
Notes on transcription: The vowels i, e, e and o are long; otherwise vowel length is marked only for long á versus short a and long ú versus short u. Stress is penultimate unless otherwise indicated. Superscript + preceding a word indicates word-emphasis.

Abbreviations: Akk. = Akkadian, Ar. = Arabic, Azer. = Azerbaijani, C. = Christian dialect of ... (e.g. C.Urmi), J. = Jewish dialect of ... (e.g. J.Urmi), JBA = Jewish Babylonian Aramaic, JPA = Jewish Palestinian Aramaic, Kurd. = Kurdish, Mand. = Mandaic, OA = Older Aramaic (vis-à-vis Neo-Aramaic), Syr. = Syriac. See further under n. 2.

NENA consists of dialects spoken (or originally spoken) east of the Tigris river in Kurdistan, the plain of Mosul and Iranian Azerbaijan.

The lexical data offered in this paper refer to the following Neo-Aramaic dialects:

uproot’, J.Urmi +znqr ‘to pour, strew’, Hertevin qopina ‘forehead’,
Betanure šuixa ‘fool’, A-Tiare haṭontא ‘very wealthy (man)’,
S-Tiare xula ‘ford’, or Baz podе ‘snot’, with cognates such as C.Urmi pūdh,
‘Aqra poze and J.Sanandaj bokš? None of these lexemes can be decisively identified as stemming from a foreign source, nor do they appear
to have an ascertained Aramaic ancestry. At least some of them may well be genuine Aramaic words that have drifted so radically from
their forbears during the long course of Aramaic history, having been
reshaped by phonological, morphological, semantic, or accumulative,
many-faceted processes, that their origins are no longer readily recognizable.

Such radical changes have indeed occurred in many NENA words
of Aramaic provenance. Compare, e.g., J.Koy Sanjaq nhālā ‘ear’ with
its precursor attested in Syriac as ḥnālā a plural form of ḥnā ‘ear’;
K-Tiare pōnīša ‘bubble’, a diminutive form (ending in -iša <
*-ița) of Syr. ćanūn ‘ball’ and A-Tiare āṣa ‘cock’s upper claw, spur’,

Christian NENA dialects; in Turkey: Baz, Hertevin, Jila, MarBishu, Marga, Sat;
Tiare cluster: A-Tiare = Ashitha, K-Tiare = Ko, S-Tiare = Sarspidho; Tkhuma
cluster: M-Tkhuma = Mazra; Iraq: Aqlush, ‘Aqra, Aradhin, Bareile,
Isnakh, Koy Sanjaq, Nerwa, Qaraqosh, Telkepe; Iran: Salamas, Sanandaj, Urmī.
Jewish NENA dialects; in Iraq: ‘Amadiyya, Aradhin, Arbel, Barzan, Betanure,
Dobe, Koy Sanjaq, Nerwa, Rustaq, Sulemaniyya, Zakho; Iran: Kerend,
Naghada, Sanandaj, Saqqiz, Urmī.
Additionally, there are references to Mlaššō Neo-Mandaic, Neo-Western Aramaic
and Turoyo.

Data on Neo-Aramaic dialects without a bibliographical reference are based on my
informants.

3O. Jastrow, Der neuaramäische Dialekt von Hertevin (Provinz Siirt) (Semitica

4According to an informant, the adjective haṭontα is after the name of ‘a certain
Arab king who was very rich’. Could this word stem from the name of the
pre-Islamic poet Ḥātim (Ḥātim of the tribe of Ṭā‘īyy), renowned for his gen-
23-24)? For Ar. h > Tiare h cf. Ar. ḥurān > Kurd. ḥeywan > Tiare ḥeww ‘an-
imal’. Cf. also J.Koy Sanjaq ‘aflātān ‘very clever (person, including woman)’ <

5The historical process is, briefly, *ēnāhāštā > *ānāhāštā > *nāhāštā >
*nāhlār > *nēhlā; ānāhāštā; see the evidence in H. Mutzafi, ‘The reflexes of the word
wiki (‘ear’) in Eastern Neo-Aramaic: Etymology, Diversification and Innovation’,
in M. Bar-Asher and M. Florentin (eds.), Samaritan, Hebrew and Aramaic Studies
Presented to Professor Abraham Tal (in Hebrew), forthcoming.