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Two-Hundred-Word Swadesh List for a Modern Aramaic Variety (Turoyo)

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[The study aims at establishing the Turoyo exponents for the two-hundred word Swadesh list and providing their etymologies. It is based on a searchable corpus of Turoyo and fieldwork. Special attention has been paid to intra-Turoyo dialectal differences in the basic lexicon. The etymological results are, roughly, as follows: 72 per cent of words have Aramaic etymology, 13 per cent are Arabisms, and 8 per cent are Kurdisms.]

Keywords: History of Aramaic, Neo-Aramaic Dialectology, Turoyo, Basic Lexicon

1. *Introduction*

Turoyo is an oral Eastern Aramaic language whose home is in the Tur Abdin region, the southeast of contemporary Turkey. It is a cluster of mutually intelligible dialects that are still clearly distinct in their vocalism, morphology, and lexicon, including the basic one. The estimated number of Turoyo speakers, both at home and in diaspora, is around fifty thousand. In terms of its grammar, Turoyo is the most archaic variety in the Eastern branch of Modern Aramaic (save Modern Mandaic, which forms a subgroup of its own). For this reason, Turoyo is of special interest for students of Aramaic historical linguistics. In what follows, we present the 208-word Swadesh list for Turoyo, with etymological notes¹. Our results may be important, among other things, for Turoyo dialectology and for the history of this language.

The study is based on our fieldwork in Turoyo-speaking communities of Berlin and Gütersloh (August 2016). We compiled German noun phrases and sentences that included relevant concepts and read them to our informants, who translated them into Turoyo, while their answers were being tape-recorded. E.g., “das schlechte Wetter” and “Ich habe einen schlechten Traum gehabt” were

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1. Lemma 5. *at* has been omitted, because it has no one-to-one match in Turoyo.

part of the sentences with BAD. Thus, we obtained answers of ten informants, women and men, aged from eighty-two to forty. They come from the villages Arkaḥ, Kfarze, Midən, Bsorino, Zaz, and Mzizaḥ, as well as from Midyat, which used to be the only Turoyo-speaking city, with a dialect of its own. Our informants speak their unadulterated home varieties rather than a kind of koiné Turoyo.

Another source of our lexical data has been the published field corpus of Turoyo. The present writers, together with other Moscow colleagues, are working on a Turoyo National Corpus. The members of the team have typed part of the published material as plain text, using an orthography created for this purpose. As a result, we now have a sizable searchable corpus on which we have relied in our investigation. In particular, most texts from Ritter 1967, 1969 and 1971 have been encoded.

We have also consulted the available lexical tools: these are Ritter 1979 (= RW), Beṭ-Şawoçe 2012, and a “Verb Glossary of Turoyo”, on which we are now working (see Furman and Loesov 2015). In the study, we refer to RW for Turoyo glosses wherever these are contained in this lexicon. Since RW does not include verbs, we have not supplied the Turoyo verbs from the 208-word list with lexicographic references. To make up for this gap, we have provided the verbs of our list with references to those pages of Ritter’s *Grammatik* (Ritter 1990 = RG) that contain lexical glosses for the respective verbs.

The texts from the three Ritter volumes (Ritter 1967, 1969, 1971) are cited by the number of text and sentence, e.g., 61: 9. In this paper, we render all Turoyo words and texts in phonological transcription, which is a slightly simplified version of that suggested in Jastrow 2002. The concepts of the Swadesh List are in most cases given in small caps: WOMAN, FAT.

In our etymological notes, “MEA” (= Middle Eastern Aramaic) says that the assumed etymon is attested in at least one of the three Middle Eastern Aramaic literary varieties, i.e., Syriac, Jewish Babylonian Aramaic, and Classical Mandaic. We hold that none of them is a direct ancestor of Turoyo.² Immediately after the siglum “MEA”, we adduce the relevant Middle Aramaic words with lexicographic references. Where we believe that a Turoyo word has an Arabic etymon, we refer the reader to dictionaries of standard written Arabic and/or spoken Arabic dialects of Levant. At present, there is no way to pinpoint the exact Arabic variety from which a given Turoyo word was borrowed, especially since Aramaic and Arabic have been coexisting in Anatolia since the mid-seventh century AD. The same is true of Kurdish (Kurmanji) loanwords in Turoyo: we do not know from which Kurmanji variety they found their way into Turoyo. For Kurmanji references, we use Michael Chyet’s Kurdish-English dictionary (= Chyet), and once Thackston 2006.

We sometimes felt it necessary to offer more than one Turoyo exponent for a Swadesh list concept, with appropriate discussions.

For Turoyo verbs of the G-stem, we supply both the root and the basic inflectional shapes (Preterit and Inflectum), because they are not completely predictable starting from the root, e.g.: **to bite** *nkt* (*nokāt/nkātle*), **to come** *ʔty* (*oṭe/aṭi*). For Turoyo verbs of derived stems, we indicate the root and the stem, e.g.: **to burn** (tr.) *yqđ* III.

2. On the problem, see most recently Furman–Loesov 2016.

The 208-word Swadesh List

1. *all**kul* (RW 281)# MEA: *kul, kol* ‘all’ (SL 622); *kullā* (DJBA 559); *kul* (MD 206).2. *and**w* (RW 542)# MEA: *w* ‘and’ (SL 357); *w* ‘and’ (DJBA 394); *u* ‘and’ (MD 155).3. *animal**ḥaywan* (RW 213)# Arab: *ḥayawān* ‘Tier’ (AWSG 312); *ḥaywān, ḥīwān* (VW I 132); *ḥaywān* (Kinderib 42).4. *ash**qaṭmo* (RW 406)# MEA: *qaṭmā* ‘ash’ (SL 1353); *qiṭmā* ‘ash’ (DJBA 1011); *giṭma, gaṭma* ‘ash’ (MD 89).6. *back**ḥašo* (RW 223)# MEA: *ḥaššā* ‘hip, haunch’ (SL 482); cf. *ḥawšā* ‘loin’ (DJBA 484); *halša, haša* ‘hip, back’ (MD 122).7. *bad**pis* (RW 383)

The only non-analytical exponent of BAD used by our informants is *pis*. *Pis* appears in the answers of speakers from various localities, sometimes accompanied by synonymous periphrastic expressions, e.g. *lo towo* [not good-M-SG] ‘not good’. The same happens in the published corpus: *lattat ṭawwo, pis hat* [NEGCOP-SUBJ.PRON.2SG.M good-M-SG bad-SG.M you] ‘you are not good, you are bad!’ (61: 9).

In the corpus, *pis* is also the basic word for BAD. *Harbo* ‘ruin’ (RW 221 ‘Ruine’) sometimes renders the notion BAD in apposition to its head substantive or as a nominal predicate that does not agree with the subject:

*Warḥaṣəl b lalyo aḥ=ḥəlme d bayn i=nvinaṭe latne ḥarbo**warḥaṣəl*

in short

b lalyo

in night-SG

aḥ=ḥəlme

ART.PL=dream-PL

d bayn

that in

i=nvin-aṭe

ART.SG.F=bed-this.SG.F

lat-ne ḥarb-o

NEGCOP-COP.PRS.3PL

ruin-SG

‘In short, night dreams in this bed are not bad’ (10: 9).

One more word for BAD is *nāxoš/naxwaš*, glossed in RW 363 as ‘krank, unwohl, schlecht’. It also does not agree with its head:

<i>d kowe ... i=wadʕiyatte naxwaš</i>		
<i>d k-owe-Ø</i>	<i>i=wadʕiy-atte</i>	<i>naxwaš</i>
if PRS-be.INFECT-3SG.M	ART.SG.F=condition-POSSII.3PL	bad
'if their physical condition is bad' (94: 53).		

An adjective *xārāb/xərab* 'bad' (RW 557) appears several times in the published corpus, including its comparative form, *xərabtər*.

pis < Kurd.: *p'is* 'dirty, impure, foul' (Chyet 465). Its inflection is *pis* (ms), *pise* (fs), *pisin* (pl). These inflectional suffixes are used for adjectives borrowed from both Arabic and Kurmanji, while adjectives of Aramaic extraction and certain adjectives taken over from Arabic have a different set of inflectional suffixes: *ṭowo* (ms), *ṭawto* (fs), *ṭowe* (pl.) 'good'.

harbo < MEA: *ḥarbā* 'destruction' (SL 486); *ḥarbtā* 'ruin' (DJBA 481); *harba*, *hirba* 'destruction' (MD 126).

naxwaš < Kurd.: *nexweš* 'sick, ill; bad' (Chyet 411).

xərab/xərab < Kurd.: *xirab* 'bad, ruined' (Chyet 661); < Arab. *xarāb*, *xəṛāb* 'böse, schlecht' (VW 1 137); *xəṛāb* 'schlecht, verdorben' (Kinderib 43). The Kurdish word is an Arabism. Whether the immediate source of the Turoyo term is Arabic or Kurdish, we cannot decide.

8. *bark*

qlaṭto (RW 415)

MEA: *qlāṭtā* 'bark, shell' (SL 1375); *qlāṭtā* 'peel, shell' (DJBA 1022); *qlapta* 'shell, hard casing' (MD 413).

9. *because*

The most frequent exponents of BECAUSE are *mu=sabab*, *ṣal d* and *m idē d*. A more complete list is to be found in Waltisberg 2016: 346.

m-u=sabab [from-ART.SG.M=reason]: *sabab* < Arab. *sabab* 'Grund, Ursache' (AWSG 544).

ṣal d [about that]: *ṣal* < MEA: *ṣal* 'above, upon' (SL 1099); *ṣal* 'on, upon, concerning' (DJBA 862); *ṣl* 'on, upon, over' (MD 349).

m idē d [from hand-POSSL.3SG.M]: *idō* < MEA *idā* 'hand' (SL 31); *yḏā* 'hand' (DJBA 523); *ṣda* 'hand' (MD 341).

10. *belly*

gawo (RW 172)

MEA: *gawwā* 'inner part of the body, stomach' (SL 210); *gawwā?ā* 'inner (part)' (DJBA 267); *gaua* 'inside, interior' (MD 74).

11. *big*

rabo (RW 430)

MEA: *rabbā* 'great, large' (SL 1425); *rab* 'great one, great thing' (DJBA 1052); *rab* 'master, the greatest' (MD 417).

12. *bird*

safruno (RW 450), *ṭayro* (RW 531)

BIRD has two basic exponents, *safruno* and *ṭayro*, both in the published corpus and the data of our field research. The latter show that the distribution of the two words partly depends on the speaker. Yet, with a bit of simplification, one can say that *safruno* is used as a general term BIRD, as SMALL BIRD, and a particular species, SPARROW.

As for *ṭayro*, certain informants used it, in their answers, for BIRD more or less in the sense of Linnaean taxonomy, the way some others employed *safruno*. Yet, for the majority of informants, *ṭayro* is BIG BIRD and EAGLE.

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).

13. *to bite*

nkt (*nokāt/nkātle*) (RG 186)

MEA: *nkt* ‘to bite’ (SL 921); *nkt* ‘to bite’ (DJBA 755); *nkt* ‘to bite’ (MD 301).

14. *black*

komo (RW 278)

MEA: *kōmā* ‘black’ (SL 608); *ṭukkāmā* ‘black’ (SL 15); *ṭukkām* ‘black’ (DJBA 88); *ṣukma* ‘blackness’ (MD 343).

15. *blood*

admo (RW 27)

MEA: *dmā* ‘blood’ (SL 307); *dmā* ‘blood’ (DJBA 340); *dma*, *adma* ‘blood’ (MD 111, 8).

16. *to blow*

TO BLOW (intr.) is rendered periphrastically, ‘the air is coming/hitting’, i.e. *koṭe hawa* [PRS-come-3.SG.M air] ‘the air is coming’, *koməḥyo hawa* [PRS-hit-3.SG.F air] ‘the air is hitting’.

17. *bone*

garmo (RW 170)

MEA: *garmā* ‘bone’ (SL 261); *garmā* ‘bone’ (DJBA 302); *girma* (MD 92).

18. *to breathe*

BREATHE is rendered by *noṣəm hawa* or *noqəḥ hawa* ‘he inhales air’. The notion may be also rendered analytically as ‘take in air’: *šoqəl* ‘he takes’ or *gorəš* ‘he pulls’ complemented by *hawa* ‘air’ or *naḥas* ‘breath, inhaled air’.

hawa < Arab: *hawāʔ* ‘Luft, Wind’ (AWSG 1365); *hawa* ‘Luft’ (VW II 231); *hawa* ‘Luft’ (Kinderib 149).

naḥas < Arab: *naḥas* ‘Atem, Atemzug’ (AWSG 1298).

noqəḥ The etymology is unknown.

noṣəm < MEA: *nšm* ‘to breathe, blow’ (SL 953); *nšm* ‘to breathe’ (DJBA 779); *nšm* ‘to breathe, blow’ (MD 307).

19. *to burn* (tr.)*yqd* III (RG 660)

MEA: *yqd* Af ‘to burn’ (tr.) (SL 580); *yqd* Af ‘to set on fire’ (DJBA 540); *yqd* ‘to burn’ (intr.) (MD 193).

20. *chest**šadro* (RW 472)

Arab.: *šadr* ‘Brust’ (AWSG 701); *šadər* ‘Brust’ (VW II 24); *šadər* ‘Brust’ (Kinderib 80).

21. *child**našimo* (RW 352)

Arab.: *našīm* ‘klein (Sache), jung (Vieh)’ (VW II 210); *našīm* ‘klein, jung (von Alter)’ (Kinderib 143). See also 149 SMALL.

22. *cloud*M: *šaymo* (RW 4)Q: *šaywo* (RW 5)

Our informants from the villages Midən, Kfarze, Bsorino, Zaz, Mzizaḥ, and Arkah say *šaywo*, while the Midyat speakers use *šaymo*. We have found the same distribution in the corpus: *šaymo* 8:14 (Midyat), *šaywo* 39:5 (šIwardo).

šaywo < MEA: *šaybā* ‘obnubilatio, nubes humidae’ (TS 2824); *šēbā* ‘dark cloud, cloudiness’ (DJBA 850); *aiba* ‘cloud, fog, mist, darkness’ (MD 14). The Syriac word is attested only in medieval Syriac lexicons and may be a borrowing from Modern Aramaic.

šaymo < MEA: *šaymā* ‘cloud’ (SL 1096).

23. *cold**šamudo* (RW 79)

šoməd/šaməd ‘to become cold’ < Arab.: *šmd* ‘gefrieren, einfrieren’ (AWSG 195); *šmd* ‘erstarren’ (VW II 89). *šamudo* is an adjective derived from *šoməd/šaməd* according to a productive rule (LuF § 171 c).

24. *to come**šty* (*oše/atī*) (RG 741–750)

MEA: *šty* ‘to come’ (SL 110); *šty* ‘to come’ (DJBA 176); *ata* (MD 41).

25. *correct*

In Turoyo, there is no word whose main meaning is CORRECT. Different shades of the concept may be rendered by various words. In the published corpus, the most frequent word capable of rendering the notion CORRECT is *doğri* (RW 137): it was used three times with this import. Consider an example: *aḥna, u=ḥasab diḡan yağləš yo w daš=šultone doğri yo* [we ART.SG.M=reckoning of-POSS.I.PL wrong COP.PRS.3SG and of-ART.PL=sultan-PL correct COP.PRS.3SG] ‘Our reckoning is wrong, the reckoning of the sultans is correct (105: 62)’.

The notion CORRECT is sometimes rendered by the phrase *xd i=ʕado* [as ART.SG.F=custom] ‘as (is) the wont’.

In the corpus, *ḥaqiqi* ‘true, real’ (RW 219), *kamilo* ‘perfect, complete’ (RW 262), and *tāmām* ‘ready, complete’ (RW 511) may also render the idea CORRECT. Our informants used yet other lexemes in their translations: *šrolo* ‘truth’ (RW 501), *ṭawwo* ‘good’ (RW 536), *mʕadlo* ‘in order, as it should be’, *raṣṭ* ‘right’ (RW 436), *msawyo* ‘straight’.

doğri < Kurd. *doxrî* ‘recht, richtig, korrekt’ (Omar 2016: 170).

26. to count

bny (*bone/bnele*) (RG 355)

MEA: *mny* ‘to count’ (SL 781); *mny* ‘to count’ (DJBA 686); *mna* ‘to count, number’ (MD 274).

27. to cut

qtʕ (*qotəʕ/qətəʕle*) (RG 188–191)

MEA: *qtʕ* ‘to cut (off)’ (SL 1354); *qtʕ* ‘to bite off, cut off’ (DJBA 1007); *gta* ‘to cut (off), sever’ (MD 87).

28. day

yawmo (RW 575)

MEA: *yawmā* ‘day’ (SL 568); *yōmā* ‘day, sun’ (DJBA 529); *ium* ‘day’ (MD 274).

29. to die

myt (*moyət/mayət*) (RG 511)

MEA: *mwt* ‘to die’ (SL 731); *mwt* ‘to die’ (DJBA 650); *mut* ‘to die’ (MD 263).

30. to dig

ḥfr (*ḥofər/ḥfalle*) (RG 232)

MEA: *ḥpr* ‘to dig’ (SL 482); *ḥpr* ‘to dig’ (DJBA 478); *hpr* ‘to dig’ (MD 151).

31. dirty

mlawto, *ʕḡiqo* (RW 2)

There are two common words for DIRTY: *mlawto* and *ʕḡiqo*. According to our field research, they are distributed dialectally: *mlawto* is used in Midən, *ʕḡiqo* appears elsewhere (Bsorino, Zaz, Mzizaḥ, Arkah, and Midyat).³ A third word is *msammo*: it is used as the basic exponent of DIRTY by a speaker from Kfarze; an informant from Midən uses *msammo* and *mlawto* synonymously; a speaker from Zaz says both *msammo* and *ʕḡiqo*.

The evidence from the corpus is as follows: *ʕḡiqo* is found twice in village texts; *mlawto* appears once in Midən and once in the PrS collection (Midyat); as for *msammo*, in the published corpus it means only ‘poisoned’.

ʕḡiqo The etymology is unknown

3. According to our Verb Glossary in progress, the verb *lwt* II ‘to make dirty’ occurs mostly in texts from Midən.

lwt II ‘to make dirty’ < Arab.: *lwt* II ‘beschmutzen’ (VW II 176). *Mlawto* is a part. pass. derived from *lwt* II according to a productive rule (LuF § 115).

for *msammo* see Turoyo *smm* II ‘to poison’ and Syriac *smm* Pa ‘to poison’ (SL 1020). The semantic development (if these are not homonymous roots) is not transparent.

32. *dog*

kalbo (RW 260)

MEA: *kalbā* ‘dog’ (SL 622); *kalbā* ‘dog’ (DJBA 580); *kalba* ‘dog’ (MD 197).

33. *to drink*

šty (*šote/štele*) (RG 334)

MEA: *šty* ‘to drink’ (SL 1614); *šty* ‘to drink’ (DJBA 1184); *šta* ‘to drink’ (MD 476).

34. *dry*

našifo (RW 359)

nošəf/našəf < Arab.: *nšf* ‘trocknen’ (AWSG 1275); *nšf* ‘trocknen’ (VW II 206); *nšf* ‘trocknen’ (Kinderib 142). *Našifo* is an adjective derived from *nošəf/našəf* according to a productive rule (LuF § 171 a).

35. *dull*

There is no special word for DULL, the idea is expressed negatively: *lə kɕawdo* [*lə=k-ɕawd-o-Ø*, NEG=PRS-be_sharp.PRS-F-3SG] ‘it is not sharp’; *lo ɕaruf-Ø-o* [*lo ɕaruf-Ø-o*, NEG sharp-M-SG] ‘not sharp’; *latyo ɕarəfto* [*lat-yo ɕarəf-t-o*, NEG COP-COP.PRS.3SG sharp-F-SG] ‘it is not sharp’, — or periphrastically: *ɕaru femə du=sayfo* [*ɕaru-Ø fem-e d-u=sayf-o*, go_bad.PRET.INTR-3SG.M mouth[M]-POSSI.3SG.M of-ART.SG.M=sword-SG] ‘the sword became dull’.

ɕarufo, *kɕawdo*: see 142 (sharp).

36. *dust*

toz (RW 529)

Kurd.: *t’oz* ‘dust; powder; dirt’ (Chyet 628).

37. *ear*

aɕno (RW 27)

MEA: *ɕəɕnā* ‘ear’ (SL 10); *ɕuɕnā* ‘ear’ (DJBA 85); *ɕudna* ‘ear’ (MD 342).

38. *earth*

arɕo (RW 36)

MEA: *arɕā* ‘earth, land’ (SL 104); *arɕā* ‘earth, land’ (DJBA 170); *arqa* ‘earth, land’ (MD 39).

39. *to eat*

ɕxl (*oxəl/(a)xile*) (RG 702–713)

MEA: *ɕkl* ‘to eat’ (SL 41), *ɕkl* ‘to eat’ (DJBA 129); *akl* ‘to eat’ (MD 16).

40. *egg**bəhto* (RW 66)# MEA: *bēṣṭā* ‘egg’ (SL 143); *bayṣṭā*, *bēṭā* ‘egg’ (DJBA 204); *bita* ‘egg’ (MD 64).41. *eye**ṣayno* (RW 4)# MEA: *ṣaynā* ‘eye’ (SL 1097); *ṣēnā* ‘eye, sight’ (DJBA 855); *ayna* ‘eye’ (MD 15).42. *to fall**nfl* (*nofəl/naṣəl*) (RG 314–318)# MEA: *npl* ‘to fall’ (SL 931); *npl* ‘to fall’ (DJBA 761); *npl* ‘to fall’ (MD 303).43. *far**raḥuqo* (RW 433)# *roḥəq/raḥəq* ‘to move away’ < MEA: *rḥq* ‘to go away’ (SL 1458); *rḥq* ‘to be far away’ (DJBA 1071); *rḥq* ‘to be far’ (MD 427). *Raḥuqo* is an adjective derived from *roḥəq/raḥəq* according to a productive rule (LuF § 171 c).44. *fat**tarbo* (RW 515)⁴The main word for FAT, *tarbo* (*tarbo*), is used by speakers from Midən, Bsorino, Zaz, Mzizah, Arkaḥ, and Midyat. Other words that may have the same reference are *dəhniṭo/dahniṭo* (RW 137, Midən and Midyat), and *dehən* (Midən). *Dəhniṭo/dahniṭo* means ‘stuff containing fat or oil’ (and cf. RW 137: ‘Rizinusöl’). *Dehən* is ‘lard, grease’, according to one of our Midən informants. The word is missing from RW and the searchable corpus.# *tarbo/tarbo* < MEA: *tarbā* ‘fat’ (SL 1663f.); *tarbā* ‘fat’ (DJBA 1230); *tirba* ‘fat of animals’ (MD 486).# *dəhniṭo/dahniṭo*: the immediate etymon is unknown, cf. MEA: *dhn* ‘to be fat’ (SL 276); *dhn* ‘to become fat’ (DJBA 314); *dhn* ‘to grow/be fat’ (MD 103).# *dehən* < Arab.: *duhn* ‘Öl, Fett’ (AWSG 410).45. *father**babo* (RW 45)

The immediate etymology is unknown. Similar basic words for FATHER exist, in particular, in Kurdish and Turkish.

46. *to fear**zṣṣ* (*zoyəṣ/zayəṣ*) (RG 511)# MEA: *zṣṣ* ‘to tremble, quake’ (SL 374); *zṣṣ* ‘to move, shake’ (DJBA 405); *zua* ‘to stir, move’ (MD 164).

4. According to Kassian et al 2010: 59, FAT in the Swadesh wordlist is animal fat used as food and for household needs, and we accept this interpretation.

47. *feather*M: *parra* (RW 355)Q: *pərtək* (RW 382–383)

There are two exponents of FEATHER in Turoyo, *parra* and *pərtək*. *Parra* is the basic term in the Midyat dialect. The word may also mean ‘twig, leaf, shell.’ *Pərtək* is used mostly in village varieties, it also has the meaning ‘(a single) hair’.

parra < Kurd.: *p’er* ‘feather, wing’ (Chyet 439); cf. Tezel 2003: 85, n. 288.

pərtək < Kurd.: *p’irtik* ‘particle, little piece’ (Chyet 458).

48. *a few/a little*

əšmo (RW 254), *kmo* (RW 277)

Kmo is proposed to count nouns in plural form: *kmo yawme* ‘a few days’ (11:44). *Əšmo* is used with mass nouns, as a head of genitive construction: *əšmo d muklo* ‘a little bit of food’ (112:167).

kmo < MEA: *kmā* ‘how, how much’ (SL 628); *kmā* ‘how much/many?’ (DJBA 585); *kma* ‘how, how much’ (MD 218).

The etymology of *əšmo* is uncertain, see Tezel 2003: 92f.

49. *to fight*

qtl II (RG 307)

Arab.: *qtl* III ‘kämpfen’ (AWSG 1001).

50. *finger nail*

M: *tarfo*⁵ (RW 534)

Q: *tafro*

MEA: *teprā* ‘nail, claw, talon’ (SL 548); *tuṣrā* ‘finger nail, toenail’ (DJBA 498); *tupra* ‘claw, nail’ (MD 178).

51. *fire*

nuro (RW 371)

MEA: *nūrā* ‘fire’ (SL 904); *nūrā* ‘fire’ (DJBA 738); *nura* ‘fire’ (MD 294).

52. *fish*

nuno/nanto (RW 370)

MEA: *nūnā* ‘fish’ (SL 900); *nūnā* ‘fish’ (DJBA 737); *nuna* ‘fish’ (MD 294).

53. *five*

ḥamšo

MEA: *ḥamšā* ‘five’ (SL 468); *ḥamšā* ‘five’ (DJBA 472); *hamša* ‘five’ (MD 124).

5. On dialectal variation see also Tezel 2003: 103.

54. *to float*

In Turoyo, there is no special verb for FLOAT, different from verbs for swimming and flying, quae vide.

55. *to flow*

ql̥ (*qoləṣ/qaləṣ*) (RG 210)

The etymology is uncertain.

56. *flower*

wardo (RW 548)

MEA: *wardā* ‘rose, flower’ (SL 359); *wardā* ‘rose’ (DJBA 395); *uarda* ‘flower, rose’ (MD 155).

57. *to fly*

f̥yr (*foyər/fayər*) (RG 511)

Arab.: *frr* ‘fliegen’ (VW II 91); *frr* ‘fliegen’ (Kinderib 104); *farr* ‘s’envoler pour fuir (oiseau)’ (DAS 599).

58. *fog*

məž (RW 334)

Kurd.: *mij* ‘fog, mist’ (Chyet 385).

59. *foot*

rağlo (RW 431)

MEA: *reğlā* ‘foot’ (SL 1434); *riğlā* ‘leg, foot’ (DJBA 1073); *liğra* ‘foot, leg’ (MD 235).

60. *forest*

ṭuro (RW 540)

The only glosses for *ṭuro* offered in RW 540 are ‘Berg, Gebirge’, while our informants translate ‘Wald’ in diagnostic contexts almost invariably as *ṭuro*. In the corpus, *ṭuro* refers both to ‘mountain range’ and ‘forest.’ *Ṭuro* is glossed as ‘Berg, Wald’ in Talay 2004: 194, as ‘Berg, Gebirge; Steppe, Wald’ in Jastrow 2002: 182.

MEA: *ṭūrā* ‘mountain’ (SL 521); *ṭūrā* ‘mountain’ (DJBA 498); *ṭura* ‘mountain, hill’ (MD 178).

61. *four*

arb̥so

MEA: *arbaṣ* ‘four’ (SL 94); *arbaṣ* ‘four’ (DJBA 163); *arba* ‘four’ (MD 36).

62. *to freeze (intr.)*

gl̥d (*goləḏ/galəḏ*) (RG 101)

MEA: *gl̥d* ‘to freeze’ (SL 233).

63. *fruit**fekiye* (RW 155)

Arab.: *fākiha* ‘Früchte, Obst’ (AWSG 978); *fēkye* ‘Obst’ (VW II 99); *fēkye* ‘Obst’ (Kinderib 106).

64. *full**malyo* (RW 311)

mole/mlele < MEA: *mly* ‘to fill up’ (SL 768); *mly* ‘to be full’ (DJBA 678); *mly* ‘to fill, be full’ (MD 272). *Malyo* is a part. pass. derived from *mole/mlele* according to a productive rule (LuF § 114 a).

65. *to give**hyw* (*obe/hule*) (RG 586–612)

MEA: *yhb* ‘to give’ (SL 565); *yhb* ‘to give’ (DJBA 526); *yhb* ‘to give’ (MD 189). On the origin of the Turoyo shapes *obe/hule*, see Ritter 1990: 586.

66. *to go**ʔzl* (*əzze/azze*) (RG 752–765)

MEA: *ʔzl* ‘to go’ (SL 24); *ʔzl* ‘to go, travel’ (DJBA 100); *azl* ‘to go, move on’ (MD 12). On the origin of the Turoyo shapes *əzze/azze*, see Ritter 1990: 752–765.

67. *good*M: *kayiso/kayso*Q: *ʔawwo/ʔowo* (RW 536), *kayiso*

The main word for GOOD in Midyat is *kayiso/kayso*, whereas *ʔawwo/ʔowo* is used in the villages. The short form *ʔaw* is used in both dialects as a comparative ‘better’.

Another word for good is *baš* (RW 60). It appears a few times in the published corpus and is not used by our informants.

kayiso < Arab.: *kayyis* ‘gewitzt, fein, hübsch’ (AWSG 1132).

ʔawwo/ʔowo < MEA: *ʔāḥ* ‘good’ (SL 507); *ʔāḥ* ‘good’ (DJBA 492); *ʔab* ‘good’ (MD 172).

baš < Kurd.: *baš* ‘good’ (Chyet 25).

68. *grass**gelo* (RW 174)

MEA: *gellā* ‘straw, dried grass’ (SL 231); *gillā* ‘straw, chaff’ (DJBA 280); *gila* ‘straw’ (MD 90).

69. *green**yaroqo* (RW 574)

MEA: *yurrāqā* ‘green’ (SL 570); *yūrāq* ‘green, yellow’ (DJBA 531); *iuraqa* ‘yellow, green’ (MD 191).

70. *guts*

mašye (RW 301), *məšwoṭe* (RW 332)

Speakers from Midən use *mašye*, speakers from other localities (in our sample, Midyat, Mzizaḥ, and Arkah) say *məšwoṭe*.

mašye < MEA: *mšayyā* ‘intestines’ (SL 800); *mšayyā* ‘intestines’ (DJBA 694); *mia* ‘intestines, gut’ (MD 265).

məšwoṭe < MEA: *mšūtā* (pl. *mšawwātā*) ‘intestines’ (SL 800).

71. *hair*

šašro (RW 471), *sawko* (RW 457)

Our informants from Midən, Kfarze, Bsorino and Mzizaḥ use *šašro* for ‘hair on head’.⁶ The speakers of Midyat and Arkah varieties use *sawko* instead. The corpus data suggest that *sawko* is used as the basic term for HAIR also in the Raite region, south of Midyat (105:33; 112:45, 94; 113:83, 136). Thus, Midyat and some villages have *sawko* for HAIR, while villages east from Midyat use *šašro*, and cf. Tezel 2003: 140f.

šašro < MEA: *šašrā* ‘hair’ (SL 1028); *šašrā* ‘hair’ (DJBA 1189); *sara* ‘hair’ (MD 315).

sawko must be related to the NENA word *kosa* ~ *kawsa* ‘hair’,⁷ while further etymology of these words is uncertain.⁸

72. *hand*

iḏo (RW 248)

MEA: *īḏā* ‘hand’ (SL 31); *yḏā* ‘hand, possession’ (DJBA 523); *ḏa* ‘hand’ (MD 341).

73. *he*

M: *huwe*

Q: *hiye*

huwe < Arab.: *hūwe* ‘er’ (VW 228); *hūwe* ‘er’ (Kinderib 149); *huwe* ‘il, lui’ (DAS 874).

hiye The etymology is unknown, cf. Tezel 2003: 28, fn. 22, with references to earlier literature.

74. *head*

qaršo (RW 399)

For most of our informants, HEAD is *qaršo*. A speaker from Midən and another from Bsorino employ *rišo* along with *qaršo*. In the corpus, the main word for HEAD is also *qaršo*, while *rišo* sometimes appears as its synonym, in particular in the speech of those speakers who use *qaršo*.

In the corpus, *rišo* has various derived meanings, such as ‘top’, ‘beginning’, ‘leader’, and more; *l riše d* is a denominative preposition ‘towards’.

6. According to Tezel 2003: 140 f, *šašro* acquired a meaning of ‘hair of goats’ in the Midyat dialect.

7. Khan 2008: 1305; Fox 1997: 134; for the comparison with the Turoyo *sawko*, see Tezel 2003: 140.

8. See Mutzafi 2006: 89–93 and Weninger 2002: 808. Mutzafi believes that the etymon of both Turoyo *sawko* and NENA *kosa* ~ *kawsa* is the Syriac *sawkā* ‘branch, twig’ (SL 978f.). Yet a semantic development from TWIG to HAIR is difficult to trace down. Nöldeke 1868: 39 compared *kosa* ~ *kawsa* with Syriac *qawštā* ‘curl’ (SL 1342), and cf. Tezel 2003: 140.

rišo < MEA: *rēšā* ‘head’ (SL 1462); *rēšā* ‘head, top part’ (DJBA 1078); *riša* ‘head, top’ (MD 434).

qaršo: see Arab. *qarṣ* ‘Kürbis’ and *qarṣa* ‘Kürbis; Schädel, Kopf’ (AWSG 1018), *qarṣa* ‘Kürbis’ (VW II 116), *qarṣa* ‘Kürbis’ (Kinderib 113) and Syriac *qarṣā* ‘gourd’ and *qarṣtā* ‘skull’ (SL 1414), the latter is considered a borrowing from Arabic. According to Tezel 2003: 119, *qaršo* may be a borrowing from Arabic. See also a discussion in Tezel 2003: 117ff.

75. *to hear*

šmṣ (*šoməṣ/šaməṣ*) (RG 87)

MEA: *šmṣ* ‘to hear, listen to’ (SL 1574); *šmṣ* ‘to hear’ (DJBA 1158); *šma* ‘to hear, listen’ (MD 469).

76. *heart*

lebo (RW 294)

MEA: *lebbā* ‘heart’ (SL 666); *libbā* ‘heart’ (DJBA 623); *liba* ‘heart’ (MD 234).

77. *heavy*

yaquro (RW 574)

yoqər/yaqər ‘to be heavy’ < MEA: *yqr* ‘to be heavy’ (SL 582); *yqr* ‘to increase in value’ (DJBA 540); MD *yqr* ‘to honor, respect’. *Yaquro* is an adjective derived from *yoqər/yaqər* according to a productive rule (LuF § 171 c).

78. *here*

harke (RW 195)

MEA: *hārkā* ‘here’ (SL 354).

79. *to hit*

mḥy (*moḥe/mḥele*) (RG 333)

MEA: *mḥy* ‘to strike’ (SL 738); *mḥy* ‘to strike’ (DJBA 655); *mha* ‘to strike, hit’ (MD 258).

80. *to hold*

myd (*moyəd/mädle*) (RG 505)

Arab.: *mdd* ‘ausdehnen, ausstrecken’ (AWSG 1191); *mdd* ‘ausbreiten, ausstrecken, anfassen’ (VW II 184); *mdd* ‘ausstrecken, vorstrecken’ (Kinderib 135).

81. *horn*

qarno (RW 402)

MEA: *qarnā* ‘horn’ (SL 1412); *qarnā* ‘horn’ (DJBA 1044); *qarna* ‘horn’ (MD 403).

82. *how*

aydarbo (RW 30)

Arab. *ayy* ‘welcher? was für ein?’ (AWSG 58) + Turoyo *darbo* ‘Weg’ (RW 115), which is a borrowing from spoken Arabic, see ROAD below.

83. *to hunt**šyd* (*šoyəd/šədle*) (RG 571–572)# MEA: *šwd* ‘to hunt, fish’ (SL 1277); *šwd* ‘to catch creatures’ (DJBA 953); *šwd* ‘to hunt, chase, fish’ (MD 390).84. *husband**gawro* (RW 171), *zlam* (RW 587)In Turoyo, there are two common words for HUSBAND, *gawro* and *zlam*. Both words also say MAN (MALE). In the Ritter corpus (mid-sixties), *gawro* is the main term for MAN (MALE) and HUSBAND, irrespective of the variety. By contrast, *zlam* is the most frequent word for both MAN (MALE) and HUSBAND used by our informants.# *gawro* < MEA: *gabrā* ‘man, person, husband’ (SL 202); *gabrā* ‘man, husband’ (DJBA 258); *gabra* ‘man’ (MD 73).# *zlam* < Kurd.: *zilam* ‘man’ (Chyet 691). The Kurdish word must be a borrowing from Syrian Arabic, see EALL II: 606.85. *I*M: *uno*Q: *ono*# MEA: *enā* ‘I’ (SL 58); *ānā* ‘I’ (DJBA 143); *ana* ‘I’ (MD 24).86. *ice**gliḏo*# MEA: *gliḏā* ‘cold, ice’ (SL 236); *gliḏā* ‘ice’ (DJBA 287).87. *if*The most frequent exponent of IF is *d*. IF can also be rendered via *iḏa d*, *ənkan*, and *iḏa kan*. A more complete list is to be found in Waltisberg 2016: 369ff.# *d* < MEA: *d* ‘**relative particle**’ (SL 268); *d* ‘that, so that, because’ (DJBA 307); *ḏ* ‘**relative particle**’ (MD 491).# *iḏa d* (lit. ‘if that’): *iḏa* < Arab.: *iḏā* ‘wenn, als’ (AWSG 16); *īḏa*, *ēḏa*, *īza* ‘wenn’ (VW I 6); *īḏa* ‘wenn’ (Kinderib 8).# *ənkan* < Arab.: *in kāna* ‘wenn’ (AWSG 46, Fischer 2002: 229f.); *kān* ‘wenn, falls’, *ənkan* ‘ob nun’ (Kinderib 126); *kān* ‘wenn’ (VW II 158).# *iḏa kan* < Arab.: *iḏā* ‘wenn, als’ (AWSG 16; VW I 6; Kinderib 8); *kāna* ‘sein’ (AWSG 1129).88. *in**b* (RW 43)# MEA: *b* ‘in’ (SL 114); *b* ‘in’ (DJBA 181); *b* ‘in’ (MD 44).89. *to kill**qtl* (*qoṭəl/qṭile*) (RG 287)# MEA: *qtl* ‘to kill’ (SL 1352); *qtl* ‘to kill’ (DJBA 1006); *gtl* ‘to kill’ (MD 87).

90. *knee**barko* (RW 56)# MEA: *burkā* ‘knee’ (SL 131); *birkā* ‘knee’ (DJBA 206); *burka* ‘knee’ (MD 57).91. *to know**ʔdʕ* (*odəʕ/ədəʕ*) (RG 721–727)# MEA: *ydʕ* ‘to know’ (SL 563); *ydʕ* ‘to know’ (DJBA 525); *yda* ‘to know’ (MD 188).92. *lake**rawmo* (RW 437)

The etymology is uncertain. See a discussion in Tezel 2003: 241.

93. *to laugh*M: *ghx* (*goħəx/gahəx*) (RG 14)Q: *ghk* (*goħək/gahək*) (RG 88)# MEA: *ghk* ‘to laugh’ (SL 227); *ghk* ‘to laugh’ (MD 81).94. *leaf**tarfo* (RW 534)# MEA: *ʔarpā* ‘leaf’ (SL 555); *ʔā tarpā* ‘leaf’ (DJBA 108); *aʔirpa* ‘leaf’ (MD 13).95. *left*M: *čappiye* (RW 92)Q: *čap* (RW 92)Some informants use *semolo* (RW 453) along with *čappiye/čap*. Others comment on this usage as obsolete.*Semolo* is a substantive and relate to its heads via *d*: *hawli idux d semolo* [*haw-Ø-li id-ux d semolo*, give.IMP-SG-DAT.1SG hand[F]-POSSI.2SG.M of left] ‘give me your left hand’.# *čap*, *čappiye* < Kurd.: *ç’ep* ‘left’ (Chyet 105a)# *semolo* < MEA: *semmālā* ‘left side, left hand’ (SL 1020); *šmālā* ‘left side, left hand’ (DJBA 1188); *smala* ‘left, left hand’ (MD 332).96. *leg**rağlo* (RW 431)

See the commentary on FOOT.

97. *to lie* (a stative situation)In Turoyo, there is no word whose main meaning is ‘to lie (German ‘liegen’)’. The notion ‘he is lying (on the bed)’ is rendered by verbal adjectives *damixo* (lit.: ‘sleeping’), *mžido*, *štiho* (lit.: ‘stretched’).# *damixo* is an adjective derived from *doməx/daməx* according to a productive rule (LuF § 171 a). For further etymology, see the commentary on SLEEP.

možəd/mžədle ‘to stretch’ < MEA: *yšt* Af ‘to extend’ (SL 586). *Mžido* is a passive participle formed from *možəd/mžədle* according to a productive rule (LuF § 114 a).

šoṭəḥ/šṭəḥle ‘to stretch’ < MEA: *šṭh* ‘to spread out’ (SL 1547); *šṭh* ‘to spread out’ (DJBA 1129); *šṭa* Ethpa ‘to stretch out’ (MD 458). *Šṭiḥo* is a passive participle formed from *šoṭəḥ/šṭəḥle* according to a productive rule (LuF § 114 a).

98. *to live* (in a particular place)

ṣyš (*ṣoyəš/ṣayəš*) (RG 516)

Arab.: ṣyš ‘leben’ (AWSG 901).

99. *liver*

kazabe (RW 271), *qanyo* (RW 398)

According to the data of our field research, the most popular exponents of LIVER are *kazabe* (Midən, Bsorino) and *qanyo* (Kfarze, Zaz, Mzizaḥ, Midyat). Both words can also refer to LUNGS.⁹ A third word for LIVER is *fəššəkke* (Arkaḥ). It can refer to LUNGS as well (cf. RW 161 *fəššəkke* ‘Lunge’ with references to speakers from Midyat and ʕIwardo).

Kazabe can also refer to ‘viscera’, at least in ʕIwardo and Raite (RW 271; 94: 232; 95: 113).

This kind of polysemy LIVER/LUNGS is known in particular in some NENA varieties: C. Urmi *jijarta* ‘liver, lung’; ⁺*jijar* ⁺*xvarta* ‘lung’; ⁺*jijar cumta* ‘liver’ (Khan 2016, Vol.1: 509; Khan 2016, Vol.3: 15, 174), *coda* ‘liver, lungs’ (Khan 2016, 122); J. Urmi *jgar* ‘lungs and liver’ (Khan 2008: 527). The same happens in Kurmanji Kurdish.

kazabe < Kurd.: *kezeb* ‘liver, lungs, internal organs’ (Chyet 316).

qanyo < MEA: *qanyā* ‘reed; trachea’ (SL 1383); *qanyā* ‘reed, cane’ (DJBA 1028); *qaina* ‘reed, cane’ (MD 400).¹⁰

fəššəkke < Kurd.: *p’iṣik* ‘lung; spleen’ (Chyet 460); see also Kurd. *piṣ*, a term for various internal organs: ‘lung; liver; spleen’ (Chyet 459).

100. *long* (about distance)

yarixo (RW 574)

MEA: *arrīk* ‘long’ (SL 99); *arīk* ‘tall, long’ (DJBA 167); *arika* ‘long’ (MD 37).

101. *louse*

qalmo (RW 396)

MEA: *qalmā* ‘louse’ (SL 1372); *qalmṭā* ‘vermin’ (DJBA 1021).

102. *man* (*male*)

gawro (RW 171), *zlam* (RW 587)

See HUSBAND.

103. *man* (*human being*)

insan (RW 252), *nošo* (RW 369)

9. Tezel 2003: 224f. believes that *kazabe* is the village word for LIVER, while *qanyo* is used in the Midyat variety.

10. For further discussion see Tezel 2003: 224–225.

The basic exponents of MAN (HUMAN BEING), regardless of gender, are *insan* and *nošo*.

In the corpus, *insan* is the main term, while *nošo* only sporadically says MAN (HUMAN BEING).

However, in today's speech, *nošo* is gaining terrain as a frequent word for MAN (HUMAN BEING). Those speakers who mainly use *insan* for MAN (HUMAN BEING), employ *noše* (plural of *nošo*) as a suppletive plural of *insan* rather than the plural forms *insane* and *insanat* booked in RW 252.

insan < Arab.: *insān* 'Mensch, menschliches Wesen' (AWSG 48).

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

104. *many*

ḡalabe (RW 183)

Arab.: *ḡlb* 'vorherrschen, dominieren' (AWSG 922); *aḡlab/aḡlāb* 'meistens, vor allem' (VW II 85); *aḡlab* 'das meiste, die meisten' (Kinderib 102). Cf. Kurd. *xalib* 'siegreich, siegend' (Omar 2016: 693).

105. *meat*

başro (RW 59)

MEA: *besrā* 'flesh, meat' (SL 167); *bisrā* 'flesh, meat' (DJBA 207); *bisra* 'flesh, meat' (MD 62).

106. *moon*

şahro (RW 473)

MEA: *sahrā* 'moon' (SL 974); *sehrā* 'moon' (DJBA 800); *sira* 'moon' (MD 329).

107. *mother*

emo (RW 145)

MEA: *emmā* 'mother' (SL 52); *immā* 'mother' (DJBA 116); *ʕma* 'mother' (MD 352).

108. *mountain*

tuuro (RW 540)

MEA: *tūrā* 'mountain' (SL 521); *tūrā* 'mountain' (DJBA 498); *tura* 'mountain, hill' (MD 178).

109. *mouth*

femo (RW 155)

MEA: *pūmā* 'mouth' (SL 1165); *pūmā* 'mouth' (DJBA 889); *puma* 'mouth' (MD 368).

110. *name*

əšmo (RW 254)

MEA: *šmā* 'name' (SL 1569); *šmā* 'name' (DJBA 1153); *šuma* 'name, reputation' (MD 454).

111. *narrow**ṣiqo* (RW 19)

ṣoyəq /ṣayəq ‘be(come) narrow’ < MEA: *ṣwq* Pa ‘to oppress’ (SL 1084); *ṣwq* ‘to cause trouble, distress’ (DJBA 848); *hwq, ṣwq* Af ‘to frighten, torment’ (MD 137). *ṣiqo* is an adjective derived from *ṣoyəq/ṣayəq* according to a productive rule (LuF §170a).

112. *near**qariwo* (RW 401)

qoru/qaru < MEA: *qrb* ‘to approach to, be near’ (SL 1400); *qrb* ‘to come near, bring near’ (DJBA 1037); *qrb* ‘to approach, draw near’ (MD 415). *Qariwo* is an adjective derived from *qoru/qaru* according to a productive rule (LuF § 171 a).

113. *neck**qdolo* (RW 408)

MEA: *qdālā* ‘neck’ (SL 1317); *qdālā* ‘neck’ (DJBA 984).

114. *new**ḥaṭo* (RW 224)

MEA: *ḥatā* ‘new’ (SL 418); *ḥadət* ‘new’ (DJBA 433); *hadta* ‘new’ (MD 116).

115. *night**lalyo* (RW 289)

MEA: *lelyā* ‘night’ (SL 691); *lelyā* ‘night’ (DJBA 626); *lilia* ‘night’ (MD 236).

116. *nose**nḥiro* (RW 365)

MEA: *nḥīrā* ‘nasus’ (TS 2340); *nḥīrā* ‘nostril’ (DJBA 741); *nhira* ‘nose’ (MD 291).

117. *not**lo* (RW 297)

MEA: *lā* ‘no’ (SL 665); *lā* ‘no’ (DJBA 613); *lā* ‘no, not’ (MD 227).

118. *old (mostly about things, not human beings)**ṣatiqo* (RW 14)

MEA: *ṣattīqā* ‘old’ (SL 1147); *ṣattīq* ‘old’ (DJBA 885); *atiqal/hatiqa* ‘old, ancient’ (MD 43).

119. *one**ḥa* (RW 209)

MEA: *ḥad* ‘one’ (SL 413); *ḥad* ‘one’ (DJBA 430); *had* ‘one, single’ (MD 116).

120. *other**ḥreno* (RW 243)

MEA: *ħrēnā* ‘other’ (SL 29); *oħōrēna* ‘another’ (DJBA 105); *hurina* ‘other, another’ (MD 137).

121. *to play*

šŕy (*māštafe/māštafele*) (RG 439–440)

MEA: *šŕy* Ethpe. ‘to play’ (SL 1582).

122. *to pull*

grš (*gorāš/grāšle*) (RG 178–180)

MEA: *grš* ‘to pull, drag’ (SL 264).

123. *to push*

PUSH may be rendered by the verbs *tŕk* ‘to thrust’ (RG 97), *dŕf* ‘to shove’ (RG 225), and *kwš* III ‘to press’ (RG 459–460).

tŕk denom. < Turoyo *tafke* ‘Stoss’ (RW 207) < Kurd. *dehf* ‘push, shove’ (Chyet 128).

dŕf < Arab. *df* ‘stossen’ (ASWG 395).

kwš < MEA: *kbš* ‘to press’ (SL 598); *kbš* ‘to press down, subdue’ (DJBA 551); *kbš* ‘to press down, tread down’ (MD 202).

The Arabic *df* was borrowed into Turoyo directly, as *dŕf*, and via Kurdish, as *tŕk*.

124. *rain*

maŕo (RW 323)

MEA: *metrā* ‘rain’ (SL 749); *miŕā* ‘rain’ (DJBA 665); *miŕa* ‘rain’ (MD 266).

125. *red*

semoŕo (RW 460)

MEA: *summāqā* ‘red’ (SL 981); *summāq* ‘red object, redness’ (DJBA 794); *s(u)maq(a)* ‘red, ruddy’ (MD 322).

126. *right*

M: *raŕiye* (RW 437)

Q: *raŕt* (RW 436)

Raŕiye and *raŕt* are, on the whole, the most popular words for RIGHT, yet some speakers of both city and village varieties use *yamino* (RW 573) as well. In village texts (65:542; 78:179), there appears a word *yammuniye*; it was also used by one of our Midyat informants. *Yamino* is a substantive and relates to its heads via *d*: *twiro raŕli du=yamino* [*twir-o-Ø raŕl-i du yamino*, *break.PRET.DETRANS-F-3SG leg[F]-POSSI.1SG of.ART.SG.M=right*] ‘I have broken my right leg’.

raŕt < Kurd.: *rast* ‘right (direction); correct’ (Chyet 503).

raŕiye < Kurd.: *rastî* ‘straightness, truth’ (Chyet 504).

yamino < MEA: *yammīnā* ‘right’ (SL 576); *yammīnā* ‘right side, right hand’ (DJBA 536); *iamina* ‘right, the right hand’ (MD 186).

yammuniye is of unknown origin. It may be a borrowing from Arabic. For a diminutive noun pattern CaCCūC in spoken Arabic varieties, see Cowell 1964: 310 and Woidich 2006: 96, 99–100. In Turoyo, there is another adjective with this shape, *nakkufi* ‘schamhaft, verschämt’ (RW 355), cf.

Arab. *nakafa* verschmähen (AWSG 1315). Yet we have found neither *yammun* nor *nakkuf* in the available dictionaries of spoken Arabic.

127. *river*

nahro (RW 354)

MEA: *nahrā* ‘river’ (SL 894); *nahrā* ‘river’ (DJBA 734); *nahra* ‘river’ (MD 281).

128. *road*

darbo (RW 115)

Arab.: *darb* ‘Pfad, Weg’ (AWSG 383); *darb* ‘Weg, Straße’ (VW I 152); *dærb* ‘chemin’ (DAS 233).

129. *root*

wariḏo (RW 548)

MEA: *warrīḏā* ‘stem, trunk’ (SL 360), *warrīḏā* ‘radices arboris’ (TS 1069).

130. *rope*

ḥawlo (RW 226)

MEA: *ḥablā* ‘rope’ (SL 408); *ḥablā* ‘rope’ (DJBA 427); *habla* ‘rope’ (MD 115).

131. *rotten*

ḥariwo

ḥoru/ḥaru < MEA: *ḥrb* ‘to be destroyed, laid waste’ (SL 485); *ḥrb* ‘to be destroyed’ (DJBA 480). *Ḥariwo* is a deverbal adjective derived from *ḥoru/ḥaru* according to a productive rule (LuF § 171 c).

132. *round*

mdawro (RW 328)

According to the corpus data and our fieldwork, ROUND can be rendered by *mdawro* (RW 328, Midən, Zaz, Midyat, Mzizaḥ), *gurovar* (Midən, Bsorino, Raite, Mzizaḥ), *mgarvno* (RW 329, Mzizaḥ, Kfarze, Arkah), *mgandro* (RW 329, Midyat).

dwr II ‘to round up’ < Arab.: *dwr* ‘sich drehen, kreisen’ (AWSG 411). *Mdawro* is a lexicalized participle derived from *dwr* II according to a productive rule (LuF § 115).

gurovar < Kurd.: *girover* ‘round’ (Chyet 216).

mgarvno is a lexicalized participle derived from *grvn* ‘to make round’, while the verb was derived from *gurovar/grovar* ‘round’.

mgandro a lexicalized participle derived from *gndr* ‘to roll’. The root’s immediate etymology is uncertain. See Kurd. *gindirîn* ‘to roll, overturn’ (Chyet 213). This root is also attested in the national lexicography of Classical Syriac (see SL 245 on *gndr* ‘to rotate, turn around, to roll’). The verb is also known in JBA (*gndr* ‘to roll’ DJBA 294). Cf. also Arab.: *mdangar* ‘rund’ (VW I 159); *mdangar* ‘rund’ (Kinderib 51).

133. *to rub*

frx (*forəx/frəxle*) (RG 67)

MEA: *prk* ‘pound, grind’ (SL 1240); *prk* ‘to break off’ (DJBA 933).

134. *salt*

malho (RW 310)

MEA: *melhā* ‘salt’ (SL 767); *milhā* ‘salt’ (DJBA 667); *mihla* ‘salt’ (MD 266).

135. *sand*

qum (RW 423)

Kurd.: *qûm* ‘sand’ (Chyet 498). In Kurdish, the word is a Turkic borrowing, cf. Turk. *kûm* ‘sand’ (Redhouse 711).

136. *to say*

ʔmr (*omər/məlle*) (RG 687–701)

MEA: *ʔmr* ‘to say’ (SL 57); *ʔmr* ‘to say, tell’ (DJBA 140); *amr* ‘to say, speak’ (MD 23).

137. *to scratch*

ḥyk (*ḥoyək/ḥəkle*) (RG 505)

MEA: *ḥkk* ‘to scrape, to itch’ (SL 449); *ḥkk* ‘to rub, scratch’ (DJBA 460); *ḥkk* ‘to itch, irritate’ (MD 147).

138. *sea*

baḥar (RW 46)

Arab.: *baḥr* ‘Meer’ (AWSG 66); *baḥar*, *baḥər* ‘Meer’ (VW I 32); *baḥar* ‘Meer’ (Kinderib).

139. *to see*

ḥzy (*ḥozel/ḥzele*) (RG 331)

MEA: *ḥzy* ‘to see’ (SL 438); *ḥzy* ‘to see, look at’ (DJBA 444); *hza* ‘to see, look’ (MD 138).

140. *seed*

buzarʕo/bzarʕo (RW 76)

MEA: *bar zarʕā* ‘seed’ (SL 180); *bazrā*, *bizrā* ‘seed’ (DJBA 195); *bazira*, *bazra* ‘seed’ (MD 46). See also Tezel 2003: 204f.

141. *to sew*

ḥyt (*ḥoyət/ḥətle*) (RG 508)

MEA: *ḥyt* ‘to sew’ (SL 422); *ḥwt/ḥty* (DJBA 436); *hut* ‘to sew, stitch together’ (MD 135).

142. *sharp*

M: *ḥarufō* (RW 222)

Q: *ʕawudo/ʕawido* (RW 15)

ʕawudo/ʕawido can refer only to sharp objects, such as a knife or a pencil. *Ḥarufō* can also mean ‘hot’ (as pepper). According to the cumulative data, *ḥarufō* is used in the Midyat variety, whereas *ʕawudo* is the village exponent of SHARP.

ṣawudo/ṣawido was derived from the verb *ṣowəd/ṣawəd* ‘become sharp’, whose etymology is unknown.¹¹

ḥorəḥ/ḥarəḥ ‘become sharp’ < MEA: *ḥrp* ‘to be sharp’ (SL 494); *ḥrp* ‘to sharpen’ (DJBA 484); *ḥrp* ‘to be early, sharp’ (MD 153). *Ḥarūfo* is an adjective derived from the verb *ḥorəḥ/ḥarəḥ* according to a productive rule (LuF § 171 c).

143. *short*

karyo (RW 267)

MEA: *karyā* ‘short’ (SL 651).

144. *to sing*

zmr (*zomər/zmälle*) (RG 233)

MEA: *zmr* ‘to pipe’, Pa ‘to sing, praise’ (SL 386); *zmr* ‘to sing’ (DJBA 417); *zmr* ‘to sing, make music’ (MD 169).

145. *to sit*

ytw (*yotu/yatu*) (RG 677–680)

MEA: *ytb* ‘to sit’ (SL 587); *ytb* ‘to sit’ (DJBA 545); *ytb* ‘to sit, stay’ (MD 193).

146. *skin*

galdo (RW 168)

MEA: *geldā* ‘skin, leather’ (SL 233); *gildā* ‘scab, hide’ (DJBA 280); *gilda* ‘leather’ (MD 90).

147. *sky*

šmayo (RW 499)

MEA: *šmayyā* ‘sky, heaven’ (SL 1572); *šmayyā* ‘sky, heaven’ (DJBA 1157); *šumya* ‘heavens’ (MD 455).

148. *to sleep*

dmx (*doməx/daməx*) (RG 94)

MEA: *dmk* ‘to sleep’ (SL 310); *dmk* ‘to lie’ (DJBA 343).

149. *small*

naṣīmo (RW 352)

Arab.: *naṣīm* ‘sanft; friedlich’ (AWSG 1292); *naṣīm* ‘klein (Sache), jung (Vieh)’ (VW II 210); *naṣīm* ‘klein, jung (von Alter)’ (Kinderib 143). See also 21 CHILD.

150. *to smell (tr.)*

nqḥ (*noqəḥ/nqəḥle*) (RG 72)

The etymology is unknown

11. Cf. Tezel 2003: 198, who relates this Turoyo verb to the Middle Aramaic root *ṣbd* ‘to do’.

151. *smoke**dexono* (RW 126)# Arab.: *duxxān* ‘Rauch’ (AWSG 381).152. *smooth**šahik* (RW 482)# Kurd.: *šahîk* ‘shining, brilliant’ (Thackston 240); *šahîk* ‘rewşen (clear), ronak (bright)’ (Ferhenga 377). *šahîk* ‘glatt, eben’ (Omar 2016: 589).153. *snake**ḥayye* (RW 214), *kurfo* (RW 284)In Midyat and Kfarze, the most popular term is *ḥayye*,¹² while in the rest of the villages it is *kurfo*.# *ḥayye* < Arab.: *ḥayya* ‘Schlange, Viper’ (AWSG 312).# *kurfo* < MEA: *kurpā* ‘female serpent’ (SL 615); the extant textual sources for this word are from the 8th century on, its further etymology is unknown.Diachronically, *kurfo* is the older one of the two basic terms for SNAKE in the Turoyo dialect cluster. It follows from the fact *kurfo* possesses the genuinely Aramaic inflection (*kurfo* ~ pl. *kurfe*), while the other term, *ḥayye* ~ pl. *ḥayyat*, betrays the inflection pattern proper of substantives borrowed from Arabic and Kurdish. Note that in most of NENA and in Mlahso (Jastrow 1994: 178), the basic terms for SNAKE go back to the MEA *ḥewyā*, while the cognate word in Turoyo, *ḥawyo*, is rare.¹³154. *snow**talgo* (RW 510)# MEA: *talgā* ‘snow’ (SL 1647); *talgā* ‘snow’ (DJBA 1208); *talga* ‘snow’ (MD 478).155. *some**ḥən* (RW 203)# Kurd.: *hin* ‘some’ (Chyet 257).156. *to spit**ryq* (*royəq/rəqle*) (RG 504)# MEA: *rqq* ‘to spit’ (SL 1490); *rqq* ‘to spit’ (DJBA 1094); *rqq* ‘to spit’ (MD 437).157. *to split (firewood)*There is no special verb for splitting firewood in Turoyo. Our informants used words for cutting and breaking: *qṭṣ* (*qoṭəṣ/qṭəṣle*) ‘to cut’ (RG 188–191), *twr* (*towər/twəlle*) ‘to break’ (RG 453).# *qṭṣ*, see the commentary on CUT.12. A Kfarze informant of ours used *kurfo* and *ḥayye* in free variation.13. According to RW 214, *ḥawyo* is ‘männliche Schlange, lang und schwarz, kann einen totdrücken.’

twr < MEA: *tbr* 'to break' (SL 1622); *tbr* 'to break, crush' (DJBA 1192); *tbr* 'to break' (MD 482).

158. *to squeeze*

ʕsr (*ʕoʕər/ʕʕalle*) (RG 232)

MEA: *ʕsr* 'to press, to squeeze' (SL 1127); *ʕsr* (DJBA 876); *aʕr*, *ʕsr* 'to squeeze, wring out' (MD 33).

159. *to stab*

čyk (*čoyək/čəkle*) (RG 506)

Kurd.: *ç'ikandin* 'to stick, thrust, insert' (Chyet 109).

160. *to stand* (a stative situation)

kly (*kole/kali*) (RG 347)

MEA: *kly* 'to impede, prevent' (SL 624); *kly* 'to be finished' (DJBA 582); *kla* 'to keep enclosed, hold back' (MD 216).

161. *star*

kukwo (RW 281)

MEA: *kawkbā* 'star' (SL 606); *kokbā* 'star' (DJBA 558); *kukba* 'star' (MD 206).

162. *stick*

čugan (RW 101), *ħaṭro* (RW 225)

There are two common words for STICK in Turoyo: *čugan* and *ħaṭro*. Both are used, quite generally, for any long wooden object, in particular for walking cane, for STICK as a weapon, etc. Most of our informants, independently of their provenance, use *čugan* in various senses of STICK, yet *ħaṭro* also appears in part of the answers.

A third word our informants use for STICK is *qayso* (RW 393); its basic meaning is '(a piece of) wood'.

čugan < Kurd.: *çogan* 'stick, staff, rod' (Chyet 115).

ħaṭro < MEA: *ħuṭrā* 'rod, staff' (SL 423); *ħuṭrā* 'staff' (DJBA 437); *ħuṭra* 'staff, sceptre' (MD 135).

qayso < MEA: *qaysā* 'wood, piece of wood' (SL 1364); *qinsā*, *qissā* 'wood, twig' (DJBA 1014).

163. *stone*

kefo (RW 272)

MEA: *kēpā* 'stone' (SL 594); *kēpā* 'stone' (DJBA 577).

164. *straight*

msawyo (RW 345)

swy II 'to level' < Arab.: *swy* II 'ebnen, gerade machen' (AWSG 617). *Msawyo* is a part. pass. derived from *swy* II according to a productive rule (LuF § 115).

165. *to suck (breast, milk — about child)*

ynq (yonəq/inəqle) (RG 655–656)

MEA: *ynq* ‘to suck’ (SL 577); *ynq* ‘to suck’ (DJBA 538); *ynq* ‘to suck’ (MD 192).

166. *sun*

šəmšo (RW 496), *yawmo* (RW 575)

Most of our informants use *šəmšo* for SUN, while a speaker from Mzizah consistently uses *yawmo*. A meaning shift DAY > SUN is well known in various languages of the world, in particular in Kurdish, where *roj* is the basic word for both DAY and SUN (Chyet: 521, 733, 826). In some of NENA, the MEA **yawmā* also acquired the meaning ‘sun’: Barwar *yoma* (Khan 2008: 1451); C. Urmi *yuma* (Khan 2016: 342).

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).

167. *to swell*

ym (yorəm/yarəm) (RG 657)

Arab.: *wrm* ‘geschwollen sein; anschwellen’ (AWSG 1392).

168. *to swim*

shy (sohe/shēle) (RG 333)

MEA: *shy* ‘to wash o.s., bathe’ (SL 992); *shy* ‘to wash oneself, bathe’ (DJBA 797); *saa* ‘to wash, perform ablutions’ (MD 308).

169. *tail*

danwo (RW 113), *duv* (RW 139)

There are two exponents of TAIL, *danwo* and *duv/duve/duvke*. *Danwo* is used both in the Midyat and village varieties, whereas *duv* is an exclusively village term. *Duv* also means ‘fat-tail, rump’.

danwo < MEA: *dunbā* ‘tail’ (SL 284); *danbā* ‘tail’ (DJBA 344); *dinba* ‘tail’ (MD 108).

duv < Kurd: *dûv* ‘tail, fat-tail’ (Chyet 170).

170. *that (m. sg.)*

hawo

MEA: *haw* ‘that one’ (SL 333); cf. also *hāhū* ‘that one, a certain one’ (DJBA 368); *hahu* ‘this, that’ (MD 116).

171. *there*

tamo (RW 512)

MEA: *tammān* ‘there’ (SL 1653); *tammān* ‘there’ (DJBA 1213).

172. *they*

M: *hanne*

Q: *hənnək*

hənnə < Arab.: *hənnə* ‘sie’ (VW 227); *hənnə* ‘sie’ (Kinderib 149); *hənn*, *hənnə*, *hənnen* ‘eux, ils, elles’ (DAS 874), and see Jastrow 1990: 94.

hənnək The etymology is unclear.¹⁴

173. *thick*

ḥlimo (RW 240)

MEA: *ḥlīmā* ‘sound, healthy person’ (SL 456).

174. *thin*

raqiqo (RW 436)

MEA: *raqqīqā* ‘thin, slender’ (SL 1489).

175. *think*

ḥkr

Arab.: *ḥkr* VIII ‘nachdenken’ (AWSG 977); *ḥkr* VIII ‘nachdenken, denken’ (VW II 99).

176. *this (m. sg.)*

hano

MEA: *hānnā* ‘this’ (SL 346).

177. *three*

tloṭo (RW 527)

MEA: *tlātā* ‘three’ (SL 1651); *tlātā* ‘three’ (DJBA 1211); *tlata* ‘three’ (MD 487).

178. *to throw*

ḥlq II (RG 202–205)

Arab.: *ḥlq* II ‘werfen’ (VW I 123); *ḥlq* II (Kinderib 39).

179. *to tie*

ṣr III (RG 735–739)

MEA: *ṣrr* ‘to tie’ (SL 1304); *ṣrr* ‘to tie up’ (DJBA 974); *ṣur*, *srr* ‘to surround, tie in’ (MD 391). MEA: *ṣsr* ‘to bind, tie’ (SL 79); *ṣsr*, ‘to bind, imprison’ (DJBA 150); *asr*, *ṣsr* ‘to bind, tie up’ (MD 29). See also RG 735-739.

180. *tongue*

lišono (RW 297)

MEA: *leššānā* ‘tongue’ (SL 698); *liššānā* ‘tongue’ (DJBA 627); *lišana* ‘tongue’ (MD 237).

181. *tooth*

ṣaršo (RW 12)

14. *Contra* Kim 2010: 233, n.13, who believes that *hənnə* (Midyat) and *hənnək* (quryoyo) are of Aramaic origin and their long /nn/ developed on analogy with 3pl. Preterit forms of the *grəšše* type.

MEA: *ʕaršā* ‘molar tooth’ (SL 1144).

182. *tree*

dawmo (RW 121)

Arab.: *dawme* ‘Baum’ (VW I 164); *dawme* (Kinderib 53).

183. *to turn (intr.)*

ftl III (RG 303) (+ *hašo* ‘back’, *foto* ‘face’): *maftal hašo/foto* (lit.: to turn one’s back/face)

MEA: *ptl* ‘to twist, turn aside’ (SL 1268); *ptl* ‘to twist’ (MD 385).

184. *two*

tre (RW 528)

MEA: *trēn* ‘two’ (SL 1666); *trē(n)* ‘two’ (DJBA 1233); *trin* ‘two’ (MD 490)

185. *to vomit*

ḥfx (*ḥofəx/ḥfəxle*) (RG 69)

The etymology is uncertain.¹⁵

186. *to walk*

hlx II (RG 159)

MEA: *hlk* ‘to go back, return’, Pa ‘to walk’ (SL 349); *hlk* ‘to walk around’ (DJBA 384); *hlk* ‘to go forward, walk’ (MD 148).

187. *warm*

šahino/šahuno (RW 483)

šoḥən/šahən ‘become warm’ < MEA: *šḥn* ‘to be inflamed’, Pa ‘to warm, heat’ (SL 1544); *šḥn* ‘be inflamed, heat’ (DJBA 1128); *šḥn* ‘to become hot’ (MD 451). *Šahino/šahuno* is an adjective derived from the verb *šoḥən/šahən* according to a productive rule (LuF § 171 a, c).

188. *to wash*

šyğ III (RG 537)

MEA: *šwg* ‘to cleanse, purify’ (SL 1518); *šug* ‘to rub’, Af ‘to wash, rinse’ (MD 453).

189. *water*

maye (RW 325)

MEA: *mayyā* ‘water’ (SL 750); *mayyā* ‘water’ (DJBA 662); *mai* ‘water’ (MD 242).

190. *we*

aḥna

MEA: *ḥnan*, *ʔnḥnn* ‘we’ (SL 472, 60); *ānan* ‘we’ (DJBA 145); *anin*, *anʕn* ‘we’ (MD 27).

15. See a discussion in Tezel 2003: 194–195.

191. *wet**taryo* (RW 517)

tore/tari ‘to become wet’ < MEA: *try* ‘to be damp’ (SL 1665); *try* ‘to soak, steep’ (DJBA 1233); *tra* ‘to wet, moisten’ (MD 490). *Taryo* is an adjective derived from *tore/tari* according to a productive rule (LuF § 114 c).

192. *what?**mān* (RW 335)

MEA: *mān* ‘what?’ (SL 778); *mān* ‘what’ (DJBA 637).

193. *when?**ema* (RW 145)

MEA: *emmat* ‘when?’ (SL 58); *immat* ‘when’ (DJBA 117); *ʕmat* ‘when’ (MD 352).

194. *where?**ayko* (RW 30)

MEA: *aykā* ‘where’ (SL 33); *hēkā* ‘where’ (DJBA 376); *haka, ʕka* ‘where’ (MD 120), 348.

195. *white**ḥeworo* (RW 230)

MEA: *ḥewwārā* ‘white’ (SL 432); *ḥiwwār* ‘white’ (DJBA 450); *hiuara* ‘white’ (MD 142).

196. *who?**man* (RW 313)

MEA: *man* ‘who?’ (SL 778); *man* ‘who’ (DJBA 636); *man* ‘who’ (MD 246).

197. *wide**rwiḥo* (RW 448)

There are two common exponents of WIDE in Turoyo: *rwiḥo* and *fatyo/patyo*. We have found neither semantic difference nor dialectal distribution between the two. Yet, *rwiḥo* is used much more frequently by our informants (twelve tokens vs. three) and in the corpus (thirty-three tokens vs. six) than *fatyo/patyo*. Therefore, *rwiḥo* is to be counted as the basic exponent of WIDE.

Certain speakers use both terms synonymously, others employ only *rwiḥo*, while a speaker from Bsorino gets along with *patyo* alone.

rwiḥo < MEA: *rwīḥ* ‘wide, large’ (SL 1448); *rwī^aḥ* ‘extensive, wide’ (DJBA 1064).

fatyo/patyo < MEA: *patyā* ‘broad, wide’ (SL 1266); *pṭē* ‘wide’ (DJBA 947); *ptia* ‘open, wide’ (MD 384).

198. *wife*Q: *atto* (RW 39), *ḥurma* (RW 246)M: *atto*

See a discussion and the etymologies in the entry on WOMAN below.

199. *wind**hawa* (RW 198)

Arab.: *hawāʾ* ‘Luft, Atmosphäre, Wind’ (AWSG 1365); *hawa* ‘Luft, Wind’ (VW II 231); *hawa* ‘Luft’ (Kinderib 149). Cf. Kurd. *hewa* ‘air, atmosphere; climate’ (Chyet 247).

200. *wing**čange* (RW 92), *ğinaḥ* (RW 84), *parra* (RW 377)

The data of our field research are as follows: speakers of the Midən variety use *parra* (pl. *parrat*),¹⁶ speakers from Mzizaḥ and Zaz use *čange* (pl. *čangat*). Midyat informants say *ğinaḥ* (pl. *ğinaḥat*). A fourth word is *glefo*, which, according to some informants, is not used in everyday speech.

The corpus evidence suggests that *ğinaḥ* is used mainly in the Midyat variety (PrS 221: 4, 7; 254: 1, 20; 255: 18), while *čange* shows up in texts from the Raite region (95: 99, 112: 285) and ʕIwardo (52: 39, 57: 26).

čange < Kurd.: *çeng* ‘handful, palm, hand, arm; wing of bird’ (Chyet 104).

ğinaḥ < Arab.: *ğanāḥ* ‘Flügel’ (AWSG 206); *ğənh* ‘Flügel’ (VW I 91); *ğnāḥ* (pl.) ‘Flügel’ (Kinderib 30).

parra < Kurd.: *p’er* ‘feather, wing’ (Chyet 439).

for *glefo* no immediate etymon has been found, cf. the MEA data: *gelpānā* ‘wing, feather’, *geppā* ‘wing’ (SL 239), 253; *gappā* ‘wing, feather’ (DJBA 297); *gadpa* ‘wing, limb’ (MD 74).

201. *to wipe**kfr* II (RG 253)

MEA: *kpr* Pa ‘to wipe off, efface’ (SL 644); *kpr* ‘to wipe off, deny’ (DJBA 597); *kpr* ‘to wipe off, expunge’ (MD 221).

202. *with**ʕam* (RW 8)

MEA: *ʕam* ‘with’ (SL 1107); *ʕim* ‘with, together with’ (DJBA 869); *ʕm* ‘with’ (MD 351).

203. *woman*M: *aṭto* (RW 39)Q: *pire* (RW 382), *ḥurma* (RW 246)

As it follows from the data of our field research and the corpus, all frequent words for WOMAN may also refer to WIFE, though some of the WOMAN-words are more prone to this usage than others.

In the Midyat variety, the basic term for both WOMAN and WIFE is *aṭto*. A second word is *žənəke* [RW 257]: it is basically WOMAN, and only exceptionally does it refer to WIFE. A third term, *ḥurma*, does not happen to show up in the answers of our Midyat informants. It appears twice in the Ritter corpus from Midyat (texts 1 – 31), both times referring to WOMAN.

16. Cf. also Tezel 2003 :85 fn. 288.

In the village varieties, there are two basic words for WOMAN: *pire*, absent from the Midyat dialect,¹⁷ and *hurma*. *Pire* is only rarely used for WIFE, while *hurma* says WOMAN and WIFE with roughly the same frequency. For WIFE, the most frequent word is *atto*, which, in its turn, only rarely says WOMAN. Thus, quryoyo possesses two basic terms for WIFE, *atto* and *hurma*. In village dialects, *žanake* is rare and denotes WOMAN rather than WIFE.

In the corpus, the word *niše/neše* ‘women, wives’ appears as the plural of *atto*, *hurma*, and *žanake* (e.g., 62: 124; 58: 11, 178f). In agreement with these findings, all our informants, whatever their words for WOMAN, invariably render ‘women’ (in sentences like ‘women cooked food’, etc.) as *niše/neše*. Yet, we were able to successfully elicit from the speakers the expected plural forms *hurmat* and *žanakat* (and see RW 246). By contrast, in the corpus, *pire* has the expected plural *pirat*.

atto < MEA: *attā* ‘woman, wife’ (SL 66); *ittatā* (DJBA 128); *ʕnta* ‘woman, wife’ (MD 354). Nöldeke (§ 146) posits *attā* for Syriac (as against *attā*, expected etymologically), yet the Turoyo shape is not the regular descendant (in terms of historical phonology) of any of the above MEA words.

hurma < Arab.: *hurma* ‘was unantastbar, geheiligt ist; Frau, Dame, Gattin’ (AWSG 249); *ḥarme* (pl. *ḥarīm*) ‘femme (appartenant à un homme)’ in Mardin Arabic (Grigore 2007: 196); *ḥarme*, pl. *ḥaram* ‘femme’, lat. *fœmina*, *mulier*, *uxor* (DAS 154).

pire < Kurd.: *pîr* ‘old woman; wife’ (Chyet 464). The source form must be the absolute oblique *pîrê*.

žanake < Kurd.: *jîn* ‘woman; wife, married woman’ (Chyet 290). The source form must be the indefinite oblique *jinekê*.

204. *worm*

tlawʕo (RW 527)

MEA: *tawlʕā* ‘worm’ (SL 1630); *tōlaʕtā* ‘worm’ (DJBA 1197); *tulita* ‘worm, embryo’ (MD 483).

205. *year*

šato (RW 491)

MEA: *šattā* ‘year’ (SL 1581); *šattā* ‘year’ (DJBA 1183); *šita* ‘year’ (MD 464).

206. *yellow*

šaʕuʔo (RW 481)

MEA *šʕotā* ‘wax, color of wax, yellow’ (SL 1582); *šauta* ‘wax’ (MD 440).

207. *you (sg.)*

hat

MEA: *at* ‘you (sg.)’ (SL 66); *ant* ‘you (sg. m.)’ (DJBA 146); *anat* ‘thou’ (MD 24).

208. *you (pl.)*

hatu

17. The noun *pire* ‘spider’ is a homonym.

MEA: *atton* ‘you (pl. m.)’ (SL 66); *attu* ‘you (pl. m.)’ (DJBA 175); *anaton* ‘you (pl.)’ (MD 25).

2. Concluding observations

2.1. Dialect Variation in the 208-word List

We have found noteworthy dialect differences for some thirteen concepts of the List.

In most cases, different word for the same notion oppose the city variety on the one hand and the village dialects, on the other. Where the exponents in question are not of Aramaic origin, the rule of thumb is as follows: Midyat terms come from Arabic, whereas village ones come from Kurdish. E.g. TAIL is *danwo* (< MEA) in Midyat and villages, while in the villages there also appears *duv* (< Kurd.). SNAKE is *kurfo* in the villages (< MEA) and *ḥayye* (< Arab.) in Midyat and Kfarze.

The list is as follows:

22. cloud: *ṣaymo* Midyat (MEA); *ṣaywo* villages (MEA). 31. dirty: *mlawto* Midən (Arab.); *ṣḡiqo* elsewhere. 47. feather: *parra* Midyat (Kurd.); *pərtək* villages (Kurd.). 67. good: *kay(i)so* Midyat & part of villages (Arab.); *tawwo/towo* villages (MEA); 71. hair: *saṣro* Midyat & part of villages (MEA); *sawko* villages east from Midyat (MEA). 73. he: *huwe* Midyat (Arab.); *hiye* villages (obscure origin). 99. liver: *qanyo* Midyat (MEA); *kazabe* villages (Kurd.); 142. sharp: *ḥarufo* Midyat (MEA); *ṣawudo* villages (unknown origin); 153. snake: *ḥayye* Midyat & Kfarze (Arab.); *kurfo* other villages (MEA); 169. tail: *danwo* Midyat & villages (MEA); *duv* only villages (Kurd.); 198. wife: *atto* Midyat (MEA); *ḥurma* villages (Arab.); 200. wing: *ḡinaḥ* Midyat (Arab.); *čange* part of villages (Kurd.); *parra* part of villages (Kurd.); 203. woman: *atto* Midyat (MEA); *žənəke* Midyat (Kurd.); *pire* villages (Kurd.); *ḥurma* villages (Arab.).

2.2. An Etymological Summary

In this summary, we take into account all the exponents of the Swadesh list concepts mentioned in the study. The sum total of exponents is two hundred and twenty-two. It is higher than the number of notions, because, to certain concepts, we juxtaposed more than just one exponent. Some Swadesh list concepts have no immediate hits in Turoyo, and contextual renderings of these concepts adduced above were not taken care of in this Summary.¹⁸ Thus, for our Summary, we distinguish between multiple exponents and the lack of exponents, i. e., roughly, lack of one-to-one correspondences between English and Turoyo lexicons.

For inner-Turoyo derivations, we respected their ultimate roots rather than immediate sources. Thus *ḡamudo* ‘cold’ is an inner-Turoyo derivation from the verb *ḡoməd/ḡaməd* ‘become cold’, yet, in the Summary, we count it as an Arabism, because the root *ḡmd* came into Turoyo from Arabic.

72.1 % of exponents (160 words) are of Aramaic origin:

1. all: *kul*; 2. and: *w*; 4. ash: *qaṭmo*; 6. back: *ḥašo*; 8. bark: *qlafto*; 10. belly: *gawo*; 11. big: *rabo*; 12. bird: *safruno*, *ṭayro*; 13. to bite: *nkt*; 14. black: *komo*; 15. blood: *admo*; 17. bone: *garmo*; 19. to burn (tr.): *yqđ* III; 22. cloud: *ṣaymo*, *ṣaywo*; 24. to come: *ʔy*; 26. to count: *bny*; 27. to cut:

18. These are as follows: 9. because; 16. to blow; 18. to breathe; 25. correct; 35. dull; 54. to float; 87. if; 97. to lie; 123. to push; 157. to split.

qf̄f̄; 28. day: *yawmo*; 29. to die: *myt̄*; 30. to dig: *h̄f̄r̄*; 32. dog: *kalbo*; 33. to drink: *šty*; 37. ear: *ađno*; 38. earth: *ar̄fo*; 39. to eat: *ʔxl*; 40. egg: *bəh̄to*; 41. eye: *ʕayno*; 42. to fall: *nfl*; 43. far: *raḥuqo*; 44. fat: *tarbo*; 46. to fear: *zyʕ*; 48. a few/a little: *kmo*; 50. fingernail: *ʕarfo*, *ʕafro*; 51. fire: *nuro*; 52. fish: *nuno/nənto*; 53. five: *ḥamšo*; 56. flower: *wardo*; 59. foot: *rağlo*; 60. forest: *ʕuro*; 61. four: *arb̄fo*; 62. to freeze: *gl̄d̄*; 64. full: *malyo*; 65. to give: *hyw*; 66. to go: *ʔzl*; 67. good: *ʕawwo/ʕowo*; 68. grass: *gelo*; 69. green: *yaroqo*; 70. guts: *maʕye*, *məʕwote*; 71. hair: *ʕaʕro*; 72. hand: *ido*; 75. to hear: *šmf̄*; 76. heart: *lebo*; 77. heavy: *yaquro*; 78. here: *harke*; 79. to hit: *mhy*; 81. horn: *qarno*; 83. to hunt: *syd*; 84. husband: *gawro*; 85. I: *uno*, *ono*; 86. ice: *gliđo*; 88. in: *b*; 89. to kill: *qtl*; 90. knee: *barko*; 91. to know: *ʔd̄f̄*; 93. to laugh: *ghx*, *ghk*; 94. leaf: *ʕarfo*; 96. leg: *rağlo*; 99. liver: *qanyo*; 100. long: *yarixo*; 101. louse: *qalmo*; 102. man (male): *gawro*; 103. man (human being): *nošo*; 105. meat: *başro*; 106. moon: *şahro*; 108. mountain: *ʕuro*; 109. mouth: *femo*; 110. name: *əşmo*; 111. narrow: *ʕiqo*; 112 near: *qariwo*; 113. neck: *qđolo*; 114. new: *ḥaʕo*; 115. night: *lalyo*; 116. nose: *nhiro*; 117. not: *lo*; 118. old: *ʕatiqo*; 119. one: *ḥa*; 120. other: *ḥreno*; 121. to play: *šʕy*; 122. to pull: *grš*; 124. rain: *maʕro*; 125. red: *semoqo*; 127. river: *nahro*; 129. root: *warido*; 130. rope: *ḥawlo*; 131. rotten: *ḥariwo*; 133. to rub: *frx*; 134. salt: *malho*; 136. to say: *ʔmr*; 137. to scratch: *hyk*; 139. to see: *ḥzy*; 140. seed: *buzarʕolbzarʕo*; 141. to sew: *hyt̄*; 142. sharp: *ḥarufo*; 143. short: *karyo*; 144. to sing: *zmr*; 145. to sit: *ytw*; 146. skin: *galdo*; 147. sky: *šmayo*; 148. to sleep: *dmx*; 153. snake: *kurfo*; 154. snow: *talgo*; 156. to spit: *ryq*; 158. to squeeze: *ʕsr*; 160. to stand: *kly*; 161. star: *kukwo*; 162. stick: *ḥaʕro*; 163. stone: *kefo*; 165. to suck: *ynq*; 166. sun: *šamšo*, *yawmo*; 168. to swim: *shy*; 169. tail: *danwo*; 170. that (m. sg.): *hawo*; 171. there: *tamo*; 173. thick: *ḥlimo*; 174. thin: *raqiqo*; 176. this (m. sg.): *hano*; 177. three: *tloʕo*; 179. to tie: *şyr* III; 180. tongue: *lişono*; 181. tooth: *ʕaršo*; 183. to turn (intr.): *fil* III; 184. two: *tre*; 186. to walk: *hlx* II; 187. warm: *şahino/şahuno*; 188. to wash: *şyg* III; 189. water: *maye*; 190. we: *aḥna*; 191. wet: *taryo*; 192. what?: *mən*; 193. when?: *ema*; 194. where?: *ayko*; 195. white: *ḥeworo*; 196. who?: *man*; 197. wide: *rwiho*; 198. wife: *aʕto*; 201. to wipe: *kfr* II; 202. with: *ʕam*; 203. woman: *aʕto*; 204. worm: *tlawʕo*; 205. year: *şato*; 206. yellow: *şaʕuto*; 207. you (sg.): *hat*; 208. you (pl.): *hatu*.

13,5 % of exponents (33 words) are of Arabic origin:

3. animal: *ḥaywan*; 20. chest: *şadro*; 21. child: *naşimo*; 23. cold: *ğamudo*; 31. dirty: *mlawto*; 34. dry: *naşifo*; 49. to fight: *qtl* II; 57. to fly: *fyr*; 63. fruit: *fekiye*; 67. good: *kayiso/kayso*; 73. he: *huwe*; 74. head: *qarʕo*; 80. to hold: *myd*; 82. how: *aydarbo*; 98. to live: *ʕyš*; 103. man (human being): *insan*; 104. many: *ğalabe*; 128. road: *darbo*; 132. round: *mdawro*; 138. sea: *baḥar*; 149. small: *naşimo*; 151. smoke: *dexono*; 153. snake: *ḥayye*; 164. straight: *msawyo*; 167. to swell: *ym*; 172. they: *hənnə*; 175. think: *ftkr*; 178. to throw: *ḥlq* II; 182. tree: *dawmo*; 198. wife: *ḥurma*; 199. wind: *hawa*; 200. wing: *ğinah*; 203. woman: *ḥurma*.

8.5 % of exponents (19 words) are of Kurdish origin:

7. bad: *pis*; 36. dust: *toz*; 47. feather: *parra*, *pərtək*; 58. fog: *məž*; 84. husband: *zlam*; 95. left: *čap*, *čappiye*; 99. liver: *kazabe*; 102. man (male): *zlam*; 126. right: *raşt*, *raştīye*; 135. sand: *qum* (the ultimate source is Turkic); 152. smooth: *şahik*; 155. some: *hən*; 159. to stab: *čyk*; 162. stick: *čugan*; 169. tail: *duv*; 200. wing: *čange*, *parra*; 203. woman: *pire*.

Etymology is unknown for 4,5 % of exponents (10 words):

31. dirty: *ʕğiqo*; 48. a few/a little: *əşmo*; 55. to flow: *ql̄f̄*; 71. hair: *sawko*; 73. he: *hiye*; 92. lake: *rawmo*; 142. sharp: *ʕawudo/ʕawido*; 150. to smell: *nqḥ*; 172. they: *hənnək*; 185. to vomit: *ḥfx*.

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4. Abbreviations

Af = *aʕel*, the causative stem of Middle Aramaic
Arab. = Arabic
ART = article
COP = copula
DAT = dative
denom. = denominative
DETRANS = detransitive
Ethpe = *ethpeʕel*, one of Middle Aramaic detransitive stems
Ethpa = *ethpaʕʕal*, one of Middle Aramaic detransitive stems
F = feminine
IMP = imperative
INFECT = infectum
INTR = intransitive
Kurd. = Kurdish (Kurmanji)
M = *mədyoyo*, the Midyat variety of Turoyo,
M = masculine
MEA = Middle Eastern Aramaic
NEG = negative
NEGCOP = negative copula
Pa. = *paʕʕel*, the intensive stem of Middle Aramaic.
PL = plural
POSSI, POSSII = possessive suffix from the 1st and 2nd sets
PRET = preterite
PRS = present
Q = *quryoyo*, village varieties of Turoyo
SG = singular
SUBJ = subject
tr. = transitive (verb)
Tur. = Turoyo
VA = verbal adjective