The Neo-Aramaic dialects are modern vernacular forms of Aramaic, which has a documented history in the Middle East of over 3,000 years. Due to upheavals in the Middle East over the last one hundred years, thousands of speakers of Neo-Aramaic dialects have been forced to migrate from their homes or have perished in massacres. As a result, the dialects are now highly endangered. The dialects exhibit a remarkable diversity of structures. Moreover, the considerable depth of attestation of Aramaic from earlier periods provides evidence for the pathways of change. For these reasons the research of Neo-Aramaic is of importance for more general fields of linguistics, in particular language typology and historical linguistics. The papers in this volume represent the full range of research that is currently being carried out on Neo-Aramaic dialects. They advance the field in numerous ways. In order to allow linguists who are not specialists in Neo-Aramaic to benefit from the papers, the examples are fully glossed.

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Cover image: Women in the village of Harbole, south-eastern Turkey (photograph taken by Brunot Poizat in 1978 before the village’s destruction).

Cover design: Anna Gatti
REMARKS ON SELECTED EXPONENTS OF THE 208-SWADESH LIST IN ṬUROYO

Eugene Barsky and Yulia Furman

Introduction

The present paper is a supplement to the 208-Swadesh list for Ṭuroyo published in Barsky, Furman and Loesov (2018). It discusses the following selected exponents of the list that were not included in the original publication: BIRD, HEAD, HUSBAND, MAN (MALE), MAN (HUMAN BEING), SUN, WIFE and WOMAN.

The lexical study is based on fieldwork conducted in Berlin and Gütersloh among the Ṭuroyo-speaking community (August 2016). Another source of our data is the published field corpus of Ṭuroyo, which mainly consists of the texts of H. Ritter (Ritter 1967, 1969 and 1971) and E. Prym and A. Socin (PrS).

The texts from the three Ritter volumes (Ritter 1967, 1969, 1971) will be cited by the number of text and sentence along with the speaker’s place of origin, e.g. 61:9, Kfarze. The texts from the Prym-Socin collection, which originate from one Midyat speaker, will be cited by page number and line, e.g. 21/3. The concepts of the Swadesh list will be given in small capitals, e.g. WOMAN, FAT.

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1 See the detailed introduction to the work on the Ṭuroyo Swadesh List in Barsky, Furman and Loesov (2018). The 208-Swadesh list is a modified version of the standard 207-Swadesh list (with one additional concept ‘to go’), which is a compilation of basic concepts used in comparative and historical linguistics for quantifying the interrelatedness of languages.
1. Bird

In Ṭuroyo, there are two main lexemes for the notion BIRD: safruno (RW 450) and ṭayro (RW 531), both in the published corpus and the data from our fieldwork.

Basically, safruno means SMALL BIRD, but it can also be used as a generic term for BIRD and as the name of a particular species: SPARROW.

Some of our informants use safruno in neutral contexts:

(1) kito ǧālabe šəklat d-safrune bu = ʾatr-aydan

kito ǧālabe šəklat d-safrune b-u = ʾatr-aydan
EXIST many species of-birds in-ART.MS = land-POSSII.1PL

‘There are many bird species in our land.’ (Mzizaḥ)

See also the following examples from the corpus:

(2) gzobat-le safruno mede aw ṭayrək mede b-lebe

g-zobat-le safruno mede aw ṭayrək
PRS-catch.ipfv2-3MS-DAT.3MS bird some or birdie

mede b-leb-e
some in-heart-POSSL.3MS

‘He thinks of a bird or a birdie.’ (94:436, ‘Iwardo)

The passage describes a game in which a participant thinks of a bird name and others are supposed to guess it. Later in the story,

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2 This represents the imperfective base also referred to as infectum, which, being bare or modified with affixes, appears in various functions (subjunctive, present, future, habitual past etc.).
Remarks on Selected Exponents of the 208-Swadesh List in Ṭuroyo

one of the participants reveals the name of the bird he thought of: flān safruno-yo ‘This is a certain bird’ (94:440, ‘Iwardo). It is clear that safruno is used here as a general term for BIRD.

In the same text, safruno appears in a list of birds inhabiting Ṭur-ʿAbdin and denotes SPARROW:

(3) \(af=fəʁhoṭe, \ d-kofayri-ste, \ hani-ne: \ (\ldots) \ safrune\)

\(af=fəʁhoṭe \ d-k-o-fayr-i-stε \ hani-ne \ safrune\)

\(\text{ART.PL} = \text{birds} \ \text{REL-PRS-fly.IPVF-3PL-too} \ \text{these-COP.3PL} \ \text{sparrows}\)

‘Flying birds are as follows: (…) sparrows.’ (94:223, ‘Iwardo)

It should be noted that the word fəʁhoṭe is employed here as a generic term for BIRD, which is not found anywhere else in the searchable corpus. It must be an adapted borrowing from Classical Syriac, which goes back to pāraḥtā ‘bird’ (SL 1236).

On the other hand, ṭayro means BIG BIRD, which can also be employed as a general term for BIRD and the name of a particular species: EAGLE. Consider the following examples for the meaning BIRD, both cited by our informants and found in the corpus:

(4) \(kit \ tamo \ ṭayro, \ bas \ mən \ ṭayro-yo, \ lə=kʃəraqno \ u=\ddot{g}_{əns} \ d-kọt\le\)

\(kit \ tamo \ ṭayro \ bas \ mən \ ṭayro-yo\)

\(\text{EXIST} \ \text{there} \ \text{bird} \ \text{but} \ \text{what} \ \text{bird-COP.3S}\)

\(lə=kʃəraq-no \ u=\ddot{g}_{əns}\)

\(\text{NEG = PRS-distinguish.IPVF-1MS} \ \text{ART.MS = sort}\)

\(d- \ kət \ le\)

\(\text{REL} \ \text{EXIST} \ \text{DAT.3MS}\)

‘There is a bird there, but I cannot distinguish what kind of bird this is.’ (Midyat)
Skandar learned the language of animals and birds."
(60:10, Kfarze)

Ṭayro may also refer to eagle. Some of our informants translated ‘Which kind of bird is this one? This is an eagle’ as

‘Which kind of bird is this one? This is an eagle.’

It is not clear why Ṭuroyo speakers (i.e. our informants and the informants for the corpus) choose ṭayro or safruno for denoting BIRD in neutral contexts. Both words can be used in the same situation regardless of the speaker’s origin. Nonetheless, safruno occurs more frequently in the speech of our informants. In the corpus, occurrences of ṭayro and safruno with the meaning of BIRD are only sporadic and occur roughly with the same frequency.

A comparable picture can be observed in Soqotri, a Modern South Arabian language, where two terms for BIRD exist: nóyahar and asféro. The former denotes ‘a generic small bird’ and the latter ‘a generic big bird.’ These words, however, can also be used synonymously. Furthermore, in the speech of L. Kogan’s informants, nóyahar denotes a generic bird, while asféro means a
Remarks on Selected Exponents of the 208-Swadesh List in Ṭuroyo

certain bird species, namely SPARROW (Kogan 2015,489). The semantic development of the term nóyər is similar to that of ṭayro: nóyər goes back to Proto-West Semitic *našr- ‘eagle’; ṭayro goes back to Middle Eastern Aramaic (MEA)³ ṭayrā ‘bird, raptor’.

2. Head

According to the data of the published corpus and according to our informants, qarʾo (RW 399) is the main word for HEAD in Ṭuroyo, whether of human beings or animals. Contrary to our expectations, rišo (RW 443) and qarʾo are rarely synonyms. Only one speaker from Midən and one from Bsorino employ rišo alongside qarʾo. In the corpus, however, a competition between the two words is observed in the texts from Midən, where qarʾo and rišo occur in the speech of the same speakers with equal frequency:

\[
(7) \quad \text{grəšle } u = \text{sayfo, qṭəʿle qarʾe}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{grəš-le} & \quad u = \text{sayfo} \quad \text{qṭəʿ-le} \\
\text{pull.PRET-3MS} & \quad \text{ART.MS = sword} \quad \text{cut_off.PRET-3MS}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\text{qarʾ-e}
\]

\[
\text{head-POSSI.3MS}
\]

‘He unsheathed the sword and cut his head off.’

(74:159, Midən)

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³ The term Middle Aramaic is employed here in accordance with the classification of Klaus Beyer (1984). It includes three Eastern Aramaic varieties (Classical Syriac, Classical Mandaic and Jewish Babylonian Aramaic) and three Western Aramaic idioms (Christian Palestinian Aramaic, Jewish Palestinian Aramaic and Samaritan Aramaic). The term corresponds to Late Aramaic in Fitzmyer’s taxonomy (Fitzmyer 1979).
(8)  \( d\)-qoyəm ... gqotə' rišə!
\( d\)-qoyəm  g-qotə'
if-stand_up.IPfv.3ms fut-cut_off.IPfv.3ms
riš-e
head-POSS.3ms

‘Had he got up, (the emir) would have cut his head off!’ (74:89, Midən)

(9)  \( i=\)kurke gməhyo ru̲ha bayne qar' e di= kurfayo
\( i=\)kurke  g-məhy-o  ruḫ-a
ART.fs = sitting_hen  PRS-throw.IPfv-3fs  REFL-POSS.3fs
bayne  qar'-e  d-i= kurf-ayo
between  head-EZ  of-ART.fs = snake-that.f

‘The sitting hen threw itself directly on the head of this snake.’ (JL 13.11.9, Midən)

(10)  riša xud-i=kaffe d-iḍi rabo paṭyo
riš-a  xud-i=kaffe  d-iḍ-i  rab-o
head-POSS.3fs  like-ART.fs = palm  of-hand-POSS.1s  big-ms
paṭy-o
wide-ms

‘Its (= the snake’s) head was as big and wide as the palm of my hand.’ (JL 13.11.7, Midən).

In published material other than the Midən texts, qar'ō occurs much more often than rišo as the exponent of HEAD. The word rišo, however, is still occasionally used alongside qar'ō. The word
Remarks on Selected Exponents of the 208-Swadesh List in Ṭuroyo

may occur in the stories told by the same informant. When rišo does appear, what motivates the speaker to use this less frequent variant is unclear to us. Consider the following examples below:

(11) kul naqqa koḥoyr bi qaqwoniṯo komər: “ma hawxa-yo?”

hiya koḥayzo qarɿə w kəmmo: “e!”

kul naqqa ko-ḥoyr b-i qaqwoniṭo
every time PRS-look.ipfv.3ms on-art.fs = partridge

k-omər ma hawxa-yo hiya ko-hayz-o
PRS-say.ipfv.3ms Q so-cop.3s she PRS-shake.ipfv-3fs

qarɿə w k-əmm-o e
head-poss.3fs and PRS-say.ipfv-3fs yes

‘Each time he looked at the partridge and said: “Is this so?”’, she noded and said: “It is!” (52:84, ‘Iwardo)

(12) “hawxa-yo lo?” həz-la riša: “e!”

hawxa-yo lo həz-la riš-a e
so-cop.3s no shake.pret-3fs head-poss.3fs yes

“This is so, is it not?” She noded: “It is!” (52:108, ‘Iwardo)

(13) hedi hedi hazwo qarɿe laq-əddam w laxalf

hedi hedi haz-wo qarɿ-e
slowly slowly shake.ipfv.3ms-pst head-poss.3ms

laq-əddam w laxalf
forth and back

‘He was shaking his head slowly back and forth.’ (11:231, Midyat)
(14)  harke ḥa, ayko d-maʿle riše, knəflo ‘ayne ‘al ‘ito

harke ḥa ayko d maʿle riš-e  
here one.M where lift.IPFV.3MS head-POSS.I.3MS

k-nəfl-o ‘ayn-e ‘al ‘ito  
PRS-fall.IPFV-3FS eye-POSS.I.3MS on church

‘Here, wherever one lifts his head, his eyes fall on a church.’ (11:74, Midyat)

It seems that rišo made way for qarʿo in the sense of HEAD and its usage shifted to the field of derived meanings and set expressions such as the following:

(15)  ‘top’:

saləq l-riše du=ṭuro

saləq l-riš-e d-u=ṭuro  
climb.PRET.3MS to-head-POSS.I.3MS of-ART.MS = mountain

‘He climbed to the top of the mountain.’ (115:89, Midēn)

(16)  ‘tip, point’:

mḥalle reše du=sayfo b-ʿayne

mḥa-lle reš-e d-u=sayfo b-ʿayn-e  
throw.PRET-3PL head-EZ of-ART.MS = sword into-eye-POSS.I.3MS

‘They thrusted the tip of the sword into his eye.’ (70:265, Iḥwo)
Remarks on Selected Exponents of the 208-Swadesh List in Ṭuroyo

(17) ‘end’:

\[ i = naqq\text{a} \text{ d-} \text{nāḥət} \text{ reše \text{ du} = ḥawlo} \text{ l-gabe, saləq \text{ bu} = ḥawlo lalʿəl} \]

\[ i = naqq\text{a} \text{ d nāḥət reš-e \text{ d-}u = ḥawlo} \]

\[ \text{when go\text{ down. PRET.3MS} head-EZ of-ART.MS = rope} \]

\[ \text{l-gab-e saləq b-u = ḥawlo lalʿəl to-side-POSSI.3MS go\text{ up. PRET.3MS with-ART.MS = rope up} } \]

‘As soon as the end of the rope was near him, he climbed up the rope.’ (69:222, Ḩwo)

(18) ‘leader, chief’:

\[ qrele \text{ lu = rišo dax = xodume, d-kətne gabe} \]

\[ qre-le \text{ l-u = rišo d-ax = xodume} \]

\[ \text{call.PRET-3MS to-ART.MS = head of-ART.PL = servants} \]

\[ d-kət-ne \text{ gab-e} \]

\[ \text{REL-COP-3PL side-POSSI.3MS} \]

‘He called the head of the servants that were with him.’ (81:55, Midən)

(19) a directional preposition ‘towards’:

a. \[ azzé \text{ u = faqirawo l-reše \text{ du} = təḡ̣ar} \]

\[ azzé \text{ u = faqir-awo l-reš-e} \]

\[ \text{go.PRET.3MS ART.MS = poor-that.M to-head-EZ} \]

\[ d-\text{u = təḡ̣ar} \]

\[ \text{of-ART.MS = merchant} \]

‘The poor went to the merchant.’ (108:44, Xarabe Məška)
b.  \( u = \text{babayde} \ldots \text{ḥakām-wa}. \text{hule xabro, lat = tāxetər kulle. latimi} \) \( \text{‘al riše w səmme u = zʿurano ʿamaliye} \)

\( u = \text{bab-ayde} \quad \text{ḥakām-wa} \quad \text{hu-le} \)

\( \text{ART.ms = father-POSSII.3ms} \quad \text{ruler-COP.PST.3s} \quad \text{give.PRET-3MS} \)

\( \text{xabro} \quad \text{l-at = tāxetər} \quad \text{kul-le latim-i} \quad \text{‘al word to-ART.pl = doctors all-3PL gather.PRET-3PL on} \)

\( \text{riš-e w səm-me u = zʿur-ano ʿamaliye head-POSSI.3MS and do.PRET-3PL ART.ms = boy-this.M surgery} \)

‘The father [of this boy] was a ruler. He called all the doctors. They gathered to him and performed a surgery on this boy.’ (60:244, Kfarze)

(20) in a number of set expressions,\(^4\) e.g.

a.  \( \text{mi = saye d-aloho, d-reše d-babayna w du = šulṭono, mede lo = fayəš bi = arʿo, d-l = axilan} \)

\( m-i = \text{saye} \quad \text{d-aloho d-reš-e d-bab-ayna} \)

\( \text{from-ART.fs = shadow of-god of-head-EZ of-father-POSSI.1PL} \)

\( w \quad \text{d-u = šulṭono mede} \)

and \( \text{of-ART.ms = sultan something} \)

\( \text{lo = fayəš} \quad \text{b-i = arʿo} \quad \text{d-l = axi-lan} \)

\( \text{NEG = remain.PRET.3MS in-ART.fs = land REL-NEG = eat.PRET-1PL} \)

‘[I swear] by the shadow of God, by our father’s head and by the sultan’s [head], nothing is left in the land that we would not have eaten.’ (105:47, Sedari)

\(^4\) See more in RW 443f.
b. \[\textit{zux li} = \textit{briṭay}, \textit{mḥay rišo b-em}, \textit{babi w tux!}\]

\textit{zux} \quad \textit{l-i} = \textit{briṭ-ay} \quad \textit{mḥay} \quad \textit{rišo}
\begin{align*}
go & \text{IMP.MS} & \text{to-ART.FS} & = \text{world-THAT.F} & \text{strike.IMP.S} & \text{head} \\
b-em & \text{IMP.MS} & \text{b-em} & \text{IMP.MS} & \text{babi} & \text{IMP.MS} & \text{w} & \text{tux} \\
\text{in-mother-POSSI.1S} & & \text{father-POSSI.1S} & & \text{and} & \text{come-IMP.MS}
\end{align*}

‘Go to that world, visit (lit. strike \textbf{the head} on) my mother and my father and come back!’

(58:118, Anḥil)

3. Man (male) and Husband

Both \textsc{man (male)} and \textsc{husband} can be rendered by \textit{gawro} (RW 171) and \textit{zlām} (RW 587). Apparently, \textit{gawro} was the main term for both \textsc{man (male)} and \textsc{husband} at the time when H. Ritter was collecting his texts. In the speech of our informants, however, \textit{zlām} conveys these meanings, except in the dialects of Midyat and Arkaḥ, where \textit{gawro} is still in use.

In the corpus (1960s) \textit{gawro} is the main term both for \textsc{man (male)} and \textsc{husband}, irrespective of the variety.

The core meaning of \textit{zlām} in the published texts is \textsc{man (person)}, but the word happens to denote \textsc{man (male)} and \textsc{husband} in a couple of passages:

(21) \[\textit{ādyawma ono, d-kətno barṭo, d-kətno ḥurma, hat d-kəttat zlām, d-kəttat gawro, l-mə gdoṭat l-gabi?}\]

\textit{ādyawma} \quad \textit{ono} \quad \textit{d-kətno} \quad \textit{barṭo} \quad \textit{d-kətno} \quad \textit{ḥurma}
\begin{align*}
today & & \text{REL-COP-1S} & \text{girl} & \text{REL-COP-1S} & \text{woman}
\end{align*}
‘I am a girl, an [unmarried] woman, and you are a man, a male, why have you come to me today?’ (105:98, Sedari)

(22)  i=naqqa d-huwwe i=bəšra li=emo, li=emo mbašalla u=babo: “ádyawma u=zlamayḏi ġgil!”

i=naqqa d huw-we i=bəšra
when give.pret-3pl art.fs = good_news

li=emo li=emo mbašal-la
to-art.fs = mother a-art.fs = mother report.pret-3fs

u=babo ádyawma u=zlam-ayḏi
art.ms = father today art.ms = husband-poss.1s

ţgil

speak.pret.3ms

‘After they had given the mother the good news, she reported it to her father: “Today my husband has begun to speak!”’ (111:44, Xarabe Məška).
Remarks on Selected Exponents of the 208-Swadesh List in Turoyo

Table 1: The meanings of *gawro* and *zlām*

|        | HUSBAND | MAN | Total tokens |
|--------|---------|-----|--------------|
| *gawro* | 143     | 37  | 306          |
| *zlām*  | 11      | 17  | 716          |

By contrast, *zlām* is the most frequent word for MAN (MALE) and HUSBAND used by our informants from Midān, Kfarze, Bsorino and Zaz. Midyat and Arkaḥ speakers employ only *gawro*, while a speaker from Mzizaḥ uses both words. Consider the following examples:

(23) \[ u = \text{zlamaydi} \ taxtor-yo \text{ (Midān) vs. } u = \text{gawraydi} \ doqtor-yo \text{ (Midyat)} \]

\[ u = \text{zlam-aydi} \ taxtōr-yo \]
\[ \text{ART.MS} = \text{husband-POSSII.1s} \text{ doctor-COP.3s} \]

\[ u = \text{gawr-aydi} \ doqtōr-yo \]
\[ \text{ART.MS} = \text{husband-POSSII.1s} \text{ doctor-COP.3s} \]

‘My husband is a doctor.’

(24) \[ l\text{-alo ho } xlaq\text{-le } \text{zlām (gawro) w pire} \]

\[ l\text{-alo ho } xlaq\text{-le } \text{zlām (gawro) w pire} \]
\[ \text{a-god create.PRET-3MS man man and woman} \]

‘God created man and woman.’ (Mzizaḥ)

(25) \[ \text{ḥamši } = \text{gawre w } \text{Əści } = \text{niše ko’ayši bi } = \text{qriṭaydan} \]

\[ \text{ḥamši } = \text{gawre w } \text{Əści } = \text{niše} \]
\[ \text{fifty } = \text{men and sixty } = \text{women} \]
Studies in the Grammar and Lexicon of Neo-Aramaic

ko-’ayš-i  b-i = qriṭ-ayḏan
PRS-live.IPfv.3pl  in-ART.FS = village-possII.1pl

‘Fifty men and sixty women live in our village.’ (Arkaḥ)

4. Man (Human Being)

The basic exponents of mankind as a human being, regardless of sex, are ənsān (RW 252) and nošo (RW 369).

In the searchable corpus, the main term is ənsān: we have found 80 tokens of ənsān meaning human being vs. only nine instances of nošo with the same sense. See the following examples:

(26)  uno ḥakimo-no, kul kewo, kul ʿelle, d-howe lu = ənsan,
uno kibi manəh-nola

uno ḥakimo-no  kul  kewo  kul ʿelle
I physician-cop.1s every illness every sickness

d-howe  l-u = ənsān  uno kib-i
REL-be.IPfv.3ms  to-ART.MS = human  I can-1s

manəh-no-la
cure.IPfv-1ms-3fs.p

‘I am a physician, I can cure any human illness and sickness.’ (24:65, Midyat)

(27)  hano latyo nošo, əlla hano kšobəh, d-kətyo malaxo m
d-aloho w qadišo

hano latyo  nošo  əlla hano k-šobəh
this.M  NEG.cop.3s  human  but  this.M  PRS-be_like.IPfv.3ms

5 Both words can also mean ‘somebody’.
Remarks on Selected Exponents of the 208-Swadesh List in Ṭuroyo

*d-kət-yo* malaxo *d-aloho* w qadišo
that-COP-3s angel from of-god and saint

‘He is not a human, but he looks like a holy angel of God.’ (35:47, ‘Iwardo)

In the contemporary usage of Ṭuroyo speakers, *nošo* is gaining ground as an exponent of MAN (HUMAN BEING). Some speakers use exclusively *nošo* in this meaning, some employ both words and some still use ənșăn.

Note that *noše* may be used as a plural of ənșăn, alongside ənsanat. Thus a speaker who invariably uses ənșăn for HUMAN BEING employs *noše* as its plural:

(28)  
\[ u = ənsan \text{ d-lo maye laybe ʿoyəš} \]
\[ u = ənsân \text{ d-lo maye layb-e ʿoyəš} \]
\[ \text{ART.MS = human without water NEG.can-3MS live.IPFV.3MS} \]

‘Man cannot live without water.’ (Midyat)

(29)  
\[ an = noše \text{ kibən məğğoli, ah = ḥayewən laybən məğğoli} \]
\[ an = noše \text{ kib-ən məğğol-i} \]
\[ \text{ART.PL = people can-3PL speak.IPFV-3PL} \]
\[ ah = ḥayewən \text{ layb-ən məğğol-i} \]
\[ \text{ART.PL = animals NEG.can-3PL speak.IPFV-3PL} \]

‘People can speak, but animals cannot.’ (Midyat)
5. Sun

The concept SUN has two exponents in the language, the inherited šəmšo (RW 496) and an innovative one that also means DAY, yawmo (RW 575). They are attested in the corpus conveying two different meanings: šəmšo is the source of warmth and sunshine, while yawmo is the source of daylight.

The basic meaning of the Turoyo word yawmo is DAY. In addition yawmo is used in published texts in connection with the sun’s movement across the sky, i.e. sunset and sunrise. In other words, yawmo denotes SUN as a moving celestial body, which is responsible for alternation of day and night. It is, therefore, closely associated with the idea of DAYTIME. In this meaning, yawmo occurs only within the following collocations:

5.1. Verbs

(30) ʿly ‘to go up’:

\[
\text{u} = \text{yawmo} \quad \text{ʿali}
\]

\text{ART.MS} = \text{sun} \quad \text{rise.PRET.3MS}

‘The sun rose.’ (8:4; 28:105)

(31) gny ‘to set (about sun)’:

\[
\text{gani} \quad \text{yawmo}
\]

\text{set.PRET.3MS} \quad \text{sun}

‘The sun set.’ (28:103; 65:451; 88:80; 90:24, 34)

(32) nfq ‘to go out’:

\[
\text{awwol d} \quad \text{nofsq} \quad \text{u} = \text{yawmo}
\]

\text{as soon as} \quad \text{go_out.IPVF.3MS} \quad \text{ART.MS} = \text{sun}

‘As soon as the sun rose.’ (29:349; 58:201)
(33) qlb ‘to roll over’:

\[
\text{qaləb} \quad u = \text{yawmo}
\]

roll\_over.PRET.3MS ART.MS = sun

The sun set.’ (8:13)

(34) slq ‘to ascend’:

\[
k\text{o-saləq} \quad u = \text{yawmo}
\]

PRS-ascend.PRET.3MS ART.MS = sun

‘The sun is going to rise.’ (LB 251)

(35) ṭwʿ ‘to sink’:

\[
\text{ṭawəʿ} \quad u = \text{yawmo}
\]

set.PRET.3MS ART.MS = sun

‘The sun set’ (61:149; 62:273; 69:407, 525; 89:34, 35, 36; 97:64; 98:44; 102:47, 48; 112:12, 78)

Consider a few examples:

(36) mḥawrable me ṣafrayto, hul ṭawəʿ \( u = \text{yawmo} \)

mḥawrab-le me ṣafrayto hul

fight.PRET-3MS from morning till

\[
\text{ṭawəʿ} \quad u = \text{yawmo}
\]

set.PRET.3MS ART.MS = sun

‘He was fighting from morning till sunset.’ (98:44, Arkaḥ)
Studies in the Grammar and Lexicon of Neo-Aramaic

(37)  \[ \text{gani } u = \text{yawmo}, \ l = \text{aty} = \text{torto} \]

\[ \begin{align*}
gani & \quad u = \text{yawmo} \\
\text{set.PRET.3MS} & \quad \text{ART.MS} = \text{sun} \\
i & = \text{torto} \\
\text{ART.FS} & = \text{cow} \end{align*} \]

‘The sun set, but the cow had not yet come.’ (90:24, unknown)

5.2. Nouns

(38)  \[ \text{gneto}/\text{gnayto}: \]

\[ \begin{align*}
gnete/\text{gnayte} & \ d=\text{yawmo} \ ‘\text{sunset’} \ (11:51; 65:299) \end{align*} \]

(39)  \[ \text{gyot}o: \]

\[ \begin{align*}
gyote & \ d=\text{yawmo} \ ‘\text{sunset’} \ (\text{LB 75}) \end{align*} \]

(40)  \[ \text{sloqo}: \]

\[ \begin{align*}
sloqe & \ d=\text{yawmo} \ ‘\text{sunrise’} \ (73:353) \end{align*} \]

(41)  \[ \text{two’o}/\text{twa\text{"o}to}: \]

\[ \begin{align*}
two’e/twahte & \ d=\text{yawmo} \ ‘\text{sunset’} \ (11:171; 29:274; 58:201; 63:15; 69:31, 148, 407, 487, 519, 522, 524; 91:8; 23; 96:136, 157; 113:83) \end{align*} \]

Cardinal points can be expressed with \textit{yawmo}-collocations as well:
Remarks on Selected Exponents of the 208-Swadesh List in Ṭuroyo

(42) ‘east’:

\[\text{nfeqte } d\text{-yawmo (11:22, 24; 26:145; 61:241; 91:53; 92:10);}\]
\[\text{sloqe } d\text{-yawmo (74:49; 75:53, 54; 115:1, 162)}\]

(43) ‘west’:

\[\text{two‘e/twahte } d\text{-yawmo (61:241; 92:12);}\]
\[\text{gnete } d\text{-yawmo (26:145);}\]
\[\text{gyote } d\text{-yawmo (73:240; 75:53; 78:190)}\]

5.3. From Day to Sun

We must admit that the semantic boundary between the concepts of DAY and SUN as a source of daylight is very blurred. Yawmo in all the examples above can also be interpreted as ‘day, daylight’ in a metaphorical sense.

The only case where the features of šəmšo, i.e. the sunshine, are attributed to yawmo is an expression used for describing the outstanding beauty of a human being.

(44) \[\text{kətle } ḥdo \text{ barto } bəlhude. kəmmo } \underline{\text{lu=yawmo}}: \underline{\text{“taxər}} \text{ d-ubono } šawq \; \underline{\text{‘al i=mamlake}} \; \underline{\text{m-darbux!”}}\]

\[\begin{align*}
\text{kət-} & \quad \text{ḥdo} & \quad \text{bar } & \quad \text{bəlhude} \\
\text{EXIST-DAT.3MS} & \quad \text{one.F} & \quad \text{daughter} & \quad \text{alone} \\
\text{k-əmm-o} & \quad l-u=\text{yawmo} & \quad \text{taxər} \\
\text{PRS-say.IPVF-3FS} & \quad \text{to-ART.MS= sun} & \quad \text{mover_over.IMP.S} \\
\text{d-ub-o-no} & \quad šawq & \quad \underline{\text{‘al}} & \quad \underline{\text{i=mamlake}} \\
\text{that-give.IPVF-F-1S} & \quad \text{sunshine} & \quad \text{over} & \quad \text{ART.FS= country}
\end{align*}\]
Studies in the Grammar and Lexicon of Neo-Aramaic

m-darb-ux
in_place-POSSI.2MS

‘He had only one daughter. [She was so beautiful that she could] tell the sun: “Move over so that I can give sunshine to the country in place of you!”’ (28:71, Midyat)

(45) kale xort, ‘umre arbahşar = şne, hama, komalle lu = yawmo: “nḥat, d-oţeno l-duktux!”

kal-e xōrt ‘umr-e arbahşar = şne
PRES-3MS boy life-POSSI.3MS fourteen = years

hama ko-mal-le l-u = yawmo
DM PRS-say.IPFW.3MS-DAT.3MS to-ART.MS = sun

nḥat d-oţe-no l-dukt-ux
descend.IMP.S that-come.IPFW-1MS to-place-POSSI.2MS

‘There was a boy of fourteen years old, [he was so handsome that he could] tell the sun: “Come down so that I can occupy your place!”’ (95:87, Xarabe Kafre).

As for şəmşo, it conveys the sense of ‘the source of warmth and sunshine’:

(46) yawmo d-qayto-yo, hawa basəmt-o-yo. i = şəmşo kmabrqo w kobo šḥanto l-hawîr

yawmo d-qayto-yo hawa basəm-to-yo
day of-summer-COP.3S weather pleasant-FS-COP.3S

i = şəmşo k-mabrq-o w k-ob-o
ART.FS = sun PRS-shine.INFECT-3FS and PRS-give.IPFW-3FS
Remarks on Selected Exponents of the 208-Swadesh List in Turoyo

šḥanṯo  l-hawīr
warmth  to-around

‘It is a summer day. The weather is pleasant. The sun shines and heats up the air.’ (4:11, Midyat)

(47)  \( u = \text{sawko} \ kə-mḥafəḏ\ u = \text{qarʿo} \ mi = šəmšo, \ mu = məтро w šmənto maḏ = čarbat w mu = ḡroḥo \)
\( u = \text{sawko} \ kə-mḥafəḏ\ u = \text{qarʿo} \)
\( \text{ART.MS = hair} \ \text{PRS-protect.PFV.3MS} \ \text{ART.MS = head} \)
\( m-i = šəmšo \ m-u = məтро \ w šmənto \)
\( \text{from-ART.FS = sun} \ \text{from-ART.MS = rain} \ \text{and} \ \text{little} \)
\( m-aḏ = čarbat \ w m-u = ḡroḥo \)
\( \text{from-ART.PL = blows} \ \text{and} \ \text{from-ART.MS = injury} \)

‘The hair protects the head from the sun, the rain and, to some extent, from blows and injury.’ (3:5, Midyat)

Moreover, šəmšo by itself can mean ‘shine’, e.g., in \( i = šəmšo \ du = šahro \ ‘the shining of the moon’ \) (115:128, Midən; JL 7:7:9, Midən).

These two components of the sun concept are in complementary distribution in the published texts: šəmšo is never used in the collocations associated with yawmo; yawmo almost never means ‘the warmth and the shining of the sun’ (except for the set expression mentioned above).

As for the answers from our informants, the usage varies. The word šəmšo can be used in the yawmo-collocations and, moreover, yawmo can mean a celestial body. Consider their translations of the following sentences:
‘The sun set, but the cow had not yet come home.’

\[ gani \, yawmo \, w \, heš \, tərto \, \text{lo} = \text{maḥwe-la} \ (\text{Midyat}) \]

\[ gani \quad \text{set.PRET.3MS} \quad \text{yawmo} \quad \text{w} \quad \text{heš} \quad \text{tərto} \quad \text{lo} = \text{maḥwe-la} \]

\[ \text{NEG} = \text{appear.PRET-3FS} \]

\[ təwə̌ \, u = \text{yawmo} \quad i = \text{tərto} \quad \text{heš} \quad \text{lo} = \text{daʿiro} \quad \text{lu} = \text{bayto} \ (\text{Midyat}) \]

\[ təwə̌ \quad u = \text{yawmo} \quad i = \text{tərto} \quad \text{heš} \quad \text{lo} = \text{daʿiro} \quad \text{lu} = \text{bayto} \quad \text{NEG} = \text{return.PRET-3FS} \quad \text{to-ART.MS} = \text{house} \]

\[ u = \text{yawmo} \quad təwə̌ \quad \text{elo} \quad i = \text{tərto} \quad \text{he} \quad \text{lo} = \text{daʿiro} \quad \text{lu} = \text{bayto} \ (\text{Mzizaḥ}) \]

\[ u = \text{yawmo} \quad təwə̌ \quad \text{elo} \quad i = \text{tərto} \quad \text{he} \quad \text{lo} = \text{daʿiro} \quad \text{lu} = \text{bayto} \quad \text{NEG} = \text{return.PRET-3FS} \quad \text{to-ART.MS} = \text{house} \]

\[ i = \text{šəmšo} \quad \text{tawi}̆o \quad \text{bas} \quad i = \text{tərto} \quad \text{l} = \text{atyo} \quad \text{lu} = \text{bayto} \ (\text{Arkah}) \]

\[ i = \text{šəmšo} \quad \text{tawi}̆o \quad \text{bas} \quad i = \text{tərto} \quad \text{lo} = \text{atyo} \quad \text{lu} = \text{bayto} \quad \text{NEG} = \text{come.PRET-3FS} \quad \text{to-ART.MS} = \text{house} \]

‘The sun rose.’
w saləq yawmo (Midyat)

w saləq yawmo
and ascend.PRET.3MS sun

nafiqo i = šəṃšo (Midyat)

nafiq-o i = šəṃšo
go_out.PRET.3FS ART.FS = sun

u = yawmo nafəq = ste (Mzizaḥ)

u = yawmo nafəq-ste
ART.MS = sun go_out.PRET.3MS-too

i = šəṃšo saliqo (Arkah)

i = šəṃšo saliq-o
ART.FS = sun ascend.PRET.3FS

(50) ‘The Sun is one of the stars.’

i = šəṃšo-ste kəkwo mak = kəkwe di = šmayo-yo (Midyat)

i = šəṃšo-ste kəkwo m-ak = kəkwe
ART.FS = sun-too star from-ART.PL = stars

d-i = šmayo-yo
of-ART.FS = sky-COP.3S

i = šəṃšo kəkwo-yo bayne d-kəkwe (Midyat)

i = šəṃšo kəkwo-yo bayne d kəkwe
ART.FS = sun star-COP.3S among stars

u = yawmo kəkwo-yo bayne d-kəkwe (Mzizaḥ)

u = yawmo kəkwo-yo bayne d kəkwe
ART.MS = sun star-COP.3S among stars
Studies in the Grammar and Lexicon of Neo-Aramaic

\[ i = \text{šəmšo} \ kəkwo-yo \ b-bayn \ d-kəkwe \ (\text{Arkaḥ}) \]

\[ i = \text{šəmšo} \ kəkwo-yo \ b-bayn \ d \ kəkwe \]

\text{ART.FS} = \text{sun} \quad \text{star-COP.3S} \quad \text{in-among} \quad \text{stars} \]

A semantic shift \textsc{day} \to \textsc{sun} is known in various languages of the world, in particular in Kurmanji, where \text{roj} is the basic word for both \textsc{day} and \textsc{sun} (Chyet 521, 733, 826). In some of NENA, the MEA \text{*yawmā} also acquired the meaning ‘sun’: Barwar \text{yoma} (Khan 2008, 1451); C. Urmi \text{yuma} (Khan 2016, vol. 3, 342). In Modern South Arabian languages PS \text{*yawn-} \textsc{day} has become the main word for \textsc{sun} (Kogan 2015, 541).

\section*{6. Woman and Wife}

The Midyat (\textit{mədynoyo}) and the village (\textit{quryoyo}) dialects of Ṭuroyo have their own sets of basic words for the concepts of \textsc{woman} and \textsc{wife}. These notions can often be rendered by the same words. However, the relationship between the words for \textsc{woman} and \textsc{wife} within both sets is complex. Through a few illustrative passages we shall discuss the meaning and the dialectal distribution of the words \textit{aṯto} (RW 39), \textit{ḥurma} (RW 246), \textit{žənəke} (RW 257) and \textit{pire} (RW 382).

\subsection*{6.1. Midyat Dialect}

The basic \textit{mədynoyo} word for \textsc{wife} is \textit{aṯto}. However, \textit{aṯto} is almost never used as a form of address in direct speech when the speaker addresses his wife. For this purpose the word \textit{žənəke}, which usually means \textsc{woman}, is used as in the example below:

\begin{exe}
\item \texttt{ašriye ati lu=bayto. millela li=aṭṭo, omər: “žənəke!”}
\end{exe}

\begin{exe}
\item \texttt{ašriye \ ati \ lu=bayto}
\end{exe}

\begin{exe}
\texttt{evening \ come.PRET.3MS \ to-ART.MS=house}
\end{exe}
Remarks on Selected Exponents of the 208-Swadesh List in Turoyo

mól-le-la        l-i = aṭṭo        omər
say.PRET-3MS-DAT.3FS     to-ART.FS = wife    say.IPFV.3MS

žənəke
woman

‘In the evening, he came home and called his wife: “Wife!”’ (PrS 12/21)

It should be noted that žənəke is a general form of address that can refer to any female person. Aṭto is a generic term for a human female, WOMAN (FEMALE), but it is only rarely used to denote a referential female person, WOMAN (PERSON). This function is performed by žənəke.

(52)  l = ədʿiwo,  d-kətyo aṭṭo, ḥəšwiwola gawro. mu = sabab
d-aḡ = ḡule  d-u = gawro aʿla-wayye

l = ədʿi-wo       d-kət-yo        aṭṭo
NEG = know.IPFV-3P-PST     that-COP-3S     woman

ḥəšwi-woord-gawro  m-u = sabab
think.IPFV-3PL-PST-3FS.P     man     from-ART.MS = reason

d-aḡ = ḡule     d-u = gawro     aʿl-a-wayye
that-ART.PL = clothes     of-ART.MS = man     on-POSSI.3FS-COP.3PL

‘They did not know that she was a woman, they were thinking [she was] a man, because she dressed in men’s clothes.’ (24:178, Midyat)

(53)  u = ḥa yawmo atyo žənəke sawto w faqərto, mlaʿela w tlobla meni i = odayaṭe

u = ḥa    yawmo    atyo-    žənəke
ART.MS = one.M     day     come.PRET-3FS     woman
'One day an old and poor woman came, begging and asking me [to rent out] this room.' (2:64, Midyat)

Compare, however, also:

(54) qayəm u=Bardawil, azzé li=walay, mšaye-le m-ḥḍo ʿatto, omər: “l-ma mahzam-le an=nīšayḏan?”

qayəm u=Bardawil azzé l-i=walay
get.up.PRET.3MS ART.MS=PN go.PRET.3MS to-ART.FS=town

mšaye-le m-ḥḍo ʿatto omər
ask.PRET.3MS from-one.F woman say.IPFV.3MS

l-ma mahzam-le an=nīš-ayḏan
why abduct.PRET.3MS ART.PL=women-POSS.1PL

‘Bardawil came to the town and asked one woman: “Who has abducted our wives?”' (PrS 40/12-14)

Niše/neše is a suppletive plural used for both WOMAN and WIFE in the Midyat dialect of Ṭuroyo.

Hurma occurs two times in Ritter’s corpus meaning WOMAN. Pire is found in the Prym-Socin collection only with the meaning of OLD WOMAN.
6.2. Village Dialects

There are two prominent words for *wife* in *quryoyo*: *atto* and *ḥurma*. Though *ḥurma* occurs quite often in the published corpus, *atto* is attested in the meaning of *wife* at least twice as much as *ḥurma* is:

|                  | Midën | ‘Iwardo | Kfarze | Anḥil |
|------------------|-------|---------|--------|-------|
| *atto* ‘wife’    | 65    | 55      | 80     | 13    |
| *ḥurma* ‘wife’   | 21    | 10      | 34     | 8     |

An exception is constituted by two villages of the Raite region dialectal cluster—Xarabe Məška and Xarabe Kafre—where *ḥurma* is a basic word for *wife*, as shown in Table 3.

|                  | Raite |
|------------------|-------|
|                 | XM    | S     | Ḥwo   | XK    | A     |
| *atto* ‘wife’    | 12    | 22    | 13    | 1     | 12    |
| *ḥurma* ‘wife’   | 35    | 6     | 4     | 4     | 8     |

As in *məḏyoyo*, *atto* is not used as a form of address for *wife* in direct speech. Ḣurma takes on this function. Consider the following example:

(55)  ṛqayem sḏeš le = *atto* d-ruḫe, məlle: “ya Ḣurma! ḫaṭino qumax, koba’no d-’ofatli”

```plaintext
rqayem sḏeš le l-i = *atto*
get_up.PRET.3MS bow.PRET.3MS to-ART.FS = wife
```
d-ruḥ-e    mol-le    ya  ḫurma
of-REFL-POSSI.3MS  say.PRET-3MS  VOC  woman

ḥati-no    qum-ax    k-oba‘-no
sin.PRET-1MS  before-POSSI.2FS  PRS-want.IPVF-1MS

d-‘of-at-li
that-forgive.IPVF-2S-1S.P

‘He got up, bowed to his own wife and said: “Wife! I’ve sinned against you, I want you to forgive me.”’ (62:349, Kfarze)

Ḥurma is used as a general form of address for any female person (wife, mother, familiar or unfamiliar woman).

Occasionally, pire and żənəke can also mean wife.

The basic word for woman (female) as well as for woman (person) in the village dialects is ḫurma. Consider the following examples:

(56)  mqadamla l-gab Farxuṣaf, molla: “ya i=ḥọt-aydi! hawo d-mamṭelelax, ono ḫurma-no”

mqadam-la    l-gab    Farxuṣaf
come_near.PRET-3FS  to-side  PN

mol-la    ya  i=ḥọt-aydi
say.PRET-3FS  VOC  ART.FS = sister-POSSII.1S

hawo  d-mamṭe-le-lax    ono  ḫurma-no
this.M  that-bring.PRET-3MS-2FS.P  I  woman-COP.1S

‘She came near to Farxuṣaf and said: “O, my sister! The man who brought you [there], [i.e.] I, is [actually] a woman.”’ (62:350, Kfarze)
Remarks on Selected Exponents of the 208-Swadesh List in Turoyo

(57) *kətwa ḥdo ḥurma, kurdiye, əmmíwayle Ḥore*

exist-PST one.F woman Kurdish.f

Say.IPV-PST-3FS.P PN

‘There was a Kurdish woman, named Ḥore.’ (80:2, Midən)

The word *pire* can hardly have a claim on the status of basic word for WOMAN in any of the village varieties in Ritter’s corpus. Though it is more popular in the dialects of the Raite region, as shown in Table 4 below, *ḥurma* still holds its position as the main word for WOMAN. The more typical meaning of *pire* is OLD WOMAN. It should be noted, however, that *pire* is the only word for WOMAN found in Jastrow’s Lehrbuch (JL) texts, which represent the Midən variety of Turoyo. Two of our informants, one from Midən and the other from Bsorino, consistently used *pire* in their replies.

| Table 4: *pire* across dialects |
|--------------------------------|
| Raite   | Midən | Kfarze |
|---------|-------|--------|
| XM   | S    | Ḥwo  | XK | A |
| pire ‘old woman’ | 5 | 4 | 0 | 8 | 1 | 58 |
| pire ‘woman’     | 2 | 5 | 1 | 2 | 6 | 0 |

*Žənake* is yet another secondary word for WOMAN (PERSON) in quryoyo. It is worth mentioning that in Anḥil, it is used even more frequently than *ḥurma* (11 tokens of *žənake* vs. 4 tokens of *ḥurma*).

*Niše/neše* and *pirat* are suppletive plurals for both WOMAN and WIFE. *Pirat* is more common in the dialects of the Raite region.
Studies in the Grammar and Lexicon of Neo-Aramaic

Niše/neše is attested in all the village varieties, especially in Kfarze and Anḥil, where pirat is only rarely used. In the dialects where both niše/neše and pirat are present, the former word stands for WOMAN and WIFE, while the latter one merely means WOMAN.

6.3. Summary

To summarise, ṣṭṭo is the basic word for WIFE and WOMAN (FEMALE) in the Midyat dialect. Žənəke is the main word for WOMAN (PERSON) which can also be used as a form of address for any female person, including a wife. Niše/neše are suppletive plurals for both WOMAN and WIFE.

In the village dialects, the basic words for WIFE are ṣṭṭo and ḫurma depending on the variety. ḫurma is the main exponent of the notions WOMAN (FEMALE) and WOMAN (PERSON), which can be used as a form of address for female persons including wife. Pire is the main word for WOMAN (both FEMALE and PERSON) in some modern Ṭuroyo dialects (Midən, Bsorino). Niše/neše and pirat are suppletive plurals for WOMAN and WIFE.

7. Etymology

The following list shows our suggested etymologies of the lexemes in the previous discussion:

(1) BIRD

safruno < MEA: ṣeprōnā ‘little bird’ (SL 1299); ṣipronā ‘bird, fowl’ (DJBA 962); ṣipra ‘little bird, sparrow’ (MD 394), ṣupra, ṣuprina idem, colloq. dimin. (MD 390).

ṭayro < MEA: Syriac ṭayrā ‘bird’ (SL 528).

(2) HEAD

rišo, rešo < MEA: rēšā ‘head’ (SL 1462); rēšā ‘head, top part’ (DJBA 1078); riša ‘head, top’ (MD 434).
Remarks on Selected Exponents of the 208-Swadesh List in Ṭuroyo

$qar’o$: see Arab. $qar’_c$ ‘gourd’ and $qar’a$ ‘gourd, skull, head’ (DMWA 887–888), $qar’_a$ ‘Kürbis’ (VW II 116), $qar’_a$ ‘Kürbis’ (Kinderib 113) and Syriac $qar’_ā$ ‘gourd’ and $qar’tā$ ‘skull’ (SL 1414), the latter is considered a borrowing from Arabic. Tezel (2003, 119) assumes $qar’_o$ to be an Arabic loanword. See also a discussion in Tezel (2003, 117ff).

(3) MAN, HUSBAND

$gawro$ < MEA: $gaḇrā$ ‘man, person, husband’ (SL 202); $gaḇrā$ ‘man, husband’ (DJBA 258); $gabra$ ‘man’ (MD 73).

$zlām$ < Kurd. $zilam$ ‘man’ (Chyet 691). The Kurdish word must be a borrowing from Arabic, see EALL II: 606.

(4) HUMAN BEING

$ənsān$ < Arab.: $insān$ ‘man, human being’ (DMWA 39).

$nošo$ < MEA: $nāšā$ ‘man, human beings’ (SL 65); $ināšā$ ‘man’ (DJBA 120); (a)$naša$ ‘human being’ (MD 24).

(5) SUN

$šəmšo$ < MEA: $šemšā$ ‘sun’ (SL 1576); $šimšā$ ‘sun, sunlight’ (DJBA 1136); $šamšā$ ‘sun’ (MD 443).

$yawmo$ < MEA: $yawmā$ ‘day’ (SL 568); $yōmā$ ‘day, sun’ (DJBA 529); $iuma$ ‘day’ (MD 190).

(6) WOMAN, WIFE

$attō$ < MEA: $attā$ ‘woman, wife’ (SL 66); $ittōṭā$ (DJBA 128); ‘nta ‘woman, wife’ (MD 354). Nöldeke (§ 146) posits $attā$ for Syriac (as against $attā$, expected etymologically), yet the Ṭuroyo form is not the expected regular descendant (in terms of historical phonology) of any of the aforementioned MEA words.
ḥurma < Arab.: ḥurma ‘that which is holy, inviolable; woman, lady, wife’ (DMWA 201); ḥərme (pl. ḥarîm) ‘femme (appartenant à un homme)’ in Mardin Arabic (Grigore 2007, 196); ḥərme, pl. ḥəram ‘femme’, lat. fœmina, mulier, uxor (DAS 154).

pire < Kurd.: ḫûr ‘old woman; wife’ (Chyet 464).

ţənêke < Kurd.: jin ‘woman; wife, married woman’ (Chyet 290). The source form must be the indefinite oblique jînekê.

Abbreviations

Languages and Dialects

| Language | Abbreviation |
|----------|--------------|
| Arabic | Arab. |
| Iḥwo | Ḧwo |
| Kurdish | Kurd. |
| Middle Eastern Aramaic | MEA |
| North Eastern Neo-Aramaic | NENA |
| Proto-Semitic | PS |
| Sedari | S |
| Ṭuroyo | Tur. |
| Arkaḥ | A |
| Xarabe Kafre | XK |
| Xarabe Məşka | XM |
Glossing Abbreviations not in the Leipzig Glossing List

DM discourse marker
EXIST existential
EZ ezafe
PN personal name
POSS possessive suffix
PRET preterite

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Chyet Chyet, Michael L. 2003. *Kurdish-English Dictionary*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.

DAS Barthélemy, Adrien. 1969. *Dictionnaire Arabe-Français*. Dialectes de Syrie: Alep, Damas, Liban, Jérusalem. Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner.

DJBA Sokoloff, Michael. 2002. *A Dictionary of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic of the Talmudic and Geonic Periods*. Ramat-Gan, Israel: Bar Ilan University Press; Baltimore; London: The John Hopkins University Press.

DMWA Wehr, Hans. 1979. *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic*. Edited by J. Milton Cowan. 4th edition. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

EALL *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics*. Leiden, Boston: Brill. 2006–2009.

JL Jastrow, Otto. 2002. *Lehrbuch der Ṭuroyo-Sprache*. Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz Verlag.

Kinderib Jastrow, Otto. 2005. *Glossar zu Kinderib (Anatolisches Arabisch)*. Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz Verlag.
LB  Talay, Shabo. 2004. *Lebendig Begraben*. Münster: Lit Verlag.

MD  Drower, Ethel Stefana and Rudolf Macuch. 1962. *A Mandaic Dictionary*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Nöldeke  Nöldeke, Theodor. 1966. *Kurzgefasste syrische Grammatik*. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft. Reprint.

PrS  Prym, Eugen and Albert Socin. 1881. *Der Neu-Aramäische Dialekt des Ṭûr ‘Abdîn*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

RW  Ritter, Hellmut. 1979. *Ṭūrōyo. Die Volkssprache der syrischen Christen des Ṭūr ‘Abdîn*. B: Wörterbuch, Beirut: Franz Steiner Verlag.

SL  Sokoloff, Michael. 2009. *A Syriac Lexicon*. Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns.

VW  Vocke Sibylle and Wolfram Waldner. 1981. *Der Wortschatz des Anatolischen Arabisch*. 1981. Tl. I–II. Nürnberg.

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