl	C_1ə.C_2-*on.n-*	*həz-onn-i*		

Note that the masculine and feminine singular forms of the imperative merge before the object suffixes. Note also that the final vowel of the third masculine singular form of the verb is elided before the third masculine singular object suffix, as in the perfective, although it occasionally reappears.

Table 40 illustrates the paradigm of the verb *həzā* ~ *həzi (hāzi)* 'to see' in the imperfective with the third masculine singular and second plural object suffixes.

Table 40: The III-Weak Imperfective with Object Suffixes

Person	Verb + V-		Verb + C-	
3 sg m	*qə*-C_1a.C_2i-*l-*	*qə-hazi-l-i*	*qə*-C_1a.C_2i-*l-*	*qə-hazi-l-k̠on*
3 sg f	*qə*-C_1aC_2.y-*āl-*	*qə-hazy-ā-l-i*	*qə*-C_1aC_2.y-*āl-*	*qə-hazy-ā-l-k̠on*
2 sg	*qə*-C_1aC_2.y-*āt-*	*qə-hazy-āt-i*	-	-
1 sg	*qə*-C_1a.C_2i-*n-*	*qə-hazi-n-i*	*qə*-C_1a.C_2i-*n-*	*qə-haz-in-k̠on*
3 pl	*qə*-C_1a.C_2-*el.l-*	*qə-haz-el-l-i*	*qə*-C_1a.C_2-*el-*	*qə-haz-el-k̠on*
2 pl	*qə*-C_1aC_2-*ton.n-*	*qə-haz-tonn-i*	-	-
1 pl	*qə*-C_1aC_2-*nann-*	*qə-haz-nann-i*	*qə*-C_1aC_2-*nan-*	*qə-haz-nan-k̠on*

Note that all third person imperfective forms take the enclitic object marker *-l-* before the object suffix; the final consonant of the third plural personal suffix *-en* assimilates to the enclitic object marker. In this particular verb, the final consonant of the stem assimilates in voice to the initial consonant of the personal suffix in the second plural form: *qəhaztonni* [qəhæsˈtonni] 'you see him.'

Irregular Verbs

A number of important verbs defy classification, either because they are deficient in one or more of their principle parts or make use of suppletive stems. These include the verbs *abā (bāyi)* 'to want' (no imperative); *ezgā* ~ *ezgi (āzi)* 'to go;' *tammā* 'to become' (no imperative or imperfective); and the pseudo-verbs *yād* 'to know' (a Persian loan word) and *qomb-*.

The Verb abā (bāyi)

The verb *abā (bāyi)* 'to want' generally behaves like *aṯā ~ doṯi (āṯi)* 'to come'in the perfective; Table 41 illustrates its forms with the personal suffixes.

Table 41: The Perfective of *abā (bāyi)*

	Singular	Plural
3 m	*abā*	*ab-on*
3 f	*ab-at*	*ab-on*
2	*abe-t*	*abi-ton*
1	*ab-it*	*abi-ni*

The verb *abā (bāyi)* has no imperative form. When the negative morpheme *lá-* is prefixed to the verbal root, its vowel is elided, e.g. (5.42).

(5.42) *labit* I didn't want

The imperfective of the verb, illustrated in Table 42, is formed with the suppletive stem *b-*$^{w}/_{y}$-$^{w}/_{y}$.

Table 42: The Imperfective of *abā (bāyi)*

	Singular	Plural
3 m	*qə-bāyi*	*qə-beyy-en*
3 f	*qə-beyyā*	*qə-beyy-en*
2	*qə-bā-t*	*q-ab-etton*
1	*q-abi-nā*	*q-ab-enni*

The third singular and plural forms of the paradigm appear to be derived from the root *b-*$^{w}/_{y}$-$^{w}/_{y}$ with II- and III-weak radical consonants, as is the second singular form. In these forms, an anaptyctic vowel intervenes between the morpheme and the initial consonant. By contrast, all of the other forms appear to be derived from the root ˀ-*b-*$^{w}/_{y}$ with I- and III- weak radical consonants like *aṯā ~ doṯi (āṯi)*. In these forms, the indicative morpheme is attached directly to the participle. No subjunctive or passive forms are associated with this verb.

The Verb ezgā ~ ezgi (āzi)

The conjugation of the verb *ezgā ~ ezgi (āzi)* 'to go' resembles that of the III-weak verbs in the perfective and the imperative; Table 43 illustrates the forms of its perfective and imperative forms with the personal suffixes.

Table 43: Perfective and Imperative of *ezgā ~ ezgi (āzi)*

	Perfective Singular	Perfective Plural	Imperative Singular	Imperative Plural
3 m	*ezgā*	*ezg-on*		
3 f	*ezg-at*	*ezg-on*		
2 m	*ezg-et*	*ezgi-ton*	*ezgi*	*ezg-on*
2 f	*ezg-et*	*ezgi-ton*	*ezge*	
1	*ezg-it*	*ezgi-ni*		

When the negative morpheme *lá-* is prefixed to the verbal root, the vowel of the negative morpheme is elided, e.g. (5.43).

(5.43) *lezgini* we didn't go

The conjugation of the imperfective of the verb, illustrated in Table 44, is characterized by a pair of suppletive forms, much like *abā (bāyi)*. Unlike *abā (bāyi)*, however, the second of the two suppletive forms of the imperfective is derived from a separate root, CM **al** ~ **ʿul** (**aiil**) 'to enter.' Furthermore, either one of these two forms may be employed for each inflected form of the root, although the forms derived from CM **al** ~ **ʿul** (**aiil**) are more common (with the exception of the third masculine singular form, which is not attested).

Table 44: Imperfective of *ezgā ~ ezgi (āzi)*

	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
3 m	*q-āzi*	*q-āz-en*	-	*q-all-en*
3 f	*q-āzyā*	*q-āz-en*	*q-all-ā*	*q-all-en*
2	*q-āze-t*	*q-az-etton*	*q-alle-t*	*q-all-etton*
1	*q-azi-nā*	*q-az-enni*	*q-ali-nā*	*q-all-enni*

The first of the two participles appears to be derived from the root *ezgā* ~ *ezgi* (*āzi*). The radical consonant /g/ has been deleted, with the result that the participle more closely conforms to the pattern of *aṯā* ~ *doṯi* (*āṯi*) and other III-weak verbs. Of the inflected forms of these participles, however, only the third masculine singular is regularly used; note the similarity to the paradigm of the verb *həzā* ~ *həzi* (*hāzi*) above, particularly after the syncope of the initial /h/ (see §2.5.5.1).

By contrast, the suppletive root associated with this verb never appears in the third masculine singular. In fact, no perfective or imperative is associated with this root; it has no independent existence or function apart serving as the imperfective form of this verb. The inflected forms of the imperfective resemble those of the monosyllabic verb, with the exception of the first singular, which conforms to the paradigm of the III-weak verbs. These inflected forms are much more frequently employed in the imperfective of this verb than the forms derived from *ezgā* ~ *ezgi* (*āzi*).

The subjunctive forms are derived from the imperfective, without the indicative marker *q*-. This verb also has a passive participle, *ezgi* 'gone,' e.g. (5.44).

(5.44)	*həz-ø=ø*	*əl=qəmāš-ān=i*	*geš*	*ezgeyy=en*
	see.PFV-3SG.M=3SG.M	REF=clothes-PL=3SG.M	all	go. PASS-3PL

He saw that his clothes were all gone. (VIII.16)

The Verb tammā

The verb *tammā* 'to become' behaves like the III-weak verbs in the perfective; Table 45 illustrates its forms with the personal suffixes.

Table 45: Perfective of *tammā*

	Singular	Plural
3 m	*tammā*	*tamm-on*
3 f	*tamm-at*	*tamm-on*
2	*tamme-t*	*tami-ton*
1	*tamm-it*	*tami-ni*

The contextual form of the third masculine singular is *tam*. As this verb is often followed by its object, this is the form most frequently encountered. This verb is also frequently found in light verbal constructions (see §5.1.1.4 below).

The verb *tammā* has no imperative or imperfective forms. The functions of the latter are always rendered by the imperfective of *həwā* ~ *həwi* (*hāwi*) 'to be,' e.g. (5.45), which becomes (5.46) in the imperfective.

(5.45) *tamām* *tammā-ø*
finished become.PFV-3SG.M it was finished (IV.25)

(5.46) *tamām* *qə=hāwi-ø*
finished IND=be.IPFV-3SG.M it will be finished

The Pseudo-Verbs yād *and* qomb

The Persian loan word *yād* 'memory' is employed in a pseudo-verbal construction, which has seemingly the same semantic range as the verb *bašqer* ~ *bašqer* (*əmbašqer*) 'to know,' but is the less common of the two in the dialect of Khorramshahr. All aspects, moods, and voices of this pseudo-verbal construction, save for the imperfective, are formed analytically with the verb *həwā* ~ *həwi* (*hāwi*) 'to be.' In its form as well as its etymological origins, it is parallel to Persian expressions such as (5.47).

(5.47) *yād-am* *bud-ø*
memory-1SG is.PFV-3SG I remembered (my memory was)

In the imperfective, it is generally preceded by the indicative morpheme *qə-*, but takes the enclitic pronominal suffixes (see §4.1.2) rather than the personal suffixes.

Table 46: Imperfective of *yād*

	Singular	Plural
3 m	*qə-yād-i*	*qə-yād-u*
3 f	*qə-yād-a*	*qə-yād-u*
2 m	*qə-yād-aḵ*	*qə-yād-ḵon*
2 f	*qə-yād-eḵ*	*qə-yād-ḵon*
1	*qə-yād-e*	*qə-yād-an*

Frequently the anaptyctic /ə/ is deleted between the indicative morpheme and the root. Table 47 illustrates the inflected forms of *yād* in the perfective.

Table 47: Perfective of *yād*

	Singular	Plural
3 m	*qə-yād-i həwā*	*qə-yād-u həw-on*
3 f	*qə-yād-a həw-at*	*qə-yād-u həw-on*
2 m	*qə-yād-aḵ həwe-t*	*qə-yād-ḵon həwi-ton*
2 f	*qə-yād-eḵ həwe-t*	*qə-yād-ḵon həwi-ton*
1	*qə-yād-e həw-it*	*qə-yād-an həwi-ni*

In Persian, the grammatical subject of this construction is *yād* ‘memory,’ as in (5.47); note that the copula does not inflect to agree with the logical subject. In Neo-Mandaic, the logical subject of this construction is also the grammatical subject, and the copula inflects to agree with it, as illustrated in Table 47 above. This verb does not appear in the imperative. The pseudoverb *qomb-* ‘to be able,’ which is treated below with the other modals (introduced in §5.1.1.4), is conjugated in an identical fashion.

5.1.1.3 Verbal Stem Classes

Neo-Mandaic verbs may appear in any one or more of seven verbal stems, which are derived from the root of the verb through various inflectional processes, such as vowel apophony, the gemination of root consonants, and the affixation of derivational morphemes, as well as any combination of the preceding. These seven stems include the two basic stems, the *G*-stem or triradical ground stem, and the *Q*-stem or quadriradical verbal stem, and the five derived stems, the *D*-stem or double stem, characterized by a geminated middle radical, the *C*-stem or causative verbal stem, and the so-called reflexives, the *tG*-, *tD*-, and *tC*-stems, characterized by a prefixed derivational morpheme *t*-. These last three stems express the middle voice of their counterparts in the *G*-, *D*-, and *C*- stems. Most Neo-Mandaic roots appear as *G*-stem verbs, although some are attested only as *D*- or *C*-stem verbs; many roots acquired from other languages appear only as *D*- or *Q*- stem verbs.

The G-*Stem*

The *G*-stem or “ground stem,” also known as the *Peel* in grammars of Syriac and other Aramaic languages, is the basic stem for most Neo-Mandaic verbal roots. Unless otherwise noted, all the examples cited in the preceding sections have been culled from the paradigm of the *G*-stem.

The D-*Stem*

The *D*-stem or “double stem,” also known as the *Pael*, comprises a large range of verbal roots, including those that also occur as *G*-stem verbs and those that do not occur in any other stem. The perfective and imperative forms of verbs that appear only within the *D*-stem include transitive and intransitive verbs, as illustrated in Table 48.

Table 48: *D*-Stem Verbs

Transitive		Intransitive	
allep̄ ~ allep̄ (mallep̄)	to teach	*hawwer ~ hawwer (əmhawwer)*	to wash up
arreq ~ arreq (marreq)	to spill		
kammer ~ kammer (əmkammer)	to return	*ṭallel ~ ṭallel (əmṭallel)*	to play
šadder ~ šadder (əmšadder)	to organize		
šayyel ~ šayyel (əmšiyel)	to ask		
zahher ~ zahher (əmzahher)	to protect		

Many of the verbal roots loaned from Arabic appear only as *D*-stem verbs. All of the examples given below are transitive.

ḥaddeṯ ~ ḥaddeṯ (əmḥaddeṯ)	to speak
ḥaṣṣel ~ ḥaṣṣel (əmḥaṣṣel)	to obtain
ṭawweḥ ~ ṭawweḥ (əmṭawweḥ)	to throw
waddi ~ waddi (əmwaddi)	to move

The primary morphological characteristics of the *D*-stem are the gemination of the middle radical and the vowel pattern $C_1aC_2C_2eC_3$ in both the perfective and imperative. The imperfective is formed on the pattern $əmC_1aC_2C_2eC_3$. With the addition of personal or object suffixes to this stem, the accent is moved from the second syllable of the stem, resulting in the simplification of the geminated second radical to $əmC_1aC_2eC_3$- (see §2.6.2.1 for more information on geminate simplification). Note also that the vowel /e/ is colored to /a/ in stressed syllables whenever it is followed by a syllable-closing /r/ or a pharyngeal consonant (see §2.5.1.3). Consequently, the roots *kammer ~ kammer* (*əmkammer*), *šadder ~ šadder* (*əmšadder*), *zahher ~ zahher* (*əmzahher*) and *ṭawweḥ ~ ṭawweḥ* (*əmṭawweḥ*) yield the forms *kamar-*, *šadar-*, *zahar-*, and *ṭawaḥ-* when the accent is drawn to the second syllable of the root.

G-*Stem and* D-*Stem Verbs*

Verbal roots that appear in the *D*-stem as well as the *G*-stem are distinguished from their *G*-stem equivalents semantically, as illustrated in Table 49.

Table 49: *G*-Stem Roots with *D*-Stem Equivalents

G-Stem		*D*-Stem	
yəlep̄ ~ yəlop̄ (yālep̄)	to learn	*allep̄ ~ allep̄ (mallep̄)*	to teach
qərā ~ qəri (qāri)	to read	*qarri ~ qarri (əmqarri)*	to call
zəḇan ~ zəḇon (zāḇen)	to buy	*zabben ~ zabben (əmzabben)*	to sell

While it is difficult to draw any conclusions on the basis of such a small sample size, it would seem that the primary effect of the *D*-stem upon such roots is to increase their transitivity, either by making intransitive verbs transitive, e.g. examples given in (5.48) and (5.49), or by increasing the semantic valence of the verbal root to encompass greater numbers of arguments, e.g. examples (5.50) and (5.51).[176]

(5.48) *anā* *yəlp̄-it* *lešānā* *d=ṣoprā*
I learn.PFV-1SG tongue of=bird
I have learned the language of the birds.[177]

(5.49) *āhā* *qam* *enši* *lá=q=mallep̄-ø*
this to anybody NEG=IND=teach.IPFV-1SG
I won't teach this to anyone. (I.13)

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[176] Payne, *Describing Morphosyntax*, 169–75.

[177] Macuch, *Neumandäische Chrestomathie*, 190.

(5.50)	*ani*	*qar-én*	*əlāw*	*šəḇih-ān-ā*
	we	read.IPFV-1PL	OBJ	evil spirit-PL-AUG

We will enchant the evil spirits. (IV.16)

(5.51)	*q=əmqar-el=l=an*	*ehdi*	*m=ā*	*šerš-ān*	*eḵt-an*
	IND=call.D.IPFV-3PL=OBJ=1PL	one	from=this	religion-PL	COP-1PL

They label us one of these religions. (I.13)

It is also not apparent from the small sample whether these distinctions between the *G*-stem and the *D*-stem represent a productive inflection of the verb or frozen forms restricted purely to the lexicon.

Inflected Forms of the Strong D-*Stem*

As noted above, the past and present stems of the *D*-stem verb are identical, and the participles are formed with the sufformative *m-* (here *əm-*). Whenever the initial syllable loses the accent, the geminated middle radical is simplified (see §2.6.2.1). Before suffixes beginning with a vowel, the vowel of the second syllable has a tendency to be deleted and the gemination of the middle radical is simplified to accommodate the loss of the second syllable of the stem. Table 50 illustrates the personal suffixes found on the perfective, the imperative, and the imperfective.

Table 50: Personal Suffixes on the Strong *D*-Stem Verb

Person	Perfective	Imperative	Imperfective
3 sg m	$C_1aC_2.C_2eC_3$	-	*q*-əm.$C_1aC_2.C_2eC_3$
3 sg f	$C_1aC_2.C_3$-*at*	-	*q*-əm.$C_1aC_2.C_3$-*ā*
2 sg	$C_1aC_2.C_3$-*et*	$C_1aC_2.C_2eC_3$	*q*-əm.$C_1aC_2.C_3$-*et*
1 sg	$C_1aC_2.C_3$-*it*	-	*q*-əm.$C_1a.C_2eC_3$-*nā*
3 pl	$C_1a.C_2eC_3$-*yon*	-	*q*-əm.$C_1aC_2.C_3$-*en*
2 pl	$C_1a.C_2eC_3$-*ton*	$C_1a.C_2eC_3$-*yon*	*q*-əm.$C_1aC_2.C_3$-*etton*
1 pl	$C_1a.C_2eC_3$-*ni*	-	*q*-əm.$C_1aC_2.C_3$-*enni*

Note that the *D*-stem does not distinguish between masculine and feminine forms of the singular imperative, unlike the *G*-stem. Also note that the final radical of this root, /n/, does not assimilate to the following consonant as it does elsewhere (see §2.5.1.1 for further details).

Many of the personal suffixes have contextual forms, which are used most commonly before complements. The contextual form of the first singular form of the imperfective is identical to the third masculine singular of the imperfective, and the contextual form of the first plural form of the imperfective is identical to the third plural form of the imperfective, but remains accented. The contextual form of the imperative plural personal suffix is *-on*. The subjunctive is derived from the imperfective without the indicative marker.

Table 51 illustrates the object suffixes on the strong *D*-stem perfective on the verb *zabben ~ zabben (əmzabben)* 'to sell.' The forms marked by an asterisk are included to illustrate the paradigm, but the use of the second plural personal suffix with this verb was rejected by the informant.

Table 51: The Strong *D*-Stem Perfective with Object Suffixes

Person	Verb + V-		Verb + C-	
3 sg m	$C_1aC_2.C_3$-	*zabn-i*	$C_1a.C_2eC_3$-	**zaben-ḵon*
3 sg f	$C_1a.C_2eC_3$*-t-*	*zaben-t-i*	$C_1a.C_2eC_3$*-t-*	**zaben-t-ḵon*
2 sg	$C_1a.C_2eC_3$*-t-*	*zaben-t-i*	-	-
1 sg	$C_1a.C_2eC_3$*-t-*	*zaben-t-i*	$C_1a.C_2eC_3$*-t-*	**zaben-t-ḵon*
3 pl	$C_1aC_2.C_3$*-on.n-*	*zabn-onn-i*	$C_1aC_2.C_3$*-on-*	**zabn-on-ḵon*
2 pl	$C_1a.C_2eC_3$*-ton.n-*	*zaben-tonn-i*	-	-
1 pl	$C_1a.C_2eC_3$*-n-*	*zaben-n-i*	$C_1a.C_2eC_3$*-ni-*	**zaben-ni-ḵon*

The paradigm of the *D*-stem perfective with object suffixes resembles that of the *G*-stem perfective with object suffixes; while the root takes the form $C_1aC_2eC_3$- or $C_1aC_2C_3$- depending upon whether it is immediately followed by a suffix with a vowel or a consonant (thus opening or closing the preceding syllable), the form of the personal suffixes and object suffixes remains consistent from paradigm to paradigm. Table 52 illustrates the paradigm of the *D*-stem imperative with object suffixes.

Table 52: The Strong *D*-Stem Imperative with Object Suffixes

Person	Verb + V-	
2 sg	$C_1aC_2.C_3$ -	*zabn-i*
2 pl	$C_1aC_2.C_3$*-on.n-*	*zabn-onn-i*

Note that the only distinction between the paradigm of the *D*-stem imperative with object suffixes and that of the *G*-stem imperative with object suffixes is the form of the root. Table 53 illustrates the paradigm of the *D*-stem imperfective with object suffixes.

Table 53: The Strong *D*-Stem Imperfective with Object Suffixes

Person	Verb + V-	Verb + C-
3 sg m	*q*-əm.$C_1a.C_2eC_3$*-l-* *q-əmzaben-l-i*	*q*-əm.$C_1a.C_2eC_3$*-lə-* *q-əmzaben-lə-ḵon
3 sg f	*q*-əm.$C_1aC_2.C_3$*-āl-* *q-əmzabn-ā-l-i*	*q*-əm.$C_1aC_2.C_3$*-āl-* *q-əmzabn-ā-l-ḵon
2 sg	*q*-əm.$C_1aC_2.C_3$*-āt-* *q-əmzabn-āt-i*	- -
1 sg	*q*-əm.$C_1a.C_2eC_3$*-n-* *q-əmzaben-n-i*	*q*-əm.$C_1a.C_2eC_3$*-nā-* *q-əmzaben-nā-ḵon
3 pl	*q*-əm.$C_1aC_2.C_3$*-əl.l-* *q-əmzabn-əl-l-i*	*q*-əm.$C_1aC_2.C_3$*-əl-* *q-əmzabn-əl-ḵon
2 pl	*q*-əm.$C_1a.C_2eC_3$*-ton.n-* *q-əmzaben-tonn-i*	- -
1 pl	*q*-əm.$C_1a.C_2eC_3$*-nann-* *q-əmzaben-nann-i*	*q*-əm.$C_1a.C_2eC_3$*-nan-* *q-əmzaben-nan-ḵon

Once again, the forms marked by an asterisk are included to illustrate the paradigm, but the use of the second plural personal suffix with this verb was rejected by the informant. Note that the final radical of this root, /n/, does not assimilate to the following consonant as it does elsewhere (see §2.5.1.1 for further details).

I-Weak Roots in the D-*Stem*

The paradigm of I-weak verbal roots is identical in most respects to that of the strong verb, with the difference that the sufformative found on the participles assumes the form *m-*, e.g. *allep̄* ~ *allep̄* (*mallep̄*) 'to teach.' The paradigm of the perfective, imperative, and imperfective is illustrated in Table 54.

Table 54: Personal Suffixes on the I-Weak *D*-Stem Verb

Person	Perfective	Imperative	Imperfective
3 sg m	aC$_2$.C$_2$eC$_3$	-	*qə*-maC$_2$.C$_2$eC$_3$
3 sg f	aC$_2$.C$_3$-*at*	-	*qə*-maC$_2$.C$_3$-*ā*
2 sg	aC$_2$.C$_2$eC$_3$-*t*	aC$_2$.C$_2$eC$_3$	*qə*-m aC$_2$.C$_2$eC$_3$-*t*
1 sg	aC$_2$.C$_3$-*it*	-	*qə*-ma.C$_2$eC$_3$-*nā*
3 pl	a.C$_2$eC$_3$-*yon*	-	*qə*-maC$_2$.C$_3$-*en*
2 pl	a.C$_2$eC$_3$-*ton*	a.C$_2$eC$_3$-yon	*qə*-maC$_2$.C$_3$-*etton*
1 pl	a.C$_2$eC$_3$-*ni*	-	*qə*-maC$_2$.C$_3$-*enni*

Table 55 illustrates the objective suffixes on the I-weak *D*-stem perfective, as they appear on the verb *allep̄* ~ *allep̄* (*mallep̄*) 'to teach.'

Table 55: The I-Weak *D*-Stem Perfective with Object Suffixes

Person	Verb + V-		Verb + C-	
3 sg m	aC$_2$.C$_3$-	*alp̄-i*	a.C$_2$eC$_3$-	*alep̄-k̲on*
3 sg f	a.C$_2$eC$_3$-*t-*	*alep̄-t-i*	a.C$_2$eC$_3$-*t-*	*alep̄-t-k̲on*
2 sg	a.C$_2$eC$_3$-*t-*	*alep̄-t-i*	-	-
1 sg	a.C$_2$eC$_3$-*t-*	*alep̄-t-i*	a.C$_2$eC$_3$-*t-*	*alep̄-t-k̲on*
3 pl	aC$_2$.C$_3$-*on.n-*	*alp̄-onn-i*	aC$_2$.C$_3$-*on-*	*alp̄-on-k̲on*
2 pl	a.C$_2$eC$_3$-*ton.n-*	*alep̄-tonn-i*	-	-
1 pl	a.C$_2$eC$_3$-*n-*	*alep̄-n-i*	a.C$_2$eC$_3$-*ni-*	*alep̄-ni-k̲on*

The paradigm of the *D*-stem perfective with object suffixes resembles that of the *G*-stem perfective with object suffixes; while the root takes the form aC$_2$eC$_3$- or aC$_2$C$_3$- depending upon whether it is immediately followed by a suffix with a vowel or a consonant (thus opening or closing the preceding syllable), the form of the personal suffixes and object suffixes remains consistent from paradigm to paradigm. Table 56 illustrates the paradigm of the *D*-stem imperative with object suffixes.

Table 56: The I-Weak *D*-Stem Imperative with Object Suffixes

Person		Verb + V-
2 sg	aC$_2$.C$_3$ -	*alp̄-i*
2 pl	aC$_2$.C$_3$on.n-	*alp̄-onn-i*

Once again, the only distinction between the paradigm of the *D*-stem imperative with object suffixes and that of the *G*-stem imperative with object suffixes is the form of the root. The *D*-stem Table 57 illustrates the paradigm of the *D*-stem imperfective with object suffixes.

Table 57: The I-Weak *D*-Stem Imperfective with Object Suffixes

Person	Verb + V-	Verb + C-
3 sg m	*qə*-ma.C$_2$eC$_3$*-l-*	*qə*-ma.C$_2$eC$_3$*-lə-*
	qə-malep̄-l-i	*qə-malep̄-lə-k̠on*
3 sg f	*qə*-maC$_2$.C$_3$*-āl-*	*qə*-maC$_2$.C$_3$*-ā-l-*
	qə-malp̄-ā-l-i	*qə-malp̄-ā-l-k̠on*
2 sg	*qə*-ma.C$_2$C$_3$*-āt-*	-
	qə-malp̄-āt-i	-
1 sg	*qə*-ma.C$_2$eC$_3$*-n-*	*qə*-ma.C$_2$eC$_3$*-nā-*
	qə-malep̄-n-i	*qə-malep̄-nā-k̠on*
3 pl	*qə*-maC$_2$.C$_3$*-əl.l-*	*qə*-maC$_2$.C$_3$*-əl-*
	qə-malp̄-əl-l-i	*qə-malp̄-əl-k̠on*
2 pl	*qə*-ma.C$_2$eC$_3$*-ton.n-*	-
	qə-malep̄- tonn-i	-
1 pl	*qə*-ma.C$_2$eC$_3$*-nann-*	*qə*-ma.C$_2$eC$_3$*-nan-*
	qə-malep̄-nann-i	*qə-malep̄-nan-k̠on*

Inflected Forms of the II-Weak and Geminate D-*Stem Verb*

Those verbal roots with semivowels as their middle radical, which become monosyllabic throughout most of their *G*-stem paradigms, are conjugated exactly like strong verbs in the perfective and imperative forms of the *D*-stem, e.g. *ṭawweḥ ~ ṭawweḥ (əmṭawweḥ)* ‘he threw.’ The chief exception to this is the verb *šayyel ~ šayyel (əmšiyel)* ‘to ask,’ which is reproduced in Table 58 in its entirety.

Table 58: The Paradigm of *šayyel* ~ *šayyel (əmšiyel)*

Person	Perfective	Imperative	Imperfective
3 sg m	*šayyel*	-	*q-əmšiyel*
3 sg f	*šiel-at*	-	*q-əmšiel-ā*
2 sg	*šayyel-t*	*šayyel*	*q-əmšiyel-t*
1 sg	*šiel-it*	-	*q-əmšiyel-nā*
3 pl	*šiyel-yon*	-	*q-əmšiyel-en*
2 pl	*šiyel-ton*	*šiyel-yon*	*q-əmšiel-etton*
1 pl	*šiyel-ni*	-	*q-əmšiel-enni*

The irregularities of the paradigm are due to the collapse of the diphthong /aɪ/. In the forms collected from Sobbi, the original form of the stem with a geminated middle radical is preserved in the perfective and imperfective (cf. CM **šaiil** 'he asked'), but collapses with the addition of the personal suffixes. With the addition of a suffix beginning with a vowel, the second syllable becomes open and its vowel is syncopated (see §2.6.2.4), resulting in a diphthong (CM **šailit** 'I asked'). In Neo-Mandaic, this diphthong collapses to /i/ (see §2.3.2.1) and the resulting vowel breaks (see §2.5.3.5). Whenever the addition of a suffix would cause the second syllable to remain closed but receive the accent, the diphthong in the preceding syllable collapses to /i/. In the imperfective, the diphthong has collapsed in every form. No examples of originally geminate roots are attested in the *D*-stem.

Inflected Forms of the III-Weak D-*Stem Verb*

III-weak verbal roots behave much as they do in the *G*-stem; the vowel of the second syllable, /i/, is preserved before suffixes that begin with a consonant but elided before suffixes beginning with a vowel. Table 59 illustrates the paradigm of the personal suffixes on the III-weak *D*-stem verb.

Table 59: Personal Suffixes on the III-Weak *D*-Stem Verb

Person	Perfective	Imperative	Imperfective
3 sg m	C$_1$aC$_2$.C$_2$i	-	*q*-əm.C$_1$aC$_2$.C$_2$i
3 sg f	C$_1$aC$_2$.C$_2$-*at*	-	*q*-əm.C$_1$aC$_2$.y-*ā*
2 sg	C$_1$aC$_2$.C$_2$e-*t*	C$_1$aC$_2$.C$_2$eC$_3$	*q*-əm.C$_1$aC$_2$.C$_2$e-*t*
1 sg	C$_1$aC$_2$.C$_2$-*it*	-	*q*-əm.C$_1$a.C$_2$i-*nā*
3 pl	C$_1$a.C$_2$-*yon*	-	*q*-əm.C$_1$aC$_2$.C$_2$-*en*
2 pl	C$_1$a.C$_2$i-*ton*	C$_1$a.C$_2$eC$_3$-yon	*q*-əm.C$_1$a.C$_2$-*etton*
1 pl	C$_1$a.C$_2$i-*ni*	-	*q*-əm.C$_1$a.C$_2$-*enni*

Note that the geminated second radical is simplified whenever the accent shifts from the first syllable of the stem, e.g. (5.52), or the stem is followed by -*yon*, the third plural personal suffix in the perfective and the plural personal suffix in the imperative. In the former forms, the simplification is accompanied by the umlaut of the vowel of the initial syllable (see §2.5.1.2). The latter forms become C$_1$aC$_2$C$_2$-on in context; the other contextual forms resemble those of the III-weak stem, e.g. (5.53). The feminine singular imperative is built upon the pattern C$_1$aC$_2$C$_2$e, e.g. (5.54).

(5.52)	*qəmwadin*	I will take (contextual)
(5.53)	*qəmwadén*	we will take (contextual)
(5.54)	*qarre*	read (f.sg.)!

Table 60 illustrates the objective suffixes on the III-weak *D*-stem perfective, using the verb *waddi* ~ *waddi (əmwaddi)*.

Table 60: The III-Weak *D*-Stem Perfective with Object Suffixes

Person	Verb + V-		Verb + C-	
3 sg m	C$_1$aC$_2$.i-	*wadi-i*	C$_1$a.C$_2$i -	*wadi-k̲on*
3 sg f	C$_1$a.C$_2$i-*t-*	*wadi-t-i*	C$_1$a.C$_2$i-*t-*	*wadi-t-k̲on*
2 sg	C$_1$a.C$_2$i-*t-*	*wadi-t-i*	-	-
1 sg	C$_1$a.C$_2$i-*t-*	*wadi-t-i*	C$_1$a.C$_2$-*it-*	*wad-it-k̲on*
3 pl	C$_1$a.C$_2$-*on.n-*	*wad-onn-i*	C$_1$a.C$_2$-*on-*	*wad-on-k̲on*
2 pl	C$_1$a.C$_2$i-*ton.n-*	*wadi-tonn-i*	-	-
1 pl	C$_1$a.C$_2$i-*n-*	*wadi-n-i*	C$_1$a.C$_2$i-*n-*	*wadi-n-k̲on*

The paradigm of the III-weak *D*-stem perfective with object suffixes resembles that of the III-weak *G*-stem perfective, with the exception of the vowel in the initial syllable. The root assumes the form

C_1aC_2C_2- or C_1aC_2i- depending upon whether it is immediately followed by a suffix with a vowel or a consonant (thus opening or closing the preceding syllable). The form of the personal suffixes and object suffixes remains consistent from paradigm to paradigm. Table 61 illustrates the paradigm of the *D*-stem imperative with object suffixes.

Table 61: The III-Weak *D*-Stem Imperative with Object Suffixes

Person	Verb + V-	
2 sg	C_1aC_2-	*wad-i*
2 pl	C_1a.C_2-*on.n*-	*wad-onn-i*

Note that the masculine and feminine forms of the imperative merge before object suffixes. Note also that the vowel of the root is subjected to umlaut in the forms in which the geminated radical is simplified and followed by the vowel /i/. Table 62 illustrates the paradigm of the *D*-stem imperfective with object suffixes.

Table 62: The III-Weak *D*-Stem Imperfective w/ Object Suffixes

Person	Verb + V-	Verb + C-
3 sg m	*q*-əmC_1a.C_2i-*l*- *q-əmwadi-l-i*	*q*-əmC_1a.C_2i-*l*- *q-əmwadi-l-k̲on*
3 sg f	*q*-əmC_1aC_2.y-*āl*- *q-əmwady-ā-l-i*	*q*-əmC_1aC_2.y-*ā-l*- *q-əmwady-ā-l-k̲on*
2 sg	*q*-əmC_1a.C_2-āt- *q-əmwady-āt-i*	- -
1 sg	*q*-əmC_1a.C_2i-*n*- *q-əmwadi-n-i*	*q*-əmC_1a.C_2i-*nā* *q-əwadin-k̲on*
3 pl	*q*-əmC_1a.C_2e-*l.l*- *q-əmwade-l-l-i*	*q*-əmC_1aC_2.C_2e-*l*- *q-əmwade-l-k̲on*
2 pl	*q*-əmC_1aC_2-*ton.n*- *q-əmwad-tonn-i*	- -
1 pl	*q*-əmC_1aC_2-*nann*- *q-əmwad-nann-i*	*q*-əmC_1aC_2-*nan*- *q-əmwad-nan-k̲on*

The Q*-Stem*

The quadriradical verbs attested in Neo-Mandaic are primarily built upon roots derived from other languages. This category includes a number of fairly common verbs, such as *andeš* ~ *andeš* (*mandeš*) ‘to think, worry’ (Persian) and *pardas* ~ *pardas* (*əmpardas*) ‘to be finished’ (Persian). There are also a small number of originally Mandaic verbs, such as *bašqer* ~ *bašqer* (*əmbašqer*) ‘to know;’ this verb originally meant ‘to examine’ in Classical Mandaic, and appears to be related to the root *b-q-r* ‘to enter into; examine.’[178] The vowel pattern of the *Q*-stem is identical to that of the *D*-stem in all tenses, aspects, and moods, but unlike that of the *D*-stem, the vowel of the second syllable of the *Q*-stem never reduces before vocalic suffixes.

Perfective and Imperative Forms of the Q*-Stem Verb*

The *Q*-stem of the perfective and imperfective remains fairly stable throughout the conjugation of the verb. Without suffixes or before suffixes which begin with consonants, the stem assumes the pattern $C_1aC_2C_3eC_4$, or, in the case of *pardas* ~ *pardas* (*əmpardas*), $C_1aC_2C_3aC_4$. The lax vowel in the second syllable of the root is generally lengthened to its tense equivalent whenever the syllable becomes open and stressed, yielding the pattern $C_1aC_2C_3iC_4$-, e.g. (5.55). The root *pardas* ~ *pardas* (*əmpardas*) has succumbed to paradigmatic pressure, yielding the form *pardis*- rather than the expected ***pardās*-, e.g. (5.56).

(5.55) *andišit* I thought, was concerned
(5.56) *pardisit* I was finished

When the negative morpheme *lá*- is prefixed to the root *andeš*, the vowel is elided, just as it is elided before the I-weak verbal roots (see §2.5.5.3). Note also that the presence of a syllable-closing /r/ results in the opening of the vowel /e/ to /a/ in stressed syllables, as outlined in §2.5.1.3, e.g. (5.57).

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[178] The new root is possibly derived from a metanalysis of the *šaphʿel* form of the stem after the metathesis of the causative morpheme and the initial consonant of the root. For the *šaphʿel* in Classical Mandaic, see Macuch, *Handbook*, 248.

(5.57) *bašqarni* we knew

Q-*Stem Indicative and Subjunctive*

Participles derived from the quadriradical verbs assume the form əmCaCCeC. The indicative morpheme *q-* is generally prefixed to the participle, e.g. (5.58). I-weak quadriradical verbs such as *andeš* ~ *andeš* (*mandeš*) ‘to be worried’ formally resembles the *C*-stem of a strong triradical root (see §5.1.1.3).

(5.58) *qəmbašqarnā* I know
(5.59) *mandeš* worried

The subjunctive is identical to the contextual of the imperfective, without the indicative morpheme. The absence of open syllables precludes any of the vowels from being reduced, as they are in the subjunctive of the strong triradical roots.

Table 63 illustrates the forms of the personal suffixes on the perfective, imperfective, and imperative of the quadriradical verbs.

Table 63: Personal Suffixes on Quadriradical Verbs

Person	Perfective	Imperative	Imperfective
3 sg m	$C_1aC_2.C_3eC_4$	-	*q*-əm.$C_1aC_2.C_3eC_4$
3 sg f	$C_1aC_2.C_3i.C_4$-*at*	-	*q*-əm.$C_1aC_2.C_3i.C_4$-*ā*
2 sg	$C_1aC_2.C_3eC_4$-*t*	$C_1aC_2.C_3eC_4$	*q*-əm.$C_1aC_2.C_3i.C_4$-*et*
1 sg	$C_1aC_2.C_3i.C_4$-*it*	-	*q*-əm.$C_1aC_2.C_3eC_4$-*nā*
3 pl	$C_1aC_2.C_3eC_4$-*yon*	-	*q*-əm.$C_1aC_2.C_3i.C_4$-*en*
2 pl	$C_1aC_2.C_3eC_4$-*ton*	$C_1aC_2.C_3eC_4$-*yon*	*q*-əm.$C_1aC_2.C_3əC_4$-*etton*
1 pl	$C_1aC_2.C_3eC_4$-*ni*	-	*q*-əm.$C_1aC_2.C_3əC_4$-*enni*

Much like the personal suffixes found on the strong verb and the III-weak verbs, these personal suffixes also have contextual forms, which are used most commonly before complements. The contexual form of the third plural perfective and the third plural imperative personal suffixes is -*on*, e.g. (5.60). The contextual form of the first person singular of the imperfective dispenses with the suffix entirely, e.g. (5.62), and the contextual form of the first person plural suffix of the imperfective *-én*, e.g. (5.64). Note that these forms are easily distinguished from the analogous third person forms, in the paradigm of the verb *bašqer ~ bašqer (əmbašqer)* ‘to know,’ e.g. (5.61) and (5.63).

(5.60)	*bašqiron*	they knew; know (pl.)!
(5.61)	*qəmbašqer*	he knows
(5.62)	*qəmbašqar*	I know (contextual)
(5.63)	*qəmbašqiren*	they know
(5.64)	*qəmbašqərén*	we know (contextual)

The Quadriradical Verb with Object Suffixes

The quadriradical verb behaves much like the strong verb before object suffixes. The stem of the verb remains stable throughout the paradigm, the only variation occurring in the second syllable of the stem, the vowel of which becomes tense whenever that syllable becomes open and stressed.

The C*-Stem*

The *C*-stem or causative stem, also known as the *Aphel*, comprises a large number of verbal roots, including those that also occur as *G*-stem verbs and those that do not occur in any other stem. The verbal roots attested within the *C*-stem are transitive, as illustrated in Table 64.

Table 64: *C*-Stem Verbs

abḡeṣ ~ abḡeṣ	*(mabḡeṣ)*	to stop (trans.)
aḥḇi ~ aḥḇi	*(maḥḇi)*	to keep
ahreḇ ~ ahreḇ	*(mahreḇ)*	to destroy
amṭi ~ amṭi	*(mamṭi)*	to bring
andi ~ andi	*(mandi)*	to shake (trans.)
anheṯ ~ anheṯ	*(manheṯ)*	to bring down
asreḵ ~ asreḵ	*(masreḵ)*	to light
aṯṯi ~ aṯṯi	*(maṯṯi)*	to bring
ayhem ~ ayhem	*(mayhem)*	to seat
aymi ~ aymi	*(maymi)*	to promise

The primary morphological characteristics of the *C*-stem are the gemination of the middle radical and the vowel pattern $aC_1C_2eC_3$ in both the perfective and imperative; note that these two forms are identical, e.g. the *D*- and the *Q*-stems. The imperfective is formed on the pattern maC$_1$C$_2$eC$_3$.

G-*Stem and* C-*Stem Verbs*

Verbal roots that appear in the *C*-stem as well as the *G*-stem are distinguished from their *G*-stem equivalents semantically, as illustrated in Table 65.

Table 65: *G*-Stem Roots with *C*-Stem Equivalents

G-Stem		*C*-Stem	
aṯā ~ doṯi (āṯi)	to come	*aṯṯi ~ aṯṯi (maṯṯi)*	to bring
bəḡeṣ ~ bəḡoṣ (bāḡeṣ)	to stay	*abḡeṣ ~ abḡeṣ (mabḡeṣ)*	to make stay
həreḇ ~ həroḇ (hāreḇ)	to be destroyed	*ahreḇ ~ ahreḇ (mahreḇ)*	to destroy
məṭā ~ məṭi (māṭi)	to arrive	*amṭi ~ amṭi (mamṭi)*	to bring
nədā ~ nədi (nādi)	to shake (off)	*andi ~ andi (mandi)*	to make shake
qam ~ qom (qāyem)	to stand	*aqqem ~ aqqem (maqqem)*	to raise
yəhem ~ yəhom (yāhem)	to sit	*ayhem ~ ayhem (mayhem)*	to seat
yəmā ~ yəmi (yāmi)	to swear	*aymi ~ aymi (maymi)*	to promise

In each case, with the exception of the last, the *C*-stem is the causative equivalent of the *G*-stem, as illustrated in examples (5.65) to (5.68). The final verb, *aymi ~ aymi (maymi)* 'to promise,' illustrated in examples (5.69) and (5.70), is also found in the *C*-stem with the meaning 'to adjure' in Classical Mandaic, although the initial consonant of the root becomes /w/ in the *C*-stem, not /j/.[179]

(5.65) *darwiš-ā́ aṯ-on min ġer welāt*
dervish-PL come.PFV-3PL from outside country
Dervishes came from outside the country. (IV.20)

(5.66) *aṯṯi-ø šehyān-ā barnāš-ā*
come.C.PFV-3SG.M ruler-AUG person-AUG
The ruler brought people

qə=bān-en haṯṯā
IND=build.IPFV-3PL new
who built [it] anew. (IV.17)

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[179] E.g. **maumina** 'I adjure;' see Nöldeke, *Mandäische Grammatik*, 246.

(5.67) *məṭ-on* *qār* *ahl-ān=d-u*
arrive.PFV-3PL at family-PL=of=3PL
They arrived at their families' homes. (IV.113)

(5.68) *amṭy-ø=u* *qār* *yəhem* *Əmšuni Kušṭā*
arrive.C.PFV-3SG.M=3PL to sit.PASS.PTC PN
He brought them to a settling place in Əmšuni Kušṭā. (IV.144)

(5.69) *yəmā-ø* *Čečāwā* *bə=rāz-ā* *d=kasy-ā*
swear.PFV-3SG.M PN on=secret-AUG of=private-AUG
Čečāwā swore upon the private secret. (IV.121)

(5.70) *qə=maymi-n=ak̲* *an* *at̲-it*
IND=swear.C.IPFV-1SG=2SG.M 1SG come.PFV-1SG
I promise you, I came

ekkā *gāw* *ḥammām*
thus in hammam
like this to the hammam. (VIII.18)

The form of the I-Y participles in the *C*-stem, which are not directly inherited from Classical Mandaic but rather reformed on the analogy of the strong verb, suggest that this stem continues to be productive in Neo-Mandaic, rather than a purely lexical phenomenon.

Inflected Forms of the Strong C*-Stem*

As noted above, the past and present stems of the *C*-stem verb are identical, and the participles are formed with the derivational morpheme *m-*. Table 66 illustrates the personal suffixes found on the perfective, the imperative, and the imperfective.

Table 66: Personal Suffixes on the Strong *C*-Stem Verb

Person	Perfective	Imperative	Imperfective
3 sg m	aC$_1$.C$_2$eC$_3$	-	*qə*-maC$_1$.C$_2$eC$_3$
3 sg f	aC$_1$.C$_2$e.C$_3$-*at*	-	*qə*-maC$_1$.C$_2$i.C$_3$-*ā*
2 sg	aC$_1$.C$_2$eC$_3$-*t*	aC$_1$.C$_2$eC$_3$	*qə*-maC$_1$.C$_2$eC$_3$-*t*
1 sg	aC$_1$.C$_2$e.C$_3$-*it*	-	*qə*-maC$_1$.C$_2$eC$_3$-*nā*
3 pl	aC$_1$.C$_2$e.C$_3$-*yon*	-	*qə*-m aC$_1$.C$_2$i.C$_3$-*en*
2 pl	aC$_1$.C$_2$e.C$_3$-*ton*	aC$_1$.C$_2$eC$_3$-*yon*	*qə*-maC$_1$.C$_2$ə.C$_3$-*etton*
1 pl	aC$_1$.C$_2$eC$_3$-*ni*	-	*qə*-maC$_1$.C$_2$ə.C$_3$-*enni*

The stem remains fairly stable throughout the paradigm; the feminine participle, upon which the third feminine singular imperfective is based, assumes the form maCCiCā; the plural participle, which is the basis for the plural form, maCCiCen, becomes maCCəCen- when the accent moves from the second syllable of the stem. The *C*-stem of strong roots does not distinguish between masculine and feminine forms of the singular imperative, like the *D*-stem of strong roots but unlike the *G*-stem of strong roots. In this particular verb, the final radical of the root assimilates in voice to the the consonant that immediately follows it, e.g. *ahreḇton* [ahˈrɛfton] ‘you destroyed.’

As with these other stems, some of the personal suffixes have contextual forms. The contextual form of the third plural perfective and the plural imperative personal suffixes is *-on*, e.g. (5.71). Unlike the *G*-stem, the contextual forms of the first person singular (5.73) and plural (5.75) of the imperfective do not fall together with the third person singular (5.72) and plural (5.74).

(5.71)	*ahreḇon*	they destroyed; destroy (pl.)!
(5.72)	*qəmahreḇ*	he destroys
(5.73)	*qəmahrem*	I destroy (contextual)[180]
(5.74)	*qəmahriḇen*	they destroy
(5.75)	*qəmahrəḇén*	we destroy (contextual)

Table 67 illustrates the object suffixes on the strong *C*-stem perfective using the verb *ahreḇ* ~ *ahreḇ* (*mahreḇ*) ‘to destroy.’

Table 67: The Strong C-Stem Perfective with Object Suffixes

Person	Verb + -V / -VC		Verb + CVC	
3 sg m	$aC_1.C_2iC_3$-	*ahriḇ-i*	$aC_1.C_2eC_3$-	*ahreḇ-ḵon*
3 sg f	$aC_1.C_2eC_3$*-t-*	*ahreḇ-t-i*	$aC_1.C_2eC_3$*-t-*	*ahreḇ-t-ḵon*
2 sg	$aC_1.C_2eC_3$*-t-*	*ahreḇ-t-i*	-	-
1 sg	$aC_1.C_2eC_3$*-t-*	*ahreḇ-t-i*	$aC_1.C_2eC_3$*-t-*	*ahreḇ-t-ḵon*
3 pl	$aC_1.C_2e.C_3$*-on.n-*	*ahreḇ-onn-i*	$aC_1.C_2ə.C_3$*-on-*	*ahrəḇ-on-ḵon*
2 pl	$aC_1.C_2eC_3$*-ton.n-*	*ahreḇ-tonn-i*	-	-
1 pl	$aC_1.C_2eC_3$*-n-*	*ahreḇ-n-i*	$aC_1.C_2eC_3$*-ni-*	*ahreḇ-ni-ḵon*

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[180] The /n/ of the first person suffix is usually preserved in the *C*-stem contextual forms; e.g. *qəmabḡeṣṣən* ‘I stopped.’

The paradigm of the *C*-stem perfective with object suffixes resembles that of the *G*-stem perfective with object suffixes; while the stem takes the form aC$_1$C$_2$iC$_3$- whenever the second syllable is open and accented, the form of the personal suffixes and object suffixes remains consistent from paradigm to paradigm. Table 68 illustrates the paradigm of the *C*-stem imperative with object suffixes.

Table 68: The Strong *C*-Stem Imperative with Object Suffixes

Person	Verb + V-	
sg.	aC$_1$.C$_2$i.C$_3$ -	*ahriḇ-i*
pl.	aC$_1$.C$_2$ə.C$_3$*-on.n-*	*ahrəḇ-onn-i*

Note that there is no distinction between the masculine and feminine forms of the imperative in the *C*-stem. Table 69 illustrates the paradigm of the *C*-stem imperfective with object suffixes.

Table 69: The Strong *C*-Stem Imperfective with Object Suffixes

Person	Verb + -V / -VC	Verb + CVC
3 sg m	*qə*-maC$_1$.C$_2$eC$_3$*-l-* *qə-mahreḇ-l-i*	*qə*-maC$_1$.C$_2$eC$_3$*-lə-n* *qə-mahreḇ-lə-ḵon*
3 sg f	*qə*-maC$_1$.C$_2$ə.C$_3$*-ā-l-* *qə-mahrəḇ-ā-l-i*	*qə*-maC$_1$.C$_2$ə.C$_3$*-ā-l-* *qə-mahrəḇ-ā-l-ḵon*
2 sg	*qə*-maC$_1$.C$_2$ə.C$_3$*-āt-* *qə-mahrəḇ-āt-i*	- -
1 sg	*qə*-maC$_1$.C$_2$eC$_3$*-n-* *qə-mahreḇ-n-i*	*qə*-maC$_1$.C$_2$eC$_3$*-nā-* *qə-mahreḇ-nā-ḵon*
3 pl	*qə*-maC$_1$.C$_2$ə.C$_3$*-əl-l-* *qə-mahrəḇ-əl-l-i*	*qə*-maC$_1$.C$_2$ə.C$_3$*-əl-* *qə-mahrəḇ-el-ḵon*
2 pl	*qə*-maC$_1$.C$_2$eC$_3$*-ton.n-* *qə-mahreḇ-tonn-i*	- -
1 pl	*qə*-maC$_1$.C$_2$eC$_3$*-nann-* *qə-mahreḇ-nann-i*	*qə*-maC$_1$.C$_2$eC$_3$*-nan-* *qə-mahreḇ-nan-ḵon*

Inflected Forms of the I-Weak C*-Stem Verb*

The paradigm of I-weak verbal roots in the *C*-stem has fallen together with that of the *D*-stem. Whenever the accent falls on a syllable containing a lax vowel, like the initial syllable of the strong verbal roots in the *C*-stem, the onset of the following syllable is geminated (which corresponds to the second root consonant) and the accented syllable becomes closed (see §2.4.4.2). As the accent shifts, the gemination is lost (see §2.6.2.1), just as it is in the *D*-stem.

The only example of a I-weak verb in the C-stem attested in the texts, *aṯṯi* ~ *aṯṯi* (*maṯṯi*) ‘to bring,’ is doubly weak, and will be discussed below with the III-weak verbs.

Inflected Forms of the II-Weak and Geminate C*-Stem Verb*

Those verbal roots with semivowels as their middle radical, which become monosyllabic throughout most of their *G*-stem paradigms, resemble the I-weak verbs in their conjugation, e.g. *aqqem* ~ *aqqem* (*maqqem*) ‘to raise,’ from *qam* ~ *qom* (*qāyem*) ‘to stand.’ When the stress falls upon the initial syllable, which contains a lax vowel, the onset of the following syllable (here corresponding to the first root consonant rather than the second root consonant) is geminated and the accented syllable becomes closed. When stress moves away from the initial syllable of the root, the gemination is lost. No examples of geminate verbs were attested in the *C*-stem.

Inflected Forms of the III-Weak C*-Stem Verb*

III-weak verbal roots behave much as they do in the *G*-stem; the vowel of the second syllable, /i/, is preserved before suffixes that begin with a consonant but elided before suffixes beginning with a vowel. Table 70 illustrates the paradigm of the personal suffixes on the III-weak *C*-stem verb.

Table 70: Personal Suffixes on the III-Weak *C*-Stem Verb

Person	Perfective	Imperative	Imperfective
3 sg m	aC$_1$.C$_2$i	-	*qə*-maC$_1$.C$_2$i
3 sg f	aC$_1$.C$_2$-*at*	-	*qə*-maC$_1$.C$_2$-*ā*
2 sg	aC$_1$.C$_2$e-*t*	aC$_1$.C$_2$i	*qə*-maC$_1$.C$_2$-*et*
1 sg	aC$_1$.C$_2$-*ít*	-	*qə*-maC$_1$.C$_2$i-*nā*
3 pl	aC$_1$.eC$_2$-*yon*	-	*qə*-maC$_1$.C$_2$-*en*
2 pl	aC$_1$.eC$_2$-*ton*	aCeC-*yon*	*qə*-maC$_1$.C$_2$-*etton*
1 pl	aC$_1$.eC$_2$-*ni*	-	*qə*-maC$_1$.C$_2$-*enni*

Note the two chief allomorphs of the stem, aCeC- before personal suffixes beginning with consonants, and aCC- before those beginning with vowels. Like III-weak verbs in the *D*-stem, III-weak verbs in the *C*-stem distinguish between masculine and feminine forms of the imperative; the feminine imperative has the form aCCe, e.g. *aḥḇe* put away (f.sg.)! The contextual forms of the third plural perfective and the plural imperative are identical to their lexical forms. The contextual form of the first singular imperfective (5.76) is distinguished from the third singular imperfective (5.76), but the third plural imperfective (5.78) and the contextual form of the first plural imperfective (5.79) are distinguished by accent alone, as in the *G*-stem.

(5.76)	*qəmaḥḇi*	he keeps
(5.77)	*qəmaḥḇin*	I keep (contextual)
(5.78)	*qəmaḥḇen*	they keep
(5.79)	*qəmaḥḇén*	we keep (contextual)

Table 71 illustrates the objective suffixes on the perfective of the III-weak *C*-stem verb *aḥḇi* ~ *aḥḇi* (*maḥḇi*) ‘to keep.’

Table 71: The III-Weak *C*-Stem Perfective with Object Suffixes

Person	Verb + -V / -VC		Verb + *l*- or CVC	
3 sg m	aC$_1$.C$_2$-	*aḥḇ-i*	aC$_1$.C$_2$i-	*aḥḇi-ḵon*
3 sg f	a.C$_1$eC$_2$-*t*-	*aḥeḇ-t-i*	a.C$_1$eC$_2$-*t*-	*aḥeḇ-t-ḵon*
2 sg	a.C$_1$eC$_2$-*t*-	*aḥeḇ-t-i*	-	-
1 sg	a.C$_1$eC$_2$-*t*-	*aḥeḇ-t-i*	a.C$_1$eC$_2$-*t*-	*aḥeḇ-t-ḵon*
3 pl	aC$_1$.C$_2$-*on.n*-	*aḥḇ-onn-i*	aC$_1$.C$_2$-*on*-	*aḥḇ-on-ḵon*
2 pl	a.C$_1$eC$_2$-*ton.n*-	*aḥeḇ-tonn-i*	-	-
1 pl	a.C$_1$eC$_2$-*n*-	*aḥeḇ-n-i*	a.C$_1$eC$_2$-*ni*-	*aḥeḇ-ni-ḵon*

The III-weak *C*-stem perfective is distinguished by several traits. The first is the elision of the final vowel of the third masculine singular form before the third masculine singular object suffix,[181] with the result that it resembles the bare stem of the third masculine singular form. The second is the insertion of an anaptyctic vowel between the last two root consonants before suffixes beginning with a consonant, thus preventing a cluster from forming, and giving much of the paradigm (with the exception of the third masculine singular form) the appearance of a I-weak *D*-stem perfective.

The *C*-stem verb *aṯṯi* ~ *aṯṯi (maṯṯi)* ‘to bring,’ which also has a weak first radical, also resembles the *D*-stem in the perfective. It is illustrated with the object suffixes in Table 72.

Table 72: Perfective of *aṯṯi* ~ *aṯṯi (maṯṯi)* with Object Suffixes

Person	Verb + -V / -VC		Verb + *l*- or CVC	
3 sg m	a.C_2i-	*aṯ-i*	a.C_2i-	*aṯi-ḵon*
3 sg f	a.C_2i-*t-*	*aṯi-t-i*	a.C_2i-*t-*	*aṯi-t-ḵon*
2 sg	a.C_2i-*t-*	*aṯi-t-i*	-	-
1 sg	a.C_2i-*t-*	*aṯi-t-i*	a.C_2i-*t-*	*aṯi-t-ḵon*
3 pl	a.C_2-*on.n-*	*aṯ-onn-i*	a.C_2-*on-*	*aṯ-on-ḵon*
2 pl	a.C_2i-*ton.n-*	*aṯi-tonn-i*	-	-
1 pl	a.C_2i-*n-*	*aṯi-n-i*	a.C_2i-*n-*	*aṯi-n-ḵon*

As a result of the simplification of the geminated consonant, the paradigms of the *C*-stem verb *aṯṯi* ~ *aṯṯi (maṯṯi)* ‘to bring’ resembles that of the *G*-stem verb *aṯā* ~ *aṯi (āṯi)* ‘to come’ before the object suffixes; fortunately the latter does not take object suffixes, and therefore no semantic confusion between the two is possible. Table 73 illustrates the paradigm of the *C*-stem imperative with object suffixes.

Table 73: The III-Weak *C*-Stem Imperative with Object Suffixes

Person	Verb + V-	
2 sg	aC_1.C_2-	*aḥḇ-i*
2 pl	aC_1.C_2-*on.n-*	*aḥḇ-onn-i*

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[181] But not, apparently, before the third masculine plural suffix; e.g. *amṯyu* ‘he brought them’ (IV.144).

Note that the feminine and the masculine forms of the singular imperative merge before the object suffixes. The paradigm of the imperative of the doubly weak verb *aṯṯi* ~ *aṯṯi (maṯṯi)* with object suffixes is given in Table 74.

Table 74: Imperative of *aṯṯi* ~ *aṯṯi (maṯṯi)* with Object Suffixes

Person	Verb + V-	
2 sg	a.C_2-	*aṯ -i*
2 pl	a.C_2*-on.n-*	*aṯ-onn-i*

Table 75 illustrates the paradigm of the *C*-stem imperfective with object suffixes.

Table 75: The III-Weak *C*-Stem Imperfective w/ Object Suffixes

Person	Verb + -V / -VC	Verb + CVC
3 sg m	*qə*-ma.C_1eC_2*-l-*	*qə*-ma.C_1eC_2-*lə-*
	qə-maḥeḇ-l-i	*qə-maḥeḇ-lə-ḵon*
3 sg f	*qə*-maC$_1$.C_2-*ā-l-*	*qə*-maC$_1$.C_2-*ā-l-*
	qə-maḥḇ-ā-l-i	*qə-maḥḇ-ā-l-ḵon*
2 sg	*qə*-maC$_1$.C_2-*āt-*	-
	qə-maḥḇ-āt-i	-
1 sg	*qə*-ma.C_1e.C_2-*n-*	*qə*-ma.C_1e.C_2-*nā-*
	qə-maḥeḇ-n-i	*qə-maḥeḇ-nā-ḵon*
3 pl	*qə*-maC$_1$.C_2-*el-l-*	*qə*-maC$_1$.C_2-*el-*
	qə-maḥḇ-el-l-i	*qə-maḥḇ-el-ḵon*
2 pl	*qə.*-ma.C_1eC_2-*ton.n-*	-
	qə-maḥeḇ-tonn-i	-
1 pl	*qə*-ma.C_1eC_2-*nann-*	*qə*-ma.C_1eC_2-*nan-*
	qə-maḥeḇ-nann-i	*qə-maḥeḇ-nan-ḵon*

Once again, the final vowel is elided before personal suffixes, and an anaptyctic vowel is inserted between the first and the second radical, giving the verb the appearance of a I-weak *D*-stem verb.

Table 76 illustrates the *C*-stem imperfective paradigm of *aṯṯi* ~ *aṯṯi (maṯṯi)* with object suffixes. Note again the resemblance to the paradigm of the *D*-stem imperfective.

Table 76: Imperfective of *a̠t̠t̠i* ~ *a̠t̠t̠i (ma̠t̠t̠i)* with Object Suffixes

Person	Verb + -V / -VC		Verb + *l*- or CVC	
3 sg m	*qə*-ma.C_2i-*l-*	*qə-mat̠i-l-i*	*qə*-ma.C_2i-*l-*	*qə-mat̠i-l-k̠on*
3 sg f	*qə*-ma.C_2i-*ā-l-*	*qə-mat̠i-ā-l-i*	*qə*-ma.C_2i-*āl-*	*qə-mat̠i-ā-l-k̠on*
2 sg	*qə*-ma.C_2-*āt-*	*qə-mat̠-āt-i*	-	-
1 sg	*qə*-ma.C_2i-*n-*	*qə-mat̠i-n-i*	*qə*-ma.C_2i-*nā-*	*qə-mat̠i-n-k̠on*
3 pl	*qə*-ma.C_2-*el-l-*	*qə-mat̠-el-l-i*	*qə*-ma.C_2-*el-*	*qə-mat̠-el-k̠on*
2 pl	*qə*-ma.C_2i-*ton.n-*	*qə-mat̠i-tonn-i*	-	-
1 pl	*qə*-ma.C_2i-*n-*	*qə-mat̠i-n-i*	*qə*-ma.C_2i-*n-*	*qə-mat̠i-n-k̠on*

The Reflexive Stems

The so-called "reflexive" stems were originally formed with a derivational morpheme *t-*, which was prefixed to the root of the verb. This derivational morpheme was metathesized with the following radical whenever the root began with a sibilant, e.g. *eṣṭəb̠ā* ~ *eṣṭəb̠i (meṣṭəb̠i)* 'to be baptized.' In all other roots, the derivational morpheme remained in its position before the root and subsequently succumbed to oral depletion (see §2.5.4.2).

Table 77: *tG*-Stem Verbs

eht̠er ~ *eht̠er*	*(meht̠er)*	to be pleased (from *h-t̠-r* 'to rejoice')
epseq ~ *epseq*	*(mepseq)*	to become extinct, lit. to be cut off
eṣṭəb̠ā ~ *eṣṭəb̠i*	*(meṣṭəbi)*	to be baptized
etb̠er ~ *etb̠er*	*(metb̠er)*	to break (intrans.)

The *tG*-stem verbs resemble those in the *C*-stem, save for the forms in which the derivational morpheme has been preserved. For the majority of verbs (i.e. those in which the morpheme has been lost), the vowel pattern is $eC_1C_2eC_3$ in both the perfective and the imperative of the *tG*-stem. The participle derived from this root is built on the pattern $meC_1C_2eC_3$.

The *tD*-stem survives in two verbs, *kammar* ~ *kammar (mekammar)* 'to turn back' and *barrak̠* ~ *barrak̠ (mebarrak̠)* 'to pray.'[182] The vowel of the final syllable and the form of the derivational morpheme *me-* set this verb apart from the regular *D*-stem paradigm. The *tC*-stem is also represented, albeit only by a single unambiguous example, *etaqlaḇ* ~ *etaqlaḇ (metaqlaḇ)* ‘to turn around’ (originally from Arabic).[183] In addition, the verb *ettar* ~ *ettar (mettar)* ‘to wake up’ may also belong to the *tC*-stem. Macuch classifies this verb as a *tC*-stem verb due to the pattern of its vowels and cognate forms in other Aramaic languages, e.g. Syriac ܐܬܬܥܝܪ *ʾettəʿīr* ‘to wake up.’[184] Unfortunately, this root is not attested in Classical Mandaic, but a secondary root (presumably derived from the original *tC*-stem) is attested in the *G*-stem, **ʿtar** ~ **ʿtar** (**atir**) ‘to wake up.’ Consequently, it is not clear whether *ettar* ~ *ettar (mettar)* ‘to wake up’ is a *tG*-stem form derived from the secondary root or a *tC*-stem form derived from the original root, which is unattested in Classical Mandaic.

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[182] Macuch (*Neumandäische Texte*, 65) also sites this verb, in addition to one other, *eštallem* ~ *eštallem (meštallem)* 'to be welcome,' as examples of *tD*-

The lack of other examples of *tD*- and *tC*-stem verbs can just as easily be attributed to the small size of the material collected as the obsolescence of these particular stems. Pending further research, their paradigms will not be reproduced.

G-*Stem and* tG-*Stem Verbs*

Verbal roots that appear in the *tG*-stem as well as the *G*-stem are distinguished from their *G*-stem equivalents semantically, as illustrated in Table 78.

Table 78: *G*-Stem Roots with *tG*-Stem Equivalents

G-Stem		*tG*-Stem	
pəsaq ~ *pəsoq (pāseq)*	to cut	*epseq* ~ *epseq (mepseq)*	to die out
ṣəḇā ~ *ṣəḇi (ṣāḇi)*	to baptize (trans.)	*eṣṭəḇā* ~ *eṣṭəḇi (meṣṭəḇi)*	to baptize (intr.)
təḇar ~ *təḇor (tāḇer)*	to break (trans.)	*etḇer* ~ *etḇer (metḇer)*	to break (intr.)

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stem verbs in the Neo-Mandaic dialect of Ahwāz. The latter verb was not known to my chief informant.

[183] Macuch, *Neumandäische Texte*, 65–66. Macuch also sites this verb and an aditional verb, *etarraq* ~ *etarraq (metarraq)* ‘to be poured,’ as examples of the *tC*-stem. The latter was not recognized by my chief informant.

[184] Macuch, *Neumandäische Texte*, 76.

Contrary to Macuch's observations,[185] the *tG*-stem primarily expresses the middle voice, not the reflexive, of the *G*-stem, as examples (5.80) and (5.81) demonstrate. Note that the grammatical subject of the verb in (5.81) is both the agent of the action described by the verb (the baptizers) as well as the patient (the baptized), thus eliminating the distinction between these two. As a result, translations of verbs in this stem have ranged from the reflexive (e.g. they baptized themselves) to the passive (e.g. they were baptized). Neither truly captures the sense of this stem; note that the impersonal passive (§5.4.3.2), which is the most productive form of the passive in Neo-Mandaic, implies an agent, even though the role of the agent is downplayed, e.g. (5.82).

(5.80)	*Hibel Ziwā*	*ṣəḇi-ø=ø*	*əl=Ādam*
	PN	baptize.PFV-3SG.M=3SG.M	REF=PN

Hibel Ziwā baptized Ādam. (I.9)

(5.81)	*eṣṭəḇ-yon*	*gāw*	*nap̄š*	*maṣbett-ā*
	baptize.tG.PFV-3PL	in	same	baptism-AUG

They baptized according to the same baptism ceremony

illi	*əštā*	*qə=meṣṭəḇ-én*	*gāww-a*
REL	now	IND=baptize.tG.IPFV-1PL	in-3SG.F

with which we baptize today. (I.10)

(5.82) *ṣəḇonni* he was baptized (lit. 'they baptized him')

Text IX also provides a textbook example of a verb in the middle voice:

(5.83)	*etḇer-ø*	*minn=i*	*wuṣle*
	break.tC.PFV-3SG.M	from=3SG.M	piece

A piece broke off of it. (IX.12)

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[185] Macuch, *Handbook*, 247–48.

Inflected Forms of the Strong Reflexive Stem Verbs

Due to the fact that only a limited number of examples of the other so-called “reflexive” stems are thus far attested in the Neo-Mandaic dialect of Khorramshahr, the forms given in this section will represent the *tG*-stem alone. Table 79 illustrates the personal suffixes found on the perfective, the imperative, and the imperfective.

Table 79: Personal Suffixes on the Strong *tG*-Stem Verb

Person	Perfective	Imperative	Imperfective
3 sg m	eC$_1$.C$_2$eC$_3$	-	*qə*-meC$_1$.C$_2$eC$_3$
3 sg f	e.C$_1$əC$_2$.C$_3$-at	-	*qə*-mC$_1$eC$_2$.C$_3$-ā
2 sg	eC$_1$.C$_2$eC$_3$-t	eC$_1$.C$_2$eC$_3$	*qə*-mC$_1$eC$_2$.C$_3$-et
1 sg	e.C$_1$əC$_2$.C$_3$-it	-	*qə*-meC$_1$.C$_2$eC$_3$-nā
3 pl	eC$_1$.C$_2$eC$_3$*-yon*	-	*qə*-mC$_1$eC$_2$.C$_3$-en
2 pl	eC$_1$.C$_2$eC$_3$*-ton*	eC$_1$.C$_2$eC$_3$*-yon*	*qə*-mC$_1$eC$_2$.C$_3$-etton
1 pl	eC$_1$.C$_2$eC$_3$-*ni*	-	*qə*-mC$_1$eC$_2$.C$_3$-enni

The perfective and imperative of the *tG*-stem verb are identical, and the participles are formed with the derivational morpheme *m-*. Note that the accent is usually retained on the initial syllable of the stem, with the result that the vowel of the second syllable is not lengthened as it is in the *Q*-stem. The *tG*-stem of strong roots does not distinguish between masculine and feminine forms of the singular imperative, like the other derived stems of strong roots.

As in the other stems of the verb, some of the personal suffixes have contextual forms, which are used most commonly before complements. The contextual form of the third plural perfective personal suffix and the plural imperative personal suffix is *-on*. The contextual form of the first singular form of the imperfective is distinguished from that of the third masculine singular only by accent, as are the contextual forms of the first plural and the third plural forms of the imperfective. The subjunctive is derived from the imperfective without the indicative marker.

As the *tG*-stem represents the middle voice, verbs in this stem do not appear with object suffixes.

The Verb ‘To Baptize’

The only verb attested in the reflexive stems with a weak radical also happens to be one of a small number of verbs to preserve the derivational morpheme *t*- (another, observed by Macuch but not attested in the Neo-Mandaic dialect of Khorramshahr, is the verb *eštallam ~ eštallam (meštallam)* ‘to be welcome’). Table 80 illustrates the personal suffixes found on the perfective, the imperative, the imperfective of the verb *eṣṭəḇā ~ eṣṭəḇi (meṣṭəḇi)* ‘to baptize (intr.).’

Table 80: Personal Suffixes on the Verb “To Baptize”

Person	Perfective	Imperative	Imperfective
3 sg m	*eṣṭəḇā*	-	*qə-meṣṭəḇi*
3 sg f	*eṣṭəḇ-at*	-	*qə-meṣṭəḇ-ā*
2 sg	*eṣṭəḇ-et*	*eṣṭəḇi*	*qə-meṣṭəḇ-et*
1 sg	*eṣṭəḇ-it*	-	*qə-meṣṭəḇ-nā*
3 pl	*eṣṭəḇ-yon*	-	*qə-meṣṭəḇ-en*
2 pl	*eṣṭəḇ-ton*	*eṣṭəḇ-yon*	*qə-meṣṭəḇ-etton*
1 pl	*eṣṭəḇ-ni*	-	*qə-meṣṭəḇ-enni*

Naturally, several of the forms given in this paradigm also appear in contextual forms. The contextual form of the third plural perfective personal suffix and the plural imperative personal suffix is *-on*. The contextual form of the first singular form of the imperfective is distinguished from that of the third masculine singular only by accent, as are the contextual forms of the first plural and the third plural forms of the imperfective. The subjunctive is derived from the imperfective without the indicative marker.

The verb *eṣṭəḇā ~ eṣṭəḇi (meṣṭəḇi)* ‘to baptize (intr.)’ does not take object suffixes.

5.1.1.4 Verb Category Classes

Neo-Mandaic verbs can be classified as lexical verbs, phrasal verbs, copular verbs, auxiliary verbs, and modal verbs according to their meaning and syntactic function.

Lexical Verbs

Lexical verbs (or main verbs) compose the largest category of verbs in the Neo-Mandaic lexicon. Unlike phrasal verbs, the meaning of the verb is derived entirely from the verb itself, which constitutes the minimal predicate of the clause. The morphology of the lexical verb is described in sections §5.1.1.1 through §5.1.1.3. Further examples of the lexical verb are given in (5.84) and (5.85).

(5.84)	*bədq-ø=ø*	*əl=kərāy=i*	*tuṯ=i*
	put.PFV-3SG.M=3SG.F	REF=leg=3SG.M	under=3SG.M
	He stuck his leg beneath him. (VII.2)		

(5.85)	*hafte*	*horet-t-ā*	*aṯā-ø*	*Joḥa*
	week	other-F-AUG	come.PFV-3SG.M	PN
	Joha came the following week. (X.9)			

Phrasal Verbs

Phrasal verbs, which compose a very large and productive class of verbs in Neo-Mandaic, consist of a verbal element and a non-verbal element, which form a single semantic and syntactic unit. The non-verbal element is most often a noun such as *əḇādā* ‘deed,’ e.g. the compound *əḇād əḇad ~ əḇod (āḇed)* ‘to work or to do something,’ or an adjective such as *həyānā* ‘alive,’ e.g. the compound *həyānā tammā* ‘to survive,’ although prepositions such as *qār* ‘at,’ e.g. the compound *qār tammā* ‘to be born to s.o.,’ are attested.

Although phrasal verbs are attested in Classical Mandaic, most Neo-Mandaic phrasal verbs are calqued upon Persian phrasal verbs, and most non-verbal elements are Persian or Arabic loan words. Even those phrasal verbs attested in Classical Mandaic have not escaped the influence of the Persian compounds. Compare the Classical Mandaic phrasal verb in (5.86) with the Neo-Mandaic phrasal verb in (5.87), which has probably been influenced by the Persian phrasal verb in (5.88).

(5.86)	**zipa abid**	he lies (lit. he lie-does)
(5.87)	*zip̄ qāheḇ*	he lies (lit. he lie-gives)
(5.88)	*ferib midehad*	he lies (lit. he lie-gives)

In many phrasal verbs, the verbal element is a “light” verb, which serves only to indicate verbal inflections such as person, tense, mood, and aspect; the meaning of these compounds is primarily derived from the non-verbal element. The most common light verbs are *əḇad ~ əḇod (āḇed)* ‘to do,’ *əhaḇ ~ əhoḇ (āheḇ)* ‘to give,’ *məhā ~ məhi (māhi)* ‘to hit,’ and *tammā* ‘to become,’ which closely correspond to the Persian light verbs *kardan*, *dādan*, *zadan*, and *šodan*. Other phrasal verbs are formed when a generic or non-specific noun becomes incorporated into meaning of the verb and ceases to be treated as its grammatical patient. The non-verbal element always precedes the verbal element.

Table 81: Some Examples of Phrasal Verbs

Main or Light Verb	Gloss	Phrasal Verb	Gloss
əḇad ~ əḇod (āḇed)	to do	*hiṯrā əḇad ~ əḇod (āḇed)*	to celebrate
əhaḇ ~ əhoḇ (āheḇ)	to give	*ṣubāḥ ṭāḇ əhaḇ ~ əhoḇ (āheḇ)*	to say good morning
əmar ~ əmor (āmer)	to say	*farwāh əmar ~ əmor (āmer)*	to thank
aṯā ~ doṯi (āṯi)	to come	*wayyeq aṯā ~ doṯi (āṯi)*	to become distressed
bəḡeṣ ~ bəḡoṣ (bāḡeṣ)	to stand	*bandí bəḡeṣ ~ bəḡoṣ (bāḡeṣ)*	to confine oneself
dərā ~ dəri (dāri)	to take	*ḥammām dərā ~ dəri (dāri)*	to bathe
ezgā ~ ezgi (āzi)	to go	*ohrā ezgā ~ ezgi (āzi)*	to walk
həzā ~ həzi (hāzi)	to see	*radpā həzā ~ həzi (hāzi)*	to be persecuted
məhā ~ məhi (māhi)	to hit	*safár məhā ~ məhi (māhi)*	to start a journey
məṯā ~ məṯi (māṯi)	to lift	*id məṯā ~ məṯi (māṯi)*	to give up, desist
šaṯ ~ šiṯ (šāyeṯ)	to drink	*ḥašiš šaṯ ~ šiṯ (šāyeṯ)*	to smoke hashish
tammā	to become	*tamām tammā*	to be finished

Stress in Phrasal Verbs

Primary stress in the Phrasal verb (indicated by an acute accent) falls on the last syllable of the non-verbal element; the verbal element also receives secondary stress (indicated by a grave accent) on the expected syllable (see §2.4.4.3).

(5.89) *aṯ-on* *qāḇín* *əḇàd-yon* *m=Aḥwāz*
come.PFV-3PL marriage do.PFV-3PL from=PN
They came from Ahvāz to hold a wedding. (II.10)

(5.90) *tājér* *jawā́b* *əhàḇ-ø* *rā́st* *q=ā̀mr-et*
merchant answer give.PFV-3SG.M right IND=speak.IPFV-2SG
The merchant responded, “You are correct.” (V.12)

(5.91)	*ḥammā́m*	*dərā̀-ø*	*tum*	*nəp̄aq-ø*
	bath	take.PFV-3SG.M	then	exit.PFV-3SG.M

He took a bath and then came out. (VIII.7)

Negation in Phrasal Verbs

The negative morpheme *lá-* is prefixed to the verbal element of the phrasal verb to negate it. Because the negative morpheme is always stressed, the primary stress of the phrasal verb moves to the negative morpheme, leaving a secondary stress on the pre-verbal element.

(5.92)	*ā*	*Čečāwā*	*zìp̄*	*lá=q=āheb̲-ø*
	this	PN	deceit	NEG=IND=give.IPFV-3SG.M

This Čečāwā doesn’t lie. (IV.134)

(5.93)	*pešimā́n*	*tàmm-on*	*kammā*	*bandìr*	*lá=bḡeṣ-yon*
	penitent	become.PFV-3PL	how	prisoner	NEG=stop.PFV-3PL

They regretted that they had not stayed put. (IV.146)

Generic Objects in Phrasal Verbs

Generic and non-specific objects do not follow the verb, but become incorporated into the meaning of the verb, and appear before it (see §3.5.3). As a result, they are not marked with the referential object marker.

(5.94)	*ḥašiš*	*qə=šit̲-en*
	hashish	IND=drink.IPFV-3PL

They smoked hashish (lit. they hashish-drank). (VII.1)

(5.95)	*šam‘*	*qə=masrik̲-en*
	candle	IND=light.C.IPFV-3PL

They lit candles (lit. they candle-lit). (IV.20)

Object Agreement in Compound Verbs

Definite nouns may be identified as the object of the verb by the referential object marker *əl-* (see §3.5.2) or form oblique complements (see §3.5.4) by means of prepositions:

(5.96)	*qə=beyy-en*	*komák*	*ab̲del=l=ø*	*əl=Rusya*
	IND=want.IPFV-3PL	help	do.SBJV-3PL=OBJ=3SG.F	REF=PN

They wanted to help Russia. (III.2)

(5.97)	*qāḇin*	*əḇad-yon*	*qam*	*yeki*	*qəlāw*	*eṯṯ=i*
	marriage	do.PFV-3PL	to	someone	to	woman=INDF

They married someone to a woman. (II.10)

The object pronominal suffixes are generally attached to the non-verbal element of the compound verb rather than the verbal element.

(5.98)	*əzgā-ø*	*ragʿa=d=a*	*āḇed-ø*
	go.PFV-3SG.M	patch=of=3SG.F	do.SBJV-3SG.M

He has gone to patch her up (lit. to do her patching). (IX.12)

Many non-verbal elements can also take a possessive suffix. In the event that the non-verbal element already has a possessive suffix attached, the object pronominal suffix appears on the verbal element.

(5.99)	*genz*	*jawāb=d=ø*	*ahḇ-it=a*
	much	answer=of=1SG	give.PFV-1SG=3SG.F

I answered her many times (lit. I gave her many of my answers). (IV.20)

(5.100)	*ragʿa=d=aḵ*	*āḇed-ø=l=u*	*geš=d=u*
	patch=of=2SG.M	do.IPFV-3SG.M=OBJ=3PL	all=of=3PL

He will fix all of those things for you. (VI.6)

Copular Verbs and Predicate Nominals

In existential declarative or interrogative statements, the subject of the statement may simply be juxtaposed with its predicate, or linked to it by means of an existential particle with long and short forms. In the latter construction, subject agreement is indicated by means of suffixes on the existential particle. This existential particle does not inflect for tense, aspect, or mood. In other tenses, the verb *həwā* ~ *həwi* (*hāwi*) 'to be' is employed as a copular verb to link the subject and the predicate.

Long and Short Forms of the Copula

In addition to indicating that a question word anticipates the object of a verb, the copula is also used to join the subject of an existential declarative or interrogative statement with a predicate nominal, adjective, or locative. For this purpose, Neo-Mandaic employs long (independent) and short (enclitic) forms of an existential particle.

Table 82: The Short Copula

Person	Singular	Gloss	Plural	Gloss
3	*šəbir-ye*	he is good	*šəbir-non*	they are good
2	*šəbir-yāt*	you are good	-	
1	*šəbir-nā*	I am good	-	

Note that the copula does not distinguish between masculine and feminine gender, and that there are no short forms for the second and first persons plural.[186] The short copula is also employed as an auxiliary verb in the analytic passive construction, with the notable exception of the plural form, which appears only on predicate nominals, e.g. (5.101); the analytic passive plural employs the long copula instead, e.g. (5.102).

(5.101)	*šəbir=non*		
	good=3PL		They are well.
(5.102)	*yəhem*	*ek̲t=u*	
	sit.PASS	COP=3PL	They are seated.

The enclitic pronominal copula is most commonly used with question words, e.g. (5.103), prediate adjectives, e.g. (5.104), and predicate locatives, e.g. (5.105).

(5.103)	*man=ye?*			
	who=3SG.M			Who is he?
(5.104)	*šəbir=nā*			
	good=1SG			I am well.
(5.105)	*ahni*	*barra*	*əm=belāt̲=non*	
	they	outside	from=city=3PL	
	They are outside the city. (III.11)			

The independent and enclitic forms are generally interchangeable. The enclitic forms are negated with the prefix *lu-*, which appears on the noun modified by the copula. The existential particle, which takes the enclitic personal pronouns introduced in §4.1.2, is negated with the negative morpheme *lá-* not:

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[186] The long form of the copula is employed in their place; see Table 83.

Table 83: The Long Copula (and its Negation)

Copula	Gloss	*lá-* + Copula	Gloss
eḵt-i	he is	*l-eḵt-i*	he is not
eḵt-a	she is	*l-eḵt-a*	she is not
eḵt-aḵ	you (m.) are	*l-eḵt-aḵ*	you (m.) are not
eḵt-eḵ	you (f.) are	*l-eḵt-eḵ*	you (f.) are not
eḵt-e	I am	*l-eḵt-e*	I am not
eḵt-u	they are	*l-eḵt-u*	they are not
eḵt-əḵon	you are	*l-eḵt-əḵon*	you are not
eḵt-an	we are	*l-eḵt-an*	we are not

The existential particle always follows the predicate or question word, e.g. (5.106). Predicate nominals, e.g. (5.107), and negative predicates, e.g. (5.108), are indicated by the existential particle or the copular verb *həwā ~ həwi (hāwi)* exclusively.[187]

(5.106) *man* *eḵt=aḵ*
who COP=2SG.M Who are you? (IV.51)

(5.107) *an* *qanāy-ā* *d=kasp-ā* *eḵt=e*
1SG smith-AUG of=silver-AUG COP=1SG
I am a silver smith.

(5.108) *šəḇir* *l=eḵt=e*
good NEG= COP=1SG I am not well.

When followed by the proclitic preposition *l-* 'to, for,' the copula is used for possessive clauses. The long copula is more commonly used for possessive clauses, e.g. (5.109), although the short copula may also be employed, e.g. (5.110).

(5.109) *eh=l=i* *rāz-ā* *d=Šāmeš*
COP=to=3SG.M secret-AUG of=PN
He has the secret of Šāmeš. (IV.135)

(5.110) *ahni* *əl=man=non*
these to=who=3PL Whose are these? (III.11)

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187 Compare the distribution of the Spanish copulas *ser* and *estar*, e.g. *Ofelia está enferma* 'Ofelia is sick,' *Ofelia es enferma* 'Ofelia is a sick woman,' and *Ofelia es profesora* 'Ofelia is a teacher,' but never ***Ofelia está profesora* (examples from Payne, *Describing Morphosyntax*, 120).

Note the unexpected allomorph of the long copula before the proclitic *l-*. The discrepancy between the phonetic realizations of the two allomorphs, *eḵt-* and *eh-*, is attributable to regular sound changes; see §2.4.4.2 and §2.5.4.2. The forms of the long copula before proclitic *l-* are given in Table 84.

Table 84: The Long Copula with Proclitic *l-* (and its Negation)

Copula + *l-*	Gloss	*lá-* + Copula + *l-*	Gloss
eh-l-i	he has	*l-eh-l-i*	he doesn’t have
eh-l-a	she has	*l-eh-l-a*	she doesn’t have
eh-l-aḵ	you (m.) have	*l-eh-l-aḵ*	you (m.) don’t have
eh-l-eḵ	you (f.) have	*l-eh-l-eḵ*	you (f.) don’t have
eh-l-e	I have	*l-eh-l-e*	I don’t have
eh-l-u	they have	*l-eh-l-u*	they don’t have
eh-l-əḵon	you (pl.) have	*l-eh-l-əḵon*	you (pl.) don’t have
eh-l-an	we have	*l-eh-l-an*	we don’t have

This construction always stands at the head of possessive clauses, e.g. (5.111), in contrast with other declarative clauses, in which the predicate nominal always precedes the copula.

(5.111) *eh=l=e* *pas-i*
COP=to=1SG pass-INDF I have a pass. (III.4)

The perfective of the copula is formed with the verb *həwā* ~ *həwi* *(hāwi)* ‘to be,’ the forms of which are given in Table 85.

Table 85: The Verb “To Be” with Proclitic *l-* (and its Negation)

Copula + *l-*	Gloss	*lá-* + Copula + *l-*	Gloss
həwā-l-i	he had	*l-ehwā-l-i*	he didn’t have
həwā-l-a	she had	*l-ehwā-l-a*	she didn’t have
həwā-l-aḵ	you (m.) had	*l-ehwā-l-aḵ*	you (m.) didn’t have
həwā-l-eḵ	you (f.) had	*l-ehwā-l-eḵ*	you (f.) didn’t have
həwā-l-e	I had	*l-ehwā-l-e*	I didn’t have
həwā-l-u	they have	*l-ehwā-l-u*	they didn’t have
həwā-l-ḵon	you (pl.) have	*l-ehwā-l-ḵon*	you (pl.) didn’t have
həwā-l-an	we had	*l-ehwā-l-an*	we didn’t have

Auxiliary Verbs

There are two verbs in Neo-Mandaic that are regularly employed as auxiliaries. The first, the copula, is used to form the passive voice, as in English. The second, *qam* ~ *qom* (*qāyem)* ‘to stand,’ is employed as an inchoative auxiliary verb.

The Copula and the Analytic Passive

The passive voice is occasionally rendered by means of the passive participle with the copula (i.e. the long copula, the short copula, or the copular verb *həwā* ~ *həwi* (*hāwi*) ‘to be’) in an analytic construction. The paradigm of the construction is illustrated with the verb *gəṭal* ~ *gəṭol* (*gāṭel*) ‘to kill’ in Table 86.

Table 86: The Copula in the Analytic passive

Person	Short Copula	Long Copula	Perfective	Imperfective
3 sg m	*gəṭel-ye*	*gəṭel eḵt-i*	*gəṭel həwā*	*gəṭel qə-hāwi*
3 sg f	*gəṭil-i*	*gəṭil eḵt-a*	*gəṭil həw-at*	*gəṭil qə-hāwyā*
2 sg m	*gəṭel-yāt*	*gəṭel eḵt-aḵ*	*gəṭel həw-et*	*gəṭel qə-hāwet*
2 sg f	*gəṭel-yāt*	*gəṭil eḵt-eḵ*	*gəṭil həw-et*	*gəṭil qə-hāwet*
1 sg	*gəṭel-nān*	*gəṭel eḵt-e*	*gəṭel həw-it*	*gəṭel qə-hawi-nā*
3 pl	-	*gəṭilen eḵt-u*	*gəṭilen həw-on*	*gəṭilen qə-hāw-en*
2 pl	-	*gəṭilen eḵt-əḵon*	*gəṭilen həwi-ton*	*gəṭilen qə-haw-etton*
1 pl	-	*gəṭilen eḵt-an*	*gəṭilen həwi-ni*	*gəṭilen qə-haw-enni*

Note that there are no plural forms of the short copula. As the existential particle is used for all existential and simple present statements, e.g. (5.112), the imperfective is reserved for statements in the progressive present or the future tense, e.g. (5.113). Likewise, the subjunctive of *həwā* ~ *həwi (hāwi)* ‘to be,’ which is regularly derived from the imperfective after the removal of the indicative marker and pretonic reduction, is used to indicate suggestions, wishes, and hopes, e.g. (5.114).

(5.112) *yəhim-en* *eḵt=an*
sit.PASS-PL COP=1PL We are seated.

(5.113) *yəhim-en* *qə=haw-enni*
sit.PASS-PL IND=be.IPFV-1PL We are being / will be seated.

(5.114) *yəhim-en* *haw-én*
sit.PASS-PL be.SBJV-1PL Let us be seated.

Even though the analytic passive is well represented in Classical Mandaic,[188] the impersonal passive construction (§5.4.3.2) is much more common in Neo-Mandaic.

The Inchoative Auxiliary Verb

When followed by a verb in the imperfective, *qam ~ qom (qāyem)* ‘to stand’ serves to indicate the beginning of an action, state, or event.[189] In this capacity, it appears only in the perfective, and inflects to reflect the subject. The subject may precede the auxiliary verb, e.g. (5.116), or intervene before the auxiliary verb and main or compound verb that it modifies, e.g. (5.117) and (5.118).

(5.115) *qam-yon* *qə=mḥaṯṯ-en* *bienā=d=u*
stand.PFV-3PL IND=talk.D.IPFV-3PL among=of=3PL
They started talking among themselves. (IV.89)

(5.116) *darwiš-ā́* *qam-yon* *qār-en*
dervish-PL stand.PFV-3PL read.IPFV-3PL
The dervishes began chanting. (IV.20)

(5.117) *qam-ø* *Čečāwā* *qə=hāp̄er-ø*
stand.PFV-3SG.M PN IND=dig.IPFV-3SG.M
Čečāwā began digging.

(5.118) *qam-ø* *šehyān-ā* *ṭaḇuṯ-ā* *q=āḇed-ø*
stand.PFV-3SG.M ruler-AUG banquet-AUG IND=do.IPFV-3SG.M
The ruler proceeded to prepare a banquet. (IV.22)

In addition to serving as an auxiliary verb, the verb *qam ~ qom (qāyem)* ‘to stand’ is also an independent verb in its own right.

(5.119) *qam-yon* *barābar=d=u*
stand.PFV-3PL opposite=of=3PL They stood before them. (IV.76)

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[188] Macuch, *Handbook*, 433–34.

[189] It also serves in this role in the Neo-Aramaic dialect of Aradhin; see George Krotkoff, *A Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Kurdistan* (New Haven, CN: American Oriental Society, 1982), 56. Crosslinguistically, this is not uncommon; cf. Italian *il sole sta per tramontar* “the sun is about to set.”

Modal Verbs

There are two modal verbs in Neo-Mandaic: *abā (bāyi)* ‘to want’ and *šəḇaq ~ šəḇoq (šāḇeq)* ‘to permit.’ These regularly take a complement verb in the subjunctive to express a notion of modality. All three are independent verbs in their own right. In addition, the pseudoverb *qomb-* ‘to be able’ and the modal particle *bāyad* ‘must’ are used in modal constructions. Macuch claims that the Mandaeans have borrowed the Persian particle *šāyad* ‘might’ in addition to *bāyad*, but aside from one isolated example of *bāyad* in his *Handbook*,[190] neither of these two particles appears in any of the texts he has published.[191] Additionally, there is a pseudoverb in Text IV, *lābod* ‘must,’ which takes a complement subjunctive verb.

The Modal Verb ‘To Want’

The first of the modal verbs, *abā (bāyi)* ‘to want,’ is used to express optative modality (§5.3.2.2), and is illustrated with a complementary subjunctive verb, *əmar ~ əmor (āmer)* ‘to say,’ in Table 87.

Table 87: The Modal Verb “To Want” with the Verb “To Say”

Person	Form	Gloss
3 sg m	*qə-bāyi āmer*	he wants to say
3 sg f	*qə-beyy-ā āmr-ā*	she wants to say
2 sg	*qə-bā-t āmr-et*	you want to say
1 sg	*q-abi-n əmer*	I want to say
3 pl	*qə-beyy-en āmr-en*	they want to say
2 pl	*q-ab-etton əmer-ton*	you want to say
1 pl	*q-ab-én amr-en*	we want to say

Examples of the modal verb *abā (bāyi)* ‘to want’ in the texts include:

(5.120)	*q=abi-n*	*əmer-ø*	*farwāh=ḵon*	*geš*
	IND=want.IPFV-1SG	say.SBJV-1SG	thanks=2PL	all
	I want to thank all of you. (I.3)			

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[190] Macuch, *Handbook*, 486: *bāyæd bālaχ boṭqāti* ‘you have to be smart.’

[191] Both *bāyad* and *šāyad* are conspicuously absent from his *Neumandäische Chrestomathie* and *Neumandäische Texte im Dialekt von Ahwāz.*

(5.121) *qə=beyy-en* *min=ṣubāḥ*
IND=want.IPFV-3PL from=morning
The next day, they wanted

ohr-ā *all-en* *əlāww=i*
way-AUG go.SBJV-3PL to-3SG=M
to walk on it. (IV.6)

Abā (bāyi) ‘to want,’ can also appear in independent usage.

(5.122) *mu* *qə=bā-t*
what IND=want.IPFV-2SG
What do you want? (IX.8)

The Modal Verb ‘To Permit’

The modal verb *šəb̠aq ~ šəb̠oq (šāb̠eq)* ‘to permit’ is conjugated in Table 88 with the third masculine singular subjunctive of *ḥaddet̠ ~ ḥaddet̠ (əmḥaddet̠)* ‘to speak.’

Table 88: The Modal Verb ‘To Permit’ with the Verb ‘To Speak’

Person	Form	Gloss
3 sg m	*qə-šab̠eq-l-i əmḥaddet̠*	he lets him speak
3 sg f	*qə-šab̠q-ā-l-i əmḥaddet̠*	she lets him speak
2 sg	*qə-šab̠q-āt-i əmḥaddet̠*	you let him speak
1 sg	*qə-šab̠eq-n-i əmḥaddet̠*	I let him speak
3 pl	*qə-šab̠q-el-l-i əmḥaddet̠*	they let him speak
2 pl	*qə-šāb̠eq-tonn-i əmḥaddet̠*	you let him speak
1 pl	*qə-šab̠eq-nānn-i əmḥaddet̠*	we let him speak

Note that the subject of the subjunctive verb, which is the object of the modal verb, is anticipated by an object pronominal suffix on the modal verb. Note also that the third masculine singular form of the modal verb complemented by a subjunctive verb in the same number and gender, e.g. (5.123), would not be construed as a reflexive. The reflexive requires the reflexive pronoun *nab̠š-*, e.g. (5.124).

(5.123) *qə=šāb̠eq-ø=l=i* *əmḥaddet̠-ø*
IND=let.IPFV-3SG.M=OBJ=3SG.M say.SBJV-3SG.M
He lets him say.

(5.124) *qə=šāḇeq-ø=l=ø* *əl=naḇš=i* *əmḥaddeṯ-ø*
IND=leave.IPFV-3SG.M=OBJ=3SG.M REF=self=3SG.M say.SBJV-3SG.M
He lets himself say.

Examples of the modal verb *šəḇaq* ~ *šəḇoq (šāḇeq)* in the texts include:

(5.125) *šoḇq-ø* *əl=dešt-ā* *bāḡṣ-ā*
leave.IMP.M-SG REF=ground-AUG stop.IPFV-3SG.F
Let the ground stop [shaking]. (IV.109)

(5.126) *lá=šaḇq-onn=an* *all-enni* *ekkaḵ*
NEG=leave.PFV=3PL=1PL go.SBJV-1PL there
They wouldn’t let us go there. (III.13)

This verb also appears independently:

(5.127) *zip̄ān-ā* *šəḇaq-ø* *u* *pərad-ø*
liar-AUG leave.PFV-3SG.M and flee.PFV-3SG.M
The liar left and ran off. (IX.13)

The Pseudoverb ‘To Be Able’

The pseudoverb *qomb-* ‘to be able’ is used to express possibility. The present is illustrated here with the verb *ḥaddeṯ* ~ *ḥaddeṯ (əmḥaddeṯ)* ‘to speak.’

Table 89: The Modal Verb ‘To Be Able’ w/ the Verb ‘To Speak’

Person	Form	Gloss
3 sg m	*qomb-i əmḥaddeṯ*	he can speak
3 sg f	*qomb-a əmḥaṯṯā*	she can speak
2 sg	*qomb-aḵ əmḥaṯṯet*	you can speak
2 sg	*qomb-eḵ əmḥaṯṯet*	you can speak
1 sg	*qomb-e əmḥadeṯ*	I can speak
3 pl	*qomb-u əmḥaṯṯen*	they can speak
2 pl	*qomb-əḵon əmḥaṯṯetton*	you can speak
1 pl	*qomb-an əmḥaṯṯén*	we can speak

Note that the subject of *qomb-* is indicated by a possessive suffix on the pseudoverb, exactly like the pseudoverb *yād* ‘to know’ above (see §5.1.1.2). Likewise, the other tenses and aspects are indicated by the copula *həwā* ~ *həwi (hāwi)* ‘to be.’ In the example below, taken from the dialect of Salem Choheili, this pseudoverb takes the form *yomb-* rather than *qomb-* as in the dialect of Nasser Sobbi and Nasser Saburi (for which, see section §1.7 on the modern dialects of Neo-Mandaic).

(5.128)

yomb=u	*hāvi-ø*	*šibī́r*
be.able=3PL	be.SBJV-3SG.M	good

(So that) they may be able to read and

qār-en	*u=kādḇ-en*	*gū*	*mand(y)öyī́*
read.SBJV-3PL	and=write.SBJV-3PL	in	Mandaic

write well in Mandaic.[192]

The Modal Particles bāyad *and* lābod

The final modal is the particle *bāyad* ‘must,’ which has been borrowed from Persian. Unlike the pseudoverbs *yād* ‘to know’ and *qomb-* ‘to be able,’ *bāyad* does not inflect for tense, mood, aspect, or person. The paradigm of this particle with the verb *ḥaddeṯ* ~ *ḥaddeṯ (əmḥaddeṯ)* ‘to speak’ can be found below.

Table 90: The Modal Particle “Must” with the Verb “To Speak”

Person	Form	Gloss
3 sg m	*bāyad əmḥaddeṯ*	he must speak
3 sg f	*bāyad əmḥaṯṯā*	she must speak
2 sg	*bāyad əmḥaṯṯet*	you must speak
1 sg	*bāyad əmḥadeṯ*	I must speak
3 pl	*bāyad əmḥaṯṯen*	they must speak
2 pl	*bāyad əmḥaṯṯetton*	you must speak
1 pl	*bāyad əmḥaṯṯén*	we must speak

Another pseudoverb, *lābod* ‘must,’ appears in the legend of the Bridge of Shushtar (Text IV) in the place of the modal verb *bāyad*. In this text, it is complemented by a verb in the subjunctive and is invariable like *bāyad*. The form, derived from Arabic *lā budda* ‘inevitably,’ lit. ‘no escape,’ expresses a wide range of deontic modalities (§5.3.2.1). Examples of *lābod* in the texts include (5.129).

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[192] Macuch, *Neumandäische Texte*, 124.

(5.129) *lābod* *malp̄-āt=e*
certainly teach.SBJV-2SG=1SG
You must teach me. (IV.86)

Independently, *lābod* means ‘certainly’ or ‘inevitably,’ as in Arabic and Persian.

(5.130) *lābod* *kef* *āb̲d-en* *ənāš-ā*
certainly pleasure do.SBJV-3PL people-AUG
The people will certainly celebrate! (IV.72)

5.2 Tense and Aspect

Tense and aspect are closely related in Neo-Mandaic, although aspect is the more salient of the two within the verbal system. At first glance, the Neo-Mandaic verbal system appears to be based on the distinction of tenses. The perfective is the general form used in simple past narratives. In opposition to the imperfective (which Macuch indeed calls the “participial present-future tense”), it appears to correspond to the past tense. Nonetheless, aspect is as basic to the Neo-Mandaic verbal system as tense; the inflected forms derived from the participle are imperfective, and as such indicate habitual actions, progressive or inchoative actions, and actions in the future from a past or present perspective. The perfective forms are not only preterite but also resultative-stative, which is most apparent from the verbs relating to a change of state, e.g. *met̲ ~ mot̲ (māyet̲)* ‘to die.’ For these reasons, it is more accurate to discuss the Neo-Mandaic verbal system in aspectual terms rather than simply treating it as a system of tenses.

5.2.1 The Perfective

The perfective has simple past (§5.2.1.1), past perfect (§5.2.1.2), and resultative-stative (§5.2.1.3) meanings.

5.2.1.1 The Simple Past

The most common use of the perfective is to render the simple past.

(5.131) *Mār=e* *ab̲d-ø* *əl=kol* *alm-ān-ā*
lord=1SG do.PFV-3SG.M REF=all world-PL-AUG
God (lit. my Lord) created all the worlds. (I.11)

(5.132)	*bāḇ*	*ḥammām*	*əhaḇ-ø=l=i*	*pərā*
	father	hammam	give.PFV-3SG.M=OBJ=3SG.M	money

The owner of the bathhouse gave him some money. (VIII.5)

5.2.1.2 The Past Perfect

The perfective may also be used to indicate an event that has occurred before another action in the past.

(5.133)	*həz-it-i*	*jisər*	*ṣunʿa=ye*
	see.PFV-1SG-3SG.M	bridge	good=3SG.M

I saw that the bridge was repaired (lit. I saw “it is a good bridge”),

	u	*jisr-i*	*tum*	*əḇad-yon*
	and	bridge-INDF	again	do.PFV-3PL

and another bridge had been built. (III.21)

(5.134)	*baʿad*	*se*	*ruz*	*kammar-ø*
	after	three	day	return.PFV-3SG.M

After three days, he came back,

	bədaq-ø	*kars=i*	*qazġān*	*honin-i*
	put.PFV-3SG.M	belly=3SG.M	cauldron	small-INDF

having put a small pot inside it. (X.2)

5.2.1.3 The Resultative-Stative

With inherently stative verbs or stative compounds (usually formed with *tammā* ‘to become’), the perfective indicates a state or situation resulting from a completed event. When verbs of knowledge and opinion (such as *bašqer ~ bašqer (əmbašqer)* ‘to know,’ *dəḵar ~ dəḵor (dāḵer)* ‘to remember,’ *fekr əḇad ~ əḇod (āḇed)* ‘to think,’ *qabul əḇad ~ əḇod (āḇed)* ‘to believe’) appear in the perfective, they have a resultative-stative meaning.

(5.135)	*meḵt-at*	*əštā*
	die.PFV-3SG.F	now

Now she is dead. (II.34)

(5.136)	*kərāy=e*	*wel*	*tamm-at*
	leg=1SG	independent	become.PFV-3SG.F

[He said]: “My leg has come off!” (VII.5)

(5.137) *ani* *Manday-ān-ā* *awwal* *barnāš* *həw-ini*
we mandaean-PL-AUG first person be.PFV-1PL
We Mandaeans were the first people

ke *bašqar-ni* *əl=Mār=e* *ehd-i* *ek̲t=i*
REL know.PFV-1PL REF=lord=1SG one-INDF COP=3SG.M
who recognized that God (lit. my Lord) is a single being. (I.11)

5.2.2 The Imperfective

The imperfective is formed from the active participle of the verb. It can represent the simple present (§5.2.2.1), habitual present (§5.2.2.2), habitual past (§5.2.2.3), narrative present (§5.2.2.4), and future tenses (§5.2.2.5).

5.2.2.1 The Simple Present

The simple present is the most common tense represented by the imperfective.

(5.138) *q=abi-n* *əmer-ø* *farwāh=k̲on* *geš*
IND=want.IPFV-1SG say.SBJV-1SG thanks=2PL all
I want to thank all of you. (I.3)

(5.139) *qə=haz-én* *biet̲-wāt̲* *ba‘id*
IND=see.IPFV-1PL house-PL.F distant
We see houses in the distance. (III.10)

5.2.2.2 The Progressive Present

The progressive aspect implies an action or condition which is currently in process (as opposed to the resultative-stative aspect, which indicates that the event which resulted in the current state has already been completed).

(5.140) *qə=mšaddar-t=ø* *əl=ā* *konfərens*
IND=organize.D.IPFV-2SG=3SG.M REF=this conference
You are organizing this conference. (I.6)

(5.141) *qamu* *aziyāt* *q=āb̲d-et*
why harm IND=do.IPFV-2SG
Why are you causing such trouble? (IV.57)

5.2.2.3 The Habitual Present

The habitual present denotes an action or situation that occurs regularly or continuously.

(5.142) *kol* *šett-ā* *qə=ban-ann=i*
every year-AUG IND=build.IPFV-1PL=3SG.M
Every year we build it,

u *qə=hāreb̲-ø*
and IND=be.destroyed.IPFV-3SG.M
and it is destroyed! (IV.34)

(5.143) *q=all-én* *ekkak̲* *kol* *ərap̄t-ā*
IND=go.IPFV-1PL there every Friday-AUG
We go there every Friday.

5.2.2.4 The Habitual Past

The imperfective is also used for actions that occurred regularly or continuously in the past; these are often introduced by another past tense verb to contextualize them. Verbs of knowledge and opinion (such as *bašqer ~ bašqer (əmbašqer)* ‘to know,’ *dək̲ar ~ dək̲or (dāk̲er)* ‘to remember,’ *fekr əb̲ad ~ əb̲od (āb̲ed)* ‘to think,’ *qabul əb̲ad ~ əb̲od (āb̲ed)* ‘to believe’) generally appear in the imperfective with a habitual present or habitual past tense meaning; when they do appear in the perfective, they have a resultative-stative meaning (§5.2.1.3).

(5.144) *q=all-én* *qam* *Dezful*
IND=go.IPFV-1PL for PN
We used to go to Dezful

7-11 *həwā-ø=l=u* *ekkak̲*
PN be.PFV-3SG.M=to=3PL there
(they had a 7-11 there). (III.6)

(5.145) *mu* *q=əmbašqir-et* *ak̲=waxt*
what IND=know.IPFV-2SG that=time
What did you know then?

(5.146) *gob̲r-ā* *ekkak̲* *la=q=əmbašqer-en*
men-AUG there NEG=IND=know.IPFV-3PL
The men there didn’t know

əmḥat̲t̲-ø	*Mandāyí*
speak.SBJV-3PL	Mandaic

how to speak Mandaic. (II.25)

5.2.2.5 The Narrative Present

The Narrative or Historical Present tense is extremely common in the text collection. Generally, clauses in the Narrative Present are first introduced by a perfective verb, which places the situation or action described in a past tense context.

(5.147)	*at̲-it*	*qamāy=a*
	come.PFV-1SG	before=3SG.F

I came up to her -

q=abi-n	*bas*	*məḥadet̲-ø*	*ork=a*
IND=want.IPFV-1SG	only	speak.SBJV-1SG	with=3SG.F

I want only to speak with her. (II.17)

(5.148)	*əzgā-ø*	*qəlāw*	*tel*
	go.PFV-3SG.M	to	hill

He went up a hill,

w=ebr-i	*əl=gab̲r-ā*	*qə=lak̲t̲-ø=i*
and=son-INDF	to=man-AUG	IND=seize.IPFV-3SG.M=3SG.M

and seizes one of the man's sons. (V.18)

5.2.2.6 The Future

The imperfective is also used to describe events in the near and distant future.

(5.149)	*min*	*hənā*	*tum*	*ārbin*	*yum-ā*
	from	here	until	40	day-AUG

Forty days from now,

qə=mat̲i-n=k̲on
IND=come.C.IPFV-1SG=2PL
I will bring you. (IV.126)

(5.150)	*əmal-ø=l=i*	*perš*	*q=at̲i-nā*
	say.PFV-3SG.M=OBJ=3SG.M	tomorrow	IND=come.IPFV-1SG

He said to him, "I will come tomorrow." (V.17)

5.3 Moods and Modalities

Speakers of Neo-Mandaic employ the indicative, the subjunctive, and the imperative moods to indicate their position on a given situation, including their purpose in stating the situation and their belief in its reality and likelihood.

5.3.1 The Indicative Mood

The indicative mood is used to make assertions or declarations about situations which the speaker holds to have happened (or, conversely, which have not happened), or positions which he maintains to be true. It is also the mood used for questions and other interogative statements. The perfective, by its very nature, refers to situations that the speaker holds to have happened or not to have happened, and thus pertains to the indicative, except in explicitly counterfactual statements (see §5.3.4.6).

The imperfective, on the other hand, is used to describe situations which have yet to happen, or about which there exists some uncertainty or doubt; when accompanied by the indicative marker, it is used to express assertions and questions, just like the perfective. When it is not explicitly marked as indicative, it indicates subjunctive mood (see section §5.3.2) and may correspond to any one of a wide variety of modalities.

5.3.1.1 Declarative Statements

All assertions and declarative statements are, by their nature, made in the indicative mood.

(5.151)	*an*	*aṯ-it*	*ekkā*	*gāw*	*ḥammām*
	I	come.PFV-1SG	thus	in	hammam

I came like this to the bathhouse! (VIII.18)

(5.152)	*obr-ā*	*genz*	*qə=rahem-ø=l=ø*	*əl=ḥadid*
	mouse-AUG	very	IND=love.IPFV-3SG.M=OBJ=3SG.M	REF=iron

Mice really love iron. (V.12)

5.3.1.2 Interrogative Statements

Interrogative statements are also made in the indicative mood.

(5.153)	*əmar-ø=l=u*	*mu*	*q=amr-etton*	*əlāw*	*tā*	*pol*
	say.PFV-3SG.M=OBJ=3PL	what	IND=say.IPFV-2PL	for	that	bridge

He said to them, “What do you suggest for that bridge?” (IV.33)

(5.154)	*man*	*qabúl*	*q=āḇed-ø*
	who	acceptance	IND=do.IPFV-3SG.M

“Who believes (=would believe)

qazġān	*mujur*	*qə=māyeṯ-ø*
cauldron	what.way	IND=die.IPFV-3SG.M

that a cooking pot dies (=would die)?” (X.16)

5.3.2 The Subjunctive Mood

Neo-Mandaic forms the subjunctive mood from the imperfective. In the *G*-stem of the verb (with the exception of the II-weak and geminate root classes), the subjunctive is also marked by the pretonic reduction of the vowel in the initial syllable to /ə/; in all other root classes and stems, the subjunctive is identical to the indicative without the indicative morpheme *q-*. The subjunctive mood is used to express three distinct modalities: deontic (§5.3.2.1), optative (§5.3.2.2), and potential (§5.3.2.3).

5.3.2.1 The Deontic Modality

The deontic modality indicates the subject’s duty or obligation to perform an irrealis act, which is expressed by a verb in the subjunctive mood. Deontic modalities may be either volitive, e.g. (5.155) and (5.156), commissive, e.g. (5.157), or directive, e.g. (5.158). The latter two modalities are introduced by the modal particles *bāyad* ‘must’ (or *lābod* ‘inevitably’ in the legend from Iraq).

(5.155)	*lā*	*hāreḇ-ø*	*pol*	*Šuštar*
	NEG	be.destroyed.SBJV-3SG.M	bridge	Šuštar

May the bridge of Shushtar not be ruined! (IV.24)

(5.156)	*ani*	*nešemt-i*	*la=gāṭl-én*
	1PL	soul-INDF	NEG=kill.SBJV-1PL

Let’s not kill any living being. (IV.96)

(5.157)	*lābod*	*kef*	*āḇd-en*	*ənāš-ā*
	certainly	pleasure	do.SBJV-3PL	people-AUG

Surely the people will celebrate! (IV.72)

(5.158)	*lābod*	*malp̄-āt=e*
	certainly	teach.SBJV-2SG=1SG

You must teach me. (IV.86)

The imperative (§5.3.3) also belongs to the class of directive modalities, but has a separate form.

5.3.2.2 The Optative Modality

The subjunctive is used after verbs of desire to indicate the object of a wish.

(5.159)	*ani*	*q-ab-én*	*safar*	*mah-én*
	1PL	IND=want.IPFV-1PL	trip	hit.SBJV-1PL

We want to travel. (IV.132)

(5.160)	*q=əmbaraḵ-ø*	*haw-én*	*həyānā*	*tum*	*āxir*	*ālmā*
	IND=pray.tD.IPFV-1SG	be.SUBJ-1PL	alive	until	last	world

I pray that we will survive until the end of time. (I.14)

5.3.2.3 The Potential Modality

The subjunctive may also be used for potential situations or the possible results of an action.

(5.161)	*goḇr-ā*	*ekkaḵ*	*la=q=əmbašqer-en*
	men-AUG	there	NEG=IND=know.IPFV-3PL

The men there didn't know

əmḥaṯṯ-ø	*Mandāyí*
speak.SBJV.3PL	Mandaic

how to speak Mandaic. (II.25)

(5.162)	*āṯi-ø*	*belwā=d=an*	*āḇed-ø*
	come.IPFV-3SG.M	disturbance=of=1PL	do.SBJV-3SG.M

He may come to make trouble for us. (VII.9)

5.3.3 The Imperative

The imperative, in contrast to the indicative, does not assert that a situation has occurred, but orders that it come about. The imperative and the prohibitive belong syntactically to the broader class of directive modalities. All of these modalities, including the prohibitive, are expressed using the subjunctive, with the single exception of the imperative.

5.3.3.1 Commands

The imperative is the mood in which commands are issued.

(5.163)	*yəmi-ø*	*qamd=in*	*qə=mwedi-n=ḵon*	*Əmšuni Kušṭā*
	swear.IMP.M-SG	to=me	IND=take.IPFV-1SG-2PL	PN

Swear to me, “I will take you to Əmšuni Kušṭā.” (IV.120)

(5.164)	*id*	*məṯi-ø*	*minn=e*
	hand	lift.IMP.M-SG	from=1SG

Release me (lit. lift your hand from me)! (IV.108)

5.3.3.2 Negative Commands and Prohibitions

The imperative cannot be directly negated in Neo-Mandaic, as in other Neo-Aramaic dialects and in other Semitic languages more generally.[193] As in these other languages, the subjunctive is used in the place of the imperative for negative commands and prohibitions.

(5.165)	*l=all-etton*	*ġer*	*welāt*
	NEG=go.SBJV-2PL	outside	city

Do not go outside the city. (IV.124)

5.3.4 Moods and Adverbial Clauses

Mandaic uses verbs in the subjunctive mood, and to a lesser extent the indicative mood, to indicate adverbial clauses. These adverbial clauses contribute information about the time, location, manner, purpose, and reason of the action or situation in the main phrase, as well as indicating situations or actions that are simultaneous to the main clause. Simple, hypothetical, and counterfactual conditional clauses also constitute a category of adverbial clauses.[194]

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[193] Geoffrey Khan, *A Grammar of Neo-Aramaic: The Dialect of the Jews of Arbel* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 282.

[194] Payne, *Describing Morphosyntax*, 316–20.

5.3.4.1 Time Clauses

Clauses that indicate the time when a particular action or situation will occur take verbs in the subjunctive rather than the indicative.

(5.166)	*qəmāy*	*malp̄-āt=i*	*ana*	*gaṭel-nā=k̠on*	*geš*
	before	teach.SBJV-2SG=3SG.M	1SG	kill.SBJV-1SG=2PL	all

Before you teach him, I will kill you all! (IV.93)

(5.167)	*an*	*q=əmbašqir-it*	*qamāy*	*āb̠ed-ø=l=a*
	1SG	IND=know.IPFV-1SG	before	do.SBJV-3SG.M=OBJ=3SG.F

I knew before he did it.

5.3.4.2 Circumstantial Clauses

Verbs found in adverbial clauses which provide supplemental information about the circumstances in which the main clause is situated usually appear in the indicative rather than the subjunctive.

(5.168)	*at̠-on*	*əm=ohhər*	*Moḥamrā*	*qə=mwadd-en*	*ekkak̠*
	come.PFV-3PL	from=road	PN	IND=take.IPFV-3PL	there

They came along Khorramshahr Road [where] they were sent. (III.3)

(5.169)	*nəp̄aq-yon*	*barra*	*ani*	*qə=mṭall-én*
	exit.PFV-3PL	outside	we	IND=play.D.IPFV-1PL

They came outside [where] we were playing. (II.13)

5.3.4.3 Purpose Clauses

Clauses which indicate the purpose for the main clause take verbs in the subjunctive.

(5.170)	*əzg-it*	*ya*	*kədāb̠*	*mandāyí*	*əmḥaṣel-nā*
	go.PFV-1SG	a	book	Mandaean	obtain.SBJV-1SG

I would have gone to pick up a Mandaic book. (III.16)

(5.171)	*q=all-én*	*əmzabn-én*	*qəlāww=u*
	IND=go.IPFV-1PL	sell.D.SBJV-1PL	to=3PL

We used to go to sell to them. (III.6)

5.3.4.4 Reason Clauses

Verbs in clauses which indicate the reason for which the action or situation in the main clause occur typically appear in the indicative.

(5.172) *aṯ-on gāw Irān qə=beyy-en*
come.PFV-3PL in PN IND=want.IPFV-3PL
They came to Iran [because] they wanted

komak aḇdəl=l=ø əl=Rusya
help do.SBJV-3PL=OBJ=3SG.F REF=PN
to help Russia. (III.2)

5.3.4.5 Simultaneous Clauses

The verb of a clause in which the action or situation occurs simultaneously with that in the main clause will appear in the subjunctive.

(5.173) *əmar-ø ā tājér narm tammā-ø*
say.PFV-3SG.M this merchant soft become.PFV-3SG.M
He thought to himself, “This merchant has gone soft in the head,”

āmer-ø rāst q=amen-nā
say.SBJV-3SG.M right IND=say.IPFV-1SG
while saying, “I’m telling the truth.” (V.14-15)

(5.174) *āṯi-ø belwā=d=an āḇed-ø*
come.SBJV-3SG.M disturbance=of=1PL do.SBJV-3SG.M
He may come to make trouble for us,

āmer-ø gənaḇ-tonn=ø əl=kərāy=e
say.SBJV-3SG.M steal.PFV-2PL=3SG.F REF=leg=1SG
saying, “You stole my leg!” (VII.9)

5.3.4.6 Conditional Clauses

Neo-Mandaic recognizes three basic types of conditional clauses: simple conditionals, hypotheticals, and counterfactuals.

Simple Conditional Clauses

The indicative is used in the protasis to form simple conditional clauses. The copula may also appear in the protasis, e.g. (5.175). The verb of the apodosis of the simple conditional clause is either found in the indicative or the imperative, e.g. (5.176).

(5.175)	*agar*	*pərāh-ā*	*eh=l=e*	*turt-i*	*qə=zaḇen-nā*
	if	money-AUG	COP=to=1SG	cow-INDF	IND=buy.IPFV-1SG

When I have money, I will buy a cow.[195]

(5.176)	*anā*	*agar*	*gən-it*	*āt*	*guš*	*əḇud-ø*
	I	if	sleep.PFV-1SG	you	ear	do.IMP.F-SG

If I fall asleep, keep a look out. (IV.46)

Hypothetical Conditional Clauses

Hypothetical conditional clauses employ the subjunctive in the protasis to posit hypothetical or imaginary situations in the past, and the indicative to posit such situations in the present. These differ from conterfactual conditional clauses (see below) in that the apodosis appears in the imperfective, rather than the perfective, indicating that the situation, while hypothetical, is not outside the realm of possibility.

(5.178)	*an*	*agar*	*gāw*	*ā*	*ʻaqəl*	*hawi-nā*	*əzg-it*
	I	if	in	this	mind	be.SBJV-1SG	go.PFV-1SG

If I knew then what I know today,[196] I would have gone. (III.16)

(5.179)	*āhā*	*qam*	*enši*	*la=q=mallep̄-ø*	*w=agar*
	this	to	anybody	NEG=IND=teach.IPFV-1SG	and=if

I will not teach this to anyone, for

qə=mallep̄-ø	*mieṯ-ø*
IND=teach.IPFV-1SG	die.SBJV-1SG

if I did teach it, I could die. (IV.84)

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[195] Example adapted from Macuch, *Handbook*, 432. Compare with example (5.181) below.

[196] Lit. ‘if I were in this mind.’

Counterfactual Conditional Clauses

In counterfactual conditional clauses, the perfective is used to indicate that the information contained in the apodosis is explicitly counterfactual.

(5.180)	*agar*	*an*	*lá=hw-it*
	if	1SG	NEG=be.PFV-1SG

If I had not been there,

lá=at̲t̲-at=ø	*əl=yanq-ā*
NEG=come.D.PFV-3SG.F=3SG.M	REF=baby-AUG

she would not have given birth to the baby.[197]

(5.181)	*agar*	*pərāh-ā*	*həwā=l=e*	*turt-i*	*zab̲n-it*
	if	money-AUG	be.PFV=to=1SG	cow-INDF	buy.PFV-1SG

If I had had money, I would have bought a cow.[198]

5.4 Voice

In Neo-Mandaic, the relationship of the action or state described by the verb to its arguments can be described by one of three voices: the active voice (§5.4.1), the middle voice (§5.4.2), and the passive voice (§5.4.3).

5.4.1 The Active Voice

When the action described by the verb is initiated by its grammatical subject, the verb is described as being in the active voice, and the grammatical subject is described as its agent. The forms of the active voice are outlined in §5.1 above.

5.4.2 The Middle Voice

The *t*-stem verbs described in §5.1.1.3 represent the middle voice in Neo-Mandaic. The agents of the actions described by verbs in these stems, which are syntactically active and intransitive, experience the results of these actions as if they were also the patient; in many cases, the action of the verb appears to occur on its own, e.g. (5.182) and (5.183). As a result, verbs in these stems are often translated as if they were agentless passives, e.g. (5.184), or reflexive actions that the subject takes on its own behalf, e.g. (5.185).

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[197] Example adapted from Macuch, *Handbook*, 429.
[198] Example adapted from Macuch, *Handbook*, 432.

(5.182) *amānatdār* *ehṯer-ø*
trustee pleased.tG.PFV-3SG.M
The trustee was pleased. (V.13)

(5.183) *bāḇ-ā* *ettar-ø*
father-AUG awaken.tC-3SG.M
The father woke up. (IV.54)

(5.184) *etḇer-ø* *minn=i* *wuṣle*
break.tC.PFV-3SG.M from=3SG.M piece
A piece broke off of / was broken from it. (IX.12)

(5.185) *eṣṭəḇ-yon* *gāw* *nap̄š* *maṣbett-ā*
baptize.tG.PFV-3PL in same baptism-AUG
They baptized / were baptized according to the same baptism. (I.10)

5.4.3 The Passive Voice

In the passive voice, the grammatical subject of the verb is the recipient of the action described by it, namely the patient. There are two ways of forming the passive voice in Neo-Mandaic: the analytic passive (§5.4.3.1) and the much more common impersonal passive (§5.4.3.2). The agent of the action is expressed neither by the inflection of the verb nor by an oblique complement in these two constructions; the agent of the action can only be expressed in the active or middle voice.

5.4.3.1 The Analytic Passive

As described in §5.1.1.4, the analytic passive is formed from the passive participle of the verb and the long or short forms of the copula.

Not all verbal roots yield a passive participle. Furthermore, many of the intransitive verbs yield passive participles that are passive in form but active in meaning, as in Syriac. The basic forms of the passive participles for the paradigmatic verbs found in §5.1 are given in Table 91.

Table 91: The *G*-Stem Passive Participles

Root Class	Masc.		Fem.		Plural	
Strong	C$_1$əC$_2$eC$_3$	*gəṭel*	C$_1$əC$_2$iC$_3$ā	*gəṭilā*	C$_1$əC$_2$iCen	*gəṭilen*
I-Weak	əC$_2$eC$_3$	*əḇed*	əC$_2$iC$_3$ā	*əḇidā*	əC$_2$iC$_3$en	*əḇiden*
II-Weak	C$_1$iC$_3$	*diš*	C$_1$iC$_3$ā	*dišā*	C$_1$iC$_3$en	*dišen*
III-Weak	C$_1$əC$_2$i	*həzi*	C$_1$əC$_2$yā	*həzyā*	C$_1$əC$_2$eyyen	*həzeyyen*

The basic form of the passive participle of the strong verb is C$_1$əC$_2$eC$_3$. Note that this form resembles the forms of the subjunctive with pretonic lenition, e.g. (5.186). The form C$_1$əC$_2$eC$_3$ is retained before suffixes beginning with a consonant, e.g. (5.187) but becomes C$_1$əC$_2$iC$_3$- before the feminine morpheme *-ā* and other suffixes beginning with a vowel, e.g. (5.189) and (5.190).

(5.186) *qabin əmer* I want to say (subjunctive, not passive)
(5.187) *yəhemye* he is seated
(5.188) *yəhimā* the seated woman
(5.189) *yəhimen* the seated ones

The third personal forms of the short copula are obligatory on the passive participle only when it is used predicatively. The third feminine singular personal suffix takes the form *-i*; this unusual form (which is identical to the third *masculine* singular object and possessive suffix) presumably arose after the collapse of the diphthong produced by the feminine morpheme *-ā* and the short copula, e.g. (5.190). The final consonant of the first singular personal suffix *-nān* is often subject to deletion, e.g. (5.191).

(5.190) *yəhimi* she is seated (from**yəhimā-ye*)
(5.191) *yəhemnā* I am seated

For the derived stems, it is not possible to reproduce a full paradigm of passive participles. The *D*-stem is represented by one passive participle, *əmšabbā* 'praised,' which belongs to the III-weak root consonant class. The *C*-stem is also represented by one III-weak passive participle, *maḥḇā* 'kept.'

(5.192) *əmšabbā-ø* *Mār=e*
praise.D.PASS-SG lord=1SG Praised be my Lord!

(5.193) *kol* *waxt* *rāz-i* *maḥḇ=i*
every time secret-INDF keep.C.PASS=3SG.F
It has always been kept a secret. (I.13)

5.4.3.2 The Impersonal Passive

The most common and productive form of the passive is the impersonal passive construction, in which an impersonal 'they' occupies the role of the agent. Whereas most personal pronouns correspond to a noun phrase that has already been introduced into the discourse, the impersonal 'they' is immediately distinguished by the fact that it has no referent within the context of the discourse.

(5.194) *jisr-i* *tum* *əḇad-yon*
bridge-INDF again do.PFV-3PL
Another bridge had been built. (III.21)

(5.195) *nedā* *əḇad-yon* *gāw* *welāt*
herald do.PFV-3PL in city
It was proclaimed in the city. (V.20).

The patient of this impersonal passive is expressed either by the enclitic object suffixes or by the noun in object position.

(5.196) *la=šaḇq-onn=an* *all-enni* *ekkaḵ*
NEG=leave.PFV-3PL=1PL go.SBJV-1PL there
We weren't allowed to go there. (III.13)

(5.197) *gaṭl-onn=u* *geš=d=u*
kill.IPFV-3PL=3PL all=of=3PL
They were all killed. (III.23)

Frequently, the impersonal passive appears in topic-comment or resumptive sentence form, the patient being expressed as the topic and the passive verb (with a resumptive enclitic object suffix) following as its comment. Note that the patient, once topicalized, does not take the enclitic object marker; cf. (5.198) with (5.199).

(5.198) *ā* *xuṭb* *šadr-onn=i* *qamd=in*
this letter send.PFV-3PL=1SG to=1SG
This letter was sent to me.

(5.199) *šadr-onn=ø* *əl=ā* *xuṭb* *qamd=in*
sent.PFV-3PL=3SG.M REF=this letter to=1SG
This letter was sent to me.

6. Conclusion

6.1 Classical Mandaic and the Modern Dialects

In light of the data outlined in the preceding chapters, it is possible to make a few general comments about the relationship between Classical Mandaic and the Neo-Mandaic dialects of Ahvāz and Khorramshahr, as well as the relationship between the two contemporary dialects. My remarks here will necessarily be brief and far from comprehensive, as a full description of the historical grammar of the modern dialects falls beyond the scope of this grammar. They should, however, serve to give a general idea of the differences between these three dialects.

6.1.1 Phonology

Classical Mandaic is written with a rudimentary alphabet rather than one of the abjads employed by other Aramaic dialects (and, indeed, most other Semitic languages).[199] The advantages of the Mandaic script against these other scripts are two-fold: it employs distinct vowel signs rather than *matres lectionis*, which serve both as consonants and as vowels, and its orthography represents the contemporary pronunciation of the language to a more consistent degree than that of the other Aramaic dialects, the orthographies of which are generally a composite of vernacular forms and historical spellings preserved by the literary tradition. As a result, it is possible to divine a great deal about the phonology of Classical Mandaic.

Unfortunately, there are a number of phonemic distinctions that are not represented by the Mandaic script. These include some qualitative and all quantitative distinctions in the vowels, in addition to consonant gemination, stress, and the fricativization of the /b/, /g/, /d/, /k/, /p/, and /t/ series of stops. Consequently, a full understanding of Classical Mandaic phonology is possible only with the aid of historical reconstruction (of which the first and only exhaustive attempt was Nöldeke's *Mandäische Grammatik*, published in 1875), the traditional pronunciation of the texts (documented by Macuch in his *Handbook*, published in 1965), and the modern dialects (documented in Macuch's *Handbook*, his two text collections from 1989 and 1993, and this grammar). A full account of Classical Mandaic phonology in light of this evidence remains to be done and is a basic prerequisite for any discussion of the historical phonology of the modern dialects. Nonetheless, it is possible to draw a few conclusions about the development of Mandaic phonology, from the classical language to the modern dialects.

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[199] An abjad is a writing system in which each grapheme represents a consonant. Vowels may be represented by vowel markings on the basic graphemes. Alphabets, by contrast, have basic graphemes for both vowels and consonants. For more on this distinction and its relevance to the Mandaic script, see Häberl, “Iranian Scripts for Aramaic Languages.”

The first (and most obvious) innovation is the introduction of new phonemes not found in Classical Mandaic, such as *č* /ʧ/, *j* /ʤ/, ʿ/ʕ/ and *ḥ* /ħ/ (see §2.1). Later stages of the language, such as Post-Classical Mandaic and Neo-Mandaic, use digraphs and diacritics to indicate these new phonemes in writing, as they are not indicated in the Classical Mandaic script. Additionally, segments that were formerly allophones of Classical Mandaic phonemes, such as the spirants /v/, /ʁ/, /χ/, /f/, and /θ/, which were allophones of /b/, /g/, /d/, /k/, /p/, and /t/ in post-vocalic position, have become phonemic in Neo-Mandaic and have a slightly different distribution, occuring in word-initial position among other places.

Another innovation is the collapse of the Classical Mandaic diphthongs /aɪ/ and /aʊ/ to /i/ and /u/. In Classical Mandaic, these diphthongs had already collapsed in closed accented syllables. In the dialects of Ahvāz and Khorramshahr, these diphthongs have also collapsed in open accented syllables. See §2.3.2.1 and §2.3.2.2 for further details. There is some evidence that the collapse of diphthongs in open accented syllables had not yet occurred in the Iraqi dialect documented by Drower (see §2.3.2.1). Other diphthongs (listed in §2.4.3.3), including those in words borrowed from other languages or resulting from inflectional processes, are retained in the dialect of

Khorramshahr, but in Ahvāz other diphthongs appear to be succumbing to this process; compare Khorramshahr *gāw* /gɔʊ/ ‘in’ with Ahvāz *gu* /guː/ id.

Closely tied to the collapse of the diphthong /aɪ/ in open accented syllables is the breaking of its outcome, /iː/, in the same environment; see §2.5.3.5 for further details. This sound change is typical of both Ahvāz and Khorramshahr but is not present in either the text from Iraq collected by Drower or the earlier texts collected by Macuch in Ahvāz. The later texts from Ahvāz also show some evidence of palatalization not found in Khorramshahr.[200] The final conclusion must be that the phonology of the dialect of Khorramshahr is slightly more conservative than that of Ahvāz, although both dialects have experienced substantial phonological changes in recent years.

6.1.2 Morphology

Both of the documented modern dialects retain much of the morphology of the classical dialect. While the morphology of the noun has been heavily influenced by Persian, the morphology of the verb remains fairly intact and free of contact influence. Much more about the morphology of the verb can be divined from the dialect of Ahvāz than that of Khorramshahr, although this is primarily due to the larger corpus of texts collected from that dialect. Despite all the evidence for the morphology of both dialects that has thus far been collected, much more work remains to be done.

6.1.2.1 The Noun

The nominal morphology of Neo-Mandaic has been greatly affected by contact with Persian. The classical system of states (see §3.4) has become obsolete, and only vestiges of it survive in some frozen forms and grammatical constructions. The primary distinctions made by the morphology of the noun reflect referentiality and identifiability (see §6.1.3 below). As a result, the most common inflectional morphemes associated with the states have been replaced by morphemes borrowed from Persian, such as the plural morphemes (§3.3.1) and (§3.3.3), the indefinite morpheme (§3.6.3), and the *ezāfe* (§3.4.2). This last morpheme, which appears in both the dialects of Ahvāz and Khorramshahr, is far more characteristic of the speech of the former rather than the latter.

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[200] See Table 4 in this grammar and §2.3.1 in Macuch, *Neumandäische Texte*, 38 for examples.

Despite the collapse of the system of states, much of the morphology of the noun has been preserved, and the influence of Persian has not been as pervasive as it initially might seem. Grammatical gender (which is not found in Persian) and its morphological markers have been preserved (§3.2), and many of the original heteroclite plurals have also been retained (§3.3.2), even though the most common plural morpheme **-ia** has been replaced by one borrowed from Persian (§3.3.1). It is also worth noting that Neo-Mandaic has innovated a system to keep loan words distinct from the native vocabulary by morphologically marking them in the plural and before possessive suffixes. This system is unique among the living Semitic languages (most of which aggressively assimilate loan words to their own phonology and morphology) and perhaps among the languages of the world.

One of the major innovations of both dialects of Neo-Mandaic vis-à-vis Classical Mandaic is the new means of marking referentiality and identifiability on the noun (see §3.6). These means include morphological indicators such as the referential object marker (§3.6.2) and the indefinite morpheme (§3.6.3), as well as various syntactic ways of indicating referentiality (§3.6.1). This is an areal phenomenon affecting languages straddling the border between the Semitic world, Iran, and Anatolia, including Neo-Mandaic and various other Neo-Aramaic dialects. The first attestations of the indefinite morpheme, originally borrowed from the Iranian languages, are found already in the Classical Mandaic texts.[201]

Related to the general category of referentiality is the phenomenon of noun incorporation (§3.5.2). Whenever the object of the verb refers to an entire class of referents rather than one specific referent, it appears before the verb rather than after it and is incorporated into its meaning. Once incorporated in this fashion, the noun may take the indefinite morpheme, indicating a restrictive selection out of the range implied by the generic noun.

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[201] Macuch, *Handbook*, 207.

6.1.2.2 The Verb

As mentioned above, the Neo-Mandaic dialects preserve much of the morphology of the Classical Mandaic verb. All of the forms employed in Neo-Mandaic are also attested in Classical Mandaic, and Neo-Mandaic preserves (to varying extents) all Classical Mandaic forms with the exception of the prefix conjugation, described by Macuch as the imperfect.[202] The derived stems, including the *D*-stem, the *C*-stem, and the so-called "reflexive" stems, are also attested in both dialects of Neo-Mandaic, although more examples are attested in the dialect of Ahvāz than that of Khorramshahr. This is likely due to the greater volume of texts collected from the former. The reflexive stems are quite uncommon in Classical Mandaic, and varnishingly rare in both modern dialects. The passive forms of the other derived stems are fairly well attested in the modern dialect, even though they appear to be giving way to the impersonal passive construction (see §6.1.3 below).

Both dialects preserve three of the six thematic vowel classes of Classical Mandaic (see §5.1.1.1), although the thematic vowel of the perfective of many of the verbs originally from the (*e* ~ *o*) and the (*o* ~ *o*) thematic vowel classes have leveled towards that of the (*a* ~ *o*) vowel class, which is the largest and most productive of the three in Neo-Mandaic. This process, which had begun already in the classical dialect, appears to have advanced further in the Neo-Mandaic dialect of Khorramshahr than it has in that of Ahvāz, which preserves more verbs in the former two classes than the dialect of Khorramshahr does.

With regard to the different root classes of the verb (see §5.1.1.2), both modern dialects show important innovations in comparison with the classical dialect. While the paradigm of the strong verb remains much the same, the paradigm of the I-*n* and I-*y* verbs have been reformed on the analogy of the strong verbs, and the collapse of the original Classical Mandaic diphthongs /aɪ/ and /aʊ/ has wreaked havoc upon the II-weak verbs and affected the paradigm of the III-weak verbs. Many geminate verbs had already been reformed on the analogy of the middle-weak verbs in Classical Mandaic. The reduction in the number of root classes found in Neo-Mandaic is thus the latest stage of a process which had already begun in Classical Mandaic.

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[202] All functions of the classical imperfect have been assumed by the Neo-Mandaic imperfective (which Macuch calls the "participial present-future tense"). Participles inflected as verbs are found already in Classical Mandaic.

The modern dialects are further distinguished from the classical dialect by the forms of the personal morphemes on the verb. The full third person plural suffix on the Classical Mandaic perfective is **-u**. The form used in the modern dialects is *-yon,* which is attested in the classical as **-un** or –**iun**, albeit less frequently. Conversely, in Neo-Mandaic, the final *-n* is consistently dropped from the first person plural suffix on the perfective, **-nin**, Neo-Mandaic *-ni.* Neo-Mandaic preserves the classical personal suffixes on the imperfective (Macuch’s “participial present-future”), although once again the final *-n* is consistently dropped from the first person plural suffix, **-inin**, Neo-Mandaic *-enni.* The form of this suffix before object suffixes, *-nan-,* retains the final *-n,* but the vowel of the modern suffix differs from that of the classical dialect.

One of the more obvious differences between the two modern dialects is the absence of the third and second feminine plural forms in the verbal paradigms of the dialect of Khorramshahr. Furthermore, there is a second feminine singular form in the dialect of Ahvāz, formally identical to the first common singular, that is attested in neither the dialect of Khorramshahr nor in Classical Mandaic. It appears to be a complete innovation in the dialect of Ahvāz.

In his *Handbook*, Macuch claims that the Neo-Mandaic third plural forms are “rare in the classical, but they are used with absolute consistency in modern Mandaic,” and that the second feminine plural, though often conflated with the masculine in Classical Mandaic, is “still used with relative consistency” in Neo-Mandaic.[203] In the paradigms offered in his two text collections, however, the feminine forms are enclosed within brackets, suggesting that he may have changed his mind about the consistency of their appearance. The brevity of the sketch grammars attached to both text collections prevents us from drawing any concrete conclusions about the distribution of these forms. In any case, more research is necessary to determine whether the use of the feminine forms in Ahvāz is an innovation in that dialect, an unconscious (or perhaps deliberate) archaism on the part of his informants (both of whom were literate in the classical dialect), or a genuine survival of the classical forms, albeit with a different distribution in the modern language.

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[203] Macuch, *Handbook*, 262.

Another major innovation is the impersonal passive (§5.4.3.2), which is the most productive form of the passive in Neo-Mandaic and coexists alongside the analytic passive construction inherited from earlier stages of the language.

6.1.3 Syntax

The syntax of Classical Mandaic has received little attention since the days of Theodor Nöldeke. As Macuch himself notes,[204] syntax was the aspect of Mandaic grammar least addressed by him in his *Handbook* and the two text collections. As a proper examination of the comparative syntax of the various Mandaic dialects would fall beyond the scope of this grammar, I will restrict myself to a few general remarks about this subject. A full study of the syntax of Neo-Mandaic must remain a desideratum for the immediate future.

It would appear that Neo-Mandaic preserves the SVO word order of Classical Mandaic, despite its longstanding contact with Persian (which follows SOV word order). Topic-fronting, which tends to obscure the word order, is typical of all three languages. Simple sentences consist of a subject, which may be implied in the verb, and a predicate, which is headed by a verb or the copula (see §5.1.1.4). The independent forms of the copula introduce predicate nominal and predicate locative constructions, and the enclitic forms introduce predicate adjectives. Much like other Semitic languages, Neo-Mandaic employs a predicate locative construction to express the notion of possession. In the simple present tense, this construction uses the independent form of the existential particle **eṯ* and the preposition *l-* ‘to/for,’ which takes the enclitic suffixes introduced in

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[204] Macuch, *Handbook*, 383.

Table 15. Before *l*-, the existential particle assumes the form *eh*-, yielding the forms *ehli* 'he has' (lit. 'there is for him'), *ehla* 'she has,' and so forth. In tenses, aspects, and moods other than the simple present, the copular verb *həwā* ~ *həwi (hāwi)* is used in the place of the existential particle, e.g. *agar pərāhā həwāle, turti zaḇnit* 'if I had money, I would have bought a cow.'

Compound sentences combine two or more simple sentences with coordinating conjunctions such as *u* 'and,' *ammā* 'but,' *lo* 'or,' and the correlative conjunction *-lo* … *-lo* 'either … or.' Complex sentences consist of a main clause and one or more dependent clauses introduced by a relative pronoun, provided that the referent of the antecedent of the clause is definite—if it is indefinite, no relative pronoun is used. The Classical Mandaic relative pronoun **ḏ**- has not survived, having been replaced by *illi*, an Arabic loan that introduces non-restrictive relative clauses (§4.3.2.1), and *ke*, a Persian loan that introduces restrictive relative clauses (§4.3.2.2), both of which appear immediately following the antecedent of the clause. It is worth nothing that the distinction between restrictive relative clauses and non-restrictive relative clauses is not found in Classical Mandaic, and therefore constitutes an important innovation distinguishing the contemporary language from the classical. The antecedents of restrictive relative clauses are marked with the restrictive morpheme -*i*, which resembles the indefinite morpheme in form alone, e.g. *ezgit dukkāni ke həzitu awwál* 'I went to the places which I saw before (III.19).' If the antecedent is the object of the relative clause, it will be represented within the relative clause by a resumptive relative pronoun, as in the example above (*həzitu* 'I saw them').

6.1.4 Lexicon

As indicated in the introduction (§1.6.4), the Neo-Mandaic dialect of Khorramshahr preserves much more of the vocabulary of Classical Mandaic than scholars such as Macuch and Drower have previously indicated. As much of 85% of the "basic" vocabulary of Neo-Mandaic (here represented by the 207 term Swadesh list) is Aramaic in origin; the remaining 15% derives from Arabic, Persian, and the other languages with which it has come into contact. While there has been some semantic development (e.g. *barraḵ* ~ *barraḵ (mebarraḵ)* 'to pray' is derived from the classical verb meaning 'to kneel' or 'to bless' in the *D*-stem), the majority of this vocabulary also appears to preserve its original meaning. There are even a few words that appear to be classical in form (e.g. *yəmuṯā* 'oath', cf. CM **ʿumamata** id.) but are not attested in any of the classical texts.

Within the modern dialects, certain differences in vocabulary distinguish speakers of the two surviving dialects from one another, e.g. Ahvāz *mork* 'with' vs. Khorramshahr *orke* 'with.' Unfortunately, due to the small size of the remaining communities of speakers and the absence of a written standard, the total vocabulary of Neo-Mandaic (as distinct from that of Mandaic in general, including the written language) is restricted almost entirely to that of the individual speakers, and vocabulary outside of the domain of "basic" vocabulary is often freely borrowed from other languages. Nevertheless, the vocabulary collected herein and in Macuch's publications comprises several thousand terms. If these terms were combined with the vocabulary collected from other sources and other informants, they could serve as the basis for a very extensive dictionary of this Neo-Aramaic language, which would be extremely useful for all scholars of Aramaic.

Certain semantic areas (e.g. cultural terms, modern technology, numerals) have become thoroughly saturated with loans. Even so, most recent loan words continue to be marked with a separate set of morphemes in the plural (§3.3.3) and before possessive pronouns (§4.1.2.3). These morphemes are not found in the Classical language but are typical of the modern dialects. It is my impression[205] that the dialect of Khorramshahr preserves much more of the original vocabulary, and that the lexicon of Ahvāz has been more heavily influenced by Persian. Without a dictionary of the modern language, however, this impression must remain unsubstantiated. The situation is complicated by the fact that my chief informant has an unusual gift for coining neologisms; this was confirmed for me when he took issue with Choheili's use of the word *ṭayyāra* 'airplane' (a word found in Persian and many colloquial Arabic dialects, originally coined by the Ottomans), claiming that the word *pəhirā* was the proper Mandaic term for airplane.

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[205] This impression is derived primarily from my sessions of reading Macuch's *Neumandäische Texte* with Sobbi who, during the course of these sessions, would occasionally remark, "I don't know why he used that word. We have a perfectly good word…"

6.2 Conclusions and Desiderata

The Neo-Mandaic dialects are characterized by a remarkable uniformity, as few differences separate the dialect of Khorramshahr from that of Ahvāz or the Iraqi dialect documented by Drower. The two surviving dialects that have thus far been documented are mutually intelligible to the point that speakers of either dialect will deny that there are any differences. A possible explanation for the uniformity between these dialects is given in the introduction (see §1.7). There are, however, sufficient differences to justify examining them as separate dialects in their own right, owing to their different origins and the ways in which they have diverged from one another in terms of their phonology, morphology, and lexicon.

The ensemble of the features described above suggest that the grammar of Neo-Mandaic is remarkably conservative in comparison with that of Classical Mandaic, and that most of the features that distinguish the former from the latter are the result of developments already attested in Classical and Postclassical Mandaic. Though it was not the chief focus of this grammar or either of Macuch's text collections, a thorough historical grammar of Mandaic could potentially be derived from the collected material on the modern dialects and the existing grammars of the classical dialect. Given the position of Neo-Mandaic within the Aramaic family (being a distinct branch of the Eastern Aramaic sub-group and the only documented form of Neo-Aramaic derived directly from a literary dialect), such a grammar would naturally be of great interest not only to Semitists but also to linguists in general.

As “the most massive and inclusive art we know, a mountainous and unconscious work of anonymous generations,”[206] language necessarily defies any attempt at a fully comprehensive treatment. Furthermore, the exigencies of documenting endangered languages often make comprehensive treatments impossible. For these reasons, grammars such as this one can only be the latest word on the subject, never the final one. If I had extended the same treatment to Neo-Mandaic syntax that I have already extended to phonology and morphology, I could easily have filled another volume. Likewise, I have avoided analyzing the Neo-Mandaic dialect of Khorramshahr from a diachronic perspective, an analysis which is also worthy of its own separate treatment. Those volumes, and many others, remain to be written.

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[206] Edward Sapir, *Language: An Introduction to the Study of Speech* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1921), 220.

7. Text Collection

I am fortunate to have found in Nasser Sobbi a consummate storyteller and a fount of information about the Mandaeans and their religion. Nasser Sobbi is equally at home discussing religion, politics, history, and nearly any other subject related to the Middle East. He is able to draw from a vast store of knowledge accumulated during a lifetime of experiences and from his personal library, much of which was unfortunately destroyed during the Battle for Khorramshahr (1980).

Consequently, it was not difficult to elicit texts from him on a wide variety of subjects that were both interesting and illustrative of the finer points of Neo-Mandaic grammar. I have selected ten of these texts for inclusion in this grammar. All of these texts were recorded in the basement of the Sobbi household, in which Nasser Sobbi's office and personal library are found, as well as a pantry, a laundry room, and a guestroom. The elicitation sessions all took place in the early afternoon, between the hours of 3-5 PM. Unless otherwise noted, the only people immediately present were Nasser Sobbi and myself, although his wife Shukrieh was always within earshot, and would often wander into the basement as she performed her household chores, occasionally commenting on the session or contributing some information.

It seemed only natural to begin the text collection with the speech that he gave at the ARAM Thirteenth International Conference, "The Mandaeans" (Harvard University 13-15 June 1999), on the opening day of the conference. I recorded the text on a second occasion on June 13, 2003, in the company of my friend Cliff Shin from nearby Great Neck, NY.

The following two texts are autobiographical anecdotes, both recorded on December 13, 2003. The first details his encounter with Lady Drower in the year 1932, when he was only eight years old. The second text describes two trips he made to the cities of Shushtar and

Dezful in northern Khuzestān, the chief cities of the Mandaeans in Iran during the 19th century. The first trip took place during the Second World War, in 1943, and the second trip occurred in 1995.

The fourth text, collected on March 27, 2004, is the largest of the ten, and the most interesting from a literary perspective. Jorunn J. Buckley first drew my attention to this legend, which is a Neo-Mandaic version of the most famous Mandaean folktale, the Bridge of Shushtar. The basic outline of the plot is as follows: the ruler of Shushtar seeks to build a bridge over the river Karun. The first time the bridge is built, it collapses overnight. The collapse of the bridge is attributed to supernatural causes. The second time it is built, the ruler enlists dervishes and wise men to aid the builders while they are constructing the bridge. Once again, the bridge collapses overnight. The third time the bridge is built, the elders of the city advise the ruler to seek the help of the chief priest of the Mandaeans, who are widely regarded for their skills in fighting demons. The chief priest is summoned and instructs the ruler to rebuild the bridge a third time, and that he and his daughter will stand watch over the bridge once it is completed. Surely enough, the demon arrives and attempts to destroy the bridge, but before he can do so, he is tricked by the daughter into revealing his name. Armed with the knowledge of the demon’s name, the chief priest enslaves him and commands him to stop destroying the bridge.

When the chief priest informs the ruler that he has succeeded in trapping the demon, the ruler demands that he relinquish control over the demon to him. The demon refuses to allow the Mandaeans to teach anyone else his secret (swearing that he will kill them first), and so the chief priest instructs him to cause the earth around Shushtar to quake, in the hopes of compelling the ruler to give up his demands. While the earth is quaking, the ruler approaches the chief priest for help. The chief priest agrees, provided that the ruler stops demanding the secret from him. Once the ruler agrees, the chief priest summons the demon and asks him to stop shaking the earth.

He then asks the demon to move the entire Mandaean quarter of Shushtar out of the city, and the demon agrees to do so in exchange for his freedom. He instructs the Mandaeans to stay within their quarter for forty days while he digs beneath it. The jewelers, the carpenters, and the blacksmiths disobey these commands and leave the city before the demon lifts it into the air and carries it away.

The first half of this folktale is ultimately based upon the near-universal motif of the foundation sacrifice, despite the fact that the sacrifice itself has been thwarted in this version. Similar legends, involving the construction of a bridge or some other building that is repeatedly destroyed by a supernatural agency, circulate throughout the Balkans, Anatolia, Kurdistan, and even India.[207] In nearly all of these tales, the mason responsible for building the bridge (or fortress) must sacrifice a female relation (either a wife or a daughter) in order to placate the supernatural agency responsible for destroying the bridge, usually by immuring her in its foundation. The Mandaeans have placed a uniquely Mandaean spin upon this legend—by having the daughter trick the demon into revealing his name, they reaffirm their age-old reputation as master magicians and trappers of demons. The Mandaean contribution to this folktale is apparent only once all of its variants have been compared and the principle of the selection of each variant has been determined.[208]

The second half of this folktale, which is specific to the Mandaeans and not found in the other versions, is clearly etiological; it explains why the Mandaeans of Khuzestān traditionally work in these three professions, and also explains the presence of a large pit outside the city of Shushtar, known to the residents of that city as the *Naṣṣat-e Sobba* ‘Pit of the Sabians.’ Versions of this folktale appear in translation in Petermann’s *Reisen im Orient*[209] and Drower’s *The*

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[207] Alan Dundes has written on the distribution of this particular folktale and the folly of trying to attribute it to a particular region or people; see Alan Dundes, “How Indic Parallels to the Ballad of the ‘Walled-Up Wife’ Reveal the Pitfalls of Parochial Nationalistic Folkloristics,” *Journal of American Folklore* 108, no. 427 (Winter, 1995), 38–53. For a variant in the Neo-Aramaic dialect of the Jews of Zakho, not mentioned by Dundes, see Donna Shai, “A Kurdish Jewish Variant of ‘The Bridge of Arta,’” *Association for Jewish Studies Review* 1 (1976): 303–310.

[208] This principle was established by Vladimir S. Propp in his *Morphology of the Folktale*, translated by Laurence Scott (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1968), 9.

[209] Petermann, *Reisen im Orient*, 100.

Mandaeans of Iraq and Iran,[210] as well as a partial version in the Neo-Mandaic dialect of Ahvāz collected by Macuch.[211] This particular version was collected by Drower herself in Neo-Mandaic using an *ad hoc* transcription system, but never published. Even though this version differs from the one given in her book and she did not record the name of her informant, the source for this story can be none other than her old friend Hirmiz bar Anhar, a silversmith from Baghdad. Bar Anhar, whom Sobbi met during the 1940s, was also descended from the Mandaeans of Shushtar, and given the many similarities between the dialect of this version of the story and Sobbi's own dialect, it is clear that the tale originated with him, like so many others found in Drower's book. With the help of Sobbi, I was able to make sense out of Drower's text, and recorded his rendition of it for this collection.

The fifth text, recorded on November 7, 2004, is a second folktale, which has an even more convoluted history than that of the Bridge of Shushtar. It is a selection from the *Kalila-o Demne-ye Bahrāmshāhi,* a 12th century Persian translation of Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ's 8th century Arabic *Kalīla wa-Dimna* made by Abolmaʾāli Nasrollāh ebn-e Mohammad. The Arabic itself was allegedly translated from a lost Pahlavi translation of the Sanskrit Bidpai fables. In this tale, a merchant leaves a consignment of iron with a friend before departing on a long journey. While the merchant is gone, his friend sells the entire consignment and pockets the money. Upon his return, the merchant demands his iron back. His friend tells him an improbable story about the iron having been eaten by mice.

To his astonishment, the merchant appears to accept this improbable story and departs. As he is leaving the house, the merchant spots his friend's young son and kidnaps him. When he returns the next day, his friend tells him that his son has gone missing, and the merchant tells him an equally improbable story, claiming that his son has been snatched away by a hawk. The friend declares that the merchant's story is ludicrous, but the merchant retorts, "in the city where mice can eat iron, shouldn't a hawk be able to carry off a young boy?" Realizing that the merchant is much shrewder than he previously thought, he exchanges the money from the iron for his son.

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[210] Drower, *The Mandaeans,* 289–92.

[211] Macuch, "The bridge of Shushtar," 153–172.

Four of the last five short texts are all traditional jokes, originally told in colloquial Arabic and retold in Neo-Mandaic. All five were recorded on November 27, 2004. Sobbi assures me that all of these jokes are very familiar to him and were of the sort that he and his friends would tell one another when he was a young man. The last one is taken from the cycle of stories surrounding the character Joha, also known as Mollah Nasreddin (in Persian) or Nasrettin Hoca (in Turkish). I have seen versions of this particular tale both in Classical Arabic and colloquial Levantine Arabic, as well as Turkish and even Ladino (Djudezmo) versions.

In a previous version[212] of the present work, the texts were presented in interlinear format (much like the examples in the preceding chapters). In the interest of preserving space, the texts are here presented without interlinearization, followed by a free translation on the facing page or immediately below in the case of the shorter texts (VI-X).

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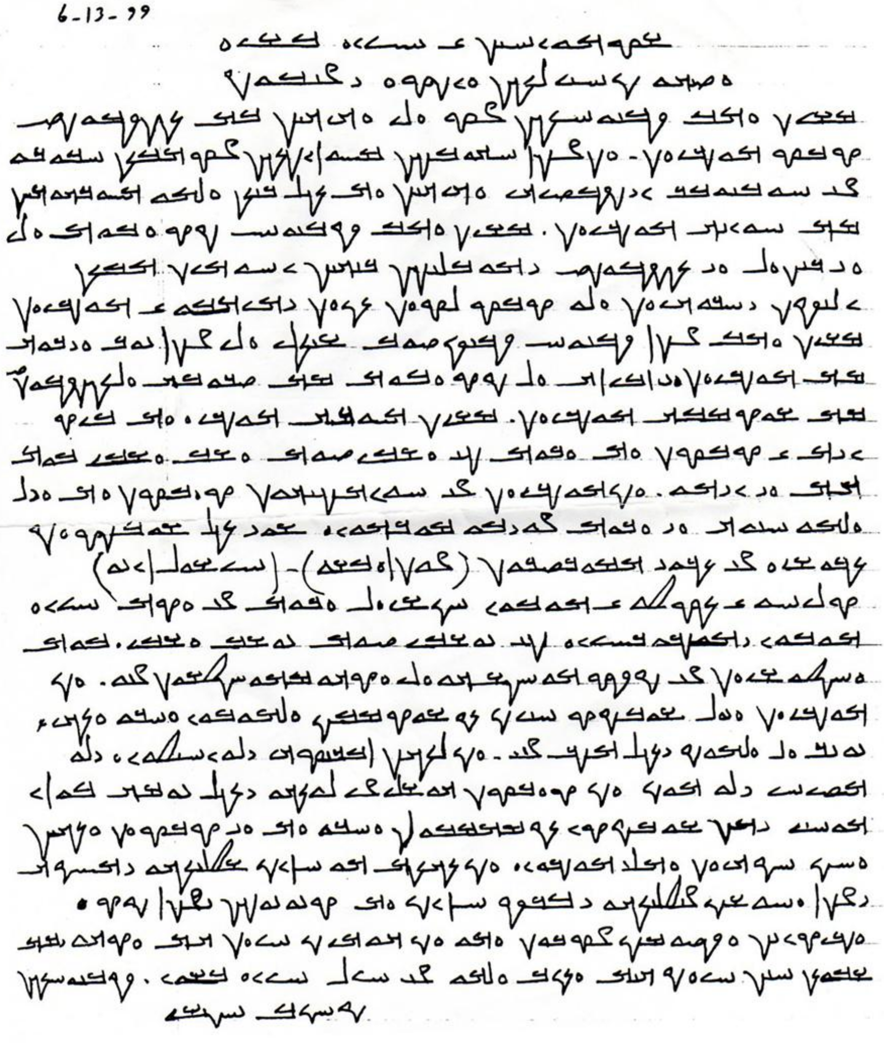
[212] Charles G. Häberl, *The Neo-Mandaic Dialect of Khorramshahr*. Ph.D. diss. Harvard University, 2006. Ann Arbor: ProQuest/UMI, Nov. 2006. AAT 3217746

Text I: Speech, June 13, 1999



6-13-99

Original text of speech given by Nasser Sobbi at Harvard University on June 13, 1999, in Sobbi's own handwriting.

Text I: Speech, June 13, 1999

(1) *B-ešmehon ed-Heyyi Rabbi!*

(2) *Asuṯā nehwilḵon, inšā u goḇrānā.* (3) *Qabin əmer farwāhḵon geš illi aṯiton qam kānfərāns šerš Mandayānā.* (4) *Anā genz həṯernān qəhazinḵon geš mork hədādā gāw Harvard University aṯiton əm-kol dukkān ālmā məḥadṯetton qam hayoṯ Mandayānā.* (5) *Qabin əmer farwāh ənāš ARĀM illi aḇdonn’ əl-ā kānfərāns, əmarlonnan, “Doṯon, yəhomyon əm-ork yəlup̄ānā u ḥadeṯonn’ əlāw šerš, lešān, qəyān, u mimrā d-Mandayān.”* (6) *Qabin əmer genz farwāh Profesər Buckley, illi genz əḇād aḇdat qam Mandayānā, u zarzat əlāw ənāš ARĀM qəmsadart’ əl-ā kānfərāns qəmbašqart Mandayānā.*

(7) *Qabin əmḥadeṯ mendi, əm-riš yum šeršan, əm-Ādam, No, w-ebri Sām, ebbər ebri Rām, tum ā-yumā.* (8) *Ani Mandayānā gāw hemanuṯan šeršan m-awwál ālm həwat, w-Ādam, goḇrā qadmāyi bāḇ kol barnašānā.* (9) *Kədeḇye gāw kədāḇ moqaddas-dan,* Genzā Rabbā, *Hibel Ziwā, šlihā d-kušṭā d-Māre, ṣeḇy’ əl-Ādam gāw eššəm Heyyi Māre u Mandā d-Heyyi.* (10) *Nuḥ, u ebri Sām, ebbər ebri Rām, eṣṭeḇyon gāw nap̄š maṣbettā illi eštā qəmeṣṭeḇén gāwwa.* (11) *Ani Mandayānā awwál barnāš həwini ke bašqarni əl-Māre ehdi eḵti, u aḇd’ əl-kol almānā, u kol mendi gāwwu.*

(12) *Ani leḵtan Zardoští wə-le-Yhuwəṭāyā we-l-Masiḥí we-l-Māni.* (13) *Ani šeršan tabliġí leḵta, u kol waxt rāzi maḥḇi, u min barnašāni ke qəmqarellan ehdi m-ā šeršān eḵtan, ahni ṣatyon əm-lu Mandayānā.* (14) *Ani kaṯkammā həzini baṭluḵtā u meḥnāt, u genz əhaḇni guṭluḵtā, u radp̄ā həzini, əm-šəḇāḇānan, u-genz ənāš andešyon epseqni geš-dan, ammā ani tamini həyānā tum eštā, we-qəmbarreḵ hawén həyānā tum āxír ālmā, gāw hil Heyyi Rabbi.*

(15) *Farwāhḵon geš.*

(1) In the name of the Great Life! (2) Greetings, ladies and gentlemen.

(3) I want to thank all of you who came to the conference on the religion of the Mandaeans. (4) I'm very happy that I am seeing you all together at Harvard University, having come from all over of the world to discuss the survival of the Mandaeans. (5) I want to thank the members of ARAM who held this conference, and who said to us, "Come, sit with the scholars, and talk about the religion, language, culture, and literature of the Mandaeans. (6) I want to give many thanks to Professor Buckley, who has done so much work for the Mandaeans, and informed the members of ARAM that you are organizing this conference, and that you know the Mandaeans.

(7) I want to say a few things, from the beginning of our religion, from Ādam, No, and his son Sām, his grandson Rām, until today. (8) As for us Mandaeans, according to our beliefs, our religion has existed from the first epoch of time, and Adam, the Primal Man, is the father of all people. (9) It is written in our sacred book, the *Genzā Rabbā*, that Hibel Ziwā, the apostle of God's truth, baptized Adam in the name of Life, God (lit. my Lord), and Knowledge of Life (three divine epithets). (10) Noah, his son Shem, and his grandson Aram baptized with the same baptism ceremony with which we baptize today. (11) We Mandaeans were the first people who recognized that God (lit. my Lord) is a single being, and that he created all the worlds, and everything within them.

(12) We are neither Zoroastrian, nor Jewish, nor Christian, nor Manichaean. (13) Our religion is non-proselytizing, and has always been kept a secret, and some people, those who labeled us one of these religions, those people heard [it] from non-Mandaeans.[213] (14) We have experienced so much misfortune and hardship, and we experienced many massacres, and experienced persecution from our neighbors, and many people were concerned that all of us had been exterminated, but we have survived until now, and I pray that we will remain alive until the final epoch of time, by the power of Heyyi Rabbi.

(15) Thank you all.

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[213] The third masculine singular suffix is occasionally omitted, as noted in §4.1.2.1.

Text II: Meeting Lady Drower

(1) *Qabin əmer mendi eqdaḵarnā, ke həwit jihel, waxti ke həwit jihel.* (2) *Aḵ waxt babbe həwā—bāḇ emme yaʿani—həwā rab Mandayānā.* (3) *Lu ganziḇriye, həwā rabbā ekkaḵ.*

(4) *Gāw šet šuḇḇā, təmānā—láqdaḵar ṣunʿa—šettā šuḇḇā, təmānā, həwini qəmṭallén gāw maḥallat jihelā́ geš-dan.* (5) *Aṯon əm-Aḥwāz.* (6) *Qəbeyyen āḇden qāḇin gāw Moḥamrā.* (7) *Həwālan ganziḇrā gāw Moḥambrā, ešmi Šiex Masbub.* (8) *Gāw Aḥwāz həwā tarmidi, ešmi Šiex ʿAbdalla.* (9) *Láhwālu ganziḇrā, ammā eštā ehlu.* (10) *Aṯon qāḇin əḇadyon m-Aḥwāz qam yeki, ešmi Yusef, qəlāw eṯṯi, ešma Ḥadiyye bərat Kanjar.* (11) *Həwā Yusef—Šabuṯ qamrelli, ammā ešmi Yusef.*

(12) *Tum pardason.* (13) *Nəp̄aqyon barra, ani qəmṭallén.* (14) *Qəhazén orku eṯ inglizí həwat!* (15) *Nep̄qat barra qəmšiel əm-jihelā́ qəmḥaṯṯ Mandāyí.* (16) *An həwit jihel.* (17) *Aṯit qamāya qabin bas əmḥadeṯ orka.* (18) *Inglizí? Láqəmbašqar Inglizí!* (19) *Ḥaṯṯat orke Mandāyí, jawāb-dʾ ahḇita.* (20) *Genz ḥaṯṯat ke genz jawāb-dʾ ahḇita.* (21) *Aḵ waxt amrat, "Gāw Erāq, tarmidi u ganziḇrā láqəmḥaṯṯen Mandāyí; hənā ḥatta jihelā qəmḥaṯṯen!"* (22) *Ani həwini eččā eččin u bištar geš-dan qəmḥaṯṯén Mandāyí.* (23) *Ehlan geš Mandāyí həwā gāw Moḥamrā, faqaṭ ke hənā qāṯen m-Erāq, Azāzi u Giyālin; láqəmḥaṯṯen Mandāyí.*

(24) *Qəyādḵon man həwat ā eṯṯā?* (25) *An láqyāde muyye Erāq, láqyāde tarmidi u ganziḇrā u goḇrā ekkaḵ láqəmbašqeren əmḥaṯṯ Mandāyí.* (26) *Ā eṯṯā hidā amrat Ms. Drower!* (27) *Aṯat əm-Baġdād qār Šiex ʿAbdalla.* (28) *Gāw Aḥwāz həwālu qāḇin.* (29) *Qəbeyyen āṯen Moḥamrā, yaʿani Xorramšahr šətā, u aṯon qār Šiex Masbub.* (30) *Qāḇin əḇadyon.* (31) *Hid nep̄qat qəmšiel əmḥaṯṯā qə-jihelā́.* (32) *Yaʿani, Moḥamrā geš məḥaṯṯen Mandāyí həwā.* (33) *W-eqdaḵarnā tum eštā šekəl-da u nap̄ša.* (34) *Rəwāhā nehwila, meḵtat eštā.* (35) *Mārʾ əmzaharla!*

(1) I want to say something that I remember from when I was a child, the time when I was a child. (2) At that time, my grandfather, that is to say, my mother's father, was the leader of the Mandaeans. (3) He wasn't a *ganzibrā*,[214] he was the leader there.

(4) When I was seven or eight, I don't remember well, the year was seven or eight, all of us children were playing in the neighborhood. (5) (Some people) came from Ahvāz. (6) They wanted to perform a marriage in Mohammerah. (7) We had a *ganzibrā* in Mohammerah, whose name was Sheikh Masboob. (8) In Ahvāz, there was a *tarmidā*,[215] whose name was Sheikh Abdallah. (9) They didn't used to have *ganzibrās*, but now they have one. (10) They came from Ahvāz to marry someone named Yusef to a woman whose name was Ḥadiyye, the daughter of Kanjar. (11) He was Yusef - he was called Šabuṯ, but his name was Yusef.

(12) Then they finished. (13) They came outside where we were playing. (14) We saw that there was an English woman with them. (15) She came outside to ask the children to speak Mandaic. (16) I was a child. (17) I came up to her - I only want to speak to her. (18) But English? I don't know English! (19) She spoke Mandaic with me, I answered her. (20) She talked a lot because I gave her a lot of answers. (21) Then she said, "In Iraq, the *tarmidās* and the *ganzibrās* don't speak Mandaic; here, even the children speak (it)!" (22) Ninety-nine percent or more of us spoke Mandaic. (23) We all had Mandaic in Mohammerah, except for those (families) who came here from Iraq, the ʿAzāzi and the Gilāni (families), who didn't speak Mandaic.

(24) Do you know who this woman was? (25) I didn't know what Iraq was, I didn't know that the *tarmidās* and the *ganzibrās* and the men there didn't know how to speak Mandaic. (26) This woman said (that she was) Ms. Drower! (27) She came from Baghdad to Sheikh Abdallah. (28) In Ahvāz, they had a wedding. (29) They wanted to come (to) Mohammerah, that is, Khorramshahr now, and they came to Sheikh Masboob. (30) They had a wedding. (31) She came out, asking to speak to the children. (32) That's because, (in) Mohammerah, everybody used to speak Mandaic.

(33) I still remember her appearance and her personality. (34) May she rest in peace. She's dead now. (35) May God (lit. my Lord) protect her.

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[214] A type of priest; see §1.2.2.

[215] Another type of priest, of lower rank than the *ganzibrā*; see §1.2.2.

Text III: Two Trips to Shushtar

(1) *Qabin əmer mendi eqdaḵernā, gāw šet alfā u čemmā, ārbin u klāṯā.* (2) *Həwat šer horettā, u geš aṯon, maxṣuṣ Amrikān, Ingliz, aṯon gāw Irān, qəbeyyen komák aḇdellʾ əl-Rusya.* (3) *Aṯon əm-ohhər Moḥamrā, qəmwadden ekkaḵ.*

(4) *An həwit əm-Provost Marshal (qəmbašqarle) ehle pāsi kol dukkān-e Amrikān qəmzabnen əlāwwu.* (5) *Həwit qanāyā d-kaspā (silversmith) aḵ waxt həwit.* (6) *Aḵ waxt ezgini qam Haft Tappé, u qallén qam Bandar-e Maʿšur, qallén qam Dezful (7-11 həwālu ekkaḵ), qallén əmzabnén qəlāwwu.* (7) *Ezgit əm-Ṣolḥabād (həwini gāw Ṣolḥabād) u qallenni, qam Dezful həzini ax waxt.*

(8) *An həwā orke yeki (rəwāhā nehwili) Yabber, meṯ Yabber, ezgini ekkaḵ, həzinʾ əl-nahrā.* (9) *Šənā əḇadni ekkaḵ, šamni u barraḵni.* (10) *Ba‘aden ləḇašni eqmāšānan, šiyelni, “Qəhāzen bieṯwāṯ ba‘id.* (11) *Ahni əl-mannon, lek barra əm-belātnon?”*

(12) *Əmaryon “ahni,” gāw Fārsi, “xāne kāferān,” ya‘ani bieṯwāṯ ke illi (láqəmbašqer) šerš lehlu, bieṯ māl ṣobbihā́, xāne kāferān, ṣubbiye, ṣābiʾe, ya‘ni bieṯ Mandayān.*

(13) *An həzit bieṯwāṯ illi mandi həwālu, əlāw nahrā, ‘ād lasāqit, lášaḇqonnan allenni ekkaḵ.* (14) *Həwit aḵ waxt jihel həwit, yaʿani bis sāl, bis sālu ʿomər-de, činassər šettā, ‘ād esrin šettā.* (15) *‘Ād lásāqit aḵ waxt; kamarni.* (16) *An agar gāw ā ‘aqəl hawinā, əzgit, ya kədāḇ Mandāyí, mendi əmḥaṣelnā.* (17) *Lezgini.*

(18) *Gāw šet eštā, yaʿani šuḇḇā šettā eštā qamātar, yaʿani alp̄ā u čemmā u čin u hamšā, yeah, ezgit ekkaḵ yektā tum.* (19) *Ezgit Dezful, ezgit Šuštar, dokkāni ke həzitu awwál,* (20) *qəmšiyel, jisər ke həwā ekkaḵ, goḇrā ke gāw metelā́ Mandāyí aḇdonni, həwā pəseq aḵ waxt.* (21) *Eštā həziti jisər ṣunʿaye, u jisri tum əḇadyon.* (22) *Ellinon bieṯ Mandayānā, lekkā - geš dəronnu w-aḇdonnu, xiyabānhā́ aḇdonnu, street aḇdonnu, bənon bənon benāyāt - u mendi lekkā.* (23) *Yaʿani, Mandayānā geš pəradyon, gaṭlonnu geš-du, šaḇqon əm-Šuštar u Dezful u Šawāli.* (24) *Eštā lek enši, bieṯwāṯ ham dəronnu.* (25) *Ā metelā́ Mušmanān orke Mandayānā.*

(1) I want to say something that I remember, [that happened] in 1943. (2) It was the Second World War, and everybody came, especially the Americans and the British, they came to Iran, because they wanted to help Russia. (3) They came along Khorramshahr Road, they sent (them) there.

(4) I had from the Provost Marshal (who knew me) a pass for all the American stores to which we would sell. (5) I was a silversmith at that time, I was. (6) At that time we went to Haft Tappe, and we used to go to Bandar-e Maʻšur, we used to go to Dezful (they had a 7-11 there), we used to go to sell to them. (7) I went from Solhabad (we were in Solhabad) and then we went to see Dezful.

(8) There was someone with me, Yabber, God bless him [lit. may he have relief], Yabber is dead, we went there and we saw the river. (9) We swam there, performed our ablutions, and prayed. (10) Afterwards, we put on our clothes, and we asked, “We see distant houses. (11) To whom do they belong, the ones that are outside of the city?” (12) They said, in Persian, “Those are the houses of unbelievers,” meaning the houses of those who (he didn’t know) don’t have a religion, the Sabians’ houses, the houses of unbelievers; they are the Ṣubba, the Sabians, that is, Mandaean houses.

(13) I saw houses which had a Mandaean temple by the river, but I didn’t go up, we weren’t allowed to go there.[216] (14) I was just a child then, I was, that is to say, (in Persian:) 20 years, that was my age, (in Mandaic:) 19 years, no - wait - 20 years. (15) No, I didn’t go up then. We went back. (16) If I knew then what I know today (lit. I were in this mind), I would have gone, to pick up a Mandaic book or something. (17) We didn’t go.

(18) In this year, that is to say, seven years ago, that is, 1995, I went there once again. (19) I went to Dezful, I went to Shushtar, the places which I saw before. (20) I asked about the bridge that was there, the men who, according to the stories, were Mandaeans who did it; it was broken then. (21) Now I saw that it had been repaired [lit. I saw “the bridge is good”], and another bridge had been built. (22) Wherever there were Mandaean houses, (now) there weren’t. They were taken away and avenues and streets were built, building after building, and there was nothing left. (23) That is, the Mandaeans had all fled, or they were all killed; they left Shushtar and Dezful and Shāh Wāli. (24) Now there isn’t anyone left, and even the houses have been taken away. (25) These are the stories of the Muslims with the Mandaeans.

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[216] Impersonal passive; see §5.4.3.2.

Text IV: The Bridge of Shushtar

(1) *Ḥakyāṯā gāw Mandāyí, raṭnā d-Hiḇel Ziwā, anhiṯʾ ad-Ādam.*

(2) *Gāw Šuštar ekkā šehyāni qəbāy jisri āḇed.* (3) *Bənili əm-riš šettā tum riš šettā.* (4) *Bānen gāwi, geš gāw gəlālā u gač.* (5) *Tum tamām aḇdelli.* (6) *Qəbeyyen min ṣubāḥ ohrā allen əlāwwi.* (7) *Qəhazelli geš haruḇ, geš gāw mienā qāzi.* (8) *Wayyeq qāṯi gāwwu!* (9) *Šehyānā u barnašānā wayyeq qāṯi gāwwu!* (10) *Láqyādu muyye mahreḇli.*

(11) *Šadder əlāw wazirā́ w-olamā́.* (12) *Aṯon qāri u qəmšielu muyye ekkā qəhāreḇ jisrā.* (13) *"Əḇād šiḇiāhā," qāmren, "mahreḇli."* (14) *Əmallu šehyānā, "Aṯṯon barnašānā ke šiḇihānā kaḇšellu!"*

(15) *Aṯon jamiʿa ke qəyādu gāw alm šiḇihānā.* (16) *Əmallonni əl-šehyānā, "Aṯṯon barnāšā u bonyi w-ani qarén əlāw šiḇihānā u man'a qāḇednannu."* (17) *Aṯṯi šehyānā barnāšā qəbānen haṯṯā w-ahni olamā qāren ṣubāḥ u qamieṯā wə-ʿaṣreyā.* (18) *So waxt qāren u benyān qəbānen.* (19) *Inšānā aṯon u qāren əlāw mienā u qəmṭāḥen əlāw pol, əlāw jisrā.* (20) *Darwišā́ aṯon min ġer welāt u qamyon qāren azimát qāḇden, šam qəmasriḵen u miṣrā qāḇden, u dawāzdáh māh qəbānen gāwwi.* (21) *Tum pardas.*

(22) *Qam šehyānā ṭaḇuṯā qāḇed qam ənāšā u qə-āḵlen.* (23) *Qəmbarḵen, "yā Elāhā!* (24) *Lā haruḇ pol Šuštar."* (25) *Tum tamām tammā.*

(26) *So ruz qāllen min ṣubāḥ.* (27) *Geš həreḇ!* (28) *Ālmā u barnašānā, olamā́ u darwišā́ wayyeq tam gāwwu.* (29) *Qamu həreḇ pol?*

(30) *Ḥākem Šuštar wayyeq tam gāwwi.* (31) *Šadder əlāw daqqen həwarānā.* (32) *Aṯon qāri.* (33) *Əmarlu, "Mu qamretton əlāw tā pol?* (34) *Kol šettā qəbannanni u qəhāreḇ!"* (35) *Əmallonni, "Šadder əlāw rišāmmā əl-Mandayānā, u huwi qəmbašqer ā mendānā."*

(36) *Šehyānā šadder əlāw rišāmmā.* (37) *Aṯā qāri rišāmmā u so tarmidʾ orki.* (38) *Aṯon qār šehyānā u ṣubāḥ ṭāḇ haḇlonni.*

(1) A story in Mandaic, the idiom of Hibel Ziwā, which he sent down to Adam.

(2) In Shushtar, there is a ruler who wants to build a bridge. (3) He built it from the beginning of one year to the beginning of the next. (4) They build [it] solidly,[217] entirely out of stone and gypsum. (5) Then they finish it. (6) The next day, they want to walk to it. (7) They see that it is completely ruined, (and that) everything is going into the water. (8) They become distressed [lit. distress comes into them]! (9) The ruler and the people become distressed! (10) They don't know what is destroying it.

(11) He sent for the ministers and the scholars. (12) They came to him and he asks them, "What is destroying the bridge like this?" (13) They say, "It is the work of the planets[218] that is destroying it." (14) The ruler said to them, "Bring the people who will subdue the planets!"

(15) All who are versed in the knowledge of evil spirits came. (16) They said to the ruler, "Bring people, and [re-]build it, and we will enchant the evil spirits and ward them off." (17) The ruler brought people who [re-]built [it] anew,[219] and those scholars read morning, noon, and night. (18) They read three times, while the others are building. (19) Women came and enchanted the water, and cast [sc. incantations] to the bridge. (20) Dervishes came from outside the country and began to chant, make incantations, light candles, and draw [magic] boundaries, and for twelve months they build within it. (21) Then it was finished.

(22) The ruler proceeded to prepare a banquet for the people, and they eat. (23) They pray, "O God, (24) may the bridge of Shushtar not be ruined!" (25) Then it was done.

(26) Three days later, they go in the morning. (27) Everything is destroyed! (28) Everybody [lit. the world]—the people, the scholars, and the dervishes—became distressed [lit. distress became within them]! (29) Why was the bridge destroyed?

(30) The governor of Shushtar was distressed. (31) He sent for the elders [lit. white beards]. (32) They came to him. (33) He said to them, "What do you suggest for that bridge? (34) Every year we build it, and it is destroyed!" (35) They said to him, "Send for the *rišāmmā* of the Mandaeans,[220] and he will know these things."

(36) The ruler sent for the *rišāmmā*. (37) The *rišāmmā* came to him along with three *tarmidās*. (38) They came to the ruler and wished him a good morning.

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[217] The third masculine singular suffix is occasionally omitted, as noted in §4.1.2.1. The imperfective here appears without the indicative marker, but remains indicative in meaning; see §5.1.1.2.

[218] The archons are the rulers of the material world, and identified with the seven visible planets.

[219] As noted in fn. 217 above, the third masculine singular suffix is occasionally omitted.

[220] The highest grade of priest in the Mandaean priesthood; see §1.2.2.

(39) *Əmallu, “Qabin minḵon čāre aḇdetton qamdin qam tā jisər.* (40) *Kol šettā qəbannanni u qəhāreḇ, u čāre qāraḵ, yā rišāmmā?”*

(41) *Əmalli rišāmmā, “Bonyi haṯṯā u an qaṯinā qamāy mahreḇli.”*

(42) *Qām šehyānā aḇdelli haṯṯā.* (43) *Qəmaṯṯi barnāšā qəbānen haṯṯā jisər.* (44) *Ehdā šettā bānen gāwi.* (45) *Qamāy əmpardas so ruz, rišāmmā aṯā, huwi u bəratti, alm ehlu qəhāzen diwā u šiḇihānā.*

(46) *Əmallʾ əl-bəratti, “Anā agar gənit, āt guš əḇud.”* (47) *Bāḇā gənā, u qəhāzya bərattā.*

(48) *Ġubšā!* (49) *Qəhāzya hemke iḇā aṯā qāl ehli.* (50) *Barābar bərattā bəḡeṣ iḇā.* (51) *Mārelli, “Man eḵtaḵ?”*

(52) *Əmalla, “Ana Čečāwā bar Čečāwā.* (53) *Ana ekkā ḥusən lahzit!”*

(54) *Bāḇ ettar.* (55) *Nur asreḵ rišāmmā u qam qāri buṯā d-Šāmeš, “Kotp̄ʾ əl-diwā.”* (56) *Əmallʾ əl-ganziḇrā, “Ana daxil-daḵ!”* (57) *Ganziḇrā əmallʾ əl-diwā, “Qamu aziyát qāḇdet?* (58) *Qəmahreḇāt əl-pol!* (59) *Kol šettā banelli u qəmahreḇāti!* (60) *Aziyát qāḇdet!”*

(61) *Əmallʾ əl-rišāmmā, “Tum láqmahrem, u ana daxil-dəḵon.”*

(62) *Əmalli ganziḇrā, “Əḇādi əḇod qamdin!”*

(63) *Diw əmalli, “Mu qəbāt, ana qaḇed qamdaḵ.”*

(64) *Rišāmmā əmallʾ əl-diwā, “An qalin bieṯā, u āt doṯi qāre qam šehyānā.”*

(65) *Ḥākimā d-Šuštar, huwi u barnašāni, sewār ḥisān tammon.* (66) *Aṯon guš qāḇden.* (67) *Qəhāzen pol láhəreḇ.* (68) *Jisrā d-Šuštar!* (69) *Kef əḇadyon!* (70) *Barnašānā u wazirā́ mallonni, “M-ehnā tum hafté hazén!”*

(71) *Əmallu ḥākem, “Lājur láhriḇi ā-yumā, tum láqhāreḇ.”*

(72) *Əmallu ḥākem, “Lābud kef āḇden ənāšā!”*

(73) *Mallonni wazirā́ , “Šadder əlāw rišāmmā qāṯi qāraḵ.”*

(74) *Šadder əlāw rišāmmā āṯi qāri.* (75) *Aṯā rišāmmā qāri huwi u so tarmidā qār ḥākem.*

(39) He said to them, “I want you to fix that bridge for me. (40) Every year we build it and it is destroyed, so do you have a solution, *rišāmmā*?”

(41) The *rišāmmā* said to him, “Build it again and I will come before it is destroyed [lit. before he destroys it].”

(42) The ruler arose, they rebuild it, he brings some people to rebuild the bridge. (43) For one year they build [it][221] strong. (44) Three days before it is finished, the *rišāmmā* and his daughter came. (45) They have the knowledge to see demons and evil spirits.

(46) He said to his daughter, “If I fall asleep, keep a look out.” (47) The father fell asleep, and the daughter watches.

(48) Twilight! (49) She sees that something like a cloud has arrived, which has a voice. (50) The cloud stopped in front of the daughter. (51) She said to him, “Who are you?”

(52) He said to her, “I am Čečāwā, son of Čečāwā. (53) I have never seen such beauty!”

(54) The father awoke. (55) The *rišāmmā* lit a fire and began reading a prayer of Šāmeš,[222] “Demon-Trapper” [lit. “Seize the demon,” the name of the prayer]. (56) He said to the *ganzib̲rā*, “I am at your mercy!” (57) The *ganzib̲rā* said to the demon, “Why are you causing such trouble? (58) You keep destroying the bridge. (59) Every year, they build it, and you destroy it! (60) You’re doing [a lot of] damage!”

(61) He said to the *rišāmmā*, “I won’t destroy (it)[223] any longer, since I am at your mercy.”

(62) The *ganzib̲rā* said to him, “Do something for me.”

(63) The demon said to him, “Whatever you want, I will do for you.”

(64) The *rišāmmā* said to the demon, “I am going home, so you come with me to the ruler.”

(65) The governor of Shushtar, along with a few other people, rode on horseback [lit. became horse-riders]. (66) They came to take a look. (67) They see that the bridge had not been destroyed! (68) The Shushtar bridge! (69) They celebrated!

(70) The people and the ministers said to him, “Let’s see a week from now!”

(71) The ruler told them, “Since he didn’t destroy it today, he will no longer destroy it.”

(72) The governor told them, “The people must celebrate!”

(73) The advisors told him, “Send for the *rišāmmā* to come before you.”

(74) He sent for the *rišāmmā* to come before him. (75) The *rišāmmā* came to the governor along with three *tarmidās*.

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[221] Once again, the third masculine singular suffix has been omitted; see §4.1.2.1.

[222] Šāmeš is the sun, one of the seven archons who govern the fates of mankind. He is traditionally identified with the god of the Jews (CM **adunai**).

[223] Note again the omission of the third masculine singular suffix; see §4.1.2.1.

(76) *Qamyon barābar-du, u ḥākem ləḵṭʾ əl-ganziḇrā.* (77) *Ayhimi qāri, u əmallʾ əl-ganziḇrā, “Mu qāmret?* (78) *Jisrā qəhāreḇ kandi?”*

(79) *Ganziḇrā əmallʾ əl ḥākem, “Tum láqhāreḇ.”*

(80) *Kef əḇad šehyānā, geš-du kef əḇadyon!* (81) *Čangā́ məhon, hiṯrā əḇadyon, inšā u goḇrā, u šehyānā əmallʾ əl-ganziḇrā, “Doṯi qāre, āt u tarmidānā, əmḥaṯṯén bienā-dan bel-ənāšā.”*

(82) *Ezgon qāri so tarmidā u rišāmmā.* (83) *Ḥākem welāt əmallu, ḥākem əmallʾ əl-ganziḇrā, “Qabin minnaḵ malp̄āte buṯā d-Šāmeš ke ləḵṭʾ əl-diwā.”*

(84) *Ganziḇrā əmalli, “Āhā qam enši láqmallep̄, w-agar qəmallep̄, meṯ.* (85) *Āhā rāzā d-kasyā.”*

(86) *Ḥākem wayyeq əḇad gāw ganziḇrā, “Lābud malp̄āte!”* (87) *Ganziḇrā əl-ḥākem əmalli, “Əm-ehnā tum so māh, anā xabár qaheḇnaḵ.”*

(88) *Aṯā ganziḇrā əl-bieṯi, huwi u so tarmidā.* (89) *Qamyon qəmḥaṯṯen bienā-du.* (90) *Mallonni tarmidānā əl-ganziḇrā, “Šadder əlāw Čečāwā bar Čečāwā!”* (91) *Qam ganziḇrā nur asreḵ, buṯi eqrā, hāzér tammā Čečāwā bar Čečāwa qār ganziḇrā.* (92) *Ganziḇrā əmalli əl-Čečāwā, “Ḥākem welāt qəbāyʾ əmalp̄enanni*[224] *rāzā qāre.”*

(93) *Čečāwā əmalli, “Qamāy malp̄āti, ana gaṭelnāḵon geš!”*

(94) *Əmalli ganziḇrā əl-Čečāwā, “Ya čāre həzi qamdan!”*

(95) *Čečāwā əmallʾ əl-ganziḇrā, “Qəbāt alin gaṭelnʾ əl-ḥākem?”*

(96) *Ganziḇrā əmalli, “Ani nešemti lágaṭlèn,* (97) *haṭāyā qāran láqhāwi.”*

(98) *Čečāwā əmalli əl-ganziḇrā, “An qəmandinʾ əl-deštā, u ḥākem u jamiʿa rafieqā́-di qədāhlen u qəmšadder əlāwwaḵ.”*

(99) *Čečāwā ezgā gāw Šuštar welāt.* (100) *Gənā tul deštā.* (101) *Deštā qāmat.* (102) *Qallā u qāṯyā u qənidā, u qāl ṣāyaḥ qəmāhyā deštā.* (103) *Ḥākem u ʿaskar pəradyon min welāt gāw deštāṯā.*

(104) *Ḥākem ler əḵal, huwi u wazirā́ qār ganziḇrā ezgon.* (105) *Əmalli, “Deštā āhā Šuštar qənidā genzā, w-ahl Šuštar geš pəradyon, inšā u goḇrā.* (106) *Lābod əmbašqiret muyye āhā!”*

(107) *Ganziḇrā əmalli əl-ḥākem,* (108) *“Id məṯi minne, w-anā qmabḡeṣṣən əl-deštā.”* (109) *Ḥākem u wazirā́ mallonni əl-ganziḇrā, “Láqbèn malp̄ātan, šoḇqʾ əl-deštā bāḡṣā!”*

[224] This form is a biform for *əmalep̄nanni*; see Table 57.

(76) They stood before them, and the governor took the *ganzib̠rā.* (77) He sat him beside him, and said to the *ganzib̠rā*, "What do you say? (78) Will he destroy the bridge any more?"

(79) The *ganzib̠rā* said to the ruler, "He won't destroy it any longer."

(80) The ruler celebrated, all of them celebrated! (81) They played harps, everybody[225] rejoiced, and the ruler said to the *ganzib̠rā*, "Come with me, along with the *tarmidās*, let's talk among ourselves, without anybody else."

(82) The three *tarmidās* and the *rišāmmā* went with him. (83) The governor of the city said to them, the governor told the *ganzib̠rā*, "I want you to teach me the prayer of Šāmeš that captured the demon."

(84) The *ganzib̠rā* told him, "I will not teach this to anyone, for if I did teach it, I would die." (85) This is a private secret."

(86) The ruler threatened [lit. made distress for] the *ganzib̠rā*, "You must teach me." (87) The *ganzib̠rā* said to the ruler, "I will tell you in three months."

(88) The *ganzib̠rā* and the three *tarmidās* came to his house. (89) They started talking among themselves. (90) The *tarmidās* said to the *ganzib̠rā*, "Send for Čečāwā bar Čečāwā!" (91) The *ganzib̠rā* rose, kindled a fire, recited a prayer, and Čečāwā bar Čečāwā appeared before the *ganzib̠rā.* (92) The *ganzib̠rā* said to Čečāwā, "The ruler of the country wants us to teach him the secret I have."

(93) Čečāwā said to him,"Before you teach him, I will kill you all!"

(94) The *ganzib̠rā* said to Čečāwā, "Find a solution for us!"

(95) Čečāwā said to the *ganzib̠rā*, "Do you want me to go kill the governor?"

(96) The *ganzib̠rā* said to him, "Let's not kill anyone [lit. a living being], (97) lest the sin be upon us."

(98) Čečāwā said to the *ganzib̠rā*, "I will cause the earth to quake, and the governor and all of his friends will become afraid, and he will send for you."

(99) Čečāwā went into the city of Shushtar. (100) He lay down beneath the ground. (101) The ground rose. (102) It goes back and forth, heaves, and makes a noise [lit. screamed a noise]. (103) The governor and the army fled from the city into the wilderness.

(104) The governor and the ministers turned around [lit. ate spittle] and went to the *ganzib̠rā.* (105) He said to him, "This land, Shushtar, is shaking very much, and the people of Shushtar—every last one of them [lit. women and men)—have all fled. (106) You surely know what is behind this (lit. what this is)."

(107) The *ganzib̠rā* told the ruler, "Lay off me, (108) and I will make the earth stop." (109) The governor and the ministers said to the *ganzib̠rā*, "We don't want you to teach us, just let the earth stop."

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[225] Lit. 'women and men.' This is a merism, a conventional phrase representing a totality by listing several of its more conspicuous parts.

(110) *Ganziḇrā əmalli əl-ḥākem, əmallu, “Atton ezgon, u ana ʿaṣreyā qəmabḡeṣna.”*

(111) *Ezgon min ganziḇrā šehyānā u wazirā́ .* (112) *Ezgon qamieṯā.* (113) *Məṭon qār ahlān-du u deštā qənidā.* (114) *Tum ʿaṣreyā ganziḇrā nurā asreḵ, buṯi eqrā, aṯā qāri Čečāwā.* (115) *Deštā baġṣat əm-nōdā.*

(116) *Šehyānā u ənāšā kef əḇadyon!* (117) *ʿUmər haṯṯi aṯā qamdi-du!*

(118) *Ganziḇrā əmalli əl-Čečāwā, “Lājur ekkā mendānā quwwát ehlaḵ, qabin minnaḵ bieṯe u barnašāne əmwadyātan gāw Əmšuni Kušṭā.”* (119) *Čečāwā əmalli əl-ganziḇrā, “Ana qəmwadinḵon, qəyāmet qəšaryāte.”*

(120) *Ganziḇrā əmalli əl-Čečāwā, “Anā qəšarinaḵ bi-yəmuṯā, wa-laken āt yəmi qamdin, ʿQəmwadinḵon Əmšuni Kušṭāʾ.”*

(121) *Yəmā Čečāwā eb-rāzā d-kasyā qam ganziḇrā, “Qəmwadinḵon Əmšuni Kušṭā.”*

(122) *Ganziḇrā əmalli əl-Čečāwā, “Hemdā qəmwadyātan?”*

(123) *Əmallu Čečāwā, “Ārbin yumā yəhomyon bieṯwāṯḵon, u ʿād m-ehnā tum ārbin yumā yəhomyon.* (124) *Lálletton ġer welāt, u ana qəmwadinḵon, inšā, u goḇrā, u torāṯā, u gāmeš, u jihelā́, u əmrānḵon, u gomlānḵon, u zehunānḵon - jamiʿa-dəḵon!* (125) *Ya dukki yəhomyon u anā qəhap̄er deštā qəmaṯinḵon.* (126) *Min hənā tum ārbin yumā qəmaṯinḵon.”*

(127) *Qam Čečāwā qəhāp̄er.* (128) *Ənāšā u qənayānā ārbin yumā əmaryon, “Mu qəmaṯilan əl-deštā?”* (129) *Ārbin yumā bandir tammon.* (130) *Qənayānā u nəjarānā u ḥədadānā ezgon qār ganziḇrā.*

(131) *Qamellonni,*[226] *“Mu qəmaṯilʾ əl-deštā?* (132) *Dahel zip̄ qāheḇ u ani qabén safár mahén əlāw rezqā́-dan.”*

(133) *Ganziḇrā əmallu, “Bandir bəḡoṣyon.* (134) *Ā Čečāwā zip̄ láqāheḇ.* (135) *Ehli rāzā d-Šāmeš.”* (136) *Qənayānā ezgon.*

(137) *Baʿad čehél ruz bəḡaṣyon deštā u deštā láməṯyat, u qənayānā ezgon min ṣubāḥ.* (138) *ʿAṣreyā sāʿát d-ahtā qəhāzen deštā nādat.* (139) *Qāl ahḇat, u məṯyat deštā barnašānā u inšānā u jihelā́.* (140) *Ganziḇrā əmallu, “Hem man yəhom dukki!”*

(141) *Deštā pehrat gāw bušme, halp̄at əlāw Baġdād.* (142) *Ənāš Baġdād həzonna, u torāṯā, u gāmeš, u zehunān.* (143) *Ṣāyaḥ qəmāhen!*

(144) *Amṭyu qār yəhem Əmšuni Kušṭā, u qənayān tammon gāw safár.* (145) *Xabár məṭā qāru, “Ahlān-dəḵon u ganziḇrā, deštā sāqat gāw ərqihā u ezgon!”* (146) *Pešimān tammon kammā bandir lábḡeṣyon.* (147) *“Ganziḇrā əmallan, ʿČečāwā zip̄ láqāheḇ!ʾ”*

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[226] This appears to be a hybrid form. The personal morpheme is regularly found on the perfective stem of the verb, not the imperfective.

(110) The *ganzib̠rā* told the governor, he said to them, “Leave, and I will make it stop this afternoon.”

(111) The ruler and the ministers went from the *ganzib̠rā*. (112) They went at noon. (113) They arrived at their families’ homes, and the earth continued to shake. (114) Then, in the afternoon, the *ganzib̠rā* kindled a fire, read a prayer, (and) Čečāwā came to him.

(115) The earth stopped quaking. (116) The ruler and the people celebrated! (117) A new age had dawned upon them!

(118) The *ganzib̠rā* told Čečāwā, “Since you have power (to do) such things, I would like you to take my house and people away to Əmšuni Kušṭā (lit. the Sublimated of Truth).” (119) Čečāwā said to the *ganzib̠rā*, “I will take you, (if) you swear to release me.”

(120) The *ganzib̠rā* told Čečāwā, “I will release you from the oath, but swear to me, ‘I will take you to Əmšuni Kušṭā.’”

(121) Čečāwā swore to the *ganzib̠rā* upon the private secret, “I will take you to Əmšuni Kušṭā.”

(122) The *ganzib̠rā* said to Čečāwā, “When will you take us?”

(123) Čečāwā told them, “For forty days, remain in your homes, and stay put for the next forty days. (124) Do not go outside the city, and I will take you, the women and the men, the cows and the buffalos, and children, as well as your sheep, camels, and chickens - all of you! (125) Stay put in one place, and I will dig up the earth, and bring you. (126) Forty days from now, I will bring you.”

(127) Čečāwā began to excavate. (128) For forty days, the people and the jewelers said for forty days, “What will bring the land for us?” (129) For forty days, they were confined [to their homes].

(130) The jewelers and the carpenters and the blacksmiths went to the *ganzib̠rā*. (131) They said to him, “What will bring the land? (132) I fear that he is lying, and we want to hit the road for the sake of our jobs.”

(133) The *ganzib̠rā* said to them, “Stay confined (within your homes). (134) This Čečāwā doesn’t lie. (135) He has the secret of Šāmeš.” (136) The jewelers went.

(137) After they had stood on the [patch of] land for forty days and the earth hadn’t risen, the jewelers left in the morning. (138) At one o’clock in the afternoon, they see the ground shaking. (139) There was a noise, and the [patch of] land rose, [as well as] the people, the women, and children! (140) The *ganzib̠rā* said to them, “Everyone, stay in place!”

(141) The [patch of] land flew through the air, passing over Baghdad. (142) The people of Baghdad saw it and the cows and buffalos and chickens. (143) They scream out loud!

(144) He brought them to settle in Əmšuni Kušṭā, while the jewelers were still on the road. (145) Word reached them that “your families, the *ganzib̠rā*, and the ground rose up into the sky and they went.” (146) They regretted that they had not stayed put. (147) “The *ganzib̠rā* told us, ‘Čečāwā doesn’t lie!’”

(148) *Qənayānā u inšānā tammon ərasyon be-hdādā haṯṯā, inšānā u jihelā́-du ezgon orke ganziḇrā.* (149) *Aṯon guš əḇadyon deštā məṯyat.* (150) *Mušmanānā aṯon guš əḇadyon, be-hdādā qəmḥaṯṯen, “Naṣṣat-e Ṣubba!”*

Text V: The City of Mice who Eat Iron

(1) *Qāmren ya tājéri həwā, həwāli perz pərāhi.* (2) *Qəbāyi safár āḇed.* (3) *Həwāli emmā man ḥadid.* (4) *Bedqu amānátu əlāw ya bieṯ dusti ehli u ezgā.* (5) *Bas tājér ezgā, amānatdār dərilu, zabnu geš, u pərā xarj-di əḇad geš-di.*

(6) *Tājér yumi aṯā qam ḥadid-di.*

(7) *Gaḇər əmalli, “Ḥadidānaḵ əm-duḵtā qarār bieṯe āheḇtu,* (8) *ekkaḵ ya bəzuyi həwā obri qənāp̄eq menni.* (9) *Ekkaḵ obri həwā ke waxti ke an aṯit hezinu əḇād aḇdit geš-du aḵlu!* (10) *Obrā āḵel geš ḥadidānā.”*

(11) *Yaʿani, obri sad man ḥadid əḵal!*

(12) *Tājér jawāb əhaḇ, “Rāst qāmret, obrā genz qərahemlʾ əl-ḥadid, u šenāni genz hilānnon āḵlellʾ əl-ḥadid.”*

(13) *Amānatdār ehṯer.* (14) *Əmar, “Ā tājér narm tammā,”* (15) *āmer, “Rāst qamennā!”* (16) *Əmalli, “Ā pienā doṯi qār bieṯe, mehman-de həwi!”* (17) *Əmalli, “Perš qaṯinā.”*

(18) *Ezgā qəlāw tel, w-ebri əl-gaḇrā qəlaḵṭi orki ekkaḵ u aḥḇi.* (19) *Peršā ezgon qār qumát.* (20) *Nedā əḇadyon gāw welāt ke “Ebri ezgā mennan,” ekkā ekkā.* (21) *Tājér əmar, “An həzit ya bāzi dərā ya ebri pəherye.”*

(22) *Amānatdār sāyaḥ məhā.* (23) *Əmar, “Āt zip̄ qahḇet!* (24) *Ā muḥālye! Mujur?!?* (25) *Mu qāmret, bāzi eqderʾ əlāw ṣṭāni u qəpāher?*

(26) *Tājér gəheḵ u əmalli, “Gāw welāti kʾ ehli obrā sad mand ḥadid qə-āḵel, mujur bāzi láqderʾ əl-ebri ke dah mand ehli?*

(27) *Amānatdār ġor əḇad.* (28) *Əmalli, “Obrā lá-aḵlu.* (29) *Aṯṯʾ əl-ebrā, qaheḇnaḵ ḥadidānaḵ.”*

(148) The jewelers and some women became married again to one another, (their) women and children having gone with the *ganziḇrā*. (149) They came to see that the [patch of] land had risen. (150) The Muslims [also] came to look, and they said to one another, "[this is] the Pit of the Sabians."

Text V: The City of Mice who Eat Iron

(1) It is said that there once was a merchant, who had [only] a little cash. (2) He wanted to go on a trip. (3) He had 100 maunds of iron. (4) He placed them as a deposit [for a loan] in a house of a friend of his and went. (5) As soon as the merchant left, the trustee took them, sold them all, and spent all of the money.

(6) One day, the merchant came back one day for his iron. (7) The man said, "In the place in my house where I put away your iron for safekeeping, (8) there was a hole, out of which comes a mouse. (9) There was a mouse there which, no sooner had I arrived, I saw that he had eaten everything I had done. (10) The mouse is eating all the iron."

(11) That is, a mouse ate *100 maunds of iron!*

(12) The merchant responded, "You are correct – the mouse really loves iron, and his teeth are very strong so that they can eat the iron."

(13) The trustee was pleased. (14) He said to himself, "This merchant has gone soft in the head," (15) while saying, "I'm telling the truth." (16) He said to him, "This evening, come to my house, be my guest."

(17) He said to him, "I will come tomorrow." (18) He went up a hill and seized one of the man's sons with him there and put him away.

(19) The next day they went to the prefecture. (20) Throughout the city it was proclaimed[227] that "a boy had gone from us," and so forth.

(21) The merchant said, "I saw a hawk who had seized a boy flying off."

(22) The trustee screamed. (23) He said, "You're lying! (24) This is absurd. How?!? (25) What are you saying, a hawk took a boy and flew off?

(26) The merchant laughed and said to him, "In a city that has a mouse that can eat 100 maunds of iron, how could a hawk not be able to take a boy who weighs only 10 maunds?"

(27) The trustee understood. (28) He said to him, "The mouse did not eat it. (29) Bring back the boy, I'll give you back your iron."

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[227] Impersonal passive; see §5.4.3.2.

Texts VI-X: Short Texts

VI (1) *Ya yeki həwā marizi.* (2) *Yəhem, qəṭāleb əm-māre, “Oḇde ṣunʿa ine, u onne, u karse, u ide, u kərāye.”* (3) *Həwā ya yeki pahlidi yəhemye, ṣāti.* (4) *Tum pardas.* (5) *Əmalli, “Māre!* (6) *Ewaz mu ragʿa-daḵ āḇedlu geš-du, āḇed yeki haṯṯi qamdi.”*

(1) There once was a man who was ill. (2) He sat down and he asked God [lit. my Lord], “Heal my eye, and my ear, and my belly, and my arm, and my leg.” (3) There was someone who was sitting beside him, who listened to him. (4) Then he finished. (5) He said to him, “My Lord! (6) Instead of patching up all those things for you, He could make somebody new for him!

VII (1) *Ya qahwi həwat ḥašiš qəšiṯen.* (2) *Həwā ya yeki, yəhem, bedqʾ əl-kərāyi tuṯi.* (3) *Kərāyi ser tammat.* (4) *Láqyādi pesqat kərāyi.* (5) *(Əmar:) “Waylaḵ, yā ənāšā, kərāye wel tammat!”*

(6) *Həwā pahli-di do nafár yəhimen, ham qəšiṯen ḥašiš.* (7) *Tum ṣatonni.* (8) *Yeki minnu əmallʾ əl-horinā, əmalli, “Willā! Doṯi pardén!* (9) *Āṯi belwā-dan āḇed, āmer, ʿGənaḇtonnʾ əl-kərāye!ʾ”*

(1) There was a coffee shop in which hashish was smoked.[228] (2) There once was someone, who sat down and stuck his leg beneath him. (3) His leg went numb. (4) He didn’t know his leg was cut off.[229] (5) He said, “Oh my God, hey people, my leg has come off (lit. become detached)!”

(6) There were two sitting beside him who were also smoking hashish. (7) Then they heard him. (8) One of them said to the other, he said, “Yikes! Let’s make a run for it! (9) He may come to make trouble for us, saying, “You stole my leg!”

VIII (1) *Ya yeki həwā qāzi ḥammām.* (2) *Ezgā qəbāy ləḇeš eqmāšāni.* (3) *Həzā sotór-di gəniḇ.* (4) *Ezgā əmallʾ əl-bāḇ ḥammām.* (5) *Bāḇ ḥammām əhaḇli pərā.*

(6) *Hafté horettā aṯā, daš.* (7) *Ḥammām dərā, tum nəp̄aq.* (8) *Həzʾ əl-zobuni ezgi.* (9) *Dərʾ əl-pərāhān əm-bāḇ ḥammām.*

(10) *Səbuʿa klaṯāyā aṯā.* (11) *Əmalli, “Āt laqšaḇeqnā allet.* (12) *Láqhāwi ekkā, kol hafté aheḇnaḵ pərā.”* (13) *Əmalli, “Babbā, āt masʾul leḵtaḵ.* (14) *Kol mā qāzi, qāzi.”*

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228 Impersonal passive; see §5.4.3.2.

229 The verb is in the *G*-stem but behaves like a passive or middle verb.

(15) *Daš gāwwa, hawwar, tum nəp̄aq.* (16) *Həzʾ əl-qəmāšāni geš ezgeyyen, bas ḥizām bədeqye.* (17) *Qam leb̠šʾ əl-ḥizām w-aṯā qam bāb̠ ḥammām.* (18) *Əmalli, “Qəmayminak̠, an aṯit ekkā gāw ḥammām bas gāw hā!”*

(1) There once was a man who went to a hammam. (2) When he came out, he wanted to put on his clothes. (3) He saw that his razor had been stolen. (4) He went to talk to the owner of the hammam. (5) The owner gave him some money.

(6) He came a second week and went in. (7) He took a bath and then came out. (8) He saw that his undershirt was gone. (9) He took the money from the owner.

(10) The third week he came, [and the owner] said, (11) “I can’t let you go [in]. (12) It can’t be like this, with me giving you money every week.” (13) He said to him, “Sir [lit. grandfather], you won’t be responsible. (14) Whatever happens, happens.”

(15) He went inside, he washed, then came out. (16) He saw that his clothes were all gone, and that only his belt was left. (17) He got up and put on the belt, and came to the owner. (18) He told him, “I swear to you, I came like this to the hammam, in this alone!”

IX (1) *Həwā ya yeki genz zip̄ qāheb̠.* (2) *Ya yumi ṣat yeki ke tum genz zip̄ qāheb̠.* (3) *Əmar, “qabin hezin mu zip̄āni min mujurnā.”* (4) *Tum ezgā bieṯi.* (5) *Məhʾ əl-b̠āb̠ā.* (6) *Láhzi gāw bieṯā.* (7) *Həzʾ əl-bəratti.* (8) *Bəratti šiyelti, “Mu qəbāt?”*

(9) *Əmalla, “Qabin bāb̠ek̠.”*

(10) *Mārelli, “Bāb̠e luhnāye.”*

(11) *Əmalla, “Elli ezgā?”*

(12) *Mārelli, “Ərqi; etb̠er minni wuṣle, ezgā ragʿa-da āb̠ed.”*

(13) *Zip̄ānā šəb̠aq u pərad.* (14) *Əmar, “Bərat ekkā zip̄ qāheb̠, mujur bāb̠ahye?”*

(1) There once was a man who lied very much. (2) One day, he heard about someone who also lied very much. (3) He said, “I want to see what a liar he is, in comparison with me.” (4) Then he went to his house. (5) He knocked on the door. (6) He didn’t see him in the house. (7) He did, however, see his daughter. (8) His daughter asked him, “What do you want?”

(9) He said to her, “I want (to see) your father.”

(10) She said to him, “My father is elsewhere.”

(11) He said to her, “Where did he go?”

(12) She told him, “Heaven; a piece broke off of it, and he has gone to patch it up.”

(13) The liar left and ran off. (14) He said, “If the daughter lies like that, then what’s her father like?”

X (1) *Ya yumi ezgā Joḥa ṭəlab əm-šəḇāḇāni qazġāni tāp̄i gāwwi.* (2) *Baʿad so ruz kammar, bədaq karsi qazġān honini.* (3) *Šəḇāḇāni həzonnʾ əl-qazġān u əḵadi minjodi.* (4) *Mallonnʾ əl-Joḥa, “Muyye āhā?”*

(5) *Joḥa əmallu, “Āhā qazġān-ḵon.* (6) *Həwā qāre, tam qāri jihel.* (7) *Aṯiti qamdəḵon.”*

(8) *Ṣāḥeb bieṯā əmalli, “Muḥālye,” dəri u aḥḇi.*

(9) *Hafté horettā aṯā Joḥa u ṭəlab minni ya qazġāni.* (10) *Haḇlonni ya tafšā rabbi.* (11) *Dərʾ əl-rabbā.* (12) *Lákamri qamdi-du.* (13) *Baʿad esbuʿa, ezgā šəḇāḇā qam Joḥa.* (14) *Əmalli, “Qazġān-de elliye?”*

(15) *Əmalli, “Qazġān meṯ.”*

(16) *Əmallʾ əl-Joḥa, “Man qabul qāḇed qazġān mujur qəmāyeṯ?”*

(17) *Joḥa gəheḵ, əmalli, “Man qabul qāḇed qazġān tam qāri ṣṭānā, ʿād qabul láqāḇed mujur meṯ?”*

(1) One day, Joha went to ask his neighbors for a cooking pot. (2) Three days later, he came back, having put a small pot inside it. (3) His neighbors saw the pot, and he took it out of it. (4) He said to Joha, “What is this?”

(5) Joha told them, “This is your cooking pot. (6) While it was at my place, it gave birth to a child (lit. the child became at it). (7) I brought it for you.”

(8) The owner of the house said to him, “That’s absurd,” took it and kept it.

(9) The second week Joha came and asked him for a cooking pot. (10) They gave him a large stew pot. (11) He took the large one. (12) He didn’t return it to them. (13) A week later, the neighbor went to Joha. (14) He said to him, “Where is my cooking pot?”

(15) He said, “The cooking pot has died.”

(16) He told Joha, “Who would believe that a cooking pot could die?”

(17) Joha laughed, [and] said to him, “Who would believe that a cauldron has given birth to a boy, but not believe that it has died?”

8. Lexicon

Organization of the Lexicon

The nouns in this lexicon are organized according to their lexical form (elicited in isolation), followed by contextual forms and inflected forms. Each entry is followed by its attestations in the texts; in some cases, the lexical form was not independently elicited, in which case it is not followed by these attestations. Verbs are organized according to their triradical or quadriradical root, followed by their inflected forms. In the interests of preserving space and presenting the data in as concise a manner as possible, a minimum of data has been provided about each form, in the following format:

entry	[IPA transcription] ***part of speech*** gloss; language of origin *original form* ‘gloss;’ attestations within the texts
inflected form	[IPA transcription] *inflection* gloss; attestations

The gender of a given noun should be assumed to be masculine unless otherwise indicated. Likewise, it should be assumed that the forms given are lexical or isolated forms, unless it is specifically noted that they are contextual forms. For example, the noun *qanāyā* ‘smith’ appears in the lexicon as:

qanāyā	[qaˈnɔːjɔ] ***n.*** smith; CM **qanaia** id.; III.5
qənayānā	[qənaˈjɔːnɔ] *pl.* smiths; IV.144, IV.136, IV.128, IV.130, IV.137, IV.148

The entry indicates that the lexical form, *qanāyā,* pronounced [qaˈnɔːjɔ], is a noun meaning ‘smith,’ derives from Classical Mandaic **qanai,** which also means ‘smith,’ and occurs once in Text III at line 5. Note that the classical forms are transcribed according to the system developed by Drower and Macuch for their *A Mandaic Dictionary*. The plural of this word, *qənayānā,* is pronounced [qənaˈjɔːnɔ], means ‘smiths,’ and occurs six times in Text IV.

Phrasal verbs are organized according to the non-verbal element (as the meaning of the verb is primarily derived from the non-verbal element). The phrasal verb *kef əḇad* ~ *əḇod* (*āḇed*) ‘to celebrate, have fun’ appears in the lexicon as follows:

kef ʾ-ḇ-d	***v.i.*** to celebrate, have fun; Arabic *kayf* ‘good humor;’ cf. Persian *kayf kardan* ‘to enjoy oneself, have fun’
kef əḇadyon	[ˈkef əˌvɑdjon] *G perf. 3rd pl.* they celebrated; IV.69, IV.72, IV.80 (x2)
kef āḇden	[ˈkef ˌɒvdɛn] *G subjv. 3rd pl.* they celebrate; IV.72

This entry indicates that it is an intransitive verb meaning ‘to celebrate’ and ‘to have fun,’ and that it is calqued upon Persian *kayf kardan*, which means the same thing. The inflected forms that appear within the text collection include *kef əḇadyon*, the third person plural of the perfective of the verb, in the *G*-stem, which means ‘they celebrated.’ This form occurs four times in Text IV. For phrasal verbs, secondary stress is always indicated; elsewhere it is only indicated if it is not otherwise predictable according to the normal rules governing stress (see §2.4.4.3).

Most of the loan words in Neo-Mandaic have Arabic origins, either indirectly borrowed via Persian or directly borrowed from the colloquial dialect of the city of Khorramshahr, which closely resembles the *gilit* dialects of southern Iraq, in particular the dialects around Basra.[230] Nevertheless, whenever reference is made to Arabic, it should be assumed that the form cited reflects Modern Standard Arabic rather than the colloquial dialect, unless otherwise noted. The citation form for verbs borrowed from Arabic and other Semitic languages is the triradical root. The citation form for verbs borrowed from the Iranian languages (including Middle Persian, Classical Persian, and modern Persian) is the infinitive (e.g. *kardan* ‘to do’).

The corpus of written material in Neo-Mandaic currently available to scholarship is extremely limited, comprising only the texts collected by Rudolf Macuch and Jaques de Morgan in addition to the present collection. Nearly all of this material has been published in transcription, and only five texts—those collected by de Morgan—

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[230] Kees Verteegh, *The Arabic Language* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2001), 158.

have ever been published in their original script. For this reason, and because of the fact that knowledge of the Mandaic script is far from commonplace, the entries in the lexicon are organized not according to the order of the original script (as in Macuch’s publications), but according to the following order:

ʾ ʿ A B Ḇ C Č D Ḏ E Ə F G Ḡ Ġ H Ḥ I J K Ḵ L M N O P P̄ Q R S Ṣ Š T Ṯ Ṭ U W X Y Z

ʾ

ʾ-ḇ-d		***v.t.*** to do, to make; CM **ABD**; see also *azimát ʾ-ḇ-d, aziyát ʾ-ḇ-d, belwā ʾ-ḇ-d, čāre ʾ-ḇ-d, əḇād ʾ-ḇ-d, fekər ʾ-ḇ-d, ġor ʾ-ḇ-d, hiṯrā ʾ-ḇ-d, kef ʾ-ḇ-d, komák ʾ-ḇ-d, manʻa ʾ-ḇ-d, miṣrā ʾ-ḇ-d, nedā ʾ-ḇ-d, qāḇin ʾ-ḇ-d, qabúl ʾ-ḇ-d, ragʿa ʾ-ḇ-d, safár ʾ-ḇ-d, šenā ʾ-ḇ-d, tamām ʾ-ḇ-d, ṭaḇuṯā ʾ-ḇ-d, wayyeq ʾ-ḇ-d, xarj ʾ-ḇ-d*
	aḇd	[ɑvd] *G perf. 3rd m.sg.* (contextual) he did; I.11
	aḇdat	[ˈɑvdɑt] *G perf. 3rd f.sg.* she did; I.6
	əḇadyon	[əˈvɑdjon] *G perf. 3rd pl.* they made; III.21
	aḇdon	[ɑvˈdon] *G perf. 3rd pl.* (contextual) they did; I.5
	aḇdonni	[avˈdonni] *G perf. 3rd pl.* (contextual) + 3rd m.sg. they did it; III.20
	aḇdonnu	[avˈdonnu] *G perf. 3rd pl. + 3rd pl.* they made them; III.22, III.22 (x2)
	əḇadni	[ɛˈvɑdni] *G perf.1st pl.* we did; III.9
	āḇed	[ˈɔːvɛd] *G subjv. 3rd m. sg.* he does; IV.2, VI.6
	qaḇed	[qaˈvɛd] *G imperf. 1st sg.* (contextual) I will do; IV.63
	āḇden	[ˈɔvdɛn] *G subjv. 3rd pl.* they do; II.6
	aḇdelli	[ævˈdɛlli] *G imperf. 3rd pl. + 3rd m. sg.* they do it; IV.5, IV.42
	oḇde	[ˈovde] *G impv. sg. + 1st sg.* make me; VI.2
ʾ-b-$^{w}/_{y}$		See *b-$^{w}/_{y}$-$^{w}/_{y}$*.
ʾ-h-ḇ		***v.t.*** to give; CM **AHB** id.; see also *guṭluḵtā ʾ-h-ḇ, jawāb ʾ-h-ḇ, qāl ʾ-h-ḇ, qarār ʾ-h-ḇ, ṣubāḥ ṭāḇ ʾ-h-ḇ, xabár ʾ-h-ḇ, zip̄ ʾ-h-ḇ*
	əhaḇli	[ˈhaʊli] *G perf. 3rd m.sg. + 3rd m.sg.* he gave him; VIII.5
	əhaḇyon	[əˈhɑvjon] *G perf. 3rd pl.* they gave
	haḇlonni	[havˈlonni] *G perf. 3rd pl. + 3rd m.sg.* they gave him; X.10
	əhaḇni	[aˈhɑvni] *G perf. 1st pl.* we gave; I.14
	aheḇnaḵ	[qaˈhɛvnaχ] *G imperf. 1st sg. + 2nd m.sg.* I will give you; V.29
	aheḇnaḵ	[aˈhɛvnaχ] *G imperf. 1st sg. + 2nd m.sg.* I give you; VIII.10
ʾ-ḵ-d		***v.t.*** to take, seize; CM **AKD** id.
	əḵadi	[ˈχɑːdi] *G perf. 3rd m.sg. + 3rd m.sg.* he took it; X.3

ʾ-k̠-l		***v.t.*** to eat; CM **AKL** id.
	ək̠al	[aˈχɑl] *G perf. 3rd m.sg.* he ate; V.11
	ak̠lu	[ˈɑχlu] *G perf. 3rd m.sg. + 3rd pl.* he ate them; V.9
	lá-ak̠lu	[ˈlɑʔɑχlu] *G neg. perf. 3rd m.sg. + 3rd pl.* he didn’t eat them; V.28
	qāk̠el	[ˈqɒːχɛl] *G imperf. 3rd m.sg.* he eats; V.26
	āk̠el	[ˈɒːχɛl] *G subjv. 3rd m.sg.* he eats; V.10
	qə-āk̠len	[qəˈʔɒχlɛn] *G imperf. 3rd pl.* they eat; IV.22
	ak̠lelli	[aχˈlɛlli] *G subjv. 3rd pl. + 3rd m.sg.* they eat it; 2.340
	ak̠lellʾ	[ˈaχlɛl] *G subjv. 3rd pl. + 3rd m.sg.* (contextual) they eat it; V.12
ʾ-l-l		***v.i.*** to go (only imperf.); CM **ALL** id.; see also *ʾ-z-g-*$^{w}/_{y}$ and *ohrā ʾ-z-g-*$^{w}/_{y}$
	qallā	[ˈqɑllɔ] *G imperf. 3rd f.sg.* she goes; IV.102
	qallət	[ˈqɑllɛt] *G imperf. 2nd sg.* you go; VIII.10
	qalin	[qaˈlin] *G imperf. 1st sg.* (contextual) I am going; IV.64
	alin	[aˈlin] *G subjv. 1st sg.* I go; IV.95
	allen	[ˈɑllɛn] *G subjv. 3rd m.sg.* they go; IV.6
	lalletton	[ˈlɑllɛtton] *G neg. subjv. 2nd pl.* do not go; IV.124
	qallenni	[qaˈlɛnni] *G imperf. 1st pl.* we go; III.7
	qallén	[qaˈlɛn] *G imperf. 1st pl.* (contextual) we go; III.6 (x3)
	allenni	[aˈlɛnni] *G subjv. 1st pl.* we go; III.13
ʾ-l-p̄		***v.i.*** G to learn; D to teach; CM **YLP** id. see also *yalup̄ā*
	qəmallep̄	[qəˈmɑllɛf] *D subjv. 3rd m. sg.* (if) I were to teach; IV.84
	láqmallep̄	[ˈlɑqˌmɑllɛf] *D neg. imperf. 3rd m.sg. (contextual)* I will not teach; IV.84
	malp̄āti	[mælˈfɔːti] *D subjv. 2nd sg. + 3rd m.sg.* you could teach him; IV.93
	malp̄āte	[mælˈfɔːte] *D subjv. 2nd sg. + 1st sg.* you teach me; IV.83, IV.86
	malp̄ātan	[mælˈfɔtæn] *D subjv. 2nd sg. + 1st pl.* you teach us; IV.109
	əmalp̄enanni	[ɛmælfɛˈnɑnni] *D subjv. 1st pl. + 3rd m.sg.* we will teach him; IV.92
ʾ-m-r		***v.t.*** to tell, say; CM **AMR** id.; Tab. 1.5; see also *farwāh ʾ-m-r, rāst ʾ-m-r*
	əmar	[əˈmɑɹ] *G perf. 3rd m.sg.* he said; V.14, V.21, V.23, IX.3, VII.5, IX.14
	əmallʾ	[əˈmɑl] *G perf. 3rd m. sg. + 3rd m.sg.* (contextual) he said to s.o.; IV.41, IV.46, IV.56, IV.57, IV.61, IV.62, IV.63, IV.64, IV.77,

		IV.78, IV.79, IV.81, IV.83, IV.84, IV.93, IV.94, IV.95, IV.96, IV.105, IV.107, IV.110, IV.119, IV.120, IV.122, V.7, V.16, V.17, V.26, V.28, VII.8 (x2), VIII.4, VIII.10, VIII.16, X.4, X.14, X.16, X.17
	əmalli	[əˈmɑlli] *G perf. 3rd m. sg. + 3rd m.sg.* he said to him; IV.87, IV.92, IV.98, IV.118, VI.5, VIII.11, X.8, X.15
	əmalla	[əˈmɑlla] *G perf. 3rd m.sg. + 3rd f.sg.* he said to her; IV.52, IX.9, IX.11
	əmallu	[əˈmɑllu] *G perf. 3rd m.sg. + 3rd pl.* he said to them; IV.14, IV.33, IV.39, IV.71, IV.72, IV.83, IV.110, IV.123, IV.133, IV.140, X.5
	əmallan	[əˈmɑllæn] *G perf. 3rd m. sg. + 1st pl.* he said to us; IV.147
	amrat	[ˈɑmrat] *G perf. 3rd f.sg.* she said; II.21, II.26
	mārelli	[mɔˈrɛlli] *G perf. 3rd f.sg. + 3rd m.sg.* she said to him; IV.51, IX.10, IX.12
	əmaryon	[əˈmaɹjon] *G perf. 3rd pl.* they said; III.12, IV.128
	mallonni	[maˈlonni] *G perf. 3rd pl. + 3rd m.sg.* they said to him, IV.16, IV.35, IV.70, IV.73, IV.90, IV.109
	əmarlonnan	[əmaɹˈlonnæn] *G perf. 3rd pl. + 1 pl.* they told us; I.5
	āmer	[ˈɔːmɛɹ] *G subjv. 3rd m.sg.* he said; V.15, VII.9
	qāmrət	[ˈqɒmrɛt] *G imperf. 2nd sg.* you say; IV.77, V.25
	əmer	[əˈmɛɹ] *G subjv. 1st sg.* (contextual) I say; I.3, I.5, I.6, II.1, III.1
	qāmren	[ˈqɒmrɛn] *G imperf. 3rd pl.* they say; IV.13, V.1
	qamrelli	[qamˈrɛlli] *G imperf. 3rd pl. + 3rd m.sg.* they call him; II.11
	qamellonni	[ˌqamɛˈlonni] *G imperf. 3rd pl. + 3rd m. sg.* they said to him; IV.131
	qamretton	[qamˈrɛtton] *G imperf. 2nd pl.* you say; IV.33
ʾ-n-d-š		***v.i.*** Q to think, consider, be worried; Middle Persian *handēšīdan* id. via CM **ANDŠ** id.
	andešyon	[anˈdɛʃjon] *Q perf. 3rd pl.* they were worried; I.14
	mandeš	[ˈmandɛʃ] *Q act. ptc.* worried
ʾ-r-h		***v.t.*** to smell; CM C of **RHA** id.
ʾ-r-q		***v.t.*** D to empty; to spit; CM **ARQ 2** to empty, to pour out
ʾ-r-s		***v.t.*** to marry; CM **ARS** id.
	ərasyon	[əˈrɑsjon] *G perf. 3rd m. sg.* they married; IV.148
ʾ-t-r		***v.i.*** G to be awake; CM **ATR** id. secondary root from the *tC*-stem of *ʿ-$^{w}/_{y}$-r*, cf. Syriac ܐܬܬܥܝܪ *ʾettəʿīr* ‘to wake up.’
	ettar	[ˈɜttaɹ] *tG perf. 3rd m.sg.* he awoke; IV.54

ʾ-ṯ-$^{w}/_{y}$		***v.i.*** G to come, D and C to bring; CM **ATA** id.; see also *wayyeq ʾ-ṯ-*$^{w}/_{y}$
	aṯā	[aˈθɔː] *G perf. 3rd m.sg.* he came; IV.37, IV.44, IV.49, IV.74, IV.75, IV.88, IV.114, IV.117, V.6, VIII.6, VIII.9, VIII.15, X.9
	aṯat	[aˈθɑt] *G perf. 3rd f. sg.* she came; II.27
	aṯit	[æˈθiθ] *G perf. 1st sg.* I came; II.17, V.9, VIII.16
	aṯon	[aˈθon] *G perf. 3rd pl.* they came; II.5, II.10, II.29, III.2, III.2, III.3, IV.12, IV.15, IV.19, IV.20, IV.32, IV.38, IV.66, IV.149, IV.150
	aṯiton	[æˈθiːton] *G perf. 2nd pl.* you came; I.3, I.4
	qāṯi	[ˈqɔːθi] *G imperf. 3rd m.sg.* he comes; IV.8; IV.73
	āṯi	[ˈɔːθi] *G subjv. 3rd m.sg.* he comes; VII.9
	qāṯyā	[ˈqɒːθjɔ] *G imperf. 3rd f.sg.* she comes; IV.102
	qaṯinā	[qaˈθiːnɔ] *G imperf. 1st sg.* I will come; IV.41, V.17
	qāṯen	[qɔːθɛn] *G imperf. 3rd pl.* they come; II.23
	āṯen	[ˈɔːθɛn] *G imperf. 3rd pl.* they come; II.29
	doṯi	[ˈdoːθi] *G impv. m. sg.* come; IV.64, IV.81, V.16, VII.8
	doṯon	[doˈθon] *G impv. pl.* come; I.5
	aṯṯʾ	[aθ] *C impv. sg.* (contextual) bring; V.29
	aṯiti	[æˈθiːti] *C perf. 1st sg. + 3rd m.sg.* I brought it; X.7
	aṯṯi	[ˈɑθθi] *C perf. 3rd m. sg.* he brought; IV.17
	aṯṯon	[ˈɑθθon] *C impv. m. pl.* bring; IV.14, IV.16
	qəmaṯṯi	[qəˈmɑθθi] *C imperf. 3rd m. sg.* he brought; IV.42
	qəmaṯila	[qmæˈθiːla] *C imperf. 3rd m.sg. + 3rd f.sg.* he brings her; IV.131
	qəmaṯilan	[qmæˈθiːlæn] *C imperf. 3rd m.sg. + 1st pl.* he will bring for us; IV.128
	qəmaṯinḵon	[qmæˈθinχon] *C imperf. 1st sg. + 2nd pl.* I will bring you; IV.125, IV.126
ʾ-z-g-$^{w}/_{y}$		***v.i.*** to go; CM **SGA** id.; the modern form is derived from the *C*-stem rather than the *G*-stem, resulting in the assimilation of the first radical to the second and the initial vowel. See also *ʾ-l-l*, which complements this root in the imperfective.
	ezgā	[ɛzˈgɔː] *Q perf. 3rd m.sg.* he went; IV.99, V.4, V.5, V.18, V.20, VIII.2, VIII.4, IX.4, IX.11, IX.12, X.1, X.13
	ezgat	[ɛzˈgɑt] *Q perf. 3rd f. sg.* she went; IV.144
	ezgit	[ɛzˈgit] *Q perf. 1st sg.* I went; III.7, III.16, III.18, III.19 (x2)
	ezgon	[ɛzˈgon] *Q perf. 3rd pl.* they went; IV.82, IV.104, IV.110, IV.111, IV.112, IV.130, IV.136, IV.137, IV.138, IV.145, IV.148, V.19
	ezgini	[əzˈgiːni] *Q perf. 1st pl.* we went; III.6, III.8
	lezgini	[ˈlɛzˌgini] *Q neg. perf. 1st pl.* we didn’t go; III.17

	qāzi	[ˈqɒːzi] *Q imperf. 3rd m.sg.* he goes; IV.7, VIII.1, VIII.12 (x2)
	qāzen	[ˈqɒːzɛn] *Q imperf. 3rd pl.* they go; IV.26
	ezgi	[ɛzˈgiː] *Q pass ptc.* gone; VIII.7
	ezgeyyen	[ɛzˈgɛɪjɛn] *Q pass ptc. + 3rd pl.* they were gone; VIII.14

ʿ

ʿAbdalla		[ʕabˈdaɫɫə] ***prop. n.*** Abdallah, the *tarmidā* from Ahvāz who accompanied Lady Drower to Khorramshahr ca. 1932; II.8, II.27
ʿād		[ʕɔd] ***adv.*** yet, then; colloquial Arabic *ʿād* ‘then;’ III.13, III.14, III.15, X.17
ʿajāj		[ʕaˈʤɒʤ] ***n.*** fog; Arabic *ʿajāj* ‘dust storm’
ʿamme		[ˈʕamme] ***n.*** (paternal) aunt; Arabic *ʿamma* id.
	bərat ʿamme	[bəˌrɑt ˈʕamme] ***n.*** cousin
	ebbər ʿamme	[ˌɛbbr̩ ˈʕamme] ***n.*** cousin
ʿammu		[ˈʕammu] ***n.*** (paternal) uncle; Arabic *ʿamm* id.
	bərat ʿammu	[bəˌrɑt ˈʕammu] ***n.*** cousin
	ebbər ʿammu	[ˌɛbbr̩ ˈʕammu] ***n.*** cousin
ʿaqəl		[ˈʕaql̩] ***n.*** mind; Arabic *ʿaql* ‘mind, intellect;’ III.16
ʿaskar		[ˈʕɑskaɹ] ***n.*** army; Arabic *ʿaskar* id.; IV.103
ʿaṣreyā		[ʕasˤrɛɪjɔː] ***adv.*** in the afternoon; Arabic *ʿaṣr* ‘afternoon;’ IV.17, IV.110, IV.114, IV.138
ʿAzāzí		[ʕazɔˈziː] ***prop. n.*** The ʿAzāzi, a Mandaean family originally from Sūq esh-Shuyūkh that settled in Khorramshahr; II.23
ʿumər		[ˈʕʌmr̩] ***n.*** age; Arabic *ʿumr* ‘number; age;’ IV.117
	ʿumər-de	[ˈʕʌmr̩de] + *1st sg.* my age; III.14

A

ā		See *āhā*
ad		[ad] ***prep.*** until, as far as CM **ad** id.; IV.1
Ādam		[ˈɒːdæm] ***prop. n.*** Adam; CM **adam** id.; I.7, I.8, I.9, IV.1
agar		[ˈagæɹ] ***conj.*** if; Persian *ágar* ‘if;’ III.16, IV.46, IV.84
āhā		[ˈɔːhɔ] ***dem. pron.*** this; CM **aha** id.; IV.84, IV.85, IV.106, X.4, X.5
	ā	[ɔː] this; I.5 (x2), I.6, I.13, II.24, II.26, III.16, III.25, IV.33, IV.35, IV.40, IV.128, IV.134, V.14, V.16, V.24
	hā	[hɔː] this; VIII.16
ahhā		[ˈæhhɔ] ***n.*** brother; CM **aha** id.
	ah bellā	[ˌæh ˈbɛllɔ] ***n.*** brother-in-law
	ah eṯṯā	[ˌæh ˈɛθθɔ] ***n.*** brother-in-law
ahl		[æl] ***n.*** people; Arabic *ahl* ‘people;’ IV.105 (x2)
	ahlān-dəḵon	[æhˈlɒndəˌχon] *pl.* + *2nd pl.* your families; IV.145
	ahlān-du	[æhˈlɒndu] *pl.* + *3rd pl.* their families; IV.113
ahni		[æhˈniː] ***dem. pron.*** those/these; they; CM **hania ‘**those;’ I.13, III.11, III.12, IV.17
ahtā		[ˈæhtɔ] ***quant.*** one (f.); CM **ahta** id.; IV.138
Aḥwāz		[aħˈwɒz] ***prop. n.*** Ahvāz, a city of SW Iran, north-northeast of Basr, Iraq. Ahvāz is the main center of Mandaean life in Iran today; II.5, II.8, II.10, II.28
aḵu		[ɑχu] ***dem. pron.*** that; CM **hak** id., cf. Iraqi Arabic *aku* id.
	aḵ	[ɑχ] that (contextual); II.2, II.21, III.5, III.6, III.7, III.14, III.15, III.20
alm		[ɑlm] ***n.*** knowledge; cf. Arabic *ʿilm* id.; IV.15, IV.45

ālmā		[ˈɒlmɔ] ***n.*** world; epoch of time; people, beings; CM **alma** id.; I.4, I.8, I.14, IV.28
	almānā	[alˈmɔːnɔ] *pl.* worlds, epochs of time; I.11
alpā		[ˈalfɔ] ***quant.*** thousand; CM **alpa** id.; III.1
amānát		[amɒˈnɑt] ***n.*** deposit; Arabic *amāna* id. via Persian *amānat* id.; V.4
amānatdār		[amɒˌnɑtˈdɒɹ] ***n.*** trustee; Persian *amānatdār* id.; V.5, V.13, V.27, V.22
ammā		[ˈæmmɔ] ***conj.*** but; colloquial Arabic *amma* id.; I.14, II.9, II.11
amrikí		[amriˈkiː] ***adj.*** American; Arabic *amrīkī* id. via Persian *amriki* id.
	amrikān	[amriˈkɔn] *pl.* Americans; III.2, III.4
anā		[ˈæːnɔ] ***pers. pron.*** I; CM **ana**; I.4, IV.46, IV.87, IV.108, IV.120, IV.125
	ana	[ˈæːna] ***pers. pron.*** I; IV.53 (x2), IV.56, IV.61, IV.63, IV.93, IV.110, IV.119, IV.124
	an	[æn] ***pers. pron.*** (contextual) I; II.16, II.25, III.4, III.8, III.13, III.16, IV.41, IV.64, IV.98, V.9, V.21, VIII.16
ani		[ˈæːni] ***pers. pron.*** we; CM **anin** id.; I.8, I.11, I.12, I.13, I.14, I.14, II.13, IV.16, IV.96, IV.132
	an	[æn] (contextual) we; II.22
ARĀM		[aˈrɔm] ***prop. n.*** ARAM Society for Syro-Mesopotamian Studies; I.5, I.6
arbā		[ˈaɹbɔ] ***quant.*** four; CM **arba** id.
ārbin		[ɔɹˈbin] ***quant.*** forty; CM **arbin** id; III.1, IV.123, IV.123, IV.126, IV.128, IV.129
asuṯā		[aˈsuːθɔ] ***n.*** healthiness; CM **asuta** id.; I.2

asuṯā h-w-$^{w}/_{y}$ l-	***v.i.*** to be welcome, lit. to have health
asutā nehwilḵon	[aˈsuːθɔ nɛhˌvilχon] *G impf. 3rd m.sg. + 2nd pl.* you are welcome; lit. may health be for you; I.2
āt	[ɔt] ***pers. pron.*** you (sg.); CM **anat** id.; V.23, VIII.9, VIII.11
atton	[ˈætton] ***pers. pron.*** you (pl.); CM **anatun** id.; IV.110
awwál	[avˈvæl] ***adj.*** first; Arabic *awwal* id. via Persian *avval* id.; I.8, I.11, III.19
āxír	[ɒˈχiɹ] ***adj.*** last, final; Arabic *āxir* id. via Persian *āxir* id.; I.14
azimát ʾ-ḇ-d	***v.i.*** to make an incantation; Arabic *ʿazīma* ‘incantation’ via Persian *azimat* id.
azimát qāḇden	[aziˈmɑθ ˌqɒvdɛn] *G imperf. 3rd pl.* they invoked; IV.20
aziyát ʾ-ḇ-d	***v.i.*** to do wrong; Arabic *aḏīya* ‘harm, injury’ via Persian *aziyat* id.
aziyát qāḇdet	[aziˈjɑt ˌqɒvdɛt] *G imperf. 2nd m.sg.* you have done wrong; IV.57, IV.60

B

b-		[ɛb] ***prep.*** in, with, by; CM **b** id.; I.1, IV.81, IV.121, IV.148, IV.150
	be-l-	[bɛl] ***prep.*** without; IV.81
b-d-q		***v.t.*** to put, place; CM **BDQ** id.
	bədaq	[bəˈdɑq] *G perf. 3rd m.sg.* (pausal) he put; X.2
	bədeqye	[bəˈdɛqje] *G pass. ptc. + 3rd m.sg. cop.* it was put; VIII.14
	bədqʾ	[bɛtq] *G perf. 3rd m.sg.* (contextual) he put; VII.2
	bədqu	[ˈpɛtqu] *G perf. 3rd m.sg. + 3rd pl.* he put them; V.4
b-ḡ-ṣ		***v.i.*** G to stand, stay; cease; C to stop (trans.); CM **BGṢ** id. See also *bandi(r) b-ḡ-ṣ*
	bəḡeṣ	[bəˈʁɛsˤ] *G perf. 3rd m.sg.* he stayed; IV.50
	baḡṣat	[ˈbɑʁsˤɑt] *G perf. 3rd f. sg.* she stayed; IV.115
	bəḡaṣyon	[bəˈʁɑsjon] *G perf. 3rd pl.* they stayed; IV.137
	bāḡṣā	[ˈbɑʁsˤɒ] *G imperf. 3rd f.sg.* she ceases; IV.109
	qəmabḡeṣna	[qmabˈʁɜsna] *C imperf. 1st sg. + 3rd f.sg.* I will stop her; IV.110
	qəmabḡeṣṣən	[qəmabˈʁɜssˤn̩] *C imperf. 1st sg.* (contextual) I will stop; IV.108
b-n-$^{w}/_{y}$		***v.t.*** to build; CM **BNA** id.; see also *benyān b-n-$^{w}/_{y}$*
	bənili	[bɛˈniːli] *G perf. 3rd m. sg. + 3rd m. sg.* he built it; IV.3
	bənon	[bəˈnon] *G perf. 3rd pl.* they built; III.22
	qəbānen	[qəˈbɔnɛn] *G imperf. 3rd pl.* they build; IV.17, IV.20, IV.42
	bānen	[ˈbɔːnɛn] *G imperf. 3rd pl.* they build; IV.4, IV.42, IV.43
	banelli	[baˈnɛlli] *G imperf. 3rd pl. + 3rd m.sg.* they build it; IV.59
	qəbannanni	[qəbænˈnɑnni] *G imperf. 1st pl. + 3rd m. sg.* we build it; IV.34, IV.40
	bonyi	[ˈbonji] *G imp. m.sg. + 3rd m.sg.* build it; IV.16, IV.41
b-r-ḵ		***v.i.*** to bless; to kneel; *tD* to pray; CM **BRK** id.
	baraḵni	[barˈrɑχni] *D perf. 1st pl.* we prayed; III.9
	qəmbaraḵ	[qm̩barˈrɑχ] *D imperf. 1st sg.* I pray; I.14
	qəmbarḵen	[qm̩ˈbaɹχɛn] *D imperf. 3rd pl.* they pray; IV.23
b-š-q-r		***v.t.*** to know, understand; CM **BŠQR** ‘to recognize, examine;’ possibly a secondary root from CM **BQR** ‘to cleave; examine’ in the *Š*-stem, produced by the

		metathesis of the derivational morpheme and the initial radical of the stem.
	bašqarni	[baʃˈqɑɹni] *Q perf. 1st pl. +3rd m.sg.* we recognized; I.11
	qəmbašqer	[qm̩ˈbɑʃqɛɹ] *Q imperf. 3rd m. sg.* he knows; IV.35
	qəmbašqarle	[qm̩baʃˈqɑɹle] *Q imperf. 3rd m.sg. + 1st sg.* he knows me; III.4
	láqəmbašqer	[ˈlɑqm̩bɑʃqɛɹ] *Q neg. imperf. 3rd m. sg.* he doesn’t know; III.12
	qəmbašqirət	[qm̩bɑʃˈqiːrɪt] *Q imperf. 2nd sg.* you know; IV.106
	qəmbašqart	[qm̩baʃˈqɑɹt] *Q imperf. 2nd sg.* (contextual) you know; I.6
	láqəmbašqar	[ˈlɑqm̩bɑʃqɑɹ] *Q neg. imperf. 1st sg.* (contextual) I don’t know; II.18
	láqəmbašqeren	[ˈlɑqm̩bɑʃqɛrɛn] *Q neg. imperf. 3rd pl.* they didn’t know; II.25
	bašqir əl-naḇšaḵ	[baʃˈqiˑrɛn ˈnævʃɑχ] *Q impv. m.sg. + 2nd m.sg.* know yourself
b-${}^{w}/_{y}$-${}^{w}/_{y}$		***v.t.*** to want (+ *men* s.o. + *subjv.* to do s.t.) CM **BAA** id.
	qəbāyi	[qəˈbɔːji] *G imperf. 3rd m.sg.* he wants; V.2
	qəbāyʾ	[qəˈbɔɪ] *G imperf. 3rd m.sg.* (contextual) he wants; IV.2, IV.92, VIII.2
	qəbāt	[qəˈbɔt] *G imperf. 2nd sg.* you want; IV.63, IV.95, IX.8
	qabin	[qaˈbin] *G imperf. 1st sg.* I want; I.3, I.5, I.6, I.7, II.1, II.17, III.1, IV.39, IV.83, IV.118, IX.3, IX.9, IV.6
	qabeyyen	[qaˈbɛɪjɛn] *G imperf. 3rd pl.* they want; II.6, II.29, III.2
	qabén	[qaˈbɛn] *G imperf. 1st pl.* (contextual) we want; IV.132
	láqbèn	[ˈlɑʁbɛn] *G neg. imperf. 1st pl.* (contextual) we don’t want; IV.109
baʿad		[ˈbaʕad] ***prep.*** after; Arabic *baʿd* id.; X.2, X.13
baʿaden		[baʕaˈden] ***adv.*** afterwards; Arabic *baʿdayn* id.; III.10
baʿaẓ		[ˈbaʕazˤ] ***quant.*** some; Arabic *baʿḍ* id.
baʿid		[baˈʕid] ***adj.*** far, distant; Arabic *baʿīd* id.; III.10
bāḇā		[ˈbɔwɔ] ***n.*** father, proprietor; CM **baba 2** id.; Tab. 1.1, Tab. 1.3, Tab. 1.5, I.8d, II.2b, IV.47, IV.54
	bāḇ ḥammām	[ˌbɔʊ ħamˈmɒm] the proprietor of a hammam; VIII.4, VIII.5, VIII.8, VIII.15

	bāḇaħye	[bɔˈwahje] + *3rd f.sg.* + *3rd m.sg. cop.* he is her father; IX.14
	bāḇeḵ	[ˈbɔːwɛχ] + *2nd f.sg.* your father; IX.9
	bāḇe	[ˈbɔːwe] +*1st sg.* my father; IX.10
babbā		[ˈbæbbɔ] ***n.*** grandfather; VIII.11
	babbe	[ˈbæbbe] + *1st sg.* my grandfather; II.2
Baġdād		[bɑʁˈdɒd] ***prop. n.*** Baghdad, the capital of Iraq; II.27, IV.141, IV.142
balwā ʾ-ḇ-d		***v.t.*** to make trouble, cause a disturbance (+ -d- for s.o.); cf. Persian *balvā kardan* id.
	balwā-dan āḇed	[bælwæˈdan ˌɔːwɛd] *G imperf. 3rd m.sg.* + *1st pl.* he will make trouble for us; VII.9
Bandar-e Maˁšur		[bænˌdare maʔˈʃuɹ] ***prop. n.*** Bandar-e Maˁšur, a port city in southwest Iran; III.6
bandi b-ḡ-ṣ		***v.i.*** to stay put; see §2.7.1.5 for forms with final /r/; Persian *bandi* 'prisoner;' see also *bandi t-m-m*
	bandi bəḡoṣyon	[bænˈdiː bəˈʁoːsˁjon] *G impv. pl.* stay put; IV.133
	bandir lábḡeṣyon	[bænˈdiɹ ˈlɑbʁɜsˁjon] *G neg. perf. 3rd pl.* they did not stay put; IV.146
bandi t-m-m		***v.i.*** to be confined; see §2.7.1.5 for forms with final /r/; Persian *bandi* 'prisoner;' see also *bandi b-ḡ-ṣ*
	bandir tammon	[bænˈdiɹ ˌtæmmon] *G perf. 3rd pl.* they were confined; IV.129, IV.146
barābar		[bærɒˈbæɹ] ***prep.*** opposite; Persian *barābar* id.; IV.50
	barābar-du	[bærɒˈbæɹdu] + *3rd pl. suff.* opposite them; IV.76
barnāšā		[baɹˈnɔːʃɔ] ***n.*** person; CM **br ˁnaša** id; IV.16, IV.17, IV.42
	barnāš	[baɹˈnɔʃ] person (contextual); I.11
	barnašānā	[ˌbaɹnɛˈʃɔːnɔ] *pl.* people; I.8, IV.9, IV.14, IV.28, IV.70, IV.139
	barnašāni	[ˌbaɹnɛˈʃɔːni] *pl. indef.* (some) people; I.13, IV.65
	barnašāne	[ˌbaɹnɛˈʃɔːne] *pl.* + *1st sg.* my people; IV.118
barra		[ˈbarra] ***adv.*** outside; Arabic *barra* id.; II.13, II.15, III.11

bas		[bæs] ***adv.*** only, just; colloquial Arabic *bas* id.; II.17, V.5, VIII.14, VIII.16
bāṯar		[ˈbɔːθaɹ] ***adv.*** behind; CM **abatar** id.
baṭlukṯā		[bɑtˤˈlʌχtɔ] ***n.*** misfortune; cf. CM **baṭla** ‘vain;’ I.14
bāz		***n.*** hawk; Persian *bāz* id.
	bāzi	[ˈbɒːzi] indef. a hawk; V.21, V.25, V.26
bazrā		[ˈbæzrɔ] ***n.*** seed; CM **bazira / bazra** id.
behtar		[bɛh] ***adj.*** good; Persian *beh* id.
	behtar	[bɛhˈtæɹ] ***adv.*** better; Persian *behtar* id.
bellā		[ˈbɛllɔ] ***n.*** husband; CM **bila** id.
benāya		***n.*** building; Arabic *bināya* id.
	benāyāt	[bɪnɔˈjɔt] *pl.* buildings; III.22
benyān b-n-$^{w}/_{y}$		***v.i.*** to build; cf. Persian *benā kardan* id.
	benyān qəbānen	[bɛnˈjɔn qəˈbɔːnɛn] *G imperf. 3rd pl.* they build; IV.17
besrā		[ˈbɛsrɔ] ***n.*** meat, flesh; CM **bisra** id.
beyyā		[ˈbɛɪjɔ] ***n.*** egg; CM **baia** id.
bərattā		[bəˈrattɔ] ***n.*** (pausal) daughter; CM **brata** id.; IV.47, IV.50
	bərat	[bəˈrɑt] (contextual) daughter; II.10, IX.14
	bəratti	[bəˈratti] + *3rd m.sg.* his daughter; IV.44, IX.7, IX.8
	bərat ahhā	[bəˌrɑt ˈæhhɔ] ***n.*** niece
	bərat bərattā	[bəˌrɑt bəˈrattɔ] ***n.*** granddaughter
	bərat ebrā	[bəˌrɑt ˈɛbrɔ] ***n.*** granddaughter
	bərat hāṯā	[bəˌrɑt ˈhɔːθɔ] ***n.*** niece
	bərat xāle	[bəˈrɑt ˈχɒːle] ***n.*** cousin
	bərat xālu	[bəˌrɑt ˈχɒːlu] ***n.*** cousin
	bənāṯā	[bəˈnɔːθɔ] *pl.* daughters
bəṭālā		[bəˈtˤɔːlɔ] ***adj.*** bad; cf. CM **baṭla** ‘vain, useless’
bəzuyā		***n.*** hole; CM **bzuia** id.
	bəzuyi	[bɪˈzuːji] *indef.* a hole; V.8

bi		[bi] ***prep.*** without; Persian *bi* id.; IV.120
bibi		[ˈbiːbi] ***n.*** grandmother
bienā		[ˈbiɛ̆nɔ] ***prep.*** between, among; Arabic *bayna* id.
	bienā-dan	[ˈbiɛ̆nɔdan] ***prep.*** + *1st pl.* among ourselves; IV.81
	bienā-du	[ˈbiɛ̆nɔdu] ***prep.*** + *3rd pl.* among themselves; IV.89
bieṯā		[ˈbiɛ̆θɔ] ***n.*** house (f.); CM **baita** (pl. **baitauata**) id.; IV.64, IX.6, X.8
	bieṯ	[ˈbiɛ̆θ] (contextual) house; III.11, III.12, III.22 V.4
	bieṯwāṯ	[biɛ̆θˈwɔθ] *pl.* houses; III.13, III.10, III.12, III.24
	bieṯi	[ˈbiɛ̆θi] *indef.* a house; IV.88, IX.4
	bieṯe	[ˈbiɛ̆θe] + *1st sg.* my house; IV.118, V.16
	bieṯwāṯḵon	[biɛ̆θˈwɔθχon] + *2nd pl.* your houses; IV.123
bis		[bis] ***quant.*** twenty; Persian *bist* id.; III.14 (x2)
bištar		[ˈbiʃtaɹ] ***adj.*** more; Persian *bištar* id.; II.22
burkā		[ˈbʌɹkɔ] ***n.*** knee
bušme		[ˈbʉʃme] ***n.*** sky, air; IV.141
buṯā		[ˈbuːθɔ] ***n.*** prayer; CM **buta** id.
	buṯā d-Šāmeš	[ˌbuːθɑdˈʃɒːmɛʃ] **n.** prayer of Šāmeš, the sun; IV.55, IV.83
	buṯi	[ˈbuːθi] *indef.* a prayer; IV.91, IV.114
buṯi q-r-$^{w}/_{y}$		***v.i.*** to recite a prayer
	buṯi eqrā	[ˈbuːθi ˌjɛqrɒ] *G perf. 3rd m.sg.* he prayed; IV.114

B̲

b̲āb̲ā	[ˈwɔːwɔ] ***n.*** door, gate; CM **baba 1** id; IX.5

Č

čand	[ʧænd] ***adv.*** how much; Persian *čand* id.
čang m-h-$^{w}/_{y}$	***v.i.*** to play a harp; cf. Persian *čang zadan* id.
čangā́ məhon	[ʧæŋˈgɒː məˌhon] *G perf. 3rd pl.* they played harps; IV.81
čāre	[ˈʧɒːre] ***n.*** remedy; Persian *čāre* id.; IV.40
čāre ʾ-b̲-d	***v.t.*** to remedy (+ *qam* obj. + *qam* for s.o.); cf. Persian *čāre kardan* id.
čāre ab̲detton	[ˈʧɒːre avˌdɛtton] *G imperf. 2nd pl.* you will fix; IV.39
Čečāwā	[ʧɛˈʧɔːwɔ] ***prop. n.*** Čečāwā bar Čečāwā, the name of a cloud-shaped demon that is capable of moving the earth; IV.53 (x2), IV.92, IV.93, IV.94, IV.95, IV.98, IV.99, IV.114, IV.119, IV.120, IV.121, IV.122, IV.123, IV.127, IV.134, IV.147
Čečāwā bar Čečāwā	[ʧɛˈʧɔːwɔ baɹ ʧɛˈʧɔːwɔ] ***prop. n.*** Čečāwā, son of Čečāwā; IV.90, IV.91
čehél	***quant.*** forty (used in counting); Persian *čehel* forty
čehél ruz	[ˈʧɛrruz] ***quant.*** forty days; IV.137
čemmā	[ˈʧɜmmɔ] ***quant.*** nine hundred; CM **tšima** id.; III.1
čin	[ˈʧin] ***quant.*** ninety; CM **tšin** id.; III.1
činassər	[ʧɪˈnɛssr̩] ***quant.*** nineteen (probably the result of metanalysis; the expected form is *eččassər*; cf. CM **tšasar** id.); III.14

D

d-		[d] ***rel. pron.*** (archaism) of; CM **d**-; I.1, I.9 (x2), IV.55, IV.65, IV.68, IV.83, IV.85, IV.121, IV.135, IV.138
d-h-l		***v.i.*** to fear, be afraid; CM **DHL** id.
	dahel	[daˈhɛl] *G imperf. 1st sg.* (contextual) I am afraid; IV.132
	qədāhlen	[qəˈdɒhəlɛn] *G imperf. 3rd pl.* they will be afraid; IV.98
d-ḵ-r		***v.t.*** to remember; CM **DKR**
	láqdaḵar	[ˈlɑqdaˌχaɹ] *G neg. imperf. 1st sg.* (contextual) I don’t remember well; II.4
	qədaḵarnā	[qədaˈχaɹnɔ] *G imperf. 1st sg.* I remember; II.1, II.33, III.1
d-r-$^{w}/_{y}$		***v.t.*** to take; CM **DRA** id.; see also *ḥammām d-r-*$^{w}/_{y}$
	dərʾ	[dɛɹ] *G perf. 3rd m.sg. + obj.* (contextual) he took; VIII.8, X.11
	dərā	[dɛˈrɔː] *G perf. 3rd m.sg.* he took; V.21
	dəri	[dɛˈriː] *G perf. 3rd m.sg.* (contextual) he took; X.8
	dərilu	[dɛˈriːlu] *G perf. 3rd m.sg. + 3rd pl.* he took them; V.5
	dəronnu	[dəˈronnu] *G perf. 3rd pl. + 3rd pl.* they took them; III.22, III.24
	qədāri	[qəˈdɔːri] *G imperf. 3rd m.sg.* he will take
	eqdarʾ	[ɛqˈdæɹ] *G imperf. 3rd m.sg. + obj.* (contextual) he takes it; V.25
	láqdarʾ	[ˈlɑʁdæɹ] *G neg. imperf. 3rd m.sg. + obj.* (contextual) he doesn’t take it; V.26
	qədarinā	[qədæˈriːnɔ] *G imperf. 1st sg.* I will take
	dəri	[dəˈriː] *G impv. m.sg.* take!
d-$^{w}/_{y}$*-š*		***v.t.*** to enter; CM **DUŠ** and **DIŠ** ‘to trample down’
	daš	[dæʃ] *G perf. 3rd m.sg.* he entered; VIII.6, VIII.13
dah		[dæh] ***quant.*** ten (used in counting); Persian *dah* id.; V.26
dahḇā		[ˈdæh.wɔ] ***n.*** gold; CM **dahba** id.
darwiš		[dæɹˈviʃ] ***n.*** dervish; Persian *darviš* id.
	darwišā́	[dæɹˌviˈʃɔː] *pl.* dervishes; IV.20, IV.28

dawāzdáh	[dævɒzˈdæh] ***quant.*** twelve (used in counting); Persian *davāzdah* id.; IV.20
daxil	[dæˈχil] ***n.*** charge, ward; Arabic *daxīl* id.
daxil-dak̠	[dæˈχildɑχ] + *2nd m.sg.* your ward, under your control; IV.56
daxil-dək̠on	[dæˈχildoˌχon] + *2nd pl.* your ward, under your control; IV.61
demmā	[ˈdɛmmɔ] ***n.*** tail; CM **dinba** id.
deqnā	[ˈdɛqnɔ] ***n.*** beard; CM **ziqna** and **diqna** (st. abs. **daqin**) id.
daqqen həwarānā	[ˈdaqqɛn huwɛˈrɔnnɔ] elders, lit. “white beards”; IV.31
deštā	[ˈdɛʃtɔ] ***n.*** (patch of) land, ground, earth (f.); CM **dišta** id.; IV.98, IV.100, IV.101, IV.102, IV.105, IV.108, IV.109, IV.115, IV.125, IV.128, IV.131, IV.137, IV.137, IV.138, IV.139, IV.141, IV.145, IV.149
deštāt̠ā	[dɛʃˈtɔːθɔ] *pl.* wilderness; CM **dištata** id.; IV.103
Dezful	[dɛzˈful] ***prop. n.*** Dezful, a city in northern Khuzestān, Iran; III.6, III.7, III.19
dəholtā	[dəˈholtɔ] ***n.*** fear; CM **dhulta** id.;
dəmā	[dəˈmɒː] ***n.*** blood; CM **dma** id.
dəraxt	[dəˈræχt] ***n.*** tree; Persian *deraxt* id.
dəros	[dəˈros] ***adj.*** correct; Persian *dorost* id.
diwā	[ˈdiːvɔ] ***n.*** demon; Middle Persian *dēw* id. via CM **daiua** id.; IV.45, IV.55, IV.57, IV.64, IV.83
diw	[div] demon (contextual); IV.63
Diwān	[diˈvɒn] ***n.*** a type of scroll, usually illustrated; CM **diuan** id., cf. Persian *divān* a small book (usually of poetry)
Diwān Ab̠āt̠ar	[diˌvɒn aˈwɒːθaɹ] ***prop. n.*** an illustrated description of the Lightworld

Diwān Malkuṯā Əleṯā		[diˌvɒn malˌkuːθɔ əˈleːθɔ] ***prop. n.*** the “Scroll of Exalted Kingship,” an esoteric commentary on the initiation of the *tarmidā*
do		[do] ***quant.*** two (used in counting); Persian *do* id.; VII.6
	doṯa-ṯ-ḵon	[doˈθɑθχon] + *2nd pl.* two of you, both of you
Drāši		[ˈdrɒʃi] ***n.*** teachings; CM **drašia** id.
	Drāši d-Yahya	[ˌdrɒʃi ˈdɪhjæ] ***prop. n.*** the Teachings of John, one of the primary Mandaean religious texts
dukkā		[ˈdʌkkɔ] ***n.*** place; CM **duka** id.; I.4; see also *duḵtā*
	kol dukkā	[kol ˈdʌkkɔ] every place, every part
	dukki	[ˈdʌkki] *indef.* a place; IV.125
	dukki	[ˈdɵkki] + *3rd m. sg.* his place; IV.140
	dukkāni	[dʌkˈkɔni] *pl.* + *rest.* the places (which) III.19
dukkān		[dʌkˈkɔn] ***n.*** store; Arabic *dukkān* id. via Persian *dokkān* id.; III.4
duḵtā		[ˈdʌχtɔ] ***n.*** place; CM **duka** id.; see also *dukkā;* V.7
dust		[ˈdust] ***n.*** friend; Persian *dust* id.
	dusti	[ˈdusti] *indef.* a friend; V.4

E

ebrā		[ˈɛbrɔ] ***n.*** son; CM **abra** and **ʿbra** id.; V.29
	ebri	[ˈɛbri] + *3rd m. sg.* his son; I.7, I.10, V.18, V.20, V.21, V.26
	bar	[baɹ] son (only in patronymic or matronymic); IV.53
	ebbər ahhā	[ˌɛbbr̩ ˈæhhɔ] ***n.*** nephew
	ebbər bərattā	[ˌɛbbr̩ ˈbəˈrattɔ] ***n.*** grandson
	ebbər ebrā	[ˌɛbbr̩ ˈɛbrɔ] ***n.*** grandson; CM **br bra** id.
	ebbər ebri	[ˌɛbbr̩ ˈɛbri] + *3rd m.sg.* his grandson; I.7, I.10
	ebbər hāṯā	[ˌɛbbr̩ ˈhɔːθɔ] ***n.*** nephew
	ebbər xāle	[ˈebbr̩ ˈχɒːle] ***n.*** cousin
	ebbər xālu	[ˈebbr̩ ˈχɒːlu] ***n.*** cousin

eččā		[ˈɛʧʧɔ] ***quant.*** nine; CM **tša** id.; II.22
	eččin	[ɛʧˈʧin] *pl.* ninety; CM **tšin** id.; II.22
	eččā eččin	[ˈɛʧʧɔ ɛʧˈʧin] ninety-nine; II.22
ehdā		[ˈɛhdɔ] ***quant.*** one; CM **hda** id.; cf. Arabic *iḥdā* 'one (f.);' IV.43
	ehdi	[ˈɛhdi] *indef.* (a particular) one; I.11, I.13
ehl-		***pseudoverb*** to have (lit. there is s.t. for s.o.); CM **ʿt l-** id.; see also *eḵt-*, *asutā ehl-*, and *rəwāhā ehl-*
	ehli	[ˈɛhli] + *3rd m. sg.* he has; IV.49, IV.135, V.4, V.26, V.26
	ehlaḵ	[ˈɛhəlak] + *2nd m.sg.* you have; IV.118
	ehle	[ˈɛhle] **+** *1st sg.* I have; III.4
	ehlu	[ˈɛhlu] + *3rd pl.* they have; IV.45
	lehlu	[ˈlɛhlu] *neg.* + *3rd pl.* they don't have; III.12
	ehlan	[ˈɛhlan] + 1st pl. we have; II.23
	həwāli	[həˈwɔːli] *G perf. 3rd m.sg.* + *3rd m.sg.* he had, it was for him; V.1, V.3
	həwālu	[huˈwɔːlu] *G perf. 3rd m.sg.* + *3rd pl.* they had; II.29, III.13
	lehwālu	[ˈlɛhwɔlu] *G neg. perf. 3rd m.sg.* + *3rd pl.* they didn't have; II.9
	həwālan	[ˈhʷɔːlan] *G neg. perf. 3rd m.sg.* + *1st pl.* we had; II. 7
ehnā		see *hənā*
ekkā 1		[ˈɛkkɔ] ***dem. pron.*** there (is/are); CM **ʿka** id.; II.3, IV.2, VIII.10, VIII.16, IX.14

	lekkā	[ˈlɜkkɔ] *neg.* there isn't (anything); III.22
	lek enši	[lɜk ˈɪnʃi] *neg.* (contextual) there isn't anyone; III.24
ekkā 2		[ˈɛkkɔ] ***adj.*** such; CM ʿ**ka** id.; IV.53, IV.118
	ekkā ekkā	[ˈɛkkɔ ˈɛkkɔ] such and such, etc. etc.; V.20
ekkā 3		[ˈɛkkɔ] ***adv.*** thus; CM ʿ**ka** id.; IV.12
ekkaḵ		[ɛkˈkɑχ] ***dem. pron.*** there; possibly derived from CM ʿ**ka** 'there' + CM **hak** 'that;' II.3, II.25, III.3, III.6, III.8, III.9, III.13, III.18, III.20, V.8, V.9, V.18
eḵt-		**cop.** copula; CM ʿ**it** id.; see also *ehl-*
	eḵti	[ˈɛχti] + *3rd m.sg.* he is; I.11c
	leḵta	[ˈlɜχta] *neg.* + *3rd f.sg.* she is not; I.13a
	leḵtan	[ˈlɜχtan] + *1st pl.* we are not; I.12a
	eḵtaḵ	[ˈɛχtaχ] + *2nd m.sg.* you are; IV.51
	leḵtaḵ	[ˈlɛχtaχ] *neg.* + *2nd m.sg.* you are; VIII.11b
elyā		[ˈɛljɔ] ***interrog. and indef. pron.*** where; CM ʿ**lia** id.
	elli	[ˈɛlli] where (contextual); IX.11
	elliye	[ˈɛllije] where is it; X.14
	ellinon	[ˈɛllinon] + *3rd pl.* where they are; III.22
emmā 1		[ˈɛmmɔ] ***n.*** mother; CM ʿ**ma** id.
	emme	[ˈɛmme] + *1st sg.* my mother; II.2
emmā 2		[ˈɛmmɔ] ***quant.*** 100; CM **ma** id.; V.3
emrā		[ˈɛmbrɔ] ***n.*** sheep; CM ʿ**mbra** id.
	emrānḵon	[ɛmbəˈrɒnχon] + *2nd pl.* your sheep; IV.124
enšā		See *eṯṯā*
enši		[ˈɛnʃi] ***indef. pron.*** anyone; cf. CM ʿ**niš** id.; III.24, IV.84
Enyāni		[ɛnˈjɔːni] ***n.*** antiphonal responses, part of the Canonical Prayerbook of the Mandaeans; CM ʿ**niania** id.
esbuʿa		[ɛsˈbuːʕa] ***n.*** week; colloquial Arabic *isbūʿ* id.; X.13
	səbuʿa	[səˈbuːwɔ] week; VIII.9

esrin		[ɛsˈrin] ***quant.*** twenty; CM ʿ**srin** id.; III.14
ešgandā		[ɛʃˈgændɔ] ***n.*** acolyte; CM **šganda** id.
ešmā		[ˈɛʃmɔ] ***n.*** name; CM **šum 1** and **šuma** id.
	eššəm	[ɛʃʃm̩] name (contextual); I.9
	šom	[ʃom] name (contextual); CM **šum** id.
	ešmi	[ˈɛʃmi] +*3rd m.sg.* his name; II.7, II.8, II.10, II.11
	ešma	[ˈɛʃma] + *3rd f.sg.* her name; II.10
	ešmehon	[ɛʃˈmeːhon] *pl.* + *3rd pl.* their names; I.1
eštā		[ɪʃˈtɔː] ***adv.*** now; CM **hašta** id.; I.10c, I.14e, II.33a (x2, II.34, III. 18a; III.18b III.21, III.24a
	šətā	[ʃɪˈtɔː] now; II.29b
eṯṯā		***n.*** woman, wife (f.); CM ʿ**nta** id.; II.24, II.26
	eṯ	[ɛθ] woman (contextual); II.14
	eṯṯi	[ˈɛθθi] *indef.* a woman; II.10
	inšā	[ˈɪnʃɔ] ***coll.*** women; CM ʿ**nšia** id.; I.2, IV.81, IV.105, IV.124
	inšānā	[ɪnˈʃɔːnɔ] *pl.* women; IV.19, IV.139, IV.148, IV.148
ewaz		[əˈvɑz] ***prep.*** instead of; Arabic *ʕiwaḍa* id. via Persian *(dar) evaz* id.; VI.6

Ə

əḇādā	[ˈwɔːdɔ] ***n.*** work; CM **ʿbada** id.; IV.137
əḇād	[əˈwɔd] (contextual) work; IV.13
əḇādu	[əˈwɔdu] + *3rd pl.* their work; IV.138
əḇādā ʾ-ḇ-d	***v.i.*** to do something, work; cf. Persian *kār kardan* id.
əḇād aḇdat	[əˈwɔd ˌɑvdɑt] *G perf. 3rd f. sg.* she has worked, done work; I.6
əḇād aḇdit	[əˈwɔd ɑvˌdit] *G perf. 1st sg.* I did something; V.9
əḇādi əḇod	[əˈwɔdi əˌwod] *G impv. m.sg.* do something; IV.62
əhāḇā	[əˈhɔːwɔ] ***n.*** gift; CM **ahaba** ‘presentation, giving’
əl-	[ɪl] ***prep.*** to, for; referential object marker (clitic form); CM **ʿl** id.; I.5 (x2), I.6, I.9, I.11 (x2), III.2, III.8, III.11, IV.35, IV.55, IV.56, IV.57, IV.58, IV.61, IV.64, IV.76, IV.77, IV.79, IV.81, IV.83 (x2), IV.87, IV.88, IV.90, IV.92, IV.94 (x2), IV.95, IV.98, IV.107, IV.109 (x2), IV.119, IV.110, IV.120, IV.122, IV.131, V.12 (x2), V.18, V.25, V.26, V.29, VII.2, VII.8, VII.9, VIII.4, VIII.7, VIII.8, VIII.15, IX.5, IX.7, X.3, X.4, X.11, X.16
əlāw	[əˈlɔʊ] ***prep.*** to, for; CM **ʿlau-** id.; III.13, IV.11, IV.19, IV.19, IV.19, IV.33, IV.35, IV.36, IV.73, IV.74, IV.132, IV.138, IV.141, V.4
əlāwwi	[ɛˈlɔʊvi] + *3rd m.sg.* to it; IV.6
əlāwwaḵ	[ˈlɔʊwɑχ] + *2nd m.sg.* for you; IV.98
əlāwwu	[əˈlɔʊwu] + *3rd pl.* to them; III.4
əlimā	[əˈliːmɔ] ***adj.*** thick; CM ˁ**lima** youthful; strong, sturdy
əm-	See *men*
əmšabbā	[m̩ˈʃɑbbɔ] ***adj.*** praised; CM **mšaba** id.
Əmšuni Kušṭā	[m̩ˌʃuːnikʉʃˈtˁɔː] ***prop. n.*** the “Sublimated of Truth,” i.e. the Realm of Ideals; CM **mšunia kušṭa** id.; IV.118, IV.120, IV.121, IV.144
ənāšā	[əˈnɔːʃɔ] ***n.*** people (collective; takes plural referents) CM **ʿnaša** id.; IV.22, IV.72, IV.81, IV.116, IV.128, VII.5
ənāš	[əˈnɔʃ] people (contextual); I.5, I.6c, I.14d, IV.142a

ərbiāhā		[r̩bɪˈjɔːhɔ] ***adj.*** fourth; cf. Syriac ܪܒܝܥܝܐ *rəḇīʿāyā* id.
ərbiāyā		[r̩bɪˈjɔːjɔ] ***adj.*** fourth; cf. Syriac ܪܒܝܥܝܐ *rəḇīʿāyā* id.
ərik̲ā		[əˈriːχɔ] ***adj.*** long; CM ʿ**rika** id.
ərqihā		[r̩ˈqiːhɔ] ***n.*** heaven; CM **rqiha** sky, firmament; IV.145
	ərqi	[r̩ˈqiː] heaven (contextual); IX.12

F

faqaṭ ke		[ˈfɑqɑtˤ] ***prep.*** except; Arabic *faqaṭ* 'only' via Persian *faqat-ke* 'except;' II.23
Fārsí		[fɒɹˈsi] ***adj.*** Persian; Persian *Fārsi* id.; III.12
farq		[faɹq] ***n.*** difference; Arabic *farq* id.
	farqi	[ˈfaɹqi] ***indef.*** a difference
farwāh		[faɹˈwɔh] ***n.*** thanks; cf. CM **pruk**, possibly Persian *farrox* 'fortunate' or Arabic *faraḥ* 'joy;' I.5, I.6; see also *farwāh ʾ-m-r*
	farwāhk̲on	[faɹˈwɔːχon] + *2nd pl.* thank you; I.3
	farwāhk̲on geš	[faɹˈwɔːχon ˈgɛʃ] + *2nd pl.* thank you all; I.15
farwāh ʾ-m-r		***v.t.*** to thank, say thanks
	əmer farwāhk̲on	[ɛˈmɛɹ faɹˈwɔːχon] *G subjv. 1st sg.* + *2nd pl.* I thank you; I.3
fekər ʾ-ḇ-d		***v.t.*** to think; Arabic *fikr* 'thought;' cf. Persian *fekr kardan* 'to think, reflect;' Tab. 1.3, Tab. 1.5
	fekər əḇodyon	[fɛkrɛˈvodjon] *G impv. pl.* think; alternate reading for II.24
fonidā		[foˈniːdɔ] ***n.*** fish

G

g-h-k̠		***v.i.*** to laugh; CM **GHK** id.
	gəhek̠	[gəˈhɛχ] *G perf. 3rd m.sg.* he laughed; V.26, X.17
g-h-$^{w}/_{y}$		***v.i.*** to vomit; CM **GSA** to vomit, perhaps conflated with CM **GHA** to sob
g-n-b̠		***v.t.*** to steal; CM **GNB** id.
	gənab̠ton	[gɛˈnatton] *G perf. 2nd pl.* you stole; VII.9
	gənib̠	[gɛˈniː] *G pass. ptc.* stolen; VIII.3
g-n-$^{w}/_{y}$		***v.i.*** to sleep, lie down; CM **GNA** id.
	gənā	[gɛˈnɔː] *G perf. 3rd m.sg.* he slept; IV.47, IV.100
	gənit	[gəˈnit] *G perf. 1st sg.* I slept; IV.46
g-ṭ-l		***v.t.*** to kill; CM **GṬL** id.
	gaṭlonnu	[gɑtˤˈlonnu] *G perf. 3rd pl. + 3rd pl.* they killed them; III.23
	qəgāṭel	[qəˈgɒːtˤɛl] *G imperf. 3rd sg.* he will kill
	qəgāṭelnā	[qəgaˈtˤɛlnɔ] *G imperf. 1st sg.* I will kill
	gaṭelnʾ	[gaˈtˤɛln] *G subjv. 1st sg. + obj.* I should kill; IV.95
	gaṭelnāk̠on	[gaˈtˤɛlnɒˌχon] *G imperf. 1st sg. + 2nd pl.* I'll kill you; IV.93
	lágāṭlèn	[ˈlagɒtˤˌlɛn] *G neg. subjv. 1st pl.* let's not kill; IV.96
	gəṭol	[gəˈtˤol] *G impv. m.sg.* kill!
gab̠rā		[ˈgævrɔ] ***n.*** man; CM **gabra** id.; V.18
	gab̠b̠ər	[ˈgɑvvr̩] man (contextual); V.7
	gob̠rā	[ˈgovrɔ] *pl.* men CM **gubria** id.; II.25, III.20, IV.81, IV.105, IV.124
	gob̠rānā	[govˈrɔːnɔ] men; I.2
	gob̠rā qadmāyi	[govrɒqadˈmɔːji] ***prop. n.*** the Primal Man; CM **gabra qadmaia** but pronounced in NM as if plural, i.e. **gubria qadmaiia**; I.8
gač		[gæʧ] ***n.*** gypsum; Persian *gač* id.; IV.4
gāmeš		[ˈgɔːmɛʃ] ***n.*** buffalo; Middle Persian *gāwmēš* via PCM **gamiš** id.; IV.124, IV.142

ganziḇrā		[ganˈzɛʊrɔ], [ganˈzɪvrɔ] ***n.*** ganzibra, the highest rank currently occupied by Mandaean priests today (below *riš āmmā*, q.v.); CM **ganzibra** id.; II.21, II.25, IV.56, IV.57, IV.62, IV.76, IV.77, IV.79, IV.81, IV.83, IV.84, IV.87 (x2), IV.88, IV.90, IV.91, IV.92 (x2), IV.94, IV.95, IV.96, IV.104, IV.107, IV.109, IV.110, IV.112, IV.118, IV.119, IV.120, IV.121, IV.122, IV.130, IV.133, IV.140, IV.145, IV.147, IV.148
	ganziḇri	[gænˈzɪvri] *indef.* a ganzibra; II.3
gappā		[ˈgæppɔ] ***n.*** feather; wing; CM **kanpa / ganpa** id.
gāw		[gɔʊ] ***prep.*** in(to); about; through; according to; (made) from; NM *gāw* assumes many of the functions of CM **b**-; CM **gaua** 'inside,' cs. **gu** 'in;' I.4, I.8, I.9 (x2), I.10, I.14, II.4, II.4, II.6, II.7, II.8, II.21, II.23, II.28, III.1, III.2, III.7, III.12, III.16, III.18, III.20, IV.1, IV.2, IV.4, IV.7, IV.15, IV.86, IV.99, IV.103, IV.118, IV.141, IV.144, IV.145, V.20, V.26, VIII.16 (x2) , IX.6
	gāwwi	[ˈgɔʊvi] ***prep.*** + *3 m. sg.* in him; IV.8, IV.20, IV.30, X.1
	gāwwa	[ˈgɔʊwa] + *3rd f.sg.* in her; I.10, VIII.13
	gāwwu	[ˈgɔʊwu] + *3rd pl.* in them; I.11, IV.9, IV.28
gāwi		[ˈgɔːvi] ***adj.*** strong; colloquial Arabic *gawī* id.; IV.4, IV.43
genzā 1		***n.*** treasure; CM **ginza 1** id.
	Genzā Rabbā	[ˈgɛnza ˈrɑbbɔ] ***prop. n.*** the Great Treasure; CM **ginza rba** id.; I.9
	Genzā Yaminā	[ˈgɛnza jɛˈmiːnɔ] ***prop. n.*** the Right Ginz, the first portion of the *Genzā Rabbā*; CM **ginza iamina** id.
genzā 2		[ˈgɛnzɔ] ***adv.*** very; many; much; CM **ginza 2** id.; IV.105
	genz	[gɛnz] very, much (contextual); I.14, I.4, I.6, II.20, II.20, V.12, V.12, IX.1, IX.2
germā		[ˈgɛɹmɔ] ***n.*** bone; CM **girma** id.
geš		[gɪʃ] ***n.*** entirety, all; possibly from √*q-š-š* 'to collect, gather,' see Häberl, "Relative Pronoun;" I.3, I.4, I.15, II.32; IV.4, IV.7 (x2), IV.27, IV.93, IV.105, V.5, V.10, VIII.14
	geš-di	[ˈgɛʃdi] + *3rd m. sg.* all of it; V.5
	geš-du	[ˈgɛʃdu] + *3rd pl.* all of them; III.23, IV.80, VI.6, V.9
	geš-dan	[ˈgɛʃdan] + *1st pl.* all of us; I.14, II.4, II.22

gəlālā	[gəˈlɔːlɔ] ***n.*** stone; CM **glala** id.; IV.4
gəlaltā	[gəˈlaltɔ] ***n.*** stone; CM **glalta** id.
gəṭānā	[gəˈtˤɔːnɔ] ***adj.*** short; CM **gṭana** id.
gird	[giɹd] ***n.*** round; Persian *gird* id.
Giyālin	[gijɒˈlin] ***prop. n.*** the Gilānis, a Mandaean family from Basra that settled in Khorramshahr; II.23
goḇrā qadmāyi	See *gaḇrā*
gomlā	[ˈgomlɔ] ***n.*** camel; CM **gumla** id.
gomlānḵon	[gomˈlɔnχon] *pl. + 2nd pl.* your camels; IV.124
guš ʾ-ḇ-d	***v.i.*** take a look, keep an eye out; Persian *guš* ‘ear,’ cf. Persian *guš kardan* to listen
guš əḇadyon	[ˈguʃ ɛˌvɑdjon] *G perf. 3rd pl.* they took a look; IV.149, IV.150
guš əḇud	[guʃ əˈwud] *G impv. f.sg.* you keep an eye out; IV.46
guš qāḇden	[guʃ ˈqɒvdɛn] *G imperf. 3rd pl.* they are taking a look; IV.66
guṭluḵtā ʾ-h-ḇ	***v.i.*** to be massacred
əhaḇni guṭluḵtā	[aˈhɑvni gʌtˈlʌχtɔ] *G perf. 1st pl.* we were massacred; I.14
guṭrā	[ˈgʌtˤrɔ] ***n.*** smoke; CM **guṭra 1** id.

Ġ

ġer	[ʁeɹ] ***adv.*** outside; Arabic *ġayr* ‘unlike, different;’ IV.20, IV.124
ġor ʾ-ḇ-d	***v.t.*** to understand (+ -d- s.o.); Persian *ġawr* ‘bottom, depth,’ cf. Persian *ġawr kardan* ‘to meditate, reflect’
ġor əḇad	[ˈʁoɹ ɛˌvɑd] *G perf. 3rd m.sg.* he understood; V.27
ġubār	[ʁʌˈbɔɹ] ***n.*** dust; Arabic *ġubār* id.
ġubšā	[ˈʁʌbʃɔ] ***n.*** twilight; Arabic *ġubša* ‘twilight’ (before dawn); IV.48
ġuṣnā	[ˈʁʌsˤnɔ] ***n.*** root; Arabic *ġuṣn* id.

H

h-d-r		***v.i.*** to turn; CM **HDR 1** id.
h-l-p̄		***v.t.*** to pass over; CM **HLP** id.
	halp̄at	[ˈhalfɑt] *G perf. 3rd f.sg.* it passed over; IV.141
h-p̄-r		***v.t.*** to dig; CM **HPR** id.; Tab. 1.5
	qəhāp̄er	[ˈqɒːfɛɹ] *G imperf. 3rd m.sg.* he digs; IV.127
	qəhap̄er	[qɑˈfɛɹ] *G imperf. 1st sg.* I will dig; IV.125
h-r-ḇ		***v.s.*** G to be ruined, destroyed, C to ruin, destroy; CM **HRB** id.; see also *haruḇā*
	həreḇ	[həˈroː] *G perf. 3rd m.sg.* it was destroyed; IV.27, IV.29
	láhəreḇ	[ˈlɑhɛro] *G perf. 3rd m.sg.* it was not destroyed; IV.67
	qəhāreḇ	[qəˈhɔːro] *G imperf. 3rd m.sg.* it is destroyed; IV.12, IV.34, IV.40, IV.78
	láqhāreḇ	[ˈlɑqhɔro] *G neg. imperf. 3rd m.sg.* it will not be destroyed; IV.79, IV.71
	lā hāreḇ	[lɔ ˈhɔːro] *G neg. subjv. 3rd m.sg.* may it not be destroyed; IV.24
	lahriḇi	[ˈlæhˌrivi] *C neg. perf. 3rd m.sg. + 3rd m.sg.* he has not destroyed it; IV.71
	mahreḇli	[mahˈrɛvli] *C imperf. 3rd m.sg. + 3rd m. sg. suff.* he destroys it; IV.10, IV.13, IV.41
	qəmahreḇāt	[qəmahrɛˈwɔt] *C imperf. 2nd m.sg. + 3rd m.sg.* you destroy; IV.58
	qəmahrəḇāti	[qəmaɹˈwɔːti] *C imperf. 2nd m. sg. + 3rd m. sg.* you destroy it; IV.59
	láqmahrem	[ˈlaqˈmahrɛm] *C neg. imperf. 1st sg.* I won't destroy; IV.61
h-ṯ-r		***v.i.*** to rejoice, show pride, be glad; CM **HTR** id.; see also *hiṯrā ʾ-ḇ-d*
	həṯernān	[hɛˈθɛɹnɔn] *G pass. ptc. + 1st sg.* I am glad; I.4
	ehṯer	[ˈɛhθɛɹ] *tG perf. 3rd m.sg.* he was delighted; V.13
h-w-$^{w}/_{y}$		***v.t.*** to be; CM **HWA** id.; see also *ehl-* 'to have,' *həyānā h-w-$^{w}/_{y}$*
	həwā	[həˈwɔː] *G perf. 3rd m.sg.* he was; II.2 (x2), II.3, II.8, II.11, II.23, II.32, III.8, III.20, V.1, V.8, V.9, VI.1, VI.3, VII.2, VII.6, VIII.1, IX.1, X.6

	həwat	[həˈvɑt] *G perf. 3^{rd} f.sg.* she was; I.8, II.14, II.24, III.2, VII.1
	həwit	[həˈvit] *G perf. 1^{st} sg.* I was; II.1 (x2), II.16, III.5 (x2), III.4, III.14 (x2)
	həwini	[həˈviːni] *G perf. 1^{st} pl.* we were; I.11, II.4, II.22, III.7
	láqhāwi	[ˈlɑqˌhɔvi] *G neg. imperf. 3^{rd} m.sg.* let it not be; IV.97, VIII.12
	hawinā	[hɛˈviːnɔ] *G imperf. 1^{st} sg.* I am; III.16
	hawén	[haˈvɛn] *G subjv. 1^{st} pl.* (contextual) may we be; I.14
	həwi	[həˈviː] *G impv. m.sg.* be; V.16
h-$^{w}/_{y}$-r		***v.t.*** to wash, lit. to make white; CM **HWR** id.
	hawwer	[ˈhawwɛɹ] *D perf. 3^{rd} m.sg.* he washed (himself); VIII.13
h-$^{w}/_{y}$-ṭ		***v.t.*** to sew; CM **HUṬ** id.
h-z-$^{w}/_{y}$		***v.t.*** to see, to seek; CM **HZA** id.; see also *radpā h-z-$^{w}/_{y}$*
	həzā	[həˈzɔː] *G perf. 3^{rd} m.sg.* he saw; VIII.3
	həzʾ	[hɛz] *G perf. 3^{rd} m.sg.* (contextual) he saw; VIII.7, VIII.14, IX.7
	lahzi	[ˈlɛhzi] *G perf. 3^{rd} m.sg. + 3^{rd} m.sg.* he didn’t see him; IX.6
	həzit	[həˈzit] *G perf. 1^{st} sg.* I saw; V.21
	həzitu	[həˈziːtu] *G perf. 1^{st} sg. + 3^{rd} pl.* I saw them; III.19
	lahzit	[ˈlɛhzit] *G neg. perf. 1^{st} sg.* I have not seen; IV.53
	həzon	[hɛˈzon] *G perf. 3^{rd} pl.* (contextual) they saw; X.3
	həzonna	[həˈzonna] *G perf. 3^{rd} pl. + 3^{rd} f.sg.* they saw her; IV.142
	heztonne	[hɛsˈtonne] *G perf. 2^{nd} pl. + 1^{st} sg* you saw me
	həzini	[həˈziːni] *G perf. 1^{st} pl.* we saw; I.14, III.7
	həzin	[həˈzin] *G perf. 1^{st} pl.* (contextual) we saw; III.8
	qəhāzen	[qəˈhɒːzɛn] *G imperf. 3^{rd} pl.* they see; IV.45, IV.138, IV.67
	qəhāzyā	[qəˈhɒzjɔ] *G perf. 3^{rd} f.sg.* she sees; IV.47, IV.49
	hazin	[hɛˈzin] *G subjv. 1^{st} sg.* I see; IX.3
	hazinu	[hɛˈziːnu] *G imperf. 1^{st} sg. + 3^{rd} pl.* I see them; V.9
	qahzinḵon	[qɑhˈzinχon] *G imperf. 1^{st} sg. + 2^{nd} pl.* I see you; I.4
	qəhazelli	[qaˈzɛlli] *G imperf. 3^{rd} pl. + 3^{rd} m.sg.* they see him; IV.7
	qəhazén	[qəhaˈzɛn] *G imperf. 1^{st} pl.* (contextual) we see; II.14, III.10
	hazén	[haˈzɛn] *G imperf. 1^{st} pl.* (contextual) let’s see; IV.70
	həzi	[həˈziː] *G impv. m.sg.* seek; IV.94
hā		See *āhā*
hafif		[ˈhæfif] ***n.*** thin; Arabic *xafif* id.

Haft Tappé	[ˌhæftæpˈpe] ***prop. n.*** Haft Tepe, the “Seven Hills,” is an archaeological site in Khuzestān, located midway between Susa and Chogha Zambil; III.6
hafté	[hæfˈteː] ***n.*** week (f.); Persian *hafte* id.; IV.70, VIII.6, VIII.10, X.9
hālā	[ˈhɔːlɔ] ***n.*** sand; CM **hala 1** id.
ham	[hæm] ***adv.*** also, even; Persian *ham* id.; III.24, VII.6
hām	[hɒm] ***n.*** father-in-law
hamāṯā	[hæˈmɔːθɔ] ***n.*** mother-in-law
hamim	[hæˈmim] ***adj.*** warm; Arabic *ḥamim* id. via Persian *hamim* id.
hamšā	[ˈhæmʃɔ] ***quant.*** five; CM **hamša** id.; III.18
Harrān Gāweṯā	[ˌharaŋˈgʷeːθɔ] ***prop. n.*** a legend detailing the events surrounding the Mandaeans’ settlement in the Arsacid empire; CM **haran gauaita** id.
haruḇā	***adj.*** destroyed; CM **haruba** id.
haruḇ	[haˈruʊ] it was destroyed (contextual); IV.7
Harvard University	[haɹˈvɔɹd junəˈvɚsɪti] ***prop. n.***.Harvard University in Cambridge, MA; I.4
hāṯā	[ˈhɔːθɔ] ***n.*** sister
ahwāṯā	[æhˈwɔːθɔ] *pl.* sisters
hāṯ bellā	[ˌhɔθ ˈbɛllɔ] ***n.*** brother-in-law
hāṯ eṯṯā	[ˌhɔθ ˈɛθθɔ] ***n.*** sister-in-law
haṯṯā	[ˈhæθθɔ] ***adv.*** anew; CM **hadta** (pl. **hatia**) id.; IV.17, IV.41, IV.42, IV.42, IV.148
haṯṯi	[ˈhæθθi] *indef.* a new (thing); IV.117, VI.6
hatieqā	[hæˈtiĕqɔ] ***adj.*** old (inanimate objects); CM **hatiqa** id.
haṭāyā	[haˈtˤɔːjɔ] ***n.*** sin; CM **haṭaiia** id.; IV.97

hayoṯā		[haˈjoːθɔ] ***n.*** survival; CM **haiuta 3** ‘life’
	hayoṯ	[haˈjoθ] survival (contextual); I.4
hāzér t-m-m		***v.i.*** to appear before, be present; Arabic *ḥāḍir* ‘present’ via Persian *hāzér* id., cf. Persian *hāzér šodan* ‘to appear before, be present.’
	hāzér tammā	[hɒˈzɛɹ tamˈmɔː] *G perf. 3rd m.sg.* he appeared, became present; IV.91
hemanuṯā		[hemaˈnuːθɔ] ***n.*** faith, belief; CM **haimanuta** id.
	hemanuṯan	[hemaˈnuːθæn] + *1st pl.* our faith; I.8
hem		[hem] ***pron.*** which
hemdā		[ˈhɛmdɒ] ***pron.*** (interrogative) when; CM ***hai mn ʿdan** ‘which of time;’ IV.122
hemke		[ˈhɛmke] ***prep.*** like; PCM **hamkia** or **hamka** id.; IV.49
hemman		[ˈhɛmmæn] ***indef. pron.*** whoever; IV.140
hewyā		[ˈhɛvjɔ] ***n.*** snake; CM **hiuia** id.
Heyyi Māre		[ˈhɛɪji ˈmɔːre] ***prop. n.*** epithet of God, lit. life, my lord; CM **hiia marai** id.; I.9
Heyyi Rabbi		[ˈhɛɪji ˈræbbi] ***prop. n.*** Great Life, one of the epithets of God; nb. “life” is plural; CM **hiia rbia** id.; I.1, I.14
hədādā		[hɛˈdɔːdɔ] ***pron.*** one another; CM **hda had** id.; I.4
	be-hdādā	[bɛhˈdɔːdɔ] ***pron.*** to one another; IV.148, IV.150
hənā		[həˈnɔː] ***dem. pron.*** here; Arabic *hunā* id.; II.21, IV.126
	hənāye	[həˈnɔːje] + *3rd m.sg.* it is here
	luhnāye	[luhˈnɔːje] *neg.* + *3rd m.sg.* it is not here; IX.10
həwārā		[ˈhʷɔːrɔ] ***adj.*** white; CM **huara** id.
	həwarānā	[huwɛˈrɔːnɔ] *pl.* white; IV.31
həyānā h-w-w/y		***v.i.*** to survive, lit. to be alive; see also *həyānā t-m-m*
	hawén həyānā	[hæˈvɛn ˈhʲɔːnɔ] *G subjv. 1st pl.* (contextual) we will survive; I.14

həyānā t-m-m		***v.i.*** to survive, lit. to stay alive; see also *həyānā h-w-*$^{w}/_{y}$
	tammini həyānā	[ˈtæmmini ˈhʲɔːnɔ] *G perf. 1st pl.* we survived, I.14
hič		[hitʃ] ***adv.*** any, no; Persian *hič* id.
hiṯrā		[ˈhɪθrɑ] ***n.*** rejoicing, merrymaking, pomp; CM **hitra** id.
hiṯrā ʾ-ḇ-d		***v.i.*** to rejoice, celebrate; cf. CM **hitra** ‘rejoicing, merrymaking, pomp’
	hiṯrā əḇadyon	[ˈhɪθrɑ ˈvɑdjon] *G perf. 3rd pl.* they rejoiced; IV.81
hiṯrukṯā		[hɪθˈrʌχtɔ] ***n.*** happiness; cf. CM **hitra** ‘rejoicing, merrymaking, pomp’
Hibel		[ˈhiːbɛl] ***prop. n.*** Abel; CM **hibil** id.; I.9
hidā		[ˈhiːdɔ] ***pron.*** she (f.); CM **h**ˁ id.; II.26
	hid	[hid] she (contextual); II.31
hilā		[ˈhiːlɔ] ***n.*** power; CM **hila** id.
	hil	[hil] power (contextual); I.14
	hilānnon	[hiˈlɒnnon] *pl.* + *3rd pl. cop.* they are powerful; V.12
hoḵā		[ˈhoːχɔ] ***n.*** scratch; CM **hauka** ‘irritation, scab, itching’ from CM **HKK / HUK** ‘to itch, irritate’
hol ʾ-ḇ-d		[ˈhol] ***n.*** push; Persian *hol* id.
hol ʾ-ḇ-d		***v.t.*** to push; cf. Persian *hol dādan* id.
honinā		[hoˈniːnɔ] ***adj.*** small, little; CM **hunina** id.
	honini	[hoˈniːni] *indef.* a small (thing); X.2
honni		[ˈhonni] ***pron.*** they; CM **hinun** id.
horinā		[hoˈriːnɔ] ***adj.*** other; second; next, following; CM **hurina** id.; VII.8
	horettā	[hoˈrɛttɔ] *f.* other; second; next, following; CM **hurintia** id.; III.2, VIII.6, X.9
huwi		[ˈhuːwi] ***pron.*** he; CM **hu** id.; IV.35, IV.44, IV.65, IV.75, IV.88, IV.104

Ḥ

ḥ-ḇ-$^{w}/_{y}$		***v.t.*** *C* to keep, put away; Arabic *ḫ-b-ʾ* II 'to conceal' or *ḥ-f-*$^{w}/_{y}$ IV id., cf. CM **HBA** id.;
	aḥḇi	[ˈɑħvi] *C perf. 3rd m.sg.* he put away; V.18, X.8
	maḥḇi	[ˈmɑħvi] *C imperf. 3rd m.sg.* he conceals; I.13
ḥ-d-ṯ		***v.t.*** *D* to speak, discuss; Arabic *ḥ-d-ṯ* II id.
	ḥaṯṯat	[ˈħaθθat] *D perf. 3rd f.sg.* she spoke; II.19, II.20
	qəmḥaddeṯ	[qm̩ˈħaddɛθ] *D imperf. 3rd m.sg* he speaks
	qəmḥaṯṯā	[qm̩ˈħaθθɔ] *D imperf. 3rd f.sg.* she speaks; II.31
	qəmḥaṯṯʾ	[qm̩ˈħaθ] *D imperf. 3rd f.sg.* (contextual) she speaks; II.15
	qəmḥadeṯnā	[qm̩ħaˈdɛθnɔ] *D imperf. 1st sg.* I speak
	əmḥadeṯ	[m̩ħaˈdɜθ] *D subjv. 1st sg.* (contextual) I speak; I.7, II.17
	qəmḥaṯṯen	[qm̩ˈħaθθɛn] *D imperf. 3rd pl.* they speak; II.21, IV.89, IV.150
	məḥaṯṯen	[məˈħaθθɛn] *D subjv. 3rd pl.* they speak; II.32
	láqəmḥaṯṯen	[ˈlaqm̩ˌħaθθɛn] *D neg. imperf. 3rd pl.* they don't speak; II.21, II.23
	əmḥaṯṯʾ	[m̩ˈħaθ] *D subjv. 3rd pl.* they speak; II.25
	əmḥaṯṯetton	[m̩ˈħaθˈθɛtton] *D subjv. 2nd pl.* you are discussing
	əmḥadṯetton	[m̩ħadˈθɛtton] *D subjv. 2nd pl.* you are discussing; I.4
	qəmḥaṯṯén	[qm̩ħaθˈθɛn] *D imperf. 1st pl.* (contextual) we speak; II.22
	əmḥaṯṯén	[m̩ħaθˈθɛn] *D subjv. 1rd pl.* (contextual) let's talk; IV.81
	ḥadeṯon	[ħaˈdɛθon] *D impv. pl.* discuss; I.5
ḥ-ṣ-l		***v.t.*** D to obtain, get; Arabic *ḥ-ṣ-l* II id.
	əmḥaṣṣelnā	[m̩ˈħassˁɛlnɔ] *D imperf. 1st sg.* I would get; III.16
ḥadid		[ħaˈdid] ***n.*** iron (bullion); Arabic *ḥadīd* 'iron;' V.3, V.11, V.12, V.12, V.26
	ḥadid-di	[ħaˈdiddi] + *3rd m.sg.* his iron (bullion); V.6
	ḥadidānā	[ħadiˈdɔːnɔ] *pl.* iron bullion; V.10
	ḥadidānaḵ	[ħadiˈdɔːnaχ] *pl.* + *2nd m.sg.* your iron bullion; V.7, V.29
Ḥadiyye		[ħaˈdiːje] ***prop. n.*** Hadiyye, the bride at the wedding in Khorramshahr; II.10
ḥākem		[ˈħɒːkɛm] ***n.*** governor; Arabic *ḥākim* 'judge, governor,' cf. PCM **hikim** id.; IV.30, IV.71, IV.72, IV.75, IV.79, IV.83, IV.86, IV.92, IV.98, IV.103, IV.103, IV.104, IV.107, IV.109, IV.110, IV.83, IV.87

ḥakimā d-Šuštar	[ˈħɒːkiˌmɔ ɛdˈʃustaɹ] the governor of Shushtar; IV.65
ḥakyāṯā	[ħakˈjɔːθɔ] ***n.*** story, tale; cf. Arabic *ḥikāya* id.; IV.1
ḥammām	[ħamˈmɒm] ***n.*** bath(house); Arabic *ḥammām* id.; VIII.1, VIII.4, VIII.5, VIII.8, VIII.15, VIII.16
ḥammām d-r-$^{w}/_{y}$	***v.i.*** to bathe, take a bath
ḥammām dərā	[ħamˈmɒm dɛˈrɔː] *G perf. 3rd m.sg.* he bathed; VIII.7
ḥašiš	[hæˈʃiʃ] ***n.*** hashish; Persian *hašiš* id. via Arabic *ḥašīš* id.; VII.1, VII.6
ḥatta	[ˈħatta] ***adv.*** even; Arabic *ḥatta* ‘until, even;’ II.21
ḥiṣān	[ħɪˈsˤɒn] ***n.*** horse; Arabic *ḥiṣān* id.; IV.65
ḥizām	[ħɪˈzɒm] ***n.*** belt, girdle; Arabic *ḥizām* id.; VIII.14, VIII.15
ḥədādā	[ħəˈdɔːdɔ] ***n.*** blacksmith; cf. Arabic *ḥaddād* id.
ḥədadānā	[ħədɛˈdɔːnɔ] *pl.* blacksmiths; IV.130
ḥusən	[ˈħʌsn̩] ***n.*** beauty; Arabic *ḥusn* id.; IV.53

I

iḇā		[ˈiːvɔ] ***n.*** cloud, mist; CM **aiba** id.; IV.49, IV.50
idā		[ˈiːdɔ] ***n.*** hand (f.); CM **ʿda** id.
	ide	[ˈiːde] + *1st sg.* my hand; VI.2
idā m-ṯ-$^{w}/_{y}$		***v.t.*** to release, desist (obj. + *men*); CM **ʿda** ‘hand’ + *m-ṯ-*$^{w}/_{y}$ ’to lift;’ cf. Persian *dast bar dāštan* id.
	id məṯi menne	[id mɪˈθiː ˈmɪnne] *G impv. m.sg.* lay off me, leave me alone; IV.108
illi		[ˈɪlli] ***rel. pron.*** that, which; who; used to indicate a non-restrictive clause dependent upon a grammatically definite noun; colloquial Arabic *illi* id.; I.3, I.5, I.6, I.10, III.12, III.13
inā		[ˈiːnɔ] ***n.*** eye (f.); CM **ain,** st. abs. and cs. **ʿin** id.
	ine	[ˈiːne] + *1st sg.* my eye; VI.2
Inglizí		[ɪŋglɪˈziː] ***adj.*** English; II.14, II.18 (x2)
	Ingliz	[ɪŋˈgliz] ***pl.*** (collective) British; III.2
Irān		[iˈrɒn] ***prop. n.*** Iran; III.2
Irāq		[ɪˈrɒq] ***prop. n.*** Iraq; II.21, II.23, II.25

J

j-m-d		***v.i.*** to freeze; Arabic *j-m-d* id.
jaḏrā		[ˈʤaðrɔ] ***n.*** root; Arabic *jaḏr* id.
jamiʿa		[ʤɛˈmiːʔa] ***n.*** entirety; total, all; Arabic *jamīʿ* id.; IV.15, IV.98
	jamiʿa-dəḵon	[ʤɛmiˈjadəˌχon] + *2nd pl.* all of you; IV.124
jangal		[ʤæŋˈgɑl] ***n.*** forest; Persian *jangal* id.
jawāb		[ʤæˈwɒb] ***n.*** an answer; Arabic *jawāb* id. via Persian *javāb* id.
	jawāb-de	[ʤæˈwɒbde] + *1st sg.* my answer
jawāb ʾ-h-ḇ		***v.t.*** to answer; Arabic *jawāb* ‘answer’ via Persian *javāb* id.; cf. Persian *javāb dādan* id.
	jawāb-dʾ ahḇita	[ʤæˈwɒbdæhˌviːtə] *G perf. 1st sg. + 3rd f. sg.* I answered her; II.19, II.20
	jawāb əhaḇ	[ʤaˈwɒb ˌhɑv] *G perf. 3rd m.sg.* he responded; V.12
jedde		[ˈʤɛdde] ***n.*** grandmother; Arabic *jadda* id.
jeddu		[ˈʤɛddu] ***n.*** grandfather; Arabic *jadd* id.
	jedduye	[ʤɛdˈduːje]+ *1st sg.* my grandfather
jihel		[ˈʤiːhɛl] ***n.*** boy, child; Arabic *jāhil* ‘ignorant,’ here in the sense of ‘ingénu;’ II.1, II.1, II.16, III.14, X.6
	jihelā́	[ˌʤɨhɛˈlɔː] *pl.* children; II.4, II.15, II.31, IV.124, IV.139
	jihelā́-du	[ˌʤihɛˈlɔːdu] *pl. + 3rd pl.* their children; IV.148
jisrā		[ˈʤɪsrɔ] ***n.*** bridge; Arabic *jisr* id.; IV.12, IV.19, IV.78
	jisər	[ˈʤɪsr̩] ***n.*** bridge (contextual); III.20, IV.39, IV.42
	jisrā d-Šuštar	[ˈʤɪsrɑdˌʃustaɹ] ***prop. n.*** Shushtar bridge; IV.68
	jisri	[ˈʤɪsri] *indef.* a bridge; III.21, IV.2
Joḥa		[ˈʤoħa] ***prop. n.*** Joh, aka Nasrettin Hoca or Mullah Nasreddin; X.1, X.4, X.5, X.9, X.13, X.16, X.17

K

k-ḇ-š		***v.t.*** to subdue; CM **KBŠ** id.
	kaḇšellu	[kavˈʃɛllu] *G imperf. 3rd pl.* + *3rd pl.* they subdue them; IV.14
k-d-ḇ		***v.t.*** to write; CM **KDB** id.; see also *kədāḇā*
	kədeḇye	[kəˈdɛvje] *G pass. ptc.* + *3rd m.sg.* it is written; I.9
k-d-r		***v.s.*** to be heavy, be a burden; CM **KDR** id.
k-m-r		***v.t.*** *D* to turn, return (trans.); *tD* return (intrans.); CM **KMR** id.;
	lákamri	[ˈlɑkɑmbri] *D neg. perf. 3rd m.sg.* he didn’t return it; X.12
	kammar	[ˈkammaɹ] *tD perf. 3rd m.sg.* he returned; X.2
	kamarni	[kaˈmaɹni] *D perf. 1st pl.* we returned, we went back; III.15
k-t-p̄		***v.t.*** to trap; cf. Arabic *k-t-f* I ‘to fetter, shackle’
	kotp̄ʾ	[kʌtf] *G impv. m.sg.* trap; IV.55
kabdā		[ˈkæbdɔ] ***n.*** liver; CM **kabda** id.
kadirā		[kɛˈdiːrɔ] ***adj.*** heavy; CM **kadira** id.
kāfér		[kɒˈfɛr] ***n.*** infidel, unbeliever; Arabic *kāfir* via Persian *kāfer* id.
	kāferān	[kɒfɛˈrɒn] *pl.* unbelievers; III.12
kalbā		[ˈkælbɔ] ***n.*** dog; CM **kalba** id.
kammā		[ˈkæmmɔ] ***inter. pron.*** how; CM **kma** id.; IV.146
kandi		[ˈkændi] ***adv.*** yet, still, again; CM **kandia** id.; IV.78
Kanjar		[ˈkænʤaɹ] ***prop. n.*** father of the bride at Khorramshahr; II.10
karsā		[ˈkaɹsɔ] ***n.*** stomach, belly; CM **karsa** id.
	karsi	[ˈkaɹsi] + *3rd m.sg.* his stomach; X.2
	karse	[ˈkaɹse] + *1st sg.* my stomach; VI.2

kaspā		[ˈkæspɔ] ***n.*** silver; CM **kaspa**; III.5
kasyā		[ˈkɛsjɔ] ***adj.*** hidden, secret; CM **kasia** id.; IV.85, IV.121
kaṯkammā		[kæθˌkæmmɔ] ***adj.*** so much; CM **kḏ kma** id.; I.14
ke 1		[ke] ***rel. pron.*** who; Persian *ke* id.; I.11, I.13, III.12, III.20, IV.14, IV.15, V.9, V.26, IX.2
ke 2		[ke] ***rel. pron.*** that (indicating a restrictive clause; preceded by *-i*); Persian *ke* id.; III.19, IV.83, V.20, V.26
ke 3		[ke] ***conj.*** when; Persian *kay* id.; II.1 (x2), II.2
ke 4		[ke] ***conj.*** because; II.20
kef		[kef] ***n.*** good humor; Arabic *kayf* id.
kef ʾ-ḇ-d		***v.i.*** to celebrate, have fun; Arabic *kayf* ‘good humor;’ cf. Persian *kayf kardan* ‘to enjoy oneself, have fun’
	kef əḇadyon	[kef əˈvɑdjon] *G perf. 3rd pl.* they celebrated; IV.69, IV.72, IV.80
	kef āḇden	[kef ˈɒvdɛn] *G subjv. 3rd pl.* they celebrate; IV.72
kədāḇā		[kəˈdɔːwɔ] ***n.*** book (f.); CM **kdaba** id.
	kədāḇ	[kəˈdɔʊ] book (contextual)*;* I.9, III.16
kərāyā		[kəˈrɔːjɔ] ***n.*** leg (f.); CM **kraia** ‘foot, leg, paw’
	kərāyi	[kəˈrɔːji] + *3rd m.sg.* his leg; VII.2b, VII.3, VII.4
	kərāye	[kəˈrɔːje] + *1st sg.* my leg; VI.2, VII.5, VII.9
kief		[kiɛ̆f] ***n.*** good humor; Arabic *kayf* id.
klāṯā		[ˈkl̥ɔːθɔ] ***quant.*** three; CM **tlata** id.; III.1
	klaṯāyā	[kl̥ɛˈθɔːjɔ] ***adj.*** third; CM **tlitaia** id.; VIII.9
koḵḇā		[ˈkoχwɔ] ***n.*** star; CM **kukba** id.; I.9
kol		[kol] ***quant.*** each, every; (+ *pl.*) all; CM **kul** id.; I.4, I.8, I.11, I.11, III.4, IV.34, IV.40, IV.59, VIII.10
	kol waxt	[ˈkolwɑχt] ***adv.*** always; I.13
	kol mā	[ˈkolmɒ] ***indef. pron.*** whatever; VIII.12

komák ʾ-ḇ-d	***v.t.*** to help, give aid; Persian *komak* ‘aid,’ cf. Persian *komak kardan* ‘to help’
komák aḇdellʾ	[koˈmɑk avˌdɛlli] *G subjv. 3rd m.sg. + 3rd f.sg.* they help (Russia); III.2
konfərens	[kõfəˈrɛ̃s] ***n.*** conference; French *conférence* ‘conference;’ I.3, I.5
kušṭā	[kʉʃˈtɔː] ***n.*** truth; CM **kušṭa**; I.9

L

l-ḇ-š		***v.t.*** to wear, put on (a garment); CM **LBŠ** id.
	ləḇš	[lɛfʃ] *G perf. 3rd m.sg.* (contextual); VIII.15
	ləḇeš	[lɛˈvɛʃ] *G subjv. 3rd m.sg.* he put on; VIII.2
	ləḇašni	[ˈlʷɑʃni] *G perf. 1st pl.* we put on (our clothes); III.10
l-ḵ-ṭ		***v.t.*** to seize, take; hold; CM **LGṬ** id.
	ləḵṭʾ	[lɜχtˤ] *G perf. 3rd m.sg. + obj.* he seized; IV.76, IV.83
	qəlaḵṭi	[qɛˈlɛχtˤi] *G imperf. 3rd m.sg. + 3rd m.sg.* he takes him; V.18
lābod		[ˈlɔːbod] ***adv.*** necessarily, certainly; Arabic *lā budda* ‘no escape’ via Persian *lābod* ‘necessarily, certainly;’ IV.72, IV.86, IV.106
lājur		[lɔˈʤuɹ] ***conj.*** since; IV.71, IV.118
lebbā		[ˈlɛbbɔ] ***n.*** heart; CM **liba** id.
lek		[lɛk] ***adv.*** thither; CM **lka** id.; III.11
ler		[leɹ] ***n.*** spittle; Persian *layr* id.
ler ʾ-ḵ-l		***v.i.*** and ***v.t.*** to turn around; cf. Persian *layr* ‘spittle’
	ler əḵal	[leɹ ɛˈχɑl] *G perf. 3rd m. sg.* he turned around; IV.104
lešānā		[lɛˈʃɔːnɔ] ***n.*** tongue, language; CM **lišana** id.
	lešān	[lɛˈʃɔn] (contextual) language; I.5
lilyā		[ˈlɪljɔ] ***n.*** night; CM **lilia 1** id.
lo		[lo] ***conj.*** or
	-lo … -lo	[lo] ***correlative conj.*** either … or
loḡrā		[ˈloɣərɔ] ***n.*** leg; CM **ligra** id.
lu-		[lu] ***adv.*** non-; used to negate the enclitic copula; CM **la-1** id.; I.13, II.3, IX.10

M

m-		See *men*
m-ħ-$^{w}/_{y}$		***v.t.*** to strike, hit, beat, stab; CM **MHA** id.; see also *čang m-ħ-*$^{w}/_{y}$, *safár m-h-*$^{w}/_{y}$, *ṣāyaḥ m-h-*$^{w}/_{y}$
	məhʾ	[mɛh] *G perf. 3rd m.sg.* (contextual) he hit; IX.5
m-l-$^{w}/_{y}$		**v.t.** and **v.i.** to fill, be full; CM MLA id.
m-n-$^{w}/_{y}$		***v.t.*** to count; CM **MNA** id.
m-ṭ-$^{w}/_{y}$		***v.i.*** G to arrive, C to bring; CM **MṬA** id.; see also *xabár m-ṭ-*$^{w}/_{y}$
	məṭon	[məˈtˤon] *G perf. 3rd pl.* they arrived; IV.113
	amṭyu	[ˈamtˤɪju] *C perf. 3rd m.sg. + 3rd pl.* he brought them (caused them to arrive); IV.144
m-ṯ-$^{w}/_{y}$		***v.t.*** to lift up; CM **MTA** ‘to stretch, to straighten;’ see also *idā m-ṯ-*$^{w}/_{y}$
	məṯyat	[ˈmɛθjat] *G perf. 3rd f.sg.* it lifted (itself) up; IV.139, IV.149
	láməṯyat	[ˈlaˌmɛθjat] *G neg. perf. 3rd f.sg.* it hadn’t lifted (itself) up; IV.137
m-$^{w}/_{y}$*-ṯ*		***v.i.*** to die; CM **MUT** id.
	meṯ	[mɛθ] *G perf. 3rd m. sg.* he is dead; III.8b, X.15, X.17
	meḵtat	[ˈmɛχtat] *G perf. 3rd f. sg.* she is dead; II.34
	qəmāyeṯ	[qəˈmɔːjɛθ] *G imperf. 3rd m.sg.* he will die; X.16
	mieṯ	[mĭɛ̆θ] *G subjv. 1st sg.* I will die (contextual); IV.84
Madday		[mɑdˈdaɪ] ***prop. n.*** Media; CM **madai** id.
māh		[mɒ] ***n.*** month; Persian *māh* id.; IV.20, IV.87, X.16, X.17
maḥallát		[maħalˈlɑt˺] ***n.*** neighborhood, quarter (of a city); Arabic *maḥalla* id. via Persian *maḥallát* id.; II.4
māl		[mɒl] ***n.*** property, possession; Arabic *māl* ‘wealth, possessions,’ cf. also Persian *māl* id.; II.12

māmā	[ˈmɔːmɔ] ***n.*** grandmother; likely a contraction of *em emmā* “mother’s mother.”
mambuğā	[mamˈbuːʁɒ] ***n.*** consecrated water used in rituals; CM **mambuga** id.
mambuhā	[mamˈbuːhɔ] ***n.*** consecrated water used in rituals; CM **mambuga** id.
man	[mæn] ***inter. pron.*** who; CM **man** id.; II.24, IV.51
el-mannon	[ɛlˈmænnon] + *3rd pl.* whose are they? III.11
man‘a ʾ-b̲-d	***v.t.*** to prevent, prohibit; Arabic *manʿ* ‘prohibition,’ cf. Persian *manʿ kardan* id.
man‘a qab̲ednannu	[ˈmanʕɑ qɑvɛdˈnɑnnu] *G imperf. 1st pl. + 3rd pl.* we will prevent them; IV.16
mand	[mæn] ***n.*** maund, a unit of measure (here ca. 14 lbs); Persian *man* id.; V.3, V.11, V.26, V.26
Mandā	[ˈmændɔ] ***n.*** knowledge; CM **manda;** cf. Biblical Aramaic מַנְדַּע id.
Mandā d-Heyyi	[ˈmændɑdˌhɛɪji] ***prop. n.*** epithet of God, CM **manda d̲-hiia** id.
Mandāyí	[mændɔˈjiː] ***adj.*** Mandaean, Mandaic (language); CM **mandaia** id.; II.15, II.19, II.21, II.22, II.23 (x2), II.25, II.32, III.16, IV.1
Mandayānā	[mændeˈjɔːnɔ] *pl.* mandaean(s); I.3, I.5, I.6 (x2), I.8, I.11, I.13, III.25, IV.35
mandayān	[mændeˈjɔn] *pl.* mandaeans (contextual); III.12
mandi	[mɛnˈdi] ***n.*** a cultic hut; CM **bimandia** id.; III.13
Māni	[ˈmɒːni] ***adj.*** Manichaean; CM **mania** ‘Mani;’ I.12
manzā	[ˈmænzɔ] ***n.*** hair; CM **manza** id.
mārā	[ˈmɔːrɔ] ***n.*** lord; CM **mara** id.
māre	[ˈmɔːre] + *1st sg.* God (lit. my lord); I.9 (x2), I.11, II.35 VI.2, VI.5

mariz	[mæˈriz] ***adj.*** sick, ill; Arabic *marīḍ* id. via Persian *mariz* id.;
marizi	[mæˈriːzi] *indef.* a sick person; VI.1
masʾul	[masˈʔul] ***adj.*** responsible; Arabic *masʾūl* id. via Persian *masʾul* id.; VIII.11b
Masbub	[masˈbub] ***prop. n.*** Sheikh Masbub, the *ganziḇrā* in Khorramshahr during the 1930s; II.7, II.29
masiḥí	[mɑsiˈħiː] ***adj.*** Christian; Arabic *masīḥī* id. via Persian *masihi* id.; I.12
maṣbettā	[mɑsˤˈbɜttɔ] ***n.*** baptism; CM **maṣbuta** id.; I.10
mašknā	[ˈmæʃknɔ] ***n.*** (religious) sanctuary; CM **maškna** id.
mašknāyí	[mæʃknɔˈjiː] ***n.*** those of the *mašknā*, an early term for the Mandaeans; CM **mašknaiia** id.
mašwā	[ˈmæʃwɔ] ***n.*** rope; CM **mašua** id.
maṭrā	[ˈmɑtˤrɔ] ***n.*** rain; CM **miṭra 1** id.
maxṣuṣ	[mɑχˈsˤusˤ] ***adv.*** especially; Arabic *maxṣūṣ* ‘special,’ and Persian *maxsus* id.; III.2
mehlā	[ˈmɛhlɔ] ***n.*** salt; CM **mihla** id.
mehmān	[mɛhˈmɒn] ***n.*** guest; Persian *mehmān* id.
mehman-de	[mɜɪˈmændə] + *1st sg.* my guest; V.16
meḥnát	[mɛħˈnɑt] ***n.*** hardship, misery, misfortune; cf. CM **mihna** id., probably Arabic *miḥna* id. via Persian *mehnat* id.; I.14
mendā	***n.*** thing; CM **mindam** id.
mendi	[ˈmɛndi] ***indef. pron.*** something; I.7, I.11, II.1, III.16, III.22
mendānā	[mɛnˈdɔːnɔ] *pl.* things; IV.35, IV.118
mentekār	[mɛntɛˈkɒr] ***n.*** car; English *motor car* id.
meškā	[ˈmɛʃkɔ] ***n.*** skin; CM **miška** id.
mešk šijrā	[ˈmɛʃk ˈʃɪʤrɔ] bark

metel		[mɛˈtɛl] ***n.*** story; cf. CM **mitla** id.
	metelā́	[mɛtɛˈlɔ] *pl.* stories; III.20, III.25
məsi		[məˈsiː] ***adj.*** cold; CM **msia** ‘solidified’
məṣammar		[məˈsˤɑmmæɹ] ***adj.*** wet; swollen
məṭā		[məˈtˤɔː] ***n.*** place
mienā		[ˈmiɛ̆nɔ] ***n.*** water; CM **mia** id.; IV.7, IV.19
miez		[ˈmiɛ̆z] ***n.*** table; Persian *miz* id.
mimrā		[ˈmɪmrɒ] ***n.*** literature; CM **mimra** id.; I.5
min		[mɪn] ***prep.*** from; (+ *pl.*) some; at (a particular time); CM **mn** from, with; I.13, IV.6, IV.20, IV.26, IV.103, IV.112, IV.126, IV.137, IX.3
	minni	[ˈmɪnni] *+3rd m.sg.* from him; V.8, IX.12, X.9
	minnak̠	[ˈmɪnnɑχ] + *2nd m. sg.* from you; IV.83, IV.118
	minne	[ˈmɪnne] + *1st sg.* from me; IV.108
	minnu	[ˈmɪnnu] *prep.* + *3rd pl.* from them; some of them; VII.8
	mink̠on	[ˈmɪnχon] + *2nd pl.* from you; some of you; IV.39
	minnan	[ˈmɪnnæn] + *1st pl.* from us; V.20
	minjo	***prep.*** from within; cf. Arabic *juwwa* ‘in it, within; inside’
	minjo-di	[mɪnˈʤoːdi] out of it, from within it; X.3
	əm-	[m̩] ***prep.*** from; CM **ʿm** ‘with;’ I.4, I.7, I.7, I.13, I.14, II.5, II.23, II.26, III.3, IV.3, IV.115, V.7, VI.2, VIII.8, X.1
	m-	[m] from (before vowel); I.8, I.13, II.10
	m-ehnā	[ˈmɛhnɔ] ***adv.*** henceforth; CM **ʿm** with + Arabic *hunā* ‘here;’ IV.70, IV.87, IV.123
minjo		See *min*
miṣrā ʾ-b̠-d		***v.i.*** to draw a (magical) boundary; cf. CM **miṣra** ‘boundary’
	miṣrā qāb̠den	[ˈmɪsˤɹɒ ˈqɒvdɛn] *G imperf. 3rd pl.* they draw (magical) boundaries; IV.20
miwā		[ˈmiːwɔ] ***n.*** fruit; Persian *mive* id.

moqaddas		[moqɑdˈdɑs] ***adj.*** sacred, holy; Arabic *muqaddas* id. via Persian *moqaddas* id.
	moqaddas-dan	[moqɑdˈdɑsdæn] + 1st pl. our holy (book); I.9
m-ork		See *orke*
moḥāl		[moˈħɒl] ***adj.*** impossible, absurd; Arabic *muḥāl* id., cf. Persian *mohal* id.
	moḥālye	[moˈħɒlje] + *3rd m.sg.* it is impossible; V.24, X.8
Moḥamrā		[moˈħɑmbrɔ] ***prop.*** Mohammerah (today Khorramshahr); Arabic *Muḥammara*; II.6, II.7, II.23, II.29, II.32, III.3
Ms. Drower		[ˌmɪsəˈdrɑʊwɚ] ***prop. n.*** Ms. Drower, i.e. Lady Ethel Stefana Drower; II.26
mu		[mu] ***inter. pron.*** (independent form) what; CM **ma** id.; IV.33, IV.77, IV.128, IV.131, V.25, VI.6, IX.3, IX.8; see also *mujur*
	muyye	[ˈmʌjje] + *3rd m.sg.* what is it; IV.10, IV.12b, X.4
	muyya	[ˈmʌjjə] + *3rd f.sg.* what is it; IV.106
mujur		[ˈmʌʤʌɹ] ***inter. pron.*** how, in what way; CM **ma** ‘what’ + Persian *jur* ‘sort, kind;’ V.24, V.26, IX.14, X.16, X.17
	mujurnā	[mʌˈʤuɹnɔ] + *1st sg.* how I am; IX.3
Mušmānā		***n.*** Muslim; PCM **mušmana** id.
	Mušmanānā	[mʌʃmɛˈnɔːnɔ] *pl.* Muslims; IV.150
	Mušmanān	[mʌʃmaˈnɔn] *pl.* (contextual) Muslims; III.25

N

n-h-t̠		***v.i.*** to come down, descend; CM **NHT** id.
	anhit̠ʾ	[ɛnˈhiθ] *C perf. 3rd m. sg. + 3rd f.sg.* he brought it down; IV.1
n-k̠-t		***v.t.*** bite; CM **NKT** id.
n-p̄-l		***v.i.*** to fall; CM **NPL** id.
n-p̄-q		***v.i.*** to exit, come out; CM **NPQ** id.
	nəp̄aq	[nəˈfɑq] *G perf. 3rd m.sg.* he exited; VIII.7, VIII.13
	nəp̄qat	[ˈnɜfqat] *G perf. 3rd f.sg.* she exited; II.15, II.31
	nəp̄aqyon	[nəˈfɑqjon] *G perf. 3rd pl.* they exited; II.13
	qənāp̄eq	[qəˈnɒːfɛq] G *imperf.* 3rd m.sg. he exits; V.8
n-$^{w}/_{y}$*-d*		***v.i.*** to shake; CM **NUD** and **NDA**; see also *nodā*
	nādat	[ˈnɔːdat] *G perf. 3rd f.sg.* it shook; IV.138
	qənidā	[qəˈniːdɔ] *G imperf. 3rd f.sg.* it shook; IV.102, IV.105
	qəmandinʾ	[qəmænˈdin] *C imperf. 1st sg.* I will make (s.t.) shake (contextual); IV.98
nafár		[naˈfaɹ] ***n.*** individual (used in counting); Arabic *nafar* id. via Persian *nafar* id.; VII.6
nahrā		[ˈnæhrɔ] ***n.*** river; CM **nahra** id.; III.8, III.13
nap̄šā		[ˈnæfʃɔ] ***n.*** soul, personality, self; same; CM **napša** id.
	nap̄š maṣbetta	[ˈnæfʃ mɑsˤˈbɜtta] (contextual) the same baptism; I.10
	nap̄ša	[ˈnæfʃa] + *3rd f. sg.* her personality; II.33
narmā		[ˈnaɹmɔ] ***adj.*** smooth; Persian *narm* ‘soft, smooth’
narm t-m-m		***v.i.*** to go soft (in the head); Persian *narm* ‘soft, smooth’
	narm tammā	[ˈnaɹm ˈtæmmɔ] *G perf. 3rd m.sg.* he went soft (in the head); V.14
naṣirut̠ā		[nɑsˤiˈruːθɔ] ***prop. n.*** esoteric knowledge; CM **naṣiruta** id.

naṣorayí		[nɑsˤorɔˈjiː] ***prop. n.*** Nasoreans, a generic term for the initiated priesthood; CM **naṣuraiia** id.
Naṣṣat-e Ṣubba		[nɑsˤˈsˤɑte ˈsˤʌbba] ***prop. n.*** a large pit outside of Shushtar (q.v.), said to be the location of the Mandaean quarter of town before Čečāwā bar Čečāwā (q.v.) carried it off to Əmšuni Kušṭā (q.v.); IV.150
nazdik		[næzˈdik] ***prep.*** near; Persian *nazdik* id.
nedā		[nɛˈdɒː] ***n.*** proclamation; Persian *nedā* id.
nedā ʾ-ḇ-d		***v.i.*** to proclaim, announce; Persian *nedā* ‘proclamation,’ cf. *nedā kardan* id.
	nedā əḇadyon	[nɛˈdɒː ˈvɑdjon] *G perf. 3rd pl.* they proclaimed; V.20
nešemtā		[nɛˈʃɛmti] ***n.*** soul, living being (f.); CM **nišimta** id.
	nešemti	[nɛˈʃɛmti] *indef.* a soul, living being; IV.96
nəhirā		[nəˈhiːrɔ] ***n.*** nose; CM **nhira** id.
nəjārā		[nəˈʤɔːrɔ] ***n.*** carpenter; PCM **nagara** id. from Arabic *najjār* id.
	nəjāri	[nəˈʤɔːri] *indef.* a carpenter
	nəjarānā	[nəʤɛˈrɔːnɔ] *pl.* carpenters; IV.130
	nəjārí	[nəˌʤɔˈriː] ***n.*** carpentry
No		[noː] ***prop. n.*** Noah; CM **nu** id.; I.7
nodā		[ˈnoːdɔ] ***n.*** earthquake, turmoil; CM **nauda** id.; IV.115
Nuḥ		[nʌħ] ***prop. n.*** Noah; Arabic *Nuḥ* id.; I.10
nurā		[ˈnuːrɔ] ***n.*** fire; CM **nura** id.; IV.114
	nur	[nuɹ] (contextual) fire; IV.55, IV.91

O

obrā		[ˈobrɔ] ***n.*** mouse; CM **aubr, ʿubra** id.; V.10, V.12, V.26, V.28
	obri	[ˈobri] *indef.* a mouse; V.8, V.9, V.11
ohrā		[ˈohrɔ] ***n.*** road, path (f.); CM **ʿuhra** id.
	ohhər	[ˈohhɚ] road (contextual); III.3
ohrā ʾ-z-g-$^{w}/_{y}$		***v.i.*** to walk; cf. Persian *rāh raftan* ‘to go, walk’
	ohrā allen	[ˈohrɔ ˈɑllɛn] *G imperf. 3rd pl.* they walk; IV.6
okumā		[ŏˈkuːmɔ] ***adj.*** black; CM **ʿkuma** id.
olamā́		[olæˈmɒː] ***n.*** wise men, scholars (collective); Arabic *ʿulamāʾ* ‘scholars’ (pl. of *ʿālim* ‘scholar’) via Persian *olamā* id.; IV.11, IV.17, IV.28
onnā		[ˈonnɔ] ***n.*** ear; CM **ʿudna** id.
	onne	[ˈonne] + *1st sg.* my ear; VI.2
orke		[ˈoɹke] ***prep.*** with; PCM **ʿurkia** id.; III.25, IV.148
	orki	[ˈoɹki] + *3rd m.sg.* with him; IV.37, V.18
	orka	[ˈoɹka] *3rd f. sg.* with her; II.17
	orke	[ˈoɹke] +*1st sg.* with me; II.19, III.8
	orku	[ˈoɹku] + *3rd pl.* with them; II.14
	m-ork	[moɹk] ***prep.*** with (Ahvāzi); CM **‘m** id.; I.4, I.5

P

p-h-r		***v.i.*** to fly, fly off; CM **PRA 2**; **PHR** id.
	pahrat	[ˈpahrɑt] *G perf. 3rd f.sg.* it flew; IV.141
	qəpāher	[qəˈpɒːhɛɹ] *G imperf. 3rd m.sg.* it flies; V.25
	pəherye	[pəˈhɛɹje] *G pass. ptc.* + 3rd m.sg. it is flying; V.21
p-r-d		***v.i.*** to flee; CM **PRD** id.
	pərad	[pəˈrɑd] *G perf. 3rd m.sg.* he fled; IX.13
	pəradyon	[pəˈrɑdjon] *G perf. 3rd pl.* they fled; III.23, IV.103, IV.105
	pardén	[paɹˈdɛn] G *imperf. 1st pl.* (contextual) let’s free; VII.8
p-r-ḵ		***v.t.*** to rub; CM **PRK II** to crush, bind together
p-r-d-s		***v.i.*** to be finished, to be done; CM **PRDS** id.; Middle Persian *pardaxtan* ‘to be done with, be free of,’ commonly supplanted in modern Persian with the causative, *pardāxtan* id.; see H.S. Nyberg, *A Manual of Pahlavi II* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1974), 151-52.
	pardas	[paɹˈdɑs] *Q perf. 3rd m.sg.* he was finished; IV.21, VI.4
	pardason	[paɹˈdɑson] *Q perf. 3rd pl.* they were finished; II.12
	əmpardas	[m̩ˈpaɹdɑs] *Q imperf. 3rd m.sg.* it was done; IV.44
p-r-q		***v.t.*** to free; CM **PRQ** id.
	parqi	[ˈpaɹqi] *G perf. 3rd m.sg. + 3rd m.sg.* he freed him
p-s-q		***v.t.*** to cut (off); CM **PSQ** id.
	pəsqat	[ˈpɛsqat] *G perf. 3rd f.sg.* she cut off; VII.4
	pəseq	[pəˈsɛq] *G pass. ptc.* cut off; III.20
	epseqni	[ɛpˈsɜqni] *G perf. 1st pl.* we were exterminated (cut off); I.14
pahli		[pæhˈliː] ***prep.*** beside; Persian *pahlu* ‘side’
	pahli-di	[pæhˈliːdi] + *3rd m.sg.* beside him; VI.3, VII.6
palḡā		[ˈpalɣɒ] ***n.*** split; CM **palga 1** share, portion
par		[pɛɹ] ***n.*** leaf; Persian *par* id.
pas		[pɑs] ***n.*** pass; English *pass* id.
	pasi	[ˈpɑːsi] *indef.* a pass; III.4

paṯyā	[ˈpæθjɔ] ***adj.*** wide; CM **ptia** ‘open, wide, broad’
pelti	[pɛlti] ***adj.*** few, little (Dezful)
peršā	[ˈpɛɹʃɔ] ***n.*** tomorrow; CM **pirša 1** ‘dawn;’ V.19
perš	[ˈpɛɹʃ] (contextual) tomorrow; V.17
perzā	[ˈpɛɹzɔ] ***adj.*** few, little; cf. Persian *porze* ‘a scrap or piece’
perzi	[ˈpɛɹzi] (indef.) a little
perz	[pɛɹz] (contextual) little; V.1
pešimān t-m-m	***v.i.*** to repent, be sorry; Persian *pašimān šodan* id.
pešimān tammon	[pɛʃiˈmɔn tæmmon] *G perf. 3rd pl.* they were sorry; IV.146
pəhirā	[pəhiːrɔ] ***n.*** airplane; neologism from √*p-h-r* ‘to fly’
pərā	[pəˈrɔː] ***n.*** money; Ottoman Turkish *pār,* a coin first introduced during the reign of Murat IV (1623 to 1640); cf. (Modern) Turkish *para* ‘money;’ V.5, VIII.5, VIII.10
pərāhi	[pəˈrɔːhi] *indef.* some money; V.1
pərāhā	[pəˌrɔˈhɔː] *pl.* money; VIII.8
pəṯi	[pəˈθiː] ***adj.*** empty; cf. CM **ptia** ‘open, wide, broad’
pienā	[ˈpiĕnɔ] ***n.*** evening; CM **paina** id.; V.16
pol	[pol] ***n.*** bridge; Persian *pul* id.; IV.19, IV.24, IV.29, IV.33, IV.58, IV.67
pommā	[ˈpommɔ] ***n.*** mouth; CM **puma** id.
Profesər Buckley	[ˈprofɛsɚ ˈbʌkl̥i] ***prop. n.*** Jorunn Jacobsen Buckley, historian of religions and Mandaean advocate; I.6
Provost Marshal	[ˈprovosˈmaɹʃæl] ***n.*** the chief of the military police; English *provost marshal*; III.4

P̄

p̄oquttā	[foˈqʌttɔ] ***n.*** neck, throat; CM **pquta** id.

Q

q-	[qə] ***prep.*** to, for (enclitic form); CM **qa-** id.; II.31
q-l-$^{w}/_{y}$	***v.i.*** to burn; CM **QLA** id.
q-r-$^{w}/_{y}$	***v.t.*** G to read, to recite; (+*əlāw*) to enchant; D to call; CM **QRA** id.; see also *buṯā q-r-*$^{w}/_{y}$
qərā	[qəˈrɔː] *G perf. 3rd m.sg.* he read; IV.91
qāri	[ˈqɔːri] *G ptc. pres 3rd m.sg.* he reads; IV.55
qāren	[ˈqɔːrɛn] *G imperf. 3rd pl.* they read; IV.17, IV.18, IV.19, IV.20
qarén	[qaˈrɛn] *G imperf. 3rd m.sg.* (contextual) we will read; IV.16
qəmqarellan	[qm̩qaˈrɛllæn] *D imperf. 3rd pl. + 1st pl.* they call us; I.13
q-$^{w}/_{y}$*-m*	***v.i.*** to stand, rise; ***v.t.*** (as an auxiliary) to begin; CM **QUM** id.
qam	[qɑm] *G perf. 3rd m.sg.* he stood; he started; IV.22 (x2), IV.42, IV.55 (x2), IV.91, IV.127, VIII.17
qāmat	[ˈqɔːmat] *G perf. 3rd f. sg.* she arose; IV.101
qamyon	[ˈqɑmjon] *G perf. 3rd pl.* they began; IV.20, IV.76, IV.89
qāḇin	[qɒˈvin] ***n.*** marriage; likely Middle Persian *kābēn* ‘dowry’ via CM **qabin** ‘marriage;’ II.6, II.28
qāḇin ʾ-ḇ-d	***v.i.*** to have a wedding; cf. Persian *arus kardan* id.
qāḇin əḇadyon	[qɒˈvin əˈvɑdjon] *G perf. 3rd pl.* they had a wedding; II.10, II.30
qabúl ʾ-ḇ-d	***v.t.*** to accept, believe; Arabic *qabūl* ‘acceptance’ via Persian *qabul* id., cf. Persian *qabul kardan* id.
qabúl qāḇed	[qɑˈbul ˈqɒːvɛd] *G imperf. 3rd m.sg.* he believes; X.16, X.17
qabúl láqāḇed	[qɑˈbul ˈlɑˌqɒvɛd] *G neg. imperf. 3rd m.sg.* he doesn’t believe; X.17
qahwe	[ˈqahve] ***n.*** coffeehouse; colloquial Arabic *qahwa* id.
qahwi	[ˈqahvi] *indef.* a coffeehouse; VII.1

qālā		[ˈqɔːlɔ] ***n.*** sound, noise; CM **qala** id.
	qāl	[qɔl] (contextual) sound, noise; IV.49, IV.102
qālā ʾ-h-ḇ		***v.i.*** to make a noise; cf. Persian *sadā dādan* id.
	qāl ahḇat	[qɔl ˈɑhvɑt] *G perf. 3rd f. sg.* it made a noise; IV.139
qam		[qɑm] ***prep.*** to or for; CM **qam** id.; I.3, I.4, I.6, II.10, III.6 (x3), III.7, IV.39, IV.64, IV.84, IV.121, V.6, VIII.15, X.13
	qamdi	[ˈqɑmdi] + *3rd m.sg.* for him; VI.6
	qamdaḵ	[ˈqɑmdɑχ] + *2nd m.sg.* for you; IV.63
	qamdin	[qɑmˈdin] + *1st sg.* for me; IV.39, IV.62, IV.120
	qamdi-du	[qɑmˈdiːdu] + *3rd pl.* for them; IV.117, X.12
	qamdəḵon	[ˈqɑmdəχon] + *2nd pl.* for you; X.7
	qamdan	[ˈqɑmdæn] + *1st pl.* for us; IV.94
qamāy		[qaˈmɔɪ] ***prep.*** before; CM **qadmaia** ‘first;’ IV.41, IV.44, IV.93
	qamāya	[qaˈmɔːja] + *3rd f. sg.* before her; II.17
	qamātar	[qamɔˈtaɹ] ***adv.*** (comparative) prior; III.18
qamieṯā		[qaˈmiĕθɔ] ***n.*** noon and ***adv.*** at noon; CM **qamaita** noontime devotions; IV.17, IV.112
qamu		[ˈqɑːmu] ***inter. pron.*** why; cf. CM **ʿl mahu** / **almahu** / **amu** id.; IV.29, IV.57
qanāyā		[qaˈnɔːjɔ] ***n.*** smith; CM **qanaia** id.; III.5
	qənayānā	[qənaˈjɔːnɔ] *pl.* smiths; IV.144, IV.136, IV.128, IV.130, IV.137, IV.148
qār		[qɔɹ] ***prep.*** at, before, in the presence of, to, by, with; semantically similar to French *chez* and Arabic *ʿinda*; CM **qar** id.; II.27, II.29, IV.38, IV.75, IV.91, IV.104, IV.130, IV.144, V.16, V.19
	qāri	[ˈqɔːri] + *3rd m. sg.* to him; IV.12, IV.32, IV.37, IV.73, IV.74, IV.75, IV.77, IV.82, IV.114
	qāraḵ	[ˈqɔːrɑχ] + *2nd m.sg.* with you; IV.40, IV.73
	qāre	[ˈqɔːre] + *1st sg.* to me; with me = I have; IV.64, IV.81, IV.92, X.6
	qāru	[ˈqɔːru] + *3rd pl.* with them; IV.145
	qāran	[ˈqɔːran] + *1st pl.* with us = we have; IV.97

qarār ʾ-h-ḇ	***v.t.*** to place, fix, set up; Arabic and Persian *qarār* ‘decision,’ cf. Persian *qarār dādan* id.
qarār bieṯe əhaḇtu	[qaˈrɑɹ ˈbiĕθe əˈhæftu] *G perf. 1st sg. + 3rd pl.* you placed them in my house (for safekeeping); V.7
qarn	[qarn] ***n.*** horn; Arabic *qarn* id.
qazġān	[qɑzˈʁɔn] ***n.*** cooking pot; Persian *qazġān* id., cf. Arabic *qazān* id. and Turkish *kazan* id.; X.2, X.3, X.15, X.16, X.17
qazġāni	[qɑzˈʁɔːni] *indef.* a cooking pot; X.1, X.9
qazġān-de	[qɑzˈʁɔnde] + *1st sg.* my cooking pot; X.14
qazġān-ḵon	[qɑzˈʁɔnχon] + 2nd pl. your (pl.) cooking pot; X.5
qəlāw-	[qəˈlɔʊ] ***prep.*** to, for; CM **qa-** + **ʿlau-**; II.10, V.18
qəmolṯā	[qəˈmolθɔ] ***n.*** louse
qəmāšā	***n.*** (article of) clothing
qəmāšāni	[qmɔˈʃɔːni] *pl. +3rd m.sg.* his clothes; VIII.2, VIII.14
qəmāšānan	[qmɔˈʃɔːnæn] *pl. + 1st pl.* our clothes; III.10
qəyānā	***n.*** culture
qəyān	[qɪˈjɔn] (contextual) culture; I.5
Qolastā	[qoˈlæstɔ] ***n.*** collection; the Canonical Prayerbook of the Mandaeans; CM **qulasta** id.
qumát	[quˈmɑt] ***n.*** prefecture; possibly Arabic *qawamat* (pl. of *qāʾem* ‘administrator, prefect’); V.19
quwwát	[quvˈvɑt] ***n.*** strength, force, authority; Arabic *quwwát* id. via Persian *quvvat* id.; IV.118

R

r-h-m		***v.t.*** to love; CM **RHM** id.
	qəraheml᾽	[qəraˈhɛml] *G imperf. 3rd m.sg. + 3rd m.sg. (elided)* he loves (s.t.); V.12
rabbā		[ˈræbbɔ] ***adj.*** great, big; CM **rba** id.; X.11
	rap̄tā	[ˈræftɔ] f. great; CM **rabtia** id.
	rabbi	[ˈræbbi] *indef.* a large (thing); X.10
	rap̄tar	[ˈræftaɹ] *comp.* greater
rabbā		[ˈræbbɔ] ***n.*** leader; II.3
	rab	[ˈræb] (contextual) leader; II.2
radp̄ā		[ˈrædfɔ] ***n.*** persecution; CM **radpa** id.; I.14
radp̄ā h-z-$^{w}/_{y}$		***v.i.*** to be persecuted; CM **radpa** ‘persecution,’ cf. Persian *ranj didan* id.
	radp̄ā həzini	[ˈrædfɔ həˌziːni] *G perf. 1st pl.* we were persecuted; I.14
rafieq		[ræˈfiĕq] ***n.*** friend, companion; Arabic & Persian *rafīq* id.
	rafieqā́-di	[ræfiĕˈqɔːdi] *pl. + 3rd m. sg.* his friends; IV.98
ragʿa ᾽-ḇ-d		***v.t.*** to fix, patch up (s.o. or s.t. -*d*-); Arabic *ruqʿa* ‘a patch or a scrap,’ cf. Persian *ruqʿa doxtan* / *ruqʿa zadan* ‘to patch up’
	ragʿa-da āḇed	[ragˈʔada ˌɔːvɛd] *G imperf. 3rd m.sg. + 3rd f.sg.* he patches it (the sky) up; IX.12
	ragʿa-daḵ āḇedu	[ragˈʔadɑχ ˌɔːvɛdu] *G imperf. 3rd m.sg. + 3rd pl. + 2nd m.sg.* he fixes them for you; VI.6
Rām		[rɒm] ***prop. n.*** Aram, the son of Shem and grandson of Noah; CM **ram** id.; I.7, I.10
rāst		[rɒst] or [rɔs] ***adj.*** true; straight; Persian *rāst* id.
rāst ᾽-m-r		***v.i.*** to speak the truth; Persian *rāst* ‘true,’ cf. Persian *rāst goftan* id.
	rāst qāmrət	[rɒst ˈqɒmrɛt] *G imperf. 2nd sg.* you speak the truth; V.12
	rāst qamennā	[rɒst qɑˈmɛnnɔ] *G imperf. 1st sg.* I speak the truth; V.15

raṭnā		[ˈrætˁnɔ] ***n.*** dialect (espec. the colloquial dialect of Mandaic against the written form, *genzā*); CM **raṭna** id., cf. Arabic G *r-ṭ-n* ‘to speak gibberish’
	raṭnā d-Hibel Ziwā	[ˈrætˁnɑd ˈhiːvɛl ˈziːwɔ] ***prop. n.*** the idiom of Hibel Ziwā, ie. Mandaic; IV.1
rāzā		[ˈrɒːzɔ] ***n.*** secret, mystery; CM **raza** id.
	rāzʾ ed-kasyā	[ˈrɒːzɛd ˈkæsjɔ] closely guarded secret; CM **raza kasia** id.; IV.85, IV.121
	rāzʾ ed-Šāmeš	[ˈrɒːzɛdˌʃɒːmɛʃ] secret of Šāmeš, the archon ruling the sun and one of the *šəḇihānā* (q.v.); IV.135
	rāzā qāre	[ˈrɒːzɑ ˈqɔːre] the secret that I have; IV.92
	rāzi	[ˈrɒːzi] *indef.* a secret; I.13
rehwā		[ˈrɛhwɔ] ***n.*** wind; CM **rihua** id.
	rehhu	[ˌrɛhhu] (contextual) wind
	rehhu ʾ-ṯ-$^{w}/_{y}$	[ˌrɛhhu ɛˈθɔː] *G perf. 3rd m.sg.* the wind blew
rezq		[rɛsˈq] ***n.*** livelihood; Arabic *rizq* id. via Persian *rezq* id.; cf. CM **rziqa** id.
	rezqā́-dan	[rɛsˈqɔːdæn] *pl. + 1st pl.* our livelihoods; IV.132
rəwāhā		[rəˈwɔːhɒ] ***n.*** relief, solace; CM **ruaha** id.; II.34, III.8
rəwāhā ehl-		***v.i.*** to rest in peace (lit. to have relief; said of those who are dead)
	rəwāhā nehwili	[rəˈwɔːhɑ nɛhˈviːli] *G impf. 3rd m.sg. + 3rd m.sg.* may he rest in peace (lit. may he have relief); III.8
	rəwāhā nehwila	[rəˈwɔːhɑ nɛhˌviːla] *G impf. 3rd m.sg. + 3rd f. sg.* may she rest in peace (lit. may she have relief); II.34
rihā		[ˈriːhɔ] ***n.*** smell; CM **riha** id.
rišā		[ˈriːʃɔ] ***n.*** head, beginning; CM **riša** id.
	riš šettā	[riʃ ˈʃɛttɔ] the beginning of the year, i.e. New Year’s Day; IV.3 (x2)
	rišāmmā	[riˈʃɔmmɔ] ***n.*** “head of the people,” the highest rank of the Mandaean priesthood; CM **rišama** id.; IV.35, IV.36, IV.37, IV.40, IV.41, IV.44, IV.55, IV.61, IV.64, IV.73, IV.74, IV.75, IV.82
	riš yum	[riʃ jum] the first day, the start (in time); I.7

Rusya		[ˈrusja] ***prop. n.*** Russia; III.2
ruz		[ruz] ***n.*** day (used in counting); Persian *ruz* id.; IV.26, IV.44, IV.137, X.2

S

s-d-r		***v.t.*** D to organize; CM **SDR** id.
	qəmsadart	[qm̩sæˈdæɹt] *D imperf. 2nd sg.* (contextual) you are organizing; I.6
s-l-q		***v.i.*** to go up; CM **SLQ** id.
	sāqat	[ˈsɔːqat] *G perf. 3rd f. sg.* it (the ground) went up; IV.145
	lásāqit	[ˈlaˌsɔqɪt] *G neg. perf. 1st sg.* I didn't go up; III.13, III.15
s-r-ḵ		***v.t.*** to kindle or light; CM **SRK** 'to kindle'
	nurā asreḵ	[ˈnuːrɔ ˈæsrɛχ] *C perf. 3rd m. sg.* he made light; IV.114
	nur asreḵ	[nuɹ ˈæsrɛχ] *C perf. 3rd m. sg.* he made light; IV.55, IV.91
	šam qəmasriḵen	[ʃɑm qəmasˈriːχɛn] *C imperf. 3rd pl.* they light candles; IV.20
sāʿát		***n.*** hour; Arabic *sāʿa* id. via Persian *sāʿát* id.
	sāʿát d-ahtā	[sɔˈʕɑt ˈdæhtɔ] one o' clock; IV.138
sad		[sæd] ***quant.*** 100; Persian *sad* id.; V.11, V.26
safár		[sæˈfæɹ] ***n.*** travel, journey; Arabic *safar* id. via Persian *safar* id.; IV.144
safár ʾ-ḇ-d		***v.i.*** to travel; Persian *safar kardan* id.; see also *safár m-h-*$^{w}/_{y}$
	safár āḇed	[sæˈfæɹ ˈɔːvɛd] *G subjv. 3rd m.sg.* he travels; V.2
safár m-h-$^{w}/_{y}$		***v.i.*** to go traveling, "hit the road;" cf. Persian *safar oftādan* id.; see also *safár ʾ-ḇ-d*
	safár mahén	[sæˈfæɹ maˈhɛn] *G subjv. 1st pl.* we travel; IV.132
sāl		[sɒl] ***n.*** year (used in counting); Persian *sāl* id.
	bis sālu ʿumər-de	[bis ˈsɒːlu ˈʕʌmr̩de] + *3rd pl.* my age is twenty years (lit. twenty years are my age); III.14

Sām	[sɒm] ***prop. n.*** Shem, son of Noah; CM **šum** id.; I.7, I.10
sawār t-m-m	***v.t.*** to ride s.t., lit. to become a rider of s.t.; Persian *savār* ‘rider,’ cf. Persian *savār-e s.t. šodan* id.
sawār ḥisān tammon	[sɛˈwɔɹ ħɪˈsɒn tæmˈmon] *G perf. 3rd pl.* they rode horseback, lit. they became a horserider; IV.65
ser t-m-m	***v.i.*** to become numb, insensate; Persian *sayr šodan* id.
ser tammat	[seɹ ˈtammat] *G perf. 3rd f.sg.* it (the leg) became numb; VII.3
serrā	[ˈsɛrrɔ] ***n.*** moon; CM **sira** id.
səbuʿa	See *esbuʿa*
səmāqā	[səˈmɔːqɔ] ***adj.*** red; CM **sumaqa** id.
səmiḵā	[səˈmiːχɔ] ***adj.*** thick; cf. CM **sumka** ‘thickness’
səri	[səˈriː] ***adj.*** rotten; cf. CM **saria 3** stinking, putrid, act. ptc. from **SRA I** to stink, be putrid
sidrā	[ˈsɪdrɔ] ***n.*** book; CM **sidra** id.
Sidrā d-Nešmāṯā	[ˌsɪdrɒdnɛʃˈmɔːθɔ] ***prop. n.*** the “Book of Souls,” a collection of baptismal hymns from the Canonical Prayerbook of the Mandaeans; CM **sidra d̲-nišmata** id.
so	[sɵ] ***quant.*** three (used in counting); Persian *se* id.; IV.18, IV.26, IV.37, IV.44, IV.75, IV.82, IV.87, IV.88, X.2
sotór	[sɵˈtoɹ] ***n.*** razor; Persian *sotor* id.
sotór-di	[sɵˈtoɹdi] + *3rd m.sg.* his razor; VIII.3
street	[strit] ***n. sg.*** street; English *street* id.; III.22

Ṣ

ṣ-ḇ-$^{W}/_{y}$		***v.t.*** G to baptize (trans.); tG to baptize (intrans.); CM **ṢBA** id.
	ṣəḇy’	[sˤɛvji] *G perf. 3rd m. sg. + 3rd m.sg.* he baptized him; I.9
	eṣṭəḇyon	[ɛsˤˈtˤɜvjon] *tG perf. 3rd pl.* they baptized (intrans.); I.10
	qəmeṣṭəḇén	[qəˌmɜsˤtˤəˈvɛn] *tG imperf. 1st pl.* we baptized (intrans.); I.10
ṣ-m-r		***v.i.*** to swell, become wet; CM **ṢMR 1** to inflame, become red
ṣ-r-$^{W}/_{y}$		***v.t.*** C to squeeze; CM **ṢRR 2** to surround, tie up
ṣ-$^{W}/_{y}$*-t*		***v.t.*** to hear (+ s.o.) to watch, (+ *min*) to listen; CM **ṢUT** id.
	ṣat	[sˤɑt] *G perf. 3rd m.sg.* he heard; IX.2
	ṣāti	[ˈsˤɔːti] *G perf. 3rd m.sg. + 3rd m.sg.* he watched him; VI.3
	ṣatyon	[ˈsˤɑtjon] *G perf. 3rd pl.* they heard; I.13
	ṣatonni	[sˤɑˈtonni] *G perf. 3rd pl. + 3rd m.sg.* they watched him; VII.7
ṣābi’e		[ˈsˤɑːbije] ***coll.*** Sabians; Arabic *ṣābi’a* id.; III.12
	ṣābi’ūn	[ˈsˤɑːbiʔun] *pl.* Sabians
ṣāḥeb		[ˈsˤɒːħɛb] ***n.*** owner; Arabic *ṣāḥib* id.; X.8
ṣāyaḥ m-h-$^{W}/_{y}$		***v.i.*** and ***v.t.*** to scream; Arabic *ṣayḥ* ‘scream,’ cf. Persian *ṣayḥe zadan* id.
	ṣāyaḥ məhā	[ˈsˤɒːjaħ məˈhɔː] G perf. 3rd m.sg. he screamed; V.22
	ṣāyaḥ qəmāhyā	[ˈsˤɒːjaħ qəˈmɒhjɔ] *G imperf. 3rd f. sg.* she screamed; IV.102
	ṣāyaḥ qəmāhen	[ˈsˤɒːjaħ qəˈmɒːhɛn] *G imperf. 1st pl.* they screamed; IV.143
ṣayd		[sˤɑɪd] ***n.*** hunt; Arabic *ṣayd* id.
ṣəbāḥ		[sˤəˈbɒħ] ***n.*** morning; Arabic *ṣabāḥ* id., Persian *sobh* id; IV.6, IV.17, IV.26, IV.137, IV.138

ṣəbāḥ ṭāḇ ʾ-h-ḇ	***v.t.*** to wish someone a good morning
ṣəbāḥ ṭāḇ haḇlonni	[sˤəˈbɒħ tˤɔʊ hɑʊˈlonni] *G perf. 3rd pl. + 3rd m.sg.* they wished him a good morning; IV.38
smālā	[ˈsmɔːlɔ] ***adj.*** left; CM **smala** id.
ṣoprā	[ˈsˤoprɔ] ***n.*** bird; CM **ṣipra 1** id.
ṣop̄rā	[ˈsˤofrɔ] ***adj.*** yellow; cf. CM **ṣipra 2** dawn
ṣubbi	[ˈsˤʌbbi] ***n.*** Sabian; Arabic *ṣubbi* id.
ṣubba	[ˈsˤʌbba] *coll.* Sabians; Arabic *ṣubba* id.
ṣubbihā́	[sˤʌbbiˈhɔː] *pl.* Sabians; III.12
Ṣulḥabād	[sˤʌlħaˈbɒd] ***prop. n.*** a city in Iran; III.7
ṣunʿa	[ˈsˤʌnʕa] **adv.** well; Arabic *ṣunʿ* ‘benefit, favor;’ VI.2
ṣunʿaye	[ˈsˤʌnʕaˌjɛ] + *3rd m. sg. suff.* it was fixed; II.4, III.21
ṣṭānā	[ˈsˤtˤɔːnɔ] ***n.*** boy; CM **ṣṭana** id.; X.17
ṣṭāni	[ˈsˤtˤɔːni] *indef.* a boy; V.25

Š

š-ḇ-q		***v.t.*** to leave; to permit; CM **ŠBQ** id.
	šəḇaq	[ʃəˈwɑq] *G perf. 3rd m.sg.* he left; IX.13
	šaḇqon	[ʃaʊˈqon] *G perf. 3rd pl.* (contextual) they left; III.23
	lášaḇqonan	[ˈlaˌʃaʊqonæn] *G neg. perf. 3rd pl. + 1st pl.* they didn’t let us; III.13
	láqšaḇeqnā	[ˈlɑqʃɑˌvɛqnɔ] *G neg. imperf. 1st sg.* I can’t permit; VIII.9
	šoḇq	[ʃoʊq] *G impv. m.sg.* (contextual) free, permit, allow; IV.109
š-d-r		***v.t.*** to send (+ *əlāw* for s.o.); CM **ŠDR** id.
	šadder	[ˈʃaddɛɹ] *D perf. 3rd m.sg.* he sent; IV.11, IV.31, IV.35, IV.36, IV.73, IV.74, IV.90
	qəmšadder	[qm̩ˈʃaddɛɹ] *D imperf. 3rd m.sg.* he will send; IV.98
š-ḵ-ḇ		***v.i.*** to lie down (Ahwaz); CM **ŠKB** id.
š-r-$^{W}/_{y}$		***v.t.*** to loosen, untie, free; open (a bottle); CM **ŠRA** id.
	qəšaryāte	[qəˌʃaɹˈjɔːte] *G imperf. 2nd sg. + 1st sg.* you will release me; IV.119
	qəšarinaḵ	[qəʃɛˈriːnɑχ] *G imperf. 1st sg. + 2nd sg.* I will release you; IV.120
š-$^{W}/_{y}$-l		***v.t.*** D to ask; CM **ŠAL** id.
	šiyelti	[ʃɪˈjɛlti] *D perf. 1st sg. + 3rd m.sg.* I asked him; IX.8
	šiyelni	[ˈʃɪˈjɛlni] *D perf. 1st pl.* we asked; III.10
	qəmšiyellu	[qm̩ʃɪˈjɛllu] *D imperf. 3rd m. sg. + 3rd pl.* he asks them; IV.12
	qəmšielā	[qm̩ˈʃiĕlɔ] *D imperf. 3rd f. sg.* she asks
	qəmšielʾ	[qm̩ˈʃiĕl] *D imperf. 3rd f. sg.* (contextual) she asks; II.31, II.15
	qəmšiyel	[qm̩ʃɪˈjɛl] *D imperf. 1st sg.* (contextual) I ask; III.20
š-$^{W}/_{y}$-m		***v.i.*** to perform ablutions (not attested in the classical language)
	šamni	[ˈʃɑmni] *G perf. 1st pl.* we performed our ablutions; III.9
š-$^{W}/_{y}$-ṯ		***v.t.*** to drink, suck; to smoke; CM **ŠTA** id. cf. Arabic *š-r-b* ‘to drink; to smoke (cigarettes, etc.)’ and Turkish *içmek* id.

	qəšit̠en	[ˈq͡ʃiːθɛn] *G imperf. 3rd pl.* they are smoking (hashish); VII.1, VII.6
Šabut		[ʃaˈbuθ] ***prop. n.*** name of Yusef (q.v.); II.11
šamᶜ		[ʃɑm] ***n.*** candle; Arabic *šamᶜ* id. via Persian *šam* id.; IV.20
šamnā		[ʃæmnɔ] ***n.*** fat; CM **šamina** id.
Šāmeš		[ˈʃɒmɛʃ] ***n.*** the sun and ***prop. n.*** the archon who governs the sun, one of the *šəb̠ihānā* (q.v.); identified with **adunai**, the god of the Jews; CM **šamiš** id.; IV.55, IV.83, IV.135
Šawāli		[ʃɑwɒˈliː] ***prop. n.*** Shāh Vāli, a town in northern Khuzestan, Iran, near Shushtar, and formerly the home of a large Mandaean population, the majority of which settled in Ahwaz; III.23
šehyānā		[ʃɛhˈjɔːnɔ] or [ʃɪhˈjɔːnɔ] ***n.*** ruler; king; prince; PCM **šihiana** id.; IV.9, IV.14, IV.16, IV.17, IV.22, IV.36, IV.38, IV.42, IV.64, IV.80, IV.81, IV.116
	šehyāni	[ʃɛˈhjɔːni] *indef.* ruler; IV.2
šekəl		[ˈʃɛkl̩] ***n.*** appearance; Arabic *šikl* id. and Persian *šekl* id.
	šekəl-da	[ˈʃɛkl̩da] + *3rd f.sg.* her appearance, II.33
šenā		[ʃɛˈnɔː] ***n.*** swimming; Persian *šenā* id.
šenā ᵓ-b̠-d		***v.i.*** to swim; Persian *šenā* ‘swimming,’ cf. Persian *šenā kardan* id.
	šenā əb̠adni	[ʃɛˈnɔː əˈwɑdni] *G perf. 1st pl.* we swam; III.9
šennā		[ˈʃɛnnɔ] ***n.*** tooth; CM **šina 1** id.
	šenāni	[ʃɛˈnɔːni] *pl.* + *3rd m.sg.* his teeth; V.12
šerrā		[ˈʃɛrrɔ] ***n.*** war (f.); possibly Arabic *širra* ‘disaster, calamity’
	šer horettā	[ʃɛɹ hoˈrɛttɔ] Second World War; III.2

šerrā ʾ-b̠-d		***vi.*** to wage war; possibly Arabic *širra* ‘disaster, calamity,’ cf. Persian *jang kardan* id.
šeršā		[ˈʃɛɹʃɔ] ***n.*** religion; CM **širša** ‘tribe; community; religion’
	šerš	[ʃɛɹʃ] (contextual) religion; I.3, III.12
	šeršan	[ˈʃɛɹʃæn] + *1st pl.* our religion; I.7, I.8, I.13
	šeršān	[ʃɛɹˈʃɔn] *pl.* (contextual) religions; I.13
šettā		[ˈʃɛttɔ] ***n.*** year; CM **šidta** id.; II.4, IV.34, IV.40, IV.43, IV.59
	šet	[ʃɛt] (contextual) year; II.4, III.1, III.18
šəb̠āb̠ā		[ʃəˈwɔːwɔ] ***n.*** neighbor; CM ***šababa** id.; X.13
	šəb̠āb̠āni	[ʃŭwɔˈwɔːni] + 3rd m.sg. his neighbors; X.1, X.3
	šəb̠āb̠ānan	[ʃəwɔˈwɔːnæn] + *1st pl.* our neighbors; I.14
šəb̠iāhā		[ʃəvɪˈjɔːhɔ] ***n.*** evil spirit; CM **šibiahia** ‘planets; archons;’ IV.13, IV.45
	šəb̠ihānā	[ʃəviˈhɔːnɔ] *pl.* evil spirits; IV.14, IV.15
šənārā		[ʃəˈnɔːrɔ] ***n.*** (tom) cat; CM **šunara** id.
	šənartā	[ʃəˈnaɹtɔ] *f.* (queen) cat; CM **šinarta** id.
šətā		See *eštā*
šiex		[ʃiĕχ] ***n.*** sheikh; Arabic *šayx* ‘old man;’ II.7, II.8, II.27, II.29
šlihā		[ˈʃliːhɔ] ***n.*** messenger, apostle; CM **šliha** id.; I.9
šom		See *ešmā*
Šom Yāwar		[ʃom ˈjɒwaɹ] ***prop. n.*** Name of Yāwar; CM **šum iauar** id.
Šom Heyyi		[ʃom ˈhɛɪji] ***prop. n.*** Name of Life; CM **šum hiia** id.
šub̠b̠ā		[ˈʃuwwɔ] ***quant.*** seven; CM **šuba** id.; III.18
Šuštar		[ˈʃuʃtæɹ] ***prop. n.*** Shushtar, a city in northern Khuzestan, formerly home to a large Mandaean population, the greater part of which settled in Khorramshahr; III.19, III.23, IV.2, IV.24, IV.30, IV.65, IV.68, IV.99, IV.103, IV.105, IV.105
	Šuštrāyā	[ʃʉʃˈtrɔːjɔ] ***adj.*** pertaining to the city of Shushtar

T

t-ḇ-r		***v.t.*** to break (down, spoil, destroy; CM **TBR** id.
	etḇer	[ˈɜtfɛɹ] *tG perf. 3rd m.sg.* it broke (middle); IX.12
t-l-$^{w}/_{y}$		***v.t.*** to pull; CM **TLA** id.
t-m-m		***v.i.*** to become; (+ *qār*) to give birth; CM **TMM** id.; see also *həyānā t-m-m, hāzér t-m-m, narm t-m-m, pešimān t-m-m, ser t-m-m, sewār t-m-m, tamām t-m-m, wayyeq t-m-m,* and *wel t-m-m*
	tam	[tæm] *G perf. 3rd m.sg.* he became; IV.30
	tam qāri	[tæm ˈqɔːri] *G perf. 3rd m.sg. + 3rd m.sg.* he gave birth to it; X.6, X.17
	tammon	[ˈtæmmon] *G perf. 3rd pl.* they remained; IV.144, IV.148
	tamini	[tæˈmiːni] *G perf. 1st pl.* we became; I.14
t-p̄-$^{w}/_{y}$		***v.t.*** to cook; CM **TPA 4** (from **APA 1**) id.
	tāp̄i	[ˈtɔːfi] *G subjv. 3rd m.sg.* he cooks; X.1
tā		[tɔ] *demonstr. pron.* that; PCM **ta** id.; IV.33, IV.39
tabliġí		[tæbliˈʁiː] ***adj.*** proselyte; Arabic *tablīġī* id. via Persian *tabliġi* id.; I.13
tafšā		[ˈtæfʃɔ] ***n.*** stewpot; Arabic *tafša* id.; X.10
tājér		[tɒˈʤɛɹ] ***n.*** merchant; Arabic *tājir* id. via Persian *tājér* id.; V.5, V.6, V.12, V.14, V.21, V.26
	tājéri	[tɒˈʤɛri] *indef.* a merchant; V.1
talgā		[ˈtælgɔ] ***n.*** snow, ice; CM **talga** id.
talg n-h-ṯ		***v.i.*** to snow; CM **talga** ‘snow,’ cf. Persian *barf āmadan* id.
tamām ʾ-ḇ-d		***v.t.*** to complete; Arabic *tamām* ‘perfection, completeness,’ via Persian *tamām* id., cf. Persian *tamām kardan* ‘to complete;’ see also *tamām t-m-m*
	tamām aḇdelli	[tæˈmɒm avˌdɛlli] *G perf. 3rd pl. + 3rd m.sg.* they completed it; IV.5

tamām t-m-m	***v.t.*** to be complete, finished; Arabic *tamām* ‘perfection, completeness,’ via Persian *tamām* id., cf. Persian *tamām tamām šodan* ‘to be complete;’ other tenses take *h-w-y*; see also *tamām ʾ-ḇ-d*
tamām tammā	[tæˈmɒm ˈtæmmɔ] *G perf. 3rd m. sg.* it was finished; IV.25
tamām qəhāwi	[tæˈmɒm qəˈhɔːvi] *G imperf. 3rd m. sg.* it will be finished
tarmidā	[taɹˈmiːdɔ] ***n.*** the first grade of the Mandaean priesthood; CM **tarmida** id.; IV.75, IV.88
tarmid	[taɹˈmid] (contextual) priest; IV.37, IV.82
tarmidi	[taɹˈmiːdi] *indef.* a priest; II.8, II.21, II.25
tarmidānā	[taɹmiˈdɔːnɔ] *pl.* priests; IV.81, IV.90
tel	[tɛl] ***n.*** hill; Arabic *tall* id. via Persian *tel* id.; V.18
təmānā	[təˈmɔːnɔ] ***quant.*** eight; CM **tmana** id.; II.4 (x2)
tiz	[tiz] ***n.*** sharp; Persian *tiz* id.
tren	[tren] quant. two; CM **trin** id.
tu	See *tum* 3
tul	See *tuṯ*
tulyā	[ˈtʌljɔ] ***n.*** worm; CM **tulita** id.
tum 1	[tum] ***conj.*** then, after that; (+ neg.) any longer; CM **tum 1** id.; II.12, IV.5, IV.21, IV.24, IV.61, IV.71, IV.79, VII.7, VI.4, VIII.7, VIII.13, IX.4
tum 2	[tum] ***prep.*** until, for (the duration of a period of time); CM **tum 1** ‘then;’ I.7, I.14 (x2), II.33, IV.3, IV.70, IV.87, IV.123, IV.126
tum 3	[tum] ***adv.*** again (follows noun), also; III.18, IX.2 [tu] ***adv.*** again (follows noun), also; BTA *tū* id.; III.21
turā	[ˈtuːrɔ] ***n.*** bull; CM **taura** id.
tureḵtā	[tuˈrɛχtɔ] ***n.*** cow (f.); CM **turita** id.
turtā	[ˈtʌɹtɔ] ***n.*** cow (f.); CM **turta** id.

	turāṯā	[tʌˈrɔːθɔ] *pl.* cows; IV.124, IV.142
tuṯ		***prep.*** under; CM **atutia** id.
	tul	[tul] under; IV.100
	tuṯi	[ˈtuːθi] + *3rd m.sg.* under it; VII.2

Ṭ

ṭ-l-b		***v.t.*** to ask; (+ *men*) to request s.o.; Arabic *ṭ-l-b* id.
	ṭəlab	[tˤəˈlɑb] *G perf. 3rd m.sg.* he requested; X.1, X.9
	qəṭāleb	[qəˈtˤɒːlɛb] *G imperf. 3rd m.sg.* he requested; VI.2
ṭ-l-l		***v.i.*** D to play; CM **ṬLL** id.; Tab. 1.5
	qəmṭallen	[qm̩ˈtˤɑllɛn] *G imperf. 3rd pl.* they play
	qəmṭallenni	[qm̩tˤɑlˈlɛnni] G *imperf. 1st pl.* (lexical) we play
	qəmṭallén	[qm̩tˤɑlˈlɛn] G *imperf. 1st pl.* (contextual) we play; II.4, II.13
ṭ-$^{w}/_{y}$*-ḥ*		***v.t.*** D to toss; Arabic *ṭ-w-ḥ* id.
	qəmṭāḥen	[qm̩ˈtˤɒːħɛn] *D imperf. 3rd pl.* they tossed; IV.19
ṭāḇā		[ˈtˤɔːwɔ] ***adj.*** good CM **ṭaba** id.; IV.38
ṭaḇuṯā ʾ-ḇ-d		***v.i.*** to hold a banquet; CM **ṭabu(ta)** ‘ritual food; a banquet’
	ṭaḇuṯā qāḇed	[tˤaˈwuːθɔ ˌqɒːvɛd] *G imperf. 3rd m.sg.* he holds a banquet; IV.22
ṭawšā		[ˈtˤɑʊʃɔ] ***n.*** dirt, ashes; CM **ṭupša** id.
ṭawšānā		[tˤɑʊˈʃɔːnɔ] ***adj.*** dirty; CM **ṭupšana** id.
ṭurā		[ˈtˤuːrɔ] ***n.*** mountain; CM **ṭura** id.
Ṭurā d-Madday		[ˈtˤuːrɔd madˈdaɪ] ***prop. n.*** the “Mountain of Media” (or “Median mountain country”); CM **ṭura ḏ-madai** id.

U

u		[u] ***conj.*** and (independent form); CM **u** id.; I.3, I.5 (x2) , I.6, I.9, I.10, I.11 (x2), I.13 (x2) , I.14 (x5), II.21, II.22, II.25 (x2), II.29, II.33, III.1 (x2), III.2, III.6, III.7, III.9, III.18 (x3), III.21, III.22, III.23 (x2), IV.16 (x2), IV.17, IV.18, IV.19, IV.20 (x2), IV.22, IV.28 (x2), IV.34, IV.35, IV.37, IV.40 (x2), IV.41, IV.44, IV.45, IV.47, IV.55, IV.59, IV.61, IV.64, IV.65, IV.70, IV.75, IV.76, IV.81 (x3),IV.82, IV.88, IV.98 (x3), IV.102 (x2), IV.103, IV.105, IV.109, IV.110, IV.116, IV.118 (x2), IV.123, IV.124 (x4), IV.128, IV.132, IV.137, IV.139 (x3), IV.142 (x3), IV.145, IV.148 (x2), IV.124, IV.137, IV.104, V.4, V.5, V.12, V.18, V.25, V.26, VI.2 (x4), IX.13, X.3, X.8, X.9
	wə-	[wə] and (proclitic); IV.17
	w-	[w] and (proclitic, before vowels); I.7, 1.8, III.22, IV.11, IV.16, IV.17, IV.84, IV.105, IV.108, V.18, VIII.15
	we-	[wɛ] and (proclitic, before clusters); I.12 (x2), I.14, II.33

W

w-		See *u*
w-d-$^{w}/_{y}$		***v.t.*** D to take; Arabic *w-d-ʿ* II ‘to see off, bid farewell’ or Arabic *w-d-ʿ* IV ‘to entrust’
	qəmwadink̠on	[qm̩vɛˈdinχon] *D imperf. 1st sg. + 2nd pl. suff.* I will take you; IV.119, IV.120, IV.121, IV.124
	qəmwadden	[qm̩ˈwɑddɛn] *D imperf. 3rd pl.* they take; III.3
	qəmwadyātan	[ˌqm̩wɑdˈjɔːtæn] *D imperf. 2nd sg. + 1st pl.* you take us; IV.122
	əmwadyātan	[ˌm̩wɑdˈjɔːtæn] *D subjv. 2nd sg. + 1st pl.* you take us; IV.118
w-$^{w}/_{y}$*-q*		***v.t.*** D to tie; cf. CM **HUQ 1** ‘to be distressed,’ cf. Aramaic *ʿ-y-q* id. and Arabic *ḍayyiq* ‘tight’
wa-lakin		[waˈlækɪn] ***conj.*** but; Arabic *wa-lākin* id.; IV.120
waḥši		[ˈwæħʃi] ***n.*** time; Arabic *waḥšī* “wild”
waxt		[væχt] ***n.*** time; Arabic *waqt* id. via Persian *vaxt* id.; IV.18
	awqāṯ	[aʊˈqɑθ] *pl.* times

	waxti ke	[ˈvæχtike] ***conj.*** when (lit. the time that); II.1, V.9
	ak̲ waxt	[ˈɑχwɑχt] then, that time; II.2, II.21, III.5, III.6, III.7, III.14, III.15, III.20
	kol waxt	[ˈkolwɑχt] always; I.13
wāy		***interject.*** woe; Arabic *wāy* id., Persian *vāy* id.
	wāylak̲	[ˈwɑɪlɑχ] + *2nd m.sg.* woe to you; VII.5a
wayyeq		[ˈvɑjjɛq] ***n.*** distress; CM **HUQ 1** ‘to be distressed,’ cf. Aramaic *ʿ-y-q* id. and Arabic *ḍayyiq* ‘tight;’ IV.8, IV.9, IV.28, IV.30, IV.86
wayyeq ʾ-ḇ-d		***v.t.*** to distress, threaten (+ *gāw* s.o.)
	wayyeq əḇad gāwwi	[ˈvɑjjɛq ɛˌvɑd ˈgɔʊvi] *G perf. 3rd m.sg.* he threatened him (lit. he made distress in him); IV.86
wayyeq ʾ-ṯ-$^{w}/_{y}$		***v.i.*** (+ *gāw*) to become upset, lit. distress came into s.o.
	wayyeq qāṯi gāwwi	[ˈvɑjjɛq ˈqɔːθi ˈgɔʊvi] *G imperf. 3rd m.sg.* he became upset (lit. distress came in him); IV.8, IV.9
wayyeq t-m-m		***v.i.*** to be distressed, lit. distress became in s.o.
	wayyeq tam gāwwu	[ˈvɑjjɛq tam ˈgɔʊwu] *G imperf. 3rd pl.* they were distressed (lit. distress became in them); IV.28, IV.30
wazir		[vɛˈzir] ***n.*** vizier; Arabic *wazīr* id. via Persian *vazir* id.
	wazirā́	[vɛziˈrɔː] pl. ministers; IV.11, IV.70, IV.73, IV.104, IV.109
wel t-m-m		[vɛl] ***n.*** loose, detached; Persian *vel* id.; 3.39
wel t-m-m		***v.i.*** to become loose, detached; Persian *vel šodan* id.
	wel tammat	[vɛl ˈtæmmɑt] *G perf. 3rd f.sg.* it (the leg) became loose; VII.5
welāt		[vɛˈlɔt] ***n.*** city, country; Arabic *wilāyah* ‘province’; cf. Kurdish *wilat*; III.11, IV.20, IV.83, IV.92, IV.99, IV.103, IV.124, V.20
	welāti	[vɛˈlɔːti] *rest.* the country (that); V.26
willā		[wɪlˈlɔː] ***interject.*** oh! (surprise); Arabic *wa-llāhi* id.; VII.8
wuṣle		[wʌsˤˈleː] ***n.*** piece; Arabic *wuṣla* ‘connecting piece, junction,’ via Persian *vosle* id.; IX.12

X

xabár	[χɑˈbaɹ] ***n.*** news, word; Arabic *xabar* id. via Persian *xabar* id.; IV.145
xabár məṭā qāru	[χɑˈbaɹ məˈtˤɔ ˈqɔːru] *G perf. 3rd m.sg.* word reached them; cf. Persian *xabar rasid ke* ‘word arrived that . . . ;’ IV.145
xabár ʾ-h-ḇ	***v.t.*** to inform; Persian *xabar dādan* id.
xabár qaheḇnaḵ	[χɑˈbaɹ qaˈhɛvnɑχ] *G imperf. 1st sg. + 2nd sg.* I will let you know; IV.87
xāle	[ˈχɒːle] ***n.*** (maternal) aunt; Arabic *xāla* id.
xālu	[ˈxɒːlu] n. (maternal) uncle; Arabic *xāl* id.
xāne	[ˈχɒːne] ***n.*** house; Persian *xāne* id.; III.12 (x2)
xarj ʾ-ḇ-d	***v.t.*** to spend (-*d*- s.t.); Persian *xarj kardan* id.
xarj-di əḇad	[ˈχaɹʒdi ˌwɑd] *G perf. 3rd m.sg. + 3rd m.sg.* he spent it; V.5
xiyābān	[χijɒˈbɔn] ***n.*** avenue; Persian *xiyābān* id.
xiyābānhā́	[χijɒbɔnˈhɒː] *pl.* avenues; III.22
Xorramšahr	[χorrɑmˈʃæɹ] ***prop. n.*** Khorramshahr, Persian name for Mohammerah after 1924; II.29
xorde	[χoɹˈdeː] ***adj.*** little; Persian *xorde* id.
xorde-xorde	[χoɹˈdeː χoɹˈdeː] ***adj.*** little by little
xuṭb	[χʌtˤ] ***n.*** letter; cf. Arabic *xuṭba* id.

Y

y-h-m		***v.i.*** to sit; CM **YTB** id.
	yəhem	[jəˈhɛm] *G perf.* 3^{rd} *m.sg.* he sat; VI.2
	yəhom	[jəˈhom] *G impv. m.sg.* sit; IV.140
	yəhomyon	[jəˈhomjon] *G impv. pl.* sit; I.5, IV.123, IV.123, IV.125
	yəhem	[jəˈhɛm] *G pass. ptc.* sitting; IV.144, VII.2
	yəhemye	[jəˈhɛmje] *G pass. ptc.* + 3^{rd} *m.sg. cop.* he is sitting; VI.3
	yəhimen	[jəˈhiːmɛn] *G pass. ptc. pl.* sitting; VII.6
	ayhimi	[aɪˈhiːmi] *C perf.* 3^{rd} *m.sg.* + 3^{rd} *m.sg.* he made him sit; IV.77
	ayhimu	[aɪˈhiːmu] *C perf.* 3^{rd} *m.sg.* + 3^{rd} *pl.* he made them sit; IV.76
y-l-p̄		Ahwaz variant of *ˀ-l-p̄* (q.v.)
y-m-$^{w}/_{y}$		***v.t.*** G to swear, C to promise; CM **YMA** id.
	yəmā	[jəˈmɔː] or [iˈmɔː] *G perf.* 3^{rd} *m. sg.* he swore; IV.121
	qəyāmet	[qəˈjɔːmɛt] *G imperf.* 2^{nd} *sg.* you swear; IV.119
	yəmi	[jəˈmiː] *G impv. m.sg.* swear; IV.120
	qəmayminak̲	[qəmaɪˈmiːnɑχ] *C imperf.* 1^{st} *pl.* + 2^{nd} *m.sg.* I promise you; VIII.16
ya		[jæ] ***quant.*** one, a (single); Persian *yak* id. and *ya* id.; III.16, IV.94, IV.125, V.1, V.4, V.8, V.21 (x2), VI.1, VI.3, VII.1, VII.2, VIII.1, IX.1, IX.2, X.1, X.9, X.10
	yeki	[ˈjɛki] ***indef. pron.*** someone; Persian *yaki* id.; II.10, III.8, VI.1, VI.3, VI.6, VII.2, VII.8, VIII.1, IX.1, IX.2
	yektā	[ˈjɛktɒ] ***adv.*** once; Persian *yak tā* ‘simple, single;’ III.18
yā		[jɒː] ***interject.*** oh (vocative); Arabic *yā* id.; IV.40, IV.23, VII.5
yaˁani		[ˈjaʕani] or [ˈjaːni] ***interject.*** meaning, that is to say, etc.; Arabic *yaˁni* ‘it means;’ II.2, II.29, II.32, III.14, III.18, III.18, III.23, V.11
Yabber		[ˈjæbbr̩] ***prop. n.*** Yabber, a friend of Nasser Sobbi, who accompanied him to Shushtar; III.8 (x2)
yabušā		[jæˈbuːʃɔ] ***adj.*** dry

yā		[jɔ] ***conj.*** or; Persian *yā* id.
yād		[jɔd] ***n.*** memory; Persian *yād* id.
	láqyādi	[ˈlɑqˌjɔːdi] *G neg. imperf. 3rd m.sg. + 3rd m.sg.* he doesn’t know; VII.4
	láqyāde	[ˈlɑqˌjɔːde] *G neg. imperf. 3rd m.sg. + 1st sg.* I don’t know; II.25 (x2)
	qəyādu	[qəˈjɔːdu] *G imperf. 3rd m.sg. + 3rd pl.* they know; IV.15
	láqyādu	[ˈlɑqˌjɔːdu] *G imperf. 3rd m.sg. + 3rd pl.* they don’t know; IV.10
yalup̄ā		[jæˈluːfɔ] ***n.*** scholar; CM **ialupa** orig. ‘disciple,’ hence ‘literate person, one who can read and write Mandaic’
	yəlup̄ānā	[jəluˈfɔːnɔ] *pl.* scholars; I.5
yaminā		[jɛˈmiːnɔ] ***adj.*** right; CM **iamina** id.
yammā		[ˈjæmmɔ] ***n.*** sea, lake; CM **iama** id.
yanqā		[ˈjænqɔ] ***n.*** infant; CM **ianqa** id.
yaroqā		[jæˈroːqɔ] ***adj.*** green; cf. CM **iaruqa** ‘herbs, green-stuff’
yeki		See *ya*
yektā		See *ya*
yəhuwəṭāyā		[jəhuwəˈtˤɔːjɔ] ***adj.*** Jewish; CM **iahuṭaiia** id.; I.12
yəmuṯā		[jəˈmuːθɔ] ***n.*** oath; cf. CM **ʿumamata** id.; IV.120
yumā		[ˈjuːmɔ] ***n.*** day; CM **iuma** id.; IV.123 (x2), IV.126, IV.128, IV.129
	ā yumā	[ɔˈjuːmɔ] ***adv.*** today; cf. CM **iumai** id.; I.7, IV.71
	yum	[jum] (contextual) day; I.7
	yumi	[ˈjuːmi] *indef.* a day; V.6, IX.2, X.1
Yusef		[ˈjuːsɛf] ***prop. n.*** Yusef, the bridegroom at the wedding in Khorramshahr, also known as Šabuṯ (q.v.); II.10, II.11

Z

z-ḇ-n		***v.t.*** G to buy, D to sell; CM **ZBN** id.
	zaḇnu	[ˈzɑvnu] *G perf. 3rd m.sg. + 3rd pl.* he bought them
	zabnu	[ˈzɑbnu] *D perf. 3rd m.sg. + 3rd pl.* he sold them; V.5
	qəmzabnen	[qm̩ˈzɑbnɛn] *D imperf. 1st pl.* we sell; III.4
	əmzabnen	[m̩ˈzɑbnɛn] *D subjv. 1st pl.* we sell; III.6
z-h-r		***v.t.*** D to protect; CM **ZHR** id.
	əmzaharla	[m̩zaˈhæɹla] *D subjv. 3rd m.sg. + 3rd f.sg.* may he protect her; II.35
z-m-r		***v.t.*** and ***v.i.*** to sing; CM **ZMR** id.
z-r-z		***v.t.*** to inform; CM **ZRZ** ‘to equip, be prepared’
	zarzat	[ˈzæɹzɑt] *G perf. 3rd f.sg.* she informed; I.6
zāġ		[zɒʁ] ***n.*** chicken; Arabic *zāġ* ‘crow’ via Persian *zāġ* id.
	zehunān	[zɛhuˈnɔ̃] *pl.* chickens; IV.142
	zehunānḵon	[zɛhuˈnɒnχon] *pl. + 2nd pl.* your chickens; IV.124
zahḇā		[ˈzæhwɔ] ***n.*** gold; CM **zahba** id.
zalilā		[zæˈliːlɔ] ***adj.*** narrow; CM **zalila** light, fine, slender; Tab. 1.5
zammā		[ˈzæmmɔ] ***n.*** blood; CM **zma** id.
zardoští		[zæɹdoʃˈtiː] ***adj.*** Zoroastrian; Persian *zardošti* id.; I.12
zip̄ā		[ˈziːfɔ] ***n.*** lie; CM **zipa** id.; cf. Arabic *zayf* ‘falseness’
	zip̄	[zif] (contextual) lie; IV.132, IV.134, IV.147, V.23, IX.1, IX.2, IX.14
zip̄ā ʾ-h-ḇ		***v.i.*** to lie, deceive; cf. Persian *farib dādan* id.
	zip̄ qāheḇ	[zif ˈqɔːhɛv] *G imperf. 3rd m.sg.* he lies; IV.132, IX.1, IX.2, IX.14
	zip̄ láqāheḇ	[zif ˈlɑˌqɔːhɛv] *G neg. imperf. 3rd m. sg.* he doesn’t lie; IV.134, IV.147
	zip̄ qahḇət	[zif ˈqɑhvɛt] *G imperf. 2nd sg.* you are lying; V.23

zip̄ānā		[ziˈfɔːnɔ] ***n.*** liar; CM **zipana** ‘false; cheat, deceiver;’ IX.13
	zip̄āni	[ziˈfɔːni] *indef.* a liar; IX.3
ziwā		[ˈziːwɔ] ***n.*** splendor; CM **ziua** id.; I.9
zobún		[zoˈbun] ***n.*** (under-)shirt; Persian *zobun* id.
	zobúni	[zoˈbuːni] + *3rd m.sg.* his undershirt; VIII.7

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