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Quantifying lexical distances among Nudiz, Mahmudi, and Verin Dvin Urmī (North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic)¹

This study documents and analyzes lexical data from four Christian North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic varieties: Mahmudi, Nudiz, Verin Dvin Urmī, and Urmia Urmī, focusing on the previously undescribed Mahmudi and Nudiz. We provide correspondences from these lects for an extended 226-item basic vocabulary list collected for this study with etymologies, cognates from earlier Aramaic, and loanword sources. Cognate share calculations reveal that all four varieties belong to a single language. Notably, Mahmudi and Verin Dvin Urmī — spoken in the same village for 67 years — exhibit stronger convergence than with their genealogical relatives (Nudiz and Urmia Urmī respectively), highlighting contact-driven divergence from inherited patterns.

Keywords: Semitic languages; Aramaic language; North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic; dialectology; lexicostatistics; language contact; lexical semantics.

1. Introduction

One of the approaches to language documentation and comparative linguistic studies is the compiling and analysis of basic vocabulary. As a result of those, one can establish regular sound correspondences, measure lexical distances between lects and eventually build a language classification. With this in mind, we provide 200+ word lists with etymological notes for four North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic varieties: Nudiz, Mahmudi, Verin Dvin Urmī and Urmia Urmī, with the focus on the first two, unstudied and highly endangered varieties. This study contributes to the subgrouping of Neo-Aramaic along with other recent works on Neo-Aramaic lexicology such as Barsky et al. 2018a on Mlahso, Barsky et al. 2018b on Turoyo, and Lyavdansky 2021 on Literary Christian Urmī, as well as more general works by Mutzafi (2005; 2006), Krotkoff (1985), etc.

North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic (NENA) constitutes a complex dialect continuum comprising approximately 150 distinct varieties. Historically these varieties were spoken by Christian and Jewish communities in northern Iraq, north-western Iran, and south-eastern Turkey. Christian NENA speakers commonly identify themselves as “Assyrians”. Throughout the 20th century the majority of NENA-speaking communities were displaced from their ancestral homelands due to persecution and are now dispersed across the globe (Khan 2011). As a result, nowadays

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most NENA varieties are either extinct or critically endangered. Despite significant progress in their documentation in recent decades (see Khan 2011: 710 for overview), the internal classification of NENA remains poorly understood (Kim 2008). This is partly due to the underdocumentation or complete lack of documentation of many varieties, particularly those from south-eastern Turkey. Consequently, there is an urgent need to study these varieties and fill the gaps with reliable linguistic data, while such information is still accessible.

This paper examines two previously unstudied Christian NENA (Assyrian) varieties originating in south-eastern Turkey and belonging to the Hakkari NENA cluster (Khan 2018a: 191) — **Nudz** (abbreviated to Nud) and **Mahmudi** (abbreviated to Mahm). For the past 67 years Mahmudi has been spoken in a single village, Verin Dvin, Armenia, where Christian Urmi variety (further called VD Urmi) is also spoken. Since Mahmudi and **Verin Dvin Urmi** have been in close contact for decades, we include data on VD Urmi in our research. The data of spoken **Christian Urmi of Urmia, Iran**² (further called U Urmi), one of the most thoroughly described NENA varieties (Khan 2016), are also provided for comparison.

The paper is structured as follows. Section 2 includes an overview of the methods and materials used. Conventions of data representation are discussed in Section 3. Section 4 contains the list of words with etymological notes. Section 5 presents Results and Discussion.

2. Methods and materials

2.1. NENA varieties concerned in the paper

As mentioned in the Introduction, the varieties studied in the paper belong to the North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic subgroup of Aramaic languages. Aramaic languages form a distinct group within the Semitic family of the Afro-Asiatic macrofamily (Kogan 2015: 377). The earliest inscriptions in the Aramaic languages date back to the 9th century BCE, so the written history of Aramaic covers a period of almost 3000 years. Aramaic languages are traditionally divided into two main subgroups: Western and Eastern Aramaic, based on shared morphological innovations (Beyer 1986). There are also different classifications of Aramaic languages based on the time of their existence. According to Beyer (1986), attested Aramaic languages can be separated into three groups: Old Aramaic (850 BCE — 200 CE), Middle Aramaic (200 — 700 CE) and Modern Aramaic. However, none of the written Old and Middle Aramaic languages can be considered the direct ancestor of NENA varieties. Khan (2007: 8–12) compares Jewish and Christian spoken NENA with the earlier literary forms of Aramaic — Babylonian Talmudic Aramaic and Classical Syriac. The author discusses phonological, morphological and lexical features, and concludes that NENA varieties are “the descendants of vernacular forms of speech that existed for centuries side by side with, but concealed by, the literary forms of Aramaic” (Khan 2007: 11). The scheme in Figure 1 illustrates the genealogical relationships between Middle and Modern Aramaic languages following Hoberman (1989: 5).

The present paper focuses on North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic varieties, while the material of earlier Eastern Aramaic languages is used only for comparison in order to confirm the Aramaic origin of the words. Basic sociolinguistic information on the four NENA varieties in question — Nudz, Mahmudi, Verin Dvin Urmi and Urmia Urmi — is given below.

² In this paper, we use ‘Urmi’ as a linguonym, ‘Urmia’ to refer to the town and the lake in Iran, and ‘Urmiya’ to refer to the Aramaic-speaking village in Russia.

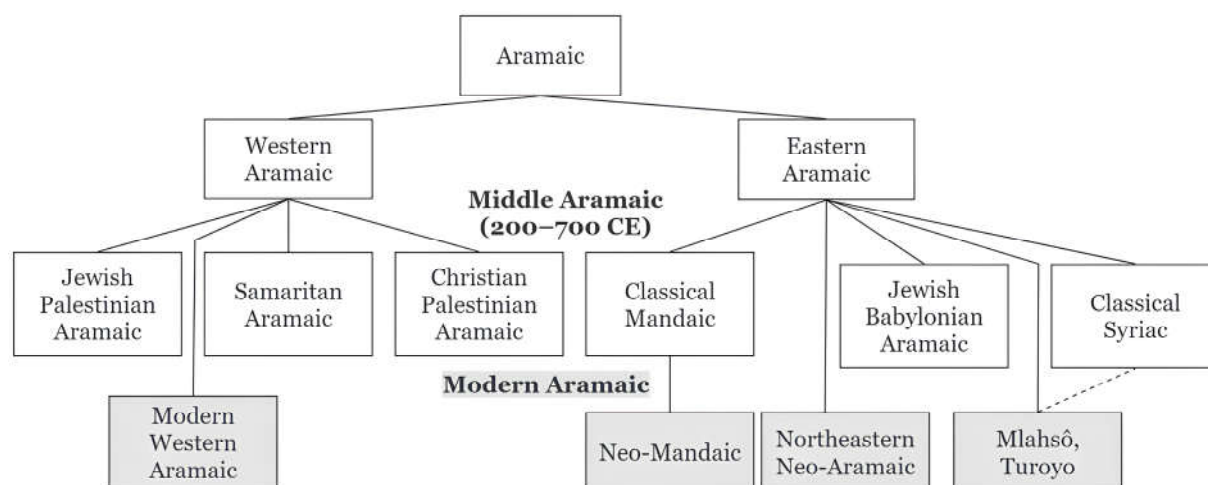


Figure 1. The genealogical relationships between Middle and Modern Aramaic languages following Hoberman (1989: 5)

The **Nudiz** variety (autonym: *lišan nudəzné*) is a Christian NENA variety formerly spoken in the Nudiz (Nördüz) area, in the Van District (Ottoman Empire) in today's south-eastern Turkey (Wilmschurst 2000: 292–293), see map in Figure 2. As a result of the massacres of 1915, all Nudiz speakers left their homeland and fled to other countries, including Syria (Talay 2008: 27) and the Russian Empire. In Russia, they were resettled in the Lutheran German colonies in the north-west of present-day Azerbaijan, along with Van and Bohtan speakers (Teule, Kessel 2012: 46). There they lived mainly in Helenendorf (also known as Yelenino or Khanlar, today's Göygöl), Grünfeld (Kalininkend, today's Vurğun), Annenfeld (Annino or Shamkhor, today's Shamkir), Georgsfeld (Georgiyevsk, Leninfeld or Leninkend, today's Çınarlı), Elizavetpol (Kirovabad or Ganja) (Sado 2017: 45–48). In 1949, the Nudiz Assyrians of Azerbaijan were sent into exile to the Tomsk Oblast, Siberia. They could not return until the late 1950s. While some managed to come back to Azerbaijan, others went to Georgia or Russia. Between 1980 and 1990, many Assyrians of Azerbaijan and Georgia moved to the south of Russia: Krasnodar Krai (in particular to the Assyrian village of Urmiya and the village of Dinskaya) and Stavropol Krai, due to the difficult situation in Transcaucasia. Today, the Nudiz variety is poorly documented, understudied, and highly endangered (Zabelina 2023). We are not aware of any compact settlement of Nudiz speakers, nor have we attested any case of on-going language transmission, the youngest speaker being 65 years old.

The **Mahmudi**³ variety (autonym: *lišan mamədə / mamədáy / bne gol*) was originally spoken by Christians from the Mahmudi Canton in the Van District (Ottoman Empire), located north of the Hakkari Mountains, in eastern Turkey. According to Wilmschurst (2000: 310–311), the ancestors of Mahmudi (and Van dialects) migrated there in the early 18th century from the Jilu and Txuma districts in the Hakkari Mountains. Nowadays, speakers of Mahmudi live in Armenia, and a group of Assyrians who originated in the same area as Mahmudi live in Georgia, where they are known as Saranaye (Sado 2021: 25). According to various unofficial estimates, Mahmudi speakers arrived in Armenia before the tragic events of the early 20th century, around the 1830s (Hovhannisyan 2007) or 1850s (Dum-Tragut 2013), and founded a village called Gyol Aysor. However, in 1958 they were resettled by the authorities to the village

³ We use the name Mahmudi based on the toponym in Badalyan (2015: 20–21). Other forms used elsewhere with reference to the region where the variety was originally spoken are: Mahmedāye, Serai d'Mahmideh (Wilmschurst 2000: 310–311), Saray-Maxmudia (Dum-Tragut 2013: 343) and Mamed (form mentioned by some speakers).



Figure 2. Map of distribution of NENA varieties in question and migrations of their speakers (by Yuri Koryakov)

of Verin Dvin, which was already inhabited by Christian Urmi speakers and Armenians, since the territory of Gyol Aysor became part of the Khosrov Forest State Reserve (Dum-Tragut 2013: 343). The Mahmudi variety has so far remained almost undocumented. Even though the Assyrian identity is common to both Christian Urmi and Mahmudi speakers, the latter have lived as a minority in Verin Dvin for many decades, which has led to a certain leveling: the gradual loss of specific features of their variety. Today, we can observe the phenomenon of dialect shift among Mahmudi speakers, most of whom are bilingual in Christian Urmi (and often also in Russian and Armenian), but not vice versa — Christian Urmi speakers know at most a few words specific to Mahmudi. We suggest that these sociolinguistic conditions have led to changes in Mahmudi and its convergence with Christian Urmi.

The **Verin Dvin Urmi** variety (autonym: *lišanət urmāžnáy*) is spoken in the village of Verin Dvin (Ararat Province). The Verin Dvin Assyrians are the largest community of Christian Urmi speakers in Armenia, with a total population of 1,862 in 2023 (AM: 317). Their village was founded no later than 1828 (year of the local church foundation (Dum-Tragut 2013: 348)) by the early Assyrian resettlers from the Urmia region in north-western Iran (Dum-Tragut 2013: 343). There are three other villages in Armenia where Christian Urmi has been

spoken since the 1830s: Arzni, Dimitrov and Nor-Artagers (Shagriyar); some speakers can be found in Yerevan and other big cities. However, the vitality status of Neo-Aramaic in localities other than Verin Dvin is lower.

Urmia Urmi (Christian Urmi of Urmia area) has been spoken west of Lake Urmia in Iran. It is the most extensively documented and studied NENA variety (Khan 2016), partly because it served as a foundation for a literary language (Murre-van den Berg 1999). While some Assyrian Christian communities can still be found in the Urmia region, most speakers migrated during the 19th and 20th centuries, settling in the Caucasus, North America, Europe, and Australia (Khan 2016.1). Today, Christian Urmi is spoken all over the globe, with local dialectal variations and numerous borrowings. Verin Dvin Urmi is one of these local varieties with specific regional features. However, Christian Urmi core vocabulary predictably remains stable. To demonstrate it, we provide lexical entries for Christian Urmi taken from Khan 2016.

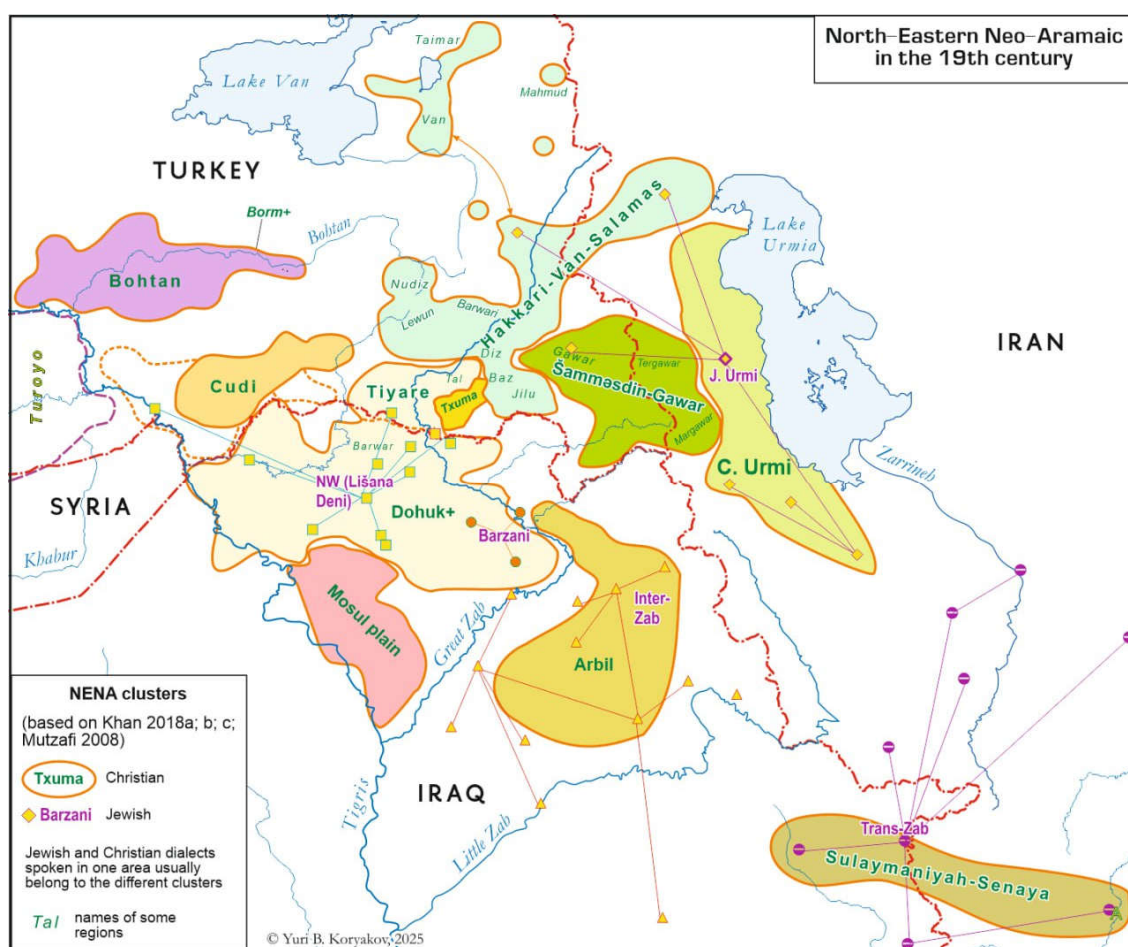


Figure 3. North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic in the 19th century (based on Khan 2018a; b; c; Mutzafi 2008; by Yuri Koryakov)

Significantly, both the Nudiz and Mahmudi varieties originally belong to the Hakkari cluster of NENA (Khan 2018a: 191), see Figure 3. According to our fieldwork observations, they share several diagnostic features in phonology and morphology. For instance, in Nud and Mahm, the reflex of **ū* merged with /u/ or fronted to [y]. Meanwhile, in the Urmi varieties, it was diphthongized as [uj] (Khan 2016.1: 25). Another remarkable phonological feature is the raising of /a/ in Nud and Mahm to mid or high vowels, cf. similar process in many Hakkari NENA (Fox 2015; Ovsjannikova et al., in print). In terms of morphology, one of the remarkable features is the present tense copula paradigm: in Nud and Mahm, the 1st person singular copula form is *əna*, a characteristic feature in Van (Cereteli 1963) and surrounding areas: Sara

(*ənna*), Diz, Barwar, Timur (*na*), and Jilu (*na*) (Talay 2008: 202). In contrast, the Urmi varieties are characterized by the 1st person singular copula =*ən*. Another feature is that the cardinal numeral ‘one’ has a gender distinction: masculine *xe* vs. feminine *xda*, while the Urmi varieties have lost this distinction and the Urmi form *xa* is gender neutral. The gender distinction is attested in most NENA dialects originating in Turkey (Talay 2008: 423). A more detailed description of the differences and historical correspondences in phonology and morphology will be presented in our other papers.

Therefore, the Nudiz and Mahmudi varieties are expected to be linguistically closer to each other than to the Urmi varieties. However, different sociolinguistic changes of the past two centuries, including migrations and contacts with other languages, have caused linguistic changes. Nudiz speakers, after fleeing their homeland in 1915, lived in Azerbaijan among the speakers of other varieties of the Hakkari cluster, which might have helped preserve original traits. In contrast, Mahmudi has been spoken in Armenia since the middle of the 19th century, in close contact with Urmi, particularly during the last 67 years in Verin Dvin. Thus, we hypothesize that contemporary Mahmudi may exhibit both **retention** of archaic Hakkari features and contact-induced **convergence** with Urmi, even in its basic vocabulary.

2.2. Methods

Lexical distance is one of the measures of similarity between lects based on their lexicon. Lists of basic vocabulary are normally used for this measure, since cultural vocabulary tends to be less stable and prone to borrowing (Tadmor 2009: 64). There are several popular lists of basic vocabulary used in literature. For this paper, we used a set of 226 meanings based on a combination of three sets already widely used in linguistics: the Swadesh 100-meaning set (Swadesh 1955), the Swadesh 200-meaning set (Swadesh 1952), and the Leipzig-Jakarta 100-meaning set (Tadmor 2009). For a more precise choice of words, the semantic specifications and diagnostic contexts, defined in Kassian et al. 2010 for 100-item Swadesh list words and IE-CoR Meanings (created for Heggarty et al. 2023), were used.

We compiled the wordlists on the basis of the elicitation data gathered from the speakers of the NENA varieties, except for Urmia Urmi. Russian was used as an intermediary language. Two speakers of Nudiz, originating from Khanlar (today’s Göygöl) and Leninkend (today’s Shamkir) in Azerbaijan, provided translations during our meetings in Moscow in 2025. We also obtained translations from six speakers of Mahmudi and five speakers of Verin Dvin Urmi during two field trips to Verin Dvin in 2024 and 2025. The Urmia Urmi data were mainly taken from Khan’s dictionary (UD). In addition, in the case of close synonyms, we considered the frequency of words in the examples and/or texts (Khan 2016.4; Ovsjannikova et al. 2022–). We added notes like “(less frequent)” or “(more frequent)” wherever it was relevant. If both words are neutral and sufficiently frequent for a given meaning, they are provided as synonyms.

3. Data representation

3.1. Transcription

For Nud, Mahm and VD Urmi we use the transcription developed within several previous projects on NENA (Zabelina et al. 2022–; Ovsjannikova et al. 2022–). For U Urmi we keep the transcription of Khan 2016.

There is a three-way distinction for stops in all varieties concerned:

- voiced: [b, d, dʒ, ɟ/g];
- aspirated/lax: [p^h, t^h, tʃ^h, c^h/k^h];
- unaspirated/tense: [p, t, tʃ, c/k], marked with a dot in our transcription (ṗ, ṭ, ṭʃ, ṭʃ/k) and with a circumflex by Khan (ṗ̆, ṭ̆, ṭ̆ʃ, ṭ̆ʃ/k).

The voiceless unaspirated velar/postvelar stop [k] is outside this three-way distinction and is represented as *k* in VD Urmi and Mahm, *q* in Nud and *k̰* in U Urmi.

Other consonants are represented as follows.

- š, ž, ʏ, x, ɣ are used for [ʃ, ʒ, j, χ, ʁ].
- č, ċ, ġ (Khan's č, ċ, ġ) represent affricates [tʃ^h, tʃ, dʒ].
- The glottal stop [ʔ] is absent in Nud, Mahm and VD Urmi and is rendered with ' in U Urmi, following Khan 2016.
- The graphemes *w, v, s, z, h, m, n, l, r* are used as in IPA.

Realisation and representation/transcription of the **original velars** depend on the variety. In Nudiz, they retain their **velar** nature with slight palatalization in some contexts. In the northern dialects of the Urmi Plain, these consonants became **palatal** stops /c, c^h, ɟ/, but in the southern dialects they fronted further and became **affricates** /tʃ, tʃ^h, dʒ/ (Khan 2016.1: 109–112). The latter process also occurred in all Caucasian varieties of Urmi, including VD Urmi, so that they became identical to the original affricates č, ċ, ġ⁴. The situation in Mahmudi is heterogeneous: **both realisations** (affricate and velar) are common, so we provide explicit transcriptions for all Mahmudi words with these consonants in square brackets after the word. Realisation and representation/transcription of velars/palatals and affricates are summarized in Table 1.

Nud	Mahm	VD Urmi	U Urmi (Khan 2016)
Velar/palatal/affricates			
k [k ^h]	c [tʃ ^h /k ^h]	c [tʃ ^h]	c [tʃ ^h]/[c ^h]
k̰ [k]	ç [tʃ/k]	ç [tʃ]	ç [tʃ]/[c]
g [g]	g [dʒ/g]	g [dʒ]	ɟ [dʒ]/[ɟ]
q [k]	k [k]	k [k]	k̰ [k]
Original affricates			
č [tʃ ^h]	č	č	č
ċ [tʃ]	ċ	ċ	ċ
ğ [dʒ]	ğ	ğ	j

Table 1. Velars/palatals and affricates with IPA correspondences

The following vowel phonemes are distinguished: /i, e, ə, a, o, u/. The distribution and phonemic status of /ə/ warrant further research (Khan 2016.1: 49).

The suprasegmental emphasis is marked by the symbol “+” at the beginning of the word, following Khan 2016.1. The stress usually falls on the penultimate syllable, otherwise we indicate it by the acute accent.

⁴ Except in the village of Arzni (Armenia), where the former are realized as [tʃ^h, tʃ, dʒ] respectively.

3.2. Diagnostic forms

Nouns are given in singular except for pluralia tantum nouns. **Adjectives** are given in masculine singular.

For **verbs**, we provide the consonantal root and the inflection class (pattern⁵) according to the notation used by Khan (2016.1: 260–261). In Nudiz and Mahmudi, we also provide three basic forms (in parentheses) for each verb, the so-called Present, Progressive and Past stems, because the verbal systems of these varieties have not been described in the literature. A more detailed description of the functions and distribution of these forms can be found in Zabelina et al. 2022–. The Present and Progressive can appear as bare stems in some forms (3m.sg and under negation correspondingly), so we were able to collect stems without inflectional morphology. The Past stem always requires overt L-suffixes for subject indexing, and we provide the 3rd person plural forms as forms representing the past tense stem, since the 3rd person plural L-suffixes show additional variation between *-lun* and *-le*. For Urmi varieties, we do not provide the diagnostic forms for regular (so-called strong) verbs, because they can be built according to the models described by Khan (2016.1: 260–261). These models are given in Table 2. For irregular (weak) verbs, three forms are given for VD Urmi, and only Present is given for U Urmi, as it is the only form provided in UD.

Pattern	Present (3M.SG)	Progressive	Past (3PL)
I	C ₁ aC ₂ əC ₃ (<i>patax</i>)	bəC ₁ C ₂ aC ₃ a (<i>bəptaxa</i>)	C ₁ C ₂ əC ₃ -lun (<i>ptəx-lun</i>)
II	C ₁ aC ₂ əC ₃ (<i>basəm</i>)	C ₁ aC ₂ uC ₃ ə/a (<i>basumə</i> , marginal: <i>basuma</i>)	C ₁ uC ₂ əC ₃ -lun (<i>busəm-lun</i>)
III	maC ₁ C ₂ əC ₃ (<i>madməx</i>)	maC ₁ C ₂ uC ₃ ə/a (<i>madmuxə</i> , marginal: <i>madmuxa</i>)	muC ₁ C ₂ əC ₃ -lun (<i>mudməx-lun</i>)
QI	C ₁ aC ₂ C ₃ əC ₄ (<i>jarjəš</i>)	C ₁ aC ₂ C ₃ uC ₄ ə/a (<i>jarjušə</i> , marginal: <i>jarjuša</i>)	C ₁ uC ₂ C ₃ əC ₄ -lun (<i>jurjəš-lun</i>)

Table 2. Models for constructing diagnostic forms in Urmi varieties (Khan 2016.1). The following verbal roots were used as examples: *ptx* ‘to open’, *bsm* ‘to heal’, *mdmx* ‘to cause to sleep’, *jrjš* ‘to drag’

3.3. Structure of word entries

In the next section we provide the wordlists, where all the entries are organized as in example 1 below.

(1) Example of the word entry

MOTHER

-1 Nud **da**

-1 Mahm **da**

1 VD Urmi **yəmma**

1 U Urmi **yəmma** ‘mother’ (UD 342); cf. *çoç* ‘mother’ (UD 127); *+mama* ‘mummy’ (child language) (UD 227)

Source:

#-1 < KJ. *dê*, *deya*, *diya*, *diya*, *dya* ‘mother’ (KED 147).

#1 MEA: *emmā* ‘mother’ (SL 52); *immā* ‘mother’ (DJBA 116); *ɛma* ‘mother’ (MD 352).

⁵ Other terms mentioned in the literature are *stems*, *bases*, *forms*, *measures*, *derivation*. Cf. also terms in some other languages: *ʿawzān* in Arabic, *binyanim* in Hebrew, *stirpes* in Latin, *Stämme* in German, and *porody* in Russian.

The words from one variety for each meaning are given in a single line. The line for each language begins with the cognate index(es). Words with the same index are considered cognates for the purposes of further calculations. Negative indices mark borrowings, which are treated differently in the calculations. In the case of synonyms, several indices are given.

Words treated as basic for a certain meaning are given in bold, other words (in light italics after cf.) are provided for comparison. Variants derived from the same root are separated by comma, and words derived from different roots are separated by semicolon. Notes on usage and/or frequency in different dialects are given in parentheses. Glosses are given after words when their meaning does not completely coincide with the entry's meaning. Words under the U Urmi line are taken from Khan 2016; page number after the UD abbreviation and glosses from the dictionary are given for each word.

The etymological data are given in the second part of a word entry. For words of clear Aramaic origin, we provide related lexemes from one or more Middle Eastern Aramaic languages (after the siglum "MEA"): Classical Syriac (SL), Jewish Babylonian Aramaic (DJBA), Classical Mandaic (MD). There is no complete Proto-NENA reconstruction, but we provide PNENA etymons where they are available. Where we suppose that a NENA word is or may be a loanword, we provide possible candidates for the source (language + word + reference). In many cases it is unclear which language is the direct source of a borrowing, since similar words exist in many languages of the region (e.g. Azerbaijani, Kurdish and Persian). In such cases, words from several languages are provided.

4. List of words

This section contains all the wordlists, sorted by the alphabetical order of the entries (in English).

ALL

1 Nud **kullə**

1 Mahm **cullə** [kullə]

1 VD Urmi **cullə**

1 U Urmi **cullə** 'all; the whole' (UD 123)

Source:

MEA: *kul*, *kol* 'all, every' (SL 622); *kullā* 'all, every, entire, each' (DJBA 559); *kul* 'all, each, every, the whole, entire' (MD 206).

AND

1 Nud **u**

0 Mahm see Comments

-1 VD Urmi **i**, but see Comments

1 U Urmi **u** 'and' (UD 85); cf. *ham*, *+ham* 'also' (< Pers. *ham*) (UD 152); *mən*, *m-* 'with' (UD 218–219)

Source:

#1 MEA: *w* 'and' (SL 357); *w* 'and' (DJBA 394); *u* 'and' (MD 155).

#-1 < Russian *i* 'and'.

Comments:

In Mahm and VD Urmi, the most frequent strategy of coordination is juxtaposition; some speakers occasionally use different linkers such as *ham=da* ‘also=ADD’, *xa-xta* ‘also’ or comitative preposition.

ANIMAL

-1 Nud **+hayvan**

-1 Mahm **hayvanat**

-1, -2 VD Urmi **+hayvan (+hayvanat)** ‘animal, especially domestic one’; **+ğanavar** ‘animal, especially wild one’

-1 U Urmi **+hayvan, +heyvan** ‘animal, tame animal’ (UD 158); cf. *+janavar* ‘beast, predatory (animal), monster’ (UD 173)

Source:

#-1 < Kj. *h’eywan* ‘animal’ (KED 276) (or < Azer. *heyvan* ‘animal, brute, beast; cattle’ (AIL 339) < Pers. *heyvān* ‘animal; living being’ (ODP)) < Arab. *ḥayawān* ‘animal, beast’ (DMWA 220).

#-2 < Kj. *canewar* ‘wild animal, beast, creature’ (KED 83), but in Azer. *canavar* ‘wolf’ < Pers. *jān-var* ‘animal, beast’ (ODP).

ANT

1 Nud **šəkvana**

1 Mahm **šəcvana** [šəkvana]

1 VD Urmi **šəcvana**

1 U Urmi **šəcvana** ‘ant’ (UD 293)

Source:

Cf. MEA: *šušmānā* ‘ant’ (SL 1538), *šumšmānā*, *šuššəmānā* ‘ant’ (DJBA 1121), *šušmana* ‘ant’ (MD 458). Mutzafi (2004: 244) compares NENA forms with the Syriac *šəkbā* ‘louse’ (TS 576) since a direct phonetic correspondence between the MEA and NENA lexemes for ‘ant’ is not evident.

ASH(ES)

1 Nud **+qəṭma**

1 Mahm **+kəṭma**

1 VD Urmi **+kuṭma**

1 U Urmi **+kəṭma** ‘ash’ (UD 192)

Source:

MEA: *qəṭmā* ‘ash’ (SL 1353); *qīṭmā* ‘ash’ (DJBA 1011); *giṭma*, *gaṭma* ‘ash’ (MD 89).

AT / NEAR (PREP.)

1 Nud **kəs**

1 Mahm **cəs** [kəs]

1 VD Urmi **cəs**

1 U Urmi **cəs** ‘at, near, in the presence of, at the home of’ (UD 120)

Source:

< **kəsl-i* < **kəsla*/**kislā*? ‘loin flank, side of the body’ (Mutzafi 2006: 93–97; 2008: 357; Fassberg 2010: 283). MEA: *kslyn* ‘loins’ (DJPA 286).

BACK (N)

1 Nud **+xasa**

1 Mahm **+xasa**

1 VD Urmi **+xasa**

1 U Urmi **+xasa** ‘back; support, protection’ (UD 336)

Source:

MEA: *haššā* ‘hip, haunch’ (SL 482); *haršā* ‘loin’ (DJBA 484); *halša*, *haša* ‘hip, back’ (MD 122).

BAD

1 Nud **xərba**

-1 Mahm **pis**

-1 VD Urmi **pis**

1, -1 U Urmi **xərba** ‘bad, nasty, disgusting, mean, evil’ (UD 328); **pīs** ‘bad, worthless, disgusting, nasty’ (UD 256)

Source:

#1 < a noun, which has come to be used as an adjective (Khan 2016.1: 556); MEA: *harbā* adj. ‘deserted; rotten; wanting, needing; empty, without substance’, n. ‘destruction, devastation’ (SL 486); *harbtā* ‘ruin’ (DJBA 481); *harba*, *hirba* ‘destruction, devastation, ruin’ (MD 126).

#-1 < Kj. *p’is* ‘dirty, impure, foul’ (KED 465) or Azer. *pis* ‘bad’ (AIL 641; UD 256).

BARK (N)

1, 2 Nud **qalpət +qariya**, lit. ‘peel/skin of tree’; **gəldət +qariya**, lit. ‘skin/hide of tree’

1, 2 Mahm **kalpət ilana**, lit. ‘peel/skin of tree’; **gəldət kaysa** [gəldət kajsa], lit. ‘skin/hide of wood’

1, 2 VD Urmi **kalpət ilana**, lit. ‘peel/skin of tree’; **gəldət ilana**, lit. ‘skin/hide of tree’

-1 U Urmi **jallaxta** ‘bark of a tree or branch’ (UD 170); cf. *kalpa* ‘shell of nut, fruit or animal, pod, peel; bark’ (UD 177); *ǰalda* ‘skin, fur’ (UD 165)

Source:

Sources for *+qariya* & *ilana* see under TREE.

#1 MEA: *qlāptā* ‘bark, shell’ (SL 1375); *qlāptā* ‘peel, shell’ (DJBA 1022); *qlapta* ‘shell, hard casing’ (MD 413).

#2 see SKIN.

#-1 < Kurd. *çûlik* ‘skin, peel, shell, bark’ (DKF 318).

BECAUSE

-1 Nud **sabab**; cf. also general complementizer *t*

-1, -2, 1 Mahm **sabab**; **čuncət** [tʰuntʰət]; **ka-hada**

-1, -2, 1 VD Urmi **sab**; **čuncət**; **ka-but-hada**

-1, -2, 1 U Urmi **mən-sābab**, **m-sābab**, **sābab**, **sab** ‘because’ < *sābab*, *sabab* ‘cause’ (UD 272); **čuncət**, **čun** ‘because, since, as’ (UD 131); **ka-but-hada**, **kat-but-hada** ‘because’

Source:

#-1 < Pers. *sabab* ‘because’ < Arab. *sabab* ‘reason, cause, motive, occasion’ (DMWA 392).

#-2 < Azer. *çünki* ‘because, as, since, for’ (AIL 180), Sor. *çünke, çunku* ‘because’ (KED 111), Pers. *čon, čun, čun-ke* ‘because, since, as’ (ODP).

#1 < *ka* ‘to’ (prep.) (UD 175) + *but* ‘about’ (UD 107) + *hada, hadax* ‘thus’ (UD 151).

Comments:

In Mahm and VD Urmi, the most frequent strategy of causal clause subordination is juxtaposition; the subordinators listed above are used rarely.

BELLY

1 Nud **kisa**

1 Mahm **cisa** [tʰisa ~ kisa]

1 VD Urmi **cisa**

1 U Urmi **cisa** ‘belly (stomach + intestines)’ (UD 121); cf. *labba* (3) ‘heart; intention; stomach’ (UD 197)

Source:

MEA: *karsā* ‘belly, stomach’ (SL 655); *karsā* ‘stomach, rumen, womb’ (DJBA 603); *karsa* ‘belly, stomach; womb, uterus’ (MD 201).

BERRY

There is no specific word for this meaning in Nud, Mahm and VD Urmi. The cognates of the word *tuyta* mean ‘mulberry’.

1 U Urmi **tuyta** ‘berry, especially mulberry; mulberry tree’ (UD 309)

Source:

MEA: *tūta* ‘mulberry’ (SL 1635); *tuta* ‘mulberry’ (MD 484). Widespread word across the Near East from Akkadian *tuttu* to Sanskrit तूत (tūta), तूद (tūda); Semitic forms are likely borrowed from Iranian, but the ultimate origin is unknown.

BIG

1 Nud **+gora**

1 Mahm **+gora** [gora]

1, -1 VD Urmi **+gura; yacca** ‘big; very big (for some speakers)’

1 U Urmi **+jura** ‘big, great, old, senior, superior’ (UD 169); cf. *yacca* ‘huge, enormous, giant’ (UD 340)

Source:

#1 Probably < Kj. *gir, gur* ‘large, big’ (KED 213; UD 169).

#-1 < Azer. *yekə* ‘big, large, tremendous’ (AIL 841).

BIRD

1, 2 Nud **səpərra; +ṭayra**

1 Mahm **spərra**; cf. *+ṭera* ‘big bird; eagle’

1 VD Urmi **səpra**; cf. *+ṭera* ‘big bird; eagle’

2, 1 U Urmi **+ṭera** ‘bird’ (UD 317); **səpra** ‘sparrow, species of sparrow’ (UD 278); according to examples from the texts, the word *səpra* is more often used in the meaning ‘(little) bird’ (Khan 2016.4)

Source:

#1 MEA: *ṣəprā* ‘bird’ (SL 1298); *ṣiprā* ‘bird, fowl’ (DJBA 962); *ṣupra*, *ṣipra* ‘little bird, sparrow’ (MD 390; 394).

#2 MEA: *ṭayrā* ‘bird, birds’ (SL 528).

TO BITE

1 Nud **+qrṭ** I (+*qarəṭ* | +*bəqraṭa* | +*qrəṭle*)

1 Mahm **+krṭ** I (+*karəṭ* | +*bəkraṭa* | +*krəṭle*)

1 VD Urmi **+krṭ** I

1 U Urmi **+krṭ** I ‘to bite (not necessarily breaking the skin), to bite off, to gnaw, to pick (a bone)’ (UD 188); cf. +*nØs*, +*nys* I ‘to sting, to bite (harmful bite of animal penetrating flesh); to be bitten’ (UD 247)

Source:

MEA: *qrṭ* pe. ‘to gnaw, to wound with the beak’ (SL 1405); *ṭrq* pe. ‘to hit, sting, bite’ (DJBA 519); *qrṭ* pa. ‘to take a bite’ (DJPA 576).

BITTER

1 Nud **+mayra** ‘bitter, hot, spicy’

1 Mahm **+mayra**; cf. *sirupa* ‘spicy’

1 VD Urmi **+mayra**; cf. +*sariṭa* ‘spicy’

1 U Urmi **+mayra** ‘bitter’ (UD 236); cf. +*saruypa* ‘pungent (spice); biting (cold)’ (UD 283)

Source:

MEA: *marrīrā* ‘bitter’ (SL 834); *mārīr* ‘bitter, cruel’ (DJBA 710); *mrira* ‘bitter, bad’ (MD 278).

BLACK

1 Nud **kuma**

1 Mahm **cuma** [kuma]

1 VD Urmi **cuma**

1 U Urmi **cuma** ‘black’ (UD 124)

Source:

MEA: *ʔukkāmā* ‘black; pupil of the eye’ (SL 15); *ʔukkām* ‘black; pupil, algae’ (DJBA 88); *ʔukma* ‘blackness; darkness’ (MD 343). Cf. *kōmā* ‘black’ (SL 608), the Syriac word is attested only in the “Book of Medicines,” which contains folk medicine recipes notoriously replete with Neo-Aramaic lexis and may be a borrowing from Neo-Aramaic (Ljavidanskij 2014: 53).

BLOOD

1 Nud **dəmma**

1 Mahm **dəmma**

1 VD Urmi **dəmma**

1 U Urmi **dəmma** ‘blood’ (UD 143)

Source:

MEA: *dmā* ‘blood’ (SL 307); *dmā* ‘blood’ (DJBA 340); *dma*, *adma* ‘blood’ (MD 111, 8). See also Khan 2016.1: 199 on the gemination after an epenthetic *ə.

TO BLOW

1 Nud **np̄x** I (*nap̄x* | *bənp̄axa* | *p̄axle*)

1 Mahm **np̄x** I (*nap̄x* | *bənp̄axa* | *np̄axle*)

1 VD Urmi **np̄x** I

1 U Urmi **np̄x** I ‘to blow, to blow away’ (UD 241); cf. *nšm* I ‘to blow (wind)’ (UD 241)

Source:

MEA: *np̄h* pe. ‘to blow, blow into’ (SL 929); *np̄h* pe. ‘to blow, inflate’ (DJBA 760); *np̄a*, *np̄h* pe. ‘to breathe out, fan with breath, blow up, inflate’ (MD 303), *nhp* pe. ‘to blow up (a flame), fan (a flame), breathe (fire)’ (MD 291).

BONE

1 Nud **gərma**

1 Mahm **gərma** [dʒərma]

1 VD Urmi **gərma**

1 U Urmi **jarma** ‘bone’ (UD 163)

Source:

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

BREAST (CHEST)

-1 Nud **+sadra**

-1 Mahm **+sadra**

-1 VD Urmi **+sadra**

-1 U Urmi **+sadra** ‘breast, chest’ (UD 281)

Source:

< Arab. *ṣadr* ‘chest, breast’ (DMWA 507); also Pers. *ṣadr* ‘breast’ (CPED 783). Mutzafi 2008: 382 supposes that it is an old loan.

BREAST (TIT)

1 Nud **bəzza**

1 Mahm **bəzza**

1 VD Urmi **bəzza**

1 U Urmi **bəzza** ‘nipple, teat; breast’ (UD 103)

Source:

MEA: *bezzā* ‘breast, teat’ (SL 132).

TO BREATHE

-1 Nud **napas/nafas** (n) **grš** I, lit. ‘to pull the breath’

-1 Mahm **napas** (n) **grš** [g- ~ dʒ-] I, lit. ‘to pull the breath’

-1 VD Urmi **napas** (n) **grš** I / **škl** I, lit. ‘to pull / to take the breath’

-1 U Urmi **napas** (n) **jrš** I / **škl** I ‘to breathe’ (UD 240)

Source:

Appears to be a calque from Kj. *nefes kišandin* ‘to suck in (air), to inhale, to breathe’, lit. ‘breath, respiration’ + ‘draw, pull, extract’ (DKF 1078) with direct borrowing of nominal part < Kj. *nefes* ‘breath, respiration’ < Arab. *nafas* ‘breath, whiff; puff’ (DMWA 985; UD 240). Also cf. MEA: *npš* pe. ‘to breathe out, exhale’ (SL 937) denominative < *naḫšā* ‘soul, person, self’ (SL 938).⁶

TO BURN (TRANS.)

1 Nud **mØqd** III (*miqəd* | *muqúd* | *muqədle*)

1 Mahm **mØkd** III (*mikəd* | *mukuda* | *mukədle*)

1 VD Urmi **mkØd**, **mØkd** III (*makkəd*, *makəd* | *makuda* | *mukədle*)

1 U Urmi **mkØd**, **mØkd** III (*maḵḵəd*, *maḵəd*) ‘to cause to burn, to cause to be consumed by fire, to set on fire; to heat (oven), to scorch; to fire (clay)’ (UD 205)

Source:

MEA: *yqd* af. ‘to burn s.t.’ (SL 580); *yqd* af. ‘to set on fire’ (DJBA 540); *yqd* pe. ‘to burn (intr.)’ (MD 193).

TO CARRY

1 Nud **lbl** II (*libəl* | *lubúl* | *lubəlle*)

1 Mahm **lbl** II (*libəl* | *lubula* | *lubəlle*)

1 VD Urmi **lbl** II

1 U Urmi **lbl** II ‘to take away, to carry away, to carry, to bear, to conduct, to overcome’ (UD 195)

Source:

MEA: *ybl* pa. ‘to lead, conduct forward; to deliver’; af. ‘to lead, move; to bring before; to bear’ (SL 560); *ybl* af. ‘to carry, bring’ (DJBA 522); *ybl* pe., af. ‘to carry a load, bear, bring’ (MD 188).

CHILD

1, 2 Nud **yal(a)** sora ‘boy; child’

1, 2 Mahm **yala sura** [jala syra] ‘boy; child’

1, 2 VD Urmi **yala sura** ‘boy; child’

1, 2 U Urmi **yala sura** ‘child’ (UD 340) < *yala* ‘boy’ + *sura* ‘small, young’ (UD 280). According to examples from the texts, the meaning ‘child’ can also be conveyed by the word *yala* ‘boy, son, adolescent, young man’ (UD 340).

Source:

#1 old loan < Arab. *ḡayyil* (sg.), *ḡiyāl* (pl.) ‘family, household’ (Mutzafi 2008: 399; DMWA 658), cf. MEA *ialda* ‘boy, child, boy-child’ (MD 186).

#2 see SMALL

⁶ We acknowledge the reviewer’s suggestion that the entire construction could be analyzed as a calque.

CHILD_KIN

1, 2 Nud **kulpat** ‘one’s child (kin), offspring’; **yala sora** ‘boy; child’

2 Mahm **yala sura** [jala syra] ‘boy; child’

2 VD Urmi **yala sura** ‘boy; child’

2 U Urmi **yala sura** ‘child’ (UD 340); cf. +*zarra* ‘descendant, offspring’ (UD 351); *calpat*, *culpat* ‘nuclear family; wife’ (UD 119)

Source:

#1 < Kj. *k’ulfet* ‘wife; woman; family, children’ (KED 335) or < Azer. *külfət* ‘family; household; wife’ (Hc 448); both < Arab. *kulfa* ‘discomfort, trouble, inconvenience; lady’s maid’ (DMWA 837; UD 119).

#2 see CHILD

CLOUD

1 Nud +**ayva**

1 Mahm +**ayva**

1 VD Urmi +**ayva**

1 U Urmi +**ayva** ‘cloud, rain cloud’ (UD 92)

Source:

MEA: *ṣēḇā* ‘dark cloud, cloudiness’ (DJBA 850); *aiba* ‘cloud, fog, mist, darkness’ (MD 14); cf. *aybā* ‘thick clouds’ (TS 411); “the Syriac word is attested only in medieval Syriac lexicons and may be a borrowing from Neo-Aramaic” (Barsky et al. 2018b: 82).

COLD (NOT ONLY WEATHER)

1 Nud +**qayra**

1 Mahm +**kayra**

1 VD Urmi +**kayra**

1 U Urmi +**kayra** ‘cold’ (UD 191)

Source:

MEA: *qarrirā* ‘cold’ (SL 1409); *qarrīr* ‘cold’ (DJBA 1043); *qarir* (MD 403). See also Khan 2016.1: 548 on consonant dissimilation in **qarrira* > +*kayra*.

TO COME

1 Nud **ØyØ**, **Øšy** I (*ṭe* | *bəššá* | *šile*)

1 Mahm **ØyØ**, **Øšy** I (*ṭe* | *bəššá* | *šile*)

1 VD Urmi **Øty**, **yty** I (*atə* | *bitaya* | *tile*)

1 U Urmi **Øty**, **yty** I (*atə* | *bitaya*, *bitá* | *tilun*) ‘to come, to arrive; to come back, to return’ (UD 79; Khan 2016.1: 355)

Source:

MEA: *ʔty* pe. ‘to come’ (SL 110); *ʔty* pe. ‘to come’ (DJBA 176); *ata* pe. ‘to come, arrive’ (MD 41).

Comments:

On the specific shift **t* > *š* in some Hakkari varieties, including Nud, Mahm and Upper Tiyyari see Talay (2008: 68–69), Zabelina (2023).

CORRECT (RIGHT)

- 1 Nud **duz** [dyz]
 -1 Mahm **duz** [dyz]
 -1 VD Urmi **duz**
 -1 U Urmi **dūz** ‘straight, flat; right, upright; correct, exact’ (UD 146)

Source:

- # < Azer. *düz* (AIL 243; UD 146) or < Kj. *dûz* ‘flat, even, level, straight’ < Turkish *düz* ‘flat, straight’ (KED 170).

TO COUNT

- 1 Nud **bny** I (*banə* | *bəbna* | *bnile*)
 1 Mahm **bny** I (*banini* | *bnə* | *bnile*)
 1 VD Urmi **bny** I (*banini* | *bnaya* | *bnile*)
 1 U Urmi **mny** I (*manə*) ‘to count’ (UD 207); **bny** I (*banə*) ‘to count’ (UD 99); cf. *xžbn* QI ‘to reckon, to count, to estimate, to calculate’ (UD 327)

Source:

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

TO CRUSH

- 1 Nud **+bl̥ç** I (*+baləç* | *+bəblaça* | *+bləçle*); cf. **+mr̥ç** I ‘to step on’
 1, 1, 2 Mahm **+bl̥ç** I (*+baləç* | *+blaça* | *+bləçle*); **bls** I (*baləs* | *blasa* | *blasla*); **+mr̥ç** I (*+marəç* | *+mraça* | *+mrəçle*)
 1, 2 VD Urmi **+bl̥ç** I; **+mr̥ç** I
 1, 1, 2 U Urmi **+bl̥ç** I ‘to crush, to mash (with fist); to smash, to crunch’ (UD 109); **bls** I ‘to bruise (tr. and intr.), to crush; to stamp on; to pulp, to mash, to crumple, to wrinkle’ (UD 98); **+mr̥ç** I ‘to squash, to crush by squeezing with fingers; to become crushed; to press (to extract juice)’ (UD 229)

Source:

- #1 MEA: *pls* pa. ‘to demolish’ (DJBA 913); “A ... sound symbolism is identifiable in the following doublets, in which the verb expressing the more forceful action is distinguished from the other member of the pair by being emphatic and exhibiting the affrication of the sibilant /s/ to /ç/: *baləs* I ‘to bruise’ *+baləç* I ‘to crush, to mash (with fist)’” (Khan 2016.1: 182–183).
 #2 MEA: *mrs* pe. ‘to press; to crush’ (SL 836); *mrs* pe. to crush, rub (DJBA 710), *mrs* pe. to compress, press down, bruise, crush down, squash (MD 279). “Affrication of stops and sibilants in emphatic settings have developed in a number of ... verbs expressing forcefulness or hardness, e.g. *+marəç* I ‘to squash’ < **marəs* (cf. Syr. *mrās*)” (Khan 2016.1: 183).

TO CUT

- 1 Nud **prm** I (*parəm* | *bəprama* | *prəmle*); cf. **+k̥t̥k̥t̥** QI (*+qəṭqəṭ* | *+qəṭqúṭ* | *+qəṭqəṭle*) ‘to chop/cut into many pieces’
 1, 2 Mahm **prm** I (*parəm* | *prama* | *prəmle*); **+q̥t̥Ø**, **+q̥ty** I (*+qəṭṭini* | *+bəq̥ṭa* | *+q̥ṭile*); cf. **+k̥t̥k̥t̥** QI (*+kaṭkəṭ* | *+kuṭkuṭa* | *+kuṭkəṭle*) ‘to chop/cut into many pieces’

2 VD Urmi **+kṭØ, +kṭy** I (+kaṭṭə | +bəkṭaya | +kṭile); cf. *prm* I ‘to slaughter’; +kṭkṭ QI ‘to chop/cut into many pieces’

1, 2 U Urmi **prm** I ‘to cut; to cut off, to chop off; to hew’ (UD 250); **+kṭØ, +kṭy** I (+kaṭṭə) ‘to cut, to cut off; to be cut off (intr.); to cut down (tree); to chop off’ (UD 190); cf. +kṭkṭ QI ‘to chop; to cut up, to split (firewood), to hew into pieces’ (UD 190)

Source:

#1 MEA: *prm* pe. ‘to cut up’; pa. ‘to cut apart, tear to pieces’ (SL 1242); *prm* pe. ‘to chop, hack down’ (DJBA 934).

#2 MEA: *qṭṭ* pe. ‘to cut, to cut off’ (SL 1354); *qṭṭ* pe. ‘to bite off’; pa. ‘to cut off; to kill, execute’ (DJBA 1007); *gṭa* pe. ‘to cut (off), sever’ (MD 87).

DAY

1 Nud **yuma**

1 Mahm **yuma**

1 VD Urmi **yuma**

1 U Urmi **yuma** ‘day; sun’ (UD 342)

Source:

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

TO DIE

1 Nud **myy, myt** I (*mayə* | *bəmyá* | *mətle*)

1 Mahm **myt** I (*met* | *myata* | *mətle*)

1 VD Urmi **myt** I (*mat* | *myata* | *mətle*)

1 U Urmi **myt** I (*mayət, māt*) ‘to die’ (UD 217)

Source:

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

TO DIG

1 Nud **xṗr** I (*xapər* | *bəxpara* | *xṗire*)

1 Mahm **xṗr** I (*xapər* | *bəxpara* | *xṗerre*)

1 VD Urmi **xṗr** I

1 U Urmi **xṗr** I ‘to dig, dig up, to loosen (earth)’ (UD 323)

Source:

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

DIRTY

1 Nud **šəxtana**

1 Mahm **šəxtana**

1 VD Urmi **šəxtana**

1 U Urmi **šəxtana** ‘dirty, soiled, easily soiled, e.g. dress; impure, ethically corrupt’ (UD 295)

Source:

<šəxta ‘dirt’; MEA: *šuḥtā* ‘rust, patina’ (SL 1524); *šuta* ‘rust, verdigris’ (MD 458)

+ adjectival derivational suffix *-ana* (Khan 2016.1: 448).

TO DO

1 Nud **Øvd** I (*ʔavəd* | *vada* | *vədle*)

1 Mahm **Øvd** I (*avəd* | *vada* | *vədle*)

1 VD Urmi **Øvd** I (*avəd* | *vada* | *vədle*)

1 U Urmi **Øvd** I (*avəd* | *vada* | *vədlun*) ‘to do; to make; to perform, to create’ (UD 80; Khan 2016.1: 320)

Source:

MEA: *ʔbd* pe. ‘to work; to make, do, produce, complete’ (SL 1054); *ʔbd* pe. ‘to do, make, produce, prepare’ (DJBA 836); *abd*, *ʔbd*, *awd*, *ʔwd* pe. ‘to do, perform, do work, act, make’ (MD 2).

DOG

1 Nud **kəlba**

1 Mahm **cəlba** [tʰəlba]

1 VD Urmi **calba**

1 U Urmi **calba** ‘dog’ (UD 116)

Source:

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

TO DRINK

1 Nud **šty** I (*šat* | *bəštā* | *štīle*)

1 Mahm **šty** I (*šatini* | *bəštā* | *štīle*)

1 VD Urmi **šty** I (*šat* | *bəštaya* | *štīle*)

1 U Urmi **šty** I (*šatə*) ‘to drink’ (UD 291)

Source:

MEA: *šty* pe. ‘to drink’ (SL 1614); *šty* pe. ‘to drink’ (DJBA 1184); *šta* pe. ‘to drink, imbibe, be satisfied, refreshed’ (MD 476).

DRY

1 Nud **bīruza** [biryza]

1 Mahm **bīruza** [biryza]

1 VD Urmi **baruyza**

1 U Urmi **baruyza**, **briza** ‘dry’ (UD 100)

Source:

< *barəz* I ‘to dry (intr.)’ (UD 99). The further etymology is uncertain. Cf. Arab. *barāz*- ‘plain, or wide expanse of land, without trees’ (Lane 1863: 187; Mutzafi 2008: 340) or Kj. *bêzuret*, *bêzuret* ‘sterile, barren, infertile’ (KED 59).

DULL

There is no specific word for this meaning in Nud, Mahm and VD Urmi, the meaning is expressed by construction “not to be sharp”.

-1 U Urmi **cut** ‘blunt’ (UD 124)

Source:

< Azer. *küt* ‘blunt; dull’ (UD 124; AIL 451)

DUST

-1 Nud **+toz**

-1 Mahm **+toz**

-1 VD Urmi **+toz**

-1 U Urmi **+toz** ‘dust’ (UD 313)

Source:

< Kj. *t’oz* ‘dust; powder; dirt’ (KED 628) or < Az. *toz* ‘dust; powder’ (AIL 771).

EAR

1 Nud **naviyya**

1 Mahm **naviyya**

1 VD Urmi **nata**

1 U Urmi **nata** ‘ear’ (UD 242)

Source:

naviyya < **naØiØa* < **naṭiṭa* < **ʔannāhātā* < **ʔēdnāhātā* (Mutzafi 2005: 84);

MEA: *ʔednā*, pl. *ʔednātā* ‘ear’ (SL 10); *ʔūdānā* ‘ear’ (DJBA 85); *ʔudna* (MD 342); cf. 17 cent. Telkepe *nhāθa* < Syr. *ʔednāhātā* (Mutzafi 2005: 84; Mutzafi 2008: 366).

EARTH

1 Nud **upra**

1 Mahm **upra**

1 VD Urmi **upra**

1 U Urmi **upra** ‘earth, soil, clay; land’ (UD 85)

Source:

MEA: *ʔapṛā* ‘dust; earth, soil’ (SL 1124); *ʔapṛā* ‘earth, dust, powder’ (DJBA 875); *apra* ‘dust, ashes’ (MD 32).

TO EAT

1 Nud **+Øxl, +yxl** I (+*taxəl* | +*bixala* | +*xəlle*)

1 Mahm **+Øxl, +yxl** I (+*axəl* | +*bixala* | +*xəlle*)

1 VD Urmi **+Øxl, +yxl** I (+*axəl* | +*bixala* | +*xəlle*)

1 U Urmi **+Øxl, +yxl** I (+*axəl* | +*bixala* | +*xəllun*) ‘to eat, to be fed; to consume’ (UD 91; Khan 2016.1: 289)

Source:

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

EGG

1 Nud **bita**

1 Mahm **bita**

1 VD Urmi bita**1 U Urmi bita** ‘egg’ (UD 105)

Source:

MEA: *bēṣtā* ‘egg’ (SL 143); *bēṣtā*, *bētā* ‘egg’ (DJBA 204); *baia*, *biia*, *bita* ‘egg’ (MD 47, 60, 64).

EYE

1 Nud +ayna**1 Mahm +ayna****1 VD Urmi +ayna****1 U Urmi +ayna** ‘eye’ (UD 92)

Source:

MEA: *ṣaynā* ‘eye’ (SL 1097); *ṣēnā* ‘eye, sight’ (DJBA 855); *ayna* ‘eye’ (MD 15).

TO FALL

1 Nud lpl, ypl, Øpl I (*lapəl* | *bipala* | *pəlle*)**1 Mahm npl I** (*napəl* | *bənpala* | *pəlle*)**1 VD Urmi npl I** (*napəl* | *bənpala* | *npəlle*, *pəlle*)**1 U Urmi npl I** (*napəl*) ‘to fall, to fall down’ (UD 240)

Source:

MEA: *npl* pe. ‘to fall’ (SL 931); *npl* pe. ‘to fall’ (DJBA 761); *npl* pe. ‘to fall’ (MD 303).

FAR

1 Nud rəqqa**1 Mahm rəkka****1 VD Urmi rəkka****1 U Urmi rəxka** (northern Urmi variety), **rəkka** (southern Urmi variety) (adj.) ‘distant, remote, far’ (UD 266)

Source:

< noun **rəḥqā* (Khan 2016.1: 170); cf. MEA: *rḥq* ‘to go away’ (SL 1458); *rḥq* ‘to be far away’ (DJBA 1071); *rḥq* ‘to be far’ (MD 427).

FAT

1 Nud məšxa**1 Mahm məšxa**; cf. *tarba* ‘fascia (layer of loose tissue, containing fat, between meat and skin)’**1 VD Urmi məšxa**; cf. *tarba* ‘fascia’**2 U Urmi tarba** ‘fat, tallow, lard’ (UD 305); cf. *məšxa* ‘oil, fat’ (UD 220); *čəzva* ‘rendered fat of tail used for cooking’ (UD 131)

Source:

#1 MEA: *məšhā* ‘oil; fat, tallow’ (SL 844); *mīšhā* ‘oil, fat’ (DJBA 673); *miša* ‘oil, unguent; fat (melted down), butter’ (MD 270).

#2 MEA: *tarbā* ‘fat’ (SL 1663); *tarbā* ‘fat’ (DJBA 1230); *tirba* ‘fat of animals’ (MD 486).

FATHER

1 Nud **baba**

1 Mahm **baba**

1 VD Urmi **baba**; cf. *ḡaḡḡuna* ‘father’ (in Arzni, Armenia) < Kj. *kek, kak, kekê* ‘elder brother’ (KED 303; UD 127)

1 U Urmi **baba** ‘father; grandfather’ (UD 96)

Source:

A widespread onomatopoeic word. MEA: *bb?* ‘dad, father’ (onom.) (SL 115); *baba* ‘father’ (MD 45); cf. Kj. *bav, bab, baba* (KED 26); Az. *baba* ‘grandfather’ (AIL 82).

TO FEAR

1 Nud **+zdy** I (+*zadā* | +*bəzdā* | +*zdile*)

1 Mahm **+zdy** I (+*zadini* | +*bəzdā* | +*zdile*)

1 VD Urmi **+zdy** I (+*zadini* | +*bəzdaya, bəzdā* | +*zdile*)

1 U Urmi **+zdy** I (+*zadā*) ‘to fear, to be afraid, to be timid, to be anxious’ (UD 349)

Source:

Cf. *t*-stems of the root *zwʕ* in MEA: *zwʕ* ettaf. ‘to be shaken, terrified’ (SL 374); *zwʕ* ethpe. ‘to be removed’; ethpa. ‘to tremble, be moved’ (DJBA 405). For Jewish Betanure Mutzafi (2008: 400) suggest the following chain of changes: *zdʔ* < **zdʕ* < *(*ʔə*)*dziʕ* < **ʔətziʕ* (*t*-stem of the root *zwʕ*).

FEATHER

-1 Nud **parra**

-1 Mahm **parra**

-1 VD Urmi **parra**

-1 U Urmi **parra** ‘feather’ (UD 251)

Source:

< Pers. *par, parr* ‘a wing, a feather’ (CPED 239); Kj. *p’er* ‘feather, wing’ (KED 439); Azer. *pər* ‘wing’ (AIL 638).

FEW / LITTLE

1 Nud **čumma** ‘few, little’

2 Mahm **xačča**

2 VD Urmi **xačča**

2 U Urmi **xačča** (mod., adv.) ‘a little, a few, some; slightly’ (UD 321); cf. *xa-pərça* ‘a little’ < *pərça* ‘small quantity, small piece’ (UD 262); *zarra* n.m. ‘a little, a jot’ (< Azer. *zərrə* < Arab.) (UD 346); *çam, çam* part. ‘little, less, seldom; wanting’ (UD 127)

Source:

#1 Etymology is unknown; cf. Azer. *kəm*, Pers. *kam*, Kj. *kêm* ‘few, small in number, little, a little bit, a small amount’ (KED 317).

#2 < **xa* (see ONE) & Turkic suffix *-ča* (Khan 2016.1: 181).

TO FIGHT

1 Nud **+płš** I (+*płəš* | +*płəša*, +*bəpłəša* | +*płəšle*)

1 Mahm **+płš** I (+*płəš* | +*płəša* | +*płəšle*)

1 VD Urmi **+płš** I

1 U Urmi **+płš** I ‘to fight, to battle’ (UD 263)

Source:

MEA: *płš* pe. ‘to pierce, break through; to inquire carefully into; to extend, stretch out’ (SL 1203). “In some words an original aspirated stop **p* has shifted to a tense unaspirated stop /*p̰*/. This has occurred in both emphatic and plain words, e.g. +*płəš* ‘he fights’ ” (Khan 2016.1: 163).

FIRE

1 Nud **nura** [nyra]

1 Mahm **nura** [nyra]

1 VD Urmi **nuyra**

1 U Urmi **nuyra** ‘fire, bonfire’ (UD 244)

Source:

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

FISH

1 Nud **nuna** [nyna]

1 Mahm **nuna** [nyna]

1 VD Urmi **nuyna**

1 U Urmi **nuyna** ‘fish’ (UD 244)

Source:

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

FIVE

1 Nud **xamša**

1 Mahm **xamša**

1 VD Urmi **xamša**

1 U Urmi **xamša** ‘five’ (UD 322)

Source:

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

TO FLOAT

There is no specific word for this meaning in Nud, Mahm and VD Urmi.

1 U Urmi **sxy** I (*saxə*) ‘to swim, to bathe; to float; to be washed or purified’ (UD 276)

Source:

See TO SWIM.

TO FLOW

There is no specific word for this meaning in Nud, Mahm and VD Urm, the verb ‘to go’ is used instead.

-1 U Urmi +jry I (+jarə) ‘to flow (of water, river)’ (UD 174)

Source:

< Az. *cərayan etmək* ‘to flow, to pass’ (AIL 155) (cf. also Pers. *jāri šodan* ‘to flow’ (ODP)) < Arab. *jarā* ‘to flow, stream (water)’ (DMWA 121). Alternatively, cf. Syriac *grr* ‘to leak, trickle’ (TS 76), suggested by Mutzafi (2008: 355) as an etymology of JNA Betanure *jāyer* ‘to urinate’.⁷

FLOWER

1 Nud bəbla

2 Mahm varda

2 VD Urmi varda

2 U Urmi varda ‘rose; flower’ (UD 318)

Source:

#1 Etymology is unknown. Cf. Shapytnaya/Levun *bubla* ‘flower’ (Zabelina et al. 2022–); Barwari Bala *bibla* ‘camomile’ (Khan 2008: 1068).

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

TO FLY

1 Nud prx I (parəx | praxa | prəxle)

1 Mahm prx I (parəx | praxa | prəxle)

1 VD Urmi prx I

1 U Urmi prx I ‘to fly, to fly away’ (UD 251)

Source:

MEA: *prḥ* pe. ‘to fly’ (SL 1235); *prḥ* pe. ‘to fly’ (DJBA 930); *phr* pe. ‘to fly’, *pra* pe. ‘to fly’ (MD 366, 377).

FLY (N.)

1 Nud dədva

1 Mahm dədva

1 VD Urmi dədva

1 U Urmi dədva ‘fly, an insect’ (UD 142)

Source:

MEA: *dedbā* ‘fly’ (DJBA 328), *didbia* (pl.) ‘fly’ (MD 106f), cf. *dabbābā*, *debbābā* ‘fly’ (SL 268).

FOG

0 Nud There is no special word, occasional borrowings from Russian are used.

-1 Mahm miž

⁷ We thank the reviewer for highlighting potential sources of this construction.

-1 VD Urmi **miž**

-1 U Urmi **məž** ‘mist, fog, haze’ (UD 220)

Source:

< Kj. *mij* ‘fog, mist’ (KED 385).

FOOT

1 Nud **aqla**

1 Mahm **+akla**

1 VD Urmi **akla**

1 U Urmi **’akla** ‘leg; foot’ (UD 76)

Source:

MEA: *ʕaqūlā* ‘curvature, curve’ (SL 1129); *ʕāqūlā* ‘cove, inlet’ (DJBA 876).

Cf. Mutzafi comments on *ʕaqūlā* ‘shank, leg’ (TS 425): “but this is surely a vernacular, possibly early Neo-Aramaic word rather than a classical Syriac one. <...> The proto-form **ʕaqūlā* denoted, therefore, a curve of the foot, shank or leg or, perhaps, a crooked foot or leg. If the latter sense is valid, the use of **ʕaqūlā* in the sense of ‘leg, foot’ may have started as a slang or jocular word” (Mutzafi 2014: 186).

FOREST / WOODS

-1 Nud **meša**

-1 Mahm **meša**

-1 VD Urmi **meša**

-1 U Urmi **meša** ‘wood, forest’ (UD 220)

Source:

< Kj. *mêše* ‘forest, woods’ (KED 382); Azer. *meşə* ‘wood(s), forest’ (AIL 554; UD 220).

FOUR

1 Nud **+arpa**

1 Mahm **+arpa**

1 VD Urmi **+arpa**

1 U Urmi **+’arpa** ‘four’ (UD 90)

Source:

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

TO FREEZE (ABOUT HUMANS)

1 Nud **xbl II** (*xibəl* | *xubúl* | *xubəlle*)

1 Mahm **xbl II** (*xibəl* | *xubula* | *xubəlle*)

1 VD Urmi **xbl II**

1 U Urmi **xbl II** ‘to become cold, to feel cold, to shiver from cold’ (UD 320)

Source:

Khan (2016.1: 425) compares *xabəl II* ‘to become cold’ with Syr. *ħabbəl* ‘to travail’ < *ħēblā* ‘travail’; cf. MEA: *ħbl* pe. ‘to give birth; to conceive; to bring forth, produce; to long for’; pa. ‘to be in travail, labor’ (SL 406); *ħbl* ‘to be in travail’ (DJBA 427).

FRUIT (ANY PRODUCT OF PLANT)

1 Nud **+tunta**1 Mahm **+tunta**1 VD Urmi **+tunta**1 U Urmi **+tunta** ‘(any) fruit, produce’ (UD 317); cf. *yeməš* ‘fruit’ (UD 342); *perə* ‘fruits’ (UD 255); *picə* ‘fruit’ (UD 256)

Source:

MEA: *taḥnā* ‘burden, sack’ (SL 544); *ṭunā*, *tunā* ‘load, burden, fruit’ (DJBA 508), *ṭuna* ‘burden, load; fig. fruit’ (MD 177).

FULL

1 Nud **məlya**1 Mahm **məlya**1 VD Urmi **məlya**1 U Urmi **məlya** ‘full; nourishing; chubby, portly, fat’ (UD 218)

Source:

Resultative participle < *malə* ‘to fill (intr. and tr.)’ (UD 206); MEA: *mly* ‘to fill up’ (SL 768); *mly* ‘to be full’ (DJBA 678); *mła* ‘to fill, be full’ (MD 272).

TO GIVE

1 Nud **yvØ, yv, Øhv** I (*yavvə* | *biyava* | *hule*)1 Mahm **yvl, yvØ, yØv** I, QI (*yavvəl* | *yava* | *yuvvəlle*)1 VD Urmi **yvl, yvØ, yØv** I, QI (*yavvəl* | *yava* | *yuvvəlle*)1 U Urmi **yvl, yvØ, yØv** I, QI (*yavvəl* | *yava* | *yuvvəllun*) ‘to give; to hand over, to deliver; to give out’ (UD 341; Khan 2016.1: 359)

Source:

MEA: *yhb* pe. ‘to give’ (SL 565); *yhb* pe. ‘to give’ (DJBA 526); *yhb, ṛhb, aḥb* pe. ‘to give’ (MD 189). On the historical changes in this root see Khan (2016.1: 359–360).

TO GO

1 Nud **Øzl, yzl** I (*ṭazəl* | *bizala* | *zəlle*)1 Mahm **Øzl, yzl** I (*azəl* | *bizala* | *zəlle*)1, 2 VD Urmi **Øzl; rxš, Øxš, Ørš** I (*azəl* | *bərrəšša* | *xəšle*)1, 2 U Urmi **Øzl; rxš, Øxš, Ørš** I (*azəl* | *bərraxša, bərrəšxa, bərrəšša, bəšša* | *xəšlun*) ‘to go’ (UD 81; Khan 2016.1: 351)

Source:

#1 MEA: *ṛzl* pe. ‘to go’ (SL 24); *ṛzl* pe. ‘to go, travel’ (DJBA 100); *azl* pe. ‘to go, move on’ (MD 12).
#2 MEA: *rḥš* pe. ‘to move’ (SL 1458); *rḥš* pe. ‘to creep, move’ (DJBA 1071); *rḥš* pe. ‘to creep, crawl, move, stir, pullulate, bring forth, bring about’ (MD 427).

Comments:

In Urmi varieties, “this verb is expressed by the root Ø-z-l in the present template and the active participle but by a lexically suppletive root in other forms. The suppletive root is

derived historically from **r-x-š*, though the initial /r/ is elided in most forms” (Khan 2016.1: 351).

GOOD

-1 Nud **+spay**

1 Mahm **ǵəns**

1 VD Urmi **ǵəns**, cf. *+spay* as a literary equivalent

-1, 1 U Urmi **+spay** ‘good, pleasant, fine, well’ (UD 286); **jəns, jīs, jīs** ‘good, agreeable, pleasant; (adv.) well’ (UD 172)

Source:

#-1 < Kj. *spehî* ‘pretty, beautiful’ (KED 560; UD 286).

#1 < Azer. *cins* ‘race, breed’, metaphorical ‘thorough-bred’ < Arab. *jins* ‘kind, sort, variety, species, race’ (DMWA 141) < Greek *γενος* (Mutzafi 2018: 22-27; UD 172).

GRASS

1 Nud **gəlla**

1 Mahm **gəlla** [dʒəlla]

1 VD Urmi **gəlla**

1 U Urmi **jəlla** ‘grass’ (UD 165)

Source:

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

GREEN

1 Nud **mila**

2 Mahm **kina**

2 VD Urmi **kina**

2 U Urmi **kina** ‘green’ (UD 183); cf. *mila* ‘blue, green’ (UD 220)

Source:

#1 ‘green’ < ‘blue’, since in most NENA varieties *milana* or *mila* means ‘blue’, but cf. Aqra (Xərpa), Nəxla (Gerbish) *milana*, Diyana-Zariwaw *mūlana*, Marga *mila* ‘green’ (NENA DB). Further etymology is unclear; cf. Syr. *nīlā* ‘indigo’ (TS 338) < Pers. *nil* ‘indigo, bluing’ (MD); or Pers. *mīnā* ‘enamel; a blue, blueish green, green colour’ (CPED 1364; UD 220).

#2 Etymology is unclear; cf. MEA: *qūnāʔā* ‘blue’ (SL 1335), *qūnāʔā* ‘dark blue’ < Greek *κυανέος* (SL 1337). For semantic shift cf. Jewish Urmi *qənya* ‘green, blue; bruised’ (Khan 2008: 568).

GUTS

1 Nud **+mayə** (pl.)

1 Mahm **+mayə** (pl.)

1 VD Urmi **+may** (pl.)

1 U Urmi **+maya** ‘guts, intestines; womb’ (UD 235); cf. *cisa* ‘belly (stomach + intestines)’ (UD 121)

Source:

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

HAIR

1 Nud **kavsa**

1 Mahm **cavsa** [kavsa]

1 VD Urmi **cosa**

1 U Urmi **cosa** ‘(head) hair’ (UD 65); cf. +*masta*, +*musta* ‘hair (single strand of hair or all the hair); animal hair’ (UD 236)

Source:

MEA: *qawṣatā* ‘lock of hair, ringlet, curl’ (SL 1341). But there is also another possible etymology < *kawsā* < Syr. *sawkā* ‘branch, twig’ (SL 978) (Mutzafi 2006: 89-90), even though a development of the meaning from ‘branch’ to ‘hair’ is typologically unusual.

HAND

1 Nud **ida**

1 Mahm **ida**; cf. *drana* ~ *drena* ‘arm’

1 VD Urmi **ida**; cf. Archaic *drana* ‘hand’

1 U Urmi **ida** ‘hand; arm’ (UD 84); cf. +*drana* ‘arm’ (UD 149)

Source:

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

HARD

1 Nud **qam** ‘hard, strong’

2 Mahm **kavya**

2 VD Urmi **kuya**

2 U Urmi **kuya** ‘hard, hardened, avaricious; strong, strengthened; strongly; loud’ (UD 185); cf. in figurative sense *kəšya* ‘hard; thick, of liquid, dense; strict’ (UD 182)

Source:

#1 Etymology is unknown.

#2 Resultative participle < *kavə* I ‘to become hard; to become strong; to stiffen; to be established’ (Khan 2016.1: 550; UD 181). MEA: *qwy* pa. ‘to remain, wait; to remain unburied; to persevere; to await; to make remain, last’ (SL 1327); *qwa* (Arab. *q-w-y*) ‘to be(come) strong’ (MD 405), “the Mandaic sense ‘fortify’ is surely influenced by the sense of the Arabic cognate *qwy* ‘to be or become strong’” (DMWA 802; CAL).

HE, SHE

1 Nud +**av** (m.); **ay** (f.)

1 Mahm +**av(un)** (m.), **ayən** (f.)

1 VD Urmi +**avən** (m.), **ayən** (f.)

1 U Urmi +**av**, +**avun** ‘he’ (UD 91), **ay**, **ayən** ‘she’ (UD 81)

Source:

PNENA **ahu* (m.), **ahi* (f.) (Hoberman 1990: 85); MEA: *hū* ‘he’ (SL 333), *hī* ‘she’ (SL 339), *haw* ‘that one’ (SL 333); *hu* ‘he; that’ (MD 133); *hī*, *hīa* ‘she’ (MD 151).

HEAD

- 1 Nud **riša**
 1 Mahm **riša**
 1 VD Urmi **riša**
 1 U Urmi **riša** ‘head’ (UD 266)

Source:

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

TO HEAR

- 1 Nud **+šmy** I (+*šam* | +*bəšmá* | +*šmile*)
 1 Mahm **+šmy** I (+*šamini* | +*bəšmá* | +*šmile*)
 1 VD Urmi **+šmØ, +šmy, +šmmy** I (+*šammə* | +*bəšmaya* | +*šmile*)
 1 U Urmi **+šmØ, +šmy, +šmmy** I (+*šammə* | +*bəšmaya*, +*bəšmá* | +*šmilun*) ‘to hear; to listen, to obey, to be obedient’ (UD 298; Khan 2016.1: 308)

Source:

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

HEART

- 1 Nud **ləbba**
 1 Mahm **ləbba**
 1 VD Urmi **ləbba**
 1 U Urmi **ləbba** ‘heart; intention; stomach’ (UD 197)

Source:

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

HEAVY

- 1 Nud **+yaqura**
 1 Mahm **+yakura**
 1 VD Urmi **+yakuyra**
 1 U Urmi **+yakuyra** ‘heavy, burdensome; slow, inactive, sedate’ (UD 342)

Source:

MEA: *yaqurā* ‘heavy (in weight)’ (SL 581); cf. *yqr* ‘to be heavy’ (SL 582); *yqr* ‘to increase in value’ (DJBA 540); MD *yqr* ‘to honor, respect’.

HERE

- 1 Nud **laxxa**
 1 Mahm **laxxa**
 1 VD Urmi **laxxa**
 1 U Urmi **laxxa, 'axxa** ‘here; around here, nearby’ (UD 197)

Source:

l-axxa, lit. ‘to here’; MEA: *hārkā* ‘here’ (SL 354), *hākā* ‘here’ (DJBA 381); *haka* adv. of place ‘here’, with prep. *lhaka* ‘hither’ (MD 120).

TO HIDE

- 1 Nud **+ṭšy** II (+ṭiši | +ṭušúv | +ṭušile)
- 1 Mahm **+ṭšy** II (+ṭišini | +ṭušuvva | +ṭušile)
- 1 VD Urmi **+ṭšy** II (+ṭaš | +ṭašuya | +ṭušile)
- 1 U Urmi **+ṭšy** II (+ṭašə) ‘to hide, to conceal, to reserve’ (UD 315)

Source:

MEA: *ṭšy* pe. ‘to hide; to hide o.s.; to be hidden’; pa. ‘to hide, conceal from; to hide o.s.’ (SL 557); *ṭšy* pe. ‘to hide’ (DJBA 520); *ṭša* ethpa. ‘to hide, conceal’ (MD 183).

TO HIT

- 1 Nud **mxy** I (*max* | *bəmxā* | *mxile*)
- 1 Mahm **mxy** I (*maxini* | *mxā* | *mxile*)
- 1 VD Urmi **mxy** I (*max* | *mxaya* | *mxile*)
- 1 U Urmi **mxy** I (*maxə*) ‘to beat, to strike, to hit’ (UD 215)

Source:

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

TO HOLD

- 1 Nud **dvq** I (*davəq* | *bədvāqa* | *dvəqle*)
- 1 Mahm **dvk** I (*davək* | *bədvāka* | *dvəkle*)
- 1 VD Urmi **dvk** I
- 1 U Urmi **dvk** I ‘to seize, to catch, to hold’ (UD 140)

Source:

MEA: *dbq* pe. ‘to stick to, adhere; to follow; to be numbed; to press to’; pa. ‘to stick, join together; to bind’ (SL 271); *dbq* pe. ‘to adhere, stick; to touch, reach’; pa. ‘to stick, paste to s.t.’ (DJBA 312); *dbq* pe., pa. ‘to cleave to, stick to, snatch, seize’ (MD 101).

HORN

- 1 Nud **qana**
- 1 Mahm **kana**
- 1 VD Urmi **kana**
- 1 U Urmi **kana** ‘horn; trumpet’ (UD 179)

Source:

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

HOUSE

- 1 Nud **biya**
 1 Mahm **biya**
 1 VD Urmi **beta**
 1 U Urmi **beta** ‘house, building’ (UD 104)

Source:

biya < **beya* < **bea* < **beṭa*; MEA: *baytā* ‘house’ (SL 144), *bēṭā* (DJBA 208), *baita* ‘house’ (MD 47).

HOW

- 1 Nud **dax**
 2 Mahm **muḡḡurra**
 2 VD Urmi **muḡḡa**, **muḡḡurra**, cf. *dax* ‘how (as in ‘How are you?’), as (Comparative)’
 1 U Urmi **dax**, **daxi** ‘how, as’ (UD 141); cf. *mujjur*, *mujjurra*, *mujja* (Armenia), *mú-jurra* (Canda) ‘how? what kind of?’ (UD 223)

Source:

#1 < **d-** relative particle ‘of’ & **ax** ‘as, like’ (UD 80):

d-: MEA: *d-* relative particle (SL 268); *d-*, *dī* conj. ‘that, so that, because’, relative pron. ‘who, which, the one who, the one that’, genitive marker ‘of, the one of’ (DJBA 307); *d-* relative particle (MD 491);

ax: MEA: *ʔayk* ‘as, like’ (SL 33), *ʔaykāw* ‘how’ (SL 34); *ʔek* conj. ‘that’ (introducing direct speech, in writs only (DJBA 113), *aiak* ‘like, as if, in manner that’ (MD 14);

#2 < *mu* ‘what’ (see WHAT) & *jur/jurra* ‘kind’ (UD 223) < Pers. *jur* ‘gender, variety, species’ (ODP); KJ. *cûre* ‘type, way, manner’ (KED 96).

TO HUNT

- 1 Nud +**sayduvva** (n) Øvd I, lit. ‘to do a hunt’
 2 Mahm +**avčuvva** (n) Øvd I, lit. ‘to do a hunt’
 2 VD Urmi +**avčuyta** (n) Øvd I, lit. ‘to do a hunt’
 1 U Urmi +**syd** I (+*sayəd*) ‘to hunt, to chase, to fish, to trap’ (UD 284)

Source:

#1 MEA: *šwd* pe. ‘to hunt, fish’ (SL 1277), *šayādūtā* ‘hunting, fishing’ (SL 1284); *šwd* pe. ‘to catch creatures’ (DJBA 953); *šud* pe. ‘to hunt, chase, fish’ (MD 390).

#2 < +**avči** ‘hunter’ (UD 91) & suffix **-uvva/-uyta**:

+*avči*: < Turkish *avcı*, Azer. *ovçu* ‘hunter’ < *av*, *ov* ‘to hunt’ (AIL 618);

-uvva/-uyta: < **-uṭa* (Talay 2008: 69).

HUSBAND

- 1 Nud **gavra** [gʲawra]
 1 Mahm +**gavra** [dʒavra]
 1 VD Urmi +**gora**
 1, 2 U Urmi +**jora** ‘man; husband’ (UD 169); **urza** (UD 86); both words mean ‘man (male); husband’

Source:

#1 MEA: *gabṛā* ‘man, person, husband’ (SL 202); *gabṛā* ‘man, husband’ (DJBA 258); *gabra* ‘man’ (MD 73). Reflexes of Aramaic *gabṛā* ‘man’ expanded their meaning to denote also ‘husband’ in many NENA (Mutzafi 2014: 113). The secondary differentiation between ‘man’ and ‘husband’, which originated from a single etymon (*gura* vs. *gavra*), occurred in Nud as well as in some other NENA varieties (NENA DB; Fox 2009: 146).

#2 see MAN (adult male)

I

1 Nud **ana**

1 Mahm **ana**

1 VD Urmi **ana**

1 U Urmi **’ana** ‘I’ (UD 77)

Source:

PNENA **ana* (Hoberman 1990: 85); MEA: *ʔenā* ‘I’ (SL 58); *ʔānā* ‘I’ (DJBA 143); *ana* ‘I’ (MD 24).

ICE

1 Nud **gdila**

1 Mahm **gdila** [dʒdila]

1 VD Urmi **gdila**

1 U Urmi **jdila** (UD 165)

Source:

MEA: *glīdā* ‘cold, ice’ (SL 236); *glīdā* ‘ice’ (DJBA 287).

IF

1 Nud **ən**

-1 Mahm **aga** [adʒa]

-1 VD Urmi **aga**

1, -1 U Urmi **’ən** ‘if, when’ (UD 82); **’ājar** ‘if’ (UD 76)

Source:

#1 MEA: *ʔen* ‘if’ (SL 58); *ʔi* ‘if, whether’ (DJBA 108); *hin* ‘if, if so, though, although’ (MD 146).

#-1 < Pers. *agar* (UD 76); Kj. *eger* ‘if’ (KED 173); Azer. *əgər* (AIL 264).

IN

1 Nud **gav** [gʲaw]

1 Mahm **gav** [dʒav]

1 VD Urmi **gav, gu**

1 U Urmi **jav, ju, ja, javət** ‘in’ (UD 164)

Source:

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

TO KILL

- 1 Nud **+qtl** I (+*qaṭəl* | +*bəqṭala* | +*qṭalle*)
 1 Mahm **+kṭl** I (+*kaṭəl* | +*bəkṭala* | +*kṭalle*)
 1 VD Urmi **+kṭl** I
 1 U Urmi **+kṭl** I ‘to kill, to execute, to murder’ (UD 190)

Source:

MEA: *qṭl* pe. ‘to kill’ (SL 1352); *qṭl* pe. ‘to kill’ (DJBA 1006); *gṭl* pe. ‘to kill’ (MD 87).

KNEE

- 1 Nud **bərka**
 1 Mahm **bərca** [bərtʰa]
 1 VD Urmi **bərca**
 1 U Urmi **bərca** ‘knee’ (UD 102)

Source:

MEA: *burkā* ‘knee’ (SL 131); *birkā* ‘knee’ (DJBA 206); *burka* ‘knee’ (MD 57).

TO KNOW

- 1 Nud **+yhhy, +dØy, +dyy** I (+*yahhə*, +*da*, +*dayyi* | +*bəddá* | +*dile*)
 1 Mahm **+yhhy, +dØy, +dyy** I (+*yahhini*, +*dayyini* | +*bəddá* | +*dile*)
 1 VD Urmi **+yṭØ, +yṭty, +dØy** I (+*yattə* | +*bəddaya* | +*dile*)
 1 U Urmi **+yṭØ, +yṭty, +dØy** I (+*yattə* | +*bəddaya*, +*bəddá* | +*dilun*) ‘to know’ (UD 343; Khan 2016.1: 361)

Source:

MEA: *yḏf* pe. ‘to know’ (SL 563); *yḏf* pe. ‘to know’ (DJBA 525); *yda*, *ḏda* pe. ‘to know, recognize’ (MD 188).

LAKE

There is no specific word for this meaning in Nud, Mahm, VD Urmi, the word **yama** (or occasionally *yama surta* ‘small sea’) is used instead.

- 1 U Urmi **yamta** ‘lake’ (UD 341); cf. *yama* ‘sea’ (UD 341)

Source:

Diminutive of *yama*, see SEA.

TO LAUGH

- 1 Nud **gxk** I (*gaxək* | *gəxka* | *gxəkə*)
 1 Mahm **gxc** [dʒ-] I (*gaxəc* | *bgəxca* | *gxəcə*)
 1 VD Urmi **gxc** I
 1 U Urmi **jxc** I ‘to laugh, to deride, to mock’ (UD 164)

Source:

MEA: *ghk* pe. ‘to laugh’ (SL 227); *ghk* pe. ‘to laugh’ (MD 81).

LEAF

1 Nud **+tarpa**1 Mahm **+tarpa**1 VD Urmi **+tarpa**1 U Urmi **+tarpa** ‘leaf; leaf of a book’ (UD 315)

Source:

MEA: *ṭarpā* ‘leaf’ (SL 555); *ātarpā* ‘leaf’ (DJBA 108); *aṭirpa* ‘leaf’ (MD 13).

LEFT

-1 Nud **+čapla**-1 Mahm **+čaplá, +čaplaya**-1 VD Urmi **+čapla**1, -1 U Urmi **səmmala** ‘left side’ (UD 277); **+čapla** ‘left side’ (UD 136)

Source:

#-1 < Kj. *čep* ‘left’; Sor. *čep* (KED 105a); Pers. *čap* ‘left’ (UD 136).#1 MEA: *semālā, semālāyā* ‘left’ (SL 1020); *smālā* ‘left side, left hand, left foot’ (DJBA 1188); *smal(a)* ‘left’ (MD 332).

LEG

There is no specific word in all varieties concerned, see FOOT.

TO LIE (IN BED)

1, 2 Nud **dmx** I (*daməx* | *bədməxa* | *dməxle*); **+šrtx** QI (*+šarṭəx* | *+šarṭúx* | *+šarṭəxle*)1, 2 Mahm **dmx** I (*daməx* | *bədməxa* | *dməxle*); **+šrtx** QI (*+šarṭəx* | *+šurṭuxa* | *+šurṭəxle*)1, 3 VD Urmi **dmx** I; **+ryx** I (*+rax* | *+bəryaxa* | *+rəxle*)1, 3 U Urmi **dmx** I ‘to lie down, to sleep’ (UD 138); **+ryx** I (*+rayəx, +rāx*) ‘to extend, to become long, to stretch, to stretch out (on the ground), to lie down’ (UD 270); cf. *+štx* I ‘to stretch out (on the floor to rest); to stretch so. out (on the ground)’ (UD 299)

Source:

#1 See TO SLEEP. The verb *dmx* ‘to sleep’ is gradually replacing other verbs for this meaning in non-specific contexts.#2 MEA: *šṭḥ* pe. ‘to spread out, make level’; pa. ‘to spread out’ (SL 1547); *šṭḥ* pe., pa. ‘to spread out’ (DJBA 1129); *šṭḥ* pe. ‘to stretch out, be prostrate, lie full length’ (MD 459). Infix *-r-* possibly originated from the dissimilation of the second consonant in D-stem (pa.) (Sabar 1982: 152, 159; Khan 2016.1: 449).#3 MEA: *ʔrk* pa. ‘to lengthen; to draw out’ (SL 100); *yrk* pe. ‘be long’ (SL 584); *ʔrk* af. ‘to be long, lengthen’ (DJBA 168); *ark* ‘to be long, prolonged, lengthy, last a long time’ (MD 37).

TO LIVE

1 Nud **xmy** I (*xam* | *bəxmá* | *xmīle*) ‘live, dwell’2 Mahm **xyØ, xØy** I (*xeni, xayyini* | *bəxxá* | *xīle*)2 VD Urmi **xyØ, xØy, Øxy** I (*xayyā* | *bəxxaya* | *xīlā*)2 U Urmi **xyØ, xØy, xyy, Øxy** I (*xayyā* | *bəxyaya, bəxxaya* | *xīlā*) ‘to live’ (UD 327; Khan 2016.1: 313)

Source:

- #1 Etymology is unknown. Cf. Zariwaw Neo-Aramaic *xmy* ‘to stay; to live’ (Napiorkowska 2015: 535); Urmi *xmy* II ‘to preserve; to keep; to look after’ (UD 322); MEA: *ḥmy* pe. ‘to see’ (SL 463); *ḥmy* pe. ‘to see’ (DJBA 468); *hma* af. ‘to guard, keep watch upon, protect’ (MD 149).
 #2 MEA: *ḥyy* pe. ‘to live’ (SL 446); *ḥyy*, *hyy* pe. ‘to live, recover, glow’ (DJBA 453), *hia* pe. ‘to live, exist’ (MD 140).

LIVER

1 Nud **kumta**, lit. ‘black (f.sg.)’

-1 Mahm **ḡigar cumta** [dʒidʒar tʃʰumta]

-1 VD Urmi **ḡigar**

-1, 1 U Urmi **+jijar cumta** (lit. ‘black +*jijar*’), **cumta** ‘liver’ (UD 174); cf. less frequent *coda* ‘liver; lungs’ (UD 122)

Source:

#1 See BLACK.

#-1 < Kj. *cegera* (rēš) ‘(black) liver’ (KED 85); cf. Azer. *ciyər*, *qara ciyər* ‘liver’ (ADW 184) or Pers. *jegar* ‘liver’ (ODP).

LONG

1 Nud **irixa**

1 Mahm **irixa**

1 VD Urmi **+yarixa**

1 U Urmi **+yarixa** ‘long’ (UD 343)

Source:

MEA: *arrīk* ‘long’ (SL 99); *arīk* ‘tall, long’ (DJBA 167); *arika* ‘long’ (MD 37); cf. *yrk* pe. ‘to be long’ (SL 584).

LOUSE

1 Nud **qalma**

1 Mahm **+kalma**

1 VD Urmi **kalma**

1 U Urmi **ḵalma** ‘louse’ (UD 177)

Source:

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

MAN (ADULT MALE)

1, 2 Nud **gura** ‘man (male)’; **urza** ‘male, male animal’

2, 3 Mahm **urza** ‘male, male animal’; **ḡvanka** ‘man, young man’

3, 2 VD Urmi **ḡvanka** ‘man, young man’; **urza** ‘male, male animal’

2, 1 U Urmi **urza** (UD 86); **+jora** (UD 169); both words mean ‘man (male); husband’, cf. *jvanḵa* ‘young (unmarried) man, beautiful, comely’ (UD 173)

Source:

#1 See HUSBAND.

#2 The etymology is uncertain. Cf. Sor. *urz* ‘honor, purity, chastity’ (DKF 1755) and U Urmi *urzuŷta* ‘manliness; generosity’ (UD 86).

#3 < KJ. *ciwan* ‘young man’ (KED 93), Azer. *cavan* ‘youth, youngster’ (AIL 152).

MAN (HUMAN BEING) / PERSON

1 Nud **naša**

1, 2 Mahm **naša**, +**bar-naša**

1 VD Urmi **naša**

1 U Urmi **naša** ‘man, person; pl. family’ (UD 241); cf. +*bar-naša* ‘man, human, person, individual’ (UD 111)

Source:

#1 MEA: *nāšā* ‘man, human beings’ (SL 65); *ināšā* ‘man’ (DJBA 120); (*a*)*naša* ‘human being’ (MD 24).

#2 MEA: *barnāšā* ‘man’ (SL 178, 191); *bar ʔināš* ‘human being, person’ (DJBA 234); *br* (*a*)*naša*, *barnaša* ‘a man, an individual’ (MD 24, 68). Cf. *brā*, abs. *bar* ‘son’ (SL 177); *brā*, abs./cs. *bar* ‘son, offspring, descendant, having ability, being of age, resident of’ (DJBA 231); *br*, *bra*, abs./cs. *bar* ‘son’ (MD 68).

MANY

1 Nud **riba**

1 Mahm **riba**

1 VD Urmi +**raba**

1 U Urmi +**raba**, +**roba** ‘much, a lot of; many’ (UD 267)

Source:

MEA: *rabbā* ‘great, large’ (SL 1425); *rab* ‘great one, great thing’ (DJBA 1052); *rab*, *rba* ‘great, large, immense’ (MD 417, 422).

MEAT

1 Nud +**bəsra**

1 Mahm +**bəsra**

1 VD Urmi +**bəsra**

1 U Urmi +**busra** ‘meat, flesh’ (UD 115)

Source:

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

MOON

1 Nud +**sara**

1 Mahm +**sara**; **šəmši-+sara**

1 VD Urmi +**sara**

1 U Urmi +**sara** ‘moon’ (UD 283), cf. *šəmši-+sara* ‘moonlight’ (UD 63)

Source:

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

For etymology of *šəmši-* see SUN.

MOTHER

-1 Nud **da**

-1 Mahm **da**

1 VD Urmi **yəmma**

1 U Urmi **yəmma** ‘mother’ (UD 342); cf. *çoç* ‘mother’ (UD 127); *+mama* ‘mummy’ (child language) (UD 227)

Source:

#-1 < Kj. *dê, deya, diya, dya* ‘mother’ (KED 147).

#1 MEA: *emmā* ‘mother’ (SL 52); *immā* ‘mother’ (DJBA 116); *ɛma* ‘mother’ (MD 352).

MOUNTAIN

1 Nud **+tura**

1 Mahm **+tura**

1 VD Urmi **+tuyra**

1 U Urmi **+tura** ‘mountain’ (UD 318)

Source:

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

MOUTH

1 Nud **pəmma**

1 Mahm **pumma**

1 VD Urmi **pumma**

1 U Urmi **pumma** ‘mouth’ (UD 257)

Source:

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

NAIL (FINGERNAIL)

1 Nud **+tup̄p̄orta**

1 Mahm **+tup̄purta**

1 VD Urmi **+tup̄purta**

1 U Urmi **+tup̄purta** ‘fingernail, toenail, claw, hoof’ (UD 317)

Source:

MEA: *teprā* ‘nail, claw, talon’ (SL 548); *tup̄rā* ‘fingernail, toenail’ (DJBA 498); *tupra* ‘claw, nail’ (MD 178). Cf. TAIL.

NAME

1 Nud **šəmma**

1 Mahm **šəmma**

1 VD Urmi **šəmma**

1 U Urmi **šəmma** ‘name; reputation, renown’ (UD 294)

Source:

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

NARROW

1 Nud **iqa**

1 Mahm **ika**

1 VD Urmi **ika**

1 U Urmi **ika** ‘narrow, cramped, of space’ (UD 84)

Source:

Resultative participle < *ʾayək* ‘to become narrow, to become tight’ (UD 81); MEA: *ʕwq* pa. ‘to oppress’ (SL 1084); *ʕwq* pa., af. ‘to cause trouble, distress’ (DJBA 848); *hwq*, *ʕwq* af. ‘to frighten, torment’ (MD 137).

NAVEL

0 Nud There is no special word, occasional borrowings from Russian are used.

1 Mahm **šurta**

1 VD Urmi **+šurta**

1 U Urmi **šurta** ‘navel; umbilical cord’ (UD 297)

Source:

MEA: *šerā* ‘navel, umbilical cord’ (SL 1599), *šurtā* ‘umbilical cord, navel’ (SL 1613); *šurrā* ‘umbilical cord’ (DJBA 1124); *šura* ‘navel’ (MD 456).

NEAR

1 Nud **qurba**

1 Mahm **kurba**

1 VD Urmi **kurba**

1 U Urmi **kurba** (adj.) ‘close, near, almost’; **kurbabət** (adv.) ‘in the proximity of, near, around’ (UD 185)

Source:

< a noun has come to be used as an adjective (Khan 2016.1: 556); cf. MEA: *qurbā* ‘nearness, proximity’ (SL 1342); *qurbā* ‘kinship; close distance’ (DJBA 1002); *qurba* ‘nearness, proximity’ (MD 409).

NECK

1 Nud **qdala**

1 Mahm **kdala**

1 VD Urmi **kdala**

1 U Urmi **kdala** ‘neck; collar, neckcloth’ (UD 182)

Source:

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

NEW

-1 Nud **taža**-1 Mahm **taza**-1 VD Urmi **taza**1, -1 U Urmi **xata** ‘new, fresh, recent’ (UD 325); **taza** ‘new, fresh’ (UD 307)

Source:

#-1 < Kj. *t’aze* [t^haze] ‘fresh, green; new’ (KED 599); Azer. *təzə* (UD 307).#1 MEA: *ḥaṭā* ‘new’ (SL 418); *ḥāḏaṭ* ‘new’ (DJBA 433); *hadta* ‘new’ (MD 116).

NIGHT

1 Nud **lil**1 Mahm **(b)lil**1 VD Urmi **(b)lel**1 U Urmi **lelə** ‘night’ (UD 198)

Source:

blil, *blel* < *b-lele* ‘at night’ < *b-* ‘at, in’ + **laylyā* ‘night’ (Napiorkowska 2015: 105);MEA: *lelyā* ‘night’ (SL 691); *lelyā* ‘night’ (DJBA 626); *lilia* ‘night’ (MD 236).

NOSE

1 Nud **naxira**1 Mahm **naxira**1 VD Urmi **naxira**1 U Urmi **naxira** ‘nose’ (UD 242)

Source:

MEA: *nḥīrē* (pl.) ‘nostrils’ (SL 907); *nḥīrā* ‘nostril’ (DJBA 741); *nhira* ‘nose’ (MD 291).

NOT

1 Nud **la** (Past), **le** (Fut)1 Mahm **la** (Past), **le** (Fut)1 VD Urmi **la** (Past), **le** (Fut)1 U Urmi **la** (Past), **le** (Fut) (UD 194)

Source:

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

Comments:

“*le* <...> has arisen by a contraction of the /a/ of the negator *la* with a particle /i/, which can be identified with the /i/ in the particle *ci-* (§4.4.1.). It is used to negate both the *ci-patax* form and also the *bət-patax* form” (Khan 2016.2: 139).

OLD

1 Nud **itiqa**1 Mahm **itika**

1 VD Urmi atika

1 U Urmi 'atika 'old, ancient, antique' (UD 79)

Source:

MEA: *ʕattīqā* 'old' (SL 1147); *ʕattīq* 'old' (DJBA 885); *atiqa*, *hatiqa* 'old, ancient' (MD 43).

ONE

1 Nud xe 'one' (m.), **xda** 'one' (f.)

1 Mahm xe 'one' (m.), **xda** 'one' (f.)

1 VD Urmi xa

1 U Urmi xa, xa'a 'one; one time; the same; indefinite article' (UD 320)

Source:

MEA: *ḥaḍ* (m.), *ḥdā* (f.) 'one' (SL 413); *ḥaḍ* (m.), *ḥāḍā* (f.) 'one' (DJBA 430); *had* (m.), *hde* (f.) 'one, single' (MD 116).

OTHER (ANOTHER)

1 Nud xina

1 Mahm xina

1 VD Urmi xina

1 U Urmi xina 'other' (UD 330)

Source:

MEA: *ḥrēnā* 'other' (SL 29); *oḥōrēna* 'another' (DJBA 105); *hurina* 'other, another' (MD 137).

TO PLAY

1 Nud +tØl, tvl I (+*tēl* | +*bəṭol* | +*tolle*)

1 Mahm +tØl, tvl I (+*tēl* | +*bəṭola* | +*tolle*)

1 VD Urmi +tØl, tvl II (+*tal* | +*ṭavula* | +*ṭuvəlle*)

1 U Urmi +tØl, tvl II (+*ṭavəḷ*, +*ṭāl* | +*ṭavulə* | +*ṭuvəllun*) 'to play, to be amused, to gambol, to frolic' (UD 316; Khan 2016.1: 326)

Source:

< **ṭl* (Khan 2016.1: 326) < **ṭll*; MEA: *ṭll* pa., ethpa. 'to play, sport' (DJBA 505); *ṭll* pa., ethpa. 'to play, sport' (MD 180).

TO PULL

1 Nud grš I (*garəš* | *bəgraša* | *grəšle*)

1 Mahm grš [g- ~ dʒ-] I (*garəš* | *bəgraša* | *grəšle*)

1 VD Urmi grš I

1 U Urmi jrš I 'to pull, to haul, to drag, to draw (a weapon)' (UD 162)

Source:

MEA: *grš* pe. 'to pull, drag' (SL 264).

TO PUSH

1 Nud **xrbs** QI (*xərbəs* | *xərbús* | *xərbəsle*)

1 Mahm **xrbs** QI (*xərbəs* | *xarbusa* | *xurbəsse*)

1 VD Urmi **xrbs** QI

1 U Urmi **xrbs** QI ‘to push, to push aside, to cast out’ (UD 324); cf. *xrzp* QI ‘to push, to push away, to push over (a person)’ (UD 325)

Source:

#1 Etymology is unknown; cf. MEA *hbs* pe. ‘to crush’ (DJBA 427). Infix *-r-* possibly originated from the dissimilation of the second consonant in D-stem (Sabar 1982: 152, 159; Khan 2016.1: 449).

RAIN

1 Nud **+əryana**

1 Mahm **+aryana**

2 VD Urmi **+məṭra**

2 U Urmi **+muṭra** ‘rain’ (UD 238); cf. less frequent *+aryana* (UD 90)

Source:

#1 cf. MEA: *?aryā* ‘cold’ (SL 1139); *?ārītā* ‘chili, cold’ (DJBA 168). For semantic shift cf. Dobe *?ry* ‘to freeze’, Tyare *?ry*, *r?y* ‘to rain, snow’ (Mutzafi 2008: 332).

#2 MEA: *meṭrā* ‘rain’ (SL 749); *miṭrā* ‘rain’ (DJBA 665); *miṭra* ‘rain’ (MD 266).

RED

1 Nud **smoqa**

1 Mahm **smoka**

1 VD Urmi **smuka**

1 U Urmi **smuḵa** ‘red, ruddy, bay, of horse’ (UD 279)

Source:

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

RIGHT (RIGHTSIDE)

-1 Nud **+rasta**

-1 Mahm **+rastə**

-1 VD Urmi **+rastə**

1 U Urmi **yammīna** ‘right’ (UD 341), cf. *+rast*, *+rastə* ‘correct; right side’ (UD 269) (attested only in texts from Armenia)

Source:

#-1 < Kj. *rast* ‘right (direction); correct’ (KED 503); *rāst* ‘straight, right’ (ODP); Azer. *rast* ‘straight; neatly, to the point’ (AIL 651; UD 269).

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

RIVER

-1, 1 Nud **+čamma** ‘small river’; **nara** ‘big river’

1 Mahm **nara**

1 VD Urmi **nara**

1 U Urmi **nara** ‘river’ (UD 241)

Source:

#-1 < Kj. *ç'em* ‘stream, river’ (KED 103).

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

ROAD / WAY

1 Nud **urxa**

1 Mahm **urxa**

1 VD Urmi **urxa**

1 U Urmi **urxa** ‘road, way, course, entrance, access’ (UD 85)

Source:

MEA: *ʔurhā* ‘road’ (SL 21); *ʔorhā* ‘road, journey, manner’ (DJBA 94); *ʔuhra* ‘road, way, journey’ (MD 343).

ROOT

1 Nud **+əqra**

1 Mahm **+akra**

1 VD Urmi **+akra**

-1 U Urmi **coca** ‘trunk of a tree, stock of a tree; root’ (UD 122); cf. *+əkra* ‘trunk of tree; stump, stub; stem; origin’ (UD 93)

Source:

#1 MEA: *ʔeqqārā* ‘root’ (SL 1132); *ʔiqqārā* ‘root, essential portion’ (DJBA 859); *aqara* ‘root’ (MD 33).

#-1 < Azer. *kök* ‘root’ (AIL 439); Kj. *k'ok* [kʰok] ‘root’ < Turkish *kök* ‘root’ (KED 330).

ROPE

1 Nud **gədda** ‘rope; thread’

2 Mahm **+xola** ‘rope’; cf. *gdala* [dʒdala] ‘thread’; *+čopər*, *+čaṭi* (both words are used occasionally by some speakers)

2, 1 VD Urmi **+xola** ‘rope, knitting thread’; **gdala** ‘thread, rope’

2 U Urmi **+xola** ‘rope’ (UD 338); cf. *tanap* ‘line, cord, used to hang out washing’ (UD 303); *ɟdala*, *ɟəddala* ‘thread; lace, strand’ (UD 164)

Source:

#1 MEA: *gdādā* ‘cutting off; thread’ (SL 204); *gdādā* ‘thread’ (DJBA 260); *gdada*, *gadada* ‘strip’ (MD 80).

#2 Etymology is unclear. Cf. Armenian *čopan* ‘rope’ (Aroutunian, Aroutunian 1993: 321).

#3 MEA: *ħablā* ‘rope’ (SL 408); *ħablā* ‘rope’ (DJBA 427); *habla* ‘rope’ (MD 115);

ROTTEN

1 Nud **spisa** ‘rotten’; cf. *xriva* ‘spoiled’

2, 1 Mahm **xmika** ‘rotten’; **spisa** ‘completely rotten’; cf. *xriva* ‘spoiled’

1 VD Urmi **spisa** ‘rotten, decayed’; cf. *xriva* ‘spoiled’

1 U Urmi **spisa** ‘rotten’ (UD 279); cf. *xriva* ‘spoiled, damaged’ (UD 231); *xmika* ‘decayed, rotten, putrefied, smelly’ (UD 330)

Source:

#1 Resultative participle < *saḫās* ‘to decay, to rot, to decompose’ (UD 275), probably < Greek *σαπίζω* ‘to rot’ (Sabar 2002: 242).

#2 Resultative participle < *xaməḵ* ‘to decay, to become rotten’ (UD 322); further etymology is unknown.

Comments:

Most speakers give *xriva* ‘spoiled’ as a first reaction instead of a more semantically specific word for ‘rotten’.

ROUND

1 Nud **glula** [glyla]

1 Mahm **glula** [glyla]

1 VD Urmi **gluyla**

1 U Urmi **jlula** ‘round; ball; circle’ (3d) (UD 166)

Source:

MEA: *glālā* ‘round’ (SL 238); *glālā* ‘stone-shaped object’ (DJBA 288); *glala* ‘stone, rock, hail-stone; something round, ball’ (MD 91).

TO RUB

1 Nud **prx** I (*parəx* | *bəpraxa* | *prəxle*)

1 Mahm **prx** I (*parəx* | *praxa* | *prəxle*)

1 VD Urmi **prx** I

1 U Urmi **prx** I ‘to rub, to scrub’ (UD 251)

Source:

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

TO RUN

1 Nud **+rxṭ** I (*+raxəṭ* | *+bərxəṭa* | *+rxəṭle*)

1 Mahm **+rxṭ** I (*+raxəṭ* | *+bərxəṭa* | *+rxəṭle*)

1 VD Urmi **+rxṭ** I; cf. *Ørk* I ‘to run away’

1 U Urmi **+rxṭ** I ‘to run, to rush (on foot)’ (UD 269); cf. *Ørk* I ‘to run, to run away, to escape, to flee, to evade, to avoid’ (UD 78)

Source:

MEA: *rhṭ* pe. ‘to run, go forth’ (SL 1440); *rhṭ* pe. ‘to run, come quickly, follow someone’s opinion, act in haste’ (DJBA 1060); *rhṭ* pe. ‘to run, hasten, move quickly, flow swiftly’ (MD 426).

SALT

- 1 Nud **məlxə**
 1 Mahm **məlxə**
 1 VD Urmi **məlxə**
 1 U Urmi **məlxə** ‘salt’ (UD 218)

Source:

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

SAND

- 1 Nud **xiza**
 -2 Mahm **silə**
 -2 VD Urmi **silə**
 -2 U Urmi **silə** ‘sand’ (UD 278)

Source:

#-1 < Kj. *xîz* ‘sand; gravel, pebble’ (KED 665)

#-2 < Sor. *seylak* (*sêl*, *sêlak*, *sêlax*, *sêleh*, *sêlix*, *sîlewan*, *sîlik*) ‘sand’ (DKF 1495; 1498; 1524); *seylak* ‘sand’ (Qazzaz 2000: 364).

TO SAY

- 1 Nud **Ømr** I (*ṭamər* | *mara* | *mire*)
 1, 2 Mahm **Ømr** I; **tny** II (*tin(-ini)* | *mara*, *tunuṽṽə* | *mire*, *tunile*)
 1, 2 VD Urmi **Ømr** I; **tny** II (*tanə* | *mara*, *tanuṽṽə* | *mərre*, *tunile*)
 1, 2 U Urmi **Ømr** I ‘to say, to tell’ (UD 77); **tny** II ‘to repeat, to say again, to do again; to say, to tell’ (UD 303) (*tanə* | *mara*, *tanuyə* | *mərrun*, *tunilun*) (Khan 2016.1: 354)

Source:

#1 MEA: *ʔmr* pe. ‘to say’ (SL 57); *ʔmr* pe. ‘to say, recite, tell’ (DJBA 140); *amr* pe. ‘to say, speak, talk, narrate, discuss, command’ (MD 23).

#2 MEA: *tny* pe. ‘to repeat; to tell, relate; to say, speak; to recite’; pa. ‘to recall, learn; to do again; to tell’ (SL 1654); *tny* pe. ‘to repeat, do again; to learn a Tannaitic tradition; to recite a Tannaitic tradition; to explain, elucidate’; pa. ‘to relate, tell; to study the talmud’ (DJBA 1218), *tna* pe. ‘to do for a second time, repeat, reiterate’ (MD 488).

Comments:

In Urmi (which influenced Mahm), “the original verbal root ‘to say’ Ø-*m-r* I has become restricted to the past form, resultative participle and progressive. The verb *tanə* II (*t-n-y*), which originally meant ‘to recount (a tale)’, has now developed the synonymous sense ‘to say’. Unlike Ø-*m-r*, it is used in all inflections, so has replaced Ø-*m-r* in the present and imperative. It exists as an alternative to Ø-*m-r* in the past, resultative participle and progressive.” (Khan 2016.1: 354).

TO SCRATCH

- 1 Nud **+zrč** I (+*zarəč* | +*bəzrača* | +*zračle*)
 1 Mahm **+zrč** I (+*zarəč* | +*bəzrača* | +*zračle*)

1 VD Urmi +zrč̣ I

1 U Urmi +zrč̣ I, +zrzč̣ QI ‘to scratch (with nails and break skin), to claw’ (UD 350); cf. less frequent +*jrč̣* I ‘to scratch’ (UD 169)

Source:

MEA: *sr̥t* pe. ‘to scratch, prick; to write’ (SL 1045); *zr̥t* pa. ‘to torment’ > *zrāṭā* ‘scraping, shaving’ (SL 398); *sr̥t* pa. ‘to lacerate’ (DJBA 831). Cf. also: “The affrication of an original unvoiced /t/ in verbs with an emphatic suprasegmental setting has the effect of expressing a greater degree of force or hardness. <...> e.g. +*zarəṭ* I ‘to score (a board)’, +*zarəč̣* I ‘to scratch (with nails and break skin)’” (Khan 2016.1: 182).

SEA

1 Nud yama**1 Mahm yama****1 VD Urmi yama**

1 U Urmi yama ‘sea’ (UD 341); cf. *yamta* ‘lake’ (UD 341)

Source:

MEA: *yamā* ‘sea, lake’ (SL 575); *yammā*, *yōmā* ‘sea, ocean’ (DJBA 536); *iama* ‘sea, lake, stretch of water, lagoon, pool, river’ (MD 186).

TO SEE

1 Nud xzØ, xzy I (*xazzə* | *bəxzā* | *xzile*)**1 Mahm xzØ, xzy I** (*xaz(z)ini* | *bəxzā* | *xzile*)**1 VD Urmi xzØ, xzy I** (*xazzə* | *bəxzaya* | *xzile*)

1 U Urmi xzØ, xzy I (*xazzə*, *xazə*) ‘to see, to look, to look at; to consider, to notice’ (UD 327)

Source:

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

SEED

1 Nud +bərzarra**1 Mahm +barzarra****1 VD Urmi +bərzarra**

1 U Urmi +bar-+zarra, +bər-+zarra ‘seed, pit of fruit’ (UD 110)

Source:

MEA: *bar zarṯā* ‘seed’, lit. ‘son of seed’ (SL 180), *zarṯā* ‘seed’ (SL 400); *bazrā*, *bizrā* ‘seed’ (DJBA 195); *bazira*, *bazra* ‘seed’ (MD 46).

TO SEW

1 Nud +xyṭ I (*+xeṭ* | *+bəxyaṭa* | *+xəṭle*)**1 Mahm +xyṭ I** (*+xeṭni* | *+bəxyaṭa* | *+xəṭle*)**1 VD Urmi +xyṭ I** (*+xaṭni* | *+bəxyaṭa* | *+xəṭle*)

1 U Urmi +xyṭ I (*+xayəṭ*, *+xāṭ*) ‘to sew, to sew up’ (UD 337)

Source:

MEA: *hyt* pe. ‘to sew’ (SL 422); *hw̄t*, *h̄ty* pe. ‘to sew’ (DJBA 436); *hūt* pe. ‘to sew, stitch together’ (MD 135).

SHADOW

1 Nud **+ṭlaniya**

1 Mahm **+ṭlaniya**

1 VD Urmi **+ṭlanita**

1 U Urmi **+ṭlanita** ‘shadow, shade’ (UD 317)

Source:

MEA: *ṭellānītā* ‘shadow’ (SL 534); *ṭallānītā*, *ṭullānītā* ‘type of demon or shade’ (DJBA 505); *ṭulanita* ‘shade, shadow, spectre, phantasm, phantom, a demon’ (MD 177).

SHARP

1 Nud **xirupa**

1 Mahm **xirupa**

1 VD Urmi **xaruypa**

1 U Urmi **xarupa** ‘sharp; pungent; fervent’ (UD 324)

Source:

Adj. < *xarəp* ‘to become sharp (knife); to become pungent’ (UD 324). MEA: *ḥrp* ‘to be sharp’ (SL 494); *ḥrp* ‘to sharpen’ (DJBA 484); *ḥrp* ‘to be early, sharp’ (MD 153).

SHORT

-1, 1 Nud **qutta; kərya**

1 Mahm **cərya** [tʰərja]

1 VD Urmi **cərya**

1 U Urmi **cərya** ‘short’ (UD 120)

Source:

#-1 < Sor. or Kj. *qut* ‘short’ (DKF 1342).

#1 MEA: *karyā* ‘short’ (SL 651).

TO SING

1 Nud **zmr** I (*zamər* | *bəzmara* | *zmərre*)

1 Mahm **zmr** I (*zamər* | *bəzmara* | *zmərre*)

1 VD Urmi **zmr** I

1 U Urmi **zmr** I ‘to sing’ (UD 345)

Source:

MEA: *zmr* pe. ‘to sing; to pipe, play on pipe’; pa. ‘to sing, praise’ (SL 386); *zmr* pe., pa. ‘to sing’ (DJBA 417); *zmr* pe., pa. ‘to sing, make music, play (an instrument), make a sound, resound’ (MD 169).

TO SIT

- 1 Nud **y_{tv}**, **ty_v** I (*yatu* | *bətyava* | *tule*)
 1 Mahm **y_{tv}**, **ty_v** I (*yatəv* | *bətyava* | *təvle*)
 1 VD Urmi **y_{tv}**, **ty_v** I (*yatəv* | *bətyava* | *təvle*)
 1 U Urmi **y_{tv}**, **ty_v** I (*yatəv* | *bətyava* | *təvulun*) ‘to sit, to sit down’ (UD 341; Khan 2016.1: 323)

Source:

MEA: *y_{tb}* pe. ‘to sit’ (SL 587); *y_{tb}* pe. ‘to sit’ (DJBA 545); *y_{tb}* pe. ‘to sit, stay’ (MD 193).

SKIN (HUMAN)

- 1 Nud **gəlda**
 1 Mahm **gəlda** [dʒəlda]
 1 VD Urmi **gəlda**
 1 U Urmi **jəlda** ‘skin, fur’ (UD 165); cf. *jallaxta* ‘skin, hide; bark of tree’ (UD 170)

Source:

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

SKY

- 1 Nud **šmayya**
 2 Mahm **dunya**
 2 VD Urmi **dənyə** ‘sky, world’
 1 U Urmi **šmayya** ‘sky, heaven’ (UD 296); cf. *dunya*, *dənyə* ‘world, universe’ (UD 145)

Source:

- #1 MEA: *šmayyā* ‘sky, heaven’ (SL 1572); *šmayyā* ‘sky, heaven’ (DJBA 1157); *šumya* ‘heavens’ (MD 455).
 #2 < K_j. *dinya*; *dunîya*, *dunya* ‘world’ (KED 155) or Azer. *dünya* ‘universe, world’ (AIL 240); < Arab. *dunyā* ‘world; earth’ (DMWA 295; UD 145). The meaning ‘sky’ is apparently developed within the NENA varieties of Verin Dvin from the common meaning ‘world’ so it’s not counted as loanword.

TO SLEEP

- 1 Nud **dmx** I (*daməx* | *bədməxa* | *dməxle*)
 1 Mahm **dmx** I (*daməx* | *bədməxa* | *dməxle*)
 1 VD Urmi **dmx** I
 1 U Urmi **dmx** I ‘to lie down, to sleep’ (UD 138)

Source:

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

SMALL

- 1 Nud **sora**
 1 Mahm **sura** [syra]
 1 VD Urmi **sura**

1 U Urmi **sura** ‘small, young’ (UD 280)

Source:

< *sōrā < *zōrā (Khan 2016.1: 191); MEA: *zāforā* ‘small’ (SL 390); *zfer* ‘small, young’ (DJBA 418).

TO SMELL

1 Nud **rixa** (n) **šql** I, lit. ‘to take the smell’

1 Mahm **rexa** (n) **grš** [g- ~ dʒ-] I / **šql** I, lit. ‘to pull / to take the smell’

1 VD Urmi **rexa** (n) **grš** I, lit. ‘to pull the smell’

1 U Urmi **rexa** (n) **škl** I ‘to smell’ (UD 68); cf. *mmØx* III (*mamməx*) ‘to smell, to sniff’ (UD 207)

Source:

MEA: *rēḥā* ‘smell; wind’ (SL 1461), cf. *ryḥ* af. ‘to smell’ (SL 1460); *rēḥā* ‘smell, odor’ (DJBA 1075), cf. *ryḥ* af. ‘to smell’ (DJBA 1075); *riha* ‘breath, smell, scent, perfume’ (MD 432), cf. *rha* af. ‘to inhale, smell, perceive by senses, breathe, cause to inhale or breathe in, enjoy’ (MD 425). Similar constructions are attested in Kurmanji, cf. *bihn standin* ‘to smell’ (DKF 169), *bîna ft-i k’işandin* ‘to breath in’ (KED 75), where *bihn/bîn* ‘smell’, *standin* ‘to take, receive’, *k’işandin* ‘to pull, draw’.

SMOKE

1 Nud **tənnə**

1 Mahm **tənnə**

1 VD Urmi **tənnə**

1 U Urmi **tənnə** ‘smoke’ (UD 307)

Source:

MEA: *tennānā* ‘smoke’ (SL 1656); *tnn?* ‘smoke’ (DJBA 1223); *tana* ‘a cosmic mist, vapour, or smoke’ (MD 479).

SMOOTH

-1 Nud **duz** [dyz]

-1 Mahm **duz** [dyz]

-1, 1 VD Urmi **duz**; **+mačču**

1 U Urmi **+mačču** ‘smooth’ (UD 225); cf. *dūz* ‘straight, flat; right, upright; correct, exact’ (UD 146)

Source:

#-1 See CORRECT.

#1 < *+maččuyə* ‘to smooth’ < **mašōyē*, where “an original *š has shifted to č with suprasegmental emphasis due to contact with a pharyngal, the historical root being *š-ʕ-ʕ” (Khan 2016.1: 175); MEA: *šaḥiḥā* ‘smooth’ (SL 1583), *šāḥā* ‘smooth’ (SL 1584), *šḥ* pe. ‘to smooth’, pa. ‘to make smooth’, af. ‘to polish, smooth’ (SL 1584); *šiaḥ* ‘smooth’ (DJBA 1137); *šaia* ‘lustrous, smooth, glorious’ (MD 440), *šaa*, *šua* ‘to be smooth, pleasant, even, harmonized, glorious’ (MD 438).

SNAKE

1 Nud **xuvva**

1 Mahm **xuvva**

1 VD Urmi **xuvva**

1 U Urmi **xuvva**, **xuvvə** ‘snake’ (UD 332)

Source:

MEA: *ḥewyā* ‘snake’ (SL 424); *ḥiwyā* ‘snake’ (DJBA 450); *hiuia* ‘serpent, snake’ (MD 142).

SNOW

1 Nud **təlga**

1 Mahm **təlga** [təldʒa]

1 VD Urmi **təlga**

1 U Urmi **talja** ‘snow’ (UD 303)

Source:

MEA: *talgā* ‘snow’ (SL 1647); *talgā* ‘snow’ (DJBA 1208); *talga* ‘snow’ (MD 478).

SOME (AN UNSPECIFIED QUANTITY OR NUMBER OF)

1, 2 Nud **xekma**; **xečča**

1, 2 Mahm **xacma** [xatʰma]; **xačča**

1, 2 VD Urmi **xacma**; **xačča**

1, 2 U Urmi **xacma** ‘some’ (UD 321); **xačča** (mod., adv.) ‘a little, a few, some; slightly’ (UD 321)

Source:

#1 < **xa* (see ONE) & **kma* (Khan 2016.1: 167): MEA: *kmā* ‘how, how much’ (SL 628); *kmā* ‘how much/many?’ (DJBA 585); *kma* ‘how, how much’ (MD 218).

#2 See FEW/LITTLE.

Comments:

xacma (*xekma*) is used with countable nouns; *xačča* (*xečča*) is used with uncountable nouns.

TO SPIT

1 Nud **ryq** I (*req* | *bəryaqa* | *raqle*)

1 Mahm **ryk**, **rØk** I (*rekni* | *bərraka* | *rakle*)

1 VD Urmi **ryk**, **rØk** I (*rakni* | *bərraka* | *rakle*)

1 U Urmi **ryk**, **rØk** I (*rayək*, *rāk*) ‘to spit’ (UD 265)

Source:

MEA: *rqq* pe. ‘to spit, spit upon’ (SL 1490); *rqq* pe. ‘to spit’ (DJBA 1094); *rqq* pe. ‘to spit’ (MD 437).

TO SPLIT (FIREWOOD)

1 Nud **+člp** I (+*čaləp* | +*bəčlapa* | +*čləple*)

1 Mahm **+člp** I (+*čaləp* | +*bəčlapa* | +*čləple*)

1 VD Urmi **+člp** I

1 U Urmi **+člp** I ‘to cleave, to chop, to cut off a branch; to split (tr. and intr.), to dissect, to burst (tr. and intr.)’ (UD 135)

Source:

MEA: *šlp* pe. ‘to split, cleave; to wound; to beat, strike’ (SL 1290); *šlp* pe. ‘to wound’ (DJBA 966); *šlp* pe., pa. ‘to bruise, injure, whip, beat, wound, flog’ (MD 395). “Affrication of stops

and sibilants in emphatic settings have developed in a number of ... verbs expressing forcefulness or hardness, e.g. +čaləp I ‘to split, to cleave’ < *šaləp (cf. Syr. *šlap*)” (Khan 2016.1: 183).

TO SQUEEZE

1 Nud **+xls** I (+xaləs | +bəxlasa | +xləsle)

1 Mahm **+xls** I (+xaləs | +bəxlasa | +xləsle)

1 VD Urmi **+xls** I

1 U Urmi **+xls** I ‘to press, to be pressed; to squeeze, to be squeezed; to squeeze out, to press down; to bind, to tighten; to gird, to be girded; to shut tight, to close’ (UD 334); cf. less frequent *ɟmš* I ‘to squeeze, to grab with five fingers; to wring; to hold tight in the hand; to take a handful’ (UD 160).

Source:

Etymology is unclear. Cf. MEA: *hlš* pe. ‘to show o.s. strong, valiant’, pa. ‘to pillage, steal; to draw out, extract’ (SL 460); *hlš* ‘to gird up the loins, brace oneself, be brave’ (MD 149). Probable semantic shift is as follows: ‘to gird up’ > ‘to press’ > ‘to squeeze’.

TO STAB

1 Nud **+t̪s̪, +t̪s̪** I (+t̪assə | +bət̪t̪asa | +t̪əsle)

1 Mahm **+t̪ys, +t̪s̪** I (+t̪as | +bət̪t̪asa | +t̪əsle); cf. +mØvr III ‘to insert’

1 VD Urmi **+t̪ys, +t̪s̪** I (+t̪as | +bət̪t̪asa | +t̪əsle); cf. +mØvr III ‘to insert’

1 U Urmi **+t̪ys, +t̪s̪** I (+t̪ayəs, +t̪ās) ‘to stick in, to thrust in, to indent, to prick, to pierce; to stick fast’ (UD 316); cf. *črz* I ‘to plunge, to knock in (sharp object), to thrust through; to stab (with a spear or a bayonet); to prod, to urge’ (UD 130); *cəš* I ‘to thrust (into sth.), to stuff (into sth.)’ (UD 119)

Source:

MEA: *d̪ɬs̪* pe. ‘to stick in, im plant’ (SL 315); *d̪ɬs̪, d̪ɬs̪* pe. ‘to stick, insert’ (DJBA 345); *dw̪s̪, d̪sy* pe. ‘to insert, stick in’ (DJBA 320); *da̪s̪, du̪s̪* pe. ‘to thrust in, insert, pierce, stick in’ (MD 100); see also Khan 2016.1: 291.

TO STAND

1 Nud **kly** I (*kal* | *bəklá* | *klile*)

1 Mahm **cl̪y** [k- ~ t̪ʰ-] I (*calni* | *bəclá* | *clile*)

1 VD Urmi **cl̪y** I (*cal* | *bəclaya* | *clile*)

1 U Urmi **cl̪y** I (*calə*) ‘to stand, to stop (intr.), to wait’ (UD 116)

Source:

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

STAR

1 Nud **kəxva**

1 Mahm **cəxva** [t̪ʰəxvə]

1 VD Urmi **cəxva**

1 U Urmi **cuxva, cəxva** ‘star’ (UD 124)

Source:

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

STICK

1 Nud **qaysa**

1 Mahm **kaysa**

1 VD Urmi **kesa**

1 U Urmi **kesa** ‘wood, stick; shaft, of a spear; tree; gallows’ (UD 183)

Source:

MEA: *qaysā* ‘wood, piece of wood’ (SL 1364); *qinsā* ‘piece of wood, twig’, *qissā* ‘wood, twig’ (DJBA 1014); *qisa* ‘rough edge’ (MD 412).

STONE

1 Nud **kipa**

1 Mahm **cipa** [tʰipa]

1 VD Urmi **cipa**

1 U Urmi **cipa** ‘stone, rock’ (UD 121)

Source:

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

STRAIGHT

1 Nud **duz**

1 Mahm **duz**

1 VD Urmi **duz**

1 U Urmi **dūz** ‘straight, flat; right, upright; correct, exact’ (UD 146)

Source:

See CORRECT.

TO SUCK (BREAST, MILK — ABOUT CHILD)

1 Nud **+mys, +Øms** I (+*mas* | +*bəmma* | +*məsle*)

1 Mahm **+mys** I (+*mesni* | +*myasa* | +*məsle*)

1 VD Urmi **+mys** I (+*masni* | +*myasa* | +*məsle*)

1 U Urmi **+mys** I (+*mayəs*, +*mās*) ‘to suck (milk from teat, also with sexual connotation)’ (UD 235)

Source:

< **m-š-š* (Khan 2016.1: 293); MEA: *mšš* pe. ‘to suck; squeeze out, press out; to drink’ (SL 818); *mšš* pe. ‘to suck, absorb’; pa. ‘to suck’ (DJBA 701); *mšš*, *muš* pe. ‘to press; to suck, suckle’ (MD 277). Cf. also *mšy* pe. ‘to wring, squeeze; to suck’ (SL 814); *mšy* pe. ‘to wring out, suck (of blood)’ (DJBA 699), *mša* pe. ‘to press; to suck out, suckle’ (MD 277).

SUN

1 Nud **šəmša**

2, 1 Mahm yuma, šəmša

1 VD Urmi šəmša

1 U Urmi šəmša ‘sun, heat’ (UD 294)

Source:

#1 MEA: *šemša* ‘sun’ (SL 1576); *šimša* ‘sun, sunlight’ (DJBA 1136); *šamša* ‘sun’ (MD 443).

#2 See DAY.

SWEET

1 Nud +xəlya

1 Mahm +xəlya

1 VD Urmi +xəlya

1 U Urmi +xəlya ‘sweet, delicious’ (UD 337)

Source:

MEA: *ḥalyā* ‘sweet’ (SL 455); *ḥālē*, det. *ḥalyā* ‘sweet’ (DJBA 462); *halia* ‘sweet, agreeable, pleasant, kind(ly)’ (MD 121).

TO SWELL

1 Nud zyr I (*zer* | *bəzyara* | *zire*)

1 Mahm zyr I (*zerni* | *bəzyara* | *zərre*)

1 VD Urmi zyr I (*zar* | *bəzyara* | *zərre*)

1 U Urmi zyr I (*zayər*, *zār*) ‘to swell (with food or liquid)’ (UD 347)

Source:

Etymology is unclear. Cf. MEA: *zwy* pe. ‘to swell, bloat’ (SL 372).

TO SWIM

1 Nud sxy, syx I (*sax* | *bəsyaxa* | *sxile*)

1 Mahm sxy I (*saxini* | *bəsxá* | *sxile*)

1 VD Urmi sxy I (*saxini* | *bəsxaya* | *sxile*)

1 U Urmi sxy I (*saxə*) ‘to swim, to bathe’ (UD 276)

Source:

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

TAIL

1 Nud ʔəpra

1 Mahm ʔəpra

1 VD Urmi ʔəpra

1 U Urmi ʔəpra ‘tail’ (UD 313)

Source:

Etymology is unclear. Cf. MEA: *ʔəprā*, *ʔuprā* ‘nail, claw, talon’ (SL 548); *ʔuprā* ‘fingernail, toenail’ (DJBA 498); *ʔupra* ‘claw, nail’ (MD 178).

TO TAKE

- 1 Nud **šql** I (*šaqəl* | *bəšqala* | *šqalle*)
 1 Mahm **šql** I (*šaqəl* | *bəšqala* | *šqalle*)
 1 VD Urmi **škl** I
 1 U Urmi **škl** I ‘to take, to receive’ (UD 288)

Source:

- # MEA: *šql* pe. ‘to lift up, raise; to bear, carry, carry away; to take’ (SL 1595); *šql*, *šqy* pe. ‘to take; to remove, take out’ (DJBA 1174); *šql* pe. ‘to take away, remove, take up, put up, lift up, carry, raise, reject, repel’ (MD 473).

THAT

- 1 Nud **va**
 1 Mahm **+av**, **+avva**
 1 VD Urmi **+avva**
 1 U Urmi **+avva** ‘that’ (middle deixis demonstrative) (UD 93); **o** ‘that (attributive default demonstrative)’ (UD 85); cf. *+av*, *+avun* ‘he, it’ (UD 91)

Source:

- # *+avva* < **aw-ha* (Khan 2016.1: 240); *o* is a contraction of *aw* (Khan 201.1: 193). Cf. MEA: *haw* ‘that one’ (SL 333).

THERE

- 1 Nud **+tama**
 1 Mahm **+tama**
 1 VD Urmi **+tama**
 1 U Urmi **+tama** ‘there’ (UD 310)

Source:

- # MEA: *tammān* ‘there’ (SL 1653); *tammān* ‘there’ (DJBA 1213), *taman* ‘there’ (MD 479).

THEY

- 1 Nud **ani**
 1 Mahm **ani**
 1 VD Urmi **ani**
 1 U Urmi **ani** ‘those (independent default demonstrative)’ (UD 77)

Source:

- # PNENA **anhi(n)*, **ani* (Hoberman 1990: 85); MEA: *hennon* (m.), *hennēn* (f.) ‘they’ (SL 347); *ʔinnəhū* (m.), *ʔinnəhē* (f.) ‘they’ (DJBA 118, 119); *hinun* (m.), *hinin*, *hinən* (f.) ‘they, those’ (MD 146, 147).

THICK

- 1 Nud **+xlima**
 1 Mahm **+xlima**

1 VD Urmi **+xlima**

1 U Urmi **+xlima** ‘thick, fat (person)’ (UD 338)

Source:

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

THIGH

1 Nud **+əṭma**

1 Mahm **+əṭma**

1 VD Urmi **+əṭma**

2, 1 U Urmi **nica** ‘thigh’ (UD 243); **+əṭma**, **+uṭma** ‘thigh, lobe of buttocks’ (UD 14, 93)

Source:

#1 MEA: *ṣaṭmā* ‘flank, thigh’ (SL 1093); *ṣaṭmā*, *ṣaṭmā* ‘thigh, foundation wall’ (DJBA 107); *atma* ‘high, side, flank, hip, loin, upper part of the thigh’ (MD 13).

#2 The etymology is unknown. It is also present in Barwar (*neka*; Khan 2008: 1043) and Hamziye (*neka*; NENA DB).

THIN (1D & 2D)

-1, 1 Nud **nazik**, **niqida**; cf. *lavaza* ‘slim’ (about human)

-1 Mahm **nazic** [nazik]

-1 VD Urmi **nazic**

-2, 1 U Urmi **lavaza** ‘thin’ (UD 196); **naḳida** ‘thin, slim’ (UD 239); cf. *nazuc* ‘slim, thin, fine, weak, feable’ (UD 243)

Source:

#-1 < Azer. *nazik* ‘thin, fine, delicate’ (AIL 595); Pers. *nāzok* ‘thin, light’ (ODP; UD 243).

#1 MEA: *naqḏā* ‘clean; (gramm.) tenuous’ (SL 944), *naqdonā* ‘delicate’ (SL 945); *nquḏtā* ‘dot’ (DJBA 772); *nqīd* ‘clean, clear’ (DJBA 775).

#-2 < Kj. *lawaz* ‘thin, slim, slender, lean; puny, undersized’ (KED 346).

TO THINK

1 Nud **txmn** QI (*taxmən* | *taxmunə* | *taxmənle*)

1 Mahm **txmn** QI (*taxmən* | *taxmuna* | *tuxmənle*)

1 VD Urmi **txmn** QI

1 U Urmi **txmn** QI ‘to think, to deliberate, to ponder, to consider, to contemplate’ (UD 306)

Source:

< Kj. *t'exmîn* ‘supposition, guess, assumption’ (KED 613) < Arab. *taḳmîn* ‘appraisal, assessment, estimation’ (DMWA 263; UD 306).

THIS

1 Nud **+avva**

1 Mahm **a**

1 VD Urmi **+avva**

1 U Urmi **'aha**, **'a** ‘this’ (near deixis demonstrative) (UD 76); cf. *+avva* ‘that’ (middle deixis demonstrative) (UD 93).

Source:

< **hādā* (Khan 2016.1: 239); MEA: *hād*, *hāde* ‘this’ (SL 330); *hāde* ‘pron.f. this, that’ (DJBA 358), *hādā* ‘pron. this’ (DJBA 361); *aha* ‘this’ (Neo-Mandaic form) (MD 8).

THREE

1 Nud **+tla**

1 Mahm **+tla**

1 VD Urmi **+tla**

1 U Urmi **+tla** ‘three’ (UD 317)

Source:

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

TO THROW

1 Nud **ropy** II (*ripi* | *rupúv* | *rupile*)

1 Mahm **ropy** II (*ripini* | *rupúv* | *rupile*)

1 VD Urmi **+rpØ**, **+rppy** II (*+rappə* | *+rappuvva* | *+ruppile*)

1 U Urmi **+rpØ**, **+rppy** II (*+rappə*) ‘to throw, to hurl’ (UD 268)

Source:

Cf. MEA: *rupp* pe. ‘to move (intr.)’ (SL 1485); *ropy* pe. ‘to be lax, slack’; pa. ‘to loosen, make lax; to let go, yield; to let pass, let go through’; af. ‘to weaken; to send hack, remove; to let go’ (SL 1483); *ropy* pe. ‘to be loose, soft, weak, undecided’; pa. ‘to loosen’ (DJBA 1091); *rpa* pe. ‘to loosen, relax, slacken, weaken, undo’ (MD 436). Cf. also Fassberg 2010: 259.

TO TIE

1 Nud **+Øsr**, **+syr** I (*+tasər* | *+basyara* | *+sərre*)

1 Mahm **+Øsr**, **+ysr** I (*+asər*, *+yasər* | *+bassara* | *+sərre*)

1 VD Urmi **+ysr**, **+syr** I (*+yasər* | *+basyara* | *+ysərre*)

1 U Urmi **+ysr**, **+syr** I (*+yasər* | *+basyara* | *+sərrun*) ‘to tie, to bind, to tie up, to tie together; to twist, to entangle, to bandage, to harness’ (UD 343)

Source:

MEA: *šrr* pe. ‘to tie’ (SL 1304); *šrr*, *šry* pe. ‘to tie up’ (DJBA 974); *šur*, *srr* pe. ‘to surround, tie in’ (MD 391). Cf. MEA: *?sr* pe. ‘to bind, tie’ (SL 79); *?sr*, *?sy* pe. ‘to bind, imprison’ (DJBA 150); *asr*, *ʕsr* pe. ‘to bind, tie up’ (MD 29).

TONGUE

1 Nud **lišana**

1 Mahm **lišana**

1 VD Urmi **lišana**

1 U Urmi **lišana** ‘tongue; language’ (UD 198)

Source:

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

TOOTH

- 1 Nud **kika**
 1 Mahm **cica** [tʰitʰa]
 1 VD Urmi **cica**
 1 U Urmi **cica** ‘tooth’ (UD 121)

Source:

MEA: *kakkā* ‘molar tooth’ (SL 621); *kakkā* ‘molar tooth, (wooden) handle of a key, outer part of a letter’ (DJBA 580); *kaka* ‘(molar) tooth’ (MD 197).

Comments:

Semantic shift ‘molar tooth’ > ‘tooth’ has taken place in most NENA (Mutzafi 2014: 113; 2018: 296).

TREE

- 1 Nud **+qariya**
 2 Mahm **ilana**
 2 VD Urmi **ilana**
 2 U Urmi **ilana** ‘tree’ (UD 84)

Source:

#1 Etymology is unknown.

#2 MEA: *ʔilānā* ‘tree’ (SL 35); *ʔilānā* ‘tree’ (DJBA 116); *ilana* ‘tree’ (MD 351).

TO TURN (TR.)

- 1 Nud **prtl** QI (*pərtəl* | *pərtúl* | *pərtəlle*)
 1 Mahm **prtl** QI (*partəl* | *pərtula* | *purtəlle*)
 1 VD Urmi **prtl** QI
 1 U Urmi **prtl** QI ‘to spin, to twist (tr. and intr.), to whirl (tr. and intr.)’ (UD 252); cf. *mptl* III ‘to cause to turn, to cause to turn around’ (UD 209)

Source:

MEA: *ptl* pe. ‘to twist; turn aside’ (SL 1268); *ptl* ‘to twist’ (MD 385). Infix *-r-* possibly originated from the dissimilation of the second consonant in D-stem (Sabar 1982: 152, 159; Khan 2016.1: 449).

TWO

- 1 Nud **tre**
 1 Mahm **tre**
 1 VD Urmi **tre**
 1 U Urmi **tre** ‘two’ (UD 308)

Source:

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

TO VOMIT

- 1, 2 Nud **gsy** I (*gasə* | *bəgsa* | *gsile*); **+mdØr** III (*+məddər* | *+məddúr* | *+məddərre*)
 2 Mahm **+mdØr** III (*+məddər* | *+muddura* | *+muddərre*)

2 VD Urmi **+mdØr** III (+*maddər* | +*maddura* | +*muddərre*); cf. archaic *gsy* I (*gasə* | *bəgyasa* | *gsile*)
1, 2 U Urmi **jsy** I (*jasə*) ‘to vomit, vomit up’ (UD 163); **+mdØr** III (+*maddər*) ‘to return (tr.); to vomit’ (UD 226)

Source:

- #1 MEA: *gsy* pe. ‘to spit out, belch, vomit; to flow, gush forth’; pa. ‘to disgorge, vomit; to give forth, spit out; to declare, tell’ (SL 250); *gsa* pe. ‘to throw up, vomit, belch, be replete, be glutted, to glut’ (MD 96).
 #2 Causative < +*dØr* ‘to return’ (UD 148); MEA: *dwr* pa. ‘to go from one place to another; to overtake, reach’; af. ‘to overtake’ (DJBA 322).

WARM

1 Nud **šaxina**

1 Mahm **šaxina**

1 VD Urmi **šaxina**

1 U Urmi **šaxina** ‘hot, warm’ (UD 292)

Source:

- # < *šaxən* ‘to become warm, to become hot’ (UD 292); MEA: *šħn* ‘to be inflamed’, pa. ‘to warm, heat’ (SL 1544); *šħn* ‘be inflamed, heat’ (DJBA 1128); *šħn* ‘to become hot’ (MD 451).

TO WASH

1 Nud **+xlll** QI (+*xalləl* | +*xallúl* | +*xalləlle*)

1 Mahm **+xlll** QI (+*xalləl* | +*xullula* | +*xulləlle*)

1 VD Urmi **+xlll** QI

1 U Urmi **1. +xlll** QI ‘to wash; to be washed; to wash (body surface, vessels); to wash face and hands’ (UD 334); cf. *xyp* I (*xayəp*, *xāp*) ‘to wash, to bathe, to take a shower’ (UD 326)

Source:

- # MEA: *ħll* pa. ‘to have permission for o.s., i.e. to enter; to cleanse, wash’ (SL 456); *ħll* pa. ‘to wash’ (DJBA 464); *ħll* pa. ‘to purify, cleanse, rinse, wash, make ritually clean, absolve’ (MD 148).

WATER

1 Nud **miyya**

1 Mahm **miyya**

1 VD Urmi **miyya**

1 U Urmi **miyya** ‘water’ (UD 221)

Source:

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

Comments:

The words for ‘water’ are pluralia tantum in all concerned varieties as well as in many other Semitic languages.

WE

1 Nud **axnax**

1 Mahm **axnan**

1 VD Urmi **axnan**

1 U Urmi **'axnan** 'we' (UD 80)

Source:

PNENA **axnan*, *axni* (Hoberman 1990: 85); MEA: *ḥnan*, *ʔnḥnn* 'we' (SL 472, 60); *ʔānan*, *ʔānaḥnā* 'we' (DJBA 145, 144); *anin*, *anʕn* 'we' (MD 27).

TO WEEP

1 Nud **bx** I (*bax* | *bəxya* | *bxile*)

1 Mahm **bx** I (*baxini* | *bəxya* | *bxile*)

1 VD Urmi **bx** I (*bax* | *bəxya* | *bxile*)

1 U Urmi **bx** I (*baxə*) 'to cry, to weep' (UD 101)

Source:

MEA: *bky* pe. 'to weep, cry; to mourn'; pa. 'to lament, bewail' (SL 152); *bky* pe. 'to cry, weep' (DJBA 219), *bka* pe. 'to weep, cry, lament, mourn' (MD 64).

WET

1 Nud **tila**

1 Mahm **tayla**

1 VD Urmi **tayla**

1 U Urmi **tayla** 'wet, damp, moist' (UD 307)

Source:

< **tayila* < **taʔila* (cf. both forms *tayila* & *taʔila* in Marga (NENA DB)); cf. Khan 2016.1: 548; MEA: *talilā* 'adj. humid, moist' (SL 1648), *tll* pa. 'to soil, befoul', *etpa*. 'to be moistened' (SL 1650).

WHAT

1 Nud **mudi**, **mu**

1 Mahm **mu**

1 VD Urmi **mu**

1 U Urmi **mu**, **mudi**, **muy** 'what?' (UD 222)

Source:

mu (> *muy*) is contracted from *mudi* which is probably derived from **ma-məndi* 'what thing?' (Khan 2016.I: 246) < **ma** 'what' & **məndi** 'thing':

ma: MEA: *mā* 'what?' (SL 700); *mā* 'what?' (DJBA 643); *ma* 'what, that which, whatever' (MD 237); *məndi*: MEA: *meddem* 'something' (SL 715); *mīddā*, *mīddē* 'thing, object, pl. something, property, interrogative particle' (DJBA 663); *mindam* 'thing, something' (MD 267).

WHEN

1 Nud **iman**

1, 2 Mahm **iman**, **ə**m +**danta**

1, 2 VD Urmi **iman**, **ə**m +**dana**

1 U Urmi **'iman** 'when?' (UD 84); cf. *'ə*m-+*dana* 'at what time?' (UD 81-82)

Source:

- #1 MEA: *ʔemmat* ‘when?’ (SL 58); *ʔimmat* ‘when’ (DJBA 117); *ʔmat* ‘when’ (MD 352).
 #2 < **əm** ‘which?’ (UD 81) & +**dana** ‘time’ (UD 147):
əm: MEA: *ʔaynā* ‘who? which one? what kind of a?’ (SL 36);
 +*dana*: MEA: *ʔedānā* ‘time’ (SL 1073); *ʔiddānā* ‘time’ (DJBA 851); *ʔdana* ‘time, moment, minute, hour, season, epoch’ (MD 341).

WHERE

- 1 Nud **ika**
 1 Mahm **ica** [itʰa]
 1 VD Urmi **ica**
 1 U Urmi **ica** ‘where?’ (UD 84)

Source:

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

WHITE

- 1 Nud +**xvara**
 1 Mahm +**xvara**
 1 VD Urmi +**xvara**
 1 U Urmi +**xvara** ‘white’ (UD 339)

Source:

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

WHO

- 1 Nud **mini**
 1 Mahm **mini**
 1 VD Urmi **man**
 1 U Urmi **mani, mān** ‘who?’ (UD 207)

Source:

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

WIDE

- 1 Nud **pətya**
 1 Mahm **pətya**
 1 VD Urmi **pətya**
 1 U Urmi **pətya** ‘wide, extensive, spacious’ (UD 255)

Source:

- # MEA: *patyā* ‘broad, wide’ (SL 1266); *pṭē* ‘wide’ (DJBA 947); *ptia* ‘open, wide’ (MD 384).

WIFE

- 1 Nud **baxta**

1 Mahm baxta

1 VD Urmi **baxta**; cf. *culpat* ‘spouse’

1 U Urmi **baxta** ‘woman; wife, spouse’ (UD 101); cf. *culpat* ‘nuclear family; wife’ (UD 119)

Source:

See WOMAN.

WIND

1 Nud pavxa

1 Mahm **pavxa**

1 VD Urmi **poxa**

1 U Urmi **poxa** ‘wind; breath’ (UD 256)

Source:

MEA: *pāwḥā* ‘odour, smell’ (SL 1161); *pwh* pe. ‘to blow, to breathe’ (SL 1160); *pwh* pe. ‘to breathe, blow up’ (DJBA 888).

WING

1 Nud gulpa

-1 Mahm **parra** ‘wing; feather’

-1 VD Urmi **parra** ‘wing; feather’

1 U Urmi **julpa** ‘wing; fin’ (UD 167)

Source:

#1 MEA: *gelpānā* ‘wing, feather’, *geppā* ‘wing’ (SL 239), 253; *gappā* ‘wing, feather’ (DJBA 297); *gadpa* ‘wing, limb’ (MD 74).

#-1 See FEATHER.

TO WIPE

1 Nud **mšy** II (*miši* | *mušúv* | *mušile*)

1 Mahm **mšy** I/II (*mašini* | *mša*, *mušuvvə* | *mšile*)

1 VD Urmi **mšy** I (*maš* | *mšaya* | *mšile*)

1 U Urmi **mšy** I (*mašə*) ‘to wipe, to wipe up, to swab’ (UD 213; Khan 2016.1: 303)

Source:

MEA: *mšy* pe. ‘to sweep up; to stroke, caress; to collect; to destroy, annihilate; to set aside, remove’; pa. ‘to stroke; to cleanse; to declare rubbish’ (SL 845); *mšy* pe. ‘to wash’; af. ‘to soak an object (in water)’ (DJBA 712), *mša* pe. ‘to wash; (rarely) to measure, stretch out’ (MD 279).

WITH (COMITATIVE)

1 Nud **+am**

2 Mahm **mən**

2 VD Urmi **mən**

2 U Urmi **mən** ‘from; with’ (UD 218; Khan 2016.1: 583); cf. instrumental *b-* ‘with, by, on, in’ (Khan 2016.1: 578). Prep. *ʔam* is used only by “educated people under the influence of the literary language” (Khan 2016.1: 583).

Source:

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

#2 The form *mən* is the result of merging two prepositions **min* ‘from’ and **ʕam* ‘with’ (see #1) (Khan 2016.1: 583). MEA: *men* ‘from, of, how, for, instead of’ (SL 779); *min*, *mi-* ‘from, out of’ (DJBA 683); *mn*, *m-* ‘from, out of, (some) of; with’ (MD 273, 237).

WOMAN

1 Nud **baxta**

1 Mahm **baxta**

1 VD Urmi **baxta**; cf. *culpat* ‘spouse’ at least by some speakers used to designate women in general

1 U Urmi **baxta** ‘woman; wife, spouse’ (UD 101)

Source:

The word is present in all NENA but its etymology is still unclear. Mutzafi (2005: 99; 2008: 337) suggests that *baxta* is a back formation of **bāktātā* (pl. of **bāketṭā*) ‘female spinners’ (cf. the plural form *baxtāṭa* ‘woman, wife’ in many conservative NENA dialects), “for spinning is one of the most important occupations of women throughout the distribution of NENA” (Mutzafi 2005: 99). Cf. Syr. *bāketṭā* ‘weaving woman; weft’ < *bkt* pe. ‘to spin’ (SL 153). Another possibility is a euphemism from the word *baxt* ‘luck; good fortune, fate, honour’ (borrowed from Kj. *bext* ‘honour; luck, chance, fate’ (KED 48)) in a society where direct reference to women was to be avoided (Khan 1999, 146–147) but such semantic shift is not known in other languages of the region.

WORM

1 Nud **+tvəlla**

1 Mahm **+tvəlla**

1 VD Urmi **+təvvəltā**

1 U Urmi **+təvvəltā**, **+tuvvūltā** ‘worm, a stomach worm, caterpillar’ (UD 312)

Source:

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

YEAR

1 Nud **šita**

1 Mahm **šita**

1 VD Urmi **šita**

1 U Urmi **šita** ‘year’ (UD 295)

Source:

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

YELLOW

-1 Nud **zarda**

-1 Mahm **zarda**

-1 VD Urmi **zarda**

-1 U Urmi *zarda* ‘yellow’ (UD 346)

Source:

< Kj. *zar* (ESKJ 510), *zer*, *zerd* [zær, -d] (KRS 803) ‘yellow’.

YESTERDAY

1 Nud *qudmə*

1 Mahm *kudmə*

1 VD Urmi *kudmə*

1 U Urmi *ḵudmə* ‘yesterday; tomorrow’; for disambiguation the construction *ḵudmət +vərro* (lit. ‘yesterday that passed’) can be used (UD 184).

Source:

< **qadmayit* ‘formerly’ or < the plural form of the noun *qudmā* (Napiorkowska 2015: 105). MEA: *qadmayit* ‘at first’ (SL 1318); *qudmā* ‘principal part; front part; in front; early; before; in the presence of; from before; from all eternity’ (SL 1324); *qudam* ‘before, preceding, in front of, anterior’ (MD 406).

YOU (PL.)

1 Nud *axtu*

1 Mahm *axnoxun*

1 VD Urmi *axnoxun*

1 U Urmi *’axtun, ’axtoxun, ’axnoxun* ‘you (pl.), you (sg. polite)’ (UD 80)

Source:

PNENA **axtun* (Hoberman 1990: 85); MEA: *ʔatton* ‘you (pl. m.)’ (SL 66); *ʔattu* ‘you (pl. m.)’ (DJBA 175); *anatun* ‘you (pl.)’ (MD 25). The *x* in *’axtun* appeared by analogy with pronoun *’axnan* ~ *’axni* ‘we’ and/or with 2pl. pron. suffix *-oxun* (Hoberman 1990: 86; Mutzafi 2008: 329).

YOU (SG.)

1 Nud *at*

1 Mahm *atən*

1 VD Urmi *atən*

1 U Urmi *’at, ’atən* ‘you (sg.)’ (UD 79)

Source:

PNENA **at* (Hoberman 1990: 85); MEA: *ʔat* ‘you’ (m.sg.) (SL 66); *ʔant* ‘you’ (m.sg.) (DJBA 146); *anat, at* ‘pers. pron. thou’ (MD 24, 41).

5. Results and discussion

5.1. The cognate shares

Using the collected data, we calculated the cognate share for Swadesh-100 and for the extended wordlists (see 2.2). Out of 226 meanings in the compiled lists, six meanings (‘leg’,

‘lake’, ‘dull (not sharp)’, ‘berry’, ‘to float’, ‘to flow’) are not represented by separate lexemes in at least three varieties. Therefore, in the following, we use only 220 words (further referred to as “220 list”). On this stage, we also excluded the loanwords from the calculations since they do not indicate genealogical relationships and the substitution of original words by loans is regarded as chance mutations (Starostin 2000: 6; Starostin 2010: 85; Campbell 2003: 271). The results are provided in Table 3. The cognate shares are given in different columns: the first one is based on the Swadesh-100 list and the second one on the 220 list.

	Mahm		VD Urmi		U Urmi	
	<i>Sw-100</i>	<i>220 list</i>	<i>Sw-100</i>	<i>220 list</i>	<i>Sw-100</i>	<i>220 list</i>
Nud	96.8	93.4	96.8	93.4	95.7	94.6
Mahm			97.9	98.5	97.8	97.0
VD Urmi					98.9	97.0

Table 3. Cognate shares between the varieties, loans excluded (in percents)

As we can see from Table 3, all the varieties in question are close enough to be treated as dialects of a single language. Since Mahmudi and Nudiz belong to the Hakkari NENA cluster (Khan 2018a: 191), we suggested that they were linguistically closer to each other than to the Urmi varieties (see 2.1). However, based on Swadesh-100 (loans excluded), Nud, Mahm and VD Urmi are equally close to each other. Moreover, if we extend the lists (using the 220 list), Mahm and VD Urmi appear to be closer to each other than to Nud. It might indicate that similarity between Mahmudi and Urmi is more of a contact origin. As Starostin (2010: 92) argues, “testing relationship hypotheses on different chronological levels requires wordlists of different sizes”, with more extensive lists needed for closely related varieties.

Additionally, in order to estimate synchronic similarity (and not genealogical relationship), we calculated the cognate share for both lists with loanwords included. The results (see Table 4) show that Mahmudi and Verin Dvin Urmi are closer to each other than to Nudiz. This finding aligns with Thomason, Kaufman’s (1988) framework, wherein intensive contact creates secondary convergence zones that disrupt traditional genealogical classifications.

	Mahm		VD Urmi		U Urmi	
	<i>Sw-100</i>	<i>220 list</i>	<i>Sw-100</i>	<i>220 list</i>	<i>Sw-100</i>	<i>220 list</i>
Nud	94.0	91.3	94.0	90.4	92.0	91.8
Mahm			98.0	98.2	96.0	94.5
VD Urmi					97.0	95.5

Table 4. Cognate shares between the varieties, loans included (in percents)

Lexical patterns are considered in detail below (see 5.2). On the phonological and morphological differences see 2.1.

5.2. Lexical patterns

The lexical proximity of VD Urmi to Mahmudi is evident in 20 cases (out of 220 in our dataset). They can be divided into four patterns, presented in Table 5. The patterns are as follows:

- 1a. U Urmi, VD Urmi and Mahm have the same lexeme and Nud has a different one;
 1b. U Urmi, VD Urmi and Mahm have two lexemes and Nud has only one of them;
 2. VD Urmi and Mahm have the same lexeme, Nud has another and U Urmi has both;
 3. VD Urmi and Mahm have the same lexeme and Nud and U Urmi have a different but the same lexeme.

Pattern	Nud	Mahm	VD Urmi	U Urmi	Glosses
Swadesh -100					
1	<i>bəbla</i>	<i>varda</i>	<i>varda</i>	<i>varda</i>	flower
1	<i>mila</i>	<i>kina</i>	<i>kina</i>	<i>ḵina</i>	green
1	<i>qam</i>	<i>kavya</i>	<i>kuya</i>	<i>ḵuya</i>	hard
1	<i>xiza</i> L	<i>silā</i> L	<i>silā</i> L	<i>silā</i> L	sand
1	<i>+qariya</i>	<i>ilana</i>	<i>ilana</i>	<i>ʾilana</i>	tree
1	<i>+am</i>	<i>mən</i>	<i>mən</i>	<i>mən</i>	with
1b	<i>Ømr</i>	<i>Ømr; tny</i>	<i>Ømr; tny</i>	<i>Ømr; tny</i>	say, to
Other words					
1	<i>xmy</i>	<i>xyØ</i>	<i>xyØ</i>	<i>xyØ</i>	live, to
1	<i>gədda</i>	<i>+xola</i>	<i>+xola, gdala</i>	<i>+xola</i>	rope
1b	<i>+blç</i>	<i>+blç, bls; +mrç</i>	<i>+blç; +mrç</i>	<i>+blç, bls; +mrç</i>	crush, to
1b	<i>prm</i>	<i>prm; +kɬØ</i>	<i>+kɬØ</i>	<i>prm; +kɬØ</i>	cut, to
2	<i>xərba</i>	<i>pis</i> L	<i>pis</i> L	<i>xərba; pīs</i> L	bad
2	<i>+spay</i> L	<i>ğəns</i> L	<i>ğəns</i> L	<i>+spay</i> L; <i>jəns</i> L	good
2	<i>ən</i>	<i>aga</i> L	<i>aga</i> L	<i>ʾən; ʾǰar</i>	if
2	<i>gura</i>	<i>urza</i> L, <i>ğvanka</i>	<i>ğvanka, urza</i> L	<i>ʾurza; +jora</i>	man (adult male)
3	<i>dax</i>	<i>muğğurra</i>	<i>muğğā, muğğurra</i>	<i>dax, dāxi</i>	how
3	<i>+sayduvva Øvd</i>	<i>+avčuvva Øvd</i>	<i>+avčuyta Øvd</i>	<i>+syd</i>	hunt, to
3	<i>šmayya</i>	<i>dunya</i>	<i>dənyə</i>	<i>šmayya</i>	sky
3	<i>iman</i>	<i>iman, əm +danta</i>	<i>iman, əm +dana</i>	<i>ʾiman</i>	when
3	<i>gulpa</i>	<i>parra</i> L	<i>parra</i> L	<i>julpa</i>	wing

Table 5. Patterns of lexical proximity of VD Urmi to Mahmudi. The loanwords are marked with “L”

Pattern 3 is interesting because it presents cases where varieties spoken in Verin Dvin (Mahm and VD Urmi) share common innovations specific to them.

At the same time Mahmudi and Nudiz have only four shared lexemes (out of 220 words) that are different from Urmi varieties, see Table 6.

Nud	Mahm	VD Urmi	U Urmi	Glosses
<i>+šrɬx</i>	<i>+šrɬx</i>	<i>+ryx</i>	<i>+ryx</i>	to lie (in bed)
<i>+əryana</i>	<i>+aryana</i>	<i>+məɬra</i>	<i>+muɬra</i>	rain
<i>da</i> L	<i>da</i> L	<i>yəmma</i>	<i>yəmma</i>	mother
<i>Øzl</i>	<i>Øzl</i>	<i>Øzl; rxš</i>	<i>Øzl; rxš</i>	to go

Table 6. Patterns of lexical proximity of Nudiz to Mahmudi

5.3. Loanwords

NENA varieties exhibit numerous loanwords, both within the Swadesh-100 list and within the extended 220-word list. We evaluated the distribution of loanwords by source language (Table 7) and by target variety (Table 8).

Source of borrowing	Swadesh-100	Other words	Total words
Pers. or Kj./Sor. or Az.	feather/wing	if	2
Kj./Sor. or Az.	new	animal, bad, because, dust, forest, right, smooth/correct	8
Kj./Sor.	bark, good, liver, sand, yellow	fog, left, thin, mother	9
Pers.	green	because, to breathe	3
Az.	root	to hunt, thin	3
Arab.	breast (chest)		1
Total			26

Table 7. Loanwords distribution by source language

The exact source language for some borrowings is unclear, see 3.3. In general, the most common sources of borrowings are Kurdish (Kj/Sor) or Kurdish/Azerbaijani.

NENA variety	Swadesh-100	Other words	Total words
Nud	7	10	17
Mahm	6	14	20
VD Urmi	6	13	19
U Urmi	9	9	18

Table 8. Loanwords distribution by target NENA variety

All varieties demonstrate comparable shares of loanwords, ranging from 17 to 20 in total, as can be seen from Table 8. However, the data also suggest the possibility of interdialectal borrowing that may be obscured by the close genetic relationship between these varieties. The inconsistent phonological realization of original velars in Mahmudi (see Section 3.1) — particularly words displaying innovative affricate realizations — may indicate borrowed lexical items. While loanwords are traditionally considered problematic for genealogical classification due to their unsystematic nature, in this case they are likely to reflect the recent contact history of Mahmudi and Verin Dvin Urmi.

6. Conclusion

In this study, we have presented and analyzed lexical data from four Christian NENA varieties: Mahmudi, Nudiz, Verin Dvin Urmi, and Urmia Urmi, contributing to the documentation of the endangered and previously undescribed Mahmudi and Nudiz varieties. For all lexemes of the extended 220 list of basic vocabulary, we have established etymologies and provided cognates from earlier Aramaic languages. We also identified loanwords and traced their sources.

At the next stage, we calculated cognate shares for different subsets of our dataset. Our analysis reveals that all four varieties are quite close to each other and should be classified as dialects of a single language. However, what other dialects are to be included in this language and, consequently, what it should be called, remains to be found out in future studies.

We also recalculated cognate shares with loanwords included, trying to estimate the synchronic similarity and mutual intelligibility between lects. It appeared that two varieties spoken in one village for the last 67 years (Mahmudi and Verin Dvin Urmi) were closer to each other than to the varieties to which they are genealogically closer (Mahmudi to Nudiz and VD Urmi to U Urmi, respectively), even though Mahm and VD Urmi belong to different clusters and display several phonological and morphological dissimilarities.

Thus, the observed convergence between the two varieties demonstrates how intensive language contact can obscure genealogical patterns and complicate the subgrouping of closely related dialects based on the lexical distance. These results call for revised subgrouping criteria that account for both historical inheritance and contact-induced convergence, particularly when analyzing dialects with shared territorial history. A combination of comparative phonological, morphological analysis, and dialectometry would be the optimal direction for future research, yielding robust results for the internal classification of NENA.

Abbreviations

Languages:

Arab. = Arabic; Az. = Azerbaijani; Kj. = Kurmanji (Kurdish); Kurd. = Kurdish (Kurmanji or Sorani); Mahm = Mahmudi; MEA = Middle Eastern Aramaic; NENA = North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic; Nud = Nudiz; Pers. = Persian; PNENA = Proto-North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic; Sor. = Sorani (Kurdish); Syr. = Syriac; U Urmi = Urmia Urmi; VD Urmi = Verin Dvin Urmi

Grammatical:

2 = second person; ADD = additive particle; adj. = adjective; adv. = adverb; af. = *af̄el*, the causative verbal stem in Middle Aramaic; conj. = conjunction; ethpa. = *ethpaʿʿal*, one of Middle Aramaic detransitive verbal stems; ethpe. = *ethpeʿel*, one of Middle Aramaic detransitive verbal stems; ettaf. = *ettaʿʿal*, one of Middle Aramaic detransitive verbal stems; f. = feminine; I = the unmarked verbal pattern (stem) in Neo-Aramaic; II = one of the causative verbal pattern (stem) in Neo-Aramaic; III = one of the causative verbal pattern (stem) in Neo-Aramaic; intr. = intransitive verb; m. = masculine; mod. = modifier, modifying; n. = noun; onom. = onomatopoeic; pa. = *paʿʿel*, the intensive verbal stem in Middle Aramaic; pe. = *peʿal*, the unmarked verbal stem in Middle Aramaic; pl. = plural; prep. = preposition; pron. = pronoun; QI = quadriliteral verbal pattern (stem) in Neo-Aramaic; sg. = singular; tr. = transitive verb; t-stems = Middle Aramaic detransitive verbal stems

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Е. Е. Шведова, Ю. Б. Коряков, Е. А. Забелина. Количественная оценка лексических различий между нудезнайским, мамедайским и верин-двинским урмийским (северо-восточные новоарамейские языки)

В настоящем исследовании анализируются лексические данные четырех христианских северо-восточных новоарамейских идиомов: мамедайского, нудезнайского, урмийского, распространенного в с. Верин-Двин (Армения), и урмийского, распространенного в Иране. Мамедайский и нудезнайский диалекты ранее не были описаны в литературе. Приводятся соответствия между четырьмя идиомами на основе расширенного 226-словного списка базовой лексики, собранной для этого исследования, с указанием этимологии, родственных слов из более ранних арамейских языков и источников заимствований. Расчеты доли родственных слов показывают, что все четыре идиома довольно близки друг другу и могут считаться диалектами одного языка. Примечательно, что в результате почти семи десятилетий совместного бытования в условиях единого населенного пункта мамедайский и верин-двинский урмийский идиомы демонстрируют более сильную конвергенцию между собой, чем с исторически более близкими им идиомами.

Ключевые слова: семитские языки; арамейские языки; северо-восточные новоарамейские; диалектология; лексикостатистика; языковые контакты; лексическая семантика.