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The Arabic Dialect of Tillo
in the Region of Siirt
(South-eastern Turkey)

By

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Abstract

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This study places special emphasis on socio-linguistic and language-contact phenomena. It concerns, however, a relatively unfamiliar example of involuntary cultural assimilation and probable extinction, which is not without relevance to current politics among great powers. Chapter 4 treats parts of syntax that are not common in dialectal studies, for example foreground and background of the narrative discourse, topicality hierarchy etc.

The Arabic dialect of Tillo, in the region of Siirt in south-eastern Turkey, is spoken by a small isolated group of Arabs living mainly among Kurds but also among Turks. The latter represent the state of Turkey in the form of civil servants, police officers, army officers and other authorities. The official language is Turkish which is also the only language taught in schools. All television and radio programs are broadcast in Turkish, just as all newspapers are published in that language. Since Kurds constitute the vast majority in the region, north Kurdish (Kurmandji) is needed for daily conversation. Arabic has thus come to a standstill stage of development and at the same time lost status for the benefit primarily of Turkish but also of Kurdish.

The Arabs are leaving Tillo and immigrating to the big cities in the western parts of the country. This migration is occurring so rapidly that the Arabs of Tillo are distressed that soon no Arabs will remain in the village. In the big cities, for instance Istanbul, the Arabs avoid speaking Arabic in order not to attract attention; they are afraid of being classified as *tarrōn* “terrorists”. The consequence of this socio-linguistic situation is that Tillo Arabic goes on losing its importance and becoming *kaba* “vulgar”, and since its development has already been arrested it seems destined to die out.

Turkish impact on Tillo Arabic is immense. In accordance with Turkish phonology, the voiced consonants are pronounced voiceless in final position and in contact position before voiceless consonants. An epenthetic or prosthetic vowel is used to avoid a two-consonant cluster. Turkish particles such as the superlative particle *en* and the adverb *hem* “also, too” are often used in everyday life. Constructions similar to Turkish ones, such as compound nouns or possessive compounds, are used. The lexicon includes many borrowings and second borrowings. The latter means that a word was first borrowed into Turkish and from Turkish back into Tillo Arabic.

Keywords: Arabic language, qəltu-dialects, intermarriage, linguistic dominance, cultural influence, devoicing, pausal position, spontaneous imāla, copula, hāl-sentence, second borrowing, arabiska

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To my parents: Malke Laḥdo and Ḥāna Chamoun Masso

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Preface

My interest in Arabic dialectology began in 1997 when I was in search of a subject for my master thesis in Semitic languages. The assistant professor at the time, Bo Isaksson, gave me indirect indications about investigating a modern Arabic dialect. My immediate thought was then to document the Arabic dialect spoken by Christian Neo-Arameans in my home town Qāmāšli in north-eastern Syria. This became the topic of my MA. The interest in Arabic dialectology grew stronger while writing my MA. I then learned that the *qəltu*-dialects showed many archaic features and that the Anatolian group of these dialects is still spoken in isolated *Sprachinseln* in south-eastern Turkey where the majority of the people are Kurds and the official language is Turkish. The fact that south-eastern Turkey in general and the region of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn in particular is my original home and the birth-place of both parents strengthened my interest.

Some of the people (referred to as informants in this study) who contributed to the research in this book put all their efforts into assisting me while conducting field-work. They did this in full awareness that it might cause them trouble with the authorities. To them and to my Tillo friends in Istanbul I owe a debt and gratitude.

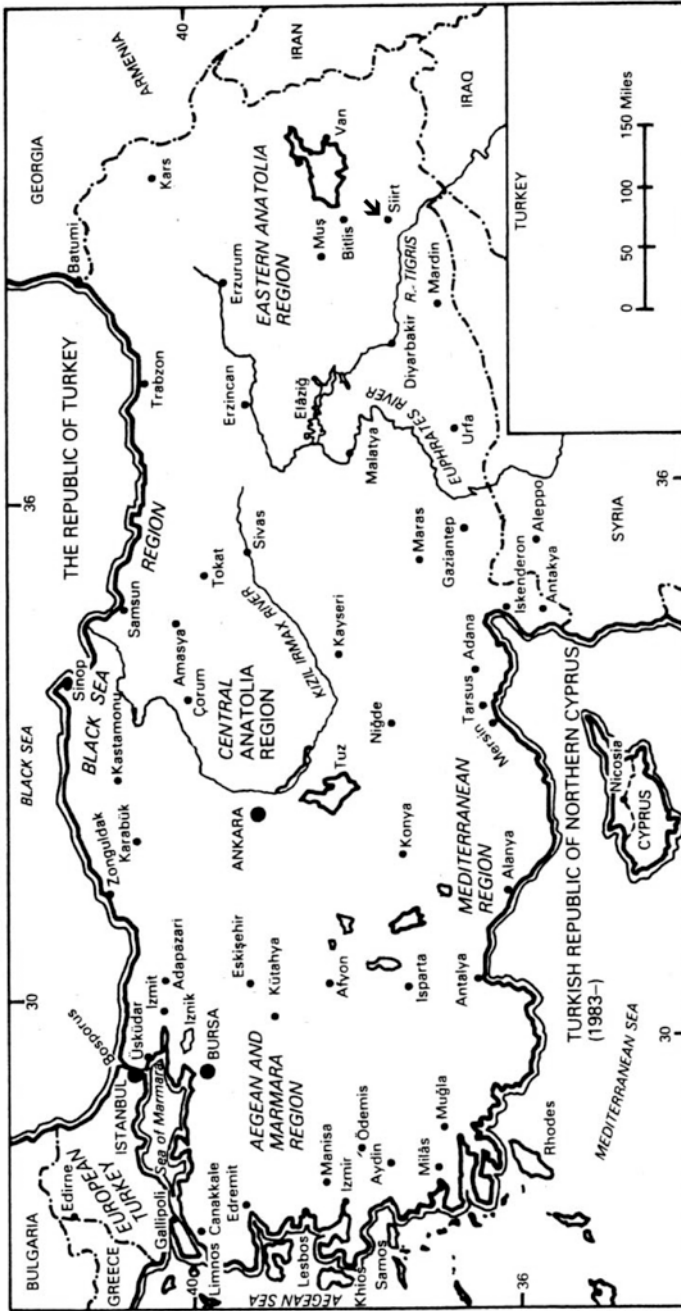
To my supervisor and the person who initiated me into the field of Arabic dialectology, Bo Isaksson, I would like to express my deepest thanks. Professor Jan Retsö read my manuscript and gave important comments which made me reconsider certain ideas that I had. For this and for his encouragement I am extremely grateful. Professor Otto Jastrow was kind to read and comment the whole study. For this I owe him my warmest gratitude. Professor Werner Arnold took time and interrupted his research in Israel and came to Uppsala to have the final discussion as opponent with me, thank you.

I owe deep gratitude to my dear colleague and friend Ph.D. Sven-Olof Dahlgren who offered me pedagogical assistance during the work on syntax. Special thanks go also to professor Witold Witakowski, Ph.D. Aziz Tezel, professor Birgit Schlyter, professor Mats Eskhult who read and commented on parts of my manuscript.

Particular thanks go to Vetenskapsrådet which financed me for two and a half years and funded two journeys for conducting field studies. I would also like to thank the Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul for a scholarship that made it possible to stay for a longer time in Turkey, both to study Turkish and to have more or less daily contact with some of my informants.

My friends and family have always been magnificent sources of support and inspiration. They have shown great patience and understanding throughout this period of difficulties for me. To my marvellous family I would like to say: *dlō mēnayxo lə-māṭīnowo, tawdi sāgi.*

Ablahad Lahdo
Uppsala 2009



Map showing the location of Siirt in south-eastern Turkey (see arrow). Tillo is located 9 kilometers north-east of Siirt. Map from Ahmed 1999 (the map has been slightly changed).

Abbreviations and Symbols

Abbreviations

abs.	status absolutus
acc.	accusative
adv.	adverb
c.	communis
CA	Classical Arabic
CS	Classical Syriac
ca.	circa
coll.	collective
const.	status constructus
dim.	diminutive
dua.	dualis
En.	English
f.	feminine
Fr.	French
ḤA	Ḥalanze Arabic
KA	Koran Arabic
Kur.	Kurdish
m.	masculine
MA	Mardin Arabic
MSA	Modern Standard Arabic
obj.	Object
OA	Old Arabic
PKK	The Kurdistan Workers Party (<i>Partiya Karkerên Kurdistan</i>)
pl.	plural
poss.	possessive
prep.	preposition
QA	Qarṭmīn Arabic
qD	<i>qəltu</i> -dialect(s)
qD I	<i>Die mesopotamisch-arabishen qəltu-Dialekte I</i>
refl.	reflexive
S	subject
sg.	singular
s.o.	someone

s.th.	something
Syr.	Syriac (Classical Syriac)
TA	Tillo Arabic
TL	Turkish Lira
Turk.	Turkish
V	verb
ZAL	<i>Zeitschrift für arabische Linguistik</i>
ZDMG	<i>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i>

Symbols

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
C	consonant
v	short vowel
vv	long vowel
T	symbolises the different feminine endings
<	developed or originates from (not necessarily diachronic)
>	developed to
...,	an unfinished word
?	after or on both sides of a word or a sentence which is non-interrogative, meaning a dubious form
!	unexpected change of tempus or person
()	in translations, meaning that a word or an expression is added for the sake of clarification
x:z	x = text number and z = line or verse number

Transcription signs

Consonants

Sign	Pronunciation	Description
<i>b</i>	[b]	voiced bilabial plosive
<i>p</i>	[p]	voiceless bilabial plosive
<i>t</i>	[t]	voiceless dental plosive
<i>ʈ</i>	[ʈ]	voiceless velarized dental plosive
<i>d</i>	[d]	voiced dental plosive
<i>ɖ</i>	[ɖ]	voiced velarized dental plosive
<i>k</i>	[k]	voiceless velar plosive
<i>g</i>	[g]	voiced velar plosive
<i>q</i>	[q]	voiceless uvular plosive
<i>ʔ</i>	[ʔ]	voiceless glottal plosive
<i>č</i>	[tʃ]	voiceless palato-alveolar affricate
<i>ǰ</i>	[dʒ]	voiced palato-alveolar affricate
<i>f</i>	[f]	voiceless labio-dental fricative
<i>v</i>	[v]	voiced velarized labio-dental
<i>θ</i>	[θ]	voiceless interdental fricative
<i>ð</i>	[ð]	voiced interdental fricative
<i>ɸ</i>	[ɸ]	voiced velarized fricative
<i>x</i>	[x]	voiceless velar fricative
<i>ɣ</i>	[ɣ]	voiced velar fricative
<i>ħ</i>	[ħ]	voiceless laryngeal fricative
<i>ʕ</i>	[ʕ]	voiced laryngeal fricative
<i>h</i>	[h]	voiceless glottal fricative

<i>s</i>	[s]	voiceless dental sibilant
ʃ	[ʃ]	voiceless velarized dental sibilant
<i>z</i>	[z]	voiced dental sibilant
ʒ	[ʒ]	voiced velarized dental sibilant
ʂ	[ʂ]	voiceless palato-alveolar sibilant
<i>l</i>	[l]	voiced dental lateral
<i>r</i>	[r]	voiced velarized dental trill
<i>m</i>	[m]	voiced velarized bilabial nasal
<i>n</i>	[n]	voiced velarized dental nasal

Semi-vowles

Sign	Pronunciation	Description
<i>w</i>	[w]	voiced labio-velar
<i>y</i>	[j]	voiced palatal

Vowels

Sign	Pronunciation	Description
<i>i</i>	[i]	short front unrounded
<i>e</i>	[e]	front unrounded
<i>a</i>	[a]	short front-to-back unrounded
ä	[æ]	Short front unrounded
ɑ	[ɑ]	short back unrounded
ə	[ə]	short middle unrounded
<i>u</i>	[u]	short back rounded
ī	[i:]	long front unrounded
ē	[e:]	long front unrounded
ā	[a:]	long front-to-back unrounded

<i>ä</i>	[æ:]	long front unrounded
<i>ā</i>	[ɑ:]	long back unrounded
<i>ū</i>	[u:]	long back rounded
<i>ō</i>	[o:]	long back rounded

Vowels in borrowings

Sign Pronunciation Description

<i>o</i>	[ɒ]	short back rounded
<i>ö</i>	[œ]	short front rounded
<i>ü</i>	[y]	short front rounded

Diphthongs

Sign Pronunciation Description

<i>ay</i>	[aɪ]	
<i>aw</i>	[aʊ]	

1. Introduction

Arabic spoken in isolated areas in south-eastern Anatolia was known to scholars already at the end of the 19th century. In 1882 and 1883 Socin published three articles, in ZDMG, dealing with the Arabic dialect of Mosul in today's northern Iraq and with the Arabic dialect of Mardin in today's south-eastern Turkey.¹ After this discovery, it took almost 80 years until Blanc outlined the dialect area that extended from the Persian Gulf alongside and between the Tigris and the Euphrates up to the sources of the two rivers on the Anatolian plateau.² Blanc characterized this area as a Mesopotamian dialect area in which two large groups of dialects must be distinguished, namely *qəltu*-dialects and *gelet*-dialects.³ This geographical and linguistic division laid the foundation for studies in Arabic dialectology in the region.

In 1971, Sasse gave an exhaustive description of the Arabic dialect of *Mḥal-lamīye*, a dialect spoken in the region of Mardin.⁴ In 1978 and after years of field studies and data collection, Jastrow published his well-known study *Die mesopotamisch-arabischen qəltu-Dialekte I*. In this survey, Jastrow builds further on Blanc's categorization of the Mesopotamian *qəltu*-dialects with the following subdivisions as a result: the Tigris group and the Euphrates group in modern Iraq and Syria respectively, and the Anatolian group in modern Turkey. The Anatolian group is further divided into Diyarbakır dialects, Mardin dialects, Siirt dialects, Kozluk dialects and Sason dialects. The last dialect group includes, according to Jastrow, the dialects of Hasköy while Talay asserts that the Hasköy dialects form their own group.⁵

Studies of the Anatolian *qəltu*-dialects are going on and, to mention a few, I would first like to refer to Wittrich's work on the Arabic dialect of *Āzəx*⁶ (Turk. İdil), which my supervisor Bo Isaksson and I visited in April 2002; we interviewed some of the few Christians, mostly old people, still living there. Wittrich's study is based on interviews with emigrants now living in

¹ Socin 1882-3.

² Blanc 1964, 5.

³ Later called *qəltu*- and *gilit*-dialects.

⁴ Sasse 1971.

⁵ Talay 1999, 16.

⁶ Wittrich 2001.

Germany. Talay has in two articles presented text samples and a grammatical overview of the Arabic dialect of Hasköy,⁷ which Isaksson and I visited in November 2000, when we interviewed four men. Grigore has studied the *ku-un* prefix in the Arabic dialect of Mardin.⁸ Isaksson and I visited Mardin in November 2000 and in April 2002. We interviewed people from four villages in the surrounding area. In one village, Qaws in the plain of Mardin, we tape-recorded two men. These men spoke *mērdalli* in general but the trained ear of a dialectologist could easily hear some few elements of ‘bedouin’ Arabic in their speech. After a long talk it was revealed that their forefathers were nomads and when they came to the plain of Mardin they settled down and became sedentary.⁹

For studies on the *qəltu*-related dialects in Syria and Iraq it is worth mentioning, for instance, Behnstedt’s studies on the Arabic dialects of Soukhne and M^ʿadḍamiye,¹⁰ Talay’s work on the Arabic dialect of Khawētna,¹¹ Isaksson’s and my article on the Arabic dialect of three border towns in north-eastern Syria;¹² my articles on an Arabic dialect in Qamishli;¹³ and Jastrow’s works on the Arabic dialect of the Jews of ʿAqra and Arbīl and on the Arabic dialect of Tikrīt.¹⁴

As mentioned above, Jastrow divided the Anatolian *qəltu*-dialects in groups. For the Siirt group, Jastrow lists the following Arabic-speaking villages: *Fərsāf*, *Ḥalanze*, *Snēb*, *Tōm*, *Fəskən* and *Təllo*.¹⁵ When Isaksson and I travelled in the region in November 2000 we visited all these villages. On the way to *Fəskən* our driver informed us, pointing out through the car window, that there is another village with an Arabic-speaking population as well. The name of this village is *Ḥalanzōke* and is not mentioned by Jastrow. Because of our ‘company’ we were, unfortunately, not able to visit the village and make interviews. In qD I there is a list of the material that Jastrow gathered from each village in the region of Siirt. No material was tape-recorded by him in Tillo.

⁷ Talay 2001, I and II.

⁸ Grigore 2002.

⁹ Isaksson presented some of the gathered material from these field studies in two conference papers: (1) in Cadiz, the 5 AIDA Conference, 25 – 28 September 2002, and (2) in Istanbul, the Role of the State in West and Central Asia, 14-16 November 2002. Publications from both conferences are forthcoming.

¹⁰ Behnstedt 1990 and 1994.

¹¹ Talay 1999.

¹² Isaksson and Lahdo 2002.

¹³ Lahdo 1999 and 2000.

¹⁴ Jastrow 1990.

¹⁵ Jastrow 1978, 16-17.

1.1. Aim and scope

The principal objective of the present study is to give an exhaustive description and an analysis of the Arabic dialect of Tillo. Phonology, morphology and syntax will be sketched. A sample of texts and a glossary will be included at the end of this volume. Contact linguistic phenomena and, hence, influence from surrounding languages will be given special emphasis. Sociolinguistic observations will also have a share in this study. It is worth mentioning here that a volume with text, translation and glossary will be published soon after this study appears.

1.2. The material

The main source of the data analyzed in this study is a corpus consisting of ca. 17 hours of tape-recorded material. Eight hours of this material were recorded in situ. Collecting data in these regions is not an easy task. All guests in the hotels are controlled by the authorities. Foreigners are interviewed and asked about the purpose of their visit, since tourists are supposed to travel 'only' in the western parts of the country and to the Mediterranean coastal regions. The presence of the army is strikingly observable. Military checkpoints are found on the roads leading from towns to surrounding villages. Visitors to the villages have to account for their visit. In some cases passports and cameras have to be left at the checkpoints.

Nine hours of the material were tape-recorded in Istanbul with people who left Tillo about 8-10 years ago. Less than one hour of the material is from female informants. Because of the strict lifestyle, it was almost impossible to interview women. After close contact for over a year with one informant, he could understand the importance of such material and suggested that he would interview the women in his family. This has been of great help. This material from female informants showed one phonological peculiarity, namely the consistent shift of the OA voiceless uvular *q* to a voiceless glottal plosive ʔ. In men's speech *q* shifts to ʔ only in the root *qwl*. More about this is said under the phoneme *q* in the chapter on phonology.

About 13 hours of the tape-recordings consist of free speech material, where the informants narrate a variety of subjects such as the traditional wedding, traditional meals, how life was in former days, the work situation in south-eastern Turkey, the secular Turkey etc. About two hours of the material comprise a kind of a dialogue between 3-4 people. Two hours of the Istanbul

material comprise elicited data. Although eliciting is a problematic method,¹⁶ I found it in this respect to be needed for the sake of giving full paradigms. Elicited material was obtained during meetings with one informant at a time (only on one occasion were there two informants). To avoid the risk that my own Arabic dialect would create a kind of ‘negative’ influence, I often tried to address my questions in Turkish.¹⁷ In cases where I had to say something in Arabic, I used to switch the tape-recorder off and clarify my intention to the informant. For instance, if I wanted to have a full paradigm of the verb *qatal* “to kill” in the perfect, I would ask the informant what ‘Ahmed’ did last week and after that what ‘Alya’ did last week and so on. For imperfect I would ask what ‘Ahmed’ is doing now. After trying a couple of times the informant would list, for the sake of remembering, all the persons on a paper in Turkish and go through the whole paradigm.

1.3. The informants

The number of informants interviewed is 18. Three of them are female informants: a 12-year-old who goes to school, a 37-year-old unmarried daughter living with her parents and a 55-year-old housewife. I had no choice in selection of female informants. The male informants are between 20 and 65 years old. The degree of the informants’ education varies. The 20-year-old informant works at a wholesale dealer’s. A 21-year-old informant studied (in November 2000) to become a mullah. A 33-year-old informant started training to become a fighter pilot but never finished. At the present time he owns a linen-draper’s shop in the town of Siirt. A 33-year-old informant works as a car-park attendant in Istanbul. A 39-year-old informant is an imam in Tillo. A 60-year-old informant is a mullah in Tillo. The rest have various professions, such as a circumciser, hotel owner (in Istanbul), a wholesale dealer (in Istanbul) etc. I would have liked to have a couple of people aged 10-18 years to see how their Arabic is. Regrettably I was not able to contact people from this age category. My main informant wanted me always to meet adult ‘wise’ people who could supply me with ‘good’ information about Tillo.

¹⁶ Elicited data are often obtained by addressing questions. The informant then answers what or how a word is pronounced in this dialect. The word is then out of its context, which often may lead to a slightly different pronunciation. For instance, if I were to ask for the word “book” my informant would say *aktēp*. In the context one may find also these forms, *ktēp* and *ktēb*.

¹⁷ As a speaker of a *qəltu*-dialect I myself have both advantages and disadvantages in the field work. Speaking Arabic to the informants creates immediately a feeling of solidarity and camaraderie, which in its turn creates a relaxed atmosphere that favours the data collection. On the other hand there is always a fear that my own dialect may affect the informants.

Worth mentioning is that all male informants attended lessons at Koran schools when they were boys. Except the mullahs and imams no one can read Arabic. They can, however, recite passages from the Koran.

1.4. Geography and economic background

Tillo lies on a mountain chain that surrounds the city of Siirt in south-eastern Turkey. On the same mountain but at a different altitude and distance lie the other Arabic-speaking villages in the surroundings. Siirt itself lies ca. 150 km to the east of Diyarbakır, south-west of Lake Van. Today, Siirt is the main city of the Siirt *vilayet*.

After the foundation of the republic of Turkey in the early 1920s, a process of “Turkification” started. Two elements in this process are of a certain interest in this connection and should be mentioned:

1. According to the Surname Act, *Soyadı kanunu*, of 28 June 1934, all people living in Turkey must have surnames.¹⁸
2. All names of cities, towns and villages must be derived from Turkish words. However, this principle was not effected by law but by recommendations from officials such as the local government commissioner, the local municipal council, etc.

Tillo, a name that is probably derived from Arabic *tall*, “hill, elevation”, was thus named Aydınlar, “the enlightened ones”. Why was Tillo, then, given such a name? The answer is clear, according to my informants. The name of the village reflects the status of its inhabitants. The village is known as *markaz əl-awliyā*, “centre of the holy ones”, and was the home of İbrāhīm Hāqqī and Şayx Muğāhid, two well-known local saints. For centuries the people of Tillo have dedicated their lives to education, above all to theology and Arabic. In order to show how proud the inhabitants of Tillo are of their village and their school education, one of the informants said that the education here can easily be compared to the educational level in Europe. The same informant went on to say that İbrāhīm Hāqqī, who was a theologian, physicist, astrologer and mathematician, had made all the calculations

¹⁸ Lewis 2002, 289. See also Ballı 1991, 65 and Arnold 2000, 357. People from these regions told that the authorities sent officials to the villages with a list of Turkish names and every family had to choose one. The ones who did not choose were given a family name that the officials chose for them.

needed to travel to the moon and that the Americans, before going there, had to come to Tillo to check these calculations. Without Ibrāhim Haqqī's calculations the Americans would not have had a chance to step on the moon.

Another legend that is related to visitors of Tillo, and which has been handed down orally from generation to generation, is about Faqīru llāh, also a well-known local saint. A text that comprises the exact words of the informant is presented below. But before going into the text it may be essential to clarify for the major reason for why presenting text samples or passages in the original language/dialect. I am of the opinion that no matter how good a translation is it will never be able to render the exact nuances and feelings that are embedded in words and utterances. In this matter Mühlhäusler writes that:

Each language renders potentially a specific picture of reality apprehension or conception of the world, and multiplicity constitute "a source of alternative philosophies, scientific metaphors and manner of living".¹⁹

Now back to the text:

sayyædi Faqīru llāh²⁰ raħima llāhu ʿanh kǎn²¹ ēke zat.²² fī waqt əl-ʿuṣmāniyya ṣultān bringī²³ Maħmūt kəl-baʿaflu farmān əyʾəllu: yā Faqīru llāh, ənt u zurriyətak məd-dawle mō təħti vergi²⁴, mō tsayy ʿaskariyye, ši ş-şāne mō tsayy, əyʾəllu. w kəs-sane d-d., mən xazinat dawlat əl-ʿuṣmāniyya fəl-miyye xamse iyye şā sulālətak, əyʾəllu. çünki²⁵ nəħne kənnə ʿal-ʿələm. sulālətnə,²⁶ kətnə²⁷ kənnə ʿal-ʿələm nəħne. ʿabiki²⁸ baʿət lay ğətt əğ-ğəmhūriyye qaṭaʿūwa mən ʿalayna nəħne, baʿət lay ğəmhūriyye. amma l-farmānāt²⁹ mawğūdīn ənne. əl-farmānāt ənn mawğūdīn əs-saħ, lay ṣultān biringī Maħmūt ha., bi-Təllə ənnen. ənn ʿənədna.³⁰

¹⁹ Mühlhäusler 1986, 52.

²⁰ *sayyædi Faqīru llāh* is always translated as “my great-grandfather” because the expression refers to “the father” of the whole ʿAbbāsi tribe.

²¹ Due to technical difficulties it was not possible to transcribe an /ä/ with a macron over it, i.e. long /ä/. For the allophone /ää/ see 2.4.5.3.

²² Second borrowing. Cf. Turk. *zat* “personality”.

²³ Cf. Turk. *birinci* “the first”.

²⁴ Cf. Turk. *vergi* “tax”.

²⁵ Cf. Turk. *çünkü* “because”.

²⁶ Second borrowing. Cf. Turk. *sülale* “family, line”.

²⁷ Cf. *kəllətnə* “all of us”.

²⁸ Cf. Turk. *tabii + ki* “of course”. *ʿabiki* is sometimes used as a filling word that has no particular meaning.

²⁹ Cf. Turk. *ferman* “imperial edict”.

³⁰ I am aware of the fact that long quotations like this are both heavy and tiresome in the main text. Nevertheless, I find them appropriate in the circumstances. Although this work is, after all, a dialectological one, on the other hand these quotations contain important information

“My great-grandfather Faqīru llāh, may God have mercy upon him, was such a personality [continuation from an earlier text in the corpus]. During the Ottoman empire, Sultan Mahmut I sent him an imperial edict, saying: O Faqīru llāh, you and all your offspring will not pay taxes to the empire, you are excused from the military service, you are excused from all duties (that have to do with the empire). Every year your family will receive five per cent from the public treasury of the Ottoman empire. This (says the informant) was because we dedicated ourselves to education. The whole of our family dedicated themselves to education. Of course, after the building of the republic they stopped sending us that, but the imperial edicts still exist. The imperial edicts that Sultan Mahmut I sent (to my great-grandfather) still exist today, they are in Tillo. We have them.”

What is mentioned above and, in addition, the impressions from a visit to Tillo and observing the strict religious way of living there, explain the most common profession in the village, namely *əmtāhhər*³¹ “circumciser”. Until the beginning of the 1980s, the majority of the men had this profession. They used to travel all over the country and to Iraq and to Syria for this work. The inhabitants of Tillo tell every visitor proudly that Saddam Hussein was circumcised by an *əmtāhhər* from Tillo. The circumcisers believe that this profession is one of the pious ones and that it serves the nation of Islam. When the PKK started its struggle, travelling over international borders became difficult and hence the number of circumcisers decreased. The few who have continued the profession until today have only the region of Siirt as their working place. Circumcisers are described as real vagabonds. They went through a lot of difficulties in their travels and, hence, gained much experience. These experiences that the men from Tillo gained were related, according to a familiar tradition, in gatherings in a corner in front of a mosque in Tillo. Everyone I met could tell me at least a couple of stories about an *əmtāhhər*.

1.5. A short historical background of the region

Turkey is, at the present time, applying for membership in the European Union. One of the Copenhagen criteria that Turkey has to submit to is the recognition of minorities in the country. The Kurdish issue, which reached its climax through the PKK struggle, attracted the world’s attention, resulting in neglect of other ethnic groups, such as Greeks, Armenians, Aramae-

which I consider to be important to be shown in the original language. I believe that this method often simplifies the understanding and gives a clear picture because the original words very often include emotions, feelings and stress that are difficult to translate.

³¹ Cf. CA. *ṭāhhara* “to circumcise”.

ans, Jews, Circassians, Kazakhs and Arabs. The last group is poorly investigated as far as ethnicity and original homeland are concerned.³² In spite of the fact that there are studies concerning the multiplicity of the different ethnic groups in today's Turkey, no one, as far as I know, has written about the origin of the Arabs of Siirt.³³ There are, however, studies on the group's identity, its confession of Islam, its number and areas of settlement etc.

Siirt (also Seert and Si'ird in other sources) was seemingly not an important city, strategically, in the time of the expansion of Islam; hence, the Arab sources say almost nothing about it.³⁴ In the 9th century al-Shabushti says that there was a monastery housing 400 monks.³⁵ From the 11th century the city was under the rule of various local Muslim dynasties: Marwanids, Artukids and Ayyubids, the last of which kept it until 1462. Thereafter for a short time Siirt came under the sway of the Safawid shah Ismail I. In 1513 it fell under the Ottoman power.³⁶

According to a census, a *tahrir*, in 1526, Siirt was the home of 408 Muslim and 448 Christian families (East Syrians, 'Nestorians'), in addition to a small Jewish colony, whereas in the vicinity of the city only a Muslim population lived. In ca. 1838 there were 600 Muslim and 200 Christian families.³⁷ Within the East Syrian Church, Siirt belonged to the see of Hişn Kayfa.³⁸ In addition to East Syrians, Siirt also had a West Syrian community until the end of the 19th century (ca. 50 families), and an Armenian community. In the middle of the 19th century, and due to the wars between the Kurdish Buhti amirs and the Turks, many Christians were killed by the Kurds. The last bishop of Siirt was a scholar in Syriology, Addaï Scher, who was killed by the Turks in 1915, as were many Christians of the city. There are no Christians in Siirt today.³⁹

As mentioned earlier, written sources regarding from where and for what reason Arabs came to Siirt are not found. However, there is a conception that is undisputed, among the Arabs themselves, concerning the early Arabs in the vicinity of Siirt, in Tillo. It is agreed that the Arabs of Tillo belong to two tribes, *ʿāila Xālidiyya* and *ʿāila ʿAbbāsiyya*, as a mullah in Tillo described them. The Xāliidi tribe claims that their ancestors came to Tillo from Ḥəməş in Syria about 700 years ago, and the ʿAbbāsi tribe says that their ancestors came to Tillo via Iraq from Saudi Arabia about 400 years ago. Both families

³² Here I am referring to the Arabs of Siirt and not to the Arabs of Turkey in general.

³³ Andrews 1989, 148–151; Svanberg 1989a, 1989b and 1997.

³⁴ Seert in Fiey 1977, 244 and Witakowski 2000, 392–393, Si'ird in Bosworth 1997, 573.

³⁵ Bosworth 1997, 574.

³⁶ Fiey 1977, 244 and Bosworth 1997, 574.

³⁷ Faroqhi 1997, 575.

³⁸ The modern Hasankef in south-eastern Turkey.

³⁹ Fiey 1977, 244–251.

are Sunni Muslims and belong to the Shāfi‘ī school. In order to acquire some idea of why these Arabs came to Tillo, the following questions were posed to one informant: Have you heard from your father or grandfather why their ancestors came to Tillo? He answered:

məṣxāṭar l-islāmiyye, məṣxāṭar l-islāmiyye təzdäät

“For the sake of Islam, for the expanding of Islam.”

Were they nomad tribes or soldiers?

lā, lā kēnu faqah, mudarrāsīn

“No, no, they were experts in Islam’s law, teachers.”

1.6. The situation in Tillo today according to the informants

According to the informants, both those living in Tillo and those living in Istanbul, the number of Arabic-speaking inhabitants in Tillo today (June 2003) is about 1,500. In November 2000, when the present field study was carried out, about 3,000 Arabic-speaking people were still living there. This means that in less than three years the population has decreased by 50 per cent through migration. This migration is occurring so rapidly that the Arabs are worried that soon no Arabs will remain in their home village and that both language and culture will vanish. The Arabs of Tillo are well aware that, if the whole Arabic population moves out to the big cities like Istanbul, Ankara, Van, etc., both their language and their culture are doomed to die out. The anxiety they feel is often observed in the recorded material. To illustrate this anxiety, I present here some passages in the material from an interview with an informant now living in Istanbul.⁴⁰ He starts, as in example (a), by saying:

- a. *anā aʿalləm bənti ʿarabi ē baʿəd bənti əṣṣ tə-ysīr? əl-lōm bənti təqri fəl-maktap⁴¹ ēkəm lay maʿa kəlla tərək ənne.*

“I am teaching my daughter Arabic, but after her what will happen? My daughter now goes to a school where everyone else is Turkish.”

He goes on in example (b) by saying:

⁴⁰ The information presented here is based entirely on oral statements.

⁴¹ Second borrowing. Cf. Turk. *mektep* “school”. Turkish *okul* “school” is rare in the material.

- b. *s-sah anā lī faff banēt. əl-faff banēt ənn ka-ğade ənne am şārlan kəl-me wəhde arbaht awlād āy fnahş. kəl-wāhəd də-yrō⁴² mawqaḥ āk əč-čēx.⁴³ ē anā d-anxalaṭ maḥ ət-tərki. anā d-anxalaṭ maḥ ət-tərki əşş tə-ysīr āk əč-čēx?*

“Now I have three daughters. If in the future these three daughters have four children each, this will make them twelve. Everyone will then leave for a different place. In such a situation, we shall get mixed with the Turks. We shall get mixed with the Turks and then what will happen?”

And he ends with example (c):

- c. *ē ēke də-ysīr: də-nənsi rōhna. aşəlna də-nənsīyu w də-nrō. də-yənqəṭəḥ yaʿne n-nəsal.*

“This is what will happen: We shall forget ourselves. We shall forget our origin and we shall vanish. The lineage will come to an end.”

Noteworthy is that during the session with the informant above, his 7-year-old daughter came in and asked him for some money. A short dialogue in Turkish took place between them. When the daughter had left, the father went on talking about the crucial stage of the Arabic of Tillo. Moreover, two other male informants who cared about the language, and who always wanted to show me that they did not use foreign words and expressions in their everyday Arabic, could not hide it well enough when they talked to each other or when they answered the phone. Then they often switched back and forth to Turkish, not even noticing that they were speaking Turkish.

Further, the subject whom the informant is talking about plays a certain role in how often one switches to another language or uses foreign words. For instance, when the informants mentioned above were relating anecdotes or a legend about local saints, which they have heard many times, they had very little Turkish, lexical or structural, influence in their Arabic. On the other hand, when they spoke about their present situation, for example the situation of Tillo or the situation of Turkey in general, then Turkish elements were obvious in their speech.

One informant revealed to me his real concern about the language. He believes that it is only a matter of time before the language is totally forgotten.

⁴² The last consonant *h* is not audible. Cf. *rāhu* “they went”.

⁴³ Cf. Kur. *çax* “when, at that time”. Cf. also Turk. *çağ* “time, period, epoch”. Judging from the meaning and the function, Kurdish *çax* is probably used in TA.

His son is four years now and speaks only Turkish. He understands some Arabic but cannot answer. When I ask why, the father answers that the boy watches television the whole day and all television programmes are in Turkish. When the boy goes out to play with other children, they all talk Turkish. There is no longer a Koran school where the children can go to learn some Arabic.⁴⁴

The reasons why the Arabs are leaving Tillo may be numerous, but two reasons are mentioned often in my material. The example below clearly indicates these two reasons:

yaʿni kama aryna hiç⁴⁵ mā fī fə-ši mawyaʿ. fī hawāha ham fī kalla ši. şādeğe⁴⁶ laha fart əş-şiyayn: mayy w şəğəl mā laha

“There is no other place like our home village, concerning both weather and everything else. It has only two disadvantages: in Tillo there is no water and no work.”

Moving out of the village can have devastating effects on the language. In spite of the fact that the Tillo Arabs living in Istanbul are primarily concentrated in two districts, Şirinevler and Fatih, the latter being considered to be a conservative and religious quarter, the impact of Turkish on adults seems to be almost as strong as on children. Talking Arabic in public, in Istanbul, is something the Arabs of Tillo want to avoid. If ‘they’ hear one talking Arabic ‘they’ may think that one is a *tarrōr* “terrorist”.⁴⁷ Young men prefer to speak Turkish, although they have a typical Turkish dialect, which is easily recognized to be from south-east Anatolia. A 55-year-old woman gives another explanation for the impact of Turkish. She says:

āy təsaḥ əsnīn kəğ-ğīna. ġīrāna kalla ənn tərki. yəğraw bət-tərki, nəḥne mm sēna kə-təyyar ēke.

“It is now nine years ago since we came (from Tillo). All our neighbours are Turks. They speak Turkish and thus we also shifted (to Turkish).”

The Arabs of Tillo are proud of their origin. It is important to belong to a family or tribe with a lineage. This is obvious when one studies how the mullah mentioned above describes the people of Tillo. He mentions three families, two that have ancestral lines and one that has none. The people of the third family are *kurmānç*, Kurds. These are his own words:

⁴⁴ Koran schools are forbidden but courses in Koran Arabic are still given illegally (see below 1.6).

⁴⁵ Cf. Turk. *hiç* “nothing, none whatever”.

⁴⁶ Cf. Turk. *sadece* “merely, simply, only”.

⁴⁷ This term is used when referring to the PKK.

... ya^{ne} bəla nasap ^əāyla wāḥida. ^əāylat kurmānĉ, nqūl kurmānĉ, akrāt. mu-
tafarriqa, kəll wāḥəd ġā mən makān.

“...without lineage there is one family, kurmānĉ, we say kurmānĉ, Kurds.
They are scattered. Everyone has come from a different place.”

This feeling of once being a proud people created two social classes in the community: Arabs who belong to the first social class and Kurds who belong to the second. This is why intermarriage between Kurds and Arabs was previously considered impossible when the girl was Arab. The Arabs never agreed to give their daughters to Kurds. It was considered to be shameful. But, on the other hand, young men with Arab parentage could choose any young Kurdish girl they wanted. Below, a passage from a text which confirms this classification is presented:

aw əl-kurmanĉ lay kəğ-ğaw mən qabəl taḥt id Faqīru llāh w šayx Mğāḥəd, yəxdəmūwən əwnak.

“These Kurds who emigrated (to Tillo) came for the sake of being servants to Faqīru llah and sheik Muğāḥid, to serve them there”.

The circumstances today are different. Kurds constitute the vast majority and, whether the Arabs like it or not, intermarriage is becoming more and more common. In spite of the social classification, the majority of the Arabs, if not all, today speak Kurmanji. Without Kurmanji, it would be hard to manage everyday life in these regions. Kurmanji is used in most places in south-eastern Turkey – people speak it in the streets, in dolmushes, in buses, in taxis, at teahouses, in the grocery stores where one has to buy one’s food supplies, and elsewhere. It is worth mentioning that in the tape-recorded material nothing is said about this Kurdish dominance, but when the stop button was pressed, the informants became relaxed and talked cautiously about how nowadays more and more young Kurdish men marry girls with Arabic parentage, how rapidly the Kurds are increasing in number (two informants aged 32 and 33 years respectively told me about their Kurdish friends who have 5-7 children each while they themselves have 2 children each) and how they take every kind of work for almost half of the wages that are otherwise accepted. The informants are careful not to put information like this on the tape, although passages such as the following can be found:
fī Təllo əl-ḥayāt qabəl ^əəššīn,⁴⁸ xamsa w ^əəššīn sane kān bowš⁴⁹ aḥsan men əs-saḥa. əs-saḥa Təllo nxałaṭaṭ. ašwam əs-saḥ əwn fət-Turkya nxałaṭaṭ əl-masale əwnak am ^əayn əš-šī. ənxałaṭaṭ Təllo.

⁴⁸ Assimilation, cf. ^əəšrīn “20”.

⁴⁹ Cf. Kur. *boş* “plentiful”.

“20, 25 years ago life in Tillo was much better than now. Today Tillo has been mixed (with other people). The way Turkey is a mixture of people there too is the same. Tillo has been mixed.”

Being an Arab and a Sunni Muslim is reflected, somehow, in the speaker’s consciousness of the language, especially when the community lives isolated from all contact with other Arabs and from the standard Arabic that flows through radio and television in all Arabic-speaking countries. The only language of importance to these Arabs is the language of the Koran. Previously, all young boys went to Koran schools to learn Arabic. This was the custom in the region until the 28th of February 1997, when Koran schools were closed and teaching in the Koran was forbidden. The strictly pious Arabs of Tillo consider this resolution as a direct attack against Islam and, to show that a parliamentary verdict would not stop them from believing, people who were devoted to Islam and to the Koran directed their attention to al-Azhar in Egypt, where they could study theology and come back with a diploma. But the same year, also the al-Azhar diploma was declared invalid in Turkey.

By closing Koran schools the authorities want to cut off all kind of contacts to Arabic and to induce people to learn Turkish, which is the official language in the country. On this theme Werner Arnold writes:

*Arabic has a hard time like all minority languages in Turkey. It is completely banished from public life and therefore the teaching of Arabic, singing of Arabic songs in public and use of Arabic personal names are forbidden by the government. Children in school are, for example, beaten by the teachers if they speak Arabic, even during breaks.*⁵⁰

Turkish is the language taught at schools. The majority of officials of various professions, such as teachers, policemen and civil servants, are Turks who are assigned by the government to work in the eastern part of the country for a period of three years. This has the result in turn that everyone who is not isolated in the villages has to learn Turkish in order to manage the daily contact with officials. In combination with the above, this makes the Arabs of the region multilingual.

The fact that the boys in former days went to Koran schools means that they became familiar with Koran Arabic. This becomes obvious when they try to show that they are educated and that they have mastered the language of the Koran. The result of this phenomenon is that some words, which normally are not used in the dialect, slip in when talking to Arabic-speaking people

⁵⁰ Arnold 2000, 357.

from Arabic-speaking countries, e.g.: *kasîr* “much, a lot”, where the local word is *bowş* and *qalîl* “little, few”, where the local word is *tûte*.

What can the Tillo Arabs do to save their language, and hence their culture, from extinction? One informant had an idea for the Tillo Arabs living in Istanbul. His own words are as follows:

as-sah fə-Ştanbûl kəl-fatahu darnəq,⁵¹ ‘Abdəlʔahhəd, lat-Təllo, lay Təllo. mən uww mən Təllo kəl-qayyat⁵² rōhu. kəl-katap əsmu lay men bala anā mən Təllo. şā, ‘ala āk ʔaltūlak ənne sabʕa miyye. yawm əl-ʕīd əltammu ʔwn əb-ħaʕyan. yəltammu ʔwn əb-ħaʕyan ən-nās yəʕrəfu ħaʕayan. ē dī, anā ltūlan: mādami⁵³ kəl-fatahna ääva əd-darnək məşşxātar mā n-nənsi rōhna, anā xānəmāti⁵⁴ fə-Təllo, marāti kā-təlbəs çēriyye,⁵⁵ çēriyye, ç..., ‘abēye, əmmi təlbəs ‘abēye, əltu madām kəğ-ğīna lə-Ştanbûl lā n-nənsi rōhna. xayy kəll mənnu ynayyam aq-qat⁵⁶ pārat w nsayy ēke sīta⁵⁷ āk ət-tələwne kəllna nəbqa iyy faqat mawqah. kəll mən uww xayy yəlbəs çērītu xayy yrō w yəği. xayy, aššam ħapp xayy ysay yaʕne. mā əğat, mā ġaw l-ħaʕyan. mā şārat. āk əç-çä..., aħat mā kā-yənsi rōhu. əl-ʕarabi mā kā-yəntəsi. la- kā-yəbqa āke. āk əl-awlēt kəlla d-yəgraw maʕ ħaʕyən bəl-ʕarabi, də-yətkəlləm maʕən bəl-ʕarabi. mā tāqu sawawa wəħət.

“Ablahad, they (Tillo Arabs) have now opened an association in Istanbul for Tillo. Everyone who is from Tillo registered himself. He wrote with his name that he is from Tillo; that is why I told you that they are 700 (families here). On the feast-day they gathered here. They gather here so people will get to know each other. Once I said to them: Now when we have opened this association for the sake of not forgetting ourselves, my wife used to wear a headscarf, headscarf head..., a full covered woman dress, my mother wears a full covered woman dress. I said to them: Now when we had to move to Istanbul we should not forget ourselves. Let everyone provide a certain amount of money and we can start something similar to a city-state for the people of Tillo to stay in one place. Everyone who wants can wear a headscarf and feel free exactly as he or she wants. Let everyone do what he or she likes. But my idea did not, they did not agree on that. It did not work. If it had worked at that time..., nobody would have forgotten himself. Arabic would not have been forgotten. If my idea had worked, Arabic would have

⁵¹ Cf. Turk. *dernek* “association, club, society”.

⁵² Second borrowing. Cf. Turk. *kaydetmek* “to register, enroll”.

⁵³ Cf. Turk. *mademki* “since, while”.

⁵⁴ Cf. Turk. *hanım* “wife, woman, lady”.

⁵⁵ Cf. Kur. *çarik* “headscarf”.

⁵⁶ The definite article *l* assimilates to *q* < *al-qat*.

⁵⁷ Cf. Turk. *site* “housing development, housing estate; city-state”.

survived. All those children would have spoken in Arabic with each other, you would have spoken to them in Arabic. They could not accept my idea.”

The same informant told me, in an interview on 27 March 2003, that after my first interview with him he and all his brothers started to talk only Arabic to their children. Just the fact that someone from Europe is interested in this dialect makes the inhabitants reconsider their view of it. My main informant in Tillo said in a telephone interview on 28 March 2003 that no matter how much he tries, his children speak only Turkish and also he himself speaks more and more Turkish to them. “It is something beyond my power,” he ended. No other informants mentioned anything about taking other measures to prevent the language and the culture from vanishing.

1.7. Socio-linguistic observations

1.7.1. The Arabs

John Edwards writes in his book *Language, Society and Identity*, the following:

*Questions of language and identity are extremely complex. The essence of the terms themselves is open to discussion and, consequently, consideration of their relationship is fraught with difficulties.*⁵⁸

Although the definition ‘what is an Arab?’ is not the aim of this study, it is tempting to present a passage that illustrates the Tillo Arabs’ own view about themselves:

sayyædi Faqîru llā æyqûm şulţân Maħmût⁵⁹ yæbʿafļu ğäärya u ğääri, rağal u mara u yæbʿafļu ğamêl, nʿallu nəħne, ğamêl ħəməl vahêp. æyʿallu: yā Faqîru llāh, fî flān⁶⁰ tārîx fî Ştambûl kəş-şār flān wāqʿa. kəl-araynāk æb-nazar a wnak day⁶¹ kəţ-ţafayt āk æş-şi ænt, yʿallu yā Faqîru llāh. uww aş-şi uww şānak āva l-xəşüş. awwəl mā yəlħaq əl-īdu, sayyædi Faqîru llāh yāxav æğ-ğāri w æğ-ğārye, yəqbalən u ħəml əl-vahêp yæbʿafu gāri.⁶² yʿallu: anā əsmi uww Faqîru llāh, anā faqîr aĵla yʿallu. anā mā-li ħaqq da-āxav av-vahêp. w

⁵⁸ Edwards, J. 1985, 1.

⁵⁹ Mahmud I (1696 - 1754). A revolt of the Janissaries put Mahmud I on the throne of the Ottoman Empire in 1730.

⁶⁰ Cf. Turk. *falán* “so and so, and so on, and such”.

⁶¹ Most probably the speaker means *lay* here.

⁶² Cf. Turk. *geri* “back, backward”.

əs-saḥ āk əğ-ğārye e əğ-ğāri ənne ɸwn mawğūdīn fī Təllo. ləhən awlēt. yəḥsəbu rōḥan mən Faqīru llāh ənne am. ‘Abbasiyye y’ūlu nəḥne. ṣāru ‘arap ənne. ənn ‘arap əs-saḥ. əs-saḥ lān⁶³ fī ḥawla l-mīt bayt ənn mən ɸwlaḥ. zur-riyye ēke gə-zdādet fī arba^c mīt sane, mīt bayt.

“Sultan Mahmud sends a maid and a servant, a man and a woman to my great-grandfather Faqīru llāh, and he sends him also a camel, we say camel, a camel load of gold. The sultan says: Oh Faqīru llāh, on this date there was an occurrence in Istanbul. We saw you in a vision there that you extinguished that thing, thus the sultan said. This (gift) is for you because of that. As soon as the gifts come to my great-grandfather, Faqīru llāh, he accepts the maid and the servant but the load of gold he sends back. He says: My name is Faqīru llāh, I am a poor servant of God, thus he says. I do not accept gold. Now that maid and servant are here in Tillo. They have children. They too consider themselves to descend from Faqīru llāh. They say we are Abbāsids. They became Arabs. They are Arabs now. Today there are approximately 100 families from those. The family increased in 400 years, 100 families.”

The quotation above is an excellent example of the ethnicity awareness between the Arabs of Tillo. It seems that it is enough if someone considers him- or herself an Arab and speaks Arabic, to be or become an Arab. But could this way of thinking have two directions? Can an Arab easily become, for instance, a Turk or a Kurd? One example is nevertheless clear: the Arabs of Sason (see 1.7.2), a part of whom consider themselves Kurds.

As mentioned above, the local belief is that the Arabs of Tillo belong to two tribes: a Xālidi tribe with ancestors originating from Ḥəmṣ in Syria, and a ‘Abbāsi tribe with ancestors originating from the Arabian Peninsula. This fact means that originally the Arabs of Tillo spoke two different Arabic dialects, which may have grown into a common dialect by close contact and intermarriage over the years. Notwithstanding, the impression I have from the informants is that these Arabs still consider themselves as two different communities. In Tillo there is, for instance, one big mosque, where everyone (Arab, Kurd and Turk) goes for Friday prayers, but for everyday prayers each community (tribe) has its own mosque. It seems of special importance to keep this segregation between the communities.

To exemplify this segregation, a 42-year-old informant relates in an interview that he left Tillo for a period of time to study accounting and management. His main intention was to do something creditable for the entire village. He came back full of ambitions and with a diploma or permission to

⁶³ Cf. *ləhən* “they have”.

start a business either in Tillo or in Siirt, but for the benefit of Tillo. But he failed. The reason for this failure is expressed in his own words:

ğītu əd-Duzğa, ‘Abdəll’ahhad, bəqītu faff taşşōr. ham mən işlatma⁶⁴ muhāsabasi⁶⁵ u ham bəl-qoparatif⁶⁶ muhāsabasi sayna ‘alaya taḍrīs. axaftu ruxşəti ʔalahtu ğītu. ʔabiki nēs ʔwnak mō nəh..., mō nğərr ba‘əyna. mō yħəbbu ba‘yan. ya‘ne də-n’ul əl-xələdiyye mō yğərru əl-‘abbāsiyye.⁶⁷ l-‘abbāsiyye mō yəğ..., kərmānč, ē.

“I came to Duzca, Ablahad, and stayed three months. I studied both administrative accounting and cooperative accounting. I received my license (lit. permission) and came back. Mind that the people there (in Tillo) do not res..., cannot stand each other. They do not like each other. Let’s say that the Xəlidi cannot stand the ‘Abbāsi (and) the ‘Abbāsi cannot sta..., (the) Kurd(s), and so on.”

To show that other Arabic communities have better unity and harmony, the same informant gives an example about a neighbouring village, Snēb, where a *snēbi* who is successful in commerce invests the money of his community in Istanbul:

fī wēhat ʔwn snēbi, əSnēp iyy ‘a-rās Təllo. āk əSnēp qām wēhət ʔalame axeve pārāt āk əl-məlle kəlla. ... baqa y‘ammələn əs-saħ, ē wā. ʃa..., tāğar, əs-saħ kəl-wēhəd ‘aṭāhu həşşa. kəl-‘aṭayt ‘aşş tālāf waraqa ʔwnak, ona göre⁶⁸ də-yəṭhassal pārāt. ... ē dī mō yəb‘af lə-Snēp. kə-štara, yəštərīlan dawwə‘ār.⁶⁹

“there is a person from Snēb here; Snēb is (a village) on the top of Tillo. This person collected the money of his whole community. ... He started to invest this money, yes, he is a businessman, and now he gave everyone a share. If you have (for instance) given 10,000 pounds, according to that, you would get a share (lit. money). ... He doesn’t send (money back to) Snēb. He bought, he buys them (for the people of Snēb) real estate (lit. apartment).”

And the same informant ends, bitterly:

nəħne maħ Təllo maħ-ħad mā sawa ēke. ... əs-saħ bayn ət-tələwne fī bowş ēke insään zənēgīn⁷⁰ aṃa mā-lən hayy⁷¹ mən ba‘yan, mā-lən hayy mən ba‘yan.

⁶⁴ Cf. Turk. *işletme* “administration, management”.

⁶⁵ Second borrowing. Cf. Turk. *muhasebe* + the Turkish genitive suffix. Note that Turkish *h* is pronounced *ħ*. This may be due to dialectal variation in Turkish in this region.

⁶⁶ Cf. Turk. *kooperatif* “cooperative”.

⁶⁷ Cf. Turk. *birbirini çekmiyorlar* “they cannot stand each other”.

⁶⁸ Cf. Turk. *ona göre* “according to that”.

⁶⁹ Cf. Turk. *daire* “apartment, flat”.

⁷⁰ Broken Pl. of *zangīn*, cf. Turk. *zengin* “rich”.

“among us in Tillo no one did something similar. ... There are (however) rich people among the people of Tillo, but they don’t care about each other, they don’t care about each other.”

What reasons, though, could cause this kind of dispute between the two tribes in Tillo? I can only think of two reasons: (1) They originally belonged to two different tribes. (2) Every tribe has its own saints whom it never thinks of giving up. For instance, sheik Muğāhid belongs to the Xālidī tribe while Faqīru llāh and Ibrāhim Ḥaqqī belong to the ‘Abbāsī tribe. The ‘Abbāsīs declare proudly that they have a family tree by which they can be traced back to ‘Abbās.

1.7.2. The Arabs and the Kurds

The Arabs of Tillo consider(ed) themselves as a first-class community in the village and the Kurds, who originally came to the village in order to work for and serve the Arabs, as belonging to a second class. As mentioned above, the reason why the Arabs came to Tillo, according to a 33-year-old informant, was to spread Islam. The first Arabs came, consequently, as missionaries. They were theologians and hence learned, which put them immediately in a higher social position. It is said that they were privileged by the governing sultans at the time of the Ottoman empire, which makes their status even higher (see quotation under 1.4).

For the Arabs of Tillo, religion proved to be the only identity that mattered and Koran Arabic was the language that constituted piety. The Kurds, on the other hand, even though Muslims, have a stronger national feeling, which over decades favored the growth and development of the language. That there is connection between ethnicity and nationalism is doubtless. Edwards declares that many of the criterias that are applied for ethnicity, are also relevant for nationalism. He points out that nationalism can be seen as “intentional ethnicity”, as “organized ethnocultural solidarity” or that ethnic awareness can be a “pre-nationalistic state”.⁷² Doubtless is also the connection between ethnicity and language. One general definition of ethnicity, according to Hyltenstam and Stroud is:

*... a feeling of group-belongingness that is based on common characteristics, such as language, race and religion...*⁷³

This view is reinforced by Edwards who states:

⁷¹ Cf. Kur. *hay* “knowledge, care”.

⁷² Edwards 1985, 10f.

⁷³ Hyltenstam and Stroud 1990, 25.

*Ethnic identity is allegiance to a group – large or small, socially dominant or subordinate – with which one has ancestral links. There is no necessity for a continuation, over generations, of the same socialization or cultural patterns, but some sense of a group boundary must persist. This can be sustained by shared objective characteristics (language, religion, etc.) or by more subjective contributions to a sense of ‘groupness’, or by some combination of both. Symbolic or subjective attachment must relate, at however distant a remove, to an observably real past.*⁷⁴

One of the characteristics mentioned above, namely religion, promoted the Kurdish elite to gain non-Kurdish followers. It was almost chocking to hear a group of middle-aged men, in the region of Sasson, also in south-eastern Turkey, saying that they were Kurds although they had Arabic origin. And how is that possible, one may ask. The answer was easy: our forefathers were Arabs but now we are Kurds, as simple as that! It is difficult to know whether these men really meant what they were saying or if they were afraid for some reason. But if we assume that they meant what they were saying, this will add another of the characteristics to the ones mentioned above, namely ‘subjective contribution to a sense of ‘groupness’’. Now what may have encouraged this ‘subjective groupness’ could have been dissatisfaction in opposition to the state. This dissatisfaction was observable all over south-eastern Turkey, since the whole region is neglected economically and the living conditions are bad. People complained that the state shows up in different harvesting periods to by the raw material for ridiculous prices and take it to be manufactured in the big cities in the west. No investments at all are done or planned for the region. Hence the PKK struggle for independence may have meant a kind of economical salvation offering inhabitants of the region better living standards. An informant describes the Kurdish matter as follows:

əl-akrāt baqa ytabʿu haqqan. ysaw rōḥan mudāfaʿa. nəḥne mō ntīq. mō tīq aʿūl lā ... aḥa ənne ġade baʿda də-ysawawa, ənne ġade baʿ..., ġade də-ysawawa.

“the Kurds have started to follow up their rights. They defend themselves. (But) we cannot. I cannot say ... but they, sooner or later, will do it, they, sooner or later, will do it.”

The strong national awareness during recent decades alongside the PKK struggle in the 1980s and 1990s strengthened the position of Kurds in Tillo. They ceased to be the ones who came to serve the pious Arabs many years ago. They are now a power that fights for the rights of the Kurdish people and also for the rights of ‘other minorities in the region’. In the northernmost part of the Arabic-speaking area of Anatolia, in Sason, the Arabic commu-

⁷⁴ Edwards 1985, 10.

nity is divided in two parts. One group identify themselves with the Kurds by saying: “We are actually Kurds but our forefathers were Arabs and that is why we speak Arabic now”. A statement like this contradicts, of course, the assertion that the Kurds also fight for the rights of other minorities. The other group, comprising some villages in the surroundings of Sason, are more loyal to the Turkish government and say that they are Turks. In both cases it is clear that the Arabic identity does not play an important role. This, in conjunction with the feeling that the spoken Arabic dialect is a defective language compared to Koran Arabic, weakens the status of the dialect. Worth mentioning here is that Kurds in Tillo who speak Arabic are not numerous.

1.7.3. The Arabs and the Turks

The contact with Turks in Tillo and in Siirt is limited to bureaucrats, police officers, civil servants, teachers etc. This category of Turks are assigned by the government to work in these regions for a limited period. The majority of these Turks originate from big cities in the west.

In Istanbul on the other hand, the contact with Turks is a significant part of everyday life. Turkish is spoken everywhere and Turkish is the language that has the highest status. The Arabs of Tillo often speak Turkish, not only with Turks but also among themselves. An informant, M, who interviewed his mother, H, questions the frequent use of Turkish and asks:

M- *āk gari šayš kəl-ğayyærtənu ēke, gari l-ʿarabi?*

“Why have you (c.pl.) changed the language (lit. speech), Arabic?”

H- *əšš aʿraf? ʾawn fī Ştanbūl lay ēke yəgraw nəḥne əmmən sayna⁷⁵ kər-rāḥ ēke. ḥalbuki⁷⁶ garīna l-ʿarabi uww akfar akwēs. uww aḥsən. ʾawn lay yəgraw ēke nəḥne am sēna kər-rā ēke kamēhen.*

“How do I know? Because (everyone) here in Istanbul talks like this, we also do so (lit. our tongue got used). Whereas our Arabic language is better. It is nicer. But because everyone else here speaks in this way, we also do like them.

‘Integration’ is also expressed in other ways, for instance in clothing. A female informant expresses her opinion about the veil as follows:

⁷⁵ Cf. (l)sēna “our tongue”.

⁷⁶ Cf. Turk. *halbuki* “whereas, however, nevertheless”.

fī Təllo k̄ā-nḥətt̄ xēliyye ʔwne mō nḥətt̄ xēliyye. uww yasāq⁷⁷ ʔwne. mō yəʔbālu xēliyye. fī Təllo k̄ā-nḥətt̄ ʔwn mō nḥətt̄.

“in Tillo we used to use the veil (but) here we don’t use it. It is forbidden here (in Istanbul). They (the politicians) do not permit the veil. In Tillo we used it but not here.”

Another female informant adds:

wēḥəṭ ayy sapp ʔyrō yrō ʕala āk əl-ʕēde.

“wherever one goes one follows the custom there”

The same informant contradicts herself later by saying:

yaʕni ʕənədna bənt tsēr arbataḥš sane an faz., an bowš xaməstaḥš sane təlbes ʕēriyye w xēliyye. an azyat mā fī yaʕni. təṭlah ʔs-səttəḥš sane uww bowš ʕayp nəḥne ʕənədna.

“Among us when a girl becomes 14 years or at the most 15 years old she has to put on a headscarf and veil. She is not allowed to go without that if she is older. It is very shameful to us if a girl becomes 16 and does not wear headscarf and veil.”

Segregation is also demonstrated by paucity of intermarriage. Intermarriage between Turks and Tillo Arabs occurs, although rarely, only in Istanbul. The few instances I know about are between male Arabs from Tillo and Turkish girls. In one case it is clearly noticeable that the mother of the man, who happened to be the brother of my informant, is not really content. She refers to her Turkish daughter-in-law as a *ḡarībe* “stranger (f.sg.)”:

iyye ḡarībe kəḡ-ḡəbnēha. iyye ḡarībe. ənne āyri.⁷⁸

“we brought her as a stranger. She is a stranger. They are different.”

Contradictory statements such as these are indicators of people’s feelings in situations like that presented above. One wants to keep one’s own traditions and customs alive, but one feels the need to adjust to the society that one has moved to, either by one’s own will or by ‘force’ which is demonstrated in

⁷⁷ Cf. Turk. *yasak* “forbidden, prohibited”.

⁷⁸ Cf. Turk. *ayrı* “different, separate”.

laws and prohibitions of different customs such as Koran schools, the veil etc.

My last example of contact between Arabs and Turks is not tape-recorded. Once, while walking in Taksim Square in Istanbul with an informant, he revealed a deep-rooted feeling of being an outsider in Istanbul. He said:

“I am Turkish, yes, ethnically I am Arab, but nationally I am Turkish and I am proud of being that. I have done my military service like every other Turk and I wouldn’t hesitate to go to war now if that is required for my country. Despite this, do you know what could happen if a police officer were to stop us just now? First, they would let you go after showing your passport, while me they would ask many questions. They would notice immediately from my Turkish that I am from south-eastern Turkey. They would ask about my family, work, political opinion and so on. Often it is assumed, because I originate from a former PKK region, that I would be a PKK sympathiser and the rest you can imagine yourself.”

Another informant confirms this statement by saying:

*ortāmna*⁷⁹ *māww musāʿad. əl-lawm ənn k̄-l-k̄rdi mā tāq qāl anā k̄rdi, ənn kal-l-ʿarabi mā tāq qāl anā ʿarabi, mā-lak ھاqq r̄īš. ... əšš t̄-tsayy? mō t̄-tkalləm ʿarabi.*

“the situation in which we are living is not opportune. Now, if the Kurd dares not say I am Kurd (and) if the Arab dares not say I am Arab (this means that) you don’t have the right to live. ... What do you do? You don’t speak Arabic.”

⁷⁹ Cr. Turk. *ortam* “surroundings, milieu”.

2. Phonology

2.1. The consonant system

The Arabic dialect of Tillo has the following consonants:

	Labial	Labio-dental	Dental	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Laryngeal	Glottal
Plosive								
voiceless	<i>p</i>		<i>t ṭ</i>		<i>k</i>	<i>q</i>		<i>ʔ</i>
voiced	<i>b ḅ</i>		<i>d ḍ</i>		<i>g</i>			
Affricate								
voiceless				<i>č</i>				
voiced				<i>ǰ</i>				
Fricative								
voiceless		<i>f</i>	<i>ʃ s ʂ</i>	<i>š</i>	<i>x</i>		<i>ħ</i>	<i>h</i>
voiced		<i>v ɣ</i>	<i>ð ɗ z ʒ ʒ̣</i>		<i>ǧ</i>		<i>ʕ</i>	
Nasal	<i>m ṃ</i>		<i>n ɳ</i>					
Lateral			<i>l ḷ</i>					
Trill			<i>r ṛ</i>					
Semi-vowels	<i>w</i>			<i>y</i>				

2.1.1. Consonants

The voiced consonants in the Arabic dialect of Tillo shift, due to influence from Turkish phonology, to voiceless in final pausal position, e.g.: *aḥat* “someone”, cf. OA⁸⁰ *aḥadu*; non-pausal form, e.g.: *aḥad mō ysēr ēke* ... “no

⁸⁰ Concerning alleged words from the ancient dialect continuum called Old Arabic that is commonly regarded as the source of the modern colloquials, I decided not to explicitly mark case endings or the tanwīn in order to avoid presupposing more than necessary about OA. It should be noted that all forms supposed to have existed in OA are based on comparative evidence and thus principally not attested. I nevertheless avoid writing an asterisk, except for some few cases, before OA forms, since the ontological status of the word is in any case indicated by the designation “OA” (see Isaksson and Lahdo 2002, 313 and Isaksson 2003, 216). The main purpose of using the designation OA is to have a reference frame for comparison. The purpose is not, although it may seem so at times, to show any kind of diachronic parallel between OA and TA, or to assert that TA is a direct descendant from OA. If one

one becomes such ...”; *maḥ* “with”, cf. OA *maʕ*; non-pausal form, e.g.: *yagrāw maʕ baʕyān* “they talk with each other”; *šarap* “he drank”, cf. OA *šariba*; non-pausal form, e.g.: *šarb aš-žagāra* “the smoking of cigarettes”; *zawʕ* “husband”; non-pausal form *ayrōḥu l-zawğ w əl-mara əyğībūlu ġēğe* “the husband and the wife (go and) bring him a chicken”. By pausal position is meant a place where the speaker makes a pause in the speech. The pause does not necessarily have to be long, or come as a result of a completed sentence. This phonological phenomenon is, however, not fully spread in the dialect because one still finds attestations with final pausal voiced consonants, e.g.: *aqʕad* “I sit (down)”; *vahēb* “gold”. As expected, the initial phoneme in the succeeding word is of importance for the pronunciation of the last phoneme in a word, in particular when the speech is rapid.⁸¹ For instance, in non-pausal position and when succeeded by a voiceless consonant, a voiced consonant is devoiced anyhow, e.g.: *kā-yarfaḥ ḥəməl* “he used to carry or haul up weight”, cf. *rafaʕa*; *ta-qʕat taḥt ...* “I will sit under ...”, cf. *qaʕada*. Voiced consonants may shift to voiceless also in contact position before a voiceless consonant, i.e. partial regressive assimilation, e.g.: *balaḥt* “you (m.sg.) swallowed”; *tzawwāšt* “you (m.sg.) got married”. Partial regressive assimilation occurs also in other Arabic dialects, for instance in Syrian Arabic.⁸²

2.1.2. The voiced bilabial plosive /b/

The voiced bilabial plosive /b/ has the voiceless bilabial plosive /p/ as an allophone. /b/ is mainly realised as voiceless in final pausal position, e.g.: *ʕnəp* “grape(s)”, cf. OA *ʕinab*; *yəhrap* “he flees”, cf. OA *haraba*; *ğarīp* “stranger”, cf. OA *ğarīb*; *kīp* “book”, cf. OA *kitāb*. As mentioned above in 2.1, this phenomenon is not exclusively extended throughout the material. Examples where final /b/ is pronounced voiced are still attested, e.g.: *mağrəb* “sunset”; *laqab* “title, nickname”; *qarīb* “close, near”. Such an optional use may have several explanations. Two of them are the following: (1) The awareness of the speaker about the language, which means that the informant wants to speak ‘pure’ Arabic (in cases where the speaker is aware of KA). (2) This variation may be a sign of a process of transition. In Jastrow’s survey from 1978 one finds the verb forms *yarab* “to hit” and *šarob* “to drink” for Siirt. Today, 24 years later, we have the verb forms *yarap* and *šarəp* in TA (see 3.8.1.1).

leaves out all the comparisons with OA one can see this study as a synchronic description of TA.

⁸¹ Kornfilt 1997, 498.

⁸² Cowell 1964, 26.

Devoicing of /b/ appears also in contact position before voiceless phonemes, e.g.: *dəps* “syrup”, cf. OA *dibs*; *ħaps* “jail”, cf. OA *ħabs*; *harrəpt* “you (m.sg.) took away”. There are, moreover, forms such as *‘apt* “servant, slave”; cf. OA *‘abd* where devoicing has proceeded in two steps. First, the devoicing of /d/ to /t/ in final pausal position. Second, and as a result of a sort of a chain reaction, /b/ is devoiced to /p/ in contact position before /t/.

Another allophone of /b/ is the voiced velarized bilabial plosive /b̤/ which is attested in words where an original /b/ is velarized either because of a special consonant (emphatic consonant or a /x/, /ǧ/, /q/, /ħ/, /ʕ/) ⁸³ or a back vowel (*a*, *u*, *ā*, *ō*, *ū* or *ə*) in its environment, e.g.: *kəl-‘aħar* “he has passed, gone by”, cf. OA *‘abara*; *ħard* “coldness, chilliness”, cf. OA *bard*; *təħħēx* “August”; *ħatam* “terebinth”, cf. OA *buṭum*; *šəħħāt* “thief” (see 2.5). *b* is also velarized before the diphthong *aw*, t ex. *əy‘aħħaw* “they fill”.

2.1.3. The voiceless bilabial plosive /p/ as a separate phoneme

As a separate phoneme, /p/ is attested exclusively in loan-words, e.g. *pāša* “pasha, general”, cf. Turk. *paşa*; *tōp* “cannon, artillery piece”, cf. Turk. *top*; *pāṛāt* “money”, cf. Turk. *para*; *qāpi* “door, gate”, cf. Turk. *kapı*; *pəsmām* “cousin”, cf. Kur. *pismam*.

2.1.4. The voiceless dental plosive /t/

The OA voiceless dental plosive /t/ shifts, often to a voiced dental plosive /d/ in the future particle *ta-/tə-*, ⁸⁴ e.g.:

d-aqūm “I will stand up”

d-āǧi “I will come”

d-aħtīk “I will give you ...”

də-y‘alləm “he will teach”

də-yəǧi “he will come”

də-yənsi “he will forget”

The attestations where /t/ shifts to /d/ in the future particle are more frequent. Nevertheless, there are instances where /t/ is retained, e.g.:

t-aħət “I will put”

ta-nəbqa “we will stay”

tə-yəǧi “he will come”

tə-yǧənn “he will get mad”

⁸³ Jastrow 1978, 63.

⁸⁴ Jastrow 1978, 303.

ta-nsayy “we will do/make”

tə-tsayy “you (m.sg.) will do/make”

In a couple of examples, /t/ shifts to /d/ between vowels, e.g.: *mō dēq* “I cannot”; *hama danak ...* “just a tin plate ...”, cf. Turk. *teneke*. This change may be due to influence from Turkish phonology. Cf., for instance the Turkish verbs *et-*, *git-*, and *güt-* where in the aorist verb-stem the /t/ is followed by a vowel and then is voiced to /d/, e.g.: *eder*; *gider* and *güder* respectively.⁸⁵

The northern Kurdish dialect, Kurmanji, has the future particle *dê*, e.g.: *ez dê bikevim* “je tomberai”; *hon dê bikevin* “vous tomberez”.⁸⁶ This fact may imply that *də-* in TA is a borrowing due to influence through language contact. But after studying the whole material and listing up all contact linguistic features, i.e. borrowings, influence on phonology, influence on morphology etc., it is safe to assert that the shift of /t/ to /d/ in the future particle is a phonological change and not a morphological borrowing. In other Mesopotamian *qəltu*-dialects, for instance Mardin and *Āzəx*, the future particle is /t/ + a vowel, e.g.: *taʔākəl* “ich werde essen” and *taʔaşrab* “ich werde trinken”;⁸⁷ *tə-nəštəřilna ʔnʕēğ* “wir werden uns Schafe kaufen” and *ʔŞhāq Bāzo tihlak əzzēʕa* “ʔŞhāq Bāzo wird das Dorf ruinieren”.⁸⁸

Apart from the cases mentioned above, /t/ is retained in all positions, e.g.: *taraku* “they left (something or somebody)”; *šate* “winter”, cf. OA *šitā*; *waxt* “time, then, when”, cf. OA *waqt* and/or Kur. *wext*.

2.1.5. The voiceless velarized dental plosive /tʰ/

The voiceless velarized dental plosive /tʰ/ is pronounced unvelarized /t/ in contact position after /h/, so-called progressive assimilation, e.g.: *d-ahtik* “I will give you”; *təhtina* “you (m.sg.) give us”, cf. OA *ʔaʕtā*. Apart from that, /tʰ/ is stable in all positions, e.g.: *tabi* “of course”, cf. Turk. *tabii*⁸⁹; *aḫtal* “I get tired”; *faqaṭ* “just, but”, cf. Turk. *fakat*⁹⁰ “but, however”.

⁸⁵ Lewis 2000, 11.

⁸⁶ Bedir Khan, E. D. and Lescot, R. 1991, 163.

⁸⁷ Jastrow 1987, 302.

⁸⁸ Wittrich 2001, 153.

⁸⁹ Second borrowing, cf. OA *tabīʕī* “natural”. By second borrowing is meant, as it implies, a word that was borrowed first from Arabic to Turkish and secondly from Turkish back to the Arabic dialect of Tillo (Persian words of Arabic origin are considered Arabic ones). Often the second borrowings have, in Turkish, gained a different meaning than the original Arabic one.

⁹⁰ Second borrowing, cf. OA *faqaṭ* “just”.

2.1.6. The voiced dental plosive /d/

The voiced dental plosive /d/ is often pronounced as a voiceless dental plosive /t/ in final position, e.g.: *ḥarāt* “hail”, cf. OA *barad*; *walat* “to be born”, cf. OA *walada*; *baʿat* “after”, cf. OA *baʿda*. A lesser amount of examples with retained final /d/ are attested, e.g.: *wēḥad* “one”; *azyad* “more” alongside *wēḥat* and *azyat*. The rapidity of the speech plays a certain role in how phonemes are pronounced, especially in final position. In initial and medial positions /d/ is stable, e.g. *daps* “syrup”; *damak* “to say, having the meaning”, cf. Turk. *demek*; *darp* “way, road”, cf. OA *darb*; *adab* “good manners”.

/d/ is velarized to /ḍ/ in the vicinity of another velarized consonant (emphatic consonant or a /x/, /ğ/, /q/, /h/, /ʕ/) and/or in the vicinity of a back vowel, e.g.: *yəqşədu* “they mean”; *ənşaḍḍə*⁹¹ “we make friends”; *qaḍru* “his value”; *taḍrīs* “teaching”; *raḍḍaytu* ... “once again I ...”; *qaḍar* “fate”; *mō ḍōr* “I am not going around”; *ḥdaḥš* “eleven”; *ḍurumu*⁹² “state, condition” (see 2.5).

2.1.7. The voiced velarized dental plosive /ḍ/

/ḍ/ to /y/

The reflex of the OA voiced dental velarized plosive /ḍ/ is the voiced velarized labio-dental fricative /y/, e.g.: *ayrās* “teeth”, cf. OA *aḍrās*; *kə-xyarrat* “become green”, cf. OA *ixḍarrat*; *əyḥayrūn* “they prepare”, cf. OA *yuhaddirūna*.

/ḍ/ to /z/

In second borrowings, /ḍ/ occurs as the voiced velarized dental sibilant /z/, e.g.: *fazla* “abundance”, cf. OA *faḍla*, cf. also Turk. *fazla*; *ramazān* “Ramadan”, cf. OA *ramadān*, cf. also Turk. *ramzan*; *aḷla yərza ʕalayk* “may God be content with you”, cf. OA *raḍiya*, cf. also *razı olmak* “to agree on something”. In borrowings from KA, /ḍ/ is retained, e.g.: *raḍiya* “to be satisfied, be content”, cf. OA *raḍiya*; *ḥəḍūr* “presence, attendance”, cf. OA *ḥuḍūr*.

/ḍ/ may also be the result of a velarized /d/ as a result of *tafxīm* (see 2.1.6).

Nevertheless instances where /ḍ/ is still used are found, e.g.: *mō yḍərr* “it does not matter”.

⁹¹ The verb is in II where the meaning is in III, “to make a friend”.

⁹² Cf. Turk. *durum* “state, condition, situation”.

2.1.8. The voiceless velar plosive /k/

The voiceless velar plosive /k/ is in general retained, e.g.: *kān* “he was”; *dakākīn* “shops”; *awnak* “there”. In contact position before the voiced bilabial plosive /b/, /k/ is subject to a regressive partial assimilation and pronounced as a voiced velar plosive /g/, e.g.: *gbīr* “big, large”, cf. *kabīr*. In some loan-words from Turkish and in the vicinity of back vowels, /k/ is shifted to:

- 1- A voiceless velar fricative /x/, e.g.: *yaprax* “a dish made of leaves stuffed with rice and meat”, cf. Turk. *yaprak*.
- 2- A voiced velar fricative /ğ/, e.g.: *qačāğ* “smuggled”, cf. Turk. *kaçak*.

One has to keep in mind that a /k/ in standard Turkish is pronounced /q/ in the Turkish dialects in the region of south-eastern Turkey and the shift to /x/ and /ğ/ may, hence be from /q/.

2.1.9. The voiced velar plosive /g/

Apart from being the result of regressive partial assimilation (/k/ to /g/, see 2.1.8), the voiced velar plosive /g/ is, exclusively, attested in loan-words, e.g.: *‘ala gorāt əl-mīt alf dōlar* “according to the 100,000 dollars”, cf. Turk. *göre*; *zanağīn* “rich (pl.)”, cf. Turk. *zengin*.

2.1.10. The voiceless uvular plosive /q/

OA /q/ has the following reflexes in TA: /ʔ/, /x/, /ğ/ and /q/:

/q/ to /ʔ/

A reflex of the OA voiceless uvular plosive /q/ is the voiceless glottal plosive /ʔ/ that, occurs more or less in all forms of the OA verb *qāla* “he said”, e.g.: *ʔəl* “he said”; *əʔūl* “he says”; *əʔūl* “she says”.⁹³ But it seems that the male speakers of this dialect alternate, due to external influence, in use between /q/ and /ʔ/ in this verb, e.g.: *qāl anā kərđi* “he said: I am Kurdish”. Three of the informants revealed that the men’s dialect has been exposed to changes due to their contact with different people. They now change optionally between *aʔūl* and *aqūl* “I say” while the women, whom we were not

⁹³ The shift of /q/ to /ʔ/ is a common feature in many of the Syro-Palestinian dialects; cf. Behnstedt 1997, map 9.

allowed to interview, always say *aʔūl* and hence preserve the autochthonous variation. Almost two years after this interview and when studying material from female informants, the assertion from the three men above proved to be totally correct. In women’s speech the reflex of OA /q/ is /ʔ/ consistently, i.e. not only in connection with the verb *qāla*, e.g.: *ṭabaʔa* “layer”; *qal-ʔat* “that much”; *ləʔme* “a mouthful, little piece”; *əyʔūmu* “they stand up”; *də-ntiʔ* “we will be able to”; *farʔ* “difference”; *rəʔaʃ* “he danced”; *yaʔyaʔ* “small, narrow”. A dialogue taken from a session in which the male informant M (33-year-old) was interviewing his mother H (55-year-old) and his sister S (37-year-old) (see 1.3) shows that both H and S answer M’s question with /q/ pronounced as /ʔ/ independent of M’s pronunciation:

M- *fī haqq əŞtānbūl fī haqq Təllo əşş ʔūli?*

“What do you say concerning Istanbul, concerning Tillo?”

S- *fī haʔ əŞtānbūl, fī haʔ Təllo əşş aʔūl?*

“What do I say concerning Istanbul, concerning Tillo?”

M- *əs-saḥ yaqraw?*

“Are they studying now?”

H- *əs-saḥ yaʔraw. nəḥne mää rəḥna mää ʔarayna. mō nəʔraf nəʔri w nəktep.*

“They are studying now. We did not go (to school) and did not study. We do not know how to read or write”.

In Turkish loan-words, normally women pronounce an original Turkish /k/ as a voiceless, uvular plosive /q/ in the vicinity of back vowels (see 2.1.8), e.g.: *luqūm* “Turkish delight”, cf. Turk. *lukum*; *fabriqa* “factory”, cf. Turk. *fabrika*; *Aqsaray* “a district in Istanbul”, cf. Turk. *Aksaray*; *banqa* “bank”, cf. Turk. *banka*; *bardaḡ* “glass, cup”, cf. Turk. *bardak*; *doqsān* “ninety”, cf. Turk. *doksan*; *qaraqōl* “police station”, cf. Turk. *karakol*.

The alternation between /k/ and /q/ (in Turkish borrowings) and /q/ and /ʔ/ creates problems for the women, and the result may be that they often cannot separate the loan-words from original Arabic words, which in turn sometimes results in a shift of Turkish /k/ to /ʔ/, e.g.: *bāšʔa* “different”, cf. Turk. *başka*; *ʔīma* “minced meat”, cf. Turk. *kıyma*, pronounced *qīma* by male informants.

/q/ to /x/

/q/ has shifted, in a few examples, to a voiceless velar fricative */x/* in final position, e.g.: *yšaddax* “he believes”, cf. OA *šaddaqa*. Also in contact position before a voiceless phoneme, */q/* shifts to */x/*, e.g.: *waxt*,⁹⁴ “time; then, at that time”, cf. OA *waqt*; *yəxtəl* “he kills”; *yəxtəlu* “they kill”.

/q/ to */ğ/*

In a few attestations */q/* shifts to */ğ/* in contact position before the voiced bilabial plosive */b/*, i.e. contact assimilation, e.g.: *yəğbəlu* “he accepts him”; *yəğbal* “he accepts”, cf. OA *qabila*. Also here a confusing change is occurring, because I think the change of */q/* to */ğ/* is caused by the fact that */q/*, in some instances, shifts to */x/*, as mentioned above, while */x/* in turn shifts, in contact position before the voiced */b/*, to voiced */ğ/*, cf. *ğbays* “bread” (see 2.1.17).

The material contains instances where */q/* is retained in men’s speech, e.g.: *qām* “he stood up”; *saqawu* “they gave to drink”; *fəṣṭaq* “pistachio”.

2.1.11. The voiceless glottal plosive */ʔ/*

In initial position and when followed by a back vowel */a/* or */u/*, the voiceless glottal plosive */ʔ/* has shifted, sometimes, to a voiced laryngeal fricative */ʕ/*, e.g.: *ʕaṣal*⁹⁵ “origin”, cf. OA *ʔaṣl*; *ʕaqārəb* “relatives”, cf. OA *ʔaqāribu*. In medial position */ʔ/* has been elided, as in other Arabic dialects, and as a result the preceding short vowel is lengthened, e.g.: *bīr* “well”, cf. OA *bīr*; *vīb* “jackal, wolf”, cf. OA *dīʔb*. In loan-words from KA, on the other hand, */ʔ/* is attested in medial and final position, e.g.: *masʔale* (note that the Turkish word, *mesele*, is also attested) “matter, issue”, cf. OA *masʔala*; *taʔxīr* “delay”, cf. OA *taʔxīr*; *fuṣʔatan* “suddenly”, cf. OA *faṣʔa*; *qaḏāʔ* “district, province”, cf. OA *qaḏāʔ*; *raʔīsu l-ʕulamāʔ* “chief of the scientists”; *wuḏūʔ* “ritual ablution before prayer”, cf. OA *wuḏūʔ*. There is only one attestation where */ʔ/* has shifted to */ʕ/* in medial position, namely in *qurʕān* “Koran”.

2.1.12. The voiceless palato-alveolar affricate */č/*

As a separate phoneme the voiceless palatal-alveolar affricate */č/* is attested only in loan-words, e.g.: *baxča* “garden”, cf. Turk. *bahçe* and Kur. *baxçe*;

⁹⁴ This pronunciation may be influenced by Kur. *wext* “time” which is a borrowing from Arabic.

⁹⁵ *ʕaṣal* occurs alongside *aṣal*. In Kur. this word is pronounced with */ʕ/*, *ʕesil* “origin” (see Chyhet 2003, 179).

čāx “when, at the time when”, cf. Kur. çax “then, at that time”, cf. also Turk. çagğ “time, age, period”; əččarrək “became worse”, cf. Turk. çürük; čōbān “shepherd”, cf. Turk. çoban.

2.1.13. The voiced palato-alveolar affricate /ǰ/

The voiced palato-alveolar affricate /ǰ/ is devoiced to a voiceless palato-alveolar affricate /č/ in final pausal position, e.g.: *tzawwač!* “you (m.sg.) get married!”, *šahrīč* “cistern, tank”, cf. OA *šahrīǰ/šihriǰ*; *ħačč* “pilgrimage”, cf. OA *ħaǰǰ*. Non-pausal, e.g.: *falǰ* “snow”; *zawǰ* “husband”. In contact position before a voiceless phoneme, /ǰ/ is devoiced to a voiceless palato-alveolar sibilant /š/, e.g.: *zawški* “your (f.sg.) husband”; *tzawwəštu* “I got married”. In one word /ǰ/ shifts to /š/ in final position, namely *falš* “snow”, cf. OA *talǰ*.

In a few examples, /ǰ/ shifts to the voiced palato-alveolar sibilant /ž/ in contact position before a voiced consonant, e.g.: *mažbūriyye* “necessity”, cf. OA *maǰbūr*; *təžmēd* “it (f.sg.) becomes frozen”, cf. OA *ǰamada*; *aždēdna* “our forefathers”, cf. OA *aǰdād*; *žnayne* “garden” *kā-zawwəžna* “we had got married”. Although the shift of /ǰ/ to /ž/ is a common phonological feature in the Syro-Palestinian dialect group, it is far-fetched to assert that these few examples are affected by that. It is rather more convenient to see this feature as an impact from Kurdish, where the phoneme /ž/ is more common than /ǰ/.

Apart from that, /ǰ/ is retained, e.g.: *ǰiha* “side, direction”, cf. OA *ǰiha*; *ərǰəl* “men”, cf. OA *riǰāl*.

2.1.14. The voiceless labio-dental fricative /f/

The OA voiceless labio-dental fricative /f/ is retained, e.g.: *faṛas* “horse”, cf. OA *faras*; *rafaʿən* “he lifted, raised them”; *ʿaraf* “he knew”.

2.1.15. The voiced velarized labio-dental /v/

As a separate phoneme, i.e. when not resulting from the shift of /d/ to /v/ (see 2.1.16), the voiced velarized labio-dental /v/ is attested only in loan-words, e.g.: *vergi* “taxes”, cf. Turk. *vergi*; *naviyyət* (const.) “grand-child”, cf. Kur.

navî; *av* “he”, cf. Kur. *ew*; *savar* “burgul, boiled wheat”, cf. Kur. *sawar* and *savar*.

2.1.16. The OA interdentalals /t/, /d/, /d̪/

The OA voiceless interdental fricative /t/ has two reflexes in this dialect:

- 1- /t/ has shifted to a voiceless labio-dental fricative /f/, e.g.: *falğ* (also *falš* is attested) “snow”, cf. OA *talğ*; *fēni* “second”, cf. OA *tāni*; *āfār* “place”, cf. OA *ātār*; *fēfīn* “thirty”, cf. OA *talātūna*; *akfar* “more”, cf. OA *aktar*.
- 2- /t/ is substituted by a voiceless dental sibilant /s/ in loan-words from KA, e.g.: *kasīr* “much”, cf. OA *katīr*.⁹⁶ Nevertheless, this second reflex is puzzling because one word is pronounced in two different ways by two different informants, e.g.: *smən* .., and *fmēne* “8”. In an interview with a mullah the word *salās*⁹⁷ occurs four times.

The OA voiced interdental fricative /d/ has a reflex /v/, e.g.: *āvār* “Mars”, cf. OA *ādār*; *vīb* “jackal, wolf”, cf. OA *dīb*; *vahēb* “gold”, cf. OA *dahab*; *kəvb* “lie”, cf. OA *kaḏib*. In final position and in contact position before /t/, /d/ shifts to voiceless labio-dental fricative /f/, e.g.: *ağef* “he took” cf. OA *ax-ada*, *ağaft* “you (m.sg.) took”. In second borrowings where /d/ shifts to a voiced dental sibilant /z/ we find *əzan* “permission”, cf. Turk. *izin* and cf. also OA *idn*.

The OA voiced velarized interdental fricative /d̪/ has a voiced velarized labio-dental fricative /ɣ/ as a reflex, e.g.: *ɣəhər* “noon, midday”, cf. OA *ḏuhr*; *ɣahri* “my back”, cf. OA *ḏahr*. In second borrowings where /d̪/ shifts to voiced velarized dental sibilant /z/ we find *kel-zalamt* “you treated unjustly, oppressed”, cf. Turk. *zulmetmek*, cf. also OA *ḏalama*. In loan-words from KA, /d̪/ is retained, e.g.: *ḏāləm* “oppressor”, cf. OA *ḏālim*. Note that both /d/ and /d̪/ coincide in /ɣ/ (see 2.1.7).

2.1.17. The voiceless velar fricative /x/

The voiceless velar fricative /x/ is subject to regressive assimilation in contact position before the voiced phoneme /b/. /x/ shifts then to a voiced velar

⁹⁶ Normally the term used for “much” is *hōš*, cf. Kur. *boş* “plentiful, abundant”.

⁹⁷ Cf. *sāse* “three” and *sēsīn* “thirty” in Wittrich 2001, 117 and 119.

fricative /ǧ/, e.g.: *ǧbays* “bread”, cf. OA *xubz*; *yəstaǧbəru* “he asks him”, cf. OA *istaxbara*. Also between two vowels /x/ shifts, sometimes, to /ǧ/, e.g.: *da-ǧabbiyu* “I will hide it”, cf. OA *xabbaʿa*; *aǧaftu* “I took”, cf. OA *axaǧtu*. In all other cases /x/ is retained, e.g.: *xāṭər* “sake”; *yədxal* “he goes in”; *šayx* “sheik”.

2.1.18. The voiced velar fricative /ǧ/

The voiced velar fricative /ǧ/ shifts, in contact position before a voiceless consonant and also in a final pausal position, to voiceless velar fricative /x/, e.g.: *nəxsəlu* “we wash it (m.sg.)”, cf. *ǧasala*; *säyeyx* “goldsmith”, cf. *šāʾiǧ*. Apart from that, /ǧ/ is retained, e.g.: *ǧarīp* “stranger”; *ǧnēni* “songs”; *zǧayyar* “little, small”; *šəǧəl* “work”.

In Turkish borrowings, the Turkish *yumuşak*, or soft, /ǧ/ is pronounced as /ǧ/ in this dialect, e.g.: *yāǧ* “oil, fat”, cf. Turk. *yağ*; *šāǧ* “safe, alive”, cf. Turk. *sağ*; *čāǧ*⁹⁸ “time, period”, cf. Turk. *çağ*; *yōǧərt* “yoghurt”, cf. Turk. *yoğurt*. This may also be the ordinary pronunciation of /ǧ/ in Turkish dialects in this area.

2.1.19. The voiceless laryngeal fricative /ħ/

The voiceless laryngeal fricative /ħ/ is elided in final pausal position in the verb *rāħ* “to go”, e.g.: *əyrō* “he goes”; *arō* “I go”; *rā* “he went”, but *yrōħu* “they go”. In non-pausal position /ħ/ is pronounced, e.g.: *fataħ* “he opened”. A part from this /ħ/ is retained, e.g.: *d-aħkīk* “I will tell you”, cf. OA *ħakā*; *ħakkōye* “tale, story”, cf. OA *ħikāya*; *ħmār* “donkey”, cf. OA *ħimār*; *əyšīħ* “he shouts”.

In the speech of a 12-year-old girl, now living in Istanbul, OA /ħ/ shifts, in one instance, to a voiceless glottal fricative /h/, e.g.: *malīha* “good, fine (f.sg.)”, cf. TA *malīħa*. This observation may be an indicator showing the direction of the development. Because in general, Arabic /ħ/ is pronounced /h/ in Arabic borrowings in Turkish, e.g.: *merhaba* “hello”, cf. OA *marħaban*; *muhabbet* “friendship”, cf. OA *maħabba* and in TA Turkish /ħ/ is normally pronounced /ħ/, e.g.: *išlatma muħāsabasi* “administrative accountant”.

⁹⁸ *šāx* also occur.

2.1.20. The voiced laryngeal fricative /ʕ/

The voiced laryngeal fricative /ʕ/ shifts to a voiceless laryngeal fricative /ħ/ in word-final position, e.g.: *mawqəħ* “place, spot”, cf. OA *mawqiʕ*; *ğāməħ* “mosque”, cf. OA *ğāmiʕ*; *maħ* “with”, cf. OA *maʕ*; *əs-saħ* “now”, cf. OA *as-sāʕa*; *arbaħ* “four”; *taħlaħ* “he looked, noticed”, cf. OA *taħlaʕa*; *rağaħ* “he came back”, cf. OA *rağaʕa*. /ʕ/ also shifts to /ħ/ in contact position before a voiceless phoneme, e.g.: *sāħtayn* “two hours”; *xaməsthš* “15”; *ħtawni* “give me!”, cf. OA *aʕta*; *balaħt* “you (m.sg.) swallowed”, cf. OA *balaʕa*. In some instances /ʕ/ is elided in final position, e.g.: *aħalla* “I look”. *aħallaħ* is also attested. Apart from that, /ʕ/ is retained, e.g.: *ʕənəp* “grape(s)”; *yəʕbar* “he passes”; *arbaʕ mīt sane* “400 years”.

2.1.21. The voiceless glottal fricative /h/

The OA voiceless glottal fricative /h/ is elided in initial position in all forms of the demonstrative pronouns and demonstrative adverbs, e.g.: *āḱ* “that (3.m.sg.)”, cf. MA *hāk*; *āāva* “this”, cf. OA *hāda*; *awn* “here”, cf. MA *hawn*; *ēke* “in this way”. /h/ is, further elided in the independent personal pronouns of the 3rd persons, e.g.: *uwwe* “he”; *iyye* “she” and *əanne* “they”. *huwwe* and *hēke* are also, though rarely, attested. In all other cases, the OA /h/ is retained, e.g.: *ləhu* “for, to him”; *rəhwān* “ambler (about a horse)”, cf. OA *rahwān*; *mašhūr* “famous, well known”, cf. OA *mašhūr*. Also in borrowings /h/ is audible in initial position, e.g.: *hōnək* “cool, cooler”, cf. Kur. *honik/hênik*; *yāhu* “see here, look here”, cf. Turk. *yahu*.

2.1.22. The voiceless dental sibilant /s/

The voiceless dental sibilant /s/ is often velarized in the vicinity of an emphatic consonant or a /x/, /ğ/, /q/, /ħ/, /ʕ/ and/or a back vowel, e.g.: *xəşar* “he lost”, cf. OA *xasira*; *faras* “horse” cf. OA *faras* (see 2.5). Apart from this, /s/ is retained, e.g.: *sərr* “secret”, cf. OA *sirr*; *xamse* “five”; *kən-nəsūt* “you (m.sg.) have forgotten”; *ħawīs* “clothes”, cf. MA *ħawīs*.

2.1.23. The voiceless velarized dental sibilant /š/

The OA voiceless velarized dental sibilant /š/ is in general retained, e.g.: *šār* “it (m.sg.) happened”; *šawta* “her voice”; *šāhi* “cloudlessness, brightness (of weather)”, cf. OA *šaħw*; *šawp* “direction”, cf. OA *šawb*. An exemption from

this rule is that /s/ sometimes loses its velarization in the vicinity of the front vowels, e.g.: *əysīr* and *ysēr* “it happens, becomes”; *tsīr* “she becomes”.

2.1.24. The voiced dental sibilant /z/

The OA voiced dental sibilant /z/ is in general retained, e.g.: *zyāra* “visit to a shrine or a sanctuary”, cf. OA *ziyāra*, cf. also Turk. *ziyaret*; *tzawwač!* “get married! (m.sg.)”, cf. OA *tazawwağ*; *azraq* “blue”. /z/ is, in final pausal position, devoiced to /s/, e.g.: *laws* “almond”, cf. OA *lawz*; *ğaws* “walnuts”, cf. *ğawz*; *ağas* “I get bored”, cf. OA *‘ağaza*. Non-pausal position, e.g.: *narkaz* “we settle down, sit down”; *markəz* “centre, middle”.

2.1.25. The voiced velarized dental sibilant /ẓ/

The voiced velarized dental sibilant /ẓ/ is attested in borrowings, e.g.: *kel-załamıt* “you treated unjustly, oppressed”, cf. Turk. *zulmetmek*, cf. also KA *ḍalama*; *zātan* “in any case”, cf. Turk. *zaten*; *pāzār* “market”, cf. Turk. *pazar*; *zalaṃe* “man”, cf. Kur. *zalam*. *zalame* is also used in modern Arabic dialects in Syria and Lebanon.⁹⁹

2.1.26. The voiceless palato-alveolar sibilant /š/

The OA voiceless palato-alveolar sibilant /š/ is retained, e.g.: *šəğəl* “work”; *šaxs* “person”, cf. OA *šaxš*; *nəšrap* “we drink”; *faf təššōr* “three months”; *‘ašaš* “thirst”; *xaməstaḥš* “15”.

3.1.27. The voiced dental lateral //

The OA voiced dental lateral // is in general retained, e.g.: *ləbe* “a game, play”; *dalīl* “indication, sign”; *šəğlu* “his work”; *ərgəl* “men”, cf. OA *riğāl*. // is, however, velarized to //̣ in the word *ałla* “God”, e.g.: *wałla* “by God”; *ałlāhu ałlam* “God knows”; *ałla !la!* “(interjection) Oh really!”.

2.1.28. The voiced velarized dental trill /ṛ/

The OA voiced dental trill /r/ is in general retained, e.g.: *rəğā* “demand”; *xaysīr* “let it (m.sg.) be (so)”; *xēr* “may it be good”; *kəriř* “godfather”, cf. Kur. *kirîv*.

⁹⁹ Barthelémy 1935, 318.

/r/ is sometimes velarized, due to back vowels and/or due to the phenomenon of *tafxīm* (see 2.5), e.g.: *ṛəḥḥmān* “pomegranate”; *ṛamād* “ashes”, cf. OA *ramād*.

2.1.29. The voiced velarized bilabial nasal /m/

The OA voiced bilabial nasal /m/ is in general retained, e.g.: *maktūp*¹⁰⁰ “written, letter”; *xaməstahš* “15”; *damak* “to say, assume”, cf. Turk. *demek*; *yawm* “day”.

/m/ is sometimes velarized when in contact with the back vowel /a/, e.g.: *ḥayy* “water”; *ṭamām* “true, correct”, cf. Turk. *tamam*; *ġamḥay* ‘aynu “he closed his eye” (see 2.5).

2.1.30. The voiced velarized dental nasal /n/

The voiced dental nasal /n/ is retained, e.g.: *nār* “fire”; *nəḥne* “we”; *əsnīn* “years”; *mən* “from”; *əban* “son”.

2.2. Semi-vowels

2.2.1. The voiced labio-velar /w/

OA /w/ is in general retained, e.g.: *anwē* “sorts”; *mwāfqa* “suitable” *Səwēd* “Sweden”; *əkwayyəs* “good, fine (m.sg.)”. /w/ is attested also in borrowings, e.g.: *čəwēri* (pl. of *čēriyye*) “headscarf”. /w/ in the conjunction *wa* “and” is often pronounced /u/ before labiodentals and bilabials, e.g.: *fī bīr u fī šahrīč* “there is a well and there is a cistern”; *əflān kass u flān kass* “there is this one and that one”; *baynak u bayn aḷla* “between you and God”; *u bəl-layl* “and in the night”; *fəlfəl u məlh* “pepper and salt”; *rağal u mara* “a man and a woman”.

In a few cases OA /w/ is pronounced /v/, e.g.: *vēḥat/vēḥəd* “one”; *vālədna* “our father”. This may be because of the lack of the phoneme /w/ in Turkish.

¹⁰⁰ Second borrowing. Cf. Turk. *mektup* “letter”.

2.2.2. The voiced palatal /y/

OA /y/ is in general retained, e.g.: *yawm* “day”; *ab̄yay* “white”, cf. OA *abyaḏ*; *miyye* “100”; *yəṭlaʕu* “they go out”; *yəḡaw* “they come”; *əyzōruwa* “they visit it (f.sg.)”; *əysīr* “it (m.sg.) happens”. Also in borrowings /y/ is retained, e.g.: *milyōn* “million”, cf. Turk. *milyon*.

2.3. Metathesis

Metathesis is attested in a few words. In some of these words one can easily suppose that it may be a one-time occurrence, e.g.: *ʔāʕila* “family” and *ʔāʕiləti* “my family”, cf. OA *ʕāʕila*. *ʕāyla* is also attested. Other examples: *ḡrayyəf* “a small loaf of bread”, cf. OA *raḡif*; *yətmənəḥ* “to cease, stop”, cf. OA *im-tanaʕa*; *nēmye* “she is asleep”, cf. OA *nāʕima*.

2.4. Vowels

2.4.1. The vowel system

The vowel system of TA makes use of the following vowels:

Long vowels		Short vowels			Diphthongs	
<i>ī</i>	<i>ū</i>	<i>i</i>		<i>u</i>		
<i>ē</i>	<i>ō</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>ə</i>	<i>o</i>		
	<i>ā</i>		<i>a</i>		<i>ay</i>	<i>aw</i>

2.4.2. Short vowels

2.4.2.1. The OA short front unrounded /i/ and the short back rounded /u/

The OA short front unrounded /i/ and the short back rounded /u/ have in general, as in the majority of the Anatolian *qəltu*-dialects, merged into /ə/, e.g.: *wēḥad* “one”, cf. OA *wāḥid*; *mən* “from”, cf. OA *min*; *təšrīn* “October/November”, cf. *tīšrīn*; *šəḡlu* “his work”, cf. OA *šuḡl*; *təffāḥ* “apple (pl.)”, cf. OA *tuffāḥ*; *kəll* “all, every”, cf. OA *kull*; *šərap* “drink, drinking”, cf. OA *šurb*.

/i/ shifts, nevertheless, in some examples to /a/, e.g.: *wēḥat* “one (m.sg.)” that is used alongside *wēḥət*; *tāḡar* “tradesman”.

In borrowings both /i/ and /u/ are attested, e.g.: *pilāf* “rice”, cf. Turk. *pilav*; *čičak* “flower”, cf. Turk. *çiçek*; *čunku* “because”, cf. Turk. *çünkü*; *guwanmīš* “trust, confidence”, cf. Turk. *güvenç* and/or *güvenmek* “to trust, rely on”.

2.4.2.2. The front unrounded /e/

The front unrounded /e/, as an independent phoneme, indicates one form of the feminine ending (see 2.4.2.3 and 2.4.10),¹⁰¹ e.g. *ḡarībe* “stranger”, cf. OA *ḡarība*; *sane* “year”, cf. OA *sana*; *mənāsabe* “occasion”, cf. OA *munāsaba*. /e/ as a feminine ending is realized short in TA.

2.4.2.3. The short front-to-back unrounded /a/

The short front-to-back unrounded /a/ has three allophones:

- 1- /a/, e.g.: *wazīr* “minister”; *faqīr* “poor”; *malīḥa* “good, nice (f.sg.)”; *askar* “soldiers”; *yahər* “back”; *santayn* “two years”; *xamse* “five”; *badala* “instead of her”; *dalīl* “indication, sign”, cf. OA *dalīl*; *asal* “honey”; *šahrīč* “cistern”, cf. OA *šahrīč*.
- 2- /äl/, e.g.: *māčək* “with you (m.sg.)”; *štäḡal* “he worked”; *ḡafä* “tough, hard”; *məšmäš* “apricot”.

¹⁰¹ In this aspect one may also consider *e* as a morpheme.

- 3- /a/, e.g.: *awnak* “there”; *awnē* “here”; *qʷul* “I say”; *naʿāza llāh!* “God forbid”, cf. OA *maʿāda llāh*; *ayri*¹⁰² “different”.

/a/ shifts to either /ə/, /e/ or /ē/ (see 2.6) in the final syllable of a word in a pausal position, e.g.: *kānət* “she was”, also *kānat* is attested; *arkəp* “I ride”; *markəz* “centre”; *zəyayər* (dim.) “little”; *nəstağbər* “we ask”; *awwəl* “first”; *asfəl* “down”; *gə-zdādet* “it (f.sg.) has increased”; *apʿēt* “more distant”, cf. OA *abʿad*; *maktēp* “school”; *fateh* “he opened”; *ağef* “he took”. Examples where /a/ is retained in the last syllable of a word in non-pausal position are also attested, e.g.: *ğanam* “sheep”; *ğabal* “mountain”; *aħat* “someone”.

Additionally, in the possessive pronouns, 3.c.pl. and 2.c.pl., /a/ and /ə/ alternate, unconditionally, e.g.: *gariyən* “their speech” and *bīrətan* “their beer”; *baytkən* “your house” and *aşəlkan* “your origin”. The pronunciation ʿaşal occurs also (see 2.1.11). /a/ and /ə/ alternate also in the suffix of the 2.c.pl. perfect, e.g.: *baqaytan* “you remained”; *rəħtan* “you went”; *şərəptan* “you drank”; *sawaytən* “you did”; *ğitən* “you came”; *tələħtən* “you took out”.

2.4.3. Vowels in borrowings

Vowels that are used in borrowings in this dialect:

- a. /o/, e.g.: *doş* “friend, comrade”, cf. Turk. *dost*; *qornīşāt* “cornice, curtain rod”, cf. Turk. *korniş*; *mañtowāt* “woman’s coats”, cf. Turk. *manto*.
- b. /öl/, e.g.: *ona göre* “according to that”, cf. Turk. *ona göre*; *özal* “special, private”, cf. Turk. *özel*; *dört* “four”, cf. Turk. *dört*.
- c. /ül/, e.g.: *çünki* “because”, cf. Turk. *çünkü*; *şüför* “driver”, cf. Turk. *şoför*.

2.4.4. Epenthesis

Compared to OA an epenthetic or helping vowel, /ə/, in certain cases, appears within consonant clusters. Its occurrence does not affect meaning: it is used only as an aid to pronunciation. This feature is known as epenthesis or anaptyxis:

¹⁰² Cf. Turk. *ayrı* with the same meaning.

- a. Between two closing consonants in word final, e.g.: *baʿat* “after”, cf. OA *baʿda*; *qabəl* “before”, cf. OA *qabla*; *šahər* “month”, cf. OA *šahr*; *taʿəm* “taste”, cf. OA *taʿm*; *fəkər* “idea”, cf. OA *fikr*; *akəl* “food”, cf. OA *akl*; *šəğəl* “work”, cf. OA *šuğl*; *ʿəmər* “age”, cf. OA *ʿumr*.
- b. Before a word starting in a two-consonant cluster (prosthesis), e.g.: *əfmənye* “eight”, cf. OA *tamāniya*; *ənsayy akəl* “we cook (food)”; *abyūt* “houses”, cf. OA *buyūt*; *əsnīn* “years”, cf. OA *sinūn*.
- c. Between word boundaries, a three- or a four-consonant cluster is encountered as follows: when a word ends with a single consonant or a two-consonant cluster and is followed by a word beginning with a two-consonant cluster. In such a case, the helping vowel /ə/ is inserted between the boundaries, e.g.: *əl-balad əgbīr* “the city is huge”; *aššam əthəpp* “however you (m.sg.) like”; *nənlā¹⁰³ imkēn ənsayy fəntayn balazəkəyatayn¹⁰⁴* “we can afford two bracelets”; *ʿašr əsnīn* “10 years”; *yəbʿafu šōrat əl-bənt əmšān əbən* “they sent the girl’s photo to the young man (lit. son)”; *kā-ʾūl əšš ətrīt* “she used to say whatever she wanted”; *qāk əl-bənt ətləbīli iyye!* “ask (f.sg.) for that girl’s hand for me!”.
- d. Amid a two-consonant cluster in foreign words, e.g.: *səpor* “sport(s)”; *tərafīk* “traffic”; *kaʿək* “cake”.

2.4.5. Long vowels

2.4.5.1. The long front unrounded /i/

The long front unrounded /i/, if not effected by lowering (see 2.4.11), is retained in the Arabic dialect of Tillo, e.g.: *tīn* “figs”; *ṭawīl* “long (m.sg.)”, cf. OA *ṭawīl*; *rabīʿ* “spring”; *əfrīk* “almonds”; *šahrīč* “cistern”, cf. OA *šahrīğ*.

2.4.5.2. The long front unrounded /ē/

The long front unrounded /ē/ is attested as the result of:

¹⁰³ *əlna* “we have”.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. Turk. *bilezik* “bracelet”.

- a. *imāla*, so-called *umlauts imāla* (see 2.4.9), e.g.: *ġēməḥ* “mosque”, cf. OA *ġāmi*^c; *rəkəp* “riding”, cf. OA *rākib*; *nīšēn* “bridal attire”.
- b. Monophthongisation of the diphthong /ay/, e.g.: *šēx* “sheik”, cf. OA *šayx*; *xēr* “good, goodness”, cf. OA *xayr*; *ġēr* “other than, another”, cf. OA *ġayr*; *kēfi* “mood, humour”, cf. OA *kayf*.
- c. An unconditioned shift of an /a/ in a last syllable in final pausal position (see 2.6), e.g.: *vahēb* “gold”, cf. OA *ḍahab*; *ġanēm* “sheep (in coll.)”, cf. OA *ġanam*; *ġabēl* “mountain”, cf. OA *ġabal*; *aḥēt* “someone”, cf. OA *aḥad*; *‘amēl* “work”, cf. OA *‘amal*.
- d. An unconditioned shift of the plural suffix *-āt* to *-ēt*, so-called spontaneous *imāla*, (see 2.4.9) e.g.: *ḥaywēnēt* “animals”; *əmkānēt* “possibilities”; *banēt* “girls”; *akalēt* “food dishes”. Also in borrowings when the *-āt* suffix is implicated, e.g.: *xwārzētū* “his nephews”, cf. Kur. *xwarzê*; *parpārōkēt* “moth”, cf. Kur. *perperok*; *časnēt* “varieties”, cf. Turk. *çeşni*. Examples with *-āt* are also attested, e.g.: *ḥakkoyāt* “tales, stories”; *‘arabāt* “cars”; *sōpāt* “stove, hothouse”, Turk. *soba*. /ā/ shifts to /ē/, also unconditioned in the last syllable of a word, so-called spontaneous *imāla*, e.g.: *zamēn* “time”, cf. OA *zamān*; *aḡēn*¹⁰⁵ “call to prayers”, cf. *aḡān*; *anwē*^c “varieties”, cf. OA *anwā*^c; *dakkēn* “shop”, cf. OA *dukkān*; *awlēt* “children”, cf. OA *awlād*; *kalēm* “talking, words”, cf. OA *kalām*. Forms with retained /ā/ are also attested, e.g.: *awlād*; *zamān*; *nās*.
- e. Lowring (see 2.4.11).

2.4.5.3. The long front-to-back unrounded /ā/

/ā/ has the allophones /ā/, /ää/, /ā/ and /ē/:

1. /ā/: The OA long front-to-back unrounded /ā/, when it is not subject to *imāla* and when not pronounced as a long front unrounded /ää/ (see below under 2), is retained, e.g.: *mənāsbe* “occasion”, cf. OA *munāsaba*; *xarāp* “bad (about taste)”, cf. OA *xarāb*; *makān* “place”, cf. OA *makān*. /ā/ is also attested in borrowings, e.g. *atrāk* “dishes”; *pārāt* “money”, cf. Turk. *para*;

¹⁰⁵ The normal shift of an OA /d/ is to /v/. Here the /v/ is velarized to /y/ (see 2.1.16).

falān “a certain person”, cf. Turk. *falan* and cf. also OA *fulān* “substituting for an unnamed or unspecified person or thing”. *āflān* is also attested.

2. /*ää*/: The long front unrounded /*ää*/ has the quality of a ‘phoneme’ between /*ē*/ and /*ā*/, e.g.: *tāffāäh* “apple (coll.)”; *tāārīx* “history”; *āāf axī* “this brother of mine”; *sāāxən* “hot, warm”; *ʔāäl* “he said”; *čāāx* “then, at the time”, cf. Turk. *çağ*.¹⁰⁶ Noteworthy is that the same words are sometimes pronounced with either /*ā*/ or /*ē*/; for instance *tārīx* and *tērīx*; *āf* and *ēf* are also attested.

3. /*ā*/: The long back unrounded /*ā*/ is attested in words such as: *ṛamṃāṇ* “pomegranate”; *āḱ* “that (m.sg.)”, cf. MA *hāk*; *ṛamāḱd* “ashes”, cf. OA *ramād*; *šəḅḅāt* “thief”; *‘āqal* “wise”; *əṣ-ṣabāḥ* “the morning”; *āyri* “different”, cf. Turk. *ayrı*; *ṣamṃāḱ* “sumac or sumach” (see 2.5).

4. /*ē*/: In *imāla* (see 2.4.9).

2.4.5.4. The long back rounded /*ū*/

The long back rounded /*ū*/, when not subject to lowering, is retained, e.g.: *tammūz* “July”; *tūf* “mulberry”, cf. CS *tūṭō*,¹⁰⁷ *laymūn* “lemon, citrus fruit”; *ətḏūri* “you (f.sg.) go around” (*ydōṛ* “he travels around”; *da-dōr* “I will travel around”; *əndōr* “we travel around” are also attested); *əbyūt* “houses”; *maqfūlīn* “closed”. /*ū*/ is also attested in loan-words, e.g.: *tūte*¹⁰⁸ “little”, cf. ḤA *tūte*; *wuḏū* “purity, ritual ablution before prayer”, cf. KA *wuḏū*; *mašhūr* “famous”, cf. OA *mašhūr*; *maktūp* “written, letter”, cf. OA *maktūb*.

2.4.5.5. The long back rounded /*ō*/

The long back rounded /*ō*/, when not resulting from lowering, is attested almost exclusively in borrowings, e.g.: *ṣāḡ ōl* “thanks”, cf. Turk. *sağ ol*; *milyōn*, “million”, cf. Turk. *milyon*; *ōḏa* “room”, cf. Turk. *oda*; *ṭōp* “artillery piece”, cf. Turk. *top*; *hōnək* “cool (about weather)”, cf. Kur. *hēnik*; *kōtək* “beating, by force”, cf. Kur. *kotek*. A few native words with /*ō*/ are attested, e.g.: *ayyōḥ* “villages”; *əndōr* “we go around” is attested alongside *əndūr*.

¹⁰⁶ *ʔāl* and *ʔēl*, *čāx* and *čēx* are also attested.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. Brockelmann 1928, 820.

¹⁰⁸ Local word.

2.4.6. Diphthongs

2.4.6.1. The diphthong /ay/

The OA diphthong /ay/ has two reflexes:

1. /ay/ is retained, e.g.: *ḡayʕa* “village”, cf. OA *ḡayʕa*; *ʕayn* “eye”, cf. OA *ʕayn*; *laymūn* “lemon, citrus fruit”; *ṣayf* “summer”, cf. OA *ṣayf*; *ṡayy* “water”, cf. OA *māʔ*; *ʕayb* “shame”, cf. OA *ʕayb*.
2. /ay/ shifts, in few examples and unconditioned, to the monophthong /ē/, e.g.: *bēt* “house”, cf. OA *bayt*; *šēx* “sheik”, cf. OA *šayx*; *xēr* “good”, cf. OA *xayr*; *ġēr* “other, different”, cf. OA *ġayr*. *bayt*, *šayx* and *ġayr* are also attested in the texts.

2.4.6.2. The diphthong /aw/

The OA diphthong /aw/ has two reflexes:

1. /aw/ is retained, e.g.: *mawġūd* “existing”; *laws* “almond”, cf. OA *lawz*; *mawqəḥ* “place, spot”, cf. OA *mawqiʕ*; *ṣawt* “voice”, cf. OA *ṣawt*; *ḡawš* “enclosure, courtyard”, cf. OA *ḡawš*.
2. /aw/ shifts, in few examples and unconditioned, to the monophthong /ō/, e.g.: *mōḡaʕ* “place, spot”, cf. OA *mawḡiʕ*; *šōb* or *šōp* “direction, reason”, cf. QA *ṣawb*; *fōq* “above, on”, cf. OA *fawqa*; *yōm* “day”, cf. OA *yawm*. The forms *mawḡaʕ*, *ṣawp*, *fawq* and *yawm* are also attested.

The diphthong /ōw/ occurs almost exclusively in the Kurdish loan-word *bōwš* “plentiful, abundant”. The pronunciation *bōš* occurs also. Further, the cluster of the negation *mā* + the enclitic form of the independent personal pronoun 3.m.sg. *uww* results in the diphthong /ōw/, e.g.: *mōw šəġəlna* “it is not our line of business” (see 3.1.3).

2.4.7. Vowel harmony

Since some consonants are affected by Turkish phonology rules, one also wonders whether also the typical Turkish vowel harmony, in analogy with the consonants, has affected the Arabic dialect of Tillo. The immediate answer would be: No. According to Polgárdi, harmony is "... a process whereby some segmental feature associates to all segments of a certain type in a specific domain. In the case of vowel harmony, all vowels in (roughly speaking) a word are required to agree with each other with respect to one of their properties."¹⁰⁹ What is found in the material is that some words are pronounced somehow differently, e.g.: *küntu* "I was" where /ü/ is a front vowel and /u/ is a back vowel. The normal form in this dialect is *kəntu*; *tawakkül* "trust, confidence", where /a/ in the diphthong is a back unrounded and /ü/ is front rounded; *sonütna* "our end", where the /o/ is a back vowel and /ü/ is a front vowel. That these words are pronounced in this way may, of course, lead our thoughts to vowel harmony but obviously not in the way it is expected. Why does this occur, then? An assumption may be that the speakers are aware of the vowel harmony phenomena in Turkish, and perhaps try to accomplish this in their Arabic with a result as presented above. A couple of examples show, nevertheless, a tendency to follow the 'expected' vowel harmony, e.g.: *əmkənēt*, "possibilities", where *əmkānēt* is also attested; *kāän sääkän* ... "he used to live ..."; *mää ēke?* "isn't that so?"; *āk ammēni liy ġawwētū* "also that which is inside of it (m.sg.)". In this example the relative pronoun *lay* is pronounced *liy* because of the /i/ in the preceding word.

2.4.8. A general overview of the vowel system in comparison with OA

Short vowels, OA > TA

i ----- ə, (i)
u ----- ə, (u)
a ----- a, (ä, e, ē)

Long vowels, OA > TA

ī ----- ī, ē
ū ----- ū, ō
ā ----- ā (ā, ää), ē

Diphthongs, OA > TA

ay ----- ay, (ē)
aw ----- aw, (ō)

¹⁰⁹ Polgárdi 1998, 1.

2.4.9. *imāla*

imāla is a common feature in Anatolian *qaltu*-dialects.¹¹⁰ This means a conditioned shift of OA /ā/ to /ē/ or /ī/ in the vicinity of /ī/ or /i/, so-called *umlauts imāla*. The common *imāla* reflex in this dialect is of OA /ā/ to /ē/, e.g.: *wēḥad* “one”, cf. OA *wāḥid*; *arḡēl* “men”, cf. OA *riḡāl*; *afmēnīn* “eighty”, cf. *ṭamānīn*; *fēni* “second”, cf. *ṭāni*; *tērīx* “history”, cf. OA *tārix*; *ḡēmāḥ* “mosque”, cf. OA *ḡāmiʿ*; *rēkəb* “riding”, cf. OA *rākib*; *rēkzīn* “settled”, cf. OA *rākiz*. The last three instances are examples of the noun pattern *CēCəC* < *CāCiC*. There are, however, attestations in this pattern where /ā/ is retained, e.g.: *ʿāləm* “learned, scientist”, cf. CA *ʿālim*. There is, though, another form of *imāla* in the Arabic dialect studied here, so-called spontaneous *imāla*. Spontaneous *imāla* means an unconditioned shift of an OA /ā/ to /ē/ in:

- a. The plural suffix *-āt*, e.g.: *ktēbēt* “books”; *frēḡēt* “empty dishes (plates, pots etc.)”; *amkānēt* “possibilities”; *banēt* “girls”; *čeydēnēt* “tea-pots”; *čēriyyēt* “headscarfs”. Forms with *-āt* are also attested, e.g.: *ḥarakāt* “gestures, habits”; *örətmānāt* “teachers”, cf. Turk. *öğretmen* (see 2.4.5.2. d.).
- b. The last syllable of a word (that contains an /ā/), e.g.: *bēp* “door”, cf. OA *bāb*; *mēt* “he died”, cf. OA *māta*; *anēm* “I sleep”, cf. OA *nāma*. Forms with /ā/ in the last syllable of a word are also attested, e.g.: *baynāt* “between (in const.)”; *šabāḥ* “morning”; *nār* “fire” (see 2.4.5.2. e.). This phonological peculiarity is attested also in borrowings, e.g.: *čēx* “then, at that time”, cf. Kur. *çax*.

2.4.10. The feminine ending

The vowel of the feminine ending, /I/, in the construct state, is either /ə/ or /a/, in this dialect, e.g.: *sāʿət əl-xatēn* “the wrist-watch of the bridegroom”, *laylət lay ənqatal* “the night when he was murdered”; *naviyyət Xāləd* “the grandchildren of Xālīd”; *tallīsət rəss* “a sack of rice”;¹¹¹ *qəššət əl-wəḥde* “one tale”; *šwayyat rəss* “some rice”; *sallət ʿənap* “a basket of grape(s)”; *mā ḥḥaxiyyat əzāl* “a special pot”.¹¹² In isolated forms, the nominal suffix expressing the feminine ending has two reflexes, /-a/, after emphatic conso-

¹¹⁰ Jastrow 1978, 320-321.

¹¹¹ Cf. Kur. *telīs* “sack”.

¹¹² An original /t/ assimilates to /b/; cf. Vocke and Waldner 1982, 258 where the forms *maḥbaxīye* and *maḍbaxīye* “kochtopf” are attested.

nants, laryngeals, velars and glottals and /-e/. The table below presents the forms in which these reflexes are attested:

After	/-a/	After	/-e/
<i>t</i>	<i>šəḥṭa</i> <i>šərṭa</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>šəḥbe</i> <i>šaribe</i>
<i>ḥ</i>	<i>fäätḥa</i> <i>mbērḥa</i>		<i>ṭaybe</i>
<i>š</i>	<i>nāqša</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>maḥkame</i> <i>ləqme</i>
<i>h</i>	<i>əğ-ğiha</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>nazle</i>
<i>y</i>	<i>bayya</i> <i>fəyya</i>		<i>masʿale</i> and <i>masale</i> <i>layle</i>
<i>ʿ</i>	<i>əğ-ğamēʿa</i> <i>yaʿa</i> <i>sēʿa</i>		<i>ʿāyle</i> <i>bašale</i> <i>dawle</i>
<i>r</i>	<i>saḥra</i> <i>sağara</i> <i>tiğāra</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>qaḥwe</i> <i>karwe</i> ¹¹³ <i>xalwe</i>
<i>ğ</i>	<i>ləğa</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>navife</i> <i>masēfe</i>
<i>q</i>	<i>daqīqa</i> <i>ṭarīqa</i> <i>waraqqa</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>tūte</i> <i>sätte</i>
		<i>d</i>	<i>mədde</i> <i>ʿädde</i>
		<i>s</i>	<i>madraxe</i> <i>kwayxe</i>
		<i>n</i>	<i>sane</i>
		<i>r</i>	<i>əbre</i>
		<i>z</i>	<i>ğarze</i> <i>ləzze</i>
		<i>ğ</i>	<i>ğ-ğēğe</i> <i>darağe</i>
		<i>š</i>	<i>ʿaše</i> (also <i>ʿaša</i> is attested) <i>nuxwašše</i> ¹¹⁴
		<i>y</i>	<i>ʿaskariyye</i> <i>rāzye</i>

Examples of feminine nouns in the absolute state: *əš-šəḥṭa ayšni mō nəʿraf* “we don’t know what theft is”; *mbērḥa araytu fə-nawmi l-qiyāme kəl-qāmat*

¹¹³ Second borrowing. Cf MSA *kirā* “rent, hiring”. Cf. also Turk. *kira* “renting”. See Tezel 2003, 63.

¹¹⁴ Cf. Kur. *nexweş* “ill, sick”.

“yesterday I dreamt that it was Judgement Day”; *‘aṭāna uwwe am ḥdašš alf waraqa* “he too gave us 11,000 TL”; *kəll ġarze kasxa uww čašne*¹¹⁵ “every stitch is pruned in a different way”; *nār əl-ḥaṭab iywe bowš taybe* “the fire of firewood is very nice”; *iyw arf nayīfe* “it (f.sg.) is a pure soil”.

Note that the trill /r/ appears before both /-a/ and /-e/, e.g.: *da-rō qablu b-safra* “I will go once before him”; *q̄k l-əbre* “that needle”.

2.4.11. Lowering

Lowering is a typical phenomenon for the Anatolian qD and the dialect studied here offers no exception.¹¹⁶ The rule for this lowering is that the OA /i/ and /ū/ shift to /ē/ and /ō/ respectively in the vicinity of an emphatic consonant or /x/, /ğ/, /q/, /ħ/, /ʕ/: *malēḥ*, “good”; *nsēr* “we become”; *mō tēq* “I am not able to” (*atīq* “I am able to” is also attested); *rōḥ* “spirit”; *əštōḥ* “roof”, cf. OA *ṣaṭḥ*; *əyzōruwa* “they visit it (f.sg.)”; *ətyōr* “birds”; *šōra* “picture”; *mō dōr* “I do not go around” (*tḏūri* “you (f.sg.) go around” is also attested); *ğōš* “hunger”. An irregularity here is *šān lə-ʕūl* “for the workers”.

2.5. *tafxīm*

An emphatic consonant or a /x/, /ğ/, /q/, /ħ/, /ʕ/ in a word normally affects the pronunciation of the other consonants in its vicinity, e.g.: *ṛamq̄d* “ashes”, cf. *ramād*; *šəḥḥāt* “thief”; *ṣaḥar* “patience”, cf. OA *ṣabr*; *fəṣṭaq* “pistachio”; *mə ḥḥaxiyye* “large pot”; *ḥaʕvan* “each other”; *‘aḥar* “he passed”; *xān* “inn, hostel” *maṛaqaṭ ṛəmmān* “pomegranate juice”; *yəqšədu* “they mean or consider”; *ğamḥay* *‘aynu* “he closed his eye(s)”, cf. OA *ğammaḍa*.

The back vowels (*a*, *u*, *ā*, *ō*, *ū* and *ə*) may also influence the quality of the consonants in their vicinity: *walla* “by God”; *ašayy* “I do”, cf. MSA *sawiya* “to even”; *mō tḏūri?* “don’t you (f.sg.) go around?”, cf. *dāra*;

This phenomenon occurs also in Turkish loans, e.g.: *tulumḥa ṭaṭləsi* “a syrup-soaked pastry”, cf. Turk. *tulumba tatlısı*; *tōp* “cannon”, cf. Turk. *top*; *ḍarūm* “state, situation”, cf. Turk. *durum*; *əmə* “but, yet, still, cf. Turk. *ama*.

¹¹⁵ Cf. Turk. *çeşni* “kind, variety, sort”.

¹¹⁶ Jastrow 1978, 63-65.

2.6. Pausal phenomena

TA has a phonological peculiarity, so-called pausal form of a word. By pausal form is meant when the speaker makes a pause in the speech. The pause does not necessarily need to be long or come as a result of a completed sentence. This pause affects, in addition to the consonant (see 2.1), also the vowel /a/ in the last syllable of a word, i.e. an /a/ in the last syllable of some words, shifts, although not always, to /e/, in verbs, and to /ē/, in nouns, e.g.: *aǧef* “he took”, cf. OA *axada*; *yəʕmel* “he works”; *ǧalep* “to win”, cf. OA *ǧalaba*; *vahēb* “gold (coll.)”, cf. OA *ǧahab*; *ǧanēm* “sheep (coll.)”, cf. OA *ǧanam*; *ǧabēl* “mountain”, cf. OA *ǧabal*; *aḥēt* “someone”, cf. OA *aḥad*; *ʕamēl* “work”, cf. OA *ʕamal*; *walēt* “a boy”; *Ḥasēn*; “Hasan”; *Aḥmēt* “Ahmad”.¹¹⁷ As an example in non-pausal position the same words, or words belonging to the same noun or verbal pattern have the following form (all attested in the corpus): *aǧaf*; *yəʕmāl* or *yəʕrap*; *katap*; *vahabe* “a golden coin”; *ǧanam*; *ǧabal*; *aḥat*; *walat*; *Ḥasan*; *Aḥmat*. Pausal phenomenon are not mentioned previously in studies concerning the Anatolian *qaltu*-dialects. This phenomenon is, however, known in the Syro-Palestinian dialects and in classical Arabic poetry.¹¹⁸

2.7. Stress

Stress in TA falls usually on the penultimate syllable, if the word does not contain a double-closed syllable. In the verb pattern *CaCaC*, *yarap* “to hit” in the perfect, the stress shifts from the penultimate syllable to the last, double-closed syllable, i.e. 2.m.sg., e.g.:

Perfect	sg.		pl.
3.m.	<i>yárap</i>	3.c.	<i>yárabu</i>
3.f.	<i>ǺáǺrabat</i>		
2.m.	<i>yarápt</i>	2.c.	<i>yaráptan</i>
2.f.	<i>yarápti</i>		
1.c.	<i>yaráptu</i>	1.c.	<i>yarábna</i>

Examples of other patterns: *šarab* “to drink”; *aǧef* “to take”; *žábtu* “I brought”; *ʕǧǧal* “to hurry up”; *anfaqqar* “to become poor”; *fiáham* “to understand”. The stress does not shift place when the perfective verb form is pre-

¹¹⁷ Fischer and Jastrow, 1980, 179.

¹¹⁸ For different kinds of pausa see Grotzfeld 1964, 39; Fleisch 1986, 205; Jiha, 1964, 120; Procházka 2002, 61; Behnstedt 1997, map 65-66; Arnold 1998, 88-91; Retsö 1994, 99-103.

fixed by, for instance, *ku-*, e.g.: *ku-ǵǵbtu* “here I have brought”; *ku-ntámmæt* “it (f.) is obviously finished”.

In imperfect of the verb pattern *yǎCCaC*, *yǎyrap*, stress falls on the imperfect prefix *yǎ-*, *tǎ-*, *a-* or *nǎ-*, e.g.:

Imperfect	sg.		pl.
3.m.	<i>yǎyrap</i>	3.c.	<i>yǎyrǎbu</i>
3.f.	<i>tǎyrap</i>		
2.m.	<i>tǎyrap</i>	2.c.	<i>tǎyrǎbu</i>
2.f.	<i>tǎyrabi</i>		
1.c.	<i>ǎyrap</i>	1.c.	<i>nǎyrǎp</i>

Also in imperfect, as is the case in perfect, stress does not change place when the verb form is prefixed by, for instance, *ku-*, e.g.: *ku-yǎyrap* “he is hitting”; *ku-yǎlʿab* “he is playing”; *ku-nǎlʿašša* “we are having dinner”; *ku-ǎraf* “I obviously know”; *ku-dǎ-nǎrkap* “we will ride”. The last example contains also the future particle, *-dǎ-* which has no effect on stress position.

In verb forms with suffixed objective pronouns, stress falls on the last syllable before the objective suffix, e.g.: *ʿaraftúwa* “I knew it (f.)”; *araytúwan* “I saw them”; *waddaytúwǎn* “I took them with”; *yǎllǎʿlǎn* “he looks after them”; *ħaṭṭaytúwǎn* “I placed them”; *lǎzǎmlǎn* “it was needed for them”; *ʿǎltúlki* “I said to you (f.sg.)”; *ʿaǵǵǎzki* “he irritated you (f.sg.)”.

In disyllabic nouns (where no double-closed syllables exist), stress falls on the first syllable, e.g.: *bǎʿar* “cows (coll.)”; *ǵǎbal* “mountain”; *xátan* “brother or son-in-law”; *lǎbǎs* “clothing”; *šǎǵǎl* “work”; *fǎkǎr* “idea, thought”; *ʿǎnǎp* “grape(s)”; *šǎfra* “dining table”. Stress shifts place when the noun is suffixed, e.g.: *ǵǎbála* “it’s (f.sg. mountain)”; *baʿáru* “his cows”; *šǎfrǎtǎna* “our dining table”.

Stress falls on the last syllable in disyllabic nouns with a last double-closed syllable, e.g.: *flǎttǎħš* “13”; *sǎttǎħš* “16”. In the elative, stress falls on the first syllable, e.g.: *ǎkfar* “more”; *ǎtyap* “nicer”; *ǎgbar* “bigger”. Also in names for colours that belong to the same noun-pattern as elative, stress falls on the first syllable, e.g.: *ǎswad* “black”; *ǎsfar* “yellow”; *ǎxyar* “green”. In nouns that consist of more than two syllables, stress falls on the last syllable if it is double-closed, e.g.: *arbatǎħš* “14”; *sabetǎħš* “17”.

3. Morphology

3.1. Pronouns

3.1.1. Independent personal pronouns

The independent personal pronouns:

sg.		pl.	
3.m.	<i>uwwe</i>	3.c.	<i>anne</i>
3.f.	<i>iyye</i>		
2.m.	<i>ənt</i>	2.c.	<i>əntən</i>
2.f.	<i>ənti</i>		
1.c.	<i>anā</i>	1.c.	<i>nəḥne</i>

1.c.sg. *anā* is likely to have derived from *^ʔ*anā*.¹¹⁹

1.c.pl. *nəḥne* < **niḥne* < **niḥnā*. **niḥnā* seems to have arisen in analogy to the inflectional suffix *-nā* in the 1.c.sg.¹²⁰ The shift of *-ā* to *-ē* in the last syllable has arisen in the same way as the feminine ending (see 2.4.10).¹²¹

2.m.sg. and 2.f.sg. *ənt* and *ənti* have, most probably, their origin in **inta* and **intī* and not in CA ^ʔ*anta* and ^ʔ*anti*.¹²² *ə* is in both cases the result of the regular shift of *i* to *ə*. The 2.m.sg. also has the long form *ənta* which is not so frequently used.

2.c.pl.: As usual in sedentary dialects, both 2.m.pl. and 2.f.pl. coincide in one communis form. The final *-n* in the 2.c.pl. may be either due to the Aramaic

¹¹⁹ In Jastrow 1978, 130 the form *anā* is presented for the Siirt dialects. See also Wittrich 2001, 28. For a general survey of the 1.c.sg. in modern Arabic dialects, see Isaksson 1999. Isaksson writes on page 59 of this article that in Andalusian Granada the form used was *anī* because of a strong *imāla* (*anī* < **anā*) in contradistinction to the rest of Spain (showing *anā*).

¹²⁰ Jastrow 1978, 130.

¹²¹ Jastrow 1978, 74 ff.

¹²² Jastrow 1978, 129.

substratum (2.m.pl. *attūn* and 2.f.pl. *atten*)¹²³ or a form that has developed, though this is quite unlikely because 2.f.pl. is very rare, from **intunna* (2.f.pl.) > **intun* > **əntən*.¹²⁴ The form *əntən* is also attested, for the 2.c.pl., though rarely used.

3.m.sg. and 3.f.sg.: The 3.m.sg. has developed from **huwwā*, which is a long form of OA **huwa* and the 3.f.sg. has developed from **hiyyā*, which also is a long form of OA **hiya*. Through gemination of the middle consonant, triliterality is gained. The shift of *-ā* to *-e* in the last syllable has arisen in the same way as the feminine ending (see 2.4.10).¹²⁵ There are also short forms of 3.m.sg. and 3.f.sg., e.g.: *uww* and *iy*. About the elision of the initial /h/ see 2.1.21. Elision of initial /h/ is a common feature in the Arabic dialects of the Siirt and the Sason groups (see 2.1.21).¹²⁶

3.c.pl.: Both 3.m.pl. and 3.f.pl. coincide, as is the case in sedentary dialects, in one communis form, *ənnē*. The form *ənnē* may either be an Aramaic substratum (3.m.pl. *hennōn* and 3.f.pl. *hennēn*)¹²⁷ where many dialects have no initial /h/ or a development from the feminine form **hinna*, which due to the *imāla* rule results in **hinne* and finally *ənnē*.¹²⁸ There is also a short form of 3.c.pl, e.g.: *ənn*. I find the first alternative more adequate. Here too, the initial /h/ is dropped (see 2.1.21).

3.1.2. Copulative personal pronouns

Even though an enclitic copula is not a common linguistic feature for the Arabic dialects in the Siirt group, the Arabic dialect of Tillo offers a few instances:

<i>şāğlam-yye</i> ¹²⁹ <i>l-masʿale</i>	“the issue is wholesome, sound”
<i>iy</i> <i>malīḥa-ye</i> ¹³⁰	“it (f.sg.) is fine”
<i>iy</i> <i>lağwat kərđi-yye</i>	“it is Kurdish”
<i>əs-samn dāhn uww</i>	“butter is (or means) fat”

¹²³ Arnold and Behnstedt 1993, 79. For the forms of CS see Nöldeke 2001, 44. Țuroyo has a communis form, *hātu* (*hatu* in Jastrow 1992, 22).

¹²⁴ Wittrich 2001, 28-29. About the loss of the last *-na* from **intunna* see Diem 1971. Diem writes, though, about the *hənnē*.

¹²⁵ Jastrow 1978, 74 ff.

¹²⁶ Jastrow 1978, 101 and 127-128 and Nevo 1999, 70.

¹²⁷ For the forms of CS. see Nöldeke 2001, 44. Țüröyo has a communis form for 3.pl., *hənnē* (*hənnək* in Jastrow 1992, 22). See further Diem 1971; Fischer and Jastrow 1980, 79; Arnold and Behnstedt 1993, 76-79.

¹²⁸ Wittrich 2001, 28-29. About the loss of the last *-na* from **intunna* see Diem 1971.

¹²⁹ Cf. Turk. *sağlam* “wholesome, sure, honest”.

¹³⁰ Cf. the copula in Mardin *malīḥa-ye* “it (fem.) is fine”.

The use of enclitic copula in the 3.f.sg is remarkably frequent. The attestations of this form outnumber all other forms. The reason for this frequent use is that, often when one talks about, life, a current situation, economy, countries and cities, professions etc. such circumstances are referred to as feminine subjects.

The last examples show a diversity by comparison with the common short enclitic form. Similarly to the first four examples, one may expect the example *əs-samn dāhn uww* to have another form, namely **əs-samn dāhən-we*. It is probable that the use of copula and enclitic copula was quite extensive in this region (south-eastern Anatolia) and at a certain stage it started to go out of ‘fashion’. Most likely, what we observe here in this dialect is a substratum of an older stage, where Aramaic was spoken for centuries. For instance, the use of the copula is ‘still’ extensive in the Neoaramaic dialect, Tūrōyo, which is spoken in and around Mardin and Midyat in south-eastern Turkey, e.g.: *ono harke-no* “I am here”; *harke-na* “we are here”; *ṭawto-yo* “she is fine”.¹³¹

The forms “I am”, “you are”, “they are” etc. are obtained by repeating the independent personal pronoun. In Jastrow 1978, 132, the forms for 3.m.sg., 3.f.sg. and 1.c.sg. in Siirt are shortened and form a kind of enclitic form. For comparison, in the paradigm below both the forms of TA and of Siirt are presented:

sg.	TA	Siirt	pl.	TA	Siirt
3.m.	<i>uwwē-uwwē</i>	<i>ūwe-we</i>	3.c.	<i>ənnē-nne</i> and <i>ənnē-ənnē</i>	<i>ənnē-ənnē</i>
3.f.	<i>iyyē-iyyē</i>	<i>īye-ye</i>			
2.m.	<i>ənt-ənt</i>	<i>ənt-ənt</i>	2.c.	<i>əntən-əntən</i>	<i>ənten-ənten</i>
2.f.	<i>ənti-ənti</i>	<i>ənti-ənti</i>			
1.c.	<i>anā-anā</i>	<i>anā-na</i>	1.c.	<i>nəḥne-nəḥne</i>	<i>nəḥne-nəḥne</i>

Note that only 3.c.pl. has a slightly shortened form in TA.

¹³¹ Jastrow 1992, 24.

3.1.3. Negating copula

The negation particle *mā* merges together with the independent personal pronoun, only in 3.m.sg. and 3.f.sg. resulting in negating copula, e.g.: *ma-ww tayyap* “it (m.sg.) is not good”, *ma-yy çərge*¹³² “it (f.sg.) is not bad”. In the paradigm below, one sees that some of these forms differ from the forms given for Siirt in Jastrow 1978, 137. Cf. also Wittrich 2001, 34:

sg.	TA	Siirt	pl.	TA	Siirt
3.m.	<i>ma-ww</i> and <i>ma-wwē</i>	<i>mawwe</i> ~ <i>maw</i>	3.c.	<i>ma-nne</i>	<i>manne</i>
3.f.	<i>ma-yy</i> and <i>ma-yye</i>	<i>mayye</i> ~ <i>may</i>			
2.m.	<i>mā ənt</i>	<i>mant</i>	2.c.	<i>mā əntən</i>	<i>manten</i>
2.f.	<i>mā ənti</i>	<i>manti</i>			
1.c.	<i>mā anā</i>	<i>māna</i>	1.c.	<i>mā nəḥne</i>	<i>mānəne</i>

2.f.sg. and 2.c.pl. are elicited forms. In Jastrow’s disposition one finds the sign ~ with *f* over it and the explanation in the abbreviation is ‘freie Variante’. Examples in context: *anā mā anā mamnūn mən əŞtan..*, “I am content with Istan(bul)”; *əŞtanbūl əşş ḥāla ənt mā ənt mamnūn mənna?* “what is wrong in Istanbul that you (m.sg.) are not content with it?”; *ama s-saḥ nəḥne mā nəḥne ēke* “but now we are not like this”; *nəḥne am mā nəḥne rāḥa* “we either are not comfortable”.

The result of *mā* merging together with the independent personal pronoun, in 3.m.sg., 3.f.sg. and 3.c.pl. is that the long *-ā*, then loses its length; likewise the initial vowel of the pronoun is elided, i.e. results in a diphthong. Some examples in context:

<i>awn ma-ww āfāri</i>	“it is not my place here”
<i>hawa Ştanbūl ma-wwē şəşşāne</i>	“the climate in Istanbul is nothing at all”
<i>ət-Turkya ma-yy rāḥa</i>	“Turkey is not stable”
<i>iyye ma-yy mən zamēn</i>	“It (f.sg.) is not from a long time ago”
<i>anne ma-nne ğərba</i>	“they are not strangers”

In the second example the longer form (*-wwē*) of the personal pronoun is used.

¹³² Cf. Turk. *çürük* “rotten, bad”.

Below are some examples, where *mā* negates nominal clauses without merging together with the independent personal pronoun, are presented:

<i>mā uww maʔy ɣəlu</i>	“it is not sweet water”
<i>mā iyy ɣaribe</i>	“she is not a stranger”
<i>ənt mā ənt mamnūn mənna?</i>	“are you (m.sg.) not content with her”
<i>anā mā anā mamnūn</i>	“I am not content”
<i>aṃa s-saḥ nəḥne mā nəḥne ēke</i>	“but nowadays we are not like this”

3.1.4. Suffixed pronouns

3.1.4.1. Possessive pronouns

The following are the possessive pronouns suffixed to nominal forms:

a. Post-consonantal, attached, for instance, to *bayt* “house”:

	sg.		pl.
3.m.	-u	3.c.	-an/-ən
3.f.	-a		
2.m.	-ək	2.c.	-kan/-kən
2.f.	-ki		
1.c.	-i	1.c.	-na

Examples of forms that are attested in two variants: *rōḥan* “themselves”; *qərālən* “their king”, cf. Turk. *kral*; ‘*äädäätkan* “your (c.pl.) customs”; *bəntkən* “your (c.pl.) daughter”.

b. Post-vocalic, *a*-vowel forms are not attested.

c. Post-vocalic, *i*-vowel: The pronoun attached, for instance, to *gari* “talk, speech”:

	sg.		pl.
3.m.	<i>garīyu</i>	3.c.	<i>garīyən/garīyan</i>
3.f.	<i>garīya</i>		
2.m.	<i>garīk</i>	2.c.	<i>garīkən</i>
2.f.	<i>garīki</i>		
1.c.	<i>garīyi</i>	1.c.	<i>garīna</i>

The *-u* in *garīyu* is the result of a several-step change, e.g.: *-u* < **-hu*, where *h* is ‘later’ elided.

d. Post-vocalic, *u*-vowel: The pronoun attached, for instance, to *ab* ‘father’ is attested for some forms, e.g.: *abūhu* ‘his father’; *abuwa* ‘her father’; *abūk* ‘your (m.sg.) father’ and *abī* ‘my father’.

3.1.4.2. Accusative object pronouns

The following are the accusative or direct object pronouns suffixed to verbs:

a. Post-consonantal, attached for instance to the verb form, *ṡarab* ‘he hit’:

	sg.		pl.
3.m.	<i>-u</i>	3.c.	<i>-an/-ən</i>
3.f.	<i>-a</i>		
2.m.	<i>-ak/-ək</i>	2.c.	<i>-kan/-kən</i>
2.f.	<i>-ki</i>		
1.c.	<i>-ni</i>	1.c.	<i>-na</i>

The suffixes in the accusative are identical to the possessive suffixes except in 1.c.sg. Examples: *ṡarabni* ‘he hit me’ and *bayti* ‘my house’. Examples of the forms that are attested in two variants: *ta-bʿafak* ‘I will send you (m.sg.)’; *nāḡəvək* ‘we take you (m.sg.)’; *ənḡəttan* ‘we put them’; *ṡəṡʿədən* ‘he makes them happy’; *də-ṡṡahhərən* ‘he will circumcise them’; *qawwākan* ‘he made you (c.pl.) strong’; *aʿarrəfkan* ‘I let you (c.pl.) know’; *aḡəbbkən* ‘I like/love you (c.pl.)’.

b. Post-vocalic, *a*-vowel: Attached for instance to the verb form *ṡarabna* ‘we hit’ (*wadda* ‘he took away’ in 1.c.sg. and 1.c.pl.) (elicited forms):

	sg.		pl.
3.m.	<i>ṡarabnāhu</i>	3.c.	<i>ṡarabnāhan/-hən</i>
3.f.	<i>ṡarabnāha</i>		
2.m.	<i>ṡarabnāk</i>	2.c.	<i>ṡarabnākan/-kən</i>
2.f.	<i>ṡaranāki</i>		
1.c.	<i>waddāni</i>	1.c.	<i>waddāna</i>

Examples of the forms that are attested in two variants: *ʿaṡāhan* ‘he gave them’; *saynəhən* ‘we made them’; *ṡaṡṡaynāhən*¹³³ ‘we saw them’. Other

¹³³ For *ṡaṡṡ* ‘to see’ cf. Barthélemy 1935, 478 where he gives the form *ṡaṡṡ - ṡṡaṡṡ* ‘voir’.

attestations: *ḥaṭṭaynāhən taḥt* “we put them down”; *akalnēhən* “we ate them”; *xallaynēhən* “we left them”; *qawwākan alla* “may God make strong”; *ḥakāni* “he told me”.

c. Post-vocalic, *i*-vowel: Attached for instance to the verb form *əywaddi* “he takes away” (elicited forms):

	sg.		pl.
3.m.	<i>əywaddīyu</i>	3.c.	<i>əywaddīyan</i>
3.f.	<i>əywaddīya</i>		
2.m.	<i>əywaddīk</i>	2.c.	<i>əywaddīkan</i>
2.f.	<i>əywaddīki</i>		
1.c.	<i>əywaddīni</i>	1.c.	<i>əywaddīna</i>

Examples of forms attested in the material: *d-asawiyu ʿāləm* “I will make him a scientist”; *aḥṭiya šānək* “I give her to you (m.sg.)”; *d-aḥkīk* “I will tell you (m.sg.)”; *yəḥṭīki* “he gives you (f.sg.)”; *yəḥṭīni* “he gives me”; *əngalliyan* “we cook them”; *nəḥṭikən* “we give you (c.pl.)”. The final *i* in the verb form causes the glide *y* in the 3.m.sg., 3.f.sg. and 3.c.pl. When the object suffix has a consonant as an initial phoneme the *i* is then lengthened as in 2.m.sg., 2.f.sg., 1.c.sg., 2.c.pl. and 1.c.pl.

d. Post-vocalic, *u*-vowel: Attached for instance to the verb form *ṡarabu* “they hit” (elicited forms):

	sg.		pl.
3.m.	<i>ṡarabū</i>	3.c.	<i>ṡarabūwan/ṡarabūwən</i>
3.f.	<i>ṡarabūwa</i>		
2.m.	<i>ṡarabūk</i>	2.c.	<i>ṡarabūkən</i>
2.f.	<i>ṡarabūki</i>		
1.c.	<i>ṡarabūni</i>	1.c.	<i>ṡarabūna</i>

In some instances the suffix of 3.m.sg. is *-hu*, e.g.: *saytūhu* “I did it (m.sg.)”. More attested examples: *ḥakaytūk* “I told you (m.sg.)”; *əyḡībuwan* “they bring them”; *karmūna* “they welcomed us”. Also here, when the object suffix has a consonant as an initial phoneme, the *u* is then lengthened as in 2.m.sg., 2.f.sg., 1.c.sg., 2.c.pl. and 1.c.pl.

3.1.4.3. Dative object pronouns

The suffixes of the dative or indirect object pronouns coincide in post-consonantal and post-vocalic forms. Examples where the suffix is attached to

the verb *ʔāl* “to say”: *da-ʔallək* “I will say to you (m.sg.)”; *ʔallan* “he said to them”; *ta-ʔallən* “I will say to them”; *ʔaltulək* “I said to you (m.sg.)”; *ʔālūlan* “they said to them” and/or *ʔaltulən* “I said to them”.

Besides the suffixes mentioned above, the dative object pronoun is also expressed with *šā* “to, for”, e.g.: *ʔāṭāha šā Mahyaddin* “he gave her to Mahyaddin”. The frequent use of *šā* as a dative marker may be due to Turkish influence where dative is marked by a suffix, *-el-a* (*-ye/-ya* after vowels), e.g.: *onu Mahyaddine verdi* “he gave/has given her to Mahyaddin”. For the complete paradigm of *šā* (see 3.6.1).

3.1.5. Dativus ethicus

Dativus ethicus is a widespread grammatical phenomenon in this dialect. Instances for all persons are found in the material, e.g.: *əltu: d-anamli məqdār šī* “I said: I will sleep (me or for me) some time”; *akalnālna šī mme* “we also ate (us) something”; *fataḥūlən šəğəl* “they started a business (for themselves)”; *mō ytī ʔəsaylu došt fī Şṭanbūl* “he cannot make himself a friend in Istanbul”; *mō təšrablak qōla¹³⁴ šī?* “don’t you want to drink (you) a cola?”; *taʕa tə-ndōrna¹³⁵ dawra šī!* “come let us stroll (for us) around for a while!”.

3.1.6. Demonstrative pronouns

The demonstrative pronouns, both near deixis and remote deixis, have in general lost the initial *h*, which is the case for all Arabic dialects in the Siirt group.¹³⁶

¹³⁴ Cf. Turk. *kola* “cola, Coca Cola”.

¹³⁵ Cf. *tə-ndōrəlna*

¹³⁶ Jastrow 1978, 101-107.

3.1.6.1. Demonstrative pronouns near deixis:

	Long form	Short form
m.sg.	<i>ääva</i>	<i>ääv</i>
f.sg.	<i>äävi</i>	<i>äy</i>
c.pl.	<i>awle</i>	<i>awl</i> and <i>aw</i>

Facultatively, the initial *a-* in demonstrative pronouns and demonstrative adverbs (see 3.1.8) is sometimes pronounced velarised and sometimes not.

3.1.6.2. Demonstrative pronouns remote deixis:

	Long form	Short form
m.sg.	<i>āke</i>	<i>āk</i>
f.sg.	<i>āke</i>	<i>āk</i>
c.pl.	<i>awlak/ ēkām</i>	

Both in the long form and in the short form of the demonstrative pronouns remote deixis, the m.sg. and f.sg. coincide, e.g.:

fā- āk al-mawqāḥ “in that place”
āk al-mayye “that water”

Examples of c.pl. attested in two variants: *kēnu āk əč-čēx awlak* “at that time it was (only) those”; *ēkām lay maʿa kalla tərək ənne* “those who are with her are all Turks”.

3.1.7. Demonstrative adverbs

The demonstrative adverbs in Tillo indicate place, manner and time, e.g.:

Long form	Short form	
<i>awne</i>	<i>awn</i>	“here”
<i>awnake</i>	<i>awnak</i>	“there”
<i>ēke</i>	<i>ēk</i>	“thus, in this way”
<i>as-saḥa</i>	<i>as-saḥ</i>	“now”

Examples: *yəvrəḫa ʔwnake damm w ʔwn damm* “he speckles blood here and there on her”; *ət-tattūn mō ysay ēke šī* “the tobacco does not do such a thing”; *mō yəṣ m-bālək əs-sah?* “don’t you (m.sg.) remember now?”.

3.1.8. The definite article

The definite article has the forms *əl-*, *lə-*, *əl-lə* and *l-*:

əl-

The definite article is *əl-* when the noun it determines starts with one of the following consonants: *b, ḥ, p, x, ʕ, ğ, f, q, k, m, h, w*, or *y* and is followed by a vowel, e.g.: *əl-yawmiyye* “the (working) day”; *əl-qastaxāna*¹³⁷ “the hospital”; *əl-faraṣ* “the horse”; *əl-karm* “the vineyard”; *fəl-yaɣʕa* “in the village”; *fəl-yaḷām* “in the dark”. Remarkable is that the initial *y* in *yawm* is assimilated to the *l* of the definite article when it is used as an adverb, e.g.: *əl-lawme kər-rəḫtu l-pāzār* “today I wen to the market”; *əl-lawm məṣ-ṣaḫāḫ ʔəmtu ...* “today I woke up in the morning ...”; *āk əl-lawm ...* “that day ...”.

lə-

The article is *lə-* when it precedes a cluster of two consonants, e.g.: *ḡirān lə-mlēḫ* “the good neighbours”; *əban lə-ḡbīr* “the elder son”; *āk lə-sʕartiyye* “those people of Siirt”; *šān lə-ʕūl* “for the workers”; *lə-rḡēl* “the men”; *lə-mṭahrīn* “the circumcisers”.

əl-lə-

In some twenty attestations the article is a combination of *əl-* and *lə-* before a noun that begins with a cluster of two consonants, e.g.: *əl-lə-krūm* “the vineyards”; *əl-lə-mṭahrīn* “the circumcisers”; *əl-lə-zyēfāt* “the invitations”; *əl-lə-ʕrīk* “the almond”; *fəl-lə-mnēm* “in the dream”; *əl-lə-trāp* “the earth, dust”.

l-

In cases when the preceding noun ends in a vowel, the definite article loses its vowel, *ə*, e.g.: *kə-ḫayru l-ʕaše* “they had prepared dinner”; *abu l-ḫāyriin* “the father of the present ones”; *aḡa l-ʕarabi zōr* “but Arabic is difficult”. Note the lack of a personal pronoun and/or an enclitic copula in the last example.

¹³⁷ Cf. Turk. *hastane* “hospital”.

The *l* of the definite article assimilates to one of the following consonants: *t*, (*t*), *ğ*, *č*, *d*, *r*, *z*, *s*, *š*, *ʃ*, *ṭ*, *l* or *n* when it precedes a noun starting with one of them, e.g.: *əğ-ğārye* “the maid”; *ər-rabīr* “the spring”; *ət-trafīq*¹³⁸ “the traffic”; *baʿd əs-sabetaħš sene* “After the 17th year”. *l* assimilates (in one attestation) to *y*, e.g.: *əy-yayʿa* “the village” (see above under *əl-*).

3.1.9. The demonstrative article *al-/hal-*

The demonstrative article *al-* is derived from OA *hā* < *hāda* and the definite article *əl-*. The normally elided initial *h* is audible when the preceding word ends in a vowel, e.g.:

<i>al-ḥant</i> ¹³⁹	“this tape”	<i>fī hal-lə-snīn</i>	“in these years”
<i>al-karra</i>	“this time”	<i>šār qarīp məl-ğada hal-karra</i>	“it became almost lunch time”
<i>al-kalām</i>	“these words”	<i>... fī ḥaqq Təllo hal-lə-ktēp</i>	“... this book about Tillo”
<i>al-ḥarr</i>	“this heat”	<i>yəʿne hal-ḥəss ...</i>	“this sound, so to say ...”
<i>b-al-arāzi</i>	“in these lands”	<i>qəmtu hal-alkəl ...</i>	“I stood up (and) this food ...”

There are however attestations where the initial *h* is elided also between two vowels, even though rare, e.g.: *kəs-sawa al-yarbe* “he did this plot” and *talayna al-ḥant* “we filled this tape”. There are a couple of examples where the *h* is audible also after a consonant, e.g.: *fī-lən hal-masale*¹⁴⁰ “they have this problem”.

3.1.10. Interrogatives

3.1.10.1. Interrogative pronouns

The interrogative pronouns in TA are:

a. *məne* “who”

məne də-yʿamməlu? “who is using or driving it (m.sg.)?”

¹³⁸ Cf. Turk. *trafik* “traffic”.

¹³⁹ Cf. Turk. *bant* “tape”.

¹⁴⁰ Cf. Turk. *mesele* “matter, problem, question”.

məne may have developed from **mən uwwə* > **mən uww* > **mən wwe* > *məne* “who is he”. Cf. Mardin *məne-we* “who is he”.¹⁴¹ *məne* may also just be the result of having a long form of *mən*. Cf. for instance the forms *awn* and *awne* “here”; *ēk* and *ēke* “thus, in this way”.

b. *əšš* and *ayš* “what”

əšš ətsawaw? “what are you (c.pl.) doing?”; *Xadiğə ayš kəs-sawet?* “what has Xadiğə done?”.

əšš is the result of a number of steps toward shortening, starting with OA *ʔayyu šayʔin* “which thing” > **ayšin* > *ayš* > *əšš*.¹⁴²

c. *əšniy* and *ayšniy* “what or what is it”

mō nəʕraf əšniy ət-tiğāra nəhne “we don’t know what commerce is”; *nəhne əš-šəbḫa ayšniy mō nəʕraf* “we don’t know what theft is”.

d. *aynam* “which”

*aynam māḩa?*¹⁴³ “which table?”. There is a long form for this interrogative, *aynama*, e.g.: *aynama lay sayy* ... “this who makes ...”. In the Diarbakır dialects this interrogative is *aymán* and in the Siirt dialects the form is *aymán* or *ēmán*. All three forms seems to have developed from **ayyu man* or **ayyu min*.¹⁴⁴ In the dialect of Tillo, most likely a metathesis has taken place and the *m* and *n* have shifted place.

3.1.10.2. Interrogative adverbials

The interrogative adverbials in TA are:

a. *ašwan* and *aššam* “how”; *ašwan iyye?* “how is she?”; *aššam ḩapp xayy ysay* “he may do as he likes”.

ašwan/aššam has in all probability come forth from **ayš lawn* “what colour”. In the city of Siirt and its vicinity one finds forms such as *ayšám*, *ašám* and *ášem*.¹⁴⁵

b. *ayn* “where”; *mā kā-yəʕraf ayn də-yḩəḩtu* “he did not know where to put it (m.sg.)”.

¹⁴¹ Jastrow 1978, 115.

¹⁴² Jastrow 1978, 116 and Mansour 2001, 84.

¹⁴³ Cf. Turk. *masa* “table”.

¹⁴⁴ Jastrow 1978, 117.

¹⁴⁵ Jastrow 1978, 119.

c. *ayy sapp* “where”; *ayy sapp aġbi rōħi?* “where shall I hide myself?”; *ayy sapp ənt?* “where are you (m.sg.)”. *ayy sapp* may also be written as one word, *ayysapp*.

ayy sapp < **ayyu şawbin* “which direction” is used more frequently than *ayn*. It looks as if *ayn* is gradually fading away. In my material I have 9 attestations for *ayn* where 7 appear in a speech from one male informant and the other two from two different male informants. *ayy sapp* appears 22 times and is used by the majority of the informants.

d. *mən ayy sapp* “where from”; *kənēyənki mən ayy sapp ənne?* “your daughters in law, where are they from?”. *mən ayy sapp* means also “how”, e.g.: *mən ayy sapp təraf fī kəvp?* “how do you know there is a lie?”. The latter meaning is less used.

e. *ayy sapp* “where to”; *bənti ayy sapp rāħat?* “where did my daughter go?”; *ayy sapp ətrō?* “where are you going to?”. The directional particle **la-* “to” is omitted (see 3.6.1).

f. *əšš waxt* and *əč-čääx* (< *əš čääx*) “when, what time”; *fī əšš waxt, da-nʿūl, əysīr?* “at what time, let us say, it grows?”; *əč-čääx təhtawna musāʿada nəġi* “when will you allow us to come (and visit you)?”. The construction what + time seems to be copied from Turkish; cf. *ne zaman*.

g. *šayš* and *šā ayš* “why”; *šayš āy sayt ʿalay ħīle?* “why have you (m.sg.) cheated me?”; *šā ayš mō təgray?* “why don’t you (f.sg.) talk?”. *šā* has developed from *bi-šaʿn* or *min šaʿn* > *b-šān* or *m-šān* > **šān* > *šā*.

h. *əšqat(t)* and *ašqa* (*əšqa* and *ašqat* occur though rarely) “how much” < **əšš-qadd*;¹⁴⁶ *əšqatt fī maħkən pārāt?* “how much money do you (c.pl.) have?”. When the preceding word ends in a vowel, the first vowel in the interrogative is then elided, e.g.: *ʿrafu šqatt ləhu qīme!* “see how precious it (m.sg.) is!”; *ašqa uww təwīl?* “how tall is he?”.¹⁴⁷ This interrogative is also used for asking about time, e.g.: *məş-şabāħ sēʿa ašqaʿ trō?* “in the morning(s), at what time does she leave?”.

¹⁴⁶ Cf. OA *qadr* “quantity”.

¹⁴⁷ Cf. Talay 1999, 64.

i. *kam* “how many”; *kam walat ləki?* “how many children do you (f.sg.) have?”.¹⁴⁸ The normal phrase used to ask about someone’s age is *kam sane lək/ləki?* “lit. how many years do you have?”, e.g.; *kam sane kān ka-lək lay rəht əl-Wēn?* “how old were you (m.sg.) when you left for Van?”. *kam* is also used with the meaning “some”, e.g.: *fī əstēt*¹⁴⁹ *lu^{hu} kam faqah* “there is a teacher who has some students”.

3.1.11. The relative pronoun

The relative pronoun, as an independent pronoun, is *lay*, e.g.: *kəṭ-ṭalaḥtu āk əl-..., rās əğ-ğamğaliq lay fī āk əl-škaftē*¹⁵⁰ “I climbed up to the peak of the rock which is in that cave”; *‘äädäätkan lay kānu fī Təllo, t-dawmūwən əs-saḥ?* “your customs that you had in Tillo, do you still go on with them?”; *lay yəšrap mənna məyy yā tə-ymūt yā tə-yğənn* “(this) who drinks water from it (f.sg.) he will either die or he will get crazy”; *šī lay kəl-araw* “this that they have seen”.

lay has a short form, *la-* or *lə-* (very rare)¹⁵¹, e.g.: *badan*¹⁵² *la-pūli uwwe s-səpōr* “when you (f.sg.) say *badan* you mean athletics (lit. *badan* that you (f.sg.) say means athletics)”; *anā lə- kā-aṭləbu mā staḥsəntu ṭalabu* “(this) what I (wanted) to ask for I could not demand”. *la-* is not affected by the initial consonant in the succeeding word, which means that *la-* may precede a vowel and/or a consonant. e.g.: *al-ḥamdəlla ‘ala šī la-alla ta‘āla kəl-‘aṭāna fī haz-zamēn* “thanks to God for thing(s) he gave us in this time”; *šī la-kəğ-ğā rāsak* “this that happened to you”.¹⁵³

3.1.12. Reflexive pronouns

The root *rwḥ* is used as a reflexive pronoun, e.g.: *salləm rōḥu šā əllā* “he gave up himself to God (died)”; *iyye mən rōḥa tləmm məyye* “it (f.sg.) gath-

¹⁴⁸ Cf. Talay 1999, 64 and Abu-Haidar 1991, 82.

¹⁴⁹ Cf. MSA *ustād* “teacher”. Note the shift of the interdental *d* to the dental stop *t*. The expected shift in TA is *d* > *v*. Cf. also Turk. *usta* “skilled man”.

¹⁵⁰ Cf. Kur. *škeft* “cave”.

¹⁵¹ Cf. Khan 1997, 72.

¹⁵² Cf. Turk. *beden* “body”.

¹⁵³ There is one attestation of *liy* as a relative pronoun: *āk əmmēni liy ḡawwētu* “also that which is inside of it (m.sg.)”. This form has no counterpart in other Mesopotamian *qəltu* dialects, which creates some confusion. In order to give an explanation I can only think of influence from Turkish phonology, so-called vowel harmony, which in this case is transpired because of the vowels in the preceding word (see 2.4.7).

ers water by itself”; *lā tfallat rōḥak!* “don’t let yourself (m.sg.) go!”; *anā ham baqa ašagğəl rōḥi fī aš-ši u fī aš-ši* “I also started to busy myself with this and that”; *yəḥsəbu rōḥan mən Faqīru llāh* “they consider themselves as belonging to Faqīru llāh”; *nəḥne nəstəḥi mən rōḥna* “we are ashamed of ourselves”

3.1.13. The genitive exponent

The genitive exponent coincides, in form, with the relative pronoun, *lay*.¹⁵⁴ The function of the genitive exponent is to point out belonging, e.g.: *u fī Erdamli*¹⁵⁵ *m*¹⁵⁶ *iyy lay Mersīn* “and there is Erdamli, which belongs to Mersin”; *byūt lay Təllo kēnu ġašš aḡa lay Ştanbül şarahətan ənne aḡyap* “the houses of (belonging to) Tillo were (made) of gypsum but the houses of Istanbul, their architecture is nicer”.

3.2. Nouns

3.2.1. Nouns with the definite article

A noun that has an initial moon-consonant followed by a vowel, i.e. *Cv/Cvv*, is preceded by the article *əl-*, e.g.: *əl-maktēp* “the school”; *əl-pāzār* “the market”. The article is *lə-* before a cluster of two consonants and a vowel, i.e. *CCv/CCvv*, e.g.: *lə-mnēm* “the dream”; *lə-ḥmār* “the donkey”. In some cases the article is a combination of *əl-* and *lə-* before *CCv/CCvv*, e.g.: *əl-lə-ktēp* “the book”; *əl-lə-ğnayne* “the garden”. The *l* of the article is assimilated to the initial consonant of the noun if it is a sun-consonant, e.g.: *ər-rağal* “the man” but *lə-rğəl* “the men”. (see 3.1.8).

3.2.2. Gender

Nouns belong to one of two genders: masculine or feminine. Of these, the masculine is considered to be the unmarked gender.¹⁵⁷ Nouns which have male animate referents and nouns which refer to male animals, such as *barēn*¹⁵⁸ “ram”, are grammatically masculine, e.g.:

¹⁵⁴ Jastrow 1978, 123-126 and Eksell 1980, 42.

¹⁵⁵ Erdemli is a town in the region of Mersin.

¹⁵⁶ Cf. Turk. *hem* “(here) also”.

¹⁵⁷ Watson 1993, 24. Cf. also Isaksson 1991, 135 (about the verb).

¹⁵⁸ Cf. Kur. *beran* “ram, male sheep”.

<i>xatan</i>	“brother-in-law”
ʿ <i>am</i>	“uncle”
<i>əhmār</i>	“donkey”

Nouns which have female animate referents and nouns which refer to female animals, such as *ğēğē* “chicken”, are grammatically feminine. Where the masculine noun has a feminine counterpart, the feminine is then, usually, distinguished from the masculine by the feminine suffix *-e*, or *-a* (see 2.4.10), e.g.:

Feminine		Masculine
<i>ṭaybe</i>	“good, nice”	<i>ṭayyap</i>
<i>wəḥde</i>	“a woman, one”	<i>wəḥət</i>
ʿ <i>arabiyye</i>	“an Arabic woman”	ʿ <i>arabi</i>
<i>šaʿbe</i>	“difficult”	<i>šaʿap</i>
<i>ğārye</i>	“a maid”	<i>ğāri</i>

Examples of some feminine nouns attested in my corpus:

<i>qaʿa</i>	“a castle”	<i>maḥkame</i>	“a court”
<i>daʿwe</i>	“an invitation”	<i>sane</i>	“a year”
<i>dawle</i>	“a country”	<i>ğəmhūriyye</i>	“a republic”
<i>qīme</i>	“value”	<i>zurriyye</i>	“family, off-spring”
ʿ <i>āyle</i>	“a family”	<i>qəbbe</i>	“cupola”
<i>salle</i>	“a basket”	<i>kəlme</i>	“a word”
<i>dənye</i>	“a world”	<i>qaḥwe</i>	“coffee”
<i>sätte</i>	“six”	<i>ḥmāle</i>	“work and trade of a porter or carrier”

My corpus contains even a few attestations of a feminine marker *-āye* and/or *-ēye*,¹⁵⁹ which is suffixed to nouns that already have the feminine ending *-e* or *-a*, e.g.:

<i>parča - parčāye</i>	“a piece (of s.th.)”
<i>šarma - šarmāye</i> ¹⁶⁰	“capital”
<i>ḥabbe - ḥabbēye</i>	“a tablet or a piece (of s.th.)”

¹⁵⁹ Cf. Abu-Haidar 1991, 72.

¹⁶⁰ Cf. Turk. *sermaye* “capital”. *šarma* may also mean an old shoe in other Arabic dialects, for instance in Egypt and in Syria (see Hinds and Badawi 1986, 502; Barthélemy 1935, 431).

torba - torbāye “a bag”

Nouns without feminine marker belonging to one of the following groups are feminine:

a. Nouns that designate female beings, e.g.:

<i>əmm</i>	“mother”	<i>bənt</i>	“daughter, girl”
<i>əxt</i>	“sister”	<i>mara</i>	“woman”
<i>‘arūs</i>	“bride”	<i>xēnəm</i> ¹⁶¹	“wife, woman”

b. Nouns that designate parts of the human body which occur in pairs, e.g.:

<i>īd</i>	“hand”	<i>‘ayn</i>	“eye”
<i>əvən</i>	“ear”	<i>əğər</i>	“foot”

c. Name of countries and cities, e.g.:

<i>Wēn</i>	“Van”	<i>Irān</i>	“Iran”
<i>Dyarbakər</i>	“Diyarbakir”	<i>‘Irāq</i>	“Iraq”

d. Nouns belonging to some natural phenomena, e.g.:

<i>arγ</i>	“earth”
<i>šams</i>	“sun”
<i>nār</i>	“fire”

As mentioned above, the Arabs of Tillo are multilingual. Arabic has gender while both Kurdish and Turkish have no gender. The lack of gender in these two languages creates some uncertainty for the Tillo Arabs. This uncertainty may lead the speakers to make some ‘grammatically considered’ mistakes. The effect of genderlessness in Kurdish and Turkish on this dialect is particularly clear, for instance, when people talk rapidly and without having time to think. Then they mix up gender, e.g.:

<i>lay kənnə fə-Təllo kən hayāt</i> ¹⁶²	“when we were in Tillo life was bet- ter”
<i>fī mōya‘ iyy kbīr</i>	“there is a place which is huge”
<i>uww arγna and iyy arγna</i>	“it is our land”
<i>abwēp kēn wasīḥ</i>	“the doors were wide”

¹⁶¹ Cf. Kur. *xanim* “lady, Miss, Mrs.”. Cf. also Turk. *hanım* “lady, woman, wife, Mrs., Miss”.

¹⁶² *hayat* is a common word also in Turkish.

əl-maḏḏiyāt yəṭqaddēm
pārāt əḡdīt

“materialism is going forward”
 “new money”

A male informant, 33 years old, asks his 12-year-old sister the following: *əṣṣ tsaway fəl-maktēp?* “what do you do at school?”. She answers: *ənčālaš*¹⁶³. *darsēti ənne malīha* “we study, my studies are all right”. *darsēti* is a plural substantive and *malīha* is a feminine adjective. In normal cases the adjective should concord to the substantive that it defines. In this example, I consider the occurrence as a gender vagueness. This example may, further, indicate that the younger generation’s understanding of the language is even more insufficient.

3.2.3. States

Feminine substantives (both of Arabic origin and borrowed from a language that lacks gender, such as Kurdish and Turkish, but are considered by Tillo-Arabs to be feminine) occurring in status constructus have, as a rule, the feminine suffix *-ət* or *-at*, e.g.:

<i>-ət</i>			
abs.		const.	
<i>parča</i> ¹⁶⁴	“a piece”	<i>parčāyət</i> <i>ḡanam</i>	“a piece of sheep (one sheep)”
<i>čašne</i> ¹⁶⁵	“a sort”	<i>čašnət ləxx</i>	“another sort”
<i>tallīse</i> ¹⁶⁶	“a sack”	<i>tallīsət səkkar</i>	“a sack of sugar”
<i>ša^crūke</i> ¹⁶⁷	“a little”	<i>ša^crūkət qaşabe</i>	“some liver”
<i>‘amme</i>	“an aunt”	<i>‘ammət arqa- ḏāši</i>	“the aunt of my friend”
<i>sā^ca</i>	“clock”	<i>sā^cət əl-xatēn</i>	“the wrist-watch of the bridegroom”
<i>-at</i>			
abs.		const.	
<i>šōra</i>	“photo”	<i>šōrat ər-raḡal</i>	“the photo of the man”
<i>yay^ca</i>	“village”	<i>yay^cat ləxx</i>	“another village”
<i>zyāra</i>	“sanctuary”	<i>zyārat əBrāhīm</i>	“the sanctuary of Ibrahim”
<i>zalamə</i>	“man”	<i>zalamat əl-ləxx</i>	“the other man”

¹⁶³ Cf. Turk. *çalışmak* “to study, to work”.

¹⁶⁴ Cf. Turk. *Parça* “piece, bit”.

¹⁶⁵ Cf. Turk. *çeşni* “flavour, taste, sample”.

¹⁶⁶ Cf. Kur. *telis* “sack”.

¹⁶⁷ A local word.

‘āyle	“family”	‘āylat kurmān	“a Kurdish tribe”
mamlake	“town”	mamlakat ləxx	“another town”
salle	“basket”	sallat ‘ənap	“a basket of grapes”

3.2.4. Forming singular of collective words

Singular substantives are built out of collective nouns by adding a suffix *-e*, e.g.:

ġaname < ġanam	“sheep”
samake < samak	“fish”
başale < başal	“onion”
ħabbe < ħapp	“a tablet or a piece (of s.th.)”

There are no attestations belonging to this grammatical phenomenon with the suffix *-a*.

3.2.5. Dual

As in the majority of modern Arabic dialects, the dual is used only in substantives. There are two categories where dual is used:

1. Parts of the human body that occur in pairs, e.g.: *īdayn* “two hands”; *əğrayn* and *əğərtayn* “two feet, legs”; *rəkəbtayn* “two knees”; *‘aynayn* “two eyes”; *kətfayn* “two shoulders”.

The *-n* of the dual marker is elided when a personal suffix is added to it, e.g.: *‘aynayu* “his two eyes”; *īdaya* “both her hands”; *əğrək* “both your (m.sg.) legs/feet” and *əğrayy* “both my legs/feet”. Note the monophthongisation of the *ay* to *ē* in *əğrək* (see 2.4.6.1).

2. Substantives in general, e.g.:

<i>santayn</i>	“two years”
<i>yawmayn</i>	“two days”
<i>əbnayn</i>	“two sons”
<i>kilowayn</i>	“two kilos”
<i>maratayn</i>	“two women”
<i>məlyārayn</i>	“two billions”
<i>sāhtayn</i>	“two hours”
<i>bəntayn</i>	“two daughters/girls”
<i>kartayn</i>	“twice”

<i>torḥātayn</i>	“two bags”
<i>rakəḥtayn</i>	“two kneelings (when praying)”
<i>balazəktayn</i>	“two bracelets”
<i>dəntayn</i>	“two shifts”
<i>mītayn</i>	“two hundreds”

Also here the *-n* of the dual marker is elided when a personal suffix is added to the noun, e.g.: *wāldayk* “both your parents”.

Adjectives that define a substantive in dual concord in pl., e.g.: *‘āyltayn kbār* “two big families”; *ḡaləbtayn*¹⁶⁸ *ənnē mlēḥ* “some (lit. two sorts) are nice”; *bəntayn ənnē mẓawḡīn* “two daughters are married”. In one example a substantive in dual concords to a numeral in dual, e.g.: *nənlā*¹⁶⁹ *imkēn ənsayy fəntayn balazəkaytayn* “we can afford (only) two bracelets”. What is expected here is either *balazəkaytayn* without *fəntayn* or *fəntayn balazək*, i.e. the substantive in plural.

3.2.6. The plural

The plural is formed either by suffigation or by a change in the morphemic form of the singular.

3.2.6.1. Suffixed plurals

a. Plural with the ending *-āt* or *-ēt*, e.g.:

<i>insānāt</i>	“human beings”	<i>masʔəlēt</i>	“matters, stories”
<i>ṣalawāt</i>	“prayers”	<i>akalēt</i>	“(food) dishes”
<i>banāt</i>	“girls”	<i>ḡnaynēt</i>	“gardens”
<i>‘ādāt</i>	“traditions”	<i>banēt</i>	“daughters, girls”
<i>xawātna</i>	“our sisters”	<i>ḥawīsēt</i>	“clothes”
<i>ḥarakāt</i>	“movements”	<i>ktēbēt</i>	“books”
<i>āfārātan</i>	“their places”	<i>darsēti</i>	“my studies”
<i>warqāt</i>	“papers”	<i>ḥaywēnēt</i>	“animals”
<i>madrasāt</i>	“schools”	<i>frēḡēt</i>	“plates”
<i>naṣīḥāt</i>	“advices”	<i>əmkānēt</i>	“possibilities”

¹⁶⁸ Cf. Kur. *celeb* “sort, variety, quality”.

¹⁶⁹ *əlna* “we have”.

The plurals in the table above, although suffixed, consist of both broken and sound plurals. It seems that the Arabs of Tillo have difficulties in separating these plural classes from each other. The speakers sometimes add the plural marker *-āt/-ēt* to singulars that ‘by tradition’ are expected to have broken plurals: for instance, *ktēbēt*, cf. CA *kutub*; *darsēti*, cf. CA *durūs*; *waraqāt*, cf. CA *awrāq* and *madrasāt*, cf. CA *madāris*. The plural marker *-āt* is added to *āfārātan* (< *ātār* pl. of *atar*), which already is in plural. This noun has apparently developed to give a meaning of a singular noun. *hawīsēt* (< *hawīs* coll.) is a noun that stands in coll. Also here the suffix *-ēt* is added to make it plural. It may be that the speaker exhibits this peculiarity for the sake of confidence.

b. Lexical borrowings are made plurals with the endings *-āt*, *-ēt* and *-īn*, e.g.:

<i>-āt</i>		
<i>pārāt</i>	Turk. <i>para</i>	“money”
<i>ṭannəgāt</i>	Turk. <i>teneke</i>	“tin plates”
<i>marāwāt</i>	Cf. Tūrōyo <i>marwōde</i> ¹⁷⁰	“earrings”
<i>ṣəhbāt</i>	Turk. <i>sehpa</i>	“three-legged stool or table”
<i>qornīšāt</i>	Turk. <i>kornış</i>	“cornices”
<i>šarpāt</i>	Turk. <i>eşarp</i>	“scarves”
<i>şəfrāt</i>	Turk. <i>sofra</i> ¹⁷¹	“tables with meal on”
<i>məlyārāt</i>	Turk. <i>milyar</i>	“billions”
<i>farmānāt</i>	Turk. <i>ferman</i>	“imperial edicts”
<i>mağārāt</i>	Turk. <i>macera</i> ¹⁷²	“adventures”
<i>sōpāt</i>	Turk. <i>soba</i>	“stoves”
<i>qultuğāt</i>	Turk. <i>koltuk</i>	“armchairs”
<i>maļowāt</i>	Turk. <i>manto</i>	“women’s coats”
<i>örətmānāt</i>	Turk. <i>öğretmen</i>	“teachers”
<i>-ēt</i>		
<i>čičekēt</i>	Turk. <i>çiçek</i>	“flowers”
<i>čēriyyēt</i>	Kur. <i>çarik</i>	“headscarfs”
<i>čašnēt</i>	Turk. <i>çeşit</i>	“kinds, varieties”
<i>čeydēnēt</i>	Turk. <i>çaydanlık</i>	“tea-pots”
<i>čeyēt</i>	Turk. <i>çay</i>	“cups of tea”
<i>-īn</i>		

¹⁷⁰ Tezel 2003, 175.

¹⁷¹ Second borrowing. Cf. *şufra* “dining table”. See also Tezel 2003, 149.

¹⁷² Second borrowing. Cf. OA *māğarayāt* pl. of *mā ġarā* “events, happenings”.

Adjectives		Substantives	
<i>adapsəzîn</i> ¹⁷³	“without manner”	<i>dostîn</i>	“friends”
<i>dalêlîn</i> ¹⁷⁴	“lovable (pl.)”	<i>ganğîn</i> ¹⁷⁵	“young ones”
<i>sarbastîn</i> ¹⁷⁶	“unrestricted”	<i>arqadaşîn</i> ¹⁷⁷	“friends”
<i>gêrîn</i> ¹⁷⁸	“strolling”		
<i>pîrôzîn</i> ¹⁷⁹	“blessed, holy”		

c. Masculine participles with *-în*, e.g.:

<i>qê˘dîn</i>	“sitting”	<i>mawğûdîn</i>	“existing”
<i>hâyîrîn</i>	“ready”	<i>maşhûrîn</i>	“famous”
<i>salîmîn</i>	“healthy”	<i>maqfûlîn</i>	“closed, covered”
<i>dâxlîn</i>	“entering”	<i>m˘alqîn</i>	“hanged”
<i>rêkzîn</i>	“settled”	<i>məsləmîn</i>	“just”
<i>maħkûmîn</i>	“forced, obliged”	<i>maktûbîn</i>	“written”
<i>mə˘almîn</i>	“teachers”	<i>mamnûnîn</i>	“grateful”
<i>məfləsîn</i>	“broke”	<i>mağbûrîn</i>	“obliged”

d. Masculine adjectives with *-în*, e.g.:

<i>şab˘în</i>	“smart”
<i>taybîn</i>	“good, nice”
<i>xtayrîn</i>	“old ones”

e. More plurals with *-în*:

<i>əsnîn</i>	“years”	<i>dakākîn</i>	“shops”
<i>mıahrînçîn</i>	“circumcisers”	<i>nuxwaşşîn</i> ¹⁸⁰	“sick”
<i>məsəfrîn</i> ¹⁸¹	“guests”	<i>rəfqînkî</i>	“your (f.sg.) friends”
<i>şāhbîn</i>	“owners”		

¹⁷³ Cf. Turk. *adap* “good manners” + *-siz*, which is a Turkish suffix that means “without”.

¹⁷⁴ Cf. Kur. *delal* “dear, lovable”.

¹⁷⁵ Cf. Turk. *genç* “young”.

¹⁷⁶ Cf. Turk. *serbest* “free, unrestricted”.

¹⁷⁷ Cf. Turk. *arkadaş* “friend”.

¹⁷⁸ Cf. Kur. *gerîn* “stroll, move around”.

¹⁷⁹ Cf. Kur. *pîroz* “blessed, holy”.

¹⁸⁰ Cf. Kur. *nexweş* “ill, sick”.

¹⁸¹ Second borrowing. Cf. Turk. *misafir* “guest”.

f. Forming plural from singular nouns with the feminine ending *-e* and *-a*, e.g.:

<i>ḥarake</i> → <i>ḥarakāt</i>	“movements”
<i>madrase</i> → <i>madrasāt</i>	“schools”
<i>karra</i> → <i>karrāt</i>	“times”
ʿ <i>araba</i> → ʿ <i>arabāt</i>	“cars”

3.2.6.2. Broken plurals

3.2.6.2.1. əCCvVC

Broken plural type $\text{əCCvVC} < *CvCvVC$:

<i>əbyūt</i>	“houses”	<i>əngūm</i>	“stars”
<i>ənfūs</i>	“souls, persons”	<i>əkrūm</i>	“vineyards”
<i>ərǧēl</i>	“men”	<i>əbnēn</i> and <i>əbnīn</i>	“sons”

The initial *ə* is an anaptyctic vowel (see 2.4.4). In cases when the preceding word ends in a vowel, the *ə* is then omitted, e.g.: *anā mā šlah šā rǧēl* “I cannot marry (lit. I am not good for) men”. *əbnēn* (attested twice by one informant) and *əbnīn* (attested twice by a female informant) are unusual pl. They occur in the following context: ... *kā ləhu salās*¹⁸² *əbnēn* ... *salās əbnēn u bənt* ... “... he had three sons ... three sons and a daughter ...”; *xams əbnīn w arbaḥ banēt* “five sons and four daughters” and *əl-əbnīn ənn əfnayn* “the sons are two”.

3.2.6.2.2. aCCēC

Broken plural type $\text{aCCēC} < *aCCāC$:

<i>aʿmēm</i>	“uncles”	<i>axtēn</i>	“brothers-in-law”
<i>abwēp</i>	“doors”	<i>axwēn</i>	“brothers”
<i>aždēd</i>	“grandfathers”		“sisters”

¹⁸² For the shift of *t* to *s* see 2.1.16.

3.2.6.2.3. CvCēC

Broken plural type CvCēC < *CuCCāl or < *CiCCāl:

ğəhēl “young ones” < ğuhhāl or OA ğihhāl (more probable) where the gemination of *h* is degeminated and the *ā* changes, because of *imāla* to *ē*.

3.2.6.2.4. CəCēCi

Broken plural type CəCēCi:

<i>ḥəkēki</i>	“tales”	<i>xəwēli</i> ¹⁸³	“veils”
<i>čəwēri</i> ¹⁸⁴	“headscarf”	<i>ṭəqēši</i> ¹⁸⁵	“taxi cars”

ḥəkēki is the plural of *ḥakkōy* or *ḥakkōye*. This plural form is used beside the ‘expected’ one *ḥakk ḥakkōy yāt*. *čəwēri* is attested beside *čēriyyēt* (see 3.2.5.1. b.). *ṭəqēši* is attested beside *ṭaqāsi*.

3.2.7. Suppletive plural

As in many modern Arabic dialects, the suppletive or anomalous¹⁸⁶ plural is attested in only a few words in TA, e.g.:

Singular	Plural
<i>mara</i> “woman”	<i>nəswēn</i> “women”
<i>əbən</i> “son”	<i>awlād /əwlād</i> “sons; children”

3.2.8. Nunation

The following attestations of nunation are found in the material:

<i>yawmən wəḥde</i>	“one day”
<i>ḥakkōyətən wəḥde</i>	“a tale”
<i>masʾalətən wəḥde</i>	“a matter”
<i>mamlakətən wəḥde</i>	“a kingdom”
<i>bīrən wəḥde</i>	“a well”
<i>tappatən</i> ¹⁸⁷ <i>wəḥde</i>	“a hill”

¹⁸³ Cf. Kur. *xewlî* and Turk. *havlu* “towel, veil”. Singular in Tillo *xēliyye*.

¹⁸⁴ Cf. Kur. *çarik* “headscarf”. Singular in Tillo *çēriyye*.

¹⁸⁵ Cf. Turk. *taksi* “taxi, cab”.

¹⁸⁶ Cf. Wright 1988, 233 B.

¹⁸⁷ Cf. Turk. *tepe* “hill, mound”.

<i>zamēnən wēḥət</i>	“a(n amount of) time”
<i>mnağğamən wēḥət</i>	“an astrologer”
<i>məqdārən wēḥət</i>	“an amount”
<i>mharbēlən wēḥət</i>	“neglected”
<i>ḡay^catan wəḥde</i>	“a village”
<i>quwwaratan¹⁸⁸ wəḥde</i>	“beehive”
<i>baytin wēḥət</i>	“one house”
<i>ḥəkēkin wēḥət</i>	“(some) tales”

The form *yawmən wəḥde* occurs 9 times in the corpus. All nouns with nunation are succeeded by *wəḥde* or *wēḥət*. All of them are attested in singular except the last example, *ḥəkēkin*, which is in plural but nevertheless followed, in analogy to the common feature, by *wēḥət* and means “some tales”. This morphological peculiarity is mentioned as ‘Rest der Nunation’ in Vocke and Waldner’s *Der Wortschatz des Anatolischen Arabisch*.¹⁸⁹ Vocke and Waldner have only two attestations of this morphological peculiarity, both of them coming from the Arabic dialect of Fəskən, one of the Arabic-speaking villages in the region of Siirt, like Tillo. Nunation is not a typical phenomenon for the Anatolian qD. However, it is a common characteristic in Bedouin dialects and in the Arabic qD of the Khawētna in north-east Syria, where it is termed in German ‘Indetermination’.¹⁹⁰ As mentioned above (see 1.5), one part of the Arabic-speakers of Tillo, ‘Abbāsies, claim that their ancestors originated from Saudi Arabia. If this is true, linguistically this may be one piece of evidence to confirm the claim.

3.3. Nominal formation

3.3.1. Biliteral nouns

The OA biliteral nouns are attested in TA:

* ² <i>ab</i>	<i>app</i>	“father”
* ² <i>ax</i>	<i>axx</i>	“brother”
* <i>ḥam</i>	<i>ḥamu¹⁹¹</i>	“father-in-law”

¹⁸⁸ Second borrowing. Cf. CA *kwāra* “beehive”; cf. Ṭūrōyo *kōro* (see Tezel 2003, 168) and cf. also Turk. *kovani* “beehive”.

¹⁸⁹ Vocke and Waldner 1982, 18 footnote 22.

¹⁹⁰ Talay 1999, 72-74 and 172-173.

¹⁹¹ Cf. CS *ḥmō* “father in law” and Ṭūrōyo *ḥmō* “father in law”; Brockelmann 1928, 238; Tezel 2003, 206.

With the possessive pronoun the forms are: *abī* “my father”; *abūk* “your (m.sg.) father”; *axī* “my brother” (*axūy* is attested twice. The same speaker also uses *axī*); *ḥamūk* “your (m.sg.) father-in-law”.

3.3.2. Triliteral nouns

The nominal pattern *Cv̄vC* (where *vv* = *ā, ū, ō, ē* and *ī*) derives from OA *CāC, CīC* and *CūC*. *CēC* and *CōC* may be the result of one of the following:

- a. Vowel lowering of *ī* > *ē* and *ū* > *ō* in the vicinity of an emphatic consonant or *x, ḡ, q, ḥ,* and *ʕ*.
- b. Monophthongisation of *ay* > *ē* and *aw* > *ō*.
- c. *Cv̄vC* may be the result of OA *Cv̄ʔC*, e.g.: *raʔs* > *rās* “head”; *ḡiʔb* > *vīb* “wolf”; *biʔr* > *bīr* “well”.

sēn (< **lsēn* < *lisān*) “tongue” may also be arranged under the pattern *Cv̄vC*.

3.3.2.1. *CāC*

<i>nār</i>	“fire”	<i>ḥāl</i>	“condition”
<i>māl</i>	“material; goods”	<i>xāl</i>	“uncle”
<i>nās</i>	“people”	<i>ḡār</i> ¹⁹²	“poor”
<i>bāp/b</i>	“door”	<i>yāḡ</i> ¹⁹³	“oil; fat”
<i>bāl</i>	“mind”		

The forms *mēl, nēs, bēp/b, bēl* and *xēl* are also attested (see 2.4.9). Foreign words that fit in the pattern are taken for demonstration.

3.3.2.2. *CūC*

This form may, in some cases, be the plural of *CāC*, e.g.: *rās* - *rūs* “heads”.

¹⁹² Cf. Kur. *jar* “poor, weak”.

¹⁹³ Cf. Turk. *yaḡ* “oil, fat”.

<i>tūf</i>	“mulberry”	<i>mūn</i>	“food supply”
<i>nūr</i>	“light”	<i>dūt</i> ¹⁹⁴	“mulberry”
<i>fūm</i>	“garlic”	<i>dūs</i> ¹⁹⁵	“smooth”
<i>tūl</i>	“length”	<i>qūš</i> ¹⁹⁶	“bird”

3.3.2.3. *CōC*

<i>lōm</i>	“day”	<i>bōš</i> ¹⁹⁷	“empty”
<i>ğōc</i>	“hunger”	<i>xōš bēš</i> ¹⁹⁸	“pleasant”
<i>fōq</i>	“over”	<i>tōp</i> ¹⁹⁹	“cannon”
<i>rōḥ</i>	“soul”	<i>zōr</i> ²⁰⁰	“difficult”
<i>šōp</i>	“direction”	<i>šōn</i> ²⁰¹	“end”

lōm < *əl-lōm* < *əl-yawm* (assimilation) is not frequent and is attested when it is preceded by the definite article, e.g.: *əl-lōm bānti taqri fəl-maktap ...* “my daughter studies at school now ...”. *fōq* and *šōp* (very rare) are monophthongizations of *fawq* and *šawp* respectively (see 2.4.6.2). *fawq* and *šawp* are also attested in the corpus. *ğōc* and *rōḥ* are a result of lowering (see 2.4.11).

3.3.2.4. *CēC*

<i>ğēr</i>	“another; different”	<i>ğēč</i>	“chicken”
<i>šēx</i>	“sheik”	<i>čēx</i> ²⁰²	“time; then”

ğēr and *šēx* are monophthongization of *ğayr* and *šayx* respectively (see 2.4.6.1). *ğayr* and *šayx* are also attested in the corpus.

3.3.2.5. *CīC*

<i>tīn</i>	“fig(s)”	<i>zīn</i> ²⁰³	“saddle”
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¹⁹⁴ Cf. Turk. *du* “mulberry”.

¹⁹⁵ Cf. Turk. *düz* “smooth, even, flat”.

¹⁹⁶ Cf. Turk. *kuş* “bird”.

¹⁹⁷ Cf. Turk. *boş* “empty”.

¹⁹⁸ Cf. Turk. *hoş beş* “pleasant, charming”.

¹⁹⁹ Cf. Turk. *top* “cannon”.

²⁰⁰ Cf. OA *zūr* “force” and Turk. *zor* “hard, difficult”.

²⁰¹ Cf. Turk. *son* “end”.

²⁰² Cf. Kur. *çax* “then, at the time”. cf. also Turk. *çağ* “time, age, period”.

<i>‘īd</i>	“feast”	<i>zīl</i> ²⁰⁴	“bell”
<i>rīḥ</i> ²⁰⁵	“a sort of cramp”	<i>bīr</i> ²⁰⁶	“one”
<i>dīn</i>	“religion”		

3.3.2.6. CvVC-T

CvVC-T forms feminine of CvVC, e.g.:

<i>rāḥa</i>	“ease”	<i>māṣa</i> ²⁰⁷	“table”
<i>ḡāḡa/ḡēḡe</i>	“chicken”	<i>ḡēme</i> ²⁰⁸	“glass; window”
<i>sāʿalsāʿa</i>	“clock, hour”	<i>ṭāṣe</i> ²⁰⁹	“bowl”

Loan-words and local developed words that fit in the feminine pattern in pausla form are treated as Arabic words in the construct state, which means a -t is suffixed to the noun, e.g.: *maḥḥaxiyye* “large pot” > *fī laḥu maḥḥaxiyyat* *azāl*²¹⁰ “it has a special pot”; *tallīse* “sack” > *tallīsət rəss* “a sack of rice”.

3.3.2.7. vvCāC

<i>āfār</i>	“place”
<i>īmān</i>	“belief, faith”

āfār < OA *ʾāṭār* is a singular noun in TA.

3.3.2.8. CaCC

<i>‘apt</i>	“slave, servant”	<i>gapš</i>	“ram, male sheep”
<i>kalp</i>	“dog”	<i>waxt</i>	“time”
<i>falḡ</i>	“snow”	<i>ḡaṣṣ</i>	“gypsum”
<i>ḥaps</i>	“jail”	<i>ḥarf</i>	“letter”
<i>xalf</i>	“after, behind”	<i>sapp</i>	“way, direction”

²⁰³ Cf. Kur. *zīn* “saddle”.

²⁰⁴ Cf. Turk. *zil* “bell”.

²⁰⁵ Disease in leg and knees, comparable to a cramp, according to the informants.

²⁰⁶ Cf. Turk. *bir* “one”.

²⁰⁷ Cf. Turk. *masa* “table”.

²⁰⁸ Cf. Turk. *cam* “glass, window pane”.

²⁰⁹ Cf. OA *ṭast* “basin, washbowl”. Cf. also Kur. *tas* “bowl”.

²¹⁰ Cf. Turk. *özel* “special”.

sapp is attested beside *ṣawp* and *ṣōp* in the same meaning.

3.3.2.9. *CəCC*

(*CəCC* < OA *CuCC* and *CiCC*)

<i>ṣərp</i>	“drinking”	<i>wəčč</i>	“face”	
<i>kəvp</i>	“lie”	<i>həfz</i>	“knowing heart”	by
<i>həss</i>	“voice”	<i>yəhk</i>	“laughter”	
<i>ḡərp</i>	“foreigners”	<i>ləps</i>	“clothes”	
<i>məlh</i>	“salt”	<i>nəşş</i>	“half, middle”	

ṣərap occurs beside *ṣərp* without any distinction. *ḡərp* is the plural of *ḡarīp*.

3.3.2.10. *CaCC-T*

CaCC-T forms the feminine of *CaCC*. Loan-words that fit in the same pattern and are treated in the same way are included (see 2.4.10).

<i>yəʿa</i>	“village”	<i>yarbe</i>	“punch; trick”
<i>dawle</i>	“country, state”	<i>ḡarze</i>	“plant”
<i>qahwe</i>	“coffee”	<i>parda</i> ²¹¹	“curtain”
<i>salle</i>	“basket”	<i>banqa</i> ²¹²	“bank”

3.3.2.11. *CəCC-T*

This is the feminine form of *CəCC* (< OA *CuCC* and *CiCC*).

<i>həşša</i>	“share”	<i>ṣəhbe</i>	“getting together”
<i>ṣəṛta</i>	“police”	<i>ləʿbe</i>	“a play, game”
<i>ṣəḫta</i>	“theft”	<i>ṣəfra</i> ²¹³	“table”
<i>ləqme</i>	“bit; mouthful”	<i>mədde</i>	“period”
<i>fəyya</i>	“silver”		

²¹¹ Cf. Turk. *perde* “curtain”.

²¹² Cf. Turk. *banka* “bank”.

²¹³ Cf. Turk. *sofra* “table with a meal on it”.

3.3.2.12. *CaCaC*

CaCaC fits in as a pattern for collective nouns, e.g.:

<i>‘arap</i>	“Arabs”	<i>ba’ar</i>	“cows”
<i>başal</i>	“onions”	<i>ğanam</i>	“sheep”
<i>sağar</i>	“trees”	<i>darağ</i>	“steps, stairs”

CaCaC may also indicate simple nouns, e.g.:

<i>xatan</i>	“brother or son-in-law”	<i>ğabal</i>	“mountain”
<i>maçar</i>	“rain”	<i>rağal</i>	“man”
<i>qadar</i>	“amount”	<i>maraq</i> ²¹⁴	“concern, anxiety”

3.3.2.13. *CaCaC-T*

CaCaC-T is the feminine form of *CaCaC*.

<i>sağara</i>	“tree”	<i>barake</i>	“blessing”
<i>ğaname</i>	“sheep”	<i>zalame</i>	“man”

Singular nouns are formed from collective nouns (of the pattern *CaCaC*) by adding the feminine suffix *-al/-e*.

3.3.2.14. *CəCəC*

The nominal derivation *CəCəC* may also form nouns in collective.

<i>ləbəs</i>	“clothing”	<i>‘ənəp</i>	“grape(s)”
<i>şərəp</i>	“drinking”	<i>nəsəl</i>	“offspring”

CəCəC is also a pattern for simple nouns, e.g.:

<i>‘əmər</i>	“age”
<i>fəkər</i>	“idea, thought”

²¹⁴ Turk. *merak* “concern, anxiety”.

šakal

“form, shape”

3.3.2.15. CvVCvC

a. $C\bar{a}C\partial C < OA C\bar{a}CiC$ is the active participle of stem I. Remarkable here is that the *imāla*, in these cases, has not affected the \bar{a} .

<i>nāqaš</i>	“decreasing”	<i>ḥāṣal</i>	“sum, total”
<i>wālad</i>	“father”	<i>‘ālam</i>	“learned, scientist”

Forms with *a* as a vowel in the second syllable are also attested, e.g.: *nāqaš* “decreasing”; *‘ālam* “learned, scientist”; *tāğar* “merchant”.

b. $C\bar{e}C\partial C$ is formed, through *imāla*, out of $C\bar{a}CiC$, e.g.:

<i>dēxal</i>	“entering”	<i>ğēməʕ</i>	“mosque”
<i>nēʕəm</i>	“low (sound)”	<i>‘ēdal</i>	“just”
<i>nēšaf</i>	“hard, dry”	<i>rēkəp</i>	“riding”

Also here, forms with an *a* vowel are attested, e.g.: *nēšaf* “hard, dry”.

3.3.2.16. CvCvVC

a. $CaC\bar{a}C$ forms nouns in singular, e.g.:

<i>ḥarām</i>	“forbidden; sin”	<i>šabāḥ</i>	“morning”
<i>xarāp</i>	“bad; rotten”	<i>zamān</i>	“time”
<i>rawāḥ</i>	“wondering”	<i>ḥawāl</i>	“situation”

ḥawāl is attested only in the expression *ḥāl w əl-ḥawāl iyy ...* “(our) situation in detail is ...”.

b. $CaC\bar{e}C$ forms plural and collective nouns, e.g.:

$CaCaC \rightarrow$ <i>‘adēs</i>	cf. <i>‘adas</i> “lentil(s)”; there is no semantic difference between <i>‘adēs</i> and <i>‘adas</i> . <i>‘adēs</i> is simply the pausal form
$CiCC \rightarrow$ <i>banēt</i>	cf. <i>bənt</i> “girl”

CaCaC → *ġanēm* cf. *ġaname* “sheep”
 CaCiC → *kalēm* cf. *kālme* “word”
 CaCēC forms abstracts as well, e.g.: *ġawēz* “marriage”.

c. CaCāC-T forms the plural of CaCāC, which has the shape of a feminine noun, e.g.:

ġamāʿa “group of people”
ġawāʿa “hungry”

ġamēʿa is also attested.

d. CaCēC-T forms feminine of CaCēC and gives it an abstract meaning, e.g.:

salēme “soundness”
katēbe “writing”
ʿabēye “aba, woollen wrap”
kafēle “guaranty, security”

E.g.: *bəl-xayr w bəs-salēme də-nnrō at-Təllo* “lit. we will go (back) to Tillo in good faith and good health”. *salāme* is also attested.

Nouns such as *zirāʿa* “agriculture” and *tiġāra* “commerce” belong to the pattern CiCāC-T. Both of these words are common terms in Turkish; hence I believe it is a second-borrowing phenomenon.²¹⁵ That the ʿ in *zirāʿa* is pronounced may be due to Turkish local dialectal variety.

e. CaCiC: Masculine substantives and adjectives, e.g.:

Substantives		Adjectives	
<i>wazīr</i>	“minister”	<i>qarīp</i>	“close”
<i>rabīʿ</i>	“spring”	<i>ʿaġīp</i>	“amazing, strange”
<i>ʿaġīn</i>	“dough”	<i>ħazīn</i>	“sad”
<i>šarīṭ</i>	“string”	<i>xafīf</i>	“light”
<i>dalīl</i>	“proof”	<i>ʿatīq</i>	“old”
<i>ṭarīq</i>	“way, road”	<i>faqīr</i>	“poor”
<i>nasīp</i>	“lot, fate”	<i>faqīl</i>	“heavy”
<i>ṭaḥīn</i>	“flour”	<i>ṭawīl</i>	“long”

²¹⁵ Cf. Turk. *ziraat* “agriculture”.

Some attestations of $(\partial)CC\bar{i}C < CaC\bar{i}C$ are also found in the corpus, e.g.: $(\partial)gb\bar{i}r$ “big”; $(\partial)z\bar{g}\bar{i}r$ “small”.

f. $CaC\bar{i}C-T$: The feminine of $CaC\bar{i}C$, e.g.:

<i>ṭarīqa</i>	“breakfast”	<i>faṭīra</i>	“dough, bread”
<i>ḡarībe</i>	“stranger”	<i>malīḥa</i>	“nice”
<i>‘ašīre</i>	“tribe”	<i>daqīqa</i>	“minute”

Here too, attestations of $(\partial)CC\bar{i}C-T < CaC\bar{i}C-T$ are found, e.g.: $(\partial)gb\bar{i}re$ “big”; $(\partial)z\bar{g}\bar{i}re$ “small”.

g. $CuC\bar{u}C$ is a pattern that is attested in borrowings, e.g.:

<i>wuḍū</i> ²¹⁶	“ritual ablution”
<i>ḍurūm</i> ²¹⁷	“condition”
<i>luqūm</i> ²¹⁸	“Turkish delight”

h. $C\partial C\bar{u}C < OA CuC\bar{u}C$, is a pattern that derives nouns both in singular and in plural, e.g.:

<i>ḥazūr</i>	“presence”	<i>ḥadūd</i> ²¹⁹	“border”
<i>xaṣūṣ</i>	“specially”	<i>ḍanūn</i> ²²⁰	“depts”

3.3.2.17. $CCv\bar{v}C$

a. $(\partial)CC\bar{e}C < OA CiC\bar{a}C$ indicates both singular and plural substantives, e.g.:

$(\partial)kt\bar{e}p$	“book”
$(\partial)r\bar{g}\bar{e}l$	“men”

∂ is an anaptyctic vowel (see 2.4.4). In a sentence when the preceding word ends in a vowel, the ∂ is then omitted, e.g.: *s-saḥ ‘andi ktēp əysay baḥs ḥəkēkin wēḥət* “I have now a book that mentions some stories”.

b. $(\partial)CC\bar{a}C < CiC\bar{a}C$ and $CuC\bar{a}C$

²¹⁶ Cf. KA. *wuḍū* with the same meaning.

²¹⁷ Cf. Turk. *durum* “state, condition”.

²¹⁸ Cf. Turk. *lokum* “Turkish delight”.

²¹⁹ Cf. OA *ḥudūd* and Turk. *hudut* “border”.

²²⁰ Cf. *duyūn* “depts”.

(ə)ḥmār “donkey”
 (ə)flān “so-and-so; certain person”

3.3.2.18. CvCCvC

a. CvCCāC: Designates profession and singular nouns, e.g.:

1. CāCCāC

dakkān “shop”
 rəmmān “pomegranate”
 šəbbāt “thief”

2. CaCCāC

baqqāl “green-grocer”
 qaššāp “butcher”

b. CvCCōC: Designate nouns in singular, e.g.:

šaqqōq “pear”

3.3.2.19. CvCCāC-T

The feminine of CvCCāC, e.g.:

<i>ləffāḥa</i>	“scarf”	<i>təyyāra</i>	“airplane”
<i>yərrāṭa</i>	“the one (f.) that farts”	<i>rəmmāna</i>	“pomegranate tree”
<i>šəbbāṭa</i>	“thief”		

3.3.3. Triliteral nouns with prefix

3.3.3.1. aCCaC

The relative, body defects and colours, e.g.:

<i>akfar</i>	“more”	<i>axyar</i>	“green”
<i>aḥsan</i>	“better”	<i>ašfar</i>	“yellow”

<i>aḥmar</i>	“more stupid”	<i>azraq</i>	“blue”
<i>agbar</i>	“bigger”	<i>aḥmar</i>	“red”
<i>aṭyap</i>	“nicer”	<i>aḥyaḥ</i>	“white”
<i>azyat</i>	“more”	<i>aswad</i>	“black”
<i>akwas</i>	“better”		

The Arabic elative is also often expressed by placing the Turkish superlative particle *en* before the adjective, which already is in elative, e.g.: *an azyat* “more”; *an axfaf* “easier, lighter”. In pausal position the *a* shifts to *ē* in the last syllable, e.g.: *aḥsēn* “better”; *aswēt* “black” (see 2.6).

3.3.3.2. vCCvVC

Triliteral nouns with the prefix *v*-:

a. *aCCāC* and *aCCēC*: Indicate plural nouns, e.g.:

<i>ašḡār</i>	“trees”	<i>ašxāṣ</i>	“persons”
<i>aḍḃāḥ</i> < <i>aṭbāq</i>	“plates”	<i>anwēḥ</i>	“sorts, varieties”
<i>aṣwāl</i> ²²¹	“shoes”	<i>atrēk</i> ²²²	“sorts or varieties of food or fruit”

b. *iCCēC*: Indicate nouns in singular, e.g.:

<i>imkēn</i>	“ability”
<i>insēn</i>	“human being”

Due to *imāla* the original *ā* shifts to *ē*.

3.3.4. Triliteral nouns with the prefix *m*

3.3.4.1. mvCCvVC

mvCCvVC < *maCCūC*, *muCCāC* and *miCCāC*:

²²¹ Cf. Kur. *sol* “shoes”.

²²² A local word that means “sort or kind of food or fruit”.

a. *maCCūC*: The participle passivum designates adjectives in masculine singular, e.g.:

<i>mašhūr</i>	“known”	<i>madfūn</i>	“buried”
<i>maskūn</i>	“populated”	<i>marḥūm</i>	“deceased”
<i>maǧbūr</i>	“forced”	<i>maktūb</i>	“written”
<i>mafrūm</i>	“chopped”	<i>mamnūn</i>	“grateful”

b. *muCCāC*: This pattern is attested only in the word *muxtār* “elected head of a village”. The word occurs twice in this form and once with a shift of *u* to *ə*, *məxtār*. The term may also be a second borrowing. Cf. Turk. *muhtar*.

c. *məCCāC*: This pattern is attested in one word that occurs three times, namely *məqdār* “amount”.

3.3.5. Quadriliteral nouns

3.3.5.1. *CvCCvC*

CvCCvC indicates a collective form, e.g.:

<i>‘askar</i>	“soldiers”	<i>fəlfəl</i>	“pepper”
<i>burǧur</i>	“cracked wheat kernels”	<i>məšməš</i>	“apricot”

fəlfəl and *məšməš* are reduplicated nouns that fit in the pattern *CvCCvC*.

3.3.5.2. *CvCCvC-T*

CvCCvC-T is the feminine of *CvCCvC*, e.g.:

<i>malzama</i> ²²³	“necessaries”
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²²³ Second borrowing. Cf. Turk. *malzeme* “materials, necessities”.

3.3.5.3. CvCCvC

a. CaCCāC

<i>şaytān</i>	“Satan”
<i>şultān</i>	“sultan”
<i>farmān</i> ²²⁴	“imperial edict”

b. CaCCūC: Nouns in singular, e.g.:

<i>tattūn</i> ²²⁵	“tobacco”	<i>‘aşfūr</i>	“bird”
<i>panṭūr</i> ²²⁶	“trousers”	<i>na‘mūk</i>	“small, little”

The ending *-ūk* in *na‘mūk* is the Kurdish diminutive **-ik/-uk* (see 3.7. and 5.2.2.2).

c. CaCCīC: Only loan-words in singular, e.g.:

<i>zanğūr</i> ²²⁷	“chain”	<i>şahrīc</i> ²²⁸	“cistern”
<i>lastīq</i> ²²⁹	“rubber”	<i>‘atrīk</i> ²³⁰	“electricity”
<i>bastīq</i> ²³¹	“fruit pulp dried in thin layers”	<i>sarvīs</i> ²³²	“service”

d. CaCCēC

<i>ḥaywēn</i>	“animal”
<i>darnēk</i> ²³³	“association”

e. CəCCīC Indicate nouns in collective, e.g:

<i>kəbrīt</i> ²³⁴	“matches”
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²²⁴ Cf. Turk. *ferman* “imperial edict”.

²²⁵ Cf. Turk. *tütün* “tobacco”.

²²⁶ Cf. Turk. *pantolon* “trousers”.

²²⁷ Cf. Turk. *zincir* “chain”.

²²⁸ Cf. OA *şahrīğ/şihriğ* and Turk. *sarnıç* “cistern”.

²²⁹ Cf. Turk. *lastik* “rubber”.

²³⁰ Cf. Turk. *elektrik* “electricity”.

²³¹ Cf. Turk. *pestil* “fruit pulp dried in thin layers”.

²³² Cf. Turk. *servis* “service”.

²³³ Cf. Turk. *dernek* “association”.

²³⁴ Cf. Turk. *kibrit* “match”.

f. *CoCCiC* Indicate nouns in singular, e.g.:

*šošbīn*²³⁵ “godfather, best man”

g. *CəCCōC* Indicate nouns in singular, e.g.:

təxtōr “doctor”

3.3.5.4. *CvCCvvc-T*

The feminine of *CvCCvvc*, e.g.:

šoššāne “nothing at all”
*qošxāna*²³⁶ “pot, cauldron”

3.3.5.5. *CaCāCiC*

CaCāCiC indicate in general the plural of *CvCCvvc* and *Cvvcvvc*, e.g.:

<i>‘ašāfir</i>	“birds”	<i>zanābir</i>	“hornet”
<i>dakākīn</i>	“shops”	<i>danānīr</i>	“dinar”

3.4. Numerals

3.4.1. Cardinals

The numeral *wēḥat/wēḥat* “one (m.sg.)” and *wəḥde* “one (f.sg.)” may function as an indefinite marker when succeeding the noun they define, e.g.: *yawmən wēḥat* “a day” and *ḡay‘atan wəḥde* “a village” (see 3.2.8). *wēḥat* may also follow any numeral to indicate indefiniteness, amount or pieces of something, e.g.: *arb‘īn, xamsīn wēḥat* “forty, fifty (people, or anything that is masculine)”; *‘əššīn wəḥde* “twenty (women or anything that is feminine)”.

²³⁵ Cf. CS *šawšbīno*, cf. also MSA *šabīn* or *išbīn* “godfather, best man”.

²³⁶ Cf. Turk. *kuşhane* “small saucepan”.

fnayn “two (m.sg.) and *fəntayn* “two (f.sg.)” have the characteristic dual ending, i.e. the *-ayn* (see 3.2.5) in both genders. Examples: *əl-əbnīn əm əfnayn* “the sons are also two” and *kənēyāni, fəntayn ənne mən Təllo* “my daughters-in-law, two of them are from Tillo”.

The numerals 3-10 have three shapes: 1- When preceding a counted noun, i.e. in construct (the left column). 2- When the numeral stands separated, i.e. not preceding the counted noun (the middle column). 3- When the numeral is bound to a limited number of plural nouns, such as “days and months” (the right column):

<i>faff</i>	<i>fēfe</i>	<i>faff taššōr</i>	3
<i>arbaḥ</i>	<i>arbʿa</i>	<i>arbaḥ taššōr</i>	4
<i>xams</i>	<i>xamse</i>	<i>xaməs təyyēm</i>	5
<i>sətt</i>	<i>sətte</i>	<i>sətt taššōr</i>	6
<i>sabəʿ</i>	<i>sabʿa</i>	<i>sabəʿ taššōr</i>	7
<i>fmən</i>	<i>fmēne</i>	<i>fmən taššōr</i>	8
<i>təsəʿ</i>	<i>təsʿa</i>	<i>təsəḥ təyyēm</i>	9
<i>ʿašš</i>	<i>ʿašra</i>	<i>ʿašš təyyēm</i>	10

Examples for the left column: *faff banēt* “3 girls”; *arbaḥ əsnīn* “4 years”; *xams əsnīn* “5 years”; *sətt əsnīn* “6 years”; *sabəḥ karrāt* “7 times”; *fmən ʿašnēt* “8 varieties”; *təsəʿ əsnīn* “9 years”; *ʿašš nəswēn* “10 ladies”; *arbaḥt awlād* “4 children”; *arbaḥt ənfūs* “4 souls, persons”; *xams təyyēm* “5 days”.

The numerals 11-19

<i>ḥḍaḥš</i>	11
<i>fnahš</i>	12
<i>fləttahš</i>	13
<i>arbataḥš</i>	14
<i>xaməstahš</i>	15
<i>səttahš</i>	16
<i>sabetaḥš</i>	17
<i>fməntahš</i>	18
<i>təsetahš</i>	19

The decades

<i>ʿəššīn</i>	20
<i>flēfīn</i>	30
<i>arbʿīn</i>	40
<i>xamsīn</i>	50
<i>səttīn</i>	60
<i>sabʿīn</i>	70
<i>fmēnīn</i>	80
<i>təsʿīn</i>	90

Examples: *səttahš sane* “16 years”; *ʿəššīn sane* “20 years”; *wēḥad w ʿəššīn* “21”; *fnayn w ʿəššīn* “22”; *sabʿa w ʿəššīn* “27”.

Hundreds²³⁷

Thousands

²³⁷ Note that the forms in this table are elicited which may leave some doubts.

<i>miyye</i>	100	<i>alf</i>	1000
<i>mūtayn</i>	200	<i>alfayn</i>	2000
<i>falfa miyye</i>	300	<i>faf tālēf</i>	3000
<i>arba^c miyye</i>	400	<i>arbaḥ tālēf</i>	4000
<i>xamsa miyye</i>	500	<i>xaməs tālēf</i>	5000
<i>satta miyye</i>	600	<i>satt tālāf</i>	6000
<i>sab^ca miyye</i>	700	<i>sambə^c tālēf</i>	7000
<i>fmēna miyye</i>	800	<i>fmən tālēf</i>	8000
<i>təs^ca miyye</i>	900	<i>təsə^c tālēf</i>	9000
		<i>‘aš tālēf</i>	10 000

The construct of *miyye* is *mīt*, e.g.: *mīt sane* “100 years”; *sab^ca mīt waraqa* “700 Turkish lira”; *sab^ca mīt millyōn*²³⁸ “700 million”. Note the preservation of *l* in *falfa miyye* “300”.

When quoting a numeral, for instance date and age, the Arabs of Tillo feel, seemingly, more confident when mentioning it in Turkish. It is somehow easier to give a numeral first in Turkish and then repeat it in Arabic. My material contains many such examples, e.g.: *ğā d-doqsan dōrt ...* “when (19)94 came ...”; *aṭməš ikki* “72”. In cases where the numeral is first mentioned in Arabic the speaker feels the urge to repeat it in Turkish to make sure that he said it correctly, e.g.: *fəl-alf w təs^ca miyye w sab^ca w təs^cīn, əh alf w təs^ca miyye wa sab^ca fmēnīn, bīn dokuz saksan yadi*²³⁹ “in 1997, eh 1987, 1987”. A 12-year-old girl had difficulties in saying how old she was. She said *əfnayn əš..*, “two te..,” when her sister said *əfnahš* “12”.

3.4.2. *fard*

A linguistic fact that may confirm the claim of coming from Saudi Arabia via Iraq (see 1.5. and 3.2.8) may also be the use of *fard* “one, a”.²⁴⁰ In the Anatolian *qəltu*-dialects *fard* is attested in Mḥallamiye.²⁴¹ Vocke and Waldner present one attestation of *fard* which also originates from Mḥallamiye.²⁴² *fard* is a typical indefinite marker in Iraqi-Arabic dialects, for instance

²³⁸ Cf. Turk. *milyon* “million”.

²³⁹ The word for hundred, *yüz*, is missing in the expression *bīn dokuz yūz saksan yadi* “1987”.

²⁴⁰ The ‘Abbāsi tribe says that their ancestors came to Tillo from Saudi Arabia via Iraq. If *fard* is a typical Iraqi feature one wonders how it came to Tillo. One explanation may be that it came by language contact through the circumcisers that traveled often in Iraq. Another explanation may be that the first ‘Abbāsies, before going on to Tillo, settled down in Iraq for some time and their dialect thus became affected.

²⁴¹ Sasse 1971, 74.

²⁴² Vock and Waldner 1982, 310.

among Baghdad Muslims.²⁴³ Blanc writes in *Communal Dialects in Baghdad* that the indefinite marker *fard* (in slightly different shapes) is the characteristically Mesopotamian ‘indetermination marker’.²⁴⁴ In TA *fard* is attested in both men’s and women’s speech. *fard* precedes nouns in singular and in dual. Examples:

<i>şādeğe</i> ²⁴⁵ <i>laha fart aš-šiyayn</i>	“It has only (these) two things”
<i>mō yāklū fī faʿal</i> ²⁴⁶ <i>şāfra</i>	“they don’t eat at the same table”
<i>fart wəḥde mən aw mō kəla</i>	“I don’t eat a single one of these”
... <i>kānu tam fart layle</i>	“... they were exactly (in) one night”
<i>uww fart çaşne nəḥne mülədna</i>	“our <i>müləd</i> feast is one sort”
<i>nəswēn w ərgəl mō yərkəzu fī fart</i>	“women and men don’t sit in one
<i>şəḥbe</i>	gathering”
<i>wəḥəd zələme tə-yqūm əyrō mən a</i>	“a man is about to leave from here to
<i>wne farz</i> ²⁴⁷ <i>maḥall əl-İraq</i>	a certain place in Iraq”

In the first example, *fard* appears with Turk. *sadece* “merely, only” to stress that it is only and solely these two things. *fard* there has an adverbial meaning. *aš-šiyayn* is a noun in dual but most probably it is considered as one (singular) unit. Also in the second example *fard* has an adverbial meaning, “the same”. In the third example *fard* is succeeded by *wəḥde* also to stress the assertion. In the fourth, fifth and sixth examples *fard* has the meaning of the numeral “one”. In the seventh example *fard* has the meaning of an indefinite marker “one, a”.

3.4.3. Ordinals

The use of ordinals in the ‘normal’ way is limited to *awwəl* “first” and *fēni* “second”, e.g.: *awwəl karra ət-ṭəlbe ṭalabuwa* “the first time they asked for her hand”; *fēni layle haṭṭaytu rāsi nəmtu* “the second night (i.e. the next night), I went to bed and slept (lit. I put my head, slept)”. For ordinals from third onwards, Turkish ordinals are used, e.g.: *uçunğu* “third”; *dördünğu* “fourth”; *beşinği* “fifth” etc. Beside the Turkish ordinals, the Arabs of Tillo use two other, though very rare, forms (elicited forms):²⁴⁸

²⁴³ Fischer and Jastrow 1980, 88 and 97.

²⁴⁴ Blanc 1964, 118.

²⁴⁵ Cf. Tur. *sadece* “merely, simply, only”.

²⁴⁶ I consulted the informant’s brother concerning this form and he said that she, the speaker, means *fart* “one, the same”.

²⁴⁷ Strange form with *z*!

²⁴⁸ Note that these forms are elicited which may leave some doubts.

1.		
<i>wēḥət əl-falafe</i> or <i>fēfe</i>		“third”
<i>wēḥət l-arḥʿa</i>		“fourth”
<i>wēḥət əl-xamse</i>		“fifth”
<i>wēḥət əs-sätte</i>		“sixth”
<i>wēḥət əs-sabʿa</i>		“seventh”
<i>wēḥət əfmēnye</i>		“eighth”
<i>wēḥət ət-təsʿa</i>		“ninth”
<i>wēḥət əl-ʿašra</i>		“tenth”

According to the informants *wēḥət l-awwel* and *wēḥət lə-fnayn* are also used but very rarely. Note the lack of definite article in the ordinal for “eighth”. Note also the *t* in *wēḥət* before the *l* and before the *ə* (see 2.1.6).

2.		
<i>wēḥət baʿt əl-awwel</i>		“first”
<i>wēḥət baʿt əl-lə-fnayn</i>		“second”
<i>wēḥət baʿt əl-falafe</i> or <i>fēfe</i>		“third”
<i>wēḥət baʿt l-arḥʿa</i>		“fourth”
<i>wēḥət baʿt əl-xamse</i>		“fifth”
<i>wēḥət baʿt əs-sätte</i>		“sixth”
<i>wēḥət baʿt əs-sabʿa</i>		“seventh”
<i>wēḥət baʿt əfmēnye</i>		“eighth”
<i>wēḥət baʿt ət-təsʿa</i>		“ninth”
<i>wēḥət baʿt əl-ʿašra</i>		“tenth”

The use of the preposition *baʿt* “after” in this context is peculiar. Note, here too, the lack of definite article in the ordinal for “eighth”.

3.4.4. Fractionals

Except for *nəşş* and *rəḥəḥ* TA has developed its own fractionals, even though strongly influenced from Turkish (elicited forms):

<i>nəşş</i>	1/2	<i>wəḥde fəl-sabʿa</i>	1/7
<i>wəḥde fəl-fēfe</i>	1/3	<i>wəḥde fəl-fmēne</i>	1/8
<i>čērək</i> and <i>rəḥəḥ</i>	1/4	<i>wəḥde fəl-təsʿa</i>	1/9
<i>wəḥde fəl-xamse</i>	1/5	<i>fəl-miyye ʿašra</i>	10 %
<i>wəḥde fəl-sätte</i>	1/6		

Three quarters is *faf čəwērək*. *čəwērək* which is the pl. of *čērək* < Turk. *çeyrek* “quarter of an hour”, is used as a general expression for quarter(s), while in Turkish the expression is only used in connection with telling the time. The *l* of the article does not assimilate to the *s* in *wəḥde fəl-sətte* and *wəḥde fəl-sabʿa*.

3.5. Telling the time, Days of the week, Names of the months, Seasons of the year

3.5.1. Telling the time

Telling the time in TA is as follows (elicited forms):

<i>sääʿa wəḥde</i>	“one o’clock”
<i>sääʿa fəntayn</i>	“two o’clock”
<i>sääʿa fääfe</i>	“three o’clock”
<i>sääʿa arbʿa</i>	“four o’clock”
<i>sääʿa xamse</i>	“five o’clock”
<i>sääʿa sətte</i>	“six o’clock”
<i>sääʿa sabʿa</i>	“seven o’clock”
<i>sääʿa fmēnye</i>	“eight o’clock”
<i>sääʿa təsʿa</i>	“nine o’clock”
<i>sääʿa ʿašra</i>	“ten o’clock”
<i>sääʿa ḥdaš</i>	“eleven o’clock”
<i>sääʿa fnaḥš</i>	“twelve o’clock”

In the corpus both *sāʿa* and *sēʿa* are attested beside *sääʿa*. Examples from the corpus: *nəḡi s-sāʿa xamse, sətte* “we (usually) come at five or six o’clock”; *əs-saḥḥ iyye s-sāʿa wəḥde fəl-layl* “it is one in the night now”; *štanḡərna Saʿit ābe hayyāne s-sēʿa fmēnye* “we waited for Said until eight o’clock”; *kā-kāl-ʿaḡarat əs-sēʿa fnaḥš* “it was later than 12 o’clock”.

Telling the time in minutes passing the hour and/or minutes left to the hour is much influenced from Turkish (elicited forms), e.g.:

<i>fnaḥš təḡar xamse</i>	“it is five past twelve”
<i>fnaḥš təḡar ʿašra</i>	“it is ten past twelve”
<i>fnaḥš təḡar čērək</i>	“it is quarter past twelve”
<i>fnaḥš təḡar ʿəššīn</i>	“it is twenty past twelve”
<i>fnaḥš təḡar xamse w ʿəššīn</i>	“it is twenty-five past twelve”

fnaḥṣ w ənaṣṣ

“it is half past twelve”

wəḥde la xamse w ʿəṣṣīn

“it is twenty-five to one”

wəḥde la ʿəṣṣīn

“it is twenty to one”

wəḥde la čērək

“it is quarter to one”

wəḥde la ʿaṣra

“it is ten to one”

wəḥde la xamse

“it is five to one”

The verb *ʿaḥbar* “to pass” is a literal translation of the Turkish verb *geçmek* which is used for giving the time, when minutes pass the hour, e.g.: *saat biri beş geçiyor* “it is five past one (lit. five is passing one o’clock)”. To give the time when minutes are ‘left’ until the hour in Turkish, the existential particle *var* “there is” is used, e.g.: *saat bire beş var* “it is five to one (lit. to/until one there are five (minutes))”. Note that the *-e* in *bire* is the dative case marker, which in the Arabic dialect of Tillo is translated to *la*. Note, further, that in TA both *təḥbar* and *la* are used to express that the clock is moving to/from the minutes, and not as in Turkish where the minutes are moving to/from the hour.

Although there is a difference between saying “at one o’clock” and “it is one o’clock”, in Turkish, e.g.: *bu sabah saat yedide kalktım* “this morning I woke up at seven o’clock” and *saat biri beş geçiyor* “it is five past one”, where *-de* in *yedide* is the locative case marker in Turkish, which is translated “at, in”, the Arabs of Tillo do not make this differentiation. There is only one concept, e.g.: *sääʿa fnaḥṣ də-nṯəṣṣ ḥəʿəḃna* “we will meet at twelve o’clock”; *sääʿa wəḥde* “It is one o’clock”.

rəbʿ “quarter” is used in different contexts in TA, for instance *rəbʿ kilo* “a quarter of a kilo”, but in telling the time only the Turkish *çeyrek* is used (see 3.4.4).

Other times of the day are given as follows (elicited forms):

čääx šaqq əl-fağar

“at dawn”

məṣ-šabāḥ

“in the morning”

čääx əḃ-ḃəhar

“at noon”

čääx əl-ʿaṣar

“in the afternoon”

čääx əl-mağrap

“at sunset”

čääx əl-ʿaše

“in the evening”

bəl-layl

“in the night”

nəṣṣ əl-layl

“(at) midnight”

Note the frequent use of *čääx* “here: at the time of ...”. For the expression “in the morning”, the preposition *mən* “from”, where the *n* assimilates to *s*, is used.

3.5.2. Days of the week

Days of the week are the following in TA (elicited forms):

<i>yawm əl-əfnayn</i>	Monday
<i>yawm əl-falefēn</i>	Tuesday
<i>yawm əl-arbʿān</i>	Wednesday
<i>yawm əl-xamīs</i>	Thursday
<i>yawm əğ-ğəmʿa</i>	Friday
<i>yawm əs-sabt</i>	Saturday
<i>yawm əl-aḥed</i>	Sunday

Example from the corpus: *əğ-ğəmʿa kān taʿtīl, kān taʿtīl yawm əğ-ğəmʿa* “Friday was a free day, it was a free day on Friday”.

3.5.3. Names of the months

The months of the year are called as follows (elicited forms):

<i>kānūn əl-baḥt</i>	January
<i>azbāṭ</i> or <i>šubāṭ</i>	February
	March
<i>ĀĀĀ</i>	
<i>nisään</i>	April
<i>iyyäär</i>	May
<i>ḥəzayrān</i>	June
<i>tammūs</i>	July
<i>ṭəbbēx</i>	August
<i>əylūn</i>	September
<i>iylōn əl-baḥt</i>	October
<i>təšrīn</i>	November
<i>kānūn əl-awwəl</i>	December

kānūn əl-baḥt is a peculiar form. The ‘expected’ form after *kānūn əl-awwəl* is *kānūn *əl-fēni*. *iylōn əl-baḥt* is also a strange form. The difference between *əylūn* and *iylōn əl-baḥt* may be caused by the eliciting phenomenon.

3.5.4. Seasons of the year

<i>rabīʿ</i>	Spring
<i>ṣayf</i>	Summer
<i>xarīf</i>	Autumn
<i>šəte</i>	Winter

Examples: *əl-ləxx yəʿḩar kama ər-rabīʿ* “the rest passes like spring”; *nəḩne fəš-ṣayf ta-nəbqa maġbūrīn nəlbəs ʿəkēt* “we have to put a jacket on in summer”; *ġaw fī waqt əl-xarīf* “they came in autumn”; *əl-layl ənne tḩwāl fəš-šəte* “the night(s) are long in winter”.

3.6. Particles

3.6.1. Prepositions

The following prepositions are used in TA:

<i>ila</i>	“till, until, to”	<i>ila yawm əl-ḩaqq am mō fēḩəlu</i> “until the Day of Judgment I won’t forgive him”
<i>b-/bə-</i>	“in, at, by”	<i>b-rəġlu</i> “by (his) foot”; <i>bə-rāsak</i> “in your head”

Beside *b-/bə-* we find *f-/fə* (a short form of *fī*, see below) that have the same meaning, e.g.: *f-šəġəlkən* “at your work”; *fə-haz-zamēn* “in these days”.

<i>mən badal/ badala</i>	“instead of”	<i>abūs it əl-bənt mən badal axī</i> “I kiss the bride’s hand instead of my brother”; <i>badala tə-yəḩtī-yu xamsa mīt vahabiyye uwwə yəḩtī-yu xamsa mīt fəyḩa</i> “instead of giving him 500 gold coins he gives him 500 silver coins”
<i>baʿd/baʿəd baʿt/baʿət</i>	“after”	<i>baʿəd arbaʿ əsnīn asīr amakli</i> “after 4 years I will get retired”; <i>baʿt əšwayye</i> “after a while”
<i>bala</i>	“without”	<i>bala nawm</i> “without sleep”
<i>bayn</i>	“between”	<i>baynētən</i> “between them”
<i>taḩt</i>	“under”	<i>taḩt əs-sama</i> “under the sky”
<i>ġamp</i>	“beside”	<i>ġamp əġ-ġēmaḩ</i> “beside the mosque”

<i>ḥatta</i>	“till, until”	<i>fī arbaḥ čičekēt ḥatta s-saḥ</i> “there are still four flowers until now”
<i>ḥawālay-</i>	“around”	<i>fī byūt ḥawālaynən</i> “there are houses around them”
<i>xalf</i>	“behind”	<i>xalf əl-‘araba</i> “behind the car”
<i>šā, šān</i>	“for, to”	<i>šā əmmi</i> “to my mother”; <i>šān lə-ʔūl</i> “for the workers” (see 3.1.4.3)
<i>šawp</i>	“direction, because”	<i>mən šawp xbayzən</i> “because of (for) their living (bread)”
<i>‘ala</i>	“over, on”	<i>‘ala ḥədūd ət-Turkiyya</i> “on the Turkish border”

The preposition *‘ala* is often reduced to *‘a* before the definite article, e.g.: *‘al-faraş* “on the horse”; *‘an-nār* “on the fire”; *‘ač-čēye* “on the tea”.

‘ala with the pronominal suffix:

	sg.	pl.
3.m.	<i>‘alayu</i>	<i>‘alayən/‘alayan</i>
3.f.	<i>‘alaya</i>	
2.m.	<i>‘alayk</i>	<i>‘alayken</i>
2.f.	<i>‘alayki</i>	
1.c.	<i>‘alay</i>	<i>‘alayna</i>

<i>‘ənd</i>	“at, by”	<i>yəbqa ‘ənd sayyədi Faqīru llāh</i> “he stays with my grandfather, Faqīru llāh”
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In the suffix of the 1.c.pl. the *d* is dissimilated, e.g.: *kā-fī ‘ənna alḡān əfnayn* “we had two Germans” or “there were two Germans with us”.

<i>ğayr</i>	“except, other than”	<i>ğayr əl-wazīr u ğayr əl-qərāl²⁴⁹, pādišāh šī aḡat mō yəbqa ‘āqal</i> “except for the minister and the king, the sultan, no one remains sane”
<i>fī</i>	“in, on”	<i>kāən maḡbūs fī Wēn</i> “he was jailed in Van”; <i>da-ḡətt əl-lə-ḡmār fī yəhri w da-tmašša arō</i> “I will put the donkey on my back and go on walking”

The full paradigm for *fī* + suffix is as follows:

²⁴⁹ Cf. Turk. *kral* “king”.

	sg.	pl.
3.m.	<i>fiyu</i>	<i>fiyən</i>
3.f.	<i>fiya</i>	
2.m.	<i>fīk</i>	<i>fīkən</i>
2.f.	<i>fiki</i>	
1.c.	<i>fīni</i>	<i>fina</i>

An *n* is inserted in the form of the 1.c.sg. to separate the *ī* of the particle and the *i* of the 1.c.sg. The forms *fi-yu*, *fi-ya*, *fī-k* etc. may mean both “in him, in her, in you etc.” and “there is in him, there is in her, there is in you etc.” (see 3.6.4.5).

<i>qabəl</i>	“before”	<i>qabəl ʿašr əsnīn</i> “before 10 years”
<i>ʾəddēm</i>	“in front of,	<i>ʾəddēmən</i> “in front of them”; <i>ʿəššīn sane</i>
<i>qəddēm</i>	before”	<i>la-qəddēm</i> “20 years ahead”

A short form of *ʾəddēm/qəddēm*, *dēm* is also used, e.g.: *dēm əl-baħar* “on the seashore, close to the sea”; *nəswən hīč mō yəḷlaʿu dēm əl-lə-rğəl* “women never come out in front of the men”.

<i>qarši</i> ²⁵⁰	“opposite, in front of”	<i>ğā yawm qarši kəfləti mā kā-atīq agri</i> “at a certain period, I couldn’t talk in front of my family”; <i>qarši l-qaraqōl</i> ²⁵¹ “opposite the police station”
<i>kama</i>	“as, like”	<i>kənnə kama l-axwe</i> “we were like brothers”
<i>la-, lə-</i>	“to, for, until”	<i>ğā la-l-marḥūm abī</i> “he came to my father, may God have mercy upon him”; <i>fī Təllo čēx lay kā-ağas kā-anzal lə-žnayne</i> “in Tillo, when I was bored, I used to go to the garden”

The preposition *la-* is used facultatively, which means that it is not always used to point out direction. Without any obvious reason the speaker sometimes uses *la-* and sometimes does not. In many cases when the preposition is used, it is also combined with the definite article *əl-*. In such cases *la-* and *əl-* coincide and the result is *əl-* which can create some confusion, e.g.:

²⁵⁰ Cf. Turk. *karşı* “opposite”.

²⁵¹ Cf. Turk. *karakol* “police station”.

d-arō at-Tallo anā “I will go to Tillo”; *abī kā-yrōḥ əl-ayyōʿ* “my father used to go to the villages”; *qūm rō əl-karm!* “go to the vineyard!”; *awwəl mā yəlḥaq əl-īdu* “when it comes to his hand”. It is worth mentioning here that the preposition *la-* is a reflex of OA *ilā*.

Cases occur where *la-* is expected but not found, e.g.: *ǧītu awlādi* “I came to my children”; *rāḥu rās šəǧlən* “they went to their work”; *ǧītu bayt* “I came home”. Note that these are verbs of movement where a directional preposition is needed. An attempt to explain this peculiarity may be that in Turkish the case markers are attached to the noun as a suffix. The speakers here unconsciously leave out the preposition, thinking that it will be added as a suffix, but suddenly they realise that this will sound incorrect and hence it is left out. CA has a grammatical feature that may draw one’s attention to this. Cf. these examples: *ḍahaba š-šəʿma* “he went to Syria”; *daxaltu l-bayta* “I entered the house”.²⁵² In the examples from CA the definite article is used before the (word of) destination, while in TA there is no definite article before the (word of) destination.

The preposition *l-* + a personal suffix expresses possession or property, e.g.: *fī ləhu məḥḥaxiyyat əzāl* “it (m.sg.) has a special pot”; *ka-ləna ḥawš* “we used to have a courtyard”; *kān lək rəfqa maʿək?* “did you (m.sg.) have friends with you?”; *ləki əban ʿaskar?* “do you (f.sg.) have a son in the army?”. The complete forms, with a personal suffix, are as follows:

Perfect	sg.	pl.
3.m.	<i>ləhu</i>	<i>ləhən</i>
3.f.	<i>ləha</i>	
2.m.	<i>lək</i>	<i>ləkən</i>
2.f.	<i>ləki</i>	
1.c.	<i>lī/ləhi</i>	<i>ləna</i>

The use of *lī/ləhi* varies depending on whether the speaker is a man or a woman. Men use only *lī* while women use both *lī* and *ləhi* (only two attestations), e.g.:

lī (men and women)

ləhi (only women)

lī šəǧəl layk

“I have work for you (m.sg.)”

ləhi əfmēnye

“I have 8 (grandchildren)”

lī karm

“I have a vineyard”

ləhi bənt fī Urfa

“I have one daughter in Urfa”

²⁵² Wright 1996, ii, 191.

lī bənt fī Təllo

“I have a daughter in Tillo”

lī əban ʿaskar

“I have a son that is in the
army”

bala (*bə-* + *lā*) “without” *kənnə bala šəgəl* “we were without work”

šā “to, for” *ʔāl šā əmmi* “he said to my mother”

šā has probably developed from *bi-šaʔn* or *min šaʔn* > *b-šān* or *m-šān* > **šān* > *šā*.²⁵³ When the dative object pronoun is added to *šā* the *n* (of *šaʔn*) is perceptible again. The complete table of *šā* is shown below:

	sg.		pl.
3.m.	<i>šānu</i>	3.c.	<i>šānən</i>
3.f.	<i>šāna</i>		
2.m.	<i>šānək</i>	2.c.	<i>šānkən</i>
2.f.	<i>šānki</i>		
1.c.	<i>šāni</i>	1.c.	<i>šānna</i>

əmsān (*mən* + *šān*) “to, for”

māʿ “with”

əmsān əbən “to a son”. This preposition is attested only once in the material

mā fī māʿi haqq kəre “I do not have to pay rent”

māʿ with the pronominal suffix:

	sg.	pl.
3.m.	<i>māʿu</i>	<i>māʿən</i>
3.f.	<i>māʿa</i>	
2.m.	<i>māʿək</i>	<i>maḥkən</i>
2.f.	<i>maḥki</i>	
1.c.	<i>māʿi</i>	<i>māʿna</i>

Note the devoicing of /ʿ/ in contact before the voiceless /k/.

²⁵³ Barthélemy 1935, 374; Procházka 1993, 254.

mən “from” *də-nwaddi parçāye*²⁵⁴ *mən ġanamək* “we will take one (lit. a piece) of/from your sheep”

In some cases, before the definite article, *mən* is reduced to the prefix *mə-*, where the *n* assimilates to the *l* of the article, e.g.: *məš-šəğəl* “from work”; *məl-ğarzēt* “from the plants”; *məş-sabāh* “in (lit. from) the morning”; *məd-dawle* “from the state”. The complete paradigm of with the pronominal suffixes is as follows:

	sg.	pl.
3.m.	<i>mənnu</i>	<i>mənnən</i>
3.f.	<i>mənnə</i>	
2.m.	<i>mənnək</i>	<i>mənkən/mənkən</i>
2.f.	<i>mənki</i>	
1.c.	<i>mənni</i>	<i>mənnə/mənnənə</i>

Examples: *mā šārli manfaʿa mənnu* “I did not take advantage of him”; *lay yəšrap mənnə məyay yā tə-ymūt yā tə-yğən* “This who drinks water from it either he will die or he will get mad”; *mō tēq anqətaḥ mənkən* “I cannot stop meeting you”.

hayya/ “until” *hayyā darank* “until late”
*həyya*²⁵⁵
wara “after” *wara l-ğada* “after lunch”

3.6.2. Conjunctions

awwəl la- “as soon as, when” *awwəl la-kə-ğ-ğaw ...* “as soon as they came ...”

baʿad lay/la- “when, after that” *baʿad la-l-ʿəmər yəntamm* “when life has come to an end”; *baʿad lay ysīr səttīn sane əl-ʿəmər yəntamm* “when becoming 60 years old, life is at its end”

*čünki*²⁵⁶ “because” *mā ʿaṭawni əzan čünki ġītu əl-ʿAnqara* “they didn’t give me permission because I (had) come to Ankara”

²⁵⁴ Cf. Turk. *parça* “piece”.

²⁵⁵ Cf. Kur. *heya* “till, until”.

²⁵⁶ Cf. Turk. *çünkü* “because”.

<i>ənn k̄a-</i>	“if, when”	<i>ənn k̄a-təxna sayna aš-ši...</i> “if we can do this ...”
<i>šayš</i>	“because, while”	<i>dawāmlī</i> ²⁵⁷ <i>šayš anā āxəv əl-muṭāla‘a anā nāqəš ḥarake ya‘ni</i> “because I always read I lack (physical) fitness”
<i>‘ala t̄ūl</i>	“as long as, along”	<i>‘ala t̄ūl əš-šəte</i> “the whole winter long”
<i>ğayr</i>	“other than, except”	<i>mā-li ğayrən</i> “except them I have no one”
<i>qabəl la-</i>	“before that”	<i>qabəl la- k̄a-kər-rəht əl-Wēn</i> “before that you went to Van”
<i>lā</i> ²⁵⁸	“or”	<i>fəyṣa [...] k̄a kəl-ḥatāk ənne lā vahēb?</i> “did he give them to you as silver or as gold?”
<i>lamma</i>	“when”	<i>nəḥne lamma rəḥna ...</i> “when we went ...”

lamma is attested only once in the material. Kur. *čäāx* normally substitutes this conjunction in TA.

<i>madām</i>	“since, while”	<i>madām kəğ-ğīna lə-Ştānbūl lā n-nənsi rəḥna</i> “Since we now came to Istanbul let us not forget ourselves”
<i>madamki</i> ²⁵⁹	“since, while”	<i>madamki ġəbnāha hayyā əwne ...</i> “since we managed so far ...”
<i>məšxāṭar</i> and <i>šā xāṭar</i>	“because, for the sake of”	<i>məš xāṭar yāklū w yəšrabu tə-ywaddawa</i> “they will take it for eating and drinking”; <i>rəḥna d-Diyārbakər šā xāṭər ḥamūk</i> “we went to Dyarbakir for the sake of your father in law”.
<i>mən sawp</i>	“because, for the sake of”	<i>mən sawp əš-šəğəl ġaw lə-Ştānbūl</i> “they came to Istanbul because of work”
<i>mən lay</i>	“because”	<i>mən lay ysay qanama</i> ²⁶⁰ “because he is bleeding”
<i>w</i>	“and”	<i>uww mən əmm əw nəḥne mən əmm</i> “he is from one mother and we from another”
<i>waya</i> ²⁶¹	“or”	<i>fəs-Sūriyya waya fəl-is-Swēč</i> “in Syria or in Sweden”
<i>wayuxta</i> ²⁶²	“or”	<i>fī rās məyye wayuxta fī mawqəḥ šī</i> “by the water or in some place”

²⁵⁷ Cf. Turk. *devamli* “continuous, lasting, unbroken”.

²⁵⁸ This conjunction is rare.

²⁵⁹ Cf. Turk. *mademki* “since, while”.

²⁶⁰ Cf. Turk. *kanama* “bleeding”.

²⁶¹ Cf. Turk. *veya* “or”.

<i>waxt lay</i>	“when, at the time”	<i>waxt lay ʔalaḥt māl-karm alla m kān ʕala rāsak</i> “when you left the vineyard, God was watching you”
<i>lay + kān</i>	“when, at the time”	<i>lay kanna fə-Təllo kān ḥayāt ʔayyap</i> “when we were in Tillo, life was better”
<i>hayyā mā</i>	“till, until”	<i>hayyā mā arō ʔ-ʔahhīr w ēḡi</i> “until I go to do some circumcisions and come back”
<i>hēš</i> ²⁶³	“yet, so far, still”	<i>hēš mā kəd-daxalna ʕ-ʕālōn</i> ²⁶⁴ <i>ḥayanni</i> “We hadn’t yet entered the living room, he hugged me”
<i>yawm lay</i>	“when”	<i>yawm lay ḡā ...</i> “when he came ...”
<i>čääx/čääḡ</i> ²⁶⁵	“when, then”	<i>čääx la-yrōḥu</i> “when they leave”; <i>čääḡ lay yətx...</i> , <i>ēke yətxammen fī āk ḥayētən ...</i> “when he thinks of their life ...”
<i>yawmən wəḥde</i>	“once”	<i>yawmən wəḥde kəntu fī Adana</i> “once (while) I was in Adana”

3.6.3. Interjections

- a. *yā* (< Turk. *ya*) “O ..., Oh”, e.g.: *alla ysahhəl-lək yā doṣṭi*²⁶⁶ “may God help you, Oh friend”.
- b. *yā* (< Turk. *ya*) “yes, that is correct”, e.g.: *yā s-sāḥa ʕayni nsayyen* “yes, we do the same now”.
- c. *yāhu* (< Turk. *yahu*) “Oh God!”, e.g.: *yāhu əšš əʔūlu?* “Oh God! What are you (c.pl.) saying”.
- d. *hā* (< Turk. *ha*) “behold!”, e.g.: *ʔallaʕ hā! kanū*²⁶⁷ *l-ʔalame ku-kərtama mən ʕal-faṛaṣ* “he looked (and) behold! The man had fallen off the horse”.
- e. *hā ... hā* (< Turk. *ha ...*) “nearly, almost”, e.g.: *hā ḡade, hā baʕəd ḡade, arbʕīn yawm bəqīna fə-Şṭambūl ēke bala šəḡəl* “we stayed in Istanbul 40 days without work (saying) today (or) tomorrow” (see text 5:8).

²⁶² Cf. Turk. *veyahut* “or”.

²⁶³ Cf. Kur. *hêj* “yet, so far, still”.

²⁶⁴ Cf. Turk. *salon* “hall, salon”.

²⁶⁵ Cf. Kur. *çax* “then, at that time” and Turk. *çağ* “time, age, period”.

²⁶⁶ Cf. Turk. *dost* “friend, comrade”.

²⁶⁷ Cf. *kān uww* “he was”.

- f. *ōx* “to sit back and enjoy life”, e.g.: *ōx, ē, ē əl-hawa fə-Təllo uww kwayyəs* “Ah, yes, yes, the weather in Tillo is nice”.
- g. *qərt u qərt* “onomatopoeic about eating”, e.g.: *əyğību w yəği yəqʕət ʕalayu qərt u qərt w qərt u qərt hayy xams, sətt taššōr* “he used to bring it (money) and start eating it (spending it on food) for five, six months”.
- h. *dē* “well”, e.g.: *dē b-xātərkan* “well, goodbye”.
- i. *dē ... dē* “to do s.th. with great difficulty”, e.g.: *bowš ġarraytu dē w dē, amə əl-marhūm abī bowš daʕāli* “I went through a lot of difficulties but my father invoked God a lot for my favour”.
- j. *aḷla ḷla* “Oh really”, e.g.: *aḷla ḷla, qāčāğ, qačāğ kər-rəht!?* “Oh really, by smuggling, you were smuggled (there)!?”.

3.6.4. Adverbs

3.6.4.1. Demonstrative adverbs

- a. *əwn, əwne* “here”, e.g.: *ē əwn mā fī ēke šī* “there is no such thing here”.
- b. *əwnak, əwnake* “there”, e.g.: *əw lə-xtayrīn kəlla kə-yəqʕədu əwnak w ysawaw baḥs²⁶⁸ əl-ʕərəāq* “all these old ones used to sit there and talk about Iraq”.
- c. *ēk, ēke* “thus, like this”, e.g.: *qāmu ḥayru ēke čeydēnēt u ḥayru akəl u šərp* “so they prepared, thus, tea-pots and they prepared food and drink”.

3.6.4.2. Temporal adverbs

- a. *əs-saḥ* “now”, e.g.: *ku-ttəššu əntən yaʕne əs-saḥ bət-Turkya šī lay ysīr* “you (c.pl.) are watching what is going on in Turkey now”.

²⁶⁸ Cf. OA *baḥt* “discussion”, Kur. *behs* “subject, topic”, Turk. *bahis* “subject, topic” and Turk. *bahsetmek* “to mention”.

- b. *karra* “once” and *karrāt* “sometimes”, e.g.: *‘amaltu awwəl karra išçi*²⁶⁹ “the first time I worked as a worker”; *ak-karra ääf əl-stēt am yəšrap tattūn xaf tattūn* “so this time this teacher was smoking one cigarette after the other”; *karrāt kə-akramən žigāra* “sometimes I used to offer them a cigarette”.

3.6.4.3. Adverbs of place

- a. *fōq* “up, over, on top of”: *hayyā fōq* “all the way up”; *ila fōq mā kān fī bayt wāḥət* “there was not a single house (from here and) all the way up”.
- b. *barra* “outside”: *kā-fī iyyēm kā-anēm barra* “there were days when I slept outside”; *kān nəbqa barra, fəl-arāzi* “we used to stay outside, in the open fields”.
- c. *ğawwa* “inside”: *qafal ġēmu w qəʿəd ġawwa* “he closed his window and sat inside”; *kəd-daxalat ġawwa* “she went inside”.

3.6.4.4. Other adverbs

- a. *bass* “only”, e.g.: *maww anā w bass* “it is not only me”; *ila l-arbʿin sane bass fākiha akal* “until 40 years he ate only fruit”.
- b. *ham*²⁷⁰ “also, as well, again”, e.g.: *axavnēlna mənnu ham pasta*²⁷¹ “we also took (for us) cake from him”; *ənn ka-ğēr yawm šārlak šəğəl šī ham ənriḍ nəği maʿək nəḥne* “if you (m.sg.), some other day, will have more work, we would like to come again”.
- c. *čəxwa*²⁷² “then, though”, e.g.: *čəxwa anā b-tabīti*²⁷³ *aḥəpp əl-, ēke štəğal fəl-lə-trap* “By nature, though, I thus like to work with earth”

²⁶⁹ Cf. Turk. *iş + çi* “work(er)”.

²⁷⁰ Cf. Turk. *hem* “also, as well”.

²⁷¹ Cf. Turk. *pasta* “cake”.

²⁷² Kur. *çax + wê* “then, though, simply, obviously”.

²⁷³ Cf. *bi-ṭabīʿati* “according to my habits”.

3.6.4.5. The existential particle *fī*

The existential particle in TA is *fī* “there is/are”, e.g.: *kān fī bīr* “there was a well”; *manbaʿ mā fī fə-Təllo* “there is no (water) spring in Tillo”; *kāān fī ʿanna falfa mīt zalame* “we had 300 men”; *fī āk əl-bənt ətləbīli iyye!* “there is that girl, ask for her hand for me!”.

3.6.5. Negation

Negation is expressed by the following particles: *maww* and *mayy*, *mō*, *mā* and *lā*.

1a. *maww* < **mā uww* is used to negate the m.sg. in nominal phrases, e.g.: *uww ma-ww bowš ūwāri* “he is not a good (horse) rider” (see 3.1.3).

1b. *mayy* < **mā iyy* is used to negate the f.sg. in nominal phrases, e.g.: *ma-yy ēke əṢṭānbūl* “Istanbul is not like this” (see 3.1.3).

2. *mō* negates a verbal clause in the imperfect, e.g.: *mō tqaffi* “you will not find”; *mō-kəl* “I do not eat”; *mō tḥəṭṭu xēliyye?* “don’t you (c.pl.) use (lit. put) veil?”

3. *mā* + perfect express negation in the past, e.g.: *mā daxalt* “you (m.sg.) didn’t enter”; *mā ġaw* “they didn’t come”; *mā sayten ...* “you (2.pl.) didn’t do ...”

4. *lā* + imperfect in the 2.m.sg., 2.f.sg. and 2.c.pl express negative imperative:

	sg.		pl.
2.m.	<i>lā rəllən</i> “do not say to them”	2.c.	<i>lā təbdaw</i> “do not start”
2.f.	<i>lā təḥkay</i> “do not talk”		

5. *lā* + imperfect in the 3. person express indirect imperative or prohibition, e.g.: *lā yrō l-karm* “he should not go to the vineyard”; *lā yəbqaw aʿwn* “they should not stay here”.

6. *lā* or *laʿ* as a negative answer after a question, e.g.: *təʿrəfi təqrəyy w təkṭəbi?* *lā wəllā mō ʿraf* “do you (know how to) read and write? No, I don’t (know)”; *yəʿaššaw maʿ ḥaʿyan?* *lā wəllā mō yəʿaššaw maḥ ḥaʿyan* “do they have dinner together? No, by God, they don’t have dinner together”.

7. *lā ... lā* “neither ... nor”, e.g.: *lā l-ary w lā s-sama* “neither earth nor sky”; *lā ytēq yaħrap w lā ytēq ysay šī* “he can neither run nor do anything else”; *lā Ştanbûl lā šī mamlake mō tsīr kama Təllo ʔaybe* “neither Istanbul nor any other city will (ever) be as good as Tillo”.

3.6.6. Other particles

- a. *ē* “so (used in rhetorical speech)”, e.g.: *ē lə-ʔūl yaħṭalu yałzəmlən maŷye* “so the workers get tired (and) they need water”
- b. *ē dīn* “so (used as a filling in the beginning of a tale)”, e.g.: *ē dīn faraşi harap* “so, my horse ran away”

3.7. The diminutive

The diminutive is in general formed by inserting a diphthong between the second and the third consonant, e.g.: *şbayʕata* “her little finger”; *qşayra* “short (f.sg.)”; *şṭayḥāt* “a high level of a building that is lower than a roof (pl.)”; *ğbays* “bread”; *xtayrīn* “old ones”. *ğbays* and *xtayrīn* have a diminutive form but semantically mean “bread” and “old (pl.)”, not “a small piece of bread” and “a small old man”.

In a few attestations the diminutive is formed by inserting *-ayya-* and/or *-ayyə-* between the second and the third consonant, e.g.: *qrayyap* “near, close”; *zğayyər* “little (m.sg.)”; *ğrayyaf* “a small loaf of bread” (note the metathesis, see 2.3).

The Kurdish diminutive ending **-ik/-uk* is attested in one example, *uww naʕmūk* “he is (a) small (boy)” (see 5.2.2.2).

3.8. The Verb

The verb paradigms below are supplemented by elicited data as mentioned in the introduction under 1.2. Examples that are given beyond the paradigms are, on the other hand, chosen from the material. This may in some instances lead to a somewhat different forms of a verb, an elicited one and an attested one. Except stems IV and VI, which seem to have fallen out of use, Tillo Arabic has preserved the verb stems I-X, compared to CA. Some few (tradi-

tionally considered) stem IV verbs are treated either as stem I or as stem II verbs (see 3.8.1. and 3.8.2). For stem VI one example is attested (see 3.8.6). The use of stem VII is conspicuously frequent.

An overview of the verb stems in Tillo Arabic:

	TA
I	<i>ɣarap - ɣarap</i> <i>ʃarap - ɣaʃrap</i>
II	<i>ʕaǧǧal - aɣʕǧǧal</i>
III	<i>ʃɛlah - aɣʃɛlah</i>
V	<i>aɥwaǧǧəh - ɣaɥwaǧǧeḥ</i>
VII	<i>ankasər - ɣankəsar</i>
VIII	<i>aftahem - ɣaftəhəm</i>
IX	<i>aɣɣarr - ɣaɣɣarr</i>
X	<i>astaǧber - ɣastaǧber</i>

3.8.1. Stem I

3.8.1.1. The strong verb

a. The type CaCaC, e.g.: qatal “to kill” and Āarap “to hit”:

Perfect	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3.m.	<i>qatal</i>	<i>qatlu</i>	<i>ɣarap</i>	<i>ɣarabu</i>
3.f.	<i>qatalət</i>		<i>ɣarabat</i>	
2.m.	<i>qatalt</i>	<i>qataltən</i>	<i>ɣarapt</i>	<i>ɣaraptən</i>
2.f.	<i>qatalti</i>		<i>ɣarapti</i>	
1.c.	<i>qataltu</i>	<i>qatalna</i>	<i>ɣaraptu</i>	<i>ɣarabna</i>

The form *qatlu* in 3.c.pl. is peculiar and may be due to eliciting disadvantage. In the corpus the form *qatalu* (one attestation) is attested, e.g.: *qatalú ḥattú fī raqbətna* “they killed him and accused us (lit. put him in/on our neck)”. That in the corpus the form is *qatalú* may be caused by the vocalic suffix. In the 3.f.sg. the personal suffix vowel in *qatal* is *ə* and in *ɣarap* it is *a*. Examples from the corpus: *aḷla taʕāla ɣarabni* “God the Sublime hit me”; *qatal faɾaʃ əl-pāša* “he killed the horse of the pasha”.

Imperfect	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
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3.m.	<i>yəxtəl</i>	<i>yəxtəlu</i>	<i>yəyrap</i>	<i>yəyṛəbu</i>
3.f.	<i>təxtəl</i>		<i>təyrap</i>	
2.m.	<i>təxtəl</i>	<i>təxtəlu</i>	<i>təyrap</i>	<i>təyṛəbu</i>
2.f.	<i>təxtəli</i>		<i>təyṛabi</i>	
1.c.	<i>axtəl</i>	<i>nəxtəl</i>	<i>ayrap</i>	<i>nəyṛəp</i>

q is pronounced *x* in contact position before a *t* (see 2.1.10). The stem vowels in the last syllable in 3.m.sg. are *ə* in *yəxtəl* and *a* in *yəyrap* while in the pl. the vowel is *ə* in both verbs. There is one attestation in the corpus of the imperfect of *qatal*: *də-yəqtəlūk* “they will kill you (m.sg.)”. In this example the *q* is maintained. *yərkap* ‘*al-faṛaṣ u yəyrap* “he gets on the horse and rides away (lit. hits)”; *yəyṛəḅa aṛnake damm* “he sprinkles blood (there) on her”.

Imperative	Imperative	Participle active of <i>qatal</i>	Participle passive of <i>qatal</i>
<i>əqtəl</i>	<i>əyṛəp</i>	<i>qētəl</i>	<i>maqṭūl</i>
<i>əqtəli</i>	<i>əyṛəbi</i>	<i>qētli</i>	<i>maqṭūle</i>
<i>əqtəlu</i>	<i>əyṛəbu</i>	<i>qētlin</i>	<i>maqṭūlin</i>

The participle forms of *yərap* could not be elicited. Other participle forms that are attested are: *qəḏdīn* “sitting (pl.)”; *dəxəl* and *dāxlīn* “entering”; *rəkzīn* “settled”; *maktūp* “written”; *maḏfūlin* “covered pl.”; *mašhūr* “well known”.

b. The type *CəCəC*, cf. CA *CaCiCa*, e.g.: *šərap* “to drink” and *sələm* “to be safe”:

Perfect	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3.m.	<i>šərap</i>	<i>šərbu</i>	<i>sələm</i>	<i>səlmū</i>
3.f.	<i>šərbat</i>		<i>səlmət</i>	
2.m.	<i>šərapṭ</i>	<i>šərapṭan</i>	<i>sələmt</i>	<i>sələmtən</i>
2.f.	<i>šərapṭi</i>		<i>sələmti</i>	
1.c.	<i>šərapṭu</i>	<i>šərabna</i>	<i>sələmtu</i>	<i>sələmna</i>

b is devoiced to *p* both in final position and in contact position before *t* in *šərap* and *šərapṭu* (see 2.1.2). In the 3.f.sg the personal suffix vowel in *šərbat* is *a* and in *sələm* it is *ə*. The verb *sələm* in stem I has the same meaning as in MSA *aslama* “to become Muslim”. Examples: *akalnēḅan w šərabna* “we ate them and we drank”.

Imperfect	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3.m.	<i>yəšrap</i>	<i>yəšrabu</i>	<i>yəsləm</i>	<i>yəsləmu</i>

3.f.	<i>təšrap</i>		<i>təsləm</i>	
2.m.	<i>təšrap</i>	<i>təšrabu</i>	<i>təsləm</i>	<i>təsləmu</i>
2.f.	<i>təšrabi</i>		<i>təsləmi</i>	
1.c.	<i>ašrap</i>	<i>nəšrap</i>	<i>asləm</i>	<i>nəsləm</i>

The stem vowels in the last syllable in 3.m.sg. are *a* in *yəšrap* and *ə* in *yəsləm*. The difference is maintained also in the 1.c.pl. in both verbs. Examples: *yəšrap žgāra* “he smokes”; *təšrap čēye ammēni?* “do you (m.sg.) also drink tea?”; *yqūmu yəsləmu* “they become Muslims”.

Imperative	Participle active	Participle active	
	<i>šrap</i>	<i>šērap</i>	<i>sələm</i>
	<i>šrabi</i>	<i>šērbe</i>	<i>səlme</i>
	<i>šrabu</i>	<i>šērbīn</i>	<i>səlmīn</i>

The imperative of *sələm* could not be elicited. Examples of participles: *mašrübātna*²⁷⁴ “our drinks”; *məsləm* “Muslim”. *məsləm* is a residue of stem IV participle passive.

3.8.1.2. Verba primae ʔ

The types *aCeC* and *aCaC*, cf. CA ʔ*aCaCa*, e.g.: *ağef* “to take” and *akal* “to eat”:

Perfect	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3.m.	<i>ağef</i>	<i>ağavu</i>	<i>akal</i>	<i>akalu</i>
3.f.	<i>ağavet</i>		<i>akalət</i>	
2.m.	<i>ağaft</i>	<i>ağaftən</i>	<i>akalt</i>	<i>akaltən</i>
2.f.	<i>ağafti</i>		<i>akalti</i>	
1.c.	<i>ağaftu</i>	<i>ağavna</i>	<i>akaltu</i>	<i>akalna</i>

d is pronounced *f* in final position and in contact position before *t* (see 2.1.16). The stem vowel in 3.m.sg. is *e* in *ağef* and the *a* in *akal*. The vowel in the personal suffix in the 3.f.sg. is *e* in *ağavet* and *ə* in *akalət*. Attested forms: *axavnēlna mənnu ham pasta*²⁷⁵ “we also took us some cake from him”; *axaftu ruxşəti* “I took my licence”; *akalna akəlna* “we ate our food”; *anā akaltu pərtaqāne* “I ate an orange”.

Imperfect	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
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²⁷⁴ Second borrowing. Cf. Turk. *meşrubat* “drinks”.

²⁷⁵ Cf. Turk. *pasta* “cake”.

3.m.	yääğəf ²⁷⁶	yääğvu	yääkəl	yääklu
3.f.	tääğəf		tääkəl	
2.m.	tääğəf	tääğvu	tääkəl	tääklu
2.f.	tääğvi		tääkli	
1.c.	ääğəf	nääğəf	ääkəl	nääkəl

Examples: *yāxav əğ-ğāri w əğ-ğārye* “he takes the servant and the maid”; *yāxav mayməti* “he takes my grandmother”; *mō yääklu fi faʔər²⁷⁷ şəfra* “they don’t eat at the same table”; *ənhəttu fəş-şəfra yəltammu yääklu* “we put it on the table, they gather (and) eat”. Note the alternation of *ää* and *ā*.

Imperative		Imperative		Participle
	ğəff		kəll	əkəl
	ğəvi		kəli	əkle
	ğəvu		kəlu	əklīn

The participle of *əgef* could not be elicited. Other attestations: *āk maʔkūl tayyap* “that is a good food”.

3.8.1.3. Verba mediae w

The type *CāC*, e.g.: *rāḥ* “to go” and *qām* “to stand up”:

Perfect	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3.m.	rā/rāḥ	rāḥu	qām	qāmu
3.f.	rāḥat		qāmat	
2.m.	rəḥt	rəḥtan	qəmt	qəmtan
2.f.	rəḥti		qəmti	
1.c.	rəḥtu	rəḥna	qəmtu	qəmnna

Note the ending *-tan* in the 2.c.pl. It appears that the personal suffix of the 2.c.pl. varies, optionally, between *-tan* and *-tən*. For instance, both *ğitən* and *ğitan* “you came” are attested; *daxaltən* “you entered”; *araytan* “you saw”; *baqaytan* “you stayed, remained”. Examples of verba mediae: *w: uwwē rā əl-walēye anā bəqītu fi Təllo* “he left to the town while I stayed in Tillo”; *ənnē qāmu rāḥu rās šəğlən* “they went (back) to their work”.

Imperfect	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
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²⁷⁶ In the elicited forms *x* is pronounced voiced *ğ* between two vowels. In the attested forms one finds also *x* between two vowels.

²⁷⁷ The informant means *fart* “one, the same” here.

3.m.	<i>əyrōḥ</i>	<i>əyrōḥu</i>	<i>əyqūm</i>	<i>əyqūmu</i>
3.f.	<i>ətrōḥ</i>		<i>ətqūm</i>	
2.m.	<i>ətrōḥ</i>	<i>ətrōḥu</i>	<i>ətqūm</i>	<i>ətqūmu</i>
2.f.	<i>ətrōḥi</i>		<i>ətqūmi</i>	
1.c.	<i>arōḥ</i>	<i>ənrōḥ</i>	<i>aqūm</i>	<i>ənqūm</i>

The imperfect stem vowel *ū* is lowered to *ō* in *rāḥ* due to the laryngeal *ḥ* (see 2.4.11). Examples: *əyrōḥ əl-pāzār* “he goes to the market”; *wēḥət ayy sapp əyrō yrō ʿala āk əl-ʿēde* “wherever one goes one follows the custom there”; *əyqūm mnəṣ-ṣabāḥ əyrō la-stēdu* “he wakes up (early) and goes to his teacher”. Note that lowering does not occur in the vicinity of /q/ here, t ex. *tə-tqūm təḥtiyu pāḥātu!* “you will (m.sg.) (stand up and) give him his money”.

Imperative		Imperative		Participle
	<i>rōḥ</i>		<i>qūm</i>	<i>qāyam</i>
	<i>rōḥi</i>		<i>qūmi</i>	<i>qāyme</i>
	<i>rōḥu</i>		<i>qūmu</i>	<i>qāymīn</i>

The participle of *rāḥ* could not be elicited. Attested examples: *daxal baqa qāyam u yarʿat* “he came in and kept standing and shivering”.

The mediae *w* verb *nēm* “to sleep” belongs to the same type as *rāḥ* and *qām* but has an *ē* as a stem vowel:

Perfect	sg.	pl.
3.m.	<i>nēm</i>	<i>nēmu</i>
3.f.	<i>nēmət</i>	
2.m.	<i>nəmt</i>	<i>nəmtan</i>
2.f.	<i>nəmti</i>	
1.c.	<i>nəmtu</i>	<i>nəmnā</i>

Example: *ḥatṭaytu rāsi nəmtu* “I went to bed (lit. I put my head (down) and slept)”.

Imperfect	sg.	pl.
3.m.	<i>əynēm</i>	<i>əynēmu</i>
3.f.	<i>ətnēm</i>	
2.m.	<i>ətnēm</i>	<i>ətnēmu</i>
2.f.	<i>ətnēmi</i>	
1.c.	<i>anēm</i>	<i>ənnēm</i>

Attested examples: *qabəl k̄a-yrōḥu ynēmu fəǧ-ǧēmeḥ* “in early days, they (the circumcisers) used to go and sleep in the mosque”; *Aḥmat xa-ynēm* “let Aḥmat sleep”.

Imperative		Participle
	<i>nēm</i>	<i>nēyām</i>
	<i>nēmi</i>	<i>nēmye</i>
	<i>nēmu</i>	<i>nēymīn</i>

Observe the metathesis in the participle of the f.sg. (see 2.3)! Attested example: *mō t̄abqa nāyām* “you (m.sg.) don’t stay asleep”. The elicited form of the participle is *nēyām* and the attested form is *nāyām*.

3.8.1.4. Verba mediae y

The types *CāC* and *CēC*, cf. CA *CāCa*, e.g.: *ṣār* “to become” and *bēḥ* “to sell”:

Perfect	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3.m.	<i>ṣār</i>	<i>ṣāru</i>	<i>bēḥ</i>	<i>bē^çu</i>
3.f.	<i>ṣārat</i>		<i>bē^çat</i>	
2.m.	<i>ṣart</i>	<i>ṣartan</i>	<i>bəḥt</i>	<i>bəḥtān</i>
2.f.	<i>ṣarti</i>		<i>bəḥti</i>	
1.c.	<i>ṣartu</i>	<i>ṣarna</i>	<i>bəḥtu</i>	<i>bə^çna</i>

ç is devoiced to ḥ in final position and in contact position before *t* (see 2.1.20) in *bēḥ*. The personal suffix vowel in *ṣār* is *a* and in *bēḥ* it is *ə* in the 3.f.sg. The stem vowel *ī* is lowered to *ē* in *bēḥ* due to the laryngeal *ḥ* (see 2.4.11). Attested examples: *as-sā^ça ṣārat wəḥde fəl-layl* “it is one o’clock in the night now”; *ṣāru çarap ənne* “they became Arabs”; *bā^ç əl-çafs²⁷⁸* “he sold the ...”. The last example is the only attestation in the corpus where the vowel is *ā* and not *ē*.

Imperfect	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3.m.	<i>əyṣīr</i>	<i>əyṣīru</i>	<i>əybīḥ</i>	<i>əybī^çu</i>
3.f.	<i>ətṣīr</i>		<i>ətbīḥ</i>	
2.m.	<i>ətṣīr</i>	<i>ətṣīru</i>	<i>ətbīḥ</i>	<i>ətbī^çu</i>
2.f.	<i>ətṣīri</i>		<i>ətbī^çi</i>	
1.c.	<i>aṣīr</i>	<i>ənṣīr</i>	<i>abīḥ</i>	<i>ənbīḥ</i>

²⁷⁸ The meaning of *çafs* is not clear. *çafs* may have the meaning “gallnuts, oak apples”.

Note the variation between *ş* and *s* in the elicited forms and the attested forms. One expects a lowering of *ī* to *ē* in both *əyşīr* and *əybīh*. In the corpus one finds attestations where lowering occurs, e.g.: *ysēr mən maymētna* “he belongs to our grandmother”. Other attested examples: *awne šānna mō ysīr* “it is not good for us here”; *yaʿne sonūtna ayş tə-tsīr māyy balli*²⁷⁹ “what our end is, it is not clear”. There are no attested forms for the imperfect of *bēh*.

3.8.1.5. Verba mediae geminatae

The type *CaCC*, e.g.: *matt* “to stretch (out)”:

Perfect	sg.	pl.
3.m.	<i>matt</i>	<i>maddu</i>
3.f.	<i>maddət</i>	
2.m.	<i>maddayt</i>	<i>maddaytən</i>
2.f.	<i>maddayti</i>	
1.c.	<i>maddaytu</i>	<i>maddayna</i>

d is devoiced to *t* in final position (see 2.1.6). Attested examples of mediae geminatae verbs: *ğāb əl-faraş, haṭṭ ʿalayu zīn*²⁸⁰ “he brought the horse and saddled it”; *ku-aʿraf ayy sapp kəl-ḥaṭṭaytu l-ḥastīq* “I know where I put the *ḥastīq*²⁸¹”; *qatalú ḥaṭṭú fī raqbətna* “they killed him and accused (lit. put him in/on our neck) us”; *ḥaṭṭayna ktēbētna kəlla fəṭ-ṭannəgāi*²⁸² “we put all our books in tin cans”; *ğītu tzawwəštu yawm əl-xams təyyēm raddaytu* “I came (and) got married (and) on the fifth day I returned”; *šaddaytuwa fəş-šarīṭ, fəl-ḥabəl la-nʿūl, dallaytuwa*²⁸³ *fəl-bīr* “I tied it on a string, on a rope as we say, (and) lowered it into the well”.

Imperfect	sg.	pl.
3.m.	<i>əymətt</i>	<i>əyməddu</i>
3.f.	<i>ətmətt</i>	
2.m.	<i>ətmətt</i>	<i>ətməddu</i>
2.f.	<i>ətməddi</i>	
1.c.	<i>amətt</i>	<i>ənmətt</i>

²⁷⁹ Cf. Turk. *belli* “obvious, known”.

²⁸⁰ Cf. Kur. *zīn* “saddle”.

²⁸¹ *ḥastīq* “thin sheet of sun-dried fruit pulp”.

²⁸² Cf. Turk. *teneke* “tin plate, large can”.

²⁸³ Cf. OA *dalwa* “to lower”. Cf. also CS *dlā* “to draw or drag out (water)”.

Attested examples: *əyhətt əs-salle fə-yahru* “he puts the basket on his back”; *də-yrəddu yrōhu waʕanan* “they will return (lit. return and go) to their home village”; *šlahh ləbääsək də-nšəddu mən əwn nṭayyəfu ʕənap* “take off your cloth, we will tie it thus (and) fill it (with) winegrapes”.

Imperative

mətt
məddi
məddu

3.8.1.6. Verba tertiae ʔ

The type *CaCa*, cf. CA *CaCaʔa*, e.g.: *qara* “to read”:

Perfect	sg.	pl.
3.m.	<i>qara</i>	<i>qaraw</i>
3.f.	<i>qarat</i>	
2.m.	<i>qarayt</i>	<i>qaraytən</i>
2.f.	<i>qarayti</i>	
1.c.	<i>qaraytu</i>	<i>qarayna</i>

Attested examples: *anā qaraytu ʕarabi mme*²⁸⁴ “I have studied Arabic also”; *mää ʔarayna* “we din’t study”; *bowš bəl-zōr ʔaraw maktep masala* “they have studied with difficulties in school”.

Imperfect	sg.	pl.
3.m.	<i>yəqri/a</i>	<i>yəqraw</i>
3.f.	<i>təqri/a</i>	
2.m.	<i>təqra</i>	<i>təqraw</i>
2.f.	<i>təqray</i>	
1.c.	<i>aqri/a</i>	<i>nəqri/a</i>

The differences concerning *i/a* in the 3.m.sg., 3.f.sg., 1.c.sg. and 1.c.pl. imperfect and 2.m.sg. imperative may be due to eliciting. Attested examples: *yəqraw l-fäätħa* “they read the opening sura”; *insään ytiq yəqra mən ʕala ħayātan filim* “one can write (lit. read) a film about their life”. *bəl-ʕarabi tərəfi təqrayy w təkṭəbi?* “do you (f.sg.) know how to read and write Ara-

²⁸⁴ Long form of Turk. *hem* “and also, as well as”.

bic?"; *mō nəʿraf nəʿri w nəktēp* “we don’t know how to read and write”. Note the alternation between *q* and ʿ in the examples (see 2.1.10).

Imperative		Participle
	<i>əqri</i> and <i>əqrā</i>	<i>qāri</i>
	<i>əqray</i>	<i>qārye</i>
	<i>əqraw</i>	<i>qāryīn</i>

3.8.1.7. Verba tertiae w and verba tertiae y

a. Verba tertiae w, the type *CaCa*, e.g.: ʿaṭa “to give”:

Perfect	sg.	pl.
3.m.	ʿaṭa	ʿaṭaw
3.f.	ʿaṭat	
2.m.	ʿaṭayt	ʿaṭaytən
2.f.	ʿaṭayti	
1.c.	ʿaṭaytu	ʿaṭayna

Attested examples: *əšš ʿaṭat?* “what did she give?”; *kəl-ʿaṭayt ʿašš tālāf waraqa* “you (m.sg.) gave ten thousand TL”; *ʿaṭaytuwan pārātan* “I gave them their money”; *kəl-ʿaṭawni ḡawääp* “they gave me an answer”.

Imperfect	sg.	pl.
3.m.	<i>yəḥti</i>	<i>yəḥtaw</i>
3.f.	<i>təḥti</i>	
2.m.	<i>təḥti</i>	<i>təḥtaw</i>
2.f.	<i>təḥtay</i>	
1.c.	<i>aḥti</i>	<i>nəḥti</i>

ʿ is devoiced to *ḥ* before *t* (see 2.1.20). Attested examples: *əd-dawle təḥtīna aq-qat pārāt* “the state gives us this amount of money”; *kā-aḥti mūt waraqa kəre* “I used to give a hundred TL in rent”; *yəḥtaw qīme šā l-insään* “they show respect to people (lit. to the human being)”; *əšqatt təḥtawni maʿāš?* “how much will you (c.pl.) give in wages?”.

b. Verba tertiae y, the type *CaCa*, e.g.: *baqa* “to stay, remain”:

Perfect	sg.	pl.
3.m.	<i>baqa</i>	<i>baqaw</i>
3.f.	<i>baqat</i>	

2.m.	<i>baqayt</i>	<i>baqaytan</i>
2.f.	<i>baqayti</i>	
1.c.	<i>baqaytu</i>	<i>baqayna</i>

Attested examples: *baqat* ^ʕ*andi faff əsnīn* “she stayed with me three years”; *bəqītu sane baṭle* “I stayed one year unemployed”; *baqaw fəl-bayt* “they stayed at home”.

Imperfect	sg.	pl.
3.m.	<i>yəbqa</i>	<i>yəbqaw</i>
3.f.	<i>təbqa</i>	
2.m.	<i>təbqa</i>	<i>təbqaw</i>
2.f.	<i>təbqay</i>	
1.c.	<i>abqa</i>	<i>nəbqa</i>

Attested examples: *yəbqa xaməstaḥṣ sane f-əl-ʕərāq* “he stays fifteen years in Iraq”; *təbqa fə-bayt əl-xatan yawm, yawmayn* “she stays one or two days in the house of the bridegroom”; *xa-yəbqaw hayyā ma āḡi* “let them stay until I come”; *təbqaw fi Şītanbūl?* “do you (c.pl.) live in Istanbul?”.

Imperative

əbqā
əbqay
əbqaw

3.8.1.8. Irregular verbs

a. *sawa*²⁸⁵ “to do”:

Perfect	sg.	pl.
3.m.	<i>sawa</i>	<i>sawaw ~ saw</i>
3.f.	<i>sawet</i>	
2.m.	<i>sawayt ~ sayt</i>	<i>sawaytən ~ saytən</i>
2.f.	<i>sawayti</i>	
1.c.	<i>sawaytu ~ saytu</i>	<i>sawayna ~ sayna</i>

Attested examples: *sawa dawēm* “he continued”; *sawat čēkēt šā əSmääʕīl* “she has sewn a jacket for Ismāʕīl”; *sawaytu abī zyāra* “I visited my father”; *mā tāqu sawawa wēḥət* “they couldn’t agree on that (f.sg.) (lit. they couldn’t

²⁸⁵ *sawa* corresponds to OA *sawwā* “to even, to smooth”.

make it one)”; *fəş-şālōn sawaytəna?* “did you (c.pl.) do it (f.sg.) in a reception hall?”.

Imperfect	sg.	pl.
3.m.	<i>əysawi ~ ysay</i>	<i>əysawaw ~ ysaw</i>
3.f.	<i>ətsawi</i>	
2.m.	<i>ətsawi</i>	<i>ətsawaw</i>
2.f.	<i>ətsaway</i>	
1.c.	<i>asawi</i>	<i>ənsawi ~ nsay</i>

Attested examples: *ğää ääğatən də-ysawi şalāha bayn əl-ɣayˈtayn* “their aga came to make peace between the two villages”; *mō ysay ēke ši* “he doesn’t do such a thing”; *tsawilak inşālla* “hopefully she (will) make(a jacket) for you (m.sg.)”; *d-asawiyu ˈāləm* “I will make him a scientist”; *ysaw şəhbe bowş* “they talk together often”; *ysawawlu ˈaşa* “they prepare dinner for him”; *fī Təllo əşş kā-tsawaw?* “what were you (c.pl.) used to doing in Tillo?”. In the attested examples there are also short forms of the imperfect for, e.g. in the 3.m.sg. and 3.c.pl.

Imperative

sawi
saway
sawaw

Attested examples: *əmmi saway baħs əl-kətal fūm əmmēni!* “mother, talk also about *kətal fūm!*²⁸⁶”; *sawawlna şəğəl nəhne* “arrange work for us!”; *saw karam!* “please come!”. In the attested examples of the imperative there is a short form for the 2.c.pl. *saw karam* “here: please”.

b. *ğā* “to come”:

Perfect	sg.	pl.
3.m.	<i>ğā</i>	<i>ğaw</i>
3.f.	<i>ğīt</i>	
2.m.	<i>ğīt</i>	<i>ğītən</i>
2.f.	<i>ğīti</i>	
1.c.	<i>ğītu</i>	<i>ğīna</i>

Attested examples: *ğā lə-Ştanbūl* “he came to Istanbul”; *la-kəğ-ğīti fəş-Ştanbūl ənti rāzɣe əmma mā nti rāzɣe?* “this that you (f.sg.) came to Istanbul,

²⁸⁶ *fūm* “garlic” *kətal fūm* “A typical Tillo food dish made of wheat dough and minced meat”.

are you satisfied or not?"; *qəmtu ġītu l-ʿAnqara* "I came to Ankara"; *qāmu ġaw* "they came"; *ams layš mā ġītən am maʿna?* "why didn't you (c.pl.) come with us yesterday?"; *ġītan mən Təllo la-Ştanbül?* "did you (c.pl.) come from Tillo to Istanbul?"; *kəğ-ġīna nəḷlab bəntāk* "we came to ask for your (m.sg.) daughter's hand". Note the two endings of the 2.c.pl., *-tən* and *-tan*.

Imperfect	sg.	pl.
3.m.	<i>yəğī</i>	<i>yəğaw</i>
3.f.	<i>təğī</i>	
2.m.	<i>təğī</i>	<i>təğaw</i>
2.f.	<i>təğay</i>	
1.c.	<i>āğī</i>	<i>nəğī</i>

Attested examples: *yəğī yəştanyar fəl-lə-ğnayne* "he comes and waits in the garden"; *la-trō l-maktap w təğī mō təğaz* "when she goes to school and comes back, doesn't she feel bored?"; *ħkayna ʿal-maktēp, ašwam trōhi? ašwam təğay?* "tell us about school, (I mean) how do you (f.sg.) go there (and) how do you come?"; *xa-yəbqaw hayyā mā āğī!* "let them stay until I come!"; *məş-şabāħ əyrōħu š-šəğəl ʿaşriyye yəğaw* "they leave to work in the morning and in the evening they come (back)"; *təğaw maʿna?* "would you (c.pl.) like to come with us?"; *ənrīd nəğī maʿək nəħne* "we want to come with you (m.sg.)".

Imperative

taʿā
taʿay
taʿaw

Attested examples: *taʿā tə-ndōrna dawra ši!* "come and let us take a tour!"; *əxti ma ənti m taʿay awwne!* "sister, you too come here!"; *taʿaw tğaddaw!* "come and eat!"

c. *ara*²⁸⁷ "to see":

Perfect	sg.	pl.
3.m.	<i>ara</i>	<i>araw</i>
3.f.	<i>arat</i>	
2.m.	<i>arayt</i>	<i>araytən</i>
2.f.	<i>arayti</i>	
1.c.	<i>araytu</i>	<i>arayna</i>

²⁸⁷ Cf. MSA *raʿā, yarā* "to see".

Attested examples: *ara maḥkūmin la-ydōru fəl-le-ğbēl* “he saw outlaws that were wandering in the mountains”; *wāldəti am arata mwāfqa* “also my mother found that (f.sg.) suitable”; *bowš kəl-arayt* “you (m.sg.) have gone through a lot (lit. seen a lot)”; *mbērḥa araytu fə-nawmi l-qiyāme kəl-qāmat* “yesterday I dreamt that it was Judgement Day”; *bowš ēke kəl-araw ġār*²⁸⁸ “they have experienced a lot of poverty”; *bale araytan šəğlan* “yes, you (c.pl.) have seen their work”; *ē, arayna šəğlan* “yes, we have seen their work”.

ara may also mean “to show”, e.g.: *araytuwan karm* “I showed them the vineyard”. *ara* has no imperfect. For imperfect, *aytəšš*²⁸⁹ “to see” is used:

Imperfect	sg.	pl.
3.m.	<i>aytəšš</i>	<i>aytəššu</i>
3.f.	<i>əttəšš</i>	
2.m.	<i>əttəšš</i>	<i>əttəššu</i>
2.f.	<i>əttəšši</i>	
1.c.	<i>aṭəšš</i>	<i>əntəšš</i>

Attested examples: *yətəšš āv əz-zalame* “he sees this man”; *əttəšš muḥāsaba qursi* “you (m.sg.) attend (lit. see) accounting course”; *ašwam əttəšši ḍurūm əṣṭanbūl?* “how do you (f.sg.) see the situation in Istanbul?”; *ši lay aṭəšš iyye l-ğnayne dāāmna* “as far as I can see it is the garden that is in front of us”; *ašwam əttəššu Təllo s-saḥḥa?* “how do you (c.pl.) see Tillo now?”; *mō nṭəšš ḥaʿəyna* “we don’t see each other”.

aytəšš occurs in one attestation in perfect, e.g.: *māšalla, kəl-, əs-saʿ kəl-arayt, kəṭ-ṭaššayt bowš. bowš kəṭ-ṭaššayt?* “how wonderful, you (m.sg.) have been through a lot, you have seen a lot. A lot you have seen”. It may be that the speaker is aware of the tape-recorder and after saying *kəl-arayt* says *kəṭ-ṭaššayt* thinking that it may sound more genuine.

Some verbs that ‘traditionally’ are considered stem IV verbs, such as OA *aslama, yuslimu* “to become a Muslim”, is treated as a stem I verb, e.g.: *ayqūmu yəsləmu* “they become Muslims” (one attestation).

3.8.2. Stem II

²⁸⁸ Cf. Kur. *jar* “poor, weak”.

²⁸⁹ Cf. Barthélemy 1935, 478 where he gives the form *tášš* - *yitášš* “voir”.

The type *CaCCəC*, e.g.: *‘ağğəl* “to hurry up”:

Perfect	sg.	pl.
3.m.	<i>‘ağğəl</i>	<i>‘ağlu</i>
3.f.	<i>‘ağlət</i>	
2.m.	<i>‘ağğəlt</i>	<i>‘ağğəltən</i>
2.f.	<i>‘ağğəlti</i>	
1.c.	<i>‘ağğəltu</i>	<i>‘ağğəlna</i>

The middle consonant is degeminated in the 3.f.sg. and 3.c.pl. due to the consonant cluster of the *ğ* and the *l*. Attested examples: *.f-bayt nazzəlna* “he made us get off (the car) at home”; *ba‘ət lay rtaxa uwwe am rakkəbtú* “after that it (the horse) became calm I also made him (the friend) ride (with me)”; *abwēb nfattəhən* “we open the doors”; *ṭalla‘na z-zamēn kəl-‘aḅar* “we noticed the time was late (lit. the time has passed)”. Note difference between the elicited form *‘ağğəlna* “we hurried up” and the attested form *ṭalla‘na* “here: we noticed”.

A mullah mentions in his speech the following: *malla ‘əsmān, quddisa sərrahu, axrəğü. xarrəğü barra* “mullah Usmān, his secret may be blessed, took him out. He took him out”. It is clear that a mullah is familiar with KA and therefore the form *axrəğü*. When he realises that he is supposed to talk in dialect, he corrects himself immediately and uses stem II instead.

Imperfect	sg.	pl.
3.m.	<i>əy‘ağğəl</i>	<i>əy‘ağlu</i>
3.f.	<i>ə‘ağğəl</i>	
2.m.	<i>ə‘ağğəl</i>	<i>ə‘ağlu</i>
2.f.	<i>ə‘ağli</i>	
1.c.	<i>a‘ağğəl</i>	<i>ən‘ağğəl</i>

Attested examples: *əyrakkəp əl-walit* “he makes the boy ride”; *ğawwāt əl-ṡay‘a ynazzel əs-salle mən ṡahru* “inside the village he takes the basket off his back”; *əšš də-ṡallah?* “what is he going to look for?”.

Imperative

‘ağğəl
‘ağli
‘ağlu

Attested example: *ṭallah, ṭalla č-čəkēt!* “look, look at the jacket!”.

3.8.2.1. Verba tertiae infirmae

The type *CaCCa*, e.g.: ‘*abba* “to fill”’:

Perfect	sg.	pl.
3.m.	‘ <i>abba</i>	‘ <i>aḥḥaw</i>
3.f.	‘ <i>abbet</i>	
2.m.	‘ <i>abbayt</i>	‘ <i>abbaytən</i>
2.f.	‘ <i>abbayti</i>	
1.c.	‘ <i>abbaytu</i>	‘ <i>abbayna</i>

b is velarized before the diphthong *aw*.

Imperfect	sg.	pl.
3.m.	əy‘ <i>abbi</i>	əy‘ <i>aḥḥaw</i>
3.f.	əf‘ <i>abbi</i>	
2.m.	əf‘ <i>abbi</i>	əf‘ <i>aḥḥaw</i>
2.f.	əf‘ <i>abbay</i>	
1.c.	a‘ <i>abbi</i>	ən‘ <i>abbi</i>

Attested example: *l-‘āyle ṭabi d-awaddiya* “I will of course take the family”.

Imperative

‘*abbi*
‘*abbay*
‘*aḥḥaw*

3.8.3. Stem III

a. The types $C\bar{e}CaC$ and $C\bar{e}C\bar{a}C$, cf. CA $C\bar{a}CaCa$, e.g.: $\dot{\imath}\bar{e}lah$ “to take out/up” and $\text{‘}\bar{e}w\bar{a}n$ “to help”:

Perfect	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3.m.	$\dot{\imath}\bar{e}lah$	$\dot{\imath}\bar{e}l'u$	$\text{‘}\bar{e}w\bar{a}n$	$\text{‘}\bar{e}wnu$
3.f.	$\dot{\imath}\bar{e}l'at$		$\text{‘}\bar{e}wn\bar{a}t$	
2.m.	$\dot{\imath}\bar{e}l\bar{a}ht$	$\dot{\imath}\bar{e}l\bar{a}ht\bar{a}n$	$\text{‘}\bar{e}w\bar{a}nt$	$\text{‘}\bar{e}w\bar{a}nt\bar{a}n$
2.f.	$\dot{\imath}\bar{e}l\bar{a}hti$		$\text{‘}\bar{e}w\bar{a}nti$	
1.c.	$\dot{\imath}\bar{e}l\bar{a}htu$	$\dot{\imath}\bar{e}l\bar{a}'na$	$\text{‘}\bar{e}w\bar{a}ntu$	$\text{‘}\bar{e}w\bar{a}nna$

The verb form for 3.f.sg. is $\dot{\imath}\bar{e}l'at$ and not, as may be expected, $*\dot{\imath}\bar{e}l'a\bar{a}t$ or $*\dot{\imath}\bar{e}l'a'at$. Example: $an\bar{a} m m\bar{a} f\bar{e}h\bar{a}lt\bar{u}$ “I also did not forgive him”.

Imperfect	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3.m.	$\bar{a}y\dot{\imath}\bar{e}lah$	$\bar{a}y\dot{\imath}\bar{e}l'u$	$\bar{a}y\text{‘}\bar{e}w\bar{a}n$	$\bar{a}y\text{‘}\bar{e}wnu$
3.f.	$\bar{a}\dot{\imath}\bar{e}lah$		$\bar{a}\text{‘}\bar{e}w\bar{a}n$	
2.m.	$\bar{a}\dot{\imath}\bar{e}lah$	$\bar{a}\dot{\imath}\bar{e}l'u$	$\bar{a}\text{‘}\bar{e}w\bar{a}n$	$\bar{a}\text{‘}\bar{e}wnu$
2.f.	$\bar{a}\dot{\imath}\bar{e}l'i$		$\bar{a}\text{‘}\bar{e}w\bar{a}ni$	
1.c.	$\bar{a}\dot{\imath}\bar{e}lah$	$\bar{a}\dot{\imath}\bar{e}lah$	$\bar{a}\text{‘}\bar{e}w\bar{a}n$	$\bar{a}\text{‘}\bar{e}w\bar{a}n$

Attested example: $ba\bar{a}t \bar{a}n\dot{\imath}\bar{e}l'a'u n\bar{h}\bar{a}ttu f\bar{a}l-f\bar{a}rn$ “after that we take it (m.sg.) out we put in the oven”.

Imperative

$\dot{\imath}\bar{e}lah$	$\text{‘}\bar{e}w\bar{a}n$
$\dot{\imath}\bar{e}l'a'i$	$\text{‘}\bar{e}w\bar{a}ni$
$\dot{\imath}\bar{e}l'u$	$\text{‘}\bar{e}wnu$

The long vowel in stem III, \bar{e} may have another allophone, namely \bar{a} . Attested examples: $h\bar{a}sabna h\bar{i}s\bar{a}b\bar{a}n, \bar{a}k \bar{a}l-lawm \bar{a}šqat k\bar{a}-y\bar{a}msek$ “we made up their wages (lit. their account), how much it was that day”; $\bar{a}nn y\bar{a}b\bar{a}n\bar{g}\bar{i}yye^{290} m\bar{o} n'\bar{a}š\bar{a}ran$ “they are strangers, we are not being social with them”. Turkish borrowings that are inflected in accordance with stem III: $m\bar{o} tq\bar{a}r\bar{s}u^{291} h\bar{a}'\bar{a}ykan?$ “don’t you (c.pl.) interfere with each other?”; $tr\bar{o} ts\bar{a}f\bar{a}ru?^{292}$ “are you (m.sg.) going for the sake of being his guest?”.

²⁹⁰ Cf. Turk. *yabancı* “stranger, foreigner”.

²⁹¹ Cf. Turk. *karışmak* “interfere (in, with)”.

²⁹² Second borrowing. Cf. Tur. *misafir* “guest, visitor”.

3.8.4. Stem IV

Stem IV, as expected is almost totally out of use in TA. In the whole material there are just a couple of attestations that may be considered as stem IV verbs, e.g.: *w karrāt kə-akramən žigāra m*²⁹³ “and sometimes I used to offer them cigarettes also”; *malla ʿasmān, quddisa sərrahu, axrəğu. xarrəğu barra* “mullah Usmān, his secret may be blessed, took him out. He took him out”. The speaker notices what he said, corrects himself and repeats the verb in stem II (see 3.8.2).

3.8.5. Stem V

The type *ətCaCCəC*, cf. CA *taCaCCaCa*, e.g.: *ətwağğəh* “to get hurt, suffer”:

Perfect	sg.	pl.
3.m.	<i>ətwağğəh</i>	<i>ətwağğəu</i>
3.f.	<i>ətwağğət</i>	
2.m.	<i>ətwağğəht</i>	<i>ətwağğəhtən</i>
2.f.	<i>ətwağğəhti</i>	
1.c.	<i>ətwağğəhtu</i>	<i>ətwağğəna</i>

Attested examples: *waqt əğ-ğumhuriyya twağğəna bowš nəhne* “we suffered a lot when the republic came”; *twağğəna ʿalayən bowš* “we suffered a lot for them”. Note the alternation between *a* and *ə* *twağğə/aʿna. mā tqabbəltu ʿala āk əš-ši* “I did not accept that thing (conditions)”.

Imperfect	sg.	pl.
3.m.	<i>yətwağğəh</i>	<i>yətwağğəu</i>
3.f.	<i>tətwağğəh</i>	
2.m.	<i>tətwağğəh</i>	<i>tətwağğəu</i>
2.f.	<i>tətwağğəi</i>	
1.c.	<i>ətwağğəh</i>	<i>nətwağğəh</i>

The forms in the paradigm above are elicited and hence they render a pausal form (see 2.6). The vowel in the last syllable in the attested forms is *a*, *ə* or *e*. Attested examples of stem V verbs: *baʿət lay yəği fi Təllo yətmakkan fi Təllo* “after coming to Tillo he settled down there”; *əl-pārāt baqat əl-ʿulm*; *əl-maḍḍiyāt yəmqaddem* “money is education; materialism is going forward”;

²⁹³ Cf. Tur. *ham* > *am* > *m* after an “a” in the previous word.

yətxamməm fəkər kwayyəs “he thinks of a good idea”; *d-yəgraw maʕ baʕyən bəl-ʕarabi*, *də-yətkalləm maʕən bəl-ʕarabi* “they will talk to each other in Arabic, he will talk to them in Arabic”. The normal word for “talk” is *gari* but one informant used *yətkalləm* twice during one interview. New stem V verbs are formed, e.g.: *ətmərhəbna fi baʕyna* “we said hello/welcome each other”, cf. OA *rahibā*. Turkish roots are inflected according to the same pattern, e.g.: *əççarrək* “became worse”, cf. Turk. *çürük*.

3.8.5.1. Verba tertiae infirmae

The type *ətCaCCa*, cf. CA *taCaCCa*, e.g.: *ətʕašša* “to have dinner”:

Perfect	sg.	pl.
3.m.	<i>ətʕašša</i>	<i>ətʕaššaw</i>
3.f.	<i>ətʕaššet</i>	
2.m.	<i>ətʕaššayt</i>	<i>ətʕaššaytən</i>
2.f.	<i>ətʕaššayti</i>	
1.c.	<i>ətʕaššaytu</i>	<i>ətʕaššayna</i>

Attested examples: *ətməššayna məqdārən wēḥət* “we walked some distance”; *rəḥtan tğaddaytən ʔwnak?* “did you go and have lunch there?”.

Imperfect	sg.	pl.
3.m.	<i>yətʕašša</i>	<i>yətʕaššaw</i>
3.f.	<i>tətʕašša</i>	
2.m.	<i>tətʕašša</i>	<i>tətʕaššaw</i>
2.f.	<i>tətʕaššay</i>	
1.c.	<i>ətʕašša</i>	<i>nətʕašša</i>

Attested examples: *yətwaffa abū* “his father dies”; *baʕəd la-yətʕaššaw əyʔūl šā l-mara ...* “after having dinner he says to the woman ...”; *nəḥne qeʕdīn ku-nətʕašša* “we are sitting and eating”; *ənḥəttən yəthaddaw* “we put them (down) until they calm down”.

Imperative

ətʕašša
ətʕaššay
ətʕaššaw

3.8.6. Stem VI

No examples of Arabic roots are found in stem VI.

3.8.7. Stem VII

The type *ənCaCaC*, cf. CA *inCaCaCa*, e.g.: *ənkasar* “to be or become broken”:

Perfect	sg.	pl.
3.m.	<i>ənkasar</i>	<i>ənkasaru</i>
3.f.	<i>ənkasarat</i>	
2.m.	<i>ənkasart</i>	<i>ənkasartən</i>
2.f.	<i>ənkasarti</i>	
1.c.	<i>ənkasartu</i>	<i>ənkasarna</i>

Attested examples in the use of stem VII: *kən-nfataḥu u kən-nḥaṭṭ fī-yən* ... “they were opened and ... were put in them”; *zawč əxti nḥaṭa stiḥfa* “my brother-in-law was given resignation”; *kə-nfaqarna. mā fī ḥaqq pakēt* “we became poor, we couldn’t buy cigarettes (lit. there is cigarette money)”; *əs-saḥa Təllo nxaḻaṭaṭ* “Tillo has been mixed now (concerning ethnic groups)”; *annaqlə əl-akonomi nḡarap* “the economy was shaken”; *fī äävi s-sōn kəš-šī nṭafa, ntammət Təllo, ntammət* “at this latest time everything has become dark, Tillo is finished, finished”. One stem I verb is made a stem VII verb, e.g.: *bowš ənyāʿalna ktēbēt* “we lost many books”; *əz-zalame nyāʿ* “the man has disappeared”; *āk laylət lay ənqatal, yxtər əmbēli* “I remember that night when he was killed”.

Imperfect	sg.	pl.
3.m.	<i>yənkəsar</i>	<i>yənkəsru</i>
3.f.	<i>tənkəsar</i>	
2.m.	<i>tənkəsar</i>	<i>tənkəsru</i>
2.f.	<i>tənkəsri</i>	
1.c.	<i>ənkəsar</i>	<i>nənkəsar</i>

Attested examples: *baʿəd lay ysīr səttīn sane əl-ʿəmər yəntamm* “when one is sixty years old life is over”; *də-yənqəṭəḥ yaʿne n-nəsāl* “the progeny will come to an end (lit. be cut off)”; *əngəlliyēn, yəntəbxu, nšīlan* “we boil them (until) they get cooked (and then) we take them off”; *ʿaš-šarq yənḥasap qşayyar šitāha* “compared to the east its winter is considered short”; *lāzəm uww yənʿəṭi ḥaqqu* “he must be given what he deserves”.

Imperative

ənkəsər
ənkəsri
ənkəsru

3.8.8. Stem VIII

The type (ə)CtaCaC, cf. CA iCtaCaCa, e.g.: *əftaham* “to understand”:

Perfect	sg.	pl.
3.m.	<i>əftahem</i>	<i>əftahamu</i>
3.f.	<i>əftahamet</i>	
2.m.	<i>əftahamt</i>	<i>əftahamten</i>
2.f.	<i>əftahamti</i>	
1.c.	<i>əftahamtu</i>	<i>əftahamna</i>

The vowel in the last syllable is *e* due to the pausal phenomenon as a result of eliciting. In the attested forms the vowel is *a*. Attested examples of stem VIII verbs: *mtasak fəl-naxwaštiyye* “he became sick”; *rtaxa* “it (the horse) calmed down”; *alla yərḥamu kər-rtahəm* “may God have mercy upon him, he had died”; *šār mən zurriyyəti u mā ntafaḥ, mā šārli manfaʿa mənnu* “he belonged to my offspring and I didn’t, I did not take advantage of him”.

Imperfect	sg.	pl.
3.m.	<i>yəftəhəm</i>	<i>yəftəhmu</i>
3.f.	<i>təftəhəm</i>	
2.m.	<i>təftəhəm</i>	<i>təftəhmu</i>
2.f.	<i>təftəhmi</i>	
1.c.	<i>aftəhəm</i>	<i>nəftəhəm</i>

Attested examples: *əl-ʿarabi mā kā-yəntəsi* “Arabic would not have been forgotten”; *awne mā aḥtāš lay aḥat* “here, I don’t need anyone”; *əz-zərriyye təzdēt* “the offspring grows”; *fī āk əl-bōxār yəstəwi* “it is getting cooked on that steam”; *əšš tə-nsayy da-yətmənəḥ əstēdna mən ääv šərb əž-žəgāra?* “what shall we do to make our teacher stop smoking?”. Note the metathesis in *yətmənəḥ*, cf. OA *imtanaʿa* (see 2.3).

Imperative

əftəhəm
əftəhəmi
əftəhəmu

Although the personal suffix is a vowel in the f.sg. and the c.pl., the vowel which separates the second radical from the third is retained in the imperative. Cf. the imperative forms of stem VII where the same vowel is dropped. This may be due to the problem of eliciting. No attested examples are found in the corpus.

3.8.9. Stem IX

The type *aCCaCC*, cf. CA *iCCaCCa*, e.g.: *aḫyarr* “to become green”:

Perfect	sg.	pl.
3.m.	<i>aḫyarr</i>	<i>aḫyarru</i>
3.f.	<i>aḫyarrat</i>	
2.m.	<i>aḫyarrayt</i>	<i>aḫarraytan</i>
2.f.	<i>aḫarrayti</i>	
1.c.	<i>aḫarraytu</i>	<i>aḫarrayna</i>

Attested example from the corpus: *garze ka-aḫyarrat* “the plant has become green”.

Imperfect	sg.	pl.
3.m.	<i>yaḫyarr</i>	<i>yaḫyarru</i>
3.f.	<i>taḫyarr</i>	
2.m.	<i>taḫyarr</i>	<i>taḫyarru</i>
2.f.	<i>taḫyarri</i>	
1.c.	<i>aḫyarr</i>	<i>naḫyarr</i>

Attested examples: *anzəḡḡa fəl-fərn təḥmarr* “we throw it (f.sg.) in the oven (until) it becomes red (or brown)”; *nḥəṭtu fəl-fərn yaḥmarr* “we put it (m.sg.) in the oven (until) it becomes red (or brown)”.

Imperative

aḫyarr
aḫyarri
aḫyarru

3.8.10. Stem X

The type *astaCCeC*, cf. CA *istaCCaCa*, e.g.: *astağber* “to ask”:

Imperfect	sg.	pl.
3.m.	<i>astağber</i>	<i>astağbæru</i>
3.f.	<i>astağbæret</i>	
2.m.	<i>astağbært</i>	<i>astağbærtæn</i>
2.f.	<i>astağbærti</i>	
1.c.	<i>astağbærtu</i>	<i>astağbærna</i>

Attested examples of stem X verbs: *astarāḥ xamse w arbʿin yawm* “he rested 45 days”; *mā stahsantu* “I was not able to”; *mæn mæn əstahayt?* “of whom were you (m.sg.) ashamed”; *annaqlə axū əstaha qaršiyətu* “now his brother was ashamed instead of him”.

Imperfect	sg.	pl.
3.m.	<i>yəstağber</i>	<i>yəstağbæru</i>
3.f.	<i>təstağber</i>	
2.m.	<i>təstağber</i>	<i>təstağbæru</i>
2.f.	<i>təstağbəri</i>	
1.c.	<i>astağber</i>	<i>nəstağber</i>

Attested examples: *aḥat mā kā-yəstarği yədxəl fi-ya* “no one dared to enter it (f.sg.)”; *yəstağbæru šā Faqīru ll.*, “they ask Faqīru ll.”.

Imperative

astağber
astağbəri
astağbæru

Examples of stem X participles in the corpus, e.g.: *məstasləmīn* “peaceful”; *məstaha* “shame”; *mustaqīmīn* “correct (pl.)”; *mustarīḥ* “comfortable”.

3.8.11. Verbal nouns

An overview of attested verbal nouns:

Stem I

<i>šəḫta</i>	<i>nəḫne əš-šəḫta ayšni mō nəʿraf</i> “we don’t know what stealing is”
<i>šərp/šərap</i>	<i>ysawaw dawām ʿala šərp əl-məyy</i> “they go on drinking the water”
<i>zyāra</i>	<i>kər-rəḫna zyārat əBrāhīm əl-Xalīl</i> “we (went and) visited the shrine of əBrāhīm əl-Xalīl”
<i>dawarān</i>	<i>... dawarān əysīr masala</i> “... if it is going out, for instance”
<i>rawāḥ</i>	<i>rawāḥ, maḡu aḫat mā kəl-baqa yəʿaḡḡaz fī-yu</i> “no one is bothered any more by going and coming”
<i>maḡwel/maḡu</i>	<i>ḡīna tə-nrətt fəl-maḡwe arayna wēḫəd arqadāš</i> “while coming back we met a friend”; <i>ər-rawāḥ w əl-maḡu lay kā-trōḫu tḡību ḫatab bəḡ-ḡabel ...</i> “the going and coming that you (c.pl.) used to go and bring wood from the mountain ...”

Stem II

<i>taḫhīr</i> ²⁹⁴	<i>tīni qər..., kam hayyā mā arō t-taḫhīr w ēḡi!</i> “give me som., until I leave for circumcising and come back!”
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Stem III

<i>əmdāxla</i>	<i>məl-xamsa w sabʿīn əmdāxla tsīr</i> “it is (considered) intervening since 1975”
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Stem V

<i>twaḡḡəḫ</i>	<i>twaḡḡəḫ twaḡḡəḫt bowš kōti</i> ²⁹⁵ <i>āk əč-čēx</i> “the suffering I went through was very bad at that time”
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Stem VIII

<i>əmtiḫān</i>	<i>fataḫat əmtiḫān</i> “an exam was initiated”
<i>əxtilāl</i>	<i>fī waqt Kanān Övran, lay šār əxtilāl ...</i> “at the time of Kanan Övran, when a disturbance took place ...”

Stem X

<i>stihfa</i>	<i>zawč əxti nəḫa stihfa</i> “my brother-in-law was given dismissal”
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²⁹⁴ Cf. *taḫhīr*.

²⁹⁵ Cf. Tur. *kōti* “bad, evil”.

4. Syntax

4.1. Pronouns

4.1.1. Independent personal pronouns

Independent personal pronouns are employed:

1. As subject in a nominal clause: *uww malla ʿəbayd* “he is mullah ʿəbayd”; *Aḥmat, ənt mamnūn mən əŞtanbūl?* “Ahmad, are you happy in Istanbul?”; *ənti m ənti ḥaqli*²⁹⁶ “you (f.sg.) too are right”; *anā rāz̄ye* “I (f.) am satisfied”; *əs-saḥ maktübīn ənne kəlla* “all of them are written now”; *āk əl-xādəmayn əntən əntən* “you are those two servants”; *nəḥne axwe* “we are brothers”.

2. To stress the subject which is already implicit in the verb: *uwwe rāḥ xalfu* “he went after him”; *iyy bəqat b-bayt ʿammi* “she stayed at my uncle’s house”; *ənt kəl-zalaḥt ääf əz-zalaḥe* “you have oppressed this man”; *ənti təlbəsi čēriyye?*²⁹⁷ “do you wear a headscarf?”; *anā d-aqūm arō l-ʿIrāq* “I will leave for Iraq”; *ənne qāmu rāḥu rās šəglən* “they went (back) to their work”; *əšš trīdu əntən mənnəna?* “what do you demand from us”; *nəḥne nʿūllu bääb əl-xān* “we call it bääb əl-xān”; *şāru ʿarap ənne* “they became Arabs”; *ənne baqa yənsaw ənne* “they have started to forget”; *kāənu ḡnēni taybīn ənne* “they were good songs”; *ənt əzawwač! anā mā şlah şā rğēl* “you (m.sg.) get married! I am not suited for men”.

3. To stress the object which is already marked by a pronominal suffix: *ʿalna nəḥne də-nəraf!* “tell us so that we know!”; *baʿət lay ḡətt əḡ-ḡəmhūriyye qaṭaʿūwa mən ʿalayna nəḥne* “when the republic was founded they stopped giving us that”.

²⁹⁶ Second borrowing. Cf. Turk. *hak + lı* “right”.

²⁹⁷ Cf. Kur. *çarik* “headscarf”.

4. As copula: *əl-adapsəzīn*²⁹⁸ *əntən əntən* “you are the ones who have no manners”; *āk əl-xādəmayn əntən əntən* “you are those two servants”; *w əs-saḥ āk əğ-ğārye w əğ-ğāri ənne ʔawn mawğūdīn fī Təllo* “this maid and servant are now here in Tillo”; *awn əp-panāğər kama kəl-mawyaʕ ənne fəl-ğāmēl*²⁹⁹ “the windows here are as everywhere else (made of) glass”; *əl-farmānāt ənn mawūdīn əs-saḥ* “the imperial edicts still exist until today”; *əstāt abūk, Faqīru llaḥ uww fəğ-ğēməʕ* “your father’s teacher, Faqīru llaḥ, is in the mosque”; *saʕit uww mən əmm w nəḥne mən əmm* “Sait is from one mother and we are from another”; *axuwa uww fəl-ʕaskariyye* “her brother is doing his military service”; *Təllo iyy aṭyap* “Tillo is better” (see 3.1.2. and 4.7.1.2).

4.1.2. Suffixed personal pronouns

Suffixed personal pronouns are employed:

1. As accusative object: *ʔwɫak əm waddaynēḥən, xallaynēḥən fī baytən* “we also brought those and left them home”; *kā-kəs-saytuhu ʕala əsəm Saʕit əl-otobōs* “I had registered the bus in Sait’s name”; *qataʕūwa* “they ceased it (f.sg.)”; *aḥəbkən* “I love you (.c.pl.)”; *bowš yaḥkūni ʔk əl-lawme* “that day, they made me laugh a lot” (see 3.1.4.2).

2. As dative object: *ənn kā-šār d-aḥtīk pāṛāti* “if it is okay I will give you my money”; *kā-kəḥ-ḥataytūk vahēb* “I had given you gold”; *ḥəbbu da-ğībəlkən akəl ḥāyər šī b-tariqa aw ḥəbbu da-sīlkən ʕēye* “if you would like I will bring you ready food, somehow, or if you would like I will make you tea”; *ʔəltūlen* “I said to them”; *katabūli ḡaza* “They wrote me a fine”; *əltu danamli məqdār šī* “I thought I will sleep (me) for a while”; *šəltu ʕaṭaytuwan pāṛatan* “I gave them their money”; *akalnālna šī* “we had (us) something to eat”; *banawlən əbyūt* “they build themselves houses” (see 3.1.4.3. and 3.1.5). In expressing the dative object, the verb *ʕata* does not need the preposition *lə-* while the other verbs in the examples above need it (see 3.6.1).

In expressions where two objects occur, the dative object pronoun is suffixed to the verb and the accusative is expressed in an independent personal pronoun: *də-nsalləmlak uww* “we will deliver it (m.sg.) to you”; *mō nəḥtīk iyye*

²⁹⁸ Second borrowing. Cf. Turk. *adap* “good manners” and *-siz* which is a Turkish suffix that means “without”.

²⁹⁹ Cf. Turk. *cam* “glass”.

“we will not give her to you”; *āḳ pāṛāti ḫīni nne* “give me that money of mine”. The normal way to express this in other *qəltu*-dialects is to add an enclitic form of the independent personal pronoun to the verb, e.g.: ... *lə-mō təlzamki tə-tšayy‘īli-ye!* “die du nicht brauchst schinkst du mir [surück]”.³⁰⁰

3. To denote ownership: *‘aqlu* “his brain”; *ḫēla* “her situation”; *īdək* “your hand”; *zawški* “your husband”; *abī* “my father”; *gariyən* “their dialect”; *šəḡəlkən* “your work”; *waxətna* “our time”.

4.2. Demonstratives

4.2.1. Demonstrative pronouns

1. Near deixis

m.sg. *ääva* “this”: *ääva z-zalame kəs-sawa ma‘u āq ər-ḫqāra*³⁰¹ “this man exposed him to that vulgarity”; *əš-šəḫḫāt uwwe ääva* “the thief is this”; *ääv navıyyətu ʔalli: a‘mi Aḫmet, waḷḷa kəḡ-ḡāḫ ḫaštīq*³⁰² “this nephew of his said to me: Look Ahmet, by God, he brought *ḫaštīq*”.

f.sg. *äävi* “this”: *ṭabi äävi l-kəlme mən luḡat ət-tərki kəl-‘aḫarat ‘ənədna* “this word has, of course, come into (our dialect) from Turkish”; *äävi l-mamlake kəş-šār fi nəşša bīrən wəḫde* “there was a well in the middle of this kingdom”; *äävi l-bənt, aššwam iyye?* “this girl, how is she?”.

c.pl. *awle* “these”: *kā-nbī’an šā awle lay ‘al-ḫudūd kā-ywaddawən l-Irān* “we used to sell them to these people on the border (and) they used to take them to Iran”; *əl-aşwāl*³⁰³ *ənnə awl lay yəltəbəsu b-bāb barra* “*aşwāl* are these that one puts on by the outside door”; *mən awl əl-ḫəkēki wəḫde mme d-aḫti..., d-aḫkīkən* “of these tales I will relate one for you”.

³⁰⁰ Qarṫmīn (Mardin dialect), Fischer and Jastrow 1980, 166.

³⁰¹ Because of the preceding *q* and the succeeding *ḫ*, the *l* of the definite article shifts, peculiarly, to *r*.

³⁰² Cf. Turk. *peştıl* “fruit pulp dried in thin layers”.

³⁰³ Cf. Kur. *sol* “shoes”.

2. Remote deixis

m.sg. and f.sg. *āke*, *āke*, *āk*, *āk* “that”: *anā āke kən-nəsītu* “I have forgotten that”; *zurriyyātu daxalat āke əl-piyāsa*³⁰⁴ “his offspring came into the scene”; *tammu əš-šgəl āk əl-lawme* “they finished work that day”.

c.pl. *awlak*, *awlak* “those”: *šōqāt*³⁰⁵, *awlak ašwam tsawawen?* “šōqāt, how do you do those?”; *əs-saḥ lān*³⁰⁶ *fī ḥawla l-mīt bayt ənn mən awlak* “there are now about 100 families of those”; *rafa^uwan awlak əmme* “they lifted also those”.

4.2.2. Demonstrative adverbs

a. *āke* “so”: *w al-ḥāšəl ḥaṭṭayna šəḥbe baqa nəgri w āke* “and in short, we got together and started to chat and so”.

b. *ēke* “thus, in this way”: *āk əl-lawm ēke əḥar* “that day passed so (in this way)”; *ənt fī-Təllo kəš-šərt mää ēke?* “you were born in Tillo, isn’t that so?”; *bə^uəd arb^uin yawm gāp ər-rāsna ēke bala ääva z-zalame* “after 40 days, this man created such a problem for us”; *āk fəraşək ēke əybəyyən fəraş kwəyyəs* “that horse of yours looks (such a) good horse”.

c. *āy* “here: now, at this time”: *āy təsaḥ əsnīn kəğ-ğīna* “it is now 9 years since we came (to Istanbul)”; *šayš āy sayt əalay ḥīle?* “why have you cheated me in this way?”.

4.2.3. Demonstrative article

The demonstrative article *al-* (< **hā* + the definite article)³⁰⁷ has, as expected, the meaning “this, these” when talking about something that is already mentioned: *madamki*³⁰⁸ *kəs-sawa al-yarbe* “since he did this plot”; *əd-dawle təḥtīna aq-qat pārat nsayy al-fabrīqa*³⁰⁹ “the state will give us this amount of money so we can build this factory”; *Aḥmat, al-mara mən iyye?* “Ahmet, who is this woman?”; *āk əč-čēx al-mṭahhrīn ənn kaka-yləmmu āk*

³⁰⁴ Cf. Turk. *piyasa* “scene, market”.

³⁰⁵ A dish made of stuffed intestines.

³⁰⁶ Cf. *ləhən* “they have”.

³⁰⁷ Jastrow 1978, 109.

³⁰⁸ Cf. Turk. *mademki* “since, while”.

³⁰⁹ Cf. Turk. *fabrika* “factory”.

əl-pārāt əl-lawm Təllo azgan mənna mamlake mā kā-fī “if the circumcisers had saved money at that time, today there wouldn’t have been a richer village than Tillo”; ... *kān aṭyap mən al-waxt* “... it was better than now (lit. this time)”; *nəḥne kwa-kəllətna garayna talayna al-ḥant*³¹⁰ “we have now all talked and filled this cassette”.

There are some instances where the original initial *h* is audible, e.g.: *fī-lən hal-masale*³¹¹ *ēke* “they have this problem”; *baʿt lay ḡitu karm kən-nəsītu l-mayy hal-karra* “after coming (back) to the vineyard I forgot (this time) the water”; *ääva rafīqi də-yəktab fī ḥaqq*³¹² *Təllo hal-lə-ktēp* “this friend of mine will write this book about Tillo”; *Təllo fī hal-lə-snīn mayya uww qalīl* “in (these) recent years the water in Tillo is little”. The *l* of the definite article is geminated in the last two examples because the succeeding word begins with two consonants.

The *l* in the demonstrative article is treated like the *l* in the definite article, which means that it is assimilated to a following sun consonant: *yā ttəḥṭīna aq-qat pārāt yā mō nəḥṭik iyye* “either you give us this amount of money or we won’t give her to you”; *ē dīn fī as-sōn*³¹³, *fī äävi s-sōn kəš-šī nṭafa* “recently (lit. in this end), in this end, everything has been put off”; *ənn kātəxna sayna aš-ši ta-bʿafak əd-Dužža* “if we could do this I will send you to Dužža”; *baʿət an-nəsəl* ... “after this offspring ...”.

4.3. Prepositions

a. *mən*

mən “from”: Apart from the standard usage of the preposition *mən* (see 3.6.1) and its function in partitive expressions, *mən* in combination with *ḡiha* “side” or *šī* “thing” takes a different meaning, e.g.: *mən āk əḡ-ḡiha* “because of that, concerning that, or when it comes to that”; *mən āk əš-šī nəḥne am mā nəḥne rāḥa* “because of that reason we are not comfortable”.

³¹⁰ Cf. Turk. *bant* “tape”.

³¹¹ Cf. Turk. *mesele* “matter, problem, question”.

³¹² Cf. Turk. *hakkında* “about, concerning, regarding”.

³¹³ Cf. Turk. *son* “end, last, final”.

b. *ʿala*

ʿala “on”: In combination with different verbs or nouns, *ʿala* takes different meanings. When talking about clothes that fit or do not fit, the preposition is then combined with the verb *əğā, yəği* “to come” and the meaning becomes “to suit, fit”, e.g.: *ənn k̄ā-ğətt ʿalayk ʿala Smāʿil t̄ə-təği rāḥa* “if it (a piece of cloth (f.sg.)) suits you it will, without any problem, suit Ismail”. In combination with the Turkish *göre* “according to”, *ʿala* takes the meaning “according to” e.g.: *ʿala gorāt əl-mīt alf dōlar sawawlna šəğəl nəḥne!* “according to the 100,000 dollars organize (c.pl.) us a company!”. In the context of lawsuits, *ʿala* means “against”, e.g.: *bāʿət sane fataḥ ʿalayna daʿwe* “after one year he started a lawsuit against us”. Moreover, *kān fī ʿalay dənūn fəff talāf, arbāḥ talāf dōlar* “I owed (people) 3000, 4000 dollars (lit. there was ... on me)”; *fī kəll mawqaḥ dərna ʿalaya* “we searched everywhere for her” (see 3.6.1).

c. *šā*

šā functions as a particle to introduce both accusative object and dative object (see 3.1.4.3), e.g.: *ṭabi bowš kəl-ḥabbu, əBrāhīm Ḥaqqi šā sayyədi Faqīru llāh* “Ibrahim Haqqi loved my grandfather, Faqīru llāh, very much”; *sabəḥ naṣīḥāt kəl-ʿaṭa šā Brāhīm əl-Ḥaqqi* “he gave Ibrahim Haqqi seven pieces of advice”. With the verb *ṭallah* “to look”, *šā* acquires the meaning “to, at”, e.g.: *yṭallah šā əBrāhīm əl-Ḥaqqi* “he looks at Ibrahim Haqqi”. The Turkish verb *bakmak* “to look” takes the dative case, and therefore the preposition *šā* “to, for” in this example replaces the Turkish dative suffix *-e/-a*.

4.4. Possessive expressions

Possessive may be expressed in three ways in TA:

1. With the possessive suffix (see 3.1.4.1):

<i>baytu</i>	“his house”
<i>kayfək</i>	“your (m.sg.) mood”
<i>šəğəlkən</i>	“your (c.pl.) work”
<i>əbənna</i>	“our son”

2. With the genitive in an *idāfa*-construction:

<i>it əl-ħəkūme</i>	“the government’s arm”
<i>sallat ʿənap</i>	“a basket of grapes”
<i>čēriyyət mamlakətna</i>	“the headscarf of our village”
<i>hawa Ştanbūl</i>	“Istanbul’s weather”

3. With the genitive exponent *lay*:³¹⁴

E.g.: *aṃa čuwērīna lay Təllo kēnu čašne*³¹⁵ *w lay ʔwne ənne čašne* “but our headscarves that belong to Tillo are of a different sort and the ones that belong here are of another sort”; *mən kəlla l-mawqəḥ yəğaw zyārət āva Təllo lay šayx Faqīru l-lah* “(people) come from everywhere to visit Tillo of sheik Faqīru llāh”; *waḷla hawa Təllo uww bowš aḥsan mən lay Ştanbūl* “by God, Tillo’s weather is much better than that of Istanbul”.³¹⁶

4.5. The noun

4.5.1. Determination

Definite are all nouns that are definite in the classical grammar; i.e. all nouns that have definite article (for demonstratives *al-lhal*- see 3.1.9) have a pronominal suffix or are status constructus in an *ʔidāfa*-construction, where the second part is definite.³¹⁷ Examples: *əl-karm* “the vineyard”; *əl-bayt* “the house”; *əğ-ğāri* “the male servant”; *yayʿətna* “our village”; *rāsu* “his head”; *mʿalmətki* “your (f.sg.) teacher”; *hawāha* “its (f.sg.) weather”; *bāb əl-bayt* “the door of the house”; *zawč əl-mara* “the woman’s husband”; *ṃayyət Təllo* “Tillo’s water”; *gari Ştanbūl* “the speech (or dialect) of Istanbul”.

There are, nevertheless attestations where the definite article is omitted, e.g.: *lahem naxsəlu* “we wash the meat”; *āk karra əyʔulu ...* “then or at that time they say to him ...”; *kəğ-ğā ḥamú amme mən ḥaçč* “his father-in-law has come (back) from the pilgrimage”; *baʿt lay ġītu karm kən-nəsītu l-ṃayy* “after I had come to the vineyard, I forgot the water”.

³¹⁴ *lē* in the Siirt dialect group, see Jastrow 1978, 125. See also Eksell 1980, 44.

³¹⁵ Cf. Turk. *çeşni* “sample”.

³¹⁶ Cf. *tabaʿ* in Sasse 1979, 73 and Lahdo 2000, 64.

³¹⁷ Dahlgren 1998, 146.

4.5.2. Gender

Except for nouns that are feminine by nature such as *ʿarūs*, *əmm*, *bənt*, *axət* and parts of the body that occur in pairs such as *īdayn*, *ʿaynayn* etc., the grammatical feminine suffix is *-e* and *-a*, and *-ət* in construct state (see 3.2.2). *zalamē* “man” has a feminine form but is treated as masculine noun, e.g.: *qām əz-zalamē aḡavəlna m markēt* “so the man bought us a supermarket also”. In the construct state *zalamē* has the suffix *-ət*, like any other feminine noun, e.g.: *zalamətu mā ḡā* “his man has not arrived”.

4.5.3. Concord in the attributive phrase

4.5.3.1. Singular concord

The masculine substantive in singular is followed by a masculine adjective in singular. The feminine substantive in singular is followed by a feminine adjective in singular, e.g.:

<i>əban ʿaskar</i>	“a son who is a soldier”
<i>walēt əzḡayyar</i>	“little boy”
<i>hawa ṭayyap</i>	“nice weather”
<i>zalamat bowš šaʿap</i>	“very smart man”
<i>bənt malīḥa</i>	“good girl”
<i>ʿayle ḡbīre</i>	“big family”
<i>arf nayīfe</i>	“pure soil”

4.5.3.2. Dual concord

Nouns in dual are followed by an adjective or a participle in plural (see 3.2.5), e.g.:

a. Dual with adjective:

<i>ḡaləbtayn mlēḥ</i>	“two good sorts”
<i>əbnayn əzḡēr</i>	“two small sons”
<i>ʿāyltayn əkbār</i>	“two big families”

b. Dual with participle:

<i>əbnayn mʒawǧīn</i>	“two married sons”
<i>bəntayn dalēlīn</i> ³¹⁸	“two lovable girls”
<i>ʒalamtayn qəʕdīn</i>	“two sitting men”
<i>kəntayn maʔfūlīn</i>	“two covered daughters-in-law”

4.5.3.3. Plural concord

Nouns in plural are followed by an adjective or a participle in plural, e.g.:

a. Plural with adjective: When a substantive in plural, both feminine and masculine, is followed by an adjective, the latter concurs only in number, e.g.:

<i>əbyūt əkbār</i>	“big houses”
<i>ǧnēni ʔaybīn</i>	“nice songs”
<i>awlāt əʃǧār</i>	“small boys”
<i>əmtahrīn ʃaʕbīn</i>	“smart circumcisers”
<i>akalāt ʔaybīn</i>	“good dishes”
<i>ʕādāt mlēh</i>	“good tradition(s)”

b. Plural with participle: When a substantive in plural is followed by a participle, having the same function of an adjective, the latter concurs only in number, e.g.:

<i>rǧēl məstaslāmīn</i>	“peaceful, honest men”
<i>nəswēn rēkzīn</i>	“settled women”
<i>awlēt məflāsīn</i>	“bankrupt boys”
<i>farmānāt mawǧūdīn</i>	“existing edicts”
<i>banāt maʔfūlīn</i>	“veiled girls”

Broken plurals are followed by an adjective in feminine singular (see 3.2.6.2), e.g.:

<i>əkrūm əǧbīre</i>	“large vineyards”
<i>ǧuwēməh nayīfe</i>	“clean mosques”
<i>aʕām ʔaybe</i>	“good dishes”

³¹⁸ Cf. Kur. *delal* “dear, lovable”.

Turkish and Kurdish have no grammatical gender. This phenomenon has influenced the Arabs of Tillo, resulting in mixing of genders. There are several instances where the adjective does not concord either in gender or in number to the substantive it defines; for example, the substantive is feminine or plural and the adjective is masculine singular (see 3.2.2), e.g.:

<i>tiğārət bowš agbîr</i>	“very big trade”
<i>ğənēni bowš kwayyās</i>	“very nice songs”
<i>hayāt tayyap</i>	“good life”

4.5.4. States

TA has two states. The construct state differs from the absolute state in feminine. Feminine substantives (both of Arabic origin and borrowed from a language that is devoid of grammatical gender, such as Turkish and Kurdish, but considered to be feminine) occurring in the construct state have, as a rule, the suffix *-ət* or *-at*, e.g.:

<i>sallat ʿənap</i>	“a basket of grapes”
<i>sayyārat tranzīt</i>	“a transit car”
<i>məddat zamān</i>	“a period of time”
<i>šōrḃat zaḥtār</i>	“thyme soup”
<i>ʿāylat kurmānč</i>	“a Kurdish family”
<i>marʿat ġanam</i>	“a pasture-land for sheep”
<i>mamlakat ləxx</i>	“another country”
<i>šūšat laban</i>	“a bottle of yoghurt”
<i>maḥḃaxiyyat əzāl</i>	“a special pot”
<i>parčāyət ġanam</i>	“a piece of sheep (one sheep)”
<i>čašnət ləxx</i>	“another sort”
<i>tallīsət səkkar</i>	“a sack of sugar”
<i>šaʿrūqət qaşabe</i>	“a piece of or some liver”
<i>yayʿat ləxx</i>	“another village”

The status constructus of the masculine is not marked, e.g.:

<i>lahm əl-ğanēm</i>	“the sheep meat”
<i>ʿyēm ġamp</i>	“side bones, ribs”
<i>šəğəl ʿammo l-ḥağği</i>	“the work of uncle <i>ḥağği</i> ”
<i>mayy şəmməḃ</i>	“sumac sauce”
<i>hawa Ştanbūl</i>	“the weather of Istanbul”

As in CA, the *iḏāfa*-phrase is definite when the second component is already definite (see 4.5.1), e.g.:

<i>şəhbat aṭ-taybe</i>	“the nice company”
<i>lağwat əs-Sūriyya</i>	“the Syrian dialect”
<i>xazīnat dawlat əl-‘uşmāniyya</i>	“the treasury of the Ottoman empire”
<i>kərat bayti</i>	“the rent of my house”
<i>şōrat ər-rağal</i>	“the man’s photo”
<i>sənnat ən-nabi</i>	“the prophet’s law”
<i>zuriyyat sayyədi</i>	“my grandfather’s offspring”
<i>qazat Adana</i>	“Adana’s district”

4.5.5. Elative

Adjectives are compared by the elative (which functions both as comparative and superlative). In comparison the preposition *mən* “from” is used, e.g.: *Təllo iyy aṭyap mən əŞtanbül* “Tillo is better than Istanbul”; *hawa Təllo uww bowş aḥsan mən lay Ştanbül* “the weather in Tillo is much nicer than the weather in Istanbul”; *aṭyap mən Təllo mā fī* “there is nowhere better than Tillo”; *əbyūt əŞtanbül ənne aṭyap mən lay Təllo* “Istanbul’s houses are more comfortable than Tillo’s”; *əwnak akfar kənna rāḥa* “we felt more comfortable there”; *fəl-bayt iyye arxaş* “it is cheaper at home”; *Təllo azgan*³¹⁹ *mənna fəl-lə-ktēbēt mā kā-fī* “concerning books, there was no richer (place) than Tillo”; *əl-ḥayāt qabəl ‘əşşīn, xamsa w ‘əşşīn sane kān bowş aḥsan men əs-saḥa* “life, 20 or 25 years ago, was much better than now”³²⁰.

The superlative is often expressed by placing the Turkish superlative particle *en* before the adjective (see 3.3.3.1), e.g.: *mən əl-mamēlək an l-ṭayyəp, Təllo m dēxəl, aynam ənne?* “of these cities, Tillo included, which one is the best?”; *an aqruba* “the closest relatives”; *an yāqən*³²¹ “nearest”; *an bowş xaməstaḥş sane* “maximum 15 years”; *an azyat* “maximum”; *an aṭyap* “the best, nicest”; *əl-mamēlək kəlla an birənği iyy Təllo* “of all these cities Tillo is the best (lit. number one)”. The form of the adjective may, apparently, vary. In one example above, it appears after *an* in the plain form of the m.sg. and is followed by the definite article, *l-ṭayyəp*. In other examples, where the

³¹⁹ Cf. Turk. *zengin* “rich, wealthy”.

³²⁰ Note the gender mix between *ḥayāt* and *kān*.

³²¹ Cf. Turk. *yakın* “close, near”.

adjective is not a Turkish loan, the adjective appears, after *an*, in the expected elative form, *azyat*, *aṭyap* etc.

4.5.6. Partitive

Partitive is expressed with:

1. Elative, e.g.: *hənnə akfārōn kā-yəšrabu āk tattūn* “the majority of them used to smoke that (kind of) tobacco”; *akbar taḷīfu Maʿrifat Nāma* “the most important in his literary work is Maʿrifat Nāma”.
2. *mən*, e.g.: *wāhəd mənnan šayx Muştafa* “one of them is sheik Muştafa”; *hawla l-mīt bayt ənn mən əwlak* “about one hundred families of those”.³²²
3. *ši* (+ *mən*), e.g.: *ši mənnən badaw baqa yəksəxu w ši baqa ynaqqaw əš-šəšte* “some of them started to prune (the vine tendril) and some of them started to pick up the branches”.

4.6. The verb

4.6.1. Perfect

The perfect denotes completed actions that take place in the past, e.g.: *ğābəlna šwayye hašiš axdar* “he brought us some green grass”; *əl-lawm ġītu mən Baṭmāne* “today I came from Batman”; *ətmaššayna məqdārən wēḫət* “we walked for sometime”; *ḫaṭṭayna ʿalayū zīn w əl-mərgēp əmme ḫaṭṭaynāhu fī fəmmu* “we saddled it (the horse) and we also put the bridle in his muzzle”; *ğābūlna fəl-bīr*³²³ *məyt zamzēm*³²⁴ *w ġābūlna qasp*³²⁵ “they brought us first zemzem-water and (after that) they brought us dates”; *qəmtu məš xāṭar āk əz-zalame ysakkən ʿaṭaytuhu mīt alf, mīt məlyōn, āk əč-čēx, tərki* “so, for the sake of calming down that man, I gave him one hundred thousand, one hundred million Turkish lira, at that time”.

³²² Procházka 1993, 182.

³²³ Cf. Turk. *bir* “one”.

³²⁴ Cf. *zamzam* “copious, Zemzem, name of a well in Mecca”.

³²⁵ Cf. Kur. *qesp* “date”.

Various nuances of the past tense may be expressed by a verb modifier + perfect:

a. *kəl* + perfect expresses the perfect tens, i.e. with “have”, e.g.: *walla məš xāṭarak kəl-na^camtu*³²⁶ *ḥəssu* “by God, I have turned it (the radio) down for your sake”; *kəğ-ğā ḥamú amme mən ḥačč* “his father-in-law has come from the pilgrimage”; *kər-rəḥti Mardīn?* “have you (f.sg.) been to Mardin?”.

b. *ku* + perfect takes the meaning of “here, behold, obviously”, e.g.: *ku-žəbtuwa hayye la-awn* “here, I have brought it (f.sg.) until here”; *ənn kā-nəḥne rəḥna ku-ntammət əl-masale* “if we had also died (lit. gone) the matter is obviously, then, finished”; *ku-ğəbtu š-šəḅḅāt* “here, I have brought the thief”; *ku-kə-rtama mən əl-faraş* “behold, he had fallen off the horse”.³²⁷

c. The perfect form of the verb may be used after *ba^cəd lay* “after that”, *yawm lay* “when, the day that” or after the conjunction *lay* “when, at the time”, which in form coincides with the relative pronoun. *lay* + perfect gives the pluperfect, e.g.: *ba^cəd lay qəblu qəmtu waddaytuwən karm*³²⁸ “after they had accepted, I took them to the vineyard”; *ba^ct lay ġītu karm kən-nəsītu l-mayy* “after I had come to the vineyard, I forgot the water”; *waqt əğ-ğumhuriyya lay şārat əl-uşmalli yəqəlmīš*³²⁹, *xərbat* “when the republic had come³³⁰ into existence, the Ottoman empire collapsed, devastated”; *yawm lay ġā l-lə-Ştanbül fəd-doqsan, fəl-alf w təsa^c miyye w sətta w təs^cin şaraftu āk əč-čāx fiyu əlayu l-əššīn, xamsa w əššīn alf waraqa* “when he had come³³¹ to Istanbul, in 1996, I spent on him, at that time, 20-25 thousand TL”.

d. In conditional sentences, after *ənn* the verb may be either in perfect or in imperfect in the protasis, e.g.: *ənn kā-şār d-aḥtik pāṛāti amanatan yəḅqaw əndək* “if it is possible, I will give you my money, as a deposit in trust, so that you keep them with you”; *imkān ənn kā-şār b-īdi d-arō ət-Təllo anā* “If I could, I would go (back) to Tillo”; *ənn kā-nəḥne rəḥna ku-ntammət əl-masale* “if we were gone, this would be the end (of the story)”; *ənn kā-şār ma^cak qərş tə-txamməm ayy sapp tə-tsayy tiğāra* “if you save some money, you think about how to make business”.

³²⁶ Cf. Syr. the root *n^cm*, *ne^cmoṭo* “gentle sound or voice, soft whisper”.

³²⁷ Cf. Jastrow 1978, 311.

³²⁸ Note the lack of preposition before *karm*.

³²⁹ Cf. Turk. *yıkılmak* “to collapse, fall down”.

³³⁰ Past tense is also possible here, “when he came ...”.

³³¹ Past tense is also possible here, “when he came ...”.

4.6.2. Imperfect

The plain imperfect may express the indicative in descriptions of general events or states of affairs which are not limited in time and space, for example descriptions of how a wedding is taking place, how certain meals are cooked, how the daily routine looks etc., e.g.: *laḥem nəxsəlu, nəfrəmlu başale, fəlfel, məlḥ w ənşəblu šwayyat məyye* “we wash the meat, we chop onion to mix with it (and we add) pepper, salt and we pour some water on it”; *waraʔ əñṇaʔi məl-ğarzēt, mən əl-, mən əl-baxča ṇṇaʔiyyaṇ. əñḡip ənsayy xaltətan: rəss, laḥem, şaltča³³², qara bibar,³³³ pül bibər.³³⁴ ənləffən* “we pick vine-leaves from the vineyard, from the garden we pick them. Then we prepare the stuffing: rice, meat, tomato paste, black pepper. After that we roll them”; *fə-Ştanbül məş-şabāḥ nrō s-sāʔa fmēnye, təsʔa š-şəğəl nəḡi s-sāʔa ḥdaʔš, fnaʔš əş-şəğəl* “in Istanbul we leave for work at eight or nine in the morning and come back at eleven, twelve”.

Various nuances of the imperfect may be expressed by a verb modifier + imperfect:

a. *kān* (or *kā-*) + imperfect indicates duration in the past, e.g.: *kān yəsammu malla Muḥāt əs-Suhrāni* “they used to call him mullah Muḥāt əs-Suhrān”; *kān aʔrafu* “I used to know him”; *kān nəbqa barra* “we used to stay outdoors”; *kān nəvbah ḡanēm* “we used to slaughter sheep”; *mā kān nəstaḡri nqūm baynētən* “we did not dare to show ourselves among them”; *kā-yşadqu şā ḥaʔən* “they used to trust each other”; *kā-yḡiblən* “they used to like it”; *hənnə akfārōn³³⁵ kā-yəşrabu āk tattūn* “they used to smoke that tobacco”; *kā-aḡtiyən žigāra ḥāyəṛ* “I used to give them a ready cigarette (not rolled by hand)”.

b. *kaka-* + imperfect preceded by the conditional particle *ənn* denotes the irrealis condition, e.g.: *al-mṭahhrīn ənn kaka-yləmmu āk əl-pārāt əl-lawm Təllo azgan mənna mamlake mā kā-fī* “if these circumcisers had (had) saved that money, today, there wouldn’t be a richer village than Tillo”; *ənn kaka-yəmsəku pārāt əs-saḡ ḡurūmna, ḡurūm Təllo kān bowş bowş kwayyəs* “if they could reserve money, now, our situation, Tillo’s situation would be very, very good”; *ənn kaka-ysir fī-ya məyye, kā-ysir fabriqa aḡḡat mən Təllo*

³³² Cf. Turk. *salça* “tomato paste; tomato sauce”.

³³³ Cf. Turk. *kara biber* “black pepper”.

³³⁴ Cf. Turk. *pul biber* “cayenne pepper”.

³³⁵ Cf. OA *aktaruhum* “the majority of them”.

mā kā-yəṭlah “if there had been water (and) a factory in Tillo, no one would have left it”. Jastrow has examples from other Anatolian *qəltu*-dialects where *kān* + *kə* + perfect denotes the pluperfect, e.g.: *kān kəğğā* “er war gekommen”.³³⁶

c. *kān* (or *kā-*) + *d-/t-* + imperfect denotes an action, in the past, which was about to happen,³³⁷ e.g.: *kān d-amūt* “I was about to die”; *əšš kā-daʿūl?* “what was I about to say?”; *axwəti kā-dəysawu šəğəl mā kā-fī šəğəl* “my brothers wanted to work but there was no work (for them)”; *kā-tyəḥkīna* “he would tell us”; *kā-tyəštəḥ*³³⁸ *fīna əl-kalp* “the dog was about to hit us”; *kā-yəʿayyan əl-mağrap, şəfrətna kā-tənhətt* “when the evening prayer was calling, our table was ready-laid”.

d. *ku-* + imperfect denotes the actual present, e.g.: *ku-yğərnī* “he is pulling me”; *ku-yəqitam ʿənəp məl-ğarze* “he is picking grapes from the vine”; *ku-əraf ayy sapp kəl-ḥəttaytu l-ḥastīq* “I know where I put the *ḥastīq*”; *ku-nəʿašša* “we are having dinner”; *ku-yəʿab fəl-ʿaša* “he is playing with his dinner”; *ku-ḥəššu əntən yaʿne əs-saḥ bət-Turkya šī lay ysīr* “you are observing what is happening in Turkey these days”. The corresponding particle in MA is *kwā*.³³⁹

e. The optative is expressed by the prefix *xayy* or its short form *xa-* (derived from the imperative **xalli* “let!”)³⁴⁰ + imperfect, e.g.: *kəll mən uww xayy yəlbəs ʿēriṭu* “let everyone have her own headscarf”; *ʿūli sā Aḥmat xa-ynēm uwwə xayy Maḥmūt əyrō š-šəğəl!* “say to Aḥmat that he should sleep and Maḥmūt should go to work!”; *xayy aššam ḥəpp xayy ysay yaʿne* “he should do as he likes” *xa-yəʿḥar fī-ya ēke zamēn anğax*³⁴¹ *əntēq nəḥtikən əl-bənt* “some time should pass before we would be able to give you the girl”; *xa-ysīr* “let it be so”; *xa-yəğī* “let him come”; *xa-ysawu* “let them make”; *xa-yəʿraf* “he should know”; *Aḥmed xa-yəbqa ʿandi sətt taššōr* “Aḥmed should stay six months with me”; *xa-ynaymu pāṛāt* “let them invest money”.³⁴²

f. A future nuance is gained when prefixing *ta-*, *tə-* or *da-* *də-* to the imperfect, e.g.: *ta-yəḥfīna pāṛāt* “he will give us money”; *fī kəlme ta-griya bət-tərki* “there is a word that I will say in Turkish”; *ənn kā-təxna sayna aš-ši ta-*

³³⁶ Jastrow 1978, 309.

³³⁷ Jastrow 1978, 305.

³³⁸ To hit someone by accident.

³³⁹ Cf. Jastrow 1978, 300-302.

³⁴⁰ Jastrow 1978, 310.

³⁴¹ Cf. Turk. *ancak* “not until”.

³⁴² Cf. the optative particle *ta-*, *tay* in Āzəx; Wittrich 2001, 157.

bʿafak əd-Dužža təbqa fəff taššōr “if we could do this I will send you to Dužža to stay there three months”; *ayy sapp tə-trō* “which direction are you going”; *lay yəšrap mənna məyy yā tə-ymūt yā tə-yğən* “the one who drinks from it, either he will die or he will become mad”; *taʿa tə-ndōrna dawra šī!* “he said: come let us stroll around for a while!”; *əl-ħağği tə-nbērəklū məšš xātar ħağğu* “we will congratulate the pilgrim for his pilgrimage”; *da-ħətt əl-lə-ħmār fī yəhri w da-tmašša arō* “I will put the donkey on my back and I will walk and leave”; *wēħət zalame yawm, əh yawmən wəħde da-yətlah mən baytu də-yrō mamlakat ləxx* “once, a man wanted to leave his home town and go to another one”; *əthəbbu da-ğībəlkən akəl ħāyər šī b-tarīqa aw əthəbbu da-sīlkən čēye* “if you would like I will, in a way or another, bring you ready food or if you would like I will make you tea”; *wəllahi də-nwaddīlu parčāyət ġanam* “by God, we will take (or steal) one sheep from him”; *bəʿət an-nəsal lay nəħne nrō da-yəd³⁴³ yəği nəsal də-yənsi rōħu* “the generation that will come after ours, they (lit. it) will forget themselves”; *ə ʕəlna də-nənsiyu w də-nrō* “we will forget our origin and we will vanish”.

g. *lā* + imperfect expresses negated imperative (see 3.6.5), e.g.: *lā tsayy maraq!* “do not (m.sg.) bother!”; *lā trōħ* “do not (m.sg.) go”; *lā ttaʿu fəl-qəšūr!*³⁴⁴ “excuse me! (lit. do not (c.pl.) behold my mistake or bad behaviour)”; *lā tfallat rōħak!* “do not (m.sg.) let go yourself!”; *lā twağğəʿ fə-dardna³⁴⁵* “do not (m.sg.) add pain to our suffering!”; *lā tqūlūli ... !* “do not say (f.sg.)...!”.

4.6.3. Imperative

The imperative is, in some cases, preceded by a particle *ma*, e.g.: *ma qūm rō ʕalla ʿala abūk fī Təllo!* “(stand up and) go and look for your father in Tillo!”; *ma dxəli fən-nəšš!* “come in the middle!”; *ma ʕəlna nəħne də-nəʿraf!* “tell us so we will know!”; *əxti ma taʿay əwnə əxti!* “sister, come here!”; *ənn kə-fī ħakkoy šī ēke ma ħkiya!* “if there is a tale, relate it then!”; *Aħmat ma qre qək darsak lay qabəl ʿəššin yawm!* “Ahmad, read the homework that you had 20 days ago!”; *ma tğip aw l-pārāt!* “bring this money!”; *ma qūm rō əl-karm ġībəlna mən əwnak sallat ʿənap!* “go to the vineyard and bring us a basket of wine grapes!”. Such phrases give emphasis to the plain imperative. A particle that emphasizes the imperative is attested in Blanc’s *Communal*

³⁴³ Cf. *yrədd* “come back, come again”.

³⁴⁴ Cf. Turk. *kusura bakma* “please overlook what I have said (or done), I hope you will pardon me”.

³⁴⁵ Cf. Turk. *dert* “sickness, sorrow, trouble”.

dialects in Baghdad. In these dialects a particle, *de*, is preposed the imperative to make it ‘...a shade more energetic than the plain imperative ...’.³⁴⁶ An imperative prefix exists also in other *qəltu*-dialects. In Mardin, for example, the prefix is *dē*, e.g.: *dē dōru ‘alāyu* “sucht nach ihm!”.³⁴⁷ *dē* as an imperative prefix is attested only once in the material from Tillo, e.g.: *dē fəkna mən Haqqi!* “free us from Haqqi!”.

4.6.4. Participles

The passive participle is normally used as an adjective, e.g.: *nəhne maʿfūlīn* “we are covered”; *aw l-pārāt lay kəl-ḥatayt-ni tāārīxən uww qabəl lay ‘aşr əsnīn ‘alay-ən maktūp* “the date that is written on the money that you gave me is 20 years old”; *əl-farmānāt ənn mawğūdīn əs-saḥ* “the imperial edicts still exist”; *əs-sāḥa nəhne fī-ya rēkzīn nəhne mažbūrīn da-nḥəbba* “we live in it now so we have to like it”; *mən uww ġū‘ān da- kə-yşīrlak hayy*³⁴⁸ *mənnu* “you would have knowledge about everyone that is hungry”; *ənti mamnūne məl-maktēp?* “are you happy in school?”; *mā kənu məfləsīn kama s-saḥḥ* “they were not bankrupt as now”; *nəhne t-tiğāra nəhne bowş marḥūmīn* “we are very humane in business”; *ṭabi awl ḥarakāt əl-‘āqar ‘ənd əl-mağnūn əysīr kama l-məžēnīn* “of course, the behaviour of the wise is seen as behaviour of the mad by the crazy”.

kān + participle denotes past state of affairs, e.g.: *kān maḥbūs* “he was in jail”; *kān murīdu* “he was his follower”; *kān bowş məḥtaram* “he was very respectable”; *kān maqfūl fataḥu* “it was locked (and) he unlocked it”; *ṭabiki əl-almān kəānu bowş mustaqīmīn* “of course, these Germans were very proper”; *kān ramazān kəntu şāyam* “it was the time of Ramadan and I was fasting”; *äəva z-zalame kəān bowş ēke mulayīm*³⁴⁹, *afandi, sääkän* “this man was very convenient, gentlemanly, calm”.

³⁴⁶ Blanc 1964, 117.

³⁴⁷ Cf. Jastrow 1978, 310.

³⁴⁸ Cf. Kur. *hay* “knowledge”.

³⁴⁹ Second borrowing. Cf. Turk. *mülayim* “reasonable, suitable”.

4.6.5. Verbal modifiers

4.6.5.1. Inchoative

Inchoative is formed with *baqa* + imperfect. It indicates a beginning of an action, e.g.:

<i>kəllətna baqa nətfarrač ‘at-talafəzyōn</i>	“we all started to watch television”
<i>əl-kalb baqa yə‘di xalf əl-‘araba</i>	“the dog started to run after the car”
<i>ḥayanni mā³⁵⁰ baqa ybawwəsni</i>	“he hugged me and started to kiss me”
<i>ši mənən badaw baqa yəksəxu w ši baqa ynaqqaw əš-šəšte</i>	“some of them started to prune and some of them started to pick up the branches that fell off the vine”

In some few examples also *bada*, *yəbdi* + imperfect indicates inchoative, e.g.:

<i>badaw hənnə baqa yəməlu</i>	“they started to work”
<i>yəbdi ysōq əl-fərəş u yrō</i>	“he starts to ride the horse and leaves”

4.6.5.2. Egressive

Egressive is formed of *mā baqa* + imperfect “not anymore”. It denotes the end of an action, e.g.:

<i>mā baqa ytēq yəlbəsu</i>	“he cannot wear it (m.sg.) anymore”
<i>əs-saḥ aḥat mā baqa yrō lay aḥade</i>	“nowadays no one visits (lit. goes to) another anymore”
<i>mā baqa tğərra, la’</i>	“you (m.sg.) won’t pull it anymore, or?”

³⁵⁰ Cf. Turk. *hemen* “at once, instantly”.

4.6.6. Auxiliary verbs or hendiadys

šāl, *qām* and *əyrō* are used in a narrative discourse both to emphasize what is said and to try to put the listener in a kind of imaginary scene where things are occurring. Literally they add no specific meaning to the action.³⁵¹

a. *šāl*

šāl + perfect and *əyšil* + imperfect “lit. to carry, lift”, e.g.:

<i>šaltu ʿaṭaytuwan pāṛātan</i>	“I gave them their money”
<i>əyšilu yağḥaw šā š-šəte</i>	“they conserve, put aside for winter”

b. *qām*, *əyqūm*

qām + perfect and *əyqūm* + imperfect seems to add an inchoative meaning, “lit. to stand up”, e.g.:

<i>šāḥap əl-məlk qām ʿaṭāna l-maḥkame</i>	“the landlord took us to court”
<i>ənnə qāmu rāḥu rās šəḡlən</i>	“they went (back) to their work”
<i>qām ḡāb əl-faraş</i>	“he brought the horse”
<i>qām wēḥət zalamə axev pāṛāt āk əl-məlle kəlla</i>	“a man took the money of all that community”
<i>əyqūmu yrōḥu əḡ-ḡamāāʿa maḥ ḥaʿyan</i>	“the whole gathering leaves together”
<i>əyqūm əyşəpp ən-naḥəl fī lbās ər-raḡal</i>	“he pours the bees into the man’s clothes”
<i>əyqūm ywaddi z-zalamə əwnak w yrō</i>	“he takes the man there and leaves”
<i>al-mara tqūm trollan</i> ³⁵² ...	“this woman goes and says to them ...”
<i>tqūm tbūl fī ē, fī ḥəḡər šēxna</i>	“it (a cat) urinates in our sheik’s lap”

qām, *əyqūm* concords in gender and number with the verb that follows it.

c. *əyrō*

əyrō + imperfect “lit. to go”, e.g.:

³⁵¹ Another auxiliary verb is *yal* “lit. to remain”. The material contains an instance of *əyyal* + imperfect, e.g.: *yərfaʿ čantətu ʿal.., əyyalu yrō kart ləxx* “he lifts his bag to his..., (and) goes on again”.

³⁵² *trō + rəllan* “she goes and says to them”.

<i>əyrō yəmsək əl-salle b-īdu</i>	“he (goes and) holds the basket in his hand”
<i>əyrō yəltəqqəm ... əl-məyy</i>	“he (goes and) sprinkles ... the water”
<i>əyrō yšətt əš-šēš fī rāsu w yəḡi yəṣṭanṣar fəl-lə-ḡnayne</i>	“he (goes and) covers his head with white cloth and comes to the garden and waits”
<i>yawmən wəḥde yqūm əyrō yʿūl šā wēḥəd zəlame</i>	“one day he (stands up, goes and) says to a man ...”

4.6.7. Concord of the verb

The verb concords with the subject both in gender and in number no matter if it precedes or if it succeeds the subject, e.g.:

a. Singular masculine and feminine concord

<i>axi rā l-walēye</i> or <i>rā l-walēye axi</i>	“my brother went to the town”
<i>əḡ-ḡəmhūriyye ḡətt</i> or <i>ḡətt əḡ-ḡəmhūriyye</i>	“the republic came”

b. Plural concord

<i>qabəl əw l-lə-mṭahrīn kā-yrōḥu ʿal- ʿarāq</i>	“in early days, these circumcisers used to go to Iraq”
<i>ən-nəswēn yēklu fī əlli³⁵³ āyri, əlli ḥāšʿa l-lə-rḡēl əlli ḥāšʿa</i>	“the women eat in a room and the men in another (lit. different)”
<i>nəswēn w ərḡēl māä kā-yərkəzu ʿənd baʿvən, fī šəḥbat ḥaʿvən</i>	“women and men did not sit in the same room and talk to each other”
<i>yəḡaw l-awlāt mən əš-šəḡəl yəʿaššaw</i>	“the children come (home) from work (and) have dinner”
<i>yəḥəbbuwa l-örətmānāt kəlla</i>	“all the teachers like her”

³⁵³ Cf. *ʿulliyya* “upper room, upstairs room”, (Lat. *cella*).

4.7. The sentence

4.7.1. Nominal clauses

4.7.1.1. The subject in a nominal clause

A nominal clause in TA consists of a subject and a predicate. The predicate may be an adjective or a participle or an adverbial phrase. The subject may be:

- a. A name: *Faqīru llāh uww fəğ-ğēmə* “Faqīru llāh he is in the mosque”; *Təllo iyy aṭyap mən kəll əl-mamēlək* “Tillo, it (f.sg.) is nicer than all the (other) villages”
- b. An independent personal pronoun: *iy malīha* “she is good”
- c. A demonstrative pronoun: *äv uww bowš maḥqūl* “this is very logical”
- d. A substantive: *hawš uww əgbīr* “(the) courtyard is big”

4.7.1.2. The copula in a nominal clause:

Jastrow writes in qD I that the copulative pronoun stands before its predicate in the Siirt dialect group, and that the copulative pronoun is identical to the independent personal pronoun.³⁵⁴ This is confirmed in the TA:

<i>Faqīru llāh uww mašhūr</i>	“Faqīru llāh is famous”
<i>aşəlkan uww balli</i> ³⁵⁵	“your origin is clear”
<i>əl-bənt iyy määlna</i>	“the girl is ours”
<i>əş-şaaqqōq w əl-‘anbari</i> ³⁵⁶ <i>ənnə</i>	“pear and ‘anbari are (different) sorts”
<i>anwē</i>	
<i>bəntayn ənnə mzawğīn</i>	“two daughters are married”
<i>əbyūt əşṭanbül ənnə aṭyap</i>	“Istanbul houses are nicer”
<i>qk əl-xādəmayn əntən əntən</i>	“those two servants are you”
<i>əl-adapsəzīn əntən əntən</i>	“the ones without manners are you”

The last two examples are the only two instances of the copulative pronoun of the 2.c.pl. in the material. I am conscious that it is impossible to see which

³⁵⁴ Jastrow 1978, 132.

³⁵⁵ Cf. Turk. *belli* “evident, obvious, known”.

³⁵⁶ A variety of grape.

one of the two *əntən* is the independent personal pronoun and which one is the copulative pronoun, but in analogy to the other examples presented it is reasonable to consider the first *əntən* to be the copulative one.

The material contains many instances of the copula type presented above. I am aware that some dialectologists prefer to call this syntactical feature ‘topicalisation’. Judging only from its form this might seem correct. But when looking at its function I regard it as a copula and not as an independent personal pronoun in a nominal sentence. If we take a look, for instance, at some examples from other Anatolian *qəltu*-dialects, such as Mardin and *Āzəx*, where copula is extensively used, we find that semantically the ‘copula’ has the same function in all three dialects, e.g.:

<i>ħaṛāra ktīre-ye hawnake</i> (Mardin) ³⁵⁷	“the heat is too much there”
<i>‘əmqa ‘aš ʔmtār-we</i> (Mardin) ³⁵⁸	“its depth is ten meters”
<i>... fərmān ənnašāre-we</i> (<i>Āzəx</i>) ³⁵⁹	“... it is the imperial edict of the Christians”
<i>... masalət Āzəx gya-ye</i> (<i>Āzəx</i>) ³⁶⁰	“... the matter of <i>Āzəx</i> is this”

In Mardin and *Āzəx* a short form of the independent personal pronoun enclitically succeeds the predicate. Even though this form of enclitic copula is not known in the Siirt group, traces of this feature are still found in this dialect (see 3.1.2). If we compare the examples from Mardin and *Āzəx* with similar (elicited) examples from Tillo, we find that it is just a matter of word order and that the function and the meaning are the same (translation as above):

Mardin and *Āzəx*

ħaṛāra ktīre-ye hawnake (Mardin)
‘əmqa ‘aš ʔmtār-we (Mardin)
qālət hāza zawğ hāk əlmara-we
 (*Āzəx*)³⁶¹
 ... *masalət Āzəx gya-ye* (*Āzəx*)

Tillo

ħarāra iyy bowš qwnak
‘əmqa uww ‘ašš əmtār
ʔālət ääv uww zawč qk əl-mara “she
 said: he is the husband of that
 woman”
 ... *masalət Āzəx iyy äävi* “... this is
 the case of *Āzəx*”

³⁵⁷ Jastrow 1981, 38.

³⁵⁸ Jastrow 1981, 44.

³⁵⁹ Jastrow 1981, 176. *fərmān* “firman, imperial edict”, cf. Turk. *ferman*, referring in daily speech to the massacre that took place in the beginning of the last century, when Christians were slaughtered in Turkey.

³⁶⁰ Jastrow 1981, 186.

³⁶¹ Jastrow 1981, 204.

Sometimes the copula is omitted when the subject of the nominal clause is an independent personal pronoun:

<i>anā māmōr</i> ³⁶²	“I am an official”
<i>ant rēkəp</i>	“you are riding”
<i>anti ʿandi</i>	“you are with me”
<i>uww malī</i>	“it is good”
<i>iyy ġarībe</i>	“she is stranger”
<i>nəḥne maʒbūrīn</i>	“we have to or we are compelled”
<i>əntən kaysīn</i>	“you are good”
<i>ənne məsāfrīn</i>	“they are guests”

Originating from an Anatolian qD, the examples above appear somehow peculiar, because such forms, an independent personal pronoun and a predicate without a copulative pronoun, do not occur in any other Anatolian qD. The use of copula in these dialects is, as is well-known, extensive and when examples of this form appear, the question arises of why and how this peculiarity has developed. In Turkish, a copulative sentence in the 3rd person singular has the same form, e.g.: *o hasta* “he or she is sick”; *o zengin* “he or she is rich”. For all other persons there are personal suffixes, e.g.: (*ben*) *hasta(y)ım* “I am rich”; (*sen*) *zenginsen* “you (2.c.sg) are rich”. If the examples above had concerned only the 3rd person singular it would have been easy to assert that, due to impact from Turkish, this form has been copied to this Arabic dialect. But this is not the case because the examples presented in the table above include all persons. Also north Kurdish, Kurmandji, has personal suffixes, e.g.: *ew nexweşi* “he or she is sick”; *ez zenginim* “I am rich”, which also exclude the impact of Kurmandji on the dialect.

The forms listed above may simply be a residue of an old Semitic form of the nominal sentence. Cf. CA *zaydun ʿālimun* “Zeid is learned”.³⁶³ Cf. also CS *ḥūbō nūhrō* “love is light”; *ṭōḥō šmōk* “the Good Being is thy name”.³⁶⁴

Nominal clauses are negated with *mā* + the independent personal pronoun or its enclitic form (see 3.1.3), e.g.: *ḥarḍu mā uww ḥōwš* “its chilly (period) is not long (lit. a lot)”; *əl-ləxx mā iyy ēke* “the other one is not like this”; *maww anā w bass* “it is not only me”; *hawa Ştanbūl əmme maww tayyap* “Istanbul’s weather is not good either”; *ət-Turkya mayy rāḥa* “Turkey is not stable”.

³⁶² Cf. Turk. *memur* “official, employee”.

³⁶³ Wright 1996, ii 251.

³⁶⁴ Nöldeke 2001, 245-246.

4.7.1.3. Concord in nominal clauses

Concord in gender and number is normally applied in nominal clauses, e.g.: *šta l-maktap uww mali* “school is good”; *iyye arf nayife* “it (f.sg.) is a clean soil”; *bəntayn ənne mzawğin* “two daughters are married”; *ənn axwēt wēhət, ġirān lə-mlēh* “the good neighbours are like one’s brothers”. Due to influence from Turkish, concord is not applied in some instances, e.g.: *ğənēni bowš bowš kwayyəs* “very, very good songs”; *fī mōya‘ iyy kbīr* “there is a place which is huge”.

4.7.1.4. Word order in a nominal clause

The word order in a nominal clause in TA is subject – predicate, e.g.:

<i>əl-bayt uww wasīh</i>	“the house is big (lit. wide)”
<i>Təllo iyye bowš taybe</i>	“Tillo is very nice”
<i>banētna ənne qapalı</i> ³⁶⁵	“our daughters are covered”

4.7.2. Verbal clauses

4.7.2.1. The subject in a verbal clause

The subject in a verbal clause may be:

- A name: *Maḥmūd u Sa‘it kəğ-ğaw əğdīt məl-‘askariyye* “Mahmud and Said have just demobbed from the army”
- An independent personal pronoun: *anā aqūm čääch əş-şala* “I wake up at the time for (morning) prayer”
- A demonstrative pronoun: *ääv də-y‘alləm šā ər-rağal, šoşbīn* “this one will teach the man, bestman”
- A substantive: *əz-çalame də-yrō qabli l-ğnayne yəşbat* “the man will go to the garden before me and steal”
- Included in verb form: *ğaw ət-Təllo w rəkzu fī-ya* “they came to Tillo and settled in it”

³⁶⁵ Cf. Tur. *kapalı* “covered, closed”.

4.7.2.2. Concord in verbal clauses

Concord in gender and number is applied in verbal clauses, e.g.: *abī k̄-dəysawi šəǧəl mā k̄-fī šəǧəl* “my father wanted to work (but) there was no work”; *əmmi təlbes ham čēriyye* “my mother also wears a headscarf”; *trīdi trōhi ət-Təllo?* “do you (f.sg.) want to go (back) to Tillo?”; *ənnē qāmu rāhu rās šəǧlən* “they went (back) to their work”.

4.7.2.3. Word order in verbal clauses

Dahlgren writes that word order in the Anatolian Arabic dialects shows that SVO is predominant.³⁶⁶ TA is no exception, e.g.:

<i>əl-awlēt yəməlu əwne</i> (SVadv.)	“the boys are working here”
<i>awlēdna k̄-yrōhu l-maktep</i> (SVadv.)	“our children used to go to school”
<i>abī k̄-dəysawi šəǧəl</i> (SVO)	“my father wanted to do (some) work”
<i>abī k̄-yrōh əl-əyyōh</i> (SVadv.)	“my father used to go to the villages”
<i>Maḥmūd u Saʿīd kəǧ-ǧaw əǧdīt məl-ʿaskariyye</i> (SVadv.)	“Mahmud and Said have just demobbed from the army”
<i>Saʿīd ḥakāk ʿalayu</i> (SVO)	“Said told you (m.sg.) about it (m.sg.)”
<i>ənnē qāmu rāhu rās šəǧlən</i> (SVadv.)	“they went (back) to their work”
<i>waxətna k̄-yəḥar bowš kwayyas fī Təllo</i> (SVadv.)	“our time used to pass very nice in Tillo”
<i>anā d-aqūm arō l-ʿIrāq</i> (SVdv.)	“I will leave for Iraq”
<i>ənnē qāmu rāhu lə-byūten</i> (SVdv.)	“they left for their houses”

Attested instances where VSO word order occurs, e.g.:

<i>yəṭlah qāršiyu</i> ³⁶⁷ <i>zalamət ləxx</i> (VS)	“another man comes in his way”
<i>badaw hənne baqa yəməlu</i> (VS)	“they started to work”
<i>əyqūm şultān Maḥmūt yəbʿaf lu ḡäärya u ḡääri</i> (VSO)	“Sultan Maḥmūt sends him a maid and a servant”
<i>əyqūmu yrōhu əǧ-ǧamäʿa maḥ ḥaʿyan məšxātar ən-nišān</i> (VSO)	“the group goes together for the sake of the engagement”
<i>ṭabi kə-ylam əl-hawa</i> ³⁶⁸ (VS)	“it (the sky) had become dark, of course”

³⁶⁶ Dahlgren 1998, 168.

³⁶⁷ Cf. Tur. *karsi* “opposite”.

³⁶⁸ Second borrowing. Cf. Turk. *hava* “air, weather, the sky, climate”.

There are few attested instances where the objective occurs in the beginning of a verbal clause, e.g.:

<i>ğōḡāt ammən nəxsəlen</i>	“we also wash the intestines”
<i>laḥem nəxsəlu</i>	“we wash the meat”

Both examples above are attested in a text where a lady explains how certain food dishes are prepared.

In Syrian Arabic the particle *ənn(u)*, c.f. CA *ʿinna* and *ʿan* is frequently used, e.g.: *xāf ʿənnō yəṭʿrku š-šəḡʿl* “he was afraid they would quit the job”; *ʿənti mā btəsthəʿi ənnō ḥākiki* “you (f.sg.) don’t deserve that I should speak to you”.³⁶⁹ In TA this particle is not used, e.g.: *yāhu əlt-li anā šaḥar aḷla taʿāla uww arbʿīn sane* “you told me that the patience of God the Sublime is as great as 40 years”; *Ṭūba am əṭūl dawāmlī yʿaḡḡəzni* “Tuba says that he always bothers me”; *ʿūl mō ḡərra kart ləxx! ʿūl kart ləxx mō ḡərra!* “say that you won’t pull it (f.sg.) another time! Say that you another time you won’t pull it!”; *baʿat la-l-pādišāh yəfraḡ kəlla məllətu kə-ḡənnēt ...* “after that the sultan notices that all his people went crazy ...”.

4.7.3. Adverbial clauses

4.7.3.1. Temporal clauses

Temporal clauses may be introduced by *waxt/waqt* and *waxt/waqt lay* “when”, *čēx* and *čēx lay* “when”, *awwəl mā* “as soon as”, *baʿəd lay* “after that ...”, *qabəl lay/la-* “before that ...”, *hayyā* and *hayyā mā* “till, until”, e.g.:

<i>waxt əl-ʿašar əyḥəll məš-šəḡəl</i>	“when it becomes evening he leaves work”
<i>waxt lay ṭalaḥt məl-karm aḷla m kān ʿala rāsak</i>	“also when you (m.sg.) left the vineyard God was watching you (lit. on your head)”
<i>waxt lay də-yḡībuwa, əyqūmu yrōḥu əḡ-ḡamäʿa maḥ ḥəʿyan məš-xāṭar ən-nišān</i>	“when they are about to bring her (the bride), the whole family (lit. gathering) (of the bridegroom) go together for the sake of engagement”

³⁶⁹ Cowell 1964, 346.

*waqt lay rəkəbtu fəl-^caraba k̄ā-kəl-
na^cem həss taybū³⁷⁰
čēx la-naštāqkən ku-dənərkap nəği*

čēx lay təğzi əm əšš tsaway?

*fī Təllo čēx lay k̄ā-a^cğas k̄ā-anzal lə-
žnayne*

*čēx lay dūrumna mmēni ysīr malī
də-nrō nəbʔa fət-Təllo*

*čēx lay rəhtu l-Wēn ka-lli arḃa w
əššīn sane*

*čēx yəği məl-Arzurūm lay sayyədi
Faqīru llāh k̄ān əbən təs^c əsnīn*

*awwəl mā³⁷¹ yəlḥaq əl-īdu, sayyədi
Faqīru llāh yāxav əğ-ğāri w əğ-
ğārye*

bā^cəd la-qazzāna³⁷² bəqīna fən-nəşş

*bā^cəd la-l-marḥūm wālədi twaffa b-
sane bəhtu əd-dəkkēn*

*qabəl la- k̄ā-kər-rəht əl-Wēn əšš
šəğəl k̄ā-tsayy*

*k̄ā-yəştanḃəru hayyā mā aftar ēš k̄ā-
yəğū*

“he had turned down the tape-
recorder when I came into the car”

“when we miss you (c.pl.) we will
come to you (lit. we will ride and
come)”

“what do you (f.sg.) do when you get
bored”

“in Tillo when I was bored I used to
go down to the garden”

“when our situation gets better we
will go back and stay in Tillo”

“when I left to Van I was twenty-four
years old”

“when he comes to my grandfather
Faqīru llāh he was a child of nine
years”

“as soon as they come to him (lit. to
his hand), my grandfather Faqīru llāh
takes the servant and the maid”

“after he won it (f.sg.) we remained
in the middle”

“after my father, may God have
mercy on him, passed away I sold the
shop”

“before you (m.sg.) left to Van, what
work did you do?”

“they used to wait until I broke the
fast (and) then they used to come”

The examples above show that temporal subordinate clauses more often precede the main clause. This may be due to influence from Turkish where the subordinate clause always precedes the main clause.

4.7.3.2. Final clauses

Final clauses are attested as both syndetic and asyndetic.

a. Syndetic final clauses are formed with conjunctions, e.g.: *məşxāṭ(ar)* and *šā xāṭar* “for, for the sake of”, e.g.:

³⁷⁰ Cf. Turk. *teyp* “tape-recorder”. An original *p* shifts to *b* before a vowel.

³⁷¹ Cf. Cowell 1964, 357.

³⁷² Cf. Turk. *kazanmak* “to win”.

*tayy q'adi 'ala əğrayy məşxātar
ysaknu!
əyrō əddēm bayt əbnu məşxāṭ
ṭayəḥṭīna pārāt
qəmtu məşxāṭar āk əz-ḩalame
ysakkən 'aṭaytūhu mīt alf, mīt məlyōn*

*kəl-fataḥna ääva əd-darnēk
məşxāṭar mā nənsi rōḥna*

“come (f.sg.) and sit on my legs so they will stop shaking!”

“he goes to his son’s house for the sake of giving us money”

“for the sake of calming down that man I gave him one hundred thousand, one million”

“we started (lit. opened) this association for the sake of not forgetting ourselves”

b. Asyndetic final clauses, e.g.:

kəğ-ğīna nəṭlab bəntäk

kəğ-ğītu s-saḥ asawi bōya³⁷³

trō tsāfəru?³⁷⁴

arōḥ arayyaḥ əl-, əl-ğədi

əalna nəḥne də-nə'raf!

“we came to ask for your (m.sg.) daughter’s hand”

“I came here for the sake of painting”

“are you (m.sg.) going for the sake of being his guest?”

“I go (there) for the sake of feeding the goat”

“tell us so that we will know!”

The *ḥāl*-clause in the majority of these examples expresses a nuance of finality.

4.7.3.3. Causal clauses

The conjunctions *čünki* (*čünkü*) “because” and *şayş* “because” are used to express causal clauses, e.g.:

*mā 'aṭawni əzan čünki ḡītu əl-
'Anqara*

*kə-yəğī iyyām d-ayrap šā rōḥi, čünki
mā-la ṭāqat la- anā ḥəməl*

*ḥaṭṭayna ktēbētna kəlla fəṭ-
ṭannəgāt³⁷⁵ w ḥaṭṭaynāḥən taḥt əl-*

“they did not give me permission because I had come to Ankara”

“sometimes (lit. days) I was about to punch myself because my burden was unbearable”

“we put all our books in tin plates and put them (the tin plates) under

³⁷³ Cf. Tur. *boya* “paint, color”.

³⁷⁴ Second borrowing. Cf. Tur. *misafir* “guest, visitor”.

³⁷⁵ Cf. Tur. *teneke* “tin plate, large can”.

*ary, çünki fî waqt Üünü³⁷⁶ kâ-
yşarţuwan
əl-mälle mən ääv əl-bîr yəşrabu
çünkü fî âk əl-mamlake mâ kəş-şâr
kamêha mayy tayyap*

*şayş anā āxəv əl-muţālaʿa anā nāqəş
harake yaʿni*

*mən zamēn şayş ahat mā kəs-sāq əl-
faraş əyşaytan bowş*

*şayş kəntu fî Batmāne kâ-yğîlna
msāfrîn*

the earth, because in the time of
Inönü they used to tear them”

“the people drink from this well be-
cause in the whole kingdom there
was no sweeter water than that
(f.sg.)”

“because I (spend my time on)
read(ing) I lack physical training (lit.
movement)”

“because no one has ridden the horse
for a long time it was behaving mis-
chievously”

“because I was in Batman, guests
came to visit us”

4.7.3.4. Comparative clauses

kama “like, as” is used in comparative clauses, e.g.:

*ğawwēt əl-bayt ham ʿayni kama t-
Təllo nəhne*

*mō ysaw maʿna ēke ʿalāqa kama lay
ənta saytna maʿ..., sayt maʿna*

“inside the house we are still as we
were in Tillo”

“they don’t show friendship to us as
you (m.sg.) have shown us”

4.7.3.5. Restrictive clauses

Restrictive clauses are marked with *ğayr* “other than, but”, *bass* and
*şādeğe*³⁷⁷ “only”, e.g.:

*uwwe îla l-arbîn sane mā akal şî
ğayr əl-fākiha*

*îla l-arbîn sane bass fākiha akal
kəll insään ēke, maww anā w bass*

mā-li ğayrən

fəl-ṽayʿa ğayr əl-wazîr u ğayr əl-

“for forty years he didn’t eat anything
but fruit”

“for forty years he ate only fruit”

“everyone is like this, it’s not only
me”

“I have no one but them (about par-
ents)”

“in the village only the grand vizier

³⁷⁶ Mustafa İsmet İnönü, second president of Turkey.

³⁷⁷ Cf. Tur. *sadece* “merely, simply, only”.

<i>qārāl</i> ³⁷⁸ , <i>pādišāh šī aḥat mō yābqa</i> ‘āqal	and the king remained sane”
<i>šādeḡe lāha fart aš-šiyayn: maḡy w</i> <i>šāḡal mā lāha</i>	“it (f.sg.) has only these two disadvantages: it has no water and no work”

4.7.3.6. Clauses with the interrogative pronouns

Interrogative subordinate clauses are introduced by the interrogatives *ašwam* “how”, *ašš* “what” and *ayšni* “what”, e.g.:

<i>baqa yaḡraw baḥs</i> ³⁷⁹ <i>əl-qəš.., lə-</i> <i>ksēx</i> ³⁸⁰ <i>ašwam ysīr</i>	“they started to talk about pruning, how it is done”
<i>ašš kā-yḡīp mū mō ‘raf</i>	“what he was bringing I don’t know”
<i>‘ammo əs-saḥḥ ‘AbdallPaḥad niyyātu</i> <i>iyye laḡətna, ašš nəgri</i>	“uncle, now Ablahad’s intention is our dialect, how/what we talk”
<i>mō y’ūl əl-maqṣat ašš kəd-daxal fə-</i> <i>luḡətkən</i>	“he does not tell you the aim, why he penetrated into your dialect”
<i>ašš təʔmar anā fī amrak</i>	“whatever you (m.sg.) ask I am in your service”
<i>nəḥne aš-šəḡta ayšni mō nəʔraf</i>	“we don’t know what theft is”

4.7.3.7. Circumstantial clauses, or the *ḥāl*-adverbial

4.7.3.7.1. Syndetic *ḥāl*-clause

ḥāl-sentences with *w* are not frequent, e.g.: *əl-walat ‘al-lə-ḥmār w ənta trō b-*
əl-mašu! “the boy is riding the donkey while you are going by foot!”; *šī*
baqa yəksaxu u šī baqa ynaqqu š-šište w anā ēke atfarraš “some of them
started to prune (the vine tendril) and some of them started to pick up the
branches while I was watching”; *taḥtu ‘araba ysōqa w yaḡi sur‘at-li*³⁸¹ “he is
sitting in a car (and) driving it while coming fast”.

³⁷⁸ Cf. Tur. *kral* “king”.

³⁷⁹ Second borrowing. Cf. Kur. *baḥs* “talk, discussion”. Cf. also Turk. *bahis* “topic, matter”.

³⁸⁰ Cf. Syr. *ksāh* “to prune (esp. vine), to lop”.

³⁸¹ Cf. Tur. *-li* which makes adjectives of substantives.

In one instance *lay*, without any personal pronoun, serves as a *ḥāl*-particle, e.g.: *əl-marḥūm wāladi lay zğayyar mtasak fəl-naxwaštiyye* “my father, may God have mercy on him, while still a little boy became sick”.

4.7.3.7.2. Asyndetic *ḥāl*-clause

Asyndetic *ḥāl*-sentences are by far more common than syndetic. Examples: *ğīna fəṭ-ṭarīq əl-askriyye saknūna* “while coming on our way the soldiers stopped us”; *ğīna tə-nrətt fəl-mağwe arayna wēḥəd ar-qadāš* “while on the way back we saw a friend”; *uwwe rā əl-walēye anā bəqītu fī Təllo* “he went to the town while I stayed in Tillo”; *ääf əz-zalaṃe baqa yrō xalfu ḥazīn* “the man started sadly to walk behind him”; *āl əntən dxəlu qʻadu sawu šəḥbe maʻu anā d-atfī s-siğōrta* “he said: You go in, sit (and) make him company while I pull the safety-bolt”; *əl-mṭahrīnčīn kəlla qēdīn ʻaḫarat wəḥde mara* “while all the circumcisers were seated a woman passed”.

4.7.3.8. Relative clauses

Relative clauses appear syndetic and/or asyndetic.

a. Syndetic relative clause:

<i>qaw əl-kurmanč lay kəğ-ğaw mən qabəl</i>	“these Kurds that came earlier”
<i>ääv əl-arqadāš lay əš-šüför, lay yʻamməl l-ʻaraba</i>	“this friend who is the driver, who drives the car”
<i>qaw l-pāṛāt lay kəl-ḥatayt-ni täärīxən uwwe qabəl lay ʻašr əsnīn ʻalay-ən maktūp</i>	“the date written on the money that you gave me is 10 years ago”
<i>ääf lay kə-šəbaṭ əl-faraş əyşīḥ əz-zalaṃe</i>	“this who stole the horse calls upon the man”
<i>əmmi kə-kəl-ḥayrat šī lay aḷla kəl-qəşam</i>	“my mother had prepared what God had given us (lit. shared)”
<i>qək əl-fənğēn lay fī ʻalay əvən</i>	“the cup that has a handle (lit. an ear)”

b. Asyndetic relative clause:

*waddaytu^{hu} lay kam doxtor,³⁸²
prafasōr ənne
anā w zowč əxti kān lisa möduri³⁸³ fī
Başqar fī Wēn*

“I took him to some doctors that are professors”

“I and my brother-in-law who was a director of an upper secondary school in Bashkar in Van”

*əs-sah lān³⁸⁴ fī həwla l-mīt bayt ənn
mən əwlaq*

“they now have about 100 families that are from those”

4.8. Conditional clauses

4.8.1. Realis conditional clauses

Realis conditional clauses occur as syndetic and asyndetic:

a. Syndetic

The protasis in a syndetic realis conditional clause is introduced either by *ənn* or by *lay*, e.g.:

*əs-sah həälkən ənn kā-şār mali
trōḥu t-Təllo əmme təbqaw fī
Ştanbül?*

“if your situation becomes better, will you go (back) to Tillo?”

*ənn kā-şār fī-ya şəğal ham kəlla də-
yrəddu yrōḥu waṭanan kart ləxxe*

“if there will be work in it (Tillo) everyone will go back again home to their village”

*lay durumna mmēni ysīr malī də-nrō
nəḥʔa fət-Təllo*

“if our (economic) situation is getting better, we will go (back) and stay in Tillo”

*lay nəḥne nrō da-yəd³⁸⁵ yəği nəsal
də-yənsi rōḥu
ənn kā-aḷla salaf baqa nqūm darank*

“if we die the offspring after us will forget themselves”

“if God wants, we will wake up late”

³⁸² Cf. Kur. *tixtor* “doctor”.

³⁸³ Cf. Turk. *lise + müdür* “director of an upper secondary school”.

³⁸⁴ Cf. *ləhən* “they have”.

³⁸⁵ Cf. *yrədd* “come back, come again”.

b. Asyndetic, e.g.:

*kā-təqtu rəhtu əwnak, awlādi am
inšāllah, b-əzan alla ta‘āla, hič ol-
masa³⁸⁶ mā yənsaw ääv aşlan*

“if I will be able to go there, and also
my children if God wants, by God’s
will, at least, they will not forget
their origin”

*kā-əbni ġā bəs-salēme da-anyərлу
mūlet*

“if my son comes back safe, I will
vow a feast for him”

In negating realis conditional clauses the particle *mā* is used. *mā* appears then either between *ənn* and *kā-* or after *kā-*, e.g.:

*ənn kā-mā mətna, ənšā‘allah əysīr
ma‘na nəraf də-nīṭə ənsayy ḥa³⁸⁷
rōḥna fi Təllo də-nrō ət-Təllo
inšā‘allah*

“if we have not died yet (and) if God
wants, we will have (money) so that
we know we can manage and won’t
need anyone in Tillo, we will go
back there”

*ənn kā-mā şārlu yāqa təlbəsu də-
yḥəll*

“if it does not have a collar and you
wear it, its colour will fade”

Examples of negated asyndetic conditional clause, e.g.:

*mā ntafaḥ, mā şārlı manfa‘a mənnu
mā ġā ‘ala əsəmməti*

“if he is not useful, if I won’t get any
benefit from him, he will not be
given my name”

mā tākəla d-ākəla anā

“if you wont eat it I will eat it”

4.8.2. Irrealis conditional clauses

Irrealis conditional clauses are formed in the same way as realis, i.e. they are introduced by *ənn* + *kā-*, e.g.:³⁸⁷

*ənn kā-şərtu amakli əş-şahr d-āxev
miyye w xamsīn mītayn milyōn
ma‘āş, t-aq‘ad fə-Təllo aşay ḥaqq*

“if I were retired and my wages had
been 150, 200 millions per month I
would live in Tillo and manage for
myself”

³⁸⁶ Cf. Turk. *hiç* “not at all”, *ol* “to be or become” + *-mez* which is the negation of the aorist 3.sg.; see Lewis 2000, 115-121.

³⁸⁷ Cf. CA where where *law* introduces the irrealis conditional clause and *ʔidaʔin* introduces the realis, Wright 1988, ii 6-17.

rōhi

ənn kā-kə-yərtamu ʿalayu mā kā-ysīr “If they had accepted it, this
āk əš-ši wouldn’t have happened”

Irrealis conditional sentences are negated by *mā*, e.g.:

ənn kā-aḷla mā kəl-ʾääl ē maḥ sabəḥ “if God does not want (lit. said), their
abbātən yāklū xara fathers will have trouble (lit. eat shit)
in the morning”

ənn kā-mā kā-ṭayləʿni barra kən d- “if he hadn’t taken me out, I would
amūt have died”

4.9. Negative clauses

4.9.1. Negated nominal clause

Nominal clauses and subordinated nominal clauses are negated with *maww* and *mayy* (see 3.6.5), e.g.:

<i>maww kam³⁸⁸ l-laben abyay</i>	“it is not white as yoghurt”
<i>hawa Ştanbül əmme maww ṭayyap</i>	“the weather in Istanbul is not good either”
<i>uww maww bowş şuwāri</i>	“he is not a good (horse) rider”
<i>mayy čərgə³⁸⁹</i>	“it is not bad”
<i>mayy malīḥa</i>	“she is not good”
<i>mayy ēke əŞtanbül</i>	“Istanbul is not like this”
<i>da-rō yaʿne ɸwn maww āfāri</i>	“I will leave, because this is not my place”
<i>kanu arb^ʿīn, xamsīn wēḥət, maww wēḥət</i>	“they were 40, 50 people, not one or two”
<i>w tnaɸn.</i>	
<i>anā aʾül iyy mayy malīḥa</i>	“I say that she is not nice”
<i>rtamayt mən ʿal-faraş mayy m-əl-ləhi</i>	“that you fell off the horse is not because of this”

maww is sometimes used in combination with *šəššāne* or *ši-šāne*.³⁹⁰ The expression then has a shade of emphasis, e.g.: *hawa Ştanbül mawwe šəššāne*

³⁸⁸ A short form of *kama* “like”.

³⁸⁹ Cf. Turk. *çürük* “rotten, bad”.

“the weather in Istanbul is nothing at all (compared to Tillo)”; *mō sayy šəššāne* “I don’t do anything at all”; *mō ytiq ysabbət*³⁹¹ *šī-šāne* ‘*ala ēf əz-zələme* “he cannot prove anything at all against this man”. *šəššāne/šī-šāne* is the equivalent of Turkish, *hiç* “never, not at all” which also has a function of reinforcing negatives, e.g.: *hiç konuşmaz* “he doesn’t talk at all”.³⁹² In one instance *šī-šāne* and *hīč* are used together in a clause, e.g.: *‘ərfna, ‘ādətna hīč mā kət-tğayyar šī-šāne* “our tradition, custom, nothing at all has changed”.

Existential clauses are negated by *mā + fī*, *mā + ma^c* or *mā + ‘ənd*, e.g.:

<i>mā fī həndə^a</i>	“there are no hazelnuts”
<i>mā fī həd fə-l-bayt</i>	“there is no one at home”
<i>mā kā-fī šəğəl</i>	“there was no work”
<i>manba^c mā fī fə-Təllo</i>	“there is no water source in Tillo”
<i>mā ma^cu faras</i>	“he does not have a horse”
<i>mā ma^cək pāṛāt</i>	“you (m.sg.) don’t have money”
<i>mā ‘əndi bayt</i>	“I don’t have a house”
<i>mūn mā ‘əndəna fəl-bayt</i>	“we don’t have food supply at home”

4.9.2. Negated verbal clause

Verbal clauses are negated by *mō* or *mā*.

4.9.2.1. *mō*

a. *mō* negates in general a verbal clause with the imperfect, which is a characteristic feature for the Anatolian group,³⁹³ e.g.:

<i>ənnə mō y’ūlu falš</i>	“they don’t say <i>falš</i> , snow”
<i>šay</i> ³⁹⁴ <i>mō tāäkəl?</i>	“why aren’t you eating?”
<i>mō yəmši š-šəğəl</i>	“work is not going (well)”
<i>mō nə^crəf əšniy ət-tiğāra nəhne</i>	“we don’t know what trade is”
<i>ənn yābāṅğiyye</i> ³⁹⁵ <i>mō nə^cāšəran</i>	“they are strangers, we don’t visit each other”

There are few attestations where *mō* is used to negate a verbal clause in the perfect, e.g.:

³⁹⁰ Cf. *šī* “thing, something”.

³⁹¹ Cf. Turk. *sebat etmek* “to hold fast one’s purpose”.

³⁹² Lewis 2000, 74.

³⁹³ Jastrow 1978, 312.

³⁹⁴ *šay* < *šā ayš āy* “Why”.

³⁹⁵ Cf. Turk. *yabancı* “stranger, foreigner”.

mō anā kəš-šəbaṭtu
mō kəlla rāḥu

“It was not me who stole”
“not all of them left”

In the examples above *mō* negates in general the whole clause and in particular the subject.

b. *mō ēke*: A clause that makes a normal assertion to a negated question, e.g.: *əl-awlēt kəllata mō yəʿaššaw maʿ ḥaʿyan, mō ēke?* “all the children do not have dinner together, isn’t that so?”

c. *mō* is used in rhetorical questions, in which case the question becomes an assertion. Such constructions consist formally of sentences where the truth in the sentence is questioned,³⁹⁶ e.g.:

mō qabəl kā-yəlbəsu lbääsäät ṭwāl

“in early times people used to have long dresses”

mō tə-tfaşşal šānu əl-wēḥət
məšxāṭar ...

“it should be cut out for someone for the sake of ...”

mō kəš-šālat ölcüü³⁹⁷ mən əwnək

“she took his measurements already”

mō kən ləhu āvak lay uwwe
yārəm³⁹⁸

“he had that one which was short (lit. half)”

mō mā kā-yəʿləqu fəl-īt

“one could not get them (lit. they didn’t stick to the hand)”

4.9.2.2. *mā*

a. *mā* negates in general verbal clauses with perfect, e.g.:

aṃa mā ftahamna mənna šī š-šāne
mmēni

“but we haven’t understood anything from it”

baḥs əl-kətal fūm mā sayten

“you haven’t mentioned *kətal fūm* (a traditional Tillo dish)”

anā nsītu mā ʾəltulki əl-lawm fəʿül
maʿna

“I have forgotten to tell you (f.sg.) that we have workers with us today”

anā šəbaṭtu l-faʿaš mā ʿaḃar fī-ya
daqīqa əlla taʿāla yərabni

“I stole the horse and not even a minute passed, God the Sublime punished me”

³⁹⁶ Isaksson and Lahdo 2002, 328.

³⁹⁷ Cf. Turk. *ölçü* “measure”.

³⁹⁸ Cf. Turk. *yarım* “half”.

mā xallaytu haqqan

“I gave them their wages (lit. I did not hold in their rights)”

ər-rāʿi mā xalla da-rō xalfu

“the shepherd didn’t let me go after it (m.sg.)”

mā qəbəltu āk əl-maḥall

“I didn’t accept that place”

There are, nevertheless, some attestations where *mā* negates imperfect, e.g.: *mā nsayn* ... “we don’t do them ...”; *laymūn mā y..*, *mā ysīru fə-Təllo* “lemon does not grow in Tillo”; *mā yənsaw ääv aşlan* “they don’t (or won’t) forget their origin”.

b. *mā* + *kə* + a verb in perfect negates clauses in the past tense, e.g.:

mā kən-nəsītu ʿarabi

“I have not forgotten Arabic”

sayyədī baʿəd lay mā kəl-qabal āke

“since my grandfather didn’t accept that thing (m.sg.) we cannot accept it either”

şī nəḥne mō nīq nəqəbəlu

hēş mā kəğ-ğūt

“haven’t you (m.sg.) come yet”

mā kəl-ʔəltu şā əmmi ...

“I haven’t said to my mother ...”

anā mā kəl-axavtu mənnu şī

“I haven’t taken anything from him”

əl-fäʿəl ēş³⁹⁹ ʿaraku mā kən-nəşef

“the worker should have his wages even before his sweat has dried”

lazəm uww yāxəd haqqu

c. *mā* + *kā-* (< *kān*) + imperfect negates duration in the past, e.g.:

mā kā-yəʔbəlu da-yrōḥu l-maktēp

“they did not allow them to go to school”

kəntu şāyam mā kā-yəğaw

“I was fasting and they didn’t come to me”

bīra mā kā-yəşrabu ʿəndi

“they didn’t drink beer at my place”

mā kā-ykaffīna

“it wasn’t enough for us”

In the translations of the examples above one may also insert “used to” to give the nuance of duration in the past.

d. *mā* + imperfect negates also final clauses, e.g.:

əğ-ğnayne yşawkuwa məşxātar əl-

ḥaywēnēt mā yədxəlu l-ğawwa

“they enclose the garden with thorns so that animals would not be able to come inside”

ṭabi nərrayna ʿala ḡanp məşşxātar

“we stepped aside, of course, so that

³⁹⁹ Cf. Kur. *hêj* “so far, yet, still, more”.

mā yaṣṭaḥ fina

he wouldn't hit us"

4.9.2.3. *lā*

lā + imperfect indicates the negated imperative, e.g.:

bowṣ lā tastaʿmāl kəlmäät bət-tərki!

“don't (m.sg.) use many Turkish words!”

hič lā tsayy maraq!

“don't (m.sg.) bother at all!”

lā tʿallay ḥəski!

“don't (f.sg.) raise your voice!”

lā təḥkay!

“don't (f.sg.) talk!”

äävi l-bīr lā təbdaw təṣrabu mənna məyy!

“don't (pl.) start drinking from this well!”

lā tqūlūli ...!

“don't (pl.) say to me ...!”

xa-yəğgi ʿəššīn zalamə azyad lā yəğgi!

“let 20 men come (and) more should not come!”

aḥḥat lā yʿəllu šī!

“nobody should say anything to him!”

There are, though, some exceptions to this rule. In a few examples *mō* negates the imperative, e.g.: *ʿammu mō ta^{cc400} fə-qṣūr ʿawwəltu rōḥi!* “sorry, uncle, I stretched my legs!”.

lā is sometimes used with *əmma*, *əmma lā* “... or not?” as a short way to negate declarative question, e.g.:

təḡəbi al-balazik⁴⁰¹ əmma lā bənti?

“do you (f.sg.) like this bracelet or not, my daughter?”

ääva l-marāwāt təḡəbiyya əmma lā?

“do you (f.sg.) like these earrings or not?”

ač-čak fī qaršiyətu əmma lā?

“does this check have covering or not?”

⁴⁰⁰ *ta^{cc} < talləʿ* “look (2.m.sg.)!”

⁴⁰¹ Cf. Turk. *bilezik* “bracelet”.

4.10. Narrative discourse

4.10.1. Foreground and background

In TA, narrative discourse may be divided into main story and supplementary or helpful information. According to Hopper, there is a universal tendency in narrative discourse to make a distinction between the main story line in a narrative and what may be described as supportive material, with its digressions and amplifying information.⁴⁰² The main story line is characterized by events that come in sequence, one after the other, to give a skeleton of the narrative,⁴⁰³ e.g.: *tala'na fəd-dərəyāč, daqqayna z-zil,*⁴⁰⁴ *fatahūlna l-bēp, karmūna l-ōḍa, daxalna l-ōḍa, rəkəzna 'al-qultgāt*⁴⁰⁵ “we went up the stairs, rang the bell, they opened the door, invited us into the room, we entered the room and sat on the armchairs”; *yəğaw l-awlāt mən əš-šəğəl, yəf'aššaw, yəšrabu čēye, yēklu maywe* “the boys come from work, have dinner, drink tea and eat fruit”; *nəxlat fī-yu fəlfəl u məlḥ, nəğənu fī ḥa'yu, ənsayu ēke, ənzangəru, nəfram basal, ənḥamməran, āk əm ənḥamməran, ənsəpp 'alayan məyy şəmḡā'* “we mix it with pepper and salt, we make a dough of them, we make it such, we fry it brown, we chop onions, we fry them brown, we fry them brown those also and pour sumac sauce over it”. Sequences like these are designated foreground. The supplementary material is not in sequence with the main story line. It may be concurrent or located at any other point of the time axis, e. g.: *ba'ət la-yrō b-mədde yəṭlah qāršiyu*⁴⁰⁶ *zalamət ləxx* “after walking for a while, another man comes out in his way”; *mən zamēn šayš aḥat mā kəs-sāq əl-faraş əyşaytan bowš* “because none had ridden the horse for a long time, it was being noisy”; *ba'əd lay qəblu qəmtu waddaytuwən karm* “after they had accepted I took them to the vineyard”. This supplementary material is referred to as background.⁴⁰⁷ Below a short text is presented where the background is marked in bold:

əyrō əl-karm. əBrāhīm Ḥaqqi čēx əyrō, yəmsək əl-salle b-īdu, ēke yətməšši yrō. əyrō l-karm əyṭayyaf əl-ənəp. čēx yṭalah məl-karm əyḥətt əs-salle fə-yəhru w yəğī. awwəl mā yəğī ḡawwāt əl-yay'a ynazzel əs-

“He goes to the vineyard. **Ibrahim Haqqi goes while holding the basket in his hand and walks.** He goes to the vineyard and fills (the basket with) grapes. **When he leaves the vineyard,** he puts the basket on his

⁴⁰² Hopper 1979, 213 and Dahlgren 1998, 61.

⁴⁰³ Dahlgren 1998, 61.

⁴⁰⁴ Cf. Tur. *zil* “bell”.

⁴⁰⁵ Cf. Tur. *koltuk* “armchair”.

⁴⁰⁶ Cf. Tur. *kərsi* “opposite”.

⁴⁰⁷ Dahlgren 1998, 61.

salle mən yāhru, uww əBrahīm əl-Haqqi. tabiki əl-wali šā alla uww bowš qa..., qrayyap. awwəl mā yəč sayyədi Faqīru llāh yəllu: šayš šəlt ək əs-salle mən əala yāhraq?

back and comes (to the village). **As soon as he enters the village**, he takes the basket off his back, **he, Ibrahim Haqqi. Of course sovereignty belongs to God** (and) he draw closer (lit. very close). **As soon as he comes**, my grandfather Faqīru llāh says to him: Why did you take the basket off your back?"

Word order in foreground and background in TA differs from other Arabic dialects, for instance from those of the Eastern Mediterranean group. In the latter dialects one finds that VS is the natural word order in narrative discourse. In foreground, VS word order is attested up to at least 70%.⁴⁰⁸ In TA, SV word order is more frequent than VS (see 4.7.2.3). Moreover, SV word order dominates in both foreground background. This radical divergence may be due to influence from Turkish and/or Kurdish. Both these languages are SOV languages.⁴⁰⁹

4.10.2. The topicality hierarchy

The topicality hierarchy affects the word order. The dominating word order in TA is SV but in phrases such as *kān fī zalamē* “there was a man”, where a new topic or a new person is presented, the word order is VS, e.g.: *kā-fī wēḥət kā-əsmu malla Ḥəsēn Sāngār, alla yərḥamu kər-rtaham* “**there was a man** called mullah Ḥəsēn Sāngār, may God have mercy with him, he died (now)”; *kā-fī ənna almān əfnayn, kā-yəmalu əndna* “**there were two Germans** working for us”; *kā-fī zalamē kään bowš šəḫḫət* “**there was a man** that stole a lot (lit. he was very thief)”; *kā-fī kā-ysammu Ḥusayn, kään bawš šaap* “**there was someone that was called Ḥusayn** that was very smart”. The verb *kān* and *fī* in the expression *kān fī ...* forms in this case an existential particle with a past tense reference.

Another form of topicality in TA is the one that is characterized by mentioning or repeating the subject, the independent personal pronoun, even though it is obvious through the verb,⁴¹⁰ e.g.: *nəḫne nəstəḫi mən rōḫna* “**we** are ashamed of ourselves”; *badala tə-yəḫti-yu xamsa mīt vahabiyye uwwə yəḫti-yu xamsa mīt fəyḡa* “instead of giving him 500 gold coins **he** gives him 500 silver coins”; *ənn kā-uwwə axī d-azawwəḡu anā arō abūs it əl-bənt* “if it is

⁴⁰⁸ Dahlgren 1998, 168.

⁴⁰⁹ Dahlgren 1998, 168.

⁴¹⁰ Lambrecht 1996, 131-150.

my brother that is going to get married, **I** will go and kiss the hand of the girl!"; *əl-gapš iyye ʿarabiy-ye* "the ram, **it** (f.sg.) is an Arabic word"; *əs-saḥ nəḥne t-tiğāra nəḥne bowš marḥūmīn* "now **we** are very kind in doing business". The last example is taken from a context where the speaker wants to stress that, in materialistic times like this now, we are exceptionally kind to people when we do business. Since SV(O) word order is dominating in TA, the speakers sometimes feel the urge to further mark the subject by stressing the first syllable in order to focus on it. The subject that is in bold in the examples above would sound like the following with the accent, e.g.: *nəḥne*, *úwwe*, *ánā* etc.

5. Remarks on language contact

The language situation in Tillo today can be described as follows. As mentioned above (1.6.), Kurds constitute the vast majority and Kurdish is needed to manage everyday life. As a Turkish citizen, one is supposed to speak Turkish with authorities, civil servants, soldiers who have checkpoints at the approach to every village, etc. Children learn Turkish at school. All television programmes are in Turkish or are dubbed into Turkish. Today there is in Tillo only one parabolic antenna that makes it possible to receive some Arabic, satellite-television channels, but it seems that the Arabs have difficulties in understanding programmes in other Arabic dialects than Tillo's, such as central Syrian Arabic, Gulf Arabic, and Iraqi Arabic. For them, it is easier to follow a Turkish soap opera than an Arabic one. Men can with difficulty understand news broadcasts in standard Arabic, but they mainly use Arabic television channels in order to listen to prayers. This, of course, limits the use of Arabic. Arabic in Tillo is further limited by the fact that it appears to have come to a standstill at a certain stage of development and that many Turkish and Kurdish loan-words have been taken in for daily use. Moreover, many people find it easier to speak Turkish. It seems that some subjects, such as politics and economy, are easier to handle either completely in Turkish or with the help of many borrowings from Turkish, for example (all forms are attested in the corpus): *əqris* “crises” (< Turk. *kriz*); *vergi* “taxes” (< Turk. *vergi*); *kimligi* “identification (card)” (< Turk. *kimlik*)⁴¹¹ and *yəqəlmīš* “to collapse, fall down” (< Turk. *yıkılmak*). Hence, the aim of this chapter is to gather all kinds of influence caused by language contact phenomena in one place for the sake of lucidity. This may, however, cause some words, phrases or grammatical features to be repeated.

5.1. Turkish influence

Even though the main topic of this study is not ‘Turkish influence on the Arabic dialect of Tillo’, I find it persuasive to point out some grammatical and lexical features, which have occurred because of the language contact phenomenon. Further, I am conscious of the fact that dealing with the issue

⁴¹¹ The *i* in the Turkish form *kimliği* is either in acc. or in poss. 3.sg.

of Turkish in south-eastern Anatolia is a problematic topic, since I cannot safely assert that the Turkish influence which I observe today on the Arabic dialect of Tillo comes entirely from modern Turkish, even though I personally believe this is the case.⁴¹² To be kept in mind is that it may well also be due to an older stage of influence, for instance at the time of the Ottoman Empire or perhaps even earlier, from the first movement of Turkic-speaking people into the region, i.e. the Seljuks early in the 11th century. Given this, I will make consistent reference to standard Turkish of modern Turkey. Cases where regional, dialectal variants occur, for instance in phonology, are referred to in the respective chapter. Moreover, indirect borrowings from, for instance, French, English and Persian into Turkish are in this study considered as Turkish words. Turkish words of Arabic origin that are re-borrowed in TA are termed ‘second borrowings’.

5.1.1. On phonology

The first conspicuous observation in phonology is the devoicing of voiced consonants in final pausal position, e.g.:

<i>b > p</i>	<i>ġarîp</i>	“stranger”
<i>d > t</i>	<i>walat</i>	“son, boy”
<i>ġ > ċ</i>	<i>zawċ</i>	“husband”
<i>v > f</i>	<i>aġaf</i>	“he took”
<i>z > s</i>	<i>ġaws</i>	“walnuts”
<i>ç > ħ</i>	<i>mawqəħ</i>	“place, spot”

As a rule, voiced consonants are not changed between two vowels (or if the succeeding word starts with a vowel). But as is known, no rule lacks an exception, and here too exceptions occur: there are instances where the last voiced consonant is pronounced voiced although succeeded by a voiceless consonant, e.g.: *maġrəb* “sunset”; *aswad* “black”; *falġ* “snow”; *tammūz* “July” and *mōyaç* “place, spot”.

A word-initial voiceless consonant may change to voiced if it is followed by a vowel, e.g.: *mō dēq* “I cannot”; *danak* “tin plate, can”, cf. Turk. *teneke*. The future particle *t-* is frequently pronounced *d-*, e.g.: *d-əyrō* “he will go”; *d-ənçamməra* “we will build it (f.sg.)”; *d-asawiyu* “I will do it (m.sg.)”; *d-aħti* “I will give”; *d-açayyəšan* “I will provide for them”. In Turkish, final

⁴¹² Foundation of Turkish schools in these regions started in the late 1940s. My father and four other men of the same age, ca. 80 years, whom I interviewed, all left the region of Midyat in the mid-1940s and they never went to school there, as no school existed. My father, though Neo-Aramaean, spoke only Kurdish when he left Turkey.

voiceless consonants, i.e. *p*, *ç* and *t*, are voiced before vowels, e.g.: *dip* “bottom” > *dibi* (acc.); *ağaç* “tree” > *ağacı* (acc.) and *şerit* “tape” > *şeridi* (acc.).⁴¹³

5.1.1.1. Consonant assimilations

Devoicing of a voiced consonant in contact position after a voiceless consonant, so-called progressive assimilation, is a characteristic feature in Turkish, e.g.: *gel-di* “he came” and *git-ti* “he went” where both *-di* and *-ti* indicate the same morphological feature but are pronounced differently because of the last consonant in the stem.⁴¹⁴ In the Arabic dialect of Tillo, devoicing occurs in consonant clusters like these but in contact position before a voiceless phoneme, so-called regressive assimilation, e.g.:

<i>b</i> > <i>p</i>	<i>dəps</i>	“syrup”
<i>ğ</i> > <i>ç</i>	<i>çhääs</i> ⁴¹⁵	“dowry”
<i>y</i> > <i>f</i>	<i>ağaft</i> ⁴¹⁶	“you (m.sg.) took”
<i>ğ</i> > <i>x</i>	<i>staxf-alla</i> ⁴¹⁷	“I ask God’s forgiveness”
<i>ç</i> > <i>h</i>	<i>sāhtayn</i>	“two hours”

Apart from that the Turkish consonants *p*, *v*, *ç* and *g* are attested mostly (when *b* and *ğ* are not subjected to a devoicing process) in borrowings, e.g.:

<i>pārāt</i>	“money (in pl.)”	< Turk. <i>para</i>
<i>vergi</i>	“taxes”	< Turk. <i>vergi</i>
<i>çāx</i>	“era, age”	< Turk. <i>çağ</i>
<i>zanagīn</i>	“rich (in pl.)”	< Turk. <i>zengin</i>

Moreover, the voiceless laryngeal fricative /*ħ*/, which does not exist in standard Turkish, shifts due to Turkish pronunciation to voiceless glottal fricative /*h*/, e.g.: *malīha* “good, fine (f.sg.)”, cf. *malīḥa*. This shift is observed, nevertheless, only in a 12-year-old girl, who moved to Istanbul when she was 3 years old. Though hypothetical, this feature, may, consequently be an indicator showing the direction of the language/dialect development.

⁴¹³ Lewis 2000, 10. There are exceptions, though; cf. Turk. *at* “horse” > *att* in acc. and *ot* “wild grass” > *ottu* in acc.

⁴¹⁴ Johanson and Csató 1998, 34.

⁴¹⁵ *ğahāz/ğihāz* “trousseau, package, fittings, outfit”. The term is used exclusively for the bride’s trousseau, which she takes with her when she gets married. Money is not included.

⁴¹⁶ Cf. *axaḍa* “to take” where *ḍ* normally shifts to *y*.

⁴¹⁷ Cf. OA *ğafara* “to forgive”.

5.1.1.2. Epenthetic vowel

A cluster of two consonants is, in Turkish, avoided in the beginning of a word, e.g.: *sipor* < Fr. ‘spor’; *tiren* < En. ‘train’ and *kulüp* < Fr. ‘club’. In some cases an epenthetic vowel is used prosthesis, i.e. initiates a word that begins with a two-consonant cluster, e.g.: *istasyon* < Fr. ‘station’; *istatistik* < En. ‘statistics’. In ‘original’ Arabic words used in TA, an epenthetic vowel *a* is used prosthesis for the same purpose, e.g.: *ansayy* “we do, make” < *nsayy*; *abʿide* “distant, far-away” < *bʿide*; *abyūt* “houses” < *byūt*.

5.1.1.3. *ö* and *ü*

The Turkish vowels *ö* and *ü* are attested almost exclusively in borrowings, e.g.: *asansör* “elevator”; *kömür* “coal, charcoal”. Two attestations are, however, a little puzzling, namely *küntu* “I was” and *tawakkül* “to rely, depend”. *küntu* is attested in one example, *anā küntu tarğumān šānu* “I was his interpreter” and *tawakkül* is attested in one example, *tawakkül: twakkal šā ʾalla!* “to rely (means): rely on God!”. These examples either can be mispronounced by the informant (because of the velar *k*) and hence should not be taken into consideration, or else are a result of an early stage of Turkish vowel harmony. The examples of what may be taken as vowel harmony are almost negligible. One of these instances is the relative pronoun *liy*. This pronoun is pronounced *liy* in one attestation: *āk ammēni liy ġawwētū* “also that which is inside of it (m.sg.)”. This form of the relative pronoun has no counterpart in other Mesopotamian *qaltu*-dialects. The only explanation I can think of is that the *i* in *liy* is caused because of the last vowel in the preceding word.

5.1.2. On morphology

5.1.2.1. Gender

Being multilingual when one language has gender and the others (Turkish and Kurdish) have no gender can create difficulties. In the same way, when, for instance, Kurds speaking Arabic mix genders, the Arabic speakers of Tillo also mix gender. The loss of gender is particularly clear, for example, when people talk rapidly and without taking time to think, e.g.: *lay kanna fə-Təllo kān ḥayāt tayyap* “When

we were in Tillo, life was better” where *ḥayāt* is feminine and both *kān* and *ṭayyap* refer back to masculine nouns; *fī mōḃaʿ iyy kbīr* “there is a place which is huge” where *iyy* is the independent personal pronoun 3.f.sg. and both *mōḃaʿ* and *kbīr* refer back to masculine nouns; *bīr əl-app iyye mən zamēn* “the well *bīr əl-app* is old” where *bīr* is a masculine noun and *iyye* is the independent personal pronoun 3.f.sg. The noun *ary* “land, soil” is treated as both masculine and feminine, e.g.: *uww aryna* and *iyy aryna* “it is our land”.

5.1.2.2. Cases

In Turkish, different verbs take different cases. For example, in the phrase “Go home!”, the dative is used in Turkish, e.g.: *ev-e git!* (*-e* is the dative suffix) and in the phrase “I hate dogs” the ablative is used in Turkish: *köpekler-den nefret ediyorum* (*-den* is the suffix of the ablative) and so on. This construction, in a copied form, can be observed in the Arabic dialect of Tillo.

Dative: *ḃallah šā əBrāhīm əl-Ḥaqqi* “He looks at Ibrahim Haqqi”; *ḃallah šā l-pārāt* “he looks at the money”. The Turkish verb *bakmak* “to look” takes the dative and therefore the preposition *šā* “to, for” in these examples substitutes for the dative suffix *-e/-a*. In Turkish, these sentences would have been *əBrāhīm Ḥaqqi-ye bakıyor* (the dative suffix is *-e/-a* after consonants and *-ye/-ya* after vowels) and *para-ya bakıyor* respectively. Another example is: *ʿalli: mō təḡīli ḡarīp* “he said to me: You look familiar (lit. you don’t come stranger to me)” where *-li* in *təḡīli* is the dative marker in Arabic, which is needed for the Turkish verb *gelmek*. This sentence is a direct copy from Turkish *bana yabancı gelmiyorsun*.

Further, Turkish adjectives do not show number or case agreement. For instance, when a sentence contains a substantive in the plural, the modifying adjective remains in its bare form. This phenomenon is also copied in the Arabic dialect of Tillo, e.g.:

abwēp kēn wasīḥ
darsēti ənne malīha

“the doors were wide”
“my studies are all right”

5.1.2.3. *de/da* and *hem*

The Turkish adverb *de/da* “also, too” is attested in one example, e.g.: *walla, ākə da l-yawm xafif də-yıttahhəran* “by God, that (circumciser) also, will circumcise them quickly today”. The adverb is used with the demonstrative pronoun *āk* as a means to refer back to an already mentioned fact. In this example *de/da* is a replacement for the postposition, *-ze*, which is more frequently used in the Anatolian *qəltu*-dialects.⁴¹⁸ There is only one instance of *-ze* in the corpus, e.g.: *yəğī āk əš-šaxs-ze mən qaraqōl yəllu ...* “also that man comes from the police station and says to him: ...”. In TA normally Turkish *hem* “also, too” is used for this purpose. In analogy with the independent personal pronouns 3.m.sg., 3.f.sg. and 3.c.pl. the *h* in *hem* is elided. Further, *hem* has both a long form *əmmə/amme* and a short form *əmm/amm* depending on whether the succeeding word starts with a vowel or a consonant, e.g.: *haṭṭayna ʿalayū zīn w əl-mərgēp əmmə haṭṭaynāhu fī fəmmu* “we saddled it (the horse) and we also put the bridle in his muzzle”; *fī hğār amme dääm əl-bēp* “there are stones too in front of the door”; *āk əmm iyye qīma* “that too is minced meat”; *əl-wazīr yəšrap u baʿət əl-pādišāh amm əl-qərālən*⁴¹⁹ *yəšrap* “the minister drinks and after that also the sultan, their king, drinks”.

5.1.2.4. *çok*

Turkish *çok* “much, many” is, as a rule, followed by a noun in singular, e.g.: *çok kişi* “many persons”; *çok iş* “much work”.⁴²⁰ In the material, there is one attestation where *bowš* “much, many” is followed by a noun in singular, which is not the expected way in Arabic dialects, e.g.: *w əl-hāşəli bowš məškāl* “anyhow, a lot of problems”.

5.1.2.5. The superlative particle *en*

The Turkish superlative particle *en* is frequently used in this dialect; *en* precedes the adjective both in Arabic words and in Turkish words, e.g.:

⁴¹⁸ Cf. Jastrow 1978, 301.

⁴¹⁹ Cf. Turk. *kral* “king”.

⁴²⁰ Lewis 2000, 72.

<i>an azyat</i>	“the most”	<i>an aqruba</i> ⁴²¹	“the closest relatives”
<i>an l-ṭayyāp</i>	“the best or the nicest”	<i>an yāqān</i> ⁴²²	“the nearest”
<i>an atyap</i>	“the most delicious”	<i>an birəngi</i>	“the first”

In addition, *en* is used to compare the Kurdish word *bowş*⁴²³ “much, many”, e.g.: *an bowş* “the most”.

5.1.2.6. Compound nouns

Turkish possessive compounds are frequently used, often in whole Turkish phrases, e.g.:

<i>qurs</i> ⁴²⁴ <i>öratmanı</i> ⁴²⁵	“(Koran) course teacher”
<i>fəstəq fabriqasi</i>	“pistachio factory”
<i>qoparatif muḥāsabasi</i>	“cooperative bookkeeping”
<i>muḥāsaba qursi</i>	“bookkeeping course”
<i>işlatma muḥāsabasi</i>	“administration bookkeeping”
<i>turkiya petrolleri</i>	“Turkish oil”
<i>lisa</i> ⁴²⁶ <i>möduri</i> ⁴²⁷	“high school director”

Compound nouns are, on the other hand, rare in instances such as *fəl-‘arabi mäü fi ge ḥarfi* “there is no *g* letter in Arabic” where the speaker tries to construct a possessive/genitive phrase consisting entirely of Arabic words.

5.1.2.7. -*ci/-çi*

This suffix denotes a profession, e.g.: *kā-ab‘aflu l-kāre maḥ āk ač-čēyāği* “I used to send him the rent with that tea vendor”; *källa käänu maḥḥarčiyiye* “they all were circumcisers”. This suffix is found in the same meaning also in other Arabic dialects spoken out of Turkey, for example in Syria, in Egypt etc.

⁴²¹ Second borrowing, cf. Turk. *akraba* “a relative, relatives”.

⁴²² Cf. Turk. *yakın* “close, near”.

⁴²³ Cf. Kur. *boş* “plentiful, abundant”.

⁴²⁴ Cf. Turk. *kurs* “course, lesson”.

⁴²⁵ Cf. Turk. *öğretmen* “teacher”.

⁴²⁶ Cf. Turk. *lise* “high school”

⁴²⁷ Cf. Turk. *müdür* “director”.

5.1.2.8. Negation

Turkish *hiç* “not at all” is used to emphasize negated sentences, e.g.: *hiç konuşmaz* “he doesn’t talk at all”. The Arabic of Tillo has an equivalence to this particle, namely, *šəššāne* (also pronounced *šī-šāne*), e.g.: *mō sayy šəššāne* “I don’t do anything at all”; *hawa Ştanbül mawwe šəššāne* “the weather in Istanbul is nothing at all”; *mō ytīq ysabbət*⁴²⁸ *šī-šāne* ‘*ala ēf əz-zələme* “he cannot prove anything at all on this man”. Turkish *hiç* is sometimes used in combination with *šəššāne*, e.g.: ‘*ərfna, ‘ādətna hiç mā kət-tgayyar šī-šāne* “our tradition, custom, nothing at all has changed”.

5.1.2.9. Numerals

5.1.2.9.1. Cardinals

Numerals seem to be easily affected in language contact environment. The Arabs of Tillo frequently use Turkish numbers when they, for instance, tell the time, phone numbers, age, dates etc., e.g.:

*ğā d-doqsan dōrt*⁴²⁹ ... “when (19)94 came ...”
*aṭmaš ikki*⁴³⁰ “62”

Dates are sometimes mentioned first in Turkish and then in Arabic, e.g.:

*fəl-yatmış dōqaz*⁴³¹, *təs‘a w sab‘īn* “in (19)79, 79”

In cases where the date is first mentioned in Arabic, the speaker feels the urge to repeat it in Turkish to make sure that he is giving the correct date, e.g.:

fəl-alf w təs‘a miyye w sab‘a w təs‘īn, “In 1997, eh 1987, 1987”
əh alf w təs‘a miyye wa sab‘a fmēnīn,
*bīn*⁴³² *dokuz*⁴³³ *saksan*⁴³⁴ *yadı*⁴³⁵

⁴²⁸ Cf. Turk. *tesbit etmek* “to hold fast one’s purpose”.

⁴²⁹ Cf. Turk. *doksan dört* “94”

⁴³⁰ Cf. Turk. *altmış iki* “62”.

⁴³¹ Cf. Turk. *yetmiş dokuz* “79”

⁴³² Cf. Turk. *bin* “thousand”.

⁴³³ Cf. Turk. *dokuz* “nine”.

⁴³⁴ Cf. Turk. *seksen* “eighty”.

⁴³⁵ Cf. Turk. *yedi* “seven”.

In many cases, the speaker starts to give a number or date by giving the first number in Turkish, but then he realizes that it should be in Arabic and he starts again, e.g.: *yawm lay ġā l-lə-Ştanbül fəd-doqsan, fəl-alf w tāsā miyye w sətta w tāsīn* “when he came to Istanbul in ninety, in 1996”.

5.1.2.9.2. Ordinals

Turkish ordinal numbers are used side by side with the Arabic ones, e.g.: *şulṭān birinġi Maḥmūt* “sultan Mahmut I”, cf. Turk. *birinci*; *ikinci* “second”; *üçüncü* “third”; *dördüncü* “fourth”; *beşinci* “fifth” (see 3.4.2).

5.1.2.10. Telling the accurate time

In telling the time accurately, Turkish rules are used, e.g.:

<i>säā'a fnaḥş təḥbar xamse</i>	“it is five past twelve”
<i>fnaḥş təḥbar čērək</i>	“it is quarter past twelve”
<i>säā'a wəḥde la xamse</i>	“it is five to one”
<i>wəḥde la čērək</i>	“it is quarter to one”

The verb *əḥbar* “to pass” is a literary translation of the Turkish verb *geçmek* which is used for giving time, when minutes pass the whole hour, e.g.: *saat biri beş geçiyor* “it is five past one (lit. five is passing one o'clock)”. To give the time when minutes are ‘left’ until the even hour in Turkish, the existential particle *var* “there is” is used, e.g.: *saat bire beş var* “it is five to one (lit. there are five to one)”. Note that the *-e* in *bire* is the dative case marker, which in the Arabic dialect of Tillo is translated to *la*. Note, further, that in this dialect both *təḥbar* and *la* are used to express that the clock is passing/to the minutes, and not as in Turkish where the minutes are passing/to the even hour.

Although there is a difference between saying “at one o'clock” and “it is one o'clock” in Turkish, e.g.: *bu sabah saat yedide kalktım* “this morning I woke up at seven o'clock” and *saat biri beş geçiyor* “it is five past one”, where *-de* in *yedide* is the locative case marker in Turkish, which is translated “at, in”, the Arabs of Tillo do not make this differentiation. There is only one concept, e.g.: *säā'a fnaḥş də-nṭāşş ḥā'əyna* “we will meet at twelve o'clock”; *säā'a wəḥde* “It is one o'clock”.

Moreover, although *rəbæc* “quarter” is used in a different context (see 3.4.4), in telling the time the Turkish *çeyrek* is used.

5.1.2.11. *etmek*

Many foreign nouns, for instance, of Arabic or French origin, are made into verbs, in Turkish, by combining them with the Turkish verb *etmek* “to do, make”, for example, *dikkat etmek* “to pay attention”; *rahat etmek* “to be at ease”; *telefon etmek* “to make a phone call” etc. In the same way nouns are made into verbs in the Arabic dialect of Tillo. My corpus contains hundreds of examples of this kind. The rule is simple; the verb *etmek* is literally translated into the Arabic *sawa* “to do, make” and is placed before a Turkish noun to make a verbal phrase, e.g.:

<i>lā tsayy maraq</i>	“don’t (m.sg.) worry”	< Turk. <i>merak etmek</i>
<i>ysay qanama</i> ⁴³⁶	“he bleeds”	< Turk. <i>kanama</i>
<i>ysawaw baḥs ...</i>	“they talk about ...”	< Turk. <i>baḥs etmek</i>
<i>sawa yardəm</i>	“he helped”	< Turk. <i>yardım etmek</i>
<i>mō ysay ġasāra</i>	“he doesn’t dare”	< Turk. <i>cesaret etmek</i>
<i>nsayy qaḥwaltə</i>	“we have breakfast”	< Turk. <i>kahvaltı etmek</i>
<i>ysaw şəḥbe</i>	“they have a chat”	< Turk. <i>sohbet etmek</i>
<i>ysawaw dawām</i>	“they continue ...”	< Turk. <i>devam etmek</i>
...		

5.1.2.12. Interrogative

The interrogative *əşş waxt* or *əç-čääch* (< *əş čääch*) “which time, when” is copied from Turkish. Cf. Turk. *ne zaman*. Example: *əç-čääch təḥtawna musāada nəği* “when will you allow us to come (and visit you)?”.

5.1.2.13. Conjunctions and particles

Turkish conjunctions and particles used in this dialect are the following:

*am ... am*⁴³⁷ “both ... and”
uwwe am arāha mwāfqa wāldəti am arata mwāfqa

⁴³⁶ Cf. Turk. *kanama* “bleeding”.

⁴³⁷ Cf. Turk. *hem ... hem* “both ... and”.

“both he and my mother found her suitable”

*yā ... waya*⁴³⁸ “either ... or”

*yrōhu yāşbətu yā şawl*⁴³⁹ *əl-xaten waya sārət əl-xaten*

“they steal either the shoe or the watch of the bridegroom”

*yā ... yoxta*⁴⁴⁰ “or ... otherwise”

yūlu şā əz-zalame yā ttəhīna aq-qat pārāt hayyā hēş də-nsalləmlak uww

yoxta mō nəqbəl

“they say to the man: Either you give this amount of money, only then we will deliver it (m.sg.) to you (m.sg), or (otherwise) we don’t accept”

yā ... waya ... waya “either ... or”

yā fəl-Səūdi waya fəs-Sūriyya waya fə-is-Swēç

“either in Saudi Arabia or in Syria or in Sweden”

*yā ... wayuxta*⁴⁴¹ ... *vayaxuta* “either ... or ... or...”

yā fī rās əl-‘ayn wayuxta fī rās məyye wayuxta fī mawqəhī şī ytəşş əl-bənt

“he sees the girl either at the spring or at any water place or anywhere”

*aṃa, faqa!*⁴⁴² “but”

mā kā-yətkalləm ma‘i aṃa həyanni

“he didn’t talk to me but he hugged me”

həyru ‘aşa faqa! ştanərna Sa‘it

“they prepared dinner but we waited for Sait”

*aŋax*⁴⁴³ “only”

aŋax mən ‘araqak təqt tsayy şī

“only by hard work (lit. your sweat) can you accomplish something”

*madamki*⁴⁴⁴ “since”

axū ʔāl: yawo madamki kəs-sawa al-yarbe ...

“his brother said: since he did this to you ...”

*halbuki*⁴⁴⁵ “whereas”

⁴³⁸ Cf. Turk. *ya ... veyə* “either ... or”.

⁴³⁹ Cf. Kur. *sol* “shoe”.

⁴⁴⁰ Cf. Turk. *yahut* “or, otherwise”.

⁴⁴¹ Cf. Turk. *veyahut* “OR”.

⁴⁴² Second borrowing. Cf. Turk. *fakat* “but”.

⁴⁴³ Cf. Turk. *ancak* “only, hardly, not until”.

⁴⁴⁴ Second borrowing; cf. CA *mā dāma* “as long as”. Cf. Turk. *mademki* “since, while”.

⁴⁴⁵ Cf. Turk. *halbuki* “whereas, however, nevertheless”.

ħalbuki garīna l-ʿarabi uww akfar akwēs
“whereas our Arabic dialect (lit. talk) is much better”

*garĉi*⁴⁴⁶ “although”
garĉi bale nəʕfel rūsna ...
“although we cover our head ...”

*guye*⁴⁴⁷ “as though, as if”
*rəħtu l-ɣayʿa guye*⁴⁴⁸ *kəl-qaşşayt zəpp wēħət*
“I went to the village (and) it looks as if you have cut the penis of someone”

*sanki*⁴⁴⁹ “as if, as though”
sanki mā kənət ləna, kənət lal-ğərp
“as if it wasn’t ours, it was for the guests (lit. strangers)”

ĉünki, ĉünku, ĉənki and *ĉunku*⁴⁵⁰ “therefore, because”
mā ʿaṭawni əzan ĉünki ġitu əl-ʿAnqara
“they didn’t give me permission because I had come to Ankara”

*damak*⁴⁵¹ “that is, it means that”
damak kə-ħataytni fəɣya kən-nəsīt
“it means that you gave me silver (and) you have forgotten”

əšta or *šta*⁴⁵² “thus”
əšta əysīr ĉāx ən-nawm nsayy āfārātan ynēmu
“thus it becomes sleeping time, we prepare their places and they go to sleep”

5.1.2.14. Interjections

*yā*⁴⁵³ (< Turk. *ya*) “O ..., Oh”
*alla ysahhəllək yā doşti*⁴⁵⁴ “may God help you, Oh friend”

⁴⁴⁶ Cf. Turk. *gerĉi* “although, though”.

⁴⁴⁷ Cf. Turk. *güya* “as though, as if”.

⁴⁴⁸ Cf. Turk. *güya* “as though, as if”.

⁴⁴⁹ Cf. Turk. *sanki* “as if, as though, supposing that”.

⁴⁵⁰ Cf. Turk. *ĉünkü* “therefore, because”.

⁴⁵¹ Cf. Turk. *demek* “to say, so-called”.

⁴⁵² Cf. Turk. *işte* “thus”.

⁴⁵³ *yā* is used both in Turkish and in many Arabic dialects such as the Syrian group (see Barthélemy 1935, 914). Hence it is difficult to decide if it is a second borrowing or an original in Tillo Arabic.

⁴⁵⁴ Cf. Turk. *dost* “friend, comrade”.

yāhu, *yāwo* and *yaw*⁴⁵⁵ (< Turk. *yahu*) “see here, look here”
... *ē yāhu dā-ywaddawan yāklūwan*; *ywadawan yāšbātuwan*
“...but they will take them (and) eat them; they will take them and steal them”

uwwe samik yāwo
“it is really thick”

yaw hāl w əl-ħawāl ēke ...
“the situation is really like this ...”

hā (< Turk. *ha*) “behold!”
*ṭallaḥ hā! kanū*⁴⁵⁶ *l-zalaṃe ku-kə-rtama mən ʿal-faṛaṣ* “he looked (and) behold! The man had fallen off the horse”

hā ... hā (< Turk. *ha ...*) “nearly, almost”
hā ġade, hā baʿəd ġade, arbʿin yawm baqīna fə-Ştambūl ēke bala šəġəl “we stayed in Istanbul 40 days without work (saying) today (or) tomorrow”

The example above may also be a direct translation from Turkish *ha bugün ha yarın* with the same meaning.

aṃān (< Turk. *aman*) “please, for God’s sake”
*əmmi waḷḷa aṃān*⁴⁵⁷ *əl- lə-fʿūl ləzəmlən ġada*
“mother, for God’s sake, the workers need lunch”

5.1.2.15. *m*-doublets

A couple of samples of the so-called *m*-doublets are found in the corpus. The rule for forming an *m*-doublet is simple: a word is followed by an echo of itself with an *m*- before the initial vowel or instead of the initial consonant,⁴⁵⁸ e.g.: *iĉki*⁴⁵⁹ *miĉki* “liquor and the like”, or “liquor and so on”; *kuʿaföör*⁴⁶⁰ *muʿaföör* “hairdresser and so on”.

⁴⁵⁵ Cf. Turk. *yahu* “see here, look here”. *yahu* may also mean “well, what now” which expresses impatience.

⁴⁵⁶ Cf. *kān uww* “he was”.

⁴⁵⁷ Cf. Turk. *aman* “please, for God’s sake”.

⁴⁵⁸ Lewis 2000, 235.

⁴⁵⁹ Cf. Turk. *iĉki* “liquor”.

⁴⁶⁰ Cf. Tur. *kuvaför* “hairdresser”.

5.1.3. On word order

Turkish word order, in Tillo Arabic, is used first and foremost in phrases that are directly copied from Turkish, e.g.:

<i>məş-şabāh sē'a ašqa' trō?</i> Cf. Turk.	“at what time does she leave in the morning?”
<i>sabah saat kactq gidiyor?</i>	
<i>awlādi kā-yərtəmu nuxwaššīn.</i> ⁴⁶¹ Cf.	“to be or fall sick”
Turk. <i>hasta düşmek</i>	“my children used to fall sick”
<i>bowš ğarraytu zōr.</i> ⁴⁶² Cf. Turk. <i>zorluk</i>	“I went through many difficulties”
<i>çektim</i>	“I suffered a lot”
<i>mō nğərr bə'əvna.</i> Cf. Turk. <i>birbirini</i>	“we can't stand (lit. pull) each other”;
<i>çekemiyorlar; əl-xālədiyye mō yğərru</i>	“the Xālīdis can't stand the ‘Ab- bāsis”
<i>əl-abbāsiyye</i>	
<i>aṃa l-ʿarabi zōr.</i> Cf. Turk. <i>arapça zor</i>	“but Arabic is difficult”
<i>şāru bowš mənni mamnūnīn.</i> Cf.	“they were very content with me”
Turk. <i>benden çok memnun oldu</i>	
<i>mtasak fəl-naxwaštiyye</i>	“he became sick”
<i>əwne mmēni yğilna tayyap.</i> Cf. Turk.	“we like it here too”
<i>burda da bize hoş geliyor</i>	

The word order for telling percentage is also copied from Turkish, e.g.: *fəl-miyye xamse* “five per cent”, cf. Turk. *yüzde beş, fəl-miyye miyye* “one hundred per cent”, cf. Turk. *yüzde yüz*.

Further, due to impact from the Turkish word order, where the verb comes at the end of the sentence, the Arabic speakers of Tillo, sometimes, place the verb in sentence-final position, e.g.:

*yā fi rās əl-ʿayn wayuxta*⁴⁶³ *fi rās məyye wayuxta fi mawqəḥ šī yṯəšš əl-bənt*
“he sees the girl either at the spring or at any water place or anywhere”

əmmi w xēlēti w nəswēn aʿmēmi w flān kass əwnak akəl, šərap kā-yḥayru
“my mother, aunts, the wives of my uncles and this and that used to prepare food and drinks there”

*mən lay ysay qanama*⁴⁶⁴ *də-ymūt al-walet*
“the boy will die because of bleeding”

⁴⁶¹ Cf. Kur. *nexweş* “ill, sick”.

⁴⁶² Cf. Turk. *zor* “hard, difficult”.

⁴⁶³ Cf. Turk. *veyahut* “or”.

⁴⁶⁴ Cf. Turk. *kanama* “bleeding”.

aḥḥat mən Təllo mā kā-yəṭlah
 “no one would have left Tillo”

ila yawm əlḥaqq am mō fēḥəlu
 “I won’t forgive him until the Day of Judgment”

5.1.4. On the lexicon

5.1.4.1. Single words

In a language contact situation the lexicon may be the first part of a language that is affected. Since Arabic has stagnated in this region, Turkish influence on the lexicon in TA is enormous. Both single words and whole phrases are taken into the dialect for the sake of facilitating understanding. The list of Turkish words and phrases, below, is taken from the whole material and not only from samples occurring in this volume. The list is ordered according to Turkish alphabetical order, i.e. according to the column in the middle.

a

<i>ābe</i>	Turk. <i>abi</i>	elder brother
‘ <i>ağaba</i>	Turk. <i>acaba</i>	one wonders (second borrowing)
<i>āčəx</i>	Turk. <i>açık</i>	uncovered, open
‘ <i>affarən</i>	Turk. <i>aferin</i>	bravo, well done
<i>aṃal/aṃṃa</i>	Turk. <i>ama</i>	but, yet, still (second borrowing)
<i>amakli</i>	Turk. <i>emekli</i>	retired
<i>aṃān</i>	Turk. <i>aman</i>	please, for God’s sake
<i>aŋğax</i>	Turk. <i>ancak</i>	only, hardly, not until
‘ <i>Anqara</i>	Turk. <i>Ankara</i>	Ankara, the capital of Turkey
<i>Aqsaray</i>	Turk. <i>Aksaray</i>	a district in Istanbul
‘ <i>araba</i>	Turk. <i>araba</i>	car (second borrowing)
<i>arama</i>	Turk. <i>arama</i>	search
<i>arqadāšīn</i> (pl.)	Turk. <i>arkadaş</i> (sg.)	friend
‘ <i>aṣṣa</i>	Turk. <i>arsa</i>	plot of vacant land, building site (in the given context, the word means bazaar or gathering place)
<i>aṭmāš ikki</i>	Turk. <i>altmış iki</i>	62
<i>atrēk</i>		may be used as a pl. of <i>akəl</i> and means sorts or varieties of food or fruit
<i>āyax</i>	Turk. <i>ayak</i>	foot; leg; step; stair
‘ <i>ayna</i>	Turk. <i>ayna</i>	mirror

<i>‘ayni</i>	Turk. <i>aynı</i>	the same, identical
<i>āyri</i>	Turk. <i>ayrı</i>	separate, different
<i>āz</i>	Turk. <i>az</i>	little, few
b		
<i>baxča</i>	Turk. <i>bahçe</i>	garden
<i>bahs</i>	Turk. <i>bahis</i>	subject, topic, matter, issue
<i>sawa bahs</i>	Turk. <i>bahs etmek</i>	to talk about, mention
<i>baqannəği</i> ⁴⁶⁵	Turk. <i>bakanlık</i>	ministry
<i>banqa</i>	Turk. <i>banka</i>	bank
<i>bant</i>	Turk. <i>bant</i>	tape
<i>bardaq</i>	Turk. <i>bardak</i>	glass, cup
<i>bāš</i>	Turk. <i>baş</i>	head
<i>ḅāš²a</i>	Turk. <i>başka</i>	other, different
<i>balki</i>	Turk. <i>belki</i>	perhaps, maybe
<i>balli</i>	Turk. <i>belli</i>	evident, obvious, known
<i>biber</i>	Turk. <i>biber</i>	pepper
<i>badan</i>	Turk. <i>beden</i>	body (here it means sports)
<i>bida</i>	Turk. <i>bide/birde</i>	in any case, so; also, and
<i>balazīt/badazīk</i>	Turk. <i>bilezik</i>	bracelet
<i>bīr</i>	Turk. <i>bir</i>	one
<i>bīrənği</i>	Turk. <i>birinci</i>	first, number one
<i>bīr nabze</i>	Turk. <i>bir nebze</i>	a little
c		
<i>ğēme</i>	Turk. <i>cam</i>	glass, window
<i>čēkēt</i>	Turk. <i>ceket</i>	jacket
ç		
<i>čāğ/čēx/čāāx</i>	Turk. <i>çağ</i>	time, period, era, age
<i>čālāšqāne</i> (f.sg.)	Turk. <i>çalışkan</i>	hard-working
<i>ančālaš</i>	Turk. <i>çalışmak</i>	to work, study
<i>čāāra</i>	Turk. <i>çare</i>	solution, remedy, care
<i>čēye</i>	Turk. <i>çay</i>	tea
<i>čēyği</i>	Turk. <i>çaycı</i>	keeper of tea house
<i>čeydēnēt</i>	Turk. <i>çaydanlık</i>	tea-pot
<i>čakk</i>	Turk. <i>çek</i>	check
<i>čašne</i>	Turk. <i>çeşni</i>	flavour, taste, sample
<i>čičak</i>	Turk. <i>çiçek</i>	flower
<i>čāflək</i>	Turk. <i>çiftçilik</i>	agriculture, farming, husbandry

⁴⁶⁵ In Turkish, /k/ in polysyllabic substantives shifts to /ğ/ when it is followed by a vowel, e.g.: *ekmek* “bread” > *ekmeği* (acc.). In TA Turkish *yumuşak*, or soft, /ğ/ is pronounced as /ğ/ (see 2.1.18).

<i>čuqqullāṭa</i>	Turk. <i>çikolata</i>	chocolate
<i>čunkul/čünki/čənki</i>	Turk. <i>çünkü</i>	because
<i>čərək</i>	Turk. <i>çürük</i>	bad, rotten
<i>čərge</i> (f.sg.)	Turk. <i>çürük</i>	bad, rotten
d		
<i>daha</i>	Turk. <i>daha</i>	still
<i>taṃāṭīs</i>	Turk. <i>domates</i>	tomato
<i>damla</i>	Turk. <i>damlā</i>	drop, drops
<i>damak</i>	Turk. <i>demek</i>	that is to say (that)
<i>danīs</i>	Turk. <i>deniz</i>	sea
<i>darnaq</i>	Turk. <i>dernek</i>	association, club, society
<i>darwīš</i>	Turk. <i>derviş</i>	dervish
<i>dawāmlī</i>	Turk. <i>devamlı</i>	continuous, uninterrupted
<i>diyabat</i>	Turk. <i>diyabet</i>	diabetic
<i>doqsan</i>	Turk. <i>doksan</i>	ninety
<i>dōqāz</i>	Turk. <i>dokuz</i>	nine
<i>došt</i>	Turk. <i>dost</i>	friend, comrade
<i>doštīn</i> (pl.)	Turk. <i>dost</i>	
<i>dostanətiyye</i>	Turk. <i>dost</i>	friendship
<i>dəqtōr</i>	Turk. <i>doktor</i>	doctor
<i>toxtoriyya</i>	Turk. <i>doktora</i>	doctorate, doctoral degree
<i>dört</i>	Turk. <i>dört</i>	four
<i>ḡurūmi</i> (1.c.sg.)	Turk. <i>durum</i>	situation
<i>dūt</i>	Turk. <i>dut</i>	mulberry
<i>dūs</i>	Turk. <i>düz</i>	smooth, even, flat
e		
<i>afandi</i>	Turk. <i>efendi</i>	gentleman
<i>‘atrīk</i>	Turk. <i>elektrik</i>	electricity
<i>ən</i>	Turk. <i>en</i>	(superlative particle)
<i>šarpāt</i>	Turk. <i>eşarp</i>	scarf, head scarf
f		
<i>fabrīqa</i>	Turk. <i>fabrika</i>	factory
<i>fālān</i>	Turk. <i>falan</i>	so and so, and such (second borrowing)
<i>farmān/ farmānāt</i>	Turk. <i>ferman</i>	firman, imperial edict
<i>fəštaq</i>	Turk. <i>fıstık</i>	pistachio
g		
<i>galənnə</i>	Turk. <i>gelinlik</i>	wedding dress
<i>ganğīn</i>	Turk. <i>genç</i>	young

<i>garçi</i>	Turk. <i>gerçi</i>	though, although
<i>gāri</i>	Turk. <i>geri</i>	back, backward
<i>gorāt</i>	Turk. <i>göre</i>	according to
<i>guwanmīš</i>	Turk. <i>güven</i>	trust, confidence
<i>guye</i>	Turk. <i>güya</i>	as though, as if
h		
<i>haftiyye</i>	Turk. <i>hafta</i>	week
<i>haqq</i>	Turk. <i>hakkında</i>	about, regarding (second borrowing)
<i>haʿli/ haqli</i>	Turk. <i>haklı</i>	right (second borrowing)
<i>halbuki</i>	Turk. <i>halbuki</i>	whereas, however, nevertheless
<i>hānām /xēnām</i>	Turk. <i>hanım</i>	woman, lady, Miss, Mrs.
<i>hasta</i>	Turk. <i>hasta</i>	sick, ill
<i>qastaxāna</i>	Turk. <i>hastane</i>	hospital
<i>xēliyye (f.sg.)</i>	Turk. <i>havlu</i>	towel
<i>xawēli (pl.)</i>	Turk. <i>havlu</i>	towel
<i>hazretlari</i>	Turk. <i>hazret</i>	title given to a venerated person (second borrowing)
<i>hamme</i>	Turk. <i>hem</i>	also, as well
<i>haman</i>	Turk. <i>hemen</i>	right now, at once; almost
<i>hič</i>	Turk. <i>hiç</i>	nothing, none whatsoever
<i>xōš beš</i>	Turk. <i>hoş beş</i>	pleasant, charming; exchanging greetings
<i>həzūr</i>	Turk. <i>huzur</i>	presence, attendance (second borrowing)
<i>həzūrak (m.sg.)</i>	Turk. <i>huzur</i>	your presence (second borrowing)
<i>hərmatkār</i>	Turk. <i>hürmet</i>	respectful (second borrowing)
i		
<i>ički</i>	Turk. <i>içki</i>	liquor, drink
<i>xtayrīn (pl.)</i>	Turk. <i>ihtiyar</i>	old person
<i>imānsəzz</i>	Turk. <i>imansız</i>	unbeliever (second borrowing, cf. <i>imān</i>)
<i>ināniyye</i>	Turk. <i>inan</i>	belief, trust
<i>īpak</i>	Turk. <i>ipek</i>	silk
<i>Iswēč</i>	Turk. <i>İsveç</i>	Sweden
<i>išči</i>	Turk. <i>işçi</i>	worker
<i>išlatma</i>	Turk. <i>işletme</i>	administration, management
<i>əšta</i>	Turk. <i>işte</i>	look, thus, like that, now
<i>əzən</i>	Turk. <i>izin</i>	permission (second borrowing)
k		
<i>qāčāğ</i>	Turk. <i>kaçak</i>	deserter, smuggled
<i>qāčaxčətiyye</i>	Turk. <i>kaçakçılık</i>	smuggling

<i>qahwaltə</i>	Turk. <i>kahvaltı</i>	breakfast
<i>kalite</i>	Turk. <i>kalite</i>	quality
<i>qapalı</i>	Turk. <i>kapalı</i>	covered, closed
<i>qara</i>	Turk. <i>kara</i>	black
<i>qaraqöl</i>	Turk. <i>karakol</i>	police station
<i>kardaşəm</i> (1.c.sg.)	Turk. <i>kardeş</i>	brother, sister
<i>yqārəša</i>	Turk. <i>karışmak</i>	to oppose, go against
<i>qārşi</i>	Turk. <i>karşı</i>	opposite, contrary
<i>qərāl</i>	Turk. <i>kral</i>	king
<i>qaza</i>	Turk. <i>kaza</i>	accident
<i>qazat</i>	Turk. <i>kaza</i>	administrative district, county
<i>qazzan</i>	Turk. <i>kazanmak</i>	to win, gain
<i>kamar</i>	Turk. <i>kemer</i>	belt
<i>(əflān) kass</i>	Turk. <i>(her)kes</i>	someone, anyone; <i>herkes</i> “each and everyone, all”
<i>qīma/īma</i>	Turk. <i>kıyma</i>	minced meat
<i>qōla</i>	Turk. <i>kola</i>	cola, Coca Cola
<i>qōmadi</i>	Turk. <i>komedi</i>	comedy
<i>qamp</i>	Turk. <i>kamp</i>	camp
<i>qanama</i>	Turk. <i>kanama</i>	bleeding
<i>qaḫiyyan</i>	Turk. <i>katiyen</i>	absolutely (second borrowing)
<i>kibār</i>	Turk. <i>kibar</i>	noble, rich, grandees (second borrowing)
<i>kilo/ kilowayn</i> (dua.)	Turk. <i>kilo</i>	kilo
<i>kimligi</i>	Turk. <i>kimlik</i>	Identification (card)
<i>kəre</i>	Turk. <i>kira</i>	rent
<i>qozqōğa</i>	Turk. <i>koskoca</i>	very big
<i>qoparatif</i>	Turk. <i>kooparatif</i>	cooperative
<i>qordon</i>	Turk. <i>kordon</i>	cord, watch chain, cordon
<i>qorišāt</i>	Turk. <i>korniş</i>	cornice
<i>quwwaratan</i>	Turk. <i>kovan</i>	beehive
<i>kufta</i>	Turk. <i>köfte</i>	meat balls
<i>kömür</i>	Turk. <i>kömür</i>	coal, charcoal
<i>kōti</i>	Turk. <i>kötü</i>	bad, evil
<i>kūti</i>	Turk. <i>kötü</i>	bad, evil
<i>kəral</i>	Turk. <i>kral</i>	king
<i>əqrīs</i>	Turk. <i>kriz</i>	crisis
<i>qūş</i>	Turk. <i>kuş</i>	bird
<i>qūşbāşi</i>	Turk. <i>kuşbaşı</i>	(meat) in small pieces

<i>q̄sūr</i>	Turk. <i>kusur</i>	fault, defect
<i>q̄ōšxāna</i>	Turk. <i>kuşhane</i>	small saucepan
<i>kuʿaföör</i>	Turk. <i>kuaför</i>	hairdresser
l		
<i>lastıql/ lastıqli</i>	Turk. <i>lastik</i>	rubber
<i>lakke</i>	Turk. <i>leke</i>	spot of dirt, mark
<i>altakk</i>	Turk. <i>leke</i>	spot of dirt, mark (here: inflected in stem VIII “got dirty, got a stain”)
<i>lakalli</i>	Turk. <i>lekeli</i>	spotted, stained
<i>lisa</i>	Turk. <i>lise</i>	upper secondary school
<i>luqunṭa</i>	Turk. <i>lokanta</i>	restaurant
<i>luqūm</i>	Turk. <i>lokum</i>	Turkish delight
m		
<i>madām</i>	Turk. <i>madem</i>	since, while (second borrowing)
<i>madamki</i>	Turk. <i>mademki</i>	since, while (second borrowing)
<i>mağārāt</i>	Turk. <i>macera</i>	adventure
<i>maktep/maktab</i>	Turk. <i>mektep</i>	school (second borrowing)
<i>malzama</i>	Turk. <i>malzeme</i>	materials, necessities
<i>mañifātūra</i>	Turk. <i>manifatura</i>	textiles, cloth
<i>maļowāt</i>	Turk. <i>manto</i>	woman’s coat
<i>markēt</i>	Turk. (<i>süper</i>) <i>market</i>	(super)market
<i>māşa</i>	Turk. <i>masa</i>	table
<i>māzōt</i>	Turk. <i>mazot</i>	diesel oil, fuel oil
<i>mamlakətna</i> (1.c.pl.)	Turk. <i>memleket</i>	home district, country (second borrowing)
<i>māmōr</i>	Turk. <i>memur</i>	official, employee (second borrowing)
<i>maraq</i>	Turk. <i>merak</i>	concern, anxiety
<i>masala</i>	Turk. <i>mesela</i>	for example, for instance (second borrowing)
<i>masale</i>	Turk. <i>mesele</i>	problem, matter (second borrowing)
<i>matra</i>	Turk. <i>metre</i>	meter
<i>maywa</i>	Turk. <i>meyva</i>	fruit
<i>məllal/məlle</i>	Turk. <i>millet</i>	nation, people, community
<i>məlyār/məlyāra</i> <i>yn/ məlyārāt</i>	Turk. <i>milyar</i>	billion
<i>malayīn</i> (pl.)	Turk. <i>milyon</i> (sg.)	millions
<i>mönübüs</i>	Turk. <i>minibüs</i>	small bus
<i>məsääfrīn</i> (pl.)	Turk. <i>misafir</i>	guests (second borrowing)
<i>tsāfəru</i>	Turk. <i>misafir ol-</i>	be or become his guest (second borrowing)

<i>modēl</i>	<i>mak</i>	rowing)
<i>mħallab</i>	Turk. <i>model</i>	model, style
	Turk. <i>muhallebi</i>	sweet pudding made with milk and rice flour
<i>muħāsaba</i>	Turk. <i>muhasebe</i>	accounting (second borrowing)
<i>muṭlaqa</i>	Turk. <i>mutlaka</i>	absolutely (second borrowing)
<i>məṭfaʔ</i>	Turk. <i>mutfak</i>	kitchen
<i>mudāfaʕa</i>	Turk. <i>müdafaa</i>	defence (second borrowing)
<i>mödür</i>	Turk. <i>müdüir</i>	director (second borrowing)
<i>mulayīm</i>	Turk. <i>mülayim</i>	reasonable, suitable
<i>musāʕade</i>	Turk. <i>müsaade</i>	permission, permit (second borrowing)
<i>musbat</i>	Turk. <i>müspet</i>	proved, demonstrated (second borrowing)
n		
<i>ne</i>	Turk. <i>ne</i>	what
<i>nāmūsez</i>	Turk. <i>namussuz</i>	shameless, dishonest
<i>ṇāylo</i>	Turk. <i>naylon</i>	nylon
<i>nardaysa</i>	Turk. <i>neredeysel</i>	before long, pretty soon
<i>naysa</i>	Turk. <i>neyse</i>	anyway, anyhow
<i>nīšāän</i>	Turk. <i>nişan</i>	sign, mark; engagement (second borrowing)
<i>tətnayşan</i> (3.f.sg.)	Turk. <i>nişanlanmak</i>	to become engaged
o		
<i>olağaq</i>	Turk. <i>olacak</i>	it will be
<i>uquma</i>	Turk. <i>okuma</i>	reading
<i>oṭṭa</i>	Turk. <i>orta</i>	middle
<i>oṭṭām</i>	Turk. <i>ortam</i>	surroundings, milieu
<i>oṭṭaq</i>	Turk. <i>ortak</i>	partner
<i>otēl</i>	Turk. <i>otel</i>	hotel
<i>otobōs</i>	Turk. <i>otobüs</i>	bus
ö		
<i>ölçiyu</i>	Turk. <i>ölçü</i>	his measure
<i>öratmani</i> (poss.)	Turk. <i>öğretmen</i>	teacher
<i>örətmānāt</i> (pl.)		
<i>örnāk</i>	Turk. <i>örnek</i>	sample, example
<i>əzal/ özal</i>	Turk. <i>özel</i>	special
p		
<i>pakēt</i>	Turk. <i>paket</i>	package (here: packet of cigarettes)
<i>pantūr</i>	Turk. <i>pantolon</i>	trousers

<i>pāṛāt</i> (pl.)	Turk. <i>para</i>	money
<i>parča</i>	Turk. <i>parça</i>	a piece
<i>parkinson</i>	Turk. <i>parkinson</i>	Parkinson's disease
<i>pāzār</i>	Turk. <i>pazar</i>	market
<i>ḥayzərna</i>	Turk. <i>pazarlık etmek</i>	to bargain
<i>paki</i>	Turk. <i>peki</i>	all right
<i>pamba</i>	Turk. <i>pembe</i>	pink
<i>panğaralpanāğ er</i>	Turk. <i>pencere</i>	window
<i>parda</i>	Turk. <i>perde</i>	curtain
<i>parda pilaf</i>	Turk. <i>perde</i> and <i>pilav</i>	a dish made of rice and chicken
<i>paşta</i>	Turk. <i>pasta</i>	cake, pastry
<i>paṭāto/paṭṭaṭa</i>	Turk. <i>patates</i>	potato
<i>patrol</i>	Turk. <i>petrol</i>	petroleum, oil
<i>bastīq</i>	Turk. <i>pestil</i>	fruit pulp dried in thin layers
<i>pešin</i>	Turk. <i>peşin</i>	paid in advance
<i>pilaf</i>	Turk. <i>pilav</i>	rice (cooked and ready to be eaten)
<i>piyāsa</i>	Turk. <i>piyasa</i>	market
<i>prafasör</i>	Turk. <i>profesör</i>	professor
<i>pül biber</i>	Turk. <i>pul biber</i>	cayenne pepper
r		
<i>rank</i>	Turk. <i>renk</i>	colour
<i>mrannāk</i>	Turk. <i>renk</i>	coloured
<i>rōmān</i>	Turk. <i>roman</i>	a novel
<i>ruşṣati</i>	Turk. <i>ruhsat</i>	my licence, permission (second borrowing)
s		
<i>şōpa</i>	Turk. <i>soba</i>	stove, hothouse
<i>şādeğē</i>	Turk. <i>sadece</i>	merely, simply, only
<i>şāğ</i>	Turk. <i>sağ</i>	alive, safe
<i>şāğlam</i>	Turk. <i>sağlam</i>	wholesome, sure, honest
<i>saxta</i>	Turk. <i>sahte</i>	false, fake
<i>şaltča</i>	Turk. <i>salça</i>	tomato paste; tomato sauce
<i>şālōn</i>	Turk. <i>salon</i>	hall, salon
<i>şamīmi</i>	Turk. <i>samimî</i>	heartly, sincere (second borrowing)
<i>şamīmtiyye</i>	Turk. <i>samimiyet</i>	sincerity, heartiness (second borrowing)
<i>sanki</i>	Turk. <i>sanki</i>	as if, as though, supposing that
<i>ysabbət</i>	Turk. <i>tespit etmek</i>	to hold fast to one's purpose (second borrowing)

<i>şəhpāt</i> (pl.)	Turk <i>sehpa</i>	three-legged stool or table, coffee table
<i>sarbastīn</i> (pl.)	Turk. <i>serbest</i>	free, unrestricted
<i>şarmāye</i>	Turk. <i>sermaye</i>	capital
<i>səxənti</i>	Turk. <i>sıkıntı</i>	problem, hardship
<i>ğəğāra</i>	Turk. <i>sigara</i>	cigarette
<i>səğorta</i>	Turk. <i>sigorta</i>	fuse; insurance
<i>sīta</i>	Turk. <i>site</i>	housing development, housing estate
<i>şəfra</i>	Turk. <i>sofra</i>	table with a meal on
<i>şəfrāt</i>	Turk. <i>sofra</i>	tables with meal on
<i>şəhbe</i>	Turk. <i>sohbet</i>	getting together, spending time together (second borrowing)
<i>şōn</i>	Turk. <i>son</i>	end
<i>şonra</i>	Turk. <i>sonra</i>	later
<i>səpor</i>	Turk. <i>spor</i>	sports
<i>şūlu</i>	Turk. <i>sulu</i>	water(y)
ş		
<i>şans</i>	Turk. <i>şans</i>	luck
<i>şakər</i>	Turk. <i>şeker</i>	sugar
<i>şay</i>	Turk. <i>şey</i>	thing (second borrowing)
<i>şūšat</i> (const.)	Turk. <i>şişe</i>	bottle
t		
<i>tabi</i>	Turk. <i>tabii</i>	of course, certainly (second borrowing)
<i>tabiki</i>	Turk. <i>tabii + ki</i>	naturally + that (second borrowing)
<i>taqāşi</i> (pl.)	Turk. <i>taksi</i>	taxi, cab
<i>taqşiit</i>	Turk. <i>taksit</i>	instalment, payment plan (second borrowing)
<i>tām</i>	Turk. <i>tam</i>	complete, perfect (second borrowing)
<i>taṃām</i>	Turk. <i>tamam</i>	true, correct (second borrowing)
<i>ṭansyon</i>	Turk. <i>tansiyon</i>	blood pressure
<i>ṭārəm</i>	Turk. <i>tarım</i>	agriculture
<i>taṭli</i>	Turk. <i>tatlı</i>	sweet
<i>taybu</i>	Turk. <i>teyp</i>	his tape-recorder
<i>tapsīyye/tapsiyy</i>	Turk. <i>tepsi</i>	tray (large, shallow, open), baking tin
<i>ēt</i>		
<i>tattūn</i>	Turk. <i>tütün</i>	tobacco
<i>tarbiyatsəz</i>	Turk. <i>terbiye</i>	(without) good manners (second borrowing)
<i>talafon</i>	Turk. <i>telefon</i>	telephone
<i>tanaffūs</i>	Turk. <i>teneffüs</i>	rest, respiration (second borrowing)
<i>tannəktayn/dan</i>	Turk. <i>teneke</i>	(2) tin plate(s), can

<i>ak/ʃannəgāt</i>		
<i>tiyātro</i>	Turk. <i>tiyatro</i>	theatre
<i>ʃorbay/ʃorbāye</i>	Turk. <i>torba</i>	bag
<i>trafik</i>	Turk. <i>trafik</i>	traffic
<i>tranzīt</i>	Turk. <i>transit</i>	transit
<i>trullyōnat</i>	Turk. <i>trilyon</i>	a million million, trillion
<i>ʃulumba</i>	Turk. <i>tulumba</i>	a sort of sweets
v		
<i>wēli</i>	Turk. <i>vali</i>	governor of a province (second borrowing)
<i>vergi</i>	Turk. <i>vergi</i>	tax, duty
<i>waya</i>	Turk. <i>veya</i>	or
<i>wayuxta</i>	Turk. <i>veyahut</i>	or
z		
<i>zahme</i>	Turk. <i>zahmet</i>	difficulty, trouble (second borrowing)
<i>zat</i>	Turk. <i>zat</i>	personality
<i>zatan</i>	Turk. <i>zaten</i>	in any case, as a matter of fact
<i>zangīn/ zənēgīn</i>	Turk. <i>zengin</i>	rich, wealthy
<i>azgan</i>	Turk. <i>zengin</i>	richer, wealthier
<i>zangənən</i>	Turk. <i>zengin</i>	he made them rich
<i>zanğīr</i>	Turk. <i>zincir</i>	chain
<i>zirāʿa</i>	Turk. <i>ziraat</i>	agriculture, cultivation (second borrowing)
<i>zamēn</i>	Turk. <i>zaman</i>	time, epoch (second borrowing)
<i>zōr</i>	Turk. <i>zor</i>	hard, difficult
<i>zawrat</i>	Turk. <i>zor</i>	she emphasized, make things hard
<i>tzawwar</i>	Turk. <i>zor</i>	she emphasizes
y		
<i>yāä!</i>	Turk. <i>ye</i>	eat!
<i>yāḥāṅḡiyye</i> (pl.)	Turk. <i>yabancı</i>	stranger, foreigner
<i>yāx/yāğ</i>	Turk. <i>yağ</i>	oil, fat
<i>yāhu</i>	Turk. <i>yahu</i>	see here! O God!
<i>yoxta</i>	Turk. <i>yahut</i>	otherwise
<i>yaqğāq</i>	Turk. <i>yakacak</i>	fuel
<i>yalnəş</i>	Turk. <i>yalnız</i>	but, only
<i>yaprax</i>	Turk. <i>yaprak</i>	leaf, grape leaf, vine leaf
<i>yārdəm</i>	Turk. <i>yardım</i>	help, aid
<i>yarəm</i>	Turk. <i>yarım</i>	half
<i>yasāq</i>	Turk. <i>yasak</i>	forbidden, prohibited
<i>yatišmiš</i>	Turk. <i>yetişmiş</i>	grown-up
<i>yāzma</i>	Turk. <i>yazma</i>	writing

<i>yazmay</i>	Turk. <i>yazma</i>	hand-printed kerchief. The word is used here to denote a head kerchief for women that is used under the head scarf and serves to ensure that nothing of the hair is visible
<i>yāqan</i>	Turk. <i>yakın</i>	close, near
<i>yāqa</i>	Turk. <i>yaka</i>	collar
<i>yāwo</i>	Turk. <i>yāwo</i>	see here! O God!
<i>yalage</i>	Turk. <i>yelek</i>	waistcoat, vest
<i>yamak</i>	Turk. <i>yemek</i>	food
<i>yaṭmiš</i>	Turk. <i>yetmiş</i>	seventy
<i>yəqəlmīš</i>	Turk. <i>yılmak</i>	to collapse, fall down
<i>yōğərt</i>	Turk. <i>yoğurt</i>	yoghurt

Moreover, some Turkish words are taken into this dialect and thereafter, an Arabic prefix or suffix is added to them in order to ‘arabify’, i.e. to make them sound more Arabic-like, e.g.: *doṣtanətiyye* “friendship”, cf. Turk. *dostane*; *sonyəta* and *sonütna* “at the end, (lit. at its (f.sg.) end”, cf. Turk. *sonunda*; *mrannak* and *mrannək* “coloured”, cf. Turk. *renk*.

5.1.4.2. Phrases

Phrases that are borrowed from Turkish are not as numerous as single words. The reason may be that it is easier to borrow single words than whole phrases which often are idioms. Nevertheless, it is important to list them here.

<i>bīr nabze</i>	Turk. <i>bir nebze</i>	a little
<i>qurs öratmani</i>	Turk. <i>kurs öğretmen</i>	Koran course teacher
<i>olağaq şay mə?</i>	Turk. <i>olacak şey mi</i>	can this be possible?
<i>hiç olmasa⁴⁶⁶</i>	Turk. <i>hiç olmasa</i>	at least, in any case
<i>fəstəq fabriqasi</i>	Turk. <i>fıstık fabrikası</i>	pistachio factory
<i>kīlo matra</i>	Turk. <i>kilometre</i>	kilometre
<i>ona göre</i>	Turk. <i>ona göre</i>	according to that
<i>lisa möduri</i>	Turk. <i>lise müdürü</i>	high school director
<i>bilmam nay</i>	Turk. <i>bilmem ne</i>	(and) what do I know
<i>ne bilim</i>	Turk. <i>ne bileyim</i>	what do I know
<i>işlatma muhāsabasi</i>	Turk. <i>işletme muhasebesi</i>	administrative book-keeping

⁴⁶⁶ Cf. Turk. *hiç* “not at all”, *ol-* “to be or become” + *-mez* which is the negation of the aorist 3.sg. + *sa* which is a conditional particle.

<i>şāğ ōl</i>	Turk. <i>sağ ol</i>	thank you, thanks
<i>qoparatif muhāsabasi</i>	Turk. <i>koopratif muhasebesi</i>	cooperative bookkeeping
<i>ondan şonra</i> ⁴⁶⁷	Turk. <i>ondan sonra</i>	after that
<i>muhāsaba qursi</i>	Turk. <i>muhasebe krusu</i>	bookkeeping course
<i>hā ġade, hā baʿəd ġade,</i> <i>arbʿin yawm baqīna fə-</i> <i>Ştamḫūl ēke bala şāğəl</i>	Turk. <i>ha bugün ha yarın</i>	we stayed in Istanbul 40 days without work (saying) today (or) tomorrow
<i>adapsəzīn</i> (pl.)	Turk. <i>adapsiz</i>	the ones without man- ner
<i>ʿayni zamān-da</i>	Turk. <i>ayni zamanda</i>	at the same time
<i>ʿayni şakəl-da</i>	Turk. <i>ayni şekilde</i>	in the same way

5.2. Kurdish influence

The majority of the villages in the vicinity of Siirt consist entirely of Kurds; likewise, in the ‘Arabic’ villages the Kurds constitute a vast majority. In the town of Siirt itself, the Kurds constitute almost 50 per cent of the ca. 100,000 inhabitants. In the villages, people of the age of 40 years and older speak almost entirely Kurdish. In Siirt, people in the same age category have a good knowledge of Turkish.⁴⁶⁸ In order to describe the language situation for Kurds in this region, one informant relates the following during an interview:

“For 25 years I have had the same Kurdish neighbour. On the street our children play together and talk Turkish to each other. We, the adults, on the other hand, talk only Kurdish to each other. I have learned Kurdish and speak it like my mother tongue, while he didn’t learn Arabic at all.”

The fact of being a majority implies that people belonging to another ethnicity and speaking another language, such as the Arabs of Tillo, are compelled to learn Kurdish in order to manage everyday life (see 1.6). However, according to my corpus, Kurdish seems, surprisingly, to have less influence than Turkish on the TA. This is most probably due to the politically dominant status of Turkish with the state apparatus behind it.

⁴⁶⁷ Cf. Turk. *o+n+dan + sonra* “then, after that”.

⁴⁶⁸ The source for this information is an informant who is still living in Tillo. Like many other Tillo inhabitants, he is working in the town of Siirt.

5.2.1. On phonology

The Kurdish impact on this dialect differs from the Turkish impact. On phonology the influence is more or less confined to phonemes that have slipped in via borrowings, for instance, *p*, *v*, *č* and *g*, e.g.:

<i>pəsmām</i>	“cousin, son of one’s father’s brother”	< Kur. <i>pismam</i>
<i>naviyyət</i> (in const.)	“grandchild”	< Kur. <i>navî</i>
<i>čēriyye</i>	“headscarf”	< Kur. <i>çarik</i>
<i>gērin</i>	“stroll, move around”	< Kur. <i>gerîn</i>

/ğ/ > /ž/

/ğ/ shifts in some examples to */ž/*, e.g.: *mažbūriyye* “necessity”, cf. OA *mağbūr*; *təžmēd* “it (f.sg.) becomes frozen”, cf. OA *ğamada*; *aždēdna* “our forefathers”, cf. OA *ağdād*; *žnayne* “garden”; *kā-zawwāžna* “we had got married”; *yəžğəlu* “they work”. Although the shift of */ğ/* to */ž/* is a common phonological feature in the Syro-Palestinian dialect group, it is improbable to state that these few examples are affected by that. Keeping in mind that this dialect is totally isolated from any contact with other Arabic dialects in the neighboring counties, I would rather see the examples above as an impact from Kurdish, where the phoneme */ž/* is more common than */ğ/* (see 2.1.13).

5.2.2. On morphology

5.2.2.1. Conjunctions

*čəxwa < ji + xwe*⁴⁶⁹ (as it is in Kurdish) “then, though, simply, obviously”
*čəxwa mō yərəfuwa*⁴⁷⁰
“they obviously don’t know it (f.)”

yadaba “or”
daqūm arō la-l-qādi, yadaba l-maḥkame
“I will go (either) to the judge or to the court”

hēš “so far, still, yet”
*hēš*⁴⁷¹ *Təllo laxwa iyy ‘ayni Təllo ham*

⁴⁶⁹ Cf. Kur. *ji + xwe* “naturally”; see Chyet 2003, 289.

⁴⁷⁰ Note here the elision of */ç/*.

⁴⁷¹ Cf. Kur. *hēj* “so far, yet, still, more”.

“Tillo is still the same Tillo”

5.2.2.2. Diminutive

Kurdish diminutive is marked by the suffix **-ik/-uk*. This ending is attested in some examples, e.g.: *naʿmūk* “small, little”, cf. OA *naʿima* “to make small, pulverize”.

5.2.2.3. Adverbs

hēdi hēdi “slowly, gently”

ħamməltuwən ʿal-faraş u hēdi hēdi qəmtu rəħtu karm

“I loaded them on the horse and very slowly I rode to the vineyard”

laxwa,⁴⁷² *naxwa* and *nəxwe* “otherwise”

*xalf əğbayzna kəğ-ğīna Şıtanbūl, laxwa*⁴⁷³ *Təllo iyy aṭyap mən əŞıtanbūl şē-na nəħne*

“we came to Istanbul searching for a better living (lit. our bread), otherwise Tillo is, for us, better than Istanbul”; *bayt əwle nrō, naxwa bayt ġərbe hīç mō nrō* “we visit these families, otherwise we never visit strangers”; *fī Təllo ṭabi kēnu aħsan, nəxwe* “they were better in Till, indeed”

5.2.2.4. Interjections

ləbe “yes, give me your order!”

*wēħət zalamə yṭəşş Nasrəttīn Xōğā, yʿəllu: Nasrəttīn Xōğā! yʿəllu: ləbe*⁴⁷⁴

“a man sees Nasrəttīn Xōğā, he calls upon him: Nasrəttīn Xōğā! (Nasrəttīn Xōğā answers) yes, give me your order”

5.2.3. On word order

Some Kurdish idioms and phrases have been translated to Tillo Arabic and taken into this dialect. A number of these examples are already mentioned above under Turkish influence (5.1.3.). The reason is either that these idioms coincide with the Turkish ones, or that one of these two languages copied the idiom from the other some time before the Arabs took it into their dialect, e.g.: *bowş ġarraytu zōr* “I suffered a lot”, cf. Kur. *min pir kişand* “I went through (lit. pulled) difficulties”. The Arabic verb *rtama* “to fall” is a literal

⁴⁷² Cf. Kur. *nəxwe* “indeed, in this case”.

⁴⁷³ Cf. Kur. *nəxwe* “indeed, in this case”.

⁴⁷⁴ Cf. Kur. *ləbe* “yes, give me your order” Cf. also OA *labbayka*.

translation of the Kurdish verb *kejin* “to fall” and it is used in translated idioms such as: *awlādi kā-yərtəmu nuxwaššîn*⁴⁷⁵ “my children used to fall sick”, cf. Kur. *ez naxeş kevtim* “I got (lit. fell) sick”. One informant is talking about an idea, a suggestion that he came up with for the Tillo people now living in Istanbul. The idea concerned what to do to maintain their own identity, culture and language. Unfortunately the idea was not accepted. The informant said: *ənn kā-kə-yərtamaw ‘alayu* (the idea) *mā kā-ysîr āk əš-šî* “if they had accepted it, this would have not happened”, cf. Kur. *agar ew bikevin fikre*. The literary translation is “if they would have fallen on the idea” (without, of course, any connotation of being deceived, as in English “fall for”). The informant goes on: *anā b-fəkri, āk əč-čääx kəntu mərmi ‘alayu* “at that time I was keen on my idea” and he ends: *mō yərtmaw ‘alayu* “they don’t accept it”.

5.2.4. On the lexicon

The list of Kurdish words and phrases below is taken from the whole material and not only from attestations that occur in this volume. Further, the list is ordered according to Kurdish alphabetical order, i.e. according to the column in the middle.

b		
<i>bahş</i>	Kur. <i>behs</i>	subject, topic, matter, issue (< Turk. <i>bahis</i>)
<i>bale</i>	Kur. <i>belê</i>	yes
<i>bale</i>	Kur. <i>belê</i>	but
<i>barēn</i>	Kur. <i>beran</i>	ram, male sheep
<i>pəskəwît</i>	Kur. <i>biskîwît</i>	biscuit
<i>pəsmām</i>	Kur. <i>pismam</i>	cousin, son of one’s father’s brother
<i>bowş</i>	Kur. <i>boş</i>	plentiful, abundant
c		
<i>ğalbe</i>	Kur. <i>celeb</i>	grade, sort
ç		
<i>čāx</i>	Kur. <i>çax</i>	when, at what time
<i>čēriyye</i> (f.sg.)	Kur. <i>çarik</i>	headscarf
<i>čēriyyat awne</i> (const.)	Kur. <i>çarik</i>	local headscarf

⁴⁷⁵ Cf. Kur. *nexweş* “ill, sick”.

<i>ĉawēri</i> (pl.)	Kur. <i>ĉarik</i>	headscarf
<i>ĉaxwa</i>	Kur. <i>ji + xwe</i>	then, though, simply, obviously
<i>yĉakkuwān</i>	Kur. <i>ĉek</i>	to put in
d		
<i>darank</i>	Kur. <i>dereng</i>	late
<i>dalēlīn</i> (pl.)	Kur. <i>delal</i> (sg.)	dear, lovable
f		
<i>faŷāz</i>	Kur. <i>faîz</i>	interest
h		
<i>hayy</i>	Kur. <i>hay</i>	knowledge, care
<i>hayya</i>	Kur. <i>heya</i>	till, until
<i>ħaftiyye</i>	Kur. <i>ħefte</i>	week
<i>yāthaddaw</i>	Kur. <i>hêdî</i>	to calm down
<i>hêdi hêdi</i>	Kur. <i>hêdî</i>	slowly, gently
<i>hêš</i>	Kur. <i>hêj</i>	yet, so far, still
<i>hōnək/ huwnək</i>	Kur. <i>hênik/honik</i>	cool, cooler
g		
<i>gērīn</i>	Kur. <i>gerîn</i>	stroll, move around
<i>gorāt</i> (const.)	Kur. <i>gor</i>	according to, relative
j		
<i>ġār</i>	Kur. <i>jar</i>	poor, weak
k		
<i>kārīf</i>	Kur. <i>kirîv</i>	godfather
<i>kōtek</i>	Kur. <i>kotek</i>	beating, by force
l		
<i>lābe</i>	Kur. <i>labe</i>	yes, give me your order
n		
<i>naviyye</i>	Kur. <i>nevî</i>	grandchild
<i>laxwa</i>	Kur. <i>nexwe</i>	indeed; otherwise; in this case
<i>naxwe</i> and <i>naxwa</i>	Kur. <i>nexwe</i>	indeed; otherwise; in this case
<i>nuxwaš</i> (m.sg.)	Kur. <i>nexweš</i>	ill, sick
<i>nuxwaššiyye</i>	Kur. <i>nexweš</i>	sickness
p		
<i>pattîx</i>	Kur. <i>petêx</i>	melon (second borrowing)
<i>perpārōkēt</i> (pl.)	Kur. <i>Perperok</i> (sg.)	moth
q		
<i>qahwahi</i>	Kur. <i>qehweyî</i>	brown
<i>ʔaliyyel qaliyye</i>	Kur. <i>qelî</i>	preserved fried meat (second borrowing)
<i>qasp</i>	Kur. <i>qesp</i>	date

ʔəttəke	Kur. <i>qutik</i>	shirt
s		
<i>sēvar</i>	Kur. <i>sawar</i>	boiled and pounded wheat, or its dish
<i>şuwāri</i>	Kur. <i>siwar</i>	horseman, mounted, riding
<i>şawl</i>	Kur. <i>sol</i>	shoes
ş		
<i>şkafte</i>	Kur. <i>şkeft</i> or <i>şikeft</i>	cave
<i>tallīsət</i> (const.)	Kur. <i>telīs</i>	sack
t		
<i>tərsək/tərsəke</i>	Kur. <i>tirşî</i>	type of food consisting of patties stuffed with ground meat and minced onions, in a sour sauce
<i>tāşe</i>	Kur. <i>tas</i>	metal bowl
<i>doxtor</i>	Kur. <i>tixtor</i>	doctor
x		
<i>xēnəm</i>	Kur. <i>xanim</i>	woman, lady, Miss, Mrs.
<i>xēliyye</i>	Kur. <i>xewlî</i>	towel, veil
<i>xəwēli</i> (pl.)	Kur. <i>xewlî</i>	towel, veil
<i>xōşēt</i>	Kur. <i>xoşav</i>	stewed fruit, in Tillo a dessert made of apricot, raisin and fruit juice
<i>xwārəz</i>	Kur. <i>xwarzê</i>	nephew
y		
<i>yēriyēt</i> (pl.)	Kur. <i>yerî</i> (sg.)	joke, play, friendship
z		
<i>zahme</i>	Kur. <i>zehmet</i>	difficulty
<i>zalame</i>	Kur. <i>zelam</i>	man (second borrowing)
<i>ənzangəru</i>	Kur. <i>zengarî</i>	here: to make brown, fry
<i>zîn</i>	Kur. <i>zîn</i>	saddle
<i>zōzānāät</i> (pl.)	Kur. <i>zozan</i> (sg.)	high plateau, mountain pasture

6. Conclusions

6.1. The socio-linguistic situation

TA belongs to the Anatolian *qəltu*-dialects, the Siirt group. In the village itself the dialect is spoken by about 1,500 people. This figure is changing rapidly and at the time when this study is published the figure may be even lower. How many people speak this dialect outside the village, for instance in Istanbul and other big cities, is unknown. The reason for this rapid change is that the prospects of work are bad and the water sources are drying up in the region on the one hand, and on the other hand Kurdish dominance. In comparison to the Kurds the number of Arabs is negligible. The latter have not raised any demands for rights as a minority, a fact which sometimes has caused them problems with the Turkish authorities who assume them to collaborate with the Kurds. The demands that Tillo Arabs raise are of a different character. These demands manifest their strict religious life-style, for instance, freedom to hold Koran courses and freedom for women to carry headscarves in public.

The rapid growth of Kurds and the decline of Arabs on the one hand, and the increase of intermarriage between Kurds and Arabs in Tillo and Arabs and Turks in the big cities on the other, are obstacles to the continued existence of TA. The status of TA is becoming weaker while the status of Turkish is growing stronger. It is worth mentioning that, despite the Kurdish majority position in the region, the language that influences TA most is Turkish and not Kurdish. If these conditions persist TA is destined to die out within a couple of generations.

6.2. Phonology

Elision of /h/: /h/ is elided in initial position in all forms of the demonstrative pronouns and demonstrative adverbs, e.g.: *āk* “that (3.m.sg.)”, cf. MA *hāk*; *āva* “this”, cf. OA *hāda*; *awn* “here”, cf. MA *hawn*; *ēke* “in this way”. Further, /h/ is elided in the independent personal pronouns of the 3rd persons, e.g.: *uwwe* “he”; *iyye* “she” and *ənne* “they”. *huwwe* and *hēke* are also, though rarely, attested.

Spontaneous *imāla*: An unconditioned shift of the plural suffix *-āt* to *-ēt*, e.g.: *banēt* “girls”; *akalēt* “food dishes”. The last closed syllable of a word (that contains an */ā/*), e.g.: *bēp* “door”; *mēt* “he died”; *anēm* “I sleep”.

Pausal phenomenon: The vowel */a/* changes in the last closed syllable of a word, i.e. an */a/* in the last syllable of some words shifts in some cases to */e/*, in verbs, and to */ē/* in nouns, e.g.: *aḡef* “he took”, cf. OA *axada*; *ḡabēl* “mountain”, cf. OA *ḡabal*. This phenomenon has not been mentioned previously in studies concerning the Anatolian Arabic dialects, but is known in the Syro-Palestinian dialects.

tafxīm: An emphatic consonant, or a */x/*, */ḡ/*, */q/*, */h/*, */ʕ/* in a word, normally affects the pronunciation of the other consonants and vowels in the vicinity, e.g.: *ṛamāḡd* “ashes”, cf. *ramād*; *ṣabḡāt* “thief”; *ṣabḡar* “patience”, cf. OA *ṣabr*. Also the back vowels (*a*, *u*, *ā*, *ō*, *ū* and *ə*) may influence the quality of the consonants in their vicinity, e.g.: *amā* “but, yet, still”, cf. Turk. *ama*; *waḡla* “by God”; *aṣayy* “I do”, cf. *sawiya* “to even”.

Men and women: Although the tape-recorded material from female speakers of TA is limited there is clear distinction in pronunciation of the OA phoneme */q/*. In men’s speech */q/* shifts to */ʔ/* only in the root *qwl* while in women’s speech */q/* shifts to */ʔ/* consistently, e.g.:

Men

fī ḡaqq Təllo əṣṣ ʔūli?
“what do you (f.sg.) say concerning Tillo?”

əs-saḡ yəḡraw?
“are they studying now?”

Women

fī ḡaṣṣ Təllo əṣṣ aṣūl?
“what do I say concerning Tillo?”

əs-saḡ yəṣraw
“they are studying now”

6.3. Morphology

fard: *fard* is a typical indefinite marker in Iraqi Arabic dialects, for instance, among Baghdad Muslims. According to Blanc’s *Communal Dialects in Baghdad* the indefinite marker *fard* is the characteristically Mesopotamian ‘indetermination marker’. In the Anatolian *qəltu*-dialects *fard* is attested only

in Mḥallamiye. E.g.: *fart wəḥde mən aw mō kəla* “I don’t eat a single one of these”; *uwf fart čašne nəḥne mülədna* “our *müləd* feast is only one sort”.

Nunation: Nunation is not a distinctive phenomenon for the Anatolian qD, but some attestations are found in the corpus, e.g.: *mamlakətən wəḥde* “a kingdom”; *məqdārən wəḥət* “an amount”. Nunation is mentioned as ‘Rest der Nunation’ in Vocke and Waldner’s *Der Wortschatz des Anatolischen Arabisch* and in the Arabic qD of the Khawētna in Northeast Syria it is termed ‘Indetermination’.

Relative pronoun/genitive exponent: The relative pronoun and the genitive exponent coincide in form, *lay*, e.g.: *lay yəšrap mənna məyy yā tə-ymūt yā tə-yğən* “(this) who drinks water from it (f.sg.) he will either die or he will get crazy” and *u fī Erdamli m iyy lay Mersin* “and there is Erdamli, which belongs to Mersin”.

Men and women: The use of the prepositon *lī* varies depending on whether the speaker is a man or a woman. Men use only *lī* while women use both *lī* and *ləhi*, e.g.:

lī (men and women)

ləhi (women)

lī šəğəl layk

“I have work for you (m.sg.)”

lī karm

“I have a vineyard”

ləhi əfmēnye

“I have 8 (grandchildren)”

ləhi bənt fī Urfa

“I have one daughter in Urfa”

Nevertheless irregularities are attested, e.g.: *məyy m-əl-ləhi* “it is not because of me, it is not mine”, says a male informant.

6.4. Syntax

The verb: Various nuances of the present and past may be expressed by a verb modifier + perfect or a verb modifier + imperfect, e.g.: *wəlla məš xətərak kəl-na^camtu ḥəssu* “by God, I (have) turned it (the radio) down for your sake”; *ənn kā-nəḥne rəḥna ku-ntammət əl-masale* “if we had also died (lit. gone) the matter is obviously, then, finished”; *kān yəsammu malla Muḥāt əs-Suhrāni* “they used to call him mullah Muḥāt əs-Suhrān”; *al-mṭahhrin ənn kaka-yləmmu āk əl-pārāt əl-lawm Təllo azgan mənna mamlake mā kā-fī* “if these circumcisers had (had) saved the money, today, there wouldn’t have

been a richer village than Tillo”; *kān d-amūt* “I was about to die”; *ku-yəqtam* ‘ənəp məl-ğarze “he is picking grapes from the plant”.

Imperative: A particle *ma* often precedes the imperative to strengthen it, e.g.: *ma ʔəlna nəhne də-nəʔraf!* “tell us so we will know!”; *əxti ma taʕay əwne əxti!* “sister, come here!”; *ənn kā-fī həkkoy ši ēke ma həkiya!* “if there is a tale, relate it then!”.

Copula: The copula in TA precedes its predicate, e.g.: *aşəlkan uww balli* “your origin is clear”; *əl-bənt iyy määlna* “the girl is ours”; *bəntayn ənne mzağgīn* “two daughters are married”; *əbyūt əŞtanbül ənne atyap* “Istanbul houses are nicer”.

Word order: In TA, SV word order is more frequent than VS, e.g.: *əl-awlēt yəʕməlu əwne* “the boys are working here”; *awlēdna kā-yrōhu l-maktep* “our children used to go to school”. In other Arabic dialect groups, such as the Eastern Mediterranean group, VS word order is predominant. Examples of VS word order in TA: *yəṭlah qārşiyu zalamət ləxx* “another man comes in his way”; *badaw hənne baqa yəʕməlu*; “they started to work”.

6.5. Influence due to language contact

Devoicing: Devoicing of voiced consonant in final pausal position is a phonological peculiarity, e.g.: ‘ənəp “grape(s)”, cf. OA ‘*inab*. Devoicing appears also in contact position before voiceless phonemes, e.g.: *dəps* “syrup”, cf. OA *dibs*; *həps* “jail”, cf. OA *həbs*; *harrəpt* “you (m.sg.) took away”. In some instances devoicing has proceeded in two steps, i.e. first the devoicing of the final phoneme and then the phoneme that precedes it, e.g.: ‘*apt* “servant, slave”, cf. OA ‘*abd*.

Turkish superlative particle *en*: The Turkish superlative particle *en* is frequently used to express the superlative form. Often *en* precedes an adjective that already is in the elative, e.g.: *an azyat* “the most”; *an atyap* “the most delicious”.

Telling the time: In telling the time, Turkish rules are used, e.g.: *sääʕa fnaḥş təḥbar xamse* “it is five past twelve”; *sääʕa wəḥde la xamse* “it is five to one”. The verb ‘*aḥar* “to pass” is a literary translation of the Turkish verb *geçmek* which is used for giving time, when minutes have passed the hour. To give the time when minutes are ‘left’ until the even hour in Turkish, the existential particle *var* “there is” is used in Turkish.

Ordinals: From third onwards, Turkish ordinals are used in TA, e.g.: *uçunğu* “third”; *dördünğu* “fourth”; *beşinği* “fifth” etc. Beside the Turkish ordinals, the Arabs of Tillo use two other, though very rare, forms: (1) *wēḥat l-arḥʿa* “fourth”; *wēḥat at-təsʿa* “ninth”. (2) *wēḥat baʿt l-arḥʿa* “fourth”; *wēḥat baʿt at-təsʿa* “ninth”.

Turkish conjunctions and particles: *axū ʾāl: yawo madamki kəs-sawa al-yarbe* ... “his brother said: since he did this to you...”; *anğax mən ʿaraqak təqt tsayy šī* “only by hard work (lit. your sweat) can you accomplish something”; *sanki mā kənət ləna, kənət lal-ğərp* “as if it wasn’t ours, it was for the guests (lit. strangers)”.

Kurdish conjunctions: *čəxwa mō yərəfuwa* “they obviously don’t know it (f.sg.)”; *hēš Təllo laxwa iyy ʿayni Təllo ham* “Tillo is still the same Tillo”.

6.6. The lexicon

The lexicon contains many borrowings above all from Turkish but also from Kurdish. Many second borrowings are also attested. The Turkish borrowings may be categorized in terminology that belongs to modern society, e.g.: *vargi* “taxes”, cf. Turk. *vergi*; *qastxāna* “hospital”, cf. Turk. *hastane*; *patrol* “petroleum, oil”; *pasta* “cake, pastry”; *darnaq* “association”, cf. Turk. *dernek*; *diyabat* “diabetic”, cf. Turk. *diyabet*; *banqa* “bank”, cf. Turk. *banka*; *baqannəği* “ministry”, cf. Turk. *bakanlık*; *amakli* “retired”, cf. Turk. *emekli*; *ḥant* “tape”, cf. Turk. *bant*. The Kurdish borrowings may approximately be categorized in family terminology such as *naviyye* “grandchild”, cf. Kur. *nevî*; *xwārəz* “nephew”, cf. Kur. *xwarzê*; *pəsmām* “cousin”, cf. Kur. *pismam*, *kərif* “godfather”, cf. Kur. *kirîv*; *xēnəm* “lady”, cf. Kur. *xanim* and nature/agriculture elements, e.g.: *škafte* “cave”, cf. Kur. *şkeft*; *zōzānāät* (pl.) “high plateau, mountain pasture”, cf. Kur. *zozan* (sg.); *perpārōkēt* (pl.) “moth”, cf. Kur. *perperok* (sg.); *barēn* “ram, male sheep”, cf. Kur. *beran*. Roughly speaking, second borrowings may belong to all categories, e.g.: *masala* “for example”; *məsääfrîn* “guests”; *muḥāsaba* “accounting”; *ruxşəti* “my license”; *ysabbət* “confirm”; *şəḥbe* “getting together”; *ṭabi* “of course”; *tanaffūs* “rest, respiration”; *zamēn* “time, epoch”.

Appendix

This appendix contains 7 sample texts, their translation and a glossary.

Text 1

Male informant, 24-year-old.

1. *‘ammu yəḥkaw baḥs ääv ət-tattūn ḥakkoyətən wəḥde. yawm fī əstēt lu kam faqah. ak-karra ääv əl-stēt am⁴⁷⁶ yəšrap tattūn xaff⁴⁷⁷ tattūn. yəšrap žəgāra, žgāra, žgāra.*
2. *āk karra əy’ūlu: əšš tə-nsayy da-yətmənəḥ əstədna mən ääv šərb əž-žəgāra? fī wəḥət talaba yqūm fī ‘aqlu ysawi ləbe. ləbətu m əšniyye? əyqūm əmn əş-şabāḥ əyrō la-stēdu y’əllu: yā stēdi, mbērḥa araytu mnēm fə-nawmi.*
3. *y’əllu: xayr uwwe. y’əllu: stēdi, mbērḥa araytu fə-nawmi l-qiyāme kəl-qāmat. əlla ḡalla ḡalālahu kəḡ-ḡamə əl-maxlūqāt kəlla fəl-mahčar. e, y’əllu. dawwēm!*
4. *y’əllu: ‘əlna: əsḡədūni! y’ul: kəllətna l-maxlūqāt saḡadnēhu. əš-šaytān w ət-tattūn b-maḥat mā saḡadu. y’əllu: əbni, ət-tattūn mō ysay ēke šī. uww maḥqūl. uww afandi. uww kəbār.*
5. *y’əllu: stēdi, anā araf ət-tattūn. kään uwwe. əbni, la?, ḡayr. y’əllu: bale. y’əllu: ʔalla, hay fū⁴⁷⁸ xaṭa bowš bowš əgbīr tətəxallu fī raqbətak. w uwwe amme la?. y’əllu: bale stēdi uwwe.*
6. *y’əllu: ənn ka-uwwe, ḡībli kəbrīt šī mən aṇnak! xayr uwwe? əy’əllu, əy’əllu ääv, ääv ən-nāmūsəz yəlzam aḥat yəḥrəqu fəd-dənye qabl əl-äəxəre.*

⁴⁷⁶ Cf. *ham* “also”.

⁴⁷⁷ Cf. *xalf* “after, behind”.

⁴⁷⁸ Cf. *fī* + *yu*.

7. *e dīn ʔawnak ʔ-ʔalaba yʔūl: ʔstēdi, nəḥne qəmna sayna hēke šī tə-tətrəku qəmt ḥaraqtu kart ləxxe.*

Text 1 (translation)

1. Uncle, there is a story told concerning tobacco. Once, there is a teacher who has some students. So this teacher chain-smokes (lit. tobacco after tobacco). He smokes and smokes and smokes (lit. cigarette, cigarette, cigarette).
2. So they (the students) say: What shall we do so that our teacher will stop smoking? There is this student who prepares a trick in his own mind. What is his trick? He wakes up in the morning and goes to his teacher and says: Oh teacher, yesterday while sleeping, I had a dream.
3. The teacher says: Hopefully it's a good dream. The student says: My teacher, yesterday I dreamt that it was Judgement Day. God, may his sublimity be exalted, gathered all the creatures in Mahjar⁴⁷⁹. Yes, the teacher says. Go on!
4. The student goes on: He (God) said to us: Bow and worship me! The student goes on: We, all the creatures bowed and worshipped him. Satan and tobacco alone did not bow and worship. The teacher says: Son, tobacco does not do such a thing. Tobacco is reasonable. It is a gentleman. It is polite.
5. The student says: Teacher, I know tobacco. It was it. Son, no, it (m.sg.) was something else. The student says: Yes. The student continues: Look here, this is a very great sin which you will carry. And the teacher still says no. The student insists: Yes, teacher, it is it.
6. The teacher says: If it was it, then give me some matches over there! What is it? He says, the teacher says: Someone has to burn (smoke) this dishonest (tobacco) in this world before the Day of Judgement.
7. So there the student says: Teacher, we made up the whole thing for you to stop smoking and now you smoked (lit. burned) it again.

Text 2

⁴⁷⁹ Cf. OA *maḥḡar* "sacred place".

Male informant, 33-year-old.

1. *wēhət zalamə yawm, əh yawmən wəhde da-yətlah mən baytu də-yrō mamlakat ləxx. uww şuwāri⁴⁸⁰, şuwāri, rēkəp ‘al-faraş.*
2. *yərkap, əyrō, yrō yrō. ba‘ət la-yrō b-mədde yətlah qārşiyu zalamət ləxx. əysakkənu u yəllu: kass⁴⁸¹ ayy sap trō? yəllu: da-n., da-rō flān mamlake. yəllu: waḷla anā am d-aşş⁴⁸² ma‘ək. yəllu: ta‘ā!*
3. *f-əd-darp, čäāx la-yrōhu āf la-uww, lay-ba‘ət gā, lay-mōw şuwāri, lay-mā ma‘u faraş, yəllu: kəmmə şabař aḷla ta‘āla aşqa uww təwīl?*
4. *yəllu: waḷla uww təwīl ya‘ni. yəllu: şayş sa‘alt? yəllu: ēke. yəllu kamā⁴⁸³: aşqa uww təwīl? yəllu: təwīl ya‘ni. mō ‘raf əşqa uww ama şabař aḷla ta‘āla uww təwīl.*
5. *yəllu: ēke kamā ‘əllək fi-yu flēfin, arb‘in sane təwīl? yəllu: ē wā, fi-yu arb‘in sane təwīl, fi-yu şabař aḷla ta‘āla.*
6. *w al-hāşili əyrōhu, yrōhu, yrōhu. ba‘ət yəllu: kəmmə⁴⁸⁴ da-‘əllək şī, aḷ faraşək ēke əybəyyən faraş əkwayyəs, manṭ., hēke atīq ağarrəbu? aṭallə‘ aşam uwwə ha-l-faraş. rahwān uwwə əmma khāäl uwwə aşn uwwə. yəül: atīq ağarrəbu, ēke arkəb ‘alayu?.*
7. *əyəllu xa-ysīr. əş-şuwāri yənzal mən ‘al-faraş ääf əl-ləxx yərkap ‘al-faraş u yəyrəp. əysōq. yəbdi ysōq əl-faraş. yəbdi ysōq əl-faraş u yrō. äāz əş-şaxs əyəllu: ayy sap tə-trō, ayy sap tə-trō. waddayt faraşi. uww yrō. mō yəsmə‘.*
8. *w-al-hāşili ääf əz-zalamə baqa yrō xalfu həzīn. faraş rā mən İdu. rā şw., rā, rā, rā şwayye. ṭalla‘ hā! kanū⁴⁸⁵ l-zalamə ku-kə-rtama mən ‘al-faraş.*
9. *əyəllu: yāw! ääf lay kəş-şabař əl-faraş əysīh əz-zalamə yəllu: tā yəllu, ‘ām məş ays⁴⁸⁶ harrəpt faraşi? yəlli: axī, yəllu: sayt ‘alay*

⁴⁸⁰ Cf. Kur. *siwar* “horseman, mounted, riding”.

⁴⁸¹ A word used locally, meaning “direction, way”.

⁴⁸² Cf. *da-āği* “I will come”.

⁴⁸³ A word used locally and having the same meaning as Turk. *yahu* “See here! O God!”. The word is attested in different pronunciations.

⁴⁸⁴ A word used locally and having the same meaning as Turk. *yahu* “See here! O God!”.

⁴⁸⁵ Cf. *kān uww* “he was”.

⁴⁸⁶ Cf. *mşān ays* “why”.

*hīle. yʾəllu: šayš? yʾəlli, yʾəllu: yāhu əlt-li anā šaḅar ʾalla taʿāla uww
arbʿin sane. anā šabaṭtu l-faṛaš mā ʿaḅar fī-ya daqīqa ʾalla taʿāla
yarabni. šayš āy sayt ʿalay hīle?*

10. *yʾəllu: yā moy..., āv əs-saḥ āy ra..., rtamayt mən ʿal-faṛaš mayy m-əl-
ləhi. iyye qabal arbʿin sane kəs-sayt fī aḥat šī. anā l-li, hēš mā kəḡ-
ḡīt.*

Text 2 (translation)

1. One day a man is on his way to leave his home for another town. He is a horseman, horseman (means) he is riding a horse.
2. He is riding and riding and riding. After riding for a while another man comes out in his way. He stops the horseman and says to him: In which direction are you riding? The horseman answers: I am going to this or that town. The man says: Well, I too will accompany you. The horseman answers: Come along then!
3. On the way, while going on, the man that came afterward, who is not a horseman, who does not have a horse, says: I wonder, the patience of God, the Sublime, how great (lit. long) is it?
4. The horseman answers: Well, it is great. The horseman asks: Why did you ask? Because. The man asks again: How great is it? The horseman answers: It is great. I don't know how great it is but the patience of God the Sublime is great.
5. The man says: As I tell you, can it be as great as 30, 40 years? The horseman answers: Yes, it can be as great as 40 years, the patience of God the Sublime can be that great.
6. Anyhow they go on and go on and go on. Later the man says: See here! I want to tell you something, that horse of yours seems to be a great horse ... can I try it? I want to see how this horse is. I want to see if it is ambler or if it is a horse of noblest breed or whatever it is. The man goes on saying: Can I try it, ride it?
7. The horseman answers: Alright. The horseman gets off the horse and the other one gets on (it) and gallops. He rides away. He starts to ride the horse. He starts to ride the horse and gets away. The horseman says to him: Where are you going? Where are you going? You took my horse. The man continues to ride. He does not listen.

8. However, the horseman starts sadly to go after him. Well, the horse is gone (lit. gone off his hand). He walked a lit..., walked and walked and walked a little. He looked (and) behold! The man had fallen off the horse.
9. The man says: Look here! The one who stole the horse calls upon the horseman and says: Come on here (says the horseman)! Why did you steal my horse? The man answers: Brother, you cheated me. The horseman asks: How is that? The man answers: You told me that the patience of God the Sublime is as great as 40 years. I stole the horse and not a minute passed before God the Sublime hit me. Why did you cheat me?
10. The man answers: That you just fell of the horse is not because you have done something bad to me. It is because you have done something bad to someone 40 years ago. What you have done to me hasn't come yet.

Text 3

Male informant, 21-year-old.

1. *fət-Turkya fī wēḥat uww mašhūr, ṭabi mən qabəl kəl-ayš ysammu Nasrattīn Xōḡa. ääf Nasrattīn Xōḡa ləhu əḥmār. uww eke əḥmār əmbahdēl, mharbēlən wēḥat.*
2. *yawm Nasrattīn Hōḡa yrō uww w xwārzētū⁴⁸⁷ maʿu, yrōḥu fət-ṭarīq yrōḥu. Nasrattīn Hōḡa uww rēkəp ʿal-lə-ḥmār, əl-walət yətmašša.*
3. *yəčč wēḥat zalamə yʾəllu: yā Nasrattīn Xōḡa! yʾəllu: ayš? yʾəllu: ääf, ääf mää mäʿək imān čəxxwa? əyʾəllu: šayš? əyʾəllu: walət zḡayyər rēk..., ənt rēkəp u walət yətmašša! ääf əlla yəqbəla? mō ʿayp šäänək? mō təstəḥi mən vaqṇək?*
4. *əyqūm yənzal mən ʿal-lə-ḥmār w əyrakkəp əl-walət. yrōḥu yrōḥu šaʿrūke. wēḥat zalamə yṭəšš Nasrattīn Xōḡa. yʾəllu: Nasrattīn Xōḡa! yʾəllu: ləbe! yʾəllu: mō təstəḥi? yʾəllu: šayš?*
5. *ənt, ənt qozqōḡa⁴⁸⁸, imām əl-məḥ..., əl-mamlake kəlla əl-walət ʿal-lə-ḥmār w ənta trō bəl-mašu! olaḡaq šay mə?⁴⁸⁹ nəḥne nəstəḥi mən*

⁴⁸⁷ Cf. Kur. *xwarzē* “nephew, sister’s son or daughter”.

⁴⁸⁸ Cf. Turk. *koskoca* “very big”.

⁴⁸⁹ Cf. Turk. *olacak şey mi?* “can this be possible?”.

rōḥna. Nasrəttin Xōḡa əyqūm yərkap uwwə ham ʿal-lə-ḥmār maḥ axwārzētu.

6. *əyrōḥu, yrōḥu, yrōḥu. yəčč wēḥət zalame yʿül: nəʿāza llāh!⁴⁹⁰ nəʿāza llāh!. yʿəllu: xayr-we, Nasrəttin Ōḡa yʿəllu? ääf mə-yʿül šā Nasrəttin Ōḡa: mō təbzah mən əlla? uww ḥaywēn mäü-lhu sēn u mäü-lu gari əfnayn tərkabu ʿalayū! ayš imānsəzz⁴⁹¹ ənt əkwa tə-nāxəvək örnāk⁴⁹².*
7. *əyʿüm uww w xwārzētu, yqūmu yənzalu mən ʿal-lə-ḥmār. yətmaššaw, yətmaššaw, yətmaššaw. yəḡi wēḥət zalame yʿəllu: ē dīn, Xōḡa! yʿəllu: ayš? yʿəllu: kəl t., nāxəv mənnək ʿaqəl ʿaḡa ḥāša m-ḥəzūr⁴⁹³ aḡmar mənnək mäü fi.*
8. *yʿəllu: šayš? yʿəllu: əḥmār w fnayn bəlla rəkər, rəkīp! Nasrəttin Hōḡa yqül: bəqi fart čäära. da-ḥətt əl-lə-ḥmār fi yahri w da-tmašša arō.*

Text 3 (translation)

1. In Turkey there was (lit. is) a man who is famous, of course this is from the old days, whose name was Nasrettin Hoca. This Nasrettin Hoca has a donkey. This donkey is neglected and miserable.
2. One day Nasrettin Hoca and his nephew go out for a walk/ride. They were walking/riding on the road. Nasrettin Hoca was riding the donkey while the child was walking.
3. A man comes (in their way) and says to Nasrettin Hoca: Oh Nasrettin Hoca! Nasrettin Hoca answers: What? The man says: Don't you, though, believe in God? Nasrettin Hoca answers: Why? The man says: A small child ri..., you are riding the donkey and letting a small child walk! Do you think that God accepts such a thing? Isn't that a disgrace for you? Aren't you ashamed (lit. ashamed of your beard)?
4. Nasrettin Hoca gets off the donkey and lets the child ride. They walk and walk for a while. A (second) man sees Nasrettin Hoca. The man says: Nasrettin Hoca! Nasrettin Hoca answers: Yes? The man says: Aren't you ashamed? Nasrettin Hoca answers: Why?

⁴⁹⁰ Cf. *maʿāda llāh* "God forbid!".

⁴⁹¹ Cf. Turk. *imansız* "someone who has no religious faith".

⁴⁹² Cf. Turk. *örnek* "model, sample, example".

⁴⁹³ This expression is used when someone is about to say something improper in the presence of other people. By using the expression, the speaker wants to exclude the persons present from what they are about to hear.

5. You, you are the biggest imam and the imam of the whole town and you walk while the child is riding! Could this be possible? We are ashamed of ourselves. Nasrettin Hoca gets on the donkey, he also, and rides with his nephew.
6. They ride and ride and ride. A (third) man comes and says: God forbid! God forbid! he says. What is it (lit. may it be good)? Nasrettin Hoca says. This man also says to Nasrettin Hoca: Are you not afraid of God? It is an animal without tongue⁴⁹⁴ and it can't talk (and) two people are riding it! What kind of Godless are you? We who take you as example.
7. So both he and his nephew get off the donkey. They walk and walk and walk. A (fourth) man comes and says: Oh master! Nasrettin Hoca answers: What? The man says: We (used to) take wisdom from you but, excluding the present ones, there is none more stupid than you.
8. Nasrettin Hoca says: Why is that? The man says: There is a donkey and two people walking (not riding)! Nasrettin Hoca says: There is only one alternative left. I will put the donkey on my back and go on walking.

Text 4

Male informant, 24-year-old.

1. *yawm wēḥad zalaṃe tə-yqūm əyrō mən aṃne farz* ⁴⁹⁵*maḥall əl-İrāq. maʿu pāṛāt. yʿül šā rafīqu, yʿullu: axūy, anā d-aqūm arō l-İrāq ənn kāsār d-aḥtīk pāṛāti amanatan* ⁴⁹⁶*yəbqaw ʿəndək.*
2. *uwwe am* ⁴⁹⁷*yʿəllu: xa-ysīr. əyqūm əyrō. ʔabi šəḡlu yəʿawwaq aṃnāḱ. mō ytēq tə-yəḡī, sane, santayn, fēfe, xamse, ʿašra. yəbqa xaməstaḥš sane fəl-ʿərāq.*
3. *baʿət la-yəb..., yəbqa xaməstaḥš sane fəl-ʿərāq, yawm yəḡi yʿül šā ääf əz-zalaṃe, yʿəllu (kəl-ḥaṯāhu xamsa mīt vahabiyye farz əmaḥall), yʿəllu: axūy ənn kāsār alla ysahhəllək yā doşti* ⁴⁹⁸*, taʿabtūk, ənn kāsār aḱ pāṛāti tīni nne d-aʿməl fi-yən.*

⁴⁹⁴ Meaning “cannot talk”.

⁴⁹⁵ *farz* is used here instead of **maḥallən wēḥad* (see 3.4.2).

⁴⁹⁶ Cf. CA *amanatun* “faithfulness”.

⁴⁹⁷ Cf. Turk. *hem* “Both ... and”.

⁴⁹⁸ Cf. Turk. *dost* “friend, comrade”.

4. *yʔəllu xa-ysīr. badala tə-yəhtīyu xamsa mīt vahabiyye uwwə yəhtīyu xamsa mīt fəyḡa. yʔəllu: axī, kā-kəḡ-ḡataytūk vahēb. yʔəllu: lā xēr axī, anā kesəndək mā kəl-daqqaytu fī-yu, kēsətək. ayš kəl-ḡataytni ēk-ye, fəyḡa fəyḡa vahēb vahēb. damak⁴⁹⁹ kəḡ-ḡataytni fəyḡa kən-nəsīt.*
5. *yʔəllu: axī lā xēr anā aʕraf. kēnu xamsa mīt vahabe. yʔəllu: axī, ēke anā aʕndi, xamsa mīt fəyḡa. əš ... bāk!⁵⁰⁰ kəl-xawləttən. ē, ēš ysay, [...]. d-aqūm arō lal-qādi, yadaba l-maḡkame. yqūm yrō yəhtīyu l-maḡkame. ṭabī māā fī dalīl b-īdu. əšš tə-ysay? mō ytīq ysabbət⁵⁰¹ šīšāne aʕala ēf əz-zalame.*
6. *əl-qādi yʔəllu: ma tḡīp aw l-pārāt! əyḡībən. ēk əytallah šā l-pārāt. əytalləʕən šaʕluke faʕlān⁵⁰². ṭabi kəl-aḡar xaməstahš sane. yʔəllu: fəlān kass!⁵⁰³ yʔəllu: ayš? yʔəllu fəyḡa [...] kā kəl-ḡatāk ənne lā vahēb? əyʔəllu: kəl-ḡatāni fəyḡa. yʔəllu: iyy kəvp.*
7. *yʔəllu: mən ayy sap təʕraf fī kəvp? yʔəllu: aḡw l-pārāt lay kəl-ḡataytni tāārīxən uww qabəl lay aʕr əsnīn aʕalayən maktūp. ē, yaḡ..., damak ya⁵⁰⁴ ōl kən-nfataḡu u kən-nḡatt fī-yən, əh, lal-aš..., qabəl aʕšš əsnīn.*
8. *ḡalbəki⁵⁰⁵ āv əz-zalame qabəl xaməstahš sane kər-rā. ē baʕat l-xams əsnīn aššwan tə-yəḡi yḡətt fəl-kīs pārāt əḡdīt u tə-yrō? damak aḡwn ənt kəl-zalamt āāf əz-zalame. tə-tqūm təḡtīyu pārātu! uwwə am əyqūm yəhtīyu pārātu yrōḡu maʕ əs-salame.*

Text 4 (translation)

1. One day a man wanted to leave from a certain place here for Iraq. He had money. So he says to his friend: My brother, I am about to leave for Iraq; if it is possible I will give you my money as a deposit in trust to keep it for me.

⁴⁹⁹ Cf. Turk. *demek* “to say, so-called”.

⁵⁰⁰ Cf. Turk. *bak!* “look!”.

⁵⁰¹ Cf. Turk. *tespit etmek* “to prove”.

⁵⁰² Cf. Turk. *falan* “a certain person”. Cf. also OA *fulān* “substituting for an unnamed or unspecified person or thing”.

⁵⁰³ Cf. Turk. *herkes* “everybody”; here “someone”.

⁵⁰⁴ Cf. Turk. *ya* “either ... or”.

⁵⁰⁵ Cf. Turk. *halbuki* “but, however, whereas”.

2. And the friend answers: Let it be so. So he leaves. But (lit. of course) his commitments are delayed there. He could not return for one year, two years, three years, five years, ten years. He stays 15 years in Iraq.
3. After staying 15 years in Iraq, one day he returns and says to that person (he had put 500 golden coins in his trust at that time), he says: My brother, may God make things go easy for you, oh friend, I troubled you, now if it is possible, give me back that money of mine so I will put them in any business (lit. work in/with them).
4. The friend answers him: Let it be so. But instead of giving him back 500 golden coins he gives him back 500 silver coins. The man says to his friend: My brother, I gave you gold coins. The friend answers: No, (by goodness, brother,) I did not touch your purse. Whatever you gave me, that is it, if it was silver so it is silver and if it was gold so it is gold. But seemingly you gave me silver and you have forgotten that.
5. The man says to him: Brother, no, by goodness, I am sure. It was 500 golden coins. The friend answers: Brother, this is what I have, 500 silver coins. What! Look here, you have somehow mixed them up (the man said). So, what could the man do, [...]. I will go to the judge or to the court. So, the man drags his friend to the court. But he did not have any proof, though. What could he do? He cannot prove anything at all on this person.
6. The judge says to the friend: Bring me that money! The friend brings them. The judge examines the money. He examines them for a while. We should keep in mind that 15 years have gone by. The judge says to the friend: You there! The mate answers: What? The judge says: Was it silver that [...] he gave you or gold? The friend answers: He gave me silver. The judge says: This is a lie.
7. The friend asks: How do you know that this is a lie? The judge answers him: The date that is written on the money you gave me is from 10 years ago. This means that it (the purse) was open and the coins were replaced by coins from 10 years ago.
8. Whereas this man [?] left 15 years ago. So after these 5 years, how would he (the owner) return and put new money in the purse and leave again? This means that you treated this man unjustly. Give him his money back! The friend in his turn gives the man his money back and leaves from there in peace.

Text 5

Male informant living in Istanbul since 1992, 40-year-old.

1. *anā am ġītu məl-^caskariyye fəl-fēfe w əfmēnīn, alf w sa⁵⁰⁶ miyye fēfa w fmēnīn. əl-marḥūm wāladi qām axaf^carabat, sayyārat tranzīt, mən āva l-mönübüs⁵⁰⁷. baqa nrō w nəği fi-yu. nğip ins..., aww əl-insānāt nsayy, nḥammələn w ənğībən.*
2. *ṭalləhtu mā fi šəğəl, mō yəmši š-šəğəl. qəmtu ġītu l-^cAnqara daxaltu t-turkya patrullari, la-yə^cmal ^cal patrol⁵⁰⁸. ^camaltu sane. santayn kəntu qamp āmir⁵⁰⁹ ... āk əč-čēx. ba^cət faff əsnīn şərtu qamp āmir əs-s..., faff, ba^cət faff əsnīn şərtu qamp āmiri.*
3. *^camaltu fmən əsnīn. ṭabiki⁵¹⁰ şarṭāt lay kəl-araytu ^cənt ^aā^ciləti⁵¹¹ mā tqabbəltu ^cala āk əš-ši. mā qəbəltu āk əl-maḥall lay ysawaw awwak ^caraq, ički⁵¹² mički mää, mää ^cəndi anā. ^carafi? ^cayp uwwə šēnna.*
4. *alf w təsa^c miyye wēḥət w təs^cin aṭalla ġää wēḥət məş-Ştambül. ^aāl ḥāl w əl-ḥawāl iyy k-əli markēt⁵¹³ fə-Ştambül. taw tə-nsir anā w əntən ma^c ḥə^cəyna ortāq⁵¹⁴! Maḥmūd u Sa^cit kəğ-ğaw əğdīt məl-^caskariyye.*
5. *aşwam də-nsayy? ^aəl: axī, əşqatt fi maḥkən pāṛāt? kən kəl-axavna otobōs⁵¹⁵ ba^cd əl-mönübüs. kə-kəs-saytuhu ^cala əsəm Sa^cit əl-otobōs, mə-lə-ğbār. ^aəltu fi ma^cna haq-qat pāṛāt. anā w zawč əxti kən lisa möduri⁵¹⁶ fi Başqar fi Wēn. zawč əxti nḥaṭa stihfa.*
6. *ṭalla ayş ġā r-rāsna! ka-ma^cna falfa miyye w xamsin milyōn. əd-dōlar kəən b-arbaḥ tālāf waraqa fəl-alf w təsa^c miyye wēḥəd w təs^cin, mīt alf dōlar. ġina ləş-Ştambül, ṭabi lā bayt ləna lā ši ləna. əl-bayt əl-ləna, əl-bayt mā-lna. ġəbna əl-bayt mən ^cAnqara. qə^cədna fi bayt āva lay y^aül də-nsir maḥkən ortāq fəl-markēt.*

⁵⁰⁶ Cf. *təsa^c* (*miyye*) “nine (hundred)”.

⁵⁰⁷ Cf. Turk. *minibüs* “small bus”.

⁵⁰⁸ Cf. Turk. *petrol* “petroleum, oil”.

⁵⁰⁹ Cf. Turk. *kamp* “camp”. *āmir* second borrowing. Cf. Turk. *emir* “leader”.

⁵¹⁰ Cf. Turk. *tabii + ki* “naturally + that”.

⁵¹¹ Note the metathesis.

⁵¹² Cf. Turk. *ički* “liquor, drink”.

⁵¹³ Cf. Turk. (*süper*) *market* “(super)market”.

⁵¹⁴ Cf. Turk. *ortak* “partner”.

⁵¹⁵ Cf. Turk. *otobüs* “bus”.

⁵¹⁶ Cf. Turk. *lise + müdür* “director of an upper secondary school”.

7. *ašwam dā-nsīr?* ʔāäl: *hāl w əl-ḥawāl, əšqatt fī-ya mēl lə-markēt tə-thəttu, nəqşəmu. əšqatt uww bəd-dayn w əšqatt uww pešīn*⁵¹⁷ *tə-təhtaw aq-qaṭ pāṛāt w šī la-yəbqa ləxx dā-nsayy šəğəl ləxx fī-yən.*
8. *bāʿəd arbʿīn yawm, bāʿəd arbʿīn yawm ġāp ər-rāsna ēke bala ääva z-zalame, bāʿəd arbʿīn yawm. mā şərna orṭāq aṃa kəl-ʿaṭaynāhu l-pāṛāt əmme. ənn fī ġaybu. məş-şabāḥ zawč əxti yrō ynēm, yrō ddēm bayt əbnu məşxāt tayəḥīna pāṛāt mō yəḥṭīyan. hā ġade, hā bāʿəd ġade,*⁵¹⁸ *hā ġade, hā bāʿəd ġade, arbʿīn yawm bəqīna fə-Şṭambūl ēke bala šəğəl w bala ʿamēl. twağğəʿna.*
9. *an-naqle axū əstaḥa qarşiyətu. axū ʔāl yāwo madamki*⁵¹⁹ *kəs-sawa al-yarbe, qām fī Aqsaray kān fī markēt, tabi mō nəʿrəf, anā māmor*⁵²⁰ *, əxwəti kəğ-ğaw məl-ʿaskariyye, ət-tiğāra, mō nəʿrəf əşniy ət-tiğāra nəḥne.*⁵²¹
10. *de l-awn w l-awn qām axavəlna m markēt. əb-əşqāt?* ʔəlna fī maʿna *mīt alf dōlar. ʿala gorāt*⁵²² *əl-mīt alf dōlar sawawlna šəğəl nəḥne! azyad mō ntīq nəḥne. ʔālu: lā, ēke mō ysīr. tə-təhtaw mīt alf dōlar w tə-tdaynu mīt alf dōlar əmme.*
11. *ašwam nəndēn?* *şarmāyətī kəlla ʿatəyṭuwa. mā fī maʿi ḥaqq kərə d-aḥṭi šā l-bayt. mā fī maʿi ḥaqq akəl d-ağīb əl-bayt. kəlla ʿayəyṭuwa. əb-əzən alla taʿāla fəd-doqsan bīr*⁵²³ *āk əl-mīt alf dōlar bāʿat sətt taşşōr kəş-şa^hr baqa aḥṭi xamsīn milyōn, xamsīn milyōn taqşīt.*⁵²⁴
12. *bāʿət ʿayəyṭuwa şaffərtu ʿAbdəlləḥḥad. mā bəqi şəşşāne maʿna. bāʿəd āyak şāḥap əd-dəkkēn, şāḥap əl-məlk qām ʿatāna l-maḥkame. fargū dəkkēni! bāʿət sane fataḥ ʿalayna daʿwe. hāq qazzan*⁵²⁵ *maḥkame. bāʿəd la-qazzəna bəqīna fən-nəşş.*
13. *qəmtu məşxāṭar āk əz-zalame ysakkən ʿataytūhu mīt alf, mīt məlyōn āk əč-čəx turki šā āva əz-zalame. bəqīna fī-ya. ġā d-doqsan dōrt*⁵²⁶ *,*

⁵¹⁷ Cf. Turk. *peşin* “paid in advance”.

⁵¹⁸ Expression used when someone is hoping for something to happen soon.

⁵¹⁹ Cf. Turk. *mademki* “since, while”.

⁵²⁰ Second borrowing. Cf. Turk. *memur* “official, employee”.

⁵²¹ The sentence is not complete.

⁵²² Cf. Turk. *ona göre* “according to that”.

⁵²³ Cf. Turk. *doksan bir* “ninety-one”.

⁵²⁴ Second borrowing. Cf. Turk. *taksit* “instalment, payment plan”.

⁵²⁵ Cf. Turk. *kazanmak* “to win, gain”.

⁵²⁶ Cf. Turk. *dört* “four”.

alf w tāsʿa miyye w arbʿa tāsʿin əqrīs⁵²⁷ āk əč-čēx fət-Turkiya. kān fī ʿalay dənūn fəff talāf, arbaḥ talāf dōlar. kān b-ʿašš talāf warqa šār arbʿin alf.

14. *twaḡēḥ twaḡəḥt⁵²⁸ bowš kōti⁵²⁹ āk əč-čēx. əma əl-əmkēnēt ēke sawaw. əl-vergi⁵³⁰ m-mawqah bəqi ʿalay mā dəqtu nāyyəmtū. əş-şəḡōrta⁵³¹ mā dəqtu nāyyəmtuwa. w al-ḥāşəli bowš məşkāl. santayn mā təqtu ʿaṭaytu kərət bayti. əbən ʿamməti ʿaṭāha.*
15. *uwwe baʿafli ḥaqq yaqaḡāq⁵³² šā, lay nəşʿəl, al-nār, al-māzōt⁵³³ da-nʿūl, uwwe sawēli uwwe w ḥaqq kərēti uwwe ʿaṭāhu. fəl-alf., baʿəd la-l-marḥūm wālədi twaffa b-sane bəḥtu əd-dəkkēn lay fī Aksaray, bale, bəḥtuwa.*
16. *ṭabiki, āk əč-čēx kā-fī ʿalay əfmən məlyārāt dayn, ʿAbdəlʿaḥḥad, tərki. səḥtu n-nēs kəl-ʿaytuwən pāṛātān. əşqatt bəqi maʿi? bəqi maʿi fəff məlyārāt pāṛāt. ʿaṭaytu məlyārāyn šān ʿaraba pēşin axaftuwa w daxaltu ṭ-ṭaqşit⁵³⁴. bəqi maʿi məlyār şarmāye⁵³⁵.*
17. *fī āk əl-məlyār hēdi, hēdi kun-nəbram hayyā ma-ḡina l-awn. āv uww. raḥmatu lla ʿala wāldayk. yaʿni ʿal-ayş aḡiba? lay kənnā fə-Təllo kān ḥayāt ṭayyap. ṭabiki nəḥne əş-şəḣta ayşniy mō nəşraf. yaʿni mā kəl-arayna mən, mən sulālətna. yaʿni əl-ʿAbbasiyye kəttna⁵³⁶ nəḥne ēke.*

Text 5 (translation)

1. I too came back from the military service in 83, 1983. My father, may God have mercy with him, then bought a car, a transit car, a minibus. We started to drive the minibus here and there. We used to drive people, take (lit. load) them here and there.
2. I observed then that there was no work, this won't do. So I left and came to Ankara and worked at Turkish Petroleum, where one works

⁵²⁷ Cf. Turk. *kriz* “crisis”.

⁵²⁸ Note the lack of *-u* in *-tu*.

⁵²⁹ Cf. Turk. *kötü* “bad, evil”.

⁵³⁰ Cf. Turk. *vergi* “tax, duty”.

⁵³¹ Cf. Turk. *sigorta* “insurance”.

⁵³² Cf. Turk. *yakacak* “fuel”.

⁵³³ Cf. Turk. *mazot* “diesel oil, fuel oil”.

⁵³⁴ Cf. Turk. *taksit* “instalment, payment plan”.

⁵³⁵ Cf. Turk. *sermaye* “capital”.

⁵³⁶ Cf. *kəllətna* “all of us”.

with petrol. I worked one year. In two years I became a camp-leader ... after three years I became a camp-leader, three, after three years I became a camp-leader.

3. I worked there eight years. But there were some living conditions that did not suit me and my family. I could not accept using or going to places where raki, alcohol and similar drinks are used. Do you know what I mean? This is shameful for us.
4. In 1991 (I saw) a man that came from Istanbul. He said: This is how the situation is, I have a supermarket in Istanbul. Come and let us be partners together! Mahmud and Sait had recently finished the military service.
5. How shall we do? He said: Brother, how much money do you have? At that time we had bought a big bus, after the minibus. I had registered the big bus in Said's name. I said: We have this much money. I meant me and my brother-in-law who was a director of an upper secondary school in Bashqar in Van. My brother-in-law had requested for (lit. was given) resignation.
6. Look now what happened to us! We had 350 million. One dollar made 4,000 TL in 1991, i.e. 100,000 dollars. We moved to Istanbul and of course we had no house nor any place to stay. Where we lived was not our house. We moved from Ankara and stayed with the man who wanted to be partner in the supermarket with us.
7. How shall we do? He said: We do like this, how much does the material cost, you will pay for half of it, we share it. You will pay what is loaned and what is cash and for the rest of the money we will make other business.
8. After 40 days, (just) after 40 days this man caused us huge problems, after 40 days. We never became partners but we had given him the money. It were already in his pocket. Every morning my brother-in-law goes and sleeps, goes in front of the house of the man's son for the sake of giving us the money back but the man refuses to give them. Maybe tomorrow or after tomorrow, tomorrow or after tomorrow. We stayed 40 days in Istanbul without any job or work. We suffered.
9. Now the man's brother felt ashamed instead. He said: Since my brother did this bad business with you, so there was a supermarket in Aksaray, we know, of course, nothing because I have been an offi-

cial and my brothers have recently finished the military service, we know nothing about business.

10. He started to ask here and there and eventually he bought us a supermarket. How much? We said that we have 100 thousand dollars. According to the 100 thousand dollars make us (2.c.pl.!) a business! We are not able to do business for more than that. They said: No, this is not enough. You will pay 100 thousand dollars and you will loan 100 thousand more.
11. How shall we borrow? I gave already all my capital. I don't have money to pay the rent of my house. I don't have money to buy food and bring home. I gave (invested) everything. With God, the Sublime's will, in 91 that 100 thousand dollars, just after six months I started to pay instalment, 50 million and 50 million every month.
12. After I had paid back all the money I was totally broke, Ablahad. We had nothing at all left. After that the owner of the supermarket, the landlord sued us. He said: Leave (lit. empty) my shop! One year after we started he sued us. That man won the lawsuit. When he won the lawsuit we were put in a hard position.
13. So for the sake of calming down the landlord I gave him 100 thousand, 100 million TL at that time. We stayed in the supermarket. In 94, 1994 there was a crisis in Turkey. I a had debt of three thousand, four thousand dollars. One dollar made 10 thousand TL and during the crisis became 40 thousand TL.
14. I suffered very badly at that time. But those were the possibilities at that time. I was behind with the payment of taxes. I was not able to pay the insurance fee. In short, there were many problems. For two years I was not able to pay the rent of my house. My cousin paid it.
15. My cousin sent me also money for the fuel that we light, the fire, diesel oil, let us say that, he helped me with that and the rent of my house, he paid it. In 1.., one year after my father, may God have mercy with him, died I sold the shop in Aksaray, yes, I sold it.
16. At that time I had debt for 8 billion, TL, Ablahad. I gathered the people I borrowed money from and gave them back their money. How much did I have left? I had three billion TL left. I gave two billion in advance for a car and the rest I paid in instalment. I had one billion TL left as capital.

17. With that billion slowly, slowly the business goes on until now. This is it. May God have mercy with your parents. So why do I mention this? Therefore when we were in Tillo life was better. Naturally we do not know what theft is. That is because we haven't seen such a thing in our family. We, the Abbasids are all like this.

Text 6

Male informant living in Istanbul since 1992, 40-year-old.

1. *sayyædi Faqîru llâh rahîma llâhu ‘anh kâân êke zat. fî waqt əl-‘uşmāniyya şultān bringî Maḥmūt kəl-ba‘afļu farmān əy’əllu: yā Faqîru llāh, ənt u zurriyətak məd-dawle mō təḥṭi vergi, mō tsayy ‘askariyye, şî ş-şāne mō tsayy, əy’əllu. w kəs-sane d-d., mən xazînat dawlat əl-‘uşmāniyya fəl-miyye xamse iyye şā sulālətak, əy’əllu.*
2. *çünki nəḥne kənnə ‘al-‘ələm. sulālətnə, kətnə kənnə ‘al-‘ələm nəḥne. təbiki ba‘ət lay ğətt əğ-ğəmhūriyye qaṭa‘ūwa mən ‘alayna nəḥne, ba‘ət lay ğəmhūriyye. am̄ma l-farmānāt mawğūdīn ənnə. əl-farmānāt ənn mawğūdīn əs-saḥ, lay şultān birinği Maḥmūt ha..., bi-Təllo ənnən. ənn ‘ənədna.*
3. *təbiki rā yawm ğā yawm. sayyædi Faqîru llā əyqūm şultān Maḥmūt yəb‘afļu ğäärya u ğääri, rağal u mara u yəb‘afļu ğaməl, n’əllu nəḥne, ğaməl həməl vahēp. əy’əllu: yā Faqîru llāh, fî flān⁵³⁷ tārīx fî Ştambūl kəş-şār flān wāq‘a. kəl-araynāk əb-nazar aḥnak day⁵³⁸ kəṭ-tafayt āk əş-şī ənt, y’əllu yā Faqîru llāh. uww aş-şī uww şānak āva l-xəşūş.*
4. *awwəl mā yəlḥaq əl-īdu, sayyædi Faqîru llāh yāxav əğ-ğāri w əğ-ğārye, yəqbələn u həml əl-vahēp yəb‘afu ğāri⁵³⁹. y’əllu: anā əsmi uww Faqîru llāh, anā faqīr aḷla y’əllu. anā mā-li ḥaqq da-āxav av-vahēp. w əs-saḥ āk əğ-ğārye w əğ-ğāri ənnə aḥn mawğūdīn fî Təllo. ləhən awlēt. yəḥsəbu rōḥan mən Faqîru llāh ənnə am. ‘Abbasiyye y’ūlu nəḥne. şāru ‘arap ənnə.*
5. *ənn ‘arap əs-saḥ. əs-saḥ lān⁵⁴⁰ fî ḥawla l-mīt bayt ənn mən aḥlak. zurriyye êke gəz-zdādet fî arba‘ mīt sane, mīt bayt.*

⁵³⁷ Cf. Turk. *falan* “so and so, and so on, and such”.

⁵³⁸ Most probably the speaker means *lay* here.

⁵³⁹ Cf. Turk. *geri* “back, backward”.

⁵⁴⁰ Cf. *ləhən* “they have”.

6. *yaʿni fi Təllo əl-ḥayāt qabəl ʿəššīn, xamsa w ʿəššīn sane kān bowš aḥsan men əs-saḥa. əs-saḥa Təllo nxalaṭaṭ. ašwam əs-saḥ əwn fət-Turkya nxalaṭaṭ əl-masale əwnak am ʿayn əš-ši. ənxalaṭaṭ Təllo.*
7. *ənn ka-nəḥne kənnā sāğ Xālədiyye w ʿAbbāsiyye u kānu əw əl-kurmanč lay kəğ-ğaw mən qabəl taht id Faqīru llāh w šayx Mğāhəd yəxdəmūwən əwnak. kēnu āk əč-čəx əwłak mā kān fi aḥt ləxx.*
8. *... čünki wāləd wālədi mən əs-Səʿūdi yəği əl-, əz-Zīre⁵⁴¹ mən Zīre yəği l-Hilāla u mən Hilāla hēš yəği ət-Təllo. baʿət lay yəği fi Təllo yətmakkan fi Təllo.*
9. *mən āk əğ-ğiha s-saḥ fə-lay kə-nxalaṭaṭ Təllo kəl-mən uwwe, šā mən ʿūl ‘anā təlləwēni’ yʿūl, ‘anā mən Təllo’ ḥalbuki⁵⁴² mō uw..., ašlu mō mən Təllo. s-saḥ bowš insānāt ğaw la-l-marḥūm ʿammi, kān məfti, ʿālūlu: tīna⁵⁴³ šağara da-nbarri nəḥne mən flān mawqaḥ! ʿallan: qaṭʿiyyan⁵⁴⁴. əntən ašəlkan uww balli⁵⁴⁵, yaʿni mō dēq aʿəllak ənt mən əflān kass⁵⁴⁶.*
10. *čünki nəḥne vālədna⁵⁴⁷ hayyā l-ʿAbbās, raḍiya llāhu ʿanh, anā fəl-ərbʿīn alḥaq əl-ʿAbbās, raḍiya llāhu ʿanhu. fəl-ərbʿīn app alḥaq əl-ʿAbbās raḍiya llāhu ʿanhu. yaʿni mawğūt uww əwn. əs-saḥ maktūbīn ənne kəlla. Aḥmad əbən malla Naşrulla, malla Naşrulla əbən malla ʿAbdəll ʿAzīz, malla ʿAbdəll ʿAzīz əbən malla Aḥmat, malla Aḥmat əbən malla Fahīm trō hēke hayyā l-ərbʿīn app. kəlla trō ēke. kəlla trō.*

Text 6 (translation)

1. My great-grandfather Faqīru llāh, may God have mercy upon him, was such a personality [continuation from an earlier text in the corpus]. During the Ottoman empire, Sultan Mahmut I sent him an imperial edict, saying: O Faqīru llāh, you and all your offspring will not pay taxes to the empire, you are excused from the military service, you are excused from all duties (that have to do with the em-

⁵⁴¹ Cizre, a town in south-east Turkey.

⁵⁴² Cf. Turk. *halbuki* “whereas, however, nevertheless”.

⁵⁴³ Cf. *ʿīna* “give us”.

⁵⁴⁴ Second borrowing. Cf. Turk. *katiyen* “absolutely”.

⁵⁴⁵ Cf. Turk. *belli* “evident, obvious, known”.

⁵⁴⁶ Cf. Turk. *-kes* as in *herkes* “everyone”.

⁵⁴⁷ Note the shift *w* to *v*.

pire). Every year your family will receive five per cent from the public treasury of the Ottoman empire.

2. Because we had dedicated ourselves to education. The whole of our family had dedicated themselves to education. Of course, after the building of the republic they stopped sending us that, after the building of the republic. But the imperial edicts are still there. The imperial edicts that Sultan Mahmut I sent (to my great-grandfather) still exist today, they are in Tillo. We have them.
3. The days went by. So (one day) Sultan Mahmut sends a maid and a servant, a man and a woman to my great-grandfather Faqīru llāh and he also sends him a camel, we say camel, a camel-load of gold. The sultan says: Oh Faqīru llāh, on this and that date there was an occurrence in Istanbul. We saw you in a vision there that you extinguished that thing, thus the sultan said. This (gift) is for you because of that.
4. As soon as the gifts come to my great-grandfather, Faqīru llāh, he accepts the maid and the servant but the load of gold, he sends it back. He says: My name is Faqīru llāh, I am a poor servant of God, thus he says. I have no right to accept this gold. Today that maid and servant are here in Tillo. They have children. They too consider themselves as descending from Faqīru llāh. They say we are Abbasides. They became Arabs.
5. They are Arabs now. Today there are approximately 100 families from those (maid and servant). The family increased in 400 years, 100 families.
6. 20, 25 years ago life in Tillo was much better than now. Today Tillo has been mixed up (with other people). The way Turkey is a mixture of people, there too it is the same. Tillo has been mixed up.
7. (The people who were there were) we, the Xalidies and Abbasides, and there were these Kurds that had come earlier to serve Faqīru llāh and Sheik Mugahid, to serve them there. This was it at that time, there was no other people.
8. ... because my father's father (meaning great-grandfather) comes from Saudi Arabia to Cizre and from Cizre he comes to Hilala and eventually from Hilala he comes to Tillo. When he comes to Tillo he settles down there.

9. Just because Tillo has been mixed up, whoever you may ask, ‘I am from Tillo’ he says, ‘I am from Tillo’ whereas he is no..., originally he is not from Tillo. A lot of people came to my uncle who was Mufti, may God have mercy with him, and said: Give us a family tree to show that we originate from this and that place! He answered them: Never. Your origin is known and I cannot say that you originate from this and that family.
10. Because our father till (in 40 fathers comes from) Abbas, may God be pleased with him, there are 40 fathers between me and Abbas, may God be pleased with him, there are 40 fathers between me and Abbas, may God be pleased with him. This is documented. All this is documented. Ahmad son of mullah Nasrulla, mullah Nasrulla son of mullah Abdul Aziz, mullah Abdul Aziz son of mullah Ahmat, mullah Ahmat son of mullah Fahim and so on until 40 fathers. It goes on like this. It goes on.

Text 7

Male informant, M. 33-year-old, his mother, H. 51-year-old and his sister, S. 35-year-old, all living in Istanbul since 1993.

This text is included to give an idea of women’s speech.

1. M- *əxti, ma ənti m taʿay ɣwne əxti! əxti ma taʿay ɣwne əxti!*
2. S- *sayy karam axī!*
3. M- *əs-saḥ ɣwle la stağbärtu šā əmmi d-astağbərən šānki mmēni.*
4. S- *bale, sayy karam!*
5. M- *ənti m⁵⁴⁸ mən əŞtanbül. fī ḥaqq əŞtanbül fī ḥaqq Təllo əşş rʿülü?*
6. S- *fī ḥaʷ əŞtanbül, fī ḥaʷ Təllo əşş aʷül?*
7. M- *yaʿni Təllo aṭyap əmma Ştanbül aṭyap?*
8. S- *ṭabi kā-kəl-gəbərna fī Təllo, kān kəl-ʿəşna ɣwnak Təllo kēnat aṭyap šēnna. aṃa s-sāḥa nəḥne ɣwne, kət-rʿalləmna ɣwne. ɣwne mmēni yğilna ṭayyap. nəḥne mažbūrīn xalf əğbayzna nrō.*

⁵⁴⁸ Cf. *ham* “also”.

9. M- *tayi*⁵⁴⁹ *əwne məl-lə-qrayyap əgray šā ...!* (M. talks to his son) *ğibli tabliyye šī lağ-ğəgāra!*
10. S- *ēh, s-saħa baħs əŞtanbül də-nsawi?*
11. M- *bale.*
12. S- *əs-sāħa nəħne fī-ya rēkzīn nəħne mażbūrīn da-nħəbba. šā ayş da-nħəbba? ənki*⁵⁵⁰ *baytna uww fī-ya, ğbayzna fī-ya yətlah, akəlna mənna yətlah, ənʿīş fī-ya, nəħba tabi. aħa masala mamlakətna iyy atyap. uwwə waṭanna, iyy mamlakətna. əwnak kəl-ʿəşna, əwnak kəl-ğəbərna s-sāħa mmēne əwne həmmēne ğbayzna yətlah əwne, əwne nəħne mażbūrīn də-nʿīş əwne. s-sāħa ku-nəħne əwne. əwn uww m tayyap, yaʿne mā wwe çərək*⁵⁵¹ *. aħa tabi mamlakətna kēnat atyap.*
13. M- *Təllo iyy atyap?*
14. S- *tabi.*
15. M- *ənti akfar tətləʿi l-barra mas..., mən əmmi w tədxəli ğ-ğawwa?*
16. S- *tabi, tabi anā akfar atlah.*
17. M- *aşwam əttəşşi dūrūm əŞtanbül, dūrūm*⁵⁵² *əl-məlle?*
18. S- *walla ʿab..., ʿabale ʿaşr əsnīn ğīna lə-Ştanbül, ʿabale ʿaşr əsnīn əŞtanbül kēnat akwas, kēnat atyap. əs-sāħa bowş kəl-xərbat əŞtanbül. šī mō yəçi əl-məştara. kəll aş-şī kəl-ğəli. masala t..., wəħat əyrōħ əl-pāzār əyhīr f-əşş də-yəştəri, əşş də-yəllah. əl-məlle kəlla kəl-ħēru. əl-lawmə kər-rəħtu l-pāzār bowş nēs kəl-araytuwan yaʿni haman haman yəbkaw. ği..., Ştanbül bowş bowş kəl-ğəlyət. mēl kəl-ğəli, l-akəl kəl-ğəli. əşqət fī šī kəl-ğəli. mää kəl-ħəʿa šī kama la-wəħət, masala mara tətlah əl-pāzār, ʿabal ʿaşr əsnīn kəğ-ğītu lə-Ştanbül kə-atlah əl-pāzār fī milyōn kə-ağīp kəll aş-şī. əs-sah atlah fī ʿəşşīn milyōn mō ğīp ʿatt nəşş la- kə-ağīp fī milyōn. aħa l-məlle kəlla ənne haʿli*⁵⁵³ *çənki Turkiya həla uwwə bowş xarəp.*

⁵⁴⁹ Cf. *taʿay!* “come! (f.sg.)”.

⁵⁵⁰ Cf. the Turkish suffix *-ki* “the one that”.

⁵⁵¹ Cf. Turk. *çürük* “bad, rotten”.

⁵⁵² Cf. Turk. *durum* “state, situation, condition”.

⁵⁵³ Note the /ʿ/ as a result of an original Turkish /k/.

19. M- *aṃa ḥkayna ʿala Təllo! fī Təllo əšš kā-fī əšš mā kā-fī?*
20. S- *fī Təllo əšš kā-fī? fī Təllo, waḷḷa Təllo kēnat bowš əkwayse, bowš ʔaybe aṃa ka-ləha fart səxənti⁵⁵⁴ ka-ləna mən Təllo: ṃayy mā ka-ləna.*
21. M- *ṃayye?*
22. S- *ṃayy mā ka-ləna. āk, səxəntīna kān āk. bida⁵⁵⁵ šəgəl mā kā-fī. masala mā kā-fī šəgəl, axwəti kā-də-ysawu šəgəl mā kā-fī šəgəl. abī kā-də-ysawi šəgəl mā kā-fī šəgəl. abī kā-yrōḥ əl-ayyōḥ əysay šəgəl. kā-ywaddi mēl kā-ygīp. kā-yrō ʔwnak əysawi šəgəl. axwəti mā kā-fī šəgəl. kā-yəyrəw⁵⁵⁶ maktab bəz-zōr. bowš bəl-, zōr ʔaraw maktep masala. aṃa nəḥne ʔabi n-nəswēn ʿalayna fār⁵⁵⁷ mā kān fī ...*
23. M- *əz-zōr la-ʔūli uwwe z-zahme mää ēke?*
24. S- *uww zahme, bale. kān bowš zahme. yaʿne bez-zahme ʔaraw mak-tēb, bəl-kōtək⁵⁵⁸ yaʿni. aṃa iyy gina⁵⁵⁹ lə-ḥamdu lə-llā əs-saḥḥa ḍuruman uww kwayyəs yəʿməlu, yəžgəlu. ʔabi fī Təllo nəḥne n-nəswēn ʿalayna fār mā kā-fī. kənnə gəwwēt əl-bayt. āwnak ʿənədna nəḥne sōp..., asfēl mää fī. barra mää fī. masala dəkkēn uwwe, šə..., barra uwwe mara mā trōḥ əl-barra. mō təštəri šī. mō tēxav šī. kəlla l-lə-rğēl ysawa. yaʿni ʿənədna uww ʿayp. mara ...*
25. H- *uww ʿayp ʿənədna, uww ʿayp nəḥne. nəswēn w ərğēl mää kā-yərkəzu ʿənd baʿyən, fī şəḥbat ḥəyən.*
26. S- *nəḥne ʿənədna nəswēn w ərğēl mō yərkəzu fī fard şəḥbe. mō yāklū fī faʿar⁵⁶⁰ şəfra. masala ən-nəswēn yēklū fī əlli⁵⁶¹ āyri, əlli ḥāšʔa, l-lə-rğēl əlli ḥāšʔa. masala ʿənədna n-nəswēn hīč mō yəḷtəu dēm əl-lə-rğēl bala gdaym⁵⁶², yazmay⁵⁶³ ʔaynlahu? ysawaw sēwi mənədīlən*

⁵⁵⁴ Cf. Turk. *sıkıntı* “discomfort, trouble”.

⁵⁵⁵ Cf. Turk. *bide/birde* “in any case, so (filling word)”.

⁵⁵⁶ Cf. *yəraw* “they studied”.

⁵⁵⁷ *far* “difference”.

⁵⁵⁸ Cf. Kur. *kotek* “beating, by force”.

⁵⁵⁹ No meaning, the informant’s brother could not remember what his sister said. Probably the Turkish word *yine* “again”.

⁵⁶⁰ The informant’s brother wants this word to be pronounced *fart* “one, the same”.

⁵⁶¹ Cf. *ʿulliyā* “upper room, upstairs room”. Cf. also CS. *qēle* “room, chamber”, (Lat. *cella*)

⁵⁶² Local use “socks”.

ysawawən əs-səwē. čəwēri nəlbes, xəwēli. yaʿni ʿənədna bənt tšēr arbatahš sane an faz..., an bowš xaməstahš sane təlbes čēriyye w xēliyye, an azyat mā fī yaʿni. tətlaḥ əs-səttahš sane uww bowš ʿayp nəḥne ʿənədna.

27. H- *uww ḥarām.*

28. S- *uww ḥarām. yaʿni ʿənədna mō yrōḥ ēke šī.*

29. M- *fī Ştanbül aḥwle ʿayni tsawawēⁿ?*

30. S- *yā, s-sāḥa ʿayni nsayyen aḥa Ştanbül masala ʿayni mā nsayn. masala əmmi təlbes ham čēriyye aḥa ma-yy čēriyyət mamlakətna təlbes. təlbes čēriyyat aḥwne. mō thətt xēliyye⁵⁶⁴. aḥa nəḥne aḥw əl-ğəḥəl kəllətna nəlbēs maḥṭowāt.⁵⁶⁵ ab..., garči⁵⁶⁶..., bale nəfel rūsna. nəḥne maʿfūlīn. maḥṭowātna ənn əḥwāl fəlān, aḥa nəḥne fəl-maḥ ḥṭowāt nəḥʿa, fəl-šarpāt⁵⁶⁷ əndōr, fəl-maḥṭowāt əndōr. ka-aḥwne uww ēke. wēḥət ayy sapp əyrō yrō ʿala āk əl-ʿēde.*

31. H- *aḥa ḡawwēt əl-bayt ham ʿayni kama t-Təllo nəḥne ...*

32. S- *am kama, ḡawwāt əl-bayt nəḥne ʿayni kama Təllo nəḥne. yaʿni mää ʿalayna farʿ mää fī hā..., nəḥne fī Təllo. ḡawwēt əl-bayt ham bəl-ʿarabi nəgri ham kama mamlakətna nəḥne. aʿkəlna, šərabna hīč mā kət-tḡayyar šī. ʿərfna, ʿādətna hīč mā kət-tḡayyar šī šāne⁵⁶⁸. masa..., fə-mamlakətna ašwam kənnə aḥw am nəḥne ēke. akəl əysīr, šərap əysīr, dawarān əysīr masala ne bilim⁵⁶⁹, daʿwe ysīr taʿziyye ysīr əšš lay ysīr ʿayni kama lay l-mamlake iyye. yaʿni mā kət-tḡayyar šī ʿalayna nəḥne.*

33. M- *la-tswaw ḥawne⁵⁷⁰ d-daʿwe, daʿwet Təllo əšš farqat fī baynēten?*

34. S- *bale, waḷḷa haman haman mā fī šī farʿ. aḥa ašwam aʿūl ...*

⁵⁶³ Cf. Turk. *yazma* “hand printed kerchief”. The word is used here to denote a head kerchief for women that is used under the scarf and that is used to make sure that nothing of the hair is visible.

⁵⁶⁴ Cf. Turk. *havlu* and Kur. *xewlî* “towel, veil”.

⁵⁶⁵ Cf. Turk. *manto* “woman’s coat”.

⁵⁶⁶ Cf. Turk. *gerçi* “although, though”.

⁵⁶⁷ Cf. Turk. *eşarp* “scarf”.

⁵⁶⁸ Local phrase that means “nothing at all”.

⁵⁶⁹ Cf. Turk. *ne bileyim* “what do I know”.

⁵⁷⁰ Note the initial *h* of the demonstrative.

35. H- *awne l-āfār uww yaɣyaʔ*.
36. S- *awne āfār uww bowš yaɣyaʔ. awnak ka-ləna žnaynēt. ka-ləna dēm abwēp kēn wasih. ka-ləna žnaynēt w ka-ləna ašatih. ka-ləna štayhāt. fə..., awne ēke mā fi.*
37. H- *ka-ləna hawš, hawš əgbir.*
38. S- *ka-ləna hušēn. masala ka-ləna hawš əgbir, əmmi w xēlēti w nəswēn əmēmi w flān kā-ysawaw awnak akəl, šərap kā-yhayru, kā-ysawaw. əl-ga..., əl-ğəhəl əmmən kəllətən ka-y..., yəbşətu ş-şəfrāt. ər..., əl-ganğin⁵⁷¹ əl-rğəl kā-yəbşətu šā lə-rğəl w ən-nswēn kā-yəbşətu šā n-nswēn. awnak akfar kənnə rāha; akfar kən ēvi ... awne nn kā-sayna daʔwe ši byūtna mən lay ənne zğēr nəh..., nəššawəš nəhḥir⁵⁷² əšš də-nsawi.*
39. M- *əšš ətsawaw?*
40. S- *awne? walla^hi daʔwətayn la-əxwəti saynēhan fəl-bayt. aḡa bōš kən, yaʔni bōš bōš zahme sayna. bale ääf axi l-ləxxe fəş-şālōn⁵⁷³ sayyēhu, daʔwətu fəş-şālōn saynēha, barra yaʔni. aḡa mā ftahamna mənna ši š-šāne mmēni. sa..., sanki⁵⁷⁴ mā kənət ləna. kənət lal-ğərp. kəllətna rəkəzna fi āfārna aḡhat mənənəna mā ʔām mā rəʔaş mā rāh mā ḡa.*
41. H- *kānu ḡərba mā ʔəḡna bəynētən.⁵⁷⁵*
42. S- *kānu ḡərba. ər-rğəl kēnu āyri ham nəhne kənnə. taḡām, kənnə maʔfūlin, kənnə äävi aḡa mää kā-yəḡi əh, mää kən fi ši sənnətna mō yrōh, fi ʕədətna fi turātna mō trō. aḡa mən mažbūriyye. baytna kən yaɣyaʔ mää təʔna saynēha ḡawwēt əl-bayt. mažbūriyye saynēha fəş-şālōn.*
43. M- *fəş-şālōn sawaytəna?*
44. S- *bale.*

⁵⁷¹ Cf. Tur. *genç* “young”.

⁵⁷² Cf. CA *hāra* “to become confused, helpless”.

⁵⁷³ Cf. Turk. *salon* “hall, salon”.

⁵⁷⁴ Cf. Turk. *sanki* “as if, as though, supposing that”.

⁵⁷⁵ The bride is Turkish and hence the expression “they were strangers”.

45. M- *ənn k̄ā-šār ən-našīp ənti mmēni kama əmmi trīdi trōhi ət-Təllo?*
46. S- *ənn ka-alla sawa ən-našīp axwəti t̄āʷu ʔalaʕu mən haʔ rōhan, ʔaw⁵⁷⁶ fatah̄ūlən šəğəl, ʔaw banawlən əbyūt, inšālla.*
47. M- *trīdi ənti mmēni?*
48. S- *tabi muṭlaqa. inšālla, kəll ənsēn əyrīt waṭanu, əyrīt mamlakətu, əyrīt arɣu. yaʕni kama arɣna hīč mā fī fə-ši mawɣaʕ, fī hawāha ham fī kəlla ši. šadeğe ləha fart əš-šiyyayn: məyy w šəğəl mā ləha. kəš-ši fī-ya aṃa məyy u šəğəl mā ləha.*
49. H- *nəhne fə-Ştanbūl nəhne fəl-kəre. Təllo uww bētna, uwwə karəmma iyy žnaynətna. Təllo uww, nəhne sarbastīn aʷne nəhne fəl-kəre. šaʕūka d-dāʔira nəmsak əf-məyyi w xamsīn milyōn šaʕūka d-dāʔira alliyayn u huwwə⁵⁷⁷ šālōn baynētən.*

Text 7 (translation)

1. M- Sister, come here you too! Come here you too, sister!
2. S- Here I am brother, (please go on)!
3. M- Now, what I have been asking my mother about, I will ask you too about them.
4. S- Yes, please!
5. M- You too are (now) in Istanbul. What do you have to say about Istanbul and about Tillo?
6. S- What do I say about Istanbul and about Tillo?
7. M- Is Tillo better or Istanbul?
8. S- It is clear that Tillo was better for us because we grew up there and we lived there. But now we are here and we got used to live here. We like (it) here too. We have to go after our bread.

⁵⁷⁶ Cf. *ʔāʷu* “they were able to”.

⁵⁷⁷ *h* is audible between two vowels.

9. M- Come here closer and talk (lit. from nearby talk)! Bring me an ashtray!
10. S- Yes, Shall we talk about Istanbul now?
11. M- Yes.
12. S- Now we live here and we have to like it. Why do we have to like it? We like, of course, because we live here, we can provide for ourselves here, our food sustenance is supplied here and we live here, of course we like it. But our home village is better. That is our home and our village. We lived there and grew up there but now our life sustenance is here and we have to live here. Now we are here. It is okay here also, not bad. But our home village was, of course, better.
13. M- Tillo is better?
14. S- Of course.
15. M- You go out and in more, for exam..., than mother?
16. S- Of course, of course I go out more often.
17. M- How do you see the situation in Istanbul and the situation of the people (the Tillo Arabs)?
18. S- Befo..., before ten years (when) we came to Istanbul, before ten years ago Istanbul was better, it was nicer. Now Istanbul has become much worse. It is very expensive (lit. you cannot buy anything anymore). Everything has become more expensive. For example if you go to the bazaar you get confused what to buy and what to look for. The people are really confused. I was at the bazaar today and saw many people just about to fall in tears. Life in Istanbul has become very, very expensive. All kind of material has become expensive, food has become expensive. Whatever material there is has become expensive. Things are not the same as they were where a woman for example went to the bazaar; when I came to Istanbul ten years ago I used to go to the bazaar and for one million I could buy all my needs. Now I go the bazaar and for 20 million I cannot buy half of what I used to buy for one million. People are right because the situation of Turkey has become much worse.
19. M- Now tell us about Tillo! How was it in Tillo?

20. S- How it was in Tillo? In Tillo, well, Tillo was very good, very nice but it had one disadvantage: we did not have water.
21. M- Water?
22. S- We did not have water. That was the bad thing. There was no work either. There was no work; for instance, if my brothers wanted to work there was no work for them. My father wanted to work; there was no work. My father used to go to different villages and work. He used to transport material (between the villages). He used to go there and work. There was no work for my brothers. They went to school but it was hard. They had for example huge difficulties in finishing school. But concerning us women there was no difference ...
23. M- What you mean by *zōr* is hard, isn't that so?
24. S- Yes, it is hard. It was very hard. They had huge difficulties in going to school, it was by force. But now, thank God, their situation is good because they work and they have an occupation. But of course, in Tillo concerning us women there was no difference. We were inside the house anyhow. In Tillo we were not allowed to go down to the street. Going out was forbidden. For example if it is because of going to the shop or something similar the woman did not do that. She does not go out and buy things. She does not purchase anything. All these tasks the men did. According to our customs it is shameful. A woman ...
25. H- It is shameful according to our customs, it's shameful. Women and men did not sit together, in each other's company.
26. S- According to our customs women and men do not sit in the same company. They don't eat at the same table. For instance, women eat in one room, a different room, men eat in another one. For example, according to our custom women do not show themselves in front of men without socks, headdress and ?...? They correct their headscarves and make them in the proper way. We put a headscarf on, a veil. Among us when a girl becomes 14 years or at the most 15 years old she has to put a headscarf on and a veil, not older. It is very shameful to us if a girl becomes 16 (and does not wear headscarf and veil).
27. H- It is a sin.
28. S- It is a sin. This does not suit us.

29. M- Do you go on with these (customs) in Istanbul too?
30. S- Yes, we do (almost), but in Istanbul, for instance, it is not exactly the same. For example, my mother wears a headscarf but she does not wear the same headscarf as in our village. She wears the headscarf that belongs here. She does not use a veil. Bu we, the younger ones, wear coats. Bef., although ..., yes we cover our head. We are covered. Our coats are long and so on, but we remain in the coats; we go out wearing a (normal) scarf; we go out wearing (long) coats. This is the custom here. Wherever one goes, one follows the custom there.
31. H- But at home we are still as we were in Tillo ...
32. S- But at home we are still as we were in Tillo. There is no change, there is no ... for us in Tillo. At home we both talk Arabic and are the same way as we did in our village. Our food and drinking did not change at all. Our tradition and custom did not change either. For exam., we are (exactly) the same as we were in our village. Nothing has changed concerning food, drinking, going out or I don't know what, wedding, condolences or whatever it is, it is the same as it was in our village. Nothing has changed.
33. M- What is the difference between a wedding here and a wedding in Tillo?
34. S- Yes, well there is almost no difference at all. But how can I put it ...
35. H- The space (reception hall, or wedding salon) is too small here.
36. S- The space is very small here. There we had gardens. We had large space outside our doors. We had gardens and low roofs. We had low roofs. There is no such thing here.
37. H- We had an inner yard, a large inner yard.
38. S- We had inner yards. For example, we had a large inner yard, where my mother, my aunts, the wives of my uncles and so on, used to cook food and prepare drinking. The younger ones also used to lay the tables. The male youth used to lay the tables for men and the female youth used to lay the table for women. We were more comfortable there; it was more... If we are about to prepare for a wed-

ding here we get stressed and troubled and we don't know what to do because of our small apartments (lit. houses).

39. M- What do you do?

40. S- Here? Well, we had two weddings for my brothers here at home. But it was very, we had huge difficulties. Yes, this my other brother we had it in a reception hall, we had his wedding party in a reception hall, not at home, so to say. But we did not enjoy it at all. As if it wasn't for us. The party was for the strangers. We all sat in our chairs and none of us stood up, danced or went here and there.

41. H- They were strangers and we didn't mix with them.

42. S- They were strangers. Men were separated and so were we (men and women were not mixed). OK, we were covered and so, but it didn't suit, it didn't fit our tradition, our custom, our way of living. But we had to. Our house was too small and we couldn't have it at home. We had to have it in the reception hall.

43. M- You had it in a reception hall?

44. S- Yes.

45. M- If it were possible (lit. if destiny wants), do you also, like my mother, want to go (back) to Tillo?

46. S- If God would make it possible and my brothers would be able to manage themselves, would be able to start business, would be able to build houses, yes (lit. if God wants).

47. M- You also want that?

48. S- Of course, absolutely. If God wants, everyone wants to (live in his) home land, his village, his town (lit. soil). There is no place like our town, both concerning its weather and everything else. It has only two things: it has no water and no work. It has everything but it lacks water and work.

49. H- In Istanbul we are renting (our apartment). (In) Tillo it is our own house, it is our own vineyard, it is our own garden. In Tillo we are free while here we pay rent. We pay 150 million for a small apartment, a small apartment with two rooms and a living room between them.

Glossary

The order in this glossary is according to the Arabic alphabet. Words including the phonemes /p/, /č/ and /g/ as a result of a devoiced /b/, /ğ/ and /k/ respectively are listed under /b/, /ğ/ and /k/ respectively. Turkish and Kurdish loan-words are listed under 5.1.4.1. and 5.2.4. respectively. Words including /ʔ/ as a result of a shift from /q/ are listed under /q/. The glossary is meant to contain all words in this work. If any words occurring in the texts or in the examples given above do not occur in the glossary, the present author's oversight is responsible.

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ʔbw	<i>app</i>	father
	<i>abi</i>	my father
	<i>abbētna</i>	our fathers
yābo		my dear (in speech when two people know each other well)
ʔtr	<i>āfār</i>	place, trace
ʔhd	<i>aḥat/aḥad</i>	somebody, someone
	<i>aḥat šī</i>	somebody, someone
ʔxd	<i>axaf</i>	he took
	<i>tēxav</i>	she takes
	<i>axaftu</i>	I took
	<i>tə-nāxəvək</i>	we will take you (m.sg.)
ʔxr	<i>ləxx</i>	other, another
	<i>ääxəre</i>	the end, the hereafter
	<i>axīr (baʕət la-axīr)</i>	last, at last
ʔxw	<i>axx</i>	brother
	<i>axti</i>	my sister
	<i>axwel/ axwēn</i>	brothers
ʔrx	<i>tārīx</i>	date
ʔrđ	<i>ary</i>	land, soil
ʔstd	<i>ustāz, ustād, əstēt,</i>	teacher
	<i>əstēdna</i>	
ʔsl	<i>aşəl</i>	origin
	<i>aşlu</i>	his origin

ʾkl	<i>akəl</i> <i>atrēk</i>	food may be used as a pl. of <i>akəl</i> and means sorts or varieties of food or fruit
ʾlf	<i>alf</i> <i>alfayn</i> <i>ālāf</i>	thousand two thousand thousands
ʾlh	<i>alla</i> <i>wallahi</i> <i>walla</i>	God by God by God
ʾmr	<i>āmir</i> <i>āmar</i>	leader, person in charge leader, person in charge
ʾmm	<i>əmm</i> <i>imām</i>	mother imam
ʾmn	<i>īmān</i> <i>amanatan</i>	belief a deposit in trust
ʾns	<i>insēn</i> <i>insäänāt</i> <i>insäänatiyye</i> <i>nēs</i>	human being human beings a human act; to perform a good act people
ʾnʾ	<i>anā</i>	I
ʾnt	<i>ənt</i> <i>ənti</i> <i>əntən</i>	you (m.sg.) you (f.sg.) you (c.pl.)
ʾwl	<i>awwəl</i>	first
ʾyš	<i>əšš</i> <i>ayš</i> <i>šayš</i> <i>əšqat</i>	what what why how much, cf. <i>*ayš qadr</i>
ayn	<i>aynama</i> <i>aynam</i>	who which; the one who which
ayy	<i>ayy (sapp)</i>	which (direction)
b		
bdʾ	<i>badaw</i> <i>yəbdi</i>	they started he starts
bdl	<i>badal</i> <i>badala</i>	instead of instead of
brʾ	<i>nbarri</i>	we prove, demonstrate
brm	<i>nəbram</i>	we go round, our work goes just fine
brh	<i>mbērḥa</i>	yesterday
brd	<i>ḥart</i>	cold
brr	<i>barra</i>	outside, outdoors

	<i>Brāhīm</i>	personal name
	<i>bass</i>	only
<i>bst</i>	<i>yəbʂətu ʂ-ʂəfrāt</i>	they lay the tables
<i>bʿt</i>	<i>baʿafli</i>	he sent to me
	<i>yəbʿafu</i>	they send
<i>bʿd</i>	<i>baʿət</i>	after, later, then
	<i>əbʿīd</i>	far, distant
<i>bʿd</i>	<i>(maʿ) ʔaʿəyna</i>	together, with each other
	<i>(maʿ) baʿyən</i>	together
<i>bqr</i>	<i>baʿar</i>	cows
<i>bqy</i>	<i>bəqi</i>	become; stay, remain
	<i>abqa</i>	I stay, remain
	<i>nəbʾa</i>	we stay, remain
	<i>ʔəʾa</i>	to stay, remain
	<i>baqat</i>	it (f.sg.) remained
	<i>təbqa</i>	she stays, remains
<i>bky</i>	<i>yəbkaw</i>	they cry, weep
<i>bly</i>	<i>bala</i>	misfortune
	<i>bala</i>	without
<i>bn</i>	<i>əbən</i>	boy, son, child
	<i>əbni</i>	my son
<i>bnt</i>	<i>bənt</i>	girl, daughter
	<i>banēt</i>	girls, daughters
<i>bny</i>	<i>banaw</i>	they built
<i>bhdl</i>	<i>əmbahdēl</i>	maltreated, miserable
<i>bwb</i>	<i>bēp</i>	door, gate
	<i>abwēp</i> (pl.)	
<i>byt</i>	<i>bayt</i>	house, home
	<i>byūt</i> (pl.)	
<i>byd</i>	<i>aḥyay</i>	white
	<i>ḥayya</i>	white (f.sg.)
<i>byʿ</i>	<i>bəḥtu</i>	I sold
<i>byn</i>	<i>əybayyən</i>	to be or become clear, evident
	<i>bayn</i>	between
<i>t</i>		
<i>tǧr</i>	<i>tiǧāra</i>	commerce, trade
<i>tḥt</i>	<i>taḥt</i> (prep.)	under, below, beneath
<i>Turkya</i>		Turkey
<i>trk</i>	<i>tətrəku</i>	you leave it, abandon
<i>tərki</i>		Turkish
<i>tərk</i>		Turks coll.

<i>tsʕ</i>	<i>təsʕa</i>	nine
	<i>təsʕa miyye</i> ⁵⁷⁸	900
	<i>təsah</i>	nine
	<i>təsʕin</i>	ninety
<i>təšrīn</i>		November
<i>tʕb</i>	<i>yətʕabu</i>	they become tired
	<i>taʕʕabtūk</i>	I troubled you (m.sg.)
	<i>Tallo</i>	Tillo, name of village. The modern name is Aydınlar.
	<i>təlləwēni</i>	a person from Tillo
	<i>tələwne</i> (pl.)	people of Tillo
<i>tmm</i>	<i>yəntamm</i>	it (m.sg.) is being ended
<i>tmz</i>	<i>tammūz</i>	July
<i>tūte</i>	local word	little, small
<i>tyq</i>	<i>dēq (mō dēq)/ tēʔ</i>	I cannot
	<i>(mō tēʔ)</i>	
	<i>dəqtu</i>	I was able to, could
	<i>ntīʔ</i>	we are able to, can
	<i>təqna/təʔna</i>	we were able to, could
	<i>atīq</i>	I am able to, can
<i>t</i>		
<i>tql</i>	<i>faqīl</i>	heavy
<i>ilt</i>	<i>fēfe</i>	three
	<i>fāfe</i>	three
	<i>faff</i> (const.)	three
	<i>fələttahš</i>	thirteen
	<i>flēfīn</i>	thirty
<i>tlğ</i>	<i>falğ</i>	snow
<i>tmn</i>	<i>fmēnye</i>	eight
	<i>əfmən əsnīn</i>	eight years
	<i>əfmentahš</i>	eighteen
	<i>əfmēnīn</i>	eighty
<i>tny</i>	<i>əfnayn</i>	two
	<i>əfnahš</i>	twelve
	<i>fēni</i>	second
<i>twm</i>	<i>fūm</i>	garlic
<i>ğ</i>		
<i>ğbr</i>	<i>mažbūrīn</i> (pl.)	obliged, forced
	<i>mažbūriyye</i>	compulsion, necessity

⁵⁷⁸ In the elicited data we also find *təsʕa miyye* (see 3.4.1).

	<i>mažbūrtiyye</i>	compulsion, necessity
ǧbl	<i>ǧabēl</i>	mountain
	<i>ǧbēl</i>	mountains
ǧrb	<i>əǧdīt</i>	new, recently
	<i>aǧarrəbu</i>	I try it (m.sg.)
ǧrr	<i>ǧarr</i>	to experience, to pass through; pull; to tape-record
	<i>əyǧərr</i>	to pull
	<i>ǧarrayna</i>	we experienced, passed through difficulties
ǧry	<i>ǧääri</i>	slave, servant
	<i>ǧääriya</i>	slave girl, servant
ǧzr	<i>Ǧazra</i> cf. Cizre	town in south-east Turkey
ǧll	<i>Ǧalāl</i>	personal name
ǧm^ʕ	<i>ǧamə^ʕ</i>	he gathered
	<i>ǧamə^ʕa</i>	a gathering, a group of people
	<i>ǧēməḥ</i>	mosque
	<i>ǧēmə^ʕ</i>	mosque
	<i>ǧuwēməḥ</i> (pl.)	
	<i>ǧəm^ʕa</i>	Friday
ǧml	<i>ǧamēl</i>	camel
ǧmhr	<i>ǧəmhūriyye</i>	republic
ǧnb	<i>ǧamp</i>	side
ǧnn	<i>ǧnayne</i>	little garden
	<i>žnaynēt</i> (pl.)	gardens
ǧhl	<i>ǧəhēl</i> (pl.)	youth, young ones
ǧwb	<i>ǧawäāp</i>	answer
ǧw^ʕ	<i>ǧō^ʕ</i>	hunger
	<i>ǧū^ʕān</i>	hungry
ǧwz	<i>ǧaws</i>	walnut
ǧww	<i>ǧawwa</i>	inside
	<i>ǧawwēt</i> (const.)	inside
ǧy^ʕ	<i>ǧā</i>	he came
	<i>yəčč</i>	he comes
	<i>yəǧīlna</i>	it (m.sg.) comes to us
	<i>ǧītu</i>	I came
	<i>ǧīt</i>	you (m.sg.) came
	<i>maǧu</i>	coming
ǧyb	<i>aǧīp</i>	I bring
	<i>ǧəbtú</i>	I brought him
	<i>mō ǧīp</i>	I do not bring
	<i>ǧībli</i>	bring to me

	<i>ğabna</i>	we brought
	<i>ğaybu</i>	his pocket
ğyr	<i>ğār</i>	neighbour
	<i>ğīrān</i> (pl.)	
h		
hbb	<i>da-nḥabba</i>	we will like it (f.sg.)
hğğ	<i>ḥačč</i>	pilgrimage
	<i>ḥağğī</i>	pilgrim; honorific title of one who has performed the pilgrimage to Mecca
hrr	<i>ḥarr</i>	warm
	<i>ḥarīre</i>	dried, thin sweet made of grape syrup
	<i>ḥalīle</i>	dried, thin sweet made of grape syrup
hrq	<i>yəḥrəq</i>	to burn
	<i>ḥaraqtu</i>	you burned
hrm	<i>ḥarām</i>	sin, forbidden
hʒr	<i>ḥāzirān</i>	June
hzn	<i>ḥazīn</i>	sad
hsb	<i>yəḥsəbu</i>	they reckon, consider
hsn	<i>aḥsan</i>	better, more suitable
	<i>aḥsēn</i>	better, more suitable
hšw	<i>ḥāša</i> III	to exclude, God forbid!
hšl	<i>w al-ḥāšili</i>	at the end, lastly; in short, in brief
hḏr	<i>yḥayru</i> II	they prepare
hṭṭ	<i>da-aḥəṭṭ</i>	I will put ...
	<i>nḥəṭṭ</i> VII	was put
hqq	<i>ḥaqq</i>	fee, price
	<i>ḥa²⁹</i>	fee, price
	<i>‘aqqatan</i> ⁵⁷⁹	really, actually, indeed
hkm	<i>yəḥkəm</i>	to control, decide upon
	<i>maḥkame</i>	court
hky	<i>yəḥkaw</i>	they talk
	<i>ḥkayna!</i> (f.sg.)	tell us!
	<i>ḥakkōye</i>	tale, story
hll	<i>maḥall</i>	place, location
hmd	<i>al-ḥamdəlla</i>	thanks to God
	<i>Aḥmet</i>	personal name
	<i>Maḥmūt</i>	personal name
hmr	<i>aḥmar</i>	red
	<i>aḥmar</i>	relative, more red

⁵⁷⁹ Note the shift of *h* to *ç*.

	<i>ḥamra</i>	red (f.sg.)
	<i>əḥmār</i>	donkey
ḥml	<i>ḥamməl</i>	he loaded
	<i>nḥammələn</i>	take them on board, load them
ḥawīs	<i>ḥawīs</i>	clothes
	<i>ḥawīsāt</i> (pl.)	
ḥwr/	<i>əyḥīr</i>	to be confused
ḥyr		
	<i>ḥār</i>	he became confused
	<i>ḥēru</i>	they became confused
	<i>nəḥḥīr</i> ⁵⁸⁰	we become confused
ḥwš	<i>ḥawš</i>	enclosed area, courtyard
	<i>ḥušēn</i> (pl.)	
ḥwl	<i>ḥēla</i>	its (f.sg.) situation, condition, circumstances
	<i>ḥāl w əl-ḥawāl iyy</i>	our situation in detail is
	<i>ḥāl w əl-masale</i>	the situation is like this
	<i>ēke</i>	
	<i>ḥīle</i>	trick
ḥyw	<i>əstaḥa X</i>	to be ashamed
	<i>təstəḥi</i>	you (m.sg.) are ashamed
	<i>nəstəhi</i>	we are ashamed
	<i>ḥayāt</i>	life
ḥyy	<i>ḥaywēn</i>	animal
	<i>ḥaywēnēt</i>	animals
x		
xbr	<i>staḡbärtu X</i>	to ask for someone or something
	<i>astaḡbərən X</i>	I ask them
	<i>yəstaḡbəru</i>	he asks him
	<i>xabar</i>	news, notice, knowledge
xbz	<i>ḡbays</i>	bread
	<i>əḡbayzna</i>	our bread, living
xrb	<i>xərbat</i>	it (f.sg.) became worse
	<i>xarāp</i>	bad
xzn	<i>xazīnat</i> (const.)	treasure house
xšš	<i>xəšūši</i>	special, private
xʔ	<i>xatā</i>	mistake
xʔr	<i>məš xāʔar</i>	for the sake of
	<i>xāʔər</i>	showing respect, to please
xld	<i>xālədiyye</i>	belonging to Xālid tribe

⁵⁸⁰ Cf. CA *ḥāra* “to become confused, helpless”

<i>xlf</i>	<i>xalf</i>	after, behind
	<i>xaff</i>	after, behind
<i>xlq</i>	<i>maxlūqāt</i>	creatures, created beings
<i>xlṭ</i>	<i>nxalaṭaṭ VII</i>	it was mixed
	<i>kāl-xawləṭṭən</i>	you (m.sg.) have mixed them up
<i>xms</i>	<i>xamse</i>	five
	<i>xams (const.)</i>	five
	<i>xamsa (mīt)</i>	five (hundred)
	<i>xamsīn</i>	fifty
	<i>xaməstaḥš</i>	fifteen
	<i>xamīs</i>	Thursday
<i>xwl</i>	<i>xēle</i>	aunt
	<i>xēleta</i>	her aunt
	<i>xēlēṭ (pl.)</i>	aunts
<i>xyr</i>	<i>xayr</i>	good, better; may it be good
<i>d</i>		
<i>dbś</i>	<i>dəbəs</i>	syrup
	<i>dəps</i>	syrup
<i>dxl</i>	<i>daxal</i>	to enter, come in
	<i>daxaltu</i>	I entered
	<i>tədxəli</i>	you (f.sg.) enter, come in
<i>drb</i>	<i>darp</i>	way, road
<i>dʿw</i>	<i>dəʿwe</i>	wedding
	<i>dəʿwətayn (dua.)</i>	two weddings
	<i>dəʿwe</i>	lawsuit, case
<i>dqq</i>	<i>daqqaṭtu</i>	I touched
	<i>daqīqa</i>	minute
<i>dkn</i>	<i>dəkkən</i>	shop
<i>dall</i>	<i>dəlīl</i>	evidence
<i>dnw</i>	<i>dənyə</i>	world, this world
<i>dwr</i>	<i>tḏūri</i>	you (f.sg.) go round
	<i>dərt</i>	you (m.sg.) went, travelled around
	<i>dōr (mō dōr)</i>	I go around (I do not go around)
	<i>əndōr</i>	we go around
	<i>dawarān</i>	travelling, going around
<i>dwl</i>	<i>dawle</i>	state, empire
<i>dwm</i>	<i>dēyem</i>	endless, eternal
	<i>dawwēm!</i>	go on!
<i>dyn</i>	<i>dīn</i>	This word is used with the same meaning as <i>waḷḷa</i> “by God” but only as a narrative filling

	<i>dayn</i>	debt, financial claim
	<i>dənūn</i> (pl.)	
	<i>nəndēn</i>	we take up a loan
<i>d</i>		
<i>dr</i>	<i>zərriyye</i>	progeny, descendants, children
	<i>zuriyat</i> (const.)	progeny, descendants
<i>dqn</i>	<i>vaqṇaḳ</i>	your (m.sg.) beard
<i>dhb</i>	<i>vahēp</i>	gold
	<i>vahabiyye</i>	gold coin
	<i>vahabe</i>	gold coin
<i>dk</i>	<i>āx</i>	that, that one
	<i>āk</i>	that, that one
<i>r</i>		
<i>rʾs</i>	<i>rās</i>	head
	<i>rūs</i> (pl.)	
<i>rʾy</i>	<i>araytu</i>	I saw
<i>rbʿ</i>	<i>arbaḥ</i>	four
	<i>arḥa</i> (const.)	four
	<i>arbataḥš</i>	fourteen
	<i>arbʿīn</i>	forty
<i>rǧl</i>	<i>aḡrayy</i>	both my feet
	<i>raǧal</i>	man
	<i>rǧēl</i> (pl.)	
<i>rǧw</i>	<i>yāstarǧi</i> X	to dare
	<i>nəstarǧi</i>	we dare
<i>rḥm</i>	<i>marḥūm</i>	the one whom God may have mercy upon, deceased
<i>rxš</i>	<i>arxaš</i>	cheaper
<i>rdd</i>	<i>əyrəddu</i>	they (go back) again
	<i>ənṛət</i>	we (go back) again
	<i>ərrət</i>	we (go back) again
	<i>raḏḏaytu</i> (<i>ǧītu</i>)	I once again (came back)
<i>rḏy</i>	<i>yərza</i>	to be satisfied, content
	<i>rāzye</i>	content, satisfied (f.sg.)
<i>rfʿ</i>	<i>rafaḥtu</i>	I lifted
<i>rfq</i>	<i>rafiqi</i>	my friend
<i>rqb</i>	<i>raqbətak</i>	your neck
<i>rqš</i>	<i>rəʾaš</i>	he danced
<i>rkb</i>	<i>rəkəbtu</i>	I sat on, took a ride
	<i>yərkap</i>	he rides on the horse
	<i>rēkəb</i>	riding

	<i>arkəb</i>	I ride
	<i>tərkabu</i>	you (c.pl.) are riding
	<i>əyrakkəp</i>	he makes someone ride
rkz	<i>rəkəzna</i>	we sat down
	<i>yərkəzu</i>	they sit down
	<i>rēkzīn</i>	settled
rmḍ	<i>ramazān</i>	Ramadan
rmn	<i>rəmmān</i>	pomegranate
rmy	<i>yərtamaw</i> VIII	they drop, fall down
	<i>kə-rtama</i>	he has fallen off, down
	<i>rtamayt</i>	you (m.sg.) fell off, down
rhw	<i>rahwān</i>	amble (about a horse)
rwḥ	<i>arō</i>	I go
	<i>əyrō</i>	he goes
	<i>rōḥi</i>	refl. myself
	<i>rōḥan</i>	refl. themselves
	<i>rōḥna</i>	refl. ourselves
	<i>rāḥa</i>	rest, ease
rwd	<i>əyrīt</i>	to want, demand, ask for something
	<i>trīdi</i>	you (f.sg.) want
z		
zrq	<i>azraq</i>	blue
	<i>azraʔ</i>	blue
zḡr	<i>zḡīr</i>	small, little
	<i>zḡayyar</i>	small, little
zwǧ	<i>ətzawwač</i> V	get married (m.sg.)
	<i>tzawwəšt</i>	you (m.sg.) got married
	<i>tzawwəštu</i>	I got married
	<i>yətzawweč</i>	he gets married
	<i>zowč</i>	husband
zyd	<i>azyad</i>	more
	<i>azyat</i>	more
	<i>əzdādet</i> VIII	it (f.sg.) became more, increased
s		
sʔl	<i>saʔalt</i>	you (m.sg.) asked
sbʕ	<i>sabʕa</i>	seven
	<i>sabʕīn</i>	seventy
	<i>sabaḥ</i> (const.)	seven
	<i>sabetahš</i>	seventeen
stt	<i>sətte</i>	six
	<i>sətt</i> (const.)	six

	<i>səttahš</i>	sixteen
	<i>səttīn</i>	sixty
sğd	<i>əsgədūni!</i>	bow down and worship me!
	<i>sağadnēhu</i>	we bowed down and worshipped him
	<i>sağadu</i>	they bowed down and worshipped
sth	<i>štōh</i>	roof
	<i>aşatīh</i> (pl.)	roofs, terraces
	<i>ştayhāt</i> (pl.)	roofs, terraces
sʿd	<i>Saʿit</i>	personal name
Səʿūdi		Saudi Arabia
Səʿart		Siirt, town in Southeast Turkey; Turk. <i>Siirt</i>
sfl	<i>asfēl</i>	down (with the meaning of out of the house)
skn	<i>ysakkən</i> II	he calms down, becomes still
sltn	<i>şulān</i>	sultan
sll	<i>sulālətna</i>	our family, descendant
şəmṡāʿ	cf. <i>summāq</i>	sumac
əSmāʿil		personal name
smʿ	<i>yəsmāʿ</i>	he hears
smy	<i>əsəm</i>	name
	<i>əsmi</i>	my name
sn	<i>sane</i>	year
	<i>santayn</i> (dua.)	two years
	<i>əsnīn</i> (pl.)	
shl	<i>ysahhəl</i> II	he makes (it) easier
swʿ	<i>əs-saḥ</i>	now
	<i>s-saḥa</i>	now
	<i>əs-saḥḥa</i>	now
swf	<i>masēfe</i>	distance
syd	<i>sayyəd</i>	grandfather
	<i>sayyat</i>	grandfather
swy	<i>sawa</i>	to do, make
	<i>ysawi</i>	he makes, does
	<i>ysay</i>	he makes
	<i>sayt</i>	you (m.sg.) did, made
	<i>sayna</i>	we made
	<i>tə-nsayy</i>	we will do
syr	<i>sayyārat</i> (const.)	car
š		
šbt	<i>šabat</i>	to steal
	<i>šəḃḃāt</i>	thief
	<i>šabaṭtu</i>	I stole

	<i>šəḃṭa</i>	theft, thieving
šty	<i>šəte</i>	winter
šgr	<i>šağara</i>	tree, family tree
šxs	<i>šaxs</i>	person
	<i>ašxāš</i> (pl.)	
šrb	<i>šərap</i>	water, something to drink
	<i>yəšrap</i>	to drink or smoke
šrt	<i>šarṭāṭ</i>	conditions
šry	<i>yəštəri</i>	he buys, purchases
	<i>məštara</i>	buying, purchase
ša^crūke	local word	little
ša^cūka	local word	little
	<i>ša^carūqət</i> (const.)	little
š^cl	<i>nəš^cəl</i>	we lit (fire)
šgl	<i>šəğəl</i>	work
	<i>šəğlu</i>	his work
škl	<i>məškāl</i>	problem
šms	<i>šams</i>	sun
šhr	<i>šahar</i>	month
	<i>šahər</i>	month
	<i>šahrayn</i> (dua.)	two months
	<i>(sətt)aššōr</i> (dua.)	six months
	<i>mašhūr</i>	famous
šwš	<i>nəššawəš</i>	to be confused; surprised
šy²	<i>šī</i>	thing, something
	<i>šiyayn</i> (dua.)	two things
šyṭn	<i>šayṭān</i>	Satan
š		
šbh	<i>šabāḥ</i>	morning
šhb	<i>šāḥap</i>	owner
šbr	<i>šahar</i>	patient
šb^c	<i>šbay^cəta</i>	her finger
Štanbūl		Istanbul
	<i>əzğīr</i>	little, small
	<i>zğār</i> (pl.)	
šfr	<i>šaffərtu</i> II	I remained without money, I had zero money left
	<i>ašfar</i>	yellow
šwb	<i>šawp</i>	reason; direction
	<i>šōp</i>	direction, way
	<i>sapp</i>	direction, way

ṣwġ	<i>sāäyex</i>	goldsmith, jeweller
syh	<i>äysih</i>	he calls upon ...
sy^r	<i>xa-ysir</i>	let it be so
	<i>ṣār; änn k̄ā-ṣār</i>	happen; if it is OK ...
syf	<i>ṣayf</i>	summer
d		
drb	<i>ṣarabni</i>	he hit me
	<i>ṣayrap</i>	he hits
	<i>nṣarap</i> VII	was hit
	<i>ṣarbe</i>	hit, plot
dy^c	<i>ṣay^ca</i>	village
	<i>ayyō^c/ayyōh</i>	villages
dyq	<i>ṣayyā[?]</i>	narrow
t		
tbx	<i>təbbēx</i>	August
trq	<i>tariq</i>	way, road
	<i>tariqa</i>	breakfast
tšš	<i>yaṭəšš</i>	he meets, sees
	<i>əttəšši</i>	you (f.sg.) see
	<i>nṭəšš</i>	we see, meet
	<i>aṭəšš</i>	I see
	<i>da-təššan</i>	I will see them
tʃ	<i>təfayt</i>	you (m.sg.) extinguished, put out (fire)
tʃb	<i>təlabə</i>	student,
	<i>təlabtuwa</i>	I asked for her hand
tʃ^c	<i>aṭlah</i>	I go out or up
	<i>təʃu</i>	take care of, look after
	<i>təllah!</i>	look!
	<i>təʃləi</i>	you (f.sg.) go out
tʃr	<i>də-yṭəhhərən</i>	he will circumcise them
	<i>mṭəhhərči</i>	circumciser
	<i>mṭəhhərčiyye</i> (pl.)	
	<i>mṭəhrin</i>	the persons who do the circumcision
tʃwq	<i>təqat</i> (const.)	ability, capacity
	<i>dəqtu</i>	I was able to, could
	<i>atīq</i>	I am able to, can
	<i>nti[?]</i>	we are able to, can
	<i>təqnal/tə[?]na</i>	we were able to, could
	<i>mō tē[?]</i>	I cannot
tʃwl	<i>tūl</i>	length
	<i>tawil</i>	long

tyb	<i>ṭaybe</i> <i>ṭayyap</i> <i>aṭyap</i>	tasty, good, delicious; comfortable, easy tasty, good, delicious; comfortable, easy better, more comfortable
z		
zlm	<i>zalamt</i>	you (m.sg.) oppressed
zhr	<i>yahru</i> <i>yahri</i> <i>yahər</i>	his back my back back
c		
‘bd	<i>‘apt</i>	servant (of God), human
‘br	<i>yə‘bar</i> <i>‘aḅar</i>	to pass, happen, experience to pass (about time)
‘bs	<i>‘Abbāsiyye</i>	belonging to ‘Abbās tribe
‘br	<i>‘aḅar</i>	pass (about time)
‘tm	<i>‘uṣmāniyya</i>	Ottoman (Empire)
‘rb	<i>‘arabi</i> <i>‘arap</i>	Arabic Arabs
‘rf	<i>a‘raf</i> <i>mō ‘rəf</i> <i>a‘arrəfkan</i> II <i>‘ərɤna</i>	I know I do not know I let you (c.pl.) know, present to you our custom, tradition
‘rq	<i>‘araq</i>	a strong colourless liquor made of raisins
‘Irāq		Iraq
‘zw	<i>ta‘ziyye</i>	consolation
‘skr	<i>‘askar</i> <i>‘askariyye</i>	soldier military service
‘šr	<i>‘ašra</i> <i>‘ašš/ ‘ašr (const.)</i> <i>‘əššīn</i>	ten ten twenty
‘sfr	<i>‘ašfūr</i> <i>‘ašāfīr (pl.)</i>	sparrow, small birds
‘ṭw	<i>‘aṭaynāhu</i> <i>aḥṭi</i> <i>tīni!</i>	we gave him I give give me!
‘fw	<i>stihfa</i>	resignation
‘ql	<i>‘aqəl</i> <i>‘aqlu</i> <i>‘āqar</i> <i>maḥqūl</i>	wisdom, brain his mind, brain sane reasonable
‘lm	<i>‘ələm</i> <i>ṯalləmna</i> V	theology, knowledge we learned, got used to

‘lw	<i>ta‘ay!</i>	come! (f.sg.)
	<i>ta‘ā!</i>	come (m.sg.)
	<i>taw!</i>	come! (c.pl.)
	<i>əlli</i> ⁵⁸¹	upper room, upstairs room
	<i>alliyayn</i> (dua.)	two rooms
‘ly	<i>‘ala</i>	on, upon, above
‘ml	<i>yə‘məlu</i>	they work
	<i>‘amaltu</i>	I worked
	<i>yə‘mal</i>	he works
	<i>d-ə‘məl</i>	I will work
	<i>‘amēl</i>	work
‘mm	<i>‘amm</i>	uncle
	<i>ə‘mēm</i> (pl.)	
	<i>‘ammu!</i>	uncle!
	<i>‘amməti</i>	my aunt
‘nd	<i>‘ənt</i>	at, with, by
	<i>‘ənədna</i>	at, with, by us
‘wd	<i>‘ēde</i>	custom, tradition, habit
	<i>‘ēdətna</i>	our custom, tradition, habit
‘wq	<i>yət‘awwaq</i>	to be delayed
‘wl	<i>‘ā‘iləti</i>	my family
	<i>‘āyle</i>	family
‘yb	<i>‘ayp</i>	shame, disgrace
‘yš	<i>‘əšna</i>	we lived
	<i>ən‘iš</i>	we live
ġ		
ġdaym	local word	socks
ġdw	<i>ġade</i>	tomorrow
ġrb	<i>ġarīp</i>	foreigner, stranger
	<i>ġərbe</i> (pl.)	
	<i>ġərp</i> (pl.)	
ġrz	<i>ġarze</i>	stitch; plant
ġsl	<i>nəxsəlu</i>	we wash it (m.sg.)
	<i>xasīl</i>	washing
ġlw	<i>ġəli</i>	became expensive
	<i>ġəlyət</i>	it (f.sg.) became expensive
ġyr	<i>tġayyar</i> V	be modified, changed
	<i>ġayr</i>	other than
f		

⁵⁸¹ Cf. *‘ulliyā* “upper room, upstairs room”. Cf. also CS. *qēle* “room, chamber” (Lat. *cella*).

<i>fth</i>	<i>fataḥu</i> <i>nfataḥu</i> VII	they opened were opened
<i>ftw</i>	<i>məfti</i>	Mufti, official expounder of Islamic law
<i>frd</i>	<i>fard</i> <i>farz</i> <i>fart</i>	one, only one one, only one one, only one
<i>frş</i>	<i>faras</i>	horse
<i>frġ</i>	<i>farġu!</i> <i>frēġēt</i>	leave! make empty! plates, dishes
<i>frq</i>	<i>farq</i> <i>farʔ</i>	difference, distinction differentiation, distinction
<i>fzʕ</i>	<i>təbzah</i>	you (m.sg.) are afraid
<i>fdđ</i>	<i>fəyya</i>	silver
<i>fəlfəl</i>		pepper
<i>fʕl</i>	<i>fāʕəl</i> <i>fʕūl</i> (pl.)	worker
<i>fqr</i>	<i>nfaqarna</i> VII <i>faqīr</i> <i>Faqīru llāh</i>	we became poor poor personal name
<i>fqh</i>	<i>faqah</i>	students
<i>fkr</i>	<i>fəkri</i>	my idea, thought
<i>fhm</i>	<i>fīhamna</i> VIII	we understood
<i>fwq</i>	<i>fōq</i> <i>fawq</i>	up, on top above
<i>fy</i>	<i>fī</i>	(existential part.) there is
<i>q</i>		
<i>qbl</i>	<i>yəqbələn</i> <i>yəqbəla</i> <i>qabal</i> <i>qabəl</i> <i>ʔabal</i> <i>ʔabale</i> <i>tqabbəltu</i> V	he accepts them he accepts it (f.sg.) he accepted before before before before
<i>qdr</i>	<i>qatt</i> <i>əšqatt</i> (əšš <i>qatt</i>)	I accepted as much as how much
<i>qdm</i>	<i>əddēm</i> <i>ddēmu</i>	in front of, before in front of him
<i>qrʔ</i>	<i>yəyraw</i> <i>ʔaraw</i>	they read they read, studied
<i>qrb</i>	<i>qarīp</i> <i>aqrəba</i>	close to, near relatives, cousins

	<i>aqruba</i>	relatives, cousins
	<i>‘aqraba</i>	relatives, cousins
qr̥t̥	<i>qər̥t̥</i>	the sound of breaking s.th. into small pieces
qsm	<i>nəqşəmu</i>	we divide it (m.sg.)
qsd	<i>taqşit̥</i>	instalment
qrb	<i>qrəyyap</i>	near, close
qdy	<i>qādi</i>	judge
q̣d	<i>q̣əttu</i>	I sat, stayed, settled
qfl	<i>nəʔfel</i>	we close (about a veil)
qwm	<i>yqūm</i>	to stand up
	<i>qəmna</i>	we stood up
	<i>qiyāme</i>	resurrection, Day of Judgement
q̣d	<i>q̣əʔədna</i>	we sat down
qwl	<i>əyʔūlu</i>	they say
	<i>aʔūl</i>	I say
qwm	<i>qəmt</i>	you (m.sg.) stood up
	<i>qām</i>	he stood up
	<i>qāmāt</i>	she stood up
	<i>qiyāme</i>	Judgement Day
	<i>əyqūm</i>	he stands up
k		
kbr	<i>əgbīr</i>	large, big, huge
	<i>gbār (pl.)</i>	
	<i>gəbərna</i>	we grew up, became adult
kbrt	<i>kəbrīt</i>	matches
kbš	<i>gabš</i>	ram, male sheep
ktb	<i>ktēp</i>	a book
	<i>maktūp</i>	written
	<i>maktūbīn</i>	written
ktr	<i>akfār</i>	more
khl	<i>kḥāäl</i>	horse of noblest breed
kdb	<i>kəvp</i>	lie
krd	<i>akrāt</i>	Kurds
krr	<i>karra</i>	time, <i>āk-</i> , <i>hal-karra</i> that, this time
	<i>kart ləxxe</i>	another time, once more
	<i>katt ləxx</i>	another time, once more
krm	<i>karəm</i>	vineyard
	<i>əkrūm</i>	
	<i>karam (sayy</i>	please, if you please
	<i>karam)</i>	
kərmān		Kurds

č		
ksx	<i>ksēx</i>	to prune (esp. a vine), to lop
kass		direction, way
kll	<i>kəlla</i>	all of them
	<i>kəllətna</i>	all of us
km	<i>kam</i>	how many, how much; some
kws	<i>kwayyəs</i>	fine, good, nice
	<i>əkwayse</i>	fine, good, nice (f.sg.)
	<i>kwayyas</i>	fine, good, nice
	<i>akwēs</i>	better
	<i>akwas</i>	better
kwn	<i>kēnu</i>	they were
	<i>kān</i>	he was
	<i>kēnat</i>	she was
	<i>tkūn</i>	you (m.sg.) are
kys	<i>kēsətək</i>	your (m.sg.) sack
g		
gari	<i>gari</i>	talk, chat
	<i>nəgri</i>	we talk
	<i>mō gri</i>	I won't talk
	<i>gray!</i>	talk! (f.sg.)
	<i>əgray</i>	talk! (f.sg.)
l		
lā/laʔ		(do) not, no
lbs	<i>təlbs</i>	she wears, puts on (clothes)
	<i>nəlbs</i>	we wear, put on (clothes)
lhq	<i>yəlhəq</i>	to reach s.th.
	<i>alhəq</i>	I reach
lsn	<i>sēn</i>	tongue, language
	<i>sēnna</i>	our tongue, language
ʔb	<i>ləʔbe</i>	a play; a practical joke
	<i>ləʔbatu</i>	his practical joke
m		
mdd	<i>mədde</i>	a period, a distance
mrʔ	<i>mara</i>	wife, woman
Mardīn		Mardin, a town in south-east Turkey
məšməš		apricot
mšy	<i>yəməši</i>	he goes
	<i>yətmaššaw</i>	they walk, stroll
	<i>mašu</i>	walking
mʕ	<i>maʕ</i> (prep.)	with

	<i>māʿak</i>	with you (m.sg.)
	<i>māʿu</i>	with him
	<i>maḥ</i>	with
mkn	<i>əmkēnēt</i>	possibilities
	<i>yətmakkan</i> V	settle down
mlk	<i>mamlake</i>	town of origin, home town
	<i>məlk</i>	property
malla		mullah
mən	<i>məne</i>	who
mndl	<i>mənēdīl</i> (pl.)	head-kerchief
mnʿ	<i>yətmənəḥ</i> VIII ⁵⁸²	to cease, stop
mwl	<i>mēl</i>	goods
mwh	<i>ṁayy</i>	water
	<i>ṁayye</i>	water
n		
nḥn	<i>nəḥne</i>	we
nḥr	<i>nazar</i>	vision, seeing, appearance
nzl	<i>yənzal</i>	he goes down, climbs down
nsl	<i>nəsəl</i>	progeny, offspring
nsw	<i>nəswēn</i>	women
nsy	<i>kən-nəsīt</i>	you (m.sg.) have forgotten
nsb	<i>nasīp</i>	fate, lot, chance
Nasrəttī		personal name
n Xōḡa		
nsf	<i>nəšš</i>	half
nql	<i>an-naqle</i>	so, now, thus, this time
nwm	<i>ynēmu</i>	they go to sleep
	<i>ynēm</i>	he sleeps
	<i>mnēm</i>	dream
	<i>nawm</i>	sleep
h		
hrbl	<i>mharbēlən</i>	miserable
hḏ	<i>āf</i>	this (m.sg.)
	<i>ääv/ääva</i>	this
	<i>äävi</i> (f.sg.)	
hrb	<i>harap</i>	to escape
	<i>yəhrap</i>	he escapes
	<i>harrəpt</i> II	you (m.sg.) stole, went away with ...
hk	<i>āk</i>	that (m.sg.)

⁵⁸² Note the metathesis here.

	<i>ēkām</i>	those
hkd	<i>hēke</i>	thus, such, in this way
	<i>ēke</i>	thus, such, in this way
	<i>ham</i>	also, as well
	<i>am</i>	also, as well
	<i>amme</i>	also, as well
	<i>ammēni</i>	also, as well
	<i>mmēni</i>	also, as well
	<i>hāmmēni</i>	also, as well
hn	<i>anne</i>	(personal pronoun) they
	<i>ann</i>	they
hw	<i>əww/əwwe</i>	he
hwn	<i>hawne</i>	here
	<i>ḳawn</i>	here
	<i>ḳawne</i>	here
	<i>hawnak</i>	there
	<i>ḳawnak</i>	there
	<i>ḳāyak</i>	that (m.sg.)
	<i>ḳawlak</i>	those
	<i>awle</i>	these
hwy	<i>hawa</i>	air, weather
hy	<i>iyy/iyye</i>	she
	<i>de/dē</i>	(interj.) so, thus, in this way (narrative filling)
w		
wğd	<i>mawğūt</i>	existing
	<i>mawğūdīn</i>	existing
wğç	<i>twağğəçna</i>	we were hurt
	<i>twağğəḳt</i>	you suffered
	<i>twağğəḳḥ</i>	he suffered
wḥd	<i>wēḥəd</i>	one
	<i>wəḥde</i>	one (f.sg.)
wrt	<i>turātna</i>	our cultural heritage
wrq	<i>waraqa</i>	Turkish lira, pound
wç	<i>wasīḥ</i>	wide, roomy, large
wç	<i>mawyaç</i>	place
	<i>mōyaç</i>	place
wṭn	<i>waṭanna</i>	our home, place of origin
wfy	<i>twaffa V</i>	he died
wqt	<i>waqt</i>	time
	<i>waxt</i>	then, at that time; time

wqʕ	<i>mawqəḥ</i>	spot, place
	<i>wāqʕa</i>	occurrence, incident
wld	<i>wālədi</i>	my father
	<i>wāldayk</i>	your (m.sg.) parents
	<i>walət</i>	boy, child
	<i>awlēt</i>	children
wly	<i>walēye</i>	home or place of origin
Wēn		Van, city in Turkey
y		
yd	<i>īd/īt</i>	hand
yadaba		or
ywm	<i>lawm</i>	day
	<i>yawm</i>	day
	<i>yōm</i>	day
	<i>yawmayn</i> (dua.)	two days
	<i>iyyām</i> (pl.)	days

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